

**INTERROGATING THE DEAD:
RE-ASSESSING THE CULTURAL IDENTITIES OF THE SAMMA DYNASTY (1351-
1522) AT THE NECROPOLIS OF MAKLI, SINDH (PAKISTAN)**

by

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B.Arch., University of Engineering & Technology Lahore, 2000
M.Arch., University of Engineering & Technology Lahore, 2009

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

During the preliminary phase of analytical discourse on South Asia's medieval history, the scholarship rigidly demarcated the material cultures of the pre-Islamic societies from those of the Muslim communities that were only introduced to the region's landscapes once the Islamic political rule was established. This was done to simplify the process of examining the regional, religious, ethnic, political, and cultural disparities in the Indian subcontinent's medieval milieu. Consequently, the exceedingly broad categories of "Muslim" and "Hindu" were conceived to portray the identities of South Asian societies and cultures. However, these categories remain in use even in the current art historical scholarship that shows a tendency to classify the historical artifacts based on either geographic or sectarian identities. To that end, the sites developed by Muslim rulers are termed as "Islamic/Muslim," and Hindu temples as "Indian." Such simplistic classifications, which identify the social and material cultures with singular monolithic identities, overlook the dynamics of intercultural and interfaith interactions between the diverse co-existing communities of South Asian regions that played an active role in shaping those cultures.

The Samma dynastic architecture in the vast necropolis of Makli – a UNESCO world heritage site located in the city Thatta (in present-day Sindh province of Pakistan) – presents an opportunity to examine this key methodological issue. Modern scholars classify Samma architecture under the polarities such as "Sindhi," "Islamic," and "Indo-Islamic." The present research challenges these classifications to demonstrate that the overall artistic program of Samma architecture does not reflect any single culture, religion or region. In fact, it evinces a hybridization of style and character, and hence, transcends the standard categorization of architectural artifacts from South Asia. Therefore, by actively engaging with the architecture, decoration, and epigraphy, this study allows for the formulation of important conclusions on the meanings attached to the Samma dynastic architecture, which was a key medium of presenting their social, religious, political and cultural programs. Additionally, this study demonstrates where Samma monuments fit within the broader categories of artistic productions from South Asia as well as the wider Islamic world. Hence, where this research augments the overly broad and simplified classifications, it also aims to produce a more meaningful analytical framework that moves beyond visual analysis, iconography, and typology.

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Note on Translation and Transliteration

The translations of excerpts/quotes from non-English sources, as well as those of the non-Qur'anic architectural epigraphs are my own, unless otherwise noted. The textual excerpts/quotes are not italicized in the dissertation, but the translations of the epigraphs are italicized. The translations of all Qur'anic verses in the epigraphs are quoted according to Sahih International (trans.). The excerpts taken from other textual sources (English) are copied exactly as they appear in the original (in spelling the terms and in their transliteration). This study recounts terms used in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Sindhi. For convenience I have replaced the Sindhi words with their Urdu equivalents, as is commonly done in Sindh today (for example, *Thatta* instead of *Thatto*). To make the text more accessible, I have not used diacritics for proper nouns, especially personal names (except for when transcribing the architectural inscriptions), though I have preserved the 'ayn (ع) and hamzah (the glottal stop; ء). For place names, commonly used modern spellings are adopted, however, where the old (abandoned) names of the places (as found in primary texts) are used they are italicized and transliterated. I have followed the standard academic format in writing those non-English terms that have now become common in English scholarship, therefore, they have not been italicized, however, their transliteration depends on how they appear in sources. For example, words with diacritics: Māru-Gurjara or Viśnu, and words without diacritics: Qur'an, Shi'i imams, and so on (in the latter cases 'ayn and hamzah are retained). In spelling and transliterating the Sanskrit words I have used the system of the *Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture (North India)*, and the words used in Muslim cultures are written according to the *Encyclopedia of*

Islam, THREE.¹ The transliteration of the words of Arabic, Persian and Urdu is done according to the following chart.

Transliteration Chart

Urdu	Arabic	Persian	Urdu	Arabic	Persian
‘	‘	ع	’	’	ء
gh	gh	gh	b	b	B
f	f	f	P		p
q	q	q	t	t	t
k	k	k	ṭ		ṭ
g		g	ś	th	ś
l	l	l	j	j	j
m	m	m	ch		ch
n	n	n	ḥ	ḥ	ḥ
ṇ		ں	kh	kh	kh
w	w	w	d	d	d
h	h	ه	ḍ		ḍ
y/ī/ē	y/ī/ē	y/ī/ē	z	dh	z
ē		ے	r	r	r
			ṛ		ṛ
ā	ā	ā	z	z	z
ū/ō	ū/ō	ū/ō	zh		zh
a	a	ا	s	s	s
i	i	ی	sh	sh	sh
u	u	و	ş	ş	ş
ah/t	ah/t	اھ/ت	ž	ḍ	ž
aw	aw	او	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
ay	ay	ای	z	z	z

¹ Gudrun Krämer et al., eds., *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE* (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 2008); M.A. Dhaky, ed., *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. A.D. 900-1000*, vol. II, Part 3, *Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture* (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies & Indra Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1998).

INTRODUCTION

What Finbarr B. Flood observed about Sindh a decade ago still stands correct: “By contrast, Arab Sind has been forgotten, ignored in studies of early Islamic material.”¹ However, this gap in scholarship holds true not just for the period of Arab hegemony in Sindh but for all the chapters of the region’s medieval history of Muslim rule. Its setting on the edge of the northern Indian Ocean and on the crossroads from Persia, Central Asia, Northern and Western India has left Sindh with multifaceted cultural and material traditions. Researchers are faced, however, with a large gap in the contemporary textual sources from medieval Sindh, making this historic period significantly obscure. Almost all of the pre-modern cities of Sindh are lost; some to natural calamities such as seismic activities and shifts in the course of its river Indus, while others were violently plundered by foreign invaders. Those on the coasts lay submerged in the seas only to be revealed as eroded ruins when the water ebbs during low tides.² In these circumstances, the limited material traces, in the form of archaeological remains scattered over Sindh’s diverse topography, are extremely useful in gathering information and building historic narratives. Most of these extant remains from the late-medieval centuries are funerary in character. Nevertheless, one can acquire from the architectural traditions of a region, substantial knowledge about the political ideologies, religious affiliations and socio-economic statuses of its patrons in particular, and about the contemporary societal values and dimensions of communal identities in general. This is the point of departure for the present study that broadly shows how the archaeological and architectural

¹ Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval “Hindu-Muslim” Encounter* (Princeton University Press, 2009), 15.

² Monique Kervran, “Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l’Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sinite,” in *Sites et Monuments Disparus d’après Les Témoignages de Voyageurs*, vol. VIII, Res Orientales, 1996, 45–92; Monik Kervran, “Damrila, un Site perdu et peut-être retrouvé du Delta de l’Indus,” *La Lettre: APIM (Atlas des Ports et Itinéraires maritimes de l’Islam médiéval* 1 (2010): 4–7; Monik Kervran, “Vanishing Medieval Cities of the Northwest Indus Delta,” *Pakistan Archaeology* 28 (1993): 3–54.

remnants, especially those associated with the dead, are representative of the corresponding society and can effectively be used to decipher key evidence about past cultures, essentially to compensate for the paucity of contemporary literary evidence.

The present study has another agenda of even greater significance. The main task is to test the validity of the classification framework that has been adopted throughout the modern centuries for the analysis of historic artifacts from South Asia. Some form of classification is inherent in research, to bring order and clarity to the available source material necessary for the purpose of narrativization. Hence, during the preliminary phase of analytical discourse on South Asia's medieval history, the colonial scholarship from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries rigidly demarcated the material cultures of the pre-Islamic societies from those of the Muslim communities that were introduced to the region's landscapes after the establishment of Islamic political rule. This was done to simplify the process of examining the regional, religious, ethnic, political, and cultural disparities in subcontinent's medieval milieu. Consequently, the exceedingly broad categories of "Muslim" and "Hindu" were conceived to portray the identities of South Asian societies and cultures. Some elements of the scholarly methodologies driving these colonial narratives endure in the current art historical scholarship on South Asia. This scholarship continues to show inclinations towards classifying the historical artifacts based on either geographic or sectarian identities. To that end, the sites developed by Muslim rulers are termed as "Muslim/Islamic," and Hindu temples as "Indian." Such simplistic classifications that identify the sites and buildings with singular monolithic identities based on religions of their patrons or on their present-day terrestrial settings, though were surely beneficial in initiating the process of historical narrativization two centuries ago, but recent advances in knowledge have rendered these

classifications as ineffective.³ The reason being that this comprehensive and generalized classification system primarily overlooks the dynamics of intercultural and interfaith interactions between co-existing communities in South Asian regions that endured diverse religions, ethnicities and cultures. Consequently, as emphasized throughout this study, such classifications have occasioned imprecise scholarship, obscuring rather than clarifying the complex architectural and cultural events.

The UNESCO World Heritage Site of Makli Necropolis

The necropolis of Makli, located on a long ridge northwest of the city of Thatta in southern Sindh (present-day Pakistan), presents an opportunity to examine these key methodological issues of representations and the building of a more nuanced framework accounting for layers of cultural complexity and classification systems. In 1981 UNESCO identified the necropolis of Makli as a world heritage site that “bears a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living, or which has disappeared.”⁴ Numerous legends surround Makli; it is a living site which has remained in use for burials and Sufi mystical gatherings since its foundation in the late fourteenth century up till the present times. In art history and archaeology, a “necropolis” (term derived from Greek *nekropolis* meaning “city of the dead”) is an extensive and elaborate place of burial with grand-scale monuments in a historic city. Customarily, such historic necropolises were located outside the city proper and sometimes also along the rivers across from

³ The recent scholarship of Alka Patel provides a model for this significant assumption. Patel’s contours of examination include the Islamic ritual buildings of Gujarat built between the mid twelfth through the fourteenth centuries. See: Alka Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt: Architecture and Society During the Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries* (BRILL, 2004), 1–7, 165.

⁴ UNESCO World Heritage Centre, “Historical Monuments at Makli, Thatta,” UNESCO World Heritage Centre, accessed April 27, 2018, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/143/>.

the cities, as in ancient Egypt. Moreover, these necropolises often consisted of many small cemeteries, established at different times over a period of several centuries.⁵

Travelling from Karachi towards east on the National Highway N5, at a distance of about 98 km, the vast funerary complex of Makli comes in view spread on top of a long flat ridge, set within the alluvial plains of the Indus river. The ridge that departs about 33 km in the south of the historic city of Thatta, runs parallel to the city and terminates about 3 km to its northwest, creating a plateau. This plateau varies in elevation from 24 to 45 m above the level of the surrounding lands.⁶ The monumental structures of the Makli necropolis are mostly concentrated along the eastern edge of the ridge (Fig. 1), which was once framed by a wide lake-like perennial stream of Indus that today is a mere dry bed; the Indus now flows about 10 km east of Makli.⁷ The area surrounding the necropolis has also gradually developed into an urban space, which today is a separate municipality within Thatta district with a population of about sixty thousand.

Scholars classify the Makli necropolis through the inaccurate lens of its Muslim religious orientation, largely categorizing the site as a sacred space principally “Islamic” in cultural character.⁸ Yet, Makli contained secular structures, as well as those used for rituals by the multi-faith and multi-cultural population of contemporary Thatta. Throughout its medieval and early-modern history, the cemetery that was originally planned at some distance from the urban landscape of the medieval

⁵ In classical Greece and Rome, however, a necropolis often lined the roads leading out of the settlement. “Necropolis,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed Dec 13, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/necropolis-archaeology>.

⁶ Albert William Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 2nd ed. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1876), 3.

⁷ Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath has discussed the important role topography played in the planning and development of this sacred landscape. See: Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “Some Remarks on the Historical Development of Makli Hill Necropolis and Its Stone Monuments,” in *Eastern Approaches: Essays on Asian Art and Archaeology*, ed. T. S. Maxwell (Oxford University Press, 1992), 206–16.

⁸ Ahmad Hasan Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, 1982); Annemarie Schimmel, *Makli Hill: A Center of Islamic Culture in Sindh*, vol. 1 (Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, University of Karachi, 1983); Suhail Zaheer Lari and Yasmeen Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill* (Karachi: Oxford University Press & Heritage Foundation, 1997); Ihsan H. Nadiem, *Makli: The Necropolis at Thatta* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2000).

city, represented a space where the living and the dead were in perpetual communion. The historic monuments of Makli ranged from *bāradarīs* (recreational pavilion) and gardens to step wells and water ponds, and from mosques and tombs to Sufi shrines, *madrasas* (institutions) and *khānqāhs* (Sufi hermitages). Where the Muslims used to gather on the site on the call of prayers, historic texts record that the non-Muslim inhabitants of Thatta (predominantly Hindus) also used this sacred space for various cultural activities.⁹ The city of Thatta was a rich and most cosmopolitan cities in the world during its “golden age” (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries). It was among the principal mercantile emporiums of South Asia that also served as the capital of Muslim Sindh from c. 1350 to c. 1760. The Samma dynasty of Sindh (r. 1351-1522) initiated Makli as a center of Sufi culture and their royal cemetery in the late fourteenth century. However, its historical development continued through the next four centuries as the site remained a center of cultural and religious events, as well as a place of burial for the successive rulers of Sindh until the eighteenth century. Therefore, the Makli necropolis can be viewed as a historical palimpsest that preserves several layers of history and visible traces of all these ruling dynasties of Sindh.¹⁰

Makli remains one of the largest pre-modern necropolises in the world, with thousands of artifacts and monuments spread over a naturally rocky area of about 10 sq. km. However, because of its enormous size and the wealth of cultural material, the necropolis of Makli offers sources for several studies and it is impossible to cover the site under one. Therefore, the scope of the present study is limited to the first phase of its development that took place under Samma dynastic patronage. As will be shown in the following chapters, the Samma cluster of monuments in Makli

⁹ See: Tāhir Muḥammad Nisyānī Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-baldah-i Ṭhattah al-ma'ruf bah Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, ed. Dr. N. B. Khan Baloch (Hyderabad, Sindh: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1964), 53–54.

¹⁰ For discussion on this see: Fatima Quraishi, “Necropolis as Palimpsest: The Cemetery of Makli in Sindh, Pakistan” (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York, New York University, 2019). For more general survey of architectural commissions at Makli by the rulers of Sindh, see: Dani, *Thatta*.

and Thatta are specifically significant in testing the above-discussed hypotheses on issues of representations and classifications.

Studying Samma Dynastic Architecture: Aims and Objectives, Methods and Theories

The Samma dynastic period comprises an exceptionally significant political era of Muslim rule in Sindh, which epitomizes a transitional phase of liberation and autonomy for the native Sindhi clansmen. It is, however, hard to visualize the comprehensive culture and development in Sindh under the Samma patronage due to the paucity of evidence from the dynastic period. In the absence of contemporary textual sources, modern scholars have ardently debated the history and culture of the dynasty, drawing on the court histories of contemporary neighbors or later historians in which the Sammas were presented.¹¹ Such studies clearly have limitations as most modern scholars, without paying more attention to the surviving materiality, have exclusively relied on texts written by historians who did not have any direct connection with the Sammas and only portrayed the dynastic rulers with an added layer of interpretation and analysis. As a result, the historical narratives produced on the Samma dynasty suffer from both errors and doubts. Correspondingly, accounts on their ethnic background, culture, and religion are surrounded by numerous uncertainties. In these circumstances, the fragmentary evidence from the dynastic period, preserved mainly in the form of funerary architectural artifacts, serve as primary informants. The Makli necropolis presents a rare concentration of Samma monumental compositions (see Appendix B), which have fortunately survived in fairly good condition. This group of monuments

¹¹ Ghulam Muhammad Lakho, *Samman jī Sulṭānate*, New edition (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1996); Arshad Islam, “Sūmrah and Sammah Rule in Sind (c. 1051-1520 C.E.),” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 46, no. 2 (1998): 69–78; ‘Alī Shīr Qānī’ Thattavī, *Maklīnāmo*, ed. Sayyid Hassam ud-Din Rashidi (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1967); Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources),” *Islamic Culture* 22, no. 4 (1948): 359–82; N. A. Baloch, “Chronology of the Samma Rulers of Sind,” in *Proceedings of the Meeting of the Second Session of the Pakistan Historical and Archives Commission, Peshawar, February 1954* (Karachi: Govt. of Pakistan Press, 1957), 23–29.

exhibit a variety of architectural forms, decorative techniques, ornamental motifs, and building materials. The Samma monuments at Makli together with a small corpus of other surviving contemporary artifacts, including architectural, numismatic and textual evidence – located or discovered from the present-day Thatta district (Map 2) – offer extremely useful and sufficient body of material to garner accurate data regarding the cultural identities of the Samma dynastic elites.

In modern scholarship Samma architecture is assigned polarized identities based on sectarian or regional categories. Nevertheless, during their reign the ambitious Samma Sultans reconfigured the political landscape of Sindh through expansions beyond its classical boundaries and through preservation of administrative stability in this expansive region. Contracting close alliances and associations, of various forms, with their multifaith subjects, governors, as well as with other contemporary polities within the wider geographic region, the Sammas provided increased opportunities for late-medieval Sindh to emerge as a place of transregional and transcultural circulation. At this time, the circulation of objects, knowledge, technology, information and most importantly people – particularly saintly figures, religious scholars, merchants, diplomats, political refugees, and skilled artisans – from different parts of Iran, Central Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, generated cross-geographical dialogues. These dialogues not only stimulated the dynamic revival and endurance of pre-Islamic cultural concepts, but also contributed towards generating processes of change and “transformation of culture,” resulting in the unique culturally “hybrid” and religiously “syncretic” architecture at Makli and Thatta during Samma dynastic rule.

A pragmatic definition of “hybridity” is provided by cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo, who states: “hybridity can be understood as the ongoing condition of all human cultures, which contain no zones of purity because they undergo continuous processes of transculturation

(two way borrowing and lending between cultures).”¹² The alternative model of “syncretism” on the other hand was originally applied to religious systems but now extends to the fusion of ideological systems as well, such as philosophies, ritual practices, culture and so on.¹³ Herein rises an important question of how does “hybridity” differ in its use from “syncretism,” or for that matter from other similarly applied terminologies such as “mixture” or “creolization”? As Charles Stewart identifies, it is difficult to assign these terms with definitive, mutually exclusive connotations; hence it perplexes even the experienced researcher in its use, yet these terms have been expended interchangeably by scholars. Nevertheless, where hybridity represents a biological metaphor that has been frequently used in analyses of cultural forms, syncretism is an anthropological concept, closely tied to questions of religious practices.¹⁴ In the context of art history and Indo-Islamic material culture, Finbarr B. Flood’s scholarship, while recognizing the shortcomings of these terminologies, explores theoretical concepts of “hybridization” and “transculturation” at great length with reference to medieval art and architecture of Ghaznavid and Ghurid dynasties ruling Afghanistan and the Indian subcontinent.¹⁵ My interpretative framework draws upon Flood’s work and in Chapters Two, Three, and Four, the concept of “hybridity” is exploited as a useful category of analysis for Samma architectural and cultural identities. Whereas in later chapters, which deal with the examination of Samma religious identities that indicates the presence of transcultural elements in the Sunni faith of the Jams of Sindh (see Chapter Five specifically), the notion of “syncretism” further helps in strengthening the arguments on transculturation and transreligious encounters in southern Sindh. As stated above, formulated in

¹² Renato Rosaldo, “Foreword,” in *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*, by García Canclini Néstor (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xv.

¹³ Charles Stewart, “Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture,” *Portuguese Studies* 27, no. 1 (2011): 48–55.

¹⁴ Stewart.

¹⁵ Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 5.

order to analyze religious forms, the theory of syncretism explains why, in conditions of new transcultural contacts, certain traditions and cultural traits are transmitted from one culture to the other and are adopted on the basis of commonalities, while others are lost due to differences.¹⁶

This dissertation is, however, also augmented by the use of “translation” as a method of analysis. My understanding of this method and the related notion of “transformation of culture” through hybridization process is shaped by the recent scholarship of Esra Akcan, a Turkish-American architect and a professor at Cornell University. Using lingual translation as a conceptual metaphor, Akcan defines “translation” as the processes of change and transformation that occur with the transportation of people, ideas, technology, information, and images, and which “take place under any condition, where there is a cultural flow from one place to another.”¹⁷ The theory of translation also greatly informs Flood’s scholarship, which in the context of medieval South Asia is closely linked to the present study of late medieval architecture of southern Sindh.¹⁸

The primary goal of this study is to re-assess the scholarship around Samma monuments, and carefully examine the artistic program of these structures to demonstrate that Samma architecture evinces hybridity, which principally indicates the interaction of two or more distinct “styles.” The notion of “style” in art/architectural history has been recently discussed by Jaś Elsner who presents stylistic analysis among the most effective and persuasive tools in the armory of art historians. Elsner also argues that the basic response to stylistic evaluations is for the art historians to group “like with like and the disjunction of unlikes, on the basis of morphological or formal analysis,” where an expert

¹⁶ Deborah A. Kapchan and Pauline Turner Strong, “Theorizing the Hybrid,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 112, no. 445 (Summer 1999): 239–53.

¹⁷ Esra Akcan, “Channels and Items of Translation,” in *Art History in the Wake of the Global Turn* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Sterling & Francine Clark Art Institute, 2014); Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation: Germany, Turkey, and the Modern House* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2012).

¹⁸ Finbarr Barry Flood, “Lost in Translation: Architecture, Taxonomy, and the Eastern ‘Turks,’” *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 79–115; Flood, *Objects of Translation*.

eye visually examining the cultural materiality can make its connections with a body of other material stored in memory.¹⁹ However, the theoretical framework presented in Michael Meister's research, and specifically in his studies on medieval Indic temples from Rajasthan, adds more clarity to my understanding of the notion of "architectural style" and its analysis. Meister defines style as an accumulation of general characteristics in architecture that reflect a broad cultural grouping of monuments.²⁰ He also argues that in India, "styles" are generally dependent variables, subjective to political powers, and therefore, also observed altering or mutating with shifts or declines to political authorities, to consequently stimulate the development of new styles.²¹ An ideal case to observe this concept is the formulation of the Māru-Gurjara, a composite temple architectural style from medieval Western India, the popularity and transmutation of which was linked to the mighty Chaulukya rulers (r. c. 940-1244) of Southern and Central India. These ideas are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

The present study, therefore, aims to examine Samma architectural artifacts employing a multidimensional methodologies and theoretical framework. This examination will demonstrate that to suggest that the overall artistic program of Samma architecture reflects any single identity does not fit the historic facts of the city's medieval society, which was diverse in terms of its ethnic, religious and cultural composition. Hence, by actively engaging with the architecture, decoration, and epigraphy of the extant Samma artifacts, the present study allows for the formulation of important conclusions about the significance of and the meanings attached to the Samma dynastic architecture, which was a key medium of presenting their social, religious, political and cultural

¹⁹ Jaś Elsner, "Style," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, Second (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 98–109.

²⁰ Michael W. Meister, "Bīṭhū: Individuality and Idiom," *Ars Orientalis* 13 (1982): 169–86; Michael W. Meister, "Style and Idiom in the Art of Uparāmala," *Muqarnas Online* 10, no. 1 (1992): 344–54.

²¹ Meister, "Bīṭhū: Individuality and Idiom."

programs. Additionally, this study will demonstrate how Samma monuments can be classified consistent with their architectural styles and where they fit within the broader categories of artistic productions from South Asia as well as the wider Islamic world. Therefore, this research will greatly augment the overly broad and simplified classifications but will also produce a more meaningful analytical framework that moves beyond visual analysis, iconography, and typology.

The study of Samma dynastic architecture also holds a contemporary relevance, as art historical studies increasingly explore the complex nature of transcultural processes and visual studies. However, the present analysis of Samma monuments, particularly in the Makli necropolis, is important on another front. It is helping to document an extremely significant, yet under-studied cluster of monuments that are deteriorating fast. The conservation practices have also done more harm than good in preserving the integrity of these monuments.²² Moreover, theft, neglect and natural disasters continue to adversely affect them. For example, Makli became a refugee campsite for about 450,000 displaced people from southern Sindh, due to the catastrophic floods in 2010.²³ Through the same set of events, the Samma monuments suffered extensive structural damage caused by excessive rains. The twin mausolea of anonymous Samma royalties (built in the late-fifteenth century) were greatly damaged and were assessed by the Heritage Foundation of Pakistan to be in imminent danger of collapse. Consequently, urgent repairs were carried out on the

²² For example, the recent conservation treatments carried out in the tomb of Abu Turab in Gujjo have perpetually destroyed some significant evidence. This tomb is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. Previously, the ASI progress report from the year 1921 had also documented the mishandling of the repair works in the early twentieth century. See: Rakhil Das Banerji, *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for the Year Ending 31st March 1921* (Calcutta: The Archaeological Survey of India, 1922), 9, 62–63. For example, the report explains that in restoring a damaged doorway in the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din, the sub-overseer used stones and lintels from various tombs on the site and in different sizes to fill the missing members of the doorway. The results of such ruinous repair works are still existent and can be spotted above the northern doorway in the form of mismatched elements permanently mortared together. The tomb of Nizam al-Din is documented in the ASI report as tomb No. 9.

²³ Raabya Amjad, “UNICEF: Ancient Necropolis in Thatta Becomes Temporary Home to 450,000 Displaced People,” *UNICEF*, September 27, 2010, https://www.unicef.org/pakistan_56228.html.

mausolea with emergency assistance from the Prince Claus Fund in 2014.²⁴ Another major threat is faced by the structures standing along the western edge of the Makli hill. For example, the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din (began in 1509 CE) is foreseeing critical bearings owing to the gradual erosion of the ridge due to natural causes. These include phenomena like constantly blowing coastal winds and the river tributary running dry on account of the change in Indus's course. Over time, such natural occurrences have generated instability of the naturally sloping edge towards east, and it has subsequently affected the structure. These effects are now clearly visible in the structural cracks and tilting of the entire building towards east.²⁵

Historic Textual Sources

The Samma dynasty has left behind few written sources; no historic manuscripts or court chronicles from the period have survived. As a matter of fact, historical information on Sindh from the times of the Arab conquests in the early eighth century down to the mid sixteenth century, when it came under the control of the Turco-Mongols, is scanty and scattered. Between the well-known *Chachnāma* – a multi-genre Persian text on the early history of Islam in Sindh, written in 1226 in Uch (originally in northern Sindh, now in present-day southern Punjab) – and the recently discovered *Nuṣrat Nāmah-i Tarkhān* – a Persian historic narrative of the Turco-Mongol conquests of Sindh, written in c. 1560 in Thatta – there is a gap of more than three hundred years in textual sources written from Sindh. Although, exceptions do exist, including two primary texts of the Samma period: a short Sufi *tadhkirah* (literary biography) manuscript and a *madrassa* reference textbook. Therefore, tracing historic facts to support the analysis of Samma architecture is

²⁴ “World Heritage Site – Thatta | Heritage Foundation of Pakistan,” accessed June 10, 2018, <https://www.heritagefoundationpak.org/mi/1/world-heritage-site-thatta>.

²⁵ For detailed survey see: Yasmeen Lari, *The Tomb of Jam Nizam Al-Din: Documentation and Condition Survey* (UNESCO Jam Nizam al-Din Project) (Karachi: Heritage Foundation of Pakistan, 2011).

particularly challenging. For this purpose, several sources written either by contemporary neighbors or in near contemporary era have been consulted with caution. These sources provide occasional glimpses of the Samma elites and are used to extract evidence to develop a coherent account on the Samma dynastic culture.

The socio-political history of Sindh during the times of the early Sammas, that is, the fourteenth century, can be accurately traced in the Persian accounts of the Delhi Sultanate. The contemporary Tughlaq sources that are useful in sketching out this record are: *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (completed in 1357) by Diya' al-Din Barani (d. 1357), a few letters compiled in *Inshā'ī Mahrū* and written between 1352 and 1363 by 'Ain ul-Mulk Mahrū (the Tughlaq governor of Multan; d. c. 1363), the anonymously authored *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (c. 1370), and the well-known *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* by Shams Siraj 'Afif (d. 1388).²⁶ Additionally, the *malfūzāt* (recorded table-talks and conversations) of Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari (d. 1384) – the leading fourteenth-century Suhrawardi Sufi of Sindh, also provide some important facts on the political events involving the early Samma rulers. Of these *malfūzāt*, two manuscripts are more important: *Sirāj ul-Hidāya* (c. 1371) and *Malfūzāt-i Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* (c. 1388).²⁷ To corroborate the details in all these texts *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī* (c. 1434) and *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* (c. 1438), both written under the patronage of the Sayyid dynasty of Delhi (r. 1414-1451), are also occasionally referred.²⁸

²⁶ Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad Khan (Calcutta: Asiatic Society Of Bengal, 1862); 'Ain al-Dīn 'Abdullah bin Māhrū, *Inshā'ī Mahrū: Manshāt 'Ain al-Dīn 'Ain al-Mulk 'Abdullah bin Māhrū*, ed. Muhammad Bashir Husain and Shaikh Abdul Rasheed (Lahore: Idarah-i Tahqiqat-i Pakistan, 1965); Anonymous, "Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī" (Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna, c 1370), Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna; Shams-i Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Maulvi Wilayat Hussain (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1891).

²⁷ The excerpts of the *malfūzāt* have been published by Riaz ul-Islam and elaborated recently by Steinfels, therefore, these two sources have been consulted: Riaz ul-Islam, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)"; Amina M Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action: Islamic Learning and Sufi Practice in the Life of Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* (Columbia, S.C: University of South Carolina Press, 2012).

²⁸ Yaḥyā bin Aḥmad Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, trans. Henry Beveridge (Delhi: Durga Publications, 1986); Muḥammad Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī: Portion Dealing with the Account of Sultān Firōz Shāh, His Successors, and the Minor Kingdoms, from AH 752/AD 1351 to AH 842/AD 1438*, trans. Muhammad Zaki (Aligarh: Aligarh Muslim University, 1972).

For a complete reliable account of the Samma rulers of Sindh and a coeval description of their capital Thatta, the only known primary source was *Ṭabaqāt-i Bahādur Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-i Bahādur Shāhī* (at someplaces also referred to as *Ṭabaqāt-i-Hussām Khāni*), written in c. 1533 CE but at-present presumed lost.²⁹ It was written at the court of the Muzaffarid Sultan, Qutb al-Din Bahadur Shah (r. 1526-1537), when the last Samma Sultan, Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fath ‘urf Jam Firuz Shah (r. 1508-1522), was taking refuge with the former in Gujarat after Sindh’s final conquest by the Turco-Mongol Arghuns (r. 1522-1554). Jam Firuz’s daughter was also married to Bahadur Shah.³⁰ This work of great importance was available to the later historians to borrow accounts on late-medieval Sindh and is particularly mentioned as a source of reference on Samma dynastic history in some near contemporary works. Therefore, these works, which comprise the Mughal and Gujrati provincial histories, can be taken as substitutes to the *Ṭabaqāt*. Those that assume special importance for the present study, for information on the Samma Jams and their alliances with Gujarat, include: *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (completed in 1594) of Nizamuddin Ahmad (d. 1621), *Mīrāt-i Sikandarī* (c. 1611) of Sikandar ibn Muhammad Manjhū, and the Arabic manuscript *Ẓafar ul-Wālih bi Muẓaffar wa ‘Ālihi* (c. 1612) of ‘Abdullah Muhammad al-Dabir Ulug-Khāni.³¹ Although, the famed Mughal source *Tārīkh-i Farishta* (1606) of Muhammad Qasim Farishta (d. 1620), and *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī* (1763) and its *khātimah* (supplement), written by ‘Ali Muhammad Khan had also used *Ṭabaqāt* and were consulted for validations but are not actively cited for

²⁹ N. A. Baloch, “The Tarikh ‘Ṭabaqāt-i-Bahādur-Shāhī,” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society; Karachi* 13, no. 4-Oct (1965): 306–309.

³⁰ Sikandar ibn Muḥammad Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” in *The Local Muhammadan Dynasties: Gujarat*, ed. Edward Clive Bayley, trans. John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1886), 369; ‘Abdullah Muḥammad Haji al-Dabir Ulug-Khāni, *Ẓafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa ‘Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, trans. M. F. Lokhandwala, vol. I (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1970), 124.

³¹ Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī”; Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, ed. Bani Prashad, trans. De Brajendranath, vol. III, Part II, III vols. (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939); Ulug-Khāni, *Ẓafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa ‘Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*.

multiple reasons (for example, *Tārīkh-i Farishta* is found largely unreliable regarding Samma history and *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī* was produced much later in time).³² The readers may also find occasional use of other historic texts not mentioned here, which were used for corroborations.

Most substantial are, however, the provincial histories of Sindh itself, which preserve comprehensive material. For the late Samma period, our most trustworthy author is Mir Muhammad Purani (d. 1574) who arrived in Thatta soon after the fall of the Samma Sultanate and later wrote *Nuṣrat Nāmah-i Tarkhān* (c. 1562).³³ This text, in addition to other better-known chronicles like *Tārīkh-i Sind maʿruf bah Tārīkh-i Maʿṣūmī* (1601) written by the Mughal courtier Mir Muhammad Maʿsum (d. 1606) of Bhakkar, and *Tārīkh-i-baldah-i Thattah al-maʿruf bah Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* (1621) written by the renowned historian Mir Tahir Muhammad Nisyani (d. 1641) of Thatta, has greatly helped in constructing a more logical account of the political events that systematically led to the deterioration of Samma hegemony in Sindh and its gradual conquest by the Arghuns and Tarkhans.³⁴ *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* is also the earliest source that refers, although cursorily, to the topography of the Makli necropolis, and the prominent role the site played in the socio-cultural lives of the early-modern inhabitants of Thatta.³⁵

Along with the dynastic accounts, court chronicles, and provincial histories, the significance of the genre of literature dealing with Sufi culture and Islamic mysticism cannot be ignored. Although the actual historical nature of Sufi literatures is often questioned by academic scholars, these being occasionally produced out of oral discourses and traditions, written by

³² Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī *Farishta*, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, trans. Muḥammad Fida ʿAli, vol. II (Lahore: Mushtaq Book Corner, 2012); M. F. Lokhandwala and ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī: A Persian History of Gujrat*, ed. B. J. Sandesara (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1965).

³³ Mīr Muḥammad Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah-i Tarkhān*, trans. Ansar Zahid Khan (Karachi: University of Karachi, 2000).

³⁴ Mīr Muḥammad Maʿṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Sind maʿruf bah Tārīkh-i Maʿṣūmī*, trans. Akhtar Rizvi, 3rd ed. (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006); Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*.

³⁵ Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 53–54.

disciples and latter-day reporters; such texts have also been recognized in modern scholarship as significant sources of socio-political history to be studied in conjunction with the official chronicles.³⁶ It has been argued that Sufi literatures are not mere mnemonic devices; in fact these are “conscious remembrances, and therefore they are both cultural artifacts and cultural reconstructions.”³⁷ Hence for the present study, three Sufi hagiographical texts and a *tadhkirah* manuscript, all composed locally in Thatta during the early modern period, are used. These include: *Tadhkira al-Murād* (1505) of Muhammad Husayn Safā’i Thattawi, *Hadīqat al-Auliya’* (1607) of Sayyid ‘Abdul Qadir Thattawi, the most detailed *Tuhfat al-Kirām* (1767) of ‘Ali Shir Qani’ Thattawi, and *Tuhfat al-Ṭāhirīn* (1776) of Muhammad ‘Azam Thattawi.³⁸ *Tadhkira al-Murād*, our only known “primary” Sufi text, was produced to memorialize and communicate the legacy of the famed Naqshbandi Sufi of Thatta, Pir Murad Shirazi (d. 1487). However, in doing so this short Arabic text also sketches the religious dynamics of Thatta during the late Samma period. The rest are hagiographical anthologies in Persian that preserve earliest accounts on the

³⁶ Carl Ernst has discussed in detail the historical value of Sufi literature and also the historiographic problems in using them. See: Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden: Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center*, SUNY Series in Muslim Spirituality in South Asia (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), 67–68, 77–84. Also see: Sunil Kumar, “Assertions of Authority: A Study of the Discursive Statements of Two Sultans of Delhi,” in *The Making of Indo-Persian Culture: Indian and French Studies*, ed. Muzaffar Alam, Françoise Delvoe, and Marc Gaborieau (Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2000), 37–65. The significance of this genre for historians in the study of socio-political history is briefly discussed in: Nile Green, “Emerging Approaches to the Sufi Traditions of South Asia: Between Texts, Territories and the Transcendent,” *South Asia Research* 24, no. 2 (2004): 123–48; Humera Naz, “Significance of the Malfūz Literature as an Alternative Source of History: A Critical Study on the Tadhkirat Al-Murād as the Earliest Malfūz Compiled in Sindh,” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 63, no. 2 (2015): 83–99; Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent* (Leiden-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1980), 29. However, as Steinfels points out, the study of such Sufi texts require hermeneutic approaches, tailored to the form and function of these in their historical and social context. See: Amina Steinfels, “His Master’s Voice: The Genre of Malfūzāt in South Asian Sufism,” *History of Religions* 44, no. 1 (2004): 56–69.

³⁷ Marcia K. Hermansen and Bruce B. Lawrence, “Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications,” in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Rethinking Religious Identities in Islamicate South Asia*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce Lawrence (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), 149–75.

³⁸ Muhammad Husayn Ṣafā’ī Thattavī, *Tadhkira al-Murād*, trans. Abdul Rasūl Qādrī (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006); ‘Abdul Qādir Thattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya’*, ed. Sayyid Hassam ud-Din Rashidi (Hyderabad, Sindh: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1967); ‘Alī Shīr Qānī’ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, ed. N. B. Khan Baloch, trans. Akhtar Rizvi, 3rd ed. (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006); Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Āzam Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, ed. Badar ‘Alam Durrani (Karachi: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956).

Sufi saints of Sindh, specifically those who had their *khānqāhs* (Sufi hermitages) and tombs in the Makli necropolis. These hagiographies greatly assist in outlining a coherent narrative on the institutional formations in the Samma capital, its literary activities and the collective memory of its elite – themes that are specifically analyzed in the later chapters.

Last and most essential is ‘Ali Shir Qani’ Thattawi’s (d. 1788) *Maklīnāmah*, a Persian prose styled text also known as *Būstān-i-bahār*, composed in c. 1761. Although written much later to our study period, *Maklīnāmah* is the first and only historic account of Makli’s cultural landscape and monuments, some of which no longer survive. Hassam ud-Din Rashidi, the well-known historian, archivist and Sufi scholar of present-day Sindh, edited and translated this text in Sindhi in 1967, and also added supplementary notes and photographs to the description of the necropolis by Qani’.³⁹ However, I have consulted for this research an edition that was recently published by Sindhi Adabi Board, which reproduces the original Persian text in addition to the Urdu translation of Rashidi’s edition by Nawaz ‘Ali Shauq.⁴⁰

Historiography of Samma Architecture

Due to their location towards the northernmost end of the site, away from the main thoroughfares and the urban developments, Samma dynastic monuments had remained overlooked by most early European travelers and researchers. Nineteenth-century colonial literature while citing the architectural splendors of the Makli necropolis have only mentioned tombs from later dynastic phases. For instance, the hand drawn sketches made by Rev. Isaac Allen during his stay in Makli in the nineteenth century are those of the Tarkhan dynastic tombs. The supplementary narration

³⁹ Thattavī, *Maklīnāmo*.

⁴⁰ ‘Alī Shīr Qānī’ Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, ed. Sayyid Hassam ud-Din Rashidi, trans. Nawaz ‘Ali Shauq (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2011).

clearly indicates that Allen never crossed the length of the ridge to visit the Samma cluster.⁴¹ Once Sindh became a British possession, only then the monuments received serious attention by the official agencies. By this time quite a few Samma monuments were already lost. However, in 1855, on becoming the commissioner of Sindh, Sir Bartle Frere informally ordered essential repairs to a few Samma tombs and other monuments of archaeological interest at Thatta.⁴² In the same year, East India Company introduced photography in their curriculum while training their cadets at the Military Academy, to keep a photographic record of the Company's progress and projects in India. Therefore, in 1858 the Government of India commissioned Captain W. Robert Houghton to carry a photographic survey of the tombs. In the album of these photographs, now part of the British Library's Asia, Pacific and Africa collections (APAC), there is only one photograph of the Samma tombs in which Houghton captured the first and essential visual record of the tomb of Sultan Nizam al-Din and the one so-called the *chatrī* of Jam Tamachi.⁴³

Despite these initial records, the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) after its foundation in 1861, allowed only about half a dozen monuments in Makli near the southern end of the site to conserve. Yet the tomb of Nizam al-Din had at least been recognized by 1876 among the seven “principal edifices of interest” in the necropolis.⁴⁴ Therefore, between 1896 and 1916 several visual surveys of Samma dynastic monuments in Makli were carried out by ASI.⁴⁵ Subsequently,

⁴¹ Isaac Nicholson Allen, *Diary of a March Through Sindh and Afghanistan: With the Troops Under the Command of General Sir William Nott, and Sermons Delivered on Various Occasions During the Campaign of 1842* (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1843), 40–44.

⁴² Sir John Cumming, ed., *Revealing India's Past: A Co-Operative Record of Archaeological Conservation and Exploration in India and Beyond* (London: The India Society, 1939), 72.

⁴³ The Album is titled “Photographs of tombs at Tatta in Sind,” Photo Album 171 by Captain William Robert Houghton, 14th Regt. N. I. (1826-1897). These photographs were taken in September 1858 and handed over to the India House in April 1859.

⁴⁴ Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 324–25.

⁴⁵ In 1896, Henry Cousens carried surveys of the archaeological sites in Sindh, including Makli. The results of this surveys were published later in: Henry Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind, with Historical Outline*, Imperial Series - Archaeological Survey of India; v. 46 (Calcutta: Oriental Publication Branch, Govt. of India, 1929). The original photo documentation are preserved in the British Library's APAC under the titles: ASI photo album of 1896 1009/3

around 1918 the department declared the Samma group of monuments worth protecting and recommended for conservation and detailed documentation.⁴⁶ Hence, around 1936 Q. M. Moneer was assigned to carry out an intensive epigraphical survey of Makli Hill and vast number of inscriptions were collected and translated at that time. The monuments must have been in a much better state of preservation and the inscriptions more legible than they are at present, but for unknown reasons they were never published.⁴⁷ Later in 1938, Maulvi Muhammad Shafi also collected some inscriptions from the Makli necropolis, which provides a good resource for scholars studying Samma monuments as some of these inscriptions are difficult to trace at present.⁴⁸

Following the partition of India in 1947, the protection and preservation of the Makli necropolis was passed down to the Department of Archaeology and Museums of Pakistan. Hereafter we find a gap in scholarship on the cemetery in general. The next scholarly evaluation of select Samma artifacts from Makli is found in M.A. Ghafur's monograph on the calligraphers of Thatta.⁴⁹ This text, however, treats Samma monuments only peripherally. Nevertheless, the identification of the Makli necropolis by UNESCO as a world heritage site in 1981 contributed to

& 4, ASI photo album of 1896 1009/4, Photo album of 1910 346/2 by Manley, Indian Police Bombay Presidency, ASI photo album of 1915-16 1009/15

⁴⁶ These essentially included the stone tombs such as the tomb of Sultan Nizam al-Din, the *chatrī* tombs in the main cluster, the funerary enclosure of Mubarak Khan and two brick tombs, possibly the tomb of Fath Khan's sister and brick tomb east of Mubarak Khan's tomb. See: Banerji, *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle for the Year Ending 31st March 1921*, 9.

⁴⁷ Muhammad Shafi reports that Q. M. Moneer was to revise the text in 1938 and get it ready for publication in the form of a memoir of the department. See: Muhammad Shafi, "Ancient Inscriptions in India," in *Ṣanādīd-i Sindh*, ed. Ahmad Rabbani (Lahore: Punjab University, 1970), 4. In a letter written by Moneer himself to B. M. Billimoria in 1941, the delay in publication is mentioned and it is also admitted that the inscriptions from Makli Hill are difficult and baffling to read because of their epigraphic style. See: N. M. Billimoria, "Inscription on the Tomb of Abu Turab in Sind," *Journal of the Sind Historical Society* V, no. 3 (November 1941): 133–36. Many inscriptions at Makli are now lost. Some important ones on the Samma monuments are also partly effaced, as mentioned in the following chapters. Therefore, Moneer's work could prove to be quite significant, yet despite much effort, I was not able to find any such publication, nor the present Archaeology Department of Sindh has any record or notes of Q. M. Moneer's survey, except for the blue print copy of Abu Turab's Tomb inscription, which he provided to Billimoria.

⁴⁸ Shafi, "Ancient Inscriptions in India," 14–17; Muhammad Shafi, *Ṣanādīd-i Sindh*, ed. Ahmad Rabbani (Lahore: Punjab University, 1970), 8–10.

⁴⁹ Muhammad Abdul Ghafur, *The Calligraphers of Thatta* (Karachi: Institute of Central and West Asian Studies, 1978).

genuine scholarly interest in the site, beginning in the late 20th century.⁵⁰ Ahmed Hassan Dani's pioneering work, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, published in 1982 is by far one of the best resources available on the architecture of Makli and Thatta.⁵¹ Dani has identified several building typologies based on materiality, architectural planning and elements. The Samma monuments remain foremost in his study. More than a decade after Dani's publication, Suhail and Yasmeen Lari offered an analysis exclusively focused on the Samma cluster at Makli.⁵² This publication is extremely significant for its detailed and scaled architectural drawings of most of the Samma monumental structures. Shortly after, Ihsan Nadiem's appraisal of the necropolis, which is primarily a visual survey, was published with a few pages dedicated to the Samma architecture.⁵³

Samma monuments have also been examined by scholars of art history as part of wider geographic surveys focused on diverse themes concerning either Sindh, southern Pakistan or the Western Indian region. For example, Khurshid Hasan's lengthy analysis of the funerary memorial architecture from present-day Pakistan includes a chapter on the Makli necropolis that documents the Samma tombs.⁵⁴ Moreover, Salome Z. Hastenrath's unique survey on the stylistic evolution and development of the *chaūkhandī*-type tombs, spread across Sindh and Balochistan, also assesses some Samma funerary artifacts from Makli and other small cemeteries in Thatta district.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria developed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The protection, management, authenticity and integrity of properties are also important considerations. The historical monuments of Makli and Thatta were evaluated by UNESCO on the basis of criteria (iii), which states that to qualify as a "World Heritage" a site has "to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared." For detailed documents on the matter of selection and subsequent periodic reports on Makli, see: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/143/>

⁵¹ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*.

⁵² Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*.

⁵³ Nadiem, *Makli*.

⁵⁴ Shaikh Khurshid Hasan, *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture* (Karachi: Royal Book Company, 2001).

⁵⁵ This seminal work published in German in 1979 was later translated in English in 2001. See: Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs: Funerary Art in Sind and Baluchistan* (Oxford University Press, 2003). The author has also done several more focused studies, published in the form of academic articles, in which select Samma

Similarly, Alka Patel’s ground-breaking work that redefines the boundaries of Māru-Gujara building practices from Gujarat-Rajasthan, also includes brief inquiry into the Samma *chatrī* tombs.⁵⁶ Another noteworthy resource is the recently published findings of Holly Edwards, which on taking a holistic approach in the study of brick architecture of the Indus Valley, incorporates select brick tombs from the Samma dynastic period.⁵⁷ This renewed scholarly interest in the Makli necropolis has recently also assisted a small yet significant number of doctoral researchers to define parameters of their investigations. These researchers, based at different institutions around the globe, have also studied select Samma monuments as part of new and innovative scholarship on the site in general. Some notable dissertations, awaiting publications, include: Abdul Jabbar Khan, “*Chaukhandi Tombs: A Peculiar Funerary Memorial Architecture in Sind and Balochistan*” (Università Ca’ Foscari, 2010);⁵⁸ M. A. Durrani, “*Samma Dynasty: History and Architecture*” (University of Peshawar, 2010);⁵⁹ and Fatima Quraishi, “*Necropolis as Palimpsest: The Cemetery of Makli in Sindh, Pakistan*” (New York University, 2019). Quraishi’s dissertation is a *longue durée* study of the Makli necropolis. It essentially charts the architectural changes as the necropolis

buildings are integrated. These include but are not limited to: Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “Apropos the Sindhi Pillarettes,” *Pakistan Archaeology*, no. 24 (1989): 287–97; Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “Islamic Funerary Enclosures in Sind,” *Islamic Art* 13, no. IV (91 1990): 247–79; Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “On the History of Style of the Tomb ‘Chattris’ in the Islamic Architecture of Sind,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 44, no. 1 (2000): 131–57; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “Some Remarks on the Historical Development of Makli Hill Necropolis and Its Stone Monuments”; Salome Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “The Arabesque Decoration on the Minbar of the Dabgir Mosque in Thatta, and Contemporary Relief Ornamentation Showing Timurid Influence in Sindh,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 47, no. 1 (2003): 110–26.

⁵⁶ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*.

⁵⁷ Holly Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁵⁸ Jabbar Khan has examined the epigraphy and decoration of the *chaūkhandī* tombs of Sindh and Balochistan that also highlights the ones at Makli and Thatta. See: Abdul Jabbar Khan, “Chaukhandi Tombs: A Peculiar Funerary Memorial Architecture in Sind and Baluchistan” (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Venice, Università Ca’ Foscari, 2010).

⁵⁹ Durrani draws for his research upon the works of earlier scholars and has studied the decoration on the tombs with a very brief comparison to the decorative features used on the pre-Islamic structures. See: M. A. Durrani, “Samma Dynasty: History and Architecture” (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Peshawar, University of Peshawar, 2010).

expanded, conceiving the site as an urban landscape.⁶⁰ Exploring similar ideas, Rabela Junejo's dissertation titled "*Architectural Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th – 18th Centuries)*" was also recently completed at METU, Turkey (2020). Junejo questions the colonial architectural historiography based on on-site evidence and proposes "encounter" as an alternative paradigm to the study architecture at Makli.

Dissertation Outline

A critical comparative study on the Samma cultural identities, architectural hybridity and transculturalism has remained overlooked by scholars, and is the subject of the present research. This research, through the examination of the material culture and architectural legacy of the Samma dynastic rulers, aims to question Makli's polar identification (being referred to as simply, for example, an "Islamic" site), which current scholarship assigns to the necropolis.⁶¹ Such broad and generalized classification, based on the religion of its Muslim patrons and user communities, largely disregards the multifaceted and transcultural character of the site that the following chapters assess. By putting a particular historical focus on the intertwined histories of Samma architecture in Makli and Thatta, the notions of hybridity, syncretism, and of translation as a method, are systematically used in these chapters to offer a useful process of cultural analysis.

Chapter One begins by introducing the Samma tribes of Sindh, and then draws their ethnocultural and socio-political history. It reviews the rise of Sammas as a political power and their struggles for liberation of Sindh, highlighting the socio-religious events that eventually led the Samma tribal chiefs to forge a Sultanate independent of the Sultanate of Delhi. Moreover, this

⁶⁰ Fatima Quraishi, "Necropolis as Palimpsest: The Cemetery of Makli in Sindh, Pakistan" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York, New York University, 2019).

⁶¹ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 26, 69–70; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 28, 38, 92.

chapter briefly examines the ideologies and mechanisms that the Samma rulers embraced to uphold their political supremacy and also sketches the geographic expanse and shifting boundaries of the Samma Sultanate, and its cosmopolitan capital of Thatta. Samma dynastic monuments within the Makli necropolis are also introduced later.

Chapter Two, Three and Four are focused on presenting the architectural hybridity in the Makli necropolis with reference to the Samma monumental remains. Chapter Two primarily traces the artistic encounters between southern Sindh and the regions beyond its eastern/northeastern borders, that is: Kutch, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Examining the monuments built in the first half of the Samma dynastic period, this chapter highlights an undeniably distinctive style that offers one dimension of the complex vocabulary developed in the realm of Samma artistic culture. By locating the monuments within a broader geographic framework of the Indian subcontinent, this chapter redefines the temporal and regional boundaries of the “Māru-Gurjara” style of temple architecture from Western India.

Chapter Three principally locates select monuments from the Makli necropolis within the Turco-Persian and Timurid artistic traditions that likewise informed the Samma architectural patronage. Firstly, it draws stylistic parallels between Samma structures and the monuments from medieval cultural centers such as Hazara, Merv, Herat, Kandahar, and so on. Secondly, it offers socio-political discourses between the Sammas and their contemporaries in Iran and Central Asia, resulting in the mobility of skills, ideas, commodities, and people, which not only impacted the artistic culture but also transformed the linguistic and literary practices of late medieval/early modern southern Sindh. Chapter Four deals with a deeper analysis of the hybrid forms and the rich ornamental programs of two of the most ambitious funerary constructions in Makli necropolis: the tomb enclosure of Mubarak Khan (d. 1520) and the elaborately carved mausoleum of Sultan Nizam

al-Din (d. 1508). This chapter pays particular attention to architectural and epigraphic details, and in so doing, broadly show how the archaeological and architectural remnants, especially those associated with the dead, are political tools of communication that allow insights of the contemporary ideologies, personalities and conflicts.

In Chapters Five and Six the conversion of the Sindhi Samma tribes to Islam and their religious attitudes during their dynastic rule are investigated by closely examining the surviving material evidence. First Chapter Five, as a prelude to the Samma religious identities, contextualizes the systematic adoption of Islam by the Hindu Sammas and then their adherence to the Sunni Suhrawardi Sufi *tarīqa* (path) in the fourteenth century, prior to their ascension to the throne of Sindh. It is shown why and how upon adopting Sunni Islam, the Sammas tolerated and even cultivated religious syncretism in ways that it was even visually espoused in architecture, especially during the early phases of their political rule. Whereas Chapter Six reads the inherent subtext concealed in the epigraphic and visual motifs found on the late Samma tombs at Makli, to offer a record of pluralistic religious and sectarian identities of their elites. This chapter also identifies the Samma patronage of a religiously cosmopolitan society, in which members of minority communities and opposing sectarian groups, such as adherents of Mahdawi movement and various shi‘i sects, as well as the non-Muslim Jainas and Hindus were awarded higher echelons at the Samma court.

Chapter One

SAMMA JAMS OF THATTA AND THEIR SOCIO-POLITICAL LANDSCAPES

The British historiographers often cast the Muslims as “invaders” who were the original colonizers of Sindh – an “indigenously Hindu” land.⁶² In British colonial understanding, the defeat by the Arabs in 712 CE of Ra’i Dahir (r. 679-712), the Brāhman king of Sindh, was a socio-political trauma which rendered the native population of Sindh incapable of reclaiming authority. Asserting a categorical distinction between the “native Hindu” subjects and the “foreign Muslim” rulers such narratives primarily supported the legitimacy of British rule, predestined to liberate the oppressed indigenes from the clutches of centuries-long Muslim despotism.⁶³ Hence, the Muslims were essentially interpreted as a social group that could never be “indigenous,” and due to this identity formation under British colonialism, they are still seen as descendants of immigrants, particularly in modern India.⁶⁴ These presumptions are, however, misleading, especially with reference to Sindh. For example, the Sumra rulers (r. c. 1026-1351) were mostly native inhabitants who remained Isma‘ilis during most of their dynastic rule (parts of Sindh and Multan had been ruled, since before the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazna in 1025, by Isma‘ilis. See Chapter Five for

⁶² In the nineteenth century most British histories of Sindh were written from this point of view, identifying Muslims as conquerors and colonizers. See for example: James McMurdo, “An Account of the Country of Sindh, with Remarks on the State of Society, the Government, Manners and Customs of the People, by the Late Captain James McMurdo, of the Bombay Military Establishment, Communicated by James Bird,” *The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* I (1834): 223–57; Thomas Postans, *Personal Observations on Sindh: The Manners and Customs of Its Inhabitants; and Its Productive Capabilities, with a Sketch of Its History, a Narrative of Recent Events*, 1st ed. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843), 159–60. Although McMurdo recognizes the Sammas as an exception to this notion but instantly dismisses them stating that their conversion separates them from other indigenous/local non-Muslim groups.

⁶³ Manan Ahmed Asif, *A Book of Conquest: The Chachnama and Muslim Origins in South Asia* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2016), 158; Harald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann, eds., *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 30. Also, authors such as James Mill, for example, writing in 1817 had divided the history of India into three distinctive phases: Hindu, Muslim, and British. See: James Mill, *The History of British India* (London: Baldwin, Craddock, and Joy, 1817).

⁶⁴ Cynthia Talbot, “Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, no. 4 (1995): 692–722.

details). While the Sammas, who were the native tribesmen, were Hindus before they converted, some of them very early in the tenth century as Isma‘ilis, while some were proselytized at the hands of missionary Sufis before the mid fourteenth century. Those who remained Hindus eventually became rulers in Kutch and peninsular Gujarat.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, when the Sammas came to power in Sindh, their leaders were mostly Sunni Muslims (see Chapter Five).⁶⁶ Through conquests and alliances they secured most of Sindh, ruling a Sultanate expanding from Uch (originally part of upper Sindh) and parts of Balochistan to the coastal territories bordering Arabian Sea and the borders of Kutch in southeast. To hold their ethnically and religiously diverse dominion together, the population of which had evolved over centuries of Muslim rule, the Sammas devised treaties and tolerant policies, relying on the freedom of religious and cultural expressions and practices.

This chapter first recounts the foundation of a regional state of Sammas in Sindh, their ethnicity and socio-political history. It focuses on the rise of Sammas as a political power and their struggles for an independent Sultanate. The aim is not to revise the chronology of the Samma Sultans. Several modern historians have attempted to use available contemporary and near contemporary texts in order to reconstruct their chronology, with notable, yet varying, outcomes (see Appendix A).⁶⁷ Therefore, the present discussion will keep to noteworthy socio-religious

⁶⁵ L.F. Rushbrook Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1958), 71.

⁶⁶ See: Māhrū, *Inshā‘i Mahrū*, letter no. 134. ‘Afif has also indicated on multiple instances that the Sammas and the inhabitants of Thatta region were Muslims. See: Shams-i Sirāj ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, ed. John Dowson, trans. H. M. Elliot, 2nd ed. (Calcutta: Susil Gupta Ltd., 1953), 69–71.

⁶⁷ Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)”; Baloch, “Chronology of the Samma Rulers of Sind”; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmo*; Arshad Islam, “Sumrah and Sammah Rule in Sind (C. 1051-1520 C.E.),” *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*; *Karachi* 46, no. 2 (April 1, 1998): 69–78. G.M. Lakho did a seminal research on the dynastic history of the Sammas and his doctoral dissertation was published in 1987, but due to its limited availability and it being published only in Sindhi language, its reception among readers remains inadequate. Besides, since then some new materials in the forms of texts and numismatics have also come to light. See: Lakho, *Samman jī Sulṭanate*; Ghulam Muhammad Lakho, *The Samma Kingdom of Sindh: Historical Studies* (Institute of Sindhology, University of Jamshoro, 2006).

events that led Samma tribal chiefs to forge a dominion independent of the Sultanate of Delhi. Moreover, the political ideology and mechanisms adopted by the Samma rulers to uphold that dominion, and their links to the diaspora communities outside of Sindh and with the neighboring Sultanates are also briefly examined. Later, the chapter sketches the geographic expanse and shifting boundaries of the Samma Sultanate during the dynastic period, as well as the seat of Samma power – their cosmopolitan capital of Thatta. It is an established fact that Thatta remained an extremely important riverine emporium throughout the early modern history (Map 2). Nevertheless, it was the Sammas who played the pioneering role in the urban, industrial and cultural development of Thatta. Their concentration around the city has left marks of their culture in the vicinity, which at present cannot be located anywhere else in Sindh. Available textual sources will aid in scanning Thatta's urban landscape and its characteristics in order to visualize the overall character of the city and its environs in the late-medieval centuries. The chapter ends by introducing the Samma dynastic monuments in Makli necropolis and their spread forming distinct clusters within the site. All these aspects eventually assist in examining the archaeological remnants that are discussed in the subsequent chapters, and aid in establishing the cultural identities constructed by the Sammas.

Samma Ethno-History and Diaspora Communities in the Western Indian Region

Southern Sindh (the region historically known as *Lār*) was populated by many indigenous tribes, including Bhattiyas, Sumras, Sodhas, Lakhas, Sihtas and Sammas. As suggested in the bardic accounts from Kathiawar, the Sammas and their sub-branches, as well as Bhattiyas, all considered themselves related, identifying themselves as *Yādavas* (native Indians who reflect themselves as progenies of mythical king Yadu) and descendants of Hindu supreme god Krishna (*Kṛṣṇa*), and therefore, discouraged intermarriages. Modern scholars are unanimous that the Samma tribes

belonged to the ancient *Yādava* (Yadu) clans that later came to call themselves “Rajputs” (members of aristocratic *Kśatriyas* caste, originally Hindus).⁶⁸ Sammas were a large group of militarized pastoralists and landholders, consisting of a number of sub-clans settled all over Sindh, yet they were concentrated in its southern division.⁶⁹ The author of *Chachnāma* (c. 1226) mentions the Sammas dwelling in the vicinity of Brahmanabad, in the Lohana *pargana* (district), with other indigenous communities from the Lakha and Sihta tribes.⁷⁰ During the reign of the Brāhman king Ra’i Chach (c. 632-671), the Samma people appear as the oppressed *Jāt*, the semi-nomadic Hindu pastoral groups, who were deprived any form of luxuries, neither were their chiefs allowed to wear headgears nor ride horses. Kūfī describes *Sā’wandī Samma*, most likely a stronghold or town of Samma tribe near Brahmanabad, which had “a beautiful lake with a pleasant meadow, called *Dhanda Wikarbahār*,” where the Arab commander Muhammad bin Qasim (d. 715) camped for some time to settle the affairs of the region. After crossing *Bharawār* (some distance from Brahmanabad), the Umayyad general was received happily by a large Samma populace who “came forward dancing to the music of drums and pipes,” in accordance to their old custom of receiving a “new king.”⁷¹ The Sammas remained prominent in the politics of Sindh, controlling the lands in

⁶⁸ James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. William Crooke, vol. I (London; New York: H. Milford; Oxford University Press, 1920), 101–4; E. H. Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (Karachi: Mercantile Steam Press, 1907), 97. Also, a Sanskrit inscription at Junagadh, dated 1473, which gives the geneology of the ruling monarchs of the Chudasama clan of Girnar and Junagadh (a sub-clan of Sammas), specifically claims them to be the “*Yādavas*.” See: James Burgess and Henry Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, Archaeological Survey of India (New Imperial Series) (Bombay: The Government Central Press, 1897), 361–62; Samira Sheikh, “Alliance, Genealogy and Political Power: The Cūḍāsamās of Junagadh and the Sultans of Gujarat,” *The Medieval History Journal* 11, no. 1 (2008): 29–61.

⁶⁹ Contrarily, Mir Ma’sum is of the opinion that Kutch was Sammas’ original country and they had migrated to Sindh from there, which is incorrect. Elliot has detailed an account on their existence in Sindh, and probably them being a ruling dynasty, tracing from Alexander’s historians who wrote about *Sambustae* and *Sambus*. See: Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 84, 450–51; H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, vol. I (Allahbad: Kitab Mahal, 1964), 369, 497.

⁷⁰ ‘Ali bin Hāmid Kūfī, *Faḥnāma-i Sind ‘urf Chachnāma*, ed. N. B. Khan Baloch, trans. Akhtar Rizvi, 3rd ed. (Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2008), 59, 76–77, 263.

⁷¹ Kūfī, 215–16, 219–21, 269; ‘Ali bin Hāmid Kūfī, *Faḥnāma-i Sind al-ma’rūf bi-Chachnāma*, ed. Umar bin Muhammad Daudpota (Hyderabad, Deccan: Persian Texts Society, 1939), 220; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of*

some capacity, and are known to have maintained allegiances to the ‘Abbasid governors.⁷² In the early eleventh century, Jam Lakha Ghurara (Lakho Ghuraro or Dhuraro) is mentioned leading the Samma tribe, settled in the Indus Delta region, in resisting the Ghaznavid invasion of Sindh.⁷³ In the days of the Ghurid governor Nasir al-Din Qabacha (r. 1203-1228) of upper Sindh, Rana Sinyar, the chief of Kureja (*Kuṛēja*) Samma tribe, was among the seven native Hindu rulers who paid tribute to Multan.⁷⁴

Samma Jams (*Jāmaṅ-Samma*, *Sammagān* or *Satmagān*, as the Persian chroniclers call them) gained supremacy in lower Sindh in c. 1351 CE and ruled from Thatta until 1522 CE. With the purpose of assigning themselves credible lineage, Sammas claimed diverse descents. For instance, their claim of succession from Sam, the son of prophet Nuh (*Nūh*; biblical Noah) warranted their tribal surname “Samma” and their fictitious descent from Jamshid, the mythological protagonist of the Persian epic *Shāhnāmeḥ* (c. 1010), assigned them aristocracy and prestige by providing them their titlature “*Jām*”.⁷⁵ Additionally, the claim of the Samma Hindu branches of descent from Samba, the son of Hindu deity Krishna (*Kṛṣṇa*), is also part of the same

India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period, I:145, 138, 187, 191; Hugh Trevor Lambrick, *Sind: A General Introduction. [With Plates and Maps]* (Hyderabad, 1964), 162. *Sāmba*, the governor of Debal when the Arab forces attacked it is also considered by some authors to be a Samma chief.

⁷² Syed Suleyman Nadvi, “The Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquests,” *Islamic Culture* IX (1935): 426.

