



UNIVERSITA CA' FOSCARI VENEZIA

Dottorato di Ricerca in Lingue Culture e Societa` indirizzo Studi Orientali, XXII ciclo

(A.A. 2006/2007 – A. A. 2009/2010)

CHAUKHANDI TOMBS

A Peculiar Funerary Memorial

Architecture in Sindh and Baluchistan

(Pakistan)

TESI DI DOTTORATO DI ABDUL JABBAR KHAN

numero di matricola 955338

Coordinatore del Dottorato

Ch.mo Prof. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi

Tutore del Dottorando

Ch.mo Prof. Gian Giuseppe Filippi



Chaukhandi Tombs at Karachi National highway (Seventeenth Century).

AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During my research many individuals helped me. First of all I would like to offer my gratitude to my academic supervisor Professor Gian Giuseppe Filippi, Professor Ordinario at Department of Eurasian Studies, Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, for this Study. I have profited greatly from his constructive guidance, advice, enormous support and encouragements to complete this dissertation.

I also would like to thank and offer my gratitude to Mr. Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, former Director General of Archaeology - Government of Pakistan for his valuable suggestions, providing me his original photographs of Chuakhandi tombs and above all his availability despite of his health issues during my visits to Pakistan.

I am also grateful to Prof. Ansar Zahid Khan, editor Journal of Pakistan Historical Society and Dr. Muhammad Reza Kazmi , editorial consultant at OUP Karachi for sharing their expertise with me and giving valuable suggestions during this study.

The writing of this dissertation would not be possible without the assistance and courage I have received from my family and friends, but above all, prayers of my mother and the loving memory of my father Late Abdul Aziz Khan who always has been a source of inspiration for me, the patience and cooperation from my wife and the beautiful smile of my two year old daughter which has given me a lot courage. For this I am highly grateful to all of them.

Abdul Jabbar Khan

Venice, January 11, 2010

Dedicated to My Parents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</i>	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
<i>LIST OF ILLUSTRATION</i>	viii
<i>LIST OF PRINCIPAL SITES OF CHAUKHANDI TOMBS IN SINDH AND BALUCHISTAN</i>	xii
<i>MAP SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL SITES OF CHUKHANDI TOMBS IN SINDH AND BALUCHISTAN</i>	xiv
<i>ABSTRACT</i>	xv
INTRODUCTION	02
CHAPTER ONE	
FUNERARY PRACTICES IN ISLAM	06
CHAPTER TWO	14
DISCOVERY OF CHAUKHANDI TOMBS AND STATE OF PRIMARY RESEARCH	
CHAPTER THREE	
COMMUNITIES AND TRIBES BURIED IN VARIOUS CHAUKHANDI GRAVEYARDS	31

CHAPTER FOUR

ORIGIN OF INDIGENOUS ARCHITECTURAL DEVICES 46

CHAPTER FIVE

FIGURAL REPRESENTATION ON CHAUKHANDI TOMBS 56

CHAPTER SIX

SIGNIFICANCE OF FIGURAL REPRESENTATION 72

CHAPTER SEVEN

CANOPIES (CHATTRIES) 88

CHAPTER EIGHT

DEPICTION OF JEWELLERY ON CHAUKHANDI TOMBS 95

CHAPTER NINE

EPIGRAPHY IN CHAUKHANDI TOMBS 105

CONCLUSION 122

APPENDECIES

APPENDIX - A TO CHAPTER 1 125

The *Pir* and the Institution of the Shrine

APPENDIX – B TO CHAPTER 3 131

A COLLECTION OF HADITH ABOUT FUNERARY PRACTICES

APPENDIX – C TO CHAPTER 9 149

THE KALMATI TOMBS AND GRAVEYARD

DOCUMENTS **160**

**RECORDS FROM GAZETTER OF PROVINCE OF SINDH 1876
AND ARCHEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **173**

List of Illustrations

	Pages
Figure 1: Main chaukhandi graveyards in Karachi.	1
Figure 2: Steep stepped Pyramid tomb.	18
Figure 3: Tomb raised on a common platform, in some of the tombs lowest casket perforated to form an arcade structure.	19
Figure 4: The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhora (1757-1772) is the oldest of the Hyderabad tombs. 21	
Figure 5: Vanishing state: Sazen e Chaukhandi graveyard in Sindhi Cooperative housing Society – Landhi. This graveyard is regarded with legend of Lizard that caused a deadly dispute in Jalbani tribe.	24
Figure 6: Inscription over the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji at main chaukhandi graveyard.	26
Figure 7: Horse rider depicted on a grave at Tutai Chukhandi grave yard, Dolumoti Road near Memon Goth. According to Hastenrath this grave yard belongs from fourth quarter of the 16 th century. Photo by writer.	57
Figure 8: A plate taken from the book “Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan” by Sheikh Page 141, Hinidan Late sixteenth century to early seventeenth century.	59
Figure 9: Hinidan , Warrior with arrow , sword and in front a troop on ground with sward.	60
Figure 10: Sati stone from Rajasthan containing horse rider.	61
Figure 11: Cenotaph of Nur-al-Din Muhammad at Makli Hills, Thatta Showing Tree of life, peacocks, Goats etc. (Photo taken From Shekih Khurshid Hasan, Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan, page 101.)	63
Figure 12: Goth Raj Malik Graveyard late 17 th Century, photo in original has given to writer by Sheikh Khursheed Hasan, Ex. Director General of Archeology Pakistan and writer of monograph “ <i>Chaukahndi Tombs in Pakistan</i> ”.	66
Figure 13: Grave Stone from Kot Raj Malik ,showing a hunting scene, late seventeenth century.	67
Figure 14: Tombstone from Gujjo graveyard near Thatta belongs from fifteenth to seventeenth century. From fifteen, sixteenth and up to half of the Seventeenth Century.	68
Figure 15: Depiction of warrior on Tomb Slab from Sonda graveyard. Seventeenth Century.	69
Figure 16: Depiction of Peacock on men grave, Sheikh Lakho graveyard , sixteenth to seventeenth century.	70
Figure 17: Depiction of Lotus on Chaukhandi grave at Lakho Shekih graveyard from the beginning of sixteenth to the end of seventeenth century.	73

Figure18: Depiction of lotus flower on a chaukandi grave.Slab from Sazen-e-Chaukahndi graveyard.	74
Figure19: Depiction of sunflower in plenty at chaukandi graveyard.	75
Figure 20: Carving of roses on a chaukandi grave.	76
Figure21: Depiction of a man riding a horse at chaukandi graveyard.	77
Figure 22: Depiction of the big jaws of crocodile representing the power of the dead at chaukandi graveyard.	78
Figure.23: Depiction of crocodile jaws on both the sides of the grave at chaukandi.	78
Figure 24: Depiction of a peacock and snakes. Photo is taken from Sheikh Khurshid,Chaukahndi Tombs in Pakistan page.127.Lakho Pir Graveyard seventeenth century.	79
Figure 25: Depiction of a Lion Near Rani KotFort.	80
Figure 26: Depiction of ducks facing each other at the tomb pavilion of Badi uz Zaman at Makli hills, Thatta.	81
Figure 27: The famous <i>swastika</i> design on a chaukandi grave. Main Chaukhandi graveyard seventeenth century.	82
Figure 28: Grave stone from Chaukhandi having cross. (For complete photo see fig12)	83
Figure 29: The chess board pattern on a chakandi grave.	84
Figure 30: Another chess board pattern at chaukandi graveyard.	85
Figure 31: Grave from Lakho Sheikh grave yard from Sixteenth to seventeenth century. This grave also have mehrab.	86
Figure 32: Some non geometrical designs at Sheikh Lakho graveyard.	87
Figure 33(a): Umbrella shaped canopy (chattries) External and internal views constructed over 12 pillars.	89
Figure33(b): Close view of the Figure 33(a).	89
Figure 33(c): Internal view of the Figure 33(a).	90
Figure 34: Showing a square canopy with broken dome.	91
Figure 35: Close look of the Square shape canopy constructed over 12 columns.	92
Figure 36: General view of Square Canopy at Chaukhandi constructed over 06 columns.	92
Figure 37: Depiction of Jewellery from main Chaukhandi graveyard, 16 th – 17 th century.	96

Figure 38: Tomb at Chaukhandi graveyard later half of the Seventeenth century.	96
Figure 39: Tomb at Chaukhandi graveyard ,later half of seventeenth century.	97
Figure 40: Women grave having an inscription “Ustaad InayatUllah”, from Chaukhandi tombs Late seventeenth century.	98
Figure 41: Jewellery Depiction From Mangho pir graveyard, later half of seventeenth century.	99
Figure 42: Tomb at Manghopir, late seventeenth or eighteenth century.	100
Figure 43: Tombs from Gujjo graveyard having different item of jewellery on women graves, belongs from fifteenth to seventeenth century. From fifteen, sixteenth and up to half of the Seventeenth Century.	100
Figure 44: Tombs at Chaukhandi grave yards Later half of ther Eighteenth Century. Photo by writer.	102
Figure 45: Tomb at Chaukhandi grave yard later half of the Eighteenth Century.	103
Figure 46: Tombs at Chaukhandi Tombs carries item of Jewellery , Later half of the Eighteenth Century.	103
Figure 47: Inscription over the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji at main chaukhandi graveyard. (chapter1, Figure No.6)	105
Figure 48: Grave at main Chaukhandi graveyard having inscription of the death date in reverse order as AH-1169 (AD 1756), “ Allah Rakhi Ajizah Mazanki Daughter ofYaqub 9611”	106
Figure 49: Inscription of Ayat Kalima at main Chaukhandi Tombs.	109
Figure 50: Tombs from main Chaukhandi tomb with inscription of Ayat Al-Kursi.	110
Figure 51: Kalima Inscribed on a tomb at main Chukhandi grave yard.	112
Figure 52: Write wall of the Tombs at Chaukhandi with Persian Poetry inscribed on it.	114
Figure 53: Left wall of the same tomb above inscribed with the second part of Persian Poetry at main chaukhandi tombs.	114
Figure 54: Tombs at Chukhandi tombs with inscription of a Persian Poetry.	115
Figure 55: Inscription from main Chaukhandi Tombs “B. B. Begham bin Jam”.	117
Figure 56: Inscription on Chaukhandi tombs mainly attributed to Jokhias “ Dir wald Jam Bazaar”	118
Figure 57: Inscription at main Chukhandi tombs “Bay bi papa bin Jam Mehar Ali”	118
Figure 58: Inscription on a tombs at Lakho Sheikh Graveyard “Sirkin Tuta”	119

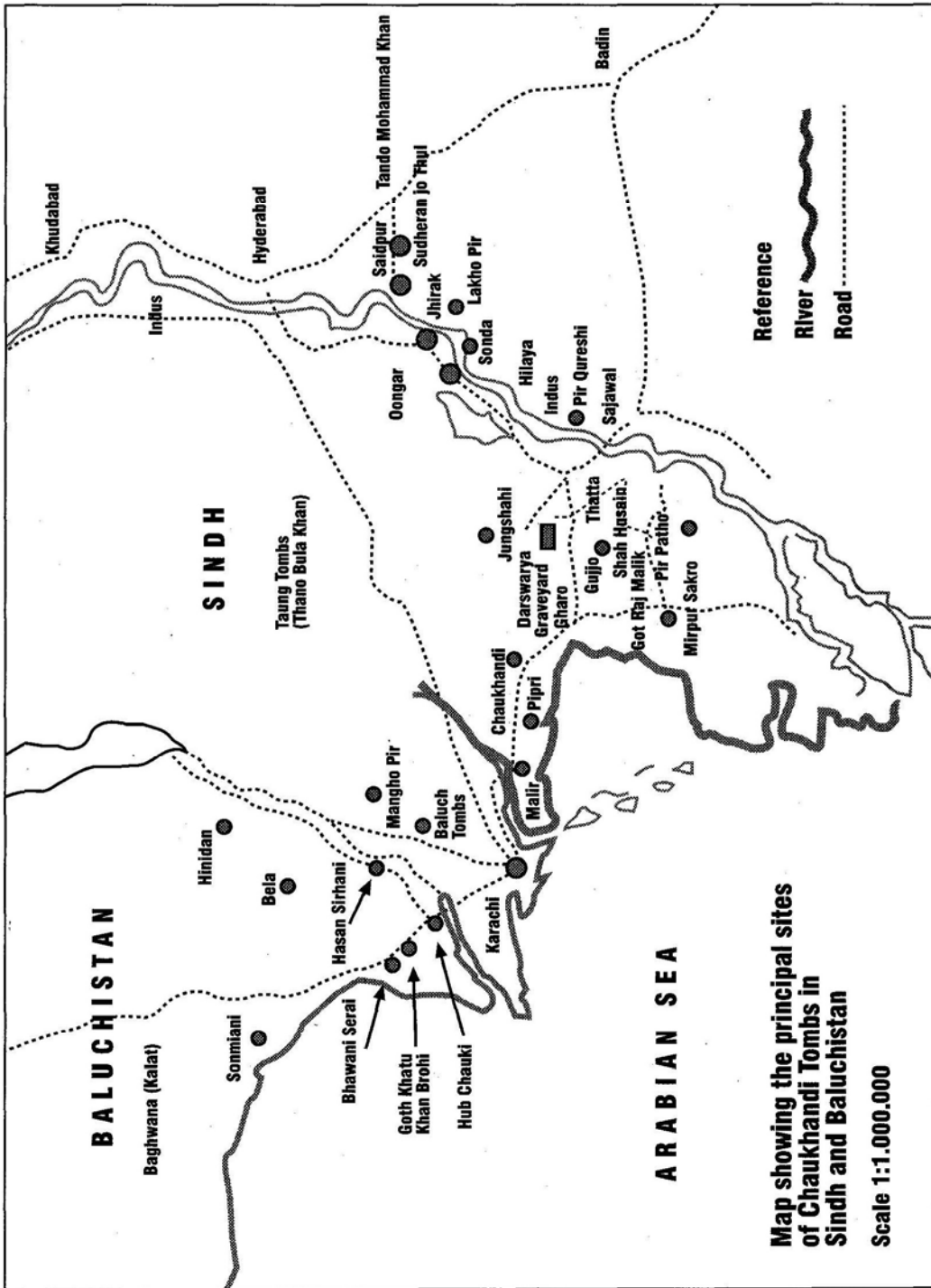
Figure 59: Inscription at Lakho Sheikh Graveyard. " <i>Panney bin Malik Qalboo khan</i> "	119
Figure 60: Inscription on a women tomb at Lakho sheikh grave yard, (<i>Asna Dad Sirkan</i>)	120
Figure 61: Tomb at Lakho Sheikh graveyard with inscription " <i>Raji Sobal</i> "	120
Figure 62: Tombs at Lakho Sheikh graveyard with inscription of genealogy of deceased " <i>Izzat Bin Malik Si Dil Khan</i> "	121

List of principal sites of Chaukhandi Tombs in Sindh & Baluchistan

1. Chaukhandi Tombs near Landhi about 29 kilo-meters on the left of National Highway (Karachi-Thatta).
2. Lakho Shaikh Graveyard. It is also known as Baluch Graveyard. It is located on North-East of Malir Cantonment close to Thado Nadi. From Malir Cantonment, access to the graveyard is possible through Dumloti Road.
3. Manghopir Shrine 16 kilometers to the North of Karachi. An important group of Chaukhandi tombs lies on its South-West at a distance of about one and a half kilometer.
4. Bhawani Serai; 32 kilometers to the North of Karachi and on the right of R.CD. Highway.
5. Hasan Sirhani (Pir Hasan); 48 kilometers from Karachi on Hubb Hinidan-Dureejee Road.
6. Got Khattu Khan Brohi near village of the same name, about 16 kilometers from Karachi. It is located on the north of Karachi Hubb Chauki Road.
7. Near Pipri; 24 Kilometers from Karachi on the right of National Highway (Karachi-Thatta). The graveyard is located inside wheat Godown, Govt. of Sindh, just opposite National Tyre. Co.
8. Got Raj Malik; It can be approached from Gharo city some 56 kilometers from Karachi. From there one should take Gharo Sakro road upto Lait. From Lait, it is about three kilometers on its right.
9. Gujjo; the Graveyard is located near the tomb of Shaikh Turabi. Gujjo is located ahead of Gharo on the main National Highway (Karachi-Thatta).
10. Darswarya Graveyard on the western side of Haleji Lake. (Thatta district).
11. Shah Husain, from the ruined Fort of Kalankot (8k.m. from Makli Hills, Thatta), it is 10 k.m. in West-South direction.

12. Pir Patho; 24 kilometers, South-West of Thatta.
13. Jungshahi Graveyard. Located near a mausoleum beyond Jungshahi Railway Station.
14. Pir Qureshi Graveyard; East of the hill on which a mausoleum is built. One should drop at milestone 70,4 to reach the place.
15. Sonda Graveyard; 33 kilometers from Thatta on the right of National Highway (Thatta-Hyderabad).
16. Lakhopir; situated near Jhirak 144 kilometers on the right of National Highway (Karachi-Thatta-Hyderabad).
17. Oongar; On the right of National Highway (Karachi-Thatta-Hyderabad) near milestone 101,6.
18. Sudheran-jo-Thul in Tando Mohammad Khan; half a kilometre from Makhdum jo Qabristan.
19. Hinidan; 120 kilometers from Karachi on the right bank of Hub river. From Hub Chauki, one should take Dureejee Road.
20. Baghwana, south of Kalat. According to Aurel Stein, it contains amongst others, the tomb of Mai Masura.
21. Bela; Graveyard of Jam of Lasbela about 8 Kilometers from Bela
22. Town. The place is locally known as Tharie.
23. Taung; Tehsil Thana Bula Khan, District Dadu. It is located at a distance of about 73 kilometers from Thana Bula Khan. One can reach there both from Karachi & Hyderabad by covering a distance of about 72 and 85 kilometers respectively from Super Highway.

Source: List and following map from Shaikh Khurshid Hasan , Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan, 1996, Karachi.



ABSTRACT

The funerary memorials constitute the most important buildings in the domain of Islamic architecture. There is an endless variety of tombs and mausoleum throughout the Islamic world. Besides one can find in them almost all the aspects forming part of Islamic edifices, such as, domes, *mehrab*s, arches, *pendentives*, *squinches*, *iwans*, *peshraqs*, minarets and various forms of ornamentation. In the province of Sind and Balochistan of Pakistan there are a very peculiar type of funerary memorials known as 'Chaukhandi Tombs' (16-18th centuries A.D), some 29 kilometers on the left of National Highway (Karachi-Thatta-Hyderabad). According to a rough estimate, the number of such graveyards ranges between 200 to 300. The 'Chaukhandi graveyard near Landhi town of Karachi city was brought within pale of Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 in the year 1922, but soon after it fell in oblivion. So it was actually sometime in 1953 the Chaukhandi Tombs were rediscovered.

These stone built tombs are generally pyramid in shape and are embellished with beautiful carvings depicting both geometrical and floral motifs. Some of the graves contains human and pictorial representations in the form of hunting scenes, jewellery, arms and amour etc. Because of the beautiful and peculiar style of funerary architecture of 'Chaukhandi Tombs' many known archaeologists and historians have shed the light of their research work. As these tombs have attracted many researchers, notably, sheikh Khurshid Hasan former director general of Government of Pakistan's Department of Archaeology, Kaleem Lashari ,a very known archaeologist, a German archaeologist Salome Zajadacz Hastenrath and many others. But the most sound work to date has been done by Shaikh Khurshid Hasan in his book 'Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan. Now I have attempted to do some further research over this very unique and marvelously carved and designed architecture in of funerary art.

Some articles on the structural developments of stone carved graves have also been written by Mr Kaleem Lashari, and has given very constructive aspect of it, and later on a detailed study by Shaikh Khurshid throwing the light on the origin, their style of architecture, the history of the people lying buried there, the system of burial, the various forms of figural representation and decorative motifs, their social life and above all their profession, as it shows from their depiction that mainly they were warriors, craftsmen.

The motive of my research is to survey and document all such tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan and specially of 'Chaukhandi Tombs', as with the passage of time and without any measure steps for the preservation of this site, due to human negligence and nature vandalism, have suffered irreparable damage. In order to find some new aspects of Chaukhandi Tombs , I have spent a good amount of time in this graveyard and have taken keen interest to take in-depth study and glorify the uniqueness and beauty of this peculiar funerary architecture.

Interesting aspects of the Chaukhandi Tombs, like the turbans or crowns on the headstones of the graves in different shapes, amount to more than twelve, every shape has its own beauty. The decorative motifs are in various designs and so beautiful and artistic that even today those artist could compete with very professional and trained artists of modern world. And the decorative motifs are in such a big volume, that it itself needs a complete research on it. Other notably floral designs include of the sunflower, lotus and rosette. The opened jaws of crocodile on the head stone of the grave, and coffin like structure, There is another important architectural structure which offers some useful information. This is the canopy, the covered monumental tomb, generally dedicated to a Muslim local saint or prince. all gives us a vast area to research over it and find its origin.

The epigraphy on tombs is also a very creative work, the stone carvers were known to engrave in writing, mainly we found in Arabic, the verses from Quran, like *kalma*, *Ayatal kursi* and *bismillah*. Also we found the name , date of birth and date of death of the deceased, which is very common practice in South Asian communities, for which I have given a detail study on burial practices in Islam with reference to Quran and hadith in chapter one.

In chapter 3, of 'communities and tribes buried in various Chaukhandi graveyards', I have tried to discuss the origin of those tribes whose people are lying buried there. Its actually a very difficult question to answer because not much written information is available, however attempts have been made, that led to some revelations that's many sindhi and baluchi tribal communities lived there. A detailed discussion has been done , through which we can lead to identify the people buried in Chaukhandi Tombs. And later on in the next chapter, I have tried to assimilate the origin of those tribes, and due to their influence over their graves dates back to the style and designs of Gujarat and Rajputana in modern India. These tribes must have migrated to, what is now the province of Pakistan. So these hypothetical but sound information gives the identification of these graveyards.

During my research, I have taken many photos, and also collected from different sources, specially those photos which were presented to me, by Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, from his very important collection of 1996 and earlier, and through those, photos I realized that many graves, head stones and canopies are damaged or even in some cases many graves does not even exist today, so I am very thankful to him for his kind help for my research. But sadly, I wish we could have preserved them, but as I mentioned earlier the hazards that cause the damage to this peculiar and beautiful heritage of Sind.

The need now is to make the authorities understand the significance of this unique style of funerary architecture, so we can save the remaining structures for more further research for generations to come and we may get some revelations about this curious type of graveyard. I have seen that in the vicinity of Chaukhandi graveyard, there is new housing scheme being introduced, which is definitely not an appropriate idea, because all over the world, there is no residential areas around an heritage site, in order to maintain the stability of the structure and to keep it a survey and tourist site. My aim of this research is also to bring to the knowledge of concerned authorities to take definite measures to save and preserve this great architectural site.



Fig.1 An over view of main Chaukhandi tombs.

INTRODUCTION

Sindh is the repository of a many cultural values and has remained the seat of civilization, and meeting point of diverse culture from time immemorial.¹ It has history of great cultural antiquity that is famous for brotherhood, hospitability and mastery in arts, crafts and architecture. Genuine love for fellow-beings, large heartedness and hospitality constitute the very spirit of Sindhi culture and it is the triple association of the cultural elements that elevate it and keep a lot its banner among the contemporary cultures of the Pakistan-Indian subcontinent.²

Sindh was ruled by some of the great and brave rulers of their times in retrospect. Having lived for centuries under the changing sway of various dynasties – the Arabs, the Mughals, the Arghuns, the Terkhans, the Soomrahs, the Samahs, the Kalhoras and the Talpurs, Sindhi culture has accumulated a myriad splendour and grandeur from time to time. This kind of enrichment is conspicuous in Sindhi's art and architecture, habits and customs.³

The old tombs and buildings in Thatta, Sehwan, Hyderabad, Alor, and the excavation at Bhambhor, Kot Diji, Brahmanabad and Debal bear ample evidence in support of the above said statement. These places nursed in the midst some of the cultural values which were handed down to the inhabitants of the adjoining areas. Today these values form the very bedrock of Sindhi's culture.⁴

Being one of the oldest seats of learning, Sindh is the cultural heart of not only the Pakistan but also the whole of South Asian region. Moreover, it is also known as

¹ Faiz Mohammad Soomro, *Cultural History of Sindh* (Karachi: National Book Foundation, 1977), p.13.

² *Ibid.*, p.14.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

Babul Islam (The gate of Islam) in the context of sub-continent. In South Asia, after the initial Arab conquests of Sindh and Multan in the 8th century, Islam was spread primarily through holy men.⁵ This land has attracted many great Muslim Sufi saints, Dervishes, and poets in retrospect, such as Qazi Qadan, Shah Abdul Karim, Shah Inayat, Shah Abdul Latif, Sacahal Sramast, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, etc. They came here from time to time and made it as their permanent abode.

The missionaries of Islam and their teachings brought a revolution in the ideology of the people of Sindh. These saintly men brought message of Islamic mysticism⁶ that based on love, peace, toleration etc, and thus became the nucleus of people attraction. They interpreted religion for common man. It was their interpretation which won the most convert to Islam.⁷ It is to be noted that every religion has devotees who are consumed by a love of Deity, and strive for emotional, intellectual and spiritual communion with Him (God), and they are unsatisfied with orthodoxy's emphasis on an emotional free approach to religion and life.⁸ This is why we can observe that broadmindedness and tolerance are the chief virtues of a Sufi, and the Sufis of Sindh have fully lived and preached them.⁹

In the history of the world, whenever a nation, a race or country was passing through a very critical period, a prophet, a saint, an Avatar or a Sufi or poet appeared on the scene to guide the people and free them from the chaotic conditions. These prophets, saints Sufis used allegories and parables to draw the attention of men towards the pressing problems facing mankind in general and their society and community in particular.¹⁰ Likewise, the mystic and Sufi interpretation of Islam and Bhakti movement came as blessing and solace to degraded humanity and suffering souls of Sindh. The suppressed and exploited masses of Sindh

⁵ Pnina Werbner, *Pilgrims of love: The anthropology of a global Sufi cult*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.4.

⁶ G. A. Allana, *Sindhi Culture: A Preliminary Survey* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1986), p.57.

⁷ D. P. Singhal, *India and World Civilization* (Calcutta: Rupa & Co, 1993), pp.186-187.

⁸ Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh: A study of socio-cultural organizations and Institutions during the 16th and seventeenth- centuries* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1980), p.287.

⁹ Jethmal Parsram, *Sindh and its Sufis* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 1979), p.102.

¹⁰ Rasheed Bhatti, *The impact of religion and religious movementson Latif's poetry in Abdul Jabbar Junejo etal (ed) , Cultural Heritage of Sindh*, (Sindhi Adab Board, Jamshoro,1988), pp. 99-100.

accepted and embraced these philosophies with open heart and great relief.¹¹ There is nothing more remarkable in Sindh than the number of holy men which it has produced, and the extent to which that modification of Pantheism called *Tasawwaf* (Sufism) throughout the world of Islam, is spread among the body of the people.¹² It reveals that this land has great receptiveness to mysticism. It holds true that it is only because of Sufism that Islam became an international religion.

The very special thing that even makes today Sindh distinct than others, is the presence of holy shrines of these saints which are even today revered throughout Pakistan. These shrines are famed for “*urs*” (anniversary of saints), *langars* (meals) and fairs. Hundreds and thousands of people gather every year at the time of their “*urs*” in order to pay homage to these saints for their contributions in spread of Islam, particularly in Sindh, and also because of the legends associated with them regarding some blessedness that receives by visiting their shrines.

In the broader perspective, we need to bear in mind that the persona of saint, alive or dead, his very body, is believed by Sufi followers to irradiate divine sanctity. So powerful is this embodiment that merely to touch anything that has come into contact with the saint is to absorb some of his magical potency.¹³ Similarly, Sufi theosophy is entirely devoted to describing and authenticating the transformation of the persona of the saint through Sufi practice. This ritual passage is postulated to be as much physical as it is spiritual, and occurs as a mystic reaches closer towards sacred intimacy with God.¹⁴ However, it is believed that the saint’s closeness with God is to be venerated.

Today whether it is the matter of health, poverty, infertility, a large number of followers come on the shrines across the Pakistan throughout the year to supplicate for them and their loved ones. The fact remains here that the shrines of saints have different meaning to different people. It is the subject of one’s personal belief which defines and determines the nature of relationship with the saint and his resting place. In this regard, while illustrating the example of Shah Abdul Latif’s mausoleum, as a

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.97.

¹² Richard F. Burton, *Sindh and the Races that inhabit the valley of the Indus* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1988), p.198.

¹³ Pnina Werbner, *Op.Cit*, p.11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

place of pilgrimage, Dr Motilal Jotwani notes that to the ignorant masses he is the patron saint of their secular affairs and a spiritual guide in the turmoil of life. The educated go to him in search of a universal mind.¹⁵ Thus the shrine therapy has become a recognized institution in the Muslim world in general and Pakistan in particular.

On the contrary, Ansar Zahid Khan argues that these baneful influence the Sufis' contributions to the socio-religious and cultural life of Sindh has to be accepted. Their annual "urs" not only served as marts and fairs but also became occasions for cultural gatherings.¹⁶

¹⁵ Dr. Motilal Jotwani, *Sufis of Sindh* (Karachi: Indus Publications, 1997), p.137.

¹⁶ Ansar Zahid Khan, *Op. Cit*, p.298.

Chapter 1

Funerary Practices in Islam

In this chapter attention has been given to funerary practices in Islam and the evolution of grave architecture. The way of rituals took place, religious concepts and traditions for the burial, and what are the concepts of death and life after death. Addressing to these queries a study for Funerary practices in Islam has been made in the light of Quran and Sunnah.

Addressing these questions the concept of death and life hereafter has varied among people based on their religion and creed. Many take death as the result of God's curse, while other described it as the action of some Supernatural power like gods or spirits or witches. Whatever the concepts but death is found certain in all cases. Interestingly some Muslim groups especially in south Asia for some saints and their "Murshid" do not use the world of death and they call it "*parda*".¹⁷

The mode of burial has always reflecting different ideas beliefs taking into account the life after death. Its included cave deposits, water burial, earth burial, preservation in huts or under the floor of the dwelling houses, cremation and mummification. Many of them are still widely practiced such as cremation mainly done by Hindus believing that cremation is done to get rid of ghost of the dead and some thought that its protect survivors against the malignance of the death and also that cremation as means of freeing the ghost from bonds of the earthly life.

In last two decades studies conducted about the skeletons found in Sindh and Baluchistan provided great opportunities of further research about ancient burial practices. In Pre historic Village Nal in Baluchistan the bodies was

¹⁷

Parda or purdah generally in lexicon defined as seclusion of women from public observation among Muslims and some Hindus but this term is also used by some followers for their Murshid ,on their demise they do not called it death but claim that their Murshid has gone to concealment from the world.

buried intact after removal of flesh somewhere else.¹⁸ If we take a little look on Indus valley no proper cemetery has so far been discovered at Mohenjodaro. However the other analysis from other cemeteries that inhuman was the only mode of burial. In some cases double burial containing female and male together has also been noticed and very rare some ritual sacrifices of animal¹⁹ has also been noticed such as head of Horse accompanied with dead.

In Chaukhandi tombs the two types of burial can be noticed based on local traditions, Rumi and Shami. Shami tombs are those who are buried over ground²⁰ while the underground burial is stated as Rumi. Ali Ahmed K. Brohi, the author of a comprehensive work on the historical perspectives of the tombstones confirms the both type of burial at Chaukhandi but he further believes that Chaukhandi tombs at National Highway are just memorials to honour the “shaeeds” and do not contains the dead bodies²¹, which were buried in somewhere else in a normal Muslim practice.

While Funerary practices in Islamic world are mainly based on the concept of immortality in the light of various opinions, many believes that the death is an end to the business of the world and soon after burial the deceased person will be asked basic question by the angles of Allah regarding the faith Islam. This concept is called ‘Hisab- e- qabar’ (accountability of Grave) and widely believed by the Muslims. To support this argument a *hadith* citation is given below.

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said, "When a human being is laid in his grave and his companions return and he even hears their footsteps,

¹⁸ Sir R.E.M Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan* (London, 1950), p.20.

¹⁹ H. Hargreaves, *Excavations in Baluchistan*, Memoir of the Archeological Survey of India, No.35, Calacutta, 1929. pp.86-98.

²⁰ Apart from believe or concept over ground burial is still in vogue in some parts Karchi like DHA cemeteries only due to hilly area that does not allow dig, so people built a box type with bricks and in real lie the body on land and cover it, that becomes a grave on ground. The writer has attended one of the funerals of this type.

²¹ Ali Ahmed Brohi, *History on Tombstones, Sindh and Baluchistan* (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, Year N/A).

two angels come to him and make him sit and ask him: What did you use to say about this man, Muhammad? He will say: I testify that he is Allah's slave and His Apostle. Then it will be said to him, 'Look at your place in the Hell-Fire. Allah has given you a place in Paradise instead of it.' "The Prophet added, "The dead person will see both his places. But a non-believer or a hypocrite will say to the angels, 'I do not know, but I used to say what the people used to say! It will be said to him, 'Neither did you know nor did you take the guidance (by reciting the Quran).' Then he will be hit with an iron hammer between his two ears, and he will cry and that cry will be heard by whatever approaches him except human beings and jinns." ²²

The Quran has also described the rise of deceased in graves:

“This is so, because Allah is the Reality: it is He Who gives life to the dead, and it is He Who has power over all things. And verily the Hour will come: there can be no doubt about it, or about (the fact) that Allah will raise up all who are in the graves.”²³

The above *hadith* support the fact about life after death for everyone, a life that will be given by Allah to deceased to receive his bounty or punishment in account of his deeds when dead person was alive.

The other concept of immortality is also described for Martyrs (shaheeds) who gave their life for the cause of God. There are traditions that the wash after death (ghusl)

²² **Shih Bukhari**, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 422.

²³ **Quran**, Surah Al Hajj verses 06 & 07 translated by Yusuf Ali.

is not given to Martyrs and they are advised to burry in their original form.²⁴ While when we talk about more than one skeleton found from grave may also help to identify the graves of Martyrs as some tradition described that in battle of *Uhad*, two martyrs were led to rest in one grave.²⁵ The concept of immortality with reference to Sufism is already discussed that followers of some Murshids also describe the death of their *Murshid* as *parda*.²⁶

Before discussing about other Rituals of funerary Practices in Islam, the first question that may rise in one's mind that about attending the funerals according to a *hadith* narrated by Abu Huraira:

That Allah's Apostle (p.b.u.h) said, "Whoever attends the funeral procession till he offers the funeral prayer for it, will get a reward equal to one Qirat, and whoever accompanies it till burial, will get a reward equal to two Qirats." It was asked, "What are two Qirats?" He replied, "Like two huge mountains."²⁷

²⁴ **Malik's Muwatta**, Book 21, Number 21.16.37: Yahya related to me from Malik that he had heard the people of knowledge say that martyrs in the way of Allah were not washed, nor were any of them prayed over. They were buried in the garments in which they were slain. Malik said, "That is the sunna for someone who is killed on the battleground and is not reached until he is already dead. Someone who is carried off and lives for as long as Allah wills after it, is washed and prayed over as was Umar ibn al-Khattab."

²⁵ **Sahih Bukhari**, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 436: Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah: The Prophet collected every Two martyrs of Uhud (in one grave) and then he would ask, "Which of them knew the Quran more?" And if one of them was pointed out for him as having more knowledge, he would put him first in the Lahd. The Prophet said, "I will be a witness on these on the Day of Resurrection." Then he ordered them to be buried with their blood on their bodies and he did not have them washed.

²⁶ **Parda or purdah** : c.f see note 1.

and some Hindus but this term is also used by some followers for their Murshid ,on their demise they do not called it death but claim that their Murshid has gone to concealment from the world.

²⁷ **Shih Bukhari**, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 410

The two most important rituals after death are washing (ghusl) the dead person and shroud (a burial garment). Normally the ghusl is given to a dead person by his family members, relative or friends.

For washing the dead we find different events in different ahadeeth, for men and women separate as mentioned in following Hadeeth:

“Yahya related to me from Malik that he had heard people of knowledge say, "When a woman dies and there are no women with her to wash her and no man who has the right by blood ties to take charge of that for her and no husband to take charge of it for her, she should be purified by tayammum, that is, by wiping her face and hands with earth."

Malik said, "When a man dies and there are only women with him, they also should purify him with earth."

Malik said, "There is neither particular way with us for washing the dead nor any recognized way to do it. They are just washed and purified."²⁸

In present Funerary practices, washing the dead is done as men wash the male deceased and women wash the female deceased , the water that used to wash a dead person have some green leaves in it and normally camphor(a solid perfume for dead bodies)is used on dead person.²⁹

²⁸ **Malik's Muwatta**, Book 16, Number 16.1.4

²⁹ **Malik's Muwatta**, Book 16, Number 16.1.2: Yahya related to me from Malik from Ayyub ibn Abi Tamima as-Sakhtayani from Muhammad ibn Sirin that Umm Atiyya al-Ansariyya said, "The Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, came to us when his daughter died and said, 'Wash her three times, or five, or more than that if you think it necessary, with water and lotus leaves, and at the end put on some camphor, or a little camphor, and when you have finished let me know.' When we finished we told him, and he gave us his waist-wrapper and said, 'Shroud her with this.' "

The White cotton cloth is used as shroud in present funeral practices in Muslims while in very old days when to obtain a fresh cotton garment was not easy we have different narrations as it is mentioned above that once Muhammad (peace be upon him) offered his waist- wrapper to shroud his daughter.

While for Muhammad himself (peace be upon him) it is narrated that:

“ Yahya related to me from Malik that Yahya ibn Said said that he had heard that when Abu Bakr as-Siddiq was ill he asked A'isha, "How many shrouds did the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, have?" and she replied, "Three pure white cotton garments." Abu Bakr said, "Take this garment (a garment he was wearing on which red clay or saffron had fallen) and wash it. Then shroud me in it with two other garments." A'isha said, "Why's that?", and Abu Bakr replied, "The living have greater need of the new than the dead. This is only for the body fluids that come out as the body decays."³⁰

While Aisha narrated:

Allah's Apostle was shrouded in three Yemenite white Suhuliya (pieces of cloth) of cotton, and in them there was neither a shirt nor a turban."³¹

Muhammad (peace be upon him) has also allowed the shroud in two pieces also about a death happened while performing the Hajj.³²

³⁰ **Malik's Muwatta**, Book 16, Number 16.2.6

³¹ **Shih Bukhari**, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 354

³² **Shih Bukhari**, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 356: Narrated Ibn Abbas: While a man

was at 'Arafat (for Hajj) with Allah's Apostle the fell down from his Mount and broke his neck (and died). So Allah's Apostle said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth and neither perfume him nor cover his head, for Allah will resurrect him on the Day of Resurrection and he will be saying 'Labbaik.'"

