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Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707

Shaukat Mahmood

Thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy 1981
Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707

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Thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Ph.D.

1981
Bismillah. Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore.
It has become almost customary these days to express gratitude to the supervisor. Admittedly my indebtedness to my supervisor is not a part of this traditional routine. Not only in the academic field but also in other allied matters my supervisor Dr. Robert Hillenbrand has helped me to such an extent that my gratitude can not be adequately and convincingly expressed in words. I honestly feel his interest in my subject was tremendous and I conscientiously believe that without his unstinting succour my endless difficulties and this project would never have come to an end. I shall always admire his scholarship which was an unswerving source of stimulation for this study.

When I began to work on this project my foremost assignment was to visit Pakistan for indispensable field work. My work
was not going to proceed at all without this trip. My Government, on whose grant I have been studying here, first refused to finance this trip. After protracted negotiations I was asked to submit the details of expenditure after the visit. This obviously implied that I was to be paid after the trip. Dr. Robert Hillenbrand helped me to raise the money to go ahead with the planned study tour to Pakistan. It was sincerely hoped and anticipated that, as promised, the expenditure would be reimbursed by my Government. Unfortunately when I finished my work and had returned to Edinburgh after a war of letters which lasted a full year, it was adjudicated that nothing was going to be paid to me. I was told to understand the "technicalities". The worst result of all this niggardliness was that my family was made to live without even my usual subsistence allowance, which was discontinued in my absence. It was thus subjected to double deprivation.

Dr. Hillenbrand put up a long fight with the Education Attaché, the Pakistani Ambassador, the Education Minister and the Secretary of Education, Government of Pakistan, in order to get these grievances redressed. Unfortunately no-one budged. Most of them never even acknowledged the letters from my supervisor, let alone replied. This letter writing for my sake was not one of the duties of my teacher. But the way he felt for my difficulties, throughout my course of studies, has made him an ideal for whom I shall ever cherish sublime respect and regard. My difficulties both financial and otherwise were always seen by him and by his wife Dr. C. Hillenbrand from a very compassionate angle. My thanks are sincerely due to her as one who so enthusiastically looked after me and helped to solve all my problems
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I would also like to express my indebtedness to my father who in spite of his old age and failing eyesight translated the Sukkur
inscriptions for me. Dr. Khālid ʻAlavī and Akhtar Saʻīd Siddīqī helped me in identifying Qur'ānic texts and also assisted me in translating the non-Qur'ānic Arabic texts and Persian inscriptions. I am grateful for their help in this regard.

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Many thanks go also to the staff of the Edinburgh University Main Library, to the Inter library loan department there; and to the staff of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the India Office Library; the British Library; the School of African and Oriental Studies library; and the Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

I must not fail to extend my thanks and express my genuine gratitude to the British Home Office, Croydon. It was in no way possible for me to carry out this research within the funds which I was getting from my Government. I am therefore obliged to the Home Office for permitting me to take up a part-time (weekend) job. This help came on the recommendation of my supervisor and teacher Dr. Robert Hillenbrand who wrote to the relevant officer expressing my difficulties and strongly recommended that such permission for a weekend job would not prejudice my studies.

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Finally, many thanks go to all those friends, relatives, correspondents, publishers and imāms of mosques, mujāwars of tombs and chaukidārs of historical monuments in Pakistan whom I cannot thank individually but whose contribution I shall undoubtedly cherish always.

God bless us all.
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Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707

ABSTRACT

to date no systematic record of the inscriptions found on Pakistani monuments has been published. Many inscriptions are known to the scholarly world only through photographs and no transcription or translation has been published. This is specially true of Qur'ānic inscriptions. In other cases the inscription is published but no information about the building which adorns it is available.

This thesis sets out to remedy these lacunae. It has two major aims, neither of which has been attempted in previous publications. One aim is to provide an architectural record of those existing Pakistani monuments dated before 1707 (the end of Aurangzib's reign) which bear inscriptions.

It is in the presentation of this new architectural and epigraphic material that the principal value of this thesis lies. For most of these monuments no published architectural drawings are available. Some are not even known by published photographs. Thus this thesis presents a substantial body of monuments hitherto unpublished. The other aim of the thesis is to register the surviving monumental inscriptions in Pakistan. While some of these have been published previously, the majority constitute new material for scholarship. In the field of Qur'ānic inscriptions, this thesis offers the first systematic record and identification of existing monumental
inscriptions. The need for such a work is pressing, as the architectural and epigraphic heritage of Pakistan is falling into oblivion very rapidly. The paucity of funds and the lack of expertise in the field of conservation can only accelerate this trend. Thus even if buildings survive, they and their inscriptions are likely to be altered beyond recognition. Examples of such grotesquely renovated monuments can be multiplied; they include the tomb of Baha' al-Haq at Multan, the complex of Baba Farid Shakar Ganj at Pakpattan, and even to a lesser extent - the great tomb of Rukn-i Alam at Multan. The necropolis at Makli is becoming rapidly denuded of its unparalleled collection of fine inscribed gravestones, and nothing is being done to save it.

In the first part of this thesis two chapters analyse the inscriptions used in mosques and tombs and a first attempt is made to assess as a whole the chronograms on Pakistani architecture. Limitations made it quite impossible to present an exhaustive analysis of two monuments unusually rich in epigraphy - the complex of Mur Ma'sum at Sukkur and the mosque of Muhammad Salih Kambuh in Lahore; but representative inscriptions from these monuments are included.

The second part of the thesis deals with the monuments individually. Wherever possible the history of each monuments and its patron is discussed and it is placed in its urban setting. Its plan, material of construction, and epigraphy are then discussed in turn. The discussion of inscriptions covers such factors as the size of epigraphic panel, material, colour, type of script and so on. Inscriptions and translations are given except in the case of Qur'anic
inscriptions, which are simply identified. Non Qur'ānic inscriptions are presented in two main categories. Inscriptions in kufic, thulth, naskhī and tughrā'i are all transcribed in naskhī while nastaʿlīq inscriptions appear (for the first time in a thesis) in nastaʿlīq.

All the calligraphy, drawings and photographs are the work of the author unless otherwise acknowledged.
Pakistan has been in existence for nearly thirty-five years but as R.E.M.Wheeler has written in his Five Thousand Years of Pakistan its roots lie deep in antiquity. The excavations of Mohenjodaro in Sind and Harappa in the Panjab are enough to show that a high level of civilization flourished in what is now Pakistan centuries before the Aryans came to the sub-continent. In time Taxila became a great centre of Buddhism and after that both Taxila and Peshawar flourished as centres of Indo-Greek culture.

In the early eighth century Islam came to the sub-continent and present-day Pakistan from Karachi to Multan was occupied by Muslim Arabs. Ever since that time the area has remained predominantly Muslim. Three centuries later Peshawar and Lahore were invaded from the north and Lahore became a Ghazni-i khurd ("small Ghazni"), a facsimile of the splendid dar al-saltanat of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Present-day Pakistan remained a pivot of Islamic culture till the end of the twelfth century.
when the interest of the Muslim rulers of the area shifted to the
city of Delhi. Even so, the three dynasties which ruled Delhi
before the Mughals, namely the Tughlaqs, the Sayyids and the Lodhis,
all came from present-day Pakistan, while Akbar was born at
Umarkot in Sind and Shahjahan at Lahore.

Even after the shifting of the capital to Delhi various towns of
modern Pakistan, such as Thatta, Sehwan, Sukkur and Bhakkar in Sind;
Lahore, Multan, Shakhupura and Pakpattan in the Panjab; and Peshawar
in the Sarhad continued to enjoy great cultural patronage from the
royal court, and this extended to architecture. As a result the
architectural glories of the area, and of Lahore in particular, have
been admired by travellers like Tavernier, Bernier, and Therenot who
visited this area in the middle of the 17th century. The accounts of
19th century visitors like Moorcroft (1820), Burnes (1831), Fane
(1837), Masson (1838) and Van Orlich (1842) also extol the splendour
and the antiquities of this city. Thus the medieval Muslims
bequeathed to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent a magnificent heritage
in the architectural, socio-cultural and religious spheres.

In Pakistan the common script is a strong link between the
various Muslim languages and dialects of the area. Urdu, Panjabi,
Sindhi, Pushtu and Baluchi all have virtually the same script, the
script of huruf al-Qur’an. It is in fact this common linguistic
heritage which has provided a continuity in literature and epigraphy
alike.

Pakistan has, as noted above, a very rich architectural heritage.
Unfortunately not much interest has been shown in preserving it. A number of monuments which were in good shape at the time of Partition have now disappeared. Ever-expanding urban growth is largely responsible. Not very long ago the Shalimar Garden in Lahore used to have a number of other gardens surrounding it, like the Angūrī Bāgh, the Mahtābī Bāgh and the Chandini (Chandī?) Bāgh. None of these remains today. The eastern flank of the Dilkūshā garden, in the middle of which the tomb of Jahāngīr stands, has similarly been swept away and nothing has been done to protect it. This splendid monument is subjected to annual inundation by the River Rāvī. Likewise the famous bārādārī of Mīrzā Kāmrān which stood on the bank of the Rāvī survives only as a ruined memento of the past.

At Maklī Hill vandalism is at its worst. Here anyone can take away a piece of delicately carved stone as a souvenir. The carved stone-work of the site is thus rapidly falling into oblivion. With the vanishing of monuments and tombs in various places throughout Pakistan the field of study of epigraphy is also being constricted. At a recent symposium held at Peshāwar (March 1-5, 1981) Dr. Z.A. Desai of India, who had worked on the Maklī inscriptions before Partition, confirmed that most of the inscriptions which he had seen and surveyed before 1947 were no longer in existence at the site.

The plight of both existing and "protected" monuments requires the express and individual attention of the government. At present conservation or restoration work is usually assigned to self-styled conservationists. These people are nothing more than ordinary but influential building contractors, who plunder ancient monuments under
the guise of restoration and conservation.

These difficulties are complicated by the fact that little has been published about Pakistani architecture and epigraphy. No journal deals exclusively with this field. No systematic survey of surviving inscriptions has been undertaken. Very few scholars write about Pakistani architecture and epigraphy. Access to the inscriptions themselves is often at the whim of their custodians. Indeed, the only institution which gave me information to my fullest satisfaction was Lahore Museum.

Plans, elevations, sections and other drawings of many important monuments either do not exist, or if they do they are treated as 'secret' documents. The researcher is not given access to see them. The present work was begun with the intention to write mainly about architectural inscriptions, but it soon became clear that some historical and structural information about the monument was also required. This naturally added substantially to my work and greatly increased its scope. Great difficulties arose from the fact that much of the work was done away from Pakistan even though library resources were of limited value for purely architectural studies. During the course of my study, however, I made three busy field trips to Pakistan. As a result this thesis contains many hitherto unpublished drawings and inscriptions. The measuring of so many monuments in scorching heat and the preparation of so many drawings was a job which can be comprehended only by those who do similar work.

Unfortunately such inherent difficulties of the work were
compounded by other obstacles. In some places it was forbidden to take pictures. Sometimes I travelled hundreds of kilometres only to learn that the monument did not exist any more or, if it did, that the inscription was now missing. Many important monuments were left out as they no longer possessed inscriptions. The Bārādārī of Hadūrī Bagh and the Shalimar Garden at Lahore and the Mosque of Mahābat Khān at Peshāwar are three of many such examples.

Some monuments which I visited were huge in size but not very rich in epigraphy. Lahore Fort was one such monument. This is a monument of such importance that almost every medieval and modern writer has written about it. J. Vogel devoted a whole book to its tile mosaics alone. In such cases I have deliberately tried to cut my account short and to restrict myself mainly to the inscriptions. Moreover the sheer size of this monument is such that it requires a separate study, and the same is true about the Mosque of Wazīr Khān. However, since this mosque is very rich in epigraphical material I have given it considerable emphasis. It has, however, not been possible to deal in this thesis with all the Pakistani monuments which bear inscriptions. At Sukkur, for example, the complex of Mīr Maʿsūm has so much epigraphy that an entire monograph could be devoted to it. In such cases vigorous selection was imperative. The same is true about the almost countless inscribed tombs in the graveyard of Makli Hill. It was quite impracticable to tabulate each grave and its inscription. A select inventory of inscriptions on such graves was however prepared which has been included at the end of the chapter on Makli Hill. It will be seen that many of the inscriptions which I have recorded there are deficient in some way.
This is because these graves have been so neglected that most of them have lost their inscriptions altogether and others have preserved them only partially. The *katibahs* which bore only Qur'ānic texts, *kalimas* and *ṣifāt* have disappeared to decorate recent burial places in nearby towns.

It was not possible for me to deal with the monuments in chronological order. That would have necessitated constant changes from one place to another and back again. My approach has therefore been dictated more by the geographical position of the various towns. For example, in Chapter 3 I have grouped Banbhore, Chaukhandī and *Ṭurkī* together while in Chapter 8 Attock, Peshāwar, Ṭoṭī and Mārgalla are grouped together. Both these groups of monuments represent significantly different geographical regions. Since Lahore is a very large city and since it has the largest number of ancient monuments in Pakistan I devoted two chapters to it. One of these deals with tombs and the other with mosques and sundry other monuments. The first chapter on Lahore also includes a brief historical survey. I have tried to give this type of survey before considering the monuments of a town. The length and depth of such historical introductions was of course always dependant on the importance of the town.

Though my area of study stretches only up to 1707, in some cases a brief reference to monuments built after 1707 was inevitable. This happens particularly in the second and third chapters where I deal with epigraphy in tombs and mosques. Sometimes such references were unavoidable because relevant parallels had to be cited.
Wherever Qur'anic texts have been quoted their sūra and ʾayat numbers have been given. Though the sequence and number of sūras remains consistent in all printed editions of the Qur'ān, the numbering of ʾayats changes in various editions. I have used the translations of the Qur'ān made by ʿAbd Allāh Yūsuf ʿAlī and Maulāna Muhammad ʿAlī. I have written the non-Qur'ānic texts in two hands: naskhī and nastaʿlīq. All inscriptions which in the original are in kufic, thulth, naskhī and tughrāʾī are transcribed by me in naskhī while I have rendered nastaʿlīq inscriptions in nastaʿlīq. Wherever the texts were brief they are given in full followed by their translation. Wherever the texts were found to be very lengthy, however, they have been given piece by piece followed immediately by their translation. This has been done for convenience of reading and to facilitate understanding of the translation. Such lengthy passages are particularly found in the cases of Sehwān and Sukkur.

I have tried throughout to give the location, size, material, colour, style of lettering, text and translation of the various inscriptions. Unfortunately in some cases I must frankly admit that it has not been possible for me to give the size of the format or of the component tiles. This has been so particularly in the case of such inscriptions as were not accessible because of their inconvenient location or owing to their poor state of conservation. I may also add that the sizes of letters in Arabic and Persian inscriptions frequently differ from one to another. The uniform spacing and height of Roman capital letters is not observed. Even the heights change. Thus the size of letters or of script is never given.
Transliteration has posed certain problems because of the introduction of Urdu as well as Arabic and Persian words and names. Barring the names of writers, I have in general used the Arabic system of transcribing words. The transliteration system used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam has been followed closely with the exception of some minor changes. Unlike the Encyclopaedia, I have used "q" for ʃ and not "k", and "j" for "дж" (дж). Wherever two English consonants make one Arabic letter they have been joined by a line underneath. In the case of Persian and Urdu, for چ ch has been used and not چ as in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

The system used in this thesis to accommodate Persian and Urdu words is as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{p} & \text{t} & \text{d} & \text{r} \\
\text{چ} & \text{چ} & \text{چ} & \text{چ} \\
\text{zh} & \text{zh} & \text{zh} & \text{zh} \\
\text{g} & \text{g} & \text{g} & \text{g} \\
\end{array}
\]

Composite Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{bh} & \text{bh} & \text{bh} & \text{bh} \\
\text{phh} & \text{phh} & \text{phh} & \text{phh} \\
\text{thh} & \text{thh} & \text{thh} & \text{thh} \\
\text{dh} & \text{dh} & \text{dh} & \text{dh} \\
\end{array}
\]
Most of the drawings have been prepared from my own field notes. Wherever they have been taken from other sources this has been acknowledged in the lower left corner. Since I have prepared all the drawings myself, they should not be considered as the work of an architect or a professional draughtsman. Where it was not possible to take measurements the drawing is identified as an unmeasured sketch plan. Some of the drawings have been prepared with the help of my own photographs. The photographs which illustrate the thesis are all my own.

Islamic dates are normally followed immediately by Christian ones. Wherever only Islamic dates are given they are followed by the letters A.H. Christian dates when given alone have not, however been followed by A.D. or A.C.

This thesis is the result of my lifelong enthusiasm for lettering and calligraphy. Naturally this effort is not the last word, for there are still quite a few monuments which have not been dealt with here. There are still inscriptions which have not been taken into account for want of time and other difficulties though the monuments bearing them have been dealt with. During the work I have undertaken for this thesis I have repeatedly realized that places like Lahore, Makli Hill and Sukkur each require separate theses. I look forward to an occasion when I shall be able to venture upon such projects myself, Insha Allah.
Historical Background

Saffron is the perfume of maidens
And ink is the perfume of men.

Al-Mawardi (d. 1058)

The starting point of Muslim calligraphy must have been twofold; an angular script (Kufic) used for transcribing the Qur'an and certain other documents and a rounded script (naskhi) meant for public and more frequent use. The angular script was imposing, stately, and monumental and had a hieratic flavour, whereas the other was unpretentious but fluent. In the 7th century "Kufic" existed only in an immature form, so it would be relevant here to go further back and trace its beginnings, as well as those of naskhi.

Communication through a visible symbol, in one form of another, has been known almost from the beginning of human society and certainly before organized language and alphabets developed. The dual role of such symbols as an art form and as a system of communication has always been accepted. These symbols have changed remarkably over the millennia, from hieroglyphics to cuneiform, pictographs, ideographs, and finally to syllabic and alphabetic systems.

The concept of the divine origin of writing is found in almost all the major religions. Among the Babylonians it was the god Nabu; the Egyptians believed that the god Thoth was the inventor of writing. In Chinese legend the inventor of writing was either Fohi or Tsiang Chien. The Hebrews had their old 'divine' writing (Ex.xxxi, 18) beside the later 'human' writing (Isa.viii, 1). In Islamic tradition God

himself created the alphabet\textsuperscript{1}[sic]. According to the Hindus it was Brahma who was supposed to have given the knowledge of letters to men.\textsuperscript{2} According to a Jewish tradition Moses was considered the inventor of script, and Greeks attributed writing to Hermes.\textsuperscript{3} What appears to be certain is that a considerable number of present-day scripts were derived from a single origin. For example Diringer has published a family tree of almost all the alphabets of the present day; these have all been shown to originate from a proto-Semitic alphabet.\textsuperscript{4} The Handbook of Asian Scripts testifies to the same point of view.\textsuperscript{5}

The Arabic script shares these origins but originated long after the development of the Arabic language itself. When this language had fully matured the script was still passing through a period of infancy and early development. The early form of Arabic writing has a close affinity with the Nabataean script and was indeed derived from Nabataean in the fourth or fifth centuries A.D.,\textsuperscript{6} presumably at the cities of Petra and Hijr.\textsuperscript{7} But an earlier Arabic tradition attributes

1. I have not come across any such tradition throughout my study.
2. Gelb, \textit{op.cit.}, 231.
3. Diringer, \textit{op.cit.}, 17.
7. The American scholar A. Jaffery even points out that "if the dating of the Arabic graffiti on the Temple of Ramm (Izam, in the vicinity of Aqabah, to the east of the Red Sea) could be assured, we should have evidence of the use of the Arabic alphabet in North Arabia as early as A.D. 300" (Diringer, \textit{op.cit.}, 271).
the invention of the Arabic script to al-Hīra, in Mesopotamia; some modern Arab scholars believe it originated in the Hijāz; and according to others, "the two main branches of the Arabic script, naskhī and kūfī, developed simultaneously from the Nabataean alphabet, the former in the northern Hijāz, whence it passed to Mecca and Medina and the latter in Mesopotamia, at Kūfa and Basra."\(^1\) The earliest Arabic inscription that we have in Nabataean characters is dated A.D. 267.\(^2\)

The Nabataeans were an Arab people who lived in Arabia Petraea as early as the seventh century B.C. They were never completely subjected by any outsiders such as the Assyrians, Persians or Macedonians. They were simple in their customs, and as a trading people they had great respect for wealth. Their inscriptions mention physicians, wise men and poets.\(^3\) The Nabataean script is supposed to have been derived from the Aramaic during the last two centuries before the Christian era. The Nabataeans used Aramaic as their written language, although Arabic was their daily speech.\(^4\) It was from their script again that a new style of writing called Sinaitic developed in the second century A.D. This new script is regarded as the connecting link between the Nabataean and Arabic scripts. The period from the second to the fifth centuries A.D. was thus a period of transition when the Nabataean script was transformed into the Arabic.

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The two earliest known inscriptions in Arabic, one trilingual with Greek and Syriac, and the other bilingual (with Greek only), are dated 512 A.D. and 568 A.D. respectively. They bear a close resemblance to the inscriptions found in the Sinai desert, particularly in their tendency to cursiveness, but these latter inscriptions are in pure Nabataean characters. The last known Sinaitic inscription of this type is dated 475 A.D. while the earliest known Arabic writing is datable to 328 A.D. Both these types are almost the same in character and style. This emphatically suggests that the character of the Sinaitic inscription of 250 A.D. remained current in the area till 457 A.D. during which time its derivative, the Arabic script, began to take shape and developed ultimately as a separate branch of writing to serve the language which had already existed for centuries without a script of its own. Yet the Arabs were highly language-conscious and poetically gifted, even though they were mostly illiterate. No doubt before the coming of Islam communication in Arabia was mainly verbal. Yet the seven poems known as mu'allaqat were inscribed in golden letters and were hung on the walls of the Ka'bah. Imr al-Qays, the most ancient of the seven poets of the mu'allaqat, was born about 500 A.D. and all the other pre-Islamic bards - the most celebrated of whom were Shafārā, Thabbat Sharran, Tarafah, Harith and Labīd - must

2. M.P.Chand, "Arabī rasm al-Khatt kā irtaqā" (Delhi, 1936), 33 (in Urdu)

be ranged between that period (500 A.D.) and the promulgation of Islam.¹

Arabic script, once born, shows a continuous process of development and there is a clear difference between the scripts of the first and the fifth centuries A.D. Indeed, the fifth century Arabic script is so much Arabicised that the conclusion is inescapable that Arabic writing was derived from the Nabataean script. This idea is further strengthened when we look at the various Nabataean inscriptions found in the lands the Nabataeans once inhabited. Of particular interest are the inscriptions of

i. Umm al-Jimāl (about 250 A.D.)

ii. Namrah (inscription of the pre-Islamic poet Imr al-Qays of 328 A.D.)

iii. Zabd (512 A.D.)

iv. Harrān (568 A.D.)

These show the gradual Arabicisation of the Nabataean script.² Any person who is slightly familiar with present-day Arabic can read these Nabataean inscriptions without serious difficulties. These Nabataean scripts were particularly favoured by the people of Hīrā and ʿAnbār in the east of Arabia in the late fifth century. In the early sixth century these Nabataean scripts spread to the Hījāz and the towns of Mecca and Medina. A further development of Nabataean script was jāzm. The The earliest reference to Arabic script proper uses the same name. A number of variations were introduced into jāzm in various towns. These variants of jāzm, i.e.


i. al-Ḥirī from the town of Ḥirah

ii. al-Anbārī from the town of Anbār

iii. al-Makkī from the town of Mecca

iv. al-Madinī from the town of Medina, and

v. al-Ḥijāzī from the Hijāz.

were apparently the ancestors of Kūfic and naskhī. It should be noted that although no specimens of these early scripts are available there seems to have been little difference between them. Three types of scripts known as mudawwar ("rounded"), muthallath ("triangular"), and tīmī ("twin", i.e. composed of both mudawwar and muthallath) were being used at Medina, possibly the Hijāz, and in the towns of Ḥirah, Anbār, and Mecca with slight modifications giving the scripts a little indigenous flavour. Gradually only two types of scripts predominated; one called magawwar ("rounded") and the other mabsūt ("angular"). These were most probably the prototypes of naskhī and Kūfic respectively. But the earliest developments from mabsūt were mā'il ("slanting") and mashq ("extended"). Mā'il was more rigid, angular and compact as compared to mashq which was vertical and expanded and had shorter characters.¹

According to the Arab bibliophile al-Nadîm, besides the three varieties of scripts prevailing at Mecca and Medina there were another six varieties prevailing at Mīfa and Basra. He also tells us of an


². For the list of other early scripts see al-Nadîm, op.cit., 13.
Isfahānī branch known as qairūmuz. It thus appears that the art of Arabic writing had come into existence at only a very short time before the birth of Islam.

The tribe of Himyar in the middle of the fifth century had a sort of writing which they called al-masnād. In this script the letters of each word were written separately and not joined together. Some authors have asserted that the characters first used in Mecca were called jazm ("amputation", "disjunction") because they had been derived from al-masnād. Unfortunately no specimens are extant of these scripts to give us an idea of the composition of the words.

The coming of Islam affected the growth of the Arabic language and script tremendously. It necessitated serious attention to the art of writing. The Qurān itself points out the importance of writing:

(Tr: ) 1. Proclaim! (or read!)
in the name
of thy Lord and Cherisher,
who created -

2. Created man, out of
A (mere) clot
of congealed blood;

3. Proclaim! And thy Lord
is most Bountiful,

4. He who taught
(The use of) the Pen,

2. Rehatsek, op.cit., 177.
3. Ibid.
5. Taught man that
    Which he knew not.

Besides sura xcvi (al-İqra'') which also marks the first divine
revelation to the Prophet Muhammad, sura lxviii (al-Qalam), 1 also
shows the significance of the pen or qalam, thus:

(Tr:) Nūn. By the Pen
      And by the (Record)
      Which (men) write, -

Apart from the references given above, the idea of writing is
found at a number of other places in the holy Qur'ān, e.g. sura lxxxv
(al-Burūj), 21-2,

(Tr:) "Nay, this is a Glorious Qur'ān
      Inscribed in a tablet preserved"

and sura lxxxii (al-Infitār), 10-1,

(Tr:) "But verily over you
      Are appointed angels
      To protect you
      - Kind and honourable
      Writing down (your deeds):

and sura xvii (Banī Isrā'īl), 71,

(Tr:) One day we shall call together all human beings
with their respective imams. Those who are given
their record in their right hand will read it
(with pleasure) and they will not be dealt with
unjustly.
The art of writing, so essential for the propagation of religious beliefs and sentiments, had therefore the direct approval of the Qur'an itself. In the words of the Qur'an (tr: who taught by the pen), it was through the direct teaching of Allah to mankind that the latter learnt to use the pen. In the very first revelation Allah reminds the Prophet and his followers of the importance of this power to wield the pen.

In sura lxviii (al-Qalam) 1-2, the ink-stand ṡunūn (سُورَةُ الْقَالِم‎) and the pen (qalam تَلَم) are invoked as witnesses to bear out the fact that the Prophet is not a madman but rather that every revelation was put down in writing as soon as it was communicated to the Prophet. It is thus not possible to believe that the text of the Qur'an did not exist at all in writing during the life or at the time of the death of the Prophet Muhammad. It is however true that the holy texts existed in fragments in different places and that the whole of the text in a uniform manner existed only in the memory of huffaz. In the wake of the repeated emphasis laid on writing in the Qur'an it is hard to believe that the holy text was not committed to writing during the

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2. مجنون, majnūn = madman


4. J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Arabic Writing", E.l., (London, 1963), 1119. "What the Prophet preached was both memorized by his followers, and written down, scribbled on rags, bark, wood, shoulder blades, leather or whatever was available" (A. Schimmel, Islamic Calligraphy (Leiden, 1970), 3).
life of the Prophet. 1 Documents dating from the lifetime of Muhammad should also be taken into account at this stage. First of all, there is the anathema written by the Qurayshites against Muhammad. This treaty between the Prophet and the Qurayshites was committed to writing in the sixth year hijri by ʿAlī. 2

Muhammad b. Ishaq (died 151/768) was amongst the first historians who collected accounts about the Prophet, 3 and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām (died 213/828) produced from them the sīrah or biography of Muhammad, published by Wüstenfeld in 1860. The first-ever written Islamic document mentioned in this treatise is a cloth of brocade on which there was a written message brought by the angel Gabriel. In the words of the Prophet himself, the presentation of this divine writing is described thus:-

"He came whilst I was sleeping, [he came] with a cloth of brocade on which there was a writing, and said 'Read, in the name of thy Lord who created man from a clot of blood. - Read, thy Lord is most bountiful, who taught by means of the pen, taught man what he

1. The script prevalent at Anbar and commonly known as anbarī was in general use at various cultural centres in Arabia towards the end of the fifth century. There developed another script in the Hijāz called hijazi. Thus writing was introduced into the Hijāz amongst the pre-Muslim Arabs and the illustrious family of Quṭaibah. This was a few years before the birth of the Prophet. See article by E. Rehatsek, "On the Arabic Alphabet and Early Writings", Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, xiv (1879) 173-98.


3. Quoted by Rehatsek, op.cit., 190.
knew not. Accordingly I read these words. He had finished [his message] and departed from me."

But the most important of all the early written materials known are the letters of the Prophet himself. He addressed letters to several rulers within as well as beyond the frontiers of Arabia, inviting them to embrace Islam. One such letter was discovered by M. Barthelemy in a Coptic monastery. This letter is written on parchment and the characters in which this letter is composed are considered to be a hybrid between naskhī and kūfic.

Further evidence of written material produced during the life of the Prophet may be found in the statement of historians recounting the incident of the conversion of ʿUmar ibn al-Khattāb. He embraced Islam after reading a written chapter of the Qurʾān which his sister Fāṭima bint al-Khattāb possessed. She had embraced Islam much earlier. Rehatsek states that the chapter of the Qurʾān in the possession of Fāṭima bint al-Khattāb was Chapter XX (Ṭā-Hā) which contains 135 verses. This testifies that even in the early days of Islam not only

1. This is well known to have been the first revelation received by the Prophet, and constitutes Chapter xcvi (al-Qalam).

2. Rehatsek, op.cit., 190.

3. These letters were six in number and were despatched by as many envoys. The addressees were 1) Najashi, the king of Abyssinia, ii) Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium, iii) Khusrav Parvīz, the king of Persia, iv) Maqūqs, the Governor of Alexandria, v) Aʿarum b. Shammar, the king of Syria and vi) Hād Jaʾfī, the Governor of Yamamah. Besides parchment some of these letters were certainly on papyrus, otherwise Khusrav Parvīz could not have easily torn up the one that was delivered to him.

4. Quoted by Rehatsek, op.cit., 186, he does not give details about the exact location of these documents.

separate verses, but whole chapters of the Qur'ān were in circulation. According to the Kitāb al-Fihrist of al-Nadîm, the grandfather of the Prophet Muhammad, ʿAbd al-Mutallib, was able to write. He also mentions a document written in his hand. The tribe of Quraysh in the Hijāz enjoyed a reputation for having members of the family who could read and write. From the Hijāz, writing was introduced into Mecca by Bishr ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and Harb ibn Umayyah. Hijāzī was thus transformed gradually into makkī and became a very popular script.

Amongst those who learnt writing from Bishr and Harb were ʿUmar ibn al-Khattāb, ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib and Muʿawiya ibn Abū Sufyān. Soon the art of writing spread to the nearby town of Yathrib (Medina). There, the tribes like Aws, Khazraj and Thaqif took a keen interest in this art and patronized it with great enthusiasm.

The diffusion and importance of Arabic grew to rival Latin itself and was diffused with extreme speed. The need to record every syllable of the Qur'ān with unqualified exactness inspired Muslims to take an unsurpassed interest in writing. Their enthusiasm charged with religious fervour changed the ordinary art of writing into an accomplishment of the highest order. Muslims throughout the world have put much of their genius into the art of calligraphy and epigraphy alike and thus have developed an art which has never been surpassed.

1. Quoted by Rehatsek, op.cit., 178.
2. Ibid.
The opulence and intricacy of this profoundly Islamic art can only be assessed if a thorough study of various inscriptions on vellum, paper, ribs, shoulder blades and papyri besides brick, stone, tile, faience, metal, wood, pottery and textiles is conducted. These inscriptions are of both Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic content.

Both the names and the sounds of the letters of the Arabic alphabet rest mainly on tradition. Most of these names have been derived from the Semitic ones. According to Diringer the Semitic names of the letters refer mainly to everyday objects such as:

- a house (beth) ب or bā
- a door (daleth) د or dāl
- a hook (waw) و or wāw

or parts of the body, such as:

- a hand (kaph) ك or kāf
- an eye (ayin) ع or ʾayn
- a head (resh) ر or rā
- a tooth (shin) ش or shīn

or to animals such as:

- an ox (aleph) أ or alif
- a camel (gimal) ج or jīm
- a fish (nūn) ن or nūn
- a monkey (qopp) ق or qāf

However, whereas these particular letters can be explained in the way Diringer does the origins of the remaining letters of the Arabic alphabet remain obscure. I have not come across a satisfactory explanation for the particular alphabetical arrangement of letters. Most of the letters used in Arabic were also in use in Syriac where their arrangement completely depended on their numerical value. Thus alif (Olaph in Syriac) was at the top with a numerical value of one, while ṭā (Tau in Syriac) was at the bottom with the highest numerical value, four hundred. A look at the Syriac alphabet will make this explanation more explicit.¹

In Arabic, the alphabet is not arranged according to the numerical value of the letters. Instead, various letters have been brought into juxtaposition on account of their visual forms, and because of the similarity of their phonetic energies.

As a result of the vast Islamic conquests countless people converted to Islām, and for them to learn Arabic and to achieve the perfect and grammatical pronunciation and interpretation of the Qurʾān certain reforms became imperative. As Guillaume notes², belief in the paramount superiority of the Arabic language is an article of faith among Muslims and an exact knowledge of its grammar in cultured circles the distinguishing mark of a gentleman.

1. See diagram on the following page.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Numerical value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Olaph</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>b or v</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Beth</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Gomel</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Dolath</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Ee</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Vau</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>w or v</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Zain</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Cheth</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Teth</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Yud</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Koph</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Lamad</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Mim</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Nun</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Semach</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Ee</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 Pe</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>p or f</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 Tsodé</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>ts or z</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 Quph</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 Rish</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 Shin</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 Tau</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>th or t</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Showing arrangement of letters according to their numerical values

after F. Ballhorn.
It took no more than eighty years (632-712) to extend the alphabet of Mecca from the Indus to the Tagus.¹ The use of diacritical points and orthographic signs to distinguish between otherwise identical letters was necessitated by the new demands. These points and symbols were adopted from Syriac.² This system of diacritical marks, called tashkil (تشكيل) was most probably introduced into Arabic by Abu’l-Aswad al-Du’ali³ (d. 688). In the beginning coloured dots were used to indicate diacritics. These marks were mainly associated with the Kufic script.⁴ Further contributions in this direction were made by Nasr ibn ʿĀsim (d. 707), and by Yahya ibn Yāmur (d. 708) at the instigation of al-Hajjāj ibn Yūsuf al-Thaqafī (ruled 694-714). Both of them devised a method of differentiating the consonants with identical outlines by introducing dots above, below or within the letters. This system was called iṣṭajm (أجمع), or naqṣ (نقط).⁵

The previous system of using coloured dots was later felt cumbersome for it always necessitated various colours and ink. This system was therefore replaced by a new device introduced by al-Khalīl ibn Ahmad al-Parāhīdī (d. 786). He introduced eight new diacritical marks:

1. Taylor, op.cit., 313.
4. Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARABIC</th>
<th>PERSIAN &amp; URDU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fathah (a) ٰ = ja</td>
<td>zabr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasrah (i) ٰ = ji</td>
<td>zir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dammah (u) ٰ = ju</td>
<td>pish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukūn (vowelless) ٰ or ٰ = j</td>
<td>sukūn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaddah ٰ (double consonant) ٰ = jj</td>
<td>shadd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cutting hamzah ٰ</td>
<td>cutting hamza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining hamzah ٰ</td>
<td>joining hamza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maddah ٰ</td>
<td>Alif maddah (only on alif)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These diacritical marks introduced by al-Khalīl toward the end of the eighth century are now part and parcel of all scripts derived from Arabic. Though these were accepted with much initial reluctance they gained total control by the early eleventh century and are universally accepted today.²

Various calligraphic styles exist. They include Kufic and its various types, naskhī, thulth, diwānī, riqa, muhaqqaq, taʾliq and nastaʿlīq among others; the differences between these styles is mainly of the same nature as those between the italic, Roman and Gothic letters used in English printing. The letter remains the same but its structure changes. The intrinsic value also remains the same.

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1. Persians also used half ۡnūn or ۡnuṅ ghunnaḥ. It was ۡnūn without a dot. This remained in use till the middle of this century.

and only its aesthetic and visual value changes; thus, in English:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
A & \_ & A & \_ & A \\
B & \_ & B & \_ & B \\
C & \_ & C & \_ & C \\
\end{array}
\]

and in Arabic:

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\_ & \_ & \_ & \_ \\
\_ & \_ & \_ & \_ \\
\_ & \_ & \_ & \_ \\
\_ & \_ & \_ & \_ \\
\end{array}
\]

...and so on. Again there are also varieties of Latin alphabets such as English with twenty-six letters; Italian with twenty-two letters; and Bohemian with forty. In the same way Qarmatian Arabic had seventeen letters; Persian thirty; Turkish used to have thirty-two and Afghānī forty-two. Urdu at one time had as many as forty-nine characters.¹

Writing was considered to be of divine origin. Even today some Muslims strongly believe that fate is something which has been written by Allāh,² and God has thus been called, in many a poem, the Eternal Calligrapher³ or writer of fate "کاتبقدری".

¹ Taylor, op.cit., 317. Present-day Urdu has 36 characters.
² Hence its traditional name maktūb ("Written")
³ A. Schimmel, Islamic Calligraphy (Leiden, 1970), 1.
It is therefore perfectly natural that Muslims very early started inscribing the Qur'ān in a way befitting its eternal beauty. Hence early copies of the Qur'ān offer the most solid base that we have to this day for describing the evolution of fine Arabic script. The Qur'ān played an epoch-making role in the history and art of beautiful writing. The Arabic language and Arabic writing both became the integral components of Islam. Arabic writing, even more than the language itself, became a sacred symbol of Islam. Why writing outdistanced language as a religious symbol is explained by the historical circumstances. In their first powerful burst of energy, the Arab Muslims succeeded in dislocating the native languages of quite a few territories which they conquered, eventually supplanting them with Arabic. This was an astonishing feat, considering the comparatively small number of speakers of Arabic.

The Prophet Muhammad received revelations till the year of his death in 632 A.D. The first revelation had come twenty-four years before, sura xcvi (al-Alaq), 1-5. Though these revelations were recorded in writing they were only in fragments and isolated chapters; they existed wholly only in the minds of the huffāz. Only a year after the death of the Prophet a number of these huffāz were killed in a battle. This naturally alarmed the Muslims. Umar ibn al-Khattāb, as a close companion of Muhammad, urged the first caliph Abu Bakr to commit the Qur'ān to writing. Zaid ibn Thabit was

2. Ibid.
thus entrusted with the job of putting all the suras of the Qur'ān together in book form. The final shape of the book was accomplished during the period of the third caliph, ʿUthmān, in 651 A.D. This canonized redaction was later copied into four identical editions and sent to four main Muslim regions to be used as standard codices. All the later copies were produced from these four codices, no matter what the type of script. Adherence to these canonized redactions of the Qur'ān has been so complete that no subsequent textual variants have been introduced.

As a result of the enthusiasm of the calligraphers, the position of the calligrapher became in time one of considerable dignity and honour. Thus both the art and the artist flourished. A sort of religious merit was attributed to the work of writing or copying, so much so that history records that very important personalities became adept at copying the Qur'ān and took considerable pride in it. The caliphs and sultāns prided themselves upon their good writing and since they wished to have this accomplishment recognized they took upon themselves the title of sahib al-salīf wa'l qalam, or the 'master of the sword and the pen'.

The passion of Muslims to transcribe the Qur'ān, linked with their urge for intellectual advancement, also caused a speedy growth

of beautiful writing as an art in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Zahir al-Din Babur (ruled 1526-3) invented a new style known as khatt-i Baburi. He transcribed a copy of the Qur'an in this style and sent it to Mecca. Yusuf tells us that not only Babur but also Rumayn, Aurangzib, Prince Dara Shikoh and the princess Zib al-Nisa' were also excellent calligraphers, while Akbar and Jahangir were great patrons of this art.

Bukhari states that there are as many as forty ahadith which sing the praises of beautiful writing. One such prophetic tradition is quoted by Schimmel: "He who writes beautifully bismillah, obtains innumerable blessings." Another saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad urges every believer to respect the qalam. The Prophet is quoted as having said on one occasion "God first created the qalam. The learned men, the ishab al-qalam, or holders of the pen, received high rank among the followers of Muhammad, and were recognized as honoured superiors. According to another tradition, the Prophet Muhammad states that "Good writing makes the truth stand out". It is therefore understandable that the Muslims from a very early stage should approach the writing of the Qur'an in an appropriately respectful manner. The fact that every Muslim had to learn the Qur'an

2. Ibid., 12.
3. Y.K. Bukhari, "A Rare Manuscript on Calligraphy", Islamic Culture xxxvii (1963), 95.
not only for reciting, but for prayers as well, made Arabic both as an alphabet and as a language the most distinctive characteristic of Muslims.¹

The development of various styles of writing Arabic can be traced in numerous media. However, architectural inscriptions provide the largest group of examples suitable in the present context. Given the sacred role of the Qur'ān as bearer of the Divine revelations, Islamic religious architectural inscriptions became almost the most important mode of decoration. Such religious inscriptions were thus provided for mosques and mausoleums, madrasahs and minarets among other buildings.

In the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent minarets were apparently the first Islamic buildings to be adorned with beautiful writing. The Qutb Minār is the first surviving Muslim monument to have Qur'ānic inscriptions, in foliated Kufic. The next building to be decorated with calligraphy was the front gate of the mosque built adjacent to the Qutb Minār and then the mīhrāb and the front of the sanctuary and other parts. The particular order in which calligraphy was applied to the various parts of this mosque was obviously not considered immutable in other cases. But if we look at the Qutb Minār, the Masjid Quwwat-i Islam, the CAlā'Ī Darwāza, Afhā'Ī Din Kā Jhaunprā and Khīrkī Masjid, the sequence is repeated in that order; perhaps it was an order

¹ In former East Pakistan Arabic was known as the "letter of the Qur'ān" and most of the Muslims there still prefer Arabic over the otherwise commonly accepted Dīvānagrī script.
established at least in early Muslim India. Elsewhere in the Islamic world, these building types and many others like mausolea, madrasahs, and so on were decorated with inscriptions. So too were items of mosque "furniture", e.g. cauldron, minbar, doors, rahla and kiswa.

Tombstones from the earliest times were also provided with exquisite specimens of epigraphy. At the mausoleum of Jahāngīr at Lahore, the royal sarcophagus bears the ninety-nine names of Allah and so does the tomb of Āsif Jāh at Lahore. The necropolis of Maklī Hill contains masterly examples of thulth, naskhī and nastālīq styles. In fact tombs and mosques are both a common vehicle for inscriptions throughout Pakistan.
Epigraphy in mosques

In the early period of Islam the building of a mosque was a social obligation on the ruler. As Islam spread, the governors built mosques in their respective provinces. When Muhammad ibn Qasim came to Sind a large sum was earmarked for him to build mosques throughout the subjugated territory (see chapter on Thatta) though none survives today.

Mosques are sometimes built as an expression of faith and sometimes as a mark of gratitude¹ or to commemorate seeing the Prophet

¹ Shāhjahān built the Jāmi mosque of Thatta as an expression of thankfulness to the people of Thatta who had provided him with succour in his difficult days. The Dābgir Mosque, Thatta, was also built on similar grounds (see chapter on Thatta).
in a dream. The inscriptions on mosques reveal how the number of mosques multiplied in this manner. Mosques thus founded were often called after the names of their founders. Mosques were also often built to commemorate certain events.\(^1\) Sometimes a mosque was named after a saint or a political personality who lived or prayed in it or built it.\(^2\) A mosque might also take its name from its situation\(^3\) or from some of its structural features.\(^4\)

The historical development of the mosque also reveals a gradual increase in its sanctity. This was in my view due to the passionate and intensified adoption of certain ahādīth. The expression ba'it Allāh, which at first was only used for the Ka'bah, came gradually to be applied to every mosque. In fact in Pakistan and India the very word masjid is held to mean a "house of God" (Allāh ka ghāhar).

