

**TARKHAN DYNASTY AT MAKLI HILL,
THATTA (PAKISTAN):
HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE
SELECTED MONUMENTS**

by

MUHAMMAD NAEEM QAZI



**INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR
2010**

**TARKHAN DYNASTY AT MAKLI HILL,
THATTA (PAKISTAN):
HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE
SELECTED MONUMENTS**

by

MUHAMMAD NAEEM QAZI

This dissertation is submitted to the University of Peshawar, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology in partial accomplishment for the degree of PhD in Archaeology.

Approved by:

1. Professor Dr. Taj Ali
Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology
University of Peshawar

Supervisor

- 2.

Internal Examiner

- 3.

External Examiner

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF PESHAWAR

2010

DEDICATION

*This dream of my life comes true because
of my parent's prayers; therefore, I
dedicate this PhD dissertation to them.*

TABLE OF CONTENT

Acknowledgement	vii
List of Figures	xi
List of Plates	xii
Introduction	xxi

CHAPTERS PAGE NO.

Chapter-I	
1. Origin and Nomenclature of Thatta and Makli Hill	1
1.1. Location of Thatta	1
1.2. Nomenclature of Thatta	1
1.3. Origin of Thatta	7
1.4. Location of Makli Hill	22
1.5. Nomenclature of Makli Hill	22
1.6. Origin of Makli	27
Chapter-II	
2. The Tarkhan Dynasty	29
2.1. Genealogy	29
2.2. Historical Background	30
2.2.1. Isa Khan Tarkhan-I	31
2.2.2. Agreement between Isa Khan Tarkhan I and Mehmud Khan Kokaltash	32
2.2.3. Sack of Thatta by the Portuguese	32
2.2.4. Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan	33
2.2.5. Death of Mirza Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan	33
2.2.6. Muhammad Beqi Beg Tarkhan as a Crown Prince	34
2.2.7. Death of Mirza Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I	34
2.2.8. Succession of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan	34
2.2.9. Death of Jan Baba and Mah Begum	35
2.2.10. Sultan Mahmud Kolkaltash's Raid	35
2.2.11. Death of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan	35
2.2.12. Succession of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan	35
2.2.13. Death of Sultan Mahmud Khan Kokaltash of Bakkar	36
2.2.14. Akbar admits Jani Beg's Submission and retaining him the Ruler of Thatta	36
2.2.15. Conflict between Khan-i Khanan and Jani Beg	36
2.2.16. Khusrau Khan Charkas and the Imperial Army	37
2.2.17. Surrender of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan	38
2.2.18. Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan retains his position at Thatta	38
2.2.19. Death of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan	38
2.2.20. Succession of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan	39
2.2.21. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's Expedition to Qandahar	39
2.2.22. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's Relations with Emperor Jahangir	39
2.2.23. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's Relations with Shah Abbass of Persia	40
2.2.24. Death of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan	40
2.2.25. Succession of Mirza Abdul Ali Beg Tarkhan II	40
2.2.26. Tarkhans as a governors over Thatta under the Mughals	41

Chapter-III

3. The Origin and Development of Tomb Architecture at Makli Hill Thatta	43
3.1. Aims of the present Research work	43
3.2. Origin & Developmental Comparative Analysis	45
3.3. Description of the selected mausoleums at Makli Hill	64
3.3.1. Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan	64
3.3.1.1. Location	64
3.3.1.2. Tomb Chamber	64
3.3.1.3. Southern Façade	65
3.3.1.4. Arches at the Angles	66
3.3.1.5. Cordinal arches	66
3.3.1.6. Inner Side	66
3.3.1.7. Dado level	66
3.3.1.8. Cornice Moulding	67
3.3.1.9. Squinches	67
3.3.1.10. Zone of transition	67
3.3.1.11. Domical Ceiling	67
3.3.1.12. Drum	67
3.3.1.13. Dome	68
3.3.2. Jani Beg Tarkhan	68
3.3.2.1. Plan	68
3.3.2.2. Compound Wall	68
3.3.2.3. Entrance to the compound wall	69
3.3.2.4. Courtyard	69
3.3.2.5. Mehrab	69
3.3.2.6. Archways	70
3.3.2.7. Staircases	70
3.3.2.8. Platform	70
3.3.2.9. Inner side	71
3.3.2.10. Inner platform	71
3.3.2.11. Cornice moulding	71
3.3.2.12. Squinches	71
3.3.2.13. Zone of Transition	72
3.3.2.14. Domical ceiling	72
3.3.2.15. Drum	73
3.3.3. Diwan Shurafa Khan	73
3.3.3.1. Enclosure wall	73
3.3.3.2. Entrance	73
3.3.3.3. Mehrab	73
3.3.3.4. Platform	75
3.3.3.5. Tomb Chamber	75
3.3.3.6. Archways	75
3.3.3.7. Turrets	76
3.3.3.8. Inner Side	76
3.3.3.9. Squinches	76
3.3.3.10. Domical Ceiling	76
3.3.3.11. Parapet	77
3.3.3.12. Drum	77

3.3.3.13. Dome	77
3.3.4. Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkas alias Satcharni	77
3.3.4.1. Location	77
3.3.4.2. Historical Background	77
3.3.4.3. Plan	78
3.3.4.4. Platform	78
3.3.4.5. Outer Walls	78
3.3.4.6. Entrances	79
3.3.4.7. Western side arcaded vestibule	79
3.3.4.8. Tomb Chamber	79
3.3.4.9. Octagonal chambers at the angles	80
3.3.4.10. Dome	81
3.3.4.11. Concept of Satcharni	81
3.3.5. Isa Khan Tarkhan II	81
3.3.5.1. Location	81
3.3.5.2. Historical Background	82
3.3.5.3. Plan	82
3.3.5.4. Compound Wall	82
3.3.5.5. Entrance	83
3.3.5.6. Inner façade of the Eastern Arch	84
3.3.5.7. Courtyard	85
3.3.5.8. Southern side arch alcove	85
3.3.5.9. Northern side arch alcove	86
3.3.5.10. Mehrab of the compound wall	87
3.3.5.11. Platform	88
3.3.5.12. Arch entrances to the verandah	88
3.3.5.13. Lower Pillared verandah	89
3.3.5.14. Staircases	90
3.3.5.15. Upper pillared verandah	91
3.3.5.16. Post railing (Muttaka Vedica)	91
3.3.5.17. Outer facing of the tomb chamber	92
3.3.5.18. Entrance to the tomb chamber	92
3.3.5.19. Tomb Chamber	92
3.3.5.20. The lower storey of the tomb chamber	92
3.3.5.21. Squinch system	93
3.3.5.22. Dome construction	93
 Chapter-IV	
4. The Origin and Development of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill	95
4.1. Aims of the Present Research Work	95
4.2. Nomenclature of Chaukhandi	99
4.3. Origin and the Developmental Comparative analysis	106
4.4. Description of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill	121
4.4.1. Chaukhandi of Khwaja Khalil better known Nawab Amir Khan Khalil	121
4.4.1.1. Location	121
4.4.1.2. Historical background	121
4.4.1.3. Pillars	121
4.4.1.4. Brackets	121
4.4.1.5. Domical ceiling	122

4.4.2. Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of the Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure.	122
4.4.2.1.Platform	122
4.4.2.2.Pillars	122
4.4.2.3.Lintels	123
4.4.2.4.Chajja	123
4.4.2.5.Parapet	123
4.4.2.6.Dome	124
4.4.2.7.Domical ceiling	124
4.4.3. Chaukhandi of Badi-uz-Zaman	124
4.4.3.1.Location	124
4.4.3.2.Historical background	124
4.4.3.3.Pillars	124
4.4.3.4.Capital	125
4.4.3.5.Brackets	125
4.4.3.6.Lintels	126
4.4.3.7.Domical ceiling	126
4.4.3.8.Dome	126
4.4.4. Chaukhandi of Muhammad Quli	126
4.4.4.1. Location:	126
4.4.4.2. Historical background	126
4.4.4.3. Plan	127
4.4.4.4. Plinth	127
4.4.4.5. Pillars	127
4.4.4.6. Capital	127
4.4.4.7. Brackets	127
4.4.4.8. Lintels	128
4.4.4.9. Chajja	128
4.4.4.10. Parapet	128
4.4.4.11. Domical ceiling	128
4.4.4.12. Dome	128
4.4.5. Pir A'saat Makhdum Arabi alias Qazi Ahmad Al-Mulk	128
4.4.5.1.Location	128
4.4.5.2.Historical background	128
4.4.5.3.Plan	129
4.4.5.4.Platform	129
4.4.5.5.Pillars	129
4.4.5.6.Zone of transition	130
4.4.5.7.Domical ceiling	130
4.4.5.8.Parapet	130
4.4.5.9.Dome	130
4.4.6. Unknown Chaukhandi to the north of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan's Tomb	130
4.4.6.1.Platform	130
4.4.6.2.Pillars	130
4.4.6.3.Domical Ceiling	131
4.4.6.4.Chajja	131
4.4.6.5.Dome	131
4.4.7. Chaukhandi of Mirza Tughrel Beg	131
4.4.7.1. Location	131

4.4.7.2.	Historical Background	132
4.4.7.3.	Platform	132
4.4.7.4.	Pillars	132
4.4.7.5.	Lintels	133
4.4.7.6.	Pent	133
4.4.7.7.	Parapet	133
4.4.7.8.	Squinch system	133
4.4.7.9.	Domical ceiling	133
4.4.7.10.	Drum	133
4.4.7.11.	Dome	134
4.4.7.12.	Mosque Enclosure	134
4.4.8.	Chaukhandi of Murad Nizamuddin	135
4.4.8.1.	Location	135
4.4.8.2.	Historical Background	135
4.4.8.3.	Platform	135
4.4.8.4.	Pillars	135
4.4.8.5.	Zone of Transition	136
4.4.8.6.	Domical ceiling	137
4.4.8.7.	Chajja	137
4.4.8.8.	Parapet	137
4.4.8.9.	Dome	137
4.4.9.	Interconnected Chaukhandi of Jan Baba Tarkhan	137
4.4.9.1.	Location	137
4.4.9.2.	Historical background	137
4.4.9.3.	Pillared verandah	138
4.4.9.4.	Main Entrance	139
4.4.9.5.	Exterior enclosure wall	140
4.4.9.6.	Parapet	141
4.4.9.7.	Inner Façade of the Entrance	142
4.4.9.8.	Inner Wall	143
4.4.9.9.	Mehrab	144
4.4.9.10.	Inter connected Chaukhandis	145
4.4.9.11.	Parapet	146
4.4.9.12.	Zone of Transition	146
4.4.9.13.	Dome	146
 Chapter-V		
5.	The Architectural Decoration at Makli Hill	147
5.1.	Aims of the present research work	147
5.2.	Analysis of the Decorative works at Makli Hill:	149
5.2.1.	Stone Carving	150
5.2.2.	Fretwork	151
5.2.3.	Technique of Brick Imitation Work	153
5.2.4.	Glazed Tiles Work	154
5.2.5.	Stucco-Lustro Technique	156
5.2.6.	Stucco Stalactite Work	156
5.3.	Theme of decoration	157
5.3.1.	Lotus flower	161
5.3.2.	Rosettes	164
5.3.3.	Sunflower	166

5.3.4. Palmette	169
5.3.5. Vases	171
5.3.6. Floral Medallions	173
5.3.7. Spoke Wheel Design	174
5.3.8. David Star	176
5.3.9. Swastika design	177
5.4. The Art of Figural Representation at Makli Hill	179
5.4.1. Origin and Developmental comparative analysis	179
5.5. Calligraphic specimens at Makli Hill	183
5.6. Calligraphic Styles at Makli Hill	184
5.6.1. Naskh	184
5.6.2. Khat-e-Nastalique	185
5.6.3. Thulth	185
5.6.4. Khat-e-Gulzar	186
Chapter-VI	
6. Comparison & Conclusion	188
7. Bibliography	218
8. Index	228

Acknowledgments

It is a sterling fact that during the accomplishment of any research work, proper guide line, suggestions and moral support are playing a vital role. These altogether encourages the researcher to the substantial length. Taking the opportunity, I would like to express my gratitude to all those who very kindly responded to my requests in the preparation of this dissertation.

During the course of Data collection and it's processing my supervisor Prof. Dr. Taj Ali ex-Chairman Department Archaeology and ex-Dean Faculty of Arts University of Peshawar, made scholarly suggestions. His encouragement and proper guidance has made my job very easy. It may be pointed out that without his special care and attention I won't have been able to carry out this research work with interest and enthusiasm. Therefore, my special gratitude and indebt thanks are due for Prof. Dr. Taj Ali for his pains taking efforts during the accomplishment of this dissertation.

The then Chairman Department of Archaeology University of Peshawar Prof. Dr. Muhammad Farooq Swati had provided every facility when required. He allowed the department vehicle, Mr. Asad Ali Incharge Photographic Section and Mr. Muhammad Naeem Surveyor cum draughtsman to support me in the photographic and drawings documentation. Thus, my special thanks are due for his kind support and encouragement.

The support and help of Mr. Asad Ali and Mr. Muhammad Naeem Bacha both in field and in the department were indeed remarkable. Therefore, my thanks are due for their sincere encouragement and affiliations.

Besides, my thanks are also due for Prof. Dr. Abdur Rehman ex-Chairman Department of Archaeology University of Peshawar, Dr. Saifur Rehman Dar ex-Director General Punjab Archaeology, Dr. Anjum Rehmani ex-Director Lahore Museum, Prof. Dr. Ihsan Ali ex-Chairman and presently the Vice Chancellor of Khan Abdul Wali Khan University of Mardan, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan ex-Director General Department of Archaeology, they guided and encouraged me at every step.

Moreover, my gratitude is also due for Mr. Mukhtar Ali Durrani, Dr. Ibrahim Shah, Mr. Nidaullah Serahi and Dr. Zakirullah Jan for their sincere help and support.

I am also very grateful to my students of this Department, such as, Miss Amna Saeed, Mr. Mir Muhammad, Mr. Bakht Muhammad Assistant Curator City Museum Gor Khuttree Peshawar, Mr. Imtiaz Khan Khattak, Mr. Ihsanullah Jan Lecturer Archaeology Department Hazara University Mansehra, Mr. Muhammad Zia Kawish, Mr. Jan Muhammad, Mr. Nadir

Shah, Miss Raina Shah, Mr. Wajid Majeed, Mr. Mehmud, Mr. Noman and Mr. Zarqawar Khan Gallery Assistant Hund Museum Swabi, who helped me during the course of books collection in the libraries, typing and in the reading of the text.

My special thanks are due for Mr. Nawaz-ud-Din Gallery Assistant Peshawar Museum, Peshawar who with utmost devotion has typed this document and also supported me in the arrangements of photographs. It is important to make a mention here that since I am suffering from the low vision problem, therefore, without his help my task would have been remained incomplete, therefore, I offer my in-depth gratitude for his sincere support.

Besides, I am also thankful to Prof. Dr. Nasim Khan Director Institute of Archaeology & Anthropology University of Peshawar and Dr. Gul Rahim Khan Assistant Professor Institute of Archaeology & Anthropology University of Peshawar, who have provided me source books from their own collection, as well from the British Museum library. Their encouragement and moral support has made me one step closer to the inquestion issue.

In the collection of various books and research journals in the different libraries of the country many friends and students have very cordially arranged every facility in order to find out research literature. In this connection, Miss Humera Alam Curator Lahore Museum, Mr. Amanat Ali Librarian Lahore Fort Lahore, Mr. Meherban Ali Director National Museum Karachi, Mr. Muhammad Shah Bukhari Assistant Director National Museum Karachi, the staff of the Central Library University of Peshawar similarly, the staff of Area Study Centre Library and also the staff of Peshawar Museum Library furthermore, the staff members of the Seminar Library Department of Archaeology University of Peshawar, such as, Janat Naeem Librarian, Imtiaz Ahmad Library Attendant likewise, the research students of this department, such as, Sabika Batool and others have made their sincere efforts to help me in the searching of different books relating the at issue topic.

I am really thankful to Dr. Asma Ibrahim the then Director of National Museum Karachi, who introduced me with Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari (Senior Bureaucrat and Research Scholar), who invited me to his library of the Sukkur Historical Society, where source material was provided. Moreover, various aspects of the concerned topic were discussed. For the exchange of very useful informations I will remain grateful to him.

It is utmost pertinent to make a mention here that different staff members from the Department of Archaeology and Museums Government of Pakistan such as, Qasim Ali

Qasimi the then Director Southern Circle (2002-2003), Dr. Muhammad Arif Director Southern Circle during (2008), have made my visits possible to the Makli Hill by providing me the rest house facility at the archaeological site of Makli Hill, which made my job so easy. Besides, Mr. Jatoi Curator Archaeological site of Makli Hill Mr. Nawab Ali Kazmi Curator of the above stated site have very sincerity provided me all the possible facilities. Therefore, I am really grateful for their sincere support and encouragement.

Besides, my personal Assistant Wajid Ali has helped me in the scanning of different photographs, moreover, he also helped me in the completion of drawings. Therefore, I acknowledge his valuable efforts during the completion of this research work.

My special thanks are due for my group fallows like Mr. Khurshid Ahmad Sheikh Logistic Officer National Programme Primary Health Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sajjad Ali Orakzai Management Director Institute of Fine Arts Peshawar Dr. Farid Akhtar, Mr. Anwar-ul-Haq, Chaudhary Ansar Mehmud Mr. Khalid Rafan, Mr. Fazal Sher Admin Officer University of Peshawar, Mr. Saifullah Khan Assistant Registrar Academic Section University of Peshawar have very enthusiastically supported me at every step when required. It may be further added here that Mr. Khurshid Ahmad Sheikh has always encouraged and helped me during the course of reading and typing of the different issues concerning to my dissertation. His presence at every step has made me more courageous and enthusiastic regarding the inquestion topic.

I would love to make a mention of my family members such as, my brothers, Dr. Muhammad Saleem, Engineer Muhammad Hasan my most dearest sister Mrs. Lieutenant Colonel M.A. Jawad and my lovely brother in law, they always remained very encouraging, sincere and devoted in their behaviour at every next step of my work. They were always praying for my success. Besides, Shahid Tahir and Mr. Junaid Tahir have also shown their sincerity and moral support during the completion of this task.

It is indeed significant to make a mention here that the admirable and encouraging attitude of my very friendly wife, who always took me away from the domestic affairs, moreover, her pains taking efforts during my research work, which always encouraged me at every step. Furthermore, her moral support sincerity, affiliation, devotion and dedication made me more enthusiastic and energetic. Besides, my three kids Muhammad Anees (Student of class 6th), Muhammad Hissan (Student of Class 4th) and Muhammad Muzamil Muji (Student of prep class), were all the time very lovely in their behaviour, moreover, their smiley and naughty gestures made me very fresh and energetic.

This entire credit goes to my very lovely parents, who all the time encourages me through their prayers and moral support. The scholarly guide line of my father ex-Deputy Director Northern Circle Department of Archaeology and Museums Government of Pakistan remained a great source of inspiration. I personally believe that it is because of my parents day night prayers, which really helped me in the fulfilment of this great task of my life.

At the end I would like to share my heartedly gratitude to every one who despite of my short comings have encouraged me, moreover, since suffering from the low vision problem, therefore, without their support the task would have been remained incomplete. In this connection, I will always pray for their good health and future success, may God bless them all for their admirable sincerities, Ameen.

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig.1. Map of Sindh Province (Lari, 1997: fig. 4).
Fig.2. Map of Makli Hill (Nadeim, 2002: 93).
Fig.3. Map of Makli Hill Monuments (Lari, 1997: fig. 5).
Fig.4. Ground plan of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb at Makli Hill (Dani, 1982: fig.7).
Fig.5. Sectional elevation of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.6. Ground plan of Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb at Makli Hill (Dani, 1982: pl. 128).
Fig.7. Ground plan of Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb at Makli Hill (Dani, 1982: pl.132).
Fig.8. Sectional elevation of Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.9. Ground plan of Satcharni at Makli Hill (Dani, 1982: fig. 6).
Fig.10. Ground plan of Sayyed Uthman Rauza at Uthmanpur Gujarat (Bunce, 2001: pl. 24).
Fig.11. Ground plan of Ibrahim Rauza at Bijapur (Bunce, 2001: pl. 61).
Fig.12. Ground plan of Mubarak Sayyed Tomb at Muhammadabad, Gujarat (Bunce, 2001: pl. 29).
Fig.13. Ground plan of Isa Khan Tarkhan II at Makli Hill (Hasan, S.K., 1997: fig. 4).
Fig.14. Ground plan of Sūrya Temple I at Modherā (Rowland, 1953: 27).
Fig.15. Ground plan of Sūrya Temple II at Modherā (Rowland, 1953: 27).
Fig.16. Ground plan of Jain Temple at Virawah in Nagarparkar (Nadiem, 2001: 241).
Fig.17. Ground plan of Jam Tamachi Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill (Lari, 1997: 98).
Fig.18. Sectional elevation of Jam Tamachi Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill (Lari, 1997: 98).
Fig.19. Ground plan of Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I at Makli Hill.
Fig.20. Ground plan of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil Chaukhandi tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.21. Sectional elevation of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.22. Ground plan of Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.23. Sectional elevation of Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.24. Ground plan of Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.25. Sectional elevation of Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.26. Ground plan of Navalakhā Temple at Sejakpur (Harle, 1986: fig. 163).
Fig.27. Ground plan of Jain Temple No. II at Bodhesar in Nagarparkar (Nadiem, 2001: 236).
Fig.28. Ground plan and section of the porch domical ceiling in the Maipuri Masjid at Somanātha Pātān (Cousens, 1931: XIX).
Fig.29. Ground plan of Sheikh Hamad Jamali Khanqah at Makli Hill (Lari, 1997: 98).
Fig.30. Ground plan of Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.31. Sectional elevation of Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.32. Ground plan of the Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.33. Ground plan of Aihole Temple at Lād Khān (Harle, 1986: fig. 130).
Fig.34. Ground plan of Jahan Begum Chaukhandi Tomb at Ainapur in Bejapur (Bunce, 2004: pl. 75).
Fig.35. Ground plan of Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.36. Sectional elevation of Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi Tomb at Makli Hill.
Fig.37. Ground plan of Jan Baba interconnected Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill.

LIST OF PLATES

- Pl.1.a. Samiran, Octagonal Tomb Tower (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 62, pl. 6)
Pl.1.b. Kharaqan, Octagonal Tomb Towers (Hillenbrand, 2005: pl. 82)
Pl.1.c. Baluchistan, Sibi, Unknown Tomb at Mithri (Hasan, S. K., 2001: pl. 9)
Pl.1.d. Multan, Tomb of Shah Rukn-e-Alam.
Pl.1.e. Sultaniya, Tomb of Chelebi-Oghlu (Pope & Ackerman, 1930: pl.354)
Pl.1.f. Sunqur Tomb Tower (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: pl.134)
Pl.1.g. Makli Hill, Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan.
Pl.1.h. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb enclosure, northern side view.
Pl.1.i. Delhi, Nila Gombad. (Nath, 1982: pl.3)
Pl.1.j. Delhi, Subz Burj. (Nath, 1982: pl.5)
Pl.2.a. Sukkur, Alor, Khatal ud-Din tomb (Mayi Suhagan), (Khan, A. N., 1997: pl.19)
Pl.2.b. Sindh, Thul Mir Rukan stūpa,. (Cousens, 1982: pl.10)
Pl.3.a. Lal Mahra Sharif, Tomb No.4. (Ali, T., 1988: pl.26)
Pl.3.b. Multan, Tomb of Baha-ud Din Zakariya.
Pl.4.a. Makli Hill, Tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan.
Pl.4.b. Bukhara. Ismail Samanid Tomb. (Brend, 1991: pl. 44)
Pl.4.c. Lal Mahra Sharif Tomb No.4. (Ali, T., 1988: pl. 13)
Pl.5.a. Makli Hill, Satcharni, western Side View.
Pl.5.b. Makli Hill, Satcharni, View of the southwestern octagonal chamber.
Pl.6.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, eastern side view.
Pl.6.b. Makli Hill, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II, main entrance.
Pl.6.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II.
Pl.7.a. Champavati, Balesvra Temple. (Marshall, 1990: pl. II.b)
Pl.7.b. Makli Hill, Chaukhandi Tomb of Jam Tamachi.
Pl.7.c. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb, near Darya Khan Tomb enclosure.
Pl.7.d. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, Tomb enclosure.
Pl.7.e. Makli Hill, Chaukhandi Tomb of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil.
Pl.7.f. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb.
Pl.7.g. Makli Hill, Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi Tomb.
Pl.8. Makli Hill, Murad Nizam-ud-Din's Chaukhandi Tomb.
Pl.9.a. Nagarparkar, Gorī Temple. (Nadiem, 2001: 246)
Pl.9.b. Makli Hill, Chaukhandi of Qazi Ahmad, eastern side.
Pl.9.c. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan, south side.
Pl.9.d. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg's Chaukhandi, south eastern side.
Pl.10.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, southern side.
Pl.10.b. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, southern entrance, view from the outer side.
Pl.10.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, southern entrance, view from the inner side.
Pl.10.d. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, view of the parapet.
Pl.10.e. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, interconnected Chaukhandi Tombs view from south eastern side.
Pl.10.f. Sejakpur, Śiva Temple 11th century A.D (Cousens, 1931: pl. LXIV).
Pl.10.g. Ittagi, Mahādeva Temple, interconnected canopies A.D. 1112 (Cousens, 1982: pl.25)
Pl.10.h. Delhi, Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque Complex, cloisters arranged in interconnected Chaukhandi shape. (Sahai, 2004: 12-13)
Pl.10.i. Mangrol, Jamia Masjid near Bandar (Cousens, 1931: pl. 86).

- Pl.10.j. Hansi, Qutb Jamal-ud Din, view of the interconnected Chaukhandi Tomb (Garrick, 1883-84: pl. VII).
- Pl.11.a. Makli Hill, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan, view of the pointed shape double dome.
- Pl.11.b. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, view of the pointed shape double dome.
- Pl.11.c. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, details of the inner shell and remains of the outer shell.
- Pl.12. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi tomb, view of the onion shape dome.
- Pl.13. Makli Hill, Unknown Tomb to the southeast of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan, fluted dome on the eastern ivan.
- Pl.14.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, view of the flanged shape dome crowned by Kalaśa.
- Pl.14.b. Sava, Tomb of Imamzada Sayyid Ishaq, showing flanged shape dome. (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 146 pl. 90)
- Pl.15.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, roof is showing terraced and round shape domes.
- Pl.15.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, south eastern side, showing cluster of round shape domes.
- Pl.16.a. Makli Hill, Chaukhandi Tomb of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil, detail of the domical ceiling.
- Pl.16.b. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the domical ceiling.
- Pl.16.c. Makli Hill, Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi Tombs, domical ceiling.
- Pl.16.d. Mount Abu, Tejapala Temple, center of the domical ceiling is showing a pendant element (Cousens, 1982: pl. 36)
- Pl.16.e. Somanātha Pātān , Maipuri Masjid, domical ceiling with pendent design (Cousens, 1931: Pl.18).
- Pl.16.f. Delhi Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, cloister showing detail of the domical ceiling (Sahai, 2004; 20).
- Pl.16.g. Makli Hill, Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi, detail of the domical ceiling.
- Pl.16.h. Makli Hill, Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi, domical ceiling showing pendent design.
- Pl.17.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, domical ceiling of the central Chaukhandi.
- Pl.17.b. Makli Hill, Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi tomb, domical ceiling.
- Pl.17.c. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi tomb, domical ceiling.
- Pl.17.d. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, western side verandah, balconies showing domical ceilings.
- Pl.18.a. Sangbast, Tomb of Arslan Jadhib, domical ceiling showing chevron design. (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: pl.15)
- Pl.18.b. Isfahan, Masjid-i-Jami, ceiling showing chevron design A.D. 1080 (Pope, 1930: pl. 297)
- Pl.18.c. Makli Hill, Tomb of Hamshira Fateh Khan, domical ceiling, showing chevron design.
- Pl.18.d. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, domical ceiling showing chevron design.
- Pl.18.e. Makli Hill, Baqi Beg Uzbek tomb enclosure, domical ceiling showing chevron design.
- Pl.19. Makli Hill, Unknown tomb to the southeast of Sultan Ibrahim Tarkhan, central domical ceiling of the eastern ivan, showing stucco stalactite work.
- Pl.20. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, western side verandah, detail of the ceiling.
- Pl.21.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, lower verandah southern side, left side of arch showing stalagmite element.

- Pl.21.b. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan, mehrab of the enclosure wall, bracket is provided with a stalagmite element.
- Pl.21.c. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, detail of the north western side stalagmite element.
- Pl.21.d. Swat, A Buddhist Panel from Saidu Sharif Museum, showing stalagmite elements hanging downwards. (Khan, F.A., 1969: 96)
- Pl.22.a. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan I Tomb, detail of the brackets.
- Pl.22.b. Makli Hill. Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi, detail of the bracket capital.
- Pl.22.c. Makli Hill, Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi Tomb, View of the brackets.
- Pl.23.a. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb, to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan, view of the brackets.
- Pl.23.b. Makli Hill, Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the brackets.
- Pl.23.c. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb, to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, inner side view of the brackets.
- Pl.24. Makli Hill, Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the inner side bracket.
- Pl.25.a. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, view of the exterior bracket.
- Pl.25.b. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the outer brackets.
- Pl.25.c. Makli Hill, Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the exterior bracket.
- Pl.26.a. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, view of the squinch.
- Pl.26.b. Makli Hill, Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi Tomb, detail of the squinch.
- Pl.26.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II Tomb, detail of the squinch.
- Pl.26.d. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, view of the north eastern squinch.
- Pl.26.e. Bukhara, Ismail Samanid Tomb, view of the squinch. (Pope, 1965: pl. 79)
- Pl.27. Makli Hill, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb, view of the three lined squinch.
- Pl.28.a. Gurgan, Imam Zada Nur Tomb Tower, squinch showing honey comb design. (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 189, pl.133).
- Pl.28.b. Makli Hill, Satcharni, view of the squinch.
- Pl.29.a. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, zone of transition showing intersecting arch squinches.
- Pl.29.b. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the intersecting arch squinches.
- Pl.29.c. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, view of the intersecting arch squinches.
- Pl.30. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, first canopy from western side, view of the squinches.
- Pl.31. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II Tomb, northern side verandah, view of the squinches.
- Pl.32.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Tomb, view of the mehrab (Dani, 1982: 103, pl. 36).
- Pl.32.b. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, detail of the mehrab façade.
- Pl.32.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the mehrab alcove.
- Pl.33.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, mehrab of the western enclosure wall.
- Pl.33.b. Isfahan, Jamia Masjid, arch entrance to the prayer chamber showing honeycomb design (Irwin, 1997: pl.58)
- Pl.34. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, view of the enclosure wall mehrab.
- Pl.35. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, view of the enclosure wall mehrab.
- Pl.36.a. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, view of the tomb chamber mehrab.
- Pl.36.b. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, inner details of the enclosure wall mehrab.

- Pl.37. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, ladies enclosure, showing a cusped arch recessed panel.
- Pl.38. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, eastern side recessed arch panel.
- Pl.39. Makli Hill, Badi-u-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb, showing corbelled arch recessed panel.
- Pl.40. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II Tomb, arch with spear-head design.
- Pl.41. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, southern side showing perforated arch ventilator above the doorway.
- Pl.42. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, tomb chamber outer side arch panel showing fret Work.
- Pl.43. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, southern side entrance to the tomb chamber.
- Pl.44. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, upper verandah, north western side, perforated ventilator showing David stars linked by cross symbols.
- Pl.45. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, lower verandah, southern side, a perforated ventilator showing swastika motif.
- Pl.46. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, lower verandah provided with arch ventilator showing intersecting squares and octagons.
- Pl.47. Makli Hill, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb, showing a perforated ventilator and Quranic verses in thulth style above the main entrance.
- Pl.48. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, western side, upper verandah, showing a balcony with muttaka vedikā.
- Pl.49.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Tomb, details of the right side pilarette to the mehrab.
- Pl.49.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, details of the left side pilarette to the enclosure wall mehrab.
- Pl.49.c. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, enclosure wall mehrab showing upper part of the pilarette.
- Pl.49.d. Makli Hill, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb, eastern entrance to the enclosure wall showing a pillarette.
- Pl.50.a. Makli Hill, Darya Khan Tomb enclosure, eastern entrance, close view of the balcony.
- Pl.50.b. Makli Hill, Darya Khan Tomb enclosure, southern entrance, view of the balcony.
- Pl.51. Makli Hill, Qus-as-Sultani Tomb, detail of the balcony above the eastern entrance.
- Pl.52.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, entrance to the enclosure wall view of the left side balcony.
- Pl.52.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, northern enclosure wall, left side of the arch alcove is showing a balcony.
- Pl.52.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, northern enclosure wall, right side of the arch alcove, details of the lower portion of a balcony.
- Pl.52.d. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, western enclosure wall, left side of the mehrab, details of the balcony.
- Pl.52.e. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southern enclosure wall, left side of the alcove arch showing parrot shaped brackets supporting the balcony.
- Pl.52.f. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, left side of the southern entrance showing a bracket supporting the balcony.
- Pl.53.a. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg, arch panel showing spandrels executed with sunflower medallions enclosed by a single border band of lozenges.
- Pl.53.b. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg, spandrel showing palmette motif engraved in relief.
- Pl.53.c. Makli Hill, Baqi Beg Uzbek tomb enclosure, spandrel showing floral interlacing.

- Pl.53.e. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel depicting floral arabesque.
- Pl.53.f. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel illustrating floral arabesque.
- Pl.54.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel with intersecting octagonal interlacing.
- Pl.54.b. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel showing intersecting octagonal and hexagonal stars.
- Pl.54.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel showing geometrical and floral designs.
- Pl.54.d. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel showing swastika in interlacing shape.
- Pl.54.e. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel showing geometrical design.
- Pl.54.f. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan, spandrel showing geometrical interlacing, depicting hexagonal stars filled with a knob.
- Pl.54.g. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi tomb, spandrel showing diamond design bordered by endless knotted band.
- Pl.54.h. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi tomb, spandrel showing cross symbols.
- Pl.55.a. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, mosque enclosure showing floral scrolls.
- Pl.55.b. Makli Hill, Hansa Bai tomb enclosure, knotted type motif filled with floral design.
- Pl.56.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, floral interlacing showing palm leaves.
- Pl.56.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, showing floral interlacing.
- Pl.57.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, floral medallion.
- Pl.57.b. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, sunflower medallion depicting triangular petals.
- Pl.57.c. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, arch panel showing similarity to Pl.58.b. except outer wavy circle.
- Pl.57.d. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi tomb, cusped arch panel, filled with a sunflower medallion supported by a rosette stand.
- Pl.57.e. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, sunflower showing pointed petals with a knob at the centre.
- Pl.58.a. Amarāvati Stūpa, double tiered lotus medallion (Knox, 1992: pl.110).
- Pl.58.b. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, sunflower medallion, bordered by tiny petals.
- Pl.58.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southern enclosure wall left side balcony showing a sunflower medallion encircled by palmette scroll band.
- Pl.58.d. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, stepped shape lozenge filled with sunflower medallion encircled by palmette scroll band.
- Pl.59.a. Amarāvati Stūpa, three tiered lotus medallion (Knox, 1992: pl. 17).
- Pl.59.b. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, head stone depicting three tiered lotus flower medallion.
- Pl.59.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi tomb, three tiered sunflower medallion.
- Pl.59.d. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, representing a three tiered stylised sunflower medallion.
- Pl.59.e. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II Tomb, showing a three tiered stylised sunflower medallion.
- Pl.59.f. Amarāvati Stūpa, a stylised multi-tiered floral medallion (Knox, 1992: 178, pl. 99).
- Pl.59.g. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, stepped lozenges filled with three tiered sunflower medallions.
- Pl.60.a.i. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, sunflower medallion showing flanged and pointed petals.
- Pl.60.a.ii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, trefoil arch panel filled with a sunflower medallion supported by a palmette stand.
- Pl.60.a.iii. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, arch panel showing sunflower medallion and cross symbols.

- Pl.60.a.iv. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, trefoil arch panel, filled with floral medallion supported by palmette stand.
- Pl.60.a.v. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, trefoil arch panel, filled with a sunflower medallion supported by a palmette stand.
- Pl.60.a.vi. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, inner side grave platform, southern side depicting trefoil arch panel with sunflower medallion.
- Pl.60.a.vii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Tomb, trefoil arch panel, filled with sunflower medallion.
- Pl.60.b.i. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, two tiered sunflower medallion the inner petals in flanged shape.
- Pl.60.b.ii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan tomb, two tiered sunflower medallion, outer tier showing multi layered petals.
- Pl.60.b.iii. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, two tiered sunflower medallion inner petals are flanged and outer are slightly pointed.
- Pl.60.b.iv. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, showing two tiered sunflower medallion, outer tier depicting concave petals.
- Pl.60.b.v. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, two tiered sunflower medallion.
- Pl.60.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi tomb, two tiered sunflower medallion the outer one in flanged shape.
- Pl.60.d.i. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, two ringed sunflower medallion with sharply flanged shaped petals.
- Pl.60.d.ii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, panel showing floral medallion, to its right fish scale and on left net shape designs.
- Pl.60.d.iii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, showing double ringed sunflower medallion with low flanged petals.
- Pl.60.d.iv. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, twin sunflower medallion.
- Pl.61.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, floral medallion with fan shape petals.
- Pl.61.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, inner side grave platform showing arch panel filled with stylised fan shape floral medallion.
- Pl.61.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, arch panel showing two tiered sunflower medallion inner one showing in fan shape.
- Pl.62.a. Murtazi Ganj, Patna Group, ring or disc stones, showing lotus flower (in spoke wheel design). (Gupta, 1980: pl. 33.a & 33).
- Pl.62.b. Peshawar Museum, Acc. No; PM_02782, 1st Sermon Showing a Wheel Symbol (in spoke wheel design). (Ali & Qazi, 2008: 130).
- Pl.62.c. Taxila Museum, First Sermon showing a wheel symbol (in spoke wheel design). (Khan, M. A. et al., 2006: pl.26).
- Pl.62.d. Taxila, Sirkup, seal showing spoke wheel design (Marshall, 2006: pl. 261).
- Pl.62.e. Taxila, Sirkup, seal showing spoke wheel design (Marshall, 2006: pl. 264).
- Pl.62.f. Mol Valley, ruins showing spoke wheel design (Cousens, 1929: pl. III).
- Pl.62.g. Makli Hill, Madrasah Sheikh Hamad Jamali, pillar showing half spoke wheel design.
- Pl.62.h. Makli Hill, Tomb of Hamshira Fateh Khan, door jamb is showing spoke wheel design.
- Pl.62.i. Makli Hill, Qus-as Sultani, lower part of pilarette, showing half spoke wheel design.
- Pl.62.j. Makli Hill, a grave near Hamshira Fateh Khan, showing spoke wheel design (Lari, 1997: pl. 16).
- Pl.62.k. Hasan Sirhani graveyard, grave showing spoke wheel design (Hastenrath, 2003: 25).

- Pl.62.l. Hasan Sirhani graveyard, cenotaph showing spoke wheel design (Hastenrath,2003: 26).
- Pl.62.n. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan I Tomb, pillar base, showing spoke wheel design.
- Pl.62.m. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, northwestern side pillar base showing spoke wheel design.
- Pl.62.o. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi Tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan I tomb enclosure, pillar base showing spoke wheel design.
- Pl.62.p. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, star filled with spoke wheel design.
- Pl.63.a. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi to southwest of Isa Khan I tomb enclosure, pillar base showing David star encircled by double lines.
- Pl.63.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, tomb chamber, southern side of the grave platform, arch panel showing a David star medallion its summit and bellow either sides depicting cross symbols.
- Pl.64.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, stylised palmette filled with a rosette pattern.
- Pl.64.b. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, stylised palmette filled with cross symbol.
- Pl.64.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, palmette filled with a rosette and a cross symbol.
- Pl.65.a. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the north of Jani Beg tomb, underneath part of lintel showing engraved palmettes.
- Pl.65.b. Makli Hill, Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi, underneath side of the lintel showing stylised palmettes.
- Pl.65.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, floral design crowned by palmette.
- Pl.65.d. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, cusped arch panels executed with palmettes filled with eye shape motif.
- Pl.66.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southeastern side, ladies enclosure, fallen fragment showing bead and real design executed in David star shape.
- Pl.66.b. Makli Hill, Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi Tomb, lintel showing underneath David stars filled with sunflower medallion.
- Pl.66.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, showing three bands, upper endless knotted motif, central cross elements and lower depicting palmette tassels.
- Pl.67.a. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, view of a palmette tassel design.
- Pl.67.b. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, enameled ceramic tiles showing stylised palmette adornment depicting tassel designs.
- Pl.67.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, tassel design showing acanthus leaves.
- Pl.68. Taxila, Sirkap, seal showing endless knotted motif. (Marshall, 2006: pl. 263).
- Pl.69. Bastan, Bayezid Tomb, showing endless knotted motif (Barry, 1996: 57).
- Pl.70.a.i. Makli Hill, Hansa Bai tomb enclosure, showing endless knotted motif in chain pattern.
- Pl.70.a.ii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, endless knotted element organized in loop shape.
- Pl.70.a.iii. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, endless knotted design.
- Pl.70.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, endless knotted motif arranged in stylised swastika pattern.
- Pl.70.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, panel showing engraved endless knotted motif.
- Pl.70.d. Makli Hill, Hansa Bai Tomb enclosure, showing overlapping endless knotted motif.

Pl.70.e.i. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi tomb, endless knotted pattern arranged in net design.

Pl.70.e.ii. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, endless knotted pattern organized in net design.

Pl.70.f. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, endless knotted design, showing intersecting squares and cross motif.

Pl.71.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, showing endless knotted design, arranged in swastika pattern.

Pl.71.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, endless knotted motif showing swastika pattern.

Pl.71.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, endless knotted motif showing shallow carving in relief.

Pl.72.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, showing chess board pattern.

Pl.72.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, showing stylised chess board pattern with cross symbol.

Pl.72.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, chess board element filled with concave diamond motif.

Pl.72.d. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, diamond motif, filled with engraved stylised cross symbol.

Pl.73. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, showing lozenge design.

Pl.74.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, showing stylised lozenge design.

Pl.74.b. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, engraved lozenges, filled with a cross symbol.

Pl.74.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, lozenges with sunflower medallion.

Pl.74.d. Makli Hill, Hansa Bai, illustrating stepped lozenges executed in high relief.

Pl.74.e. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, sunflower medallions enclosed by a lozenge border band.

Pl.74.f. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, palmette leaves arranged in lozenge pattern filled with eye motif engraved in relief.

Pl.74.g. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, intersecting squares filled with stylised net pattern.

Pl.74.h. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, depicting multi tiered lozenges.

Pl.74.i. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, representing multi layered lozenges in relief.

Pl.75. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb, showing triangles in series.

Pl.76.a. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, panel showing medallion with cross symbol at the centre.

Pl.76.b. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, panel showing a sun symbol with radiating rays.

Pl.76.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Chaukhandi Tomb, panel illustrating David stars filled with a circle engraved in relief.

Pl.76.d. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, sun motif with rays.

Pl.76.e. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, sun symbol with rays.

Pl.77.a. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southwestern verandah, capital showing globler shape floral vase.

Pl.77.b. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, bracket showing floral vase.

Pl.77.c. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southern side verandah, capital showing floral vase.

Pl.77.d. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southern verandah, capital showing floral vase.

Pl.77.e. Makli Hill, Baqi Beg Uzbek tomb enclosure, grave showing chain motif and a stylised vase.

Pl.77.f. Makli Hill, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, southwestern side of lower verandah, capital showing floral vase.

- Pl.77.g. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi tomb, panel illustrating floral vases in relief.
- Pl.77.h. Makli Hill, Hansa Bai Tomb enclosure, showing floral vase.
- Pl.77.i. Makli Hill, Hansa Bai Tomb enclosure, floral vase.
- Pl.77.j. Makli Hill, Tomb enclosure to the northwest of Faqir Muhammad tomb complex, arch panel showing a floral vase crowned by sunflower medallion.
- Pl.78.a. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Tomb, engraved palmate with rosette design.
- Pl.78.b. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, stylised palmettes showing anthropomorphic reflection.
- Pl.78.c. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, showing anthropomorphic reflection.
- Pl.78.d. Makli Hill, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi Tomb, showing anthropomorphic reflection.
- Pl.79.a. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan I tomb enclosure, western side above the lintel a tablet is showing peacock with snake.
- Pl.79.b. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb, western side tablet showing peacock with snake carved in relief.
- Pl.79.c. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi Tomb, southwestern side tablet showing ducks facing each other in heraldic style.
- Pl.79.d. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tomb chamber, enamelled ceramic tiles showing floral designs with stylised snakes like motif.
- Pl.80. Makli Hill, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb, outer arch alcove showing Quranic verses in thulth style.
- Pl.81. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb, outer northern arch alcove showing Quranic verse in thulth.
- Pl.82. Makli Hill, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan Tomb, grave showing Quranic verse carved in thulth style.
- Pl.83. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, headstone of a grave showing Kalima-e-Tayyeba carved in thulth.
- Pl.84. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, headstone of a grave showing Kalima-e-Tayyeba in Thulth style in low relief.
- Pl.86. Makli Hill, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb, view of a footstone.
- Pl.86. Makli Hill, Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi tomb, footstone of a grave is showing inscriptions in thulth Style.
- Pl.88. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, headstone of a grave.
- Pl.89. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb enclosure, Quranic verses in thulth style.
- Pl.90. Makli Hill, Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb enclosure, outer main entrance showing Quranic verses in thulth Style.
- Pl.91. Makli Hill, Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure showing Quranic verses in thulth style carved above the inner lintels.
- Pl.92. Makli Hill, Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi Tomb, view of the square shape footstone.
- Pl.93. Makli Hill, Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi Tomb, the inner lintel is showing the name of the decease Murad Nizam-ud-Din in nastalique style.
- Pl.94. Makli Hill, Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi Tomb, the inner lintel is showing the term ba'goristan-e-Makli inscribed in nastalique style.
- Pl.95. Makli Hill, Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb, headstone of grave is depicting Nad-e-Ali (R.A) inscribed in relief.

INTRODUCTION

Thatta remained the centre of the built heritage, was founded before the arrival of Alexander the great in July 323 BC. The Greek historians have recorded it with the name of “Patala”. Alexander has re-strengthened the port city of Patala. This port city was feeding the seaport of Baribarikon or al-Daybul. Moreover, this river port city became the distributing centre for the sea port during the succeeding centuries. It may be added here that during the Scythians rule over Sindh, the same river port city was remained their capital city, however, they changed its name “Patala” with Men-Nugur or Men-Nagara. In this connection, it may be further added here that Periplus visited this region between A.D 50 until A.D 70, who mentioned Men-Nagar. During this phase of time it was ruled by the Parthians.

It may be pointed out that since the Kusānā have constructed the Buddhist stūpas in the Sindh valley. In this regard, the stūpa of Moenjodharo is one of the significant evidence of this phase. Moreover, F.A. Khan in 1958 during the course of excavations at Bhanbore, has revealed the Kusānā level. However, we have no evidences regarding the Kusānā rule over, Thatta or the ancient Men-Nagar. It is significant to advocate here that perhaps during the second or might be in the third century A.D, this name was changed with Medawari or Medabari or even Mendabari. Later on, before the arrival of Arabs the Brahmans ruled over the area, who named it Sawaminagar or Semeenugur defining the city of the gods.

It is interesting to argue here that the status of these twin ports was highly acknowledged by the Arabs. Who named these with “al-Daybulan” the twin ports the one Daybul–Thatta the river port and the other al-Daybul the seaport.

The Sumras established their capital city at Thatta in A.D 1052. It remained the capital city of the Sammas under their founder Jam Unar-I A.D 1337. However, later on, Samui at Thatta was established as a capital city under the Sammas until Jam Nizamuddin Nindo’s rule during A.D 1458-1509, when Thatta was re-established as a capital city. Which onwards remained the capital city under the Arghuns (the Central Asian Turks) from A.D 1520 until A.D 1555, Tarkhan A.D 1555 until 1613 and finally the region of Thatta came under the Mughal rule.

It is equally significant to elaborate here that in the presence of historical references it can be undoubtedly proved that from the 4th century BC until this day Thatta is playing a vital role in the history of art and craft, however, the built heritage of Thatta on one hand,

whereas, Makli Hill the asset of Thatta on the other hand is yielding significant position in the whole of Sindh valley. It is equally pertinent to elaborate here that in Pakistan six archaeological sites have been included in the world heritage list of UNESCO. In this sequence, in the year 1991 the famous necropolis of Makli Hill was included in the world heritage list (Khan, M.I., 2000: 57).

It may be further added here that different scholars, such as, Henry Cousens (1929), M.A. Ghafur (1964, 1968), A.H. Dani (1982), I.H. Nadiem (1997), Kaleemullah Lashari (1992,1993 & 1995), Sheikh Khurshid Hasan (1996), Lari (1997) and Hastenrath (2003) have contributed their research works concerning to the built heritage of Makli Hill necropolis.

However, one way or the other their work seem to be restricted in terms of the glorious heritage of Makli Hill, which is possessing a variety of buildings and surface decorative features. Furthermore, many buildings have been declared unidentified, however, these buildings are showing the date and as well the name of the deceased person. In this connection, an attempt has been made to identify such monuments in the light of inscriptions executed inside these buildings.

Moreover, the present researcher has classified the various monuments at Makli Hill into six groups such as, 1. Mosque 2. Madrasah pavilion 3. Graves with platform 4. Graves with mosque enclosures or Rank 5. Mausoleum architecture and 6. Chaukhandi tombs. Besides, their proper identification, descriptive analysis and their comparative study, the other worth mentioning issue is the chronological sequence of these buildings. In this process, style critical-method has been adopted to evaluate these buildings in order to formulate a time scale for the monuments at Makli Hill necropolis.

In the at issue method of research work the style of the buildings and the existing architectural components, moreover, the various decorative designs are analytically analysed in order to formulate its time scale for these buildings. In this process, the aims and objectives would be to identify the unidentified buildings in the region of our study and to know about the stylistical approach. Moreover, to study the different sources of its impacts. Furthermore, to evaluate the various ornamental designs in order to know about its exact routes of origin. Besides, their proper classification shall be the other significant objective in order to know about their stylistical developments. Similarly, the shrouded history of Thatta and Makli Hill likewise, their proper nomenclature shall also be discussed at length in order to solve the prevailing contention among the various scholars. The aims

and objectives of these analytical observations and investigations would be to bring forth the different controversial issues and their solutions. The main purpose of this research work would be to finalise this document in such a way to prepare a certain road map for the future researchers, can be benefited during their course of research work. It may be pointed out that the present researcher is contributing a fraction of work, however, a lot more to be done in order to develop and to promote the built heritage of the under discussion locality. Such activities will develop the interest of the national and international students and tourists, which will obviously promote the tourism industry, it is of course an important source for the earning of foreign exchange, which can play a useful role in the uplift of the national economy. Therefore, such topics of worth potential must be selected for the research purpose, in this process the present researcher shall be studying the selected monuments, however, we need to contribute more research work in order to bring forth the various matters of contention.

It is equally important to advocate here that it is indeed impossible to carry out the research work on the entire Makli Hill built heritage, therefore, the present researcher shall be focussing on the selected buildings of the last two categories of the above stated groups of buildings at Makli Hill such as, 1. Mausoleum architecture and 2. Chaukhandi tombs.

Besides, the architectural analyses the present researcher shall also be focussing on the selected decorative designs among the vast number of ornamental motifs. It is indeed pertinent, to add further that the art and architecture of the Makli Hill necropolis is undoubtedly denoting the western Indian traditions alongside the Sindhians values, which have greatly influenced the Makli Hill style of art and architecture. Later on, the Central Asian and Persian interactions have glorified the building art of the inquestion vicinity. Thus it appears, that the variety of buildings and variation in the surface decoration, possessing different theme of adornment. These have been wrought in various techniques.

To conclude the matter here that a gem of art and architecture was evolved out due to the cultural interactions which eventually styled into a versatile format, showing a unique form of stylistical approach, therefore, may be undoubtedly termed unparallel in the contemporary architectural activities. Thus, in the light of different exemplary precedents from the at issue region, which originated, developed and innovated at one place during different ruling dynasties. Therefore, this unique and unparallel assemblage of exquisite workmanship of this area may be clearly claimed as the “Makli Hill School of Art and Architecture”.

Chapter-I

1. Origin and Nomenclature of Thatta and Makli Hill

1.1. Location of Thatta

Thatta is located about 98 km east of Karachi, and 50 miles southwest of Hyderabad (Cousens, 1929: 110; Pithawala, 1959: 70) (Fig. 1 & 2). It is important to add here that different geographical positioning of Thatta has been recorded by the researchers, such as, “Manjhi is recording it 24° 44' in north latitude” (Manjhi, 2007: 294-95). Whereas, District Census Report of Thatta 1972 and 1998 have recorded its (Thatta) position in 23° 43' or 25° 26' north latitude and 67°05' to 68°45' east longitude (D.C.R., 1972: 3; 1998: 1). While, V.A Smith calculated Thatta in North latitude 24° 45' and east longitude 67°58' (Smith, 1957: 108). Similarly, H. Pottinger is mentioning it 24° 44' north latitude and 68° 17' east longitude (Pottinger, 1816: 352-53). However, the most authentic geographical positioning of Thatta has been recorded by the concerned authorities that is 24° 46' in north latitude and 68°59' east longitude (Pithawala 1959: 10; Sorley, 1968: 344; Dani, 1982: 6). It may be pointed out that Thatta is bounded on north by Dadu, Hyderabad and Badin regions. Whereas, India is located on its eastern direction. While, Kutch area and the Arabian Sea are lying to its South. Moreover, Karachi is situated to its western direction (D.C.R., 1972: 5).

1.2. Nomenclature of Thatta

It is indeed sterling to pinpoint here that the autobiographers, traders, missionaries and the geographers in their accounts have assumed different supposed versions of its origin. In this sequence, the literary records are possessing key role in the reconstruction of historic events. Moreover, these are providing solutions for the hypothetic assumptions. In this regard, such recorded versions of information can be used as a source material in both identification and definition of a certain issue. In this connection, it is indeed pertinent to proclaim here that the term Thatta can be observed in different languages, such as, Sanskrit, Hindi, Sindhi and Persian. In this process, both the structure and composition of these terms may be scientifically analysed to match each other, both in pronunciation as well in definition.

In this process, it may be advocated here that in the past Thatta has been mentioned with different names. Such as, the earliest record may be observed in the Greek accounts. They have mentioned that Patala is a river port, located behind the sea port of Barbarikon (present day Banbhore and the al-Daybul of the Arab conquest). Whereas, during the Scythians this name was replaced with Min-Nagara or Mendawari or Mendabari. However, the Patasila of Hiuen Tsang seems to be the continuation of the same Patala. Later on, this name was changed with Sameenagur or Swaminagar. Whereas, at the advent of the Arabs, for both Thatta (river port) and

Banbhore (sea port) a common name was applied, such as, “al-Daybular”, denoting the twin ports. It may be further added here that by the dawn of the 10th century A.D the name Thatta appears for the first time in the Arab accounts. While, some of the Arab travelers of the 10th and 11th century A.D, have mentioned it with the name of Daybul Thatha. Besides, this region was also called “Thato-Nagar”, defining a city on the river bank. Thus, one way or the other all the above stated names are denoting to the same name and place.

It is indeed sterling, to advocate here that the definitions of the above stated names can be analysed in the light of folkloristic traditions, myths and literary sources. In this connection, the analytical study of these sources can lead us to the proper conclusion of the prevailing matter. In this sequence, Dani, Sachau and Knappert, have discussed the mythological aspect of Patala and its proper definition at length. In this process, both Dani and Sachau are quoting Alberuni, who recorded that in the Hindu mythology, the lower world is termed as “Nāgaloka” or “Naraloka”, defining the world of serpents, moreover, it is also denoting the hell. Furthermore, it also defines the lowest world, or the land of Nāgas (Alberuni, 1962: 76; 1973: 85). Whereas, Knappert is proclaiming that Patala is a locality situated beneath the earth, which is resided by the Daityas, Danavas, Yaksas and Nāgas. This can be divided into several kingdoms. In this regard, he further claims that Patala or Nitala is ruled by Vasuki, moreover, it is also termed the residence of Nāgas or serpent gods (Knappert, 1995: 193). Further more, it is pertinent to advocate here that Patala is also signifying the Delta country. Therefore, due to its subterranean nature the region was called Patala (Lambrick, 1964: 112; Burton, 1976: 5). Thus, it became quite obvious that in the Deltaic region or at Patala a town was established on the bank of the river, which eventually became known as Patala.

In this sequence, it may be further elaborated here that Lambrick is quoting Megesthenese, Ptolemy and Pliny, who are defining that Patala or the Delta has formed two different islands, the larger one is called “Prasiance”, whereas, the smaller one is known “Patala” or “Patale” (Lambrick, 1964: 134; 1973: 109).

It is equally interesting to take note of Wilson suggestion, which is concerning with the proper derivation of the term Patala. He mentions that Patala is a realm of the Nāgas. In this regard, Wilson is advocating that Patala seems to have been derived from “Potalaya” or “Potala”, which means a harbour. Similarly, the Buddhist literature of the Tibet, has associated a harbour (Patala) with a city in the Delta of the Indus (Wilson, 1997: 211). Moreover, Cunningham is advocating its derivation from a Sanskrit word “Patali” defining a trumpet flower or bignonia suaveolens (Cunningham, 2007: 240; McRindle, 1992: 84). It is utmost pertinent, to argue here that both Cunningham and McRindle have claimed a justified verdict, which is seemed to be

based on rational reasons, such as, its geographical setting, which has got the form of a trumpet flower. It can be pointed out that Patala in Sanskrit means the world beneath the water or the land of the Nāgas and demons. This definition is supporting the above stated view of the scholars, such as Dani, Sachau and Knappert, who discussed the same mythology. To evaluate this matter further, it can be remarked here that due to its prevailing geographical attitude is denoting, that the region of our concern is fenced by the eastern Nara or Kori and the Bhagar or the western arm. This fencing attitude is representing the form of Patala or the shape of trumpet flower, it is, therefore, called “Patali” (Cunningham, 2007: 240; McRindle, 1992: 84). In this regard, it may be advocated here that its favourable environments attracted the people, who migrated here and afterwards inhabited the area. Thus, small scale communities were formed, these were locally called “Thati” whereas, “That” is the developed form of Thati, which because of its emporium nature, evolved in to “Thato-Nagar”. It eventually conceived into Thatta.

Since, the area of our concern has been flourished and nourished by the river Indus in different eras, these have been eventually caused for the change of name. In this connection, the historians and geographers are claiming various names for the inquestion vicinity, such as, Manjabari or Manchabari or Manhabari or Mandabari even Mindawari, Manhatari, Medhabari or Medawari. In this connection, it is equally important to elaborate here that Mumtaz Hussain Pathan disagrees with the above stated suppositions for Thatta (Pathan, 1978: 364). However, Cunningham, Raverty, Elliot and Dowson on the basis of geographical positioning, have identified the above stated Mandawari with Thatta (Elliot & Dowson, 1956: 145; Cunningham, 2007: 245; Raverty, 1979: 82). In this connection, Cunningham is quoting Lieutenant Wood, who has advocated that “Thatta” is very vital due to its trade and communication abilities. Moreover, because of its favourable geographical position it has gained importance, therefore, such qualities were duly acknowledged by Alexander in July 325 BC, when he established a naval station, located ahead of Barbarikon, which was corresponding as a feeding centre for the sea port. In this connection, Wood further argues, that since the summit of the Delta is not a fixed point, therefore, the site of this city would have been varied its position and names. In the support of Lieut. Wood arguments Cunningham is advocating that this change of site, would have naturally caused for the change of names. Therefore, it may be assumed here that “Thatta” was the actual position of the Manhabhari of the Arab geographers (Cunningham, 2007: 244).

In this process, Cunningham is advocating that the “Mand” tribe had dominated the lower Sindh (Cunningham, 2007: 244). Besides, Alberuni and Ibn-e-Haukal have also recorded the “Mand” tribe of the lower Sindh. Whereas, Rashid-ud-Din suggested the arrival of Mand tribe in the lower Sindh at a much earlier date. Moreover, in Mahābharata details have been recorded,

regarding the “Mer or Med or Mand” tribe and its relation with lower Sindh. Furthermore, Cunningham is quoting Masudi, who has mentioned “Mind” tribe in the lower Sindh (Cunningham, 2007: 244-45). It is significant to advocate here that the different supposed terms, like Mendabari, Mendawari, Medabari etc have been recorded by the Arab historians, such as, Idrisi, Masudi, Ibn-e-Haukal, Rashid-ud-Din and Alberuni are seemed to be the corrupted versions of the same Min-Nagar. It is worthwhile, to conclude here that Cunningham, Haig, Raverty, Lambrick, Burnes and others have quoted that Periplus during A.D 50 until A.D 70 had visited this region, who has mentioned it Min-Nagara, the city of the Min tribe, which was located on the bank of the river. In this process, Cunningham and others on the basis of rational justifications have identified it with the present day Thatta (Cunningham, 2007: 246; Haig, 1972: 30-32; Lambrick, 1964: 136; Raverty, 1979: 183; Burnes, 1973: 31).

It may be added here that the term “Thatta” has been developed from the word “Thatti” in Sindhi it means a small settlement on the river bank. Whereas, N.A. Baluch has termed it “Thatha”, while “Tahtah” stands for “layer above layer”, which itself is suggesting various levels of occupations, lying one upon the other during different periods of history (Baluch, 1982: 200; D.C.R., 1972: 3; Dani, 1982: 5).

It may be claimed here that “Thatti” or “Thatt” or “Thatto” all these terms in Sindhi are denoting, a settlement located on the river bank, including any of its perennial branches. In this regard, N.A. Baluch advocates, that if such a settlement is temporary, in case of fishermen community, who inhabited the river banks for fishing, is known “Miyāni or Miyān”. However, if the settlement is a permanent or a developed one, such as, fishermen with their fish and the peasants with their cattles, have formed a town, which was known “Thatti” (Baluch, 1982: 199). In this process, its early stance, such as, “Thatti” in Sindhi means small group of cattles or fishermen with their fish, whereas, “Thatt” defines a large group, while “Thatto” stands for the most developed group. It is indeed significant, to elaborate here that such settlements must have been located on the bank of the main river or even on its subsidiary branches (Baluch, 1982: 199).

It is worth mentioning to express the view of Alexander Cunningham, who in his monumental work, has stated that “Thatha” means a shore or a bank of a river. Thus in this process, “Nagar Thatto” or “Nugur Tattah” (Orlich, 1976: 103-104), is defining the city on the river bank, which actually caused for the origin of the term Thatta (Cunningham, 2007: 243; D.C.R., 1972: 3; Baluch, 1982: 200). In this process, when the present researcher consulted the Sanskrit dictionary, therefore, has been able to find out the proper etymology of the under discussion word. In this connection, it is indeed sterling to add here that Monre William has

defined, its different routes, such as, “Tata” means declivity or the lower most portion or part of a shore. Whereas, in Mahābharata it stands for the sound of Śiva or his abode or even his temple (William, 1963: 132, col. I).

It is important to add here that “Tata-Stha” in Sanskrit means the lower most or lower part or a bank (William, 1963: 432, col. I; Dani, 1982: 5). In this sequence, it is striking to advocate here that Raverty has cited the logical justifications denoting its derivation from the Sanskrit version, such as, “T□hat□” stands for a bank or a shore or stands for a “river side situate”, locally known as “Nagar Thato” (Raverty, 1979: 185, n. 316). The above stated definitions are clearly proving that the “Nagar Thato” a city on the river bank was eventually caused for the origin of Thatta.

It is indeed sterling to elaborate here that the etymology of Thatta is further evaluated by V.A Smith in his contributions. He believes, it has been derived from “Tattah” (Smith, 1981: 254). Moreover, in his other works he claims, it is taken from “Tatha” (Smith, 1957: 108). Likewise, William Jackson, Wilson and Kalichbeg, are advocating its origin from “Tatta” (Jackson, 1987: 92; Wilson, 1997: 30; Kufi, 1985: 115). In this connection, keeping in view its proper definition, which is clearly denoting the assemblage of people or a bank of river, undoubtedly indicating a city on the river bank.

It is significant, to make a mention here that Ijaz-ul-Haq Qudusi in his “Tarikh-e-Sindh”, has claimed its nomenclature from “Thet-et” denoting the lower part or declivity. In this sequence, the Sindhians have the local terms for upper piece of land or upper valley known as “Seero or Siro”, while declivity or lower valley is called “Laar or Lar”, so this privilege term made its nomenclature of this area. This may be further proved in the case of “Taket” or even “Thatha” which eventually evolved into Thatta (Quddus, 1992: 232). While, Qani in “Tuhfat-ul-Kiram” has recorded different Sindhian terms, which caused for the origin of the under discussion word. In this sequence, he advocates that “Thate” is taken from “Tah Tah” means declivity. Whereas, its second version is denoting its derivation from “T□hat□”, which in Sindhi means the assemblage of people. Qani further suggests that the area in the past was also known as “Tete” means the lower part or may be termed as lower valley (Qani, 2002: 569).

Apart from the Sanskrit version, Raverty has worked out its definitions in Hindi, such as, “Thatha”, stands for sport or fun and “Thath” means “a crowd or a throng”. In this regard, assemblage of the people is probably yielding close affinity to the origin of the name (Raverty, 1979: 185). In this process, it may be claimed here that since they gathered on the bank of river, therefore, passing through various developmental phases, finally evolved into a city called, “Nagar Thato”.

The view of Syed Abdul Quddus is seemed to be more convincing as he refers, “since the foundation of this city was laid at the foot of the Makli Hill, therefore, was called “Tateh” or “Taeh Taeh”, which means lower or below thus, in the course of time slowly and gradually called as, “Taheta” and then Thatta (Quddus, 1992: 232). It is significant to advocate here that all the Persian historians have recorded it “Thathā” (Raverty, 1979: 185, n.316; Cousens, 1929: 110). Similarly, Cousens is quoting the Sindh Gazetteer, mentioning it “Thattah”, where as, Captain Wood writes “That’hah” (Cousens, 1929: 110, n.1). Moreover, Beglari spells it “Thatah” (Beglari, 1980: 42). Furthermore, in “Lubb-e-Tarikh-e-Sindh” it is mentioned, “Thatha”. While, Ijazulhaq Quddusi in “Tarikh-e-Sindh” claims, since located in the lap of Makli Hill or in its lower level therefore, it is called “Thehtheh” or “Thahthah” showing different occupational levels of its inhabitants (Quddusi, 1976: 473). It is equally significant to elaborate here that Syed Sulaman Nadvi in his book “Arab wa Hind kai Taloqat” has mentioned that it was known to the Arabs “Diwal or Dibal” while the Persians called it “Thatha” (Nadvi, S.S., UD: 248). Whereas, John Wood believes that “Thatta” is the corrupted form of “Thathah” (Wood, 1976: 5-6).

It can be assumed from the evidences reported by Mir Ali Sher Qani and N.A. Baluch that the logical concept of “Thatti” and “Thatt” respectively corresponding either “small dwelling and slightly developed settlement where as, its improved stance is “Thatto”. In this connection, Qani has been able to make a mention of such early settlements, still existing in the southwestern portion of Thatta. These are the two streets. The one of “Islampur” has been recorded by Qani where as, the second one has been mentioned by N. A. Baluch. In this regard, it is utmost pertinent that “Thatt/Thath Paro” is located to the south of “Islampur Paro”, is still known with the same name. Whereas, the other is located to the southern direction. It has been recorded “Mulo Thatti”. During 866-893 A.H/A.D 1462-1488, Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo’s Hindu minister Lakhdhir and his son Mulo shifted to this place with the blessings of Saint Shah Murad. This Thatti was existed during the time of Mir Ali Sher Qani. Thus, it appears that both “Thatti” and “Thatt” are clearly denoting the developmental stages, which eventually evolved into Nagar Thatto (Qani, 2002, 569; Baluch, 1982: 201).

It is of vital importance to advocate the views of Masudi, Alberuni, Ibn-e-Haukal, Rashid-ud-Din, Qani, Alexander Cunningham, Elliot & Dowson, Raverty, N.A. Baluch and others, who have suggested that due to the changes in the main or in the subsidiary branches of the Indus actually caused for the shifting of the people, from one place to the other, has caused for the origin of the city and its name. Thus it appears, that Patala the earliest occupation level was replaced by Min-Nagar. It was then succeeded by Sameenugur or Swaminagar later on, it has been converted into Manhabari or Mandawari, then turned into Thatta. These are of course,

advocating its different settlement names or the various occupational levels. Thus, the above stated etymology of the word Thatta is visibly showing that it has been originated from “Thati” later on, converted into “That” which eventually evolved into Thatta. It seems to be the proper nomenclature of the inquestion name.

1.3. Origin of Thatta

It is significant to advocate here that the history of Thatta is shrouded in mysteries. In this regard, the research scholars have formulated their verdicts, in order to sort out the problems of its origin. In this process, it is generally believed, that the Samma ruler Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo founded it in AD 1507-08. However, in this concern, the present researcher has been able to work out authentic references, which are visibly denoting that the foundation of Thatta has been laid much earlier than the different proposed dates, forwarded by the various scholars, either assigning it to the Sumra domain or attributing its foundation to the Samma rule. In this sequence, it may be claimed here that it was established much earlier during the Scythians domain when Min-Nagar a city on the riverbank was founded as a capital city, located at a short distance or at the head of Barbarikon (Banbhore). In this connection, it is indeed important to make a mention here that Raverty, Wilson, Beal and Thomas Watters, Quddus, John Wood, Elliot & Dowson, Burnes, D’Anville, Robertson and Rennell have identified Thatta with the Patala of Alexander voyage. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that the geographical positioning of Patala recorded by the Greek historians, such as, Curtius and Arrians, are denoting to the same Thatta, which was conquered by Alexander around July 325 B.C (Wilson, 1997: 206; Quddus, 1992: 232-33).

In this concern, it is equally vital to make a mention here that Cunningham in his monumental work has agreed upon the supposition of Patala with Patalpur located near Nironkot (Hydrabad), is assumed to be the Patala of the Greek historians (Cunningham, 2007: 238). Whereas, Vincent Smith has identified it with Brahmanabad (Smith, 1957: 107). It is vital to elaborate here that Cunningham on one hand agreed upon its identification with Hyderabad, however, on the other hand advocates that Patala is situated at the head of the Delta (Cunningham, 2007: 240; Basham, 2004: 230). However, keeping in view the arguments of Cunningham, which are seemed to be far from the fact as Burnes, Wilson, Sorly etc have recorded the statement of Curtius that the king of Patala, Moeris visited Alexander and after submission became the vassal king. In this regard, Sorley, Lambrick, Pathan, McRindle and Wilson are referring that Pliny like Curtius and Arians has recorded that he subdued his capital Patala before the Alexander (Sorley, 1968: 143; Lambrick, 1973: 83; Pathan, 1978: 50; McRindle, 1992: 356-7; Wilson, 1997: 206). In this process, it is vital to advocate here that from

the above discussions it appears, that since Patala (Thatta) was the capital city of King Moeris of the Lower Sindh would mean simply to say that the history of Thatta as a capital city goes back to the 4th century B.C.

It may be further attributed here that in the light of Curtius and Arrians rational justifications concerning with the location of Patala as recorded at the head of the Delta, since Thatta is also situated at the head of the Delta, therefore, the historians have identified Thatta with that of Patala (Wilson, 1997: 207; Fox, 1978: 384 & 391; Sorley, 1968: 143; Lambrick, 1973: 83).

It is indeed worthwhile, to advocate the view of Arrian quoted by Cunningham, drawing a certain conclusion, based on solid reasons, suggesting “this river also creates a Delta or Patala” in the lower Sindh, which submerges into various channels. Among these two channels are of key importance. Which are termed “Kori” or “Khor” the eastern Nara and the Baghar the western Nara. In this regard, the land of these two branches is fencing the area of our study. In this connection, it can be advocated here that such geographical nature of the area made it a Deltaic order. In this process, in the Sanskrit version the Deltaic situate is called “Patala”. Thus this phenomenon can fit here for its interpretation.

It is vital to make a mention here that Abbott in his analysis is advocating that the geographical consideration is not the only factor to prove the at issue matter. However, keeping in view its geo-strategic position, which enhanced the capabilities of its emporium nature therefore, the various suppositions forwarded by the geographers are clearly denoting that the Patala mentioned by the Greek historians was the same Thatta (Abbott, 1977: 67; Lambrick, 1973: 83).

It may be mentioned here that David Ross and Pathan have recorded authentic references, suggesting that Alexander has divided his troops into two parts at Patala. In this process, one of the groups under Neerchus via Indus into sea had sailed towards Persia. While, the other was headed by the Alexander entered into Persia through land route (Pathan, 1978: 50; Ross, 1976: 4).

It may be further added here that Lambrick is mentioning the Nearchus voyage, he asserts that the admiral was by then at Patala, when Alexander was surveying the eastern channel. When he asked Hephaestein for strengthening the naval station at Patala and ordered to construct a dockyard to accommodate the naval fleet and ships (Lambrick, 1964: 116; Fox, 1978: 384; Smith, 1981: 89). In this sequence, the above stated account from the voyage of Nearchus, rendered by Arians and those recorded by Curtius and later on, reproduced by Megesthenese, Pliny and Ptolemy, are proclaiming that Patala was a navel station located at the head of

Barbarikon. Furthermore, all the possible probabilities are clearly denoting that the Patala of the Alexander voyage was the present day Thatta, which is a Delta country, fenced by the eastern and western branches of the Indus, where a naval station or a port on this river was established. The Greek historians have mentioned that river the emporium of Patala is located at three stages distance from the sea port of Barbarikon. Likewise, the reestablishment of the river emporium, Alexander had also improved the seaport (Burton, 1976: 5; Fox, 1978: 384; Jackson, 1987: 91-92). In this regard, it may be assumed here that since both the regions were located at a near distance, therefore, both these ports were supplementing each other by means of transactions, either via river into sea or through sea into the river. These twin ports, have played a major role in the socio-cultural uplift of the under discussion place (Fox, 1978, 384). Thus, keeping in view the supposed distance of Patala (Thatta) from Barbarikon (Bhaambhore), which is recorded three short stations, moreover, mentioned at the head of the Barbarikon therefore, it is undoubtedly showing the exact location of Thatta from Bhambhore or al-Daybul.

It is important to add here that Periplus (A.D 50-70) makes no record of Patala nor does he refers to the Delta area as Patalene. However, keeping in view the at issue region, which he mentioned “Min-Nagara”, the capital city founded by the Scythians during 1st century BC. In this concern, Haig delivered his remarks that the Patala mentioned by the Alexander’s historians had perhaps disappeared, may have altered drastically in the course of river Indus, probably before the middle of the first century BC, while Periplus visited the region between A.D 50 to A.D 70 when Min-Nagara was a flourishing river port. It was very successfully supplementing the sea port, both were linked through the mighty Indus (Lambrick, 1964: 135; Haig, 1972: 30-32).

It is significant to advocate here that Cunningham has identified “Min-Nagar” with the location of Thatta. He further, proclaims that the “Min” or Med tribe of the Scythians dominated the Sindh Valley till the end of the 7th century A.D (Cunningham, 2007: 245). It is significant to elaborate here that Cunningham at another place in his works has mentioned that the Scythians founded Min-Nagar, during the second century A.D (Cunningham, 2007: 246). In this connection, it is indeed pertinent to mention here that Ptolemy visited this region in the first half of the second century A.D. He is absolutely silent about Min-Nagar, however, he recorded the emporium of Patala (Cunningham, 2007: 246). It is equally significant to argue here that Cunningham is absolutely mistaken in the dates, which he suggested for the Scythians. However, the Indus Scythians have ruled over Sindh Valley during the first century B.C. Whereas, during the first century A.D the Parthians had dominated the region. These can be evidently proved from the excavations at Banbhore in 1958 (Khan, F.A., 1976: 10-12). Thus, it appears that

Cunningham's informations regarding the time frame of the Indus-Scythians seems to be far from the facts.

However, it can be further proved in the account of Periplus, who has mentioned that around A.D 50 a Parthian prince was residing at Min-Nagar (Lambrick, 1964: 135). Thus it appears, from the above stated factual accounts that Min-Nagara had replaced the Patala of the Alexander voyage. It is utmost significant, to discuss here that Min-Nagar is also recorded as Medawari or Medabari or Manchabari or Manhabari. In this sequence, Mumtaz Hussain Pathan incorrectly disagrees with the identification of Manhabari with Thatta (Pathan, 1978: 364). It is utmost vital to discuss here that Raverty very mildly talked about the vicinity of Min-Nagar, however, placing it, in the closing surroundings of Thatta (Raverty, 1979: 183). Similarly, Cunningham has very correctly identified the inquestion names with Thatta (Cunningham, 2007: 244; Raverty, 1979: 182; Elliot & Dowson, 1956: 145). Thus, the story of the twin ports started before the arrival of Alexander, which very successfully continued during the subsequent centuries.

It is generally believed that the Ra'i Dynasty during A.D 495, had occupied the lower Sindh. They were replaced by the Brahman dynasty under Chach in A.D 621 (Qani, 2002: 14; Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 32) or in A.D 632 (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 406-13). However, N.A. Baluch is claiming that Chach founded the dynasty in A.D 652. In this sequence, it is utmost important to claim here, that when the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited the region in A.D 641-42, who in his account has mentioned the rule of Sahiras a king of the Ra'i dynasty (Cunningham, 2007: 281-82; Haig, 1972: 37-39; Lambrick, 1964: 149-51; Watters, 2004: 238). Whereas, Hiuen Tsung (A.D 629-647) has mentioned the at issue region with Pi-to-shi-lo (Pitashila) and has mentioned that the area was ruled by the Buddhist rulers (Beal, 2004: 279). Thus it appears, that the area was governed by the Buddhist until the mid 7th century A.D. Thus it appears, that the date suggested by N.A. Baluch seems to be correct that is A.D 652 for the beginning of the Brahman dynasty rule over the region (Baluch, 1990: 35). It is equally important to advocate here that the Chinese pilgrim recorded a town near the sea, such as, "Pi-to-shi-lo", he further mentioned, that this vicinity has no sovereign, however, was subject to the Ra'i dynasty. It may be added here that Thomas Watter, quoted Julian, who restored the term, such as, Pitashila, whereas, Cunningham, conceived it "Patasila" (Watters, 2004: 258; Cunningham, 2007, 237). It may be remarked here that Cunningham placed Patasila with Nirankot (Nironkot) (Cunningham, 2007: 237), whereas, Haig identified it either with Nagar Parkar or Umarkot (Haig, 1972: 36).

In this process, it is a sterling fact that the geographical setting and its fore features described by the Chinese pilgrim, are providing enough evidences to prove the identification of Pitashila or Patasila with Patala, which is clearly corresponding with Thatta. It is indeed significant to elaborate here that the story of twin ports, such as, Patala or Min-Nagar or Thatta as a river port, whereas, Barce or al-Daybul (Barbarikon) or Banbhore as a seaport started during the voyage of the Greeks.

It is worthwhile, to advocate here that the Arab geographers were the first to report the concept of twin port cities. In this process, al-Daybul the sea port has been identified with the present day Banbhore, however, regarding the identification of its second port, the scholars have presented their justifications in order to prove the matter of its proper identification. In this connection, the Arab geographers have mentioned al-Daybul the sea port and Daybul Thatta the river emporium. In this regard, it may be further advocated here that the twin ports of Daybul are no more a controversial matter in the history of Sindh. In this regard, all the literary, archaeological and topography of the area presents enough evidences to prove the existence of the twin ports of Daybul.

It is utmost important to elaborate here that the word Daybul was for the first time reported in the Armenian geographical accounts, compiled by Musa Khorin (Moses Choremzi) dated to the 4th-5th century A.D (Fatimi, 1981: 100; Pirinia, 1304 A.H: 520; 1311 A.H: 93). In the light of above stated reference, it can be safely assumed that Daybul may not be merely a port but it might be a port city.