⁷³ Khan quotes the legend of Matang, the *kul-gurū* of Ismā‘ili rulers in Kutch, Jungadh and Sindh, to refer to this chief (see Chapter Five for details). According to Burgess one Jam Lakho was also the chief of the Samma tribe of Samu’i-nagar before the mid thirteenth century. See: Dominique-Sila Khan, *Conversions and Shifting Identities: Ramdev Pir and the Ismailis in Rajasthan* (Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 1997), 99; James Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, vol. 2, Archaeological Survey of India (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1971), 197.

⁷⁴ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 101; Hem Chandra Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period)*, vol. I (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1931), 37; H. M. Elliot, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, ed. John Dowson, vol. I (London: Trübner & Co., 1867), 340.

⁷⁵ Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:831; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 152; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, I:495–96. Several authors have also debated the etymology of their titlature *Jām*; yet have been unable to reach definite results. See: Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I:103; Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History Of India: Turks and Afghans*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), 501; Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, ed., *The History and Culture of the Indian People: The Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960), 223.

scheme.⁷⁶ According to another version, as the most common epithet of Krishna was “*Shāma* or *Syāma*,” given to him due to his dark complexion, therefore, his entire descendent stock were called *Samaputra* (children of Sama) and bore the title “Samma” as a patronymic.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, whatsoever are the provenances of these titles, “*Jām*” is an ancient titlature borne by the ruling elite of the Samma clan, not just in Sindh but also those in Lasbela (Balochistan), the territories of Saurashtra region (Gujarat) and Kutch, preserving the tradition of their prestigious lineage till the present times.⁷⁸ Though not to same extent as the Sumras, the chronology of the Sammas passed down to us do presents uncertainties and contradictions in their identifications.⁷⁹ Their identities are further complicated by the adoption by each Samma Sultan of a formal Arabic name, often a repetitive choice, and a more popular ‘*urf*’ (epithet) of Hindu origin. The latter was embraced even more commonly in public context.⁸⁰ The name and ‘*urf*’ were prefixed with the titlature *Jām*, yet the contemporary inscriptions and near contemporary textual sources seldom cite all of those

⁷⁶ Samira Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 115. Sheikh also emphasizes upon a Chudasama inscription dated 1417 from Junagadh that claims, for the first time, that they descended from Krishna. See: Sheikh, “Alliance, Genealogy and Political Power: The Cūḍāsamās of Junagadh and the Sultans of Gujarat.” Sammas are also believed by some to be the same tribe that was known to Alexander of Macedonia and his historians as *Sambūs*: Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 29.

⁷⁷ Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I:103. The meaning of the name Krishna (*Kṛṣṇa*), of the Hindu deity with the long black locks of hair, is itself “the dark one.”

⁷⁸ In fact, the title is borne not just by their monarchs or supreme tribal chiefs, as a replacement to *Sulṭān*, *Rājā* or *Amīr* but also by the elders of the clan and their heirs in general. Other titles such as *Rāo* and *Ra’i* are also recorded, however, the Samma Sultans once ascended the throne used *Jām* specifically.

⁷⁹ For instance, Mir Ma’sum erroneously puts the beginning of Samma sovereignty to Ala al-Din Khilji’s reign (see: *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, p. 88), giving wrong details and duplicating the early rulers’ accounts. Elliot has briefly talked about the perplexities and the confusion, which are presented in the early modern annals of this dynasty. See: Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, I:494–95. Qani’ has devoted a few pages on the ancestry and genealogy of the Sammas since ancient times but has not given any references. His accounts are based on oral traditions, which cannot be crosschecked. See: Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 95–102.

⁸⁰ For instance, the names such as Tamachi, Unnar and Ra’i Dhan have been found appearing frequently in the Samma genealogies, from not only Sindh but also among their diaspora in Kutch and Kathiawar. See: Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:200–202.

together. Moreover, there is also evidence for two Samma Jams concurrently exercising control over the lands of Sindh, on more than one occasion (see below).

The Samma tribe, however, did not remain confined to Sindh and their ethnic diaspora communities were spread over a much wider part of the Western Indian region. A closer look into their inter-ethnic diversity reveals that a sub-clan of Sammas of Hindu faith was settled in Kutch (present Kutch district, Gujarat) since the eighth century. In the ninth century another branch relocated from Sindh to the coastal area of Saurashtra (also called Kathiawar, peninsular Gujarat). Under the leadership of Ra Chuda-Chandra (r. 875-907) they wrestled the territory from the local rulers founding the paramount Chudasama (*Chūḍāsama* or *Chūrāsama*) kingdom of Junagadh.⁸¹ While a third sub-group moved to Kutch region in the twelfth century where they were granted lands by the ruling Chavda (*Chāvaḍā*) Rajputs. Around 1175 under a chief named Lakha Jadeja, this Samma sub-group displaced the Chavdas and became the prestigious Jadeja (*Jāreja* or *Jādeja*) Rajput rulers of Kutch. This sub-group gradually formed three virtually independent states, each ruled by a potentate belonging to the main branch and based at separate hillforts. By c. 1300 the Jadejas had also established a small chiefdom in the area that is present-day Jamnagar district of Gujarat.⁸² Another wave of Samma migration from Sindh into Kutch is noted when the tyranny of the Khiljis forced them to take refuge with the chief of the Bada (*Bāḍā*) branch of Jadejas in

⁸¹ John W. Watson, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Kathiawar*, vol. 8 (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1884), 489–90; Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 93, 100–101; Harald Tambs-Lyche, *Power, Profit, and Poetry: Traditional Society in Kathiawar, Western India* (Manohar Publishers, 1997), 31; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 37–38, 106, 109.

⁸² Harald Tambs-Lyche, *Power, Profit, and Poetry: Traditional Society in Kathiawar, Western India*, 44. Besides secondary authors, Qani' has also narrated these incidents in some detail. See: Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 147–49. Burgess has also traced the migration history of extended Samma tribes towards the eastern lands in of Kutch and Kathiawar. See: Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:193–200.

Kutch.⁸³ Among these sub-clans, where the Chudasamas were adherents of Hinduism, the Jadeja Sammas adopted a medley of Hinduism and Islam. Better known for their long prevailing practice of female infanticide, the Jadejas are known to have intermarried with Muslims and many of their customs, evolving over centuries, were equally influenced by both Islamic practices and Hindu beliefs.⁸⁴ Furthermore, in Kutch the Lakhiarvira branch of Jadejas remained faithful to the doctrines of Islam for centuries.⁸⁵ Those Sammas who remained in Sindh eventually entered the Sunni denomination of Islam and rebelled against the Sultans of Delhi and their Sumra proconsuls for an independent Sindh. However, the Sammas, regardless of their regional or religious affiliations, in general are represented in the sources as a tolerant group; equally honoring Islam and other Indic religions, and often found in chronicles to be uniting in kinsmen support across the borders. The Sanskrit chronicles of Chaulukyas preserve that in the tenth century the Sammas of Sindh and Kutch provided support, in terms of a large cavalry, to the Chudasama ruler Graharipu or Grahario I in his campaign against the Chaulukya Mularaja of Anhilwara (r. 940-996). In the eleventh century, the sub-clans came together again to protect the Sammas of Sindh from the oppression inflicted by the Sumras.⁸⁶ At another occasion, in the thirteenth century, all the Samma clans united against the sun-worshipping Kathi (*Kāthī*) clans to drive them out of Sindh

⁸³ Chronicles such as *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī* (c. 1621) have recorded this incident. Around 1298, the Khalji forces did start a campaign in Gujarat and Sindh when the Sumra capital city of Muhammad Tur was destroyed.

⁸⁴ Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 100–101, 103; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 106; James M. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Cutch, Pálanpur, and Mahi Kántha*, vol. V (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1880), 134, 184–85; Michel Boivin, “Sufism, Hinduism and Social Organization in Sindh: The Forgotten Tradition of Pithoro Pir,” in *Interpreting the Sindhi World: Essays on Society and History*, by Matthew A Cook and Michel Boivin (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 117–32. Williams records that where the Jadejas used to sacrifice buffaloes with rites, they also practiced the age-old Hindu practice of female infanticide and worshipped the female deities, particularly Goddess Ashapura, whose cult was a dominant motif among the Sammas since prior to the arrival of Islam.

⁸⁵ Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 103; Samira Sheikh, “State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region” (D.Phil, Oxford, Oxford University, 2003), 41.

⁸⁶ Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 106, 111–12.

and Kutch to the lands that later came to be known as Kathiawar. Whereas, at the turn of the fourteenth century the Sammas carried a joint campaign under the leadership of Jam Abda, a descendent of Lakha Jadeja, against 'Ala al-Din Khilji's forces.⁸⁷ Therefore, by the early fourteenth century, the Samma tribal chiefs had become extremely influential, and their political authority was widely spread over the Western Indian region.

Jams of Thatta and the Foundation of Samma Sultanate of Sindh

There is a history of antagonism between the Sumra and Samma clans, and there are fragmentary records of oppression of the latter when the Sumras were in power.⁸⁸ This periodic oppression might have encouraged the Sammas, a pastoralist people, to seek power and prestige. According to the genealogy worked out by Burgess, a Samma chief named Lakha Ghurara was already the Jam of Thatta around 1250.⁸⁹ However, in contemporary textual sources, we find in the second quarter of the fourteenth century a Samma tribal chief named Malik Ra'i Unnar (*Unnar*) holding a notable position in the Delhi administration. Living in *Siwistān* (now Sehwan, central Sindh), Unnar was serving under the Tughlaq governor of Sindh, with a cavalry of 18000 under his command.⁹⁰ Later Unnar acquired a large following and along with Qaisar-i Rumi (another noble) rebelled against Malik Ratan, the Tughlaq governor at Sehwan. Ratan was killed and Unnar seized the city of Sehwan along with its treasures. The latter was then given the title of Malik Firuz al-

⁸⁷ Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, 49; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 149–50; Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 100; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 38, 102. In *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī* and *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, the fight of the Sammas and the Kutchi Jam Abda is narrated to be against the Khiljis to rescue mainly the Sumra people, being prosecuted by the imperial forces, although the mass migrations of Sammas at the same time suggests it was to rescue both tribes.

⁸⁸ Ma 'šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma 'sūmī*, 83–84; Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhīrī*, 41–44.

⁸⁹ Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:199.

⁹⁰ Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla: The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325 -1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Hakluyt Society, 1971), 599.

Din Jam Unnar and raised as the new ruler.⁹¹ Shortly after, Unnar distributed the booty among his troops and departed along with his clansmen for Thatta, located at the apex of the Indus delta. From here he would challenge the authority of Sumras.⁹²

The activities of the Sammas in the second half of the fourteenth century can be adequately traced using contemporary texts.⁹³ From Ibn Battuta's accounts, one can infer that upper Sindh (Multan) was in Tughlaq control and the governor of Multan 'Imad al-Mulk Sartiz recovered central Sindh after Malik Unnar's departure from *Siwistān*. The popularity of Malik Firuz Unnar, however, grew over the areas around Samu'i-nagar and what was then *Nagar-Thatt* or *Nagar-Thattō*, the predecessor of metropolitan Thatta.⁹⁴ These lands were inhabited by various sub-clans of Sammas and had started to develop due to the shift in the Indus river. Consequently, the last

⁹¹ Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 85–86. Ma'sūm calls the governor by the name of Armil, who was murdered by Unnar, and that he was a Sumra chief. However, Ibn Battuta is our primary informant on the incident, see: Ibn Battūta, *Rihla: The Travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325-1354*, III:599–600; Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq* (London: Luzac & Co., 1938), 147.

⁹² Ibn Battuta gives the reason of Malik Firuz Jam Unnar's departure from Sehwan as feeling unsafe being away from his tribe, yet Ma'sūm's narration is somewhat confusing. *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī* and *Tuhfat al-Kirām* show Malik Firuz as another individual living near Bhakkar (central Sindh). Ma'sūm states that Malik Firuz warned Jam Unnar of the Tughlaq reaction, which made the latter to leave for Tharri and not Thatta. *Tuhfat al-Kirām* states that Malik Firuz was a rival and was killed by Jam Unnar's men. See: Ibn Battūta, *Rihla: The Travels of Ibn Battūta, A.D. 1325-1354*, III:600; Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 86; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 153–57. However, in the inscription over the tomb of Jam Nizam al-Din at Makli necropolis, the name of his ancestor, the earliest Samma sovereign (Jam Unnar), is given as: Sultan Firuz Shah. *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī* (following *Ṭabaqāt-i Bahādur Shāhī*) is silent on the matter. Therefore, it wouldn't be wrong to assume that Ibn Battuta stands correct.

⁹³ These include: *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī* of Baranī (d. 1357) and 'Afīf (d. 1388); *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī* (c. 1370) by an anonymous Tughlaq court chronicler; *Inshā'i Māhrū* – a collection of letters written by 'Ain ul-Mulk Mahru (the Tughlaq governor of Multan; d. c.1363); select poems from *Dīvān-i Muṭahhar Kara* by Tughlaq court poet Muṭahhar Kara (d. c.1388); and the *malfūzāt* (collections of table-talks and discourses) of Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari (d. 1384) alias *Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht*, the leading fourteenth-century Suhrawardi Sufi of Sindh. The two more important *malfūzāt* manuscripts are: *Malfūzāt-i Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* and *Sirāj ul-Hidāya*. Riaz ul-Islam has used these sources to present the political rise of the Sammas and an authentic chronology of the early Samma Sultans in his article published in 1948. See: Riaz ul-Islam, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)."

⁹⁴ According to Qani' this ancient land Thatta derives its name from the Sindhi word *Thatt*, which means "a place of gathering." See: Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 569. N.A. Baloch explains that the classical meaning of *nagar* (settlement) in Sindhi language is of a principality or capital where the ruler resides. Furthermore, *Thatt* or *Thattō* connote a permanent settlement on the "bank of a river." Where there were many medieval towns on Indus, which were termed as *Thatt*, there was only one *Nagar-Thattō* (the biggest settlement) that later became known as just "Thatta." See: N. A. Baloch, "The Origin of Thatta," in *Thatta: Islamic Architecture* (Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History, Culture and Civilization, 1982), 198–202.

Sumra king Hamir Duda (r. c. 1333-1350) was left with nominal authority over Sindh. Though it is not clear when exactly he was deposed. Recording the 1351 “man-hunting expedition” of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq that was spread over a vast area including Gujarat, Rajasthan and southern Sindh, Barani (d. c. 1357) states that the rebel Malik Taghi had fled towards Thatta “where he found refuge with the *Jām-i-Thatta* (Jam of Thatta).”⁹⁵ Therefore, the Samma Jams must have gained supremacy at least over the Indus Delta region sometime before that, reducing the power of the Sumra chief significantly.⁹⁶ The last time that Hamir Duda appears in Tughlaq literary sources is when he was living in Gujarat as Firuz Shah’s subject in 1384, probably in exile. While other Sumra tribal chiefs, hitherto dominant landlords, reduced to the status of minor landholders mainly settled on the southern borders of Sindh.⁹⁷

Within the next few years the Samma authority over lower Sindh became exclusive; specifically, in the early years of Firuz Shah’s reign (r. 1351-1388). The official correspondences

⁹⁵ Baranī, *Tarīkh-i Firōz-Shahī*, 523. Such vengeful expeditions of Muhammad bin Tughlaq against individuals are termed as “man-hunting expeditions” after Barani expressed them being “*ba rasm-i-shikār raft*” (for to the hunt of).

⁹⁶ There is a little confusion on this matter whether Samma Jams had complete supremacy over the region or the Sumras still exercised some authority. Barani is our primary witness to report this event as he was present with the Sultan and the rest of the chroniclers (‘Afif, Sirhindi and Nizamuddin Ahmad) are simply following him. In the next passage Barani writes that the imperial forces marched towards Thatta to eradicate “*Sūmergān and Taghī*” and also that on reaching at some distance from Thatta, the forces encamped and waited to destroy “*Thatta, Sūmergān-i Thatta* [Sumras of Thatta] *and Taghi*.” In the previous passage Barani also writes that Gondal is in the direction of “*Thatta Sūmergān and Damrīla*,” which either states that Thatta is the Sumra stronghold or (as Elliot translates) he uses the term *Sūmergān* for a place name such as Samu’i-nagar, the previous capital. See: Baranī, 523–24; Diyā’ al-Dīn Baranī, “*Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*,” in *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, trans. H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, vol. III (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), 264–65.

⁹⁷ Mahru does not mention Hamir Duda further nor does any other contemporary chronicler. After the Sammas completely overtook Indus Delta region, the Sumras were pushed towards southern and eastern lands. In south there were several of the Sumra clan who remained landowners under the Samma suzerainty. In east, however, they conquered ‘Umerkot in c. 1355, the lands that were taken from them by the Sodhas in 1226. Later, the Hindu Sodhas regained the fort of ‘Umerkot (as *Beḡlār-Nāma*, written in 1608, exhibits that they were chieftains of ‘Umerkot even after the annexation of Sindh by Mughals) and the Sumras were permanently removed from exercising any imperial power in Sindh. See: Boivin, “Sufism, Hinduism and Social Organization in Sindh: The Forgotten Tradition of Pithoro Pir.” From an inscription found on the *mihrāb* of a mosque called *Tekrēwālī Masjid* in Prantij (Gujarat), it is apparent that the Sumra chief was living in Gujarat towards the end of Firuz Shah’s reign. The mosque was built under the patronage of “*Hamū [son of] Dūdā Sūmra* (Hamir Duda Sumra)” around November 1382. See: Z. A. Desai, “Khalji and Tughluq Inscriptions from Gujarat,” *Epigraphia Indica: Arabic and Persian Supplement*, 1962, 21–22.

of ‘Ain ul-Mulk Mahru, the Tughlaq governor of Multan, written at several occasions between 1352 and 1363, reveal some details. Malik Firuz Jam Unnar’s son Banhbina (*Bāṅhbīna bin Unnar*) appears as a dominant and an audacious character in Mahru’s letters, campaigning against the Delhi Sultanate and frequently raiding the Tughlaq posts.⁹⁸ Mahru refers to him as *arbāb-i-Thatta* (master of Thatta) who, upon inheriting the political authority from his father Malik Unnar, held the status of a warlord and ruled from Thatta. Mahru’s letters further indicate that Banhbina was not the only Samma chief exercising authority over southern Sindh; the brother of Jam Unnar was also jointly leading the tribe.⁹⁹ Other contemporary writers confirm this rare practice of joint sovereignty. ‘Afif (d. 1388) states that “in those days the Jam, brother of *Rāi Unnar*, and *Bāṅhbīna*, his brother’s son, were commanders (*zābaṭ*) of Thatta.”¹⁰⁰ The anonymously authored *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhi* (c. 1370) also elaborates on their identities stating, “The chiefs of these people [Sammās] were one ‘Ala al-Din Jam Juna [and the] second Sadr al-Din Banhbina [bin] Unnar.”¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, the official letters of Mahru also suggest Jam Juna was exercising some authority over the Sammas inhabiting the lands outside of Thatta region as well, and probably where his son Tughachi held some official position.¹⁰² The Tughlaq texts also exhibit that by 1362 all the lands

⁹⁸ Māhrū, *Inshā’i Mahrū*, letter no. 46, 134. Mahru calls him “*Banhmīnyah*” and “*Banbīnya*,” while ‘Afif calls him “*Bāṅhbīna birādarzāda* [son of Jam’s brother Rai Unnar]”. Nizamuddin however, calls him “Jam Malītha, son of Jam Ānar,” a name which is not mentioned in any other source. Mir Ma’sūm gives this name “*Banbhaniya*” to the father of Malik Unnar and Jam Juna as well as Unnar’s son. According to Rashidi’s chronology this is correct. See: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 199; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 60; Ahmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:774; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 90–91.

⁹⁹ For a detailed discussion over the names and relationship of these two see: Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources).”

¹⁰⁰ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 199; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 60.

¹⁰¹ Where this author’s account is a rare occurrence in getting the complete names of both the contemporary Samma leaders, the author erroneously writes Damrila as the name of the Samma headquarters or fort, instead of Thatta. See: Anonymous, “*Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī*,” fol. 78.

¹⁰² One of Mahru’s letters is addressed to “Amir Tughaji” (*Tughāchī*), apparently an ally and a loyal tribal chief of the *Hālkān* (Chachgan) region in southeastern Sindh. See: Māhrū, *Inshā’i Mahrū*, letter no. 88. The chronology worked out by Rashidi has “Khayr ud-Din Jam Tughachi,” son of Jam Juna, as the third sovereign, jointly ruling with Jam Tamachi, second son of Jam Unnar. See: Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 666, Chart ٢.

in Sindh below Sehwan (locally known as *Lār*) were in Samma control. Additionally, there existed more than one Samma polity in the deltaic region, at times coalescing against the Tughlaq Sultanate, yet also adopting opposing diplomatic strategies. Jam Juna, the supreme tribal chief of Sammas (evinced by the use of titlature “Jam” before his name only), and his son had agreed to cooperate with the Tughlaqs several times, and had also transcribed an *‘arżadāsh*t (petition) agreeing to an annual tribute.¹⁰³ *Shaykh al-Islām* Sadr al-Din (a descendent of Baha’ al-Din Zakariyya Multani) and the leading Suhrawardi Sufi Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari (d. 1384) of Uch arranged this treaty sometime around 1358.¹⁰⁴ Banhbina, unwilling to accept such agreements, collaborated with the Chaghatayid Mongols and brought about what is described as “*fasād*” (degeneracy). He was capable of mobilizing a large armed peasantry from the neighboring regions, with his objective of local supremacy and also instigated the inhabitants of central Sindh (Sehwan)

¹⁰³ A decree (no. 99) addressed to the people of *Hālkān pargana* (Chachgan) indicates Jam Juna’s loyalty to the Tughlaqs, agreeing to assist in any operations and to send an annual tribute. Other letters also compliment Jam Juna and his son Tughachi on being co-operative, yet Banhbina was the one instigating the rebellions. See: Māhrū, *Inshā’i Mahrū*, letter no. 88, 99, 134. *Hālkān* is a variant of *Chachgān*, also written as *Hājkan* in the Mughal period texts. In the Sultanate and Mughal periods, a *Šūbah* (province) was divided into *sarkār* (districts), which were further subdivided into administrative units called *pargana*. According to Hodivala’s findings, “Chachgan was a district of eastern Delta country” around present Tando Bego (Tando Bago), 130 km southeast of Thatta, close to Badin. See: Shahpurshah Hormasji Hodivala, *Studies In Indo-Muslim History: A Critical Commentary on Elliot and Dawson’s History of India* (Bombay, 1939), 126.

¹⁰⁴ Sadr al-Din was a descendent, probably grandson, of Baha’ al-Din Zakariyya, the founder of Sufi Suhrawardi *ṭariqa* in Multan. Ma’sum refers to him as the son of Zakariyya, which is unlikely (because of a large time lapse between the two). He is not to be confused with Sadr al-Din Arif (d. 1285), who was the son of Baha’ al-Din and father of Rukn al-Din Shah Alam (d. 1335). Information on him is scarce. He died sometime after 1366 as Firuz Shah took his blessings before departing for Thatta the second time from Gujarat (‘Afif; 1890, p 230). We do not find him mediating between the Sammas and Tughlaq forces at the time of the second battle (see below). Firuz Shah had appointed Sadr al-Din as the *Shaykh al-Islām* of the Sultanate after his accession to the throne. See: Ma’šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’šūmī*, 69; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, “Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and Their Attitude towards the State,” *Islamic Culture* 22, no. 4 (1948): 387–99; Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 139.

to join the movement of freedom from the Delhi Sultanate.¹⁰⁵ However, none of the Tughlaq authors have reported enmity between these diverse Samma factions at this time.¹⁰⁶

In the wake of these Samma rebellions and various unsuccessful diplomatic efforts by Tughlaq officials, Firuz Shah ultimately decided to wage war against the Jams of Sindh.¹⁰⁷ The Sultan with all his might marched along the bank of Indus, while his fleet sailed down and entered the limits of Thatta in c. 1363. According to the available sources, the imperial forces consisted of a large cavalry of 90,000 and 480 elephants, in addition to about 5,000 boats they had collected from “the confines of *Bhakkar* (Sukkur) and *Siwistān* (Sehwan)” for operations in Indus waters.¹⁰⁸ The Tughlaq army plundered the adjoining areas of Thatta and encamped at some distance to prepare for the attack. The city, however, was well fortified and its location on a riverine island also provided a natural defense. Therefore, the Jams succeeded in keeping the imperial forces at bay for several months. Nevertheless, the army could not survive the “remoteness and barrenness of the *walayāt*” (pl. of *walāyat*; lit. province or region). Because of acute shortage of food grain and an epidemic that left most of their horses dead, Firuz Shah Tughlaq decided on retreating to

¹⁰⁵ Māhrū, *Inshā`i Mahrū*, letter no. 134. Sadr al-Din Banhbina remained a cause of great concern for the Tughlaqs, for more than a decade. That he valiantly and persistently resisted the Tughlaq power can be deduced from the use of various derogatory terms for him in Tughlaq texts. Mahru has repeatedly called him “*muḥṣid*” (mischievous; destructive), while ‘Afif perpetually appends the term “*Khudkāṁ*” (arrogant) with his name till he was taken to Delhi by Firuz Shah. See: Māhrū, letter no. 46; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 60–61.

¹⁰⁶ Mahru’s last letter (no. 134) accuses Jam Juna of chicanery by making an agreement with the Tughlaqs, yet also aiding Banhbina in his revolts. Although, letter no. 88 praises Tughachi for acting in the Sultanate’s favor and subduing the rebellions of his people. It is possible that Banhbina and Tughachi held opposing political ambitions and Jam Juna, being the tribal chief acted as mediator, holding both family lines together. However, in the absence of any literary evidence this remains open to question.

¹⁰⁷ In 1359-1361 Sultan Firuz Shah was on his second Lakhnauti campaign in Bengal and ‘Afif states that a whole year after that the Sultan remained in Delhi, contemplating the attack on Samma Jams. See: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 190–91; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 57–58. The author of *Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī* (c. 1370) states that in 1361 the Sultan did return to Delhi but was again busy campaigning at Nagarkot in 1362. From Nagarkot he marched with his large army towards Thatta. Anonymous, “*Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī*,” fol. 43a-b; Niẓāmuddīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i Akbarī*, trans. De Brajendranath, vol. I (Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1927), 248–49.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 198–99; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 59–60. ‘Afif’s father was a Tughlaq court official serving in *maḥal-i dīwān-i wizārat* (minister’s office) and on the Thatta expedition was commanding a fleet of 1000 boats.

Gujarat.¹⁰⁹ But after just a few months and “expending the entire revenue of Gujarat, amounting to about two *krōrs*, in refitting his army,” the Sultan again marched towards Thatta for another campaign in 1366.¹¹⁰ This time the Tughlaq forces were better prepared and equipped with new weaponry. Thatta was surrounded on all sides, yet the Sammas again resisted this second attack for months.¹¹¹ Incapable of capturing Thatta once again, Firuz Shah sent for reinforcements from Delhi and other parts of the Sultanate, and were also joined by the naval forces from “*Khanbhābat wa Sōmnāt*” (Gujarat), which blocked the river passage from Thatta to the sea. Eventually, the imperial army took possession of the harvest and cut off all supply lines to Thatta city, subjecting the Sammas to great privations.¹¹² It is at this point that we again encounter the political interventions of the Suhrawardi Sufis of Sindh to resolve to the Samma-Tughlaq conflicts.

Many contemporary texts have documented Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari’s arrival in Thatta from Uch in the middle of this battle, to assist in bringing truce between the rivals. There are, however, two slightly differing versions on this incident. Tughlaq chroniclers emphasize the weakening of the Samma administration, indicating that during this siege conflicts arose among the Jams and their political administrators. Their men started to desert and hence, Jam Juna and Banhbina sought Jalal al-Din Bukhari (a preceptor of Firuz Shah) to intercede for peace on their

¹⁰⁹ Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, 9; ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 200–203; ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, 60–62; Anonymous, “Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī,” fols. 44a–48b; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 138; Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources).”

¹¹⁰ ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, 66–67. As the last time Firuz Shah’s army had to retreat from Thatta due to the shortage of food grain, his timing was well calculated for the second attack. The surrounding crop fields were almost ready for harvesting when the imperial forces reached Thatta, which they seized and therefore, grains were available in abundance.

¹¹¹ ‘Afīf, 70. In *Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī* it is stated, “.... for two years Thatta remained surrounded from all sides,” which is incorrect as Firuz Shah was back in Delhi supervising the installation of the *mināra-i-zarrīn* (Ashokan Pillar) at Firuzabad, later in Oct 1367. See: Anonymous, “Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī,” fols. 185–196.

¹¹² ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 236–40; ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, 70–73; Anonymous, “Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī,” fols. 83–84; Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, 9.

behalf.¹¹³ Bukhari's *malḡūzāt* contrarily imply that the involvement of this Sufi was at his own discretion. Since both opponents were Muslims and in the first round of the battle there were many fatalities, Bukhari's efforts were directed in the interest of both parties.¹¹⁴ The *malḡūzāt* also emphasize upon the spirituality of the Suhrawardi saint, the astounding powers of which aided, in addition to his prayers, in miraculously swaying the Sammas into surrender.¹¹⁵ Although, the *malḡūzāt* focus more on presenting a somewhat mystical version, yet they also indicate that the leaders from both sides heartily accepted the peaceful resolution. Therefore, these narratives confirm some very significant details. Firstly, at this time the armed peasantry of lower Sindh had, under the leadership of Samma chiefs, become quite resilient to confront the might of the Tughlaq armies. Secondly, the *malḡūzāt* also reveal that in this battle the political and military prestige of the Tughlaqs was equally at stake, if not more after a lengthy campaign; a fact the Tughlaq chroniclers preferred to conceal.¹¹⁶ Moreover, these events confirm that around the mid fourteenth century the Samma Jams were already adhering to Sunnism and were devoted to the Suhrawardi Sufis of Uch (this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five).

Once the truce was reached the Jams of Thatta arrived at the Tughlaq camp to negotiate the terms of peace, where Jalal al-Din Bukhari was already present. The treaty drawn required Jam Juna and Banhbina to reside at Delhi, along with their *khīl-khāna* ' *aīshān tamām* (whole household

¹¹³ ' Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 240–41; ' Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, 73–74; Anonymous, "Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī," fols. 84–85; Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḡammadī*, 9.

¹¹⁴ In this regard Bukhari's table-talks, *Malḡūzāt-i Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* and *Sirāj ul-Hidāya*, are particularly important. See: Riaz ul-Islam, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)."

¹¹⁵ *Sirāj ul-Hidāya* shows how by putting Rukn al-Din Multani's turban on his head, the holy object strengthened the mystical powers of Bukhari. For a detailed discussion on this version from Bukhari's *malḡūzāt* see: Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 128–30; Riaz ul-Islam, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)."

¹¹⁶ To cover for the recurring military failure of the Tughlaqs at the hands of Samma Jams, ' Afif holds a holy woman of Thatta responsible whose prayers were making it impossible for the Tughlaq forces to conquer the city. He writes that when Bukhari came to Firuz Shah he told him that the woman had died and now the Sammas could be subjugated. See: ' Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 241; ' Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firōz Shāhī*, 74.

and establishment), while Banhbina's brother Ra'i Tamachi and Juna's son Tughachi were appointed *ṣafdār* (commanders) of Thatta, to rule as Tughlaq vassals.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the Sammas were bound to read the *khuṭba*, strike coins in the name of the Delhi Sultan, and pay an annual tribute of a large sum in cash along with fine-bred horses.¹¹⁸ Following the agreement Firuz Shah marched towards Delhi in 1367, along with the internees Jam Juna and Banhbina. The arrival of the Tughlaq army was greatly celebrated and festivities were arranged on grand scale on the conquest of "Thatta [that] had been a source of trouble for the sovereigns of Delhi" for the past many years.¹¹⁹ The Jams of Thatta were provided with honorable positions at the Delhi court, hefty annual allowances and comfortable residences in a locality near the royal palace, which later became known as *Sarā'ī Thatta*. However, all these measures taken to ensure submission of Sammas in lower Sindh failed miserably when after just a few years Ra'i Tamachi defied his allegiance to Delhi.

Ra'i Tamachi raised another rebellion against Delhi around 1374. At this point both Samma family lines appear to have been divided in their intentions. None of the textual sources indicate that Jam Juna's son (also a commander in southern Sindh) was part of this revolt. Furthermore, to suppress this rebellion and to capture Tamachi, Jam Juna was sent back from Delhi and the

¹¹⁷ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 243–47; Waheed Mirza, "Dīvān-i Muṭahhar Kaṛa," *Oriental College Magazine* 11, no. 3 (May 1935): 143; Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, 9–10; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 138. Bihamadkhani mentions the involvement of a trustworthy aide of Firuz Shah, Firuz bin Taj al-Din Turk, who was sent to Thatta to get the Jams. This is the only source that mentions this mediator, however, the other sources project a voluntary arrival of the Sammas at the Tughlaq camps. Name and identity of Jam Juna's son is not clear from any contemporary source, yet previously Mahru had written a letter to the Samma *Amīr* named Tughachi (see above), who according to Rashidi's chronology was Jam Juna's son.

¹¹⁸ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 247; Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, 10.

¹¹⁹ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 252; Mirza, "Dīvān-i Muṭahhar Kaṛa," 135, 140–45; Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, 10; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 138. According to Bihamadkhani and Sirhindi only one *ṣafdār* (commander), that is Banhbina, accompanied Firuz Shah to Delhi, which is incorrect. Sirhindi's statement that "*Jām Bābiniya* ... accompanied to Delhi" could be a writing error and in fact meant to be "*Jām wa (and) Bābiniya*." Contemporary authors 'Afif and Kara clearly state that both the Samma authorities were taken as internees to avoid any further troubles.

principality of lower Sindh was conferred upon him.¹²⁰ Jalal al-Din Bukhari was again invited to intercede, and was sent from Delhi to Thatta to bring back Tamachi and Salah al-Din (Tamachi's son) as hostages to the royal court.¹²¹ 'Ala al-Din Jam Juna and his son retained semi-autonomous control in return for payment of tribute to Delhi and maintaining nominal subject status. It cannot be said with certainty how long this arrangement persisted. However, from a Persian inscription on the tomb of Shaykh Abu Turab near Gujjo, about 14 km west of Makli necropolis, it is evident that 'Ala al-Din Jam Juna was the Tughlaq proconsul based at Thatta in 1380.¹²² Correspondingly, Banhbina and his brother Ra'i Tamachi remained in exile at Delhi, along with their families until 1388. On Firuz Shah's death when Ghiyas al-Din Tughlaq Shah II (r. 1388-1389) ascended the throne, he pardoned the exiled brothers and arranged for their departure to Thatta. Sadr al-Din Banhbina and Ra'i Tamachi left Delhi constituting fresh alliances with the Tughlaqs, and were therefore, complemented with royal favors, however, the former died before reaching Thatta.¹²³

¹²⁰ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 244; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 138; Thattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya'*, 105. Ma'sum (and other authors following him) however, states that it was Banhbina who was pardoned and sent back to Thatta, which is incorrect. 'Afif writes that Banhbina remained at Delhi till the accession of Tughlaq Shah in 1388. Sirhindi also states, "On his having shown obedience, [only] Jam was sent in state to resume his government." Furthermore, contemporary sources do not support Banhbina's presence at Thatta any time after 1367. See: Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 91.

¹²¹ Rashidi is of the opinion that this incident took place in 1371 and Jam Juna was sent to Thatta with Bukhari. See: Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 189. Although Bukhari was present at Delhi in 1371 but his *Malfūzāt* do not mention him going to Thatta in 1371. *Malfūzāt-i Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* notes that Bukhari was sent to Thatta to bring Rai Tamachi, however, does not give the date. In another source from Bukhari's *Malfūzāt*, known as *Tuḥfat al-Sarā'ir*, it is mentioned that Bukhari went to Delhi in 1374-75 "in order to intercede for, and fulfill the needs of the Muslims." This shows that the incident most probably took place in 1373-74. Statements in *Sirāj ul-Hidāya* regarding the incident are confusing as it states that Bukhari's arrival at Delhi in 1371 was "after the Thatta campaign," yet for another purpose. See: Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 130, 133; Riaz ul-Islam, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)," 380-82, note 4.

¹²² The clay plaque is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. For a detailed analysis of this inscription see: Muhammad Shafi, "Sindh Ke Ba'az Katbe," *Oriental College Magazine* 11, no. 2 (February 1935): 140; N. B. Khan Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, trans. Shazra Sikandari (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2009), 130-31.

¹²³ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 254. A similar gesture was observed earlier when in c. 1330 Muhammad bin Tughlaq had ascended the throne and released Ghiyas al-Din Bahadur of Bengal, who was kept a prisoner in Delhi since Ghiyas al-Din Tughlaq's expedition of Bengal. See: Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad Bin Tughluq*, 147.

Following Firuz Shah Tughlaq's death in 1388, the Delhi Sultanate lost control of several of its distant tributaries, which contributed towards its military and financial upkeep. The disintegration of the Sultanate resulted in several independent principalities towards the end of the fourteenth century. These included the Sultanates of Oudh (Awadh), Malwa, Jawnpur, Gujarat, Khandesh and the Samma Sultanate of Sindh. Once the Tughlaq governor of Gujarat, Muzaffar Shah I (r. 1391-1411), proclaimed independence and founded the Sultanate of Gujarat, Sindh found security in the southeast. Furthermore, the political instability at Multan and the presence of Chudasamas and Jadeja Sammas in Junagadh and Kutch, secured the Indus Delta country from all sides, solidifying the authority of the Sammas in lower Sindh. Concurrently, Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari had died at Uch and Thatta had gradually emerged as a noted Suhrawardi center. Shaykh Hammad bin Rashid al-Din Jamal (better known as Shaykh Hammad Jamali), another *khalīfa* (emissary) of the *silsilah*, was posthumously elevated into the position of Thatta's *wālī* (custodian; patron saint).¹²⁴ This change in the religious landscape of southern Sindh also effectively transformed the region's political landscape. In contrast to Bukhari's long-standing support for Jam Juna, the patron saint Shaykh Hammad Jamali advocated Tamachi's claim to the inheritance of sovereignty, when the latter arrived from exile in 1389.¹²⁵ This point in time is extremely important in Samma dynastic history. Although Samma hegemony in southern Sindh had begun

¹²⁴ The term *wālī* comes from one of God's beautiful names or attributes (*al-asmā' al-ḥusā'*) "*al-wālī*," meaning "The one who controls and governs everything." This term shares the same root with other terms like *wālī* (lit. friend or custodian) and *awliyā'*. In medieval settings, it was often used for the Sufi *Shaykhs* holding territorial *walāyat* or *walāyah* – perceived spiritual power over a geographical region and its inhabitants. Near contemporary hagiographical texts from Sindh have used terms like *ṣāhib-i-walāyat* and *shaykh-i-walāyat* for Hammad Jamali, evincing that on his behalf a claim of territorial *walāyah* was advanced. See: Thattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya'*, 54; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 30.

¹²⁵ Riaz ul-Islam asserts that Banhbina was sent back probably as Tughlaq vassal because Jam Juna might have died. 'Abdul Qadir Thattawi, the author of *Hadīqat al-Auliya'* (c. 1607), however, asserts Jam Juna's presence at Thatta at the time. Later historians have slightly differing accounts yet are primarily agreeing with 'Abdul Qadir. See: Thattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya'*, 49–59; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 562–64; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 28–30.

almost four decades ago in c. 1351, but Tamachi's arrival back to Thatta laid the foundation of an autonomous Sultanate in 1389. Tamachi was eventually successful in wresting the political and tribal control from Juna and his kinfolk. Throwing allegiances to Delhi and assuming the title of Rukn al-Din Shah Jam Tamachi, he became the first Samma "Sultan" of Sindh.¹²⁶ The opening of the last decade of the fourteenth century, therefore, marks the beginning of a new era of political dominance of Sindh's native people.

Geographic Parameters of the Samma Sultanate

Citing *Ṭabaqāt-i-Bahādur Shāhī* (c. 1533), Nizamuddin Ahmad (d. 1621) records fifteen rulers from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Samagān* (the house of Sammas) who were involved in administrating Sindh's affairs.¹²⁷ Mir Ma'sum (d. 1606) and 'Ali Shir Qani' (d. 1788) have put their number to seventeen, while Tahir Nisyani (d. 1641) provides limited information, professing the unavailability of authentic sources being the reason for him to refrain from conjecture.¹²⁸ The chronology worked out by Rashidi (d. 1982), based on several primary texts and published in his edited volume of *Maklīnāmah* is, however, more elaborate. It presents reliable identities of the Samma Sultans, in addition to other dynastic nobilities. According to the author, between Malik Firuz Jam Unnar and Sultan Nasir al-Din Jam Firuz Shah (r. 1508-1522) – the last Samma Sultan, there were seventeen Samma rulers, some of whom also occupied the throne more than once. The Jams maintained hegemony for over a century and a half, initially only in southern Sindh and later expanding into the upper divisions, Southern Punjab and up to Balochistan. Although the geographic boundaries

¹²⁶ The inscriptions carved on the door lintels of the tomb of Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo on Makli hill and on the surviving Samma coinage demonstrate the titles "Sultan" and "shah" used by the monarchs of the Samma Sultanate of Sindh. These inscriptions are discussed in detail in the following chapters.

¹²⁷ Ahmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:773.

¹²⁸ Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 85–109; Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 151–76; Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 51–59.

of the Samma Sultanate of Sindh kept shifting throughout the dynastic period, yet Thatta at all times remained a constant factor as the center of their governance.

The initially established autonomous Sultanate was limited to the Delta region (southern Sindh), however, by the second quarter of the fifteenth century when Sultan Tughlaq bin Sikandar Jam Juna II (r. c. 1425-1452) was reigning, it encompassed Sehwan (central Sindh) and stretched further into the central division to include Bhakkar (present-day Sukkur). By the mid fifteenth century, the Sammas had firmly established their hold over all of Sindh below Multan (Map 1). Extent and prosperity of the Sultanate is demonstrated in a contemporary epigraph set into a well at Sanjpur (about 18 km south-west of present-day Sadiqabad), on the border of the upper division. This epigraph records minute details of the construction that took place when Sultan Tughlaq Jam Juna's successor, Muhammad bin Fath Khan Jam Unnar III (r. 1452-1454), who took the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah II, was the ruling monarch.¹²⁹

Mir Ma'sum records that soon after Sultan Sadr al-Din Jam Sanjar (r. 1454-1461) took charge of the Sultanate's administration, and was ruling a large part of Sindh stretched "from the seacoasts to the borders of *Mathēlā* (Mathelo) and *Ubāūrī* (Ubauro), that is up to [the towns of] *Gajrēlī* and *Kandhī* (Kandhkot)" in the present-day Ghotki district of northern Sindh (Map 1).¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Fortunately, the correct lineage and complete name of Sikandar Shah II became available from a manuscript named *al-Zubdat* (c. 1454), an edited version of *Sharḥ al-shamsiyya fī al-mīzān*, discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. See: Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 128, also see notes; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 190–91, 655. Moreover, the epigraph specifies the country to be thriving having "Sikandar *bādshāh* – the most brave" as its ruler and "his people so content that even the old men felt like young." The inscription records the names "Naseer – the brick layer" and "Hameer son of Gaman" as the man who dug the well. Maulana Hafeez-ur-Rahman in his *Zikar-i-Kirām* writes that the *badshāh* (king) mentioned in the inscription is Sadr al-Din Jam Sikandar Shah I (d. c. 1412). He is not in the list provided by Ma'sum or Nizamuddin but in the chronology worked out by Rashidi he appears as the grandfather of Sikandar Shah II and son of Jam Tughachi. Also, the phrase "*Unnar Jām*" (although used poetically for a wine cup) in the inscription was Sikandar Shah II's *'urf* (previous note). See: Thattavī, 248–49, 666: Chart ٢.

¹³⁰ Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 99; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:778; Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:199. Aitken has included these towns within the Sukkur district. Hodivala has rightly pointed out that both Nagar Mathela (or Mathelo) and Ubauri (or Ubauro) are in present-day Ghotki district of northern Sindh, therefore encompassing parts of medieval Upper Sindh. Cousens writes that around the mid

Nevertheless, the Samma Sultanate reached its greatest limits under the suzerainty of the most celebrated Samma Sultan, Nizam al-Din ‘urf Jam Nindo (r. 1461-1508). During the early years of his reign he is found residing at Bhakkar with a large force. There he reinforced the fortification walls, subjugated the regional threats and left for Thatta after a year, appointing a governor to oversee his northern territories.¹³¹ In the north, Samma lands that had long been a target of Baloch raiding, shared borders with the Langah Sultanate of Multan (1437-1525). Shah Husayn Langah (r. 1469-1498), whose territories stretched from Multan to Shorkot and Chiniot (central Punjab), had recruited a considerable body of Baloch warriors of Dodai tribe to strengthen his military power. Concurrently, the large Baloch population that had migrated from Kej Makran region at the behest of Husayn Langah were vested with lands from Kot Karor to Dhankot.¹³² Jam Nindo’s presence in Bhakkar at this time, therefore, appears to be politically strategic to counter the influx and growing influence of the Baloch tribes close to Samma territories and to expand its northern frontiers. After some deliberation the Jam entered into political treaties with Husayn Langah, and secured the northern borders of the Sultanate that had expanded well into the present-day western Punjab.¹³³ Once Jam Nindo handed “the governance of the affairs of the *walāyat* (country)” to his prime minister Mubarak Khan (d. 1520), the latter thoroughly subjugated the turbulent Balochs, bringing all the country up to Kandahar into the Samma dominion.¹³⁴ Mir Purani (d. 1574) and

eleventh century these were among the most significant places of the region. See: Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 507–8; Hodivala, *Studies In Indo-Muslim History*, 106; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 175.

¹³¹ Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 102–3.

¹³² Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:795; ‘Abd-al-Bāqī Nahāvandī, *Ma‘āšir-i-Raḥīmī (1616)*, ed. Muhammad Hidayat Husain, vol. 1, Bibliotheca Indica ; new series 181 (Calcutta: Asiatic Society Of Bengal, 1910), 271; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:845. Kot Karor and Dhankot cannot be identified with certainty, yet are located by historians either near Kalabagh (according to Erskine) or close to Indus in Muzaffargarh district (as per Longworth Dames). See: M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch Race: A Historical and Ethnological Sketch* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1904), 41–42.

¹³³ Ṭhattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 169. Qani‘ is the only authority on this alliance between the Sammas and the Langhas yet appears to be authentic as we do not find other chroniclers indicating the two Sultanates campaigning against each other over the next few decades.

¹³⁴ Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 55–56.

Nizamuddin also testify that before Shah Beg Arghun's (d. 1521) attack on the fort of *Siwī* (present-day Sibi) in 1486, it was held by Bahadur Khan, a *gumāshṭa* (commander) of Jam Nindo.¹³⁵ Furthermore, a Hindi inscription in Devanagari script dated *Samvat* 1548 (1491 CE), on the entrance of the ancient fort of Marot, evinces that the Sammas held some authority in the immediate east of the Langah territories.¹³⁶ The Sehta clansmen, who professed allegiance to Sultan Nizam al-Din, were governing the lands around the Cholistan desert, in present-day Bahawalnagar district of Punjab, where the Marot fort is located.¹³⁷ Therefore, by the end of the fifteenth century, the Samma Sultanate was spread over a vast region (Map 1). On the seacoasts, it extended from Makran in Balochistan down to the borders of Kutch; in the east up to the borders of Jaisalmer and Bikaner (Rajasthan) encompassing Umerkot; in north-east up to Uch, yet also incorporating territories of western Punjab and the Cholistan desert. In the north it expanded up to the Kandahar province, covering the Bolan Pass of Balochistan, including *Siwī* (Sibi) and *Shāl* (present-day Quetta).¹³⁸ However, Uch that was once a part of the Samma dominion was lost to the Langhas, sometime towards the end of the fifteenth century. In *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Ma'āšir-i-Raḥīmī* (1616) it is recorded that when the Samma ministers Jam Bayazid and Jam Ibrahim, two

¹³⁵ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 60; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:778; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:833–34; Nahāvandī, *Ma'āšir-i-Raḥīmī*.

¹³⁶ The ancient fort of Marot, that was once an important mediating post connecting Delhi to Uch and Multan had at its entrance a Hindi inscription that indicates the name of its Sehta governor who paid tribute to Jam Nindo. It records the *Malik* (governor) of the fort named Jam Sumro [of Sehta tribe] to have repaired the fort in 1491. This inscription that was carved on a brick tile is now lost. It was first reported in 1904, in the Punjab State Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur state (published in 1908). For details on the inscription see: *Punjab States Gazetteers: The Bahawalpur State* (Lahore: Civil & Military Gazette Press, 1908), 372; Saif-ur-Rehman Dar, "Marot - A One-Time Guardian Fort of the Cholistan Desert," *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 19, no. 2 (1982): 37–60.

¹³⁷ In *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Ma'āšir-i-Raḥīmī* (1616) it is recorded that a large part of Sindh, the lands between Thatta and Bhakkar (Sukkur), belonged to Sehta tribe (in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*'s transl. Prashad has incorrectly written Sehta as Thathwa, see notes on p. 795). Most of the Sehta chiefs remained faithful to the Samma Sultanate till its very end. See: Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:795–96; Nahāvandī, *Ma'āšir-i-Raḥīmī*, 1:271–72; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:845.

¹³⁸ Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 55–56; Ma'šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'šūmī*, 104; Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Maklīnāmāh*, 249. The area "Jalūgīr," which Mir Ma'sum states is where the Samma forces warded off the first Arghun attack, is in the Bolan Pass near Bibi Nani, south of Quetta. See: Hodivala, *Studies In Indo-Muslim History*, 106.

chiefs of the Sehta tribes, left Sultan Nizam al-Din and joined the service of Husayn Langha, the latter conferred Uch upon Jam Ibrahim and Shorkot upon Jam Bayazid.¹³⁹ Additionally, at the end of the medieval centuries, the south-eastern borders of Sindh also deviated from their traditional demarcations. Although the region of Tharparkar was in the Samma domain, yet its southern corner appears to be either semi-autonomous or under the jurisdiction of the Sultanate of Gujarat.¹⁴⁰

The above examination of how the textual and material sources relate the geographical shifting of the Samma territories later aids in studying the geographical reach of the artistic styles employed in the Makli necropolis during the Samma dynastic period.

Marital Alliances, Political Mechanisms and the Samma Systems of Governance

The Jams consolidated their kingdom in Sindh formulating a system that mainly drew upon the alliance-based political model. This model was already in place among the pastoralist societies of martial proto-Rajputs in the neighboring Gujarat, where the Samma kinsmen were dwelling.¹⁴¹

¹³⁹ Nizamuddin and Nahavandi write that a large part of Sindh, the lands between Thatta and Bhakkar (Sukkur), belonged to Sehta tribe (in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*'s transl. Prashad has incorrectly written Sehta as Thathwa, see notes on p. 795). Most of the Sehta chiefs remained faithful to the Samma Sultanate till its very end (see below). In *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* and *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī* (also *Tārīkh-i Farishta*) write that when Jam Bayazid and Jam Ibrahim, two chiefs of Sehtas, left Jam Nindo and joined the service of Husayn Langha, the latter conferred Uch upon Jam Ibrahim and Shorkot upon Jam Bayazid. This shows that Uch was in the possession of the Langahs See: Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:795–96; Nahāvandī, *Ma'āṣir-i-Raḥīmī*, 1:271–72; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:845.

¹⁴⁰ The Bodhesar Mosque, Nagarparkar, is recorded to have been built by Sultan Mahmud Begada of Gujarat (r. 1458-1511) in 1505, in place of an earlier Ghaznavid period monument. Burgess and Cousens, however, indicate that in the inscription on the mosque the date given is *Samvat* 1505, yet they do not quote the inscription and mention that some part is missing. Moreover, they gave such details based on earlier notes by Mr. R. Giles. Modern historians, however, agree upon the mosque being commissioned by Mahmud Begra and his authority over this edge of Sindh based on the re-discovery of the whole inscription. See: Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:221; Shakirullah and Tanveer Qurashi, "Bodhesar Mosque: A Unique Religious Building at Nagar Parkar, Sindh, Pakistan," *Journal of Asian Civilizations* 38, no. 1 (2015): 165. Ottoman admiral Seydi 'Ali Re'is (d. 1562) also confirms that Nagarparkar was part of Gujarat and the first major city he reached on entering Sindh was Wanga (Wagehkot), a principal seaport of Sumra times when the Rann of Kutch was navigable and connected to Indus. See: Seydī 'Alī Re'īs, *Mir'āt Ul-Memālik - The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reīs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556*, trans. Ármin Vámbéry (London: Luzac & Co., 1899), 36–37.

¹⁴¹ Tambs-Lyche discusses the medieval Rajput state formation in Kathiawar (Gujarat) under alliance-governance framework. Also, Samira Sheikh has discussed, in great detail, the system of alliance-politics that existed in Gujarati

The system comprised of dynamics such as commanding loyalties and respect of clan brotherhoods; accumulating marital and social ties with dominant, equal or subordinate rulers, and forging military allegiances to paramount rulers in the wider region. Once the Samma chiefs converted to Islam, affinity with local patron saints or prominent Sufis further served in legitimizing their claims over sovereignty. Nonetheless, marriages had particular importance in Western India, especially in the proto-Rajput and Rajput polities, which shaped reciprocal reliance amongst royal houses of the region, lasting over generations.¹⁴² Since the early medieval times the “gift of daughters” appears “as auspicious and solemn ‘seal’ on various types of political agreements” among Indian polities. Among Hindu rulers as well, this concept was accepted and reinforced over time with polygamy being sanctioned by *dharmasāstras* (Sanskrit treatises on Hindu religion), centuries before the arrival of Islam.¹⁴³

There are several instances when the Samma Jams are found offering women and military allegiances to opposing powers, as potent means to retain governance and territories. The first marriage-based alliances we encounter are with the powerful Tughlaq adversaries. In his reply to Jam Juna’s letter, ‘Ain ul-Mulk Mahru admonishes the Jam for defiance even after sending his *dukhtarān* (daughters) to the royal harem.¹⁴⁴ This arrangement appears to have taken place before

society and mediated between its local Rajput chieftains and the Muzzafarid Sultans, before Mahmud Begra (r. 1458-1511) finally put that to end in c. 1472. See: Harald Tambs-Lyche, “Traditional Kathiawar: Rajput State Formation,” in *Power, Profit, and Poetry: Traditional Society in Kathiawar, Western India* (Manohar Publishers, 1997), 60–95; Sheikh, “Alliance, Genealogy and Political Power: The Cūḍāsamās of Junagadh and the Sultans of Gujarat”; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 197–204.

¹⁴² Dirk H. A. Kolff, *Naukar, Rajput, and Sepoy: The Ethnohistory of the Military Labour Market of Hindustan, 1450-1850* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 100–102; Norman P. Ziegler, “Rajput Loyalties During the Mughal Period,” in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), 242–84.

¹⁴³ Daud Ali, *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 51–52.

¹⁴⁴ Māhrū, *Inshā’i Mahrū*, letter no. 134. Mahru uses the term “*dukhtarān rā*” (your daughters), however, it is not clear if Jam Juna’s own daughters were married in this arrangement and to whom. This much can be assumed that women of Samma nobility were sent to Tughlaq harem.

1361, when the letter was written, and could have been part of the first treaty arranged by *Shaykh al-Islām* Sadr al-Din and Jalal al-Din Bukhari in c. 1358. The contract also required the Samma chiefs to provide military assistance to the Delhi Sultanate in any operations within the region stretching between Sukkur and Gujarat.¹⁴⁵ Other contemporary chroniclers have indicated similar actions later as well, assisting the truce secured between Firuz Shah and the Jams of Thatta during the battle. The author of *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhi* (c. 1370) states that during the first round of battle when Firuz Shah was able to besiege the fort of Thatta and the Sammas requested amnesty; Jam Juna and Banhbina sent their conditions of obedience (*sharūṭ-i-muṭāwi‘at*) in writing. This contract was brought ceremoniously to the Tughlaq camp set outside Thatta by the sons of Samma Jams, escorting their daughters on elephants, bringing valuable gifts.¹⁴⁶

The Jams of Thatta are recorded settling their conflicts in a similar way with Shihab al-Din Shivasvamika (r. 1354 -1374), the illustrious Sultan of the Shah Mir dynasty of Kashmir. The chronicles of Kashmir give an elaborate account of Shihab al-Din’s campaigns in the third quarter of the fourteenth century. In these campaigns the regions southwest of Kashmir up to the borders of Sindh were attacked, and the kingdoms of *Udabhāṇḍapura* (present-day Swabi district of Pakistan) and Gandhara were captured on the way. In the Sanskrit chronicle, *Dvitiyā Rājatarangīnī* by Jonaraja (d. 1459), we find that the Samma Jam was defeated on the banks of Indus. Consequently, “the ruler of Sindhu unable to make presents befitting the king, presented his own daughter to him.” Jonaraja records that the Sindhi wife of Shihab al-Din went to Srinagar,

¹⁴⁵ Māhrū, letter no. 99, 134.

¹⁴⁶ Anonymous, “*Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhi*,” fol. 80. In this first round of the battle however, neither side secured a decisive victory. The author’s version of both battles is confusing and appear to favor, similar to the ‘Afif, in covering for Firuz Shah’s defeat in conquering Thatta in the first round. This second marriage contract, therefore, cannot be confirmed.

accompanied by other women of her house, and the marriage allied Sindh and Kashmir.¹⁴⁷ Subsequently, this enduring coalition secured amity and trade links between the two Sultanates. Moreover, Jonaraja also reveals that the affinities of the rulers of Sindh in the north were not limited to Kashmir, but they were also allied with the rulers of *Udabhāṇḍapura* (present-day Swabi), however, the nature of these alliances is not indicated.¹⁴⁸

Conforming to the tenets of alliance-politics, the Jams of Thatta had aligned their loyalties with the fearless Chaghatayid Mongols against the powerful Tughlaq forces upon the death of Muhammad bin Tughlaq.¹⁴⁹ The Sammas are repeatedly cursed by contemporary Tughlaq writers for aiding the Mongols in their frequent raids, especially in Gujarat and the western fringes of the Delhi Sultanate.¹⁵⁰ These relations of friendship and fealty formed with Khurasan and Transoxiana in the second half of the fourteenth century continued for more than a century and probably were

¹⁴⁷ Jonarāja, “Dvīṭyā Rājatarāṅgiṇī: The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja,” in *Kings of Kashmīra*, trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, vol. III (Calcutta: J.C. Dutt, 1898), 38, 42. Jonaraja’s *Dvīṭyā Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is a continuation of Kalhana’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (c. 1148) and brings the chronicle of the kings of Kashmir down to the time of the author’s patron Sultan Zayn al-‘Abidin (r. 1420-1470). Jonaraja does not reveal the identity of the ruler of Sindh but gives the name of Shihab al-Din’s Sindhi wife as *Lakshmi*, and another female relative named *Lāsā* (Lakshmi’s niece) accompanied her to Kashmir. However, at another instance Jonaraja claims that Lakshmi was the daughter of a “*Bhalla*” (auspicious; noble) named Avatar, yet later she goes to the “ruler of Sindh” for help following a conflict. Jonaraja’s testimonies on Sindh are important in the absence of contemporary Samma chronicles and also as this incident is not recorded by later chroniclers. Farishta, however, states that after invading Punjab Shihab al-Din marched further south and encamped at the banks of Indus. The “ruler (Jam) of Sindh” came forward to halt him but was defeated. See: Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:864; Muḥammad Qāsim Farishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India (Trans. of Tārīkh-i-Ferishta)*, trans. John Briggs, vol. IV (Calcutta: Editions Indian, 1971), 265. Baloch and Rafiqi are of the view that Jonaraja and other chroniclers of Kashmir have exaggerated the accounts of Shihab al-Din’s military conquest. Moreover, they claim that the most memorable of these campaigns was that against Firuz Shah Tughlaq on the banks of river Sutlej, and it was this campaign that resulted in the contract of territorial divisions and marriage alliances. Yet, the Tughlaq chroniclers are silent on the matter. See: N. A. Baloch and A. Q. Rafiqi, “The Regions of Sind, Baluchistan, Multan and Kashmir: The Historical, Social and Economic Setting,” in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia - The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, vol. IV, Multiple History Series (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1998), 310.

¹⁴⁸ Jonarāja, “Dvīṭyā Rājatarāṅgiṇī: The Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Jonarāja,” 84.

¹⁴⁹ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz-Shahī*, 533–34; ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 43–44.

¹⁵⁰ ‘Afif writes that the exasperating Mongol raiders even reached as far as Delhi, while Sirhindi states that when Sultan Firuz Shah was engaged in hunting at *Sāmāna*, they reached *Dibalpūr* (present-day Dipalpur near Okara, Pakistan). On the arrival of Tughlaq army the Mongols retreated just as Mahru states that Banhbina ran away on the arrival of forces from Multan. It is possible that Banhbina and his men had joined the Mongols in the Dipalpur raid, but it cannot be said if they had gone as far as Delhi. See: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 48–49; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 11; Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 132.

the reason southern Sindh remained secure from Pir Muhammad's invasions. By 1370 the southern part of Chaghatayid *ulus*, the center of Amir Qazaghan's authority, had come under Amir Timur's control. Pir Muhammad ibn Jahangir (d. 1407), grandson and heir of Timur (r. 1370-1405), invaded India and laid siege to Multan in the fall of 1397. Timur himself encamped near Multan for some time, before moving on to sack Delhi in c. 1399.¹⁵¹ Despite the fact that Pir Muhammad was invested with the dominion from Kunduz to Multan and its surrounding areas, including Uch, and he carried out further campaigns in northern Sindh, he made no attempt to invade the Indus Delta country.¹⁵² At that time southern Sindh was most likely in the hands of Jam Tamachi's successor, Salah al-Din Jam Unnar II (r. 1392-1404).¹⁵³ It is noted in contemporary texts that when Pir Muhammad conquered Multan and Uch, "the neighboring *zamīndārs* (landlords) and chieftains... by way of obedience and submission, had entered the house of subjection, and had all come with offers of service..."¹⁵⁴ Yazdi (d. 1454) also records, "Wherever in Hindustan any people were found who declared themselves to be his (Amir Timur's) subjects and dependents, they were

¹⁵¹ Abū Ṭālib Hosayni, "Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī, or Tūzak-i Tīmūrī: The Autobiography of Tīmūr," in *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, ed. John Dowson, trans. Henry Miers Elliot, vol. III (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), 399, 419–20; Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, "Zafarnāma," in *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, ed. John Dowson, trans. Henry Miers Elliot, vol. III, Cambridge Library Collection - Perspectives from the Royal Asiatic Society (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), 480, 486; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 169–71.

¹⁵² None of the contemporary writers indicate Pir Muhammad going south of Uch. Ma'sum writes that after receiving fresh supplies from Timur, Pir Muhammad marched towards *Bhattīwāhan* and Bhakkar. See: Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 95–96. These were the areas northwest of Multan, and part of *shūbah* Multan during the Mughal rule. See: Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, ed. Jadu-Nath Sarkar, trans. H. S. Jarrett, 2nd ed., vol. II (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949), 333–36.

¹⁵³ According to Ma'sum, at the time of Timurid invasion the Samma ruler of lower Sindh was Jam Fath bin Sadr al-Din Jam Sikandar. He also indicates that Pir Muhammad's advancement further into Sindh was halted by the prayers of a pious man from Bhakkar (Sukkur), Sayyid Abul-Gaiyṯ, who was consequently vested with the *pargana* of Aror. See: Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 95–96. This, however, is incorrect. Ma'sum, Nizamuddin and Qani', all have given thirteen years to Jam Tamachi's reign, eleven to his son Salah al-Din and fifteen to Jam Fath, who ascended the throne after three more rulers in-between. Even if we count Jam Tamachi's thirteen years towards his rule before he was exiled to Delhi, on his return he became the Sultan of Sindh in c. 1389, as asserted by contemporary authors (see above). Therefore, in the last decade of the fourteenth century Sindh must have remained in the hands of Jam Tamachi's successors. See: Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:774–76; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 162–65.

¹⁵⁴ Hosayni, "Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī, or Tūzak-i Tīmūrī: The Autobiography of Tīmūr," 417; Yazdī, "Zafarnāma," 486.

exempted from pillage and from being made prisoners.”¹⁵⁵ Therefore, it is most probable that to retain sovereignty, the Sammas must have renewed alliances with the Mongol invaders, yet this time aligning themselves with the powerful Timurids. By the first half of the fifteenth century these alliances had firmly established flourishing trade links between Sindh and Khurasan. This coalition ended at the end of the century when the Timurid governor of Kandahar invaded the Samma territories in Balochistan (see Chapter Four).

Although following its foundation, Samma Sultanate largely remained secure from external assaults, for the first few decades its history is no more than a record of strife for power among the chiefs of the clan. Several dynamics were at play concurrently in affecting and protecting Samma hegemony, in addition to marital and military alliances. In medieval Sindh, and also in the larger Indian region, where ascendancy of an individual within a specific clan required wider tribal support; the relations and blessings of the regional *wālī* was equally significant.¹⁵⁶ Such relationships were often the means used in resolving matters of political supremacy among the disputing clansmen (see Chapter Five). Therefore, the presence of a Sufi *Shaykh* in the middle of the newly founded autonomous Sultanate is comprehensible. Malik Firuz Jam Unnar and his son Sadr al-Din Banhbina’s competency in uniting and raising large militias against the Tughlaqs had accorded them and their kinfolk recognition from a range of local chieftains. However, it was the family’s spiritual connections with the Suhrawardi patron saint of Thatta that equally aided in legitimizing their claim and securing kingship. Although the contemporary Tughlaq texts are silent

¹⁵⁵ Yazdī, “Zafarnāma,” 520.

