

Studies in Islamic Archaeology of Pakistan

DR. AHMAD NABI KHAN





STUDIES IN ISLAMIC ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

DR. AHMAD NABI KHAN



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To

my children

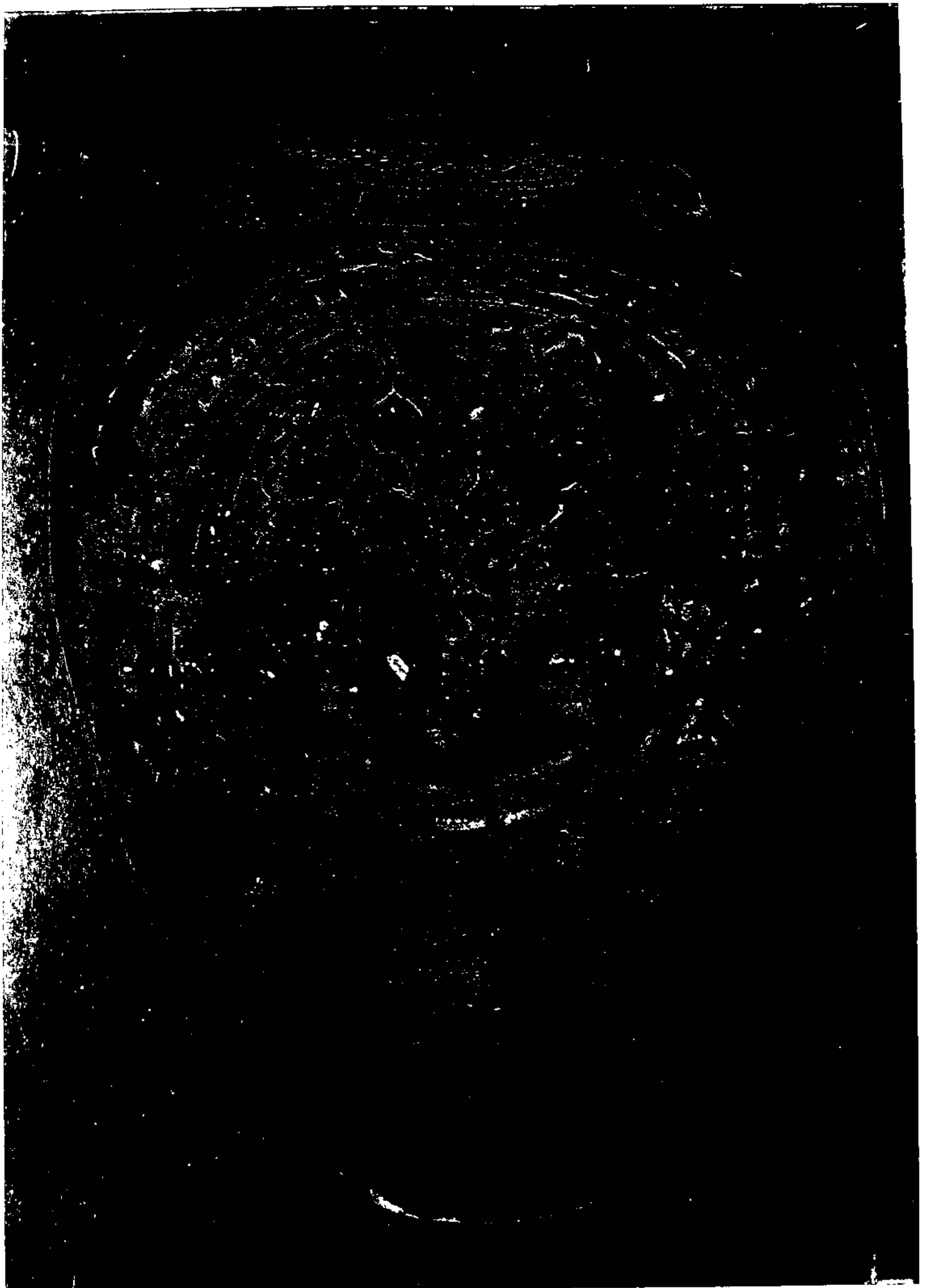
Saeed, Naved and Ra'ana

whose

care, love and regards for me

encouraged me to finalize

this work



Painted vase of 13th century

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PREFACE

Pakistan is one of the most important cultural centres of the Islamic Ummah which has contributed significantly towards the evolution and development of Islamic art and architecture, and the purpose of this presentation is to highlight that contribution. Regrettably, it has been little appreciated even by those who are celebrated to have serious interest in the subject — both within the country as well as abroad.

Although this anthology cannot frankly be adjudged as telling the whole story, it does indeed give an insight into the main stream of the subject — archaeology, architecture, painting, calligraphy, numismatics and epigraphy. The articles included here are those published in reputed journals and magazines both in Pakistan as well as abroad during the last quarter of the century, and have been applauded as significant contribution. For the purpose of this anthology, they have been thoroughly revised and brought upto date. An introduction precedes the main bunch of articles to give historical, archaeological and artistic background.

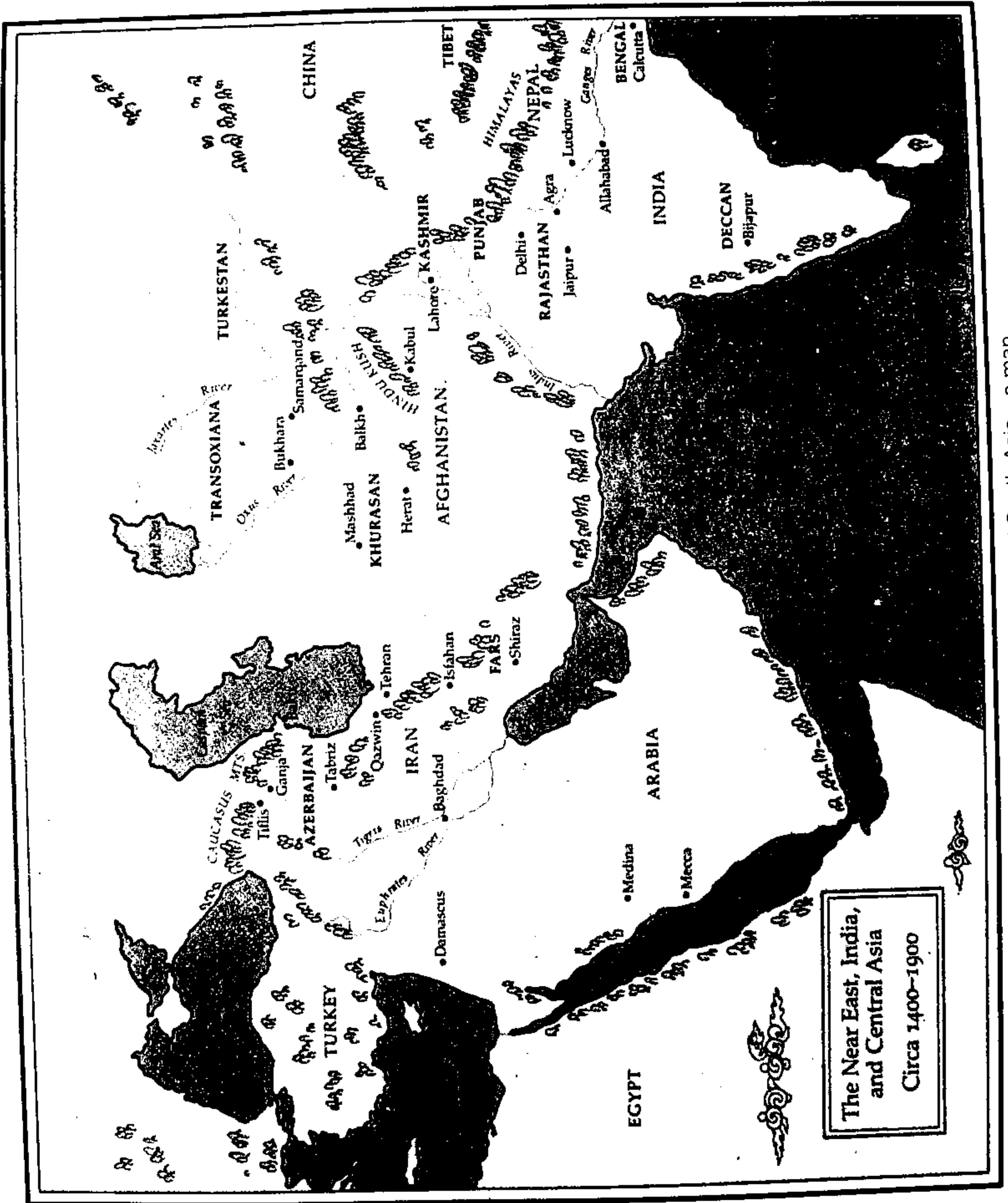
It would seem that the text of some articles presented here harps upon identical points theme and repeats the same subject through. It is because of providing much more details of the theme discussed in these chapters.

It is hoped that the variety of these studies would interest the scholars and students of the subject.

I am beholden to Mr. Niaz Ahmad of Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, who evinced keen interest in this work, and undertook enthusiastically its printing and publication.

AHMAD NABI KHAN

January 1994
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Pl. 1 : Arabia Central Asia and South Asia – a map

INTRODUCTION

The advent of Islam in the areas of the South-Asian Subcontinent, which are now Pakistan, during the early decades of the 8th century A.D., inaugurated a new socio-cultural and religio-political order. Although the Arabs had penetrated into the area to establish their political power much earlier, the main thrust came on the eve of the invasion and conquest of Sindh (and parts of the Punjab) under the command of Muhammad bin Qasim in 92-93/711-712. These territories were annexed to the fast growing Umayyad Caliphate. The events led to the immigration and settlement of the Arabs in these areas and their direct contacts with the local population. The mild, humane and just treatment of the conqueror with the vanquished resulted into the conversion of a major part of the Hindu-Buddhist population to Islam. Later, the Arabs consolidated their possession, which resulted into the establishment of their own independent states — the Emirate of the Banu Habbar in Sindh and the Emirate of the Banu Samah in the Punjab. While al-Mansurah was the capital of the Habbaris who ruled the territories for one hundred and seventy years (247-416/861-1025), the Banu Samah held the sway in Multan was overthrown by the Ismailis under the religio-political influence of the Fatimid Caliphate of Egypt.

Muhammad bin Qasim introduced an entirely new concept of architecture by erecting mosques at every place he conquered and at Deybul created the first ever house of prayer. Later, his son `Amr came to Sindh and founded here a new city called al-Mansurah within an island so formed through a loop branch of the river Indus at point where is now located the town of Shahdadpur. The city of al-Mansurah was expended and fortified by the Habbari ruler `Umar bin `Abd u'l Aziz who also built the *dar al-Imara* alongwith other buildings within the fortification.

Recent archaeological excavations of Deybul (Banbhore) have exposed the plan of a peristyle mosque showing that it had no formal mehrab. The mosque was decorated with several stone inscriptions recording the history of its erection and later repairs and extensions. Some of them are the masterpieces of monumental calligraphy. The text records the date and the name of the personage who built it. The mosque and other buildings including the fortification with its majestic semi-circular bastions were built of stone, while the structures at al-Mansurah were of baked bricks. The mosque here was provided with a formal *Mehrab* in the shape of an arched recess in the western wall of

the *aiwan*, while the interior of walls were faced with teak wood upto the dado level. The roof rested on wooden pillars. The capital city was provided with an imposing brick fortification.

Similarly, the Banu Sāmāhs of Multan developed a center of cultural and learning and influenced the surrounding areas greatly. While the territories of Makran were brought under the rule of yet another Arab tribe whom the Arab chroniclers have named Madaniya after its first ruler Isa bin Ma'dan. Their capital was Fez. Both Fez and Panjgur had beautiful mosques created in the center of the cities. Except these casual textual references, we do not know about these structures. This is the development of the 3rd/4th century.

While the Arab culture obviously dominated the land, the Arab immigrants themselves adopted traits and practices of the local people. Arabic became the *lingua franca* of the areas. Sindhi and Saraiki were also spoken by the Arabs as well as the local people. The Sindhis and Multains frequently moved out and settled in the Arab cities of the caliphate. We find many of them living in Baghdad, Kufa, Demascus, Jurjan etc. The Arab travellers and chroniclers like Ibn Khurdadbeh, Mas'udi, Muqddasi, Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, Idrisi and others provide copious references to the Sindhis, Multanis and Makranis who distinguished themselves in art, literature and theology at these centres. Many of them joined the Arab armies to serve in the military exploits. Deybul, besides being an important sea-port, was renowned for Islamic learning, and there was located a big college of theology where renowned theologians from all over the then Islamic world lived.

The Arabs introduced new types of objects of daily use. The glazed pottery — sgraffito, alkaline, painted blue, celadons — was brought in here. Similarly, copper, iron and glass vessels were either imported or manufactured here. New types of coins were minted at Deybul and al-Mansurah. A reference to the inscribed stones has already been made. The bronze door-knockers manufactured in *cire-purdue* technique for Umar Abdu'l Aziz Habbari's *Dar al-Imara* at al-Mansurah and the inscriptions from the mosque at Deybul are unique masterpieces produced by the master-craftsmen.

The Ghaznavid Contribution

During the later decades of tenth and early years of the eleventh centuries A. D., Mahmud of Ghazna, the celebrated scion of Ghaznavids initiated military campaigns against the Hindu Shahi rulers to consolidate his possessions. During the several invasions which lasted until 422/1030, Sultan Mahmud over-ran the territories of India upto Somnath, taking away the riches and wealth from these places. Many romantic stories of courage and chivalry are related of these invasions which in fact numbered only twelve or thirteen, though historians like Elliot and Dowson have numbered them seventeen!

Sultan Mahmud retained the possession of northern India specially the Punjab which was annexed to Ghaznavid Sultanate. After his death his successors shifted it to

وَقَالَ مَرْزُوقٌ قَالَ وَشَرَعَ لَهُمْ جَمِيعَ مَا أَنَّى بِهِ مَرْزُوقٌ وَقَضَى جَمُوعَ الْمَهْدِيِّ وَأَسْتَوْبَحَ أَرْبَعٌ
عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً حَتَّى حُوْصِرَ وَمُتَّحِلٌ يَوْمَ سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَخَمْسِينَ وَبِأَيْهِ لِلْبُحْرَةِ وَكَانَ أَحْمَرُ رَسْمًا



أَحْبَطَ بِهِ لَيْلًا شَيْ جَسَدُهُ فَيَتَحَقُّوْا أَصْحَابَهُ قَوْلُهُ فَأَجْتَرِقُ وَلَمْ يَبَأْتُ لَهُ مَا أَرَادَ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ
بَلْ وَجِدَ فِي السُّوْرِ وَطَمَعُ رَأْسِهِ وَأَفْدَكَ إِلَى الْمَهْدِيِّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَهُوَ تَوْمِيدٌ يَلْبَسُ وَاسْتَبَدَّ
بِمَا وَرَا الْهَرَمُ يَدْرُسُونَ بِرَسْمِهِ مُسْتَحْفَنِينَ مُتَحَلِينَ فِي الظَّاهِرِ لِلسَّلَامِ وَقَدْ تَوَجَّهَتْ أَخْبَارُهُ
الْفَارِسِيَّةَ إِلَى الْهَرَمِيَّةِ وَهِيَ مُسْتَقْبَلَةٌ فِي كِتَابِي فِي أَخْبَارِ الْمَيْصَرِ وَالْقُرَاطِيَّةِ

لام و
تَعْرِيفُ الْمَهْدِيِّ وَتَعْرِيفُ الْمَهْدِيِّ وَتَعْرِيفُ الْمَهْدِيِّ
مَرْزُوقٌ فَانْزِلْ فِي الْمَهْدِيِّ

2. Pl. 2 : A page from al-Beruni's Asar-al-Baqiya showing an entrance gateway with door knockers (Ms. Dated 707/1307).

the Punjab and made Lahore their capital. Lahore came out as an important center of Islamic culture and piety, and was acclaimed as 'Little Ghazna'. Many saints and scholars like Fakhr u'd-Din Husain Zanjani (d. 430/1039), Ali Hujveri, Sayyid Muhammad Isma'il (d. 428/1036), Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (d. 515/1121), Abu'l Faraj Runi, came and settled here to preach Islam among the local people. Another saint named Khalid Walid commonly known among the masses as Khaliq Wali, arrived at Multan alongwith Mahmud's army and settled here. He is lying buried in a nearby village of Kabirwala. A magnificent tomb, a masterpiece of naked brick architecture, was erected over the grave by Ali Karmakh, the first governor of Multan under Shahab u'd-Din Ghori.

The contribution of Ghaznavid Sultans in the spread of Islamic art and culture has been of far reaching consequences. These Sultans introduced Persian for the first time here. They minted their coins from Lahore; introduced naked brick architecture of Central Asia by building substantial monuments. Mahmud is credited to have erected a tower of victory in the Lahore Fort, and a mosque within the old city. Numerous scholars, poets, and literati flocked to their courts. Ali Hujveri wrote his famous *Kashf al-Mahjub* in Lahore which has rightly been rated as the earliest treatise on *tasawwuf*. The famous poet Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (d. 515/1121) was born at Lahore. The Ghaznavid governor of Lahore, Ayaz repaired and rehabilitated the city afresh.

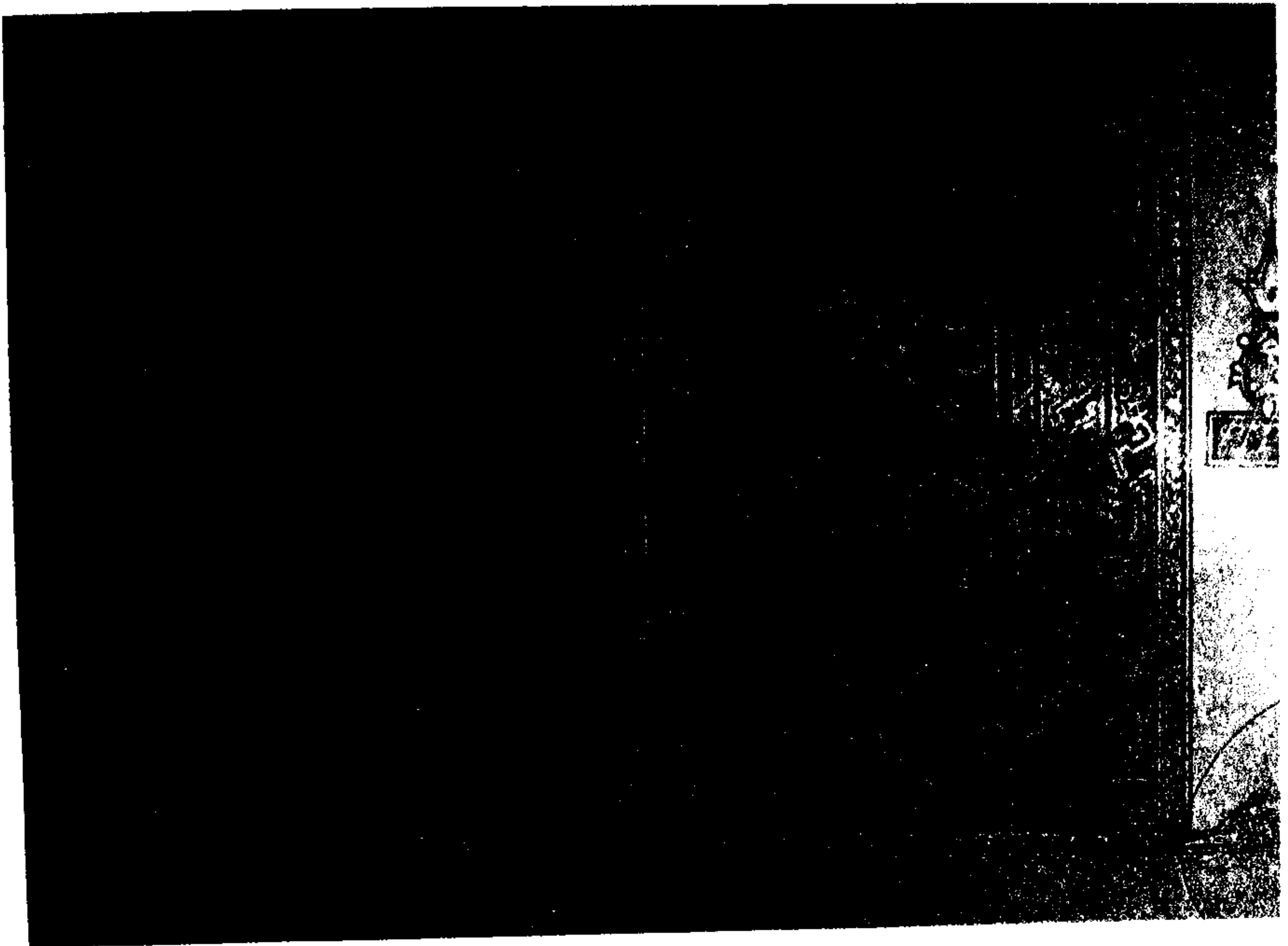
The Turkish Sultanate and Central Asian Art Traditions

By the end of the twelfth century, the Ghaznavid power declined, and was brought to an end in 582/1186 when Khusrau Malik was defeated by Shahab u'd-Din. However, it was for his general and slave, Qutb u'd-Din Aibek, to establish the celebrated Turkish Sultanate, and Lahore, Sialkot, Multan, Dipalpur, Uchchh, Pakpattan etc., became prominent centers of religio-cultural activities during this period. Aibek was enthroned in 602/1206 at Lahore who also died here in 607/1210 while playing *chaugan*. Here lived eminent scholars, saints, historians and poets like Shaikh Abd u'l-Aziz Makki (d. 612/1261) Sayyid Ahmad Tokhta Tirmizi (d. 602/1206) and Shaikh Ya'qub Zanjani (d. 604/1204).

Though Persian served as the main language of the court and the elite, Sanskrit and other languages were spoken and patronized. Hindu places of learning and piety were looked after properly. The Sultans extended an active patronage to Hindu learning and literature. Muhammad bin Tughluq sought the company of prominent Hindu scholars and religious leaders. Muslim scholars also started taking interest in the study of Sanskrit language and literature, and translated several Sanskrit works on Philosophy and Astronomy into Arabic and Persian. His works are rightly regarded as mines of information on Hindu religion and philosophy.

About this time, a new language started taking definite shape. It was called *Urdu*, an amalgam of many foreign and local languages and dialects.

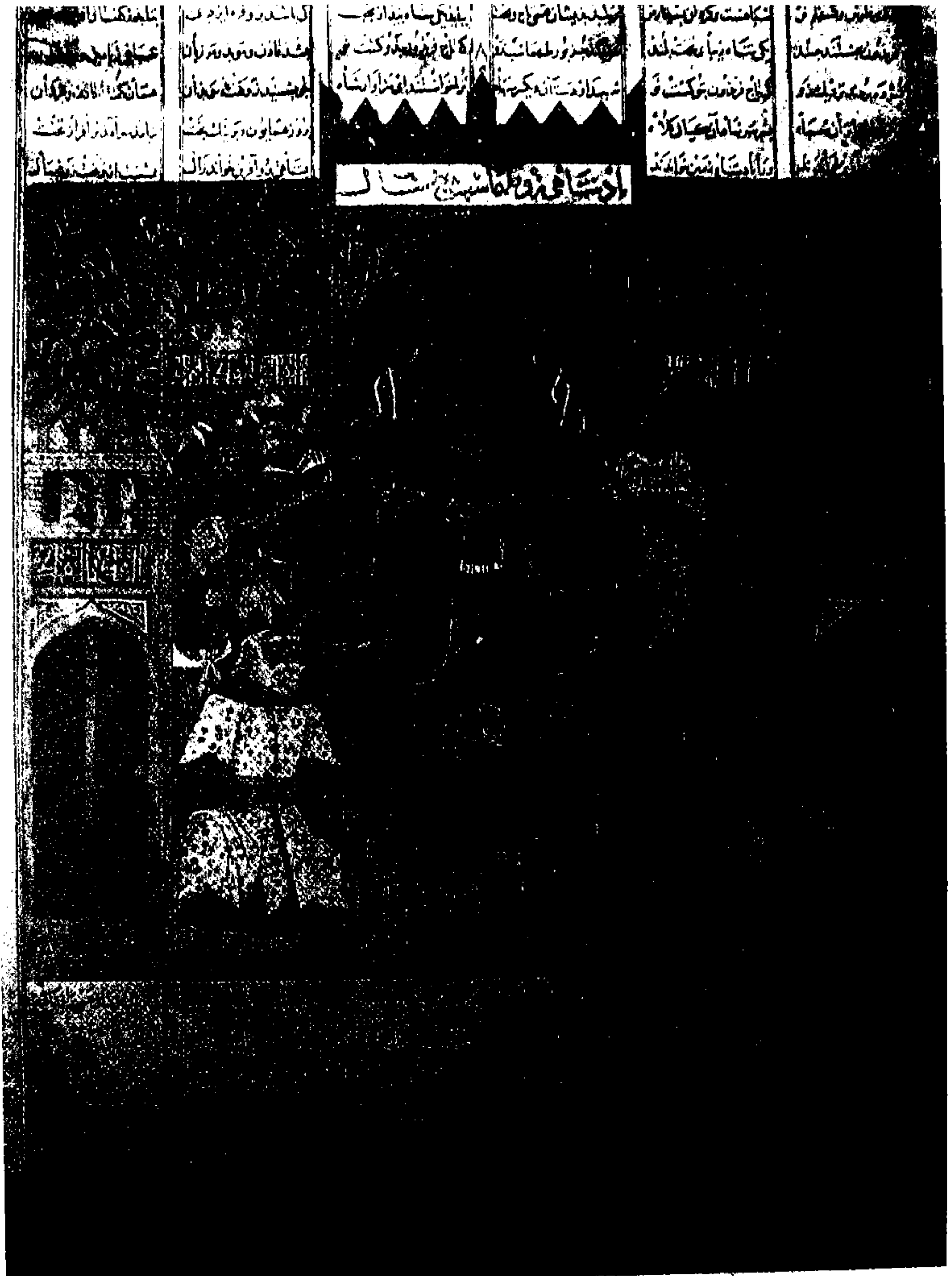
The arts and architecture flourished in the court and outside during this period. They had a paramount influence of Central Asian traditions. Every important city of the



Pl. 3 : The Quran in Kufic Script

Sultanate was embellished with imposing buildings, both religious as well as secular. It has been assumed that Bela, once an important city in Balochistan, possessed the burial place of the famous Arab general Muhammad bin Hārūn. He died in 92/711. Later on, perhaps during the Ghaznavid period with a domed tomb. This was evidently the first ever funerary memorial erected on the soil of Pakistan in the style of baked brick architecture. The *Quwwat al-Islam* at Dehli, the *Arhai din ka jhonpra* at Ajmer, the fortress-like mausoleum of Khalid Walid at Kabirwala specially its brick ornamented Mehrab, and the tomb of Sadan Shah (Sayyidina Shah) at Muzaffargarh, may be rated as the best manifestation of the building style of the period.

The court of Nasir u'd-Din Qubacha, though short-lived, was a rendezvous of numerous eminent scholars, literati, calligraphists, historians, poets and artists who had gathered there from far off lands of Central Asia like Khurasan, Ghur and Ghaznin, specially Muhammad `Aufi, author of *Lubab u'l-Albab*, Shams u'd-Din Sijzi, Minhaj-i-Siraj Juzjani, author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, who came to the court of Qubacha at the close of his reign in 624/1224. However, Qubacha received him with due honour and appointed him the principal of his *Madrasa-i-Firuziah* at Uchchh, and the Qazi of his son's army. His Prime Minister, Ain u'l-Mulk Husain al-Ash'ari, was also a patron of art and letters and his



Pl. 4 : Illustration from a Shahnama

court had best men of learning of that period. The earliest known history of Sindh commonly known as *Fath Nama* or *Chach Nama* was translated into Persian by Ali b. Hamid Kufi in 613/1216, during the reign of Qubacha, but was dedicated to 'Ain u'l-Mulk. Besides his *Madrassa-e-Firuzia* at Uchchh, Qubacha set up another college and a serai at Multan. He also issued coins in his name from Multan and Uchchh.

This was the time when the Mongols started devastating various cultural and political centers of Central Asia. They also uprooted Jalal u'd-Din Minkobarni, the last ruler of the Khwarizmi Sultanate, who entered the Salt Range for shelter. The Mongols followed him. Their visitations continued until the beginning of the fifteenth century almost annually, playing havoc to these areas. However, they could not settle here permanently due to the careful and strong resistance of the sultans of Dehli.

Multan and the neighbouring regions were the abode of the *Suhrawardiya Silsilah* organized by Shaikh u'l-Kabir Shaikh Baha u'd-Din Zakariya. The *Khanqah* established by him at Multan was a great centre of religious training, and was flocked by people from all parts of the then Islamic World. The period of the Shaikh's spiritual guidance has been called *Khair al-A'sar*. On his demise in 656/1264, his grand son Shaikh Sadr u'd-Din 'Arif succeeded to the Sajjada of *Suhrawardiya Silsilah* and thereafter his son Rukn-i-Alam, after his death in 709/1309. Like his illustrious grandfather, he was an eminent religious personage of his time, exerting influence and enjoying admiration and respect from the ruling Sultans to the men in the street. He died



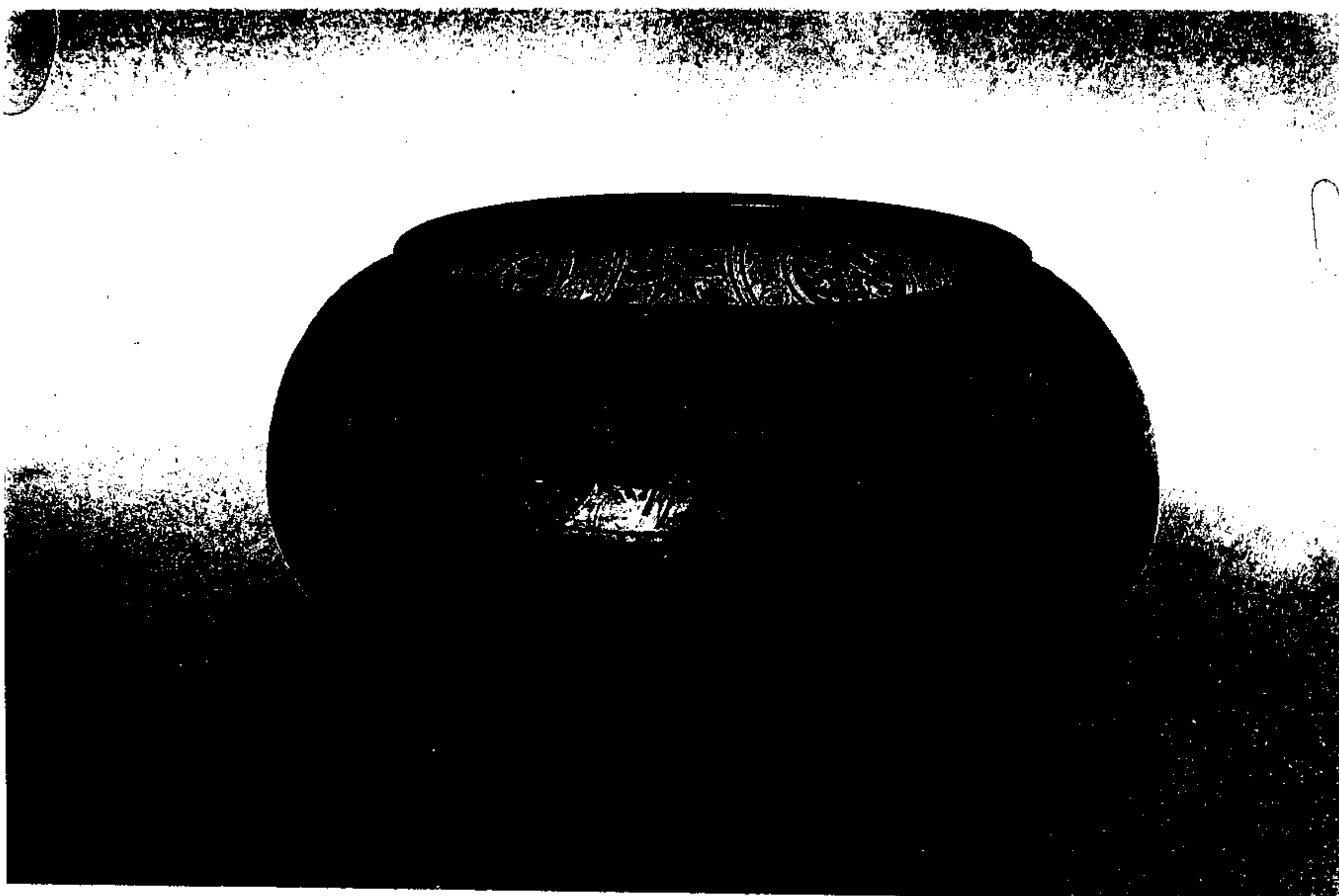
Pl. 5 :Two pages of Munajat-I-Abdullah Ansari transcribed in Nastaliq.

in 737/1334 and was eventually buried in a magnificent tomb built by himself during his life time.

The presence and influence of these spiritual luminaries resulted into creating an atmosphere of international brotherhood, where came and lived foreign travellers and immigrants. The local people with ambition and resources also paid frequent visits to the centres of piety and excellence in Western as well as Central Asia. It was, therefore, usual to find Sindhis and Multanis roaming about in Bukhara, Khurasan, Baghdad, Mecca and Medina, to seek knowledge or transact business, as it was equally a common scene to see the Tabrizis, Gilanis, Nishpuris, Samarqandis living in Multan, Uchchh, Depalpur, Sirhind, Dehli, etc. The language and literature of these foreign lands had, therefore, become a household treat for Multanis who followed and enjoyed poetical compositions and spiritual writings of Iraqi, Fazili, and others. The intellectual and literary accomplishment of the foreign lands reached Multan through the constant flow of travellers, traders or the poets and literates. Persian was the *lingua franca* of these lands, spoken as a mother-tongue or the language of the upper strata of the society. The *Malfuzat* literature also provides definite evidence of the usage and popularity of the language.

The affluent family of the *Suhrawardiya* saints had the refined taste and resources of creating magnificent edifices. The efforts were responsible for the dissemination of a hitherto little appreciated new style of architecture. The foundation laid by the Shaikh u'l-Kabir by erecting his own tomb was perfected and magnified by his grandson, Shaikh Rukn u'd-Din Rukn-i-Alam in the shape of his grand mausoleum. The majestic edifice was later on exclaimed as '*one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead*'. Since then the style remained pre-eminently favourite of the architects and patrons for more than four hundred years and many big and small funerary memorials were created in this style throughout the length and breadth of today's Pakistan.

The various Sultans of the so-called Dehli sultanate are very well known for the patronage of learning and the arts. There were excellent calligraphists, master artists, artisans, painters of murals available in various centers of the sultanate who were employed for creating works of art and architecture. The intellectual and literary activities were well recognized. Education was imparted for all levels and for all at the *Madrasas* and colleges established by not only the Sultans but also by philanthropist elite. For this purpose, contacts in foreign lands and with eminent scholars was an established practice. We hear of Maulana Shamas u'd-din Turk coming from Egypt with a camel load of books during the reign of Ala u'd-Din Khalji, while Muhammad Tughluq himself was an adept calligraphist and patron of art and learning. We are informed of the classical works like *Tuti Nama* which was composed by Zia u'd-Din Nakhshabi. The celebrated Amir Khusrau's contribution to poetry, music, history, and the arts is well known. He was the poet-laureate of the Sultanate under the Khaljis and the Tughluqs, and was the greatest poet of his times.



Pl. 6 : Painted glass vase of 13th century

There are copious references in contemporary as well as later literary and historical sources to indicate the numerous workshops (*Karkhanas*) which were established at all the main centers and cities of the Sultanate, where *objects de art* were manufactured — carpets and rugs, gold and silver utensils, illuminated manuscripts of classical works, banners and ensigns, tents and curtains, jewellery and other objects of daily use. We hear, for instance, that during Muhammad Tughluq's rule, a Chinese ambassadorial mission came to the capital of Dehli and brought enormous gifts from the emperor of China. The Tughluq emperor, in return, sent a good number of gifts containing brocades, embroidered clothes, golden utensils etc.

The Sultans set up libraries (*Kutub khanas*) at the capital and other important places of their influence. These libraries contained classical works of Persian and Arabic language. We are informed that such a library was established by the Lodis in the fort of Lahore which was disturbed and disbursed at the time of Babur's invasion, who picked up choicest books from the library and gave them away to his sons.

The Lodi Sultans showed due interest in miniature painting as well. A few illustrated copies of Persian classical works like *Khamsa* of Amir Khusrau, *Hamza Nama*, *Sikandar Nama*, *Kalila-wa-Damna*, *Laur Chanda*, *Khusrau Shirin*, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, *Bustan-i-Sadi*, *Nimat Nama*, *Miftah u'l-Fuzala*, etc are known to have existed. Some of



Pl. 7 : Thatta: The Shahjahan Mosque

them were illustrated by Persian painters at the courts of Deccan, Bengal, Mandu and Jaunpur.

The Aristocratic Manifestation of Moghul Art and Culture

The advent of the sixteenth century of the Christian Era witnessed the decline and fall of the Lodi Sultanate and the ushering of the Moghul Empire which was destined to last for well over three hundred years, and to play a decisively distinguished role in the development of a far more refined and sophisticated cultural life. It may, at the outset, be emphasized that the cultural pattern of the art and life since the very beginning of the Moghul suzerainty was deeply influenced by the artistic norms of Persians especially the Safavids, though the early Moghuls themselves hailed from Central Asian centers of culture. While the progenitor of the Empire introduced the Timurid cultural pattern by laying various recreational gardens, his son and successor Humayun deliberately brought Persian culture to be planted here through various men of art and letters, when he returned from Iran in 1555 to regain the throne. It is a very wellknown fact that among the retainers of Humayun who came to India with him, there were two Persian painters, Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdu'l-Samad. They played a decisive role in the development of Moghul painting and the art of calligraphy.

Akbar came to the throne in 1556 to rule the Moghul empire for well over fifty years (1556-1605). During this long period, the empire took its firm roots and witnessed the evolution and development of a refined cultural life - a blossoming and synthesis of local and foreign traditions, the Hindu on the one side and the Iranian or Persian on the other. Nevertheless, it had its own distinct and distinguished traits and personality. The architectural marvels created by the Moghul monarchs and their courtiers earned them a universal fame and appreciation. It has been exclaimed that 'the Moghuls built like Titans and decorated like jewellers. The style represented by their monumental buildings is, in fact, the blending of the Timurid and local Hindu-Jaina art-traditions which culminated during the days of Shahjahan (1627-1656) and perpetuated in the later periods. Kamran, son of Babur, who acted as the Viceroy in Lahore for well over ten years, initiated a new style of Moghul garden architecture in Pakistan by laying down a formal recreational garden at Lahore.

However, it was with the inauguration of Akbar's reign that the Moghul architecture took a real stride. Akbar created forts, fortifications, palaces, mosques and mausolea throughout his empire, unravelling his majestic and forceful personality. The fortifications of Lahore and Attock, the palaces within and the tombs and *ba'ulis* at many places of Pakistan are the extant examples of this period of architecture. The tradition was followed during the reign of his son and successor Jahangir, though his main interest was in miniature painting and calligraphy. The buildings created during his days followed the style and tradition of the previous regime. In effect, it was the transitional phase; the use of traditional trabeate system, use of red sand stone and decorative fresco and stucco facing, the best example of which could be noticed in his *Dalan-i-Sang-i-Surkh* palaces in the Imperial fort of Lahore, and in the *Farudgah-i-Shahan-i-Mughliya* gardens at Wah in Hasanabdal.

The inauguration of Shahjahan's reign in 1627 brought vigour, warmth and height of the Islamic architecture in the South Asian Subcontinent. It was indeed the climax of the imperial architecture under the Moghuls. In essence, it was the reign of marble, augmented and embellished with intarsia, inlay and *pietra-dura*. It was also the reign of fully developed and expensive arcuate style, represented in the shape of multifoiled double arches, while the brick architecture exploited the various possibilities of the geometry of brick-on-edge pavements, colourful fresco, faience and faience mosaics, glazed lime-plaster and marble looking stucco tracery. The perforated marble screens to screen the huge expanse of arched doors and windows to catch and control light, shade and the air were employed extensively. Leaving aside the flat profile of the roofs, the architect preferred the dome to crown his buildings, both secular as well as religious, to give them height, grandeur and perfect and peculiar personality. The outstanding palaces of the fort at Lahore, the Shalamar, the mausoleum of Emperor Jahangir, the Moti Masjid, all in Lahore; and the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta, to name only a few, are the gems of this period's architecture. Then Aurangzeb Alamgir's Badshahi Mosque and the Alamgiri gateway to the Lahore Fort are the sumptuous and impressive specimens of Moghul architecture in Pakistan.

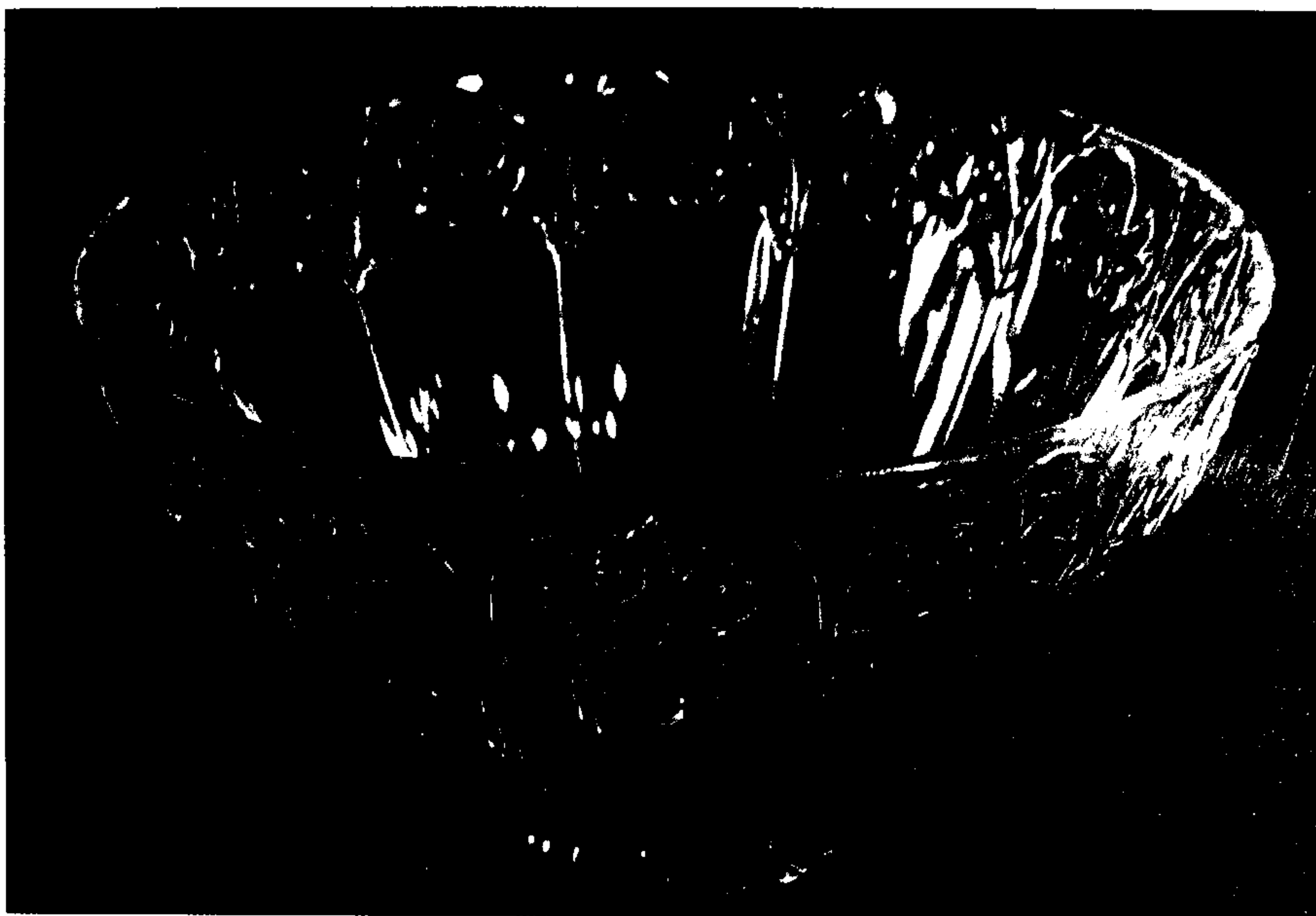
The society under the Moghul aristocracy displayed the height of intellectual attainments and cultural and literary achievement. Almost all the Moghul sovereigns, the princes and princesses, the inmates of the *Harem*, the nobles of the courts and the elite were highly educated and were patrons of learning and the arts. Indeed, they themselves were celebrated writers, poets, calligraphists, and eminent scholars. Babur's mother tongue was Turki though he also mastered Persian language and literature. He wrote his *Tuzuk* in Turkish which has been estimated as the first autobiography having artistic and high literary merit. He was also a poet, a scholar and author of several treatises on Sufism and Persian prosody and invented a curious script in which he transcribed the text of the Qur'an, a manuscript copy of which is now preserved in the *Kitabkhana-e-Astan-i-Quds* at Mashhad in Iran. A number of religious luminaries, poets and scholars were attached to his court. His son and successor Humayun too was a learned personage of his times. His deep and all abiding interest in astronomy is well known though he was also a distinguished poet.

However, his passion was mathematics and astronomy, and the serious studies of the subject had made him a renowned scholar. A number of scholars were gathered around him and had produced works on the subjects for him. One of these works was *Qanun-i-Humayuni* in which the emperor's contributions and findings were discussed. The treatise was compiled by the renowned scholar Khwand Amir. Yet another work on the same subject was *Jawahir u'l-Ulum* of Muhammad bin Ali bin Muhammad Samarqandi. He himself had invented an astrolab which was named *Asturlab-i-Humayuni*. He wanted to set up an observatory and, for it, had collected objects and apparatuses. However, his sudden and accidental death did not give him time to fulfil his desire.

Akbar's court had men of letters like Abd u'l-Rahim Khan Khanan, Abu'l Fazl, Faizi, Abdu'l-Qadir Bada'uni, Nizam u'd-Din Ahmad, Fath u'llah Shirazi, 'Urfi Shirazi, Naziri Nishapuri, Zahuri Turshezi, etc. This was the time of great literary activities within the court and outside it. Abu'l Fazl's *Akbar Nama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* are known and recognized as a unique compendium of the socio-cultural and religio-political history of the age. Akbar's interest in Sanskrit classical works resulted into the Persian translation of *Ramayana* and *Mahabharatha*, *Sangasan Battisi* etc.

Jahangir's *Tuzuk* has been regarded as a sumptuous specimen of simple, forceful and spontaneous expression of his thought, experience and observations. As tradition would go, his court too had a number of literary personages, poets, theologians who contributed significantly to the spread and dissemination of literary, intellectual and religious attainments. Among the most prominent poets were, Talib Amuli, Naziri Nishapuri, 'Urfi Shirazi, while among the renowned Ulamas were, Mulla Sadan Jahan, Shukrullah Shirazi, Taqiyya-e-Shirazi. The emperor was very much impressed and influenced by the teachings of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani).

The tradition of the patronage to literary activities continued during the reign of Shahjahan. Renowned poets, historians, literati, both from within as well as from foreign lands, specially from Iran, continued flocking to the Moghul court. While Qudsi and then



Pl. 8 : Crystal cup for the Emperor Jahangir.

Abu Talib Kalim were the poet laureates, Zafar Khan Ahsan, Sa'ib, Tahir Ashna, Mir Sa'idi, Chandar Bhan Brahman had prominent positions in the court. Mullah Abd u'l-Hamid Lahauri, Jalala Tabatabai and many others were writing historical account of the period. Among the religious luminaries one was Mullah Abd u'l Hakim Sialkoti, who, with liberal patronage of the Emperor, remained busy in imparting religious education at Sialkot. The other Ulama of the period were Mullah Muhammad Faiz, Qazi Muhammad Aslam, Mullah Mirak, Mullah Shah Badakhshi, Mian Mir, Shaikh Abd u'l-Haq Dehlavi, Mullah Abd u's-Salam Lahauri, and Shaikh Abu'l-Ma'ali. A detailed account of these religious luminaries is cited in *Badshah Nama* of Lahauri.

With the accession of Mohy u'd-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb to the Moghul throne in 1656, an entirely new set up and a completely different atmosphere was introduced in the court and throughout the empire. In the field of arts and letters, religion and sufism, the age was extraordinary celebrated.

Apart from socio-political and military activities, the period is rightly remembered for two basic achievements; the *Fatawa-e-Alamgiri* and the *Ruqqa'at-i-Alamgiri*. Both are of sterling importance indeed. While the preparation and compilation of the former spread over half of his long reign, the practice of his letter writing continued throughout his life.



Pl. 9 : Painting showing the Moghul princes riding on horses

Fatawa-e-Alamgiri is a grand and unique compendium consisting of six volumes, each volume spreading over five hundred pages (according to the edition printed in Egypt). The emperor had appointed a board of eminent Ulama and theologians for this purpose and all the source material which was available in the Imperial library was placed at its disposal. It is now difficult to give the account of the sources utilized for the compilation, equally it is not easy to name all the scholars who participated in this gigantic work. The board worked under the able guidance of Shaikh Nizam Burhanpuri, and nearly fifty eminent Ulama worked on the project.

Likewise, the *belles-letters* which the emperor wrote frequently to his sons, relations, courtiers, noblemen and others are remarkable specimens of Persian literature. It has generally been argued that the so-called orthodox Aurangzeb had no taste and liking for the fine arts including poetry. The historians like Jadu Nath Sirkar, have rebuked him for this attitude, but they have not studied impartially the contents of his letters which are augmented with quotations of verses of the *Qur'an*, *Hadiths*, Arabic and Persian literature including verses from the earlier as well as contemporary poets and prove that the writer had a real command on the traditional Arabic and Persian literature.

It has been said generally but superficially that the later Moghul emperors, the princes, princesses and the court nobles who held the scepter of power, somehow or the other for well over a century after the demise of Aurangzeb, remained engrossed with court intrigues which often led to military conflicts and blood-shed among the contenders of the throne, had little time and urge to pay attention to the refined way of life, the arts and letters. However, it is only partially true, as we find several of these princes, spending the time and leisure in such fine pursuits. Shah Alam Bahadur Shah was, undoubtedly, not as capable as his father and grandfather to run the affairs of the government. He followed the steps of his father in the study, propagation and patronage of these pursuits. He himself was a *Hafiz* of the *Qur'an* and had learnt various modes of its recitation. He was recognized as an authority on *Fiqha* and *Hadith*; a poet of distinction and an adept and renowned calligraphist. His court, though not pompous and grand as of the previous reigns, had many poets, historians and men of letters, like Abdu'l Qadir Bedil, Ne'mat Khan-e-Ali, Iradat Khan Waze', Qazilbash Khan Ummid, Bundraban Das. The later Jag Jiwan Das wrote the history of the reign of Shah Alam and named it *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. The other book named *Lubbu't-Tawarikh* was written by Binrabin Das, while Kam Raj wrote *A'zam u'l-Harb* which described the war of succession between the sons of Aurangzeb and a brief account of the short reign of Muhammad A'zam. The uneventful rule of the other later Moghul princes like Farrukh Siyar, Muhammad Shah, Shah Alam and the last Bahadur Shah Zafar, added nothing to the cultural history of the period except that religious studies especially the study of the *Qur'an*, *Hadis* and *Fiqha* was undertaken, while, simultaneously, the poetry particularly Urdu poetry became the order of the day. The last Moghul king Bahadur Shah was a distinguished and renowned poet, who composed poetry mainly in Urdu.

Many reasons, causes and consequences, are cited for the decline and fall of the Moghul empire. However, out of these the main cause was that the later Moghuls did not

possess righteousness, farsightedness and acumen of their forefathers; they were weak, pleasure loving, easy going and were the prey in the hand of their selfish and callous nobles who fought among themselves to gain power and influence. This resulted into chaos and rebellion from within and from without: the Sikhs from north, the Mahrattas from the South, the British from the east and the Portuguese, the French, the Spanish from west. They all played their role for the decline and fall of the Moghul empire and thereafter, of Mysore, Multan and others. With the disappearance of these political powers, the Islamic values of art and culture also eclipsed and their place was eventually taken by more dynamic western way of life.

3

BHAMBORE

A PROBABLE SITE OF DEYBUL

About 40 miles north-east of Karachi on the highway to Hyderabad at the mouth of Gharo Creek of the Arabian Sea, is situated a high mound which represents the remains of an ancient city. The area around the mound possesses a small village called Bhambore or Bhanbhore - the place associated with the famous romance of Sassui and Panhu described in local folklore.

The origin of this city is not definitely established, but it has been revealed by the archaeological researches that during the early centuries of the Christian era, it was inhabited by people who had some connections with the foreign tribes of Scythian stock. It is presumed that the city was under the sway of the Scythians. This discovery was of the utmost significance, as it was proved for the first time that these foreign tribes also ruled over the southern parts of Pakistan. Later, however, the place was inhabited by the Buddhists and the Hindus, who constructed here many important buildings. The remains of a temple uncovered here prove the existence of the Hindu populace.

At the advent of Islam in the early decades of the 8th century A.D., it was a fortress ruled by a Hindu Rajah, while the populace consisted mainly of Buddhists. After the Arab conquest, Muslims built mosques and other residential buildings and, in the later days, encircled the city with a fortification wall. This massive structure enhanced the importance of the place. The fortification wall was perhaps erected during the Abbasid period.

THE IDENTIFICATION

Some historians have suggested that the place can be identified with the famous city-port of Deybul, which was invaded by the young Arab General Muhammad ibn Qasim in 712 A.D. It was the first important port in Sindh which fell to the Muslim army and has therefore been described by almost every contemporary and later chronicler and historian. An Arab geographer, Ibn Hauqal (d. 977 A.D.), writes that the city of Deybul was situated to the west of Mehran towards the sea, while the Arab geographer al-Idrisi (d. 1166 A.D.) measures it six manzils from the mouth of the sea. Similarly, Istakhri (flourished about 950 A.D.) places it on the west of the mouth of the Indus, while ibn

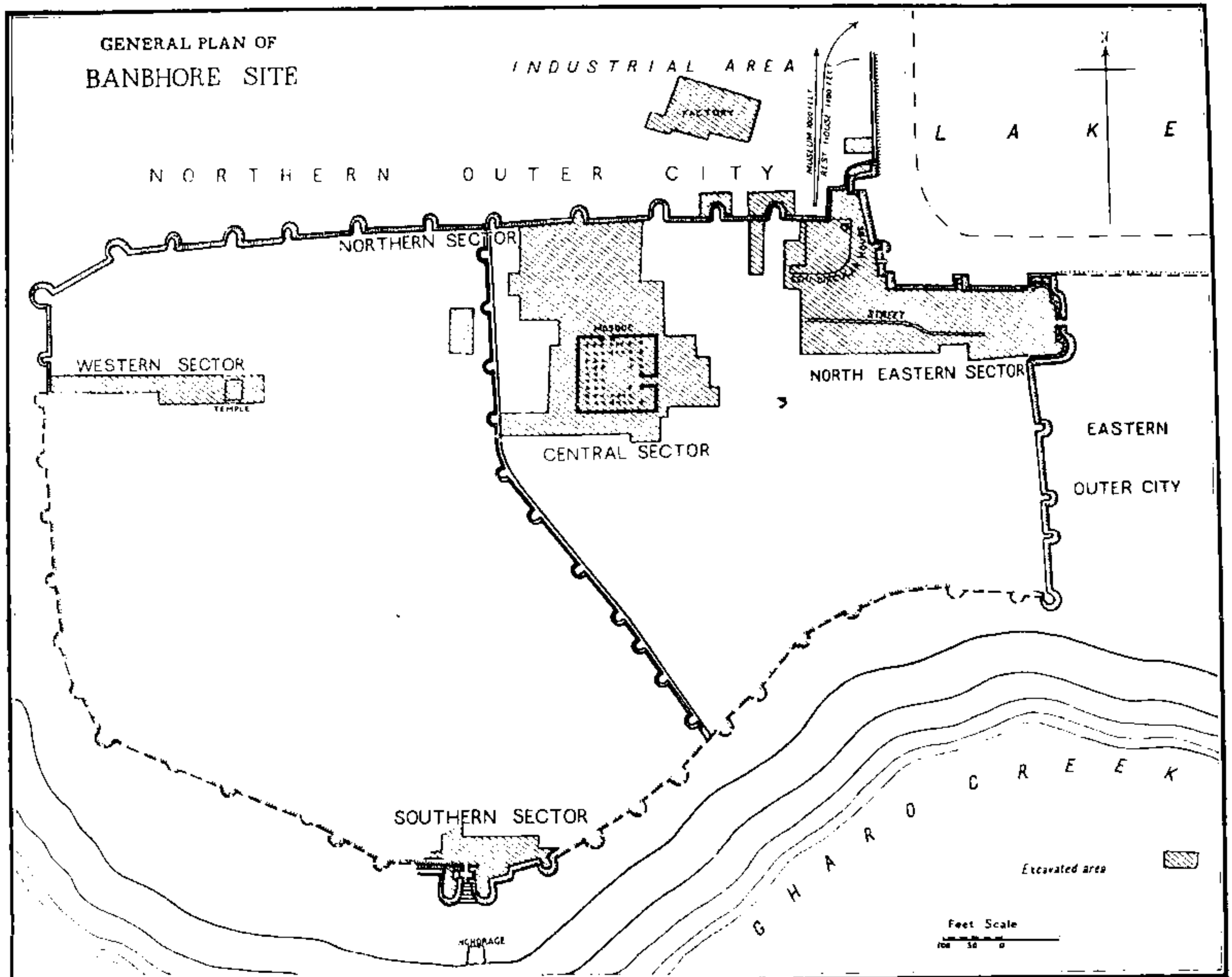


Fig. 1 : Bhanbore (Deybul) : General plan of the site

Battutah (d. 1377 A.D.) locates it near Lohari Bunder upon the sea. Among the modern historians Cunningham assumes that Deybul occupied a site between Karachi and Thatta, while Major Haige and Raverly place it on the bank of the Kairi Begar, 20 miles south-west of Thatta. Similarly, H.M. Elliot says that the rock of Manora should be treated as a possible site of this port.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS

These and similar other surmises do not, however, lead to the exact location of the celebrated city port of Deybul. When history and tradition failed to solve the problem, archaeology came forward and, in 1930, a promising archaeologist, M. Wheeler investigated the remains at Bhambore. His investigation at the site could not, however, yield much to decide the point. The trial trenches yielded material of the Muslim period, and on the basis of this, he concluded that the settlement was of the Muslim period. Similarly, another archaeologist, Henry Cousen, collected pieces of glazed pottery and stray coins of the Muslim period, and declared that the site could not represent Deybul as it was of Muslim origin (Fig. 1).

On the establishment of Pakistan, the matter was taken up rather seriously, and the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan planned a thorough probe into the problem. A scheme of extensive excavation was prepared and the work was started in 1951. The first season's work proved that the town which flourished at Bhambore was of Arab origin, but nothing was found to identify it with Deybul. In 1958 the Department again embarked upon the task. Since that year, work has been carried out almost continuously for more than a decade, and during these years of patient labour, important discoveries have been made. A wealth of material has been collected revealing the culture of the bygone people. The discoveries have proved that the remains covered not only the Muslim period but also of the pre-Muslim era, going as far back as the early centuries of the Christian era. Complexes of remains of imposing buildings like the fortification wall, the great mosque, the temple and a number of other public edifices have been uncovered. A brief account of these buildings and other cultural remains is given here.

Excavations at Bhambore have revealed that the city was divided into two parts: the fortified citadel on a comparatively higher level, and the open lower city. The buildings in the citadel were used by the ruling and well-to-do class of the population, while the artisans and workmen occupied the lower city. The citadel possessed impressive buildings; there were spacious houses, mosques, temples, etc., built from time to time. In the lower city area were located bazaars and factories and residential quarters. The buildings were mostly constructed with semi-dressed or undressed blocks of sandstone. Sometimes the interior of the walls was plastered with mud mixed with lime and white washed. Although no roof could be found intact during the excavations, it has been proved by fallen material that they were made of wooden beams and covered with burnt clay tiles. The most important buildings uncovered here during the excavations were the remains of a massive fortification wall, the great mosque, the temple and other

residential buildings.

FORTIFICATION WALL

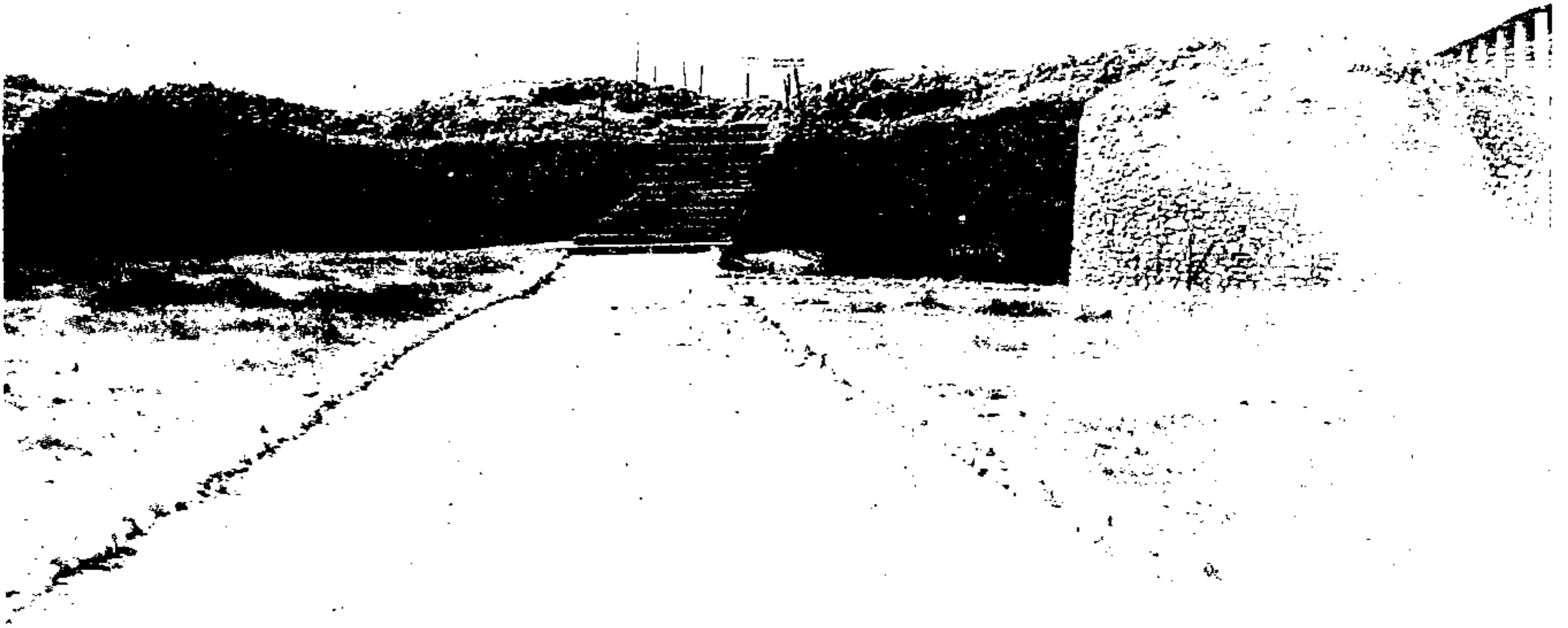
The citadel was once surrounded by a fortification wall built with large blocks of semi-dressed or undressed stones. The antiquity of this wall goes back to the early centuries of the Islamic era. Though in dilapidated condition now, it still reveals its impressive features. The excavations of this structure have revealed that the wall has been extensively repaired and modified at least four times in its existence. The earliest structure undoubtedly suggested a period of consolidation and prosperity, while the latest modification in it, some time during the latter part of the 10th century A.D., indicated that the wall had lost its defensive character. It was less massive and less solid, and at places was pierced through by narrow lanes.

The wall had three gateways and several bastions. The eastern gateway led to the lake lying beneath the wall. A flight of exceptionally broad steps went down to the lake. The other two gates were at the north-eastern and southern points. These gates also possessed staircases of very finely-worked blocks of stone. The southern gate was approached through the creek. Once it was an imposing structure with two semi-circular bastions on each side (Pl. 8).

But the most impressive feature of the fortification wall were the semicircular bastions built at intervals. The solidity of these bastions gave it the grandeur as well as strength. These bastions were constructed with dressed or undressed blocks of stone (Pl. 9).

THE MOSQUE

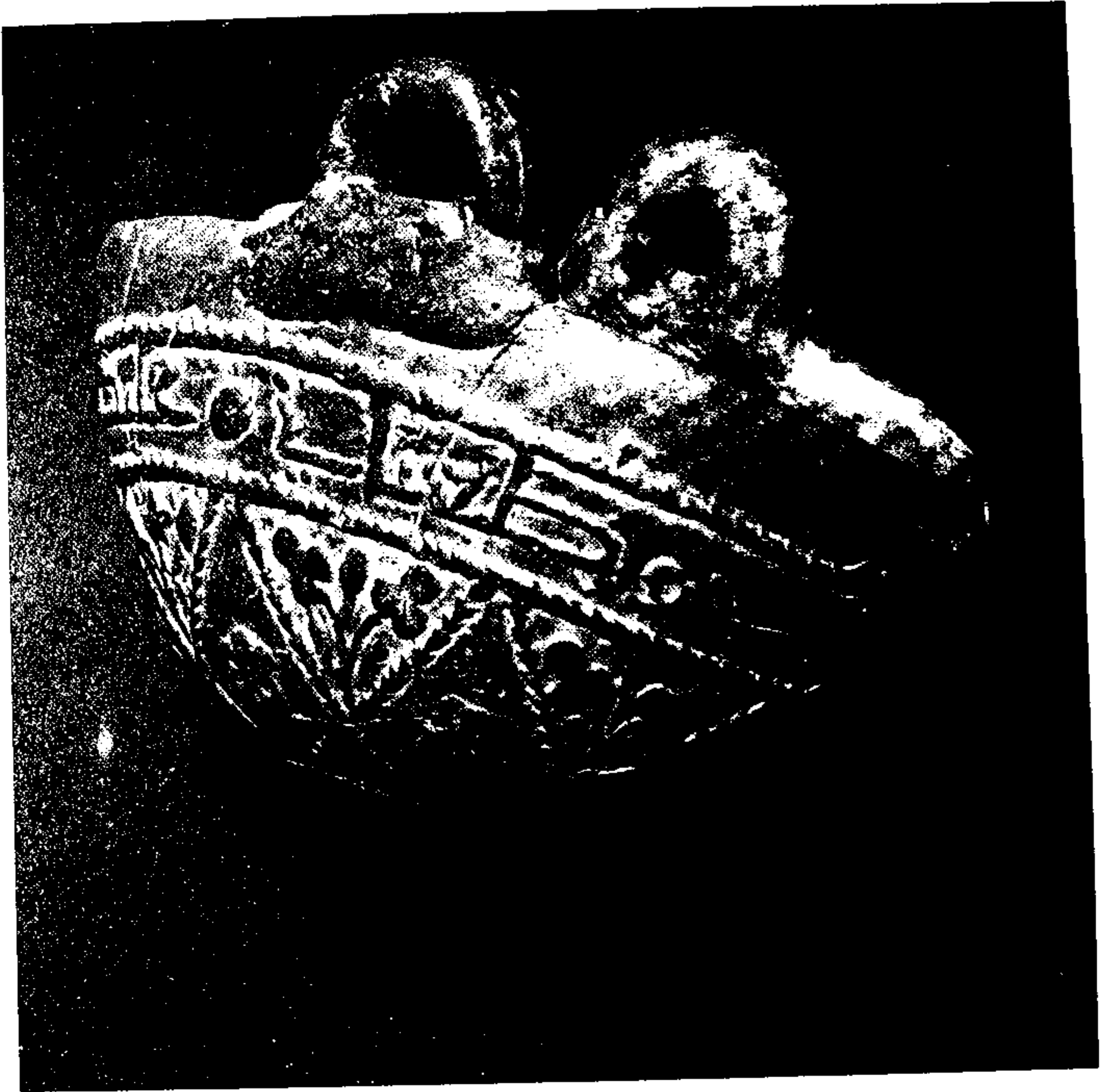
One of the main features of the Muslim towns and cities all over the world, whether they were constructed by Muslims anew or were occupied by them, has been the existence of a great mosque. In the Subcontinent, it is said that the first mosque was constructed by Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim after the conquest of Deybul. Nothing is now known precisely about the location of this mosque, but we have been fortunate in uncovering the remains of another great mosque which was built as early as the first decade of the 2nd century A.H. (8th century A.D.). Within a stone boundary wall, the mosque was erected on a square plan right in the center of the citadel. There were corridors and cloisters on the three sides of the courtyard and on the western side was the spacious prayer chamber. The mosque had two entrance gates on its eastern and northern sides. The gate on the eastern side was used as the main entrance. The facade of these gates were decorated with inscribed stones. A number of such beautifully inscribed stones were found lying in the ruins of the mosque and give the date of its



Pl. 10 : Bhanbore (Deybul): Fortification wall with bastions



Pl. 11 : Bhanbore (Deybul): North eastern gateway of the Fortification.



Pl. 12 : A handled cup of white paste from Bhanbore

construction and some unidentifiable names. Among the inscriptions discovered from the ruins of the mosque, the earliest is dated 109/727 (Pl. 10). It was lying near the prayer chamber. The date, it might be emphasised, is very near to the conquest of Deybul.

The courtyard had a floor of burnt bricks and the roof had the support of wooden pillars with stone bases. Some of these bases possess decorative carvings of mutilated human figures, lotus flowers, etc., clearly showing the non-Muslim influence. It is quite possible that they were brought over from the remains of some buildings of the pre-Muslim period and were re-used here (Fig 11).