Now coming to the Arab writers, who have frequently discussed the cows of Daybul. In this process, the earliest one was the famous poet Jarir, dated AD 740-827, attempted to make comparison between the cows of Daybul with those of “Banu al-Taym” he says, “the blow of the noblemen is like that of the cow of Daybul, while that of Banu al-Taym is like a goat” (Fatimi, 1981: 100; Al-Sawi, 1352 A.H: 528).

It is indeed sterling to make a mention here that Ibn-e-al-Arabi, was the first ever Arab geographer, who has mentioned for the first time the term “al-Daybular”, the concept of two Daybuls A.D 767-845 (Al-Bakri, 1945: vol. II, 569, Fatimi, 1981: 100). It is interesting to argue further that the Persian historians identified Thatta with Daybul. Whereas, Masumi mentioned two Daybuls one at Lahori Bandar and the other is known as Daybul Thatta (Masum, 2002: 9). If we shed light on the early Arab invasion, we can get more clues to solve the mystery of the two Daybuls. In this regard, the first Arab assault on the region of al-Daybul was restricted to the sea coast and its port. Therefore, the aftermath of these attacks were more destructions. Because, the real strength of the defence lay in the interior of al-Daybul. Later on, they made attacks on

the river-port situated on the estuary (Baladhuri, 1986: 613). All the above stated references reflect the existence of two ports of Daybul.

Thus, it can be assumed that there were two ports one as the river port and the other as a sea port. If we make the scientific analysis of the topology of the area in order to support the scientific approach made by Alberuni, who precisely differentiates between ‘a Creek’ or ‘a gulf’ and ‘an estuary’. He writes, “a gulf is a winding line of water penetrating from the ocean in to the continent”. Which is dangerous for navigation because of the ebb and flow. While, an estuary is similar to gulf, however, it is formed by the flowing water of a river (Fatimi, 1981: 100). Thus, Alberuni brings forth the core of the problem, which caused for the establishment of the twin ports, the sea and the inland river port, because of their different bearing capacities demanding two various hulls for the boats (Fatimi, 1981, 101).

Whereas, Haig claims that the sea going vessels are unsuitable for the navigation in the Indus, however, he exclaims that the distance from sea and the difficulty of navigation by keeled ships in the river Indus, make the people disagree with the existence of twin ports (Haig, 1972: 51). In this connection, Haig seems to be unaware about the arrangements made by Hujaj bin Yousaf to cope with the above mentioned situation. He introduced a fleet of keelless nailed and bitumen smeared boats. In this regard, it can be safely assumed here that Daybul was conquered by Muhammad bin Qasim was certainly the seaport, whereas, its river port was undoubtedly Thatta.

In this connection, the name Thatta itself signifies that it was situated on the bank of a river. In this regard, Cunningham recorded the meaning of Thatta, which means a shore or a bank, whereas, Nagar Thatho would mean the city on the bank of river (Cunningham, 2007: 237; Ravery, 1979: 185, n. 316; Dani, 1982: 5).

It is interesting to elaborate here that Chachnama has mentioned an important reference regarding, Muhammad bin Qasim’s advance towards Alore and its neighbouring strategic places. In this connection, it is stated that Muhammad bin Qasim proceeded alongside the western bank of the river Indus, he went towards “Jhim” and “Kohal” (Kufi, 1985: 117). In this process, it is quite clear that “Kohal” or “Garharh” was part of the Thatta region. It has been mentioned that he continued his march downwards and arrived at Jhim, where he stayed in its vicinity at “Sakrai” (Kufi, 1985: 121). In this regard, Muhammad bin Qasim ordered Mokah Basayeh to arrange a boat bridge for the crossing of river Indus. In this connection, Kufi and Masumi have recorded that Muhammad bin Qasim has crossed the river Indus at Thatta instead of Jitor and then proceeded towards Alore (Kufi, 1985: 115; Masum, 2002: 32).

Whereas, Lambrick is quoting al-Baladhuri, who stated that on its estuary a naval battle was fought between the Arabs and Jai Senha in A.D 724-25 (Lambrick, 1964: 154; Kufi, 1985: 100). It is a sterling fact that al-Baladhuri has specifically mentioned the term estuary, which is being formed by the river thus, as a subsidiary port of al-Daybul, these twin ports have played a major role in the uplift of the region.

Elliot and Dowson in their contributions have discussed the issue of Thatta and its proper identification with Daybul. They are disagreeing with Ferishta, Masum and Abul Fazal (in *Tabqat-e-Akbari* and *Aina-i-Akbari*), who claimed that both of them were called Daybul. However, Brahmanabad was replaced by Daybul, which was subsequently merged in to Thatta (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 375). It seems to be quite apparent from the facts that the river port or the city on the river bank was Thatta, which was known to the traders, such as, Daybul or Daybul Thatta or some time alone Thatta.

In the *Tarikh-e-Feroz Shahi*, it is specifically recorded that Thatta was located on both sides of the river Indus (Afif, 2004: 173). Whereas, *Tarikh-e-Feroz Shahi* translated by Maulawi Wilayat Hussain has recorded, the same statement as mentioned by Fida Ali Talib, however, in addition to it he has described the twin cities of Thatta, located on the either sides of the Indus (Afif, 1890: 199). In this process, Fatimi claims that the Persian writers have identified Thatta with the Daybul of the Arabs (Fatimi, 1981: 101). It is interesting to note here that Masum and Muhammad Tahir Nisyani have recorded two Daybuls, such as, Lahri Bandar the sea port and Thatta the river port. It is worthwhile, to advocate here that after the decline of Daybul, Lahri Bandar became the seaport. However, both the Arabs and Persians have recorded it with the old name (Daybul) (Fatimi, 1981: 102). Whereas, Cousens and Fatimi have suggested that both were called Daybuls, however, these were yielding their specific names. The seaport, which acted as a portage, while the river port was the entrepot (Fatimi, 1981: 103; Cousens, 1929: 20-30). Likewise, Quddusi is suggesting that both these cities, Daybul and Thatta, are signifying one city or place, however, yielding two different types of ports that is the sea portage and the river emporium (Quddusi, 1976: 105).

It is interesting to add here that Qani in “*Makli Namo*” has suggested that Daybul and Thatta were two cities. He further advocated that Thatta never established after the decline of Daybul. It was founded much earlier (Qani, 1994: 11-40; Quddusi, 1976: 106). It is indeed interesting to argue here that Minhajuddin in *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* has specifically mentioned the important cities of Sindh. Furthermore, he has described the vitality of lower Sindh in the context of Daybul (Minhaj, 1977: 614). He perhaps like others as well has misinterpreted the inland situate and has termed its association with that of Daybul, which was holding key position, due

to its geo-strategic location. In this connection, it is significant to elaborate here that this mysterious issue can be solved in the light of Buzurg bin Shehriyar's description entitled as "Ajaibul Hind" dated to 300 A.H/A.D 913-14, has mentioned Thatta (Nadvi, S.S, UD: 41). It appears, that Thatta was existing much earlier, however, due to the sea port importance, some of the medieval historians and geographers have mentioned it as a Daybul Thatta and some time incorrectly alone Daybul.

In *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, Minhajuddin has noted that Sultan Muhammad bin Sam conquered Daybul in 578 A.H/A.D 1182-83 (Raverty, 1976: 667), however, *Tarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi* incorrectly recorded this event in 571 A.H/A.D 1175 (Minhaj, 1977: 614). In the later date, he besieged Multan and Uchchh, while in 578 A.H/A.D 1182-83, he had conquered the lower Sindh and Daybul (Raverty, 1976: 667). It is interesting, to add here that Daybul has been recorded as a town or city, however, Thatta has not been mentioned, during the Ghaurid's raid. It is indeed worth while, to make a mention here that in "*Tarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi*" it has been clearly recorded that Sultan Ghauri launched attack in 571 A.H/A.D 1175, on Uchchh and Thatta, thus it appears, that Thatta individually or as a river port of Daybul has shown its vitality. It is important, to add here that during the same year in 571 A.H/A.D 1175, a group of people from Thatta protected themselves in the fort of Uchchh and fought with Ghauri (Quddusi, 1976: 114). Moreover, *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* is mentioning that after controlling over Multan, Uchchh and Thatta Sultan Ghauri handed over the administrative affairs to Nasiruddin Qabacha (Minhaj, 1977: 532; Quddusi, 1976: 114). It is significant to elaborate here that both *Tarikh-e-Feroz Shahi* and *Tarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi* are clearly mentioning that Ghazi Malik was appointed as a governor by Alauddin Khilji over Sindh during A.D 1301-1316. Who established his own city in the lower Sindh. It was located 4 miles to the southwest of Thatta called "Tughlaqabad" (Quddusi, 1976: 114). It is important to state here that Ghazi Beg Tughlaq later on, became the ruler of India, entitled himself as Ghayasuddin Tughlaq A.D 1320-1325 (Cunningham, 2007: 243). While, Quddusi quoting *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* in which, Qani has elaborated that in A.D 1320 when Ghayasuddin Tughlaq became the ruler of Dehli, the Sumra reoccupied Thatta (Quddusi, 1976: 118).

According to Elliot and Dowson Thatta was known to the Arabs with the name of "Dewal Sindy" (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 375). It may be further claimed here that Elliot, Dowson, Abbott and Cunningham have recorded an important reference such as "Shal-i-Daybuli" means a shawl of Thatta is still being used. Moreover, this Shal-i-Daybuli was manufactured at Thatta (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 375; Cunningham, 2007: 250; Abbott,

1977: 128). However, in the past Thatta was called Daybul and more commonly Daybul Thatta (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 375).

Besides, question arises here that when the inquestion city was established as a capital city? In this connection, there is controversy among the scholars regarding the date of its foundation. It is indeed pertinent, to make a mention here that the Sammas were the first to make Samui the seat of government, located in the vicinity of Thatta. However, they later on, replaced Samui with Thatta as their Capital city (Khan, Z.A., 1980: 264). In this sequence, Qani is mentioning that in 900 A.H Jam Nizam-ud Din Nindo called upon astrologists and other magical spellers, in order to select a certain place, where to construct a new capital city. Thus, for the fulfillment of Nindo's desire, this piece of land (Thatta) was selected for the purpose (Qani, 2002: 568-569). The same type of story has also been mentioned in Tarikh-i-Tahiri (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 273; Cousens, 1929: 32). However, Raverty denies its attribution to the Samma rule and has pointed out that Thatta was founded two centuries before the conquest of Feroz Shah Tughlaq (Raverty, 1979: 184, n. 316). Whereas, Quddusi claims that Thatta existed during the raid of Muhammad Tughlaq in 751/1350-51 (Quddusi, 1976: 476). In this regard, Tarikh-e-Mubarak Shahi tells us that when the Sultan neared Thatta, his disease get increase until on the 21st Muharram 752 Sunday 20th March, 1351 A.D. and died on the bank of river (Sirhindi, 1977: 120; Raverty, 1979: 182, n. 316).

Ibn-i Batuta arrived in Sindh 1333-34 and navigated the Indus from Siwistan (Sehwan) to Lahri Bander (Lambrick, 1964: 187; Quddusi, 1976: 114). We do not find Thatta in his account. He also does not speak about any channel at the right side of the river (Raverty, 1979: 183, n. 316).). In the light of this reference, Siddiqi is of the view that Thatta was not yet established when Ibn-i Batuta was arrived here. In this concern, they proclaimed that it was established between lapse of Ibn-i Batuta and Tughlaq's advance in A.D 1347. In this process, Barni speaks about the raid of Tughlaq against Taghi the rebel of his court (Barni, 2006: 167; Ferishta, 1977: vol. I, 438-43).

It is equally significant to advocate here that Amir Khusrau (A.D. 1255-1325) speaks about the city before the visit of Ibn-i Batuta. He has mentioned Thatta in his poetry possibly composed at Multan during 678-683 A.H/A.D 1279-1284, under Sultan Khan Shahid the eldest son of Ghiyas-ud Din Balban. He has praised the city of Thatta in his couplets, which have been taken from his *kulliyat* of 671 A.H/A.D 1272-73, entitled "Diwan Tuhfat-ul Saghar" he says:

"The Cypress (in stature), like you, is neither in Uchchh nor in Thatta,

The flower (in beauty), like your beautiful faces has never been there" (Qani, 1965: 20; Quddusi, 1976: 116).

It is equally significant to advocate here that during the Sumra rule Thatta was reestablished as a capital city. Thus once again Thatta gained importance. In this process, Abul Muzaffar Nadvi advocates, that Sumra is not the name of a tribe. But it was the personal name or title, which seems to have been derived from Som Rai. This Som Rai, according to him, was the contemporary of Sultan Mehmud. Whose actual name was Ang Pal and bore the title of Rāja Som Rai (Nadvi, S.A., 2008, 273; Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 491). He speculates his reign in 401 A.H. He was succeeded by his son Rāja Pal, who was the contemporary of Sultan Masud, as Nadvi refers to a letter from Darozis to Pal, in which Sultan Masud has also been mentioned (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 344; Nadvi, S.A, 2008: 280). They tried to establish the Ismaili rule over the Sindh, however, they struggled for about twenty years till the time Sultan Abdur Rashid died in 444 A.H/A.D 1051-52. Then this tribe made Sumra II, their ruler at Thari, located in the vicinity of Thatta (Qani, 2002: 124-25; Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 344; Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 280). However, Quddusi mentions this event happened in 444 A.H/A.D 1051-52 (Quddusi, 1976: 420). Whereas, according to Nadvi, Qani has mistakenly mentioned it to the time of Sultan Ghiyas-ud Din Tughlaq, however, he was contemporary to Abd-ur Rashid son of Sultan Mehmud. He also criticizes Qani for the incomplete list of the Sumra rulers, having some gaps and deficiencies. Moreover, he has calculated the dates either from the accession of these rulers, while some time from the birth or death dates (Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 280-83).

In this process, Raverty informs us, that due to the weak position of Sultan Abd-ur-Rashid, the Sumras established themselves at Thar or Thal, most particularly Thari. He is of the view that this person would be that Rāja Pal, however, the date he mentions is 443 A.H/A.D 1051 (Raverty, 1979: 180, n. 315). However, Ijaz-ul Haq Quddusi mentions that he commenced his reign at Thari in 444 A.H/A.D 1052 and he died in 446 A.H/A.D 1054 (Quddusi, 1976: 420).

Whereas, Nadvi speculates that during the raid of Sultan Shahab-ud-Din Ghauri over Uchchh the ruler was Unar I, who was dethroned, due to the conspiracy of his wife. When Ghauri attacked Daybul in 578 AH, the Sumras fled to Thatta. After the death of Doda, Pathu or Phatu resumed the rule at Thatta, which was not disturbed by Nasiruddin Qabacha, during his campaigns over Sindh. Pathu was succeeded by his son Ganehra (or Khun Rai), who ruled till 617 A.H/A.D 1220. During the raid of Khwarzim Shah, the Rāja Jalsi (from the Sumra tribe, this person is named as Jaisi, Jaisia or Jai Singh by Nadvi) was ruling over Thatta. In 620 A.H/A.D 1223, Khwarzim Shah encamped here and after plundering the area, he fled to Iraq (Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 290).

However, Marquart and Boyle have mentioned that the Sultan spent one month at Sadusan (somewhere near Sehwan) (Marquart, 1901: 190-195; Boyle, 1981: 125) and then

advanced into the famous seaport of Daybul (Boyle, 1981: 125). He stayed here for a month, and received submission from the Qubacha's governor, who was reinstated in his office. It may be argued here that in the light of different sources quoted above therefore, it can be assumed here that he came to Sindh in 620 A.H/A.D 1223 and left the area in 624 A.H/A.D 1227 (Boyle, 1981: 124-128; Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 290).

After this, Nasiruddin Qabacha snatched Thatta, which was subsequently taken by Shams-ud-Iltutmish in 624 A.H/A.D 1228 (Ferishta, 1977: 209-10; Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 290). After the death of Nasiruddin Qabacha the Sumras regained the power over the Sindh (Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 291). The Sumras selected Muhammad Tur their new ruler, who established a new capital, which was named after his name. In Sindhi language, this place is called as Mahatham Tur. The reason for forming this new capital was that the eastern, western and southwestern banks of river Indus were under the Delhi Sultanate. Therefore, they had no place other than this southeastern region, the northern portion being fertile, which was watered by the bed of eastern Nara of Indus. Muhammad Tur probably ruled till 654 A.H/A.D 1259-60 (Qani, 2002: 120), while Nadvi made an analytical analysis of Ibn-i Batuta, Masum and Qani's accounts, therefore, claims he died in 651 A.H/A.D 1256 (Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 282).

It is significant to elaborate here that Sorley is referring Badayuni and states that the eldest son of Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban A.D 1266-86 had ruled over Thatta (Sorley, 1968: 344). Quddusi in his work states that in 696 A.H/A.D 1296-97, the forces of Alauddin Khilji defeated the Mughals under Alagh Khan and Zafar Khan, that year he assigned Multan, Uchchh, Bakhar, Siwistan and Thatta to Nusrat Khan with ten thousand soldiers (Quddusi, 1976: 370). However, Sorley suggests that Alauddin retreated unsuccessfully, whereas, Afif also quotes his unsuccessful raid over Thatta (Afif, 2006: 238). It is sterling to elaborate here that Cousens is mentioning that the Sumras rebelled against the Khiljis and raided over Thatta (Cousens, 1929: 31), however, remained unsuccessful.

At length, Nusrat Khan the general of Alauddin Khilji razed Muhammad Tur to the ground, whereas, the Sumras fled to Makran. In this process, the royal army attacked them, after a heavy defeat, the Sumras were dispersed (Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 304). However, Raverty cites that they escaped to Kutch, sought for help from Sammas, but in vein, and lost their power (Raverty, 1979: 181, n. 315). It is pertinent to advocate here that when Ghazi Malik the governor of Sindh, founded the Tughlaq dynasty at Dehli in A.D. 1320 later on, the Sumras reunited themselves and raided over Thatta. Thus regained the lost glory.

Ferishta states that the Sumras gave shelter to Taghi, therefore, raided by Muhammad Tughlaq, however, at the death of Muhammad bin Tughlaq near Thatta, the royal army was

retreated (Ferishta, 1977: vol. IV, 442). In this connection, the Sammas have taken the advantage of the weak administration gained the power and selected Unar (we may call him Unar I of Samma) as their leader. It is significant to elaborate here that there is controversy among the scholars, regarding the founder of the Samma dynasty and about his date of accession. In this process, different scholars are claiming that Jam Bambinia bin Khairuddin was the founder of the dynasty. However, infact Jam Unar I became the first ruler of the Samma dynasty. It is important to advocate here that N.A Baluch and Sheikh Khurshid Hasan have wrongly identified the lineage of the above stated ruler. They are claiming that Ferozuddin Shah Jam Unar I bin Bambinia was the first king (Baluch, 1957: 23-29; Hasan, S.K., 1988: 239). However, Raverty is proclaiming the correct name that is Jam Unar I bin Disar (Raverty, 1979: 182, n. 316). Whereas, regarding the above stated person Jam Bambinia need certain debate. About him Cousens is suggesting that he was son of Khairuddin (Cousens, 1929: 31-32). This matter of contention can be clarified in the light of an authentic reference, which is denoting that after the death of Jam Unar I his two sons Jam Juna and Jam Bambinia became the rulers (Rashid, 1965: 87), who mutually ruled over Thatta. However, when Thatta was besieged by Feroz Shah Tughlaq, thus both of the brothers were appeared before the king. Who were later on, brought to Delhi (Afif, 2004: 217). Thus it appears, that Jam Unar I bin Disar was the first ruler, whereas, Jam Bambinia was his son who succeeded his father.

The other significant issue of contention is the date of accession which has been mentioned variously. In this connection, it may be added here that later on, Unar I established a new capital city, which was called Samui (Samuni by Nadvi). Thus, the rule of Samma over Thatta was began (Nadvi, S.A., 2008: 310). Whereas, Raverty does not mention Samui, however, he merely speaks about the Lar, where Unar I was selected as their leader by the Sammas on 738 A.H/29th July 1337 and was given the title of Jam by his people.

It is worthwhile, to advocate here that Husamuddin Rashdi and N.A. Baluch, have cited the beginning of the Samma rule in A.D 1335. However, the autonomous control of the Samma Jams was started after the death of Muhammad bin Tughlaq (Baluch, 1957: 23-29). Whereas, Quddusi states that he commenced his rule over Sindh in A.D 1350-51, after the death of Hamir the last Sumra ruler (Quddusi, 1976: 444). In this regard, Raverty suggests that though Sammas overran the Sumras in 743 A.H/A.D 1342-43. However, they were not autonomous rulers of the Lower Sindh until the time of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq, who lost his control over many regions of his domain, due to the shifting of his capital to Daulatabad (Raverty, 1979: 182, n. 315). While, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan argues that he ascended the throne in A.D 1333, with the title of Jam Feroz for himself (Hasan, S.K., 1988: 239). In this sequence, Raverty records the

date 750 A.H/A.D 1349, however, he rule out the date 734 A.H/A.D 1333-34. In this process, he quotes Ibn-i Batuta, who came to Sindh, in early 734 A.H/A.D 1333-34 and traveled to Siwistan, Lahri Bandar, Bakhar and Uchchh, but he never refers to the Jam of Lar (Lower Sindh) for a good reason that this was the very year in which the Samma rose against the Sumras (Raverty, 1979: 182, n. 316). In October A.D 1350, Muhammad bin Tughlaq attacked Thatta when Unar I gave shelter to the Taghi the officer of Sultan's army. Who rebelled against the Delhi sovereignty (Hussain, M., 1938: 189-190). Digby comparing the statements of Barni and Masum (though Masum has mistaken a little in some of the informations), he states that prior this expedition in which he died had set for attack on Thatta, however, due to the heavy rain fall he drew back to Thari, where he became sick of fever, but he recovered soon (Digby, 1981: 134-37). Whereas, Barni in *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi*, translated by Elliot and Dowson states that in this vicinity the Sultan stayed, for three rainy seasons. "The first he passed at Mandal and Teri (Thari)", for the second he was near the fort of Karnal, where the Mukaddim of this area intended to deliver Taghi before the Sultan. But the rebel got notice of his intention therefore, he fled to Thatta. Where he found refuge with Jam Unar I. During the third season, he was at Kondal. Barni locates this place in the direction of Thatta. The writer cites that here the Sultan fell ill, as a result he stayed there. When he recovered, "he then advanced along the bank of the Indus towards Thatta". Barni further, states that the Sultan kept the Ashura fast (10th Muharram), when he was thirty *kos* away from Thatta. However, due to eating of fish the fever was returned. The court historian further states that "he was placed in a boat and continued his journey on the second and third day, until he came within fourteen *kos* of Thatta". Barni speaks that his army was ready to raid over the Sammas of Thatta, but his illness got increased and died on March 1351 of fever (Smith, 1981: 254; Lari, 1997: 4; Raverty, 1979: 182). However, Barni, Afif, Serhindi, Digby and others have mentioned the correct date of his death, which is mentioning 21st Muharram 752/1350 "at fourteen *kos* from Thatta" (Barni, 2006: 166-7; Quddusi, 1976: 391-93; Sirhindi, 1977: 120; Digby, 1981: 131).

After the death of Muhammad Tughlaq, his army was attacked and plundered by the Mughals and "the rebels of Thatta", who were later on, suppressed by Feroz Shah Tughlaq in A.D. 1364 (Barni, 2006: 168-9). It should be noted that for the several times Thatta has been mentioned by Barni, which leaves no doubt of its existence and a flourishing city at that time. After the death of Jam Unar I bin Disar his two sons Jam Banbhinia and Jam Juna were mutually ruling over Thatta.

In A.D 1362 Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq raided Thatta due to the incursion of Jam Bambinia over his areas and his association with Mongols (Rashid, 1965: 87). The story is

described by Afif as “in these days the territory of Thatta was divided into two parts, one division lying on the hither (*krana*) or Delhi side of the river Sindh, and the other on the farther (*guzara*) or Thatta side. Both of them were populated by numerous classes of people (Barni, 2006: 222-23). It may be pointed out that Feroz Shah Tughlaq came with 20,000 cavalry and 400,000 infantry. However, they fled from the battlefield and drew back his army to Gujarat. He further states that he decided to march towards Gujarat, because wanted to raid over Thatta again (Barni, 2006: 160-169; Rashid, 1965: 86-88). However, he left Khan-i Azam Zafar Khan along with a contingent of Bangali forces as his vicegerent at Thatta (Afif, 2004: 179). Meanwhile, the Sultan along with his forces was misguided by the Sindhi guides, therefore, lost his way and wandered for about six months, in the swampy area of Rann of Kutch. However, later on, with the help of his minister Khan-i Jahan Maqbul, he was able to get out of the situation (Ghafur, 1968: 4). While, Khan-i Jahan had controlled the affairs of Delhi in the absence of Sultan. It is pertinent to advocate the views of Afif and Barni, who recorded that Sultan Feroz Shah Tughlaq attacked Thatta. (Afif, 2004: 201; Barni, 2006: 231-32). However, Feroz Shah took pity on the people of Thatta, as Afif states, that he called back his army. While, decided his army to be encamped there. In the meantime, with the orders of Sultan, Imad-ul Mulk collected a large army from Delhi and came back to Thatta. This time scarcity of food prevailed over the people of Thatta. So the large population migrated from Thatta. In this regard, it is stated that Jam Juna and Jam Bambinia made request for the negotiation to Sayyid Jalal-ud Din Husain Bukhari, a saint from Uchchh. In this connection, Afif and Barni recorded that due to the interference of the saint, both were received by the Sultan with great kindness. Thus, with out any war the matter was solved. In this manner, the Tughlaq rule was established at Thatta (Afif, 2004: 205-11; Barni, 2006: 234-36). The Sultan then took Jam Juna and Jam Bambinia with honour to Delhi and assigned the affairs of Thatta Jam Tamachi. Thus he became the incharge of Thatta. Whereas, Jam Juna and Jam Bambinia were allocated with annual allowances and were accommodated near the palace, which was named “Palace of Thatta”. After few years, Jam Tamachi revolted, therefore, the Sultan sent Jam for suppressing him. Who sent him to Delhi. Whereas, in Talib’s translation, it is cited that he was expelled from the land (Afif, 2004: 217). When Sultan Tughlaq Shah ascended the throne Bambinia was sent to Thatta. But he died on the way to Thatta (Afif, 2004: 212-17; Barni, 2006: 236-38). On the other hand, Quddusi states that Sultan Feroz Shah Tughlaq sent back Jam Juna to his seat of government, where he ruled for some time. He mentions his full name as Alauddin Jam Juna bin Bambinia and places his reign from A.H 777/A.D 1375-76 to A.H 790-91/A.D 1388-89 (Quddusi, 1976: 449). In this connection it may

be proclaimed here that in A.D 1388 Jam Tamachi once again became the ruler of Thatta and ruled until A.D1392.

In short, Thatta was under the Delhi Sultanate until A.D. 1388. It is utmost vital to emphasis here that when Feroz Shah Tughlaq died in A.D. 1388 thus, the Sammas regained their position over Thatta. To conclude the matter here that Firuzuddin Jam Unar, A.D 1337-57 was the first ruler, while the last ruler was Salahuddin Shah 917-919 A.H (Dani, 1982: 20), who was defeated by Shah Beg Arghun in A.D 1520.

It is sterling to advocate here that Arghuns replaced the Samma in A.D 1520. Whereas the Arghuns were succeeded by the Tarkhans in A.D 1555. Both the Arghuns, Tarkhans were come from Central Asia. It was in A.D 1505, when the Safavids replaced the Timurid clan. They thrashed the Timurids severely, therefore, to save their lives, they migrated to Khurasan and Qandahar. In this sequence, it may be elaborated here that due to the rise of the Uzbeks in Khurasan, life became so miserable. Thus, to survive under such tensed situation, Zaheer-ud-Din Babur escaped his life, therefore, he came to Qandahar. Later on, he went to Kabul and finally in A.D 1526 he got control over the Subcontinent. Similarly, the Arghuns and Tarkhans also started fighting for their glory. In this process, they established themselves in Qandahar. However, due to the assault of Babur over Qandahar the Arghuns and Tarkhans were forced to leave Qandahar. In this connection, they shifted to the Baluchistan and Sindh regions. It is noteworthy, to proclaim here that the migration of the Arghun and Tarkhan families to the region of Sindh, was started during the domain of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo. They were assigned a separate portion at Thatta called "Mughal wara" (Siddiqi, 1972: 20; B.D.G., 1907: 64; Masum, 2002: 153-54; Cousens, 1929: 32-33). These Central Asian settlers at Thatta, slowly and gradually gained strength. When they saw the opportunity because of the weak power at the centre, thus these settlers paved way for Shah Beg Arghun, who attacked Thatta. In this regard, Jam Feroze was kept at Thatta, where as, Darya Khan or Mubarak Khan the great general and prime minister of the Samma domain, tried his level best to stop the Arghuns domination. In this process, his two sons Mehmud Khan and Matan Khan were killed in the battle of Talhati. In the mean while, Darya Khan was killed at Khanwah on 11 Muharam 927 AH/December 22, 1520 (Hasan, S.K., 1988: 242).

It is interesting to add here, that the Arghuns under the Shah Beg became the masters of Thatta, however, he died on 10 November A.D 1523 (Siddiqi, 1972: 234; Quddusi, 1976: 40). He was replaced by his son Shah Hasan, who ruled over Thatta until A.D. 1555. However, it is incorrectly stated that he died in 961 A.H/A.D 1554. In this process, Siddiqi has cited the correct date, which has been quoted from the account of a Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis. Who was the

witness of this event. He has mentioned it on 1st Rabil-ul-Awwal 962/24th January 1555 (Siddiqi, 1972: 113).

The Tarkhan then succeeded the Arghuns of Thatta. However, the entire Sindh valley was divided between the two different ruling families. Such as, the upper Sindh with Bakhar its capital, was governed by Mehmud Khan Kokaltash. Whose family came from Asfahan. He ruled independently until A.D 1574. Whereas, the lower Sindh with Thatta its capital came under Isa Khan Tarkhan I (Khudadad Khan, 1959: 72; Siddiqi, 1972: 150; Qani, 2002: 207; Baglari, 1980: 16). The Tarkhan domain may be divided into two groups, such as, the early Tarkhans from A.D 1555 until A.D 1592, where as, the later Tarkhan or as a vassal kings of the Mughals from AD 1592 until A.D 1613. It is indeed sterling to add here that in the next chapter of the present work the analytical analysis of the Tarkhan history at Thatta shall be discussed at length, in order to bring forth the core of the problem.

1.4. Location of Makli Hill

The geological time scale of the Makli Hill, is assigned to the Eocene period (Pithawala, 1959: 70; Dani, 1982: 9). The hill range starts from Pir Patho, and ending due west of Thatta. However, David Ross in his contribution has elaborated that the Makli Hill is initiating from Pir Patho and ending at Samui located three miles southwest of Thatta (Ross, 1976: 25) (Fig.3). It is important to add here that, to the west it scarily seems to deserve the name of a hill, however, from Thatta it is shaping into a low hilly track. It is interesting to elaborate further, that the under discussion series is varying in height, such as, from about 80 to 150 ft above the sea level. The top is plateau studded with the formal and forbidding *Sindhian* “Cactus” Thoohar (*Euphorbia nereifolia*), strewn thick with pebbles and nodular lumps of hard yellow limestone. These are sometime quite speckled with little Nummulitic lime stone of the Kirther ranges, interbred with green clay and gypsum. This hill, on the north abruptly drops, but on the northwest, it gradually merges into the wide expanses of the plain agricultural land, yielding bushy trees (Pithawala, 1959: 70; Dani, 1982: 9; Qani, 1965: 78-80; 1971: 150, 560-61).

The funeral part of the Makli is covering six square miles. It is yielding over one million of graves, including the rulers, princes, princess, ministers, nobles and ordinary persons (Cousens, 1929: 111). Moreover, according to the vernacular sources among them about one hundred and twenty four thousands are attributed to the Sufi scholars, saints and theologians.

1.5. Nomenclature of Makli Hill

The research scholars have variously cited the origin of the term Makli. However, their theories, hypotheses and assumptions are generally based on the folk traditions. In this process, passing through the phase of working hypotheses, certain legends, myths and traditions are

evaluated to find out its proper etymology, in order to know about its exact nomenclature. In this regard, to solve the contention of nomenclature, we must focus on the factual issues rather than the fictionary sources. However, to understand the proper etymology of the word, in quest of its exact nomenclature, the present researcher has brought to the forefront both the traditional accounts and the factual records to bring forth the core of the problem.

It is significant to elaborate here, that the vernacular sources are mentioning different traditions. Likewise, one of them regarding the above stated term, assuming that one of the saints, on his pilgrimage to Mecca during the course of his journey, he came to this hilly area. He was highly inspired by the spiritual atmosphere of this hill and here he danced in fit of religious frenzy and acclaimed “*Haaza Makatu-li or Makka li*”, “this hill is as scared as Mecca for me”. The word *Makatu li or Makkah li* developed in to Makli by the people (Qani, 2002: 567; Lari, 1997: 22; Dani, 1982: 5). However, it is worthwhile, to remark here that Muhammad Ali Manjhi describes a little different episode. According to which a man was going for Hajj, he stayed at the Makli Hill and saw here Mecca in his dream, therefore, he proclaimed “*Haaza Maka-li*” (Manjhi, 2007: 162). While, Mumtaz Husain Pathan has cited this tradition in different mode, accordingly that man was much astonished, by seeing such a large number of graves of the pious people. One of the spirits wished him to reside here. Who onwards constructed a Khanqah for himself and proclaimed “*Haza Makkah li*” this place is like Mecca for me. In this sequence, it appears that the hill owes its name from Mecca, which later on, developed into Makli (Pathan, 1978: 28).

Yet another tradition portrays, that in the past there was a pious woman with the name of Makli or Mayi Makli. She came to this hilly area and got inhabited there (Pathan, 1978: 359). According to the traditions recorded by the vernacular sources, when she died, was buried outside the old mosque of Makli, attached to the back of its mehrab. Moreover, it is located to the southeast of Sheikh Hamad Jamali Madrasah. In this process, the saint Sheikh Hamad Jamali, who was residing there for the sake of teaching and preaching at his Madrasah. Thus on his desire, Jam Tamachi constructed a mosque between A.D 1389-92. It was given the name Makli. Which was subsequently employed to the entire area (Cousens, 1929: 111; Lari, 1997: 22; Qani, 2002: 567; Manjhi, 2007: 162). It may be further advocated here that the saint also declares it the Muslim graveyard instead of Pir Patho (Qani, 2002: 564; Cousens, 1929: 111; Lari, 1997: 22).

It is equally interesting to make a mention of yet another tradition. It is narrating that once an old and ill woman started her journey to offer Hajj. According to the vernacular sources, when she arrived at this hill region, it was late evening time. Therefore, she spent the night there with the desire to resume her journey by the morning. It is said, while sleeping, she saw a dream,

in which she was told that *haza Makkah li* “this is Mecca for you”. When she got up in the morning, she went to the nearby mosque or *Madrasah*, where she discussed the dream with the theologian. Who interpreted as “this place is as sacred as Mecca for you”. As a matter of fact, the theologian may not have advocated the place to compare it with Mecca, however, he might have explained the old and ill lady that dream is denoting that where you would be offering your prayers (worships) and good deeds, shall be like Mecca for you. Moreover, as this dream is associated with the at issue place, therefore, the locals considered it as sacred as Mecca. It may be further added here that either from the name of a pious lady *Mayi Makli*, or the prophecy of the dream “*Makkah li*” or the saint pronounced it as “*haza Makkah li*” laid the foundation for the derivation of *Makli* and the area as *Kohistan-i Makli* or the *Makli Hill*. In the same context *David Ross* has named it “*Little Mecca*” (*Ross, 1976: 24*). Which subsequently caused for the origin of its name. However it is indeed pertinent to advocate here that *Orlich* has mentioned it “*Meki Hill*”. It is obviously yielding close affinity with the sounding of *Makkahli* denoting Mecca like (*Orlich, 1976: 103-4*). In this connection, it is equally vital to proclaim here that *Raverty* has mentioned different terms for this hilly region. Such as, “*Mukhahli*” and “*Makkahli*” (*Raverty, 1979: 170 & 181*), are clearly showing that the local sources are suggesting the derivation of its etymology from the supposed version of knowledge.

It is interesting to elaborate here that besides, the above stated hypothetical versions, inquest of its proper nomenclature, there are as well pre-Islamic myths and legends, forwarded by the historians in search of its proper roots of origin. In this regard, *Manjhi* quoting from *G. M. Sayed*’s portrays, he says, that there was a believer sect “*Digambara*” founded by “*Mankali*”, whose followers named this place after him as “*Mankali*” which is the prototype of *Makli* (*Manjhi, 2007: 162*).

It is sterling to elaborate here, that both the hypothetical traditions and its proper etymology in the light of authentic references either quoted or scientifically investigated in order to reach the exact conclusion. In this sequence, *H. Pottinger* in his works registered an important reference, such as, “*Mukulee*” a name from which the term *Makli* has been taken (*Pottinger, 1816: 346-7*). Where as, *J. Wood* claims its derivation from *Mukali* (*Wood, 1976: 5-8*).

In this process, *Ali Ahmad Brohi* cited a very significant hypothetical tradition, perhaps proving its association with the under discussion term. In this connection, *Brohi* co-relates the word *Makli* with a primitive temple of “*Mahā Kālī*”, further more, he denies the other theories or suppositions in consequence of its derivation (*Brohi, 1983: 53-54*).

It is sterling to advocate here that *Brohi* believes the existence of a Hindu temple, which was known as “*Mahā Kālī*”. Whereas, in this sequence, *Wood* mentions its derivation from

“Mukali”, which seems to be the corrupted form of “Ma’kālī” or “Mātā’kālī”, these are the localised versions of the name “Kālī”, which is also called “Mahā Kālī”. Likewise, Pottinger has identified its origin from “Mukulee”, showing its connection with “Mukali”, which is itself representing its nomenclature from Mahā Kālī, presumably converted locally into Mā’kali and then became as Makli.

It may be further elaborated here, that Knappert denotes the Hindu mythological association, in which the two gods such as “Mahā-Kala” means Śiva the god of the irrevocable time (Knappert, 1995: 138), whereas, the name of a goddess such as, “Mahā Kālī”, is indicating an epithet of Devī-Uma-Kālī (Knappert, 1995: 139). Thus, in the light of Brohi assumption, such as, the existence of Mahā-Kālī temple and Knappert’s mythological association, are visibly showing its proper etymology.

It is significant to advocate here, that Ali Ahmad Brohi has mentioned in his works, that the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo was constructed from the dismantled material of a Hindu temple, located in the vicinity, which was called “*Mahā Kālī*” (Brohi, 1983: 53-54). In this regard, it is equally important to work out the possibility of such hypothetic view, whether such temple with similar name was existed or not? In this process, except Ali Ahmad Brohi, the indigenous chronicles and the archaeological survey reports are absolutely silent regarding the existence of *Mahā Kālī* temple in the region of our concern.

In this connection, the present researcher during the documentation of the Makli Hill monuments, has started explorations in its surrounding. During the course of exploration, the researcher has been able to discover Hindu temples at Makli Hill. It may be mention here that during the course of investigation the researcher met with the caretaker of the “Mātā Bhawani” temple. It may be added here, that presently a road leading from Karachi to Thatta, which onward, approaching towards Hyderabad, is separating the Makli necropolis into two parts. The northwestern side (Mound “A”) and the southwestern side (Mound “B”). The under discussion temple is located on the Mound “B” just in front of the Shah Abdul Latif mosque, on the right side of the main road. The present researcher met with the caretakers, Jai Kumar and Mahārāja of the temple Jivan Śrī Mahā Rāja. During the course of discussions, they pointed out three temples such as; “Mātā Sinha Bawani Mandir”, which is located on the right side of the main road as discussed above. The second temple is of great significance i.e. “Mātā Kālī” or “Ma’kali” or “Mahā Kālī” Mandir’. This temple has been completely vanished, however, the original platform over which the Balidan ceremony was being offered and even till this day in use. This temple is located about 200 m to the west of Mātā Sinha Bawani temple. The Balidan concept in Hinduism is holding utmost importance, therefore, the concept of Mahā Kālī Devī and even Mahā Kālī

temples are of pertinent significance, where the rituals are quite oftenly practiced. After making enquiry, the caretakers were unable to provide sufficient information regarding the original plan of the building. However, it is narrated that they have been told from generation to generation that the Mahā Kālī temple was crowned by dome and richly carved with architectural decoration.

The third temple is called the “Mātā Mansha Mandir”, it is situated about 2 km to the south of “Mātā Bawani Mandir”. Yet another “Mahā Kālī” temple is located on the Makli Hill, just outside the Kalan Kot fort near the stepped well. It is a rock shelter or located inside a low cave. It has been mostly vanished, however, the niche or the place for *sindhur* practice is intact, where the *sindhur* ceremony is still offered, moreover, the *Balidan* cult was also practiced here in order to accomplish the rituals.

The caretakers told that according to the Hindu traditions, once “Rām Chandarji” visited these temples and stayed in this vicinity during the course of his pilgrimage. It is said that from here, he had been to Hinglaj temple located in Makran Baluchistan, in order to accomplish his pilgrimage rituals. The above stated mythological tradition is suggesting the association of the epic hero of “Rāmāyanā” “Rām Chander” with Makli (Burnes, 1975: vol. III, 30-34; Ali, M., 1987: 132). Thus it appears, the cluster of temples located in the vicinity of Thatta and Makli Hill are clearly indicating that one of the Hindu Rāja established a city at Thatta before the arrival of the Arabs known as “Sameenuggur”, which seems to be the corrupted form of “Swaminagar” the city of the gods (Burnes, 1975: vol. III, 30-34). This can be further advocated in the light of “Tata” the actual name of the place. In Sanskrit it means the sound of Śiva (William, 1963: 432, col. 1), while Thathani means the abode of Śiva (William, 1963: 430, col. 1).

It can be further attributed here that keeping in view the above stated mythological assumptions seeking its proper derivation such as, the sound of Śiva or the abode of Śiva, in connection with Swami-Nagar or the city of the gods, moreover, Manjhis interpretation of Mankali the founder of Digambara sect (Manjhi, 2007: 167), denoting a naked ascetic, also called the epithet of Śiva (Knappert, 1995: 93), all are possessing close affinity, furthermore, these are visibly showing its proper derivation. The Hindus once in their life go to Hinglay via “Mātā Bawani” and “Mahā Kālī” temples. Moreover, Bawani is the offshoot of “Mahā Kālī”, whereas, Gorī and Kalka are the other names for “Mahā Kālī”. In this connection, Gorī temple is located in Nagarparkar and Kalka Devī temple in the Rohri Hills. The above mentioned different names are the forms of Mahā Kālī a Hindu goddess seems to have been caused for the origin of the inquestion name.

Thus, in the light of Brohi's view and the present researchers identification of "Mahā Kālī" temples at Ma'kli Hill and its importance as a cult image in the entire locality caused for its derivation. Therefore, either from Mukulee, or perhaps Mukali, then into "Mātā Kālī" or "Ma'kali" or probably Mahā Kālī caused for the derivation of Makli or even Makli may be considered the corrupted form of Ma'Kali, which is one way or the other has its very visible etymology from Mahā-Kālī. These eventually paved way for the origin of the name Makli.

1.6. Origin of Makli

The history of Makli is shrouded in mysteries. In this process, it is a sterling fact that the question of its origin is a certain phenomena, which has created doubts among the scholars that how and when the under discussion, was founded as a funeral and worshipping centre? However, in this regard the travelers accounts, geographers, autobiographers and the present research scholars one way or the other have discussed the different issues of Makli Hill, however, very little work has been done.

In this sequence, it is utmost pertinent to argue here that the present researcher besides, the hypothetic theories, has been able to find out both the archaeological sources as well, the literary accounts, which can very easily solve this matter of contention. In this concern, the vernacular sources are clearly denoting that Sheikh Hamad Jamali, a great Sufī scholar and saint, was responsible to set up Makli, as a sacred place of worship and as well a funeral place. It was subsequently followed by his imperial Samma disciple Jam Tamachi, who started his rule in A.D 1369-70, was ousted by Jam Juna in A.D 1372. However, it was due to the blessings of Sheikh Hamad Jamali, regained his power in A.D 1388-89 and ruled until A.D 1392 (Lari, 1997: 8). It was during this phase of time, when the saint desires, for the construction of a mosque. Which, was built by the royal disciple near his Khanqah or Madrasah, in A.D 1389-92. It was subsequently named as Makli Mosque by the saint (Qani, 2002: 564-67; Cousens, 1929: 111). In this connection, it is significant to proclaim here, that David Ross is quoting Qani, who is mentioning that Sheikh Hamad Jamali declares it, as a funeral place instead of Pir Patho (Qani, 2002: 564; Ross, 1976: 25). In this connection, it is vital to proclaim here that the story of becoming as a burial place started with the tradition of Mayi Makli grave, situated out side the mehrab of the Makli mosque. Whereas, the Chaukhandi of Jam Tamachi A.D 1392, may be considered as the first ever royal burial. In this process, it appears quite visibly that Jam Tamachi under the Samma dynasty initiated it as a burial place. In this regard, it was duly continued as a worshipping and funeral place under the Arghuns A.D 1520-1555, Tarkhans A.D 1555-1613 and later on, under the Mughals. Thus, keeping in view one can very easily observes four important

periods of the above stated ruling dynasties, who during their domain have given special attention to its religious significance.

It is indeed interesting to point out that besides, the above cited literary sources, the inquestion term has also been recorded in the epigraphic sources, such as in the case of Murad Nizam-ud-Din's Chaukhandi, located to the north east of Amir Khani grave complex, is showing Persian couplets carved in nastalique style. It can be noticed on the inner lintels. The most significant feature of this inscription is the date A.D 1638 and the name of the place, which is the first ever instance of its kind, at Makli Hill. It is denoting the name "ba'goristan-e-Makli", means the graveyard of Makli (Javadi, 1992: 254). It is indeed sterling to mention here, that in the graveyard of Makli Hill, four different periods may be recorded, such as, I. Samma, II. Arghun, III. Tarkhan and IV. Mughals, who have constructed their burials in the region. Furthermore, these burials can be classified into six major groups such as, I. Mosques, II. Madrasah Pavilion, III. Mausoleas, IV. Chaukhandis, V. Grave platforms with mosque enclosure or Ran□k and VI. Platform with graves.

It is utmost sterling to advocate here that the art and architecture developed at Makli Hill, is visibly showing a blend of different cultures, which is mainly caused due to the cultural interactions. Thus, the indigenous values were amalgamated with the Persian and Central Asian styles, it eventually gave birth to a new mode of art and architecture. Which slowly and gradually became the trademark of this region.

Chapter-II

2. The Tarkhan Dynasty

2.1. Genealogy

The genealogical tree of Arghuns and Tarkhans is doubtful because, both declare their lineage to Arghun Khan b. Abaqa (Abakan by Erskine) b. Hulegu (Halaku Khan) b. Tuli Khan b. Chingiz Khan (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 973; Qani, 1971: 55; Mirkhwand, 1339 H: 238b; Khudadad Khan, 1959: 62; Siddiqi, 1972: 249; Erskine, 1974: 262, n. *; Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 303; Akhtar, 1990: 4; Qani, 2002: 178; Zambaur, 1927: 245). The accession date of Arghun Khan is given by Quddusi is 7th Jamadi-us Sani 683/A.D 1284, and that of death is 6th Rabi-ul Awwal 690/A.D 1291 (Quddusi, 1980: 3). Arghun Khan had a son Uljaitu (also Eljaitu), whose son was Ilchi (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 497; Zambaur, 1927: 245). Whereas, Eku Timur was the son of Ilchi. He is named as Atku Timur by Abul Fazal (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 973; Siddiqi, 1972: 249). Eku Timur had a son Shah Mulk, whereas, Abul Fazal, Zambaur and Elliot have incorrectly recorded that Shah Mulk with Shakal or Shankal Beg, however, Yazdi in Zafar Nama, while Mirkhwand, declares that Shakal is a dissimilar person (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 973; Zambaur, 1927: 291; Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 497; Mirkhwand, 1339 A.H: 17b, 115b; Siddiqi, 1972: 249). Qani writes about the earlier history of Arghuns through the courtesy from “*Kitab-e-Tazkira*” quoted in his book “*Tufat-ul-Kiram*” that Arghun Khan became the ruler of Khurasan during his father’s lifetime (Qani, 2002: 178). According to Qazi Ghayas-ud-Din Harvi, Muhammad Ghazan ibn-e Arghun became the ruler. This figure is not mentioned in the genealogical tree of Arghuns which has been given by Siddiqi in his book, “History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sindh”, neither any reference comes about him from Saleem, Akhtar’s book “Sindh under the Mughals” nor mentioned by Zambaur. In 624 A.H/A.D 1228, he became the ruler in Tabraiz and embraced Islam. He issued his coins with the Kalima and his commandments were written with words “Allah A’ala” (Qani, 2002: 178-79).

Subsequently, the lineage of Arghuns and Tarkhans bifurcates from Shah Mulk onwards, the family tree of Arghun is recorded as; Shah Mulk—Bartakh Beg—Shekhu Beg—Mehmud Beg—Yar Beg— Mir Farrukh Beg—Miran or Miran Beg—Ahmad Wali—Farrukh Beg—Amir Basri. However, this chart is uncertain as Amir Basri or Mir Hasan Basri is declared to be a contemporary of Amir Timur. Most of the scholars have claimed that the linking line down from Shah Mulk to Hasan Basri is imaginary (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 498; Zambaur, 1927: 291; Siddiqi, 1972: 249, n. 5). In this connection, it may be proclaimed here that Eku Timur fought against Tuqtamish as a representative of Amir Timur. In this process, it may be added here, that due to the bravery and loyalty of Eku Timur the king Amir Timur bestowed him with

the title of Amir-ul Umara (Siddiqi, 1972: 250). Furthermore, Mir Hasan, also remained in the service of Amir Timur. After the death of Eku Timur his son Shah Mulk was given much honour and entitled with “Tarkhan”. Later on, his descendents adopted this title as their family or tribe name (Mirkhwand, 1339 H: 117b; Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 973; Siddiqi, 1972: 250).

From here, the descendants of Arghun Khan are subdivided, as Arghun and Tarkhans. In this regard, Siddiqi is advocating that the Tarkhans are possibly from the eldest son of Shah Mulk, while those from Bartak were the Arghuns (Siddiqi, 1972: 250).

2.2. Historical Background

Tarkhans are presumed to be the off springs of the eldest son of Shah Mulk. But we have no information down from Shah Mulk up to Abdul Khaliq Tarkhan, however, his son Abdul Ali Tarkhan I, may be considered the direct ancestor of the Tarkhans of Sindh (Siddiqi, 1972: 249). It has been stated in Babur Nama that he remained with Sultan Ahmad Mirza of Samarqand as *amir*, who assigned him the governorship of Bukhara. It is also believed that it was due to the backing of Abdul Ali Tarkhan I, that Shaibani raised to such a high position (Beveridge, 1987: 38-39; Siddiqi, 1972: 251). Even Abul Fazal is of the view that Shaibani served under him (Siddiqi, 1972: 251, n. 5). The Mughal historian further narrates that after the death of Sultan Ahmad, he remained under his brother Sultan Mehmud Mirza (for one year). His son Abdul Baqi became his heir, when he died in 899 A.H/A.D 1494. The confusion arises here because the scholars stated that the former had killed his master. Therefore, Abdul Baqi was put to death in A.H 905 /A.D 1499-1500 by Shaibani Khan at Dabusi (Beveridge, 1987: 40). It should be noted here that he died his natural death and was not killed by Shaibani along with his five sons, as wrongly quoted by Abul Fazal. In fact, as Beveridge comments, Shaibani had killed Sultan Mehmud Mirza son of Yunus Khan (Beveridge, 1987: 40; Siddiqi, 1972: 252, n.1). After the tragic death of Abdul Baqi, the Tarkhans having no leader left, therefore, migrated from Transoxiana to Khurasan. They got service under Mir Zun Nun. Similarly, Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan I son of Abdul Ali Tarkhan I also attached himself with Mir Zun Nun. This man was brought up by Shah Beg and after his death, Isa Khan Tarkhan I remained under his son Shah Hasan. After the death of Shah Hasan, he became the master of Thatta. It is significant to claim here, that the vernacular historians are advocating that the Tarkhans started their domain in A.D 1555 and lasted until A.D 1593, when Akbar defeated them. Thus, from A.D 1593 onwards the Mughals governorship over Thatta was initiated (Qani, 2002: 244; Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 500). Whereas, the other group of scholars are proclaiming that in A.D 1593, onwards the Tarkhans were kept as the Jagirdars of Thatta, while some says they were appointed as governors over Thatta. In this sequence, few suggested that after A.D 1593, the later Tarkhans ruled over

Thatta. In this connection, it is equally significant to advocate here, that after A.D 1592-93 onwards until A.D 1613, the later Tarkhans ruled over Thatta as a vassal kings of the Mughals. In this process, the present researcher after analytically analysing the facts and figures, reach to this conclusion that the rule of Tarkhans over the lower Sindh with their capital city at Thatta, can be divided into three parts such as:

- A. Early Tarkhans
 - 1. Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1555-59 & A.D 1562-66
 - 2. Muhammad Saleh Tarkhan A.D 1559-62
 - 3. Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1566-85
 - 4. Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1585-93
- B. Later Tarkhans (Tarkhan as a vassal Kings)
 - 1. Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1593-1601
 - 2. Ghazi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1601-12
 - 3. Abdul Ali Tarkhan II A.D 1612-13
- C. Tarkhan as a governor over Thatta under the Mughals
 - 1. Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1613 {first time} and
A.D 1627-28 {second time}

2.2.1. **Isa Khan Tarkhan-I**

Shah Beg was the man behind the skilled career of Mirza Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I bin Mirza Abdul Ali Tarkhan I, who raised him even from his infancy and gave him a prominent position in his court. He had many qualities and was the man of character. He mounted on the throne after Shah Hasan passed away, on 9th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 962/1st April 1555 (Siddiqi, 1972: 248; Masum, 1938: 107; 2002: 284). As far as the date of ascendancy of Isa Khan Tarkhan I is concerned, Masum has cited incorrectly Jamadi I 992/May 1584 (Masum, 2002: 207), whereas, Masum at yet another place in his work and Qani, have recorded it Rabi II 963/February 1556. However, Siddiqi mentioned, it happened in the early days of Jumada I, 962/ March 1555, supported by the nobles of Arghuns and Tarkhans (Masum, 2002: 284; Qani, 2002: 210; Siddiqi, 1972: 131). However, in this regard, keeping in view the demise date of Shah Hasan Arghun mentioned by Qani, Masum, which is supported by Siddiqi, such as, 9th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 962/1st April 1555 undoubtedly denoting that Isa Khan Tarkhan I would have ascended the throne some where between 10th to the 15th of Jamadi-ul-Awwal 962 that is from the second to the 6th of April 1555.

2.2.2. Agreement between Isa Khan Tarkhan I and Mehmud Khan Kokaltash

It is worthwhile, to make a mention here that in the start of Rabi-II, 963/feb.1556, Isa Khan Tarkhan I gathered a large force against Sultan Mehmud Khan Kokaltash of Bakhar (Masum, 2002: 285). It should be noted here that this incident is wrongly explained by few scholars (Qani, 1971: 67; 2002: 215). They are of the view that Mirza Isa Khan I had taken Siwistan from Sultan Mehmud Khan, while had an eye over *Parganah* of Darbela, though Qani is of the view that he wanted to include Parganah in Siwistan (Qani, 2002: 215). In fact, Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan I had seized Siwistan much earlier (Masum, 1938: 194; 2002: 267).

In short, battle lasted for fifteen days. Sultan Mehmud shut himself up in fort, while the armies were engaged in clash. The news of Portuguese attack of Thatta reached the ears of Isa Khan I, so he drew back, while Sultan Mehmud followed him up to Siwistan. In the meanwhile, *Siyadat-panah* Sayyed Mir Kilan intervened between the two, who solved the matter with an agreement, resulted in moving back of Sultan Mehmud to Bakhar (Masum, 2002: 285; Siddiqi, 1972: 133-34). The local chronicles also have the same opinion on the treaty between the two rulers. According to the agreement, the upper Sindh was governed by Mehmud Khan Kokaltash, whereas, the lower Sindh came under the rule of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, with Thatta his capital city (Qani, 1971: 67).

2.2.3. Sack of Thatta by the Portuguese

Portuguese (Frankish troops) were the first Western Europeans, who raided over Sindh (Ali, M., 1937: 125; Moinuddin, 1975: 71). According to Masum, the Portuguese were invited by Isa Khan I for help against Sultan Mehmud Khan, who took advantage of his absence, looted the city and burnt it up (Masum, 2002: 285). In this process Danvers is mentioning a different story, he says, Isa Khan I invited the Portuguese for help, against Sultan Mehmud Khan. However, before the arrival of Portuguese army, he set an expedition against Sultan Mehmud, however, they made a peace agreement. Therefore, the Portuguese commander, Pedro Barreto Rolim, demanded to pay the expenses incurred to him in bringing his navy from Bassein to Thatta, from the son of Isa Khan I, but the prince refused to pay. On this reply, the Portuguese entered in the city of Thatta in 963 A.H/A.D 1556, looted the city and killed 8000 men and burnt property of worth 2 million (Danvers, 1966: 507-508; Cousens, 1929: 35; Ghafur, 1968: 12). In this process, Mubarak Ali recorded incorrect details, claiming that only 800 people were killed by the Portuguese (Ali, M., 1937: 126). In this process, Masum is mentioning that they left Thatta by putting it in flames, moreover, taking the inhabitants in prison, along with the booty. Even they blazed the river by spraying spirit over it (Masum, 2002: 285). In this regard, Siddiqi suggests

the incident happened in 973/1565-66 (Siddiqi, 1972: 116), seems to be far from the actual fact. Similarly, Qani placed this incident in the last days of Isa Khan I Sway (Qani, 1971: 67).

In this connection, Cousens dated this event in A.D 1555, whereas, Sorley and other scholars are supporting the date given by Cousens (Cousens, 1929: 35; Sorley, 1968: 344; Masson, 1974: 468; Ross, 1976: 24; Khan: Z.A., 1980: 43; Ali, M., 2005: 56-8). In this connection, it can be proclaimed here that Danvers has cited the authentic sources therefore, he seems close to the actual matter of fact. It is indeed sterling to advocate here that Masum mentioned the accurate details of the Isa Khan I raid over Siwistan, which took place in early Rabi-II 963/February 1556 (Masum, 2002: 285). Furthermore, as mentioned by Masum and supported by Siddiqi, this battle had taken him fifteen days (Masum, 2002: 285; Siddiqi, 1972: 133-134). In this regard, the present researcher in the light of above stated facts and figures, is suggesting that the Portuguese might have invaded or came to Thatta, during the end of Rabi-II 963/early March 1556.

2.2.4. Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan

Mirza Muhammad Baqi and Muhammad Saleh the sons of Mirza Isa Tarkhan I, rivaled against each other in the early days of 967 A.H/A.D 1559. However, Isa Khan Tarkhan I, favoured Mirza Saleh Tarkhan, who defeated his brother Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan in A.D 1559. In the same year, he became the master of Thatta. After the defeat, Muhammad Baqi fled to Wang (Siddiqi, 1972: 13; Masum, 2002: 285). Whereas, Qani mentioned that he fled to Kutch (Qani, 2002: 111), the residence of the Sodas. According to Sidi Ali Reis quoted by Cousens, this place was the frontier town of Sindh, some times this place was a chief harbor (Cousens, 1929: 172). It is 5 miles away in the east of the Puran River and 74 miles away from Hyderabad to its southeast (Siddiqi, 1972: 134, n.1). The two brothers Mirza Baqi and Jan Baba along with some Arghun soldiers went into exile. Mirza Baqi set his journey to Kutch and got married with the daughter of the Jareja chief. He had then a son Mirza Muzaffar from her (Qani, 2002: 112). While, Jan Baba took shelter at Umarmkot. He also got married with the daughter of the Sameja's chief, from whom Allah bestowed him with Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Qani, 1971: 66; Siddiqi, 1972: 134, n.2). Later on, Mirza Muhammad Baqi passed through Jaisalmar to Bakhar, where he met Sultan Mehmud in 968 A.H/A.D 1560-61. He was received with great honour (Siddiqi, 1972: 134, n.3).

2.2.5. Death of Mirza Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan

Mirza Muhammad Saleh Tarkhan's death date is incorrectly mentioned by Hastenrath as A.D 1570 (Hastenrath, 2003: 37). Whereas, Siddiqi has stated correctly, that he was killed by

Murid, a Baluch in 970 A.H/A.D 1562, as a revenge of his father's murder by Mirza Saleh (Siddiqi, 1972: 135; Javadi, 1992: 314).

2.2.6. Muhammad Beqi Beg Tarkhan as a Crown Prince

It may be mentioned here that with the consent of Sultan Mehmud Khan, Isa Khan Tarkhan I sent Abdul Wahab Purani and Mirza Yar Muhammad Tarkhan, the nephew of Mirza Isa Tarkhan I for calling back his sons Mirza Muhammad Baqi and Mirza Jan Baba Tarkhan (Masum, 2002: 287; Siddiqi, 1972: 135). Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan I, at first, is said to have recommended Mirza Jan Baba as his descendant, however, with the interference of Mah Begum, nominated Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan (Masum, 1938: 225; 2002: 288; Siddiqi, 1972: 137). Whereas, Siddiqi is quoting Tarkhan Nama, due to the Sultan Mehmud Khans intercession and some of the leading nobles, favoured Mirza Baqi (Siddiqi, 1972: 135, n.3). Consequently, by the advice of Sultan Mehmud Khan, he met his father, who assigned him the Jagir of Siwistan, in 973 A.H/A.D 1565-66 (Masum, 1938: 225; 2002: 287; Siddiqi, 1972: 135).

2.2.7. Death of Mirza Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I

Mirza Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I, died in 973 A.H/A.D 1566. This date seems to be a debatable issue, as Qani suggests 980 A.H/A.D 1572, thus marking his rule for 18 years. Similarly, Cousens also follows the same date (Qani, 1971: 67; 2002: 217-18; Cousens, 1929: 35). While, Muhammad Shafi records it in 972 A.H/A.D 1564 (Shafi, 1974: 22). However, these dates seemed to be very far from the fact. Moreover, A.H. Dani is claiming it 973 A.H/A.D 1567 (Dani, 1982: 18). Furthermore, Siddiqi proclaims Rajab 974/Feb 1567 (Siddiqi, 1972: 136, n.3). However, the correct date can be observed on the epitaph, which denotes 973 A.H/A.D 1566 (Javadi, 1992: 314; Nisyani, 1964: 73)

2.2.8. Succession of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan

In the same year 973 A.H/A.D 1566, Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan succeeded his father, Isa Khan Tarkhan I. While, entrusted the administration to the Arghun nobles, whereas, Siddiqi is quoting Masum and Qani that he murdered the Arghuns in a very large number (Siddiqi, 1972: 137; Masum, 2002: 289; Qani, 2002: 218-19). In the first step, he killed 500 Arghun leaders, followed by several others (Qani, 1971: 68). This act was a response as the Arghuns were explicitly rebellions and against him

Mirza Jan Baba along with Mirza Shadman, as a revolt joined Sultan Mehmud at Bakhar. It is noteworthy to claim here, that Mirza Shadman might be the grandson of Beg Ali Mirza or Malik Ali bin Sultan Ali (Masum, 1938: 97, 113; 2002: 290; Siddiqi, 1972: 138-39), the son-in-law of Muhammad Baqi. Here Beglar Nama gives a different version as compared to Tarikh-i-Masum, accordingly, Jan Baba joined Sultan Mehmud, when Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan defeated

Jan Baba in the vicinity of Thatta. Sultan Mehmud strengthened him with an army of 5000 for fighting at Agham, while they moved back with the arrival of Akbar's army to Bakhar. Mirza Baqi in search of Jan Baba, came to Nasrpur, however, he escaped to Umarkot. He again wanted to join Sultan Mehmud but realised that he was going to capture him, therefore, he went back to Bakhar. For the third time Sultan Mehmud launched attack against Mirza baqi (Siddiqi, 1972: 139, n.1), however retreated back (Qani, 1971: 68).

2.2.9. Death of Jan Baba and Mah Begum

It is significant to advocate here that Baqi Beg Tarkhan finally killed Jan Baba and Yadgar Miskin in 978 A.H/A.D 1571-72 (Siddiqi, 1972: 142; Shafi, 1974: 23; Javadi, 1992: 304). Whereas, Mah Begum was arrested and put to Jail, where she died in 978-79 A.H/A.D 1571-72 (Masum, 2002: 293; Siddiqi, 1972: 142-43, n. 6; Bukhari & Khattak, 2001: 148).

2.2.10. Sultan Mehmud Kolkaltash's Raid

Sultan Mehmud Khan positioned himself for combat at Thatta. In this process, Siddiqi mentions that there were informations regarding the arrival of Muhibb Ali Khan and Mujahid Khan to Multan, having the commands to raid over Sindh. He further states that Said Khan was governing at Multan, therefore, Tarsun Khan along with his brothers were sent to Bakhar (Masum, 1938: 243; 2002: 334, 337; Siddiqi, 1972: 143, n.3). At this time Sultan Mehmud Khan was at Pir-Ar town, when the fort of Uchchh was captured. Mir Masum mentions the besieger, as the brother of Tarsun Muhammad Khan (Masum, 2002: 293). Therefore, Sultan Mehmud Khan immediately retreated to Bakhar. It was in 978/1571-72, when Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan offered the hand of his daughter to Akbar but the proposal was refused and his daughter was sent back (Masum, 2002: 293-94; Siddiqi, 1972: 143, n.4; Qani, 2002: 218; Khan, Z. A., 1980: 48).

2.2.11. Death of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan

It is utmost significant to elaborate here, that Cousens places the death of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan in A.D 1584 (Cousens, 1929: 35). In this process it may be added here that Cousen's view seems to be incorrect because this pertinent event has been specifically mentioned by Masum and Qani in their works, that Mirza Baqi became insane and committed suicide in 993 A.H/A.D 1585 (Qani, 1971: 71, 72; 2002: 231; Masum, 2002: 294; Akhtar, 1990: 57; Siddiqi, 1972: 145; Khan, Z.A., 1980: 49).

2.2.12. Succession of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan

After the death of Baqi Beg, his sons Mirza Muhammad Muzaffar, Mirza Payanda and Mirza Jani Beg were in run to obtain power. A group was supporting Mirza Muzaffar, but since his mother was the daughter of a Jareja chief of Kutch (Siddiqi, 1972: 145, n.3), therefore, he was rejected by the Tarkhan nobles. Whereas, Mirza Payanda was not favoured due to his

insanity (Qani, 1971: 72-73; 2002: 32). In this process, under such prevailing circumstances, Jani Beg Tarkhan was favoured by the Tarkhan nobles and supported him strongly to become the master of Thatta (Qani, 2002: 232). In this connection, Mirza Muzaffar was advised by his wakil, Mir Ali Khan to take the throne by power. However, Jani Beg was called by his supporters from Siwistan, who managed the succession of his father, thus became the master of Thatta. After becoming the ruler of Thatta, he later on, left no time in the benefit of the people and land (Siddiqi, 1972: 145-46).

2.2.13. Death of Sultan Mehmud Khan Kokaltash of Bakhar

It is important to make a mention here that Sultan Mehmud Khan Kokaltash offered the hand of his daughter to King Akbar, who accepted her, as his empress. It may be added here that finally Mehmud Khan surrendered, because he was ill and very weak, moreover, having no male successor, therefore, became the vassal king of Bakhar. After the death of Sultan Mehmud, which took place on Saturday 8th Safar, 982/30th May, 1574 (Qani, 2002: 286; Masum, 2002: 324; Siddiqi, 1972: 174-75; Akhtar, 1990: 55). Akbar initially assigned the Jagir of Bakhar to Fath Khan, however, later on, handing over it to Nawab Muhammad Sadiq Khan, he was also ordered to take over Thatta (Masum, 2002: 342; Siddiqi, 1972: 186; Akhtar, 1990: 58). He reached Bakhar on Tuesday, the 12th Rabi-I, 994/3rd March, 1586. After coping with the issues here, he set his expedition to Siwistan in Zulhajja 994/Nov-Dec 1586. But before this adventure, his army raided over the men of Jani Beg Tarkhan at Patar, in which Jani Beg faced a great loss (Masum, 1938: 248; 2002: 342; Akhtar, 1990: 59).

2.2.14. Akbar admits Jani Beg's Submission and retaining him the Ruler of Thatta

Muhammad Sadiq Khan, hurried towards Mirza Jani Beg, who was at Lakki Hills. Mirza Jani Beg started attack with the Muskets and cannons. However, the royal side came in favour of Jani Beg. In this connection, Abul Fazal records that Sadiq Muhammad retreated back and arrived at Nasrpur, moreover, they were also unsuccessful at Sehwan (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 715; Siddiqi, 1972: 188, n.3), Qani also supports the view of Abul Fazal (Qani, 2002: 238). Regarding the fidelity of Jani Beg, Abul Fazal records that in Zul Hajja 994/Nov, 1586, Sayyid Jalal brought the proposal of obedience from Jani Beg to the court of Akbar (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 776; Siddiqi, 1972: 188, n.3). In this connection, Qani reports that Sayyid Jalal was accompanied by Mirza Shahrukh as the ambassadors of Jani Beg. Akbar treated them with honour and retained Jani Beg Tarkhan as a ruler of Thatta (Qani, 2002, 238; Siddiqi, 1972: 188, n.3).

2.2.15. Conflict between Khan-i-Khanan and Jani Beg

Akbar was at Lahore in the middle of 998 A.H/A.D 1590 (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 871),

when Jani Beg had declared his self-determination. As a result, Akbar appointed Nawab Khan-i-Khanan Abdur Rahim Khan for subduing Thatta and punishing the Baluches (Masum, 2002: 346; Akhtar, 1990: 61). Whereas, Qani narrated a different story. According to him, emperor Akbar became furious on unsuccessful return of Sadiq Khan, therefore, he sent Khan-i-Khanan to take Thatta (Qani, 2002: 238).

2.2.16. **Khusrau Khan Charkas and the Imperial Army**

It is important to elaborate here that Jani Beg sent Khusrau Khan Charkas against the enemy, with several boats and about one hundred (whereas, some have recorded two hundred) fighting grabs (Masum, 2002: 349; Siddiqi, 1972: 195).

Before debating further, Khusrau Khan Charkas needs a little introduction. Siddiqi interprets the “Charkas” as “Circassian”. He further quotes that he was the slave of Mulla Jani Bandri. He was a contemporary of Mirza Shah Hasan. Qani reported that Mulla Jani had many Circassian (*Charkas*), Chinese (*Khatai*) and Indian Slaves. Khusrau Khan Charkas was a very competent person he constructed several buildings, such as, Dabgir mosque (Dani, 1982: 175; Khan, A.N., 1978: 18) and Satcharni, which is mentioned by Qani as the Rank of Khusrau Khan Charkas, which is denoting his burial place (Qani, 1994: 195; Dani, 1982: 164). Besides, he was also a very talented administrator and as well a skilled instructor. Because, of his worth while qualities came under the supervision of Mirza Isa Khan Tarkhan I and later on, remained under Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan. He also remained the instructor of Mirza Jani Beg, when the later succeeded the throne, he made him his *vakil* (Qani, 2002: 284-86; Siddiqi, 1972: 195-96, n. 6).

Khan-i-Khanan, posted Muhammad Muqim Bakhshi, Ali Mardan (actually Ali Mardan Bahadur) and Mir Masum in the fort (Masum, 1938: 252; 2002: 349, Siddiqi, 1972: 196). In Shawwal, 999/August 1591, the grabs of Mirza Jani Beg also came there, finding the sand dunes on one side and fortress on the other (Masum, 2002: 349). While Siddiqi quoting Faizi and Badayuni that the date mentioned by them is 26th Muharram 1000/ 10th November, 1591 (Siddiqi, 1972: 197, n.1), but Abul Fazal suggests 21st Aban/ 31st October, 1591 (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 999, n. 4; Siddiqi, 1972: 197, n.1). According to Abul Fazal, Khusrau Khan Charkas was wounded and the enemy was about to capture him, however, the imperial grab caught fire and several persons were killed (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 920; Masum, 2002: 351). On the other hand, Siddiqi is quoting Tarikh-i-Tahiri that he was made prisoner, however, released by a Charkas Daftir (Siddiqi, 1972: 198, n.5). It is significant to advocate here that Haig has mentioned a wrong statement, regarding their death (Haig, 1972: 105). On the other hand, a false statement is recorded by the royal historians, mentioning that fire ablaze in a Jani Beg’s boat

(Siddiqi, 1972: 198, n.5). In short to conclude the matter here in this battle, Khan-i-Khanan finally got the triumph (Masum, 2002: 351; Siddiqi, 1972: 198).

2.2.17. Surrender of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan

Finally the Mughal and Tarkhan armies faced each other once again, in which Jani Beg lost a great number of his forces, either killed or captured. Masum admits that he fought gallantly but as he had no hope of triumph, therefore, his safety was in the retreat (Masum, 2002: 354). Thus, Jani Beg withdrew to Onarpur (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 963; Qani, 2002: 241).

Whereas, in the battle of Sehwan many soldiers were killed from both sides. At last, Khan-i-Khanan dug channels towards the fort, moreover, cut off its supply routes. Finally Jani Beg surrendered, giving his 30 gurabs, several boats as well the fort of Sehwan. After this heavy defeat he retreated back to Thatta (Masum, 2002: 354). In the meanwhile, he offered his daughter's hand to the Khan-e-Khanan's son Mirza Irij (Siddiqi, 1972: 203, n.4). In this process, Siddiqi is quoting Masum, he is suggesting that finally an agreement was signed and the boats were handed over, moreover, he was also allowed to go back to Thatta (Masum, 1938: 256; 2002: 355; Siddiqi, 1972: 204).

2.2.18. Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan retains his position at Thatta

Akbar called on Jani Beg Tarkhan to the court of Lahore. In this connection, Cousens incorrectly mentions his visit in A.D 1591 (Cousens, 1929: 36), whereas, Masum remains silent about the date of his visit (Masum, 2002: 356). However, Abul Fazal, Siddiqi and Akhtar have correctly recorded it, that is on 24 Jamda-II, 1001/28th March 1593 and consequently, conferred Thatta on him, and was made the mansabdar of four or five Thousand. The date mentioned above is not given by Masum but is taken from the Mughal accounts (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 971; Siddiqi, 1972: 205, n.1; Akhtar, 1990: 76). In this sequence, it is significant to proclaim here that from A.D 1593 the Tarkhans became the vassal of Mughals, therefore, may be termed as the later Tarkhans or the vassal kings of Thatta under the Mughals.

2.2.19. Death of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan

According to Masum Jani Beg died of fever on 27th Rajab 1008/12th Feb, 1600 (Masum, 2002: 357). Similarly the date of his death is wrongly quoted by Abul Fazal, 13 Bahman, 1009/1st February 1601. Moreover, Qani, Masumi, and Akhtar have also mistakenly quoted it 27 Rajab 1009/1 February 1601 (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 1172; Akhtar, 1990: 77). However, there is an inscription put down by Siddiqi furnishes 22nd Rajab, 1009/28th January, 1601 (Siddiqi, 1972: 206, n. 1), which is seemed to be more authentic as this can also be observed on the tomb stone of Jani Beg Tarkhan.

2.2.20. Succession of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan

After the death of Mirza Jani Beg, Akbar issued an Imperial edict, affirming his son Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, as the ruler of Thatta (Masum, 2002: 357; Qani, 2002: 249; Siddiqi, 1972: 206). He sent Baba Talib Isfahani with a robe to Ghazi Beg (Akhtar, 1990: 78). Baba Talib was so pleased with the generosity of the new ruler of Thatta, that he was there for about two years (Qani, 2002: 257). This resulted in a perplexity about Ghazi Beg in the Imperial camp (Abul Fazal, 1948-49: 810; Akhtar, 1990: 78). He also gave him the task to bring Ghazi Beg to the court (Qani, 2002: 258; Akhtar, 1990: 78). Saeed Khan encamped at Darbela and sent Mir Abul Qasim Namakin to Thatta for bringing Ghazi Beg to the court (Akhtar, 1990: 79). Finally he reached Agra on 14 Mirhr 1013/6th October, 1604. Akbar assigned him the *jagir* and *mansab* of his father (Qani, 2002: 262; Akhtar, 1990: 79-80).

Akbar died on 13 Jamadi-II 1014/26th October 1605, while he was still at the court. Mirza stayed there until he won the confidence of Jahangir (Akhtar, 1990: 80). Who likewise, his father retained him the ultimate ruler of Thatta on behalf of the Mughals.

2.2.21. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's Expedition to Qandahar

The Persian nobles of Khurasan were constantly striving to subdue Qandahar, these activities paralysed the administrative and socio-economic affairs of the province. Keeping in view the prevailing circumstances Jahangir finally decided to send Ghazi Beg for their suppression (Jahangir, 1975: 27). Ghazi Beg, in spite of various shortcomings, was able to draw back the Persians from there and successfully entered Qandahar on 12th Shawwal 1015/10 February 1607. After reoccupying Qandahar, he handed over its affairs to Sardar Khan as a governor, who was nominated by him on behalf of emperor Jahangir (Qani, 2002: 266; Akhtar, 1990: 83).

2.2.22. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's Relations with Emperor Jahangir

Ghazi Beg was at Bakhar, while some rivals gave his bad impression to Jahangir, regarding Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's rebellious nature and told the emperor that he might not come back to the Mughal court. Jahangir called on Ghazi Beg, who very obediently visited his court at Lahore on 12th Shaaban 1016/2nd December 1607. Jahangir was so pleased with this act that he bestowed some parts of Multan on him, moreover, the possession of Thatta was also retained. It is pertinent to add here, that Qani is reporting in his account that king Jahangir called him his 'son', because of his affiliations with the Mughal court. It is indeed sterling to elaborate further, that due to his loyalty and administrative skills the emperor also bestowed on him the government of Qandahar province (Qani, 2002: 266; Akhtar, 1990: 83-84). In the light of above mentioned discussions, it appears, that the king has immense confidence on Ghazi Beg Tarkhan.

He always proved his trustworthiness and loyalty before the emperor. Who acknowledges his capabilities with honour and great kindness.

2.2.23. Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan's Relations with Shah Abbass of Persia

It is important to remark here that Ghazi Beg Tarkhan on one hand achieved a high rank in the Jahangir's court, whereas, on the other side he has also been able to influence the Persian ruler Shah Abbass, because of his competent qualities and sincere attitude. In this regard, Ghazi Beg Tarkhan also developed positive terms with Shah Abbass of Iran. He sends Jalalud Din Abdullah (Mir Khan), as his ambassador with precious gifts to the court of the Persian emperor (Nisyani, 1964: 262; Qani, 2002: 267). These friendly contacts resulted in to cordial relations between the two rulers. The Persian ruler was much impressed by his attitude, therefore, as a token of affiliation Shah Abbass called him his son (Akhtar, 1990: 85). From the acclamation of Shah, we can clearly observe that he got the favour of the Persian ruler in the subjugation of Qandahar and later on, because of his support he administered Qandahar very well. Moreover, these bilateral contacts strengthened the political position of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan, which undoubtedly made him a very influential ruler of the area (Qani, 2002: 268; Akhtar, 1990: 85; Nisyani, 1964: 260).

2.2.24. Death of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan

At last, he died on 11th Safar 1021/13th April 1612 (Nisyani, 1964: 270; Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 500; Akhtar, 1990: 86). The date and cause of his death is variously recorded. A group of historians suggest that he died of being poisoned, while others declare, the continuous drinking caused for his death. Qani presented two traditions, that a slave Abdul Latif killed him by pressing his neck or through poisoning (Qani, 2002: 272).