"The Prophet has said that when one of you enters the mosque he should say, 'O Allāh! open for me the doors of thy mercy'; and when he goes out, he should say, 'O Allāh! I beg of Thy grace of Thee'.\(^5\) Invariably every mosque in Pakistan is adorned with the two parts of this hadīth.

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1. Like the Masjid-i Shuhadā' of Lahore built in memory of martyrs of the 1965 war.
2. Like the Mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lahore and that of the same name at Chiniôt.
3. Like the ʻUchī Masjid of Lahore (ʻunchī = high). This mosque is built on the first storey.
4. The Sunahrī (golden) Masjid, so called because its domes are covered with gold plates.
inscribed on the exterior of the main gate, and

inscribed on the interior of the main gate so that a visitor or devotee would automatically gaze at the inscription and recite the dirṣā spontaneously while entering and leaving the mosque.

Besides the minār, mihrāb and minbar there are quite a few other structural components which together make up the comprehensive design of a present-day mosque. These include a water reservoir for ṭūdū, chambers for the imām and the caretaker (mujāwar) and other staff of the mosque, a madrasah and finally baths and latrines.

EARLY MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE IN PAKISTAN

The Arab historian al-Balādhrī has not only furnished us with an account of the conquest of Sind by the Arabs, but also describes the early Arab missions to India in detail. Most of these missions were carried out during the period of the Khulafā‘i Rashīdūn. There

1. See the Qur‘ān, sūra v (al-Mā‘idah).
2. Chambers were also meant for travellers who wished to stay in the mosque overnight; see Ali, op.cit., 81.
is a particular reference to the presence of Arab missionaries at the town of Thāna near Bombay. A palace called Bharoach near Gujarāt was also visited by the early Arabs. These places of great antiquity hold many interesting relics to this day. References to the Arabs exist in many of the Devanagārī inscriptions of this region and the Arabs are termed tājikās. Abu'l-Hasan al-Masʿūdī, who visited Western India in 303/915, saw various mosques on the western coast which were then well kept.

Al-Hajjāj, the Umayyad governor of Mesopotamia, sent successive expeditions to the Indian frontiers. He especially appointed Muhammad ibn Qāsim as commander of the successful expedition sent against Rājāh Dāhir of Daybul in Sind. Daybul was thus the first city to have a mosque. From Daybul Muhammad marched on to Brahmanābād and Mansūrah and captured the city of Rūr. He built a mosque at Rūr which should be regarded as the second mosque on Indian soil. Muhammad ibn Qāsim after reaching Multān built a mosque there as well; this was, it seems, the third mosque in the country. This mosque, it is said, was built

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1. A. Chaghatai, Mosques in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, (Lahore, 1962), 42.

2. Ibid.

3. Abu'l Hasan ʿAlī ibn Husain al-Masʿūdī, Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maqādīḥ al-Jawahir, (Cairo, n.d.), 382-3. Information from al-Baladhuri and al-Masʿūdī was kindly provided by Dr. ʿAlavī. ʿAlavī.

4. This name is found in various forms. Al-Masʿūdī calls it al-Rūr; Ibn Khurdābīh writes it al-Daur; al-Istakhrī has al-Rūz and Ibn ʿAqīl has Rūz, while al-Bīrūnī and al-Idrīsī have Rūz and al-Rūz respectively. Its present name is Alor or Rohri. See Appendix to The History of India as told by its own Historians, (ed.) J. Dowson, (tr.) H. M. Elliot, I, (London, 1867), 363.

5. Chaghatai, op. cit., 43.
on the high mound which is still known after the name of Muhammad ibn Qāsim - the Qāsim Bāgh. The mosque built by Muhammad was abandoned in favour of a new mosque which was built by the Qarmatians. It was during the rule of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazna that this old mosque was restored and rehabilitated. The city of Mahfūzah was founded in the early 8th century. At both these towns mosques were built but none survives. According to Goetz, however, "Excavations in the ruins of Brahmanābād-Mansūrah in lower Sind have yielded remains of some small mosques of the Sāmarra type with rows of brick pilaster. However, echoes of Abbasid ornamentation have survived."4

Toward the end of the 1950s, the Pakistani Archaeological Department discovered a mosque at Banbhore. The mosque in question is supposed to have been built on the site of a demolished Hindu temple. Later excavations at the same site have led to more discoveries including stone slabs bearing Qur'anic inscriptions. This mosque is notable for the conspicuous absence of a mihrāb. The general plan of this mosque suggests a close similarity with some of the oldest mosques like those at Kūfah and Wāsit.5

Pakistan has no lack of examples of Islamic epigraphy. The

1. Chaghatai, op.cit., 43.
2. Ibid.
earliest inscriptions, such as those in Banbhore, whether Qur'anic or otherwise, were all in kufic script or in its several variants. Then for nearly three hundred years no epigraphical record is available until the appearance of naskhi in the monumental epigraphy of the 12th century after the conquest of part of the northern area of the subcontinent by Mu'izz al-Din (formerly Shihab al-Din) Muhammad ibn Sama of the Ghurid dynasty of Afghanistan and of Qutb al-Din Aibak, his Turkish slave, general and successor.

Naskhi inscriptions of this period are found in the mosque of Quwwat al-Islam at Delhi. One of these inscriptions which is on the northern gate of the Quwwat al-Islam mosque clearly mentions the name of Mu'izz al-Din. The inscription consists of three lines, and is as follows:

Line 1. 

Line 2.

(Tr:) And Allah invites to the abode of peace, and guides whom He pleases to the right path. 4 In the month of the year [5] 92. 5

1. The date given in one of these inscriptions is

2. J Horovitz, "The Inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sama, Qutbuddin Aibeg and Ilutmish", Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1111-2 (1914), 12. No epigraphical record has come to light either from the reign and raids of Mahmud of Ghazna or any of the Ghaznavid rulers of Lahore. See also M.A. Ghafur, "Epigraphy in Pakistan", The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, (Karachi, n.d.), 64.

3. Horovitz, ibid. Delhi fell in 589 A.H.

4. The Qur'an, sura x (Yunus), 25.

5. Corresponding to 1195-6.
(Tr:) This building was undertaken by the high order of the exalted Sultan Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l-Din Muhammad ibn Sam the helper of the Commander of the Faithful.

There are several other inscriptions in this mosque which belong to the period of Mu'izz al-Din while a number of other inscriptions refer to the period of his successor Qutb al-Din Aibak. Inscriptions in the mosque called Arha'i din ka Jhauprah, Ajmer and on the Qutb Minar, Delhi, provide excellent examples of early naskhi epigraphy.

Although nasta'liq developed and attained its maturity in the early 15th century its use was at first confined to calligraphy only. It was in the 16th century that nasta'liq became prevalent in the monumental epigraphy of Pakistan.¹

Pakistani inscriptions were composed either in Arabic or in Persian. Since early epigraphy, apart from poetry and chronograms, was based on the text of the Qur'an, Arabic remained supreme for a very long time. Persian gradually became more prominent in epigraphy in the two centuries or so before the establishment of Mughal rule. The epigraphy of the Khaljīs (1290-1320), Tughlaqs (1320-1413), Sayyids (1414-57), and Lodhis (1457-1526) shows how steadily Persian gained ground for inscriptions on stone surfaces.

¹. M.A. Chafur, "Epigraphy in Pakistan", The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan, Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, (Karachi, n.d.), 64.
Epigraphy in mosques
With the coming of the Mughals in the early 16th century, Persian became the dominant language of Islamic epigraphy, apart from Qur'anic texts. This also gave a boost to the nastalīq script, which was more suited to Persian than to Arabic traditions.

The inscriptions which have generally been used in Pakistani architecture can be divided into two main groups; Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic inscriptions. Each of these can be further subdivided into five branches.

**Qur'anic Epigraphy**

The Qur'anic epigraphy of Pakistan can be divided into five major categories:

1. The use of complete sūras or selected āyāt composed into one text
2. The bismillah
3. Islamic confessions of faith: the kalīma-yi tayyibah and the shahādah
4. The takbir
5. Various attributes of Allāh.

**Sūras and Āyāt**

Amongst the Qur'anic texts used for epigraphy, the most important are complete sūras or selected āyāt conflated into a single text. Some of these Qur'anic verses have remained favourites with builders and epigraphers ever since the first inscription was placed in the Dome of the Rock, sūra xvii (Bani Isrā'īl vv. 1-10, 78-81). These verses
appear a millennium later in the mosque of Shāhjāhān at Thatta, and are placed in almost the same manner, i.e. under the main dome. Verses 2-3 are also repeated above the arch of the mihrāb.

These verses also illustrate that it was not always necessary to confine mosque epigraphy to verses related to mosques. Verses pertaining to other fundamental concepts of Islam were also written. The Divine Unity is preached in the first ten verses of sura xxv, (al- Fursqān) and these verses we see inscribed on one of the arches of the Jāmi’ mosque at Thatta. The necessity of jihād (holy war) is advocated in sura xlviii, 27-9 (al-Fath) and these verses are also inscribed in the mosque of Thatta on another arch.¹ The very word al-Fath ("victory") must have been of great significance to Shāhjāhān who took refuge in this city in his youth when he was plotting against his father and who, when he became emperor, built this mosque as a mark of gratitude to God.²

The building of a mosque is a sacred act and according to ahādīth whosoever builds a mosque has a great reward awaiting him in paradise. The idea that good deeds will be rewarded is expressed in an inscription on another arch of the same mosque, sura xvii (al-Kahf), 107-10; these verses also appear in the mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lahore, inscribed on the facade of the sanctuary. The purpose, there, must be to remind

¹ See also M.⁶ Ali tafs̱r and tr. The Qur’ān, (Woking, 1917), 988-9, nn. 2322-3.
the faithful of God's promise that those who do good deeds will receive their reward in paradise.

Since the Prophet Muhammad was the last of all the prophets, the idea of his finality is also a vital part of Muslim belief - whosoever considers that there will be another prophet after Muhammad is of course considered a kafir or unbeliever. Many mosques therefore have the last verse (40) of sura xxxiii (al-Ahzab) inscribed on them. In the Masjid-i Wazir Khan it appears in a side chamber of the sanctuary. In the Mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore it is on the central arch, while in the case of the Masjid-i Da'i Anga it is on the inside of the drum of the dome. In the Shahjahân Mosque at Thatta it is on the northern archway facing the court and is followed by four verses (107-10) of sura al-Kahf, already quoted. Combined with the verses of sura al-Kahf it forms a text which eulogises the greatness of Allah, the weaknesses of man and the qualities of the Prophet.

The text that a mosque is the house of God (بيت الله) is also another popular inscription very suitable for mosque epigraphy. This idea is expressed as early as the 9th century in the inscription found at the site of the ancient mosque of Banbore. It is followed by the bismillah and the Muslim confession of faith. The idea that mosques are Allah's is contained in v.18 of sura lxxii (al-Jinn), "And that the mosques are Allah's, therefore call not upon anyone with Allah." So this verse not only suggests that the mosque is Allah's or the bait Allah but also contains a strong warning and admonition not to consider anyone as a companion of God. The ayat is inscribed on the southern gateway of the Shahjahân mosque at Thatta, in a single
line prefixed with the words تَلَّال اللَّهُ ٱلسَّمَٰئَلِي ِ i.e. "God most high has said". The fragment of a single āyat inscribed above the mihrāb in the Mosque of Muzaffar Khān at Thatta has been suggested as being the same text.¹ There is a small mosque in the city of Rohri (ancient Rūr or al-Rūr) which is believed to have been built by Akbar and is also known as the jamī' masjid-i Akbarī²; this also contains this āyat inside the main entrance to the sanctuary above the arch A.

No other single āyat has been used as much as verse 255 of sura ii, (al-Baqarah), which is more generally known as āyat al-kursī or the 'verse of power' or 'knowledge'. It deals with the all-comprehensive knowledge and power of Allāh. It is an assurance to Muslims that Allāh, who knows the sacrifices they have made and the wrongs that their opponents have perpetrated, and has power to reward and punish, shall soon deal with each party as it deserves. The true significance of kursī in this āyat is not a "throne" or "chair" but "knowledge".³ The āyat also deals with the two-fold significance of


2. This mosque is completely at variance with the style of building usual under Akbar. According to an inscription in this mosque its construction was completed in the year 992/1584 by a person named Habib. The inscription gives the name of one Path Khan on whose orders this project was started. According to "Mir Muhammad Ma'sum, Tārikh-i Sind (MS, Panjab University, Lahore, f.135 b), Path Khan - nicknamed Iattu - was in charge of Sind from 984/1578 to 994/1586 during the reign of Akbar. He had risen to the rank of governor from mahawat, elephant trainer. This also means that he ordered the building of this mosque before becoming governor. A fuller account of this man is in the Min-i Akbarī (tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873).

intercession. Firstly Islam does not recognize the doctrine that man
needs any mediator to reconcile him with God; and secondly, the
Prophet to whom the Divine will is revealed is the model for his
people. In this sense he is called a shafi\textsuperscript{1} or an intercessor.\footnote{1}

The āyat is equally popular for tombs and mosques. It is also
hung in Muslim houses to this day, beautifully written and set in
elegant frames. One fine specimen of the āyat al-kursī is in the
Masjid-i Wazir Khān at Lahore. Here in the side chamber of the
sanctuary in a niche the words Allāh and Muhammad are inscribed in
broad outline. Within the outline of the word Allāh is written the
whole of the āyat al-kursī. It was also inscribed on the Chauburji in
Lahore. This building served as a gateway to the royal garden of the
Mughals.\footnote{2}

Amongst the āyat and sūras which are used for epigraphy in
mosques, sūra i (al-Fatihah) occurs on the mihrāb of Jāmi\textsuperscript{C} Akbarī
Rohī, and only there, which is somewhat surprising. Sūra ix (al
Taubah), v.18 is inscribed on the main arch of Jāmi\textsuperscript{C} Ashrafiyah,
Lahore. I have not come across sūra al-Fatihah in any other mosque
but as far as v.18 of sūra ix (al-Taubah) is concerned this is often
used on the main arches. Other specimens of the same verse can be
seen in Jāmi\textsuperscript{C} Imāmiya, Samanābād, the Masjid Shāh Chirāgh, Lahore, and
the Īdgāh of Multān.

\footnote{1}{See also Ali, op.cit., 30, n.79.}
\footnote{2}{See the section on Chauburji in the chapter on Lahore.}
Āyat 74 of sūra iv (al-Nisā') is inscribed on the doorway of the Masjid-i Shahadā'. Since this mosque was built in memory of those who had laid down their lives for religion and country the verse is greatly suited to this mosque; "Therefore let those fight in the way of Allāh who sell this world's life for the hereafter; and whoever fights in the way of Allāh, then he slain or be he victorious We shall grant him a mighty reward."

This verse is followed by v.20 of sūra ix (al-Taubah):
"Those who believed and fled (their homes), and strove hard in Allāh's way with their property and with their souls, are much higher in rank with Allāh; and those are they who are the achievers (of their objects)."

These two verses are equally popular for the tombs of those who died in battle and achieved the rank of martyrs. The obvious reason for placing these verses thus is to remind every believer of the rank which a person receives from martyrdom and therefore to convince him of the greater glories which he would obtain after death if he laid down his life for the religion of Islam and for his country. Such a quotation from the Qur'ān would not be suitable above a mihrāb, which would not be as easily approached as the main door. Again, the placing of such an inscription under the dome would also be meaningless since that area is not readily accessible or visible either, especially for those who hastily come to offer prayers and then leave.

In the Jāmi’ Hanafiyyah at Garhī Shāhū in Lahore, three Qur'ānic inscriptions appear in succession at the main gate, on the central
arch and in the rectangular frame of the mihrāb. On the main gate is v.72 of sūra vi (al-Anā'am), on the central arch v.17 of sūra xxxi (Lugman), and on the mihrāb v.103 of sūra iv (al-Nisā').

The Ilyāsi Masjid is situated on the outskirts of Abbotsābād. Its location is superb and a small brook flows underneath which is fed by a natural fountain (chashmah). This water is also used for ablutions. The mosque has an elevated situation in that it is built on arches. The main prayer hall has four arches on the north and south sides and five in the eastern side. The west side comprises a sanctuary which has arched windows provided with grilles. All of the thirteen main arches have Qur'ānic inscriptions above them. Starting from the southwesternmost arch they are:

[Diagram]

1. v.34 of Sūra lxx (al-Mārij)
2. v.35 of the same Surah
3. The first part of v.37 of Sūra xxiv (al-Nūr)
4. The middle part of v.45 of Sūra xxix (al-Ankabūt)
5. The first part of v.132 of Sūra xx (Tā' Hā')
6. The middle part of v.31 of Sūra vii (al-CAFALF)
7. v.42 of Sūra ii (al-Baqarah)

1. I am grateful for this epigraphic information about Jāmi' Hanafiyah to Mas'ūd Qādī of Lahore.
8. v.3 of Sūra viii (al-Anfāl)
9. The first part of v.4 of the same Sūra
10. The last part of v.3 of Sūra xxxi (Luqman)
11. The first part of v.4 of the same Sūra
12. The last part of v.93 of Sūra vi (al-An'am)
13. The first part of v.30 of Sūra xiv (Ibrāhīm).

In the spandrels of the rectangular frame of the mihrāb are four more āyat: vv.1-2 of Sūra xxiii (al-Mu'minūn) on the right and vv.4-5 of Sūra cvii (al-Mā'un).\(^1\)

In fact the prayer hall of this mosque looks entirely filled with these inscriptions which one can read in quick succession. These fifteen inscriptions seem to encapsulate the various statements in the Qur'an which relate to the importance of salāt.

They thereby emphasise the importance of salāt. The precise placing of these Qur'ānic verses has not been of importance. These verses have apparently not been repeated in any other mosque in Pakistan, at least so far as the period before 1707 is concerned. It will be noted that none of the above-mentioned verses start with the bismillah or the words تَنَال اللَّهُ ثَمَانِي.

THE BISMILLAH

The bismillah is often represented by the digits 786\(^2\) which is

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1. All the textual information is given by courtesy of Mas'ūd Qādī, while references to the context were obtained with the help of the Imam of the Islamic Centre, Edinburgh.

2. 786 is the numerical value of the complete formula of the bismillah according to abjad.
Bismillah
(Mosques)

1 Sāwī Masjid, Multān.
2 Mosque of Wazīr Khān, Lahore
3 Jāmiʿ Mosque, Banbhore.
4 Jāmiʿ Mosque, Thatta.
universally accepted as the bismillah. It is the most important part of Qur'ānic inscriptions. There is an almost unlimited variety of styles in which the bismillah is inscribed.

The formula بِسْمَاللهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ is usually translated 'in the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate'. It is also called tasmīya. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam there is some confusion about whether the bismillah is a part of the very first sura (al-Fātiha) or not. Zamakhsharī does not consider it a verse at the beginning of al-Fātiha or other suras. According to him it is only placed at the beginning of each sura to separate the suras and as a benediction. Abu Ḥanīfah also shares the views of Zamakhsharī. Their theory however does not seem true as there is no bismillah at the head of sura ix al-Taubah (also called al-Barāʾat). Was it not necessary also to separate this particular sura from the others?

On the other hand the jurists of Mecca and Kūfa did consider the bismillah a verse at the beginning of sura al-Fātiha and other suras. Šāfiʿī shares this view. "This belief is based on the fact that these words were written on the leaves on which the Qur'ānic texts were collected."

1. To pronounce the divine name.
2. See B. Carra de Vaux, "Basmala", EI, 672.
3. Ibid.
4. See also Ālī, op.cit., 2.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
In its complete form the formula occurs at the beginning of each sura, with the exception of sura ix, al-Tauba. Apart from this usage, the formula occurs once only in the text of the Qu'ran in its complete form: in v.30 of sura xxvii (al-Naml). On a second occasion it is found in its abridged form لبسم‌الله (v.43 of sura xi, al-Hûd).

In writing it is customary to omit the initial alif of the word ism فسم "name" (hence bismi). Tradition bases this orthography on the authority of Umar who is supposed to have said to his scribe: "Lengthen the ba', make the teeth of the sin prominent and round off the mim". Tradition also requires that stress should be laid on the lam of Allah.

The benedictory power of the formula is widely put to work in the composition of the talisman admitted by sihr or lawful magic. It is said that the formula was inscribed upon Adam's thigh, upon the wing of the angel Gabriel, the seal of Solomon and the tongue of Jesus. According to a hadith "every important matter which is not begun with the bismillah will be cut off" (or "mutilated" or amputated", according to different versions), that is to say, will be defective and not fully blessed by God. All acts which are classified as obligatory or praiseworthy should always be preceded by the bismillah unless the law-

1. For the reason for this exception see Alî, op.cit., 394.
2. Carra de Vaux and Gardet, "Basmala", El², 1084.
4. See also W.Ivanow, Studies in Early Persian Isma'îlisim, (Leiden, 1948), 93.
6. Ibid.
giver has decided otherwise.

This formula is the most popular motif of decoration not only in manuscripts, but also for architectural decoration as well. The *bismillah* is thus found at the head of most Qur'ānic and even many non-Qur'ānic inscriptions. It is scarcely significant therefore to list the mosques that have this formula inscribed on them. A point more worth considering would be whether there were any mosques which had epigraphy but did not bear a fine specimen of the *bismillah*?

Some fine examples of the *bismillah* can be seen at the mosque of Banbhore, the mosque of Shāhjahān at Thatta; Jamīᶜ Akbarī, Rohīᶜ; the ʿIdgāh of Multān; the Sunahri Masjid, Lahore; the Masjid-i Shuhada', Lahore; and the mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lahore.

The *bismillah* is an equally popular motif on tomb architecture and cenotaphs. This subject will be elaborated under epigraphy in tombs.

1. Of course there are mosques with epigraphy but no *bismillah*. In such cases the *bismillah* has been replaced by the words ُتَالَالْإِسْلَامِ as in Jamīᶜ Ashafiyah of Lahore. The Ilyasi Mosque, Abbotabad, has neither the *bismillah* nor the words َتَالَالْإِسْلَامِ.
Another important feature of Islamic epigraphy in mosques is the inscription comprising the kalima-yi tayyibah or the Muslim Confession of Faith also known as the shahādah or tashahhud. It is found in various forms:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

(Tr:) There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is His messenger

اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك

(Tr:) I bear witness, [that] there is no god but Allāh He is one and without any companion.

لا اله الا الله وحده وان كم رسوله

(Tr:) There is no god but Allāh, [Allāh] alone and Muhammed is His messenger,

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ويستثنين

(Tr:) There is no god but Allāh and Muhammed, the Prophet of Allāh, and from them do we implore assistance.

The doctrine of the oneness of God occurs repeatedly in the Qur'ān.1 No matter what the variations are, the message is the same:

تَلْوَى اللهُ الْحَدَّ (There is no god but Allāh) and

لا اله الا الله (Say, He, Allāh, is One).

There are two conspicuous ways in which the shahādah is used in

Islamic epigraphy. When the text is written in an Arabic ductus\(^1\), the shahādah is used in conjunction with the bismillah, the bismillah preceding the shahādah or kalima-yi tayyibah. In this case, it is usually inscribed in naskhī or thulth. One such example is on the central arch of the Datā Darbār Mosque at Lahore, while there is another fine example on the main arch of the Sunhrī mosque. Others occur on the facades of the mosque of Zakariyā Khan, and the mosque of Da‘ī Anga, both at Lahore.

When the script of the shahādah or kalima-yi tayyibah has a Persian flavour it is used in conjunction with two Persian words preceding the actual text of the shahādah or kalima-yi tayyibah and very often a nastālīq hand is used in such cases:

\[\text{(Tr:)} \text{The most excellent of prayers [is that]}\]
\[\text{There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger.}\]

Two fine examples of this particular form of shahādah are at Lahore, one on the main gateway of the mosque of Wazīr Khān and the second on the gateway of Gulābī Bagh. Both are very similar in the rendition of the kansi-work. Another fine example can be seen at the ṭīd-gāh of Gujrat; it is done in cut glass. At the main gate of the Jāmi’ mosque of Jhelum there is another example in glazed pottery work. In fact during the latter period of the Mughals this form of kalima-yi tayyibah had become very popular.

\(^1\) Generally naskh and nastālīq hands are used for inscribing the kalima.
THE TAKBİR

The fourth conspicuous motif or theme of epigraphy in the mosque is the takbîr, that is, a proclamation that God is Great. The formula Allâhu akbar is the briefest expression of the absolute superiority of the One God. It is used by Muslims in different circumstances in which the idea of the greatness and goodness of Allâh is suggested. The Prophet is said to have called the takbîr four or five times over funeral biers.¹ The fourfold takbîr at the salât of the dead became usual thereafter. The adhân also opens with a takbîr.

The formula expressing the greatness of God has also been used in the Qur'an, namely in v.3 of sûra lxxiv (al-Muddâththîr);² and v.111 of sûra xvii (Banî Isrâîl).³ The Prophet is said to have uttered the takbîr very frequently during the hajj. He also used to say the takbîr at the end of a journey, at the sight of the Ka'bah, at the sight of hajar al-aswad⁴ and while travelling between Minâ' and 'Arafa. The takbîr is prescribed by the law at the beginning of the salât and also at the change of every posture while saying the salât.

As a result of its great importance, the formula became a favourite symbol for Muslim coins and flags.⁵ It is equally important

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¹ A.J. Wensinck, "Takbîr", El¹, 627.
² See A. Wensinck, "Takbîr" El¹, 627 and A. Wensinck and J. Jomier "Ka'ba" El², 317-22.
³ Akbar is said to have once decided to issue coins bearing the takbîr but he was stopped from doing so by theologians as it implied that Akbar was Allâh not only that Allâh is great. See Abu'l Fadl, Akbarnâma, tr. H. Beveridge, I, (Calcutta, 1897) 1, n.1.
on mosques, particularly on the main gates or over the main arches of the sanctuary.

The formula of takbīr appears conspicuously on the northern gateway of the mosque of Maryam Zamānī, Lahore, at the small mosque of Wazīr Khān at Chiniot, and on a stone in Lahore Museum whose origin is not established. Most recently the takbīr has also been inscribed on the Summit Minār of Lahore.

THE ATTRIBUTES OF GOD

Another feature of mosque epigraphy is the name of Allāh itself and the various attributes of Allāh known as asmāʾ mubārikah or the holy names. The word Allāh was known to the pre-Islamic Arabs and references in similar contexts occur in the Qur'ān in sūra xiii (al-Raʿd), 16; sūra xxix (al-Ankabūt), 61,63; sūra xxxi (al-Lugmān),25; sūra xxxix (al-Zumr), 38; and sūra xliii (al-Zukhruf), 87. The origin of the word is probably from Aramaic Alāha.1

Throughout the Qur'ān various attributes (sifāt) of Allāh have been given. They are reckoned by some to be 99, though others believe them to number more or less than this total. Ninety-nine is however a figure which is generally used no matter what the exact number may be. Out of all this total three groups of attributes are outstanding:

i) God of creation, judgement and retribution,

ii) God, unique and One in Himself, and

iii) God, omnipotent and merciful.

In tombs these names very often appear in full, particularly on cenotaphs, while in mosques they appear selectively. A complete list of all the saffāt will therefore be given in the chapter on epigraphy in tombs. Here I shall discuss those attributes which are especially popular in mosque architecture.

The favourite name is Allāh itself and this appears in almost every mosque, whether above the main gateway, inside the mosque above the main arch of the sanctuary or above the mihrāb. It is inscribed in bold nastālīq characters on the gateway of the mosque of Maryam Zamānī at Lahore; on the main arch of the Mosque of Dātā Darbār at Lahore; Masjid Mīr Maʿsūm at Sukkur, the Mosque of DāʿĪ Aṅgā at Lahore, the Sunahri Masjid, the Wazīr Khān mosque, and the Masjid-i Shuhadā' at Lahore. In the Masjid-i Wazīr Khān it is inscribed in bold outlines and within these outlines a number of Qur'ānic texts are placed.

Amongst other attributes fattāḥ is also found on most of the mosques, the best examples being in the mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lahore:
Ya fattah is here inscribed within a cusped circular frame in the spandrels of the arch in the sanctuary.

Here ya fattah is inscribed under the main arch of the sanctuary, in both the spandrels of the central arch leading to the sanctuary.

Ya Hayy and ya qayyum appear also in various mosques. These two attributes are inscribed in the spandrels of the main central arch leading to the sanctuary of Jami’ Hanafiya, Lahore, while in Jami’ Akbari at Rohri we see al-Rahman and al-Rahim inscribed in the spandrels of the main arch.

The following attributes of God are also found in the mosque of Wazir Khan at Lahore, inside the main sanctuary: al-Karim, al-Qadir, al-Hakim, al-Wahhab, al-Mugaddim.

In the mosque itself, and adjoining the tomb of Shah Shams Tabrizi,1 the following attributes of Allah are inscribed in a running

1. Also known as Shah Shams Sabzawari.
pattern; al-\textsuperscript{c}Alīm, al-Bāsit, al-Khāfid, al-Rāfi\textsuperscript{c}, al-Mu\textsuperscript{c}izz, al-Mu\textsuperscript{c}ill, al-Baṣīr, al-\textsuperscript{c}Adl, al-Khabīr, al-Halīm, al-\textsuperscript{c}Azīm, al-Ghafūr, al-Shakūr, al-Kabīr, al-Hafīz, al-Hasīb, al-Jalīl, al-Karīm, al-Raqqīb, al-Mujīb, al-Wāsī\textsuperscript{c}.

\section*{NON QUR'ĀNIC INSCRIPTIONS}

The non-Qur'ānic inscriptions in Pakistani mosques comprise the following five major types:

1. Name of the mosque
2. Name of the patron and date of erection
3. Poetical eulogy in praise of Allah and the Prophet
4. Names of Muhammad, caliphs and \textit{imāms}
5. Ahādīth concerning mosques, salāt and other fundamentals of Islam.

\section*{NAME OF THE MOSQUE}

The name of the mosque is something which is not usually found written in isolation. It usually appears in a piece of poetry containing a chronogram or eulogy in praise of the mosque of Allāh or the Prophet. This type of inscription is always on the front of the main gate or immediately inside it, facing the courtyard of the mosque. For example on the left of the gateway of the Masjid-i Wazīr Khān a couplet contains the mosque's name in the following way:

\begin{center}
\textit{كتاب كوفية بن سعد وزير خان}
\end{center}

\textit{(Translit) kufī bikū kāh bānī masjid Wazīr Khān}

\textit{1. The inscription is of ambiguous meaning, (i) The founder of the mosque is Wazīr Khān; (ii) the founder of the Wazīr Khān mosque.}
and in the case of the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore the inscription reads,

(Translit) Masjid-i Abu'l Muzaffar Muhiiyy al-Din Muhammad ʿAlamgir ʿPadshah.

Sometimes simply the name of the mosque appears, as in the case of the mosque of Jami ʿAshrafiyyah known as Masjid-i Hasan.

المسجد الأحسين

The Sunahri Masjid has its name inscribed on the main arch of the sanctuary. It is engraved in white marble and filled with black pigment. Exactly in the same technique and material is the name of the Masjid-i Shuhada' inscribed in its outer wall:

NAME OF THE PATRON

The name of the builder of a mosque is a very common subject of the epigraphy found in mosques. Whether the mosque itself is named or not, the builder seldom forgets to record his own name. Some conspicuous exceptions where the builder has not recorded his name include the Pearl Mosque in the Lahore fort, the Mahabat Khan mosque in Peshawar and the mosque of Wazir Khan at Chiniot. Sometimes a mosque which does not bear any name becomes known after the name of its builder either through an epigram bearing the name of the founder or through some fact of history. This holds true in the case of the
Mahābat Khān mosque at Peshāwar and the Wazīr Khān mosque at Chiniqīt.

The Shāhjāhān mosque at Thatta bears his name in the following way:

جوہر زصاحب قرآن شاه جمان
یافت ترتیب رسول الاعلا

and the following couplet not only contains the chronogram but also gives the name of the builder and of the mosque together:

ناروش این بناء جوہرسیم ازخو
عینت جوکر بانی سپہر وزیر خان

In another couplet Wazīr Khān asserts his claim as the builder of the mosque:

باني بيت اللاتينيا قمري اخلاص
سرد خاص الناس تدمير الدست وزیر خان

The Badshāhī Masjid contains the name of the builder:

باني اسم كرمان خانزادان نیراينان كر

In Lahore near the tomb of Shāh Shams al-Dīn Qādirī (built in 1022/1613) is a small mosque which bears the following inscription, on the front arch, after the Confession of Faith:

باني ایس سپهران گھسیتا

(Tr: ) "The founder of this mosque is Miyān Ghāsīta"

and on the southern gateway of the Mosque of Maurarān one of the hemistiches of the Rubā‘ī reads,

پیچون موران سپهرب پرامست برخاک

(Tr: ) When Maurān constructed a mosque on the earth

1. A translation of these verses is given in the chapter on Lahore in the passage on the mosque of Wazīr Khān.
There is another small mosque in the Mahallah Chābuk Sawārān which is called after its most elaborate chini work, Chiniyān Wālī Masjid. Its inscription reads:

طرز سمار خرود شارخ سال
گفت زیبا سپید افزاران

(Tr:) The architect of Reason said of the appropriate date of foundation:
"This is the beautiful mosque of Afrāz Khān".

POETICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN PRAISE OF ALLĀH AND THE PROPHET

The poetical inscriptions in praise of Allāh and His Messenger are usually found in couplets and quatrains. But sometimes very long poetical passages also occur. Very seldom are such eulogies found in prose and they are mostly in Persian. Besides praising Allāh or the Prophet, such verses may also praise the builder or the ruler in whose reign the mosque was built. Verses in praise of the respective mosque are also common.

A couplet found in quite a few mosques is:

حمد عربیه کا نیروی پرور سراست
بیس کرخاک درش نیست خالک بزرگ

(Tr:) Muhammad of Arabia is the honour of both worlds, He who is not the dust of his threshold, let dust be thrown over his head.

This Persian couplet is found inscribed in fine glazed pottery work inside the main gate, facing the sahn, of the Masjid-i Wazir Khān. The same text is also found in the same material and technique on the gateway of the Gulābī Bagh at Lahore. There is a tomb mosque immediately behind this gateway.
The Sunahri Masjid of Lahore has the following Arabic inscription in praise of God:

	ثل بإعابدي الذين اسرافوا على الفسوم

لا تقنعون من رحمته الله إن الله ليغفر

الذنوب جميعاا انها هو العفور الرحييم

(Tr:) Say: O my people, who have committed sins in their worldly life, despair not of God's mercy; He shall forgive all your sins for He is forgiving and Merciful.

Another popular inscription in praise of God is:

(Tr:) All beings are perishable, durability is only for God, the Glorious and Venerable.

This inscription is over the northern arch of the sanctuary of the mosque of Muhammad Amin in Lahore. The same inscription is on the central arch, leading to the sanctuary, of the Naqiban Wall Masjid in Lahore.

Some poetical inscriptions on mosques also praise the ruler of the time. The mosque of Zakariya Khan in Lahore was built during the reign of Muhammad Shah and has a very long inscription over its front arch in praise of him:

خواست ودور رشاه ملك پنیاه
شامیندوستان خیر شاه
عالم وعزال وسکی زبان
ورصن مرکز پنیاه

(Tr) In the time of the King, the asylum of the country, Muhammad Shah, the King of Hindustan, Thè learned, the just, the benevolent one of the age; In the field of battle like a fierce lion.

Obviously this inscription has no connection with the mosque but the flattery of the ruler is placed there all the same.
Shāhjahan praises himself and his mosque at Thatta in the inscription on the eastern gateway of the mosque:

پوئن زماہبد ترائن شامیان
پتت تریپ سکید اعل

(Tr:) When the ruler of the age Shāhjahan
Built this dignified mosque.

ایپنگفت سال اپاپش
گشت زریاچو مسجد افتن

(Tr:) When I asked the angel the year of its completion,
[he said] The mosque became beautiful like Masjid-i Aqsa.

In this couplet the second hemistich suggests that the mosque (of Shāhjahan) is as good as that of the Masjid al-Aqsa.

The inscription found at Sehwan records the greatness of the builder and the building in the following couplet:

پنای سپد باح شماریز دروا دی واقع
گر درو عالم رشدار وخبر فیض الناش

(Tr:) The foundation of the Masjid-i Jamii was laid down by a generous personage
The general abundance of whose liberality keeps the populace of the world happy and cheerful.

The quatrain composed in praise of the Wazir Khan mosque in Lahore is also remarkable:

این خاندرکسیربت چوجن تک مظفر نیپش
وارد کچو چو سرور فیض
بردتره اپن قلمد این درگرد
واحشک نوار چو سپور ور فیض

(Tr:) This edifice, which, like the sanctuary of heaven, is the source of bounty,
Has, like the house of Ka'bah, for its object the benefit of mankind.
To the congregation may its gate ever remain open with prosperity until the day of resurrection.
The names of the Prophet and those of the four caliphs are often found in Pakistani mosques. They either appear on the central arch of the sanctuary or over the mihrāb. In the case of shī'ī mosques there are found the names of the twelve Imams or of those known as panj tan pāk (the five pious personages) i.e. the Prophet Muhammad, Fātimah, ʿAlī, Hasan and Husain.

The sunnī mosques usually have the names of the four caliphs and Muhammad, and these are usually prefixed with the name of Allāh. The same inscriptions appear on the tombs of sunnīs and shī'īs respectively. A most conspicuous couplet which is found in almost every mosque is,

(Tr: ) The light (lamp) of the mosque, mihrāb, minār and minbar (is)
Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and Haydār (ʿAlī)

This couplet appears in the following mosques: the Mosque of Dātā-darbar, the mosque of Wazīr Khān, the mosque of Mīyān Mīr, the mosque of Dāʾī Anjā, the mosque of Nīla Gunbad, the Sunahrī mosque and the mosque of Muhammad Sālih, all at Lahore.

The names of the caliphs also appear on the mihrāb of the

1. The names in this mosque appear as
mosque attached to the khanqah of Bu Turabi at Thatta and in the
mosque attached to the tomb of Mir Masum at Sukkur. In fact this is
the commonest of mosque inscriptions and exists in almost every mosque.

AHADITH AND OTHER SAYINGS

Quotations from the Qur'an are prefixed by the words
"so says Allah the Most High". A hadith is prefixed with the words
"so says the Messenger of Allah". The use of
ahadith is a very popular motif in mosque and funerary epigraphy.

There are certain prayers which a Muslim is supposed to say when
entering and leaving the mosque. These prayers are contained in the
following hadith:

(Tr:) The Messenger of Allah said, "When one of you enters
the mosque, he should say, 'O Allah, open for me the
doors of Thy mercy'; and when he goes out, he should
say, 'O Allah, I beg Thy grace of Thee.'" 1

Two inscriptions based on this single hadith have become part
and parcel of every mosque. In those mosques which are small and
where the people are too poor to inscribe them in stone, they are
painted; if that is not possible they are written in a neat hand on

a piece of cardboard and hung up. The following part of the hadīth is always inscribed on the right hand side of the main entrance and outside it:

اللّهُ انتَخِبَلَ الْبَابَ رَحْمَةً

so that whoever has forgotten to recite it will do so automatically when he looks at it, the hadīth being so brief. Likewise the other portion of the hadīth is inscribed inside the main entrance so that when the worshipper is coming out he is reminded of it spontaneously:

اللّهُ انتَخِبَلَ الْبَابَ فَضَلاً

In Pakistan I have not come across any mosque where I have not seen these ahadīth inscribed or written.

Another interesting hadīth is inscribed on the northern arch leading to the sanctuary of the mosque of Maryam Zamānī at Lahore:

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم...

الصوم في الصبح في السمك في الماء

(Tr:) So said the Prophet, may the mercy and blessings of God be upon him: the faithful in a mosque is as a fish in water.

The same hadīth appears in the Naqībān Wālī Masjid with another sentence added to it. This is inscribed on the arches south and north of the mihrāb; it reads:

الصوم في الصبح في السمك في الماء

This much text of the hadīth appears on the northern arch on the right of the mihrāb. To the left on the southern arch is the following continuation,

المنافق في المسجد كالطيور في القفص

(Tr:) and [who is] faithless in the mosque is like a bird in a cage.
The same hadīth appears also on the small central arch of the sanctuary facade of the mosque of the Bāṭī gate.

A proverbial couplet appears in most of the mosques of the Panjab and particularly those of Lahore; it reads:

 qualche cosa di più
 qualche cosa di più

(Tr:) Haste thou for prayers before death
Haste to repent before thou cease to live.

The saying is such that it fits mosques as well as tombs. This has given it a wider scope of application. One particular example where it occurs in a very conspicuous way is the mosque of Khān Bahādur in Lahore. On the central arch of the mosque sanctuary facade is inscribed the kalima-yī tayyibah. On the northern side arch is the first hemistich and on the southern, the second.
The first hemistich is also inscribed on the entrance of the small mosque attached to the tomb of Ḥanīd Qārī, and on the central arch of the sanctuary facade of the mosque of Muhammad Amin and also on the central arch of the sanctuary facade of the mosque of Nawwāb Imām al-Dīn Khān; all three are in Lahore.

Another ḥadīth occurs in the mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lahore:

تَمَلَّ عَلَيْهِ إِسْلَامٍ صَنَّ شَهِدَان
لاَ إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللهُ وَحْيِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ النَّاَمِ

(Tr:) Whosoever testified that there is no god but Allah, the fire (of hell) is forbidden to him.

However, I have not been able to find this ḥadīth in any other mosque.

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1. Meaning, the reader of the Qurʾān.
Epigraphy in tombs

Strictly speaking the building of monuments over graves is contrary to the teachings of Islam, for the building of tombs is wasteful in the opinion of the orthodox; it is also against the spirit of equality which Islam so vehemently professes. Muhammad said "No one of you is a believer in God unless he loves for his brother what he loves for himself". In such circumstances it was impossible that each Muslim should have a majestic mausoleum. Indeed, the accounts of the death of the Prophet and of the period immediately following reveal no special interest in his tomb. But very soon the increasing interest in graves led to the erection of sanctuaries over them.

1. J. Pedersen, "Masjid" El1, 323.

2. Typical examples are the mushrooming of dargahs and khānqahs in India and Pakistan.
Could mosques be built over tombs and could tombs be used as places of worship? The ḥadīth answers both these questions in the negative. But the expositors of ḥadīth like al-Nawawī and al-Asqalānī interpret the ḥadīth that only an exaggerated tāẓīm and praying facing the graves is prohibited; they are anxious to ensure that the grave, does not assume the role of qibla. The name given to tomb-mosques is often qubba, a term also current in Pakistan. A qubba is generally interpreted as a domed structure built over a grave. Such structures particularly in medieval Pakistani architecture have a mihrāb which transforms the qubba into a small mosque. Those tombs which were built in the style of a ra‘ūdah had a mihrāb in the boundary wall. An elevated platform was also provided in front of the mihrāb to make the mosque conspicuous. Both these arrangements are typical of Pakistani tombs and can be seen at Lahore, Multān, and at Makli. To this day mosques attached to tombs attract more people than free-standing mosques. This is certainly not in conformity with the teachings of Islam.

Originally then, Islam was antagonistic to any ceremonial commemoration of the dead. But certain other factors gradually modified an attitude that was eventually preserved only in the strictest orthodox circles. The principal one which mainly contributed to tomb building was the growth of Shi‘īte heterodoxy. This led to a cult of

3. See Pedersen, op.cit., 322.
4. Like the Tomb of Diwān Şurfa Khan and the adjacent mosque at Makli Hill.
the descendants of the Prophet through his son-in-law Ālī. As Islam strengthened its hold on subjugated lands, a variety of local cultic pursuits influenced the Muslims. The worship of holy places also resulted in the Islamization of previously holy sites by associating them with deceased Muslim heroes, or holy men or anbiyā'. In India and Pakistan most of the ruling dynasties made it a permanent practice to erect monumental raudahs – larger tombs laid in gardens. Most rulers liked to commemorate themselves through the erection of a mausoleum. Not many tombs have remained from the early centuries of Islam, but literary evidence provides clear clues. In Lahore, for example, there were hundreds of tombs which either survive in ruins or have been obliterated.² Cousens tells us that Thatta alone had 10,000 tombs.³ This may be a little exaggerated, but it still gives an idea of the craze for tomb building in medieval and post-medieval Pakistan.

The design of the tomb building in India and Pakistan was most probably derived from the early funerary architecture of Central Asia. The Mausoleum of the Samānids at Bukhārā illustrates a type of mausoleum which exerted a powerful influence on the tomb architecture of the sub-continent. The tomb at Bukhārā is a superb example of brick architecture and no doubt early tombs in India and Pakistan were also built with the same material rather than the longer-lasting stone even in those places.