A close study of the remains of this ancient mosque reveals that it was constructed on almost the same pattern as was in vogue in other Islamic countries during that period. It had the features similar to those of ancient mosques at Kufa or Wasit (Iraq). Accordingly, no formal Mehrab in the shape of an arched niche in the centre of the western wall was found, as during this period no such element was introduced. The other inscription recording the extension and renovation of the mosque dates 294/906, by Amir Muhammad b. Abdullah, whose identity is not traceable now. It has been calligraphed and carved in exquisite floriated Kufic characters; and is thus a rare masterpiece of Islamic epigraphy. It looks that a proficient calligraphist and a stone carver was commissioned from some Arab cultural centres to undertake the assignment. (Pl. 11)

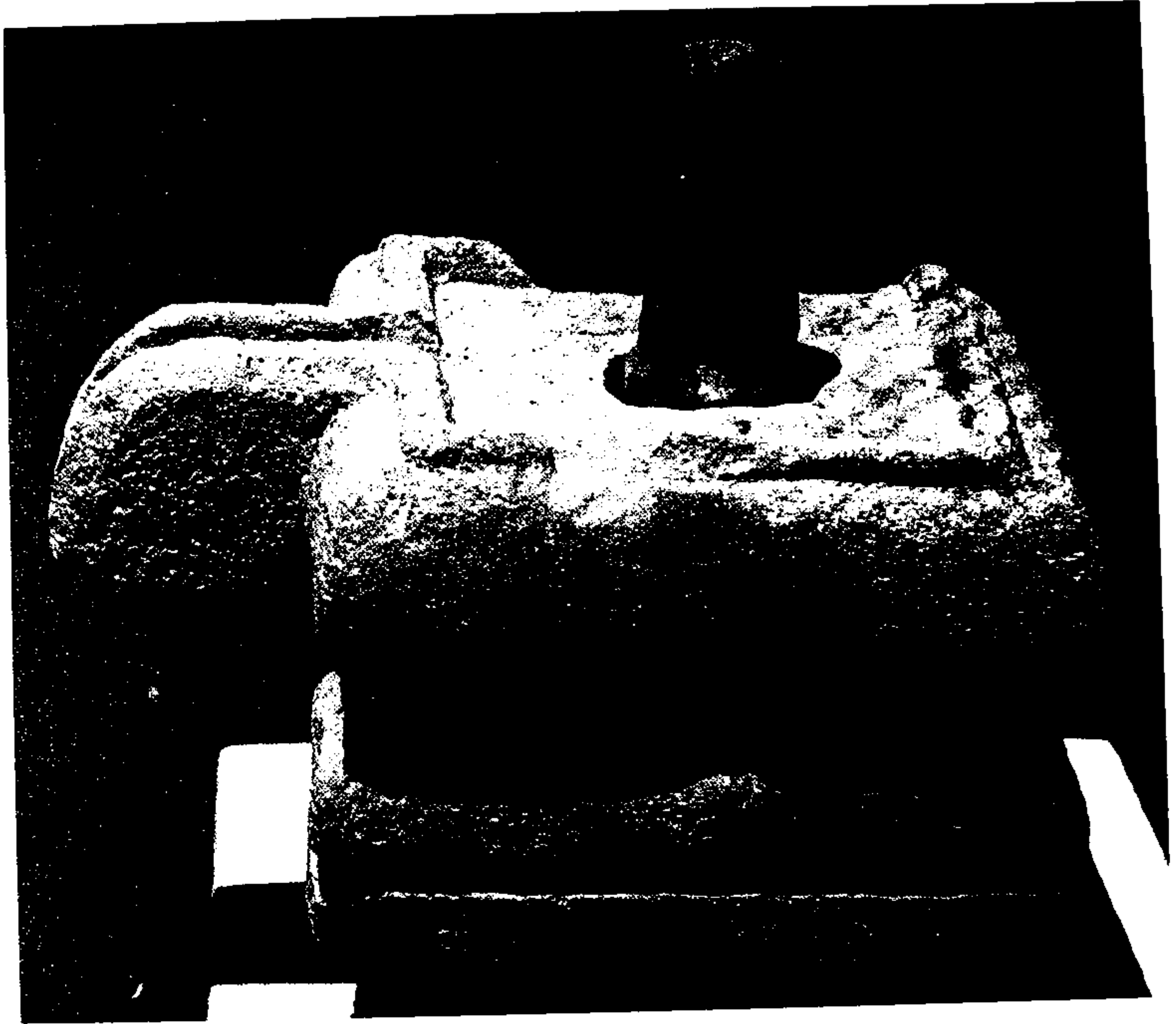
THE MAKTAB AND THE SERAI

Facing the northern gate of the mosque is the building of the Maktab (college), a necessary adjunct to the mosque. It had several corridors and rooms, which were once used as class rooms or a dormitory. Similarly, on the eastern side of the mosque was another big building, a sarai (caravanserai) for travellers. These two buildings complete the complex of religious and social establishments of the Bhambore of the early Muslim period.

A study of all these structural remains reveals that the city of the Muslim period was well-planned. The houses were divided into blocks. There were well-laid streets and lanes. The surfaces of the houses were mostly plastered with lime and then white-washed.

THE POTTERY AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES

From the ruins of these buildings have been collected a number of household objects left over by the Bhambore people. There are a variety of utensils made of burnt clay with painted, glazed, stamped or incised designs on their surfaces. During the early Muslim period, Bhamborians used a thin white paste Syrian type of pottery, decorated with floral and geometric patterns. Some of the pieces of this type of pottery have Kufic or pseudo Kufic inscriptions in relief. It is believed that this pottery was imported from Syria during the Umayyad period (7th and 8th centuries A.D.).



Pl. 13 : Siva-Lingum from Bhanbore

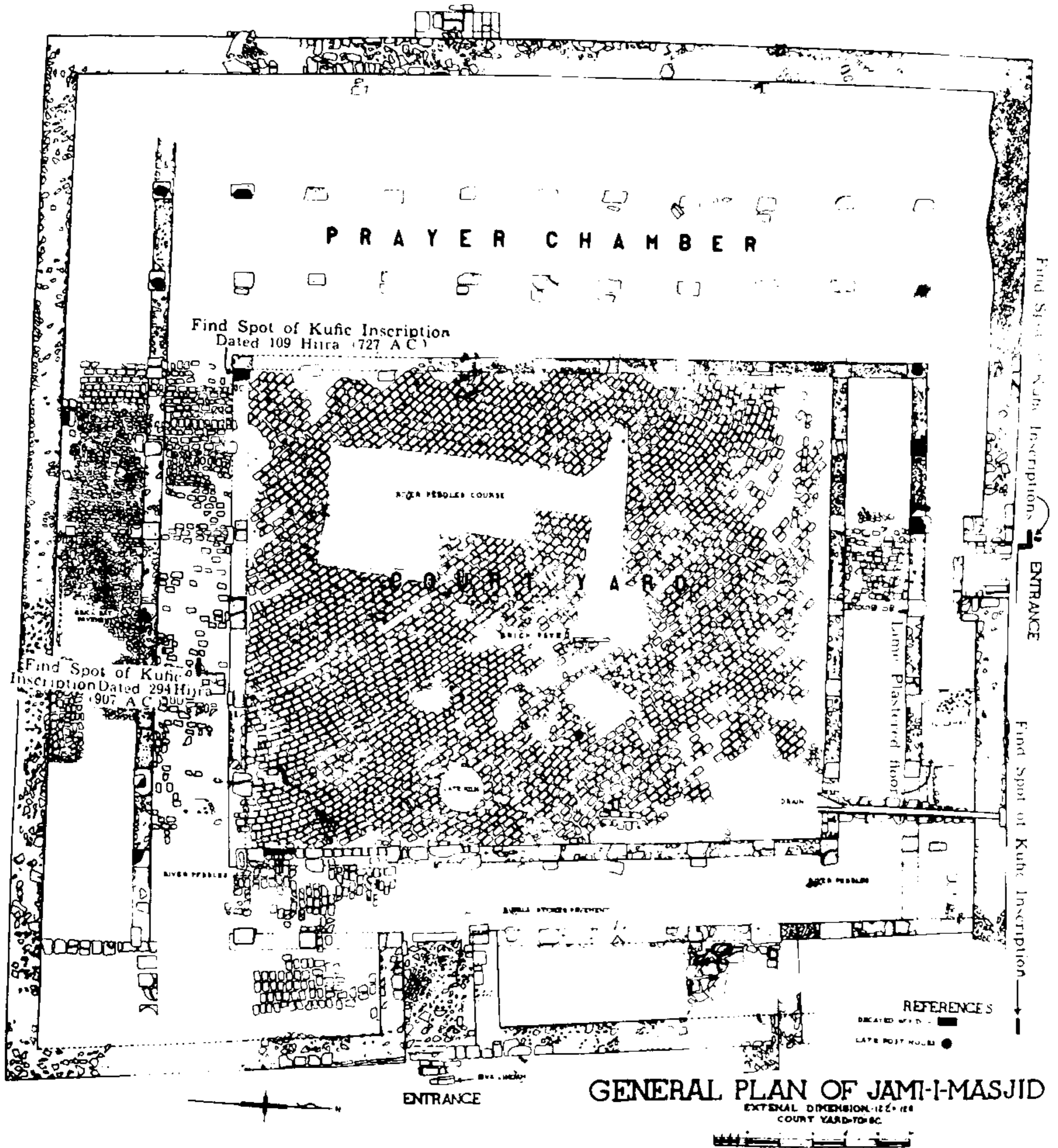


Fig. II : Bhanbore (Deybul) : The Jame Mosque - General Plan.

A beautiful specimen of this type of pottery discovered from Bhanbore was a small handled cup with floral decoration and a couplet in Arabic inscribed on its surface. (Pl. 14) A large number of broken glazed pots, especially large thick-bodied jars with deep green or blue glaze and foliated decoration, has been found here. This material seems to have been imported from Iran or adjacent countries. Similarly, Chinese stonework, porcelain and celadon have also been discovered.

Among other objects, the most important are the coins of various denominations. These coins provide a definite basis for the chronology of Bhambore. Unfortunately, most of these coins are mutilated and corroded considerably, leaving the inscriptions undecipherable. Among the decipherable coins, however, the most important is the gold coin of the Abbasid caliph Wasiq Billah (842-847 A.D.). It was minted in Egypt in 844 A.D. A small number of the decipherable coins are mostly of the Baghdad caliphs or their local governors. The copper coins are much corroded and mutilated. They were perhaps minted at Bhambore, as thousands of terra-cotta moulds for striking these coins have been found there.

Iron objects include mostly nails, hinges, rings, hooks, arrow heads, knives and sword hilts. The glass objects are mostly broken and decayed. Except for a small number of complete or incomplete scent bottles, candle-stands, vases and bottles, nothing was found intact. It is believed that most of the stuff was manufactured at Bhambore, but a few decorated pieces reflect the early Syrian influence. Work on ivory and bone has also been found in the shape of handles, rings, bangles and other ornaments. Bead and pendants of precious or semi-precious stone have also been found in large numbers. The beads show the exquisite workmanship of the lathe workers of Bhambore.

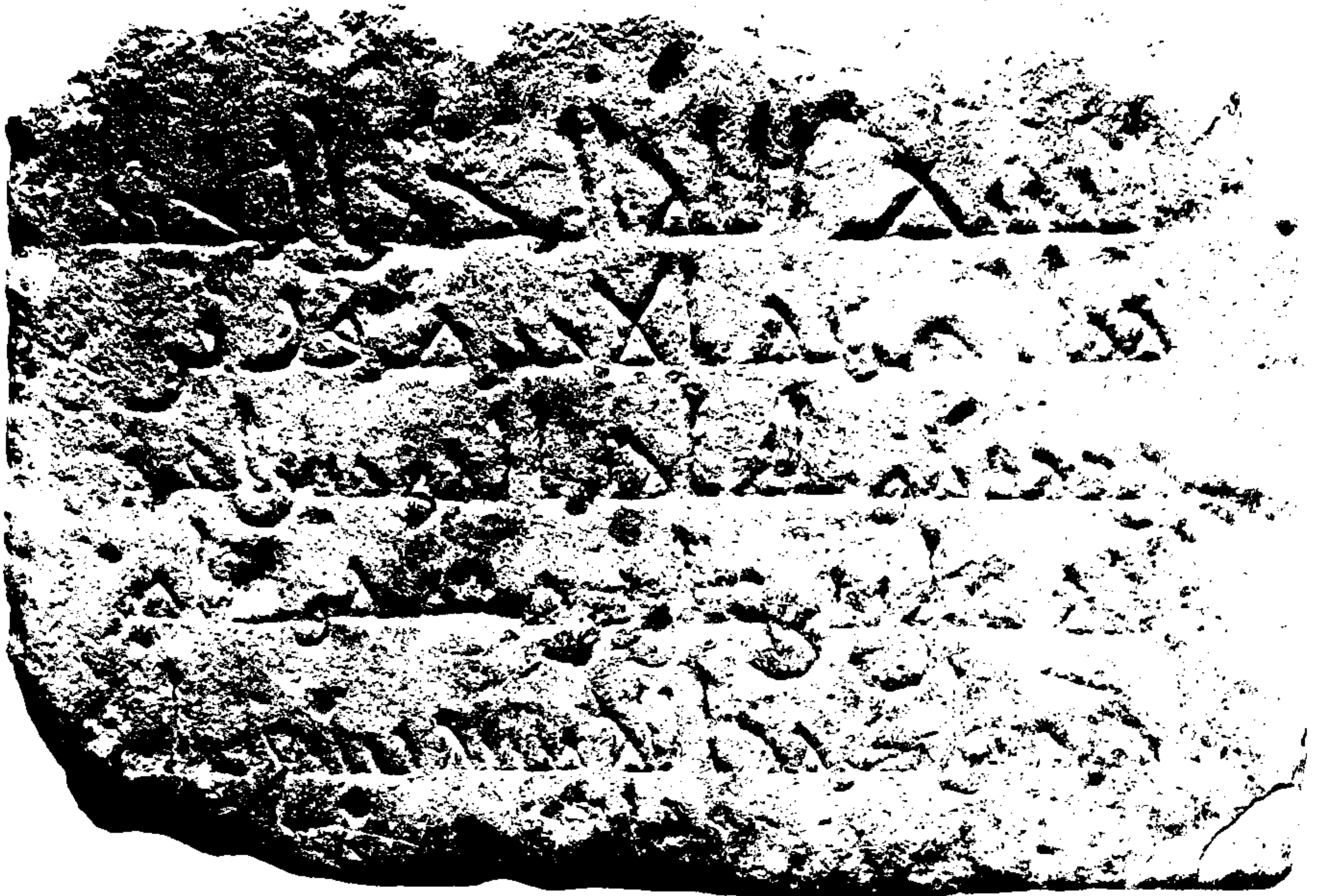
THE CHRONOLOGY: ORIGIN OF THE SETTLEMENT

The city of Bhambore, as stated earlier, was undoubtedly of pre-Muslim origin. During the days of Hindu-Buddhist supremacy, the people erected buildings for their own use. The remains of these buildings have now gone underneath the structures of the Muslim period, and we are not in a position to know the exact position and layout of the city during that period. Deep digging at various points, however, has uncovered some parts of the houses and other cultural and religious establishments, which give a glimpse of the culture Bhambore enjoyed during that ancient period. One of the most important buildings of this period uncovered so far was the Temple of Siva. It was constructed in the Western part of the citadel with mud-bricks. The remains of this important building have been found in a very dilapidated condition. A large pedestal in the center of the temple was erected, on which was perhaps placed the deity. Near the pedestal were found lying two small-sized Siva lingams. This is the clear evidence of Siva worship in Bhambore prior to the arrival of the Muslims (Pl. 12).

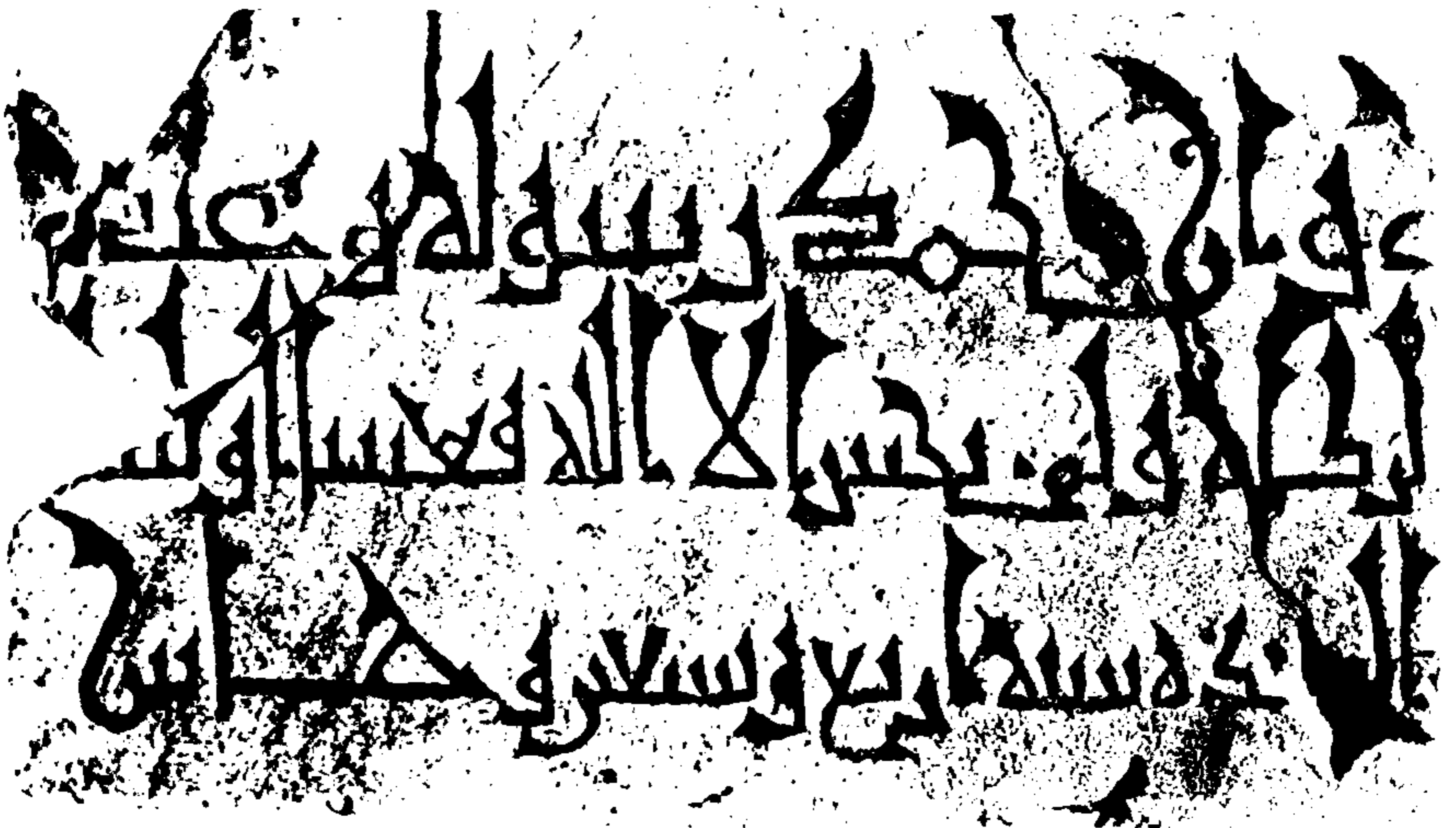
From the levels occupied by the Hindus and the Buddhists, a great variety of objects has been uncovered. Among these, household pottery is significantly abundant.

CONCLUSION

According to archaeological evidence, Bhambore flourished for more than 1300 years. During its heyday it witnessed the attacks and counter-attacks of many a foreign invader. Some of these settled down here and added to its glory with their social, political, cultural and religious activities. Round about the 13th century A.D. the city came



Pl. 14 : Kufic inscription from Bhanbore dated 109 / 727



Pl. 15 : Kufic inscription from Bhanbore dated 294 / 906



Pl. 16 : A selection of painted pottery of pre-Muslim period from Bhanbore (Deybul).

to an end. In the different parts of the citadel, excavations have uncovered a number of human skeletons lying in a disorderly manner. Some of these have traces of arrow heads embedded in their skeletons. The floor on which they lie was covered with ashes and charcoal, suggesting a violent and sudden end to the city, which was, during successive years, abandoned by its inhabitants. Houses were then levelled, streets were filled with rubbish, and gradually the area turned into high and low mounds.

AL - MANSURAH

A FORGOTTEN ARAB METROPOLIS IN PAKISTAN

About eight miles to the south-east of Shahdadpur town in the district of Sanghar in Sindh, along the old bed of the Indus and in the immediate vicinity of the left bank of the Jamrao canal, are situated some low and high mounds of different dimensions and names. They represent the Arab metropolis of the lower Sindh named Al-Mansurah.

On the exit of Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim from Sindh, the Arab possessions fell prey to rebellions, and the petty chieftains found a good opportunity to re-establish themselves in their lost territories. It looked as if the Arab rule would not last long, specially because conditions at home were also deteriorating slowly but steadily, and the reigning caliphs were too busy to pay attention to the effective control over the far-off lands of the caliphate. When Hakam Ibn Awanah al-Kalbi came to take over as governor of Sindh, he found the Arabs scattered and there was no place of safety for them. Hakam then assembled all the forces and founded a cantonment on the eastern side of river Sindh and named it al-Mahfuzah. A little later, his deputy and son of the celebrated Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim, `Amr Ibn Muhammad Saqafi founded yet another town on the western bank of river, opposite the newly founded al-Mahfuza, and named it al-Mansurah. The date of the event has not been recorded, but the circumstantial evidence leads to the conclusion that the city might have been founded by about 115/734.

The town so founded was destined to serve as the metropolis of the Arab rule specially of the Habbari ruling family, called Banu Habbar by the Arab historians after Habbar Ibn al-Asad of the Banu Asad tribe. The founder of the dynasty was `Umar Ibn `Abd al-Aziz who was confirmed as an independent ruler of Sindh by the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil.

Umar Ibn Abd al-`Aziz and, after him, several others of his family ruled the territories of al-Mansurah with pomp and show, for a considerably long time as the most influential power in lower Sindh until the last ruler of the dynasty, Khafif was defeated and ousted by Mahmud of Ghaznin on the usual pretext that he had become an Isma`ili. Contemporary as well as later sources provide details of the administrative and other aspects of the Habbari rule at al-Mansurah. Unfortunately, these authorities give very little information on their building activities although it is clear that the city of al-Mansurah acquired metropolitan importance during this period.

The city, round on plan, was situated within a circle of a branch of the Mehran. It had grand mosques, bazars, houses, maktabas, sarais and all other standard

paraphernalia of a modern city of those days, all fortified with a defence wall. It appears that the city of al-Mansurah fell into oblivion with the fall of the Habbari dynasty. Nature as well as man's own neglect caused its destruction. First, the benevolent Mehran changed its course, compelling the population to move on. Then an earthquake completed the process, while incessant attacks either by jats and Meds or the Sumra overlords brought an end to the city. The ruins gradually took the shape of dust laden mounds, occasionally revealing the past glory in the shape of fine structures, gold coins, treasures and other valuables. The remains of this ruined and forgotten city now cover an area of 9000 feet by 4500 feet and rise to a maximum height of 35 ft. above the surrounding ground. Another mound, smaller in size, is situated to the south-east. Both the mounds are connected by an earth embankment, 150 ft. wide, on the northern side, where the river bed is clearly marked by a wide depression and luxuriant growth of vegetation.

THE EXCAVATION: STRUCTURAL REMAINS

Quest for having a glimpse of its lost glory has led many a historian and archaeologist to investigate these mounds. In the late 19th century, limited diggings were carried out on the main mound by the British amateur antiquarians named Bellasis, Richardson and Cousens. The efforts brought out structural remains of the buildings as well as the specimens of household objects, but the history of the forgotten city remained on the whole obscure. After the establishment of Pakistan, therefore, the Pakistan Department of Archaeology decided to undertake large scale excavations in order to uncover the remains of the buildings and to dig out cultural material. These efforts resulted in uncovering parts of the fortification, a complex of residential buildings and a mosque within it. It is interesting to note that the main building material used here is brick - both baked and unbaked. The fortification wall was constructed with burnt bricks and, latter on, underwent re-construction and remodelling at least three times. The wall was strengthened with bastions measuring 14 1/2 ft. in diameter, erected at intervals of 102 ft. The wall of the second period was strengthened with an earth embankment. The third phase is represented only with 2 1/2 ft. wide additional wall built against the face of the semi-circular bastion of the second period.

Within the impressive fortification were built buildings of various dimensions and usage. During the excavations, two large houses were uncovered. House No. 1 was a fairly large complex measuring more than 60 ft. across within which remains of 8 big rooms were uncovered. The house was oriented to north-west and south-west direction. The main entrance was provided on the south. The entire house was built of re-used burnt bricks, the width of the walls varying from 15 to 26 inches. Interesting evidence of the use of an arch was found in one of the doorways showing that the mason of al-Mansurah knew the technique of arch and its function. The rooms had spacious verandahs in front, sometimes having columned facade of baked bricks. The original rooms were sometimes divided into two by erecting a wall in the centre.

House No.2 was a very large complex built on a rectangular plan running almost

parallel to the western defence wall. Here, as many as 18 rooms of varying sizes were uncovered. These rooms were paved with brick-laid floors.

Amidst the complex of these houses was located the Jame Mosque of al-Mansurah. The mosque was constructed in brick and stone in the centre of the city with its pillars in teak wood. The mosque was rectangular on plan, measuring 150 ft. north-south and 250 ft. east-west, surrounded by a 6 1/2 ft. wide boundary wall. The exposed general plan of the mosque indicates a covered main prayer chamber, 150 ft. by 74 ft. and also a cloister, 25 ft. by 150 ft. in the centre. The Mehrab of the mosque in the centre of the western wall, is semi-circular in plan which measures 5.8 ft. wide and 4.9 ft. deep. The roof of the main prayer chamber and the cloisters was supported on square brick-masonry columns, placed in 6 regular rows. The dado of the main prayer chamber was provided with 3 inches thick teak wood panels. The floor of the main prayer chamber was provided with 10 inches square brick-tiles (Pl. 17)

The mosque, as the archaeological probe showed, underwent three phases of building and re-building. During the last building phase, the mosque was provided with Ma'zena at its south-eastern corner created on the remains of a ruined Buddhist stupa of



Pl. 17 : The Jame' Mosque of al-Mansurah : The *aiwan* with the Mehrab.

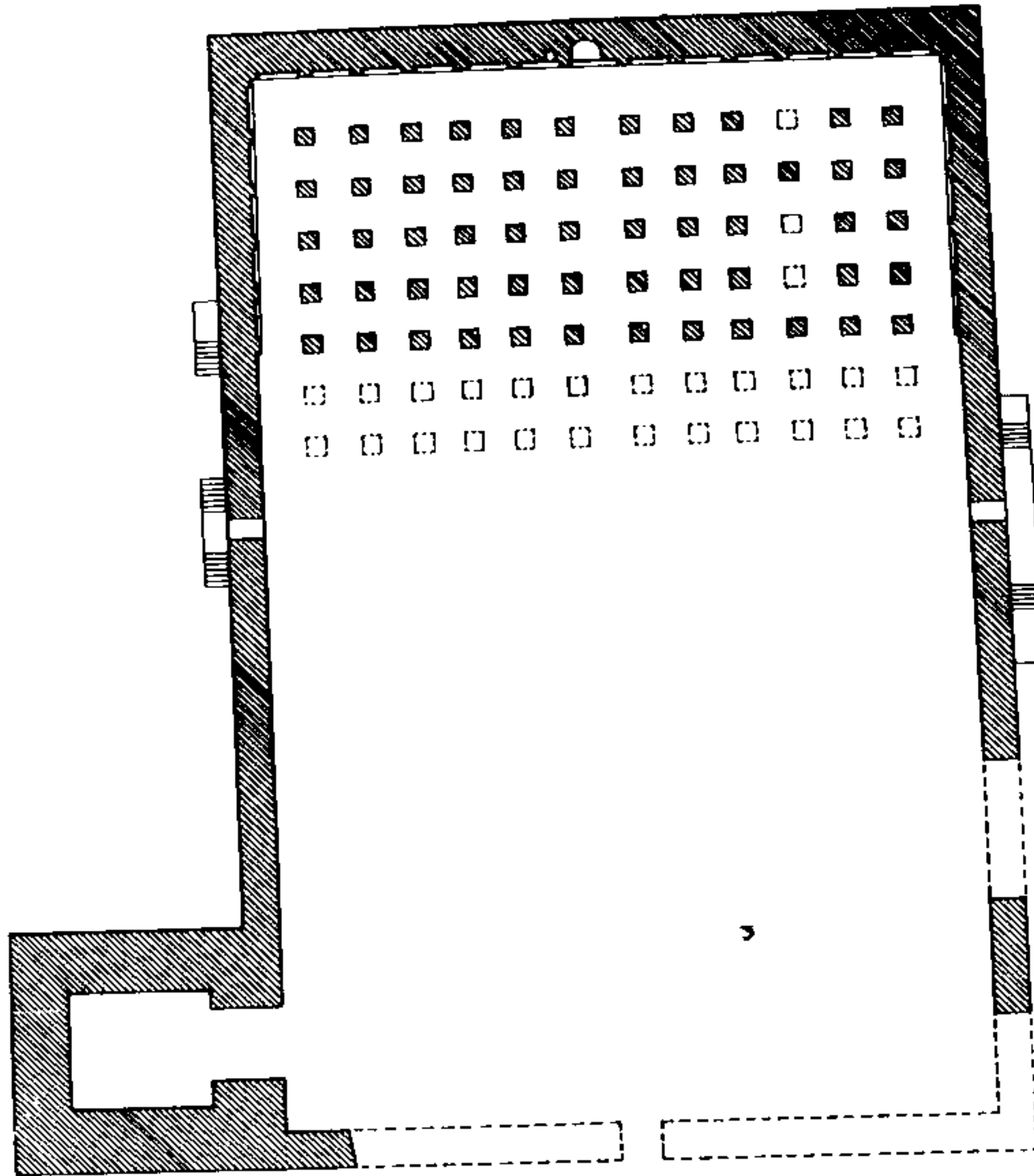
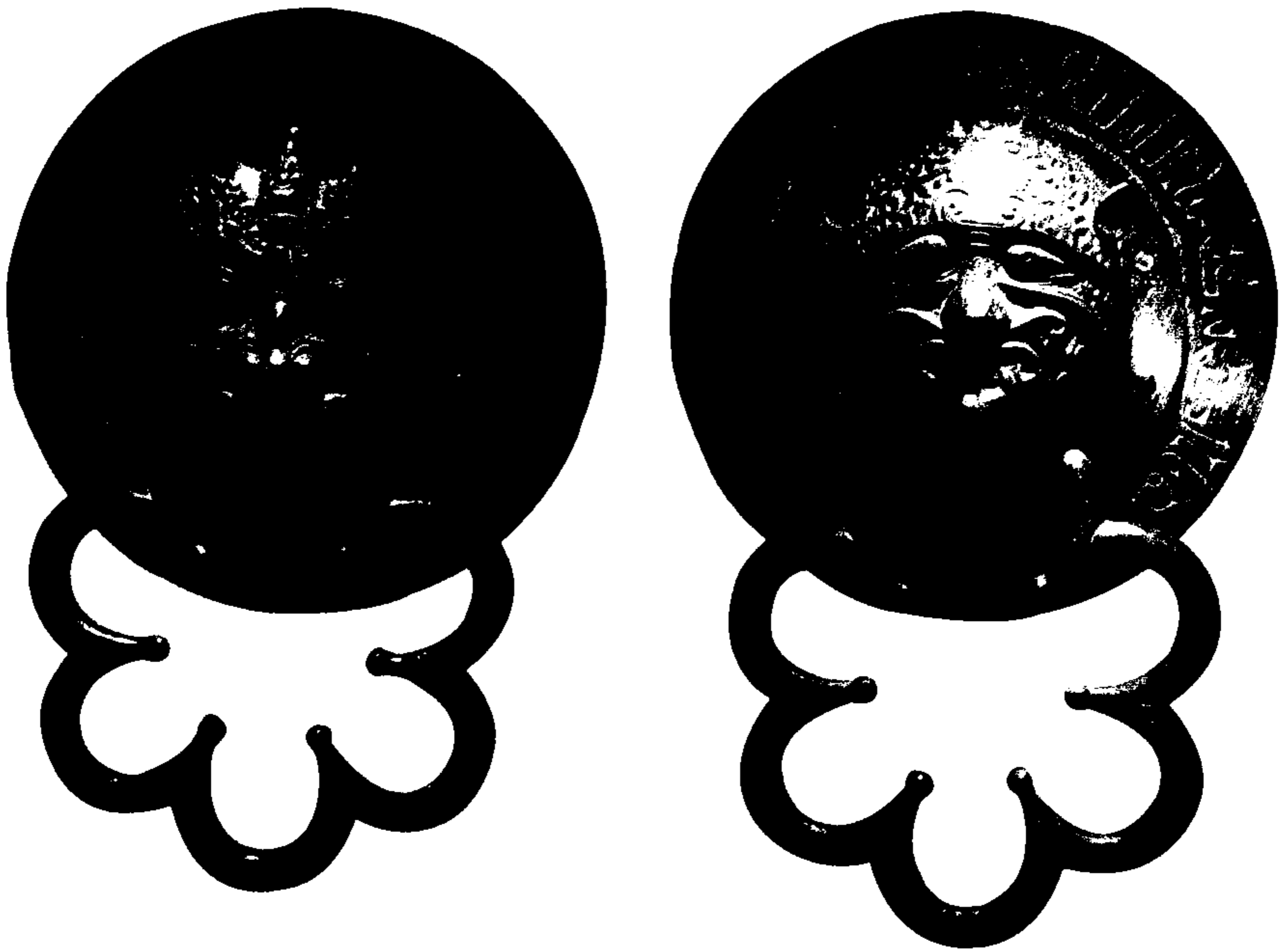


Fig. III : al-Mansurah : The Jame Mosque - General Plan

an earlier date. Besides, there existed three more mosques with their buttressed mehrabs, probably of a later date (Fig. III).

The city of al-Mansurah was thus the second biggest attempt to found an entirely new fortified town on the soil of the Subcontinent. Arab geographers and chroniclers are full of praise for it and rank it among the grand cities of the caliphate. According to them, the city was great, populous, rich and a renowned commercial centre. The buildings were constructed of brick tiles and lime plastered.

Al-Mansurah according to these statements, was planned in a circle. It had four gateways; Bab al-Bahr, Bab al-Turan, Bab al-Saudan and Bab al-Multan. Though the excavator is yet to uncover and identify these gateways precisely, we may assume that the 'babs' were located, respectively, on the south, west and east, as it was roughly on the south that the main current of the mighty Mehran flowed, and from there it took a round turn, again joining the main stream, thus making the area a circular island on which stood al-Mansurah. Similarly, Turan was located on almost the north, while Saudan (Siwistan, modern Sehwan) existed due west and Multan was obviously on the



Pl. 18 : The door-knockers of the Daral-Imara gateway of al-Mansurah.

east. According to the modern excavators, along the fortification were the residential quarters. Unfortunately, such details are not available now. However, al-Mansurah served as an important metropolis of the Arab rulers in Sindh for well over three hundred years, and contributed greatly to the evolution and dissemination of the Islamic architecture and town planning in the Subcontinent.

THE DAR AL - IMARA — ITS BRONZE DOOR-KNOCKERS

However, the objects of sterling importance discovered from the debris lying on the south-west of the mosque area near the ruins of a huge building partially excavated and which could possibly be assumed as the building of the *Dar al-Imara* of the



Fig. IV : al-Mansurah : Kufic inscription on the 'Door-Knocker'.

celebrated Habbaris, were the four bronze door-knockers. It appears that the exceptionally huge and majestic gateways of the *Dar al-Imara* had been provided with these extraordinarily big and heavy bronze knockers (Pl. 18). Evidently, the gateways collapsed alongwith the main building due to some catastrophe, though the excavators have not been able to report its exact nature and extent. The knockers slipped away and found their way off in the debris. The Arabic text inscribed on the rims of the discs is also a unique feature of these door-knockers. As explained below, the text has the *Bismillah*, the verses from the Qur'an and the name of Abdullah b. `Umar. This is a positive and conclusive evidence providing the fact epigraphically that the edifice was constructed by the Habbari ruler. The door-knockers comprise of three parts: (a) a disc having an incised inscription carved on its rim in foliated Kufic characters; (b) head of a monstrous demon created in the round; and (c) six-foiled circular handle hanging down and attached to the open mouth of the figure. The text of the inscription and details of the protruding head of the demon differ from each other. The heavy head is soldered with the disc below and is hollow at the back. (Pl. 18)

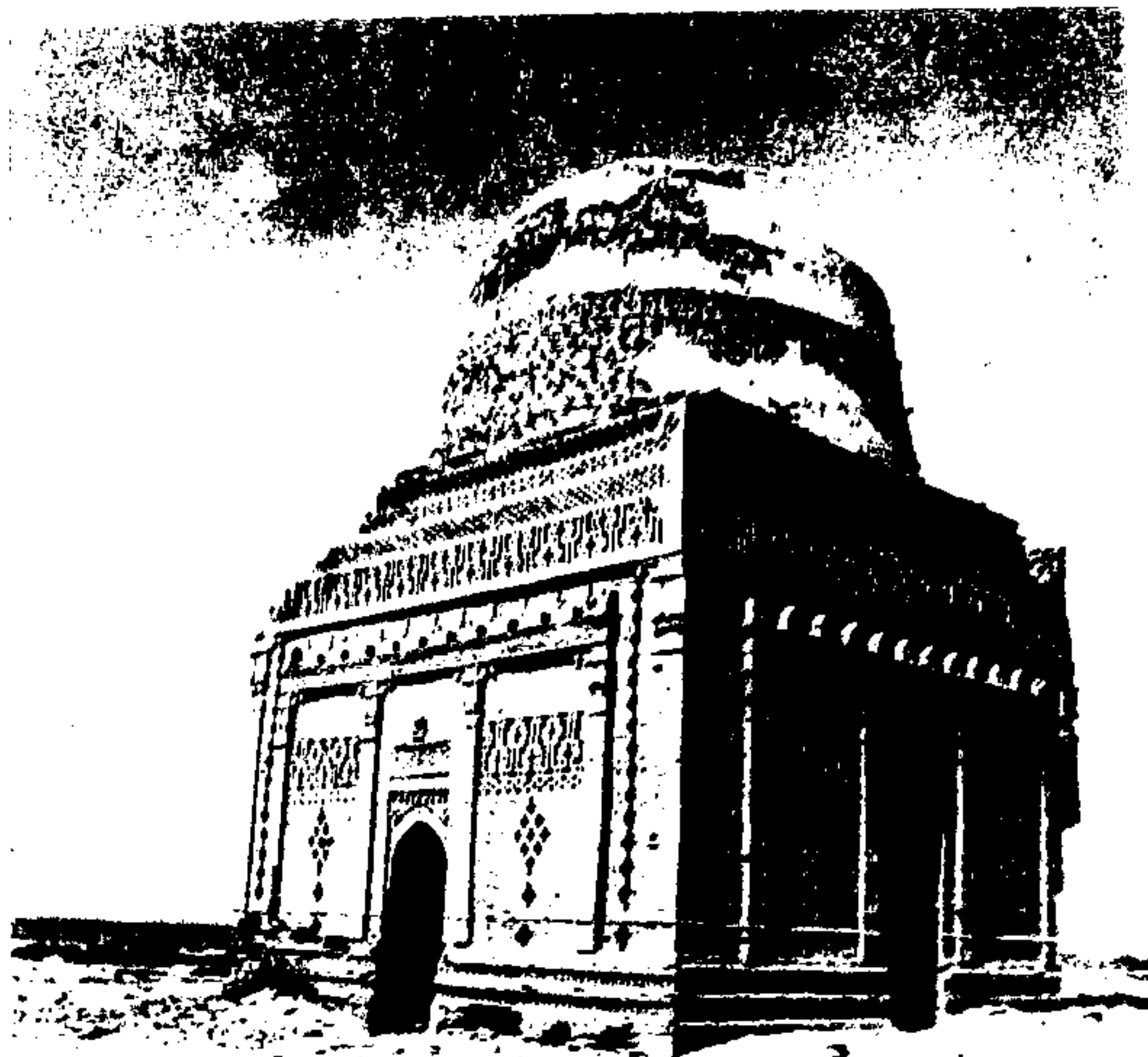
EARLY ISLAMIC FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE OF PAKISTAN:

EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

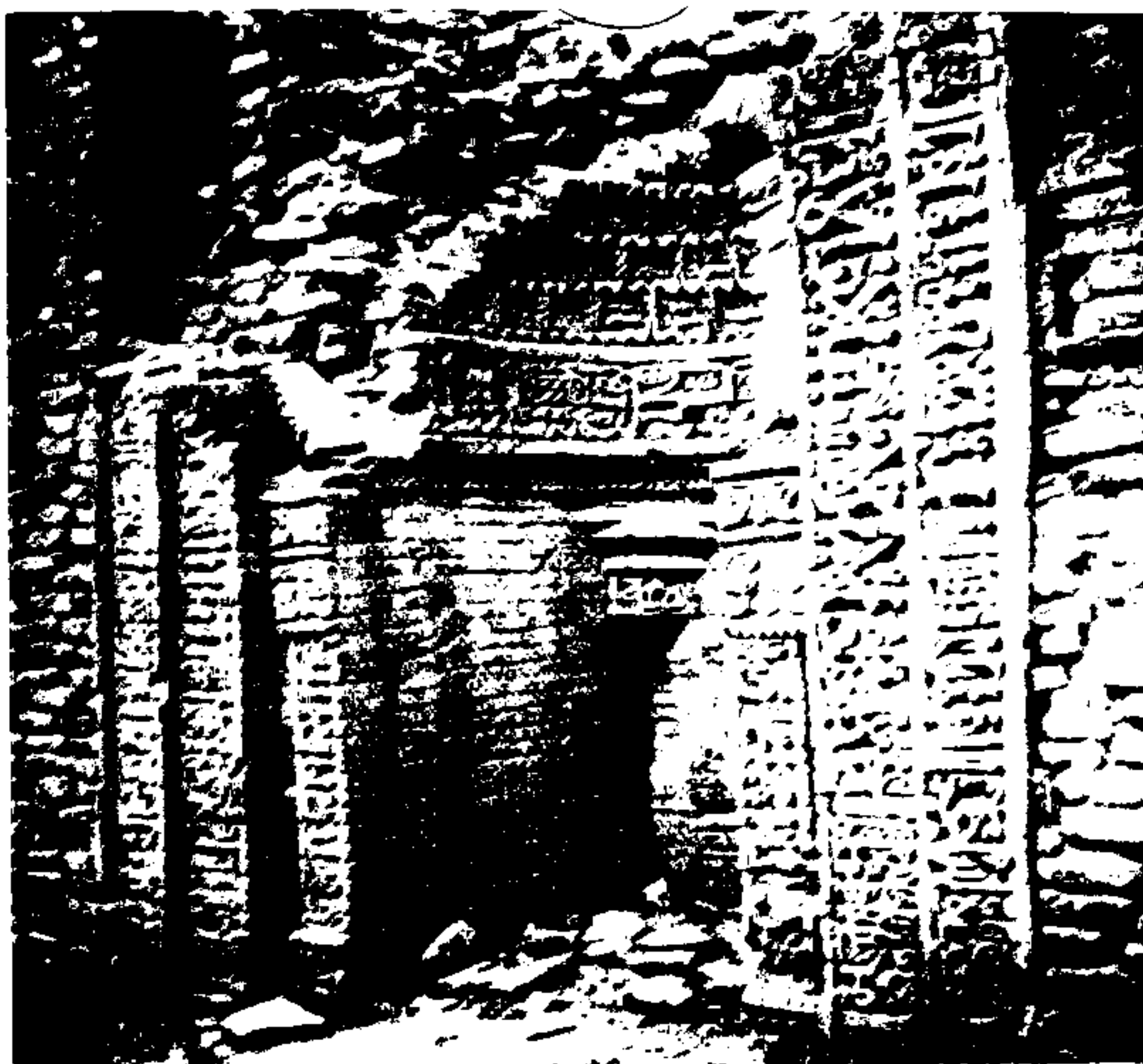
Creating great and grand sepulchres over the graves of religious or political personages of Islam is rather a late phenomena in Islamic architecture. While it was obligatory for every affluent Muslim to build a mosque in the area of his influence, it was not altogether necessary that the grave of a Muslim, howsoever important and resourceful he might have been, should have a formal building to immortalize him. In the South Asian Subcontinent, it was not until the influx of the military enthusiasts from Central Asia during the 11th and 12th centuries of Christian era that such edifices began to have been erected mainly over the graves of saintly personages. Indeed, it was not until the inauguration of the Moghul period in Pakistan that the graves of the Emperors and their elite started receiving such a distinguished treatment, though the practice of having such monumental buildings over the graves of the Sultans and Amirs of the earlier periods initiated much earlier in today's India.

The study of these Islamic funerary memorials in the Subcontinent has a history of its own. It covers a period of well over a hundred years, and architectural historians and archaeologists of the earlier days like James Fergusson, James Burgess, Alexander Cunningham, E.B. Havell, John Marshall, Henry H. Cole, Henry Cousens, E.W. Smith, Percy Brown, G. Sanderson, V.A. Smith, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Zafar Hasan, Ghulam Yazdani and many others contributed to it by analyzing and synthesizing its various phases and facets. Their works, particularly some of the memoirs and monographs of the old Archaeological Survey of India, dealt with important monument or groups of such buildings. Sir John Marshall's treatment of early Islamic architecture in India in the third volume of the 'Cambridge History of India' was, for instance, the first ever analysis of the subject, which was later on developed and elaborated by Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture (Islamic period)*.

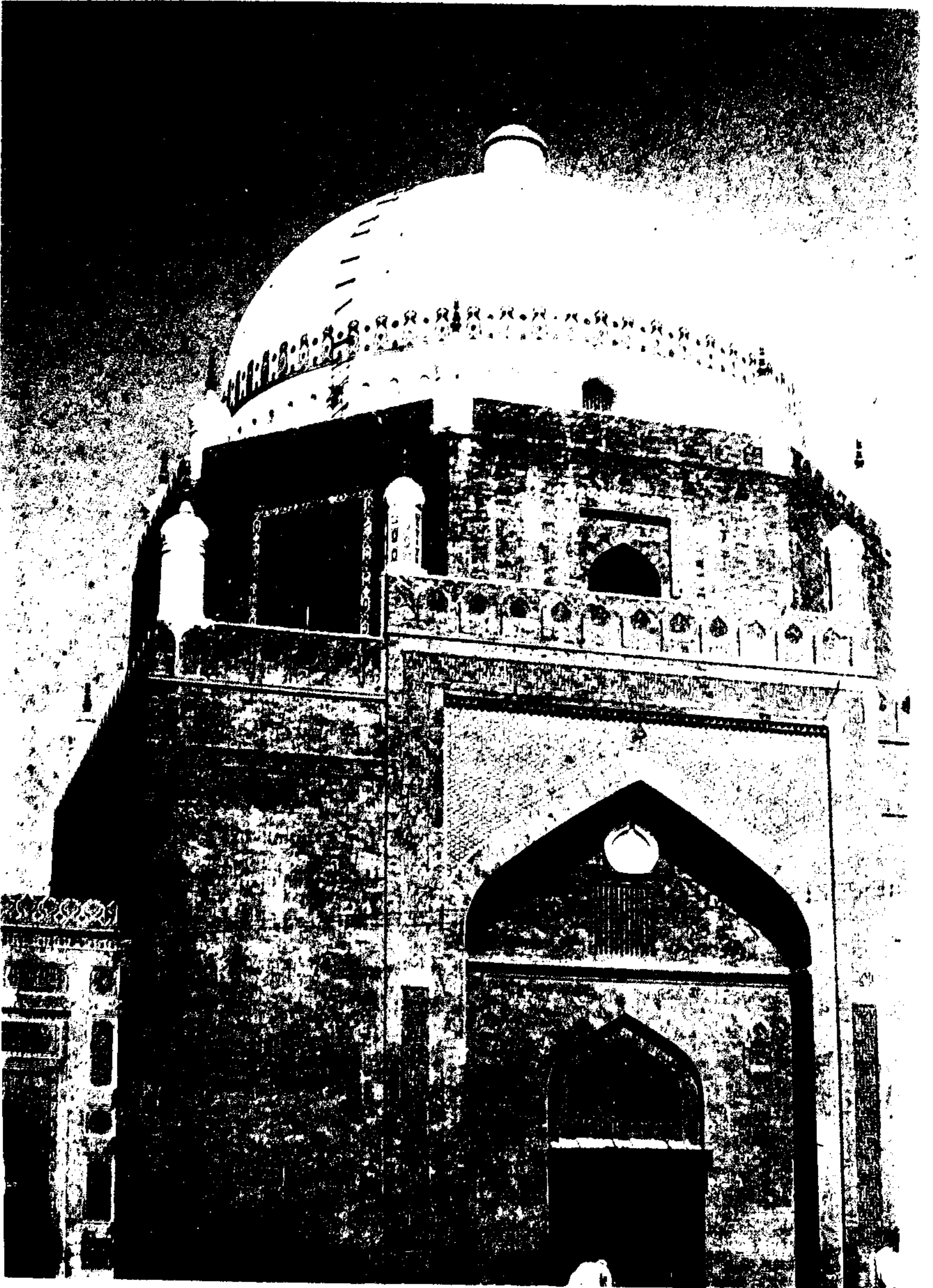
Pioneering and epoch-making though these attempts were, they generally lacked comprehension in their treatment, especially in studying the material available in the north-western regions which offered basic details for the study of its inception and adolescence. While they had no knowledge or access to the material relating to its formative period especially of the days when Arab influences penetrated in the areas of to-day's Pakistan during the 8th and 9th centuries of the Christian era. They whiled



Pl. 19 : Aror (al - Ror): Tomb of Khatal ud-Din: General view.



Pl. 20 : Kabirwala (Khanewal) : Mausoleum of Khalid Walid - The Mehrib.



Pl. 21 : Multan: Tomb of Baha ud-Din Zakariya : General view.

away specimens of the buildings specially centered around Multan by calling them merely a 'provincial style' and never appreciated its extent and importance which in fact extended to the vast north-western regions, now virtually the whole of Pakistan, and that it remained popular even until the beginning of the present century. Indeed, it was the only style in South Asia mainly represented by these funerary buildings which embraced such a vast area and lasted for a long period of well over seven hundred years.

After the creation of Pakistan, however, archaeological surveys especially the reconnaissances of the present writer, brought to light several hitherto unknown and unrecorded tombs and mausoleums located in various parts of Pakistan, particularly at Bela (Baluchistan), Adam Wahan (Bahawalpur), Multan, Uchchh, Sitpur, Muzaffargarh, Aror, Daira Din Panah, Jalalpur (Jhelum), Lal Muhra (Dera Ismail Khan) etc. These discoveries were of tremendous importance as they helped to build a coherent story of the inception, development and dissemination of the hitherto poorly understood and inadequately interpreted phases of Islamic architecture of Pakistan.

The material and content of these funerary buildings is mainly baked brick, having two distinct styles. The first phase may conveniently be taken representing the 'naked brick architecture', the specimens of which have been constructed of finely baked bricks and faced with cut-brick for surface ornamentation, where endless geometrical as well as epigraphical patterns and motifs have been created. The inspiration came undoubtedly from Central Asia, but the influence of local art-traditions especially of the Buddhist stupas in Sindh and Jaina and Hindu temples elsewhere has been considerable. The first known manifestation of such adaptation is found in a rather insignificant and forlorn small construction, the tomb of an Arab general and governor, Muhammad Ibn Harun at Bela in Balochistan (Pl. 22). The governor ruled the areas of Makran during the later decades of the seventh century and was still active at the time of the Arab invasion of Sindh under the command of Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim in 711. However, the tomb in its present shape may not possibly belong to that early date, though it is certain, both historically as well as traditionally, that the governor died at Bela and was buried there. It appears that the structure might have been erected at a later date, possibly at the time of the second burial when the influx of the Ghaznavid and Seljuqi art traditions had started coming in the Subcontinent. The tomb has three ancient graves inside, which is a simple square having slightly perpendicular walls. The zone of transition has been created by means of rudimentary type of corner-squinches which are devised and raised from the ground. The mehrab has been provided in the centre of the western wall in the shape of a well-marked and deeply recessed arch. The structure is crowned with a low dome which has lime terracing externally. The exterior of the four walls is of special significance which has been ornamented with a series of long and continuous friezes of cut-bricks, having circles-in-contact, lozenges, diamond-shaped designs, intervened by a solid thick line (Pl. 23).

The second example which provided convincing evidence of the development of the style is the mausoleum of Khalid Walid locally called Khaliq Wali. It is located in the village of Khatti Chor in the Kabirwala district of Khanewal in Punjab. This

outstanding funerary memorial is a monumental building (Pl. 25). According to the epigraphical evidence on the body of the monument, it was built by Ali Karmakh, governor of the areas of Multan under Shahab u'd-Din Ghuri sometimes in the beginning decades of the thirteenth century over the grave of the saintly personage who is said to have come here in the wake of the Ghaznavid military campaigns from Ghaznin and stayed behind to preach Islam to the local people.

The most important part of the mausoleum is its Mehrab created as an elaborate arched recess in the centre of the outer wall of the western gallery. The Mehrab is sunk deep into the thickness of the wall and the fronton and interior have been faced with cut-brick panels of different sizes and shapes. Within this double frame, which is deeply recessed, are square shaped pillarettes flanking and supporting the main arch, the shafts of which are faced with Quranic verses as well as historic details of the personage responsible for the erection, all executed in cut bricks in exquisite floriated and foliated Kufic characters. The interior of the Mehrab-niche has been treated with plain cut and rubbed bricks, except the centre which possesses a bold trefoil arch in high relief. The inner face of the trefoil is reveted with a series of circles-in-contact, again created in high relief in cut-bricks. (Pl. 20)

The elaborate plan and fortress-like elevation was, however, never adapted by the later master-craftsmen and architects. However, two comparatively smaller tombs located at Alor or ar-Ror of the Arabs in the Sakkhar district in Sindh and another small tomb in Muzaffargarh in the Punjab, can be cited as the parallel examples as far as the treatment of their surface is concerned. The historic Alor once served as a provincial metropolis of the Rai dynasty which was subdued by Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim in 711.

The two domed brick-tombs at Sakkhar in Sindh are attributed to Shaikh Shakarganj and Khatal u'd-Din Shah. Except that Shaikh Shakarganj was a Sayyid and that he was the contemporary of the famous saint La'il Shahbaz Qalandar of Sehwan, nothing of historic interest about him or, for that matter, of the other is known, though for long an annual urs used to be held regularly in their honour. Such activities have, however, abandoned now and the ruined tombs stand neglected and desolate. Nor does any epigraph is available on the body of the tombs to record pertinent details, or for that matter the precise date of their erection. However, on stylistic ground as well as on the scanty historic reference, we may place them within a chronological bracket of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century of Christian era. Both the specimens seem to have been created simultaneously, or at best one after the other within a short span of time (Pl. 19).

The third intricately ornamented brick tomb located in a village named Sadan in Muzaffargarh is the eternal resting place of a saint named Sadan Shah, after whose name the village is now known. History does not, however, record details of his life and achievements, while the folk tales tell that he was a descendant of a certain Arab, Tamim Ansari, who came alongwith the army of Muhammad Ibn al-Qasim in the early days of the 8th century and settled in the areas on the western bank of the river Chanab, and



Pl. 22 : Bela (Baluchistan) Tomb of Muhammad b. Harun. General view.



Pl. 23 : Bela (Baluchistan) Tomb of Muhammad b. Harun
detail of cut-brick surface decoration.



Pl. 24 : Adam Wahan: (Bahawalpur) The Gardezi Tomb - General view.

busied himself in preaching Islam among the local people. His later generations followed the practices of their progenitors including our Sadan Shah, and when he died, a brick tomb was erected over his grave by his devotees. According to these traditions which also go very well with the stylistic characteristics of the edifice, this was the time when the Turkish Sultanate was under the sway of Ghiyas u'd-Din Balban and his eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, later known to history as Sultan-i-Shahid, acted as governor of Multan (Pl. 25).

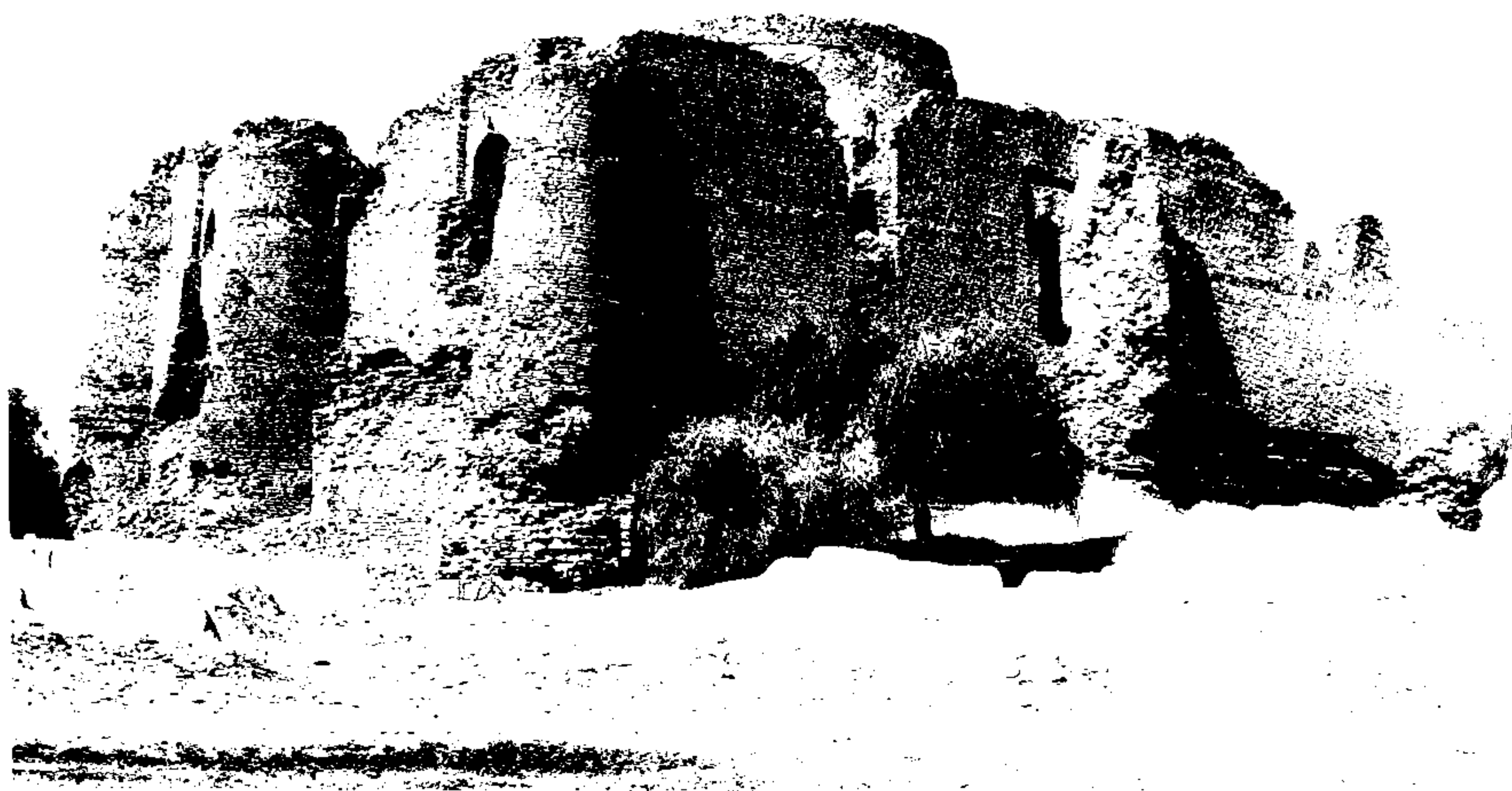
The last of the series of the naked brick structures according to our present state of knowledge, is the tomb of Shah Gardez located in the village of Adam Wahan near Bahawalpur in the Punjab. The square tomb was built in mud-bricks with its outer and inner face reveted with burnt bricks. On the east in the centre is provided the entrance in the shape of a narrow rectangular opening. The south eastern corner has yet another smaller door-opening for the staircase leading to the circumambulatory gallery atop the first storey. (Pl. 20)

INTRODUCTION OF FAIENCE AND FAIENCE MOSAIC REVETMENT

The first phase of the naked brick architecture represented mainly by the funerary monuments described above, was replaced with the colourful faience revetment sometime in the late 13th century A.D., again inspired by the art traditions of Central Asia, and brought over here by the Central Asian immigrant architects. The first known instance on which such a treatment has been meted out is the Mausoleum of Baha u'd-Din Zakariya Suhrawardi, the patron saint of Multan. It is a very well known fact that Baha u'd-Din Zakariya, the progenitor of the Suhrawardiya silsila, had been travelling extensively in art and cultural centres of Central Asia during his early life for education and training, where he must have seen masterpieces of funerary memorials of the earlier period. Later on, his Khanqah at Multan became the rendezvous of Central Asian immigrants. The saint used his own keen observation and the technical skill of the immigrants to create his eternal abode which was constructed at Multan during his life time. He died in 1262 and was buried in this tomb (Pl. 21).

Built entirely of burnt brick, laid in mud mortar, the structure is square on plan having tapering walls and designed in three storeys, the upper most crowned with a grand hemispherical dome. Big archways with wooden screens, are provided on the east and north, while the west has the Mehrab in the shape of an arched-recess. The main entrance is provided through the southern archway, while the four corners of the lower storey are crowned with cylindrical turrets. The zones of transition have been created by means of corner squinches which have been placed on wood course, while western archway has a panel of faience running on either side and at top, taking the form of a pseudo-Kufic meander (Fig. V).

Likewise, the next funerary memorial, the mausoleum of Shams Sabzwari is also an outstanding specimen of the series of the so-called Multan style of Islamic architecture. Faced neatly and exquisitely with panels and friezes of faience and designed in traditional three storeys crowned with majestic hemispherical dome, the



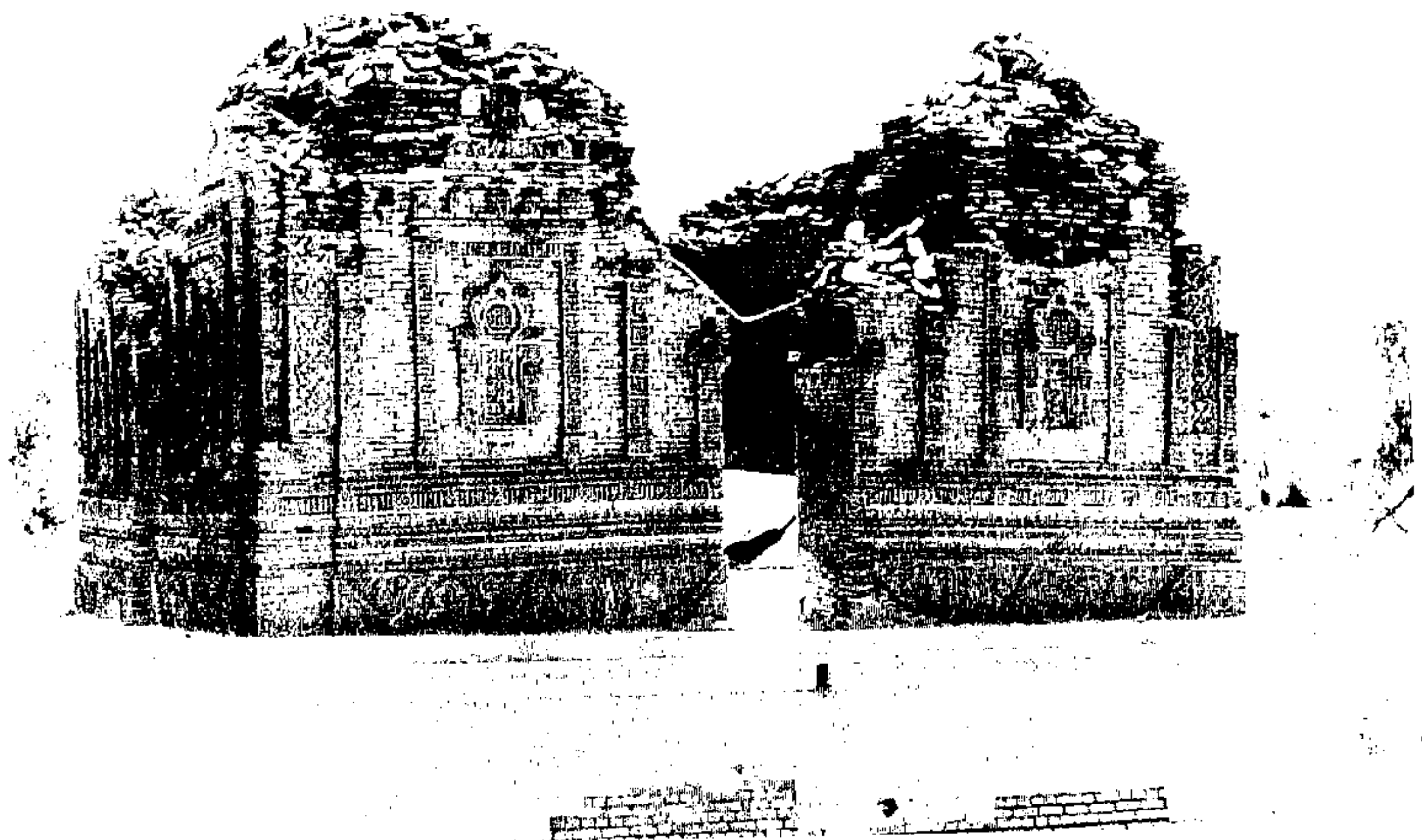
Pl. 25 : Kabirwala (Khanewal) : Mausoleum of Khalid Walid. General view.

mausoleum is of prime importance as the precursor of the renowned Rukn-i-'Alam Shams Sabzwari, a great Isma'ili da'i, spent much of his life-time in the propagation of the doctrines of his faith among the masses in the northern areas of ancient Pakistan specially in Multan and Kashmir. He settled in Multan where he died in 1276 and was buried there. The tomb was, however, erected over the mortal remains about half a century later in 1329.

The mausoleum of Rukn-i-'Alam at Multan has been called as 'one of the most splendid memorials ever erected in honour of the dead'. The saint died in 1325 and was buried initially in the mausoleum of his grandfather temporarily. After some time, however, his coffin was transferred to the present mausoleum (Pl. 27).

Standing in the north-western corner of the high mound representing the historic citadel, within a large rectangular enclosure, the mausoleum is octagon on plan with pronounced perpendicular walls, and supported by buttresses at the angles which taper sharply towards the top and carried up and crowned with small domed pinnacles. The mausoleum is constructed of finely burnt bricks of excellent quality and supported by timber framing. The main entrance is located on the south in the shape of an elaborate rectangular vestibule. A special feature of surface decoration on the exterior is a series of horizontal bands of wood alongwith the bands of moulded plain or glazed bricks.

The interior of the mausoleum, likewise, is decorated with bricks, both enamelled



Pl. 26 : Muzaffargarh: Tomb of Sadan Shahid-General view

as well as cut-and-dressed, and the wood panelling. The wood framing is filled with bricks and brick tiles. The most significant feature of the interior is the elaborately decorative mehrab sunk deeply in the octagon on the west. It is an arched recess with slightly projected tympanum reveted with wood framing, possessing geometrical as well as epigraphical decoration. The decorative scheme consists of intricate floral scrolls and Quranic inscriptions. The Ayat u'l-Kursi is carved in well proportioned Suls with tall, upright letters on beautifully decorated ground of scrolls, double-stemmed vines carrying symmetrical and asymmetrical foliation and palmettes. Within this panelled frame of wood is created the arch decorated with a series of scrolls, while the central space of the spandrels has a circle and a star in outline. (Pl. 32)

The Mausoleum of Shaikh 'Ala u'd-Din, grandson of Farid Ganji-Shakar, the great saint of Chishtiya silsila, is situated in the north-east corner of the Faridi Khanqah at Pakpattan in Punjab. Square on plan, the edifice has three arched portals on the south, east and north, while the west has the Mehrab. The main entrance is on the south marked with a slightly projected rectangular frame, the surface of which has been divided into three decorative bands of fine cut-bricks, running upright and at top. The central band possesses Quranic verses in Suls and Naskh characters, while the bands flanking it have interlaced diaper work. The exterior has been provided with broad panels, slightly recessed, and separated by means of friezes.

The significant feature of the interior of the mausoleum is the series of three wooden courses put at intervals. The exposed side of these courses has carved inscription, a unique feature of its kind known so far. The elaborately decorated Mehrab is sunk deeply in the western wall. It is an arched rectangle augmented with a slightly projected tympanum made of cut-bricks and ornamented with floral, geometrical as well as epigraphical patterns. The square chamber is converted into an octagon by means of corner-squinches, for the purpose of placing the round base of the dome. The corner squinches are created in the shape of arched rectangles sunk deeply into the thickness of structure. They are placed on three wooden beams set in the masonry chamber. The exposed ends of the beams are carved in the shape of hanging bells. A decorative cornice having dentil decoration is put in the masonry at the base of the squinches. The brick work.

Among the tombs erected at Uchchh in the Bahawalpur district of the Punjab, the eternal abode of Bibi Jawindi stands out prominently. The pious lady was the daughter of Sayyed Jalal, a great-great-grandson of Jahaniyan Jahangasht, a famous saint of Suhrawardiya silsila. She died in 805/1402 and was buried at the north-west fringe of the mound representing an ancient fort. Her tomb is said to have been built by a certain prince of Khurasan, Muhammad Dilshad, in 900 1493. In 1817 during heavy floods, part of the tomb collapsed and fell down (Pl. 29).