2.2.25. Succession of Mirza Abdul Ali Beg Tarkhan II

It is significant to make a mention here that Ghazi Beg Tarkhan was replaced by Isa Khan Tarkhan II. However, the present researcher on the basis of authentic references, is claiming that Mirza Abdul Ali Beg Tarkhan II was the last ruler of the late Tarkhans. Who had ascended the throne without the royal permission. Due to this rebellious attitude, he was imprisoned and later on, Isa Khan II was made the incharge. However, instead of being as a ruler, he was given the status of governor of Thatta.

It is significant to know about this little known ruler, who reigned over Thatta, for a brief period. It is said that Mirza Abdul Ali Tarkhan II bin Mirza Farrukh bin Mirza Shahrukh bin Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan bin Isa Khan Tarkhan I bin Abdul Ali Tarkhan I, was made the successor of Mirza Ghazi Beg Tarkhan. Thus, he became the ruler of Thatta after the death of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan (Nisyani, 1964: 270-71; Khan, A.N., 1978: 19; Akhtar, 1990: 86). It

is important to advocate here that Abdul Ali Tarkhan II, with the favour of Khusrau Khan Charkas, became the last ruler of Thatta in Safar 1021/April 1612. His domain lasted for a period of one year. However, when emperor Jahangir received this news, he forced to recall them to his court. Thus, on the call from the Mughal court, Khusrau Khan Charkas and Mirza Abdul Ali Tarkhan II, reached there on 26th Rabi-I 1022/16th May 1613, who were driven in to prison by the emperor (Akhtar, 1990: 86-87). Thus, the rule of the later Tarkhan's or Tarkhans as a vassal kings came to an end. According to Tarkhan Nama, Khusrau Khan Charkas was died during imprisonment. Moreover, Akhtar quoting Tufat-ul-Kiram, which is mentioning, that he was died as a freeman in 1028 AH/AD 1618 and was buried at Ajmer (Qani, 1968: 214; Akhtar, 1990: 87, n. 643; Khan, A.N., 1978: 24). But on the other hand in the Urdu translation of Tufat-ul-Kiram, Akhtar Rizvi is telling a different story. According to this translation, he went to Iran and died there (Qani, 2002: 286). Whereas, the other tradition claims that when he died, was buried at Makli Hill, in the Satcharni. In this connection, Qani is proclaiming that it was constructed by him in his lifetime. According to him it is known as the Ran□k of Khusrau Khan Charkas (Qani, 1994: 145; Dani, 1982: 164). As far as, Abdul Ali Tarkhan II is concerned, he was released on the desire of Nur Jahan. However, he was given under the disposal of Asif Khan to whom he served until his death, which happened about 1039/1629-30 (Akhtar, 1990: 87, n. 643). However, the date mentioned in the Tarkhan Nama quoted by Akhtar is absolutely incorrect, because the date mentioned in the inscription on his grave at Makli Hill, is clearly denoting 9 Rajab 1040/11 February 1631 (Javadi, 1992: 273, pl. 117; Qani, 1994: 827, pl. 80). Similarly, Hussamuddin Rashdi in Makli Nama also denies the date given by Tarkhan Nama and preferred the date on the grave (Qani, 1994: 540).

It is important to proclaim here that after the arrest of Abdul Ali Tarkhan II, which took place on 16th May 1613, thus later on, Thatta came under the direct control of the imperial rule.

2.2.26. Tarkhans as a governors over Thatta under the Mughals

2.2.26.1. Mirza Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan II

Thus, at the end of the later Tarkhans domain over Thatta, the Mughal emperor Jahangir nominated governors over Thatta to look after the administrative affairs of the region (Akhtar, 1990: 87-88). It is important to add here that Qani in his account and Dani in his work quoting incorrectly, that Isa Khan Tarkhan II was made the governor of Thatta in A.D 1612 (Qani, 2002: 272 & 294; Dani, 1982: 141). However, when Abdul Ali Tarkhan II was imprisoned on the 16th May 1613 (Akhtar, 1990: 86-87), in this process, later on, Isa Khan II, was appointed as a governor over Thatta. Thus it appears, that the correct year and month of his appointment is May 1613. In this regard, it may be pointed out that initially Jahangir appointed Mirza Isa Khan II,

Ibn-e-Jan Baba Tarkhan Ibn-e-Isa Khan Tarkhan I, as a governor over Thatta, who was recalled from Deccan, since this was his inherited territory, therefore, as a precautionary measure, either Jahangir was told by his officials or perhaps realised by himself, therefore, Mirza Abdul Razaq Mamori was sent as governor over Thatta, replacing Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Akhtar, 1990: 86). However, he was unable to run the administration properly, therefore, Mirza Rustum Safavi was appointed as a governor. In this connection, Henry Cousens is narrating that in A.D 1627 Isa Khan Tarkhan II was again appointed as governor over Thatta, however, incorrectly mentioning that he remained the incharge of Thatta until A.D 1644 (Cousens, 1929: 118; Brown, 1941: 125). In this process, Qani is advocating that Isa Khan Tarkhan II was appointed as governor over Thatta in A.H 1037/A.D 1627 and continued his job until A.H 1038/A.D 1628 (Qani, 1994: 295-297; 2002: 294; Dani, 1982: 161; Hasan, S.K., 1997a: 92). In this regard, Shiekh Khurshid is claiming that he remained as a governor for a brief tenure of nine months (Hasan, S.K., 1997a: 91). In this connection, keeping in view the above mentioned references, it is quite clear that he remained the governor over Thatta for two different periods, that is for a very brief time in A.D 1613 and again in A.D 1627-28. It is utmost significant to elaborate here that it was during this phase of time, when he laid the foundation of his own mausoleum at Makli Hill. Which took almost eighteen years for its completion (Qani, 2002: 294; Cousens, 1929: 118). Moreover, Qani is narrating that after his death, the construction project remained incomplete (Qani, 2002: 295). In this connection, A.H Dani is advocating that the mausoleum is clearly indicating that it was entirely completed during his lifetime in A.D 1644 (Dani, 1982: 141).

Furthermore, his death date is incorrectly cited by Cousens, which mentions, that Isa Khan Tarkhan II was died in A.D 1644 (Cousens, 1929: 118). In this regard, the correct death date of Isa Khan Tarkhan II is inscribed on the epitaph of his grave, which is indicating 12 Muharram 1062/A.D 1651 (Javadi, 1992: 311; Hasan, S.K., 1997a: 92).

Chapter-III

3. The Origin and Development of Tomb Architecture at Makli Hill Thatta

3.1. Aims of the present Research Work

It is significant to advocate here that the aims of the present research work are based on the style-critical method. It is a source of conducting research work, which is possessing the analytical observations and investigations or to carry out the analytical analysis in order to evaluate the different architectural styles aiming to bring forth the conclusive results, rather than the supposed version of informations, which is generally based on the hypothetic theories. In this regard, in the area of our concern, the scholars have generally dated those buildings, which are yielding the epigraphical evidences, however, in the case of defaced inscriptions, they remained silent about any probable time scale. The dating of the Makli Hill, mausoleums is mostly considered from the death date, however, some of them were built by them in their life time or constructed after their death. Thus, under the prevailing circumstances, instead of the conventional research methodology, the present researcher is aiming to adopt the style-critical method, to evaluate the selected tombs at the Makli Hill, in a way to proclaim a certain chronological order to date the various tombs on stylistical grounds. Moreover, to find out the possible roots of its origin. Likewise, to solve the prevailing contention regarding the stylistical development occurred either due to the indigenous interactions or caused by the alien sources. Thus, keeping in view the style-critical method is a plausible line route of investigations and proper classifications, in order to analyse each and every architectural component and decorative element. Furthermore, due to the comparative analysis, at least, we can propose the time bracket and the different ideas caused for the importation of various issues concerning to the different buildings at Makli Hill.

In this connection, it is pertinent to evaluate the previous research work, in order to formulate a new framework, through which we shall be able to know about those investigations, which have been carried out in the past. In this process, it is significant to pinpoint here that the scholars, such as, Milos Hrbas (1965), Edgar Knobloch (1965), Ernst Kühnel (1966), Oleg Graber (1966, 1967 & 1973), M. Roggers (1976), Robbert Irwin (1977), D.T. Rice (1979), Barbara Brend (1991), Hillenbrand (2005) and others are of the view that the idea of tomb architecture was originated in Central Asia. In this connection, the tomb of Ismail Samanid at Bukhara A.D 907, is considered the first ever instance, generally caused for the dissemination of the funerary architecture. Whereas, Alexander Cunningham (1875), Marshall (1912), Percy Brown (1941), M. Wheeler (1950), John Terry (1955), Page (1965), M.A. Ghafur (1968), Bamber Gascoigne (1971), Jairazbhoy (1972), Ram Nath (1976, 1982 & 1989), H. Sterlin

(1977), A.N. Khan (1980, 1983 & 1997), Staish Grover (1981), A.H. Dani (1982), Abdur Rahman (1982), Ali Ahmad Brohi (1983), Taj Ali (1988, 1997), Ebba Koch (1991), Kaleem Lashari (1996), Sheikh Khurshid Hasan (2001), Surendra Sahai (2004), F.W. Bunce (2004) are advocating after being originated in Central Asia then derived into the subcontinent (first introduced in Pakistan then shifted to India). Moreover, Creswell (1958), John D. Hoag (1977) and Jose Pereira (2004), believed its origin was taken place at Samara, quoting the example of al-Muntasir (A.D 862). They are advocating, that from here the idea disseminated to the other parts of the world. Likewise, Central Asia became one of the centres of such activities. In this regard, Ram Nath (1978) is also claiming similar view, however, he is suggesting that when being improved in Central Asia, then this idea shifted to the subcontinent. In this connection, it may be claimed here that the Ghaznavids in the beginning of the 11th century A.D and later on, the Ghurids in the last decades of the 12th century A.D, who came here, were responsible for bringing this idea. It may be further proclaimed here, that yet another worthwhile, suggestion is made by Arthur Upham Pope (1930, 1965). He is arguing that the idea was conceived from the Chahar Taqs or Chahar Qapu or fire temple of the Partho-Sassanian types. Similar claim has also been registered by Ernst Diez (1930), in the “A Survey of Persian Art”, emphasising, its origin from the Sassanian Chahar Taqs, showing its various developmental stages, dated from third century A.D till the 7th century A.D. Thus, from the above verdict, it appears that the Muslim architects conceived the idea of mausoleum architecture from their indigenous sources. Such as the Persian chahar taqs were styled into the Islamic tombs. In this process, the earliest instances of the Islamic tombs may be clearly observed in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D, in Persia. Thus, it appears, to have been disseminated from here to Central Asia and likewise, derived into the present day Pakistan. Similarly, Sylvia A, Matheson (1972), believes its origin in the Persian lands. In this regard, she is quoting Samiran tombs dated to the 10th century A.D. Moreover, she has documented a series of tombs in Persia from 10th century A.D up to the 15th 16th centuries A.D. They are showing a gradual developmental process. In this connection, the present researcher is of the view that from here the idea was then disseminated in to the present day Pakistan and even into the Central Asian regions. Likewise, Anthony Hutt (1977) and Leonard Harrow (1977) conducted an important work, they are also suggesting its initiation in the Persian territories. However, later on, successfully transmitted in to the Central Asian lands. Thus, after passing through the various developmental stages finally this idea was disseminated to the area of our study. Furthermore, Ram Nath (1982) and Sheikh Khurshid Hasan (1997) are advocating that no doubt, the ideas were brought over here by the aliens, when they became the masters of these regions, however, the indigenous traditions were deeply rooted, in the region of our

concern. In this process, the Buddhist stūpa architecture and the Hindu temple constructions, are visibly depicting us that the vernacular traditions were assimilated with the foreign values, which gave birth to the Indo-Muslim style of architecture. In this process, Percy Brown (UD), B. Rowland (1953) and J.C Harle (1986), have mentioned that the Buddhist and Hindu architecture is showing the local developments. In this connection, the present researcher is advocating that the indigenous values were further developed with the support of foreign traditions, which may be discussed at length in the forthcoming pages.

3.2. Origin & Developmental Comparative Analysis

It is significant to discuss here that the tombs construction at Makli Hill Thatta, may be considered a landmark in the history of mausoleum architecture in the present day Pakistan. The stylistical development at Makli Hill, both in its construction, as well as in the mode of garnishing, one can visibly observe a gradual improvement. This may be noticed in the prevailing ideas such as, initially under the Buddhist, Jaina and the Hindu values, which continued vernacularly, moreover, its interactions with the classical workmanship of Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Kathiawar through Kutch, set new trends, after merging with the Makli Hill mode of work, which gave birth to a new style of art and architecture. These indigenous adoptions glorified the Makli Hill style of architecture to a greater length. Thus, due to the assimilation of various values, a unique style of architecture was produced here at Makli Hill, under the Samma's, the local rulers from A.D 1337 until A.D 1520. It is important to add here, these localised versions were later on, impacted by the Central Asian and Persian traditions, such as, the cut and dressed stone or brick work was slowly and gradually replaced by the glazed work, which may be noticed for the first time in the grave platform with mosque enclosure of Sheher Bano A.H 950/A.D 1540-42 (Javadi, 1992: 216). However, its more developed phase may be reported in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65. After the fall of Samma domain, the native culture of Makli Hill was immensely influenced by the Central Asian and Persian mode of works. The native style now impacted by the Central Asian Turks in the form of Arghuns A.D 1520 until A.D 1555 and later the Tarkhans rule over Thatta from A.D 1555 until A.D 1613. Moreover, in the upper Sindh valley, Mehmud Khan Kokaltash founded his government A.D 1555 until A.D. 1574, with the capital at Bakhar (Sukkur) came from Isfahan (Persia), besides, the elite class from Herat, Khurasan, Tabraiz and Shiraz also shared their ideas with the local style. It may be further attributed here, that at the end of Tarkhan rule, the Mughals also impacted the Makli Hill architecture. Thus, with the support of the above stated interactions the local style was moulded into a new format, which is clearly signifying the blend of different cultures. It was uniformed at one place that is at Makli Hill showing a gradual phase

of improvements. In this process, to study the various developmental stages of the Makli Hill tomb architecture, particularly in the context of style-critical method, therefore, the present researcher shall be focusing on the selected mausoleums constructed especially under the Tarkhans and post Tarkhans phases, may be classified such as:

1. Octagonal tomb with pronounced drum
 - i. Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (A.D. 1558-65)
 - ii. Jani Beg Tarkhan (A.D. 1595-1600)
2. Square tomb with round corner turrets and pronounced drum.
 - i. Diwan Shurafa Khan Tomb (A.D. 1635-45).
3. Square tomb chamber with chamfered corners
 - i. Kusraw Khan Charkas (Satcharni) (A.D. 1590-1600)
4. Square chamber with terrace shaped drum and double storeyed pillared verandah.
 - i. Isa Khan Tarkhan II (A.D. 1628-44)

Before concentrating on the Tarkhans and post Tarkhans tombs, we must know that how the story of mausoleum architecture was begun at Makli Hill? As a whole, the Makli Hill tomb architecture started in the 14th century A.D, which continued up to the post Tarkhans phase and may be divided in the various groups such as:

1. Square in plan with two tiers
 - A. Square Chamber directly crowned by the dome.
 - I. Isa Khan Langoti (A.D. 1428-32)
 - B. Square Chamber with perpendicular walls directly crowned by the dome.
 - I. Malak Raj Pal (A.D. 1458-62).
2. Square chamber with octagonal drum.
 - I. Hamshira Fateh Khan (A.D. 1490)
 - II. Qus-as-Sultani (A.D. 1513)
 - III. Unknown tomb to the south east of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (A.D. 1580-90).
3. Square tomb with terraced neck and double storeyed pillared verandah.
 - I. Isa Khan Tarkhan II (A.D. 1628-44)
4. Square chamber with low neck and kiosks at the corners.
 - I. Ghazi Beg Tarkhan (A.D. 1600-1610)
5. Square chamber with round corner turrets and pronounced drum.

- I. Diwan Shurafa Khan (A.D. 1635-45)
- 6. Square chamber with chamfered corners
 - I. Kusraw Khan Charkas (Satcharni) (A.D. 1590-1600)
- 7. Octagonal in plan
 - A. Octagonal chamber with pronounced drum
 - I. Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (A.D. 1558-65)
 - II. Jani Beg Tarkhan (A.D. 1595-1600)

Thus, in the light of above listed classification of the Makli Hill tombs, it appears, that the construction activities were started from the 14th century A.D, which continued until 17th century A.D. In this process, we can observe seven different groups of tombs. These may be distinguished on the basis of stylistical treatment. In this regard, it is important to submit here that to study the various mode of works before reaching any conclusion, we may work out, its developmental comparative analysis. Which can be noticed in the presence of existing buildings both at Makli Hill and in its neighbourhood.

In this process, it may be elaborated here that the solid Tumulis of the Jainism, similarly, the solid hemispherical stūpas of the Buddhist traditions in India at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Amarāvati, Mathurā etc. and in the Gandhāra valley at Butkara-I (Swat), Jamal Garhi (Mardan) and Dharma Rajika (Taxila), were constructed in three tier style, such as, the round platform followed by the circular drum and then the hemispherical dome. It is interesting to advocate here that during the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D, until 5th century A.D, at Gandhāra valley, where as, in Sindh region from second third century A.D, until 7th century A.D, a new style was adopted that is the square platform, as a first tier, whereas, the double drums as a second stage and the hemispherical dome as a third tier, crowning the stūpa. As stated above the domed burials or stūpas of the Buddhist domain in the Sindh Valley were constructed from third century up to the 7th century A.D. These were erected by the Kusānās and later on, during the Guptas. The Guptas were ousted by the Ra'ī dynasty (a Buddhist ruling family), and ruled from A.D 495 until A.D 652 (Elliot & Dowson, 1979: vol. I, 407; Quddusi, 1976: 5; Baluch, 1990: 35). It is worthwhile, to advocate here that the survey and excavations conducted by the archaeological survey of India have recorded different stūpas, such as, Mirpur Khas near Jarak, Thul Mir Rukan (Pl. 2b), Sudheran-jo-Dhado (Cousens, 1929: 82-107), also at Tondo Muhammad Adam and at Moenjodaro all dated from 3rd century A.D. till 7th century A.D. Thus, keeping in view with the Islamization, the nature or the tradition of the Buddhist domed burials remained the same, however, change occurred in the mode of practice. These Buddhist domed burials (stūpa) were replaced by the

Islamic domed tombs, yielding its own characteristics. The Buddhist stūpas in the Gandhāra and Sindh Valleys are some of the early examples of the burial structures, though the method of construction was made according to their vernacular traditions, yet the domical technique and the idea serving was duly practiced in similar attitude. Moreover, instead of the solid stūpas, hollowed stūpas were also constructed in Gandhāra valley, denoting the beginning of a new style. In this regard, the present researcher is of the view, that the Islamic tombs are bearing close affinity to the hollow domed burials of the Gandhāra valley. The only difference is the sculptural display in the domed burials of the Buddhist period, whereas, in the case of Islamic tombs sacred verses may be observed. Moreover, instead of the relic casket a grave laid north south may be noticed, which is showing the Islamic burial custom. Whereas, regarding the origin of the Buddhist hollowed burials (stūpas) in the Gandhāra valley, are seemed to be conceived from the Persian values. In this connection, it is noteworthy to mention the view of Ernst Diez, who is claiming that “the Persian Chahar Taqs (fire temple) or domed buildings influenced the Indian solid stūpas, as a result converted into the hollow stūpas” (Diez, 1930: 919). To strengthen this view further, it is also claimed by Pope, that the idea of Gandhāran hollowed stūpa was derived from the Sassanian fire temples. It is pertinent to elaborate further, that Pope in his works recorded the earliest Sassanian fire temple at Neisar dated around second century A.D (Pope, 1965: 71). However, it may be pointed out that the last ruler of Parthian dynasty, Artabanus-V was defeated by Ardashir I in AD 224 and laid the foundation of the Sassanian rule (Reuther, 1930: 493; Allan, 1930: 816). In this process, it appears, that the Parthians were the first to introduce the Chahar Taqs, while the Sassanians continued the same tradition. Thus, it may be proclaimed here, that the Partho-Sassanians caused for the development of hollow stūpas in Gandhāra. In this connection, it may be added here that Marshall reported a hollow stūpa at Sirkap in Taxila dated to the late Śakas rule (Marshall, 2004: 150). It is indeed utmost vital to state here that the style of masonry used in the construction of this hollow stūpa, is showing, slight improvement as compared to the late Śakas. This masonrical style is surely suggesting to the Parthian phase. Thus, it appears, that the Parthians were responsible to construct the hollow stūpa for the first time at Taxila, when they replaced the Śakas in the region. In this sequence, a round stūpa inside an apsidal temple was constructed in hollow nature. It is still intact up to the midway of its plinth. It is showing the unlike gesture among the rest of the Gandhāran and Sindh valley stūpas. It is located at Sirkup in block “D” in its south side. This round hollow stūpa is also termed by Marshall as a stūpa chapple or grāha stūpa (Marshall, 2006: 150-51, pl. 124). Another example of hollow stūpa has been reported at Turra Baz Banda at Mardan dated to the Kusānā period. It is still intact up to the podium level (Ali, T., 2001: 96; Ali, I., 2003: 258).

Similarly, yet another worth mentioning instance related to the under discussion issue may be found at Takht-e-Bhai. It is significant to advocate here that during the course of excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology and Museums Govt. of Pakistan in the year 2005-06 exposed it properly, showing its association with the hollow stūpa (report is unpublished). The present researcher in view of the above stated evidences is advocating that these hollowed domed burials of the Buddhist culture may be considered as a continuous process, which, eventually evolved into the Islamic domed burials. However, Arthur Upham Pope and Ernst Diez have immensely elaborated that the theme of the Islamic tomb architecture is significantly denoting, was evolved out from the Persian Chahar Taqs (Pope, 1965: 50-71; Diez, 1930: 919). Thus, from the above discussions it appears, that both these traditions were caused for the origin of the Islamic tombs in Persia and Central Asia. These were eventually caused for the origin of the Islamic tomb architecture in Pakistan.

Similarly, about the origin of the octagonal mausoleums, it is generally claimed that the idea was derived from the Central Asian traditions. In this sequence the first ever record of the octagonal example at Makli Hill can be clearly noticed in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (Dani, 1982: 170-72). Whereas, the other theory is that the Dome of Rock or Qubbat al Sakhara at Jerusalem constructed in A.D. 688-91, is the first ever Islamic building in octagonal plan (Hillenbrand, 2005: 23, fig. 9). Moreover, the tomb of al-Muntasir at Samara AD 862, is the earliest Islamic tomb in octagonal plan (Creswell, 1958: 287-88, fig. 59; Pereira, 2004: 11, fig. 2). Later on, this idea was transferred in to the Persian lands, especially at Samiran (Pl. 1a) dated to the 10th century A.D and at Yazd, the tomb of Dwasdah Imam A.D. 1036-7 (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 62-69, pl. 6-13). Similarly, this idea was later on, transmitted into Pakistan.

However, it is worthwhile, to advocate here that likewise, the square domed burials of the Gandhāra and Sindh valleys, the octagonal domed burials were also built in the Gandhāra region. In this process, the first ever example may be recorded in the Gandhāra valley at Dharma Rajika in Taxila, where an apsidal temple is having an octagonal stūpa, probably dated to the close of the 1st century A.D (Marshall, 2006: 254-55). Furthermore, yet another precedent is dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D, which has been reported at Takht-e-Bhai. It can be visibly observed in the case of an octagonal votive stūpa (Rowland, 1953: pl. 10; Harle, 1986: 71, pl. 51). Besides, these early traditions, the Hindu temple in Indo-Aryan style from 7th until 10th centuries A.D, are also showing, that the octagonal plan (astabhujā) was adopted in the construction of the garbhagrāha and antarāla. However, these astabhujā precedents are resting on pillars laid in octagonal plan, yielding either vaulted or domical ceilings, constructed in corbelling technique. In this sequence, some of the important examples regarding the astabhujā plan temples, may also be noticed in the

north, south and western India (Rowland, 1953: 163-180). Similarly, Śiva temple at Kaviyur, assigned to the mid 10th century A.D, the garbagrāha is showing the octagonal style (Harle, 1986: 343, fig. 268). Likewise, Harsatāmātā temple at Miani is indicating octagonal garbagrāha (Cousens, 1931: 68, pl. XC). Besides, the Sūrya temple at Modherā (Fig. 14 & 15) is also indicating its garbagrāha is wrought in the astabhuja pattern. It is attributed to the 11th century A.D (Rowland, 1953: 178, fig. 27). These early examples are denoting that the idea of octagon crowned by a dome was locally developed. However, with the support of the alien traditions, this style was further improved and finally evolved into the developed stage, which can be clearly noticed in the region of our study.

In the light of above stated examples, it appears, that the idea of domed burial was locally developed. However, when the Muslim rulers conquered this region, brought with themselves, their own cultural and socio-religious traditions, which interacted with the local values, set new trends, especially in Pakistan and particularly in the area of our study (Makli Hill).

It is significant to make a mention here, that the Ghaznavids defeated the Hindu Shahis, during the end of 10th century A.D or moreover, by the beginning of 11th century A. D. (Khan, A.N., 1983: 44-45; Pathan, 1978: 382; Baluch, 2001: 1-2). In this process, they got control over the Gomal valley. Thus, due to the emergence of foreign ruling class new ideas were introduced, which influenced the local traditions, particularly the cultural and socio-religious practices to a greater substance. In this regard, mosques, Madrasah and tombs became the focal point. It may be further added here, that both the vernacular and the Turko-Ghaznavid styles, gave birth to a new style, which developed for the first time in the Gomal valley. This new mode of architecture is bearing its own significance. Keeping in view, its gradual stylistical developments, both in the architecture, as well, in the artistic works. These developments can be clearly observed in the different tombs at Lal Marha Sharif in Dhera Ismail Khan. This Gomalian style of art and architecture has its origin in Central Asia, however, the Iranian traditions may also be observed. In this regard, it is significant to claim here that the above stated style after being established here, later on, disseminated to the other neighbouring regions.

The origin and development of Islamic tomb architecture has been thoroughly investigated by Graber (Graber, 1966: 6). The vast numbers of early tombs erected in Central Asia incline us to accept the idea that the erection of memorial buildings over the graves of saints, kings and nobles were initiated there. Later on, such kind of funerary burials disseminated to the various places, likewise, it influenced the native burial tombs, which may be witnessed during the succeeding centuries.

In this process, it may be pointed out that about 25km from Kirki in Turkmenistan, is located the tomb of Alam Bardar dated to the 11th century A D, is considered the prototype of many such tombs located in Pakistan and India, as well the tombs at Lal Mahra Sharif (Dani & Askarow, 1991: 30; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 169).

However, it is pertinent to discuss the verdicts of A.H. Dani and Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, regarding the above stated tomb dated to the 11th century A.D, which may be considered as a role model here in the present day Pakistan and India, seems to be incorrect, because the tomb of Ismail Samanid A.D 907 at Bukhara (Pl. 4b) is the earliest example in Central Asia, which has been adopted as a prototype during the succeeding centuries (Rice, 1979: 48; Brend, 1991: 71; fig. 44; Hrbas & Knobloch, 1965: fig. 41; Irwin, 1997: 70; fig. 54; Hoag, 1977a: 184, fig. 228; Hillenbrand, 2005: 104, fig. 79; Roggers, 1976: 131; Graber, 1973: 201, pl. 128). It is erected in two tiered principle, square in plan and yielding round corner turrets. The squinches are flanked by the pilasters (Pl. 26e), supporting the dome. It is interesting to elaborate here that the Arab Ata tomb at Tim dated to A.D 977 (Hrbas & Knobloch, 1965: fig. 45; Hoag, 1977a: 185; Pereira, 2004: 321) may be considered as the model of the Ismail Samanid's tomb. In this sequence, it may be claimed here, that in the present day Pakistan, particularly at Makli Hill, the tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1638 has some sort of affinity to the style of Ismail Samanid (Pl. 4b) and Arab Ata tombs, particularly in the case of its turrets arrangements and the squinch style as discussed above. However, in the mausoleum of Diwan Shurafa Khan (Pl. 4a), one can clearly observe the three-tiered stance, an improved idea developed in the 10th century A.D at Samiran in Persia. This idea was further evolved in the Imam Ghazali's tomb at Tus in A.D 1111-12 (Kühnel, 1968: pl. 286), in the tomb of Sultan Sanjar AD 1157-58 at Marv (Hoag, 1977a: 207-9, fig. 259 & 260; Pope, 1965: 131, fig. 149) and in much improved pattern in the Uljaitu's tomb at Sultanya erected in AD 1313-16 (Rice, 1979: 126, fig. 124; Hoag, 1977a: 250-52, fig. 325; Rogers, 1976: pl. 15; Brend, 1991: 123, fig. 82; Hillenbrand, 2005: 199, fig. 153; Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 172, pl. 116; Jairazbhoy, 1972: 260, fig. 53). However, the idea of tomb construction both architecturally and stylistically reached to its perfection during the Timurids, as they added pronounced drum to create an imposing gesture in the tomb architecture. In this regard, its best example may be recorded in the case of Amir Timur's Tomb at Samarqand A.D 1434 (Rice, 1979: 210, fig. 215), whereas, Robert Hillenbrand and others mentioned in their works the correct cited date of this tomb is A.D 1404 (Hillenbrand, 2005: 215, fig. 169; Brend, 1991: 130, fig. 85; Hoag, 1977a: 264, fig. 346; Pope, 1965: 194, fig. 256; Nath, 1979: pl. VIII). Besides, this instance, we can also observe in the other Timurid's tombs mosques and Madrasahs, where, the pronounced drum became one of the most essential feature, mainly

conceived due to the innovation in the arch squinches, such as, the high trilobed and pointed arches surmounted by the zone of transition, in the similar gesture. The squinch alcoves and the domical ceilings were duly supported by means of stalactite work. Moreover, during this particular span of time mostly double domes were employed, therefore, to give colossal height to the second shell of the dome the drum became more monumental. Thus, it appears from the above discussion that the Samanids set new trends by the dawn of the 10th century A.D. Whereas the Seljuqs improved the idea of funerary construction, by initiating the high necks for the first time, to create balance in the double dome device. Thus it is marking the beginning of a new technique, which may be noticed during the 11th century A.D. The other characteristic feature of the Seljuqs domain is the beginning of the octagonal stance in Persia, which can be clearly recorded at Samiran, Kharaqan and Yazd. To argue further, this architectural portfolio was further evaluated under the Ilkhans, during the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. These examples may be exquisitely noticed in Persia and Central Asia. However, in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. under the Timurids, the architectural vocabulary was aesthetically innovated, which may be considered as a landmark in the Islamic architecture of Persia and Central Asia. In this sequence, it may be proclaimed here that later on, the Chughtai Turks (Mughals) had introduced it in the Subcontinent (Zia-ud-Din & Barrech, 2009: 37). Whereas, the Arghuns and Tarkhans had brought these traditions with themselves and duly introduced at Makli Hill.

However, the story of Islamic funerary architecture in Pakistan has been initiated by the Ghaznavids, when they succeeded the Hindu Shahis by the beginning of the 11th century A.D. In this connection, it may be attributed here that in the 11th century A.D, the vernacular mode of architecture was merged with the Ghaznavids values, as a result new techniques were introduced. Such as, improvement in the zone of transition, likewise, the idea of over lapping stones, the corbelling method and the use of corner pendants, which were employed in the Salt Range temples during the 9th and 10th century A.D (Miester, 1996: 42-51) under the Hindu Shahis (Hasan, S.K., 1997b: 124). However, the above stated architectural traditions may be reported in the second or third century A.D at Takht-e-Bhai, which can be seen in the chapples at the upper and lower courts. These early traditions continued, however, due to the introduction of arch squinches balance has been created in the construction of domical ceiling. Thus, slowly and gradually, the trabeate method in the architecture was replaced by the archuate system. However, in the case of Makli Hill, both these traditions have been used simultaneously.

It may be further advocated here, that the idea of three tiered structures is generally believed that it was introduced for the first time at Lal Mahrha Sharif in Dera Ismail Khan, dated to the beginning of the 12th century A.D. However, the present researcher is of the view, that the

local engineers have already introduced this mode of work, though in rudimentary style, yet increasing improvements can be observed, during the succeeding centuries. It is significant to proclaim here that the idea of three tiered buildings may be noticed for the first time in the domed burials (stūpa) of the Buddhist period, such as, the platform or medhi as a first tier, can be compared with the tomb chamber of the Islamic tomb. In the former instance, it is either solid or hollow in character, whereas, in the later it is completely hollow in nature. The second tier in both the buildings, is similar in style that is the round drum, in the Buddhist stūpas, while in the Islamic tombs both round and octagonal drums were used. In this regard, it may be proclaimed here that the first ever octagonal shaped drum may be observed in Pakistan at Lal Mahra Sharif, in tomb No. IV (Pl. 3a). This particular issue was developed by the Muslim masons, who brought changes in the phase of transition, such as, the application of arch squinches eight in number, caused for the change in the construction of drum thus, a new idea in the subcontinent was emerged. Similarly, the idea of pronounced drum or high neck was also developed indigenously. This may be noticed in the double drums provided to the Buddhist stūpas in Gandhāra. In this connection, the lower and upper drums are undoubtedly denoting that the second drum was provided to create height in the elevation of the building (Pl. 2b). It is clearly proving that the pronounced neck was developed locally, however, modified by the Muslim masons.

The third tier is obviously the dome as discussed above, was an essential part of the dome burials (stūpa) of the Buddhist period. However, during the Muslim domain its balance stance may be recognised due to the innovation in the phase of transition. Thus, in the light of above stated discussions, when the alien traditions amalgamated with the Buddhist and Hindu architectural values, or as a blend of cultures, passing through different developmental stages, finally entered into the improved gesture, which may be clearly observed in the region of our study.

It is indeed interesting to elaborate here, that in the present day Pakistan the idea of tomb architecture was for the first time introduced here at Lal Mahra Sharif in Dhera Ismail Khan. These tombs were for the first time discussed in the Gazetteer of Dera Ismail Khan district in A.D 1884 and assigned these to the Mughal period. Whereas, A.N. Khan dated them in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. While Abd-ur-Rahman attributed these to the 13th century A.D (Ali, T., 1988: 3). Moreover, A.H. Dani placed the Lal Mahra Sharif tombs to the Tughlaq domain (Dani, 1970-71: 31). It is significant to advocate here, that Taj Ali on the bases of stylistical grounds has placed the Lal Mahra Sharif tombs either to the end of the 11th or even to the beginning of the 12th century A.D. He further classified them into two groups based on its stylistical treatment. In his first group tomb I (Ali, T., 1988: pl. 4) and tomb II (Ali, T., 1988: 13) are showing square

chamber with tapering round corner turrets (Pl. 4c) (Ali, T., 1988: 28-29; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 168, pl. 1 & 2). In this sequence, it is pertinent to argue here that these two tombs are yielding some sort of affinity to those of Ismail Samanid and Arab Ata mausoleums. These are showing that the square chamber has been provided with round corner turrets. Moreover, the tomb chamber is directly crowned by the dome. Which, may also be observed in the case of above stated tombs at Lal Mahra Sharif. The only difference is the glazed revetment in these tombs. Whereas, the above stated Central Asian instances are pointing out the exquisitely used brick carvings. Moreover, the zone of transition is denoting more maturity as compare to the Central Asian examples. Such as, the corner pendentives are indicating that these local values alongside the arch squinches have provided more stability in the structural composition. The second group of tombs at Lal Mahra Sharif is denoting tomb III and IV (Pl. 3a) (Ali, T., 1988: pl. 21 & 26; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 168, pl. 3 & 4). These are exhibiting square plan with slopping walls and sharp corners (Ali, T., 1988: 32-37; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 168-169). However, Taj Ali has recorded, the introduction of octagonal drum, which may be observed for the first time at Lal Mahra Sharif in tomb IV. Whereas, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan is advocating first of its kind in the whole of the Seraiki belt (Ali, T., 1988: 36-37; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 169). It is worthwhile, to advocate here that the tomb of Arsalan Jadheb at Sangbast Afghanistan A.D 1028 (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 26, pl. 14), is pinpointing the theme of three tiered stance. Such as, its first storey is square followed by the octagonal drum as a second tier, which is then surmounted by the dome. This tomb is exhibiting cut and dressed brickwork. Likewise, the Lal Mahra Sharif tomb IV, is also showing similar attitude, except the glazed revetment. Moreover, in the case of Lal Mahra Sharif we can observe improvement in the mode of finishing as compare to the Sangbast tomb. Besides, the pointed arch squinches were used alongside the pendentives. It is showing a blend of cultures, these are creating balance in the architectural treatment. These squinches are converted into sixteen pointed arch niches, it is undoubtedly showing improvement as compared to the Sangbast style. This kind of modification in the zone of transition has given it additional height. In this sequence, both Taj Ali and Sheikh Khurshid have suggested that the octagonal drum and the zone of transition is appearing for the first time, at Lal Mahra Sharif, which is marking the beginning of a new style in the present day Pakistan.

It is important to elaborate here that this Gomalian style was then transmitted to Mazaffar Garh. In this process, Talib Hussain has discovered an unknown typical Lal Mahra Sharif type of tomb (Hussain, T., 1997-98: 43, pl. Ia-IIa). Thus, it appears, that the Gomalian style of tomb architecture has influenced the Muzaffar Garh funerary structure. The at issue tomb is dated to the 11th or 12th century AD. However, its developed stance can be noticed in the tomb of Sheikh

Sadan Shaheed A.D 1175-1187 (Ali, T., 1997: 63). This tomb is located at Jalaran in the same vicinity. It is representing a new mode of workmanship, which is showing a classical example of naked brick architecture. Similarly, the carving is executed on the brick surface. It is significant to point out that mehrab is not provided to this tomb. Moreover, this tomb is showing the false ornamental balconies with pilarettas, may be observed for the first time in the present day Pakistan. The idea of these balconies may be observed in the Buddhist art dated from 1st century A.D until the 5th century A.D at Gandhāra, whereas, in the Sindh region, this element was employed till the 7th century A.D. In the Hindu temples from 8th century A.D until the 10th century A.D, the provision of false balconies was a very pertinent feature. These have been exquisitely carved in different patterns. Thus, it appears, that these local elements were incorporated in the Sadan Shaheed tomb, which is showing a continues process from the early traditions. Later on, the masons at Makli Hill have duly acknowledged this particular feature. In this regard, the funerary structure of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1509, Darya Khan A.D 1494 until A.D 1513 (Pl. 50a & 50b), Qus-as-Sultani A.D 1513 (Pl. 51), Jan Baba A.D 1608 (Pl. 52f) and Isa Khan Tarkhan-II A.D 1628 until A.D 1644 (Pl. 52a & 52b), are denoting the best examples of the false balconies at Makli Hill.

It is indeed interesting to advocate here, that the idea of Sadan Shaheed is seemed to be taken from the Chahar Taq or Chahar Qapu (fire temple) of the Partho-Sassanian traditions. In this connection, the earliest known so far reported at Neisar dated to the second century A.D. Moreover, this idea was continued very successfully during the Sassanians. In this regard, Arthur Upham Pope and Ernst Diez recorded many such instances in their works. The Neisar temple is square in plan, its four sides are yielding arch openings on four sides. The first storey is crowned by the square low neck, a base for the dome. It is representing the second tier, whereas, the dome is marking the third tier. Internally the square chamber is crowned by the squinches, these transform the smaller square into an octagon, on which the circular base of the dome is resting. An idea, which later on, has been very successfully conceived into the Islamic tomb architecture (Pope, 1965: 71, pl. 68).

It may be further added here that in the tomb of Khalid Waleed at Khan-e-Wal in Multan, A.D 1175-87 (Ali, T., 1991a: 39-40), the squinches provided here are comparatively different from Sadan Shaheed, but similar to those of Muhammad bin Haroon's tomb at Lasbela. Since these are starting from the ground level, therefore, due to such arrangements, the tomb chamber has been internally converted in to octagonal plan. Whereas, this tomb chamber is externally square in plan. The mehrab is flanked by the pilarettas, one each on the either side of the mehrab. These pilarettas are undoubtedly denoting the beginning of a new style, which from here

disseminated to the other parts of the subcontinent. In this regard, at Makli Hill the inquestion mode of work may be observed for the first time during the Samma domain. Whereas, the under discussion style was further elaborated during the succeeding centuries, which reached the perfection under the Tarkhans.

The tomb of Khalid Waleed is located inside a fortress, studded with bastions on its outer side. This bastioned fence wall is provided with mehrab in the western direction. It is striking to advocate here, that the theme of such mosque enclosure was later on, further improved by the engineers at Multan. Such as, the tomb of Bahaddin Zakarya (Pl. 3b), Shahid Shaheed, Shams Tabraizi and the mausoleum of Shah Rukn-e-Alam dated to the 13th and 14th centuries A.D (Pl. 1d) are showing the continuation of the enclosure walls to the funerary structures. From here, the idea was derived into the Sindh valley. In this process, the glory of mosque enclosures started at Makli Hill, during the Samma period. At the present moment, only two instances of this domain are surviving. The earliest one is in brick, it is located to the south of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo's tomb A.D 1490-1508, accommodating graves with platform. The second one is assigned to Mubarak Khan, which is constructed in stone. It was constructed during A.D 1490 until A.D 1513. Its eastern and southern entrances are flanked with false balconies. Moreover, the mehrab is provided with pilaretttes, and such architectural components are appearing for the first time in the entire cluster of Makli Hill. In this connection, it is sterling to add here that at Makli Hill, the idea of pilaretttes, during the succeeding periods, became an important fashion. It was added to the either side of the mehrab.

It is indeed interesting to pinpoint here, that the tomb of Muhammad bin Haroon, dated to the 11th century AD, located at Lasbela in Baluchistan (Khan, A.N., 1987-88: 307; 1997: 48; Hasan, S.K., 2001: fig. 7). It may be added here that the intact part of the domical ceiling is adorned with stucco stalactite work. Later on, this mode of work became an essential technical device in the field of architecture. It was used as a supportive and ornamental element. It can be observed in the alcoves, soffits and domical ceilings. This kind of work at Makli Hill may be noticed for the first time during the Samma period. It can be recorded in the tomb of Qus-as-Sultani A.D 1513. Whereas, during the Tarkhan reign, this mode of work can be seen for the first time, in the domical ceiling of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65. Moreover, the above stated work can also be recorded in the different funeral structures at Makli Hill, such as, in the unknown tomb to the southeast of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan dated to the last decades of the 16th century A.D similarly, Satcharni is also dated to the last decade of the 16th century A.D (Pl. 28b) and Ghazi Beg Tarkhan dated to the second decade of the 17th A.D besides, there are so many other examples, which are also representing the inquestion device at Makli Hill.

It is striking to elaborate further that in the surroundings of Aror (Alore) in Sukkur District, are located two fabulous tombs. These tombs are assigned to Shahbaz Shakarganj and Khatal ud-Din Shah. In this process, Ahmad Nabi Khan is advocating that Sheikh Shakarganj was a Sayyid and that he was a contemporary to the famous saint Lal Shahbaz Qalandar of Sehwan. However, in the absence of any literary or inscriptional records, it is indeed difficult to identify the above stated names mentioned by A.N Khan. Whereas, the natives are assigning these two tombs to Mayi Dohagan (unlucky lady or mother) and Mayi Sohagan (lucky lady or mother). However, on stylistical grounds, and the scanty historical references, we may place them to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries A.D. Both these tombs seemed to have been erected simultaneously, or at least one after the other within a short span of time (Khan, A.N., 1987-88: 312; 1997: 49).

It is significant to elaborate here, that the idea of pilarette was originated for the first time in the tomb of Khalid Waleed and Sadan Shaheed in the Seraiki belt. However, this idea seems to have been very successfully shifted to the Sindh Valley. In this process, the above stated two tombs are showing the continuation of the early traditions, which can be visibly noticed in these tombs (Hasan, S.K., 1991: 123-128; 1997b: 127). It may be claimed here that from here this idea was derived to Makli Hill.

The above stated two tombs at Alore are exhibiting a land mark in the history of tomb architecture in Pakistan. These have been provided with circular shape pronounced drum (Pl. 2a). In this process, it is generally believed by the scholars that this idea was emerged out during the Timurid's domain, which became a trademark in their buildings, at Samarqand, Taybad, Herat etc. (O'Kane, 1987: 82-87). In this connection its best examples can be seen in the tomb of Amir Timur (Pope, 1965: 194-97; Hoag, 1977a: 264, fig. 346; O'Kane, 1987: 91-92; Kühnel, 1968: 226, pl. 39; Gascoigne, 1971: 16; Pereira, 2004: 108, fig. 52) and Gohar Shad's edifices at Herat (Pop, 1930: 437, pl. C; Hoag, 1977a: 268-69, fig. 355). However, this mode of work was introduced much earlier during the Seljuq period. In this regard, its earliest example can be reported at Gulpaygan in the Masjid-e-Jami constructed between A.D 1104-18 (Pope, 1930: pl. 277; Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 38, pl. 6). Whereas, another precedent can be recorded at Isfahan in the tomb of Shahrstan dated to the late 12th century A.D (Pope, 1930: pl. 334a). However, during the Ilkhanids, one can clearly observe improvement in its stylistical approach. In this connection, the round high neck can be seen at Yazd, in the Masjid-e-Yaqt-u-Sa'at A.D 1324 (Pope, 1930: pl. 418). While at Sultaniya, the circular pronounced drum may be recorded in the tomb of Chelebioghlu A.D 1310 (Pl. 1e) (Pope, 1930: pl. 354.A). Besides, the circular high neck can also be seen in the Shah-i-Zindah tomb complex, which was constructed during the 14th

century A.D at Samarqand (Gascoigne, 1971: 20). However, in the light of above stated evidences, it appears that the Aror (Alore) tombs seem to have been derived the idea from the Ilkhanid's traditions. This immensely influenced the western Iran, and those areas adjacent to the present day Pakistan during the 13th century A.D. However, as a matter of fact, as has been discussed above, in the case of double drums provided to the Buddhist stūpas dated to the second century A.D until the 7th A.D, may be observed both in the Gandhāra and Sindh valleys (Pl. 2b).

It is utmost significant to elaborate here, that the Indo-Aryan style in the Hindu temples introduced drastic changes. In this process, the śikhara element provided to the different temples, during the 5th century A.D. In this connection, the garbagrāha of the Bhitargaon temple is surmounted by a cella, hollow in nature, having no entrance, furthermore, crowned by the śikhara, is also in hollow style (Nath, 1982: 203). The addition of the cella above the garbagrāha may be termed as a supporting element to the śikhara, thus apparently denoting the beginning of the pronouncing attitude, which was adopted in the temples, above this neck or drum the śikhara is resting, both these components were used to give height to the entire elevation of the temples. It is significant to assert here, that both the cella and śikhara elements can be observed in the Khajuraho, Deogarh temples. Moreover, the temples in Ahmadabad and Gujarat regions are dated from 6th to the 10th centuries A.D. Whereas, those at Kafir Kot and Nandana in the Salt Range can be dated from 8th to the 10th centuries A.D, (Meister, 1996: 44-51). These are also showing the pronounced attitude. In this sequence, it can be proclaimed here that the cella or perhaps the neck (drum) in pronounced order is proving, that the local engineers were well aware about the use of this element. In the light of above stated discussions, it appears, that the local values alongside the Ilkhanids trends, caused for the introduction of this element. It is utmost pertinent to claim here that as a result, slowly and gradually this stance gains fame in the area of our study. This pertinent mode of work may be observed for the first time during the Tarkhan period. It can be clearly seen in the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (Pl. 1g). Later on, the high neck device has also been provided to the mausoleum of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1635-1645 (Pl. 4a).

It is significant to add here that at Makli Hill the first ever octagonal plan can be noticed in the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65. The octagonal first storey is crowned by the circular pronounced drum. This is surmounted by the first ever double dome in the history of Pakistan (Pl. 1g). The above stated stylistical approach adopted in the said tomb, set new trends for the future engineers. Thus, on the basis of these stylistical innovations in its designing and plan, have made it a landmark in the history of mausoleum architecture in

Pakistan. In this regard, it may be remarked here that this mode of work was subsequently disseminated to the neighbouring regions.

In this sequence, it is significant to elaborate here that on the Indian soil, the earliest evidence of the above stated style, has been reported by Ram Nath such as the tombs of Nila Gumbad (Pl. 1i) and Subz Burj (Pl. 1j) at Delhi A.D 1560 (Nath, 1982: 197-200). In this connection, R. Nath is further claiming that this Delhi style has influenced the Makli Hill traditions (Nath, 1982: 201). It is significant to advocate here that Nath has wrongly quoted the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan, with Nawab Amir Khan Khalil. In this regard, the inscription recorded in the tomb is mentioning the name, Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan, who died on 16th Rabi-ul-Awwal 966/A.D 1558 (Javadi, 1992: 281). It may be further added here, that the architectural decoration wrought in the above stated two tombs at Delhi, as mentioned by R. Nath and later on Ebba Koch (Nath, 1989: 24; Koch, 1991: 36-37), are clearly indicating more improved as compared to the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan at Makli Hill. Furthermore, the colouring scheme and the ornamental motifs wrought in the Delhi tombs are indicating improvement in the mode of execution. In this process, in the light of above stated discussions it appears, that the Delhi tombs were developed due to the cultural interactions between Makli Hill and Delhi. These tombs at Delhi on the stylistical grounds may be dated A.D. 1570 until A.D 1580. Whereas, the mausoleum in the area of our study, on the basis of limited colour scheme and the stylistical approach, is showing that it is slightly earlier in date, perhaps constructed in A.D 1558 until A.D 1565. Moreover, since the octagonal plan and the octagonal pronounced drum style developed at Multan, whereas, the circular high drum started for the first time in the Aror (Alore) tombs dated to the 13th century A.D (Pl. 2a). Thus, it appears, in the light of above mentioned evidences, that when this mode of work was matured in the present day Pakistan, then the at issue style was successfully derived to the Makli Hill. Therefore, it may be undoubtedly claimed here, that the style of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tomb was developed here from the preceding examples, which later on, disseminated to the Indian territories. It may be further added here, that the tomb of Jani Beg Tarkhan (Pl. 1h) at Makli Hill A.D 1595-1600, is the other notable evidence of the above mentioned style. Though the inner shell of the dome is intact, while the outer shell is mostly fallen, yet there are still enough evidences, such as, the preserved part of the circular drum, above it the outer shall was once resting, which is denoting the presence of the high neck (Pl. 11c). The other good example of the pronounced drum can be seen in the tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan at Makli Hill.

It is utmost significant to advocate here that the style of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan and Jani Beg Tarkhan tombs was later on, duly acknowledged by the architects at Lahore. In this

regard, similar mode of work can be observed in the tombs of Asif Khan A.D 1641-45 (Khan, A.N., 1971: pl. LXIa; Brown, 1941: 115; Jairazbhoy, 1972: 118) and Ali Mardan Khan A.D 1654 (Khan, M.W., 1958: 63; Tufail, 1962: 332; Khan, A.N., 1971: pl. LXIb).

It is utmost significant to elaborate the view of Ahmad Nabi Khan, who is advocating that the octagonal plan may be noticed for the first time in the mausoleum of Shah Rukn-e-Alam (Pl. 1d), dated A.D 1325-1338 (Khan, A.N., 1983: 215; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 169). In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that in the presence of such style at Mithri (Baluchistan) dated to the 12th A.D is undoubtedly denoting, that this style was existed much earlier than Multan. Whereas, the Mithri tomb (Pl. 1c) has its routes in Iran, showing its derivation from Samiran tombs (Pl. 1a) dated to the 10th century A.D. In this connection, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan is proclaiming that the Mithri style may be undoubtedly considered as the model for the Shah Rukn-e-Alam tomb (Pl. 1d) (Hasan, S.K., 2001: 172; Hasan, M.U., 1993: 251-52).

Thus, in the light of the above stated evidence, Cunningham, Marshall, Wheeler, J. B. Page, R. Nath, Percy Brown, A.H. Dani, Satish Grover, and A.N. Khan's views stands incorrect, who generally considered the at issue gesture was for the first time originated at Multan (Marshall, 1928: 598; Wheeler, 1950: 66; Page, 1965: 74; Brown, 1978: 34; Khan, A.N., 1983: 215; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 171-72). In this regard, it appears that the idea was borrowed from Mithri to Multan. Whereas, the style of architecture represented in the Mithri tomb has its roots in Persia. However, it is indeed sterling to advocate here that in fact the first ever Muslim domed tomb in the octagonal plan was constructed by Muhammad al-Muntasir at Samara dated A.D 862 (Creswell, 1958: 287-8, fig. 59; Pereira, 2004: 8, fig. 2). In this connection, it may be claimed here that it is visibly denoting the very fact that the idea of domed tombs in the Muslim world started at Samara and then disseminated to the different directions. In this process, the Persian architects adopted the Samara technique successfully and produced similar style at Samiran. The tombs at Samiran are dated to the 10th century A.D (Matheson, 1972: 58; Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 62, pl. 6). In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that in the light of above stated discussions, it appears that the at issue style has been derived from Persia. It is utmost vital to advocate further, that this mode of work including the octagonal plan and the corner turrets to its angles were later on, disseminated to the western Persia. In this process, the inquestion style may be clearly noticed at Kharaqan tomb-I and II (Pl. 1b) on Qazwin-Hamadan road A.D 1067-68 and 1093-96 respectively (Matheson, 1972: 107; Hillenbrand, 2005: 92-107). It may be pointed out that from Kharaqan, this style was transferred very successfully to Maragha. Where this style was adopted in the tomb of Gumbad-i-Surkh A.D 1147 (Matheson, 1972: 107-8). Moreover, in the 12th century A.D, the tomb tower of Khwaja Ata bek at Kirman, though in ruined state, yet,

its octagonal ground plan and its intact part is showing much improved form as compared to Kharaqan tomb II (Matheson, 1972: 108). It was from here that the idea was manipulated in the Imam Ghazali's tomb at Tus A.D 1111-12. This style of architecture was also employed in the tomb of Uljaitu at Sultanya A.D 1304-1316.

In this process, the above mentioned evidences are clearly proving that this mode of work was glorified by the Persian and Central Asian values, which apparently moulded in more mature form at Multan.

It is a sterling fact to proclaim here that the octagonal plan, which finally innovated at Multan, onwards disseminated to the other areas of the Subcontinent. In this regard, besides Multan, this style may also be observed at Uchchh Sharif, which is showing its second phase of development. Such as, the tomb of Baha ul-Halim A.D 1370. However, the perfection in the at issue mode of work can be noticed in the mausoleum of Bibi Javindi A.D 1494 (Khan, A N., 1980: 63; 1983: 172; Hasan, S.K., 2001: 177). Likewise, in Uchchh Sharif this mode of architecture was adopted by the Sultanate rulers from the Multan School of architecture. In this regard, the tomb of Khan-e-Jahan Tilangani dated A.D 1369-70 at Delhi is the beginning of this style on the Indian soil (Nath, 1978: 84, fig. 43; 1976: 122; Grover, 1981: 45; Bunce, 2004: 52, 75).

It is indeed important to advocate here that the under discussion style was also adopted in the Mir Masum tomb at Sukkur dated A.H 1003/A.D 1594 (Khan, A.N., 1971: 112, pl. LVIII) constructed in the typical Multan style (Rukn-e-Alam Tomb). It is worthwhile, to make a mention here that at Makli Hill, the first ever instance of octagonal plan may be reported in the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65. However, in this connection, it is equally significant to elaborate here that there is difference between the Rukn-e-Alam tomb and the under discussion mausoleum at Makli Hill. There is no doubt that the Makli engineers have adopted the octagonal plan from the Multan style, however, instead of erecting the second storey octagonal, it was constructed in circular shape, which is conceived in more pronounced style. This became one of the unique gestures of the Makli Hill architecture. It has later on, become an important style of construction, and was duly practiced in the other parts of the subcontinent.

Besides, the above mentioned historical significance of the Makli Hill mausoleum architecture and its comparative analysis, the other foremost important issue, which has been given little attention, is the chamfered plan, which can be seen for the first time in the area of our study. However, Ram Nath is the first to discuss this issue to a proper length. He has suggested its definition, such as, "an angle or edge cut off diagonally, which is marking the chamfered form" (Nath, 1986: 22).

It is indeed significant to make a mention here that in the subcontinent the idea of proper chamfered plan can be observed for the first time in the tomb of Humayun A.D 1564. The main design of this tomb has been taken from the Persian sources, however, to some extent, the local theme has also been assimilated (Bunce, 2004: 114). The main tomb complex is raised on a chamfered podium. Furthermore, the central platform provided to the garden of this tomb complex is also denoting with chamfer corners (Nath, 1982: 257-59; Bunce, 2004: 114-121). In this process, the present researcher is of the view that this mode of work can be observed for the first time in the Tomb of Koh-i-Banan in Persia. The style adopted in this mausoleum is termed unusual in plan by Anthony Hutt and Leonard Harrow, they are proclaiming, it has no parallel in the contemporary Islamic buildings. This fabulous tomb may be assigned either to the end of Ilkhanid rule or perhaps to the 14th 15th centuries A.D (Hutt & Harrow, 1977: 192, pl. 136). It is a four storeyed structure, the first storey is chamfered in plan. Whereas, the second is octagonal, followed by the circular pronounced drum which is crowned by the dome. Thus, it appears, that this idea was brought to the subcontinent from the Persian sources. However, at Makli Hill, the chamfered plan has been adopted for the first time in the Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkas alias Satcharni (Pl. 5a; Fig. 9) dated to the last decade of the 16th century A.D (Dani, 1982: 165) and is undoubtedly marking the beginning of a new style in the present day Pakistan.

The glorious heritage of the Makli cluster in terms of mausoleum architecture will remain incomplete, if the splendour of this necropolis is not discussed. In this connection, the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II, may be undoubtedly termed as a landmark among the entire illustrious tombs constructed from the Samma rule until the post Tarkhans. It is a sterling fact to elaborate here that the unusual gesture adopted in this magnificent tomb complex has made it unparalleled in the galaxy of funerary buildings, in both Pakistan and India. Percy Brown has incorrectly cited the date of its construction A.D. 1640 (Brown, 1941: 124). However, the construction of the tomb was started in A.D 1627-28 and completed in A.D 1644. Thus, the completion of this fabulous edifice has taken 16 years. The tomb chamber is square in plan. It is surrounded by a double storeyed pillared verandah (Fig. 13). The wedged shape dome (Pl. 14a) is resting on a terraced shape drum. The four corners of the roof are provided with cluster of domes (Pl. 15a, 15b). These are circular and in terraced shape. The idea of wedged shape dome (Pl. 14a) and the double storeyed verandah (Fig. 13) is appearing for the first time at Makli Hill. Keeping in view the stylistical approach at Makli Hill is clearly showing that the style of construction in this tomb is conceived from the neighbouring territories. In this sequence, Qani is advocating that the stones used in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II have been brought from Kathiawar. He further stated that the carving work was executed at Gujarat and then provided to

this mausoleum (Qani, 1994: 383 & 451-455; 2002: 294). In this regard, Sheikh Khurshid is of the view that Qani's view is seemed to be far from the fact, because in the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II, yellow marble of Jangshahi has been used in its construction. This is located nearby the Makli Hill. Moreover, the carving traditions at Makli Hill is indicating, the continuation of the early style. It may be noticed much earlier in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1388-92 and later on, in the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508. Thus, it appears, besides the foreign values, the indigenous traditions caused for the execution of such artistic work in the under discussion tomb (Hasan, S.K., 1997b: 92). Furthermore, Henry Cousens, Percy Brown and Surendra Sahai in their contributions are emphasising that the Fatehpur Sikri Style heavily influenced the mode of work wrought in the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Cousens, 1929: 118; Brown, 1941: 125; Sahai, 2004: 43). In this connection, it can be visibly observed, that the Fatehpur Sikri style of architecture has been impacted by the Gujarat mode of work (Terry, 1955: 17-18; Koch, 1991: 55; Lashari, 1996: 33). Whereas, the stylistical approach adopted in the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II is visibly denoting its affinity to the Gujarat and Ahmadabad traditions. However, we can not neglect the Fatehpur Sikri trends, which can also be noticed in the under discussion monument. Whereas, A.H. Dani and I.H. Nadeim are advocating that the style of Isa Khan Tarkhan II tomb has been conceived from the Gujarat style (Dani, 1982: 142; Nadiem, 1998: 98). It is worthwhile, to proclaim here that Percy Brown is stressing that the Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Persian, local and the neighbouring Punjab styles, are the major sources, which eventually caused for the origin of the under discussion style of architecture.

In order to reach the conclusion, therefore, we may compare the stylistical approach adopted in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II, with those notable buildings located in Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Fatehpur Sikri. In this process, the Jami Masjid of Ahmadabad constructed in Gujarati Style in A.D 1423, is denoting a double storeyed pillared verandah. Moreover, the pillars are crowned by the four armed brackets (Grover, 1981: 92-94). Besides, the above stated example, we have few more evidences, in which the tomb chamber is surrounded by a pillared verandah, such as, the tombs of Ahmad Shah A.D 1425, Rani ka Hujra A.D 1455, the mausoleum of Sayyid Muhammad Bukhari A.D 1588 are located at Ahmadabad. Their style of architecture is bearing close affinity with the under discussion tomb. In this process, the Champanir Mosque A.D 1485-1523 is constructed in a very unique style, representing a three storeyed pillared verandah, having four armed brackets (Pereira, 2004: 163-172, figs. 89, 93 & 95). Furthermore, the funerary complex of Sayyed Uthman (Fig. 10) at Uthmanpur in Gujarat A.D 1460, is showing that a pillared verandah has surrounded the tomb chamber (Grover, 1981:

99; Bunce, 2004: 76). Besides, the tomb of Mubarak Sayyed (Fig. 12) was constructed near Mehmudabad at Gujarat A.D 1484-85. The tomb chamber is surrounded by a double storeyed arcaded verandah, crowned by domelets (Jairazbhoy, 1972: 302; Grover, 1981: 101; Bunce, 2004: 86). Thus it appears, that the style adopted in the Jamia Masjid at Ahmadabad, Sayyed Uthman complex and in the tomb of Mubarak Sayyed, moreover, the style of four armed brackets, furthermore, thier serpentine shape attitude and the double storeyed verandah style, which likewise, the Fatehpur Sikri monuments have influenced the inquestion monument. Besides, the idea of honeycomb capitals (Pl. 25b) and the floral vases carved on the brackets (Pl. 77b) are showing its derivation from the Deccan traditions. In this connection, it can be proclaimed here that since Isa Khan Tarkhan II remained the governor of Deccan for a long period. Therefore, due to the cultural interactions between Deccan and Makli Hill various designs were provided to the different funerary structures. It is significant to conclude here that the Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Deccan, Fatehpur Sikri, Punjab styles, were amalgamated with the local traditions, therefore, as a result, a new form of art and architecture was evolved at Makli Hill. It may be further added here that alongside the vernacular sources the Persian and Central Asian traditions have also played an important role in the uplift of the architectural activities at Makli Hill.

The various buildings erected at Makli Hill, are representing a gem of architectural specimens, which have been exquisitely wrought, however, the artistic approach adopted here, made it a land mark in the history of mausoleum architecture. In this connection, keeping in view its glorious form of art and architecture, which is representing variation in the stylistical approach, moreover, denoting a gradual phase of development. In this connection, it may be claimed here that in the presence of such a large variety of edifices may be noticed in the area of our study. In the forthcoming pages, the description of the selected tombs constructed during the Tarkhans period, may be discussed in detail, aiming to know about their stylistical approach adopted by the Makli Hill architects.

3.3. Description of the selected mausoleums at Makli Hill

3.3.1. Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan

3.3.1.1. Location

This tomb is located to the south of As'habi Baba's tomb.

3.3.1.2. Tomb Chamber

This monumental tomb is octagonal in plan (Fig. 4). It is located on a 20 cm raised platform. The eight sides are provided with identical shape pointed arches. However, the cordinal arches are slightly larger in size as compare to those four provided on the angles.

The entrance to the tomb chamber is provided on its southern side, whereas, the western, eastern and northern sides are filled with perforated screens. Presently the western and northern side screens are vanished, however, the eastern side is intact, possessing yellow marble screen.

3.3.1.3. Southern Façade

This southern side pointed archway is enclosed with rectangular frame, its height is 7.10 m. whereas, the inner height of the arch is 6.50 m. Internally this archway is arranged in rectangular shape vestibule, measuring 4.50 x 2.22m. The floor of the vestibule is paved with marble slabs.

The dado level is veneered with dressed slabs of yellow marble. The height of the dado level is 44 cm. Above the dado level, rectangular shape recessed panels are created on either side. It is significant to mention here that the defaced traces of decorative designs are denoting that once these recessed panels were richly ornamented.

At the inner end of the vestibule, a rectangular shape entrance is provided, measuring 2.20 x 1.27m. It has been provided with engaged jambs and a lintel above. The moonstone on the doorsill is executed in the same order as can be noticed in the eastern archway to the compound wall.

This rectangular entrance is surmounted by an arch ventilator, which is measuring 2.20 x 1.46 m. Such type of arch ventilators can also be noticed on the northern, eastern and western sides.

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that above the rectangular entrance, a horizontal strip is showing Quranic verses in thulth style. The lettering is wrought with enamelled ceramic tiles depicting in white colour on the blue background. It may be further pointed out that this horizontal strip is fenced by a border band, which is illustrating floral scrolls. These have been executed in the white, blue and turquoise colours. It may be further mentioned here that the above stated calligraphic and floral scrolls adornment can also be recorded on the remaining sides. However, the most intact part of the above stated embellishment work can be seen on the northern side. Whereas, the remaining sides either partly or mostly defaced, however, the intact patches are still surviving.

Furthermore, the arch ventilators are enclosed by a rectangular frame. This frame is exhibiting a floral scroll border band. Whereas, the spandrels of the ventilator are profusely garnished with floral scrolls and interlacing, however, these are mostly defaced except the northern side.

3.3.1.4.Arches at the Angles

It is equally pertinent to discuss here that the arches at the angles are provided with smaller alcoves. The total height of these angle arches including the rectangular frame is 5.72 m, whereas, its internal height is 5.32 m and width is 3.30 m. This alcove arch is executed with half domical ceiling. Furthermore, these arch alcove chambers are measuring 3.30 x 2.12 m. These angle arch chambers like the cordinal arch chambers above the dado level are added with rectangular panels, constructed in the thickness of wall, running all around. It may be mentioned here that inside the northwestern angle arch alcove, on its left side, a staircase is added, leading to the roof. The northeastern arch alcove is exhibiting enamelled ceramic tiles, executed in the left side spandrel, whereas, the right side spandrel is depicting few traces. The southeastern arch alcove seems to be more intact, its spandrels are showing floral interlacing, whereas, the border band is illustrating floral scrolls. Above the rectangular frame of the angle arch alcoves, a sunken panel is provided, the width of this panel is 3.30m, whereas, the length is 1.38m. The inner side of the above stated sunken panel is enriched by means of floral tendrils, which is bordered by a band of floral scrolls.

3.3.1.5.Cordinal arches

The northern, southern, eastern and western sides arch alcoves are slightly larger in size as compared to the angle side arches. These are encased with rectangular frame. It may be further elaborated here that their spandrels were once richly embellished by means of enamelled ceramic tiles, however, mostly defaced. The intact part, such as, the eastern side is depicting few traces of the floral interlacing and floral scrolls, denoting that once the entire would have been repleted with this marvelous mode of garnishing.

3.3.1.6.Inner Side

The inner side is almost square in plan, measuring 6.67 x 6.55m. The four walls are erected on the 42 cm raised platform. The floor level is elegantly paved with square brick tiles. Internally on either side rectangular entrances are provided, measuring 2.58 x 1.55 m. It may be work out here that the southern side is yielding the entrance whereas, the remaining three were provided with yellow marble screens. The eastern one is intact, which is showing hexagonal stars executed in relief, while those on the north and western side are completely vanished.

3.3.1.7.Dado Level

The dado level above the platform has a border band, exhibiting floral scrolls in white colour on blue background. This border band is further framed by a thin outline in light blue colour. The inner part is classified with hexagonal lozenges, filled with floral interlacing. In this regard, it may be suggested here that the southwestern corner is more preserve as compare to the

remaining sides. The north western side is completely defaced, whereas, the southeast and northeastern sides are yielding few traces.

3.3.1.8. Cornice Moulding

The cornice moulding is 12cm projected outwards. Its height from the floor level is 3.20m and its thickness is 4cm.

3.3.1.9. Squinches

It is significant to elaborate here that the squinches provided to this tomb chamber are in the form of (Pl. 27) three lined pointed arches, resting on the cornice moulding. These are flanked by the plasters. It is indeed significant to elaborate here that the application of the three lined squinches and flanking pilasters, have been recorded for the first time by the present researcher at Makli Hill, in the under discussion mausoleum. The lower inner sides of these squinches are provided with four tiny shouldered arch niches, whereas, the alcove ceilings of the squinches at the four corners are wrought with stucco stalactite work. In this connection, it is noteworthy to claim here that during the Tarkhan period, the use of shouldered arch niches and the stucco stalactite work appeared for the first time in this monument. Furthermore, the rectangular frames of the squinches and the cornice moulding at few places are showing patches of stucco-lustro painting in red colour. This mode of work can be noticed for the first time in the Makli Hill cluster. The height of the squinch from the ground level is 5.88m. The four squinches at the corners are more deeper in composition. These are measuring 2.25 x 3.36m whereas, the side squinches are flat in composition, showing simple recessed arch squinches. These are provided with arch ventilators at their centers, measuring 2 x 2.40m.

3.3.1.10. Zone of transition

The zone of transition is 8.30 m higher from the ground level. It has been provided with intersecting recessed arches laid horizontally (Fig. 5).

3.3.1.11. Domical Ceiling

The domical ceiling is resting over the circular springing level, which is 8.30 m higher from the ground level. It is providing a base for the domical ceiling. The height of the domical ceiling is 10m from the floor level. It has been elegantly decorated with stucco stalactite work.

3.3.1.12. Drum

The first storey is octagonal in plan, its height is 7.10 m. Above this a pronounced circular shape drum is constructed (Pl. 11a). It may be pointed out that a circumambulatory around the drum is added, its width is 1.60 m. The height of the pronounced drum above the circumambulation is 3.30m, whereas, its height from the ground level is 10.40m. The drum has been garnished with enamelled ceramic tiles. In this process, it may be recorded here that three

decorative strips are running around the drum (Pl. 11a). In this connection, the lower and upper bands are identical, which are depicting indigo blue enamelled tiles. Whereas, the central strip is showing Quranic verses in thulth style, which is executed in enamelled ceramic technique. A style appearing for the first time at Makli Hill. The white colour lettering is executed on the blue background. It has increased the grace of the building. The under discussion ornamental bands are mostly defaced, however, the intact parts can be recorded on the southeast, northeast and to some extent on the eastern side.

3.3.1.13. **Dome**

The present researcher during his survey and documentation of the Makli Hill monuments during 2002-03 and again in 2008, has been able to record the first ever double dome (Pl. 11a) in Pakistan at Makli Hill, which is provided to the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan dated A.D 1558-65. The total height of the dome above the drum is 3.70 m, whereas, the āmalaka is wrought above the bell shaped element, which is 30 cm above the dome. The external height of this fabulous tomb is 14.40 m. While internally its height is 10 m up to the apex of the domical ceiling. Thus, it became quite clear that the difference between the upper and lower shells of the dome is 4.40 m. Moreover, a small ventilator can be observed, which has been provided on the northern side. At this level thickness of the wall can be easily determined, which is 60 cm. It is also denoting the thickness of the outer shell. It may be varying at different places, which might be minimizing from 60cm to 40cm. Now if we minus the thickness of the two shells about one meter, then the empty space between the two shells (Fig. 5) would be 3.20 m, indicating the additional height of the second shell. It may be further added here that the at issue dome is pointed in shape (Pl. 11a), which is denoting the beginning of a new style at Makli Hill.

3.3.2. **Jani Beg Tarkhan**

3.3.2.1. **Plan**

The plan of this tomb is identical to the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. However, the under discussion funeral structure is slightly smaller in size. It is externally octagonal in shape, whereas, internally square in plan, measuring 6.40x6.40 m (Fig. 6).

3.3.2.2. **Compound Wall**

The compound wall is erected around this magnificent tomb complex is almost square in plan, measuring 24.10 x 21.80m. Whereas, height of the existing wall is 2.10 to 2.16m. Moreover, thickness of this wall is 1.08 m. The compound wall is veneered with dressed blocks of stone. It has been added with a doorway, constructed at the centre of eastern direction. Besides, a mehrab is provided at the centre of the eastern side of this enclosure wall.

3.3.2.3. Entrance to the compound wall

This main doorway to the compound wall is constructed at the centre of the eastern wall. It is composed of dressed yellow marble blocks. The entrance height is 1.95m and its width is 1.10m. The outer façade is elegantly adorned with calligraphy, floral and geometrical bands. This archway has been provided with a low vestibule, which is measuring 1.58 x 0.84m. The inner façade of this doorway is indicating a rectangular frame, exhibiting sunflowers and floral scrolls, executed in low relief. It may be further added here that internally this doorway has been flanked on the either side by the nook shafts. These are richly ornamented.

3.3.2.4. Courtyard

The courtyard is rectangular in plan, measuring 24.10x21.80 m. It has been provided with an entrance on its eastern side. Whereas, the western side has been accommodated with a monumental mehrab. The floor is paved with yellow marble slabs.

3.3.2.5. Mehrab

The mehrab provided at the centre of the western wall is exquisitely garnished by means of lace work in stone, carved in both low and high relief. The mehrab is composed of pointed arch alcove, where inside a pointed arch mehrab niche is added (Pl. 34). The outer alcove arch is enclosed by a rectangular frame. The total height of the pointed arch alcove including its upper frame is 4.63m, its width is 3.03 and depth is 1.23cm.

The outer arch alcove of the mehrab on either side at the height of 1.89 m, are possessing ornamental stalagmites (Pl. 21b). The right side is more intact as compared to the left one. Moreover, the spandrels of this alcove arch are veneered with stone tracery in floral arabesque pattern. Whereas, the pointed arch mehrab niche is designed in octagonal plan, yielding half domical ceiling, its height is 2.13m, width is 1.08m, and its depth is 92cm. The inner part of the mehrab is richly decorated with low carving in large scale, however, high relief work can be reported in limited number. The half domical ceiling of the mehrab is carved in flanged pattern (Pl. 34), moreover, illustrating cusp shape motifs filled with sunflowers.

The mehrab is flanked on either side by richly carved pilarettes (Pl. 49c), its height is 1.15 m. The base of these pilarettes is square, whereas, its shaft is octagonal in shape, showing stepped lozenges, acanthus leaves, cordon bands, carved in low relief. These are finally surmounted by a squat shaped copping stone, which is decorated with sunflower. The spandrels of the mehrab are showing floral arabesque. This mehrab is flanked on either side by recessed arch panels, their height is 1.40 m, depth is 50 cm and width is 58 cm, showing sunflowers in high relief. Its tympanum is depicting the historical inscription, denoting the date 1009 A.H, whereas, the remaining part is mostly exhibiting floral and geometrical elements.

3.3.2.6.Archways

This tomb has been added with four archways, in the shape of arch alcoves, the height of these arches above the floor level is 5.05m. Inside rectangular shape openings are provided. The southern side is used as an entrance, whereas, those on the west, north and eastern sides are provided with perforated screens. While, the perforated screen of western side is completely vanished. However, the four arches at the angles are comparatively smaller in size. These are enriched in similar stance as can be observed in the case of cordinal arch ways.

It is significant to elaborate here that the alcove ceilings of these angle arches are finished with zigzag design. Furthermore, these alcoves are showing a cross motif, which seems to be different from the other sides of this tomb. The southern side arch alcove has two parts. Inside this arch alcove, a rectangular entrance is added, measuring 1.80x1.12m, above this doorway a perforated arch ventilator is executed, which is measuring 1.10x1.12m. The jambs of the doorway are carved with swastika motif, this element is repeated on the underneath part of the lintel. Whereas, the outer front of the above stated jambs and the lintel is depicting the same kind of carving, however, illustrated in low relief. In addition, octagonal design is created, where inside a star motif has been wrought, which is filled by a sunflower. This doorway is enclosed by a rectangular frame, its either outer corners are showing nook shafts. The square base of these nook shafts is denoting leaf shaped tassels, these have been carved in low relief. Whereas, their shafts are octagonal in plan, which is crowned by a square shape capital. It has been carved with a trefoil motif where inside a sunflower pattern can be observed. The dado level of the arch alcove is showing a decorative band of enamelled ceramic tiles, these are representing blue, brown and white colours. In this case the tiles are laid horizontally, whereas, the spandrels are showing yellow and mostly light green colours, which have been laid vertically.

Besides, these arch alcoves are also depicting hexagonal stars, sunflowers, floral scrolls and interlacing designs. Moreover, Quranic verses have been executed in enamelled ceramic tiles. It is important to discuss here that the lettering is executed in white colour, whereas, the loops are in light green, which have been wrought on the blue background.

3.3.2.7.Staircase

The north western side arch alcove is yielding a flight of steps. It has been provided on its left side. Which is leading to the upper part of the tomb.

3.3.2.8.Platform

The tomb chamber is erected above the double platforms. The lower one is 1m high, on its southern side a flight of four steps has been provided (step measurement 22x63x30cm). The second platform is approached by means of two steps. The height of this second plinth is 40cm.

3.3.2.9. **Inner side**

This tomb chamber is internally square in plan (Fig. 6), measuring 6.40x6.40m. The floor has been paved with dressed yellow marble slabs. The dado level can be classified into two parts the lower one is executed through dressed stone slabs, its height is 40cm. Whereas, the upper one is richly ornamented with enamelled ceramic tiles similar to those, which can be observed on the outer side, running around the dado level. Its total height including the lower part is 1.40m. From here up to the cornice moulding, its height is 2.55m. It is important to make a mention here that on the either side of the arch opening above the dado level, pointed arch recessed panels are provided, their height is 1.94m and width is 1.36m. These panels are enclosed by a rectangular frame. These panels are richly ornamented with enamelled ceramic tiles. The border band is exhibiting floral scrolls. The inner border of the panel is embellished like the outer border band. The remaining space of these panels are showing cusp arch shape elements and floral interlacing. Whereas, the spandrels are enriched with floral arabesque.

3.3.2.10. **Inner platform**

The tomb chamber has been internally provided with a rectangular shape platform, which is measuring 5.50 x 3.43m, whereas, its height is 87cm. The base moulding is executed with cusp arch motif, which is filled with a floral design. It is further crowned by a continuous decorative band of merlons. These have been carved in relief. Above this frieze the second moulding is added, exhibiting merlons. These have been carved with acanthus leaf design, which are running all around. The frontage of this platform is showing intersecting octagonal pattern, cusp arch motif filled with sunflowers, net pattern, swastika design, cross symbol, wavy bands and chain elements are wrought in low as well in high relief.

3.3.2.11. **Cornice moulding**

The cornice moulding is about 3.95 m from the floor level. It is surmounted by arch squinches. Internally, these are beautified with glazed tiles, which are showing indigo blue, turquoise and white colours.

3.3.2.12. **Squinches**

It is indeed pertinent to make a mention here that the above mentioned cornice moulding is providing a base for the squinches. The eight squinches are conceived in pointed arch shape. The four on the cordinal directions are recessed in nature. Whereas, those at the four angles are deeper in composition. Furthermore, these arch squinches on their either sides have been flanked by the pilasters (Pl. 26a). This kind of arrangement is denoting its continuation from the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. Later on, this kind of treatment can also be observed in the tombs of Diwan Shurafa Khan (Pl. 26d), Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Pl. 26d) and in the

unknown Chaukhandi tomb (Pl. 29c) to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan tomb. It may be further added here that these pilasters have created grace in the entire structural composition. These plasters alongside the squinches have shared the load of the super structure.

It may be added here that the total height of the squinches including their rectangular frame is 6.66 m above the floor level. Whereas, the squinch length including its rectangular frame is 2.65 m.

The alcove ceilings of the corner squinches have been veneered in zigzag shape. Moreover, the spandrels of these squinches have been richly decorated, showing white and blue colours interlacing over light green background.