¹⁵⁶ Many medieval treatises on Sufism, including the eleventh-century *Kashf al-Mahjūb* of ‘Ali Hajweri (d. 1077), have mentioned the spiritual jurisdiction of the *wālīs* (the chosen Sufi custodian) over a territory, along with their supernatural powers for governance. For details see: Simon Digby, “The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India,” in *India’s Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*, ed. Richard M. Eaton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 241–42.

on the matters of Sindh after Firuz Shah's death in 1388, yet in the Persian hagiographical sources from Sindh, such as *Ḥadīqat al-Auliyā'* (c. 1607) and *Tuḥfat al-Kirām* (c. 1767), anecdotal references are given to Jam Tamachi and his son Salal al-Din's miraculous release from imprisonment at Delhi due to Hammad Jamali's supernatural powers. The texts, on the basis of traditions, imply that this release and eventual ascendancy of Jam Tamachi on the throne was prophetically promised to him and his descendants by the *wālī'i-Thatta*. Additionally, the texts record that while on his way to Thatta from Delhi, Jam Tamachi encountered another pious *darvīsh* (religious mendicant) named Nuh Hothyani at Khebar (a village between Hala and Hyderabad), who also pronounced in favor of the Jam's entitlement.¹⁵⁷ Subsequently, these circumstances aroused altercations between Jam Juna and Shaykh Hammad Jamali. The latter thereupon laid claim to his territorial *walāyah* and manifested his authority in making decisions of the realm by endorsing Jam Tamachi.¹⁵⁸ As noted by scholars, in such medieval settings "the imposition of the will of the Sultan against that of the *Shaykh* was unacceptable," often leading to the downfall of that ruler owing to his offence against the *Shaykh*, especially the one who claimed *walāyah*.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, Jam Juna's loss of tribal support and sovereignty became all the more justifiable in

¹⁵⁷ Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliyā'*, 49–59; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 562–64; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 28–30. These hagiographies assert that Jam Tamachi's *khāngiyān* (householder/wife) requested the Shaykh for prayers. Qanī' states that it was his mother who regularly visited the Shaykh and was eventually rewarded. 'Abdul Qadir Ṭhattawī's *Ḥadīqat al-Auliyā'* (c. 1607) is the earliest surviving reference to these events after the fall of the Sammas, and other authors have basically followed him. He specifically states that *bi-amdād Shaykh-i walāyat kīsh* (with the help of the guardian saint's faith; p. 54) the chains of the imprisoned princes at Delhi miraculously broke and they were freed without the knowledge of the Sultan of Delhi. However, our contemporary author 'Afif tells us that Jam Tamachi's release was a voluntary political initiative by the Tughlaq Sultan, as narrated above. For more details also see: Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 143–46.

¹⁵⁸ 'Abdul Qadir Ṭhattawī narrates the plight of Jam Juna and his argument with Shaykh Hammad over the latter's biased position in the matter. Qanī' has also narrated the events in a similar way. The texts further give anecdotal details on Shaykh Hammad sending an occult military force of thousands to support Tamachi in winning the battle. See: Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliyā'*, 53–58; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 563.

¹⁵⁹ Digby, "The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India"; Simon Digby, "The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 28, no. 1 (1990): 71–81.

contemporary ideological framework and subsequent imprisonment of Juna's successors, for more than a decade, also remained indisputable. These narratives mainly exhibit the contemporary communal views that show the Suhrawardi Sufi saint as the main force behind Jam Tamachi and his successors' domination over those who lacked mystical support. Such political influences of Suhrawardi Sufis however, began to decline after *wālī`i-Thatta* Shaykh Hammad died and other Sufi *silsilahs* made their way into the Samma political centers. The Suhrawardi authority was challenged, particularly when the Naqshbandi and Qadiri Sufis began to arrive in large numbers in Sindh, and particularly at Thatta and its twin town of Samu`i-nagar. While in the first half of the fifteenth century we do not find any Sufi *silsilah* or an individual *Shaykh* manipulating political incidents, yet their presence strongly dominated the cultural environment. Subsequently, the second half of the century saw emergence of multiple opposing religious dynamics in the Samma center of governance (see Chapter 5).

In the years following the Sultanate's foundation, internal dissent among the Sammas affected the developments in the Indus Delta region, which otherwise held immense potential for commercial and economic growth. Nevertheless, southern Sindh's religious environment, cultural landscape, political associations and economy began to transform in the fifteenth century. The reign of Sultan Tughlaq bin Sikandar Jam Juna II is particularly noteworthy. The Sultan secured new political alliances to strengthen his territories, hitherto with the powerful neighboring Sultans of Gujarat, the mighty Timurids based at Herat, and the more distantly located Shah Mir Sultans of Kashmir.¹⁶⁰ By the mid fifteenth century Sindh was actively involved in commercial exchanges

¹⁶⁰ Sirhindi reports that Sultan 'Ali Shah of Kashmir (r. 1410-1420), on his way to Mecca for pilgrimage was present in Thatta along with his cohorts in c. 1420. However, before proceeding to Mecca he decided to return to Kashmir and on leaving Sindh he was captured and killed by the Khokhar leader Jasrath Shaikha. See: Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 200. Farishta although relates to the battle between Jasrath and 'Ali Shah, yet he does not give any reference to the latter visiting Sindh. Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:870. Haig following Farishta states that 'Ali

with Gujarat, Kashmir, Persia, and Central Asia (see Chapters Two and Four). Fortunately, we have more details on the marital alliances contracted by Jam Juna II with the Muzaffarids of Gujarat. The first we encounter was arranged in c. 1444, when Jam Juna's daughter Bibi Mughali, entitled *Makhdūma-i Jahān* (mistress of the world), became the senior, though second wife to Sultan Muhammad Shah II (r. 1442-1451). Around the same time Jam's other daughter, Bibi Murki, was wed to Sayyid Siraj al-Din Muhammad of Ahmedabad, more commonly known as *Shāh-i 'Ālam* (king of the world).¹⁶¹ Shah-i 'Ālam was the son and virtual successor of Sayyid Burhan al-Din *Qutb-i 'Ālam*, grandson of Jalal al-Din Bukhari of Uch, who often acted as a diplomat for the Muzaffarid Sultans, implying his status as *wālī'i-Gujarāt*.¹⁶² A significant statement made in these marital unions was the revival of Samma adherence to the Suhrawardi Bukhari Sufis and acknowledgment of the latter's elevated position in the Gujarati courts. Shah-i 'Ālam is claimed to have exerted a parallel power to the Sultan, acquiring a semi-royal status, and at several occasions is found influencing political matters.¹⁶³ Furthermore, on the death of his wife Bibi Murki in c. 1453, Shah-i 'Ālam married his sister-in-law, the widowed queen Bibi Mughali

Shah never left Kashmir and it was the hills near Tattakuti Pass of Kashmir where Jasrath killed him. See: Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History Of India: Turks and Afghans*, III:280.

¹⁶¹ Manjhū, "Mīrāt-i Sikandarī," 153–54; Nizāmuddīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, ed. Bains Prasad, trans. De Brajendranath, vol. III, Part I (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939), 237. Bibi Mughali's title is preserved in an inscription carved over the central *mihrāb* of Bibiji Masjid, the *Jami 'a masjid* at Rajpur, Ahmadabad. The inscription records that "*Makhdūma-i Jahān*" commissioned the mosque in April 1454, when her stepson Qutb al-Din (r. 1451-1458) sat on the throne of Gujarat. For the inscription see: Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:292.

¹⁶² When Sultan Mahmud Khalji (r. 1463-1469) of Malwa invaded Gujarat, Sultan Qutb al-Din sought Sayyid Burhan al-Din's help to intercede and extend his blessings. Manjhu and Ulug-khani reports that Sayyid Burhan al-Din sent his son Shah-i 'Ālam in the battlefield to accompany the Sultan, who due to the saints' help was eventually victorious. Other chroniclers also glorify the Sufi Sayyid's spirituality and Sultan Qutb al-Din's adherence to him. See: Manjhū, "Mīrāt-i Sikandarī," 137–46; Ulug-Khānī, *Ẓafar Ul-Wāliḥ Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:6–10; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:235; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:577.

¹⁶³ Manjhu reports that as the kingdom of Gujarat was bestowed upon the Muzaffarids by Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari himself, therefore, adherence of Bukhari's descendants was instinctive. In *Mīrāt-i Sikandarī* (c. 1610), the author often talks about the Sayyid's spiritual powers and glorifies him as a Sufi warrior. However, Samira Sheikh is of the view that it is only Manjhu who recognizes this "semi-royal" status of the Bukhari Sayyids as he was a staunch disciple. See: Manjhū, "Mīrāt-i Sikandarī," 72–73, 137–41; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 203, 222: note 76.

– a marriage that Samma Jam Firuz (d. 1459), the brother of Sultan Tughlaq Jam Juna II, is recorded to have facilitated.¹⁶⁴ It would not be wrong to assume that such interventions by the Jams of Sindh were to promote their own political agendas. The continued affiliations with the Gujarati authorities of both imperial and religious eminence, reinforced the Samma prestige and eventually enhanced their dominance in the wider region.

The chronicles of Gujarat affirm that Shah-i ‘Alam became the custodian of Bibi Mughali’s minor son Fath Khan, and subsequently also patronized the latter’s claim on kingship.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, once Fath Khan ascended the throne of Gujarat in 1458 as the exalted Sultan Mahmud Shah I Begada (r. 1458-1511), he is noted for honoring his maternal clan and is found seeking political advice from his Samma relations. For instance, the literary sources endorse that “Tughlaq Khan, who descended from the Sultans of Sindh and was the maternal uncle” of Mahmud Begada, advised the Sultan on the operations against Ra Mandalik (r. 1451-1472), the Hindu Chudasama chieftain of Girnar and Junagadh.¹⁶⁶ The Chudasamas were Samma kinsmen and Tughlaq Khan appears to be better informed regarding the topographical and logistical difficulties one could encounter in Junagadh. Therefore, he counselled the Muzaffarid Sultan accordingly and the region was effectively conquered.¹⁶⁷ It is noteworthy, however, that these alliances formed

¹⁶⁴ Bayley states that most manuscripts of *Mīrāt-i Sikandarī* have named Jam Firuz as the widowed queen’s uncle who recommended this marriage. In Rashidi’s chronological chart he is one of the brothers of Jan Juna II. See: Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 155–56, and note +.

¹⁶⁵ Manjhū, 156; Lokhandwala and Khān, *Mīrāt-i Aḥmadi*, 44; Ulug-Khānī, *Ẓafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muzaffar Wa ‘Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:13. Here *Mīrāt-i Sikandarī* indicates similar dynamics at play that Simon Digby (as stated earlier) discusses in relation to the authority of the Sufi *Shaykh* who claims territorial *walāyah* in making decisions of the realm. Manjhu asserts that when Sultan Qutb al-Din (r. 1451-1458) challenged Shah-i ‘Alam’s patronization of Fath Khan, the latter soon after met an accidental death. Other chroniclers such as Nizamuddin and Farishta however, report Sultan Qutb al-Din’s death of natural causes.

¹⁶⁶ Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:249; Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 184; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:585. However, according to Rashidi’s chronology none of Sultan Mahmud’s maternal uncles were named Tughlaq, although it was his grandfather’s name. Nevertheless, it is possible that “Tughlaq” was the *urf* of one of Bibi Mughali’s brothers, that is, either of Jam Khayr- al-Din or Jam Salah al-Din (see Rashidi’s chart).

¹⁶⁷ Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:249; Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 184; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:585.

between Gujarat and Sindh remained strong irrespective of the internecine conflicts among the Samma Jams. On the report of insurgency on the borders of Sindh in 1472, where the local *zamīndār* (land-owners) had revolted with probable support from Nodhaki Baloch, it was Sultan Mahmud Begra who marched towards Sindh to subjugate the rebels.¹⁶⁸ The ruler of Sindh at the time was Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo (r. 1461-1508), whose father had grappled the throne of Sindh from Mahmud Begada's maternal kin in 1454. Despite this change in Samma leadership, Mahmud Begada, who had just besieged Junagadh and was residing in the city, came forth to assist the Samma Jam. Cautiously crossing the unsafe expanse of the Rann of Kutch Mahmud's army overpowered the insurgents of Sindh without difficulty, yet they were later pardoned on the condition of embracing Islam.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, as Mahmud had advanced well into southern Sindh, some of his *amīrs* suggested seizing the opportunity to annex the borderlands of Sindh, and assigning a *dārūgha* (governor) to the region in the name of the Sultan of Gujarat. Mahmud Begra however, declined stating:

“as the *Makhdūma-i Jahān* [Bibi Mughali – the Sultan's mother] was descended from the Sultans of Sind in the line of chieftainship and royalty, the consideration of the rights of relationship was incumbent on him; and it appeared very far from kindness and humanity to seize their territory.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Nizamuddin states that these rebels were trained archers, forty thousand in number, who had gathered on the borders of Sindh and were harassing the inhabitants of the villages in the territories of both Sindh and Gujarat. In *Mīrāt-i Sikandarī* and *Ẓafar ul-Wālih*, the chronicles of Gujarat, two separate incidents of Mahmud Begra's expedition into Sindh are narrated, one in 1471 and the next in 1472. The first campaign was against the Hindu *zamīndārs* who belonged to local clans, such as Sumra and Sodha, while the second campaign was against the skillful archers, who according to Ulug-khani were Nodhaki pirates who rose against Sultan Nizam al-Din. Farishta has also narrated the two incidents separately, and states that these Balochis were permanently residing in the area and followed *Imāmīya mazhab* (probably Isma'īlism). See: Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:258–59; Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 193–95; Ulug-Khānī, *Ẓafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:21; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:590–91.

¹⁶⁹ Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 193–95; Lokhandwala and Khān, *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadi*, 48; Ulug-Khānī, *Ẓafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:21. Neither Nizamuddin nor Manjhū record Sultan Nizam al-Din's involvement in the matter, yet Ulug-khani states that after the subjugation of the rebels the Sultan of Sind sent presents to Mahmud Begra.

¹⁷⁰ Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:259.

Thereafter, Mahmud stayed on the borderlands of Sindh for some time and, to resolve the matter completely, sent the chiefs of the refractory tribes to Junagadh, to acquire knowledge on Islamic culture and religion.¹⁷¹ Hence, once marital relations were contracted between the Samma Jams and the Muzaffarid Sultans, the latter not only honored their political bond for years to come but also provided military support and protection to Samma territories.

Sultan Nizam al-Din's reign was also characterized by alliance politics of military and social types, similar to that of his predecessors. During his reign political associations with Gujarat remained strong, but we also find the Shah Mir Sultans of Kashmir and the Faruqi Sultans of Khandesh among close allies of Nizam al-Din. Sultan Zayn al-'Abidin (r. 1420-1470) of Kashmir, endearingly called *Bud Shāh* (the great king), maintained cordial relations with the Jam. Reciprocally, Nizam al-Din exchanged gifts and tributes in the form of dedicatory odes in praise of the Kashmiri Sultan.¹⁷² On Zayn al-'Abidin's death when his son Haydar Shah (r. 1470-1472) took over the throne of Kashmir, the Sultan of Sindh is said to have been personally present for the festivities at *Shekandharāpirū* (Naushahar, Srinagar).¹⁷³ Nizam al-Din had also arranged treaties, perhaps through marriages, to other chiefs in the Kashmir Valley. The contemporary Sanskrit chronicles mention that the ruler of Sindh was related to the chiefs of *Pañchagahvara* valley (Panjgabbar valley near Rajouri) of Jammu and Kashmir.¹⁷⁴ In the east Nizam al-Din cemented his affinity with Gujarat by giving his niece Bibi Rani (d. 1524) in marriage to Mahmud Begada's son Khalil Khan, who later ascended the throne of Gujarat as Sultan Muzaffar Shah II

¹⁷¹ Manjhū, "Mīrāt-i Sikandarī," 193–95; Lokhandwala and Khān, *Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadi*, 48; Ulug-Khānī, *Ẓafar Ul-Wāliḥ Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:21.

¹⁷² Aḥmad, *The Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:659; Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History Of India: Turks and Afghans*, III:282.

¹⁷³ Shrivara, "Zainatarāṅgiṇī," in *Kings of Kashmīra*, trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, vol. III (Calcutta: J.C. Dutt, 1898), 183–84.

¹⁷⁴ Prājyabhaṭṭa and Shuka, "Rājavalīpataka (c.1512) & Chaturtha Rājatarāṅgiṇī (c. 1586)," in *Kings of Kashmīra*, trans. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, vol. III (Calcutta: J.C. Dutt, 1898), 288.

(r. 1511-1526). Bibi Rani was the chief wife of Muzaffar Shah; a dominant character who greatly influenced the affairs of the state and was also the mother of the Sultan's eldest son and heir-apparent Sikandar Shah (r. 1526).¹⁷⁵ Moreover, Nizam al-Din extended Samma relations beyond Gujarati Sultans by marrying his own daughter in the Faruqi house of Khandesh.¹⁷⁶

However, Sultan Nizam al-Din's system of governance did not simply rely on politics of marriages and martial relations. His territorial administration also exploited what historians of medieval India term as the "clan-monarchy" or the model of proto-Rajput kingdoms. This model was successfully implemented by the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty (ruling from the mid eighth to the eleventh century) and adopted by their successive Rajput dynasties that later ruled the same territories.¹⁷⁷ In contrast to the imperial system of the Delhi Sultanate, where the centralized power controlled revenues and resources from *iqṭā*'s, the territorial units granted by the Sultan among officials or subjugated aristocracies of his choosing, clan-monarchies integrated various semi-autonomous tribal territories to form an empire. This system included, yet also went beyond, amassing loyalties of clans and sub-clans. A distinctive feature of the system was the appropriation of the central or main lands (usually most productive) of the kingdom by the overlord or the monarch himself as "his own share," while parceling out outlying territories to lesser chiefs or

¹⁷⁵ Rashidi has given the date of this marriage as 1518, that is, in the reign of Nizam al-Din's successor, based on Ulug-khani's narration. Some modern scholars have also indicated Jam Salal al-Din (r. 1518) as the Samma monarch to arrange this alliance. This is, however, incorrect as Bibi Rani, who died in 1524, was the first wife of Muzaffar Shah II and as Manjhu confirms, she was the mother of the Sultan's eldest of the eight sons and also bore two daughters. From the details that Manjhu provides on the issue of succession after Muzaffar Shah, it can be inferred that the marriage took place in the late-fifteenth century, that is, during Sultan Nizam al-Din's reign and therefore, must have been arranged by the latter. See: Manjhū, "Mīrāt-i Sikandārī," 276, 300–303; Thattavī, *Maklīmāmah*, 666, Chart 4; Ulug-Khānī, *Zafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:123.

¹⁷⁶ Wolseley Haig, *The Cambridge History Of India: Turks and Afghans*, III:313.

¹⁷⁷ Irfan Habib, "The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India: A Historical Survey," in *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, 2nd ed. (London: Anthem Press, 2002), 59–108; U. N. Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta Press, 1929), 236.

heads of the tributary clans.¹⁷⁸ These territories although were part of the kingdom, yet their chiefs, signified by titles such as: Rana, Rao, Ra' i, Thakur or even Jam (as in case of Sindh), were only bound to provide aid in times of war. Therefore, the main lands of Samma Sultanate, with Thatta as their center, were directly under Jam Nindo's control, while certain outlying territories had semi-autonomous status. For instance, the chiefs of Hindu Sodhas, the most powerful and largest of all the non-Muslims tribes of Sindh who emerged as the native aristocracy in the eastern desert regions, ruled as local "Rana," professing fealty to the Samma Jam.¹⁷⁹ Mir Ma'sum records that in the events of Shah Beg Arghun's attacks on Sindh, the Sodha chiefs, Ranmal and Jodha, provided moral and military support along with their large tribal militia, many of who died fighting for Samma supremacy.¹⁸⁰ Similarly in the northwest, the non-Muslim Baloch tribes maintained the tributary landholder status, among whom the Kalmati and Lashari tribes specifically allied themselves with the Jams of Thatta, providing cavalry for their battles against the Turco-Mongol invaders.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Habib, "The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India: A Historical Survey"; Ghoshal, *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System*, 236; B. H Baden-Powell, *The Land-Systems of British India*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892), 250.

¹⁷⁹ The Sodhas, an offshoot of the Pramara Rajputs, occupied the western desert tracts of India for centuries. In lower Sindh they were part of the core cavalry of Sammas. They are known to have intermarried with Muslim royalties and were therefore, regarded as lesser Rajputs and disgraceful by other Rajput clans, especially in Rajasthan, see: *Beglārnāma*, written in 1608, exhibits that the Sodhas remained chieftains of Umerkot and Nagarparkar even after the annexation of Sindh by the Arghuns.

¹⁸⁰ Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 159–60.

¹⁸¹ Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqui, "The Baluch Migration in Sind and Their Clash with the Arghuns," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 13, no. 4 (1965): 350–55; Dames, *The Baloch Race: A Historical and Ethnological Sketch*, 43–44. Dames has published several heroic ballads of Baloch tribes with translations, especially on the medieval conflicts between the Lashari and Rind tribes. These ballads record a colorful picture of the battles and their heroes, passed down to us through oral celebratory traditions. On the Lashari-Samma alliance see: Mansel Longworth Dames, *Popular Poetry of the Baloches*, vol. 1 (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1907), 23. Mir Ma'sum has also fleetingly mentioned Baloch support to Jam Firuz against Jam Salah al-Din, see: Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 107.

The Urban Landscape of Thatta During the Samma Dynastic Rule

The historic city of Thatta was a unique geopolitical entity that remained the capital of Sindh for centuries. During the late medieval and early modern periods, it was the central market for commercial exchange from Sindh. Serving as an inner port firmly sited at the apex of Delta of the great river Indus, Thatta was also connected to an outer port Lahribandar through major river channels. However, many modern historians misleadingly claim that the city was established around the middle of the fourteenth century.¹⁸² This misperception was reinforced by Ibn Battuta's silence on Thatta in the accounts of his visit to lower Sindh in 1334, and also via the testimonies of native chroniclers.¹⁸³ From Ma'sum to Qani', all either identify Thatta with the rejuvenation of pre-Islamic Debal or endorse the view that it was established by the Sammas; for example, Nisyani accredits Sultan Nizam al-Din for the foundation of Thatta, that is some time in the second half of the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁴ In his *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, Nisyani narrates in detail how the Jam invited *Brāhmanān* (Brāhman ascetics) and *akhtar-shanās* (astrologers) to select an eligible site for his new capital. The astrologers also selected an auspicious day on which the foundation of Thatta

¹⁸² Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 338, 841; Henry George Raverty, "The Mihran of Sindh and Its Tributaries: A Geographical and Historical Study," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 61 (1892): 155–508; Malcolm Robert Haig, *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir, Chiefly on Its Ancient Geography and History* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Company, Limited, 1894), 77; Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, *History of the Arghuns and Tarkhans of Sind (1507-1593)* (Hyderabad: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh, 1972), 228; Kervran, "Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l'Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sinde," 98.

¹⁸³ For example: Kervran writes, "Ibn Baṭṭūṭa has not mentioned the city which seems to have been founded very soon after his journey to Sind: One is sure it existed in 1350..." Siddiqi also states, "Ibn Battuta... mentions neither Thatta nor any branch taking off at the right side of the river... [therefore] Thatta was founded between... 1334 and... 1347." Earlier Haig had noticed that as Ibn Battuta did not mention Thatta, it must be an insignificant settlement at the time, and became the capital only around 1340. Raverty, however, assumes that Ibn Battuta's silence means that Thatta did not exist in 1334 and was founded by Jam Unnar's son after 1350.

¹⁸⁴ Ma'sum asserts, "Debal ... that is now known by Thatta and its port Lahribandar" while Farishta equates *Baldah-i Debal* to only Thatta. See: Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 9; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:831. Qani' also gives similar statements such as: "Debal, now called Thatta..." However, he is even more confusing. According to Qani' not only Thatta was built by Jam Nizam al-Din but Sāmū'i-nagar was also planned under Samma patronage in 1373. Although, earlier in the same text he had noted the existence of Thatta during the reign of an earlier Jam. See: Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 161, 166, 170, 559. For a list of modern authors who have equated Thatta with Debal, see: Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, I:375.

was laid.¹⁸⁵ Building on Nisyani’s account, Qani’ suggests that Nizam al-Din shifted his capital from the city of Samu’i-nagar once Thatta was established in the latter months of 1494.¹⁸⁶ It is due to such statements that the eminent sites like Thatta and Debal, which were once renowned, are sometimes reduced to vague conjectural interpretations. Despite the recurrently shifting course of the Indus, in the earlier centuries scholars had also equated Thatta with the “Pattala” of Macedonian historians, which was situated where Indus bifurcated into two channels before falling into the Sea.¹⁸⁷ It, however, can be said with sufficient certainty that *Nagar-Thatto* or *Thatta* (lit. riverine settlement) was existing a century before the Sammas came to power.¹⁸⁸

Thatta was a settlement of some significance, albeit small in size, even before the five-year sojourn of Amir Khusraw (d. 1325) in Multan (from 1280 to 1285) on the invitation of his patron Muhammad Khan ibn Balban (d. 1285).¹⁸⁹ In his *dīvān* (collection of odes) *Tuhfat al-Ṣiḡhar* (c. 1273), composed during his youth, Khusraw compares Thatta to Uch, the medieval regional metropolitan in northern Sindh. Consequently, Thatta by 1270 must have become increasingly urbanized, renowned for its flora that the poet metaphorically describes.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, in

¹⁸⁵ Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Tāhirī*, 52–53.

¹⁸⁶ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 170, 569.

¹⁸⁷ James Rennell, *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan; or the Mogul Empire*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Bulmer & Co., 1792), 179; Alexander Burnes, “Remarks on the Preceding Paper,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1, no. 2 (1834): 209–12; James McMurdo, “Dissertation on the River Indus,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1, no. 1 (1834): 20–44.

¹⁸⁸ Chablani found al-Idrisi (d. 1165) referring to Thatta even earlier in the twelfth century. See: S. P. Chablani, “The Origin of Thatta,” in *The Samma Kingdom of Sindh: Historical Studies* (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology, 2006), 153–60. However, this *Tatta* or *Tata* of al-Idrisi is not a town of Sindh but a dependency of Malwa, located somewhere in Madhya Pradesh (the close-by towns al-Idrisi mentions are not known today). See: Al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī, *India and the Neighbouring Territories, in the Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq Fi’khtirāq al-‘āfāq*, trans. S. Maqbul Ahmad (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 58, 66, 106.

¹⁸⁹ Muhammad Khan, the governor of Multan and heir to the Delhi Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Balban (r. 1266-1287), invited Amir Khusraw to his court in 1280. Khusraw stayed with Muhammad till the latter’s death in 1285. The prince was defeated and killed in a battle with the Chingizi Mongol invaders, who also took Khusraw as a prisoner for some time.

¹⁹⁰ This *dīvān* is a collection of poems Khusraw wrote in his youth, between 1268 and 1271. The verse goes: “The cypress like you is neither in Uch nor in Thatta; yet the flower like your beautiful face has never been there.” Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, “Poem No. 512,” in *Dīvān-i Amīr Khusraw*, n.d.,

Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī, the collection of letters of the Ilkhanid *wazīr* Rashid al-Din Hamadani (d. 1318), the city appears yet again. Hamadani writing to his son Khwaja Ibrahim (d. 1318), the governor of Shiraz, informs him about the expedition of Ilkhan's forces in Punjab and Sindh.¹⁹¹ The author narrates that under the command of his other son Khwaja Jalal al-Din (d. c.1324), the governor of *Rūm* (Anatolia), the Mongol armies after conquering the grand fort of Lahore (in Punjab), advanced as far as Thatta on the Delta of Indus in pursuit of the enemies.¹⁹² Therefore, one can argue that crediting Sammas for the foundation of Thatta is entirely fictitious. By the mid fourteenth century Thatta had already attained its prime status of a regional headquarter in southern Sindh, when Barani records Muhammad bin Tughlaq's expedition against the "*Jām-i-Thatta*" in 1351.¹⁹³ However, it is also possible that following its foundation Thatta went through several phases of change in its layout.¹⁹⁴ Hence, the repetitive testaments from the native chroniclers could actually be suggesting such expansions by the Samma Jams. Presumably, under the patronage of Jam Nizam al-Din, a new urban sub-division of the capital city was established. This tradition keeps with the historic developments and additions to the major political centers in India. For instance, under the patronage of the contemporary Tughlaq Sultans, within a span of about sixty years, four sub-cities were built at Delhi.¹⁹⁵

<https://ganjooor.net/khosro/gozide/ghazalamkh/sh512/>. Hussam ud-Din Rashidi was the first to notice this reference to Thatta by Amir Khusraw in: *Thattavī*, *Maklīnāmah*, 122–23.

¹⁹¹ Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb and Muhammad Shafī, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī: Letters of Rashid al-Din Fadl Allah*, 7 (Lahore: Punjab University Oriental Publications, 1947), 326, letter 53.

¹⁹² Although Rashid al-Din's letters provide information on various subjects and have often been cited by scholars, the authenticity of many of these letters has been challenged and they are believed to be composed later, probably in the fifteenth century. Morton believes an expedition of such large scale into Punjab and Sindh undertaken by the Ilkhans in late thirteenth or early fourteenth century could not be established through other contemporary chronicles; therefore letter no. 53 could be fictitious. See: A.H Morton, "The Letters of Rashid Al-Din: Ilkhanid Fact or Timurid Fiction?," in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy* (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 1999), 155–99.

¹⁹³ Baranī, *Tarīkh-i Firōz-Shahī*, 523.

¹⁹⁴ Qani' also indicates that Thatta takes its name from the term "Teh Teh," literally meaning "low-lying or sloping lowlands" but more accurately "layers upon lower layers." See: *Thattavī*, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 569.

¹⁹⁵ Tughlaq Shah I (r. 1320-1325) built Tughlaqabad immediately after his accession, followed by 'Adilabad and Jahanpanah by his son Muhammad, while Firuz Shah (r. 1351-1388) built another city called Firuzabad. Delhi is

Thatta today has completely departed from its medieval grandeur and splendor. The capital of the Samma dynasty, which is believed to have been located in the western part of the present-day city, no longer survives.¹⁹⁶ However, the early modern and modern developments of the historic Thatta are present at the same location. Indus flows about 7 km east of the present-day city, contrary to its course in the late medieval times. The recurrent silting and shifting of Indus along with all of its tributaries is certainly the most singular environmental phenomenon throughout Sindh's recorded history. Referring to the same, Abu al-Fadl (d. 1602) writes, "The river *Sind* [Indus] inclines every few years alternately to its southern and northern banks and the village cultivation follows its course. For this reason the houses are constructed of wood and grass."¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the coastal and riverine towns of the Indus Delta were characteristically impermanent, and the inland navigation from them was continually adjusted accordingly.¹⁹⁸ Thatta also owes its eminence, in addition to its ultimate decline, to such changes in the hydrographic network of the Indus that occurred in the thirteenth century and modified the region, both geographical and geopolitical.¹⁹⁹ To visualize the urban setting and environ of the Samma capital city, it is essential to analyze Thatta's physical placement and descriptions in contemporary texts. 'Afif (d. 1388) reveals that Indus passed through the city dividing Thatta into two divisions:

"During the reign of *Ḥaẓrat-i 'Āla* [Firuz Shah] the territory/development of Thatta was in two locations, one location on the *kirān 'a* (hither) edge of river Indus towards Delhi, and the other location on the *guzār* (farther) edge of

famous for its "seven cities" although the actual number, since its original pre-historic settlement, is much higher. See: J. Burton-Page, "Delhi (Dihlī)," in *Historic Cities of the Islamic World* (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 2007), 125–33.

¹⁹⁶ Baloch, "The Origin of Thatta."

¹⁹⁷ Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, 1949, II:331.

¹⁹⁸ André Wink, "From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 3 (2002): 416–45.

¹⁹⁹ Lambrick assumes this change in hydrography of Indus to have occurred before 1250 CE. See: Lambrick, *Sind*, 185.

river Indus towards *Thattiyān* (people of Thatta); both of them populated by numerous rugged and warlike people.”²⁰⁰

Here *kirān`a* stands for the eastern edge and *guzār* is the western edge of Indus. According to the author, a large part of the city and its inhabitants were on the western side that ‘Afif calls *zamān-i Thattiyān* (lands of the people of Thatta), which could refer to the fortified town of Tughlaqabad (see below).²⁰¹ ‘Afif also reports that in the late medieval period the breadth of Indus in the vicinity of Thatta was so great that the lands on the opposite bank were hardly visible.²⁰² Yet, in another passage the author gives a confused statement that standing on the eastern bank although the fort of Thatta was visible to Firuz Shah but not the land on the western bank where his forces were engaged in the battle with the Samma Jams.²⁰³ This suggests that while a part of the development extended onto the mainland on west, the other division was closer, yet not on the eastern side of the river. In the narratives of other contemporary writers, we find several indications that the city was located surrounded by water from all sides. The Tughlaq court poet, ‘Aziz al-Din Mutahhar of Kara (d. 1413), sketches a more detailed picture in this regard. In his poems from *Dīvān-i Muṭahhar Kara*, written after Tughlaq expedition of Thatta, Kara poetically claims that despite Thatta’s difficult location, which favored the Jams in extending their challenging encounter with Firuz Shah, the Sultan was eventually victorious. Defining the subjugation of the Sammas in 1367 as “the best among the several victories” of Firuz Shah, the poet outlines Thatta’s setting as:

²⁰⁰ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 199; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 60.

²⁰¹ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 70–71; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 234.

²⁰² Visiting in 1699, Hamilton reports that in the vicinity of Thatta, Indus was about 1.6 km wide and 11 m deep. See: Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I (London: C. Hitch & A. Millar, 1744), 125.

²⁰³ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 70–71.

“[Thatta is] in a place that is extremely difficult...*Daryā* (lit. sea i.e. lake) and *pañj-āb* (lit. five rivers, i.e. Indus) are on all four of its sides, as far as your eyes can see they appear to be one”²⁰⁴

In another ode he writes:

“Thatta which is an island, is a country full of caves (mysteries). *Daryā* (lake) is on one side and *pañj-āb* (Indus) on one side.”²⁰⁵

Among other testimonies, the author of *Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhi* specifically locates Thatta *dar jazīra* (on the island). He states, that the town has *azṭarfī lab-i āb-i Sind wa azṭarfī daryā* (on one side the lip of the Indus and on the other a lake) and also uses terms such as *jazīra-i daryā wa Sind* (island of the sea/lake and Indus).²⁰⁶ Furthermore, writing about Sultan Firuz Shah’s campaign Bihamadkhani states, “The people of Thatta [Sammās] took shelter on the embankment which is situated in between the *Punjab* [lit. Five rivers, here meaning Indus].”²⁰⁷ Sirhindi writes, “when the king [Firuz Shah] reached Thatta, Jam *Bābiniya*, the ruler of Thatta, took refuge in a place surrounded by water.”²⁰⁸ Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that Indus bifurcated into two widely separated channels; its main branch and a wide perennial stream (resembling a lake) and hence called *daryā*, formed a large riverine island reuniting at the apex of the delta.²⁰⁹ The medieval Samma capital of Thatta was located on this island. A few kilometers to the north and northwest, across the tributary channel, *Sāmu ’ī-nagar* (lit. settlement of Sammas) and its adjoining

²⁰⁴ Mirza, “*Dīvān-i Muṭahhar Kaṛa*,” 134.

²⁰⁵ Mirza, 142.

²⁰⁶ Anonymous, “*Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhi*,” fols. 77, 78. The author has erroneously named the city that Tughlaq forces attacked as “*Damrila*,” instead of “*Thatta*,” but there is no doubt that it was Thatta that he is referring to, that was attacked. *Damrila* was a coastal city located some distance north from Lahribandar. It was a port-town established by the Sumras but was inhabited till the Samma period (see details in Chapter Three).

²⁰⁷ Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i Muḥammadī*, 9.

²⁰⁸ Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshahi*, trans. K. K. Basu (Karachi: Karimsons, 1977), 138.

²⁰⁹ In the early nineteenth century this bifurcation point had shifted about ten km south of Thatta. See: William Pottinger, “On the Present State of the River Indus, and the Route of Alexander the Great,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1, no. 2 (1834): 199–208.

rural areas were sited. These lands, encompassing a range of hills known as Makli, were inhabitancies of various Samma sub-clans since centuries.²¹⁰ Owing to its strategic location surrounded by water, Thatta had an enhanced defense mechanism that must have been an important factor for the Jams while they established their administrative center. This proved to be significant for Sammas in halting the Tughlaq invasion for several months in the fourteenth century. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* also records that when Firuz Shah attacked Thatta, the ruling Jam was able to defend the city “relying on the strength of water.”²¹¹ After two centuries we again find the city’s setting maneuvering the political episodes in Sindh. *Mir’āt ul-Memālik* (c. 1555) records that despite having a large army and hundreds of war-boats, Shah Husayn Arghun (r. 1524-1554), the ruler of Sindh, was unable to overcome the rebellion of his Tarkhan commander based at Thatta even after a month’s siege particularly because the city was safeguarded by its location in the middle of the river.²¹²

In the first half of the fifteenth century Thatta had become a metropolis and gained much prominence. In contemporary texts it appears as “one of the great cities of Sindh.”²¹³ Spread over the island and its twin town extending on to the northwestern mainland, both the divisions had fortified units.²¹⁴ One of these forts further northwest, where the Sammas fought the second battle with ‘Imad ul-Mulk and Zafar Khan (commanders of the Tughlaq forces), was possibly the ancient

²¹⁰ Lambrick is of the view that the island formed was of about 250 sq.km. and thus, large enough to enclose Thatta, Samu’i and the whole of the range of Makli hills. See: Lambrick, *Sind*, 188. However, the historic narratives indicate the presence of waterway between Thatta and Makli necropolis (see below). Today some ruins can be seen at the location of Samu’i-nagar, now called the Ghulam Husain Goth. In the thirteenth century, the Sammas of Samu’i-nagar and its surroundings moved into Kutch to establish the Jadeja kingdom. See: Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:196–97; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 109–10.

²¹¹ Ahmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, I:249.

²¹² Re’īs, *Mir’āt Ul-Memālik - The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reīs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556*, 38–39. The number of war-boats recorded by Re’īs is 400, which could be an exaggeration but still implies a large fleet.

²¹³ Bihāmadkhānī, *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, 9.

²¹⁴ ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 200; ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 60, 71; Anonymous, “Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī,” fol. 78.

fort of *Kalyāṅkōt* or *Kalāṅkōt* (lit. large fort). This fort was restored under the patronage of Tughlaq Shah Jam Juna II, who also commissioned several other buildings in the vicinity and thus, the town was renamed as Tughlaqabad.²¹⁵ Recording the attack on Thatta in 1555, the historian Diego do Couto (d. 1616) also mentions existing outside Thatta a fort and a “very large mosque, and [that had] the features of our [Christian] temples, and had three doors.” The building of this mosque was severely damaged by the Portuguese army while the people were still inside.²¹⁶ The ruins of this large fort and its adjoining structures, which include a magnificent mosque with entrances on three sides, are still extant. The site today is identified by its original name “Kalankot” (Map 2).

The main city, which is the section on the island, was also fortified. The fortification wall built in mud bricks, called *‘Ālam panāh* (perhaps after its restoration under the Mughal patronage), existed at the time of the Tughlaq expedition and was reinforced during the battle. ‘Afif indicates that the size of this fortified section of Thatta was large enough to accommodate even the populace residing on the east of Indus, when they took refuge in the main city at the time of the second Tughlaq attack.²¹⁷ Under the Samma patronage, the main city developed into a cosmopolis, inhabited by people from diverse backgrounds and origins. Conforming to the archetypal organization common across all the medieval urban settlements in India, Thatta is recorded to have

²¹⁵ The area was again renamed as “Tughrilabad” during the Mughal era when it was restored again. Qani‘ presents a very colorful picture of the site and how the area served leisurely purposes for the inhabitants of Thatta in the eighteenth century. See: Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 86–89, 612–14; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 559–60.

²¹⁶ Subrahmanyam believes that this mosque that Cuoto describes is the Dabgir mosque of Thatta, which is incorrect as Dabgir mosque was constructed at Thatta in 1588. The excerpts on the incident from Couto’s *Década Sétima da Asia (1615)* are reproduced by Subrahmanyam in: Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “The Portuguese, Thatta and the External Trade of Sind, 1515-1635,” *Revista de Cultura* 1, no. 13/14 (1991): 48–58. For the condition of the fort in the early nineteenth century see: Captain John Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus: With an Essay on the Geography of the Valley of the Oxus* (London: John Murray, 1872), 7.

²¹⁷ ‘Afif at several instances uses the term “*ḥiṣār-i kalīn*” (mud fortification) for the walled divisions of Thatta. He also states that the Sammas, for protection against the Tughlaq attacks, built the fortifications around the city, although it must have existed even before as at the time of the second attack the Sammas dug ditches and trenches outside the wall for further protection. In *Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhi* the city on the island is termed as “a walled city.” See: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi*, 200, 232; Anonymous, “*Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhi*,” fol. 78.

several segments or *muḥallah*, based on the occupations or ethnicities of its inhabitants. As recorded in the historic texts, one section of the city, located around the center, belonged to the fishermen community, while at the *muḥallah Sehtīya* and the *Shīrāzī muḥallah* the Bukhari and Shirazi Sayyid migrants resided respectively.²¹⁸ During the reign of Jam Nizam al-Din, following the migrations from Persia and Central Asia, *muḥallah Mughalwāra* was founded in Thatta (see Chapter Three).²¹⁹ *Muḥallah Tandsar* and *Mōlla-i Thatta*, existing adjacently in the north of the city, were also Samma additions. *Muḥallah Tandsar*, also called *Islāmpūr*, was located on the bank of the *Daryā* (lake) west of the city that the Tughlaq sources have repeatedly mentioned.²²⁰ *Mōlla-i Thatta* was inhabited by the kinfolk of Laki Mal, the Brāhman *dīwān* (minister) of Sultan Nizam al-Din.²²¹ Moreover, towards the end of the Samma period, Thatta expanded on the western mainland, east of Tughlaqabad on the Makli hill range. The traces of this development, called “*Daryā Khān jō Tākar*” (Darya Khan’s Hill), are still extant. The ruins east of the Mughal period ‘*eidgāh* (congregational mosque for festive prayers) were the *ḥavēlī* (mansion) complex of *Khān al-‘Azam* Mubarak Khan *alias* Darya Khan (d. 1520), the minister of defense and commander of the army of Sultan Nizam al-Din. Close to the *ḥavēlī* complex a medieval Hindu temple survives to this day, although its structure has been completely renovated. Since its late medieval reformation by Sammas, Thatta appears as a multi-cultural and multi-faith city. Although by the

²¹⁸ Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 572, 627; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 118–25.

²¹⁹ Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 153–54; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 587; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 126–32.

²²⁰ *Tandsar* lit. “A big body of water” is today a dry bed, separating Thatta from Makli Hills. In *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, *muḥallah Tandsar* is mentioned as a residence and burial place to some of the revered men and a woman saint “Bibi Rani” of Thatta. Baloch is of the view that this Bibi Rani was a pious queen of a Samma ruler. See: Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 137–44; Baloch, “The Origin of Thatta,” note 9.

²²¹ Qani‘ addresses the *dīwān* by the name “Lakhdeer or Lakhseer” although Muhammad Hussain Safa‘i, who is a contemporary author, calls him Laki Mal. In *Ma‘arif al-Anwār* (c. 1727; the biography of Pir Murad Shirazi) it is stated that Laki Mal initially resided in the Shirazi *muḥalla* and Pir Murad instructed him to establish a new sector that later came to be known as *Mōlla-i Thatta*, after the Brāhman’s grandson. See: Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 581–82; Baloch, “The Origin of Thatta,” n. 8.

second half of the fourteenth century the Sindhis living in the vicinity of Thatta were converted to Islam to a large extent, a large Hindu population resided in the city.²²² Moreover, the merchant communities in Thatta, and Sindh in general, were mostly non-Muslims.²²³ However, in later sources many authors have reported the non-Muslim population to increase. By the late seventeenth century Hindus were greater in number compared to the Muslims residing in Thatta.²²⁴

Thatta had several mosques erected under the Samma patronage, a few of which can be traced. There were at least four *Jāmi` Masjid* (congregational mosques) built in the city and its vicinity. One was in the northern part of the main city, commissioned by one of the Jams in the first half of the fifteenth century. This mosque was distinctly called Masjid Wali-i-na`imat, as another *Jāmi` Masjid* already existed in the city that held a more celebratory status for the Friday prayers.²²⁵ Jam Tughlaq commissioned one *Jāmi` Masjid* to be built inside the fortified Tughlaqabad division, while Jam Tamachi had earlier commissioned a mosque for his Suhrawardi mentor on Makli hill. A local mosque by the name of Masjid-i Safah existed inside the main city,

²²² Afif notes that the 4000 members of the farmer communities living outside Thatta, towards the east specifically, who were captured by the Tughlaq army, were mostly Muslims. See: Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 233–35; André Wink, *Al-Hind: Indo-Islamic Societies 14th-15th Centuries*, vol. 3 (Boston: BRILL, 2004), 161.

²²³ There is evidence of the Hindu Lohana and Bhattiya clans, being equipped with business techniques, as active traders under the patronage of Jam Nizam al-Din. Members of these Sindhi communities were also settled in Muscat (Oman), forging trading links with Thatta by the time Portuguese took over the former in 1507. See: John E. Peterson, *Historical Muscat: An Illustrated Guide and Gazetteer* (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 2007), 79; Chhaya Goswami, “Sindhi Entrepreneurs and Their Pearling Enterprise in the Persian Gulf,” *Sahapedia*, n.d., <https://www.sahapedia.org/sindhi-entrepreneurs-and-their-pearling-enterprise-the-persian-gulf>. Some of the more influential of these merchants even extended their influence over the neighboring Kutch region. One such person, Topan Seth, a Bhattiya merchant of Thatta, is known to have personal and professional relations with the Jadeja Samma rulers of Kutch. See: Dharamsi Sampat [Gujrati] 1935 (p 7-8), cited in Edward Simpson, *Muslim Society and the Western Indian Ocean: The Seafarers of Kachchh* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 39.

²²⁴ Hamilton reports that in 1699 the ratio was 10:1, for every Muslim there were ten Hindus. This seems to be a bit of an exaggeration and Hamilton might have confused both, as they looked and dressed the same. However, Hindus might have been equal in number, if not more, and this continued down to the nineteenth century as the 1872 census reports exhibit. See: Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, I:128; Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 837.

²²⁵ Masjid Wali-i-na`imat existed in c. 1440, where Pir Murad Shirazi is noted to have spent his days at the age of fifteen. See: Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 18–19; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 581.

which was initially an ancient Hindu temple (see Chapter Six).²²⁶ Thatta is also known from histories and traditions to be a center of Islamic culture and learning, where scholars from many parts of the Muslim world visited its several establishments.²²⁷ A tri-domed ruined structure in the west of the present-day city is known from oral tradition to be a *madrassa* established during the Samma period. There existed several centers attached to the mosques, such as that in Masjid Wali-i-na‘imat where Pir Murad Shirazi (d. 1487) is said to have received his training; or in the mosque of Haji Suleiman, an authority on *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, who was later also buried inside.²²⁸ Moreover, within the main Samma capital some smaller cemeteries and tombs also existed of which we find nominal traces. However, numerous cemeteries for the sub-urban dwellers developed in the proximity of Thatta (Map 2), while a section of Makli hill was the principal necropolis for the Jams and their elites.

The mainland on the east of Thatta, beyond the waterway, was agrarian. Within these agricultural lands, the Samma Jams established several townships in close proximity of Thatta as its sub-urban offshoots. These towns, such as Sonda, Hilaya, Jungshahi and Jhirk (Jerruck) in the present-day Thatta district, are among the testimonials to the cultural and urban landscapes of the Samma dynastic rule. Despite the disappearance of the original townships, a few of their medieval monuments and most burial sites neighboring Thatta are surviving (Map 2). The agrarian lands surrounding these towns were utilized for the cultivation of seasonal crops, on which the populace around Thatta largely depended. Under the patronage of Samma Jams, all these lands, that at one point had become barren due to the shortage of water, were strategically recovered for abundant

²²⁶ See: Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27–28; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 581.

²²⁷ Hamilton reports, “the city of *Tatta* is famous for learning in theology, Philology and politicks, and they have above four hundred colleges for training up youth in those parts of learning.” See: Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, I:128.

²²⁸ Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 18; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 139–40.

harvests.²²⁹ In Sindh, extensive use of geared Persian wheels is recorded by 1519, which employed wooden wheels and water-lifting pots, worked by camels to supply continuous flow of water.²³⁰ Water was brought from the river via canals to also irrigate the agrarian lands as well as gardens that existed in the eastern section of Thatta and also its *muḥallah Mughalwāra*.²³¹ In a sketch of its medieval profile, the city is also indicated to have possessed “garden enclosures with their extraordinary flowers” that the men of Firuz Shah were anticipating to enjoy after the Samma Jams surrendered in 1367.²³² Gardens also existed outside the city, adjoined with ponds, especially among the royal mausolea on the Makli hill.²³³

Although the Samma Jams were not responsible for the foundation of Thatta, they can be credited with the urbanization and transformation of the city into a cosmopolitan commercial hub. Sammas skillfully divided their Sultanate into *ṣūbahs* (provinces), and Thatta region into administrative *parganas* (districts), which were maintained by the following dynastic rulers.²³⁴ Thatta’s prosperity served as a catalyst for the socio-economic growth of the Samma Sultanate. Its location on the tip of Indus delta ensured the capital city’s significance as a transitory market, being connected to Western and Central Asia, providing convenient and economical transport to the Indian Ocean. During the Samma dynastic period where commerce was gradually enhanced,

²²⁹ ‘Afif has fleetingly mentioned the cultivation of seasonal crops on the lands east of Thatta. The Samma populace destroyed the spring crops before the Tughlaq forces reached from Gujarat, yet later the summer crops ripened and were harvested by the army. Nisvani also writes that during the Samma dynastic rule the lands surrounding Thatta were “carefully cultivated; there was hardly a span of ground untilled.” See: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 232; Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 51.

²³⁰ Ma‘ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘ṣūmī*, 151. Use of this same device was much widespread over north and northwestern India in the early sixteenth century as Babur witnessed it being in use near Jehlum, Lahore, Dipalpur and Sirhind, yet worked by Oxen. The use of supplementary systems for irrigation, without employing animals, had been a long-standing tradition in Sindh (and some other parts of India) as discussed by Irfan Habib. See: Irfan Habib, *Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500*, vol. VIII, Economic History of India (New Delhi: Pearson, 2011), 38.

²³¹ Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 569, 587.

²³² Mirza, “Dīvān-i Muṭahhar Kaṛa,” 141.

²³³ Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 54; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 43–44, 48.

²³⁴ Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 51.

agricultural production, craftsmanship and several industries were also commissioned. There is evidence of shipbuilding, minting and stone carving workshops flourishing in Thatta under the patronage of Samma Jams.²³⁵ Thatta went through a series of alternate episodes of prosperity and devastation once the Samma rule ended in Sindh. At one point Thatta's prominence reached such an extent that in general expressions Sindh was synonymously called "Thatta" or "*Sarkār-i-Thatta*."²³⁶ The capital of the Sammas thrived till the first quarter of the sixteenth century, after which it was plundered thrice, and therefore, diminishing all the traces of Samma developments. First the Arghun forces looted the city for over a week during their conquest of Thatta that led to the fall of the Samma Sultanate.²³⁷ Then in 1555 the Portuguese left the city in plunders and again in 1591 the Mughal forces laid siege to the city for six months, which eventually ended in the annexation of Sindh.²³⁸ Such repeated assaults on the cosmopolitan Thatta had resulted in complete disappearance of its medieval urban landscape, yet the dynastic power being based at the metropolis has left some tangible and intangible traces on Samma society and culture. These traces

²³⁵ For brief overview of the Samma numismatic collection see Chapter Four and: Stan Goron et al., *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates: Covering the Area of Present-Day India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2001), 486–89; Waleed Ziad, "A Recent Find of 18 AE Coins of the Jāms of Sind, Attributed to Jām Nizām al-Dīn, and Jām Firūz," *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, Autumn 2004; Simon Digby, "The Coinage and Genealogy of the Later Jāms of Sind," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland (New Series)* 104, no. 02 (1972): 125–134. See: Dharamsi Sampat [Gujrati] 1935 (p 7-8), cited in Simpson, *Muslim Society and the Western Indian Ocean*, 39.

²³⁶ De Laet (d. 1649) reports, "Tatta (so called from its capital) - This province lies on the banks of the Indus, which forms many beautiful and fertile islands in its course Lower down it unites into one stream near the city of *Synde* (*Diul*) [Lahribandar] which is famous for numbers and variety of its handicrafts. See: Joannes De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol: A Translation of De Imperio Magni Mogolis (1631)*, trans. J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), 6.

²³⁷ Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 156.

²³⁸ According to Portuguese historian's own words, the "[Portuguese] men entered the city, and put to the sword all the living things that they saw, even the brute animals... the Capitan ordered them to sack the city, as they soon did, taking as many *fazedas* (assets), that the ships could carry." These excerpts from Couto's *Década Sétima da Asia (1615)* are reproduced by Subrahmanyam in: Subrahmanyam, "The Portuguese, Thatta and the External Trade of Sind, 1515-1635." Some scholars have mentioned the destructions to be so severe that all the surrounding villages along the Indus were also destroyed by Portuguese and about eight thousand people were killed in just eight days, see: Ansar Zahid Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh: A Study of Socio-Economic Organization and Institutions During the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Karachi: Royal book Company, 1980), 43 (see note 49).

mainly present an array of Samma funerary spaces, art and culture; though they also include canals, mosques, caravanserais (caravan inns) and *madrasas*, constructed in a variety of architectural styles, sizes and materials. The most ambitious Samma edifices are preserved on the northern end of the necropolis on Makli hill, located beyond the northwestern periphery of Thatta. Other artifacts are found scattered on multiple sites in the present-day Thatta district. The following chapters present a detailed architectural analysis of these artifacts and monuments.

Overview of the Samma Artistic Remains in the Necropolis of Makli

After the fall of Sammas in 1522 CE many of their monuments, including those on Makli Hill, were either intentionally desecrated or were lost to weathering and passage of time. For example, there are remnants of foundations on the ground of a square brick tomb that existed adjacent to the tomb of Malik Rajpal, in addition to one behind the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. Additionally, the tombs of Kazeruni *Shaykhs* originally possessed a brick structure, now completely collapsed. Burgess and Cousens mentioned a couple of tombs among the Samma cluster, now destroyed, which they refer to as belonging to Juman Jati and Muhammad Baghdadi.²³⁹ Moreover, Qani' records that in the second half of the sixteenth century, many monuments including the glorious edifices built around a water pond called *Sehsa Lang* were demolished. *Sehsa Lang*, however, no longer survives but was a part of the Samma cemetery on Makli hill.²⁴⁰ A *darvīsh* named Bharkiah Lang, who was a prominent mystic figure in the times of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan (r. 1567-1585),

²³⁹ See: Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 116; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:210.

²⁴⁰ Qani' has used the phrase *Sehsah Lang kī havēliyān* (mansions of *Sehsa Lang*) for the buildings around this pond, indicating a larger development by Sammas on Makli hill, compared to what has now survived. The editor Nawaz 'Ali Shoq further adds (without reference) that it was a Samma tradition for every Sultan to build a memorable structure near the pond, thus that area had magnificent palaces during the Samma dynastic rule. See: Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 631. It is, however, highly improbable that any living quarters of the Sultans were built in their cemetery. In local language the term *havēlī* is quite often used for any large dwelling and even tomb. The roofless tomb enclosure of Mubarak Khan in Zone II is commonly referred to as a *havēlī* (see Chapter Four).

reportedly built a towering lighthouse using spolia from the Samma structures.²⁴¹ This lighthouse was to guide the boats sailing from the Arabian Sea into the Indus River and approaching the riverine port of Thatta. Another reason for the absence of material culture from Samma period is the temporary nature of some structures that primarily utilized timber framework plastered with mud. This technique was especially used in residential constructions, even the multi-storey houses, as was a common trend in historic Thatta.²⁴² Also, the city was restored and rebuilt multiple times by the succeeding rulers, therefore, largely wiping out the traces of Samma development from Thatta.

‘Ali Shir Qani’ of Thatta, writing in the eighteenth century, identified about ten Samma monuments in his *Maklīnāmah* (also known as the *Būstān-e-Bahār*), also indicating their tentative locations. Today about twenty-one monumental constructions in Makli necropolis, a few dilapidated while some in well-preserved state, can be classified with certainty as being constructed during the Samma dynastic period (see Appendix B). Additionally, several multi-tiered stone graves, either single or in group, surrounding these monuments can be recognized of their Samma provenance on the basis of either inscriptions carved on their stone surfaces, or their stylistic characteristics. Commencing from the northern end of the site, between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, these monuments organically sprawled southwards, in a roughly linear fashion. In this evolutionary process, three clusters or zones of architectural activities gradually emerged, which are frequently signified throughout the present study for better contextual understanding (Fig. 1 demarcates the approximate boundaries of these zones within the necropolis). These distinctly detached zones make one wonder if through the idiosyncratic

²⁴¹ See: Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 631.

²⁴² Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Countries Adjacent to India on the North-West*, vol. II (London: W.H. Allen and Company, 1844), 267.

character of each the Samma patrons and artisans intended to communicate explicit messages and ideas. For example, Zone II is the main royal cemetery of the Samma dynastic rulers and also contains ritual structures which were commissions of royal patronage. This section markedly contrasts with Zone I that belonged to the individuals who did not receive favors at the Samma royal courts, yet remained religiously or politically influential, nonetheless. Zone III was a by-product of Samma building activities in the early sixteenth century, and therefore, chronologically became the last to have been developed. In the architectural edifices of this zone, Turco-Persian, or particularly Timurid influences are pre-eminent, which were amplified after Samma-Timurid connections intensified in the late fifteenth century (Chapter Three & Four). However, all through the Samma period, the built monuments primarily remained concentrated along the eastern edge of the ridge, which once afforded a view of the bifurcated stream of Indus and the capital city beyond (Fig. 2). To elaborate further:

1. Zone I is located on top of the Samu’i hillock – a mound at the northern end of the site. This zone is the most ancient part of the necropolis and is not included inside the area recognized by UNESCO. However, it has been declared by the Department of Archaeology Pakistan as a “protected antiquity” under the law and is recognized by the title “Graveyard (north) at Makli.” It is locally called the “*Pīr Murād qabristān*” (cemetery of Pir Murad) after the famous fifteenth-century Naqshbandi saint of Thatta. Quite a few graves and monuments in this graveyard belong to the Samma dynastic period, but now some have departed from their original state due to restoration works by local residents and private agencies.²⁴³ These

²⁴³ For example, the tomb of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti (d. 1427) has been recently restored by the caretakers and followers of the saint. All traces of the original fifteenth-century brick structure have been erased and the exterior now presents a whitewashed structure, while the interior now has multi-colored emulsion paint. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 62.

restorations did not take into consideration their medieval character, while some are in complete ruins. Besides a few intricately carved stone grave-cenotaphs, three monuments in this zone survive well preserved and in their original state. The mound has been continuously inhabited with its southeast corner used as a graveyard since before the Sammas came into power. This is because it was part of the city of Samu 'i-nagar. Samu 'i, which is about 5 km northwest of Thatta, became the capital of Sindh for some time during the Sumra dynastic period after the destruction of their original capital city of Muhammad Tur.²⁴⁴ This area has been in use uninterruptedly for burials to the present day.

2. Most of the surviving tombs of Samma dynastic rulers and royal elites are part of Zone II, which is the northern end of the larger UNESCO world heritage site (Fig. 3). This zone was the royal necropolis during the reign of Samma dynasty and the first to develop holding some of the earliest monuments built on Makli Hill. Relatively elevated than the rest of the site, this zone is contoured in topography with its southwest end lower than the somewhat flat terrain in southeast. In later dynastic periods, the areas immediately adjacent to this zone remained in use for burials; however, the Samma zone maintained its exclusivity. Over a period of almost one and a half century, these monuments were built adjacent to each other, and were sometimes placed inappropriately close together (for example, the distance between Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum and the ruined brick tomb to its south is merely a few feet, which is structurally inappropriate for such monumental constructions).
3. Zone III shifted the focus of Samma building activity more southwards. This zone is relatively widespread and approximately covers the middle section of the UNESCO site (Fig. 1). This

²⁴⁴ Qāni' has also recorded *Rasūlābād* to be another name of this Sumra capital city. See: 'Alī Shīr Qāni' Tattavī, *Tuhfat Al-Kirām (1767)*, ed. Baloch, Nabi Bakhsh Khan, trans. Akhtar Rizvi, 3rd ed. (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006), 559, 765.

zone was the last to develop by the Sammas, thus its monuments belong to the first quarter of the sixteenth century; that is, towards the end of the dynastic rule. Monuments of Samma patronage in this zone are few and randomly scattered between the monuments of the successive dynasties, primarily those of Arghuns. This section of the graveyard remained in use for burials and other building activities at least until the end of the sixteenth century.

A note of caution: Proper meaning of the word “cenotaph” (from Greek *kenotaphion*) is an “empty tomb,” and the term is used for a memorial structure erected to commemorate an individual or group of individuals whose remains are elsewhere; or, the initial burial has been relocated and the structure is left as a commemorative entity. The term is now typically applied to national war memorials. In South Asian art historical scholarship, however, it is common to use the word for those funerary artifacts, usually in stone, which are rectangular in plan, in the form of either carved stone slabs, or stone caskets (hollow or monoliths) or even for tall structures employing several tiers of slabs arranged in a consecutive manner. These cenotaphs are erected above the underground burials in Muslim cemeteries or tombs, and it is in this particular way the terminology is used throughout the following narrative.

Conclusion

By close examination of the textual records this chapter reconstructs the historic setting in which the Samma clansmen emerged as a dynamic political force in late medieval Sindh. The Sammas were native militarized pastoralist clans who were owners of land throughout Sindh, in some parts of Balochistan, in Kutch and as far as Gujarat and Rajasthan. Following the Muslim conquest of Sindh, the region underwent a gradual cultural and religious transformation. This process, which transpired over centuries gave birth to an integrated culture – a culture of adaptability and acceptance. These traditions were deeply embedded into the culture of Sindh by the time the

Samma clans began raising a series of rebellions against the Delhi Sultanate. They eventually succeeded in forging an autonomous regional kingdom in c. 1389, marking a new beginning for the indigenous tribes of Sindh. Initially this kingdom was limited to the Indus Delta region (southern Sindh), but by the end of the fifteenth century the Samma Sultanate was spread over a vast area below Kandahar; from Makran in southern Balochistan to the borders of Kutch, and from the borders of Jaisalmer and Bikaner (Rajasthan) up to Uch, also including some areas of southern Punjab and the Cholistan desert.

To effectively run the administration of this Sultanate, the Samma rulers devised several political strategies. Adapting to the tenets of alliance-politics the Jams of Thatta integrated various semi-autonomous tribal territories by amassing loyalties of Muslim and non-Muslim native clans and sub-clans of Sindh. Moreover, they successfully maintained political alliances with powerful contemporary neighbors by contracting military and matrimonial relations, thus, asserting their intangible spread and strong political presence in the Western Indian region. However, the center of Samma governance always remained their cosmopolitan capital city of Thatta. The urban landscapes of Thatta have completely departed from their late medieval pattern, which can only be traced by extracting relevant information from the available textual sources. To tangibly interact with the Samma dynasty, extant architectural artifacts in the vast necropolis of Makli and the cemeteries located within the present-day Thatta district provide a large corpus of visual material. This material epitomizes the diversified and hybridized culture of the Samma dynasty in the varied geographic origin of their building styles, technologies and devices, which the following chapters analyze in detail.

Chapter Two

MAPPING MĀRU-GURJARA ARCHITECTURAL PRACTICES IN SINDH IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

The Sunni Sufi groups, which originated in Transoxiana, Khurasan and southern Iran rapidly expanded their proselytization activities towards Sindh following the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazna in the early eleventh century.¹ Among these groups, the most instrumental Sufi order was of the Suhrawardi saints, who first made Multan their base and later established their *khānqāhs* at Uch. By the fourteenth century, however, Thatta had emerged as another popular center of the Suhrawardi *ṭarīqa*, with its most significant *khānqāhs* effectively preaching from just outside the city on Makli hill.² Owing to these sacred structures, Makli not only became one of the most popular pilgrimage sites of Sufi culture in the Indus Delta region, but also inspired royal burials, possibly as a means to access the *barakah* (blessing) of being near the saintly figures, transforming the hill into a royal necropolis of the Samma rulers based at Thatta. Arranged in three zones, as previously explained, the Samma activity on Makli hill continued for burials, devotions and mystical gatherings till the end of their dynastic rule in 1522 CE. In the absence of material culture from the preceding tribal dynasty (the Sumras), Samma architecture initially suggests a significant departure from the building customs of the earlier Muslims dynastic periods – the remains of which have survived in several parts of Sindh.³ However, the Samma building practices combined the localized manifestation of pre-Islamic practices with the established traditions from wider Islamic lands. Therefore, the heterogeneous corpus of Samma structures primarily draw upon two distinctive building methodologies, which are not only clearly distinguishable in their forms,

¹ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: Early Sufism and Its History in India to 1600 AD*, 1:111–12.

² See: Ṭhattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya'*, 54; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Tāhirīn*, 30.

³ Finbarr Barry Flood, “Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in ‘Arab’ Sind,” in *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 365–97.

ornamentation as well as construction techniques but also in their use of building materials, namely stone and brick. Nevertheless, due to the contrast in both traditions and also because of the fragmentation of material evidence in Sindh, the Samma monuments belonging to these disparate traditions have recently been studied as distinct entities.⁴ Although several of these structures exhibit hybridity in their synchronous use of diverse building traditions, styles, materials and cultural connotations (see Chapter Three, for example). Therefore, tracing the roots of these disparate traditions and styles, the present research offers an insight into the multifaceted and hybrid character of the Samma material culture.