The Mausoleum of Sultan Ali Akbar located in the suburbs of the ancient city of Multan has been called 'the little Rukn-i-Alam', because of its marked similarity. According to epigraphical evidence recorded on the facade of the mausoleum, Sultan Ali Akbar was a Ismaili saint, and a great-grandson of Shmas Sabzwari. Built in 1535, the mausoleum is octagonal on plan with perpendicular walls strengthened with corner turrets, well-balanced and harmonious three storeys, all embellished with colourful tiling and fenestration in glazed terra-cotta and carved wood. However, the edifice is exceptionally rich in faience revetment consisting of square, octagonal or oblong panels, designed according to available space. Each octagon takes the shape of a well-marked perpendicular wall strengthened with corner-buttresses which taper sharply towards the top, and is crowned with a low cupola, augmented with inverted lotus which has been used as the base of the finial. The buttresses flanking the main entrance are octagonal

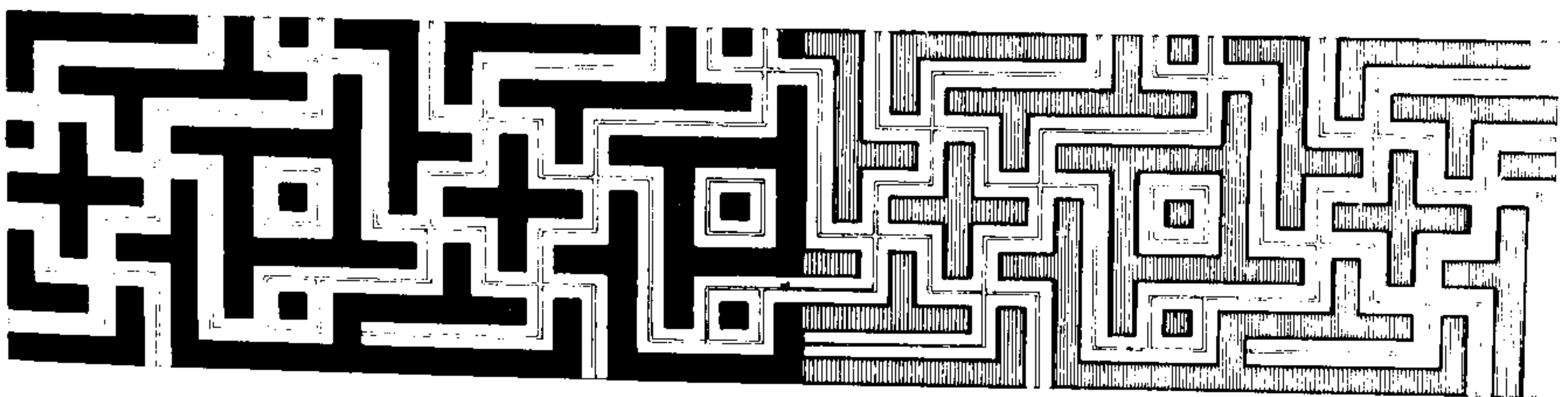
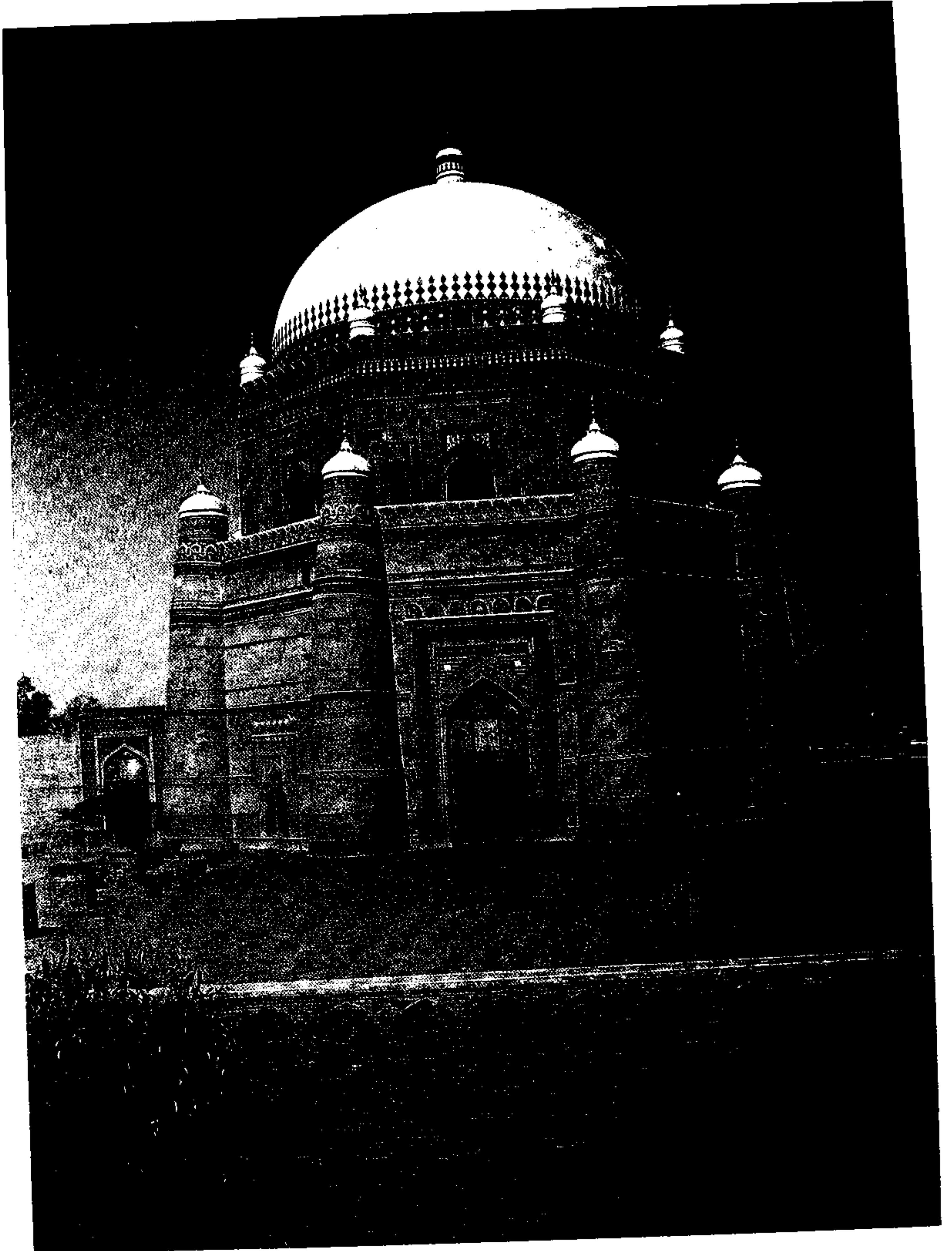
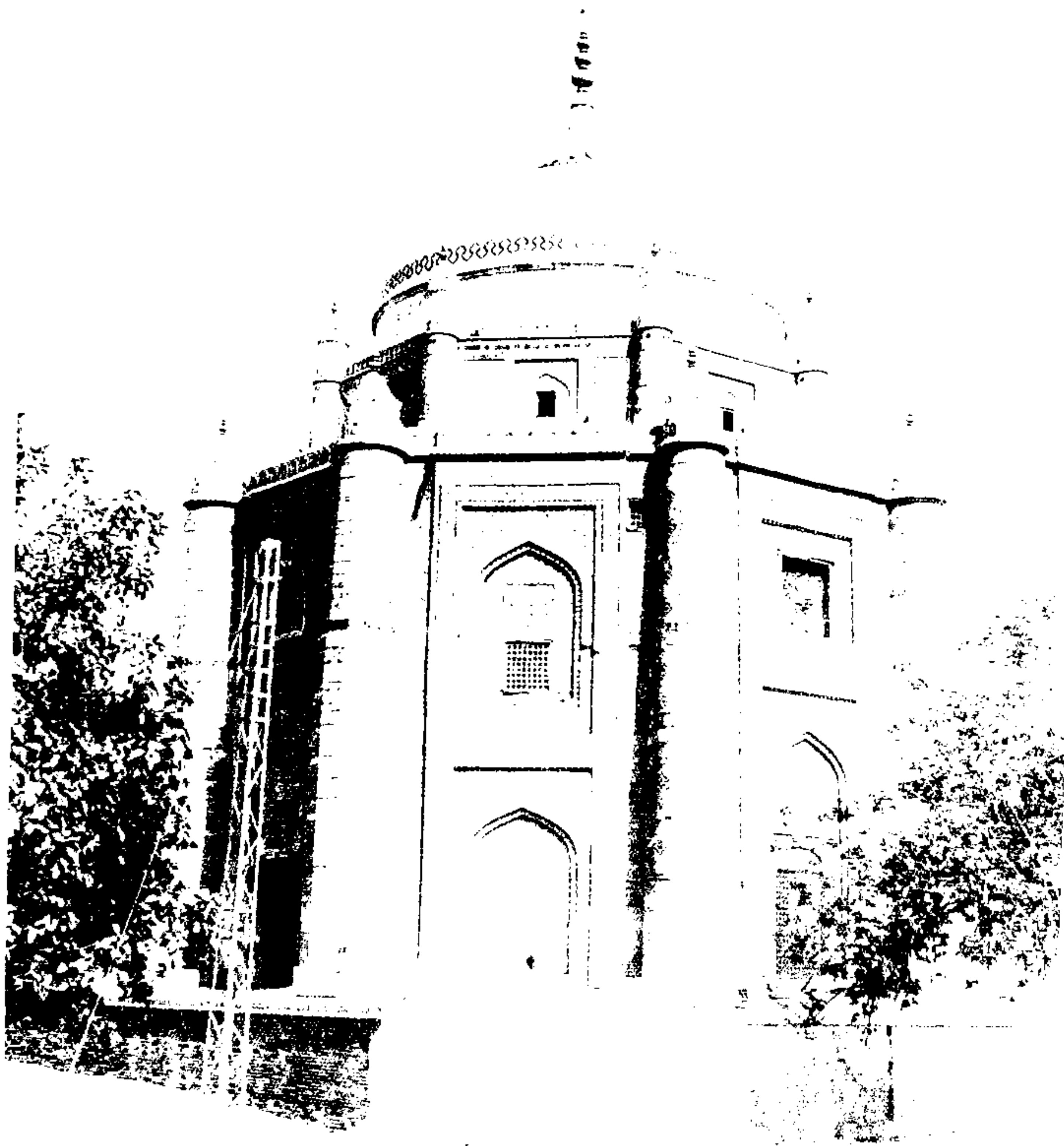


Fig. V : Multan : Mausoleum of Baha u'd-Din Zakrariya-The meander of glazed tiles



Pl. 27 : Multan: Mausoleum of Rukn-e-'Alam - General view.



Pl. 28 : Tomb of Sultan Ali Akbar - General view.

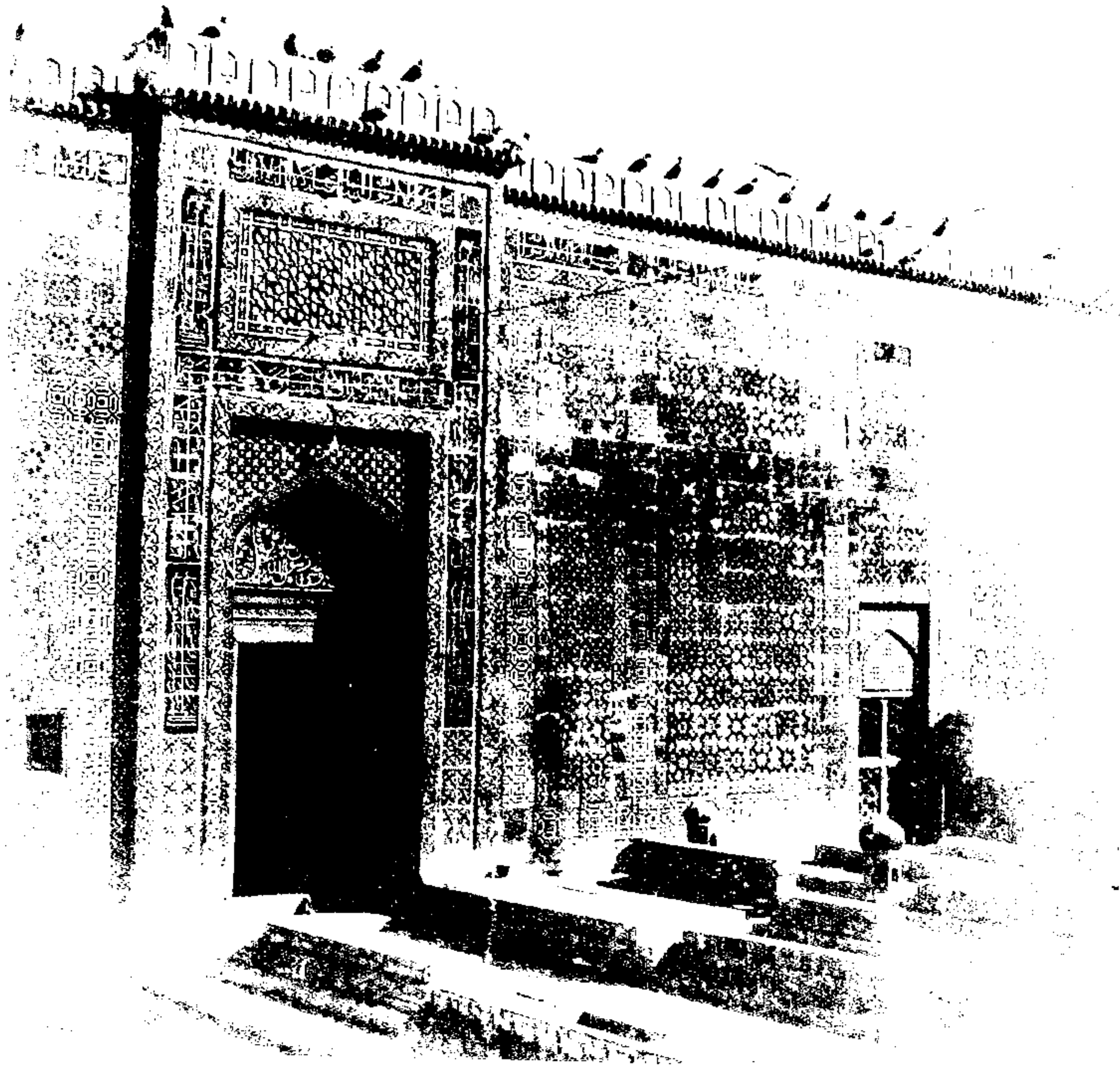
on plan, and are embellished with faience mosaic revetment, arranged in as many as thirty one friezes. The surface of the other buttresses is less ornamental, having only five friezes of glazed tiles. Likewise, the surface of each octagon has been divided into two long panels placed one upon the other (Pl. 27).

Here in this mausoleum, the use of wood as bonding or framing has been altogether discarded, and fully developed and pronounced arch used for corner-squiches, and fresco has been used to decorate the interior as exclusive medium. The mausoleum, therefore, is a significant attempt at opening new vistas of development in style, and assimilates in it some new techniques adopted and popularized later by the Moghul architect elsewhere.



Pl. 29 : Uchchh : Tomb of Bibi Jiwindi - General view.

An almost identical example is noticed at Da'ira Din Panah in Muzaffargrah district of the Punjab. The mausoleum is the eternal abode of a Bukhari Sayyid around whom several mysterious stories are woven. Sober history, however, points out that he was born in 1548 and lived a pious life to preach Islam. He died in 1602, and was buried at Din Panah. A mausoleum was erected over his grave, again in imitation of the celebrated mansoleum of Rukn-i-Alam of Multan. The mausoleum is octagonal on plan with high perpendicular walls, supported by circular buttresses at the angles which taper sharply towards the top, and are carried up and crowned with ribbed or fluted domelets augmented with pinnacles. Like the tomb of Sultan 'Ali Akbar at Multan, the two buttresses flanking the southern main entrance are octagonal. As usual



Pl. 30 : Multan : Tomb of Yusuf Gardezi - General view. Multan:

with the structures of the style, it is divided into three storeys. The sloping buttresses are crowned with cupolas and pinnacles. The octagons of the lower storey falling on the east and north have projected rectangular frames, accommodating decorative wood panellings, while on the west is a Mehrab created in the shape of a recessed arch within the thickness of the wall. The exterior has decorative bands of glazed tiles.

A wealth of Arabic and Persian inscriptions decorate pertinent parts of the interior of the mausoleum. They are Quranic as well as non-Quranic scribblings providing not only historic information, but also revealing the fine taste of the designer who selected the verses, and other Arabic quotations and Persian couplets. However, more interesting are the scribblings in Arabic as well as in Persian carved in ordinary Naskh on the tiles before they were fired for glazing. The subject-matter of these scribblings is both religious as well as historical, where names of the artists with dates and place names have been recorded. A study of the style of these scribblings, however, reveals that the artisans who executed them were semi-literate, or at best they did not have proficiency in

the art of carving the letters on the tiles.

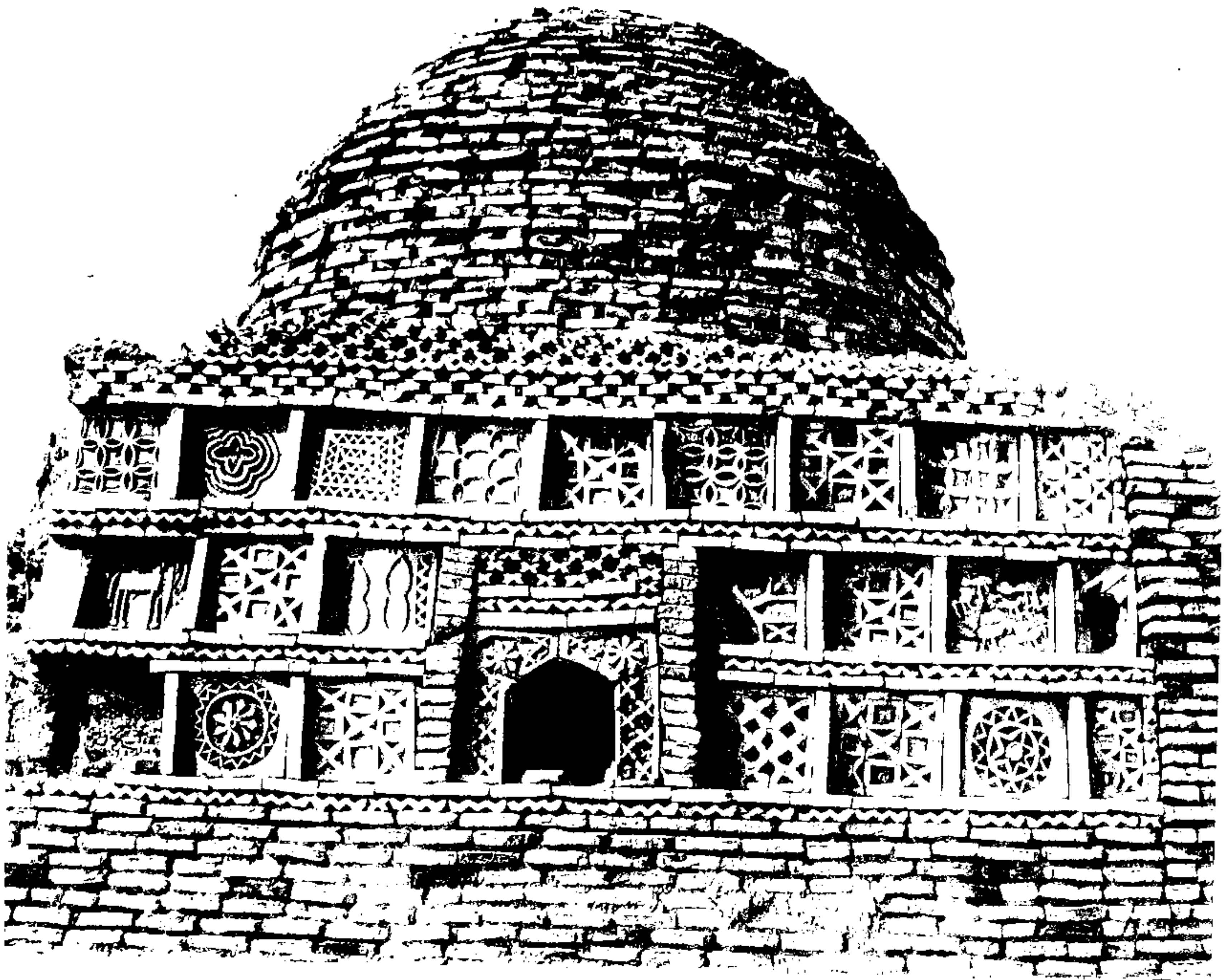
Yet another group of Islamic funerary memorials is located at Lal Mohra Sharif in the D.I.Khan district of the N.W.F. province. The tombs are created in the spirit of Multani style, but have their own characteristics and personality, both for their architecture as well as architectural decoration - faience mosaics. We do not know exactly the names of the saintly personages lying buried in these tombs. However, they are significantly important for the study of the evolution of the style, specially that it developed under the local circumstances. All the four monuments are designed on square plan, having slightly perpendicular walls, two of them have elaborate turrets which are also perpendicular. The exterior of these structures are decorated with panels and friezes of faience and faience mosaic - in the shape of diapers of various shapes. The square structures are crowned with pronounced domes. The square shaped lower storey has been sealed with a course of wooden beams. The zone of transition has been created with the help of pronounced corner-squinches. Unfortunately, they are in an advanced stage of decay now. The date of the founding of these structures has been a dispute among various architectural historians. However, we may with some precision place them in a chronological bracket of 15th and 16th century A.D., when they were erected one after the other.

CONCLUSION

This is indeed a brief summation of the popular and all pervading style of architecture evolved and developed for building the Islamic funerary memorials located in various places of Pakistan. It is significant to note that except one lone example at Sitpur in Muzaffargarh district of the Punjab, all of them are to commemorate saintly personages who spent the best part of their life time in propagating and preaching Islam among the local masses, and met with tremendous success in spreading the religion. Significantly, the style confined within these areas almost exclusively and remained popular until the beginning of the present century. It therefore can truly be called the Pakistani style representing a rich, pleasant and harmonious assimilation and synthesis of the local and foreign traditions and characteristics of the art of building. Though the main centre of the style remained Multan and its environs throughout, where are still located its finest specimens, other centres like Uchchh, Muzaffargarh, D.I.Khan etc. possess identical examples, but having their distinct features and personality. Almost all of them followed identical arrangement of three storeys, perpendicular walls often strengthened with bastions and turrets, pronounced and tall drum and majestic hemispherical dome. The use of wood in the core of the brick masonry for structural stability has also been almost universal.

Of the series of the tombs and mausolea discussed and described above, two examples are of outstanding merit; the mausoleum of Khalid Walid and the mausoleum of Rukn-i-'Alam. They represent the climax of the two distinct styles: the cut-brick facing, and faience and faience mosaic revetment.

The mausoleum is of sterling importance for the study of the evolution and



Pl. 31 : Jalawan (Baluchistan) A Nikodari tomb.

development of the funerary architecture in Pakistan, nay in the whole of the South Asian Subcontinent, both from the point of view of its architecture, as well as architectural decoration. First, it is the earliest known dated example of the imposing mausoleum which has an elaborated Musallah in the shape of a deeply-recessed grand arched-niche. Secondly, the Mehrab-niche is crowned with a half dome and ornamented with cut-brick panels of different shapes and sizes, again the earliest known manifestation of its kind in Pakistan. Thirdly, the arch so created is the true voussoired-arch attempted for the first time in this edifice, and with the discovery of this example, the earlier theories of John Marshall, Percy Brown and others regarding the first appearance of the true arch in the Subcontinent are to be modified. Fourthly, most of the decorative motifs are arabesques created here for the first time to fill up the blank interlinear space, while some are also derived from the earlier local examples. This aspect is of particular interest as it shows not only the clear and unambiguous adaptation of the earlier Jaina-Buddhist art traditions, but also the effective participation of the local master craftsmen in the project. Lastly, the fortress like formidable character of the grand edifice with perpendicular walls strengthened at intervals with semicircular bastions, is also of particular interest as it

appears here for the first time. Incidentally, this feature became the hallmark of the later so-called Tughluq style of architecture.

The mausoleum of Shaikh Rukn-i-'Alam which has been rightly called 'the most magnificent tomb ever erected in honour of the dead', is unique for its architecture as well as architectural embellishment. It is a remarkable specimen of majestic strength and solidity and is equally noteworthy for its most sophisticated surface decoration. Indeed, it was for the first time in the history of Islamic architecture of Pakistan that the care, interest and monetary resources of a spiritual luminary were combined with the proficiency, experience and devotion of a master architect and a host of masons and artisans to create such a masterpiece. These combined efforts have been responsible for a number of innovations never before practised in the art of building in the Subcontinent. The octagonal plan adopted for the edifice was introduced here for the first time, and until then no architect had ever tried the difficult plan due to its geometric complexities. The usual practice was to use the more simpler square form adapted from the Zoroastrian fire temple. Indeed, throughout Central Asia, the early funerary constructions were of square form. The elaborate and sophisticated ornamentation including the brick work, wood work and the tile and tile-mosaic work is also an experimentation never before exercised in such profusion.

NAKED BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF PAKISTAN :

AN ANALYTICAL STUDY

The influence of the Central Asian cultural traditions in the areas of today's Pakistan took its initiation with the advent of the Ghaznavids whose first encounter with the ruler of the Hindu Shahiyya dynasty dates back to 376/986. Later, it was the founder of the Ghaznavid Sultanate, Sebuktegin, who defeated Jaipal and annexed the territories between Lamghan and Peshawar to his fast growing Sultanate. However, it was his son and successor Mahmud, who is credited to conquer and annex the territories of the Punjab as well.

It was during these days that the tradition of naked brick architecture was put into vigorous practice, following the traits and practices of the architect and mason of the various centres of Central Asia. The Sultan is said to have erected a mosque and a commemorative victory tower within the precinct of Lahore Fort. Although none of these buildings exist now, the very name of the mosque, the *Khishti Masjid*, is significant enough to indicate the fact that it was built of brick and its surface was kept naked, only treated in cut brick work. Similarly, erecting the victory tower by the Sultan in the Fort is equally significant which reminds identical practices of the Ghaznavid Sultans elsewhere in their dominions. They were brick structures in nature and spirit, faced with cut brick ornamentation, both geometric as well as epigraphic.

These two specimens of the Ghaznavids must be taken as the earliest known representation of the naked brick architecture on the soil of Pakistan. Later, his successors, especially Khusrau Malik shifted his capital from Ghaznin to Lahore which was given the title of 'Little Ghaznin' on account of introduction and dissemination of Central Asian socio-cultural activities there. It may plausibly be assumed that these Ghaznavid Sultans and their elite erected several new religious as well as secular buildings at many places of their influence. It has been recorded that at Taxila near the present day Serai Kala, they built a Serai and named it Serai Qa'la, most probably owing to its vicinity of the Giri Fort, which was for a time occupied by Mas'ud, son and successor of Mahmud. Besides, an altogether new city was founded by the same Sultan near the present day Hasanabdal. It was given the name of Fathabad.

Nothing of these building enterprises of the Ghaznavids is known to exist now. However, of this or rather of the later period, two significant erections, which are standing in dilapidated condition now, are the earliest known important specimens of the naked brick architecture in Pakistan. The first is a small tomb attributed to an Arab general Muhammad Ibn al-Harun who came to Makran to serve as its first Arab governor, and died and was buried at Bela. (Pls. 22 & 23) now a small town in Balochistan; while the second is the mausoleum of a saintly personage known as Khalid Walid, which is located in the village of Khatti Chur in Khanewal district of Multan division. As would be detailed later, the mausoleum was erected over the mortal remains of the saint by a governor of Multan, Ali b. Karmakh under Shahab u'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri (Pl. 25). These are the two lone examples though we must assume that many more were erected but collapsed later due to natural calamities as well as of man's own neglect. Of the existing later specimens mention may be made of the tomb of Yusuf Gardezi in the village of Adam Wahan in Bahawalpur, (Pl. 24), tomb of Baha u'd-Din Zakariya in Multan (Pl. 21) and tomb of Sadan Shah in Muzaffargarh (Pl. 26); a brick tomb at Aror in Sukkar (Pl. 19) and a group of brick tombs of Nikodaris in Mukran (Pl. 31). The architectural features and characteristics of these specimens have been described here in order to assess the style until the time the more refined faience and faience mosaic was introduced to add colour to these majestic buildings, the climax of which was achieved in the celebrated Rukn-i-Alam which can easily be cited as the happy assimilation of both the styles.

1. Tomb of Muhammad B. Harun at Bela (Baluchistan):

Bela, the capital town of the Lasbela district in Baluchistan and once the headquarter of the district administration, has been called variously by the local and foreign writers as Arma'il, Armabil, Armayal, Armabal, etc. The town is now situated near the apex of the Lasbela plain, 116 miles from Karachi. The antiquity of the place is attested by the existence of several low and high archaeological mounds on which the old city is located, and from where stray antiquities are known to have been found from time to time.

Muhammad b. Harun, a scion of the Banu Numar or Banu Numair tribe, was among the important Arab governors. He was appointed by the Umayyad Caliph, Walid b. Abd u'l Malik in 86/705 to subdue the areas of Makran and the neighbouring territories. He stayed there for about five years and brought the whole of Makran, its coastal areas and the inland country under his sway. A capable commander and an enlightened administrator having qualities of conciliation and assimilation, he won over the local people and is said to have entered into matrimonial alliance with the local Baloch tribes. At the time of the Arab conquest under the command of Muhammad b. Qasim, he was seriously ill. Nevertheless, he worked for the campaign and accompanied Muhammad b. Qasim upto Arma'il (Bala) where he died in 92/712 and was buried there.

The tomb, now in an advanced stage of decay, is situated on a high cultural mound in the midst of a vast living graveyard (Pl. 22). Square on plan, it is built of fine red brick tiles measuring 10 inches by 8 inches by 2 1/2 inches, laid in mud mortar (Fig. VI).

No epigraphical record is available on the sepulture to indicate the date of its construction or the name of the personage lying buried there. Even the original grave which should have been located in the center of the tomb or at least towards the *Mehrab*, has disappeared, while two graves represented by ordinary cenotaphs of brick masonry and plastered in mud, are located in the south-eastern corner beside the *Mehrab niche*. The floor in the interior was originally paved with large-sized square brick tiles. It has, however, been eaten up by salts now. The tomb had slightly perpendicular walls crowned with a simple flat parapet, about 2 feet and 6 inches high. For the purpose of surface ornamentation, the exterior has been divided into two parts: the lower up to the height of 12 feet is faced with ordinary brick-tiles with rectangular recessed panels, while the surface of cut and moulded bricks arranged so as to create friezes of dentils, chevrons, lozenges, diamonds, chain-in-contact etc., all placed one upon the other and separated with a course of flat brick (Pl. 23). The lower part is lime plastered, probably during the days when the tombs was re-used for projection indicating the flat back of the *Mehrab*, while on the east is the main arched entrance. Modern renovation has changed its original shape.

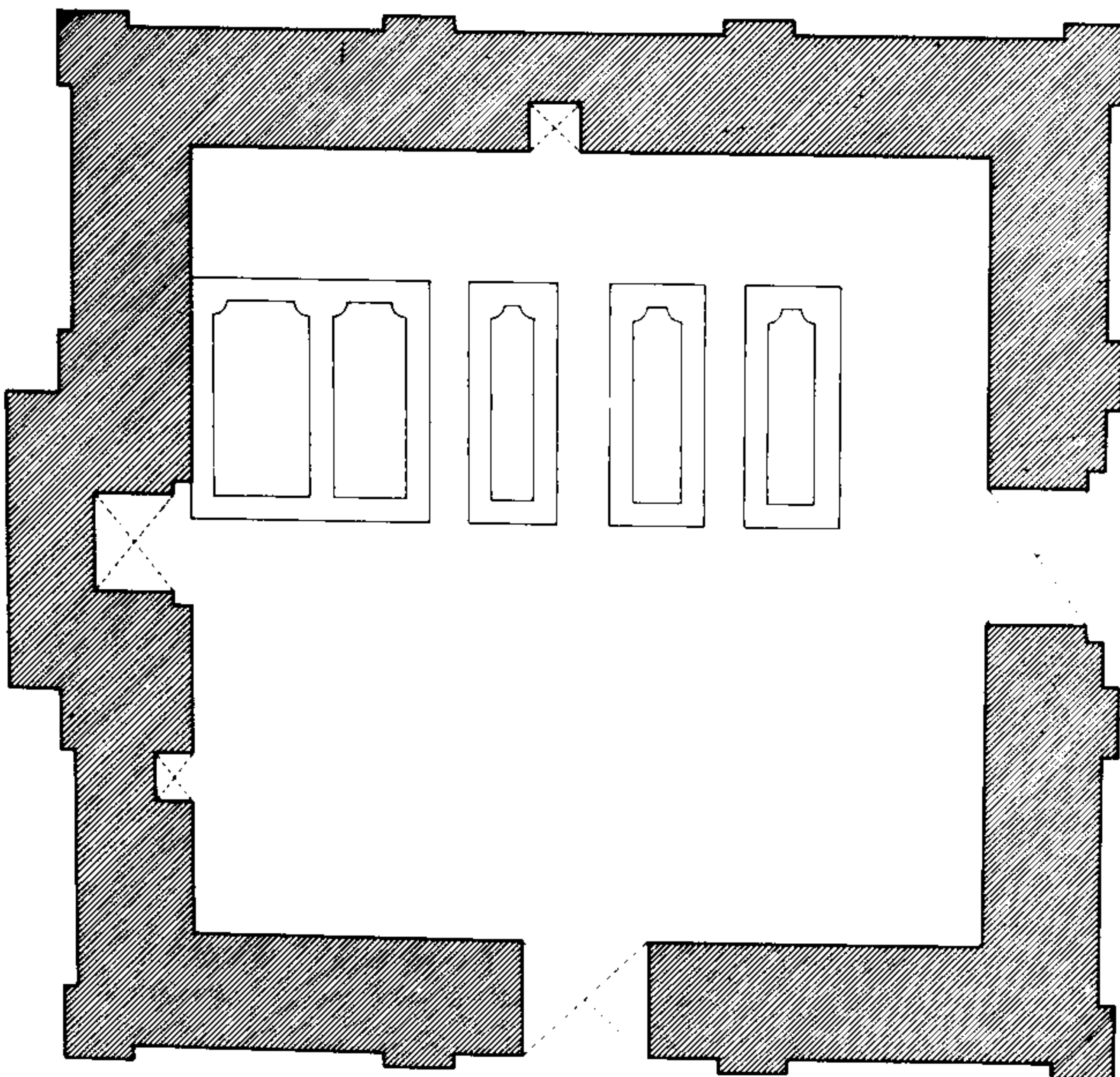


Fig. VI : Bela (Baluchistan) : Tomb of Muhammad b. Harun

chevrons. The pattern has been created by means of two segments placed one upon the other. Above in the center, is a square-shaped opening strengthened with a wood frame. The interior was originally lime plastered, traces of which are still seen on the *Mehrab*. Here, the inner surface is decorated with a stucco arched panel with a geometric pattern arranged within a circle.

The top of the square which rises up to a height of 18 ft. from the ground, has been converted into an octagon by means of simple squinches in the shape of corner recessed arches raised from the ground in corbelling technique. On the top of this octagon is placed the round base of a low dome constructed into concentric courses placed one upon the other. The apex of the dome, now collapsed, possessed wooden finial.

2. Tomb of Khalid Walid at Kabirwala (Khanewal):

Some twenty-five miles south-east of the ancient city of Multan in the tehsil of Kabirwala is situated a hamlet accommodating about 75 families living in a far-off secluded place where few of the conveniences of modern days like electricity or roads are available. The locality is known as Khatti Chaur. In the midst of this wilderness is located a cultural mound representing a town of yore, about 45 feet high from the surrounding areas on which stands a colossal brick fortress accommodating an elaborate funerary memorial, traditionally the burial place of certain saint named Khalid Walid.

Many stories are related of the saintly personality of Kahlid Walid. The substance of these tales is that he came to Multan with the armies of Sultan Mahmud during one of his campaigns and died here. No historical reference is, however, available to identify the personage nor do we have any epigraphic record on the tomb itself to corroborate the fact executed by the first Ghurid governor of Multan, Ali Karmakh who ruled the *suba* during the formative period of the Turkish Sultanate in the subcontinent. It has been recorded that Muhammad b. Sam appointed him governor of Multan in 571/1175, immediately after the extermination of the Isma'ilis and the establishment of the Ghurid rule there. Karmakh ruled Multan for well over a decade when he was transferred to Lahore. Multan was then placed under the command of another Turkish general Amir Dad. Though no specific date has been recorded on the body of the tomb for its construction, it is evidently clear that it must have been erected by the governor during his tenure (Pl 25; Fig. VII).

The fortress, a rectangle on plan, is strengthened with a retaining wall and semi-circular bastions erected at irregular intervals on the four corners and in the center of the walls on east, south and north. The top of the brick-walls and the bastions are missing, yet the present height is no less than 30 feet. Two recessed rectangular arched openings beside the corner-bastion break the solidity of the brick structure. The perimeter as well as the bastions have plain brick surface except a frieze of dentil running all along at the height of 18 feet. It is not possible now to determine the shape of the parapet or that of the bastions and their total height. On the west is a projected solid frame indicating the

back of the *Mehrab*, and, on the north-eastern corner, in between the two bastions of the retaining wall, is provided a stair-case within two walls, which leads to the tomb on the top of the mound.

The main square chamber of the tomb is placed in the center and flanking it are two rectangular halls, augmented with barrel-shaped vaulted galleries on its four sides. The vaulting on all the four sides has now collapsed, leaving only its traces, especially at the groins. A stair-case in the north-west corner leads to the second storey of the tomb which takes the shape of a circumambulation around the base of the drum. On the east is the opening for access to the main tomb chamber, the door frame is fixed within a blind arch. The square of the main tomb chamber has been converted into an octagon by means of corner squinches placed on a projected frame of corbelling. Above, the second zone of transition is created through a series of arched panels in recess, and on it is placed the round base of the dome. The interior is completely faced with cut-brick surface, while the base of the dome is distinguished with a ring of chevrons created by means of double course of brick tiles. The exterior of the dome and drum has been treated with thick lime plaster. The drum is faced with rectangular recessed panels separated by means of flat and broad borders, created in lime plaster. The later repairs have, however, spoiled the curvature of the dome.

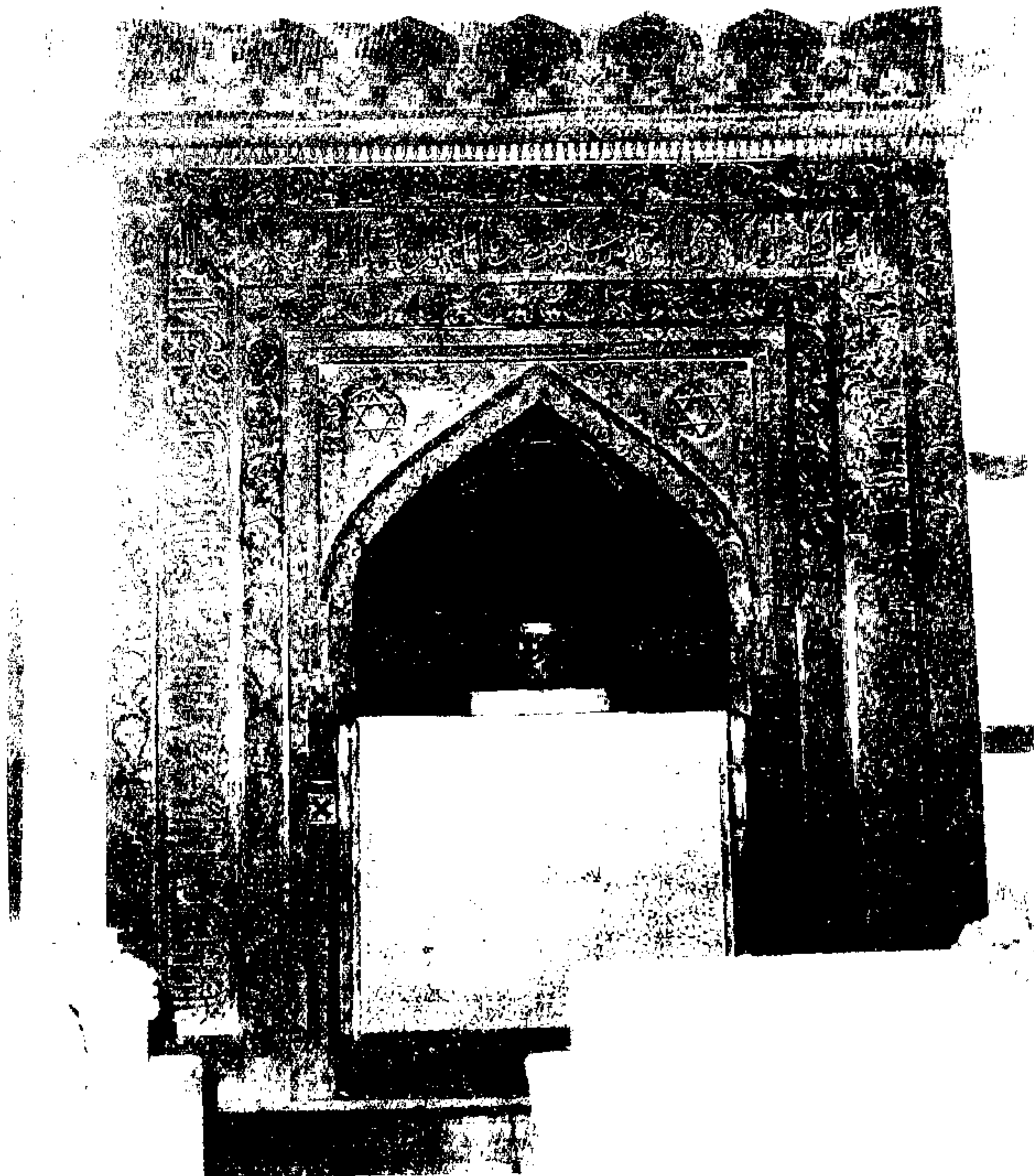
The Mehrab

The most important part of the tomb is its *Mehrab* created as an elaborate arched recess in the center of the outer wall of the western gallery. The *Mehrab* is sunk deep into the thickness of the walls and the back solid projection in the shape of a half dome.

The entire facing of the *Mehrab* niche and its interior have been faced with cut-brick panels of different sizes and shapes; a double panel running on the sides and the top (now missing) are filled with Quranic verses devised in floriated *Kufic* character with flat borders. Within this double frame which is slightly recessed, are square shaped pillarettes flanking and supporting the main arch, the shafts of which are faced with Quranic verses as well as details of the personage responsible for the erection, all executed in cut bricks. The pillarettes are crowned with composite capitals. The lower part has foliation of conventionalized acanthus put within a double series of plain and dentil moulding, while the bases possess *Allah* and *Muhammad* in floriated *Kufic* and floral tendrils put within solid borders on sides and bottom, while the band on top takes the shape of a frieze of lotuses. Above, the capitals are treated with a combination of three cut-brick courses of diapers in recess, lotus leaves and tendrils all arranged one upon the other. In effect, the triple frieze runs all along the facing of *Mehrab* - niche forming the base on which the half dome rests. Above, its interior is reverted with a series of roundels, tendrils and some of the attributes of *Allah* and the beginning verses of the

Ayat al-Kursi, arranged within horizontal friezes of chevrons going right up to the apex. The small squares, within which are placed circles, of foliages or the attributes are created by means of geometric pattern (Pl. 20).

The interior of the *Mehrab*-niche has been treated with plain cut and rubbed bricks, except the center which possesses a bold trefoil arch created in high relief, also in cut bricks and crowned with a motif of tendrils, the composition of the trefoil outline is of tusks and, more prominently, the tendrils are created in the form of arabesques. The round shafts of pillarettes are also of cut and rubbed bricks, crowned with elaborate bell-shaped capitals. The inner face of the trefoil arch is reverted with circles-in-contact, again created in high relief in cut-bricks; the upper two are filled with tendrils while the lower ones are arranged in two lines and, in centre, is placed the name of the Prophet and the four caliphs. The intervening space is filled with arabesque foliages. The groins have projected panels consisting of three courses of cut-bricks, on the face of which are carved several attributes of *Allah*, arranged within a flat border.



Pl. 32 : Multan: Mausoleum of Rukn-e-'Alam - The Mehrib.

3 & 4 Tomb of Shakarganj and Khatal u'd-Din at Aror in Sukkhar District

Amid the wilderness of vast plains on a rocky eminence overlooking the old river bed and in the neighbourhood of the ruins of the historic Fort of Aror in Sukkhar District are standing two ruinous domed structures representing the funerary memorials of two important saintly personages whose identity is almost uncertain to sober history. According to popular belief, however, the two personages lying buried in these tombs are Shaikh Shakarganj and Khatal u'd-Din Shah. Except that Sheikh Shakarganj was a Sayyid and that he was a contemporary to the famous saint Lal Shahbaz Qalandar of Sehwan, nothing of historic interest about him or, for that matter, for the other is known, though for long an annual urs used to be held regularly in honour of these departed souls. Such activities have now discontinued and the ruined tombs stand neglected and desolate. Nor does any epigraph is available on the body of the tombs to record pertinent details. They are left with no evidence to pin point which of tomb belongs to which of the two saints named above. However, on stylistic ground as well as on the scanty historic reference, we may place them within a chronological bracket of thirteenth or fourteenth century of the Christian era. Both the specimens seem to have been created simultaneously, or at best one after the other within a short span of time.

The two imposing brick tombs, reveal evidently a marked achievement of the building art of the period representing a significant phase of the development of the so-called naked brick architecture, and are specially unique for their cut-brick revetment, as no other existing building of the period having inspiration from the Central Asian style can claim to possess such a treatment of geometric patterning in this medium (Pl 19 Fig VIII)

Tomb of Khatal u'd -Din

Square on plan, the tomb has been designed in the traditional three storeyed style with a high neck or drum and a pronounced hemispherical dome crowned with a wooden finial, now collapsed and disappeared (Fig. VII). Except the exterior shell of the dome the entire surface has been kept naked and unplastered depending entirely on the cut-brick ornamentation of a series of oblong panels and horizontal friezes. The entire surface on all the four sides has been treated identically and has been divided into three oblong recessed panels created by means of flat brick pillarettes in high relief. These pillarettes are crowned with composite bell-shaped capitals placed on triple discs. The space in between the pillarettes and the corner-pilasters which are of identical shape, the space has been filled with an oblong frieze of a series of elaborate diapers, while the entire panel is bounded with a series of composite mouldings at the bottom. A triple long frieze consisting of diapers and other composite patterning is set at the top. Narrow oblong arched openings have been provided in the central compartment on wall the four sides for entrance, including the western wall which has no customary *Mehrab*. The narrow arched openings are placed in recess within the centre of the flat ornamental frame, while the friezes above the arch consist of dentils, toothings and diapers; and a

six-petalled flower is placed in high relief in the centre crowning the three friezes, which are separated by means of a double brick moulding (Pl. 10)

The space on either side of the central doorway has been treated with two broad oblong recessed panels which have been augmented with a composite frieze of *pseudo Kufic* lettering and, below it, a thin frieze of circles-in-contact. A combination of diapers is arranged below the main frieze, and completes the decorative treatment.

The flat parapet has, likewise, been treated with elaborately designed friezes. In all, five long friezes cover the entire surface. Starting from below, there is broad frieze of identical *pseudo-Kufic* inscriptions augmented with flat border, while the frieze above it is exceptionally broad having a honey combing and, in between runs a comparatively thin frieze of circles-in-contact. A composite thin frieze of flat solid line and dentil seals the entire decorative panelling of the parapet.

As mentioned earlier, the exterior shell of the dome has been plastered in lime, while a continuous band of circles in contact bounded with thin friezes of diapers runs all through the top of the drum. The dome is, however, designed in an imperfect manner which does not have geometrically perfect curvature.

The interior of the tomb chamber is a simple square. The walls are devoid of ornamentation. The square is converted into an octagon, by means of a series of double corner-squinches. The zone of transition so created receives the base of the drum which is, internally, 7 ft. 3 inches high. Another zone of transition is achieved by means of projected carbelling at cardinal points, which converts the octagon into a sixteen sided semi-circle for the base of the dome.

No regular cenotaph is intact now in the inside of the tomb chamber to indicate the grave. The cruel hand of nature as well as man's own neglect have been responsible for the advanced stage of the decay of this otherwise significant structure.

Tomb of Shakarganj,

On the south-west about a furlong away from the preceding tomb is located this otherwise more elaborate structure. As said earlier, neither history nor tradition helps us to identify or even name the personage lying buried here. Square on plan, the brick tomb is crowned with a comparatively low but well-defined and mathematically calculated dome. The surface treatment too is identical to the foregoing tomb except that instead of having three broader compartments, the master mason created here five smaller recessed panels in the same fashion. The recessed arched entrance is likewise slender. The flat parapet has also identical treatment; a broad frieze of *pseudo Kufic* lettering runs all through the four sides of the panels, while the interior surface is again devoid of ornamentation. The zone of transition is created by means of corner-squinches.

Here, too, the original brick cenotaph had been eaten up by salts and the brick paved floor is damaged considerably. The tomb is at the advanced stage of decay.

5. Tomb of Shaikh Sadan Shahid, Muzaffargarh:

Amidst a vast graveyard of the recent times in the neighbourhood of a tiny village named Sadan in Muzaffargarh on Muzaffargarh-Jhang Road, about 25 miles from the former, is standing a dilapidated roofless tomb. It has been attributed to a certain saint named Shaikh Sadan Shahid. According to an inscription painted on a glazed terra-cotta plaque and fixed over the body of the brick cenotaph at recent date, the saint died in 674/1275. While a local tradition relates that the saint was a descendent of Tamim Ansari, a companion of the Prophet (peace be upon him). The later came to Multan alongwith the army of Muhammad bin Qasim and settled on the western bank of the river Chenab to preach Islam among the people in the Thal area. The later generations of the saint continued living there and spent their lives in the same pursuit. Not much of the life of Shaikh Sadan is known now except that he is said to have been killed during the Mongol onslaughts and was buried there. A tomb was erected over the grave by his devotees. This was the time when Ghiyas-u'd-Din Balban ruled the Turkish Sultanate, and his eldest son Sultan Muhammad, latter known as Sultan-i-Shahid, acted as governor of Multan.

The tomb, now in a much dilapidated condition, does not possess any original epigraph to prove the above oral traditions, nor do we have any literary or historical reference to corroborate them. However, architectural style does indicate the period to which it has been assigned. A fine specimen of naked brick architecture created entirely in bricks laid in mud mortar and finished in cut-brick ornamental friezes and panels, the tomb is square on plan measuring 20 ft. 8 in. side internally and 29 ft. 2 in. externally, and

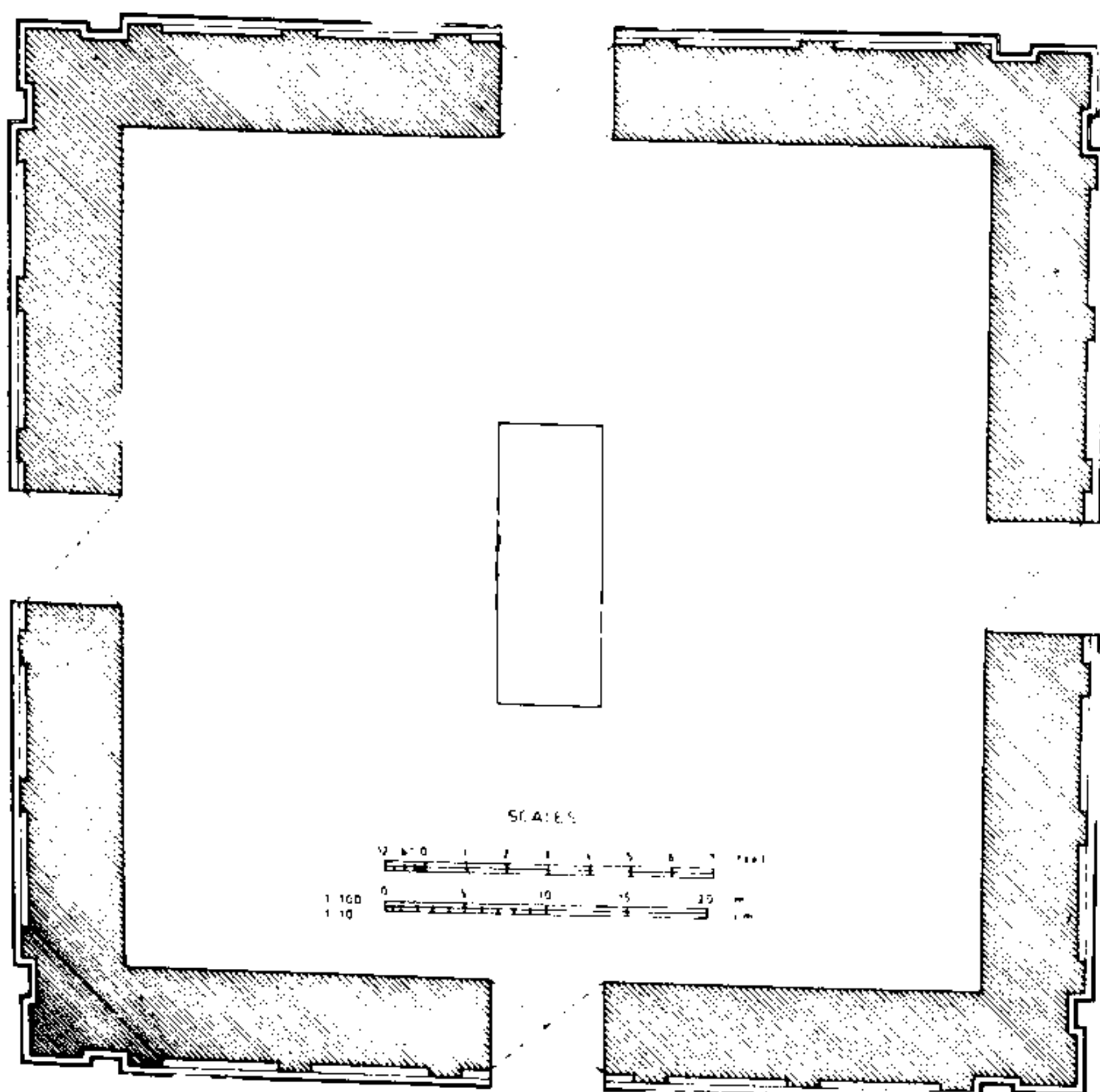


Fig. VIII : Al-ror (Alor) :
Tomb of Shakarganj - Plan.

has been raised on a solid plinth, 8 ft. 6 in. high above the ground level. A flight of 11 steps enclosed by low side-walls built in slope has been provided to the main entrance on the south. (Pl. 26) The steps and the brick facing on the plinth has been repaired with modern brick in recent times spoiling much of its original decorative features. Originally, the entire surface of the platform was embellished with rectangular panels created in high relief and finished in cut brick scrolls, while a double base moulding having a cicles-in-contact frieze of cut-brick of composite floral and geometric design has been created. The delicate carving on the brick is unique as nowhere else such a superb lattice work has ever been found during such an early period. Above, are arranged as many as ten thin friezes of scrolls, dentils and diapers. These friezes are arranged within flat borders, both in relief and in recess. The continuous line of these mouldings is interrupted by narrow arched openings created in the centre of each side for entrance. The arch takes the shape of a trefoil, augmented with a border in high relief. The frieze atop is surmounted with a dentil moulding on which are placed seven merlins, each of which has a palmette within a flat arched border. The rectangular frames flanking the central frame are identically arranged having a flat border within a *psedu-Kufic* motif, placed within a flat border. The border on top has been augmented with a triple dentil, lotus and scrolls frieze, on which are placed five merlins arranged with intervals in the shape of arched panels in bold relief. Within this bold frame is placed an arched panel, again in bold relief, in the shape of an oriel. The bold rectangular frame has two pillarettes composed of brick tiles having decorative floral motifs on their faces. The capitals are crowned with scrolls carved within a flat border, while the shaft and the base are augmented with composite mouldings, all in cut bricks. Within the frame work are three rectangular panels arranged one upon the other to fill the space with interlaced and intertwined geometric pattern.

The other three sides of the monument have been treated with identical decorative scheme, except that on the main entrance the broad frieze has the *Surat al-Fath* with *Bismillah*. The frieze of Quranic verses runs in between the two other friezes of scrolls. The panelled frames and the long frieze at the bottom on the northern side, have الله and الله carved in *Kufic* letters, while the inner parts of the trefoil of the side oriel and the merlins crowning these oriels have ياالله . The upper part of the tomb including the parapet has collapsed. It is, therefore, not possible now to determine their shape and size.

The interior of the tomb is entirely devoid of ornamentation except a terracotta tablet on which was perhaps carved the name and the date of the personage lying buried in the tomb. Only two tiles of the tablet are intact on which the carved letters are unintelligible now. The clumsy brick cenotaph erected in recent times over the grave has nothing of interest; it has been mud plastered several times since its construction.

The four walls of the structure rise to a height of 10 ft. 7 in. Above, the plan is converted into an octagon by means of well-defined and bold corner-squinches to receive the round base of the dome or drum. The upper part of the squinches has collapsed and fallen. It is not, therefore, possible to determine the shape and arrangement of the dome, whether it had a neck or drum or it was placed direct on the

octagon.

The otherwise small structure is nevertheless distinguished both for its structure as well as surface ornamentation. First, unlike the other tombs of the contemporary as well as later periods, it has no *Mehrab* arch in the thickness of the western wall and all its four sides have low arched openings, which is indeed very unusual. It may be assumed that except the main entrance on the south, the other three openings were embellished with terra-cotta screens, as has been a common practice with other such funerary memorials. However, no trace of such screen is available now. Secondly, the tomb has a well-defined zone of transition created by means of true voussioired arch resting on a bold double projected frame. The treatment evidently shows that the architect mason had full confidence in the mathematical proportion of a true arch, not depending merely on the wooden base as had been the case in the latter instances. Unfortunately, the dome has collapsed completely. We cannot, therefore, determine its exact height and shape now. However, it might be assumed that it had a full hemispherical outgrowth.

Likewise, cut-brick revetment, both epigraphical, geometrical and floral, makes the monument unique in the array of the early specimens of the naked brick architecture in Pakistan. Never before such a 'lattice work' in cut-brick and long verses of the Qur'an created in interlaced *Kufic* has been produced so profusely and so completely. The long triple frieze having the inscription in the centre and a continuous scrolling flanking it is the first appearance of its kind on the monument. Likewise, the trefoil oriels, the panelling in high relief, the base moulding, the pillarettes and other decorative features, all in efficient

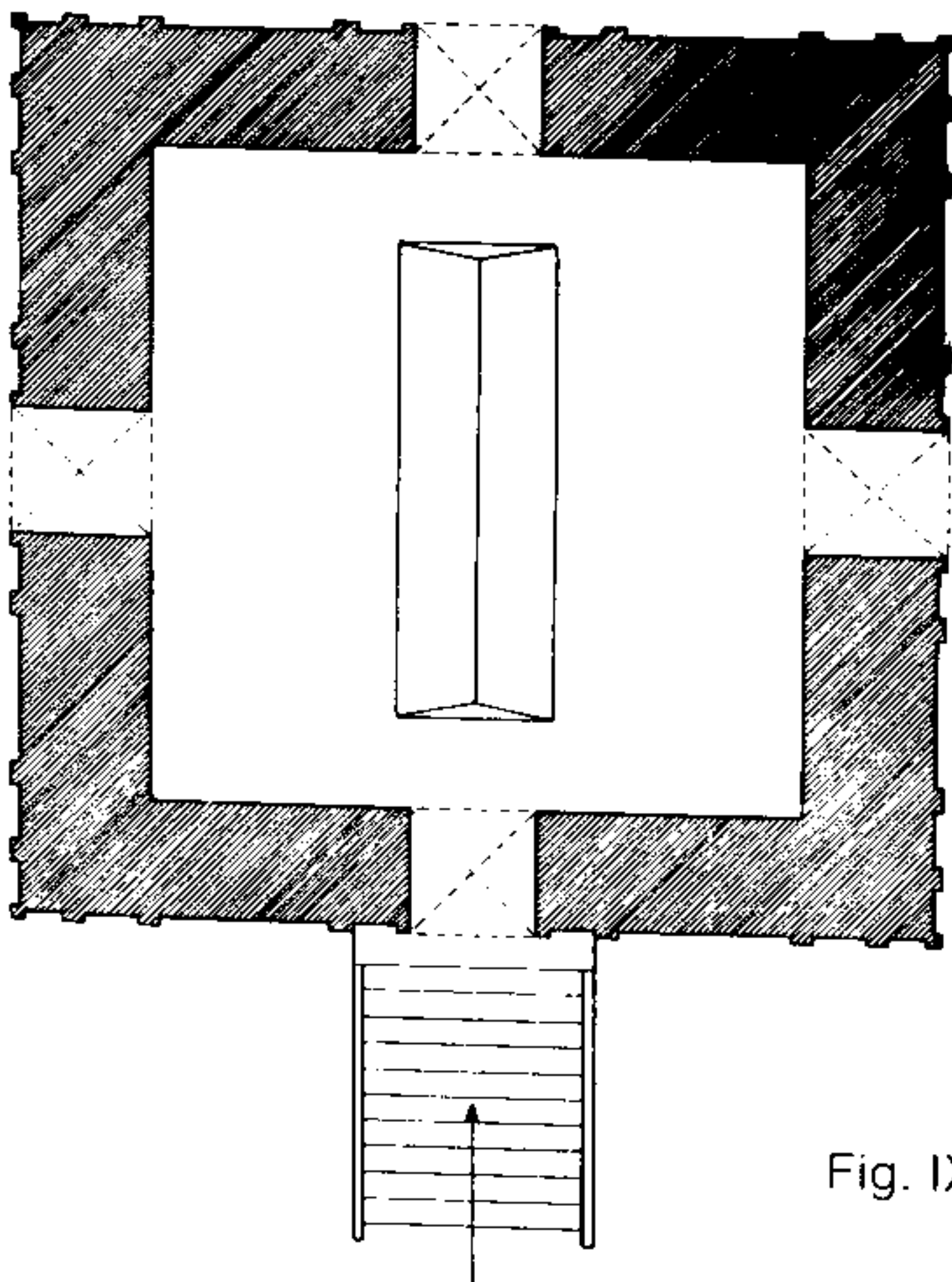
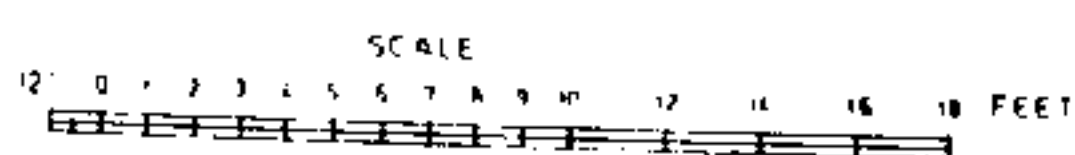


Fig. IX : Muzaffargarh : Tomb of Sadan Shah - Ground floor plan.



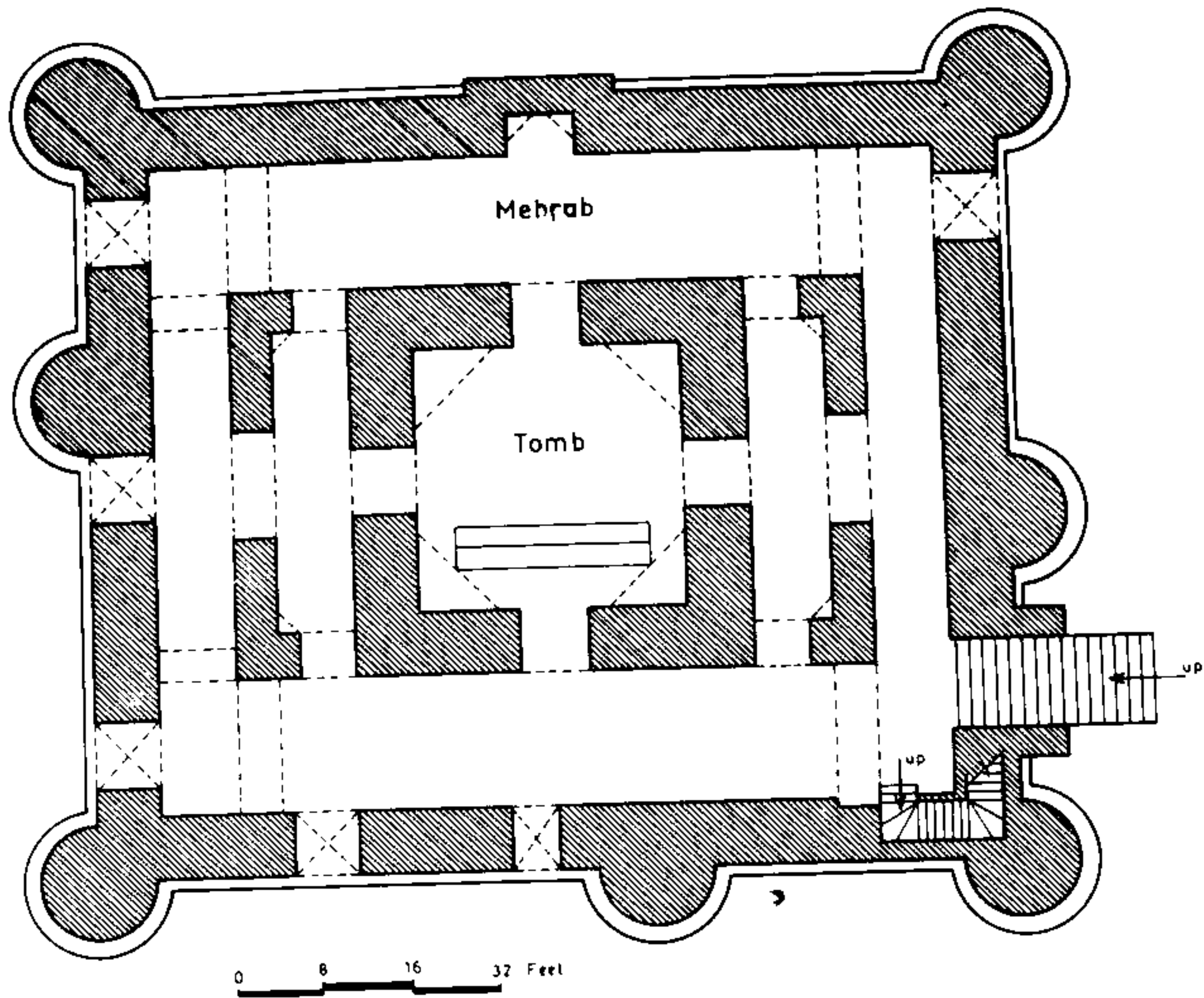


Fig. VII : Kabirwala : Mausoleum of Khalid Walid - The plan.

cut-brick, remind us the deep rooted and all abiding influence of the local Hindu-Buddhist architectural ornamentation. The monument is indeed a unique manifestation of the assimilation of two rather divergent cultural tradition beginning with the celebrated Khalid Walid and achieving climax in the Rukn-i-'Alam. It is evident that the master craftsman took inspiration from the brick ornamentation on the *Mehrab* of Khalid Walid, but introduced and perfected many new motifs and designs in this enterprise.

The Cut Brick Decoration :

These and other monuments of the series have almost universally been decorated with the cut-brick devices under the strong influence of Central Asian immigrants themselves, then jointly by them and the local master craftsmen, and later exclusively by the local talented masons.

As pointed out earlier, according to the present state of our knowledge, the earliest specimen of brick building on which the device has been used in the tomb of Muhammad b. Harun located at Bela in Baluchistan. However, the decoration belongs to the days when the tomb was used for the second burial which might belong to the Ghaznavid period of the eleventh century. The exterior of the monument has a long broad frieze virtually covering the upper half with cut-brick ornamentation in the shape of

horizontal bands of chevrons, circles-in-contact, diapers etc. The technique used here is to cut the patterns in high relief on the long edge of the brick, while the circles-in-contacts design has been achieved by means of joining three units together. It may be emphasized here that the circles-in-contacts design has been used here for the first time and is in its initial stage of development. Later on, it becomes a favourite mode of decoration frequented on several buildings and perfected on the Rukn-i-'Alam at Multan where its surface has been painted in turquoise blue glaze.

The next historic building on which the technique has been applied is the *Mehrab* arch of the Mausoleum of Khalid Walid at Kabirwala in Multan. The *Mehrab* provides a clear and unmistakable evidence of the borrowing and intermingling of the Central Asian and the Hindu-Buddhist art traditions. It appears that by this time the understanding between the two segments of the society had gained definite grounds to achieve such an assimilation. It is of particular interest to note that the *Mehrab* has been provided within the thickness of the western wall of the fortification surrounding the outer corridor of the main mausoleum, and not in the centre of the western wall of the tomb chamber itself. The long corridor-gallery, therefore, has gained the status of a *Musallah*, the earliest of its kind in the whole of the Subcontinent. It could conveniently be used for individual or even congregational prayers. The *Mehrab* arch is crowned with a half dome and is faced with cut-brick ornamentation from top to bottom, both floral, arabesques and epigraphical. The pillarettes are faced with conventional scrolls, lotuses and petals, while several beaded and dentated mouldings run all through the base of the half dome. The capitals and the bases of the pillarettes have double bands on which lotus leaves are carved, while beyond a broad frieze running all along the sides and top faced with the long *Surat al-Fath* carved in floriated *Kufic* letters.

The inner face of the *Mehrab* arch has a rectangular panel created of cut brick in high relief. It is crowned with combination of well-marked scrolls and lotus leaves: the two flat sides of the arched panels are also faced with lotus leaves. The combination of floral motifs, arabesques and epigraphicals highly effective and portrays in the height of proficiency attempted by the two master craftsmen imbued in two divergent art traditions.

The interplay of conventional decorative scheme of two art traditions presented here is a positive evidence of the assimilation rather dominance of the Hindu terra-cotta art. It is evidently clear that the master craftsmen imbued with local traditions was given a free hand to introduce and manipulate his age old experience gained while embellishing the Hindu temples created in the 'Indo-Aryan' style. The variously designed mouldings and the rectangular projected panels ornamented with classical decorative motifs of lotuses, scrolls, dentils, petals, rosettes and geometric interlacements remind identical treatments meted out to the surfaces of the Hindu temples of the medieval days like the temples at Deograh in Jhansi district (c. 6th century), temple of Paponath (c. 680), temple of Virupaksha (c. 740) and many others. The brick stupas of Sindh may also be cited as the immediate prototypes of this style of ornamentation, while analogy could also be traced in the decorative patterning on the Malot Temple in the Salt Range which was erected sometimes in the 9th century. Above all, we may trace the sharp influence of the

patterning and general scheme in the decorative scheme employed on the architectural elements of some Hindu or Jaina temples of the 8th and 9th centuries, which were re-used in the cloisters of the *Quwwat u'l-Islam* at old Dehli with the exception of the Quranic verses carved in *Kufic* characters. It is evidently obvious that a master calligraphist well-versed in the architectural calligraphy was assigned the job of composing the lettering to be assimilated in the overall decorative schemes devised by some local master mason. The outcome of the exercise is superb, a classical example of the art of brick carving. The terra-cotta art found on yet another group of funerary memorials located in the district of Kharan in Baluchistan is a class by itself. Inspired mainly by the terra-cotta art of the Buddhist stupas in Sindh, it is represented exclusively by brick plaques fixed on the surfaces of these erection. Hundreds of such plaques on which various floral, geometric, as well as figural designs have been carved, and are arranged in continuous rows.

The tombs at Aror also provide an unmistakable influence of the identical designing on brick structures of Central Asian countries and are mostly alien to the repository we have examined so far, except the traditional chevrons, circles-in-contact, diapers and beaded friezes running alternately of the solid round mouldings at the base of the tomb structures. The new pattern encountered here are those created on broad friezes all along the four sides in the shape of pseudo-*Kufic* epigraphs, diapers in recess, honey combing, dentating, conical shaped merlons and, above all, the Achaemenian style brackets and capitals crowning the solid pillarettes, which are placed in high relief to divide each side of the structure into three compartments, the central one having a narrow arched entrance (Pl. 24).

The slope or batter in these brick buildings is well-marked since its very beginning. While at Bela the batter is undoubtedly nominal, while at Kabirwala it is very prominent to the extent that it has been strengthened with semi-circular or rectangular bastions at proper intervals. The pronounced batter of the majestic walls have given the mausoleum the shape of a fortress. Indeed, this is the earliest known fortress-like tomb built in the subcontinent by the early Muslim rulers in the beginning of the twelfth century. The construction had a far reaching influence on the planning and designing of monumental buildings of the subsequent period which had almost universally battered walls. Therefore, while the tomb of Shaikh Sadan in Muzaffargarh district, a group of tombs in Kharan district, tombs of Aror in Sindh, tomb of Farid Ganj-i-Shakar and his grandson Shaikh Ala'ud-Din both at Pakpattan, and several others have slight batter, the most pronounced and regulated slope is noticed in the Rukn-i-'Alam. The feature is noticeable in the later examples as well. In effect, the style is distinguished with pronounced batter as its main feature.