When a deceased person brought to graveyard normally his blood relatives place him in the grave (*lahd*), it has been observed that before placing in the grave, the face of deceased once offered to public but in case if the deceased is a women her face is only shown to women or his sons and husband only. While for placing a woman in the grave her family, sons or husband or brother place her in the grave or in case of no one is available then it can be done by some other relatives.

In a *hadith* about placing a deceased in the grave, we could find that once Muhammad (peace be upon him) ordered for the Martyrs of *Uhd* to put two Martyrs in one grave and one narration is by Anas bin Malik about Holy prophet's daughter that He (PBUH) announced in men that if any one of you did not had the relations last night with your wife can come up and place her in the grave.³³

Praying for dead person after burial is last ritual by Muslims. In present especially in South Asia these pray services held after third day of Death (called *teeja or qul*), this service is announced at the day of burial and attended by relatives and friends, the second service is held at the 40th day of the death, called *Chehlum* and after reciting Quran in groups a feast is also offered. This service is also attended by family and relatives and mostly invitation based. The writer has seen some times the cards invitations (like other ceremonies) are sent to relatives requesting their attendance and the time of feast. In a *hadith*, I could not find the days of these services that it must be held at 3rd or 40th day but it is widely practiced by Muslims in South Asia, thus one may assume that these services are started after Sufism. In a *hadith* the only timing is mentioned that Permission to pray over the dead after *Subh* until the dawn is very clear and after *asr* (prayer) until the sun turns yellow.³⁴

³³ **Sahih Bukhari**, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 436: Narrated Anas bin Malik: We were (in the funeral

Procession) of one of the daughters of the Prophet and he was sitting by the side of the grave. I saw his eyes shedding tears. He said, "Is there anyone among you who did not have sexual relations with his wife last night?" Abu Talha replied in the affirmative. And so the Prophet told him to get down in the grave. And so he got down in her grave.

³⁴ **Malik's Muwatta**, Book 16, Number 16.7.20 & 21: Yahya related to me from Malik from Muhammad ibn Abi

Harmala, the mawla of Abd ar-Rahman ibn Abi Sufyan ibn Huwaytib, that Zaynab bint Abi Salama died during the time that Tariq was amir of Madina and her bier was brought out after subh and put in al-Baqi. He said that Tariq used to pray subh right at the beginning of its time. He added, "I heard Abdullah ibn Umar say to the family, 'You can either pray over your dead now or you can wait until the sun comes up.'

Yahya related to me from Malik from Nafi that Abdullah ibn Umar said, "The prayer for a dead person can be done after asr and subh if these have been prayed at their times."

In Islam mourning over a dead person has been restricted to three days in general and four months and ten days for a husband.³⁵

³⁵ **Sahih Bukhari**, Volume 7, Book 63, Number 254: Narrated Um 'Atiyya: The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a

lady who believes in Allah and the Last Day, to mourn for more than three days for a dead person, except for her husband, in which case she should neither put kohl in her eyes, nor perfume herself, nor wear dyed clothes, except a garment of 'Asb" Um 'Atiyya added: The Prophet said, "She should not use perfume except when she becomes clean from her menses whereupon she can use Qust, and Azfar (two kinds of incense).

Chapter 2

Discovery of Chaukhandi tombs and State of primary research

About graves structure, Islamic graves are simply covered with rectangular flat slabs, and then covered by mud to make a mound type. This if one not mention, a simple grave is hard to recognise weather it's belonging to male deceased or a female deceased. Some people use to grow a little plant near it to identify the location of graves of their dear ones. Later for the purpose of conservation people started to make a boundary with bricks around the graves that help the graves from heavy rains so the mud made mound over slabs do not erode with the water of rain. It has always been a debate among the Muslims, that whether the *pucca* graves are allowed in Islam or not but, if it's right or wrong, the making of *Pucca* graves, are in vogue since centuries in Islamic Word. Later some memorial buildings were also erected over those graves to make a *rouzah*. Sindh where it is believed that in *Makli* graveyard even many Prophets are also buried, having all type of graves from simple mud made mound shape to the erected tombs like chaukahndi and *Rouzah* of some Sufi saints all are found in Sindh.

In Arab world, some graves attributed with *Sahaba- e- karaam* (companions of Prophet Peace be upon him) are having flat surface even without a mud mound over it, while in South Asia, we don't see a flat grave just to the level of the ground.

Later in for the purpose of identification of deceased '*Qalamdan*' and '*Thakti*' were often used, so it can be find out which graves belong to male or female deceased. The casket or box type structure with pilarettte carved at each corner were started to build above the lowest slabs and name of the deceased with its date of birth and death were also mentioned on the *Tawiz* or itself on the grave and sometimes with name, Quranic verses are also written, believing if someone will read it the bounty or *sawab* will automatically transfer to the deceased, in a manner to ask God rest in peace the deceased. Graves of this sort are found in all mausolea and mark the main stream of Islamic art.

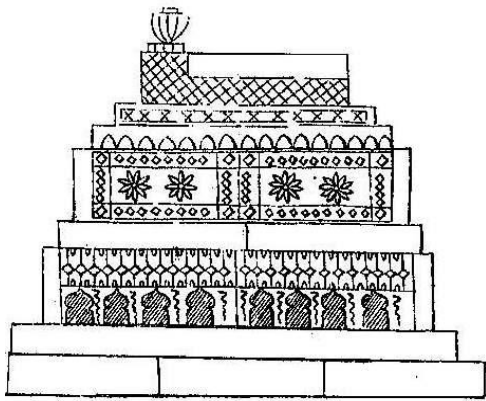
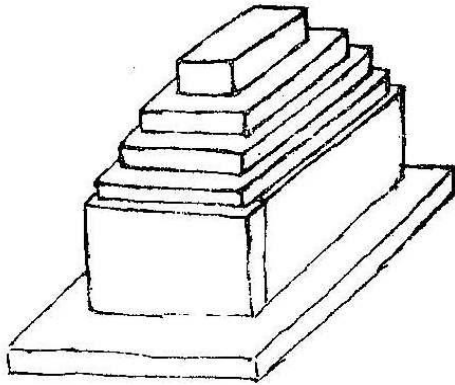
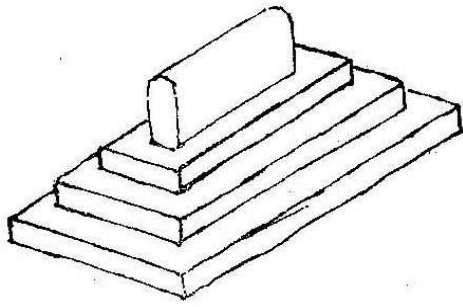
Page has classified such graves as of the Greater tradition. Other graves depicting the folk art traditions have been classified as of Lesser Tradition. The Chaukhandi tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan according to him seem to fall between these two poles in that a form of folk art is raised to a state of excellence and high achieve-

ment.³⁶ Shaikh Khurshid has explained further that in Sindh, the graves were generally simple in form. The dead body was buried in the grave-pit. Then the grave-pit was sealed by putting stone slabs and covered with boulders. While those, who could afford and wish to construct *pucca* graves erected super structure over the grave-pit in various shapes. In the first category, a series of platform was constructed horizontally over the grave-pit, numbering to three, one upon the other in diminishing form.

The top was covered with an arched ridge (*Qalamdan*) in single stone. (Fig. i) There were hardly any carvings on the stone slabs. In the second category stepped flat platforms were constructed over the grave-pit horizontally, one upon the other in decreasing form. The top was covered with a flat rectangular slab (Fig. ii)

In the third category (Fig.iii) the cenotaph consists of two or three rectangular platforms which were raised over the grave-pits. The upper most being smaller in size than the lowest one. Upon the upper platform two box shaped chambers were superimposed in reducing tiers. The upper most box chamber was topped by a head stone or turban. The exterior surface of the tomb was elaborately carved. The process of assimilation and transformation finally resulted in the blossoming of a typical Chaukhandi Tomb architecture.

³⁶ John Burton Page, *Muslim Graves of the lesser traditions*, Gilgat, Pwzial, Swat, YusufZili IN Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. 2, 1986, London, pp. 249-254..



Note: above sketches are taken with thanks from Shaikh, Khurshid Hasan, *Chaukhandi Tombs of Pakistan*.p.25 (Fig. i, ii, iii)

Scholars presumed that the Chaukhandi tombs were constructed between 16th Century A.D to 18th based on the inscriptions found in main Chaukhandi grave yard at national highway³⁷ and, also Hastenrath described in *Manghopir* graveyard that is no more available now.

³⁷ Various Inscription were found at main Chaukhandi graveyard containing name of deceased , Quranic Verses, while only one tomb is dated as date of death is inscribed with the numbers in reverse orderAs 1169 AH , (AD 1756)

The initial credit for the discovery of Chaukhandi tombs goes to British officers during British Raj, when they visited some areas to conduct archaeological Survey of Western India. J.P.Vogel was the first to mention these graveyards³⁸ when he visited the area and studied this site along with the grave yards at Hinidan and the oasis of *Manghopir*. During their visit they observed some peculiar type graveyards. In Sindh and Baluchistan that contains the unusual, those were not seen before in Islamic traditions. Usually we find a little grave mounds but these cemeteries were different from ordinary graves differing from their unusual degree of elaboration and the stone work done on them.

Hastenrath elaborated that, the tombs are made of thick stone slabs decorated by masons set on the plate form, usually with a coffin like casket with several vertical slabs and that is covered by some horizontal slabs on the cover and often two or three casket are stacked one on the top of another to form a kind of steep, stepped pyramid, capped with several layers of horizontal slabs tapering upwards on all four sides, with one slab sometimes ending in two button shaped stricter on the two narrower edge.³⁹ The tomb is crowned with a vertical slab, at one end of which there is some times a short post or boss jutting upward. (Fig.1).

In some of the tombs the lowest casket has perforated to form an arcade structure. In addition to ornamental stone masonry, some of the tombs having depiction of horse riders, while some have the decoration of jewellery on them⁴⁰. The tombs found in single or some times on a common plate form six to eight, sometimes sorounded by encloses to form a an umbrella type canopies.(Fig.3)

³⁸ Jean Philippe Vogel, *Archeological Survey of India*, Annual Report 1902-1903, pp.213-217.

³⁹ Salome Zajadacz Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi tombs, Funerary Art in Sind and Baluchistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*



Fig 2. Steep stepped Pyramid tomb.



Fig 3. Tomb raised on a common platform, in some of the tombs lowest casket perforated to form an arcade structure.

During this observation *J.P.Vogel* could recognise two different elements; one indicates the tombs were Islamic mainly because of Arabic inscription on them and second their orientation of burial. He further observed that Tombs were counting some figural representation also, that is normally prohibited in Islam⁴¹ and he attempted to explain that these depictions with reference to the Hindu traditions, and the depictions of the dead on the sati stones seen in the Himalayan region.

Vogel also noted that, the form of burial is even itself raising question as bones of deceased were also found in one of the stone caskets in Karpasan, he considered that the deceased were just put in the stone coffin and were placed above the ground that is not only against the Islamic customs but also it was difficult for him to find an example from the subcontinent.⁴²

After *Vogel*, some similar graveyards were also mentioned by Sir Thomas Holdich⁴³, H.D Baskerville⁴⁴. Henry Cousens studied the tombs at Jerruck, Sonda and Khrkharo and devoted a chapter about Baluch tombs in his book *antiquities of Sindh*.⁴⁵ He refers to the G.E.L Carter and rejected the theory of above ground burial due to the occurrence of arcade –like perforations and on the basis of his studies he examined at least 20 graveyards.

Hastenrath mentioned in her book that *Cousens* was the first who compare these tombs with other architectural monuments in Sindh. Such as, he refers the decorative similarities between cemeteries in Sonda and the tombs of Ghulam Shah

⁴¹ Sunan Abu Dawud, Book 32: number 4144: Narrated Jabir ibn Abdullah:

The Prophet (peace_be_upon_him) ordered Umar ibn al-Khattab who was in al-Batha' at the time of the conquest (of Makkah) to visit the Ka'bah and obliterate all images in it. The Prophet (peace_be_upon_him) did not enter it until all the images were obliterated. In another Hadeeth Sahih Bukhari : *Volume 4, Book 54, Number 448*: Narrated by : Narrated Abu Talha: I heard Allah's Apostle saying; "Angels (of Mercy) do not enter a house wherein there is a dog or a picture of a living creature (a human being or an animal)." Thus one may assume the figural prohibition on tombs also.

⁴² Present writer has observed some burials and attended one burial service above the grounds in

Karachi DHA grave yards for instance above the hill or hilly ground that don't allow much to dig.

⁴³ Thomas Col Holdich, *The gates of India, being an historical Narrative* (London, 1910), pp.196-197.

⁴⁴ Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India , Western circle 1920, p.79.

⁴⁵ Henry Cousens, *The antiquities of Sind*, Archaeological Survey of India, 46, Imperial series Calcutta 1929, reprinted Karachi, 1975, pp.164-166: ` Baluch tombs and Graveyards`.

Kalhora⁴⁶ of Hyderabad (Fig.4), and Isa Khan Tarkhan⁴⁷ the younger of Makli Hills graveyard.

With regards to the *Chhatris* that covers the tombs he highlighted the tomb of Mir Masum in Sakhar and considers the tombs to be of same age- the mid of the eighteen century as the tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhora. He also pointed out the similarities between the depiction of Horse riders and the depictions found on the *Sati* stones in Kathiwar and Kutch regions.



Fig 4. The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhora (1757-1772) is the oldest of the Hyderabad tombs.

Source: This photo is taken from British Library, Online exhibitions, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collection. Photographed by Henry Cousens in 1896 for the archaeological survey of India Collections: Western India 1894-96

⁴⁶ The tomb of Ghulam Shah Kalhora (1757-1772) is the oldest of the Hyderabad tombs.

Cousens wrote in the Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, (1895-1896), "The fall of the dome did very great damage to the white marble tomb and its perforated railing within. The latter was broken to pieces, while several of the beautifully sculptured panel slabs of the platform were displaced and broken.(source: British Library Online exhibitions, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections)

⁴⁷ Nawab Isa Khan Tarkhan (d.1644) buried in Makli hills near Thatta.

The Nawab died in 1644, aged 92 years old, and was buried in this tomb that he had built himself. The tomb is part of a necropolis which lies on the plateau of the Makli hills, a limestone outcrop to the west of Thatta. .(source: British Library Online exhibitions, Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections)

In the light of above mentioned reports and studies, in September 1922 Government of India has declared Chaukhandi graveyards as 'Protected Monuments' under the 'Ancient monuments act 1904.

After the creation of Pakistan, Khurshid Hasan wrote that these tombs did not get any attention from department of archaeology, until when the governor of State bank some times in 1953 has written to Dr. I.H.Qureshi then Minister for Education to take an appropriate step to conserve these tombs. Similarly Dr. I.H Qureshi wrote to the Department of Archaeology Pakistan and some necessary steps were taken.

Meanwhile Zafar hasan⁴⁸ has published his one article and Henry field published⁴⁹ some Photographs of Chaukhandi tombs in which he gave an approximate date of Chaukhandi tombs, i.e., seventeenth-and eighteenth century. Hastenrath mentioned that in 1962-63 an exhibition⁵⁰ was held in West Germany in which many Slabs from Chaukhandi tombs were showed containing figures of horsemen and the date of slabs suggested fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Later Abdul Gafur in his book⁵¹ devoted a section and described Chaukhandi tombs originated in fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Mumtaz Hassan published his article in 1968 and come up with the linguistic interpretation regarding the meaning of Chaukhandi that is still believed and followed by scholars. He further said that in evening these tombs gave an impression that an army is standing for the parade and regarding the age of Chaukhandi he also agreed with Abdul Gafur.

Salome Zajadacz Hastenrath herself in 6th and 7th decade of 20th century rose as a scholar who studied the Funerary Art and architecture in detail in the province of Sindh and Baluchistan and her work mainly dealt with Stylistic evolution of Chaukhandi tombs, she used style critic method to study these tombs and to investigate the date and to find out any possible influence. Regarding the date of Chaukhandi tombs, she has mentioned an unsigned article that suggests the date of Chaukhandi tombs in eighteen century and she referred a seminar held in Karachi in March, 1975 by Dr.Ali A. Jaffarey of Rawalpindi. She quoted Dr. Jaffarey that, *Jalbani* tribe who once lived in the vicinity of Chaukhandi has informed him of legend about a lizard that caused a great dispute among the tribe and almost whole tribe was killed.

⁴⁸ Zafar Hasan, *Chaukhandi tombs*, Pakistan Quarterly 9:3, 1959, pp.58-62.

⁴⁹ Henry Field, *Tombe Chaukhandi nel Pakistan Occidentale* 'Antichita viva 1:5, 1962, pp.27-33 eight illustrations.

⁵⁰ 5000 Jahre Kunst in Pakistan ,exhib. Cat.(Darmstadt / Augsburg / Bonn), 24 June 1962 -10 April 1963, cat.644-6

⁵¹ Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi,1968,pp.24-25

Interestingly on the previous visit to Chaukhandi tombs of present writer this legend came also in my observation that is narrated to me by Mr. Ghulam Rasool a Kalmati Baluch and Librarian in Malir district where some main site of Chaukhandi tombs are situated. During our visit to a vanishing cemetery lies in the present Sindhi Co operative housing society near Quaidabad Landhi on National highway. He named this grave yard as *Sazen-e-Chaukhandi* .(The Chaukhandi of *Sazen* or Chaukhandi owned by *Sazen* as regarding *Sahib-e-Chaukhandi* suggested by Kaleem Lashari that the whole compound word to be read).

He told that *Pannah* or asylum has been respected throughout the ages in Baluch tribes that if someone is in need or homeless whether a human or an animal (not harmful like snake etc) this is the pride of Baluchis to give asylum to that person. He described that *Sazen* was the name of women who was alone at her home with her child. Meanwhile she saw that a lizard entered in her home and gone under the bed of child, suddenly some teenage boys came to her doors, which were following the lizard from outside to kill it. She has warned them that now this lizard is under her asylum as this is not a harmful reptile. The group of boys were little under age and they did not follow the warning of *Sazen* and they killed that lizard in her home. In evening when her husband came she reported him and asks to take revenge of the lizard that was killed by boys in her home. So this is how the dispute was raised in *Jalbani* tribe and some 70 to 80 graves that are present in *Sazen-e-Chaukhandi* graveyards are believe to be the result of that dispute.

Taking the opportunity of this legend the present writer wish to highlight that this graveyard is in vanishing state and graves are disappearing day by day, furthermore, some newly built houses can be observed just hundred meters from the graves (see Fig. 5) and some industries has already occupied the land of this graveyard. Last year BBC Urdu service has highlighted that a contractor attempted to occupy the graveyard land for a new housing scheme.



Fig5. Vanishing state: *Sazen-e-Chaukhandi* graveyard in Sindhi Cooperative housing Society – Landhi. This graveyard is regarded with legend of Lizard that caused a deadly dispute in *Jalbani* tribe.

The above study about discovery and the state of primary studies shows that the origin and date of Chaukhandi tombs is still conflicting and give large space to historian and anthropologist to investigate further.

Regarding the meaning and connotation of Chaukhandi tombs, Shaikh khurshid has devoted a Chapter in his book. Different opinions have been given for the term Chaukhandi that whether it is an architectural term or name of a place. The controversy is remain unsolved but many scholars agree over Chaukhandi that it is an architectural term as Mumtaz Hasan mentioned that in Sindhi Language *Chau* means Four (4) and *Kund* means Corner or pillar, so it is refer to those tombs that are covered by a canopy or chhatris supported by four pillars⁵², thus the term Chaukhandi is set for all tombs found in area of the same type. Dr. G.A. Allana , renown Sindhologist and scholar also support the idea of Mumtaz Hasan on linguistic bases, when he wrote the foreword of Shaikh Khurshid’s book Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan in 1996.

⁵² Mumtaz Hasan, *Chaukhandi Tombs* IN Asiatic Pakistan, Vol.1, No.2, Karachi, March 1968, p.20.

Shaikh Khurshid in his first article, about origin of the Chaukhandi tombs in Journal of Pakistan Historical Society⁵³ considered the term Chaukhandi as a name of place and not a linguistic bases, He gave an argument about the consideration of Mumtaz Hasan that Chaukhandi thus refers to the four pillars supporting the umbrella shaped dome over the tomb. According to Shaikh all the tombs covered with Umbrella shaped domes or with rectangular pavilion at Chaukhandi have more than four pillars or columns. More so the *Monghopir* Graveyard's canopy has more than four columns. He further refers Benerji that when he visited the area in 1920, he mentioned it as a little village of Chaukhandi.⁵⁴ However nearby villagers do not confirm that even their forefathers have told them that there was a village named Chaukhandi near or away from this site. It is believed that the main Chaukhandi site having the graves of Jhokia tribe and we may find also a nearby *Jam-goth* (Jam village). We also find the grave of Haji Murad bin Jam that having an inscription Shaikh further refer to an inscription for his support on the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji (fig.6) which contains the word Chaukhandi along with the name of deceased as follow.

لا الا الله محمد رسوالله

جام مرید بن حاجی صاحب چوکنڈے

Kaleem Lashari suggested to read above inscription jointly Sahib along with Chaukhandi that means the owner of Chaukhandi⁵⁵, In his exact words “The word as it scribed on the grave of Jam Mureed is compound word connected with sahib, so it is to be read as such *صاحب چو کنڈے* and not alone, It is similar to the *اولاد صاحب*, *صاحب جاءے داد*, etc. Where (زیر اظافت) combines both words and the meaning comes to be “the owner of property”, “the person having children” etc. The

⁵³ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *The Origin and Meaning of Chukhandi Tombs* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol.2, Karachi, 1976, p.

⁵⁴ *Report of the Archaeological survey of India*, Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1920.

⁵⁵ Kaleem Lashari, *Evolution of Stone graves in Kohistan and Coastal areas of Sindh, Baluchistan* IN Journal of Pakistan Archaeologist Forum, Vol.1, Issue 1. June 1992. pp. 25-27.

inscription as it is engraved leaves no doubt to this fact , as there is ample space in between (حاجی) and (صاحب) placing them apart (See photo 6) thus (صاحب) is to be read with Chaukhandi (چوکندے) and not with Haji (حاجی). Secondly the (زیر اظافت) is denoted by adding (-) to the word. Thus driving the sound of (زیر) , and connecting it with the word (چوکندے). It makes the meaning clear that the Jam Mureed is the owner of the Chaukhandi , or the Chaukhandi is erected over him. Another inscription with similar meaning could be seen on a grave , in the grave - yard of Raj Malik, here is it reads :

این چوکندی بر ملک مرید خان کلماتے بن بیر خان

Chaukhandi referred to has fallen down and its remains could be seen lying about.



Fig 6. Inscription over the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji at main chaukhandi graveyard.

Lashari further added that Jam Mureed belongs to *Jokhio* tribe and Malik Mureed was head of *Kalmati* Baluch tribe, both tribes were unlikely to inhabit together in same area and it was not possible that both tribes descended from the same origin. The Baluch tribe migrated from the Kalmat bay and Makran coast and the *Jokhias*,

claiming themselves to be local coming from “ *Kingoray*”. Therefore Lashari feels no doubt that word Chaukhandi refers to the architectural term and not the place.

Here we see that most of the Sindhi scholars agree, that the term Chaukhandi refers to the architectural term, contrary to that Shaikh Khurshid considered that the term Chaukhandi is name of place and he cited also when Banerji visited the Chaukhandi graveyard, he referred as the little village of Chaukhandi.⁵⁶ He feels that the Mumtaz Hasan consideration that Chaukhandi refers to the four pillars supporting the umbrella shape dome over the tomb and would apply to all tombs having the same construction actually this claim does not find support as all the tombs covered with umbrella shaped domes or with a rectangular pavilion at Chaukhandi grave yard have more than four pillars. He further refers that even *Manghopir* canopy over similar graves, has more than four columns.

Mumtaz Hasan referred regarding the Chaukhandi is name of a place, he thinks as tombs near Landhi has been widely recognised with the name of the Chaukhandi that why this view gain strength, secondly because of the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji that it might be the name of place and not an architectural term for which we have already seen the argument of Lashari . A.A Brohi thinks that the Chaukhandi is used for a doomed roof, a kind of *Chhattri* (umbrella) which is supported by four to eight pillars, while the sides are left open.⁵⁷

Dr. N.A. Baluch has also devoted a chapter in his book for the studies of Kalmati tombs, He came up with the literal meaning of Chaukhandi that it mean a four walled enclosure open from above without any roof on in the Form of *Stuffa*, *qubba* or *Rauza*, .Traditionally in Sindh only a four walled enclose is called Chaukhandi which is constructed out of respect around the grave of deceased (saint, religious, scholar, martyr, brave warrior or d elder in love n respect.) Chaukhandi is not a grave or tomb itself.⁵⁸ But the Four walled enclosure in which the revered person has been buried. Referring to the burial place, it might be said that there is no *rouza*, *qubba* there, but only a Chaukhandi, that is there is no doom or covered roof over the grave, but only a Chaukhandi around.⁵⁹ Shaikh Khurshid further explain

⁵⁶ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western circle for the year ending 31st March 1920.

⁵⁷ Ali Ahmed Brohi, *Op.Cit*, p.9.

⁵⁸ The present writer has observed that the nearby villagers used the term Chaukhandi for the types of graves that found mainly in Landhi and Malir and they use the word chuakhandi directly to mention a grave. i-e Chaukhandi of Tutta , Chaukahndi of Murred bin Jam etc regardless that it has a umbrella shape canopy over it or not.

⁵⁹ N.A.Baluch, *Kalmati Tombs in Sindh and Baluchistan* IN Pakistan Arhaeology no 26, Department of Archeology, Govt of Pakistan , Karachi 1991, pp.243-256.

that the walled enclosures without roof in Sindh are called `Ranak` (رانک) as enclose that contains the grave of *Radha bin Malir* , Got Raj Malik graveyard has the inscription on the stone enclosure mentioned `Ranak`.

Dr. R. Nath has contributed an article in the Journal of Pakistan historical society in 1993. He traced the meaning of Chaukhandi from Sanskrit Language saying it avuncular term which means four storeyed , *Khanda* technically denoting stories in the vertical section⁶⁰ .it also means section and by usage it connotes `side` thus Chaukhandi may denote a four-sided square or rectangular , building .He has highlighted that in moguls times `Chaukhandi ` pavilion were common. The difference between Chattri and Chaukhandi was explained as the *Chattri* has a Cupola roof and the Chaukhandi has a pyramidal roof sloping inwardly in four triangular sections. As the *Chhatris* were in use for fresh air, rainfall and for enjoyment in mughal era. We may observe some of the *Chhatris* in Rajasthan in India where its believed that some of the *chhatris* were made also in memorial for deaths. Nath has mentioned that in the middle of seventeenth- century Chaukhandi were used as memorial and while the *chhatris* assumed funeral character and became a distinguished Class post – mughal architecture viz Rajput Sculptural architecture .

Shaikh did find these criteria applied in Sindh as he mentioned over the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji is Oval in form, while the Chaukhandi there are square in Shape and contained domed roofs. The present writer observe that Prof. Nath Criteria may have some distance from Main Chaukhandi tombs in Karachi but it seen that in Jaisalmer , Rajasthan there are many *Chhatris* that are made in term for Funerary memorial in royal families.

Merklinger Elizabeth⁶¹ has mentioned that During the Muslim rule in South India, especially in *Bhamani* era with their capital at Gulbarga (1347-1422 A.D) and Bidar (1422-1512A.D), Chaukhandi and *Chhatris* are found at number of places. that In Gulbarga , the mazar of Shah Husamuddin Tegh Barhana near Jagat tank (dies in 680 A.D) ,Khunza Sulatna daughter of Sultan Mahmood Bhamani , Hazrat Jehangir Qadiri(dies 814 A.H and syed Tajuddin Qadri are in a Chaukhandi . While M. Suleman Siddiqui has also mentioned⁶² Chaukhandi also in *Bidar* for Shah Khalil Ullah Kirmani.

⁶⁰ R. Nath, *Chaukhandi in Mughal Architecture* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol XLI (part IV), October 1993, pp 339-59.

⁶¹ Merklinger Elizabeth Scotten, *Indian Architecture* (Deccan 1347-1686), New Delhi, 1981, pp.59-63.

⁶² M. Suleman Siddiqui, *The Bahmani sufis in Bidar* quoted by Abu Saadat Jalili in his article, *Chaukhandi in Pakistan and Deccan*, Jang, Karachi, 12th January 1994.

In 1972 Department of archaeology Pakistan had commissioned a Project for the recording of Monuments' in lower Sindh supervised by Muhammad Sharif resulted in reported presented in 1974⁶³ which could produce a sketch map and the list of the cemeteries thus some more graveyards in addition were identified.

By revisiting the primary studies made over Chaukhandi tombs by various Scholar shows that the questions about history and origin of Chaukhandi tombs are still open and having potential for detail discussion , specially by traces the influences that we may seen on these tombs in figural representations and the presence of floral and fluvial motif and jewellery.

In general these tombs are attributed with different tribes named Bulfat, Kalmati, Jakhra and Jhokias and called Baluch Tombs. Regarding this Hastenrath had some reservations like by saying that areas near these cemeteries are spread is by no means identical by that of Baluchis but includes only a tiny fractions of it thus the term Baluch Tombs does not appear very accurate⁶⁴ . However She used the term Chaukhandi tombs because of its neutrality and becoming an established term .The present writer with respect have difference with the claim and believe that the areas of Baluchistan and Karachi were dwelled by the Baluchis since centuries and after Partition of Subcontinent, Karachi became the capital of Pakistan and was largely attracted by the migrants from India, thus Baluchis were moved to areas near Baluchistan as per their traditions to live in separate little villages and by living in community oriented areas.

On the view presented by Mumtaz Hasan that Chaukhandis thus refer to a four cornered or a four –Pillared Pavilion and the name Chaukhandi which attached also to the Village, actually referred towards the Canopy Structures *Chhatris* or Chaukhandi in the cemetery. Hastenrath was seems not convinced with a direct relations with the word Chaukhandi and the Tombs itself. She referred that this Word was also used to refer other square structure like Chaukhandi stupa in Sarnath.⁶⁵

Regarding the age of Chaukhandi tombs not a specific year is given and in general the whole centuries are referred with the age of tombs, the period that assumed start

⁶³ M. Rafique Mughal, *A summary of Excavations and Explorations in Pakistan (1971-72)*, Pakistan Archaeology 8, (1972, Published in 1974, pp.58-113: Explorations in Southern Sindh, pp.135-137 along with sketch map.

⁶⁴ Salome Zajadacz Hastenrath, *Op.Cit.* p 8.

The present writer with respect have difference with the claim and believe that the areas of Baluchistan and Karachi were dwelled by the Baluchis since centuries and after Partition of Subcontinent, Karachi became the capital of Pakistan and was largely attracted by the migrants from India, thus Baluchis were moved to areas near Baluchistan as per their traditions to live in separate little villages and by living in community oriented areas.

⁶⁵ *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual report 1904-05, pp.71-8.

from sixteenth century to the eighteenth century. Since neither the inscription except one that found in Chaukhandi in main graveyard, nor the local traditions provides a clear age to Chaukhandi tombs thus Salome Hastenrath has used the Style critical investigation of the tombs to obtain the information about their history.

Though the Hastenrath has used style critical Method (stylistic analysis) that enabled her to the individual stylistic stages of their development and assign approximate dates to them.

As claimed by husband of Hastenrath in foreword of the Hastenrath`s book that The style-critical method is a methodology particularly favoured in German-language art history studies. As British scholars tend to work with more historical methods, it is a methodology that may be less familiar to Pakistani archaeologists, who are still influenced by British traditions.

In the opinion of present writer, to study the Chaukhandi tombs again the historical cum epigraphical method will be best suited in Pakistan as the researchers from the foreign countries have less opportunities in interacting with local people in terms of language and their local culture thus in this case style critical method may be good.

Chapter 3

Communities and Tribes Buried in Various Chaukhandi Graveyards.

The Chaukhandi tombs in Sind and Baluchistan are one of the important tangible heritages of Pakistan. These tombs have a rich history of culture. But the dilemma is that we do not find much concrete information in the form of written records. Therefore, most of the information reached to us is in the form of intangible heritage, i.e. local traditions. The most important question perturbs historians, who are those people buried in these Chaukhandi tombs. How old are these? To determine the ancestry of these graves we lack sufficient inscriptional records that can put light on the fact. In this regard, Shaikh Khurshid raises the paucity of another possible source of information. According to him, there is no settlements close by which could have been another source of their identification. Why there is no trace of any habitation in the vicinity of the graveyards is a perplexing question.⁶⁶

While elaborating the fact, he states that one view is that when the Muslims had established themselves in Sindh, their detachments were stationed in the interior, so as to keep the local population in check. They buried their dead with much ceremony and raised beautiful tombs over the graves, to impress upon the non-believers the way in which the faithful have honoured their dead. On the decline of the Mughal Empire, when the troops were required for the defence of the country, these detachments were withdrawn. The nomadic tribes, who used to earn their livelihood by raising crops for the soldiers also abandoned their temporary settlements and again resumed their pastoral activity. Their hut Graveyards dwellings, with the passage of time, soon disappeared.⁶⁷

Before discussing that which tribes or communities are lying buried here, it is important to point out that Chaukhandi type graveyards are not located only one particular place. They can be rather traced in different parts of Sindh. It also reveals

⁶⁶ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.62

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

that these tombs are not resting place of one tribe solely. To furnish the fact further we find that its remnants are found near Landhi, in southwest of Manghopir, near Malir city (behind *Memon Goth*), Dar Sano Channo, and Damloti Hills, etc. Moreover, the most of the graves located in Chaukhandi graveyard near Landhi belong to Jokhia clan. The important among them are graves of Jam Radho Jokhia, Dad Khan Jokhia, Bijarbin Chauta Jokhia, Ajeeza Jokhia, etc.

On the basis of tomb of their great grandfather, Murid bin Haji, the Jokhias claim this place as their ancestral graveyard. It is also said "all the tombs built in Chaukhandi style in Sindh were generally called "Kalmati tombs".⁶⁸ Moreover, one can find the grave of Behlay bin Malik Haroon, the important chief of Numerees tribe. It is also the ancestral abode of Numerees Burfat, Shaikh and Lashari tribes. In order to underpin the importance of these graveyards, the detail information regarding the history of afore-mentioned tribes is given here:

JOKHIA TRIBE

There is no unanimous point of view prevails in the circle of scholars about the origins of Jokhia tribe. It is interesting to note that different scholars assert different information. Naomul has drawn their ancestry from a Baluch tribe. According to Capt. Preedy, the Jokhias were of Rajput origin. Hughes and Baille have expressed the same view. Sorley has not included this tribe in Baluchis; Burton has excluded this tribe from Baluchis and has put them in the list of pure Sindhis. Lambrick considers them to be of Rajput stock. In the census of 1901, the Jokhias were included in the Sammas. On the basis of genealogical table drawn by Ansari from various sources, Jokhia was the son of Joja who drew his ancestry from Sammas. Accordingly, he has placed Jokhia tribe under the main division Sammas.⁶⁹

Another source of information we find is "Tarikh-e-Jokhia", whereby the founder of Jokhias was Lakhoo bin Lakhya.⁷⁰ Some are of the view that they are

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p.63.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p.68.

⁷⁰ Ali Mohammad Jokhia, *Tarikh-e-Jokhia* (Karachi: 1992), p.4.

the descendent of Sammas of Sindh. From the available historical sources we come to know that Sammas migrated from Kutch and settled in Sindh. According to Chachnama, "the Sammas welcomed Muhammad bin Qasim when he came to Sindh in 712 A.D."⁷¹ It shows that Jokhia is one of the oldest tribes of Sindh.

As regards etymology of Jokhia, a local tradition states that Jokhio was born in about 550 A. H. (1155 A. D.) in the present day Nawabshah tehsil.⁷² Later, he migrated to Kalat and settled in Lasbela district. With the passage of time as the population of Jokhia tribe increased they started to spread and settled in the territory between the Hub and the Malir rivers.

The name of Jokhia is mentioned for the first time in historical context with the dispute of Mohammad Channy Khan with Dhara Bilal. It is the same Mohammad Channy Khan from whom Kalhoras and Daudpotras claim their ancestry. His date has been fixed by Rashdi as 1120 A. D. (16) Mughal Emperor Akbar had deputed Nawab Mirza Khan Khananin 999/A. H. (1590 A. D.) to subdue the province of Sindh. He had to face resistance from various tribes including Numerees and Jokhias who had dominated the areas of Kej and Makran⁷³. Thereafter, we come across the name of Jokhia tribe during the reign of Emperor Jehangir.⁷³ A tug of war between Jokhia and Mughals continued during Aurangzeb's times.

Jokhia tribe played an important role in establishing and sustaining the rule of Ghulam Shah Kalhora. He had not good terms with Raja Aijun and wanted to curtail his power. The district Sakra including Darajah and Soveri Bunder was the area of Raja Arjun's influence. It is said that he was one of the brave men of his time. Bijar Jokhia, through his decisive strategy killed Raja Arjun thus enabled Ghulam Shah Kalhora to become undisputed master of his territories. Finally he became the chief of his tribe. It was the result of his matchless services on the part of sustaining the rule of Ghulam Shah Kalhora. Jokhia being a man of restless disposition soon indulged himself in quarrel with his neighbours. The Kalmaties were dispossessed of their territory in Malir Valley. He also gained victory over Numerees near Hub River and compelled them to move further north. Bijar thus

⁷¹ Dr. N A Baluch, *Fatehnama (Chachnama)*, p.167.

⁷² Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.69.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

became the master of the whole area between Hub and Gharra Creek.⁷⁴

As known for their bravery, they appeared as tough wall before the British. They showed a strong resistance against them when they occupied Sindh. The fact remains here that the area between Karachi and Hyderabad was mostly populated by Jokhias is confirmed by the presence of Chaukhandi type graves all along the way. In the graveyard at Got Raj Malik near Gharo on Karachi-Thatta road, we find the grave of Mohammad Saleh Jokhia (d. 1171 A. /H. / 1757 A.D.). Jam Mihar Ali was the Chief of Jokhia tribe at the time of British conquest of Sindh in 1843 A. D. He was the great grandson of Jam Bijar, the Chief of Jokhia tribe during the reign of Ghulam Shah Kalhora.⁷⁵

NUMEREES AND BURFAT TRIBES

Another important tribe lying buried in Chaukhandi tombs is Numerees. They belong to the Kohistan region of Sindh. The origins of this tribe can be traced with the help of local traditions, which passed from one generation to another. We do not find much written records in this regard.