1. For the early history of tombs in the Islamic world, see O. Grabar, "The earliest Islamic commemorative structures. Notes and documents", Ars Orientalis VI (1966), 1-45.
2. See S.M. Latif, Lahore, (Lahore 1892), passim.
where it was in abundance. Even in modern Islamic architecture in Pakistan the local architects have apparently re-applied the old tradition of a centrally planned building as the characteristic commemorative structure.1

Veneration of the saints has been another factor which has encouraged the building of tombs in such abundance. Many of these saints claimed that they knew about matters which were ghayb (hidden) and about which even the Prophet did not claim knowledge: "If I knew what is hidden I should acquire much good and nothing evil would touch me". (v.188 of sura vii, al-'Araf). The veneration of a saint can often turn him into an 'alim al-ghayb wa'l Shahâda, "the knower of what is hidden and of what is present", which is an attribute of God alone. It is this erroneous belief which has turned Multân, for example, into a city of tombs. In fact a proverbial couplet about Multân says,

(Tr:1) Four gifts in Multan find their home:
They're dust, heat, beggars and the tomb.

While Lahore has the tombs of some saints venerated throughout the Islamic world as sufis2 there are thousands of other tombs as well.
A street can hardly be found without a small tomb, dargah or khângah.

Though the history of tombs in Pakistan and India goes back to the 10th century, the veneration of saints was given marked impetus by the

1. The tomb of the Qâ'id-i A'zam at Karachi is a translation of the brick-built tomb at Bakharâ into marble.
2. Like those of Dātâ Sâhib and Hadrat-i Miyân Mîr.
Mughals, especially Akbar, who in order to be granted a son went on foot to Sikr to pay homage to a saint, Salīm Chishtī and, after he was blessed with a son, named him after the saint. Akbar as a gesture of respect not only built the mausoleum of Salīm Chishtī when he died but also built his new capital, Fathpūr, at Sikrī. The births of Akbar's subsequent two sons were also preceded by such acts of devotion and they were also named after saints: Murād, and Dāniyāl. Jahāngīr himself once visited the mazār of Akbar with the begūns and other ladies. He rubbed his head on the threshold and then sought blessings by going round the tomb.

The tradition of tomb building and of worship at tombs is therefore long-established and shows no sign of abating. The placing of inscriptions on the grave and on the tomb building is closely connected with the position of the dead body in the grave. It is relevant therefore to discuss how the dead body is placed in the grave.

After offering fard-i kifāyah, sūra al-Fātihah is loudly recited before lowering the dead body into the grave. One or two person, relatives or others, descend into the grave to lay the body down, while two take the sheet that covered the body, twist it round, and lifting up the body put it under the waist. Then standing one on each side of


3. This is not the place to discuss the rituals of ghusl, kafan, gūlāb, bāzī, phul kī chadar, fard kifāyah and rukhsat-i ʿam. For these details see Ja'far Sharī'ī, Islam in India or the Qānūn-i Islam, (repr. London, 1972), 89-109.
the grave, they hold on by the two ends, and with the help of two or three at the head and as many at the feet, they hand the corpse to the men who have descended into the grave. They lay the body flat on its back with the head towards the north and the feet to the south, turning the face westward towards Mecca. This is called turning the face qibla rukh. Then each one present recites, low or loud, the sūra al-Ikhlās. The earth is then gently placed in the grave and a mound is formed above the grave. 1 It is also customary to recite verses 255-7 of the second Sūra al-Baqarah. 2

Since the feet of the dead are always kept to the south end of the grave, the south side of the sarcophagus never contains any Qur'ānic inscriptions. Such an act would be considered disrespectful and in the view of the 'ulama' would certainly invoke the wrath of the Almighty and ensure that there would be no mercy for the deceased.

In the absence of Qur'ānic inscriptions, the south side is filled either with Persian or Urdu poetry, a chronogram or simply by the genealogy of the deceased. A similar attitude is maintained towards the eastern-longitudinal side. Since the corpse is placed with the face turned to the west it is also considered disrespectful to have Qur'ānic inscriptions on the side from which the face of the corpse is turned. In these circumstances only the north and west elevations and the surface of the grave are left. These are given Qur'ānic


2. These verses also include the āyat al-kursī.
Epigraphy in tombs
inscriptions. In the case of cenotaphs these strict practices are generally relaxed and the Qur'ānic inscriptions appear on the east side as well, but the south is still considered unsuitable for Qur'ānic texts.

The Qur'ānic inscriptions used on graves and funerary monuments in Pakistan can be classified into five major categories:

1. Sūras and āyats
2. The āyat al kursī
3. The bismillāh
4. The kalīmas
5. The attributes of God (ṣifāt)

**SŪRAS AND ĀYATS**

On account of the limited space on the various sides of a sarcophagus or cenotaph only shorter sūras are inscribed in full on them. In place of the longer sūras only selected āyāt from them are chosen.

One such sūra which is short and occurs on graves is the sūra al-Fātiḥah. This sūra is inscribed in nastā'īq characters on the top portion of the grave of Mīr Mā'ūn at Sukkur. Sūra al-Fātiḥah is also known under various other names. It is spoken of as sab'ān mina'il mithani or the seven most often repeated verses in the Qur'ān.¹ Its seven verses are constantly repeated by every Muslim at least thirty-two times a day. The sūra is also spoken of as the fātihat al-Kitāb

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1. Ḥalī, op. cit., 2.
or "The opening of the book" in a saying of the Prophet: "No prayer is complete without the recitation of Fātihat al-Kitāb". It is therefore also called the surat al-kitāb, the chapter of prayer. Some historians express doubts about its revelation. Their argument is that in this sura it is the man who is speaking and not God, and that it is therefore not revealed but composed of seven often repeated verses. This is absolutely incorrect for the Qur'an itself says,

وَلَقَدْ اتَّبِعُوكَ سِبْعَ آيَاتٍ مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْقُرْآنِ العظيم

(Tr.) And certainly we have given you seven of the often repeated (verses) and the grand Qur'an.

The Fātihah is also called The Grand Qur'an as it contains the essence of the whole of the Qur'an. Surprisingly it does not occur on any other tomb of significance in Pakistan.

Another sura used in its complete form is the sura xcix (al-Zilzaal).

The sura is inscribed in the central part of the east side of the grave of Mīr Ma'sūm's father, Mīr Safā'ī, and in exactly the same place on the grave of Mīr Ma'sūm. The difference lies in the border which

1. Ḍālī, op. cit., loc. cit.

2. The sura al-Fātihah is also known as surat al-Du'a, "Chapter of supplication", ʿUmm al-kitāb "Basis of the Book", or the Praise, the Thanksgiving, the Treasure, the Whole, and the Healer. See Maulana Muhammad Ḍālī, The Holy Qur'an (repr. Lahore, 1951), 1 ff.

3. v.87 of sura xv (al-Ḥijr).
Bismillah
(Tombs)

Tomb of Aṣif Jāh; Lahore.

Tomb of anonymous; Makli.

Tomb of Jānī Beg; Makli.

Tomb of anonymous; Makli.

Tomb of Bahāʾ al-Ḥaqq; Multān.

Zanana tombs; Makli.

Tomb of Shaykh ʿAlaʾ al-Dīn; Pākpattan.
surrounds the sūra. In the former case the border is made of floral motifs while in the latter case it is made of intertwined chain motifs.

Sūra al-Zīlzāl comprises eight verses. Some consider that these verses describe the signs of the approach of the Day of Judgement, the words indicating that great earthquakes and other disasters would shake the whole of the earth.¹

Sūra cii (al-Takāththur), also occurs on both the above-mentioned tombs. Quite possibly the sarcophagi of both these graves were prepared by Mīr Maʿāsum himself and this may account for their similarity. In both these instances the sūra appears on the west side of the grave in the central portion surrounded by a decorative border. The word takāththur implies abundance² and prosperity, and the multiplication of wealth. The point expressed in this sūra is that abundance of worldly goods and comforts is the great impediment which keeps man away from the real object of life. To make him realize this, it has always been necessary to divest man of some of these comforts. Disasters are therefore sometimes brought upon man. The first two ayāt clearly say that as long as man lives in comfort he forgets his Creator, till he reaches his grave. The sūra is thus eminently suitable for use on tombs.

Both the tombs mentioned above also have sūras cix, cxiii and

¹. See also CAlī, op.cit., 1213-4 and n.n. 1668, 276-7.
². Of wealth and other necessities and luxuries of life.
cxiv, i.e. al-Kāfīrūn, al-Falaq and al-Nās respectively. These three sūras, with sūra al-Ikhlas, are considered as qūl for each of them starts with the word 'الْقُولُ' or 'say'. It is a commonly held Muslim belief that if these four qūls are recited regularly, or if they are hung in a house, evil spirits are scared away and the mercies of God will come to the house.

Sūra cx (al-Nāsr) forms a popular inscription for the graves of ghazīs and shuhāda' and also for the graves of national heroes. This sūra thus appears on the graves of Mîr Maṣūm at Sukkur and the Qā'id-i A'zam Muhammad ʿAlī Jinnāh at Karachi.¹ The east side of the grave of the Qā'id-i A'zam also has v.1 of sūra xlvii, (al-Fath).

Another sūra to be found in mausolea and on graves is sūra cxii (al-Ikhlas). According to ʿAlī this sūra is really the concluding chapter of the Qur'ān; the two chapters that follow only show how the protection of Allāh is to be sought.²

The sūra al-Ikhlas gives the sum and substance of the teaching of the Qur'ān, namely the declaration of the unity of the Divine Being. Ḥakhams means 'purification' of a thing from dross and as this chapter purifies the unity of Allāh of all the dross of polytheism it is called al-Ikhlas. The chapter is one of the earliest Makkan revelations.³

¹. The mausoleum of Jinnāh falls outside the period of my study. It is therefore not dealt with in detail in this work.
². ʿAlī, tr. and tafsīr the Qur'ān, (Lahore, 1951), 1219.
³. Ibid.
This sura is inscribed over the mihrab of the Khanqah of Šu-Turabī at Thatta. It is rendered in a roundel forming a sort of geometric pattern in the middle. On the sarcophagus of Mīr Maṣūm, the sura is inscribed in a raised nastaʿlīq hand.

Sūras cxiii and cxiv of the Qurʾān i.e. al-Faq and al-Nās respectively, are known as muʿawidhatān (from ʿādha, 'he sought refuge'). These two sūras teach man how to seek refuge in Allāh.1 Both these sūras are inscribed in nastaʿlīq on the graves of Mīr Maṣūm and Mīr Šaṭṭārī at Sukkur.

ISOLATED ĀYATS

Apart from the use of complete sūras on certain tombs and graves some āyats have also been used on a number of burial monuments. The selection of these āyats mainly depends on the choice of the relatives of the deceased or the patrons who were responsible for the construction of the graves and mausolea in question. The fact that they do not recur is therefore not astonishing. The sarcophagus of the Emperor Jahāngīr has verse 104 of the sūra iii (al-ṣāmīra). The first part of this verse is however used on a number of graves and mausolea like the tomb of ʿAbd Allāh Shāh Shaykh in Muzang, Lahore and an anonymous gravestone at Maklī Hill.

1. See also ʿAlī, op.cit., 1220-2.
2. "Every soul will taste of death".
One of the columns around the grave of Mīr Maṣʿūm has verse 99 of sūra xxiii (al-Muʾminūn), while on his sarcophagus verses 285 and 286 of sūra ii (al-Baqara) are also inscribed. All these verses do not occur, to the best of my knowledge, anywhere else except on the grave of his own father Mīr Safāʾī.

The following is a list of other Qur'ānic verses which I have noted on some Pakistani graves and mausolea:

1. Grave of Mīr Safāʾī, Sukkur, verse 22 of sūra lix (al-Hashr)
2. Grave of Mīr Maṣʿūm, Sukkur; verses 1-5 of sūra ii (al-Baqara)
3. Tomb of Sultān Ibrāhīm, Maklī; verse 39 of sūra xxxix (al-Zumar)
4. Tomb of Hājī Ramadān, Maklī; verses 19-20, 24-25, 29-30 of sūra lxvi (al-Mulk)
5. Anonymous grave, Maklī; verse 79 of sūra xvii (Bānī Isrāʾīl)
6. Anonymous grave, Maklī; verses 30-2 of sūra xli (Hāʾ Mīm)
7. Anonymous grave, Maklī; verse 88 of sūra xxviii (al-Qasas)
8. Anonymous grave, Maklī; verses 21,22 of sūra ix (al-Taubah)
9. Anonymous grave, Maklī; verses 7,10 and 17 of sūra xvii (Bānī Isrāʾīl).

THE ĀYAT AL-KURSI

I have already discussed in the previous chapter the importance of the āyat al-kursī. According to Ibn Jubair1 "His kursī is His Knowledge". The word kursī is freely used in Arabic to indicate knowledge or learning and a learned man is called ahl al-kursī. There

1. Quoted by ʿAlī, op.cit., 111.
is an Arabic proverb, which means that, the best of men are the men of learning.\(^1\) The ayât is inscribed inside the mausoleum of Ālā' al-Dīn at Pākpattan, and on the graves Mīr Ma'sūm and Mīr Safā'I at Sukkur.

THE BISMILLAH

The bismillah is found on almost every grave and mausoleum which has inscriptions. In some cases, such as the graves of Mīr Ma'sūm and his father, it has been repeated many times in the nastā'īq characters while at the mausoleum of Ālī Hajwairī it is repeated many times in naskhī. Certain other examples which have the bismillah in chaste and elegant characters are as follows:

1. Anonymous tomb, Makli, dated 600/1397.
2. The grave of Qāsim Khān, Turkī.
4. Tomb of Ārif Jāh, Lahore.
5. Zanana tombs, Makli.
6. Qadām Rasūl, Lahore.
7. Tomb of Nawāb Tānk, Lahore.
8. Tomb of Jahāngīr, Lahore.
9. Tomb mosque, known as Sāwī Masjid, Multān.

\(^1\) Quoted by Ālī, op.cit., 111.
THE KALIMA-YI TAYYIBAH OR SHAHADAH

The Kalima-yi tayyibah or shahadah is a very popular inscription found in mosques and tombs alike. In tombs it is mostly used above the main entrance and on graves it is usually found on the northern panel. Sometimes it is also used on the top portion of the grave or above the epitaph following the bismillah.

The finest examples of the kalima and shahadah are found on the grave of Ḥāfiz-Allāh Bakhshī Ṣāḥib, Maklī; the tomb of Shahbāz Qalandar, Sehvān; the tombs of Shāh Shams Tabrīzī, Rūkn-i Ālam, and Bahā' al-Haqq, Multān; the zanana tombs, Maklī; the tomb of Dīwān Shurfā Khān, Maklī and the tombs of ʿAlī Najm al-Dīn, Emperor Jahāngīr and Nawwāb Tānj at Lahore. At Turkī the graves of Amīr Shāh Qāsim Beglār and Mīr Shīr Beg also have the shahadah in naskhī. All these examples are in naskhī; one example in nastālīq is found on the grave of Mīr Maḥmūd at Sukkur.

There is a widespread belief amongst Muslims, particularly those of Pakistan and India, that the first thing which will be required of a dead person by angels in the grave is to recite the Kalima-yi tayyibah or the Muslim confession of faith. The inscription of this kalima on graves and mausolea is therefore a general proclamation that the deceased firmly believed in it. It is also customary to recite the kalima when one is about to die and also to recite it or the shahadah loudly while carrying the bier to the graveyard.
Kalima-yi-ṭayyibah
(Tombs)

Tomb of Matīn Beg, Maklī.

Tomb of Shāh Shams Tabrīzī, Multān.

Tomb of Bahāʾ al-Ḥaqq, Multān.

Zanāna tombs, Maklī.

Tomb of Dīwān Shurfā Khān, Maklī.

Tomb of anonymous, Maklī.
THE ATTRIBUTES OF ALLĀH

The regular recitation of various attributes of Allāh is considered the most pious of religious acts. The Muslims believe that the constant recitation of God's attributes invokes God's immense mercies. Muslims hang these attributes, beautifully written and framed, in their houses. They have a great talismanic appeal to the faithful.

The practice of writing the attributes on the sarcophagus or cenotaph received a great boost in the Mughal period. The tomb of Akbar at Sikandra is the first major cenotaph of the period to be inscribed with the ninety-nine attributes of Allāh.¹ The example set by Akbar's tomb was followed vigorously by his son whose cenotaph at Lahore is decorated with exquisite inlay work bearing the 99 attributes of Allāh in naskhī, all carved in white marble and filled with black marble. The tradition set by Akbar and his son Jahāngīr was followed throughout the period of Mughal rule and the cenotaphs and sarcophagi of not only the emperors but also of the ruling elite and umāra,² were also adorned with the attributes of Allāh.

The attributes of God are traditionally classified into three main categories: God in his role of creation, judgement and retribution; God as unique and One in Himself; and God omnipotent and merciful. The other attributes of Allāh are listed separately.

2. Like the tomb of Asif Jāh and Anārkalī at Lahore.
Attributes of ALLAH (ṣifāt)

1. al-ʿAwwal, the First
2. al-ʿAbbār, the Last
3. al-ʿĀdīr, the Eternal
4. al-ʿIstiqṣān, the Internal
5. al-ʿAwṣ, Self-sustaining
6. al-ʿWālī, the Existent
7. al-ʿWālī ṣalāt, the Necessarily Existent
8. al-ʿWājib, the One
9. al-ʿAlī, the Living
10. al-Muʾtaṣibū, the Skilled
11. al-ʿAlī, the Skilled
12. al-ṣāliḥ, the Comprehensive
13. al-ṣāḥib, the Powerful
14. al-ṣāliḥ, the Self-sustaining
15. al-bālī, the Absolute Originator
16. al-Ḥātim, the Enduring
17. al-ṣāliḥ, the Eternal
18. al-ṣāliḥ, the Mighty
19. al-ṣāliḥ, the Grand
20. al-ṣāliḥ, the Dominant
21. al-Muteṣabbir, the Haughty
22. al-ṣāliḥ, the Great
23. al-ṣāliḥ, the Laudable
24. al-Muṣṭafī, the Glorious
25. al-Muṣṭafī, the Glorious
26. al-ṣāliḥ, the Generous
27. al-Muṣṭafī, the Generous
28. al-Jawāl, the Majestic
29. al-Maʿṣūr, the Strong
30. al-Mustaʿla, the First
31. al-ʿAlim, the Knower
32. al-Ḥabīb, the Beloved
33. al-Raʾīsq, the Aware
34. al-Ḥakīm, the Wise
35. al-Samīʿ, the Hearer
36. al-Rāʾiṣ, the Seer
37. al-Ḥālik al-qadīm, the Holy King
(al-qadīm alone is also reckoned as one of the names).
38. al-Salām, the Peace
39. al-ʿAdl, the Just
(or Qurʾān al-bakās, Best of Judges)
40. al-Burāq, the Benefactor
41. al-Nūr, the Light
42. al-Haqq, the Real or Reality
43. al-Muṣṭafī, the Creator
44. al-Bārī, the Creator
45. al-Maṣawir, the Shaper
46. al-Muʾādđī, the Beginner
47. al-Muṣtāfī, the Restorer
48. al-Maḥfīz, the Giver of Life
49. al-Muṣṭafī, the Giver of Life
50. al-Wārith, the Heir
51. al-Mamīr, the Recorder
52. al-Muṣṭafī, the Sender of the dead from the graves

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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Arabic Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>al-Muṣṭafī</td>
<td>the Strengthened</td>
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<td>56.</td>
<td>al-Kāsim</td>
<td>the Compassionate</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>al-Karīm</td>
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</table>

It is true that the last ten do not occur as epithets in the Qur'an; but their roots are common as used of Allāh. Curiously enough, the adjective from the last epithet - the Distresser - is used in the Qur'an of Sulaym (see verse 11 of Sūrat al-Fātihah (al-Kāfīr).
The name Allāh is found in various monuments inscribed in a great variety of scripts. Sometimes it occurs on tiles, sometimes it is made of cut brick and sometimes it is engraved in stone. In some cases it is simply painted in spandrels or merlons or above the mihrāb. When it is placed in a spandrel the other spandrel is usually filled with the name of the Prophet. Thus, 'yā Allāh' and 'yā Muhammad' often appear juxtaposed. Fine examples of 'Allāh' are found at Pakpattan in the tomb of Ālā' al-Dīn over the mihrāb and above the entrance. At Lahore in the tomb of Ālī Hajwairī it is in the spandrel of the central arch. In the mausoleum of Jahāngīr the word 'Allāh' appears on both sides of the main gateway placed in an inconspicuous way. In the tomb of Rukn-ī Ālam at Multān it is in the spandrels cut in the bricks in thulth style. In the tomb of Bahā' al-Haqq at Multān, the word 'Allāh' is placed over the gateway in tilework. The letters are blue while the ground is white. The tombs of Miyan Mir and Fīr Muḥtrām also have fine calligraphic examples over their gateways.

For the use of all the ninety-nine attributes together, four tombs in Pakistan provide the finest examples. In each of these cases it is the sides of the cenotaphs which have been decorated with the names of Allāh. The cenotaphs in question are those of Jahāngīr, Anārkalī and Āṣif Jāh at Lahore; and the Qā'id-i Ā'zam at Karachi. The tombs of Shāh Shams Tabrīzī and Bahā' al-Haqq at Multān and Ālī Hajwairī at Lahore have selected attributes over the cenotaphs. Ālī Hajwairī's tomb has بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم in a beautiful tughra'ī style over the gateway, while the khānqāhs of Zanjānī and Ḥāmid Qārī have بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم in tughra'ī characters in the spandrels of the mihrāb inside the tomb chamber.
Attributes of Allah

Tomb of Shāh Shams Tabrīzī, Multān.

Tomb of Aṣif Jāh, Lahore.

Tomb of Miyān Mīr, Lahore.
NON-QUR'ĀNIC EPIGRAPHY IN TOMBS

The non-Qur'ānic epigraphy used in funerary contexts falls into five major categories:

1. Poetry in praise of the deceased
2. Poetry illustrating the concept of death in Islam
3. The name of the deceased and his/her genealogy
4. The date of death
5. Chronograms.¹

POETRY IN PRAISE OF THE DECEASED

This group of inscriptions provide very interesting examples of poetry. The verses which are used for graves are either especially composed for this purpose or are carefully chosen from the work of well-known poets. The major language of this poetry has remained Persian throughout. It was only toward the closing stage of Mughal² rule that Urdu gained ground. Bahādur Shāh II, the last of the recognised Mughals, was a poet; he composed a ghazal in Urdu of which the last couplet was

كدنا يبه مناسب نظر دوست كيتا
دوزخرب سنين هي رال كلاي نای رای

(Tr:) Hard fate to Zafar is unjust
Who for his simple tomb
Was yet denied six feet of dust
Close by his sweetheart's home.

¹ I shall discuss this in the second part of this chapter.
² Particularly Bahādur Shāh Zafar who himself was an accomplished poet. Zafar was his takhallus.
It was a great irony of fate that though he was Emperor of India, he was exiled and was not buried in India. Such pieces of poetry which are so obviously suitable quickly become favourites for tomb epigraphy. It is also customary to put verses in praise of the deceased in the epitaph. Such inscriptions rarely occur on the sarcophagi or the cenotaphs. Their most appropriate place is a vertical katibah or stone fixed on the head-side (i.e. the north) of the grave. Such a stone is usually inscribed on both sides. The most favoured side of this katibah is the southern one because a visitor to the grave will always stand on its south side, not because of any ritual, custom or religious doctrine but only as a matter of respect. Thus the south side of the katibah becomes more conspicuous than the side facing north. One typical expression usually inscribed on these epitaphs is (tomb of Emperor Jahāngīr, Lahore) or the 'illuminated resting place [= grave]'. Every dead person is considered pious and holy; hence the concept of illumination in the grave through the nur of Allāh.

Other inscriptions celebrate the personal qualities of the dead. The tomb of Shaykh Muhtram has many inscriptions in Arabic and Persian. One such inscription in Persian in praise of the Shaykh runs:

1. His mausoleum is in Rangoon, Burma. See Haig and Burn, op.cit., 448.

2. He died in 1102/1690. See Latif, op.cit., 132.
The guide of wayfarers in the way of salvation,
Is He who has Solomon's heart and Asif's wisdom.

Miyān Wadda has a similar inscription in his praise:

(Mr.) Hear the date [of death] of that ocean of wisdom
Who spent his whole life in the love of God.

Miyān Mīr was a great saint of Lahore. Prince Dārā Shikōh was one of
his disciples. He died in the year 1045/1635. His mausoleum has
six couplets inscribed on the gate of the tomb. The first couplet is
as follows:

Miyān Mīr, the chief of the pious,
The dust of whose portals is envied by the stone
of the alchemist.

In the mausoleum of Hadrat Ganj Bakhsh at Lahore a couplet in
praise of the saint is inscribed above the arch of the octagonal
building containing the sarcophagus. The same inscription is repeated
above the central arch of the adjacent mosque. The couplet is in
Persian and inscribed in black letters of beautiful nastaʿlīq. The
couplet reads:

1. Latif, op.cit., 156. Miyān Wadda died in 1095/1683. His tomb is
in Lahore. See also chapter on Lahore Tombs.

(Tr.) The bestower of treasure, grace of the world and reflector of the splendour (nur) of God, An accomplished spiritual guide for the learned and a guide for the ignorant. 1

On another arch of the tomb mosque of Hadrat Ganj Bakhsh the great sanctity of the saint is expressed in the following three couplets:

خانقاه علي حاجی - خاك جاروب ازدورش
طوطيكين بهيدن حقین - ناشون واقع در امرار
چوكس وارندست چلي رود - سان وصفش برادر ازدورار

(Tr.) The khānqah of Ālī Hajwairī, 2

Gather up the dust of its portals, 
(And) use it as antimony to your truth-seeking eyes, 
That the mysteries of the knowledge of God may be revealed unto you, 
As he was the chief of the world of sanctity, 
The year of his death is obtained from the word sardār.

Another tomb in Lahore, the tomb of Muhammad Shāh Maujdaryā, has the following Persian inscription in its tenant's praise, inscribed on the southern gateway in nastaliq:

روست مفسر زرده الواصلين فروده العارفين مقبول باکر

1. Latif erroneously reads the couplet as:

(see S.M. Latif, The History of Lahore, (Lahore, 1892), 180).

2. Ālī was the name of the saint now commonly known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh. He hailed from Hajwīr. His tomb is known as Dātā Darbār or the court of Dātā. See also H.Hosain "Data Ganj Bakhsh Lahori", B11, 927.
The holy shrine of the best of the departed, the most excellent of the pious, the beloved of God Most High, Mîr Sayyid Muhammad Shah Manjdarya Bukhari, may God illuminate his resting place. Built in the reign of Akbar Padshah.

In Sukkur Mîr Maṣūm's sarcophagus has a laudatory inscription. The whole inscription comprises three couplets in Persian and is composed in nastālīq characters. The inscription is on the south side of the sarcophagus. The first couplet praises Mîr Maṣūm in this way:

(Tr:) Mîr Maṣūm who is the moon in the constellation of glory,
Sun of the faith and religion and the grace of the world.

and in the second hemistich of the last couplet,

(Tr:) Nāmī was the master of the Kingdom of poetry.

A long inventory of such inscriptions could be prepared. They are found on graves and mausolea in appreciation of the dead, and few graves did not originally have such inscriptions.
The second type of inscriptions are those which explain the reality of death and elucidate the concept of death in Islam. Some of such inscriptions have become well-known proverbs and are current in Pakistan no matter whether they are in Arabic or Persian. One such inscriptions reads:

٨۵۶؛ زا و ئا رگ یا اساحر

(Tr:) Take warning you who have eyes.

This brief inscription warning people of their ultimate destiny is found for example on most of the gravestones in the graveyard of Miyānī Sāhib in Lahore. Another proverbial inscription is

اللهُ باتٰی والعلائیان

(Tr:) God is eternal; all the rest is perishable.

which is found inscribed in tughrāʾ characters on the gravestones in the Begumpūra cemetery. Some other brief and proverbial inscriptions in the graveyards of Lahore are as below:

٨۶١ - عجلوبًا التوبة قبل الموت

(Tr:) Haste to repent before you cease to live

٨۶٢ - زنگی بی نمود از غیبت

(Tr:) The object of life should be devotion [(to God)]

A life without devotion is a shameful life.
Tomb of Darya Khan, Makli.

Inscription (hadīth) on the southern entrance.
(Tr:) O God grant me thy grace,
Guide me to the path of righteousness.

(Tr:) Everything in the world is perishable
only God the glorious and venerable endures.

It is generally believed that as soon as a dead person is buried his accountability commences in the grave. Those who pass through graveyards usually therefore recite sûra al-Ikhlas and al-Fatihah so that the sins of the sinful are pardoned and their retribution and chastisement is accordingly reduced. When on their death-bed Muslims therefore ask for the forgiveness of God. According to a common belief repentance is something of which God approves. The idea is thus expressed very often on sarcophagi, cenotaphs and epitaphs as well as on mausolea themselves. The mausoleum of Shaykh Muhtaram in Lahore has two Arabic inscriptions in naskhī, placed on the arches leading to the central portion of the tomb, and one of them reads:

للّهِ اذْعَفْرِ لَامَاتِهِ، مَحْمُود
للّهِ اذْعَفْرِ لَامَاتِهِ، مَحْمُود

(Tr:) O God, pardon the sins of the followers of Muhammad.
O God, take compassion on the followers of Muhammad.

The other inscription reads:

وَاللّهُ أَنْبِيَةِ النَّبِيِّينَ

(Tr:) And God loves those who are penitent.
in the tomb of Mir Mahdi in the Khwajah Sa'id quarter of Lahore there is a similar inscription. This is also in Arabic and in naskhī:

اللهُ مَتَّعَ بِخِشْرِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَخَلِیفَةٍ الَّذِی مُحَمَّد
لَبِدَ وَقَنَّ تَعِدَ وَتَنَاسِم

(Tr.:) O God, shower blessings on Muhammad and on the descendants of Muhammad as many times as your creatures have stood and sat down.

The sarcophagus of Nawâb Imam al-Dîn whose tomb is situated close to the tomb of Dâta Ganj Bakhsh, the following Persian couplet is inscribed in nastâ'îq:

پیامین که وکیلی داری کسان
ایسر رحمان اخلاق الخمس خوان

(Tr.:) When you pass by my grave lifting up your skirt [to protect it from dust] Out of sincerity recite the sûra al-İhmâd (for the benefit of my soul) 1

Other inscriptions which are related to the idea of death are those which neither ask for God's mercy nor speak in praise of the dead, but express only intense sorrow and regret.

The tomb of Nûrjanân formerly had a very touching inscription comprising three couplets said to have been composed by the queen herself, as she was a poetess of considerable merit. This marble epitaph, executed in nastâ'îq, was still to be seen about ten years ago but now does not exist. I am therefore unable to give the original

1. In this couplet the pun on the word الاحتمال perhaps requires explanation. İkhâs on the one hand is used to mean "sincerity" and on the other to 'refer to chapter oxii of the Qur'an entitled al-İkhâs.
Persian text, which has been translated as follows:

Upon my grave when I shall die,
No lamp shall burn no jasmine lie,
No candle with unsteady flame,
Serve as reminder of my fame,
No bulbul chanting overhead,
Shall tell the world that I am dead. ²

and on the tomb of Anārkalī in Lahore, the feelings of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr) are expressed on marble in nastā'liq:

ناستیلس شکر گیاهی می کرکان خوانیش را
مقدر کر ازبختم روی یار توشیش را

(Tr:) Ah! Could I behold the face of my beloved once more, I would give thanks unto my God until the day of resurrection.

Similar feelings of remorse are expressed on the southern wall of the tomb of Nawāb Imām al-Dīn. The verses are by Sa’dī. The inscription is carved in nastā'liq characters on a marble slab:

دریا کار می بسی روز گزار
پرچم گل و بشکوف لیاقت
بی نیرو دی ماه ارگی بخشت
بی بیکر ما خاک با نیش و خشتش

(Tr:) Ah! Without me in this world,
Many a flower will grow and many a bloom will shoot up gaily,
Many a month of tīr, dī, and urdī-bihisht ³ will come,
When I shall be reduced to earth and brick.

---

1. The tomb of Nurjahan at present is under repair. It is hoped that the marble epitaph will also be replaced before the renovation work concludes.

2. This translation is by the poet John Bowen; see S. Crowe, The Gardens of Mughal India, (London, 1972), 131.

3. Tīr, dī and urdī-bihisht are the fourth, tenth and second months of the Persian calendar.
The non-Qur'ānic inscriptions have a particular character in that they are intended to suit only one individual's grave.¹ It is therefore very hard to cite an inscription which is found on more than one grave or mausoleum. The only possibility of repetition is in the case of the names of religious personalities like the Prophet Muhammad. His name, along with the names of some of the early caliphs, occurs in a number of mausolea. The tombs of ʿAlī Hajwārī and Sayyid Sirāj al-Dīn in Lahore both have the names of Muhammad, Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī inscribed after Allāh. Nastaʿlīq characters are used in both these instances.

**DATE OF DEATH**

Wherever inscriptions are provided on graves the date of death is recorded. Very rarely is there any exception. The most popular fashion of recording the date was by a poetical chronogram. In such chronograms the date was concealed in a few words or in the whole of a hemistich, particularly in the last couplet. This will be discussed below. Some examples now follow in which the exact date or simply the year of death is given in numerals, thereby avoiding the customary method of composing chronograms in verses based on abjad computation. It should be noted that dates on graves without poetical chronograms are quite rare.

The grave of Māh Baigah on Maklī Hill gives the date as

وفات ماه بيج بخارخ ٠٠٠٠ مه

---

¹ With the exception of verses composed by well-known poets.
(Tr:) Death of Māh Baigah [occurred in the year] 1000 A.H.

In the cemetery of Mīr Maʿsum in Sukkur there are a number of graves of insignificant personages. One such grave is that of one Ḥādīq Allāh. This records the year of death as follows:

بتاريخ روزمين شهشمر رجب المربی 232

(Tr:) On Thursday in the month of Rajab al-Murajjab [in the year] 1037 AH he reached the rank of martyrdom.

and on the grave of another unimportant person, Muhammad Salāh, is written:

وفات باخت مرحوم و مغفوري ميرزا
محمدرحص حب روزمين شهشمر 893

(Tr:) The pardoned and pitied Mīrza Muhammad Salāh died in the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah [in the year] 1042 AH.

In Lahore the tomb of Nawwāb Tānk has the date of his death recorded on the south side of the sarcophagus; it reads:

ناریح وفات جنبب لواب مردیشاشنباشان مبار
مرحوم ولی تاک لبست ماه صفر المطوف 999

(Tr:) The date of the death of Nawwāb Muhammad Shāhnawāz Khan Bahadur deceased, ruler of Tānk (was) 20th Safar al-Muzaffar 1299 AH.

Close to the tomb of the Nawwāb is the marble grave of his mother.

The date of her death is also recorded:

مزرا والدة لواب میر شانباشان
که خر اسطوان مالک نمجدان اللوال 1376

(Tr:) The tomb of the mother of Nawwāb Muhammad Shāhnawāz Khan, Kattakhail, resident of Tānk: [Died or built?] 9th of Jumadah al-Awwal 1270 AH.
The genealogy of the person buried is generally restricted to the father only, but in certain cases it is traced back to several ancestors. These long genealogies are more commonly found on Shi'ite tombs, for the Shi'ites cherish tracing their genealogies right back to ʿAlī the son-in-law of the Prophet. An outstanding example is on the tomb of Sultan ʿAlī Akbar in Multān.¹

According to Chishti² there was a domed tomb in Lahore to the north of the railway station. In this building was kept what was believed to be an impression of the foot of the Prophet. This place was consequently called ʾadam-rasūl. The domed building was originally surrounded by a walled enclosure, south of which over the gateway was an inscription in tilework. This inscription bore a long genealogical passage:

ان مسعود ومن مسعود الى ابن صالح الى ابن مسلم
سن مسلم الى ابن عقيل ومن عقيل الى ابن حيرو ومن
حيرو الى ابن باقر ومن باقر الى ابن اسعد ومن اسعد
الى ابن لقيرو ومن لقيرو الى ابن طاهر ومن طاهر
الى ابن طيب ومن طيب الى ابن كليب ومن كليب
الى ابن كليب ومن كليب الى ابن حيال

¹ See Sultan Akbar's tomb in the chapter on Multān.

² Nur Ahmad Chishti, Tahqiqat-i Chishti (Lahore, 1934), 326 (in Urdu). The building was originally a mausoleum.
He was Masʿud and his son was Salīm, son of Muslim, son of ʿĀqil, son of Jauhar, son of Bāqīr, son of ʿAskad, son of Nasīr, son of Tahir, son of Tayyib, son of Mūjīb, son of Ṣāḥīb, son of Jamal.

Similar to the above-mentioned two inscriptions, with their long roll-call of ancestors, is another inscription on the tomb of Jam Nizām al-Dīn on Maklī Hill.

The Mughals did not care to mention their pedigree on their monuments in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. In fact they very rarely mentioned the names of their fathers and grandfathers along with their own names. There are only a few isolated examples where the name of the father is found in an inscription. The tomb of Anārkalī, built by Jahāṅgīr, is one such example. There in that tomb Jahāṅgīr mentions his name as Salīm Akbar i.e. Salīm (Jahāṅgīr) son of Akbar.

The reason why the Mughals avoided publicising their genealogy may be that Mughal princes were seldom on good terms with their fathers when the question of succession was to be settled. The problem of succession and the conflicts which resulted often caused a lack of due esteem and regard for the father. It is noticeable that after Akbar most of the Mughal emperors assumed the throne against the wishes of their respective fathers. This may help to explain why the names of the emperors' fathers were never considered worthy of mention. The Mughal rulers often satisfied themselves with inscriptions which praised them alone and they seldom ascribed any of their good qualities to their fathers.

1. See chapter on Maklī Hill.
Chronograms and Signatures of Kātibs

Although a chronogram is technically a phrase or sentence in which certain letters express a date through their numerical value, in Islamic chronograms the sentence or phrase itself alludes to or is descriptive of the event to which the date belongs.

There is no certainty about where, when and how the art of composing chronograms originated. The earliest chronogram in Jewish literature is found in a Hebrew poem of al-Harīzī of 1205.¹ Chronograms are common in Latin literature of the Middle Ages. In Europe the word "chronogram" was apparently first used in some verses addressed to the King of Poland in 1575,² but by that time chronograms

1. The Jewish Encyclopaedia, IV (London, 1903), 63.
had long been used in the East. The Islamic, particularly the Persian, equivalent for chronogram is "تاریخ".

In Latin the letters intended to give a date were written in larger format. Majuscules were used even in the middle of a word to make conspicuous those letters which bore a date. Sometimes these letters were emphasised by gilding, or by the use of a different colour, often red. A typical example of a Latin chronogram is given below: ¹

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ChrIstVs DVX ergo trIVMphVs} \\
C &= 100 \\
I &= 1 \\
V &= 5 \\
D &= 500 \\
V &= 5 \\
X &= 10 \\
I &= 1 \\
V &= 5 \\
M &= 1000 \\
V &= 5 \\
&= 1632
\end{align*}
\]

Many Islamic books which today are considered undated bore a chronogram on the title page or within the colophon in place of figures to give the date of publication. Occasionally the title and date was jointly expressed in this manner. Thus Mir Aman, who

translated a Persian romance of Amīr Khrusraw, called Qissah-i ẓahār darvīsh ("The story of the four darvīshes"), chose for his translation the name Bāgh u Bahār ("The garden and the spring"). According to the Arabic system of abjad these words give the date 1217/1802 which was the date of the translation's publication.

Though the invention of chronograms cannot be traced back to any one source with certainty, and though their date of origin is equally uncertain, it has been suggested that the medieval monks were their originators as they used them as a sort of memoria technica.¹

Persian chronograms in the Arabic alphabet are, it seems, of greater antiquity than European examples. It is not improbable, indeed, that chronograms originated in the East where poetic juggling of various kinds was common. Chronograms became extremely popular for books and epitaphs. Authors, kātibs, and printers rivalled one another by hiding dates in intricate chronograms sometimes most difficult to decipher.²

In Persian versified chronogram dates are computed on the basis of abjad³ or hisāb al-jummāl. The name abjad was the first of a series of mnemonics and incorporated the first four letters in this order, i.e. alif, bā', jīm and dāl. But abjad was only one of the eight mnemotechnical terms into which the twenty-eight consonants of the Arabic

2. Ibid. The author does not say when and where.
3. Also called abajad or Abūjād. See Ibn al-Nadīm, op.cit., 7.
alphabet are divided. In the East the whole series of these vocememoriale is vocalised in the following order: 'abjad, hawwaz, huttiy, kalman, safas, qarshat, thakhadh and dazagh. According to one version six Arabs arranged these letters after their own names. According to another tradition the first six groups are the names of six demons.

The arrangement had a practical purpose in that each letter was assigned a numerical value. The twenty-eight characters are thus divided into three successive series of nine each: units, i.e. 1 to 9, tens, i.e. 10 to 90 and hundreds, i.e. 100 to 900. The arrangement is as follows:

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<th>Value</th>
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<tr>
<td>alif</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba'</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abjad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jîm</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawwaz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waw</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>za</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha'</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huttiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya'</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

GROUP 1

---

1. In the West group 5, 6, and 8 were differently arranged as safasaf, qurisat and zaghash respectively. The numerical value of the letters belonging to this group therefore differed from those used in the East. See Weil, "Abjad" El², 97-8.


3. Weil, op.cit., 97; he does not identify the first six groups to which this applies, i.e. those of West or East.

4. Ibid.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāf</td>
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<td>zā'</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghayn</td>
<td>1000</td>
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</table>

**GROUP 2**

**GROUP 3**

The origin of *abjad* is somewhat obscure. Classical Arabic sources offer two different explanations of its origin. One source is that quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm. He states that the Arabic alphabet was constructed by six Arabs, and that these six persons later discovered six more letters which were not in their names, i.e. *thā', khā', dhāl*, *ghayn*, *zā', dād*, and *dād*.

1. For the Western arrangement of these groups and the respective value of the letters see M.V. McDonald, "The Order and Phonetic Value of Arabic sibilants in the Abjad", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol. 19, No. 1 (1974), 38.

2. Ibn al-Nadīm only gives various sets of words on which *abjad* system was based. He does not say anything about how the numerical value was assigned to each letter.
These letters are known as rawādīf. The second explanation is that the whole system is of foreign origin. The first two sets of letters exist in Hebrew and Syriac as well and the letters in both cases have the same numerical value as those of the letters in present day Arabic, Persian or Urdu. In the case of other letters most of the letters in Syriac and Hebrew possess the same numerical value as those of present Arabic, but they do not make sets similar to those in Arabic. The point of al-Mubarrad and al-Sīrāfī therefore seems valid.

Lastly we are left with the problem of establishing the date of the first chronogram in the Islamic world. Hilton gives 1318 AD for the first Islamic example.

In Pakistani architecture the fashion for chronograms, particularly versified ones, gained increased popularity with the coming of the Mughals. They brought this system of recording dates with them from the Iranian world. Prior to Mughal rule versified dates were given but without chronograms as we see in the case of the mausoleum of Lal Shāhbaz Qalandar at Sehwan. In two of these inscriptions the date is recorded as

1. McDonald, op.cit., 36.
2. A sort of afterthought.
5. Hilton, op.cit., 538. The author does not however, identify the location and nature of this chronogram.
6. See the chapter on Sehwan for the full inscription.
The computation of the above chronogram is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>نشان</th>
<th>= 300</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>س = 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ان = 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب = 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>را = 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دار = 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>پرل = 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>برب = 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تپیل</td>
<td>= 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق = 100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بنیاب</td>
<td>= 401</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. This inscription is placed on the south side of the main entrance to the mausoleum of La'il Shahbāz Qalandar. For the full text of the inscription see the chapter on Sehwan.
| دو | ر | م = 4 = 204 | ب | گ = 3 | ح | ی + 50 = 56 | ج | ز = 2 | ن | ش = 300 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| گنجاک | ی = 1 | ی = 1 | گ = 5 | ی = 1 | ین | ی = 10 |

\[ A + B + C + D + E + F = \text{Date} \]
\[ 138 + 7 + 410 + 204 + 56 + 367 = 1173 \text{ [A.H.]} \]

Some more chronograms found on Pakistani monuments will now be examined.