From a visual perspective, the Samma monuments offer a formal link to the medieval Hindu/Jaina temples from Western India on one side (discussed further below), and to the Persianate and Central Asian material culture on the other (discussed in Chapter Three). Additionally, the inscriptions carved on their surfaces exhibit diversity in the religious and sectarian inclinations of the Muslim Samma elites (see Chapter Five & Six). Therefore, when originally reported in the early twentieth century, the hybrid character of the Samma monuments led scholars to quickly assume their composition to be an outcome of spoliation and re-use of elements from pre-Islamic/non-Islamic structures.⁵ However, close examination reveals that there is absolutely no trace of iconoclastic actions or deployment of recycled fragments in Samma architecture. Modern scholars also agree upon the ingenuity of the Samma artistic conceptions. Yet, these monuments are presented as novel and alienated arrangements, which translate the

⁴ For example, including the Samma monuments as part of a larger study, Patel examines the stone pavilion structures only, while Edwards exclusively focuses on the brick monuments. See: Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*; Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*. Earlier, when Lari & Lari examined almost all the Samma dynastic monuments in Makli, the structure of their book had instinctively classified these structures into two distinctive categories, based on their primary construction material (brick and stone). See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*.

⁵ Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 114–15.

complex temple vocabulary into simplistic Islamic forms.⁶ Current scholarship also assigns them polarized identities based on regional and religious categories, although these labels largely overlook or underplay their nuanced character.⁷

Tracing the historical, socio-political and cultural settings of late-medieval Thatta, this chapter establishes that the multifaceted and culturally hybrid Samma structures were neither made of looted materials nor were they the result of an adoption of an alien style. It is demonstrated through contextualized architectural analysis that the Samma monuments, in fact, present a carefully drafted artistic program accounting for several layers of histories along with some underlying themes, that too at times occasioned by historical circumstances. This chapter primarily traces the artistic encounters between southern Sindh and the regions beyond its eastern/northeastern borders, that is: Kutch, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Focusing on the monuments built in the first half of the Samma dynastic period, the chapter presents processes of artistic transmissions where local aesthetic ideas traversed the geographic specificities to produce an undeniably distinctive style. This style offers one dimension of the complex vocabulary developed in the realm of Samma artistic culture. By placing the Samma monuments in a broader geographic framework, this chapter also redefines the temporal and regional boundaries of the “Māru-Gurjara” – an artistic style of temples from medieval Western India.

On Māru-Gurjara Style of Architecture

M.A. Dhaky’s scholarly contributions towards developing a systematic appreciation for the sacred architecture of medieval India are of unparalleled significance. In his ground-breaking essay on

⁶ Nadiem, *Makli*, 14–15.

⁷ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 26, 69–70; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 28, 38, 92.

the origin and development of the Māru-Gurjara architectural style, mapping the geographical expanse of this building tradition, Dhaky (d. 2016) writes:

“By the close of the first quarter of the eleventh century it (Māru-Gurjara) extended from Paranagar near Alwar in upper Rajasthan to Parol near Bombay, a north-south stretch over a thousand kilometers, and west to east from Dewalthatha (Thatta) in Sind to Atru in eastern-most Rajasthan, a distance of not less than six hundred kilometers.”⁸

This is the earliest reference in modern art-historical studies to the nexus of Thatta with the territories of Gujarat-Rajasthan regions, while marking the regional parameters of an architectural tradition (Map 3). Unfortunately, the lack of material and textual evidence from late-medieval Sindh has limited further scholarly investigation of this issue. The amazingly homogenous expression of what is referred to as the Māru-Gurjara or Solankī architecture was the dominant style in the medieval temple architecture of Western India. Starting its gradual formation in the late eighth century, Māru-Gurjara completed its centuries-long evolution under the Chaulukya or the Solanki rulers (r. c. 940-1244), who maintained their hegemony in southern Rajasthan and Gujarat for more than three centuries. The Chaulukya imperial patronage brought wide popularity for Māru-Gurjara style and acquired for it a ubiquitous status in their territories by the early eleventh century.⁹ However, the style ceased to flourish in the thirteenth century; though after a short gap, in the fifteenth century it experienced a rebirth in Northwestern India. This renaissance

⁸ M.A. Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. P. Chandra (Varanasi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), 114–65. Earlier referred to as the Solankī style (Dhaky, 1961), was replaced by the term Māru-Gurjara in Indian temple architecture, coined by Dhaky later. This is widely accepted as a standardized term and is now commonly used by current scholars of South Asian architecture.

⁹ M.A. Dhaky, “The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat,” *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad* 3 (1961); Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture”; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 5–6.

period is better known through the reconstruction phase of the Jaina temples, best exemplified in the Adinatha temple (1439) at Ranakpur in Rajasthan.¹⁰

Due to its peculiar and extravagant decorative features, the Māru-Gurjara style of architecture is easily identifiable and even if only select components have been replicated in a certain structure, it draws an immediate recognition. Māru-Gurjara styled temples primarily employed either sandstone or white marble as medium of construction. Nevertheless, Māru-Gurjara itself is a composite style that inherited its architectural and decorative characteristics from two closely related, yet clearly distinguishable and independently prevailing contemporaneous idioms that predominated the Western Indian regions prior to 1000 CE – the Mahā-Māru (c. early eighth to mid tenth centuries) and the Mahā-Gurjara (c. late eighth to late tenth centuries).¹¹ The western limits of the Mahā-Māru idiom – prominent in northern Rajasthan, are on the frontiers of the Islamic domains of Sindh. However, its southern counterpart, the Mahā-Gurjara style – originating from Gujarat, extended up to southern Rajasthan and well into southeastern Sindh. Among these parent styles, Mahā-Māru created some exquisitely sculpted and heavily ornamented temples, while Mahā-Gurjara products tended to be more austere and architectonic, with relatively plain surfaces, which better accentuated the structural aspects, giving more clarity to the building elements and their joinery details.¹²

¹⁰ Julia Hegewald, “The International Jaina Style? Māru-Gurjara Temples Under the Solankīs, throughout India and in the Diaspora,” *Ars Orientalis* 45 (2015): 114–40; M. A. Dhaky, “Renaissance and the Late Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” ed. Umakant Shah and Kalyan Ganguli, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* Special number: Western Indian Art (66 1965): 4–22. Hegewald’s study also shows that after its revival during the fifteenth century, Māru-Gurjara was adopted as a transnational style by many Jain communities in India and the diaspora.

¹¹ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture”; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 5, 85; Dhaky, “The Chronology of the Solankī Temples of Gujarat.”

¹² Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 117, 149; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 5, 85.

To Dhaky, among others, we also owe the corpus of indigenous (mainly Sanskrit) terminologies, which provide necessary technical vocabulary to attempt an accurate description of the medieval Western Indian sacred morphology.¹³ Where western terms are incongruous and often confusing, these Sanskrit terms are not only authentic but also culturally appropriate, being drawn from a body of surviving canonical treatises on architecture, called the *vāstuśāstras* or *śilpaśāstras*.¹⁴ These texts put forward the medieval theories of architecture which drew upon traditional practical knowledge and which carry rich information on almost all significant aspects of building typologies and science. The largest number of surviving *vāstuśāstras* come from Gujarat and Rajasthan; for the Māru-Gurjara style alone at least thirty-eight such manuals, composed by prolific *śilpis* (architects, sculptors and stone-craftsmen), are now available to the modern scholars.¹⁵ Corresponding to the actual medieval practices, these *vāstu* texts codified the ideal proportions and compositional rules of Māru-Gurjara ornamentation, and more particularly of architectural forms and construction techniques down to their minutest details. Additionally, these were primarily composed to provide a body of sacred knowledge to guide contemporary and

¹³ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture.” Besides this brief corpus of technical terms, Dhaky also led the composition of the greatly significant multi-volume/multi-part Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture, which is now a standard reference for scholars of Indian historic temples. To highlight a few parts of these volumes which are useful for the study of Western Indian architecture: Michael W. Meister and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *North India: Foundations of North Indian Style c. B.C 250 - A.D. 1100*, vol. II, Part 1, Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988); Michael W. Meister and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *North India: Period of Early Maturity c. A.D. 700-900*, vol. II, Part 2, Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1991); Dhaky, *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. A.D. 900-1000*.

¹⁴ For a concise discussion on the available *vāstu* works from Western India, see: M.A. Dhaky, “The Vāstuśāstras of Western India,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* 71 (1996). Some scholars have also used the term *śilpaśāstras* (science of creative arts) for architectural treatises. For details on this term, see: Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, “Indian Architectural Terms,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 48 (1928): 270; Michael W. Meister, “Temple Building in South Asia: Science as Technology’s Constraint,” in *Science and Technology in South Asia* (The South Asia Seminar II, Philadelphia: Department of South Asia Regional Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1985), 31–36.

¹⁵ Dhaky, “The Vāstuśāstras of Western India”; Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 125–27; Ram Nath, “On the Theory of Indo-Muslim Architecture,” in *Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola, vol. 1: Texts (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1989), 187–201.

future craftsmen in constructing the temples and other structures.¹⁶ Interestingly, at least two of these architectural treatises: *Jayāprcchā* and *Vrkṣārṇava*, written in the eleventh and fifteenth centuries respectively, are known to have included, without any religious prejudice, the Māru-Gurjara codification of a relatively novel building typology – the *rehmāna-surālaya* or the *rehmāna-prāsada* (abode/temple of [al]-*Rahmān*, the Compassionate, viz., Allah), referring to the mosques.¹⁷ Although, this will be discussed in some detail later in the chapter, it should be noted here that by the eleventh century 300 years had already passed since the Muslims had established permanent settlements in several parts of the Western Indian regions, not only along the conquered coasts of Makran and Sindh, but also on the Gujarati and Konkani coasts. In addition, since the eighth century some important commercial centers in the heartland of North India were also inhabited by the Muslim mystics as well as the influential communities of Muslim merchants.¹⁸ Therefore, it is not surprising that the social and ritual demands of these communities necessitated the construction of their distinctive places of worship, for which the local craftsmanship was sought. Hence, in the Māru-Gurjara region of Western India, the local Hindu artisans trained

¹⁶ Michael W. Meister, “De- and Re-Constructing the Indian Temple,” *Art Journal* 49, no. 4 (1990): 395–400; Nath, “On the Theory of Indo-Muslim Architecture”; Meister, “Temple Building in South Asia: Science as Technology’s Constraint.”

¹⁷ Ram Nath, “Rehmāna-Prāsāda: A Chapter on the Muslim Mosque from the *Vrkṣārṇava*,” *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 15, no. 2 (1977): 238–44; Nath, “On the Theory of Indo-Muslim Architecture,” 197–200 also note 65, 66; Dhaky, “The Vāstuśāstras of Western India,” 74. According to Islamic ideology, [al]-*Rahmān* is one of the ninety-nine attributes/names of Allah, collectively termed as *al-asmā’ al-ḥusnā*’ (the Beautiful Names).

¹⁸ The stone *mihrāb* from Gwalior evinces this fact, which identifies the presence of Islam as a significant factor in the cultural life of North India as early as the eighth/ninth century. For a discussion on this *mihrāb* see: Michael D. Willis, “An Eighth Century Mihrāb in Gwalior,” *Artibus Asiae*, 1985, 227–46. In the anonymously authored *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* (c. 982) mentions the existence of Muslim settlements in four cities of India, including Cambay (Khambhat in Gujarat), where these communities had the privilege to maintain their mosques. See: Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 21–23; Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar: The Oldest Islamic Monuments in India*. (Leiden; Ney York: E.J. Brill, 1989), 10 (see note 40). Nizami has also listed a number of mystics and saints who had migrated before the Ghurid conquest and settled outside important fortified town. See: Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India* (Aligarh: Dept. of History, Muslim University, 1961), 76–78.

primarily in their generations-old practices of temple construction, expanded their skills and knowledge to serve the requirements of Muslim patrons as early as the eleventh century.¹⁹

Building on these findings, scholars have recently identified how the architectural features associated with the Māru-Gurjara temples continued to be employed well beyond their originally perceived temporal, spiritual and geographical limits.²⁰ Additionally, Alka Patel has analyzed the reception, persistence and application of the Māru-Gurjara idioms by the Muslim communities of Gujarat between the mid twelfth through fourteenth centuries.²¹ More importantly for the present study, Patel’s monograph briefly draws attention to a significant aspect of Samma funerary architecture that remains largely neglected in the historiography of South Asian art.²² The author has incorporated early Samma tombs from Makli, to establish the inclusion of contemporary southeastern Sindh within the Māru-Gurjara idiom prevailing in the Western Indian Islamic settings.²³ However, Patel’s book briefly discusses only one type of Samma monument – the pavilion-type canopy tombs, commonly known as *chattrīs*.

Taking these pioneering studies as a point of departure and drawing heavily upon the methodologies employed by their authors, this chapter demonstrates that the Samma use of Māru-Gurjara devices was not limited just to the *chattrī* tombs, as Patel has underlined. In fact, a number

¹⁹ Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 148–49; Finbarr Barry Flood, “Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd,” *Ars Orientalis* 31 (2001): 129–66.

²⁰ Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 208; Elizabeth Lambourn, “A Self-Conscious Art? Seeing Micro-Architecture in Sultanate South Asia,” *Muqarnas* 27 (2011): 121–56; Alka Patel, “The Rehmāna-Prāsāda Abroad: Masjid-i Sangī of Larwand (Afghanistan),” in *Temple Architecture and Imagery of South and Southeast Asia: Prāsādanidhi (Papers Presented to Professor M.A. Dhaky)* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2015), 84–99; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*.

²¹ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*.

²² Although, earlier scholars had passingly suggested that the Samma builders took inspirations from the richly carved “pre-Islamic Hindu temples” and contemporary mosques of Gujarat, yet they primarily hint a temporal and geographical disconnect between these Gujarati structures and the Samma tombs of Makli. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 92; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 69–71; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmāh*, 182.

²³ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 101, 111–13.

of other architectural projects, sponsored by the Jams of Thatta and built for ritual and commemorative purposes, also “appropriated” the iconography, techniques, and devices of Western Indian temples.²⁴ Hence, the regional and temporal parameters of the Māru-Gurjara idiom, originally proposed by Dhaky and later expanded by Patel, need to be re-assessed.²⁵ It is demonstrated below that during the Samma dynastic period, the Māru-Gurjara style and the notions associated with it were first revived and then enduringly practiced well into the sixteenth century, and also beyond the borders of Sindh.

Additionally, almost all of the stone monuments from Samma dynastic period employ the trabeate system of construction. The main principal trabeate system follows is the vertical transmission of loads, using sturdy arrangement of vertical elements, which was befitting to the locally available sandstone as well. In general, this system creates framed structures using massive columns, posts or pillars, in combination with heavy lintels and beams. By contrast, the arcuate construction system involves the use of arches, squinches, domes and vaults.²⁶ In the trabeate system the horizontal structural elements, such as the architrave, carry all the loads (from above along with their own) and transfer them on to the vertical members – the columns and pilasters. In medieval India, the trabeate system often employed the corbelling technique to lighten the load of the superstructure and also to create the domes to span the large spaces inside the temples.²⁷ These

²⁴ According to Robert S. Nelson’s definition the application of the term “appropriation” in art history pertains to the artwork’s active, subjective and motivated adoption of pre-existing elements; making it a more successful term compared to traditional terms of art history such as “borrowing” or “influences.” For details see: Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff, *Critical Terms for Art History, Second Edition* (University of Chicago Press, 2003), 160–72.

²⁵ According to Patel the Islamic appropriation of the Māru-Gurjara building practices, originating from the late-medieval towns in the modern Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan, were spread all through to the southeastern region of Sindh, concluding in the late-fourteenth-century *chattrī* tombs along with those built slightly later, at sites such as Makli necropolis and the Chaukhandi cemetery near Karachi. See: Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 113.

²⁶ For details see: Gerald Ward, ed., “Trabeated Construction,” in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Materials and Techniques in Art* (Oxford University Press, 2008),
[//www.oxfordreference.com/10.1093/acref/9780195313918.001.0001/acref-9780195313918-e-388](http://www.oxfordreference.com/10.1093/acref/9780195313918.001.0001/acref-9780195313918-e-388).

²⁷ Meister, “Temple Building in South Asia: Science as Technology’s Constraint.”

are also called the “false” domes, which achieve their shape by consistently extending each horizontal layer towards the center; or in other words by laying slightly cantilevering stone rings on top of each other, until a closed cover is attained at the top.²⁸ In such cases the walls are non-load bearing, and therefore, can be very thin, serving the purpose of partition, or could be omitted altogether if the design need be.

Identification of the morphological connection between the Samma monuments and the realm of Māru-Gurjara traditions primarily entails an architectural analysis of the stone structures at Makli. This analysis intends to identify the sacred character of the Samma structures by locating the parentage of their formal and stylistic details in the broader Western Indian architectural milieu. Moreover, this analysis is done by juxtaposing these Samma structures with the medieval Western Indian temples and their late-medieval Islamic descendants from Gujarat. Additionally, as the Samma stone monuments in their artistic vocabulary are heavily drawn from the Māru-Gurjara traditions, it will be appropriate to use the Sanskrit terminologies from the *vāstuśāstras* to describe their features. Therefore, unlike the previous studies on Samma architecture, appropriate technical terms are applied in the following narrative to demonstrate how these terms give more accurate and rather satisfactory interpretations to the architectural and ornamental components. This will eventually help in determining the nature of the contemporary culture as well as the intended purpose behind the employment of the Māru-Gurjara style. Such nuanced analysis will also aid in defining the structural organization of the Māru-Gurjara elements in the Samma architectural artifacts, and whether there were any localized and regional appropriations of the original temple forms and its iconographies.

²⁸ Nicole A. Lazar et al., “Corbelled Domes in Two and Three Dimensions: The Treasury of Atreus,” *International Statistical Review / Revue Internationale de Statistique* 72, no. 2 (2004): 239–55; Santiago Huerta, “Oval Domes: History, Geometry and Mechanics,” *Nexus Network Journal* 9, no. 2 (October 1, 2007): 211–48.

Manifestations of Māru-Gurjara in the Samma Sufi Architecture of Makli

On the authority of several chroniclers, it can be established that the Suhrawardi Sufi Hammad bin Jamal (d. c. 1392), better known as Shaykh Hammad Jamali, arrived at Thatta most likely in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.²⁹ His arrival was motivated by *Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* Jalal al-Din Bukhari of Uch, who appointed the former as *wālī*'i-*Thatta* (patron saint of Thatta) for the sustenance of the Suhrawardi teachings in the Deltaic region that initially was under the influence of Isma'īlism (see Chapter Five).³⁰ Shaykh Hammad quickly developed strong relations with the Samma royalties, specifically Jam Tamachi (who later became Sultan Rukh al-Din – the first Samma Sultan of autonomous Sindh) and his son Jam Unnar II (who later succeeded his father as Sultan Salah al-Din).³¹ The material outcomes of these Samma-Suhrawardi associations include the foundation of Makli as a center of Islamic culture and mysticism, ensuing the establishment of the *khānqāh* (lit. a dwelling place; Sufi convent) of Shaykh Hammad Jamali.

The Jamali *khānqāh* was the first permanent structure of royal patronage of Muslim Sammas on the northern end of Makli hill. It was perhaps commissioned by Jam Tamachi while he was the *ṣafdār* (commander) of Thatta from 1367 to 1374. Following Bukhari's death in 1384, this *khānqāh* gained much prominence, independent from other centers in Sindh such as Uch and *Siwistān* (Sehwan).³² Before the foundations of the Samma Sultanate were laid in c. 1389, the Jamali *khānqāh* had not only emerged as an institution of Suhrawardi learning, but it also politically rivalled the authority of 'Ala al-Din Jam Juna, the sovereign ruling lower Sindh as a

²⁹ Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 50–51; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 562; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 27–30.

³⁰ Michel Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, Centre of Social Sciences in Karachi Series (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 294.

³¹ Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 50–51; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 562; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 27–30; Ijaz-ul-Haq Quddusi, *Tazkira-i Ṣūfiyā' ē Sindh* (Karachi: Urdu Akadmami Sindh, 1959), 87–88.

³² Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 50–60; Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, 294.

vassal of Firuz Shah Tughlaq.³³ Additionally, the presence of Shaykh Hammad and his *khānqāh* also inspired Samma royal burials in its immediate vicinity on the Makli hill. It is recorded in several sources that the royal cemetery of the Samma elites was shifted to Makli from Shaykh Patha's necropolis, in the late fourteenth century, on specific instructions from Shaykh Hammad.³⁴

Towards the northwest corner of Zone II stands an interesting stone structure in partly ruined state, though in the absence of monumental or foundational inscription it is difficult to establish its provenance with certainty (Fig. 4). There is, however, a consensus among modern scholars that this building is the above-mentioned *khānqāh* of Shaykh Hammad Jamali – the earliest Samma commission on Makli hill.³⁵ Additionally, Qani' refers to this structure as *gunbad manba' irshād* (the dome of the source of guidance), which indicates its status in the eighteenth-century memoir as a *khānqāh* or *madrasa* (Islamic institution) of a Sufi Shaykh.³⁶ The building at present is in an advanced state of ruin; the substructure is partially standing while the superstructure has completely collapsed. Yet, it is possible to reconstruct the original image of the *khānqāh* with the help of material lying on the site. The building plan features only a large column-free square hall without any entrance porticos, yet with a single entrance opening at the eastern side (Fig. 5). The west side was most likely provided with a semi-circular *mihrāb* projecting from

³³ See: Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 53–58; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 563.

³⁴ Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 60; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 564.

³⁵ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 35; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 92. Built most likely in c. 1370, before Tamachi was taken to Delhi where he remained as a political hostage for more than a decade (see Chapter One), this structure was commissioned for the Jam's Sufi mentor, Hammad bin Shaykh Rashid-ud-din Jamal. Textual sources record that Jam Tamachi on his return from Delhi in about 1389 offered a large sum of money to the Shaykh to express his gratitude. The Shaykh requested Tamachi to build a mosque next to his *khānqāh* instead. With the presence of the only Samma period mosque right next to this monument, the possibility that it actually is the *khānqāh* of Hammad Jamali becomes reasonably high. See: Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 59; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 564; Quddusi, *Tazkira-i Sūfiyā'ē Sindh*, 88.

³⁶ Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 45. According to Dani this monument is a *madrasa* and not the *khānqāh* of Hammad Jamali, which slightly alters its purpose. This difference, however, is insignificant for this study. See Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 35.

the middle.³⁷ This hall measures 6.5 m on all sides across the interior and was used for the daily rituals, specifically the Sufi forms of *dhikr* (spiritual exercises) and meditation, and most likely also for the regular obligatory prayers before the adjacent structure of the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* was built in c. 1390. The interior of the hall has no columns but on its exterior twelve rectilinear pilasters are embedded: one at each corner and two on each side. The side pilasters, placed at equal distance, create the vertices of an octagon within the square space when viewed without the corner pilasters.

Monuments with simple square plans remained a part of the “Gandhāra-Nāgara” building practices of the Indus Valley (particularly its central zone) from the sixth to eleventh centuries, especially under the patronage of the pre-Islamic dynasties of the Shahis. Their material remains are preserved in the form of Hindu temples in brick, spread all across the Salt Range region of present-day Pakistan (Fig. 6).³⁸ However, the overall form and artistic program of the Jamali *khānqāh* noticeably links it to the pre-Islamic buildings in stone, erected in Western India within the Māru-Gurjara architectural idiom. For example, the character of the *khānqāh*’s square hall is indicative of the *garbhāgrha* (lit. womb-house), the sanctum sanctorum of the Indic temples. Architecturally, the *garbhāgrha* sancta are the column-free square modular units, deeply set in the middle of the principal shrine structure (*mūlaprāsāda*) placed over a high platform (*jagatī*), providing the focus of worship in all the Indic temple complexes. This feature can be seen in the eleventh-century temples of Gujarat and Rajasthan (Figs. 7, 9), for example, the Surya temple at

³⁷ As the west wall has completely collapsed, there is no trace of the *mihrāb* now, but the fallen components lying towards the west hint its presence originally. Archaeological excavation around the monument can reveal better details.

³⁸ Michael W. Meister, “Temples along the Indus,” *Expedition* 38, no. 3 (1996): 41–54. Succeeding the Turk Shahis, also called the Kabul Shahis, the Hindu Shahi kings (r. 879–1026) ruled over the Kabul Valley and the Gandharan region, including Punjab, during the medieval period. Their rule came to an end in the eleventh century resulting from Ghaznavid invasions. For more detailed discussion on the Hindu Shahi temples of Pakistan, see: Michael W. Meister, *Temples of the Indus: Studies in the Hindu Architecture of Ancient Pakistan* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2010).

Modhera (1027) and Someśvara temple at Kiradu (1020). Since these *garbhāgrha* sancta were exclusively used to house the main deity under worship and were not public spaces, their interiors were usually less ornate. This characteristic is quite unlike that of the communal spaces that were most elaborately ornamented, such as the attached columnar halls (*maṇḍapas*) preceding the *mūlaprāsāda* shrines of the Māru-Gurjara temples.³⁹ Following the same scheme, the Jamali *khānqāh*'s interior is also sparse in decoration. However, the shafts of its *stambhas* (pilasters) are adorned with intricately carved motifs (Figs. 11, 14). The style of these *stambhas* is also of the type described in the *vāstu* texts as *bhadra-ka-stambha* – quadrilateral in shape with central projections on plan and in elevation, used as wall-pilasters.⁴⁰ The interspaces between these *bhadra-ka* pilasters are filled by non-structural screen walls that are about half a meter in thickness and made of large, evenly-cut plain stone-blocks laid without mortar. The walls also had square openings at the plinth level for light and ventilation; probably two on each side, fitted with carved stone *jālīs* (grilles). Two of these screens survive, one on each of the north and south walls (Fig. 4). These screens are divided into four equal panels, each fitted with a modest floral motif carved inside a circle. However, some earlier images of the *khānqāh* show that more than one screen had a different pattern and instead the latticework formed a network of geometric forms.⁴¹

³⁹ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 87. *Maṇḍapa* is one of the key components of the Western Indian temples. Its varieties are discussed in more detail below. Also see: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 128–29; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 85.

⁴⁰ Specimens of these *bhadra-ka-stambhas* exist in the Sas temple at Nagda, Rajasthan (late-tenth century) and the Surya temple at Modhera, Gujarat (c. 1027). For more details, see: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 137; Dhaky, *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. A.D. 900-1000*, II, Part 3:405, 419.

⁴¹ These images were taken in the late 1970s and 80s. Until then the walls of *khānqāh* were in a slightly better state of preservation showing two latticed screens, both in different patterns fitted on the south wall. One of these fitted screens show a network of right triangles. A second image shows a broken fragment of another screen with latticework of crisscross lines. See Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 98–101.

While the *bhadraka-stambhas* bear the load of the superstructure, the purpose of the walls is simply to enclose the space, and to partially cover the pilasters that were invariably sculpted from single blocks of sandstone, with integrated *ghaṭapallava* bases.⁴² As stated above, these shafts are elaborately engraved and expertly executed, yet the carvings are limited to the exposed surfaces in the interior only; on the exterior the pilasters are not visible being encased behind the walls. The elements of the *bhadraka-stambhas* of the Jamali *khānqāh* show affinities with the surviving Māru-Gurjara architectural prototypes, being surmounted by fluted *bharaṇa* (echinus) and the multi-armed scrolled or volute brackets (*śīrṣa* or *stambhaśīrṣa*).⁴³ Some of these *bharaṇa* and *śīrṣa*, both of which are relatively less ornate, have survived and can be seen at their original place atop the standing columns (Fig. 11). The *bharaṇa* have partially curved profile, similar to the cavetto moulding. Whereas, the minimally decorated *śīrṣas* are right-angled at the corners, having two arms, and the ones on the sides are four-armed, while above all of them the monolithic architraves (*uttaraṅgas*) rest. All pilasters display identical carvings in motifs and their sequence, with bands of geometric and floral patterns (Figs. 11, 14), dividing their shafts into several segments. The topmost decorative band employs one of the most common and auspicious Indic motifs of the vase-and-foilage or vase-of-plenty, called the *pūrṇaḡhaṭa*. Below this is carved the horizontal collar of *ardharatna* (split-diamond) motif, followed by *padmajāla* – a band of *ardhapadma* (half-lotus), each set within beaded semi-circular segments. The next band displays stepped quadrilaterals framed inside squares, followed by a row of incised leaves pointing

⁴² The *vāstu* texts prescribe that the *bhadraka-stambha* has to be placed to project one fourth, half or one third of their width from the line of the walls. Although, the shafts of the Marū-Gurjara columns are usually monolithic but rare instances of the shaft made in two distinct parts joined together are also noticed. The term *ghaṭapallava* is used for members with vase-and-foilage motif. See: Dhaky, *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. A.D. 900-1000*, II, Part 3:408.

⁴³ Dhaky, II, Part 3:405, 419; “Echinus | Architecture,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed March 21, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/echinus>.

upwards. The ornamentation finally ends with the reiterations, above the enjoined *ghaṭapallava* base, of the triangular motifs with stenciled carvings, which is believed to be a stylized version or a visual residue of the *pūrṇaghaṭa* (full vase-of-plenty) motif, most repetitively found in the Indic temple iconography.⁴⁴

As mentioned above, the entrance doorway to the *khānqāh* is situated in the middle of the eastern wall that is merely a few meters away from the *Jāmi' Masjid* (Fig. 12). The basic arrangement of this doorway also imitates a conventional door of a Māru-Gurjara sanctum, specifically in the formal layout of its *dvārśākhā* (doorframe). Therefore, the *dvārśākhā* consists of the three archetypal components: the *uḍumbara* (doorsill), the *śākhā* (jamb) with *pēdyā* (lower block), and the *uttaraṅga* (lintel). In addition to these components, the Māru-Gurjara temple doorframe also possessed other decorative features; for example, the *uḍumbara* almost always took a sacralizing elements in the form of semicircular projection in the center called *mandāraka* (moonstone; threshold stone), and the *pēdyā* commonly flaunted a *rathikā* (framed niche).⁴⁵ The *dvārśākhā* in the Māru-Gurjara temple is richly carved and occasionally retains multiple jambs, such as the *triśākhā* (three-jamb), *catuḥśākhā* (four-jamb) or *pañcaśākhā* (five-jamb) varieties, as well as multiple lintels and a substantial threshold.⁴⁶ Sometimes the *pēdyā* are distinctly more elaborate with respect to the *śākhā* and present a projecting profile. These features are best exemplified in the sumptuously decorated entrances of the Surya temple at Modhera and the Someśvara temple at Kiradu (Fig. 13).

⁴⁴ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 121.

⁴⁵ These *mandāraka* originated in the Buddhist shrines to symbolize the concept of *Samsāra* (see Chapter Five, note 80). In Brāhmanical settings, the *mandāraka* is provided to sacralize the threshold of the Māru-Gurjara temples. For details on all these components in Māru-Gurjara temple sanctum, see: Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 138, 164.

⁴⁶ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture"; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 88.

The *dvārśākhā* of the Jamali *khānqāh* is not of the intricately carved multi-jambed type but is a simplified and less-ornate rendition with monolithic stone components. Its *śākhās* are, however, provided with the *rathikās* at the *pēdyā* level (which is not a distinct element) and in the middle of the *uḍumbara* a broken semi-circular *mandāraka* is also visibly projecting.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, the external side of the *dvārśākhā* is also provided with Qur'anic inscriptions in accordance with the contemporary religious environment (Fig. 12). The Islamic appropriation of these typical pre-Islamic elements, and the religious subtexts embedded in the *khānqāh*'s entrance, are discussed in some detail in the Chapter Five.

The techniques that are employed to support the heavy roofing made of stone components need some attention in order to comprehend the Māru-Gurjara system of construction. These techniques include locking the massive stone element of the structure together without mortar (as the lateral dispersal of load is not required), which makes such trabeate constructions more flexible. For example, plug jointing is used to lock the *bharaṇa* and *śīrṣa* to the pilaster shafts. Additionally, the *uttaraṅgas* (architraves) resting above the armed brackets have V-shaped pointed ends. On the inner side of these *uttaraṅgas*, inscriptions are carved, which will be discussed shortly. Nevertheless, where the ends of two *uttaraṅgas* meet, a stub-beam, also with one V-shaped end, is inserted that rests above an arm (the inner facing arm) of the bracket (Fig. 11). These stub-beams, devoid of any ornamentation, lock the *uttaraṅgas* together and help carry the load of the superstructure. Additionally, across the corners at the *uttaraṅga* level, the *khānqāh*'s pilasters also take diagonal crossbeams for chamfering the space. This zone, which is a transitional one,

⁴⁷ These *rathikās* had deep religious connotations and therefore, have been discussed in greater length in Chapter Five. The *rathikās* on the Jamali *khānqāh* were, however, originally documented as “arched *mihrāb* motifs,” which is an erroneous definition made out of the artistic context. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 98.

transforms the square form of the sanctum into an effective octagonal frame of *uttaraṅgas* just below the superstructure, without any additional column in the interior. The ring-beam resting above the *uttaraṅgas* converts the octagon into a circle. This ring-beam is decorated with *ratnapaṭṭa* (band of lozenge/diamond pattern) and *padmapatra* (lotus-leaf) motif on its underside. The soffits of all the beams and architraves in the *khānqāh* are also engraved with stylized *padma* motifs (Fig. 11).

Although there is no foundation text to be found on the structure, the inner faces of the sturdy *uttaraṅgas* are engraved with Qur'anic verses (Fig. 14). Carved in high relief, the verses originally started from the transverse beam on the northeast corner and ran in circle to probably end above the entrance doorway, thus forming a decorative yet legible frieze just under the ceiling. From the extant material, it appears that at least verses 1 to 9 of Qur'an 62 (*al-Jumu'ah*, the Congregation) were part of the epigraphic program of this *khānqāh*.⁴⁸ Apparently these verses indicate the pan-Islamic views regarding the sovereignty, might and wisdom of God (Qur'an 62:1), yet they also insinuate other ideas (see Chapter Five). For example, the verse Qur'an 62:2 accounts for the functional identity of this Sufi structure as an abode of a "Messenger" of God, sent to bring wisdom of the true religion. However, among these verses is also an indication (Qur'an 62:9) that the *khānqāh* was also a place of Muslim congregation, standing in for a Friday Mosque, at least till the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli was later built in c. 1390.

It is noteworthy here that the quality of craftsmanship in this monument fluctuates according to the specific architectural components. The inscriptions carved on the surfaces lack

⁴⁸ At this time some lintels, even the ones still intact are badly damaged on their surfaces and the inscriptions are gone. Lintels only on the west side are intact in their original position over the brackets, supported above the columns. On one broken segment, now lying in the southeast corner shows traces of inscriptional carvings. With much difficulty, it seems to be the last word of verse 9 of the same *sūrah* (Qur'anic chapter). Probably all 11 verses of *al-Jumu'ah* were originally inscribed, but it cannot be confirmed as there is no trace of the last two verses.

the refinement shown elsewhere, for example, in the pilasters. At the entrance the scale of inscriptions on both sides is visibly different (Fig. 12). The inscriptions over the *uttaraṅgas*, beautifully carved in *ta'liq* script, are although carefully planned to fit within the available space yet they lack sophistication and consistency of spacing between the characters. On more than one occasion, the scale of the writing changes abruptly on the same beam. This shows the limitations in the notation methods while carving the Qur'anic inscriptions, or inadequate interaction between the scribes/calligraphers and the masons. These skills were, however, greatly refined by the end of the Samma dynastic period, as shown in Chapter Four. As discussed in detail in Chapter Five, the Sammas of Thatta had only been actively practicing Sunni Islam since the early decades of the fourteenth century. By contrast, the proficiency and capabilities displayed in the intricate carvings on the pilasters, perhaps point towards the Samma craftsmen's enduring knowledge and their long familiarity with the Māru-Gurjara artistic traditions. As late-medieval Thatta was essentially a multi-faith society, it is quite possible that the Samma patrons also employed local guilds of Hindu/Jaina artisans for the construction of their monuments.

The superstructure that once crowned the *khānqāh* also presents some interesting features. However, before examining the central module of roofing, the subsidiary components should be taken into account. At all four corners of the *khānqāh* structure, unadorned triangular stone slabs are set across for roofing over the space left outside the ring-beam of the transitional zone. These triangular ceiling slabs, termed as *vikarṇa-vitāna*, are flat and in the Māru-Gurjara temples they provided the sub-cardinal locations of the ceilings with decoration, comparable to the central ceiling. However, at the southeast corner of the structure the crossbeam and the *vikarṇa-vitāna* have fallen, exposing the corner beams resting above the columns and their brackets, that would otherwise have been hidden from view. This corner shows that although the visible surfaces of the

vikarṇa-vitānas in the *khānqāh*'s sanctum were plain, but the inner faces of the corner beams were carved with decorative bands (Fig. 15). The upper band exhibits a series of *ardharatna* (split-diamond) motif and the lower one manifests the meandering wish-fulfilling vine (*kalpavallī*), with a narrow offset dividing the two. Moreover, at the *kalpavallī* level, in the center of each beam the offsets frame a small square plug. This decorative element, called *lalāṭabimba*, usually positioned in the center of the temple door lintels held a figural or symbolic image of *adhināyaka* (the deity to whom the Indic temple is dedicated).⁴⁹ The *khānqāh*'s *lalāṭabimbās* enclose floral motifs instead, or remain unadorned when used on the architraves, conforming to the aniconic scheme of the Sufi structure.

To determine the superstructure of the *khānqāh*, the external appearance of the roof and the internal arrangement of the ceiling should be examined separately. From the components above the pilasters and the fragments lying around the structure, it can be deduced that the central ceiling (*vitāna*) spanning the *khānqāh*'s sanctum was a corbelled conical/domical *karōṭaka* (circular ceiling). These ceiling were formed out of concentric courses of stone rings with receding diameters, superimposed one above the other, following the trabeate system of construction. Such corbelled domical ceilings were another of the architectural elements that appears most frequently in the Māru-Gurjara temples, although are also encountered in earlier styles. For example, the early ninth-century temple that now goes by the name Harishchandra-ni Chori, located at Samalaji (Gujarat) and placed by the scholars within the Mahā-Gurjara idiom, shows that the corbelled domical ceilings were already developed by the ninth century (Fig. 16).⁵⁰ However, it is worth

⁴⁹ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 138; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 88.

⁵⁰ This temple is perhaps the earliest example in which a corbelled domical ceiling was used. See: Dhaky, "The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat"; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 92, 100. Harishchandra-ni

noting that the original Māru-Gurjara temple *mūlaprāsādas*, which possessed the *garbhāgrha* sancta, primarily preferred the “Nāgara” (North Indian) genres of superstructures; either the Latina type with curvilinear outline of the *ekāṇḍaka* (mono-spined) *śikhara* or the more elaborate *anēkāṇḍaka* (multi-spined) *śekhārī* towers (Fig. 17).⁵¹ Yet, it was the variant forms of attached *maṇḍapa* halls within the temple complexes that had low profiled superstructures, which also included the corbelled *karōṭaka*, specifically above the central bay.⁵² Therefore, although the substructure of the Jamali *khānqāh* draws upon the formal details of *garbhāgrha* module, for the superstructure the Samma builders preferred to adopt the *maṇḍapa* format of roofing. Moreover, as discussed in detail below, it was primarily the basic arrangement of the *maṇḍapa* unit that provided a successful model to the fifteenth-century Samma craftsmen for the construction of the Māru-Gurjara styled royal tombs.

The Māru-Gurjara temples possessed at least one *maṇḍapa* hall, but there are numerous instances where more than one type are provided, each differing in proportion, size and function.⁵³ For example, the Surya temple at Modhera contains two types of *maṇḍapas*: a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*

Chori also exemplifies an early use of more than one *maṇḍapa* types in a Western Indian temple (see below for different types).

⁵¹ For a brief analysis on the use, evolution and difference between the *śikhara* and *śekhārī*, see: Michael W. Meister, “From Śikhara to Śekhārī: Building from the Ground Up,” in *Temple Architecture and Imagery of South and Southeast Asia: Prāsādanidhi (Papers Presented to Professor M.A. Dhaky)* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2015), 14–29.

⁵² Michael W Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India,” *Artibus Asiae*, 1976, 167–88; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 90–91.

⁵³ The Māru-Gurjara temple complexes are primarily provided with two types of *maṇḍapas*: (1) the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, which was an enclosed or semi-enclosed columnar hall, used for religious gatherings in front of the *mūlaprāsāda*; (2) the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, an open, airy structure without enclosing walls, which was used for religious dances or theatrical performances, or just for social activities in the temple. A third variety called *mukhamaṇḍapa* or *ardhamaṇḍapa* is also found in some temples, the purpose of which is to provide a vestibule to the complex. In some cases, the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* was double or multistoried, and therefore, referred to as *meghanāda-maṇḍapa*. In addition, usually all the *maṇḍapas* of Māru-Gurjara temples were axially positioned with reference to the *garbhāgrha*, to align them as antecedents to the *mūlaprāsāda* structure. For details see: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 128–29; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 85; M.A. Dhaky, “Reflections on the Terminology and Gloss in the Structural Temples of Gujarat,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta* XV, no. 1–4 (1973): 21–34.

(closed or semi-open columnar hall) for religious gatherings in front of the shrine proper, and a detached structure of *raṅgamaṇḍapa* (open pavilion-type hall) for theatrical performances, or for social activities (Fig. 11). Whereas the Someśvara Temple at Kiradu is only provided with a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* (Fig. 10). Customarily, the interior of these halls was extravagantly ornamented; as Dhaky noted, “the interior of the Māru-Gurjara *maṇḍapa* is often spectacular: it is in fact second to none in the comparable styles of North Indian temple architecture.”⁵⁴ A significant element of the *maṇḍapa* is its ceiling, which usually contains a wealth of carved detailing, more than in the shrine proper.⁵⁵

For the *maṇḍapa* ceilings, a number of design possibilities were available to the temple craftsmen, which are also significant to note in relation to the Samma stone monuments in Makli. Structurally, the *maṇḍapa* ceilings either belonged to the *samatala vitāna* (flat ceiling) variety or the domical *karōṭaka* type; or based on their internal profile, they could either be *kṣipta* (receding inwards) or *utkṣipta* (proceeding outwards).⁵⁶ In the formative phases of the Māru-Gurjara style, the *samatala vitāna* (common in both Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara) became unpopular after the tenth century, whereas the domical ceilings evolved into more complex and richly ornamented varieties.⁵⁷ However, from an early period a feature that dominated across most of these varieties,

⁵⁴ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 137.

⁵⁵ As Adam Hardy shows, the ceilings were not only significant in the Nagara traditions of Central and Western Indian temple maṇḍapas but also in other regional traditions, such as the Drāviḍa or southern architectural tradition in Karnataka (India). See: Adam Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture: Form and Transformation: The Karṇāṭa Drāviḍa Tradition, 7th to 13th Centuries* (Abhinav Publications, 1995), 223.

⁵⁶ For detailed discussion on ceilings, see: J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*, vol. 16–17, Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery (B. L. Mankad, 1963). Also see: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 137–38; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 100; Hegewald, “The International Jaina Style?”

⁵⁷ These varieties included designs such as the *padmanābha* (lit. lotus-naveled), the *sabhāmārga*, the *padmamandāraka*, and the composite *sabhāpadmamandāraka* modes. See: Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*; Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture”; Sehdev Kumar, *A Thousand Petalled Lotus: Jain Temples of Rajasthan (Architecture & Iconography)* (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts; Abhinav Publications, 2001), 74. As Kumar notes, out of these complex ceilings, the *sabhamarga* and the *sabhāpadmamandāraka* were specific for the *raṅgamaṇḍapas*.

and which was also common with other ceilings within the complex, was the decoration of *maṇḍapa* ceilings using the sacred Indic motif of the auspicious lotus in diverse forms. The lotus motif appeared copiously on the surfaces of medieval ritual edifices in India; even more on the ceilings as it was perceived showering blessings and beneficences on the worshippers.⁵⁸ Such ceilings mostly replicated the lotus in full bloom, and were, therefore, termed as *padma-vitāna* (lotus ceiling). The *padma-vitānas* which were of the *samatala* (flat) variety, either offered a large lotus surrounded by decorated spandrels and borders (Mahavira temple, Kumbhariya), or presented multiple lotus motifs, each carved inside a separate panel (Sas-Bahu Complex, Nagda).⁵⁹ In the domical ceilings, the motif developed to become an intricately fine yet extravagant feature, either covering only the central portion of the corbelled dome or was enormous, with several rows of petals, to inform the entire scheme of ceiling décor (Fig. 18).⁶⁰ Additionally, a spectacular multi-petaled lotus pendant or medallion (*padmaśilā*) usually hung in the center of the *padma-vitāna*, specifically of the domical variety.⁶¹

The fragments from the Jamali *khānqāh*'s ceiling preserved on the site leave little doubt that its corbelled concentric courses receded inwards, and therefore, was of *kṣipta* type. The inner exposed surfaces of these courses were lightly incised with series of the *padmapatra* (lotus-leaf)

⁵⁸ Adam Hardy, *The Temple Architecture of India* (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2008), 156; Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, "A Note on the Ceiling Designs in the Temples of Northern Karnataka, with Special Emphasis on the Lotus Blossom Motif," in *Temple Architecture and Imagery of South and Southeast Asia: Prāsādanidhi (Papers Presented to Professor M.A. Dhaky)* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2015), 123–37.

⁵⁹ The Jain temple of Mahavira at Kumbhariya (Gujarat), constructed in 1062, presents a *samatala vitāna* (flat ceiling) with a large deeply-cut lotus blossom projecting outwards (therefore, *utkṣipta* type). The entrance porch in the late-tenth-century Sas-Bahu Complex, Nagda (Rajasthan) presents a *samatala vitāna* with multiple lotus motifs carved inside separately framed panels.

⁶⁰ Nanavati and Dhaky have explained in clear and concise manner the systematic development of lotus blossom motifs with reference to the domical ceilings of Gujarat from tenth century onwards. See: Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*. For the practice of similar designs in northern Karnataka in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see: Wessels-Mevissen, "A Note on the Ceiling Designs in the Temples of Northern Karnataka, with Special Emphasis on the Lotus Blossom Motif."

⁶¹ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 164. The ceiling with hanging lotus pendant is also called by scholars as *mandāraka*. See: Kumar, *A Thousand Petalled Lotus*, 74.

motif, hence, the concentric rows of petal rings rendering a *padma-vitāna*. It is also quite possible that a *padmaśilā* (lotus pendant) hung from the center, if the standard practice in the subsequent Samma *chatrī* tombs is taken into account (see below). However, in the present state of archaeological findings the presence of a *padmaśilā* cannot be claimed with certainty. Similarly, the external appearance of the *khānqāh*'s superstructure is also hard to determine as there are at least two distinct possibilities:

- 1) First option belongs to the *phāmsākāra* class, having rectilinear outline commonly known as *phāmsanā* – a term used in *vāstusāstras* for the “wedge-shaped” roofs, low in height, and formed by several receding tiers (Fig. 17).⁶² Such structures were more frequently used in Western Indian temples to roof the *maṇḍapas* rather than the *mūlaprāsādas*. The *phāmsanā* roofs were mainly of three principal types: *kṣoṇī* (with straight-edged cornice), *kapōta* (with quarter-round cornice) and *kapōtālī* or *kapōtapālikā* (with inverted cyma-recta cornice).⁶³ The cornices of these tiers were sometimes plain and sometimes enriched with antefixae of *gavākṣa* or *candraśālā* (dormer-window) motif, along the *kalikā* (conical bud) motif carved in suspension below. The entire arrangement of the *phāmsanā* was usually crowned by a large *ghaṇṭā* (bell-shaped) element and finished with a ribbed, disc-like member called *āmalaka* or *āmalasāraka* and the pot-shaped *kalaśa* finial.⁶⁴

⁶² For details on the terms *phāmsākāra* and *phāmsanā*, see: J. M. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat* (Ascona, Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1969), 27 (also see note 70); Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India” (see note 4 & 6).

⁶³ For the use of term *2021-01-07 11:39:00 PM phāmsanā*, its sub-categories and their forms, such as *kṣoṇī* (straight-edged), *kapōta* (with quarter-round profiled cornice) and *kapōtālī* (with cyma cornice) in *vāstu* texts see: Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 27 (also see note 70 & Fig. 9); Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India” (see note 4).

⁶⁴ Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India,” 168–69; Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 29; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 121–22; Adam Hardy, “Indian Temple Typologies,” in *Glimpses of Indian History and Art: Reflections on the Past, Perspectives for the Future (Proceedings of the International Congress Rome, April 2011)* (Rome: Sapienza, Università Editrice, 2012), 101–25.

2) Second possibility is what Adam Hardy calls “a more sophisticated means of construction than piled up slabs: the corbelled dome.”⁶⁵ This roof is primarily in perpetuation with the corbelled concentric arrangement of the stone rings that make up the *kṣipta* ceiling inside the *maṇḍapas*, as discussed above. Both the internal and external outlines of these rings run parallel to each other forming a stepped domical profile on the exterior. Occasionally this stepped form was left exposed, as can be seen in the twelfth-century pavilion-type structure, located in the ancient town of Bhadreshwar, Kutch (Fig. 19).⁶⁶ More frequently the crevices on the exterior were filled with stone rubble and concealed using lime-mortar, achieving a smooth domical outline. This method was often employed in the Jain temples of Western India as can be seen above all the subsidiary shrines of the Gori temple complex (c. 1376) near Nagarparkar in southeastern Sindh (Fig. 20).⁶⁷

As scholars have shown, when the Māru-Gurjara style was appropriated in the Islamic ritual buildings of late-medieval Gujarat, the hemispherical form became a preferable choice for the exterior of the corbelled *karōṭaka* ceilings, especially in mosques.⁶⁸ This was perhaps also meant to retain the archetypal domical constructions representative of the central Islamic lands. Therefore, there is a greater probability that the Jamali *khānqāh* was capped by a stepped corbelled dome, finished with mortar mixture to create a curved conical/domical profile, similar to those

⁶⁵ Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture*, 223.

⁶⁶ In the late nineteenth century, Burgess reported this pavilion-type domed structure to be a shrine for the Dudha Jain Temple of Kutch. It was later proven by Shokoohy that the pavilion structure, called *chatrī*, is among one of the earliest group of monuments built by the Ismaʿili merchant community of Western India, living in the ancient port-town of Bhadreshwar before the Muslim conquest of Gujarat. Scholars, however, have conjectured that the stepped domical roof of the Bhadreshwar *chatrī* might also have been originally covered with mortar, although at present there is no definite proof. See: Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:206; Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, 32–35; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 122.

⁶⁷ Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:222.

⁶⁸ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 91, 116 (and Chapter Four & Five).

existing in the nearby Samma *chatrī* tombs. Nonetheless, the existence of a pyramidal *phāmsanā* cannot be ruled out altogether, as shown below.

Primarily devised to crown the *maṇḍapas*, the *phāmsanā* stone roof was indigenous to Western India since at least c. 600 when the Old Temple at Gop (Jamnagar, Gujarat) was erected.⁶⁹ However, after the tenth century it did not enjoy much popularity, especially in the Māru-Gurjara practices. Later the *phāmsanā* type roofs almost disappeared after they transmuted into a more complex form of roofing, termed as *saṁvaraṇā*.⁷⁰ Yet, there are instances that verify the occasional reappearance of *phāmsanā* in the Māru-Gurjara region, particularly in Gujarat. For example, the Madhav Vav, dated to 1294 and located in the old town of Wadhwan (Gujarat), is a step-well that possesses a series of quadrilateral pavilions crowned by pyramidal *phāmsanās* of *kapōtālī* type, all provided with *āmalaka* and *kalaśa* finials (Fig. 21).⁷¹ These *phāmsanās* of Madhav Vav are formed out of flat stone slabs as the units of superimposition, and therefore, do not form a domical ceiling inside (discussed below). Another example, which is more substantial in relation to the Jamali *khānqāh*, is a well-preserved edifice known as the Shrine of Ibrahim, bearing an inscription dating to the year 554 AH/1160 CE (Fig. 22). This shrine is among a cluster of twelfth-century monuments including two mosques, a domed pavilion-type structure, and few grave-cenotaphs, located near the ancient coastal town of Bhadreshwar in Kutch (Gujarat).⁷² This group of

⁶⁹ Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 33–35; Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India” (also see Fig. 6); Meister and Dhaky, *North India: Foundations of North Indian Style c. B.C 250 - A.D. 1100*, II, Part 1:177–79.

⁷⁰ Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 28; Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India,” 184, 186. The *saṁvaraṇā* roof form is discussed in some detail below in connection to Nagarparkar Jaina temples, but for its development within Māru-Gurjara style, see: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 164.

⁷¹ Henry Cousens, *Somanātha and Other Mediaeval Temples in Kāṭhiāwād*, vol. XLV, Archaeological Survey of India (Imperial Series) (Calcutta: Govt. of India, 1931), 54–55; Jutta Jain-Neubauer, *The Stepwells of Gujarat: In Art-Historical Perspective* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1981), 51–53; Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India,” 167 (also fig. 8).

⁷² The Shrine of Ibrahim is locally attributed, although erroneously, to Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, the legendary Sufi saint and scholar whose actual shrine exists in Sehwan, Sindh. The Shrine of Ibrahim, along with other adjacent

monuments was constructed for the Muslim maritime communities living under the patronage of the Chaulukya rajas. As Alka Patel has shown, these monuments evince the earliest and most effective instance marking “the ‘new’ architectural ambit of Islam, with its own ritually based proscriptions and necessities,” resulting from the appropriation of the Māru-Gurjara temple style by the Muslim communities of Gujarat.⁷³

Other varieties of pyramidal roofs over ritual buildings of Muslims, mainly of the square pavilion type, appeared occasionally in late-medieval India, for example, over the entrance of Shahi Masjid at Khatu in Rajasthan (c. 1203), in the tomb of Qadam Sharif at Delhi (c. 1375) and in the building known as the Bare Kamar at Bayana, also in Rajasthan.⁷⁴ However, the Shrine of Ibrahim is perhaps the only Islamic ritual building of Western India that flaunts a full *kapōtapālikā* type of stepped pyramidal *phāmsanā*, complete with the edges of its tiers decorated with *candraśālā* antefixae and crowned by a *ghaṇṭā* finial. Moreover, in its interior the *phāmsanā* transforms into a lavishly decorated concentrically receding circular ceiling with *padmaśilā* hanging from the center (Fig. 23).⁷⁵ When juxtaposed with the Jamali *khānqāh* on Makli hill, it becomes evident that both structures, although built two centuries and about 350 km apart, share common architectural, structural as well as ornamental characteristics. These similarities make one wonder if the shrine at Bhadreswar provided a prototype to the Samma builders of Thatta for the construction of the *khānqāh*? In both structures, the column-free *garbhāgrha* type square-hall

monuments, belong to a flourishing merchant community of Isma‘ili creed and are datable to the same period. These are regarded as the earliest Islamic buildings in Western India (outside of Sindh), constructed about forty years before the Muslim conquest of Delhi and nearly a century and a half before the conquest of Gujarat. For architectural details see: Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, 14–18.

⁷³ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 105–23.

⁷⁴ Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy, “The Chatrī in Indian Architecture: Persian Wooden Canopies Materialised in Stone,” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 15 (2001): 129–50 (see fig. 13-14).

⁷⁵ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 117, 122; Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, 14–17 (also see fig. 3-6); Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:209.

measures almost exactly the same, although the shrine possesses an additional entrance portico (Figs. 5, 24). The pilasters of the shrine are also plain from the outside with carvings in the interior and are quadrilateral in plan assuming the *bhadra* order as in case of the Jamali *khānqāh* (although the *khānqāh*'s pilasters are more ornamental). Both the structures possess the *kṣipta* type of *padma-vitāna* (lotus ceiling), which in case of *khānqāh* appears to be a modest version (as in the Samma *chatrī* tombs), while that of the shrine is of the elaborate *sabhāmārga* order (Fig. 23).⁷⁶ Of considerable importance are the fragments of large stone slabs among the wreckage of the *khānqāh*, which clearly display a series of *kalikā* motif on their straight edges (Fig. 25). As stated above, the *kalikā* motif bands occasionally formed the lower part of the *kapōtālī* or *kapōtapālikā* mouldings of the *phāmsanā*. The Māru-Gurjara monuments at both Badreshwar and Wadhwan also exhibit the use of *kalikā* edging on the exterior, just below their *phāmsanā* roofs.⁷⁷ Therefore, the probability of the domical *karōṭaka* ceiling of the Jamali *khānqāh* adopting a pyramidal *phāmsanā* on the exterior is also high.

If correct in the premise above, it is worth noting that in the late fourteenth century the Jamali *khānqāh* was not the only Sufi structure amongst the Samma monuments in the Makli necropolis to adopt the *phāmsanā* roofing. In the cluster of monuments located in Zone I, on the southeast corner of Samu'i hillock and about 1.6 km north of the Jamali *khānqāh*, one *phāmsanā* still endures. This superstructure belongs to the purported *khānqāh* of the Naqshbandi Sufi, Shaykh

⁷⁶ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 117; Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*, 16–17:52–53, 77 (also see Pl. 59).

⁷⁷ The *phāmsanā* roof of the Shrine of Ibrahim begins with a ribbed eave (*daṇḍacchāḍya*) with *kalikā* edging, although it is not as clear due to weathering and heavy whitewashing. The same motif, which is clearer, also exists on the ribbed awning (*khuracchāḍya*) above the openings in the shrine. See: Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 119. On the other hand, in Madhav Vav the *kalikā* edging can be seen as two distinctive bands below the roof.

‘Isa Langoti (d. 1427).⁷⁸ Built most likely in the last quarter of the fourteenth century and fortunately surviving in the best preserved condition, the stone building of the *khānqāh* of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti is unique for many reasons (Fig. 26).⁷⁹ Although it shares basic structural features with the Jamali *khānqāh*, it is distinct specifically in its plan form and the arrangement of its *phāmsanā* roof.

The Langoti *khānqāh*’s main hall also has a square footprint, measuring about 5.6 m internally on all four sides, yet unlike the Jamali *khānqāh*, the structure does not possess a *mihrāb*, nor does its plan replicates the column-free *garbhāgrha* sancta of the Māru-Gurjara temples (Fig. 27). The structure has twelve pilasters (*stambhas*) placed equidistant along the peripheral walls; one at each corner and two on each side, however, eight additional *stambhas* (in the form of

⁷⁸ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 564–65, 572–73; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Tāhirīn*, 22–23. Textual sources record that Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti, an immigrant Sufi from Burhanpur (present-day Madhya Pradesh, India) was an adversary of the more eminent Shaykh Hammad Jamali. Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 16; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 564; Quddusi, *Tazkira-i Šūfiyā ‘ē Sindh*, 119. Upon migrating to Thatta, Shaykh ‘Isa established his *khānqāh* on the border between Samu’i-nagar and Makli hill, where his mausoleum and a mosque were also constructed later. This site then gradually developed into an alternative center of religio-cultural and funerary activities (Zone I), explicitly associated with the Naqshbandi Sufi saints and their adherents. However, consensus does not exist between scholars regarding ‘Isa Langoti’s identity and place of origin. According to Rashidi, Qani’ has confused ‘Isa Langoti with another Sufi Shaykh ‘Isa Sindhi Burhanpuri (1555-1622 CE) whose family migrated from Sindh to Burhanpur after the fall of the Sammas. He was born in Ellichpur (now Achalpur) in Berar, which is now in present-day Maharashtra state of India. He moved to Burhanpur around 1573 and stayed there for the rest of his life. He lies buried at Sindhipura, Burhanpur. Although, ‘Isa Langoti spent his life in Samu’i-nagar and after his death was buried on the edge of Makli. See: Sayyid Muhammad Muti’ ullah Rashid Burhanpuri, *Burhānpūr Ke Sindhī Aūliyā* (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006), 82–109. It has also been suggested by scholars that Shaykh ‘Isa initially followed the Chishti Sufi *silsila* (order) and possibly departed only later in his life. For discussion on the opposing dynamics of diverse Sufi powerhouses in Samma period Thatta, see Chapter Six.

⁷⁹ The exact date of construction cannot be traced, but it can be conjectured that the *khānqāh* of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti was built before 1392 CE. When Sayyid Ahmed, father of the eminent Naqshbandi Sufi of Thatta, Pir Murad Shirazi (d. 1487), migrated to Samu’i-nagar in 795 AH/1391-92 CE, he met ‘Isa Langoti in this *khānqāh/madrassa*. See: Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 16; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 142; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 564–65. Dani suggests that this structure was a *madrassa* (seminary) of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti, although Lari & Lari refer to it as the *khānqāh*. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 33–34; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 106–10. Although, the structure seems most likely a *khānqāh*, placed in the middle of a (now ruined) mosque and the tomb of ‘Isa Langoti, however, its building typology does not have any implications on the present study. Moreover, this monument also served as ‘Isa Langoti’s *hujrah* (living quarters), where he trained many of his disciples and pupils according to the traditions of Naqshbandi *ṭarīqa* (Sufi path). Various textual sources have mentioned his *khānqāh*, giving insights into his correspondences and meetings with contemporary saints and eminent scholars of Thatta. See: Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 646.

columns) are given inside the hall, which forms a square space in the middle of the room, with aisles running all around. All of the *stambhas* together sustain the structural loads transmitted from the roof, as in the previous *khānqāh* structure. This makes the walls enclosing the main chamber, made up of evenly cut plain stone-blocks and laid without mortar, non-structural. For light and ventilation purposes these walls were also fitted with perforated stone *jālīs* (grilles) having geometric patterns.

Hence, the Langoti *khānqāh*'s main hall takes the form of a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, the closed or occasionally semi-open columnar hall in front of the *mūlaprāsāda*, which in the Māru-Gurjara temples was used for religious congregations (Fig. 8).⁸⁰ A significant character of the Langoti *khānqāh*'s plan sequence is the existence of square open entrance porticos or vestibules (measuring 2.3 m on its sides), located on the east and south side only. These square porticos are covered with unembellished *samatala-vitāna* (flat ceilings) which rests on the *stambhaśīrṣa* atop two pilasters of the main hall and additional two columns at the front. The peculiar plan form developed by the medieval Jain temples of Māru-Gurjara style often attached with its *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* a quadrilateral portico called *mukhamaṇḍapa* or possessed four-pillared entry porticos, termed as *mukhacatuṣkī*, as in case of the Sambhavanatha temple at Kumbhariya, Gujarat (c. 1232; Fig. 28).⁸¹ Strangely, the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the Langoti *khānqāh* towards the eastern side does not lead to a doorway but encounters a closed wall, which leaves the porch redundant. The entrance to the main hall was perhaps only through the southern *mukhamaṇḍapa*.⁸² Nevertheless, the eastern porch appears to

⁸⁰ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 128.

⁸¹ Dhaky, 129 (also note 4). For details on Sambhavanatha temple, Kumbhariya see: M. A. Dhaky and U. S. Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhāriyā* (Ahmedabad: American Institute of Indian Studies, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, 2001), 84–86.

⁸² Presently, a part of the closed wall still exists below the eastern porch, while the walls on the southern side are not standing, however, its fragments can be seen lying right in front. When Lari & Lari had first photographed the Langoti *khānqāh* in the 1970s, part of these walls were still standing, however, according to the authors two other opening existed, one towards the southern edge of the western wall, where at present the wall is absent. This does

have provided some structural support to an adjoining brick edifice built later, now in complete ruin. Due to the presence of the open-styled *mukhamaṇḍapa* in front of the Langoti *khānqāh*'s entrance, a formal *dvārsākhā* (doorframe) does not exist (Fig. 26).

However, where the original temple *gūḍhamaṇḍapas* were most elaborately ornamented, the interior as well as the exterior of the Langoti *khānqāh* is devoid of any form of ornamental carving, even on its *stambhas* and the various elements of the superstructure. The *stambhas*, which have plain square bases, octagonal shafts and square tops are monolithic and sculpted from single blocks of stone (although the *stambhas* on the periphery have straight profile on the exterior). Atop these *stambhas* the typical fluted *bharaṇas* (echina) are absent and the multi-armed *stambhasīrṣa* (brackets) are placed directly above (Figs. 26, 29). These *stambhasīrṣas* are without volutes, but a fine outline of volute is crudely carved on each for decorative purposes. The style of Langoti *khānqāh*'s *stambhas* can be labelled as crude version of the *miśraka* variety, which according to the *vāstu* texts are of the composite order combining various geometric sections from square to circular.⁸³ The highly ornate *miśraka* order in columns, having elaborately carved decorative bands, was the most typical of the Māru-Gurjara architecture in Western India.⁸⁴ Yet, the somewhat plainer version of the *miśraka-stambhas* can also be traced within the Māru-Gurjara ambit. For example, the Sambhavanatha Jain temple at Kumbhariya thoroughly employs the plain polygonal pillars.⁸⁵ Later they are frequently encountered in the Islamic ritual buildings of Gujarat

not make sense and is probably the result of early collapse. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, figs. 90–92.

⁸³ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 137; Dhaky, *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. A.D. 900-1000*, II, Part 3:413. At the moment, a couple of columns are missing inside the monument; however, their brackets can still be seen embedded into the walls. One column with carved ornamentation is most likely from one of the monuments that is no longer extant and was placed at its present location to give support to the dilapidating superstructure. See Fig. 24

⁸⁴ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 137.

⁸⁵ Dhaky and Moorti, *The Temples in Kumbhāriyā*, 86.

employing the Māru-Gurjara style. Examples of these can be found in the interiors of Mosque of al-Iraji at Junagadh (c. 1286) and Hilal Maliki Mosque at Dholka (1333), and even in the twelfth-century pavilion-type *chattrī* structure at Bhadreswar (Fig. 19).⁸⁶ In contemporary southeastern Sindh, the Jain temples at Nagarparkar also possess such plainer *miśraka-stambhas*, as can be seen in the Gori temple complex (Fig. 20).