The discovery of these monuments is of sterling importance, especially the tombs at Bela and Kabirwala providing evidence which has made the earlier theories of Fergusson, Cunningham, Marshall, Brown, Vogel, Burton Page and others outdated. First, the claim that the earliest known tomb of the Islamic period in the South Asian Subcontinent is the flat-roofed structure of Yusuf Gardezi at Multan, is now to be

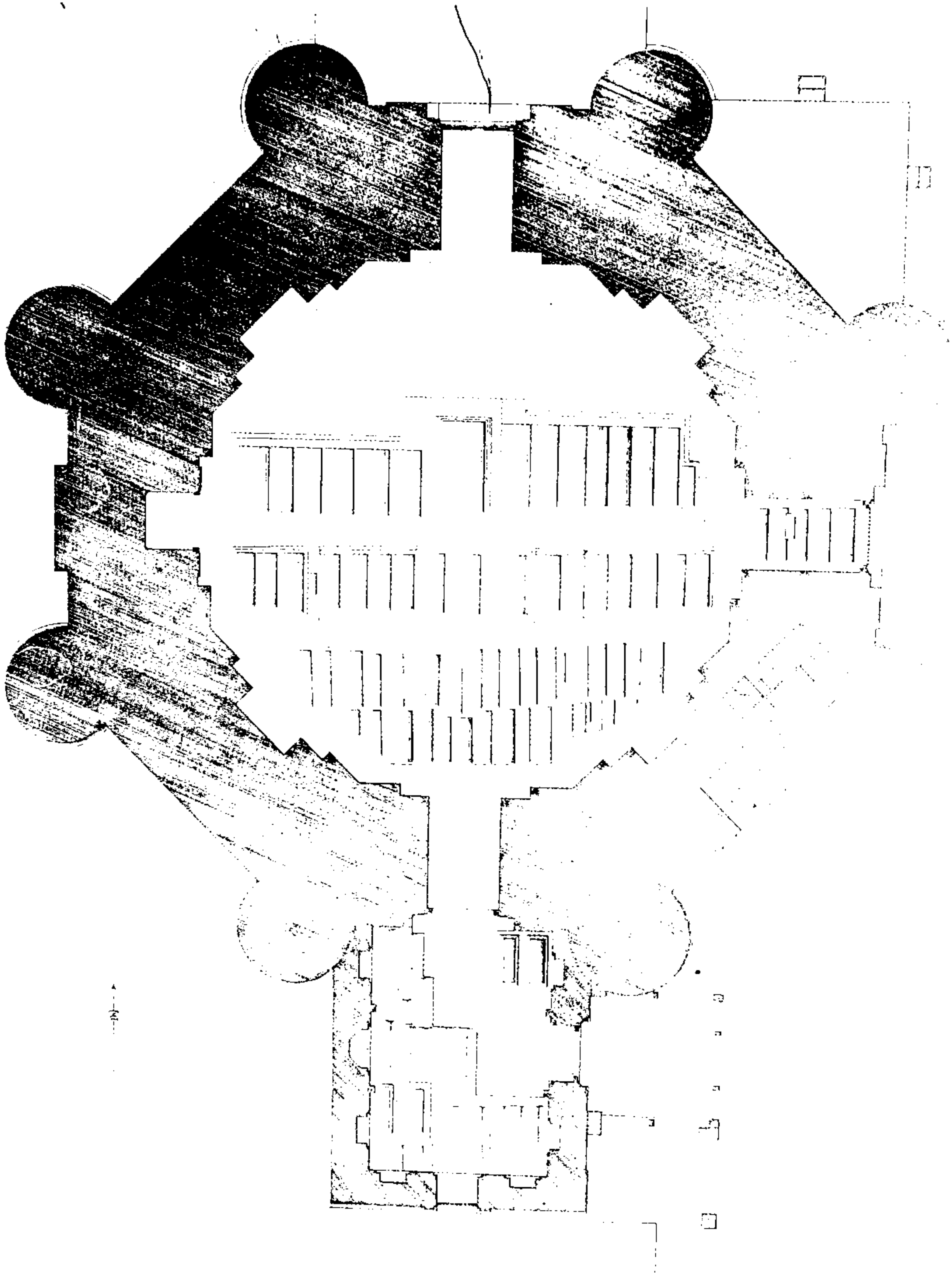


Fig. X : Multan : Mausoleum of Rukn-e-Alam. - Ground floor plan.

challenged. Even Burton Page's recent estimation that the domed mausoleum of Baha u'd-Din Zakariya could be regarded as the earliest funerary memorial in the subcontinent, stands to be corrected. Secondly, it was asserted by Marshall and, following him, by Brown and others that the true voussoired arch appeared for the first time in the tomb of Eltutmish at Dehli, but our new evidence proves that the technique had not only known but perfected at Multan in the tomb of Khalid Walid. Here, also the technique of half-dome was introduced for the first time, to be utilized almost universally in later periods. Thirdly, the epistemological study of monumental calligraphy used at our tomb reveals the happy note that the specimen served as a perfect prototype for its successors whether in wood or in stone, particularly at the *Quwwat u'l Islam* and the Qutb at Dehli, and the Rukn-i Alam at Multan.

TWO EARLY MUSALLAH-MEHRABS AT KABIRWALA AND PAKPATTAN

The provision of a *Musallah* in the prestigious funerary memorials has always been considered a necessary adjunct throughout the Islamic world. Sometimes, it took the shape of a proper and elaborate mosque attached to such religious buildings. The purpose of these *Musallahs* or mosques was to provide a well-defined and well-oriented place for prayers, often casual in nature and content, for the devotees and other visitors who came to the eternal abode of their respected or beloved departed soul, and wished to offer prayers for him. Initially, this was an arched niche provided in the centre of the western wall of the sepulture, but with the passage of time and the experience and resources gained both by the artist-mason as well as the patron, this architectural element achieved its own independent and respectable personality. In this later case, it was often provided in the centre of the western compound wall with sufficient space in front for prayers. In some cases, it was an independent structure, an elaborate arched niche placed independently in the vast courtyard of the mausoleum towards the west. Later, this architectural element became more elaborate and ornamented in the shape of a half-domed recessed arch and treated with floral geometrical and epigraphical decoration on its surface. In Pakistan, we have two such early *Musallahs* which are not only the earliest known specimens of its kind, but are also remarkable for their ornamentation, specially for the monumental calligraphy with which they are adorned.

The first, rather the earliest known *Musallah* with its characteristic features is now located at Khanewal (Punjab) in the shape of an elaborate arched niche put up in the centre of the perimeter-wall of the mausoleum of Khalid Walid forming the shape of a gallery. The architectural element has been crowned with a half-dome, the feature met with for the first time here (Pl. 25 Fig. VII).

The entire facing of the niche and its interior have been faced with cut-brick panels of different sizes and shapes; a double panel running on the sides and the top (now missing) are filled with Quranic verses and inscriptions providing historical details regarding the construction of the grand mausoleum, all devised in floriated Kufic within flat borders. Within the double frame which is slightly recessed, are square-shaped pillarettes flanking and supporting the main arch, the shafts of which are faced with the Quranic verses in cut-bricks. The pillarettes are crowned with composite capitals. The lower part has foliation of conventionalized acanthus put within a double series of plain and dentil moulding, while the bases possess **الله** and **محمد** in the same floriated Kufic

and floral tendrils, all arranged one upon the other. In effect, the triple frieze runs all along the inner facing of the Mehrab-arche forming the base on which the half dome rests. Above, its interior is revetted with a series of roundels, tendrils, and some of the attributes of 'Allah' and the verses of the Qur'an, all arranged within horizontal friezes, the lower are separated by solid brick courses and the upper by means of a frieze of chevrons, going right upto the apex. The small squares, within which are placed circles of foliages or the attributes are created by means of geometric pattern.

The interior of the *Mehrab* has been treated with plain faced cut and rubbed bricks, except the centre which possesses a bold trefoil arch created in high relief, also in cut bricks, and crowned with a motif of tendrils. The composition of the trefoil outline is of tusks and, more prominently, the tendrils are created in the form of arabesques. The round shafts of pillarettes are also of cut-and-rubbed bricks, crowned with elaborate bell-shaped capitals. The inner face of the trefoil arch is revetted with circles-in-contact, again created in high relief. The upper two parts are filled with tendrils while the lower ones are arranged in two lines and, in centre, are placed the names of the Prophet and the four pious caliphs. The intervening space is filled with arabesque foliages. The groins have projected panels consisting of three courses of cut-bricks, on the face of which are carved several attributes of 'Allah' within a flat border. The technique employed for creating these geometric, floral as well as epigraphical ornamentation is that the thin side of the well-baked red brick has been cut and carved with the required part of the design in relief. One or two or even three such carved brick joined together complete the design or the words of epigraphical text. Unfortunately, the upper part of the half-dome and the arch below have collapsed, making the inscription incomplete. However, as they are mostly the verses from the Qur'an, they can be reconstructed for the sake of obtaining complete text of these verses. The face of the *Mehrab*, as described above, has been arranged in various panels, of which the second has العزت لله repeated at intervals, while the third panel has يا الله، الله اكبر again repeated at intervals and arranged in squares. The fourth panel running on the sides and atop the outer frame of the arch bears verses from 9 to 129 of the *Surah al-Tauba* of the Qur'an, devised and carved in foliated Kufic characters.

(فان) تولو قتل حسى الله لاله الا هو عليه توكلت وهو رب العرش العظيم

Similarly, the north corner has a projected pendentive, the surface of which has الملك within a broad flat frame, and the identical panel on the north has, the two expressions meaning 'Verily', the sovereignty (of the Universe) belongs to Allah. Likewise, the surface of the northern pillarette has وبشر المؤمنين (al-Qur'an:6-13) and that of the southern pillarette : نصر من الله وفتح قريب

The bases of these pillarettes have الله، محمد، ابو بكر within bold flat border carved on the sides of five bricks in floriated Kufic characters.

The second frieze running on the sides and atop the Mehrab-arch immediately in

the neighbourhood of the pillarettes, though disturbed at the top, has verses of the Qur'an carved and arranged in identical manner. It reads :

انما عمّر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر واقامت الصلوة - الامير القوب جهان (?) على بن كرامخ اعزة الامارة .

The outer accompanying frieze has been treated with the same manner, the facing of which has the text carved in floriated Kufic within a flat bold border. This text is all the more important as it provides historical details of the construction of the mausoleum and the name of patron who caused its construction. The crowning part of it is again disturbed as the structure from here has collapsed. The remaining part of it reads :

The blank space in between the text has been tastefully filled with arabesques carved in the same fashion according to the Central Asian Art traditions.

The monument, it might be emphasized, is unique, erected on the soil of Pakistan entirely in brick and faced with cut-brick ornamentation, in the beginning of the thirteenth century by a governor of Multan under Shahab u'd-Din Ghuri, whose name has been recorded in the epigraph as 'Ali bin Karmakh. Now as the historical source shows, the person was appointed by the Sultan immediately after the overthrow of the Ghanavid power in the area, and stayed at Multan for about ten years when he was transferred to govern Lahore on behalf of his Sultan. No further reference of this personage, or the saint lying buried here, is known to us except that he came to Multan alongwith the armies of Mahmud of Ghaznin and decided to stay on to preach Islam among the local population. He must, however, be a great personality over whose mortal remains such a grand sepulture was erected.

THE MUSALLAH-E-NIZAMIYYA, PAKPATTAN

Pakpattan is now essentially known and celebrated for the eternal abode of Baba Farid Gunj-i-Shakar, an important saint of the *Chishtiya Silsilah*. He lived here for a considerably long time, and created a *Khanqah* to propagate and practise Islamic suffistic way of life. One of his devoted disciples and successors was Nizam u'd-Din, who lived with him at Pakpattan, later to become a celebrated and important saint of his time and known as Nizam u'd-Din Auliya. He is lying buried at Dehli. During his life time when he stayed at Pakpattan in the *Khanqah-i-Faridiya*, he is known to have selected a spot near the tomb of his master on the north-east corner for offering his prayers. Later, his devotees erected a *Musallah-arch* at the spot in the shape of a single independent structure in bricks laid and plastered in lime mortar, while the face was revetted with marble slabs for the purpose of ornamentation. The deeply recessed arch of the *Musallah* has a trefoiled facing placed on elaborate pillarettes having bell-shaped capital and three-pannelled square shafts. A broad panel runs on the outer rim of the *Musallah* and has the *Ayat u'l-kursi* beginning with *Bismillah*, carved within a thin flat border. The upper frieze is thicker than those flanking the main-arch. The whole facing has been divided into three parts of marble blocks: the upper part having the frieze; the lower part

consisting of the trefoil arch; and the lowest from the pillarettes upto the bottom. The panels of the inscriptions and the outlines of the arch are carved in high relief. Still another band of smaller width runs within the space in between the pillarettes and the main bands. This and the rim of the arch have been ornamented with verses. The spandrels have elaborately carved seven-petalled rosette with a boss in the centre in high relief.

The letters of the text here have been kept smaller according to the space available, but they are sharp and precise. The interior of the deeply recessed *Musallah-arch* is also revetted with marble. It has a bold roundel at the top, while below it is a Quranic verse headed by the *Bismillah*. The text is arranged in three lines (Pl. 33) and reads :-

1. کلمہ داخل علیہا ذکر یا المہراب وجد عندہا رزقا
2. قال یا مریم انی لک ہذا۔ قالت ہو من عند اللہ
3. ان اللہ یرزق من یشاء بغیر حساب (pl.33)

All the texts have been designed and carved in bold Naskh-Suls characters, well proportioned and sharp. No date or the name of the patron has been recorded on it. However, the style of the text carved on it shows that it might have been created during the time of Muhammad bin Tughluq when he caused the construction of the mosque and the Mausoleum of Shaikh `Ala u'd-Din Mauj Darya within the precinct of the *Khanqah* in 737/1336.

Many renovations and additions have been made to this important structure. It has been provided with a flat R.C.C roof, a brick laid-in-cement mortar wall on the north and a low marble railing of perforated screens on the south, thus making it a small enclosure within the space in between the mausoleums of Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar and his great grandson, Shaikh `Ala' u'd-Din. The whole structure along with the *Musallah-arch* has been tastelessly painted with green oil bound paint. The ornamented arch and its inscriptions have been painted in black thus spoiling its original beauty and serene elegance.

CONCLUSION

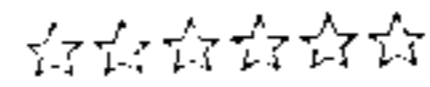
The *Musallah-arch* of the mausoleum of Khalid Walid is the most significant specimen of its kind as it is the first known Mehrab-arch erected in the South Asian Subcontinent, evincing the blossoming of the two art traditions - the Hindu-Buddhist and the Islamic - particularly the brick architecture of the Buddhists in Sindh. It appears that some master-masons from Central Asia conceived and designed the masterpiece, but local craftsmen imbued with Buddhist art-traditions executed it. The spirit of the terracotta art of the Buddhist Viharas at Mirpur Khas, for instance, is discernible in its fullest expression here, especially the treatment of the capitals and bases of the pillarettes supporting the arched recess, and the elaborate and bold trefoil arch of the inner face of the *Mehrab*, while the perfect geometry of the half-dome and the treatment of the foliated



Pl. 33 : Pakpatan : Mausoleum of Ala u'd-Din Mauj Darya
 The Compound : The Musallah-e-Nizamiya

and floriated Kufic inscriptions remind the formation of its counterparts in the various cultural centres of Central Asia.

Likewise, the *Musallah* of the *Khanqah-i-Faridiya* takes the Central Asian traditions to yet another higher step of assimilation and wider influence. It has all the features and characteristics of the architecture and architectural calligraphy, and takes it back to the traditions to the days of the early Turkish Sultanate when the *Quwwat u'l-Islam*, the Qutb Minar and the *Arha'i din ka Jhonpra* were created and ornamented with inscriptions carved in exactly the same style.



DABGARAN MOSQUE, THATTA:

ITS ARCHITECTURE AND ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

Thatta, the chief centre of the socio-political activities of Sindh during the medieval times, had the distinction of possessing some of the outstanding specimens of the Islamic architecture in the Subcontinent. The glory of grand and colourful mosques, tombs, *madrasas*, towers, palaces etc. once adorned the city and environs to prove that its people led a life of opulence and luxury. Few of these monumental buildings have, however, survived the ravages of time, except a few mosques and tombs standing in the city and on the neighbouring hillock called the Makli Hill. These buildings, though now devoid of their original sheen and beauty, are reminiscent of the glory that this metropolis once had.

Among these grand edifices was a Jam'e Mosque now commonly known as the *Dabgir Masjid*. Originally, the mosque stood in the midst of the old bazaar of Dabgaran, then a thriving business centre, and was the chief congregational mosque of the city. It was therefore called *Masjid Dabgaran*. Built in well-fired red bricks on stone foundation and clad with colourful tiles and tile-mosaics, the mosque once crowned the city centre. The area has now formed the southern extremity of the town lying deserted and desolate. The mosque itself is now a shell of its by-gone glory; only the dilapidated prayer chamber exists and the main entrance, the vestibule, cloisters and other usual architectural elements have fallen and disappeared. During its heyday, the mosque was visited by multitude of people, both the elite of the city as well as the commoners. Among them was also the Moghul emperor Shahjahan who came to Thatta during the days of his princehood and offered prayer here. Later, on his accession, he ordered to build a much bigger mosque here which was completed in 1054-57/1644-47 and was named as Shahjahan Mosque. It appears that since that date, the Dabgaran Mosque lost its importance (Pl. 33).

The Founder:

The mosque was built by Khusrau Khan Charkas, a descendant of the famous Chengez Khan, who came to Sindh in his early days and joined the service of Mulla Jani of Bunder as a petty servant. After some time, he entered the service of 'Isa Khan Tarkhan I (962-74/1554-66) as his cup-bearer. Gradually, he rose to prominence and gained the confidence of his master who appointed him the administrator of his

possessions. He retired from this position during the days of Mirza Baqi Beg (974-93/1566-85). But, he achieved a real influence and eminence during the days of Mirza Jani Beg, the last independent ruler of the Tarkhan family of whom he was the grand vazier. During the hectic days of the encounter between Jani Beg and Khan Khanan, Khusrau Charkas played a prominent role and showed his skill and competence both as a warrior as well as an administrator and diplomat. When the terms of reconciliation between Khan Khanan and Jani Beg were negotiated, Khusrau Khan advocated the cause of his master. His performance impressed the Moghul general so much that he asked Jani Beg to include Charkas in his entourage for the imperial court. Later on, when Akbar bestowed the governorship of certain areas of lower Sindh on Jani Beg, Khusrau Khan Charkas was given the task of looking after the administration of these areas on behalf of Jani Beg. On the death of Jani Beg, Charkas was appointed regent of Ghazi Beg who was a minor at the time of his accession.

In 1017/1608, Jahangir decided to send Ghazi Beg to Qandahar to suppress the revolt of Qazilbashis. In his absence, Khusrau Khan was to look after the affairs of Sindh. During this period, he committed excesses and also misbehaved with Tarkhan nobles who complained to Ghazi Beg against him. Ghazi Beg decided to dismiss Charkas and appoint Hindu Khan in his place.

This perhaps occurred in 1019/1610. But the new arrangements were not to last long as hardly a year later Mirza Ghazi himself died suddenly. On this, Khusrau ousted Hindu Khan, declared Mirza Abd u'l -Ali, a descendent of Mirza Baqi, as successor of Ghazi Beg, and himself took the reigns of the government. Jahangir's stern action frustrated Charkas's plans who deposed the young Abd u'l-Ali and ordered him to present himself to the Imperial Court. Khusrau Charkas was also to accompany the deposed prince. On their arrival at Ajmer, they were put to prison. Charkas died in prison.

Thus came to an end the eventful career of Khusrau Charkas who rose to the high power from a very low position and enjoyed virtually the rights and privileges of a ruler in Sindh for well over twenty-five years. The contemporary as well as latter historians have portrayed him as a most capable administrator with decent taste and cultured habits. Generous and religious minded, he never disappointed those who came to him for favour. During the long period of his political and administrative influence, he also tried to do as much good to the people as possible. According to Qane, he built as many as 360 public works for the benefit of his people which included mosques, wells, bridges, tanks, pavilions etc. Among these, his two monumental buildings, the Dabgaran Mosque at Thatta and the Sat Charhni at Makli Hill still exist though in dilapidated condition. These monuments speak of the resourcefulness and taste of the builder.

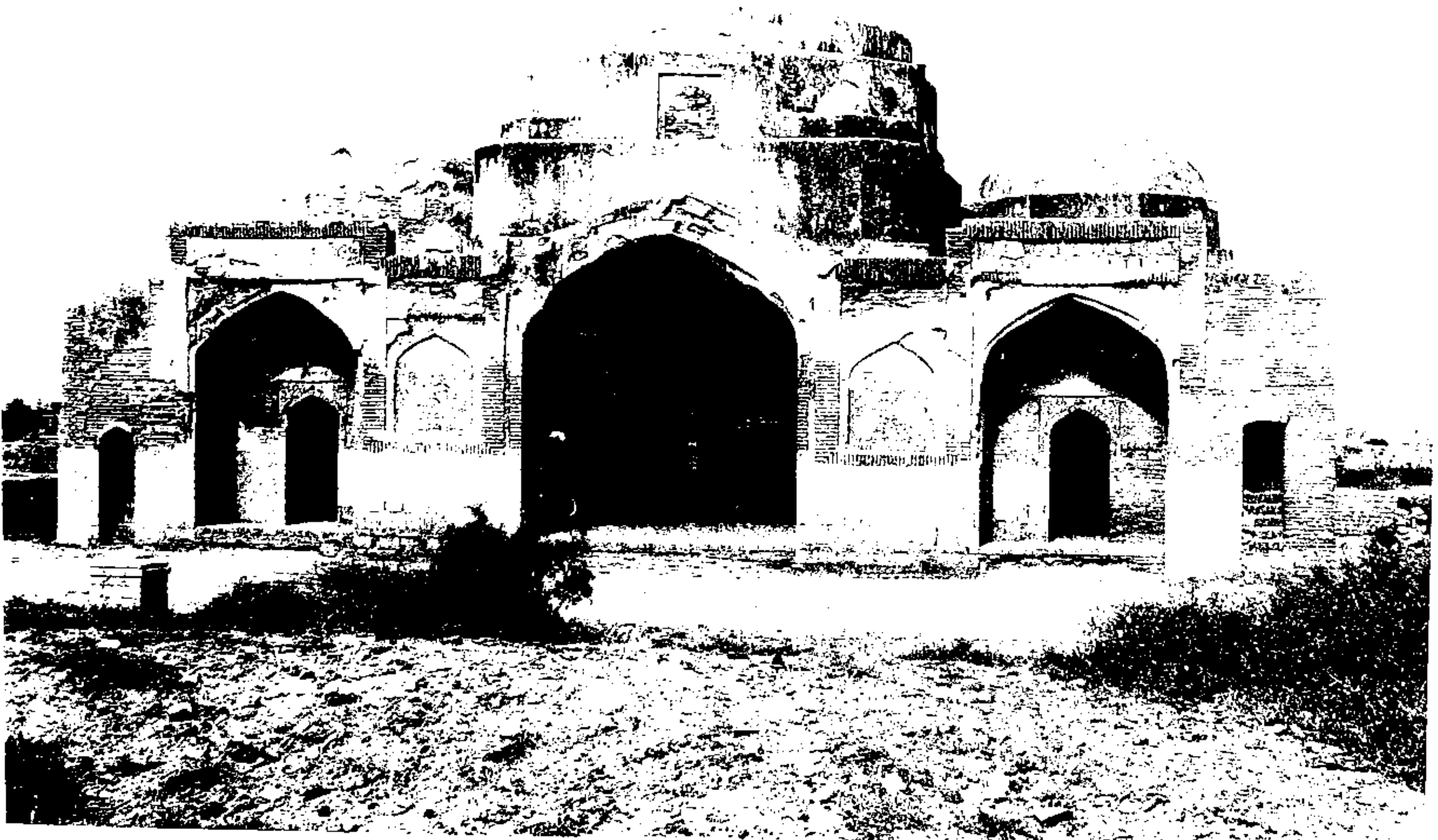
The Mosque; Architecture:

The Dabgaran Mosque which at its prime served as the main congregational place in the city of Thatta, was built in 997/1588. It possessed characteristic features of

the architecture and architectural decoration used in the historic buildings at Thatta and Makli Hill. Unfortunately, most of the grandeur of this mosque which it once had has gone now (Pl. 32). The entrance gateway and the cloister which must have been grand and impressive, have fallen and disappeared. The most outstanding feature is its decoration in faience and faience-mosaics with which the interior of the prayer chamber is replete. Similarly, the exquisitely carved stone *Mehrab* is the one of the most beautiful specimens of the art of stone carving (Pl. 34).

The courtyard of the mosque, a rectangle measuring 96 feet 7 inches in length and 61 inches in width, and the prayer chamber are now enclosed with a modern brick-wall with a five feet break in the centre on the east for entrance. The courtyard has lost its original brick pavement, while the surrounding area, especially towards the east, outside the boundary wall, is filled with jungle growth.

The one aisle-prayer chamber is to a great extent intact and is the only existing part of the mosque. Architecturally, it is an oblong structure measuring, internally, 82 feet 11 inches from south to north and 38 feet 4 1/2 inches from east to west. It has three compartments divided by two heavily engaged arches supported by massive jambs and surmounted by domes placed on high octagonal drums, the recesses of which possess



Pl. 34 : Thatta: Dabgaran Mosque - General view.

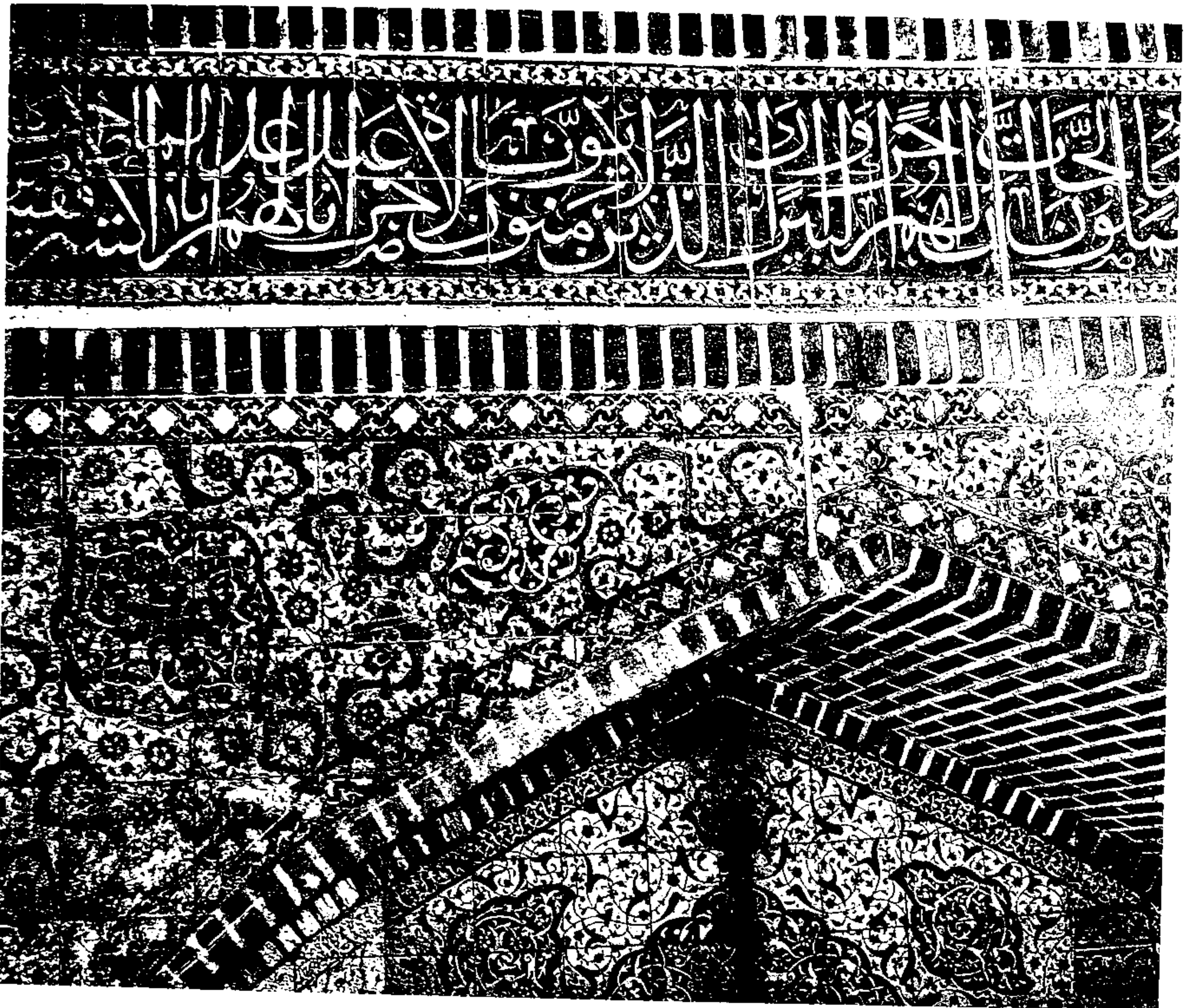
the projected exterior of the squinches. The springing lines of the three square-shaped compartments have been converted into octagons with the help of squinches in order to have the 'zone of transition' for placing the bases of the drums. The western wall of each compartment possesses the *Mehrab* in the shape of an arched niche, the central one being the grandest. Similarly, the north and south sides of the side compartments have arched niches.

The front openings of the prayer chamber, three in number, possess four centred arches, the central one, facing the nave, being the largest and the highest. Originally, it had a low facade of parapet, now fallen and disappeared. The two side openings still retain the projected horizontal frames. The exterior surface was originally treated with thick lime plaster creating decorative panels in low recess. The two piers on either side of the central opening leading to the nave had glazed tiles. Much of this surface decoration has decayed and fallen, leaving the patches of brick masonry bare. At the extreme end of each corner is an arched opening of stair-case leading to the prayer chamber.

The Mehrab:

Inside the prayer chamber, the main feature of interest are the high and deep arched niches set in the centre of the three compartments to mark the formal *Mehrab*. The main *Mehrab* in the central compartment, has a special treatment of elaborate decoration. It is a big panel of yellow sand stone, surmounted with another arched panel of glazed tile-mosaics. The individuality of the stone panel have been emphasised by the use of yellow sand stone which adds advantageously and soberly to the light and shade of the polychrome faience revetment. The whole surface is divided into several horizontal and vertical panels on which are carved floral motifs. The two broad main panels, one horizontal and the other vertical running upward possess Quranic inscriptions. The horizontal panel has the date in numbers. On either side of these panels are running panels of intricate floral tracery in high relief. The floral decoration consists of intertwined scrolls and the bands of full-blown multi-petalled lotuses carved in high relief, and placed one upon the other, and the tendrils arranged in between the lotuses, thus creating a highly ornamental chain of lotuses. Similarly, the central space of the spandrils has been decorated with full-blown multi-petalled lotuses charged in high relief, while the remaining space has been filled with scrolls and dentils.

The arched recess sunk 3 feet 9 inches deep into the wall also possesses intricate decorative motifs. The surface has been arranged in five long vertical panels each having beautifully carved medallions placed under an ornamental arch which, in turn, is crowned with an arrow-head motif. The top and bottom of the medallions possess full-blown lotuses carved in high relief. Similarly, the blank space on either side of the medallions both at the top and the bottom as well as on the side of the arch, is filled with small lotuses. The inner border of the panel is decorated with tracery of intricate design, while the exterior has a row of lotuses placed within a chain of lozenges. The interior of the arch and the space at the back has been filled with intertwined tendrils. The piers of



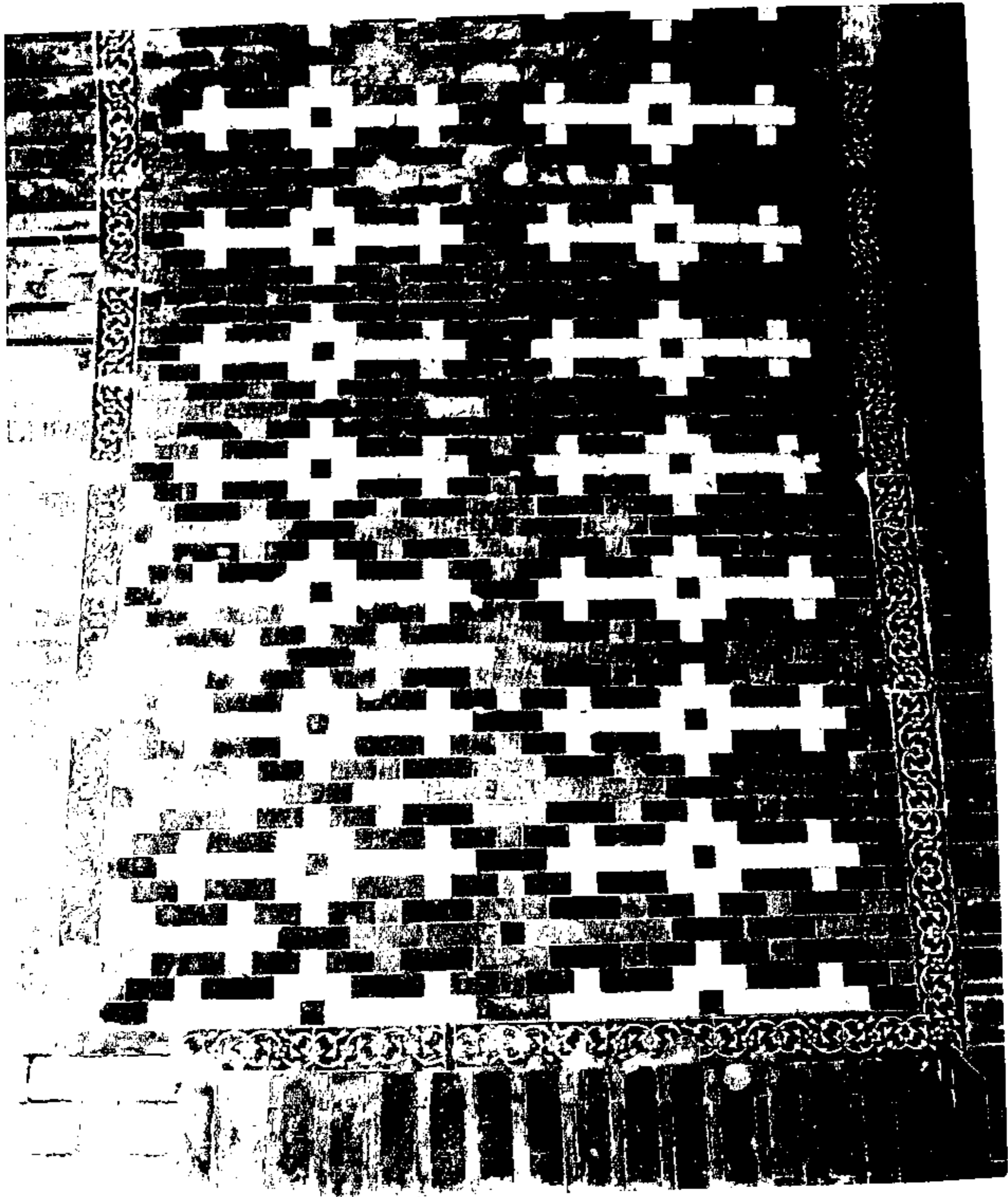
Pl. 35 :Thatta:-The Dabgaran Mosque: Faience mosaic
revetment on the interior of the Aiwan.

the arched niches are provided with two decorative plasters in high relief on the tops of which are placed two small crowns, while the lower surface has been divided into two parts separated with slightly projected miniature pavilions. The surface has vertical rows of circlets intertwined in the shape of a chain. On either side of the *Mehrab* are two small arched openings, 2 feet 4 inches wide, penetrating through the wall which provide light and air to the interior of the prayer chamber (Pl. 35).

The two side compartments of the prayer chamber also possess *Mehrabs* in the shape of arched niches in order to create harmony. They are, however, less ornamental and do not possess stone facing. The niches have been divided into five vertical panels from top to bottom for the purpose of decoration.

The Faience Revetment:

As usual with the brick architecture in Sindh, the interior of the prayer chamber is



Pl. 36 . Thatta: Dabgaran Mosque - faience mosaic work.

covered with faience decoration, arranged in panels of various shapes and sizes. The colourful surface decoration has been achieved by adopting the following three different techniques at different places (Pl. 33).

I. Square brick tiles having floral design in blue and white glaze. These tiles are fixed to obtain a full and continuous pattern of decoration. The joints of the tiles are laid together in such a way that there is hardly anything visible outside. The device, it may be noticed, has been used almost universally on brick buildings in Sindh.

II. Glazed-surface bricks are arranged to obtain geometric patterns like squares, lozenges, crosses, grids, triangles, etc. Sometime the bricks having different

glazed colours are put together as alternate course, thus creating straight and continuous lines of different colours mostly red and blue. Yet another device of similar nature is to have the bricks and glazed edges in white or blue. When arranged, the glazed line of the bricks imitates the line of mortar in between the courses of bricks.

III. Specially cut and glazed small pieces of terra-cotta tiles are arranged together to create intricate floral or inscriptional patterns. This device is called 'mosaics' and is effectively though sparingly used to cover the surface of the squinches the broad band on the drum as well as the stone panel of the central *Mehrab*.

The central compartment possesses some beautiful tile decoration: applied on square tiles to cover the soffits of the four grand arched openings. The main motifs used here are the two big and two small medallions placed at the corners and near the apex. The remaining space is filled with scrolls of tendrils and flowers. The decorative scheme has been repeated on all the bigger or smaller soffits in other compartments (Pl. 36)

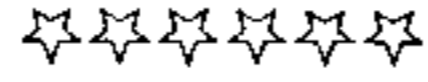
Besides, the side-compartments have two more decorative schemes in glazed tiles. They are applied on the inner space of the *Mehrab*. The surface has been divided into two horizontal bands. The lower one possesses square tiles on which are designed a series of lozenges placed one upon the other, while the upper panel covering the area near the apex is decorated with tile-mosaics representing a somewhat honeycombed pattern.

CONCLUSION

The above description of the architecture and architectural decoration of the Dabgaran Mosque, the earliest existing mosque in Thatta, provides some interesting aspects of the evolution and development of the mosque architecture in Sindh. The dilapidated and structurally devoid of essential elements of the mosque, it is still a fine specimen of traditional brick architecture and ornamentation. Among the most interesting features is its *Mehrab* which decorates the nave of the prayer chamber. The *Mehrab* has been regarded as the principal architectural feature of a mosque and therefore special attention has been paid to create it as grand and ornamental as possible. The high arched-niche has been encased with yellow stone, which has been carved in decorative motifs as well as Quranic inscriptions. The art of stone carving in Sindh, it may be pointed out, was a local ingenuity practised here since the olden days and was perhaps influenced with the art of Gujerat manifested in the monumental works like Hilal Khan Qazi's mosque at Dholka, the Jam'e Mosque at Champaner and the tomb of Mubarak Shah at Mahmudabad. However, the personality of Sindhi artist is emphasized at every stage of his work.

But, it was in the faience and faience-mosaic decoration that this mosque made a significant contribution. The real glazed tile mosaics used here as surface decoration was the earliest experiments which the architect of this mosque carried out. The device was used, though sparingly in Sindh, in later buildings, the best example of which is the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta and the Amir Khani graveyard at Makli Hill. Similarly, the mosque represents some beautiful designs used on glazed tiles. The decorative designs as well as the colour scheme of these tiles indicate that the artist was influenced by the

examples of the Persian work. However, whatever the influences and borrowings might have been, the specimens of art available at the Dabgaran Mosque prove an experiment and capable handling of material at the disposal of the architect as well as the artist who were responsible to create this beautiful specimen of the brick architecture of Sindh.



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THE TOMB OF ANARKALI AT LAHORE

ITS STORY AND ARCHITECTURE

Lahore is one of the most significant centres which possesses coveted specimens of the Moghul style of architecture in the Subcontinent. Here, the great Moghul Emperor, Jalal u'd-Din Muhammad Akbar, had his abode for about a decade and a half during the earlier phase of his reign to plan and control his military campaigns in the northern parts of his fast growing empire. During this long period, he erected fabulous palaces for the administration of his empire as well as for the residence of his entourage, both within and without the fortification, which too was his own creation. The tradition continued flourishing throughout the suzerainty of the Imperial Moghuls and every successor of Akbar including the queens, princes, princesses, *umara*, the courtiers and the elite of the city, built forts, palaces, serais, pavilions, *ba'ulis* and hunting resorts in and around the city. One of these architectural manifestations was the majestic and massive sepulchre popularly known as the tomb of Anarkali, the eternal resting place of a charming damsel known to romantic history as Anarkali or the pomegranate kernel.

The Story and its Authors:

The tradition of romance and chivalry around the Moghul crown prince, Salim and Anarkali was recorded for the first time by an English traveller, William Finch¹, then repeated and enlarged upon by several later writers including Edward Terry², Chishti,³ Kanahyya Lal,⁴ Latif,⁵ Muhammad Din Fauq,⁶ Imtiaz Ali Taj,⁷ etc. These accounts vary in detail but essentially relate the same story. According to the details, Anarkali was the daughter of a Persian merchant named Ejaz. Due to some mishap in his family, his fortune dwindled and he became penniless. In order to try his luck elsewhere, he set out alongwith his young daughter of extraordinary beauty for Hindustan. On his way, misfortune again came in his way and a band of robbers fell upon the caravan. During the scuffle that ensued he and his compatriots were slain and only the young girl was saved to become a prey of the robbers whose leader was Deler Koh. The matter was reported to the Moghul *nazim* of Kabul in whose jurisdiction the incidence had taken place. The robbers were caught and the girl was recovered. Raja Man Singh, then governor of Kabul, sent the girl to Lahore. Eventually, the monarch gave her the title of Anarkali. It was the time when Prince Salim, a handsome and privileged youth and heir-apparent of the Moghul empire, enjoyed a free access to the imperial *Harem* where he was liked and secretly loved by several girls. His love affair with Anarkali began in these circumstances. They developed intimate relations. Due to the prince's extraordinary adoration of the damsel the secret could not, however, be kept up for long. He was suspected by his tutor, Abu'l Fazl, who reprimanded the prince to no avail, while the girl

was beaten up by a jealous concubine of the *Harem*, Ranbir Kumari. The situation soon became serious when the royal parents were informed of the secret love affair. The father was all the more remorseful; he regarded the affair as an infringement of his own private life as the girl belonged to his retinue and, therefore, the son had no right to develop intimate relations with the slave girl. One day, as the story goes, the Emperor was enjoying a music party alongwith his empress and other ladies of the *Harem* in the Shish Mahal of the Lahore Fort. The prince was also present in the party. The girl was dancing and singing when a jealous slave girl came forward and drew the imperial attention to the reflections in the mirrors showing the girl's return smile on an amorous suggestion by the prince. This infuriated the Emperor beyond limits. He left the party in anger ordering the arrest of Anarkali. The alarmed prince took the girl with him and managed to flee from the court. Desperate Akbar instructed his servants to hasten in pursuit to arrest the fugitives. Soon, they were taken in possession and the emperor passed death sentence to the unfortunate girl. She was buried alive by placing her in an upright position within the brick wall or a platform. Prince Salim was, however, left unpunished and unharmed, but he felt utmost remorse only to keep up a quietus hatred against his cruel father. Later, on ascending the throne, he repaid the debt and built a magnificent tomb over the grave and paid an eloquent and expressive tribute through a Persian verse carved on the marble cenotaph:-

آه از من باز نسیم روی یار خویش را تا قیامت شکر گویم کردگار خویش را

Such is the substance of the love affair of Anarkali and Prince Salim which has aroused imagination of several writers, dramatists and movie makers. However, as said earlier, it hardly stands the test of history. At the outset, it must be conceded that such spicy ingredients are known to have often been mixed with similar love stories attributed to the princes and princesses of the royal family. However, before commenting upon the historicity of the incidence, it is worthwhile to analyse and examine various points put forward by the writers of this story. The first report of this incidence was made by William Finch, who says:-

'Passing the Sugar Gonge is a faire miskite built by Sheeke Fereed: beyond it (without the towns, in the way to the gardens) is a faire monument for Don sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immacque Kelle, or Pomegranate Kernell); upon notice of which the King (Akbar) caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his moholl, where she dyed, and the King (Jahangir), in token of his love, commands a sumptuous tomb to be built of stone in the midst of a foure square garden richly walled, with a gate and divers roomes over it. The convexity of the tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire jounter with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention are of such largeness that, if they were otherwise, contrived, would have roome to entertaine a very good man with his whole household'.⁸

A careful analysis of the above passage gives an unmistakable evidence that the curious stranger who was completely ignorant of the trait and tempo of the local society,

was casually referring to a street gossip. As he had no correct knowledge of the royalty and the other historical events, he commits several errors. While the fact that at some distance of Usman al-Hujveri's tomb,⁹ a mosque built by Shaikh Farid was located, cannot be verified as no such mosque exists now. Further, his assertion that Anarkali was the mother of Daniyal and prince Salim, had love affair with her, is obviously a very serious charge against the Moghul prince. Apart from the fact that Daniyal's mother was a concubine¹⁰ whose name has not come down to us, the mere fact that the Moghul prince would have had a love affair with his own step-mother is completely preposterous.¹¹ Secondly, the wall in which the unfortunate girl was buried alive was, according to the statement, located in the 'Moholl' (palace), apparently a fort. Now, as the evidence provides, the imperial palace was nowhere else but within the city fortification itself. If the contention is accepted, it would be impossible to accept that the tomb was erected by 'Salim Akbar', far away from the burial spot. Thirdly, according to the statement, the tomb was constructed of stone which is improbable because the normal building medium in the area was brick and the tomb in question is of burnt brick. However, the description of the tomb may be taken as correct to the extent that it was located within a perimeter wall in the midst of a spacious garden having an imposing entrance gateway and several rooms and other paraphernalia within it. The description largely corroborates with the details of the characteristics of the garden-tomb architecture of the Moghul period.

The second reference to the episode is made by another British traveller, Edward Tery who visited Lahore about five years after Finch. He adds some more spice to the story by saying 'Achbar-Shah had threatened to disinherit the present king, for abuse of Anarkali (that is Pomegranate Kernell), his most beloved wife: but on his death-bed repealed it'¹².

The strain has been followed by local chroniclers and historians without going deep into the historical facts and their chronological order. *Chishti* relates:-

'It has been learnt that Anarkali was a beautiful slave girl of Akbar. Her real name is said to be Nadira Begum or Sharifun-Nisa, but Akbar gave her the name of Anarkali (Pomegranate Blossom) for the reason that she was very beautiful. The dome of the tomb is very fine, pleasing, octagonal in shape, and very lofty. Originally there were four graves under the dome, one of them being that of Anarkali and three of other slave girls. As the king loved her the most she was ever in his attendance with the result that other Begums began to envy her. Now, some say that she was poisoned, while others hold that when Akbar had been on an expedition to Deccan, she died of some disease. First an ordinary tomb was built over her remains, but when the King returned and heard the sad news of Anarkali's death, he was very much grieved and erected this tomb. I (i.e. writer) saw the grave stone which was of marble, and contained the attributes of God written in bold characters. The grave stone was like that of King Jahangir. There was also writing on the top. About the remaining three tombs, it is related that one of them was that of her compatriot from Yaman and two other slave girls. When Anarkali died in the absence of the King, both these two slave girls committed suicide for fear that if the

king would know the death of Anarkali, he would surely put them to trouble. This shows that Anarkali was most probably poisoned'.¹³

The narration provides the following details which were not available in previous accounts:-

1. The actual name of Anarkali was Sharf u'n-Nisa, or Nadira Begum.
2. The tomb had earlier four graves, the principal one being of Anarkali and the other three of other slave girls.
3. Her death was due to palace jealousy and intrigues as the other inmates of the harem had become jealous of her, and she was poisoned when the Emperor was away in the Deccan.
4. The other rumour was that she died of natural death because of some serious ailment.
5. The tomb was erected by Akbar himself.

The nature and contents of these contentions have little historical relevance. No other historian or chronicler, earlier or later, has provided these details nor does the author himself quote authority for his various statements. It is evident that many of these are based on his own surmises and conjecture. Similarly, the details of the cenotaph recorded by him show his utter carelessness. For instance, he says سلطان سلیم اکبر (Sultan Salim Akbar) instead of مجنون سلیم اکبر (Majnun Salim Akbar). Further, the cenotaph mentions no month except the phrase, در شہریور (in the month) while *Chishti* puts the month as well. Again, the cenotaph is said to have resemblance with that of Jahangir's grave. While the fact is that the cenotaph has got no resemblance with that specimen, which is a marble monolith having carving in bold relief. The cenotaph of Jahangir's grave possesses exquisite decoration of *pietra dura* which is a completely different technique. Again, no trace of the other graves of the three slave girls is available now.

The next reference in order of chronology, is the version of Kanahayya Lal. His account is brief, mainly taken from *Chishti's* statement and contains no new information except that the tomb was built in the centre of a garden.¹⁴

The extensive writings of Latif provide valuable information on history and architecture of some major historic cities of the Subcontinent. His book on Lahore, likewise, contains our story with its full details.¹⁵ In fact, the version gives a melodramatic touch to the street gossip and converts it, for the first time, into a wholesome story, full of romance and chivalry. However, the rationale remains the same as its predecessors. The story, therefore, caught fancy of the later writers and dramatists like Muhammad Din Fauq and Imtiaz 'Ali Taj.¹⁶

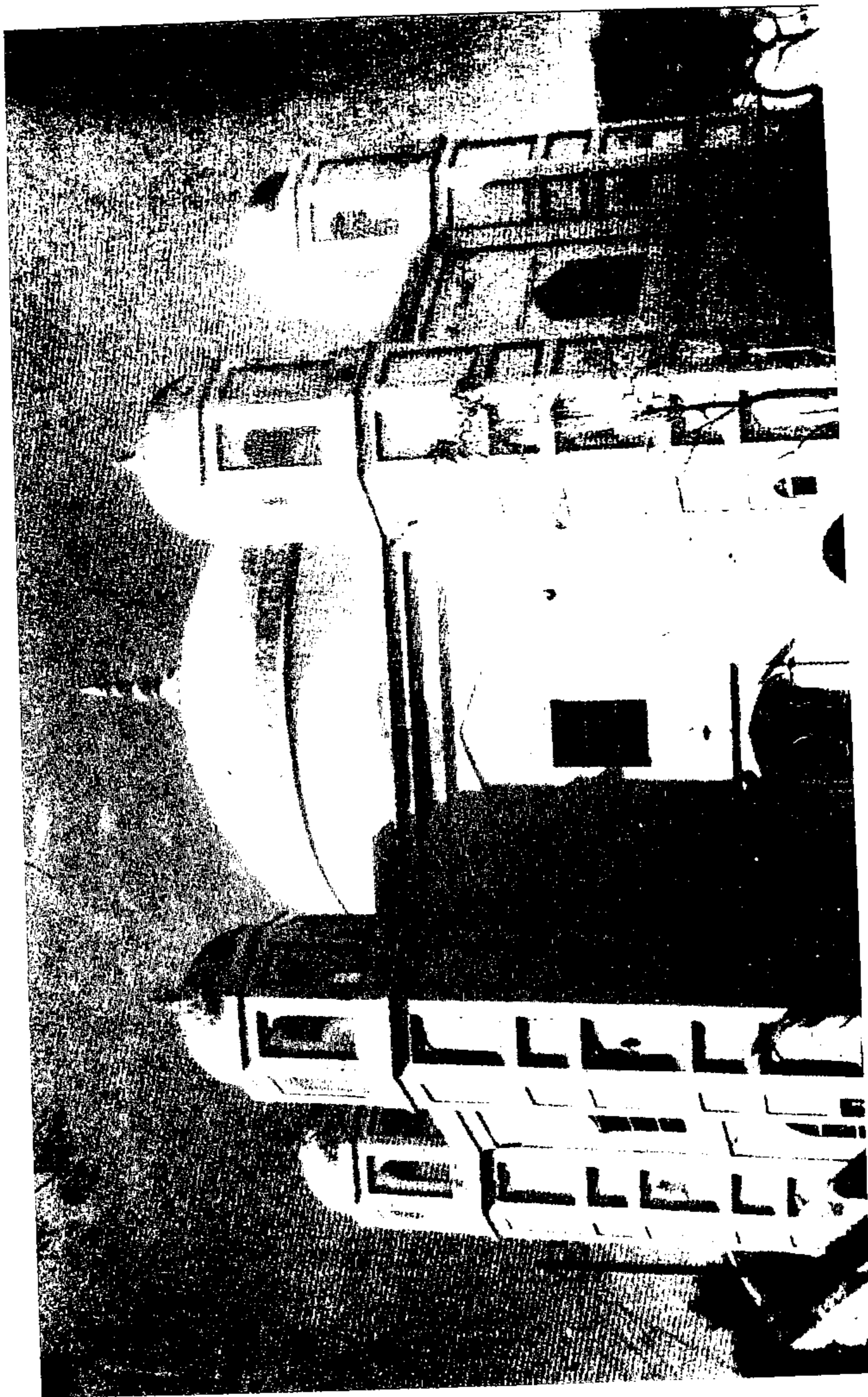
It is useless to review the details of the story given by the other writers as they are mainly of non-historical character, copying it from each other.

The Story; Analysis and Criticism:

Let us now examine and analyse the story as a whole in its socio-historical perspective. It has been said elsewhere that the story came down to us through William Finch who heard it while passing through Lahore. It is noteworthy to see that he reached Lahore on 4 February 1611, and left the place on 18 August the same year.¹⁷ It means that the total period of this Englishman's stay at the *Dar u'l Sultanate* was not more than six months. During this period, he was passing through an anxious time due to his difficulties with his master at Akbarabad (Agra) and more so because of his own tactless handling of a business deal. It was hardly possible for him to get himself familiar with the traits of the local society, nor could he care to verify the street gossip which he simply recorded as an anecdote in his *Journal* which he was maintaining as a daily diary.¹⁸

It is, however, noteworthy that no mention of it has been found in the contemporary, near-contemporary or later historical literature. It may plausibly be argued that the contemporary as well as later court chroniclers would have hardly dared to write about such happenings in the royal harem to defame their royal patrons. However, there were still some impartial historians and authors like Mulla `Abd u'l-Qadir Bada'uni, Khafi Khan and a few others who were really critical historians. Bada'uni, for instance, never spared the emperor and other courtiers for their wrongful deeds and criticised their misdeeds fearlessly. We should, therefore, have expected from him that if such a misfortune had fallen upon a girl and the story was current in his days, he would have recorded it in his work. Similarly, Khafi Khan, who was an arch-enemy of Jahangir and seldom hesitated relating events not in favour of the emperor, is also silent in the matter. Had such an incidence taken place involving Jahangir, he would have certainly taken notice of it. The other near-contemporary source was Wala-e-Daghistani who has recorded several stories of Jahangir's romances and frivolities except the romance of Anarkali. The other contemporary and very important source is his own diary, the *Tuzuk* which contains first hand information about his life. He has described, without prejudice, facts about himself and has not concealed his faults and mischiefs. However, he has not said a single word about Anarkali or her tragic story.

Further, it has been related that the girl was sent to the Moghul court at Lahore by Raja Man Singh from Kabul when he was the governor of that province. Now we are told that Raja Man Singh was sent to Kabul in the year 993/1585 on the death of prince Muhammad Hakim and stayed there for about three years. He returned to the capital in 996/1587.¹⁹ During these years, Akbar was no doubt staying at Lahore in connection with his campaigns in the north against Kashmir, Qandahar, Sindh etc.²⁰ The starting point of the story, therefore, sets in historical perspective, but gives way immediately when we try to corroborate it with the first date inscribed on the marble cenotaph i.e. 1008/1599 supposed to be the date of her death. While it may be surmised that the girl was sent by Man Singh to the imperial court at Lahore, the principal event which took the very life of the unfortunate girl, does not stand the test of historical analysis, because at the time when the incident is said to have taken place, both the emperor as well as the prince were far away from the scene. According to the principal authorities of the period, Akbar left Lahore for Agra on November 6, 1598 and from there proceeded to Deccan on



Pl. 37 : Lahore: The Tomb of Anarkali - General view.

September 16, 1599 while prince Salim was busy in an expedition against Mewar from where he proceeded to Allahabad.²¹ Thus both the main actors of the drama were far away from that scene and did not meet each other during the period between 1007 and 1011/1598-1602. Further, it has been said that the dancing party was held in the *Shish Mahal*. Now the fact remains that no such palace existed in the fort at this time as the palace referred to was erected by Shah Jahan in 1041/1631²², at least 33 years after the occurrence of the event.

The sum total of the above discussion, therefore, is that there is nothing to prove that there ever existed a slave girl named Anarkali in the Moghal *Harem* who was executed under the order of the emperor Akbar on the pretext that she had a *romantic* affair with prince Salim, and that a magnificent tomb like the one under discussion was erected by his son and successor, Jahangir. It is evidently clear that the romantic story has been built up gradually by various authors on a casual mention of a street-gossip recorded by an ignorant English traveller. Every author added spice to it and, consequently, it gained such a fabulous flavour and remained a favourite subject for later story tellers, novelists and movie makers. The uneven recording of the factual details of these writers is itself an evidence that it is nothing but a fiction, far away from sober history.

The Architecture

Howsoever controversial the personage lying buried here might have been, his or her tomb is indeed an imposing structure representing the earlier phase of the development of the tomb architecture during the Moghul period in the Subcontinent. Indeed, it is one of the very few earliest dated mausolea of the Moghul days built in Pakistan (Pl. 37).

Now lying in the south eastern corner of the present day Civil Secretariat of the Government of the Punjab, the tomb, as recorded by some authorities, including Finch²³ and Kanahayya Lal²⁴, was constructed in the midst of a formal garden having a net work of walkways, fountains, water channels and platform, all enclosed by a perimeter wall with a gateway and a series of rooms and cells along the perimeter wall.²⁵ These characteristics are indeed in conformity with the usual paraphernalia of a garden-tomb of the Moghul period. The perimeter wall, the gateway and the garden within it no longer exist, the original features of the tomb specially the panelled lime plaster and fresco decoration have also been sacrificed at the altar of encroachment, misuse, modern repairs and renovation. A nineteenth century photograph now preserved in the Punjab Government's Archives shows some of its original features specially the decorative treatment on the exterior of the tomb, and some other buildings created later. Though much deteriorated and decayed, it is evident that the exterior of the tomb had decorative panels of varying sizes and shapes, created in thick glazed lime plaster.

The tomb, a huge and massive structure created in brick tiles laid in lime mortar, is octagonal in plan (Fig. XIII) with sides, measuring 44 feet and 30 feet 4 inches. It stands in the centre of a 2 1/2 feet high octagonal platform, now repaired thoroughly.

~~PLAN OF ANARKALI TOMB - AHMEDABAD~~
~~CHARGE~~

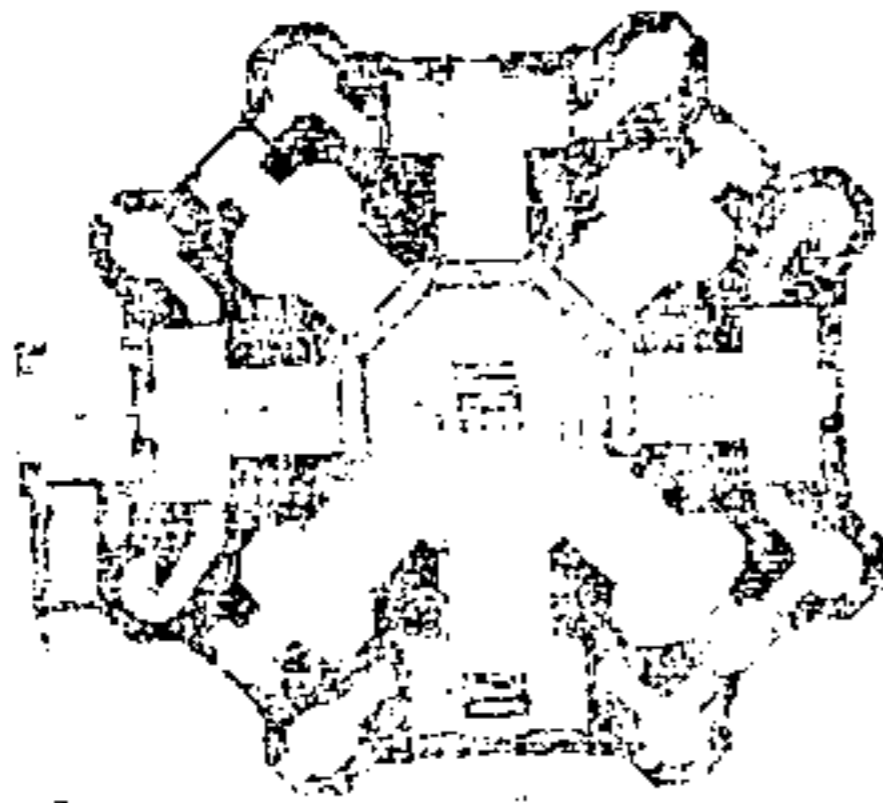


Fig. XI : Lahore : Tomb of Anarkali - Ground floor plan.

Each corner of the tomb's octagon is strengthened with a domed tower, also octagonal on plan, while the main edifice is crowned with a huge double dome placed on a high cylindrical neck or drum. The lower shell of it is constructed in small brick tiles in five stages or rings with a set forward in each case to reduce the thickness of the dome's masonry. Each octagon has a recessed arched opening with a half dome, decorated with three arched-panels and semi-stallactite ornamentation in lime plaster. The ornamentation has disappeared owing to the renovation. Originally, the dome's apex was decorated with a finial placed on the base of an inverted lotus, replaced with a cross obviously at the time when the building was converted into a chapel while its surface was treated with lime plaster in ribbed design. The whole decorative scheme has been changed through modern renovation.

The interior of the tomb has been converted into two stories, and a spacious gallery runs all along the main central octagon. Although details are not available now, but it seems that the modification was probably done in connection with the changes affected at the time when the building was converted into a church. The upper storey is reached through a stair-case created within the wall and the dome is carried on arch pendentives. The arrangement of lower gallery is repeated on the upper storey, augmented with eight arched openings. Four rectangular openings have been provided in the lower shell of the dome at cardinal points. The galleries have been provided one upon the other along the walls and openings by partitioning it into small rooms by means of wooden screens. The interior was reveted with fresco panels while the floor had

tessellation of white, black, yellow and variegated marble. Only portions of the floor having the tessellation exist now and those too arranged later on with old material probably at the time when the grave was opened and the floor was disturbed.

The Cenotaph, Its Inscriptions

The marble cenotaph provides pertinent details of historic events connected with the construction of the tomb as well as the artistic traditions of the period. It is a monolith hewn from the rock in the shape of a single block and measures one foot nine inches in height, seven feet in length, and one foot four inches in width, exclusive of the plinth which has, of course, disappeared as the cenotaph has been removed from its original place and put in the southern bay. The cenotaph is carved in mouldings in successive tiers, the lowest, 4 1/2 inches high from the base. Above, another tier, 3 1/2 inches in height, is adorned with a scroll foliate enriched with five petalled full-blown flower alternating with a cluster of three-pronged acanthus leaves. The base moulding is crowned with yet another flat moulding, 1/2 inch high, on which is marked the main stage having ornamental calligraphy. A four inches broad border adorned with delicate tracery

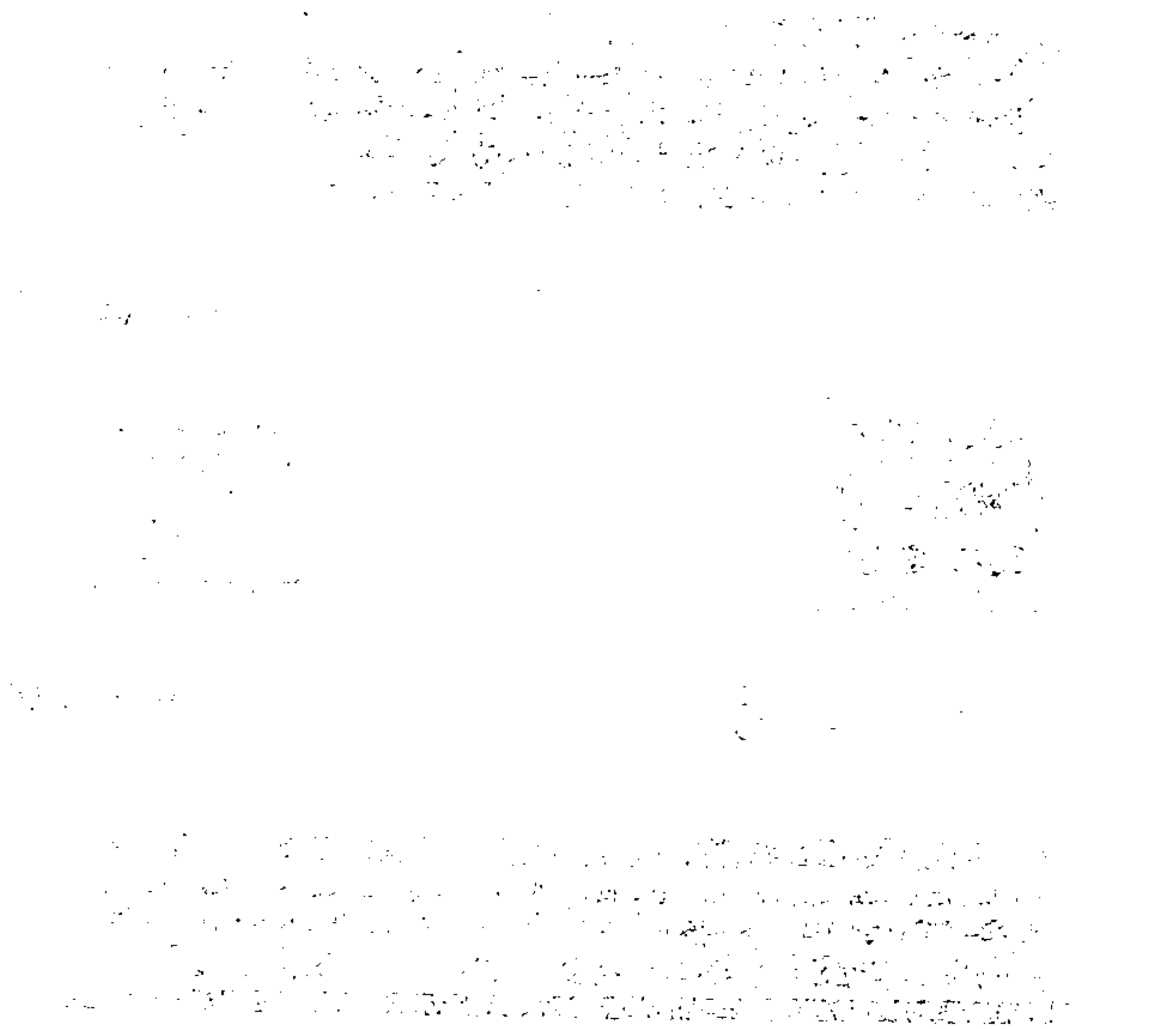


Fig. XII : Lahore : Tomb of Anarkali - Inscriptions on the cenotaph.

arranged in cartouches runs all along the four sides, while the corners of each side have roundels filled with multi-petalled flower. Within this ornamental border, the space has been filled with a series of intersecting oblong panels carrying the ninety-nine attributes of the Creator in *alto-relievo*, set in delicate tracery. The top has two vertical lines composed of intersecting octagons within which are carved in low relief thirty-three attributes in bold and exquisite *nasta'liq* characters. The left over blank space is filled with floral motifs. The attributes, start with **الله** and end with **الخبير**. The oblong side of the cenotaph on the west has identical arrangement except that the octagons here take the shape of oblong intersecting cartouches in which are carved thirty-two attributes from **القيوم** to **العليم**. Below these lines, within two cartouches of unequal size, is carved a Persian hemistich: **آه! اگر من باز نينم روى يار خوئش را** (Ah! could I behold the face of my beloved once more). Along the line, in a smaller cartouche giving: **مجنون سليم اكبر** (The profoundly enamoured Salim Akbar). The oblong side on the east has also identical arrangement for the remaining attributes starting with **الصمد** and ending with **الصبور** while below the lines is the second hemistich to complete the Persian verse: **تا قيامت شكر گويم كردگار خوئش را** (I would give thanks unto my God until the day of Resurrection!); and within the smaller cartouche is the date: **۱۰۰۸ هزاردهشت** (1008/1599).

The ornamental arrangement on the north or head side of the cenotaph is slightly different; the border at the top is divided into cartouches of identical size bearing three attributes **الواحد، الماجد، الواحد** and the central space within a highly intricate border is filled with an ornate cartouche within which is carved **الله اكبر** and the space in between is filled with foliated motifs. Similarly, the south or foot side bears the date: **۱۰۲۴ شهر** (in the months of 1024/1615) in a similar cartouche (Fig. XII).

The marble cenotaph is one of the remarkable specimens created in early Moghul period and has a marked influence of the art of calligraphy brought over to the Subcontinent from Iran during the period.²⁵ It is noteworthy that until the earlier days of Akbar's reign, *Naskh* was generally used for monumental calligraphy and very few specimens of *Nasta'liq* of this period are known to exist. The simple but elegant style was, later on, developed into more ornate stone inlay and the *pietra dura*, the more prominent specimens being at the tombs and mausolea of Jahangir, Shahjahan, Jahan Ara, Asaf Khan, etc.²⁶

The Subsequent History:

As usual with many religious monuments of the Muslim period of the Subcontinent, the tomb of Anarkali was also condemned to the desecrated use during the Sikh period. In 1194/1780, when Lahore was occupied by the three Sikh Sirdars for loot and arsony, the tomb was used as a *'thana'* or concentration camp where a band of soldiers belonging to Sirdar Sobha Singh, the third of the above trio, remained encamped. It has been reported that at one time during a military scuffle between the two Sikh Sirdars, the *'thana'* was bombarded and its *'thanadar'* was killed.²⁷ No further details of the event are available now, but it seems plausible to assume that some

damage might have been done to the structure of the tomb. Later on, Ranjit Singh gave the edifice to his son, Kharak Singh, for his residence. After some time, it was allotted to M. Ventura, an Italian Officer of the Sikh army who converted it into his private residence. According to Latif: Adjacent to it was the handsome house of M. Allard, and in front of it, a parade ground intervening, were the lines of the Sikh Regiments and battalions under the orders of the French Officers'.²⁸ This statement shows that the formal Moghul Garden surrounding the tomb had by that time disappeared and a parade ground had taken its place. Immediately, after the annexation of the Punjab, it was converted into a Residency by the British Board of Administration. A graphic account of the various uses of the tomb has been recorded by Thoronton, according to whom it remained in their occupation for a few years when it was given over to the Christian missionaries to establish a Church there. The proposal contained in a letter addressed on the 15th March, 1851, by the Secretary to the Board to the Government of India: 'The Board office having been removed from the old Residency, the tomb which they formerly occupied has become available, and has lately been used by permission of the Board, for Divine Service on Sundays'.²⁹ A plan of the monument is still available in the Record Office of the Punjab Government which shows modifications and arrangement made in the building to accommodate ecclesiastical needs: all the eight arched-openings were blocked, a stair case for the upper storey was created from outside and the panelled work in grey plaster throughout the exterior was redone without much regard to its original setting. Thus the surface adornment in the shape of fresco lining, stallactites as well as the ribbings on the shell of the dome totally disappeared. Previously the marble cenotaph was removed to one of the turrets to create more accommodation, it was now the urn of the remains of the unfortunate soul lying buried there. The grave was opened and the contents removed and exhumed elsewhere in order to have clean and pure atmosphere required for the church. At the same time, the original tessellated floor which was disturbed during the process of digging the grave, was redone at places by using the left over pieces. Obviously, as it could not cover the whole area, the mason arranged the pieces in strips. The remaining part was paved with bricks. Similarly the fabric of the interior was changed by plastering the surface anew and providing a wooden railing to all the arched openings of the upper storey. The altar and other paraphernalia was placed under the south-eastern bay while the main entrance to the 'Church' was created from the opposite bay and proper seating arrangement was made inside. A Cross was fixed on the pinnacle.³⁰

The arrangement continued until the year 1891 when the ecclesiastical authorities gave up the building to accommodate the Records and Archives of the Punjab Government. Since then constant repairs, white washing and additions and alterations have changed the entire fabric of the ancient monument. The marble cenotaph was shifted to the south-eastern bay where it is now placed on a modern platform constructed in brick and plastered in cement. The other bays, central hall and the upper gallery are fitted with almirahs and showcases filled with archival material and other antiquities including coins, paintings, photographs, etc.