No unanimous opinion we find in the wake of the origins of this tribe. According to a local tradition, the Numerees tribe comprised of two clans named Nuhmardi (means nine persons) and Dahmardi (means ten persons). Another meaning is that each member of the tribe was equal in strength to nine persons. While 'Dahmardi' means a person equal to the strength of ten persons.⁷⁶ Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch is of the opinion that they were the nine brothers, this is why called Numeree (nine persons).⁷⁷ According to another local tradition, this tribe belongs to the race of Sammas of Sindh.⁷⁸ Similarly, another local tradition states that nine persons from Vinge-Villasi (present territories of Tando Bhago, district Badin and

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p.71.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp.71-72.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p.75.

⁷⁷ Dr. Nabi Baksh Baluch, *Belayian Ja Bole (Poetry of Belayian)*, Second Edition (Hyderabad: Zeb Adbi Academy: 1970), p.45. The word Belayian means inhabitants of Lasbela.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p.45.

district Hyderabad) migrated to Kohistan and become the founder of their clan, which later became known as "Numri" or "Numria".⁷⁹

It is also said that initially they settled in the territories of Baluchistan where they killed 'Murk', a local sardar and then settled in Lasbela.⁸⁰ Later in the mid 18th century A.D., they came to Kohistan region of Sindh. We also come to know from another local tradition that after killing Murk these nine persons settled in Rani Kot, situated in Sindh.⁸¹ Some other historical sources guides us that probably Numria were settled in Kohistan (region of Sindh) during the initial period of Sammas who ruled Sindh.⁸²

Moreover, some historians are of the view that this tribe had its roots in Seistan (Persia). Its first branch 'Nuhmardi' slowly and gradually moved towards the sub-continent while the other branch 'Dahmardi' did not do so. This conclusion seems to be correct since in Numeree and 'Dahmarda' in Seistan, people of Dahmardi tribe are very much there.⁸³

During the reign of Shahjhan, Numeree was one of the powerful tribes of that time and spread over the area from Nyran Kot (Hyderabad) to Shah Owais (present area of Kotri). With the passage of time, Numerees extended their wires as people of other nominal tribes joined them. Finally, a time came when 'Burfat' became the *sardar* of Numerias. The rule of Burfat is being recognized as a distinguish era in the history of Baluch, especially those who belong to the Sindh region. Since their emergence they belonged to the Baluch tribes, therefore they are supposed as a part of Baluch nation.⁸⁴

According to the history of Alienations in the Province of Sindh, Malki Ahmad Khan, Chief of Numerees at the time of British occupation was in a position

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.46.

⁸³ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.75.

⁸⁴ Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch, *Op.Cit*, p.46.

to trace backing his fifteen generations. The tribe appears originally to have been of Rajput origin. The first of the family member, whose name had been recorded, was Esub Khan. He accompanied by his eight brothers, set forth from Rajputana and after many adventures arrived in Kej, Makran, where they were well received by the local Chief. After sojourning for sometime in Makran, the Numerees assassinated the local Chief on account of his insulting attitude towards their elder brother. In consequence of this, they were obliged to leave Makran and settled in Sindh along with its western frontier. In due course, they became very powerful and gradually obtained possession of the whole mountainous region lying between the Pabb hills and the Indus on the east and west and between Malir and Bharun Rivers on the north and south.⁸⁵

Another source of information tells us that the Numerees belong to the tribe of Samejah. It is said that nine factions of this tribe separated from their main tribe and settled in hills. The integration of these nine factions came to be known as 'Nuhmardi'. The most of the factions settled in the hilly region contiguous to Haweli Sehwan and Sann while some of them around the mountains of Chakar Halah.⁸⁶

BURFAT TRIBE

Burfat is one of the big tribes. It is name after Burfat (Abul Fateh), who was the greatest grandfather of this tribe. According to some sources he was the son of Jam Esub.⁸⁷

It is said that Burfat is a sub-branch of Numerees.⁸⁸ According to Nabi Baksh Baloch, the traditional genealogical table of this tribe reveals that it belongs to the Samma race. The genealogical table of Jam Burfat is given below:⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, pp.75-76.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.76-77.

⁸⁷ Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch, *Op.Cit*, p.46.

⁸⁸ Ali Ahmed Brohi, *Op.Cit*, p.9.

⁸⁹ Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch, *Op.Cit*, p.46.

Jam Burfat



Jam Aseeb



Jam Hoti



Jam Chinro



Jam Hoti



Jam Halo



Sandh



Palli



Raidhan



Kako



Sammo



Lakho



Lakhiar



Addo



Aodhar



Nehrio



Notiar



Jad



Jodan



Samo



Jadani

According to a local tradition, Abul Fateh (Burfat) was a Baluchi *sardar*, who got *sardari* through matrimonial alliance with Numerees.⁹⁰

We find Chaukhandi type tombs at Manghopir also. It is said that they belong to

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

Numrees/Burfati tribes.

BURFATI TOMBS MANGHOPIR

In the same backdrop, we also find a group of graves, same in Chaukhandi style, are situated in the southwest of Manghopir. According to Shaikh Khurshid, 11 among them are Burfati tombs crowned by a pavilion.⁹¹ The history of these tombs is shrouded in mystery, as we do not find much information about them. It also lacks any authentic written historical record that can lead historians to a positive conclusion.

However, through the available records we come to know that only chief of Burfati tribe, Sardar Khan is buried in the tomb. The fact remains that Jhokhias had cold relations with Burfati tribe since long that led to a battle between these two adversary tribes. In the battle fought at Allah Buna (about 29 km away from Manghopir) Sardar Khan was killed while fighting against the Jhokhias. Only the date of 913 A.H (1506 AD) is inscribed on the tomb of buried *sardar* along with verses of Holy Quran. This little information further restricts us to see across the wall. It was the time when Sammas were ruling Sindh.

Another version of historical trace regarding the Burfati tombs, we find in the writings of Vogel. According to him, the tombs at Manghopir bear the name of four Maliks of the Burfati tribe and are dated about the middle of 18th century A.D. He actually gives two dates, A.H. 1157 (1744-45 AD) and A.H. 1171 (1757-58 AD), and for a sketch of the tombs refers to T. N. Allan's diary of a March through Sindh and Afghanistan.⁹² It is to be noted that the dates mentioned by Vogel creates confusion as the time period discussed above belongs to the Kalhora dynasty who were ruling Sindh at that time.

KALMATI BALOCH TRIBE

⁹¹ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.80.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.80.

Kalmati Baluch tribe lived in lower Sindh. They were supposed to be important tribe of their times as they helped Baluch confederacy for their sustaining.⁹³ The word Kalmati derived from a place Kalmat situated in the central line of Baluchistan near Pasni.

The same dilemma is associated with the origins of this tribe, as we do not find unanimous opinion of scholars. Some claim that it is a sub-group of Hoth tribe, which inhabited at Kalmat, this is why they called Kalmati. According to Muhammad Sodho Kalmati, “Kalmati is a sub-branch of main Baluch tribe Hoth.”⁹⁴ Another group of scholar claim that kalmati is a part of Rind tribe. According to Baluchistan Gazetteer, “They called themselves Rind and the Rind also accepts them as their relatives.”⁹⁵ But mostly scholars believe that Kalmati is a branch of Hoths, and this tribe dwelled at coastal line and established their state.

Following the downfall of the Sultanate of Makran (mid 12th – early 14th century AD), the succeeding Baluch state of Calmat (14th to mid 16th century) flourished in the coastal region extending from Pasni southward most probably as far as the Hub river.⁹⁶ However, they emerged as strong power of the region. While close to the coastal area it extended its sea borne trade and of course enhanced their degree of influence in the entire coastline of Baluchistan till the southern region of Sindh.⁹⁷

The Kalmatis migrated southward from Kalmat and after crossing the Hingol River they kept moving onwards by their stage wise settlements through the Lasbela country. Their ballads mention prolonged feuds with the Burfati tribe of Lasbela. The Kahera Kot region and the Vindur Valley were however, the main centres of

⁹³ Rahimdad Khan Moulai Shidai, *Janat-ul-Sindh* (Karachi: Sindica Academy, 2000), p.425.

⁹⁴ Haji Muhammad Sodho Baghiar Kalmati, *Hazrat Pir Adam Sarmai ayeen sandas Khalifa (Hazrat Pir Adam Sarmai and his caliphs)* (Thatta: All Sindh Kalmati Baloch Welfare Association, 1999), p.39.

⁹⁵ *Balochistan Gazetteer*, Anwar Roman (Translated) (Quetta: Gosha Adab, 1988), p.757.

⁹⁶ N A Baloch, *Sindh Studies in history*, 1st Edition (Karachi: Kalhora Seminar Organizing Committee, 1996), p.301.

⁹⁷ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.86.

their settlement before they moved onwards into the cis-Hubb Khararri-Bhawani region and eventually into the Hubb river Valley again. From there they possibly entered Sindh by the turn of 13th century. In the 14th century, they were in substantial strength and joined other Baluch tribes already in Sindh in supporting and strengthening the power of the Jam rulers of the Samma dynasty.⁹⁸

Earlier due to continued cordial relations between the state of Kalmat and the Sultanat of Sindh (1350-1520 AD), the Baluch communities migrated from the coastal region of Makran particularly from Kulach/Kulanch, Kappar and Kalmat areas to Sindh, where they became to be known as Kulachi/Kalachi, Kappri and Kalmati. The latter also become known as 'Karmati' in the Sindized pronunciation.⁹⁹

In the 15th century, particularly during the reign of Jam Nizamuddin (866-914 / 1461-1508/9) of Thatta, the Kalmatis who had settled in the southwest of Sindh, constituted, along with other Baluch stocks, the military might of the sultanate of Sindh. With their allegiance to the house of Jam Nizamuddin, they had remained the undisputed masters of the Malir-Hub region. Therefore, when the Arghuns conquered Sindh and established their power (1521-1555 A-D), the Kalmatis and other Baluch stocks continued to resist and fight back. In 944/1537, Kalmatis rose in revolt in southern Sindh, with Jatoi's in the north, against Mirza Shah Hasan Arghun.¹⁰⁰

They also continued their resistance against the Tharkhans (1555-1591 AD) who had taken over from the Arghuns. Under the ruthless Tarkhans onslaughts, which however could not disposes them to their Hub-Malir territory; one of their leaders, Murid successfully contrived the elimination of the haughty ruler of Thatta, Mirza Muhammad Salih, in 970/1563. This stopped the Tharkhans from invading the Kalmati territory.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ N.A.Baloch, *The Baloch People: Their early migration to the subcontinent*, IN Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol: XIII, No.2, (July – Dec., 1992), p.301.

¹⁰⁰ N.A.Baloch, *Op.Cit*, pp.302-303.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.303.

Kalmatis gained power and prestige and established their supremacy under their Maliks (chiefs), first in the coastal region from the Hingol region to the Vindur valley, and then in the Hub-Malir region. Archaeological evidence from their two necropolises, Bala in Vindur, and Thado in Malir, amply prove this contention.¹⁰² Later they expanded other parts of lower Sindh.

References to these littoral principalities are but scanty both in the central and the provincial histories. And yet, a study of the few references, which are available, of the well-preserved community tradition in between the Hub and the Malir rivers, inclusive of the district where Karachi stood, remained under the control of the confederacy of the Kalmati clans under their own Maliks, from the 15th to 18th century AD.¹⁰³

When the Sindh was conquered by the Mughal Emperor Akbar (in about 1600 A.D.), his General, Khan Khanan had to face tough resistance from local tribes including Kalmatis. The revenues of Lohari Bunder and the city of Thatta were farmed out to Asif Khan, the brother of Empress Nur Jehan. But the actual control was in the hands of the Baluchi Chief. The Kalmaties yielded great influence in the *Sarkar* of Theta even during the reign of Emperor Jehangir. Recognising their strength and importance, they were befriended during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb whereupon, the Kalmati Chiefs Bijar and Babar gave a deed of contract dated 14th Rajab, 1103 (1691 A, D) to the Mughal Govt. undertaking to protect travellers and caravans from highway and other robbery en-route between Lohari Bunder and Thana of Bhodeser.¹⁰⁴

One cannot ignore the role of Kalmatis while giving tough time to the European power, i.e., Portuguese. They fought with Portuguese and their sardar Mir Hamal martyred by them. According to Dr N A Baluch, Its (Kalmati) power declined after suffering Portuguese attacks in the second half of the 16th century.” The frequent attacks and the killing of Mir Hamal weakened the position of Kalmatis. The Portuguese pirates raided the city and ruined that. Even they burnt the rich and beautiful city of Pasni.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² N.A.Baloch, *Sindh Studies in history*, Op.Cit, pp.301-302.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.302.

¹⁰⁴ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.87

¹⁰⁵ N.A.Baloch, *Sindh Studies in history*, Op.Cit, p.301.

Besides Kalmatis, Numerees and Jokhias also resided in this lower Sindh. The later tribes were Rajput but they collectively established good relations with Baluch confederacy. They used to loot *carvans* in the areas from Lahori Fort to Thatta, and sometimes their unlawful acts in the other parts of Sindh and Baluchistan badly affected the conditions of lower Sindh. Aurangzeb dotted check posts of Baluchis near the trading centres. At that time Kalmati dwelled between Hub and Karachi. The emperor appointed Kalmatis to undertake this duty. The chief of the Kalmati received a large remuneration in reward.¹⁰⁶ Later Kalmatis fought with Burfat and Jokhia tribes in this region.

Besides sporadic references to Kalmatis in works of history, an overwhelming evidence of the early Kalmati presence in the Hub-Malir region is proven beyond doubt by the existence of their inscribed tombstones in the region.¹⁰⁷

Such was the impact of this daring deed that no ruler thereafter dared to suppress the Kalmaties. This event has continued to echo through history and oral tradition.¹⁰⁸

LASHARI BALUCH TRIBE

Almost 33 kilometres away from Thatta, we also find a Chaukhandi type graveyard located at village Sonda. According to some scholars graves present here belong to an important Baluch tribe known as Lashari particularly of those Lashari soldiers who were the part of Darya Khan. He was a General of Jam Nizamuddin Nindo; a Samma ruler (1461-1508 A.D.). Darya Khan was himself a Lashari Baluch.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Rahimdad Khan Maulai Shidai, *Op.Cit*, p.425.

¹⁰⁷ N.A.Baloch, *Sindh Studies in history*, *Op.Cit*, p.312.

¹⁰⁸ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.88.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.91.

It is important to note that graves of Lashari soldiers lack any inscriptional information that can throw light on the more authentic origins of these tangible heritage. We only find names on some of the graves such as Misri Baluch Lashari, Tsa Baluch Lashari etc.

One of the progenitors of Baluch tribe was Jalal Khan. Almost all the Baluch tribes inhabiting the various regions of Pakistan draw their ancestry from Jalal Khan; His second son was Lashari from whom Lashari tribe derives its name.¹¹⁰

Through local traditions we come to know that Mir Gwaharam a prominent leader of the Lashari tribe was a follower of Mir Chakar. He was the chief of Rind tribe. With the passage of time Mir Gwaharam strengthened his power while bringing other Baluch clans under his supremacy and established his independent authority. This caused to create a rift between the two tribes.

The cold relations led a bloody battle between the two contenders. It is interesting to note that in the tug of war Arghuns supported the Rinds and Sammas were on the side of Lasharis. Arghuns, in fact wanted to remove the authority of Sammas, who were ruling Sindh at that time. Finally after defeating the Jam Firuz, the last ruler of Sammas, the Arghuns established their supremacy in Sindh.

This happened in 1520 A .D. Jam Firuz fled from Sindh and took refuge with Muzaffar Shah; the ruler of Gujarat. It is not known as to where and in what circumstances Mir Gwaharam had died. Most probably, he also fled to Gujarat and ultimately died there. After the demise of Alimad Shah II, the ruler of Gujarat, Fateh Khan said to be the son of Mir Gwaharam, took possession of nearly one-third of the country of Gujarat. Lashari is still an important tribe of Sindh.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.92.

Chapter 4

Origin of Indigenous Architectural Devices

To evaluate the origin of indigenous architectural devices on Islamic architecture of Pakistan, we have to make a study as to how the indigenous style of architecture had to pass through various evolutionary stages, before it could gain structural stability and maturity. The areas now constituting Pakistan, before the advent of Islam in 18th century A.D., had a fully developed and mature style of architecture. This is borne out by the existence of so many excavated structural remains and the standing monuments. It may be mentioned that traces of human activity in the remote antiquity have been noticed in the Potwar Plateau and Soan Valley in northern part of Punjab. The excavations at Mehargarh in Baluchistan have confirmed the existence of a Neolithic settlement. It has revealed the plan of a farming village consisting of multi room rectangular mud bricks units.

The Kotdiji citadel in district Khairpur (Sind), in all probability, represents the earliest known fortified town of the sub continent ¹¹². Another early Bronze Age site in the Gomal plain, D.I. Khan (N.W.F.P) has shown that initial attempts of town planning based on regimented system were made here some six hundred years earlier than Mohenjo-Daro.

The discovery of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa in the second decade of 20th century brought to light on the most distinguished and sophisticated civilizations of the world. The town planning of Mohenjo-Daro remains unsurpassed even to this day. Its broad parallel streets, crossing each other to divide the city into compact rectangular blocks, its bricked covered drainage system complete with soil tanks, the design of its houses, the brick kilns, the great bath the huge and properly ventilated granary make Mohenjo-Daro a fascinating study. In the post Indus period, the sites subjected to field study have revealed that the architecture was based on stone masonry in the northern regions while in the southern regions, the buildings were of mud bricks having roofs of reed matting.

¹¹² Khan, F.A, Kot diji culture, its greatness IN Indus Civilization new perspectives, Islamabad,1981.pp.15-16.

The Achaemenians appeared on the scene in 5th century. B.C., followed by invasion on Alexander in 326 B.C. the country remained under the yoke of alien rule of the Greeks till they were ousted by a local dynasty of Mauryans. The Mauryans were replaced by the Bactrian Greeks, who in turn were succeeded by the Scythians, the Parthians and the Kushans. This led to the inter mingling of the cultural traits and ultimately resulted in the evolution of Gandhara art. This art is generally supposed to have evolved in the first century B.C. Which reached its climax in the reign of Kanishka? There was a great building activity in this period and one can see numerous stupas and monasteries in northern regions, assimilating the ingredients of Mahayana sect of Buddhism.

The end of Buddhism was followed by the revival of Hinduism. The Hindu temples can be categorized into northern and southern groups. The first group belonging to 8 – 10th Cent. A.D. is situated in the barren hills in Salt Range while the other group dating back to 12-14th cent. A.D. and representing Jain temples lies near the southern border of Sindh. The northern group can further be sub divided into two groups: the eastern with Kashmir affinities aligned on the river Jhelum and the western or more normal type aligned on the river Indus.

The temples at Malot are typical of the four square Kashmiri style with an elaborate recessed bay in each face flanked by fluted columns and capped by a trefoil arch. The roof used to be of stone of and pyramidal in shape and stepped outwards in two or more stages.¹¹³

Pillars supported the lintel and beams then spanned the space below either by corbelling or on the lantern method. In the lantern method of roofing, the beams are laid diagonally across the corners of the square and the process is repeated in successive one or two tiers so that finally only such an opening remains which could be covered by a slab of stone. Sometimes both devices are used to cover the open space. Brackets and bracket capitals evolved gradually.

¹¹³ Shaikh Khushid Hasan, *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan, Funerary Memorial Architecture*, (Royal book Company, 2001), Karachi. pp.181-187

All these features, pillars brackets, lintels and ceiling became assertively decorative while all along they continued to fulfil their structural necessity, which largely consisted in supplying the load horizontally and through indigenous devices exploiting the force of gravitation to impart the structural strength and stability. The construction method followed in the stone walls is the system of dry stone masonry. The ornamentation however played only a subsidiary role in this scheme. It mainly comprise carvings and sculptures of stone, depicted on the plinth, mouldings, sills, door jambs corner recesses, brackets and lantern or corbelled ceilings. Among other features introduced by the Muslims in their buildings are the minar and the minaret, the squinch arch pendentive, stalactite, half dome, double portal etc. on the structure side. The decorations of the Muslims under religious injunction avoided representation of living beings and took the form of flat surface ornamentation depicting arabesque or geometrical and floral patterns, inscriptions in various styles of writing, gilding and painting, tile mosaics and multiple designs in stone and marble by the artistic method of inlay and *pietra dur*.

In Pakistan, the Islamic architecture can be divided into early Islamic, pre-Mughal, Mughal and the provincial style. The monuments of early Islamic period are very few, which are mainly located in Sindh, the excavations at Banbhore and Mansura have revealed the structures of mosques at both these sites. The excavation conducted in Swat Valley has led to the discovery of a mosque at Raja Gira, as per inscriptions inscribed on a marble stone; the mosque was constructed in 440 A.H. (1048 AD). The construction has the appearance of an enclosure built of typical Gandhara masonry. Besides, the façade and its northern side are articulated with three cylindrical tower buttresses: a feature of Hindu Shahiya architecture.¹¹⁴

The *Mehrab* of the tomb of Khalid Walid in District Khanewal, surface decoration of the tomb of Sadan Shaheed in District Muzaffargarh, two pre-Mughal monuments at Alor in District Sukkur and Nausherwani tombs in District Kharan show a great resemblance with the motifs found on Hindu-Buddhist monuments.

The tomb of Sadan Shaheed is a proto-type of the tomb of Khalid Walid so far as the bricks decoration is concerned. Here, we also find the trefoil arch, pillarets, capitals, friezes scrolls, dentils and diapers. The trefoil design of the arch is the continuation of the old traditions as we find it depicted on the tunic of King Priest from Mohenjo-Daro. The tomb of Sohagan and Dohagan (Pre-Mughal period) at

¹¹⁴ *ibid*

Alore are good specimens of naked brick architecture. They have got pillar crowned with bell shaped capitals.

The tomb of Shah Rukhun-i-Alam at Multan (14th century A.D) represents a typical form of architecture. The tomb is octagonal in plan with battere walls and round turrets at each corner. It is three storied edifice, constructed of fine quality bricks, supported by timber framing at intervals. The insertion of wooden beams in between the brick courses is functional providing resilience to earthquakes in such a region located in seismological zone. It is generally believed that this device was borrowed from the central Asian traditions. But in all probability, it reflects the local architectural traditions dating back to Mohenjo-Daro times. Another indigenous feature appearing in the tomb is the use of bell shaped brackets supporting the projecting wooden ring on which the base of the dome is resting.

The triangular / rectangular projecting device used in the tombs in Gomal Valley, (Ali Taj mausoleum of Shaikh Ala-al-Din at Pakpattan and many more in spanning the square chamber is an old technique. Evidence has it that in the Buddhist monastery at Takhat-i-Bahi, such a device was used to convert the square rooms to domical vaults.¹¹⁵

The most significant Islamic architectural phase, represented by the provincial style is at Makli Hill, Thatta in Sindh. During the Muslim rule, four dynasties successively held sway over Sindh. These were Summas (1333 – 1520), Arghuns (1520 – 1555), Tarkhans (1555 – 1593), and the Mughal (1593 – 1739). All these dynasties have left their imprints in the form of impressive tombs imposing mausoleum, grand mosques, madrassahs etc. The architecture of Thatta was influenced greatly by the cultural traits it frequently received from the neighbouring region of Gujarat (India) and far off central Asia. The influence from Gujarat is very much manifest in the buildings constructed chiefly during the Summa period. The Summas were originally Hindu Rajput, who had subsequently embraced Islam.

¹¹⁵ *ibid*

The buildings constructed at Thatta are based on trabeate principle of construction. Nevertheless, the inspirations received from Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia had also their impact on the architecture of Thatta. The synthesis of the indigenous and foreign elements culminated in the emergence of a peculiar style of architecture at Thatta based on trebeate as well as arcuate principle of consecution. The local craftsmen adopted and assimilated foreign artistic traditions. They used the pillar, the bracket and the chhatti (canopy) and simultaneously the arch, the vault and the dome.

In order to honour the bereavement of those warriors who were either killed in inter tribal quarrels or in battles, the Rajput tradition had been to raise a stone slab(hero stone) portraying the deceased a hero, sometimes mounted on a horse or camel, sometimes on foot with shield and sword or spear. Such stone slabs are generally called 'Paliyas'. There are many stone carved graves popularly known as 'Chaukhandi tombs' in Sindh, which belong to various tribes including Jokhiyas an off shoot of Summas. The Summas, as stated above were Hindu Rajput and later on embraced Islam. The pre-Muslim traditions inherited by Summas were continued by them even after their conversion to Islam. The representation of mounted horsemen with sword, pear arrow etc as depicted on "paliyas or Hero stones" is also found on their tombs.¹¹⁶

The quest for the origins of the structure and decoration of the tombs at Sind, Baluchistan and on the coast of the Makran presents several difficulties. It seems that the artistic motifs of these cemeteries represent the result of a confluence of various cultural influences.¹¹⁷ After examining the different stylistic components of the Chaukhandi tombs as published by Pakistani archaeologists" and those taken from a personal survey of some of the Sindhi sites. It may be thereby possible to shed more light on this peculiar civilization. The evidence of the Islamic origin of the prism-shaped pseudo-coffins on the top of the step tombs cannot be ignored. Their human environment is certainly Islamic, in spite of the presence of several small, unorthodox Islamic and pre-Islamic communities.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, pp 94-102.

¹¹⁷ Shaykh Khurshid, "Origin of Chaukhandi Tombs", *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 24, 2, 1989, pp, 105-106;

¹¹⁸ Gian Giuseppe Filippi, *Rajput Influences in the Chaukhandi Graveyards*,(Asiatica Venetian 1999,) Venice, pp.81-87

The most ancient monument of this kind to examine is the Vedic monument known as *smasana*.¹¹⁹ According to Tradition, the Sanskrit term means bed (*sayana*) of the body (*sman*) but the burial itself is called *samadhi* if it is the tomb of a Saint, or *samnyasin*; otherwise, it is called *stupa*, the resting place of a universal King (*Cakravartin*). We find the description of the preparation of the *smasana* in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.¹²⁰ The corpse is placed in the grave, directly on the soil, without any bed of earth, stones, or bricks under it. This is because the dead man belongs to the earth. The grave is square, being an image of the earth. For this reason the monument above is also square in plan. Then the grave is enclosed by means of enclosing stones; similar enclosing-stones are put around all the sacrificial fire-hearths. The tomb itself, in the brief description of the *Satapatha Brahmana*, is covered with bricks as in the case of sacrificial altars.

In another portion of the same *Brahmana*,¹²¹ the rules for the construction of the *smasana* are prescribed according to caste and social hierarchy. We are informed that the highest monument must be the tomb of *ksatriyas*, the members of the royal caste, and not, as we might expect, the tomb of the highest caste of the *Brahmanas*. Perhaps this is the reason why, since ancient India, the *stupa* has been carefully distinguished from the *samndhi*. The *stupa* had to be as high as a man with up stretched arms, whereas the *masana* for a *Brnhmana* had to extend in height up to a man's mouth, for a woman up to the hips, for a *vaisya* up to the thighs, and for a *sudra* up to the knee. Thus we can infer that the tombs of different castes had a different number of steps. Indeed, the *stupa* of the *cakravartin* has the plinth formed by a sevenfold storey of bricks, in accordance with the complex symbolism of the Universal Sovereign.¹²² The description of the *Brahmanas'* must be considered just a basic model. There are no details concerning the top of the mound, an earthen dome, representing the sky, covered the steps.¹²³ A pole traversed the building from the grounds to the top.¹²⁴

¹¹⁹ *ibid* (In Vedic texts the word *smasana* is used as a synonym for *pitrmedha*, that is, funeral ceremonies. In the case of funeral monuments the terms *Samadhi* and *stupa* are preferred.)

¹²⁰ B XIII.8.1.1; XIII.8.4.12.

¹²¹ SB XIII.8.3.11-12.

¹²² G.G. Filippi, "Cakravartin: Mythic and Historical Symbols", *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, SO, 30, 3, 1991.

¹²³ R.L. Mishra, *The Mortuary Monuments in Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi, B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1991, pp.33-51

The last piece of information offered by the *Satapatha Brahmana* concerns the form of the base of the *samasana*. In this case we must distinguish between funeral monuments for the ashes of a cremated corpse and those for an intact corpse. In the first case, the grave contains the receptacle for the ashes and the remaining bones. Monument is square, and the construction pyramidal. In the case of the interment of a complete corpse, however, the grave is rectangular, with the head placed towards the north,¹²⁵ every storey of bricks is in the form of a prism and the top of the monument had to be oblong and not a dome.

The textual description of the Vedic *samasanas* is very similar to what is seen in the step tombs called Chaukhandi. The Arya origin of the tombs, seen also in the ancient Achaemenian tombs, is worthy of note for instance, the shape of the tomb of Cyrus the Great in Pasargades, the same model can be found: Above the three steps, the pseudo-coffin is a prism with pentagonal sections, very similar to the ship's hull section of the *Makrani* graves.

For references concerning the possible decoration of the Vedic *samasanas*, we must turn to the Buddhist stupas, which are the historical heirs of those monuments. The *stupas* in the north-western part of the subcontinent (now in Pakistan) correspond closely to archaic canons.¹²⁶ Unfortunately, all the surviving Buddhist *stupas* of the region have been restored in Gandhara style. This style also involves the decoration of human figure, which was absent in the first Buddhist period as well as in Vedic times. In many *stupas*, moreover, the decoration of the steps recalls the motifs of the later tombs of *Makran*. For instance, the base of the *stupa* in stucco in the Jaulian monastery near Taxila, in Pakistan, shows a series of arches, alternating with small pillars. It is very similar to several examples among the finest step tombs in Ormara. There is certainly a cultural link connecting the late *Makrani* monuments to the dead with the ancestral tombs of *Aryas* and *Iranians*.¹²⁷ However, there is a

¹²⁴ J. Irwin, "The *stupa* and the Cosmic Axis: The Archaeological Evidence", *South Asian Archaeology* (Napoli), 1977.

¹²⁵ SB XIII.8.1.5-8

¹²⁶ SB XIII.8.1.5, tr. by J. Eggeling, Delhi, IVed. Motilal Banarsidass (I ed. 1882), Sacred Books of the East, 1972.

¹²⁷ Sir J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, London, 1931, II, p. 232

difference in two important details: The step tombs are not built with stones or bricks, but rather with overlapping slabs and the step tombs often rest on four legs or 'pedestals,' like a piece of furniture.

The *Mundas* of Maharashtra and Gujarat build a 'house' for the dead person in the shape of large rectangular stone slabs lying flat on the grave or upon four stones (short columns).¹²⁸ In several specimens there are engraved openings in the shape of windows and doors along the sides of the slabs. Though very rough in their workmanship, these *Munda* tombs are closest in form to the *Makrani* step tombs.¹²⁹ Many *Munda* warrior groups have family ties with the so called *Rajput* tribes of Rajasthan and Gujarat, some among these *Rajput* tribes - the *Jokhia*, the *Numeree*, the *Burphati* and the *Lasharis*, emigrated from the Gujarat (*Kach*) and the Rajaputana.¹³⁰ Towards the Sindh and *Makran* regions during the *sama* Dynasty.¹³¹ All these tribes maintained close relations, including matrimonial ties both within their own group as well as with the Baluchi tribe of the *Kalmatis*. Our hypothesis envision a tribal *Rajput* origin in the utilization of not only the monolithic slabs and pedestals in the step and house-shaped Chaukhandi graves, but also in the naif decoration of some tombs, which represents a house faced as a human face drawn by a child. The decoration of the tombs is mostly derived from wood sculpture, with geometric motifs and abstract celestial asterisms.

There is another important architectural structure which offers some useful information. This is the canopy, the covered monumental tomb, generally dedicated to a Muslim local saint or prince.¹³² The most important ones are those of *Manghopir*, *Lasbela*, *Gwadar*, Chaukhandi and *Lakho Shaykh*. It is easy to show how this kind of shrine is really the Hindu *chhattri* monument turned into the Islamic *dargha*. The *chhattri* is a typical Rajput monument that can be defined as the cenotaph (*smasana*) of a *Rajput* prince, which was erected on the cremation ground. The oldest *chhattri*, according to the Archaeological survey of India, dates back to

¹²⁸ Purushottam Singh, *Burial Practices in Ancient India*, Varanasi, Prithivi Prakashan, 1970, pp. 153-154

¹²⁹ *Mahisamardini*, *Annali di Ca' foscari*, SO, 32, 3, 1993.

¹³⁰ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan* 1996, pp. 68-89.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 68-69.

¹³² *Ibid*, pp. 44-54

1290,¹³³ and stands in the Fort of Ranthambore along with two other similar undated cenotaphs.

Coomara Swamy observed that this structure is typically Indian, although the commemorative purpose was peculiar only to *Rajput* architecture. Herman Goetz, investigating the origins of the *chhattri*, connects it with the graves of the Bhils, the Minas and other so called tribes, where the memorial tablets or posts were preserved. This important research confirms that the correct interpretation leads - through the *Rajputs* - to the identification of the origin of these Indian tribes in Rajaputana and Gujarat. Thus the building of all these shrines to a period between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century.¹³⁴

The examples of anthropomorphic shapes are very significant: there are rows of human figures holding hands, as if cut with scissors. These rows are something new, and go back to the Darius tomb at Nabs-i Rust to find similar decoration. The shape of the single human figure is also interesting in the present context: Indeed, it coincides with the tribal mythical iconography of *Bhagdeo*, the Tiger God - sometimes a Tiger Goddess who plays the role of psycho pomp. In this position, he is sculptured in the highest part of the funeral pole or pillar, integrated within a 'paradise landscape' between the Sun and the Moon. In the Islamic tombs, of course, the human figure is absent from the mythological background, though the image still preserves the funerary symbolism.

Other decorative motifs come from different parts of the Indian subcontinent as well as from Central Asia, confirming that the area was an important crossroad. The scale decoration and the motif of the cord with broken segments, appear together for the first time on the *Char Minar Masjid* of Hyderabad, dated 1591 AD. An interesting tombstone from *Ormara*, perhaps the finest work of art found in the area, shows a big lotus flower from which a chain is hanging. On both sides of the central subject are two columns. The central decoration is a single bronze door, in the style of the *Vijayanagara* temples, with a typical knocker chain. Such an elegant ornament as the row of lilies, looking like a flock of flying birds, is very frequent both in the Gujarati mural architecture and in the Chaukhandi graveyards. The geometric stylization of the *kudu*, one of the main features of *Vijayanagara art*, is also

¹³³ D. Sharma, *Rajasthan through the Ages*, Bikaner, Rajasthan State Archives, 1866, p. 620.

¹³⁴ P.A. Khan, *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan*, Karachi, Elite Publishers, 1960, p. 134.

present in Sindh and *Makran*. In origin the *kudu* was a window in the shape of an ogee arch. Afterwards, it became a pure geometric ornament.

The data indicate that the period of the *Samma* Dynasty (1335-1520 A.D.) was really the golden age of this style. The local rulers developed a far-sighted policy of peace and their maritime trade routes reached the Western Indian coast and the Islamic countries of the Arabian Sea. Turkish rule (1520) led to a temporary decline of the Chaukhandi style. The Mughal conquest (1612) and the Portuguese defeat in 1621-22 mark the beginning of a new period of prosperity for Baluchistan and Sindh, with a hypothetical high point in the second half of the seventeenth Century. The most recent specimens of monumental Chaukhandi tombs are the dated graves of the *Ghichkis*, a new Islamized *Rajput* tribe, who came from Gujarat during the second half of the eighteenth century.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Gian Giuseppe Filippi, Op.cit, pp-81-87

Chapter 5

Figural Representation on Chaukhandi Tombs

When Vogel First observed the Chaukhandi tombs in the area of Hinidan and reported these tombs in the Archaeological survey of India¹³⁶. He attempted to explain Chaukhandi Tombs in terms of Hindu influences. He considered the *sati* stones used in various Himalayan states, on which the deceased is depicted in relief, as a possible source. , his main point of concentration was due to two things that he felt that tombs were Islamic due to their orientation and the second it has Figural representation that is prohibited in Islam.¹³⁷ Later Cousens referred to the model of *sati* stones used in Kathiawar and Kutch-geographically nearer¹³⁸.However, there is no evidence of any forms borrowed from these sources. Ghafur refers to depictions of riders on Islamic graves in *Luristan*, but he was also unable to establish any closer connection.

Normally In south Asia We find many Decoration on the graves that shows the love and affection of the relatives of the deceased to him, in this decoration we find presently the usage of fine quality marble tiles itself on the grave or on the building of the graves too that covers the grave and the calligraphy carved on marble slabs.

In Chaukhandi tombs, the Figural representation is basically done through by the carving and the painting as in many graves we see riders, as well as other objective depictions particularly appropriate for characterizing a grave-such as weapons and other attributes of the deceased are already found at a very early period. The earliest depictions are seen on graves from the mid-fifteenth century, not in relief but as scratched drawings, such as that seen on both long sides of a casket tomb at Hassan Sirhani.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Jean Philippe Vogel, *Op.Cit.*, pp.213-17.

¹³⁷ **Sahih Bukhari**, Volume 3, Book 34, Number 428: Narrated Said bin Abu Al-Hasan:

While I was with Ibn 'Abbas a man came and said, "O father of 'Abbas! My sustenance is from my manual profession and I make these pictures." Ibn 'Abbas said, "I will tell you only what I heard from Allah's Apostle. I heard him saying, 'Whoever makes a picture will be punished by Allah till he puts life in it, and he will never be able to put life in it.' "Hearing this, that man heaved a sigh and his face turned pale. Ibn 'Abbas said to him, "What a pity! If you insist on making pictures I advise you to make pictures of trees and any other unanimated objects."

¹³⁸ Figures of riders are also seen on memorial stones used by various tribes in Gujarat; see, Eberhard Fischer and Haku Shah, *Rural Craftsmen and their Work: Equipment and Techniques in the Mar Village of Ratradi in Saurashtra, India*(Ahmadabad, 1970), pp. 37-45, Figs. 41-2, 45-55.

¹³⁹ Salom Zajadacz Hastenrath, *Op.Cit.*, pp.81-99.

The Present writer has visited the main Chaukhandi tombs site and Tuta-i-Chaukhandi Graveyard near Dolumoti Road, *Memon Goth* and observed some of the figural representation found on the graves such as horse rider and Arms. It was interesting to note that some of the Geometric designs on the grave are very much in Vogue as prints on Sindhi *Ajarak* and Textiles, therefore It invites researchers to take a look into the influences that makers of Chaukhandi had had from other areas such as Indian Gujarat, Kathiawar, Rajasthan and possibly from Persia as Ghafur refers to depictions of riders on Islamic graves in *Luristan*.¹⁴⁰ Though no one could make a direct link, but question cannot be over ruled. As we seen Figural representation on the Sati stones and *Paliyas*, the question also arise that perhaps some of the stone craftsman and decorators were Hindu itself or were under Hindu influences.