3.3.2.13. **Zone of Transition**

These squinches have been crowned by the zone of transition (Pl. 29a), its length is 80cm. Whereas, its total height from the floor level is 7.46 m. It may be added here that the squinches and the zone of transition have shared the load of the superstructure. It is vital to mention here that the phase of transition, likewise, the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan has been organised with intersecting arches running horizontal above the squinches (Pl. 29a). These intersecting arches have been executed with floral scrolls. The domical ceiling is mostly defaced, however, the intact part is clearly denoting the brick imitation work.

3.3.2.14. **Domical ceiling**

It is indeed significant to elaborate here that the lower shell of the dome alongside the upper shell has been fallen (Pl. 11c). In this connection, it may be added here that the archaeological engineers have tried to reconstruct the damaged portion of the lower shell, however, they have been unable to repair it properly. They have made several errors in its finishing, such as, the outer facing of the inner shell is constructed in pointed order, which might have been semicircular in shape. Moreover, the projection of the squinches is not properly executed. Presently after the reconstruction, the total height of the inner shell is 11.54 m, whereas, the height of the domical ceiling at the intact part is 8.46 m. In this connection, it is significant to work out the possibility of the outer shell, which can be determined in the presence of the intact portion of the drum, over which once the outer shell was resting, however, except the drum the rest has been fallen. The existing thickness of the drum is varying that is from 80 to 50 cm. Now if we add the size of the thickness, then the total height of the lower shell would be about 9.10 m. Whereas, the existing height of the intact part of the circular drum is 1.44 m, which was further rising up from this point to encase the inner shell, since it is fallen at the above stated height, therefore, it is difficult to determine its exact height. However, it might be about 12.50 m. Similarly, if we analyse the gape between the two shells, it would be

2.80 m. These analyses have been worked out in the light of existing evidences, these have undoubtedly proved that once like the other preceding examples at Makli Hill in the under discussion tomb a double dome was also constructed to create additional height in the elevation of the building.

3.3.2.15. **Drum**

The circumambulatory around the drum is octagonal in plan, it is 1.79m in width. The drum is circular in shape constructed in three stages. The height of the lower stage is 75 cm. Whereas, the second stage is 35cm the third stage of the drum is 34 cm in height. It may be added here that the remaining upper portion of the drum and the outer shell have been completely fallen. However, there are visible evidences, which are proving that once the outer shell was capping the inner shell (Pl. 11c).

3.3.3. **Diwan Shurafa Khan**

3.3.3.1. **Enclosure wall**

The main tomb chamber is located inside the enclosure wall. It is square in plan, measuring 35.40mx35.40m. The existing height of the wall is varying, however, the average height excluding the west wall is 1.90 m from the present ground level, whereas, its thickness is 65cm. The height of the western wall excluding the mehrab façade is 2.65m. This enclosure wall was once entirely constructed from rectangular brick tiles, measuring 23x11x5cm. These are cemented through lime mortar. This brick masonry wall has been coated with a thick coat of lime plaster, its thickness is 7cm. It is worthwhile, to proclaim here, that the above stated plastering work is showing its tendency to the glazed plastering work. It is a kind of plaster providing stability to the masonrical composition, moreover, creating grace in the entire structural composition.

3.3.3.2. **Entrance**

The entrance provided to the enclosure wall is lying on its southern direction. The total height including the plain parapet is 3.17m and its outer width is 2.58m. The arch entrance height is 2.98m and the internal opening width is 1.42m.

3.3.3.3. **Mehrab**

The mehrab is composed in the form of pointed arch alcove. This is enclosed by a rectangular frame. The mehrab is surmounted by a simple parapet, its total height is 5.73m (Pl. 35).

It is important to elaborate here that the mehrab façade on the either side is flanked by the rectangular shape solid minarets (Pl. 35). Their existing height from the floor level is 6.80m. Whereas, its height above the parapet is 1.07m. These minarets are rectangular in plan,

measuring 1.35mx76cm. These minarets are constructed from the burnt bricks. Moreover, their frontal facing is representing both glazed and unglazed tiles. The mehrab façade on the either side above the wall is showing Persian inscriptions in nastalique style. These have been executed in high relief. The inscriptional slabs are measuring 84cmx42cm. The above stated inscriptions are framed by three border bands. The inner most is fencing the inscriptional slab, showing a chain motif carved in relief. Whereas, the second border is depicting a painted glazed tile band in green colour. While, the third border is illustrating unglazed terracotta tiles strip, which is measuring 20x17cm.

The alcove arch of the Mehrab has been enclosed with rectangular frame. Its border is richly ornamented with terracotta painted glazed tiles, showing floral scrolls. It may be added here that below the parapet up to the shoulder of the alcove ceiling is showing three border bands. The inner one is representing a painted glazed tile band with blue colour. Whereas, the central strip is showing a single row of stepped lozenge motif, it is filled inside with similar pattern. While, the outer border is denoting a band of unglazed terracotta tiles.

The mehrab chamber is located on a 5cm raised platform. Which is internally measuring 3.30 x 2.35m. Whereas, its flooring is paved with burnt brick tiles.

Both the dado level and the arch alcove ceiling are completely defaced. However, the inner part of the soffit on the either side, is richly embellished with terracotta glazed and unglazed tiles. These are representing different patterns, such as, swastika, cross motif and diamond shape designs, these are executed in green, blue and white colours. The above mentioned decorative elements have been wrought on the soffits of the arch alcove are framed by a painted glazed tile border band, illustrating floral scrolls.

The octagonal shape mehrab niche is enclosed with a projected border frame, its height is 3.10m. While, the inner height of the mehrab is 2.86m. Whereas, it's inner side is measuring 1.02m x 78cm. The mehrab niche on its either side is showing sky blue and white colours terracotta glazed tiles, arranged in stepped lozenge pattern, filled inside by the same motif, this ornamental band is starting from the dado level. Whereas, it is also covering the tympanum of the mehrab arch. It is further bordered by a band of floral scrolls. The tympanum is showing the traces of floral scrolls, however, these have been mostly defaced.

The outer arch alcove of the mehrab is flanked by pointed recessed arch panels, four each on the either side. These are encased by a sunken border band. These recessed arch panels are measuring 2.02 x 2.14m. The above stated panels have been wrought internally with the terracotta glazed revetment, depicting stepped lozenge motif, which is filled inside by the same pattern. It has been bordered by a floral scroll. Moreover, the spandrels have been enriched with

floral arabesque. It may be suggested here that the glazing decoration of the at issue tomb and those on the Jani Beg Tarkhan and Baqi Beg Uzbek tombs have close affinity with each other. It may be further pointed out that the work executed in the under discussion structure has been mostly defaced, however, the intact patches are denoting its past glory.

3.3.3.4.Platform

The platform above which the tomb chamber and the enclosure wall mehrab are located is 80cm raised from the ground level and measuring 27.94 x 20.40m. The flooring is paved with square burnt brick tiles.

3.3.3.5.Tomb Chamber

The main tomb chamber is representing a very unique gesture in the mode of workmanship. It seems to be chamfered in plan, however, the chamfered corners are attached with round shape corner turrets (Fig. 7). These are undoubtedly denoting the beginning of a new style at Makli Hill. The tomb chamber is located on a 27cm raised platform. The dado level is wrought with dressed yellow marble tiles, its height is 1.01m.

3.3.3.6.Archways

The total height of the outer façade of the tomb chamber is 7.10m. It has been added with four arch openings. These are placed inside arch alcoves, which are framed by a rectangular shape border band, its height is 5.65m. The parapet is showing simple terracotta glazed tiles. The spandrels of this alcove arches are showing floral arabesque, executed with white, blue and light blue colours. The inner border band of the arch alcove is denoting floral scrolls. The remaining exterior surface of the façade is representing only light blue terracotta glazed and unglazed tiles. It may be further added here that above the dado level up to the parapet similar painted glazed and unglazed terracotta tiles may be observed.

The inner height of the arch alcove is 5.18m, moreover, these arch alcoves on the four sides are internally composed in rectangular shape vestibules, measuring 3.30 x 1.52m. The dado level is executed with dressed yellow marble tiles, its height is 75cm. The soffits of the four arch alcoves are similar in decoration to the outer facing of the façade.

Inside this arch alcove, similar archway has been provided at its inner end, which is enclosed by a rectangular frame. It is worthwhile, to mention here that both the inner and outer arch spandrels are identical in decoration.

Inside this southern archway a rectangular shape entrance is added. It is fenced on either side by jambs with a lintel above and a doorsill bellow. This doorway is measuring, 1.89m x 90cm. It is executed with dressed marble slabs. Above the lintel a dressed stone slab is added, which is showing Quranic verses in thulth style. These have been carved in low relief.

It is significant to elaborate here that the space below the above stated inscriptions on the either side of the archway, has been filled with diamond shape perforated panel, which has been executed with light blue tiles. The tympanum is also treated in the same manner. These fret work panels are bordered with floral bands, wrought in glazed work.

3.3.3.7. Turrets

The round shape corner turrets are four in number (Pl. 4a). These turrets are lying on a raised platform, which is 1.04m above the floor level. The total height of these turrets is 7.10m. The inner sides of these corner turrets are provided with a staircase yielding 21 steps. These are leading to the roof of the tomb chamber. The entrance of these staircases is measuring 1.80m x 56cm. It may be added here that these turrets above the plinth up to the parapet have been enriched with similar tile work as can be noticed on the outer facing of the tomb chamber.

3.3.3.8. Inner Side

Internally this tomb chamber is square in plan, measuring 5.80x5.80m. Its floor has been paved with burnt bricks. The inner four walls are raised on 74cm high plinth. It is veneered with yellow marble dressed tiles. The inner four sides of this tomb chamber are provided with high pointed arches. These have been enclosed with rectangular frames. These rectangular frames are wrought with a decorative band of glazed decoration, which is depicting floral scrolls.

Whereas, the spandrels of these four arches are representing floral arabesque, similar to the outer arch spandrels, however, the above stated floral interlacing is slightly thicker in composition.

3.3.3.9. Squinches

The pointed arch shape squinches are resting on the square shape projected outwards cornice moulding (Pl. 26d). The eight squinches are ornamented by means of similar glazed tiles, as can be noticed at the inner and outer sides of the tomb chamber. The angle squinches are deeper in composition. Whereas, the cordinal squinches are flat in order. Their either sides are flanked by a pilaster (Pl. 18d). These alongside the squinches are supporting the superstructure.

3.3.3.10. Domical Ceiling

The circular base of the domical ceiling is resting on the arch squinches. Its total height from the floor level is about 9.00m. The domical ceiling is garnished with light blue glazed terracotta and unglazed tiles. These have been composed in zigzag pattern (Pl. 18d). It is utmost significant to argue here that zigzag treatment of the domical ceiling at Makli Hill has been started for the first time during the Samma period. Since then it has become an important technique. Moreover, it is not only creating grace, moreover, it is also providing stability to the entire structural composition. In this process, the earliest instance of zigzag laid tile work at

Makli Hill can be recorded in the tomb of Hameshera Fateh Khan A.D 1494 (Pl. 18c). However, during the Tarkhan period, it can be observed for the first time in the mausoleum of Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1595-1600 (Pl. 29a). Furthermore, it can also be seen in the unknown Chaukhandi to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1620-40 (Pl. 29c) and in the mosque enclosure to the funeral complex of Beqi Beg Uzbek A.D 1640 (Pl. 18e).

3.3.3.11. **Parapet**

The parapet is chamfered in plan, its length is 56cm and thickness is 37cm. It has similar ornamentation as can be noticed on the outer and inner facing of this tomb chamber.

3.3.3.12. **Drum**

The pronounced shape drum is circular in plan (Pl. 11b), its diameter is 23.22m and its height upto the cornice moulding of the dome is 2.22m.

This drum has a decorative band of tassel ornamentation, which has been bordered by light blue glazed tiles. It is 94cm higher from the floor of the roof. Above the base moulding of the drum, the entire surface has been executed with light blue colour glazed and unglazed terracotta tiles are used to create grace in the structural composition.

3.3.3.13. **Dome**

It may be added here that this pointed shape double dome (Pl. 11b) is rising from the cornice moulding of the drum. The dome is initiating in protruding order, from here onwards it is rising up to the summit in pointed pattern. The height of the dome is 4.46m. Whereas, its height including the circular drum is 6.68m. While, its total height from the floor level is 13.78m. This dome is entirely covered with similar embellishment work, which may be observed on the outer and inner facing of the tomb chamber. It is pertinent to advocate here that the inner height of the domical ceiling is 9.00m, whereas, the outer height up to the summit of the dome is 13.78 m. In this connection, it may be pointed out that if we minus the thickness of the two shells about 80 cm, then the empty space between the two shells would be approximately 4.00 m.

3.3.4. **Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkas alias Satcharni**

3.3.4.1. **Location**

It is located to the northeastern flank of the Makli Hill and is lying to the southwest of Sheikh Jia's Tomb.

3.3.4.2. **Historical Background**

This fabulous building was constructed by Khusrau Khan Charkas (Khan, A.N., 1978: 19; Dani, 1982: 164). In this connection, Qani in his works has mentioned it as the "Ran□k of Khusrau Khan Charkas" (Qani, 1994: 195; Dani, 1982: 164). In this process, it may be pointed out that "Ran□k" in Sindhi means enclosure (Lashari, 1992: 15; Hasan, S.K., 1996: 20) or

defining, graves inside the enclosure wall. Thus it appears, that the term used by Qani, such as, the “Ran□k of Khusrau Khan Charkas”, is indicating the grave enclosure of Khusrau Khan Charkas. However, this view stands incorrect because, it is clearly indicating that this Satcharni is the mausoleum form of building, where inside graves are located. Whereas, in the light of Qani’s description, it may be clearly considered his last resting place. It is noteworthy to advocate here that A.H. Dani in his works dated this unique funeral structure to the 16th century A.D (Dani, 1982: 165). However, keeping in view the architectural style, such as, the shape of its pointed arches, stucco stalactite work, arch squinches and enamelled ceramic tiles ornamentation are clearly indicating that this magnificent funeral structure may be placed between A.D 1590-1600. Initially in this tomb his family members were buried. However, when he died on 1028 A.H/A.D 1618 (Akhtar, 1990: 87, n. 643; Khan, A.N., 1978: 24) thus, he was also laid to rest in this fabulous tomb. It may be added here that the graves located inside the tomb chamber are absolutely defaced, therefore, it is difficult to determine the exact identification of these graves.

3.3.4.3.Plan

This tomb chamber is externally chamfered in plan (Fig. 9), which is measuring 19.58 x 19.65m, whereas, it is octagonal internally, measuring 7.62 x 7.66m.

3.3.4.4.Platform

The platform is chamfered in plan. The core of the plinth is entirely constructed from the Makli Hill stones, which are cemented with lime mortar. It may be further attributed here that its outer facing is wrought with rectangular shape dressed yellow marble tiles. These are varying in size, such as, 61 x 22cm, 38 x 22cm, 58 x 11cm and 59 x 10cm. It is indeed interesting to suggest here that the height of this podium from the present ground level is varying, such as, 1.57m, 1.70m and 1.79m. It may be further elaborated here that the outer facing of this platform is slightly impacted by the salinity, because of the wet breezes blowing across, flowing from the Indus and Arabian Sea.

3.3.4.5.Outer walls

The four outer walls are erected above the platform, which have been constructed from two different size bricks, such as, the square brick 25 x 25 x 4cm and rectangular bricks measuring 23 x 12 x 5cm. These rectangular bricks are actually the terracotta tiles. The outer surface of the terracotta tiles are mostly defaced. However, one can observe the intact terracotta tiles on the eastern side. It may be claimed here that the outer facing of the wall is visibly illustrating the naked brick architectural masonry. This style was initiated by the Samma’s at Makli Hill. In this connection, the first ever brick structure in the area of our study is the Makli mosque A.D 1392. Since then this kind of masonry gained popularity at Makli Hill. However,

reached the perfection during the Tarkhan domain. In this regard, the under discussion structure may be termed, one of the unique examples in terms of its layout, designing and naked brick masonry.

3.3.4.6. Entrances

The main entrance is located on the western side. The existing height of the entrance is 2.73m. It is in the shape of arcaded vestibule, the main arch entrance is fallen below the shoulder level.

3.3.4.7. Western side arcaded vestibule

The western entrance is in the form of arcaded vestibule. It can be divided into three parts. The outer part of this vestibule is measuring 3.78x2.25 m, it can be approached through the archway, which has been fallen, however, its existing height is 2.73 m. The inner end of the outer vestibule is provided with an arch entrance. It is 5.66m in height from the ground level. From here a flight of steps is leading to the inner chamber. The soffit of this arch is slightly projected outwards, its width is 1.89m. At the inner end similar arch is added, its height is 4.92m. It is placed on the third step of the above stated flight of steps. The middle vestibule is measuring 2.27 x 1.89m. Whereas, the third or the inner most vestibule is measuring 2.40 x 1.50m. The inner end of this vestibule is showing an arch entrance to the tomb chamber, its height is 4.36m. It may be pointed out that this arch is intact and its inner soffit is showing the rectangular shape bricks laid in profile.

It may be added here that five steps are provided to approach the inner chamber. This portion was once completely plastered, however, few traces of this plaster can be still observed. In this connection, it is worth while, to advocate here that the above stated plaster is showing few signs of glazed plaster work (Pucca Qalai work). This kind of work is appearing for the first time at Makli Hill.

It is of sterling importance that the remaining three sides, such as, the north, south and eastern are identical to the western side. However, the southern side is comparatively intact. In this regard, it is significant to elaborate here that the first (outer) and the second (central) vestibules of the eastern, southern and northern sides are filled up to the platform level with the stones from the Makli Hill and then plastered with the modern cement, an unfair work done in the past by the archaeological curators or concern authorities to whom the conservation task may would have been assigned.

3.3.4.8. Tomb Chamber

The tomb chamber is octagonal in plan (Fig. 9). It is measuring 7.80 x 7.80 m. The cordinal arch alcoves are slightly larger as compare to those on the four angles. These angle side

arch alcoves are linking the octagonal chambers with the tomb chamber. These arch alcoves are measuring 4.67 x 2.60 x 1.60m. The arch alcoves above the cornice moulding are showing a triple series of smaller arch niches. These are piling up one above the other. The alternate one is being concave, while the rest are flat. These are supporting the half domical ceiling. The remaining part of the domical ceiling is executed by means of stucco stalactite work.

3.3.4.9. Octagonal chambers at the angles

The octagonal chambers at the four chamfered corners are identical to each other (Pl. 5b). These are measuring 3.57x3.57m. These four octagonal chambers to their outer ends are provided with arch alcove openings, which are facing the outer side. These are measuring 2.50x1.57m. It is interesting to advocate here that these octagonal chambers on their either sides are provided with arch alcoves.

It may be mentioned here that the north western side octagonal chamber is mostly fallen above the dado level, however, from the intact remains one can easily determine its features. Such as, the arch alcove to the northwestern side has opening. Whereas, the southeastern side arch alcove is yielding an entrance to the tomb chamber. While its either inner side flanks are possessing stairs leading to the upper storey. It is noteworthy to advocate here that the remaining three octagonal chambers are showing similar treatment (fig. 9). It is important to mention here that the southwestern and northeastern octagonal chambers are fallen above the cornice level. Whereas, the southeastern octagonal chamber is slightly intact. The preserve parts are showing that these were provided with half domical ceilings, which are showing stucco stalactite work. Furthermore, the plastered patches at few places inside the octagonal chambers are clearly indicating the use of glazed plaster work. It is sterling to make a mention here that the spandrels of the south eastern chamber at few places, is exhibiting the traces of floral scrolls, executed with enamelled ceramic tiles, these have been wrought on the dado level. The above stated four octagonal chambers at their ends have been provided with narrow arch openings measuring 2x1m. These are linking the main tomb chamber.

The above stated narrow arch entrances at their inner ends are flanked on either side by the staircases. These are yielding similar arch openings. The arch opening of staircase is measuring, 2mx37cm, while each step is measuring 74x26x24cm. These steps are mostly damaged, however, one of the staircase on the northeastern side is yielding 11 intact steps. While, the staircase on the southeastern side is showing 14 steps. It is significant to elaborate here that the exact number of these steps in the light of existing evidences may be determined as 14. It is interesting to highlight here that, after entering to the octagonal chamber, one can either to the right or left sides can ascend to the roof through these stair cases.

The dado level of the southeastern octagonal chamber is possessing few traces of the painted glazing work. It is clearly indicating that once the entire surface was elegantly embellished with glazing work. Moreover, the dado level is showing the traces of floral scrolls.

The cornice moulding is provided with eight smaller size squinches. These are supporting the low domical ceiling. The existing height of the southeastern octagonal chamber is 4.56. Whereas, the existing height of the northeastern octagonal chamber is 4.40m. The alcove ceiling of this octagonal chamber is veneered in fish scale pattern. This type of arrangement is providing stability to the structural composition. Furthermore, the above stated treatment in the half domical ceilings can be observed for the first time during the Tarkhan period. Later on, this kind of treatment has become one of the other striking features of the Makli Hill monuments. This may be clearly noticed in the tombs of Jani Beg Tarkhan, Diwan Shurafa Khan, moreover, in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan and in the tomb enclosure of Baqi Beg Uzbek.

3.3.4.10. **Dome**

The above stated four octagonal chambers at their four corners are crowned by the smaller size domes. These have been completely fallen only the traces of their drums are surviving. The central dome was placed above the octagonal drum, which is mostly fallen, however, its existing height above the floor of the roof is 35cm. It is therefore, indeed difficult to conclude any suggestion regarding the height and shape of the central dome.

3.3.4.11. **Concept of Satcharni**

The renowned local historians are claiming their own views regarding the term “Satcharni” for instance, “Sat”, means seven and “Char□ni”, is meaning ascending or climbing. Likewise, A.H. Dani has also defined its meaning, such as, seven steps (Dani, 1982: 164). In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that each flank is possessing two stair cases. Thus it appears, that eight stair cases have been provided. Moreover, each is yielding more than eight steps. Thus initially these were probably called as “Hasht Char□hni” (eight staircases). However, the locals with the passage of time, instead of pronouncing “Sha” properly they replaced it with “Sa” thus, it became as “Hast”, however, slowly and gradually it evolved in to “Sat”, which seems to be the correct interpretation of the inquestion term.

3.3.5. **Isa Khan Tarkhan II**

3.3.5.1. **Location**

This magnificent tomb complex is situated to the west of Jan Baba interconnected Chaukhandis, moreover, to the south of Baqi Beg Uzbek tomb enclosure.

3.3.5.2. Historical Background

Isa Khan Tarkhan II was the son of Jan Baba Tarkhan and the grand son of Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I. He was appointed for the first time the governor of Thatta in May 1613, for a short period. Later on, he became the governor of Thatta for the second time in A.D 1627. He remained on this post until A.D 1628. It was during this phase of time, when he laid the foundation of his tomb. This tomb has been constructed in sixteen years. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that since Isa Khan Tarkhan II, has been remained as a governor of Gujarat and Deccan, therefore, besides, the local values the Deccan, Gujarat, Ahmadabad and to some extent the Fatehpur Sikri styles alongside the Persian and Central Asian traditions caused for the impacts on the construction of the under discussion tomb.

3.3.5.3. Plan

This splendid specimen in the mausoleum architecture is square in plan (Fig.13). It is surrounded by a double storeyed pillared verandah (Pl. 6c). This unique tomb complex is located inside a spacious courtyard, which is fenced by a compound wall. The main entrance to the courtyard is located on the eastern direction. Whereas, a mehrab has been provided on the western side of the compound wall. It is important to add here that the main entrance to the tomb chamber is lying on the southern side. It is noteworthy, to advocate here that the plan and designing of this fabulous tomb structure is representing a unique style of architecture. Moreover, its layout is undoubtedly suggesting a landmark in the history of mausoleum architectural. Furthermore, it may be termed the first ever specimen of its own kind at Makli Hill as well in the entire Pakistan.

3.3.5.4. Compound Wall

The compound wall is erected on 86cm raised platform. This enclosure wall is square in form, its height is 3.23m and its thickness is 97cm. The foundation of this compound wall has been constructed from the Makli Hill stones, which are set in lime mortar. In this regard, it is significant to elaborate here, that the foundation or the platform of the compound wall has been covered with the dressed yellow marble of Jangshahi in order to create grace and harmony in the structural composition. Therefore, the entire compound wall and the other important structural parts of the under discussion tomb complex are veneered with the above stated stone slabs. Above the platform of the compound wall, recessed arch panels are executed. The facing of this platform is exhibiting, wavy lozenges with arrow heads. The same design can also be seen in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan and in the Chaukhandi tomb of Tughrel Beg. It may be added here, that in the Chaukhandi tomb of Tughrel Beg the under discussion pattern is engraved on the pillars and lintels. However, in the at issue tomb this motif

is executed in high relief. Moreover, it is filled with a rosette pattern. The above stated designs have been carved inside a recessed pointed arch panel, which is enclosed by a square frame, measuring 34cm. This band is running around the entire platform of the compound wall. This plinth is crowned by two different border bands. The lower one is indicating a tassel motif, while the upper one is denoting a floral bud pattern executed in relief.

Above this plinth the remaining part of the compound wall is showing a series of recessed pointed arches, constructed in the thickness of wall. These recessed arch panels are enclosed by rectangular frame. The height of these recessed arches including the frame is 1.75m, width is 80cm and depth is 57cm. The border band of these recessed arches is showing intersecting lozenges, carved in low relief. Whereas, the remaining portion has been garnished with stepped lozenges, carved in high relief. These stepped lozenges are filled inside with floral medallions, wrought in low relief. These flowers are in two different patterns, such as, inside the engraved arch, eight petaled sunflowers are carved. These have been illustrated in large scale. The compound wall is crowned by a double band of borders. The lower one is showing a single row of lozenges, where as, the upper strip is depicting the floral buds.

It is striking to note here that the outer facing of this compound wall is representing the same nature of workmanship, as can be observed in the case of inner side. However, the only differences is the deeply sunk niches, may be observed at the inner side, where as, the outer side is showing simple recessed in nature. Besides, the above stated treatment the rest mode of work is identical.

3.3.5.5. Entrance

This monumental arch way is enclosed by means of rectangular frame (Pl. 6b). The height of the arch façade is 7.60m and its width is 8.25m. The spandrels are carved in low relief, these are exhibiting floral buds in arabesque pattern. The parapet of the arch is showing engraved circles, running horizontally. These roundels are filled with dotted design, wrought in low relief. This arch way is flanked on either side by false decorated balconies, these are projected outwards (Pl. 52a). It may be pointed out that the serpentine shape brackets have supported the above stated balconies. The height of the balcony from the floor level is 3.31m. The brackets are plain inside but richly ornamented externally. The spandrels of the arch shaped balconies have been carved with embossed sunflowers. Whereas, the lower part is depicting an engraved David star, enclosed by a square engraved border. The David star is filled at the inner side by floral decoration. These balconies are crowned on either side by double recessed arched panels, enclosed by rectangular frames. The inner border is representing floral buds. Whereas, the second strip is depicting intersecting octagons. The inner part of these panels is illustrating the

same wavy lozenges as have been discussed in the case of inner and outer platform of the compound wall, however, the under discussion motif has been exquisitely engraved. Below the balconies on either side a single arch panel has been created, enclosed by a rectangular border. This border is profusely decorated with intersecting lozenges and floral buds. The remaining part of the façade is showing intersecting octagons and stepped lozenges filled with sunflowers, similar to those on the compound wall.

The above stated monumental pointed arch alcove is accommodating the vestibule, its either sides are flanked with podiums.

The soffits of the alcove arches are enriched on either side with recessed arch panels, showing a frieze of David stars, filled with a sunflower. Whereas, the stepped lozenges are filled with embossed diamond shape motif. The above stated designs are created in relief. Inside the above mentioned outer alcove arch, another arch of the same pattern but recessed in nature is conceived, it is carved with hexagonal and star motifs. These are filled with sunflowers. While, the stepped lozenges are filled with square shape low knob, besides, floral buds and chain designs have also been created in relief.

This monumental pointed arch alcove at the inner side has been provided with a recessed arch. It is enclosed by a floral buds border band. Whereas, its tympanum is wrought with an embossed sunflower medallion. This recessed arch is containing a rectangular shape entrance to the courtyard of this tomb complex. The jambs of this entrance are adorned with chain motif executed in low relief.

3.3.5.6. Inner façade of the Eastern Arch

The inner façade of the eastern archway is composed with a pointed arch alcove, enclosed by a rectangular frame. It has been provided with a border band, which is containing a double row of floral buds. The tympanum is carved with stylised cusped arch shape motif. It is supported by a stand like motif, executed in high relief. The rest of this façade has been classified by numerous patterns. These have been wrought in low, as well in high mode of carving. These designs are such as, intersecting chains connected in between by David stars. This chain motif is filled by small square knobs, whereas, the David stars are filled with sunflower medallions.

Besides, the stepped lozenges with floral details can also be observed in similar style, as can be noticed on the outer and inner sides of the compound wall. The most important designs created here are denoting intersecting octagons and six sided stars. These are filled with sunflowers and dotted patterns. The above stated designs have enhanced the grace of the entire surface. Besides, the main entrance on the eastern side, two similar monumental arches have

been created, one each on the northern and southern directions, however, these are recessed in nature, whereas, the western side of the compound wall is possessing a monumental arch alcove, where inside arch mehrab is provided.

3.3.5.7.Courtyard

The courtyard inside the compound wall is almost square in plan measuring 44x47.86m. The flooring of the courtyard is paved with rectangular and square shape yellow marble dressed slabs. The size of these slabs is varying from 36x39, 39x32, 41x42 and 46x43 cm.

3.3.5.8.Southern side arch alcove

It is significant to elaborate here that at the centre of the southern side compound wall, a monumental recessed alcove is created. Its height is 9.41m, where as, its width is 7.20m. The inner part of this arch alcove is composed in rectangular shape chamber. It is located on 88cm raised plinth. Whereas, the rectangular shape chamber is measuring 4.06x2.40m.

The cornice moulding of the alcove ceiling is about 3.05m high from the floor of the above stated rectangular shape chamber. It may be added here that 48cm below the cornice moulding an ornamental band is running horizontally, depicting intersecting oval shape lozenges, these are filled with dotted designs. These have been executed in low relief. It may be mentioned here that at the height of 3.15m just above the cornice moulding, pointed arch squinches are provided to take the lode of the half domical ceiling of the arch alcove. The squinches are splendidly carved with the same design, which can be recorded below the cornice moulding of the alcove ceiling, moreover, it can also be seen on the soffits of the eastern archway. However, in the under discussion instance it is carved in low relief. The alcove ceiling is executed through the corbelled method.

The façade of this arch alcove is denoting similar stepped lozenges filled with sunflowers, which can also be noticed on the eastern arch way and on the compound wall, however, a chain of ten sided star motif, filled with sunflowers has been carved in high relief. It is a new design, which can be noticed for the first time at Makli Hill. The outer edge of this arch alcove is representing the same motif as can be seen on the alcove arch soffits.

It may be added here that the under discussion monumental arch alcove is flanked by arch niches, one each on the either sides. The above stated high pointed arch has been added with false balconies, one each on the either sides. These are constructed about 3.23m above the floor level, whereas, the length of the balcony is 2.50m and width is 76cm, while internally it is measuring 1.03mx76cmx30cm. It is supported by duck shape brackets (Pl. 52e), measuring 40x29cm. The façade of this balcony is showing intersecting oval shape lozenges, carved in low relief. Where as, its either sides are representing eight sided stars filled with a sunflower,

wrought in high relief. It is important to add here that the right side balcony has been mostly damaged.

3.3.5.9. Northern side arch alcove

The northern side compound wall has been provided with similar arch alcove as can be observed in the case of southern side. However, the only difference is in the shape of balconies (Pl. 52b). These are entirely different from the above stated instances. In the under discussion case one can notice, serpentine shape brackets supporting the balconies (Pl. 52e). Its length is 1.92m width is 49cm and depth is 40cm. Whereas, the measurement of the lower abacus is 80x40x7cm.

It may be further added have that the serpentine shaped brackets are crowned by the abacus (Pl. 52e), measuring 80x40x7cm, these have supported the balcony. Its frontage has been carved with shouldered arch tiny niches, these have been filled with sunflowers. The underneath part of the abacus is also carved with a stylised sunflower, fenced by a square incised frame. The outer lower part of the abacus is indicating a stylised stalagmite. Besides, the lower parts of these brackets are also provided with stalagmite elements. The lower portion of these stalagmites are added with fretwork embellishment. The central frontage of these brackets have been sculpted in serpentine shape.

Above the abacus the either side of the pedestals are richly carved with floral and geometrical patterns, besides, the acanthus leaves are also wrought in high relief. It may be further added here that above these pedestals richly carved pillars are placed, one each on the either side. The base of these pillars is square, whereas, its shaft can be divided into three parts, such as, the lower is octagonal, while, the central is multifaceted, whereas, the upper part is round in shape. Moreover, their capitals are square in shape, executed with wedge shape design. The rear side is yielding similar pillars fixed to the wall. The space between the two pillars on either side is filled with fret work. This balcony is crowned by a flat ceiling.

It is significant to elaborate here that the balcony located to the left side of the arch alcove, is yielding similar brackets and abacus as discussed in the case of the right side balcony, however, except the above stated few components, rest of the features are entirely different. This balcony has an arch opening enclosed by a rectangular frame. Moreover, it is flanked on either side by pilasters. The arch spandrels of this balcony are profusely embellished with floral arabesque, carved in low relief. Besides, the flat ceiling of the balcony and the inner facing are showing floral and geometrical tracery work.

3.3.5.10. **Mehrab of the compound wall**

The mehrab façade is 7.3m high and 7.6m wide. Whereas this arch alcove of the mehrab is 6.45m high from the floor level.

The ornamental details can be observed on the façade of the mehrab. These are illustrating various elements, carved in both low and high relief. This arch alcove is showing similar border band, which can be noticed on the intrados of the eastern, southern and northern sides arch alcoves (Pl. 33a). It may be further stated here that the intersecting oval shape lozenges carved in low relief, are running over the outer edge of the arch alcove. The second band close to the above stated design is depicting stepped lozenges, filled with sunflowers, carved in high relief. Whereas, the third band is representing a single row of lozenges, while, the fourth strip is representing stylised leaves, the next ornamental band is depicting David stars. These have been filled with sunflowers. The David stars are linked with each other by means of chain design. The above mentioned ornamental bands can be observed on the either side of the arch façade.

It is significant to elaborate here that above the dado level recessed arch panels are executed. These are enclosed with rectangular frames. The different border bands have been carved with intersecting chains and stepped lozenges, these have been filled with sunflowers and floral buds.

It is utmost pertinent to elaborate here that above the cornice moulding, arch squinches are adding support to the half domical ceiling (Pl. 33a). The inner part of the mehrab is rectangular in plan, measuring 3.04x2.55m. The actual mehrab niche is deeply sunken, measuring, 2.40x0.34x0.60m.

The mehrab niche is enclosed by a rectangular frame. This frame has four geometrical bands, showing small arch shape motif, chain pattern, false fretwork and lozenge elements have been carved in low relief. The spandrels are executed with floral arabesque design in relief. This mehrab on the either side is flanked by the pilarettas, their height is 1.05m. The base is square, whereas, the shaft is depicting engraved vertical lines. The square shape capital is carved in two stages, the lower part is crowned by abacus, while the second part is topped by a coping stone.

The façade of the mehrab on the either side is flanked by false balconies. These balconies are entirely different from those provided on the eastern, southern and northern sides (Pl. 52d). The height of these balconies from the floor level is 3.63m, whereas, its length is 88cm and width is 57cm. The balcony to the right side is slightly intact, showing the abacus is supported by duck shape brackets, measuring 10x6cm. Whereas, above the abacus at the either corners pilasters are provided, its length is 37cm. Their base is square in shape, whereas, the shaft is

octagonal in plan, which is rising from the floral bud. While the capital has been elegantly carved with low stone stalactite design. These pilasters have supported the flat ceiling of the balcony. The ceiling is showing a zigzag design carved in low relief. It is pertinent to elaborate here that this zigzag pattern is bearing close affinity to the cypress tree motif. The inner frontage of the balcony is visibly denoting a cusp arch panel, it is filled with a sunflower. Whereas, below swastika designs are carved in relief. It may be workout here that both the balconies are identical in style. These have been magnificently ornamented. These are creating grace in the entire structural composition of the mehrab façade.

3.3.5.11. **Platform**

The actual tomb complex is located on a 93 cm raised platform. This platform is square in plan, measuring 21.36x21.18m.

The frontage of the platform is exquisitely enriched by means of stone lace work in both low and high relief. The pertinent designs are floral buds, engraved crosses, intersecting oval shape lozenges, Moreover, this entire facing is carved with pointed arch recessed panels, filled with stylised embossed sunflowers. Furthermore, the space between the two sunken arch panels is filled with stepped lozenges and diamond shape motif. The stylobate is embellished with a double row of tassels. The upper one is indicating a floral bud design. Whereas, the lower one is denoting a tablet shape motif, this tablet shape element is filled with a beaded design.

3.3.5.12. **Arch entrances to the verandah**

It is significant to mention here that on the four sides of the verandah a set of three pointed arches have been erected. It is significant to advocate here that the intrados of these three arches are veneered with spear head fringe. This style is representing a unique gesture, showing its continuation from the mehrab arch of Jan Baba Chaukhandi. The central arch is slightly larger in size. Its height is 5.12m, whereas, the flanking arches height is 4.97m. These arches are supported by the pillars, placed one above the other. The lower pillar bracket capital is crowned by a square shape abacus, over which the upper pillar is placed. This upper pillar is surmounted with similar abacus as discussed in the case of lower pillar. It may be added here that the shoulders of these arches are placed on the abacus of the upper pillars. These pillars are arranged in two rows four in the front row, whereas, same number at the rear side. The space between the above stated two rows is measuring 6.63x2.35m. Whereas, the gape between the two pillars is 1.76cm. It is significant to elaborate here that the lower ends of the soffits are provided with stalagmites. Whereas, the spandrels are showing floral buds, carved in low relief. While, the border bands are richly decorated with lozenges and star shape ornamentation. The inner part of

this arched pylon is crowned by lintels, its height is 5.67m. It is inscribed with Quranic verses in thulth style, carved in low relief.

These arched pylons like entrances on the cordinal points of the lower verandah are crowned with three domical ceilings. The central domical ceiling is slightly elongated as compare to the flanking domical ceilings. It has been supported by arch squinches, whereas, the flanking sides are supported by means of diagonally laid slabs at the four corners.

3.3.5.13. Lower Pillared verandah

The tomb chamber is surrounded by a double storeyed pillared verandah (Pl. 6c). It is significant to elaborate here that such type of pillared verandah or pillared hall is reminding us the traditional style of the pre-Islamic culture. Which can be clearly observed in the Hindu temple architecture. In this regard, it may be suggested here that the man□d□apa (a pillared verandah constructed as a sitting place) generally on one side or in some cases on the cordinal points, however, in Rājputana, Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Kathiawar such type of arrangements can be observed around the garbagr□ha (the worship place). In this connection, it may be added here that this idea seems to have been derived from the Manduka Mandala style. This idea after passing through the different developmental phases, later on, became the utmost significant style of architecture, being employed in the Muslim buildings. They have retained this foremost pertinent plan especially at Deccan, Gujarat and Ahmadabad during the 15th and 16th centuries A.D. In this connection, it may be claimed here that the rulers of Thatta have very good relations with the kings of Gujarat; moreover, Isa Khan Tarkhan II, remained the governor of Gujarat and Deccan, therefore, he was also responsible for the introduction of new trends.

In this regard, it is equally important to make a mention here, that his stay at Gujarat and Deccan has developed his esthetic sense regarding the above stated style. Thus, after the adaptation of this idea later on, it has been introduced at Makli Hill, in the under discussion tomb.

It is striking to make a mention here that this tomb complex as compared to the contemporary styles, is surpassing the method of such architectural style. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that the under view has been erected in double storeyed style. It is significant to make a mention here that the pillars of the upper verandah are resting on the pillars of the lower verandah or have been placed one above the other (Pl. 6c). These pillars are fifty six in number. In this connection, it may be further added here that these pilling pillars are crowned by the four armed brackets over which the beams are resting. Thus it appears that the trabeate technique of architecture has been adopted to construct the superstructure of these verandahs. In the same way the four walls of the square tomb chamber are erected with a set of double pillars or placed

one above the other. Thus, the load of the superstructure is retained on these pillars. These have been crowned by the brackets, which have supported the beams above. Furthermore, this double storeyed structure is finally surmounted by the arch squinches. Thus, it appears, that the combination of trabeate and archuate method of architecture have combinely shared the load of the building.

The pillars provided to the lower verandah, tomb chamber, and the staircase chambers on the eastern side are similar in workmanship. These pillars are square in plan. The terrace shaped base of these pillars is measuring 42x32cm. While the height of the shaft is 2.11m. It is significant to add here that all the four sides are exhibiting tulip flowers and stylised leaves, arranged in arabesque pattern, these have been carved in low relief.

These pillars are crowned by four armed brackets, each one is measuring 41x31x18cm. These brackets are marvelously enriched by means of stalactite work. This mode of work has been topped by a border band of geometrical interlacing, executed in low relief.

These brackets have been surmounted by the beams, their length is 1.70m, width is 38cm, while the thickness is 32cm. The beams on three sides are wrought with the same design as can be observed on the shafts of the pillars. It is indeed interesting to advocate here that these pillars, brackets and beams are supporting the flat ceiling. These ceilings have been magnificently carved in low relief, showing single and double petal sunflowers with low engraved lines, moreover, a lozenge motif has been wrought as a border band.

3.3.5.14. **Staircases**

The eastern side of the lower verandah has two staircase chambers, supported by four similar pillars as discussed above. These have been crowned by the same brackets and beams. The gap between the pillars is filled by means of recessed arch panels, one each on either side, these are richly decorated with geometrical interlacing. These recessed panels are bordered by engraved wavy lozenges, filled with rosettes, moreover arrow heads are provided on both ends. Besides, the simple geometrical interlacing on the eastern face, the southern and western recessed arch panels are also carved with geometrical interlacing. It is important to elaborate here that the inner border is showing intersecting oval shaped lozenges carved in low relief. While, in the case of eastern side recessed arch panel, floral buds are executed as a border band.

The northern side has the identical treatment as can be observed on the southern and western sides except the minor change. The recessed arch panel of the northern side is smaller in size, and has been added with a rectangular shaped entrance, where inside eleven steps are provided to make access to the upper storey. The height of the entrance is 1.50m and its width is

45cm. The jambs and lintel of this doorway are wrought with geometrical interlacing carved in low relief.

The second staircase chamber is located in front of the above stated staircase, however the only difference is its entrance, which is facing southwards. Furthermore, it is a double storeyed staircase chamber, which is providing the only access leading to the roof of the tomb. It has been provided with a rectangular entrance at the first floor, facing western side, attached to it, a second entrance has been added to reach the roof of this monumental tomb complex. The outer face of this second stair case chamber is showing David stars filled with rosettes and the intersecting oval shaped lozenges carved in low relief.

3.3.5.15. **Upper pillared verandah**

The upper storey of the tomb chamber has been provided with sixty pillars. It may be pointed out that these pillars as compare to the lower verandah are slightly smaller in size. The square shaped base is measuring 43cm a side and their height is 26cm. While, the square shaft height is 1.64m. These bases are carved with embossed trefoil shaped panels, whereas, the interlacing on the upper verandah pillar shafts are identical to those may be observed in the lower verandah. These pillars are also provided with four armed brackets, measuring 42x30x20cm, carved with embossed decoration.

The four armed brackets are supporting the beams. These are rectangular in shape and carved with the same design, as can be noticed on the shafts of the pillars.

It is significant to elaborate here that the lower verandah has been provided with flat ceiling. However, in the upper verandah sixteen flat ceilings and thirty four domical ceilings have been provided. It may be added here that five domical ceilings have been fallen. The flat ceilings are showing geometrical interlacing, depicting pentagonal stars, whereas, in few cases octagonal stars are also executed. These stars are filled with sunflowers.

The cornice moulding is placed, above the beams, whereas, these cornices are supporting the arch squinches, which are taking the lode of the domical ceiling. The above stated domes are slightly larger in size as compared to the remaining domes, which are supported by means of single rectangular slab laid diagonally.

3.3.5.16. **Post railing (Muttaka Vedikā)**

The outer edge of the upper storey verandah has been fenced with the muttaka vedikā or post railing (Pl. 48). The muttaka vedikā is veneered through fret work technique. The height of this railing is 40cm and its thickness is 11cm. The perforation is wrought with elongated conical shaped tiny trefoil arches in series, these are crowned by David stars. It is then entirely fenced by a border band in a single row, showing a chain of lozenges, are carved in low relief. This railing

is composed in two parts. These two parts are separated by means of pilaster masts, whereas, its upper part is veneered in trefoil pattern, measuring 51x13cm.

3.3.5.17. Outer facing of the tomb chamber

The tomb chamber may be divided into two parts, such as, the lower part and the upper portion. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that both externally and internally the lower and upper sides are richly carved with five recessed arch panels. These are almost identical to each other, except the size of upper portion recessed arch panels, which are slightly smaller in size. Moreover, the central recessed arch panel of the each side except the southern side, which is accommodating a rectangular shape opening added inside the recessed arch panel. The doorway on either side is flanked by the recessed arch panels. These are executed with a lozenge shape perforated jali at their centers. These perforated panels are exhibiting swastika design, carved in relief.

The western side has five recessed arch panels, the central one is executed with fret work. It is showing intersecting octagonal designs filled with sunflower motif.

Whereas, the northern side is identical to the eastern and western portion, however, the only change, which may be noticed, it is showing a pointed arch screen. This fret work is showing intersecting octagons.

3.3.5.18. Entrance to the tomb chamber

This tomb chamber on its southern side has been provided with a rectangular entrance measuring 1.02x1.85m. The outer face of the lintel is showing Quranic verses in thulth style, executed in high relief. It may be added here that the corner joints of the inner and outer faces of the jamb on the either side are carved in high relief. These are representing bell shape motif.

3.3.5.19. Tomb Chamber

This tomb chamber is almost square in plan measuring 9.55x9.88m. The tomb has been constructed through the trabeate and archuate systems of architecture.

3.3.5.20. The lower storey of the tomb chamber

The four walls of the tomb chamber are representing a very unique mode of work. These walls have been constructed with the support of 20 pilasters, each wall is containing a set of five pilasters. The gapes between the two pillars is filled by means of recessed arch panels. This kind of arrangement can also be observed in the upper part, however, the only difference, which may be noticed that is the size and the execution of adornment. It may be pointed out that five recessed pointed arches are added on each side. The central one on the north east and west is wrought with perforated screens. Whereas, the southern side at the centre is depicting the entrance to the main tomb chamber. These recessed panels excluding the perforated screens are

identical in mode of work, each is measuring 2.03x1.29m. The inner parts of these recessed panels have been carved in low relief. These are showing floral tendrils in relief, representing tulip flower buds, leaves and stems. These panels are flanked with two border bands, the inner one is wrought with intersecting David stars and beaded motif, carved in low relief. Whereas, the outer framing is denoting engraved wavy lozenges, their both ends are marked by a bud like motif. The lozenge is filled inside by rosettes. The spandrels of these recessed panels are executed with geometrical interlacing, carved in low relief.

3.3.5.21. **Squinch system**

It may be added here that above the cornice moulding eight arch squinches are constructed. It is striking to elaborate here that these arch squinches are flanked by pilasters. The shoulders of these squinches are lying on the capitals of these pilasters. The corner squinches are deeper in composition yielding alcove ceilings, these are provided with pendentives (Pl. 26c). Whereas, the squinches on the cordinal points are in simple recessed order.

These squinches are crowned by the zone of transition. The zone of transition is surmounted by a springing level, used as a base for the domical ceiling. The domical ceiling constructed through corbelling method. This ceiling was once richly illustrated with paintings, perhaps in tempera technique. It is mostly defaced, however, the surviving traces are enough to suggest that once it was exquisitely executed with the various designs. The few traces are still denoting very clearly, the black, dark brown and red colours representing the floral buds and leaves. Moreover, sunflowers and geometrical decorations can also be noticed.

3.3.5.22. **Dome construction**

The tomb chamber is surmounted by a colossal dome, which is resting on a terrace shape drum (Pl. 14a), its height is 4m. The dome is hemispherical in plan, however, its outer surface has been conceived in flanged pattern (Pl. 14). In this connection, it may be claimed here that this kind of treatment in the mode of dome construction may be noticed for the first time at Makli Hill. The height of this flanged shape dome is 3.65m and its diameter is 33.18m.

This dome is crowned with inverted lotus, executed in high relief. The existing height of the finial is 30cm. The outer surface of the dome is illustriously covered with a thick coat of lime plaster.

It is significant to elaborate here that this dome is flanked on all four sides by smaller size domes. These are 34 in number, among these presently 29 are intact, whereas, five domes have been fallen, their height is 76 cm. Besides, four domes one each on the either side of the arched pylon is representing a terrace dome (Pl. 15a). Its lower terrace height is 64cm. Whereas, the second terrace is octagonal in shape, its height is 54cm. The third stage is again octagonal, which

is 54cm, whereas the roof of these terrace shape domes is flat. This style of dome may be observed for the first time at Makli Hill. It is significant to elaborate here that the idea of the cluster of domes at Makli Hill was adopted for the first time in the mausoleum of Khusrau Khan Charkas A.D 1590-1600. However, the mausoleum of Isa Khan II is representing a unique display of the under discussion style. It may be further added here that later on, this idea has been very successfully introduced in the Shah Jahani mosque at Thatta.

Chapter-IV

4. The Origin and Development of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill

4.1. Aims of the Present Research Work

The aims and objectives concerning with the foregoing chapter would be to find out the routes of its origin, and the developmental achievements, which can be observed in the mode of construction. It is indeed significant, to elaborate here that similar method of research, may also be applied to meet the solution of the various issues regarding this probe looking attitude of architecture, as has been adopted in the case of chapter III of the present work, such as, the style-critical method. In this process, Hastenrath claims, that she has for the first time introduced this kind of research method in the present day Pakistan, instead of using the conventional research method (Hastenrath, 2003: XIX). However, it is interesting to elaborate here that the approach of style-critical method is not a new technique of research procedure, it is well known to the research scholars, such as, Cunningham (1875), Marshall (1912), J. Ph. Vogel (1920), Percy Brown (1941), John Terry (1955), Sheikh Khurshid Hasan (1975, 1984, 1996, 1997, 2001), Ram Nath (1978, 1982, 1985, 1989), Taj Ali (1988, 1997), Ebba Koch (1991). It is, however, significant to elaborate here, that in the case of Chaukhandi tomb architectural traditions, very little attempt has been made regarding the issue of style-critical method as compare to the mausoleum architecture, as well in the mode of ornamental illustrations. Whereas, in the case of Chaukhandi funerary burials, glimpses of the above stated research process may be noticed in the works of M.A. Ghafur (1968), Ali Ahmad Brohi (1983), Ahmad Hasan Dani (1982), Kaleemullah Lashari (1995) and Sheikh Khurshid Hasan (1996). Whereas, Hastenrath (2003) has keenly investigated the distribution of the Chaukhandi tombs, furthermore, she made the analytical comparative analysis to reach the proper length of research concerning to the Chaukhandi tombs.

In this regard, the most authentic version of work, regarding the under discussion topic has been conducted by Zajadacz-Hastenrath. She has termed these fabulous structures, peculiar in stance, has no parallel in the Islamic world (Hastenrath, 2003: XXIII). It is significant to advocate here that Sheikh Khurshid Hasan has also proclaimed similar view (Hasan, S.K., 1976: 29). In this connection Hastenrath on the basis of rational justifications, is advocating that very little Chaukhandi tombs are reported from Baluchistan area. Therefore, assigning this form of funerary burials to the Baluchis is seemed to be incorrect, because these have been reported in plentiful in the Sindh valley (Hastenrath, 2003: 8). These views shall be keenly evaluated in order to know that whether similar Chaukhandi tombs are located in the Indian territories or not?

In this connection, such issues may be discussed at length in order to bring forth the solution to the matter of contention.

Since the discovery, due to its strange looking format, it is generally referred as the most curious style of architecture, regarding its plan, design and adornment in the entire contemporary Islamic world. The legendary sources documented by the historians are stressing upon its association with the Baluchis traditions. They are generally emphasising on the Shami or Rumi mythical aspects, advocating came with the Arab army, settled here or perhaps due to the upheave of the Seljuqs the later migrated and inhabited these regions, caused for the interaction of the at issue funerary structures in the Sindh valley, thus brought here new phenomena, which culminated with the local values, as a result the inquestion stance of architecture came in to being (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 63; Baluch, 2004: 163). The other theory is the Burfati and Kalmati tribes migrated from Baluchistan settled down along the Makran coastal area and then entered into the Sindh valley, brought with themselves, their own mode of funerary architecture, which flourished here in the memory of their heroes or chieftain. Thus, with the passage of time, this enigmatic stance of architecture attained fame among the mass, which onwards became the pertinent vernacular mode of burial (Brohi, 1983: 27-29).

The other folkloristic concept of its inception is linked with Jhokiya tribe. In this regard, therefore, Bashir Ahmad Jhokio proclaims, this funerary style of architecture is derived from Jhokhandi (Brohi, 1983: 123; Jhokio, 1991). Whereas, yet another opinion concerning with the initiation of this kind of burials is denoting that it was evolved either in the lands of Ahmadabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar or Kutch regions (Cousens, 1929: 164-65; Brohi, 1983: 123; Lashari, 1992: 38) and then disseminated to the neighbouring regions. Similarly, since the area of our study is linked through Kutch with the above remarked vicinities, therefore, as a matter of fact this peculiar gesture revealed here and later on, conceived in more innovative stance. In this connection, it is utmost sterling to advocate here that since the Samma Rājputs were the inhabitants of those localities, who during the 14th century A.D were shifted here. They were actually caused for the introduction of their vernacular style of architecture in the area of our study. The geneses of the inquestion style of architecture can be observed in the form of Hindu temples, such as, pavilion shape *mandapa* and *garbagrha*, when they embraced Islam thus, with in the portfolio of socio-religious interactions, were caused for the introduction of this idea in the area of our study.

In this manner, the question arises here that when and who initiated this curious style of architecture in the region of our concern? Moreover, why this mode of work gain popularity in a specific belt? Are these Chaukhandis showing the indigenous values possessing any foreign

impacts? To trace the sources of its origin, are some of the vital issues, which needs a serious debate. In this connection, these may be analytically observed and analysed in order to find out the actual way and means leading to its solution. In this process, it is equally significant to elaborate here that before proceeding further, to know about the proper nomenclature and origin of the Chaukhandi tombs at length, therefore, the present researcher as a source route shall be analysing the work of the previous researchers, in quest of reaching the proper conclusion of the actual matter of fact.

It is utmost pertinent to elaborate here that J. Macleod was the first ever person who in his letter to Bartle Frere in 1851, has mentioned for the first time the term Jokundee tombs of Jokeeas tribe. Later on, H.D Baskerville in 1917 visited the Chaukhandi village and has applied for the first time the name of the village for the burials, such as, Chaukhandi tombs. Thus, the story of such fabulous tomb architecture gain popularity among the galaxy of scholars, who with the passage of time gave valuable attention to solve the issue of its nomenclature, and the contention of origin. Now the question arises here, whether this term is being derived from the name of the village or from the style of architecture, hich caused for the nomenclature of the word Chaukhandi? The other striking feature, which has also been quarried by the scholars to some extent, is the origin of the Chaukhandi tomb architecture. In this concern, regarding the Makli Hill Chaukhandi tombs, Henry Cousens in 1925, carried out an important documentation and devoted a chapter in his works entitled “The Antiquities of Sindh with Historical outline” in Archaeological Survey of India, vol. XLVI, Imperial series in 1929. His work is confined to the history of Daybul Thathah, moreover, he has discussed few Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill. However, later on, his work has been taken up as a road map by the other scholars. In this process, many attempts have been made in order to cope with the prevailing contention.

It is significant to mention here that in 1952 Shamsuddin Ahmad has written a brochure “A Guide to Thatta and Makli Hill” is yielding a brief account of the Chaukhandi tombs.

Another summarised version of information concerning with the Makli Hill monuments at Thatta, was compiled in 1963 by Muhammad Idris Siddiqi entitled as, “Thatta” telling us about the surface informations regarding the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill.

M.A Ghafur in 1968 contributed a monograph entitled “The Calligraphers of Thatta”. From the title of the book it is quite clear that he would have concentrated on the calligraphic issues of Thatta and Makli Hill. However, a scanty attempt has been made (Ghafur, 1968: 55-73). He discussed few writing styles and calligraphers. However, more emphasis is given to the historical perspective of Thatta and figural representation (Ghafur, 1968: 1-55).

In the year 1982, Ahmad Hasan Dani has contributed a book, entitled “Thatta Islamic Architecture”, besides, the mausoleums, grave enclosures, and graves with platforms, he has also discussed the Chaukhandi tombs, which he termed “pavilion type tombs”. He divided such structures into two parts that is Samma (Dani, 1982: 33-43) and Tarkhans (Dani, 1982: 123-149), however, few of them were constructed during the Mughal regime.

In 1983 Ali Ahmad Brohi, has made an important attempt to carry out his research work, entitled as, “History on tomb stones Sindh and Baluchistan”. Besides, other issues he also focused on the nomenclature of the at issue term. However, it is defined in limited manner. Furthermore, the above stated researcher is lacking in giving examples to compare the Makli Hill and other Chaukhandi tombs in terms of its proper evolution. In this connection, it is important to elaborate here that except the hypothetic version of knowledge and few late period examples, we are absolutely unable to find out its exact routes of origin in his works.

It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that above all the research works conducted regarding the Chaukhandi tombs art and architecture, the most authentic work has been carried out by Sheikh Khushid Hasan. He published several articles concerning to the various issues of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill. Such as, in 1975 he discussed the figural representations on the Chaukhandi tombs, in 1976, he contributed an article focusing on the origin of the Chaukhandi tombs, similarly in 1981 and 1984, he elaborated the stone carvings executed at Makli Hill. Whereas, in 1996 he published a book entitled “Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan”. In the first chapter of this book he discussed the discovery of Chaukhandi tombs (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 1-3). Whereas, the nomenclature of Chaukhandi tomb is summarised in chapter III (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 19-23). While, he talked about the origin of the Chaukhandi tombs in chapter IV (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 24-36) and a brief account of the Chaukhandi tomb architecture in chapter VI (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 44-54). However, this book is yielding 21 chapters, as a matter of fact, keeping in view the title of his book, he emphasised more on the other issues as compare to the scope of his work which is given in summarised form as mentioned above. In the light of above discussions it may be advocated here that more emphasis should be given to the nomenclature of the term Chaukhandi and its architectural glory, in order to know about the proper genesis of its origin.

It is pertinent to elaborate here that Kaleem Lashari has contributed few articles concerning with the structural development of the stone-carved graves in Kohistan, however, in one of his comprehensive research article “Evolution of stone graves in Kohistan and Coastal areas in Sindh, Baluchistan”, in research Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum, vol. I, Issue I, 1992, has been able to work out for the first time, the detailed analysis of the Chaukhandi nomenclature. Moreover, he has discussed at length the origin of Chaukhandi tombs (Lashari,

1992: 1-30). In 1995 Kaleemullah Lashari has written another article “Structural development of stone curved graves in Kohistan” in the Research Journal of the Archaeological Review, 1995 vol. 4, is based on the classification of the cenotaphs and their layout, thus to make the proper style-critical analysis of Chaukhandis architectural treatment is proportional. Moreover, he has mentioned few Chaukhandis of late period at Pir Lakho graveyard is of significant importance, (Lashari, 1995: pl. AK). However, except scanty details and a photograph nothing can be determined in context of Chaukhandi tombs beginning. These square shape Chaukhandis are resting on four pillars and are crowned by four armed brackets.

In 1998 Ihsan H. Nadiem has written a monograph entitled “Makli the Necropolis at Thatta” is more or less influenced from the work of A. H. Dani. It is interesting to add here that this book is purely composed for the tourist point of view. He collected the basic informations regarding the Makli Hill necropolis and discussed the few Chaukhandi Tombs, which he termed, pavilion tombs of the Samma and Tarkhan periods.

The work conducted by Hastenrath entitled, “Chaukhandi Tombs Funerary Art in Sindh and Baluchistan (2003), though an extensive research work, yet the scope of work is confined, because more details are given about the single and double casket graves (Hastenrath, 2003: 1-113). However, in terms of the title of her work, the Chaukhandi tombs are given lesser importance (Hastenrath, 2003: 113-133). Besides, she has also discussed the different components of the graves, particularly their comparative analysis at length. While, no details are given regarding the Chaukhandi tombs (Hastenrath, 2003: 149-165). The other worthwhile, issue is the application of style-critical method, through which different dates are claimed. It is exceptionally well organised criteria, which has been adopted to minimise the prevailing problems, concerning to the time scale. However, the present researcher has few reservations regarding the dating issue, which may be analytically analysed in the relevant topics. It is indeed important to emphasis here, that in the light of previous research work, the present researcher has adopted the style-critical method to investigate properly the nomenclature of the under discussion term, in order to conclude the matter in more realistic manner rather than the hypothetic version of knowledge, as has been supposed by some of the scholars. The glory of its origin may be analytically analysed with solid evidences to prove its proper routs of origin and the geneses of the architectural development.

4.2. Nomenclature of Chaukhandi

It is utmost important to advocate here that the local historians have mentioned different terminologies at various regions regarding the under discussion funerary structures. These are varying, such as, in the Qalat area the term Rumi or Shami is being applied. Whereas, at Lasbela

such structures are named with “Mais”. While, in the vicinity of Makran, called as “Gombads”. Moreover, Aurel Stein during his survey in the Baluchistan region has recorded the term “Gumbaz” for such funerary structures in the Gwadar area (Stein, 1991: 73). It is equally interesting to make a mention here that in the Sindh valley different words have been employed, such as, Gharaviyun, defining the carved ones. Moreover, the Chatris are commonly called as “Chawkandis”. However, more precisely such burials are claimed as Chaukhandis (Brohi, 1983: 123). Whereas, Badayuni in his works has mentioned the term “Ghurfa” for the pillared pavilions (Badayuni, 1898, 1924: 503). In this connection, it is significant to assume here that the natives are generally referring these terms instead of Chawkandhi or Chaukundi, they spell it Chaukhandi. Moreover, the folkloristic versions are denoting its etymology from “Chhatyun” or “Jatan-Joon-Chhatyun” and sometime, “Pilijan-Joon-Chhatyun”. These soundings may be assumed deriving its nomenclature from “Chhatri”, the umbrella like or pavilion shape or perhaps in canopy style. In this connection, we can proclaim here that these are seemed to be the other definitions of the Chaukhandi tombs.

It is noteworthy, to evaluate the etymological concept of the term Chaukhandi in order to workout its proper nomenclature. It is equally pertinent to know, that who and when for the first time talked about this specific term? It is utmost pertinent to claim here that, J. Macleod, was the first ever person who spoke about the term Jokundee tombs of Jokeeas tribe. He later on communicated these informations to Bartle Frere in 1851. He published this in 1857 (Frere, 1857: 355). However, H.D. Baskerville in 1917, visited the Chaukhandi village, and observed canopy tombs, who discussed these at length and published them for the first time. He termed these as the Chaukhandi Tombs (Baskerville, 1920: 79). Later on, Benerji had also been to the Chaukhandi village, who proclaims that the pavilions located there, are known with the same name of the village, such as, Chaukhandi tombs (Hasan, S.K., 1976: 98-107; 1996: 19). Whereas, in 1925, Henry Cousens advocated similar verdict regarding the portfolio of its etymology, somehow, in a broader sense using the term Chaukhandi for all the stone graves located between Hyderabad and Karachi (Cousens, 1975: 165; Hastenrath, 1978: 1-30). Zafar Hasan in his works conducted in 1959, has focused on the same approach as has been advocated by the above mentioned scholars. In this process, he is stressing, that the village by itself has owed its name from the Chaukhandi tombs lying there (Hasan, Z., 1959: 36-62). Moreover, Muhammad Abdul Ghafur in 1968 also attributed the same opinion concerning with the above mentioned enigmatic funerary structures known to us, as Chaukhandi tombs, owing its fame from the name of the site (Ghafur, 1968: 24). Furthermore, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan in 1976 and two decades later in his

contributions, he proclaims that Chaukhandi is the name of the place (Hasan, S.K., 1976: 98-107; 1996: 18).

It is indeed sterling to emphasis here that this very term as discussed in the case of Chaukhandi village, likewise, the locals also used it for the Mangho Pir's canopies (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 19-23). Similarly, the graveyard at Khudabad Salis near Hala, the pillared pavilions are still called by the natives, as Chaukhandis. Yet another, such graveyard with the name of Chaukhandi is situated between Amri and Sann (Lashari, 1992: 18).

Furthermore, Lashari in his contributions is quoting James Dickie, who is suggesting its origin from Jokhandi, which was founded by the Jokhia tribe (James, 1978: 45; Lashari, 1992: 14). In this regard, it is worthwhile, to elaborate here that James Dickie in his works is absolutely salient or he never spoke about the at issue term, as mentioned by Lashari in his works. However, there are such mythical traditions supposing that these burials were established by the Jokhio tribe, thereafter, known as Jokhandi. Similarly, Ali Ahmad Brohi is referring that Frere writes it "Jaokhundi" and attributing it to Jokhias". He further mentions that adjacent to Chashma link canal, a village Chaukhandi is still existing. It may be assumed here that the Jokhias would have inhabited in this area, were perhaps caused for such structures, known as Chaukhandi tombs (Brohi, 1983: 123-124).

In the historical records, we have plenty of references for the word Chaukhandi. In this process, Kaleem Lashari quoting Nizam-ud-Din Mirza's "Tabqat-i-Akbari" taking an account of a fortress at Surat. He mentions that Chaukhandi is a canopy, built above towers of the fortresses (Lashari, 1992: 16).

Abdul Hameed Lahori speaks about the red sandstone octagonal Chaukhandi over the towers of Shalamar Garden at Lahore (Lahori, 1866-68). However, we find that this word is also applied for a burial complex. In this connection, it is worthwhile, to make a mention here that in "Waqiat-e-Darul Hakumat Delhi", the writer refers to the Chaukhandi of Wali Hassai at the east of Chausath Khambay (Ahmad, 1919 & 1990: 577-8, 673-5).

Regarding the name and the meaning of the "Chowkhundi", "Chawkandi", "Chaukhundi" and "Chaukandi" as differently mentioned by the scholars, who relates it to the name of a place, somehow, bears difference of opinions. Whereas, the others considered it to the structural composition (Hasan, M., 1968: 26).

It is of considerable significance to elaborate further that Mirza Kazim Raza Beg denies its relation with the mode or pattern of the grave (Beg, 1990).

It is significant to elaborate further that Bashir Ahmad Jokhio disagrees with the view of corners, he suggests, it is derived from a Sindhi word, which means a four cornered 'grave'. He has further defined "Khand", means empty place (Jokhio, 1991).

Whereas, Ahmad Hasan Dani in his arguments, is advocating that the square platform yielding graves or in other words, he means to say platform having four corners with graves is called Chaukhandi. In this connection, he refers few examples at the Makli Hill, constructed in the above stated pattern (Dani, 1982: 152).

It is sterling to add here that N.A. Baluch, in the light of above stated justifications has a different approach of opinion. He announces Chaukhandi is a square or rectangular open complex (Baluch, 1991: 244-5). In his recent works, he argues about Chaukhandi, literally it means a four walled enclosure open from above. He further proclaims that in the cultural tradition of Sindh, a 'four-walled enclosure' is called "Chaukhandi" which is constructed around the graves of a venerated person. He further explains, Chaukhandi as such, is not a grave or tomb in itself, but the four-walled enclosure having no roof is called Chaukhandi (Baluch, 2004: 193-4).

It is interesting to note here that Kaleem Lashari has worked out a serious research concerning the prevailing issue. He concluded that the local people inhabiting in the Sindh valley, have never shown any doubt regarding these sorts of structures. They call the four-walled enclosure having no roof as Ran□k, which is constructed around the graves (Lashari, 1992: 15; Hasan, S.K., 1996: 20). In this connection, he finds few examples in a graveyard close to the Mal Muhari. Here some graves are encircled by compound wall about five feet high. The gateway on the southern side bears the inscription, which comprehend "Ran□k of Kalo Rodin, Hamal Radho Kalo". There is another example in the graveyard of Raj Malik, where inscription on the screen interprets; Ran□k of Radha bin Malir. Here an elevated podium consists of stone carved graves, provided with a low screen on all four sides (Lashari, 1992: 15, 28). Thus, it appears in the light of Kaleem Lashari and Sheikh Khurshid Hasan's evidences, the definition of N.A. Baluch is seemed far from the facts. Thus, "Ran□k" means a grave platform with enclosure wall, whereas, the Chaukhandi means a Chatri like or pavilion shape structure.

Ernest Binfield Havel is also claiming similar verdict, that Chakhandi is a funerary structure in pavilion shape (Havel, 1927: 64). Whereas, James Fergusson is advocating, Chaukhandi is Indo-Islamic burial, moreover, he has suggested that its style is taken from the Hindu Temples (Fergusson, 1910: 164-169).

However, Lashari and Sheikh Khurshid are claiming that the mode of construction actually caused for the origin of its name. In this regard, Lashari is the first researcher, who has

recorded for the first time the word Chaukhandi for the burial structures, which is inscribed at the tomb of Jam Murid bin Haji and that of Malik Murid Khan at Got Raj Malik. In this regard, Lashari interprets as:

“The word Chaukhandi is inscribed on the grave of Jam Murid is a compound word, connected with Sahib. So it is to be read as such and not alone, i.e., Sahib-e-Chaukhandi (Lashari, 1992: 17; Hasan, S.K., 1996: 20). The inscription leaves no doubt to this fact, that there is sufficient space in between Haji and Sahib placing them apart and the word Chaukhandi is nearer to Sahib. Thus, Sahib is to be read with Chaukhandi and not with Haji. It makes the meaning clear that the Jam Murid is the owner of the Chaukhandi or the Chaukhandi is erected over his grave” (Lashari, 1992: 17-18; Hasan, S.K., 1996: 20).

In this process, Lashari further refers to the graveyard of “Thado” where the grave of Malik Tuta, though in ruined state yet, it is known as Chaukhandi of Tuta (Lashari, 1992: 18). Moreover, in the remains of Khudabad Salis near Hala, the locals named such kinds of canopies above the graves of martyrs as Chaukhandis. Lashari has far enough evidences concerning the Chaukhandi tombs. In this regard, he further mentions the ruins of Chaukhandi graveyard. It is located between Amri and Sann are visibly denoting that these Chaukhandis eventually caused for the origin of the name. The inscription reported in the above stated graveyard reads as The Chaukhandi over the grave of Jam Chhatta dated to 1110 A.H. (Lashari, 1992: 18, 19). Another inscription with similar meaning can be seen on a grave in the graveyard of Raj Malik, here it reads: this Chaukhandi is erected over Malik Murid Khan Kalmai by his son Malik Baber (Lashari, 1992: 30-45).

It is significant to add here that the proper etymology of the under discussion word may be found in the Sanskrit version. In this regard, Nath is quoting from H. Raj’s works, refers its nomenclature from a Sanskrit word “Caturkhanda”. Which means, four corners or sides or pillars. Whereas, in Hindi it defines “Chowkhandi”. Which modifies in “Chaukhandi” meaning a four sided pavilion or a Chhatti like structure (Nath, 1986: 29). Moreover, Nath in search of its proper etymology considers, the word Chaukhandi is a compound of two Sanskrit terms, “Chau” means four and “Khanda” defines a storey or a structure, a side or corner, thus, Chaukhanda literally means a four sided or four corner structure. Furthermore, Nath differentiated Chaukhandi from a Chhatti, he says, “a Chaukhandi has a pyramidal capping, whereas, a Chhatti is bearing a domical stance” (Nath, 1993: 339-59).

Moreover, H. Raj considers that Chhatti is taken from a Sanskrit word Chatra, it defines, umbrella or a pillared pavilion. Whereas, S. M. Williams in his Sanskrit dictionary, suggesting chatra an umbrella, whereas, Chhatti signifies a Chhatti Śala “a Chhatti like structure”, (Nath, 1986:

29, William, 1963: 404, col. I & II). Thus, literally it can be assumed that “Chatri Śala” or “Chaukhandi” defining to the same word, that a domical structure being supported by means of pillars, might be four or could be many in number. Besides, some of the scholars are also using the word “canopy” for the Chaukhandi tombs. In this regard, Nath considers, in Sanskrit it stands for “Vitana” or Sayban, whereas, in Latin it reads “canopeum”. While in Greek, it signifies Konops, which developed into Konopion (Nath, 1986: 18). It is indeed pertinent to discuss here that some of the linguists have recorded it a pavilion shape structure. In this process, in Sanskrit version it means “Mandwa” a pillared structure. In this connection, Nath claims its derivation from a Latin word “Papilo”, suggesting a Chatri like or a structure in Chaukhandi shape (Nath, 1986: 90).

Moreover, Anand Raj in his Hindi dictionary explains, that it is a compound word of “Chau” stands for “four” and “Khand” as “Part” or sides (Lashari, 1992: 16). Thus, in generalised version of definition it would indicate the umbrella like structure.

It is equally important to argue here that in the Persian dictionaries it is denoting, a structure with open doorways all around (Dehkhuda, 1340: 387). Now if we compare the Persian definitions in the case of “Chatta” or “Chatri” we shall be able to find out a comparable stance in its architectural composition, holding similarity with the terms of our concern. In more authentic manner, Badayuni in his contribution suggests, that the Persian word “Ghurfa” stands for a pillared pavilion (Badayuni, 1924: 503). It is important to add here that yet another valuable opinion has been forwarded in order to workout the proper etymology of the under discussion word. In this concern, Jairazbhoy refers the term “Kiosk” from a Persio-Turkic word “Kushik” defining a pavilion shape structure, which may be observed either in round shape or octagonal in plan or in any other gesture (Jairazbhoy, 1972: 296).

It is interesting to proclaim here that Qani in “Makli Nama” mentioned the Chatri of Budi-uz-Zaman, which is octagonal in plan and resting on eight pillars, whereas, the square one of Qazi Ahmad resting on twelve pillars is called Chaukhandi. It appears, that the four cornered one is called Chaukhandi (Qani, 1994: 488). Thus, in the light of above stated definitions, it becomes quite clear, that the Chatri or canopy even pavilion shaped structures are called as Chaukhandi, whether in square or in octagonal plan.

Furthermore, Ferishta in his monumental work “Tarikh-e-Ferishta” Afif in “Tarikh-e-Feroz Shahi” and Ali Sher Qani Thattavi in “Makli Namu” have defined “Chaukhandi” as a canopy erected with the support of pillars (Ferishta, 1966: 147; Qani, 1994: 193-194; Lashari, 1992: 16).

Mumtaz Hasan defines the term Chaukhandi in the context of textual sources, suggesting, it is a compound word of two Sindhian terms “Chau” denotes four, whereas, “Khund” stands for corners or pillars (Hasan, M., 1968: 20). Thus, literally it would explain a structure in umbrella or Chatri shape or a dome supported by the pillars.

In this regard, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan is advocating that Chaukhandi tombs are not confined to the square shape, however, he claims that may be resting on more than four pillars (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 9). In this connection, the present researcher is of the view that in the case of Makli Hill, besides, the square shape Chaukhandi, these were also erected in hexagonal and octagonal plans.

It is pertinent to elaborate here, that Lashari is quoting Syed Hakim Ali Shah Bukhari, who suggests that Chaukhandi is a grave having four corners, additionally underneath the canopy supported by pillars (Lashari, 1992: 17-45). Sheikh Khurshid notifies the combination “Kund” and rejects the word “Khund”. Thus relating the term with the architecture, stands for “umbrella shaped canopy”. However, the locals spell it “Chaukhandi” instead of “Chaukundi” (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 19-23).

Ali Ahmad Brohi interprets that it does not mean simply ‘four’ but ‘from four’, it is signifying ‘open on all four sides’ (Brohi, 1983: 7-13). In this sequence, Hastenrath in her works explains, the term Chaukhandi is used for a domed roof, or a kind of ‘chhatri’, which is supported by four to eight pillars, while the sides are left open (Hastenrath, 2003: 113).

It is worthwhile, to advocate here that Muhammad Idris Siddiqi claims its etymology from the canopy or pavilion tombs, owing its derivation from the Chatri shaped Hindu temples (Siddiqi, M.I., 1963: 14), while, Ihsan-ul-Haq Nadiem named such funerary structures with tomb pavilions or canopy tombs (Nadiem, 1998: 34-36; 2002: 91, col. II). Whereas, Sohail Z. Lari and Yasmeen Lari, have termed such tomb structures with Chatri tombs or canopy tombs, crowned by a dome supported by pillars (Lari, 1997: 92, col. I-II).

In this connection, the under discussion funerary structures have been mentioned by A.H. Dani in his works. He described such tombs are resting on pillars and crowned by a dome (Dani, 1982: 34-43, 123-149).

It is utmost significant to advocate here, that the etymological value of the at issue term is clearly depicting us that the various names discussed above either in Sanskrit literature or in Hindi version of knowledge or even in the Persian texts or whether in the Persio-Turkic traditions or in the Sindhian sources, one way or the other signifying to a building, representing a domical structure, resting on pillars. It is significant to add here that with the passage of time, these Chaukhandis were developed at Gulberga, Bidar in Deccan, as well at Gujarat,

Ahmadabad, Hansi and Delhi. However, its more developed and mature phase may be undoubtedly observed at Makli Hill. Thus, this enigmatic form of funeral architecture in the light of above stated evidences may be undoubtedly considered as “Chaukhandi tombs”, rather than any other term. Therefore, Chaukhandi tombs would mean to say, a canopy or pavilion or Chatri like tombs. Keeping in view all the above stated possibilities, therefore, the present researcher will term it Chaukhandi tombs not only for the Makli Hill necropolis, but also for the other regions constructed in the above stated style.