CONCLUSION

The above discussion and the description of the love story and the historical and architectural features of the edifice bring out the following facts:

- (a) The myth of the execution and internment of the charming slave damsel has no authentic and historic basis. At the same time, we do not know for certain about the personage who was lying buried here. However, it is certain that the personage must have been some important figure of the Moghul period as is evident from the care and enthusiasm with which the magnificent tomb has been planned and erected. Professor Salik³¹ and, after him, Dr. Muhammad Baqir,³² assert that in the tomb was lying buried Sahib-i-Jamal, one of the favourite wives of Jahangir. She died in 1007/1598 at Lahore³³. However, the assertion in the absence of positive evidence, is open to question. It may be pointed out that at the time of the completion of the tomb (1024/1615), 'Salim Akbar' was Nur u'd-Din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah-i-Ghazi and, according to the prevalent practice, his name should have been recorded in the same traditional manner. It is difficult to explain as to why the established practice was not followed in this case and, instead, the unusual 'Salim Akbar' was used which neither he nor his contemporary chroniclers ever used. Similarly, the expression (profoundly enamoured) is too extraordinary an expression for a cultured prince of the aristocrat Moghuls, rather bizarre. History records many instances of Jahangir's demeanours, where we find him composed and reserved. His love affair with Nur Jahan has aroused fancy of many writers, but he himself was too conscious to express his sentiments publicly for his most beloved consort to the extent that his own autobiography shows no microscopic deflection from his royal dignity.
- (b) The cenotaph records two dates i.e. 1008/1599 and 1024/1615. It is rather unusual. The phenomenon has generally been explained by various scholars that the first date is the date of the girl's execution while the second records the erection of the tomb. A further plausible surmise could be that the first date records the commencement of the work, while the second date is that of its completion. It is noteworthy to point out that Jahangir ascended the throne on 24 October, 1603. If the above surmise could be accepted, it would mean that the construction of the monument began during the later years of Akbar's reign and took an exceptionally long period of sixteen years for completion, i.e. in the tenth regnal year of Jahangir.
- (c) Stylistically, the tomb may be regarded as belonging to a transitional phase of Akbari and Jahangiri styles of architecture, characterized by special features. First, the deeply recessed arched-opening with a half dome embellished with semi-stalactites may be taken as among the earliest manifestation of the techniques. Secondly, the double dome used to roof the tomb is an important innovation introduced in the subcontinent by the Moghul mason. Thirdly, the difficult octagonal plan selected for the tomb is also unusual for the beginning period of the Moghul architecture. Fourthly, the tomb of

Anarkali is the earliest known tomb of the Moghul period in Pakistan which was erected in a formal enclosed garden following the tradition of Humayun's tomb at Delhi.

REFERENCES

- 1 William Foster (ed) *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)* (Oxford: 1911) 110
- 2 *Ibid.* 330
- 3 Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i Chishti* (Lahore 1906) 112 ff
- 4 Kanahyia Lal, *Tarikh-i-Lahore* (Lahore 1884) 318
- 5 S.M. Latif, *Lahore etc.* (Lahore 1892) 186-87
- 6 Muhammad Din Fauq, *Anarkali* (Lahore, 1890)
- 7 Imtiaz Ali Taj, *Anarkali* (Lahore 1923). Indeed, the love story had such a powerful appeal that it was adopted several times for movie films in Urdu.
- 8 William Foster, *op. cit.* 166
- 9 Foster *op. cit.* 166 fn. 3) erroneously identifies it with Baba Farid Shakarganj, the founder of the city. Baba Farid Shakarganj is lying buried at Pakpattan!
10. Tuzuk (R & B) i. 34; H. Blochmann *A'in-i-Akbari*, i. (Lahore, 1927) 322 ff. In fact, no historian, contemporary or later, records the name of Anarkali.
11. Cf. William Foster, *op. cit.*, 166 fn. 5, who also remarks, there is no corroboration of Finon's story that she was the mother of Daniyal.
12. William Foster, *op. cit.*, 330. William Finon's period covers the years 1608 to 1611 while Edward Terry stayed in Hindustan from 1616 to 1619.
13. Chishti, *op. cit.*, 112 ff.
14. Cf. Kanahayya Lal, *op. cit.*, 315

The tomb, which is a remnant of the buildings of Akbar's time, still exists outside the city of Lahore. Anarkali was a very beautiful slave girl in the harem of the Emperor Akbar. Her real name was Nadira Begum, but the Emperor for the reason that she was unequalled in beauty and her complexion was red which gave her the name of Anarkali. When the Emperor had been on an expedition to the Deccan and Khandes, she fell ill at Lahore and died. Some say that she was poisoned. At the orders of the Emperor, this majestic tomb was erected and a garden was laid in whose centre this tomb stood.

15. Vide S.M. Latif, (*op. cit.*, 186-87) who says:

Anarkali (the Pomegranate blossom), by which name the Civil Station is called, was the title given to Nadira Begam, or Sharfun-Nisa, one of the favourites of the harem of the Emperor Akbar. One day while the Emperor was seated in an apartment lined with looking glasses, with the youthful Anarkali attending him, he saw from here reflection in the mirror that she returned prince Salim (after-wards Jahangir) a smile. Suspecting her of a criminal intrigue with his son, the Emperor ordered her to be buried alive. She was accordingly placed in an upright position at the appointed place and was built round with bricks. Salim built an immense superstructure over her sepulchre.

16. Imtiaz Ali Taj, *op. cit.*, 6. He admits:

As far as I have been able to verify, the story is historically baseless. No one knows when and where it originated. The historians of Lahore which relate the story, do not mention their source. The story itself contains several historical inaccuracies which give the clue that its historical authenticity is

doubtful.

17. For details, see Foster, *op. cit.*, 160.
18. *Ibid.* 123.
19. Blochmann, *A'in.* 1,362.
20. In fact, the Moghul emperor stayed in Lahore for 14 years from 1585 to 1598. It was during this period that the city was given the honorific title of 'Dar u'l-Sultanate!
21. *A N iii.* 745.
22. *Ibid.* 762 ff. H. Beveridge (*A.N. iii.* 1155 fn.) points out: 'The inscription of Anarkali's tomb bears the date 1008 (1599-1600) in letters and figures. But, this cannot be the date of her death, for Akbar was not at Lahore in that year. He left it for Agra on 26th Aban 1007 (November 6, 1598). Either the story about her being buried alive is untrue or the date is not that of her death, but of the building of the tomb. The author is silent about the explanation of the other date on the cenotaph, i.e. 1024.
23. Cf. William Foster, *op. cit.* 166.
24. Kanahayya Lal, *op. cit.* 315.
25. It is significant to note that almost all the inscriptions created in Nast'aliq during the days of Jahangir have identical flow and proficiency.
26. Cf. E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandra* (Allahabad 1909). The ornamental arrangement and the style of calligraphy on the cenotaph of Akbar's grave and those of others in the complex, are very much identical to the inscription under discussion.
27. Ali u'd-Din, *Ibrat Namah* (Lahore 1961) i, 66.
28. Latif, S. M. *Op. cit.*
29. *Ibid.* 65.
30. Muhammad Baqir *p. cit.* 144 ff
31. I.D. Salik, *Nigarishat*, (Lahore, 1968), 136.
32. Muhammad Baqir, *op. cit.*
33. She was the daughter of Zain Khan Koka, married to prince Salim in 995/1586, and had given birth to a son, prince Pervaiz. The prince is also lying buried in Lahore in a locality called Baghbanpura. The tomb once an imposing structure, is in a dilapidated condition now.
34. Cf. Ahmad Nabi Khan, *The Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore* (Karachi 1972) where has been reported another contemporary inscription having the name and title of the Emperor. The numismatic evidence also corroborates this fact.
35. Tuzuk (R & B) i, 3.
36. Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)* 96 ff.

THE SHAH BURJ

A FABULOUS PALACE OF IMPERIAL MOGHULS IN LAHORE FORT

Zahir u'd-Din Muhammad Babur visited the South Asian Subcontinent in 1526 and laid the foundation of a new political power here destined to last for well over three hundred years. It was during this period that the largest part of the Subcontinent was brought under the banner of one and unified rule of the Imperial Moghuls. The peace and prosperity maintained by these emperors throughout their Empire coupled with their social and cultural contacts with the neighbouring Iran and other Central Asian states led to the evolution of a most sophisticated way of life where in almost all the facets of fine arts and culture were patronised. While Babur (1526-1530) and Humayun (1530-1540 and 1555) were men of letters and keen enthusiasts for natural sciences, Akbar the Great (1556-1605) displayed pre-eminently his keen interest in music, painting and architecture. These trends, however, crystallized more brilliantly during the two of his successors, Jahangir (1605-1627) and Shahjahan (1627-1650). Jahangir's passion for painting and Shahjahan's keen interest in architecture gave some of the best masterpieces to the world of Art. Emperor Shahjahan has been called the Royal Builder of his times, and his age is regarded as the Golden Era of Moghul Architecture. The splendour of the architecture produced during this period is seen in the most elegant and ornate buildings erected by the Emperor at Delhi, Agra and Lahore. The lavish use of colour in the shape of *pietra-dura*, tile mosaics and fresco is the most remarkable characteristic of surface reventment of these buildings. The dainty and gorgeous palaces built by him at the important centers of his Empire are the best manifestation of this type of architectural decoration.

History records that the emperor ordered for the construction of these palaces almost immediately after his accession to the throne. At Lahore, the Royal command was carried out by his grand Wazir and father-in-law Yamin u'd-Daula Nawab Asaf Khan who supervised the re-designing of the sumptuous palace named Shah Burj. The three storeyed Seraglio completed in the 4th regnal year of the Emperor (1631), took the shape of an elaborate complex of buildings consisting of a main gateway, a special staircase named Hathi Pair, the inner entrance gateway with two outer and inner courtyards, a *zanana* mosque, a series of *dalans* (aiwans) and pavilions of different shapes and dimensions, and a main courtyard in the center with a shallow water-basin having four fountains at cardinal points, and a *mahtabi* (square platform) in the center approached by a low causeway, and four water channels. The underground chambers used as summer houses having big halls, galleries and baths. An impressive array of big

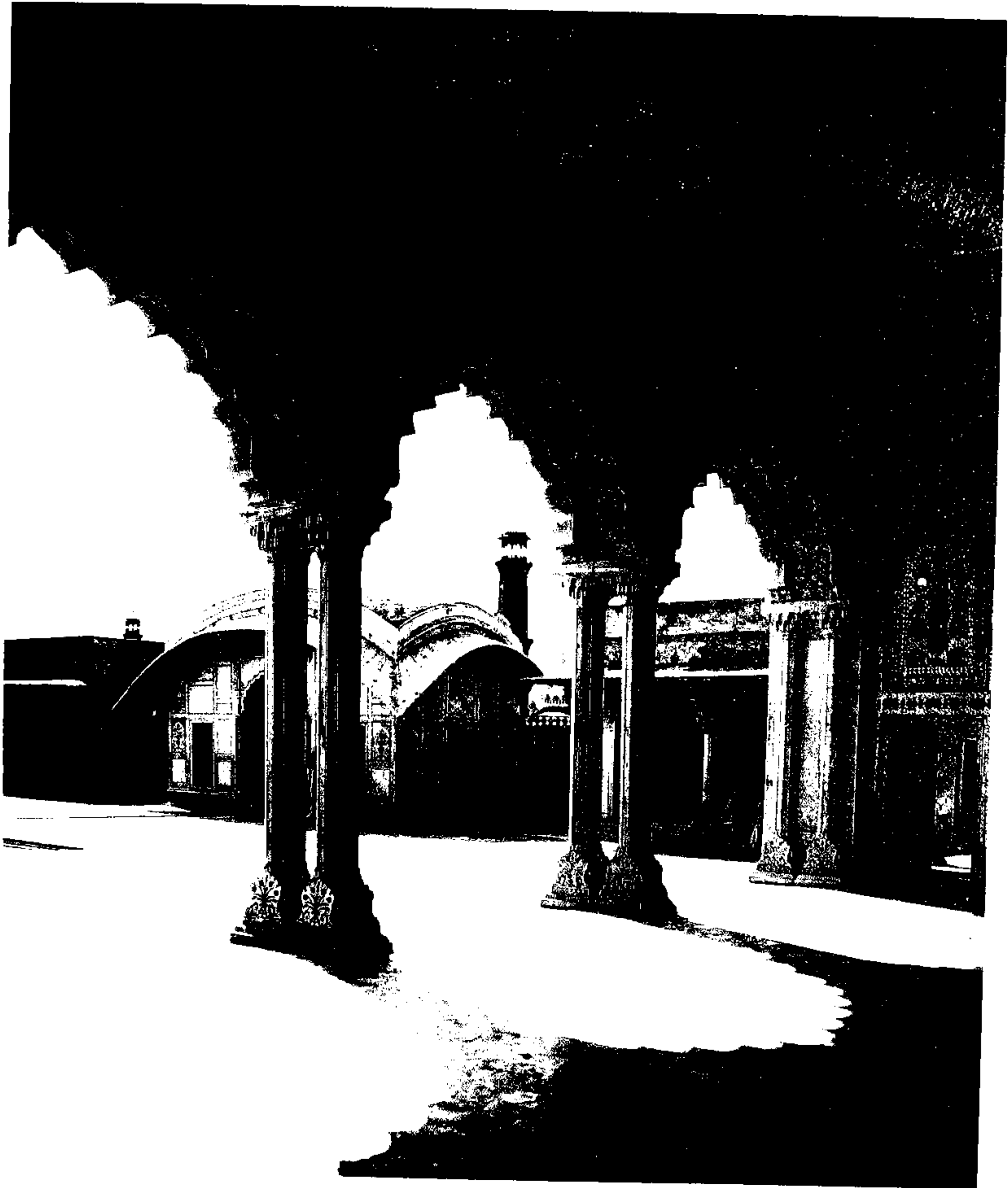
arched openings on the west having red stone latticed screens provided light and air to the halls. They were sumptuously decorated with fresco painting. The gorgeous complex provided luxury as well as comfort and was liked by every beholder who praised it profusely: the court chroniclers recorded its description and the poets wrote panegyrics.

According to a Persian inscription fixed on the facade of the main gateway, the palace was completed in 1041/1631 under the supervision of the Royal architect Abd u'l-Karim entitled Ma'mur Khan. The portal is indeed a majestic entrance to the Fort reserved mainly for the royalty who entered the palace ceremoniously, riding on elephants through the *hathi-pole* which led to the outer entrance of the palace.

Gateway and the Pictured Wall

The overall impact of this impressive gateway is that of the climax of the Moghul architecture and architectural embellishment reached during the days of Shahjahan. The imposing entrance is an oblong vestibule, 40 feet in height, 37 feet in breadth and 14 feet in depth, having a double arched-facade. A series of two-storeyed rooms on either side of the main opening has been provided for guards. The outer high arch opens up a half-dome and is embellished externally with mosaic-faience revetment, while the inner arch has marble facing and red sandstone panelling. The platform running upto the dado has also panelled facing of red sandstone with delicately carved nook-shafts and base-mouldings etc. Two oblong flat-openings have been provided on either side of the outer main arch to have light and air in the upper storey rooms. Originally, they had a low railing of red stone jali for protection, but it has now disappeared. Save these openings, the entire surface is covered with recessed panels of tile mosaics. The top frieze below the parapet has been decorated with punctured designs made in cut-bricks. The portal frame is slightly projected of the entire wall for prominence. The inner arch of marble facing is a two-centred arch slightly recessed and decorated with an emphatic palmette at its peak, while the extrados are slightly projected by means of a flat band. The spandrels possess medallions in high relief decorated with intricate *pietra-dura* forming floral patterns. The jams on either side are, in turn, divided into squares and oblongs alterantely by means of flat lines of colour marble and having decorative broken-headed arches or eight-petalled flowers in outline only. The horizontal panel on the face has the Persian inscription arranged in cartouches. A fine piece of calligraphic art executed in superb and chaste *Nasta'liq*, it records the essential details of the construction of the Royal Palace.

کز سپهر و مهر برتر بوده رایات جلال	شاه جم جاه سلیمان قدر کیواں بارگاه
نیش نیش نوشیرواں مانند وافریدوں ہمال	ثانی صاحبقران شاہ جہاں کز عدل و جود
ہست بیروں ہیچو عرش اعظم از وہم و خیال	شاہ برجی حکم کرد احداث از فرط علو
از حصار چرخ نمود ست و نماید جمال	در صفا و رفعت و لطف و ہوا برجی چنین



Pl. 38 : Lahore: Shah Burj: The Shish Mahal Dalan

بندہ یکدل مرید معتقد عبدالکریم بعد اتمام عمارت یافت این تاریخ سال
 دانما چون دولت این بادشاہ جم سپاہ این ہمایوں برج عالی بار از آفت بے زوال

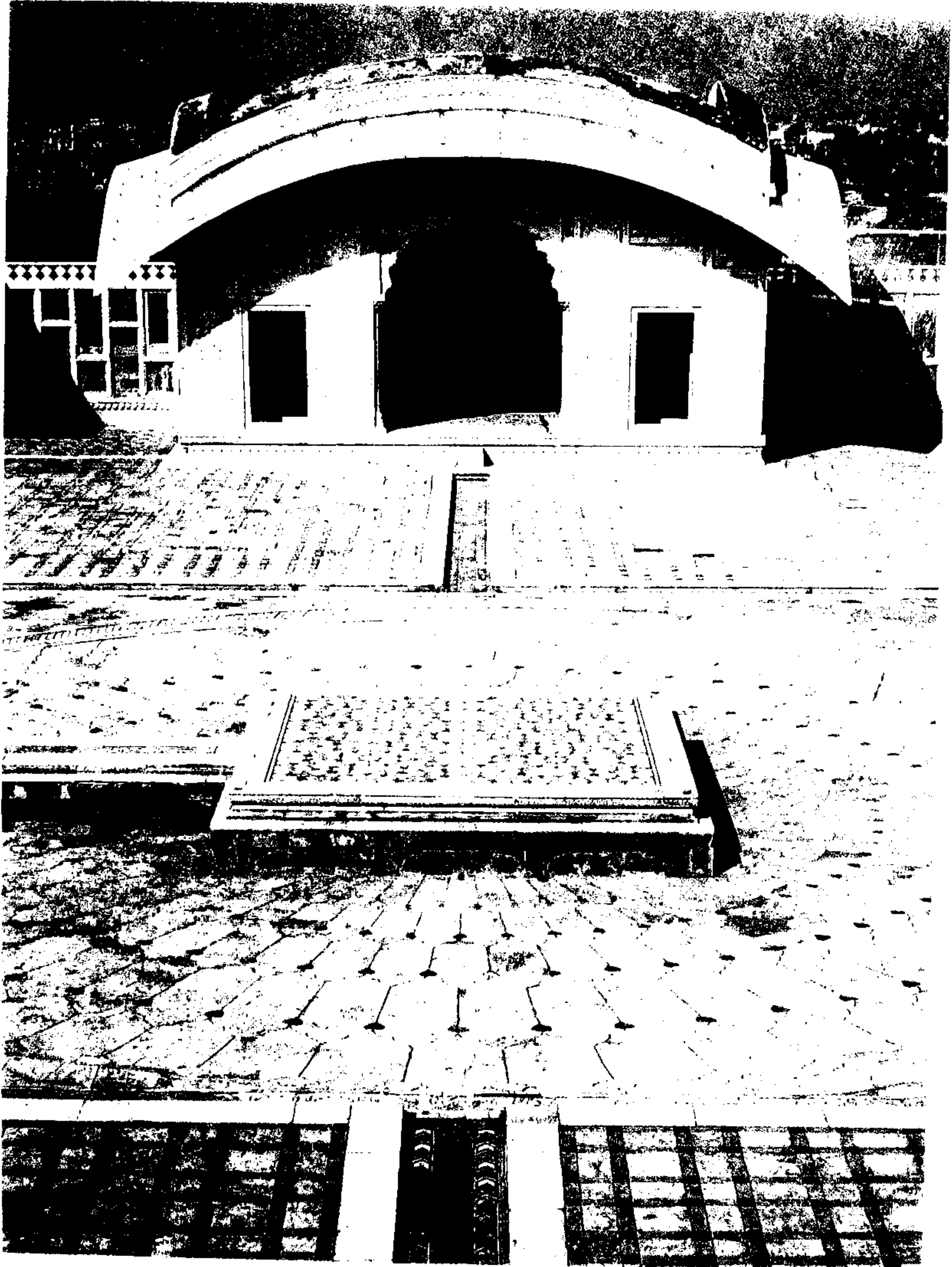
سنہ ۱۰۴۱ ہجری جلوس

'The king, a Jamshed in dignity, a Solomon in grandeur,
 A Kaiwan in state, who has carried the banners of his glory
 beyond the sky and the sun,
 The second Sahibqiran, Shahjahan, to
 whom in justice and generosity
 Nausherwan is no equal nor Afridun a peer,
 Ordered a 'Shah Burj' to be erected which for
 its immense height
 Is like the Divine Throne beyond imagination and conception.
 In purity, height, elegance and airiness, such a tower
 Has never appeared from the castle of the sky nor will,
 The sincere servant and faithful disciple,
 Abd u'l-Karim.
 After the completion of the building, devised this date:
 For ever like the fortune of this king, a Jamshed in arms,
 'May this auspicious lofty tower remain safe
 from destruction'.
 A. H. 1041, 4th year of the accession'.

On the left of this grand entrance, is the main fortification, the lower portion of which belongs to the days of Jahangir while the upper, the most magnificent of all was constructed by Shahjahan. The surface of the lower part is arranged into recessed panels of various sizes and shapes, created by cut-bricks, while the upper part is covered with two rows of arched panels, and other horizontal friezes filled with tile-mosaics. A long frieze made in cut-bricks separates the two parts of the wall. The decoration is indeed unparalleled in the history of Moghul architecture for its variety of design, magnificence of colour and complexity of the subjects. The magnitude of this decoration may be judged from the fact that an area of 72,000 square feet (18900 feet in length and 40 feet in height) has been converted into thousands of panels adorned with tile-mosaics depicting hunting scenes, polo scenes, elephant and camel fights, and a variety of human figures from monarch to menial in their characteristic costumes of brilliant colours. The technique of this applied art is undoubtedly not new to the Moghul monuments in Pakistan, but the most important aspect of it here is its variety of subjects.

Hathi Pair (the Elephant's Way)

The elaborate staircase with 61 low and broad steps, 216 feet in length and 19 feet in width, leads to the outer court of the royal Palace through a high arched-gateway constructed in the style of a barbican. This is called the *Hathi Pair* (elephant passage) due to the fact that it was used by elephants who carried the royal entourage upto the above courtyard. A series of deep and shallow pavilions and balconies are provided



Pl. 39 : Lahore: The Shish Mahal Naulakha Marble screen

along the walls at suitable intervals where stood the attendants and *chaubdars* to announce the royal arrival. These balconies and pavilions as well as the wall-surface have been decorated tastefully with red sand stone dado and fresco painting. Here the hall-mark of the varying taste of the two monarchs, Jahangir and Shahjahan, is vividly clear. The brick corbel brackets and capitals provide the taste of Jahangir's architect, while the decorated spandrels filled with colourful roundels of various shapes and designs remind the efforts of Shahjahan's artist.

Passing through the Hathi Pair and the balcony, we enter the outer court of the *Shish Mahal*, a square open court with three high arched-openings flanked by rows of *dalans* on its east, west and north, while the south side has the same entrance in imitation. It was here that the elephant sat and the entourage alighted to enter the fabulous *Haram Sara*. The *dalans* and the stately entrance are decorated with fresco painting and brick imitation work, a style of ornamentation favourite to the Moghuls. Unfortunately, vandalism in the subsequent Sikh and British periods did not leave all these structures intact and only the northern entrance along with the *dalans* are now standing in somewhat original shape. Some of the fresco and brick-imitation work has been restored here to provide to the visitor a glimpse of the grandeur that it was.

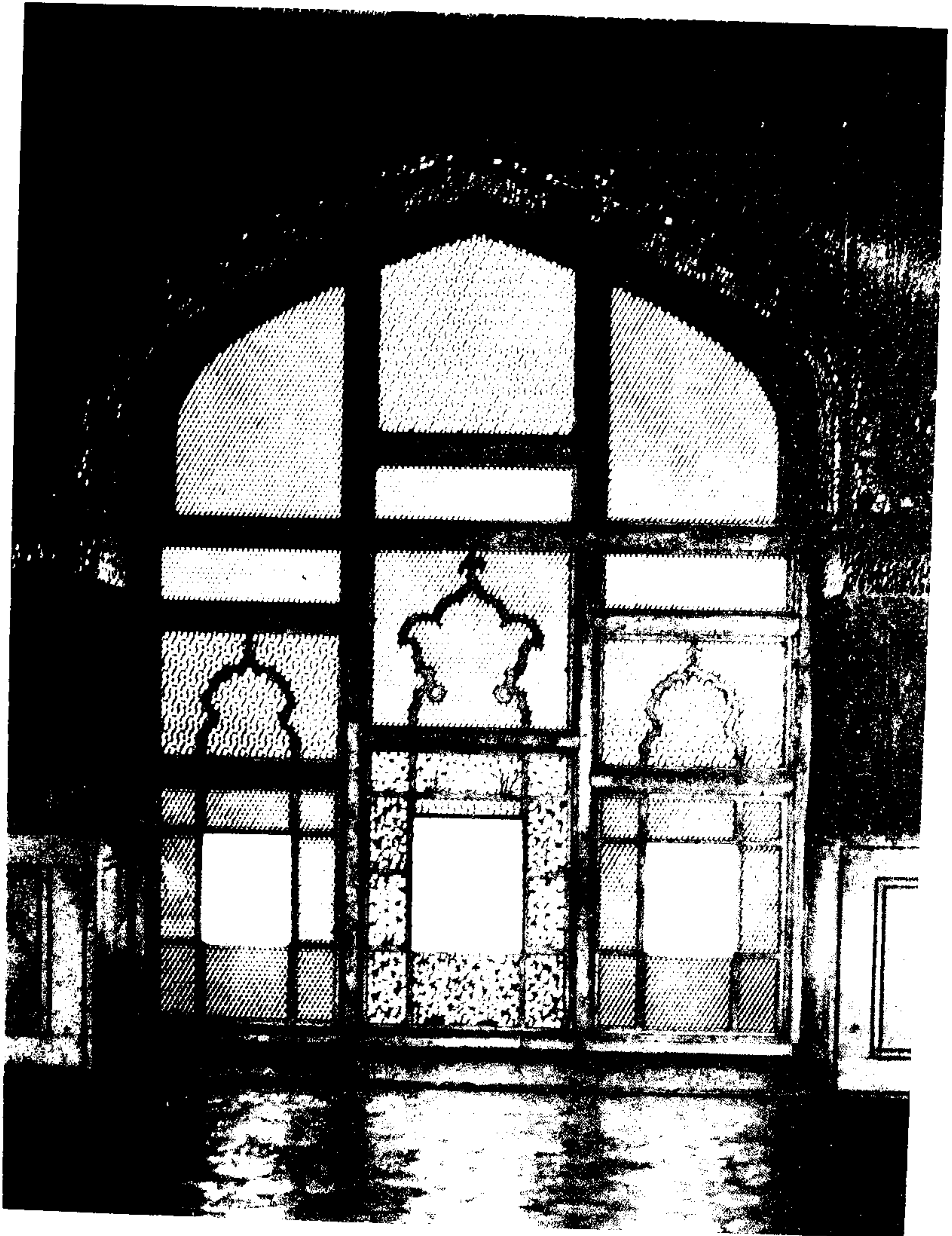


The Inner Courtyard

The main palace is entered through yet another vast court. Here, too, not much of the original structure is to be seen now. It seems that the courtyard has a big shallow water-basin in the center and water-channels on its sides connecting the '*Sawan Bhadon*' on its east and the main channel of the tank running below the floor of the main entrance, a structure executed most probably in imitation to the '*Naulakha*'. The court was enclosed by a marble screened wall on its south and east, while a panelled screen of bricks and brick-*jali* was provided on the north with a pavilion in the center opposite the southern entrance. Nothing of these structures is left now. Ranjit Singh in order to create a marble pavilion in the north-western corner of this courtyard, pulled down the marble screen and the entrance pavilion and instead built an ugly brick-wall and an entrance in the south-eastern corner with a brick paved slope leading to the *Shish Mahal*. It is said that the panels of perforated marble *jali* were taken to Amritsar to be used in the Golden Temple, while the marble door-frame (*chaukhat*) embellished with pietra-dura work was used in the *Samadh* of Ranjit Singh located opposite the Fort. This marble pavilion is a typical example of the unsophisticated architecture in which more than 70% material has been used which was drawn from earlier structures of the Moghuls. Here in this marble pavilion Ranjit Singh held his court to transact state business.

The Shish Mahal

Through this improvised gate, we enter the main palace, the fabulous and magnificent Shish Mahal. The central part of the palace is essentially an oblong hall (*aiwan*) measuring 67 feet 9 inches by 30 feet 6 inches with a comparatively smaller but



Pl. 40 :Shish Mahal- marble Screen.

of the same shape, hall at its back. At each end of these two halls are four smaller chambers of different dimensions and shapes along with passages and a double-storied verandah on its either side. The front of the hall has five high arched-openings executed in marble. They form an arcade of double pillars carrying multicusped arches of refined curve. The high bases of these pillars are embellished with pietra-dura of excellent quality and design while the capital possess beehive ornamentation. Likewise, the inner spaces of spandrels are inlaid with intricate vine-and-flower and arabesque patterns created with precious and semi-precious stones. Internally, the hall has a marble dado waist-high, decorated with a thin triple-line of black and yellow marble in order to create horizontal panels. The upper portions were originally relieved by twelve recessed panels, treated with glazed lime-plaster and decorated with conventional floral designs in fresco. During the Sikh period the paintings were lime plastered and on these were painted, religious and secular scenes. These accretions were perhaps done during the days when Ranjit Singh used the palace as his residence. Later on, these paintings too were bricked up and plastered, lined with crude *ghalib kari* work. (Pl. 42)

Discovery of Sikh Frescoes (Sico).

The fresco paintings were discovered in 1977-78 in connection with the restoration work carried out by the Department of Archaeology in the Fort under the direction of the writer of this article. During the operations, it was observed that the recessed panels were blocked with two layers of brick-tiles put vertically one upon the other. The excessive lime-mortar used to fix the tiles splashed over the surface which damaged the thin film of shellac coated on paintings. However, careful removal of this substance and cleaning of these panels resulted into uncovering fresh material for the study of the art of fresco painting created during the Sikh epoch. The twelve panels so discovered depict various episodes of 'Krishna Lila' and other secular scenes including dancing and singing episodes from the *Mahabharata* and a panel showing a marble pavilion in which is standing a lone girl. A close study of these paintings throws important light on the Sikh style of art and their way of life which was derived almost directly from the Moghuls. Evidently, the artist who painted these panels was trained in the Moghul traditions, and copies in these paintings all their essential characteristics, the setting, the background, faces, attitudes, dresses, as well as the technique and colour scheme.

The flat panels of Moghul days were provided with broad multicusped arches covered with glass-mosaic ornamentation in order to match the adjoining surface which has received similar treatment. Here, the marked difference of the quality of workmanship between the two specimens of this artistic craft is interesting and noteworthy; the earlier is, of course, bold and superb while the later mediocre and bizarre.

The Glass-Mosaic and Stucco Decoration

Above these panels and upto the cornice of the ceiling, the space has been reserved for glass-mosaic work, laid in plaster. For this purpose, the whole surface has



Pl. 41 :Lahore: Shah Burj - Panel of Faience

been divided into panels of various designs and shapes and the convex glass of different colours set in stucco so as to create intricate floral designs. Similarly, the ceiling of the main 'aiwan' has been embellished with stucco tracery or 'Manbat Kari', as called by the Moghul artist. It is a remarkable decorative feature having intricate palmette and arabesque motifs which has been executed in high and low relief in stucco and gilded with thin gold leaves.

The access to the side rooms has been provided through low door-openings of marble frame. These door-openings have no shutters as, according to the Moghul fashion, they were covered with colourful curtains. The surface here, like the main hall has glass-mosaic decoration and fresco paintings. The back hall has a high arched opening overlooking the river enclosed with a delicately carved marble screen, a rare piece of architectural ornamentation showing the excellence of workmanship. The marble screen has small square openings from where the ladies of the *zanana* could have the full view of the river and catch a glimpse of the elephant fights and other games which took place on the forshore at the foot of the wall. The floors of these rooms were originally paved with marble but, later on, replaced with red sand stone slabs by the Sikh rulers, who also added a series of rather odd and heavy rooms and a big hall on the top of the Shish Mahal.

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The Corner Pavilions

At the four corners of the vast courtyard of the Shish Mahal have been erected four oblong marble pavilions, later on filled with terra-cotta screens by the Sikhs, while opposite the main Aiwan, is an oblong gallery, 77 feet long and 7 feet broad, flanked by two more pavilions of similar design to the corner pavilions. The deep pent or *chajja* of the gallery is of red sand stone resting on corbel brackets, similar to the pent of the main Aiwan. The back wall of the central bay is occupied by a marble water-cascade of pleasing design which slopes into a 'scalloped' cistern of white marble. Much wear and tear and additions and alterations have been done by the Sikhs here. The ceiling has been covered with lacquer painting and the walls with stucco paintings depicting scenes from Hindu mythology covering the original frescoes of the Moghul days.

The Naulakha Pavilion

Besides the fabulous 'Aiwan', the marble pavilions and its side and back rooms, the most delicate and elegant building of *Shah Burj* is the dainty marble pavilion commonly known as 'Naulakha' named so because of the cost of its construction, i.e. nine lakhs (9,00,000) of rupees of the Moghul days. A gem of the Shahjahani architecture, it occupies the center of the western end of the Shish Mahal and may be regarded as a little summer house. The whole structure is of chaste white marble having panels of various shapes and sizes covered with extremely minute and delicate pietra-dura work. The pavilion has one arched entrance flanked by two smaller flat openings and one flat opening at the sides. The low roof, also of marble, gets the shape of a formal

tent with a curvilinear placed on marble brackets. The main central roof is missing and the ceiling below it was traditionally of silver. It was removed by the Sikhs and replaced with a wooden ceiling painted and decorated in 'tarsim-bandi' style. The pavilion stands on a low plinth marked with a marble base-moulding, also inlaid with coloured stones. The interspaces between the corner-pavilion and the *Naulakha* are filled with marble screens crowned with merlons to prevent the inmates of the *harem* being seen from the ground between the Fort and the river. The back of the *Naulakha* has a beautiful marble screen perforated with floral-cum-geometric motifs, hexagonal or octagonal honey-combs, crosses, circles, foliage, branches and leaves and the lattice work.

The Floors and Fountains

The floor of the main courtyard is paved with square and oblong slabs of variegated marble, while in the center is a shallow fountain basin with a *mahtabi* in its center and four fountains at cardinal points. The *mahtabi* is reached through a low causeway, also paved with marble of different colours. The four channels connect the basin to feed and discharge water, of which one is connected with marble cascade. The limpid water with which the shallow tank is filled, comes down from the channel provided on the top of the southern gallery, through marble cascade mentioned above. The shallow tank has facing of variegated marble inlaid with black marble of floral border and large petals to create a big flower-pond. The inlay so created has a fine specimen of workmanship. But the particular beauty of it shows when it is full of rippling water, the foliage of the inlay work appears to wave to and fro. The four fountains, through which the water bubbles out in jet form, enhance the pleasantness of the surrounding and the beauty of the building. The *Mahtabi*, the central platform in the water basin is again ornamented with colourful marble, yellow, black, *abri*, *badal*, etc. The palace has vast underground chambers. Airy and well-lighted through screened ventilations, they once served the purpose of summer houses. A stair-case from the north-western and south-western pavilions leads to these chambers.

This is, in brief, the royal palace constructed by Shahjahan for his favourite consort, the famous Mumtaz u'z-Zamani Mumtaz Mahal, the celebrated lady of the Taj, who was not destined to stay here, as she died three years before the completion of the palace. However, it was frequented by the entourage specially when the Emperor visited the 'Dar u's-Saltanate'. The humdrum of royal procession added the colourful and gay atmosphere as the royal buildings were decorated with awnings, hangings and carpets while the deep red Kashmiri *shawls* were to cover each seat. 'The buildings' says a contemporary historian, 'became the envy of the art galleries of China. The roofs, walls, and colonades were hung with velvet and silk from China and Khita. The Emperor entered the palace with his gorgeous retinue while the *amirs* accompanying him scattered gold and silver *nisars* on him'. The mildly-lit *dalans* with candles in or chandeliers or camphor-lamps presented a poetic aura of light and shade which passed through the tens of thousands of sparkling mosaics of convex-glass embedded in the ceilings and carried back the reflection creating a scene full of romance and elegance.

Here, the emperor and his entourage enjoyed life and celebrated several festivals, ceremonies here.

The glory of the days of the Great Moghuls is no more, but the palace still represents one of the most fabulous royal resorts ever erected by an emperor for his beloved empress.

Subsequent History

After the glorious days of the Moghuls had gone, the dainty palace had to witness a severe onslaught and spoliation. The Sikhs whose chief ruler Ranjit Singh governed the Punjab and parts of Sindh and the N.W.F.P. for well over forty years, occupied the fort and actually used the Shish Mahal as his official residence. It was during this period that much addition and alteration was done to the palace. On the downfall of the Sikh supremacy in 1848, the sovereignty of the Punjab was passed on to the British Crown. The agreement of the transfer of power was signed and a grand reception was held in this palace to commemorate the event. Consequently, the British took over the palace, and used the whole Fort as a military cantonment. The irresponsible sepoys who were posted here to guard their officers, used their bayonets to take out precious stones from the *pietra-dura* work, thus completing the story of spoliation started by the Sikhs. The result of this heartless robbery was the mutilation of the whole series of the costly and artistic Moghul surface decoration.

However, subsequently the policy of the British Government was modified to the extent that the fort was vacated to be preserved as a historic monument. It was protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904) in the year 1920 and, after four years, handed over to the Archaeological Survey for maintenance and preservation, who carried out necessary repairs. After the establishment of Pakistan, during the years 1973-80 a comprehensive restoration and conservation of various parts of the palace was carried out under the direction of the writer of this article. Thorough repairs, especially of the underground chambers and the tessellated marble floors of the courtyard and the Shish Mahal, revived and restored some of its past glory.

THE HIRAN MINAR AND BARADARI AT SHAIKHUPURA

A Hunting Resort of the Moghul Emperors

About twenty-five miles north-west of Lahore, the cultural metropolis of Pakistan is situated an old town called Shaikhupura. During the days of the Moghul Emperor Akbar, it was one of the *parganas* of the sarkar of both Jalandhar doab. Abul Fazl, however, records it as Shaikhpur¹. According to Sujjan Rai Bhandari, the town is said to have been named after the Moghul Emperor Jahangir² who was affectionately called 'Shaikhu Baba' by his illustrious father the Emperor Akbar³. However, Jahangir himself names it Jahangirpura and Jahangirabad in his *Tuzuk*, where we find it mentioned at two places.⁴ Similarly, Mulla Abd u'l-Hamid Lahauri names it Jahangirabad. The compiler of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* records, without quoting any authority, that the name of Shaikhupura is said to have been derived from the name of prince Dara Shukoh, the grandson of Jahangir.⁶ It seems probable that the old name of Jahangirpur or Jahangirabad, might have changed into Shaikhupura during the days of Dara Shukoh when he was the governor of Lahore.

Here in this historic town, about two and a half miles away from the Railway Station, is situated a tall and majestic tower called Hiran Minar, and a *baradari*, in the center of a big tank, both erected under the order of Jahanagir in about 1015/1607 and in 1030/1620 respectively. The Emperor himself records about the erection of the tower in his Memoirs:

”روز سه شنبه جهانگیر پور نزول رایات جلال گشت۔ آن موضع از شکار گاه های مقرر منست۔ در حوالی آن مناری بضرموده من بر سر قبر آهوی من منسراج نام که در جنگ آهوان خانگی و صید آهوان صحرائی بی نظیر بود، احداث نموده اند۔ در آن منار ملا محمد حسین کشمیری که سر آمد خوش نویسان زمان بود، این نثر را نوشته بر سنگی نقش کرده اند که درین فضای دلکش آهوی بدام جهاندار خدا آگاه نورالدین جهانگیر بادشاه آمده در عرض یک ماه از وحشت صحرائیت بر آمده سر آمد آهوان خاصه گشت۔ بنا بر قدرت آهوی مذکوره حکم کردم که هیچ کس قصد آهوان این صحرا نه کند، و گوشت آنها برهند و مسلمان حکم گوشت گاؤ و گوشت خوک داشته و سنگ قبر او را بصورت آهو مرتب ساخته کنند۔“

Translation

On Tuesday (12 Ziqa`adah 1015/31 March 1607) the royal standards alighted at Jahangirpur, which is one of my fixed hunting places. In this neighbourhood had been erected, by my order, a *manar* at the head of the grave of an antelope called *Mansraj*.

which was without equal in fights with tame antelopes and in hunting wild ones. On a stone of that *manar* was carved this prose composition, written by Mullah Muhammad Husain of Kashmir, who was the chief of the elegant calligraphists of the day : 'In this enchanting place an antelope came into the world-holding (Jahan-giri) net of the God Knowing ruler, Nur u'd-Din Jahangir Padshah. In the space of one month, having overcome his desert fierceness, he became the head of the special antelopes'. On account of the rare quality of this antelope, I commanded that no person should hound the deer of this plain, and that their flesh should be to Hindus and Muslims as is the flesh of cows and pigs. They made the grave-stone in the shape of an antelope⁸.

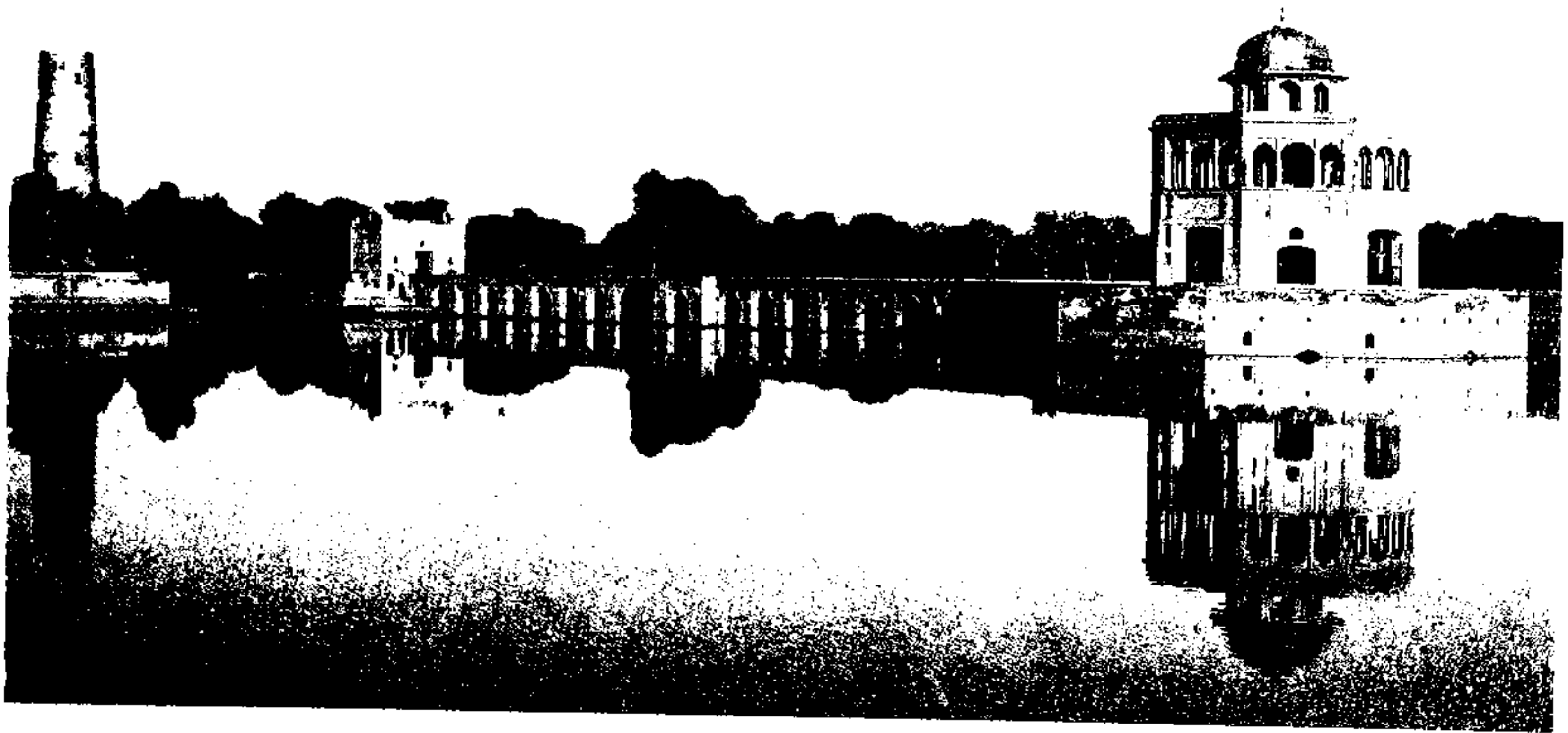
ARCHITECTURE

The complex of buildings erected at Shaikhupura under the order of Jahangir and modified afterwards by the architects of Shahjahan, presents unique features of Moghul architecture. Here, in this royal hunting resort, we find an expression of the Emperor's personality who created this ensemble of buildings for his recreation. The high *manar* served very well for the purpose of providing a clear view of the surrounding area for locating the game, while the fabulous *baradari* in the midst of a large tank fulfilled the need of an ideal place for recreation (Pl. 42).

The Hiran Minar

The minar is circular in shape and tapers towards the top. Its diameter at the base is 33 feet and at the top 23 feet, while the overall height is 102 feet 9 inches. The top is flat, having a parapet wall, 2 feet and 9 inches high. There is no indication that there was originally a pavilion over it. There are 210 square holes on the outer surface of the minar, arranged regularly in 14 rows. The purpose of these holes cannot be determined precisely. Several theories have been advanced by archaeologists and art historians, some of which assert that these were used for hanging the heads of hunted animals, a curious hunting tradition among the early Moghul sovereigns of the Subcontinent. The other suggestion is that these were only meant to be used as nests by wild birds. A spiral staircase consisting of 108 steps, each measuring 4 ft x 90.1/2 inch x 1.3 inch, has been provided inside the minar. Alongside the staircase, there are 11 ascending rectangular arched openings provided for air and light. From these ventilations there is a good view of the tank, the *baradari* and the surrounding area (Fig. XIII).

The minar has been constructed with country bricks laid in *kankar* lime mortar. It is divided into six tiers of different heights. The lowest tier is octagonal in plan and decorated with panels, while the others are circular. The third tier has a small octagonal room. The base of each tier has projected moulding and the lowest tier has an arched opening for entrance. The entire exterior as well as interior of the minar has lime plaster, apparently with some floral or lineal fresco painting. The thick lime plaster applied over the surface of the lowest tier has been divided into decorative panels of arched vertical and horizontal bands in high relief.



Pl. 42 : Shaikhupura: Hiran Minar and Baradari - General view.

Around the base of the minar are the remains of structures, but it is difficult now to determine their exact nature. It may be surmised that the remains represent a verandah with regular arched openings, a usual feature of such minars built elsewhere, specially in Iran. Here is said to have been the grave of the famous antelope of Jahangir, *Mansraj*, with its unusual inscription which was, according to the Emperor, composed and transcribed by one of his court's master-artists and calligraphists, Mulla Muhammad Husain Kashmiri. Nothing of this inscribed sculpture of antelope and the grave is now preserved. But in 1966, when some diggings were carried out by the present writer at the base of the minar to expose the structural remains for the purpose of conservation, a head of an antelope made of red sandstone was discovered from the debris at a depth of about 3 feet, broken and slightly damaged. The head may be taken as that of the effigy of the antelope which Emperor Jahangir had ordered to be made and placed on the spot.

There are two more contemporary portraits of an antelope which can be regarded as that of the same *Mansraj*. The first is executed in a panel of tile mosaics fixed on the exterior surface of the northern fortification wall of the Lahore Fort. Here, the royal antelope is shown fully caparisoned together with its attendants standing in the midst of a jungle symbolized by a few plants in the background. The presence of an attendant and the symbolic forest show that the animal is nothing but a decoy. The portrait may in most probability be that of *Mansraj* as the date of the execution of these tile mosaics corresponds substantially to the short period when *Mansraj* remained in the royal service.

Other contemporary evidence has been afforded by a miniature painting of an antelope, executed by Manohar, one of the court painters of Jahangir. The painting shows a prince, probably young Jahangir, leading his antelope - *Mansraj* (?). The

painting is a part of the Wantage Bequest, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

A close examination of the two portraits and the red sandstone head discovered during the digging operations shows that most probably these represent one and the same antelope, *Mansraj*.

The Tank and the Corner Pavilions

Facing the grand and majestic minar on its east is a big tank with a causeway leading to the octagonal *baradari*, built in its centre. There is a square pavilion at each corner with a gateway to the *baradari* on the north-west. The tank is rectangular in shape, measuring 895 feet 6 inches long and 752 feet broad. Each side of the tank has a ramp, 65 feet 4 inches wide, flanked by four staircases of 8 steps (7 feet 6 inches wide) leading to the water. The purpose of this ramp, constructed in brick on edge masonry, seems to have been to allow wild animals an easy access to water in order to quench their thirst. The tank has been provided with a parapet wall of 3 feet 6 inches height on all its four sides.

The four corner-pavilions are square in plan and measure 18 feet by 18 feet and have low pyramidal roofs. The pavilions have full length arched openings on their four sides and an eave (*chhajja*) supported by broad brackets made of brick. A number of small, flat arched-niches have been created in the interior. The surface was finished with lime plaster and decorated with fresco paintings. The inside dado is painted and polished in red with a broad yellow and black border. The apex of the soffit possesses an intricate floral pattern in red, yellow and green, while the squinches have likewise decorative roundels with floral patterns. Two staircases consisting of 8 steps each lead to the water from the two sides of the pavilions.

At present, the tank receives supplies of water through a small channel taking off from the Shaikhupura Rajbaha and connected with the tank from its eastern ramp. During the Moghul days, however, the channel was cut from the Aik rivulet and connected with the tank at its north-west corner. In addition, an elaborate system for refilling the tank with rain water from the catchment area was devised by means of feeding channels and small filtration tanks constructed in the south-west, south-east and north-east corners of the tank. These channels have now disappeared, except the remains of one on the south-western side which gives a fairly good idea of the system.

The Main Gateway and the Causeway

The main gateway to the *baradari* is a rectangular vestibule, measuring 34 feet by 22 feet 6 inches, with a pointed arched gateway flanked by four other similar but smaller openings, built one upon the other. Inside the vestibule are two platforms, 3 feet 2 inches high, covering the area on either side of the main entrance. The inner walls have been decorated with recessed niches, while the soffit of the dome-shaped ceiling

has a honeycomb decoration. The two flights of 13 steps constructed at both the corners lead to the roof. The outer and inner surface has been plastered in the usual way and decorated with fresco paintings, particularly at the front of the entrance.

A causeway, standing on 21 pointed arched-pillars, connects the main *baradari* with the gateway. It is 308 feet 8 inches long and 10 feet 6 inches broad with a parapet, one foot eight inches high, running along both the sides. A square shaped projected platform measuring 23 feet 7 inches by 23 feet 7 inches has been provided in the centre of the causeway.

The Baradari (The Daulat Khana)

In the centre of the tank has been erected an octagonal platform with a low parapet wall on all sides. Over the platform stands the beautiful *baradari* in the same plan. The *baradari* was also constructed under the orders of the Emperor Jahangir in 1030/1620 for use as a royal residence. He records in his Tuzuk:

”روز دو شنبه بست و خیم در جرگه نکتھالہ بہ نشاط شکار کردم و از انجا بدہ منزل شکار گاہ من بود و بنام خود دیکی آباد ساختہ و مختصر عمارتی بنا نمادہ بہ سکندر معین کہ از قراولان نزدیک بود، حوالہ نمودم۔ و بعد از جلوس پرگنہ ساختہ بجایگزین مومی ایہ لطف فرمودم و حکم کردم کہ عمارتی بجهت دولت خانہ و تالابی و منارہ اساس سازند و بعد از فوت او این پرگنہ بجایگزین ارادت خان مقرر شد و سربراہی عمارت بہ مشار ایہ بازگشت۔ درین ولا حسن انجام پذیرفت۔ بی تکلف تالابی شد و بغایت وسیع و در میان تال عمارت و نشین ہمہ جہت یک لک و پنجاہ ہزار روپیہ صرف عمارت این جاشدہ باشد۔
الحق بادشاہان شکار گاہ است۔ روز مبارک شنبہ و جمعہ مقام کردہ از انواع شکار محفوظ شدم۔“

Translation

On Monday the 25th, I hunted with much enjoyment in the hunting ring of Nakhthala¹⁰ then in ten stages. I encamped at the stage of the hunting-place of Jahangirabad. Afterwards, I founded a village in my own name, and after erecting a small building, placed it in the charge of Sikandar Mu'in, who was one of my best huntsmen. After I came to the throne. I made it a pargana, and bestowed it as a jagir on him. I gave an order that they should construct there a building as a royal residence with a tank and a minaret (Munara). After his death, this pargana was given in jagir to Iradat Khan and the charge of the buildings was entrusted to him. It has now been handsomely completed. Undoubtedly, the tank was very broad, and buildings here cost Rs. 1,50,000. Really, it is a kingly hunting place, ¹¹.

Later, during the reign of Shahjahan the *baradari* was renovated and some modifications to its structure and structural decoration carried out. With these renovations, the *baradari* received a new and more impressive look. It has been recorded that Shahjahan visited the place as many as four times during his reign. ¹² The same author gives a detailed account of the first royal visit, apparently after his proposed alterations and modifications. The event took place on 23 Shawwal 1043/22 April 1634: ¹³

”دست و سیم شکار جهانگیر آباد معروف به هرن میناره که شکار که مقررہ حوالی دارالسلطنت است متوجہ گشتند و سه روز دران مکان نشاط افزا توقف فرموده عنان مراجعت منعطف گردانیدند۔ و چند صید گاہ مذکورہ بروح افزائی و کثرت نخییر از مصائد دیگر امتیاز دارد و عمارتی کہ در زمان حضرت جنت مکانی در انجا بنا یافته چنانچہ باید نہ بود، فرمان شد کہ عمارتی دیگر در کمال خوش طرحی و زیبائی مرتب گردانند۔ چنانچہ در عرض یک سال بصرف ہشتاد ہزار روپیہ صورت تمامیت یافت۔“

Translation

On the 23 (*Shawwal* 1043/22 April 1634) the Emperor proceeded for hunting to Jahangirabad which is known as 'Hiran Munara'. The place is situated in the vicinity of the Dar u's-Saltanat (of Lahore) and has the appointed (royal) hunting resort. The Emperor stayed at this 'pleasure-house' for three days and then returned to Lahore. As this hunting resort is much more pleasant and has more hunting animals than any other place, and that the buildings constructed during the time of Hazrat Jannat Makani were not considered upto the mark, the Emperor (Shahjahan) ordered that another more beautiful and impressive building should be constructed. (The building) was completed at a cost of 80,000 rupees¹⁴.

The *baradari*, measuring 58 feet 3 inches, is a two storeyed building with an open octagonal pavilion on the top resting on arched pillars and crowned with a cupola. The main octagonal room on the ground floor measures 19 feet 3 inches by 19 feet 2 inches and is surrounded by eight inter-communicated square and oblong rooms with flat vaulted roofs and flat topped openings.

The interior surface is finished with highly polished lime plaster and panelled with recessed niches. The surface has fresco decoration in green and crimson and the floor is paved with slabs of red sandstone. A flight of 14 steps leads to the second storey which has the same plan as the first, but an open verandah with 24 flat arched openings is provided around it.

Over the top of the second storey is an octagonal pavilion measuring 22 feet by 22 feet with a domed roof and a corbelled cave. As usual, it has eight openings with moltafoiled cusps which have been added later, probably during the days of Shahjahan.

The surface of the *baradari*, both exterior and interior, has finely finished and polished with lime plaster, tastefully decorated with fresco paintings. The dado has a floral band running on its border while the flat roofs of the corridor are decorated with a beautifully executed and intricate medallion. Likewise, a scroll of floral pattern rounds along the parapet. The main colours used in these decorations are yellow, crimson red, black, green and blue. The decoration also was probably executed by the order of Shahjahan. Some of the fresco paintings in the *baradari* and the corner pavilions are of later period when it was under the occupation of Sikh rulers.

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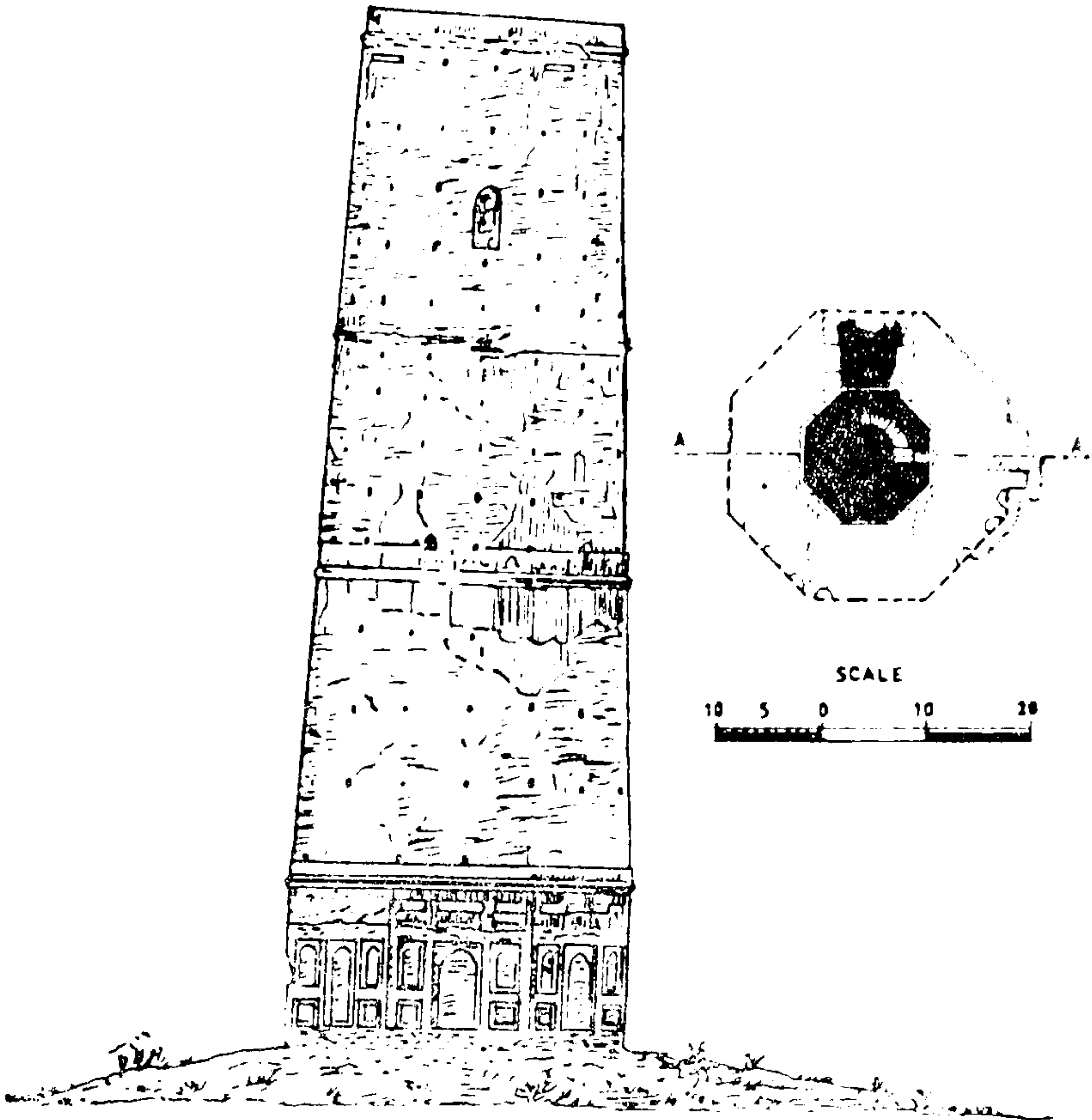
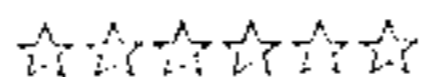


Fig. XIII : Shaikhupura : The Hiran Minar.

3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, ed. by Syed Ahmad Khan (Ghazee-pore, 1863), p.1. Eng. trans. by Rogers & Beveridge (New Series) London, 1909, p.2.
4. *Ibid.*, p.44, and pp.317-18; Eng. trans. vol. 1, pp. 90-91 and vol.ii, p.182.
5. Abd u'l-Hamid Lahauri, *Badshah Namah* (Calcutta, 1867, Bibliotheca Indica Series), vol. i, part ii, p.44.
6. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Oxford, 1908) vol. xxii, p. 270. The statement of the Gazetteer that 'both tank and buildings are the work of Dara Shukoh is, however, incorrect.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *op. cit.*, p.44.
8. *Ibid.* (English Translation), vol. i, pp. 90-91.
9. cf. Ahmad Rabbani, 'Hiran Munara at Sheikhpura (Punjab), in *Aramughan-e-Ilmi* (Presentation Volume to Professor Maulvi Muhammad Shafi), (Lahore 1955), p.181, sq. The article discusses the probable use of the holes and compares the Minar with Munara-i-Shakh at Isfahan.
10. *op. cit.*, pp. 317-18.

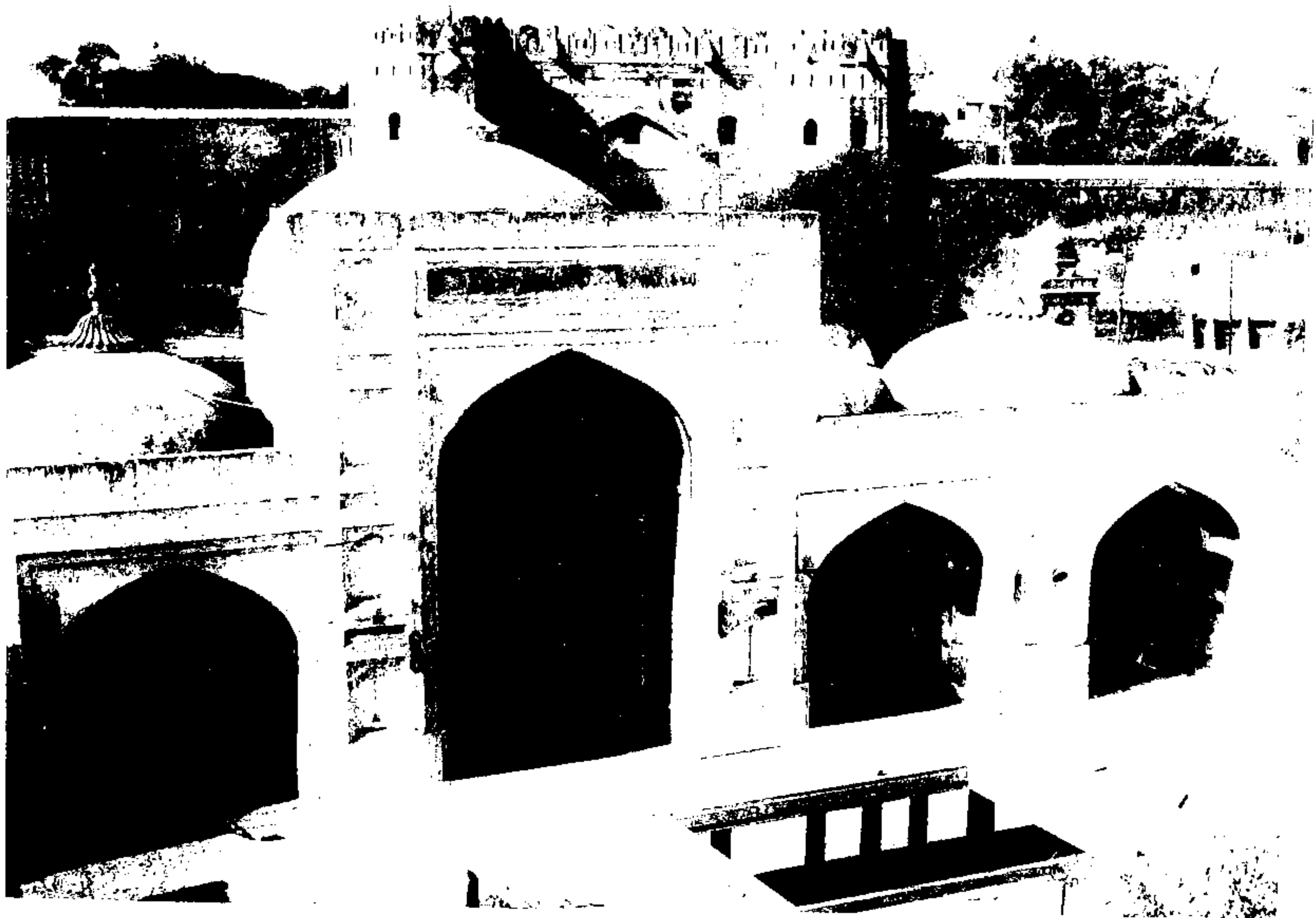
11. This word has been variously copied and interpreted. The Persian text of the *Tuzuk* edited by Syed Ahmad Khan reads **نخال** while Beveridge infers Makhiyala and identifies it with the famous Mankiyala in Rawalpindi district where is situated the celebrated Buddhist stupa. The identification is not very plausible especially because of the long distance between Shaikhupura and Mankiyala. The word may be read more conveniently as **نخيل** (nakhiyalah), an oasis.
12. *Ibid.*, (English translation), vol.ii, p.182.
13. Abd u'l-Hamid Lahauri, *op. cit.*, vol. i, part ii, p.14; vol. ii, pp. 141, 221 and 500.
14. *Ibid.*, vol. i, part ii, p.14.



THE MOSQUE OF MARYAM ZAMANI, LAHORE

AMID the crowd of shabby, modern buildings of various types that surround the Masjidi Gate of the Moghul fort at Lahore, stands a rather inconspicuous ancient mosque now commonly called Begam Shahi Masjid. Built by Queen Maryam Zamani, an empress of the Moghul emperor Akbar and the mother of Jahangir, it is the earliest dated mosque of the Moghul period in Lahore. It was constructed during the early period of Jahangir in 1023/1614, as recorded in a Persian inscription fixed on the facade of the northern gate.¹ Architecturally, the mosque is important for two significant features: first, it is crowned with a double dome, a characteristic met with first in the historic buildings at Lahore and, secondly, the entire interior of its prayer chamber is replete with colourful fresco decoration.

At the time of its construction, this was the only important mosque located in the



Pl. 43 : Lahore: Mosque of Maryam Zamani - General view

vicinity of the fort, and therefore was frequented by the nobility of the Moghul court. It was perhaps for this reason that the eastern entrance to the fort was called 'Masjidi darwaza' (Masti Gate)².

Of Maryam u'z-Zamani³, at whose instance the mosque was constructed, very little is known. She was a Rajput princess of the Kachwaha clan and the eldest daughter of Raja Baharimal, ruler of Ambar. Even her real name is not mentioned by any contemporary or later historian⁴. Abu'l-Fazl, the principal biographer of Akbar, records the circumstances which led to this matrimonial alliance⁵. He says that Akbar married the daughter of Raja Baharimal in 968/1560 at the later's instance at a place named Sanvhar near the modern town of Jaipur in India. He does not record the exact date of the marriage, but says that the ceremony was held on his return from the visit to the celebrated saint Shaikh Salim Chishti in Jamadi u'l-Awwal 968/January 1561. The event must have, therefore, occurred in the first half of February 1561,⁶.

The Rajput Queen gave birth to a child after more than seven years on 17th Rabi u'l-Awwal 977/30th August 1569 who was destined to become the successor of Akbar under the title of Jahangir. Abu'l Fazl gives a detailed account of this auspicious occasion⁷.

As usual with the ladies of the royal harem, only indirect and scanty references are available in the contemporary as well as later authorities which give glimpses into the events connected with the life of Maryam Zamani. The best source of our information in this connection is the biography of her own son, Jahangir, who mentions her more than once. Each time, he writes about her with respect and reverence⁸. A close study of these notes reveals that the Queen Mother had a very high position in the imperial household; almost all the important events of the family used to take place at her palace. Jahangir records that twice he was ceremoniously weighed on his birth-day in the house of Maryam Zamani⁹, the marriage feast of Prince Pervaiz was performed at her house¹⁰. Even his own marriage with the daughter of Raja Man Singh was performed in her house¹¹. The reverence the Emperor had for his mother, may be estimated from the following note in his memoirs.

'On Friday the 12th of the month mentioned (Rabi` u'l-Akhir), I embarked in a boat and went to a village named Dahr to meet my mother and I had the good fortune to be received by her. After the performance of obeisance and prostration and greeting which is due from the young to the old according to the custom of Chingiz Khan, the rules of Timur and common usage, and after worship of the king of the world (God) and after finishing this business, I obtained leave to return, and re-entered the fort of Lahore.¹²

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Emperor when he met her in Kashmir. Says he:

'On the same day, Her Majesty the reverend Maryam Zamani (his mother) came from Agra, and I acquired eternal good fortune from the blessing of waiting on her. I hope that the shadow of her bringing up and affection may be perennial on the head of this suppliant'¹³.