Fig 7. Horse rider depicted on a grave at Tuta-i -Chaukhandi grave yard, Dolumoti Road near *Memon Goth*. According to Hastenrath this grave yard belongs from fourth quarter of the 16th century, Photo by writer.

¹⁴⁰ Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, *The calligraphers of Thatta* (Karachi: 1968), pp.24-25. See also

Wilhelm Eilers, *Lurische ,Grabsteine als Zeugnisse des Weiterlebens kassitischer Motive in der Gegenwart: Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Fs. Ernst Kuhnel* (Berlin, 1959), pp. 267-74, with Persian examples from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; also Charles Masson, *Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab* (London, 1842; rptd. Karachi, 1974), vol. 2, p. 275: depictions of warriors painted on wood, on graves in the Persian area of Kurdistan; and figurative Seljuk depictions in Katherina Otto-Dorn, 'Tiirkische Grabsteine mit Figurenreliefs aus Kleinasien', *Ars Orientalis* 3 (1959), pp. 63-76.

From the Above mentioned photo of the gravestones from a common tomb for three men at *Malir* dating from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Hastenrath explained that the horse is set horizontally into the surface under the boss on the gravestone, with stirrups hanging down under its body. The rider is again standing *en face*, with arms outstretched, on the horse's back; he is holding the reins in his fist. On the two sides under his outstretched arms, a bow and arrow, a quiver, and a sword are depicted; above his arms, there is a shield and another unidentifiable object.

From the second half of the sixteenth century onward, the fixed position for depictions of riders and weapons is in the area underneath the boss on the gravestone. Often, the rider is shown on one side and some of his weapons-usually a shield and a sword on the other, in corresponding areas on the two sides of the gravestone. Weapons also occurred on their own thus it is not possible to identify any rules relating to the distribution of the relief depictions on the two sides of the gravestone, or to the choice of which side is used if the depiction is only on one side. It is only on common tombs of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries-at *Sonda*, for example-that it becomes clear that better visibility of one side or another is the decisive element in the choice of where to position the relief.¹⁴¹

Hinidan graveyard, this cemetery is known that Vogel after visited here mentioned the Chaukhandi tombs in Archaeological survey of India. The cemetery lies some seventy miles from Karachi, on the Hub River. It can be reached on the road to *Sonmiani*, turning off near *Hub-Chauki* to the north and travelling on an unsurfaced road for about fifty-five miles. A ford just before the cemetery is probably impassable after rainfall. According to Vogel's count,¹⁴² the cemetery contains seventy-one tombs, which Vogel regarded as dating from before AD 1700. The tombs do, in fact, probably date almost without exception from various periods in the seventeenth-century.

Shaikh has provided one photograph of a tomb stone from Hinidan Grave yard in which a *Dogger Sword* has showed with a simple shield along with the two rosettes with centred patels. The tombs belong to the late sixteenth century. Thus this depiction does not contain depiction of the Horse rider or any animal so one can assume that some Common graves with sword contains the warriors but one cannot decide about his position in Tribe.

¹⁴¹ Hastenrath, Salome Zajadacz, Op.Cit., p.83.

¹⁴² Vogel, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series 8, Las Bela* (Allahabad, 1907), p.41.

Similarly Hastenrath has mentioned another tomb dating from the end of the sixteenth century at Hinidan shows a shield and a sword in the areas on the post underneath the boss on one side, with the rider on the other. The shield is decorated with a rosette consisting of centred petals instead of the spiral rosette familiar from earlier depictions. The depiction of the horse and rider follows the pattern described above. The hands are dearly elaborated, and-as the only detail of costume-there is a tall cap on the figure's head, slightly turned down. Here again, a quiver and a bow and an arrow are seen on each side of the rider.

Two tombs dating from the second quarter of the seventeenth-century located in the same cemetery, from the grave complex belonging to the family of Haji Mor Mubarak¹⁴³, show similarly positioned depictions of weapons and riders on the two sides of the gravestone.



¹⁴³

On the naming of the tombs according to local tradition, cf. Vogel, *op. cit.* Note 1, p. 216.

Fig 8. Above plate taken from the book “Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan” by Shaikh Page141, Hinidan Late sixteenth century to early seventeenth century.



Fig 9. Hinidan, Warrior with arrow, sword and in front a troop on ground with sword.

Shaikh has mentioned that in South Asia in order to honour the death of those warriors who were killed in battles or ethnic quarrel, the Rajput custom was to erect a stone slab for commemorating the deceased by portraying him by carving him some times riding on the horse, camel or some times on the foot with sword in hand with shield and spear etc. Some names and mode of death is also engraved on the stone pieces that are called *Paliyas* or Hero stones, these are widely found in the region of Jujhar in Rajputana and Kathiawar. The rank of the hero is shown by trapping of the horse he rides, if richly caparisoned after the fashion of the charges of medieval Knights, the cloth embroidered and fringed with tassels, he was a man of high rank, a chieftain. If the bestrides a plain saddle, he was a man of inferior status. Represented without the horse the hero was stripling¹⁴⁴.

Addressing to this question why the Horse is depicted over stones reliefs, since most of the warriors were Rajput in the earlier days, the most suited iconography for

¹⁴⁴ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, pp 94-102.

them was to depict a figure horse riding warriors. After that even every man statue was having a rider figures. The reason that was traced that the low cast communities has sought to top raise their social status by adopting Rajput traits, Customs' and even the Rajput surnames, so the depiction of horse rider on the statue of deceased became the vogue of prestige for commemorating any death.¹⁴⁵ The 'Paliyas' date back to 11th century AD.¹⁴⁶ While Chaukhandi tombs believed to be of 15th to 18th Century.



Fig 10. Hero stone from Rajasthan containing horse rider.

On the upper part of the 'paliyas' the motif representing Sun and moon are sometimes found .it reflect the pious hope of the relatives of the deceased that the

¹⁴⁵ Shaikh Khushid Hasan, *Stone Reliefs from Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan,?????*

¹⁴⁶ Burjes J. Antiquities of Kathiawar and Kachh, *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, II, London, 1971, pp.183.

Memorial may last as the sun and the moon.¹⁴⁷ At some of the places Instead of 'Paliyas' Rock sculpture of war heroes are found Also in neighbouring valley named Kallu , same trends could be observed where instead of 'Playas' the memorial stone are called 'Barselas'.¹⁴⁸

Near *Thanapir*, Mandor (Rajasthan), Many Rock Sculpture can be observed, they are depicted with the costumes of their life time and each Chieftain riding on a horse is armed with lance, sword and buckler with quiver and arrows and poniard in his Girdle. The Heroes are believed to be *Marinate* (eldest son of Rao Salkha, one of the earliest ancestor of *Jodhpur* chief) Rabuji (Rathore Chief), Guga (chuhana said to have been killed in battle with Feroz Shah of Delhi) and Ramdeo and Ramdeo (Rathore), The Stone Sculpture resembles to great extent with the Stone carving on Chaukahandi tombs, where horseman with their arms and attendants have been depicted.¹⁴⁹

In Pakistan Figural representation is also found alike in rest of the Islamic world. Despite the fact that in Islamic traditions figural representation is prohibited¹⁵⁰. The monuments having figural representation are mostly found in Baluchistan and Sindh. The exterior of *Nausherwani* tombs at *Kharan* near Iranian border (13th century .A.D) is covered with terracotta plaques. They besides, floral and geometrical motifs, also depict decorative imagery representation of camel with colt, leopard, bull, horses, deer, peacocks with snake in their bills, bangles, human foot prints, and human left hands.¹⁵¹

The tomb of Jam Nizamudin, built in 1508 A.D. at Makli Hills, Thatta, contains one of the most primitive and finest examples of the stone carvings of the Muslim era in Sindh. On the upper side of its front wall, there is a frieze of geese.¹⁵² The figural

¹⁴⁷ James Hornell, *Hero Memorial Stones of Khatiawar* IN Antiquity, Vol.XVI, 1942, pp.289-300.

¹⁴⁸ Helene Diserens, *Rajas and Chieftains in the Sculpture of Kullu valley and the neighbouring Regions*
IN South Asian Archaeology, 1987, Rome 1990, Part 2, pp.1181-1193.

¹⁴⁹ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajhistan*, Vol II, London, 1920, pp. 842-844.

¹⁵⁰ **Sahih Bukhari**, Volume 1, Book 8, Number 419: Narrated 'Aisha:

Um Habiba and Um Salama mentioned about a church they had seen in Ethiopia in which there were pictures. They told the Prophet about it, on which he said, "If any religious man dies amongst those people they would build a place of worship at his grave and make these pictures in it. They will be the worst creature in the sight of Allah on the Day of Resurrection."

¹⁵¹ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Nosherwani Tombs in Kharan, Blauchitsan*, p.1202.

¹⁵² Sarre and Herzfeld , *Archaeologist Reise*, Vol. I, p.35

representation on the grave of a child namely *Nur-al-Din* Muhammad son of Shah Mansur Hakim Tabrazi, is of significant value. The figural intricate was engraved in 1542 A.D. The cenotaph is made of sand stone. The upper panel provides a full blown eight-petal lotus in low relief. The lower panel includes a stylised conical tree at the base, and two goats holding something in their mouths, flanked in heraldic fashion. The two other animals, represented in the forepart, are poised above the goats. On the upper part of the tree, are perched two ducks in the same heraldic way. On the top of the tree, two peacocks facing each other with their clear plumage raised are carved in flying postures, with their beaks holding a curious intersected object.¹⁵³



¹⁵³ Shaikh, Khurshid Hasan, Op.Cit. p.74.

Fig 11. Cenotaph of Nur-al-Din Muhammad at Makli Hills, *Thatta* Showing Tree of life, peacocks, Goats etc. (Photo taken From Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Chaukhandi tombs in Pakistan*, page 101.)

Again at Makli Hills graveyard, *Thatta*, we find the representation of peacock and snake in the tomb of Badial Zaman S/O Shah Rukh Khan (died 1602-3 A.D). A tablet just above the capital of north-west column bears in relief the figure of a stylised peacock perched on a snake holding in its beak the neck of the snake. Another tablet of the same size above the capital of south-west column bears in relief the representation of the two birds facing each other in heraldic fashion. The same representation is depicted above the capitals of the two columns in the eastern side.¹⁵⁴

The Chaukhandi type of tombs at *Thatta*, *Kot Raj Malik*, *Malir*, *Sarai Bhawani*, and *Manghopir* etc. contain carvings of horse and the rider, camels, lions, deer, hunting scenes etc. At *Malir* graveyard, there is a figural representation of a cock which has not been noticed before¹⁵⁵. In a Chaukhandi type tomb in *Ranikot* Fort, there is a carving of a buffalo. At *Jhirak*, there is a carving of a peacock holding the neck of a snake in its beak¹⁵⁶.

So far the carvings of rider and horseman are concerned; the Stone carvers presumably took inspirations from Gujarat, Kutch, Kathiawar etc. and Iran. As already stated, the Chaukhandi tombs belong to *Jokhia*, *Burfat*, *Numeri*, *Kalmati*, *Lashari* tribes etc. The *Jokhia*, *Burfat*, *Numeri* etc. are an off-shoot of *Sammās* who were Rajput later on embraced Islam. The pre-Muslim traditions inherited by the *Sammās* were continued by them even after their conversion to Islam. Even otherwise in view of the frequent intercourse with the neighbouring regions i.e. Kutch, Kathiawar, Gujarat, the architecture of Sindh could not remain un-affected and an isolated phenomenon. In the historical buildings at *Thatta*, which remained the capital of Sindh during the *Samma* rule, the influence of the neighbouring regions is very manifest. The representation of the mounted horseman with swords, spears, arrows etc as is depicted on the 'Playas' or 'Hero stones' is also found on Muslim tombs. But we cannot attribute it entirely to the neighbouring regions of Kutch, Kathiawar, and Gujarat etc. Such type of representation is also found on many tombs stretching from *Pangur* in Baluchistan right into the Iranian territory.

¹⁵⁴ Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi, 1968, pp.29-30

¹⁵⁵ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, Pictorial representation on Muslim tombs in Sindh, op.cit.p.41

¹⁵⁶ Hastenrath Z.Salame, *Chaukhandi Graber*, Wiesbaden, Germany, 1978, plate 73.

Very interesting tombs at *Gawadar* and *Jhalwan* in *Sarawan* Valley have been reported since the Baluchis came to this region from *Seistan* via Makran, so they possibly also brought with them such traditions which were prevalent in Iran and Baluchistan.

Following is the point of view presented by Salome Hastenrath regarding the figural representation on Chaukhandi tombs, according to her the depictions of riders on the Chaukhandi graves, which distinguish the tombs more precisely, also provide information on the lifestyle, costume, and weapons used by the men who were buried in them. In the fifteenth century, the first weapons found are bows and arrows, swords and shields. From the sixteenth century onwards, the full set represented includes a bow and an arrow, a quiver, a sword, a shield, and a spear. The shield is often decorated with a spiral rosette in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and with a petalled rosette from the end of the sixteenth century onwards. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the decoration changes once more: four buttons arranged in the centre of the shield in a square pattern form the only decoration, and this style is seen right up to the eighteenth century. The buttons serve a practical function, attaching the handle on the inner side of the shield.¹⁵⁷

While the weapons were initially distributed in the free areas alongside the rider, from the last third of the seventeenth-century onwards, the shield and sword are presented more realistically as fixed elements of the costume, both on the mounted figure and on the follower on foot. Both weapons are worn at hip level. The comparatively small size of the shield is noticeable. The quiver, bow, and arrow are found again at the end of the seventeenth century on a gravestone at *Pir Qureshi*, and well into the eighteenth century; the rider often carries a spear as an additional weapon. The rifle, which first appears in the last third of the seventeenth-century, is almost always borne in front of him. Exceptionally, the rider may be seen holding it up by the barrel, in place of the spear.

A hookah is also carried in front of the rider. To the examples mentioned earlier; one could add gravestones of the late seventeenth-and early eighteenth centuries at *Gujjo*, *Sonda*, and *Raj Malik*. The hookah has the shape of the *chillum* customary in Baluchistan and further west: a bulbous pot, on top of which the container for charcoal and tobacco is set, and from which a straight pipe branches off to the side. It is apparently the task of the rider's follower to keep the pipe alight. Other objects carried by the rider's companions include water jugs and axes.

¹⁵⁷

Hasatenrath, *Op.Cit*, p.94, she further explains Four metal buttons also form the decorative Pattern on Baluchi leather shields; however, the same form of decoration is also seen in shield depictions on gravestones in Luristan and on the *sati* stones in Gujarat. The shield of Akbar the Great (Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum) also has four decorative buttons within the shield's other decorative elements.

The separately displayed collection of weapons is also supplemented by the rifle towards the end of the seventeenth century. In addition, splendid daggers sometimes a thrusting knife (e.g. at Sonda)¹⁵⁸ and pistols are seen.

The following plate is from Goth Raj *Malik*, The village is reached via a field path, and turning off to the west of the road from *Gharri* to *Mirpur Sakro*. The cemetery is located on the shore of a pond, on each side of two mausoleums. It's very severely destroyed northern parts completely overgrown by bushes. The cemetery includes some 150-200 tombs in all, dating from the late seventeenth-and eighteenth centuries, some severely ruined and damaged by ground salts; a destroyed *chattri* in the southern part of the cemetery probably dates from the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁹

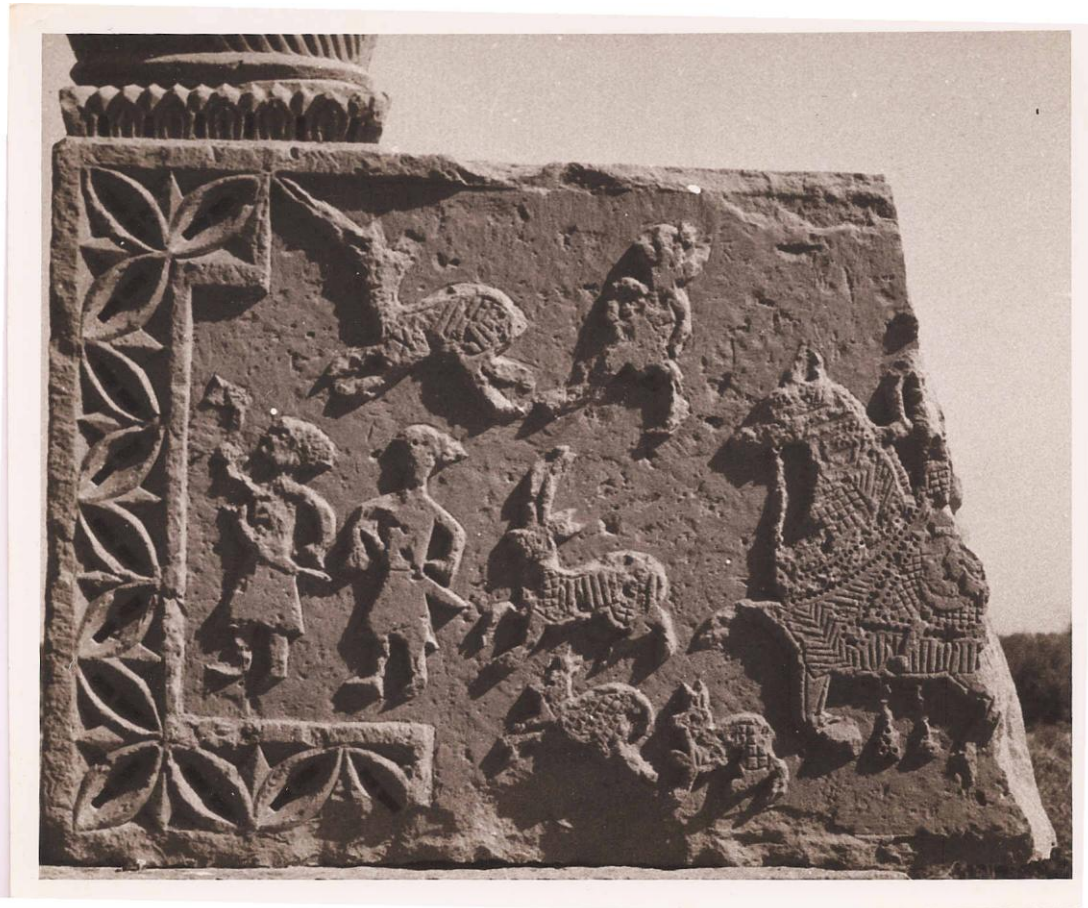


Fig 12. Goth Raj *Malik* Graveyard late seventeenth- Century, photo in original has given to writer by Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, Ex. Director General of Archaeology Pakistan and writer of monograph “*Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan*”.

¹⁵⁸ The illustration of a hunting dagger in the exhibition catalogue *5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien* (Essen, 14 May-30 Sept. 1959), cat. no. 781, illustration on p. 418.

¹⁵⁹ Carter G.E.L, Old sites in lower Indus, *Indian antiquary*, 61(1932), p.86, Anon, Pakistan archaeology 5,(1968),p.222, M.Rafique Mughal, A summary of Excavations and Explorations in Pakistan, 171-2.

In above plate proper attention is given to the horse's harness. Stirrups, reins, and saddles are already seen on depictions from the sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries. Towards the end of the seventeenth-century and in the eighteenth, the bridle is shown in detail, usually in connection with a kind of loop bridle a belt leading down from the snaffle to the saddle belt, which makes the horse move more calmly-particularly important for the rider.



Fig 13. Grave Stone from Kot Raj Malik ,showing a hunting scene, late seventeenth century.

The above mentioned gravestone found from *Kot Raj Malik* depicts the caravan rather than a war ground, here a man on foot with *hooka* (used to smoke tobacco) can be observed and the second horse rider with bow and a shield having four buttons, while behind this rider following two camels, the first camel is handled and guided by a man on foot having camel strap up in his hand while second camels harness is attached with first camel. On the back of camel wooden seats or *Dolis* are placed so the rider can feel the comfort during travel. Behind the camel is depicted a man on foot and seems to have his sword in its cover. Interestingly In front of carvan a Deer can be seen on run after having noticed the coming carvan.

From *Gujjo* graveyard near *Thatta* following gravestone has been found. The cemetery of Shaikh *Turabi* near *Gujjo* lies about three miles from the village, and can be reached from there on an un-surfaced path running alongside a canal. The large cemetery in the vicinity of the mausoleum mostly contains very ruined tombs, affected by ground salts, several of which date from the fifteenth, sixteenth, second half of the seventeenthth, and eighteenth centuries. On a nearby elevation, *Taro Hill*, there is a ruined high funerary enclosure with tombs from the first half of the seventeenth century according to Majumdar Probably dating from the 14th century and from the mid-seventeenth century, as well as a completely destroyed structure resembling a *chattri*.¹⁶⁰

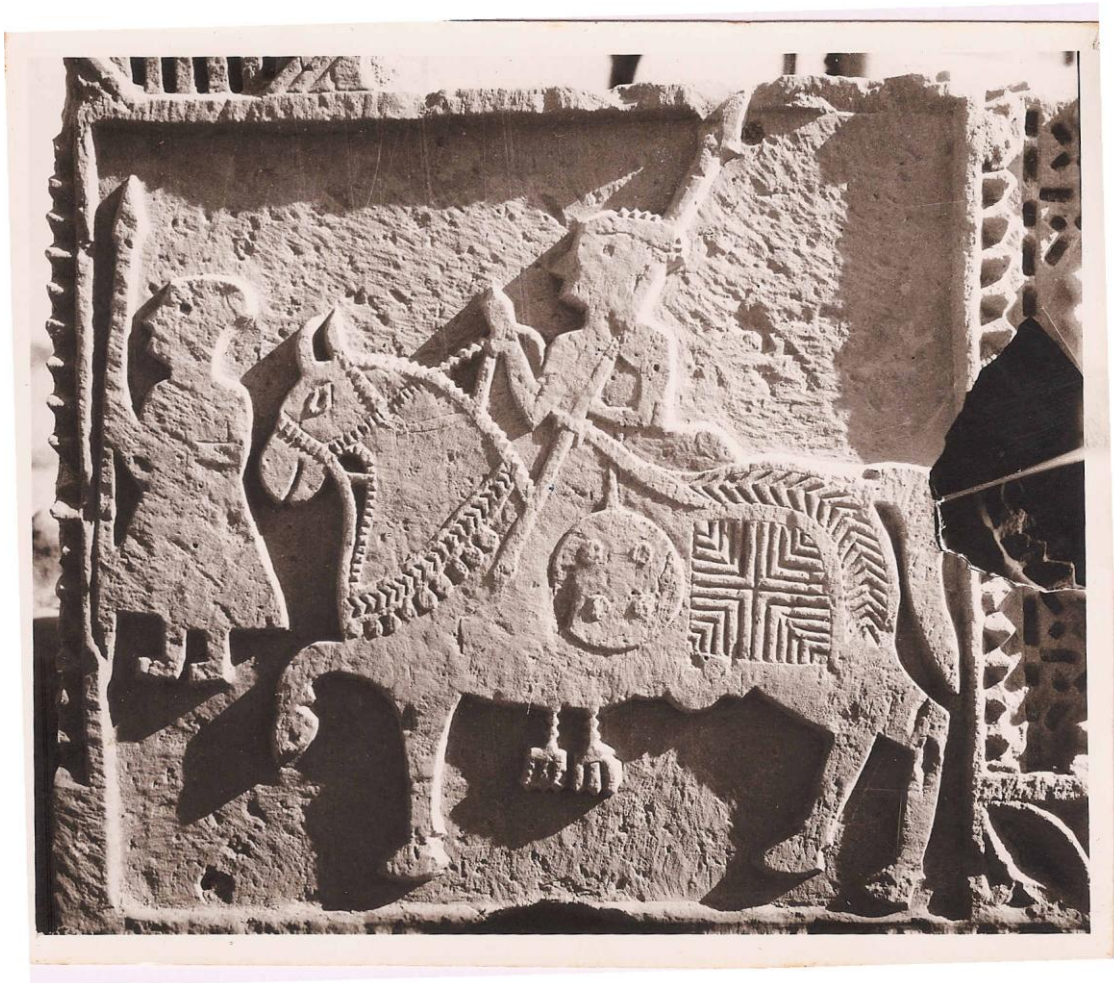


Fig 14. Tombstone from *Gujjo* graveyard near *Thatta* belongs from fifteenth to seventeenth century. From fifteen, sixteenth and up to half of the Seventeenth Century.

The above plate shows the decorated depiction of a warrior, having again a four buttoned shield, a beautiful horse strap (harness) and rider seems to wear a war helmet. The horse is

160

Hastenrath, *Op.Cit.* pp.150-165, Nani Gopala Majumdar, *Explorations in Sind: Being a Report of the Exploratory Survey carried out during the Years 1927-28, 1929-30 and 1930-31*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India 48 (Delhi, 1934), p. 22.

also decorated while *sword* is in its cover, while rider having a big arrow, In front of Rider is a man on foot that seems to give him cover or as a common troop.

The Following tombstone is found on the *sonda* graveyard, the cemetery lies at milestone 84.8 directly on the Thatta-Hyderabad road, next to the village of the same name. The cemetery includes about fifty tombs, most dating from the end of the seventeenth century and eighteenth century, as well as a *chattri* from the late eighteenth or nineteenth century. In the low-lying area, where most of the tombs appear to have been destroyed by flooding, a few graves from the beginning of the sixteenth century survive. On the elevation behind the village of Sonda, near the inspection bungalow, there are a few ruined casket tombs from the fifteenth century.¹⁶¹



Fig.15. Depiction of warrior on Tomb Slab from Sonda graveyard. Seventeenth Century.

A wide variety of detailed depictions of riders is found on tombs from the end of the seventeenth-century and the early decades of the eighteenth. Clumsy attempts are often made to suggest movement by showing the horses with slightly bent knees. The riders are always shown sitting, usually *en face*, with the lower half of the body and both legs often being visible in front of the horse's body. But in above plate we

¹⁶¹ Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Archaeological Survey of India 46, Imperial Series (Calcutta: 1929, rptd. Karachi: 1975), pp. 164-6: 'Baluch Tombs and Graveyards.

may see that Rider is ready to ride on the horse and his full body is shown, in front of a rider is another person as a ground troop, both having the shield with four buttons.

The Following Gravestone is taken from *Lakho Shaikh (Tuta-i-Chaukhandi)* graveyard near Malir. *Lakho Shaikh's* cemetery in *Deh Kharkharo* lies to the north of the Malir Cantonment. It can be reached from the Karachi-Thatta road, turning off to the left directly at the Malir Colony railway station. Beyond a few chicken farms, towards which the road is well signposted, and directly at the end of the Hussain da Silva Farm, a field path leads off to the left towards the cemetery. With some 400 tombs, this cemetery is one of the largest. The tombs date from the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, with the exception of a few ruined tombs at the northern end of the cemetery, which are from the first half of the fifteenth century. The cemetery contains four funerary enclosures from various periods of the seventeenth-century, as well as the remains of a destroyed *chattri*, which probably resembled the round canopy structure in the Chaukhandi cemetery (last quarter of the seventeenth-century).¹⁶²

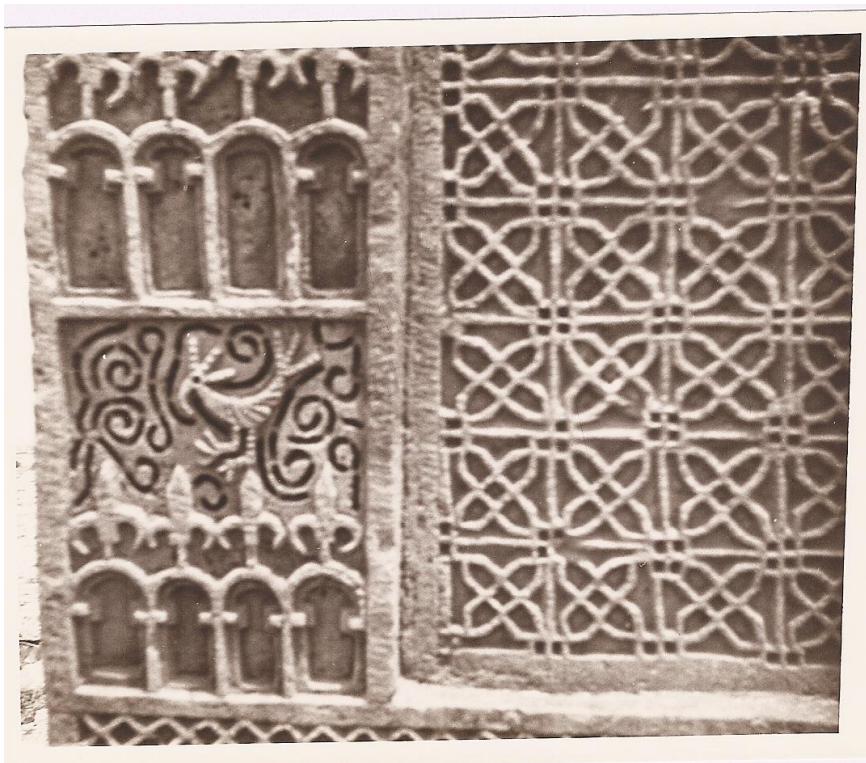


Fig 16. Depiction of Peacock on men grave, Shaikh Lakho graveyard , sixteenth to seventeenth-century.

Another Plate has been discussed from *Lakahopir* graveyard near *Jerruck* containing a Figure of Peacock having A snake in its beak mentioned by Hastenrath in which she mentioned that an adequate interpretation has still not yet been found

¹⁶² Hastenrath, *Op. Cit.* p.154, Thomas Holdich, *The Gates of India, Being an Historical Narrative* (London: 1910), pp. 196 and 310-11.

for another depiction seen on men's graves: a peacock, recognizable from the raised feathers on its head and tail, carrying a serpent in its beak. Like the of riders, this motif appears at Chaukhandi tombs in the area underneath the boss. Examples are seen on low tombs of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries at Sonda, as well as in a low tomb at *Jerruck*, where it serves as a counterpart to the depiction of the rider on the other side of the gravestone. A double tomb raised on a plinth dating from the first half of the seventeenth-century, on a hill south of *Kinjhar* Lake, has peacocks on both gravestones; on one, instead of a serpent in the peacock's beak, there is a human figure standing next to it the peacock with the snake is also found on the canopy structure covering the tomb of *Badi-uz-Zaman*, dated 1602, in the funerary complex of Baqi Khan depictions of birds-although without a serpent are seen in the decoration of a gravestone at Malir of the first half of the seventeenth-century, as well as at the head end of a two-level casket tomb at Chaukhandi, dating from the second half of the seventeenth-century.

With the help of above mentioned plates thus we can assume that the decoration and figural representation is highly practiced and liked by Muslim artists' despite by its prohibition in Islam. The present writer believe that Figural representation not only give a link that Muslim of South Asia were not only admiring the arts but it's also indicate their relations with non Muslims and possibly marriages in inter-faith, may be after their conversion to Islam. It also indicates that Muslims had learned a lot from the indigenous art and by that time they were practicing this art as local stone carvers as one of the Female grave at main Chaukhandi graveyard having an inscription of the name of *Ustad Inayat Ullah*, who is believed to be the maker or stone carver of that tomb.

Chapter 6

Significance of Figural representation

Since the time immemorial, the use of decorating the graves has been practicing in different parts of the world. The question arise that why do the people tend to decorate the lasting place of their deceased? The fact remains here that it shows their love and association with them. According to Shaikh Khurshid, the decoration of grave is done in various ways. Sometimes the super-structure of the grave is embellished with human and animal representation or sometimes floral and geometrical motifs are depicted on it. Some of the motifs apart from their decorative value also convey some ritualistic beliefs.¹⁶³ In the wake figural representations two important processes of carvings and paintings are being used to adorn the lasting place of deceased.

Keeping in view motives and trends under religious and non-religious historical beliefs, we can classify afore-mentioned practice into following categories¹⁶⁴:

1. Floral and foliated design
2. Animal and human representation
3. Geometrical patterns
4. Non-Geometric forms and
5. Lifeless objects from nature

1. Floral and Foliated Designs

(i) Pomegranate:

The pomegranate flower is coral red while the seeds blood red. It thus represents blood, which in turn depicts life. It is a popular decorative motif and appears on

¹⁶³ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.94.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.106.

many Islamic monuments including the Dome of the Rock.¹⁶⁵ As regards the motif used on Chaukhandi tombs has generally been depicted within a circle, which is sun motif. Sometimes it is inserted into a spiral shape motif, which represents the snake.¹⁶⁶ The practice to use double motif may also be observed. The intention behind practice is to give extra strength to the concept of immortality.¹⁶⁷

(ii) Lotus

Lotus is another motif, which appears on most of the Chaukhandi tombs. It is an old motif and was used by the ancient Egyptians in the ornamentation of all kinds of work.¹⁶⁸ It is considered as a distinctive plant. Like other plants it also produces seeds. But it involves a different aspect too. For instance, its seed are retained in the seed capsule and allowed to germinate therein. The mother plant then disposes the young seedlings, rather than seeds. This phenomenon allies lotus not to birds, which lay eggs, but to mammals, which give birth to issue, like themselves in form.¹⁶⁹ On the basis of this characteristic it appears as an agent endowed with life force.¹⁷⁰



¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Stone carvings from historical monuments at Makli Hills*, Thatta, in the proceedings of the Hijra celebrations symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy, Architecture and Archeology, Department of Archeology, University of Peshawar, 1981, pp.69-70.

¹⁶⁸ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.107.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *Op.Cit*, p.70.

Fig17. Depiction of Lotus on Chaukhandi grave at *Lakho* Shaikh graveyard from the beginning of sixteenth to the end of seventeenth-century.



Fig 18. Depiction of lotus flower on a Chaukhandi grave, Slab from *Sazen- e-Chaukhandi* graveyard
Sixteenth-seventeenth century.

(iii) Cypress Tree

Cypress Tree is also considered as an important motif. It is said that it represents the tree of life.¹⁷¹ It is one of the oldest and widely used symbols. It represents as huge tree of life with its promise of immortality and everlasting youth.¹⁷² It keeps different meaning to different regions. For instance, it appears as a symbol of life on the seals found from Moen -jo- Daro, as a symbol of mourning in Anatolia, etc.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.107.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

(iv) Sun Flower

It is also one of the famous motifs being used throughout the world. Being a sun motif, it symbolizes life.¹⁷³ Historically its importance is evident. For instance, it received a significant receptiveness from the Egyptians as well as from the people of Indus Valley Civilization.



Fig 19. Depiction of sunflower in plenty at Chaukhandi graveyard.

(v) Rosette

Rosette is a symmetrical circular motif. It symbolizes the sun. As a rule a number of flower petals are arranged like the blades of a propeller round a central calyx. The opened petals of the lotus associated with sun also form the rosette.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.108.



Fig 20. Carving of roses on a Chaukhandi grave.

We can also find various other forms of motifs, which show the diversifying skills of man are as under:

2. Animal and Human Representation

(i) Horse

Figures pertaining to horsemen are not unusual on Chaukhandi tombs. But it's not frequently applied there. The representation of the rider with lance, standing upright on a horseback dates back to the ancient period. Thus, regarding the origins of this figural representation scholars hold different views. For instance, Tod is of the opinion that horse figures are of Scythian origin. Wooden structures representing the horse-head over the graves and the corners of the private houses in Swat are also found.¹⁷⁵ According to Inayat Ur Rehman, the idea appears to have come from *Kafiristan* where the people worship the horse-faced god called *Baliman*.¹⁷⁶ As

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Inayatur Rehman, *The Ethnological Wealth in Swat* IN Pakistan Archaeology, No.6, Department of Archaeology, Karachi, 1969, p.287.

regards Sindh, we find representation of camels on some Chaukhandi tombs. The fact remains here that camels are supposed as the ship of the desert. They were being frequent used for riding and transporting goods from one place to another.



Fig 21. Depiction of a man, riding a horse at Chaukhandi graveyard.

(vii) Crocodile

The central portion of many Chaukhandi type graves has been given the shape of coffin carrier. The front and back portions of the graves contain two handles on each side, which project outside. The top of the handles in some case has been so carved as to depict the face of a crocodile with its jaws in an open form.¹⁷⁷ It is one of the important features being used as a decoration. It is interesting to note that the crocodile was known as water-god in Egyptian mythology. It was worshipped and had great reverence for them. The areas depended on water supposed it as a symbol of fertility. Shaikh Khurshid asserts that this motif was probably used to represent the great power of the dead symbolized in the form of a crocodile.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.109.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*



Fig 22. Depiction of the big jaws of crocodile representing the power of the dead at Chaukhandi graveyard.



Fig.23. Depiction of crocodile jaws on both the sides of the grave at Chaukhandi.

(viii) Snake & Peacock

Birds and snake are also used as a figural representation. Historically speaking, peacock and snake, as an important motif, had frequently been used during earlier civilizations such as Babylonian, Elam, Indus Valley, etc. It is viewed that they indicate the symbol of cosmic victory.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, the Buddhist motifs of the bird of prey carrying in its claws a snake are represented in pre-Islamic Turkistan. The representation of snake and birds is also noticed on the tombs of *Bade- u- sampan* at Theta. It is significant to note that snake usually associated with evil forces while the peacock was and is considered the symbol of immortality.¹⁸⁰



Fig 24. Depiction of a peacock and snakes. Photo is taken from Shaikh Khurshid, *Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan* page.127. Lakho Pir Graveyard seventeenth-century.

(ix) Buffalo

Buffalo is also an important motif used as a figural representation. We can find the carvings of buffalo, with other animals, on a tomb of a lady in the graveyard close to Ranikot Fort in Dadu district. It may be due to sentimental attachment of the lady

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.110.

that a buffalo was depicted on her grave.¹⁸¹ We also find the representation of buffaloes on the seals discovered from Mohan-jo-daro. The buffalo is known for its force.

(x) Lions

The figure of lions has also been used as an important motif on the graves. Its traces can be found in the graveyard near Ranikot Fort. It symbolizes as a power and strength. Moreover, the representation of lions on stone relief discovered from northern Iran and belonged to Seljuk period.¹⁸²

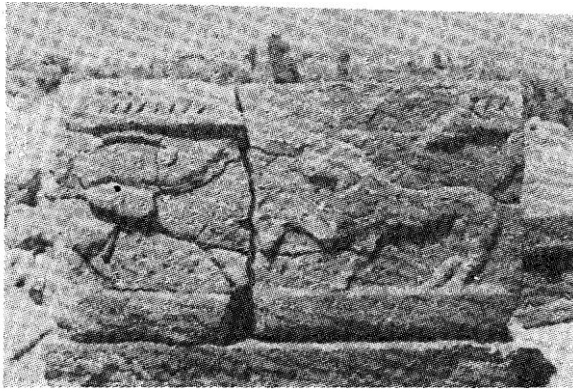


Fig 25. Depiction of a Lion near *Ranicot* Fort.