4.3. Origin and the Developmental Comparative analysis

The history of the Chaukhandi architecture in the area of our research is started with the first example constructed in A.D 1388-92, is assigned to Jam Tamachi (Lari, 1997: 112). In this connection, it is generally believed that the story of this mode of work has been started in the under discussion vicinity. However, the present researcher has been able to work out the earliest reference regarding the beginning of the Chaukhandi tombs at Hansi, dated to 679 A.H/A.D 1277-78 (Garrick, 1883-84: 15-17), followed by another early example at Gulberga in the Deccan region, dated to 680 A.H/A.D 1280-81 (Schotten, 1981: 59-63). However, at Makli Hill, this unique style of funerary architecture was started by the end of 14th century A.D. It is seemed to have been evolved through the cultural interactions, which have immensely influenced the area of our study. Thus, the local values were amalgamated with the neighbouring traditions, such as, in the Hindu and Jaina temples, similar treatment can be noticed in the form of *mandapa* and *garbagraha* structures, constructed in the pavilion or chatri style, located in the neighbouring regions, shall be discussed in the foregoing chapter. However, in the Baluchistan and Sindh regions, in the light of above stated evidence, Makli Hill Chaukhandis may be undoubtedly considered the earliest examples in the whole of Sindh and Baluchistan regions. It is worthwhile, to advocate here that during the Samma’s rule two plans were adopted for the construction of Chaukhandi tombs, such as, octagonal resting on eight pillars and hexagonal supported by six pillars. Whereas, the Chaukhandis erected during the reign of Tarkhans and later Tarkhans, were built in four different styles, that is: I. octagonal resting on eight pillars, similar in gesture to those wrought under the Samma’s domain, however, the remaining three types are stylistically varying in plan as well in the treatment of domical ceilings. In this regard, the second group of the Chaukhandi tomb is denoting the square externally, while octagonal internally and resting on twelve pillars. Whereas, the third group is indicating square in plan and octagonal resting on eight pillars. It is vital to add here that the last two categories are provided with round domical ceilings, yielding a stalagmite element at the centre, showing its continuation from the early traditions. Whereas, the first group of the Tarkhans and those of the Samma’s

period Chaukhandis, the domical ceilings were veneered with receding circles or overlapping stone rings or in multi tiered or in low semi circular terraced shape, yielding stalagmite element provided to the apex of the domical ceilings (Lari, 1997: 123). Whereas, Hastenrath has termed that the corbelled dome or ring layered ceilings were provided to the early Chaukhandi tombs (Hastenrath, 2003: 114). Furthermore, the āmalaka and kalaśa components have been placed above the dome, a style derived from the Jaina and Hindu temples at Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Kathiawar, can be observed in the Chaukhandis constructed under the Sammas, Tarkhans and later Tarkhans. However, with a little variation these have been composed here in a very exquisite manner. The other worthwhile, feature is the four armed brackets or capitals surmounted the pillars, these are denoting stylistical changes. These bracket capitals likewise, the āmalaka and kalaśa elements are also showing its continuation from the Jaina and Hindu temple traditions. These brackets are generally termed as four armed brackets, however, some of the scholars have mentioned these “bracket capitals”, while Garrick has termed these winged capitals (winged brackets) (Garrick, 1883-84: 95). In this connection, it is worthwhile, to elaborate further, that at Makli Hill these may be divided into two different groups, such as, four armed brackets, whereas, in few cases five armed brackets (such brackets at the four angles) are provided to the Qazi Ahmad, Tughrel Beg and unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan. These three examples are showing square externally and octagonal internally, such Chaukhandi tombs are resting on twelve pillars. Whereas, in the octagonal shaped square and interconnected Chaukhandi tombs the capitals are surmounted by the four armed brackets. It is significant to pinpoint here that the fourth or the last group of Chaukhandi tomb is representing a unique style of architecture in the entire Makli Hill cluster, that is the first ever interconnected Chaukhandi tomb, constructed during the Tarkhan period. In this regard, Jan Baba Tarkhan Chaukhandi tomb A.D 1590-1610, is the unique example of this category, showing its derivation from the Hindu temples, where interconnected pavilion shaped mandapa and garbhagrhas were constructed. While this style was later on, adopted in the construction of mosques at Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Kathiawar. Moreover, as a funerary structure, its earliest specimen may be recorded at Hansi. However, the under discussion style reached its perfection at Makli Hill.

The origin and development of the above mentioned Chaukhandi tombs in the area of our research is generally associated with the enigmatic legendarical suppositions recorded by the scholars, however, as a funerary structures the present day Sindh valley has the privilege to introduce a galaxy of Chaukhandi tombs, showing different plans and designs. In this regard, the Sammas were the first ruling dynasty in the area of our concern to initiate this mode of architecture at Makli Hill. It is sterling to add here that Nani Gopala Majumdar during the course

of survey in the Sindh region has discovered a funerary enclosure on Tharo Hill, near Gujjo, who assigned these to the 14th century A.D. Furthermore, he claims that these are earliest as compare to the Makli Hill (Majumdar, 1934: 22). Since he has been unable to mention any dated inscription, furthermore, no details of the mode of construction in order to compare those with the Makli Hill Chaukhandi tombs, so that we shall be able to know about their time scale. In this process, the detailed epigraphical record has been organised by Muhammad Shafi (1974), Muhammad Abdul Ghafur (1968) and Syed Kamal Javadi (1992), moreover, in the historical accounts of Ali Sher Qani (1994, 2002), Mir Masum Bakhri (2002), furthermore, the research works conducted by, A.H. Dani (1982), Sheikh Khurshid (1996), Suhail Lari and Yasmeen Lari (1997), Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath (2003) are in picturing us, regarding the beginning of Chaukhandi tombs in the whole of Sindh and Baluchistan regions, however, in the presence of several evidences it is clearly indicating that these have been appeared for the first time at Makli Hill.

It is equally significant to make a mention here that the present researcher shall be focusing on the Chaukhandi tombs constructed during the Tarkhan and post Tarkhan phases at Makli Hill. In this regard, there are nine Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill existing at the present moment in the era of our concern. These Chaukhandi tombs may be classified in to four major groups:

- I. Octagonal in plan, resting on eight pillars.
- II. Square in plan externally and octagonal internally resting on twelve pillars.
- III. Square in plan resting on eight pillars.
- IV. Interconnected Chaukhandis.

It is significant to workout here that these Chaukhandi tombs are clearly denoting its origin from the Jaina and Hindu temples (Havel, 1927: 64) constructed in Rājputana, Ahmadabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar etc. later on, this style was disseminated into the Sindh Valley, through the Kutch route. The idea of the at issue stance has been emerged out from the Indo-Aryan values. The pillared *mandapa* of the temples whereas, the *garbagraha* and *antarāla* in the form of *chattri śala* or more precisely the pavilion shaped *garbagraha* was either resting on four, eight and even twelve pillars. These pillars are mostly crowned by four armed brackets. Whereas, the lintels above are alongside supporting the multi layered ceilings. The *śikhara* is capping these structures, while the *āmalaka* and *kalaśa* are crowning the summit of *śikhara* or domes.

The above stated structural format on the basis of existing evidences, has been commenced during the 5th century A.D and continued until the 11th 12th centuries A.D. After

passing through the different developmental phases, finally evolved into a new cultural phenomena, that is the beginning of the funeral structures in the under discussion style. Such have been reported for the first time at Hansi, during the 13th century A.D (Garrick, 1883-84: 15-17). Thus, this new style of Islamic funeral structure after its first appearance in the above stated region, has later on, disseminated to the other areas, such as, Deccan, Gujarat, Ahmadabad and Delhi. Likewise, this fabulous form of architecture was also adopted at Makli Hill. However, this style has been further improved in the area of our concern. Which is showing variation in the mode of workmanship. These changes can be well recognised in the presence of existing Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill. It is interesting to make a mention here that in the present work the researcher shall be focusing on the Chaukhandi tombs resting on eight and twelve pillars. Moreover, the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb constructed at Makli Hill may be undoubtedly claimed a landmark in the galaxy of Chaukhandi tomb architecture.

As a matter of fact the earliest examples representing the form of pillared pavilions may be observed at Aihole in the temple of Gaudargudi dated to the end of 6th century A.D or to the early 7th century A.D. In the same region the pillared temple of Durga A.D 700-725. The above stated instances are showing that the pillars have been crowned by four armed brackets (Harle, 1986: 173-175, figs. 131-132). Besides, the Malegitti Śivalaya temple at Bādāmi, dated to the 7th century A.D (Harle, 1986: fig. 126), is denoting that the pillars have been surmounted by two armed and four armed brackets. In this connection, an important discovery has been made by Garrick, who reported it at Jhalrapatan at Chaudravati, locally known as Sital-eswar Mahādeva temple. It is important to add here that Col. Tod on the basis of inscription, dated this pillared lingam temple to A.D 691. Whereas, Garrick on stylistical grounds dated this temple to A.D 600. Besides, other features the pillars are crowned with four armed brackets (Garrick, 1883-1884: 129, pl. XXVI).

The Sūrya pillared temple at Osian is denoting four armed brackets, supporting the lintels, whereas, the śikhara is provided with āmalaka and kalaśa elements (Harle, 1986: 143-144, fig. 108). The stylistical approach adopted in this temple in terms of its pillars, brackets, domical ceiling and the treatment of śikhara it can be assigned to the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century A.D. It is noteworthy to advocate here that during the succeeding centuries the inquestion mode of work became very popular.

Thus, it appears with the passage of time these early pillared temples were styled into the formation of Chatri śāla gestures thus later on, became an important style of architecture during the Solanki domain.

In this regard, the idea of Kūpāgār or well house was immensely developed in Ahmadabad and Gujarat around the 10th and 11th centuries A.D (Nath, 1976: 22-23). It is interesting to add here that these Kūpāgār were styled in Chattri śala shape or in pavilion pattern, generally used as a resting place or used as a waiting spot for the drawing water or drinking water from the attached well.

In this regard, one of the largest well complex having the Kūpāgār, is the Rani wav at Anhilwada in Gujarat, built in A.D 1022-23 (Nath, 1976: 23).

Besides, similar style may also be observed at Asarwa near Ahmadabad, it is also called as Mātā Bhawani's Kūpāgār, it is assigned to the Kana Solanki domain A.D 1063-93 (Nath, 1976: 23; Jairazbhoy, 1972: 304). Moreover, such complexes may also be observed at Vāyad, Roho, Lokeśvara and at Dhandalpur. In this connection, it is indeed pertinent to advocate here that in Gujarat during the Ahmad Shahis rule similar attitude was retained to veneer the Baolis (stepped well). In this sequence, the most important among them, is the Bai Harir's Baoli at Asarwa, constructed in A.D 1499. Likewise, about 12 miles from Ahmadabad at Adalaj, has been erected in A.D 1503 (Jairazbhoy, 1972: 304; Nath, 1976: 23; Grover, 1981: 98). Later on, this idea was derived by the Mughal engineers and very successfully adopted at different localities, such as, Agra Fort and at Fatehpur Sikri (Nath, 1976: 23).

It is significant to advocate here that the Bahmani dynasty in Deccan founded their rule in A.D 1347 until A.D 1512. They established their first capital at Gulberga during A.D 1347 until A.D 1422, and later on, shifted it to Bidar in A.D 1422, which remained until A.D 1512. They may be considered as the first Muslim rulers, who constructed the Chaukhandi tombs for the saints and for their family members. In this regard, the earliest Chaukhandi tomb is assigned to Hazrat Shah Hassamuddin Tegh Bathana at Jagot Tank in Gulberga A.H 680/A.D 1280-81. Whereas, among the ruling class, the Chaukhandi tomb of Sultan Mehmud Bahmani's daughter Khunza Sultana is dated to the 14th century A.D. Yet another such type of burial complex is attributed to Hazrat Jahangir Qadri and Syed Tajuddin Qadri, A.H 814/A.D 1410-11. Furthermore, similar Chaukhandi tombs may also be observed in the case of Shah Khalikhullah Kirmani, dated to the 15th century A.D (Schotten, 1981: 59-63; Nath, 1993: 339-359; Jalili, 1994).

It is significant to elaborate here that the above stated Chaukhandi tombs reported at Gulberga in Deccan, particularly in the case of Hazrat Shah Hassamuddin Tegh Bathana and that of Khunza Sultana may be considered the earliest individual Chaukhandi tombs in both India and Pakistan. Whereas, in the case of interconnected Chaukhandi tombs the earliest example may be reported at Hansi (Pl. 10j) dated to A.D 1277-78, thus representing the idea of such funeral

structure commenced here and then disseminated to the other regions. These early examples at Hansi, Gulberga and Bidar later on, influenced the Chaukhandi tombs at Ahmadabad and Gujarat. Which eventually styled into the Makli Hill Chaukhandi tombs. However, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan is arguing that the stylistical treatment adopted in the Chaukhandi tombs at Gulberga and Bidar are seemed to be different from the Makli Hill traditions (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 22). In this connection, the present researcher is of the view that except few changes, rest of the features are yielding close affinity, such as, the four-armed brackets, moreover, the style of the multi layered ceiling, furthermore, the approach of the structural composition in terms of the Chaukhandi (Chatri shape) style is concerned, indicating similarity with the area of our concern.

It is indeed sterling to add here that one of the earliest groups of the Chaukhandi tombs reported at Makli Hill, has been constructed in octagonal plan, resting on eight pillars. In this connection, it is utmost pertinent to workout here that the pavilion shaped garbagr[□]has or man[□]d[□]apas resting on eight pillars, in octagonal plan are generally assigned to the 8th century A.D.

It is vital to make a mention here that Sir John Marshall in 1913-14, has discovered a very unique pavilion shaped temple at Champavati, known as Balesvara temple, constructed in octagonal plan (Pl. 7a) (Marshall, 1990: pl. IIB). It is interesting to add here that except a single photograph, its name and place, no further details are given by him. This Chaukhandi shaped temple is octagonal in plan. It is resting on eight pillars. These pillars are crowned by four armed brackets. Whereas, like the other Hindu temples of the 8th and 9th century A.D, as discussed above the domical ceiling of this Chaukhandi temple may also be noticed in similar fashion. However, unlike the other Hindu or Jaina temples, it has been surmounted by a dome. Thus, showing the beginning of a new style, which later on, passing through the different developmental stages, styled into the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb. In this process, the under discussion example is showing an improved stance of architecture, therefore, may be placed either in the 11th or perhaps by the beginning of the 12th century A.D. Similarly, the Śiva Temple at Kaviyur dated to the mid 10th century A.D is composed in octagonal shape. It is resting on eight pillars and having four armed brackets (Harle, 1986: 343, fig. 268). Likewise, the Sūrya temple-I (Fig. 14) at Mod[□]herā is dated to the 11th century A.D. This octagonal shaped pavilion is resting on eight pillars. These pillars are crowned by four armed brackets. It is showing a low domical ceiling finished in corbelling method. The other striking feature of this temple is the pillared porches. These have been provided to the central pavilion, one each on four sides. These porches are resting on six pillars (Fig. 14), three on either sides, representing a unique gesture in the contemporary temples at Gujarat (Rowland, 1953: 178, fig. 27; Harle,

1986: 223, fig. 166). The Sūrya temple-II at Modherā dated to the 11th century A.D, is yielding an octagonal shaped pavilion *mandapa* (Fig. 15). It is also resting on eight pillars. It is connected with the *garbhagrha* by means of narrow passage. This temple is provided with an enclosure wall. Whereas, its porch is resting on four pillars. These pillars are yielding four armed brackets. While, the pavilion shaped *mandapa*, is veneered with domical ceiling. It is constructed in corbelling attitude (Rowland, 1953: 178; Cousens, 1982: 41, figs. 38-29; Lari, 1997: 92, col. II). The central *mandapa* of the Somanātha temple at Somanātha Pātān dated to the 11th century A.D is also octagonal in plan, resting on eight pillars. The four armed brackets and the multi layered domical ceiling with central pendant is denoting the traditional continuation (Cousens, 1931: 11-15, fig. VIII). The Jaina temple at Sejakpur is showing the *garbhagrha* in octagonal plan, resting on eight pillars (Pl. 10f) (Cousens, 1931: 37-38, fig. LXVIII), which may be assigned to the 11th century A.D.

In Nagarparkar, a Jaina temple at Virawah (Fig. 16) dated to the 13th, 14th century A.D (Nadiem, 2001: 241). The *mandapa* of this temple is octagonal in plan and resting on eight pillars (Fig. 16). Whereas, the domical ceiling is wrought in receding circles with a pendant at the apex of the ceiling. The porch of the Mongrol mosque at Somanātha Pātān is octagonal in plan resting on eight pillars. This mosque is assigned to the 14th century A.D (Cousen, 1931: 11-18, fig. LXXXIV).

It is indeed important to mention here that after passing through the different evolutionary stages the octagonal pavilions or *Chaukhandis* from 8th century A.D until the end of the 14th century A.D have been further elaborated, finally in more developed stance initiated at Makli Hill. In this connection, its first appearance may be noticed in the *Chaukhandi* tomb of Jam Tamachi A.D 1392 (Pl. 7a; Fig. 17 & 18). Whereas, during the Tarkhan domain the earliest instance may be observed to the southwest of Baqi Beg Tarkhan tomb enclosure (Pl. 7e). In this process, Ali Sher Qani in “*Tuhfat-ul-Kiram*” and “*Makli Nama*” has assigned it to Khwaja Khalil entitled Nawab Amir Khan Khalil (Qani, 1994: 488; 2002: 283). It is dated to A.D 1580-1600. The other similar plan is located inside the tomb enclosure of Isa Khan Tarkhan I (Pl. 7d; Fig. 19). It is dated to the last decade of the 16th century A.D. It is significant to elaborate here that Hastenrath dated this *Chaukhandi* to the first quarter of the 17th century A.D (Hastenrath, 2003: 116-17). However, the peacock and snake figures executed above the inner lintels are showing little rigidity in carving as compare to those in the Badi-uz-Zaman *Chaukhandi* (Pl. 16b; Fig. 23) 1011 A.H/A.D 1602 (Ghafur, 1968: 30; Dani, 1982: 123; Hastenrath, 2003: 198). Moreover, denoting a slight change in the construction of receding circles. In this case the alternating layers are veneered in the receding circle, shape. Besides, this example is also bearing similarity in size

to the ruin Chaukhandi tomb, located to the south of Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi, where, the footstone of a grave is showing a date 968 A.H/A.D 1560-61 in this connection, it may be added here that the mode of calligraphy executed in the under discussion example is similar in approach as can be noticed in the at issue Chaukhandi tomb. Thus, in the light of above stated possibilities the Chaukhandi tomb located inside Isa Khan Tarkhan I complex, may be dated to the last decade of the 16th century A.D. Moreover, the above stated Chaukhandi is the first ever example during the Tarkhan period showing Quranic verses executed in thulth style. Furthermore, the first ever depiction of peacock with snake can also be noticed in this Chaukhandi tomb. It is noteworthy to elaborate here that M.A. Ghafur, A.H. Dani, Sheikh Khursheed Hasan, Ali Ahmad Brohi and Hastenrath have mentioned the figural representation of peacock and snake in the Chaukhandi tomb of Badi-uz-Zaman (Pl. 79b). However, they have been unable to mention the depiction of peacock with snake in the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb (Pl. 79a). In this process, the present researcher during his survey and documentation of the Makli Hill monuments has been able to recorded the under discussion figural depiction for the first time in the above stated Chaukhandi tomb.

The Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb is dated A.D 1602-1610, located inside the Baqi Beg Tarkhan tomb complex. It has been constructed in octagonal plan (Pl. 7f). The pillars have been elegantly ornamented. The octagonal shafts are placed above the square shaped base. These pillars are crowned by the four armed brackets. It is worthwhile, to add here that the domical ceiling is veneered with receding circles. Similar style can be observed during the Samma period (Pl. 16g & h; Fig. 17 & 18). Besides, above the lintels the figures of peacock with snake can be noticed. These figures have been elegantly sculpted as compare to the unknown Chaukhandi located inside the Isa Khan Tarkhan-I tomb enclosure. Furthermore, ducks have been carved, facing each other in heraldic style. Such figures have been for the first time executed during the Tarkhan period. It is significant to elaborate here that the summit of the shaft is ornamented with corbelled arch design. It is appearing for the first time on the Chaukhandi tombs during the Tarkhan domain.

The Chaukhandi tomb of Muhammad Quli, is also octagonal in plan (Pl. 7g). Likewise, the above stated octagonal Chaukhandi tombs of the Tarkhan era, it is also resting on eight pillars. The base and shaft of these pillars are square in style. These pillars are surmounted by four armed brackets. The multi layered domical ceiling is similar in shape as compare to the Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb. It is noteworthy, to advocate here that A.H. Dani has placed this Chaukhandi in the unidentified category (Dani, 1982: 126). Whereas, Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath has claimed incorrect date, that is 1008 A.H/A.D 1600 (Hastenrath, 2003: 116).

However, the present research scholar during the course of survey and documentation has been able to find out an inscription on the footstone of a grave executed in nastalique style, showing 1012 A.H/A.D 1604 and the name of the deceased Muhammad Quli. This Chaukhandi is simple in terms of ornamentation as compare to the unknown Chaukhandi located inside the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan I and that of Badi-uz-Zaman. However, the kalaśa symbol executed here is indicating a continuation from the Samma tradition.

It is worthwhile, to advocate here that besides, the octagonal plan, the Tarkhans during their domain have introduced a new style for the construction of the Chaukhandi tombs. Such as, square externally and octagonal internally. These Chaukhandis were resting on twelve pillars. It is utmost sterling to proclaim here that in fact the under discussion style has been adopted for the first time during the Samma period, particularly in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1392 (Dani, 1982: 35; Lari, 1997: 96, fig. 78). However, the first ever funeral structure in the above stated style has been constructed during the Tarkhan period. In this regard, it is noteworthy to advocate here that the under discussion style can be clearly observed in the Jaina and Hindu temples, generally dated from the 7th century A.D until 12th century A.D. These can be observed at Ahmadabad, Gujarat, Kathiawar, Nagarparkar etc. In this mode of work, the diagonally laid lintels have internally converted it octagonal in plan.

In this connection, the Lād Khān temple at Aihole dated to the 6th or early 7th century A.D is the earliest instance of the under discussion category. In this category, the garbagrāha is resting on twelve pillars (Fig. 35). These pillars are crowned with four armed brackets. Whereas, its domical ceiling is wrought in corbelling method (Harle, 1986: 172, fig. 130). The Adinatha temple at Ranakpur on the stylistical grounds can be dated to the 9th or 10th century A.D. The colonnaded central hall is composed with pavilions, each is resting on twelve pillars, having four armed brackets. Whereas, internally the diagonally laid lintels have converted it into octagon. The domical ceilings are wrought in corbelling gesture. This hall of pavilions, is surmounted by śikhara, moreover, the āmalaka and kalaśa features are the other pertinent elements adding grace to the entire structural composition (Harle, 1986: fig. 182-183). The Navalakhā pillared temple at Sejakpur dated to the 11th century A.D. The inner hall of this temple is showing a pavilion shaped garbagrāha, resting on twelve pillars (Fig. 26). These pavilions are square externally and octagonal internally. The four armed brackets provided to the pillars are supporting the diagonally laid lintels, these are sharing the load of the corbelled domical ceiling (Harle, 1986: 222, fig. 165; Cousens, 1982: 41, fig. 340; 1931: 57-59, pl. LXII). The Kālī temple at Kaviyur A.D 940-960 is showing a square pavilion, resting on twelve pillars. Likewise, the preceding examples the four armed brackets provided to the pillars (Harle, 1986: 343, fig. 268). The

pavilion shaped mandapa provided to the Miani temple is also resting on twelve pillars. This temple is also dated to the 11th or 12th century A.D (Cousens, 1931: 68-70, pl. XC). Madhav temple at Madhavapur is showing a pavilion shaped garbagraha resting on twelve pillars (Cousens, 1931: pl. XCI). The stylistical approach adopted in this temple is visibly denoting that it has been constructed during the 11th or 12th century A.D.

The region of Somanātha Pāṭān is located in Kathiawar. It has been remained an important centre of the Hindu and Jaina temple architecture. It has close links on one hand with Gujarat and Ahmadabad, whereas, on the other through Kutch valley, it is linked with the Sindh region. Thus, due to the bilateral interactions, the early mosques constructed in these regions are seemed to be heavily influenced by the neighbouring traditions. In this connection, it is a sterling fact that the early mosques constructed during the early part of the 14th and in the later part of the same century A.D. are clearly depicting us that the pavilion or Chaukhandi form of architecture was successfully continued in the different mosques. In this regard, the prayer chamber of the Ravali Jamia Masjid at Mangrol is showing seven pavilion shaped bays. Each is resting on twelve pillars. The diagonally laid lintels at the inner side are converting the square into octagon. These lintels are crowned by the squinches. These have given support to the corbelled domical ceiling. Moreover, the stalagmite element is excellently executed to the apex of the domical ceiling (Cousens, 1931: 64-69, pl. LXXXIV). The pavilion shaped bays of the Ravali mosque have close affinity to the Jamia Masjid Mangrol (Cousens, 1931: 64-69, pl. LXXXIV). It may be added here that the Mangrol mosque has been constructed in the similar style, however, variation in the plan may be observed, such as, the inner verandah attached to the sanctuary is yielding a pavilion shape bay. It is resting on twelve pillars, is similar in style to the Ravali mosque. Whereas, the projected portion of the verandah is constructed in octagonal shaped pavilion, except this change in the plan rest of the stylistical approach of the four armed brackets are similar to the Ravali mosque (Cousens, 1931: 64-69, pl. LXXXIV).

It is important to add here, that the Gorī temple at Nagarparkar is assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D. (Khan, F.A., 1969: 149). Whereas, I. H. Nadeim has attributed it to the 14th century A.D (Nadiem, 2001: 243). However, keeping in view the style of architecture, showing similarity to the temples at Modherā, Sejakpur etc. Therefore, one can clearly assume its affinity to the era of 13th or perhaps early 14th century A.D. It is one of the other pertinent examples showing the pavilion shaped temple. It is resting on twelve pillars. This temple is square externally and octagonal internally (Fig. 27 & 28). It is significant to advocate here that the diagonally laid lintels, ringed layered domical ceiling and the pendant at the apex of the ceiling, moreover, the style of the four armed brackets are suggesting its association with the

Kathiawar, Gujarat, Ahmadabad and other Central Indian and South Indian pavilion shaped temples. In this connection, it is indeed important to advocate here that this Chaukhandi form of architecture due to the cultural interactions influenced the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill, where the under discussion mode of work has been further improved.

It is important to make a mention here that to the northeast of Feroz Shah's tomb complex, are located five Chaukhandi tombs. These Chaukhandis were constructed in A.D 1360. These are square and octagonal in plan. Moreover, these are resting on 12 and 8 pillars (Nath, 1982: 62, pl. LVI). In the case of twelve pillars, the diagonally laid lintels have converted the square internally into octagon. These Chaukhandi tombs are indicating the earliest true domical ceiling. This style was later on, adopted during the Tarkhan period at Makli Hill. In this regard, the Chaukhandi of Qazi Ahmad is showing the beginning of such style at Makli Hill. These Chaukhandi tombs at Huaz-e-Khas have been provided with inscriptions at the inner side above the lintels.

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that with the passage of time the under discussion style of Chaukhandi tomb architecture was further developed. In this process, in some instances, these Chaukhandi tombs have been surrounded by verandahs, showing its derivation from the colonnaded *mandapa*s of the Hindu temples. In this regard, the Chaukhandi tomb of Rani Rupamati empress of Muhammad Shah I Beghara, located at Ahmadabad A.D 1430-40 is representing the beginning of a new style in the history of Chaukhandi tomb architecture. This tomb pavilion is resting on twelve pillars and surrounded by a pillared verandah (Bunce, 2004: 68-70). These pillars are octagonal in shape and resting on square base. Whereas, the four armed brackets are supporting the diagonally laid lintels. Above the lintels squinches are placed these are supporting the domical ceiling. It may be added here that such arrangements may also be noticed in the Chaukhandi tomb of Mubarak Sayyad AD 1484 (Grover, 1981: 101; Bunce, 2004: 86, pl. 29; Jairazbhoy, 1972: 302). However, the only feature, which differ it from the former example is the double pillared verandah. This later example is identical to the Uthman Rauza at Ahmadabad A.D 1460 (Grover, 1981: 99; Bunce, 2004: 76). These styles eventually influenced the tomb complex of Isa Khan II A.D 1627-44. It is also surrounded by a double storeyed pillared verandah, marking the beginning of a new style at Makli Hill.

The Cambay mosque is dated to A.D 1325 (Brown, 1941: 49-50, pl. XXXIII, fig. I; Jairazbhoy, 1972: 302). It has been constructed in typical Gujarati style, showing its derivation from the Hindu temple. The pavilion shaped bays are resting on twelve pillars (Grover, 1981: 87, Pl. 4.4). Besides, the Dholka mosque is also erected in the style of Cambay and Adina mosques. However, its gateway is showing similarity to the *mandapa* of the Hindu temple. Its dome is

resting on 12 pillars (Grover, 1981: 89, pl. 4.7). It is worthwhile, to proclaim here that Ahmad Shah laid the foundation of Ahmad Shahi dynasty in Gujarat A.D 1391. He continued the traditional style of architecture. Whereas, in Gujarat one can clearly notice the Hindu and Jaina architectural traditions (Jairazbhoy, 1972: 302). Which later on, assimilated with the Islamic values. Thus, as a blend of cultures, a very uniform style was developed, which became the trademark of this vicinity. This later on, greatly affected its neighboring lands. However, the different states have been merged into the central authority during the Akbar domain A.D 1556-1605. Thus Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Deccan and Sindh came under his sway. These provincial schools alongside the Persian and Turkic traditions have been mixed, thus as a result new trends were developed. Such interactions have glorified the Mughal architecture at Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri alongside the above stated regions have immensely influenced the Makli Hill style of art and architecture, which can be clearly observed in the light of the under discussion Chaukhandi tombs.

It is indeed significant to elaborate here that the style of the Hindu temple has been successfully continued, which can be observed in the mosques at Ahmadabad and Gujarat during the domain of Mehmud Bighara A.D 1458-1511. In this process, when he established his capital city at Champanir, located about 71 miles southeast of Ahmadabad. In this sequence, the Jamia Masjid at Champanir at Ahmadabad is an exquisite example of the above stated category, its prayer chamber is yielding 11 pavilion shaped bays. These pavilion bays are crowned by the domes, moreover, each is resting on 12 pillars, furthermore, these pillars are provided with four armed brackets (Brown, 1941: 49; Grover, 1981: 102-103, pl. 4.18).

Besides, the above stated early examples, during the 15th century A.D a Jamia Masjid at Somnātha Pātān and Maipuri Masjid in the same vicinity were also provided pavilion shaped bays. In this process, Henry Cousens believes, these mosques have been constructed either by Muzaffar Shah or perhaps by Ahmad Shah. Both of these mosques are constructed at the spot of Hindu temples and their spoils are being used in the construction of these mosques. The porches of these mosques are veneered in pavilion shape, resting on twelve pillars, yielding four armed brackets, whereas, the domical ceilings are finished in receding circles (Fig. 28) (Cousen, 1931: 28-32, pl. XI, XVIII, XIX).

It is indeed interesting to argue here, that the idea of the above stated Chaukhandi structures has been initiated during the Islamic period especially under the Bahmani dynasty in South India. Later on, transmitted very successfully into Ahmadabad and Gujarat. Whereas, in similar fashion it has been introduced at Somnātha Pātān. Likewise, during the succeeding centuries these traditions have been employed at Makli Hill, in more sophisticated manner.

However, in the region of our concern the above stated style has been adopted for the first time in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali during the Samma domain (Fig. 29) (Dani, 1982: 35; Lari, 1997: fig. 78). In this connection, it may be proclaimed here that the Tarkhans were the first to introduce the inquestion style at Makli Hill. In this regard, it is sterling to add here that in the under discussion category, three Chaukhandi tombs have been constructed. In this sequence, it may be elaborated here that during this phase of time, besides, the above stated changes in the plan of the Chaukhandi tomb one can easily notice improvement in the layout of the pillars, brackets and domical ceilings. Such as, the shaft became square in shape. Moreover, the brackets are carved for the first time in honeycomb pattern. Furthermore, instead of the multi layered ceilings, we can observe for the first time the introduction of the true domical ceiling at Makli Hill, during the Tarkhan domain. In the under discussion plan the earliest Chaukhandi tomb may be assigned to Qazi Ahmad al-Mulk dated A.D 1581-1600. It has a round shaped dome, which is internally supported by means of intersecting arch squinches. These have been appeared for the first time in the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill. Moreover, it is noteworthy to claim here that during the Tarkhan period, Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi is the first example to have the brackets with honeycombed design (Pl. 25c). Similar device has also been provided to the unknown Chaukhandi tomb (Pl. 25a) located north of Jani Beg Tarkhan tomb. Moreover, the inquestion design may also be observed in the Tughrel Beg's Chaukhandi tomb (Pl. 25b; Fig. 31). It is noteworthy, to proclaim here that the Chaukhandi tomb of Mirza Tughrel Beg has been provided with onion shape dome (Pl. 12), which is first of its kind at Makli Hill, as well in the whole of Pakistan.

It is indeed pertinent to make a mention here that the unknown Chaukhandi tomb (Fig. 33) situated to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan, has similar architectural features, as can be observed in the Qazi Ahmad Chaukhandi, such as, same plan of construction, intersecting arches, honeycombed brackets and lobbed shaped designs. Therefore, keeping in view the above stated similarities in the style of architecture are undoubtedly denoting that this may be placed between A.D 1620-1640.

Besides, the above stated two different categories of Chaukhandi tombs, such as, octagonal shaped resting on eight pillars, moreover, square externally and octagonal internally, resting on twelve pillars, a square shaped example, may be observed for the first time at Makli Hill in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Isa Langoti A.D 1412-28. It may be proclaimed here that in this group the earliest funeral instance may be assigned to Murad Nizam-ud-Din (Pl. 8) A.D 1639-1645. However, as a matter of fact the under discussion idea has been derived from the Jaina and Hindu temples. These early examples are generally resting on four pillars. In this

connection, the upper storey of Kailāsa or Kailāsanāth temple at Ellūrā, dated to the second half of the 8th century A.D (Rowland, 1953: 184, fig. 28), is indicating that the square shape pillared *mandapa* is supported by means of sixteen pillars, provided with a set of four pillars at each corner. These are yielding four armed brackets. The Mahāvira temple at Osian dated to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D, is showing the square shaped pavilion, it is resting on four pillars. The brackets are conceived in four armed pattern (Cousen, 1982: pl. 25; Harle, 1986: 139-140, fig. 106). Besides, the above stated square shaped Hindu temples, Sir Aurel Stein was the first to report the earliest square shaped Chaukhandi tomb, which he termed “Gumbaz” is located south of Gwadar in Baluchistan. It is square in plan resting on four pillars, yielding four armed brackets. The inscription recorded in the Makran Gazetteer, is showing the date 873 A.H/A.D 1468 (Stein, 1991: 73, fig. 19). Besides, this pertinent example, there are two important instances, in the Bijapur area, both of them are resting on twelve pillars. The first one is of Ibrahim Rauza (Fig. 11) A.D 1615, whereas, the second one is assigned to Jahan Begum’s Chaukhandi tomb (Fig. 35) at Ainapur A.D 1626 (Bunce, 2004: 148-182, figs. 61 & 75). Here at Makli Hill we have only one specimen that is the square Chaukhandi tomb of Murad Nizam-ud-Din. It is resting on eight pillars. However, in the entire Makli Hill the first ever example of a Chaukhandi in square plan can be observed in the case of Madrasah pavilion of Isa Langoti (Dani, 1982: 126, fig. 1; Lari, 1997: 108, fig. 92) A.D. 1412-28. It is resting on eight pillars. However, in the case of Chaukhandi tomb then the first ever example may be observed during the post Tarkhan period. In this connection, it may be added here that A.H. Dani has mentioned it unidentified (Dani, 1982: 126). However, the Persian couplets have been inscribed on the inner lintels in nastalique style is showing the name Murad Nizam-ud-Din. Whereas, the footstone is indicating the same name as can be observed on the lintels dated 1049 A.H/A.D 1639 (Javadi, 1992: 234 & 255, pls. 55 & 90).

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that besides, the above stated three categories of Chaukhandis constructed at Makli Hill. The fourth group is of vital importance, it is a unique example among the entire Makli Hill Chaukhandi tombs. It is exhibiting the interconnected Chaukhandis, first of its kind at Makli Hill. It is important to point out here that the idea is seemed to be taken from the Hindu temples. Which have been constructed during the 9th century A.D and continued until the 12th century A.D. Such as, at Rājputana, Ahmadabad, Gujarat and in the other parts of India. In this connection, during the Islamic period one of the earliest example regarding the under discussion issue has been reported by Garrick at Hansi. This fabulous oblong shaped interconnected Chaukhandis are attributed to Qutb Jamaluddin. These Chaukhandis are resting on ten pillars, crowned by four armed brackets, the architraves or lintels are laid

diagonally to convert the square into octagon. These have been surmounted by four domes. The inscription reported by Garrick is denoting that the disciple Qutb died in 670 A.H/A.D 1271-72. Whereas, the Chaukhandis were constructed in 679 A.H/A.D 1279-80 (Garrick, 1883-84: 15-17, fig. VII). Thus, in the light of this inscription it can be claimed here that these are the earliest Chaukhandi tombs either in terms of single Chaukhandi tombs or in the case of interconnected Chaukhandi tombs in the entire Subcontinent. The idea of interconnected Chaukhandis, then disseminated to the Delhi region. In this regard, the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque constructed in A.D 1195, is showing that the cloisters are arranged in the under discussion style (Pl. 10h & 16f). It is generally believed that the Hindu temples spoils have been reused (Brown, 1941: 10-11; Nath, 1982: 11, pl. VI; Sahai, 2004:13-14). The other worth mentioning example of the under discussion issue may be observed at Delhi, in the Hauz-e-Khas complex, dated to A.D 1360. In this process, three square shaped interconnected pavilions (Chaukhandis), have been used as an assembly hall. The domical ceilings are veneered through corbelled courses. The pillars are crowned with four armed brackets. The domes are crowned by āmalaka and kalaśa features (Nath, 1982: 62, pl. LVIII).

Besides, the inquestion style appeared for the first time in the Sindh valley at Sukkur. These interconnected Chaukhandi tombs are assigned to the family of Mir Masum 1002 A.H/A.D 1594 (Hastenrath, 2003: 13). Whereas, Maulavi Muhammad Shafi is advocating these interconnected canopies (Chaukhandis) were built in 1002 A.H/A.D 1595-96 (Shafi, 1974: 62). These are resting on ten pillars and crowned by four domes. The first two domes, from north side are slightly round in shape, whereas, the remaining two are in fluted pattern. The pillars are surmounted by the four armed brackets. Thus, it appears after passing through the different developmental phases, finally this style has been adopted at Makli Hill. In this regard, it can be clearly observed in the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba Tarkhan. These interconnected Chaukhandis at Makli Hill are first of its kind. These interconnected Chaukhandis are three in number, each of them is square in plan, resting on eighteen pillars. The dome of the central Chaukhandi is intact, whereas, the either side domes are fallen.

It is indeed significant to elaborate here that the Chaukhandi tomb architecture at Makli Hill may be undoubtedly considered a land mark in the history of funerary structures in Pakistan. The stylistical approach adopted here at Makli Hill as compare to those styles discussed above, made it a very unique in terms of its style of architecture. Thus, to conclude the matter here, one can easily determine, that after passing through the different developmental stages finally this mode of work reached to the perfection at Makli Hill. The descriptive analysis of the above stated four categories of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill may be discussed as under

4.4. Description of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill

4.4.1. Chaukhandi of Khwaja Khalil better known Nawab Amir Khan Khalil

4.4.1.1. Location

This Chaukhandi is located to the northwest of Badi-uz-Zaman's Chaukhandi tomb, moreover, to the east of As'habi Baba's tomb.

4.4.1.2. Historical background

It is utmost significant to advocate here that since no epigraphical record has been reported from the under discussion Chaukhandi or even from the graves. In this connection, A.H. Dani has declared it unidentified (Dani, 1982: 123, fig. 80). It may be further mentioned here that the literary sources are denoting its association with a certain Khwaja Khalil.

It is significant to make a mention here that once Khwaja Khalil saved the life of Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan, who was about to drown in the river. The king became highly obliged on his loyalty. Therefore, he was given high rank in the court (Qani, 2002: 284). Khwaja Khalil proved himself to be a very competent person, thus, was entitled as Nawab Amir Khan Khalil. He constructed his mausoleum in his life time. However, he desires that he may not be buried there, because of any excess from the royal with the labour or mason during the course of its construction. In this process, Qani in Tufat-ul-Kiram is suggesting that as per his desire he was buried in the courtyard of Baqi Beg Tarkhan tomb complex under a domed structure (Qani, 2002: 284). The story of his burying is further verified by Qani in "Makli Nama" that he was laid to rest inside a Chatri close to the Badi-uz-Zaman's chatri (Qani, 1994: 488). Thus, in the light of above stated version of informations, he was buried in the Chaukhandi located to the southwest of Baqi Beg Tarkhan tomb enclosure. In the light of above stated authentic references, therefore, this Chaukhandi may be undoubtedly assigned to Khwaja Khalil better known Nawab Amir Khan Khalil. It is octagonal in plan and resting on eight pillars (Pl. 7e).

4.4.1.3. Pillars

The pillars provided to this Chaukhandi are devoid of any ornamentation. Its base is square in plan, measuring 42cm aside. its base height is 68cm. the shaft has two parts, the lower one is square measuring 37x37 cm. whereas, length is 60cm. the upper part of the shaft is similar to the lower portion, however, its length is 1.23 m (Pl. 7e; Fig. 21).

4.4.1.4. Brackets

The octagonal shaped abacus has supported the capitals. These capitals are octagonal in plan, showing acanthus leaves like motif, which have been executed on the each part of the

octagon. The capital is crowned by a circular shaped abacus, supporting the four armed brackets, these have been composed in valuted fashion.

The rectangular shaped lintels are resting over the brackets. These brackets are supporting the octagonal shaped chajja. Moreover, it has been crowned by the parapet, showing arched shaped merlons.

4.4.1.5. Domical ceiling

The low domical ceiling has been veneered through the overlapping stone rings, whereas, at the apex a low stalagmite has been provided, which is carved in high relief (Pl. 16a; Fig. 21).

4.4.2. Unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure

4.4.2.1. Platform

The platform is octagonal in plan (Fig. 19) it is 52cm raised from the ground level. It is measuring 3.58x3.47m. The floor is paved with rectangular shape dressed yellow marble tiles.

4.4.2.2. Pillars

The base of the pillar is placed on the 6cm low raised angular shaped slab. The square shaped base of the pillar is placed above this slab. This base is measuring 42x32x32 cm. The frontage of this base is showing a single tiny lozenge motif executed as a border band. This motif is engraved inside by a circular outline. It is significant to elaborate here that spoke wheel design has been composed in the shape of a sunflower with pointed petals. It is slightly concave at the center, which has been excellently engraved (Pl. 7d).

It is interesting to elaborate here that the depiction of the spoke wheel design during the Tarkhan period, has been appeared for the first time on the base of the pillar in the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb (Pl. 62n). However, as a motif it appeared for the first time on the pillars of Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1392 (Pl. 62g).

It is equally important to make a mention here that the base is surmounted by the shaft. It may be divided into two parts. The lower portion of the shaft is square in plan, its length is 29cm, whereas, the second part is octagonal in shape, while its length is 92cm. The neck of the shaft has been decorated with beehive motif. It is further crowned by a single band of lozenge pattern. This band is topped by a circular abacus. This device has supported the two tiered capital. It is identical to the pilaretttes of the Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure wall mehrab, its length is 24cm. However, this kind of capital to the pillars at Makli Hill can be observed for the first time.

This two tiered capital is surmounted by a circular abacus 3cm in length. The total height of the pillar is 1.99m.

These capitals have been crowned by five armed brackets. In this connection, it is worthwhile to advocate here that the construction of five armed brackets have been appeared for the first time at Makli Hill, in the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb. The two brackets on the outer front and one at the rear side are identical in shape are measuring 61x27x13cm. Whereas, the remaining two are similar in size measuring 38x28x6cm. It may be further added here that all the eight pillars are identical in plan. However, as for the decoration is concerned are varying in designing. For instance the shaft of the pillars are showing, beehive design, geometrical interlacing, saw tooth pattern, lozenges, triangles in relief, intersecting wavy bands, stepped lozenges, intersecting hexagonal shaped lozenges and intersecting octagons are depicted in low relief.

The brackets at the inner sides are showing the wavy lozenge motif, engraved in the same pattern as can be observed in the Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure wall panels, however, these are left empty at the inner sides. Moreover, their upper parts are showing geometrical designs. This outer side is depicting beehive pattern, wavy bands and tassel decoration.

4.4.2.3.Lintels

The lintels are identical in plan, measuring 72x33x42cm. These lintels on the three sides are richly carved in low relief. These are mostly illustrating engraved cross motif, wavy bands, diamond shaped elements, lozenges, tassels and floral buds. These are provided to the outer facing of the lintels.

The underneath part of the lintel is showing, diamond and lozenge patterns. These have been carved in low relief. The inner face of the lintel is depicting similar mode of work, except minor changes, showing a double lozenge motif, which is engraved and having valuated ends. The inner parts of the brackets are supporting rectangular shaped tablets. These have been carved with peacock and snake figures. It may be further elaborated here that these peacocks with snakes have been sculpted in relief. The under discussion figures are comparatively rigid in finishing as compare to the Chaukhandi of Badi-uz-Zaman. It is important to discuss here that the ornamental approach adopted in the at issue precedent has been later on, executed in the Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi tomb. However, in the at issue case the mode of work has been improved as compare to the early examples.

4.4.2.4.Chajja

The Chajja is octagonal in plan, measuring 37x37cm, whereas, its thickness is 8cm. It may be further added here that this eave is slightly projected downwards. Its facing is denoting a tassel band, carved in low relief, running all around.

4.4.2.5.Parapet

The battlemented parapet is octagonal in plan. It has been composed with arched merlons. The length of the pent is 56cm and total height above the ground level is 3.90m.

4.4.2.6.Dome

The squat shaped dome of the under discussion Chaukhandi is similar to that of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil. Furthermore, it is resting on the 8cm low octagonal shaped drum. The height of dome above the floor of the roof is 1.60m. whereas, this dome likewise, the other preceding examples is surmounted by the āmalaka element, its length is 36cm.

4.4.2.7.Domical ceiling

The domical ceiling has been supported by the lintels and brackets. It may be further suggested here that in the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb, there is a clear tendency towards the true domical ceiling, however, the alternating tier is representing in the receding circle shape. The domical ceiling has been elegantly carved in low relief. The apex of the domical ceiling is wrought with a low stalagmite, sculpted in high relief. It is significant to make a mention here that the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb is the earliest instance at Makli Hill, which has been executed with Kalim-e-Tayyeba and Quranic verses in thulth style, carved in relief.

4.4.3. Chaukhandi of Badi-uz-Zaman

4.4.3.1.Location

It is located to the south of Baqi Beg Tarkhan's tomb enclosure, moreover, it is lying to the south western part of the compound wall.

4.4.3.2.Historical background

It is significant to make a mention here that the inscription carved on the epitaph is denoting 1011 A.H/A.D 1602 (Dani, 1982: 123; Bukhari & Khattak, 2001: 159; Hastenrath, 2003: 115). It may be further added here that Badi-uz-Zaman Tarkhan was the son of Shah Rukh Khan Tarkhan and the grand son of Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan (Dani, 1982: 123; Bukhari & Khattak, 2001: 159; Javadi, 1992: 297; Qani, 1994: 539).

It is significant to elaborate further that on the basis of architectural style this Chaukhandi tomb may be placed between A.D 1602-1610.

4.4.3.3.Pillars

This Chaukhandi is resting on eight pillars (Fig. 22). These are identical to each other (Pl. 7f). The base of the pillar is constructed in two phases; the lower part is 24cm raised from the ground level (Pl. 7f). It is square in plan, measuring 58x58 cm. The upper part of the base is resting above the lower one, measuring 54x45x45cm. The either side of the upper part of the

base is decorated with a pyramidal shaped motif or a simple śikhara like pattern, executed in relief.

The shaft is monolithic in order and has two parts. The lower part is square, measuring 67x37x37cm. The four sides are adorned in similar pattern, yielding a circular medallion, exhibiting a sunflower. Its center is sunken in round shape, perhaps denoting a sun symbol, whereas, sixteen triangular shaped petals are radiating from the center. The inner circle is filled with similar sunflower. It has a round knob at the middle. This medallion is crowned by a cornucopia shape element (Pl. 62m), its outlines are elegantly engraved in the same mode as can be noticed in the case of medallions. It is equally significant to proclaim here that the above stated cornucopia motif is appearing for the first time in the entire Makli Hill cluster.

It is significant to elaborate here that the lower part of the shaft is square in plan. Whereas, the upper part is octagonal in shape, its diameter is 1.22 m, while the length is 1.19 m. The lower portion of this octagonal part of the shaft has corbel arch recessed panels. These have been executed on its each side. The spandrels are provided with a tiny sunken diamond motif. This lower first band on the shaft is crowned by the second motif, showing four lozenges, these are connected with a sunken circle. This circle has been filled inside by a cross motif. Whereas, the lozenges are filled by tiny flat knobs. The third band is again depicting lozenges in relief. The fourth band is denoting a circular motif carved in relief. Its centre is filled with a single low knob. It may be further added here that outside this circle, rays are radiating in the form of straight lines, carved in relief, symbolising a sun motif. The fifth strip is representing stepped lozenge pattern, filled by a sunflower. Whereas, the sixth band is illustrating geometrical designs, executed in high relief.

4.4.3.4.Capital

The capital is composed of three circular tiers, its length is 14 cm. The lower two are showing honey comb motif in relief. Whereas, these two tiers of honey comb strips are crowned by the circular abacus.

4.4.3.5.Brackets

The abacus is surmounted by four armed valuted shape brackets, measuring 40x35x29cm. The lower parts of these brackets have been engraved with strips shaped motif.

The upper parts of the inner brackets are also showing similar tassels as can be noticed on the lintels. It is pertinent to elaborate here that the various decorative theme and their mode of execution are denoting the high skills of the sculptors. In this connection, it may be proclaimed here that one of the unique subject has been wrought here, that is the figural representation. Such examples may be observed above the inner side brackets. These figures have been carved on the

rectangular shape tablets. It may be further added here that these sculpted tablets on the northwestern and southwestern sides are mostly intact, while the remaining sides are mostly defaced, however, the intact tablets are showing peacock with a snake and two ducks facing each other have been carved in high relief (Pls. 79b & 79d).

4.4.3.6.Lintels

It is utmost sterling to make a mention here that these brackets have supported the lintels. The underneath surface of these lintels, are showing three sunflowers, in the same pattern as can be noticed on the lower part of the base. The underneath side of the lintel is showing an engraved wavy band. Whereas, the upper frontage is indicating tassel decoration in the form of arrow heads, carved in high relief.

The inner frontal facing of these lintels are denoting similar arrow heads like tassels, which can be observed on its outer edge.

4.4.3.7.Domical ceiling

The multi layered domical ceiling is gradually piling up above the lintels (Fig. 23; Pl. 16b). It has been knotted by the stalagmite element, which has been composed in floral pattern, carved in high relief. Each terrace is depicting engraved tiny arch niches running horizontally.

4.4.3.8.Dome

The dome provided to the under discussion Chaukhandi is undoubtedly denoting its continuation from the early Samma Style. In this process, the earliest instance may be observed in the Chaukhandi of Jam Tamachi A.D 1392, later on, similar style was successfully continued during the Samma domain, which was eventually adopted by the Tarkhans in their buildings. In this process, in the Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi a pointed shaped dome with flaring sides has been crowned at the summit by the āmalaka element. This dome was once covered with a thick coat of lime plaster, however, presently few patches are still surviving.

4.4.4. Chaukhandi of Muhammad Quli

4.4.4.1.Location

It is situated to the west of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan's tomb.

4.4.4.2.Historical background

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that the local chronicles like Qani, Masum, Nisyani and Beglari are silent about the historical significance of the above stated Chaukhandi. Moreover, A.H Dani has mentioned it unidentified (Dani, 1982: 126), whereas, Hastenrath has mentioned the date that is A.H 1008/A.D 1600, however, she remained silent about the name of the buried person (Hastenrath, 2003: 116). In this connection, it is pertinent to advocate here that the present researcher during the course of documentation, has been able to record an inscription,

executed on the epitaph in nastalique style. It is denoting the name Muhammad Quli and the death date that is 25th Rabi ul-awwal 1008 A.D 1600. As far as the construction of this Chaukhandi is concerned on the basis of stylistical approach, it can be placed between A.D 1600-1615.

4.4.4.3. **Plan**

It is octagonal in plan (Fig. 24), and resting on eight pillars. It is significant to advocate here that this Chaukhandi tomb is seemed to have been copied from the plan of Badi-uz-Zaman, however, the under discussion is comparatively, simple in terms of ornamentation (Pl. 7g). Whereas, its domical ceiling is showing similarity with the Chaukhandi tomb of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil likewise, it has been constructed in receding circle pattern (Pl. 16c).

4.4.4.4. **Plinth**

The platform is octagonal in plan; its surviving height is 8cm. Externally it is measuring 4.60x4.60m, while internally 3.95x3.95m.

4.4.4.5. **Pillars**

This Chaukhandi tomb has been supported by eight similar shaped pillars (Fig. 25; Pl. 7g). The square base of these pillars is 32cm a side and 63cm raised from the floor level. Its four sides are carved in identical fashion. The border band is carved with a single row of zigzag motif. Its angles are executed with a tiny triangular motif. The inner part is filled with a pyramidal or śikhara shaped motif, which has been crowned by a palmette bud.

The base is crowned by the shaft, it has two parts. The lower level of the shaft is square in plan, which is 12cm in length. Whereas, the upper part of the shaft is octagonal in shape, its sharp corners on either side are showing engraved lines. The total height of the shaft is 1.13m. The neck of the shaft is ornamented with palmette shaped band. Above these bands on the either side a low knob is executed in series. This strip has been carved in low relief.

4.4.4.6. **Capital**

Above the shaft an octagonal shaped abacus has been placed, above the octagonal capital is resting (Pl. 22c). Moreover, its length is 24cm. The capital of this Chaukhandi has close resemblance to the Chaukhandi tomb of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil located to the northwest of Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi. The each side of this octagonal capital has been wrought in acanthus leaf shaped motif. It is carved in low relief.

4.4.4.7. **Brackets**

It is of vital importance to elaborate further that these capitals have been crowned by the round shaped abacus, its length is 10cm. It is interesting to add here that the pillar from base up to this round shaped abacus is monolithic in order.

This abacus is topped by four armed brackets. All of these brackets have been moulded in similar shape and size. These are measuring 60x36x28cm. It may be mentioned here that these brackets have been carved underneath in low relief. The lower part of these brackets is vaulted in shape.

4.4.4.8. **Lintels**

The lintels are placed above the brackets. These lintels are measuring, 1.27mx32cmx34cm. The lintels on the north, south and southwestern sides are showing identical floral interlacing. Whereas, the remaining sides are representing geometrical arabesque, executed in low relief.

4.4.4.9. **Chajja**

The low octagonal pent is resting above the lintels. It has been constructed slightly projected downwards.

4.4.4.10. **Parapet**

The chajja is surmounted by the battlemented parapet in octagonal plan. The height of the pent is 30cm. It has been veneered by means of merlons.

4.4.4.11. **Domical ceiling**

The low domical ceiling has been wrought in receding circles (Fig. 25; Pl. 16c). Above the lintels the circular base of the domical ceiling is resting. Stalagmite element has been added to the apex of the domical ceiling.

4.4.4.12. **Dome**

The low bowl shaped dome is resting on the octagonal drum, its height is 6cm from the floor of the roof. The dome has been surmounted at the summit by the āmalaka element.

4.4.5. **Pir A'saat Makhdum Arabi alias Qazi Ahmad al-Mulk**

4.4.5.1. **Location**

This Chaukhandi tomb is located to the northwestern direction of the As'habi Baba's tomb complex.

4.4.5.2. **Historical background**

It is indeed significant to elaborate here that there is no inscription inside the under discussion Chaukhandi tomb, therefore, it has been declared unidentified by A.H Dani (Dani, 1982: 128). Whereas, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan and Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath are silent about the name or any other information regarding this Chaukhandi tomb. While, Ihsan-ul-Haq Nadiem has assigned this Chaukhandi to a certain Qazi Ahmad al-Mulk, however, he has been unable to give any reference to confirm the above stated name (Nadiem, 1998: 36). In this connection, it is sterling to advocate here that Pir Husamuddin Rashdi, translated Makli Nama in Sindhi, has

assigned this Chaukhandi to Pir A'saat Makhdum Arabi, who was the follower of Miran Muhammad Jaunpuri. He further mentions that the meaning of "A'saat" is not known, however, he was the "Qazi" of his time and died in 990 A.H. He was buried inside a Chaukhandi tomb located to the west of Abdullah Shah As'habi's tomb (Qani, 1994: 193-194). Thus, keeping in view the above stated authentic reference regarding the at issue Chaukhandi, therefore, it may be identified with the Pir A'saat Makhdum Arabi alias Qazi al-Mulk. However, keeping in view the stylistical approach adopted in the construction of this funerary structure, it may be dated between A.D 1581-1600.

4.4.5.3.Plan

It is indeed interesting to advocate here that the under discussion Chaukhandi is representing a new style at Makli Hill. This Chaukhandi is square externally and octagonal internally (Pl. 9b), moreover, resting on twelve pillars. In fact this plan can be observed for the first time in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1392 (Fig. 29). However, in the at issue style the first ever funeral structure has been constructed during the Tarkhan period. It is denoting a very unique plan of architecture among the preceding examples. It may be added here that in the previous examples the Chaukhandis was supported by eight or six pillars. However, in the under discussion category, the Chaukhandi is resting on twelve pillars. Moreover, at the four angles diagonally laid lintels or architraves have been provided, which has internally converted the square in to octagon.

4.4.5.4.Platform

This monumental Chaukhandi tomb is constructed on a raised platform. Its height is 1.25m. It is square in plan, measuring 7.04x7.04m. This lower platform is veneered with dressed yellow marble slabs. It may be further added here that above this lower platform, a second low plinth has been added. It is 20cm above the lower platform. This upper platform is square in plan, measuring 4.90x4.90m. It is paved with yellow marble dressed slabs.

4.4.5.5.Pillars

This Chaukhandi tomb is resting on twelve pillars, however, each at the four angles are diagonally laid, representing a very unique gesture in the whole of Makli Hill. It is undoubtedly denoting the beginning of a new style in the layout of the pillars. These are angular in section. The base of the pillars is 37cm raised from the floor level and wrought in low terrace shaped pattern. It may be advocated here that the base and shaft of the under discussion Chaukhandi is monolithic in order. The height of the angular shape shaft is 1.70m and its diameter is 1.66m.

These shafts are surmounted by the capitals, which are supporting the brackets. The brackets used here are proportionally very unique in treatment. It is significant to advocate here

that the diagonally laid lintels at the four corners are crowned with four armed brackets, the two at the outer side are larger in size and have been carved in stalactite pattern. Whereas, the two at the rear side are smaller in size.

The remaining pillars have been constructed in square plan. However, their inner facings have been wrought in chamfered pattern. These central pillars are also provided with four armed brackets. It may be pointed out that the frontal brackets are denoting the stalactite work in relief (Pl. 25b). Whereas, the remaining sides of these brackets have been engraved with zigzag motif (Pl. 24a & 24b).

4.4.5.6. Zone of transition

The arch squinches are bordered with rectangular frames (Pl. 26b). These eight arch squinches are surmounted by the zone of transition. It has been wrought with intersecting recessed arches, rising from these squinches. These are supporting the domical structure.

4.4.5.7. Domical ceiling

It is significant to elaborate here that the zone of transition is crowned by the springing level or the circular base for the dome, which is resting on the above stated zone of transition. This Chaukhandi has been provided with true domical ceiling, this mode of work is appearing for the first time in the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill (Pl. 17b).

This domical ceiling has been constructed in corbelling method. The apex of the domical ceiling is executed with a low pendent, carved with a sunflower in high relief.

4.4.5.8. Parapet

The parapet is square in plan, its length is 36cm. It is excellently enriched by means of merlons.

4.4.5.9. Dome

It is utmost pertinent to advocate here that the dome is resting on a circular drum, which is 48cm high from the floor of the roof. It may be further added here that the dome is almost round in shape. It is representing first of its kind at Makli Hill, its height above the drum is 2.80m. It is interesting to pinpoint here that once the outer facing of this dome has been coated with the lime plaster. The intact patches are still surviving, the thickness of this plaster is about 6cm.

4.4.6. Unknown Chaukhandi to the north of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan Tomb

4.4.6.1. Platform

This Chaukhandi is located on 85cm raised platform. Three steps have been provided to the platform. These are measuring 50x28x27 cm. The platform is measuring 5.55x8.85 m.

4.4.6.2. Pillars

This fabulous Chaukhandi tomb is resting on 12 pillars, the measurement of their base is varying. Those pillars located at the angles, are square in plan. Their base is measuring 49x49cm and height is 25cm. While the square shaft height is 1.94m. It may be further mentioned here that these pillars are surmounted by the four armed brackets, their width is 43cm and length is 33cm. It is sterling to mention here that these bracket are in low terrace shape with tapering tendency, however, the most striking feature is showing the honey comb pattern executed on the brackets, carved in low relief.

The remaining eight pillars are slightly rectangular in plan. Their base is measuring 52x49cm, shaft is 51x48cm and its height is 1.94m. These central pillars are crowned by four armed brackets. The brackets are elegantly carved with stalactite work, which has been treated in high relief. These brackets are supporting the lintels, measuring 35x29cm. At the four angles the diagonally laid lintels have converted it internally into octagonal plan. It is important to add here that the lower face of the central lintels are showing a lob motif with arrow head shaped elements at their both ends. These have been filled with floral designs, such motifs can also be observed on the diagonally laid lintels at the four corners. The above stated motifs are excellently engraved.

The internal arrangement of the octagonal laid lintels is denoting has supported the squinch system. These squinches are filled with sunflowers carved in relief.

These squinches have given support to the zone of transition, which has been wrought with intersecting arches.

4.4.6.3.Domical Ceiling

The domical ceiling has been strengthened with the support of the zone of transition (Pl. 29c). It is significant to make a mention here that the domical ceiling has been veneered with the chevron design.

4.4.6.4.Chajja

It may be further added here that the low square shaped pent has been placed above the lintels. This pent is not projected downwards, like the other preceding examples. The parapet is placed above the chajja (Pl. 9c). It is square in plan and yielding arched merlons.

4.4.6.5.Dome

The central part of the domical ceiling is fallen, however, the surviving portion is denoting that it has been provided with a round shape dome (Pl. 9c).

4.4.7. Chaukhandi of Mirza Tughrel Beg

4.4.7.1.Location

This tomb is located to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan and to the north of Baqi Beg Uzbek tomb enclosure.

4.4.7.2. Historical Background

It is significant to proclaim here that the inscription on the footstone is executed in nastalique style. It is showing the date 1059 A.H/A.D 1649, and the name of the deceased person Mirza Tughrel Beg (Dani, 1982: 129; Hastenrath, 2003: 118; Shafi, 1974: 30). Whereas, the inscription on its enclosure mosque is indicating 1090 A.H/A.D 1679 (Hastenrath, 2003: 118). It is utmost significant to elaborate here that the inscription carved on the mehrab façade is showing 1095 A.H/A.D 1683. Furthermore, this inscription has also been recorded by Javadi (Javadi, 1992: 246-47; Bukhari & Khattak, 2001: 148). In the light of these evidences it appears that Hastenrath has mistaken in the dating of the enclosure mosque. In this connection, it may be claimed here that this Chaukhandi was constructed in A.D 1649, whereas, its mosque was built in A.D 1683. It may be further added here that Mirza Tughril Beg has been remained the army chief in the time of Isa Khan Tarkhan II during A.D 1627-28 (Moinuddin, 1975: 73). Besides, this information regarding the status of Tughrel Beg in the Tarkhan's court, nothing else can be noticed in the historical annals.

4.4.7.3. Platform

This Chaukhandi is located on a raised platform, its height is 1.10m. It is square in plan, measuring 8.22x8.28m. This plinth is provided with steps on its three sides. The eastern side flight of steps is slightly larger in size as compare to those on the north and south sides. The actual tomb canopy has been erected over a low podium, which is 20cm raised from the floor of the lower plinth. This upper platform is square in plan and measuring, 4.98x4.98m.

4.4.7.4. Pillars

This Chaukhandi is resting on twelve pillars (Fig. 30). These pillars are entirely different from the preceding and succeeding styles (Pl. 9d). It may be added here that the four pillars at the angles have been erected in engaged jambs pattern. Whereas, the remaining eight pillars are rectangular in shape. The base of these pillars is identical in plan. These have been constructed in terraced shape. Their height from the floor level is 40cm. Whereas, their shaft length is 1.70 m. It is pertinent to elaborate here that these shafts are exquisitely adorned with floral and geometrical designs, engraved in relief. This embellishment work has been bordered by a strip of chain motifs, executed in low relief. These shafts are surmounted by the brackets. In this connection, it may be stated here that the engaged paired shape pillars at the four corners are crowned by five

armed brackets. Whereas, the remaining eight pillars are topped by four armed brackets. These bracket capitals have been carved with stalactite work. Moreover, these have been underneath provided with a low pendent, which is showing a sunflower motif. It is significant to elaborate further that these brackets are supporting the lintels.

4.4.7.5.Lintels

The lintel is the most significant component in the Chaukhandi tomb architecture. It is of sterling importance to point out here that two different types of lintels have been used in the under discussion Chaukhandi, to support the super structure. In this process, it may be stated here that the diagonally laid lintels are smaller in size. These diagonally laid lintels have converted the square into octagon. Whereas, the side lintels are similar in width however, lengthwise larger in size. These lintels have been elegantly engraved, representing different ornamental patterns. Such as, those at the corners are possessing David star, flanked by lotus flowers. Whereas, the remaining lintels are yielding the same wavy lozenge, which may be noticed on the shaft of the pillars. It is worthwhile, to state here that the lintel added to the north side is showing “Kalima Tayyaba” executed in thulth style.

4.4.7.6.Pent

The pent provided to this Chaukhandi is supported by means of brackets, it is square in plan and slightly projected downwards. This pent is broken at the north western direction.

4.4.7.7.Parapet

The parapet has been placed on 76cm raised platform. It is square in form and measuring 4.80mx4.80. The height of the arch shaped merlon is 30cm. These merlons are running horizontally, which has provided a fence to the base of the drum.

4.4.7.8.Squinch system

It is utmost important to suggest here that the diagonally laid lintels have converted the inner side into octagon. These octagonally laid lintels have converted the upper part in to sixteen arch panels. These have been enclosed by rectangular frames, their length is 30cm. These arch shaped panels are crowned by the zone of transition, representing intersecting arches (Pl. 296; Fig. 31).

4.4.7.9.Domical ceiling

The intersecting arches of the zone of transition has been crowned by the circular base of the domical ceiling, it has been constructed through corbelling technique. The apex of this domical ceiling has been executed with a low pendent, depicting a sunflower (Pl. 17c; Fig. 31).

4.4.7.10. Drum

The low shaped drum is round in pattern, its height from the floor of the roof is 8cm. It is crowned by a moulded band in rope design, which is running around it.

4.4.7.11. **Dome**

It is indeed significant to advocate here that this beautiful Chaukhandi is crowned by an onion shape dome. Its summit is crowned by a finial, whereas, its base is wrought with inverted lotus flower, executed in high relief (Pl. 12).

4.4.7.12. **Mosque Enclosure**

To the west of this Chaukhandi tomb, a roofless mosque is located on the platform. It may be further elaborated here that an additional podium is added, which is separating the mosque from this Chaukhandi tomb, it is measuring 8.30x3.33m and height is 20cm. The façade of the mehrab is composed of pointed arch, measuring 1.56x1.30m, whereas, its height is 2.86m. Moreover, the total height of the mehrab façade is 3.55 m. This pointed arch is enclosed by a rectangular frame. This mehrab arch is flanked on either side by two recessed arches, measuring 84x40cm, while their height is 1.58m. The mehrab is surmounted by the historic inscription, recording the date 1095 A.H/A.D 1683 (Javadi, 1992: 247, fig. 72), it is inscribed in thulth character, carved in relief.

The entire façade of the Qibla wall is denoting exquisite stone carving mostly in low relief, while very few in high relief. Whereas, numerous engraved designs may also be observed. The theme of embellishment comprises both floral and geometrical patterns. In this process, David star, chevron motif, stylised lozenges, chain design, beaded element are some of the frequently executed specimen in geometrical category. Whereas, in the floral group the commonly exhibited elements are conventionalised floral scrolls, gull-e-nau and sunflowers. It is significant to make a mention here that the designs executed on the shafts of pillars and on the lintels of the attached Chaukhandi, have close affinity with the embellishment work, executed on the façade of the mehrab.

The façade of the Qibla wall at the both ends are surmounted with domeless kiosks. These are first of its kind in the Chaukhandi tomb category at Makli Hill necropolis. It is utmost pertinent to elaborate here that these kiosks are erected in four stages. The lower or the first stage is the square base 32cm aside, while its length is 36cm, whereas, total height excluding base is 97cm. Its frontage is representing a stylised engraved engrailed arch motif, where inside a conventionalised cypress tree shaped design has been exquisitely engraved. Moreover, the

second stage is octagonal in plan, which is crowned by a conical moulded octagonal element slightly projected outwards. This particular element is topped by the third stage. It is sixteen sided, similar moulded band, as discussed above is separating the third part from the fourth stage, which is circular in plan. It may be further elaborated here that this portion is also crowned with the same moulded band (Pl. 9d).

4.4.8. Chaukhandi of Murad Nizam-ud-Din

4.4.8.1. Location

This Chaukhandi tomb is located to the northeastern side of Amir Khani complex and to the south east of Muhammad Quli Chaukhandi tomb.

4.4.8.2. Historical Background

It is important to state here that Ahmad Hasan Dani mentions the under discussion Chaukhandi as unidentified (Dani, 1982: 126). Whereas, Sheikh Khushid Hasan and Hastenrath are absolutely silent regarding the at issue Chaukhandi tomb. However, the inscriptions published by Javadi shows the death date 1049 A.H/A.D 1639 (Javadi, 1992: 234) and the name of the demised person Murad Nizam-ud-Din. Besides, the same date and name may also be noticed on the epitaph and as well inside the Chaukhandi tomb on the lintels, in nastalique character. In the light of above stated epigraphical evidences without any doubt, the under discussion funerary structure may be assigned to Murad Nizam-ud-Din.

4.4.8.3. Platform

It has been provided with two platforms i-e the lower and upper (Pl. 8; Fig. 35). The lower platform is attached with a set of four steps on its southern side, indicating its access on this direction, average size of the step is 84x30x30cm. Whereas, the total height of the lower platform is 1.40 and measuring 7.89 x 7.89 m. It is worthwhile, to remark here that the core of the plinth has been constructed from bricks. These bricks are measuring, 22x19x4cm, moreover, these are set in lime mortar. Whereas, its facing is tiled with dressed yellow marble slabs. The flooring is elegantly paved with dressed stone slabs.

The upper plinth is 36cm higher from the floor of the lower platform. It is square in plan, measuring 4.60x4.60 m. It is pertinent to suggest here that four graves are located inside this Chaukhandi tomb. The footstone of the second grave from the western side is showing inscription, executed in nastalique style. It is mentioning the name of the deceased Murad Nizam-ud-Din.

4.4.8.4. Pillars

All the pillars are monolithic and identical to each other (Pl. 8; Fig. 36). The simple square base is 34cm aside and its height is 44cm. The square shaft is 31cm aside, whereas, its

height is 1.37m. In this connection, it is worthwhile, to elaborate here that Dani in his works mentioned that the upper part of the shaft has been carved with inverted Jar (Dani, 1982: 128). However, A.H. Dani is mistaken, because the neck of the shaft is not showing any inverted jar (Pl. 8). The shaft is surmounted by a 3cm thick square shaped abacus, above a square capital of 14cm length is placed in low moulded form. This capital is crowned by a square shaped abacus, its thickness is 10cm. It may be elaborated here that above this upper abacus a set of four armed brackets are provided. These have been carved in identical style. The rear side brackets are slightly larger in length as compare to the remaining sides. It may be added here that this extended length can be observed in the case of four central pillars. These alongside the lintels are supporting the projected outwards cornice moulding. It is also giving support to the diagonal laid lintels.

These brackets are in terrace shape (Pl. 23a), having a carved palmette shaped tassel, carved in high relief. It may be further expressed here that like the rear brackets the frontal brackets are treated in the same manner. However, in this case it is supporting the chajja. The frontal bracket is measuring 65x34x12cm, whereas the rear bracket is similar in size as recorded in the case of frontal bracket. These brackets are supporting the lintels, measuring 1.55mx31cmx32cm. The three exposed sides of these lintels are adorned with beaded motif on either end with half carved David stars. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that the inner side lintels are executed with Persian couplets in nastalique style, executed in high relief, denoting the name of the buried person Murad Nizam-ud-Din, and the death date A.D 1639. Moreover, in the above stated inscriptions for the first time the name of Makli has been mentioned. These inscriptions are carved inside the above stated beaded elements. The cornice moulding is slightly projected outwards, measuring 12x11cm. The frontal facing of the cornice moulding is depicting a series of smaller size squares engraved in relief. These squares are filled by a tiny diamond motif. These squares are executed on the entire facing of the cornice moulding.

It may be advocated here that the cornice moulding is surmounted with beams, whereas, the diagonally laid architraves have converted it into octagon. The facing of the beams are carved with palmette shaped buds, these are resting on a half triangular shaped stand. The space between the two buds and stand is wrought with lozenge motif in relief. It is further filled inside by a round shaped low knob.

4.4.8.5. Zone of Transition

It may be stated here that the above mentioned beams are crowned by the zone of transition, its total height from the floor level is 3.30m. This phase is yielding 16 smaller size pointed arched panels. These are enclosed by rectangular frames. The alternating pointed arched

panels are slightly concave, whereas, the remaining are flat in shape. These concaved arched niches are executed inside with engraved cusp arch motif. These are further filled inside with palmette buds. Whereas, the remaining arched niches are exhibiting the same motif but filled with stylised leaves. These niches are measuring 62x38cm. The zone of transition is surmounted by means of springing level, its thickness is 5cm. The springing level is 3.30m high from the floor level.

4.4.8.6.Domical ceiling

It may be added here that above the circular springing level, the domical ceiling has been constructed through corbelling technique. Whereas, the apex of the ceiling is added with a low stalagmite. It has been provided with geometrical motif, showing mostly star shaped patterns. The stalagmite is comparatively smaller in size, however, carved in high relief. The total height of the domical ceiling is 4.70m.

4.4.8.7.Chajja

The pent is square in plan. It is slightly projected downwards, its width is 25cm and thickness is 7cm.

4.4.8.8.Parapet

The parapet is placed above the chajja (Pl. 8), its length is 34cm. This square shaped parapet is composed with arch merlons.

4.4.8.9.Dome

The total height of the dome is 2.36 and diameter is 10.27m. The outer facing of the dome is covered with a thick coat of lime plaster, its thickness is varying from 4cm to 7cm. The finial is richly ornamented. It has been executed in typical āmalaka shape, its length is 40cm (Pl. 8).

4.4.9. Interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba Tarkhan

4.4.9.1.Location

This tomb complex is located to the east of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

4.4.9.2.Historical background

It is important to make a mention here that Henry Cousens has wrongly identified the Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba with the ladies enclosure of Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Cousens, 1929: 118-119, figs LXVII, LXVIII, LXIX). It is important to add here that it is generally believed that this funerary structure was constructed by his son Isa Khan Tarkhan II in 1017 A.H/A.D 1608 (Qani, 1994: 249; Dani, 1982: 134; Hastenrath, 2003: 138). In this sequence, at another place in the Sindhi version of Makli Nama by Pir Husamuddin Rashdi is recording that when Isa Khan Tarkhan II was appointed as a governor over Thatta, in 1037-38 A.H/A.D1627-28 he constructed

this tomb complex of his father (Qani, 1994: 454; Dani, 1982: 34). In this connection, it may be further added here that Jan Baba Tarkhan was died in A.H 978/A.D 1570 (Siddiqi, 1972: 142; Shafi, 1974: 23; Javadi, 1992: 304). However, the stylistical approach adopted in the mode of its stone tracery work, which is undoubtedly denoting one of the finest examples of artistic work at Makli Hill. The pillared verandah is visibly showing that it was added at a later date. However, this complex on the bases of comparative analysis with Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1572, Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584 and Hansa Bai A.D 1586-92, is bearing close affinity with the artistic works of the above stated edifices. Thus, it appears, that the Jan Baba Tarkhan's Chaukhandi tomb is seemed to be constructed between A.D 1590-1610. Whereas, the pillared verandah was added at a later date, perhaps when Isa Khan Tarkhan II remained the governor of Thatta in 1037-38 A.H/A.D 1627-28.

4.4.9.3. Pillared verandah

This pillared verandah is lying to the south of this Chaukhandi tomb enclosure (Pl. 10a; Fig. 37). It is showing no relationship to the tomb enclosure. It has been exquisitely executed with stone carving in both low and in high relief. Moreover, the main entrance on this side is flanked on the either side, by the false balconies. It is apparently denoting that this pillared verandah was constructed at a later date because the pillared verandah has blocked the view of the southern side façade. Thus, in the light of above stated justifications, it can be claimed that it was constructed at a later stage.

The pillared verandah is located on 80cm raised platform. It is approached by means of two steps. These are located to its northwestern direction, measuring 1.22mx32cmx25cm. Whereas, the platform is measuring 7.86x6.09 m. The platform is paved with rectangular shaped dressed slabs. The pillars provided to this verandah are twelve in number. These pillars have been arranged in three rows. The base of these pillars is simple, measuring 35x31cm and its height is 38cm. Whereas, the square shaft height is 1.38m. The outer edge on four sides of the base and shaft is indicating engraved lines.

The shaft is topped by a square abacus. It is supporting the capital, which is 28cm aside and its length is 25cm. These capitals are exhibiting conventionalised acanthus leaves on its four sides. These have been arranged in three rows, which are carved in low relief. It is significant to elaborate here that the under discussion capitals are clearly denoting the use of Corinthian shaped capitals, first of its kind at Makli Hill.

These capitals are crowned by the four armed brackets, its height is 29cm and width is 26cm. The frontage of these brackets is crowned with terrace shaped pattern. These brackets are supporting the lintels, measuring 1.10mx26cmx20cm, showing engraved wavy lozenges, headed

by a trefoil shaped leaf motif, executed on its lower part. The lintels provided to the northern end of this pillared verandah, are slightly smaller in width as compare to the remaining lintels.

4.4.9.4. Main Entrance

The main entrance to the actual tomb chamber is provided on its southern direction. Its façade is enriched by means of engravings. Whereas, carving is wrought in both low and high relief. The doorway is rectangular in shape. It is framed by the jambs on either side. These jambs have been crowned by the lintels.

The entrance is measuring, 1.90x92cm. It is composed of double recessed pointed arches. These have been enclosed by means of rectangular frame. The spandrels of the double recessed arch, has similarity to the lower storey of Isa Khan tomb, whereas, the spandrels of these recessed arches are carved in low relief. These are showing similar floral interlacing as can be observed inside the recessed arch panels executed on the outer face of the lower storey of Isa Khan II tomb chamber. The above stated similarities between the two buildings may be assumed here, that these affinities were later on, adopted in more improved approach, which can be clearly noticed in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

The tympanum of the upper recessed arch is executed with three embossed sunflowers, which are arranged in a single row. The central one is comparatively larger in size. While, the tympanum of the lower recessed arch is carved with embossed sunflowers in double rows. The upper one has a large size sunflower flanked by smaller sunflowers on its either side. Whereas, the lower row is showing three embossed sunflowers of equal size. The remaining surface of the tympanum is executed by means of similar interlacing as can be observed on the spandrels.

The inner parts of the jambs and the lower part of the lintel added to the main entrance are carved with the same floral arabesque, as has been discussed in the case of above stated spandrels, however, comparatively thicker in composition.

The inner border of the recessed arch is representing floral scrolls, followed by the second border band, carved in high relief. It is denoting intersecting David stars. Each one is filled with a sunflower. Whereas, the remaining part is filled with a single embossed knob. The third border band is a narrow sunken border strip. It is showing carved sunflowers, pilling up one above the other.

This entrance is surmounted by a low projected chajja. It is underneath engraved with star shaped design.

This entrance is flanked on either side by means of stylised balconies. The height of the balcony from the ground level is 1.88m and measuring 56x53cm. The left side balcony is more intact as compare to the right side (Pl. 52f). It may be further attributed here that these balconies are mostly blocked by the pillared verandah located attached to it.

These balconies are supported by means of brackets. These have been stylistically carved in parrot shape. The beak, eye dot and wings may be clearly observed. The lower front is carved with horizontal grooves. The upper rear triangular part has fret work. It is showing geometrical ornamentation. The flat ceiling is supported by the above stated brackets. The centre part of the ceiling is representing a large size medallion of sunflower. It is carved in high relief. The slightly slanting chajja of the balcony is indicating tiny brackets in series, in between the two brackets a cross symbol has been engraved.