Interestingly, the superstructure of this *khānqāh* is not seen in any other building in Makli, or Sindh, or anywhere else in the Western Indian region. Before going into its details, some other supportive elements should also be taken into account. The parapet (*varaṇḍikā*) of the crenellated type with pointed curvy-shaped merlons runs all around the edges of the roofing including that of the porticos.⁸⁷ Between this parapet and the beams resting over the *stambhaśīrṣa*, the *daṇḍacchādyā* – downward sloping eave-stones, are set to provide shade and protection from rain (Fig. 26). The parapet indicates the springing of the superstructure that outwardly displays a bipartite domical form. In previous scholarship, it has been classified with terms such as “bell-shaped dome” and “domical lantern,” however, as shown shortly, the superstructure of the Langoti *khānqāh* essentially carries a *phāmsanā*.⁸⁸

Above the brackets an arrangement of superimposed stone courses of corbelled slabs (triangular across the corners and the rest quadrilateral), layer successively to transition the square of the columnar-hall first into octagon, then square and then octagon again. This arrangement consecutively repeats up to five courses (above the architraves), creating on the exterior a straight-

⁸⁶ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, figs. 49, 77, 79 & 129.

⁸⁷ “Merlon | Architecture,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed March 21, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/merlon>.

⁸⁸ Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 106; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 34.

edged pyramidal *phāmsanā*, perhaps of the *kṣoṇī* type.⁸⁹ Simultaneously on the interior, these courses create a lantern-type ceiling inside, where the soffits of slabs are left unadorned (Fig. 30). This type of *phāmsanā* with lantern ceiling is rarely encountered in the Māru-Gurjara tradition, and the Madhav Vav at Wadhwan (1294) is one of the few examples that uses it to crown all of its pavilions (Fig. 21). However, the lantern ceiling itself had spanned Northern Indian temples since long, as it allows better load bearing capacity while using smaller pieces of slabs.⁹⁰ Typically over the temple *gūḍhamaṇḍapas*, in the lantern ceiling although the decoration is absent on the soffits of slabs, the topmost flat-slab is commonly featured with a circular lotus rendering *padma-vitāna* (lotus ceiling).⁹¹ In the Langoti *khānqāh*, however, upon reaching the fifth *phāmsanā* course, which internally forms an octagon, the stepped pyramidal structure ends and a small hemispherical “true” dome or cupola springs up from here, attaining a height of about 15.5 ft (Figs. 30, 31).⁹² Unlike the *phāmsanā* segment below, this small cupola is built with radially-set voussoir stone blocks, which gradually reduce the span till an oculus is left at the pinnacle.⁹³ At present a pot-shaped *kalaśa* finial rests over the cupola.⁹⁴ The finial has a square base that does not fit well into the circular oculus, which suggests that probably another piece once concealed this opening. This

⁸⁹ For the explanation of the 2021-01-07 11:39:00 PM *phāmsanā* type, that is, *kṣoṇī* (straight-edged), in *vāstu* texts see: Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 27 (also see note 70 & Fig. 9); Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India” (see note 4).

⁹⁰ Wessels-Mevissen, “A Note on the Ceiling Designs in the Temples of Northern Karnataka, with Special Emphasis on the Lotus Blossom Motif,” 131.

⁹¹ Wessels-Mevissen, 131 (also see Fig. 9.8).

⁹² For the measurements and especially the height, see: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 106.

⁹³ Voussoir are wedge-shaped elements used to build arches, vaults and domes. In all these architectural features, each wedge-shaped voussoir turns aside the thrust of the mass above, transferring it from stone to stone to the springer’s bottom face (impost), which is horizontal and passes the thrust on to the supports. While, oculus is the round opening at the top of domes, or cupolas. See: “Oculus | Architecture,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed May 20, 2017, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/oculus>.

⁹⁴ Earlier documentation shows that this finial was originally about 1.2 m tall and made of multiple pots placed one above the other and slightly reducing in size. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 106 (fig. 90-91); Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 34 (see fig. 13).

piece was perhaps a *padmaśilā* (lotus pendant) hanging in the middle of the ceiling or an *āmalasāraka*, the disc-shaped member on the exterior. Moreover, on the exterior, the stepped cornices of the *phāmsanā* are plastered with lime-mortar; where the mortar is damaged, small pieces of stone filling the crevices can be seen, which were used primarily to achieve a smooth curved outline (Fig. 26).⁹⁵

The above visual analysis of the unusual bi-partite roof crowing the Langoti *khānqāh* raises a question about its original source. Dani regards the structure as “a poor experimentation to evolve a type from unknown earlier examples.”⁹⁶ However, close analysis can reveal that its origin lies in not so unknown specimens, with which the Samma builders became familiar. The source for the lower part of *phāmsanā* with the lantern ceiling is clear, as it remained in use within the Māru-Gurjara traditions of Gujarat at least up till the late thirteenth century (see above). For the upper part there are two possibilities. As mentioned above, the original *phāmsanā* was usually crowned by a large bell-shaped domical *ghaṇṭā*, over which the *āmalasāraka* and *kalāśa* were placed (Fig. 32).⁹⁷ Therefore, one possibility is that in the stone domical cupola of the Langoti *khānqāh*, the Samma craftsmen were mainly fabricating the *ghaṇṭā*, while conforming to the arcuate construction techniques with which they were more familiar, as it was practiced frequently in Sindh for centuries.⁹⁸ As for the second possibility, the *khānqāh*’s composite superstructure could also have a source in the South India temples. In the “Drāviḍa” (South Indian) architectural tradition, a typical temple possesses a *kūṭina* type of superstructure, which consists of two- or three-storeyed stepped pyramidal base with a crowning dome (either square, octagonal or

⁹⁵ Similar practice to cementing the exterior elsewhere in Indian temples is also mentioned by Hardy. See: Hardy, *Indian Temple Architecture*, 210 (see note 20).

⁹⁶ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 34.

⁹⁷ Meister, “Phāmsanā in Western India,” 168–69 (also see fig. 16-20).

⁹⁸ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*.

spherical), which in turn is crowned by a *kalaśa* finial (Fig. 33).⁹⁹ This connection between the Langoti *khānqāh*'s composite *phāmsanā* and the Drāviḍa *kūṭina* is entirely plausible, especially considering that the Drāviḍa and Nāgara modes of temples have previously also shared the morphology of *kūṭina* forms.¹⁰⁰ It is worth noting here again that the Māru-Gurjara architectural style of Western India is classified as part of the Nāgara traditions of North India.¹⁰¹

Therefore, the composite *phāmsanā*-cupola superstructure of the Langoti *khānqāh* is indeed an experimentation, achieved with limited resources (due to political turbulence; see Chapter One) and proficiency in the Māru-Gurjara practices. The structure proved to be a success and has withstood the test of time. The Langoti *khānqāh* is, however, devoid of ornamentation of any kind, and its structural components are not only modest but also somewhat crude and unsophisticated. While there is a play with forms and building techniques, the inept workmanship in the surface details and finishes is quite noticeable. The construction did not seem to have received Samma royal patronage, as in case of the Suhrawardi *khānqāh* of *wālī-i-Thatta* Shaykh Hammad Jamali. There is no textual evidence either of the Samma Jams maintaining spiritual associations with the Naqshbandi Sufis as early as the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century (see Chapter Five & Six). Therefore, the socio-political role of Shaykh 'Isa Langoti during the early Samma period also looks negligible.

⁹⁹ Michael W. Meister, "Prāsāda as Palace: Kūṭina Origins of the Nāgara Temple," *Artibus Asiae* 49, no. 3/4 (1989 1988): 254–80 (also see fig. 2-5); P. Chandra and N. A. Jairazbhoy, "Medieval Temple Architecture: South Indian Style," in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Encyclopædia Britannica, inc., May 28, 2018), <https://www.britannica.com/art/South-Asian-arts>.

¹⁰⁰ Meister, "Prāsāda as Palace: Kūṭina Origins of the Nāgara Temple." Dhaky has also noted that the old Mahā-Gurjara style, which had its roots spread up to southeastern Sindh, also at one point utilized the *kūṭina* superstructure form, termed as *vimānākāra*. See: Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 117; Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*.

¹⁰¹ Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture"; Hegewald, "The International Jaina Style?," 116.

Appropriating Māru-Gurjara Style in the Samma Funerary Monuments

The appropriation of Māru-Gurjara architectural devices by the Samma patrons and craftsmen was not limited to the Sufi ritual buildings. The stylistic components of the idiom, as shown below, enjoyed great popularity, being incorporated into the stone funerary artifacts, monumental structures and small-scale tombs such as multi-tiered cenotaphs (see below), crafted for the Muslim Sammas of Thatta. Before going into further detail, it should be noted that what seems to be the earliest funerary monument built in the Makli necropolis, was comparatively much simpler (Fig. 34). The residual architectonic elements in this earliest tomb, namely the plain monolithic *stambhas* and their armed *stambhaśīrṣas*, are reminiscent of the older Mahā-Gurjara style that emphasized the clean-cut blocks and stressed more upon joinery details. Notably, the Mahā-Gurjara style, which is one of the two parent styles of Māru-Gurjara, although originated from Gujarat but was once also practiced in southeastern Sindh.¹⁰² Moreover, as Patel has noted, the strains of Mahā-Gurjara also survived through the formative as well as advanced phases of Māru-Gurjara architectural mode.¹⁰³

This first Samma tomb on Makli hill is the partially extant anonymous stone structure near the southeastern corner of the *Jāmi' Masjid* in Zone II.¹⁰⁴ Modern scholars have not speculated about its patronage or its connection to any individual, simply calling it a “*maqbara*” (mausoleum) or “*madrassa* type tomb.”¹⁰⁵ However, the structure must have entombed a distinguished Samma noble to have been allocated a prominent burial location, amongst the monuments of royal

¹⁰² Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 149; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 5, 85.

¹⁰³ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 92, 102.

¹⁰⁴ This monument is listed in the Archaeological Department records as part of “Group III.” See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 34.

¹⁰⁵ Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 104–5; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 34–35.

patronage and close to the quarters of the patron Saint, Shaykh Hammad Jamali. Currently, the structure is in a very poor state with only five columns standing in their original position. On the basis of its style this tomb can be presumed to have been built closer in time to the previously discussed *khānqāhs*, towards the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶ Inside the tomb there are two three-tiered carved stone-cenotaphs placed on a square stone platform, typical of the dynastic period. The cenotaphs exhibit motifs carved on their surfaces for decorative purposes. The uppermost tier is a casket-like large block of stone with flat top bearing an arrangement of motifs commonly found on the Samma period cenotaphs, even those existing in other gravesites around Thatta (discussed in detail below).

From the fragmentary evidence available, this unknown tomb southeast of the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* appears to take the Langoti *khānqāh*’s square *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* form in plan. The superstructure rested on top of twelve *stambha* pilasters on the periphery and additionally only four columns, placed diagonally, inside the hall (Fig. 35).¹⁰⁷ The *stambhas* are neither of the *bhadraka* order with projections nor of the composite *miśraka* variety, as they are simply square in section throughout their height. Dhaky has noted that such square columns (*rucaka*) are almost unknown in the Māru-

¹⁰⁶ However, a few more elements are lying around which can help us in visualizing at least some characteristics of the original structure (Figs. 34, 35). Qani‘ has maintained silence regarding this tomb. Although, this tomb is devoid of ornamentation and inscriptions, yet it was built at a very prime location within Zone II, that is, very close to the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* and the monuments of Shaykh Hammad Jamali - the patron saint of Sammas, it is quite possible that this tomb belonged to a person of significance or at least received the royal patronage. In *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, Qani‘ writes, “Jam Tamachi and his queen Nuri are buried in Makli, towards *pāyīn* (downwards; foot) of [tomb of] Shaykh Hammad, inside a *hujrah* (compartment).” If these words are taken as accurate then this unknown square tomb, southeast of *Jāmi‘ Masjid*, could be the tomb of Sultan Rukn al-Din Jam Tamachi and his famed queen Nuri – the ordinary fisherwoman.

¹⁰⁷ Only the northwest interior column is now standing. Till 1980s the southeast interior pilaster was also standing without its bracket, yet perfectly well preserved, which can now be seen lying on the site. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 104–5. There is another pilaster shaft, highly decorated, awkwardly standing inside the structure. This shaft is definitely from another monument and erroneously brought to this tomb sometime before late 1970s.

Gurjara architecture, which takes this unknown Samma tomb further away from the realm of the style.¹⁰⁸

The tomb was originally fenced with a thick curtain wall of dressed stone, fitted with the usual latticed screens (*jālīs*).¹⁰⁹ The *stambhas* also received the typical network of *uttaraṅgas* (beams and architraves), yet the craftsmen tried a little different technique of joinery with minor elements just below the superstructure. These *uttaraṅgas* either have single shoulder tenon ends or straight ends to lock the elements together in jointing, in contrast to the V-shaped ends as seen above in case of the Jamali *khānqāh*. Therefore, the stub-beams inserted in between the spaces where the ends of two *uttaraṅgas* meet, are T-shaped. The southwest corner shows the *uttaraṅgas* abutting at right angles and the outer side of this abutting joint is covered with a mitered edging-stone resting above the bracket arms (Figs. 34, 35). This layout of the *stambhas* evinces that at the architrave level the square bases had become an octagonal frame for the springing of the superstructure; however, there is not enough material evidence to envision the form or system used for its construction. This tomb is, therefore, significant as a demonstration of the fact that the Samma craftspeople of southern Sindh had not altogether discarded the more restrained, architectonic strains of Mahā-Gurjara idiom they previously practiced, despite the successful contemporary trials of Māru-Gurjara inspired structures. As Patel has also noted, the craftspeople from Gujarat similarly preferred such architectonic strains in their buildings of Islamic worship, which demanded aniconic and restricted surface decoration.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 137.

¹⁰⁹ The photograph of this tomb taken by Dani in the late 1970s show the northern side screen still intact, imbedded into the wall, and the screen from the southern wall lying on the ground; both showing their geometric latticework. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 34.

¹¹⁰ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 92.

At the turn of the fifteenth century, however, the Samma stone tombs at Makli abandoned the square plan form and primarily took the form of a canopy – creating lavishly carved pavilion-type structures called “*chatrī*” (lit. parasol) tombs.¹¹¹ J. Burton Page has defined *chatrīs* from Indo-Muslim architecture as “small, canopied structures placed at the junctions of the *chemin de ronde* of a fortification, or as decorative elements at roof level on mosque, tomb or other building, or as a simple cover of an inhumation less imposing than a tomb proper.”¹¹² However, Page’s definition of “less imposing” for the *chatrī* tombs of Samma patronage is rather devaluing when they are put in the context of the other Samma period constructions on Makli hill. The Samma *chatrī* tombs, enduring similar architectural and decorative vocabulary as discussed above, are no less significant than the *khānqāhs*.¹¹³ By the time Samma *chatrī* tombs were constructed, the domed pavilion-type tomb form in stone was already well-established in South Asia, as can be seen among others in the multiple *chatrī* tombs, datable to the mid fourteenth century, in the Hauz Khas *madrassa* complex in Delhi.¹¹⁴ The Samma tombs, however, hold a distinct place in the Islamic funerary architecture

¹¹¹ The term *chatrī* is derived from the Persian *chatr* or Sanskrit *chattrā*, literally meaning an umbrella and more appropriately a parasol. See: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, “The Chatrī in Indian Architecture: Persian Wooden Canopies Materialised in Stone.” The term is also synonymous to Arabic “*mizalla*,” used for canopy, tent or parasol and was frequently cited in historic textual sources from various parts of the Islamic world for “an instrument or apparatus for providing shade, *zill*.” See: C. E. Bosworth, “Mizalla,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. M. Holt et al. (BRILL, 2012),

http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mizalla-COM_0757.

¹¹² J. Burton-Page, “Mizalla: In Indo-Muslim Architecture,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition* (BRILL, April 24, 2015), http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/mizalla-COM_0757.

¹¹³ Despite this, when Henry Cousens first reported them in 1929, his assessment for the Samma *chatrī* tombs appended that they are “built, almost entirely, of Hindū material, and the domes are surmounted by Hindū kalāśas and finials, while, on the pillars, the places upon the square shafts, and panels where images have been cut away are distinctly traceable.” This assessment is incorrect: the Samma *chatrī* tombs were original conceptions as there is no trace of iconoclasm or use of spolia from old temples, as implied by Cousens. See: Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 115.

¹¹⁴ Earliest example is mentioned above, the *chatrī* structure from among the twelfth-century Isma‘ili group of buildings at Bhadreswar, Kutch. This, according to scholars, was most likely a tomb although no burial is found inside. Other monumental examples can be found from the Tughlaq period (1320-1398), like in the Hauz Khas *madrassa* complex in Delhi, which includes five *chatrī* tombs: one with a square base, another with hexagonal, and three octagonal. Zajadacz-Hastenrath has also listed a number of early Islamic *chatrī* tombs outside of Sindh. See: Shokoohy, *Bhadreswar*, 32–35; Anthony Welch, “A Medieval Center of Learning in India: The Hauz Khas Madrasa

due to the hybridity in their formal conception. Moreover, their role is greatly significant in the development of a particularly unique line of commemorative monuments in both the Muslim and Hindu communities of the Indian subcontinent, specifically those who came to identify themselves as Rajputs (see below).

At present there are six *chatrī* tombs of Samma provenance in the Makli necropolis. These have survived in good condition in both Zone I and II, and there are indications that at least another two were originally part of the group.¹¹⁵ These *chatrīs* are of two different varieties: four are eight-pillared (*ḥasht-satūnī*) having octagonal floor plan (Fig. 36), while two of the *chatrī* tombs are six-pillared (*shish-satūnī*) with hexagonal plan (Fig. 37), which demonstrate a slight adjustment to the previous form. The use of two different varieties is not exactly clear, yet the octagonal *chatrīs* are associated with the Samma elites of royal family, while both the hexagonal ones, also of royal patronage, are known to have been built for saintly figures.¹¹⁶ Each tomb preserves within the pavilion between one to three stone grave-cenotaphs. Apart from their spans, all the *chatrīs* appear to be the work of one hand as they closely resemble each other, not just in form and style, but right down to the minute details of elements and their decorative motifs (Fig. 38). However, of all these *chatrīs* not a single one is explicitly dated, nor are the names of the deceased specifically cited on any.¹¹⁷ One octagonal *chatrī* in Zone II, however, covertly preserves the date, 843 AH/1439-40

in Delhi,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 13 (1996): 165–90; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “On the History of Style of the Tomb ‘Chattris’ in the Islamic Architecture of Sind.”

¹¹⁵ The material of one lost *chatrī* is lying in Zone II, west of the Jamali *khānqāh*. A few *sīrsa* brackets from another can be seen next to the six-pillared *chatrī* in Zone I, in the vicinity of the Langoti *khānqāh*. It is probably the carved column from this latter *chatrī*, which now adorns the interior of the Langoti *khānqāh*. The photograph taken by Henry Cousens in c. 1896 (published in 1929) clearly shows the remains of this lost *chatrī*. See: Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind* Pl. XXXV.

¹¹⁶ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 655; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 173–74, 645–46.

¹¹⁷ Modern scholars have erroneously assigned the eight-pillared *chatrī*, north of Sultan Nizam al-Din’s tomb in Zone II, to Jam Tamachi, his wife Nuri and their infant child, and therefore, assigning c. 1390 as the date of its construction. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 39; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 112. This assumption is based on Qani’ indicating that the first Samma Sultan along with his commoner queen is buried closer to the feet of Shaykh Hammad. See: Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 163; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmo*,

CE, in the poetic chronogram carved on its lintel using *abjad* system (see Chapter Six).¹¹⁸ Another partly effaced inscription carved on the other octagonal *chatrī*, the construction of which is attributed to the Samma prince Malik Rahu (Figs. 38, 167), provides a *terminus ante quem* for its construction during the time when the Samma Sultan Tughlaq bin Sikandar Jam Juna II (r. c. 1425-1452) ruled Sindh.¹¹⁹ Though, Zajadacz-Hastenrath is of the opinion that this canopy-tomb is actually covering the grave of Sultan Sikandar Shah himself.¹²⁰ While it is possible, yet in its existing state the inscription only hints that the construction took place during the Sultan's reign. Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to assume that perhaps the same group of artisans, organized in a workshop and operating in southern Sindh, were employed for their construction, and that they all were built very close in time, and can be ascribed to the first half of the fifteenth century.¹²¹

In simple terms the Samma *chatrī* tombs are free-standing pillared canopy-type polygonal pavilions without walls, and at each angle (of hexagon or octagon) the columns are set to support the dome above (Fig. 39). Scholars have cited that for the probable origin of the *chatrī* tomb-forms in South Asia, two distinct strains need to be considered: one being more conceptual and can be located within the Persianate artistic traditions; while other being more structural and found in the pre-Islamic temples of India.¹²² Although other Indian *chatrī* tombs might have their sources

698. As Qani', who himself is not a primary informant, has noticeably used the term "*hujrah*" for the tomb of the Sultan, which symbolizes a "cubicle form" distinct from a *chatrī*, leaves little doubt to the fact that this tomb does not belong to Jam Tamachi and Nuri. According to local legend, Nuri's tomb is on a tiny island in the middle of Keenjhar lake, a few km northeast of Makli. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 39.

¹¹⁸ Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli* (Karachi: Dept. of Culture, Tourism & Antiquities, Govt. of Sindh, 2018), 548. This inscription in full is discussed in more detail in the Chapter Six.

¹¹⁹ For the inscription and detailed discussion over its content, see Chapter Six. For different versions of the inscription as published by various scholars, see: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 41–42; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 124; Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 548.

¹²⁰ Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 113.

¹²¹ Zajadacz-Hastenrath, "On the History of Style of the Tomb 'Chattris' in the Islamic Architecture of Sind"; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 113.

¹²² Shokoohy and Shokoohy, "The Chatrī in Indian Architecture: Persian Wooden Canopies Materialised in Stone"; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 113.

elsewhere, but there is no doubt that the Samma *chattrīs* have closest morphological affinities to the *maṇḍapa* units of the Māru-Gurjara temples. More precisely, for the formal conception of the *chattrī* tombs the Samma builders adeptly appropriated the ritual-dancing platform (*raṅgabhumikā*), often found as slightly raised columnar-podium in the middle of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* open-halls of the Western Indian temples. Regardless of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*'s plan, its *raṅgabhumikā* platform follows octagonal scheme, similar to the *chattrīs*, with columns at each angle to support the superstructure. Yet, occasionally these columns were provided with an additional storey of dwarf columns above, called *uccālaka* (attic pillars), before the roof sprang.¹²³ The Kiradu group of Māru-Gurjara Hindu temples in Bramer (Rajasthan), specifically the Viṣṇu temple (c. 975) and the Someśvara temple (c. 1020), provide comparable examples (Figs. 10, 40). Where in the former the octagonal *raṅgabhumikā* survives as a detached structural unit, in the latter it can be seen as a central bay of the open *raṅgamaṇḍapa* arrangement. In both temples, their *raṅgabhumikā* are set over slightly raised platforms; their columns are intricately carved two-leveled, and both upheld separate ceilings that are no longer extant, and were higher than the other bays within the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*.¹²⁴

The Samma *chattrī* tombs are, therefore, very closely associated to the temple *raṅgabhumikā* in form and traits of components, unlike other canopy tombs elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent. Without excavating the immediate surrounds, it is difficult to establish whether the Samma tombs were also placed atop raised platforms. Nevertheless, one octagonal *chattrī* (attributed to Malik Rahu) has slightly elevated flooring and is enclosed with a poorly preserved

¹²³ For detailed morphology of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* halls, see: Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 94–96, 111.

¹²⁴ For a descriptive analysis of the Kiradu group of temples, see: M.A. Dhaky, "Kiradu and the Māru-Gurjara Style of Temple Architecture," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares* I (1967): 35–45. Raised floor of the *raṅgabhumikā* was not standard across all Māru-Gurjara temples. The floor in the detached *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the Surya temple at Modhera, which also holds an octagonal central bay, is at the same level.

plinth-height curtain wall, which Dani claims also marked a *mihrāb* (Fig. 38).¹²⁵ The columns of all the *chatrī* tombs are of the composite type, appropriating the *miśraka-stambhas* by exhibiting various geometric sections. Starting with the square bases (*kumbhaka*), the shafts begin with a recessed square section at the bottom, which first convert into octagon then becomes circular and then switch back to octagonal section just below the fluted *bharaṇa* capitals (Fig. 41). The multi-armed *stambhaśīrṣa* (scroll brackets) placed above the circular *bharaṇa* uphold the *uttaraṅgas* and stub-stones, most of which are carved with the meandering *kalpavallī* (wish-fulfilling vine) motif and centered by the *lalāṭabimbas* enclosing floral motif. Each *uttaraṅga* also present stylized lotus carved on its soffit (Figs. 41, 43).

The *miśraka* columns in all the Samma *chatrīs* have elaborately carved segments, although not as extravagant as the Kiradu temples but using aniconic motifs most typical of the Māru-Gurjara style, which were already used in the Jamali *khānqāh*. The motifs and order in these decorative segments remain exactly the same through all the *chatrīs* (Figs. 38, 41). The shafts display the *pūrṇaghaṭa* motifs at the top, geometric motifs and upward pointing leaves in the middle, and stylized version of the *rathikā* niches culminating the segmentation. In the Kiradu temples the niches on the shafts are heavily decorated with images but, in their Islamic context, in the Samma *chatrīs* they remain vacant. The bottom square section of the shafts is otherwise free of ornamentation, except that at their upper edges, imitations of the inverted *skandhapattikā* (suspended leaves at the extremities) are carved. Eventually the square bases of these *miśraka-stambhas* render the *ghaṭapallava* element, as each of their face is provided with the triangular *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif (Fig. 42), which unlike the Jamali *khānqāh*'s version is unusually plain.

¹²⁵ At present the stone slab placed on the western side does not display the *mihrāb* marking. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 41; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 113.

At the lower edge of the roof typical Māru-Gurjara styled *daṇḍacchādyā* (fluted eave-stones) and *varaṇḍikā* (parapet) of the variety seen earlier in the Langoti *khānqāh* are provided in all the *chatrīs* (Fig. 41). An additional common element is the waterspout, restricting the collection of rainwater on the edges. To roof these Samma *chatrīs* the builders preferred to adopt the corbelled dome having a ceiling of the *kṣipta* variety, with each of its rings on the inside carved with *padmapatra* (lotus-leaf) motif, hence marking the *padma-vitāna* (lotus ceiling). At the apex of the ceiling, multi-petaled *padmaśilā* also hangs, rendering it a typical *maṇḍapa* form of roofing (Figs. 43, 44). Outwardly, the crevices of the corbelled dome are concealed with mortar, achieving specifically a low-heighted “conical” shape. Whereas earlier octagonal/hexagonal canopy-tombs over Muslim graves elsewhere in India exhibit the popularity of lofty hemispherical domes, such as seen in the Hauz Khas *madrassa* complex. The Western Indian temple *maṇḍapas* also usually took the hemispherical shape, as the Harishchandra-ni Chori temple at Samalaji (Fig. 16) and the Jain temples at Nagarparkar demonstrate (Fig. 20). However, conical forms are also previously seen, for example, in the Dilwara Jain temples at Mount Abu (Rajasthan), constructed between 1061 and c. 1230.¹²⁶

The Jams of Thatta were undoubtedly very much familiar with the Delhi style of canopy-tombs, owing to their connections with the Tughlaq regime and also because some had spent more than a decade living in Delhi in exile.¹²⁷ Therefore, appropriating the octagonal *raṅgabhumikā* form with a conical top, which principally imitates a round tent or parasol, appears to be a calculated decision. The parasol or *chatr* has long been associated with throne and royalty in South Asia, and was also an essential emblem for the Dehli Sultans.¹²⁸ ‘Afif (d. 1388) records that Jam

¹²⁶ Dhaky, “The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat.”

¹²⁷ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 244–45; Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 138; Thattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya*’, 105.

¹²⁸ Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 130–31.

Tamachi himself was complimented with a royal gift of *chatr-i sapīd* (lit. white parasol) – a symbol of sovereignty, when he was pardoned by Sultan Ghiyas al-Din Tughlaq (r. 1388-1389) and sent back to Thatta in 1388.¹²⁹ The Samma *chatrī* form, hence, symbolizes royalty and was appropriated for the monuments of royalties only. Yet, the choice of this form could also be understood within the Islamic context. Historic evidence recalls that despite the absence of permanent funerary structures in the early period of Islam, a parallel to the tradition of erecting canopies, although temporary in nature, did indeed exist.¹³⁰ This tradition, grounded in the occasional setting of tent roofs or placing palm-tree stems in similar fashion over the decedents’ graves, is sourced from the well-known Sunni collection of Prophet Muhammad’s traditions, the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (ninth century).¹³¹ As discussed in detail in Chapter Six, the fifteenth century also saw the Jams of Thatta becoming familiar with several scholarly works of religious importance, including major *ḥadīth* compilations, which greatly aided the Samma society in shaping their Sunni religious culture.

Following the construction of Samma royal *chatrīs* in the necropolis of Makli, the form enjoyed longevity as commemorative structures of the society’s elites throughout Sindh, and also

¹²⁹ ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 254.

¹³⁰ In the early centuries of Islam, erecting permanent funerary structures over the Muslim graves was strictly prohibited. For an excellent discussion over this topic, T. Leisten has analyzed funerary architecture in the light of Shari‘a (Islamic law). See: Thomas Leisten, “Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari‘a toward Funerary Architecture,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 7 (1990): 12–22. Christopher Taylor’s seminal work that places the Islamic monumental architecture as part of a wider political resolution of the Shi‘i Muslims of the Fatimid empire in Egypt, is also a useful read. See: Christopher S. Taylor, “Reevaluating the Shi‘i Role in the Development of Monumental Islamic Funerary Architecture: The Case of Egypt,” *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Culture of the Islamic World* 9 (1992): 1–10.

¹³¹ In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* it is narrated that above the grave of ‘Abd al-Rahman a tent (*fusṭāṭ*) made of goat’s hair was assembled for shade, and ‘Abdullah Ibn ‘Umar on seeing the tent ordered its removal saying, “O Boy! Remove the tent (*fusṭāṭ*). His deeds (*‘amaluhu*) alone should shade him (*yuzilluhu*).” See: Imām al-Bukhārī, “Kitāb al-Janā‘iz (Book of Funerals),” in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī: The translation of the meanings of Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī (Arabic-English)*, trans. Muhammad Mohsin Khan, vol. 2 (Al Nabawi‘ya [Saudi Arabia]: Dar Ahya Us-Sunnah, 2000), 255 (Chapter 81: Placing a leaf of a date palm over the grave). Ibn Abi Zayd also reports that the first bier covered with a tent was of Fatima al-Zahra, the youngest daughter of Prophet Muhammad. See: Ibn Abi Zayd, Nawādir, Abwāb al-Janā‘iz (p 568), as quoted in Leor Halevi, *Muhammad’s Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (Columbia University Press, 2011), 308.

in some parts of Balochistan, until as late as the nineteenth century. However, their occurrence is quite sporadic, with occasional slight variations in forms. Some later examples include the *chattrī* tombs of Talpur chiefs at Khudabad, the capital of Sindh under the Talpur dynasty (1783-1843) and also at Chittori near Mirpur Khas. These Talpur *chattrīs* are well preserved, presenting square plan forms, bulbous domes and pointed ornate arches spanning between the pillars. Although, square *chattrīs* with semi-circular domes were also erected in the Makli necropolis (Fig. 45) in the seventeenth century during the Tarkhan rule (1554-1591), yet the employment of arches spanning between the columns of the Talpur *chattrīs* disconnects them from their original Samma prototypes, which employ trabeate techniques.¹³² However, concurrently these arches also associate the Talpur *chattrīs* more closely to the Mughal *bāradarīs*, thus altering their connotations altogether.¹³³ The late eighteenth-century *chattrī* tombs at the royal necropolis at Barabagh near Lasbela (Balochistan) demonstrate another comparable model. With time, the *chattrī* tombs of stone appear to have become associated with the Sindhi and Balochi clans who assumed Rajput associations. For example, the Barabagh necropolis belongs to the Jams of the princely state of Lasbela (r. 1742-1955) who share ancestral links with the Samma Jams of Thatta and therefore, recognized themselves as descendants of a Muslim Rajput clan.¹³⁴ Moreover, transcending their Islamic settings, the construction of stone *chattrīs* also became an integral component of the visual

¹³² Mirza ‘Isa Beg laid foundation to the Tarkhan rule in Sindh on the death of Shah Husayn Arghun of the Arghun dynasty in 1554. Tarkhans first reigned independently from 1554 to 1591 and when Akbar annexed the province in 1591, they controlled Sindh as Mughal governors.

¹³³ *Bāradarī* literally means a building with (*bārah*) twelve (*dar*) doors. It is a module of Mughal architecture built as an open square building or pavilion with twelve doors (openings): three on each side, designed for performances by musicians, poets and courtesan dancers of the time. They were valued for their excellent acoustics and flow of (hot) air, especially during the summer months in India.

¹³⁴ These tombs have not been discussed in detail in academic scholarship and among the few recent publications is: Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro, “Glorious Tombs of Balochistan,” *The Friday Times*, April 27, 2018, <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/glorious-tombs-of-balochistan/>.

vocabulary of Hindu kingship, entwining the Rajput lineage and political authority, specifically in the North Indian state of Rajasthan.¹³⁵

Accidental Diffusion or Deliberate Appropriation?

Having established the morphological antecedents of Samma monuments in the stylistic and iconographic details of Māru-Gurjara temples, some additional queries now require attention. These include: why the expressive features of a style from outside the realms of Islam were appropriated by the Sunni Sammas in the conceptual and artistic organization of not only their tombs but also their Sufi ritual buildings?; why did the Sammas prefer stone over brick for the construction of all of their early structures in Makli (except the *Jāmi` Masjid*), when brick clearly remained a more dominant structural medium later in the fifteenth century, and was generally favored in Sindh since antiquity?; were the Samma elites the first Muslim dynasty in Sindh to patronize Māru-Gurjara idioms, and was this style a direct import after its successful appropriation by the Muslims in neighboring Gujarat? In answering these questions one can locate in the appropriation of the Māru-Gurjara style, as shown below, the covert messages regarding the political and cultural identities with which the contemporary Sammas identified themselves.

As briefly mentioned above, in addition to other building typologies where the medieval *vāstuśāstras* laid down the rules on the construction of Māru-Gurjara temples dedicated to various Indic deities, since at least the eleventh century they had also been proposing the standardized rules to guide the craftsmen for the construction of “temples built by the Muslims.”¹³⁶ In accordance

¹³⁵ Recently, Melia B. Bose has done a comprehensive analysis of these Rajput *chatrīs* and has focused on the extant monuments in the modern Indian state, where the Hindu Rajput kingdoms once existed. For details see: Melia Belli Bose, *Royal Umbrellas of Stone: Memory, Politics, and Public Identity in Rajput Funerary Art* (BRILL, 2015).

¹³⁶ In article: M. A. Dhaky, “Māru-Gurjara Vāstu-Śātra mān masjid-Nirmāṇa Vidhi,” *Swadhyaya* 8 (1969): 64- 79, Dhaky has referred to an eleventh-century unpublished manuscript by the name *Jayāpṛcchā* (Ms. No. 6857, Oriental Institute of Baroda), which contains a chapter on the construction of mosques. Yet, Dhaky’s paper, in Gujarati language, is the only source of information on the unpublished manuscript. See: Nath, “Rehmāṇa-Prāsāda: A

with the Islamic tenets, surviving fragments from one such Sanskrit source *Vrkṣārṇava*, compiled in the fifteenth-century Gujarat-Rajasthan region, suggests:

“Their temple is called ‘*Rehmāṇa-surālaya*’ (‘abode of the god Rehmāṇa’, i.e., Allah). There is no image (as idol-worship is prohibited) and there they worship, through *dhyāna* (contemplation), the formless attributeless all-pervading Supreme God whom they call Rehmāṇa (Allah). After working out *āya* and *vyaya*, the levelled ground should be marked into eight or ten parts according to *sūtra-pramaṇa*. If it is an *Ekāṅga-prāsāda* (single [limbed mosque] ...?), it would have two arms (sides) (i.e., on north and south) with the western side closed and the Qiblah with quoins on the sides marked out (in the centre). Internally, this part would have a beautiful Mihrab. The temple will invariably face East, i.e., its main entrance would be in the eastern side; enclosing walls would be given on the north and south sides. Directions should be precisely calculated and the *prāsāda* should face the exactly East (so that the Mihrab may be on the western side and the congregation may face the direction of Kaba). The plinth would consist of series of *bhiṭṭa*, *upabhiṭṭa* and *piṭha* (so as to be sufficiently high). All ornamentations should consist of floral designs only...*chajjas* should be provided to protect all external sides as well as the (sanctuary and) *dalans*, over which (i.e., on the superstructure) *chatris* should be arranged in series of two, three or five. Ornamental arched niches should be carved on the walls. There should be medallions containing rosettes on the facades, between the pillars; all facades should be composed of arches supported on pillars. The Mihrab would consist of two parts (?) with pillars on its sides; the entrance portal would have three parts [*uḍumbara*, *śākhā*, *uttaraṅga*]. The Qibla wall would be entirely closed. In all, the pillars would be in seven parts of the *prāsāda* (?) and they would bear only floral designs (consisting of flowers and leaves).¹³⁷

Using familiar terminologies, such codification of the “abode of [al]-*Rahmān*” and its application witnessed in the early surviving examples in Gujarat, indicate that the mosques had permeated deeply into the Māru-Gurjara repertoire of coastal India at any rate by the twelfth century. Moreover, distinctive components of the style had also become essential modules for mosques in

Chapter on the Muslim Mosque from the *Vrkṣārṇava*,” 239; Nath, “On the Theory of Indo-Muslim Architecture,” 198. (I have been unable to personally consult this Gujarati article).

¹³⁷ Originally published in Dhaky’s Gujarati article (mentioned above), slightly differing English translations are published in: Nath, “Rehmāṇa-Prāsāda: A Chapter on the Muslim Mosque from the *Vrkṣārṇava*”; Nath, “On the Theory of Indo-Muslim Architecture.”

Gujarat and Kutch, for example, in the small mosque known as Chhoti Masjid at Bhadreshwar (mid twelfth century), the Congregational mosque at Bharuch (1321) and its counterpart at Khambhat (1325).¹³⁸ Nevertheless, we are exceptionally fortunate to have at least some evidence in support of the fact that contemporary craftsmen in southern Sindh also understood, and to some extent practiced, the compositional rules of *rehmāna-surālaya/rehmāna-prāsada*. For example, recent archaeological explorations of the Indus Delta have again brought to attention a small hypostyle mosque in stone of particular significance, which was originally visited in 1916 by an officer of the British Civil Services, G.E.L. Carter, while it was in a better state of preservation.¹³⁹ Now barely surviving on a slightly elevated piece of coastal land, surrounded by dangerously softened swampy grounds, this mosque called Thamban Wari (*Thamban Wārī*, *Thamba Wāro* or *Thuman Jo Masjid*; dialectic variables of the same name meaning “mosque of pillars”) is located about 45 km southwest of Thatta and less than a km northwest of Damrila, Sindh’s thirteenth-century capital (Map 2).

In the absence of foundation inscription, the matter of its dating is disputable; some are of the opinion that Thamban Wari mosque is a tenth- or eleventh-century construction, which is quite early compared to the Gujarati monuments.¹⁴⁰ As Islam arrived in Sindh much earlier, this is rather possible, yet the evidence suggests a later date, perhaps sometime in the twelfth or thirteenth

¹³⁸ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 84 (also see Chapter Four); Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*.

¹³⁹ G.E.L. Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus,” *The Indian Antiquary* LXI (May 1932): 86–90; Kervran, “Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l’Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sinde.” Cousins also mentions this structure in his *Antiquities of Sind*, yet he did not visit the site and bases his analysis on Carter’s photographs. Despite several attempts, it was not possible to reach this mosque in my field research trips taken between 2015 and 2018. Therefore, I am also relying for information on this important, yet almost extinct structure, on Carter and Kervran, the two reliable sources who were able to visit the building in person. Kervran has also published architectural drawings of the Thamban Wari mosque following her survey.

¹⁴⁰ Kervran, “Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l’Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sinde,” 47; Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus,” 88.

century.¹⁴¹ Essentially, Thamban Wari was a trabeate structure raised on a high plinth (*jagatī*), had a quadrilateral hypostyle plan, measuring approximately 9.5 x 10.5 m (Fig. 46). A concave *miḥrāb* niche on the west wall, with window openings on its either side, fixed the direction of *qibla* and entrance to the mosque was through the east wall. The walls enclosing the mosque were about 1.1 m thick and the interior was provided with four columns creating a nine-fold division of the space. Therefore, most of these features can be traced within the Māru-Gurjara ambit, conforming with the above-mentioned codification. Also, for example, the columns follow the highly ornamental and multi-sectional *miśraka* order, having a variety of geometric segments and aniconic motifs, and hence, much more extravagant than the Samma specimens (Figs. 47, 48). The aniconic *rathikā* niches on these columns, and the elements framing the entrance as well as the *miḥrāb* niche, including its carved stone epigraphic frieze, were also more richly ornamented. The roof that had completely collapsed even before Carter's visit is, however, thought to have been composed of flat stone slabs.¹⁴²

In addition to the Thamban Wari mosque, Carter has also documented another contemporary stone structure with similar attributes, located near Gujjo village, yet at present it is nowhere to be found. As far as can be judged from the photographs available, this partly ruined square building with exterior walls measuring about 10 m on each side appears analogous to the Jamali *khānqāh* (Figs. 49, 50, 11). Nevertheless, the structure possessed a central *maṇḍapa* type bay surrounded by composite columns of *miśraka* variety and above these columns familiar form

¹⁴¹ Flood, and Cousens before him, also hint a later date of its construction. See: Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 45–46; Flood, “Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd,” 155 (also note 99); Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 126.

¹⁴² Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus”; Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 46; Flood, “Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in ‘Arab’ Sind,” 373; Kervran, “Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l’Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sinda,” 84 (fig. 11 & 12).

of *uttaraṅgas* (architraves) rest above the armed *stambhaśīrṣa* brackets. The superstructure also comprised, at least over its central bay, a corbelled ceiling. The *mukhamaṇḍapa* portico projected on the northern façade of the structure and on its *uḍumbara* (doorsill), *ratna* (diamond) and *ardhapadma* (half-lotus) motifs were carved.¹⁴³ However, Carter believes the structure to be a temple, so-called Kafir Jo Hat (*Kāfir Jo Haṭ*; lit. infidel's shop), yet also records a slight apsidal recession in its western wall, possibly rendering a *mihrāb* niche.

Moreover, a re-examination of the physical evidence in the immediate vicinity of the Makli necropolis reveals many noteworthy, yet lesser-known structures built subsequently that also attest to the appropriation of Māru-Gurjara iconography and spatial conventions. For example, at Hilaya, about 24 km northeast of Thatta on the National Highway (N5), stands a rather well-preserved stone structure that was once called Adhan Ji Mari (*Adhan Jī Mārī*; lit. half house) and is now known as the Mari of Jam Tamachi (Map 2).¹⁴⁴ The term mari (*mārī*) in local language is used for a lofty place or upper floor of a house.¹⁴⁵ The exact purpose of this building can only be presumed from its characteristics, yet it occupies a very strategic and historic location, on the main junction connecting Thatta and Hyderabad via Sonda – the medieval town where Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq had unexpectedly died in 1351 prior to launching an attack on the Sammas (see Chapter One).¹⁴⁶ These lands were long inhabited by Samma tribes and specifically Hilaya, overlooking Keenjhar lake on its west and the mighty Indus on its east, and is known in tradition to have been developed by Samma Sultan Jam Tamachi, who remained politically active all through the latter

¹⁴³ Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus,” 87–88 (see Pl. I fig. 3 & Pl. II fig. 4).

¹⁴⁴ Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus”; Hughes, *A Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 324; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 170.

¹⁴⁵ The term is used for other structures in Sindh as well. For example, in Sehwan ruins of a domed building was termed as *Mārī*, according to Yusuf Mirak. See: Yusuf Mirak bin Abū al-Qasim, *Tārīkh-i Maḥzar-i Shāhjahānī*, ed. Aftab Abro, trans. Muhammad Afzal Naqvi (Hyderabad, Sindh: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2009), 160–61.

¹⁴⁶ Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firōz-Shahī*, 524–25; Aḥmad, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, I:239; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 120.

half of the fourteenth century. This may also be taken as a broader timeframe when the Mari of Jam Tamachi was executed. While the spatial layout of this hypostyle structure shows affinities to the Thamban Wari mosque, it also appears to have conformed to certain Māru-Gurjara codes for the *rehmāṇa-surālaya/rehmāṇa-prāsada*. It is a square flat-roofed trabeate structure raised on a high *jagatī* (Fig. 51), with walls measuring approximately 9 m externally, constructed from stone blocks of uniform thickness but variable sizes. In this case, however, the stone walls are loadbearing and with the help of single-sectional volute *śīrṣa* inserted at regular intervals, the beams transmit the load of the roof. The interior space provided with an arrangement of four columns, beams running over them and supporting the flat roof slabs, creates eight divisions (as the chapter in *Vrkṣārṇava* recommends) including an open to sky rectangular bay in the center (Fig. 52). The four columns are of the *miśraka* order and their segments take square, octagonal, circular, hexadecagonal, as well as pot-shaped sections, a few of which are lightly incised with familiar motifs instead of deeply cut carvings (Fig. 53). The austerity of these columns along with the plainness of the walls reminds one of the Mahā-Gurjara stylistic details that also appear to have an impact on the Samma architectural style (see above).

The Mari of Jam Tamachi is provided with small window openings on the western and eastern walls only, while the inner side of the western wall presents a slightly recessed yet clearly visible two-dimensional flat “*miḥrāb* image,” which does not have any projection on the outer side (Fig. 54).¹⁴⁷ This *miḥrāb* consists of two parts, a circular arch and a quadrilateral body. Most interesting feature of this structure, however, was its highly ornate entrance portal in the middle of

¹⁴⁷ Following Nuha Khoury’s definition, I am using here the term “*miḥrāb* image” to refer to a composition which is basically illustrative, as compared to the actual functional *miḥrāb* niche in three-dimension, that are usually found in mosques. This term is all the more significant as this composition is frequently used as a motif in Samma funerary art (as discussed below). See: Nuha N. N. Khoury, “The Mihrab Image: Commemorative Themes in Medieval Islamic Architecture,” *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 11–28.

the eastern façade, which at present is missing its carved components.¹⁴⁸ The arrangement of the doorway reproduced the conventional *dvārsākhā* (doorframe) of the Māru-Gurjara temple sanctum. Hence, this feature comprised the three archetypal modules: *uḍumbara* (doorsill), *śākhā* (jamb) with *pēdyā* (lower-block), and *uttaraṅga* (lintel).¹⁴⁹ This *dvārsākhā*, similar to those in the Māru-Gurjara temples, retained multi-part jamb and lintel and its *pēdyā* were provided with deeply carved unfilled *rathikās*. Another small *rathikā* also existed in place of the *lalāṭabimba*, positioned overhead in the center of *uttaraṅga* lintel. The *uḍumbara* with floral and geometric carvings on its outer side render the *mandaraka*, which is not provided as a distinctly projecting semi-circular element in this case (Fig. 55).

These details leave little doubt that the Mari of Jam Tamachi sufficed as a functioning mosque of some capacity, yet its location on a major conduit across southern Sindh also indicates its purpose as a small oratory perhaps for itinerants. Whichever users the Mari may originally have been erected for is insignificant compared to the fact that this Samma structure, along with the Thamban Wari mosque and the so-called Kafir jo Hat, identify the missing links in the chronological chain that indicates the enduring appropriation of Māru-Gurjara style by various Muslim communities of medieval Sindh. That this style had always influenced the ritual constructions of diverse religious groups in greater Sindh can be established from additional sporadically dispersed samples. For example, remains of an eleventh- or twelfth-century Hindu temple of Vijnot, near present-day Ghotki in northeastern Sindh, present several motifs and structural components, including but not limited to the *miśraka* columns, *stambhaśīrṣas*,

¹⁴⁸ Fortunately, its photographic documentation from around 1916 survives in: Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus,” 87 (see Plate II, fig. 3). Carter, however, erroneously states that this structures was not equipped with a *mihrāb*.

¹⁴⁹ See: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 138, 164.

daṇḍacchādyā, and the bell-shaped domical *ghaṇṭā* with attached *āmalasāraka*, all of which in their style and iconography indicate their conception within the Māru-Gurjara idiom.¹⁵⁰ More explicit parallels in closer geographic and chronological proximity to the Samma dynastic monuments are best exemplified in the well-preserved, yet little-known, remains of several Jaina temples scattered all over the Nagarparkar sub-district of southeastern Sindh (at the southern limit of the vast Thar desert). The Nagarparkar cultural landscape remained an important center of Jainism, where its wealthy maritime community, living under the Sodha Rajput chiefs (proconsuls of Sammas), built numerous stone temples between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. Some of these temples built contemporaneously to the Samma monuments of Makli; for example, the Bazaar Temple in Nagarparkar town and the temple at Viravah (near ancient Parinagar and about 24 km north of Nagarparkar) are reminiscent of the highpoint of the cultural practices of the Jaina communities of late-medieval Sindh.¹⁵¹

It has been noted that certain Māru-Gurjara features subsequently became emblematic and symbolic of Jaina cultural and religious identity all through the Indian subcontinent.¹⁵² Therefore, it is not surprising that the temples of Nagarparkar Bazaar (Fig. 56) and Viravah (Fig. 57) present peculiar forms of Māru-Gurjara modules, which in their sturdy and elegantly simple appearances are typical of Jaina sacred architecture as a whole. Both these temples, very similar in character, feature *mūlaprāsāda* with its *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* in front and an open *mukhamaṇḍapa* vestibule, all placed over a lofty *jagatī*. Across the anterior columns of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of Bazaar Temple,

¹⁵⁰ This Gotki temple can now only be traced through the late-nineteenth century survey reports and drawings. See: Col. B.R. Branfill, "Vijnōt and Other Old Sites in N.E. Sindh," *The Indian Antiquary* XI (1882): 1–9.

¹⁵¹ Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:222–24; Stanley Napier Raikes, *Memoir on the Thurr and Parkur, Districts of Sind* (Bombay: The Education Society's Press, 1859), 10–12; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 175–76.

¹⁵² Hegewald, "The International Jaina Style?" For some peculiar characteristics of Māru-Gurjara Jaina temples, see: Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," 129.

ornamental flying arches displaying a multi-cusped design frame the entrance (Fig. 46). This last feature resembles in form with the *torana* ornamental gateway, designed as separate freestanding entity in Māru-Gurjara temples. In Bazaar Temple, however, the feature adapts a variant where *torana* arch was positioned between entrance pillars in Jaina temples.¹⁵³ The superstructures of the temples at Nagarparkar and Viravah are particularly notable. Their *mūlaprāsādas* are topped with extravagant *anēkāṇḍaka* (multi-spired) *śēkharī* towers, while the *gūḍhamaṇḍapas* possess corbelled domes with *kṣipta* ceilings. What is most interesting is the presence of *saṁvaraṇā* form of roofing over the *mukhamaṇḍapas* of both temples. These are possibly rare specimen of perfectly intact *saṁvaraṇās* in Sindh today (Figs. 56, 57). Following the rejection of *phāṁsanā* forms, from the eleventh century onwards, the more complex *saṁvaraṇā* roof became popular among the Māru-Gurjara communities. The *saṁvaraṇā* is a multifaceted type of tiered pyramidal roof, which had bell-shaped decorative motifs arranged on all tier levels. This form had evolved from the *phāṁsanā* by an independent process in the Gujarat-Rajasthan region.¹⁵⁴ Its appearance and survival in the temples of Nagarparkar Bazaar and Viravah is of great significance in detecting the persistence of sacred architectural traditions of Māru-Gurjara in Sindh.

Consequently, we can conclude that following the development of Māru-Gurjara architecture in Gujarat and Rajasthan, the style permeated into Sindh at a very early stage, evolving into a local but nevertheless powerful variant that replaced the earlier Mahā-Gurjara style and remained in practice over the next few centuries. Moreover, claims that the Arabs had largely

¹⁵³ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 128; Hegewald, “The International Jaina Style?,” 117–18.

¹⁵⁴ As Dhaky has documented, the evolution of *saṁvaraṇā* from *phāṁsanā* forms originally happened within the ambit of the Mahā-Gurjara style. See: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 164; Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 28; Meister, “Phāṁsanā in Western India,” 184, 186.

eradicated the indigenous building culture in Sindh is not entirely accurate.¹⁵⁵ Therefore, with time Māru-Gurjara assumed a status of indigeneity. It had been, perhaps as early as the eleventh century, defining the parameters for the construction of ritual spaces for diverse religious groups throughout Sindh, ranging from Hinduism and Jainism to Islam. Hence, for their stone monuments, the Samma patrons and craftspeople did not adopt an “alien” vocabulary, nor at any rate were their artistic ideas directly imported from the Islamic ritual buildings of late-medieval Gujarat. Essentially, the Muslim Sammas “inherited” the Māru-Gurjara style, it being an indigenous and locally practised architectural mode of Sindh.

Now we should consider why the Sammas, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, extensively appropriated the features of a style more closely associated with temples, despite the existence of an already established architectural tradition of building ritual structures in brick. This tradition is exemplified in the mosques excavated at Banbhore and Mansura and also in the corpus of fair-faced brick tombs scattered all over the Indus Valley.¹⁵⁶ Although the Sammas gave reasonable attention to brick as a medium later on (see Chapter Three), they clearly preferred stone in the early phases of their building activities to explore the potentials of Māru-Gurjara. By this time the sanctity of the style was already established as Māru-Gurjara was originally devised distinctively for temples and was later appropriated by the Muslim communities in both Gujarat and Sindh specifically in their ritual and religious buildings. Hence, it can be reasonably assumed that while erecting their sacred ritual spaces of Sufi *khānqāhs* and royal tombs, the native Sammas, who must have been familiar with the connotations attached to the Māru-Gurjara temple

¹⁵⁵ Derryl N. MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind* (Leiden; Ney York: BRILL, 1989), 73.

¹⁵⁶ For more details on these brick constructions, see: Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*; Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 44–45; Fazal Ahmad Khan, *Banbhore: A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations at Banbhore* (Dept. of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Education & Scientific Research, Govt. of Pakistan, 1963).

architecture (being originally Hindus themselves and keeping close ties to their Hindu kinsmen), made a conscious decision to imitate the style. More so, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Qur'anic inscriptions inside the Jamali *khānqāh* reflect the Sufi structure as “an abode of the messenger of God,” as well as a place for Muslim congregations. In the light of these verses, therefore, the Sufi *khānqāhs* essentially appropriated the sacred *rehmāna-surālaya/rehmāna-prāsada* for which the *vāstuśāstras* had documented the standardized rules. Scholars have cited the funereal character of stone and for that matter its recognition in *śāstras* as a suitable material for sacred spaces, in addition to the stone being a medium associated with ascetics and abodes for divinities.¹⁵⁷ By this definition, the Sammas in preferring stone over brick for their Sufi *khānqāhs* and royal mausolea seems justified.

Thus, the main reason for the Sammas to have appropriated the Māru-Gurjara style is definitely its aesthetic appeal; it is a distinctive, rich and extravagantly ornate style. Yet, the political and cultural undertones associated with this style cannot be ignored altogether. As the Māru-Gurjara idiom was developed under the patronage of the mighty Chaulukya Solanki kings (later regarded as Rajputs), and was created from within the two parent styles which were associated with the formidable Gurjara-Pratihara rulers, these connections linked the style permanently with the idea of prosperity, strength, indigeneity and political superiority.¹⁵⁸ Due to these undertones, it is most probable that in the midst of and immediately after an unsettling phase, when the Sammas were fighting for independence from the Tughlaq Delhi Sultanate, they were

¹⁵⁷ Meister, “Temple Building in South Asia: Science as Technology’s Constraint,” 34.

¹⁵⁸ Flood and Hegewald also note similar connotations to the style, see: Hegewald, “The International Jaina Style?”; Finbarr B. Flood, “Idea and Idiom: Knowledge as Praxis in South Asian and Islamic Architecture,” *Ars Orientalis* 45 (2015): 148–62. Regarding the Rajput identity, it should be noted that the Chaulukyas were categorized as a Rajput clan only later, as the “Rajput identity” did not exist during the medieval period. For this see: Cynthia Talbot, *The Last Hindu Emperor: Prithviraj Chauhan and the Indian Past, 1200–2000* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 33–35.

also making a political statement in their visual appropriation of a hybrid style that prominently featured the Māru-Gurjara elements. In doing so, the Samma patrons, who were Hindu converts and later also assumed Rajput descent, through their architecture communicated an association with the indigenous and glorious rulers of the past. Hence, on one side the Samma architecture was an expression of the Jams' supremacy and the rebellion against the Tughlaqs (who had an entirely different architectural terminology). On the other side, the early Sammas preferred the vocabulary of the Māru-Gurjara style perhaps to seek actively the prestige derived from associations with the celebrated Chaulukya Rajputs and their indigenous cultural identities, and by extension, also with the glorious Gurjara-Pratiharas rulers.

Re-assessing the Margins of Māru-Gurjara Architectural Style

The matter of the continuity and geographic spread of the Māru-Gurjara style in Sindh during the Samma dynastic period requires attention. The main question is: During the Samma dynastic period, did the style remain restricted to the royal necropolis of Makli, the region of Thatta and southeastern territories, or did it exhibit a wider geographic reception?

It is crucial here to bring into the discussion the peculiar type of small-scale, richly carved sandstone artifacts of funereal character (Fig. 58), which are formally distinct from their less-ornate casket type counterparts, also found over Samma graves. Nevertheless, the richly carved artifacts are locally termed as *chaūkhandī* tombs. These tombs are commonly found in the cemeteries scattered all over Sindh and southern Balochistan.¹⁵⁹ The small-scale *chaūkhandī*

¹⁵⁹ Zajadacz-Hastenrath has published an excellent study on the *chaūkhandī* type tombs spread between Sindh and Balochistan, in which she has dated the various forms of these tombs on the basis of their style, assigning them approximate timeframes ranging between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries. In the first chapter she also talks about the significance of the term “*chaūkhandī*” and its various uses. A similar study was recently carried out by Jabbar Khan, which remains unpublished. See: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*; Khan, “Chaukhandi Tombs: A Peculiar Funerary Memorial Architecture in Sind and Baluchistan.” There are several other local terms

tombs vary in form and size. The most common approach to structuring them in the Samma dynastic period was to create several receding tiers of carefully cut stone slabs that differ in ornateness, shape and height (Fig. 59). These tiers were then horizontally assembled to form multi-tiered cenotaphs placed above the underground burials, aligned longitudinally along the north-south axis with the head always towards the north. The topmost slabs in the *chaūkhandī*-type tombs are either flat, bearing diverse carving schemes (Fig. 60), or have ornate keel-shaped monoliths displaying Qur'anic inscriptions or various patterns (Fig. 58). In one interesting case at Makli, the topmost tier displays a stone block at the head side that is topped with a turban shaped element, while the rest of this tier is a monolith placed sideways to display a series of geometric motifs puncturing the entire width (Fig. 61). Raising *chaūkhandīs* was a standardized practice during the Samma period and several extant specimens are found both inside their royal mausolea in the Makli necropolis and as separate tombs belonging to the Samma elites, lying in the immediate vicinity. Moreover, numerous contemporary examples survive in the small cemeteries of the Samma clans around Thatta metropolis, although these do not essentially possess sufficiently high-quality carvings as the ones in the royal necropolis. Looking at all these cemeteries along with the Makli necropolis, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that large-scale local production guilds of *chaūkhandī*-type stone cenotaphs existed in the Thatta region, fulfilling the contemporary demands of Muslim patrons perhaps through pre-carved stocks.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, these Samma *chaūkhandīs* are also significant as they are carved with a mixture of motifs derived from the Māru-

also used for the *chaūkhandī*-type tombs, such as *gharriyūn* (the chiseled ones), *pathar-jūn-qabrūn* (stone graves) or *Rūmī* (embellished tombs).

¹⁶⁰ In the vicinity of Thatta city and within the Thatta district, I was able to examine about seventeen supplementary sites, most of which show signs of use during the Samma dynastic period for burials of local Muslim inhabitants. These range from fairly large to very small in scale, holding various forms of *chaūkhandī*-type tombs. Zajadacz-Hastenrath has listed these along with many others present in the wider southern region. For this detailed list see: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 145–65 (especially see map on p. 151).

Gurjara decorative repertoire, which in addition to hinting at the socio-economic and cultural identities of the deceased can also assist in marking the temporal and geographic boundaries of this style's impact.

The two most common motifs found on the Samma *chaūkhandīs* are the flat *miḥrāb* image in low-relief and the *padma* (lotus), the latter either as blossoming rosette or as in its sectional *ardhapadma* (half-lotus) form. Sometimes these two motifs occur together on the flat top or lids of the *chaūkhandīs*. Although there were variations in design, the majority display either the *padma* sitting at the heart of or just below the *miḥrāb* image or hanging at a little distance by a chain (Fig. 62). In a few cases, the top surface displays a tripartite division with arched *miḥrāb* images (one multi-cusped and the other keel-shaped) on either end of the slab and a high-relief *padma* medallion in the middle (Fig. 63). However, the most interesting compositional variety appears on the Samma *chaūkhandī* cenotaph lids from the early fifteenth-century, specimens of which now primarily survive in the Lakho Pir's graveyard near Jhirk, 44 km northeast of Thatta (Map 2). In this composition a *padma* is suspended from the middle of a *miḥrāb* motif but its chain extends further to hang a globular object carved in high relief. Moreover, just below this object a long keel-shaped element extends up to the foot end of the lid surface (Fig. 64).

There are several connotations that can be attached to this multifaceted cenotaph composition. In the Islamic context, flat *miḥrābs* or *miḥrāb* niches have been frequently incorporated, since as early as the Umayyad period, with depictions of hanging globular lamps – an arrangement that provides a direct parallel to the mosque settings and is interpreted as an evocation of the “Light of God” (divine presence) inside the mosques. A variety of interpretations are associated with these compositions, yet the most accepted is the display of lamps suspended inside the *miḥrābs* being visual and symbolic representation to the *āyat al-nūr* or the Light Verse

(Qur'an 24:35).¹⁶¹ However, scholars have shown that *mihrāb* images inscribed with hanging lamps can also be categorized as iconography of commemoration as they most often appear in funerary context in mausolea and other related elements such as tombstones and cenotaphs.¹⁶² Correspondingly, between the late thirteenth and the late fifteenth centuries a corpus of marble tombstones and cenotaph lids manufactured in the carving workshops at the port city of Khambhat in Gujarat, carry common decorative scheme of deep *mihrāb* niches with high-relief lamps suspended from its apex (Fig. 65). During this time Khambhat emerged as an important center fulfilling the demands of both the home as well as export markets, where the Muslim patrons all around the Indian Ocean rim commissioned these grave memorials (Fig. 66).¹⁶³

The Khambhat corpus makes extensive use of the *mihrāb*-lamp motifs, where its *mihrābs* are usually multi-cusped and the vase-shaped lamps (Figs. 65, 66) correspond to the general shape of Islamic glass lamps, as found contemporaneously in Mamluk Egypt and Syria. In some cases, hanging incense-burner surrounded by plantains replaces the vase-shaped lamp (Fig. 67). A group of fifteenth-century graves at Pasai and Gresik (Indonesia), also pre-carved in Khambhat, however,

¹⁶¹ The relationship between the architectural *mihrāb* and the Light Verse is briefly discussed in the Chapter Four, with reference to the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. For some basic information and further references on connotations related to the lamps suspended inside the *mihrābs*, see: Finbarr Barry Flood, "Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture," in *Bayt Al-Maqdis: Jerusalem and Early Islam*, ed. Jeremy Johns (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), 311–59. Flood has also mentioned the familiarity with the associations between "the cultic niche and light" in many religious cultures in the pre-Islamic Near East.

¹⁶² Nuha N. N. Khoury, "The Mihrab Image: Commemorative Themes in Medieval Islamic Architecture"; Géza Fehérvári, "Tombstone or Mihrāb? A Speculation," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972), 241–54. Khoury has hinted similar motifs that can be found on roughly contemporaneous funerary memorials and shrines in Egypt, Syria, eastern Anatolia, the northern Jazira, at Dahlak in the Red Sea, and in Afghanistan.