After enjoying the respect of and influence over two great Moghul Emperors for more than sixty years, the Queen Mother died on the 19th Rajab 1032/9th May 1623 at Agra. Jahangir records in his memoirs:

'On this day (19 Rajab 1032) news came from Agra that Her Highness (hazrat) Maryam u'z Zamani, by the decree of God, died. I trust that Almighty God will envelop her in the ocean of His mercy'.¹⁴

The Queen mother was buried at Sikandra, Agra, and a splendid tomb was erected over the grave by Jahangir.¹⁵

During the long period of authority which she enjoyed, Maryam Zamani erected a number of monumental buildings at many places of the Moghul Empire. Some of these buildings still exist which remind us of the glorious days they once enjoyed. Her own palace at Fatehpur Sikri¹⁶, the mosque at Lahore, and a garden and a Baoli (a well with steps) in Bayana, are among the extant monuments. About the Baoli, Jahangir records in his memoirs that it was a grand building constructed at a cost of Rs. 20,000.¹⁷ According to T.W. Beale who recorded in 1873, the garden had then disappeared but the baoli still existed. It was built in the 7th year of the accession of Jahangir (1022/1613) with red stone and had a Persian inscription carved on a marble slab and fixed over the facade.¹⁸

The Mosque : Architecture

The mosque covers an area of land measuring 135 feet 6 inches by 127 feet 6 inches. It is constructed of brick masonry and rendered with plaster, and is a massive structure representing a transitional phase of architecture between the Lodi and the Moghul periods. It has two entrances through deeply recessed arched-gateways on its north and east sides. A flight of four steps in each gateway leads downward to the main courtyard, measuring 123 feet by 83 feet. The courtyard was originally enclosed by rows of cells on its north and south, some portion of which still exists. On the east, along the gate, is a 17 feet wide platform on which stands an enclosure consisting of an octagonal domed tomb and some other modern graves (Pl. 44; Fig. XIV)

In the centre of the courtyard a tank for ablution, measuring 31 feet 5 inches by 26 feet 3 inches, has been erected probably at a later date. A modern roof of reinforced cement concrete (R.C.C.), supported by two rows of round pillars, covers the tank partially in its four sides. The courtyard must have been paved with brick tiles in usual Moghul fashion, but it has now been completely re-laid in modern bricks. At the north-west and the south-west corners, beside the prayer chamber, are located the old stair-cases leading to the roof. Similarly, on the north-eastern and south-eastern corners were stair-cases leading to the roof of the cells. Only their traces are left now.

The prayer chamber of the mosque, however, is of special interest. Architecturally, it is an oblong structure measuring internally 130 feet 6 inches from south to north 34 feet from east to west. It has five compartments divided by heavy engaged

arches supported by massive jambs and surmounted by high domes. The central double dome is the highest, placed on a high and round neck (11 feet 1 inch). The double dome consists of two shells-outer (3 feet 6 inches thick) and inner which is of stucco. A wooden framing connects the two shells for re-enforcement. The outer shell has a small arched opening on the west.

The front openings of the chambers, five in number, possess four-centred arches, the central one being the highest and the biggest with a high parapet and a projected frame. The whole outer surface of the front has been treated with thick lime plaster creating decorative arched-panels in recess. Inside the prayer chamber, there is a series of high and deep arched-recesses set in all the five compartments on the west. The central niche, the *mehrab*, has an engrailed arch, treated specially with profuse stucco ornamentation, both geometric, floral and inscriptional. The half-domed niche of the central arched-opening and the *mehrab* has been filled with low stallactites. The remaining four compartments have the same engrailed-arch treatment, though comparatively smaller and less decorative.

At the four corners of the prayer chamber are placed small square-shaped pavilions (6 feet 10 inches) with four arched-openings surmounted with cupolas placed on octagonal drums. Originally, the cupolas were crowned with low crestings and finials like the five bigger domes over the main prayer chamber. These have now considerably decayed (Fig. XV).

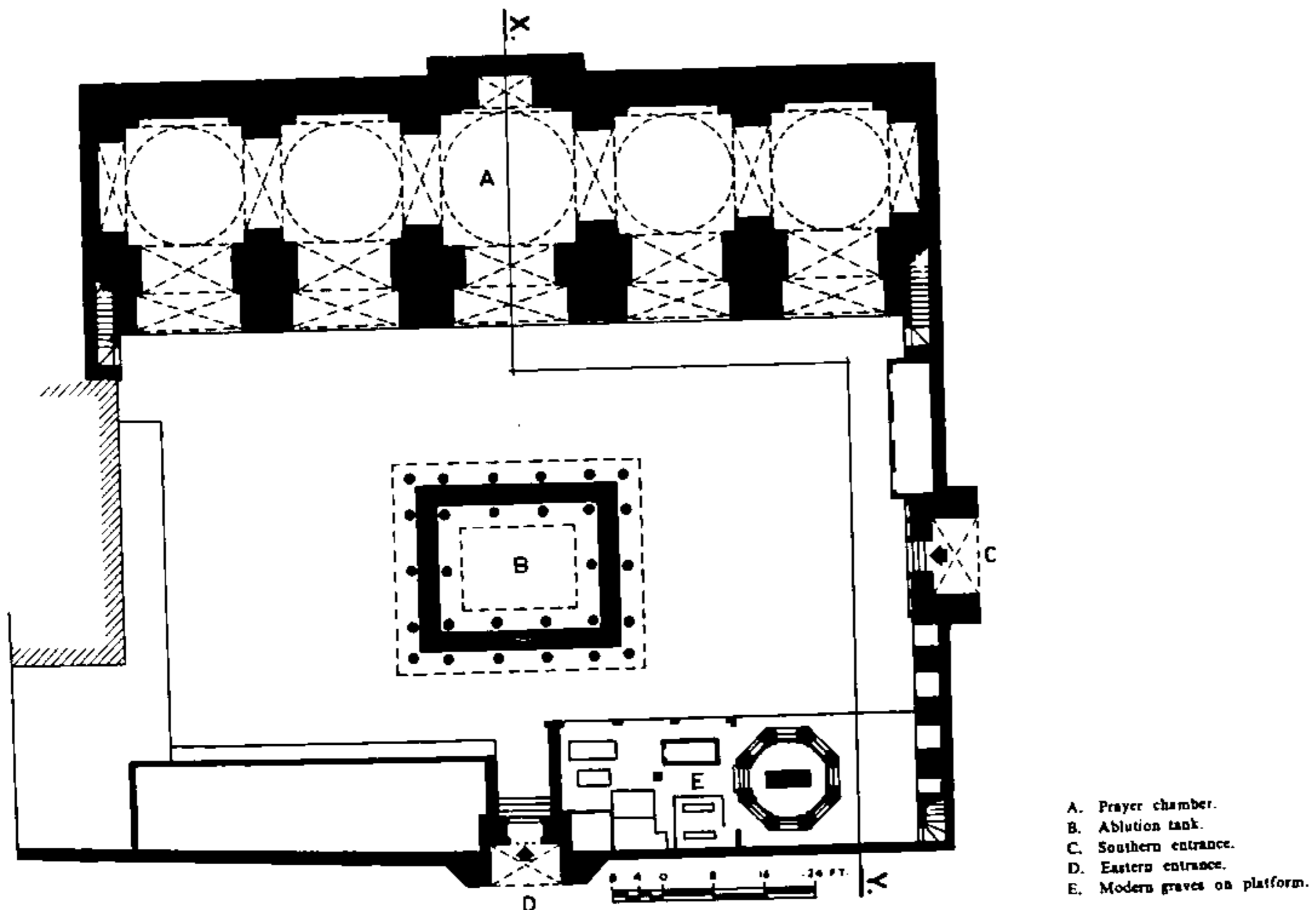


Fig. XIV : Lahore : The Mosque of Maryam Zamani - The Plan.

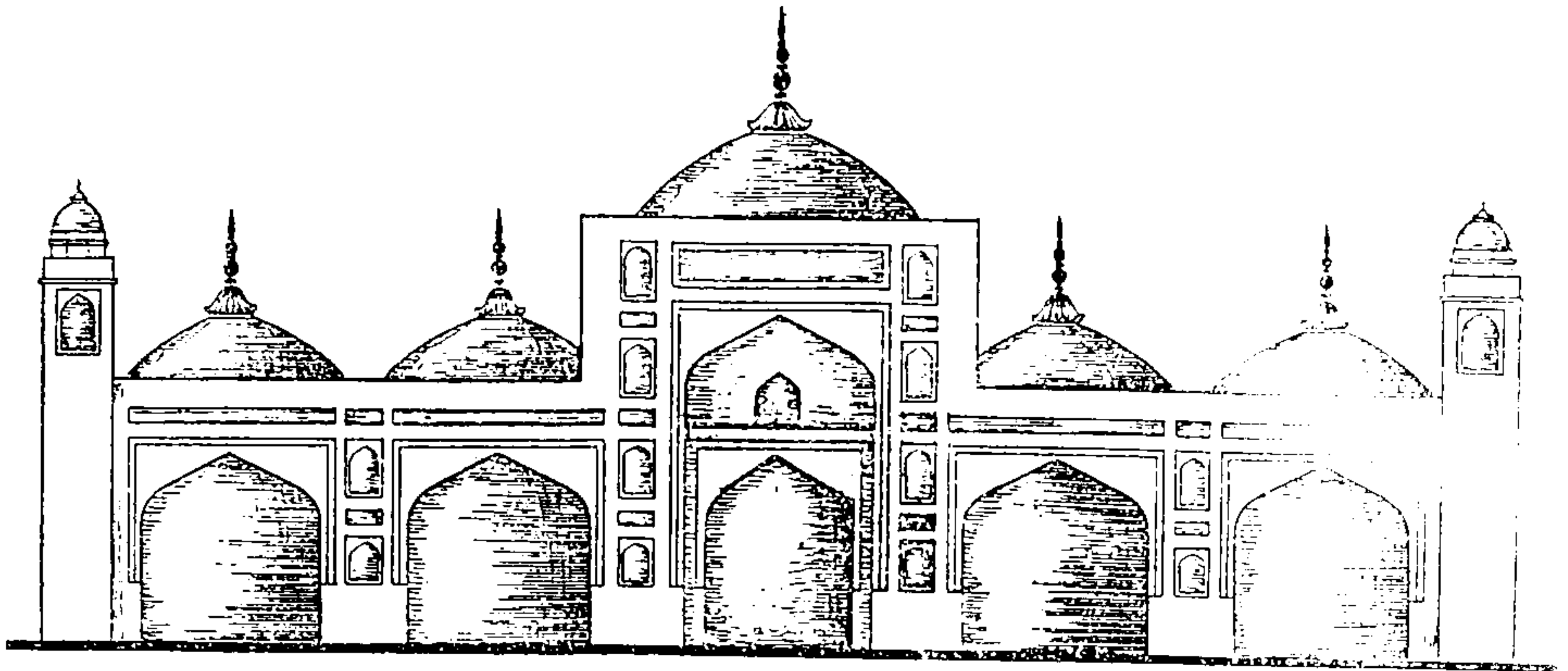
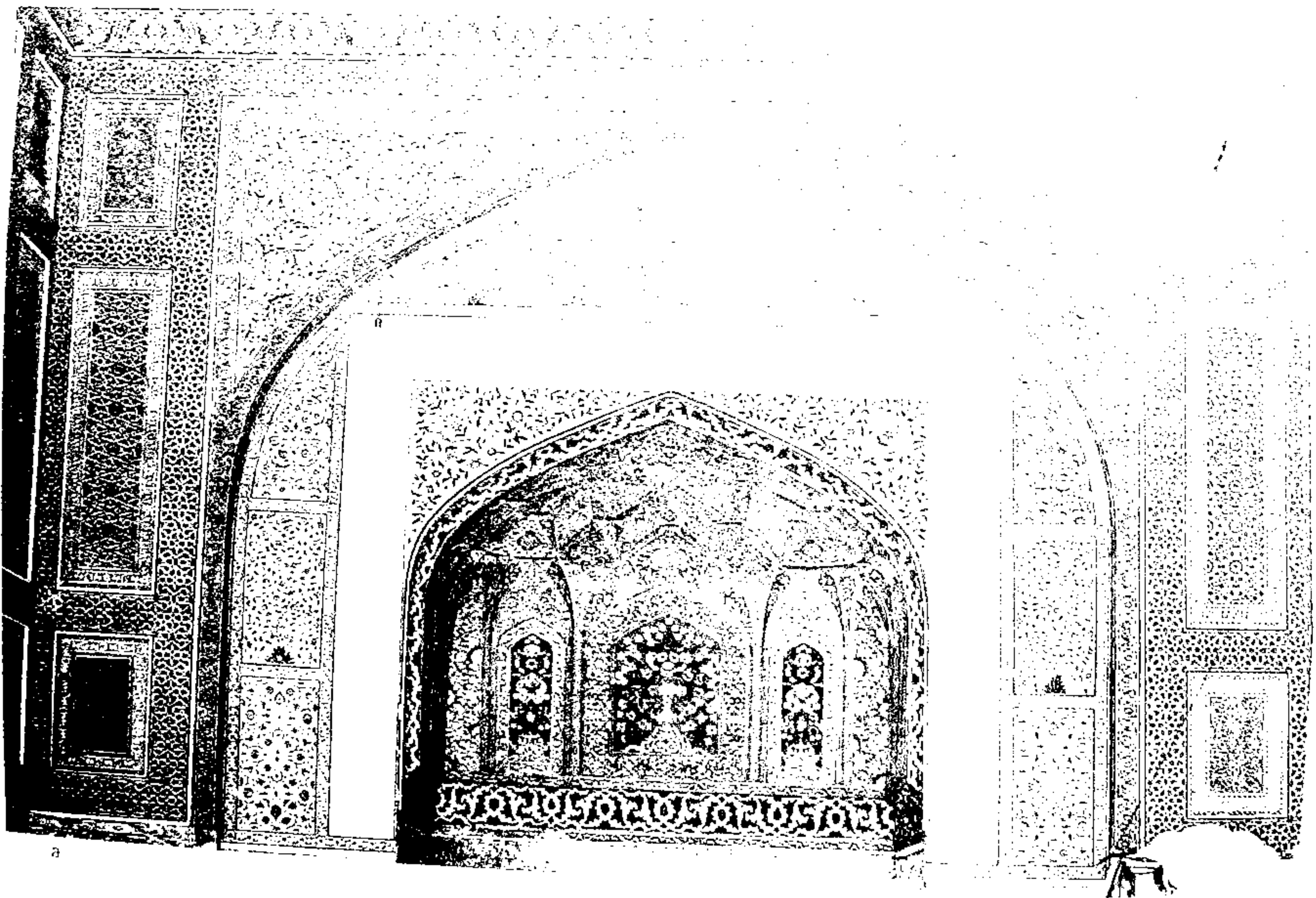
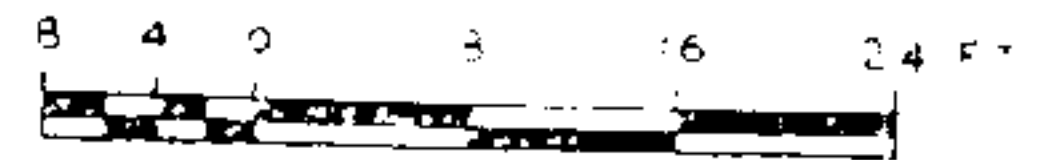


Fig. XV : Lahore : The Mosque of Maryam Zamani - Elevation



Pl. 44 : Lahore: Mosque of Maryam Zamani panels of fresco painting after renovation.

The architectural arrangement described above conforms precisely to the traditional mosque architecture developed in the South Asian Subcontinent. The various architectural elements, specially those of the prayer chamber, remind us of their earlier forms seen in the historic mosques at Delhi, Ajmer, Bada'un and elsewhere in the Subcontinent, and give us an idea of their gradual development and the perfection which was achieved during the Moghul period:

The Surface Decoration

The mosque, however, stands out uniquely for its fresco decoration with which the whole of the interior surface of the prayer chamber is replete. The paintings have been rightly regarded as unrivalled in Pakistan and perhaps in India, for their delicacy and lively variety¹⁹. (Pl. 43)

The use of fresco paintings as a means of surface decoration has been favoured in the Subcontinent from the very early days. The early examples at the Jogimara cave in Mirzapur district and those at Ajanta and Bagh take us deep into antiquity. The tradition has since continued in the subcontinent, and during the Muslim rule, we find it applied extensively. The fabulous buildings erected by Akbar and his successors at Agra, Lahore, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi, possess some exquisite examples of this type of decoration.

The fresco paintings at the mosque of Maryam Zamani are significant for their perfect technique and variety of subject. Never in the history of the architecture of the early Moghul period do we find such an extensive and exclusive use of this type of decoration. The endless variety of geometric, floral and inscriptional designs spread over the interior surface in a subtle colour scheme is a characteristic which is not seen elsewhere. The surface has been divided into various panels of different shapes and dimensions according to the space available, and all the soffits, niches, squinches, arches, interior of domes, apex etc., are covered with these paintings. The squinches have been provided with low stalactites painted with small flower twigs, while the adjoining areas are divided into arched-panels which have bold interwoven floral patterns. Some of the borders of the panels have geometric schemes of decoration. The patterns have been mainly created by carving slightly with incised lines in white. The interior of the dome has similarly been divided into honeycombed geometric patterns, filled with delicate floral tracery. The small space in between is filled elegantly with stars which bear some of the attributes of Allah done in Naskh characters. The superb combination of colours is also noteworthy; almost all shades of green, ochre red, blue, yellow, black etc., have been used for the purpose without giving the whole scheme an obtrusive effect.

The Inscriptions

As remarked earlier, the mosque possesses several inscriptions, both Quranic

and non-Quranic, executed exclusively in plaster in high and bold relief - a characteristic which is met with first here in the historic monuments of the Moghul period at Lahore. Among the non-Quranic inscriptions, the two executed over the arches of the two entrance-gates and the one executed on the high facade of the prayer chamber are important as they record the name of the founder and the date of the completion of the mosque. The inscriptions on the entrance gates are in Nasta'liq characters (Pl. 45). The following is the text of the inscriptions:

- (a) Persian inscription within arched panel fixed on the eastern gateway.

مسجد بیگم شاہی بمطابق ۱۰۲۰
شاہ عالمگیر نورالدین محمد بادشاہ
باد یارب درجہمان روشن جو نور مہر و ماہ

(*Begum Shahi Mosque: 1020 (A.H.)*)

May the conqueror of the world, Emperor Nur u'd-Din Muhammad, shine in the world like the Sun and Moon, O Allah!

- (b) Persian inscription executed over the central arched-panel fixed on the northern gateway.

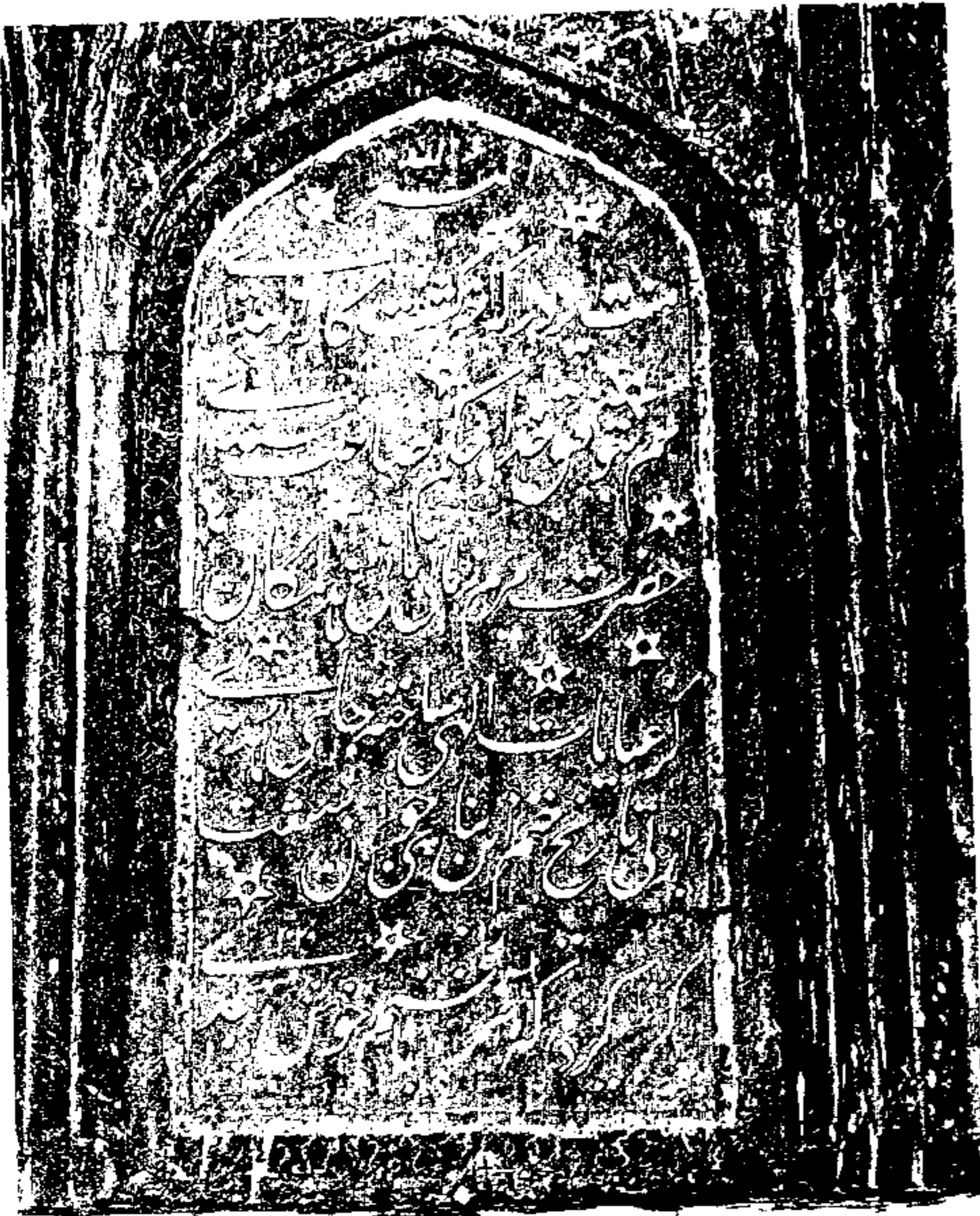
اللہ اکبر
منت ایزد را کہ آخر گشت کار از ابتدای
تم بتوفیق خدا و حکم صاحب مندی
حضرت مریم زمانی بانئ هذا الکان
گزر عنایات الہی ساخته جای حدی
از پی تاریخ ختم این بنائی چون بہشت
فکرستی کروم کہ آخر یافتم خوش مسجدی ۱۰۲۰

TRANSLATION

Allah is the Greatest:

1. Allah is to be thanked through whose grace under the auspices of Her Majesty this building was completed.
2. The founder of this edifice, the place of salvation, is the Queen Maryam Zamani.
3. For the date of the completion of this edifice, which resembles the Paradise, I was pondering when finally I found it in the words 'What a fine Mosque! (1020 A.H.)²⁰'

The inscription records the date of the completion of the edifice in the chronogram خوش مسجدی (khush Masjidi -- What a fine mosque!) in the second hemistich of the last line. The inscription on the facade of the prayer chamber is also executed in stucco in bold relief and painted in red. It records Quranic verse and the name of the emperor Jahangir.



Pl. 45 : Lahore: Mosque of Maryam Zamani persian Inscription dated 1020/1611

ان اول بيت وضع للناس الذي بكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين = نور الدين محمد جهانگیر بادشاہ غازی

Among the Quranic inscriptions, the most prominent is on the *mehrab* of the mosque. The *Tughra* gives the usual *ayat al-Kursi*, while at the crown of the arched-niche is the Kalima. Similarly, all the facades of the niches in other compartments have been decorated with verses from the Qur'an. There is only one saying of the Prophet (May peace be upon him), painted on the facade of the second left arch.

Fresco Painting: The Technique

The fresco painting is created on lime plaster prepared carefully after racking out the joints of brick masonry. The following is the description of the process:

(a) The Ground:

The wall surface on which the treatment of fresco painting is to be applied, is first cleaned and racked with hard brush not only to remove dust but

also to roughen the surface so that the thick layer of lime plaster may adhere to it. A layer of coarse lime mortar in the ratio of 3:2 (fine:course) strengthened with slaked lime in the ratio of 10:1 is fixed over the wall. The thickness of the layer is normally from half to one inch. The thick layer is allowed to remain on the wall for a day. If on the next day it is too dry to be treated further. It is moistened with water and then tapped with the edge of a small piece of wood of triangular shape. The process gives it a rough surface. Normally, the plaster is cured for fifteen days so that its initial setting is complete. Then a thin layer of fine *kanker* lime is applied over it. The technical term in the local language for it is *dugha* (دوغہ). Over this *dugha* is given another layer of fine white lime mortar. This layer is about 1/16 of an inch thickness. If the painting is to be highly finished, the last layer which is actually the ground on which the painting is executed, is carefully smoothed with a small flat iron trowel. The smooth surface is now ready to sketch the design.

(b) The Painting:

The finished ground prepared according to the specification is then sketched with the help of perforated drawings. A specimen of the perforated drawing is shown in Fig. XVI. The drawing is fixed over the wall surface and pounced with a small bag of fine linen filled with some fine coloured dust. Through this action, the design is transferred to the surface. The drawing is then removed and the outline re-drawn in red or black. The outline of the design is then filled with the less desired colours. The painting is now rubbed carefully. Throughout the process, the surface is kept damp so that the texture of the painting is absorbed into the plaster layer. The final touches of rubbing etc., give the picture a more or less permanent sheen which with stands washing by water etc.²¹

(c) The Pigments:

The Moghul artists normally used pure mineral colour for painting²². The required mineral was ground with rice or linseed with a little course molasses (*gur*). The thick compound thus prepared was then mixed with water and used for painting²³.

Repairs to the Mosque

The mosque remained frequented by the Moghul nobility and the common man alike for prayer for more than two hundred years, when the sikh ruler Ranjit Singh changed its religious character by converting it into a gun-powder magazine. The Muslims were therefore denied entry into the premises to offer prayer. The gun-powder factory established in the mosque had a full-fledged staff working under the superintendence of Jawahar Mal Mistri²⁴. However, in 1850. Major McGregor, then Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, restored the mosque to the Muslims, alongwith the shops and houses attached to it²⁵. At the time of the transfer, the condition of the

mosque was deplorable and required immediate repair which was carried out by the subscriptions contributed by local Muslims²⁶. Unfortunately, we are not aware of the details of these repairs, but it may be assumed that the whitewash concealing the frescoes here and there in the interior of the prayer chamber, the re-paving of the courtyard with modern bricks, and other extensive repairs to the ablution tank and to the eastern gateway were some of these repairs, though not according to archaeological principles. These and the later repairs nevertheless kept up the structure of the mosque intact. Later on, the mosque was provided with electricity and elaborate arrangements were carried out for electric fittings.

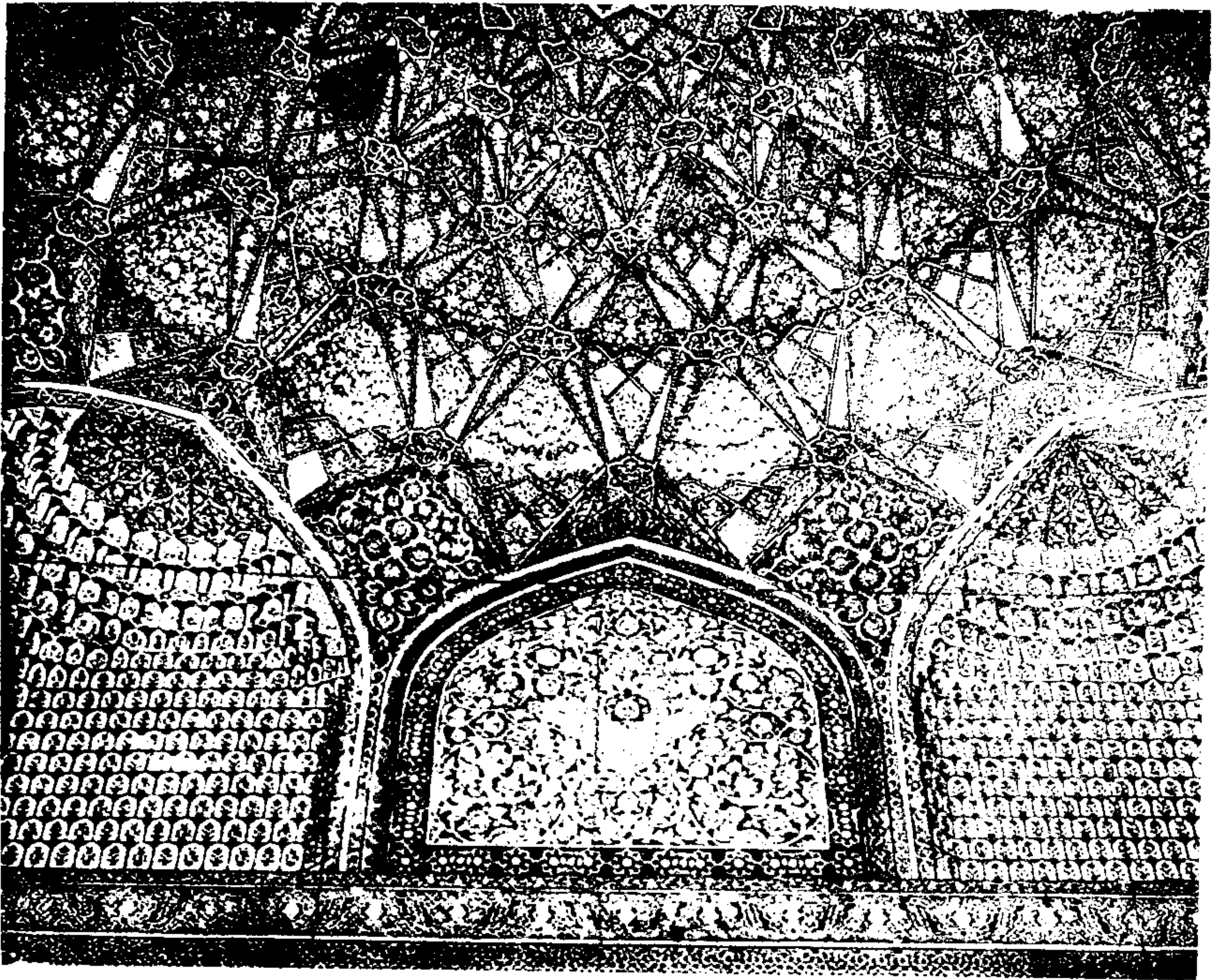
Restoration of Fresco Painting

After more than a century, some enlightened members of the Anjuman-i-Hanafiya-e-Qadiriya, the organization responsible for the maintenance of the mosque, considered the desirability of renovating the fresco work which had undergone decay and defacement and, at places, was concealed under the layers of whitewash. The organization raised a fund of Rs.50,000/- for the purpose through subscriptions and donations. It was fortunate that the Committee approached the Department of Archaeology for the execution of the work and the Department accepted responsibility for technical assistance and advice. No contribution was, however, made by the Government as the monument was not, at that time, protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904²⁷.

The work of the restoration was started in 1959 under the supervision of the West Pakistan Circle of the Department of Archaeology²⁸. For the purpose, the monument was studied by the staff of the Circle and both the structure as well as the fresco decoration were examined in order to prepare a detailed conservation note and estimate giving the break up of the financial details. During the process of the this examination, it was found that the deterioration of the decoration was not entirely due to human neglect and thought less repair. It was, to a great extent, due to injurious climatic action and seepage of water from foundations. Due to the passage of time, the structure of the domes and ceiling covered with lime plaster had developed minute cracks which caused percolation of rain water and dampness in the plaster. It was therefore necessary to fill up the cracks and other joints so that the percolation of water into the core of masonry could be stopped.

The next task was a thorough study of the fresco paintings. The deteriorating was found to such an extent that to revive the past glory of the mosque, the work was to be restored at many places. At many places, the frescoes were found hidden beneath the layer of lime wash, while at other places signs of deterioration due to unfavorable weather were noticed. The whole task was, therefore, divided into the following items:-

- (a) Underpinning of cracks in the structure.
- (b) Peeling off the layers of white-wash on fresco.



Pl. 46 : Lahore : Mosque of Maryam Zamani:-Panel of Fresco Paintings after renovation.

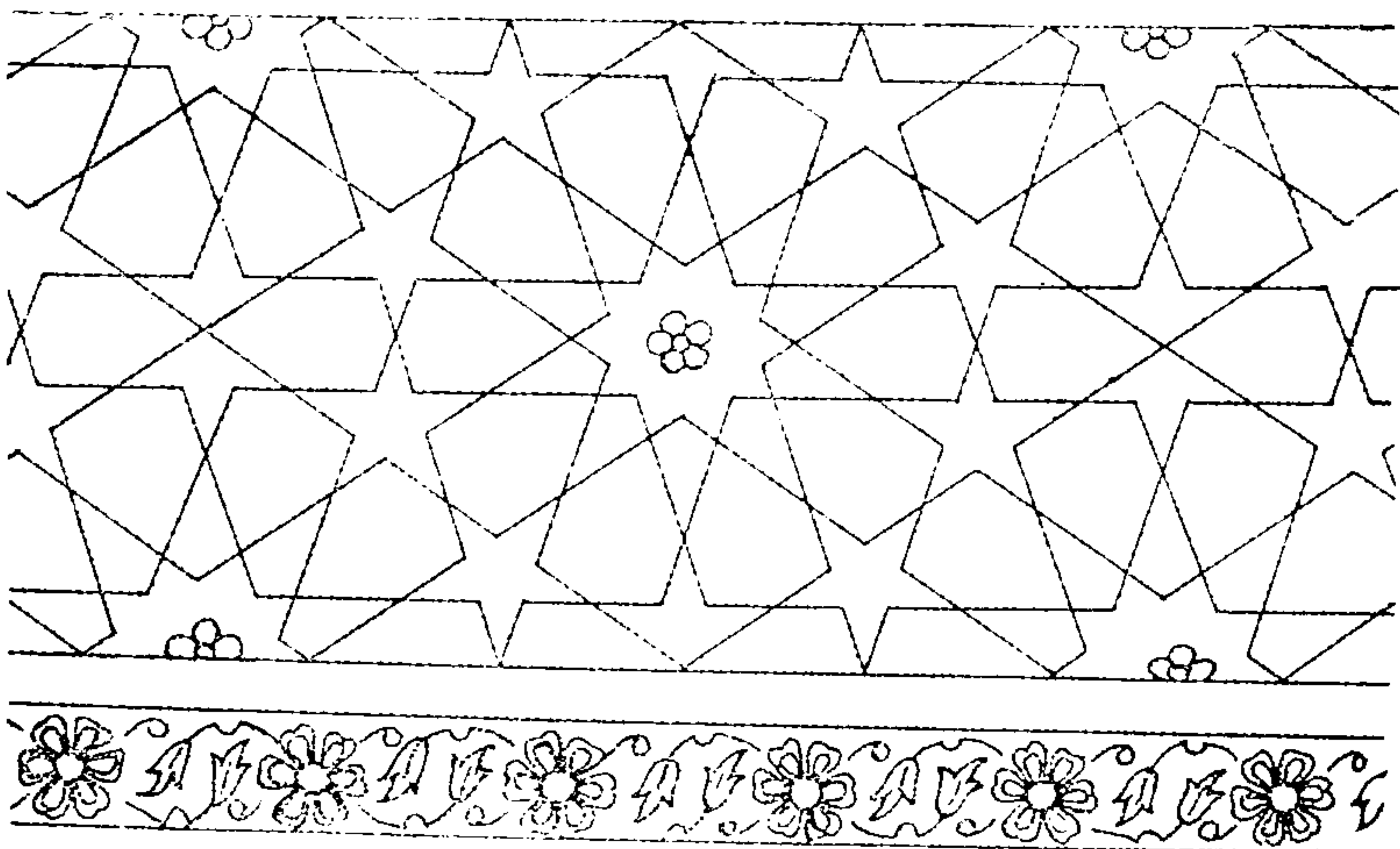


Fig. XVI : Lahore : The Mosque of Maryam Zamani - A Perforated drawing.

- (c) Removing the unsightly and damaging electric fittings.
- (d) Tracing the decorative designs on paper.
- (e) Re-touching the less affected frescoes.
- (f) Restoring the highly deteriorated sections of fresco painting.

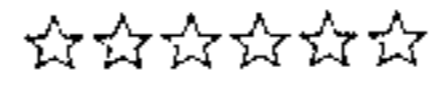
At the outset, it was realized that the tradition of fresco painting according to the traditional process had been almost forgotten, and craftsmen proficient in the art were not readily available. The craftsmen employed for the job were first entrusted with preparing the tracing of all the designs and motifs drawn on the surface of the prayer chamber. The tracings were used, after perforation. In 1962-63, the mosque was declared protected by the Government of Pakistan. It was then decided to make an annual provision of Rs.10,000/- for the continuation of the work, since then, restoration of the fresco on the central and the other two bays has been completed. However, there is still much work to be completed to enliven the past glory of the Mosque. (Pl. 46).

REFERENCES

1. There is, however, some confusion about the date of the completion of the mosque. The *abjad* calculation of the chronogram خوش مسجدی gives the date 1023 A.H. while figures in both the inscriptions clearly record 1020 A.H.
2. This is indeed a conjectural supposition based on the etymological variation of the word *Masjid* which has been corrupted into *Masid*. No contemporary or later historian has recorded the names of the gate of the Fort, which had at least two at the time of Akbar. Even the earlier mud fort on which Akbar founded the present brick fort, had more than one gateways c.f., Abu'l Fazi Allami, *Akbar Namah* (Calcutta 1879-82), Vol.i, p.538.
3. There has been a lot of confusion about this title and its attribution: A number of authors, specially European unmistakably misled with word 'Maryam' (Mary), have concluded that she was a Christian lady. Later researches have, however, proved this assertion baseless. For detailed discussion on the subject, see Maclagan, Sir Edward, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogal* (London 1932) p.158 and notes on pp. 160-61; also *idem* 'The Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar' in *J.A.S.B.* part i, no.i (1886) p.38 sqq. Smith, E.W., *Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri* (Allahabad, 1896) vol.ii, p. 17; *idem*, *Akbar's Tomb at Sikandrah*, (Allahabad, 1908) p.1; Smith, V.A., *Akbar the Great Moghul (1542-1605)* (2nd Indian Ed., Delhi, 1958) p.42 and n.3. Maclagan and Smith call 'Maryam al-Zamani' a posthumous title, which is not correct as we find her son Jahangir calling her Maryam Zamani even during her life time. See Rogers, A. and Beveridge, H., *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Eng. Tans.) (London, 1909-14), etc., Blochmann has also confused the difference by saying: As Akbar's mother had the titles of 'Maryam Makani' so was Jodha Bai (this has, however, been corrected later by the author himself c.f. *op. cit.* additional notes p. 619) called Maryam-uz-Zamani, meaning that as Akbar's mother, Hamida Banu Begum had the posthumous title Maryam Makani, so had the Rajput lady, Maryam Zamani. The confusion has resulted due to the fact that on almost all the Moghul Emperors and their principal consorts were traditionally bestowed such honorific titles posthumously. The case of Jahangir's mother, however, is different. Another interesting point to be mentioned here is that no contemporary or later historians have called her with this title except Jahangir. He mentions her as many as twelve times and always calls her by this title. We, however, do not know when this title was bestowed upon the Queen. It may be presumed that Akbar might have conferred this title on the Queen at the birth of Jahangir, but for this we do not have any contemporary source. Garden Sanderson's reference to Blochmann for this assertion is incorrect. See Marshall, Sir John (Ed.) *ASIR* 1910-11, p.95. In fact, all his references to various authorities need re-checking.
4. c.f. Srivastava, A.L., *Akbar the Great* (Delhi, 1962) vol.i, p.63, n.19, who records that her name was probably Man Mati. He does not, however, quote authority for his assertion.

5. Abu'l Fazl Allami, *Akbar Namah*, vol.ii. p.156. For an analytical study. See Srivastava, A.L. *op. cit.* vol.i. p.61 sq.
6. Abu'l Fazl Allami, *op. cit.*, vol.ii. p.156.
7. *Ibid.* 44 sqq.
8. For details see *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, *op. cit.* vol.i pp. 76, 78, 230, 81, 145, 230, 401 and vol.ii pp. 64, 66, 68, 123, 232.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 78 and 230.
10. *Ibid.*, vol.i. p. 81.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 145.
12. *Ibid.*, vol. i p.76. The occasion referred to here is the visit of the Emperor to Lahore in connection with the pursuit of Khusrau in *Zil-Hajjah* 1015/1606. For a detailed account of Khusrau's revolt, see Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.*, vol.i. p.51 sq. For a more comprehensive description, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, (3rd ed. Allahabad, 1940) p. 120 sqq. Jahangir pointed out that on this occasion he was staying at the Kamran's Baradari and that the Queen mother was living in a house called Dahr which was most probably located across the Ravi as the emperor had to embark on a boat to reach her.
13. *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p.68.
14. Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.* vol.ii. p.261.
15. Sanderson, Gordon, 'Conservation Works at Agra and Neighbourhood' in *ASIR* 1910-11 pp.94-66. The article includes an account of the tomb of Maryam Zamani at Sikandara, Agra.
16. For a detailed architectural description, illustrated with drawings and photographs, see Smith, E.W. *op. cit.* vol. i, pp. 31-38.
17. Rogers and Beveridge, *op. cit.* vol.ii p.64.
18. *Proceedings A.S.B.*(August 1873) p.159.
19. Wheeler, R.E.M., *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, (London 1950) p.83.
20. The inscriptions have been first recorded incompletely by S.M. Latif in his *Lahore: its history, archaeological remains and antiquities* (Lahore, 1892), pp. 132-33. The literal translation is also his with some modifications by the present writer.
21. For a similar description, also see Griffiths, J. *The Paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temple of Ajanta* (London, 1896-97) p. 18 seq. The description, however, is mainly applicable to Ajanta frescoes and differs at certain places with that described above.
22. Moti Chandra, *The Technique of Mughal Painting* (Lucknow, 1949) pp. 18-34. The writer gives a detailed account of the preparation of the process of pigments. The description is based on the experience and practices of a Hindu artist of Benares who was well-versed in the style of Moghul painting. The pigments described were also used by the artist of fresco painting.
23. This note gives the details of the practice of the Department of Archaeology. The modern restorer, however, finds it a tiresome job to prepare the pigments according to the old technique as the mechanically prepared colours available in the market, are good enough to serve the purpose. In fact, our experience has shown that it is the blend of the old and new which is more effective and durable. For instance, while for the shades of green, red and yellow, oxide dry colours are used, indigo (Robin ultra-marine) and lamp black is used for blue and black respectively. Similarly, for a darker shade of red, the same old *hurmuchi* is applied.
24. Latif, S.M., *op. cit.*, p.131. It is interesting to note that many of the mosques of Lahore were used by these Sikhs for such purposes. The famous Badshahi mosque, for instance, was converted into a magazine, and the Pearl Mosque in the Fort into a treasury!
25. It was customary for the builder of a mosque to create a *waqf* of some property to finance its recurring expenditure. There are numerous examples of such *waqfs* in the Subcontinent.
26. Latif, S.M. *op. cit.* p. 132. It was on this account that the edifice was sometimes called *Barud Khane Wali Masjid*. Prof. Baqir relates a curious story about the transfer of this mosque to the Muslims. He says: 'the British got it vacated but Qazi Faqih u'd-Din, the Darogh-e-Nuzul, registered it as 'Crown Property'. The, author, however does not quote authority for his statement. See, Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore: Past and Present* (Lahore, 1952) p. 342.
27. The monument was declared protected in 1963, vide Government of Pakistan Notification No. F. 8-40 61-A & M, dated the 30th April 1963, and was placed under category II (c) i.e. "owned privately but maintained by the owners and Government jointly" *c.f.* Marshall, Sir John, *Conservation Manual* (Calcutta, 1923) p.2.

28. It must be placed on record here that the excellence of the work achieved was mainly due to the personal interest of the then Circle Superintendent, Khan Wali Ullah Khan, especially during its earlier phase which set a tradition of meticulous accuracy, both in form and colour, in restoration of fresco decoration. The tradition has been followed since.



ISLAMIC COINAGE OF SOUTH ASIA:

Arab, Yamini and Turkish Currency

The Arab conquest of Sindh and parts of the Punjab in 93/711 resulted in the establishment of Arab rule in these regions. This political change also brought a new era of socio-economic order. At this time, it seems that no regular and uniform coinage was in use, and along with the local currency, especially of the Little Kushanas and the Ephthalites, Indo-Sasanian coins were generally in use. A casual reference in the famous history of Sindh, *Chachnama*, indicates that the Rais of Sindh also had their own currency. We are told that Dahir, in recognition of the meritorious services of his minister, once ordered to strike his name as well on the reverse of his coins.¹ However, no such coins, or for that matter, coins of these rulers have ever been actually found. Similarly, it has been related by the same authority that after the conquest of Multan, Muhammad ibn al-Qasim was allowed the prerogative of striking coins from the newly conquered lands, of course in the name of the reigning caliph.² Of these too no coin is known to exist now. Indeed, information on the coins of this earlier period is still scanty. The early numismalists like C. J. Rogers, James Princep, H. H. Willson, Edward Thomas, Edward Drouin and many others provide at best imperfect information on the initial coinage of Islamic era in these areas of the Subcontinent.

Arab Coinage: Deybul and Al-Mansurah

A large number of coins collected as stray finds from various archaeological sites in Sindh, particularly from Bhanbhore (Deybul) and al-Mansurah, however, furnish evidence that the gold and silver coins in circulation during eighth century and latter were mainly those imported from various centres of the caliphate which belonged to the series commonly known as 'Arab-Sasanian'. These coins possessed legends in Pahlavi on the obverse and a fire altar, the name of the mint and the date of minting in the Yazdgird era on the reverse.³ A silver coin of this type found from Bhanbhore bore Mary as the mint name and 21 Y. E. as the date of minting. The date corresponded with 32/562. It showed superimposition of Bismillah in Kufic letters.⁴

In 70/690, Umayyid Caliph Abdu'l-Malik issued currency in imitation of Byzantine money which bore the image of the Caliph with *Kalimah*. Three years later, in 74/693, yet another series was issued by the same caliph depicting the standing figure of the Caliph with his hand on his sword.⁵ The series in fact followed universal practice according to which the new rulers allowed initially the currency of the previous regime in circulation and introduced the changes of new authority and new religious associations only

gradually. The phenomenal change which gave the coinage a real Islamic nature and appearance was brought by the same caliph, who struck a new coin in 76/696. The new series discarded all the previous un-Islamic devices including the image and the fire altar, and, instead, put the *Kalimah* and the *Surat al-Ikhlās* on it.⁶ Two silver coins of this caliph issued in 95/714 from the mints of al-Taimara and Ardshir Khurra were found from Banbhore remains. They bore the following legends.

Obverse: (Centre)	لااله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
(Margin)	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بآردشير خره في خمس وتسع
Reverse (Centre)	<i>Surat al-Ikhlās</i>
(Margin)	محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره

Another remarkable specimen of the Umayyid coinage also discovered from the same place, was a silver coin of Hisham ibn Abd u'l-Malik (105-125/724-743) minted at Wasit in 124/742. The obverse had the *Kalimah*, while on the reverse was inscribed *Surat al-Ikhlās* and محمد رسول الله ارسله on the margin.

Several other coins minted at different mints of the caliphate by various Umayyid and the Abbasid caliphs have also been found from the same city-site. For instance, a gold coin of Abbasid caliph Abu Ja'far Harun al-Wasiq Billah (227-32/842-47) minted in Egypt in 229/843 bore the legend: لااله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Obverse: (Inner Margin)	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار في سنة تسع وثمانين ومائة
Outer margin:	الله الامير من بعد ويومئذ يوي المؤمنين بنو الله
Reverse:	محمد رسول الله الواثق بالله

Among other silver issues of the Abbasid caliphs, one belonged to al-Ma'mun (813-833) struck at Samargand in 196/812, and bore the following legends:

Obverse:	لااله الا الله وحده لا شريك له
(Margin)	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة سمرقند سنة تسع وثمانين ومائة
Reverse:	محمد رسول الله مما امره امام المأمون امير المؤمنين بالفضل الله
(Margin)	محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

The order city-site from where a large number of coins have been found, both from the surface and regular excavation, is that of al-Mansurah. The site was first excavated by Mr. Ballassis in 1854 which yielded a good collection of coins. Besides, stray finds from the site also included several specimens mainly of copper coins and only a few of silver. Many of these were struck at Mansurah, the first ever regular mint established here by the Arab governors. The coins were minted by local governors and

the Habbari rulers like Mansur Ibn Jamhur al-Kalbi, Abdu'r-Rahman bin Abd u'l-Malik, Muhammad, Abdu'llah ibn Umar ibn Abd a'l-Aziz Habbari, Umar ibn Abd a'l-Aziz etc. Unfortunately, many of the coins of these local governors were badly corroded and the legends thereon were hardly legible. However, the general pattern and assignment of legends on obverse and reverse can be ascertained. The coin of Mansur, for instance, has usual text $\text{لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له}$ in the centre on the obverse, and on the reverse $\text{محمد رسول الله لا اله الا الله وحده بحم الله ضرب في الفضة بالمنصوره مما امره المنصور}$ in the centre and $\text{بحم الله مما امر به الامير عبد الرحمن بن مسلم سنة ثلث و ثلثين ومائة}$ on the margin. The copper coins of Abd a'l-Rahamn bin Muslim minted at al-Mansurah are known to have existed for several mint-dates like 133/750, 134/751, 135/752. The obverse has لا اله الا الله in the centre, while the margin possesses $\text{بحم الله مما امر به الامير عبد الرحمن بن مسلم سنة ثلث و ثلثين ومائة}$ in characteristic Kufic letters. The obverse has محمد رسول الله in the centre and لا اله الا الله in design in between the text.

The margin has the Quranic verse: $\text{قل لا اله الا الله}$

Another type of copper coin of the same ruler has, on obverse, a quatrefoil or star reduced to four points, on the sides of which are given the legends in the form of a square. The margin is ornamented with a line of dots enclosed within two linear circles, with four small dotted semi-circles to fill in the vacant square. The reverse of the coin has a scalloped square surrounded by dots, within which is the legend arranged in three lines.

These details corroborated with the description of the currency recorded by various Arab geographers and travellers who visited these areas. Like Istakhri and Ibn Hauqal, for instance, are specific in mentioning the currency in circulation at the time when they visited these centers. It was named as *Qahiri* or *Qandahari* and *Tatiri*.⁸ It has been assumed that the *Qahiri* was the currency brought over here from Cairo (Qahirah) and was in circulation. This is indeed a numismatic evidence of the direct influence of the Fatimid rule here through the Isma'ili dai's which took place after the decline and fall of the Habbaris in al-Mansurah and the Banu Samahs in Multan. *Qahiri* coins are said to have been equal to 5 *dirhams*. Similarly, *Tatiri*, or possibly Tahiri, coins weighed 1/2 of the indigenous coins.

Besides, a peculiar series of copper coins minted at Banbhore and found in great number, are of special interest. They may be classified in the following series: (a) coins having Quranic verses; (b) coins bearing a star and a legend; (c) coins having only date and circles or semi-circles; and (d) coins having floral motifs in the center. These coins were struck through a mould of baked clay slabs in which molted metal was poured. The copper pallets so prepared were taken out and finished according to standard size and weight.

YAMINI COINAGE :

The dawn of the eleventh century of the Christian era witnessed yet another military as well as religio-political changes in the Subcontinent. At this time the north-western parts were under the rule of the Hindu Shahi dynasty whose political interest

extended upto the southern parts of modern Afghanistan. The emergence of the new political power on the frontiers overawed the Hindu Shahi rulers. Soon political differences arose and military conflicts ensued between the two powers. These border skirmishes remained limited during the rule of Sebuktegin, but his son and successor Yamin u'd-Daula Mahmud (388-421/998-1030) created a real impact with his much celebrated but erroneously counted seventeen invasions of the Subcontinent. As a result of these campaigns, the Hindu Shahi overlords were eliminated and the northern parts of the Subcontinent, especially most of the areas which now form parts of Pakistan, came under the Ghaznavid sway. Later, the successors of Mahmud established their rule in these areas permanently with Lahore as their capital, which turned into an important centre of political, spiritual as well as cultural activities.

While Mahmud imported his gold currency from other parts of his Sultanate, he utilized the old mint of the Hindu Shahi rulers in Lahore for coining his silver and copper,¹⁰. Available evidence shows that the coins were struck in 418/1027 and 419/1028. About two years after his victory at Somnath. These coins are the earliest known specimens in which local devices and legends have been adapted, especially the Sanskrit version of the name, title, date and the name of the mint. Several such coins have been found from various places. The following is the detail of a representative specimen struck at the mint at Lahore, which was named Mahmudpur, according to the well-established local traditions¹¹.

Obverse: In centre

अव्यक्तमेक
मुहम्मद ख
दतार (गुप्त)
(ति) महमूद

On margin:

का ४१ महमूदपुर घटे (त) (ला)
जिरीयेर सदती ४१९

Reverse:

In centre:

On margin:

القادر لاله الله محمد رسول الله يمين الدوله و امين الملتة محمود بالله
بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم محمود پور سنه ثمان عشر و اربع مائتة

The innovation so introduced by the Sultan was followed by his successors. We possess silver and copper coins minted from Lahore with local devices issued by Mas'ud (421-432/1030-1040), Maudud (432-440/1040-1049), Abd u'r Rashid (444/1052), Jamal u'd-Daula Farrukhzad (444-451/1053-1059), Zahir u'd Daula Ibrahim (451-492/1059-1099), Yamin u'd-Daula Bahram Shah (512-547/1118-1152), Mu'izz u'd-Din Khusrau Shah (547-555/1152-1160), and Taj u'd-Daula Khusrau Malik (555-582/1160-1186). Copper coins minted by these Sultans from the same mint had legends in Deonagari. A

rare copper coin of Maudud has **عدل - لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القايم بامر الله** on the obverse, while on the reverse is inscribed: on top and below **محمد رسول الله شهاب الدوله ابو الفتح مودود** The other recorded copper coin has the legend **عدل - شهاب الدوله قطب الملة ابو الفتح مودود** on obverse, and on the reverse a recumbent Bull in the centre and, over it, Sri Samanta Deva in Deonagari. The device on the reverse continued on the coins of the later Ghaznavid Sultans. It is significant to note that these commonly known 'Bull and Horseman' coins remained popular with the later Sultans of Dehli with appropriate modification for many long years.

COINAGE OF THE TURKISH SULTANATE :

The last Ghaznavid Sultan Khusrau Malik was assailed by the Ghurid Sultan Mu'izz u'd-Din Muhammad bin Sam in 582/1186, who founded the Turkish Sultanate commonly known as the Turkish Empire of Dehli.¹² It is uncertain whether Mu'izz u'd-Din ever minted gold coins from any mint of his possessions in the Subcontinent, as available evidence shows that his money minted at Ghaznin was also in circulation in these areas. A rare gold coin minted at Ghaznin in 692/1292 weighing 93 grams and having following legends has been detailed by Thomas:¹³

Obverse:

In circle

لا اله الا الله اناصر بالله السلطان الاعظم غياث
الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمد بن سام

On margin

هو الذي ارسل رسوله ودين الحق ليظمهوره
على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

(Surah Ixi. 9)

Reverse:

In circle

الله محمد رسول الله السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا
والدين ابو المنظر محمد بن سام

On margin:

غزناه في شهر سنة اثنى وتسعين وستمائة

This evidently shows that the early-Sultans did not strike gold coins from any of their mints located in the areas of their possessions, now included in Pakistan. However, silver and copper money was issued from Lahore, Multan, Peshawar and Sindh mints beginning, according to the available evidence, from the year 630/1232. It is noteworthy here that the earlier issues of the Sultan had been names of both the brothers viz. Ghiyas

u'd-Din as well as Mu'izz u'd-Din. The silver pieces of the new Sultanate generally had identical legends.

Yet another category of coinage adopted by the Sultan from the earlier series of the so-called Dehliwals was a debased metal, a mixture of silver and copper, bearing local traditional legends according to the prevailing circumstances. The coins normally bore **سلطان الامم محمد بن سام** on the obverse and the Horseman in outline with the Hindi legend: **श्री हमीरः** (Sri Hammirah) on the reverse. According to the available evidence, the series was minted in Sindh, Lahore, Peshawar, Gwalior and even Ghor mints, and was a favourite local currency. Of these, one curious coin has been noticed by Edward Thomas which reads the name of the Sultan along with the deposed Prithvi, both inscribed on Deonagri script. Many hypotheses have been offered for the unusual combination of the two names.¹⁴ However, it may plausibly be assumed that the unusual piece was minted as a deliberate attempt to impress upon the people the change of temporal power which took place after the Muslim conquest. This policy is also discernible from the coins known as Qannauj Series. Qannauj, it may be reiterated, was conquered in 590/1194, and the gold coin of the series has the Lakshmi goddess in seated posture on the obverse. The figure holding the cornucopia is imitated from the earliest types of the Gupta coinage, while on the reverse the legend reads:

श्री महमद साम (Sri Mahmad Sam).

The brief survey of the coinage introduced by this first Sultan reveals a number of phenomenal and interesting features. While he followed the universal practice of introducing his authority to the general public through his currency by adapting and modifying the currency of the earlier ruler, even using the local script for inscribing his name, he also put in circulation purely Islamic currency minted at Ghaznin and other mint towns located in Afghanistan and Central Asia. The policy was followed by his successors as well.

On the assassination of Mu'izz u'd-Din in 602/1206 at a place called Damiyak now in Jhelum district, his vast possessions in Hindustan were divided among his lieutenants who were already ruling the areas. We find Qutb u'd-Din Aibek ruling as the Sultan of Hindustan, while Nasir u'd-Din Qubacha became Master of Uchchh and Multan.

Qutb u'd-Din Aibek came to the throne in Lahore in 602/1206. In fact, Lahore was his second capital where he lived for long and died of an accident in 607/1210. However, none of his gold and silver coins is known to exist, and it is believed that he issued only copper with standing bull to left on the obverse and **قطبی** in rayed circle on the reverse. The type was adopted from the well known 'Bull and Horseman' currency of the Rajput and other local rulers which had been in circulation since the decline and disappearance of the more favourite and exquisite pieces of the Gupta currency. It is, however, doubtful whether he issued any coin from the Lahore mint. However, his contemporary and rather subordinate Nasir u'd-Din Qubacha, who ruled the Kingdom of Multan and Uchchh for twenty-two years, coined from Multan, and his copper money having the usual 'Bull and Horseman' is known to exist, though very rare. No gold or silver currency was probably

issued by him.

Shams u'd-Din Iltutmish (607-633/1211-1236) one of the greatest of the Turkish Sultans who consolidated the Muslim rule in the Subcontinent, is credited with not only issuing a variety of gold, silver and copper coins but also giving it a regular and standardized system. However, very few of his gold is known to exist. A coin of exceptional merit was discovered and described by Edward Thomas as the unique representation of his gold issues. It is indeed a very curious representation of the early Islamic coinage in the Subcontinent. Later, yet another coin of the same series was discovered which is now in the cabinet of the American Numismatic Society. A perusal of these coins shows the deep influence of the earlier local currency, although the Sultan attempted to give this coinage a colour exclusively Islamic by putting the *Kalimah* on the obverse, the portrait, and his name and titles on the reverse in Arabic. The coins were minted at Gaur and weighed 40 *ratis* (72 grains). The silver coins of this Sultan known as *tanka*, though scarcely available, have a variety in form and content. These *tankas* bear the names of Abbasid caliphs, al-Nasir le Dinillah, al-Zahir, and al-Mustansir billah, a practice introduced here by the Turkish Sultan for the first time. It evidently showed allegiance to the reigning caliph. That he attached paramount importance to the Caliphate is shown by the fact that Iltutmish struck a special coin to commemorate the conferment of the diploma of investiture by the Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir Billah in 623 1226. The silver coin has the *Kalimah* inscribed in double square scroll work in segments on the obverse, while on the reverse is في عهد الامام امير المؤمنين in double square within a circle having three dots in each segment. The margin on the reverse showed the date and the mint name. It is curious to note that no local devices or Sanskrit or Deonagri legend has been used for this commemorative issue.

Iltutmish is credited for having introduced yet another new coin named *jital*. Edward Thomas infers that the *jital* was merely a continuation of the *Dehliwals* under the more popular and less exclusively metropolitan names,¹⁵ while Nelson Wright concludes that it was a specific coin though resembling *Dehliwals*, in type and general appearance.¹⁶ It was a billon unit representing a much lower intrinsic value' and a large number of it were issued with the name of the Sultan in Nagri over the Bull, and Sri Hammira round the horseman. In some cases, date of minting is given in Hijra as well as in *Samvat*. The tradition so initiated by Iltutmish continued for decades, and the later Sultans like Bahram Shah, Mas'ud Shah and Nasir u'd-Din Mahmud struck such coins.

Iltutmish issued numerous copper coins. A series called, *Adli*, had the name of the Sultan in dotted circle on the reverse, while on the obverse was, 'عدن السلطان', also in dotted circle. Some coins had only شمسي on the reverse, without, of course, date and name of the mint. The other series had the name of the mint as well as عدل السلطان المعظم within flan and dotted circle on the obverse and the name of the mint on the reverse. The names of the mint decipherable from the available specimens included Lahore and Multan, besides Dehli.

On the varied and extensive coinage of Iltutmish, Nelson Wrights remarks: "Iltutmish was a great moneyer. That he established the silver *tankah* and the billon *jital*

on a firm footing was in itself a remarkable achievement. The influence of his silver *tankah* may be said to have continued down to the present day. His incorporation of the indigenous 32-rati weight standard into his currency scheme was a skilful move which made for both popularity and permanence. Iltutmish may also be credited with extending to India the transporter practice of putting on the *Tankah* the name of the mint-town, a practice which continued in subsequent years by his successors and to a still greater extent by the Suris and the Moghuls. Moreover, he enhanced the importance to be attached to the currency by the complete provision which he made to the copper coinage for the needs of all, even the poorest, his *adli*, weighing as little as 8 to 17 grains."¹⁷

The coinage of the next decade when the Turkish empire was under the rule of Rukn u'd-Din Firuz (633-34/1235-36), Jalalat u'd-Din Raziyya (634-37/1236-40), Mu'izz u'd-Din Bahram (637-39/1240-42) and `Ala u'd-Din, Mas`ud (639-44/1242-46) was more or less stereotype and monotonous, almost crude and inferior adaptation of the great age of Iltutmish. No gold coinage was struck during this period except one solitary specimen of Mas`ud whose date and name of the mint is not known. The specimen, now in Dhaka Museum (Bangla Desh) has في عهد الامام الاعظم المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين in double square within circle / with three dots in each segments on the obverse, and السلطان الاعظم علاء الدين والدنيا ابو المنظر شاه سلطان بن سلطان in double square within circle, with scroll work in segments on the obverse, while the margin of the coin is obliterated. The silver coins of the dynasty bore the usual device of the caliph's name on the obverse and their own name and titles on the reverse, while the date and mint name are mentioned on the margin on both sides.

The silver tankas and billon coins of these three rulers are, likewise, imitations of the previous rule except the change of names and dates wherever they are recorded. On one of billon issues, Raziyya is mentioned as رضيته الدين or sometimes بنت (daughter) has been added. A significant change is noticed in these coins as their workmanship, especially the carving of the legend, is very inferior. However, matters improved with the accession of Nasir u'd-Din Mahmud, who reigned from 644 to 664/1246 to 1266. The period of nearly twenty years is recorded on the elaborate currency of this Sultan. For the first time since the accession of Rukn u'd-Din Firuz gold coin appeared. The arrangement of the legend follows that of Ala u'd-Din Mas`ud. The change in the name of the caliph was مستعصم and the margin recording امير المؤمنين محمود ابن السلطان on the obverse, and the name محمود ابن السلطان on the reverse.

Likewise, the silver coins have almost identical legends except that some coins specifically use الفضة (silver) on the reverse to distinguish the silver from gold. The billon currency has the title and name of the Sultan on the obverse and crude representation of Chauhan horseman with محمود and محمود on reverse. The copper currency of Mahmud is rather rare which consists of minute pieces ranging from 12 to 17 grains. Yet another denomination in the shape of silver masha was struck in his reign on which المعظم has been recorded.

Ghiyas u'd-Din Balban came to the throne in 664/1266. He is considered to be the third great Sultan of the Turkish Sultanate after Mu'izz u'd-Din and Iltutmish to introduce many reforms in the administration of the Sultanate. Likewise, his currency also showed improvement in many ways. Gold *tankah* again appears after an absence of nearly a decade. Though having the legend almost identical with the issues of the previous reigns. These were struck in bold relief. On the obverse, in the centre within a circle is the name of the caliph **المستعصم امير المؤمنين الامام** while the margin has the date and the name of the mint: **ضرب هذا السكة محضرت دہلی فی سنہ ثلث و ست مائتہ**. The reverse has similar arrangement for the legend: the name and titles of the Sultan are struck in the centre within a circle. **السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر بلبن سلطان**. The round margin of the reverse repeat the legend on the obverse. The silver money has the same treatment as far as the legend is concerned, but instead of the circle, a double square within the circle has been created to accommodate the legend.

A new billon currency having bilingual legend, the name of the Sultan on the obverse and **بلبن** in circle, and **اسطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين سہی سولتاں گھاسدی** around it on the reverse, was initiated by the Sultan. Nelson Wright assumes that these issues were twenty-fourth of a *tankah*, popularly called *jital dogani*.¹⁵ Some silver coins have Chauhan Horseman with legend in place of the name of the reigning Sultan. The copper issues have **السلطان المعظم السلطان الاعظم** arranged in circle with outer circle of dots on the obverse and **محضرت دہلی** arranged identically on the reverse. In one instance, the obverse of a copper has **عدل غياثی** within an octagon on the obverse and **محضرت دہلی** on the reverse. *Adlis* were issued from several other mints like Sultanpur, and Fakhrabad besides Dehli. The appearance of several mint names shows that Balban created mints at many places of his realm.

The last two Turkish Sultans, Mu'izz u'd-Din Kaiqubad (686-689/1287-90) and the infant Shams u'd-Din Kayumars (689/1290) witnessed the decline and fall of the Turkish Sultanate, when the energetic Firuz took over the reigns of the government to found the new Khalji dynasty. The coinage of the two last sultans has little numismatic interest to detail here, as it is a mere imitation of the preceding reigns.

THE KHALJI COINAGE

Among the Khalji Sultans, the reigns of Ala u'd-Din Muhammad Shah (695-715/1296-1316) and Qutb u'd-Din Mubarak (716-720/1316-1320) are important from the numismatic point of view. Ala u'd-Din is said to have paid special attention towards his coinage, and both his gold and silver money is abnormally abundant. It has been estimated that practically every year new coins were issued by this Sultan, a practice completely alien to the contemporary tradition. The coins so issued had standard weight, fabric and legend, specially gold and silver *tankahs*. For this purpose, the Sultan established new mints, one in Dehli which was given the honorific title of *Dar u'l-Islam*, besides the earlier mint in old Dehli. The other new mint was founded in the south at the fort of Deogir which was renamed subsequently as Daulatabad. Yet another innovation

adopted by Ala u'd-Din was the introduction of square coins which became favourite with Qutb u'd-Din Mubarak and later with the Moghul emperors, Akbar and Jahangir. The gold coins had *السلطان الاعظم علاء الدنيا والدين ابو المنظر محمد شاه السلطان* inscribed on the obverse covering the whole face of the coin while on the reverse was *سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين*. It may be noted with interest that the Sultan used the epithet *سكندر الثاني* on his coin for the first time. Some of his billon had his name and date in Deonagari as well. Here too the date in Deonagri appears for the first time. The 40-rati copper fulus remained the principal coin of this age, while the *Adli* also continued.

The currency of Qutb u'd-Din Mubarak is of extraordinary interest both for its execution as well as for its legends. Indeed, it stands out for boldness of design and variety of execution. The coin legends of his region reflect accurately the vanity of Sultan who used high titles like *السكندر الزمان، امام الاعظم خليفه رب العالمين، يمين الخلافة، ابو المنظر* on his coins. His gold coin issued from Qutbabad fort has *امام الاعظم خليفه رب العالمين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المنظر* on the obverse, while on the reverse the legend reads: *مبارك شاه السلطان ابن السلطان الواثق بالله امير المؤمنين* the circle and *ضرب هذه السكة بقلعه قطب آبار* on the margin. The date is also mentioned on the margin on many coins. His many silver coins have almost identical legends except that for the silver *الفضة* has expressly been mentioned. Similarly, his billon is unusually varied, and as many as eight types have been identified including the square ones. The copper series consisted of a 40-rati *fulus* and three smaller types including an *Adli* which was half of the *fulus*.

COINS OF THE TUGHLUQ SULTANS

The interest evinced by Qutb u'd-Din Mubarak in the issuance of a variety of coinage received an exceptional momentum during the Tughluq reign (720-802/1320-1399). Indeed, the second Sultan of the dynasty Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq (725-752/1325-1351) excelled all the Sultans of Dehli in minting coins of varied denominations and types. Edward Thomas says about the keen interest of this emperor. So important indeed did he consider all matters connected with the public currency that one of the earliest acts of his reign was to remodel the coinage, to readjust its divisions to the altered relative values of the precious metals and to originate new and more exact representations of the subordinate circulations.¹⁹ The same authority very appropriately calls him the 'Prince of Moneyer' Nelson Wright observes, 'Muhammad bin Tughluq stands out preeminently both for the variety and for the interest of his coins. Indeed, the currency policy of this reign might almost be described as kaleidoscopic while the engraver's art that is displayed, is of a very high order'.

A remarkable feature of the coinage of Muhammad bin Tughluq was the vast expansion of the mints throughout his empire. He established several mints in the capital as well as at other important cities and towns. Before this, the capital Dehli served as the main centre of coinage where sometimes more than one mints were established to strike coins. The most important centres of coinage during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq were: Setgaon, Sonargaon, Agra, Tughluqpur (Tirhut), Daulatabad (Deogir), Sultanpur

(Warangel), Lakhnauti (Gaur), Dhar and Talingana. These cities were given honorific titles and epithets which were inscribed on the coins. Following is the list of these titles along with their names.

1. Hazrat, Daru'l-Mulk and Takhtagh for Dehli or Daulatabad.
2. Iqlim for Tughluqpur
3. Qal'a for Deogir
4. Qubbat u'l-Islam for Deogir or Daulatabad.
5. Sultanpur for Warangle.
6. Tughluqpur for Tirhut.

Muhammad bin Tughluq was the first emperor among the sultans of Dehli who established such a big organization for minting his coins, a policy adopted later by Sher Shah Suri, and then the Moghul Emperors. In addition to his ordinary and normal coinage, he issued special series either to celebrate important occasions or in memory of important events. Numismatists have classified the whole series of his coins in the following categories:

1. Commemorative issues.
2. Normal issues
3. Forced currency.
4. Khilafat issues.

The first category of the series consists of the coins issued by the Emperor in memory of his father. Thomas has described them as 'eccentric', but later researches have revealed that the idea of issuing the posthumous coins was not unprecedented at that time. Ilduz, for instance, struck some coins in the name of Muhammad bin Sam, after the latter's death. Muhammad bin Tughluq, in the same way honored the memory of his father by striking these posthumous coins. According to Nelson Wright, these coins were mainly issued in the southern part of his sultanate, but a few examples are also available which possess the mint name of Dehli.