The right side balcony except the brackets is broken, however, it is showing similar approach of workmanship, as can be observed in the case of left side balcony. It is significant to advocate here that at Makli Hill, the idea of balcony can be observed for the first time during the Samma period. In this connection, the false balconies at Makli Hill, appeared for the first time on the jambs of the entrance to the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1392. Whereas, its more developed stance can be observed in the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508. However, during the Tarkhan period, the false balconies have been provided to the Jan Baba's tomb complex. These are exhibiting its continuation from the early traditions. However, later on, this gem of architecture has been exquisitely carved out in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

4.4.9.5.Exterior enclosure wall

The outer wall is resting on 86 cm raised foundation (Pl. 10a). Whereas, its height is 3.14m. While, the parapet length is 53cm. The frontage of the foundation is simple, however, its stylobate is veneered with a double row of tassels. The upper one is denoting a palmette bud shaped motif. Whereas, the lower one has been enriched with geometrical elements. It may be further elaborated here that the wall up to the parapet level is organised by means of recessed arched panels. This display of arch paneling can be observed on all the four sides in similar attitude. The size of the above stated arch panel is 1.55mx88cm. These panels are ornamented by means of embossed wavy lozenges. These have been headed by cusp shaped pattern. In some cases this cusp shaped motif is headed by arrow head like element. While, in few other cases the engraved cusped motif is filled with a floral design. It may be added here that this entire motif at the centre is filled with similar pattern, which has been engraved exquisitely. The above stated embossed motif is crowned by a sunflower, carved in high relief. Besides, above and bellow on the either side of the above mentioned embossed lozenge motif, sunflowers have also been

added. In some cases, these panels are depicting sunflower medallions. Whereas, in few cases lotus flower medallions, however, have been elegantly sculpted. It may be added here that in the category of sunflower medallions, both smaller and elongated flanged petals have been profusely carved in high relief.

It may be pointed out that all the spandrels of these panels are indicating similar mode of work. These are carved in low relief, mostly showing the floral arabesque, including the tulip like flower or the locally grown zangi flower can be observed with stems and leaves, some time slightly thinner or little bit thicker in composition. The border band of these recessed panels is similar to each other, exhibiting intersecting oval shaped lozenges, filled inside by dotted knobs. It may be worked out here that the under discussion design has been later on, executed in the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II in more delicate form. These may also be noticed on the inner part of the compound wall. Moreover, this motif can also be seen in the lower verandah of the tomb and the outer facing of the tomb chamber.

The space between the two panels is illustrating engraved wavy lozenges. Whereas, the empty space inside is filled by a palmette bud, which has been shown back to back, it is further headed by an arrow head like design. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that this particular design is aesthetically arranged in such a manner to create a kind of anthropomorphic pattern (Pl. 78d). It may be further suggested here that the upper and lower palmette buds are placed, in such a manner to show the nose like feature, while the one placed above is representing a head like gesture, whereas, on either side similar motif has been created showing eye shape engraved motif. The above stated arrangements are visibly denoting a kind of anthropomorphic feature (Pl. 78c). In few other cases same design is applied except the eye shape motif (Pl. 78b), while few instances are denoting a cross motif instead of eye design. Besides, these designs are also headed by arrow head like motif, arranged back to back. These panels are surmounted by means of geometrical border band, denoting wavy lozenges, engraved in relief.

4.4.9.6.Parapet

The length of the parapet is 53cm. It has two border bands, the upper and lower outer bands are identical, showing intersecting hexagonal lozenges, headed by the net motif, running horizontally all around. Whereas, the inner upper and lower border bands are representing a single band of lozenge motif. The centre part of the parapet is exquisitely carved with a double recessed arch motif. The inner one is crowned by a palmette bud, while the arch is filled inside by a sunflower element. The space between the two double arch panels is filled with chessboard pattern (Pl. 10b).

It is significant to elaborate here that this compound wall to the Jan Baba Tarkhan interconnected Chaukhandi tomb is denoting similarly to the fence wall of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, tomb chamber. Similarly, it can also be observed in the tomb chambers of Baqi Beg Tarkhan and Hansa Bai. However, its earliest specimen at Makli Hill, can be reported in the tomb enclosure of Amir Sultan A.D 1556. Thus, in the light of above mentioned examples, it appears, that after passing through the various developmental phases, finally it improved in the Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba.

4.4.9.7.Inner Façade of the Entrance

The inner façade is denoting the masterpiece of artistic work, which has glorified this entire portion. As discussed above the entrance is rectangular in shape and has been placed inside the pointed recessed arch (Pl. 10c). It has been enclosed by a rectangular frame. The inner face of the arch soffits, have been carved with a single row of sunflowers, wrought in high relief. The spandrels are showing the same interlacing as can be noticed in the spandrels of the outer façade. Moreover, the tympanum is divided into different panels. The upper panel is triangular in plan, possessing similar attitude of work, which can be seen in the spandrels, while the central panel is rectangular in shape showing Kalima Tayyeba in thulth style, carved in high relief. The lower border of the tympanum is crowned in low relief, representing David star and chain pattern (Pl. 10c).

The outer border of the rectangular frame of the entrance is indicating a multi faceted wavy lozenge motif, which is filled with floral tendrils, carved in low relief. The second border band attached to the above stated is denoting acanthus leaves, while the third band is representing a single row of lozenge pattern. This border band is topped by the same motif, which can be observed on the outer parapet. This motif above and below is fenced by the chain pattern. It is further crowned by a miniature tablet, which is filled inside by diamond shaped motif. It is crowned by a thin band of chain motif. The pent is carved with tassel design in relief.

This inner entrance on either side has been provided with richly carved balconies. These have been mostly damaged. However, on the basis of intact traces, it can be assumed that these balconies have glorified the inner façade of this entrance (Pl. 10c). It is 1.81m high from the ground level. The balcony on the right side is slightly intact as compare to the left one. It is measuring 90x55cm. This balcony has two parts, the lower portion has two pilasters, one each on the either side. Its base has two parts, the lower portion has been added with floral stalagmite, underneath showing a sunflower. Whereas, above the square base, it is depicting acanthus leaves. The shaft is multifaceted, it is marked by the engraved lines in columnar pattern. It is topped by a square capital, illustrating stalactite work, appearing for the first time at Makli Hill. This

honeycomb capital is further crowned by a ribbed shape copping stone. The space between the two pilasters is filled by a trefoil pattern, where inside tiny arches are created. These tiny arches or the stylised beehive pattern can be observed for the first time in the tomb of Khudabanda at Sultanya A.D 1307. In this connection, it may be proclaimed here that the dome was supported by the stalactites (Nath, 1984: 202). During the 14th century A.D, the inquestion architectural device was provided to the Jamia mosque at Isfahan, Later on, this mode of work was successfully derived to the Makli Hill. In this connection, it can be noticed for the first time in the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. However, besides its depiction in the other structural compositions, the at issue mode of work appeared for the first time on the capitals of the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill. In this connection, A.H. Dani is proclaiming that at Deccan such capitals were very elegantly executed. In this process, the under debate instance was derived at Makli Hill, through the phenomena of cultural interactions. These eventually caused for the introduction of such graceful element in the area of our study. The under discussion component has been very elegantly employed in the Chaukhandi tomb of Qazi Ahmad. Whereas, the honeycombed capitals provided to the tomb of Isa Khan II at Makli Hill, is representing worthwhile, instances. The above stated pilasters are topped by a series of stylised tiny brackets, its width is 55cm. These brackets are crowned by chain motif carved in low relief. However, these are mostly broken, only the traces are remaining. These brackets have supported the flat ceiling, which is mostly broken, however, its underneath intact part is showing geometrical interlacing. The inner frontage of this balcony is exhibiting the same motif as can be noticed on the parapet.

4.4.9.8.Inner Wall

The inner chamber is rectangular in shape, measuring 14.70x10.60m. It has been fenced with an enclosure wall. The height of the wall is 2.27m and its thickness is 70cm. It is indeed interesting to elaborate here that the inner side parapet of the eastern wall is fallen. Whereas, the parapet provided to the outer side is identical to the inner side.

The entire wall bellow the parapet is classified by different panels (Pls. 10c & 10d). These have similar recessed arch panels and decorative works, which can be observed in the case of outer facing. However, the spandrels of the inner wall have different ornamental designs. These spandrels are showing geometrical interlacing, depicting beaded motif, intersecting squares, intersecting octagons, chain motifs, swastika motif, chess board pattern, interlacing hexagons filled by tiny knobs, six sided stars and intersecting David stars filled by smaller size David stars. These have been internally finished in saw tooth pattern, six sided stars filled by sunflower, six sided stars filled by a flat knob, floral leaves and buds are carved in relief.

Furthermore, ten sided stars filled by a knob, similarly ten sided stars filled by cylindrical petals of sunflower have been exquisitely executed. Moreover, floral interlacing is depicting palmette buds it may be added here that the space between the two panels is enriched in the same manner as can be observed in the case of outer wall.

As for as, the above mentioned panels are concerned on the either side of the inner corners have been added with smaller size recessed arch panels.

4.4.9.9.Mehrab

The façade of the mehrab is measuring 4.40x3.15m. The mehrab is composed of recessed pointed arch (Pl. 32a) . Its height is 3.96m. The inner border of this recessed arch has been executed with palmette buds. This recessed arch has been enclosed with rectangular frame. The arch shaped niche of the mehrab is located inside this outer recessed arch, which is enclosed by rectangular frame, its height is 2.60m. This mehrab niche is octagonal in plan. It's inner width is 1.03m and depth is 73cm. It may be pointed out that the outer edge of the arch soffit has been veneered in spear head fringe pattern (Pls. 32b & 32c). It may be mentioned here that later on, similar attitude was adopted in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II. In this connection, the arched pylons of the pillared verandah have been wrought with the spear head fringe designs, showing more delicacy in the mode of finishing.

The outer first border is showing a single row of lozenge design. Whereas, the second band is depicting conventionalised leaves. The third strip is again in lozenge shape. Whereas, the fourth band is depicting intersecting octagons filled by the sunflower motif. Moreover, six sided stars are executed. These have been filled inside by sunflowers. Furthermore, the fifth strip is also wrought with lozenge pattern. The sixth border band is representing David stars, filled by the sunflower. It is important to add here that the fourth band is carved in high relief, whereas, the remaining border bands have been carved in low relief.

It is significant to elaborate here that the dado level of the projected outwards frame of the façade is denoting two tiny cusped arch niches filled by sunflower. Above a single band of lozenge motif has been carved. This border strip is followed by the rectangular shape recessed panel, showing six squares shape elements, these have been filled inside with sunflowers.

The above stated squares have been bordered by chain motif. This rectangular panel is crowned by a geometrical shaped tassel design. It is then entirely bordered by intersecting oval shaped lozenges. Whereas, the upper part of the dado level is denoting a squarish shape panel. It has been carved with David stars. These have been filled with sunflowers and intersecting beaded motif. The spandrels of the recessed arch have been carved with three tiered sunflowers. These three tiered sunflowers are slightly concave in pattern, whereas, the petals are wrought in

pointed order. Below the shoulder of the arch alcove a stalagmite shaped bracket can be observed to the right side, whereas, the left side has been completely vanished (Pl. 32b).

The tympanum is ornamented with different designs, such as, lozenges filled with knobbed motif and chain shaped design, whereas, sunflowers are executed as a border band. Furthermore, diamond patterns and floral arabesques showing tulip like flowers have been carved in high relief.

The mehrab niche is bordered with a wavy lozenge design. Moreover, these have been filled inside by sunflowers. The spandrels are carved in similar fashion as can be noticed in the case of recessed arch spandrels.

The mehrab niche has been flanked on either side by pilarettes (Pl. 32a). These have been placed 50cm above the floor level. Whereas, its length is 1.22 m. Their base is square in shape, while, the bottom of the base is showing tassel motif. The three sides of the square base of these pilarettes have been executed with six sided stars and intersecting hexagons. These are filled with a single small knob. This square base is crowned by a conical shaped abacus. The lower part of the octagonal shaft is showing acanthus leaves. The shaft is divided by the same conical shaped abacus, as can be observed above the base of these pilarettes. This upper abacus has separated the shaft into two parts, below this abacus, acanthus leaves have been carved. Both the lower and upper parts of the shaft are identical in style, denoting engraved vertical lines. Inside these vertical lines, a single lozenge band has been carved. The same conical abacus has been provided below the octagonal shaped capital, its each part is executed with stalactite work. This octagonal capital is surmounted by a coping stone (Pl. 49a).

The mehrab niche is resting on a low platform. It has been richly ornamented with cusp arch shape niches. These have been filled with sunflowers. Above these tiny cusped niches, five trefoil shape recessed panels have been created. These are filled inside by a wavy lozenge. Its inner part has been wrought with floral arabesque. While, bottom side is flanked on either side by the sunflower, yielding conical petals. The above stated lozenge motif is surmounted by a multi tiered sunflower. It may be added here that the spandrels of these trefoil niches are carved by a sunflower having flanged petals (Pl. 32b).

These trefoil shaped panels are crowned by a tassel band. It is followed by the intersecting octagons, this designs is topped by pointed arch niches, filled with sunflowers.

The alcove ceiling of the mehrab has been executed with arched niches, carved in three rows. These are filled with floral interlacing. The soffits of the mehrab niche has been carved with intersecting octagons and interconnected chains.

4.4.9.10. **Interconnected Chaukhandis**

Inside the enclosure wall a 35 cm raised platform has been constructed, measuring 10.28x3.82m. Above this rectangular shaped platform three square shaped Chaukhandis have been erected (Pl. 10e; Fig. 37). The central one is slightly larger in size. It is externally measuring 3.79x3.42m and internally 2.05x2.72m. Whereas, the flanking canopies are identical, measuring externally 3.37m a side, whereas, internally measuring 2.67m a side.

Each canopy is composed of eight pillars. These pillars including their four armed brackets and lintels are identical in plan. It may be further suggested here that these pillars of the canopies are similar to the outer pillared verandah. These pillars have square base, measuring 34x34cm. Whereas, its height is 36cm. The square shaft is measuring, 30x30cm, and height is 1.33m. The shaft is surmounted by a square shaped capital, measuring 31x31cm, whereas, its length is 28cm. Moreover, these capitals are crowned by the four armed brackets (Pl. 10e), their length is 31cm. These brackets are supporting the lintels, their width is 32cm. It may be further recorded here that the pent is resting on these brackets. This low pent is slightly projected downwards. The height of these Chaukhandis up to this pent level is 2.60m.

4.4.9.11. **Parapet**

It may be pointed out that its length is 34cm, whereas, its total height from the floor level is 3m. These Chaukhandis have been provided with a square shaped battlemented parapet. This parapet is showing arch shaped merlons and a crenel between the two merlons (Pl. 10e).

4.4.9.12. **Zone of Transition**

It is utmost significant to point out here that above the lintels at the four corners, diagonally laid architraves are placed. This kind of arrangement has converted the square into octagon. This octagonal part is crowned by the zone of transition. It is composed of sixteen trefoil recessed arch niches. These have been enclosed by rectangular frames. These trefoil niches are filled inside with sunflowers (Pl. 17a). The zone of transition is crowned by the circular shaped springing level, which is supporting the domical structure. It is important to add here that these true domical ceilings are veneered through corbelling method. The apex of the central Chaukhandi domical ceiling has been wrought with low pendant, it has been carved with sunflower (Pl. 17a).

4.4.9.13. **Dome**

It is significant to elaborate here that these Chaukhandis have been surmounted with three domes. The central dome is showing comparatively larger as compared to the flanking domes (Pl. 10e). The height of the central dome is 1.54m. The side domes are fallen, however, the one close to the mehrab or on the right flank of the central dome, particularly its western side is yielding enough evidences to record its height, which would be 1.40m. These domes were once

covered with a thick coat of lime plaster. The intact patches are indicating its thickness that is from four to six centimeters.

Chapter-V

5. The Architectural Decoration at Makli Hill

5.1. Aims of the present research work

It is a sterling fact to emphasize here that many attempts have been made to write research papers on the history of art. However, concerning to the aesthetic art of the Makli Hill in particular, few works have been carried out to determine the importance of the architectural decoration. It is indeed important to suggest here that the issue of surface ornamentation is one of the other pertinent disciplines of research work, as compare to the different edifices and their significant components. It is noteworthy to proceed further that the present work shall be evaluating the previous research conducted by the different scholars. This shall be a kind of source route for the present researcher in order to know about the exact routes of its origin.

It is indeed utmost vital to elaborate here that at Makli Hill, the different buildings starting from the Samma rule until the Tarkhans domain are exquisitely wrought with different mode of methods and various forms of decoration. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that before proceeding further to discuss the different ornamental designs at Makli Hill, it is important to evaluate the previous works regarding the under discussion subject, which shall provide us the initial data regarding the theme of embellishment. However, there are certain issues, which are either restricted to a specific issue or in some cases its one part is given importance, while the other is ignored. Moreover, many designs and techniques, which shall be mentioned in the relevant topics are either incorrectly mentioned or in few cases only surface informations have been recorded. Such issues shall be the focal point of this work. It is utmost important to argue further, that in view of the available sources, regarding the decorative works, may be discussed in order to compare it with the present work aiming to formulate a certain criteria to reach the proper conclusion.

It is significant to elaborate here that Henry Cousens was the first scholar, who in 1929, has discussed the artistic work at Makli Hill. However, he focused on the stone carvings and glazed tiles.

In this regard, Muhammad Abdul Ghafur has conducted a useful research work in 1965 entitled. “Figural Representation on Muslim Tombs at Thatta” and in 1968, “Calligraphers of Thatta”. Like M.A. Ghafur, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan (1975 and 1996), A.H. Dani (1982), Ali Ahmad Brohi (1983) and Hastenrath (2003) have discussed the figural representations at the

Makli Hill necropolis. However, the above mentioned scholars have discussed the figural representation in the Chaukhandi tomb of Badi-uz-Zaman. Whereas, they are unable to record the inquestion theme of decoration in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan I tomb enclosure.

In this process, it may claimed here that the present researcher during the course of data collection at the site, has been able to record the earliest depiction of the at issue figures. M.A Ghafur is the first and perhaps the last person, who talked about the calligraphers and its stylistical approach adopted at the Makli Hill necropolis. Though the attempt is scanty, yet an effort has been made, which can be used as a road map in order to know about the variation in the stylistical approach.

Sheikh Khushid Hasan contributed extensive research work on the Makli Hill monuments, particularly the artistic work in the area of our concern, he published several articles in (1975, 1981, 1984, 1992 and 1994). He generally focused on the historical perspective of the ornamental elements executed at Makli Hill, however, he seems to be restricted in his works. In this connection, he discussed only four decorative techniques, such as, stone carvings, engravings, while he discussed the brickwork in comprehensive details, whereas, regarding the enamelled tiles little details are mentioned. Moreover, the different decorative works such as, the brick imitation work, stucco stalactite work and fretwork are absolutely ignored. In this regard, the present researcher during the course of studying the surface decoration at Makli Hill has been able to bring forth various designs, however, in the present work the selected designs shall be discussed.

The work of Sayyed Mehdihasan is of significant importance. In this process, he published an article in 1986 regarding the cross symbol, whereas, in 1988, he published two articles, the first one is concerning to the origin of Swastika design, while the second is confined to the symbol of a life tree on a tomb at Thatta. It appears, that his research is restricted only to three designs. In this process, his attempt in terms of the embellishment work may be considered as a source route. However, he mostly focused on the philosophical values of the above mentioned designs rather than the stylistical improvements and the proper genesis of these designs. However, there are different important issues, which are absolutely lacking in his works. Regarding the artistic activities at Makli Hill necropolis Kaleemullah Lashari is the other important researcher, who carried out a vital job in 1993, focusing on the decorative motifs and their origin, whereas, in 1995, he published another research paper, related to the “structural development of stone carved graves”. In these attempts his work seems to be confined to the floral and geometrical designs. Moreover, the only decorative technique, which he discussed, is

the stone carving. However, in 1978 and in 1992, Ahmad Nabi Khan and again in 1996 Kaleemullah Lashari discussed the significance of enamelled tiles of Thatta. In this regard, Kaleemullah Lashari has carried out a detailed research work, concerning with the origin of the Sukkur and Thatta enamelled ceramics, however, focus has been made regarding the colour scheme of these enamelled ceramics. In this sequence, the present researcher is proclaiming that besides, the enamelled ceramic tile, terracotta glazed tiles have also been used. In this process, Satcharni and the tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan are the pertinent examples.

Besides, the above stated decorative works regarding the Makli Hill monuments, the aims and objectives would be to classify the theme of embellishment, which is generally discussed in restricted manner shall be brought to the forefront, this would be by the prior objectives of the present researcher.

In 1996, Sohail Lari and Yasmeen Lari have contributed a monumental work, however, the work is confined to the Samma period. In 2003, Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath has done a tremendous work in order to accomplish the task with proper scientific approach, however, like other scholars she is also confined to the very few designs. Moreover, except stone carving, rests of the decorative techniques are absolutely ignored. It is equally important to make a mention here that the monuments of the Tarkhan domain along with the surface decoration are not being discussed according to the research portfolio, therefore, the present researcher has selected this topic aiming to study the selected monuments in order to know the proper genesis of the stylistical approach and the different routes of impacts and the theme through which the aesthetic grace is being garnished.

5.2. Analysis of the Decorative works at Makli Hill

The ornamental designs, executed in the different funerary structures at Makli Hill are wrought in various techniques. These decorative works may be classified as under:

1. Stone carving
 - I. In low relief
 - II. In high relief
 - III. Engravings
2. Fret Work
3. Brick imitation work or Taza Kari
4. Glazed tiles or Kashi Kari
 - I. Enamelled ceramic tiles
 - II. Terracotta glazed tiles
5. Stucco-Lustro or painted varnishing work

6. Stucco Stalactite or Ghalib Kari

5.2.1. Stone Carving

The stone carving work executed at Makli Hill, may be classified into three groups.

- I. Carving in low relief
- II. In high relief
- III. and engraving

The storey of stone carving started at Makli Hill with the first building constructed in A.D 1389-92. In this process, the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali is showing richly decorated carvings. These have been executed in the above mentioned techniques. It is pertinent to elaborate here that Henry Cousens, M. A. Ghafur, Ahmad Hasan Dani, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath and Kaleemullah Lashari have termed that the Makli Hill carving is the continuation of the local values, which have been uniformed with the culmination of different interactions. These cultural interactions were mainly caused by the Central Asians and Persians during the Seljuqs, Timurids and Safavids domain. These impacts during the subsequent centuries were assimilated with the Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Kathiawar and Sindhian styles, thus as a result a uniform tradition of art was established (Lashari, 1993: 292-298).

In this regard, the different tools, like hammers of various sizes, pointed punches, rubbing tools, chisels of small and large sizes, moreover, stencil has been used for drawing the desire shape designs on the selected stone surface and then with the help of above stated tools the drawn traces were carved out with utmost precision and accuracy, aiming to keep the balance in the carvings and engravings (Ghafur, 1968: 35). These carvings executed at Makli Hill are called lace work in stone. These are profusely wrought in a way so that it appears, perhaps the painters brush has been replaced with the chisels of the sculptures (Hasan, S.K., 1988: 240). Whereas, Henry Cousens, considers the stone art at Makli Hill, as the stone tracery work (Cousens, 1929: 111). The different designs carved like the honeycombed capitals, endless knotted designs, spoke wheel motif, swastika, David Star, palmettes, rosettes, lotus and sunflower, palm and acanthus leaves etc. are showing the continuation of the past glory. In this regard, Dani is of the view that the local carvers continued the pre-Muslim traditions (Dani, 1982: 28). Whereas, Ali Ahmad Brohi is advocating that the favourable circumstances of Sindh valley attracted the artisans from the neighbouring regions, as well from Central Asian and Persian territories. This may be visibly observed in the grave of Nurud Din Tabraizi, constructed in A.D 1542. It is showing that the traditions have been borrowed from Tabraiz (Ghafur, 1968: 27; Brohi, 1983: 52-57). However,

these traditions were mixed with the local values, which not only improved the theme of decoration on one hand but the techniques of ornamentation on the other.

The technique of stone carving is deeply rooted in the subcontinent. In this regard, many examples may be observed at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Mathurā, Amarāvātī and in the Gandhāra art. The Buddhist traditions of stone carvings were successfully continued by the Shahis in different temples at the Salt Range such as, Kafir Kot, Nandna and at other important places, dated to the 9th, 10th and 11th century A.D (Meister, 1996: 41-43; Masih, 2000: 34-35).

It is utmost pertinent that the Buddhist stūpas of Sindh valley constructed from the third century A.D until the middle of the 7th century A.D were beautifully adorned with numerous decorative designs in the above stated ornamental techniques, particularly at Mirpur Khas, Thul Mir Rukan and Sudheran-jo-Dhado (Cousens, 1929: 82-101).

These early traditions were further improved during the Solanki period, particularly in the 11th and 12th century A.D. In this regard, the various designs sculpted at Modherā and Sejakpur temples were later on, disseminated to other regions. In this sequence, similar approach of stone carving was also adopted in the area of our study. Thus, the different decorative designs at Makli Hill are seemed to have been derived from the neighbouring Hindu temples (Cousens, 1931: 37-58; Rowland, 1953: 178; Harle, 1986: 223). Similarly the Kathiawar monuments like the Somanātha Pātān temples, Ravali Mosque, Mongrol Mosque (Pl. 10i) dated to the 13th and 14th century A.D are showing similarity in designs, as well in the mode of workmanship (Cousens, 1931: 11-18). Moreover, these traditions can also be noticed in the Jaina temples at Nagarparkar such as, in the Gorī temple (Khan, F.A., 1969: 149; Nadiem, 2001: 243) similarly plan can also be observed in the Jaina temple No. II at Bodhesar in Nagarparkar (Fig. 27) (Nadiem, 2001: 236).

Thus, in the light of above stated discussions, it appears, that the local values with the culmination of the foreign trends, setup a new form of artistic style of stone carvings at Makli Hill. In this regard, it is equally important to advocate here that such activities reached its perfection during the Tarkhan period. In this regard, the tombs of Jan Baba and Isa Khan Tarkhan II, may be considered as a land mark in the under discussion discipline of art.

5.2.2. Fretwork

The fretwork is executed in perforated formation. It is generally added to the windows, ventilators or balconies for the sake of light and freshness. The cool breezes are entering through these perforated screens or jails creating pleasing atmosphere in the rooms or chambers. These perforated screens are carved through fretwork technique. These are also called as latticework or jalis or jaffari work. It is significant to elaborate here that the first ever example of false

latticework can be seen in the façade of Lomas Rishi cave dated to the 3rd century BC, in the Barabar Hill region (Gupta, 1980: 213, fig. 14; Harle, 1986: 25, fig.9). Besides, the false fretwork can also be observed in the façade of Bhājā Caitya hall dated to the 2nd or the 1st century B.C (Rowland, 1953: pl. 28; Harle, 1986: 49-53, figs. 31 & 35). In the Gandhāra valley, the Buddhist sculptures from 1st century A.D until 4th century A.D are also possessing the false fretwork, particularly the different scenes from Buddha life are showing railings provided to the ornamental balconies. In this process, few specimen of the at issue work can be seen in the Peshawar Museum of Pakistan, such as, Acc. No. P.M_02771, P.M_02758 and P.M_02759 (Qazi, M.N *et al.*, 2008: 108-109, 150).

The 8th, 9th and 10th century A.D Kafir Kot temples in Dera Ismail Khan are also yielding false fretwork (Meister, 1996: 46, fig 9; Masih, 2000: pl. VI).

The Lal Marha Sharif tombs of 11th and 12th century A.D, are provided with false fretwork. It is denoting the beginning of this mode of work in the Islamic buildings. In this regard, tomb no. III & IV are clearly depicting the at issue work (Ali, T., 1988: 122-137, pls. 4-19).

After passing through the different developmental stages finally this mode of work was initiated at Makli Hill. In this connection, the first ever instance has been observed by the present researcher during his survey and documentation of the Makli Hill monuments conducted in 2002 and again in 2008 has recorded the in question work in the Madrasah of Isa Langoti A.D 1412-28. Later on, this mode of work was successfully adopted in the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo AD 1508-9 and Qus-as-Sultani A.D 1513, moreover, in the mosque enclosure of Darya Khan A.D 1513 are representing the fretwork decoration, either added to the balconies or windows carved exquisitely in stone, denoting geometrical patterns.

The Tarkhans also continued this mode of work, however, made innovation in its mode of finishing. Besides, the Jangshahi yellow marble, white marble was also used by them for the first time to carve out perforated work. During this phase of time, one can visibly note improvement in the mode of carving. Furthermore, variations in the theme of decoration can also be observed. Such as, intersecting circles, octagons, hexagons, David stars, Swastika motif, gul-e-nau or star chain motif are some of the worthwhile, designs. These designs are aesthetically wrought in different perforated panels added to the ventilators, windows, arch screens and balconies.

In this connection, the first ever fretwork examples during Tarkhan period may be noticed in the tomb enclosure of Amir Sultan Muhammad 963 A.H/A.D 1556. Later on, in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-1565, Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1572, Baqi Beg

Tarkhan A.D 1584 and in the tomb enclosure of Hansa Bai A.D 1586-92. This later example is mistakenly recorded by A.H. Dani and Ihsan ul Haq Nadeim such as Ahinsa Bhai or Habshad Bhai (Dani, 1982: 122; Nadiem, 1998: 89). However, Muhammad Amin has published the inscription reported from this tomb enclosure. It is indicating the name of the deceased Hansa Bai (Amin, 1987-88: 270). The tombs of Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1600, Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba A.D 1590-1610 in the mausoleum of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1638 and in the grave platform with mosque enclosure of Baqi Beg Uzbek A.D 1647 are the illustrious examples of fretwork.

The other worthwhile issue concerning to the lattice work is the mutakka vedikā or post railing, can be observed in the different Buddhist panels from Gandhāra valley, among these many have been displayed in the Peshawar Museum, such as, Acc. No. PM_02758, PM_02759, PM_02771 (Qazi & Jan, 2008: 108-109, 150).

The post railings at Makli Hill can be observed for the first time, in the magnificent mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-44. The upper story pillared verandah is added with the mutakka vedikā.

5.2.3. **Technique of Brick Imitation Work**

It is significant to elaborate here that the brick imitation work is also called “taza kari”, defining a fresh work. In this connection, it is equally pertinent to advocate here that to protect the surface of naked masonry from the climatic effects, generally stucco plaster was executed to preserve the structural composition. In this regard, besides, the other ornamental methods, brick imitation work was also adopted to protect the masonrical composition. It is equally important to elaborate here that on the plastered surface a thin layer of fine plaster is applied, which is being produced from the ingredients of different admixtures, such as, lime and gypsum powders, eggs some time rice flour and different other materials as per requirement were amalgamated to prepare this kind of plaster. When the under discussion plaster was being produced, later on, it was applied over the surface. It is indeed important to mention further, before drying the thin layer of fine quality plaster, a specified thin coat of brick red colour called “Shingrafi” is applied. After drying the above stated plastered surface later on, uniform units of lines were drawn, both horizontally and vertically to create the impression of a brick or to produce its imitation. The out lines are drawn in creamish colour to create the exact effect of a tile or brick.

The term Taza Kari is a Persian word means a fresh work. This kind of work appeared in Persia during the Timurid period. In this regard, Masjid-e-Isfahan is representing good examples, particularly its cloisters at few places are representing this mode of work. In the Indo-Pak subcontinent the Central Asian Turks such as, the Tarkhans were responsible to introduce this

mode of work at Thatta and Makli Hill monuments, during the 16th and 17th century A.D. Whereas, the Chughtai Turks initiated it at Dehli and Lahore.

The earliest example of this work is reported from the Dabgir Mosque at Thatta. However, at Makli Hill the under debate work can be noticed in three important funerary structures. In this regard, the earliest specimen at the Makli necropolis may be reported in the tomb of Jani Beg Tarkhan dated A.D 1590-1600 especially the domical ceiling, squinches, inner side arch alcoves similarly, the outer archways are also denoting the brick imitation work. The other important specimen at the Makli necropolis may be recorded in the tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1638. Whereas, similar attitude of work can also be observed in the tomb enclosure of Baqi Beg Uzbek A.D 1647 particularly in the interior of its mosque chamber.

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that brick imitation can also be recorded in the tombs of Jani Beg Tarkhan, Diwan Shurafa Khan and in the Rank of Baqi Beg Uzbek. The application of this mode of work is clearly indicating that such work is not only providing stability to the masonrical composition but also creating grace in the buildings.

5.2.4. Glazed Tiles Work

It is indeed pertinent to elaborate here that during the Samma domain A.D 1337 until A.D 1520 the Deccan, Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Kathiawar traditions enriched the local values of the Thatta region. It is utmost significant to advocate here that the Central Asian ruling dynasty, Arghuns in A.D 1520 and later on, the Tarkhans in A.D 1555 formed their rule over Thatta. During the Arghuns and Tarkhans sway the area witnessed new trends, which they brought with themselves from Central Asia and Persian territories. Thus, with the passage of time the Timurids and Safavids artistic styles have influenced the Makli Hill school of art and architecture. In this process, besides, the above stated artistic techniques developed here, the glazed tiles work was which started with the arrival of the Central Asian and Persian trends. In this regard, Kaleemullah Lashari in his works proclaims, that the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan is the first ever example in the entire Makli Hill as well in the Sindh valley, where the enamelled tiles were introduced (Lashari, 1996: 40). However, the present researcher during the course of surveying the Makli Hill monuments has been able to discover the earliest funeral structure possessing the enamelled tiles. In this regard, the tomb enclosure of Shehar Bano A.H 950/A.D 1540-41 located to the southwest of Mirza Sulaiman Beg Tarkhan. It is yielding the enamelled ceramic tiles decoration, which is still surviving at the dado level of the mehrab. The tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan at Makli Hill can be termed as the developed stage of the Shehar Bano tomb enclosure in terms of the variation in the decoration and in the mode of workmanship.

It is indeed sterling to proclaim here that the tiles work executed at Makli Hill can be divided into two categories such as,

- I. Terracotta glazed tiles
- II. Enamelled ceramic tiles

In the first category the earliest record may be observed in the most unique building at Makli Hill, that is known as Satcharni. Whereas, in the second category the Rank of Sheher Bano is the first instance. Where we can observe the enamelled ceramic tiles.

It may be mentioned here that Henry Cousens has discussed the glazed tiles revetment at Makli Hill, however, he wrongly identified the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan with Nawab Amir Khan Khalil constructed between A.D 1572-84 (Cousens, 1929: 117). However, the gravestone inside the tomb chamber is possessing the name of the deceased Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. Furthermore, A.H. Dani in his works discussed the tiles work on the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan and dated it A.H 963/A.D 1558 (Dani, 1982: 170). The other important buildings yielding the enamelled ceramic tiles, such as, the alcove arches provided to the tomb enclosures of Dost Muhammad southeast of Satcharni and Saij bin Saij lying to the south of Mirza Saleh Beg Tarkhan are fashioned in identical pattern. Moreover, the mausoleum of Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1590-1600 is the best example of the inquestion work. In this regard, we can observe variation in the choice of designs and colouring scheme. The mosque enclosure of Amir Khani graveyard A.D 1627 the tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1638 and Baqi Beg Uzbek A.D 1647, are the other pertinent precedents exhibiting the enamelled ceramic tiles at Makli Hill.

Whereas, the most remarkable ornamental features executed in this technique are the floral arabesques. It is significant to elaborate here that varieties of floral interlacing and scrolls have been executed in the spandrels of the arch alcoves, dado levels, drum etc. Besides, a variety of geometrical motifs can also be seen. Above all the marvelous blue lettering of thulth style on the white background is denoting the typical Heart style of calligraphic traditions. The significant colours, which may be clearly noticed such as, white and blue. The blue colour is varying from dark purplish to a light greenish blue (Quddus, 1992: 235-236). Whereas, Lashari suggested the red colour polished bricks, contrasting with deep blue and the turquoise colours (Lashari, 1996: 39) in typical Persian manners (Cousens, 1982: 82; Brown, 1941: 124). While, white colour is used in the background, which has increased the grace of the entire work. It is indeed important to make a mention here that Henry Cousens has described the use of colours applied in the enamelled tiles at Makli Hill are denoting two blue colours in similar attitude as mentioned above, moreover, in addition to the creamish and white colours, later on, the artists used various

shades of green, brown and yellow tones. Besides, the red colour can also be observed, however, with poor shade (Cousens, 1982: 82). In the light of above discussion one can clearly observe that with the support of Central Asian and Persian trends, along with the Punjab tiles traditions altogether, enriched the Makli Hill enamelled ceramic tiles values.

5.2.5. **Stucco-Lustro Technique**

In this method painting is illustrated on the stucco surface, which is locally called as, Tapt-Gujkari (Nath, 1986: 155). It is slightly different in technique as compared to the encaustic paintings. It is a kind of thick coat of painted polish with flat and lustrous surface.

The stucco-lustro painting is generally executed with the help of hot iron tools. Moreover, wax paste or lac is used as a base for such paintings. In the stucco-lustro technique, the above stated ingredients are applied with a cold wax paste, which is inusted with a heated spatula. The colours provided in this technique are very durable. Moreover, representing brightness and liveliness in presentation. The paintings wrought in this method are longer lasting and do not change its colour. It is significant to elaborate further that in the under discussion technique a kind of red varnishing is painted in order to create grace in the structural composition.

It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that painting in the above stated method is illustrated in the Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan tomb at Makli Hill, which is the first and single instance of the stucco-lustro work in the area of our study as well in the entire Pakistan.

5.2.6. **Stucco Stalactite Work**

The word stalactite is derived from a Greek term stalactos, meaning dripping stone (Nath, 1986: 115). It is a kind of honey combing, generally resembling the bee hive pattern or conceived from the formation of calcium carbonate hanging from the roof of a cavern or the deposit of lime, which are hanging from the roof of a cavern are called stalactites and those rising from its floor are termed as stalagmites. In other words, it is being produced through the multiplication of tiny arches in the pendentive shape, therefore, also termed as stalactite pendentives. The stalactites are also applied to the squinches in order to support the zone of transition. It is a typically Islamic style of supporting and ornamental unit used in the architecture is called muqaranas by the Arabs (Nath, 1986: 115; Qazi, 1995: 115). It is significant to elaborate here that the stucco stalactite has been developed from the stone stalactite method. However, when it is done in stucco then called as “ghalib kari” or “qalib kari” (Qazi, 1995: 119). The ghalib kari work was developed in Persia. It was used frequently during the Seljuq domain. Later on, the Ilkhanids have provided this mode of work to the domical ceilings and arch alcoves (Donal, 1955: 72; Qazi, 1995: 119). It is equally pertinent to elaborate here that this mode of

technique as a source of decorative work was adopted in the subcontinent through the Persian and Central Asian traditions. In this connection, it is important to advocate here that it was provided for the first time in the Qutb Minar at Dehli, as a supportive feature to its balconies. (Brown, 1941: 12; Nath, 1982: pl. XXV; Ali, T., 1993: 2; Sahai, 2004: 18). Whereas, the stone stalactite work can be observed in the squinches of Ultutmish (Iltutmish) tomb A.D 1236 (Nath, 1982: pl. XXX).

It is indeed significant to elaborate here that the stucco stalactite work may be noticed for the first time in the tomb of Muhammad Bin Harun dated 11th century A.D. Later on, this mode of work became an important fashion in both adorning and supporting the buildings. In this regard at Makli Hill the first ever specimen of this mode of work can be noticed in the old mosque of Makli, dated to the 14th century A.D. (Lari, 1997: 56, fig. 37). Furthermore, the tomb of Qus-as-Sultani A.D 1513 at Makli Hill is also yielding the stucco stalactite work. It is utmost significant to elaborate here that the present researcher during the course of documentation at Makli Hill has recorded the first evidence of the under debate mode of work during the Tarkhan domain in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65. Whereas, its good examples can also be observed in the unknown tomb to the south east of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan particularly in its eastern Ivan. In this example, the domical ceilings are profusely adorned with the in question technique. The arch alcoves in the Satcharni are exquisitely enriched with stucco stalactite work. It is showing one of the finest instances in the entire Makli Hill cluster. It may be further reported here that the domical ceiling in the mausoleum of Ghazi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1610-20 is veneered with the in question mode of work. The arch alcoves of the mosque enclosure to the Amir Khani graveyard A.D 1627 is the other notable structure, which has been provided with stucco stalactite work.

5.3. Theme of decoration

It is indeed pertinent to elaborate here that the monuments at Makli Hill are profusely embellished with numerous decorative techniques. These ornamental works are possessing various theme of adornment. In the present work the architectural decoration executed during the Tarkhan and later Tarkhan era may be focused. In this regard, the theme of ornamentation wrought in the monuments of our study can be classified into four categories such as:

- I. Floral designs
- II. Geometrical pattern
- III. Figural representation
- IV. Calligraphic styles

The above stated four major groups of decoration may be further divided into different sub categories:

I. Floral designs

- A. Lotus flowers
- B. Sunflowers
- C. Rosettes
- D. Palmettes
- E. Acanthus leaves
- F. Floral scrolls
- G. Floral arabesque
- H. Floral vases
- I. Cypress tree

II. Geometrical patterns

- A. David stars
- B. Cross symbols
- C. Swastika
- D. Chain designs
- E. Star chain motif or bead & reel pattern (Gull-e-Nau)
- F. Lozenges
- G. Chessboard patterns
- H. Diamond designs
- I. Chevron motif
- J. Intersecting pattern
 - i. Intersecting circles
 - ii. Intersecting hexagons
 - iii. Intersecting octagons
 - iv. Intersecting squares
- K. Tassel pattern
- L. Endless knotted motif
- M. Spoke wheel designs
- N. Rope pattern or cordon bands
- O. Cornucopia shape motif

III. Figural representation

- A. Peacock with snake

- B. Ducks
- C. Parrots
- D. Anthropomorphic gestures

IV. Calligraphic styles

- A. Naskh
 - i. Small Naskhi
 - ii. Bold Naskhi
- B. Nastalique
- C. Thulth
- D. Khat-e-Gulzar

It is significant to elaborate here that besides, the above listed classification of the four main categories and their sub grouping may be observed in the monuments of Tarkhan and later Tarkhan domain at Makli Hill. In this connection, it is utmost significant to work out the proper analytical analysis to reach the conclusion in terms of their origin and development. It is indeed difficult to discuss all the above listed sub-categories of the decorative elements at Makli Hill, therefore, the present researcher shall be focusing to study the selected decorative motifs executed in the buildings at Makli Hill, during the Tarkhan and later Tarkhan era.

In the media of surface adornment a vast variety of designs can be observed at Makli Hill. In this process, very little attempt has been made to discuss the architectural decoration. In this regard, it is vital to state here that likewise, the Samma dynasty the Tarkhan during their domain have enriched their buildings with numerous theme of embellishment, such as, the graves of Amir Hajika Mughal, Mirza Zahid Beg Tarkhan, Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan, Mirza Sulaiman Beg Tarkhan, whereas, the Ran□k of Isa Khan I, Baqi Beg Tarkhan, Hansa Bai besides, the unknown Chaukhandi to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I Ran□k, Badi-uz-Zaman Chaukhandi, the interconnected Chaukhandi of Jan Baba, Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi and in the unknown Chaukhandi to the north of Jani Beg Tarkhan, moreover, the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II are visibly representing a variety of ornamental designs, executed in different decorative techniques. In this chapter an attempt shall be made to emphasis on the selected ornamental elements. In this connection, it may be further elaborated here that at Makli Hill a variety of decorative motifs have been wrought. In this sequence, different stylistical approach has been adopted by the artisans to accomplish the surface embellishment.

It is worthwhile, to advocate further that Henry Cousens (1929), M.A. Ghafur (1968), Ali Ahmad Brohi (1983), Shiekh Khurshid Hasan (1984, 1981, 1976), Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath (2003) and Kaleem Lashari (1993-1995), have tried their level best to carryout their research

work. However, one way or the other, their work seems to be limited in terms of decorative designs. In this process, it may be pointed out that the surface adornment at Makli Hill needs a serious debate to reach the proper length of conclusion, in order to know the exact classification of the different designs. It is indeed sterling, to argue here that Henry Cousens was the first to write a chapter of his book on the art and architecture of Makli Hill has claimed it stone tracery work (Cousens, 1929: 111), whereas, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan calls it lace work (Hasan, S.K., 1988: 240) The ornamental scheme of Makli Hill seems to have been derived from the style of decoration wrought at Deccan, Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Kathiawar alongside the Sindhian mode of work, it eventually styled into the Makli Hill theme of embellishment. In this regard, the decorative elements executed in the salt range temples, such as, Kafir Kot, Nandna, Amb (Meister, 1996: 41-43; Masih, 2000: 34-35), furthermore, the temples at Kalar and Katas are clearly depicting various theme of ornamentation. Among these designs, chain motif, lotus flowers, sunflowers, acanthus leaf, floral scrolls, bead & reel motif, chessboard pattern, diamond design, chevron element, David stars, Swastika motif, lozenges, different types of medallions and various intersecting designs can be observed. These patterns were either carved in low or in high relief or some time these have been engraved. These have graced the above stated buildings. These surface ornamentations eventually continued during the Islamic period may be clearly noticed in the tomb of Sadan Shaheed A.D 1175-87 (Ali, T., 1997: 63), Khalid Waleed tomb A.D 1175-87 (Ali, T., 1991a: 39-40). In these early tombs we can visibly record the surface treatment in the similar fashion as can be seen in the monuments at Makli Hill. Likewise, the architectural decoration can also be observed in the Mayi Dohagan and Sohagan tombs at Alore in the Sindh valley dated to the 12th or 13th century A.D (Khan, A.N., 1997: 49 -52), are yielding close affinity to the mode of treatment, which later developed at Makli Hill.

It is significant to elaborate here that the approach of the surface adornment is seemed to be deeply rooted in the Sindh valley. In this regard, the Buddhist stūpas, such as, Tul Mir Rukan and Sudheran-jo-Dhado (Cousens, 1929: 82-101), constructed the third century A.D until 7th century A.D are showing similar gestures. Besides, the Gorī temple at Nagarparkar (Khan, F.A., 1969: 149; Nadiem, 2001: 243), dated to the 12th or 13th century A.D are also representing few glimpses of the surface decoration. It is equally pertinent to advocate here that the Kailāsanātha temple at Ellorā dated to the 8th century A.D (Rowland, 1953: 184, fig. 28), Modherā and Navalakhā temples at Sejakpur dated to the 11th or 12th century A.D (Cousens, 1931: 57-59; 1982: 41; Harle, 1986: 222, fig. 165), are the other good examples, showing similar attitude of adornment. These early traditions of the surface embellishment may also be noticed in the temples at Somanātha Pātān, Gujarat and Ahmadabad. These were later on, very successfully

continued in the Islamic monuments in the above stated regions, such as, Mongrol mosque and Maipuri Masjid (Cousens, 1931: 11-18, fig. LXXXIV). These designs were further improved in the buildings at Gujarat and Deccan during the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. Thus it appears, that the vernacular style of the Sindh valley and the neighbouring regions, alongside the Persian and Central Asian interactions, eventually caused for the impacts on the Makli Hill style of architectural ornamentation. As a result, a very developed and uniform mode of embellishment was emerged out, which became the trademark of the Makli Hill cluster. The surface decoration at Makli Hill was initiated by the Samma dynasty in their buildings. This art was continued by the Arghuns, however, they set new trends, by introducing the Central Asian traditions. It may be proclaimed here that this mode of work was reached the perfection under the early and later Tarkhans at Makli Hill. It is equally significant to emphasis here that a vast variety of decorative motifs have been wrought in the above mentioned buildings at Makli Hill. In this regard, the present researcher shall be focusing on the selected designs, which have graced the structural composition of the Makli Hill edifices.

5.3.1. Lotus flower

It is equally significant to advocate here that at Makli Hill, the lotus flower has been depicted in a very elegant pattern. In this process, the under discussion motif in the region of our concern can be divided into four groups such as:

- I. Lotus flower with single row of petals
- II. Two tiered lotuses
- III. Three tiered lotuses
- IV. Inverted lotus flowers

It is noteworthy, to elaborate here that the first category of the under discussion flowers can be commonly noticed in the Buddhist sites in India and Gandhāra. Besides, the Hindu temples are also showing its successful continuation. Similarly, lotus flower may also be observed in the Sadan Shaheed tomb. In this connection, its platform has been elegantly enriched by means of lotuses, these have been carved in low relief. Moreover, the mehrab of the enclosure wall of the Khalid Waleed tomb is exquisitely traced with the at issue motif. Furthermore, on the outer facing of the two tombs at Alore, the inquestion design has been executed in low relief. In the light of above stated examples, it can be claimed that the depiction of the lotus flowers are indicating the continuation of culture from past to present. It is mainly caused by the cultural interactions. In this connection, it may be proclaimed here that this element has been finally perfected in its execution at Makli Hill. It is pertinent to make a mention here, which Henry Cousens in his works has claimed, that the half lotuses and the single lotus medallions executed

at Makli Hill monuments have close affinity to the Gujarati and Ahmadabad style of ornamentation. In this process, he believes that the idea of such embellishment has been derived from the above stated regions to the area of our concern (Cousen, 1929: 115). In this connection, the Buddhist stūpas in the Sindh valley, reported by Cousens, are possessing similar types of adornment, besides, the Hindu temples in the Salt Range and the Sadan Shaheed tomb, Khalid Waleed tomb in the Seraiki belt, moreover, the two tombs at Alore are evidently denoting the indigenous improvement of the same motif. This later on, successfully evolved at Makli Hill. In this connection, it is worthwhile, to advocate here that the lotuses are appearing for the first time at Makli Hill in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1388-92. However, the exquisite use of the under discussion element may be noticed in the splendour of Samma dynasty, that is the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo, which is exhibiting lotus flowers both at the inner and outer sides of this magnificent tomb complex.

It is indeed important to claim here that the variation in the execution of lotus flowers, such as, half lotuses and lotus medallions were continued during the rule of Arghuns. In this connection, a full bloom lotus has been carved on the cenotaph of Nur al-Din Muhammad at Makli Hill A.D 1542 (Hasan, S.K., 1996: pl. X; Ghafur, 1968: 27). This motif has also been depicted during the Tarkhan domain in their different buildings. In this regard the first ever example may be noticed on the cenotaph of Mirza Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557. Similarly, the cenotaph of Mirza Saleh Beg Tarkhan A.D 1562 has also been sculpted with the lotus flowers in low relief.

The second category of the lotus flower is representing a unique gesture in its execution that is the beginning of a new style depicting a two tiered flower. In this regard, the earliest of this nature can be observed from Amarāvātī stūpa (Pl. 58a), dated to the second third century A.D. These are carved either in low or in high relief (pl. 58a) (Knox, 1992: pl. 110). It is significant to advocate here that in the Gandhāra Valley the inquestion design was adopted very frequently. This designs was wrought both individually and in the different panels. In this process, Peshawar Museum in Pakistan, is representing good specimens of this category, such as, Acc. No. PM_3133 and PM_2815 (Qazi & Jan, 2008: 236 & 240). Later on, the depiction of lotus medallions can also be seen in the various temples at Salt Range, however, it is wrought in limited number.

It is indeed interesting to elaborate here that the Chaukhandi tombs are representing exquisitely carved two tiered lotus flower medallions, however, at Makli Hill, the earliest specimen may be observed in the tomb enclosure of Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1572. Later on, this design was further improved. It can be evidently observed on the outer surface of the enclosure

wall to the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba. Furthermore, the tomb enclosures of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1638 and Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-44, are also depicting the at issue pattern.

It is pertinent to discuss further that the third group is representing three tiered lotus medallions. In this regard, Amarāvati Stūpa is showing the beginning of this mode of embellishment (Knox, 1992: Pl.17). These lotus medallions have been carved in both low and high relief (pl.59a). In the under discussion category, limited examples may be reported in the Hindu temples dated to 8th and 10th century A.D. It is worthwhile, to advocate that the early Islamic buildings are devoid of such adornment, however, the most exquisite ornamentation of the three layered lotus medallions may be well recognised in the Chaukhandi tombs, especially at Makli Hill. In this regard, its best instances may be seen on the tomb stone of Diwan Shurafa Khan. In this instance a three tiered lotus flower has been carved in high relief (Pl.59b).

The fourth category of the inquestion design is the inverted lotus flower. It is generally executed at the summit of the domes. However, it is worthwhile, to advocate here that the inverted lotuses may be seen for the first time on the capitals of the Aśokan Columns (Rowland, 1953: pl. 8, 9 & 11; Harle, 1986: pl. 7 & 8). Thus later on, this mode of decoration was duly acknowledged by the Buddhist sculptors. In this regard, the inverted lotus seat of Buddha, representing the miracle of Śrāvastī, such as, Acc. No. PM_02771 and PM_03140 (Qazi, *et al.*, 2008: 150-151). Besides, the above stated evidences of the inverted lotus flower, it can also be seen on the stūpa models. It is equally significant to proclaim here that this design was also sculpted in the Hindu temples. In this connection, it is equally important to suggest here that the āmalaka element provided to the summit of domes or śikhara of the temples was later on, successfully adopted by the artists in the Islamic buildings. Thus it appears that the idea of the inverted lotus to the summit of the domes has been conceived from the Hindu temples, where āmalaka has added in the similar attitude. In this process it is equally significant to elaborate here that the early Islamic buildings are depicted with āmalaka element, however, in some cases, the inverted lotuses have been provided to the summit of the domes, which supports the finial. In this regard, the tombs of Bahauddin Zakariya A.D 1262 and Rukn-e-Alam A.D 1335-38 at Multan are the good examples of the at issue category. Besides, the tombs of Mayi Dohagan and Sohagan at Alore, dated to the 13th century A.D, are also veneered with inverted lotuses. It is utmost pertinent to advocate here that the execution of the under debate element at Makli Hill seems to be the result of the vernacular interactions. In this sequence, the earliest specimen of the inverted lotus may be recorded in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-44. Moreover, it may also be reported in the Chaukhandi tomb of Mirza Tughrel Beg. It is significant to elaborate

further that the above stated four categories of the lotus flowers at Makli Hill are denoting that the genesis of their designing is seemed to have been deeply rooted in the native values. However, after passing through the different developmental stages the under discussion element became more conventionalised in its approach at Makli hill, which has undoubtedly graced the funeral structures of our concern.

5.3.2. Rosettes

It is utmost pertinent to elaborate here that rosettes have been wrought at Makli Hill in different edifices. This pattern has been carved in low relief. Moreover, in some cases it has been engraved. Furthermore, it has also been illustrated on the enamelled tiles. The rosette design reported at Makli Hill can be classified into five categories such as:

I. Half rosette

II. Rosette scrolls

III. Rosette medallions with pointed petals

IV. Rosette medallions with semi circular petals.

V. Palmette filled inside by a rosette.

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that before discussing the above stated five groups, we must know the developmental process of the under discussion motif. In this regard, the idea of rosettes has been derived from the Greek traditions. In this process, the earliest example of rosettes can be observed on the abacus of Aśokan columns 262 B.C until 232 B.C, is reported from Rampurva, presently lying in the Calcutta Museum (Rowland, 1953: pl. 11). Besides, in the Gandhāra Valley, the head dress of the Baroque ladies, is showing rosettes, which has been reported from Bala Hisar and Sheikhan Dheri in Charsadda (Dani, 1965-66: 46-47). It is assigned to the Indus-Greeks era (190 B.C-90 B.C). The Indus-Greeks have inherited this motif from their predecessors (Greeks), who have been caused for the introduction of this motif in the Gandhāra region.

These rosettes have been executed in different patterns. In this connection, in some cases these rosettes wrought as a border band has graced the different panels. Moreover, half rosettes are carved in different gestures. Furthermore, rosettes scrolls and rosette medallions have been exquisitely sculpted in different styles. In this sequence, rosette medallion has been wrought on the Corinthian capitals, which have been carved during the Kusāṅga domain. It can be seen on a capital, now exhibited in the British Museum London (Rowland, 1953: pl. 42 A). In this regard, Rowland further suggested that these kinds of Corinthian capitals were produced in Taxila during the Kusāṅga rule. Besides, rosettes in different gestures have also been carved in the various Buddhist sculptures. In this connection, the hallow of a standing Buddha from

Mathurā has been carved with rosettes in low relief, now exhibited in Calcutta Museum (Rowland, 1953: 89). In Gandhāra region, the rosette is seemed to be one of the other important themes of ornamentation. In this regard, it is wrought on the head dress of Pāñcika, now exhibited in Peshawar Museum (Ali *et al*, 2005: 84, PM_03013). Besides, this motif can also be seen in the different Gandhāran panels, which are displayed in the Peshawar Museum, such as PM_03133 and PM_02764, etc. After the decline of the Buddhist art and architecture, this element was later on, successfully carved in the Hindu temples in the Salt Range. In this process, the in question design has been executed in the temples at Katas, Kallar and Mari (Masih, 2000: 34, pl. VII). In this regard, it is equally significant to advocate here that the rosettes have also been wrought in different temples, in the Ahmadabad and Gujarat regions. In this connection, the ceiling of the Maipuri Masjid is exhibiting the rosettes carved in relief (Cousens, 1931: pl. xix). Another example of the under discussion design can be seen in the windows of the Rahimat Masjid at Mangrol built in A D 1381. In the light of the above stated discussions it appears, that the stylistical approach of the rosette designs at Ahmadabad and Gujarat are denoting that this theme of art was later on, adopted by the artists at Makli Hill (Cousens, 1931: 65, pl. LXXX). Whereas, in the present day Pakistan this significant theme of decoration is denoting its continuation from the Buddhist and Hindu traditions. In this regard, the outer surface of Sadan Shaheed tomb at Muzaffargarh AD 1175-87 has been elegantly wrought with rosettes (Ali, T., 1991b: 136). Besides, this motif in similar attitude may also be observed in the Mehrab of Khalid Waleed tomb enclosure at Kabirwala (Khan-e-Wal), AD 1175-87 (Ali, T., 1991a: 39-46). It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that rosettes in similar gesture may also be recorded on the outer façade of the two tombs at Alore dated to the 13th Century A.D. Thus it appears, that right from the third century BC until 13th century A.D, one can clearly observe, stylistical developments in the execution of rosettes ornamentation. In this connection, it is equally pertinent to advocate here that this motif was adopted by the artists of Makli Hill by the end of the 14th century AD. In this process, the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1392 is the beginning of this design at Makli Hill.

It is significant to elaborate here that four different types of rosettes have been depicted at Makli Hill. In this process it is significant to elaborate here that the half rosettes appeared for the first time at Makli Hill, during the Arghun period. In this regard, it may be observed on the cenotaph of Nuruddin Tabraizi A.D 1542. This cenotaph is also showing a rosette medallion, indicating the beginning of a new style at Makli Hill (Dani, 1982: 132). Whereas, during the Tarkhan period the half rosette and rosette medallions appeared for the first time on the cenotaph of Mirza Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557 (Hastenrath, 2003: 36). Moreover, the cenotaph of Mirza

Saleh Beg Tarkhan A.D 1562, is yielding similarity in terms of stylistical approach adopted on the Mirza Zahid Beg Tarkhan's cenotaph (Hastenrath, 2003: 36). It is pertinent to express here that in the case of Mirza Saleh Beg Tarkhan rosette medallions can be divided into two groups, that is, rosettes with pointed petals and slightly semi circular in shape. The tomb enclosures of Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1565-72, Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584 and Hansa Bai A.D 1586-92 are possessing the above stated three categories, that is, half rosettes, rosette medallions with pointed petals and semi circular petals. Besides, the rosettes scrolls have also been exhibited at Makli Hill. Which can clearly be noticed in the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba. However, in more illustrious manner, it can be observed in the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II. The rosette scrolls are either engraved or carved in low relief

The above stated two tombs at Makli Hill, are depicting four categories of the rosettes. In this connection, it may be pointed out that it is appearing for the first time in the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba.

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that the 5th group is denoting, that a palmette has been carved in low relief, which is filled inside by the rosettes (Pl. 64a & 64c). This design is either carved in low relief or it has been profusely engraved (Pl. 78a).

5.3.3. Sunflower

The Sunflower has been depicted in large number at Makli Hill. It is noteworthy to elaborate here that the earliest specimen of a sunflower can be noticed in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali. Later on, this motif became a very essential theme of adornment during the entire Samma domain. After their fall the Arghuns very successfully retained this flower. Moreover, they added further improvements in its stylistical approach. However, during the early and later Tarkhans, one can clearly observe, variations in its structural composition. These stylistical changes caused for the variations in the designing of the under discussion flower. In the light of stylistical changes in the inquestion category, therefore, it can be classified into five groups such as:

- I. Half Sunflower
- II. Simple Sunflower
- III. Sunflower Scrolls
- IV. Sunflower Interlacing
- V. Sunflower Medallions (with single, double and tears of petals)

It is noteworthy to elaborate here that besides, the above stated Madrasah of Sheikh Hamad Jamali, the under discussion design can also be observed on the Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi A.D 1388-92 and on the eastern and southern sides façades of Darya Khan tomb

enclosure A.D 1490-1513. The in question pattern has been exquisitely executed in the tomb complex of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo AD 1508-9. This splendid mausoleum is representing all the above stated categories of sunflower. It is noteworthy, to advocate further, that Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo, invited the carvers from the Indian states, such as Gujarat and Ahmadabad, where this design was deeply rooted. In this connection, through the cultural interactions, the in question design likewise, the other significant patterns, has been introduced at Makli Hill necropolis. It is utmost sterling to make a mention, that the depiction of sunflowers reached the perfection during the Tarkhan period.

However, it is significant to claim here that one of the earliest evidence of the at issue element may be recorded at Moenjodaro. It is showing that the crown of a deity has been ornamented with three sunflowers (Marshall, 1931: fig. 387). It is pertinent to state here, that since the Indus Valley phase, we have no other instance of the under discussion flower, however, during the Buddhist domain over Gandhāra and Indian regions, this motif has gained tremendous appreciation as a mode of embellishment.

It may be further added here, that this flower is also yielding mythological values, such as, symbolising the sun, which is the solar power, the rays radiating from the centre and discriminating towards the cardinal points. These phenomena may be recognised from the pointed petals issuing from the nucleus of this flower, denoting the symbolical aspect of the sun motif. Furthermore, this motif is also symbolising Sūrya the sun god. Keeping in view the mythical values of this design, therefore, it has gained importance and was subsequently wrought in the different stylistical order. In this process, this motif appeared in the Buddhist art, however, later on, very successfully continued by the Hindus in their temples. It is significant to add here, that in some cases the apex of the domical ceilings of the temples, have been wrought with sunflower. In this process, it is equally significant to advocate here that the sun temples at Modherā and Sejkpur dated to the 11th and 12th centuries AD are very profusely garnished with the sunflowers. In this connection, Cousens is claiming, that the different sunflowers have been executed in the monuments at Gujarat, particularly in the ceiling of an ancient Jaina temple (Cousens, 1931: Pl. XVI). Besides, sunflowers have also been depicted in the Maipuri mosque at Somanātha Pātān (Cousens, 1931: Pl XIX). However, in the present day Pakistan, besides the Buddhist and Hindu art and architecture, we can also observe the depiction of the sunflower in the monuments of Seraiki region. In this regard, A.N. Khan has mentioned its execution in the tomb of Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan AD 1335-38. In this instance, sunflower can be recorded at the inner side of this tomb (Khan, A.N., 1983: 230, Fig.38), moreover, its outer side is also yielding sunflowers, executed in the tile mosaic technique (Khan, A.N., 1983: 268, Fig.30b).

Furthermore, the under discussion design has also been wrought in the tomb of Bibi Jiwindi at Uchchh Sharif AD 1494 (Khan, A.N., 1980: Pls. Ia and IIIb). In this process, it is utmost significant to advocate the view of Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, who very correctly elaborated that the depiction of sunflower at Multan and Uchchh Sharif alongside Gujarat have caused for the impacts on the Sindh valley traditions as a whole and at Makli Hill in particular (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 107).

It is equally significant to point out here, that the sunflower appears for the first time in the Madrasah pavilion of Shiekh Hamad Jamali at Makli Hill. Later on, this element was provided to the different monuments of Samma domain. In this process, it can be noticed in the tomb chamber of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo. This fabulous funeral structure is possessing a variety of sunflowers such as, half sunflowers, single, double and triple tiered medallions, have been carved in low as well in high relief. It is indeed pertinent to comment here, that Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo has got good relations with the states of Gujarat and Deccan, from these regions masons and artists were invited, who contributed according to their vernacular traditions. In this process, the different decorative motifs executed in the above stated marvelous edifice, are visibly denoting that these influences were mainly caused by the cultural interactions.

It is utmost pertinent to advocate here that at Makli Hill, the sunflowers were executed in perspective manner, moreover showing depth and fluency in its mode of finishing. In this process, the at issue motif was innovated during the rule of Tarkhans, due to the culmination of regional and bi-regional diversities. In this connection, it is pertinent to make a mention here, that the tomb enclosure of Amir Sultan Muhammad A.D 1556 (Dani, 1982: 115) is the first edifice, which is representing the single and two tiered sunflowers.

It is equally important to suggest here that the tomb enclosures of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, Baqi Beg Tarkhan and Hansa Bai, are illustrating the above mentioned five categories of sunflowers. However, one can note variation in the stylistical approach of the petals, such as, pointed, flanged and fan shaped sunflowers can be clearly noticed. Moreover, a variety of sunflowers have been executed in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II. In this building besides, the naturalistic attitude of the in question motif, one can also record the conventionalised approach in the mode of execution. In this regard, variation in the style of petals may be noticed, such as, slightly triangular and semi circular in pattern. These modifications have been made by the indigenous carvers. In this regard, medallions with flanged petals have been carved in high relief. There are few examples of single tier flanged petal medallions. These innovations can be clearly noticed in the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba AD 1590-1610 (Pl. 57e). The two

tiered medallions are elegantly carved in high relief in the funeral structures of Jan Baba and Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Pls. 60bi, 60bii, 60biii, 60biv & 60bv).

Besides, three tiered sunflower has been appeared for the first time in the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo, however, the under discussion design reached its perfection in the tombs of Jan Baba Tarkhan (Pl. 59c) and Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Pl. 59d & 59e). The under debate pattern can also be seen in the unknown Chaukhandi to the south western direction of Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure (Pl. 62n & 62o). Moreover, the Chaukhandi of Badi-uz-Zaman (Pl. 57b, 58b & 58c), Mirza Tughrel Beg (Pl. 66b) are showing the stylised sunflower medallions. These have been carved exquisitely in high relief.

5.3.4. **Palmette**

The monuments at Makli Hill are profusely adorned with a variety of palmette designs. In this process, the under discussion motif is executed in low relief. Moreover, it has also been engraved in different gestures. Besides, its execution in the above stated techniques, this motif has also been depicted through the enamelled ceramic tiles. Similarly, the palmette pattern has been appeared for the first time at Makli Hill in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1388-92. Thus, the glory of the at issue element was initiated at Makli Hill by the Samma's. However, later on, this design was slowly and gradually improved. It is utmost significant to elaborate further, that during the Tarkhan domain, this mode of embellishment reached its perfection. These innovations in the stylistical approach of the under discussion motif may be visibly noticed during the Tarkhan and later Tarkhan buildings at Makli Hill. It may be pointed out that palmette motif executed at Makli Hill during the era of our concern, can be classified into six categories:

- I. Half palmettes
- II. Back to back palmettes
- III. Palmettes in quadruple order
- IV. Palmette scrolls
- V. Palmette interlacing
- VI. Palm leaves

In this connection, it is noteworthy to advocate here that the earliest specimen of the half palmette can be observed in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1388-92. Whereas, in the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo, this motif has been executed very exquisitely. Likewise, the funeral enclosure of Darya Khan A.D 1494-1513 is also denoting the in question pattern. Besides, there are several cenotaphs dated to the Samma domain are showing half palmettes. It is noteworthy, to elaborate here, that this design has been carved in low relief.

However, in few cases it has been sculpted in high relief. It is utmost significant to elaborate here, that the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo seems to be the only edifice at Makli Hill, which is denoting the palmettes in high relief. It is equally important to make a mention here that besides, the exhibition of half palmettes on the stone surface, this element has also been illustrated in the enamelled ceramic tiles. It is appearing for the first time in the funeral enclosure of Sheher Bano A.D 1542. In this process, it is pertinent to discuss further, that the mehrab of this enclosure wall is possessing half palmettes.

It is equally significant to workout here that in the region of our study the under debate motif has been developed through the vernacular interactions, which eventually caused for the origin of this design. In this regard, it is important to proclaim here that the palm leaf design can be observed for the first time in the subcontinent at Harappa, which can be seen on a potsherd (Vats, 1940: pl. LXIX). It is equally significant to advocate here that Rowland is proclaiming that the palmette has been appeared for the first time during the Achamenied time, which was later on, adopted here in the Subcontinent. In this process, B. Rowland reported a pillar capital, which is recovered from Pātāliputra. This square shaped capital is possessing, a palmette on each sides (Rowland, 1953: 46, fig. 3). It is pertinent to advocate here that one of the Aśokan columns from Rampurava is showing palmettes, which have been carved on the abacus (Harle, 1986: fig. 8). In this process, Rowland reported palm trees in the bath scene of Bodhisattva Siddhartha, representing the continuation of the under discussion design in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra (Rowland, 1953: pl. 181). It is equally important to elaborate here that this design has also been depicted in the Hindu art, however, during the Islamic period one of the earliest specimen of the palmettes can be noticed from Bhanbhore mosque. In this connection, an inscription has been reported in Kufic gesture dated A.D 907, showing half palmettes (Ghafur, 1968: 63). Later on, this design has been properly garnished in the different buildings. In this regard, its evidence can be clearly observed in the tomb of Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan A.D 1335-38 (Khan, A N., 1983: 232). It is significant to elaborate further, that the under discussion motif was later on, executed at Makli Hill. In this connection, it is important to advocate here that at Makli Hill the palmette motif was introduced by the Samma dynasty in their buildings. Whereas, the Arghuns continued this design in their edifices. The in question element at Makli Hill after passing through the different developmental stages, finally reached the perfection during the Tarkhan rule. In this regard, the monuments of our study are exquisitely enriched with the variety of palmettes. In this connection, the earliest specimen of palmette design executed in the Tarkhan buildings can be seen in the tomb stone of Amir Hajika Mughal A.D 1556. In this instance, half palmettes are wrought in low relief. Moreover, palmettes interlacing can also be

observed in relief on the above stated cenotaph (Ghafur, 1968: 65). It may be further added here that small palmettes are executed in low relief, can be noticed on the apex of the arch shaped head stone of Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557. Similarly Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan tomb enclosure A.D 1562 is depicting the exquisite use of palmette pattern (Dani, 1982: 118; Hastenrath, 2003: 36-37).

It is equally significant to elaborate here that the monumental mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-1565 has been garnished with half palmettes. It may be pointed out that this tomb is also representing palmette buds, executed profusely through enamelled ceramic tiles.

The tomb enclosure of Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I, has been elegantly adorned with half and small palmettes these have been either carved in low relief or engraved on the cenotaph and tomb stones. Furthermore, the façade of the mehrab is embellished with palmette scrolls carved in low relief.

The tomb enclosure of Baqi Beg Tarkhan is representing, half palmettes executed on the cenotaph (Ghafur, 1968: 66). Moreover, palm leaves can be seen on the façade of the mehrab, these have been carved in low relief. This motif has been also wrought on the gateway to the tomb enclosure of Baqi Beg Tarkhan.

It is pertinent to elaborate here that the Chaukhandi tomb of Qazi Ahmad A.D 1581-1600 is showing half palmettes engraved on the underneath part of the lintel (Pl. 65b). The interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba Tarkhan A.D 1590-1610 is also depicting palmettes (Pl. 60a & 64b). These palmette scrolls have been wrought in low relief.

It is worthwhile, to point out here that the underneath part of the lintels provided to the unknown Chaukhandi tomb A.D 1620-40 is illustrating palmettes, however, these have been engraved in relief (Pl. 65a). It is equally significant, to pinpoint here, that the monumental tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-1644 is yielding half palmettes, palm leaves, palmette scrolls and palmette interlacing,, these can be observed on the tomb stones, spandrel of the arches, balconies etc. (Pl. 58c, 65c and 65d). These designs have been elegantly wrought in low relief, however, in few cases these have been engraved very profusely.

Keeping in view the various examples of palmettes executed in different attitude are undoubtedly representing the most frequently used motif at Makli Hill.

5.3.5. Vases

The depiction of vases in the buildings are probably symbolising a mythological concept of grandeur and loftiness in the structural composition. In this regard, vase or purnaghata is denoting one of the other birth symbols of Bodhisattva Siddhartha, thus apparently representing blossoming of life or glorifying the life like the floral vase, which is itself symbolising freshness

and grace. Thus, its application in the edifices is indicating that life is being blossomed like flowers in the vase. In this manner, the bases of the pillars are some time executed with a vase, or perhaps used as a strengthening feature. In this process, it may be advocated here that keeping in view the mythological portfolio of the floral vase, therefore, inducted in the architecture to acquire the same concept.

In this process, it is indeed sterling to emphasis here that when and who initiated its depiction for the first time in the buildings? In this connection, it is generally believed that the Persians under the Sassanians were the first to execute vases, as an adornment feature, both in their art and architecture. In this sequence, Josef Orbeli has mentioned its initiation during the Sassanian domain. He is referring a bottle shape silver vase now lying in the Hermitage Museum (Orbeli, 1930: 753, fig. 262; Graber, 1973: pl. 60).

However, in this connection, on the basis of mythological traditions it can be assumed that “pūrṇāghatā” a birth sign of Siddhārtha, is symbolising a floral vase. It was carved by the Hīnayāna sect in the Buddhist establishments during the Śunga period and later on, continued under the Āndhras. In this process, the earliest dated vases can be observed in the pillared veranda to the chaitya hall at Bedsā dated to the end of first century BC or beginning of first century A.D (Huntington, 1985: 15, pl. 6; Shah, 2005: 20). However, Huntington is of the view that vases have been carved for the first time in the subcontinent in the rock-cut chaitya hall of Pandulena at Nasik dated to the first century BC (Huntington, 1985: 102; Harle, 1986: pl. 37). Thus with the passage of time, this mythological component became a very pertinent feature of adornment. In this regard, this motif can be seen in a carved panel from Mathurā dated to the second century A.D. It is denoting two lotus buds emerging from a vase (Huntington, 1985: 157-158, pl. 8 & 38; Shah, 2005: 20). Thus it appears, that the at issue motif has been introduced for the first time here in the subcontinent, which can be evidently proved in the light of above stated examples. In this manner, the present researcher is of the view that later on, this motif was disseminated to the neighbouring regions. In this process, it may be advocated here, that since the Sassanians were once remained the neighbours of the Guptas, therefore, it seems that they adopted this element from the Indian traditions. Who practiced this element in their vernacular pattern. However, in the subcontinent this motif had gained popularity during the Guptas, which was executed in the different temples. The various brackets and capitals have been carved with vases in low relief or some time engraved in relief. During the Guptas the under discussion element has been carved at Deccan (Dani, 1982: 28). Later on, it became a very important feature of embellishment in the monuments of Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Somanātha Pātān .

Similarly, this motif was very successfully adopted by the artists of Makli Hill, for the first time in the mausoleum of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508-09 (Dani, 1982: 74; Lari, 1997: 234, pl. 321). However, in the present day Pakistan during the Islamic period the under discussion motif can be noticed for the first time in the tomb of Shamsuddin Tabraizi at Multan A.D 1276 (Khan, A.N., 1983: 261, pl. 23a).

In the region of our study, this motif has gained popularity during the Tarkhan domain. In this regard, the early instance can be seen on the pilarettes of Mirza Sulaiman Beg's tomb enclosure A.D 1557. Furthermore, the tomb enclosure of Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584, Hansa Bai 1586-92 and unknown tomb enclosure to the northwest of Faqir Muhammad tomb complex (Pl. 77j), are yielding floral vases. These have been either carved in low relief or some time engraved. These vases are executed in globler shape or some time in squat pattern, moreover, having elongated neck, furthermore, in few cases wrought with short neck. In this connection, it may be further added here that the rim is either carved in flaring shape, while in some cases vertical in approach.

Besides, floral vases have also been added to the interconnected Chaukhandi of Jan Baba A.D 1590-1610 (Pl. 77g). Moreover, it can also be seen in the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II. In this tomb complex the capitals and brackets of the lower verandah are exquisitely enriched with globler shaped vases, having elongated neck (see Pls. 77a, 77b, 77c, 77d, 77e & 77f). It is important to advocate further that A.H. Dani has recorded floral jars on the apex of the shafts in the Chaukhandi tomb of Murad Nizam-ud-Din in A.D 1639 (Dani, 1982: 126). In this connection, it may be added here that the pillars provided to the under discussion Chaukhandi is devoid of any floral vase or jar shaped elements (see pl. 8). Thus it appears that Dani is mistaken in the documentation of the above stated motif. Besides, the footstone of a grave in the Rank of Baqi Beg Uzbek, is showing a very unique example, representing ewer shaped vase carved in high relief (Pl. 77e).

5.3.6. Floral Medallions

It is interesting to advocate here that at Makli Hill different floral medallions may be observed. Among these floral medallions, sunflower, lotuses and rosettes are executed. These medallions are clearly denoting that its depiction in the area of our study is seemed to be derived from the early Buddhist traditions. In this regard, examples may be reported from Bhārhut stūpa 188 BC until 72 BC. These have been further improved at Sāñcī. However, during the Kusānā rule, the under discussion motif was further elaborated at Mathurā. While, its application at Gandhāra valley is showing the continuation of the early depictions. It is equally significant, to emphasis here that the idea of two tiered and three tiered lotus and sunflower

medallions have been emerged out at Amarāvafī (Knox, 1992: pl. 110). This pattern was successfully continued by the local artists in the Hindu temples at Modherā and Sejkpur dated to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D (Cousens, 1931: 57-59; 1982: 41). The under discussion motif was later on, duly acknowledged by the sculptors at Somanātha Pātān, Gujarat and Ahmadabad. In this connection, Ravali mosque, Maipuri Masjid and Mongrol Mosque dated to the 14th century A.D are representing the different floral medallions. Thus it appears that due to the cultural interactions, with the passage of time the idea of floral medallion was adopted by the artists at Makli Hill. In this sequence, its earliest examples may be recorded in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1392 and in the Chaukhandi of Jam Tamachi A.D 1392. However, its best specimen can be seen in the mausoleum of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508-09 and in the Ranāk of Darya Khan. It is equally significant, to elaborate here that the idea of its depiction reached the perfection during the Tarkhan domain at Makli Hill. In this regard, its earliest specimen can be seen in the grave of Amir Hajika Mughal A.D 1556, Amir Sultan Muhammad A.D 1556, Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557, Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan A.D 1562. Moreover, it may also be observed in the Ranāk of Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1572, Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584, Hansa Bai A.D 1586-92. Whereas, its more, fluent instances can be recognised in the interconnected Chaukhandi of Jan Baba A.D 1590-1610. While, in more dedicate gesture, it can be recorded in the splendour of Makli Hill, that is in the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-44.

5.3.7. Spoke Wheel Design

Besides, the depiction of various floral medallions a very unique feature in the under discussion category has been introduced. Which may be termed as spoke wheel pattern. This motif appeared for the first time in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali. In this case half spoke wheel motif can be observed, executed in low relief. Later on, the under discussion element was successfully utilised in the tomb complex of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo. It is significant to point out here that during the Tarkhan era the under discussion motif has been carved frequently in the different buildings.

It is utmost significant to advocate here that among the different floral medallions spoke wheel design has been carved in large scale. In this connection, it is worthwhile, to proclaim here that the spoke wheel motif is seemed to have been derived from the chakra design or it is the stylised form of chakra (wheel). It is an important element in the Buddhist mythology, symbolising the first sermon of Buddha at Sārānāth, where he turned the wheel of law. It may be added here, that with the passage of time the Chakra design became a very pertinent feature in the Buddhist art. However, the under discussion motif can be seen for the first time during the

Mauryan period. In this process, it can be observed on the abacus of Sārnāth Capital. Later on, this motif was also executed on the ring or disc stones from Murtazi Gunj (Patna group). In the above mentioned case lotus flower has been wrought inside a medallion, shaping in the spoke wheel pattern (Gupta, 1980: pls. 33.a & 33). Whereas, in the present day Pakistan its earliest example may be reported from Taxila at Sirkap (Marshal, 2006: pls. 261 & 264).