**MOSQUE OF SHĀHJAHĀN, TATTÀ**

Inside the eastern gateway of the mosque there are two inscriptions, one on the southern flank of the gateway and the other on the northern. Both consist of one couplet each. The latter gives the date. The couplet is as follows:

[Urdu text]
The translation of the couplet is equally relevant to the date:

"when I asked the angel the year of completion [of the mosque. He said:] The mosque became as beautiful as Masjid-i Aqṣā". Obviously, that is not the right reply; the pertinent reply is hidden in the chronogram:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ک} & = & 20^1 \\
\text{ش} & = & 300 \\
\text{ت} & = & 400 \\
\text{ز} & = & 7 \\
\text{ی} & = & 10 \\
\text{ب} & = & 2 \\
\text{ا} & = & 1 \\
\text{جو} & = & 3^2 \\
\text{و} & = & 6 \\
\text{س} & = & 40 \\
\text{س} & = & 60 \\
\text{ج} & = & 3 \\
\text{د} & = & 4 \\
\text{ا} & = & 1 \\
\text{تی} & = & 100 \\
\text{س} & = & 90 \\
\text{ی} & = & 10 \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
A + B + C + D + E = \text{Date}
\]

\[
720 + 20 + 9 + 107 + 201 = 1057 \ [\text{A.H.}]
\]

1. \text{کf} does not occur in the Arabic alphabet but its numerical value remains that of \text{kf}. There are several such additions in Persian and Urdu whose value is the same as that of the nearest letter in the Arabic alphabet; see the table on the following page.

2. \text{چa} is also a Persian addition.
### Persian & Urdu Additions: Arrangement and Numerical Value

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Position in Arabic Alphabet</th>
<th></th>
<th>Position in Persian Alphabet</th>
<th></th>
<th>Position in Urdu Alphabet</th>
<th>Numerical Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alif</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bā'</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>چ</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ڭ</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奁</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>گ</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ے</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>همزة</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MAUSOLEUM OF SAYYID SULTAN RIDVI, ROHRÄ

This mausoleum is in a dilapidated condition and not much is known about the Sultan. Some tilework exists on the main gateway along with an inscription. The last three words of the second hemistich of the last couplet give the date of its construction. The couplet is as follows:

سال نارئ شیخ پور گلیم آتش برف
گشت ور گلوش جنیم روپیش آل عبا

The computation of the date from روپیش آل عبا is given below:

| ر | = 200 |
| ور | = 6 |
| صن | = 800 |
| 5 | = 5 |
| آل | = 1 |
| ل | = 30 |
| ع | = 70 |
| عبا | = 2 |

A + B + C = Date

1011 + 31 + 73 = 1115 [A.H.]

SARĀ'I OF MĪR MAṢŪM, SUKKUR

The date of the building of the sarā'i is contained in the last three words of the final hemistich of a rubā'i. The second couplet
of the ruba’i reads:

The computation of the date from مکان با نیشن is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>مکان</th>
<th>کر</th>
<th>40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>کر</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نن</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>نیشه</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ها</td>
<td>800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A + B + C = Date

111 + 3 + 890 = 1004 [A.H.]

INSCRIPTION FROM MÄRGALLA

The inscription of the Märgalla Pass comprises four couplets of verse and four lines of prose. The last hemistich of the fourth couplet is made of three words which give the date. The numerical value of the hemistich can be calculated as follows:

تاصیر میوه‌ش پندروستان
The inscription consists of four couplets in four lines and two lines of prose. The date of the construction of the bridge is contained in the last four words of the second hemistich of the last couplet. The last couplet may be computed as follows:

ین بیت درخواست اتمام مشهده
بلوند خیرت بهار اکابر
We now move to Lahore and examine some chronograms on the monuments of this city. The Mosque of Wazir Khan contains a number of inscriptions including this chronogram on the left of its main gateway as one approaches the building from the outside:

The words give the date. The following is the explanation of the chronogram:
Below this couplet there is another couplet and that also gives the date. The couplet reads:

تاریخ این بناي جهورپسند انبوه
گنا برگذار باني سپهر وزیر خان.

In this couplet the words باني سپهر وزیر خان give the date. They can be computed as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c}
\text{ب} & 2 \\
\text{ا} & 1 \\
\text{ن} & 50 \\
\text{ی} & 10 \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

\[
A + B + C = 63 \quad \text{A.H.}
\]
In the mausoleum of Hadrat-i Datā Ganj Bakhsh the date is given by the couplet:

سال ایتی گنبد می‌برد
از پراغ بحال صاحب نظر

The words "the lamp of elegance" gives the year in which the building was repaired. The explanation of the chronogram is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ج</th>
<th>= 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>= 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>= 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>= 1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>= 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ج</th>
<th>= 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>= 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>= 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>= 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>= 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>= 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ی</td>
<td>= 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>= 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>= 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>= 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A + B + C + D = Date
63 + 107 + 223 + 651 = 1044 [A.H.]
A + B = Date

1204 + 74 = 1278 [A.H.]

On the gate of the tomb of Ḥadrat-i Miyān Mār there is an inscription composed of three couplets in Persian and inscribed in nastalīq. The second hemistich of the last couplet gives the date of the demise of the saint. The last couplet is as below:

خورشید و فانستش لشکت
بنوزوس و ال سپاهنی شیش

The computation of the second hemistich is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ب</th>
<th>ت</th>
<th>ر</th>
<th>د</th>
<th>س</th>
<th>ف</th>
<th>ل</th>
<th>ی</th>
<th>سم</th>
<th>ی</th>
<th>ان</th>
<th>ک</th>
<th>د</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

= 352 A

= 38 B

= 351 C

= 304 D
A + B + C + D = Date
352 + 38 + 351 + 304 = 1045 [A.H.]

Chronograms are thus composed in many ways, but they always occur in the last line of the last couplet. ¹ Chronograms sometimes consist of a single word, as in the Mausoleum of Ganj Bakhsh at Lahore, where the single word sardar gives the date. Again in the same building in another inscription a single word, hast, gives the date. Sometimes chronograms are made up of two, three or four words contained in the second hemistich of the last couplet. The words give the date of construction of the Mosque of Maryam Zamānī at Lahore. Sometimes the whole of the second hemistich of the last couplet gives the date as already illustrated by the inscriptions of Laçı Shāhbaz Qalandar's tomb at Sehwān and that of Shāhjahān's Mosque at Thatta.² In spite of these variations, chronograms have neither been differently classified, nor have they been named differently by the historiographers.

SIGNATURES OF THE KĀTES

As chronograms are not found in every inscription in the same way, it is not surprising that the signatures of calligraphers are also not found very regularly. Usually signatures are found at the end of longer inscriptions like those found in the Jāmi’c of Shāhjahān at Thatta. But

1. There are only a few isolated examples where chronograms occur in the middle of a long versified text or in the first line of the last couplet.
2. Vide supra.
Signatures

1, 2 & 6 from Jāmī‘ Mosque, Thatta,
3 from the tomb of Īsā Khān Tarkhān the elder, Maklī,
4 from the tomb of Muḥammad Kahoora, Khudābād,
5 from the tomb of Dīwān Shurfā Khān, Maklī,
7 from the tomb of Matīn Beg, Maklī.

1 Sayyid ʿAlī
2 ʿAbd al-ʿGhafir
3 ʿAbd al-Raḥīm
   b. Ḥāfīz Rashīd Siddīqī
4 Ḥābīb Allāh
5 Muḥammad Shaykh
6 Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil
7 Shaykh Muḥammad b. Shaykh Ḥasan.
this does not imply that shorter inscriptions never had signatures. Ghafur, while surveying the monuments of Maklī Hill in 1962, observed various signed specimens.¹ The signed inscriptions on historical monuments provide a genuine record of the calligraphers who enjoyed outstanding positions at the courts of their patrons and rulers. According to Akbar, Abu'l- Fadl says, a painter may succeed in representing; but the power of writing is greater.² Akbar took great interest in the art of writing,³ and a great number of calligraphers gathered at his court. His tradition was fittingly carried on by his son Jahāngīr and then by his successors. The best calligraphic standard in the country was that maintained at Thatta, Maklī Hill and Lahore. It is mainly from these three towns that information can be drawn about well-known calligraphers of the past who practised their art in medieval Pakistan.

Above the entrance of the tomb of Jām Mubārak Daryā Khān on Maklī Hill there is a hadīth carved in bold thulth. Much emphasis is laid on the vertical strokes in the inscription, particularly in the words خالی. This inscription is signed in naskhī by the calligrapher Qutb al-Dīn Mahmūd. The tomb of Jām Mubārak was partly built during his lifetime in 898/1492.⁴ Qutb al-Dīn is said to have practised his art from 898/1492 to 926/1521.⁵ The inscription clearly shows that the calligrapher was expert in the thulth and naskhī scripts.

³ For a list of Akbar's favourite calligraphers see Abu'l-Fadl, op.cit. 100-103.
⁴ Ghafur, op.cit., 57.
⁵ Ibid.
The signature of ʿAbd al-Rahmān ibn Ḥāfīz Muhammad Rashīd Siddīqī also occurs in a number of inscriptions on Maklī Hill. His father Ḥāfīz Rashīd was a calligrapher of great repute during the rule of Jām Niz̄ām al-Dīn (ruled 866/1461 - 914/1508?) and Jām Mīrza (ruled 914/1508? - 926/1519) and enjoyed a very elevated position in society. From the dated specimens it becomes evident that ʿAbd al-Rahmān was practising his art during the reign of ʿIsa Khān Tarkhān ibn Mīrza ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Tarkhān. Examples of his hand are extant both on tiles and stone. He appears equally versatile in thulth and naskhī.

The mausoleum of Sūltān Ibrāhīm on Maklī Hill has a tiled Qurʾānic inscription comprising two rows of tiles making one line of thulth script. The inscription is bordered with creeper and floral motifs at top and bottom. A peculiar aspect of this inscription is that the signature of the calligrapher Ahmad al-Ansārī is as large as the rest of the text. The signature, at a glance, therefore, looks a part of the inscribed text. No other specimen of the work of Ahmad al-Ansārī is extant to the best of my knowledge.

1. The exact length of Jām Niz̄ām al-Dīn's rule is not known (see the discussion on Jām's tomb in the chapter on Maklī Hill). The year of the beginning of the rule of his successor therefore cannot be established authoritatively.


4. According to Chafur, op.cit., 58, there is an Arabic manuscript in the National Museum at Karachi, a work of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Šurawī entitled Kitāb al-bihr al-maurūd fī maḫāthiq al-mashhūd, written in Egypt, whose colophon bears the signature of one Ahmad al-Ansārī. According to Chafur, in all probability he is the same Ahmad al-Ansārī who worked at Thatta and Maklī Hill. In my opinion this claim looks rather hypothetical.
Signatures

1. Nf'mat AIlah & Darwism AlI
   from an anonymous grave, Makht.
2. Muhimmad Ahsan, grave of Ahsan Khan, Makht.
3. Ahmad Angar, tomb of Sultan Ibrahim, Makht.
5. 'Abd b. Hasan, Jami Mosque, Thatta.
6. 'Abd al-RaJ'im Siddiq, grave of Haji Kha Mughal, Makht.
7. Muhammad AlI, Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore.
Another calligrapher whose signatures are found at Thatta and Makli Hill is Hasan ibn Rukn al-Din. One of the most exquisite examples of his penmanship is found on the ceiling (inside at the bottom of the dome) of the Mosque of Shahjahan at Thatta. The earliest specimen dated and signed by him bears the date 973/1567 while the Qur'anic inscription of Shahjahan's mosque at Thatta is dated 1068/1658. This makes a period of 95 years in which he practised this art. Though it is of course possible that he lived that long, it is indeed perplexing to contemplate a person working with equal zeal and zest for 95 years continuously. The exact dates of his birth and demise therefore remain unknown.

Tahir ibn Hasan is another calligrapher whose signatures are found at the end of one of the inscriptions in the Mosque of Shahjahan, Thatta and on the monuments of Makli Hill. According to Mir `Alī Shir Qānī Thattavi, Tahir wielded his pen with equal mastery in seven different styles. His full name was Mir Tahir Muhammad Nisyanī ibn Sayyid Hasan of Thatta. He was a competent poet and renowned historian. Some of his poems recorded in his work reveal his interest in the art

1. Ghafur, op.cit., 58. The author does not identify the location.
2. There is a long band of tiles bearing sura xvii (Baṇī Isrā'īl) 9-10 in thulth; this has his signature at the end in naskhī.
3. Quoted by Ghafur, op.cit., 59. The author does not elaborate which seven styles these are.
4. The word nisyanī is not a patronymic but a mere poetical designation meaning the forgetful, the drunken or a seeker of news.
5. Tahir was the author of the Tarikh-i Tahirī which was completed in 1030/1621 in the fortieth year of the author's age. See Mir Tahir Muhammad Nisyanī, "Tarikh-i Tahirī" ed. J. Dowson, tr. H.M. Elliot, The History of India as told by its own Historians, 1 (London, 1867), 255 ff.
of calligraphy,

(Ttr:) Anyone who lives on the water of life of the pen,
Will never die as long as there is life on earth.
In fact, deprived of life is he,
Whose name none knows in the realm of letters.1

Tahir's brother Banbū was also a calligrapher and his signed
inscription can be seen in the mihrāb of the Mosque of Shāhjahān,
Thatta.

The mausoleum of Dīwān Shurfā Khān, Maklī, bears a number of
inscriptions signed by Shaykh Muhammad including one beautifully
inscribed kalima-yi tāyyibah. From his dated inscriptions it appears
that he worked during the reign of Shāhjahān and Aurangzīb. The
extant specimens of his work in the mausoleum of the Dīwān show that
he was equally competent in naskhī, thulth and nastālīq.

Sayyid CAlī is another calligrapher whose signatures are found in
the Mosque of Shāhjahān, Thatta. He usually wrote his name Sayyid CAlī

1 Mīr CAlī Shīr Qānī Thattavī, op.cit., quoted by Chafur, op.cit., 59.
and only once as Sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qaddūs. ¹ From the extant examples of his penmanship it appears that he was a master of the thulth, tughra and nastālīq styles. From the dated specimens it can be seen that he practised the art of calligraphy in Thatta and Maklī from 1097/1685 to 1114/1702-3.

The Mosque of Shāhjahān, Thatta, provides signed specimens of the work of Shaykh Muhammad Fādil, ʿAbd al-Ghafūr and ʿAbd Allāh. Shaykh Fādil shows expertise in thulth while the latter two excel in nastālīq.

In Dādu there is a tomb of some Kalhaurah chief. The sarcophagus bears the āyat al-kursī ³ and three couplets of Persian verses on each longitudinal side. These inscriptions are signed by one Ḥabīb Allāh.

Under his name the calligrapher also mentions that he was a resident of Thatta. The work is dated 1158/1745. ⁴ It seems thus that he was the most outstanding amongst his contemporaries as his services were requisitioned for writing the inscriptions on a Kalhaurah tomb in Dādu which is about 450 kilometres from Thatta.

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1. As in the mosque of Shāhjahān, Thatta.

2. The Kalhaurahs succeeded the Tarkhāns in Sind. They claim their descent from ʿAbbās, a paternal uncle of the Prophet and on that account they are sometimes called ʿAbbasīs. For more details of the Kalhaurahs see H. Cousens, The Antiquities of Sind (Calcutta, 1929), 87 ff.

3. Sūra ii (al-Baqarah), 256.

4. Ghafur, op. cit., 62, erroneously gives the date as 1155/1742.
Some of the monuments of Lahore also have signed inscriptions.

One such signed specimen is on the mausoleum of Shaykh Muḥtram (died 1102/1690). There are many inscriptions but none is in a reasonable state of preservation except the one on the outer wall. This inscription comprises four couplets followed by the signature of the calligrapher which reads كتب محمد رضاکر ("Written by Muḥammad Akram"). Nothing else is known about this calligrapher.

Inside the rectangular mausoleum of Dāʾi Anga (or Angah)¹ there are a number of Qurʾānic inscriptions. The writer of these inscriptions, as stated at the end, is Muḥammad Sāliḥ. The signatures read:

كتب محمد سالم سباع أبا سلات و
ستعيد عليه سنة 1082 هـ

(Tr:) Written by Muḥammad Sāliḥ, may God forgive his sins and overlook his faults.

1082 AH./1671 AD.

The mosque of Dāʾi Anga is situated some five kilometres south west of her mausoleum. Some of its original inscriptions are still extant. One of these surviving inscriptions gives the name of the calligrapher Ibrāhīm at the end. The line bearing his signature reads:

كتب إبراهيم 1045

(Tr:) Written by Ibrāhīm. 1045.

---

¹ "Anga" in Urdu means a wet-nurse. The real name of Anga was Zīb-al-Nisā'. She was the wife of Murad Khan, a Mughal who was Qadawalād or magistrate of Bikanir during the reign of Jahangīr. See Latif, op.cit., 163.
The tomb of Nawwāb Imām al-Dīn Khān, which is situated close to
the tomb of Ālī Bujwārī, commonly known as Dātā Darbār, has a number
of Persian inscriptions bearing the signatures of the calligrapher
Imām Virdī at the end. According to Latif,¹ Mīrzā Imām Virdī was a
native of Kāshmīr and was famous throughout the Panjāb for his art of
calligraphy. On his death, Virdī left hundreds of pupils behind.

All the inscriptions mentioned above are in a clear and legible
hand. There is one particular example where the calligrapher has put
his name in a perplexing fashion. This cannot be read easily. It is
found in the Mosque of Ḍhak Bazar in Rōhī. The inscription, which
comprises two couplets, is dated 1106/1596-7. The signatures of the
calligrapher below the epigraphic slab are put as below:

The most likely possibility is that the name of the calligrapher
was Sayyid Muḥammad Bakhsh. No matter what the actual
name of the calligrapher was, his signature suggests a tendency towards
using khatt-i muʿamma for signatures. This is a complete departure from
the traditional way of writing signatures in styles like thulth, naskhī
and nastaʿlīq.

1. Latif, op.cit., 183.
Though the trend of putting dates in versified chronograms has almost died, the signatures of calligraphers continue to appear under inscriptions to the present day in Pakistani architecture.
Banbhore

Banbhore is situated about 64 kilometres east of Karachi. Attempts at excavation were made in 1930 but yielded no fruitful results.¹ The excavations were restarted, successfully, in 1956.

This fortified harbour town measures 600 x 300 metres and beside the main housing complex of the town an adjoining industrial area was also unearthed. The defence system of this ancient city owes its

¹ N.G. Majumdar, Explorations in Sind, (Delhi, 1934), 19.
SIND

- Haig's position for Daybul,
- Raverty's position for Daybul,
- Elliot's position for Daybul,
- Cunningham's position for Daybul,
- Burton's position for Daybul.

SCALE

0  50  100
Kilometres
fortifications to the Umayyads\textsuperscript{1} but there are clues which point to both earlier and later building activity in this town. The oldest vestiges relate to the Scytho-Parthian period, and these are followed by Hindu, Buddhist and then Islamic remains.\textsuperscript{2} The period of these various civilizations stretches from the first century B.C. to the 13th century A.D.\textsuperscript{3}

Sind has been a part of the Islamic caliphate since the early years of the 8th century. Its cities, routes and harbour towns have been described by the Arab historians and geographers. The city has been known by names other than Banbhore, like Daybul, Debal, Dieul and so on. Mîr ʿAlî Shîr Qânil Tattavî, who completed his historical treatise in 1773, was the earliest historian to use the name Banbhore.\textsuperscript{4} Sindîs call their old cities by the generic name Bambārā\textsuperscript{5} or Bunbaur. There is a probability that Daybul came to be known as Banbhore only after it was ruined. If Banbhore is not the ruined city of Daybul, then where is Daybul?\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{itemize}
\item 2. Ibid.
\item 3. Chafur, op.cit., 66.
\item 4. Quoted by Chafur, op.cit., 67. See also H. T. Lambrick, Sind, a general introduction, (Haydarabad, 1964), 184. According to the author Banbhore was founded by one Bhambo Raʿī. Thus its name, Bhambor or Banbhore.
\item 5. Bambārā also means, in Sindî and Persian, the town of the sun or the town of splendour; see Steingass, op.cit., 151.
\end{itemize}
The seaport at the mouth of the Indus which gained prominence in the 5th century A.D. was Daybul. The coastal belt from Makrān to Daybul was subdued by the Sassanids. Although the first clash between the invading Muslims and local Sindīs took place during the Caliphate of ʿUmar the real tussle started during the rule of the Umayyads. The subjugation of Daybul became important not only because of the acts of piracy usually quoted by the historians, but also because the Umayyads wanted to establish commercial relations with China through this region and Ceylon. Daybul was the first harbour town of Sind to be conquered by the Arabs and this occurred in 711 A.D. at the hand of Muhammad ibn Qāsim. Thereafter Daybul assumed a premier position as a port and as a great trade centre. Under the Arabs Daybul became an emporium of international trade and enjoyed that status until the 11th century. After that it seems Daybul ceased to be a town of significance. This could have been because of the sifting of the port. Juzjānī, the author of the Tabaqat-i Nasīrī, mentions Daybul in connection with the conquest of Sind by the Ghūrid ruler Muhammad ibn Sām. During the Mongol invasion Jalāl al-Dīn the Shāh, is said to have taken refuge in Daybul. Ibn Battūta, who visited Sind in the early 14th century, does not make any mention of Daybul. Probably the city had ceased to exist when he visited the area.

2. Ghafur, op.cit., 69
The city of Daybul thus flourished under the Umayyads and Abbāsids and continued to exist until the 13th century.  

**THE MOSQUE**

The excavated mosque of Banbhore is located in almost the central area of the town and in its original state was marked off from the surrounding buildings by narrow lanes. The mosque is almost square in plan having a length of a little over 36m from north to south and over 36m otherwise, externally. The excavated features of this mosque give a clear idea of its ground plan as it stood in the last phase of its existence. The boundary wall of this mosque varies in thickness from 1.05 to 1.42m. The wall was built of finely dressed limestone blocks, 60 x 30 x 20cm in size. These blocks have been laid in mud-mortar. The stone blocks used in the southern wall are of cyclopean masonry. The south and north walls are in a better state of preservation than the rest. The eastern wall is interrupted by a gateway. The eastern wall ends abruptly before reaching the northern extremity and turns westward, continuing in that direction for over 3.60m. It then turns to the north again. This makes a parallelogram in the north eastern corner, probably to provide space for a hujra or a small sara'ī attached to the mosque.

1. Ghafur, op.cit., 70.

2. Anon., Banbhore, A brochure of the Pakistan Archaeological Department, (Karachi, 1971) 3. In Urdu. Photographs of all these inscriptions, without translation, have been included in this.

3. S.M. Ashfaque, "Remains of a Mosque at Banbhore", *Pakistan Archaeology* (1971), 22
Banbore
Mosque

SKETCH PLAN

after Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Pakistan.
MIHRĀB

The walls extend deep into the earth. None of them is straight. The western wall has a noticeable convex bulge. Excavation outside the western wall did not, however, provide any clue to the existence of a mihrāb. The wall, however, is in places as thick as 1.50m. A mihrāb might have been provided by simply cutting into the qibla wall from inside.¹ Since the wall was excavated in an extremely dilapidated condition, nothing can be said with certainty on this topic.

SANCTUARY

The sanctuary of the mosque measures 33.90m in length and 10.20m in depth. The floor of the sanctuary is built of large blocks of stone. Its roof was supported on wooden columns, remains of which have been found. These columns stood on stone bases which had carved decoration. Some of these bases still lie intact at regular intervals.²

Inside the east, north and south walls, traces have been seen of masonry foundations along the walls. The probability is that cloisters existed on these sides. The roof of these cloisters probably rested on wooden columns like those in the sanctuary. The southern side also

¹. Ashfaque, _op.cit._, 190.
². See also M.Hasan, _In Quest of Daibul_, (Karachi, 1968) and P.A.Khan, _Banbhore, A Preliminary Report_, (Karachi, 1968).
shows the remains of a number of hujras with average dimension of 3.30 x 2.70m. There are seven hujras on the south, three on the eastern side and five on the northern side. Fragments of bricks have also been found in these hujras which suggest that generally two sizes of bricks were used: i) 25 x 12.5 x 5cm. and ii) 23 x 15 x 6cm.¹ Some carved bricks with floral relief decoration closely related to the floral forms used in the Kufic inscriptions of the site were also found and are now displayed at the Banbhore Museum.

COURTYARD

The courtyard of the mosque was found to be fully paved with brick. There were two main entrances: one in the eastern wall and the other in the northern one. The eastern doorway, which was excavated in a fairly dilapidated condition, was the main gateway of the mosque. This is nearly 1.65m wide while the northern entrance is only 1.05m wide. Traces of the existence of wooden doors were observed in the corner bases of the door spans. Some of the fragments of slabs bearing Kufic inscriptions were found near the northern entrance.² Certain stone fragments also bear sunflower designs. The presence of epigraphic and decorative motifs around this portal suggests that the doorway standing in its original position was quite an impressive structure and a major feature of the mosque.

¹. Ashfaque, op. cit., 195.
There is no suggestion of any domes or minarets; but in a
general way the plan of the Banbhore mosque bears close resemblances
to Umayyad mosques built at Kūfah and Wāsit. There is no mīhrāb in
these mosques either.

EPIGRAPHY

The Kufic inscriptions found at the mosque of Banbhore are of
pivotal significance. They are the oldest surviving specimens of
floriated Kufic epigraphy in Pakistan. The inscriptions found in and
around the mosque of Banbhore will now be described.

INSCRIPTION 1.

 لما لا نا هن لر ثم ام ول دم
مما آرم دا إم بر
سم حمد مولى إم إمر موس نعم
الله علي بري علي س موس
مول موس نكم مهر من الله ي س الله ولما

This has been translated:

Bismillah.
This is what the amīr Marwān
Ibn Muhammad, the client of the Commander of the Faithful,
may Allāh make him glorious, ordered,
Through the agency of ʿAlī ibn Musa
the client of the Commander of the Faithful, in the
year 109 (A.H.)

2. Corresponding to 727-8 A.D. (This date is incorrect; see below).
Banbhore
Mosque Inscriptions

[Arabic inscription]

[Arabic inscription]
This inscription, in unpointed floriated Kufic, was discovered inside the mosque. It is cut in dressed sandstone and measures approximately 58.5 x 40cm. The slab is in a deplorable state of preservation and therefore quite illegible in a number of places. The characters of floriated Kufic also make certain letters ambiguous. In the second line of the inscription, the word can easily be read as حسون. The letters م and ص have a very similar form. They have been transcribed as A

The outline of both these letters is similar and if the inner portion is removed, the very identity of the letter becomes ambivalent.

Similarly in the fourth line in the word موسى is missing but a construction like ي exists in a recognizable shape. The word in question therefore could be عيسى and not موسى.

It may also be noted that the bottom of the alif is curved slightly to the right. ز and ج retain their old-fashioned character of rigidity and angularity, while د and ذ do not retain an archaic appearance. They are both in a cursive style. Again, the terminal portion of ع is so much curved and extended that it almost becomes ن; the only difference is one of size. Sometimes letters

1. Initial form of م.
2. If it is موسى.
like م, and ه are not only similar but also have a crowning bar which extends obliquely to the left.

The final is formed by an open circle below which runs the lower guide line:

Ghafur who wrote an article on the excavations of Daybul suggests that there existed in this inscription a sixth line, now vanished, which comprised just one word: واساَّمِينَ. In my opinion this is highly improbable as I see no reason why the date should be split into two lines. Why should a calligrapher or engraver put just one word in the sixth line at the expense of symmetry and composition? A single word in the sixth line - if there ever was a sixth line - would look completely out of place. In view of the fact that all the other inscriptions of Banbhore have their dates in one line, Ghafur's claim appears absolutely conjectural.

According to him the text of the inscription should be read:

إسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
محا أمير الأمويين بن
كمد صوفي أمير الأمويين اعتذ
الله على بدء على بن عيسى مولى
إمبرلأمويين أكرم الله سنة وثناي وثنين
واساَّمِينَ

Banbhore
Letter types
Not to scale

1  Alif
2  Bā', tā', or thā'
3  Žīm, hā, khā
4  Dāl or dhāl
5  Rā' or zā'
6  Sin or shin
7  'Ain or ghain
8  Fā'
9  Kāf
10 Mīm
11 Nūn
12 Wāw
13 Hā'
14 Lā
15 Yā
16 Allāh
(Tr.) Bismillah
This is among those [works] which there ordered to be
completed the amīr Hārīm ibn Muhammad, client
of the Commander of the Faithful, may
Allāh make him glorious, through the agency of
'Alī ibn Ḥīšān, client of the Commander of the Faithful,
may Allāh make him
illustrious; in the year
thirty nine
and two hundred (i.e. 239)

Why Chafur should change ماء into ماء and then suggest a
sixth line of just one word is not understandable. He gives no
arguments to support his viewpoint. Most probably he has attempted
to give a date which would be acceptable to a historian. The fact
is that the slab bearing this inscription is in such a deplorable
state of preservation that nothing can be said with certainty about
some of its contents.

It may be noted that the first line containing the bismillah is
slightly larger and more conspicuous than the rest of the text. The
inscription provides information about some type of construction
which was undertaken on this site by the orders of the amīr Hārūn (or
Mūsā) ibn Muhammad. Since the inscription was not found in situ it is
difficult to establish the nature or type of this construction.

\section*{INSCRIPTION 2}

This inscription engraved on a slab of dressed limestone which
was found in three pieces lying close to each other. These pieces
measure 60 x 35cm, 45 x 35cm and 60 x 35cm. Some portions of this
inscription are still missing and a number of characters have been
obliterated by the ravages of time. The inscription is in beautiful floriated Kufic and consists of three lines. In the following transcription the impaired words are given in brackets.

(Tr:) Bismillah. There is no God but Allāh alone and verily Muhammad is his messenger and servant. Only he can maintain the mosques of Allāh who believes in Allāh and the Last Day, and keeps up prayer and pays the poor-rate and fears none but Allāh. So these it is who may be of the guided ones. This is one of the works that amīr Muhammad ibn ʿAbd [Allāh] ordered [in Dhūʿ al-‘Alā'] in the year 294/906. ¹

This inscription is in floriated Kufic and belongs to a period when it was enjoying great popularity in Egypt.²

This inscription is on a block of sandstone measuring 45 x 95cm.

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1. In this inscription the text from ʿAmīr al-A‘lā’ is Qur’ānic - Sūra ix (al-Taubah), 18. The translation is from M.M. ʿAlī, tr. and commentary, The Qur’ān, (Lahore, 1951), 388.

2. A. Grohmann, "The Origin and Early Development of Floriated Kūfic," Ars Orientalis II (1957), 188.
This slab is more than 23cm thick. The text contains four lines from the Qur'an - Sūra xxviii (al-Qasas), 29-30 - engraved in simple Kufic.

The second line is now completely obliterated. The inscription reads:

لا أعلم إنك واللَّه نار أصلح أن تأكمل منها  

ونفي وحِذْرَة

من إنار أعلمنا تنتقلون فلا إله ولي سين شاطئ الوراء الألمنى

العقيلة الحاكمة من الشهيرة ان موسى

إني أنا الله رب العالمين

البار١

(Tr:) (He said to his family, "Tarry ye, I perceive a fire; I hope to bring you some information, or a burning firebrand, that ye may warm yourselves". But when he came to the (fire), a voice was heard from the right bank of the valley, from a tree in hallowed ground, "O Moses, verily I am God, the Lord of the two worlds." 2

INSCRIPTION 4

This inscription is engraved on a sandstone block measuring 77.5 x 45cm with a thickness of 25cm. It consists of three lines in Arabic in simple Kufic. The carving and shape of the letters do not show marked maturity or precision of technique. Some of the areas

1. In all these inscriptions two types of chiselling are conspicuous. In the first case the incised cut is wedge-shaped (A) while in the other the incised cut is flat (B). The depth in both cases is almost the same:

A

B

are badly damaged by weathering and saltpetre. The affected portions of the text are placed in brackets.

الحمد لله الذي جعل كل شئى ممأ
خلقه لا يقوم
حاحه تقصى لا يقوم بإصرفته
مناعنايه عن من يفقوم بذاته

(Tr:) - All praise is due to Allah who has created everything
- What he has not created will not (settle?)
- Need (?) is accomplished. He will not undertake affairs himself.
- So there will be no anxiety for him who manages his affairs.

INSCRIPTION 5

This inscription is engraved on a large block of sandstone measuring 121.5 x 37.5cm with a thickness of nearly 27cm. The decipherment of the text is difficult as the surface of the stone is in a very poor state of preservation. The text, which has to be restored to make sense, comprises two lines of Arabic in simple Kūfic script.

القرآن كلام الله وله سمع ولله عز
خلصه دبارة إن كثر كلاص عزيز

(Tr:) The Quran is the word of Allah and we should spread it wide, because the Most Illustrious, The Creator, has created us to recite repeatedly the words of Him, who is Exalted in Might.

INSCRIPTION 6

This inscription is in Arabic and is engraved in simple Kūfic.
(Tr:) The speaker speaks with it or
For all the worlds. The object of all it is.

There seems a faint possibility that inscriptions 5 and 6 are
two parts of one inscription which have fallen apart. Since the text
is largely obliterated it is difficult to be more precise than this.

Besides the above-mentioned inscriptions a number of other
inscriptions have been found, but they are all of a fragmentary nature.
They consist of a word or two on fragments of stone. Since many of
them cannot be read satisfactorily they cannot even be used as evidence
of dating. One undated example reads simply
(Tr: "And the cradle and paradise and knowledge"). This stone
measures 90 x 25cm. Another slab, 30 x 17.5cm., bears the legend
(Tr: "Commander of the Faithful"), while the
following words are inscribed on some other fragments found in the
vicinity of the mosque:

الله (Tr: "except") size 120 x 25cm.
 إلا إلا (Tr: "God except ... there is reward for him")
size 58 x 25cm.
بسم الله لا إلhz (Tr: "In the name of Allāh ... There is no god
but Allāh") size 34 x 25cm.
الحمد (Tr: "praise") size 37 x 22.5cm.

The simple Kufic in which these non-historical inscriptions have
been rendered is of a very rudimentary character. Such inscriptions,
devoid alike of embellishment and aesthetic value, give the impression that they were not actually intended for mosque decoration.

In the case of those inscriptions whose texts prove that they were intended for the mosque, one may presume that they were set in the facade of the mosque.

Coins have also been found during excavations at Banbhore. The number of these coins runs into thousands. They also bear simple Kūfic inscriptions. Some twenty-four of the coins are made of silver and according to the inscriptions they bear, they belong to the period of the ʿAbbasid Caliph ʿAbū Jaʿfar ʿHārūn al-Wāthiq bi'llāh who ruled from 227/842 to 232/847. The coins belonging to this caliph were minted in Egypt in the year 229/843.¹

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The Beglar family, after residing for generations at Tirmidh, came to reside to Samarqand and from there migrated to Sind. The Beglars pretend to derive their origin from the Caliph Cali. Their genealogy is given in Tuhfat al-Kiram. Amir Shah Qasim was one of these Beglars who came from Samarqand to Sind some time after 928/1521. His son, mainly known under the title of Khan-i Zamani, rose to great prominence under Shah Hasan Arghun, the Arghun ruler of Sind (d. 962/1555). He then served successively Mirza Isas Khan Tarkhan (the elder, d. 980/1572), Jan Baba (d. 1017/1608), Mirza Muhammad Baqi (d. 992/1584), and Mirza Jami Beg (d. 1008/1599). He also enjoyed the favour of the Mughal court and he was made responsible by Akbar for the administration of Thatta, with Amir Khurram Khan Charkas (who was famous for building the Babur Mosque at Thatta). The achievements of Khan Zamani were of considerable merit. It was through his constant efforts that a number of important


2. The relationship between Beglars and Arghuns was so intimate that at times the Beglars were styled Arghuns. In fact, in some of the inscriptions on their graves, they are referred to as Arghun Beglar or only Arghun.

monuments were built at Nasrūr and that that city became one of the most important places in southern Sind. He also built a fort near Kanābait and rehabilitated an old mosque there and established a madrasah. He is also famous for building a monument in memoriam of his horse Margha in the family graveyard at Turkī. Idrākī records the details of this minaret and its adjacent buildings; "On the grave of that horse has been erected a tall minaret at the vallage of Turkī on the banks of Sangra. It has been named margh munara. It is a great edifice."²

Khān Zamān died at the age of 72 and was buried in the family graveyard at Turkī.

Turkī is situated 60km north-east of Haydarābād on the road leading to Tandu Allāh Yār and Tandu-Adam. The cemetery of Turkī is small, measuring 135m by 102m and occupying a flat stretch of land lying east of the village of Turkī. Beside the graves of the Beglārs there is a khanqāh and a mausoleum, which is quadrangular in plan and in which a saint by the name of Miyan Wahyūn is interred. Another monument has already been mentioned: the tomb of the favourite horse of Shāh Zamān. The tomb is in the form of a minaret and is called margh munara. It survives, but in ruinous condition and without any inscription. There are more than fifty graves but only a dozen of them, all of Beglārs, are of special interest for their carvings and epigraphy. These sarcophagi are adorned with epitaphs in Arabic and Persian, in maskhī and masta’liq, the Arabic texts in maskhī

2. Quoted by Ali and Khan, op.cit., loc.cit.
 Турки
STONE CARVINGS

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being more mature and refined in rendition than the Persian in *masta*liq. The cenotaphs are made of buff sandstone and are arranged in a pyramidal fashion, one tier above the other, comprising various stories. The tiers are flat slabs with their visible sides carved in the usual Maklī fashion. The top tier thus has carvings and inscriptions on the five visible elevations.

**DECORATION**

The decorative motifs include some which were also used at Maklī Hill. Some of the carved designs found both at Maklī Hill and at Turkī are chequered designs, chain mouldings, double chain mouldings, geometric patterns which use a square as a small unit A, corner to corner arrangements of rhombi B to construct a vertical design in the border, and the use of perforated or hollow rhombi in a similar manner C. Square units were also used from corner to corner; these are similar in fashion to the rhombi arrangement. The surface of the larger sides has been divided into various panels in a variety of sizes very similar to those found on the cenotaph of Dīwān Shurfā Khan at Maklī Hill. Since both these sites are contemporary and situated less than 150km apart, the similarity of cenotaphs, sarcophagi and epitaphs is not remarkable. In all probability there must have
been a workshop located at Thatta or Halla where the calligraphers were permanently employed to prepare tomb slabs. The method must have been to carve the Qur'ānic inscriptions on the appropriate areas of the cenotaphs and leave some empty spaces to be filled later, with the name, date and other historical or genealogical details of the deceased on whose grave the cenotaph was to be lodged. This hypothesis is borne out by two facts. First, the Qur'ānic verses carved on these cenotaphs and their disposition in compartments are almost identical in all cases. Secondly, the poorer quality in the writing and carving of the Persian inscriptions suggests that they are later interpolations which lack the care and precision which has been lavished on the Arabic sections. Even the epigraphy shows that a different hand has been employed for Persian texts.

EPIGRAPHY

It is interesting to observe that the Beglārs were very fond of naming their children Qāsim; we find four great members of the family bearing this name in various combinations. Details of the carvings and inscriptions found on the graves in the graveyard at Turklū are given below.

GRAVE OF QĀSIM BEGLĀR.

Qāsim Beglār was the founder of the Beglār dynasty. He died in 950/1543. His grave is in the style found at Maklū. It is crowned

1. Ali and Khan, op.cit., 141.
with a beautifully carved cenotaph 1.85m long, 42.5cm high and 42.5cm wide. It is composed of four tiers of buff sandstone. Since the height and the width of the crown are the same, they form two square panels on both north and south sides. Both these sides have inscriptions and very surprisingly both sides give two different dates for the death of Qāsim Beglar.

The two longer sides and the top tier have Qur'ānic inscriptions. The longer sides have been divided into nine panels with emphasis on three horizontal panels. The large panels bear Qur'ānic inscriptions while six smaller compartments are filled with lotus designs at (the angle compartments) and with the attributes of Allāh. All these panels are separated from each other by chain mouldings A or intertwined circles, while the border all around is made of joined lozenges.

The triangles left on either side have been dug out. The other side bears a similar arrangement except that the panels which had the attributes of Allāh now contain the name of the calligrapher and the date: Rajab al-Murajjah 990. The division at the top is the same. Qur'ānic verses adorn it:

Āyat al-Kursī, Sūra II, (al-Baqarah, 256)
The text is repeated. It is written in bold naskhī:
The Persian inscription on the north is placed within a central square after the square panel was divided into nine compartments of various sizes. The corners have lotus designs in bold relief while the other compartments have interlaced tracery consisting of alternately sunk chequers and interlaced geometric patterns. The inscription in the central square panel is composed in a very quaint way. It consists of six lines in nastaliq. They read from top to bottom rather than from right to left. The text is as follows:

(Tr.):

- The date of the death of the pardoned one, the chosen of the family of
- Tāhā and Yāsīn the great Aṃīr Sayyid Qāsim
- Beglār, son of the deceased Mīr,
- Abūkā Beg, [was] in the month of Rābi` al-Awwal [in the ]
- Year nine hundred and fifty four, (954/1547) [He]  
- migrated from this perishable world to the everlasting world.

On the south side the arrangement of the outer border is just the same as on the north side. Inside, a flat band has been left
Türkî
Grave of Sayyid Qāsim Beglår
North elevation
and then there is a square sunk panel with letters standing out. On the flat area there are four lotuses, one in each corner. The inscription, though Persian, is executed in bold naskhi and not in nastālīq as was common and comprises two lines. It reads:

وفات بإمت سبادت بناه صبرت مرجري و منغوری
سید جاسم بیگ لار شریر تارخ رمضان سنن 950

(Tr:)
- The death of the protector of dominion, highness, deceased and pardoned,
- Mīr Sayyid Qasim Beglar, (occurred) in the month of Ramadān 950/1543.

According to Husam ud-Din,² Sayyid Qasim Beglar was martyred in 950/1543. Other historians like Idrakī Beglarī³ and ʿAlī Shīr Qānī Thattavī⁴ also put the year of his death at 950/1543. The above two inscriptions however put the year of his death variously, at 950/1543 and 954/1547. There is yet another date on the same grave - 990/1583. The inscriptions also bear the name of the calligrapher Fīrūz b. Tāyār [dated] Rajab al-Murajjab 990/1582. Nothing can be said with certainty about the first two dates; as regards the third (990/1583) it is quite possible that the cenotaph was built and placed in

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1. The text of this inscription has been published by Pir Husam-ud-Din (ed.), Chānesar Namah, (Hyderabad, 1956), 69.
2. Ibid.
position in that year; hence that date.

GRAVE OF RAFS BEGAH

No contemporary or later historian or biographer has recorded any information about this young lady who died at 16. Only this much is known: that she was the daughter of Sultan Muqim Arghun, who was the third son of Abu'l-Qasim Khan Zaman. The buff stone cenotaph measures 1.72m by 32cm by 40cm. It has the inscriptions carved on it with the same division of panels as seen on the cenotaph of Sayyid Qasim Beglar. All the sides are adorned with Qur'anic verses except the south. The top has a multi-cusped blind arch with a full lotus inside. The Qur'anic verses are from Sura lii (al-Tur), 21-8, and are carved in exquisite naskhi. The southern panel possesses a Persian inscription in six lines giving the name of the lady buried here and the year of her demise. The inscription is in a tasteless and inelegant nastalig - even the arrangement of the lines is not impressive. The top three lines are set fairly far apart while the lower three are condensed and appear as if forced into the panel. The inscription and the carving are probably the work of some inexperienced local craftsman. The inscription reads:

"I swear by the name of my mother, the beloved daughter of the Sultan Muqim of the Spata of Balkh. I, Zaman, son of Ali, son of Harun, son of Zaman, have erected this monument to her in this place."

The inscription at the side reads:

"She lived for twenty years and four months, died in the year 530 Hijri, in the fourth year of the reign of Umar."
The date of the demise of the pious and sanctified lady, Rafs Begah daughter of Sultan Muqim, Arghun Beglar on yakshanba [Sunday] 1017, when (...) she was sixteen years old In the month of Dhil-Hijjah. She Gave her life to the divine angels according to the Decree of God.

GRAVE OF AMIR SHAH QASIM KHAN

This is the grave of the second Beglar chief, the son of Sayyid Mir Qasim Beglar. The cenotaph is an exact replica of the cenotaph of his father. It comprises a lower part and a crown. The base measures 2.13m by 58cm and is 50cm high while the crown is 2m by 45cm and is 45.5cm high. The arrangement of inscriptions and decorative motifs is also similar to that on the grave of his father. The lower portion consists of four tiers, the lowest being without any motifs on it while the second, third and fourth have geometric motifs running all around the four sides.