(xi) Cock

The figure of cock is also used as a significant motif on the gravestones. It is supposed as a bird of celestial bulk from the point of view of the Muslim belief. It has solar character, as appears from its wings in East and West. The cock is well known for its inherent fighting force. The idea behind carving cock on the tomb might point to the bravery and valour of the deceased.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p.111.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

(xii) Goose

The goose, a kind of bird, is associated with water. We find frequent presence of this bird in Sanskrit and *Pali* literature. It is said that goose is the vehicle of Brahma and figures on religious monuments. The bird occupies prominent place in fables and fairy tales of the sub-continent.¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, in Japan, a goose is sent to brides because the wild geese are believed always to fly in pairs symbolizing mutual faith and fidelity in conjugal life. Thus the goose became a symbol of marriage and emblem of conjugal attachment in Japanese society. Historically speaking, the goose appears to be well-known ornamental device from the time of Ashoka to the Muslim period.¹⁸⁵

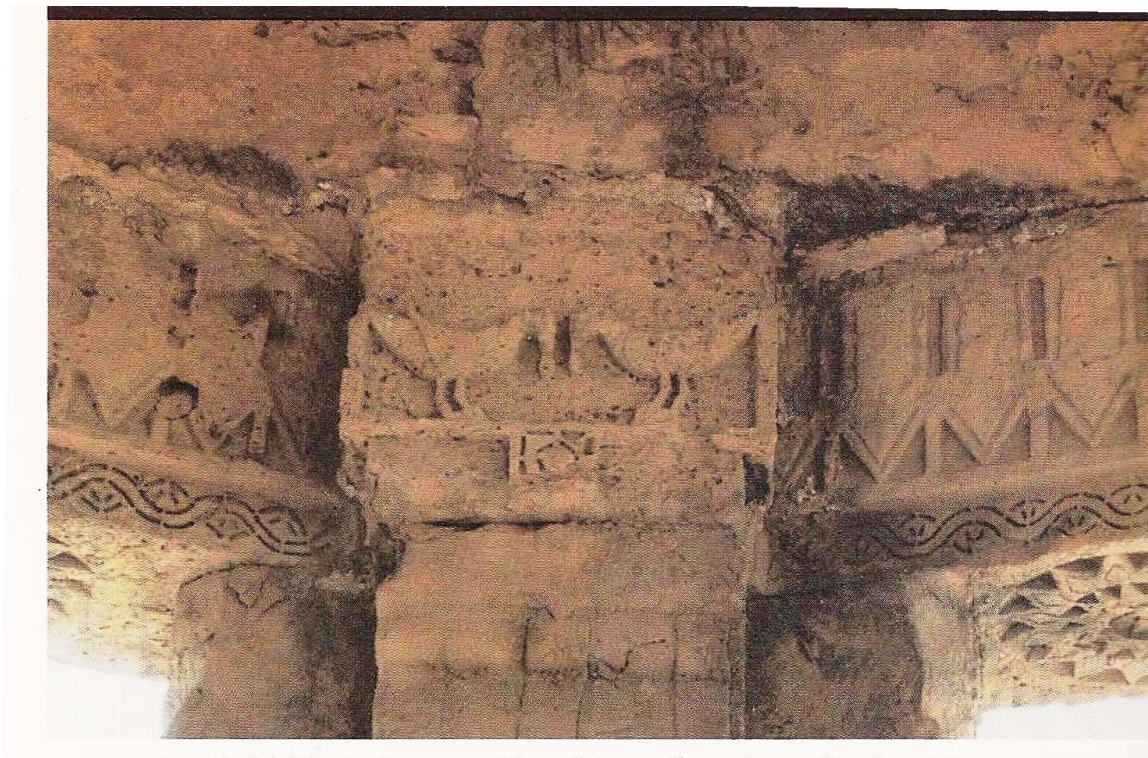


Fig 26. . Depiction of ducks facing each other at the tomb pavilion of Badi uz Zaman at Makli hills, Thatta.

3. Geometrical Motifs

Geometrical motifs are also the significant features used as the decorative motifs. Its canvas is much distinguished and broader. They depict in the form of squares, pentagons, hexagons and octagons, etc.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.112.

(xiii) Swastika

Swastika is another important motif and an ancient symbol. Its shape is like this: The bars of normal Swastika are straight of equal thickness throughout and cross each other at right angles making four arms of equal size, length and style. Their peculiarity is that all the ends are bents at right angles and in the same direction right or left. Some Scholars are of the view that true Swastika is one, arms of which are turned towards the right direction. This very form of Swastika is considered to be a solar symbol indicating the course of sun from East to West. Swastika rotating in reverse direction is taken to represent darkness of the night or ill luck or evil spirits.¹⁸⁶



Fig 27. The famous *swastika* design on a Chaukhandi grave. Main Chaukhandi graveyard Chaukhandi 17th century.

The fact remains here that yet scholars are unable to trace out the country of its origin. It is frequently occurs in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It is represented on seals from Mohenjo-Daro and has also been found at *Mehargarh* in Baluchistan.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.112-113.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.113.

The figural representation of Swastika has widely been used in Islamic countries also. For instance, it adorns the mosque of Bibi Khanum in Samarkand (1399 A.D), the tomb Tower in *Kharragan*, Iran (1607 AD) and the hospital and tomb of Izz-al-Din Kaykaus I at Sivas(1217 AD) in Turkey. In Pakistan, apart from the Chaukhandi tombs, it is also occurs on many tombs including the entrance gate of the mausoleum of Shah Baha al-Din-Zakariya at Multan (1262 AD).¹⁸⁸

(xiv) Cross

It is said that Cross is one of the oldest amulet signs of the World.¹⁸⁹ It evolved as the rude pictograph of a flying bird. An amulet protects the life of the living, while the cross as amulet placed on a tomb would also protect it. Properly interpreted, protection of the dead buried underneath means resurrection, for when the dead is in the heaven there can be no batter protection.¹⁹⁰

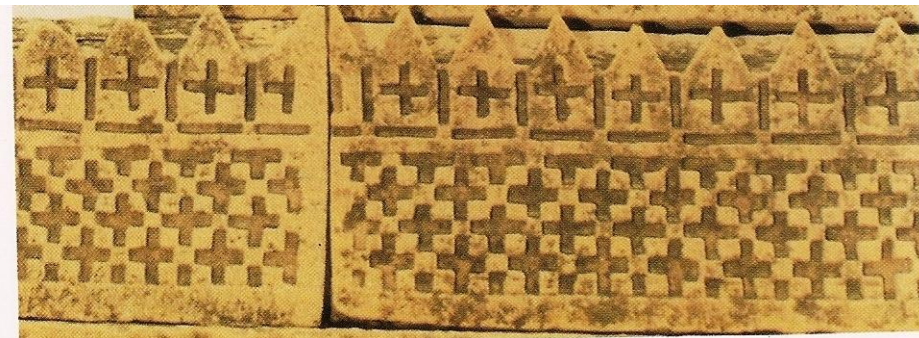


Fig.28. Grave stone from Chaukhandi having cross. (For complete photo see fig . 12)

A Roman Catholic when he seeks heavenly protection does so by making the sign of a cross which then is an actual form of a short prayer. This is best seen at Chaukhandi where the tombs are over decorated with the signs of cross. In Egyptian hieroglyphs, the Cross stands for the life or living and forms part of such words as health and happiness. The Cross is used in many forms and in association with squares. Different meanings are given to the shapes so formed. These include symbol of Heaven and Earth, Cosmic soul, life and longevity, etc.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.114.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.115.

(xv) Diaper or Chess Board pattern



Fig 29. The chess board pattern on a Chaukhandi grave.



Fig 30. Another chess board pattern at Chaukhandi graveyard.

It is supposed as an ancient pattern. Scholars are of the view that it is derived from the primitive basket-makers. This pattern, however, falls under the category of Cross and has its usual significance.¹⁹²

(xvi) Quartered Designs

It is also one of the oldest designs. It symbolizes the soul. We find depiction of this design on a seal discovered from Mohen-jo-daro and carved on polychrome vase from Mehargarh in Baluchistan.¹⁹³

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*



Fig 31. Grave from Lacto Shaikh Graveyard from sixteenth to seventeenth century. This grave also having *Mehrab*.

4. Non-Geometric Forms

Under this category we find those figures which do not have any definite geometric shape such as Zigzag patterns, herringbone motifs, chain like or *sawtooth*, checkerboards, etc.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*



Fig 32. Some non geometrical designs at Shaikh Lakho graveyard.

5. Lifeless objects

This is also an important feature of figural representation, which can be further divided into following designs:

(i) Stylised Objects

We also find stylised objects on the gravestones which comprise ribbon like meanders, water or wave designs, vase or pitchers, lamp shapes, ropes, braids and shells.¹⁹⁵

(ii) Architectural Motifs

The architectural motifs are also considered as one of the important categories of figural representation. Simulated archways and arcades of all varieties-flat, rounded, pointed, lobed are widely used as decorative motifs. Columns and pillars, which have no structural role to play, are also used to top the facades of buildings, but their shapes are common addition to the surface decorations.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.116.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

Chapter 7

Canopies (*Chhatris*)

As we believe that Chaukhandi tombs of Pakistan is peculiar funerary architecture in Sindh and Baluchistan in the sense that it's nowhere else to be found in the Islamic world. If we start looking in to e explanations that have been given by the precedents scholars for instance Mumtaz Hasan mentioned that in Sindhi Language *Chau* means Four (4) and *Kund* means Corner or pillar, so it is refer to those toms covered by a canopy or *chhatris* supported by four pillar¹⁹⁷, thus the term Chaukhandi has been considered as an architectural term and not as that Chaukhandi is the name of place.

Therefore it's important to study the Canopies (*chhatris*) and their architectural details. While we study the Chaukhandi toms, we may observe that most of the tombs in Chaukhandi are under the open sky but In Sindh and Baluchistan we may find many Tombs covered with canopies supported by pillars that are generally of the Chief of tribes and of *Dervishes*, *Sufi* saints. These types of canopies Shaikh has mentioned in some different graveyards such as Chaukhandi near Landhi, Manghopir, Makli hills Thatta, Khudabad near Hala, and chhitori near Mirpur Khas etc.

Considering only Those canopies that covered the Chaukhandi type tombs, we see that at Main Chaukhandi grave yard there are total five canopies from which two in the eastern side and three in the western side .Those in the eastern side are outside the scope of the present study since the tombs therein are not strictly of Chaukhandi type. Those in the main graveyard, only the umbrella shaped canopy (photo) and the square one (photo) are worth-mentioning.

Shaikh Khurshid being a director General archaeology Pakistan and being interested specially in Sindhology has devoted his much time for the Funerary architecture in Sindh and observed Chaukhandi tombs very Precisely , bellow are his technical observations which he describes in his book about *Chhatris* of Chaukhandi Tombs .

¹⁹⁷ Mumtaz Hasan, *Chaukhandi Tombs* IN Asiatic Pakistan, Vol.1, No.2, Karachi, March 1968, p.20.



Fig 33(a). Umbrella shaped canopy (*chhatris*) External and internal views constructed over 12 pillars.



Fig 33(b). Close view of the Fig 33(a).



Fig 33 (c) internal view of the Fig33(.a)

The umbrella shaped canopy is constructed with the support of 12 pillars. Each pillar has a plain square base (91/2"). It is surmounted by a rectangular slab (1'-10" x 1'-4") on which the shaft (5'-3") is erected. It stands on a raised square platform (30' -11"). Its height from the ground level is 2' -6", On its four corners, there are small pillars, which are capped. Their height is about 3'-4". The exterior surface of the platform is composed of three registers. The upper register on its border contains chain designs, while the lower one is decorated with leaf pattern in circles. The middle register is divided into four sections. Starting from left, the first section contains a rosette in a beaded circle, the second is composed of small circles in squares, the third is similar to the first section and the fourth is also identical with the second section. The corner pilarettes contain carvings both in floral and geometrical pattern and The umbrella shaped dome is constructed through over-lapping stone rings, which are 23 in number. Some rings contain arched panels while the few chevron motifs The exterior of the dome is lime plastered. There are eight graves in two rows. Each row has four graves. The grave of Murid bin Haji; Jokia Chief in Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan's time is third from East in the first row on the North.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁸ Canopy details is taken from Shaikh Khurshid Hasan , *Chaukhandi tombs of Pakistan*, royal book publisher, Karachi , 1996.



Fig 34. Showing a square canopy with broken dome.

Square canopy on the north-west side of Umbrella shape canopy. It is standing on a rectangular platform (27' x 17.2"). The canopy, however, measures 18' 3"x 18'-3", if the distance from one corner pillar to another is measured externally. The height of the platform from the ground level is 2'-9". The square canopy is erected with the support of 12 columns. The base of the column is in two parts. The lower part which is plain measures 5 1/2" x 1.9". The size of the upper part is 1.9" x 1.2". It is decorated with different patterns. On some, there is an arched panelling. The lower register shows cloud band or wavy lines. Below them is a rosette band. There are four graves inside the canopy with no inscriptions. Two of them are of females showing their jewellery carved in high relief. The dome of this canopy had collapsed long ago.

(source: see note 198)



Fig 35 .Close look of the Square shape canopy constructed over 12 columns.



Fig 36. General view of Square Canopy at Chaukhandi constructed over 06 columns.

There is a canopy at *Manghopir* (photo) providing shelter to the graves of some Burfat Chiefs. The canopy is erected on a two tiered platform. In the lower tier, there are two courses of stone masonry. The lower course is simple, while the upper one is carved.

It is bordered by a chain motif. The space in between the two borders is covered by two vertical lines of nail head motif. The second tier is bordered at the bottom by a chain design. The top is dotted with half diamond superimposed by a cross and crowned by a half rosette in beaded semi-circles. The face of each stone slab of the second tier is carved with different designs. For instance the stone slab on the right is divided into four compartments. The first (from right) is carved with 11 horizontal lines of small diamond motif. The second is embellished with full and half sun flowers. The third is dotted with diamond motif set in multiple square shapes. The fourth is like the second compartment.

The canopy is square in plan measuring 23'-8" with a height of 11'-8". It contains eight pillars one each at the four corners and one each in the centre of each side. The dome, collapsed long ago, seems to have been constructed through over-lapping system of lintels and corner brackets which went to transform the square into

circular base of the dome. The pillars are divided into three parts, base, shaft and the capital. The base is made of five compartments. The first in upward direction shows stepped squares with rosette in the centre. The second contains three rows of small diamonds. The third is embellished with two sets of four petalled flowers. The fourth is plain. The lower register of the fifth compartment is dotted with vertical lines, while the upper one contains quartered design. The lower part of the shaft is square in shape. It is decorated with lobed oval motif with rosette in the centre. The upper part of the shaft is octagonal in shape, achieved by chamfering the corners. It is dotted with chevron motif. Each line contains 12 motifs. The canopy has a four armed capital. The underside of the arms contain lobed oval motif similar to the one on the part of the shaft. The exterior of the arms contain a vertical line of stepped diamonds. The *Chajja*, protrudes from the parapet, is crowned with a series of merlons. The lower part of the parapet is decorated with a nail head motif running all around. The view of the canopy in its original shape can be had by having a look on the sketch drawn by T.N. Allan in 1843 A. D.(Photo).The lower part of the canopy was originally enclosed up to the base of pillars by a perforated screen, with an opening on its east. (*N.B all technical data is taken from Shaikh see foot note 198*)

There are some Chaukhandi type tombs in the graveyard of Jam of Lasbela about 8 kilometres to the north of *Bela* town. The place is locally known as *Tharie*. There is a square canopy (photo) constructed with the support of eight columns; one each at the four corners and one on each side in the centre. There are three graves of (a) *Sakina Bai Azeeza Jam Bijar Jokhia* (b) *Bibi Jam Ghulam Shah-1190 A.H.* and (c) *Jam Ghulam Shah Jamot (1190 A.H.)* The base of the pillars is decorated with some floral designs. The dome since collapsed, was constructed with the same technique as discussed above. It has also a *Chajja*, partially collapsed. Just below the *Chajja*, there is a perforated screen on all its four sides. The corners on the top were crowned with pilarettes. One of them is still standing. An interesting feature of the canopy is that in one of its entrances, spandrels carved in beautiful design, have been inserted. They give the appearance of an arched opening. Similar arches are also noticed in the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan at Makli Hills, Thatta (seventeenth-century A.D.).

In Lakho Shaikh (Baluch) Graveyard at Malir (North-East of Malir Cantt) and close to *Thado Nadi*, the remains of an umbrella shaped canopy are still visible. The platform, with the bases of 12 pillars is still intact. In the fallen debris, complete pieces of shafts, capitals, brackets etc. are very much there. The collapsed canopy, in its original shape, must have been like the one at Chaukhandi. The canopy is said to be belonging to one *MalikTuta*. As such it is known as *Tuta-i-Chaukhandi*. In the fallen debris, Shaikh has found a stone slab on which *Tuta* was clearly visible. The inscriptional evidence, therefore, confirms beyond doubt that the canopy enshrines

the mortal remains of *Malik Tuta*. He was said to be a Chief of Kalmati Baluch tribe.

From the foregoing, it will be observed that the canopies over the tombs were erected in pre-Muslim architectural traditions by adopting the trabeate form of construction. The domes were raised with the support of pillars, lintels and brackets. It appears that the builders of Chaukhandi tombs took inspirations from the style of architecture prevalent in Samma period (14-16th cent. A.D.) at Makli Hills, Thatta. A number of canopies of Samma period ranging from octagonal to square in plan are located at Makli Hills, Thatta.

The decoration through carvings on umbrella shaped canopy at Chaukhandi is mostly based on pre-Muslim motifs as are noticed on the tomb of Jam *Nizamuddin Nindo* (16th cent. AD.) at Makli Hills, Thatta. The decorative motifs on the square canopies both at Chaukhandi and Manghopir are an amalgam of pre-Muslim and Muslim traditions. The motifs pertaining to Muslim period are floral in nature as are found on Tarkhans tombs at Makli Hills, Thatta, like those of Tughral Baig and Jan Baba (seventeenth- cent. A.D.)

Chapter 8

Depiction of Jewellery on Chaukhandi Tombs.

The people of Sindh like other part of Pakistan had a passion for self adornment since time immemorial. The artefacts recovered through archaeological excavations from ancient sites in Sindh bear eloquent testimony to the use of jewellery by the women fold.

The Chaukhandi type's graves of the females depict their ornaments. The ornaments are carved in relief on the head side also on the leg side. Those on the head side include necklace, bracelets, air-rings, finger rings, armllets, nose-rings etc. sometimes instead of a necklace *hansli* or *meena* necklace is depicted. Anklets find their place on the leg side.¹⁹⁹

Jewellery depictions appears on women's tombs from the last third of the seventeenth century onward. In two-level tombs, the description are usually placed on slab at the head end of the upper casket; if this slab is not sufficient, the surface at the foot end is used as well. At the foot end, only ringlets—often anklets—are shown although, based on the description alone, a clear distinction between bracelets and anklets is not always possible. Bracelets and anklets are generally similar, but the later are usually larger and heavier. Extend of the jewellery collection is usually in direct proportion to the elaborateness of the tomb itself, and may, therefore, similarly reflects the status and the wealth of the owner.²⁰⁰

In Chaukhandi tombs we may observe the depiction of jewellery on the graves from simple to rich designs, for instance the following plate from main Chaukhandi graveyard carries the depiction of necklace set with precious stones, pearls, or similar jewels, with an opening on its back. The pairs of different bracelets are arranged symmetrically on each side of the necklace. The shape of Bracelet is O type like bangles; a range of six different finger rings is included between and above the bracelets along the side edges. While on each side on upper place it has a pair of ear-rings (*Jhumkas*) having hooks, and a long *Jhoomar*.

¹⁹⁹ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan , *Op.Cit.*, p.149.

²⁰⁰ Hastenrath, *Op.Cit.*, p.99.



Fig.37. Depiction of Jewellery from main Chaukhandi graveyard, sixteenth, seventeenth-century.

In another Plate from Chaukhandi graveyard mentioned by Hastenrath The jewellery arrangement is formed by a board, flat necklace set with precious stones with a small rhomboid projection to the front. The front part of the necklace is richly decorated, while the design in the nape area is much simpler: an opening can be seen at the back of it.²⁰¹

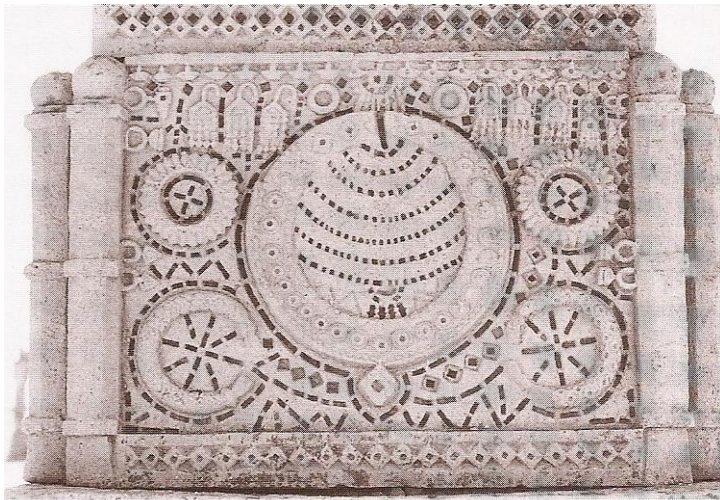


Fig.38. Tomb at Chaukhandi graveyard later half of the seventeenth-century.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.100.

The pairs of different bracelets are arranged symmetrically on each side of the neck let. The upper pair is circular and do not have a recognizable opening: around a smooth inner ring, thick, bulging points are formed round the outside. The lower pair of bracelets has a C shape, i.e. with an opening at one side, with the two ends each bracelets having strikingly designed pommels. The lower bracelets have a slightly bulged line, with a round cross-section, and they are decorated in delicate relief.



Fig 39. Tomb at Chaukhandi graveyard, later half of seventeenth-century.

In above plate at the foot end of this tomb, as at Chaukhandi, ringlets arranged as two pairs, one below the other, are found; the upper pair is circular and serrated on the outer side, and the lower pair is C-shaped. Due to the broad format of the foot area, a vertical ornament consisting of a rosette and half-rosette is introduced between the ringlets, as is also seen in a tomb lying in Hinidan cemetery.

A tomb in the Chaukhandi cemetery marked with the name “Ustad Inayatullah” was probably built during the last twenty years of the seventeenth-century. On a common platform, it contains a two level woman’s tomb and a flat woman’s tomb

probably a child's grave. Jewellery is only displayed at the head end of the large tomb, but with unusually fine detail.



Fig 40. Women grave having an inscription “*Ustaad InayatUllah*”, from Chaukhandi tombs late seventeenth-century.

A number of the jewellery items have familiar forms a chain with boat-shaped elements; smooth, simple rings; pendants; two pairs of bracelets in different shapes; and eight finger rings. However, the broad, flat neck let is replaced by a necklace consisting of chain links hanging one within the other. It has a leaf-shaped pendant at the front, with slight relief decoration, and a fastening at the back.

The same type of necklace is also found in several jewellery stabs from the end of the seventeenth-century or beginning of the eighteenth century at Chaukhandi and *Manghopir*. This item of jewellery is also frequently used as an often repeated decorative element. On the woman's gravestone in a double grave at Chaukhandi, for example, it is depicted on both sides twice. In a double grave at *Manghopir* from

the end of the seventeenth-century or beginning of the eighteenth, necklaces of this type are used all round the plinth.

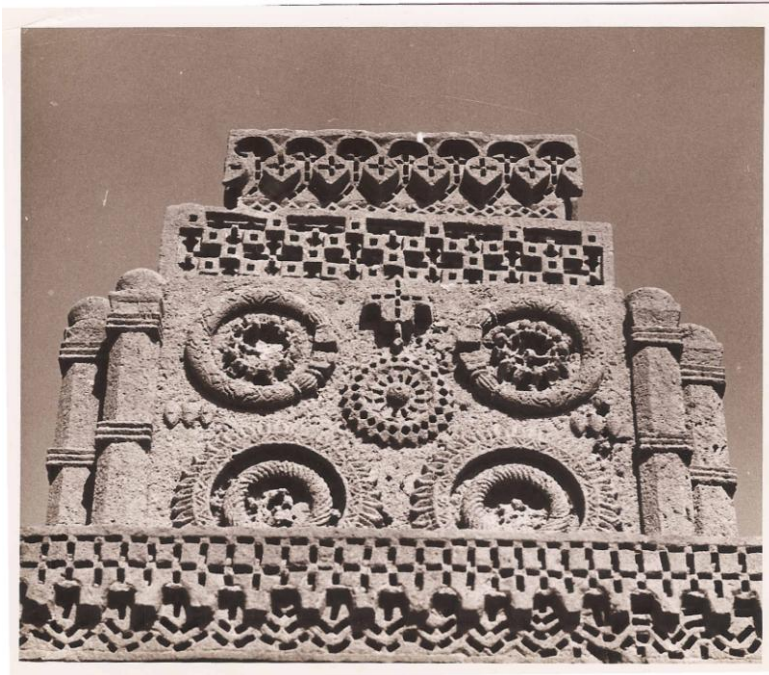


Fig 41. Jewellery Depiction From Mangho Pir graveyard, later half of seventeenth-century.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, decoration of the background using slit patterns is generally abandoned. The traditional arrangements are maintained, but the range of jewellery depicted is altered and extended. The jewellery slab at the head end of the double grave at *Manghopir* has the familiar flat necklace at the centre of the arrangements.²⁰²

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p.105.

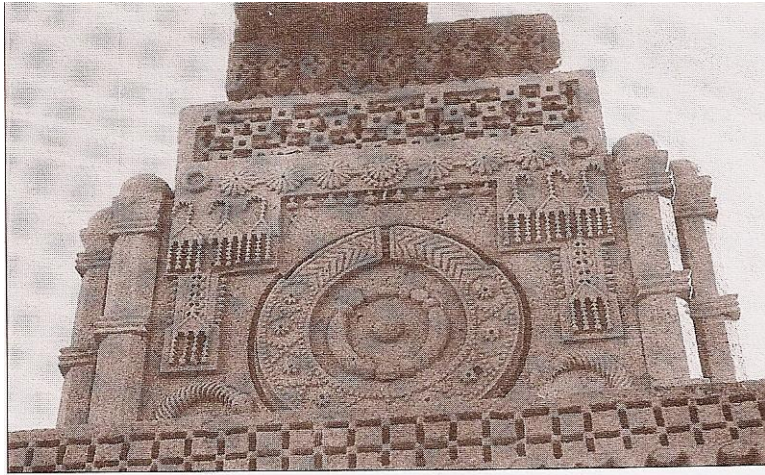


Fig. 42. Tomb at *Manghopir*, late seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Another plate from *Gujjo* near Thatta suggests the same jewellery in Vogue as in *Manghopir* and *Chaukhandi*.

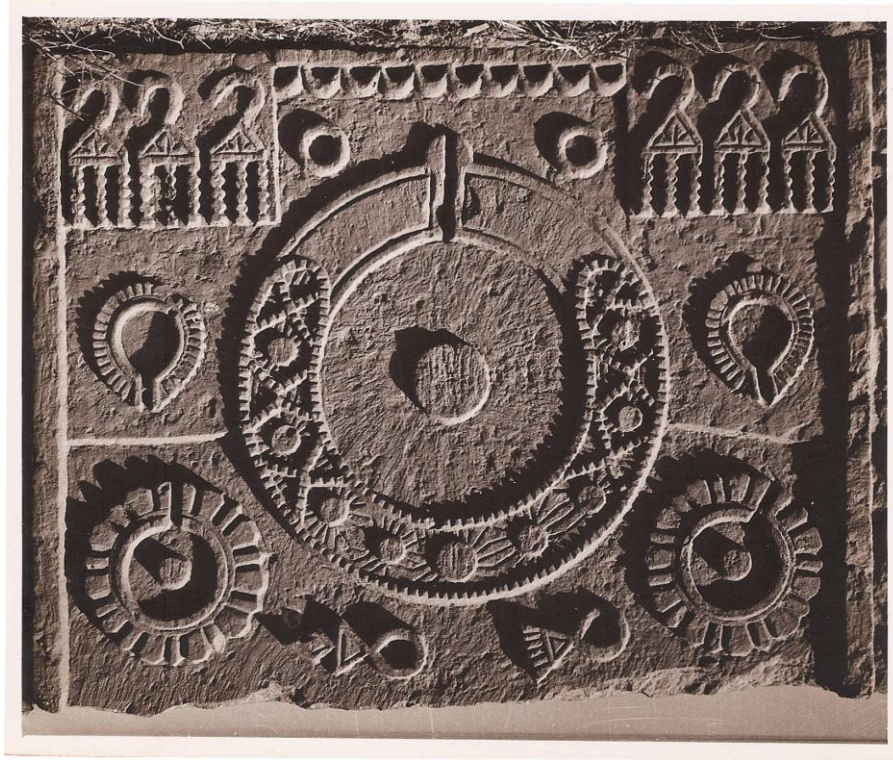


Fig.43. Tombs from *Gujjo* graveyard having different item of jewellery on women graves belongs from fifteenth to seventeenth century. From fifteen, sixteenth and up to half of the Seventeenth Century.

Here above we gain see the Central necklace is highly rich with the jewels and precious stone while on the each side bracelet with little opening can be observed. The necklace has also its self a little opening on its back. While two Anklets are

seems placed on the upper side of each padalant and its having the two finger rings on the lower side of slab under the necklace.

A tomb in the cemetery at Chaukhandi dating from around the mid-eighteenth century, which already has a gravestone using the new barrel shape, has the same type of ringlets at the foot end, again with a rather oddly arranged collection of jewellery at the head end. The centre is occupied by the type of nose ring, enclosed within a necklace of bundled string of pearls similar to that seen in the previous tomb. This in turn is surrounded by a second, narrow necklet, which terminates at the back with ends curving out towards each side. The necklet is divided into several sections, some of which are angular or oval. On each side of it, there are smooth, simple rings below and two finger rings, with bracelets above reversing the arrangement that was customary earlier. The upper edge is formed by a chain of flower shaped elements, similar to that on the double grave at *Manghopir*.

The jewellery panels on the two canopied tombs found to the east of the main part of the Chaukhandi cemetery show that the jewellery items displayed in the seventeenth century did not go out of fashion.

The jewellery items shown at the foot ends of the four women's graves are similar. There is a pair of C-shaped ringlets and a pair of round ones with serrations on the outside producing a star like shape.



Fig.44. Tombs at Chaukhandi grave yards later half of the Eighteenth Century. Photo by writer

In the tomb lying closer to the main area of the cemetery, all the jewellery items on the head ends of the two women's tombs are identical. In the traditional arrangements, the flat, wide necklet occupies the centre. Inside it there is a necklace of pezoid platelets, already often seen on seventeenth-century tombs; the nose-ring is inserted inside this. The two bracelets are arranged on each side below the necklet, and shows a particularly fine degree of elaboration, not previously encountered: around a narrow inner bracelet there is a higher one, with chased points tapering outwards. On the outside, it has pins with round ends, which are connected to each other by a thin ring and the top edge concludes with two pendants attached to chain.



Fig.45. Tomb at Chaukhandi grave yard later half of the Eighteenth Century.

In the more distant canopied tomb, probably of a later date than the first, the jewellery depictions at the head end of the tombs are more richly decorated. They surpass all previous jewellery collections in extent, and the contents differ from one another as well. In the left tomb the jewellery depicted on the central piece corresponds to the although in this case all four rings have been placed in the upper left corner.



Fig.46. Tombs at Chaukhandi Tombs carries item of Jewellery , Later half of the Eighteenth Century.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the selection of jewellery items displayed at the head end is usually severely reduced; decoration of the foot end with a single pair of ringlets becomes the rule. New forms of jewellery items are no longer seen.

Chapter 9

Epigraphy in Chaukhandi Tombs

Despite the question of prohibition of building structures over graves and tombs be used as place of worship. The tradition of tomb building and of praying at tombs is therefore long established and is still quite common. In Chaukhandi not much attention has been given towards the epigraphy on tombs , in Previous chapters over the Controversy of term Chaukhandi we have seen the Inscription found in main Chaukhandi grave yard over the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji which contains the word Chaukhandi along with the name of deceased as follow.²⁰³



Fig.47. Inscription over the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji at main Chaukhandi graveyard. (chapter1, Fig No.6)

²⁰³ See (chapter 1, Sheikh, ref.55 , Kaleem Lashari, ref .57)

لا الا الله محمد رسول الله

جام مرید بن حاجی صاحب چوکنڈے

Another grave is discussed, that is only one of the tombs at Chaukhandi was dated by the date of death Inscribed on it with the numbers in reverse orders as AH-1169 (AD 1756).²⁰⁴

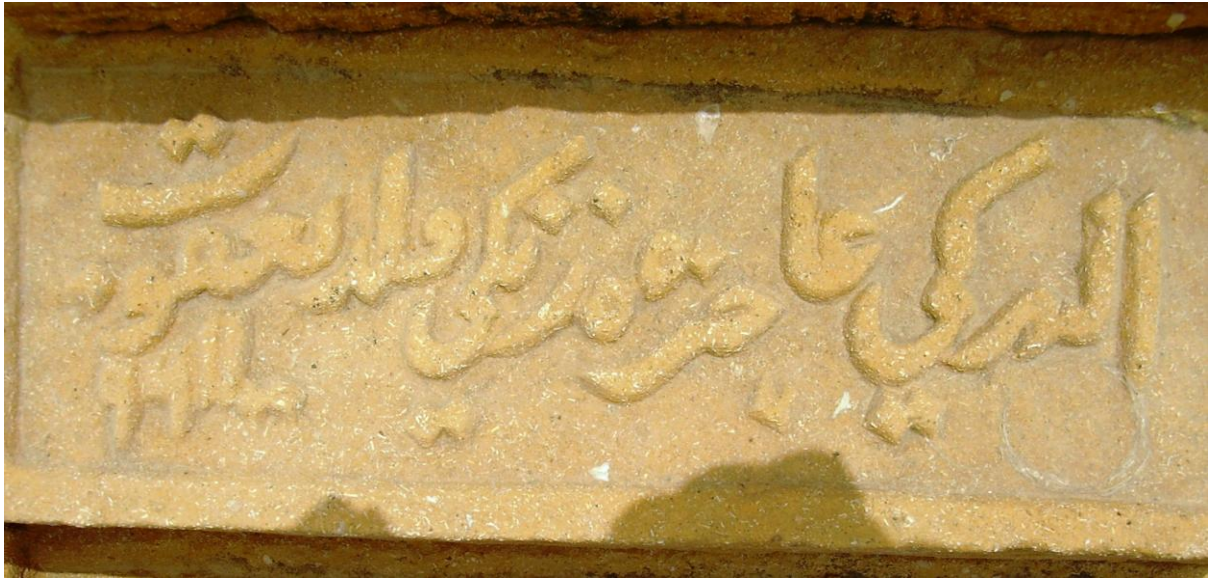


Fig.48. Grave at main Chaukhandi graveyard having inscription of the death date in reverse order as AH-1169 (AD 1756) , “Allah Rakhi Ajizah Mazanki Daughter of Yaqub 9611”

الله رکی عا جزه مزنکی ولد یعقوب ۹۶۱۱

The placing of inscriptions on the grave and on the tomb building is closely connected with the position of the dead body in the grave. Since the feet of the dead are always kept to the south and to the grave, the south side of the sarcophagus

²⁰⁴

Hastenrath , op.cit. page 5

never contains any Quranic inscriptions. Such an act would be considered disrespectful.²⁰⁵

In the absence of Quranic inscriptions, the south side is filled either with Persian or Urdu poetry, a chronogram or simply by the genealogy of the deceased. A similar attitude is maintained towards the eastern longitudinal side. Since the corpse is placed with the face turned to the west it is also considered disrespectful to have Quranic inscriptions on the side from which the face of the corpse is turned. In these circumstances only the north and west elevations and the surface of the grave are left. These are given Quranic inscriptions. In the case of cenotaphs these strict practices are generally relaxed and the Quranic inscriptions appear on the east side as well, but the south is still considered unsuitable for Quranic texts. This is of course not without exceptions.

The Quranic inscriptions used on graves and funerary monuments in Pakistan can be classified into five major categories:²⁰⁶

- a. *Suras and Ayats*
- b. *The Ayat al Kursi*
- c. *The Bismillah*
- d. *The Kalimas*
- e. *The attributes of God (Sifat)*

Suras and Ayats

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

One such *Sura* which is short and occurs on graves is the *Sura (Al-Fatiha)* this *Sura* is inscribed in nasta'liq characters on the top portion of the grave of Mir Masum at Sukkur. *Sura* is also known under various other names. It is spoken of as *sab*

²⁰⁵ Shaukat Mahmood, *Epigraphy in Pakistani tombs*, (Hamdard Islamicus, Vol.VIII ,No.4,1985),pp77-94.

²⁰⁶ *ibid*

'anmina'l mathant or the seven most often repeated by every Muslim at least thirty two times a day. The *Sura* is also spoken of as the *Fatih*, at "No prayer is complete without the recitation of fatih at *Al-Kitab*. It is therefore, also called the *Surat Al-Kitab* the chapter of prayer.

The *Fatiha* is also called "The Grand Quran" as it contains the essence of the whole of the Quran Surprisingly it does not occur on any other tomb of significance in Pakistan including Chaukhandi tomb.

Isolated Ayat

Apart from the use of complete *Suras* on certain tombs and graves some *Ayat* have also been used on a number of burial monuments. The selection of these *Ayat* mainly depends on the choice of the relatives of the deceased or the patrons who were responsible for the construction of the graves and *mausolea* in questions. The first part of this verse "every soul will taste of death" is, however, used on a number of mouse gravestones at Makli Hill. In Chukhandi Tombs we find the following *Ayat* written on a tomb.



Fig.49. Inscription of Ayat Kalima at main Chaukhandi Tombs.

The Ayat Al-Kursi

According to *Ibn Jubair* “His *Kursi* is His Knowledge”. The word *Kursi* is freely used in Arabic to indicate knowledge or learning and a learned man is called ahl Al-*Kursi*. There is an Arabic proverb, *Heraunasi Al-Kursi*, which means that the best of men are the men of learning. The *Ayat* is inscribed inside the mausoleum of Ala Al-Din at *Pakpattan*, and on the graves of Mir Masum and Mir Safa at Sukkur and the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan at Makli. In Chaukhandi tomb we find *Ayat Al kursi* on the grave of Jam Mureed bin Haji .



Fig.50. Tombs from main Chaukhandi tomb with inscription of *ayat Al-Kursi*.