The spoke wheel design has also been reported by Cousens from Mol valley, showing its significance as a decorative element (Cousens, 1929: pl. 111). It is indeed interesting to elaborate further, that the spoke wheel design can be visibly observed in the sculpting at Mathurā and Gandhāra art. In this process, the Chakra or stylised wheel motif can be seen in the various Gandhāran sculptures dated from the 2nd century A.D until 3rd century A.D (Qazi, *et al.*, 2008: 130; Khan, M.A., *et al.*, 2006: 26). It is utmost important to advocate here that either the floral medallions or the symbol of chakra with the passage of time evolved into the spoke wheel design. In this connection, it may be pointed out that after its initiation, the inquestion design slowly and gradually became one of the other notable motifs of embellishment. In this concern, likewise its early examples, it has also been executed in the Hindu temples at Sejkpur and Modherā dated to the 11th century A.D. In this connection it may be claimed here that during the Muslim domain over Gujarat and Ahmadabad, this vernacular motif was continued in their buildings. In this sequence, it has been wrought in the Ravali, Maipuri and Mongrol mosques dated to the 11th century A.D, however, its application can be seemed in limited number.

It is indeed pertinent to advocate here, that the under discussion motif was later on, conceived by the artists in the Makli Hill buildings. In this connection, spoke wheel design has been carved here for the first time in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1389-92 (see pl. 62g). It is interesting to claim here that in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali half spoke wheel motif can be observed. However, in the tomb of Hamshira Fateh Khan A.D 1494 the first ever complete spoke wheel design can be seen (Pl. 62h). This pattern can also be observed in the magnificent tomb complex of Jam Nizam-ud-Din. In this case, the inner and out surface of the merhab has been adorned with half and full spoke wheel design. The mausoleum of Qus-as-Sultani A.D 1513 is representing half spoke wheel motif executed on the balcony, carved in high relief (see pl. 62i). Besides, a grave near Hamshira Fateh Khan is showing the at issue design executed for the first time in engraved technique (Lari, 1997: 16). It is worthwhile, to suggest here that the under discussion pattern was very elegantly engraved in the Hasan Sirhani graveyard during the 16th century A.D (Hastenrath, 2003: 25-26).

It is utmost significant, to advocate here that this design has been successfully continued by the artists during the Tarkhan period. In this regard, the unknown Chaukhandi tomb located to

the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, is depicting the inquestion motif engraved on the base of the pillars (see pls. 62n & 62o). Moreover, this motif can be observed in exquisite manner on the base of the pillars, provided to the Chaukhandi tomb of Badi-uz-Zaman A.D 1601-18 (see pl. 63 m). The under debate pattern can also be seen in the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba A.D 1590-1610. However, in the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II the at issue example can be observed in plentiful number (see pl. 63 p). It is pertinent to elaborate here, that the under discussion design has been depicted at Makli Hill necropolis in stylised pattern, which has adorned the different buildings in the region of our study.

5.3.8. David Star

It is worthwhile, to mention here that like the other significant decorative elements, David star has also garnished the funeral structures at Makli Hill, during the Tarkhan and post Tarkhan rule. In this connection, it is indeed sterling to advocate here that the under discussion motif is considered the “Star of David” (Prophet), therefore, yielding significant importance in the Jewish lands. In this regard, it is generally believed that the idea of David star, as a design has been copied by the Indians from the above stated region. However, here in the subcontinent this motif has its own significance. In this process, it symbolises the cosmic dance of Śiva and śakti. Whereas, its earliest depiction can be observed at Wadhwan in Gujarat. It is equally important to mention here that the Wadhwan Hindu shrine is showing the rudimentary form of David star (Cousens, 1929: 53, pl. LIX). Thus, with the passage of time, the under discussion motif gained popularity at various localities in the subcontinent. In this process, in the Islamic buildings, its earliest example may be observed in the Qutb Mosque at Delhi (Hoag, 1977b: 282-83, pl. 370), carved in high relieve. Whereas, in the present day Pakistan the first instance of David star can be noticed in the mausoleum of Shah Rukn-e-Alam at Multan A.D 1335-38 (Khan, A.N., 1983: 230-31, fig. 38-40). However, the at issue pattern can be observed in large scale in the tomb of Bibi Javindi at Uchchh A.D 1494. In this illustrious edifice, the in question motif has been executed on the tile mosaic surface in stylistic pattern (Khan, A.N., 1980: pl. 111b). It is noteworthy to advocate here that at Makli Hill the under debate element has been derived from the Seraiki lands, moreover, the Gujarat traditions have also caused for the inspiration of the in question motif.

It is equally significant to proclaim here that at Makli Hill, this motif has been applied for the first time during the Samma period. However, it can be observed in rudimentary form. In this connection, the magnificent funeral structure of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508-09 is exhibiting the in question design. In the under discussion category the David stars are filled inside by smaller size stars or floral patterns (Lari, 1997: 144, pls. 151, 153, 163, 165, 167, 169,

171, 176, 178, 181 & 183). It is sterling to advocate here, that this design gains tremendous fame during the Tarkhan domain at Makli Hill. In this connection, its earliest specimen can be recorded on the cenotaph of Mirza Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557 and Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan A.D 1562. Besides, the Ran□k of Isa Khan Tarkhan I is exquisitely ornamented with the under discussion motif. It may be further added here that one can clearly notice variation in the mode of its finishing. In this process, simple David stars, David stars filled with simple stars, floral designs, such as sunflower, rosettes and palmettes. These designs have been wrought in low relief or engraved on the stone surface in exquisite gesture.

In this sequence, David star medallions filled either with palmettes or rosettes have altogether created grace in the entire structural composition. In this connection, it may be further proclaimed here, that during the Tarkhan and later Tarkhans, one can clearly observe variation in the composition of the under discussion pattern. During the Tarkhan dynasty, the in question design can be seen in the different buildings at Makli Hill, such as, in the Ran□k of Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584, Hansa Bai A.D 1586-92, in the mausoleum of Jani Beg Tarkhan A.D 1590-1600 (Dani, 1982: 173). Moreover, the in question pattern has also been carved or engraved very profusely in the interconnected Chaukhandi of Jan Baba A.D 1590-1610 (Pl. 76c) and in the mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-1644 (Pls. 44, 63b & 66a).

5.3.9. Swastika design

It is one of the frequently used elements at Makli Hill necropolis. It is important to mention here that the idea of Swastika design has been originated in the vernacular fashion. In this connection, Wilson has traced its definition in the Sanskrit version, derived from “Su-asti” meaning, “good being” (Wilson, 1896: 336). This design has been formed by straight bars of equal size and height, whereas, its ends are twisting at the right angle or slightly bent to the right and left sides at the four angles. In this process, S. Mehdihasan claims that the swastika symbol has superseded the cross motif (Mehdihasan, 1987-88: 301). It is considered one of the symbols of sun or a path way of sun symbol. The other mythical concept of its origin is derived from the cross symbol, however, their twisting angles are symbolising the circulation of sun rays, which over powered the darkness, thus enlightening the world sphere insuring the life circulation. It is also symbolising the sun god or the chariot of the Agni, the fire god of Indra. In this process, the cross and swastika symbols are depicted as a cult images symbolising immortality of life. In this process, Budge considers that the wide range symbolism of the motif made it the pertinent amuletic signs, a mark of blessing, long life and good fortune (Budge, 1961: 331). It is equally significant to elaborate here, that the under discussion element has been depicted by the artisans of the various societies in their vernacular order. In this regard, this motif has been considered

the oldest symbols of the Aryans. However, here in the subcontinent the in question pattern appeared for the first time at Mehrgarh in Baluchistan dated between 6000 BC to 3500 BC (Jarriage, 1982: 79-84). It may be further added here that F.A Durrani has reported this design on the pottery, excavated at Rahman Dheri in Dera Ismail Khan during the Kot Dijian and Harappan phases (Durrani, 1988: 28). Moreover, this motif can also be seen on the seals from Mohenjodaro (2500-1500 BC) (Marshall, 1931: 374). Whereas, another similar seal has been reported by M.S Vats from Harappa (2500-1500 BC) (Vats, 1940: pl. XCII). The ornamental crosses and swastika designs with the passage of time continued very successfully in the Buddhist art of India. The at issue element has also been executed in the different panels from Gandhāra valley, either engraved or carved in low relief (Pl. 70b, 71a & 71b).

The in question design can also be noticed on the terracotta plaques reported from the Buddhist sites of Sindh valley, dated third century A.D until 7th century A.D. The Salt Range temples at Kafir Kot dated between 9th century A.D until 11th century A.D are exhibiting the under debate motif.

It is pertinent to advocate here that among the Islamic buildings in Pakistan, swastika motif can be observed for the first time in the tomb of Bahauddin Zakariya A.D 1262 (Khan, A.N., 1971: 109), showing its significance as a decorative motif. It is equally important to discuss here, that after passing through the various developmental phases finally the under discussion design has influenced the funeral structures at Makli Hill. In this regard, it is sterling to emphasis here that the Chaukhandi tombs were also ornamented with different types of cross elements alongside the swastika motif. These like the other important designs have graced the structural composition (Hasan, S.K., 1984: 34; Mehdihasan, 1987-88: 302) at Makli Hill.

In this regard, the under debate elements may be visibly observed in more conventionalised pattern during the domain of early and later Tarkhans. In this process, simple swastika motif has been executed inside the medallions or some time carved or engraved at the inner part of the David stars. In this regard, the cross and swastika patterns are illustriously wrought in the Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba Tarkhan, Badi-uz-Zaman, moreover, in the tomb enclosure of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, Baqi Beg Tarkhan and Hansa Bai, are showing variation in the mode of workmanship. It is interesting to pinpoint further, that such stylisation can also be seen in the above stated buildings. The cross and swastika patterns have also been wrought as a border band. These border bands are depicting variation in the mode of execution. It is worthwhile, to elaborate further that the in question designs, in the under discussion category, have been treated in foliage gestures, there are visibly denoting improvement in the artistic attitude. Besides, the

swastika pattern may also be seen in the form of endless knotted pattern either engraved or carved in low relief.

It is noteworthy to emphasize further that besides, the floral interlace pattern at Makli Hill, geometrical interlacing can also be seen in the different buildings during the Tarkhan rule. In this regard, the spandrels of the arches have been wrought with geometrical interlacing, showing swastika design. It is indeed sterling, to elaborate further that at Makli Hill, during the Tarkhan period the earliest instance of cross and swastika designs can be recorded on the cenotaph of Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557, Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan A.D 1562.

The interlacing of swastika design can be observed in the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II is denoting variations in the mode of treatment. Moreover, its execution as a border band can be noticed in the Rank of Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1572, Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584 and Hansa Bai A.D 1586-92. Furthermore, the Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan I and that of Badi-uz-Zaman A.D 1601 are representing the application of cross symbol and swastika element in different gestures. Such as, floral petals or in some cases leaves have been wrought in cross shape. Moreover, cross symbol has also been wrought in dotted form. These designs are either engraved or carved in low relief.

It is significant to elaborate further that both cross and swastika patterns have garnished the various structural components of the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba (Pl. 54d & 71a) and the tomb complex of Isa Khan Tarkhan II (Pl. 70b & 71b). Besides, the tomb of Jani Beg Tarkhan and Diwan Shurafa Khan are the other pertinent examples denoting the exquisite use of cross and swastika designs. Besides, its application on the stone surface, both the cross and swastika elements have also been executed through the enamelled tile technique in the tombs of Jani Beg Tarkhan and Diwan Shurafa Khan, these are denoting one of the other unique features of the at issue work.

5.4. The Art of Figural Representation at Makli Hill

5.4.1. Origin and Developmental comparative analysis

It is of significant importance to make a mention here that at Makli Hill, the depiction of figural representation was commenced during the Samma domain. In this regard, mounted figures on a grave tablet similarly, the birds executed on the graves and tombs have been carved very profusely. It is pertinent to advocate here that the depiction of figural patterns initiated on the religious buildings, have been appeared for the first time in the present day Pakistan at Kharan Baluchistan, dated to the 13th century A.D. These tombs are assigned to the Nikodaris, who came from Central Asia and settled in the parts of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and in the adjacent parts of Iran. They brought with themselves different decorative elements. In this

process, besides, the various designs one of the other significant mode of embellishment, which was introduced by them, is the figural depiction. In this connection, the representation of peacock with snake carved in low relief is reflecting a very unique style (Brohi, 1983: 54; Hasan, S.K., 1987: 198-208). In the earliest civilizations peacock the cosmic bird is shown victorious over the snakes. The issue of bird and snake in the historical perspective is generally known as a victory symbol. In this regard, the at issue symbol has been wrought on the ceramics and dressed stone surfaces. Such, examples can be clearly observed in the regions of Babylonia, Elam and as well in the Indus Valley. In this process, a steatite stone pendant reported from Harappa (2500-1800 B.C), depicts a figure of eagle with two snakes added over its wings (Mackey, 1938: 663).

It was the Buddhist faith that brought the figural representation to its perfection. Buddha the nucleus of this faith was portrayed on stūpas and monasteries. In this connection, countless panels were sculpted, depicting the life story of Buddha. However, in the Gandhāran reliefs, one of the other significant depiction is the contest of Garudā and Nāga. Besides, in the region of Chinese Turkistan, during the Buddhist period a bird is shown, which carries a snake in its claws (Ghafur, 1968: 31).

This significant theme of decoration is very stylistically exhibited in the classical art of India. In such depictions, Garudā is shown in the form of an eagle. However, in the under discussion instance, one can observe Garudā, in the form of a peacock (Ghafur, 1968: 31). The fight between the snake and the peacock is an interesting subject of the Pañcatantra. In this process, Dikshit during the course of excavations at Paharpur unearthed a terracotta plaque, which is wrought with the fight scene between peacock and snake (Dikshit, 1938: 62-63, pl. LV). Another worth mentioning example has been compiled by A.V. Le Coq from Turkistan, who reported a Buddhist relief, representing a bird of prey, holding a serpent in its claws (Ghafur, 1968: 31). Later on, the under debate theme of embellishment was adopted very frequently by the Muslims of Turkistan in their tombs. In this regard, such examples have also been recovered in the Asia Minor (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 110; Ghafur, 1968: 32).

The Abbasids were the first Muslim rulers, who started the book illustrations. In this sequence, in the Mesopotamian School of painting, we can clearly record the inquestion subject. In this regard, Rashid-ud Din's book "Jami-ut Tawarikh" (The Universal History) was painted during the 12th century A.D. This book, is depicting the under discussion topic. It is representing the temptation of first man by Ahriman. In the scene evil spirit is tempting Eve, which is shown in the shape of a snake, while, an eagle and a peacock are clearly observing the proceedings (Esin, 1963: pl. X; Ghafur, 1968: 32).

The utmost important concern over the depiction of a bird and snake has also been argued by Keller, that such elements are of great pertinence in the Achaemenian sculpted reliefs executed in Persia. In this manner, in the Zoroastrian's religion Ahura Mazda the god of light is symbolized with the figure of eagle, where as Ahriman the god of evil with the dragon (Witkower, 1939: 293).

Apart from this, Ettinghausen has reported similar depiction of birds and serpents, these have been quite frequently exhibited in the various tombs in Iran, erected under the Safavids (Ettinghausen, 1955: 122-123). In this connection, at Hasht Behest in Isfahan, one can notice the representation of peacock and dragon (Ingeborg, 1987: 159-60). In this process, Katharina Otto-Dorn has observed similar patterns on the Turkish tombs stones in Asia Minor.

Whereas, Ghafur, in his works, stresses that the representation of a bird holding a serpent in its claws reported from Asia Minor, Chinese Turkistan and Safavid Iran, "is nothing but a continuation of the Buddhist pattern which originated in the subcontinent, later on, it greatly impacted the art of Central Asia during the medieval era (Ghafur, 1968: 32) in the neighbouring regions. In this regard, cultural interactions may be termed one of the important reasons for the dissemination of the inquestion elements.

It is significant to advocate here that with the advent of Islam in the Sindh region, thus new artistic traditions were introduced. Instead of representation of human beings, emphasis has been made on the floral motifs, geometrical patterns and ornamental calligraphy were the common modes of decoration. As discussed earlier, during the time of Shah Ismail Safavi a great mass of people dispersed in various directions, due to the unfavorable environments. In this regard, to find out a secure place, therefore, they drifted to the Subcontinent. In this connection, the artisans also left their homeland and shifted to Thatta (Sindh) and to the other directions of the Subcontinent. Such movements were responsible for the migration of artistic ideas. In this process, Goetz proclaims that due to such activities, these representations were also introduced here in the Subcontinent (Goetz, 1963: 235-241). It is equally pertinent to elaborate here that the migration of the under discussion theme of adornment to the Sindh region during the Safavid regime seems to be incorrect, because in the presence of such motif, during the Indus Valley Civilization and later on, in the Buddhist Civilization of the subcontinent, which onwards continued in the Hindu art. It may be claimed here that these vernacular interactions were caused for the depiction of the in question element. In this connection, it may be further proclaimed here that later on, the under discussion element was successfully continued during the succeeding centuries. However, it may be pointed out that the at issue element appeared for the first time on the funerary structures in Pakistan. It can be visibly proved in the evidences reported from

Makran, Kharan, Indus Delta, Kohistan area of Dadu and Karachi. Whereas, the material used for such representation was burnt bricks in Baluchistan, while Yellow Jungshahi stone in Indus Delta and Kohistan regions (Brohi, 1983: 122-23). However, it is indeed interesting to elaborate further, that during the Seljuq rule over Iran, and later on, under the Mongols many tribes, shifted towards Baluchistan and Sindh Valley. In this regard, the representation of bird and snake was introduced by them in their tombs, which can be clearly observed in the Kharan monuments.

The Nausherawani tombs are situated at Gawachig in Kharan Baluchistan. This place is located at a distance of 665 km from Quetta, which is 6 km away from the Iranian border. It may be added here, that the Nigodaris ruled over the parts of Afghanistan, Iran and Baluchistan during the 13th and 14th century A.D. They were responsible for the construction of the Nausherawani Tombs at Kharan (Hasan, S.K., 1987: 2-14). Therefore, these tombs may be called as the Nikodari tombs. Besides, the other illustrations, these tombs have been executed with the depiction of peacock holding snake in their bill, is the well known demonstration (Brohi, 1983: 88-91; Hasan, S.K., 1987: 196-208). Later on, the inquestion theme of ornamentation has eventually influenced the funeral structures at Makli Hill.

In the light of various evidences, it appears that the at issue depiction has been vernacularly originated. However, regarding the execution of peacock with snake may be observed for the first time in the entire subcontinent on the Islamic funeral structure can be seen on the Nikodaris tombs at Kharan. In the Kharan tombs the under discussion element has been wrought on the terracotta tablets (Hasan, S.K., 1996: 100; 1987: 120-122).

It is here in Thatta at Makli Hill, that the under discussion unique art was developed through the cultural transactions. In this regard, Ghafur in his works observed, that there are many figural depictions, however, among the various figural representations, peacock with snake and ducks are showing a very unique gesture and theme of ornamentation executed on the funerary structures at Makli Hill (Ghafur, 1965: 60-65).

It is equally pertinent, to emphasis here that this unique theme of ornamentation is depicting peacock with snake, which appeared for the first time on the Chaukhandi graves dated to the late 16th century A.D or early 16th century A.D may be clearly observed at Sonda and Jarak near Thatta (Hastenrath, 2003: 98). In this connection, it is significant to elaborate here that Hastenrath has been able to find out another good example of the under debate specimen in the graveyard located east of Thatta on the Hyderabad highway. These instances are assigned to the early 17th century A.D (Hastenrath, 2003: 99, pl. 76).

It is equally interesting to pinpoint here that besides, the depiction of peacock with snake, ducks are also executed on the funerary structures. In this regard, peacock, sparrows and ducks

have been elegantly wrought on the cenotaph of Nuruddin Tabraizi dated A.D 1542 (Ghafur, 1965: 60-65; 1968: 27; Dani, 1982: 132; Hasan, S.K., 1996: 100-101). Besides, the above mentioned depiction of ducks and peacock with snake may be noticed for the first time on the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill.

In this regard, the present researcher for the first time has been able to record peacock with snake on the unknown Chaukhandi tomb located to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure (Pl. 79b). In this process, it is pertinent to make a mention here that Henry Cousens, M.A Ghafur, A.H. Dani, Shiekh Khurshid Hasan, Ali Ahmad Brohi and Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, are absolutely silent regarding the execution of peacock with snake in the above mentioned unknown Chaukhandi tomb. However, the above stated scholars have mentioned the at issue theme of ornamentation in the Chaukhandi tomb of Badi-uz-Zaman (Pl. 79b), located to the southwest of Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan tomb enclosure (Ghafur, 1966: 155; 1968: 29-30; Hasan, S.K., 1996: 101; Hastenrath, 2003: 98; Brohi, 1983: 56; Dani, 1982: 124). It is indeed significant, to elaborate further, that the figures of peacock with snake executed in the Chaukhandi tomb of Badi-uz-Zaman are slightly improved in execution as compare to those wrought in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb, therefore, the later may be considered early in date as compare to the former example. In this connection, it is important to remark here, that a tablet just above the capital of north-western column bears in relief, the figure of a stylised peacock holding in its beak the neck of a snake. Another tablet of the same size, above the capital of the southwest column, bears in relief the representation of two ducks facing each other in heraldic gesture, (Pl. 79c) the same representation repeated above the capitals of the two columns on the eastern side.

It is sterling to add here that immortality is the main theme behind the representation of peacock, it is considered as a resurrection symbol, because it sheds its feathers and puts on new ones (Hasan, S.K., 1981: 74). Thus, in the light of above stated discussions it appears, that either the mythological concept or the immortality phenomena have simultaneously caused for the origin and development of the inquestion depiction. These significant values were duly acknowledged by the artists at Makli Hill.

5.5. Calligraphic specimens at Makli Hill

The variety of inscriptions executed on the head and foot stones of the graves, moreover on the right and left sides of the cenotaphs, furthermore on the top flat surface of the graves, besides, on the entrances to the tombs, in the tympanums of the archways, moreover, on the inner sides of the tomb chambers and bellow the cornice mouldings are depicting a variety of calligraphic specimens. These have been executed in different styles and techniques.

It is noteworthy, to discuss here that the architectural calligraphy executed at Makli Hill, can be observed in three different techniques, such as, I. carved on stone surface either in relief or in some instances it has been engraved, II. wrought on the enamelled ceramic tiles furthermore, III. executed in stucco work carved in relief.

Whereas, the theme of these inscriptions may be recorded in two different subjects, that is religious inscriptions generally denoting, verses from the Holy Quran or some time Surahs or chapters, ninety nine attributes of Allah, Bismillah, Kalima Tayyeba (the Islamic sacred formula), different prayers, Darud Sharif, Ahadith (Sayings of Muhammad Peace Be Upon Him) and Nad-e-Ali (R.A). Whereas, the secular inscriptions are indicating the chronograms giving us the proper dates of death or the construction date of the concerned building or grave. Besides, in few cases the genealogy of buried person is also inscribed. In this connection, it may be further added here that at Makli Hill necropolis, few graves are denoting titles of the deceased person. While, some instances are showing historical events. It is noteworthy, to advocate further, that the inscriptions executed at Makli Hill are composed in prose version of writing. However, in plentiful number these have also been arranged in Persian couplets. The later style of inscriptions reached its perfection in the regions of Tabraiz, Herat and other notable centers in Central Asia. In this regard, it is utmost significant to advocate here that these Central Asian settlers, who have been generally caused for the introduction of Persian couplets in calligraphic order. In this regard, the Chughtai Turks (Mughals) under Zahir-ud-Din Babur in A.D 1526 founded the Mughal empire in the subcontinent. Whereas, Shah Beg Arghun (Central Asian Turks) in A.D 1520 occupied Sindh Valley. While, in A.D 1555 untill A.D 1613, yet another Central Asian tribe, Tarkhans became the incharge of the Sindh region. They were actually responsible for the introduction of Persio-Turkic traditions in the area of our concern.

5.6. Calligraphic Styles at Makli Hill

The important calligraphic styles executed during the Tarkhan domain are such as,

- I. Naskh
- II. Khat-e-nastalique
- III. Thulth
- IV. Khat-e-Gulzar

5.6.1. Naskh

It is a cursive style of Arabic script. It is indeed important to make a mention here that the earliest record of this specimen in Pakistan may be observed in the form of a manuscript entitled, “Bahjat-un-Nufooz Wal Israr Fit Tarikh-i-Hijrat-ii Mukhtar”, now lying in the Punjab university library dated 436 A.H/A.D 1044. However, in the Makli Hill the earliest instance may be

reported in the Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo Tomb A.D 1508-09. Whereas, the second earliest of the under discussion style is assigned to the tomb enclosure of Darya Khan in A.D 1513. It is significant to point out here that during the Tarkhan period the best calligrapher of this style was Abdul Rahim bin Hafiz Rashid (Ghafur, 1968: 50).

It is vital to claim here that the earliest naskh style during the Tarkhan period may be observed in the grave of Amir Hajika Mughal A.D 1556. The tomb enclosure of Isa Khan Tarkhan I A.D 1565-72 (Pl.) is also indicating the naskh Style (Ghafur, 1968: 65).

It is interesting to add here that the naskhi style executed at Makli Hill can be classified into two different patterns such as,

I. Small Naskhi

II. Bold Naskhi

The tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508 is possessing the earliest examples of both small and bold naskhi at Makli Hill. Whereas, during the Tarkhan rule the tombs of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1635-45 and Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-44 are the other good examples of the small and bold naskhi style.

5.6.2. **Khat-e-Nastalique**

This style has been conceived with the support of cursive and round style of writing. It is generally believed that this style was introduced by Mir Ali Tabraizi. This style of writing is so easy in its approach, therefore, it became one of the popular styles among the Muslims since its invention. In this regard, Schimmel considered it as a “bride of the Islamic style of writing” (Schimmel, 1984: 30).

It is significant, to pinpoint here that the first ever example of this style in Pakistan is reported from the Farrukh Arghun Mosque at Thatta 938 A.H/A.D 1532 (Ghafur, 1968: 51; Khan, A.N., 1991: 180-199). However, at Makli Hill the first ever nastalique style may be observed on the epitaph of Meerak Abdul Rahman 987 A.H/A.D 1579 (Javadi, 1992: 260). The tomb of Diwan Shurafa Khan and the grave enclosure of Mehmud Borani are also possessing this elegant style (Ghafur, 1968: 70; Javadi, 1992: 261). It is pertinent to advocate here that the Chaukhandi tomb of Murad Nizam-ud-Din is declared unidentified by A. H. Dani (Dani, 1982: 126), however, it is showing the Persian couplets in nastalique style, which is indicating the date 1049 A.H/A.D 1639, besides, the name of the deceased has also been mentioned (Javadi, 1992: 234-251; Bukhari & Khattak, 2001: 151). Besides, there are so many other examples of graves, mosque enclosure, mausoleums and Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill yielding the above mentioned style (Pl. 93).

5.6.3. **Thulth**

It is an ornamental style of writing. It was introduced by Ali Ahmad Ibn-e-Maqlah at Baghdad around A.D 940. Since its inception, this style gains tremendous appreciation among the calligraphers. Thus, with the passage of time it became one of the widely spread ornamental styles of the writing. This monumental style of calligraphy is very unique in gesture. In this style the length is double of the width of naskh, moreover, its curves and strokes are three times bigger than the size of naskh. Furthermore, it is based on the curvilinear writing system.

This illustrious style appeared at Makli Hill during the Samma domain. In this regard, the at issue style has been exquisitely wrought in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1389-92. Whereas, in the tomb of Malik Raj Pal A.D 1457 and in the mausoleum of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1509 (Ghafur, 1968: 64). Furthermore, on the façade of the tomb enclosure of Darya Khan A.D 1513 is denoting some of the excellent evidences of this style (Ghafur, 1968: 64; Lari, 1997: 134-179).

This style was also continued by the Arghuns and Tarkhans in their buildings. However, during the 14th & 15th centuries A.D under the Timurids the inquestion style was frequently executed in the monuments at Herat (Ghafur, 1968: 50). In this connection, it is sterling to add here that, when the Central Asian tribes replaced the Samma rule in Thatta, they retained the thulth style, which was popularly used in the Central Asian lands. The earliest instance during the Tarkhan domain is assigned to the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (Pl. 82) (Ghafur, 1968: 66-67). In this tomb, we can observe the first ever example, which has been executed in enamelled ceramic tiles (Pl. 80). Later on, this style in the enamelled tiles can also be noticed in the tombs of Jani Beg Tarkhan (Pl. 81) A.D 1600 and Diwan Shurafa Khan (Pl. 83 & 84) A.D 1635-45.

Besides, thulth style is also carved in relief, which may be observed for the first time during the Tarkhan period, in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan (Pl. 82) A.D 1558-65. In this case it can be seen at the inner side of the tomb chamber. Whereas, at the inner side of the unknown Chaukhandi tomb to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I, Quranic verses are inscribed in the at issue style (Pl. 91). Moreover, on the entrance to the tomb complex of Jani Beg Tarkhan (Pl. 90) the inquestion style has been profusely executed in relief. Furthermore, in the Chaukhandi tombs of Badi-uz-Zaman, Muhammad Quli (Pl. 87) A.D 1604, moreover, in the mausoleum Diwan Shurafa Khan (Pl. 83 & 84) A.D 1635-45 and in the tomb enclosure of Baqi Beg Uzbek (Pl. 85) A.D 1647 are possessing some of the elegantly carved specimens of the thulth style.

5.6.4. **Khat-e-Gulzar**

The term gulzar means floral or flowery pattern. In this connection, it is significant to elaborate here that in this ornamental style the outlines of the letters are filled with floral patterns. Thus, representing a very unique gesture in the calligraphic style. It is sterling to point out here that the earliest record of gulzar style at Makli Hill, may be recorded on the southern gate of Darya Khans grave enclosure (Ghafur, 1968: 64) dated to the last decade of the 15th century A.D. In this regard, it is worthwhile, to discuss here that M.A. Ghafur is of the view that this specimen of gulzar style is not executed in the characteristic manner of the under discussion style, however, its approach is denoting a visible tendency towards the gulzar style (Ghafur, 1968: 64). It may be further added here that during the Tarkhan period at Makli Hill the first ever example of this style can be observed on the gateway to the tomb enclosure of Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1584. This calligraphic style is excellently carved in relief (Ghafur, 1968: 66).

Chapter-VI

6. Comparison & Conclusion

It is utmost significant to conclude here that in the present work an attempt has been made to analyse the different issues concerning with the prevailing subject. In this process, to examine the various historical concerns, moreover, to study the ornamental motifs similarly, to workout the comparative analysis of the different architectural components in order to bring forth the core of the problem. In this sequence, the present researcher has analytically examined the in question concerns through the style-critical method in order to adopt a scientific approach to verify the different issues. In this process, the aims and objectives of the present work would be to formulate a kind of procedure through which, the prevailing quarries may be solved. In this regard, in the first chapter of the present work the nomenclature and historical significance of the under study region has been analytically analysed.

In this sequence, it is equally significant to reach any conclusive verdict in connection to find out authentic sources in order to attribute its origin to the pre Greek era. In this regard, the present researcher is agreeing with those scholars, who are locating it at the head of Delta and suggesting lying near Barbarikon the present day Banbhore (al-Daybul of the Arab conquerors). The Greek historians recorded Patala a navel station, it was serving as a river emporium, which was linked with the sea port of Barbarikon. This phenomena is also solving the contention of al-Daybulan, the concept of two Daybuls, that is al-Daybul the portage and Thatta the second Daybul, the enterpot. In this connection, it appears, that Patala or the later Thatta was the river port, which was linked with the Barbarikon through the river Indus. Thus, under the prevailing circumstances, such geographical values have played a vital role in the uplift of both trade and cultural activities. Moreover, due to its geostratigic positioning the various routs leading to the different directions are connecting it with Multan and onwards via Bolan Pass, it is linked with Afghanistan, Iran and Central Asia. While, through Kutch it is connected with Kathiawar, Gujarat, Ahmadabad and Delhi. Furthermore, being a pertinent part of the twin ports, therefore, Thatta has utilised its resources stupendously, which were generally caused for bringing peace and prosperity in the region. It may be further added here that the prevailing favourable circumstances of this area attracted the traders, artists, poets, scholars, engineers etc. Thus, both

Patala (Thatta) the river emporium and the Barbarikon (Bhombore) the seaport have simultaneously caused for the development and promotion of the native cultural activities. In this process, it may be elaborated here that after the decline of Greeks the area came under the local rulers. However, nothing can be proved with assuery until the arrival of Scythians in the area of our study. In this connection, it is utmost vital to proclaim further that Alexander Cunningham in his "Geography of India" has identified Min-Nagar with Thatta, who is claiming that one of the Scythians tribe Min or Med founded it during the second century A.D. In this regard, it is equally significant to verify here that the Scythians on the basis of valid justifications gained power in 90 BC and ruled until the early first century A.D. In this process, it is utmost pertinent to advocate here that F.A Khan during the course of excavations at Banbhore in 1958 has revealed Scythian remains, denoting their presence in the region. Likewise, Pliny and Periplus during their visits have mentioned, Min-Nagar the capital city of the Scythians. In the light of above stated discussions, it is evidently proved that due to the twin ports capacity of the region therefore, both of them have very successfully supplemented each other. It may be further added here that the concept of twin ports which emerged out before the arrival of Greeks has gained tremendous fame during the succeeding centuries.

It is significant, to advocate here that F.A. Khan during the digging operations in 1958, at Banbhore, has claimed that the Scythians were succeeded by the Parthians. Moreover, Periplus in the mid first century A.D visited the area of our concern has mentioned that one of the Parthians prince is controlling the area of Min-Nagar, which is a river port city located adjacent to the Barbarikon the sea port.

It is equally important to make a mention here that after the decline of Parthians, the region of our study came under the sway of Kusānā rulers. However, later on, it was annexed by the Sassanians. It is indeed important to proclaim further that during the 5th century A.D this region was overpowered by the White Huns. However, during the last decade of the 5th century A.D Sindh valley came under the domain of a local ruling family known as Ra'i dynasty. They were Buddhist, who gained power due to the weakness of the Sassanians on one hand and the Guptas on the other. The Ra'i dynasty instead of retaining Thatta (Min-Nagar) their capital city shifted it to Alore. They developed the Buddhist art and architecture in the Sindh Valley, these later on, alongside the Hindu and Jaina temple architecture evolved into a new form of building art. It eventually interacted with the Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Deccan, Fatehpure Sikri and the Seraiki style of Pakistan, alongside the inspirations from the Persians and Central Asian traditions, subsequently caused for the emergence of a new brand of cultural phenomena. Such developments, may be noticed due to its geostrategic nature, moreover, the twin ports facility in

the region has earned a great fame in the far and wide regions. In this process, it is utmost significant to advocate here, that to understand the importance of the under discussion region, especially its twin ports, the Arab geographer Ibn-e-al Arabi from A.D 767 until A.D 845 has mentioned for the first time the term al-Daybulan, the two Daybuls or Twin ports, undoubtedly strengthening the claim of the present researcher. He is proclaiming that the idea of two ports emerged out before the arrival of the Greeks. It continued its status until the conquest of the Arabs. In this process, Alberuni in his works, Mirza Kalichbeg in the “Chachnama”, Fatami in his research works, Raverty in the “Mehran of Sindh”, Henry Cousens in the “Antiquities of Sindh”, David Ross, Richard Burton, Wilson, Sorley, Lambark, N.A. Baluch in their research works have recorded the two ports such as, the river port (Thatta) and sea port (al-Daybul).

It is worthwhile, to state here that the in question river port has changed its name at different phases of time. Such, variations in the name of the city may be noticed, due to the changes in the course of River Indus, moreover, changes in the ruling sector is one of the other significant reasons, which generally caused for the change of name. It is significant to elaborate here that Patala in Sanskrit stands for the Deltaic situate. Moreover, Arious, Curtius, Haig, Wilson, Cunningham, Raverty, Smith, Burton, Wood, Sorly, Lambrick, Ross are claiming, it is located at the head of Delta and lies behind Barbarikon (seaport). Whereas the Greek historians and later on, Ptolemy and Pliny have recorded Patala on the river bank. It is important to suggest here, that the term Patala was replaced during the first century BC. During this phase of time the Scythians occupied the region of our concern and named it “Min-Nagar” the city on the river bank. It is worthwhile, to advocate here that Periplus during the middle of first century A.D has visited the region. In this connection, it is equally important to proclaim here that Cunningham, Raverty, Wilson, Smith, Lambrick and others have identified Min-Nagar with Thatta. In the light of these discussions it appears, that Patala was replaced by Min-Nagar, which has been identified with Thatta. Thus, all these names are undoubtedly denoting to the same place, which was located at the head of Barbarikon (Banbhore). In this sequence, the former has played a vital role as a river port, whereas, the later as a sea port benefited its emporium. Keeping in view the utility and vitality of these two ports, therefore, at the advent of the Arabs the concept of twin ports or al-Daybulan gained fame among the sailors and marchants. These twin ports such as, Thatta as a river emporium and Banbhore or al-Daybul as a sea port, have very successfully supplemented each other, subsequently these twin ports cities have earned a high status in the far and wide regions.

The other major concern is the origin of the present name Thatta. In this process, the research scholars have claimed its earliest mention, in the poetry of Amir Khusraw A.D 1252-

1325. However, the present researcher has been able to record its appearance in the Diwan of Amir Khusraw entitled “Tuhfat-ul-Saghar”, which is dated to 671 A.H/A.D 1272.

It is equally significant to advocate here that during 300 A.H/A.D 913-14, an Arab Sailor Buzurg bin Shehreyar visited the vicinity and recorded it in his account entitled as, “Ajaibul Hind”. It is indeed sterling, to advocate further, that the region of Thatta or the Daybul Thatta of the Arabs, during the middle of the 11th century A.D once again grew up as a seat of government, when Rāja Som Rai laid the foundation of Sumra dynasty in A.D 1052. It is equally significant to elaborate here, that Thatta remained a very vital river port, however, its counter part port al-Daybul (Banbhore) lost its status as a sea port. In this process, Alberuni has mentioned, Lahri Bandar, as a Daybul thus from here onwards Lahri Bandar became the counter part port to the Daybul Thatta or Thato-Nagar a flourishing emporium.

During the Sumra domain Thatta enjoyed the position of a trade centre. However, they later on, shifted the capital city to Thari located in the closing vicinity of Thatta. It may be further added here that it was in A.D 1337 when Jam Unar I bin Disar laid the foundation of Samma dynasty and established his seat of government at Thatta. Thus it appears, that Thatta once again grew up an administrative centre. This very fact can be further proved that Taghi a rebel escaped at Thatta, in the court of Jam Unar I. In this regard, Muhammad bin Tughlaq came to Thatta to suppress the rebel and his supporters. However, on the bank of river Indus at Thatta he fell ill and died on 21 March 1351. Whereas, his army was crushed by the Samma soldiers. In this regard, it is significant to advocate here, that the Samma and Tughlaq conflict at Thatta and the stay of a rebel in the royal court at Thatta is signifying the importance of the in question vicinity.

It is sterling to note here, that due to the personal interest of the Sammas, who founded a new city situated in its vicinity called as Samui. However, it was during the formidable rule of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1452 until A.D 1509 when Thatta was once again given the status of a capital city. It may be further, attributed here that right from the pre-Greeks era until the Samma domain Thatta enjoyed its pertinent status due to its geostratigic position.

The Sammas were dethroned by the Arghuns, a Central Asian tribe, who started their rule at Thatta in A.D 1520 under Shah Beg Arghun. It was in A.D 1555, when Shah Hasan Arghun was died. In this connection, another Central Asian tribe, who came to Thatta alongside the Arghuns initiated their rule under Muhammad Isa Khan Tarkhan I. He ruled over Thatta until A.D 1566. He was succeeded by his son Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan. He was replaced by Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan in A.D 1584 and became the master of Tarkhan dynasty at Thatta. In this regard, Abul Fazal in Aina-e-Akbari and Qani in Tufatul Kiram have recorded, that finally

King Akbar sends his army under Khan-e-Khanan to annex Thatta into the Mughal domain. In this process, a battle was fought in A.D 1592 in which Jani Beg Tarkhan was defeated. Thus, Thatta came under the sway of Mughal empire. However, as a matter of fact at the submission of Jani Beg Tarkhan, he was honoured in the royal court. After staying there his admirable qualities were immensely acknowledged by the Mughal monarch. Therefore, he was retained as a ruler of Thatta. In this connection, it may be added here that Tarkhan rule over Thatta may be divided into two phases such as, early Tarkhans from A.D 1555 until A.D 1593, however, it can be proclaimed here that since Jani Beg was retained as a ruler of Thatta, therefore, these later Tarkhans, became the vassal kings such as, Jani Beg A.D 1593-1601, Ghazi Beg Tarkhan A.D 1601-1612 and finally Abdul Ali Tarkhan II ascended the throne in A.D 1612-13, however, at his arrest the Tarkhan era came to an end, while the Mughal sway commenced over Thatta. Thus, after the subjugation of Thatta the Mughal emperors nominated governors to look after the Thatta affairs.

The other worthwhile, concern is the shrouded history of Makli Hill and its enigmatic nomenclature. These have been generally based on the hypothetic version of sources. In this regard, it is important to advocate here that the etymology of the term Makli has been worked out in the light of folkloristic traditions, recorded by the vernacular historians. In this connection, Mir Ali Sher Qani in “Tufatul Kiram” and Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi in his translation of “Makli Nama” whereas, Henry Cousens in the “Antiquities of Sindh” Major Raverty in his “Mehran of Sindh” A.H. Dani in his works entitled, “Thatta Islamic Architecture”, moreover, Sohail Lari and Yasmin Lari in the “Jewel of Sindh”, have forwarded almost similar assumptions suggesting its nomenclature is derived from a certain legend, which as per traditions was taken place at this hilly region. These sources are advocating that a certain lady in order to visit Mecca stayed here and saw a dream. In her dream, she was told “Haza Makkah tu li”, this is Mecca for you. Whereas, in the other version of hypothetic tradition, it is claimed that a pious man inspiring from the spiritual atmosphere of the in question venue, started spiritual dancing and proclaimed “Haza Makkah li” this place is Mecca for me. Moreover, in yet another version of legend, it is narrated that a pious old lady named Mayi Makli, came to this place and resided here. After her death she was buried close to the Mehrab of the old Makli mosque. It is also claimed that Sheikh Hamad Jamali a religious scholar has adopted this name for the entire hilly region.

However, to evaluate this matter of controversy in order to bring forth the core of the issue, Muhammad Ali Manji in his work has quoted the portrays of G.M. Sayyed. Who is supposing that it has been taken from “Mankali”, a certain sect, who resided there. Thus, the name was also applied for the entire hill area. It is indeed utmost important to elaborate further,

that H. Pottinger has suggested that the present name has been evolved out from Mukulee. Whereas, John Wood is proclaiming, its derivation from Mukali. These interpretations can be verified in the works of Ali Ahmad Brohi, who above all the hypothetic statements considers, its derivation from a Hindu Temple known as “Mahākālī”. Thus it appears, that the term Mahākālī was actually caused for the derivation of the word Makli. It can be further evaluated in the light of yet another tradition recorded by Burnes, who mentioned that the temples located at Thatta were once visited by Rām Chandar on his pilgrimage to Hinglag, a temple located in Makran.

In this connection, the present researcher in quest of proper solution regarding the prevailing etymology of the term Makli, has been able to collect authentic evidences. In this process, the present researcher during the course of studying the Makli Hill monuments in year 2002 and again in 2008 has been able to find out three temples. These have been assigned to Mahākālī or Mātākali. In this connection, one of them is located to the east of Jani Beg Tarkhans tomb, which is mostly fallen. Whereas, the second is located to the south of Jani Beg tomb and to the left side of the road leading towards Hyderabad. In this temple only a square platform is existing, where balidan rituals are being offered. However, its supper structure has been fallen. The third temple of the in question goddess is located at Kallan Kot in the under discussion hill series. It is a kind of rock shelter, where a niche can be observed, which is being used for the Sindhur ceremonies. In this process, it is significant to argue here that besides, the above stated three temples of Mahākālī, the other temples, those of Mātā Bhawani and Mātā Mansha at Makli Hill, are the incarnations or the other forms of Mahākālī. Thus, in the light of above mentioned evidences, it appears that the term Makli is undoubtedly derived from the name of a Hindu goddess “Mahākālī”. This term was later on, conceived into Makli.

It is equally significant to pinpoint here that when the term “Makli Hill” appeared for the first time in the epigraphical records? In this process, Tufat-ul-Kiram, Makli Nama, Tarikh-e-Masumi, Tarikh-i-Tahiri, Beglar Nama, Lub-e-Tarikh-e-Sindh and Sanadeed-e-Sindh, moreover, Henry Cousens, Ali Ahmad Brohi, A.H. Dani, Sheikh Khursheed Hasan and Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath are absolutely silent. However, Jawadi in his epigraphical documentation has been able to record the term Makli Hill for the first time in the Chaukhandi tomb of Murad Nizam-ud-Din A.D 1639.

Besides, in the present work the origin of Makli Hill as a funeral and worshipping place shall also be analytically analysed. In this process, Qani in “Tufat-ul-Kiram” and Makli Nama, whereas, Henry Cousens in his “Antiquities of Sindh” have mentioned, that the famous religious scholar Shiekh Hamad Jamali’s desire was accomplished by his royal disciple, Jam Tamachi a Samma ruler, who constructed a mosque in this hill region. It was subsequently named “Makli

mosque". Besides, he also constructed the Khanqah of Shiekh Hamad Jamali in A.D 1388-92. Furthermore, the Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi A.D 1388-92 may be considered as the first ever funerary structure at Makli Hill. Thus, the story of Makli Hill graveyard started with these early buildings constructed during the Samma domain. It is significant to elaborate here, that at Makli Hill, we can observe the buildings of the four successive dynasties. These four dynastic phases can be well recognised in the light of stylistical approach and the variation in the execution. As mentioned above the architectural activities were initiated by the Samma during A.D 1388-92, which continued until A.D 1520. Whereas, the Arghuns dethroned the Samma dynasty and founded their government at Thatta. They introduced the Persio-Turkic traditions at Makli Hill. In this process, the grave of Nuruddin Tabraizi is possessing similar attitude, which can be seen in Tabraiz, Herat and Khurasan such as, the calligraphic execution and the idea of figural representation. The Arghuns were replaced by the Tarkhans in A.D 1555 and ruled until A.D 1613. They were also Central Asians in origin, however, alongside the Persio-Turkic values the Gujarati, Ahmadabad, Deccan, Fatehpursikri and Seraiki styles have influenced the Makli Hill mode of architecture. Thus, as a blend of cultures a unique mode of art and architecture was evolved at Makli Hill, which may be considered a land mark in the history of mausoleum architecture in the present day Pakistan.

The Tarkhan dynasty was replaced by the Mughals, who were Chughtai Turks. They came from Central Asia and annexed Thatta in their domain. They also glorified the Makli Hill architecture. It is worthwhile, to elaborate here that it would be very difficult to study the monuments of the above stated four ruling dynasties, therefore, the present researcher shall be focussing to study the selected monuments constructed during to the Tarkhan domain.

It is utmost significant to elaborate here that on the stylistical grounds the monuments at Makli Hill, can be classified into six categories. a. Mosque b. Madrasah pavilions c. Mausoleums d. Chaukhandi tombs e. graves platform with enclosure wall and f. graves with platforms. However, the present researcher has selected the two important groups of monuments at Makli Hill such as, I. mausoleums and II Chaukahndi tombs. It may be further added here that for the construction of these monuments different techniques have been adopted, such as, the trabeate and archuate systems. In this process, the trabeate system of architecture is the vernacular form of construction. In this connection, it is worthwhile, to elaborate here that Percy Brown, Bunce Jairazbhoy, Satish Grower, Sahai and others are of the view that the Muslim engineers were responsible for the introduction of archuate system of architecture in the subcontinent. However, it is vital to argue here that in the subcontinent one can clearly observe the hints of archuate system. It has been used in its rudimentary form in the Hindu temples alongside the more

dominating trabeate system. In this regard, John Terry, R. Nath and Sheikh Khursheed Hasan are stressing that the local values were successfully continued, however, with the introduction of Persian and Central Asian traditions, the native art and architecture was further glorified. Thus, as a blend of cultures a new theme has been emerged out. In this connection, the present researcher is of the view that in the Hindu temples at Deogarh, Aiholi and Rājputana on the Indian soil, whereas, Kafirkot, Bilot, Katas, Kalar, Amb and Nandna temples in the present day Pakistan, ranging in date from 8th century A.D until 11th century A.D are showing glimpses of archuate system. In this process, the use of trefoil and ogee arches can be visibly observed. Besides, the arch shaped ventilators and the use of corbelled pendants are some of the significant examples. These eventually developed with the Persian and Central Asian cultural interactions thus, as a blend of cultures a very uniform mode of architecture was adopted by its patrons.

It is pertinent to make a mention here that in order to study the Makli Hill monuments at Thatta, the present researcher on stylistical grounds has been able to classify the selected monuments constructed during the Tarkhan domain at Makli Hill into four groups such as, I. Octagonal tomb with pronounced drum, II. Square tomb with round corner turrets and pronounced drum, III. Square tomb chamber with chamfered corners and IV. Square chamber with terraced shaped drum and double storeyed pillared verandah.

It is utmost significant to mention here, that the idea of tomb architecture was brought to the subcontinent by the Central Asians. They were settled down in the different parts of the subcontinent, where they started their own customs and traditions. Such alien traditions were amalgamated with the native values, which eventually caused for the introduction of new ideas. Thus, with the unification of different ideas as a result new trends were established.

It is worthwhile, to advocate here, that some of the scholars are claiming its origin from the Central Asian sources. While, others are of the view, that the under discussion style was developed through the Persian traditions. In this regard, Graber has claimed that the tomb of Alam Bardar in Turkmenistan dated to the 11th century A.D may be considered the prototype for the many tombs types in the subcontinent. Whereas, Barbra Brend, D.T. Rice, O'Kane, Ebba Koch, Percy Brown, Ram Nath, A.H. Dani, A.N. Khan, Hoag, Roggers and others have claimed that the mausoleum architecture was originated in Central Asia. In this regard the first example may be observed at Bukhara that is the tomb of Ismail Samanid A.D 907. Whereas, the second earliest instance may be noticed at Tim, such as, the tomb of Arab Atta A.D 977. These two tombs are generally considered the beginning of tomb architecture in Central Asia.

In this process, it may be claimed here that Creswell and Jose Pereira have reported the earliest precedent of tomb architecture at Samara. This ruined tomb is assigned to the Caliph al-Muntasir A.D 862. It was erected in octagonal plan. In this connection, the present researcher is of the view that after its beginning at Samara later on, the mausoleum architecture was transmitted to the neighbouring Persian lands. In this connection, Anthony Hutt, Leonard Harrow, Sylvia A Matheson in their works, have specifically mentioned the earliest Islamic tombs in Persia at Samiran dated to the 10th century A.D. In this process, the present researcher is of the view that the engineers of Samiran tombs in Persia have successfully followed the style of Samara tomb. It may be further proclaimed here, that later on, the Samiran style heavily influenced the tombs at Kharaqan located on Qazvin Hamadan road dated to A.D 1067 and A.D 1096. Thus it appears, that the style of octagonal plan mausoleum architecture was initiated at Samara, however, developed in Persia and onwards in more improved form disseminated to the neighbouring regions of Central Asia. In this connection, it may advocate here that due to the cultural interactions both the Persian and Central Asian traditions were successfully followed in the present day Pakistan. In this regard, it is pertinent to mention here that due to the political upheaval in the Persian regions caused by the Seljuqs resulted many tribes shifted to the Baluchistan of the present day Pakistan. Furthermore, the cultural interactions between Persia and Baluchistan is one of the other significant reasons resulting the introduction of Samiran style at Mithri in Baluchistan dated to the 11th century A.D. It is indeed pertinent to advocate here that at Mithri the Persian style has been successfully adopted, which is representing the beginning of a new style in the present day Pakistan such as, the octagonal shaped domed tomb chamber is provided with corner turrets. This style has later on, influenced the Multan style of mausoleum architecture.

However, in Pakistan the funeral structures appeared for the first time at Lal Mahra Sharif in Dera Ismail Khan located in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa dated to the late 11th or early 12 century A.D. These tombs are square in plan, whereas, tomb number four at Lal Mahra Sharif has been provided with corner turrets marking the beginning of a new style. However, the most significant style which appeared at Lal Mahra Sharif for the first time in the history of mausoleum architecture is the beginning of three tiered mausoleum. Its first storey is square in plan, whereas, second is octagonal, while the third is domical. In this regard, it is equally pertinent to suggest here, that the under discussion style has been successfully derived from the mausoleum of Arsalan Jadhiv at Sangbast A.D 1028. This stylistical adoption is also denoting the Ghaznavid impacts in the Gomal Valley. Thus, with the passage of time the Lal Mahra Sharif style of architecture and that of Mithri may be considered were responsible for the

introduction of three tiered funeral structures and the octagonally laid mausoleums in the present day Pakistan.

In this process, Alexander Cunningham, Page, Percy Brown, Marshall, Wheeler and A. N. Khan are of the view that the style of tomb architecture at Multan was derived from Central Asia. They are claiming that the tomb of Sultan Sanjar A.D 1157-60 and that of Uljaitu A.D 1315-16 were caused for the origin of Multan school of tomb architecture. In this process, they believed that the tomb of Shah Rukne-Alam A.D 1335 has been successfully modelled from the tomb of Uljaitu at Sultaniya. They further argued that after being founded at Multan, then this style was disseminated to India. In this connection, the present researcher is of the view that in the presence of such style at Mithri it is showing its derivation through the Persian traditions. Similarly, it has also influenced the Central Asian style. Thus, after being adopted at Mithri, this style later on, disseminated to Multan likewise, this idea reached Uchchh Sharif, which eventually influenced the architecture of Sindh valley, where its first ever instance can be noticed at Makli Hill. In this regard, the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan is representing the octagonal style. However, the stylistical approach adopted here, is undoubtedly denoting the beginning of a new mode of architecture. Such as, the first storey is octagonal in plan, followed by the second storey, representing the round shaped drum in pronounced gesture. This style of pronounced drum in round shape is appearing for the first time at Makli Hill. Moreover, the third storey is the domical structure. In this process, it is important to discuss here that the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan except the first octagonal storey, rest of the features are differing it from the style of Rukn-e-Alam at Multan. It is interesting to mention here that the three tiered funeral structure and the style of pronounced drum is generally believed by the scholars has been derived from Central Asia. In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that the inquestion style was actually originated in both Gandhāra and Sindh Valleys during the Buddhist domain.

In this sequence, it may be advocated here that stūpa is a kind of funeral structure which is solid in nature, however, in some cases hollowed stūpas were also constructed. In this process, Pope and Diez are of the view that the Persian Chahar Taqs eventually styled into the hollowed stūpas of Gandhāra. In this process, these early Buddhist stūpas, may also be considered as the domed tombs. These Buddhist funeral structures in comparison to the Islamic tombs are seemed to have been styled in the similar fashion, however, inside the tomb chamber a grave of the deceased person and a mehrab to the western direction are the characteristic features of the Islamic tomb. Moreover, the Quranic verses, sayings of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) are inscribed in different styles. While, in the Buddhist tombs, sculptures of the concerned person are displayed. It is equally pertinent to discuss here that both of these burial structures are yielding similar

philosophy in terms of the mode of construction. Thus it appears, that the idea of three tiered funeral structure was developed in the vernacular gesture. However, when these regions were occupied by the Muslims, thus, due to the socio-culture and religious interactions the native style was further developed.

It may be further added here that the two drums provided to the stūpa in order to give the additional height is undoubtedly indicating the beginning of the pronounced shaped drum. This style was being practiced in the Hindu temples of Salt Range, where the pronounced shape spiral structure was added.

Thus it appears, that the idea of three tiered funeral structure and the construction of the pronounced drum was locally originated, however, it was further improved with the support of new ideas. In this regard, it is generally believed by the researchers that the idea of pronounced drum has been introduced by the Timurids. However, the present researcher in the relevant chapter of the present work has proved that the Seljuqs initiated the in question pattern in Persia. Whereas, this mode of work was uniformed by the Ilkhanids. While, during the Timurids the under debate gesture reached to the perfection. In this sequence, the research scholars are of the view that in the subcontinent the idea of pronounced drum was derived from the Timurid traditions.

However, it is significant to advocate here that A.N. Khan and Shiekh Khurshid Hasan have reported the two tombs at Alore dated to the 13th century A.D are marking the beginning of the inquestion style. In this connection, it may be pointed out that these tombs are square in plan. Their first storey is crowned by the round shaped pronounced drum. It is representing a new mode of work, which can be observed for the first time in the history of tomb architecture in Pakistan. The era of its construction is clearly in picturing us that the idea is seemed to be taken from the Ilkhanid sources. Thus, it appears, that both the Persian and Central Asian values have been generally caused for the development of tomb architecture in Pakistan. It may be further added here that these Persio-Turkic traditions were amalgamated with the vernacular values. These have been passed through the different evolutionary stages, finally evolved into the developed stance. In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that in the light of above stated discussions, it appears, that the under debate element was not a new feature for the masons of the subcontinent, however, due to the cultural interactions, the under discussion style was highly improved, which eventually influenced the Makli Hill mausoleum architecture. In this connection, it may be argued here that after the introduction of the inquestion mode of work at Makli Hill, later on, it became an essential style of architecture at Makli Hill, which can be visibly noticed in the tombs of Jani Beg Tarkhan and Diwan Shurafa Khan.

Whereas, the second category of tombs at Makli Hill, is signifying a single instance, representing the square tomb chamber with round corner turrets. It is marking the beginning of a new style at Makli Hill. In this connection, it is significant to emphasize here that the idea of corner turrets has been appeared for the first time at Lal Mahra Sharif in Dera Ismail Khan. It is clearly showing that in the tomb IV the square tomb chamber is provided with round corner turrets, dated to the early 12th century A.D. However, the above stated arrangement of the tomb chamber at Lal Mahra Sharif may be observed much earlier in the tomb of Ismail Samanid at Bukhara. The style then shifted to Tim, where the Arab Ata tomb was constructed in A.D 977. It is possessing close affinity to the style of Ismail Samanid tomb. Likewise, it influenced the Alam Bardar tomb at Kirki (Turkmenistan) dated to the 11th century A.D. Thus it appears, that the in question style after passing through the various evolutionary stages finally, appearing for the first time at Lal Mahra sharif. The style afterwards influenced the Seraiki regions such as, the tomb of Ustad or Nauratan at Uchchh Sharif is denoting the continuation of the under discussion style. Besides, the inquestion mode of work may also be observed, in the tomb of Pir Adil Shah, at Dera Ghazi Khan. In this regard, the present researcher is of the view, that the under debate style, after passing through the different developmental phases, finally it began at Makli Hill. In this regard, the mausoleum of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1635-1645 is the significant evidence at Makli Hill.

It may be added here, that the third group of tombs at Makli Hill, is denoting a very unique style in the area of our study. The tomb is known as Satcharni (seven staircases or seven steps). However, Pir Husamuddin Rashdi in the Makli Nama, has identified it with the tomb of Khausrav Khan Charkas. The tomb chamber is chamfered in plan externally and octagonal internally. The style adopted in this tomb is representing, the beginning of a new tradition in Pakistan. In this process, the present researcher is of the view, that the idea of chamfered plan has been taken from the Persian values. In this sequence, the tomb at Koh-e-Banana dated to the end of Ilkhanid rule or perhaps to the 14th 15th centuries A.D is the beginning of the under discussion style in Persia.

Besides, this unique plan of the at issue mausoleum, its other significant feature, which actually caused for the name of the tomb, is a set of two staircases have been provided at the four angles. Thus, it appears, eight staircases were added to ascend the roof. In the light of existing evidences the supposed name of Satcharni stands in correct. In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that probably the word “hasht” which means eight, was corrupted and became “ast”. Which later on, instead of Hashtchar□ni, it became known as Satcharni.

The fourth group of mausoleum architecture at Makli Hill, may be considered a landmark in the history of tomb architecture in Pakistan. In this regard, it may be added here that the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II is representing the most exquisite and magnificent mode of workmanship. It is exhibiting splendid surface embellishment work on one hand, while the glorious architectural style on the other. These traditions made it undoubtedly the jewel of Sindh architecture.

It is utmost pertinent to elaborate here that the scholars like Henry Cousens, Percy Brown and Surendra Sahai are claiming that the architectural style adopted, in the construction of Isa Khan Tarkhan II tomb at Makli Hill, is derived from the Fatehpur Sikri traditions. However, in this process, it may be proclaimed here that the Fatehpur Sikri style by itself is denoting, has been developed through the Gujarat and Ahmadabad traditions. Therefore, the views of A.H. Dani, Sheikh Khurshid and I.H. Nadiem seems to be more relevant, who are suggesting its derivation from the neighbouring lands such as, Gujarat and Ahmadabad. In this regard, we have many examples at Gujarat and Ahmadabad. Such as, the complex of Sayyid Uthman A.D 1460 and the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid A.D 1484-85 are clearly denoting the under discussion style, which eventually influenced the Makli Hill style of architecture.

It is indeed significant to discuss here, that one of the other notable characteristic features of the Makli Hill mausoleum architecture is the variation in the style of squinch construction, however, in the present work, the study shall be confined to those buildings, which are selected for the present work. These arch squinches may be classified in to six groups such as, a. arch squinch, b. three tined arch squinch, c. arched squinch with small niches, d. arch squinch with stalactite element, e. intersecting arch squinch and f. arch squinches flanked by pilasters.

In this regard, it is important to mention here that both the arch squinches with honeycomb design and the application of squinch with small arch niches can be observed in the Persian buildings. Though in rudimentary form, may be observed in the Seljuq edifices, yet increasingly improvements may be noticed, under the Ilkhanids. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Ram Nath is claiming its initiation can be recorded in the tomb of Khudabanda at Sultanya A.D 1307. In this process, Arthor Upham Pope, John D. Hoag, Anthony Hutt and Leonard Harrow in their works have mentioned the honeycombed squinches appeared for the first time in the Isfahan mosque dated to the 13th century A.D (Pl. 33b). Thus, after its initiation in the Persian lands, the inquestion device was later on, disseminated to the neighbouring territories. However, the at issue components became an important architectural device during the Timurids. In this connection, the buildings at Heart, assigned to Gohar Shad A.D 1434-44, are representing the inquestion gestures. In this connection, it may be stated here that at Makli

Hill during the Tarkhan period the idea of small niches inside the arch squinch has been manipulated in rudimentary form in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. However, the tomb of Khusraw Khan Charkas is showing the earliest honeycombed squinches.

It is worthwhile, to elaborate here, that the idea of intersecting arch squinches likewise, the above stated examples has been introduced for the first time in the Chaukhandi tomb of Qazi Ahmad dated to the last decade of the 16th century A.D. Besides, the intersecting arch squinches, may also be reported in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb located to the south of Mirza Tughrel Beg Chaukhandi tomb. Furthermore, it can also be observed in the Jani Beg Tarkhan tomb. Regarding the introduction of the at issue architectural components A. H. Dani in his works is of the view that these appeared for the first time at Deccan dated to the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. He further added that these were veneered in the Persian manner. After its initiation at Deccan, later on this architectural device was disseminated to the other parts of the subcontinent. Similarly, due to the cultural interactions the at issue device was also derived to the Makli Hill.

It may be added here, that one of the other significant category of the at issue device is the arch squinches flanked by the plasters. It is equally important to proclaim here that the in question mode of work, appeared for the first time in the tomb of Ismail Samanid (Pl. 26e) at Bukhara A.D 907. This style has been very successfully adopted in the mausoleum of Arab Ata at Tim A.D 977. It may be further elaborated here that after its initiation, this mode of work was later on, disseminated to the neighbouring regions. It is interesting to claim here that in the present day Pakistan, the under debate style can be recorded for the first time in the two tombs at Alore such as, Mayi Dohagan and Mayi Sohagan dated to the 13th century A.D. Thus, with the passage of time the under discussion category of squinch has influenced the Makli Hill, mausoleum architecture. In this connection, at Makli Hill the first ever example of the under discussion category has been provided in rudimentary form to the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. However, its good instances can be seen in the Chaukhandi tomb of Qazi Ahmad, similarly, in the mausoleum of Jani Beg Tarkhan, likewise, in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II and in the tomb of Diwan Shuraf Khan, the at issue squinch can be clearly observed.

It is utmost pertinent to elaborate here, that one of the other worth mentioning architectural components constructed at Makli Hill, is the construction of different types of domes. These domes may be classified into seven groups, such as, a. hemispherical, b. pointed, c. Squat, d. flanged, e. double dome and f. onion shape dome.

It is important to make a mention here, that the flanged dome was originated in Central Asia. It is representing a unique gesture in the construction of dome. It is equally pertinent to advocate here that this idea appeared for the first time at Sava in Persia. Where, it can be noticed

in the tomb of Imamzada A.D 1277. Later on, this unique style influenced the neighbouring territories. In this regard, in the present day Pakistan the tomb of Mir Masum at Sukkur A.D 1594 is showing its beginning, however, at Makli Hill, we have the only one precedent, which may be seen in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II A.D 1628-1644.

It is noteworthy to elaborate here, that among the different gestures of domes provided to the various funeral structures, erected during the Tarkhan and post Tarkhan regime, one of the other classical examples denoting an important style of dome architecture is the onion shape, marking the beginning of a new style in Pakistan. In this connection, its first appearance can be recognised in the Chaukhandi tomb of Mirza Tughrel Beg at Makli Hill.

It is indeed important to elaborate here that Pope and Ackerman have recorded that the Chelebi Oghtu tomb at Sultanyia dated to the 13th century A.D is representing the beginning of the pointed shape dome. In this regard, Hoag, Graber, Jairazbhoy and others have noticed that pointed shape domes were constructed during the Ilkhanid period, however, this fabulous pattern reached its perfection under the Timurid domain. In this regard, domes were provided to the mosques and tombs constructed during the 15th century A.D, are possessing the in question gesture. In this connection, the tomb of Amir Timur, Gohar Shad and other notable building at Taybad were venerated in the under discussion attitude. In this process, it may be claimed here that the Central Asian settlers such as, Mughals, Arghuns and Tarkhans were responsible for the introduction of pointed shape domes in the area of our concern. In this sequence, at Makli Hill, we can observe its beginning in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65. After its initiation in the region of our study this pattern was successfully adopted in the other buildings constructed during the Mughal period.

It is noteworthy to mention here, that the Persians were responsible for bringing changes in the field of dome architecture. In this process the Persian engineers made changes in the construction of domes in order to give them enormous height. In this regard, additional height was given to the drum, which became more pronounced, besides, to control the inner volume on one hand and the imposing height on the other, thus the inner shell of the dome was crowned by the outer shell, which is marking the beginning of a new style. Thus, to make the building more imposing, therefore, double domes were erected to accomplish the desire. It is important to advocate here that the first ever double dome examples may be recorded at Kharagan, on the Qazvin Hamadan road dated A.D 1067 and A.D 1096. Thus, keeping in view the imposing nature of the double dome the idea was successfully adopted in the Central Asian regions. In this regard, the tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Marv A.D 1158-60, the mausoleum of Sultan Uljaitu at Sultanya and the tomb of Amir Timur at Samarqand are the pertinent examples of the at issue

category. In this connection, it may be added here that the Central Asian trends are generally responsible for the introduction of double dome in the subcontinent. In this regard, in the present day of Pakistan Percy Brown and Ahmad Nabi Khan have reported the first ever double dome example in the mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore A.D 1614. However, the present researcher during his course of documentation at Makli Hill, has been able to explore three buildings, yielding the in question mode of work. In this pattern, the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D 1558-65, may be considered the beginning of this style in the history of dome architecture in Pakistan. Whereas, the tomb of Jani Beg Tarkahan A.D 1595-1600 and that of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1635-1645 are the other illustrious examples at Makli Hill. Thus, it appears, that the construction of the double dome was initiated in Pakistan at Makli Hill.

It is worthwhile, to advocate further that at Makli Hill the variety of buildings constructed under the Tarkhans are yielding seven different types of domes, however, these are possessing different mode of domical ceilings. In this process, these may be divided in to four groups such as, a. simple round shape domical ceilings, b. domical ceilings veneered with stucco stalactite work, c. domical ceilings wrought in chevron pattern and d. domical ceilings veneered in receding circles through corbelling technique.

In this connection, it is sterling to remark here that the idea of domical ceilings executed with stucco stalactite work has been derived from the Persian lands. In this regard, the in question style appeared in the great mosque of Isfahan dated to the 13th century A.D. It is showing the beginning of a new style in the history of Islamic buildings in Persia. This mode of work was later on, adopted by the Timurids in their buildings. In this process, it may be workout here that the domical ceilings provided to the mausoleum of Amir Timur at Samarqand A.D 1405 is representing the under discussion mode of work in more improved form. However, this kind of work has been further improved in the buildings constructed at Herat especially under the patronage of Shah Rukh and Gohar Shad. In this sequence, it is equally important to advocate here that the at issue device has been continued by the Safavids in their buildings. However, at Makli Hill the under discussion work was introduced by the Central Asians particularly under the Tarkhans. In this process, at Makli Hill this mode of work appeared for the first time in the mausoleum of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. Whereas, the unknown tomb located to the northeast of Murad Nizam-ud-Din Chaukhandi tomb and Satcharni are the other worthwhile buildings showing the under debate treatment. Thus, during the succeeding years it became an essential feature through which, the domical ceilings were veneered.

The other significant gesture of domical ceiling is denoting that these have been wrought in chevron pattern. It is sterling to add here that Pope is proclaiming its origin to the Persian

lands. In this connection, he has recorded its earliest instance in the domical ceilings provided to the great Isfahan mosque (Pl. 18b) A.D 1080. It is indeed pertinent to advocate here that Anthony Hutt and Leonard Harrow have mentioned the earliest precedent in the tomb of Arsalan Jadhiv at Sangbast (Pl. 18a) A.D 1028. In this process, keeping in view the above stated important instance, yielding the at issue gesture, thus it appears, that through the Persio-Turkic traditions, the under discussion mode of work has influenced the monuments located in the region of our interest. In this process, at Makli Hill the domical ceilings executed with chevron pattern has made its first appearance during the Samma period, can be seen in the tomb of Hamshira Fateh Khan (Pl. 18b) A.D 1490. Whereas, this mode of work can be observed for the first time during the Tarkhan period, may be observed in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb located to the south of Jani Beg Tarkhan tomb. However, its best examples can be noticed in the domical ceilings provided to the mausoleum of Diwan Shrafa Khan (Pl. 18d) and in the Baqi Beg Uzbek tomb complex (Pl. 18e).

It is equally significant, to evaluate here that the local values have played a vital role in the development of different techniques and designs. In this process, the domical ceilings constructed through corbelling technique, however, in this mode of work the over lapping stones have moulded in receding circles, a style adopted by the local engineers. In this sequence, it can be observed for the time in the Hindu temples constructed in Gujarat and Ahmadabad. In this process, Henry Cousens has given enough evidences, proving its beginning may be noticed in the vernacular sources. In this regard, the pavilion shaped garbagraha erected in the Mount Abu temple at Tejapala is showing that the domical ceiling has been wrought in the under discussion attitude. Moreover, possessing a stalagmite element at the apex of the ceiling (Pl. 16d), is undoubtedly marking the beginning of a new style, which eventually improved in the succeeding centuries. In this connection, in the various temples at Sejakpur and Somanātha Pātān one can easily record the in question mode of work. In this sequence, Gorī Temple at Nagar Parkar is indicating its initiation in the Sindh valley. Therefore, it appears, that the under discussion method after passing through the different evolutionary stages, later on, successfully adopted in the Mangrol mosque at Somanātha Pātān. Thus, the at issue style, which started in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D was successfully continued until the 14th century A.D in the neighbouring regions of Sindh valley. However, this mode of work was adopted at Makli Hill, during the Samma domain. In this regard, the Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi at Makli Hill may be considered the beginning of the at issue style. This particular instance at Makli Hill is showing its derivation from the local traditions. It may be further advocated here, that during the Samma period it became one of the most essential forms of the domical ceilings. In this regard, the

Chaukhandi tombs of Nawab Amir Khan Khalil, the one located to the southwest of Isa Khan Tarkhan I tomb enclosure, the Chaukhandi tomb of Badi-uz-Zaman and that of Muhammad Quli are representing the continuation of the Samma tradition. This eventually reached the perfection during the Tarkhan domain.

It is indeed sterling, to elaborate here that one of the other characteristic features of Makli Hill architecture is the construction of false balconies. These have been provided to the different edifices. In this process, question arises here that how this fabulous feature was initiated at Makli Hill? It is equally significant to claim here that this mode of work seems to have been locally originated. In this process, Henry Cousens, J.C Harle and Benjamin Rowland have given enough evidences, proving that the ornamental balconies have been developed in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra and Sindh valleys. In this regard, Henry Cousens in his monumental work entitled, “Antiquities of Sindh” has discussed that the Buddhist stūpas in the Sindh valley such as, at Mirpur Khas, one can clearly observe the false balconies executed on the plinth of the stūpa. Moreover, he also notices similar, balconies were executed in the Hindu temples at Modherā, Sejakpur, Tejapala and Somanātha Pātan dated from 8th to the 11th centuries A.D. Besides, Michael Meister and Farzand Masih have recorded the ornamental balconies in the different temples at Kafir Kot in the Salt Range. Thus, in the light of above stated discussions one can reach to this conclusion, that the in question component has been conceived in the vernacular fashion. This has been eventually adopted by the Muslims of the subcontinent in their buildings. In this regard, Taj Ali has reported ornamental balconies in the Sadan Shaheed tomb at Muzaffargarh dated A.D 1175-87 representing the earliest example of its kind executed on any Islamic tomb. Thus, it appears, that after passing through the different developmental stages finally it reached to the area of our concern. In this regard, it may be proclaimed here that the in question architectural component is possessing different functions such as, constructed to enjoy the pleasing atmosphere or through these the various ceremonies were observed. However, the imitations of these balconies (false balconies) were wrought to create grace in the structural composition. In this connection, it is significant to elaborate here that the Samma’s were the first to introduce the ornamental balconies in their buildings. In this process, its earliest instance can be noticed in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali A.D 1388-92. In this case, it can be recorded on the jambs of the under discussion building. It can also be noticed in the tomb enclosure of Darya Khan. Whereas, its splendid precedents may be recorded in the mausoleum of Jam Nazamuddin Nindo a ruler of the Samma dynasty. It is equally interesting that the under discussion element was successfully adopted by the Tarkhans in their buildings.

In this regard, the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba Tarkhan and the most illustrious mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II at Makli Hill are undoubtedly denoting the exhibition of ornamental balconies. Thus, indicating that the local values have played a vital role in the uplift of the architectural glory at Makli Hill.

In this process, it may be added here that the phenomena of indigenous interactions can be well recognised in terms of different disciplines regarding the Makli Hill funeral art and architecture. Likewise, the various issues, which have been emerged out in the vernacular order, such as, the introduction of pilarettas at Makli Hill. In this regard, A.H. Dani in his works has termed it, “the typical Sindhian element”, which, he believes originated at Makli Hill. However, A.N. Khan, Shiekh Khurshid Hasan and Taj Ali in their works have mentioned the use of pilarettas in the tombs of Sadan Shaheed at Muzaffargarh and Khalid Waleed at Khan-e-Wall A.D 1175-87. Moreover, in the tombs at Alore dated to the 13th century A.D are undoubtedly marking the beginning of this unique element in the Sindh valley. Thus, it appears, after initiating in the Seraiki region of Pakistan, later on, it influenced the Sindh Valley. In this process, it may be claimed here that the above stated Alore tombs were caused for the origin of pilarettas at Makli Hill. It is worth mentioning, that the Samma’s were the first to introduce the pilarettas in the region of our study. In this process, the tomb enclosure of Darya Khan may be termed the beginning of this mode of work. Whereas, the most exquisitely conceived pilarettas may be reported in the tomb of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo. It may be added here that at Makli Hill the pilarettas are generally provided to the either side of the mehrab. These are free standing components, which are slightly attached to the flanks of the mehrab. These pilarettas are some time slightly above or in few cases, are placed on the floor level. The under discussion element seems to have been erected in order to create grace and grandeur in the entire structural composition. It may be further claimed here, that the in question element after passing through the different developmental stages, finally it reached the finest stage during the early and later Tarkhans at Makli Hill. It is significant, to add here that different types of pilarettas may be observed during the regime of our concern. Such as, a. square b. hexagonal and c. octagonal shaped pilarettas. The inquestion device may be noticed for the first time during the Tarkhan domain in the tomb enclosure of Mirza Zahid Beg 1557. Later on, it became the trademark of the Makli Hill mausoleum architecture. In this sequence, the mehrabs in the tomb enclosure of Mirza Sulaiman Beg Tarkhan, Isa Khan Tarkhan I, Mirza Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan and Hansa Bai are the pertinent examples. These have been conceived in different gestures. Thus, it appears, that the indigenous movements have been caused for the development of various issues at Makli Hill.

It is worthwhile, to make a mention here, that the utmost significant issue at Makli Hill is the enigmatic form of the Chaukhandi tomb architecture. The origin of this curious looking style is generally based on the folkloristic version of informations. In this regard, various scholars, such as, Henry Cousens, Salom Zajadacz-Hastenrath, Ali Ahmad Brohi, N.A. Baluch, A.H. Dani, Shiekh Khurshid Hasan, M.A. Ghafur and Kaleemullah Lashari have suggested that the Chaukhandi tombs constructed in the Baluchistan and Sindh regions have no parallel in the neighbouring regions. They believed that this style has been emerged out with in the local portfolio of cultural assimilations. In this regard, the above stated scholars have claimed that the Hindu temples constructed in these regions are generally caused for the origin of this peculiar style of architecture. In this connection, it is worthwhile to elaborate here that before discussing the origin of the Chaukhandi tombs architecture, focussed shall also be made in order to work out the issue of its nomenclature. In this regard, H. Raj is suggesting that the word Chaukhandi is derived from a Sanskrit word, Chaturkhanda, defining pillars on four sides or better to define it, a pavilion shaped structure supported on four pillars. Likewise, R. Nath is also advocating its origin from a Sanskrit word, Chaukhanda, meaning four sided or pillars on four sides. It may be further proclaimed here that Pir Husamuddin Rashdi in his translation of Makli Nama, has mentioned the term Chaukhandi for a square shaped pavilion, whereas, the octagonal shaped pavilion is called Chatri. While, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan in his works, is claiming that in the presence of different shapes of pavilions, such as, square, hexagonal and octagonal. Therefore, it appears that a Chaukhandi has been erected over four or more than four pillars. It can be further justified in the light of different types of Chaukhandi tombs erected in the region of our study.

It is worth mentioning, to elaborate here that the various scholars have claimed, that the Chaukhandi tombs of Sindh and Baluchistan are yielding no parallel in the neighbouring regions. However, the present researcher has been able to trace the proper origin of this enigmatic form of architecture. In this process Sir John Marshall, Henry Cousens, Percy Brown, Benjamin Rowland and J.C. Harle have reported significant evidences, showing that the pavilion shaped structures have been provided to the Hindu temples located in Gujarat, Ahmadabad etc dated from the 8th century A.D until 12th century A.D. These pertinent examples are showing that the man□d□apa and garbagr□ha of the Hindu temples at Mod□herā, Sejakpur, Tejapala and Somanātha Pāt□an were constructed in pavilion shape. These were either resting on four or eight and some time on twelve pillars. The pillars are crowned by three armed and four armed brackets. The lintels are placed above the brackets. These pavilions have been provided the domical ceiling in receding circles, veneered through corbelling technique. Moreover, the apex of the domical ceiling is executed with a stalagmite feature. It is vital to make a mention here that the garbagr□ha were

crowned through śikhara or in some cases it is caped with a domical structure. In both cases, these pavilion shaped garbhagrāhas were crowned by āmalaka and kalaśa features. The above mentioned architectural components have been successfully culminated during the succeeding centuries. These have been eventually adopted by the masons in the Islamic funeral structures. In this process, it may be advocated here that these pavilion shaped temples were later on, styled in to the Chaukhandi tombs. However, the question arises here that who were responsible for the introduction of the at issue burial structures?