¹⁶³ Elizabeth Lambourn, "Carving and Communities: Marble Carving for Muslim Patrons at Khambhāt and around the Indian Ocean Rim, Late Thirteenth-Mid-Fifteenth Centuries," *Ars Orientalis: Communities and Commodities: Western India and the Indian Ocean, Eleventh-Fifteenth Centuries* 34 (2004): 99–133; Elizabeth Lambourn, "Carving and Recarving: Three Rasulid Gravestones Revisited," in *New Arabian Studies*, ed. G. Rex Smith, J.R. Smart, and B.R. Pridham, vol. 6 (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 2004), 10–29. Lambourn also includes eight white marble columns from the Mansuriyya madrasa at Juban in Yemen, dated 1482, that are carved with Indic motifs such as a suspended chain and floral bands, to the Khambhat corpus.

introduce a small raised rectangle below the *mihrāb*-lamp motif (Fig. 68), which is noted as depicting *qalamdān* (pen-box).¹⁶⁴ This composition on Indonesian cenotaph lids can be traced to a few contemporary marble lids from Gujarat, and are witnessed in several of the multi-tiered marble cenotaphs (Fig. 69) in the mausoleum Rani no Hajiro at Ahmedabad (also known as *Rānī ka ḥazīra* or *Rānī ka ḥujra*, lit. Queen’s enclosure; c. 1445) and the Lal Mahalla grave platform at Khambhat (Fig. 70). The Rani no Hajiro mausoleum belongs to the Samma princess Bibi Mughali, who was the Queen of Muzaffarid Sultan Muhammad Shah II (r. 1442-1451) and mother of Sultan Mahmud Begada (r. 1458-1511). In these Gujarati cenotaph lids the *qalamdān* adopts keel shape, and therefore, brings us back to the Samma *chaūkhandīs* in the Lakho Pir’s graveyard (Fig. 64). The cenotaphs from Rani no Hajiro mausoleum parallels the details of Samma lids more precisely as their *mihrāb* images are also keel-shaped and they hold circular medallions, which were missing in the Indonesian and other Khambhat examples. However, a key difference between these two groups is in the degree of fineness of the carved motifs. Looking at examples from Rani no Hajiro, it is notable that the craftsmen from Khambhat were more skilled in fine marble carvings as compared to those in Sindh even though the locally sourced sandstone could have achieved similar results. Moreover, the Rani no Hajiro medallions are plainer, although flanked with split plantains, as opposed to the blossoming *padmas* of Samma *chaūkhandīs*. Though quite a few examples also exist of fifteenth-century marble cenotaphs from Gujarat that exhibit the combination of *mihrāb-padma* motif with hanging lamp/incense burner (Fig. 67).¹⁶⁵ A close examination, however,

¹⁶⁴ Elizabeth Lambourn, “From Cambay to Samudera-Pasai and Gresik—the Export of Gujarati Grave Memorials to Sumatra and Java in the Fifteenth Century C.E.,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 31, no. 90 (July 2003): 221–84. See images of Teungku Sareh grave VI (d. 834/1430–31) and the Shrine of Malik Ibrahim (d. 822/1419) at Gresik in Lambourn.

¹⁶⁵ A fifteenth-century marble cenotaph lid (AKM904) from Gujarat, currently on display in the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto, attests to this type. The dimensions of this object are: H. 136 cm x W. 33 cm.

reveals that it is not the *padmas* that alter the decorative idiom of the Samma cenotaphs but the hanging globular objects. These objects present wider rims and short rounded bodies, therefore, manifest the auspicious *kalāśa* pots, instead of the Islamic glass lamps (Fig. 64).

Nevertheless, there are more clues confirming that the Samma *chaūkhandīs* are actually Western Indian or rather Gujarati in inspiration, with reference to both the form as well as the iconography. For example, at the expertly executed Rudabai Vav at Adalaj (near Ahmedabad), dating to the late fifteenth century and conceived within the Māru-Gurjara idiom, blossoming *padma* at the heart of keel-shaped arch with a vessel in suspension by chain provides one of the main schemes for the decorative program (Fig. 71). Likewise, there is a plethora of Māru-Gurjara devices and motifs that are found on Samma cenotaphs. For example, in the Makli necropolis, the triangular motif with stenciled carvings, that as mentioned above, was derived from the *pūrṇaghaṭa* (vase-of-plenty) motif is extensively used and can be found on the cenotaphs (Fig. 72) in the tomb enclosure of Mubarak Khan (d. 1520), and the one northwest of Malik Rajpal's tomb (c. 1479). Moreover, the *kalikā* (conical bud) motif, which was carved on the *phāmsanā* cornices, decorates the slab edges along with familiar suspended dentils, of many Samma period cenotaphs. Examples include: the cenotaph northeast of 'Isa Langoti's *khānqāh* (undated but perhaps from the late fifteenth century; Fig. 73), the elaborately carved cenotaph (Fig. 74) inside the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister (c. 1473), and the keel-topped cenotaph in the fifteenth-century ruined brick tomb south of Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum (Fig. 75). Another element from the *phāmsanā* roofing – a complete sloping *daṇḍacchādya* (ribbed eave) with *kalikā* edging and *candraśālā* antefixae is taken by one of the flat stone tiers in at least one cenotaph, the highly ornamented multi-tiered *chaūkhandī* of an anonymous Samma elite located south of Jamali *khānqāh* (Fig. 135). Furthermore, a rare element can be seen on an anonymous fifteenth-century *chaūkhandī* in the

immediate vicinity of the *dargāh* of Pir Darswarriyo on Haleji Lake, about 27 km from Makli (Map 2). The head side of this *chaūkhandī* cenotaph is carved in the shape of an ornate bracket with partial cusped arch of Jaina style, on top of which an ornate *kalaśa* rests (Fig. 76).¹⁶⁶ Another motif that recalls Hindu and Jaina iconographies, and later also became a part of the decorative program of specific marble tombstones from Khambhat, is the auspicious banana tree.¹⁶⁷ The flat-topped extravagantly carved cenotaph in the ruined brick structure south of Sultan Nizam al-Din’s mausoleum, is carved with rows of banana trees on its western side (Fig. 77).¹⁶⁸

There is no doubt that the Māru-Gurjara artistic productions, mainly from Gujarat, had provided prototypes to the Samma artisans throughout the dynastic rule. The formalistic notion of the multi-tiered stone cenotaphs above underground burials can also be traced directly back to some Gujarat-Rajasthan models. For example, the earliest known *chaūkhandī* prototype is recorded in Nagaur (Rajasthan), dated *ṣafar* 545 AH/June 1150 CE and belonging to Dust ‘Ali Taqī, the son of an Isma‘ili *dā‘ī* (missionary). At Bhadreswar too, inside the courtyard of Shrine of Ibrahim and in its close proximity further examples survive from the late twelfth/early thirteenth century (Fig. 78).¹⁶⁹ These were commissioned for the minor communities of Muslims living within the domains of the Chaulukya rajas. Hence, these examples confirm the birth of *chaūkhandī* style of cenotaphs within the original Māru-Gurjara temporal and regional ambits and the adoption of this peculiar form by the Sindhi Muslim communities subsequently. The movements of artistic ideas between Sindh and Gujarat-Rajasthan can be easily understood given the matrimonial

¹⁶⁶ On stylistic grounds, Hastenrath has assigned this cenotaph a timeframe of second half of the fifteenth century. See: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 79.

¹⁶⁷ Lambourn, “Carving and Communities: Marble Carving for Muslim Patrons at Khambhāt and around the Indian Ocean Rim, Late Thirteenth-Mid-Fifteenth Centuries,” 109; Lambourn, “A Self-Conscious Art? Seeing Micro-Architecture in Sultanate South Asia,” 133.

¹⁶⁸ This motif is recorded as “date-tree” in: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 86; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 47–48.

¹⁶⁹ Shokoohy, *Bhadreswar*, 18.

relations between the Samma Jams and the Muzaffarid Sultans (see Chapter One), and also in view of the well-established commercial routes between the two regions.

Several overland trade routes between Gujarat-Rajasthan and Thatta were significant during the medieval and early modern centuries. Moreover, via its seaport of Lahribandar, Thatta was also connected to many coastal towns of Western India (Map 2). For example, one terrestrial itinerary connected Thatta to Ahmadabad (Gujarat), first by way of Nagarparkar and then Radhanpur. Thatta was also connected to Bayana and other cities in Rajasthan by passing through the desert of Marwar. The Kutchi town, including Lakhpat, which was another transit port at the northwestern edge of its gulf, was connected to Thatta via water channels and through the Rann of Kutch.¹⁷⁰ These routes were significant for the introduction of commodities into Sindh from the eastern lands, especially as the land route between Sindh and Kutch was far more difficult than by the coastal boats. Moreover, Gujarati chronicles mention that the Sammas as an ethnic group were owners of lands throughout Sindh, Kutch and as far as Gujarat and some parts of Rajasthan, and in west up to Balochistan, thus asserting their intangible spread over a much wider Indian region (see Chapter One). It is due to these connections that many late-medieval and early-modern tombs located in present-day western Sindh and eastern Balochistan embraced the Samma *chaūkhandī* style, and some even surpassed them in height and décor (Fig. 79).¹⁷¹ Later, even when the practice was abandoned in Gujarat and Rajasthan, the style kept on evolving in both Sindh and Balochistan until the nineteenth century. Outside of these regions, however, no parallels can be found.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ William Finch, E Terry, and W Foster, *Early Travels in India 1583–1619* (London, 1921), 191; Re'īs, *Mir'āt Ul-Memālik - The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reīs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556*, 37; Goswami, "Sindhi Entrepreneurs and Their Pearling Enterprise in the Persian Gulf."

¹⁷¹ Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 39–40, 86–88, 101–2; Jean P. Vogel, "Tombs at Hinīdān in Las Bela," in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1902-1903* (Calcutta: Govt. of India, 1904), 213–17.

¹⁷² Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*; Khan, "Chaukhandi Tombs: A Peculiar Funerary Memorial Architecture in Sind and Baluchistan."

In Balochistan, the familiarity with the Māru-Gurjara idiom, generated through the diffusion of *chaūkhandī* tombs, resulted in more experimentations with the style's artistic forms and its circulation further west within the province. Fortunately, we have firm evidence that during the Samma dynastic period the Māru-Gurjara architectural elements were frequently employed by patrons of monumental constructions outside of southern Sindh. Near the old Gwadar town in the Makran region of Balochistan, the existence of a group of elaborately carved fifteenth-century stone mausolea in a *chaūkhandī* cemetery verifies the deployment of the style beyond the classical boundaries of Sindh. It is worth reiterating here that in the second half of the fifteenth century the Samma Sultanate of Sindh stretched up to the borders of Kandahar province and comprised several regions of present-day Balochistan, where the Samma military forces were perpetually installed to defend the borders from recurring Arghun attacks (see Chapter One and Four).¹⁷³ Moreover, the inhabitants of Makran region were Samma vassals, at least nominally, and maintained affinities with the Jams of Thatta till the end of their dynastic rule.¹⁷⁴

Among the Gwadar group only one monument now stands that once bore an inscription, no longer *in situ*, which dated the mausoleum to 1468-69 CE and provided the name of *nākhudā* (epithet for commanding chief) Bangi Isma‘il, a Baloch commander from the Kalmati tribe.¹⁷⁵ The eastern façade and the superstructure of this monument have miraculously survived, displaying its

¹⁷³ Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 55–56; Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 104; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 249. Also see: Hodivala, *Studies In Indo-Muslim History*, 106.

¹⁷⁴ The present-day Balochistan is till inhabited by Samma sub-clans. Makran became vassalage of Samma Sultanate, at least nominally, and the Balochis maintained affinity exclusively with the Sammas till the early sixteenth century. See: Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, trans. Armando Cortesão, vol. I (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 31–32.

¹⁷⁵ R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District Gazetteer Series: Makrán*, vol. VII (Bombay: The Times Press, 1906), 285; Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 43 (Calcutta: Govt. of India, 1931), 73.

admirable craftsmanship. These extant parts assist in its stylistic analysis, which finds strong parallels with the Jamali *khānqāh* (Fig. 80).

The mausoleum of Bangi Isma‘il appropriates the *garbhāgrha* sanctum’s column-free cubical interior, almost same in size as the Jamali *khānqāh*. The load-bearing pilasters spaced in alignment with the corners of the structure are also of the *bhadra* type, and the surviving superstructure embraces a *kṣipta* ceiling with *padmapatra* (lotus-leaf) incisions and conical corbelled dome on the exterior. Yet the analogy with the Jamali *khānqāh* fades here because the mausoleum’s exterior is significantly adorned. For example, the façades use geometric *paṭṭas* (bands) that divide the elevations into multiple registers. The entrance on the eastern wall is not central, yet the *dvārsākhā* (doorframe) is more sculptural and is of the *triśākhā* (three-jambed) variety. The entrance also bears an overhanging *khuracchādyā* (ribbed awning) decorated with *candraśālā* (dormer-window) motif and an elaborate *uḍumbara* (doorsill) with projecting *mandāraka* (Fig. 80). Interestingly, on this eastern façade, a monumental *bhadra* niche framed with ornamental pillarets and topped with a pyramidal *udgama* (pediment) is provided that is filled with multi-pattern *jālī* to illuminate the interior. Earlier accounts record that these niches were present on other façades of the mausoleum as well.¹⁷⁶ These types of *bhadra* niches are commonly found in the late tenth- and eleventh-century Māru-Gurjara temples, as part of the middle section of the elevation (*janghā*). However, in the Indic temples such niches were blind and often provided shelter to the standing images of the deities.¹⁷⁷ The façade of the Muleśvara temple at Padan in

¹⁷⁶ Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia*, 73. It should be noted that Gedrosia is the Hellenized name of the part of coastal Balochistan that roughly corresponds to present-day Makran. The region was identified with this Greek name up till the early twentieth century.

¹⁷⁷ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 134 (also see fig. j, Pl. 57).

Gujarat (late tenth century) provides a comparable example (Fig. 81).¹⁷⁸ However, the idea of these niches being blind and without images originated in the Mahā-Gurjara idiom, as the late eighth-century Temple III at Roda exemplifies (Fig. 82).¹⁷⁹ Nevertheless, as there are no traces of the Mahā-Gurjara style ever reaching as far as modern Balochistan, another parallel with this element can be drawn with those found on the brick temples of Salt Range and central Indus Valley, where the pillared niches in the center of the façades (Fig. 83), although possessing lobed pediments (*śūrasenas*), were sometimes also open for illumination.¹⁸⁰ These brick temples belong to the Hindu Shahi period and are placed in modern scholarship within the Gandhāra-Nāgara idiom, which flourished independent of Western Indian styles. Yet the eleventh-century Pattan Munara temple, a hybrid Gandhāra-Nāgara monument near Rahim Yar Khan (present-day southern Punjab) also utilizes Western Indian features (Fig. 84), suggesting that stylistic encounters did take place between distinct idioms.¹⁸¹

Therefore, all these data call into question the widely accepted temporal and geographic limits of the Māru-Gurjara style (Map 3). The examples shown here verify that the geographic expanse of this style was not restricted to the Gujarat-Rajasthan region but extended up to the western boundaries of Balochistan, while in the north it encompassed northern Sindh and perhaps also touched the present-day southern Punjab (Map 4). Recently, scholars have shown some

¹⁷⁸ Other examples can be seen in: H. R. Gaudani and M. A. Dhaky, “Some Newly Discovered and Less Known Māru-Gurjara Temples in Northern Gujarat,” *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda* XVII, no. 2 (1967): 149–56.

¹⁷⁹ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 148 (fig. 69).

¹⁸⁰ Meister, “Temples along the Indus.”

¹⁸¹ The brick architecture of Gandhāra-Nāgara idiom and the stone vocabulary of the Western Indian styles makes these distinct. For see: Michael W. Meister, “Pattan Munāra: Minār or Maṇḍir?,” in *Hari Smriti: Studies on Art, Archaeology, and Indology: Papers Presented in Memory of Dr. Haribishnu Sarkar*, ed. Arundhati Banerji (New Delhi: Kaveri Books, 2006), 113–21; Meister, *Temples of the Indus: Studies in the Hindu Architecture of Ancient Pakistan*, 51–57; Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 314–15.

curious occurrences of Māru-Gurjara monumental expressions even in central Afghanistan.¹⁸² However, the style's late-medieval revival and growth in Sindh and Balochistan owes to its success to the conscious commissioning by the Samma Jams of Thatta, who chose this style and the Makli necropolis for the expression of their socio-political and cultural identities.

Conclusion

An examination of the Samma monuments in stone provides a fertile ground for rethinking the stylistic origins and classification of these dynastic structures. As discussed in this chapter, the Samma architecture is representative of the forms and ornamentation associated with the Māru-Gurjara style of medieval Western Indian temples. Drawing on the iconography, structural modules, and architectural characteristics of the Māru-Gurjara style, the Samma monuments are rare samples that exemplify the diversity in the artistic skills and knowledge of dynastic builders. Besides its aesthetic appeal, the notion of sanctity associated with Māru-Gurjara led to the appropriation of this style specifically in the Samma ritual buildings, such as the Sufi *khānqāhs*. Whereas, for the royal commemorative structures like the *chatrī* tombs of Samma princes, it was the complete arrangement of an essential Māru-Gurjara temple unit – the *maṇḍapa* – that provided a prototypical model to the Samma craftsmen. The Samma architectural patronage in the Makli necropolis also preserves some rare architectural features, for example, as in the case of the Langoti *khānqāh* that employs an interesting *phāmsanā* superstructure, which is the only surviving specimen of its kind in Sindh.

However, the appearance of the Māru-Gurjara in late-medieval Samma Sindh was not an incidental occurrence but in fact was a renaissance of an obscure local style, which although

¹⁸² Masjid-i Sangi at the remote site of Larvand has been established embodying expressive features of Māru-Gurjara style. For more details on this spectacular monument, see: Patel, “The Rehmāna-Prāsāda Abroad: Masjid-i Sangī of Larwand (Afghanistan)”; Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 203–8.

originated in the Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan yet had been practiced in Sindh since at least the eleventh century. This is attested by the barely surviving material remains from several sites scattered all over the provincial region (for example, the ruined structures of Thamban Wari mosque, Kafir jo Hat, and the temples at Vijnot and Nagarparkar). The Samma patronage of Māru-Gurjara also contributed to the reception of the style outside of Sindh and into the several regions of Balochistan. The fifteenth-century funerary artifacts at Gwadar verify that the Māru-Gurjara architectural style as a signifier of identities, transcended its previously perceived regional, religious and temporal limits.

Chapter Three

ON CONTINUITY, HYBRIDITY AND TRANSLATION IN THE SAMMA NECROPOLIS OF MAKLI

The Samma dynastic monuments from Makli and Thatta comprise an exemplary group that radically enhances our perception of late-medieval Sindh's localized cultural practices. However, where the Samma craftsmen were familiar with the traditional pre-Islamic systems of construction, they also expended alongside the arcuate compositions more strongly affiliated with Central Asia and Iran. The reason for such disparate artistic approaches is due to the fact that during the Samma dynastic period an unprecedented level of cross-cultural exchanges took place with constituencies on either side of Sindh. As the last chapter dealt with compositions resulting from artistic dialogues between Sindh and Gujarat-Rajasthan regions, this chapter principally locates select structures built from the late fourteenth through to the early sixteenth centuries in Makli necropolis within the "Turco-Persian" artistic traditions that likewise informed the Samma architectural patronage.¹ The following narrative has a two-fold objective. Firstly, it connects the Samma royal necropolis at Makli to the artisanal practices prevailing towards west/northwest of Sindh. Stylistic parallels to the Samma monuments are located in medieval cultural centers such as Hazara, Merv, Herat, Kandahar, Mashhad and Shiraz. Secondly, it offers socio-political discourses between the Samma elites and their contemporaries in Iran and Central Asia, as manifested in the structures built using brick as their principal medium of construction.

¹ I am drawing here from the term that Robert L. Canfield uses for the culture generated from the mixing of Turkic groups with the Ghaznavids and the Great Seljuks as "Turco-Persian Islamicate culture." See: Robert L. Canfield, "Introduction: The Turco-Persian Tradition," in *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1.

Despite their successful interventions in trabeate stone compositions, it was inevitable that Samma builders would adopt the arcuate techniques when constructing monuments in brick.² This was essentially done for conceptual and structural reasons. Conceptually, the brick constructions (whether imitating or actually deploying the arcuate systems) were representative of Sindh's Muslim identity and building culture. Brick as a medium was indigenous to Sindh and was dominant in pre-Islamic structures since antiquity. Additionally, ensuing the Arab conquest of Sindh, the monumental structures executed, for example, the congregational mosque at Mansura, rendered the brick arcuate construction as a standard mode for the subsequent compositions of Muslim patronage.³ Hence, we frequently encounter the use of brick, for example in the monumental remains excavated from more than half a dozen medieval sites of major interest along the coast of Sindh.⁴ Furthermore, as recently shown by Holly Edwards, this vernacular tradition of arcuate, fair-faced (unplastered) brick compositions gradually generated over the eighth through

² In arcuate systems the walls primarily carry the load from the roof (occasionally domical or vaulted), and therefore, need to be sturdy and thick. In case of domical roofing, the “true” domes are utilized, which are usually formed with the help of other structural elements such as arches and squinches. While for the doors and window punctures in the walls, the openings are spanned with either lintels or arches to disperse the load onto the wall sides.

³ Edwards has recently published brief architectural details on Mansura, the ‘Abbasid capital of Sindh, and has also listed earlier scholarship on the site, see: Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 255–57 (cat. #12). On the authority of Arab geographers, we know that the residential structures in Mansura were also built of baked bricks laid with kneaded clay and white lime mortar. See: André Wink, *Al-Hind: Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7th-11th Centuries*, vol. 1 (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 1991), 185. During excavations in the pre-historic cities of Indus Valley, for instance at Mohenjo Daro, burnt bricks are found being used with gypsum and lime mortar, in addition to lime mixed with brick dust, as binding materials. Likewise, the modest number of pre-Islamic Buddhist remains of stupas using sun-dried bricks seen scattered all over Sindh attests to the material's uninterrupted use well into the medieval period. For information on these pre-Islamic sites in Sindh, see: Warwick Ball, “The Buddhists of Sind,” *South Asian Studies* 5, no. 1 (1989): 119–31; Sir John Hubert Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization: Being an Official Account of Archaeological Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro Carried Out by the Government of India Between the Years 1922 and 1927*, vol. I (Indological Book House, 1983), 126; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 83–109.

⁴ Monik Kervran, “La Mosquée de Ġālāl Al-Dīn Ḥwārazm Sāh à Damrīlā, Dans Les Bouches de l’Indus,” in *Les Non-Dits Du Nom. Onomastique et Documents En Terres d’Islam*, ed. Christian Müller and Muriel Roiland-Rouabah, Études Arabes, Médiévales et Modernes (Beyrouth: Presses de l’Ifpo, 2014), 525–46; Monique Kervran, “Caravansérails Du Delta de l’Indus: Réflexions Sur l’origine Du Caravansérail Islamique,” *Archéologie Islamique* 8–9 (1999): 143–76; Kervran, “Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l’Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sīnde.”

fifteenth centuries a corpus of funerary monuments of Muslim patronage all across the Indus Valley, including in Sindh. These brick tombs, as Edwards reports, not only share material, structural and stylistic commonalities but can also be categorized within the larger sphere of more decidedly Islamic or Turco-Persian architectural productions.⁵

From the structural point of view, it should be noted that the Māru-Gurjara inspired constructions, initially exploited by the Sammas, restricted heights and expanse of building spaces. These trabeate forms in stone, utilizing monolithic columns, lintels, and corbelled domes, could only allow limited spanning between the structural components and of the modular units. To achieve surplus heights the solution entailed the insertion of a set of essentially dwarf attic-pillars (*uccālaka*) or screened clerestory between the regular columns and the superstructure. These can be seen in the Māru-Gurjara temples and also later in the mosques of Gujarat fashioned after the former, for example, the *Jāmi' Masjid* at Khambhat (1325) and Hilal Maliki Mosque at Dholka (1333).⁶ Therefore, the deployment of arcuate system was desired to bridge over wider spans and also for larger heights that are prerequisite for monumental constructions, such as the congregational mosques.

The *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli Necropolis

On returning from his exile in Delhi, when Sultan Rukn al-Din Jam Tamachi ascended the throne of Sindh, as the first autonomous Sultan of the newly forged Samma Sultanate, he commissioned a mosque in c. 1390 on request from his spiritual mentor.⁷ Consequently, a relatively lofty construction became possible owing to the arcuate techniques using brick with lime and gypsum as mortar. This is the only mosque in Makli necropolis that later became known as the *Jāmi' Masjid*

⁵ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*.

⁶ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 147–50 (Pl. 28, 43, 92, 126).

⁷ Thattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliā'*, 59–60; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 564; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 46.

of Makli and is now surviving in ruinous state in Zone II, adjacent to the Jamali *khānqāh*. Unlike the well-established “Arab” or more precisely “Iraqi” hypostyle plans that comprised a columnar prayer hall preceded by a courtyard (*ṣaḥn*), which was usually surrounded by aisled *riwāqs* – an imported arrangement excavated at both Mansura and its associated port of Banbhore, the *Jāmi’ Masjid* of Makli appropriates just one long column-free rectilinear hall (Fig. 85).⁸ This prayer hall is provided with an enclosed staircase at its southeast corner and an open courtyard/platform to its east; *minār* (minaret) was not a part of its architectural scheme (Fig. 86).⁹ The platform was later used for burials and it is within this space that the remnants of the first Samma tomb (discussed previously), a brick tomb attributed to Shaykh Hammad Jamali, and many *chaūkhandī* cenotaphs now exist.

Recent claims that the *Jāmi’ Masjid* of Makli merely represents an austere structure with sparse decoration in its relatively plain plastered surfaces over modest brickwork, are not essentially true.¹⁰ The structure on close analysis indeed offers an insight into a diverse set of structural and ornamental configurations attempted by the early Samma builders. The prayer hall’s sturdy brick walls rest on stone foundational courses, a common Samma practice followed in some of the subsequent brick constructions as well. The prayer hall measures about 20 x 9 m and has arched entrances on three sides (Fig. 85). The fourth side – the *qibla* wall, has a rectangular arched *miḥrāb* niche framed by geometric motifs on the applied stucco finishing (Fig. 87). The hall’s

⁸ For the “Arab” styled mosques of Mansura and Banbhore see: Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 251–57; Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 44–45; Khan, *Banbhore: A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations at Banbhore*; Tauqeer Ahmad Warraich, “Early Mosques of South Asia and Impact of Native Architecture: A Case Study of Banbhore, Mansura, Udigram and Quwwat-Ul-Islam Mosques,” *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 45, no. 2 (2008): 159–68.

⁹ For previous documentations of the *Jāmi’ Masjid* of Makli see: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 46–59; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 48–50.

¹⁰ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 246; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 131. Dani is also of the view that “the mosque consists of only severely plain” brick hall. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 48.

internal length is divided into three bays, the central being a perfect square with its eastern and western walls slightly recessed than the others.

The four corners of this central bay act as brick piers and support four-centered lofty arches articulated on all sides (Fig. 89). Similar arches are also provided on the northern and southern ends of the hall. The projecting brick cells featured on the soffits of arches crowing the central bay reveal their structural technique of execution, that is, through *muqarnas* (arches on the ends exhibit plain soffits, yet differences in their brick sizes and the manner in which they are laid hints at the presence of later renovations). Above the piers and the spandrels, possibly arches across the corners forming exposed semi-domical squinches aided in the springing of the dome, both of which no longer survive.¹¹ However, it is hard to form conclusions about the external appearance of the *Jāmi` Masjid`*'s dome and whether it stood over a drum. Moreover, the wide soaring arches present on the shorter ends of the structure (Fig. 88) indicate the employment of pointed barrel-vaulting to roof the side bays, an analysis which previous scholars also support.¹² For purely cosmetic, non-structural purposes, the entire upper half of the interior walls is provided with *muqarnas* niches of diverse sizes, made in brick and finished in stucco (Figs. 87, 88), and the same scheme is followed on the exterior eastern wall that faced onto the open courtyard. Whether the walls received further decorative treatment, such as glazing, is hard to conjecture, nonetheless, remains of wooden pieces projecting out of the corners of central bay hints that wooden elements were possibly used to decorate the interior.

¹¹ This analysis is based on the latter Samma brick structures all of which adopt squinches to convert the square spaces into domical superstructures. Yet, at the corners and the upper part of the piers, straight edged walling of spandrel still exists which points towards the springing of the squinch units above those, and therefore, forming exposed semi-domical squinches.

¹² Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 46; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 50.

Recent archeological missions along the coast have revealed the foundations of several late-medieval brick constructions including mosques. Though, a three-part structure supplemented with an open courtyard and without a *minār* seems unfamiliar to contemporary southern Sindh. Although two centuries later we do find a similitude in the Dabgir mosque of Thatta, dated to 977 AH/1588 CE and built under the Tarkhan patronage, which preserves a tripartite sanctuary crowned with three domes along with an open, yet bounded courtyard (Fig. 90).¹³ Scholars have suggested an Iranian influence on the Samma mosque but did not explain their rationale.¹⁴ Also, Dani has equated the mosque's structure to contemporary Tughlaq stone buildings of Delhi merely on the basis of shared "severe look," which is rather an inadequate comparison.¹⁵ Therefore, supporting evidence for the stylistic roots of the *Jāmi` Masjid* of Makli may be sought elsewhere.

Before the Mongol invasions, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, a series of brick mosques built in Central Asia and Iran used four massive brick piers articulating arches that divided the interior space in to nine bays. One of the few surviving examples of this type include the eleventh-century Seljuk structure of Masjid-i Degaron at Navoi (near Hazara) in Uzbekistan. The central bay of this mosque is loftier than the rest and is crowned by a dome with semi-domical squinches, while the bays on its either side in the central section take vaulted roofs (Fig. 91).¹⁶ This rectangular central section, hence, provides a superficial resemblance to the form of the Makli *Jāmi` Masjid*'s prayer hall. The resemblance is greater in similar tripartite sections with domed

¹³ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 175–77 (also see Fig. 9 & No. 132a); Ahmad Nabi Khan, "The Dabgaran Mosque, Thatta: Its Architecture and Architectural Decoration," *Journal of Research Society of Pakistan* 15, no. 3 (1979): 17–24.

¹⁴ Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 46.

¹⁵ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 48.

¹⁶ İbrahim Çeşmeli, "Orta Asya Camilerinde Tipoloji (7-13. Yüzyıllar)," *Sanatdünyamız* 103 (2007): 314–33. Çeşmeli has also indicated several other structures of similar kind. Moreover, Çeşmeli along with other modern scholars mainly rely on three significant texts written by Soviet academics/ archaeologists (S. Khmel'nitski, 1996; G.A. Pugaçenkova, 1958; V. Voronina, 1953) who had originally discovered and documented these Central Asian establishments. I have been unable to consult those due to certain restrictions.

roof over central bays that also appropriate pointed barrel-vaults on the sides, found in the nine-bay Friday mosque at Nahavand (western Iran).¹⁷

Additionally, from the eleventh through the thirteenth centuries, the above-mentioned form evolved further to produce a single tripartite unit, termed as *namāzgāh* (lit. place of prayer), which had a central dome and vaults on the sides, and was occasionally attached with an open praying platform. This compositional layout doesn't comprise the standard *minār* but sometimes included an entrance portico; also it was rarely employed in other Islamic geographies, yet more widely exploited in Central Asia.¹⁸ The eleventh-century Nisa Namazgah in southern Turkmenistan, the ruined *namāzgāh* in Dehistan city (western Turkmenistan), and the twelfth-century Seljuk mosque of Talhatan Baba in Yolotan near Merv (Turkmenistan) exemplify this layout with functional open praying spaces.¹⁹ However, the closest parallel to the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli is found in a twelfth/thirteenth-century brick mosque attributed to one Khoja Sarboz, located in the Kubadiyan region (modern Shaartuz) of Tajikistan. The rectangular prayer hall of this ruined mosque consisted of three bays connected by arches. According to earlier documentation, the central space was covered with a dome, while the side bays were covered with large pointed arches in the form of vaults (Fig. 92).²⁰

¹⁷ Alireza Anisi, "Early Islamic Architecture in Iran (637-1059)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Edinburgh, 2008), 80–81 (also see Fig.III.1, plan of the Friday mosque at Nahavand). Anisi cites the roots of these mosques in the Sassanian *chahār-tāqs* (domed square fire temples with opening on four sides), a view that other scholars also share. See for example: Bernard O'Kane, "ĀHĀRTĀQ (In the Islamic Period)," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1990, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cahartaq>.

¹⁸ Çeşmeli, "Orta Asya Camilerinde Tipoloji (7-13. Yüzyıllar)."

¹⁹ Çeşmeli (see Fig. 5 for the plans of these mosques).

²⁰ Çağlayan Hergül, "Tacikistan'da Moğol Öncesi Türk-İslâm Mimarîsi (Turco-Islamic Architecture of Pre-Mughal Period in Tajikistan)," in *Ölümünün 50. Yılında Uluslararası M. Fuad Köprülü Türkoloji ve Beşeri Bilimler Sempozyumu* (21-22 Kasım 2016) Bildirileri, ed. Fikret Turan, Emine Temel, and Harun Korkmaz (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2017), 309–39; Çeşmeli, "Orta Asya Camilerinde Tipoloji (7-13. Yüzyıllar)."

An inquiry into these architectural affinities brings to the forefront historic episodes of Muslim Sindh's political, cross-cultural and artistic encounters with Central Asia and Iran. The Ghaznavid and Ghurid invasions, and the arrival of Sufi saints had early on facilitated the importation of these Turco-Persian architectural traditions, which can be seen in numerous brick monuments from both the pre-Sultanate and Sultanate periods, spread across the Indus Valley.²¹ With reference to southern Sindh, Chapter One already cites frequent presence of the Chaghatayid Mongols in the region in the second and third quarters of the fourteenth century, for the purpose of raiding Tughlaq borderlands in collaboration with the Jams of Thatta.²² However, previously a more intimate and significant interaction occurred when Jalal al-Din Mangburni (r. 1220-1231), the last Sultan of Khwarazmian dynasty that governed large parts of Iran and Central Asia, conquered Sindh in 1222 CE. Ousted from Khwarazmia by the Mongols, Jalal al-Din arrived in southern Sindh with the remnants of his army via Punjab and precariously ruled the territories stretched from Multan to the Delta of Indus till 1224. Subsequently, he made his way back to Iran, by way of Makran, but his lieutenant Üzbek-bei and some other officers were left behind to govern Sindh for the rest of the decade.²³

²¹ Scholars have highlighted various architectural episodes with reference to several pre-Samma period hybrid examples that find close parallels to these Turco-Persian architectural traditions from Iran and Central Asian. For example, a few twelfth-century structures of Ghurid patronage in the Indus Valley, the thirteenth-century tombs of Lal Mahra Sharif and the tombs of Suhrawardi saints in Multan. These importations culminated in the creation of a masterpiece in the Suhrawardiyya mausoleums of Rukn-e 'Alam at Multan (1324). Besides Holly Edwards recent book (cited previously), some important publications on these transcultural episodes include: Flood, "Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd"; Holly Edwards, "The Ribāṭ of 'Alī b. Karmākh," *Iran* 29 (1991): 85–94; Robert Hillenbrand, "Turco-Iranian Elements in the Medieval Architecture of Pakistan: The Case of the Tomb of Rukn-i 'Alam at Multan," *Muqarnas Online* 9, no. 1 (1991): 148–74.

²² Māhrū, *Inshā'ī Mahrū*, letter no. 8, 46 & 134; Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firōz-Shahī*, 533–34; 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 43–44.

²³ In c. 1230 forces sent by the Delhi Sultan forced Üzbek-bei and other Khwarazmian officers to retreat to Iran, see: 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Aṭā Malik Juvaynī, *Genghis Khan: The History of the World Conqueror - Translation of Tārīkh-i Jahāngushāy*, trans. J. A. Boyle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 416–17; Rashīd al-Dīn Hamadānī, "Jāmi' Al-Tawārīkh," in *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, ed. John Dowson, trans. Henry Miers Elliot, vol. II, Cambridge Library Collection - Perspectives from the Royal

During this short sojourn, Mangburni is recorded to have issued bilingual Arabic-Nagari coins and had also commissioned some architectural endeavours in southern Sindh, including at least one congregational mosque in the (now-lost) littoral settlement of Damrila, about 50 km west of Thatta (Map 2).²⁴ According to Monik Kervran, the remains of this congregational mosque surfaces occasionally near a location at present known as Jam Jaskar Goth, but only during lowest tides, that too amid certain years. Archaeological missions have revealed that Mangburni's congregational mosque had a hypostyle layout with a vast courtyard and a semi-circular *mihṛāb* projecting from the western wall of its sanctuary; nevertheless it was covered with a multi-vault roofing system.²⁵ It is most likely that this mosque was built by foreign craftsmen, probably from Central Asia, considering the fragments of an inscriptional frieze unearthed from the site (Fig. 93).²⁶ These fragments, most likely part of the ornamental composition adorning the *qibla* wall, display fine pseudo-*kūfic* script with knotted ascenders carved against a rich background of arabesque. This style of epigraphy was uncommon in southern Sindh at the time yet hearkens to the style of twelfth- and thirteenth-century monumental epigraphy from eastern Iran and Central Asia.²⁷ A stone frieze echoing similar style has also been discovered framing the *mihṛāb* of the

Asiatic Society (London: Trübner & Co., 1869), 550–56; Peter Jackson, “Jalāl Al-Dīn, the Mongols, and the Khwarazmian Conquest of the Panjāb and Sind,” *Iran* 28 (1990): 45–54.

²⁴ There are indications that this city developed on the coast alongside the decline of Debal in the twelfth century. By the thirteenth century it had become the capital and seat of government for the Sumra rulers, yet none of the contemporary chronicles specifically mention it as a port. The city is well recorded in the wake of Jalal al-Din Mangburni's attack on Sindh. See: Juvaynī, *Genghis Khan*, 417; Hamadānī, “Jāmi‘ Al-Tawārikh,” 555. The Khwarazmian coins issued from Sindh were in the name of Mangburni and his officers who stayed behind.

²⁵ Kervran, “La Mosquée de Ġalāl Al-Dīn Ḥwārazm Sāh à Damrilā, Dans Les Bouches de l’Indus”; Kervran, “Damrila, un Site perdu et peut-être retrouvé du Delta de l’Indus.”

²⁶ Kervran, “La Mosquée de Ġalāl Al-Dīn Ḥwārazm Sāh à Damrilā, Dans Les Bouches de l’Indus”; Kervran, “Caravansérails Du Delta de l’Indus: Réflexions Sur l’origine Du Caravansérail Islamique”; Asma Ibrahim and Kaleem Lashari, “Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Lower Deltaic Area of Indus,” *Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists’ Forum* 2, no. I–II (1993): 1–44.

²⁷ The most convincing comparison can be made with the inscriptions in the minaret of Jam and the *madrāsah* of Shah-i Mashhad, both in Afghanistan; the anonymous Karakhanid Mausoleum in Uzgen (Kyrgyzstan) dated 581/1186, and in the Great Mosque of Herat, dated from the late twelfth century. Also see: Kervran, “La Mosquée de Ġalāl Al-Dīn Ḥwārazm Sāh à Damrilā, Dans Les Bouches de l’Indus,” fig. 4; Kervran, “Damrila, un Site perdu et

previously-discussed Thamban Wari mosque, which otherwise employed Māru-Gurjara decorative vocabulary.²⁸ This points towards wider reception of Central Asian and Iranian artistic traditions combined with the indigenous architectural practices in contemporary southern Sindh.

However, a precursor to the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* of Makli, having a column-free tripartite structure with an open courtyard, is nowhere to be found. Nevertheless, one should keep in mind that most of Sindh’s medieval urban settlements and capital cities have been completely razed to the ground, and some can only be located in the historic texts. It is, therefore, quite possible that prototypes to this mosque did exist but now have been lost. For example, traces of another mosque, albeit small in size, is also reported by archaeologists in the vicinity of Mangburni’s *Jami‘ Masjid*.²⁹ Yet, it is certain that by the time Samma Sultanate was established at the end of the fourteenth century, the Sindhi craftsmen were accomplished and well-trained in executing diverse structures conceived within the Turco-Persian artistic idioms, as can be observed in the corpus of medieval brick monuments spread all over the province. Moreover, as discussed below, the skills of Samma builders kept enhancing throughout the dynastic era due to further contacts with Turco-Mongol groups, resulting in the building of monuments that employed distinctive structural and decorative elements connected with Central Asia and Iran.

Brick Mausolea of Samma Royal Patronage

Most of the surviving brick structures identified of their Samma provenance belong to the funereal category and provide a useful measure of diversity in the brick architecture produced under Samma patronage. Two of the earliest tombs, the *dargāh* (shrine) of Shaykh Abu Turab (782 AH/1380

peut-être retrouvé du Delta de l’Indus”; Ibrahim and Lashari, “Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Lower Deltaic Area of Indus.”

²⁸ Kervran, “Le Port Multiple Des Bouches de l’Indus: Barbariké, Dēb, Daybul, Lāhorī Bandar, Diul Sinde,” 46–47; Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus.”

²⁹ Ibrahim and Lashari, “Recent Archaeological Discoveries in the Lower Deltaic Area of Indus.”

CE) near Gujjo (Fig. 155) and the tomb of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti (c. 1427) adjacent to the saint’s *khānqāh* in Zone I of Makli necropolis (Fig. 94), have departed from their original form due to recent renovations.³⁰ The remnants of another late fourteenth-century tomb, attributed to Shaykh Hammad Jamali, are barely surviving in the courtyard of *Jāmi‘ Masjid* of Makli. This structure when visited by Cousens still had its brick dome intact, which along with its extant fragments on the site confirms its cuboid form and arcuate construction (Fig. 95).³¹ Traces of monochrome blue glazed tiles on the floor, and underglaze blue and white painted tiles on the lower section of the walls are also quite visible on the interior surfaces; these, however, appear to be later additions.³²

The rest of Samma brick mausolea in Makli necropolis remain unrenovated, providing noticeable commonalities in their composition, for example, the execution of pointed arches and arched squinches to spring the domes atop was clearly a prerequisite. Moreover, these mausolea have massive walls, pierced with large entrances on three sides; the fourth or west side being closed upon manifesting a deep *mihrāb* niche in the interior (exterior projections are not enhanced). However, inconsistency in the monumental epigraphy on these tombs adds considerable difficulty in identifying the interred and also in establishing a secure chronology of their construction. Nevertheless, from the random clues provided in the extant inscriptions it is reasonable to assume

³⁰ The *dargāh* of Shaykh Abu Turab is discussed in more detail in the next Chapter. For the tomb of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti see: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 62.

³¹ Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 114. Moreover, a date of 813 AH/1410 CE has been suggested by Cousens and Burgess for the construction of this tomb, but they fail to provide the provenance of this claim. Also see: Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:210. M.A. Ghafur also writes that a rare specimen of *ṭāliq* inscription carved on the tomb of Hammad Jamali records the date as 841 AH/1438 CE, which is quite a few decades after the Shaykh’s death and is nowhere to be found on the site. Ghafur also does not specify the structure he considers to be the Shaykh’s tomb. See: Ghafur, *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, 50.

³² Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 60–61; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 35.

that all these brick mausolea were built contemporaneously and as Edwards suggests in “a single wave of architectural patronage,” perhaps in the last few decades of Samma sovereignty.³³

Five of these brick monuments stand, if somewhat deteriorated, in close proximity among the other royal structures in Zone II. Another, the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan is preserved in a slightly better condition further south in Zone III (Fig. 1). Whereas a mausoleum of an unidentified aristocrat, located northwest of the previous, survives in seclusion as it is little removed from both Zone II and III (Fig. 1). Of these mausolea, that of Kaus al-Sultan and the latter unidentified one share strikingly identical characteristics and will be discussed shortly. The other five present two different varieties in their basic layout; they are either square or rectangular in plan. Among these, the mausoleum of Samma prince Malik Rajpal (Fig. 96), datable to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and the two mausolea of anonymous royalties that are effectively twin structures (diverging only slightly in size and in minor details) located on the southwestern end of Zone II take the ubiquitous domed cuboid format (Fig. 09, 100), following the standard Turco-Persianate formulae.³⁴

Little of the superstructures now survive from these three buildings but evidence posit that their domes did not rest upon distinctly noticeable drums. In fact, bearing in-built short drums, the domes of these mausolea sprang directly above the zone of transition formed by the squinches at the corners (Fig. 97). These squinches are of the same width as the arched openings between them, resulting in a regular octagonal space at this level. However, a small segment of the dome that

³³ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 245.

³⁴ The foundation inscription of Malik Rajpal’s tomb is carved on a gravestone inserted on the interior west wall, which confirms his royal descent from the first Samma Jam, Malik Firuz al-Din Unnar. For this inscription and for the dimensions and other details of all three square tombs, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 546; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 51–54; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 63–77.

survives atop the mausoleum of Malik Rajpal suggests an unusually shallow type of surbased variety, produced by employing a rather thin section of brick masonry to achieve a span of about 6.7 m, the widest yet attempted by the Samma masons (Fig. 98).³⁵ For this form, the artisans appear to have been drawing upon the available samples of Timurid architecture in Iran and Central Asia where amid a variety of technical approaches such shallow forms were also successfully employed for designing both external and internal components of discontinuous double-shell domes. One notable example is the external dome in the Mir Chaqmaq Complex in Yazd (1437 CE), which marks the distinction of Timurid builders in providing internal stiffeners and wooden struts to support this dome design.³⁶ Nevertheless, in the Samma mausolea the dome form and its construction technique without any additional support eventually proved futile as none of these domes have survived. However, such experimentations in Makli and Thatta reflect cross-cultural interactions with the contemporary Timurids (1370-1507) or a direct importation of such forms and artistic ideas with the influx at this time of Turkic groups from the Persianate lands (see below). Along with other funerary monuments, the mausoleum of Malik Rajpal stands atop an expansive rubble-stone platform, primarily leveling the uneven topography of this part of the site. The mausoleum building comprises dressed stone masonry courses up to about 2 m above which its brick walls begin (Fig. 96). The most distinctive feature of Malik Rajpal's mausoleum, however, which does not find parallel in any other Samma tomb, is the presence of four axial pointed-arched doorways, and accordingly, the desertion of the *mihrāb* niche altogether. This scheme was initially

³⁵ A surbased or diminished dome is one that is segmental on its vertical section and when its height is less than the radius of its base.

³⁶ Maryam Ashkan and Yahaya Ahmad, "Persian Domes: History, Morphology and Typologies," *International Journal of Architectural Research (IJAR)* 3, no. 3 (2009); Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, vol. 1, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology 46 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 421–22.

used in the celebrated mausoleum of the Samanids at Bukhara (constructed before 943), and ultimately recalls the *chahār-tāq* (lit. four arches) – a square architectural unit consisting of four arches or short barrel vaults between four corner piers, with a dome resting on squinches – a structural arrangement that was originally used in the Sassanian fire temples.³⁷ In view of medieval texts, scholars have identified this arrangement as sacred, symbolizing the “fourth level of paradise, which is the domicile of the sun” and the source of light, and therefore, an appropriate form to entomb a devout Muslim or saintly figure.³⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that this form prevailed in wider Islamic geographies. For example, a few mediaeval mausolea in Turkmenistan are also recorded to endure four axial entrances in the domed square chambers. This include the late tenth-century mausoleum in the Imam Bab cemetery at Merv and the eleventh- or twelfth-century Aksaray Ding at Tagta. Moreover, similar mausolea have also been identified in Fatimid Egypt (mainly at Aswan and Cairo).³⁹ Consequently, the *chahār-tāq*-like arrangement organically assimilated into the Indus Valley, possibly resulting from the impacts of Ghaznavid expansions, and created regional variants of the domed cuboids with four axial entrances. This is exemplified in the undated twin structures of the brick tombs of Duagan and Suhagan at Aror (northern Sindh), possibly built in the eleventh or early twelfth century.⁴⁰ The Indus Valley manifestation of these *chahār-tāq*-like domed chambers further informed the design of late twelfth-/ early thirteenth-century small brick products of Ghurid patronage, namely the tomb of Shaykh Sadan Shahid (Fig.

³⁷ Richard Ettinghausen, “Some Comments on Medieval Iranian Art. (A Propos the Publication of ‘The Cambridge History of Iran’),” *Artibus Asiae* 31, no. 4 (1969): 276–300; Dietrich Huff and Bernard O’Kane, “ĀHĀRTĀQ,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1990, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cahartaq>.

³⁸ Abbas Daneshvari, *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran: An Iconographical Study*, Bibliotheca Iranica: Islamic Art & Architecture 2 (Lexington: Mazda Publishers, 1986), 22–24, 45.

³⁹ Oleg Grabar, “The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents,” *Ars Orientalis* 6 (1966): 7–46; O’Kane, “ĀHĀRTĀQ (In the Islamic Period).”

⁴⁰ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 84–85, 190–200.

101) and the tomb of Ahmad Kabir (Fig. 102), dated 600 AH/1203-04 CE, both near Multan in Southern Punjab (Pakistan).⁴¹

However, set on high platforms, these Indus Valley tombs present rich ornate façades exhibiting imbrication of Persianate and Indic architectural idioms. Whereas, to the contrary the mausoleum of Malik Rajpal doesn't have much to offer in terms of ornamentation except that the monotony in the exterior brickwork is broken with slightly recessed paneling with vertical bands, a scheme reiterated in other Samma tombs as well (Fig. 96). Yet, fairly intact stucco on the surfaces of its two anonymous counterparts in the southwest of Zone II demonstrate that at least some geometrical mouldings and patterns, albeit insubstantial, did embellish the interior surfaces in relief (Fig. 103). One of these anonymous mausolea employs a somewhat composite two-tiered system of squinches, although Samma artisans contemporaneously used even more complicated forms (see below). The squinches articulated in the structure east of the well-known funerary enclosure of Mubarak Khan (d. 1520) are supplemented with subsidiary squinches below for support, which also activate the zone of transition rather sooner (Fig. 103) compared to the other two structures in this sub-group.

The Samma architects deviated from this type of composite transition zone to a more complex arrangement when a unique brick structure was commissioned by Mian Taj al-Din in 878 AH/1473 CE to entomb a Samma princess – the sister of prince Mian Fath Khan, and her family (Fig. 104). The identity of Mian Taj al-Din is obscure, whereas in the genealogical chart worked out by Rashidi (Appendix A) the entombed princess and prince Mian Fath Khan are identified as the progenies of the most illustrious Samma Sultan, Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo (r. 1461-1508).

⁴¹ Flood, "Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd"; Abdul Rehman and Talib Hussain, "Expression of Paying Tribute to the Saint: The Decorative Vocabulary on the Tomb of Syed Ahmad Kabir," *Journal of Research in Architecture and Planning* 10 (2011): 59–75.

Inside the building, on the *qibla* wall, a stone tablet carved with a hybrid script, primarily Arabic with traces of Persian, confirms this data and also marks one of the few textual specimens from the Samma dynastic period that offer comprehensive monumental epigraphy. The inscription begins with Qur'an 17:79 (*al-Isrā'*) and reads:

“And from [part of] the night, pray with it as additional [worship] for you; it is expected that your Lord will resurrect you to a praised station. This place is for those who hope for the mercy of God Almighty. The building commenced by order of the crown of the world and religion, Miān Tāj al-Dīn, [for] sister of Miān Faṭḥ Khān bin Sulṭān Nizām al-Dīn Shāh, may his kingdom and sovereignty perpetuate, in the year eight hundred and seventy-eight (878 AH) in the month of Rabi‘ al-awwal on the day Punjshanba (Thursday).”⁴²

The mausoleum is set on a spacious platform, raised about 1 m above the surrounding ground level. It presents one of the two cases among the Samma tombs with a rectangular plan (Fig. 105). The other being the single-unit brick enclosure located immediately south of Sultan Nizam al-Din's tomb that is in a much-advanced state of dilapidation. However, this enclosure preserves, on its residual surfaces, traces of large monochrome glazed tiles of inferior quality, perhaps produced locally (Figs. 106, 107).⁴³ On the contrary, the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister has two units. The main unit, which holds several graves, is a domed square with arched openings on three sides. The fourth or west side is provided with a centrally placed elaborate *mihrāb* composition, which has a semicircular niche below and a deeply set *muqarnas* niche above (Fig. 108). Attached to the main

⁴² This hybrid Perso-Arabic inscription confirms the date of construction as 878 AH. Although Dani reads the inscription correctly but while converting, he erroneously records it as 898 AH/1492 CE. Edwards following Dani has also recorded the date incorrectly. For the inscription's original documentation see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 541; Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 245; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 54.

⁴³ Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 86–90; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 45–48.

hall is a rectangular porch-like unit on the east which holds a single elongated stone cenotaph with flat lid (Figs. 104, 105).⁴⁴

The interior of the mausoleum's main hall shows a multifaceted composition of elements in the zone of transition, embodied to achieve monumental height. Similar to the anonymous tomb, this zone begins with small subsidiary squinches at each corner that provide extra support to the primary squinches above, which convert the square into an octagon. While the subsidiary squinches retain stalactites for composition and decoration, each primary squinch comprises a distinctive central rib that in turn displays a series of lozenge recessions in the stucco finish (Fig. 109).⁴⁵ The transition zone is further unified by a tier of blind arches superimposing the primary squinches that instigate the tall octagonal drum above which rests an ambitious form of hemispherical dome.

The extant portion from the dome of Fath Khan's sister's mausoleum presents a singular case of intricate brickwork to have been attempted by the Samma artisans. Formerly the mausoleum's main chamber was roofed with a double-layered brick masonry hemispherical dome. Such double-layered domes are also found in the earlier tombs from Sindh, such as the tombs of Suhagan and Duagan at Aror.⁴⁶ However, in the dome from Fath Khan's sister's mausoleum, while the extrados shows the outer layer laid in consistent lateral courses of brick, the intrados displays diagonal arrangement of standard bricks creating herringbone pattern (Fig. 110). This technique allowed for a sophisticated method of reinforcing the superstructure with thicker section of brickwork, and also presented means of embellishing the interior with a pattern that may have

⁴⁴ Dani believes this porch to be a later addition, but stylistic evaluation doesn't support this claim. The elongated cenotaph, nevertheless, is not contemporary to the other cenotaphs inside the mausoleum and was perhaps a later burial, although it exploits similar style. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 53–54.

⁴⁵ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 245.

⁴⁶ Edwards, 84–85, 190–200.

originally been covered in glazing. Limited traces of blue colored glazing are still visible on the intrados as well as the ribs of primary squinches (Fig. 109), which suggests that the interior of the mausoleum was originally more elaborate than what we encounter today. This double-layered brick dome with herringbone pattern is the first of its kind known from southern Sindh and may suggest the employment of Turco-Persian artisans.⁴⁷ The archetypal status of this dome form is clear from numerous earlier copies surviving in Iran and Central Asia. Two notable examples include the domes from Gunbad-i Arsalan-i Jazib (a Ghaznavid domed square tomb probably built between 997-1028) and Ribat-i Sharaf (the Seljuk caravanserai built in c. 1124 and restored in 1154), both from Khurasan. More general accounts of medieval Islamic architecture further testify that as far as decoration is concerned, the herringbone brickwork retained much wider reception in terms of building typologies, components, dynastic eras and geographic regions. For example, in the Friday mosque at Marand (Seljuk, northwest Iran) and in the *madrassa* complex of Khoja Mashkhad near Shaartuz (Pre-Mongol, Tajikistan) the herringbone brickwork is applied in the zone of transition; while in the Anatolian Seljuk complex of Sahib 'Ata *khānqāh* at Konya (Turkey) the pattern is implemented on the dome's intrados, and in the Mil-i Radkan tomb-tower located north of Mashhad (Ilkhanid, northeast Iran) it decorates the exterior surfaces of the engaged columns.⁴⁸

Where the style and brickwork rightly place the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister within the Turco-Persian architectural idiom, its certain features represent the syncretic survival of Māru-

⁴⁷ The technique is repeatedly exploited in Makli necropolis after the Mughal annexation of Sindh. More refined examples exist in the tombs of *dīwān* (minister) Shurfa Khan (dated 1048 AH/1638 CE) and Baqi Beg Uzbek (dated 1050 AH/1640 CE). See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 151, 157, 166–70, 174.

⁴⁸ Robert Hillenbrand, "Saljūq Dome Chambers in North-West Iran On," *Iran* 14 (1976): 93–102; M. Siroux, "La Mosquée Djoumeh De Marand," *Arts Asiatiques* 3, no. 2 (1956): 89–97; Donald Newton Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Il Khānid Period* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), 116.

Gurjara influences among the late fifteenth-century Samma artisans. From its nine stone cenotaphs inside the main hall, two anonymous specimens have increasingly elaborate carved stone cenotaphs of *chaūkhandī* style (the rest being less-ornate casket type with flat lids). These *chaūkhandī* cenotaphs were a later addition to the family mausoleum, possibly from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, as their disparate form and arbitrary placement inside the chamber suggests (Fig. 74, 163). The mausoleum structure also activates the tendency of literally “inserting” stone doorframe into the main arched openings (Fig. 111), which in this case is on the southern wall that is also comparatively wider, and hence, serves as the principal entrance. Although, evidence suggests that a similar frame perhaps also existed in the eastern entrance which is accessible through the porch. The existing stone doorframe, however, does not appropriate all the archetypal components of a Māru-Gurjara *dvārśākhā* (doorframe), yet an unadorned *mandāraka* (threshold stone) is present and in the middle of *uttaraṅga* (lintel) a floral *lalāṭabimba* is positioned, below which a *lambana* (decorative pendant) suspends.

The two latest of the Samma brick structures in Makli necropolis – the unidentified mausoleum (Fig. 112) standing isolated towards west of Samma royal monuments, and its more superior replica, the mausoleum of Malik Kaus al-Sultan (Fig. 113)– also share several stylistic features with the mausoleum of Fath Khan’s sister, yet they adopt some distinctive characteristics as well. Though built a decade apart, both structures are virtually twins in terms of planning and are likewise products of royal sponsorship. For example, the monumental inscription on the doorframe of the unidentified mausoleum specifies that the structure was built by the *Sulṭān ‘ālī-muqām* (the exalted Sultan) in 908 AH/1502-03 CE, that is, during the reign of Sultan Nizam al-

Din Jam Nindo (d. 1508).⁴⁹ This mausoleum and its effective twin are domed cuboids with three openings and a deep *mihrāb* niche in their *qibla* wall. The *mihrāb* in the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan is an elaborate composition framed by *muqarnas*, an arrangement of rhombuses molded in stucco, and a pair of deeply carved aedicular or “micro-architectural” columns of Māru-Gurjara composite *miśraka* style (Fig. 114).⁵⁰ These columns also resemble the components of Māru-Gurjara *vedikā* (balustrade), usually carved with foliate scrolls.⁵¹ Similar micro-architectural columns are commonly found in Gujarat, particularly framing the *mihrābs* of late-medieval mosques, for example the Congregational mosque at Bharuch (1321). In Makli necropolis, the earliest instance of these micro-architectural *miśraka* columns occurs in Mubarak Khan’s funerary enclosure (begun 1490) and the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din (1509), to later become a standardized practice. Their frequent appearance in Makli tombs, however, has led scholars to mistakenly identify these micro-architectural *miśraka* columns as “Sindhi” as well, although their provenance clearly lies in the Māru-Gurjara style.⁵²

⁴⁹ The lintel in the stone doorframe of eastern wall in the unidentified mausoleum is carved with a short Arabic inscription that begins with crudely executed Throne verse (Qur’an 2:255) and later records: “This place is among the tombs of Islām (peace) [...] the exalted Sultan built this house and grave in the year 908 (H).” This tomb is fleetingly mentioned by Dani, whereas the Lari and Lari have not included it in their list of Samma monuments. Lashari assigns this tomb a title of “Sujjun Qubbo” but his reading of the inscription is different as he reads the date as *ṣamānūn wa tis ‘amā’ a* (980 H) instead of *ṣamāni ‘a wa tis ‘amā’ a* (908 H). He also reads “...*banda dargāh qabr,*” (instead of ... [...] *makān wa qabrah*) in his interpretation of this Arabic inscription. See: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 530; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 57.

⁵⁰ I am borrowing the term “micro-architecture” from Elizabeth Lambourne who classifies as such any element designed to replicate known monumental architectural types; essentially, if they are “small models of large buildings.” Although, in his *Indian Temple Architecture: Form and Transformation*, Adam Hardy has used the term “aedicules” or “aedicularity” to label the same phenomenon in the Indic temple traditions but Lambourne’s definition is more appropriate for use with reference to the Samma architecture as the focus of her study also remains on the use of “micro-architecture” by the Muslim building communities of Western India. Moreover, she notes that the micro-architecture of Western India is noticeably linked to the openings and along the principal axes of individual mosques and tombs; the locations where in Samma monuments these elements are noticeable as well. For details see: Lambourne, “A Self-Conscious Art? Seeing Micro-Architecture in Sultanate South Asia.”

⁵¹ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 163.

⁵² Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “Apropos the Sindhi Pillarettes”; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 55.

Nevertheless, the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan and its unidentified counterpart possess an additional square projection at the northeast corner of their plans that contains a staircase. The lower sections of their massive walls are built in sandstone above which the brick walls are set. The superstructure of the unidentified mausoleum has completely collapsed yet the components of its zone of transition are exact copy of those in the mausoleum of Fath khan's sister. The zone of transition of the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan, however, is further compounded in the interior with an additional arrangement between the dome and the tier of blind arches above the main squinches. This additional tier espouses alternate sequence of open alcoves and *muqarnas* niches (Fig. 115). These two tiers transform the octagonal space at the level of squinches into hexadecagonal one at the drum level, and eventually into a circular base for the dome.

The mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan (dated 919 AH/1513-14 CE), the last monumental construction to have transpired under Samma royal patronage, is by far the most sophisticated and refined brick structure in terms of ornamentation. The identity of the person who is commemorated by this building is obscure. The principal cenotaph inside the burial chamber is of the *chaūkhandī* type (Fig. 116), which is very similar in form, shape and ornamentation to the two highly ornate cenotaphs in the mausoleum of Fath khan's sister (Figs. 128, 163). Carved on the ornate keel-shaped top of this principal cenotaph is an unusual titulature of the deceased, “*al-Malik al-Khawāṣ Malik Kaūs al-Sulṭānī*” (lit. “lord of special characteristics, lord Kaus al-Sultan”), which has not been recorded in any textual source. However, on the southern doorframe, just below a finely carved panel reading the verse of Qur'an 39:73 (*al-Zumar*), an Arabic monumental epigraph in *thuluth* script reveals the status of the deceased (Figs. 117, 118). The inscription states:

“History of this exalted location and transcendent place is: it was ordered by the revered wazīr Sulaymān – who conceded to the rules of the world and is avid supporter of the Glorified One (Allāh), [the mausoleum is] constructed on request of the sons of the [deceased] wazīr, sponsored by the Sulṭān of the

*kingdoms – there is not another like him in this universe. May Allāh grant him a long life.*⁵³

This inscription, hence, confirms that Kaus al-Sultan was a high-ranking political official (*wazīr*; minister) at the Samma court and the construction of his tomb was funded by the Sultan himself. It should be noted that at this time the sovereign was Sultan Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fath ‘urf Jam Firuz Shah (r. 1508-1522), the last Sultan of the Samma Sultanate.

The mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan concurrently fosters techniques from diverse decorative idioms. For example, an extravagant stone doorframe of *catuḥśākhā* (four-jambed) variety is inserted into its main or southern opening, which possesses a small ornate *mandāraka* at the threshold (Fig. 118). Whereas, the vertical jambs framing this doorway display, carved in relief, a fusion of Māru-Gurjara motifs like looped lotus bud (*patravallī*) and foliage bearing signs of Timurid influences (discussed in more detail shortly). Regardless of the foliage types, the jambs essentially fall within the Māru-Gurjara *patrasākhā* (jambs adorned with foliage) range. Moreover, the hybrid character of the structure is further evident from its main (southern) façade. This façade is provided with two sets of *muqarnas* niches (one deep and the other shallow) on the brick section of the wall; one set on each side of the entrance (Fig. 117). Adjoining the deep niches on the stone section of the wall, Māru-Gurjara styled blind *bhadra* niches in stone are carved. These *bhadra* niches have blossoming *padmas* carved inside in relief and are framed with ornamental pillarets with stenciled *pūrṇaghaṭa* motifs. Such an arrangement parallels those mentioned earlier in the mausoleum of Bangi Isma‘il (Gwadar, Baluchistan) or Rudabai Vav (Adalaj, Gujarat).

⁵³ Lashari’s reading is a little different but primarily leads to similar outcome. See: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 504.

Additionally, close examination of the extant part of superstructure underlines some interesting characteristics about the dome that once crowned the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan but has now collapsed. The profile of this dome, cannot be recovered, though enough survives to indicate that it was double-layered entity maintaining at least two divergent decorative trends on the inner layer. In the interior some portion of the dome, possibly central, had plain or painted plaster revetment over brick, while the lower segment was articulated with simulated brickwork. Fortunately, the extant portion reveals that this lower part of the intrados was augmented with protruding brick plugs of carved cross-floral design (perhaps originally affording blue glazing). These plugs were arranged to form a network of rhomboids against the unglazed reddish-brick ground (Fig. 115). Combination of plain and monochromatic blue/turquoise glazed brickwork is an extension of an already established tradition of Indus Valley, which was cultivated following the Ghaznavid-Ghurid conquests, as found in the specimens from the thirteenth-century necropolis of Lal Mahra Sharif near Dera Ismail Khan. And these traditions were exceptionally refined by the time the late-medieval tombs of Suhrawardi saints were built in Multan and Uch.⁵⁴ However, the three-dimensional rhomboidal pattern formed out of brick plugs on the inside of Kaus al-Sultan's dome is a novelty in southern Sindh, which bears signs of decorative techniques like *bannā`ī* (builder's bond) or *hazār baf* (thousand-weave) that created patterns by alternating glazed and unglazed brick on surfaces of monuments built during the reign of the Seljuks through that of the Timurids.

⁵⁴ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 145–54, 211–29; Hillenbrand, “Turco-Iranian Elements in the Medieval Architecture of Pakistan: The Case of the Tomb of Rukn-i ‘Alam at Multan”; Hasan Ali Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of the Suhrawardi Sufi Order, 1200-1500 AD* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2016) Chapter 5 & 6.