EPIGRAPHY

The longer sides of the crowning part are divided into nine panels, disposed as on the cenotaph of his father. The central horizontal panel bears Qur'anic inscriptions in bold naskhi verging on thuluth while the top and lower panels have Qur'anic inscriptions
in pure naskhī. At the top, leaving a margin all around, the panel is again divided into nine parts. The central panel towards the head bears a cusped blank arch filled with a lotus flower with two similar flowers to the right and left; below this is the bismillah.

In the vertical square panel on the northern side, with a border made of hollow rhombi on three sides, is the Kalīma Shahāda in two lines in thulth characters. The lower part of the square is made of spike-shaped motifs followed by a narrow band made of small lozenges.

The opposite panel on the south side is in Persian; it gives some historical details. The decorative motifs in the frame are exactly similar to those on the north panel. The nastaʿlīq hand of the inscription is of reasonable quality. Its composition as a whole once again is not very striking. The text consists of five lines; four lines have been arranged in such a way as to leave no room for the fifth. The words of the fifth line have therefore been forced in between the words of the fourth line and the border below. Each word of this line has been placed obliquely, and very surprisingly from left to right. The fifth line is a sort of invisible line. The text of the inscription is as follows:
The last line should read:

و در جنازه رستم از آسوده عبیرمحمور

(Ttr)

- On the fourteenth (day), Monday, in the afternoon, in the month of Ramadan

- One thousand and nineteen, Amīr Shāh Qāsim Khān

- Arghūn Beglār, who was the Hātim of his time and the bravest

- Of his days, passed from this temporary abode to the everlasting world

- Under the protection and mercies of God. [Written by] the slave Mahmūd.

GRAVE OF SHĪR BEG ARGHŪN

Shīr Beg Arghūn was the son of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Arghūn and son-in-law of Shāh Qāsim Khān. He was martyred in battle in the year 1020/1611. The grave, like that of Amīr Shāh Qāsim, consists of two main stories. Both these stories have been divided in the usual manner (as seen in the last two graves). The lower storey consists of four tiers, the upper three being decorated with geometric motifs.

Turki
Inscriptions

from the grave of Mīr Sayyid Qāsim Beglār.

from the grave of Mīr Shīr Beg.
The crowning part is divided on the two longitudinal sides into nine panels. The corner panels have lotuses while the three main horizontal sections have inscriptions from the Quran.

The top portion has a cusped-arch motif with a lotus inside and two in the spandrels. The border is made of two fillet mouldings encasing a row of diamond shapes.

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**EPICRAPHY**

The crowning portion of the grave measures 1.55m by 35.5cm with a height of 35cm. The north and south elevations are therefore almost square panels. Both these panels, northern and southern, have borders on three sides: right, left and top. These are made of two flat bands and lozenges placed angle to angle. The northern side has within the border the *Kalimah* of *tayyibah* in elegant *thulth* almost in the shape of a *tughra* while the south side has within the frame the following inscription in Persian in fairly chaste *nastalīq*, composed in five well-arranged lines:

![Persian inscription](image-url)
(Tr:) The date of the death of Mîr Shîr Beg, [son of] Mîr "Alî Shîr Arghûn, was on the day of Monday in the afternoon, on the 11th of the month of Ramadân al-Mubarak, in 1020. In the battle he reached the rank of martyrdom.

The longitudinal east and west sides, and the top of the grave, contain sûra lxvii (al-Mulk), 1-2, 23-30 and sûra xxiv (al-Înîr), 21-22, 35-38, 51-57 inscribed in naskhî script.

GRAVE OF MÎR ABU'L-QASIM

Abu'l-Qâsim was the son of Shâh Gâsim Khân Beglîr. He died in the year 1034/1625.¹ The cenotaph measures 1.76m by 38cm by 36cm. It has the usual arrangement of panels. The two longitudinal sides and top have a similar division into nine panels of varying sizes:

The outer border is made of saw-tooth A motifs which run along all four sides. The inner divisions feature a chain moulding made of circles and a straight line of torus type B. Both the saw-tooth and chain mouldings are carved in conspicuous and steep relief. The four square corner compartments have 12-petalled lotuses, one in each square C, and the small panels in between them bear floral motifs.

The north and south panels are square, having a border on four sides comprising two bands and lozenge motifs placed corner to corner.

¹ According to the date recorded on the grave.
(see diagram illustrating grave of Shīr Beg Arghūn).

**EPIGRAPHY**

The three main sides of the cenotaph bearing triennial panels have Qur'ānic verses carved in bold naskhī. The top bears āyat al-
Kursī (ṣūra II [al-Baqara] verse 256) beside various verses from ṣūra lvii (al-Mulk). The east and west triennial panels also have the following verses from ṣūra lvii (al-Mulk): 1-2,12-14,23-26,29-30.

The north square panel has the Kalīma-yi tayyibah in bold thulth in almost a ṭughra shape and in the south panel is a Persian inscription in nastaʿlīq in three lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{تاریخ وفات میرزا مظفرخان میرزا}
\text{ابوالقاسم ولد شاه قاسم خان پیک ایران}
\end{align*}
\]

(Tr:)

Date of the death of Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim son of Shāh Qāsim Khan Beglār 1034.

In the date the number four is made in a very interesting way. While Arabic 4 is written as and Persian 'four' as , the four of this inscription does not follow any of the styles of writing 'four' which were current at that or at any other time. The 'four' in this inscription is made more like "six" or "nine". But there is no doubt that Abu'l-Qāsim died in 1034/1625, for this is the date given in the literary sources. ¹ Another peculiar feature of this inscription

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¹. Busamud-Din, op.cit., 99.
Türkī
Inscription:
Grave of Sayyid Nāṭah Bāsī
is that each line has been separated from the other by a line, thus
dividing the inner compartment of the square panel into three oblong
panels.

**GRAVE OF SAYYID NĀTĀH BĀṢĪ**

The name of Sayyid Nātāh Bāṣī does not occur anywhere in the
history of Sind of the Panjāb. From the Persian inscription on this
grave it becomes evident that the Sayyid interred in this grave was a
man of considerable importance, for he died in Lahore and his dead
body was brought more than one thousand kilometres down to Turki. His
grave is unusual in its decoration as well. It does not have the same
division of various elevations as we see in other graves. The north
and south square panels are also divided and bear decorative motifs
of unusual style.

The cenotaph is rather shorter than usual. It is 1.70m long and
35cms wide. The height of the cenotaph is also 35cms which provides
for square panels at the north and south sides.

The north and south panels display a design which does not exist
on any other grave. The square panels are divided into nine
compartments in such a way as to get a square compartment right in
the middle. A large square is thus divided into four smaller squares,
a square of moderate size and four oblong panels. Each of these
panels is separated from the next by a straight embossed line.
EPICGRAPHY

The east, west and the top of the cenotaph is inscribed with Qur'anic verses in a raw naskhī hand, which I have not been able to identify. The north square panel has the bismillah and the Kalima-yi āytābāh in a tughra-like design. The corner compartments have six-pointed stars made of double engraved lines while four surrounding oblong panels bear undulating foliage.

The panel on the south has the same divisions on the north side. In the middle square compartment there is a Persian inscription in four lines. It reads:

تاریخ رحلت کربا وارند
سید ا vücud نادر باکی ور
بله لا سیور روز ووشبنم ورت میشته
۲۲ شهر ربیل المرحاب

(Tr.:)

The date of the migration (death), from this temporary world to the everlasting world, of Sayyid Nātah Basī [was] in the city of Lahore, on Monday midday the 22nd of the month of Rajab al-Murajjab 1102.

The name Sayyid Nātah Basī sounds like a nickname, alias or
nom de plume as there is no such name either in Persian or in Arabic. Even Sindhis and Panjabis do not have such names, let alone Sayyids who used to bear only the names of members and descendants of the Prophet Muhammad 's family.

In the square compartments at the angles are again the six-sided stars and in the oblong panels surrounding the central square is in each case a hemistich of a ruba’ī of Ūmar Khayyām. In the top panel -

ا برَبِيرَان سَبَّهُ مَلَكَتَ رَبل

in the left panel, running from top to bottom

رَبْرِبْ رَبْبَ فيَتَ رُبْبَ رَبل

in the bottom panel, upside down

بَرْبَ بَرْبَ ثُبَتَ سَبَّ هْ مَلَك

and in the right panel, running from bottom to top

خَاكَم بَرْبَ بَرْبَ ثُبَتَ سَبَّ رَبل

(Tr:)

0 God! You have broken my ewer of wine,
0 God! You have bound my heart with the luxuries of life
0 God! You poured the unwatered wine (mercies) over my grave
0 God! Dust be in my mouth but you look drunk also.
The Chaukhandī tombs are situated 29 kilometres west of Karachi. There are a number of such tombs in Sind and Balūchistān and at least 18 or more such cemeteries exist within 29 kilometres of Karachi. Henry Cousins brackets together all such tombs which are located around Karachi, between Karachi and Haydarābād and even in Balūchistān and calls them Chaukhandī tombs.¹ But such a view is not accepted by other historians.

In Sindī chau means four and khand means corner. It is therefore an appropriate name for tombs which are four-sided or four storeyed. Some of these tombs also have chatrīs on them supported on four-sided pillars. All these theories are however entirely speculative.

¹ Cousins, op.cit., 164.
Chaukhandī in all probability was the name of a place and this view finds some support from a number of inscriptions which include Chaukhandī as a place name. If there is or was such a place, the graveyard in question need not necessarily be that place. The reference to Chaukhandī on tombstones can mean any other local place, for the names of the dead on gravestones are often followed by the names of their native towns like Lahaurī, Dihlavī, Pishāwārī, Gujarātī and so on.

Dr. Vogel, who investigated these tombs in 1901, wrote⁠¹ that one cannot help feeling that there is certainly something un-Indian in the carvings and the forms of the tombs with their tiers diminishing towards the summit, coupled with the name shāmī² (Syrian) given locally to the overground mode of burial. Vogel believed their origins to lie in the west rather than the east.

Cousens suggests that most of these tombs are of Balūchīs who originally came from Syria, and that it is for this reason that these structures are known as shāmī. He deals with the Chaukhandī tombs under 'Balūchī tombs and graveyards'.³

Badā'ūnī twice uses the term chauckandī in his treatise. The way he uses this word implies that chauckandī is any four-sided or four-

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2. The tombs are also known as shāmī.
storiéd structure. The Emperor Jahāṅgīr uses the word chaukhandī to indicate something like a fortification, though not in any explicit way.

At first it was thought by Vogel and John Marshall that these tombs were examples of hypertophia or overground burial. But it was soon discovered that this was not the exact position. Many of the slabs enclosing the graves at Jarak and even at Chaukhandī were found to be perforated and the ground could be seen through them. A large number of such sarcophagi are also found on Makīl Hill, where one can see through the arches at ground level. It is hard to believe that the dead body was laid in such an open place and exposed way.

Who are the people lying buried in the Chaukhandī graveyard? Cousens calls them Balūchīs. Banerji suggests that they belonged to the Jukhiyā tribe. Ghafūr shares the views of Cousens, and so does Mumtāz Hasan. As regards the viewpoint of Banerji a close examination of the inscriptions reveals that the tombs belong to a number of tribes. Besides the names of Dād Khan Jukhiyā, Musammāt Ājizah Sahīr

Jukhiyā and Bĳr b. Chawfa Jukhiyā. The title of Jām also appears prefixed to a number of names of the dead, such as those of Jām Murīd b. Jām Hājjī, Mīrān b. Jām Radhu and so on. While the title of Jām is still current in Sind, Jukhiyās are no longer in existence. The title "Jām of Jukhiyā" is however known and not only suggests a strong link between Jāms and Jukhiyās but also identifies Jukhiyā as a place name. But this makes our problem even more complex. No such habitation exists now. Where, if at all, did such a town exist? According to Captain Freedy the Jukhiyās were originally inhabitants of the area north of Bilāwal, whence they descended to the valley of the Hub river. Tod James links the very word chaukhandī with the Sammas but even according to him the correct etymology of this word remains doubtful and so does the account of facts relating to Jukhiyās. The name Jukhiyā is mentioned for the first time in Tuhfāt al-Kirām in connection with the dispute of Muḥammad Channī Khān with Dhara Bilāl. This is the same Channī Khān from whom the Kalhautrās and Da'ūd-potrās claim their ancestry. His date is fixed around 1220 A.D. and the name of the Jukhiyā tribe is mentioned during the period of Akbar when the Mughals tried to subdue Sind (999/1590). The Jukhiyās are said to have been a powerful clan and they adopted a hit and run technique against the Mughals. They were also very active during the

2. T.James, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, III, (Bombay 1920), 1286.
rule of Aurangzīb. ¹ The Jukhiyās also offered tough resistance to the British.

The only tomb at Chaukhandī which is dated is that of Zānkī b. Ya'qūb, who died in 1169/1755. However, the grave of Jām Murīd b. Hājji, who was the chief of the Jukhiyā tribe during the viceroyalty of Aurangzīb in Multān, is of the 17th century A.D. ²

DESIGN AND DECORATION

The Chaukhandī tombs are built of buff sandstone and can be divided into three types. First are those standing without any cover above them. These are usually pyramidal four- to eight-storied structures. They stand on a platform which bears from two to five graves. Second are those which are built on rectangular platforms and with a roof resting on pillars. Third are those which stand on square platforms, but have a chatri above, circular in plan and with a domical roof. Another type and one more commonly found consists of independent single structures without any platform and without any roof on pillars. Such tombs can be numbered in hundreds.

Wherever a platform is provided the height of the platform is moderate i.e. 60cm at the most. Pillars are 1.70m to 2.10m in height while the entablature including the architrave is 50 to 56cm. The

¹ S.M.Ambalāvī, Adab-i Alamgiri, I, (Lahore, 1971), 24-5.
platforms bear absolutely no carvings or any other decorative work. They have no steps either. The pillars however, bear incised designs resembling filigree work. The capitals are invariably in bracket shapes projecting out on four sides. Sometimes each side has two brackets and these are particularly notable in the case of chhatrīs.

In the chhatrīs the capitals of each two columns are linked by a beam, bearing an architrave with a cornice or projection above it. These columns are placed in a circle thus providing a direct springing for the circular base of the dome above. The domes above are not bulbous domes but have a profile which is closer to a triangle. They have this form because they are built on simple corbels of concentric courses of masonry. Corbelling courses are clearly visible internally, while externally the domes are covered with plaster made of lime and ground brick, locally known as kairī.

CHHATRĪS: Isometric view and sections of columns.
CHAUKHANDĪ: a typical grave structure.
Some of the rectangular platforms which have an oblong arrangement of columns also show the remains of a dome above, and not a flat roof. Such an arrangement is provided only on square platforms which have the same number of columns on each side. In such cases an octagon is achieved by joining the second columns in each row by a beam and leaving the angle column out. The dome is then placed above the octagon by the usual corbelling courses of masonry. Unfortunately no dome survives on such oblong structures.

Decoration is mostly of the type seen on the sarcophagi of the Maklī Hill. The motifs are also very similar on the whole. These structures are however not so rich in decoration and carving as those on Maklī Hill. Lotus or sunflower designs remain the most conspicuous motifs; geometric designs such as diapers are also common. Other floral motifs are used very sparingly and with geometric precision. On some tombs are carved pictures of swords and spears, bow and arrows and even of warriors riding on horses.¹ On others are

carved the ornaments of women, particularly bracelets. The former are of course the graves of men and the latter those of women. These two are further distinguished by the fact that the first has on the top towards the head side a large object which is sometimes a toque, sometimes a turban and sometimes a palm-leaf.

The central portion of many graves at Chaukhandī has the shape of a device for carrying a coffin. The front and back portion of the graves contain handles on each side similar to those of stretchers used in hospitals. These handles protrude outward. The top of the handle is so carved as to depict the face of a crocodile with open jaws. This is a unique feature. The representation of living beings on tombs is extremely surprising and only rarely have Muslims used such iconography on religious monuments, let alone graves. The existence of such iconographical motifs once seemed to cast doubt on the Muslim origin of these tombs. However, there is plenty of corroborative evidence, such as the direction in which the tombs are laid. All of them are placed in the traditional Muslim way of burying the dead: head north and feet south. The names found on most of them are clearly Muslim, like Malik Kamālū Khan and Mihr ʿAlī. The contemporary graveyard at Lāndhī situated only ten miles east has Qur'ānic inscriptions on most of its graves.
In spite of my efforts to locate inscriptions on Chaukhandī tombs in the 120° heat of June, I could locate only four of them. There are indeed only a few; two of them I have already mentioned, i.e. Malik Kamālū Khān (undated) and Jām Bīj r b. Mihr ʿAlī. A third inscription carried the Islamic confession of faith without anything else. This was in a small headstone cut like a pointed arch. The fourth inscription reads:

لا الإلًا إلًا موسى رسول الله
حبيب صاحب بقوقندس

(Tr.) There is no god but God and Muhammad is His Messenger.
Jām Munīd b. Ḥājjī Sāhib Chaukhandī.

(undated)

The script is poor and crude, and does not belong to any specific style of calligraphy (see drawing) and the technique of chiselling is also coarse. The marked difference between the fine technique employed for carving the decorative motifs and the extremely poor letter cutting is extraordinary.
Sehwān

Sehwān is situated at an elevated level, a quality it shares with most of the historic towns of the Indus Valley. It lies on the main road from Kotri to Upper Sind, some 134km north west of Kotri and 152km south west of Larkana. It is almost at the bank of the Aral Lake which connects Lake Manchar¹ with the Indus River.

The region of Sehwān is perhaps the oldest civilised part of Pakistan; politico-cultural activities flourished from times now obscure. Here the famous civilisation of the Indus Valley thrived from the third millennium B.C. Amongst the ancient cities of the area which still survive, Thatta, Uch, Bhakar and Sehwān are still inhabited.

¹. Manchar to be exact, not Manchar
Sewan and Thatta have attracted every conqueror of Sind. Sewan, which once was the capital of Sind, is today reduced to a place of almost no importance, although the tomb of the mystic Shahebaz Qalandar is in Sewan and this has recently caused renewed interest in this city.

It was in 93/711 that the Arab general Muhammad ibn Qasim marched on Sind and after subjugating Daybûl set out northwards and took control of Sewan. The Buddhist population of Sewan was not in favour of fighting, but a brief skirmish took place after which the Muslim army gained control of the city. After the departure of Muhammad from India in 96/715 Sind gradually relapsed into the hands of local chieftains. The next invasion of Sewan was from the north in the last year of the 10th century A.D. and was by Sultan Mahmud of Chazna who repeatedly invaded India between 388/998 and 421/1030.

Sewan remained under Chaznavid control for about 160 years. From 585/1187 to 947/1540 Sewan passed from one ruler to another, including Shihâb al-Dîn Muhammad Ghuri, Malik Khan Khilji, Nasir al-Dîn Qabacha, Sultan Alâ' al-Dîn Khilji, Chiyâth al-Dîn Tughlaq, Firuz Shah Tughlaq and many other local chieftains.

Humayun twice tried unsuccessfully to take Sewan in 947/1540


2. For all these details, see Mir Muhammad Mo'sum, Tarikh-i Mo'sumi (also called Tarikh al-Sind), ed. J. Dowson, tr. H.M. Elliot, The History of India as told by its own Historians, 1 (London, 1867), 212-52.
and 948/1541, but was defeated by Shāh Hasan Arghūn.\(^1\) Sehwān was however annexed to the Mughal empire in 999/1590.\(^2\) This was done during the rule of Akbar; the Mughal armies fought under the command of Mīrābād Abū al-Rāhīm Khān-i Khānān.\(^3\) Akbar wanted Sind for sentimental as well as political reasons; sentimental because he was born here\(^4\), and political because he wanted to use it as a military base for expeditions against Qandahar. During the long rule of the Mughals it was Thatta and not Sehwān which received attention. After the fall of the Mughals a tussle started between two warring local factions, the Dā'ūdpūrās and the Kalhūurās. The latter triumphed and fixed their capital first at Khudābād and then at Haydarābād. The significance of Sehwān thus diminished. Sehwān's fort, which was once a landmark of this area, was soon reduced to a heap of rubble.\(^5\)

The city of Sehwān flourished for nearly two millennia. It was a nucleus of social and religious activities. The most celebrated saint in Sind, the 13th century mystic Lal Shāhbaz Qalandar, spent nearly all his life here. His mausoleum is the only building of interest in Sehwān; it is a sacred place visited by thousands of devotees every day. All the city's other historical buildings have almost or entirely vanished or else changed beyond recognition. The town of

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1. He is also known as Shāh Rusain Arghūn.
3. Ibid.
4. He was born at Cūmarkōt, a small village; see Sayyid Jamāl b. Mīr Jālāl al-Dīn Husainī Shirāzī, Tarākhān Nāma, in Elliot and Dowson 1 (London, 1876), 318.
Sehwan is also well known as the birthplace of Shaykh Mîr Muhammad, otherwise known as Ḥadrat-i Mîyân Mîr, the patron saint of prince Dârâ Shikôh. Mîyân Mîr's mausoleum is situated in Lahore. Sehwan is also the resting place of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq who died in 752 A.H. at Thatta and was buried here by his son and successor, Firuz Shâh Tughlaq. His mausoleum no longer survives. Only two slabs of stone fixed on a platform near the mausoleum of Shâhbâz Qalandar indicate the former existence of the monarch's mausoleum in this area.

ARCHITECTURE

The glory that was Sehwan is chiefly indicated by the remains traditionally identified as Alexander's fort, the epigraphical evidence of the tomb of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq and of Jâmi' Farrukh, and the mausoleum of La'î Shâhbâz Qalandar, which furnishes a fine example of colourful surface decoration of tiles. The fort of Alexander is now in ruins and no longer gives an idea of its lost grandeur.

THE MAUSOLEUM OF LA'Î SHÀHBĀZ QALANDAR

Sultan Firuz Shâh Tughlaq became pâdshâh in the year 725/1325. On his assumption of power he visited the shrine of La'î Shâhbâz Qalandar. He saw to the construction of the first regular building of the mausoleum of the saint. The project was completed six years

after the death of the saint. In 1049/1639 the tomb was rebuilt by Mīrza Jānī Beg Tarkhān who also enlarged it.¹

The present building is a structure of considerable size. Its facade is approximately 20m wide and the central part containing the entrance arch is about 14m high. The flanking sides are nearly two metres lower. Each of the four angles of the facade has a small minaret over it. Behind the facade the main structure is comparatively small, forming a rough square of nearly thirteen metres per side. The other three sides (i.e. north, south and west), externally suggest a two-storied building, as there are arches at two levels. The central portion of all these three sides also rises slightly above the rest, having small minarets at the corners. The dome is very large in

Sehwān
Tomb of Shāhbāz Qalandar

Axonometric view
not showing details
not to scale

¹ Khan, op.cit., 321.
diameter and covers almost the whole of the roof, but it is very low and almost invisible unless observed from a distance. It is crowned by an octagonal cupola.

The interior comprises one huge chamber with the grave of the saint placed under a large rectangular chhatrī similar to one seen in the tomb of Rukn-i Ālam at Multān.

The four sides are full of blind arches decorated with tiles. Above, the square chamber is converted into an octagon by the use of squinches. The dome is built above this over a 16-sided base. The transition occurs rather hastily, however, thus resulting in a very low dome. The dome is void of any decoration internally.

The mausoleum is profusely decorated with coloured glazed tiles bearing floral and geometric motifs. The tiled decoration of the mausoleum has undergone much renovation and most of the present tile work cannot be considered as of 1049/1639 or earlier. Some patches of the original tile work, however, can be seen in remote corners or at higher levels. These patches provide a faint idea of the original glory of the whole. Green, sepia, yellow and light blue are the colours employed in these tiles.

**EPIGRAPHY**

Four inscriptions exist on the facade of the monument; they belong to several periods. It appears that different disciples of
this saint added these inscriptions at different times.² Two of these inscriptions belong to the 8th/14th century, while the other two belong to the 11th/16th century.

The first of these inscriptions is carved in sandstone in taq lig characters. The slab measures 40 x 45cm. The text consists of nine couplets; each two hemistiches of each couplet are in one line, i.e. they are arranged in front of each other. The first hemistich of each couplet is on one slab and the second is on the other. Both slabs are fixed side by side to make one big format. The text of the nine-line inscriptions is as follows:

(Tr:) In the reign of Sultān Firuz Shāh, the benefactor of Islam, the dust of whose royal court has been treated as the crown of the forehead by all the kings of the world.

(Tr:) Since the time when this great Emperor has ascended the throne, the world is glittering with the rays of his wealth.

(Tr:) This building has been built for Shaykh ʿUthmān Mirandī,² who was a friend of God and owner of land and waters.

1. Shafi, op.cit., 11.
2. This is the real name of Lal Shāhbāz Qalandar.
Although a number of pious people lived in this world during the time of the Shaykh, yet he was the greatest of all in piety and miracles.

What a majestic edifice has been raised, with seven niches and six domes. The nine skies are becoming jealous of its lofty roofs.

This tomb was completed on the 7th of the month of Rajab in the year 757 A.H.

[This edifice] was built by the governor Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, a noble and just ruler and a second Alexander in battles.

No ruler has ever ruled the country of Sīvistān (= Sehwan) ever since its inception, who was so kind, courteous, and generous and pious.

It is hoped that by the kindness of God Almighty, he will get thousands of places in paradise in reward for his splendid building [which he built].
INSCRIPTION 2

This inscription is placed just below the one explained above. It consists of two slabs of sandstone put together to make one measuring 60 x 47.5cm. The four lines of inscription are carved in nasta'liq. As is apparent from the inscription it was placed in position by one Bahūvah who was also known as Dīnār Khān. According to this inscription the tomb was built by Sūltān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq and later on it was rebuilt by Mīrā Jānī Beg Tarkhān. The inscription is as follows:

(Tr:) During the reign of Sūltān Fīrūz Shāh, on whom be the mercy of God, the old mausoleum of Ḥadrat Makhdūm was built and these two stones on which the date is written,...

(Tr:) ... were cut into two pieces but after the dome was completed in the days of Mīrā Jānī Beg Tarkhān, these two stones were lying one upon the other ...

(Tr:) ... At this time, I, the humble person Sayyid Bahūvah alias Dīnār Khān, in the days of my blessed master...

1. He died in the year 1045/1635. For details of his life see Shafi, op.cit., 22.

2. For details of his life see Abū al-Fadl Ḍallāmī, op.cit., 194, 209, 335, 361, 576

3. A vertical line (|) indicates the end of one slab and following it is the continuation of the same line but on the second slab. (-) indicates the end of a line.

4. ڪڪن means courtyard; it is connected with the next line.

5. This refers to the Emperor Shāhjahān.
... paved the courtyard and built two mosques and placed these two stones in the wall of the mausoleum, so that the memory of the old sultans may continue to survive.

**INSCRIPTION 3**

This inscribed slab is fixed below the one explained above. It bears an interesting text carved in sandstone in ta'liq characters. It measures 60 x 40cm. Like the second inscription, it consists of four lines; but unlike the last, this one is in verse, each line having two hemistiches of a couplet. The last two lines are not intact, particularly the final hemistich, and it is not possible to suggest a wholly reliable interpretation; however, the inscription may tentatively be rendered as follows:

شُهْبٌ بُني گنگر علی بن محمد خلیل شیخ
شیخ نیکور اکبر گنگر خان زودگار

(Tr.) In the reign of King Shāh Fīrūz, who has helped the needy, this magnificent monument has been constructed.

کَرَنِتوَر کُرْنِتوَرِی دِرِبَالِی وَشَابَ وَبَیرا
می سیمیدن دیگر هشتاد و یک

(Tr.) The servant of the court is justified, if he takes pride and feels more honoured than the rest of the kings of high dignity,

برِسَتِر وُلِّی اللّٰه عُلَمَاءُ وَمَجِی عَلَم
بوژاندار وَانپرست نیتنا وَشِمار

(Tr.) [He built the tomb] on the grave of Ālī who was an exalted friend of God and was considered as one of the pious sufis of Baghdad.
Бас یدیک و یا کریست یحات ایک یاکریستت
یرزیک ندای ابلشر رخت ایکریستت ایپسشت از کربت امیرشنار

(Tr.) This respectable mystic is a great man and has performed several miracles. May God Almighty send His blessings to his grave.

پرختم ازهای صبری بیش از انرود جمال
پرختی صبری جا دوپیش آرکرت امیرشنار

(Tr.) The mausoleum was completed on the 7th of Safar in the 758th year (lit. "counted") after the migration of Ahmad [the Prophet]

کرونشی رخش سدار سیاحال الیکن گراو
کرست داد ور کیرن یافیه پایگار

(Tr.) [The mausoleum] was built by Malik Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn who is renowned in the world for his justice, splendour, grace and beneficence.

چنگهی یکرک زیر سیاپشت سیاپشت رسید
نالدیز کریسته لیاپشتان بنیابان انیبلار

(Tr.) When ..... reached Sīvistān, everything became fresh in Sīvistān and a new spring set in.

بانی ایسی کرکد ..... حساب
ان ..... ماه ..... پار

(Tr.) Constructor of this dome ..... according to from ..... month ..... four.

INSCRIPTION 4

Unlike the first three inscriptions of this mausoleum this inscription is on tiles, and comprises white letters on a deep blue ground. The inscription consists of six couplets and is rendered in
nastaʿlīq and is ascribed to Dīndār Khaṇ. The text reads thus:

بَدْرِ الْحَدْبَاءِ يَدْتُنَّ بَضَاتَ سَهَا
جَمَالُ الْعَدْلِ يَدْتُنَّ فيْضَةَ وَآبَادَ

(Tr:) In the reign of Shihāb al-Dīn Jahāngīr, by whose justice the whole world is happy and prospering

کی بِتُ برَهْز صَد سَلِیم
وَرَبَّ ابِتُ فَرِش دَجَت آبَاد

(Tr:) This courtyard resembles on the one hand the throne of the king and on the other hand the floor of paradise.

چَی پَسِوک وِسَت آن سُهرم مَفْرَق
سَبَی خَشْت اَخِم پَسِوک اَسْتَاد

(Tr:) What should I say in praise of the holy courtyard? There are stars of the sky in place of the bricks of the floor.

چَی خُواپِ سَلِیم .. پَسِوک بَرَهْز
سَلِیم بَین کر آس سَلِیم بَنْیار

(Tr:) If you want to know the date of its completion you should search it with the eyes of your wisdom. As for the year of its foundation, see it in the last line. 2

1. It appears that some misarrangement of these tiles has occurred. The second couplet contains a chronogram which is usually in the last couplet. The existing arrangement is in this order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. According to the existing arrangement of the tiles, the last line does not give any date; this proves that the arrangement of tiles and thus couplets is incorrect.
(Tr) The pavement of the sacred floor of the shrine of Husain Shahbaz is completed.

(Tr:) The humble offerings of Dīndār Khan have been accepted happily by the saint.

Probably during some renovation - or perhaps even at the very beginning of construction - the arrangement of the tiles became confused. Under the existing order the second hemistich of the fourth couplet clearly suggests a chronogram in the last line, but the last line has no date. In the second couplet, however, there are two dates: فرش سدر شاه gives the date as 1040 A.H. and فرش جنت آباد as 1030 A.H. Following the instruction contained in the fourth couplet, the date 1030 should be right as it occurs in the last line whereas 1040 is in the first. It seems, therefore, that these couplets should be read in the following order:

- Existing arrangement
- Suggested arrangement
These tiles also have margins, some on their right and some on their left. The existing third and fourth tiles have inscriptions on their opposite margins which, if placed together, read consecutively. These borders contain the letters مك and دمك so that if these two slabs are put together they give the inscription مک و دمک ("God is sufficient"). In the existing order slabs one and two have margins on opposite sides, one to the right and the other to the left. Both borders have the words و دمک in them. In my opinion the slab with the margin on the right is the first slab and the other with the margin on the left is the last.

On the entrance of the mausoleum of the saint there are two more inscriptions on either side of the entrance. These are composed in two separate niches, slightly recessed and crowned with a pointed low arch. The tympanum of both these niches is decorated with glazed tiles bearing floral motifs arranged in geometric order.

Each of these inscriptions has six couplets and each hemistich of these couplets is in an independent panel. Each of these panels is slightly recessed into the base. The text of these inscriptions indicates that they were placed here after the renovation work carried out by Miyan Chulam Khan Kalhaura in 1173/1759. These tiled inscriptions are in Persian and are rendered in nasta'liq. The text of these inscriptions indicate that the entrance gateway was built by Miyan Chulam Shah Kalhaurah in 1173/1759. Though they fall slightly outside the scope of this thesis by virtue of their date, they are given here in text and translation for the sake of completeness.
The following is the inscription on the right hand side of the door:

پی چناب سیارک قلاب قلاب قلاب
رز و ضرورت عیان خاکی و بیشی

(Tr.) How elegant and graceful is this mausoleum in which both the hidden and apparent splendour (نور) of God have become visible.

کلندو روستی و بام پیش ایلین
ولو و سبب عطمان بیرن وزارتی

(Tr.) Qalandar, and generous, servant of the faithful and friend of God, Sayyid Əl-Əlampîr [who is] full of God's splendour.

بنا و ماس کر مشهور لعل شمسیلاست
ب بانشا و گه د ایل خان سلطانی

(Tr.) He is known to the general public by the name of Ləl Shəhbəz Qalandar. He is the giver of sovereignty to kings and faqirs.

با پر بنا پر راکس ایلی دارد
لکام می رسند از رژیوتن دارند

(Tr.) Whosoever cherishes faith in this threshold he gets his wishes accomplished through the abundance of his graciousness.

غانام شاه سیال سحب سارگنبد
لغتنان خرید عباس گان اسامی

(Tr.) Ghuləm Shəh Miyan who is endowed with obedience [to Ləl Shəhbəz Qalandar]. The mark of Hadrat-i Əlampîr Abbas and the mine of beneficence.

1. A Muslim sect of faqirs who shave off their hair and beard and abandon worldly possessions, friends and relatives and travel from place to place worshipping and preaching.
Sehwān
Inscription
Tomb of Lāl Shāh-bāz Qalandar
The following is the inscription on the left hand side of the door:

(Tr:) This new and delightful edifice is built with a particular intent which has turned the courtyard of this mausoleum into a garden.

(Tr:) [This] was accepted by Hadrat-i Mekhdūm with the mercy of the Prophet, ʿAlī and Ḥimrān.

(Tr:) Whosoever saw it with love and affection both his eyes and heart were enlightened with the appearance of God's splendour (nūr).

(Tr:) In the year one thousand and one hundred and seventy three of the hijrah this [edifice] was completed with the efforts of one who is deeply versed in knowledge.

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1. The word ʿghāzī also means a Muslim soldier who fights against infidels.

2. That is, the humble effort of building the gateway.
(Tr.) When I asked the guardian angel about the acceptance of this construction, with the munificence of God my ears heard the [following] voice:

((Tr.) 0 forbearer, say the date [of its completion] by a hemistich: "In the noble threshold may this mark be accepted".

The last three words of the second hemistich give the date 1173/1759.

MAUSOLEUM OF MUHAMMAD SHAH TUGHLAQ

Nothing of this mausoleum survives except two stone slabs which state that the Sultan met his death at Sehwān and that he was buried in this town. This epigraphical evidence proves that a mausoleum was built over the grave of the Sultan. These slabs are now fixed to the low walls of a platform built at the back of the mausoleum of La’l Shāhbaz Qalandar. The slab fixed to the northern wall is the slightly bigger of the two and measures 75 x 45cm. It contains six couplets in Persian in te‘līq script. The following is the text of the inscription:

(Translation: ... )
Sehwān
Inscriptions
Tomb of Muḥammad Tughlaq

1

2

173
(Tr:) The world is a killer of people! O my heart, beware! Do not be sincere to it within your soul. For this [world] has no other business than to be malicious and an oppressor.

شیلات مجموع ناراحتان مراد از کنار گرفتن همه
کر که از وینگ شاپی در پنجره‌ای دور غرانت قرار شد.

(Tr:) Do not trust it [this world] because of the circumstances of Muhammad Shah. This treacherous world brought the Aurangshahi\(^1\) to an end.

کیچون سیدکان برد دند شیبان بجا ندارند
که تشییع باشد. 

(Tr:) This is the sovereignty of the killer of men of distinction (i.e. the world). Look in the dust. It carried off like slaves the kings who once possessed realms.

کنون پچخم خور کبکی در حالی بازی
گیریب پسر و برادر بود که در این دنیا

(Tr:) Though you have seen such courts hundreds of times before, open your eyes now and look at this place.

باب کشتن و زمین و کشید از هم
می‌پردازند و زبان بزرگ و کور است

(Tr:) The world gained new dimensions because of him; he was endowed with gallantry. Owing to his efforts and generosity his position was exalted.

کافر را داماد کر کر بیست و یک نادری هم نشست
کشتار سینم و بخته او شد و شد دنیا

(Tr:) On the night of the twenty-first of the month of Muharram [in the year] 752, he passed away to the other world.

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1. Aurangshahi is a type of silk (Steingass, op.cit., 119) used for the garments of Emperors. "The end of Aurangshahi" implies that even kings or emperors do not escape the treachery of this world.
The other slab, which is fixed in the west wall, measures 77.5 x 32.5cm and carries four couplets in Persian in ta'alīq characters. This inscription mentions the construction of a tomb:

(Tr.) During the reign of Fīrūz Shāh, the king of the universe
May God keep him in power for the welfare of the kingdom

(Tr.) For that king who cherishes the faith, this dome was built. The revolving vault of the heaven presents itself before the grandeur of this dome.

(Tr.) In the year seven hundred and fifty-four from the migration of Ahmad [this dome was built]. May the [efforts of the] devoted and humblest servant be accepted in His court.

(Tr.) ..... dome ..... that
to which may God bestow thousands ....

Apart from the mausoleum of Lal Shāhbaz Qalandar and Sultan

1. See also M. Shafi, "Muhammad Tughlaq", Oriental College Magazine, x, 2 (1935), 155-61. This article in Urdu has an elaborate account of Muhammad Tughlaq's death and of his mausoleum. But there are no architectural details.
Muhammad Tughlaq there was a jami\(^c\) in Sehwān as well but the ravages of time have obliterated this monument. This jami\(^c\) was built by Mīr Farrukh Arghūn, a general and courtier of Mīr Shāh Beg\(^1\) and Shāh Hasan.\(^2\) Mīr Shāh Beg conquered Sehwān in 917/1511 and thereafter built a number of buildings there including houses and a fort.\(^3\)

Mīr Farrukh Arghūn was famous for his valour and wisdom. His mosque, which was called Jāmi\(^c\) Buzurg-i Farrukh, was rebuilt during the days of Shāhjahan.\(^4\)

Three of the stone inscriptions which were formerly part of this mosque and which were found in Sehwān are now in the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. Each inscribed slab is 60cm high but in length they measure 190, 180 and 260cm respectively. All these slabs are surrounded by a floral border. The central part is divided into two panels in the case of the smaller slabs, and into three panels in the case of the larger one. Six of the panels contain a hemistich each, while the extra panel contains several words in floriated plaited kūfī. Chafūr\(^5\) suggests that these words are Allāh, Rasūl and Allāh, but this is surely mistaken, for two wāws are clearly visible

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2. Some authorities give his name as Husain; see Dowson and Elliot, I (London, 1867), 312.
3. Ibid., 307.
5. M.A. Chafur, Calligraphers of Thatta, (Karachi, n.d.), 64.
panel bearing inscription (▲) and detail of the middle cartouche (▼).
in the inscription whereas in the words Allāh, Rasūl and ʿAlī only one wāw occurs, and there are other inconsistencies with Chāfur's reading. To me the whole construction looks like a talisman. The following is the text of the smaller slab:

INSCRIPTION 1.

بدر شاه عارف آبان ضلع سن آباد کراچی کروان از ایشان

(TTr:) In the reign of the just king who was endowed with the gracious designation of Hasan and the meritorious demeanour of Husain so that the grey steed of the revolving sky; notwithstanding its perverseness, became obedient to him.

INSCRIPTION 2
In the heat of the day of Resurrection nothing would be desired except protection. However, 'Panāh-i Farrukh' furnishes the date of its completion.

The words پن‌ّ گ خ give the date of the construction of the mosque, which according to abjad computation comes to 938/1532.

The third, larger, slab has the following inscription:

بناى سپهبد ساختمان داده ولی واح کردار عاجل واندازه زیبایی است

The foundation of the Masjid-i Jāmi" was laid by a generous personage, the general abundance of whose liberality keeps the populace of the world happy and cheerful.
Sukkur

Sukkur and Rohri are twin cities situated on the opposite banks of the Indus in the north of Sind. Whereas the name Rohri is said to be the modernised version of the city of al-Rur or Alor, no reference to the city of Sukkur occurs before the time of Sayyid Mir Mas'um; there is no reference to Sukkur in the A'In-i Akbari either, though references do occur to the towns of Bhakkar, Rohri and al-Rur. According to Raverty, Sukkur was originally Bhakkar before the latter was cut in two by the river. According to Dowson and Elliot the word Sakhar means "embankment". They also quote the old name of the city of Sukkur as Chipribandar. In my opinion the word Sukkur may have been derived from the Persian word Sakr which means...

1. Also known as Sayyid Bhakkar because he was a native of Bhakkar.
2. Quoted by Cousens, op.cit., 150.
3. Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., I, 521.
4. Ibid.
filling, or damming up (a river).  

A brief reference to the island town of Bhakkar will be à propos here. There is a chain of islands in the middle of the Indus between the twin cities of Sukkur and Rohri. The largest of these islands is called Bhakkar. It was once a fortified stronghold of Muslim rulers. Bhakkar had a strong fort which is now utterly ruined. This fort played a very important role in the history of Sind and was a centre from which many a military expedition set out. It was constantly being invaded, taken and retaken. References to it occur especially in the political histories of Multan, Ush, Sehwan and Thatta.

At the time of the arrival of the Emperor Humayan, the then governor of Sind built an outer enveloping wall of the fort. This had a circuit of 1680m with four gates and 70 bastions. In 926/1520 Shāh Beg Arghun took Bhakkar and made it his capital and rebuilt most of its parts including the fasīl. In 982/1574 it was occupied by Mughal forces.

On the northern side of this island was the famous shrine of Piran-i Zindah which took the form of a small fortress rising some two metres above the normal level of the island and approached by a massive gateway providing access to the shrine. The whole little complex was like an oasis.

1. See Steingass, op.cit., 688.
2. Cousens, op.cit., 144.
4. Ibid.
The shrine was a simple domed structure and had two entrances to its square chamber. One entrance was on the south side while the other was on the east. The western wall had a mihrab containing an inscription. This was in a nastāliq hand and consisted of a rubā‘i which read:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{بہت تربت دو گھر وہاں شہرپیا} \\
\text{کر اب خطر وار ورنگے} \\
\text{ختم بخشن پھیس لکادت} \\
\text{پیت ہماری کچھ از روشنی اکالی}
\end{align*}
\]

(tx:) When this sublime dargah appeared which is surrounded by the waters of Khidr, Khidr wrote this in pleasing verse. Its date is found from the court of God.

The chronogram is contained in the words dargah-i ғәli, 331/952. This inscription, which certainly does not belong to this monument, provides one of the oldest specimens of Islamic epigraphy in Pakistan if it is genuine.

The monument is almost obliterated owing to periodic inundation. A project however is in hand to restore the old monuments and lost prestige of Bhakkar.

---

1. There is no doubt that the building is not as old as the inscription. Where this inscription originally belonged is also an unsolved mystery. There was another inscription in the dargah bearing a date of 1011/1602 which was more in accordance with the dates of the shrine; see Cousens, op. cit., 147.
SUKKUR

The architectural remains of Sukkur are neither many nor of substantial proportions. The most interesting among them is a small complex comprising three monuments: the tower of Mīr Ma'sūm, the domed octagonal sara'i and the gaurkhānah. All these monuments owe their glory to Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm, the well-known author of the Tārīkh-i Sind (more commonly known as the Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī) which he compiled in 1009/1600.¹

Mīr Ma'sūm is said to have built many buildings in and around Sukkur. He was a man of many qualities. He was an expert calligrapher, a renowned poet,² a celebrated historian, an acknowledged tabīb, a gallant soldier and a proficient diplomat. His great-grandfather was a sayyid and hailed from Tirmidh. Mīr Ma'sūm had a chance meeting with Khwājah Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Harawī in 963/1556.³ Nizām al-Dīn was at that time busy writing the Tabā'at-i Akbarī and he invited the Mīr to join him in this venture; the Mīr accepted. This gave him access to Akbar. He fought under Khān-i Khānān for the conquest of Sind for Akbar and won his laurels in the campaign. He was honoured for his services and was appointed ambassador to Iran. After Akbar's death Jahāngīr made him the amīn al-mulk of upper Sind. He established his

¹. Mīr Ma'sūm is said to have compiled his tārīkh for the guidance of his īmām Mīr Buzurg; see Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., I, 213.
². He wrote under the poetical name of Nāmī. He composed a diwan called diwan-i Nāmī; the mathnawi Ma'dan al-Afkar; Mekhzan al-Aṣrār; Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī; and a book on medical science called Mafarradat-i Ma'sūmī.
headquarters at Bhakkar and later died there in 1019/1610.  