In this connection, it is vital to discuss here that Garrick, Percy Brown, Satish Grower, Jairazbhoy and Surendra Sahai have recorded the earliest examples of Chaukhandi tombs on the Indian soil. In the light of such evidences the above mentioned claims of Henry Cousens, M.A Ghafur, Ali Ahmad Brohi, Hastenrath, Sheikh Khurshid and A.H. Dani seems to be incorrect. In this process Garrick is the first to mention the earliest Chaukhandi tombs at Hansi, which belongs to Qutb Jamaluddin dated to 679 A.H/A.D 1277-78. It may be added here that the above stated funeral structure at Hansi is arranged in the form of interconnected Chaukhandis, a style which emerged out for the first time in the history of Chaukhandi tombs. The genesis of this peculiar style can be noticed in the Hindu temple architecture, such as, at Modherā and Sejakpur, the Manḍapās were constructed in the shape of interconnected pavilions. This style was later on, adopted by the Muslims in their traditional fashion, which eventually influenced the Chaukhandi tombs of the Sindh valley. In this regard, the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb belongs to the family of Mir Masum at Sukkur A.D 1594-95 is representing the beginning of a new style in the region. Likewise, it also influenced the area of our study. In this connection, the interconnected Chaukhandi tomb of Jan Baba Tarkhan at Makli Hill is undoubtedly marking the beginning of a new mode of funeral structure.

In this process, it is equally pertinent to discuss here that besides the interconnected Chaukhandis, the earliest single Chaukhandi tomb may be reported at Gulberga in the Deccan region. These may be assigned to Hazrat Shah Hassamuddin Tegh Bathana. This early instance of the Chaukhandi tomb has been reported by Percy Brown and Satish Grower in their works. These examples are proving that its genesis can be noticed in the local traditions of Hindu temple architecture. It may be further attributed here, that besides, the Chaukhandi tombs at Gulbarga, similar style was also adopted in the Chaukhandi tomb of Khunza Sultana at Bidar. Thus, it appears, that after its initiation at Hansi, Gulberga and Bidar later on, this form of funeral burial was disseminated to the adjacent vicinities. In this regard, during the 14th century A.D, this form of architecture was also adopted for the construction of funerary structures in Ahmadabad and Gujarat regions. These have eventually impacted both Delhi and Sindh regions.

In this regard, Percy Brown and Ram Nath have recorded the earliest existing Chaukhandi tombs located to the northwest of Feroz Shah tomb complex in Delhi, are dated to A.D 1360. It is noteworthy to elaborate here that in these Chaukhandi tombs, we can observe for the first time, the beginning of true domical ceilings. These have replaced the previous style of overlapping stone circles. These true domical ceilings have later on, influenced the Chaukhandi tombs at Makli Hill, especially during the Tarkhan period, the Chaukhandi tombs of Pir A'saat alias Qazi Ahmad may be considered the beginning of this style in the region of our study.

It is indeed significant to conclude here, that after its initiation in the Deccan, Hansi, Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Delhi regions, likewise, this glorious mode of work was introduced by the Samma rulers of Sindh for the first time at Makli Hill. Thus, marking the beginning of a new style of funeral architecture in Pakistan. During this phase of time the Gujarati and the local values were assimilated at Makli Hill, thus, as a blend of cultures a new form of architecture was established during the Samma domain.

The Samma's intended matrimonial alliances with the kings of Gujarat. In this connection, one of the Samma rulers Jam Tughlaq Juna II gave his two daughters Mughli and Mirki in marriage to Sultan Muhammad I and Qutb Shah Alam rulers of Gujarat. It may be further added here that one of the most formidable king of Gujarat Sultan Mehmud Begarha A.D 1458-1511, was the son of Mughli. Thus, due to such family relationship between the two kingdoms, were generally caused for the interaction of new ideas, which improved the Makli Hill style of building construction. In this connection, the Chaukhandi tomb of Jam Tamachi may be considered the first ever examples in the region of our study. The idea of its octagonal plan, octagonal shaped pillars, four armed brackets, moreover, the receding circle shaped domical ceiling, possessing hook shape motif and the pendent at the apex of the domical ceiling, the style of the pent, merlons and the element of āmalaka are undoubtedly representing the typical Gujarat and Ahmadabad styles. After the emergence of the under discussion style at Makli Hill, it was further improved during the Samma rule. However, it reached the perfection under the Tarkhan domain. In this regard, it may be cited here that during this span of time, one can clearly observe variation in the mode of construction. In this connection, it may be elaborated here that stylistically four different types of Chaukhandi tombs were erected during the Tarkhan period. In this process, these four categories of Chaukhandi tombs may be classified such as, a. octagonal in plan, resting on eight octagonal shaped pillars, b. square externally and octagonal internally resting on twelve square shaped pillars, c. square in plan, resting on eight square shaped pillars and d. interconnected Chaukhandi tombs.

In this process, the first category is representing the continuation of the early traditions which was introduced by the Samma rulers. However, the second group of Chaukhandi tomb is marking the beginning of a new style at Makli Hill. This style likewise, the first category has been derived from the Hindu temple architecture. However, the earliest Chaukhandi tomb constructed in the under discussion stance may be noticed for the first time at Delhi, located to the northwest of Feroz Shah tomb complex. This style alongside the Gujarat traditions influenced the funeral structures at Makli Hill. In this particular group the Chaukhandi is resting on twelve square shaped pillars. These pillars are crowned by four armed brackets, which are laid above the lintels. Whereas, at the four angles, diagonally laid lintels are placed, a style appearing for the first time at Makli Hill, in the Madrasah pavilion of Sheikh Hamad Jamali. However, its application in the funeral structure may be recorded for the first time in the Chaukhandi tomb of Pir A'saat alias Qazi Ahmad. Likewise, the diagonally laid lintels, another significant change can also be seen in the construction of domical ceiling. In this instance instead of the receding circles the idea of a true domical ceiling has been applied, however, the pendant at the apex of the ceiling is yielding close affinity to the previous works at Makli Hill.

The third category is yielding only one Chaukhandi tomb. It is square in plan and resting on eight square shape pillars. These are crowned by the four armed brackets, laid above the lintels over which the true domical ceiling is resting.

It is indeed sterling to conclude the matter here that in the region of our study the under discussion funeral structures, erected during the Tarkhan and post Tarkhan period are nine in number. In this regard, in the first group only four Chaukhandi tombs may be observed. Among these four, only one has been identified by the scholars, however, the present researcher during the course of data documentation at Makli, has been able to identify two more Chaukhandi tombs. In this process, the Chaukhandi tomb located to the northwest of Badi-uz-Zaman tomb has been mentioned unidentified by Dani, whereas, Shiekh Khurshid Hasan and Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath are silent about any information. However, the present researcher has been able to find out authentic references, recorded by Mir Ali Sher Qani in the *Tuhfat-ul-Kiram* and in the *Makli Nama* translated by Pir Hussamuddin Rashdi, who has mentioned the location and name of the deceased, therefore, without any further doubt it can be assigned to Nawab Amir Khan Khalil. In the under discussion category the second one which has also been identified by the present scholar, is located to the west of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. This Chaukhandi has also been placed by the above mentioned scholars in the unidentified list. However, the present researcher has revealed inscription on the footstone of a grave. This inscription is denoting the death date and the name of the deceased Muhammad Quli.

Similarly, the second group of the in question funeral structures, is yielding three Chaukhandi tombs. In this sequence, only one has been identified, which is possessing the name of the deceased Tughrel Beg. Whereas, the other two were placed in the unidentified list. However, the present researcher has been able to workout an authentic reference, which has been mentioned by Pir Hussamuddin in the Makli Nama. He has given the exact location of this Chaukhandi tomb. In this process, it can be undoubtedly assigned to Pir A'saat alias Qazi Ahmad.

It may be further added here that in the third group only one Chaukhandi may be noticed. This was also termed unidentified by A.H. Dani, however, the present researcher has recorded an inscription inside this Chaukhandi, which is denoting the date and the name Murad Nizam-ud-Din.

It is indeed significant to elaborate here that besides, the above mentioned issues, which have been concluded through the style-critical method in order to solve the prevailing concerns and controversies regarding the in question issues. Likewise, the other pertinent features, relating the present work, one of the other significant topic is the surface decoration. In this regard, it may be elaborated here that the different edifices erected at Makli Hill, have been profusely embellished. The adornment work has been wrought through various ornamental techniques. Whereas, the theme of decoration may be classified into four groups such as, a. floral designs, b. geometrical motif, e. figural representation and c. calligraphic specimens.

It may be further added here, that each group may be further divided into subcategories. It is indeed sterling to emphasis here that the Makli Hill monuments have been exquisitely enriched with the variety of ornamental patterns. However, very little attempt has been made to discuss the theme and techniques of decoration at Makli Hill. In this connection, Henry Cousens was the first who mentioned few decorative works. Later on, Muhammad Abdul Ghafur has written the first ever monograph on the calligraphers of Thatta. In this contribution, he focussed on the floral, figural and calligraphic issues. Whereas, Ali Ahmad Brohi in his works has also discussed very briefly the above mentioned scheme of embellishment.

Though these early attempts concerning the architectural decoration are very limited in approach, yet it draws the attention of the scholars to the at issue topic. In this process, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, Hastenrath and Kaleem Kashari have focussed on the floral, geometrical and figural designs. Furthermore, Sayyid Mehdi Hasan has contributed articles focussing on the geometrical designs. Likewise, A.H. Dani in his works has also discussed few decorative elements. In this regard, the present researcher has thoroughly examined the different buildings, in order to find out the various designs executed in the monuments at Makli Hill, constructed

during the Tarkhan and later Tarkhan periods. In this process, in the fifth chapter of the present work, among the listed design, a group of selected ornamental elements has been analytically analysed.

It is equally pertinent to proclaim here that in the first group a variety of floral designs can be observed such as, lotuses, rosettes, palmettes and sunflowers. Moreover, floral arabesques, floral scrolls, vases, different types of floral buds, leaves, plants and spoke wheel designs have been exquisitely executed. In this process, it may be added here that the lotuses, palmettes and sunflowers were executed on the Aśokan columns at Sārnāth, Rampurva etc. These designs have been frequently used in the Buddhist art of Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Amarāvati and Mathurā in India. Moreover, these designs were also wrought in the Gandhāra art of Pakistan. Furthermore, these decorative works were successfully continued in the Salt Range temples in Pakistan. Whereas, these may also be observed in the temples at Gujarat and Ahmadabad. Such as, Modherā, Sejakpur and Somanātha Pātān . In this process, the under discussion designs were also acknowledged by the artists at Makli Hill. The inquestion designs have been exquisitely carved in the Madrasah Pavilion of Shiekh Hamad Jamali A.D 1388-92 and in the mausoleum of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo A.D 1508-09.

Furthermore, the spoke wheel design appeared for the first in the area of our study during the Samma period. Later on, this motif was successfully continued by the Tarkhans in their buildings. The idea of spoke wheel pattern is seemed to be taken from the stylised chakra symbol executed in the different sculptures, however, its earliest application can be reported on the Aśokan columns. Later on, it became an essential pattern of ornamentation in the Buddhist art of India and Pakistan. In this regard, Marshall has mentioned the spoke wheel motif on the seals reported from Sirkap in Taxila. While Henry Cousens has reported it in the Mole valley. Thus, it appears, that the above mentioned design has been frequently used in the vernacular art. Thus, passing through the different developmental phases finally reached the perfection during the Tarkhan period. The at issue design has been elegantly wrought on the pillars of Chaukhandi tombs, such as, the one located inside the Isa Khan Tarkhan I complex, and that of Badi-uz-Zaman are exhibiting worthwhile examples. Besides, the various cenotaphs are also enriched with the inquestion motif.

The other notable decorative motif is the floral vases at Makli Hill. Regarding the origin of the under debate element, it is generally believed by the research scholars that it has been borrowed from the Persian traditions. In this connection, Josef Orbeli and Oleg Graber are claiming that the idea of floral vases as a decorative feature appeared for the first time in the Persian world. They are advocating that the floral vases were wrought during the Sassanian

period. However, here in the subcontinent the in question design may be noticed before the Sassanians. In this process, Percy Brown, Huntington, Mitra and Harle have cited authentic evidences, proving its existence before the Christian era. In this process, the Caitya Hall at Nasik is dated to the first century B.C is showing the depiction of floral vases. Later on, this ornamental element became an important decorative feature. In this process, one of the panels reported from Mathurā dated to the second century A.D is also depicting the in question design. It is equally pertinent to advocate further that the depiction of floral vases was continued by the Guptas in their art. Moreover, Dani has claimed that the temples erected during the Gupta period were also executed with floral vases. Furthermore, floral vase as a decorative feature was also adopted in the different Hindu temples. In this sequence, the depiction of floral vases can be seen in the Modherā, Sejakpur, Tejapala and Somanātha Pātān temples dated from 8th to the 11th century A.D. Thus, it appears, that the depiction of floral vases was initiated in the subcontinent during the first century B.C, which continued until the 15th and 16th century A.D. In the light of above stated evidences, we can claim that this motif was introduced for the first time in the subcontinent. It was initiated and improved here and finally disseminated to the neighbouring regions. It may be pointed out that during the 14th and early 16th century A.D the idea of floral vases at Makli Hill was for the first time introduced by the Samma rulers in their buildings. However, during the Tarkhan era, the grave enclosure of Mirza Sulaiman Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557 is the first funeral structure yielding the in question motif. In the monument at Gujarat, Ahmadabad and Deccan regions are also possessing floral vases executed in different pattern. In this connection, it is indeed significant to advocate here that the indigenous activities caused for the adaptation of the in question motif at Makli Hill. It may be elaborated here that the depiction of floral vases gained tremendous appreciation in the Mughal art, which reached the perfection during the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.

The other worthwhile issue is the depiction of geometrical designs. In this sequence a variety of designs can be seen in the under discussion category at Makli Hill. Among these designs geometrical arabesque, endless knotted motif, stars, David stars, swastika design, rope pattern, chain motif, squares, triangles, hexagon, octagon and circles, moreover, lozenges, hook motif, chevron pattern, star chain motif, intersecting circles and octagons, chessboard pattern, tassel design, pearl shape motif, cross symbols, saw tooth motif and honeycomb pattern etc. have been profusely carved in low relief, moreover, in some cases the above mentioned theme of embellishment has been exquisitely engraved. It may be further added here that these designs have been developed due to the vernacular interactions, which blended with the Persian and

Central Asian traditions and finally culminated at Makli Hill, which reached the perfection during the Tarkhan era.

It is significant to discuss here that one of the most striking aspect of the decorative theme exhibited in the Makli Hill monument is the figural representation. In this regard, it is worthwhile, to make a mention here that in the history of tomb architecture in Pakistan, the earliest examples of figural depiction can be recorded in the Nikodari tombs at Kharan Baluchistan dated to the 13th century A.D. In this process, besides, the different figural elements, peacock with snake is one of the most pertinent features denoting its origin and development in the vernacular order. In this regard, Wheeler, Vats and Marshall have discussed the representation of eagle with snake executed on the seals from Harappa and Moenjodaro, may be considered the beginning of this mode of work. Whereas, K.M. Dikshit during the course of excavations at Paharpur in Bengal, has reported terracotta plaque, showing the figure of peacock with snake. Besides, the under discussion theme of ornamentation can also be reported in the Buddhist art of Gandhāra valley, whereas, in the Hindu art, one can also observe the in question theme of adornment. Thus, it appears, that the depiction of a bird with a snake is seemed to be locally developed. However, on the other hand we can not neglect the Persian and Central Asian trends, which have played a major role in the promotion of peacock with snake representation. In this connection, Rudolf Wittkower believes its initiation in Persia, suggesting that the Zoroastrian gods, such as, Ahura Mazda the god of light has been shown by the peacock whereas, the god of darkness Ahriman is symbolised by the snake. Whereas, A.V Lecoq in his works is proclaiming that it appeared, in the Turkistan region. In this process, in the Buddhist art of Turkistan the depiction of peacock with snake can be noticed. This particular pattern of depiction was later on, very successfully continued during the Islamic period of Turkistan. In this regard, the present researcher is of the view that during this phase of time, the Nikodaris, a Mongol tribe, who occupied some parts of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Persia. The Nikodaris erected their tombs at Kharan in Baluchistan dated to the 13th century A.D. These tombs were excellently adorned with the under discussion theme of decoration.

Thus, the application of the inquestion mode of work appeared for the first time in the Islamic tombs at Kharan in Pakistan. It is indeed pertinent, to advocate here that the at issue theme of embellishment later on, from Kharan (Baluchistan) shifted to the Sindh region. It is utmost sterling to add here that during the 16th and 17th century A.D the Chaukhandi tombs were exquisitely garnished with the under debate mode of work. In this process, at Makli Hill we have two evidences of Chaukhandi tombs, showing its application. In this process, Henry Cousens, Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, Ali Ahmad Brohi, Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, Salome Zajadacz-

Hastenrath, A.H. Dani and I.H. Nadiem have recorded the depiction of peacock with snake in the Chaukhandi tomb of Mirza Badi-uz-Zaman Tarkhan A.D 1590-1601. However, the present researcher during the course of data documentation has been able to record yet another example of peacock with snake for the first time. It can be seen in the unknown Chaukhandi tomb located to the southwest of Isa Khan I tomb enclosure. This Chaukhandi tomb on the stylistical grounds may be considered early in date as compare to that of Badi-uz-Zaman Tarkhan. In this instance, the in question figures are showing rigidity in finishing, whereas, those wrought in the mentioned above is seemed to be slightly improved in execution. After its introduction at Makli Hill later on, the under discussion pattern was adopted on the graves and funeral structures in the Sindh valley. Thus, it appears, that the idea of the peacock with snake depiction seems to have been originated in the vernacular sources, however, alongside the Persio-Turkic stylistical interactions were also caused for the execution of the at issue theme of embellishment at Makli Hill.

Besides, the above mentioned three categories of the ornamental works one of the other significant disciplines of adornment, which has glorified the different buildings at Makli Hill, are the calligraphic specimens. These are yielding Quranic Verses, sayings of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) and the historical inscriptions, possessing the name of the deceased person, his death date and in some case the genealogical details. Whereas, in few cases the date of construction, while in most cases the name of the calligraphers have also been mentioned. Thus, it appears, that these calligraphic styles on one hand has garnished these funeral structures, while on the other hand in the presence of such epigraphical records, we can reconstruct the historical sequence of these monuments. Furthermore, these inscriptions are wrought in different calligraphic styles such as, naskh pattern denoting both small naskhi and bold naskhi. This particular pattern appeared during the Samma period. In this regard, the funeral structures of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo and that of Darya Khan are clearly exhibiting the in question style. Whereas, during the Tarkhan period the under discussion attitude of calligraphy can be noticed in the tomb enclosures of Mirza Sulaiman Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557, Zahid Beg Tarkhan A.D 1557 and Muhammad Saleh Beg Tarkhan A.D 1562. This particular pattern can also be recorded in the tomb enclosures of Isa Khan Tarkhan I and Muhammad Baqi Beg Tarkhan. While, the mausoleum of Diwan Shurafa Khan A.D 1635-45 and that of Isa Khan II A.D 1627-44 have been profusely enriched with the above stated style. The other worth mentioning specimen of calligraphy at Makli Hill, is the depiction of thulth style. It appears, for the first time under the Samma rule, however, it reached the perfection during the Tarkhan domain. In this regard, the graves of Amir Hajika Mughal A.D 1556, Amir Sultan A.D 1556, whereas, the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan, Jani Beg Tarkhan and that of Diwan Shurafa Khan are indicating the application of thulth style executed

in low relief while, in some case it has been engraved. Whereas, thulth style can be observed for the first time executed in the enamelled ceramic tiles, which can be seen in the mausoleum of Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan. It is utmost significant to emphasize here that the nastalique style alongside the naskh and thulth has been wrought in the various buildings at Makli Hill, which has increased the grace of these funeral structures.

It may be further added here that during the course of data collection the present researcher has been able to record a single instance of Khat-e-gulzar, during the Tarkhan period. It is executed on the gateway to the Baqi Beg Tarkhan tomb enclosure.

It is pertinent to add here, that the calligraphic styles executed at Makli Hill are yielding close affinity to the mode of work, which has been wrought in the funeral structures at Herat during the Timurid period. In this process, the funerary structures erected at Tabraiz, Herat, Khurasan, Taybad, Bukhara and Samarqand are denoting the application of different calligraphic specimens. Thus, it appears, that due to the cultural interactions the Makli Hill mausoleums have received impacts from the Central Asian examples.

In the light of above stated discussions it has been evidently proved that Patala was the ancient name of Thatta which existed before the arrival of Greeks. During this phase of time Patala grew up immensely as a subsidiary emporium to the seaport of Barbarikon (Banbhore). Whereas, during the first century B.C the name Patala was replaced with Min-Nagar the city of Min founded by the Scythians. It was located on the river bank. Min-Nagar as a tributary port has played a vital role in the uplift of socio-economic status of the region. After the conquest of Arabs both Thatta and Banbhore once again raised to the occasion. Under the favourable prevailing circumstances, it has gained tremendous appreciation among the sailors and merchants. Therefore, these two port cities were known to the Arab historians and geographers as al-Daybulan or two Daybuls or more properly the twin port cities. Whereas, some of the historians suggested al-Daybul for Banbhore and Daybul Thatta for its river emporium. In the light of above stated discussion, it appears that Thatta and Banbhore as a twin port cities were known to the Arab sailors and geographers, who have very correctly named these as al-Daybul the sea port and Daybul Thatta the river port or even the term al-Daybulan for both of them. It may be further added here that Buzurg bin Shehriyar in A.D 913-14 was the first Arab sailor who for the first time recorded the name Thatta in his works entitled Ajaib-ul-Hind.

Whereas, the term Makli, seems to have been conceived from the name of a Hindu goddess Mahākali. In this connection, the present researcher has discovered three temples of Mahākali at Makli Hill. Thus, the name of the temple or that of the goddess was subsequently

adopted for this hill area. In this connection, it can be proclaimed here that the present term Makli is the corrupted version of Mahākali.

At Makli Hill, we can observe four successive ruling phases. These may be distinguished on the bases of epigraphical and architectural evidences. These activities were commenced under the Samma rulers. They established good ties with the neighbouring states that is Punjab, Gujarat and Deccan. These cordial relations caused for the cultural interactions, which blended with the local style, thus as a result a new mode of work was initiated, which subsequently became the trademark of the Samma domain.

The Samma were replaced by a Central Asian tribe, Arghuns in A.D 1520, while later on, the Tarkhans succeeded in A.D 1555. Whereas, the Mughals annexed Thatta in A.D 1593. These Central Asians emigrants were caused for the introduction of new ideas. Therefore, new trends were developed, which eventually amalgamated with the vernacular style, thus, as a result one can visibly notices a reform in the stylistical approach.

It may be concluded here that the Makli Hill art and architecture is clearly showing, that it has been developed through the Gujarat, Ahmadabad, Deccan, Fatehpur Sikri and Punjab styles have influenced the Makli Hill style of art and architecture. Thus, this blended form of stylistical approach was further mixed with the Persian and Central Asian traditions, which can be visibly observed in the different buildings at Makli Hill. In short the Makli Hill style after passing through the various developmental phases finally entered into the innovative form. This eventually became the trademark of the Makli Hill architecture. It may be concluded here, that the detailed vocabulary of the architectural features and the classical designs reached the perfection in the area of study during the Tarkhan domain. The assemblage of such a glorious cultural heritage, which flourished at one place, has undoubtedly given birth to a new school of thought, therefore, it may be termed as the Makli Hill School of art and architecture.

7. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, J., 1977. *Sind: A Re-Interpretation of the Unhappy Valley*, Karachi.
- Abul Fazal., 1948-49. *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. III, tr. Jarret, H, Calcutta.
- Afif, Shams Siraj, 1890. *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, ed. Maulawi Wilayat Hussain, Calcutta.
- Afif, Shams Siraj, 2004. *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, tr. Muhammad Fida Ali Talib, Lahore.
- Afif, Shams Siraj, 2006. *Tarikh-i Feroz Shahi*, tr. & ed. H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, Lahore.
- Ahmad, Basheeruddin, 1919 & 1990. *Waqiat-e-Dar ul Hukumat Dehli*, Delhi.
- Akhtar, M. S., 1990. *Sind under the Mughals: an Introduction to, Translation and Commentary on the Mazhar-i Shahjahani of yusuf Mirak (1044/1634)*, Lahore.
- Al-Bakri, 1945. *Mu'jam Ma'sta Jama*, vol. II, Cairo.
- Al-Sawi, 1352 A.H. *Sharh Diwan Jarir*, Cairo.
- Alberuni, 1962. *Alberuni's India*, ed. Edwards C. Sachau, vol.I, Lahore.
- Alberuni, 1973. *Alberuni's Indica (A record of the cultural History of South Asia about A.D 1030)*, ed. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Islamabad.
- Ali, I., 2003. *Frontier Archaeology*, Vol. I, Research Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums Government of NWFP, Peshawar.
- Ali, I & Zahir, M., 2005. *Guide to Peshawar Museum Peshawar*, Peshawar.
- Ali, M., 1937. *Historical Studies: Articles on the History of the Mughals & Sind*, Lahore.
- Ali, M., 1987. *A Social and Cultural History of Sind*, Lahore.
- Ali, M., 2005. *Essays on the History of Sindh*, Lahore.
- Ali, T., 1988. *Anonymouns tombs in Gomal Valley and the beginning of tomb Architecture in Pakistan*, Peshawar.
- Ali, T., 1991a. "The Mehrab inscription of the so called tomb of Khalid Walid near Kabirwala Khanewal District". *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. VII, Peshawar.
- Ali, T., 1991b. "Tomb of Sheikh Sadan Shahid its decoration", *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. VII, Peshawar.

- Ali, T., 1993. "Qutab Minar, History, Architecture & Origin", *Journal of the Faculty of Islamic Studies & Arabic*, Vol. I, Peshawar.
- Ali, T., 1997. "Earliest Islamic Monuments in Pakistan, The construction of their phase of transition, An Analytical study", *Athariyyat*, Vol. I, Peshawar.
- Ali, T., 2001. "Archaeological Survey of District Mardan in the North West Frontier Province", *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. XIV, Peshawar.
- Allan, J., 1930. "The Coinage of the Sasanians", *A Survey of Persian Art from prehistoric times to the present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope, Vol. II, London.
- Amin, M., 1987-88. "Inscription on the tomb of Hansa Bai at Makli Hill (Thatta)", *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 23, Karachi.
- B.D.G., 1907. *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series-I*, Vol. IIB, Bombay.
- Badayuni, Abdul Qadir bin Muluk Shah, 1884, 1898 and 1924. *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* tr. George S.A Ranking, H. Lowe and Haig, Calcutta.
- Baladhuri, J. Al-Shehira, 1986. *Futuh-ul-Buldan* tr. Syed Abu Al-Khair Madudi, Karachi.
- Baluch, N.A., 1957. "Chronology of the Samma Rulers of Sind", in *Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission*, Karachi.
- Baluch, N.A., 1982. *Origin of Thatta*, in Thatta, Islamic Architecture, A. H. Dani, Islamabad.
- Baluch, N. A., 1990. "The Early Establishment of Muslims Power in Al-Sind and Al-Hind", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Karachi.
- Baluch, N.A., 1991. "The Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan", *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 26, Karachi.
- Baluch, N. A., 2001. "Political stature of Lahore during the Ghaznavid period", *Journal of Asian Civilization*, Islamabad.
- Baluch, N.A., 2004. *Sindh: Studies Cultural*, Karachi.
- Basham, A.L., 2004. *The Wonder that was India*, Karachi.
- Baskerville, H.D., 1920. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending*, Calcutta.
- Barni, Zia-ud Din, 2006. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Tr. & ed. Sir H.M. Elliot & John Dowson, Lahore.
- Beal, S., 2004. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, New Delhi.
- Beg, M.K.R., 1990. "Chaukandi, Asal Haqaiq", *Daily Jang Karachi*, 28th March.
- Beglari, I., 1980. *Beglar Nama*, ed. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, Hydrabad.
- Beveridge, A.S., 1987. *Babur-Nama: Translated from the Original Text of Zahirud-Din Muhammad Babur Badshah Ghaznvi*, Lahore.

- Boyle, J.A., 1981. "Jalal Al-Din Khwarazm-Shah in the Indus valley", *Sind Through the centuries, Proceedings of an international seminar held in Karachi in spring 1975 by the Department of Culture Government of Sind*, ed. Hamida Khuhro, Karachi.
- Brend, B., 1991. *Islamic Art*, London.
- Brohi, A.A., 1983. *History on tombstones Sind and Baluchistan*, Hyderabad.
- Brown, P., 1941. *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, Bombay.
- Brown, P., 1978. *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, Bombay
- Budge, 1961. *Amulets and Talismans*, New York.
- Bukhari, M. S., Khattak, M. H. K., 2001. "Muslim Epigraphy", *Museum Journal National Museum of Pakistan*, vol. I-II, Karachi.
- Bunce, F. W., 2004. *Islamic Tombs in India: The Iconography and Genesis of Their Designs*, New Delhi.
- Burnes, A., 1973. *A voyage on the Indus*, London.
- Burnes, A., 1975. *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. I-III, Karachi.
- Burton, R.F., 1976. *Sindh and the races that inhabit the valley of the Indus*, Lahore.
- Cousens, H., 1929. *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta.
- Cousens, H., 1931. "Somanatha and other medieval temples in Kathiawad", *Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta.
- Cousens, H., 1975. *The Antiquities of Sind*, Karachi.
- Cousens, H., 1982. *The Architectural Antiquities of Western Indian*, New Delhi.
- Creswell, K.A.C., 1958. *A short accounts of Early Muslim Architecture*, Middlesex.
- Cunningham, A., 2007. *Ancient Geography of India*, New Delhi.
- D.C.R., 1972. *District Census Report of Thatta*, pub. No. 39 (Thatta), Karachi.
- D.C.R., 1998. *District Census Report of Thatta*, pub. No. 54 (Thatta), Karachi.
- Dani, A.H., 1965-66. "Shaikhan Dheri Excavation 1963 & 1964 seasons (in search of the second city of Pushkalavati)", vol. II, Peshawar.
- Dani, A.H., 1970-71. "Excavations in the Gomal Valley", *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. V, Peshawar.
- Dani, A.H., 1982. *Thatta, Islamic Architecture*, Islamabad.
- Dani, A.H. & Askarow, A.A., 1991. "Rediscovery of the Civilization of Central Asia, Integral study of Silk Route of dialogues", *Journal of Central Asia*, vol. XIV, No. 2, Islamabad.
- Danvers, F.C., 1966. *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I, London.
- Dehkhuda, A. A., 1340 A.H. *Lughat Nama*, vol. 17, Tehran.

- Diez, E., 1930. "The Architecture of the Islamic Period": An Historical Outline, The Principles and Types", *A Survey of Persian Art from prehistoric times to the present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope, vol. III, London.
- Digby, S., 1981. "Muhammad Bin Tughluq's Last years in Kathiavad and his invasions of Thatha", *Sind Through the centuries, Proceedings of an international seminar held in Karachi in spring 1975 by the Department of Culture Government of Sind*, ed. Hamida Khuhro, Karachi.
- Dikshit, K.N., 1938. "Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal", in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, Calcutta.
- Donal, N.W., 1955. *Architecture of Islamic Iran*, New Jersey.
- Durrani, F A., 1988. "Rehman Dheri excavation report I", *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. VI, Peshawar.
- Elliot & Dowson, 1956. *Historians of Sindh*, vol. II, Calcutta.
- Elliot & Dowson, 1979. *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. I-VI, Lahore.
- Erskine, W., 1974. *A History of India under Baber*, Karachi.
- Esin, E., 1963. *Makkah, the Blessed, the Medina, the Radiant*, London.
- Ettinghausen, R., 1955. "Interaction and Integration in Islamic Art", *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. G.E. Von Grunebaum, Chicago.
- Fatimi, S.Q., 1981. "The Twin Ports of Daybul: A study in the early Maritime History of Sind", *Sind through the centuries, Proceedings of an international seminar held in Karachi in spring 1975 by the Department of Culture Government of Sind*, ed. Hamida Khuhro, Karachi.
- Ferishta, M. Q., 1966. *Tarikhi Farishtah*, tr. John Briggs, as *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India till the Year 1612*, in 4 vols. Calcutta.
- Ferishta, M. Q., 1977. *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, tr. John Briggs, in 4 vols., Lahore.
- Fergusson, J., 1910. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol.II, London.
- Frere, H.B.E., 1857. "Descriptive Notices of Antiquities in Scinde", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. V, Bombay.
- Fox, R.L., 1978. *Alexander the Great*, Great Britain.
- Garrick, H.B.W., 1883-84. "A Tour in the Punjab and Rājputana in 1883-84", *Archaeology Survey of India*, vol. XXIII, Delhi.
- Gascoigne, B., 1971. *The Great Mughals*, New York.
- Ghafur, M.A., 1965. *Firgural Representation on a Muslim Tomb at Thatta*, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- Ghafur, M.A., 1966. *Bird and Snake representations on the Tomb of Badi-al Zaman: A Tharkhan Prince of Thatta*, Dacca.
- Ghafur, M A., 1968. *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi.

- Goetz, H., 1963. "Indo-Islamic Figural Sculptures", *Ars Orientalis*, vol. V.
- Graber, O., 1966. *The Earliest Islamic commemorative structures, notes and documents*, Karachi.
- Grabar, O., 1973. *The formation of Islamic Art*, London.
- Grover, S., 1981. *The Architecture of India Islamic, 727-1707 A.D*, New Delhi.
- Gupta, S.P., 1980. *The Roots of Indian Art*, New Delhi.
- Haig, M.R., 1972. *The Indus Delta Country*, Karachi.
- Harle, J.C., 1986. *The Art and Architecture of The Indian Subcontinent*, London.
- Hasan, M., 1968. "Chaukhandi Tombs", *Artistic Pakistan*, Vol.I, No.2. Karachi.
- Hasan, M.U., 1993. "Influence of Central and Western Asian Religions and Cultures since 7th century on construction and decoration of tombs and graves in Baluchistan and the Subcontinent", *Journal of Central Asia*, vol. XVI, No. 1-2, Islamabad.
- Hasan, S.K., 1976. "Origin of Chaukhandi tombs", *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XXIV, (part II), Karachi.
- Hasan, S.K., 1981. "Stone Carvings from Historical Monuments at Makli Hill, Thatta", *The Proceedings of the Hijra Celebrations Symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Abdur Rahman, Peshawar.
- Hasan, S.K., 1984. "Stone reliefs, form Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan", *East and West*, vol. 34, No. 1-3, Rome.
- Hasan, S.K., 1987. "Nausherwani Tombs in Kharan, Baluchistan (Pakistan)", *South Asian Archaeology*, Rome.
- Hasan, S.K., 1988. "Tomb of Darya Khan alias Mubarak Khan, Prime Minister and General of Jam Nizam-ud-Din Nindo, A Summa Ruler in Sind", *Proceedings of Third South Asian Archaeological Congress*, ed. Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan, Islamabad.
- Hasan, S.K., 1991. "Pre Mughal Tombs at Alor District Sukkur Sind", *Journal of Central Asia*, vol. XIV, No. 1, Islamabad.
- Hasan, S.K., 1996. *Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Hasan, S.K., 1997a. "Mausoleum of Isa Khan Tarkhan II at Makli Hill Thatta", *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, vol. XLVII, No. 4, Karachi.
- Hasan, S K., 1997b. "Impact of indigenous architecture devices on the Islamic Architecture of Pakistan", *Journal of Central Asia*, vol. XX, Karachi.
- Hasan, S.K., 2001. "Pakistan its Seraiki Style of Tomb Architecture", *East and West*, vol. 51, No. 1-2, Rome.
- Hasan, Z., 1959. "Chaukhandi tombs", *Pakistan Quarterly*, vol. 9, No. 3, Karachi.

- Hastenrath, S.Z., 1978. *Chaukhandi Graber: Studien Zur Grabkunst in Sind and Baluchistan*, Berlin.
- Hastenrath, S.Z., 2003. *Chaukhandi Tombs Funerary Art in Sind and Baluchistan*, tr. Michael Robertson, Karachi.
- Havel, E. B., 1927. *Indian Architecture*, London.
- Hillenbrand, R., 2005. *Islamic Art and Architecture*, London.
- Hoag, J.D., 1977a. *History of World Architecture*, New York.
- Hoag, J.D., 1977b. *Islamic Architecture*, New York.
- Hrbas, M & Knobloch E., 1965. *The Art of Central Asia*, London.
- Huntington, S.L., 1985. *The Art of Ancient India*, New York.
- Hussain, M., 1938. *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, London.
- Hussain, T., 1997-98. "An Anonymous Tomb in District Muzaffargarh", *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, vols. X & XI, No. 1 & 2, ed. Anjum Rehmani, Lahore.
- Hutt, A. & Harrow, L., 1977. *Islamic architecture Iran I*, London.
- Ingeborg, L. S., 1987. *The pictorial life cycle of Hasht Behest in Isfahan and its Iconographic Tradition*, Rome.
- Irwin, R., 1997. *Islamic Art*, London.
- Jackson, W., 1987. *History of India: The Muhammadan Period as described by its own Historians*; selected from the Works of Henry Miers Elliot, in 9 Volumes, New Delhi.
- Jahangir, Noor-ud-Din, 1975. *Waki'at-i Jahangiri (Tuzk-e-Jahangiri)*, tr. Sir H. M. Elliot, repr. Shiekh Mubarak Ali, Lahore.
- Jairazbhoy, R A., 1972. *An outline of Islamic Architecture*, Bombay.
- James, Dickie, 1978. "Allah and Eternity: Mosque, Madrasahs and Tombs", *Architecture of the Islamic World*, ed. Geoge Michell, London.
- Javadi, S.K., 1992. *Miras-i-Jawadan (Eternal Heritage): Persian Petrography and Epigraphy in Pakistan*, Vol. II, Azad Kashmir, Northern Areas of Pakistan, Provinces of Baluchistan, North West Frontier Province, Sind, Islamabad.
- Jalili, A.S., 1994. "Chaukhandi Pakistan aur Daccan mein", *Daily Jang Karachi*, 12th January.
- Jarriage, J.F., 1982. *Excavations at Mehargarh: Their Significance for understanding the background of the Harappan Civilization*, New Delhi.
- Jokhio, B.A., 1991. "Chaukandi, Asal Haqaiq", *Daily Jang Karachi*, 17th-23rd July.
- Khan, A.N., 1971. *Iran and Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Khan, A.N., 1978. "The Dabgaran Mosque, Thatta: Its Architecture and Architectural Decoration", *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan*, vol. XV, No. 3, Lahore.

- Khan, A.N., 1980. *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, Islamabad.
- Khan, A.N., 1983. *Multan, History and Architecture*, Islamabad.
- Khan, A.N., 1987-88. "Naked brick architecture of early Islamic period of Pakistan, an Analytical study", *Pakistan Archaeology*, No 23, Karachi.
- Khan, A.N., 1991. *Development of Mosque Architecture in Pakistan*, Islamabad.
- Khan, A.N., 1997. *Studies in Islamic Archaeology in Pakistan*, Lahore.
- Khan, F.A., 1969. *Architecture and Art treasure in Pakistan (Pre-Historic, Proto-Historic, Buddhism and Hindu Period)*, Karachi.
- Khan, F.A., 1976. *Banbhore*, Karachi.
- Khan, M.A et al., 2006. *A catalogue of the Gandhāra stone sculptures in Taxila Museum*, Islamabad.
- Khan, M.I., 2000. *Historical Monuments of Thatta, World Hesitage Sites in Pakistan (UNESCO)*, Islamabad.
- Khan, M.W., 1958. *Lahore and its important monuments*, Lahore.
- Khan, Z. A., 1980. *History and Culture of Sind*, Karachi.
- Khudadad Khan., 1959. *Lubb-e-Tarikhi-e-Sindh* (Persian), innovated by Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baluch, Hyderabad.
- Knox, R., 1992. *Amarāvati, Buddhist Sculpture form the Great Stūpa*, London.
- Knappert, J., 1995. *Indian Mythology*, London.
- Kufi, A., 1985. *The ChachNama (An Ancient History of Sind)*, tr. Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg, Lahore.
- Koch, E., 1991. *Mughal Architecture*, Munich.
- Kühnel, E., 1968. *Die Kunst Des Islam (Huner-e-Islami)*, tr. Mehndas Hoshang Tahiri, Tehran.
- Lahori, Abdul Hameed, 1866-68. *Badshah Nama*, Bibliotheca Indica Series Vol. I & II, Calcutta.
- Lashari, K., 1992. "Evolution of Stone Graves in Kohistan Coastal Area in Sindh, Baluchistan", *Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists forum*, vol. 1, Issue I, eds. Asma Ibrahim & Kaleem Lashari Karachi.
- Lashari, K., 1993. "Study of Decorative Patterns and Their Evolution on Stone Carved Graves", *Journal of Pakistan Archaeology forum*, vol. 2, Issue I & II, eds. Asma Ibrahim & Kaleem Lashari, Karachi.
- Lashari, K., 1995. "Structural Development of Stone Curved Graves in Kohistan", *Research Journal of the Archaeological Review*, vol. 4, issue I & II, eds. Asma Ibrahim & Kaleem Lashari, Karachi.

- Lashari, K., 1996. *Study of Mural Ceramics of Sukkur*, eds. Asma Ibrahim & Kaleem Lashari, Karachi.
- Lambrick, H.T., 1964. *Sind (A General introduction)*, vol. I, Hyderabad.
- Lambrick, H.T., 1973. *Sind before the Muslim conquest*, Vol. II, Hyderabad.
- Lari, S.Z & Lari, Y., 1997. *The Jewel of Sind Samma monuments on Makli Hill*, Karachi.
- Mackey, E.J.H., 1938. *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Delhi.
- Majumdar, N.G., 1934. "A Report of Explorations and surveys carried out in the year 1927-28, 1929-30 and 1930-31", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 48, Delhi.
- Manjhi, M.A., 2007. "Makli Hill", *Mountains of Sindh*, ed. Khuwaja, Karim, Karachi.
- Masih, F., 2000. "Temple of the Salt Range and Kafir Kot: Ornamentation", *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, ed. Dr. Anjum Rehmani, Lahore.
- Masson, C., 1974. *Narrative of Various Journeys in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, vol. I, London.
- Masum, M.M., 1938. *Tarikh-i Sindh*, ed. Umar b. Daudpota, Bombay.
- Masum, M.M., 2002. *Tarikh-e-Masumi*, tr. Akhtar Rizvi, Hyderabad.
- Marquart, J., 1901. *Eransahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Korenacci*, Berlin.
- Marshall, J., 1928. "The Monuments of Muslim India", *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, Cambridge.
- Marshall, J., 1931. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. III, London.
- Marshall, J., 1990. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1913-14*, New Delhi.
- Marshall, J., 2004. *Mohenjodaro and The Indus Civilization*, vol.III, New Delhi.
- Marshall, J., 2006. *Taxila an illustrated account of Archaeological Excavations (carried out at Taxila under the orders of the government of India between the years 1913-34)*, Karachi.
- Matheson, S.A., 1972. *Persia an Archaeological Guide*, London.
- McRindle, J.W., 1992. *The Invasion of India by Alexander The Great*, Karachi.
- Meister, M.W., 1996. "Temples along the Indus", *Expedition*, vol. 38, No. 3, Philadelphia.
- Mehdihasan, S., 1987-88. "The Probable Origin of Swastika", *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 23, Karachi.
- Minhaj-ud-Din, Siraj, 1977. *Tabakat-I-Nasiri*, tr. Major H.G. Raverty, vol. I-II, Lahore.
- Mirkhwand, M., 1339 H. *Razat-us Safa*, 7 vols. Tehran.
- Moinuddin, 1975. *Sind: Land of Legends*, Karachi.
- Nadiem, I.H., 1998. *Makli the Necropolises at Thatta*, Lahore.
- Nadiem, I.H., 2001. *Thar (The Great Pakistani Desert, Land, History, People)*, Lahore.
- Nadiem, I.H., 2002. *Built Heritage of Pakistan*, Lahore.

- Nadvi, S.A., 2008. *Tarikh-i-Sind*, Lahore.
- Nadvi, S.S., UD. *Arab-wa-Hind kay Ta'aluqat*, ed. Muhammad Shabir Qamar, Lahore.
- Nath, R., 1976. *Some Aspect of Mughal Architecture*, New Delhi.
- Nath, R., 1978. *History of Sultanat Architecture*, New Delhi.
- Nath, R., 1979. *Calligraphic Art in Mughal Architecture*, Calcutta.
- Nath, R., 1982. *History of Mughal Architecture*, vol. I, New Delhi.
- Nath, R., 1986. *Jharokha: An Illustrated Glossary of Indo Muslim Architecture*, Jaipur.
- Nath, R., 1989. *The colored decoration in Mughal Architecture*, Jaipur.
- Nath, R., 1993. "Chaukhandi in Mughal Architecture", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. XLI (Part IV), Karachi.
- Nisyani, M. T., 1964. *Tarikh-i Tahiri*, ed. N. A. Baluch, Hyderabad.
- O'Kane, 1987. *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, California.
- Orbeli, J., 1930. "Sassanian and early Islamic metalwork", *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. Pope A U, London.
- Orlich, L.C., 1976. *Travel in India*, vol. II, Karachi.
- Page, J.B., 1965. *Tomb of Rukn-e-Alam*, Splendours of the East, ed. Wheeler, London.
- Pathan, M. H., 1978. *History of Sind (Arab period)*, Series vol. III, Karachi.
- Pereira, J., 2004. *The Sacred Architecture of Islam*, New Delhi.
- Pirinia, Hasan, 1304 A.H. *Iran-i-Bastani*, Tehran.
- Pirinia, Hasan, 1311 A.H. *Irani-i-Bastan*, Tehran.
- Pithawala, M.B., 1959. *A physical and economic geography of Sindh*. Karachi.
- Pope, A.U., 1930. "Sasanian Architecture, A History", *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. IX, London.
- Pope, A.U. & Ackerman, P., 1930. "From Prehistoric Times to the Present", *Survey of Persian Art*, vol. VIII, London.
- Pope, A.U., 1965, *Sasanian Architecture: The Triumph of form and color*, A History, Survey of Persian Art, vol. VIII, London.
- Pottinger, H., 1816. *Travels in Balochistan and Sind*, London.
- Qani, A.S., 1965. *Makli Namo*, ed. Hussamuddin Rashdi, Hyderabad.
- Qani, A.S., 1968. *Makli Namo*, ed. Sayyid Hussamuddin Rashidi, Hyderabad.
- Qani, A.S., 1971. *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, vol. III, Part I, ed. Sayyid Husam-ud Din Rashidi, Hyderabad.
- Qani, A.S., 1994. *Makli Namo*, tr. Pir Hussam-ud-Din Shah Rashidi, Hyderabad.
- Qani, A.S., 2002. *Tuhfat-ul Kiram*, tr. Akhtar Rizvi, ed. Nabi Bakhsh Khan Baloch, Karachi.

- Qazi, M.N., 1995. *History & the Architectural decoration of Lahore Fort*, (M.Phil thesis Unpublish), Department of Archaeology University of Peshawar.
- Qazi, M.N. & Jan, I., 2008. "Life Story of Buddha: Fasting Siddhartha-Mara's Attack", *Gandhāra Sculptures, in the Peshawar Museum (Life Story of Buddha)*, eds. Ihsan Ali & Muhammad Naeem Qazi, Peshawar.
- Qazi, M.N., et al., 2008. "Life Story of Buddha: Miracle at Śrāvastī", *Gandhāra Sculptures, in the Peshawar Museum (Life Story of Buddha)*, eds. Ihsan Ali & Muhammad Naeem Qazi, Peshawar.
- Quddus, S.A., 1992. *Sind, The land the Indus Valley Civilization*, Karachi.
- Quddusi, I. H., 1976. *Tarikhi Sindh*, vol. I. Lahore.
- Rahman, A., 1989. "Saif Ad-Daula Mehmud and his Tomb in Zairan", *Journal of Central Asia*, vol. XII, No. 1, Islamabad.
- Rashid, A.S., 1965. "Insha Mahru", *Journal of Pakistan Research Society*, Lahore.
- Raverty, H. G., 1976. *Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan*, Quetta.
- Raverty, H. G., 1979. *The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries*, Lahore.
- Reuther, O., 1930. "Sasanian Architecture", *A Survey of Persian Art from prehistoric times to the present*, ed. Arthur Upham Pope, vol. II, London.
- Rice, D.T., 1979. *Islamic Art*, London.
- Rogers, M., 1976. *The Spread of Islam*, Oxford.
- Ross, David, 1976. *The Land of Five Rivers and Sindh*, Lahore.
- Rowland, B., 1953. *The art and architecture of India Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, Middlesex.
- Sahai, S., 2004. *Indian Architecture Islamic period 1192-1857*, New Delhi.
- Schimmel, A., 1984. *Calligraphy and Islamic Culture*, New York.
- Schotten, M.E., 1981. *Indian Architecture (Deccan 1347-1686)*, New Delhi.
- Siddiqi, M. H., 1972. *History of Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sindh*, Jamshoro.
- Siddiqi, M.I., 1963. *Thatta*, Department of Archaeology Pakistan.
- Sirhindi, Y.A., 1977. *The Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*, tr. Kamal Krishna Basu into English from original Persian with textual Notes and Index, Karachi.
- Shafi, M., 1974. *Sanadid-e-Sind*, ed. Ahmad Rabbani, Lahore.
- Shah, I., 2005. "Cultural Assimilation: An Ignored Aspect of Muslim Society", *Journal of Historical Society of Sindh*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1 & 2, Karachi.
- Sorley, H.T., 1968. *The Former Province of Sind (including Khairpur State), West Pakistan Gazetteer: Sind Region*, Lahore.

- Smith, V.A., 1957. *The early History of India (from 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan conquest)*, Oxford.
- Smith, V.A., 1981. *The Oxford History of India*, Karachi.
- Stein, A., 1991. "An Archaeological tour to Gedrosia", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*. No. 43. New Delhi.
- Terry, J., 1955. *The Charm of Indo-Islamic Architecture*, Bombay.
- Tufail, M., 1962. *Naqoosh: Lahore Number*, Lahore.
- Vats, M.S., 1940. *Excavation at Harappa*, Calcutta.
- Watters, T., 2004. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, New Delhi.
- Wheeler, M., 1950. *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, London.
- Wilson, T., 1896. "The Swastika", Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1894, Great Briten.
- Wilson, T., 1997. *Ariana Anique A Descriptive Account of the Antiquities and coins of Afghanistan with a Memoir on the Buildings called Topes by C. Masson*, New Delhi.
- William, S. M., 1963. *A Sanskrit English dictionary*, Oxford.
- Witkower, Rudolf, 1939. "Eagle & Serpent: A Study in the Migration of Symbols", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, vol. II, Warburg.
- Wood, John, 1976. *Journey to the source of the Oxus*, Karachi.
- Zambaur, E., 1927. *Manuel de Genealogie et de Chronologie pour L'Histooire de L'Islam*, Hanovre.
- Zia-ud-Din, M. & Barrech, S., 2009. "Mughal-Ottoman Relations, 1526-556", *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, Vol. XXX, No. II, Islamabad.

Index

A

abacus, 86, 87, 88, 121, 122, 125, 127, 135, 138, 145, 164, 170, 174
Abdul Ali Tarkhan, 30, 31, 40, 41, 192
Abdul Khaliq Tarkhan, 30
acanthus, 69, 71, 86, 121, 127, 138, 142, 145, 150, 160
Afghanistan, 54, 179, 182, 188, 214, 225, 227, 228
Agni, 177
Ahinsa Bhai, 152
Ahmad Shahis, 110
Ahmadabad, 45, 58, 63, 82, 89, 96, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 150, 154, 160, 161, 165, 167, 172, 174, 175, 188, 189, 194, 200, 204, 207, 208, 209, 212, 213, 217
Ahriman, 180, 214
Ahura Mazda, 180, 214
Aihole, 109, 114
Alauddin Khilji, 14, 17
alcove, 66, 67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 93, 144, 145, 155
Alexander, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 43, 188, 196, 221, 225
Alore, 12, 56, 57, 59, 160, 161, 163, 165, 189, 198, 201, 206
āmalaka, 68, 107, 108, 109, 114, 120, 124, 126, 128, 137, 163, 207, 209
Amarāvati, 47, 162, 163, 173, 212, 224
Amir Hajika Mughal, 159, 170, 174, 185, 215
Amir Khani, 28, 135, 155, 157
Amir Sultan, 141, 152, 168, 174, 215
Anhilwada, 110
antarāla, 49, 108
anthropomorphic, 141
Arab, 1, 3, 4, 6, 11, 51, 54, 96, 188, 189, 190, 195, 199, 201, 216, 225, 226
Arab Ata, 51, 54, 199, 201
arabesque, 69, 71, 75, 76, 83, 86, 87, 90, 128, 139, 141, 145, 158, 213
Arabian, 1, 78
arcaded, 64, 79
archuate, 52, 90, 92, 194
archway, 65, 69, 75, 76, 79, 84, 85
Ardashir, 48
Arghun, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 165, 166, 184, 185, 191

Arghun Khan, 29, 30
Aror, 56, 57, 59
Arrians, 7, 8
Arsalan Jadheb, 54
Artabanus, 48
Asaf Khan, 41, 59
Asarwa, 110
Asfahan, 22
Ashura, 19
Aśokan Columns, 163
astabhuja, 49

B

ba'goristan-e-Makli, 28
Babur, 21, 30, 184, 219
Badi-uz-Zaman, 112, 113, 121, 123, 124, 126, 147, 159, 169, 175, 178, 179, 183, 186, 204, 210, 212, 214
Baghar, 8
Baha ul-Halim, 61
Bahmani dynasty, 110, 117
Bai Harir's Baoli, 110
Bakhar, 17, 19, 22, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 45
balconies, 55, 56, 83, 85, 86, 87, 138, 139, 140, 142, 151, 152, 157, 171, 204, 205
Balidan, 25, 26
Baluchistan, 21, 26, 56, 60, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100, 106, 108, 119, 177, 179, 181, 182, 196, 206, 207, 213, 214, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 227
Bambinia, 18, 19
Banbhore, 1, 7, 9, 11, 188, 189, 190, 191, 216, 223
Bangali, 20
Baolis, 110
Baqi Beg, 33, 34, 35, 37, 75, 81, 112, 113, 121, 124, 131, 138, 141, 152, 154, 155, 159, 166, 168, 171, 173, 174, 177, 178, 183, 186, 187, 204, 215
Baqi Beg Uzbek, 81, 131, 153, 154, 155, 173, 186, 204
Barabar Hill, 151
Barbarikon, 1, 3, 7, 9, 11, 188, 189, 190, 216
Barce, 11
Baroque ladies, 164
Bartle Frere, 97, 100
bead & reel, 158, 160
Bhagar, 3
Bhājā Caitya, 152

Bhārhut, 47, 151, 173, 212
Bhitargaon, 58
Bibi Javindi, 61, 176
Bidar, 105, 110, 111, 208
bracket, 43, 88, 107, 118, 131, 132, 136, 144
Brahman, 10
Brahmanabad, 7, 13
Bukhara, 30, 43, 51
Burfati, 96
Butkara-I, 47

C

canopeum, 104
Caturkhanda, 103
cella, 58
Chach, 10
chain design, 87, 134
chajja, 122, 128, 131, 136, 137, 139, 140
Chajja, 123, 128, 131, 137
chamfered, 46, 47, 61, 62, 75, 77, 78, 80, 130, 195, 199
Champanir Mosque, 63
Charkas, 37, 41, 46, 47, 77, 199, 200
Chatri Śāla, 103
Chatris, 100
Chaudravati, 109
Chaukhandi, 27, 28, 72, 77, 81, 82, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100,
101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111,
112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122,
123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134,
135, 137, 138, 141, 143, 146, 147, 153, 159, 162, 163,
166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 182,
183, 185, 186, 193, 194, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205,
206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 214, 221, 222, 223,
226
Chaukundi, 100, 105
Chausath Khambay, 101
Chawkandis, 100
chessboard pattern, 141, 160, 213
Chhatyun, 100
Chughtai, 52, 153, 184, 194
colonnaded, 114, 116
corbelled arch, 113
cordon band, 158
cornice moulding, 67, 71, 76, 77, 80, 81, 85, 87, 91, 93,
136
Cornucopia, 158
courtyard, 69, 82, 84, 85, 121
cross symbol, 71, 140, 148, 177, 179
Curtius, 7, 8, 190
cusped arch, 84, 144
cypress tree, 88, 134

D

Dabgir, 37, 154
dado, 65, 66, 70, 71, 74, 75, 80, 81, 87, 144, 154, 155
Darya Khan, 21, 55, 152, 166, 169, 174, 184, 186, 205,
206, 215, 222
David star, 83, 133, 134, 142, 158, 176, 177
Daybul, 1, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 97, 188, 190, 216,
221
Daybulan, 2, 11, 188, 189, 190, 216
Deccan, 42, 64, 82, 89, 105, 106, 109, 110, 117, 143, 154,
160, 168, 172, 189, 194, 201, 208, 209, 213, 216, 217,
221, 227

Delhi, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 59, 61, 101, 106, 109, 117, 120,
176, 188, 208, 209, 218, 219, 220, 221, 223, 224, 225,
226, 227, 228
Delta, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 181, 188, 190, 221
Deltaic, 2, 8, 190
Deogarh, 58, 194
Devī-Uma-Kālī, 25
Dewal Sindy, 14
Dharma Rajika, 47, 49
diamond design, 160
Dibal, 6
Diwal, 6
Diwan Shurafa Khan, 46, 47, 51, 58, 59, 71, 73, 81, 149,
153, 154, 155, 162, 163, 179, 185, 186, 198, 199, 203,
215
dome, 26, 46, 47, 50, 51, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 62, 68, 72, 77,
81, 93, 105, 107, 111, 116, 118, 120, 124, 126, 128,
130, 131, 134, 137, 142, 146, 201, 202
Dome of Rock, 49
domical ceiling, 52, 56, 66, 67, 68, 69, 72, 76, 77, 80, 81,
85, 87, 89, 91, 93, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116,
118, 122, 124, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 137, 146,
154, 157, 203, 204, 207, 209, 210
doorsill, 65, 75
double dome, 52, 73, 202
drum, 46, 47, 51, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 62, 67, 68, 72, 73, 77,
81, 93, 124, 128, 130, 133, 155, 195, 197, 198, 202
duck, 85, 87
Dwasdah Imam, 49

E

Ellorā, 160
enamelled ceramic tiles, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 78, 80, 154,
155, 156, 169, 170, 171, 183, 186, 215

F

façade, 69, 73, 75, 83, 84, 85, 87, 132, 134, 138, 139, 142,
144, 151, 165, 171, 186
Faqir Muhammad, 173
Fatehpur Sikri, 63, 82, 110, 117, 200, 217
Feroz Shah Tughlaq, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21
finial, 93, 134, 137, 163
flanged shape dome, 93
four armed brackets, 63, 89, 90, 91, 99, 107, 108, 109, 111,
113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 127, 129, 130,
131, 132, 136, 138, 146, 207, 209, 210
Frankish, 32
fret work, 76, 86, 91, 92, 140
fringe, 88, 144

G

Gandhāra, 47, 49, 53, 55, 58, 151, 152, 153, 161, 162, 164,
167, 170, 173, 175, 178, 197, 205, 212, 214, 224, 226
garbagrha, 48, 49, 58, 89, 96, 106, 108, 112, 114, 204,
207
Garudā, 180
Gaudargudi, 109
Gawadar, 100
Ghalib Kari, 149
Ghauri, 14, 16
Ghayasuddin Tughlaq, 14
Ghazali, 51, 61
Ghazi Beg, 14, 31, 39, 40, 46, 56, 157, 192

Ghazi Beg Tughlaq, 14
 Ghazi Malik, 14, 17
 Ghaznavid, 50, 196, 219
 Ghiyas-ud-Din Balban, 17
 Ghurfa, 100, 104
 Ghurids, 44
 glazed tiles, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 147, 149, 154, 155
 Gorī temple, 26, 115, 151, 160
 Got Raj Malik, 103
 Gujarat, 20, 45, 58, 62, 63, 82, 89, 96, 105, 107, 108, 109,
 110, 111, 114, 115, 117, 119, 150, 154, 160, 165, 167,
 168, 172, 174, 175, 176, 188, 189, 200, 204, 207, 208,
 209, 212, 213, 216, 217
 Gulberga, 105, 106, 110, 208
 gull-e-nau, 134
 Gulpaygan, 57
 Gumbad-i-Surkh, 60
 Gupta, 151, 175, 213, 221

H

Habshad Bhai, 153
 Hamal Radho Kalo, 102
 Hamir, 18
 Hamshira Fateh Khan, 46, 175, 204
 Hansa Bai, 138, 141, 152, 159, 166, 168, 173, 174, 177,
 178, 179, 206, 219
 Hansi, 106, 109, 110, 119, 208, 209
 Harsat□amātā, 50
 Hasan Sirhani, 175
 Hasht Behest, 181, 223
 Hassamuddin Tegh Bathana, 110, 208
 Herat, 45, 57, 184, 186, 194, 203, 216
 Hinayāna, 172
 Hindi, 1, 5, 103, 104, 105
 Hindu, 2, 6, 24, 25, 26, 45, 49, 50, 52, 53, 55, 58, 89, 102,
 105, 106, 108, 111, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 151,
 161, 163, 165, 167, 170, 173, 175, 176, 181, 189, 192,
 193, 194, 198, 204, 205, 207, 208, 209, 213, 214, 216,
 223, 227
 Hindu Shahis, 52
 Hiuen Tsang, 1
 honeycomb, 64, 118, 142, 200, 213
 Hujaj bin Yousaf, 12
 Hyderabad, 1, 7, 25, 33, 100, 193, 219, 221, 224, 225, 226

I

Ibrahim Khan, 45, 46, 47, 49, 56, 58, 59, 61, 64, 68, 71, 72,
 126, 143, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157, 171, 186, 197, 200,
 201, 202, 203, 210, 215
 Ilchi, 29
 Ilkhans, 52
 intrados, 87, 88
 inverted lotus, 163
 Isa Khan Langoti, 46
 Isa Khan Tarkhan I, 22, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 42, 82,
 112, 114, 122, 123, 138, 141, 152, 159, 162, 166, 168,
 169, 171, 174, 175, 177, 178, 179, 183, 185, 186, 191,
 204, 206, 212, 215
 Isa Khan Tarkhan II, 31, 33, 40, 41, 42, 46, 62, 63, 71, 81,
 82, 89, 132, 137, 139, 140, 141, 144, 151, 153, 159,
 162, 163, 166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174, 176, 177, 179,
 185, 199, 200, 201, 205, 222
 Isfahan, 45, 57, 143, 153, 181, 200, 203, 223
 Islampur, 6

J

jaffari, 151
 Jahangir Qadri, 110
 Jaina, 45, 106, 108, 111, 112, 114, 115, 117, 118, 151, 167,
 189
 jali, 92
 Jam Chhatta, 103
 Jam Juna, 18, 19, 20, 27
 Jamal Garhi, 47
 jams, 65, 70, 75, 84, 91, 132, 139, 140, 205
 Jan Baba, 33, 34, 35, 42, 55, 81, 82, 107, 120, 137, 140,
 141, 151, 153, 159, 162, 166, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174,
 176, 177, 178, 179, 205, 208
 Jangshahi, 63, 82, 152
 Jani Beg, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 46, 47, 59, 68, 72, 75, 77,
 81, 82, 107, 118, 130, 131, 153, 154, 155, 159, 177,
 179, 186, 191, 193, 198, 201, 203, 204, 215
 Jarak, 47, 182
 Jareja, 33, 35
 Jatan-Joon-Chhatyun, 100
 Jhokhandi, 96
 Jhokio, 96
 Jhokiya, 96
 Jitor, 12
 Jivan Śrī Mahā Rāja, 25
 Jokeas, 97, 100
 Jokundee, 97, 100

K

Kafir Kot, 58, 151, 152, 160, 178, 205, 225
 Kailāsanātha, 160
 Kalar, 160, 195
 kalaśa, 107, 108, 109, 114, 120, 207
 Kālī, 25, 26, 27, 114
 Kalima, 29, 133, 142, 184
 Kalka Devī, 26
 Kalmati, 96, 219
 Kana Solanki, 110
 Kashi Kari, 149
 Katas, 160, 165, 195
 Kathiawar, 45, 62, 89, 96, 107, 108, 114, 115, 150, 151,
 154, 160, 188
 Kaviyur, 49, 111, 114
 Khajuraho, 58
 Khalid Waleed, 55, 56, 57, 160, 161, 165, 206
 Kharan, 179, 181, 182, 213, 214, 222
 Kharaqan, 52, 60, 196, 202
 Khatal ud-Din Shah, 57
 Khat-e-Gulzar, 159, 184, 186
 Khori, 8
 Khudabad Salis, 101, 103
 Khunza Sultana, 110, 208
 Khurasan, 21, 29, 30, 39, 45, 194, 216, 226
 Khusrav Khan Charkas, 37, 41, 62, 77, 94
 Khwaja Ata bek, 60
 Kirki, 50, 199
 Kirman, 60
 Koh-i-Banan, 62
 Kohistan-i Makli, 24
 Kokaltash, 22, 32, 45
 Konopion, 104
 Konops, 104
 Kufic, 170
 Kūpāgār, 110
 Kushik, 104

Kusānā, 47, 164, 173, 189
Kutch, 1, 17, 20, 33, 35, 45, 96, 108, 115, 188

L

Laar, 5
Lahori Bandar, 11
Lar, 5, 18, 19, 176
Lasbela, 55, 56, 99
Lokesvara, 110
Lomas Rāsī, 151
lotus, 93, 133, 134, 140, 150, 160, 161, 162, 163, 172, 173, 174

M

Ma'kāli, 25
Madrasah, 23, 24, 27, 28, 50, 63, 114, 118, 122, 129, 140, 150, 152, 162, 165, 166, 168, 169, 174, 175, 186, 194, 205, 210, 212
Mahā Kālī, 24, 25, 26, 27
Mahā Kālī Devī, 25
Mahābharata, 3, 5
Mahā-Kala, 25
Mahārāja, 25
Maipuri Masjid, 117, 160, 165, 174
Makkahli, 24
Makli, 1, 6, 13, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 73, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 85, 89, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 128, 129, 130, 134, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 219, 222, 224, 225, 226
Makli Nama, 41, 112, 192, 193, 199, 207, 210
Makran, 17, 26, 96, 100, 119, 181, 193
Malak Raj Pal, 46
Malegitti Śivalaya, 109
Malik Ali bin Sultan Ali, 34
Malik Murid Khan Kalmāi, 103
Mand, 3
Mandawari, 3, 6
Manduka Mandala, 89
Mandwa, 104
Manhabari, 3, 6, 10
Mankali, 24, 26, 192
Maragha, 60
Mardan, 37, 47, 60, 218
Marv, 51, 202
Masjid-e-Jami, 57
Masjid-e-Yaqt-u-Sa'at, 57
Masumi, 11, 12, 38, 193, 225
Mātā Bhawani, 25, 110, 193
Mātā Kālī, 25, 27
Mātā Sinha Bawani Mandir, 25
Mātā'kāli, 25
Mathurā, 47, 151, 164, 172, 173, 175, 212
Mayi Dohagan, 57, 160, 163, 201
Mayi Makli, 23, 24, 27, 192
Mayi Sohagan, 57, 201
Mecca, 23, 24, 192
Med, 4, 9, 189

medallion, 84, 124, 140, 164, 165, 174
Medawari, 3, 10
Mehergarh, 177
Mehmud Borani, 185
Mehmudabad, 64
mehrāb, 23, 27, 55, 56, 68, 69, 73, 74, 75, 82, 85, 87, 122, 132, 134, 144, 145, 146, 154, 161, 170, 171, 197, 206
Mendabari, 1, 4
Mendawari, 1, 4
merlon, 133
Miani, 50, 114
Mindawari, 3
Min-Nagar, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 189, 190, 216
Mirza Abdul Razaq Mamori, 42
Mirza Farrukh, 40
Mirza Muzaffar, 33, 35
Mirza Payanda, 35
Mirza Rustum Safavi, 42
Mirza Zahid Beg, 159, 162, 165, 176, 206
Mithri, 60, 196, 197
Miyāni, 4
Modherā, 50, 111, 115, 151, 160, 167, 173, 175, 205, 207, 208, 212, 213
Moenjodaro, 47, 167, 214
Mokah Basayeh, 12
Mongrol, 112, 151, 160, 174, 175
Mughal wara, 21
Muhammad Baqi, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 121, 124, 179, 191, 206, 215
Muhammad bin Haroon, 55, 56
Muhammad bin Qasim, 12
Muhammad bin Sam, 14
Muhammad Saleh, 31, 33, 159, 170, 174, 176, 179, 215
Muhammad Tur, 17
Mukaddim, 19
Mukali, 24, 25, 27, 192
Mukhahli, 24
Mukulee, 24, 25, 27, 192
Mulo, 6
Muntasir, 44, 49, 60, 195
muqaranas, 156
Muttaka Vedikā, 91

N

Nad-e-Ali, 184
Nāga, 180
Nagar Thatto, 6
Nagarparkar, 26, 112, 114, 115, 151, 160
Nandana, 58
Nara, 3, 8, 17
Nasiruddin Qabacha, 14, 16, 17
naskh, 185, 186, 215
nastalique, 28, 74, 114, 119, 126, 132, 135, 136, 184, 185, 215
Nausherawani, 182
Navalakhā, 114, 160
Nawab Amir Khan Khalil, 59, 112, 121, 124, 127, 155, 204, 210
Neisar, 48, 55
niche, 26, 69, 74, 87, 144, 145, 193
Nikodaris, 179, 182, 214
Nila Gumbad, 59
Nindo, 6, 7, 15, 21, 25, 55, 56, 63, 140, 152, 162, 166, 168, 169, 172, 174, 176, 184, 185, 186, 191, 205, 206, 212, 215, 222
Nirankot, 10

Nironkot, 7, 10
Nizam-ud-Din, 6, 7, 21, 25, 28, 55, 56, 63, 101, 118, 135,
136, 140, 152, 162, 166, 168, 169, 172, 173, 174, 175,
176, 184, 185, 186, 191, 193, 203, 206, 211, 212, 215,
222
Nugur Tattah, 4
Nusrat Khan, 17

O

ogee arches, 195
onion shape dome, 118, 201, 202
over lapping stones, 52, 204

P

palm, 150, 170, 171
palmette, 127, 136, 140, 141, 143, 144, 166, 169, 170, 171
Pāñcika, 164
parapet, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, 122, 123, 128, 130, 131,
133, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 146
parrot, 140
Parthian, 10, 48
Patala, 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 188, 190, 216
Patali, 2
Patalpur, 7
Patasila, 1, 10, 11
peacock, 112, 113, 123, 125, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 213,
214
pendentives, 54, 93, 156
pent, 123, 128, 131, 133, 137, 142, 146, 209
Periplus, 4, 9, 10, 189, 190
petal, 90, 168
pilarettes, 55, 56, 69, 87, 122, 145, 173, 206
Pilijan-Joon-Chhatyun, 100
Pir A'saat, 128, 208, 210
Pir Patho, 22, 23, 27
Pitashila, 10, 11
Pi-to-shi-lo, 10
pointed arch, 54, 69, 71, 73, 76, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92, 134,
144, 145
Portuguese, 32, 33, 220
Potala, 2
Potalaya, 2
Prasiance, 2
pronounced drum, 51, 53, 57, 59, 67, 195, 197, 198
pylon, 89, 93

Q

qalib kari, 156
Qandahar, 21, 39, 40
Qazi Ahmad, 104, 107, 112, 116, 118, 128, 143, 171, 200,
201, 208, 210
Qazi Ghayas-ud-Din Harvi, 29
Qazwin-Hamadani, 60
Qibla, 134
Qubat al Sakhara, 49
Quranic verses, 65, 68, 70, 75, 89, 92, 113, 124, 186, 197
Qus-as-Sultani, 46, 56, 152, 157, 175
Qutb Minar, 157

R

Ra'i dynasty, 10, 47, 189
Radha bin Malir, 102

Rahimat Masjid, 165
Rahman Dheri, 178
Rājputana, 89, 108, 119, 194, 221
Rājputs, 96
Rāmāyan□a, 26
Rampurva, 164
Rani ka Hujra, 63
Ran□k, 28, 37, 41, 77, 102, 154, 155, 159, 173, 174, 177,
179
Rashid-ud-Din, 3, 6
Ravali, 115, 151, 174, 175
recessed arch, 69, 74, 82, 83, 84, 87, 90, 92, 139, 141, 142,
143, 144, 145, 146
River, 33, 190
Rohri, 26
rosette, 83, 164, 165

S

Sadan Shaheed, 54, 55, 57, 160, 161, 165, 205, 206
Safavid, 181
Saij bin Saij, 155
Śakas, 48
Salt Range, 52, 58, 151, 162, 165, 178, 198, 205, 212, 225
Samanid, 43, 51, 54, 195, 199, 201
Samara, 44, 49, 60, 195
Samarqand, 30, 51, 57, 202, 203, 216
Sameenagur, 1
Sameenuggur, 26
Sameja, 33
Samiran, 44, 49, 51, 60, 196
Samma, 7, 15, 18, 21, 27, 28, 45, 55, 56, 62, 76, 78, 96, 98,
99, 106, 113, 114, 118, 126, 140, 147, 149, 154, 159,
161, 162, 166, 168, 169, 170, 176, 179, 186, 191, 193,
204, 205, 206, 209, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 219, 224
Samui, 15, 18, 22, 191
Sāñcī, 47, 151, 173, 212
Sangbast, 54, 196, 203
Sann, 101, 103
Sanskrit, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 26, 103, 105, 177, 190, 207, 228
Sārnāth, 174, 212
Sassanian, 44, 48, 55, 172, 212, 226
Satcharni, 37, 41, 46, 47, 56, 62, 77, 78, 81, 149, 155, 157,
199, 203
Sayyed Uthman, 63
Sayyid Jalal-ud Din Husain Bukhari, 20
Scythians, 1, 7, 9, 188, 189, 190, 216
Seero, 5
Sehwan, 15, 16, 36, 38, 57
Sejampur, 112, 114, 151, 160, 167, 173, 175, 204, 205, 207,
208, 212, 213
Seljuq, 57, 156, 181, 200
Seraiki belt, 54, 57, 162
serpentine, 64, 83, 86
Shah Beg, 21, 30, 31, 184, 191
Shah Rukn-e-Alam, 56, 60, 167, 170, 176
Shah-i-Zindah, 57
Shahristan, 57
Shalamar Garden, 101
Shal-i-Daybuli, 14
Shams Tabraizi, 56
Sheher Bano, 45, 155, 170
Sheikh Hamad Jamali, 23, 27, 63, 114, 118, 122, 129, 140,
150, 162, 165, 166, 169, 174, 175, 186, 192, 205, 210
Shingrafi, 153
Shiraz, 45
śikhara, 58, 108, 109, 114, 124, 127, 163, 207

Sindhur, 193
 Sirkap, 48, 175, 212
 Siro, 5
 Sital-eswar Mahādeva, 109
 Śiva, 5, 25, 26, 49, 111, 176
 Siwistan, 15, 17, 19, 32, 33, 34, 36
 snake, 112, 113, 123, 125, 158, 179, 180, 182, 183, 213, 214
 Sodas, 33
 soffits, 56, 74, 75, 84, 85, 88, 142, 145
 Solanki, 109, 151
 Somanātha Pātān, 112, 115, 151, 160, 167, 172, 174, 204, 205, 207, 212, 213
 spandrel, 66, 171
 spoke wheel motif, 150, 174, 175, 212
 squinch, 51, 67, 72, 131, 200, 201
 Śrāvastī, 163, 226
 staircase, 66, 76, 80, 90, 91
 stalactites, 142, 156
 stalagmite, 86, 106, 115, 122, 124, 126, 137, 142, 144, 204, 207
 stucco, 56, 67, 78, 80, 148, 153, 156, 157, 183, 203
 stucco-lustro, 67, 156
 stūpa, 45, 47, 49, 53, 162, 163, 173, 197, 205
 stylobate, 88, 140
 Subz Burj, 59
 Sudheran-jo-Dhado, 47, 151, 160
 Sukkur, 45, 56, 61, 120, 149, 201, 208, 222, 224
 Sulaiman Beg, 154, 159, 173, 206, 213, 215
 Sultan Mehmd Khan Kokaltash, 32, 36
 Sultanya, 51, 61, 142, 200, 202
 Sumra, 7, 14, 16, 18, 191
 sunflower, 69, 70, 84, 85, 86, 88, 92, 122, 125, 130, 132, 133, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 150, 160, 166, 167, 168, 173, 177
 Śunga, 172
 Surat, 101
 Sūrya, 50, 109, 111, 167
 Swaminagar, 1, 6, 26
 swastika, 70, 71, 74, 88, 92, 143, 150, 177, 178, 179, 213
 Swat, 47

T

Tabraiz, 29, 45, 150, 184, 194, 216
 Taeh Taeh, 6
 Taghi, 15, 17, 19, 191
 Tah Tah, 5
 Taheta, 6
 Tahtah, 4
 Tajuddin Qadri, 110
 Taket, 5
 Takht-e-Bhai, 49, 52
 Talhati, 21
 Tapt-Gujkari, 156
 Tarkhan, 21, 22, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 49, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75, 77, 79, 81, 82, 89, 99, 107, 108, 112, 113, 114, 116, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 126, 129, 130, 131, 132, 137, 139, 140, 141, 143, 144, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 159, 162, 163, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 191, 194, 195, 197,

198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 217, 222
 tassel, 77, 83, 123, 126, 136, 142, 144, 145, 213
 Tata, 5, 26
 Tatha, 5
 Tattah, 5
 Taxila, 47, 49, 164, 175, 212, 224, 225
 Taybad, 57, 202, 216
 taza kari, 153
 Terracotta glazed tiles, 149, 155
 terracotta tiles, 74, 75, 77, 78
 Tete, 5
 Thahthah, 6
 That'hah, 6
 Thate, 5
 Thatha, 2, 4, 5, 6, 14, 220
 Thato-Nagar, 2, 3, 191
 Thatt, 4, 6
 Thatti, 4, 6
 Thatto, 4, 6
 Thet-et, 5
 Thul Mir Rukan, 47, 151
 Timurid, 21, 51, 57, 153, 198, 202, 216, 226
 Tondo Muhammad Adam, 47
 trabeate, 52, 89, 92, 194
 trefoil, 70, 91, 138, 142, 145, 146, 195
 Tughlaqabad, 14
 Tughral Beg, 82, 131, 132, 163, 169, 201, 202, 210
 Turra Baz Banda, 48
 tympanum, 69, 74, 76, 84, 139, 142, 144
 T□hat□, 5

U

Uchchh, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 35, 61, 167, 176, 197, 199, 223
 Uljaitu, 29, 51, 61, 196, 202
 Umarkot, 10, 33, 35
 Unar, 16, 18, 19, 21, 191
 Uthmanpur, 63

V

vase, 171, 172, 173, 213
 Vāyad, 110
 vedikā, 91, 153
 verandah, 46, 62, 63, 82, 88, 89, 90, 91, 115, 116, 138, 139, 141, 144, 146, 153, 173, 195
 vestibule, 65, 69, 79, 84
 Vitana, 104

Y

Yaks□as, 2
 Yazd, 49, 52, 57
 Yazdi, 29

Z

Zaheer-ud-Din Babur, 21
 zangi flower, 141
 zone of transition, 51, 52, 54, 67, 72, 93, 130, 131, 133, 136, 146, 156
 Zoroastrian, 180, 214