The *Bismillah*

The *Bismillah* is found on almost every grave and mausoleum which has inscription. In some cases, such as the graves of Mir Masum and his father. Certain other examples which have the *Bismillah* in chaste and elegant characters are as follows:

1. Anonymous tomb, Makli, dated 808/1397.
2. Mausoleum of Bah Al-Haqq, Multan (designed in beautiful *naskhi* characters in a roundel).
3. Zanana tombs, Makli

The *Kalima-yi Tayyibah* or *Shahadah*

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

The finest examples of the *Kalima* and *shahadah* are found on the grave of Is Khan Tarkhan, Makli; the tomb of *Shahbaz Qalandar*, Sehwan; the tombs of Shah Shams Tabriz, *Rukn-i-Alam*, and Baha al-Haqq, Multan; the zanana tombs, Makli; the tomb of Diwan Shurfa Khan, Makli and the tombs of Ali Hujwiri, Emperor Jahangir and Nawwa Tank at Lahore.

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



Fig .51. Kalima Incrised on a tomb at main Chaukhandi grave yard.

The Attributes of Allah

The regular recitation of various attributes of Allah is considered the most pious of religious acts. The Muslims believe that the constant recitation of God’s attributes invokes God’s immense mercies.

The practice of writing the attributes on the sarcophagus or cenotaph received a great boost in the Mughal period. The tomb of Akbar at *Sikandrah* is the first major cenotaph of the period to be inscribed with the ninety nine attributes of Allah.²⁰⁷ The example set by Akbar’s tombs was followed vigorously by his son whose cenotaph at Lahore is decorated with exquisite inlay work bearing the ninety nine attributes of Allah in *naskhi* all carved in white marble and filled with black marble.

²⁰⁷ E.W.Smith “Akbar’s tomb at Sikandrah”, Archaeological Survey of India,xxxv (Allahabad 1909)

The tradition set by Akbar and his son Jahangir was followed through the period of Mughal rule and the cenotaphs and sarcophagi of not only the emperors but also of the ruling elite and *umara*²⁰⁸ were also adorned with the attributes of Allah.

Non Quranic Epigraphy in Tombs

The non Quranic epigraphy used in funerary contexts falls into five major categories²⁰⁹ and we mostly found on Chaukhandi tombs.

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

Poetry in Praise of the Deceased

The group of inscriptions provide very interesting examples of poetry. The verses which are used for graves are either especially composed for this purpose or are carefully chosen from the work of well known poets. The major language of this poetry has remained Persian throughout.

²⁰⁸

²⁰⁹ *ibid*



Fig.52. Right wall of the Tombs at Chaukhandi with Persian Poetry inscribed on it.

دنيا همه محبت کار دنيا همه هج Tr. The love will never die but this world (life) will finish.



Fig.53. Left wall of the same tomb above inscribed with the second part of Persian Poetry at main Chaukhandi tombs.

زهين بآمدل مسجد كار دنيا همه هج Tr. Love to the Mosque because this world (life) will finish.

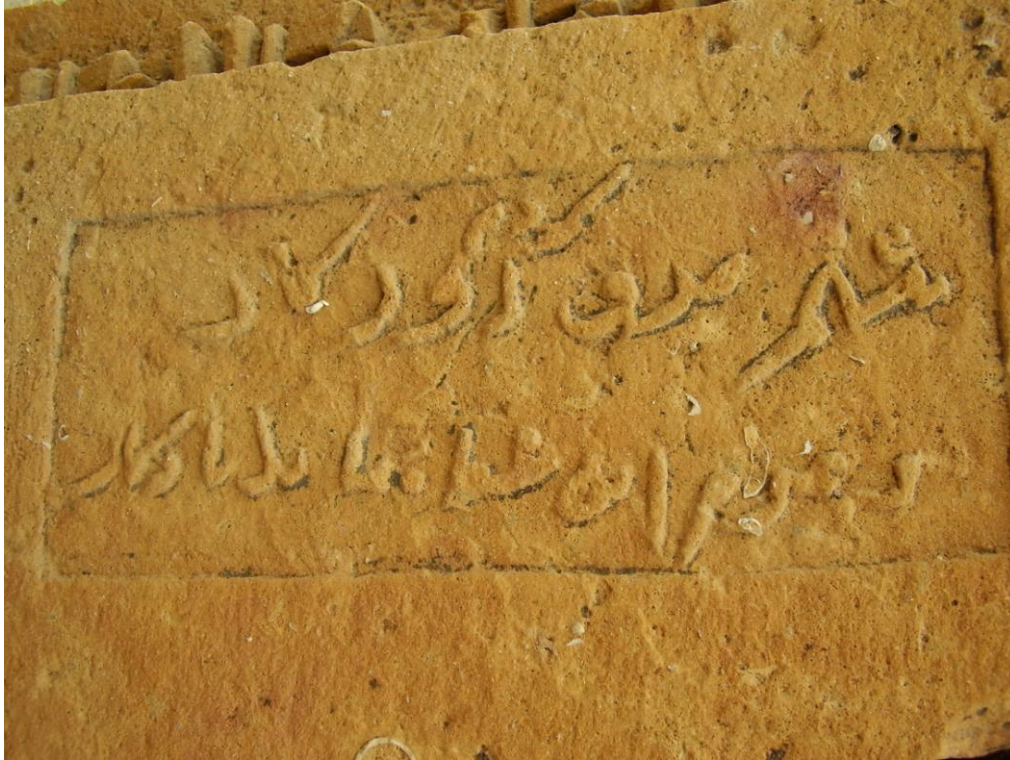


Fig. 54. Tombs at Chukhandi tombs with inscription of a Persian Poetry.

نوشتم حرف آوردگار
من نما نم این خط بما نند یادگار

Tr. Whatever i write, i write for God

When i will nomore these inscriptions will make me remeber

Date of Death

Wherever inscriptions are provided on graves the date of death is recorded. Very rarely is there any exception. The most popular fashion of recording the date was by

a poetical chronogram. In such chronograms the date was concealed in a few words or in the whole of a hemistich, particularly in the last couplet. Some examples now follow in which the exact date or simply the year of death is given in numerals, thereby avoiding the customary method of composing chronograms in verses based on abjad computation. It should be noted that dates on graves without poetical computation. It should be noted that dates on graves without poetical chronograms are quite rare.

The grave of Mah Baigah on Makli Hill gives the date as. 1000.

(Tr.) "Death of Mah Baigah (occurred in the year) 1000 A.H"

In the cemetery of Mir Masum in Sukkur there are a number of graves of insignificant personages. One such grave is that of one Atiq Allah. This records the year of death as follows:

(Tr) "On Thursday in the month of Rajab Al-Murajjab (in the year) 1037 A.H., he reached the rank of martyrdom".

In Chaukhandi as given above we may find only one grave that has a year 1169 A.H. Due to absence of dates at graves the real date and age of Chaukhandi tombs remain controversial.

Name of the Person Buried and His / Her Genealogy

In Chaukhandi tombs we find a number of tombs having name of the deceased and some of them carry genealogy restricted to the inscription found from the man Chaukhandi to the name of father. Most of the inscription found from the man Chaukhandi graveyard and Shaikh *Lakho* grave yard (Also called Malik Tuta graveyard) Near Malir cantt. Carries the name of their deceased and in genealogy, father name along with the name of deceased. These graves help us to know about the Tribes buried in Chaukhandi tombs for instance various graves in Main Chaukhandi Tombs having name Jokhia while in Shaikh Lakho graveyard that is attributed with Kalmati tribe caring name Tuta . Following are inscription of Genealogy of deceased buried in Chaukhandi tombs.



Fig.55. Inscription from main Chaukhandi Tombs “*B.B. Begham bin Jam*”.

بی بی بیغم بن جام



Fig.56. Inscription on main Chaukhandi tombs attributed to Jokhias “*Dir wald Jam Bazaar*”

دیر ولد جام بچار



Fig. 57. Inscription at main Chaukhandi tombs “*Bay bi papa bin Jam Mehar Ali*”

بے بی پا پن جام مہر علی



Fig. 58. Inscription on a tombs at Lakho Shaikh Graveyard “*Sirkin Tuta*”

سر کن طوطا



Fig. 59. Inscription at Lakho Shaikh Graveyard. “*Panney bin Malik Qalboo khan*”

پنے بن ملک کلبو خان



Fig. 60. . Inscription on a women tomb at Lakho Shaikh grave yard, (*Asna Dad Sirkan*)

ا ثنا داد سر کن



Fig.61. Tomb at *Lakho Shaikh* graveyard with inscription "*Raji Sobal*"

راجی سوبال



Fig.62. Tombs at Lakho Shaikh graveyard with inscription of genealogy of deceased. “Izzat Bin Malik Si Dil Khan”
ازت بن ملک سی دل خان

Conclusion

Before starting this study, a basic question that always comes in mind, that when in Sindh, we may find a mature and developed Indigenous Architecture of ancient period. why don't we find any specific buildings or remains attributed with the communities buried in Chaukhandi tombs, because not only the age of Chaukhandi is controversial but also its is less known, that what type of dwelling they had , what types of pottery and utensils they had used, and what was their social life. I keep this basic question in my mind and time to time ask different scholars of their experiences, and local people to hear about their legends.

Addressing the basic question that when the graves are remarkable due to their elaborated stone carving and one can assumed that the family of the deceased must also be in good financial condition so what was their other way of life. Shaikh Khurshid has quoted me a tradition that people of Sindh and Baluchistan believes in the concept of *manzil* and *maqam* about their lifestyle. They believe this life is in transit, and the life after death is a *maqam* means destiny. Therefore they built their dwelling mostly with mud bricks and they made their madam with sandstone (graveyards). I believe that this argument partially satisfied the question but not whole, as we see in some different parts of Karachi that Sindhi and Baluch tribes are still living in the houses that are built with mud bricks and their dwellings called *Goth* (a Baluchi or Sindhi living area where they live in their old rural life style.)

Regarding the meaning and connotation of Chaukhandi a detail study has been done above, that whether it's an architectural term or name of a place. A number of scholars agree, that it's an architectural term, but present fact is that the local people used the word Chaukhandi, to mention a single grave even today, but they are confined to the this particular type of architecture that is already recognised as the term Chaukhandi. Presently the local people use the word Chaukhandi to mention the deceased for instance Chaukhandi of Tutu, Chaukhandi of jam Moored. Here, argument of Kaleen Lasher gets support that the word *Sahib E Chaukhandi* shall be read in compound and not alone therefore this argument finds the support that Chaukhandi is an architectural term and not the name of a place.

Another question that raises, when Vogel has mentioned these types of tombs in archaeological survey of India. Why the Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh, 1876 not having any records about the Chaukhandi Tombs with its name. The said gazetteer has full record about the Makli hills Tombs and even some of the famous tombs have been indicated by the Gazetteer on other hand Gazetteer speaks of the population in *Jerruk* where we may see the most of tribes believed to be lying buried in Chaukhandi graveyard. Archaeological survey of India 1920, does not also contains the tombs of Karachi with Chaukhandi .It seems that the said British authorities were taking Chaukhandi Tombs in Makli hills tombs, due to the similar vicinity of the area between these sites, and secondly because of same languages, i.e.; Sindhi and Baluchi are widely spoken, both in Thatta and the areas in Karachi and Baluchistan where these tombs were found.

Hastenrath has mentioned that the significance of the Chuakhandi tombs that is far beyond that they are attributed as Baluch tombs. In the opinion of present writer that no doubt that the Chaukhandi tombs has influences from Gujarat and specially Rajput influences in their architecture but its hardly possible that in this region some other tribes apart from Baluch and Sindhis are buried.

With regard to Figural representation and depictions of jewellery one may reconstruct the social life of the communities and tribes lying buried here and its seems that they were well developed in sense of their war fare and also in routine life as one may see their sense of making jewellery.

Above in all chapters a detail discussion has been made and no doubt we are in an urgent need to preserve the Chaukahndi tombs. Pakistani government not only should take immediate steps but also should have some authentic cultural cooperation with other countries so these unique grave yards can be saved.

Appendix A

In an addition to Introduction

The *Pir* and the Institution of the Shrine By Jurgen Wasim Frembgen

The *Pir* and the Institution of the Shrine²¹⁰

The ritual veneration of saints, a distinctly institutionalized form of popular Sufi tradition, developed somewhere between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. It replaced the direct contact with God as it existed in the pure mysticism of early Islam by veneration of the *pir* as mediator to the Absolute. In the cult of the saints the specific search for mystical experience is replaced by the practical quest for salvation in everyday life.

As a result there arose a mass movement of pious believers who visit the shrine with their cares and suffering in order to find consolation and relief. At the same time, the tomb represents a concentration of the *baraka* of the saint, a central source from which positive energy emanates. This charismatic power is transferred to blood descendants or suitable successors (*sajjada-nashins*, *gaddi-nashins*) of the saint. The acting *pir* inherits the dignity of the deceased and even acquires the status of a saint. The healing and blessing power received from God and passed on in a chain (*silsila*) from his predecessors flows from the *pir* to the believers who venerate him. He intercedes for people with God, and Sufis therefore believe that no friendship with God is possible until one has placed his hand into that of a *pir*.

The faithful receive the blessing through direct contact with the source of strength at the saint's shrine and through their close ties to a living *pir*. The latter leads his followers and disciples (*murids*) on the spiritual path; he is a healer of their soul, an interpreter of dreams and gives them—especially in personal crises and conflicts—practical advice which works like a 'key in a lock' within a *piri-muridi* relationship." Naming by the *pir* is considered auspicious. Through his powerful gaze, his breath and his touch, he gives his blessing and protection. Extreme reversals are part of the symbolic language of the *baraka* power in which impurity is transformed into purity: For example, disciples drink the water which has been used by a living saint to wash himself, swallow his saliva and sputum and rub themselves with dirt scraped off his feet. The saint's power is often experienced as ambivalent: As long as his devotees are obedient and venerate him in the proper way, the holy man is benevolent and rewarding, but fear and punishment are certain for those who do not follow his commands.

Women account for most of the lay devotees who turn to their *pir* with their everyday needs. Often they ask him for children, especially to give birth to a son. Sometimes women approach not only major saints and Sufis but also peripatetic

²¹⁰ Jurgen Wasim Frembgen, *Journey To God , Sufis and Dervishes in Islam*, OUP, Karachi. 2008. pp.30-36

dervishes with their desire to bear children. The children who are then born are often called Faqir/Faqira or Qalandar bakhsh ('gift of the Qalandar').

Confidence in the miraculous powers of a saint is not restricted to the common people. Filled with the desire for a son, the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1542-1605) visited Shaikh Salim (d.1572), a Sufi belonging to the Chishti order, who lived on a hill near Sikri, a village not far from Agra in northern India. The *shaikh* promised the ruler that he would have three sons of which the first should be named Salim after him." The mother bore the son in the house of the Sufi and called him Mohammad Salim. In 1605 he ascended to the throne as Emperor Jahangir.

The *pir* residing at a shrine is usually said to possess healing powers and special knowledge such as the ability to predict the future. In Indo-Pakistan, he even acts as an exorcist. Along with curing people possessed by spirits and other mental diseases—a role which he shares with shamans—the *pir* distributes amulets upon request and gives instructions on how to take certain medication. Frequently he writes down sacred words from the Qur'an which then serve as an amulet (*ta'wiz*), and in exchange receives gifts (*jutuh*) from the faithful. This is a widespread custom at shrines which also provides a living for the dervishes. What can be achieved by the sale of amulets under certain circumstances is shown by the historic example of a certain Shah 'Abdul Ghafur. This dervish rose in the first half of the eighteenth century under the rule of the Mughal emperors Bahadur Shah and Mohammad Shah to become an influential courtier and noble who for twelve years played a critical role in shaping imperial policy. He obtained his power above all because he made effective amulets for women of the royal harem, and also through interpreting dreams and predicting the future. Ultimately, even Nawab Qudsiya Begum, Mohammad Shah's mother, became his devotee. Shah 'Abdul Ghafur thus became very wealthy and was considered a saint already in his lifetime.

Material enrichment of non-peripatetic *pirs* and *shaikhs* at the expense of the faithful devoted to them has always been condemned. Peripatetic dervishes have also sharply criticized the secularization of the 'people of the lodge'. Numerous proverbs and idioms mock the expectations of gifts which border on greed. The Turkmens, for example, say: 'an *ishan* has five stomachs, one is always empty.' And a proverb from eastern Turkestan warns, 'Do not seek out saints unless you bring gifts. Bring at least an onion if you want them to pray for you.' The dependency of simple believers in '*pirism*, (Indo-Pakistan), '*ishanism*' (Central Asia) and '*maraboutism*' (North Africa) has often been condemned as a degeneration of Sufism. Often it was overlooked that the *pir* generously distributed the gifts he received to his followers and supported them in emergencies. Large shrines and important Sufi lodges finance themselves partly through extensive religious

endowments (*waqf*) in the form of estates and cash as well as through the contributions of the members of the order.

Being a follower of a *pir*, who is at the same time the head of a Sufi order, also implies political loyalty. As will be explained in greater detail later, saints' families are often closely linked to political rulers and groups which promote them. On the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent, *sajjada-nashins* had been even directly integrated in the Mughal administration. To this day *pirs* often support political rulers. However, not only do politicians and members of orders belong to the local networks of *pires*, but-as for example in Afghanistan-so do *'ulamas* heading *madrasas*. In the Muslim tribal societies of North Africa and the Middle East, saints function as mediators and arbitrators in all kinds of conflicts. Among the Berbers, they also monitor the election of tribal chiefs. The Gujar 'Ubaidullah (c.1850-1926; called Babaji Larvi), a Sufi associated with the Naqshbandiyya, was closely linked to the formation of the Bakkarwal society as a charismatic political leader. From the Hazara district in northern-most Punjab, he moved with his followers to Kashmir and opened up new space for living for this group of nomads.

Persons with the status of a saint, who belong to orthodox, law-abiding Sufism and are organized in orders, usually come from the established upper class and represent rather conservative politics. As an example, attention is called here only to Afghanistan where the Gilani (also jilani) family, originally from Baghdad and belonging to the moderate orthodox Qadiriyya, held an extremely influential position particularly in the eastern and southern parts of the country. The current *pir*, Sayyid Ahmad Gilani, is linked by marriage to the former Pashtun ruling dynasty of the Mohammadzai. He founded the *mahaz-i Islami* ('Islamic Front') which-like the *jabha-yi nejat-i milli* ('National Liberation Front') led by the Naqshbandi Sibghatullah Mujaddidi-played an important role in the resistance in Afghanistan.

In contrast to the Gilani Sufi family, the Mujaddidi, members of a reformed Indian branch of the Naqshbandiyya, are very orthodox. Belonging to this branch are conservative religious scholars and functionaries who uphold the *shari'a* (religious law). Neither in Afghanistan and Indo-Pakistan nor in Turkey during the time of Ottoman rule, could a clear distinction be made between orthodox Sufis and *'ulamas*.

Saints, Sufis and Shrines

The centre of the *pir-based* mediational Sufi Islam is the shrine (*dargah, darbar, ziyarat*). This is the place where people encounter the reality of the numinous. 'At the Sufi shrines, the shadow of Allah is ubiquitous, penetrating everything; here all paths lead to eternity.. .' as Abida Parveen, the famous Pakistani singer of mystical poetry once said.

Along with the tomb itself, shrines often also have a mosque, a dervish lodge, a communal kitchen (*Zangar*) and sometimes a hospital. As religious and social institutions, they play an important role in everyday life. They are intended not only for elite groups of Sufis and dervishes, but are open for all pious devotees. The latter call themselves *murids* (disciples) and visit their saint's shrine regularly.

Within the nomadic or sedentary societies of North Africa and Central and South-West Asia kinship groups, professional groups, tribes and the inhabitants of a village see themselves collectively as the *murid* of a saint. They are thus considered the followers of his order. Egyptian fishermen, for example, and nomadic Durrani-Pashtuns in Afghanistan belong to the Qadiriyya. Contrary to laymen, Sufis and dervishes devote themselves entirely to a religious life and the veneration of saints. Dervishes are either settled and reside at a particular shrine, pilgrimage site or lodge, or they wander about.

The numerous pilgrimages of faithful laymen and dervishes have contributed to the spread of popular Islam. In view of the number of saints' shrines, there exists a virtual 'shrine landscape' not only in Pakistan and northern India, but also in other regions of the Muslim world. Often the shrine of a Muslim saint is a space shared with followers of other religions, for instance with Christians in Syria or with Hindus in India."²¹¹

However, dervishes do not remain at various shrines and pilgrimage sites with the same frequency. It depends primarily on the life-history of the saint, his membership in a given order and generally the 'climate' at the shrine, whether this holy place is more or less frequently visited. Golra Sharif, a shrine on the periphery of Islamabad, is visited almost exclusively by lay followers. In neighbouring Nurpur Shahan, in contrast, there are numerous dervishes, some of whom reside there permanently. The reason for this is that Pir Mehr 'Ali Shah (1859-1937) from Golra has been an orthodox mystic of the Qadiriyya-Chishtiyya. Sayyid 'Abdul Latif (1617-1705/06), the saint from Nurpur, popularly also known as Barri Imam, belonged, however, to the QadiriyyaQalandariyya and is considered an ecstatic Majdhub. In Pakistan, which together with northern India, Egypt, Sudan and

²¹¹ Raudvere, excellent work (2002) is a rare and unique study of the neglected female side of practiced Sufism.

Morocco to this day forms the heartland of Sufi Islam, one finds ecstatic mystics and ascetics in the many shrines in Lahore, Multan and Karachi as well as in Sehwan Sharif, Bhit Shah (both in the southern Sindh province) and Lahut Sharif (Las Bela District/Balochistan),

Appendix B

In an addition to Chapter 1

**A collection of *hadith* regarding
Funerary Practices in Islam.**

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

Once the Prophet, while passing through one of the grave-yards of Medina or Mecca heard the voices of two persons who were being tortured in their graves. The Prophet said, "These two persons are being tortured not for a major sin (to avoid)." The Prophet then added, "Yes! (they are being tortured for a major sin). Indeed, one of them never saved himself from being soiled with his urine while the other used to go about with calumnies (to make enmity between friends). The Prophet then asked for a green leaf of a date-palm tree, broke it into two pieces and put one on each grave. On being asked why he had done so, he replied, "I hope that their torture might be lessened, till these get dried."

Sahih Bukhari , Volume 1, Book 4, Number 215.

Narrated Abu Huraira:

A black man or a black woman used to sweep the mosque and he or she died. The Prophet asked about her (or him). He was told that she (or he) had died. He said, "Why did you not inform me? Show me his grave (or her grave)." So he went to her (his) grave and offered her (his) funeral prayer."

Sahih Bukhari , Volume 1, Book 8, Number 448.

Narrated 'Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Allah's Apostle used to invoke Allah in the prayer saying "*Allahumma inni a'udhu bika min adhabil-qabri, wa a'udhu bika min fitnatil-masihid-dajjal, wa a'udhu bika min fitnatil-mahya wa fitnatil-mamati. Allahumma inni a'udhu bika minal-ma thami wal-maghrami.* (O Allah, I seek refuge with You from the punishment of the grave and from the afflictions of Masi,h Ad-Dajjal and from the afflictions of life and death. O Allah, I seek refuge with You from the sins and from being in debt)." Somebody said to him, "Why do you so frequently seek refuge with Allah from being in

debt?" The Prophet replied, "A person in debt tells lies whenever he speaks, and breaks promises whenever he makes (them)." 'Aisha also narrated: I heard Allah's Apostle in his prayer seeking refuge with Allah from the afflictions of Ad-dajjal.

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 1, Book 12, Number 795.

Narrated Sulaiman Ash-Shaibam:

I heard Ash-Sha'bi saying, "A person who was accompanying the Prophet passed by a grave that was separated from the other graves told me that the Prophet once led the people in the (funeral) prayer and the people had aligned behind him. I said, "O Aba 'Amr! Who told you about it?" He said, "Ibn Abbas."

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 1, Book 12, Number 795.

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet passed by a woman who was sitting and weeping beside a grave and said to her, "Fear Allah and be patient."

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 2, Book 23, Number 343

Narrated 'Amra bint 'AbdurRahman:

A Jewess came to ask 'Aisha (the wife of the Prophet) about something. She said to her, "May Allah give you refuge from the punishment of the grave." So 'Aisha ' asked Allah's Apostle "Would the people be punished in their graves?" Allah's Apostle after seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave (and thus replied in the affirmative). Then one day, Allah's Apostle rode to go to some place but the sun eclipsed. He returned in the forenoon and passed through the rear of the dwellings (of his wives) and stood for the (eclipse) prayer, and the

people stood behind him. He stood up for a long period and then performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first bowing. Then he raised his head and prostrated. Then he stood up (for the second Raka) for a long while but the standing was shorter than that of the first Raka. Then he performed a prolonged bowing which was shorter than the first one. Then he raised his head and prostrated. Then he stood up for a long time but shorter than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but shorter than the first. Then he raised his head and prostrated and finished the prayer and (then delivered the sermon and) said as much as Allah wished. And then he ordered the people to seek refuge with Allah from the punishment of the grave.

Sahih Bukhari , Volume 2, Book 18, Number 159.

Narrated Ibn Abbas.

A person died and Allah's Apostle used to visit him. He died at night and (the people) buried him at night. In the morning they informed the Prophet (about his death). He said, "What prevented you from informing me?" They replied, "It was night and it was a dark night and so we disliked to trouble you." The Prophet went to his grave and offered the (funeral) prayer.

Sahih Bukhari , Volume 2, Book 23, Number 339.

Narrated Jabir:

The Prophet came to (the grave of) 'Abdullah bin Ubai after his body was buried. The body was brought out and then the Prophet put his saliva over the body and clothed it in his shirt.

Sahih bukhari , Volume 2, Book 23, Number 360.

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet passed by a woman who was weeping beside a grave. He told her to fear Allah and be patient. She said to him, "Go away, for you have not been afflicted with a calamity like mine." And she did not recognize him. Then she was informed that he was the Prophet . so she went to the house of the Prophet and there she did not find any guard. Then she said to him, "I did not recognize you." He said, "Verily, the patience is at the first stroke of a calamity."

Sahih bukhari , Volume 2, Book 23, Number 372

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

We were (in the funeral procession) of one of the daughters of the Prophet and he was sitting by the side of the grave. I saw his eyes shedding tears. He said, "Is there anyone among you who did not have sexual relations with his wife last night?" Abu Talha replied in the affirmative. And so the Prophet told him to get down in the grave. And so he got down in her grave.

Sahih bukhari , Volume 2, Book 23, Number 374

Narrated 'Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Once Allah's Apostle passed by (the grave of) a Jewess whose relatives were weeping over her. He said, "They are weeping over her and she is being tortured in her grave."

Sahih bukhari , Volume 2, Book 23, Number 376

Narrated Ibn 'Umar from his father:

The Prophet said, "The deceased is tortured in his grave for the wailing done over him."

Sahih bukhari , Volume 2, Book 23, Number 379

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet said, "When a human being is laid in his grave and his companions return and he even hears their foot steps, two angels come to him and make him sit and ask him: What did you use to say about this man, Muhammad ? He will say: I testify that he is Allah's slave and His Apostle. Then it will be said to him, 'Look at your place in the Hell-Fire. Allah has given you a place in Paradise instead of it.' " The Prophet added, "The dead person will see both his places. But a non-believer or a hypocrite will say to the angels, 'I do not know, but I used to say what the people used to say! It will be said to him, 'Neither did you know nor did you take the guidance (by reciting the Quran).' Then he will be hit with an iron hammer between his two ears, and he will cry and that cry will be heard by whatever approaches him except human beings and jinns."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 422.

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet collected every two martyrs of Uhud in one piece of cloth, then he would ask, "Which of them had (knew) more of the Quran?" When one of them was pointed out for him, he would put that one first in the grave and say, "I will be a witness on these on the Day of Resurrection." He ordered them to be buried with their blood on their bodies and they were neither washed nor were a funeral prayer offered for them.

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 2, Book 23, Number 427.

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah :

The Prophet buried every two martyrs in of Uhud in one grave.

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 2, Book 23, Number 427.

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle came to Abdullah bin Ubai (a hypocrite) after his death and he has been laid in his pit (grave). He ordered (that he be taken out of the grave) and he was taken out. Then he placed him on his knees and threw some of his saliva on him and clothed him in his (the Prophet's) own shirt. Allah knows better (why he did so). 'Abdullah bin Ubai had given his shirt to Al-Abbas to wear. Abu Harun said, "Allah's Apostle at that time had two shirts and the son of 'Abdullah bin Ubai said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Clothe my father in your shirt which has been in contact with your skin.' ' Sufyan added, "Thus people think that the Prophet clothed 'Abdullah bin Tubal in his shirt in lieu of what he (Abdullah) had done (for Al Abbas, the Prophet's uncle.)"

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 2, Book 23, Number 433.

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

When 'Abdullah bin 'Ubai died, his son 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah came to Allah's Apostle and asked him to give him his shirt in order to shroud his father in it. He gave it to him and then 'Abdullah asked the Prophet to offer the funeral prayer for him (his father). Allah's Apostle got up to offer the funeral prayer for him, but Umar got up too and got hold of the garment of Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle Will you offer the funeral prayer for him though your Lord has forbidden you to offer the prayer for him" Allah's Apostle said, "But Allah has given me the choice by saying:

'(Whether you) ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask forgiveness for them; even if you ask forgiveness for them seventy times..' (9.80) so I will ask more than seventy times." 'Umar said, "But he ('Abdullah bin 'Ubai) is a hypocrite!" However, Allah's Apostle did offer the funeral prayer for him whereupon Allah revealed:

'And never (O Muhammad) pray for anyone of them that dies, nor stand at his grave.' (9.84)

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 6, Book 60, Number 192

Narrated Um-'Atiya:

We were forbidden to mourn for a dead person for more than three days except in the case of a husband for whom mourning was allowed for four months and ten days. (During that time) we were not allowed to put ko,hl (Antimony eye power) in our eyes or to use perfumes or to put on coloured clothes except a dress made of 'Asb (a kind of Yemen cloth, very coarse and rough). We were allowed very light perfumes at the time of taking a bath after menses and also we were forbidden to go with the funeral procession.

Sahih Bukhari ,Volume 1, Book 6, Number 310

Narrated Samura bin Jundab:

The Prophet offered the funeral prayer for the dead body of a woman who died of (during) delivery (i.e. child birth) and he stood by the middle of her body.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 1, Book 6, Number 328

Narrated Abu Huraira,

Allah's Apostle informed (the people) about the death of An-Najashi on the very day he died. He went towards the Musalla (praying place) and the people stood behind him in rows. He said four Takbirs (i.e. offered the Funeral prayer).

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 337.

Narrated Um 'Atiyya:

We were forbidden to accompany funeral processions but not strictly.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 368.

Narrated Muhammad bin Sirin:

One of the sons of Um 'Atiyya died, and when it was the third day she asked for a yellow perfume and put it over her body, and said, "We were forbidden to mourn for more than three days except for our husbands."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 369.

Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama:

When the news of the death of Abu Sufyan reached from Sham, Um Habiba on the third day, asked for a yellow perfume and scented her cheeks and forearms and said, "No doubt, I would not have been in need of this, had I not heard the Prophet saying: "It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days for any dead person except her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 370.

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Ubaidullah bin Abi Mulaika:

One of the daughters of 'Uthman died at Mecca. We went to attend her funeral procession. Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Abbas were also present. I sat in between them (or said, I sat beside one of them. Then a man came and sat beside me.) 'Abdullah bin 'Umar said to 'Amr bin 'Uthman, "Will you not prohibit crying as Allah's Apostle has said, 'The dead person is tortured by the crying of his relatives.?' Ibn Abbas said, "Umar used to say so." Then he added narrating, "I accompanied Umar on a journey from Mecca till we reached Al-Baida. There he saw some travelers in the shade of a Samura (A kind of forest tree). He said (to me), "Go and see who those travelers are." So I went and saw that one of them was Suhaib. I told this to 'Umar who then asked me to call him. So I

went back to Suhaib and said to him, "Depart and follow the chief of the faithful believers." Later, when 'Umar was stabbed, Suhaib came in weeping and saying, "O my brother, O my friend!" (on this 'Umar said to him, "O Suhaib! Are you weeping for me while the Prophet said, "The dead person is punished by some of the weeping of his relatives?" Ibn Abbas added, "When 'Umar died I told all this to Aisha and she said, 'May Allah be merciful to Umar. By Allah, Allah's Apostle did not say that a believer is punished by the weeping of his relatives. But he said, Allah increases the punishment of a non-believer because of the weeping of his relatives." Aisha further added, "The Quran is sufficient for you (to clear up this point) as Allah has stated: 'No burdened soul will bear another's burden.' " (35.18). Ibn Abbas then said, "Only Allah makes one laugh or cry." Ibn Umar did not say anything after that.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 375.

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah :

On the day of the Battle of Uhud, my father was brought and he had been mayhemed and was placed in front of Allah's Apostle and a sheet was over him. I went intending to uncover my father but my people forbade me; again I wanted to uncover him but my people forbade me. Allah's Apostle gave his order and he was shifted away. At that time he heard the voice of a crying woman and asked, "Who is this?" They said, "It is the daughter or the sister of Amr." He said, "Why does she weep? (or let her stop weeping), for the angels had been shading him with their wings till he (i.e. the body of the martyr) was shifted away."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 381.

Narrated 'Amir bin Rabi'a:,

The Prophet said, "Whenever you see a funeral procession, stand up till the procession goes ahead of you." Al-Humaidi added, "Till the coffin leaves you behind or is put down."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 394.

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah :

A funeral procession passed in front of us and the Prophet stood up and we too stood up. We said, 'O Allah's Apostle! This is the funeral procession of a Jew.' He said, "Whenever you see a funeral procession, you should stand up."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 398.

Narrated 'Abdullah bin 'Umar :

The Jew brought to the Prophet a man and a woman from amongst them who have committed (adultery) illegal sexual intercourse. He ordered both of them to be stoned (to death), near the place of offering the funeral prayers beside the mosque."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 413

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The angel of death was sent to Moses and when he went to him, Moses slapped him severely, spoiling one of his eyes. The angel went back to his Lord, and said, "You sent me to a slave who does not want to die." Allah restored his eye and said, "Go back and tell him (i.e. Moses) to place his hand over the back of an ox, for he will be allowed to live for a number of years equal to the number of hairs coming under his hand." (So the angel came to him and told him the same). Then Moses asked, "O my Lord! What will be then?" He said, "Death will be then." He said, "(Let it be) now." He asked Allah that He bring him near the Sacred Land at a distance of a stone's throw. Allah's Apostle (p.b.u.h) said, "Were I there I would show you the grave of Moses by the way near the red sand hill."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 423.

Narrated 'Uqba bin 'Amir:

One day the Prophet went out and offered the funeral prayers of the martyrs of Uhud and then went up the pulpit and said, "I will pave the way for you as your predecessor and will be a witness on you. By Allah! I see my Fount (Kauthar) just now and I have been given the keys of all the treasures of the earth (or the keys of the earth). By Allah! I am not afraid that you will worship others along with Allah after my death, but I am afraid that you will fight with one another for the worldly things."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 428.

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah :

The Prophet buried every two martyrs in of Uhud in one grave.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 429.

Narrated Jabir:

The Prophet said, "Bury them (i.e. martyrs) with their blood." (that was) On the day of the Battle of Uhud. He did not get them washed.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 430.

Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah :

Allah's Apostle shrouded every two martyrs of Uhud in one piece of cloth and then he would ask, "Which of them knew more Quran?" When one of them was pointed

out he would put him first in the grave. He said, "I am a witness on these." Then he ordered them to be buried with blood on their bodies. Neither did he offer their funeral prayer nor did he get them washed. (Jabir bin Abdullah added): Allah's Apostle used to ask about the martyrs of Uhud as to which of them knew more of the Quran." And when one of them was pointed out as having more of it he would put him first in the grave and then his companions. (Jabir added): My father and my uncle were shrouded in one sheet.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 431.

Narrated Ibn Shihab:

The funeral prayer should be offered for every child even if he were the son of a prostitute as he was born with a true faith of Islam (i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone). If his parents are Muslims, particularly the father, even if his mother were a non-Muslim, and if he after the delivery cries (even once) before his death (i.e. born alive) then the funeral prayer must be offered. And if the child does not cry after his delivery (i.e. born dead) then his funeral prayer should not be offered, and he will be considered as a miscarriage. Abu Huraira, narrated that the Prophet said, "Every child is born with a true faith (i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone) but his parents convert him to Judaism or to Christianity or to Magainism, as an animal delivers a perfect baby animal. Do you find it mutilated?" Then Abu Huraira recited the holy verses: 'The pure Allah's Islamic nature (true faith i.e. to worship none but Allah Alone), with which He has created human beings.' " (30.30).

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 440.

Narrated Anas bin Malik, :

A funeral procession passed and the people praised the deceased. The Prophet said, "It has been affirmed to

him." Then another funeral procession passed and the people spoke badly of the deceased. The Prophet said, "It has been affirmed to him". 'Umar bin Al-Khattab asked (Allah's Apostle (p.b.u.h)), "What has been affirmed?" He replied, "You praised this, so Paradise has been affirmed to him; and you spoke badly of this, so Hell has been affirmed to him. You people are Allah's witnesses on earth."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 448.

Narrated Masruq:

'Aisha said that a Jewess came to her and mentioned the punishment in the grave, saying to her, "May Allah protect you from the punishment of the grave." 'Aisha then asked Allah's Apostle about the punishment of the grave. He said, "Yes, (there is) punishment in the grave." 'Aisha added, "After that I never saw Allah's Apostle but seeking refuge with Allah from the punishment in the grave in every prayer he prayed."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 454.

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

Once, while we were sitting in the company of Prophet, a dead man was brought. The Prophet was requested to lead the funeral prayer for the deceased. He said, "Is he in debt?" The people replied in the negative. He said, "Has he left any wealth?" They said, "No." So, he led his funeral prayer. Another dead man was brought and the people said, "O Allah's Apostle! Lead his funeral prayer." The Prophet said, "Is he in debt?" They said, "Yes." He said, "Has he left any wealth?" They said, "Three Dinars." So, he led the prayer. Then a third dead man was brought and the people said (to the Prophet), "Please lead his funeral prayer." He said, "Has he left any wealth?" They said, "No." He asked, "Is he in debt?" They said, ("Yes! He has to pay) three Dinars.", He (refused to pray and) said, "Then pray for your (dead)

companion." Abu Qatada said, "O Allah's Apostle! Lead his funeral prayer, and I will pay his debt." So, he led the prayer.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 3, Book 37, Number 488r.