Before moving on to the next query, it is significant to briefly discuss another aspect related to the brick architecture of the Samma dynastic period. This aspect primarily validates the hypothesis that Holly Edwards cursorily presented but could not elaborate. The author upon noticing “inescapable disparity” between “the intricately carved surfaces” of Samma structures in stone and the “massive sobriety and unadorned brick aesthetics” of the Samma brick tombs asks, if “brick was a second class material in the Samma period?” and “whether there was a political or economic dimension in the choice of building materials; was a certain status necessary for stone, for example?”⁵⁵

Edwards is partly correct in assuming that sanctity of brick does not appear equivalent to that of stone. Although, as shown above, all the Samma brick structures of Makli necropolis received royal patronage, where the patrons no doubt made substantial investment in using best available craftsmen, native or foreign, to attempt several novel techniques to produce sophisticated results. Therefore, it was not economics that defined the medium of construction for the Samma builders at the beginning of any architectural project, but perhaps the political or social standing of the deceased did matter. As discussed in some detail in Chapter Two, the Sammas in appropriating the Māru-Gurjara style of Western Indian temples for their stone monuments primarily suggest associations with the illustrious native Indian rulers of the past and also what the *śāstras* document – that stone being a suitable material for sacred spaces befits the dwellings of ascetics and divinities.⁵⁶ Hence, we find the Sammas raising their sacred ritual spaces of Sufi *khānqāhs* and only the tombs of their elites of the highest order, that is, the Sultans and their heirs, in stone (this point gets validation in the second part of this chapter). To the contrary, the tombs in

⁵⁵ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 246.

⁵⁶ Meister, “Temple Building in South Asia: Science as Technology’s Constraint,” 34.

brick were executed to commemorate minor princes and princesses of the Samma dynasty or select religious personnel and high-ranking aristocrats within the court, noteworthy enough to have found a resting place among the Sultans.⁵⁷ This division is further corroborated in the extant monumental inscriptions, wherever available. Hence, one can cautiously accept that the Samma patrons and builders were concerned with the concept of hierarchical sanctity of materials. Also, while erecting a monument in the Makli necropolis they also followed a tacit code in selecting the materials of construction; since these materials performed as markers of socio-political identities.

On Artistic Transmission and Modes of Circulation in the Late Samma Period

Among the group of Samma monuments a few more brick buildings once stood on Makli hill, although now they can only be traced either through insufficient remains of their structures or in the form of textual documentation (see Chapter One).⁵⁸ For example, in Zone III, the square tomb of two religious scholars is now completely destroyed and only its foundations survive, encircling three stone cenotaphs (Fig. 119). Two of these cenotaphs present very interesting cases of stone carvings to further explore the transmission of Turco-Persian, or more particularly Timurid artisanal traditions that greatly influenced the Samma artistic patronage towards the end of the dynastic period.

The two stone cenotaphs inside this tomb are of the flat casket-type category, massive in size but not of considerable height. As the Arabic inscriptions carved on these cenotaphs records,

⁵⁷ Nevertheless, exceptions exist in this rational as the two hexagonal *chatrī* tombs are known to have been built for saintly figures (see Chapter Two). In the case of *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli, the reasons for not adhering to the rules defined in the *vāstuśāstras* on the construction of mosques and selecting brick as the medium of construction, have already been suggested above.

⁵⁸ Burgess and Cousens have mentioned a few tombs. They also believe the tomb of Shaykh Jiyyah was built in 1494 CE. However, the tomb has no such date inscribed on its brick structure although its style is comparable to the Samma tombs and also to the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli. Dani, however, includes this tomb among the Arghun period monuments. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 161–62; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 116; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:210.

one grave belongs to Shaykh Junayd ibn ‘Abd al-Latif al-Hashmi *nisba* al-Kazeruni, who died on *Jumād al-Thānī* 14, 907 AH/December 25, 1501 CE, while the other belongs to his son, Shaykh Yahya bin Shaykh Junayd, who died on *Ramadān* 15, 919 AH/November 14, 1513 CE.⁵⁹ The *nisba* al-Kazeruni is of Iranian origin and indicates family ancestries in, or relations with, the town of Kazerun near Shiraz in southern Iran. The foundation inscription, therefore, makes it clear that the Kazeruni *Shaykhs* were among the foreign religious figures who emigrated to Thatta and entered the service of Samma Sultans. However, it is difficult to ascertain exactly when they migrated, yet both figures performed as notable religious authorities during the reigns of Sultan Nizam al-Din and his son Sultan Firuz Shah (see Chapter Six for details on their religious identities). The cenotaph of Shaykh Junayd Kazeruni is sculpted from a single block of sandstone and is carved with finely executed Qur’anic and monumental epigraphs, supplemented with detailed diacritical markings, on all its façades (Fig. 120). Bordering the inscriptions on the two lateral façades are carved meandering vine-like tendrils with stylized flowers, such as peonies, lotuses and split-palmettes, rendered in flat-cut relief. The top surface of the cenotaph was originally richly decorated but is now largely effaced. From the fragmentary words, still legible, it can be inferred that the inscriptions framing the top surface carried the Throne verse (Qur’an 2:255) followed by Qur’an 3:18 (*Āl-i ‘Imrān*).⁶⁰ In the middle an elegant arrangement bears a slightly recessed rectangular *miḥrāb* image that has a curved fleuron or pointed trefoil arch (Fig. 121). This fleuron shaped *miḥrāb* image is set against a network in the background of interlaced undulating chinoiserie-like arabesque with delicate tendrils out of which sprout similar stylized flowers and tantalizing tear-shaped buds and leaves. Positioned in this arabesque foliage, on either

⁵⁹ For the Arabic inscriptions with details on the names and titles on both the cenotaphs see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 490–91.

⁶⁰ For the original Arabic inscription see: Kaleemullah Lashari, 490–91.

ends of the *mihṛāb* are diagonally placed square *kūfic* ornamental motifs (Figs. 122, 123). It should be noted, however, that originating on the buildings of eastern Islamic lands in the eleventh century, square *kūfic* or *kūfi murabbʿa* is unique among the styles of Perso-Arabic calligraphies because it developed as a highly stylized form of architectural script, rather than as a standard calligraphic script on paper. Moreover, such square *kūfic* ornaments, as can be seen on Shaykh Junayd’s cenotaph, were not free of ideological and religious connotations, as shown in Chapter Six.⁶¹

The cenotaph of Shaykh Junayd Kazeruni, therefore, is the first of its kind to introduce a variety of motifs that never appeared in Makli and Thatta before. From the curved fleuron to the floral arabesque and square *kūfic* ornaments, all the modules of this composition adding new vocabularies to the Samma artistic idiom are thoroughly Timurid in conception. These motifs occur quite often across a variety of media and objects produced under Timurid patronage in late-medieval Central Asia and Iran.⁶² Comparable models exhibiting similar designs can be seen, for example, in the wall panels rendered in underglaze polychrome technique in the mausoleum known by the name of Ustad ‘Ali Nasafi (c. 1385) in Shah-i Zinda, Samarqand (Uzbekistan); in the glazed terracotta panels of the façade from the mausoleum of Shad-i Mulk Aqa (c. 1370), also in Shah-i Zinda; and in the blue tile mosaics decorating the well-known Mazar-i Khwaja Abu Nasr

⁶¹ In an important, yet unpublished dissertation on square *kūfic*, Tehniyat Majeed has explored the ideological and religious dimensions of the script. Square *kūfic* seals and inscriptions also held occultist connotations in the Islamic world, see: Tehniyat Majeed, “The Phenomenon of the Square Kufic Script: The Cases of Ilkhānid Iṣfahān And Baḥrī Mamlūk Cairo” (Ph.D., Oxford, UK, University of Oxford, 2006), <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.432190>.

⁶² The phenomenon was originally noticed by Zajadacz-Hastenrath, who briefly discusses the cenotaphs of Kazeruni Shaykhs as part of a wider study that primarily examines the design details of arabesque patterns used in monuments of Makli and Thatta with a focus on Arghun and Tarkhan architecture, and the continuation and slight variations of the same patterns. See: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, “The Arabesque Decoration on the Minbar of the Dabgir Mosque in Thatta, and Contemporary Relief Ornamentation Showing Timurid Influence in Sindh.”

Parsa (c. 1461) in Balkh (Afghanistan).⁶³ The presence of similar arabesque motifs in the illuminated and illustrated Timurid manuscripts, in addition to their prevalence on the contemporary Timurid wooden objects, textiles and tapestries further suggests the shared artistic language across media.⁶⁴ For example, a pair of doors from Mazandaran (northern Iran), dated 1487, currently on display in the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (Fig. 124) and the rug shown in an illustration (ff. 82v-83r) from Timurid Sultan Husayn Mirza Bayqara's famous *Zafarnāma* manuscript (also known as the Garrett *Zafarnāma*), produced in the fifteenth century possibly in Herat and now in Johns Hopkins University Library, exhibit comparable compositions.⁶⁵

More importantly, similar decorative measures were intrinsically taken by stone carvers to formulate the style of monolithic cenotaphs that developed in the fifteenth century in workshops of Iran and Central Asia under the Timurid patronage. In Shaykh Junayd Kazeruni's cenotaph, the notion of translation is ideally signified in its connection with the Timurid cenotaphs, not only in ornamentation but also in its form. Comparative, though much finer Timurid examples include: a limestone cenotaph produced in Herat and now in the Isabella Gardner Museum, Boston (c. 1475); a grey schist cenotaph attributed to Dawlat bint Mir 'Ali Shir Nava'i (advisor of last Timurid Sultan), dated 899 AH/1493 CE and now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha; another fifteenth-

⁶³ Aneta Samkoff, "From Central Asia to Anatolia: The Transmission of the Black-Line Technique and the Development of Pre-Ottoman Tilework," *Anatolian Studies* 64 (2014): 199–215 (esp. see fig. 8 & 9); Golombek and Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:295–96 (fig. 137 in vol. 2 of the same).

⁶⁴ Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), chap. 3.

⁶⁵ The topmost panels in the Mazandaran door also present the fusion of curved fleuron with dense arabesque. For Aga Khan Museum Timurid wooden doors: <https://www.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/doors-akm707>; Ladan Akbarnia, "Iran in the Middle Ages," in *Treasures of the Aga Khan Museum: Masterpieces of Islamic Art (Exhibition Catalogue)* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2010), 188–89. The illustration of *Zafarnāma* is titled, "Timur granting an audience in Balkh on the occasion of his accession." For this illustration see Fig. 1 in: Mika Natif, "The 'Zafarnama' [Book of Conquest] of Sultan Husayn Mirza," in *Insights and Interpretations: Studies in Celebration of the Eighty-Fifth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: Index of Christian Art; Princeton University Press, 2002), 211–28. Also see: Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 220, 262 cat. no. 147.

century black schist cenotaph that recently became available for auction by Roseberys, London (from a private collection in Belgium); and a number of surviving cenotaphs *in situ* mainly in eastern Iran, Uzbekistan and Afghanistan.⁶⁶ The Timurid cenotaphs are richly carved with an all-over pattern of fine floral and vegetal arabesque scrolls, set along with inscriptions, cartouches, and polylobed medallions. Among these, the cenotaph in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha (SW.152.2009) and the one from the private collection in Belgium, also display, on their top surfaces, curved fleuron (multi-foiled in these cases) densely filled with arabesque and one square *kūfic* ornament towards the head side (Fig. 125). However, these Timurid samples exhibit meticulously executed techniques of three-dimensional relief carvings; the floral and vegetal arabesque so well-spaced and carved with fine crisp details, generating naturalistic forms of flowers and leaves. The Kazeruni cenotaphs, also impressive in their own right (specifically in comparison to previous stone carvings in Makli and Thatta), however, lack parallel depth of detailing in their flat-cut reliefs of peonies and split-palmettes. Nevertheless, reasonably refined skills displayed in the carved epigraphs and patterns from this cenotaph and other contemporary specimens, that will be discussed shortly, are perhaps a sign that artisanal practices in southern Sindh had evolved significantly over the course of the fifteenth century.

The adjacent cenotaph of Shaykh Yahya bin Shaykh Junayd (d. 1513 CE), on the other hand, makes use of a familiar local form – the less-ornate casket type made of several pieces of sandstone and a detached flat lid (Fig. 126) – the type often found in Makli, for example, inside

⁶⁶ For Isabella Gardner Museum Timurid cenotaph: <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/13434>, also see: Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 201, 208 fig. 70; Helmut von Erffa, “A Tombstone of the Timurid Period in the Gardner Museum of Boston,” *Ars Islamica* 11/12 (1946): 184–90. There is a conflict on the date carved on the cenotaph of Dawlat bint Mir ‘Ali, as a possibility of 859 AH/1455 CE has also been suggested. For this see the Doha Museum’s Catalogue: *Focus on 50: Unseen Treasures from the Museum of Islamic Art in Qatar* (Italy: Bloomsbury Qatar Foundation Publishing, 2010), 70. For the Rosberys cenotaph (status: unsold): Rosbery’s London, “Islamic and Indian Art Catalogue,” October 22, 2019, 56–57 (Lot 180).

the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. Shaykh Yahya's cenotaph is about the same size as his father's, but rests on a slightly larger, shallow platform. The north and south façades of the cenotaph preserve epigraphs holding commemorative titles, lineage and date of death of the *Shaykh* (details in Chapter Six). The flat top of the lid is poorly preserved but originally comprised the Qur'anic verses 2:285-286 (*al-Baqarah*) framing a rectangular *mihrāb* image with multi-foiled arch. Overall the cenotaph of Shaykh Yahya is far less ornate compared to Shaykh Junayd's, but its surfaces are executed proficiently and all hail from the Timurid artistic repertoire. The cenotaph lid has a frieze carved all around the rim with lotus buds carved inside arched arabesque scrolls (Fig. 127). The east and west façades are carved in the center with an ornamental polylobed mandorla (Fig. 126). Though, a prototypical model for this polylobed mandorla motif appeared earlier on one of the *chaūkhandī* cenotaphs in the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister, with Qur'anic verse 3:147 (*Āl-i 'Imrān*) filled inside (Fig. 74). However, the motif on Shaykh Yahya's cenotaph is filled with entwining floral arabesque in flat-cut relief and flanked by palmette finials – an arrangement reminiscence of the Persian arts of the book.⁶⁷ The ornamental motifs applied here are also often encountered in the Timurid wooden objects from the fifteenth century. For example, close parallels to Shaykh Yahya's polylobed mandorla ornament are carved on the lowest panels of the aforementioned doors from the Aga Khan Museum, Toronto (Fig. 124).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Lentz and Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*, 205 (cat. no. 38). Another related example, originally from a private collection, of a book binding from Herat (mid fifteenth century) with similar motifs can be found on: <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-timurid-binding-herat-mid-15th-century-5604095-details.aspx>

⁶⁸ Timurid wooden doors in the Aga Khan Museum: <https://www.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/doors-akm707>; Akbarnia, "Iran in the Middle Ages," 188–89. Moreover, matching friezes can be seen bordering the geometric panels of the *ṣandūq* (wooden cenotaph) of Shams-al-Din (d. 905 AH/1500 CE), housed inside the mausoleum of Zayn-al-'Abedin at Sari (Mazandaran, Iran). See: Sandra Aube, "ZAYN-AL-'ĀBEDIN MAR'ĀŠI MAUSOLEUM," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 2017, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/zayn-al-abedin-marashi> (Plate X & XI).

Following its earliest appearance in the Kazeruni *Shaykhs*' cenotaphs, the floral arabesque ornament recurs in Makli necropolis, in both its tendril and foliage forms, to embellish the multiple vertical jambs framing the southern doorway of the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan (Fig. 118). It is noteworthy that this mausoleum was built contemporaneously to Shaykh Yahya's cenotaph in 1513 CE and carvings from the mausoleum's doorframe and both Kazeruni cenotaphs appear to be the works of the same hands. Therefore, possibly same workshop was commissioned for all three of these sixteenth-century tombs, where the stone carvers were not only trained to produce Timurid motifs but were also familiar with the Māru-Gurjara decorative elements (the doorframe from Kaus al-Sultan's mausoleum syncretizes the two disparate idioms, as mentioned above). The doorjambs of Kaus al-Sultan's mausoleum, however, introduce two more varieties of arabesque foliage patterns, creating much denser and more sophisticated arrangements in flat-cut relief. During the reign of the succeeding dynasties of Sindh – namely the Arghuns (1522-1554) and Tarkhans (1554-1591) – the curved fleuron and arabesque motifs evolved further and were fervently exploited to embellish architectural elements from varied monuments in both Makli and Thatta – decorating tomb surfaces and cenotaphs to mosque *mihrābs* and *minbars*.⁶⁹ Such manifestations are unsurprising given that both the Arghuns and Tarkhans were subservient to the Timurid Sultans and prior to their conquest of Thatta in 1522 CE had governed Ghur, Kandahar and Farah (Afghanistan) as Timurid vassals. However, the curved fleuron, polylobed mandorla flanked by palmette finials, and floral arabesque motifs were a novelty in Makli and Thatta of the Samma period. Their sudden appearance in the tombs of Samma elites suggests transmission of

⁶⁹ For details on Arghun and Tarkhan use of Timurid arabesque patterns in Thatta and on the types and forms of flowers and tendrils used in the ornamentations, see: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, "The Arabesque Decoration on the Minbar of the Dabgir Mosque in Thatta, and Contemporary Relief Ornamentation Showing Timurid Influence in Sindh."

carving designs from Timurid ornamental repertoire through the circulation of objects bearing the same. Nevertheless, if taken into account how finely these carving designs are executed, it seems entirely plausible that the designs and skills reached Makli not just through the circulation of portable objects but also through the mobility of artisans themselves. It is possible that the artisans trained in Timurid lands, who were skilled in producing such carved motifs and objects, were physically present in Thatta in the late Samma period.

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries particularly saw the influx of Turkic groups, prior to Arghun annexation of Sindh. The congenial atmosphere of Samma Sindh allowed numerous individuals of diverse regional backgrounds to take refuge in the capital of Thatta. The city proved to be a haven for those escaping hostile atmospheres or political persecutions, while presented better prospects for others migrating willingly. As briefly mentioned in Chapter One, textual sources indicate that during the Samma period several urban sub-divisions of the capital Thatta accommodated communities from Iran and Central Asia. For example, two of these sub-divisions housed the Sayyid families (descendent of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima) originally from Bukhara and Shiraz.⁷⁰ During the reign of Sultan Nizam al-Din, a sub-division named *Mughalwāra* (lit. neighborhood for Mongols/Mughals) was specifically established in Thatta, following the influx of the Turco-Mongol ethnic groups. These included the Dawlat-Shahi and Nur-Gahi tribes, and another group led by Kaibak Arghun (n.d), who all sought employment at the Samma court.⁷¹ Samma Sindh was also connected with Timurid lands through lucrative trade between the two regions via terrestrial routes. A royal decree called *Fathnāmah-i bilād al-Sind*,

⁷⁰ Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 572, 627; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 118–25.

⁷¹ Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 143, 153–54; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 172, 587; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 126–32. Qani‘ makes a confusing statement that these tribes migrated during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, but Mir Ma‘sum implies otherwise.

issued by Timurid Sultan Husayn Bayqara (r. 1469-1506) in c. 1487, implies the mobility of goods as well as merchants between Khurasan and Sindh when Sultan Nizam al-Din was ruling from Thatta.⁷² Contemporaneously, exchange of political envoys between the courts at Thatta and Herat have also been recorded by historians.⁷³

More supporting evidence for artistic transmission may be sought in the mobility of notable litterateurs ensuing the political upheavals of Safavids (1501-1736) in Iran and Shaybanid Uzbeks (1507-1599) in Central Asia. Sultan Nizam al-Din welcomed the *‘ulemā* and *sādāt* migrating to Thatta, in large numbers, from cultural centers such as Shiraz, Mashhad, Herat, and Kandahar; and also, from other centers in Sindh such as Uch and Bhakkar (present Sukkur). For example, Mir Ma‘sum reports Sultan Nizam al-Din’s correspondences with Maulana Jalal al-Din al-Davani of Shiraz (d. 1502), the eminent theologian and the author of the well-known ethical treatise *Akhlāq al-Jalālī* (c. 1477), regarding the latter’s earnestness to relocate to Thatta.⁷⁴ The author also accounts the subsequent exodus of al-Davani’s disciples, Mir Shams al-Din (n.d.) and Mir Mu‘in al-Din (n.d.) in c. 1503.⁷⁵ Qani‘ also records the movement of literary figures from Mashhad (northern Iran) to Thatta in the late fifteenth century. This includes two scholars, Sayyid Ya‘qub (d. 1516) and Sayyid Ishaq (n.d.), who arrived in 901 AH/1496 CE and proselytized a large community of blacksmiths from the Akriya tribe, while contemporaneously Sayyid Ahmed (n.d.)

⁷² A copy of the *Fathnāmah-i bilād al-Sind*, is preserved among the collection of Timurid letters called *Sharafnāma*, compiled by Khawaja ‘Abdullah Marwarid, a courtier of Husayn Bayqara. See: ‘Abdullāh ibn Moḥammad Marwārīd, *Staatsschreiben der Timūridenzeit: Das Sharaf Nāma des ‘Abdullāh Marwārīd*, trans. Hans Robert Roemer (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1952), 67–70, 101–5. A version of this decree is also re-printed in: Ṭhattāvī, *Maklīnāmah*, 249–56..

⁷³ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 66; Ansar Zahid Khan, “Shaheed Mubarak Khan,” in *The Samma Kingdom of Sindh*, ed. Ghulam Muhammad Lakho (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sind, 2006), 114–29.

⁷⁴ Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘sumī*, 104; Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 225. Coincidentally, al-Davani was invited and convinced by Jam Nindo to relocate to Thatta and was also sent monetary support, yet the religious scholar died before leaving Shiraz. For details on Davani and his treatise see: A. J. Newman, “Davānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Moḥammad,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 1994, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/davani>.

⁷⁵ Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘sumī*, 104.

and Sayyid Muhammad (d. c. 1505) made a distressing withdrawal due to Shi‘i-Sunni revolts in Iran and arrived in Thatta in 910 AH/1504 CE.⁷⁶ Furthermore, a judicial authority from Herat, Shaykh Muhammad (n.d.), is also said to have relocated during the reign of Sultan Nizam al-Din, and was first appointed as the *qāḍī* of Uch and later of Thatta.⁷⁷ The mobility of literary figures from Herat to Sindh continued well into the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, as evinced in the migration of the eminent *muḥadith* (narrator of Prophet Muhammad’s sayings), Makhdum ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Abhri (n.d.) and his sons.⁷⁸ It is probable that among these varied sets of settlers were professional craftsmen and artisans, trained in Timurid building technologies, who along with other migrants became the agents of circulation and transcultural exchanges, bringing nuanced artistic knowledge, crafts, and skills, and subsequently establishing new stone-carving workshops among those already operating in southern Sindh.

On Literary and Linguistic Practices During the Samma Dynastic Period

Scholars have observed that by the fifteenth century Persian had become a language of governance and learning in a wide region stretching from China to the Balkans, and from Siberia to southern India.⁷⁹ However, there seems little doubt that bordering the Indian Ocean, where Arabic was considerably more important than Persian, the linguistic and literary practices of medieval southern Sindh evolved distinctly from the rest of India and the region primarily remained what Ronit Ricci calls an “Arabic cosmopolis.”⁸⁰ Arabic was diffused into the Sindhi environment with the arrival

⁷⁶ Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 585–88; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 27.

⁷⁷ Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 655–56.

⁷⁸ Ma‘ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘ṣūmī*, 106.

⁷⁹ Nile Green, “Introduction: The Frontiers of the Persianate World (ca. 800–1900),” in *The Persianate World: The Frontiers of a Eurasian Lingua Franca* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2019), 1–72.

⁸⁰ Ronit Ricci, “Introduction: An Arabic Cosmopolis?,” in *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 1–23; Green, “Introduction: The Frontiers of the Persianate World (ca. 800–1900),” 29.

of the Umayyad forces in the eighth century. However, over the course of time a point was reached when Sindh became more polyglot, where Arabic was vernacularized to operate in close parallel with other regional languages such as Sindhi, Sanskrit, Devanagiri and Saraiki, that operated more as spoken vernaculars.⁸¹ To what extent Persian played its part in this multilingual environment is difficult to ascertain in the absence of material evidence. Nevertheless, as the surviving bureaucratic texts support, Persian as a *lingua franca* of the Delhi Sultanate must have been expended by the Sammas, and possibly by the preceding Sumra dynasty as well, as a political tool of communication. For example, the letters exchanged between the Jams of Thatta and the Tughlaq governor of Multan, ‘Ain ul-Mulk Mahru (d. c. 1363), evince that Persian was the linguistic medium of these correspondences.⁸² More significantly, the earliest epigraphic record of Samma provenance, the foundation inscription from the *dargāh* (shrine) of Shaykh Abu Turab (1380) at Gujjo (Fig. 161), commissioned by Jam Juna – the Samma ruler based at Thatta who served the Tughlaq Sultan at Delhi – is also a Persian composition (see Chapter Five). However, since at least the beginning of Samma political hegemony in lower Sindh, Arabic served as the shared written language of Samma court culture, *madrasas*, and *khānqāhs*.⁸³ It was preferentially the medium of Islamic learning, and also of pedagogical and cultural productions. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, the fifteenth-century *sharḥ* (annotated commentary) manuscripts of substantial Islamic religious literatures, sponsored by the Jams of Thatta to be produced for

⁸¹ Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 42. S.S. Nadvi cites Ibn Hauqal (d. c. 978) making a statement that in Multan (upper Sindh) and Mansurah (lower Sindh) and their suburbs, Arabic and Sindhi were spoken. See: Nadvi, “The Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquests,” 1935, 147.

⁸² Māhrū, *Inshā’i Mahrū*, letters no. 46, 88, 92 & 134. Although the Samma documents have not survived but Mahru’s responses written in Persian indicate the language’s significance.

⁸³ Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 127–28.

effective pedagogy in local *madrasas*, were composed in Arabic. Moreover, the local saintly hagiographies written during the Samma dynastic period were also Arabic compositions.⁸⁴

Sindhi, on the other hand, functioned as a locally spoken *lingua franca* since before the Arab conquest and is preserved in the written form since an Arabic chronicle recorded a verse recited by a visitor in the Abbasid court in Baghdad.⁸⁵ It came to dominate other local linguistics in southern Sindh during the Samma dynastic period, for which a few contemporary specimen are preserved in the form of war slogans and mystical poems in Sufi biographies and devotional literatures – from the *samāʿ* ritual performances and Ismaʿili *gināns*.⁸⁶ The earliest reliable samples of Sindhi poetry have also been credited to the Samma dynastic period, attributed to the well-known scholar Qadi Qadan of *Bhakkar* (d. 1551), who served as the *qāḍī* of Thatta during the reign of the last Samma Sultan, and later also served the Arghuns as the *qāḍī* of *Bhakkar*.⁸⁷ However, Sindhi was never a language of architectural epigraphs and epitaphs, although some sporadic evidence suggests that far removed from the cultural hub – the Samma capital of Thatta – other local vernaculars were indeed used in monumental inscriptions of minor importance. For example, the inscription on the water-well at Sanjpur is a fusion of Sindhi and regional Saraiki language, presenting a unique hybrid late-medieval specimen.⁸⁸ Moreover, on the entrance of the ancient fort at Marot in the Cholistan desert, governed by the Sehta clansmen who professed allegiance to

⁸⁴ Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*.

⁸⁵ Ali Asani, “Qāzī Qādan: A Pioneer Sindhi Poet,” in *The Banyan Tree: Essays on Early Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2000), 3–13.

⁸⁶ For the Samma war slogan in Sindhi, see: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 231. For Sufi poetry from Samma dynastic period, see: Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 142–57; Asani, “Qāzī Qādan: A Pioneer Sindhi Poet.”

⁸⁷ Maʿšūm, *Tārīkh-i Maʿšūmī*, 276–77; Asani, “Qāzī Qādan: A Pioneer Sindhi Poet.”

⁸⁸ This Sindhi-Saraiki inscription quotes poetic verses specifying that the country was thriving (see Chapter One). Also see: Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 128, also see notes; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 190–91, 655.

Sultan Nizam al-Din, another inscription dated *Samvat* 1548/1491 CE is found in local Devanagari script – a by-product of an ancient *Brāhmī* script.⁸⁹

Despite these sporadic occurrences, Arabic remained the principal linguistic medium to preserve textual messages in the ritual epigraphs, specifically in the royal necropolis. However, some of these epigraphic specimen present traces of Persian in a predominantly Arabic inscription. The monumental epigraphs from the *chattrī* of Malik Rahu (see Chapter Six) and the mausoleum of Fath Khan’s sister (1473) provide such samples that attest to an overlap of linguistic and cultural boundaries in Thatta from the second quarter of the fifteenth century onwards.⁹⁰ For example, the hybrid Perso-Arabic inscription from mausoleum of Fath Khan’s sister, documented above, uses the Persian *punjshanbah* instead of Arabic *al-khamīs* while recording the day (Thursday) in the date of construction (Fig. 108). However, when the artistic and transcultural encounters with the cultural hubs of Iran and Central Asia impacted the Samma artisanal practices later in the century, the literary and linguistic practices also appear to have been reformed, at least of the cosmopolitan capital-city. The influx of Turco-Mongol communities supported the multi-lingual environment in Thatta and possibly expanded the reception of Persian in terms of both spoken and written language. One example is verified from above the western entrance of Nizam al-Din’s mausoleum (Fig. 147), where along with the name of the scribe, Ahmad bin Ibrahim, cited in Persian is: *āghāz-i bunyād aīn maqām az hijrī nabawī ‘alayh-i as-salām nehsad pānzdah sāl būdh* (the foundation of this place was laid in nine hundred and fifteen years of the migration of the Prophet, peace be

⁸⁹ The ancient fort of Marot, that was once an important mediating post connecting Delhi to Uch and Multan had at its entrance a Hindi inscription that indicates the name of its Sehta governor who paid tribute to Jam Nindo. It records the Malik (governor) of the fort named Jam Sumro [of Sehta tribe] to have repaired the fort in 1491. This inscription that was carved on a brick tile is now lost. It was first reported in 1904, in the Punjab State Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur state (published in 1908). For details on the inscription see: *Punjab States Gazetteers: The Bahawalpur State*, 372; Dar, “Marot - A One-Time Guardian Fort of the Cholistan Desert.”

⁹⁰ For the original epigraphs, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 541, 548.

upon him).⁹¹ For more evidence on these reformations and receptions we need to return to the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister once again as it presents a couple of less-known, yet paradoxically better-preserved literary compositions on its twin multi-tiered *chaūkhandī* cenotaphs. Both these highly ornate anonymous artifacts in their epigraphic programs, which primarily uphold religious quotations in Arabic (such as Qur'anic verses and *ḥadīth* specimen, see Chapter Six), also carry excerpts of Persian poetry that can be valued both for their literary and aesthetic qualities. For example, the one adjoining the eastern entrance (which also carries the polylobed mandorla motif) presents an expertly carved Persian couplet in bold *thuluth* script that translates as (Fig. 128):

*“Whoever comes to this world, full of passion
Will eventually have to go to the grave!”⁹²*

While, on the other *chaūkhandī* cenotaph, the north side of its lowest tier carries a Persian ode in the form of a *rubā'ī* (a tetrastic poem of four lines; a quatrain) that reads (Fig. 129):

*“I am constantly looking for you
I am losing my patience
You were unique in the world
How can I find another like you!”⁹³*

Both these verses certainly have a significance that goes beyond their apparent content, which nonetheless suggests that these were careful selections to perform commemorative roles. The first

⁹¹ The same date above the northern doorway is, however, carved in Arabic. See: Kaleemullah Lashari, 559–60.

⁹² These two Persian inscriptions have never been analyzed by scholars and Lashari is the first to only document their original text. For the original Persian, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, 541.

⁹³ For original Persian, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, 541. For definition of different forms of Persian poetry see: H. Wilberforce Clarke, ed., *The Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ* (Maryland: Ibex Publishers, 2007), xv; T. J. Newbold, “Essay on the Metrical Compositions of the Persians,” *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* 5 (1837): 113–22. As noted by Clarke, in standard Persian *rubā'iyāt* usually the first, second and fourth lines rhyme, but in the present case the first, second and third are the rhyming lines.

couplet, which appears to be quite popular also in modern Iranian literature, is part of a strophe in a *mukhammas* (lit. fivefold; a sufistic poem with several strophes each having five lines), possibly written by Shams al-Din Hafiz of Shiraz (d. 1389), the most celebrated lyric poet of Persian.⁹⁴ This poetic couplet is also frequently found offering a proverb or poetic explication for Qur'anic verses that focus on death and mortality, more specifically for Qur'an 62:8 (*al-Jumu'ah*) and Qur'an 55:26-27 (*al-Rahmān*).⁹⁵ This religio-literary tradition, called *tarjumah āyah be nazm* (translating Qur'anic verse to poem), has been widely practiced in Iranian culture up to the present times. However, whether any such elusive purpose or tradition was originally behind the selection of this couplet for the Samma cenotaph is difficult to substantiate at present, and so does the provenance and subtexts concealed in the *rubā'ī* carved on the second *chāūkhandī* cenotaph.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, both these literary specimen support the fact that fine Persian had more prominently inserted itself into the cultural landscapes of Samma metropolis by the turn of the sixteenth century. This fact is further corroborated by Duarte Barbosa (d. 1521), a Portuguese travel writer and official in India, who reports towards the end of the Samma period that the people of Sindh “are Moors (Muslims) both tawny and fair, they have their own tongue [Sindhi], but speak also both Persian and Arabic.”⁹⁷ Hence, in the use of such refined poetic verses the foundations were laid for a linguistic

⁹⁴ Despite several attempts, I have been unable to confirm the source of this couplet or its related *mukhammas* in the academic publications of *Divān-i Hāfiẓ* that were available to me. However, the inscribed couplet recalls the meter and rhythm of Hafiz's poetic style. Also, poetry of Hafiz has not been fully preserved in his *Divān* manuscripts. The complete *mukhammas* related to this couplet can be found on many non-academic websites, for example:

<http://dousty.blog.ir/1393/07/13/دنيا-و-عقبي-مخمس-به-غزل-حافظ/>. *Mukhammas* is a long lyric poem with several strophes, where each strophe has five lines. Moreover, each strophe could rhyme differently or the concluding line of all strophes in a *mukhammas* could rhyme with the first strophe. For more details, see: T. J. Newbold, “Essay on the Metrical Compositions of the Persians.”

⁹⁵ Hajir Sedaqat-mehr, *Imṣāl Wa Ḥukm (Qur'an Karīm)*, vol. 1 (Qom, Iran: Meytham Tamar Publications, 1968), 38. For digital version of this book see: <https://hawzah.net/fa/Book/View/45290/28184/29>

⁹⁶ I have been unable to find the source of this *rubā'ī* as well and hope that future writers would be able to bring forward some more details.

⁹⁷ See: Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa (1518)*, ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, vol. I (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1918), 107.

revolution that eventually challenged the authority of Arabic and prepared a bedrock for a Persophonetic and Persographic milieu (where Persian is a spoken as well as a written language) of the successive Turco-Mongol Arghun and Tarkhan dynasties.⁹⁸

Conclusion

This chapter locates the Samma brick structures in the Makli necropolis within the Turco-Persian artistic traditions, which is an alternative, more nuanced, dimension of aesthetics that informed the Samma architectural patronage. The Samma brick monuments cannot be labeled as aesthetically inferior to the contemporary stone monuments at any rate, as current scholarship implies. However, these structures generally use relatively modest configurations when compared to the contemporary structures from Iran and Central Asia. Nevertheless, they represent continuation of an established building tradition in Sindh to which the Samma craftsmen adhered to. Simultaneously these monuments also mark the experimental search by Samma patrons and craftsmen for nuanced visual expressions for which there are no precedence in southern Sindh, and some have never been noticed by modern scholars. Moreover, later in the dynastic rule, the influx of Turco-Mongol people into Thatta resulted in transportation of stone-carving techniques and ornamental motifs of distinctly Timurid provenance, as seen in the cases of Kazeruni cenotaphs in the Makli necropolis.

In addition, some of the Samma mausolea in brick with undoubtedly Turco-Persian and Timurid forms also adopt select features from the Māru-Gurjara decorative repertoire. For example, the aedicular Māru-Gurjara columns of the composite *miśraka*-style adorning the *mihrāb* niches in the mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan and Mubarak Khan. Similar elements of hybridity can

⁹⁸ For the terms Persophone and Persographic see: Green, “Introduction: The Frontiers of the Persianate World (ca. 800–1900).”

be located even on the micro level. As in the case of Kaus al-Sultan's mausoleum, its southern *catuḥśākhā* doorframe syncretizes the two disparate decorative idioms: it possesses the sacred *mandāraka* element at the threshold and its jambs are carved with Māru-Gurjara and Timurid motifs. Similarly, the stone cenotaph of Shaykh Yahya also adheres to the two divergent idioms in its form and decoration. Therefore, the hybridity of the Samma brick monuments reflects instances of direct importation of aesthetics from Iran and Central Asia. These monuments also, however, advertise indigeneity in simultaneously using the architectural styles that had been part of Sindh's building culture for centuries.

Chapter Four

FIT TO BE KING: ICONOGRAPHIES OF KINGSHIP AND POLITICAL IDENTITIES IN THE EARLY SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SAMMA TOMBS

In his book *The City as a Work of Art* (1986), the historian of urban cultures, Donald J. Olsen, describes architecture as: “a deliberate artistic creation intended not merely to give pleasure, but to contain ideas, inculcate values, and serve as tangible expressions of systems of thought.”¹ These potentials of architecture, which Olsen draws attention towards, have over the course of history often led political authorities to monumentalize their aspirations and ideas by extending their patronage to grand-scale projects. Scholars of South Asian architecture have identified how in this respect early-modern royal tombs were specifically designed to perform as rhetorical vehicles to promote ideas related to kingship and legitimacy of political authority.² This is the point of departure for the study in the present chapter which broadly shows how the archaeological and architectural remnants are reflective of the corresponding political events and allow insights into the matters of opposing political powers.

A major shift in the prospering socio-political milieu of Samma Sindh is recorded in contemporary textual sources during the reign of Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fath (r. 1508-1522) – the last Samma ruler. Firuz Shah’s reign is marked with frequent instances of military and civil conflicts, internal rivalries and administrative failures. That these particular cycles of political disorder essentially defined the parameters of contemporary architectural undertakings is the main

¹ Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 4.

² Catherine Asher, “Legacy and Legitimacy: Sher Shah’s Patronage of Imperial Mausolea,” in *Sharī‘at and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 79–97; Laura E. Parodi, “A Creative Dialogue: The Timurid and Indo-Muslim Heritage in Akbar’s Tomb,” *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 74, no. Fasc. 1/4 (2000): 75–91; Kishwar Rizvi, “Architecture and the Representations of Kingship during the Reign of the Safavid Shah ‘Abbas I,” in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Leiden; Boston: BRILL, 2013), 371–98.

theme of analysis in this chapter. The chapter primarily reassesses two of the most ambitious funerary constructions in Makli necropolis: the capacious tomb enclosure of Mubarak Khan (d. 1520) and the extraordinary mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din (d. 1508). These two structures in Zone II, present another set of architectural singularities. The hybrid forms and the rich ornamental programs of both buildings do not allow them to be categorized among the previously discussed groups, as for these two no precedents are found anywhere in Sindh. Therefore, by paying more attention to architectural specificities that modern scholars have somewhat overlooked, this chapter locates socio-cultural and political undertones in the architecture of these two funerary structures. Giving a brief overview of the prosperity of Samma Sultanate during Nizam al-Din's reign, this chapter also investigates close stylistic parallels to the two mausolea structures so that both of these can be rightly placed within their respective artistic and cultural frameworks.

On Contours of Prosperity and Economic Reforms in the Late Samma Period

The world witnessed tremendous changes at the turn of the sixteenth century. In the west the Spanish opened trade across the Pacific Ocean, linking the Americas with Asia; in the east the Portuguese established an undisputed authority over the Indian Ocean trade, bringing Catholic Christianity to Indian shores. Colonizing the Island of Goa (South India), the Portuguese began capturing the profitable port cities; their most significant achievement came with the conquest of the vital port of Hormuz (Iran) in 1507. The same year the court of the great Timurids finally fell to Muhammad Shaybani Uzbek (c. 1451-1510) who conquered Bukhara, Samarqand and Herat, founding the Khanate of Bukhara. Concurrently, in 1501 Shah Isma' il Safavi (r. 1501-1524) seized Azerbaijan and in the following decade gradually brought the whole of Persia under his control, founding an exceedingly powerful Shi'i dynasty in Persia. Moreover, Zahir ud-Din Muhammad Babur (r. 1504-1526; 1526-1530 in India) leading the remnants of Timurids in Kabul, first captured

Kandahar – urging the Arghuns to capture Balochistan and Sindh – and finally establishing the empire of the great Mughals in India (1526-1857).³ Whereas in Sindh, the legendary Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo died in 1508 after successfully ruling for almost half a century, leaving his progressing Sultanate in the hands of his minor son – Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fath Jam Firuz.

Under Sultan Nizam al-Din’s patronage, the Samma Sultanate of Sindh had reached its greatest extent; a vast region reaching up to Kandahar was brought under the Samma suzerainty (Map 1). These military conquests as well as the Samma political alliances were principally led by the long-serving commander-in-chief of Nizam al-Din’s realm – *Khān al-‘Āzam* Mubarak Khan.⁴ Mubarak Khan’s military tactics and Nizam al-Din’s diplomatic strategies together brought political stability, socio-cultural reformations, as well as economic reorganization to Sindh, resulting in great prosperity of the Sultanate by the end of the fifteenth century. Where on one side Nizam al-Din’s rule endorsed better military opportunities for the Sultanate, on the other it also marks enhanced agricultural expansions, developments in craft and manufacturing, and demographic growth. The role Mubarak Khan played in these regards is also worth noting. Besides proving to be an admirable military strategist, the chief commander is also recognized for his architectural patronage and for the outstanding measures he took to uplift the irrigation systems across the capital and other *parganas* (administrative districts) of the Samma Sultanate. He is known to have planned an efficient network of supplementary canals connecting to the Indus that supplied water to the near and far off lands. The well-known Khanwah canal, which remained in use till the modern era, is reported to have been commissioned by him to bring water from Indus

³ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 253–55; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 147, 152.

⁴ Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 55–56.

to the plains north of Thatta and as far as the district of Sankura.⁵ Moreover, at Sehwan he is credited with ordering the digging of a pluvial canal on the Manchar Lake, to irrigate the lands of *Gāhā* (Kahan) and *Bubāk* (Baghban) – the lands which were awarded to Mubarak Khan in *iqṭā'* (land grants) and are located in the present-day Jamshoro and Dadu districts.⁶ Such measures greatly complemented the agricultural production and eventually the economic prosperity of Samma Sindh.

Sindh also began to reclaim its transnational trade in the second half of the fifteenth century, which along with agrarian developments resulted in reinforcing the emerging economy of the country. These facts are evidenced by the numismatic remnants from the contemporary period that also point towards the revival of regional currency system in Sindh and mark the rise of Thatta as a commercial center of eminence. Earlier in the dynastic period, currency of neighboring kingdoms, mainly the Timurid and Muzaffarid empires, freely circulated in Sindh. The Gujarati currency was most extensively used for monetary transactions as it occasionally appears in various parts of Sindh.⁷ Although on the coasts foreign currencies such as the *larīs* (silver coins) of Hormuz and Basra were also allowed as legal tender.⁸ However, during the reign of Sultan Nizam al-Din when trade had significantly developed, the economic and political constraints appear to have lifted on the monetary economy. Sindh began to evolve its own regional currency system after a gap of centuries. With the Samma Sultanate emerging as a significant player in the Indian Ocean commerce, and with the production of sizeable portions of agrarian and

⁵ Mir Ma'sum notes that water was abundant in the part of Indus north of Thatta on which the Khanwah canal was built. See: Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 155; Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 58; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 202.

⁶ Reference to this second canal could only be found in the later histories, like *Tārīkh-i Maẓhar-i Shāhjahānī* (1635), but Mubarak Khan's *Jagīr* (land possessions) and its prosperity has been mentioned by Ma'sum as well. See: Ma'sum, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 105–6, 151; al-Qasim, *Tārīkh-i Maẓhar-i Shāhjahānī*, 162–63.

⁷ Digby, "The Coinage and Genealogy of the Later Jāms of Sind."

⁸ Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 170; Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, 182; Habib, *Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500*, VIII:159.

industrial surplus, it was likely to consider circulating local money to finance the exchange, at least at regional level. We have now at our disposal a series of monotonous, purely epigraphic, copper-alloy coins of multiple varieties, issued by the last two Jams of Thatta, Nizam al-Din and his son Firuz Shah, which have been discovered not too long ago from multiple cities of Sindh. Of these, most are issues of Sultan Firuz Shah, yet there are many copper coins that are inscribed with the name and title of Nizam al-Din, who had set up the mint at Thatta. The numismatic collection at the National Museum, Karachi has about 230 copper issues of both the Samma Sultans (Fig. 130). Other similar coins were recently discovered at Dadu, about 200 km north of Thatta.⁹

The names of these coins, however, have not been recorded, but their material composition, denomination and quality are representative of the economic strength and resources of the issuing authorities.¹⁰ The overall quality of the issues of Sultan Nizam al-Din, being crudely struck and an overabundance of lower denominations (copper), suggests that their use was limited to the local markets of Sindh. The production of mainly copper coins also agrees with the well-known fact that at this time the Indian subcontinent had practically no domestic extraction of gold and silver, although copper was available, specifically in the regions of Sindh and Balochistan. Moreover, some economic historians of medieval India have discussed debasement of precious metal coinage and dominance of base metal coins in fifteenth-century India due to severe crisis, especially of silver.¹¹ Nevertheless, the legends on the Samma copper coins are not easily legible, which

⁹ Digby has mentioned a third type attributing it to Jam Ṣalah al-Din. Although Digby's article is informative on many levels, yet his erroneous reading of one variety of coins, wrongly attributes it to Jam Ṣalah al-Din, creating unwarranted confusion. The discovered coins are of round and octagonal variety. See: Goron et al., *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, 486–89; Ziad, "A Recent Find of 18 AE Coins of the Jāms of Sind, Attributed to Jām Nizām al-Dīn, and Jām Fīrūz"; Digby, "The Coinage and Genealogy of the Later Jāms of Sind."

¹⁰ For further discussion on representation of economic conditions and information on issuing authorities in the iconography of coins, see: David J. Wasserstein, "Coins as Agents of Cultural Definition in Islam," in *Medieval Coins and Seals: Constructing Identity, Signifying Power* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2015), 109–29.

¹¹ Habib, *Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500*, VIII:156–59.

suggests that their reading by the users may not have been of primary significance either. These conditions, however, appear to have improved by the time the legendary Sultan's reign came to an end. Not only are the issues of Firuz Shah deeply struck with legible script, but their discovery and probable circulation in the Timurid lands suggest that towards the end of the dynastic rule the Samma currency had become legally exchangeable as far as Kabul.¹²

This numismatic evidence supports the idea that the Samma capital was emerging as a commercial center of eminence and functioned as a mint during the late Samma rule. Along with the expansion in commerce and economy, ship building workshops also flourished at Thatta under the patronage of the Jams. By the end of the Samma period this industry had grown quite significantly, and artisans were sent from Thatta to Kutch for the development of their ports. After the fall of the Sammas many skilled shipbuilders migrated to Kutch, as arranged by Topan Seth, an influential Bhattiya merchant of Thatta, to aid the ruler of Kutch, Ra Khengar Jadeja (r. 1538-1585), in founding the port-town of Mandvi.¹³

Hidden Meanings, Obvious Messages: Deciphering Mubarak Khan's Funerary Enclosure

The Timurids remained significant terrestrial trade partners of the Sammas, however, these alliances began to disintegrate towards the end of the fifteenth century. *Fathnāmah-i bilād al-Sind* records that conflicts arose between the Samma and the Timurid courts from the recurring harassment and pillaging, by the Balochi raiders, of the merchants from Khurasan who were

¹² Digby has fleetingly mentioned the discovery of Jam Firuz's coins from Kabul. I, however, have been unsuccessful in locating more on these coins or the hoard from Kabul. See: Digby, "The Coinage and Genealogy of the Later Jāms of Sind."

¹³ See: Dharamsi Sampat [Gujrati] 1935 (p 7-8), cited in Simpson, *Muslim Society and the Western Indian Ocean*, 39.

involved in lucrative trade with Sindh.¹⁴ Consequently, Timurid forces attacked northern parts of the Samma Sultanate and in 892 AH/1487 CE the royal decree was circulated in various parts of Khurasan to announce the alleged victory of the Timurids in the Samma lands.¹⁵ Although this decree justified the incursions by placing blame on the marauders, yet the actual situation was quite complex.

Amir Dhu' al-Nun Beg Arghun (d. 1507), the governor of Kandahar, Farah and Ghur under the nominal control of Husayn Bayqara, had by 1483 become virtually independent. In order to expand his control, and not yet being in the position to challenge Husayn Bayqara's hegemony in Khurasan, Dhu' al-Nun started making incursions southwards into the Samma domain. In 1486 his son Shah Shuj'a Arghun (d. 1524), better known as Shah Beg, attacked Balochistan region and the Sammas northern territories bordering Kandahar. The Arghuns penetrated into the Mastung district through the Bolan Pass, captured *Shāl* (present-day Quetta) and reached further to besiege the fort of *Siwī* (present-day Sibi).¹⁶ This great victory was celebrated even at the Timurid court at Herat, as manifested in *Fathnāmah-i bilād al-Sind*. The attacks were then closely followed by additional raids further into Sindh, on *Bhakkar* (present-day Sukkur), *Chanḍūka* (present-day Larkana) and *Akrī* (present-day Kakkar).¹⁷ Consequently, this prompted Sultan Nizam al-Din to send Samma forces for a counterattack led by Mubarak Khan. Both the forces met in the early months of 895 AH (1490 CE) and a severe battle was fought at *Jalūkīr* (south of present-day

¹⁴ In *Fathnāmah* it was written that when the merchants came to the court at Herat, they informed Sultan Husayn Bayqara of the hardships they endure while "crossing the region [around Bolan Pass] to enter into the country of Sindh." See: Marwārīd, *Sharaf Nāma des 'Abdullāh Marwārīd*, 67–70, 101–5; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 249–56.

¹⁵ Marwārīd, *Sharaf Nāma des 'Abdullāh Marwārīd*, 67–70, 101–5; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 249–56; Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 60.

¹⁶ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 4; Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 104; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:778; Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, trans. H. Blochmann, vol. 1 (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1873), 362; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 170.

¹⁷ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 61 (also see note on p. 448); Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 153.

Quetta), resulting in many casualties in which Yar Muhammad Mirak, Shah Beg's brother, was included. The vengeful Arghuns temporarily retreated to Kandahar, while northern Balochistan and the fort of *Siwī* were saved, although temporarily, and once again brought into the Samma possession.¹⁸ However, these initial Arghun raids in the late fifteenth century opened a channel of predicaments for the Samma Sultanate, which resulted in its ultimate fall in 928 AH/1522 CE.

The Arabic inscription in *naskhī*, carved over the eastern entrance of Mubarak Khan's mausoleum (Fig. 131), includes reference to its *āghāz-i bunyād* – meaning the laying of foundation – to have taken place immediately following the successful campaign at *Jalūkīr*. The inscription reads:

*“This place dates from the time of the Great Lord – Miān Mubārak Khān – son of Sultān Niẓām al-Dīn Shāh the generous, the beloved of Allāh. The foundation [of this tomb] was laid in the month of Jumād al-Awwal of the year eight hundred and ninety-five (895 AH/April 1490 CE).”*¹⁹

The tomb structure, locally called “Mubarak Khan's *havēlī*” (lit. mansion or large courtyard house), takes the form of an open, slightly irregular, square funerary enclosure with an expansive area of about 500 sq. m, constructed from 1.2 m of thick, short dressed stone masonry walls.²⁰ The monument is set on a high platform, standing about 1.5 m above the surrounding ground level, with two entrance gateways, one each on the eastern and southern side (Fig. 132). These gateways are raised higher than the enclosure walls and present surfaces for concentration of the exterior

¹⁸ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 61–62; Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 104, 153; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:778. According to Mir Ma'sum, Shah Beg's brother who died was named Abu Muhammad Mirza, Nizamuddin calls him Sultan Muhammad but Purani names him Yar Muhammad Mirak and is likely to be correct. Also, Nizamuddin states that on hearing about his brother's death, Shah Beg immediately sent Mirza Isa Tarkhan for another attack on the Jam's army, which is incorrect. The next attack came later, and the author here has confused the incidents separated by almost two decades.

¹⁹ For original Arabic, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 536.

²⁰ Dani has erroneously recorded the area of the enclosure as “72 square feet” (6.6 sq. m, much smaller in size), a reading that Lari and Lari blindly followed. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 43; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 134.

decoration with densely carved aniconic motifs and elements, mostly from the Māru-Gurjara repertoire, such as blind *bhadra* niches with ornamental pillarets and pyramidal arches. The *udgama* (pediment) above these niches is provided with an elaborate composition of floral and geometric features; the rest of the walls are plain with the exception of slightly recessed niche motifs, familiar *varaṇḍikā* (parapet) of curvy-shaped merlons, and two narrow geometric friezes running all around. Moreover, the central openings in the gateways, each approached by a flight of steps, are framed with conventional stone doorframes, which possess plain *mandāraka* at the *uḍumbara* and terminate in straight lintels that are carved with foundation inscriptions (Figs. 131, 132).

The expansive size of Mubarak Khan's mausoleum evinces that it was always meant to serve as a family tomb. The structure houses several graves (about thirty-six of both adults and children), which are provided with cenotaphs of varied types, from the ornate multi-tiered *chaūkhandīs* to comparatively plainer flat-lid casket type (Fig. 133). The most extravagant and sizeable cenotaph unsurprisingly belongs to Mubarak Khan himself, which is placed right in front of the ornamental *mihrāb* niche on the west (Fig. 134). This stone cenotaph is multi-tiered *chaūkhandī*-type, with its topmost tier itself retaining three levels, carved out of a single block of sandstone. The surfaces of this top tier are carved in relief with Qur'anic verses (3:18 and 2:285-286), which on the middle level are placed inside cartouches flanked by multi-cusped floral medallions – a decorative detail characteristic of Timurid artistic objects, for example the above-mentioned black schist cenotaph from the private collection in Belgium.²¹ Moreover, the head-side of Mubarak Khan's cenotaph terminates in an atypical stone-carved ornament in crown form. Preceding or contemporary models of this ornament are not to be found in any other cemetery in

²¹ For this cenotaph see: Rosbery's London, "Islamic and Indian Art Catalogue," 56–57 (Lot 180).

Sindh.²² Headgear on the tombs of men can be found to express social affiliations in contemporary Ottoman Turkey, but their appearance in southern Sindh at this time is a mystery that needs some further investigation.²³

In Makli necropolis, a small corpus of four Samma cenotaphs from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries possess the headgears in the shape of fluted globular turbans; in one case (the multi-tiered *chaūkhandī* located south of Jamali *khānqāh*) it even takes the form of a Māru-Gurjara *kalaśa* finial, complete with a lid and disc-shaped *āmalasāraka* (Fig. 135). These head coverings, where the epitaphs are missing, mark the cenotaphs of men, and therefore, perform as gender identity markers. There is no doubt, however, that this ornament, akin to the Ottoman specimens, was reserved to represent certain social class of the deceased, linked to aristocracy. This hypothesis is based on the fact that during the Samma period this distinctive feature appears only in the royal necropolis. However, in the Samma funerary culture these headgear ornaments appear to be offering another, more significant connotation, parallels of which can be sought interestingly in the Khambhat corpus of late-medieval marble tombstones (see Chapter Two). One example of particular interest among these tombstones belongs to an influential merchant from Gujarat, ‘Umar ibn Ahmad al-Kazeruni (d. 734 AH/1333 CE) and is located inside the magnificent tomb complex of the deceased in Khambhat (Gujarat). The epigraphic program of this tombstone

²² Unless the ornate globular *kalaśa* atop the anonymous mid fifteenth-century *chaūkhandī* in the Pir Darswarriyo *dargāh* cemetery (Fig. 76) is considered a headgear. Zajadacz-Hastenrath writes that almost contemporary to Makli, this kind of ornament on cenotaphs appears in the cemetery of Jungshahi Pir (about twenty km northwest of Makli), see: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 78. However, on my visit to the Jungshahi Pir cemetery in 2015, I assessed the grave cenotaphs to be mostly from the mid sixteenth century onwards, based on style. Moreover, the head side projections in Jungshahi are in the form of small stone projections and are not as elaborate as the Samma turbans.

²³ Brown writes that in Turkey, these funerary headgears have been in existence since ca. 900 AH/1494-5 CE and the oldest extant example in Istanbul is the tomb of a Dervish Mehmed in Eyüp (918 AH/1512-3 CE). However, Brown is obviously wrong in assuming that “the headgear on tombs of men—in a comparable form and frequency not to be found in any other region of the Islamic world.” See: S. Ory et al., “Mağbara,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 2012, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0636.

assigns ‘Umar al-Kazeruni the status of a martyr of Islam, although he was murdered unexpectedly in a raid by Hindu bandits. The iconography of martyrdom also continues in the headstone, which is topped by a small projecting pillar-type element, which is believed to be “a form used throughout Gujarat to denote a martyr’s grave.”²⁴

Correspondingly, it would not be wrong to assume that the Samma ornamental headgear was a localized version of the same idea and can also be categorized as the iconography of martyrdom. Credibility for this theory also comes from the Arabic text of the epitaph, inscribed just below the ornament on Mubarak Khan’s cenotaph. This epitaph proclaims:

“O God! This fragrant shrine belongs to Khān al-‘Āzam – the shahīd (martyr)
– Mubārak Khān son of Sulṭān Niẓām al-Dīn.”²⁵

This epitaph was surely carved after Mubarak Khan’s death, that is three decades after the construction of the tomb began; the foundation inscription on the southern gateway implies that the tomb was completed by Mubarak Khan’s son named Ahmad (see below). More importantly, the epitaph declares Mubarak Khan a martyr and also strangely announces him to be the offspring of the celebrated Sultan (a piece of information that is discussed shortly). Nevertheless, the matter of Mubarak Khan’s death is a well-documented affair. The most reliable and detailed information comes to us from the *Nuṣrat Nāmah-i Tarkhān* (c. 1562), which records that when the Arghuns finally attacked Thatta with great force in the month of *Muḥarram* of the year 926 AH/1520 CE, Mubarak Khan was captured by Mir Zindah ‘Ali Katahbash Arghun and was brought to Shah Beg (by then the leader of the Arghuns). Shah Beg remembering the death of his brother from the battle

²⁴ Elizabeth Lambourn, “‘A Collection of Merits...’: Architectural Influences in the Friday Mosque and Kazaruni Tomb Complex at Cambay, Gujarat,” *South Asian Studies* 17 (2001): 117–49. More details on this aspect are further discussed by Lambourn in her forthcoming article (which I have been unable to consult) titled: “‘Those slain in God’s way ...’. The Martyrdom of ‘Umar al-Kazaruni and his grave at Cambay in Gujarat” (in press).

²⁵ For original text, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 539.

of *Jalūkīr*, struck Mubarak Khan with a sword himself, then others attacked him from all sides and killed him.²⁶ Such a death evidently earned this veteran the highest status of Islamic martyrdom, that of the battlefield martyr; hence, the posthumous title on his epitaph and the symbolic ornamental headgear. Until a more plausible explanation comes to light, it is reasonable to suggest that all such projections over the other three *chaūkhandī* tombs in the Samma cemetery in Makli necropolis were also carved to honor the martyrs of war.

Along with these interesting connotations in the decorative and textual repertoire, the most striking features of Mubarak Khan's tomb are its unusual form and its elevation on a high stone-platform (Figs. 131, 132). Such high platforms, called *jagatī*, follow a tradition established in the Buddhist brick stupas of Sindh (most notably the stupa of Mirpur-Khas), in the Gandhāra-Nāgara brick temples of the Salt Range, and also in the Māru-Gurjara stone temples from Western India, which include the Jaina temples of Nagarparkar discussed in the previous chapter.²⁷ Additionally, geographically close Islamic precedents to the *jagatī* platform are found in the Ghurid tombs of Shaykh Sadan Shahid (Fig. 101) and Ahmad Kabir (Fig. 102) from southern Punjab (Pakistan).²⁸ Finbarr B. Flood has noted that the elevation provided by such high plinths in “the temple, or stupa, served both as a physical manifestation of its exalted status and to ensure the ritual purity of the sacred space,” thence implying that the high plinth on which a Muslim tomb is placed also “serves to indicate the venerable status of the individual interred.”²⁹ However, unlike the Ghurid tombs that take the form of domed brick cuboids, the tomb of Mubarak Khan, although manifesting

²⁶ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 221–22. For other versions, see: Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 155–56; Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i Tāhīrī*, 58; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 177.

²⁷ Meister, *Temples of the Indus: Studies in the Hindu Architecture of Ancient Pakistan*; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:222–24; Raikes, *Memoir on the Thurr and Parkur, Districts of Sind*, 10–12; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 83–109, 175–76; Ball, “The Buddhists of Sind.”

²⁸ Flood, “Ghūrīd Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd”; Rehman and Hussain, “Expression of Paying Tribute to the Saint.”

²⁹ Flood, “Ghūrīd Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd,” 132.

venerability in its *jagatī* platform, follows an entirely different planning logic – that of an open enclosure in stone, which presents a composition commonly known as *ḥazīra*.

The term *ḥazīra* (lit. enclosure) is used to refer to an uncovered place of burial surrounded by balustrades, grillwork or a set of walls. More concisely, the term indicates an open funerary enclosure, a type which enjoyed great popularity in medieval eastern Khurasan and Yazd.³⁰ Scholars have shown that the *ḥazīra*-type tombs are primarily funerary structures of religious intent as Prophet Muhammad’s disapproval of monumentalizing graves – reported in the *ḥadīth* collections (primarily to avoid the polytheistic practice of praying in cemeteries) – is what inspired the development of the *ḥazīra*. Since the disapproval was basically against erecting structures over burials, in compliance with the principal of *taswīyah al-qubūr* (leveling of all tombs to the ground to alleviate the corpse’s suffering in death), the *ḥazīra*-type tomb, burying the deceased in open, did not contradict the principle, and therefore, became acceptable in orthodox Islam.³¹ In Iran and Central Asia, no Seljuk parallels have been found for this form; it is believed that the *ḥazīra* tombs only became known in the pre-Mongol period at the latest, yet their monumental constructions in Central Asia became exceptionally popular under the Timurid royal patronage.³² A notable example exists at Gazur Gah (outside Herat) in the *ḥazīra*-type shrine of the Hanbalite traditionist and patron saint of Herat, Khwaja ‘Abd Allah Ansari (d. 481 AH/1089 CE). For this remarkable

³⁰ Robert Hillenbrand, “The Development of Saljuq Mausolea in Iran,” in *Studies in Medieval Islamic Architecture*, vol. II (London: Pindar Press, 2006), 317–41. For the origin of the term and detailed discussion defining the *ḥazīra* genre, see: Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah (Royal Ontario Museum Occasional Paper 15)* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1969), 100–124. However, scholars like Hillenbrand and O’Kane, note that the architectural term *ḥazīra* also offers at the same time an imprecise definition as it was used in primary texts for domed or vaulted structures over graves as well. See: Hillenbrand, “The Development of Saljuq Mausolea in Iran,” 58 n. 42; Bernard O’Kane, “Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting,” *Iran* 17 (1979): 96.

³¹ Leisten, “Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Shari’a toward Funerary Architecture”; Jonathan M. Bloom and Sheila S. Blair, “Shrine,” in *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195309911.001.0001/acref-9780195309911-e-864>.

³² Hillenbrand, “The Development of Saljuq Mausolea in Iran.”

enclosure, commissioned in 829 AH/1425 CE by the Timurid Sultan Shah Rukh (r. 1405-1447), the adopted *ḥazīra* form represents ‘Abd Allah Ansari’s orthodox Hanbali viewpoint against the construction of roofed funerary monuments.³³ However, not all the fifteenth-century *ḥazīras* in Khurasan seem to have stemmed from orthodox resistance to constructing buildings over graves, yet in this architectural form the Timurid prestige and royal legacy is certainly secured.³⁴

Mubarak Khan’s primary desire to appropriate an open tomb for his burial does not lie in orthodoxy either, even if religious notions did play some role. Experiencing a humble beginning and later personally mentored by Sultan Nizam al-Din – a traditional Sunni with a tolerant attitude, Mubarak Khan himself was anything but orthodox. His religious views are not specified by historians, but as shown in Chapter Six, in the later years of his life, Mubarak Khan served the messianic movement of Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur (d. 1505).³⁵ Therefore, in choosing to build a *ḥazīra* tomb he appears to have pursued a more socio-politically charged agenda rather than a religious one. Mubarak Khan’s background, political attainments and military triumphs aid in explaining this agenda.

A Sayyid by descent, his real identity is a matter of dispute; some historians narrate that Mubarak Khan was taken by the Hindu minister Lakhdīr in the service of Nizam al-Din as a young slave named “Darya Khan.”³⁶ However, Mubarak Khan’s competence and intellect enabled him

³³ Maria Eva Subtelny, “The Cult of ‘Abdullāh Anṣārī Under the Timurids,” in *Gott Ist Schön Und Er Liebt Die Schönheit/God Is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty: Festschrift in Honour of Annemarie Schimmel* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), 377–406; Golombek and Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:308–11.

³⁴ O’Kane, “Tāybād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid Vaulting.”

³⁵ Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 177; Mahmud-ul-Hasan Siddiqī, “Mahdi of Jaunpur in Sindh,” in *The Samma Kingdom of Sindh*, ed. Ghulam Muhammad Lakho (Jamshoro: Institute of Sindhology, University of Sind, 2006), 89–98; Syed Husain Balkhī, *The Mahdi Maud (AHS)* (Hyderabad: Al-Haj; Red Hills, 1989), 27.