Abu'l-Fadl writes that when the Mīr went to Iran, at every prominent stage, all the way from India to Isfahān and Tabrīz, he recorded the facts of his travels on masjids and other buildings.

He was an accomplished calligrapher and the inscriptions on the gateway of the fort at Agra and also those of the Jāmi Masjīd of Fathpur Sikrī are his works. The Emperor Jahāngīr in his Tuzuk records that there was an inscription on the main gate of the tomb of Salīm Chishti, of which a gitshah was composed and written by Mīr Ma'sum which reads:

\[
\text{Tālūr wa khatmāt, wāḥīd wāḥīd, tātāt tātāt,}
\text{Abū Bārāhī, Sayid Safā'ī al-Tirzāwī,}
\text{Subḥ Allāh al-Subḥān Allāh.}
\]

(Tr.) Said (= composed) and written by Muhammad Ma'sum Nāmī b. Sayyid Safā'ī al-Tirmidhī whence he migrated and Bhakkarī by residence and blood relation of Shīr Qalandar b. Bābā Hasan Abdāl, Sabzawāri by birth, and Qandahāri by residence.

The pompous flowery style of this inscription, which uses words for the sake of using them, is worth noting.

The buildings comprising the architectural complex at Sukkur

look much better from a distance than at close quarters. These buildings are plain and uninteresting structures having no special architectural pretensions. The plain plastered exteriors are relieved by a few solitary bands of tiles and by isolated patches of tilework of very inferior quality both in colour and technique. A peculiar pigment used here is a dirty brownish purple which is not found elsewhere as at Hala, Thatta, Makli or Sehwan. The finish of the tiles is coarse and the patterns are large, lacking both assured technique and mastery of drawing.

The old monuments of Sukkur, then, are not of much importance, but they have a character of their own.

THE MINĀR-I MAṢṢĪM

The most conspicuous feature on the skyline of the city of Sukkur is the tall minār of Mīr Maṣṣım. In its character it is more like the minār of Shaykhūpūra and is in no way to be compared with the Qubh or with the minārs of the Mughals. In its very appearance the minaret appears to have been built of plasticine or pastrydough rather than brick and mortar. It has no very graceful proportions either. The top storey, which in most cases has a delicate gallery and balustrade around it and a fine canopy resting on slender columns, is void of all such features. The top storey is in fact surrounded by an iron cage probably fixed within the last century by the Sukkur municipality. This emphasises the ungainliness of the top of the
minaret. It appears that there was no formal balustrade around the top storey.

The minār rises to a height of 30m and has a circumference of 25.20m at the base. It is out of perpendicular. The minār was built at least partially by Mīr Ma'sūm himself in the year 1003/1594. Its date of construction is inscribed in a chronogram in an arch above its entrance. It is generally believed that this minār was completed in the year 1013/1604 by Mīr Buzurg Munawwar, the son of Mīr Ma'sūm.

The entrance of the minār is constructed in a peculiar fashion. Three arches are set one above the other, the lowermost one providing access to the interior. These arches are set in a tall rectangular frame. The middle arch is blind and

1. Shafi, op.cit., 68.
2. Shafi, op.cit., 68. The author does not say clearly whether it was completed or repaired.
comprises a slab containing epigraphy while the top arch is again meant to admit light and air to the interior of the minār.

The minār is wholly built of red brick manufactured locally. The tiles used to form circular bands around the body of the minār are of low quality. The only plastered portion is the large vertical rectangle containing three arches, and the crowning chamber having four openings.

There are two bands of tilework around the body of the minār, transforming the whole structure into three stories, the fourth comprising the crowning part now known locally as the pinjrah (cage). There is absolutely no difference between the three major stories except that each succeeding storey is smaller in circumference at the respective base due to the taper of the minār. The middle storey has two large arched openings to admit light and air, while the first and third stories have small apertures for the same purpose.

The crowning part is a small circular room with four arched openings set in rectangular frames.

EPIGRAPHY

The arched inscriptive slab can be divided into three main parts. The first consists of two lines in prose. The second consists of three couplets. Each of its hemistiches takes one full line and
Sukkur
Minār-i Maşumī
Inscription above the entrance
each line is separated from the other by a projecting line. The third part again comprises three couplets but unlike the second portion, its three couplets are arranged in three lines, each line carrying both the hemistiches of a couplet. At the end of this there is again a line in prose.

The following is the text of the inscriptions (unpublished):

Part One

بنی‌پناہاتِ سلطان جلال الدین

(Tr:) This minār was built in the time of the Emperor Jalāl al-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Bādhshāh Ghāzī.

Part Two

بُنی‌پناہاتِ سلطان جلال الدین

(Tr:) - Muhammad Masūm who is the full moon of the high heaven,
- Who is still famous in the world for his good name [deeds]
- Erected this [high minār] on account whereof
- The blue heaven raised its head.
- From the cārsh (heaven), the angels said about the date of its construction
- That it is a famous jahān numā¹ overlooking the whole world.

¹ A place on a very high altitude from which the whole universe can be seen.
The words in the last hemistich contain the chronogram and according to it the date of the construction of the minaret comes to 1003/1594.

Part Three

Mīr Māṣūm, who is highly dignified, whose devotions are like a trust to the laws (of religion), constructed this minār so that (people) may say that it is in memory of the former ones. The old heaven said in response to its date 'That it is a pillar of the great īrsh.'

The composer (of these verses) is Sayyid Mīr Buzurg b. Mīr Muhammad Māṣūm." The words give the date of the completion of the monument as 1013/1604.

The founding of religious and secular buildings may be said to have been the hobby of Mīr Māṣūm. He ornamented his buildings with

---

1. The literal meaning would be the 'cycle of planets'.
2. Literally "leg".
Sukkur
Octagonal Sarāʾī of Mīr Maʿṣūm
Interior of dome

not to scale
his own designs in tiles and stone,\(^1\) while "in making chronograms and cutting inscriptions, he had no equal."\(^2\) His calligraphy was extremely elegant. The domed octagonal building was erected by the Mīr as a rest house, and was built in the year 1004/1595-96.\(^3\)

The building has four arched entrances, one on each of the cardinal sides. The diagonal sides are provided with blind arches and thereby symmetry has been maintained on the eight sides of the octagon. The same arrangement of openings is carried out on the upper portion. The arches above the openings are open while the alternative arches are once again blind. The lower portion of the upper openings has a flat parapet with no decoration, carving or grille work. The openings above the east and west sides are provided with cut stone balconied windows.

On the exterior a band of tiles runs above the windows immediately above the cornice. Above this are several courses of bricks below the tiled parapet.

The two octagonal stories are crowned by a smaller hexadecagon. Each of its sixteen sides have an arch within a rectangular frame. Each arched opening is followed by a blind arch. This storey has a parapet made of blind merlons.

---
1. Shafi, *op.cit.*, 70.
The building is crowned by a dome resting on a low drum composed of sixteen sections and decorated with various patterns of brickwork. The apex of the dome has a finial whose foliate base appears to have been tied above by three circular mouldings. These are crowned by a bud-like moulding.

The structure is built of bricks similar to those used for the construction of Minār-i Ma’sūmī. Stonework occurs in the balconied openings, the columned gallery inside and the finial of the dome. It is also used for various inscribed slabs. Tiles are used sparingly in this building, especially on the outer surface; they are of poor quality.

INTERIOR

The entrance to the building is through four arched entrances. The first storey inside rises to an approximate height of 4.50m. At this height the interior is encircled by a narrow gallery supported on slim octagonal columns with square capitals. The gallery has a balustrade about 45cm in height made of terracotta in geometric patterns. The underside of the gallery bears numerous inscriptions in nastālīq in Persian.
The roof of the gallery also forms the top of the second storey of the octagonal structure.

So far as decoration is concerned, the interior of this building is more impressive than the exterior. The whole of the interior is punctuated with chini work or coloured pottery decoration. The rectangular frames of the arches are made of bricks laid in Thattta and Makli style— that is, bands of white plaster are visible between each two courses of bricks. This exposed white plaster makes horizontal lines (A) on the sides of the arches and vertical lines B above and below them.

The spandrels are filled with tile-work. Four sides have spandrels with tiles bearing geometric patterns while the other four bear tiles with floral patterns. Above the arches and their spandrels and following the brickwork are four horizontal panels on each side. Each of these bear a hemistich in Persian in nastaliq worked in stone.

This arrangement of bricks, tiles and inscription is carried up

1. Geometric patterns occur in the spandrels of the true arches while the spandrels of the blind arches have floral designs.
to the base of the dome. The interior of the dome bears an elaborate geometric design, a simpler version of that at the mosque of Shāhjāhān at Thatta. It is an excellent arrangement: an eight-sided star is placed right at the apex and from it spring out various geometric shapes which travel down to create a chevron design above the arches of the 16-sided storey. I have no doubt that if this work is of Mīr Maḥsūm he was a great genius.

The chevron designs formed of brickwork are similar to those existing in the tomb of Mīrza Tughrīl Beg at the Makīlī-Hill.

EPICRAPHY

All the Persian inscriptions are in nastālīq style, cut in stone slabs, which have then been fixed in the wall at the places provided for them. Each wall contains four panels above the rectangular frame of the arch. In each of these panels there is a hemistich. Eight sides of the octagon thus contain 32 panels bearing thirty-two hemistiches. These can be read in a continuous order, starting from the western side, as follows:

SIDE 1:

1. All these inscriptions are unpublished. Cousens does however give the translation of the text on side 8 (op.cit., 158).
(Tr:) 0 Cherisher of slaves and protector of smallest things,
By your benevolence a small particle shines like a sun
One day I will raise my head like a green herb which
grows out of the earth
[Because] I expect your favours.

SIDE 2:

(Tr:) No doubt I am a thorn in the garden,
But forgive me through the agency of this garden.
O God, fill my heart with enlightenment
So that I reach you with the help of that light.

SIDE 3:

(Tr:) I am lost and I have lost my heart too on account of
myself [misdeeds];
I am lying in the dust for my misdeeds;
I scare even a hundred devils
Due to the [bigger] devil which is hidden inside me.

SIDE 4:
(Tr:) As long as I have eyes I shall see.
[But] I want to open them to see my friend.
No matter how immodest are my eyes,
Just a drop of Your kindness is enough for
this earth. [my grave]

SIDE 5:
پچون مویش از گنگ‌یا رودی
غم‌های شیرین ابره‌ای شوید
پخش‌شان رهوار بر بیک کاران
پیش و پس یپس‌بی‌های کاران

(Tr:) If every hair on the body becomes a sin,
The clouds of your forgiveness will wash all those
sins away.
If forgiveness is only for the pious,
It is a great pity for ruined [people] like me.

SIDE 6:
پر چینگانته رحمت بیش
زان روى اسید وارم از گنگ
من خفته و در شخم‌های گل‌مان
از رهش خدا پیچون بر جان

(Tr:) No matter what the extent of our sins, your blessings
are much too great for them;
That is why I am expecting your pardon.
I am sleeping and my enemy is the watchman.
How can I escape the enemy of [my] house?

SIDE 7:
نامی که حتا در آستان است
زان‌های شاه در آستان است
این خانه بر این که خان نژاد
برکاک درست پیک بخود
(Tr:) Nāmī is like the dust of [your] threshold,  
But his head is as high as the heavens [due to this dust].  
That sacred dust is not better than the unsacred [dust]  
If it is not lying on your threshold.

SIDÉ 8:

(Tr:) This graceful dome of Nāmī ¹  
Deserves to be called heaven of bounty  
It was due to this [dome] that this place turned into  
a place of liberality.  
Its date: this is a house of abundance [liberality].

There are also two rubā'īs on the ceiling of the gallery immediately  
inside the two arched openings which have stone balconies outside, at  
the first storey level. Like all the other poetical inscribed work  
in this building these rubā'īs are the work of Mīr Ma'sūm  
mutkhallus Nāmī.

The following rubā'ī is on the ceiling of the western gallery:

سر مسند وروما سیاوا دارد  
ورازغم نيزصمحل وزارد  
دیوان دول مراسمائت کنید  
اين واردي نيزره صای دارد

1. Mīr Ma'sūm is well known as a poet and historian. He wrote under  
the poetical name of Namī. See also Abu'l-Padl, A'in-i Akbari,  
Just to begin with, my heart has a desire
[that] this desolate place of sorrow needs purity.
Do not scold my mad heart
For this valley [heart] has its own way out.

and on the ceiling of the eastern gallery

فریورد گنبد سیاه یونسی
آواز ورود مرنانه حضرت مهربان
کرده کنار می‌شود این مرنانه
دوور توحید بر این بالغ جرم مرنانه

You hear the complaint of every one who departs [dies]
And redress their long grievances
0 you who travel the whole night long, the destination
is still far.
If you are sleeping how can you hear the ringing
bell of the caravan?

THE GÜRKHANAH

Almost adjoining the octagonal rest house is the family

GüRKHANAH of Mīr MaṢūm. The GÜRKHANAH is in the form of an open
pavilion resting on twenty square pillars. The pavilion is wholly
built of stone locally known as khattu stone. The central area of
the pavilion contains the graves of Mīr Safā'I (the father of Mīr
MaṢūm), Mīr MaṢūm and Mīr Abu'l-Qāsim. Each of these three graves
is domed. The rest of the area is also full of numerous graves of
varying sizes; they are of unknown personages.

The pillars of the pavilion have a high base extending to nearly
one-third of the shaft. The finish is not smooth. Though the
letters are cut sharply and have fine edges, the ground remains rough and crude. Above are simple brackets projecting on three sides excluding the outer side. Above the capitals are beams running from one capital to the next. They are immediately followed by the parapet consisting of merlons which are simple and without any carving. As a whole the building is void of any decoration. The main interest appears to be the inscriptions rather than the building itself. The roof is largely flat though a slight slope is introduced towards the extremities of each square section.

The central portion is roofed by three domes, the central one being larger than the two flanking ones. These are simple and segmental and have an inelegant finial at the top.

The domes are built in the traditional way by transforming the square span into an octagon and then further transforming the octagon
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions-column 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukkur-Gürkhanah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
into a 16-sided structure.

EPITOGRAPHY

Excluding the inner eight columns the rest of the twelve columns (twenty columns in all) have inscriptions carved on them on each of their four sides. The inscriptions are in Persian as well as in Arabic. The Arabic inscriptions are non-Qur'ānic except for a sentence or two. No matter whether the text is Persian or Arabic, it has been carved in fine nastāyīq. This uniformity of style probably led Cousens to write that all the inscriptions were in Persian.¹ This is not correct; but it is certainly very unusual to write Arabic in nastāyīq.

The inscriptions on the pillars are in bold characters rising nearly $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ cm from the surface. Each side has one complete text

¹. Cousens, op.cit., 152.
running from top to bottom. In this way each group of four
sides contains four different texts comprising religious anecdotes,
sayings of the wise and so on. The inscriptions on
one of these pillars (marked 2, see pages 197-8) will serve to
indicate the nature of this rich and unpublished epigraphic material.¹

GRAVES

The inscriptions on the graves are mostly Qur'ānic but they have
also been rendered exclusively in nastālīq style. These graves
comprise two stories, the plinth being slightly larger than the
crowning portion.

GRAVE OF MĪR SAFĀ’Ī

The upper part of this grave is full of Qur'ānic and non-Qur'ānic
inscriptions all carved in stone in nastālīq. The inscription on
the north square panel reads as follows:

\[\text{[Image of inscription content]}\]

¹. Considerations of space make it quite impossible to give the
texts and translations of the remaining 79 faces.
(Tr:) 1. We testify, there is no god but God, He is One,
2. He has no companion, He is the Supreme Ruler and all praise is for Him,
3. He is the One who creates, who kills, He is alive and will never die,
4. Goodness in in His hands, He is Omnipotent.

Encircling the four sides of the central square is the following inscription:

**TOP**
من زارة تؤثر في قلوب الناس رحمة يا لم يبَغ
وفلا يكون ذلك

**LEFT**
تنبِّئ بأيام رحيم العزاب عندي
بدر النباهم

**RIGHT**
ليس من الله و بالإله و على الله رسول الله
من قرى على تمر رحيم العزاب عن السبائر سنن

**BOTTOM**
وَلَمْ يَمُتْ بِهِ شَيْأٌ مِنْ هَذَا الْحِيْثَ وَلَا يُؤْمَنُ بِهِ عَلَى كُلِّ مِنْهَا صَحِيحٌ
(Tr:) - One came to the grave and said, "O God, I beg of Thee, through the agency of Muhammad and his descendants, save him from [Your] wrath.

- That dead man is saved from anguish till the day of Judgement.

- In the name of Allah, we belong to Allah and are the friends of the Prophet.

- He who prayed on the grave is relieved of torment equal to forty years [of his sins]

On the south side are the following three couplets arranged in six rectangles within the central square:

1. ماه ترخی سپیدتان
2. گزاره میلی درای لوش
3. نگاه از پی چنان گر سیر
4. انتقاد آن پیمان عبور شن
5. نامی دربی سال تاریخش
6. گفتا پروزور پادگورش

(Tr:) Sayyid Safa'I is the moon [of the tribe of] Quraish. The sky is illuminated with his light; He came [to this world] unexpectedly for an excursion [And] soon crossed over to the other world, Nami told the date of the year [of his death]; His grave is full of light.

The words پروزور پادگورش in the last hemistich of the last couplet contain the chronogram. According to abjad computation the date of Mir Safa'I's death comes to 991 A.H.

Encircling the central square, at the top, is the text:
1. O ye! who have come to my grave, I have [some] expectations from your coming [to my grave].

2. I am sighing and lying in the dust [the grave];

3. I am fallen into this ditch [the grave];

4. Recite once the sûra al-Ikhlās
So that I get the bounty of special pardon.

The top of the grave has a continuous inscribed border on all four sides. Inside it is another border which contains a creeper motif and further in again is a panel bearing inscriptions. The inner panel towards the north has a cusped arch bearing the bismillah and kalima-yi tawyibah (see diagram), and the larger inner panel has the following Qur'ānic inscriptions:

 sûra ii, (al-Baqarah), 1-5, 255, 285 and
 sûra lix, (al-Hashr), 22-4,
 sûra xcix, (al-Zilzāl), complete,
 and sûra cxii, (al-Ikhlās), complete.

The western side of the grave has the following Qur'ānic inscriptions in the middle panel:

 sûra cii, (al-Takathur), complete, and
 sûra cx (al-Nāṣr), complete.

and, in the borders of the same side,
 sûra cxiv, (al-Nās), complete,
 sûra cix, (al-Kafirūn), complete, and
 sûra cxiii, (al-Falaq), complete.
The eastern side bears the following inscription in Persian:

بجان تا مصدرا آن بجان است
امینا در سر روز می‌جئ است
سپای شمک کن برزنت
پخشکی برق کن شرور مار
سبکی که شاده ببردار است
سرنا سرش از عظم تو راست
بنگاه فی آفر نرود این سلیم
گرستگ لوز ولت شور است

(Tr.) - The [real] life of the messenger is the way to the next world,
- He is only here for two or three days,
- I wish to be as fast as a spark in speed -
- [It is good to] flash like a spark sometimes.

INScriptions on the Grave of Mīr Ma'ṣūm

The general layout and division into various panels is an exact copy of the grave of his father. The slight difference is in the decorative motifs. In this case, instead of floral motifs, chain mouldings have been used in the dividing bands in the top and side panels.

Several Qur'ānic inscriptions are found on the top part of the grave. The bismillah is followed by:
sūra i, (al-Fātihah), complete,
sūra ii, (al-Baqarah), 1-5

while in the border on the top is sūra ii, (al-Baqarah), 255, and
this is followed by v.285 of the same sūra up to

The text continues in the border on to the eastern panel of the
grave, from امرکا صلت to the end of the sūra. It is then
followed by sūra lix, (al-Hashr), 22-34.

The central portion of the eastern side has:

sūra xcix, (al-Zilzāl), complete and
sūra cxii, (al-Ikhlās), complete.

The western side is inscribed with the bismillah, the kalima-yi
taw̱ībah and the complete texts of the following sūras:

sūra cii, (al-Takathur),
sūra cx, (al-Kafirūn),
sūra cx, (al-Nasr),
sūra cxii, (al-Falaq), and
sūra cxiv, (al-Nās).

The north square panel of the grave contains the fourth kalimah (also
known as kalimah-i taw̱īd), i.e.:

الشَّهِيدُ أَنَّ لا ِإِلَٰهَ إِلَّا ِلَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لا شَرِيكَ لِهِ وَلَا شَرِيكَ

and in the border on all four sides of the kalimah, the text:

من زارق قُبَّةُ فَتَّالِحَرَم مِنْ أَمَامِهِ نِعَمَةٌ وَلَا نَّيَدٌ

Though all the inscriptions of the top, east, west and north sides
are in Arabic and are mostly Qur'ānic they have all been rendered in
nasta'ālīq.
his own designs in tiles and stone, while "in making chronograms and cutting inscriptions, he had no equal." His calligraphy was extremely elegant. The domed octagonal building was erected by the Mīr as a rest house, and was built in the year 1004/1595-96.

The building has four arched entrances, one on each of the cardinal sides. The diagonal sides are provided with blind arches and thereby symmetry has been maintained on the eight sides of the octagon. The same arrangement of openings is carried out on the upper portion. The arches above the openings are open while the alternative arches are once again blind. The lower portion of the upper openings has a flat parapet with no decoration, carving or grille work. The openings above the east and west sides are provided with cut stone balconied windows.

On the exterior a band of tiles runs above the windows immediately above the cornice. Above this are several courses of bricks below the tiled parapet.

The two octagonal stories are crowned by a smaller hexadecagon. Each of its sixteen sides have an arch within a rectangular frame. Each arched opening is followed by a blind arch. This storey has a parapet made of blind merlons.

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1. Shafi, *op.cit.*, 70.
Sukkur
Grave of Mīr Maṣūm
Inscription
The southern side of the grave, however, contains a Persian inscription comprising three couplets composed in three lines of bold nastālīq:

ءیر میر مقصود آن مر برج شریف
آنتاب شریف ورین مقرب رز

(Tr.:) "Mīr Maʿsūm, who is the moon in the constellation of glory.
Sun of the faith and of religion and the grace of the world"

آنا حیات سازن که قلب نگرفت
عازم حیات باسرز و لسن

On the day of Friday the 6th of Dhu'l-Hijja, left for the paradise of God the Beneficent.

سال فتوحات از فتوحات بیشتر
لیپوره نای صاحب ملک سخن

When I asked the intellect the year of his death [he] said: "Namū was the master of the kingdom of poetry."¹

According to the last hemistich the value of all the letters added up should give the date of the death of Mīr Maʿsūm. According to the second hemistich of the last couplet this comes to 1014 which is incorrect, for he died in 1019. Most probably the last hemistich was:

- لیپوره نای صاحب ملک سخن

The addition of hā' does not alter the poetical sense or the meaning at all but gives the correct date of his death. Hā' obviously cannot be added anywhere else in this hemistich.

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¹ The literal meaning of سخن is "word" or "saying" which does not yield appropriate meanings here.

² The letter hā' has the numerical value of five according to abjad.
The hemispherical dome above the grave of Mir Ma'sum is also full of epigraphy. The whole zone is divided into ten concentric circular sections. The width of these sections is the same. All these sections contain fourteen ruba'is of the Mir in Persian punctuated by the sayings of the Prophet, Christ, 'Ali and various ulama'. The text of the ruba'is and sayings runs continuously without the divisions one might expect in verse.

Starting from the highest point of the dome the inscriptions of the first three lines are in relief. These are followed by four lines of incised lettering and are followed again by three lines in relief. The script as usual is in nasta'līq throughout.
The following is the full text of the inscriptions in the dome:

(Tr.) Certain eloquent men have said hope [or desires] is like a curtain in front of death. Sa'id ibn Musayyib said there is nothing painful than death before death, and after death everything is more painful than death.

(Tr.) Some people have said that whosoever cared for his soul (nafs) benefitted. Whosoever became careless about it suffered. Wahb ibn Munabbih said "this world and the next are like wives of equal status. If you care for one, the other gets unhappy". And 'Isa ibn Maryam said, "This world is a bridge to the next; just pass over it, do not build it."

(Tr.) The flower does not laugh on account of the morning breeze. No, no, all these are laughing over our carelessness. I say and say again, "why are they laughing?" They are laughing about our insincere and brief life.
(Tr:) If we overcome the ups and downs of this world, it is nothing. This is a world of extremes, dignity or disgrace; it is nothing. When you have to go into dust after all, To know, or not to know, is nothing.

(Tr:) xCDn ibn Maryam said the world will never wither as long as its camels are capable of ploughing. Abu Hazim said, "We want to die so that we ask for His pardon, but we do not ask for pardon until we die. It is said indigence is like sovereignty where there is no accountability.

(Tr:) Nâmi who [once] obtained fame at the hands of this world, Is now sad for the water has dried from his face [flower]; Have a quick look at his dejected face – He is contented, under the earth and in the water.
Religious mendicants have nothing; how then can they laugh?
Darvishes possess nothing but grief and sorrow.
They cannot entertain anyone except with lamentation.
[And] who will sweep [clean] the tombs of those [who are] mixed with earth?

In this world there are beggars and there are the rich,
But in the end they all have to proceed to the next world.
No matter how long life is, it is still short.
If we consider thoughtfully, it [life] is a minute or two.

One day my heart will be disappointed of this world,
And my soul will reach the [ultimate] goal.
The smallest particles of my body, in His love, were turned into dust;
The smallest particle from Him will be a sun.
(Tr:) The Commander of the Faithful said, the world is like a snake; it is soft to touch but its venom is deadly.

ما آیا لورامی دری باغ بیشت
چون ابر برو می‌سرجو چون بار بیشت
چون نارس پرخسا ناگاه از خواب
تا چشمه کر چه سریشم غریخت

(Tr:) We came to this garden for a stroll
As clouds move over the greenery and airs in the woods.
Like the intoxicated narcissus we woke up suddenly
When we opened our eyes, our life had gone.

یان نا نازی بزرگی چک دم پوراز
مرداد بساز لرزش عرش ساز
داری مربیش لب ره دورودر
ای کاش آمید آدر آبی پاش

(Tr:) O Namî, make ready for flight;
Make provision for departure to the next world in a manly way.
Though you see a long way in front,
Alas, there is no way to return.

در میهمگ پچین رخ آتش گون کر
دل بیده پیاد دستتان پرخون کر
سپر می‌شیری گوپک مانمز رگان
عزم سپرده شر و زناک سرپوران کر

(Tr:) In spring the garden has turned fire-red [due to red flowers.]
The heart has made the eyes bleed in memory of friends,
There is no greenery on the earth [= grave]
Of those who are dejected like us.
Our sorrow is refreshed as the head [= any plant] comes out of earth.
(Tr.) O people of the grave! Look, everyone is sleeping. Every one of them is free from replying. They have drunk from the 'cup of return' and till the day of resurrection they will be drunk. Every one underground is intoxicated and ruined.

(Tr.) O my dear Nāmī! I left this place out of grief. I went from the garden without plucking a flower. There were two thousand desires in my heart; Not even one of them was fulfilled and I went with my possessions [desires].

(Tr.) O you who took this world happily under your arm, You thought it would be good in need. Even if you have a Kingdom from Habash to the country of the Tatars, Nothing will be of any use except your character.

1. Abyssinia.
I had not yet told my story when the conversation concluded. I had not yet written a word when the letter ended. I had not yet enjoyed the morning when it was the evening [= evening time approached]. When it was my turn to drink the last cup of wine had passed [= before me].

The heaven hit my cup (of wine) with a stone; My heart bled red like the seeds of a pomegranate. The dirt had not even settled on my shoes When the callous dust was over my head [= I was in the grave].

Amīr Sayyid Muhammad Fādil Maṣūm
Built a lofty palace at the top of a mountain. So marvellous was that fortunate place that people are coming To visit it as pilgrims, in groups from all quarters. When I asked the writer of wisdom about its construction He took the pen and wrote 'the edifice at the top of the mountain'.
The last three words of the last hemistich contain the chronogram. When these words are computed according to the abjad system the year of construction comes to 1002/1593.

(Tr: Nāmī, you have darkened your face with sins, Whatever you yourself have done has brought you hither now to seek protection.
People say, You forgive sinners;
You are the Forgiver and I, he whom sins have brought here [to obtain pardon].

(Tr: Nāmī, open the eye of your insight.
The foundation of this world is like an image on water [= very temporary]
I tell you what is the product of this world:
It is wakefulness for a moment and the rest is [nothing but] a dream.

1. All these inscriptions are unpublished. I am indebted to my father for their translation.
Thatta

Thatta is situated some 88 kilometres north-east of Karachi and almost at the same distance in the south-west of Hyderabad. Some historians believe Thatta to be the same city as Daybul. Cousens calls this town "Dewal-Thatta" ("Daybul-Thatta") and very strongly emphasises that the ancient Daybul and present-day Thatta are one and the same metropolis.¹ Thatta, says Cousens, is a land of sepulchres and dust, of holy 'shams' and holy humbugs.² Thatta is in Sind and Sind has been very fruitful in the production of pirs (holy men). According to one report it has nearly one hundred thousand tombs of saints and martyrs.³

Thatta has some of the most exciting specimens of Indo-Muslim architecture extant. Although they belong only to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the history of Thatta goes back

1. For full details of this controversy see H. Cousens, Antiquities of Sind, (Calcutta, 1929), 17.
3. Ibid.
some two thousand years. Alexander rested his troops here after a long march from Taxila and Multān via Sahwan. Long before that Thatta was known to the annalist of the Aryan epic Mahābhārata, who mentions Thatta as the scene of a bloody battle between the tribes of Kourvas and Panduas.¹

During the rules of uthmān and of Ḥaḍīr, exploratory expeditions were sent to Sind under Ḥākim b. Ḥā'ila Ḥāṣabī and Ḥārith b. Murrah respectively. The second of these expeditions, after subjugating Thatta, went as far as Makrān. During the rule of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwan, a punitive expedition was sent to Sind under the command of Muhammad b. Qasim.²

Cousens tells³ that the Khalīfa earmarked a special fund to Muhammad b. Qasim for building mosques in every town. Muhammad b. Qasim fixed his headquarters at Multān and built a huge mosque there. If the orders of the Khalīfa were carried out and the mosques were indeed built, no trace remains of them, including the one at Multān. There are no remains of Islamic architecture in Thatta of that period either. With the Muslim conquest of Sind in 711, Thatta must have shared the legacy of Muslim rule but the name of Thatta has not been mentioned by any of the Arab geographers. Most probably Thatta was not known by its present name at that time.

The second major invasion of Sind by Muslims came during the

². Cousens, op.cit., 27.
³. Ibid.
sultanate of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The sultanate established by Mahmūd controlled Thatta along with a large portion of Sind up to Gujarāt Kāthiāwar for nearly 160 years uninterrupted.

The earliest mention of Thatta is in the works of Amīr Khusraw (651/1253 - 725/1325). The Sūmrās, a local dynasty of chieftains of Sind, were contemporaries of Amīr Khusraw. They ruled over lower Sind as proteges of the Ghaznavids and set up their kingdom in about 1052 A.D. Though central authority was imposed on them from time to time - the Ghurids in the 12th century and Sultan Iltutmish in the early 13th century. The semi-autonomous rule of the Sūmrās was finally brought to an end by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaljī who broke their power and destroyed their capital Tur. At this time the Sammās, who were the old rivals of the Sūmrās, seized their opportunity and allied themselves with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaljī, assuming the role of his proteges.

Meanwhile Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq, the sultan of Delhi, also had his eye on Sind. He launched a gigantic attack against it, aided by a detachment of the Mongol army, in March 1351, but lost and ultimately withdrew to Delhi. With a view of vindicating his dynasty's lost prestige, Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, successor and son of Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq, launched a major offensive against Thatta the following year.
but suffered a humiliating defeat. In the ensuing battle in 1363 he finally succeeded in his aim of dominating Sind, but after his death Sind became independent again under the Sammās, who ruled it peacefully for more than 150 years. The most prominent of their rulers were Jām Tughlaq (ruled 1427-53) and Jām Nizām al-Dīn Nindū (1453-1512). It was during the rule of Jām Nizām al-Dīn that the Portuguese diverted the trade of the sub-continent to Portugal; and it was for these mercantile reasons that Jām Nindū developed the inland port of Thatta.  

Under the patronage of the Sammās Thatta developed rapidly as a centre of learning and culture. Madrasahs were established for the benefit of the common man and scholars. Outstanding scholars like Hammad Jamālī, ʿIsā Lāngāutī and Fīr Murād Shīrāzī from Iran were invited to teach there. Jām Nizām al-Dīn Nindū, who is also known as the founder of present Thatta, died in 914/1508. His death resulted in a gradual deterioration of the Empire. In 921/1515-16 Shāh Beg Arghūn of Qandahār, finding the rulers of Thatta involved in internecine conflicts, attacked and conquered Sind. The Jāms were thus replaced by the Arghūns, whose rulers brought further glory and prosperity to Thatta. Most of the architecture on Maklī Hill and in the town of Thatta is the result of their interest and patronage.

2. All the Sammā rulers adopted the title of Jām, eg. Jām Babīnah, Jām Salāh al-Dīn, Jām Nindū and so on.
5. See Cousens, op.cit., 33.
Shāh Beg's successor Shāh Hasan\(^1\) Arghan was also a learned man. By his political sagacity and political acumen he successfully guarded his empire from the expansionist designs of Bābur. After Bābur's death he continued to thwart similar dangers from Humāyūn, but within his own empire dissensions were growing. Two of his own tribes - the Arghuns and the Tarḫāns\(^2\) were constantly feuding with each other. In 962/1554 Mīrzā Īsā Khān Tarkhan successfully staged a coup d'état and gained control. The most unfortunate incident of his rule was the 'sack of Thatta' by the Portuguese in 963/1556. The Portuguese robbed the city of its wealth and beauty; they even plucked the beautiful tiles from the buildings\(^3\) and carried them off as booty. The plundering of Thatta was carried out under the command of Pedro Barreto Rolim.\(^4\) Beside burning innumerable houses and monuments they killed nearly 8000 men and destroyed by fire the value of above two millions of gold, after loading the vessels with one of the richest booties that had been taken in Asia.\(^5\) This plundering and seizure of booty also accounts for the Sindi tile decoration in the Church of the Jesuits at Bassein in the north of Bombay.\(^6\)


2. For details of the Tarkhān family, see Abu'l-Fadl Allāmī, Ā'īn-i Akbarī, tr. H.Jarrett, II, (Calcutta, 1891), 346.


5. Cousens, op.cit., 35.

Iśā Khan Tarkhān died in 980/1576 and this resulted in a war amongst his would-be successors. Intermecine strife was complicated by the expansionist policies of Akbar. To Akbar, the annexation of Sind was essential to perpetuate control over Qandahār. Jānī Beg, the then ruler of Sind, was too weak to successfully resist the Mughal forces under the command of ʿAbd al-Rahim Khan-i Khānān. Sind and Thatta with it was thus captured by the Mughals in 999/1590. Jānī Beg became a protégé of the Mughals in Sind and thus the first Mughal governor.¹ The period of Mughal rule in Sind is marked by frequent changes of governors. During a century and a quarter (1612-1737) there were as many as thirty-eight governors.²

Though the supreme controlling and ruling authority remained at Delhi in the hands of the Mughals the local administration passed on to the Kalhorās after the Tarkhāns and then to the Tālpūrs. The Tālpūrs held power until after Mughal rule ended at Delhi. It was after the battle of Miānī³ (A.D. 1643) that the British annexed Thatta and thus the whole of Sind came under the control of the Rāj.

ARCHITECTURAL STYLE

While the building art of the Mughals was pursuing its course in India, a somewhat independent development of the style established itself in Sind, when that part of the country was eventually

2. I.H. Qureshi, Mughal Administration, (Karachi, 1957), 12.
3. Also known as battle of Miānī; see anon., "Origin of the Chaukhandī Tombs", Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, xxiv, 4, (1976), 12-5.
incorporated into the empire under Akbar. Lower Sind, particularly Thatta, was first (i.e. in the 3rd/9th century) under the influence of Arab culture and afterwards (from the 7th/13th century) that of Iran. These remain the only elements responsible for the formation of a unique architectural style. Sindā tiles exemplify this. They are not exact copies of the Persian models, nor are they totally similar even to those of the Panjāb. It is with these tiles that the monuments of Thatta are overwhelmingly decorated. It seems quite probable that the naturally monotonous and rugged appearance of this region impelled its craftsmen to relieve their landscape of ubiquitous grey by bringing in colour. The same love of colour characterised other arts like pottery, textiles, ceramics and interior design.

The architecture of Thatta stretches over a period of nearly three hundred years, but with the exception of certain minor variations the overall architectural character has remained immutable. Burns suggests that there is an echo of the architectural style of Fātihpūr Sikrī in the monuments of Thatta, particularly in the buildings built between 1627 and 1644. A closer examination of the monuments of the two sites obviously refutes such an assumption.

In the field of architectural embellishment the main emphasis was on carving as is evident from the monuments standing on Makli Hill. The Muslim artisans of Thatta never overlooked the use of

2. *Ibid*.
3. See chapter on Maklī also.
glazed coloured tiles. They adopted the typically Muslim style of construction by erecting domes, vaults and arches. Similarly, the climax of ceramic tile manufacture at Balla would never have been possible without the earlier experiments in this medium further west. At Thatta, too, surfaces were habitually revetted with tiles. This medium of decoration proved extremely popular because of its splendour, cheapness and durability.

The fashion of using glazed tiles certainly came to Sind from Iran where it was used as far back as the time of Darius I (521-485 B.C.) in his palace at Susa. The principal colours used here were blues, greens and yellows. But then this art lapsed for nearly fifteen hundred years before it experienced a renaissance in the twelfth century A.D. under the Saljuqs. The early efforts in this period were humble and on a small scale with a predominant use of turquoise blue.

At Multan as at Thatta, glazed tiles are known as chini. There is no evidence, however, that tiles were ever imported from Chin (i.e. China). Still, the possibility of Chinese influence cannot be ruled out. Glazed tiles in Pakistan are also known as kashi; this is an obvious reference to Keshan, which was a great centre of tile manufacturing in medieval Iran.

Another important feature of the architecture of Thatta is the use of plain brick in conjunction with glazed tiles, the colours standing out in spaces between cusps. Brick was also used for mosaic work. This technique was used with supreme mastery at the
Jāmi' of Thatta and on the mausoleum of Abu'l-Baqī Pūrānī at Sukkur, more than three hundred kilometres north of Thatta. The monument was built in 1610; it is almost in ruins today. A similar technique was used in the mausoleum of Mīrzā Baqī Beg at Thatta (1640). The transitional zone is formed of kite-shaped lozenges and the bricks in these lozenges are not laid on flat planes, but recessed on all four sides and meet at an assumed centre, making it impossible for each unit to fall inward. At each angle there are three pairs of ribs, forming the shape of an arch. At the apex of each such ribbed arch two sides are formed, resulting in eight such sides in each corner and thirty-two in the chamber as a whole. The bricks above the zig-zag arches are laid in chevron bond necessitated by the base of the dome. From the chevron tops of these thirty-two arches rises the dome, thirty-two sided within but hemi-spherical outside.

In such brickwork the mortar joints are thick and white, and serve to outline each brick separately. Bricks are sometimes outlined longitudinally by small white glazed tiles in the form of strips. Such faience imitation joints first appear at Thatta in the Mausoleum of Mīrzā Jānī Beg Tarkhān (1599-1600). In this mausoleum cobalt and turquoise bricks have been outlined with glazed faience on the facade. The polychrome treatment around the perforated window grille above the entrance arch - as well as on the other side where the whole of the opening is provided with a grille - and the rectangular inscription panel with bold white thulūth on a deep blue ground, are particularly notable elements in the edifice.
Deep blue, light blue and manganese purple blue remained the dominating colours in the architecture of Thatta. These colours were often applied against a white ground. Interest in the art and trade of tile making grew so much in ancient Sind that the town of Halla became the major supplier of coloured tiles, not only to the monuments of Sind, but also to those of the Panjāb. Though the art of tile making is now gradually dying, Halla and Multān continue to be the centres of this industry.

The tiles used on the monuments of Thatta fall into two types; square tiles and tiles cut into various geometric shapes. The square tiles occur in a number of sizes. They were obviously manufactured according to the specifications of the architect. Similarly there are numerous types of geometrically shaped tiles.

Since good building stone was not available locally continuous efforts were made to import it. All the structures standing on Makli Hill are built of stone imported from Rajpūtāną and Gujarāt. Brown suggests that the Sammā prince commonly known as Jām Mindū may have sent to Ahmadābād¹ for skilled workers to erect his mausoleum.

as it is in the Ahmadshahi style. No great distance separates Ahmadabad from Thatta. But Rahamin does not agree with Brown.

According to him some of the European writers have given the wrong impression about the Jam Mizam al-Din’s tomb by saying that its design and decoration are copies of buildings in Gujarat. In fact, those Muslims who conquered Gujarat went from this part of the country and the workmen and designers were taken from Sind to Ahmadabad and Gujarat. According to him, Ahmadabad and Gujarat borrowed ideas of architectural construction from Thatta, for the monuments at Thatta were built much earlier than those at Gujarat and Ahmadabad.

Ghia Khan Tarkhan (1622-1644) made a determined contribution to the architecture of Thatta. He not only built his own mausoleum at Thatta but also those of some ladies of the Royal family. These buildings reflect the Mughal style rather than that of Gujarat or Ahmadabad. Some of the monuments built during the reign of Ghia Khan Tarkhan very clearly recall the Shahjahanı monuments but in sandstone not in marble.

The Makli Hill at Thatta is a vast necropolis which extends as far as the eye can see. Perhaps a little more than nine square kilometres in extent, it is full of architectural splendour. Even the graves with no majestic edifices above are no ordinary graves; they are minutely and precisely carved. Each is a masterpiece of stone carving, engraving and perforated stonework.

The quality of brick is equally of very high standard. "So carefully is the clay prepared, mixed and burnt that the bricks ring like bells, and break almost as cleanly as glass".\(^1\) When stained and glazed they look enamelled and nothing can be richer than the appearance of the inscriptions in large white letters on a purplish and turquoise ground.

Marble is only sparingly used and that only upon the grave slabs or in the \(\text{ta'\text{\textbar}i} \text{\textbar}h \) and railings around a sarcophagus within a building.

**Dābgīr Mosque**

Outside the southern periphery of Thatta is situated the Dābgīr mosque, considered to be the oldest monument of Muslim Thatta. The mosque is in a somewhat ruinous condition. It was in this mosque that Emperor Shāhjahān prayed when he first visited the city of Thatta.\(^2\) At that time this must have been the Jāmī\(^3\) of Thatta. The Dābgīr mosque is also known as the mosque of Amīr Khusraw.\(^3\) This Amīr Khusraw is not the famous poet but Amīr Khusraw Khān Chārkās, a descendant of Chingīs Khān. He was made governor of Thatta in 999/1590 when the Mughals annexed Sind.\(^4\) Khusraw Khān Chārkās is credited with building over 360 public monuments in Thatta alone including mosques, tombs, bridges, sara\'īs, wells and madrasahs.

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2. The year in which this occurred is not given by the historians.


Thatta
Dābgīr Mosque
Sketch Plan and Elevation

Courtyard restored after Causens.

Scale: 0 5 10 15 meters
The surviving portion of the mosque is its sanctuary. Nothing is known about the form of the courtyard, surrounding walls, gateway and minarets, if any. The sanctuary consists of three bays. The central one is without its former dome, while the two bays on the flanks are surmounted by low domes. This mosque formerly had the most exquisite and chaste examples of Sindi tiles produced at Halla. ¹
During Akbar's reign this mosque was situated in the heart of the city. ² Its former grandeur is still visible in parts of its structure, in spite of the ravages of time, vandals and misguided restorers. Where there were formerly charming recesses, containing elegant Sindi tiles with arabesques, there now exist crude smudges of concrete, quite without delicacy. The sensitive curves, niches, and mouldings of cymarecta and cymareversa type are now overlaid with patches of cement and plaster. The building is a monument to the need for expert conservation.