Narrated 'Abdur-Rahman bin Al-Qasim:

Al-Qasim used to walk in front of the funeral procession. He used not to get up for the funeral procession (in case it passed by him). And he narrated from 'Aisha that she said, "The people of the pre-Islamic period of ignorance used to stand up for the funeral procession. When they saw it they used to say twice: 'You were noble in your family. What are you now?'"

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 5, Book 58, Number 178.

Narrated Um 'Atiyya al-Ansariya:

Allah's Apostle came to us when his daughter died and said, "Wash her thrice or five times or more, if you see it necessary, with water and Sidr and then apply camphor or some camphor at the end; and when you finish, notify me." So when we finished it, we informed him and he gave us his waist-sheet and told us to shroud the dead body in it.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 344.

Narrated Um 'Atiyya

Allah's Apostle came to us and we were giving a bath to his (dead) daughter and said, "Wash her three, five or more times with water and Sidr and sprinkle camphor on her at the end; and when you finish, notify me." So when we finished, we informed him and he gave us his waist-sheet and told us to shroud her in it. Aiyub said that Hafsa narrated to him a narration similar to that of Muhammad in which it was said that the bath was to be given for an odd number of times, and the numbers 3, 5 or 7 were mentioned. It was also said that they were to start with the right side and with the parts which were washed in ablution, and that Um 'Atiyya also mentioned, "We combed her hair and divided them in three braids."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 345.

Narrated Um 'Atiyya:

Allah's Apostle , concerning his (dead) daughter's bath, said, "Start with the right side, and the parts which are washed in ablution."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 346.

Narrated Um 'Atiyya:

The daughter of the Prophet expired, and he said to us, "Wash her three or five times, or more if you see it necessary, and when you finish, notify me." So, (when we finished) we informed him and he unfastened his waist-sheet and told us to shroud her in it.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 348.

Narrated Ibn Sirin:

Um 'Atiyya (an Ansari woman who gave the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet) came to Basra to visit her son, but she could not find him. She narrated to us, "The Prophet came to us while we were giving bath to his (dead) daughter, he said: 'Wash her three times, five times or more, if you think it necessary, with water and Sidr, and last of all put camphor, and when you finish, notify me.' " Um 'Atiyya added, "After finishing, we informed him and he gave us his waist sheet and told us to shroud her in it and did not say more than that."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 351.

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

While a man was riding (his Mount) in 'Arafat, he fell down from it (his Mount) and broke his neck (and died). The Prophet said, "Wash him with water and Sidr and shroud him in two pieces of cloth, and neither perfume him, nor cover his head, for he will be resurrected on the Day of Resurrection saying, 'Labbaik,' (i.e. like a pilgrim)."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 355.

Narrated 'Aisha:

Allah's Apostle was shrouded in three pieces of cloth and neither a shirt nor a turban was used.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 362.

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle was shrouded in three pieces of cloth which were made of white Suhul and neither a shirt nor a turban were used.

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 363.

Narrated Hisham's father:

Aisha said, "I went to Abu Bakr (during his fatal illness) and he asked me, 'In how many garments was the Prophet shrouded?' She replied, 'In three Sahuliya pieces of white cloth of cotton, and there was neither a shirt nor a turban among them.' Abu Bakr further asked her, 'On which day did the Prophet die?' She replied, 'He died on Monday.' He asked, 'What is today?' She replied, 'Today is Monday.' He added, 'I hope I shall die sometime between this morning and tonight.' Then he looked at a garment that he was wearing during his illness and it had some stains of saffron. Then he said, 'Wash this garment of mine and add two more garments and shroud me in them.' I said, 'This is worn out.' He said, 'A living person has more right to wear new clothes than a dead one; the shroud is only for the body's pus.' He did not die till it was the night of Tuesday and was buried before the morning."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 2, Book 23, Number 469.

Narrated Ibn 'Abbas:

A woman from the tribe of Juhaina came to the Prophet and said, "My mother had vowed to perform Hajj but she died before performing it. May I perform Hajj on my mother's behalf?" The Prophet replied, "Perform Hajj on her behalf. Had there been a debt on your mother, would you have paid it or not? So, pay Allah's debt as He has more right to be paid."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 3, Book 29, Number 77.

Narrated Um-'Atiya:

that the Prophet at the time of washing his deceased daughter had said to them, "Start from the right side beginning with those parts which are washed in ablution."

Sahih Bukhari, Volume 1, Book 24, Number 168.

APPENDIX –C

In an addition to Chapter 3

THE KALMATI TOMBS AND GRAVEYARD

BY DR. N.A.BALUCH

THE KALMATI TOMBS AND GRAVEYARD ²¹²

The advent of the kalmatis (a Sub – stock of the Hoat Balochis) in the Vindur – Hub and the Hub – Malir valleys goes back to the 13th / 14th century A.D. Their Maliks were the Chiefs of Malir (Karachi) and Sakro regions in Singh from 15th through 18th century A.D. Their descendants received recognition and retained land grants in The Mirpur Sakro region during the British Period (19th/ 20th century A.D.). The History of the advent in LasBela And Sindh can be traced through their burial monuments All along the route from Kalamat/Ormara to LasBela Sindh.

By now, it has been possible through an extensive Field Study conducted over some years to locate the Kalmati tombs and graveyards from the Hingol river to The Hub river, and onwards to the Indus. In the following Pages, it is proposed to describe all the known Kalmati Tomb sites from Hingol to Hub except the one on the Bela Mound which, being an extensive one, will be discussed Separately. The purpose is to identify each site with its Main features and record all the tomb inscription which It has been possible to discover and decipher at each Place.

The Hingol Graveyard

It is situated on the left bank Of the Hingol river, along the route leading to the river Crossing for Hinglaj and Oramarra. No tomb stands in Order. The stone are lying scattered and half buried Under earth.

The Harrho Graveyard

²¹² Dr. N.A Baloch, *The Kalmati Tombs and graveyar*,(The Archeology Quarterly, Vol.2&3,1993),pp 107-110.

It is situated on the backside Plateau of the Harrho range, on the right side of the road Through the Harrho Pass, while coming from Hingol to Harrho. The northern part of the graveyard, the more Ancient and abandoned one, is of the Kalmatis who During their early onward migration had settlements in The nearby Phor valley (to the west). Located further South, is another graveyard of later period belonging to The Balouch clans of the Mahdivi sect. there in, two Tombs on which inscriptions have been lately affixed, show the years of demise as 1712 and 1866 (A.D).

It is in the northern Kalmati graveyard that artistically Sculptured tomb stones (fallen and worn out even though of harder black rock) are to be found, which probably are the earliest prototypes of the decorative tomb stones in the later Kalmati graveyards in the Hub-Malir region. In the community tradition, the tombs originally had names inscribed on them but these now stand obliterated. Only on one tomb, the name “Jalal” could be clearly read, and the full name is likely to have been **(Jala son of khara)**.

The Kaherokot Graveyard

The ruined site of kaherokot, once the local Kalmati capital, lies 20 miles to the west of the Layari town, along the road leading to the hingol river and onwards to Ormarra. Under seasonal floods of the Purali river over centuries, the tombs have fallen and their stone slabs sunk in the muddy ground. There were more tombs when the writer visited the site first in 1946. On a recent visit (5-1-1989) only two dilapidated and fallen tombs could be located to the north of the town site.

The Bibi Aisha

It is located about 15 miles to the west of the Layari town, about 2 miles off the Layari, ormarra road, to the right side, Mainly it is the graveyard of the Angaria clan of the Kalmatis, and of a much later period. Presently, the two sculptured tombs of the Angaria headmen stand prominent in it. The one still in good shape (on 5th January,1989)carries the following inscription.

“Wadero Daryakhan S/O Faqir Mohammad Angaria dated 22 Dhu’l Hajj 1223 H.
Built by nasir Mohammad S/O Haji Sultan, cost 5 hundred rupees.

The Meendyari

It is situated in the nearby plain, on the left side of the Karachi-Uthal highway section, about 3 or 4 kilometers from Khurrkero towards Uthal. These plains once received waters from the regular seasonal floods of the Meendyari hill torrent. The tombs and structures around have been badly affected by the strong south-westerly winds from sea side.

Located separately, though not far from one another, there are these graveyards on the site (north-western), (north-eastern and southern) of which the southern one is more extensive. A quick look around the two northern groups showed only one incomplete inscription () in the north-western group while no names could be found in the north-eastern one.

It is the southern site that is more important where named inscriptions can be read on quite a few tombs, as under:

Of particular interest are the ruins of what probably might have been the earliest example of a raised rectangular platform with railing and pillars around, supporting. Some sort of an edifice under which the artistically sculptured tombs stood. The structure, having fallen long ago, is now a heap of over – turned stone slabs some having been sculptured most artistically. Some named inscriptions are likely to be discovered in the fallen slabs are put in original position. On a quick look, the following words were read on three different slabs.

The Adam Pir Graveyard

The graveyard is known after the name of the renowned Kalmati saint, Adam Pir who lies buried in a Chaukhandi there. It is located in between Khurrkero and Bhawani, the road to it leading from Adam Khan on the Karachi Uthal section of

the highway. As the line of the saint's descendant of has continued on to this day, the lore about Pir Adam and others related to him is somewhat better preserved. Thus according to the tradition, Pir Adam was a follower of "Sha Nidam of Dehli" , who could be none else than the great Chishti saint "Nizam Al-Din Awliya of Dehli". A place of the chilla (Prayer and meditation), to the east of Pir Adam's Chaukhandi, has remained dedicated to "Shah Nidam of Dehli. It is said to have been willed by Pir Adam that anyone coming to his khanqah must first pay homage to his preceptor "Shah Nidam of Delhi" by visiting and praying at the chilla. This formality is observed to this day.

Pir Adam was a saint of immense spiritual stature, and it was probably under his influence that there emerged some pious individual from the Kalmati community during his lifetime, or shortly thereafter. Among them were Pir "Doodo" (as he was affectionately known), Pir Ibrahim, Pir Peroze and Pir Hasan Sarhani. Their graveyards will be noted hereafter.

Being a follower of Nizamuddin Awliya who died in 726/1325, Pir Adam must have lived in the 1st quarter of the 14th century A.D. Besides, his influence in the Hub region, he also visited Sindh. A place on the right bank of the old Baghiar course of the Indus (in the present Mirpur Sakro taluka) where he had passed some days in meditation has been known after him as "Pir Adam jo Kunn" there a gathering takes place annually. He had also wielded much influence in LasBela so that the earlier rules as well as those of the last Jam dynasty, extended their patronage and protection of the whole area of Pir Adam, including Khararri and Barro where in Adam Khand and Adam Kass have been known after the saint's name to this day. Kass is a local term of geographical connotation being the lengthwise depression in between the two or more hilly ridge lines. Of the official record recognising the protected rights of Pir Adam's shrine is a document with the seal of Jam Mirkhan, the ruler of Las Bela which was issued some time during the years 1195-98 A.H. (1781 – 1783 A.D). however, Pir Adam's sanctuary has been well kept, and ever since his death anniversary gatherings have been continuously held on the 1st of Muharram by his Khalifas, who live in the Mirpur Sakro taluka of the Thatta District.

In the Kalmati tradition, a large number of tombs in the graveyard carry names inscribed on them. Here one finds some tombs built in superb artistic style, in pyramidal shape with boxed chambers and beautifully sculptured top crowing stones.

The Pir's Chaukhandi with its entrance gate in the eastern wall, encloses nineteen tombs in roughly three west east rows. Pir Adam's tomb is 3rd from west in the northern row. It is a plain stone tomb set within the frame of a cot with its four corner studs, and does not carry any inscription. Thirteen tombs with the Chaukhandi have names sculptured on them.

Outside the Chaukhandi, close to the northern end of the eastern wall stand the tombs of lady Malli D/o Bajak () a cousin of Pir Adam (and his wife?). This important tomb was separated when the Chaukhandi walls were raised later. On a quick survey, thirty tombs in the graveyard which extends to the west and the south of Pir Adam's Chaukhandi, were found carrying names which, along with those found in the Chaukhandi have been noted. In the southern sector stand four tombs which in particular are among the best specimens of the Kalmati tombs sculptured in artistic design and structure.

The Graveyard of Dadu Pir

It is situated about 3 miles south east of Adam Pir graveyard in the Chhabaji Circle adjoining Naka Khararri. On a hilly mound, there stands a spacious Chaukhandi where Dadu Pir (S/o Bajak S/o Easub) is buried. He was the cousin and brother in law of Pir Adam. According to the tradition Pir Dadu had attained spiritual heights but instead of mixing with people he preferred solitude and lived aloof by himself. Therefore, after his death also no one was buried near his grave. The graveyard of those who were devoted to him was made at some distance to the north in that graveyard there are five modestly sculptured tombs but all in dilapidated condition. Names could not be located.

The Graveyard of Hamal Baho

This graveyard of what might have been a small kalmati community lies further east of Khararri and Adam kass, on a high plateau, near the modern residential colony locally known as Burida camp. The graveyard is situated on a high hilly ridge line to the east of the residential colony, and has about forty tombs, less sculptured but

in typical Kalmati style (with a close up row of nine tombs and also with names inscribed). One name reads "Hamal Baho" (i.e. Hamal S/o Baho and the inscription being clear and prominent I have preferred to call the site as Hamal Bahi Graveyard". Some other names could be read as under:

Tombs at Jangu Esbani

It is a group of about sixteen stone tombs located in Chak Chhore to tehsil Uthal, 4 miles to the east of the KM/Mile stone No. 40 (Hub to Uthal) of the highway. The tombs here (of the Bhava community who settled in the area in their earliest phase of migration) are ruined with the stone slabs fallen and effaced leaving inscription on them.

Tombs of Jangu Esbani

These tombs lie in Deh Katore in tehsil Soan Miani at a distance of one mile to the left of the highway (Hub to Uthal). The link road takes off opposite to Adam Khand leading to the present Balouch Village of Jangu Esbani. In the graveyard to the south west, there are about 35 stone tombs all of early period. Stone slabs lie scattered, and only a few pieces chiselled in the Kalmati decorative style now remain on the site.

The Chichai Graveyards

In the revenue circle of Chichai, are to be found two graveyards, the one in between the two hill torrents of Ghateek Dhoro and Marchhadai Dhoro (on the old camel route between Bhawani and Bela), and the other on the western side of the torrential beds and to the right of the road going of Shaikh Jarar. In the former, there are three small groups of 26 (13+6+7) stone tombs and only one name () S/o Khan') could be partially read. In the other, there are the remnants of three tombs, one carrying the name.

The Haddao Chaukhandi

Beyond Bhawani (to Uthal), the link road takes off from the highway on the right of Shaikh Jarar which is situated about 6 miles to the north in the rocky area to the west of the Pabb Range. Shaikh Jarar is an Arab saint of the early the century A.H. (15th A.D.). About a furlong to the south west, stands the Kalmati style Chaukhandi with the grave of Haddao Kalmati inside. He was a contemporary of Shaikh Jarar and fell martyr defending the locality. An eye witness informed that originally there was an artistically sculptured tomb here which was dug out in 1983 (ostensibly by the treasure seekers) and the stone slabs were also removed. The one rough tall stone with an inscription now stands leaning against the western wall. Except the initial letter ha it cannot be deciphered. Stones of other tombs lie scattered outside the Chaukhandi.

Pir Peroze and Bhawani Graveyard

Bhawani lies close to the Hun Uthal section of R.C.D. Highway, about 15 miles from the Hub (Naka) town. The highway cuts through the area which was traditionally known as “Bhawani Pir Peroze Ji” (Bhawani of Pir Peroze). Pir Peroze was a renowned saint of his time known for his generosity. He opened up his vast pasture area by way of Khairat for all animals to graze. He got ponds excavated to store rain water for animals. One of the biggest ponds specifically named after him as “Pir Peroze to Tarao” still accumulates rain water. In turn, the cattle owners in the area fixed the 1st of Badro (the month following the rainy month of Sawan) to pay thomage to Pir Peroze, each one slaughtering and roasting a young he goat and distributing the meat along with a piece of rot (a heavy bread loaf cooked on fired stones) to all in the gathering on that day. This ceremony has continued on to this day. An old adage referring to the saint’s succour is current to this day:

Peroze Kakki	Remembering Peroze Kakki
Dil Na dakki	The heart gains strength
Yakay wat,	One loaf in mouth
Dunhina takki	The other is ready

More recently during the last land settlement in the sixties, the historic “Bhawani of Pir Peroze”, instead of being maintained as “Pir Peroze Waqf Pasture” as it had been through the centuries, was divided into two parts and each one was annexed to the adjacent revenue circles.

The artistically sculptured typical tomb of Pir Peroze stands nearby, to the left of the highway opposite to the Bahwani graveyard. The Quranic verses of Ayat Al-Kursi are beautifully sculptured around the tomb, and a separate inscription spells out the saint's name as:

The editors think that the translation could well be: Feroz Kakki (name) does not hurt feelings it is he towards whom would look for solace and strength.

After much loss, the Bhawani Graveyard has been lately protected by a fencing wire and is now better preserved. It encloses at least one hundred stone tombs of which as many as seventy two carry name inscriptions in the Kalmati tradition (Appendix-II).

The Graveyard to Pir Ibrahim

Pir Ibrahim (Ibrahim) belonged to the Rajera clan and was a maternal cousin of Pir Adam. His small graveyard lies in the Revenue Circle of Kund, about 17 miles to the south of the Hub Naka town. His is a high platform-like large unsculptured tomb, and there is only one sculptured tomb in the graveyard. The adjacent Revenue Circle ‘Pir Kass’ is so called after Pir Ibrahim, which indicates that originally a considerably large area belonged to Pir Ibrahim and his people.

The Graveyard of Sayyid Umar Jawan

It lies about 2 miles north of Pir Ibrahim in the same Revenue Circle of Kund, and is presently known as ‘Graveyard of Sayyid Umar Juwan’. His grave, simple and

unsculptured, is within a Chaukhandi. To the east of it, there is another spacious four-walled enclosure with 14 tombs inside. On its east, on the hill slope, lies the Kalmati graveyard of an earlier period. There are five fallen heaps of high sculptured tombs in it, besides the others less prominent ones down below in the northern sector.

It would appear that with the coming into power of the Numariya Confederacy in the 12th/18th century, this graveyard came to be used by the Numariya so that the Kalmati's discontinued their burials here. The spacious four-walled enclosure and the tombs inside (as their structure as well as the type of names inscribed would indicate) appear to be of the Numariya Community of a later period.

Graveyard of Pir Hasan Sarhani

This graveyard is located on the right bank of the Hub river, in the locally known Pannio area on the side of Balochistan, about 10 miles to the north of the Hub town. It is known after the name of the saint, "Hasan Sarhani" (i.e. Hasan (s/o) Sarhan) which is often mis-pronounced as "Hasan Sarhani/Sariyani". The name of the saint's father was 'Sarhan', Balochi pronunciation of 'Sarkhan'. According to the community tradition, he was related to Pir Adam. 'Begham' the daughter of Pir Adam's uncle Bajak, whose tomb stands nearby to the east of the saint's mausoleum, was married to Hasan himself.

Among others the members of the Jokhia community became Pir Hasan's followers at an early date, and it was mainly due to the Pir's influence that cordial relations were established between the Kalmati and the Jokhia communities which lasted for centuries to come. The saint's tomb originally stood in a chaukhandi, the present enclosure with covered roof having been constructed more recently. Lately, the early part of the graveyard immediately on the south of the saint's mausoleum has been much disturbed. The Kalmati tombs adjacent to the Saint's mausoleum and extending southward have been heavily white washed to make it difficult to decipher the inscriptions.

The graveyard in its northern part stands divided into two main sectors: the western sector with the Pir's tomb and the tombs of the Kalmati community extending southward, and the eastern sector (on the eastern side of the pathway leading to the

saints tomb) with tombs of the Jokhia community nearby and the Sayyids' graveyard further east.³

Except for the tombs in the far south which are of pyramidal boxed structure and sculptured, the rest of the tombs in the Kalmati sector are of low height with less of sculptural decoration.

As Pir Adam lived in the first half of the 14th century A.D. Pir Hasan (of the next generation) is likely to have flourished by the middle of the 14th century. Some of the tombs of the Mujawirs and Khalifas of the saint carry dates which go back to the 12th (18th) century A.H. The first line of the Mujawirs were from the Pir's followers belonging to the soparr community who were followed by his followers from the Jokhia Bandija community. The four tombs of the earlier line of Mujawirs which stand on the north-western side of the mausoleum along with the dates inscribed on them.

The Mujawirs from the Jokhia Bandija community were buried at some distance from the Pir's mausoleum, on the eastern side of the pathway. The names of "Suhrah Bandijo" and idoo s/o Isa(?) can be read on the two tombs inside the walled enclosure there. Suhrah's son Bahadur was the first to have been buried closer to the saint's mausoleum, on the east. The inscription shows that "Khalifa Bahafur s/o Suhrah Jokhia died in 1404 A.H."

Documents

Reports and documents from the records of Sindh Gazetteer and Archeological survey of India with regards to antiquity, tombs of Makli Hills and about communities and tribes believed to be buried in Chuakhandi tombs.

A
GAZETTEER
OF THE
PROVINCE OF SIND.

COMPILED BY
A. W. HUGHES, F.R.G.S., F.S.S.,
BOM. UNCOV. CIVIL SERVICE.

Second Edition.

WITH MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS,
YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1876.

[All rights reserved.]

POPULATION.—The total population of the Jerruck division, which consists almost entirely of Musalmāns and Hindūs, was found by the census of 1872 to be 92,902 souls, of whom 80,130 are of the former, and 12,586 of the latter class. There are thus about 30 souls to the square mile, but this paucity of population is partly accounted for owing to the large and, in a great measure, uninhabitable area of that portion of the Indus delta included in this division, and also to the fact that but *one-twentieth* part of the entire area of the Jerruck Deputy Collectorate is under cultivation. The Muhammadan inhabitants, who are partly of the Suni and Shia sects, may be classed as follows:—

MUHAMMADANS.

Tribes.	Number.	Principal Sub-divisions.	Remarks.
1. Balochis .	6,152	Karmāti, Laghāri, Lashari, Rind, Choung, Khoso, Chandia, Nizamāni, Gūrgāni, Sholāni, Jalbāni, Jatoi, Birmāni, Magsi, Sehur, Khaskh, Jamāli, &c.	There are numerous sub-divisions of the Karmatis, nearly 40 in all.
2. Shēkhs .	1,363		
3. Memons and Borahs }	2,306		
4. Khwājas .	983		
5. Mogals .	157		
6. Pathāns .	212		
7. Sindis .	26,257	Otha, Jokia, Shoro, Mahar, Nūmria, Sūmra, Rājpoti, Koraja, Amra, Rahawa, Buti, Katiar, Larik, Lukha, Junāja, Hāla, Guba, Hingōja, Samma, Lakha, Abra, Nara, Unar, Babria, Udhar, Shekari, Koris, Gaboi, Turio, Notiar, Rathore, Khāskēli, Sutia, Samaja.	These are mostly Sammas and Sūmras; the former descendants of Sam, the son of Nuh, and the latter descendants of Samra, Kamirpota, Mitopota, Badipota, and Norangpota. Sūmra is a corruption of Samra.
8. Saiyads .	1,406	Shirāzi, Shakrūr-alahi, Bokhāri, Mashēdi, Amirkhāni.	These tribes came to Sind from various places in Asia.
9. All others	40,371	In this large number are no doubt included many Sikhs as well as Sindis, but the census papers of 1872 do not give any details.
Total .	80,130		

HINDŪS.

Castes.	Number.	Principal Sub-divisions.	Remarks.
1. Brahmans .	946	Sarsūdh, Pokarna.	The Amils are a sub-division of the Lohāno.
2. Kshatrias .	12	Sahto, Panjābi.	
3. Waishia. .	8,934	Lohāno, Bhatia. . . }	
4. Sudras and others . . }	2,694	Khati, Sonaro, Sochi, &c.	
Total .	12,586		

The chief Musalmān tribes inhabiting this division are the Karmātis, Jokias, and Nūmrias. The Karmāti tribe of Balochis came originally, it is said, from Halab, on the frontiers of Persia. On their march towards Sind they took possession of Karmat, in Makrān, where they remained for a considerable time, and from which place they derive their name. From Karmat they gradually extended themselves towards Sind, until finding themselves strong enough to cope with the Burē tribe, which then occupied the districts lying between Karāchi and the Habb river, they crossed that stream and dispossessed the Burēs of their lands. After this conquest the Karmātis settled on the banks of the Malir river, whence they extended themselves into Sakro, where their chief resided in 1847, and where he obtained a Jāgir on condition that when his services might be required he should muster his tribe for the defence of Tatta. In 1847 the Karmat tribe could muster about 400 men. The Jokia tribe is of Rājput origin, and formerly occupied a mountainous district named Kangara, north of Shāh Bilāwal, in Balochistān, whence, about one hundred and fifty years ago, they descended into the valley of the Habb river, and, as their numbers increased, gradually spread themselves over the lands lying between the Habb and the Malir rivers. Their first chiefs were of no celebrity; but in the reign of Ghulām Shāh Kalhora, Bijār Jokia, who was a Sepoy in the service of that prince, obtained the chieftainship and title of Jām for the following services:—The district of Sakro, including Dhārājā and Sauri Bandi, was at that time governed by a Hindū Rānā, or chief, named Arjūn, a man of great bodily strength, and possessing great influence in the delta. Ghulām Shāh was anxious to dispossess him of his territories, but having no just pretence for attacking him, he sought to have him assassinated. This, however, was no easy matter to accomplish, as the Rānā was noted as a brave and powerful man, and, being

on his guard, he had constructed a temporary building on an island, to which he repaired every night with a few followers to sleep. Bijār Jokia, however, undertook to accomplish his destruction, and having collected about twenty resolute men of his own tribe, he and they swam over at night to the island where the Rānā reposed, and before the latter could recover from his surprise, made a sudden onslaught, sword in hand, and killed him and all his followers. Ghulām Shāh, hearing of this success, seized upon the Rānā's lands, appointing Bijār as Jām of the Jokia tribe, and the latter, having gained great renown by this exploit, easily obtained an acknowledgment of his supremacy from the whole tribe. Being of a restless and intriguing disposition, Jām Bijār soon contrived to involve himself in quarrels with his neighbours. The Karmātis he dispossessed of the valley of the Malir river, and, gaining a victory over the Nūmriās near the Habb river, he compelled them to move farther north, while he and his followers occupied the whole of the lands lying between the Habb and the Ghāro creek. Jām Bijār was succeeded by his son, Murād Ali, whose son, Mīr Ali, was Jām in 1847. In 1843, the Hyderabad Mīrs directed the Jām to muster his tribe, and, in conjunction with the Karmātis and Nūmriās, to occupy the town of Karāchi, and, if possible, drive the British out of their camp. The chiefs assembled their men, but the news of the victory at Meeanee so damped their ardour that they did not dare to approach within forty miles of Karāchi. After the victory at Hyderabad, the Jām came in and made his *salaam*, upon which the Jāgirs he had held under the Mīrs were restored to him. The tribe of Nūmriās appear to have been of Rājput origin, as the first of the family, whose name is recorded as Esub Khān, together with his eight brothers, set forth from Rājputāna, and after many adventures, arrived at Kedje, in Makrān, where they were well received by the chief of that place. After sojourning for some time at Kedje, the Nūmriā (or *Nūmardī*, literally nine men) brothers assassinated the chief of the place, on account of a gross insult offered to the elder brother by the latter. In consequence of this they were compelled to leave Makrān, proceeding to the western frontier of Sind, where they settled and intermarried with the inhabitants of the country. In a few years they became a very numerous and powerful tribe, and gradually obtained possession of the whole of the hill country lying between the Pabb mountains and the Indus on the east and west, and between the Malir and Bāran rivers on the north and south. For many years fierce contests were maintained between them and the Khoso tribe, but the latter were

eventually driven beyond the Bāran river. This happened nearly ninety-five years ago, since which time the Nūmrias have held undisturbed possession. At the conquest of the province in 1843, Ahmad Khān was the chief of this tribe, and, in consideration of his relinquishing his claim to all the hill lands occupied by the Nūmrias, Sir Charles Napier granted him in jāgir the whole of the land which he and his people had cultivated on the hills, amounting to 2500 *bigās*. He formerly enjoyed the privilege of collecting customs and tolls on the river at Kotri, and when these were abolished he received as compensation 600 *bigās* of land near the village of Budhāpur. When the village of Kotri and the gardens near it were required for Government purposes, this chief readily relinquished them, receiving in exchange other gardens both above and below that town. Formerly four chiefs of the Nūmria tribe used to levy a kind of black-mail called "*mith*" on all merchandise passing between Sehwan and Karāchi, and between Karāchi and Kotri by the hill routes. The rates paid to these chiefs were three annas per camel-load between Sehwan and Karāchi, and one and a half annas between Karāchi and Kotri. In consideration of this payment, the Nūmria chiefs guaranteed the safety of the whole of the merchandise, camels and attendants, and should anything be lost, they were bound to make it good. They used to detach two or more of their followers as guides with each *kāfila*, who received each two rupees for the trip between Karāchi and Kotri, and four rupees each between Karāchi and Sehwan. These guides were expected to supply the travellers with all the wood and water they needed on the march.

While treating of the inhabitants of this division, it will be necessary also here to refer to the Saiyads and other people of the town of Tatta, who in 1857, at the instigation of Mr. Gibbs, B. C.S., formerly Judicial Assistant Commissioner in Sind, took certain measures among themselves towards reducing the very heavy expenses which long-established usage had compelled them to incur on the ceremonies observed at births, marriages and deaths. The great falling off in the population of Tatta, during the past fifty or one hundred years, had, with much truth, been attributed to the frequent intermarriage of first and second cousins, the object being to avoid the heavy expense which, under other circumstances, would fall upon the parties interested, whereas immediate relations, by exchanging a son for a daughter, could celebrate these unions at a comparatively small cost. In 1857 the Saiyads, at several meetings held in Tatta, agreed to

conform to certain rules put forward by influential members of their body for reducing these expenses; by these rules the community was divided into three classes, and to each was appointed the expenses to be henceforth incurred at every birth, marriage, or death. Some idea may be formed of the great benefit derived by the Musalmān population from this step, when it is mentioned that the cost *formerly* incurred by a member of the first class at every birth, marriage and death amounted to not less than 4900 rupees, 6950 rupees, and 3550 rupees respectively. The result of this very heavy outlay was to place the great majority of the Muhammadan population of the town in inextricable debt, and reduce them, in fact, to a state of hopeless destitution. By the rules, a member of the first class has *now* to pay but 550 rupees at a birth, 1185 at a marriage, and 320 at a funeral, the reduction for the two other classes being in a proportionate ratio. In carrying out this very beneficial measure, two Muhammadan gentlemen—one Saiyad Airūdin, a Mūnsif of Karāchi, and the other, Saiyad Sabar Ali Shāh, of Tatta—exerted themselves in so praiseworthy a manner as to obtain from the Bombay Government the following rewards: To the former, a present of law books to the value of 200 rupees; and to the latter, Persian and Arabic works to the value of 150 rupees.

CRIME.—Unlike other Sind districts, cattle-stealing does not seem to be the most prevalent crime in that of Jerruck. Murders appear to be rare; but the comparatively small amount of crime shown in the following statistical table, extending over four years ending with 1874, may be attributed in a great measure to the sparse population in this large district, there being, as has already been stated, but 30 souls to the square mile:—

CRIMINAL.

Year.	Murders.	Hurts, Assaults, and use of Criminal Force.	Thefts.		Receiving Stolen Property.	House-breaking.	Highway Robbery.	Other Offences.
			Cattle.	Others.				
1871	...	135	44	138	24	45	1	166
1872	1	125	134	80	62	22	2	100
1873	1	113	128	100	53	47	1	150
1874	...	91	131	90	25	55	2	77

X 2

With Regards to Tombs and makli Hills.

Name of Ferry.	Where situate.	Number of Boats.
25. Baghān . . .	On Ūchto, near Baghan . . .	1
26. Ando . . .	„ Got Vatural . . .	1
27. Mouth of the Bhaghīar.	On Bhaghīar near Sikhanjo-got . . .	2
28. Purochāni . . .	„ Purochāni . . .	1
29. Mirpur Sakro . . .	„ Mirpur Sakro . . .	1
30. Sūkhpur . . .	„ Sūkhpur . . .	1
31. Nahiyon . . .	„ Nahiyon . . .	1
32. Buhāra . . .	„ Buhāra . . .	1
33. Kiri . . .	„ Kiri . . .	1
34. Ghulām-ulah . . .	„ Ghulām-ulah . . .	1
35. Timūkho . . .	„ Timūkho . . .	1
36. Pir Patho . . .	„ Pir Patho . . .	1

The proceeds of these ferries are included under the head of local revenue, and realise annually, on an average, from 3000 to 5000 rupees.

RAILWAY.—The Sind railway passes through the Mirpur and Tatta talūkas of this division for about 50 miles, and has stations at the following places :—Dābēji, Jungshāhi, Jhimpir and Meting. The telegraph lines, both Governmental and that belonging to the railway company, follow this route.

POSTAL LINES.—The postal lines of communication in this division are three in number: one running from Dābēji, on the Sind railway, to Ghāro and Kēti, 54 miles in distance; another from Jungshāhi to Tatta, 13 miles long; and the third from Meting to Jerruck, also 13 miles in length. These are all foot lines. The non-disbursing post-offices are situate at Jerruck, Tatta, Ghorabāri, Mirpur Sākro, and Kēti, and the branch post-offices at Meting, Jungshāhi and Dābēji.

ANTIQUITIES.—There are in this district many ruinous forts, temples, mazjids, tombs, &c., which on the score of age are deserving of careful notice. Near the town of Ghāro, in the Mirpur Sākro talūka, are the ruins of a very ancient city called Bambura, which would seem to have been in existence before the first Muhammadan invasion of Sind, in A.D 711-12. It is supposed that Bambura may very possibly have been the ancient Dewal (or Debal), the first city captured by the Musalmān forces under Muhammad Kāsīm Sakifi, and that it was so called from a temple renowned for its sanctity situate in the fort. Others, again, have presumed that Tatta was the ancient Debal, or that even Manora was the place stormed by the Musalmān invader; but be

this as it may, Bambura is unquestionably a place of great antiquity, displaying as it does the remains of ramparts, bastions, towers, &c., and bearing evidence of former population and trade in the number of coins which have at different times been found there. Bambura is in latitude $24^{\circ} 40'$ N., and longitude $67^{\circ} 41'$ E. Another ancient building in ruins is the *Māri*, or house of Jām Tumāchi, the fourth sovereign of the Samma dynasty in Sind, who flourished about A.D. 1380. These ruins are situate on a hill at the northern end of the Sonahri *dhandh* (or lake) near Helāia, in the Tatta talūka, and command a fine view. The Kalān Kot (or great fort) is another interesting ruin, situate near the right bank of the Bhaghiār, or western branch of the Indus, and three miles south of the town of Tatta. It is seated on a limestone hill, which abounds in marine shells, and is everywhere honeycombed with natural cavities. The fort is about a mile and a quarter in circumference, and the outer wall of it is still perfect. In 1840 it was described as having numerous massy round towers, connected by curtains, and that it appeared to have been constructed with much care and skill. In a large building was found a great quantity of grain burned to charcoal, and this, together with the vitrified state of the brickwork in many places, seemed to show that the place must have been destroyed by fire. This fort, which is said to have been built about A.D. 1421, during the Samma dynasty, is supposed to stand upon the site of a still more ancient stronghold—one that was very possibly in existence before the Muhammadan invasion of Sind. But by far the most interesting remains of old buildings in this division, though in no way so ancient as those just described, are the many tombs, now fast hastening to decay, which are still to be seen on the plateau of the Makli range of hills near the town of Tatta. These extensive ruins reach from Pir Patho, the southernmost limit of the Makli range, to Sammanāgar (or Samui), the site of the ancient capital of the Samma rulers of Sind, about three miles north-west of Tatta. Kennedy, who wrote of these ruins, calls them a vast cemetery of six square miles, which contained, at a rude guess, not less than a million of tombs; and when speaking of the bricks of which many of the large tombs are built, he says, the finest chiselled stone could not surpass the sharpness of their edge and angle, or their accuracy of form. The table-land of these hills is, indeed, covered with sepulchres of all kinds and sizes, and this area is believed to have been a sacred burial-ground for nearly twelve centuries. The tombs which are most worthy of mention are seven in number, and are as follows:—

1, the tomb of Jām Nindo (or Nizām-u-din), the fourteenth prince of the Samma dynasty; it is supposed to have been erected about A.D. 1498. 2, the tomb of Sāla Bēg, built about A.D. 1557. 3 and 4, the tombs of Mirza Jāni Bēg, and Ghāzi Bēg Tūrkhān, two princes, father and son, of that dynasty, which succeeded the Arghūns, but did not last longer than A.D. 1591-92, the country being afterwards conquered by the Mogal emperor Akbar, and incorporated by him into the Sūbah of Multān. 5, the tomb of Mir Khalib Khān, built during his lifetime, between A.D. 1572 and 1585. Though called his tomb, he was, at his own request, never laid in it, from a peculiar notion that some injustice might possibly have been done to some one in connection with it during its erection. He was therefore interred in the enclosure, seven devotees occupying the tomb itself. 6, the tomb of Mirza Isa Khān, erected between the years 1620 and 1637. There is another tomb of a person of the same name (a former ruler of Lower Sind) in the town of Tatta. The 7th is the tomb of Dewan Sharifa Khān, built about A.D. 1639. He was the grandson of Mir Ulik Arghūn, and was *Dewan* (or minister) under the Government of Nawāb Mir Khān, holding this office up to A.D. 1644. These are the principal edifices of interest in that vast space which is so thickly overspread with tombs; they are now falling hopelessly to decay, not alone from the effects of time, but from a ruthless spoliation as well at the hands of individuals who, eager to possess encaustic tiles or bricks, greatly deface these beautiful monuments of a past age. So well have these bricks been laid, and so firm have they since become, that it is exceedingly difficult to remove them whole with the chisel and hammer. The bricks, with their encaustic covering, still in places shine out brilliantly from many of these old tombs, and afford some idea of their former splendid appearance, before time had marked them with decay. On several of the encaustic tiles are still to be seen inscriptions in the Arabic character of extracts from the Kurān, which neither age nor the hand of the spoiler has yet been able to destroy. At a spot a short distance eastward of the large buildings just described, stands the modest tomb of an Englishman, by name Edward Cooke, who died at Tatta in the year 1743. It is not known for a certainty with what business he was connected there, but from the circumstance of the East India Company's factory not having been established at Tatta till 1758, during the reign of Ghulām Shāh Kalhora, Mr. Cooke is supposed to have been a private individual, and most probably engaged in the silk trade, for which Tatta was at that time specially noted. The following is the inscription on

his tomb, which, it is as well to remark, is in a very creditable state of preservation :—

“ Here lyes the manes of Edward Cooke, who was taken out of the world in the Flower of his Age, a person of great merit, and much lamented by all his friends, learned in many languages, of great humanity, a sound judgment and a generous disposition, who departed this life on the 8th of May, 1743. *Ætatis suæ 21.*

As blooming lilies grace the field,
So for a day they shine,
Like him to God, so they yield
Themselves, but not their name resign.