The normal issues of Muhammad bin Tughluq are also superbly struck pieces of gold and silver. He introduced many curious and novel features to his currency and left no time in standardizing its designs, metal, weight and shape. The outstanding feature of this series was the *Kalimah* which had been discarded after Iltutmish. Several new series were struck to facilitate the flow of trade and commerce. In the beginning of his reign, he issued a gold *tankah* of 140 grains in order to pay the salaries of his soldiers. After that, other pieces of *tankahs* and *adlis* were minted which had their own standard. They were of gold and silver respectively.

The silver coin of Muhammad bin Tughluq are more scarce than the gold ones. He replaced both *tankahs* and *adlis* with billon *tankah* after 727/1326 and issued a

variety of billon coins of different denominations, shapes and weight. Besides, he also issued copper coins but they are surprisingly scanty.

The most remarkable of the series issued by Muhammad bin Tughluq was the forced 'currency' of copper and brass at the value of gold and silver. He introduced this currency in 730/1329 on the lines of fiduciary coinage of the Mongol Emperor of China Koblai Khan and afterwards Gaikhatu, a Mongol Ilkhan of Persia who endeavoured to enforce paper money. These coins possessed verses from the Qur'an and other very peculiar legends to appeal to the people to accept the dictates of the Sultan as a religious obligation:

من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن

Who so obeys the Sultan, obeys the Compassionate;

اطيعوا الله واطيعوا الرسول واولى الامر منكم - لا يولا السلطان كل الناس بعضهم بعضا

Obey God and obey the Prophet and those in authority amongst you; sovereignty is not conferred upon all men; some of them precede others'.

مرشد تنگہ راج در روزگار بنده امیدوار محمد تغلق

(Sealed as a *Tankah*, current in the reign of the humble one hopeful (of Grace) Muhammad bin Tughluq).

Unfortunately, this innovation could not very much succeed. As the Emperor had arranged no special machinery to give special mark on the coins to avoid imitation, and there was no check upon its authenticity. People, therefore, started imitating and producing forged currency. According to contemporary as well as later chroniclers, every house of the Hindus became a mint, producing thousands and thousands of forged coins. These innumerable imitations therefore resulted in the failure of the fiduciary currency. The Sultan had to take back the whole currency, whether genuine or forged, at the value for which they were actually intended.

The other category of Muhammad Tughluq's coins termed by numismatists as 'Khilafat issues', were among the best series. In recognition of religious supremacy of the Khilafat, the Sultan issued gold coins and replaced his name with that of al-Mustakfi Billah of Egypt. These coins were struck at Daulatabad mint in large numbers. After the death of al-Mustakfi in 740/1339, al-Hakim succeeded to the Khilafat, but Muhammad bin Tughluq came to know about this change after four years when, in 744/1343, an envoy from the reigning caliph came to his court. He immediately substituted the name of the earlier caliph with al-Hakim on the coins. These gold coins are very beautiful and decorative having fine varieties.

The strong tradition so set up by that 'Prince of Moneyers' were destined to last long. His successors Firuz Shah (752-790/1351-1388) and others continued the policy of their predecessor. Indeed, both the old legend and fabric, weight and denomination continued to the extent that only the name of the ruler and the date of minting were altered to indicate the change of ruler. According to the available evidence, Firuz did not

consider necessary to strike gold for the first seven years of his reign. Even the silver *tankahs* are known to have been struck as special pieces and not as a part of general currency for normal circulation. A rare contemporary account of his coinage providing details of various denominations and its nomenclature has been referred to by Thomas and Wright. The importance of this account lies in the fact that for the first time we come across this vital information from contemporary source. It shows that the *tankah-i-zar* (gold *tankah*) and *tankah-i-nuqrah* (silver *tankah*). The other divisions of *jital* were:

1.	جیتل چهل و ہشت گانی	(48 jitals)
2.	مہر بیست و پنج گانی	(25 jitals)
3.	جیتل بیست و چہار گانی	(24 jitals)
4.	جیتل دو ازوہ گانی	(12 jitals)
5.	جیتل دہ گانی	(10 jitals)
6.	جیتل ہشت گانی	(8 jitals)
7.	جیتل شش گانی	(6 jitals)
8.	یک جیتل	(1 jitals)

The nomination of Fath Khan, son of Firuz Shah as the sovereign ruler of eastern provinces in 760/1358 was of far reaching consequence, as it later resulted in the establishment of a new independent power known to history as the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur. Numismatically, however, the independent rule is important as Fath Khan is known to have issued currency independent of two mints: Iqlim ush-Sharq (Jaunpur) and Patna. These coins, however, mentioned the name of Firuz Shah as well as the supreme ruler; the general fabric, legends and other details being the same.

The other rulers of the Tughluq dynasty had short reigns. Ineffective politically though they did coin money, and their specimens are normally represented. It has been deduced that the copper *jital*, a favourite denomination of the period, was henceforth named *fulus*. The gold and silver coins of the last of the Tughluqs, Nusrat Shah, are very scarce, though some copper *fulus* are known to have been issued. All these coins were issued from the Dar u'l-Mulk-i-Dehli mint, and no mint existing in the areas now in Pakistan was used by these later Tughluq Sultans.

COINS OF SAYYID AND LODI DYNASTIES

In the year 801/1398 Timur overran the northern parts of the Subcontinent. He took away all the riches available in whatever shape and kind. The devastated country and mutilated political authority were then revived by Khizr Khan Sayyid. The progenitor of the next Sultanate known to history as Sayyid dynasty. However, according to available evidence, the first two Sultans of the Sayyids, Khizr Khan and Mubarak Shah (824-837/1421-1434) did not strike coins. The later had to follow the practice after eight

years of his accession: and whatever was struck during this period was in accordance to the previous practice, both in shape, fabric and weight, only altering the date of minting.

In 832/1428, a new gold coin appeared in the name of Mubarak having the legend: *في عهد السلطان الغازي المتوكل على الرحمن* on the reverse, while on the obverse in the centre was the Quranic verse *انا فتحنا لك فتحا* and around *ضرب هذا الدنيا محضرت دہلی سنہ خمس و ثمانماتہ* with date at the bottom of the legend on the obverse, and *في عهد السلطان الغازي المتوكل على الرحمن مبارك شاه السلطان خضر شاه السلطان - سلطان عالم شاه* on the reverse. The billon and copper coinage followed the devices and weight of the preceding age.

The other Sayyid Sultans, Muhammad Shah (837-849/1334-1445) and Alam Shah (849-855/1445-1451) put their parentage on their coins like

السلطان الاعظم ابو محمد محمد شاه فرید شاه بن خضر شاه السلطان سلطان عالم شاه بن علاء الدین و الدین محمد شاه بن شاه فرید put on the reverse, while on the obverse was the familiar *في زمن الامام امير المؤمنين خلد خلافت*. The mint used by these Sultans was Hazrat-i-Dehli. The gold and silver coins issued by Muhammad Shah are heavier than struck in the previous reigns, while Alam Shah did not seem to have issued gold currency his silver *tankahs* are also very rare.

Bahlul Shah (855-894/1451-1489) *في زمن الامام امير المؤمنين خلافت* who founded the new ruling dynasty named the Lodis, did not strike gold or silver as only billon and copper coins of his reign are known to exist. The earliest known billon issued from the Dehli mint in 856/145 had the familiar *في زمن الامام امير المؤمنين خلد خلافت* with date in numerical: ٨٥٦ on the obverse and *حضرت دہلی* the name of the mint: *المتوكل على الرحمن بسلطان* on the reverse. His copper currency was also issued from Jaunpur Shahr besides Dar u'l-Mulk Dehli and Hazrat-i-Dehli. His successors, Sikander Shah (894-923/1488-1517) and Bahlul Shah (923-932/1517-1526) merely copied the legend, fabric and weight of their forefathers, simply altering the name and date. The Lodi rulers confined their currency to billon and copper as gold and silver were scarcely available for this purpose. Indeed, Bahlul discarded gold and silver *tankahs* and relied on billon and copper coins almost exclusively. The common 80 rati billon *tankah* remained in circulation throughout the period, which was named as Bahluli, while the copper fulus was of 48 rati, and a double fulus of 80 rati having legend on the obverse: *بھلول شاه السلطان* in circle and *ضرب محضرت دہلی* on margin, while on the reverse is date with *نائب امير المؤمنين*. His successor Sikandar (894-923/1488-1517) issued a billon called Sikandari *tankah*. However, the coin of the succeeding reigns, those of Ibrahim Shah (923-932/1517-1526) and the last of the Lodis, Mahmud (935-1528), was most degenerated, both from metrological and artistic points of view.

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فرود آمده و نشسته بمن به تعظیم دریا بدبار می زود نزدیک سیده
 آدم محل آن تقاضا کرد همین که فرود آمد فرصت نیاید زانور

در یافتن در اضطرار اب انفعال شده فی الحال سلطان سعید خان و باباخان
 سلطان زرافرودند که از اسب فرود آمده و زانور زده بمن دریا بنده

Abbarhama Akbar hunting tiger near Narwal

AN ILLUSTRATED AKBARNAMA In The Victoria And Albert Museum, London

The collections of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum contain an illustrated manuscript copy of a part of the Akbarnama of Abu'l Fazl. The manuscript is a deluxe edition prepared for the Royal Library of the Moghul Emperor Jalal u'd-Din Muhammad Akbar (1556-1605). It is transcribed in elegant Nasta'liq and possesses several paintings to illustrate the text. The present portion contains a part of the third volume of the Akbarnama starting with the event of Akbar's march from the Punjab to Agra in 1560¹ and closing with the account of his expedition to the Punjab in 1577². In other words, it covers the account of 17 years of the Emperor's reign. The manuscript seems to have remained in the Royal library for quite a long time, at least upto the time of Aurangzeb Alamgir (1658-1707) as is evident from a number of seal impressions, entries and endorsements appearing on the first and the last folios of the volume. The most important among these is an entry in the hand of Jahangir (1605-27) himself which records Pl. 46 .

اللہ اکبر
پنجم آذر سنہ ۱۰۱۴ داخل کتابخانہ
این نیازمند در گاہ اہی شد - محررہ
نور الدین جہانگیر
بن اکبر بادشاہ سنہ ۱۰۱۴

TRANSLATION

Allah is the greatest.
on the fifth of Azar in the first year (of his reign)
(the book) was deposited in the library of this
supplicant at the divine gateway. Written by
Nur u'd-din Jahangir, son of Akbar Padshah, Year 1.
(1014-1605)

The other seal impressions and endorsements on this page have been mutilated.

The last folio possesses seven seal impressions and three endorsements of the period of Aurangzeb. Unfortunately, a few of these have been cut during the rebinding of the manuscript, While some are mutilated. The legible words of the seal impressions, however, are :

عالم کیر

۱۰۷۹

[Alamgir 1079/1668]

The endorsements read as under :

- ۱- عرض دیدہ شد۔ ۲۔ ربیع الاول سنہ ۲
- ۲- دوازدهم ذی قعدہ سنہ ۱۶۔ قیمت سابق بحال
- ۳- شہر رمضان سنہ ۱۹۔ ورق تصویرات یک صد (و) دہ اعہ عدد

These endorsements show that the manuscript was presented to the reigning monarch on various occasions for his perusal or study. It was also given fresh evaluation on such occasions.

Between the years 1079/1668 and 1208/1793., however, we are not aware of the history of the movement of the manuscript. It seems possible that during the period of catastrophe when the Moghul power declined and the royal libraries were disturbed alongwith other treasures, the manuscript fell into someone's hand who sold it, in turn, to one Raushan u'd-Daulah Munir u'l-Mulk, Ghalib Jang Ahmed `Ali Khan Bahadur³, who put his seal on the recto of the first folio indicating the date 1208/1793, and wrote a note indicating the ownership and the price he paid for it. The note reads as under :

این کتاب احمد علی خان بہادر است۔ اگر کسی دعوی کند باطل گردد

[The book belongs to Ahmad Ali Khan Bahadur. If anyone claims its ownership, his claim would be wrong.]

At the top left corner of the same folio is the note which gives the value of the manuscript : قیمت ہفت ہزار روپیہ [Price is rupees seven thousand].

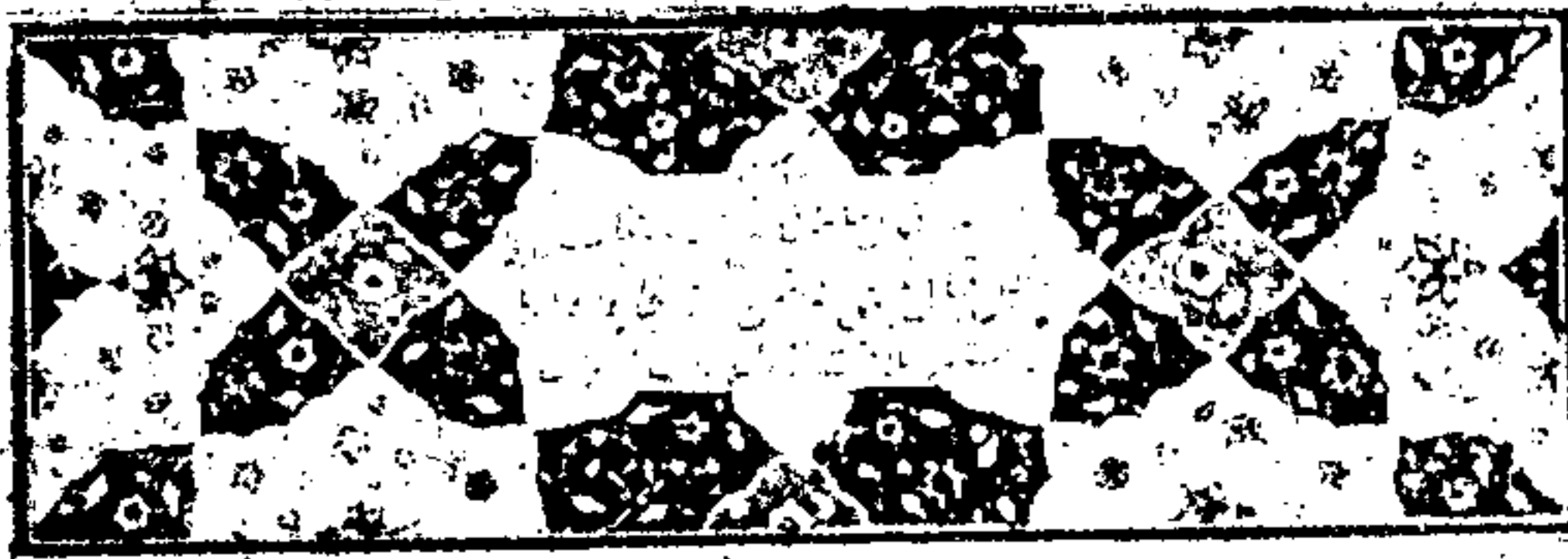
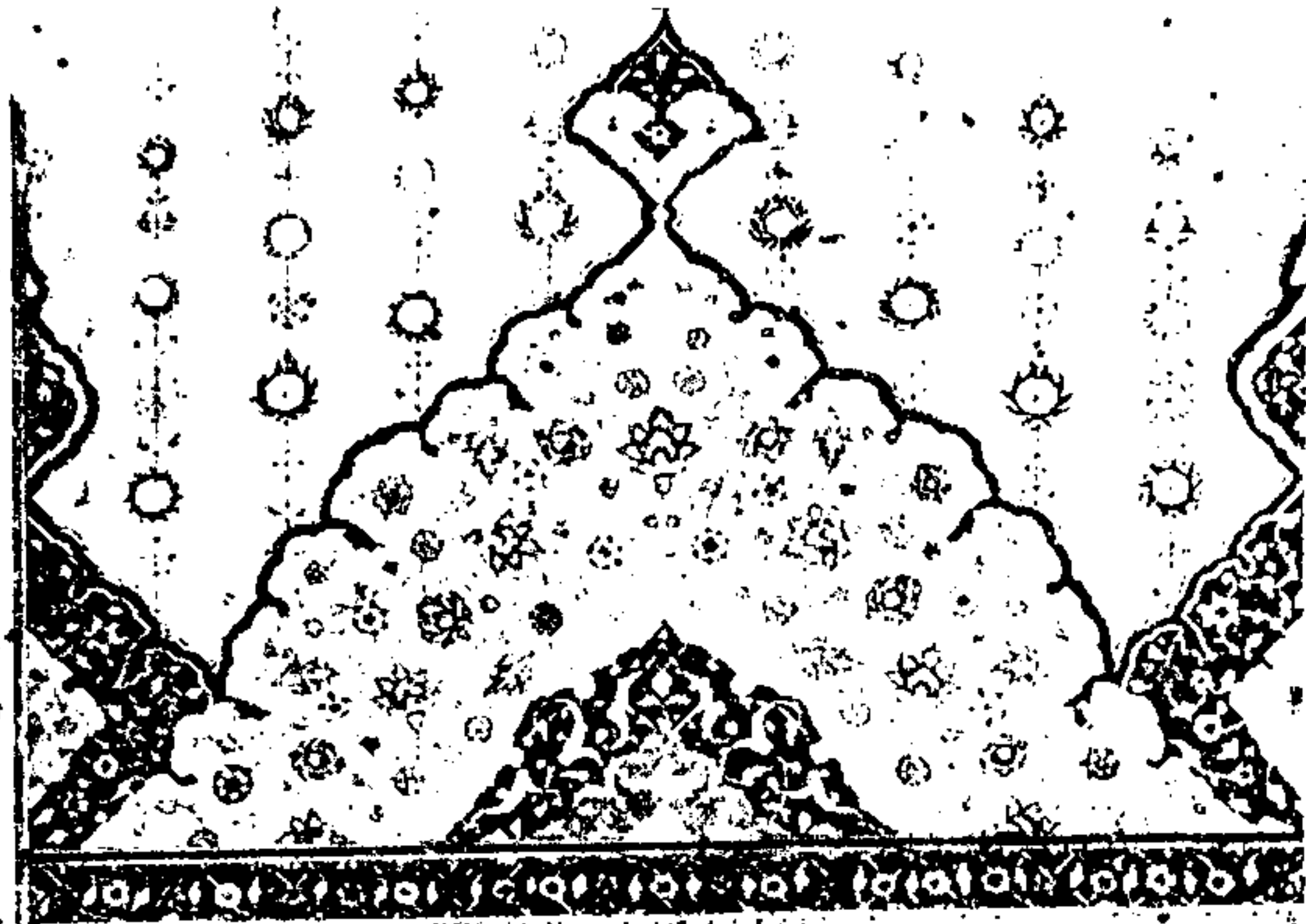
And the seal impression :

احمد علی خان

الملك بہادر غالب جنگ ۱۲۰۸

روشن الدولہ منیر

The history of the movement of the manuscript does not end here. It appears that it was removed from the library of Ahmad Ali Khan at some later date. We, however, know its whereabouts after the lapse of about a century when it was acquired by the Victoria and Albert museum from the widow of Major-General John Clark in 1896. The



چون حضرت شاهنشاهی برین روی شبت طبعه انور و نون مالک آرای یک پرده از روی کاغذ بر برشته اشقام همت استیک
 و مالی پیش نهادت و الای خود ساختند که که اندیشان است. خاطر را در کان بر سر و ده که بر یک شرفنده و نیکم
 که شرفنده و بنای است آسمانی خاطر همه پس زمین مومنان خند بدو است و اقبال همان سوگ عال بر باره عالم اند کرد
 سخط فرمودند که در مراسم عدالت تو به نشود و در عالم افسرد و نظر اولی تا بخشید و ایام و تقوایین است
 و آرد او شده که دستور العمل ناخمان عالی است که به تواند شد و چون آیات اقبال برینند نزول اقبال
 و نمود و حکم اشراف بنماذ پوپست که از روی عقل از او است بهمت دهن روان سپارند و سوگ عالی
 بنیت سکا متوجه است. فیروز شد و چون صفا فیروز است تمام آیات فیروزی تا شکر است با یک
 روان در شکار بعضی است پس ساینده که درین ذوقی پیشای بوز است که اندر زبان سندی است سینه سینه
 و طریق تمسب که در آن آن مانور از زنده و بین برین نشود شکاست بنابران ضمیر اند پس که کارین سر
 بستان نسوس و نمود و بنیت توبه. شاکری پس با طاشا شد و عالم گیتی مطاب از نشاد کاه باطن
 تیرت ازین کاشف اصد رفیت همان زبان نمب در آنکه و صلی لات و ادوات آن پس از بنجام و ادا

Pl. 48 :Akbernama Manuscript:-verso of the first folio (illuminated frontispiece).



Pl. 49 : Akbarnama : Recto of the first folio showing various seal impressions and endorsements

Major-General had served in India as a Commissioner in Oude where he might have purchased the manuscript and taken it away to England. The Victoria and Albert Museum took out the paintings from the manuscript and kept them separately. These paintings have been referred to in almost every treatise on the paintings of the Moghul period and several of them reproduced. No attempt has, however, been made so far to study the manuscript as a whole, except a short note by H. Beveridge ⁴.

THE MANUSCRIPT:

The manuscript contains 274 folios of text and 117 paintings ⁵. The size of each folio is now 15 x 10 inches, while the text area measures 10.9/10 x 5.1/10 inches. Every page has 25 lines, which are sometimes arranged in various geometrical designs. The

text starts from the verso of folio 267 with *unwans* in red, transcribed on gold-sprinkled paper within marginal lines in gold, azure, black and green. The paper is of a fine graded quality and is of light brown tone. The beginning folio has a *lah* executed again in floral and geometric design in red, azure, blue and white pigments.

The *unwan* reads :

اللہ الہ
حضرت شہنشاہی از حد و پنجاب بدار الخلفاء الزہد و نعل اقبال بدلی انداختن و از انجا
بر آمدن و بہ مستقر خلافت نرسد اجاب نمون۔

The text begins :

چون حضرت شہنشاہی بہ نیوی بہت بلند از فروغ ممالک آرای.....

The text on the last folio ends abruptly without completing the sentence. It was probably the binder who separated carelessly the folios of the volume for binding. The incomplete sentence at the end reads as under :-

مومینا عبد اللہ سان ۱۷۱ با سایر اختر شناسان فرمانروای آن ناحیت.....

Abu'l Fazl wrote the *Akbarnama* under the command of Emperor Akbar in three volumes, the first volume being subdivided into two parts. Part one of the first volume deals with the birth and horoscope of Akbar, genealogy of the Turks and of the house of Timur and the history of the first two Moghuls, Babur and Humayun, while part two of the work contains the history of Akbar's reign from his accession to the end of the 17th year of his reign. The second volume of the work is a continuation of Akbar's reign from the beginning of the 18th to the end of the 46th year. The third volume is in fact an independent work and is entitled *A'in-i-Akbari* and contains a detailed account of the empires⁸. The first volume of the work was completed in 1004/1596 and presented to the Emperor. According to Abu'l Fazl, the Emperor ordered him to get a deluxe edition of the work prepared for the royal library. The work was entrusted to the calligraphists and painters of the court and the copy so prepared was kept in the royal library. According to Beveridge, the present manuscript, though only a part, seems to be the same copy which was prepared for the Emperor's Library⁹.

THE PAINTINGS

As stated earlier, the manuscript possesses 117 paintings, illustrating special events and episodes described in the book. These are full-paged paintings, occasionally with one or two lines of text either at the top or at the bottom of the page. Some are double paged, with names of the painters who executed them. These captions and the names of the painters, probably recorded by some clerk of the royal library in rough hand with red ink on the margin of each painting, reveal that almost each painting was executed jointly by more than one painter; the faces of the important personalities like

those of the emperor, the princes and other nobles and courtiers were executed by senior artists. There are, however, some paintings which have been executed by one single painter. The notes on the margins of these paintings reveal that in all, fifty-six painters collaborated in the execution of these illustrations. The following is the list of these artists, arranged alphabetically:

Aisar, Anant, Asi brother of Miskina, Babu Naqqash, Bandi, Banwali Kalan, Banwali Khurd, Basawan, Bhawani, Bhawani Kalan, Bhagwan, Bhura, Chitr Muni, Durga, Dharam Das, Dhanwan, Farrukh Beg, Husain Naqqash, Ikhlas, Ibrahim Kahar, Jagan, Jagjiwan, Kaheman Sangtrash, Khem Karan, Kesu Kalan, Kesu Khurd, Kanha, Lal, Madhu Kalan, Mukund, Miskin, Mahesh, Madhu Khurd, Mah Muhammad, Manohar, Narrayan, Nand or Nandi son of Ram Das, Naman, Narsingh, Nanha, Nand Goaliori, Paras, Param Jew Gujrati, Qutub Chela, Ram Das, Sanwala, Sarwan, Surdas, Shankar, Tulsi, Tulsi Kalan, Tiriya, Tara.

This is perhaps the longest, but by no means complete, list of the painters who collaborated in the preparation of this deluxe edition of *Akbarnama*. There is, however, yet another incomplete copy of this work also prepared during the Akbar period. It is preserved in the Chester Beatty collection and has been noticed by J.V.S. Wilkinson in his catalogue¹⁰. The manuscript contains sixty-one paintings executed by twenty painters whose names are Ahmad, Anant, Bal Chand, Daulat, Dhan Raj, Dharam Das, Furruk, Goverdhan, Inayat, Khem Karan, Lal, Madhu, Manohar, Mir Taqi, Mukand, Nar Singh, Padarath, Sanwala, Shankar and Sur Das.

The list includes as many as thirteen painters who had already worked for our manuscript, while Ahmad, Bal Chand, Daulat, Dhan Raj, Goverdhan, Inayat and Mir Taqi are perhaps among those who came to the royal court at a later period.

From the detail supplied on the margin of the paintings, it has been found that the distribution of work among the painters was as under :-

<i>Painter</i>	<i>Outline</i>	<i>Portrait</i>	<i>Painting</i>
Aisar	-	-	2
Anant	-	-	1
Asi brother of Miskina	-	-	2
Babu Naqqash	-	-	1
Bandi	-	-	1
Banwali Kalan	-	-	2
Banwali Khurd	-	-	2
Basawan	11	1	1
Bhagwan	-	-	3
Bhawani	-	-	2

Bhura	1	-	3
Chitr Muni	7	-	1
Dharam Das	-	-	3
Durga	-	-	1
Farrukh Bag	3	-	2
Husain Naqqash	1	-	1
Ibrahim Kahar	-	-	3
Ikhlas	1	-	1
Jagan	9	-	2
Jag Jiwan	-	-	2
Khemam Sangtarash	-	-	2
Kahem Karran	3	-	4
Kanha	2	-	1
Kesu	1	-	1
Kesu Kalan	15	1	-
Kesu Khurd	-	-	3
Lal	19	-	-
Madu	3	1	-
Madhu Kalan	1	1	2
Mahesh	3	-	3
Mah Muhammad	-	-	1
Mukand	4	1	1
Manohar	-	-	1
Mansur	-	-	2
Miskin	17	2	-
Naman	-	-	2
Nand (or Nandi)			
brother of Ramdas	-	-	3
Nand Gwaliari	-	-	3
Nanha	-	-	1

Narayan	-	-	2
Narsingh	-	-	2
Paras	-	-	2
Parem Jew Gujrati	-	-	2
Qutub Chela	-	-	1
Ram Das	-	-	1
Sanwala	-	-	5
Sarwan	1	-	5
Shankar	3	-	-
Sur Das	-	-	1
Tara	-	-	1
Triyya	1	--	-
Tuisi	2	-	2
Tutsi Kalan	6	-	-

This brief description of the manuscript shows how much the Moghul emperors cared for the art of painting executed under their patronage. The royal secretariat has recorded very carefully all the necessary details in this respect, which help us immensely in building up the story of the art of painting under the Moghuls.

REFERENCES

1. Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama* (ed. Maulawi Abd u'l Rahim), Calcutta 1886, vol. iii, p.121.
2. *Ibid.*, P. 223.
3. Nothing is known about this personage, but he may perhaps be identified with some reputed noble of the Nawabs of Oude of the 18th century.
4. H. Beveridge, 'Note on an Illuminated Persian Manuscript' *JRAS*, 1905, pp. 365-66.
5. The endorsements on the last folio of the manuscript, however, record the number of paintings as 110 which is obviously incorrect.
6. *CF.* Abu'l Fazl, *Op. cit.* III, P. 121.
7. *CF. Ibid.* P. 223. After the name of Maulana 'Abdu'llah Lassan, the printed text adds another name of Muhayy u'd Din Maghribi. Some other minor variations in the text are insignificant. In fact, the whole text of the *Akbar Nama* now needs to be edited afresh taking into account of all the Manuscripts and printed copies, in order to bring out a complete and corrected version of this work.
8. See C. A. Storey, *A Bio-Bibliographical Survey of Persian Literature*, London, 1939, II, fasc., 3, p. 543.
9. Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
10. Sir T. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures in the Library of A. Chester Beatty*, London, 1936, II, PP. 4-12. A more detailed account of the Manuscript has been given by the same authors in a rather sumptuous volume entitled *Chronicle of Akbar the Great*, Oxford, 1937.

SEHWAN

HISTORY AND INSCRIPTIONS

Among the ancient cities and towns of Sindh, Sehwan has been renowned for its religious and political activities since its inception. The origin of the city is shrouded in mystery and, until the fort area is properly excavated, nothing definite could be said. However, traditions attribute it to a Hindu origin when it was known as Sivasthana¹. During the last decades of the fourth century before the Christ, Alexander visited the area and subdued it alongwith the city of Sehwan. The Greeks called it Sindomina². To the Arab geographers, it was Sadusan, Shahrusan, Sivistan etc³.

The city was situated on a high ground, 178 feet above the sea level and lay on the main road from Kotri to upper Sindh via Larkana at a distance of about 84 miles north-west of Kotri and 95 miles south-west of Larkana. It was located in eminence at the verge of the Arral which flowed from the Manchhar Lake into the Indus. A few miles to the south, the Lakhi Hills terminated abruptly on the river Indus which flowed close to the town.

After the exit and demise of Alexander, the land was occupied by local and foreign rulers like the Mauryans, the Scythians, Parthians and Kushanas who ruled these areas during the period from the second century B.C., to second century A.D. In the 4th century we hear a Buddhist prince ascetic Raja Bhartari Hari who lived here in exile. Due to the influence of this prince, the town became a centre of Buddhist piety.

The next reference to this city is traceable in Chachnama⁴, where Sehwan has been mentioned as the capital of one of the four provinces of Sindh ruled by Raja Sahiras of the Rai dynasty⁵. Rai Sahiras had constructed six fortresses and one of them was at Siwistan. The Rai dynasty came to an end with the death of Rai Sahsi when his Brahman minister, Chach usurped the throne and founded a Brahman dynasty. Sehwan was then ruled by Matta a relation of Ra'i family. After consolidating his possessions Chach attacked Sehwan and ousted Matta. However, after sometime he was reinstated.

During the reign of Dahir⁶, in 93/711, the Arab army under Muhammad bin Qasim marched towards Sehwan. The fort was then governed by Bajhra son of Chandra. The Buddhist population of the city pleaded Bajhra to surrender the fort to the Arabs. The prince, however, did not oblige them and shut himself in the fort. The Arab army besieged the fort. After a few days, the Prince lost all hopes and fled to Buddhiya. The inhabitants surrendered the fort to Muhammad bin Qasim.

On the exit of Muhammad bin al Qasim in 96/715, the governors were reduced to the position of nominal supervisors, and the Arab possessions were divided into two

emirates - Banu Samah in Multan and the Habbaris in Southern Sindh with al-Mansurah as capital. Sehwan remained the seat of a governor and for a long time when the area was infested with the Isma'ilis.

In the beginning decades of the eleventh century, Mahmud of Ghaznin conquered Multan and Uchchh and then Sehwan. It remained under the Ghaznavid until 585/1187 when Shahab u'd-Din Ghuri wrested it from Khusrau Malik, the last Ghaznavid ruler. In 623/1226 Malik Khan Khalji, governor of Multan, rebelled against the Dehli Sultanate and attacked the fort of Sehwan. This was about the time when the Mongols had created havoc in the areas through their annual raids.

During the days of Ghiyas u'd-Din Tughluq (720-725/1320-1325) the Sumrahs established themselves in southern Sindh and advanced towards Sehwan. Ghiyas u'd-Din appointed Malik Sher, governor of Sehwan with the instructions to check the growing power of the Sumrahs. The governor succeeded in his efforts but the situation worsened with the change at the centre. Muhammad Tughluq himself came to Sindh to suppress the revolt, but died in Sindh. They again occupied large areas of Sindh. Firuz Shah himself came to suppress them. After defeating the Sumrahs, he visited the tomb of La'l Shahbaz Qalandar, and instructed Malik Ikhtiar u'd-Din to build a mausoleum over the grave of the saint. On his return, he took the corpse of the deceased Sultan to be buried at Dehli.

The rule of the Sumrahs came to an end in 752/1351⁷ when another tribe, the Sammahs, snatched the power from Arma'il, the last ruler of Sumrahs. The first ruler of this line was Jam Unar who consolidated his power and also occupied the fort of Sehwan. The Sammahs ruled over the southern parts of Sindh under the general title of Jams for a considerably long time. They were overthrown by Shah Beg, the first Afghan ruler who defeated Jam Firuz in 927/1519 and occupied Thatta. The armies advanced towards Sehwan and occupied the fort after some resistance. Shah Beg appointed his trusted officers, Mir Alik Arghun, Sultan Muqim Beglar and Ahmad Tarkhan to look after the affairs of the subdued territory including the fort of Sehwan. Mirza Shah Hasan and his son and successor, paid special attention towards the development of the city and welfare of its people. A number of new buildings were erected during this period.

In 947/1540 Humayun came to Sindh to capture the forts of Bhakkar and Sehwan. Mirza Shah Hasan rushed to Rohri on the left bank of the Indus, Shah Hasan strengthened the garrison and laid waste the country around. Humayun marched to Sehwan from Bhakkar on 10 Jamadi u'l-Awwal 984/3rd October 1541 and, after taking the town in possession besieged the fort. Here too Shah Hasan repeated his stratagum to destroy villages and cultivation in the neighbourhood. The siege lasted for seven months without any success. Humayun then left for Bhakkar. Shah Hasan returned to the fort and got it repaired.

During the last days of Shah Hasan, his generals and courtiers revolted against his rule. Isa Khan Tarkhan was elected for the government of Thatta and Sehwan. He consolidated his government and ruled over Thatta and Sehwan for about ten years. In

971/1563 he retired in favour of his son, Mirza Baqi Beg who was an able general and a good administrator.

Jani Beg was the last independent ruler of Tarkhan dynasty during whose times, the Moghul emperor Akbar started intervening in the political affairs of Sindh. In 944/1585 he deputed Nawab Muhammad Sadiq Khan to annex Sindh to the Moghul Empire. Sadiq Khan, after some nominal victories, besieged the fort of Sehwan, but could not succeed in possessing the fort, and was recalled.

In 999/1590 Abd u'l-Rahim Khan Khanan was sent to this expedition. He came to Bhakkar and, after sometimes, besieged the fort of Sehwan. Jani Beg came to the venue with a strong flotilla and a battle of boats took place upon the river in which Jani Beg was defeated. He then fled to Unarpur and shut himself in the fort. Khan Khanan readily besieged the fort and, after a long struggle from both the sides, it was agreed that the fort of Sehwan should be delivered to the victorious Moghul army. The fort thus came under the direct administrative control of the Moghul Empire⁸. Jani Beg was brought to the Imperial court in 1003/1593 and was rewarded with the command of 3000 horse. After sometime, he was appointed governor of Sindh. On the death of Jani Beg, his son Ghazi Beg succeeded to the governorship of Sindh. Jahangir appointed him governor of Sehwan in addition to Multan and Qandahar.

With the downfall of the Moghul Empire, the political importance of Sehwan diminished to a great extent. In the later part of the 18th century the Da'udportras and the Kalhaurahs started for pre-eminence and the latter succeeded in establishing their way in southern Sindh. Kalhaurahs fixed their capital at Khuda'abad and then Hyderabad. Sehwan then lost its prominence and the fort also fell down and reduced to a big heap of mud and bricks.

This, in short, is the political history of the ancient town of Sindh which remained flourishing for about two millenniums. It played an important role in the rise and fall of many ruling dynasties. It was also a nucleus of social and religious activities where some notable personalities lived. La'l Shahbaz Qalandar spent here almost all his life to preach Islam. His mausoleum is still a venerated place visited by thousands of his devotees. Among other celebrities of Sehwan, mention may be made of Shaikh Mir Muhammad alias Mian Mir, the patron saint of Moghul Prince Dara Shukoh. Besides, the renowned family of Qazi Qazan of Sehwan always had a place of distinction in the courts of local rulers like Arghuns and Tarkhans.

Sehwan is also mentioned as a temporary burial place of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. Two yellow sand stone slabs, once fixed on a platform built in a cell near the mausoleum of Shahbaz Qalandar and now preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, provide evidence that the Sultan was buried here temporarily.

MAUSOLEUM OF LA`L SHAH BAZ QALANDAR

The mausoleum of La'l Shah Baz Qalandar is situated in the heart of the town. As said earlier, it was constructed six years after the death of the saint by the orders of

Sultan Firuz Tughluq. Later on, in 1409/1639, Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan built the tomb afresh on a larger scale. Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur also renovated the edifice with silver spires and constructed the gates and a balustrade. The surface decoration of multi-coloured tiles have undergone numerous changes through succeeding repairs and renovation.

The edifice possesses several inscriptions fixed over the facade of the mausoleum. These inscriptions provide the precise details of its constructions and subsequent repairs and renovation. The first inscription is carved in Ta'liq characters on yellow stone slab measuring 16 in. by 18.5 in. It consists of nine verses in Persian recording that the building was constructed by Malik Ikhtiar u'd-Din, governor of Sehwan during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq. The mausoleum was completed on 7 Rajab 757/6 July 1356. Following is the text of the inscription:

- (۱) به عمد دولت فیروز شاه سلطان دین پرور
که خاک در گمش سازند شاهان جهان افسر
- (۲) ازان گاهی که بر تخت شهنشاهی نشست این شه
سرلوسر گشت گیتی از شعاع دو لکش انور
- (۳) عمارت شد مقام شیخ عثمان مرندی کو
ولی الله باز اسفید میر بحر و بود و بر
- (۴) اگرچه اولیاء اندر زمان شیخ بس بودند
و لیکن در کرامت بود او از همگنان برتر
- (۵) چه زیبا بارگاہی شد بهفت طاق و شش گنبد
که رنگ نه فلک گشته ز رشک بام او اخضر
- (۶) بروز ہفتم از ماہ رجب مہنی شد این روضہ
بسال ہفتصد و پنجاہ و ہفت از ہجرت بہتر
- (۷) بنائیش کرو والی اختیار الدین ملک از شد
امیر عادل و باذل تتمن ثانی اسکندر
- (۸) کہ تا بودہ است سیوستان نبودہ است این چنین والی
تقی و مشفق و مکرم سخی و پاک دین دیگر
- (۹) امید آنست کہ یابد جدائی این چنین خیری
ہزاران قصر در جنت بہ فضل ایزد اکبر

Translation:

1. In the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, who is a great benefactor of Islam, and the dirt of whose court had been treated as the crown of the foreheads by all the kings of the world.

2. Since the time when this great Emperor has ascended the throne, the Universe has become luminous with the rays of his wealth.
3. The edifice has been built for Shaikh `Usman Marandi, who was a friend of God and the master of the lands and seas.
4. Although several saints were living in Sindh during the time of the Shaikh, yet he was the greatest of all in his piety and miracles.
5. What a graceful edifice has been built with seven niches and six domes that (even) the nine skies are jealous of its lofty ceilings.
6. This rauza was completed on the 7th Rajab, 757 A.H.
7. It was built by governor Ikhtiar u'd-Din, a noble and just ruler and the second Alexander in his chivalry.
8. Since the inception of Siwistan, no such ruler has ever ruled over the territory who is so kind, courteous, generous and pious.
9. It is hoped that by the grace of God, he will get thousand palaces in Paradise in recompense of this magnificent building.

II. The next inscription, fixed just below the above mentioned slab, measures 23.5 in. by 15.5 in. and consists of eight lines in Persian carved in Ta`liq, the last two of which have been mutilated and are unintelligible.

- (۱) شد بنای گنبد عالی به عمد شریار
شاه فیروز آنگه بگرفت گیران زد قرار
- (۲) می سزد مربنده درگاه دهر را
کو کند در سر فرازی بر سلاطین افتخار
- (۳) بر سر قبر ولی الله غلاء الحق علی
بود از بغداد و اندر صف نیکان در شمار
- (۴) بس بزرگ و با گرامی هست این پیر عزیز
هر زمان بادا بقبرش رحمت ایزد نثار
- (۵) بنفتم از ماه صفر منی شد این مرقد به سال
هفت صد و پنجاه دهشت از هجرت احمد شمار
- (۶) کرد بنیادش ملک سید جلال الدین که او
هست اندر عدل و نیل و خلق و احسان یادگار
- (۷) چون کی..... سیوستان رسید
تازه گردیده سیوستان بدیاس نو بهار
- (۸) بانی این گنبد حساب
از ماه چار

Translation :

1. In the reign of king Shah Firuz who has helped the poor, this magnificent edifice has been built.

2. The slave of the imperial court is justified if he takes pride and feels more exalted than the other kings and emperors of the world.
 3. [He built the tomb] on the grave of Ali who was an exalted friend of God and was considered as one of the pious saints of Baghdad.
 4. This venerable saint is a great man and has performed several miracles. May God send his compassion to his grave.
 5. The tomb was completed on the 7th Safar 758 of the Hijra of the prophet.
 6. It was built by Malik Sayyid Jalal u'd-Din who is renowned in the world for his justice, munificence, kindness and beneficence.
- (7 and 8) Illegible.

III. The third inscription has been fixed between the above mentioned two inscriptions and has, like the earlier ones, been carved on two slabs, each measuring 32 in. by 18.5 in. It consists of four lines in Persian which have been carved in Nast`aliq. According to the inscription, it was fixed by Sayyid Bukhari alias Dindar Khan who died in 1045/1635, confirming that the tomb was erected by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughluq. Later on, it was re-built by Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan. But during this construction, some slabs were left unfixed and when he renovated the courtyard of the mausoleum and the mosque, in the days of Shahjahan (1037-1068/1628-57) he fixed these slabs:

چون در عهد سلطان فیروز مرحوم روضہ قدیم حضرت
مخدوم بنا شدہ این سنگ از تاریخ نوشتہ
نصب کردہ بودند۔ آخر چون گنبد کلان در عهد مرزا جانی
ترخان بنا یافتہ این سنگما بر ہم افتادہ بودند۔ الحال
کہ این فقیر سید بہودہ عرف دیندار خان باشد
در عهد حضرت صاحب قرآن ثانی، صحن
روضہ را ترتیب دادہ در مسجد راست می ساخت، این دو سنگما را
ہم در دیوار خانقاہ بنماہہ تیاوگار سلاطین گزشتہ می باشد

Translation :

In the days of Sultan Firuz Shah, on whom the mercy of God, the old rauza of Hazrat Makhdum has been built and these two stones on which the date is written, were cut into two pieces. But, after the dome was completed in the days of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan, these stones were lying one upon the other. At this time, I, a humble person by name Bahuva alias Dindar Khan, in the days of my blessed master, paved the courtyard of the mosque and placed these two stones in the wall of the Khanqah so that the memory of the old kings may be perpetuated.

IV. The fourth inscription has also been fixed by Dindar Khan. It is painted in Nasta`liq on enamelled tablets :

- (۱) بدوران شهاب الدین جہاں شاہ
جہاں از عدل او خورشید و آباد
- (۲) یکی باشد از فرش مسند شاہ
دگر باشد ز فرش جنت آباد
- (۳) چه گویم و عاف آن صحن مقدس
بجای خشت انجم چیدہ استاد
- (۴) چه خواهی سال با چشم دانش
مقطع بین کہ آمد سال بنیاد
- (۵) شدہ تعمیر فرش عرش مسند
..... حسینی صاحب شہباز آزاد
- (۶) قبول آمد نیاز خان دیندار
در آنحضرت زعون طالع شاد

Translation :

1. In the reign of the king of the world, the light of religion, the whole world is happy and prosperous owing to his justice and benevolence.
2. This courtyard, on the one hand resembles the cushion in the skies and, on the other, is like the floor of the Paradise.
3. In what words could I praise this holy courtyard; that in the place of tiles, the stars have been set.
4. If you desire to know the date of the construction (?) of the courtyard, you should search it with the eyes of your wisdom, as it is given in the last line.
5. The pavement of the holy floor of the shrine of Husain Shahbaz, who is noble and pious man, is completed.
6. The humble offering of Dindar Khan has been accepted by the saint.

V. On the entrance gateway of the Khanqah, the following two slabs have been fixed. The text of the inscription shows that it was built by Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhaurah in 1173/1759.

(i) On the right hand side of the door :-

- (۱) چه خوش جناب مبارک کہ نور حقانی
ز روضہ است عیاں ظاہری و پنهانی
- (۲) قلندر و سخی و کام بخش اہل یقین
ولی و سید عثمان پیر نورانی
- (۳) بخاص و عام کہ مشہور لعل شہباز است
بہ بادشاہ و گدا باز داد سلطانی

- (۳) بایں جناب ہر آئکس ارادتی دارد
بکام می رسد از دولت فراوانی
- (۵) غلام میاں صاحب سعادت مند
نشان حضرت عباس کان احسانی
- (۶) سخی و غازی و فیاض و معدن الطاف
چو سر فراز شد ز لطف و جود ربانی

(ii) On the left hand side of the door :-

- (۱) ز خاص نیت خود کرد تازه خوش تعمیر
کہ فرش صحن در روضہ شد گلستانی
- (۲) قبول حضرت مخدوم شد نشانی کو
رحمت نبوی و علی عمرانی
- (۳) ہر آنکہ دید و بیند ز شوق نور ظہور
شود دو چشم و دلش روشن و در نشانی
- (۴) ہزار و یکصد و ہفتاد و سہ ز ہجری بود
ز کار داری باقر نشان شد ارزانی
- (۵) قبولیت کہ ز تعمیر جسم از ہاتف
ندا بگوش من آمد ز لطف سبحانی
- (۶) زمین مصرعہ تاریخ خوش بگو صابر
قبول باد نشان در جناب شاہانی

THE BURIAL PLACE OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ

While in southern Sindh to quell the uprisings of the local chieftains, Muhammad bin Tughluq died on 21 Muharram 752/20 March 1351. No contemporary or near contemporary historian has recorded the exact place where he breathed his last, nor do they mention the place of his burial. However, circumstantial as well as epigraphical evidence show that he was buried temporarily in the dargah of La'l Shah Baz Qalandar at Sehwan, and later on his corpse was shifted to Dehli by his successor, Firuz Shah Tughluq. In commemoration, he built a befitting tomb in 754/1354 on the appointed spot. However, the tomb built over the temporary grave could not survive the ravages of time and collapsed. The inscriptions were then fixed on the two low walls of the platform, built



Pl. 50 : Sehwan : A Persian Inscription, dated 752 - 1351.

by Sayyid Bahova alias Dindar Khan during the rule of Mirza Jani Beg under Shahjahan, as said above, situated at the back of the mausoleum. The slab comparatively bigger than the other measures 2 ft. 5.5 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. and contains six lines in Persian carved in Ta`liq. (Pl. 51) Following is the reading :

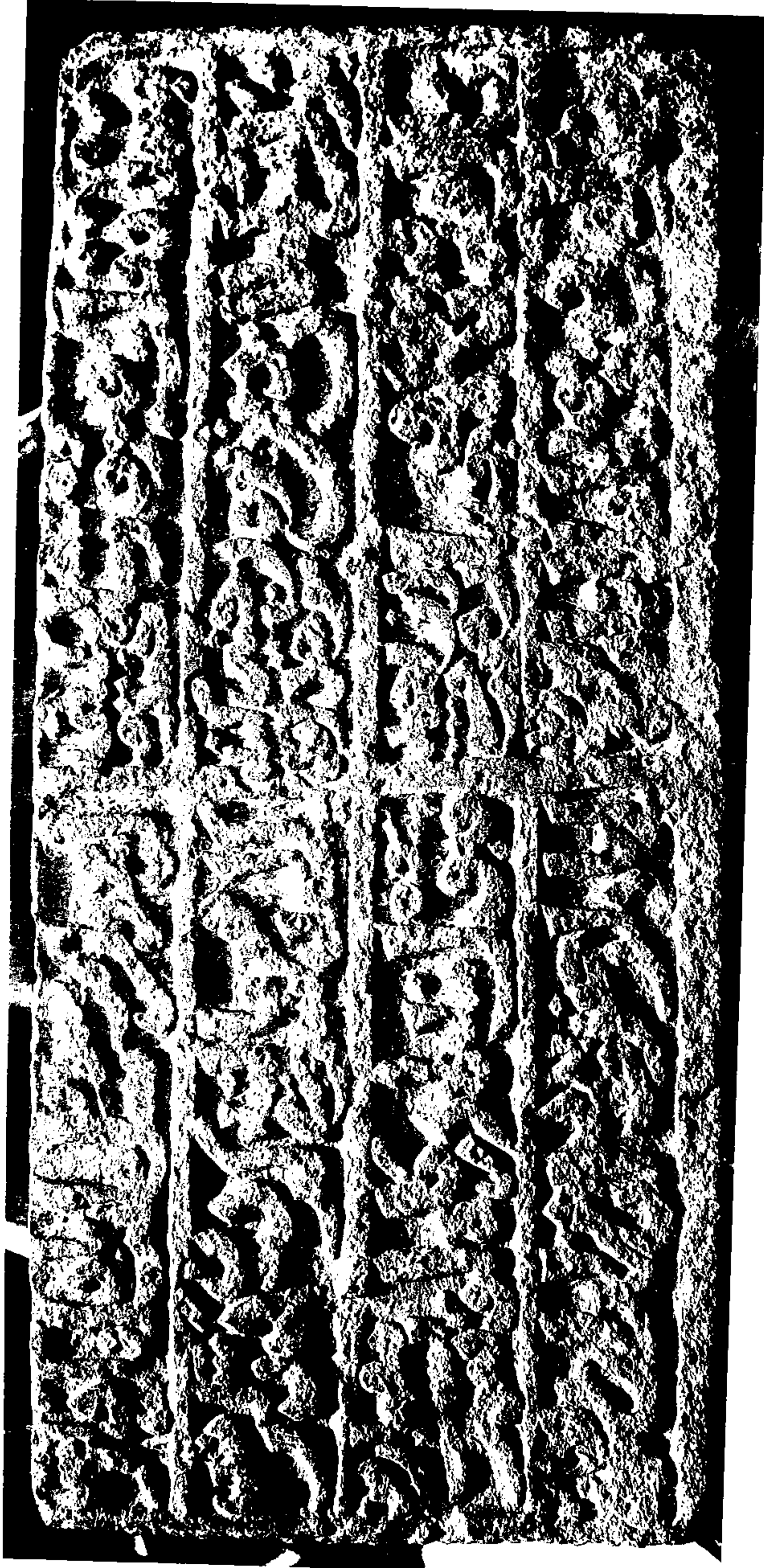
- (۱) جهان مردم کش است ای دل مباح از جان وفادارش
 که جز کین و جفا نامد زبیدادی دگر کارش
 (۲) تو از حال محمد شاه برگیر اعتبار از وی
 که چون اورنگ شاهی در ریود این دور نداشت
 (۳) شهنشاهیت این ای خواجه کش بنی بخاک اندر
 کی بچوں بندگان بمردند شمان هماندارش
 (۴) اگرچه پیش ازین صد بار در بارش چنان دیدی
 کنون چشم خود بکشا در بنجا بنگر این بارش
 (۵) جهان بکشاد از مروی و بخشید از جوانمردی
 بدهر از کوشش و بخشش فراوان بود کردارش
 (۶) شد از ماه محرم بیست و یک کاندر شب شنبه
 گزشت هفتصد و پنجاه و دو شد عزم آن دارش

The other inscription, measures 2 ft. 6.5 in. by 1.5 in. and contains four lines in Persian, again carved in Ta`liq. (Pl. 52) Following is its reading :-

- (۳) بسال هفتصد و پنجاه و چار از هجرت احمد
 قبول بنده درگاه او سر مست معمارش
 (۴)گنبد.....ان.....
 که باد از حضرت یزدان هزاران.....
 (۱) بعد دولت فیروز شاه خسرو گیتی
 که یزدان بر سریر سلطنت بادا نگمدارش
 (۲) بر آن سلطان دین پرور برآمد این چنین گنبد
 که آمد پیش پای گنبد گردون دوارش

The lower corner of the slab has been damaged considerably. The last line of inscription could not, therefore, be deciphered completely⁸.

In addition to these inscriptions, three more pieces belonging to Sehwan, are now preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan. According to the *District Gazetteer*



Pl. 51 : Sehwan : A Perscian Inscription

these slabs were sent from Sehwan by Captain Phillips to the former Victoria Museum, Karachi⁹. The *Gazetteer* does not mention the location of the building on which these were fixed. But, as recorded, these belonged to the Jame' Mosque of Sehwan, built by Mir Farrukh Arghun, a general and courtier of Mirza Shah Beg and Shah Hasan.

These big pieces of yellow sand stone measure 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 1 in., 8 ft. 8 in. by 2 ft. and 6 ft. by 2 ft. and have been carved in exquisite Nasta'liq. The second slab is bigger than the other ones and seems to have been used as a central piece. Following is the text of these inscriptions :-

- (۱) بدور شاه عادل آن حسن خلق حسین آئین
که آمد خنک گردوں باوجود سرکشی رامش
- (۲) بنای مسجد جامع شد از دریا ولی واقع
که دارو عالی راشاد و خرم فیض انعامش
- (۳) بگر مای قیامت گر پناه او نه خواهد شد
پناه فرخ از بهر چه شد تاریخ اتمامش

Translation :

1. In the reign of the just king, who was endowed with the affable disposition of Hasan and the meritorious demeanour of Husain that the grey steed of the revolving sky, notwithstanding its refractoriness, became submissive to him.
2. The foundation of the Masjid-i-Jami was laid down by a handsome personage, the general abundance of whose liberality keeps the populace of the world happy and cheerful.
3. In the awful heat of the day of Resurrection, nothing would be of any help there except these virtuous deeds. It is the reason that the words 'Panah-i-Farrukh' furnishes the date of its completion.

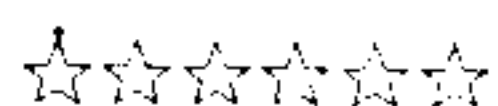
The phrase 'Panah-i-Farrukh' gives the date of the completion of the mosque, which is 938 corresponding to 1532¹⁰.

The third and possibly the central, inscription has a decorative cartouche in the centre which possesses an interwoven arabesque created in foliated Kufic characters reading *الله محمد علی* etc. The main text of the Persian verses is arranged on all the three stone slabs within broad and well carved cartouches placed within elaborate floral marginal borders. In all, they are remarkable specimens of epigraphic art of Islamic period peculiar to the Subcontinent and are, more significantly, the earliest known examples of inscriptions carved so elegantly in Nasta'liq.

REFERENCES

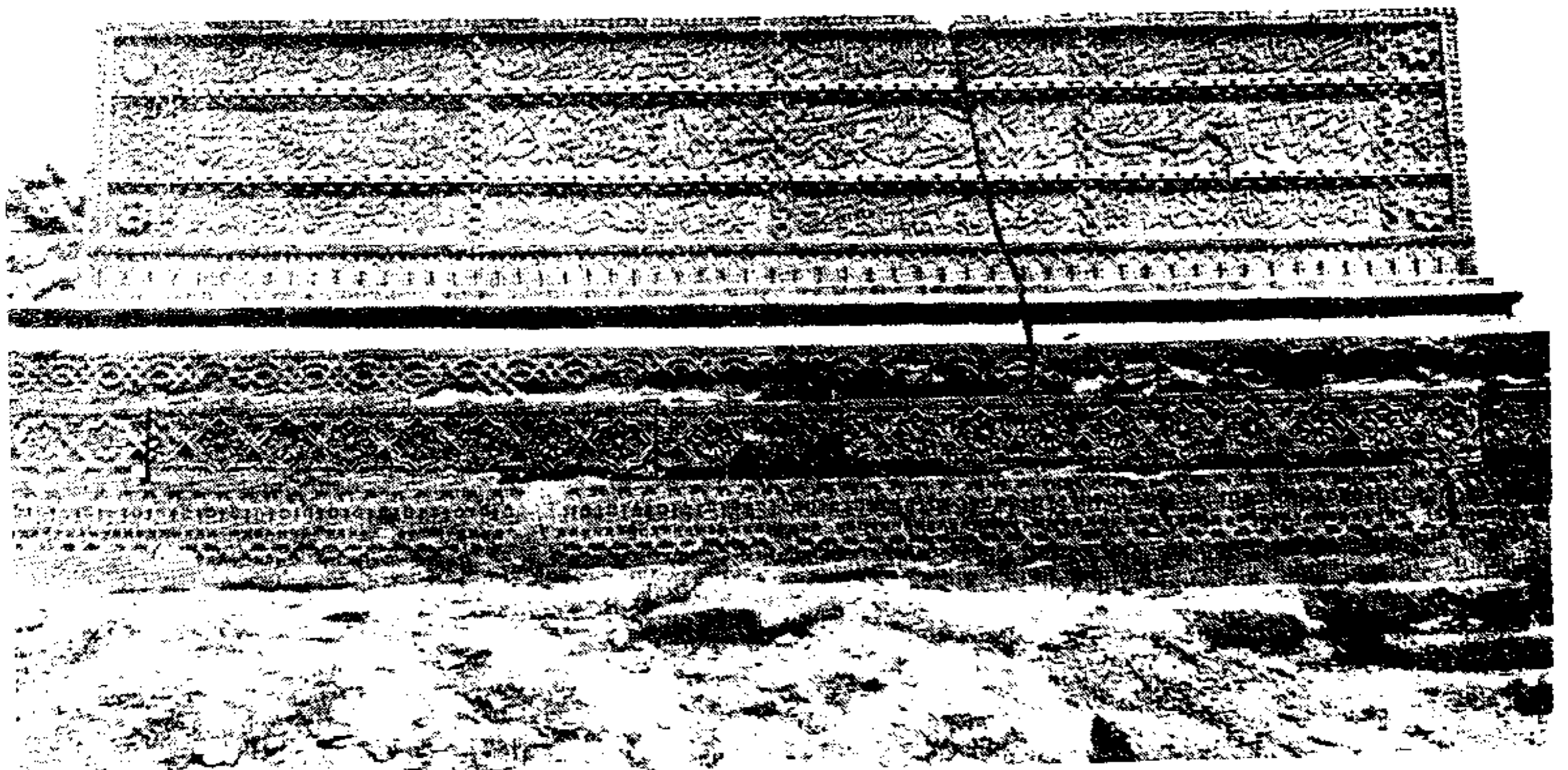
1. Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 226.
2. Ibid.

3. Elliot, Sir Henry, *Appendix to Arabs in Sindh*, pp. 196-98.
4. Muhammad Ali Kufi, *Chach Nama*, p. 39.
5. *Ibid.*
6. According to Consensus, he was the younger son of Chach. He does not mention the source of this statement. *Cf. Antiquities of Sindh*, p. 16.
7. Muhammad Ma'sum, 62.
8. For detailed account of the death of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq and the place of his buria, see *Oriental College Magazine* 2 (February 1935) pp. 155-161.
9. *Gazetteer of The Province of Sindh*, B. Vol. iv (Larkana District).
10. Mir Ali Sher Qane', *Tuhfat u'l-Kiram*, Vol. 3, p. 90.





Pl. 52 : Miyan Wahyun: Necropolis of the Beglars General view.



Pl. 53 : Mijam Wahan : Stone Cenotaph of a grave.

THE NECROPOLIS OF THE BEGLARS

Miyan Wahyun, Hyderabad (Sindh)

About 3 miles north-east of Hyderabad on the Tandu Allahyar - Tandu Adam Road, in a small village now called Miyan Wahyun, is located a necropolis where are lying buried the illustrious members of the Beglars. Its ancient name, as recorded by early writers such as Idraki¹ and Qane², was Turki. The necropolis now possesses, besides others, 12 stray graves with stone cenotaphs having Arabic and Persian inscriptions bearing historical information; three *chattris* now in ruinous condition; and the remains of a tower called 'Marg Munara'. The inscriptions on at least nine graves, executed in superb calligraphy, record events connected with the local history of Sindh or the persons bying buried there.

The Beglar family played an important role in the socio-political history of southern Sindh during the rule of the Arghuns, Tarkhans and the early Moghuls. Their contribution was not confined only to the battle-field, where they displayed fine qualities of gallantry, bravery and swordsmanship, but also extended to art and literature. Their courts were a rendezvous for poets, scholars, historians and literati who wrote not only panegyrics for their patrons, but also recorded history of their time. Idraki Beglari, for instance, is one of those whose two works, *Masnavi Chanesar Namah*³ and the *Beglar Namah*⁴, provide much needed and detailed information about the Beglar family.

The Family of the Beglars

Sayyid Qasim Beglar, the founder of the family of the Beglars, belonged to a respectable Sayyid family which traced its decent to the fourth pious Caliph Ali⁵.

According to Idraki and Qane, Sayyid Qasim's forefathers originally lived at Tabrez. One of the ancestors, Syed Nazim u'd-Din Ali, migrated however to Samarqand and then to Khita in the territory of Turkistan. There he developed intimate relations with the Arghuns. The relationship between the families was universally known so much so that they have at times been styled Arghuns by various authorities. In fact, in some of the inscriptions on their graves, they have been referred to as Arghun Beglar, or only Arghun⁶.

Amir Sayyid Qasim Beglar migrated to Sindh in the reign of Shah Hasan Arghan sometime after 928/1521.⁷ Due to the ancestral connections between the two families of Arghuns and Beglars at Samaqand and because Sayyid Qasim himself was a well-known general and experienced diplomat, Shah Hasan Arghun received him with great honour and granted Jahija in his jagir⁸. He married the daughter of a Bhatti chieftain.

Rana Katra Wairsi. He served the Arghun ruler for more than twenty-five years with devotion and became his most trustworthy courtier. During the conflict between the Arghuns and the Moghul emperor Humayun, Qasim played an important role and led an Arghun army to check the Moghul forces. According to the details recorded by Idraki and Ali Sher Qane`, Amir Qasim was killed during this encounter and his dead body was handed over to Rana Wairsi, ruler of Amarkot, to be buried in the graveyard at Turki.⁹

It was however the son of Amir Qasim, Shah Abu'l Qasim Khan Zaman¹⁰, who played the more important role in the socio-political affairs of Sindh during the reigns of Shah Hasan Arghun and, later, of the early Tarkhans. According to Idraki and Mir Ali Sher, Abu'l Qasim was born in 947/1540¹¹ and after the death of his illustrious father, was brought up under the patronage of Shah Hasan.¹²

Abu'l Qasim Khan Zaman was 15 years old when Shah Hasan Arghun died in 962/1555 and Mirza Isa succeeded him as the first ruler of the Tarkhan dynasty. Khan Zaman joined the service of the new ruler and soon became one of the most influential men at the Tarkhan court. After the death of Mirza Isa, a war of succession ensued between his two sons Jan Baba and Baqi Beg, in which Khan Zaman supported the cause of Jan Baba and fought many battles on his behalf. Later on, however, a compromise was arrived at and Mirza Baqi Beg succeeded to the throne¹³. By then, the position of Khan Zaman as a capable general and resourceful administrator had been established. Mirza Baqi Beg, therefore, had to win over his favour. He invited Khan Zaman to enter his service and granted him the Jagir of Nasrpur¹⁴.

The year 999/1590 witnessed the Moghul army invading the Tarkhan territories in southern Sindh under the command of Mirza Abd u'l-Rahim Khan Khanan. During these catastrophic days, which saw the end of the independent rule of the Tarkhans, Khan Zaman played an important role in averting the danger and participated in various encounters against the Moghul forces. His acts of resourcefulness impressed Khan Khanan very much and when Khan Zaman visited the imperial court along with Baqi Beg, he was received with royal favour. It was on the recommendation of Khan Khanan that Khan Zaman was made responsible for the administration of Thatta and its environs with Amir Khusrau Khan Charkas¹⁵.

Contemporary as well as later authorities on the local history of Sindh have recorded the achievements of Khan Zaman not only as a great general and a capable administrator but also as patron of art and letters. During the long period of his authority, his main concern was to do as much as possible for the welfare of his people. It was through his constant endeavours that the ta`alluqa of Nasrpur, the headquarters of the Beglars, became prosperous and one of the most important places in southern Sindh¹⁶. In 1011/1602 he built a fort near Kanbait and rehabilitated an old mosque there, appointed an Imam and established a madrasa with arrangements for free education and boarding and lodging for the students¹⁷. Among the other notable buildings constructed by him was a minaret erected on the grave of his favourite horse `Margha' in his family graveyard. Only its remains exist now. Idraki records the details of this minaret.¹⁸

اکنون بر مدفن آن اسپ ارجمند منار ع بلند خاطر پسند شکوه ابوند بموضع تور کی کنار آب
سائگره بنا فرمودند - آن را مرگ مناره نام نموده اند - عجب قصری رفیع در نهایت متانت و طرف
طرحی منیع در نهایت بلندی و خصانت واقع شده است -

Translation:

On the grave of that horse have erected a tall minaret at the village of Turki on the bank of Sangra. It has been named "Margh Munara". It is a grand edifice known for its tall posture and strong appearance.

Khan Zaman died at the age of 72 in 1019/1610 and was buried in the family graveyard at Turki.¹⁹

Khan Zaman had matrimonial alliance with the local chiefs and Rajput tribesmen and others, and had as many as eight sons and one daughter.²⁰ The eldest son, Amir Abu'l Qasim, is known to history as a most capable general and administrator. He was born in 969/1561 and was given the best education and training according to the local traditions of those days. Idraki provides certain interesting details and concludes that due to his careful training, Amir Abu'l Qasim proved to be an unrivaled general.²¹

The most important event of his period was the conflict between Amir Abu'l Qasim and Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, son and successor of Mirza Jani Beg. Idraki is silent on this point but Tahir Nisyani gives a detailed account. A summary of it outlining the causes and consequences, has been given in the Introduction to the Chanesar Namah²². As a result of this conflict, Amir Abu'l Qasim was blinded and treacherously imprisoned at Thatta in 1012/1603 under the orders of Ghazi Beg. After more than five years, he was released from the prison in 1017/1608 on the recommendation of Khusrau Charkas and the Jagir of Nasrpur was restored to him²³. Adventurous Abu'l Qasim took advantage of this opportunity and fled to the Imperial court of Jahangir where he lived for a long time. He died in 1036/1626 at the age of 67 years and was buried in the family graveyard at Miyan Wahyun.²⁴

The celebrated scion of the Beglars was not only a brave and talented general, but also a lover of art and letters. Besides the patronage of poets and literatures with whom his court abounded, he was himself a poet of considerable merit and used Beglar, as his takhallus. The specimens of his Persian verses by Idraki and others show his mastery over the art of the poetic muse. He was, at the same time, very fond of women and wine and loved to spend his leisure time in such assemblies²⁵. Tahir Nisyani mentions a daughter who was married to his nephew, Mirza Abu'l Fath son of Mirza Jani Beg²⁶, and after his death was married to Mirza Ghazi Beg, while Idraki gives the list of his twelve sons.²⁷

The other three sons of Khan Zaman were: Mirza Qasim Sultan (b. 986/1577 d.

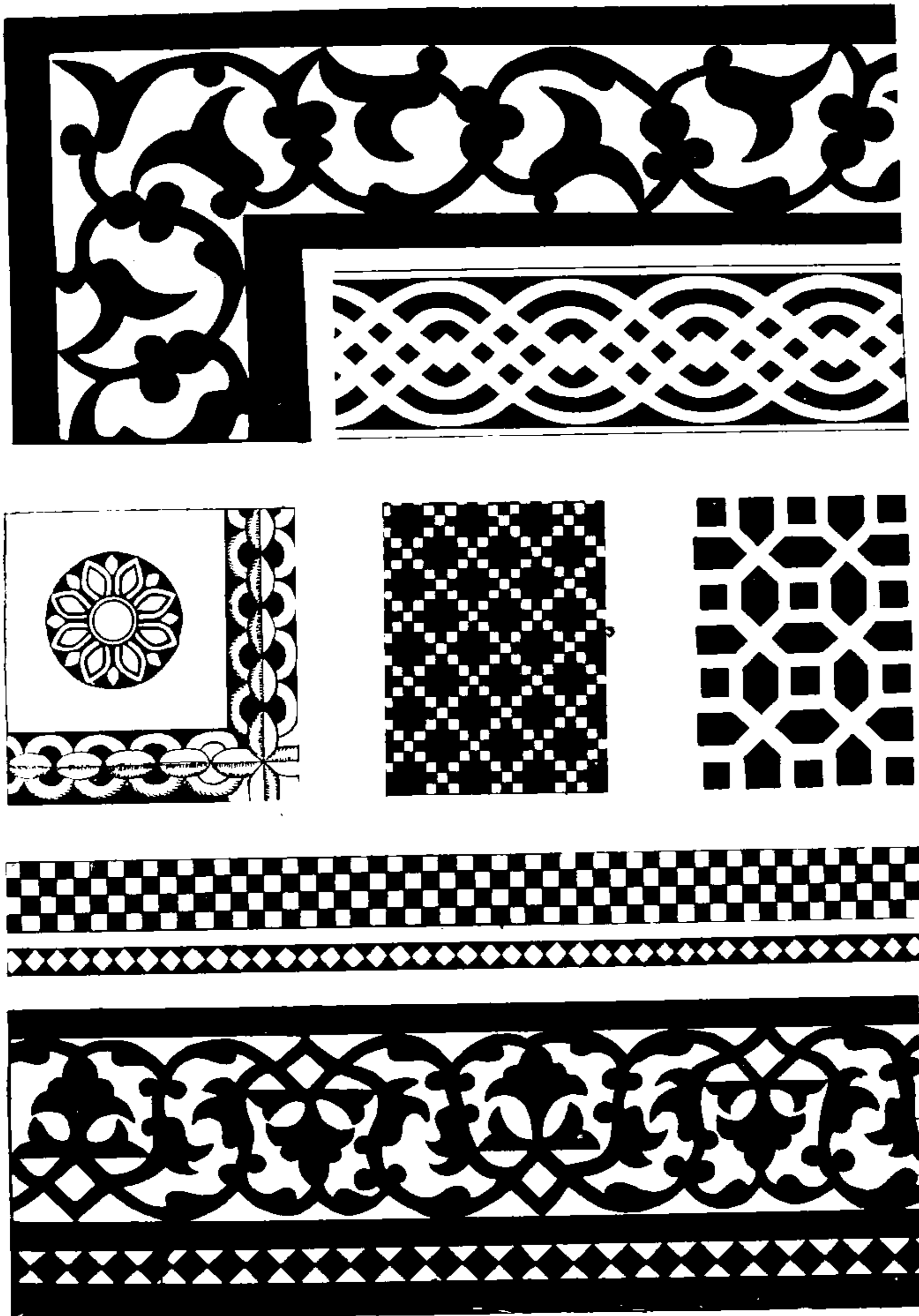


Fig. XVII : Miyan Wahyun : Necropolis of the Beglars - A selection of decorative pattern.