To some extent the tile work surviving inside the mosque compensates for what has been mercilessly obliterated outside. These tiles provide the earliest examples of Sindi tiles (circa 1509); these are confined to only two colours, usually on a white ground: a deep rich blue and a pale turquoise blue. ³

The mosque has three compartments in the sanctuary. The central

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2. Ibid., 111-2.
3. See also Cousens, Portfolio of Illustrations of Sind Tiles, (London, 1906).
one is much the largest; it forms a square of 7.50m per side and contains a mihrāb with a window in each side. Arched passages connect this chamber with smaller chambers on the sides. These are 8.10m deep and have a maximum width of 5.95m. The overall size of the surviving structure is 24.60m by 12m.

The construction of the mosque is carried out in a peculiar way. In the central bay the square span is converted into an octagon with its diagonal sides much smaller. This irregular octagon is visible externally as well. Above this is placed a regular octagon, again externally visible. Four of its sides are continuations of the lower octagon, and on the eastern side there is an arched opening into the base of the dome. This octagon carried a low dome which is now missing. In the side chambers, the oblong span is converted into a square and then this square void is domed in the same manner as the central one. The whole construction is of bricks covered with lime plaster. On the north-east a flight of steps goes to the roof.

**EPIGRAM**

The mosque certainly contained some fine examples of calligraphy in naṣṣh and thulth. The rectangular panel above the mihrāb, the 3-sided panel around the mihrāb, the outer pointed arch above the mihrāb and a long horizontal band just below the zone of transition and above the mihrāb all display epigraphy. Unfortunately none of these inscriptional panels are in a condition to facilitate reading. It can
however safely be assumed that all the texts were Qur'anic.

Tile work: The interior of the surviving sanctuary suggests that bricks were laid in the same manner which was later followed by Shāhjahān in his mosque, i.e. the use of Venetian red bricks laid with lime and mortar and exposing the while plaster between the bricks. Tiles with floral motifs were used, mainly in the spandrels B of arches, while soffits were provided with borders of tiles bearing geometric patterns, A. This wider border was followed by a blank white space of plaster, C followed by another band of smaller tiles D. The field E was then filled with tiles bearing geometric or floral patterns, or exposed brickwork. The
area below this decoration is now in a ruinous state and the bricks are exposed. This suggests that there was a dado of some sort provided all around. There is a possibility that there was a carved stone slab dado for such a feature exists in the Mosque of Shāhjahān.

MOSQUE OF SHĀHJAHĀN

This mosque, also known as the Jāmi Masjid of Thatta, was built during the period 1644-7, in the reign of the Emperor Shāhjahān and on his orders. Shāhjahān's activities in building were not confined to the centres of the government alone or to such major cities as Delhi, Lahore and Āgra. He ordered the construction of the Thatta mosque as a recognition of the welcome given him by the inhabitants during his rebellion against Jahāngīr.¹

The mosque of Shāhjahān is the most significant brick building of Thatta. Structurally it has a very low profile which appears inconspicuous due to the multitude of domes which surmount each bay. The massive rectangular structure of the mosque is symmetrically laid on its east-west axis. Its overall dimensions are 51m north-south by 91.50m east-west. The quadrangle has an open court in the middle measuring 50.70m by 29.10m which is paved in a dog-legged A

1. W. Haig, The Cambridge History of India, iv (ed.) R. Burn (Cambridge, 1937), 220. He does not give the dates of the rebellion.
brick pattern. The inner court has arched accesses on all four sides, 11 each on the longitudinal sides and 5 each for the others. The central arches, mounted in rectangular frames, rise higher than those on the sides. The three such larger arches also provide entry and exit passages. The one on the west is nearly 2½ times the size of the flanking arches and provides access to the main bay of the sanctuary. This central bay is also the highest point in this mosque. The rectangular frames A around the arches are decorated with Qur’anic inscriptions carved in thuluth characters in yellowish sandstone.

The western arch, which also serves as the entrance to the main prayer chamber of the mosque, is much higher than the other three main arches. All four main arches are decorated with finely laid red bricks set in white mortar, tiled dados and inscribed inverted 'U'-shaped panels of yellow sandstone.

PLAN

The structure as a whole is a fine specimen of axially balanced design. Its inner court is surrounded by a double row of piers on three sides while the western side has a triple row of piers. East of the
eastern double row of piers there are two open courts which flank the central access area to the mosque. This access area has a vestibule A followed by a large domed chamber B. To the north of this chamber is the first smaller open court which houses the large water reservoir for ablution. On the left there is another similar court but without a water reservoir. Its main purpose was probably to maintain symmetry in design and at the same time to serve as a private open court for the imām or mujāwar. Near the central entrance, the first domed chamber is followed by another domed chamber of identical dimensions. On the north and south sides it is connected with the back row of the piers while on the western side it is connected with a rear vestibule opening into the main court of the mosque.

Behind the central arches on the north and south sides are chambers larger than those behind the flanking piers. Since these chambers are larger, a central lateral entrance would be out of alignment with the passage created by the row of piers. The larger chambers are therefore entered by crooked or oblique doorways A

Surprisingly the gateways on the north and south sides are not in line with the central arches of these respective sides. This is again done for the sake of symmetry for these gates are exactly in the middle of the external north and south sides, while the arches
inside are exactly in the middle of the longitudinal sides of the court. This represents a clever bit of design on the part of the architect.

The west side of the mosque has a comparatively simpler arrangement. This side has a depth of three bays B. The main Iwān is approached from the court side. First there is a rectangularly planned entrance which supports a huge arch above C. This arched entrance is 3.75m deep and 6.30m wide, and provides an approach to the main western bay. The passage is almost square (c. 5m per side) with an arch above of corresponding depth D. The main Iwān E is a square of 8.67m and is connected to the right and left with the third row of piers F.

The mihrāb A is a metre deep and wide, and has a window fitted with a grille. On the two sides of the mihrāb are windows G pierced through a wall 2.67m thick. The mihrāb is accommodated in the structure by introducing a projected construction H outside.

The covered portion of the mosque has 93 domes and these are probably the cause of a remarkable echo effect which enables the
prayers in front of the mihrab to be heard in any part of the covered building. I have observed it personally - in a lull even a whisper can be heard clearly. The main dome on the west side has remarkable decoration. Each of its 16 sides internally is framed in square tiles of light blue colour, and inside each frame there is a pointed arch having its own frame of similar fashion. These arches are blind and recessed. Each alternative arch is decorated with tiles bearing geometric designs, while every other arch is filled with tiles having arabesque patterns. Above this hexa-decagon is the zone of transition made of tiled ribs B rising from the sides of each rectangular frame in the hexadecagonal A below. The hemi-

spherical portion above is decorated with tiles forming geometric shapes. The dome, including the finial, rises to a height of 16.80m externally. Internally the highest point of the dome reaches 13.08m. The dome has a span of 9m.

The rest of the domes are much smaller in size and most of them have a span of 3m. There are two slightly larger domes in the middle of the longitudinal sides with a span of 4.80m, while the domes in the main entrance are 6.75 across. All of these are built of exposed red bricks laid in white mortar and then brought to a smooth finish.

Chevron brick patterns in the domes produce a remarkable effect and in the dimly lit interior a long vista of arches gives a feeling of infinite depth.

The arches which face the open court are bordered with bricks while the spandrels are filled with tiles bearing arabesque designs which are a reminder of the 17th century kashi work of Iran.¹

**ROOF**

Two flights of stairs each consisting of 20 steps provide access to the roof. They are situated west of the eastern entrance passage flanking the arch, and are laid in dog-leg fashion. The roof of the mosque is a forest of low domes with almost invisible spires. All these domes are built of brick and covered with lime plaster.

**DECORATION**

The decoration of the Thatta mosque can be subdivided into five categories: i) woodwork, ii) brickwork, iii) stonework, iv) tile work, and v) epigraphy.

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Three wooden doors survive in situ. They are made of fine teak and are placed in the north entrance, the south entrance and the main entrance on the east. The main eastern entrance is flanked by two smaller entrances, each providing access to inner smaller courts. These entrances have doors as well, but these doors appear to be a later addition. The doors are rixed in a peculiar fashion. Each has a projecting plug at the top as well as at the bottom A at the corners. This plug is inserted in a hole made in stone at the extreme edge of the entrances C. These holes and plugs thus work as hinges. This system is often lubricated to ensure a free movement of the doors.

The eastern door is a piece of art in itself and contains beautifully carved floral designs. The design is so intricate and in such high relief that the actual surface of the wood seems lost in carving.

**BRICKWORK**

Brickwork forms one of the major decorative accents in the mosque and brick and mortar has been used in a multitude of varieties. Red bricks are laid in white mortar but this mortar is made visible only where necessary. Mostly it is exposed to form horizontal lines only; it is not used for vertical joints. The interiors of the smaller domes are of exposed bricks laid in zig-zag fashion with
white plaster visible sometimes all around each brick, sometimes only
in straight lines and sometimes in circles inside the dome. Bricks are also used for making single or double borders around arches and dados. Sometimes these bricks were finished with one side coloured turquoise or manganese purple as if they were tiles.¹

STONENWORK

Stone work in the Jami Mosque of Thatta comprises inscriptions and miniature angle columns introduced at the corners of the four major arches. The capitals and bases of these columns are elaborately carved almost in the manner of a Corinthian capital. This is followed by a simpler moulding in the form of a lotus bud or petals forming a ball. The shaft is octagonal in plan but it is punctuated with lotus moulding near the capital and the base. The middle part of the shaft is square in plan. The columns are 15cm thick at the base and top and are more slender in the middle. Their height is 1.30m. These columns are made of pale yellow sandstone and present a pleasant contrast with the dados made of blue and white tiles.

TILEWORK

The mosque is profusely decorated with Sind tiles prepared at Halla. Apart from the squinches of the arches and dados the main

western ʿIwān is particularly noteworthy. The main chamber, which is square at the base and then octagonal higher up, is full of blind arches bearing geometric and floral patterns in tilework. The sixteen-sided area above the octagon and well below the dome bears a multitude of designs in tilework. Above this a further zone of transition immediately below the dome is again full of tiles and geometric designs. The ribs are defined in brickwork with the usual exposed white plaster in between.

The hemisphere above has seven concentric circular rows of ten-sided star like flowers. This circular arrangement of flower motifs resembles an 8-sided star. The intermediary area is filled with smaller geometric motifs all made of tiny tiles. In fact in the main prayer chamber of this mosque every section of the structure displays tilework. The patterns are made mostly of dark blue rectangles outlined with white to give the effect of an imitation mortar-joint. The tiles themselves are of very heavy terracotta, and the glazes are generally white, light blue, turquoise, dark blue verging on purple, and very occasionally yellow. Generally the designs in each individual area are continuous, worked in multi-coloured tiles, but, occasionally very small tiles, like tesserae, are used to built up a sort of mosaic.

The tilework of this mosque certainly marks a high point in the history of Islamic architecture in Pakistan. No doubt the mosque of Auranqzib ʿAlamgīr (the Bādshāhī Mosque) in Lahore built much later was bigger in size and laudable for its carved and inlaid work but the Thatta mosque remains unique for the decorative use of its tiles.
It deserves special praise for its polychromatic ensembles and the boldness and skill with which the dome over the main chamber is set over the substructure of diagonal flying arches.

The tiles in the dadoes and panels resolve themselves into a number of different types of which only a few are really worth mentioning. First of all there are the tiles which are cut into geometrical shapes such as fused diamond-shaped parallelograms or rhombuses and a multitude of polygons, and then fitted together. Joints are emphasised by white borders and the designs are picked out in white and turquoise glazes on a cobalt ground.

Secondly, rosettes and other floral compositions attached to meandering branches decorate square tiles. The floral and foliate designs spring from a similarly coloured geometric network. These patterns are mostly white on cobalt, with turquoise touches here and there. The variety is produced by the change of colours.

A third type consists of white geometric strip interlace converging on to cobalt-coloured nuclei and containing floriated designs in turquoise.

A fourth variety comprises star-shaped radiating elongated hexagons B, alternating with quadrilateral interstices, of terracotta
with a glazed red finish A.

Fifthly there are various juxtaposed polygons with sometimes a terracotta and sometimes a mortar joint showing between each two.

The real impact of the colour and the composition of these tiled schemes can only be felt on the spot.

EPIGRAPHY

The Shahjahān mosque is adorned with beautiful inscriptions in tilework and stonework. The inscriptions are in Arabic and Persian. The Arabic inscriptions are texts from the Qur'ān, while the Persian inscriptions are of a historical and chronographic nature. The Arabic inscriptions are mostly in thulth and naskhī while the Persian ones are in fine nastaʿlīq. Most of them bear at the end the names of the calligraphers. But it cannot be established with authority that the calligraphers were also the engravers. Some of the names mentioned in these katabās are: i) ʿAbd Allah, ii) Shaykh Muhammad Fādil, iii) ʿAbd al-Chafūr, iv) Sayyid ʿAlī b. Sayyid ʿAbd al-Quddūs, v) Banbū b. Hasan and vi) ʿTāhir b. Hasan Kātib.

Inscriptions of a chronographic nature are at 4 different places in the mosque. One of these gives the date of the mosque as 1054/1644, while a second one gives the date as 1057/1647. It is probably from these inscriptions that the author of the Archaeological Survey of India Report deduced that the building of the mosque was begun in

1. Anon, Archaeological Survey of Western India Report, viii, (Bombay, 1879), 7.
1054/1644 and completed in 1057/1647, during the reign of the Emperor Shāhjāhān. One of the chronograms giving the date of the mosque as 1057 includes the name of Shāhjāhān as well, while another one (1068/1657) indicates that the floor of the mosque was laid under the orders of one Mīr Jalāl Ridi' Wazīr. That was incidentally the last year of Shāhjāhān's reign. Another inscription has a date of 1104/1692-93 which indicates that some alterations or additions were carried out during the rule of Aurangzib Alamgīr as well. According to the report¹ a sum of 9 lakhs of rupees was spent on the construction of this mosque.

There are several Persian inscriptions in the mosque. In the eastern Īwan on the inner side of the main arch the following verses are inscribed on three stone slabs, each having two couplets on it. They are unpublished.

بابشاه زیدر شاه جمان
جامشند و دکن پرواخت
مرئ ماجیس کر گنبد او
سباه برقب سما پرواخت

خاصر برخیالی نخل خدا
خانه ریجت فرد پرواخت
فرش جامشندی شاپیمان
زنده ہ آل مقاط پرواخت

رندوی انساب ایلیال
کمزارت افومنا پرواخت
لیست کرشک رستگان رستفا
رستگ جامشند نمپرواخت

¹. Anon, Archaeological Survey of Western India Report, viii, (Bombay, 1879), 7.
Mosque of Shāhjahān: detail of a Qur'ānic inscription bearing signature of calligrapher.
1. - During the reign of Emperor Shahjahan, this delightful mosque of Thatta was built. So high is the (image) of the dome of this jamā'c, that it touches the dome of the heavens.

2. - The shadow of God [the Emperor] built this mosque for the approval of God. It is the house of His blessings. The floor of this jamā'c was laid on the orders of Shahjahan and was brought to perfection [completed] by the grace of the family of Muhammad.

3. - Mīr Jalāl, who has affinity with the descendants of ʿAlī Rida', and by whose services and ministry this floor was laid [he supervised the laying of the floor] The floor was with such pure stones that [even] the pure goblet of Jamshid is envious of it.

On the right and left of the main arch is in each case a single hemistich which contains a chronogram. The right hemistich runs from bottom to top, while the second on the left of the arch runs from top to bottom. The second hemistich also bears the name of the kātib: c Abd Allah. The chronogram reads

right slab: سال لجمین آن دیر خود
left slab: فرش مطبوع، وکشا پر ایست

(TR:)

The wise scrivener said that the year of the construction of the floor is delightful and laudable. 1

The first three words of the second hemistich i.e. رفس مطبوع وکشا

1. This translation is the work of Khālid c Alavī.
give the year in which the floor was laid: 1068.

On the other side of this arched opening facing the courtyard, the opening is surrounded by an inverted 'U' shaped frame A bearing verses from the holy Qur’an. Two slabs placed horizontally to the right B and left C of the arch and the Qur’anic text bear Persian couplets. The slab on the right reads:

پچان نماصب تران شا دجبان
یافت ترتیب نسبت وملک

(Tr.:)

When this mosque was built by the Emperor Shāhjehān, ¹
Lord of the happy conjunction,

پیاق قیف شمار سال انتخاب
گشته زینا پچار سعد انتخاب

(Tr.:)

An angel describing the year of its completion said, "This mosque has become as graceful as masjid-i Aqsa" ²

According to the second hemistich of this couplet, the date of the construction of this wing is 1057. This slab bears the name of the calligrapher, ⁶ Abd al-Chafür.

To the north and south of the court are also ʻIwāns. Inside the south ʻIwān, on the west wall above the arched passage, the following

1. This translation is the work of Khalid ḌAlavi.
2. This translation is the work of Khalid ḌAlavi.
two couplets are carved in yellow sandstone. The Persian text which is unpublished, is in a beautiful nasta'liq hand:

номирде پیشه ملک صدر پیس خوری
کر آمدن سلاک بر مگر فیض
بجست از حرم و عقل سال تیغش
سپیده کرواندار تنیست فیض

(Tt:)
The eyes of heaven have never seen [before] such an excellent mosque, [even] the angels come to it and obtain the bounty of viewing,

When I asked the wise the year of its construction, it suggested by the blinking of an eye, "This mosque is a mine of blessings." ¹

The last two words of the second hemistich of the second couplet (سیرای میثض) bear the date of the construction of this wing, 1054.

The remaining inscriptions are from the Qur'ān; none has hitherto been identified in print.

Qur'ānic Inscription 1.
Location: Eastern arch facing the court.
Material: Yellow sandstone
Script: Thulth
Text: Sūra xxv, (al-Furqān),
 Verses 1-6.

Qur'ānic Inscription 2.
Location: Western arch, facing the court
Material: Yellow sandstone
Script: Thulth
Text: Sūra xlvii, (al-Path),
 Verses 27-29.

¹ This translation is the work of Khalid C'Alavī
Qur'ānic Inscription 3.

Location: Northern arch facing the court

Material: Yellow sandstone

Script: Thulth


Qur'ānic Inscription 4.

Location: Southern gateway, above the arch

Material: Yellow sandstone

Script: Thulth


Qur'ānic Inscription 5.

Location: Around mihrāb in a rectangular frame

Material: Sind tiles

Deep blue ground

White lettering.

Script: Naskhī jalli verging on thulth

Text: Sūra xvii, (Bani Isrā'īl), verses 78-81.

Qur'ānic Inscription 6.

Location: Above Inscription 5, above mihrāb

Straight single line panel.

Material: Sind tiles

Deep blue ground, white lettering

Script: Thulth

Text: Sūra xvii, (Bani Isrā'īl), verses 2-3.
Qur'anic Inscription 7.

Location: All around the main chamber, below the dome, in eight straight panels.

Material: Sind tiles.
Deep blue ground, white lettering.

Script: Naskhī verging on thulth

Text: Sūra xvii, (Bani Isrā'īl), verses 1-10.

MOSQUE OF MUZAFFAR KHĀN, THATTA

Beside the mosque of Shāhjāhān and the Dābgīr mosque there is another mosque of historical significance in the town of Thatta. Whereas the jāmiʿ mosque belongs to the period of Shāhjāhān and the Dābgīr mosque to the period of Akbar, this mosque, the mosque of Muzaffar Khān, belongs to the reign of Jahāngīr. The mosque was built by one of the umara of Jahāngīr, Mīr ʿAbd al-Razzāq Māmūrī. Muzaffar Khān was his title. A brief description of Muzaffar Khān is given in Maṭthir al-umara'.¹ When Mīrza Ghāzī Beg Tarkhān died in Thatta in 1008/1599, Thatta came under the direct control of the Mughals.² In the year 1021/1612 the Mughals appointed one Mīrza Rustam Safavī the governor of Sind. Muzaffar Khān worked as a jamādār under Rustam Safavī. This mosque was built by him during this period.

The mosque of Muzaffar Khān is a small but attractive mosque, having a small square courtyard and a sanctuary on the west side.

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¹ M.S. Shafi, Sānāʾīd-i Sind, (Lahore, 1970), 7, in Persian and Urdu.
² Ibid.
The dust of the door of the Prophet, al-Razzāq al-Husaynī al-Ma'amūrī entitled Muzaffar Khān, [This mosque was] completed in 1022 AH. [1613-4]

Below in the arched band around the mihrāb B is written

Abu Bakr, and Umar and Uthmān and Haydar[Alī]
and in the spandrels are two medallions bearing the names of ʿUthmān on the right and ʿAlī on the left.

The interior of the mosque has been recently decorated in oil paint. This has nothing to do with the original decorative scheme.

**Khāqānā of Bū Turābī, Thatta**

According to the Gazetteer of the Sind province, one Shaykh whose name was Abū Turāb conquered the formidable fort of Bhakkar. He also performed many other feats of chivalry. "His grave is of special interest for it bears a tombstone dated 171 A.H."¹ The author of the gazetteer considers this the oldest inscription in Sind.

The Khāqānā of Bū Turābī is situated in a large graveyard on the outskirts of Thatta, and is in a fairly good state of preservation. The khāqānā still has an inscription in stone in situ in its western wall giving the date of construction of this monument as 3rd Ṣafar 782 A.H. There is a possibility that this 782 A.H. was taken for 782 A.D., though this date in fact corresponds to 166 not 171 A.H.

The building of the khāqānā is square in plan enclosed in a boundary wall. It has only one chamber which is roofed with a gadrooned dome of low profile divided into 32 sections. The dome emerges out of a lotus leaf moulding comprising 32 sections. This

¹ B.H. Aitkin (ed.) Gazetteer of the Sind Province, (Karachi, 1907), 91.
Khānqāh of Bū Turābī, Thatta.

forms the drum and base of the dome and itself rests on an octagon. At the four corners are small turrets. The four walls have a parapet with merlons.

The Khānqāh has an entrance on the east which very surprisingly is not in the middle of the elevation, but fairly off-centre to the north.

DEcoration

The building is overdecorated externally; it is painted in very gaudy colours. The dadoes outside are made of Sind tiles which are impressive but do not seem original. The blind arches and entrance are all enclosed in oblong frames containing floral designs.
The interior consists of plain walls with no decoration except dadoes of Sind tiles rising to 98cm. On the western side is the mihrāb. It is placed in a narrow but high oblong frame, which has three main divisions. These contain successively the mihrāb, the Persian inscription, and the Arabic inscriptions. Above all this and attached to the frame is a small panel containing the bismillah.

Inscriptions

The unpublished Persian inscription is in crude taʿliq style verging on naskhī. The characters in the first line are bold and of large size. The size of the letters diminishes as the text goes on line after line. This text consists of 7 couplets, carved in a yellow sandstone which has now been painted white while the characters are filled with black. Despite the errors caused by chipping the text is legible:

العلما الشهير بار سلطان بیمان داود
نشر فروز منصور و ختف دیوان میران
با سیر میر ثناشیخ خیر الدین
کر که با تخت هم در فرضف قصد دارد
سنیم عالم بحیت علماً و امین در لال
کر از سیام رطفاً خیابان شیخ ابآمان
در سبیعی جنین نسبه هلال رضعاً اول
بیان بیت اسمطر مستعابرجای آن ولی اللہ
مقام شیخ حاتی بزرگ آن ولی اللہ
کر بر که اگر در حاجات خلق آسان
(Tr:)

1. - During the reign of the emperor and during the period of the just ruler - the ruler who is triumphant and victorious on the battlefield,

2. - by the orders of him who is exalted and by the decree of that distinguished [sultan] whose glory is greater than the shining star of the pole,

3. - Sultan Ḥālāth al-Dīn, the generous, who has the disposition of the goblet of Jamshīd, and by whose generosity the whole universe is inhabited -

4. - [during his rule] this high dome came into existence as a reality, resembling a delightfully built and flourishing house.

5. - This is the mansion of Ḥajjī Bū Turābī who is close to God, and from his court people obtain their needs.

6. - Seven hundred and eighty two years after the hegira of Ahmad [Muhammad], with the help of God Almighty the Bēnificant, Benevolent and the Bountiful.

7. - On the third of Safar this tomb was completed with the efforts of the humblest of servants, Musa b. Shahjān.

Above this panel there is another rectangular horizontal panel which is divided into three equal parts, each one being almost a square. All the three square panels bear Arabic inscriptions. In the middle panel is found a medallion which contains the whole of Sūra cxii, al-Īkhās.
To the right of this medallion is verse 56 of Sūra xxxiii, al-Ahzab in naskhī: "Surely Allah and His angels bless the Prophet. O you who believe, call for blessings on him and salute him with a (becoming) salutation."

On the left of the medallion is a famous Arabic quatrain in naskhī

بلغ الحال بكماله
كشف الدنيا بجماله
حست جميع خصاله
صلوعيته واله

(Tr)

He (the Prophet) reached the pinnacle by his virtues
By his elegance and grace he removed obscurities
His manners were extremely noble.
May God have great mercies on him and his house (descendants).

This famous quatrain was composed by Shaykh Sa'dī Shīrāzī. He was a great poet of Persian but also composed verses in Arabic.

This quatrain is so popular with the Muslims in Pakistan that people
inscribe it in houses, use it in decorative panels on calendars and hang it written in beautiful hand in their homes. This quatrain is also used as the opening of many a religious and devotional songs and gawalls.¹

¹ A sort of devotional chorus.
Makli

Makli, more commonly known as Makli Hill, is situated 3.2 kilometres from Thatta on the road which connects Thatta with Karachi. Makil in Persian means a well exhausted of water,1 while makalla2 is a dock, a harbour or a river bank; and this meaning seems to suit. Cousens suggests that the hill is named after a woman who is buried on it. Makli Hill is situated on the bank of the old bed of the river Indus.3 If the city of Thatta was at one time a port at the mouth of the great Indus, Makli must have been another port at the opposite bank of the river. Unfortunately no

1. Steingass, op.cit., 1301.
2. Ibid.
3. Historians and geographers do not record the dates or period when the river changed its course.
Makli
aerial view
showing monuments of architectural importance
writer has yet investigated this geographical aspect of Thatta and Makli.¹

Makli has the most substantial surviving evidence of the greatness of Sind between the 14th and 18th centuries. On approaching the Makli ridge from its present southern access one can distinguish three main groups of monuments arranged in inverted historical succession. First to be approached are the monuments of the Mughal period, namely the tombs of Ḣāni Beg Tarkhān and Ghāzi Beg Tarkhān, Bāqī Beg Uzbek, Tughril Beg, ʿĪsā Khan Tarkhān the Younger, Jān Bābā, Dīwān Shurfā Khan and the family graveyard of Nawāb Amīr Khān.

The second group of monuments belongs to the Tarkhān and Arghūn periods (1556-91 and 1520-56 respectively). This includes the family graveyard of ʿĪsā Khan Tarkhān the elder, Bāqī Beg Tarkhān, Āhīnsa BāʾĪ, Sultan ʿĪbrahīm and Mīr Sulaimān.

The third group, on the extreme north of the hill, belongs to the Samma period and comprises the tombs of Jām Nīṣām al-Dīn, Mūbarak Khān, Malik Rājpal and some very graceful open pavilions built over the graves of unidentified personages.

All the monuments are of brick or stone. Sind has been known for its brick masonry since the third millennium B.C. as is evident from the architectural remains of the pre-historic site of Mohenjodaro.²

1. See also H.T.Lambrick, Sind (Hyderabad, 1964), 47, 188.
2. Moen "mound", jo "of", daro "dead" = "mound of the dead".
The foundations of the brick buildings at Maklī are of stone\(^1\) and thus resist the disintegrating effect of the saltpetre, salinity and waterlogging ubiquitous in the soil of Thatta and Maklī.\(^2\) In most of the buildings plain and glazed bricks have been used alternately to fine effect. The white joint lines visible in between the glazed and plain bricks are sometimes of white plaster and sometimes are imitation joints of white enamel moulded upon the edge of the glazed brick, A.

![Image A: White edge](image)

Sometimes this imitation joint occurs only on two sides of the brick, thus creating only vertical or horizontal white lines between the bricks. B. These methods of making and laying bricks seems to have originated in Sind.

![Image B: Bricks](image)

The real joints are usually invisible and very thin. The glazed bricks used for facing the interior of the domes are elegantly set in zig-zag patterns, radiating from the apex to the base of the dome, as may be seen in the tombs of Shurfā Khān, Bāqī Beg Uzbek and Fath Khān's sister.

The second group of monuments consists of stone buildings. Yellow,

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grey and red sandstone are all used. Most of these stones were
imported from Hājīpūtaṇā and Gujarāṭ.1 Among the stone monuments the
tomb of Jān Bābā (died 1608), the tomb of Āhinsa Bā'ī (died 1586), the
tomb of Jānī Beg (died 1599), the tomb of Īsā Khān Tarkhān the younger
(died 1644) and the tomb of Jān Nizām al-Dīn (died 1506) are the most
important.

Beside these two types there is another type of monument to be
found here. These are the stone chātrīs (chhatris,2 to be more correct)
or open pavilions with domes above. These chātrīs are built on brick
platforms which are either open on all four sides or have a wall on
the western side containing a mīhrāb.

The important monuments of Maklī will now be described following
the sequence in which they are found on the hill.

TOMB OF MĪRZĀ JĀNĪ BEG

Jānī Beg was the first Tarkhān ruler to submit to the Mughal army
then under the control of Ībād al-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān. From 1591 the
Tarkhān family became the vassals of Delhi. Jānī Beg was then confirmed3
as governor of Sāhāwan and Thatta. He died in 1599 while in Delhi with
Akbar. His body was sent to Thatta and buried upon Maklī Hill.4

2. The correct form is छत्री (umbrella), not छत्र in Urdu and
Hindi both.
4. See Abu'l Fadl, op.cit., 361, for his life sketch.
Makli
Tomb of
Mirza Jānī Beg
Sketch Plan & Elevation
Mīrza Jānī Beg's tomb is situated in a rectangular walled enclosure measuring 23.40m on the north-south axis and 25.80 from east to west. The wall built of yellow sandstone is 1.20m thick. The western wall has at its centre a projection of 1.50m (A) which houses the mihrāb while the eastern wall has an entrance as wide as that mihrāb.

In the middle of the enclosure is an octagonal platform bearing an octagonal building. The octagonal platform is 16.20m across while the overall size of the monument's octagon is 12.50 across outside. Both these octagons are irregular with their diagonal sides shorter than the cardinal sides. Though the entrance to the enclosure is on the eastern side, the entrance to the tomb building itself is on the south side. The entrance is within a huge arch which leads through a narrower passage into the main chamber bearing the cenotaph of Jānī Beg. Similar to the arch at the exterior on the east side, there is an arch on each of the four main sides of the building, but access to the interior is only through the southern arch. The other three passages are blocked by stone grilles carved in geometric patterns. There are arches on each of the angle-sides as well except for the north western side, which has a small arched passage leading immediately to a flight of steps which goes up to the roof.

Though the outer walls and gateway are built of yellow sandstone the main building is of brick. In the usual Thatta style the brickwork shows white joints. The bricks which measure approximately 15 x 10 x 2.5cm
are of Venetian red and turquoise colour and are laid in alternating horizontal courses, showing white joints in between both vertically and horizontally. Exposed brickwork at the lower portion of the walls suggests there must have been a dado, possibly of tiles or of stone work; it does not exist now. Surviving traces of plaster on the walls indicate something like tiles or stone slabs were pasted on to it.

The monument has a strange dome resting on three circular superposed bases diminishing in size towards the top. The exterior of the drum has regular recesses. The dome itself rises above this and terminates in a low profile. The whole is covered with lime plaster. One is inclined to think is this an outer dome, or is it an inner shell of which the outer has fallen away. But there are no traces of any other dome or outer shell.

**DECORATION**

The monument has quite a few of its decorative features in a fairly good state of preservation. The stone carving on the main entrance of the enclosure is a remarkable work of art in itself. Beside the Qur'anic inscription in its surrounding frame it has numerous merlon mouldings, sunflowers, geometric patterns and arabesque designs, all carved in stone. The entrance is trabeated but has an arched moulding above the architrave.

On the other side is the mihraż, placed in a recess in the western wall, and measuring 3.60m high at the apex. The main arch is of stone like the rest of the building but has a brick intrados and within this
arched depression is the mihrāb with an arch 1.95m high. The inside

of the mihrāb is a semi-octagon, each side having a double band of
sunflowers and arabesques. The frame of its arch is decorated with
8-sided star mouldings. There are also two miniature engaged pillars
97cm high attached to the frame of the mihrāb. The spandrels are
filled with arabesques and above is an inscription from the Qur'ān.
Level with the main wall at a height of 1.80m are two stone brackets
inside, on the right and left of the bigger arch. The exact purpose
of these brackets is not known. The mihrāb also has flanking niches.

The decoration in the main building has two major aspects. One
is the brickwork already noted; the second is the stone grilles
introduced on all four sides. These grilles are as high as the
entrance and are made from a single piece of stone slab approximately
3.80cm thick. The grille on the southern side is smaller and forms
the tympanum above the door. The design of this grille is geometrically
based on a 6-pointed star (A) surrounded by a dodecagon (B) which is
then contained in a hexagon (C). The frames of these grilles consist
of three concentric recessed planes, the narrowest being placed closer
to the grille (D).
The epigraphy in this monument is in stone and glazed tiles. Both media use the thulth style of writing. The stone-carved inscriptions are around the main entrance in the enclosure wall and above the arch of its mihrab, while the tiled inscriptions are above the gridded arches in the main building. A single verse is repeated on all four sides. The inscription is on 12 tiles arranged in two tiers of six each, surrounded by a double border. The inscription reads:

فَلاَهُمَا خِيرَانِ حَافِظَانِ وَهُمَا أَهْلُ الْيَوْمِ الْأَخْرَى صِدْقٌ اللَّهِ

(Tr.) God is the best protector and the most merciful amongst the merciful, (and) God has spoken the truth. \(^1\)

The epigraphic panel has a turquoise ground with white letters. The two tiled borders around the panel are also in turquoise separated by a white line in between.

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**TOMB OF MİRZĀ TUGHRLIL BEG**

The next tomb is that of Mîrzâ Tughril\(^2\) Beg (died 1679). Not much is known about his life, except that he was one of the proteges of the Mughals.

The tomb is in the form of a chhatri. It is placed on a rectangular

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1. Sūra xii, (al-Yūsuf), 64.

2. The word طُغْرُل is also spelt as tughrul or tughrul. Encyclopaedia of Islam gives it as tughril, vide vol. iv (1934), 827.
platform 90cm in height and approached on three sides (east, north and south) by 4 steps attached to the podium. On the west is a wall containing a large arch with a mihrab, flanked by two smaller recessed arches in the thickness of the wall. The projection containing the mihrab is visible at the back with a half dome, or conch, above. At the two extremities of the wall are the two pinnacles placed at the top. These pinnacles have three tiers. The central portion of the wall containing the mihrab is higher than its level on the two sides.

![Diagram of building structure]

The wall has stone merlons above.

The chhatri of Tughril Beg's tomb deserves special mention for the masterly technique employed for the placing and construction of the dome. The dome is supported on two pillars in each corner, so placed that the beams between each pillar are of the same length. This provides an 8-sided base for the dome. The eight sides of the zone of transition are converted into a hexa-decagon supported by corbels at the angles. The sixteen sides are further divided by cross-arches up to the base of the dome. The interior of the dome is in the form of a zig-zag pattern in white and blue tiles. The niches inside the 16 sides are decorated with carved lotus petals and sunflowers.
The pillars are square in plan and are richly carved in arabesque work and have square slightly-projecting bases. The capitals have honeycomb decoration projecting out on all four sides thus providing a greater support to the architrave and chajja¹ (eaves slab) above. The oblique chhajja is followed by a vertical parapet with merlons. Behind the merlons is the base of the dome. The externally circular drum is immediately punctuated by a cable moulding. The dome has a profile with a curved apex and lacks a finial. The dome is wholly covered with lime plaster.

\[\text{The sarcophagus has an inscription inscribed in nastāghī style in Persian verse:} \]

\[
\text{百万 طلیل بیگ}
\]

\[
= 1689 \text{ A.D.}
\]

(Tr: ) Tomb of Tughril Beg
May he enjoy the forgiveness of the Munificent.

THE TOMB OF ʻĪṢĀ KHĀN TARKHĀN the YOUNGER

ʻĪṢĀ Khān died in 1644.² He was governor of Thatta under the

1. The correct word is چای for چحاجج or چحاجج and not چای. The word is commonly misspelt like chatri for chhatri.
Mughals. 1

The tomb of ʿIsa Khan is a very large and impressive stone monument. ʿIsa Khan Tarkhan 2 not only built his own tomb but also that of Jān Babā, his father and the zanāna tombs now commonly known ʿIsa Khan's zanāna tombs. Some believe all these structures are in the style of Fatehpūr Sikrī but it is hard to see what the two styles have in common.

The tomb of ʿIsa Khan is a building of considerable originality. It is erected in the middle of a court measuring 45.30m by 48.30m and contained within very high stone walls. There is only one entrance to this enclosure; it is on the eastern side through a construction similar to that of pylons. Each of these massive pylons is 3.30m x 2.40m and is attached to the exterior of the surrounding wall, leaving a span of 1.60m in between as the entrance. This projection in the eastern elevation is balanced by a projection of 6m x 1.80m outside in the western wall, exactly in the middle, containing the mihrab.

1. Cousens, op.cit., 118.

2. Abu'l-Fadl in the Akbarnamah has a valuable note regarding the meaning of this title. The title was hereditary, and but rarely given. Chīngiz Khan conferred it on Qishlīq and Baidu for having warned him of an impending attack by treachery. The title in this case, as in all others, implied that the holder was excused certain feudal services, chiefly attendance at court. The royal share of mal-i qanīmat was also not taken from the holder of this title. Under Timūr a Tarkhan had free access to every place of the palace; nor were he or his children to be punished for any crime. See Abu'l-Fadl ʿAllāmī, ʿīn-i Akbarī, tr. H.Blockman, I, (Calcutta, 1873), 364. Essentially tarkhan means 'freeman', that is, free of taxes.
Projections also appear in the north and south walls; they hold massive mihrab-like constructions both measuring 5.40m x 1.80m. These last are not exactly in the centre of their respective elevations. Both of them are 18, from the eastern angles. The reason for this slightly asymmetrical arrangement is to align them exactly with the middle of each side of the central building. Inside the area surrounded by walls are four enclosure (A,B,C,D) containing numerous graves of unidentified personages.

The central building is a square two-storied structure, each of its sides measuring 20.70m. In the middle of this block is a domed chamber surrounded outside by a two-tiered gallery. The pillars of the gallery are covered with tracery in low relief. The double-storied pillared galleries have in the centre of each side a group of three tall, narrow and multi-cusped arches surmounted by a wide and disproportionately large parapet bearing geometric motifs and Qur'anic inscriptions. Each bay above the second storey is surmounted by a low small dome. The high central vault is of eight flat segments externally with a finial above.

**DECORATION**

Each wall of the monument is overwhelmingly decorated with lotus and sunflower carvings and geometric motifs in stone. Diaper motifs also decorate profusely the walls of the enclosures set within the main enclosure.

At the time of my visit to this monument it was under repair and
its interior was closed. In spite of my best efforts, I could not get access to see the interior.

**TOMB OF JĀN BĀBĀ**

Jān Bābā was the father of ʿĪsā Khan the Younger. Intermeine quarrels were constantly taking place during the reign of ʿĪsā Khan (the Elder), especially between his sons. In 980/1572 Mīrzā ʿĪsā Khan died, and was buried upon Maklī Hill. He was succeeded by his son Mīrzā Muhammad Bāqī Tarjānī. Jān Bābā attacked him but was defeated, and his second attempt also failed. Soon after Jān Bābā was murdered (1608).

His tomb is situated south of the tomb of ʿĪsā Khan the Younger. The tomb building is a small quadrangle, which was originally covered by three domes; the central one still survives.

A notable factor amongst the tombs on Maklī Hill is the large variety of structure. Whereas the tomb of ʿĪsā Khan the Younger is a large two-storied structure the tomb of Jān Bābā is a small and compact building. This large variety is particularly notable when a comparative analysis is made of the architecture of the Maklī Hill and those of the Mughals elsewhere in India.

At Maklī Hill there is a vista of a large variety of architectural

1. Cousens, *op.cit.*, 118.
Makli
Tomb of Jān Bābā
stone carving
designs which is reflective of the investigating and exploratory
genius of the rulers of Thatta. The tomb of Jān Bābā is surely yet
another reflection of this.

The original entrance to the tomb of Jān Bābā was on the south
side, while another two smaller entrances were also provided in the
west wall, south and north of the miḥrāb. The twelve-pillared porch
on the south side at the main entrance was a subsequent addition; it
is undated.

DECORATION

All the surfaces, especially the miḥrāb, have richly carved
tracery both inside and outside and look as if they have been covered
with fine brown lace. All the walls have fine, beautifully designed
carvings, each piece different from the other but only in detail.
The sunflower remains the predominant motif. Other intricate geometric
and arabesque designs intermingle so that the eye cannot detect their
deliberately asymmetrical constitution.

EPICOGRAPHY

The only inscription on the walls of this monument is in a stone
panel above the architrave inside the main entrance. This inscription,
in elegant thulth, gives the Muslim confession of faith following the
Bismillah.

Mīrzā Jān Bābā's grave has the following inscription:
Later on various female members of Ḥasan Khan's family were also buried in this enclosure and therefore this monument is also known as the zanana tombs of Mīrzā Ḥasan Khan.

THE TOMB OF DĪWĀN SHURFA KHĀN

Dīwān Shurfa Khan died in the year 1638. The Dīwān was minister to the governor of Sind during the rule of Shānhān. His tomb is the best preserved and one of the most colourful buildings on Makli Hill.

PLAN OF SITE

The tomb stands on a rectangular platform, within a square enclosure. The enclosure is defined by a thick wall of stone masonry covered with lime plaster. The wall is 1.65m high and 1.05m thick with a bevelled top.

There is only one entrance to the building; it is provided on the south of the enclosure. The arched entrance is 1.35m wide and 1.95m high in the middle. The square enclosure is 36.60 per side including the thickness of the walls. Between the wall and the platform inside the enclosure, a 7.20m wide passage is left on all sides except the west. This provides space on the platform as a mosque. The west

1. The date 1048/1638 is given in the inscription on the end of the tombstone.
Makli
Tomb of Diwan Shurfa Khan
Sketch Plan and Elevation
wall has an outward bulge of 2.70m x 5.70m, housing a large arch inside measuring 3.30m wide and 2.25m deep. The walls of this bulge are 1.25m thick and the mihrab, which is only 0.75m deep, is accommodated within the thickness of the wall.

**THE TOMB BUILDING**

The tomb building is placed on a platform about 70cm high and approached by two steps on the north and south sides. The southern steps are exactly opposite the arched entrance. Each step is 23cm high with a tread of 23 x 250cms.

The mausoleum is a square of 11.40m per side with rounded corners carried into recesses. This square is placed on the platform in such a way as to leave an esplanade of 4.20m width on the north, south and east sides. On the western side the esplanade goes up to the enclosing wall and mihrab, forming a court for the mosque.

The massive square structure is of Persian type in that it has four large arches, one on each side, providing access to the interior of the monument from three sides. The three sides are now blocked by masonry and grilles. On the left, inside each of these arches, is a passage with stairs leading first straight ahead and then in a spiral within the rounded corner to the roof of the monument.

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1. Idris, _op.cit._, 11.
Immediately behind the wider span of the main arches is an intermediary passage leading to the main chamber of the monument. The central part is occupied by three graves including that of the Diwan in the middle. There is another smaller grave in the eastern extremity of the enclosure, and another two in the eastern intermediary passage.

The central chamber is a square of 5.70m. The upper portion of this chamber is converted into an octagon by arches in the corners. The octagon is then transformed into a hexa-decagon and above this the dome rises exactly in the manner of the dome of the ajhatrī of Mīrzā Tughrīl Beg. The interior of the dome is of bricks laid in a chevron design. Externally, the dome has no decorations and is covered with plaster. The drum underneath it is considerably high and has three torus mouldings surrounding it with some portion retaining original tile work in between these mouldings. The rounded corners of the monument which have stairs inside terminate at the top without any kiosks or cupolas.