To whose memory his servants erected this tomb.”

The fort and Jama mazjid of Tatta, which are both ancient buildings, will be found described in the account of that town.

Jerruck, or (Jhirak), a town in the Tatta talūka of the Jerruck Deputy Collectorate, in latitude $25^{\circ} 3' N.$, and longitude $68^{\circ} 15' E.$ The town is situate close to the Indus, on an eminence of slight elevation, about 150 feet above the river-level, and may be said to command the navigation of the river in both a military and commercial point of view. Its advantageous position and salubrious climate caused it to be recommended by Burnes as the best location for a British settlement in this part of Sind, and Sir Charles Napier is said to have regretted not having chosen it for the European barracks, instead of Hyderabad. Jerruck has road communication with Kotri, from which it is distant south 24 miles; with Tatta, distant north-east 32 miles, and with Meting, a station on the Sind railway, from which it is distant 13 miles.

Jerruck is the residence of a Deputy Collector whose bangalow stands upon the summit of a hill nearly 350 feet above the level of the Indps. It quite overlooks the town, and commands as well a fine view of the river and of the surrounding country. The gardens at Jerruck are very good, one especially, known as the Deputy Collector's, which is fairly filled with fruit-trees of different kinds. In the plains around the town, rice, bājri, hemp, tobacco and sugarcane are extensively cultivated. A Kōtwal, whose duties are principally magisterial, resides here, and it is the head-quarter station of a Tapadār. Jerruck is also a sub-thāna, having a police force of twenty men, four of whom are mounted, the whole being in charge of two chief constables. There are three dharamsālas, one in the town, and two on the bank of the river; a Government school, subordinate jail (in charge of the Kōtwal), a market and a dispensary, the two latter supported by the municipality. This last

Bibliography

Adab-e-Alamgiri (1971), tr. Sadiq Matlabi Ambalvi, Lahore.

Ahmad Khan, Sayyid, *Athar al-Sanadid*, Delhi 1847, 2nd ed. Delhi 1854, later liths. Lucknow 1876 and 1900, and Cawnpore 1904.

Ahmad, Shamsuddin (1952), *A guide to Thattahand Makli Hill*, Karachi.

Akbarnama (1939), tr. H. Beveridge. Vol. rn, Book Traders, Lahore. Rpr.

Al eri, B. M., *Islamic architecture of the Indian subcontinent*, London 2000.

Alfieri, Bianca Maria, (1994), Review on Catherine B. Asher Book on The '*New Cambridge History of India-Architecture of Mughal India*' IN Eastand West, Vol. 44 (Nos. 2-4) December, 1994, IsMEO. Rome.

Ali, Abdullah Yusuf (1946) *Holy Quran, Text, Tr.And Commentry*, Vol. I & II Cambridge.

Ali, Taj (1988), *Anonymous Tombs in the Gomal Valley and the beginning of Tomb Architecture in Pakistan*, Peshawar.

Ali, Taj (1991), *The Mehrab Inscription of the socalled tomb of Khalid Walid near Kabirwala (Khanewal District) in Ancient Pakistan* Vol. VII, Deptt. Of Archaeology, Peshawar.

Allen, T (1983), *Timurid Herat*, Wiesbadan.

Allchin, B (1976), *Palaeolithic Sites in the plainsof Sindh and their Geographical Implications* IN Geographic Journal 42, No. 3, Royal GeographicalSociety, London.

Allchin, B (1986), *Earliest Traces of Man in Potwar Plateau, Pakistan - A Report of the British ArchaeologicalMission to Pakistan - South Asian Studies No.2*. Society for South Asian Studies, London.

Allchin, F. R. et al (1979), *Preliminary Report onthe Excavations at Tarakai Qila (1978 - 79)* IN South Asian Studies, Berlin.

Allchin, F.R. et al (1979), *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Lewan (1977 - 78)*, South Asian Archaeology. (ed. H. Hartel, Berlin.)

Amin, Muhammad (1988), *Inscriptions on the tomb of Hansa Bai at Makli Hill, Thatta* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 23 - 1987 - 88, Karachi.

Asher, Catherine B (1995), the New Cambridge History of India - *Architecture of Mughal India*, New Delhi.

Arberry, A (1953) *Legacy of Persia*, London.

Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol XXXII (Western India, Vol. IX-Architectural, Antiquities of Northern Gujrat).

Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. IV (862 - 65), Calcutta.

Archaeology No. 7 and 8, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.

Asim Muhammad (1991), *Safarnama-i-Ard-i-Quran*, Lahore.

A. U. Pope (1939), *A Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. I & II. Oxford.

Babar Nama (1922) tr. Beveridge, AS. London.

Bade, J. C. (1986), *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Sub-continent* (Pelican History of Art), Harmondsworth.

Baer, Eva (1969), *A Group of Seljuks Figural BasReliefs IN Oriens*, Vol 20, 1967 Leiden.

Baladhuri, Al (1933 & 1940), *Fatuhul Baldan*, Part I & II, Usmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).tr. S. AbuI Khair Maududi.

Baloch, N. A (1957), *Chronology of SummasRulers of Sindh*, Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission, Karachi.

Baloch, N. A (1983), *Fathnamah-i-Sindh*, Islamic University, Islamabad.

Baloch, N. A (1996), *Sindh - Studies in History*, Vol. I ,Karachi.

Baloch, N. A., *Kalmati Tombs in Sindh*,

Balochistan through the Ages, Selections from Govt. Records (1979), Vol. I, Quetta. Rpr.

Banerji, Jamini Mohan (1975), *History of Ferozshah*, Lahore. Rpr.

Banerji, S.K (1937), *Kutub Minar IN Journal Of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. X, No. 1.

Baqir, Muhammad (1952), *Lahore, Past and Present*, Lahore.

Batuta, Ibn (1993), *Travels of Ibn Batuta*, Vol. I, New Delhi, Tr. AR. Gibb.

Besenal, R., (n. d) *Report of the Archeological Surveys carried out at Miri Qalat (Makran & Turbat)*, Second and Third Sessions 1992 and 1993.

Bijarani, Mir. Khuda Bakhsh (1974), *Searchlight on Baluchies and Baluchistan*, Karachi.

Blair, S. S. and J.M. Bloom, *The art and architecture of Islam, 1250–1800*, Chapters 11 and 18, New Haven and London 1994. Briggs, M. S., “Muslim architecture in India,” in G.T. Garratt, ed., *The legacy of India*, Oxford 1937.

Brentjes, B. (1990), *The Mausoleum of Jehangir and its Central Asian Roots* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 24 -1989, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.

Brohi, Ali Ahmad (n.d.) *History on Tomb Stones, Sindh and Baluchistan*, Jamshoro.

Brown, Percy (1964), *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)* Bombay.

Brown, Percy (1971), *Indian Architecture (Hindu & Buddhist Period)*, Bombay.

Brown, Percy, *Monuments of the Mughal period*, in *CHI*, Cambridge 1937

Bukhari, H. A S(1992), *Chaukhandi Type stone tombs at Taung, History and Conservation* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 27 - 1992, Karachi.

Burckhardt, Titus (1976), *Art of Islam, Language and Meaning*, 'World of Islam Festival Trust', London.

Burney, Ziauddin (1862), *Tarikh-e-Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta.

Burns, James (1973), *A Visit to the Court of Sindh*, Karachi. Rpr.

Burton, Richard (1973), *Sindh and the Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*, Karachi, Rpr.

Burton-Page, J., “A study of fortification in the Indian subcontinent from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century A. D.,” *BSOAS*, 23 (1960)

Butler, Alfred, J. (1978), *The Arab conquest of Egypt and the last thirty years of the Roman Dominion*, London ed. P. M Fraser.

Cambridge History of Iran (1986), VoJ. 6, Cambridge. Creswell, K AC. (1915),

Case I, 1. M (1964), *Fouilles d' Amri*, 2 Volumes, Paris.

Cesariano, Caesre, *Di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione de Archetectura*, etc. Corno 1521, Lib.III 1.

Chaghtai, M. Abdullah (1958), *Lahore Ki Kahani Asar Ki Zabani* (Urdu), Lahore.

Chaghtai, M. Abdullah (1964), *The Oldest Extant Muslim Architectural Relic at Lahore* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. XII, Part I, January, 1964, Karachi.

Chaghtai, M. Abdullah (1973), *Islami Fun-e-Tameer Par Iran Aur Turan Ka Asar* (Urdu), Lahore.

Chishti, Ali Asghar (1883), *Jawahar-e-Faridi*, Lahore.

- Chishti, Nur Ahmad (1864), *Tehqeeq Qatey Chishti* (Urdu), Lahore.
- Choksy, Jamsheed K and Hasan, M. Usman (1991). *An Emissary from Akbar to Abbas I. Inscription, Texts and the Career of Amir M.*, Karachi.
- Chughtai, M. Abdullah, (1975), *Taxila, Revisited, Kitab Khana Nauras*, Lahore.
- Cole, H. H., *Preservation of national monuments. Report for 1882-3*, Calcutta 1883.
- Cousens, H (1916) *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains, Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (Imperial Series), Vol., XXXVII, Bombay.
- Cousens, Henry, *Antiquities of Sind* - Culcutta-1920.
- Creswell, K. A. C., *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st Jan. 1960*.
- Creswell, K.A.C. (1958), *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Baltimore. Creswell KAC (1969), *Early Muslim Architecture* Vol, I & II, Oxford.
- Crow Sylvia and others (1972), *The Gardens of Mughal India*, London.
- Cunningham, A (1875), *Archaeological Survey of India Reports, (1872 - 73)* Vol. V, Calcutta.
- Dales, G. F. (1962), *Harappa Outposts on the Mekran Coast In Antiquity No. 36*. Cambridge.
- Dani, A. H. (1988), *Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Pakistan*, Tokyo.
- Dani, A. H. (1970-71), *Excavations in the Gomal Valley IN Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. 5, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar.
- Dani, A. H. (1981), *The Indus Civilization, New Perspective*, Islamabad.
- Dani, A. H. (1982), *Thatta, Islamic Architecture*, Islamabad.
- Dani, A. H. (1986), *Thatta - Islamic Architecture and Central Asia* IN *Journal of Central Asia*, Vol.IX, No. 1 July 1986, Islamabad.
- Dani, A. H. (1991), and Askarov Ahmad Ali, *Re -Discovery of the Civilization of Central Asia, Integral Study of Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue* IN *Journal of Central Asia*. Vol. XIV, No. 2, December, 1991, Islamabad.
- Dani, A. H. (1993), *New Light on Central Asia*, Lahore.
- Dani, A. H., *Muslim architecture in Bengal*, Dacca 1961.
- Dani. A. H. (1995) *Peshawar: Historic City of the Frontier*, Peshwar.

Dar. S. R. (1992), *Mausoleum of Hazrat Lal Eisan at Karor* IN Journal of Central Asia. Vol. XV. No. 2, December, 1992, Islamabad.

Desai, Ziauddin (1970), *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, New Delhi. Dimand,

Dickie, James, *Allah and Eternity: Mosque, Madrasas and Tombs*. In *Architecture of the Islamic World*. Edt. George MIChell - Thames & Hudson, London, 1978.

Durrani, F. A (1988), *Excavations in the Gomal Valley - Rehman Dheri Excavations Report No. 1 IN Ancient Pakistan* No. VI, Peshawar.

E. Koch (1991), *Mughal Architecture*, Munich.

Eastwick, E. B. (1975), *A Glance At Sindh Before Napier*, Karachi, Rpr.

Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian) (1965), ed. Z. A Desai, New Delhi.

Ettinghausan, Richard (1980), *The Man Made Setting IN the World of Islam*, ed. Bernard Lewis, London.

Ettinghausen Richard and Graber, Oleg (1994), *The Art and Architecture of Islam* (New Impression), Yale University Press.

Fairservice, W.A Jr (1956), *Excavations in the Quetta Valley, West Pakistan*, 2 Parts. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. 45. New York.

Fairservice, W.A Jr,(1973), *Preliminary Report on excavations at Allah Dino* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 9, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.

Faridi, Nur Ahmad (1381 AH/1961 AD), *Tazkara Shah Rukn-e-Alam* (Urdu), Multan.

Farooq A. A. (1988), *Tse - Kila: The Ancient Capital of Punjab* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. XXXVI, Part IV., October, 1988, Karachi.

Farooq, A. A. (1986), *Excavations at Mansurah* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 10-22, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.

Faruqi, Lois Lamy al- (1985), *Islam and Art*, Islamabad.

Fergusson 1. (1910) *The History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London.

Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and eastern architecture*, London 1876, revised and ed. By J. Burgess and R.P. Spiers, 2 vols., London 1910 (esp. ii, 186–335)

Ferrier R. W., ed. (1990), *The Art of Persia*, Ahmadabad.

Flury, S., *Ghazni' Le Decor Epigraphique Des Monuments De Ghazna* - Paris, 1925.

Grabar, Oleg and Derek Hill (1967), *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration*, London.

Gardner, R.W, *A Primer of Proportions in the Arts of Form and Music*, New York, 1945.

Gazetteer - District Multan (1901 - 2), 1902, Lahore. Compiled by Sir Edward D. Maclag.

Gazetteer of Balochistan, Kachhi District (1986), Quetta. Rpr.

Gazetteer of Balochistan, Kharan District (1907), Vol. VII -A, Bombay.

Gazetteer of Balochistan, Kharan District (1986), Quetta. Rpr.

Gazetteer of Balochistan, Sibi District (1986), Quetta. Rpr.

Gazetteer of India - Imperial Provincial Series Punjab (1979). Rpr.

Gazetteer of Punjab District (1935), Vol. XVIII A, Montgomery, Lahore.

Gazetteer of Punjab Districts, II, Part I, Multan District (1923 - 24), 1926, Lahore.

Gazetteer of Punjab Districts, Muzaffargarh, (1929- 30), Vol. XXXIV - A, Lahore.

Gazetteer of Punjab Districts, Muzaffargarh, 1908 (1910), Vol . XXXIV - A Lahore.

Gazetteer of Punjab Districts, Muzaffargarh, Leiah Tehsil (1916-1919), Part II-B, Lahore.

Gazetteer of Punjab States (1908), Vol. XXXVIA, Bahawalpur State.

Gazetteer of the Province of Sindh 'A' Volume (1907), Karachi, Compiled by Aitken, E. H.

Ghafur, M. A (1968), *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi.

Ghani, Habib (1992), *Tomb of Hazrat Mauj Darya* IN Journal of Central Asia, Vol XV, No. 2 December 1992, Islamabad.

Glzani, Dr. Abbas, *Arms and Armour Motifs on Chakrandi Type Tombs*. Pakistan Archaeology, 10-22 Department of Archaeology Karachi.

Golombek and Wilber D. (1988), *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton.

Grabar, Oleg (1987), *The Formation of Islamic Art*, Second Edition, New Heaven.

Grube, Ernst (1966), *The World of Islam*, New York. Gilani, S. Mohammad Aulad (1938) *Muraqqa-e-Multan* (Urdu), Lahore.

Haleem, M. A (1970 - 71 and 1972), *Excavations at Sarai Khola*, (Part I and II) IN Pakistan

Hamid Ali (1972), *Necropolis of the Beglars at Miyan Wahyun* (Sindh) IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 7 - 1970 - 71, Karachi.

Hasan, Agah Mahdi (1976), *Tughlaq Dynasty*, New Delhi.

Hasan, M. Usman (1988), *Teracotta Plaques decorated tombs in Baluchistan* IN Proceedings of Third South Asian Archaeological Congress, Islamabad, 1988.

Hasan, M. Usman (1990), *Ancient Dukmas in Baluchistan* IN Journal of Central Asia Vol. XIII No. 2, December, 1990, Islamabad.

Hasan, M. Usman (1993), *Influence of Central and West Asian Religious and Cultures since 7th Century on Construction and Decoration of Tombs and Graves in Baluchistan and the Sub-continent* IN Journal of Central Asia Vol. XVI, No. 1-2, July and December, 1993, Islamabad.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1996), *Kalhoras, Their Tomb Architecture and its Special Characteristics* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society Vol. XLIV, Part III, July, 1996, Karachi.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1996), *Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan*, Royal Book Co., Karachi.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1975), *Pictorial Representation on Muslim Tombs in Sindh* IN Sindh Quarterly Vol. I, No. 1, Karachi.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1976), *Origin of Chaukhandi Tombs* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society Vol. XXIV (Part II), Karachi.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1981), *Stone Carvings from Historical Monuments at Makli Hill, Thatta* IN Proceedings of the Hijra Celebration Symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy, Architecture and Archaeology, Vol. I, Peshawar.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1984), *Stone Reliefs from Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan* IN East and West, Vol. 34, No.s 1-3 (September, 1984). New Series, IsMEO, Rome.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1988), *Tomb of Darya Khan alias Mubarak Khan Prime Minister and General of Jam Nizamuddin Nindo; A Summa Ruler of Sindh* IN Proceedings of the Third South Asian Archaeological Congress, held at Islamabad, printed at Karachi.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1990), *An Indus Seal Depicting An Anthropomorphic Scene* IN Journal of Central Asia Vol. XIII, No. 2 December, 1990. Islamabad.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1990), *Nausherwanies Tombs in Kharan, Baluchistan* IN South Asian Archaeology, 1987, IsMEO, Rome.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1991), *Pre-Mughal tombs at Alore, District Sukkur (Sindh)* IN Journal of Central Asia Vol. XIV No. 1, July, 1991, Islamabad.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1993), *Marvels of Brick Ornamentation* - Friday Magazine 'DAWN', Karachi, 8th January, 1993.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1994), *Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Sindh* IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society Vol. XLIII, Part III, July 1994, Karachi.

Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid (1998), *Talpurs and Their Tomb Architecture*, IN Journal of Pakistan Historical Society, Vol. XLVI, No. 3, July-September, 1998, Karachi.

Hastenrath, Salome Zajadacz (1978), *Chaukhandi Graber*, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Hastenrath, Salome Zajadacz (1990 - 91), *Islamic Funerary Enclosures in Sindh* IN Islamic Art (IV), New York.

Hastenrath, Salome Zajadacz (1997), *A Note on Babur's Lost Funerary Enclosure at Kabul* IN Muqarnas, Vol, 14, Leiden.

Hegewald, J., *Water architecture in South Asia*, Leiden 2002.

Hillenbrand, R (1973), *The Development of Seljuk Mausolea in Iran in Colloquies on Art and Architecture in Asia*, No. 4. Hillenbrand, R, (1994), *Islamic Architecture*, Edinburgh.

Hillenbrand, R, (1994), *Islamic Architecture*, Edinburgh.

Hitti, Philip K (1970), *History of the Arabs*, 10th Edition, London,

Hoag, John (1975), *Islamic Architecture*. Harry N. Abrams, Inc. New York, 1975

Hornell, James (1942), *Hero Memorial – Stones of Kathiawar* IN Antiquity Vol. XVI, No. 64, December, 1942, London.

Huddle, J. F. (1836), *Memoir on the River Indus* (May, 1836), Selections from the Records of Bombay Govt. No. XVII - New Series, Part II.

Hughes, AW. (1977), *The Country of Baluchistan*, Quetta, Rpr.

Hurlimann, Martin (1968), Delhi, Agra, Fatepur Sikri, (London).

Hussain, Talib (1994), *Mausoleum of Hazrat Sultan Ahmad Qatal at Jalilpur Pirwala Distt. Multan* IN Lahore Museum Bulletin Vol. VII, January -December, 1994: Lahore.

Ibrahim, Asma, (1993), *Recent Archaeological Discoveries* IN Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum Vol. 2, Issue I & II, Karachi.

Islam, Riazul ,(1999) *Centre Asia-History, Politics and Culture*, Proceedings of International Conference on Central Asia, Karachi.

Jairazbhoy, R. A., (1961), *An outline of Islamic architecture*, London.

Jansen, Michael (1991), *Mohenjodaro - A City on the Indus* IN Forgotten Cities on the Indus, Mainz, Germany.

Jarriage J. P. et al (1980), *The Antecedents of Civilization in the Indus Valley*. Scientific American Journal, August 1980 (243, No. 2)

Jarriage. J. F. , (1979) *Excavations at Mehargarh, Balochistan - Their Significance in the Pre-Historic Context of Indo-Pakistan Borderlands* in the Proceedings of South Asian Archaeological Conference, Vol. I, Naples.

Jean, Lassus (1966), *Land Marks of the World Art - The Early Christian and Byzantine World*, London.

Jettmar, K. (1967), *The Middle Asiatic Heritage of Dardistan* (Islamic Collective Tombs in Punjab and their background) East and West, Vol. 17, IsMEO, Rome.

Jones, Dalu (1978), *Surface Pattern and Light* IN *Architecture of the Islamic World*, London. ed. George Michell.

Jr. James L. Wescoat and others (1996), *Mughal Gardens, Sources, Places Representations and Prospects*, Washington.

Juneja, M. (2001), ed., *Architecture in medieval India: Forms, contexts, histories*, Delhi.

Jung, Michael (1994), *Representation of Camels and Camel Riders in the Rock Art of North Yemen*, East and West, Vol. 44, Nos. 2 - 4, December, 1994, IsMEO, Rome.

Karim, Abdul (1959), *Social History of the Muslims of Bengal*, Dacca.

Kervan, Monik (1992), *The Fortress of Ratto Kot at the mouth of the Banbhore River* (Indus Delta in Sindh-Pakistan) IN *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 27 Department of Archaeology, Karachi.

Khaldun, Ibn (1958), *The Muqaddimah*, Vol. II, New York. tr. Franz Rosenthal.

Khan, A. N. (1974), *The Mausoleum of Sh. Ala- AI-Din At Pakpattan* IN *East and West* (New Series) Vol. 24, Nos. 3 - 4, September – December 1974, IsMEO, Rome.

Khan, A. N. (1977), *Mausoleum of Ali Akbar at Multan* IN *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* Vol. XIV No. 1, January, 1977, Lahore.

Khan, A. N. (1983), *Multan - History and Architecture*, Islamabad.

Khan, A. N. (1988), *Naked Brick Architecture of Early Islamic Period; An Analytical Study* IN *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 23 - 1987-88, Deptt of Archaeology, Karachi.

Khan, A. N. (1990), *Two Musallah Mehrabs of 13th and 14th centuries AD. at Kabirwala and Pak-Pattan* IN *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 24 - 1989, Deptt of Archeology, Karachi.

Khan, A. N., (2003). *Islamic architecture in South Asia: Pakistan-India-Bangladesh*, Karachi.

Khan, A. Rauf (1979), *New Archaeological Sites in Las Bela - A New Neolithic Settlement Discovered* IN *Grass Roots* Vol. III, No. 2 Autumn, 1979, Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sindh, Jamshoro.

- Khan, F. A. (1964), *Introduction to Pakistan Archaeology No. 1*, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.
- Khan, F. A. (1965), *Excavations at Kotdiji IN Pakistan Archaeology, No. 2*, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.
- Khan, F. A. (1969), *Architecture and Art Treasures in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Khan, F. A. (1976) Banbhore (4th Edition), *Department of Archaeology*, Karachi.
- Khan, F. A. (1981), *Kotdiji; Its Greatness in Indus Valley, New Perspective*, Islamabad.
- Khan, Farid Khan ,(1988), *Pre - historic and Proto - historic Settlements in Bannu District*, Pakistan Archaeology No. 23, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.
- Khan, M. Waliullah (1964), *Lahore and Its Important Monuments. Revised Edition*, Karachi.
- Khan, Mohammad Ayub (1974), *Tazakara-i- Afghania-i-Jullundhar*, Lahore.
- Khan, Nazir Ahmad (1985), *A Ghaznavid Historical Inscription from Udegram, Swat IN East and West (New Series) Vol. 35, Nos. 1-3 (September, 1985)*, ISMEO, Rome.
- Konieczny, M. G. (1971), *Mausoleen Von Johi IN Fikrun W. A. Fann, No. 17 of 1971*, Hamburg.
- Khan, Hasanuddin and Frishman, Martin (1994), *The Mosque, History, Architectural Development and Regional Diversity*, London. Kuhnle, Ernst (1966), *Islamic Art and Architecture*. tr. from German by Katherine Watson, London.
- Kuban, D. (1974-85), *Muslim Religious Architecture*, Leiden.
- Kureshi, Hamid (1931), *Multan, Its Brief History and Persian and Arabic Inscriptions IN Epigraphia Indo - Moslemica, 1927 - 28*, Calcutta.
- Khurd, Amir (1302 A.H/ 1884 A.D), *Siyar AI Auliya*, Delhi.
- Lal, Kanhiya (1977), *Tarikh-e-Lahore (Urdu)*, Lahore.
- Lambah, A. N. and A. Patel, eds., *The architecture of the Indian Sultanates*, Mumbai 2006.
- Lambrick, H. T. (1986), *Sindh - A General Introduction*, Hyderabad.
- Lari, Suhail and Lari, Yasmeen (1997), *The Jewel of Sindh - Sammas Monuments of Makli Hill, Thatta*, Karachi.
- Lashari, Kaleem (1993), *Evolution of Stone Graves in Kohistan and Coastal Areas of Sindh, Baluchistan IN Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum, Vol. I, Issue I, June, 1997*, Karachi.

Lashari, Kaleem (1993), *Study of Decorative Patterns and Their Evolution On Stone Carved Graves* IN Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum; Vol.2, Issue I & II, Karachi.

Lashari, Kaleem (1995), *Structural Development of Stone Carved Graves in Kohistan* IN Archaeological Review Vol. 4, Issue I & II Karachi. Memoir Archaeological Survey of India, No. 47, New Delhi.

Lashari, Kaleem, *Study of Decorative Patterns and The' Evolution on Stone Carved Graves.* In Journal of Pakistan Arcaeologists' Forum. Vot 2, Issue: I & II, 1993, Karachi.

Latif, S. M. (1892), *Lahore, Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, Lahore.

Latif, S. M. (1963), *Early History of Multan*, Lahore, Rpr.

L.khawar, Ali Mohammad (1981), *Kalhora Architecture in Sindh* IN Proceedings of the Hijra Celebration Symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy, Architecture and Archaeology, Vol. I, Peshawar.

Lung, Michael (1992), *Notes on two small hypostyle mosques in Gayman*, North Yemen, East and West Vol. 42 - Nos 2-4. December, 1992, ISMEO, Rome.

Ma'asarul Umra (1968) by Shah Nawaz Khan, tr. in Urdu, Muhammad Ayub Khan, Lahore.

Mahdi Hasan Agha (1938), *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlaq*, London.

Makli Nama (1994) ed. S. Husamuddin Rashdi (Sindhi), Hyderabad.

Marshall, John (1928), *The Monuments of Muslim India in the Cambridge History of India*, Vol. HI. Cambridge.

Masum AI-Bhakkari IN Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, Part I, April, 1991).

Mehar, Ghulam Rasul (1958), *Tarikh -e- Sindh, Kalhora Period* (Urdu) Vol: I & II, Hyderabad.

Michell, George-ed (1978), *Architecture of the Islamic*, World, London.

Monik, Kervan (1973), *Vanishing Cities of the North- West Indus Delta* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 28-1993, Dept. of Archaeology, Karachi.

Mughal, M. R. (1972), *Summary of Excavation & Exploration* IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 8, Dept. of Archaeology Karachi.

Mughal, M. R. (1974), *New Evidence from the Early Harappan Culture from Jalilpur* in *Archaeology* No. 27 (2) Archaeological Institute of America, Boston.

Mughal, M. R. (1990), *Bhiro Bham; An Early I and II*, Oxford. *Muslim Settlement in Sindh* , IN Central Asia Vol. XIII No. 2, December, 1990, Islamabad.

- Mughal, M. Rafique (1997), *Ancient Cholistan, Archaeology and Architecture*, Lahore.
- Mumtaz, Kamil Khan (1985), *Architecture in Pakistan*, Singapore.
- Muntakhabut Tawarikh, *Al- Badayuni* (1973), ed. T. Wolsey Haig, Vol. I - III, Delhi. Rpr.
- Nath, R. (1978), *History of Sultanate Architecture*, New Delhi.
- Nath, R. (1984), *History of Mughal Architecture*, Vol. I New Delhi.
- Nath, R. (1985), *History of Mughal Architecture*, IN East & West Vol: 48, No. 3 - 4 (December Vol. II, New Delhi.
- Nath, R. (1993), *Chaukhandi in Mughal Architecture-* Journal of Pakistan Historical Society Vol. XVI (Part IV), October, 1993, Karachi.
- Nazim, Muhammad (1931), *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge.
- Nizami, K. A. (1955), *The Life and Times of Sh. Fariduddin Ganj-i-Shakar*, Lahore, Rpr.
- Nomani, Allama Shibli (1985), *Seerat-un-Nabi(Urdu)*, Vol. II, 4th Edition, Lahore, Oriental College Magazine, May, 1938, Lahore.
- O'Kane, Bernard, (1987), *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, Costa Mesa.
- Page, Burton (1965), *Tomb of Rukn-e-Alam* IN Splendours of the East. ed R. E. M. Wheeler.
- Page, John Burton (1986), *Muslim Graves of the Lesser Traditions, Gilgat, Punial, Swat, Yousufzai* IN Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, No. 2 of 1986. London.
- Pakistan Archaeology No. 1* (1964), Department of Archaeology, Karachi.
- Pakistan Archaeology No. 5*, 1968, Department of Archaeology, Karachi.
- Parodi, Laura E (1998), *The Bibi Ka Maqbara in Aurangabad- A Land Mark of Mughal Power* IN East & West Vol: 48, No. 3 - 4 , Rome.
- Parvaiz, Sajjad Hyder (184), *Zila Muzaffargarh Tarikh, Saqafat, Te Adab (Punjabi)*, Lahore.
- Pope, A. U. (1939), *A Survey of Persian Art*, Vol. I and II, Oxford.
- Pope, A. U. (1965), *Persain Architecture: The Triumph of form and colour*, New York
- Postans, T. (1973). *Personal Observations on Sindh*, Karachi. Rpr.
- Pottinger, Henry (1976), *Travels in Baluchistan and Sindh*, Karachi. Rpr.
- Prasad, Ishwari (1974). *A History of Qaraunah Turks in India*, Allahabad.

- Price, D. (1821), *Memoirs of the Principal Events of Mohammadan History* ,Vol. III, Part I, London.
- Pugachenkova, G. A. (1963), *Ishrat Khana and Ak-Saray, Two Timurid Mausoleums* ,IN Arts Orientalis, Vol. 5, University of Michigin.
- Quddusi' Aijazul Haque (1962), *Tazkara-i-Sufia Punjab*, Karachi.
- Quddusi' Aijazul Haque (1974), *Tazkara-i-Sindh*, Vol. II, Karachi.
- Qureshi, I. H. (1992-Reprint), *Introduction to 'A History of Pakistan'*, Karachi
- Qureshi, Mufti Ghulam Sarwar (1877), *Tarikh-e- Mukhzan-e-Punjab*, Kanpur.
- Rajab, Muhammad Ghazi (1967), *The Minaret of Ibn Tulun* IN Sumer, Vol. XXIII, Baghdad.
- Rajput, A. B. (1963), *Architecture in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Ram, Hattu (1907), *Tarikh-e-Baluchistan* (Urdu), Quetta.
- Rampel, L. I. (1936), *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Architecture* No. IV. NewYork.
- Rashdi, Pir Husamuddin (1968), *Mihran (Sindh)* No. 4. Hyderabad.
- Rashid, Sh. Abdur (1992), *A Short History of Pakistan*, Book No. 3 (Mughal Period), Karachi.
- Rashid-ud- Din (1957), *Jami-al- Tawarikh*, Vol. Ill, Baku. ed. A. A. Alizadeh.
- Rauf, Muhammad (1996),*Tomb of Bahadur Khan,Who is buried there?* IN Lahore, Museum, Bulletin, Vol. IX, January-June, 1996, Vol. I, Lahore.
- Rehman Dr. Abdul (1981), *Shaikh Imam Al-Din and His tomb at Palosi Piran, Kotla Mohsin Khan Monuments and Nawab Saeed Khan and his Tomb* IN Proceedings of the Hijra Celebration Symposium on Islamic Art, Calligraphy, Architecture and Archaeology, Vol. I, II & III, Peshawar.
- Rehman, Abdul (1997), *Historic Towns of Punjab, Ancient and Mediaeval Period*, Lahore.
- Rehman, Abdul and others (1996), *the Mughal Gardens*, Lahore.
- Rehman, Dr. Abdul (1979), *The Last Two Dynasties of The Sahis*, Islamabad.
- Rehman, Dr. Abdul (1981), *Islamic Architecture of Pakistan-An Introduction*, Peshawar
- Rehman, Tariq (1996), *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, Karachi.
- Rice, David Talbot (1975), *Islamic Art*, London. Revised Edition.

- Rizvi, S. A. A. (1980), *The Legacy of Architecture IN World of Islam*. London ed. Bernard Lewis.
- Rodgers and Beveridge-ed (1909), *Tuzk-e- Jehangiri*, Vol. 1. London.
- Rosenthal Franz-ed (1958), *Ibn Khaldun – The Muqaddima*, Vol. II, New York.
- Saad, Ibn (1380 A. H. 1969 A. D.), *Tabaqat al – Kubra* (Arabic), Vol. 1. Beirut.
- Saad, Ibn (1977), *Akhbar-un-Nabi*, Vol. II (Urdu), Karachi.
- Sabahuddin, Maulana Abdur Rehman (1984), *Pir Husamuddin Rashidi and His Literary Works* (Urdu), Karachi.
- Sanadeed-e-Sindh* (1970) (Urdu - English) Lahore. ed. Ahmed Rabbani.
- Sarhandi, Yahya bin Ahmad (1976), *Tarikh –e Mubarak Shahi* (Urdu), Lahore. tr. Dr. Aftab Saghir.
- Scerrato, Umberto (1976), *Monuments of Islam*, London.
- Scerrato, Umberto (1986, *Excavations at Raja Gira, Swat-A Preliminary Report IN Pakistan Archaeology No. 10-22 (1974- 86)*, Karachi.
- Schimmel, Annemarie (1983), *Makli Hill: A Centre of Islamic Culture in Sindh*, Karachi.
- Sebag, Paul (1965), *The Great Mosque of Kairouran*, London. tr. Richard Howard.
- Shackle, Christopher (1976), *The Seraiki Language of Central Pakistan -A reference Grammar*, London.
- Shah, Pir Mohammad Akram (1399 A.HI 1978 AD), *Zia-ul-Quran* (Text., Tr., and Commentry in Urdu) Vol. 4,Lahore.
- Shahab, Masud Hasan (1967), *Khittai Pak. Uchh* (Urdu), Bahawalpure.
- Sharif, Mohammad (1989), *A Forgotton City of Lower Sindh IN Journal of Central Asia*, Vol .XII. No. 2, December, 1989, Islambad.
- Shikoh, Dara (n.d.) *Safinat-al-Aulia* (Urdu)., Lahore., tr. Mohammad Waris.
- Sayfi (1944), *Tarikh Nameh-e-Herat.*, ed. Muhammad Zubayr as - Siddiqi. Calcutta.
- Siddiqi, M. Idris (1979), *Thatta, Karachi. Sultanate Period Architecture* (1990), Lahore. ed. Dr. Siddiq-a-Akbar.
- Siddique, Mohammad (1995), *Mausoluem of Hazrat Daud Bandgi Kirmani IN Lahore Museum Bulletin*, Vol, VIII, July, December, 1995).

Siddiqui, Mahmudul Hasan (1972), *History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sindh*, Hyderabad.

Silvi, Antoni and G. Stacul (1972), *The Pre – Historic graveyards of Swat, Pakistan*, 2 Volumes Rome.

Staurt. C. M. Villiers (1913), *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London.

Stein, A (1930), *Archaeological Reconnaissance in North - Western India and South Eastern Iran*, London.

Stein, A (1931), *Archaeological Tours in Gedrosia: Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 43, Calcutta.

Sunnan, Abud Daud (1984), Vol. I and III., Lahore Tr. Ahmad Hasan.

Tarikh-e-Masumi (1959), Hyderabad, cd. N. A.

Tate, G.P. (1986), *Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 6, Cambridge.

Tate. G. P. (1977), *Seistan - A Memoir on the History, Topography, Ruins and People of the Country*, Lahore. Rpr

Terry John (1955), *Indo-Islamic Architecture*, London.

The History and evolution of the dome in Persia, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XLIV, London.

Troll, Christian W (1989), *Muslim Shrines in India*, New Delhi.

Tughlaq Nama (1933), *Aurangabad, Deccan*, tr. Farid Hashmi.

Tuhfatul Kiram (1971), Hyderabad, ed. S. Hussamuddin Rashdi.

Tuzuk-e-Jehangiri (1909), VoU, London. Tr Alexander Rodgers and Henry Beveridge.

Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam (1984) Vol. XX, Punjab University, Lahore.

Vogel, J. Ph. (1904), *Tombs at Hinidan, Archaeological Survey of India Report 1902 - 03*.

Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Delhi museum of archaeology, Appx. ii, The sultans of Delhi and their existing monuments*, Calcutta 1908.

Vogel, J.P, *Tombs at Hinidan in LasbeIIa – Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India - Culcutta-1902-3*.

Wagha. Ahsan (1990), *The Seraiki Language, Its Growth and Development*, Islamabad

Wassaf (1852-53), *Tarikh-e-Wassaf*, Bombay.

- Wasti, S. Zahid Ali (1993), *Bahawalpur Ki Sarzameen* (Urdu), Multan.
- Wheeler, Mortimer (1950), *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, London.
- Wheeler, Mortimer (1965), *Middle East, Al Mutawakkal Mosque, Samarra* IN *Splandours of the East*, London.
- Whitehouse, D (1974) *Excavations at Siraf (Sixth Interium Report) Iran XII*. London.
- Wiber, Donald N (1955), *The Architecture of IslamicIran-The Il-khanid Period*, Princeton.
- Wilber Donald N (1962), *Paradise Gardens and Garden Pavilions*. Tokyo.
- Wilber Donald Nand Golomback Lisa (1988), *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*.
- Wittower, Rudolf, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanisrn- A lee Tirants*, London 1962, see references to: *Wisdom of Solomon XI p*
- Wittower, Rudolf, *The Changing Concept of Proportion*, DAEDA VS, Winter 1960.
- Zaki, Yaqub (1978), *Allah and Eternity, Mosques, Madrassas and Tombs* IN *Architecture of the Islamic World*, London., ed. George Michell.)