1032/1622), Mir Shah Muqim Sultan (b. 987/1578) and Mir Fitri Beg Sultan (b. 988/1580). Idraki records the long lists of their sons and grandsons and their activities in the politics of their time.²⁸

Tahir Nisyani has given a detailed account of the political events of these years in which these members of the Beglar family played a significant role. In fact, the history of southern Sindh during the earlier decades of the 11th century of Hijra is replete with the political manoeuvring of the Beglars who were responsible, to a great extent, for many political acts especially during the later days of the rule of the Tarkhans.

It was not, however, only in political or military activities in which the contribution of the Beglars was significant. In time of peace, they contributed a great deal to the welfare of the local people. Their courts were a refuge for men of learning and arts. Their mark on the architectural activities of their time was also not small. The remains of the ruined fort near Nasrpur and more significantly the family graveyard are evidence of their interest in architecture.

The Necropolis

A substantial area, measuring 450 feet by 340 feet, lying on the east of the main habitation of the village, is covered with historical graves and some other structures of religious nature (Pl. 52). The main necropolis contains more than fifty graves of which twelve are of special interest, as they are crowned with stone cenotaphs decorated with Arabic and Persian inscriptions of the usual Thatta type. The cenotaphs are made of rectangular slabs of yellow sandstone and are arranged in three or four tiers superimposed one upon the other. The lower tiers are flat slabs with carved decoration on the exposed side, while the main top tiers have carving on all sides, floral, geometrical as well as inscriptional. The Persian inscriptions mainly record the name of the person buried and the date of his death. The surface has been divided into various registers and cartouches. The style of carving on these cenotaphs, their arrangement, their material etc., reminds us of the work-manship found on the cenotaphs of the graves lying at Makli Hill near Thatta.

A close study of these inscriptions and other decorations carved on these cenotaphs reveals many interesting facts. It appears that during those days, there must have been a sort of guild, probably located at Thatta, where calligraphists and stone carvers were busy in preparing carved cenotaphs for graves. The system must have been to carve the Quranic inscriptions on the appropriate surface of the cenotaphs and leave blank spaces to be filled later, with the name, the date of the death and other details of the person on whose grave the cenotaph was to be fixed. This is borne out by two facts: First, the Quranic verses carved on these cenotaphs and their arrangement in cartouches and compartments are almost the same in all cases. This particularly is significant on the cenotaphs of the Beglars. Secondly, the poorer quality in the writing and carving of the Persian inscriptions shows that they are later additions in which the same care and precision has not been observed as in the case of the Arabic inscriptions.



Pl. 54 : Miyan Wahyun: Inscription on the Cenotaph of the grave of Mir Abu'l Qasim dated 1036 / 1625

and also shows that they have been executed by calligraphists other than those who carved the Arabic inscriptions.

The following description of the inscriptions and other decorations carved on the cenotaphs of various graves has been arranged chronologically.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CENOTAPHS

Grave No. 1 (Pl. 54)

This is the grave of Sayyid Qasim Beglar, The founder of the family. In the usual style, it is crowned with a beautiful cenotaph measuring 6 feet 2 inches by one foot 5 inches by one foot 5 inches constructed in four tiers of yellow sandstone. The second lower tier has carved facing of interlaced tracery divided into two horizontal bands, the lower being a fret pattern and the upper, floral. The floral pattern consists of a row of small but full-blown eight petalled lotus flowers in high relief, placed within a row of cresting, much of which is damaged. All four sides of the main cenotaph and its top possess inscriptions, both Quranic and non-Quranic. The two Persian inscriptions, giving the historical details, are carved on the northern and southern sides, while the other sides and the top have Quranic inscriptions. For this purpose, the surface has been

divided into six large cartouches and six small compartments, separated by a chain of inter-twined circles, while the broad border all round has rows of alternately sunk chequers, a chain of diamond shape quarternaries and mouldings of lotus petals. Similarly, the base has two superimposed rows of lotus petals. The two upper and lower cartouches bear surah of the Qur'an, while the central cartouches have the ayat al-kursi. carved in bold Naskh characters. The smaller compartments on the corners have twelve-petaled lotus flowers with a boss in the centre. Two smaller compartments, between those having lotuses, possess the four attributes of Allah, two in each, on one side and the name of the calligrapher Firuz b. Tayyar (?) on the right, and the date: Rajab al-Murajjab 990 (?) on the left. The top of the cenotaph has a similar arrangement in which verses of the Qur'an have been carved. A crown carved in high relief towards the head, takes the shape of a somewhat trefoil arch.

The text of the two Persian inscriptions is as under :-

(a) On the south, within a square sunk field with four full-blown twelve petalled lotuses placed on the four corner and the usual decorative margins, the inscriptions are executed in two lines in bold Naskh.²⁹

وفات یافت سیادت پناه حضرت مرحومی و مغفوری
میر سید قاسم بیگلار شهر تاریخ رمضان سنه ۹۵۰ هـ

Translation :

The death of the deceased and pardoned Mir Sayyid Qasim Beglar (occurred) in the month of Ramazan 950 A.H.

(b) On the north, the surface has been divided into nine compartments of various sizes. The corners have lotuses in bold relief while the other compartments have interlaced tracery of alternately sunk chequer and fret work. The broad margin has a scheme of decoration similar to that on the other sides. The inscription in the central compartment is carved in six lines in Nasta`liq characters³⁰ :-

تاریخ مغفرت پناهی سلاله آل
طه و یاسین - امیر کبیر سید قاسم
بیگلار ابن میر مرحومی
ابو که بیگ در شهر ربیع الاول
سنه نصد و پنجاه و چهار از
وار فنادار بقار حلت نمود

Translation :

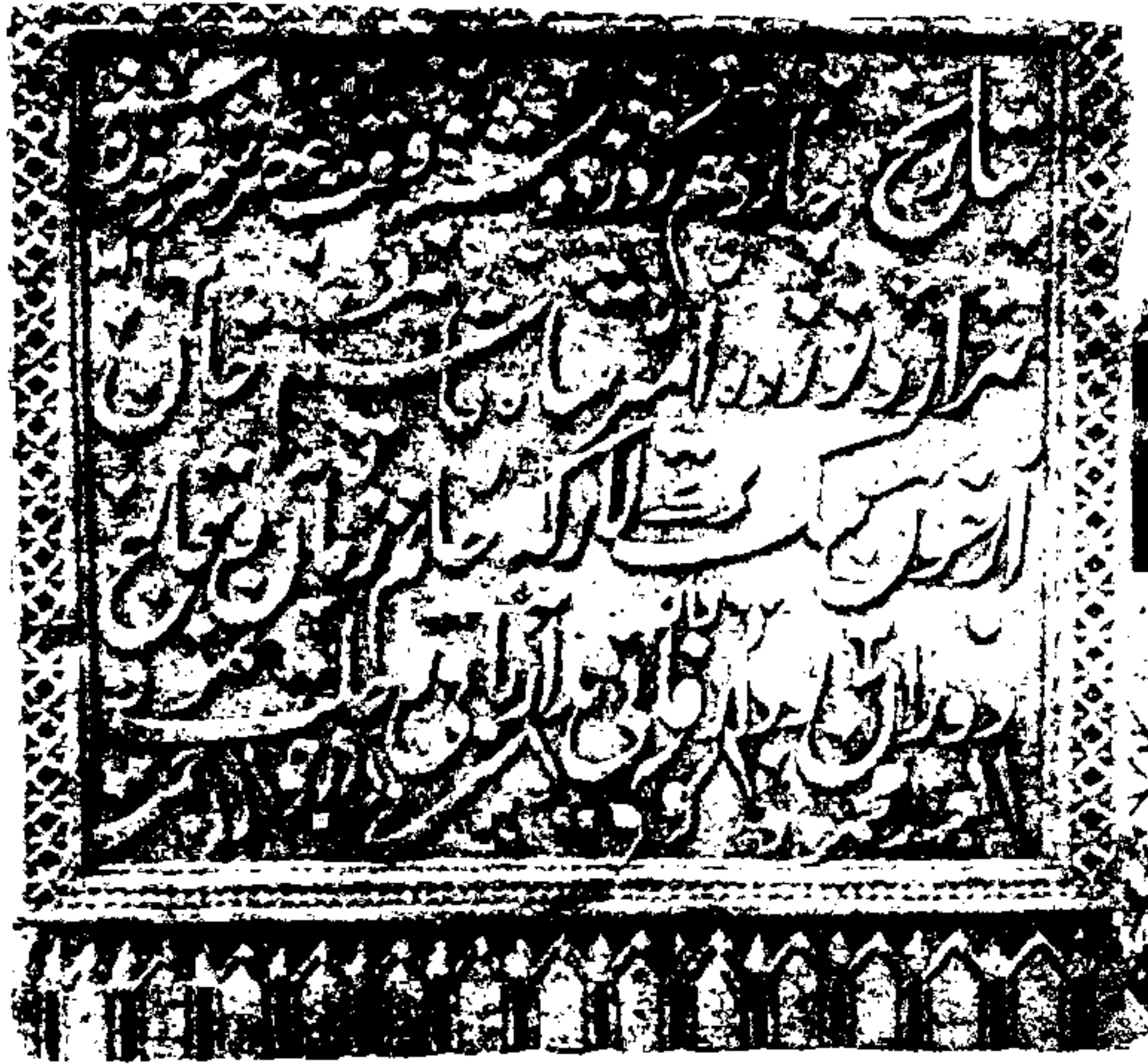
The death of the pardoned one, the chosen of the family of Taha and Yasin, the great Amir Sayyid Qasim Beglar, son of the deceased Mir Abuka Beg. [who] passed away from this temporary world to that world of ever lasting abode, in the month of Rabi u'l-Awwal, 954 A.H.



Pl. 55 : Miyan Wahyun: Inscription on the cenotaph of the grave of Qasim Beglar dated 950/1543

Grave No. II

This is the grave of Rafs Beg, a daughter of Sultan Muqim Arghun, who was the third son of Abu'l Qasim Khan Zaman. The stone cenotaph, 5 feet 7 inches by one foot one inch by one foot four inches, has the usual carved inscriptions on all sides arranged in traditional fashion. The northern, eastern and western sides and the top have Quranic verses (Surah al-Tur) in exquisite Naskh script. The top has a trefoil arch motif towards the head within which is placed a full blown lotus. The southern side possesses the Persian inscription recording the name of the lady buried there and the date of her demise. The Persian inscription is carved in rough Nasta'liq characters in six lines, probably the work of some local calligrapher or stone carver. No contemporary or later historian or biographer has recorded information about the lady, who died in 1017/1609 (19.55). The text of the inscription is as follows ³¹ :-



Pl. 56 : Miyan Wahyun: Inscription on the grave
of Rafs Bega, dated 1017 /1608

تاریخ رحلت عفت و عصمت پناه
رفس بیگه (?) بنت سلطان مقیم
ارغون بیگ لار روزیک شنبه
۱۰۱۷ از (?) شانزده سال بوده که
رخت حیات را بموکلان قضا
قد سپرده..... شهر ذی الحج

Translation :

The date of the demise of the pious and sanctified lady, Rafs Bega [?] daughter of Sultan Muqim Arghun Beglar on yakshamba in the month of Zi'l Hajjah 1017 A.H. (Saturday, March 1609, A.D.). When she was sixteen years of age, she gave her life to the divine angels, according to the Decree of God.

Grave No. III

This is the grave of the second Beglar Chief, Amir Shah Qasim Khan. The stone cenotaph of the grave measuring 6 feet 8 inches by 1 foot 4-1/2 inches by 1 foot 5 inches, has been carved elaborately in the same decorative scheme as that found on the grave of his father, except that on the north is carved a Tughra of the Kalima within a border made of quaternary diamonds. The Tughra has been carved in exquisite calligraphy by a calligraphist named Mahmud while the other two sides possess various stray verses of the Qur'an. The surface has been cartouched, divided into twelve

cartouches of equal size arranged in three lines superimposed on each other and six small compartments, three on each side. Those at the corners have sixteen-petalled full-blown lotuses and those at the centre, a fret motif. The cartouches have been divided by a chain made of intertwined circles carved in high relief. The margin has a band containing a diamond-shaped chain, while the bottom of the cenotaph possesses foliage of lotus petals.

The Persian inscription, recording historical details, has been carved on the south with the broad border of the decorative scheme, similar to those on the other sides. The inscription, executed in chaste Nasta`liq in five lines, is rather unusually precise in recording the date, day and time of the said demise. It reads as under :-

بتاریخ چهاردهم روز دوشنبه وقت عصر شهر رمضان ۱۰۱۹
 هزار و نوزده امیر شاه قاسم خان
 ارغون بیگ لار که حاتم زمان و شجاع
 دوران بود - از دار فانی بدر باقی رحلت نمود (و) در جوار رحمت الهی آسود - العبد محمود

Translation :

On Monday, the 14th of the month of Ramazan 1019 A.H. in the afternoon, Amir Shah Qasim Khan Arghun Beglar, who was the Hatim of his time and the bravest of his days, passed away from this temporary abode to that everlasting world. (written by) Mahmud.

The surface at the top has been divided into compartments of varying sizes. The central compartments, six in number, have different verses of the Qur'an carved in bold Naskh characters, while the margin and the rectangular space at the top and bottom have a line of twelve Persian couplets arranged in cartouches imploring the visitor to pray to God for the salvation of the deceased.

Grave No. IV

This is the grave of Mir Sher Beg, son of Mir Ali Sher Arghun who, according to the inscription on the cenotaph measuring 5 feet 2 inches by one foot 2-1/2 inches and one foot two inches, was killed on the 11th Ramazan 1020 A.H. in battle³². The northern side of the cenotaph has an exquisite tughra of the Kalima carved in bold relief within a double broad margin of flat blank space and a chain of diamonds placed with those flat lines; while the east and west side have twelve (six on each side) cartouches and twelve small (three on each side of the cartouches) compartments. The corner compartments have the usual lotuses and the compartments in between have geometric patterns. The margin has the chain of diamonds all round except the bottom which has foliage of lotus petals. The cartouches on the two sides are filled with Quranic verses from the surah al-Mulk and the top with surah al-Nur carved in bold Naskh characters. The Persian inscription carved on the south side in old Nasta`liq reads as under³³:-

تاریخ رحلت نمود میر شیر بیگ (بن)
 میر علی شیر ارغون - روز دو شنبه وقت
 دو پاس یازدهم شهر رمضان
 المبارک ۱۰۲۰ در جنگ
 بمرتبہ شہادت رسید

Translation :

Mir Sher Beg, son of Mir Ali Arghum, died on Monday in afternoon on the 11th (Jan) year 1020 A.H. He was killed on the battle field and achieved the exalted place of martyrdom.

Grave No. V

This is the grave of Mir Abu'l Qasim, son of Shah Qasim Khan Beglar, who died in 1034 A.H. The east, west and the top of the cenotaph measuring 5 feet 10- 1/2 inches by 1 foot 3-1/2 inches by 1 foot 3-1/2 inches, possess the usual arrangement of cartouches in which the ayat al-Kursi, surah al-Mulk and a few other surahs from the Qur'an have been carved in bold Naskh characters within a border of triangles arranged in rows. The cartouches have been divided by means of a chain made of intertwined circles carved in bold relief. The four corner-compartments have the usual twelve-petalled lotuses and the compartments in between them bear floral motifs. The Persian inscription on the south is carved in bold Nasta'liq in three lines within a border of diamonds arranged in a chain. The text reads :

تاریخ وفات میر
 ابو القاسم ولد شاه
 قاسم خان بیگ لار ۱۰۳۴

Translation :

The date of the demise of Mir Abul Qasim son of Shah Qasim Khan Beglar. 1034 A.H.

Grave No. VI

This is the grave of Amir Shukr Beg, son of Sultan Qasim. The east and west sides of the cenotaph, measuring five feet two inches by one foot two inches, have the arrangements of six cartouches and three small compartments on each side. The main cartouches have the surah al-Mulk and the ayat al-Kursi while the four corner-compartments have the twelve-petalled lotuses and the central ones some attributes of God. The bottom and the side margins have foliage of lotus petals. The northern side of the squares are superimposed on each other by means of a chain of intertwined circles. The four corner-squares have lotus flowers while the others possess Quranic verses. The southern side has also the same treatment except that the Persian inscription carved in Naskh is arranged as under :-

Lotus flower	وفات یافت سید	Lotus flower
مرحوم و مغفور	ابن سلطان قاسم	امیر شکر بیگ
Lotus flower	ارغون بیگ لار سنه	Lotus flower

The margin has been decorated with broad chevrons. The top of the cenotaph has been divided into various compartments of different sizes within a border of chevrons and has been filled with verses from the Qur'an. The top of the central compartment, towards the head, has a crown consisting of the trefoil arch with a full blown lotus in the centre.

Grave No. VII

This is the grave of some unidentifiable religious personage who, according to the Persian inscription carved in indifferent Nasta`liq, died in the city of Lahore on Monday the 22nd Rajab 1102/21st April 1691. It is interesting to note that the person, who must have been an important personality, died at Lahore and was brought all the way to this place to be buried here. Another interesting feature to be noticed is the comparatively unusual nature of the floral decoration and the arrangement of the inscriptions both Quranic and non-Quranic on the cenotaph. The monolith of the cenotaph measuring 5 feet 1-1/2 inches by 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot 2 inches, possesses verses from the Qur'an carved on the top, east and west sides in bold Naskh characters within a broad margin decorated with a tracery of floral pattern. The lower tier, on which the cenotaph is placed, is decorated with lotus foliage. The north side has a tughra of Bismillah and the Kalima carved in bold but indifferent letters on a slightly sunk field within a broad flat border. The south side has two Persian inscriptions carved in Nasta`liq. The square central space has the following main inscriptions in four lines :-

تاریخ رحلت کردن از دار فنا
 بدار بقا سید ناته باسی (؟) در
 بلده لاهور - روز دو شنبه وقت چاشت
 ۲۲ شهر رجب المرجب ۱۱۰۲

Translation :

The date of the death of who passed away from this world to the eternal abode (who died) in the city of Lahore on Monday the 22nd Rajab 1102 A.H. in the middle hours between the sunrise and the meridian.

On the broad margin within double-lined stars at the four corners, is carved the following ruba`i of Umar Khayyam :

ابریق منی مرا شکستی ربی بر من در عیش را به بستی ربی
بر خاک بر نیختی منی ناب مرا خاتم بدین مگر تو مستی ربی

Grave No. VIII

This is the grave of Mirza Beg son of Mirza Jan Beg Arghun who died in 1124/1712. The monolith of the cenotaph measuring 5 feet 5 inches by 1 foot 4-1/2 inches by 1 foot 9 inches, now damaged and broken into two pieces, has an exquisite specimen of Quranic calligraphy. The surah al-Mulk and some other verses have been carved in elegant Naskh. The whole surface on the top, east and west has been divided into various cartouches and compartments. There are nine cartouches in three lines superimposed one upon the other on all sides, and three small square compartments of which the corner ones have 15 petalled full-blown while the central one has been filled with a fret work design. The cartouches and compartments have been divided by a chain made of intertwined circles. The border has broad running lines of foliage and chevrons at the bottom. The outer space of the lower tier on which the monolith is placed has a quadruplex or quadrant diamonds. The north side is carved with a tughra of the Kalima within a border with a foliage decoration, while the south side has the Persian inscription, in fair Nasta'liq, in three lines within a broad border of three rows of quadrant diamonds, the right side of which has been left unfinished.

بتاریخ روز جمعه بیست و چهارم صفر
مرزا بیگ مرحوم ابن میرزا جان ارغون

وفات یافت ۱۱۲۴

Translation :

On Friday the 24th Safar 1124 A.H. Mirza Beg son of Mirza Jan Beg Arghun died.

Grave No. IX

This is the grave of the other son of Mirza Jan Beg Arghun, Amir Sultan Beg, whose date of death is indistinct in the inscription. The monolith of the cenotaph, measuring 5 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 2 inches by 1 foot 2 inches, is now broken into two pieces. The top and the east and west sides possess Quranic verses carved in exquisite Naskh in one horizontal line within a broad flat margin. The east and west sides have the Ayat al-Kursi with Bismillah while the north side has a bold tughra of one of the ninety-nine attributes of Allah, carved in very bold letters. On the south is a Persian inscription carved in two lines of intertwined Naskh.

Graves No.X, XI AND XII

These three graves have beautifully carved cenotaphs with Quranic verses executed in the usual manner. Graves XI and XII are of children as judged from the sizes of the cenotaphs. The north and south sides of these three graves are either left blank or

have been filled with lotuses. The sizes of the cenotaphs are as under :-

- Grave No. X 5 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 3-1/2 inches by 1 foot 4 inches.
 Grave No. XI 2 feet 3-1/2 inches by 8-1/2 inches by 7-1/2 inches.
 Grave No. XII 4 feet 2 inches by 9 inches by 1 foot 2 inches.

REFERENCES

1. Idraki Beglari, *Beglar Namah* edited by Dr. N. A. Baluch (Hyderabad, 1971) P. 34, 81, etc.
2. Mir Ali Sher Qane', *Tuhfat al-Kiram*. Edited By Sayyid Husam u'd-Din Rashidi, (Karachi, 1971) p. 201. Miyan Wahiyun was a patron saint of this period who was buried in the family graveyard of the Beglars under the orders of Khan Zaman. The tomb, a square domed structure, still exists. The village where the cemetery is located is now named after this celebrity.
3. Chanesar Namah, a love story, was composed in 1010/1601. The text has been edited with an introduction by Pir Husam u'd-Din Rashidi (Hyderabad 1956). The introduction gives a fairly detailed history of the Beglars in Sindh.
4. *Beglar Namah*, written 1017/1608. is an important contemporary source on the history of the Beglars. The last chapter, added by the author in 1031/1624. completes the account of the successors of Qasim Khan Zaman.
5. See *Beglar Namah* pp. 25-26 for genealogy. Mir Ali Sher Qane' mainly copies from Idraki *op. cit.* p. 199. Sayyid Rashidi has built up an exhaustive genealogical table from these sources. See *Op. cit.* App. facing p. 199.
6. *Ibid.*
7. No detailed account of the family of the Beglars is available at one place. The main source, however, is the *Beglar Namah* while some details are also available in *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*, *Chanesar Namah*, *Tuhfat al Kiram*, *Maqalat u'sh Shu'ara*, etc.
8. Idraki *op. cit.* p. 28; Qane' *op. cit.* p. 525. It has been identified by Sayyid Husam u'd-Din Rashidi with an old place located at about 8 Kuruh from Hala Kindi where the tomb of Shaikh Tahir alias Bilal Udara is located. See also *Tuhfat al Kiram*, *op. cit.* p. 201 n. 2; *Maqalat u'sh Shu'ara*, *op. cit.* p. 215 n.1.
9. Rana Wairsi, then ruler of Amarkot, and matrimonial alliance with Shah Qasim as the latter had married the daughter of the Rana's sister *c.f.* Idraki, *Beglar Namah* p. 34. The date of his death, however, is made very confusing by the calligrapher of the cenotaph on his grave.
10. This was obviously the title of Shah Qasim but no contemporary or later authority mentions the time or the authority who bestowed this title upon him. It is interesting to observe that the Beglars were very fond of naming their children Qasim, as we find at least four great members of the family with this name with slight variation.
11. Idraki *op. cit.* p. 31; Qane, *op. cit.*
12. Idraki narrates in detail the circumstances which were responsible for this favour. See *op. cit.* pp. 38-9.
13. Idraki records a detailed account of these encounters in which the contribution of Khan Zaman was substantial.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 170.
15. Mir Ali Sher Qane, *op. cit.* p. 202, Mir Ma'sum, *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* (Poona, 1938), pp. 250-57; Tahir Nisyani, *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* pp. 181-201. For a fuller account, see Abd al-Baqi Nihawandi *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi* (Calcutta 1910-35), vol. ii, pp. 345-77.
16. Idraki *op. cit.* pp. 220 sqq.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
18. *Ibid* p. 139. The tradition of erecting minaret on the side of the graves of favourite animals is among the eastern rulers. Hiran Minar at Sheikhpura, Lahore, built by the Emperor Jahangir on the grave of his favourite antelope, is one of the most prominent examples. See Ahmad Nabi Khan 'Conservation of the Hiran Minar and Baradari at Sheikhpura, Lahore' in Pakistan Archaeology No. 6 (1969) p. 236 sqq. See also Ahmad Rabbani 'Haran Munara' in Armughan-e-Ilmi (Lahore 1955) p. 100 sqq. where a description of such towers and their possible origin is given. A similar monument on the grave of a pet dog was erected at Bidar in southern India in 1087-88/1676-77, which is now called *Kuttee ki Qabar* (The tomb of Dog) see G. Yazdani, *Bidar: its history and monuments* (Oxford 1957) pp. 171-72.
19. It is rather strange that no contemporary or later authority has recorded the date of the death of Khan Zaman. It is all the more strange that Idraki, who is the best contemporary source of our information and who wrote his *Beglar Namah* while he was in the service of Khan Zaman, did not mention the event though he added later a full chapter after about 1032/1622, giving details of his death (p. 261). The above date has been taken from the inscription carved on the cenotaph of his grave (p. 144 Supra).
20. Idraki records the names of seven sons (p. 262 sqq.) (1) Amir Qasim Sultan, (2) Mirza Qasim, (3) Mir Shah Muqim Sultan, (4) Mir Fateh Beg Sultan, (5) Mir Yaran Beg, (6) Mir Salim Shah and (7) Mir Murad Beg. Yusuf Mirak mentions the name of Jinddai (Beg) as another son of Khan Zaman. See *Tarikh-i-Mazhar-i-Shah Jahani* (Hyderabad 1962) pp. 119 and 235. According to the author, he played an important role in the political events of the later Yarkhans. Similarly, Tahir Nisyani mentions the name of one of his daughters, Shah Begum who was married to Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan and bore a son whose name was Abu'l Fath (*Tarikh-i-Tahiri* pp.151 and 245).
21. *Op. cit.*, p. 265 sqq.
22. Rashidi, *op. cit.* p. 44. See also *idem*, *Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan aur Uski Bazm-i-Adab* (Karachi 1970), p. 34 sqq.
23. Tahir Nisyani gives a detailed account of the conflict and the imprisonment of Abu'l Qasim. See *op. cit.* p. 235 sqq.
24. The date has again been derived from the inscription recorded on the cenotaph of his grave. The relevant authorities have given confusing dates.
25. Tahir Nisyani, *op. cit.* pp. 233,245, etc.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 288 sqq.
27. Idraki. *op. cit.* p. 266. The names of these sons are: (1) Mir Fateh Khan, (2) Mir Aziz Beg, (3) Mir Murid Beg, (4) Mir Bahadur Beg, (5) Mir Syed Beg, (6) Mir Sultan Beg, (7) Mir Shah Beg, (8) Mir Khushhai Beg, (9) Bahadur Beg, (10) Mujahid Beg, (11) Amir Beg and (12) Muhammad Beg.
28. Idraki, *op. cit.* p. 266 sqq. In addition, the same authority names three more minor sons of Khan Zaman, which completes the list of his eight sons.
29. The text of the inscription has been published by Sayyid Husam u'd-Din Rashidi in *Chanesar Nama* inscription No. 1, p. 69.
30. The inscription recorded two different and very confusing dates of the death of Sayyid Qasim and different causes of death. The inscription at (a) above records the death due to martyrdom in Ramazan 950-1543, while that at (b) says that he died a natural death in *Rabi u'l-Awwal* 954-1547. There is yet another date on the eastern side of the cenotaph alongwith the name of calligrapher which reads 990/1582.
31. The Persian text alongwith photograph has been published by Rashidi in *Chanesar Namah* (inscription No. 6, p.74) The date (7th) read by him does not seem to be correct.
32. He was the son-in-law of Shah Qasim Khan,. For details of the military engagement in which Sher Beg was killed, see Qane, *op. cit.* vol. iii, p.86.
33. Published by Husam u'd-Din Rashidi, *op. cit.* p. 73.

TWO PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS

From Depalpur (Punjab)

Dipalpur or Deopbalpur and Deopalpur of medieval historians, is one of the most ancient and important historic cities of Pakistan. Situated now in the Sahiwal district of the Punjab, its origin goes deep into antiquity and is attributed to the legendary local king after whose name it was called Deopalpur¹. The city, however, rose into prominence with the establishment of the Tughluq dynasty whose founder, Ghiyas u'd-din Tughluq who was, prior to his elevation to the throne of Dehli, appointed its governor by `Ala u'd-Din Khalji.² The activities and administrative reforms of the new governor gave a new impetus to the so far little known and insignificant *iqta* making it the *Iqta-i-buzurg*, as recorded by contemporary historians.³ After that date, it became a principal centre of socio-political activities and a number of edifices, both religious and secular, were built here during this and subsequent periods. The great Jame Mosque built by Firuz Shah Tughluq, the impressive fortification with high gateways of the Lodi period, and a tomb at the back of the above Jame Mosque still exist to give an idea of the architectural richness Dipalpur once possessed. These edifices were sometimes decorated with chronograms to commemorate the name of the builder and date of construction. These epigraphical records are of utmost importance as they provide vital details of the socio-economic conditions of the period.

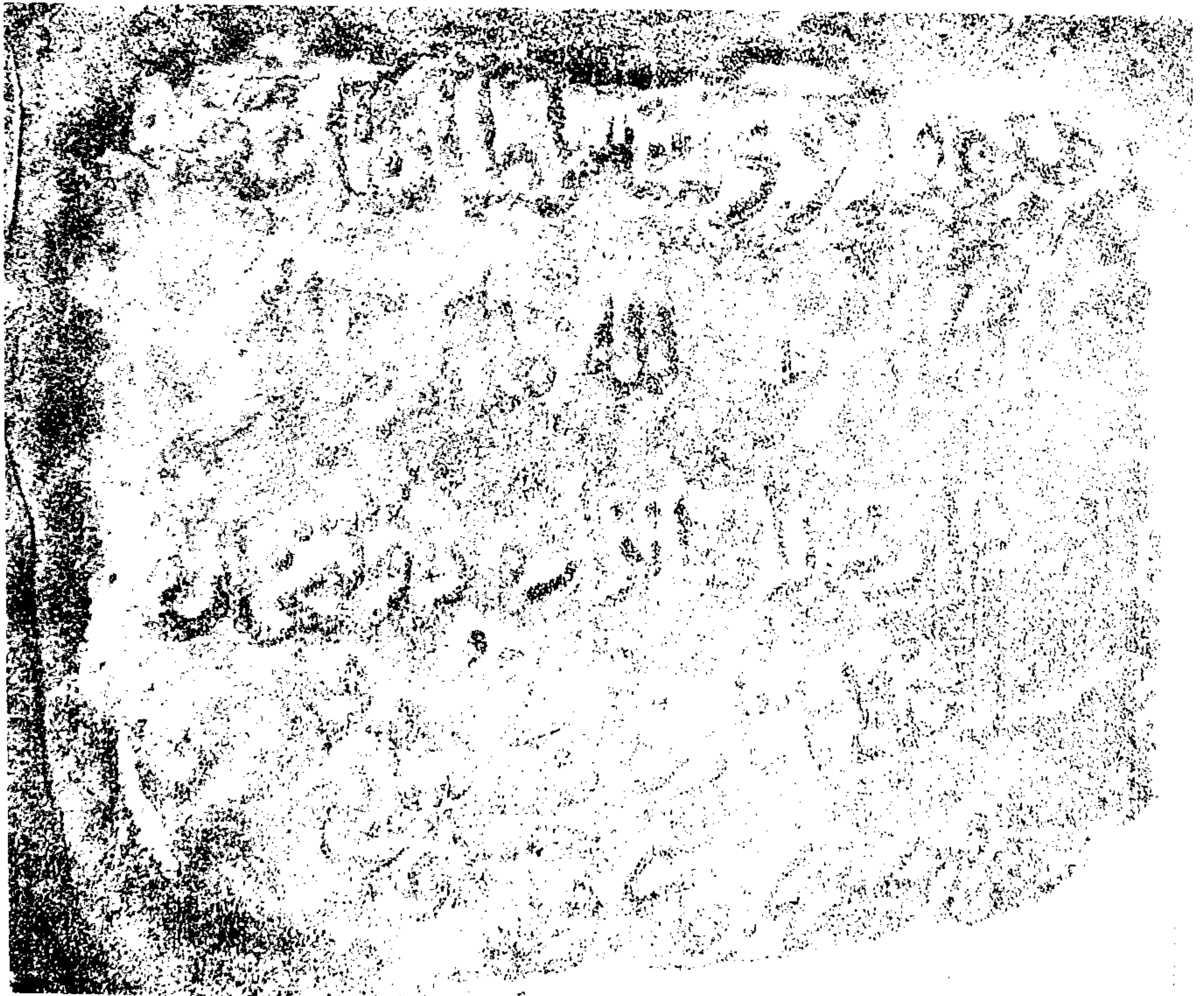
Recently, the area of Dipalpur was re-surveyed to search its hitherto unknown or little known architectural wealth. During these operations a number of architectural monuments as well as epigraphical records were discovered, revealing the past glory and importance of this city. Out of the epigraphical records, two Persian inscriptions are noticed here.

1. The first in chronological order is a red sand stone slab measuring 17 inches by 11 inches, now fixed in the interior of an old edifice commonly known as the tomb of Tatar Khan on the left of the northern Mehrab at the head of the main grave. The stone slab possesses five lines in Persian carved in Naskh characters, decayed and chipped off at places, and record the construction of an edifice by Daulat Khan son of Masnad-i-Ali Tatar Khan⁴. During the process of its removal from its original place the edges specially its four corners have been damaged badly, leaving out the words covered thereon. The style, however, corresponds very much to the architectural calligraphy practised during the periods, specially at the provincial centres. The date recorded at the end of the inscription is 27 Safar 891/4 March 1486. (Pl. 57) The text reads :

۱- در عهد دولت سلطان اعظم

در عهد دولت سلطان اعظم
 گلوشاه خط لله ملكه بنا کرد
 ابن عمارت را خانزاده دولتخان
 مسند عالی تاتار خان فی السابغ والعین
 من شهر صفراء مدیوتسه و ستمتا

Fig. XVIII : Divalpur. Persian Inscription dated 891 / 1486 (transcript of Pl. 58).



Pl. 57 : Depalpur : A Persian Inscription, dated 891 / 1486.

- ۲ - بھلول شاہ خلد اللہ ملکہ - بنا کر د
 ۳ - این عمارت را خانزادہ دولت خان (ابن)
 ۴ - مسند عالی تاتار خان - فی السابع و العشرین
 ۵ - فی شہر صفر احدی و تسعین و ثمانیۃ

Translation:

1. In the reign of the greatest King.
2. Buhlul Shah. May God perpetuate his kingdom.
3. This building was founded by Khanzada Daulat Khan (Son of)
4. Masnad-i-Ali Tatar Khan
5. On the 27 Safar 891 (Fig. XVIII).

The Founder

The personality responsible for the erection of the edifice, according to the inscription, was Daulat Khan son of Masnad-i-Ali Tatar Khan⁵ sometime called Lodi due to his close association with Lodi ruling family.⁶ Tatar Khan was one of the most influential and leading nobles of Buhul Lodi who were responsible for his elevation to the throne.⁷ Contemporary as well as later historians speak highly of Tatar Khan and his scions who played significant role in the administrative and political activities of the period. During the zenith of his power, Tatar Khan held the country north of Sutlej and Sirhind, the fertile lands of the Punjab which yielded a revenue of three crore of rupees.⁸

However, during the last days of Buhul Lodi relations between the king and his governor became estranged so much so that *Tatat* Khan revolted against his sovereign. The rebellion was suppressed by Sikandar, son and heir-apparent of Buhlul Lodi,⁹ and the rebelled governor was transferred to Jhatra.¹⁰ Tatar Khan died sometime in 908/1502, or 909/1503 and his son Daulat Khan was allowed by Sikandar Lodi to retain only Lahore.¹¹ However, the above epigraphical evidence shows that Dipapalur was under the administrative control of Daulat Khan even during the days of Tatar Khan.

The new arrangement made by Sikandar Lodi created much serious rift between the Sultan and the governor and the bad blood continued spoiling mutual trust and personal relations. Sikandar and, after him, his son and successor Ibrahim could find little time to deal with the governor who gained power and influence in the Punjab gradually but steadily.¹² During the last phase of his reign, Ibrahim sent for Daulat Khan to Dehli. But the governor, who was then in the prime of his power having ruled the fertile lands of the Punjab for the last twenty years,¹³ refused to obey the Sultan's command, and invited Babur from Kabul to destroy the power of Ibrahim Lodi.¹⁴ Daulat Khan's designs could not succeed; his own sons either joined Babur's army or left him alone. Earlier, he was defeated and ousted from Lahore by Lodi forces and later dislodged by Babur who thereafter placed Lahore, Sialkot and Kalanaur under his own officers and Deopalpur under Alam Khan.¹⁵ Daulat Khan was assigned Jullundur and Sultanpur only.

Daulat Khan protested against these arrangements and disgusted went into

hiding along with his son Ghazi Khan with the intention to strike back at appropriate moment and to get back what he had lost. However, his own son Dilawar Khan joined Babur against his father and was given the title of Khan Khanan with Sultanpur as his Jagir. Babur's next visit to invade Hindustan in Safar 932/November 1525, and defection by his sons, however, frustrated his design and he ultimately submitted to the victorious invader. He, alongwith other captive Afghan chiefs, were given into the charge of Kitta Beg who was to convey them to the fort of Bhera. Unfortunate Daulat Khan was not destined to reach the place of his captivity and while on march with Babur's army, died at Sultanpur, the city which he had himself founded on 26 *Rabi' u'l-Awwal* 933/10 January 1526.¹⁶ This ended the chequered but glorious career of an important ruler of the Punjab. He left behind four sons who subsequently played significant role during the early reign of the Moghul emperors. They were: Dilawar Khan, Ghazi Khan, Haji Khan¹⁷ and Apaq.¹⁸

II. The other inscription, also removed from its original place and re-fixed now on the left of the entrance of a dilapidated tomb at present named after Muhammad Asim situated in the suburb of the main city of Dipalpur, has been carved on a red sand stone slab measuring 19 inches by 12-1/2 and possesses five lines with Kalima at the top and two vertical lines on the margin on each side (Pl. 58). The inscription reads:

1. بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُوْلُ اللّٰهِ
 2. وَرِخْلَافَتِ و سُلْطَنَتِ شَهْنشَاهِ اعْظَمِ
 3. ابو الفتح جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه
 4. غازي - نخلد الله تعالى ملكه و سلطان
 5. در آوان دولت نواب خانخانان مرزاخان
- on the left margin:
- on the right margin:
- حکومت پناہی بخشى الملکى مير محمد معصوم

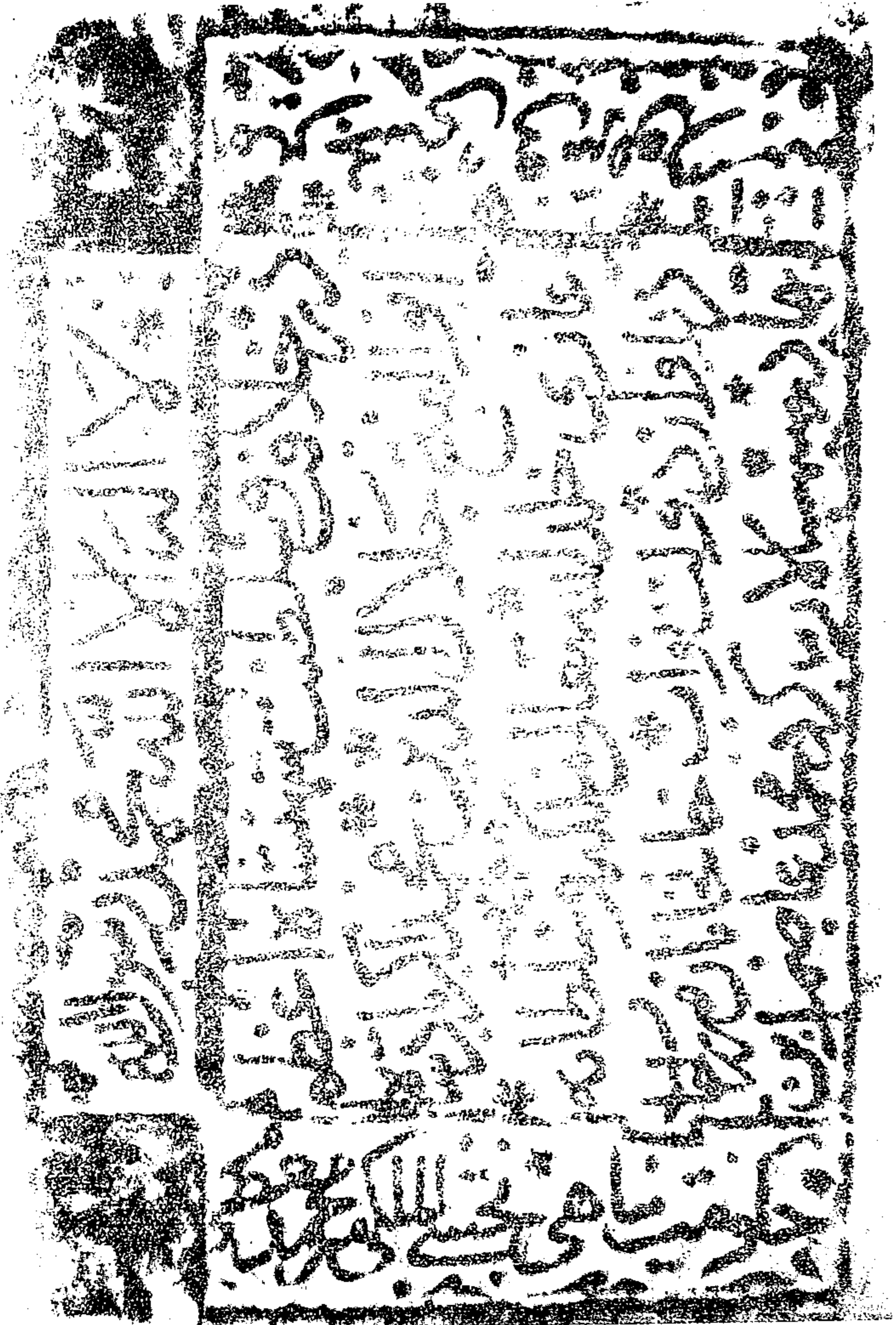
5 - بہادر سپہ سالار - بنا کرد محمد عاصم ابن حکومت پناہی بخشى الملکى مير محمد معصوم مير بخشى فی شہور سنہ ۱۰۰۱

Translation :

During the Khilafat and Sultanate of the greatest emperor Abul Fath Jalal u'd-Din Muhammad Akbar Padsha Ghazi, may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty, at the time of the Governorship of Nawab Khan Khanan Mirza Khan Bahadur, Commander-in-Chief, (it was) erected by Muhammad Asim, son of the servant of the government, the Mir, Bakhshi of the empire, Mir Muhammad Ma'sum, during the months of 1001/1592.

The inscription has been carved in exquisite bold Naskh is a superb specimen of architectural calligraphy. The space on the slab has been divided into two horizontal and two vertical compartments of various sizes, separated by thick flat lines. The upper horizontal space is occupied by the Kalima, while the space in the main compartment and on sides is reserved for the main text. The blank inter-linear space is decorated with six petalled stars. The space below the name of the emperor has eight-petalled flower.

The inscription relates to the Moghul period when the suba of Dipalpur was placed under the administrative control of Abd u'l-Rahim Khan Khanan in connection with



Pl. 58 : Depalpur: A Persian Inscription, dated 1001 / 1592.

his campaign to conquer Sindh.¹⁹ Muhammad Asim was, according to the inscription, son of Mir Muhammad Ma'sum, an old grandee and senior officer of the Moghul court during Akbar. He had served under Aziz Koka in Bengal, besides several other important assignments. In the end of the 35th year, 999/1590, of the Akbar's reign, in he was appointed Bakhshi and his services were placed at the disposal of Khan Khanan for Sindh expedition.

REFERENCES

1. See for details present writer's article, Debalpur Through the Ages in Jour. Res. Soc. of Pakistan, vol. vii, no. 1 (Jan. 1970) p. 69 sqq.
2. Ibn Battuta, *Rehla*, (GOS) p. 48. For a curious story related by Afif, see his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Bib. Ind.) p. 36 sqq.
3. Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq* (London, 1938) p. 28
4. Another published inscription on which this title has been mentioned is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. See Shams-ud-Din Ahmad 'Some Unpublished Inscriptions of Bengal' in *Epig. Indo-Muslimica*. (1933-4) p.9 sqq.
5. 'Masnad-i-Ali', was an honorific title used by the Afghan kings to address their nobles and very senior officers. M. A. Rahim, *History of the Afghans in India* (Karachi 1961), pp. 52-3. The title was also used earlier by the Sayyids specially with the name of Khizr Khan prior to his accession to the Dehli throne. c.f. Yahya Sirhindi *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Bib. Ind. Calcutta 1931) pp. 161, 166-68, 170, 174 and 177. It was common among the Suri Kings as well. Abbas Khan Sarwani, for instance, used it with a Sarwani Chief Isa Khan whose father Umar Khan Sarwani, also held the title. See *Tuhfa-e-Akbar Shahi* (I.O. Ms. DDP/611 fol. 836). The title did not altogether disappear during the Moghul period as at least two officers of Akbar's reign were called Masnad-i-Ali c.f. Blochmann, *Ain-Akbari* (Calcutta, 1873), vol. i. pp. 502,523.
6. Babur calls him Yusuf Khaili, vide A. S. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Babur* (London, n.d.) Fas. ii. p. 383.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
9. Abdullah, *Tarikh-i-Daud*, 32 b.
10. The identification and location of this place is not certain now.
11. A. S. Beveridge. op. cit., p. 383.
12. It appears that the arrangement of Sultan Sikandar did not continue for long as we find Daulat Khan's son ruling various parts of the Punjab on behalf of his father. For instance, Ali Khan was ruling Khushab and Bihar at the time of Babur's invasion. c.f. Beveridge pp. 382-83.
13. Ahmed Yadgar *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghana* (Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1939) p. 87.
14. *Ibid.*, Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 439-40.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 461 and f.n. 3.
17. CHI, iv p. 10.
18. Beveridge, op. cit., p. 461.
19. Nahawandi, *Maasir-i-Rahimi* (Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1925), Vol. ii, p. 357 sqq. This occurred in 999/1590.
20. *Ibid.*, Blochman, p. 525.y

A PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF THE MOGHUL PERIOD AT MARGALA PASS NEAR RAWALPINDI

The continued hostilities and frequent inroads by the Afghans at north-western frontiers of the Moghul empire was a matter of concern to the Moghul Emperors throughout the period of their long rule in the subcontinent. During the days of Emperor Aurangzeb, however, it seems that the situation had become more serious. In 1083/1672, after the disastrous defeat of the Moghul army under the command of Muhammad Amin Khan, then viceroy of Afghanistan, Aurangzeb recalled Mahabat Khan from the Deccan and appointed him the governor of Kabul.¹ Mahabat Khan had previously governed Afghanistan on three occasions and therefore had a good knowledge of local affairs. According to the orders of the Emperor, Mahabat Khan proceeded to Kabul thereafter. On his way to Kabul, he travelled through the Margala Pass and found that the road of the area was in disrepair. He gave orders for its immediate repair which was accordingly done.

This event has been recorded in a Persian inscription fixed on a side-cutting at the Margala Pass. The inscription has been carved in elegant Nasta'liq script, typically Moghul, in high relief, on a slab of black slate, measuring 1' 4" x 2'-9-1/4" and bears 8 lines of Persian verse (4 couplets, the second hemistich of the last one being a chronogram giving the date of the repair), and 4 lines of Persian prose which record the names of the persons who either supervised or carried out the work.² (Pl. 59)

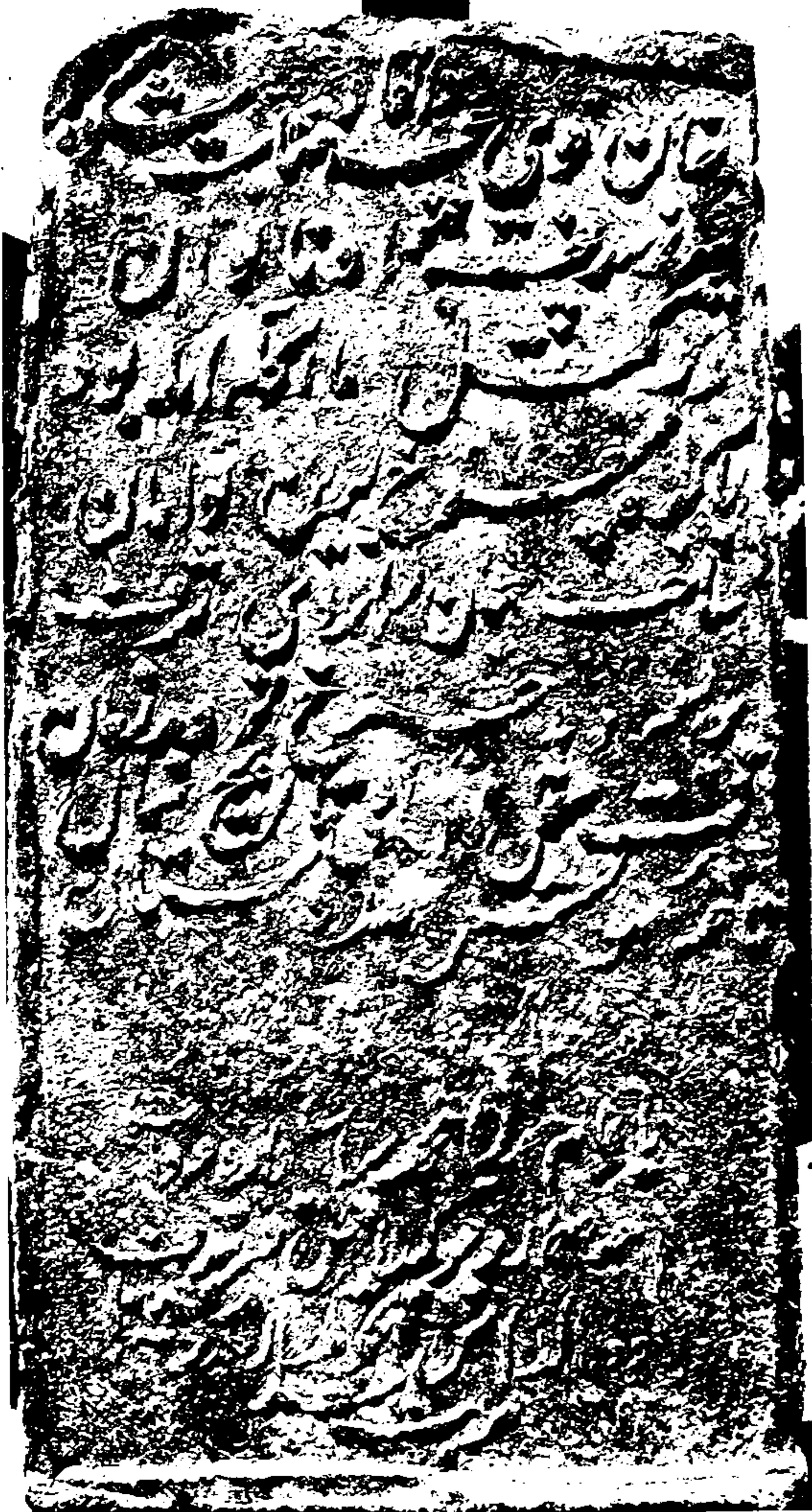
The text of the inscription has been deciphered and edited by as many as five scholars during the course of the last one hundred years. The present is the sixth attempt which tries to give not only a more complete and, therefore, correct reading of the inscription, but also analyses the decipherments of the earlier scholars and their hypothesis on the historical events connected with this inscription (Pl 60).

The earliest attempt to read the inscription was made in 1871 by Mr. Delmerick who could record only four lines (two verses) and incomplete part of the prose (endorsement) below the verses:

مارگلہ
خان قوی پنجه مہابت شکوہ
شیرز سر پنجه اونا تو ان
گفت مغل رومی تاریخ شان
ناصیہ مدوش ہندوستان
سنہ ۱۰۸۳ ہجری
باہتمام مرزا محمد داروغہ و احمد معمار استاد و جوگیداس و دیبی داس تحویلدار



Pl. 59: Margala Pass : Persian inscription in site, dated 1083 / 1672.



Pl. 60 : Margala Pass Persian Insription anlargement

Translation

Margala

The Khan of strong hand, and of exalted dignity, the lion is powerless to overcome his strong hand.

Mughal Rumi composed the chronogram 'Naciah-i-mahwash-i-Hindustan', the moon-like forelock of Hindustan, A.H. 1083 (or 1672 A.D).3

2. The second attempt was made in 1874 by Mr. E.Rehatsek who records:

هو القادر
خان قوی پنجه مہابت شکوہ
شیر ز سر پنجه او ناتوان
در کتل مار گلہ آنگہ بود
باگرہ چرخ برین تو امان
ساخت جنان را ردی شرف

یومیہ دید چرخ ز در زمان
گفت مثل از پی تاریخ سال
ناصیہ مہوش شدہ داستان

Translation

احمد معمار و جوکداس و شرف و دیال داس تھویدار سنہ ۱۰۸۱ مرمت شد

He is the Almighty!

The strong-fisted Khan of great power,

Under whose grasp a lion is helpless,

Has, on the Ketel of Margala, which is

A twin with the ball of uppermost sphere,

Made a paradise of noble aspect,

And daily be-held the rotation of the times.

He uttered a parable to fix the date of the year:-

'The Moonlike forehead became the general talk.'

During the time of Mirza Mohammad Daru and Dastan Ahmed the architect, and Sherf a ... das Tehnvildar. Repaired in the year 1081 (A.D. 1767).4

3. The third and a little more detailed but again incomplete reading was made in 1933 by Dr. Yazdani, who records:-

هو القادر

خان قوی پنجه مہابت شکوہ
 شیرز سر پنجه اونا تو ان
 در کتل مار گلہ آن کہ بود
 باکرہ چرخ برین تو امان
 ساخت چنان شاہراہی (؟) شرف
 چرخ بر زمان
 گفت مغل در پی تاریخ سال
 ناصیہ مہوش ہندوستان

۱۰۰۸۳

باہتمام مرزا محمد داروغہ
 احمد معمار و جوکیداس مشرف
 و دیال داس تحویلدار در سنہ ۱۰۸۳ مرتب شد

Translation

He is the Almighty!

Verse

- (1) The Khan with powerful grip and majestic appearance (who is so powerful) that the tiger feels himself feeble in his grip.
- (2) In the hillock of Margala which on account of its height is united with the zone of heaven.
- (3) He built such a lofty pass that - - - heaven - - - on earth.
- (4) Mughal has composed the chronogram: the forehead of the belle (lit. the moon-facted lady) of India.

Under the superintendence of Mirza Muhammad - - - - darogha - - - - Ahmad, the Architect, Jogidas, the Accountant, and Diyal Das, the Cash-Keeper, was completed in 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D).5

4. The most recent attempt is that of Col. K.A. Rashid, who published his readings alongwith those of others in 1956.6 The following is the reading:

شیرز سر پنجه اونا تو ان
 در کتل مار گلہ آن کہ بود
 باکلہ چرخ برین تو امان
 ساخت چنان شاہری (کر) شرف
 بوسہ زند چرخ برو صد زمان
 گفت مغل از پی تاریخ سال

(the letters have been effaced)

ناصیه ماہ دہش ہندوستان
 باہتمام مولانا محمد میاں و داروغہ شیخ عبدالعزیز، پورا استاد
 احمد معمار جوگیداس و دیال داس.... تحویلدار ۱۰۸۳ھ
 مرمت شد

5. The imperfect reading of Col. K.A. Rashid has been copied by Dr. M. `Abdullah Chaghatai⁷ with certain additions which he was able to make up with the help of Prof. Vazir u'l-Hasan Abedi.⁸ The following is the transcription of Dr. Chaghatai's reading:

هو القادر

خان قوی پنجہ مہابت شکوہ شیر ز سر پنجہ او ناتوان
 در کتل مار گلہ آن کہ بود باکلہ چرخ برین تو امان
 ساخت چنان شاہری (.) شرف بوسہ زند چرخ برد صد زمان
 گفت مغل از پی تاریخ سال ناصیہ مہوش ہندوستان
 باہتمام مرزا محمد... داروغہ... احمد معمار و جوگیداس مشرف و دیال داس
 تحویلدار سنہ ۱۰۸۳ھ مرمت شد

6. The following is the reading of the text made out by the present writer:

هو القادر

- ۱- خان قوی پنجہ مہابت شکوہ
- ۲- شیر ز سر پنجہ او ناتوان
- ۳- در کتل مار گلہ آنکہ بود
- ۴- باکرہ چرخ برین تو امان
- ۵- ساخت چنان راہروی (با) شرف
- ۶- بوسہ دہد چرخ برو ہر زمان
- ۷- گفت مغل در پی تاریخ سال
- ۸- ناصیہ مہوش ہندوستان

(one line is effaced here)

- ۱- باہتمام میرزا محمد مومن داروغہ و استاد
 ۲- احمد معمار و جوکیداس میر مشرف
 ۳- و دیال داس تھویدار در سنہ (۳) ۱۰۸
 ۴- مرمت شد

Translation

He is the Almighty

1. The august Khan with powerful grip in whose claws (even) the tiger (feels himself) feeble and weak.
2. In the high hills of Margala which (on account of their height) are close to the celestial globe.
3. (The Khan) built (here) such a lofty highway the heaven kisses it continuously.
4. The (poet) Moghul composed the (following line to find out the date of the construction (of the highway): the forehead of the moon-faced (sweet heart) of Hindustan.

Under the superintendence of Mirza Muhammad Munan darogha, Ustad Ahmad Me'mar, Mir Mushrif and Diyal Das Tehvildar (this passage) was repaired in 108 (3).

The *abjad* calculation of the hemistich comes to 1083/1672, though the last line of the inscription gives only 108 [3] the first digit mutilated.¹⁰

Comments on the Readings of the Text

A critical analysis of these reveals that apart from the incomplete reading of the text by these scholars, there are a number of textual inaccuracies and assumptions with respect to the historical events mentioned in or related to the inscription. These assumptions, it may be added, have no basis either from contemporary or later sources. The first reading recorded by Delmerick and edited by Blochmann, besides being incomplete, has the following inaccuracies:

The title of the inscription as recorded by all the later scholars bears one of the ninety-nine attributes of Allah. القادر (al-Qadir) but, Delmerick, reads it مارگلہ (Margala). There is no date such as سنہ ۱۰۸۳ (year 1083 A.H.) below the last line, as read by him. In the endorsement, too, he omits and reads استاد after احمد معمار, while it has been mentioned before the name of architect. He also omits altogether میر مشرف and reads دیبی داس in place of دیال داس (Diyal Das). Similarly, he was unable to read the last words of the third line مرمت شد and in the fourth line, مرمت شد. Likewise, the reading of Mr. Rehatsek has several inaccuracies. Although he has tried to record all the lines of the text and something more of the endorsement, nevertheless commits mistakes and therefore, translates the text wrongly. For instance, he reads in the fifth line راہروی (با) شرف (a lofty highway) for راہروی شرف (like, similar), چنان (paradise) in place of جنان (lofty highway). The sixth line he decipheres یومیہ دید چرخ زور زمان (and daily beheld the rotation of the time!). Similarly, he reads مثل in place of مغل the *nom de plum* of the

poet who composed the lines and chronogram. The most fantastic reading, however, is that of the chronogram which has been translated thus: *ناصیه موش شده داستان* 'The moonlike forehead became the general talk!' When he worked out the date from the line according to the *abjad system*, he found himself unable to get the correct figure equal to the date. to give the date, the whole of it will be found to be the number 1331, which is of course too much; the two first words together give 507; the three first words together give 815; and the fourth i.e. the last word above 515; and the fourth, i.e., the last word above gives 515!11

The reading of Dr. Yazdani though much improved, is incomplete at places. As he himself admits, he could not see the original inscription and his text was based on the stampages provided to him by the then Archaeological Survey of India.¹²

The reading of Col. Rashid is also incomplete as well as inaccurate at several places. He inserts many new words and phrases in the endorsement to prove certain hypothesis for which no proper justification is available. He records the first four lines (two couplets) correctly, but the fifth line is incorrect as it reads *راه بروی شرف* in place of *راه روی [با] شرف*. Moreover, for the very clearly carved, but slightly mutilated line *بوسه دهد چرخ برو هر زمان* he reads *که بز دستر صد زمان*. For very legible *ماه و ش* he reads *موش* so as to add one numeral to prove his hypothesis that the road was repaired in 1084. (1674) and not in 1083 because Aurangzeb passed from here in 1084. In the endorsement, the following variations are noteworthy:

میرزا for مولانا

موسن for

دداروغه for داروغه

شیخ عبدالعزیز و پور

Superfluous

Also he omits the words *میر شرف*. Similarly, in the original no blank space is left after *دیال سنگھ* while Col. Rashid leaves an unnecessary blank.

Comments on the Historical Events

This is a brief account of the inaccuracies which have been noticed in the previous readings, but before we pass on to the other problems of the inscription, it is worthwhile commenting briefly on some of the hypotheses made out by these scholars while dealing with the text of the inscriptions and solving the related problems.

Mr. Delmerick says: 'the Margala Pass was constructed about the time when Aurangzeb marched to Hasan Abdal and sent on his son to chastise the Trans-Indus tribes'¹³ He does not quote any contemporary or later authority to substantiate his statement. However, the fact is that the Margala Pass did exist long before the expedition of Aurangzeb. In addition to the archaeological evidence, which proves that the area witnessed social and political activities since the very beginning of history, there are references in the written records to its existence as an important place. Alberuni, for

instance, gives a description of Margala and its inhabitants, while dealing with the traditions and traits of the ancient peoples living in the various parts of Hindustan.¹⁴ During the later period, we find it mentioned by a number of other historians.¹⁵ except that Dr. Yazdani records: 'Ustad Ahmad was an architect at Shah Jahan's court, and his name, alongwith that of his son Lutfullah, who was an engineer, is carved on Hoshang's tomb at Mandu.¹⁶ However, this celebrated architect had already died in 1059/1649.¹⁷ This Ustad Ahmad who has been mentioned in the inscription, therefore, seems to be some other person.

The article of Col. Rashid, besides summing up the efforts of the previous scholars and giving the transcript of the text, contains several hypothesis which are according to him, mainly based on Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri. He stated that according to the Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, 'Aurangzeb reached Hassan Abdal on the 2nd of Rabi ul-Awwal in the year 1084'. It is not known from where he has obtained this information, because the same source clearly records that the Emperor started his journey for Hasan Abdal on the 11th Muharram 1085/21 April, 1674 and reached there on the 2nd Rabi` u'l-Akhir 1085/8th July, 1674.¹⁸ Thus the theory is based on this supposition that as the year of the Emperor's arrival was 1084/1673, therefore the date given in the inscription should be 1084 and not 1083 which he tried to arrive at by reading for very clearly carved in the chronogram.¹⁹ He also reads several words in the endorsement on his own and tries to prove that it was Lutfullah, son of the celebrated Ustad Ahmad who carried out the repairs.²⁰ This fact is not discernible from the text of inscription.

Further, he states on the authority of Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri: 'We also find Mahabat Khan joining the Emperor on the 27 Rajab of the same year.²¹ The actual date recorded by Musta'id Khan, for the arrival of Mahabat Khan in the royal camp is the 27th Rajab 1084. Col. Rashid's contention that Mahabat Khan joined the Emperor also needs verification as it implies that Mahabat Khan participated in the expedition, while the fact is that he presented himself to the Emperor and was then ordered to leave to suppress the revolt of Bir Singh, grandson of Tihaldas. The text reads²²;

بیست و ہفتم شعبان مہابت خان باستان بوس علی شرف اندوخته بہ تہنیہ بیر سنگھ نیرہ تملداس
کور دیال داس مہوش ماہوش رخصت شد

The next statement of Col. Rashid, again based on the same authority, is: 'In the Emperor's camp also appear, in the same year and almost simultaneously, Tehl Das, Darogha Shaikh Abdul Aziz and Lutfullah'²³. Here two points need consideration. Musta'id Khan records the details of an event connected with the services of Shaikh 'Abd u'l Aziz, darogha of 'Arz-i-Mukarrar in the Royal Court who has been allowed to leave for Lahore.²⁴ Obviously, he has nothing to do with the inscription under discussion, nor does his name appear on it. As regards the other name, Lutfullah Khan, Musta'id Khan writes:

عکم شد لطف اللہ خان بہ نیابت او مردم را از نظر بگزارند

Sarkar translates it thus: 'It was ordered that Lutfullah Khan as his deputy should present the officers to the Emperor'²⁵. Here, 'his' () has been used for Shaikh Abd u'l Aziz. This Lutfullah Khan, however, is not Lutfullah Muhandis²⁶, second son of Ustad Ahmad, but the son of Sa'dullah Khan, Wazir of Emperor Shah Jahan, who was a courtier of higher rank during the reign of Aurangzeb.²⁷

The most debated name in the endorsement of the inscription, however, is that of Ustad Ahmad. Col. Rashid very rightly realized that Ustad Ahmad Lahouri, the famous architect of Shahjahan's period, was not alive at the time when the renovation to the highway was carried out. He has, therefore, tried to insert the word (Pur: son) before Ustad Ahmad in the endorsement to prove that it was his son Lutfullah who executed the work. He asserts that this Lutfullah was present in the royal court at Hasan Abdal.²⁸ But, two points are to be considered here before we accept or reject his thesis. First, the renovation was carried out at least two years before the arrival of the Emperor at Hasan Abdal. The question of the Emperor's order to Lutfullah to undertake the job does not therefore arise. Secondly, the inscription is too clear at this particular point to allow insertion of any word such as 'pur'.

Under these circumstances, it is more probable that this Ustad Ahmad is some other architect who participated in the renovation of this important highway, of which a portion is left now to remind us its bygone glory.

Another baffling problem about the text of this inscription is the effaced line below the chronogram. The chiselling of the carved words is so wholesome and complete that except the traces of a few unintelligible letters, nothing is left. These letters are

ب.....ا.....د.....ع.....ن

It is interesting to note that the carving of the letters of the endorsement is not finished and elegant as that of the verses. The lines of endorsement, it appears, have been added hastily later after effacing the line above it. It appears that originally it was not planned to have the endorsement at all. Later on, however, the people responsible for the execution of the work, wished to perpetuate their names by carving them at the end of the main text and the scribe complied with their wishes but for some reasons unknown to us, did not try to be as precise and perfect as he had been while carving the letter, of the main text above. It is probable that the scribe started carving the endorsement just below the chronogram, but realizing that it would have no visual discrimination from the main text, he chiselled off the already carved line and left that space blank as it was not possible to carve the letters in relief there. Then he executed the endorsement after leaving sufficient margin on both sides. The other explanation may be that there was carved the date thus:

۱۰۸۳ ھجری

The line and the date has been effaced. but this possibility seems to be rather remote.²⁹

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2. The endorsement seems to be a later addition. See discussion infra.
3. Blochmann. H. (editor), 'Notes on Several Arabic and Persian Inscriptions in Jour. of A.S.B., Part I, No. II, 1871, pp. 259-60.
4. Rehatsek, E., 'Rock Inscription below Nicholson's Monuments in Margala Pass, Rawalpindi Zilla, Punjab, in The Indian Antiquary VI. III, July, 1874, p. 205.
5. Yazdani, G., Persian Inscription at Margala in Rawalpindi district, in E.I.M 1934, pp. 21-22, plate X (a).
6. Rashid, Lieut. Col. K.A., 'The Margala Inscription' (Urdu) in the Burhan Dehli, April 1956, pp. 209-218. The English rendering of this article has been included in his Historical Dissertations, Karachi, 1962, pp. 46-53.
7. Chaghata'i, M., 'Abdullah, Ahmad Me'mar Lahori, (Urdu) Lahore, 1957, pp. 22-23.
8. *Ibid.*, p.2 fn.
9. Cf. Jame'ul - Funin , fol. Also see Appendix.
10. I am grateful to my teacher Professor Vazir ul-Hasan 'Abedi of the Persian Department in the Punjab University, who helped me in solving a few points in the text of the inscription.
11. Indian Antiquary, op.cit., p. 205 fn.
12. E.I.M. op. cit., p.22.
13. Delmerick, op. cit., p.259.
14. Sachau, Dr. Edward G., Alberuni's India, London 1910, Vol.I, p.302, where he reads it Marikala; and Vol.II, p.8, where he reads it Marigala. The semi-polygonal type of masnory and the typical stone flooring of the Pass indicate its origin to the period of the Greco-Romans whose influence was predominant in this part of the Subcontinent during that period. The point, however, needs further study. The subject has also been dealt with by Mr. Mohammad Wali Ullah Khan, in his report: Federal Capital, its Cultural Evaluation, Architectural and Historical aspects, (unpublished).
I am grateful to Mr. Wali Ullah Khan for drawing my attention towards this point.
15. Chaghatai, Dr. Abdullah, op. cit. p.18. sq.
16. Yazdani, Dr. G., op. cit. p.22 fn.
17. Nadvi, Sayid Suleman, 'Lahore ka Ek Muhandis Khandan jis ne Taj aur Lal Qila banaya' (Urdu) in the Proceedings of the Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia, First Session, Lahore, 1935, pp.9-10
18. Musta'id Khan, Muhammad Saqi, Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, Calcutta, 1871 A.D. pp. 132-33. My calculations of dates are based on the method evolved by Dr. Grenville, See Grenville. G.S.P. Freeman. The Muslim and Christian Calendars, London, 1963. The dates given by other writers need verification. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar gives the date 26th June 1674 A.D. See his History of Aurangzeb, Vol.III, Calcutta, 1921, p. 237. Similarly, the conversion of Mr. William Irvine is incorrect who gives the dates as April 16, 1674 A.D for the 11th Muharram 1674 A.H. and 6th June, 1674 A.D. for 2nd Rabi' ul-Akhir 1085 A.H. See Manucci, Niccolao, Storia do Mongor, London, 1907, Vol.II p.205 fn.
19. See p. 9 supra.
20. Rashid, Lieut. Col. K.A. op. cit., p.49.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Musta'id Khan, Muhmmad Saqi, op. cit., p. 137.
23. Rashid, Lieu. Col. K.A., op cit. p 49.
24. Musta'id Khan, Muhammad Saqi, op. cit., p. 137.
25. Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, English translation by Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Calcutt, 1947, p. 85.
26. For a detailed account of Lutfullah Muhandis, See Syiid Suleman Nadvi's article referred to above. A



further reference is available in an inscription at the tomb of Hoshang Shah at Mandu. See Zafar Hasan. The Inscriptions of Dahr and Mandu in the E.I.M. 1909-10 p.23.

27. Beale, Thomas William, An Oriental Biographical Dictionary, London, 1894, p. 227.
28. Rashid, Lieut. Col. K.A. op. cit., p. 49.
29. This has been read by Mr. Delmerick and Dr. Yazdani, though without any evidence, as no traces of it exist in the inscription.

ROHTAS

Human Remains

LAHORE

A Glorious Heritage

ROHTAS

Formidable Fort

MOENJODARO

Heritage Of Mankind

K-2, Challenging

GUJRANWALA

The Glory That Remains

Studies in Folklore

Notes on Punjab

History of Punjab

LAHORE

Heritage of Punjab

LAHORE

Heritage of Punjab