DECORATION

The walls of the monument are laid in stone masonry up to a height of 65cm. The construction above is carried out in unglazed red bricks alternating with light blue filling in the joints, providing a conspicuous and interesting interplay of colour. The same colour scheme is carried out inside. Near the base of the dome were bands of tiles

1. See tomb of Mīrzā Tughrīl Beg.
now surviving in portions. The interior of the dome is decorated with a radiating design of glazed bricks set in a chevron pattern which ends up in a sixteen-pointed star towards the apex of the dome. The apex of the dome has a roundel having a border filled with floral and geometric designs while the central part has a fan decoration. It is said that the dome was at one time covered externally with light blue tiles.¹

**EPIGRAPHY**

Extremely fine examples of thulth, naskh, and nastālīq are found on the cenotaph of the Dīwan. The tašīr is high and thick, containing numerous verses from the Qur'ān. Its northern side has three main divisions. The lower panel is square and has the Islamic confession of faith inscribed on it in thulth with the signature of the calligrapher Shaykh Muhammad. The panel above is oblong and is divided into six rectangular vertical panels separated by a double chain moulding. The upper part of the tašīr or tombstone had the outline of a multi-cusped arch with a sunflower at the centre and a rosette at each corner. The border of the tašīr is sumptuously decorated with geometric designs. The other side of the stone is also decorated in similar fashion.

¹. Idris, op.cit., 11.
The tombstone bears Qur'anic inscriptions in the six vertical panels. These are carved in bold naskhī. Each panel is further sub-divided into three squares. The top central panel bears the bismillah while the rest of the Qur'anic texts are:

Sūra xxviii (al-Qasas) verse 88,
Sūra lv (al-Rahmān) verses 26-7
Sūra xi (al-Hūd) verse 88, and
Sūra xlviii (al-Fath) verse 29.

Two attributes\(^1\) of Allah اکبر and النتاج are also written.

On the southern elevation of the grave is the following Persian text cut in raised nastaliq (unpublished):

(Tr:)

- He who got the dignity of wazīr which suited his personality
- When he intended to travel [to the next world] to the misfortune of family members,
- from ṣaḥīb [the angel] said, his arrival [in paradise] is excellent and fortunate
- the date of his death [is], the place of Shurfā is paradise

1. These are two of the 99 attributes of God; اکبر means merciful and النتاج one who opens.
Above the arch of the adjoining mosque a single hemistich survives. It is written in white letters on a deep blue ground of tilework. It is in Persian and in a nastālīq hand and reads:

پسما مسجد السپر ایتیم

(Tr:) As pure as Masjid-i Aqṣā

The hemistich is a chronogram as well and according to it the date of the mosque is 1052/1643.

**THE TOMB OF SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM**

Sultān Ibrāhīm was the son of ʿĪsā Khān Tarkhān the Elder. He died in 1558.¹ His mausoleum is a sturdy octagonal brick structure raised on a square brick platform 45cm in height and is now in a state of ruin. The octagonal structure has arches on all eight sides. The four on the cardinal sides are higher than those set in the oblique sides. The entrance is only through the north and south arches. Though the building is octagonal without, the sepulchral chamber within is a square of 6.40m a side. The building is wholly built of brick.

The construction of the dome externally as well as internally is similar to that of the dome of the Dīwān Shurfa Khān mausoleum. Its dome is however placed on a much higher drum. The dome was originally covered outside with turquoise tiles, traces of which can still be seen. The tiles which once covered the building have almost

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Makli
Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim
Sketch Plan and Elevation
all disappeared except for three petite bands bearing Qur'anic inscriptions in white letters on a dark blue ground.

EPIGRAPHY

Three small panels bearing Qur'anic inscriptions survive on this monument. One is in the eastern arch above the grille. This is rendered in fine thuluth, using white letters on a deep blue ground. The second inscription is above the arch on the south-eastern side and the third is on the drum of the tomb. This inscription is most probably a part of the inscription band which went all around the drum. A very small patch of it now survives. The second and third specimens are in bold naskhi verging on thuluth. The text of the inscriptions above the grille and above the arch is the same; it is a verse from Sura xxxix, al-Zumar. The inscription is fully vowelled and has all the signs of ḥam and tashkil. The inscription above the grille contains the following Persian line as well, at the end:

شَفَةِ السَّبَرِ الْفِيْلَٰ خُذِّتِ اللَّهُ البَارِي اَلْأَسَارِيِّ

(Tr.:) Written by ʿAbd al-Faqīr, he who needs [the mercy of] God the Creator, Ahmad al-Ansari

The stone sarcophagus inside the main chamber also bears a brief inscription in two lines. This cut inscription stands in relief nearly 1 cm high. The text is Persian and the script nastaliq:
The elevation of this mausoleum is very similar to that of the mausoleum of ʿAsīf Jāh at Lahore, the only difference being in the domes of the two monuments. The dome of the ʿAsīf Jāh mausoleum is more slender and higher as compared to that of the Sultān Ibrāhīm mausoleum.

**TOMB OF ĀHINSA BĀʾĪ**

Not much is known about Āhinsa Bāʾī and her activities. Her name in books is quoted only in relation to this monument.

Her tomb comprises an enclosure similar in size to Jān Bābā's tomb. It has a mihrāb similar to that of Jān Bābā but much simpler and without any pillared porch at the entrance.
Besides the grave of Ahinsa Bā'ī the enclosure has several other graves said to be of relatives of the lady.

The buff stone sarcophagus of Ahinsa Bā'ī has Qur'ānic inscriptions on the right, left and top, and also on the head side. The eastern and western sides are divided into panels like those on the tombstone of Shurfa Khan.

The sarcophagus bears this line in nastaliq:

\[ \text{منسق} \text{شادا} \text{وزور} \text{بار} \text{عورلى} \text{یا} \text{الساسى} \]

955 م (1586 A.D.)

(Tr:) Transferred (died) from the abode of delusion to the house of joy (paradise), the noble Lady Ahinsa Bā'ī, 995 AH.

TOMB OF JĀM NIZĀM AL-DĪN.

Jām Nizām al-Dīn, nicknamed Jām Nindo, 1 ruled from about 1461 to 1508. 2 His reign was a long and on the whole peaceful one. The length of his rule is variously given by different writers as 43, 48, 63 and even 73 years and it is remarkable that each gives several dates. It therefore seems impossible at this stage to decide finally on a single date as the most likely one. His tomb is one of the more conspicuous mausolea on Maklī Hill. The mausoleum is situated on the extreme northern fringe of the hill.

1. 'Nindo' is most probably a corruption of 'Nizām' as Gāmō from Ghulām or Majō from Miʿrāj. Such corrupted names are very popular throughout the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

2. Cousens, op.cit., 32.
The tomb of Jām is a big square, unfinished, building enclosing a square sepulchral chamber. The tomb is said never to have been provided with a dome, the work having apparently ceased when the four walls had almost reached the base of the dome. This building is remarkable in that at least externally it is composed almost wholly of Hindu elements, except for the friezes carrying Qur'ānic inscriptions. Probably much of the building material used here was obtained by demolishing some Hindu temple. This is especially obvious in the case of the outward projection in the west wall containing the mihrāb inside. Nonetheless the style of Islamic architecture then prevailing at Gujarāt and Ahmadābād was very similar to it. It should not be overlooked that Gujarāt, with its mixture of Islamic and Hindu strains, was closely linked to Thatta and indeed enjoyed a similar metropolitan status and civilization for a long time. There may, therefore, be a direct influence.

One or two elements are wholly Hindu, such as the small sikharā at the corner about midway vertically at the bulge which contains the mihrāb. Similarly the serpent-like bracket mouldings and square capitals of the miniature columns do not carry any architraves above and thus their use becomes absolutely meaningless. The gallery and balconies above the entrance and at the south-western corner have no justification either. It is quite possible that the criticism evoked
by such elements may have led to work being discontinued for good.

All over India, of course, the earliest mosques and other Islamic monuments built by victorious Muslim rulers were in most cases built of material obtained by demolishing Hindu temples, as in the case of the Mosque of Quwwat al-Islam at Delhi. According to Cousens, a governor of Thatta, Nawwab Amirm Khān, alias Mir Abu’l-Baqā, built a mosque on the site of a Hindu temple in the street of Bhā'ī Khān, and we also learn that Jalāl al-Dīn founded a Jāmī' Masjid at Dewal (Daybal) on the ruins of an idol temple.²

The interior of Jām’s tomb has squinches which convert the square plan below into an octagon at this level. Above this the octagon is converted into a 16-sided span, again using squinches in the corners of the octagon. The squinches are of corbelled masonry.

The structural fabric of the tomb of Jām Nizām al-Dīn looks very solid; it is seemingly built of great blocks of stone. But this is not the case. These big blocks of stone are nothing more than thin ashlar slabs³ set up on edge with the core of the wall made of nothing but rubble.

DEcoration

The walls externally are decorated with at least twelve horizontal

2. Ibid. The author does not give dates of these examples.
3. These slabs vary in thickness from 2.5 to 3.70cm.
bands of various decorative motifs. Each of the elements of this frieze is separated from the one above by a smooth band made of a single stone course. Almost all these friezes consist of geometric or floral motifs with the exception of the sixth and ninth from the bottom. The sixth is of calligraphy while the ninth is of small ducks or geese, all facing left. The scheme of these friezes is interrupted by the projection containing the mihrab inside, by the entrance door, an arched opening and a gallery above.
The interior of Jām Nizām al-Dīn's tomb has some resemblance to the interior of the Adinā mosque, Fānduā (1364), and to the facade of the sanctuary of the Qilā-i Kuhnā masjid, Delhi (1545). This interior should also be compared with the interior of Shahzādī Kā Raudāh, Ghāndairī (1450); and of the tomb of Ḩūturī, Delhi (1235). The lotuses and sunflowers are visible in the spandrels in both these cases and they are also to be seen in the tomb of Jām. The use of balconies above the arches is also noticeable. The treatment of corners, particularly the use of concentric corbelled "arches", is in the usual Maklī fashion, and is found much earlier there.

Very much like the examples mentioned above, the interior of Jām's tomb also has eight arches inside, forming an octagonal zone of transition, with a 16-sided zone further above. Like the exterior, the interior has many horizontal bands bearing decorative motifs, but calligraphy is to be found only above the second arch of the mihrāb. Above the eight arches are two bands, the lower containing sunflowers and the upper a row of small blind shouldered arches, each having a small sunflower inside. The hexa-decagonal portion above also has pointed arches. The arches forming the outer frames of these are blind and contain no decoration. Below this is a small hanging boss fitted in the corner. In one such arch exactly above the mihrāb is a small

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1. Cf. Brown, op.cit., plate lxiii fig. 2, the mihrāb of Qilā-ah-i Kuhnāh Masjid, Delhi (1545).
balcony.

The interior at ground level is simple. A slightly elevated platform bears three graves. None of them has any inscription, carving, tiles or other type of decoration.

EPICGRAPHY

The inscription is above the door in the west side of the tomb. It is cut on the architrave in two horizontal lines. The upper line contains verses 71 to 75 of Sūra xxxix (al-Zumar) and the lower line contains verses 7 and 8 of Sūra lxiv (al-Taghabun). Both lines are in beautiful thuluth, the letters projecting out of the background. According to Ghafūr,¹ in all probability this inscription was written by Hāfiz Rashīd Siddiqī, the famous calligrapher of the Samma dynasty.

Below it is the following text in Persian in nastaʿlīq:

السلطان المفرور والمرؤوم سلطان نجم الدين شادان سلطان صرار الدين شاه

(Tr.) The pardoned and pitied Sultan, Sultan Nizām al-Dīn Shāh b. Sultan Sadr al-Dīn Shāh 915 A.H.

On the northern entrance the same inscription appears once again but with the name of Jām Nizām's son first and with a fuller genealogy; it reads:

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¹ Ghafūr, op.cit., 64.
A little away from the north-west corner of the Jām Nizām al-Dīn tomb is a small domed brick building with some good coloured tile-work within. Inside it are two graves, one being that of a woman, Maklī,1 after whom the hill is said to have been called. The tomb is supposed to have been built about 813/1410.2 No details of the life of Mâ'ī Maklī are known. I believe it more likely that Maklī Hill was already a current term for this hill at that time and that it was the mā'ī who came to be known after the hill. It is unlikely that in spite of all the important personages who are buried on this hill, it should be called after an old woman whose very history is obscure.

2. Ibid.
CHRONOLOGICAL REGISTER OF OTHER INSCRIPTIONS ON MAKLĪ GRAVES AND MAUSOLEA

The graves and mausolea on Maklī Hill have not been systematically recorded and published to date. Nor has the necropolis been divided into various sectors for ease of reference. The number allocated to each inscription therefore corresponds only to my own handlist and not to any official listing. Some of these graves postdate the year 1707 but I give their inscriptions as well for the sake of completeness.

1 - لبِسَمَ الْلَّهِلَّهُمَّ رَحْمَةً حَمَارَكِرَمَم إِنَّكَ لَا أَلِمَ اللَّهُ

(undated)

(Tr.) Bismillah. By reciting kalima-yi tayyibah I have protected myself. Sealed ........

2 - بَلَدُ الْقَبَرَةَ بِنْعَمِ رَبِّي

(undated)

(Tr.) This is the grave of Jīsar ibn Murād.

3 - بَعْضُ رَأْيِي الْفَيْضَاءِ الْفَيْضِيَةِ، يَحْتَسِبُ النَّافِعِ وَلَيْلَةَ

(undated)

(Tr.) This edifice was built by Daryā Khan Ruhū, disciple of Shaykh Hammād Ijbāl, ruler of Tamāchī, in the reign of Jām Tughlaq Sikandar Shāh. Dated .....

(Tr.) كيف اذهب بال من تكله رائد في تكله رائد في تكله رائد في تكله رائد

(Tr.) في خيبریه وخانه السالیان والهندور ومضاعف ولفستير واندرس وحشة
O God, make his resting-place cool, make his grave illuminated and transform his fears into love.

The crown of this world: [my] parents Miyān Tāj al-Dīn and sister of Miyān Path Kān ibn Sultan Nizām al-Dīn. 878 AH.

The great khan Miyān Mubārak Khan ibn Sultan Nizām al-Dīn Shāh, the generous and friend of God 895 AH.

By the command of the great Khan Miyān Mubārak Khan ibn Sultan Nizām al-Dīn Shāh ibn Sadr al-Dīn Shāh, ibn Salāh al-Dīn Shāh, ibn Rukn al-Dīn Shāh. Written by Qutb al-Dīn ibn Mahmūd Ahmad ibn Daryā Kān. [probably] 919/1513.

This is the grave of the great Khan and martyr Mubārak Khan ibn Sultan Nizām al-Dīn.
The great friend Hajjī Ubaid Allah ibn Khwajah Mahmūd ibn Khwajah Muhammād ibn Khwajah Qālī Bahā Astarābādī 911/1505.

The great amīr, Amīr Khidr ibn Ibrāhīm Khalīfah. 912/1506.

The guide of the ladies wearing veils, [pardah-dār] Hajjī Begah bint Mīrā Ibrāhīm. 919 A.H.

Shaykh Majaddid al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʿtī al-Kāzīrīnī 938/1531.

Fatimah Sultan bint Amīr Ṣalāh Beg 941/1535.

Amīr Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sayyid Habīb Allāh ibn Sayyid Qālī Harawī. 944/1537.

Amīr Muḥammad Quli ibn Amīr ʿAbd al-Samad Tarkhān.
حسین بگ ترکان 949 هر

(Tr:) Husain Beg Tarkhan. 949/1542.

بیگ مبان بگ 949 هر

(Tr:) Begah Jan Begah. 949/1542.

(میرزا is written differently as میرزا and میرزا)

(Tr:) [.....son] Mahmud Mirza ibn Muhammad Mirza. 950/1543.

فخریه ہم بنت ابوالمحمر بیرزا

(Tr:) Fakhr-i Jahan bint Abu'l-Muhammad Mirza. 950/1543.

امیر سلطان غلی بگ بیب امیر حسین بگ لر قرغیز 951 هر

(Tr:) Amir Sultan Quli Beg ibn Amir Husain Beg Lari Taghahi. 951/1549.

سید یار بگ بیب سید جلال الدین عبد الاله

(Tr:) Sayyid Yar Beg ibn Sayyid Jalal al-Din 'Abd Allah. 951/1545.

میا مظنونہ شریف رابل 952 هر

(Tr:) The veiled and pardoned Shihir Banu. 952/1545.

(A single hemistich survives)

تم بهرامگی بگ رنگ ارعام

(Tr:) Till Mir Khalil Beg went from [this] world. 952/1545.

تم محرات شکیل تتبدیل ویرات بپا ابشار بگ 953 هر

(Tr:) Guide of the veiled Bichah Zarif, daughter of the deceased Amir Muhammad Beg. 953/1546.
(A single hemistic survives)  

(Tr:) While looking for in memorial of paradise [he] said 'rawānī'. 953/1546.

(A single hemistic and a couplet)  

(Tr:) The pitied and innocent Amīr Hasan Beg. 
A new [season of] spring has set in and flowers are growing from the earth, 
O smiling flower of father you also grow [come out]. 954/1547.

Amīr ʿAlaikah, the son of his majesty Amīr Nādir ʿAlī Arghun. 954/1547.

(Tr:) The elderly lady died 955/1547.

(Tr:) Amīr Darvīsh ʿAlī ibn Amīr Maqsūd ʿAlī Kūkaltāsh. 955/1547.

(Tr:) Amīr Abu’l-Fath ibn Amīr Qāsim Taghā’ī.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned ʿĪsā died 956/1549.
(Tr:) Khwājah Muhammad Halbī ibn Khwājah Mustāfā Rūmī. 957/1550.

Shahzāda Khānum bint Amīr Sayyid Abu‘l-Qāsim. 958/1551.

(Words: Years of the Khwājah ibn Khwājah Amīr) 959

(A hemistich and a verse containing a chronogram)

(Tr:) Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muhammad, a new flower of eternity. When I asked wisdom the date [he] said Everlasting paradise is his abode. 959/1551.

(Tr:) Died ..... Yādgār bint Sultān Jānī Beg 960/1552.

(Tr:) Amīr Sultān Muhammad ibn Amīr Mahmūd ibn Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muhammad. 960/1552.
The pious and devoted Nahīd Sultān ibn Amīr Khalīl Khan. 961/1553.

ibn his excellency Amīr .... Tarsūn Muhammad. 961/1553.

When my king ibn ʻAbīdī went from this world (= died) 961/1553.

Amīr Sultān Muqīm ibn Amīr Husain Qulī Arghūn Beg-Lar. 962/1554.

Death of Begah bint Mīrāzā ʻIsā. 962/1554.

Death of Tarsūn Begah bint Mīrāzā ʻIsā. 962/1554.

The leader of the Shaykhs, Amīr Mahmūd ibn al-Shaykh Abī Saʿīd. The year of his death is 'alas Mūrak died': 962/1554.
(Tr:) ☞ Amīr Sultān Muḥammad ibn Amīr Ḥajjīkāh Mughal

Allāh
callūnī lā tāli'n ʿalā šī' āsāk
al-ʿāwihi la aḥkām
wāliyīn tarjumān
kātib al-faqīr ʿubrāl-rāhihi sāliq

(Tr:) Thus said Allāh, the most High: everything is perishable. He is the [only] Commander and you have to return to Him.

Written by the poor ʿAbd al-Rahīm Siddīqī.

(Tr:) Khwājah Ḥnāyāt Allāh the son of the deceased Khwājah Khayr Allāh Mīrāk. 964/1556.

(Tr:) Khwājah ʿAbd Allāh ibn Khwājah ʿAlī Shāh Haravī. 964/1556.

(Tr:) His excellency the ever-ruling Mīrzā Yādghar Muḥammad Mīskīn Beg Tarkhān. 964/1556.

(Tr:) The pitied Halīmah Begah bint Amīr ʿAbd al-Samād ibn Ahmad ʿAlī Tarkhān. 964/1556.

(Tr:) The pious and prostrated [before Allāh] Gul Bībī. 965/1557.
INSCRIPTION No. 45
Qur'anic text: sura xxviii (al-Qasas), 88.
The great amīr Amīr Qāsim the son of the deceased Amīr Muhammad Tagha'i 965/1557.

Amīr Muhammad Qālī ibn Amīr Sultan Qālī Beg-Lar. 965/1557.

Mihtar Bābūl [or Bulbul] 965/1557.

Death of Ānchīh Begah bint Mīrā ʿIsā. 965/1557.

The pardoned lady Sayyid, Āghā Jān Begah, daughter of the respected Amīr Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh. 966/1558.

Amīr Abuʿl-Beg ibn Amīr Ḥasan Beg. 966/1558.

The crown of the women of the world, Sayyidah Kāmiya Begah bint Amīr Ṣābir Beg. 966/1558.
(Tr.) Amīr Muhammad Baqīr ibn Amīr Muhammad Muqīm. The nymphs [of paradise] stood in a row to look at my beloved; And the angels of paradise stood surprised keeping their hands one over the other.

(Tr.) Zāhid Beg Tarkhān ibn Mīrzā Muhammad ʻĪsā, the chief of the sultans and the leader of the sultans 966/1558.

(Tr.) The respected amīr linked with Murtadā, Sayyid ʻAlī the son of the deceased Amīr Muhammad Baqīr 967/1559.

(Tr.) Begah Māh bint Ḥājīb Sultaṇī, died 967/1559.

(no date)

(Tr.) Mīr Sulaimān ibn Mīrzā ʻĪsā died. [not dated]
امیر میرزا ساقی پسر امیر محمد ترسون ارغون مومک

(Tr.) The great amīr Mīrzā Sāqī the son of the deceased amīr Muhammad Tarsun Arghūn. 968/1560.

امیر نفاهار ارغون 969 هـ

(Tr.) Amīr Waqqās Arghūn. 969/1561.

امیر محمدرضا خوذرابادی پسر امیر مغفور کرباداری 969 هجری

(Tr.) Amīr Marhūm Khudābādī the son of the pardoned Amīr Akbar Qādirī 969/1562.

شیخ میرزا علی بن شیخ میرزا میرزا حسن صلیب ترخان

(Tr.) The prince of the martyrs of the world, Saʿīd Mīrzā Muhammad Šālih Tarkhān. 970/1562.

خوچه خلیفه الامیر محمد بن محمد بن خوچه احمد

(Tr.) Khwājah the elder Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Khwājah Ahmad. 971/1563.

امیر حاجی شاه وافتر ارجبی پاینده مخبرکشی

(Tr.) The Amīr, the pitied, the advancer, and the everlasting pride of the troops - Muhammad Quraishī. 971/1563.

هانیت یائنت صلیفیکی بنت میرزا محمد علی ترخان

(Tr.) Sāliha Begah Sāqī ibn Mīrzā Muhammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān died* 971/1563.

(Tr.) Bībī Tūṭī died 971/1563.
Tomb of Ḥasan Khan Tarkhan the Elder

The tomb of Ḥasan Khan Tarkhan the elder, also locally known as bārā Tarkhan, is situated north of the tomb of Baqī Beg Tarkhan, and to the south-east of the tomb of Sayyid Mahmūd Mārakī, dated 926/1520. Mīrzā Ḥasan Khan was the first Tarkhan ruler of southern Sind.1 His tomb stands on a large platform within an enclosure. Within the enclosure are two smaller courtyards. The monument is built entirely of carved stone. The upper register of the stone wall of the tomb is engraved with Qur'ānic inscriptions in relief. It contains the full texts of sūra lxvii, al-Mulk, sūra xciii, al-Duḥā and sūra xcvi, al-Qadr. These inscriptions bear at the end the name of the calligrapher Ḥasan b. Ḥafiz Rashīd Siddīqī.

The inner face of the wall also bears Qur'ānic verses and appears to be the work of the same calligrapher. These are verses 1-97 of sūra lvi, al-Waqī'ah, and verses 16-20 and 39 of sūra iii, al-Imrān. All these inscriptions are in bold naskhī. The line bearing the name

of the calligrapher runs:

صدق الله العليم العظيم كتب عبد الرحيم بن
حافظ رضي الله به

(Tr:) God Almighty, great and supreme, has said the truth.
Written by ʼAbd al-Rahim b. Hafiz Rashid Siddiqi.

The Persian text on the grave is in the form of a quatrain:

مختلاص كتب جمال مخلص
ما بدر مهد و آن مخلص
بیرون وارد سنجیده آن شخص
در آرزو سعی جمال مخلص

(Tr:) We are longing to see the grace of Muhammad,
We are servants of Muhammad and of his family.
We are burning like a moth in the fire of separation.
We are with the desire to see the Prophet's graceful candle
[so that we can sacrifice our life for the Prophet]

This is followed by another couplet in Persian,

نصرت نفیش ست کربلا به ماند
کرم وصیا را کسی پیام بنا زی

(Tr:) I want to leave an impression so that I am remembered
[Because] I know this world is not going to survive.

and finally,

وفات یاقت ضرعت جنت کنان جیرا کمر علی
ابن عبد العالی رفغانی سنه 983 هـ

(Tr:) The respected one, the resident of paradise,
Mīrzā Muḥammad ʼIsa ibn ʼAbd al-ʼAlī Tarkhān
died in the year 973/1565.
(Tr.) The highly respected Ṣamīr Asghar Ṣālī died 977(?)/1575 (?)

The top of the third digit of the date has chipped off and only a small upright line remains. It could be 1, 3, ۶ or ۴.

(Tr.) Shaykh Ṣāḥib al-Wahḥāb al-Ṣūrānī. 973/1565.

(Tr.) Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥa died 973/1565.

(single hemistich)

(Tr.) Miḥrāb Hāshim, devoted to the descendants of Ḥusayn. 974/1566.

(Tr.) The pitied Miḥyā Ramdān ibn Miḥyā Ṣarī died 974/1566.

(Tr.) The pitied and pardoned Ṣamīr Muḥammad Yūṣuf the son of the highly respected Ṣamīr Naṣīr al-Ḍīn Miḥrālinkah. 975/1566 (1567?).

(Tr.) Ṣamīr Hāshim ibn Ṣamīr Sultān Beg. 975/1566 (1567?).
(Tr:) The martyred, pitied and pardoned Mullā Sālih. 976/1567.

(Tr:) The martyred, pitied and pardoned Mihr ʿAlī Shahīd. 986/1578.

Both Mullā Mīrzá Sālih and Mihr ʿAlī were martyred in internecine skirmishes.¹

(Tr:) ..... was decorated with the dignity of martyrdom 976/1567.

(Tr:) Grave of the chief Shūkhāl, sweeper and servant of his majesty, the resident of paradise MīrZA Muḥammad ʿĪsā Tarkhān. 976/1568.

(Tr:) Māh Begah, the daughter of the deceased Amīr Haidar Muḥammad Barlās, died 976/1568.

(Tr:) The pitied Amīr Lail Khān. 976/1568.

(Tr:) This is the grave of Khwājah Mīrān the pitied. 978/1570.

¹ Ghafur, op.cit., 11-2.
(Tr:) The pitied Mūhsein ibn Mūrza Yādgār Miskīn 978/1570.

(Tr:) His most fortunate majesty Yādgār Miskīn Tarkhān ibn Amīr Miskīn Tarkhān the pitied and pardoned. 978/1570.

(Tr:) This is the grave of Khwājah Sikandar Ghāzī Sultān 979/1571. The expenditure incurred on this mausoleum was fifteen thousand lārīs. 1

(Tr:) Nawwāb Khwājah Ibrāhīm, the receiver of [God's] forgiveness, ibn Khwājah Hajjī ʿArab. 983/1575.

(Tr:) The date of the martyrdom of Mūlānā Yāsīn Kān. 984/1576.

(Tr:) Māh Begah bint Amīr Shams al-Dīn Muhammad, chief of the pitied, died 984/1576.

1. Lārī used to be the silver coin of Iran (Steingass, op.cit., 1111)
(Tr:) Muhammad ʿAlī ibn Amīr Wali Tarkhān. 984/1576.

وفات حوره آغا بنت سید محمد حوره خورامان 985

(Tr:) Death of Jūdah Āgha the daughter of the deceased Sayyid Huđah Khūramānī. 985/1577.

وفات سالح ترخان بنت تیل بنت امیر محمد ترخان 987

(Tr:) Death of Sālih Tarkhān Begah bint Amīr Muḥammad Qulī Tarkhān. 987/1579.

امیر سلیم تالب بیو امیر سلیم طاج 987

(Tr:) Amīr Sayyid Tālib ibn Amīr Sayyid Tāhir 987/1579.

میرک بیو شمسی گمشتم

بیشمار سال آن لوشتم

گفت که لوشتم و برکه

سار به دیکر پیشتم

987

(Tr:) When Mīrak was martyred I said
To the pen to write the year [of his death].
He said 'I have written, and from it comes
The date 'Mīrak is in paradise'.
987/1579.

وفات شاه بیگ بنت امیر سلطان

محمد ترخان 988

(Tr:) Death of Shāh Begah the daughter of the deceased Amīr Sultan Muḥammad Tarkhān. 988/1580.
(Tr:) He was a pious sultan and a sovereign who loved his people.
The dust of his feet was like antimony for the eyes of the people.
When I asked wisdom the year of his death
He answered, "Why do you ask me? Ask your sore eyes".

Inscription on the gate of the tomb of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan:

(TI:) The date of completion of this tomb [which belongs to]
One of those highly dignified and greatly honoured Shah Rukh Khan. May God grant him, through His bounty, nymphs and ridwans [servants in paradise] and bless him with His bounty and munificence.
Written by Ustad Hasan. 992/1584.

(Ti:) Mahmud ibn Sultan died 993/1584-5.

(Ti:) Prince Shah Rukh Khan ibn Sultan Dauran Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan. 993/1585.
(Tr:) Mīrāz Bahā'ī ibn Mīrāz Tarkhan died on Thursday 8th Shawwāl 993/1585.

(Tr:) Amīr-i A'zam Khudā'abādī Arghūn, the popular place of Mīr Khāir Dīn Dhakkarī. 993/1585.

(Tr:) Dūst Muhammad ibn Darwīsh Muhammad ... died 994/1586.

(Tr:) Amīr Sayyid 'Inayat ibn Amīr Sayyid Tahir died 995/1586-7.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Hajjī of the sacred places, Ḍidār bint Bihlwan 'Alī. 996/1587.

(Tr:) The amīr of the amīrs, Rafī al-Dīn Muhammad, died 997/1588.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Mīr Farrukh ibn Amīr Muhammad Beg Arghūn. 1000/1591.

(Tr:) Mīrāz Muhammad Pāyind ibn Mīrāz Muhammad Baqī Tarkhan
1000/1591.
Amīr Muhammad Beg Tarkhān ibn Amīr Mahmūd Beg Tarkhān.

Sarwār Bībī Fath Rānī migrated from the house of delusion [world] to the abode of joy [paradise] 1000/1591.

Māh Begah died. Dated 1000/1591.


The grace of the sovereignty Mīrzā Muhammad Shahīd ibn Amīr Qanbar Beglār 1001/1591-2.

Chuchāk Begah died 1001/1591-2.

The pitied Begah Dūb Bībī the daughter of the pitied Yādgār Muhammad 1001/1591-2.

Hasan Beg Khān son of Allāh Virī Beg ..... 100[?]/159[?].

121. (Tr:) Bībi Latīfah the daughter of the deceased Ṭābūl Allāh 1002/1592.

122. (Tr:) The pitied Sāliha Bībi Gul Andām died 1003/1593.

123. (Tr:) Bībi Zarīfah bint Qāsim Ṭābūl Allāh died 1003/1593.

124. (Tr:) Husainī bint Qāsim Ṭābūl Allāh died 1004/1594.

125. (Tr:) The pious and prostrated Bī Maryam bint Amīr Yāsīn Khan 1005/1595.

126. (Tr:) Mīrzā Ardashīr Beg son of Bāqī Beg 1005/1596.

127. (Tr:) Mīrzā Isfandīyār Beg son of Mīrzā Bāqī Beg. 1005/1596.

128. [Handwritten text]
(Tr:) Mīr Tāhir died; He possessed excellent attributes.
When I wrote thinking about the year of his death,
It came 'Sayyid Tāhir is a resident of paradise'.
[The last line contains a chronogram]

بي سال و فات شمس سبیل
پیامبر اسلام

129

(Tr:) When Khusrav spoke the year of his death
'The sun was separated from Leo .
1007/1598.
[The last line contains a chronogram]

والد حق پرست با کی خان
روز آستوره پچوں شادازونیا
1008

(Tr:) The father of Bā'ī Khān, who respected truth,
on the day of ashurāh 1 left this world.
1008/1599.

سیر عبادان سیتیز ان اسمروک سید ابرامک

131

(Tr:) Sayyid Ḥabīl Rashīd the son of the deceased Amīr Sayyid Abu'l-Makaram 1009/1600.

وفات ارنون بنگ بنگ ابی بیرامیه علی ارتنون

132

(Tr:) Death of Arghūn Begah bint Amīr Muhammad Ḥabīl Arghūn
1009/1600.

وفات میر موسی که بیانی بنگ سفاح پخش و گل کر

133

(Tr:) Death of the pitied Begah Janī the daughter of the pardoned Mihr Ḥabīl 1010/1601.

1. The tenth of Muharram.
(Tr:) Kalima-yi tayyibah
Ayat al-kursi
The work of Ni'mat Allah, written by Darwīsh ʿAlī.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Muhammad Fūdil 1011/1602.

(Tr:) Death of ʿAmīr ʿInayat ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Mughal 1011/1602.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Badīʿ al-Zamān ibn Shāh Rukh Khan 1011/1602.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Biʿl-Ahsan Begah Khurshid bint Mirzā Muhammad Baqī ʿTarkhān 1012/1603.

(Tr:) Imbecile Chūchak Begah neighbour of his majesty Nawwāb Ramdān Matāʾī Jānī Beg. 1012/1603.

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1. It is very difficult to distinguish between the meanings of ʿamal and ʿushra. See Steingass, op.cit., 1247 and 867.
(Tr.) Hasani bint Yasim Khan died 1012/1603.

(Tr.) Mahmud Shahn ibn Yasim Khan, 1012/1603.

(Tr.) Mirza Fatgh Shahn ibn ...... died 1012/1603.

(Tr.) Hajji Queli left for paradise along with his confidants. 1012/1603.

(Tr.) When the wazir Sanad Ba'i Khan left this temporary world for the everlasting abode, For his date of death he said, 'O God, Give me everlasting paradise'. 1012/1603.

(The inscription is upside down)

(Tr.) The pious and prostrated mother of Mirza Muhammad Alai Tarkhan, 1012/1603.

(Tr.) The pitied Mah Begah bint Mirza Muhammad Baqi Tarkhan died 1014/1605.
(Tr: Quraish Khānum died.

(Tr:) Hājjī Husain Shāh
'Ve got the highest place.

(Tr:) Amirāda Ahmad Shāh ibn Yāsīn Khān 1018/1609.

(Tr:) Begah Jan Begān bint Mīrzā Muhammad Baqī Tarkhān 1018/1609.

(Tr:) The date of death of Khair al-Nisa' 1019/1609-10(?).

(Tr:) The pardoned Sultan Qāsim ʿAlī the son of his majesty Khudā Qulī Lankāh. 1019/1609-10.

(Tr:) I am single-handed, he is a khān of high rank. When he died I lost my mind on account of grief [went mad]. 1021/1612.
The pitied Amīr Mahmūd Sultān, the son of the deceased Amīr Timūr Sultān 1021/1612.

The pitied and pardoned Matīn Beg ibn Bā'ī Khān died in the month of Rabi' al-Awwal 1022/1613. Kalima-yi tayyibah. The Merciful The Opener Written by the poor one, Shaykh Muhammad ibn Shaykh Hasan.

The pitied and pardoned Dārūshah Karūr Khān 1024/1615.

The pitied Latīf Begah bint Hadrat Ridwān al-Muqāmī 1024/1615.

The pitied Fakhr al-Nisā' Maryam Zamān Khānum mother of Amīr Khān ibn Sayyid Ūbd al-Makāram Sultān 1025/1616.

My heart is always clean [pious] on account of the bounty of Ūblī. 1024/1616.
(Tr:) Read this word twice, 'O amīr, amīr'. 1024/1616.

(Tr:) The seed of piety in the earth of courtesy was sown only by Umid al-ʿAlī Beg. 1028/1618.

(Tr:) Mīr Abu’l-Maʿālī
The servant of paradise said with pain, "May his place be in paradise". 1029/1619.

(Tr:) The pitied Muhammad Qulī ibn Shāh Qulī Lankān 1030/1620.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Pāyindah died 1030/1620.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Muhammad Rida Beg ibn Fadīl Beg 1032/1622.
The light of my eyes Amir Khan Isma'Il placed his foot in paradise.
Wisdom spoke the date of his death:
"The wind carried away a flower from the garden of Muhammad". 1035/1625.

(Tr.) Death of Mirza Abd al-Ali 1040/1630.

(Khwajah Hindi) was a benevolence of God 1040/1630.

When I asked wisdom the date [of his death], he said
Do not ask me, ask the scars of the heart. 1045/1635.

Death of the pitied and pardoned lady Tahtai Bibi 1045/1635.

The chief of the age Ibrahimm, who is a friend of God
due to his obedience.
The pitied Murād Nizām al-Dīn.
When I asked the aged man he said, 'That was a corner of paradise'.

The mother of treasure, Mīrza Baqī Uzbek 1050/1640.

The tomb of the pitied and pardoned Mīrza Baqī Beg Uzbek 1050/1640.

Saying the date [of his death] the voice came, 'the symbol of leadership and headship exists'. 1050/1640.

The pitied and pardoned Khwājah Muhammad Latīf 1053/1643.

When ŠAb Abd Allāh left for the garden [of paradise] 1054/1644.

This is the grave of Mīrak Mahmūd Burānī, 1056/1646.
Say that Mīrak reached a laudable stage.
(Tr:) This is the grave of Mīrak ʻAbd al-Baqī Burānī. Mīrza ʻAbd al-Baqī made himself comfortable in the facilities of paradise. ۱۰۵۸/۱۶۴۸.

(Tr:) The date of the death of the pitied Mīrza Inayat Allah ۱۰۵۸/۱۶۴۸.

(Tr:) Asad Beg ibn Haidar is the pride of Iran. Asad was kind-hearted and obtained a place in paradise. ۱۰۵۹/۱۶۴۹.

(Tr:) Muhammad Muʿīn in ۱۰۵۹/۱۶۴۹. He said he will be in the garden of paradise.

(Tr:) The date of death of Mīr Muhammad ۱۰۵۹/۱۶۴۹.

(Tr:) The date of death of Amīr Mahmūd ۱۰۵۹/۱۶۴۹.
(Tr.) Mîrzâ Ghulâm Muhîyy al-Dîn transferred from the temporary abode to the permanent abode. 1060/1650.

(Tr.) Khwâjah Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad ibn Khwâjah Muḥammad Chaghata'i Khurâsânî 1061/1651.

(Tr.) The pitied and pardoned Muḥammad Mîrzâ 1061/1651.

(Tr.) Nawwâb Mîrzâ īsâ Tarkhân 1062/1651.

(Tr.) Mîrzâ Sayyid Jalâl Ridvî 1070/1659.
Mîr Jalâl is at the highest point in paradise.

(Tr.) The young man's name was Miyyâz and he is in the highest paradise 1070/1659.

(Tr.) The grave of Ghulâm Husain ... date ...
He got a place in the neighbourhood of Husain.
(Tr.) Miya Chālib died 1079/1668.

(Tr.) Death of the pitied and pardoned Wali Ni'mat. 1080/1669.

(Tr.) The nucleus of modesty Jahān Begum died 1082/1671.

(Tr.) The grave of Sayyid Ād al-Āli ibn Sayyid Muhammad Shirazi 1089/1678.

(Tr.) The grave of Āli Muhammad 1090/1679.

(Tr.) Mīrzā Abu'l-Fath was given paradise. 1092/1681.

(Tr.) Like Fath Mīrzā, [he] left this temporary world and settled in peace in the everlasting place. 1093/1682.

(Tr.) The grave of Khwājah Ād al-Rahīm. [He] said that he was taken up[to paradise] by Mustafā 1095/1683.
The grave of Shāh Muhammad son of Shaikh .... servant of Nawab Khānzād Khān, resident of Lahore. 1095/1683.

Kalima-yi-tayyibah.
Written by Sayyid ʿAlī 1097/1685.

The centre of forgiveness of the servants of paradise. The resting place of Mīrzā Muhammad Maʿazzam. 1097/1685.

The most mediocre beggar ʿUthmān son of Yūsuf 1098/1686.

The inscription is Qur'ānic in thulth; it consists of verses 19, 20, 24, 29 and 30 of sūra lxvii, al-Mulk, and also the following in nastāʿlīq:

Written by Sayyid Muhammad ʿAlī, on the 27th of the month of Shawwāl al-Mukarram 1111/1699 Hajjī Ramdān died.
INSCRIPTION No. 204 Tomb of Hajji Ramgan.

photograph: Lahore Museum.
لا إشان
سن وزات 1111 هـ
والحمد لله رب العالمين
لتكباث واليه انتيب
كتبت كهد امفس عني عنده

(Tr:) Lāla Ḵān.
Year of death 1111.
All praises to Allah, Who is the master of
all the worlds. I depend on Him and seek
His help.
Written by Muhammad Ahsan.

طلبه محبة ازغيب صائغت
سمعارت جاورانی ياست الله
311 هـ

(Tr:) The angel clearly said from a hidden place
ＢＢＢＢＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩＩΙ

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) Amīr Beg, the pitied, migrated from the temporary
abode to the permanent abode with truth and dignity.
1124/1712.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.

(Tr:) The pitied Ghulām Husain ibn Pīr Dād merchant of
Multān. 1115/1701.
امین الدین امیر
سال مقیمیت و ادخال الجنّات او
1137

(Tr:) Amīn al-Dīn Amīr.
The year of his death and entry to paradise: 1127/1715.

چند میر 1132/1719
شتر چند میرجنت شد

(Tr:) Chand Mīr 1132/1719.
The destination of Chand [= moon] Mīr was paradise.

(Tr:) The pitied and pardoned Maulā Bā'ī 1137/1724.

شینین الدین خان 1137 هـ
گنر نزل شینین الدین جنت

(Tr:) Matīn al-Dīn Khān 1137/1724
He said that Matīn al-Dīn landed in paradise.

(Tr:) The pitied Shujaʿ a Khān, may God be kind to him,
Migrated from the temporary abode to the permanent
abode. 1137/1724.

این تبرکبیشین نمیر کردن کر

(Tr:) This grave of stone is that of Faqīr Muhammad known
as Dukhkhkha. 1

1. The word گیک is from dukh گیک lit. worried, dejected, depressed.
(Tr.) Abu'l-Qāsim was wholly a light of truth. 1136/1725.

The pitied, and the mark of pardon, Mihtāb Khān 1139/1726.

(Tr.) The date of the year of bravery was spoken with confidence, and to the martyrs of Karbalā, and Abū Bakr, the glories of religion.

O God! bless the Prophet and Ālī al-Murtadā and Fātimah al-Zahrā, and Hasan, and Husain, and bless also Zain al-‘Abidīn, and Muḥammad al-Baqīr, and Ja’far al-Sādiq, and Mūsā al-Kāzīm, and Ālī al-Zahā, and Muḥammad al-Taqī, and Ālī al-Naqī, and Hasan al-Askarī, and Muhammad al-Mahdī, the possessor of the world. May the salat of Allāh be on them. Saif Jang, whose destination was paradise, holding the hand and a corner of the skirt of Ābās, left [with him] in the month of Dhī Qa’d (sic) 1142/
MAKLĪ: inscription.

O Forgiver of sins

Bismillah

Said Allāh, the High and Praiseworthy

Sūra xvii (Bānī Isrā'īl), 17

Sūra xli (Hā-Mīm al-sajdah), 30-2

Sūra ix (al-Taubah), 21-2.

Allāh, the High and worthy of praise has said the truth.

photograph: Ghafur
(Tr.:) Lala died 1144/1730.

(Ts.:) The pious lady Ma'sūmah sat with Zahrā' he said.

(Ts.:) Sākha bint Afghān Būstān died 1152/1739.

(Ts.:) Mīrza Muhammad Na'im went to the corner of mercy — 1166/1753.

(Ts.:) Death of the pitied Muhammad Taqī son of Khwājah Walī Muhammad, resident of Barzdaht. 1168/1754.

(Ts.:) The light of my eyes Hasan, Husain [and] ⁶⁶Ali
The year of his death was like the remorse of Husain. 1168/1754.

(Ts.:) Death of Wadairū Karīmdād, the pitied, son of Jam ibn Murid Jaungiyah. 1188/1774.
(Tr.) Hasan ʿAlī son of Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Hakīm migrated from this temporary abode to the permanent abode 1189/1775.

(Tr.) The death of the pitied Yār Muhammād Ḵān ᴬfḡān Bābī 1190/1776.

(Tr.) Sayyid ..... joined Ḥusayn and Ḥasan 1190/1776.