³⁶ Mir Ma’sum (d. 1606) calls him “Darya Khan” and Purani (d. 1564) refers to him as “Mubarak Khan,” while Nisyani (d. 1641) writes that his real name was “Qabulah” and Lakhdīr gave him the name “Darya Khan,” while “Mubarak Khan” was his official title. Qani’ also follows Nisyani, which appears to be the most popular version of the account, from early modern period on, as he still lives in Sindhi ballads as “*dūllā*” (hero) Darya Khan. See: Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 153, 155; Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 61–62; Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 55; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 176–77.

to quickly rise up the ranks of aristocracy; Qani‘ refers to him as the *amīr al-umrā’* (supreme noble) of Sultan Nizam al-Din’s court. Moreover, the Sultan bestowed upon him the position and title of “*Khān al-‘Āzam* (lit. the Great Lord) Mubarak Khan” – an identity repeatedly proclaimed in the epigraphic program of Mubarak Khan’s tomb as well (see below).³⁷ The recovery of the *Siwī* fort in 1490 and the great victory over the Arghuns, who still officially served the court at Herat, further established his military superiority, and this time over the Timurids. In choosing to build a hybrid *ḥazīra* tomb, elevated by a *jagatī* platform and appended with Māru-Gurjara elements such as *mandāraka*, where Mubarak Khan sought sanctity for his last resting place and venerable status for himself, prestige above and beyond that of the great Timurids is also asserted. The epigraph carved on the southern gateway, which begins with a *ḥadīth* to give further credibility (see Chapter Six), manifests these assertions as:

“.... *This shrine [is constructed] by the orders of Khān al-‘Āzam Mubārak Khān bin Sulṭān Niẓām al-Dīn Shāh bin Ṣadr al-Dīn Shāh bin Ṣalāh al-Dīn Shāh bin Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Shāh, and who triumphed over the Mughalān (Turco-Mongols/ Mughals) of al-Herī (Herāt) and al-Qandahār – written by Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd – Aḥmad bin Daryā Khān, may Allāh forgive him.*”³⁸

The last part of this epigraph, carved over the tiny suspension that marks the traditional *lalāṭabimba* in the center of the lintel, does not follow the style of the inscription and seems to have been a later insertion, possibly from c. 1520, once the tomb was finally complete after Mubarak Khan’s death (Fig. 132). The content of the epigraph, composed by Qutb al-Din Mahmud

³⁷ Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 55; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 176–77; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 180.

³⁸ Lashari has misread this inscription at two places. Instead of *hadhā al-maqām* (this shrine) he reads *ahl al-maqām* (people of the shrine). Also, instead of *Mughalān al-Herī wa al-Qandahār* (Mughals of Herat and Kandahar), Lashari reads it as *Mughalān al-Harwī wa al-Qandahār*. *Al-Herī* is a medieval, lesser used, name for Herat, sometimes found in contemporary histories, although still in use regarding *Herī-Rūd* (Herat river or river Areius). See: Zāhīr ud-Dīn Bābur, *Bābur-Nāma (Memoirs of Babur)*, trans. Annette S. Beveridge, vol. 1 (London: Luzac & Co., 1922), 261, 300–301. For Lashari’s reading see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 537.

– the scribe employed for the enclosure, emphasizes upon two important details: the subjugation of the Turco-Mongols of Herat and Kandahar, and more importantly, the grandly put, yet falsely assumed claim of Mubarak Khan’s descent from not only Nizam al-Din but also from all the previous Samma Sultans (reiterated on his epitaph and eastern doorway as well).

Nevertheless, Mubarak Khan was not related to Sultan Nizam al-Din by blood; we do not find authenticity in this claim either in written texts or oral traditions. Although it has been passingly noted that the Sultan treated Mubarak Khan like a son; Purani and Mir Ma’sum have used the term *pisr-e khwāndah Jām Niẓām al-Dīn* (adopted son of Jam Nizam al-Din).³⁹ The claims of royal lineage in the inscriptions are possibly an edict of this foster relationship. Interestingly, however, at least the gateway inscriptions were carved during Nizam al-Din’s lifetime, and the Sultan, who promoted *shari’a* (religious law) and was himself an ardent follower of *sunnah*, must have realized the prohibition of claiming descent from adopted parents (Qur’an 33:5), yet still chose to overlook this fact.⁴⁰

There is another possibility that in the absence of a male heir, Nizam al-Din designated Mubarak Khan his heir presumptive; the heir apparent and future Sultan, Jam Firuz, was born of Nizam al-Din’s queen Dawlat Rani (d. c. 1520) when the Sultan had grown old – at the time of Nizam al-Din’s death in 1508, Jam Firuz was still a minor.⁴¹ Therefore, following the birth of his

³⁹ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 135; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 152, 155 (for the Persian term see M. Daudpota’s tr. from 1938, p 112 & 114).

⁴⁰ On Nizam al-Din’s religious views, see: Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 102–4; Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168–70.

⁴¹ Nizam al-Din’s other son, named Fath Khan, who has been mentioned in the foundation inscription in his sister’s mausoleum (see above), probably died young, as he is not mentioned in any of the written texts and only Firuz Shah is recorded as Nizam al-Din’s son. Mir Ma’sum writes that when the Sultan died after ruling for forty-seven years (possibly at the old age of about seventy-five), his son Firuz was still young. Purani and Nisyani have recorded that following Nizam al-Din’s death, his wife remained politically active for the next decade or so, although Nisyani calls her by the name “Madina Machni.” See: Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 224–25 (also see note 196); Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 105–9; Ṭhaṭṭavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 56–59. The old Persian edition of *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī* specifies Firuz Shah’s age as five years upon his father’s death, which is difficult to corroborate (see M. Daudpota’s tr. from 1938, p 86).

son the Sultan awarded another position to Mubarak Khan instead, that of *madār al-muḥām* (regent), and entrusted the young prince in the latter's care.⁴² The majestic titles and links to royal genealogy, therefore, are undoubtedly self-conscious reflections of his lost opportunity of assuming the throne, and also of his enduring political authority despite the fact. The epigraphic contents are also a public reaffirmation of Mubarak Khan's presumed lineage, borrowed out of his associations with the most distinguished Samma Sultan. Although the textual sources do not support the idea that behind these claims were any ulterior motives of ousting the Sultan's legitimate heir Nasir al-Din Firuz Shah, this possibility cannot be discounted completely.

May God Perpetuate his Sovereignty! Jam Firuz Shah's Propaganda in the Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din

Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo, the longest reigning Sultan of Samma Sultanate, was eventually laid to rest in 1508. Despite the strong relationship his father Nizam al-Din enjoyed with Mubarak Khan, Sultan Firuz Shah soon became weary of the former's influence and stranglehold over the Samma court. After some deliberation the young Sultan successfully extradited Mubarak Khan from Thatta. It has been recorded that Firuz Shah was provoked by his mother Dawlat Rani, who was anxious of Mubarak Khan's growing powers and possibly of his repeated claims of royal lineage. Consequently, Mubarak Khan retired to his *jāgīr* (lands) in Kahan (western Sindh) where he stayed for the next few years.⁴³ However, his absence proved to be quite devastating for Firuz Shah; he continually faced the Arghun incursions, who had by then re-claimed the Baloch territories and had even encroached some parts of Sindh.⁴⁴ Moreover, Firuz Shah's inexperience and political

⁴² Ma 'šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma 'sūmī*, 105; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 171, 177.

⁴³ Information related to Dawlat Rani's role following Nizam al-Din's death is rather confusing, she did however, remained politically active till the fall of the Sultanate. See: Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 224–25 (also see note 196); Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 56–59; Ma 'šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma 'sūmī*, 105–9, 151–60; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 174–75.

⁴⁴ Ma 'šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma 'sūmī*, 149–50; Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 176–77.

shortcomings gave an excuse to the Samma prince Jam Salah al-Din (Nizam al-Din's paternal cousin) to challenge the former's sovereignty.⁴⁵ Salah al-Din was even successful in establishing his rule over Thatta for a few months, which consequently Mubarak Khan and his entourage combated to reinstate Firuz Shah over the throne once again.⁴⁶ Salah al-Din made yet another attempt in c. 1519 for which he sought support from Sultan Muzaffar Shah II (r. 1511-1526), the ruler of Gujarat. To counter this second attack, Sultan Firuz Shah cultivated political alliances with the Arghuns – a misjudgment which brought the martyrdom of Mubarak Khan and eventually the catastrophic end to the Samma Sultanate.⁴⁷

Hence, throughout his turbulent reign Firuz Shah's political authority and claims as a ruler remained under threat. His initial response was to commission a grand mausoleum for his father (Fig. 136) in an attempt to use it as a vehicle to secure legitimacy before the diverse social constituencies of Sindh. As Melia Belli has argued, such acts of constructing permanent architectural memorials for predecessors, with politically meaningful decorative and formal program, was an intrinsic part of the Indic "Rajput" identity.⁴⁸ Through the study of former Hindu Rajput kingdoms of Rajasthan, Belli has shown how these memorials performed as visual rhetoric of kingship and legitimate political authority. Although these Rajput memorials took the pavilion-type "*chatrī*" form; yet the author notes that starting in the fifteenth century, this particular trend

⁴⁵ Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 106–9; Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 224; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 171–73.

⁴⁶ Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 106–9; Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 224; Ulug-Khānī, *Zafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:123; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 171–73.

⁴⁷ Alliances with the Arghuns were cultivated in the absence of Mubarak Khan, at the behest of Dawlat Rani who is recorded to have played central role in these affairs. Purani and Nisyani give slightly different statements, yet Ulug Khani does not mention her at all. All accounts, however, essentially lead to the same end of the Samma dynastic rule. Nisyani, however, is more critical to her role in the political affairs of Sindh, and towards bringing the Arghuns to Thatta. See: Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 224–25 (also see note 196); Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 56–59; Ulug-Khānī, *Zafar Ul-Wālih Bi Muẓaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:123; Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 105–9, 151–60; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 174–75.

⁴⁸ Bose, *Royal Umbrellas of Stone*, 4, 34–36.

of architectural commissions by the seventeenth century had become seminal to counter the threats to political power of a new king who ascended the throne.⁴⁹ Recounting such ideas makes one envision the young Firuz Shah's patronage of his father's symbolically charged mausoleum activating the proto-Rajput identity of the Sammas, despite the fact that the monument does not retain a *chattrī* form. In the choice of stone as the medium of construction for this monument, and also in the decorative devices employed, Firuz Shah is also communicating that he is the rightful political heir to the glorious rulers of the past, as further discussed below.

A substantial and thorough description of Nizam al-Din's mausoleum already exists; previous authors have devoted full-length chapters to its formal analysis and documentation along with detailed architectural drawings.⁵⁰ Moreover, this monument has been briefly examined in many recent art historical studies, so this chapter will not go into great detail on the building's features.⁵¹ As more significant is to focus on those meticulous aspects that remain unexplored in scholarship; the following narrative concentrates on uncovering the connotations and obscure messages behind the selection of epigraphic content and decorative motifs of the mausoleum.

The mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din truly epitomizes the Samma building traditions in its unusual combination of elements that belong to diverse architectural idioms. This monument is laden with symbolism and allegorical clues in its abundant use of ornaments that primarily appropriates the Māru-Gurjara decorative repertoire. Modern scholars have expressed doubts about the date and patron of the mausoleum, considering Firuz Shah's age at the time of his father's

⁴⁹ Bose, chap. 1.

⁵⁰ Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 134–238; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 43–45, 58–90.

⁵¹ Other than the above-mentioned publications, entries in some articles are particularly worth noting. For example: Alka Patel, "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh," in *Sindh: Past Glory, Present Nostalgia* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2008), 80–95; Daniel Ehnbohm, "Cosmology and Continuity: A 16th Century Tomb in Sind," *South Asian Archaeology*, 1989, 361–66; Zajadacz-Hastenrath, "Apropos the Sindhi Pillarettes."

death and his inexperience as a patron of monumental architecture.⁵² The date, 915 AH/ 1509-10 CE, inscribed twice on the monument is, therefore, considered to be the date of completion instead. Nevertheless, the foundation inscription carved on the western doorway clearly records it as the “date when the foundation was laid” and gives full credit of building to Firuz Shah.⁵³ Moreover, the inscriptions over the northern doorway (Fig. 137) that begin with a very tangible vision of the paradise awaiting the faithful (Qur’an 38:49-54 & Qur’an 54:54-55), is followed by this message:

“This shrine, an exalted and invincible domed tomb, is built [...] by the great Sulṭān and the ruler of justice and mercy, the helper of righteousness, of the world and the religion, Abu al-Faḥ Sulṭān Firūz Shāh over the grave of his father Sulṭān Niẓām al-Dīn Shāh bin Ṣadr al-Dīn Shāh bin Ṣalāh al-Dīn Shāh bin Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Shāh bin Sulṭān Firūz Shāh – may God perpetuate his sovereignty! The spirit of his soul is buried in it (this tomb), dated the year nine hundred and fifteen al-Hijrīyyah (915 AH/1509 CE).”⁵⁴

Additionally, the epigraphic program of the mausoleum’s *miḥrāb* also reflects Firuz Shah as the building’s patron (see below). However, it is not unreasonable to assign a longer timeframe to the creation of this richly ornate mausoleum and to assume that an exceptional personality like Mubarak Khan might also have some role to play in the design of his foster father’s last resting place.

⁵² Rashidi, in his edition of *Maklīnāmah*, gives the entire credit to Mubarak Khan, while Lari & Lari agree with the inscription over the northern doorway. Dani and Nadiem do not make a specific statement but agree that the construction commenced before the Sultan’s death. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 65; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 144; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 182–83; Nadiem, *Makli*, 52.

⁵³ Part of the western doorway inscription is quoted above. Also, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 559–60.

⁵⁴ For original Arabic, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, 560. Lashari’s reading of this inscription, however, has some errors. He reads “*al-qubba al-rafi‘ah al-manī‘ah [...?]*” (an exalted and invincible domed tomb is built [...?]) as “*al-qibla al-rafi‘ah al-manī‘ah ilā rawḍah*” (in the exalted [sacred] direction of prayer, this invincible tomb in the garden). At present, the inscription is missing some words from the place where Lashari reads “*rawḍah*,” but he does not cite his original source for this addition. However, Lashari’s reading significantly alters perception on the mausoleum’s setting, recorded at the time of its construction (see below).

Standing proudly over the most elevated part of the site located right at the western edge of Zone II, along which an offshoot of Indus river flowed, the monument dominates the entire Samma cluster (Fig. 136). The elevated location, flowing water in the background and the heavily ornate surfaces using a variety of *padma* (lotus) motifs evoke the image of paradise, befitting a character who personifies an ideal ruler and embodies a humble sufistic personality.⁵⁵ The epigraphic frieze that runs around the exterior of the mausoleum and contains the Qur’anic verses (Qur’an 76:1-19) also appears to have been carefully designed to manifest the garden of heaven. Moreover, this remarkably well-preserved monumental structure utilizes countless elements that at times present a chaotic configuration on the outset. Careful examination reveals that its artistic program was, in fact, carefully drafted to convey significant messages related to identities, patronage, authority and political legacies. For example, the form taken is that of the typical domed cuboid (each side measuring about 11.28 m), which has been ubiquitously employed in Islamic lands, including the Indus Valley as shown in its brick funerary constructions (Fig. 138).⁵⁶ However, in the mausoleum of Nizam al-Din although the square burial chamber eventually transforms into a hexadecagonal space (supported on the corner squinches which are of unfamiliar trumpet or fan-shaped type) in complete preparation to receive the dome, yet the structure was never crowned by one (Fig. 139). The inscription over the northern doorway also describes the mausoleum as “*al-qubba*” (the domed tomb), which confirms that originally the building was designed to have a dome. This makes one question if Nizam al-Din’s religious orthodoxy compelled the designers to respect the principal of *taswīyah al-qubūr* and consequently the

⁵⁵ Near contemporary hagiographical texts and oral traditions record Sultan Nizam al-Din as showing great humility in personal affairs and someone who can be referred to as a “Sufi-Sultan.” See: Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 103; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 169–70.

⁵⁶ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*.

funerary monument was purposely left roofless? The reason may also have been structural, as the medium of construction selected for this cuboid form is sandstone and it was the first time a familiar arcuate brick form was attempted by Samma artisans in stone. Hence, erecting a true dome in an unfamiliar medium might not have been practically possible. Nevertheless, the choice of stone itself was consistent with the indigenous cultural ideology as it is a medium representative of sacred spaces inhabited by ascetics and divinities (see Chapter Two) – an association especially appropriate for Sultan Nizam al-Din whose piousness and spirituality was noted by contemporary and later chroniclers.⁵⁷ Moreover, the form of the structure also recalls the sacred *sāndhāra mūlaprāsāda*, the Māru-Gurjara temple shrine variety which has an inner ambulatory passage to reach the *gavākṣākāra* (balcony) projection.⁵⁸ Although the mausoleum of Nizam al-Din is not provided with an ambulatory, a balcony does, however, exist on the upper section of the western wall, which is reached through an inner passage (Fig. 140). Further manifestations of sanctity and other parallel themes are best exemplified in the focal point and the most dominating feature of the mausoleum, that is its extravagant multifaceted *mihrāb* composition on the western wall.

Inside the mausoleum, the *mihrāb* is a multipart feature, 2 m in depth, which comprises two successive levels of highly ornate niches led through three pointed-arched recessions (Fig. 141).⁵⁹ Each arch is carved with a different set of Qur’anic verses; a total of seven different selections of Qur’an line the frames and interior of the *mihrāb* that collectively present a shared narrative.⁶⁰ The first arch, which is blind, is inscribed with Qur’an 39:53 (*al-Zumar*) that talks about the compassion and mercy of God “*He who is the Forgiving, the Merciful.*” This verse is

⁵⁷ Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 102–4; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168–70.

⁵⁸ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 136.

⁵⁹ For a detailed formal analysis of this *mihrāb* see: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 83–89.

⁶⁰ For the original readings of the inscriptions see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 562–63.

then followed by the last two verses from *sūrah al-Qamar* (Qur'an 54:54-55) – a promise to the virtuous Sultan of salvation and closeness to God in paradise:

*“Indeed, the righteous will be among gardens and rivers, In a seat of honor near a Sovereign, Perfect in Ability.”*⁶¹

The presence of this verse above the most peripheral section can also be seen as symbolizing the entrance of the *mihrāb* as the gateway to paradise.⁶² The aniconic carvings on the walls of the *mihrāb* that prominently display the floral and vegetal motifs also support the theme of paradisiacal setting. Moreover, this composite *mihrāb* on one side appropriates the iconographies of Māru-Gurjara temple entrances, and on the other side also takes the form of an aedicular or micro-architectural gateway, echoing the prodigious gateways of monumental Islamic configurations (Fig. 141). The second arch is part of the entrance to the first niche that is guarded by micro-architectural *miśraka* columns, one on each side. This niche is crowned with a small fluted ornate cupola with a hanging multi-petaled *padmāsīlā* in the center (Fig. 142, 143). Text carved along the curve of the second arch is especially noteworthy, as it records the earliest and possibly the only instance of the widely-known *āyat al-nūr* (the Light Verse; Qur'an 24:35) appearing on a tomb in the Makli necropolis. This theologically significant verse may be translated in the following way:

“Allāh is the Light of the heavens and the earth. The example of His light is like a niche within which is a lamp, the lamp is within glass, the glass as if it were a pearly [white] star lit from [the oil of] a blessed olive tree, neither of the east nor of the west, whose oil would almost glow even if untouched by

⁶¹ Kaleemullah Lashari, 562.

⁶² For interpretation regarding the paradisiacal symbolism in *mihrābs*, see: Walter B. Denny, “Reflections of Paradise in Islamic Art,” in *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, ed. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom (Hanover, N.H.: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991), 33–43. For a short note on the decorative program of the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din reflecting the garden of paradise, see: Ehnobom, “Cosmology and Continuity: A 16th Century Tomb in Sind.”

fire. Light upon light. Allāh guides to His light whom He wills. And Allāh presents examples for the people, and Allāh is Knowing of all things.”

The Light Verse is a unique and the most evocative of all the Qur’anic verses and has occasioned extensive mystical commentaries. Several philosophical Sufi treatises have been written on it among which al-Ghazali’s (d. 1111) *Mishkāt al-Anwār* (lit. the niche for lights; n.d.) is most popular.⁶³ The remarkably unique imagery embodied in the Light Verse is conveyed through a variety of metaphorical elements, such as: the light (*nūr*), the niche (*mishkāt*), the lamp (*miṣbāh*), the glass (*zujājah*), the glittering star (*kawkabun durrīyun*), the blessed olive tree (*shajaratīn mubārakatin zaytūnatin*) and its pure oil (*zaytuhā*). Because of this imagery when the verse is acquired architecturally, it is inscribed in close proximity of the *mihrābs*, usually of mosques; and inversely the lamps hanging inside the architectural *mihrābs* (in both mosques and tombs) or the two-dimensional *mihrāb* images carved with lamps or other illumination devices (as seen in the stone lids discussed previously) often invoke visual expression to the Light Verse.⁶⁴ There is a general consensus that theologically the suspended glass lamp in the niche and its emanating light either symbolizes the Divine Light (the source of creation; knowledge) – or rather “the ineffable presence of the deity [Allah] himself...,” or in accordance with the mystical interpretation is the “transcendental luminescence of the Prophet, the *nūr Muḥammad*.”⁶⁵

⁶³ Gerhard Böwering, “The Light Verse: Qur’anic Text and Sūfī Interpretation,” *Oriens* 36 (2001): 113–44; Marcia Hermansen, “The Prophet Muhammad in the Sufi Interpretations of the Light Verse (Aya Nur 24:35),” *Islamic Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (1998): 144–55.

⁶⁴ Some excellent examples of these connections can be seen in: Flood, “Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture”; Denny, “Reflections of Paradise in Islamic Art”; Robert Hillenbrand, “Qur’anic Epigraphy in Medieval Islamic Architecture,” *Revue Des Etudes Islamiques: Mélanges Offerts Au Professeur Dominique Sourdel*, no. LIV (1986): 173–87; Erica C. Dodd, “The Image of the Word: Notes on the Religious Iconography of Islam,” *BERYTUS: Archaeological Studies XVIII* (1969): 35–79.

⁶⁵ Flood, “Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture,” 343; Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 650-1250* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1994), 329–30. Flood has very concisely explained the identification of the imagery of the Light Verse in relation to both the Divine Light and that of the *nūr Muḥammad*. For other versions of similar interpretations on symbolism in the Light Verse, also see: Hillenbrand, “Qur’anic Epigraphy in Medieval Islamic Architecture”;

However, the medieval commentaries on the Light Verse also cite a connection between these two distinct interpretations considering that the *nūr Muḥammad* itself emanated from the Divine Light. This idea further developed the perception of *nūr Muḥammad* as an emblem of legitimacy and rightful inheritance and was particularly significant in the context of Shi‘i *imāmate* but was also exploited in the cases of Sunni leadership and Sufi hierarchy.⁶⁶ Hence, where the Light Verse testifies of God being the light of the whole universe – the supreme creator, possessor and provider of all knowledge – it also incidentally points towards the light or spirituality of the Prophet being passed down along the line of legitimate successors. Other mystical connections are also effectively drawn between the Light Verse and the depiction of the Divine Throne as manifested through the sovereignty of a spiritually enlightened believer, selected to rule by the God himself.⁶⁷

It is difficult to substantiate which of these concepts could have precisely led to the selection of the substantial Light Verse in the mausoleum of Nizam al-Din’s *miḥrāb*. It may be that the verse was intended to commemorate the deceased Sultan, embodying his revered being which attained spiritual enlightenment – a theme that continues on the external side of the *miḥrāb* as well (see below). Additionally, in the occurrence of the Light Verse is an edict of the likeness of the Divine Light in Nizam al-Din’s persona, who is a true believer and a model of piety

Denny, “Reflections of Paradise in Islamic Art”; Böwering, “The Light Verse: Qur’anic Text and Sūfi Interpretation”; Hermansen, “The Prophet Muhammad in the Sufi Interpretations of the Light Verse (Aya Nur 24:35).”

⁶⁶ Uri Rubin, “Pre-Existence and Light: Aspects of the Concept of Nūr Muḥammad,” *Israel Oriental Studies V* (1975): 112–14; Flood, “Light in Stone: The Commemoration of the Prophet in Umayyad Architecture,” 343–44.

⁶⁷ Böwering, “The Light Verse: Qur’anic Text and Sūfi Interpretation,” 127, 136; Dodd, “The Image of the Word: Notes on the Religious Iconography of Islam.” Based on such spiritual interpretations, these scholars have deciphered the niche in the verse referring to the believer’s heart and soul, the lamp to the light of knowledge of Holy Message (of the Qur’an), the glass referring to divinely given success, the wick to renunciation, and the oil to contentment, where all have been allowed with the Divine will and command.

according to the textual sources.⁶⁸ Moreover, the Sultan was particularly chosen to symbolize divinity on earth by the will of God, Who made him an example for others (as the last part of the verse signifies) to guide all towards righteousness. In this way Nizam al-Din can also be seen as a legitimate ruler and the rightful beneficiary to *nūr Muḥammad*. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, invoking Prophet Muhammad for rewards and imploring his *barakah* is one of the most popular themes of Samma epigraphs in Makli necropolis. Nevertheless, the idea of legitimizing kingship also appears in contemporary texts; Nizam al-Din is portrayed in *Tadkirah al-Murād* (c. 1505) as continually remaining under the shadow of *humā* – the Persian mythical bird that commonly appears in Sufi poetry and whose kingship-bestowing privilege is often identified in Persian literature.⁶⁹ However, such themes emphasizing Nizam al-Din’s sanctity and legacy were also instrumental in constructing the legitimizing arguments for Jam Firuz. Being the only living true born son of the legendary Sultan, Firuz Shah appears to have sought endorsement to legitimize his own ascension in the epigraphy of the *miḥrāb*. This interpretation, it seems, had a particular resonance for the young Sultan who was confronting multiple claimants to his throne, as evinced from the recurrence of the theme again in the innermost niche of the *miḥrāb*.

The third arch framing the innermost niche is set deep into the wall. The surfaces of this niche are most densely and complexly ornamented using a variety of geometric and floral motifs. The arch is part of an ornate doorframe that encases the niche and is similar in form to the *dviśākhā* (two-jamb) variety, except that the jambs are created of intricately carved double-*miśraka*-pillarets (*stambhasākhās*) on either side to support the arch (Fig. 144). The overhead frame is unsurprisingly carved with the *āyat al-Kursī* (the Throne Verse; Qur’an 2:255) – the verse of equal

⁶⁸ Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Ma’sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma’sūmī*, 102–4; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168–70.

⁶⁹ Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27.

theological importance to the Light verse, which stresses Allah's omnipotence. Moreover, the Throne Verse enjoys great popularity as the most ubiquitously recurring formula on objects, particularly funerary artifacts, throughout the Islamic world and is also believed to have the powers to protect against evil and malevolent spirits. Among the many finely carved sacred Māru-Gurjara motifs, such as the auspicious *pūrṇaḡhaṭa* (overflowing vase or vase-of-plenty), *patravallī* (looped lotus bud), *padma*, the auspicious *kalaśa* in suspension and so on, the side walls of this niche (Fig. 145) also offer two unevenly spaced verses from the Qur'an in the following order:

“So the angels called him while he was standing in prayer in the mihrāb (chamber), ‘Indeed, Allāh gives you good tidings of John, confirming a word from Allāh and [who will be] honorable, abstaining [from women], and a prophet from among the righteous.’ – Qur’an 3:39

“Say, ‘O Allāh, Owner of Sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You take sovereignty away from whom You will. You honor whom You will and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is [all] good. Indeed, You are over all things competent.’ – Qur’an 3:26

The first among these verses is an uncommon occurrence in architectural epigraphs and generates an interesting account evoking the Islamic Prophet Zakariya (biblical Zechariah), who is recorded in scriptures as intensely pious and humble in character. Zakariya, who had reached old age without a progeny, was eventually blessed with an honorable and righteous son Yahya (biblical John, the Baptist), whose news was announced by angels while Zakariya was praying inside a *mihrāb*.⁷⁰ The visual presence of the verse here, therefore, equates Zakariya's *mihrāb* to the *mihrāb* of the mausoleum and the virtuous images of the two Prophets to Nizam al-Din and his son Jam Firuz. Moreover, Firuz Shah as a legitimate and righteous ruler albeit his young age can be seen

⁷⁰ For the verses on Prophet Zakariya, see: Qur'an 3:39; 21:89; 19:4-6. The *mihrāb* in this Qur'anic setting doesn't refer to an architectural feature, but to a praying chamber, probably something like a tent. However, this detail is not important in the present context.

as in implied likeness to Prophet Yahya who was also awarded Prophethood in the course of his childhood.⁷¹ Essentially the same theme is underlined through the second verse, which implies that being the rightful heir to Sultan Nizam al-Din's prestige, the honor of sovereignty was bestowed upon Firuz Shah by the God Himself – the supreme sovereign holding ultimate authority. Additionally, here God is also identified not only embodying the power of conferring sovereignty but also of seizing it if He so wills, a concept that instinctively justifies Firuz Shah's political failings.

Therefore, in these epigraphs an attempt was made to propagate the political agenda and ideologies of Firuz Shah through the careful selection of a variety of verses focusing on themes of divinity, legitimacy and salvation. Similar attempts were made by the Sultan later during his reign when he commissioned the minting of particular coins to serve as agents of political propaganda. Besides their regular purpose of being the medium of exchange, Islamic coinage is known to have functioned as devices of communication and expression.⁷² In the numismatic collection from the National Museum in Karachi, we have at our disposal one silver coin issued by Jam Firuz (N.M.1977.13).⁷³ This rare issue of purely epigraphic type is stamped with the following information in Arabic (Fig. 146):

On the observe: *Justice (ʿadl) Jām Fīrūz Shāh Jām Nizām al-Dīn*

⁷¹ For this verse on Prophet Yahya, see: Qur'an 19:12.

⁷² Wasserstein, "Coins as Agents of Cultural Definition in Islam"; Samir Shamma, "The Political Significance of Religious Slogans on Islamic Coins," *Proceedings of the 8th International Congress of Numismatics, New York - Washington, 1973*, no. 4 (1976): 559–65.

⁷³ The discovery of this silver coin is significant on many levels. For example, earlier scholars had claimed that the Jams of Thatta never issued higher denomination currency. Najaf Haider writes that "the rulers of lower Sindh, both the Jams and Tarkhans, never issued coins in gold and silver." See: Habib, *Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500*, VIII:159. The silver *tanka* of Jam Firuz not only negates this claim but also prompts an inquiry for future investigation into the fact that how silver was used at this time of severe crisis of silver in the Indian subcontinent.

On the reverse: *May his kingdom and sovereignty perpetuate,
struck at (darb) Thatta 927 AH (1521 CE).*⁷⁴

This coin bears wordings that are quite distinct from the copper issues discussed above that only served as regular currency. Although, legends on both faces of this silver coin are not amiably arranged, however, they give significant statements. The text on the obverse presents Jam Firuz with the title “*Shāh*” (ruler) who implemented ‘*adl*’ “justice.” Additionally, in inscribing the name of Nizam al-Din, despite limited space, the phrase reinforces the connection of the two characters, and therefore, implies Jam Firuz’s right of succession. The idiom inscribed on the reverse along with the mint (Thatta) and date, emphasizes upon the persistence of Firuz Shah’s sovereignty. These wordings and rarity of such coin of precious metal suggest its propagandist rather than practical function. Interestingly this coin was struck only a few months after Thatta was captured by the Arghuns in the *Muharram* of 926 AH (January, 1520 CE), which resulted in the fatality of Mubarak Khan and subjugation of Jam Firuz. Later, however, Jam Firuz entered into an arrangement of vassalage in which Shah Beg Arghun invested southern Sindh with the former to rule from Thatta.⁷⁵ The issue of silver coinage afterwards might be Firuz Shah’s last attempt to claim authority over Sindh and to display himself as the rightful and legitimate ruler, despite losing his autonomy to the invading Arghuns.⁷⁶ However, until more of these coins come to light, nothing can be assumed with certainty.

⁷⁴ Goron et al., *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, 490–91; Pervin T. Nasir, “A Note on the Unique Silver Coin of Jam Firuz Shah of Sammah Dynasty of Sindh,” *Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum*, 93 1992, 64–66.

⁷⁵ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmah*, 224–25; Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 158–59; Ṭhāṭṭavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 59.

⁷⁶ Similar act had been recorded earlier in Sindh, in rare undated issues of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, which clearly bear the mint name as *Sāḥat-e-Sind* (the plains/ territories of Sindh), and are possibly specimens of the terms the Samma *ṣafdār* left as proconsul agreed upon (see Chapter One) and were, therefore, struck in or after 1367. Wright believes these coins, catalogued as Nos. 690-690A, were struck exclusively to mark Sultan Firuz Tughlaq’s victory against the Samma Jams at Thatta in 1367-68 or at the time when the Sultan was sojourning close to Thatta prior to that event. These are the only coins of Firuz Shah with the mint name other than Delhi and at least one of them is in the British Museum. See: H. Nelson Wright, “Addenda to the Series of Coins of the Pathān Sultāns of Dehli,”

Nonetheless, comparable themes are repeated on the exterior of Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum, particularly across the western wall, hitherto employing a visual rather than textual approach. The highly ornate exterior projection of the *mihrāb* that dominates the western façade plays a central role in expressing these themes (Fig. 147). It is an extremely complex piece of architectural composition, which the previous scholarly interpretations have either labeled as a “buttress” or a “balcony-ensemble” – terms that downplay the hybridity of this truly astonishing device and its rare syncretistic potentials that require some deliberation.⁷⁷

By the fourteenth century, similar exterior projections of *mihrābs*, ornamented with Māru-Gurjara decorative elements, were characteristic of the Islamic ritual buildings of Gujarat. Alka Patel notes that these exterior projections were primarily graced with the major elevational mouldings from Māru-Gurjara temples, and therefore, emphasize a morphological connection between the temple shrines and the Islamic *mihrābs*.⁷⁸ Likewise, the ornamentation on the *mihrāb* projection in the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din also makes similar connections as all its features, whether in the form of profusely incised aniconic motifs or richly carved modules, have been conceived within the Māru-Gurjara architectural idiom. Moreover, the designer of the edifice in appropriating the temple features also recognizes the cultural connotations of these motifs and in a way aligns the inhabitant of the monument with the illustrious indigenous sovereigns of the past – the creators of Māru-Gurjara style. However, where the Gujrati *mihrābs* are essentially semicircular in plan, embellished with standard mouldings in the form of bands and capped with a semi-domical element, in the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din the *mihrāb* projection is

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland, July 1900, 488; H. Nelson Wright, *Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1936), 180, 218.

⁷⁷ Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 190; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 76–77.

⁷⁸ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 156–57 (also see Pl. 135-137).

unexpectedly rectangular in plan that measures about 3.2 x 1.3 m and displays a multi-sectional complex arrangement topped with a balcony (Figs. 147, 148, 143). Primarily, this exterior projection is fashioned after a more specific element from the temples – the principal projection (*bhadra*) emanating from the center of the elevation of Māru-Gurjara temple *mūlaprāsāda* (principal sanctum).

The standard elevation of Māru-Gurjara *mūlaprāsāda* consisted of three basic parts: the *pīṭha* (moulded base) that is sometimes provided with a *bhiṭṭa* (plinth), the *maṇḍovara* (principal wall), and the *sikhara* (superstructure in the form of spire).⁷⁹ By the early eleventh century the *mūlaprāsāda* elevation also became codified where the *pīṭha*, *bhiṭṭa*, and *maṇḍovara* all comprised standard number of mouldings and sections (Fig. 149). The *mihrāb* projection in the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din, however, does not utilize all these standard components. For example, the lowest section displays at least three *bhiṭṭas* resting over what seems like an additional platform (now partly vanished under the ground) and above the *bhiṭṭas* the *maṇḍovara* is directly supported. Moreover, the *maṇḍovara* section is also not provided with the standard features of its three major components: the *vēdībandha* (podium with mouldings), the *jaṅghā* (wall's central section), and the *varaṇḍikā* (parapet).⁸⁰ In the mausoleum's *maṇḍovara* segment of the *mihrāb*, the *vēdībandha* podium consists of the usual five mouldings but the *jaṅghā*, although provided with the typical *mañcikā* (pedestal) support in the form of modified *kapōtālī*, abruptly ends at the *udgama* (pediment) level (Fig. 147, 148). This *udgama* is installed with atypical curved brackets and above

⁷⁹ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 132; Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 88.

⁸⁰ For further details on the components of these sections, see: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 132–35.

them a series of brackets supporting (instead of the standard *varaṇḍikā*) a *gavāḅṣākāra* projection (balcony), screened with carved micro-architectural *miḥrābs*.

Of these components, the middle *maṇḍovara* section is imperative to comprehend the connotations embedded in the ornamental program. In Māru-Gurjara temple *maṇḍovara*, the *jaṅghā* carries deep *bhadra* niches sheltering in most cases standing figures of the presiding deity of the *mūlaprāsāda* shrine.⁸¹ The *jaṅghā* in the projection of Nizam al-Din’s mausoleum is also provided on the front with a set of three niches but in the form of micro-architectural *miḥrābs*, which are heavily carved with floral motifs and framed with multi-sectional Māru-Gurjara *vedikā* (balustrade) posts (Fig. 148). Despite these niches being vacant, their *miḥrāb* form nevertheless suggests manifestation of divinity in Islamic religious context. Moreover, extremely vital for this ornamental theme are the two mono-spined *śikhara* aediculae crowned by *āmalasāraka* discs and clusters of *ghaṭapallava* elements (Fig. 148). It needs to be reiterated that the *śikhara* superstructure crowned the main temple shrine – the *mūlaprāsāda*, preserving the square *garbhāgrha* sancta, which provided the focus of worship as it housed the principal deity (see Chapter Two). This fundamental temple feature is translated for Nizam al-Din’s mausoleum – the tomb of a Muslim ruler – in the form of micro-architectural *śikharas* set on either side of the *miḥrāb* niches in the *jaṅghā*. Where such micro-architecture was iconographically compelling, the imageries of shrines are also argued to have manifested divinity for the space.⁸² Therefore, the presence of *śikharas* in Nizam al-Din’s mausoleum essentially declares the deceased Sultan as the deity inhabiting the sanctified *garbhāgrha* shaped burial chamber. The overall form of the *miḥrāb*

⁸¹ Dhaky, 134, 136.

⁸² Lambourn, “A Self-Conscious Art? Seeing Micro-Architecture in Sultanate South Asia,” 128, 148.

projection itself emphasizes a strong morphological connection between the Māru-Gurjara temple *mūlaprāsādas* and the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din.

Another novel motif extending the same thematic ideas appears unexpectedly on a portion of the western and northern façades of the mausoleum. To alleviate its otherwise austere exterior surfaces, a variety of friezes comprising Qur'anic verses and aniconic motifs can be seen carved on these façades, among which a single narrow frieze of *hamsas* (auspicious geese) is also preserved (Fig. 150). This zoomorphic frieze is particularly striking, for it is the only form of figural ornament existing in the Samma dynastic monuments. The goose or *hamsa* is an aquatic bird which does not hold any significance in Islamic iconography, but it is a popular Indic emblem associated with wisdom and divinity. In Hindu iconography the *hamsa* is the vehicle (*vāhana*) of the principal god Brahmā, who is also often shown as seated on a blossoming *padma* – an extensively exploited motif in the mausoleum of Nizam al-Din. The particular theme of associations between Brahmā and the *hamsa* is frequently encountered in the Hindu temples and the medieval *vāstuśāstras* record that the *hamsas* in procession should be an integral part of the temple iconography.⁸³ Additionally, its pre-Islamic use in Sindh can be traced in various Buddhist archeological remains, for example, in the stupa excavated near Jhirk.⁸⁴

Somehow the *hamsa* also found its way to embellish the late-medieval ritual buildings of Muslims in Western India for which the Shahi Masjid at Khatu in Rajasthan (c. 1203) and the Ghurid tomb of Ahmad Kabir (1203-04) near Multan provide two significant examples. Where the frieze of *hamsas* in the interior of Khatu Shahi Masjid was created of recycled fragments from a

⁸³ Jean P. Vogel, *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), 13–16; Ghafur, *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, 26. The flight of the goose is thought of as a link between the earthly and heavenly spheres.

⁸⁴ Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 108 (Fig. 17 shows a goose carved on a brick moulding found at the site). For the frequent appearance of *hamsa* in Buddhist art of the Indian subcontinent, see: Vogel, *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art*, 57–60.

demolished temple (Fig. 151), the brick-cut medallions bearing *hamsas* and other zoomorphic forms in Ahmad Kabir's tomb were carved specifically to adorn the façades.⁸⁵ The frieze of *hamsas* on the facades of Nizam al-Din's mausoleum recalls the interior of Khatu Shahi Masjid, but is comparatively a finer piece of carvings, clearly showing the bodies of the birds elegantly shaped and the auspicious birds essentially carrying vegetal stalks in their beaks. Some of these *hamsas* are carved in pairs (*hamsa-mithuna*) while others appear as part of a procession. Through this refined zoomorphic imagery, Brāhma is invoked to lend divinity to Nizam al-Din and temple-like sanctity to his mausoleum. The iconography of sanctity is maintained in the provision of other sacralizing elements as well, such as the ornate semicircular *mandārakas* projecting from the *uḍumbaras* (threshold) of all three of the ornamental doorways (Fig. 152).

From the analysis of Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum it can also be ascertained that for the conception of this marvelous piece of architectural and cultural hybridity, expert designers and craftsmen from diverse cultural backgrounds may have been employed. The designers of the ornate exterior of the *mihrāb* appear to have detailed knowledge on the architectural composition of the Māru-Gurjara elements and were also familiar with the religious connotations of these in their original Hindu and Jain contexts. Hence, there is a possibility that at least some non-Muslim individuals may have participated in the building of this mausoleum. It is also possible that among the cohort of artisans some might have even been invited from neighboring Gujarat where parallel architectural vocabulary was expertly practiced. Preliminary evidence in support of this argument may be sought in the socio-political and mercantile links between Gujarat and Sindh, and also in the mobility and exchange of workforce amongst the two regions.⁸⁶ Furthermore, it would not be

⁸⁵ Flood, *Objects of Translation*, 169–71; Rehman and Hussain, "Expression of Paying Tribute to the Saint."

⁸⁶ Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, "Lembrança de Cousas Da India Em 1525," in *Subsidios Para a Historia Da India Portuguesa [Subsidies for the History of Portuguese India]* (Lisboa: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1868), 37.

wrong to assume that the complex epigraphic program of the mausoleum could only have been composed by Muslim individuals who were not only literate but also vigilant about the current affairs. These individuals, along with the professional scribes and skilled artisans, must have been part of the process of planning and execution of the architectural epigraphs that had involved certain mode of notation. While evidence on the use of graphic notation in the architectural productions from late-medieval South Asia is scarce, meticulous examination of Nizam al-Din's mausoleum, however, suggests use of some form of textual notation method.⁸⁷ On the section of the inscriptional frieze immediately on the left of the *maṇḍovara* on the western façade, the incipient words of the verse (Qur'an 76:16) were left uncarved for some reason, although lightly incised markings (of words, diacritics and border) are still visible on stone slab (Fig. 153). These markings evince that the monumental inscription, carefully composed to fit within the available space, was pre-designed remotely by the scribe in two-dimension and was then copied onto the slabs for the stone carvers to execute in three-dimension. It is, however, difficult to substantiate this hypothesis any further at the present time.

Conclusion

The socio-political events at the turn of the sixteenth century challenged the territorial and political integrity of the Samma Sultanate. Following the demise in 1508 of the dynasty's most illustrious ruler, Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo, tensions arose between the Sultan's adopted son *Khān al-'Āzam* Mubarak Khan, and his legitimate heir Nasir al-Din Firuz Shah. The latter's kingship and political authority was also contested by other claimants of Samma royal descent. These internal conflicts

Felner, writing in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, notes the contractual employment of Sindhis by Gujarati elites, particularly soldiers, in the late Samma period.

⁸⁷ On the paucity of evidence for the use of graphic notation in late-medieval South Asia see Flood's comment in: Flood, "Idea and Idiom."

eventually disintegrated the Sultanate from within, although external threats from the Turco-Mongol Arghuns eventually brought the downfall of the kingdom in 1522.

The formal and decorative program of two contemporary monumental constructions from Makli necropolis – the funerary enclosure of Mubarak Khan and the mausoleum of the legendary Sultan Nizam al-Din – are a reflection of these historic events. Moreover, unlike the buildings discussed in the previous chapters, which are clearly distinguishable in form, materiality, style and building techniques, these two funerary structures resulted from intertwining of diverse sets of ideas. Therefore, these structures from the late Samma period cannot be categorized on the basis of any specific criteria, and manifest hybridity and transculturalism. These two monuments also exhibit how architecture can be deliberately used as a tool to express varied issues of identities and political ideologies. This chapter primarily examined how the palimpsest nature of Makli necropolis became intrinsic to the role of these two mausolea as artifacts for conveying visual messages about political rivalries, lineages and legitimacy of rulership.

The *ḥazīra* type funerary enclosure that Mubarak Khan commissioned for himself offered him an opportunity to rewrite history and use his tomb to exhibit his political ideology. The illustrious military career that Mubarak Khan enjoyed and the fact that he eventually died a martyr also find visual representation in the form of associated iconographies, inscriptions and motifs. Moreover, the epigraphic program of the tomb repeatedly reaffirms Mubarak Khan's royal lineage and falsely claims his descent from Sultan Nizam al-Din and his ancestors. Therefore, to counter these fabrications, which Nizam al-Din's legitimate heir and the new Sultan Jam Firuz Shah took as a threat, the latter commissioned a cautiously designed mausoleum for his father. The motifs and epigraphs on this monumental structure was an attempt to propagate the political agendas and

ideologies of Firuz Shah. The careful selection of a variety of verses from this mausoleum, centered on themes of divinity, legitimacy and salvation.

Moreover, concise analysis of Nizam al-Din's mausoleum not only reflects the architectural transcendentalism of the monument, but also exhibits its hybrid character in the selective reproduction of pre-Islamic Māru-Gurjara motifs and Islamic spatial paradigms. In this hybridity, visible morphological links between the points of sanctity in Indic temples and Nizam al-Din's tomb are made visible. Accordingly, in the square domed form and in the decorative program of this mausoleum, specifically in inscriptions, the exterior composition of its *mihrāb* projection that appropriates *bhadra* (that usually projects from the center of Māru-Gurjara temple's sanctum façade), and in the use of micro-architectural mono-spined *śikharas* and frieze of *hamsas*, one can read the ideas of divinity inherently manifested from both the Islamic and non-Islamic perspectives.

Chapter Five

NEITHER THIS NOR THAT! SAMMA RELIGIOUS HYBRIDITY AND SYNCRETISM IN THE LATE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

In c. 1360, ‘Ain ul-Mulk Mahru (d. c. 1363) wrote a reply to a letter sent to him earlier by the Samma Jam of Thatta.¹ Although the identity of this Jam is not evident, as the reply is not addressed by name, it was most likely the contemporary supreme leader, ‘Ala al-Din Jam Juna, with whom Mahru had corresponded multiple times. In the letter, Mahru critically compares the Jam with the *mushrik* (polytheist) Hindu chiefs, who upon sending their women to the royal harems submitted to their Muslim sovereigns and remained loyal thereafter. Mahru then furiously criticizes that despite professing to being “Muslims” (*khud rā musalmān mī*) and sending their daughters to the Tughlaq harem, the Sammas persisted on being deceitful and vile, acting dishonorably, which is unbecoming of a believer.²

Despite this implicit identification by the Tughlaq governor of Multan, most histories written during the British Colonial period conjecture that the Sammas converted to Islam just before succeeding to power in Sindh. Some also claim this conversion occurred even later, only in the last decade of the fourteenth century.³ The seventeenth-century chroniclers do not clearly address the matter.⁴ Moreover, modern scholars have largely refrained from engaging in a detailed

¹ Māhrū, *Inshā’i Mahrū*, letter no. 134.

² Māhrū, letter no. 134. The letter does not clarify if the daughters of Samma tribe were sent to the harem as slaves or in marriage. On multiple occasions, as evident from the primary sources, such incidents appear to have taken place as indicated in *Sīrat-i Fīruz Shāhī* (see Chapter One).

³ For example, Campbell writes that Jam Tamachi’s son, Salah al-Din Jam Unnar II (r. 1392-1404), was the first Samma ruler to convert to Islam. See: Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1880, V:134. Also see: Postans, *Personal Observations on Sindh: The Manners and Customs of Its Inhabitants; and Its Productive Capabilities, with a Sketch of Its History, a Narrative of Recent Events*, 159–60; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, I:496; Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1880, V:57, 134 note 6.

⁴ Only Farishta has cursorily noted the religious affiliations of the Samma elites at the time of their rise to power in Sindh (see note 66 below).

and conclusive study of their religious identities, and specifically of their sectarian affiliations. Although, *en passant* they have been recognized either as orthodox Muslims or Sunni enthusiasts, with previous allegiances to Isma‘ilism.⁵ This question has been further complicated by the fact that the Samma ruling elites relentlessly retained Hindu names and epithets, and a large population in southern Sindh remained non-Muslims up to the modern times. The conversion of the Sammas to Islam and their religious attitudes during their dynastic rule are largely unexplored topics, which are addressed in this chapter and the following chapter. The present chapter primarily focuses on the socio-religious and political milieu of southern Sindh in the fourteenth century. However, the course of historic circumstances from the eleventh through to the mid fourteenth century are briefly examined first. This examination aids in contextualizing the systematic adoption of Islam by the Hindu Sammas prior to their ascent in the political spheres of Sindh, and also in comprehending their adherence to the Sunni Suhrawardi Sufi *ṭarīqa* (path) in the fourteenth century. Though it is not just the different forms of religions coexisting in medieval Sindh that is being discussed in this chapter, but also the presence of various sects of Islam that adhered to the innovative mixtures of elements from different religions. It is shown that rather than castigating as irregular and unacceptable upon adopting Sunni Islam, the Sammas tolerated and even cultivated religious syncretism in ways that it even found some form of visual espousal in architecture, especially during the early phases of their political rule. This overview is based on close analysis of select features from the two earliest architectural edifices of Samma patronage, commissioned contemporarily in the late fourteenth century by opposing political authorities.

⁵ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, “Islamic Proselytization: Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries,” in *Sufism and Society in Medieval India*, ed. Raziuddin Aquil (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 52–69; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*; Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*; Nadvi, “The Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquests,” 1935.

The Prelude: Shifting Religious Identities Prior to Samma Hegemony

The conversion to Islam of the Samma clans of Sindh is a complex phenomenon. This phenomenon is defined by the liminal religious identities of the Samma elites who typically transcended their pre-Islamic and Islamic religious ideologies and maintained intimate links with their non-Muslim kinsfolk and diaspora communities beyond Sindh. Certain Samma sub-groups are said to have shifted their religious affiliations multiple times while repeatedly re-settling between Sindh, Kutch and Saurashtra, owing to their interactions with a variety of missionaries or local cults.⁶ There is no doubt, however, that the Sammas of Sindh originally practiced Hinduism.⁷ Nonetheless, the Samma chief of *Lār* (southern Sindh), Jam Unnar, revolted against the Delhi Sultanate in 1333, when the Tughlaq Sultan appointed a “Hindu” named Ratan as the governor of Sindh. Ratan was granted “*Sīwasitān* and its dependencies as his appanage and [the Sultan] conferred on him the honours... accorded to the principal *amīrs*.”⁸ Although, the Tughlaq chronicles are silent on this matter, yet on the authority of Ibn Battuta (d. 1377), who reached *Siwistān* (Sehwan) just after the incident, it can be inferred that the Samma rebellion had explicitly broken out because “the superior rank [was] given to an infidel,” which offended the Sindhi tribal chiefs. The revolt resulted in the killing of Ratan at the hands of the Samma overlord Unnar, who upon securing loyalties of the local clans and adopting a Muslim title was raised as the new governor.⁹ Therefore, it can be deduced that most of the Samma chiefs of Sindh, at least, had religiously and politically disengaged

⁶ Sheikh, “State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region,” 167.

⁷ Kūfī, *Fathnāma-i Sind ‘urf Chachnāma*, 215–16, 219–21, 269; Kūfī, *Fathnāma-i Sind al-ma’rūf bi-Chachnāma*, 220; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, I:145, 138, 187, 191; Lambrick, *Sind*, 162.

⁸ ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla: The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325 -1354*, III:599.

⁹ Ibn Battuta is the first to mention Unnar and reports that the Muslim indigenous clans offended by the Tughlaq suzerainty of a Hindu in Sindh had revolted against the Sultan of Delhi. Ma‘sum, however, narrates the event almost similarly, yet does not confirm the reasons of this conflict to be religious in nature. See: ibn Baṭṭūṭa, III:599–600; Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 85–86; Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad Bin Tughluq*, 147.

themselves from Hinduism well before 1333, yet the questions remain: which sect of Islam had they adopted? And what kind of religious environment were the Samma clansmen exposed to, before establishing their political supremacy in Sindh in 1351?

Evidence suggests that the Samma Jams of Sindh were originally proselytized at the hands of the Shi'ite Isma'ili *dā'īs* (missionaries). A small Isma'ili dominion, a form of a vassal state of the Fatimids of Egypt, was founded in upper Sindh with its center at Multan, as early as the last quarter of the tenth century.¹⁰ While this state was short-lived, it had a deep influence on the religious atmosphere of entire Sindh. Certain Samma sub-groups at this time appear to have been approached by the Isma'ili *dā'īs* or *pīrs* (a more commonly used title for *dā'īs* in the Indian context), commencing a long course of alliances and patronization of Isma'ili Shi'ism by the Samma tribes. In the Nizari traditions, the Isma'ili *pīr* Matang Dev is recorded to have close relations with the Samma Jam Lakho Ghuraro, the chief of Samu'i-nagar – the twin city of Thatta. Matang is said to have aided the Jam in the early eleventh century, during the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazna on Sindh. Subsequently, the *pīr* and his descendants were designated as the *kul-gurus* (lit. the supreme spiritual mentors) of the Samma tribes, not only in Sindh but also those residing in Kutch and Junagadh.¹¹

¹⁰ Al-'Utbī, *The Kitāb-i-Yaminī: Historical Memoirs of the Amīr Sabaktagīn, and the Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna*, trans. James Reynolds (London: Oriental translation fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1858), 326–29. Ibn Athir and Ibn Khaldun, along with later historians such as Farishta and Nizamuddin, have also written about the establishment and later the destruction of this state, corroborating the details. Some modern historians have also given attention to the study of the Fatimid colony in Sindh, see: Abbas Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India* (Cairo: Dar al Maarif, 1956); Farhad Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, second (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 116, 166–67; Wink, *Al-Hind: Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7th-11th Centuries*, 1:217; Ansar Zahid Khan, "Isma'ilism in Multan and Sind," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society; Karachi* 23, no. 1 (January 1, 1975): 36–57; Syed Suleyman Nadvi, "The Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquests," *Islamic Culture* VIII (1934): 474–89, 600–620.

¹¹ Khan, *Conversions and Shifting Identities*, 99; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 109. The legends of Matang have departed from their Isma'ili roots and today the Meghwar and Hindu communities of Sindh venerate the saint and his descendants. Their shrines are celebrated as sacred pilgrimage spaces. The shrine of Matang is located near the villages of Dhakan and Mati, in present-day Badin district of Pakistan.

The Ghaznavid invasions severely weakened the Isma‘ili state of Sindh; however, the Ghaznavids could not entirely extirpate the followers of its diverse forms, and many Isma‘ilis took refuge in cities of southern Sindh.¹² Isma‘ilism had become popular among the native Sindhi tribes particularly after the Sumra dynastic rulers (r. 1026-1351) endorsed Isma‘ili political and religious hegemony.¹³ Later, the Nizari-Isma‘ili kingdom, established since 1090 at Alamut in the Daylam region of Iran, reinvigorated the propagation of the *da‘wah* (mission) and dispatched more *dā‘īs* towards Sindh, yet this time of Persian descent.¹⁴ The Nizari *da‘wah* concentrated exclusively in Western India, and particularly in Sindh in its initial phases. The historic city of Uch, which occasionally remained a part of the Samma domain, emerged as a great center of Isma‘ili activities. This phase of the *da‘wah* has lately been recognized as a distinctive period in Isma‘ili history, which proved to be more successful in the Indian subcontinent than the previous iteration.¹⁵

¹² Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Gardīzī, *The Ornament of Histories: The History of the Eastern Islamic Lands AD 650-1041*, trans. C. E. Bosworth (London; New York: I.B.Tauris & Co., 2011), 86; Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 166–67; Sayyid Abū Zafar Nadvī, *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, vol. 1, *Tarikh-i Hind* (Azamgarh: Mattba‘-i Ma‘ārif, 1946), 285.

¹³ That the early Sumras were Isma‘ili is verified from an epistle, written in c. 423 AH/1032 CE by al-Muqtana Baha al-Din – a Syrian Druze missionary. Adherents of Druze faith include an Ismaili ethno-religious group, who self-identify as “Unitarians” or *al-Muwahhidīn* (the People of Monotheism). The letter addresses Shaykh Raja Bal ibn Sumar (Raj Pal Sumra) of the family of *al-Muwahhidīn* - the Unitarians [of lower Sindh],’ appealing Raja Bal to promote the Isma‘ili faith. This letter is preserved in the section *Risālat al-Hind* (p. 36) of the sacred Druze scripture, *Rasā‘il al-Hikmah* (the books of wisdom). It verifies that the ruler of Multan, ‘Abd Allah, the grandson of Dawud bin Naṣr, was a Ghaznavid proconsul who had abandoned the Isma‘ili faith of his ancestors. Additionally, the title “*Shaykh*” represents that Raj Pal Sumra was designated a *dā‘ī* sometime before 1032 CE, combining the position of a ruler and religious dignitary and given responsibility for propagating the faith in *al-Sind wa al-Hind*. However, even if the Sumras had earlier adopted the Druze version of Isma‘ilism, their later dynastic rulers were definitely exposed to the Nizari influence. See: Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 166–67; Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismā‘īlī Da‘wa in Northern India*; Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammedan Period*, I:491; Khan, “Isma‘ilism in Multan and Sind”; Robert S. Ellwood and Gregory D. Alles, *The Encyclopedia of World Religions* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2007), 126.

¹⁴ Hasan bin Sabbah (d. 1124) is attributed to the foundation of what later became an independent Nizari Isma‘ili state of Persia and Syria, an independent sectarian state of Isma‘ilism. The Nizari *da‘wah* reached the Indian subcontinent in the late Alamut period. See: Azim Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1978), 65–96; Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 385–86.

¹⁵ Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 53–55, 62, 74–78; Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 442–43; Tazim R. Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance: Hymns of the Satpanth Ismā‘īlī Muslim Saint, Pīr Shams* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 9–26. Nanji has noted that a *ginān* attributed to Nizari *pīr* Shams al-Din (active in thirteenth/fourteenth centuries), enlists as many as

Nizari-Isma‘ilism flourished in Sindh in the fourteenth century and was practiced somewhat more openly in the fifteenth century, when the Nizari *pīrs* preached under favorable circumstances, and acquired considerable following along with a certain degree of autonomy.¹⁶ The success of the *da‘wah* heavily depended on its unique heterodox approach, which was significantly different from the Nizari traditions prevailing in Persia and Central Asia. This approach articulated a particular “Indianized” version of Isma‘ili doctrines, fostered specifically for the Hindu *Kṣatriyas* (warriors), merchant and seafaring groups, pastoralists, and other intermediate and lower castes, among whom the Isma‘ili *pīrs* acquired a firm foothold since their inception in Sindh.¹⁷ As indicated earlier, the Sammas and other local militarized pastoralist clans, who later began identifying themselves as Rajputs, were originally a part of these intermediate castes. A framework for the syncretistic approach that the Nizari *pīrs* adopted may have already existed in Sindh. It was most likely developed by the pre-Nizari *dā‘īs*, who designed “Hindu-oriented policies” specifically for the purpose of attracting the Hindu castes towards Isma‘ili teachings.¹⁸ Recent surveys of Isma‘ili history provide some information on the syncretistic doctrines of the Nizaris in South Asia that became known as *Satpanth* or *Sat-Panth* (a Sanskrit term for *ṣīrāṭ al-mustaqīm*, meaning the “correct path” or “true path” to salvation).¹⁹

eighty-four Nizari centers in Sindh, all established by the *pīr*, indicating the success of the mission. See: Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 166, note 158.

¹⁶ Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 74–78; Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 442–46.

¹⁷ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 386, 443; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 69.

¹⁸ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 449; MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, 151–52; Khan, “Isma‘ilism in Multan and Sind.”

¹⁹ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 442–51; Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance*; Aziz Esmail and Azim Nanji, “The Ismailis in History,” in *Ismaili Contributions to Islamic Culture* (Tehran: Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, 1977), 225–65; Wladimir Ivanow, “Satpanth,” in *Collectanea*, vol. II, The Ismaili Society, A (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1948), 1–54.

Without going into much detail, this innovative *Satpanthi* tradition was grounded in two fundamental strategies. The first was rather ingenious and proved incredibly effective for propagation of the *da'wah*. Unlike orthodox Sunni practices and the original Fatimid Isma'ili *da'wah*, the converts upon espousing *Satpanthi* beliefs were not forced to sever links to their pre-Islamic cults, customs, identities and appellations. However, despite this facilitation, idolatry was condemned. The lack of complete obedience never bothered Nizari *pīrs*, who were confident in their syncretistic techniques and liberal attitudes, which in many instances slowly and gradually paved the way for total adherence.²⁰ In this manner, the religious environment in medieval Sindh gradually became inherently hybrid, allowing the native ruling clans, such as the Sammas and their precursor Sumras, to retain their Hindu customs and demeanors, upon conversion to Isma'ilism. Although the historical data on the Sumra dynastic rulers of Sindh are sketchy, it is clear that they were initially brought into the fold of the official Fatimid *da'wah* but they later also came into contact with the Nizari *pīrs*. However, the Sumras maintained an independent Isma'ili tradition before becoming Sunnis.²¹ Their patronage proved catalytic for the survival of Isma'ilism in medieval Sindh. Most Sumra dynastic rulers upheld Hindu appellations and their tribal culture was considerably influenced by Hindu rituals.²² The valuable testimony of Ibn Battuta also confirms existence of exclusivity in their eating habits and marital traditions.²³ It is perhaps because of such

²⁰ Rizvi, "Islamic Proselytization: Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries"; Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947)* (Netherlands: Mouton & Co., 1962), 42–45.

²¹ Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India*; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 39; Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 443.

²² Khan has written about certain customs the Sumra tribesmen followed, that included removal of nails and giving up marital relations after the birth of children. See: Khan, "Isma'ilism in Multan and Sind," 52 (see note 1); Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 39; M. H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh (From Geological Times to 1539 A.D)* (Karachi: Institute of Sindhology, University of Jamshoro, 1983), 218–90.

²³ ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla: The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325 -1354*, III:597; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 39.

syncretistic tendencies in their lifestyles, that the Sumras appeared a Hindu race to the eyes of the early modern historians.²⁴

The Sammas also extended similar inclinations. Upon conversion to Isma‘ilism they retained Hindu practices, names and titles. Later, only their elites and dynastic rulers adopted hereditary Arab names upon ascending the throne of Sindh. Jam Unnar (d. c. 1340) is recorded as the first Samma overlord to have espoused a Muslim title of “Firuz al-Din” in c. 1333, which was followed with similar appellations by all his successors, in addition to their native Hindu names. By this time the Samma elites had possibly come under the influence of the Sunni Sufi saints (discussed below); hence, adopting an Arab title would in fact be a legitimizing strategy in a staunchly Sunni political environment. This was perhaps meant to give the dynasty more credibility to their uprising against the Delhi Sultanate. Those chiefs in Thatta who practiced Isma‘ilism until the late fourteenth century maintained their pre-Islamic customs and names. In several accounts a Samma chief of hybrid Hindu-Isma‘ili creed is cited by the name Jam Lakha, the son of Virji, and is identified as the adopted son of a Samma tribal elder Jam Jara/Jada of Thatta. He relocated from Thatta in c. 1350 to the peninsula of Kutch and there began a succession line of the Jadeja-Samma Rajputs. This branch of Sammas adhered to a religion influenced by both Islam and Hindu beliefs (Chapter One), most probably a form of *Satpanth*. While in Kutch some of their sub-branches remained faithful to Isma‘ilism for centuries.²⁵ However, the Jadeja-Sammas are notorious for persecuting their womenfolk and disregarding the latter’s rights throughout history. It was precisely why Jam Lakha was summoned from Thatta to Kutch upon the death of

²⁴ Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 32.

²⁵ Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 100–101, 103; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 106; Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1880, V:134, 184–85; Boivin, “Sufism, Hinduism and Social Organization in Sindh: The Forgotten Tradition of Pithoro Pir.”

Kutch's ruler and in the absence of a male heir to lead the Kutchi Sammas, which included both Hindu and Isma'ili communities.²⁶ Jam Lakha is also credited for bringing the pre-Islamic custom of female infanticide to the Samma communities in Kutch, which persisted well into the nineteenth century.²⁷

Coming back to the strategies of the Indian-Nizari viz. *Satpanthi* Isma'ilism, the second approach embraced the phenomenon of acculturation to accommodate the cultural and religious sensibilities of the Hindu masses in Sindh. Hinduistic elements, already familiar to the targeted audience, were appropriated as integral parts of the *Satpanthi* religious teachings. These elements included peculiar identities, eschatological ideas, symbolic terms, mythical themes, and folklore motifs, interfaced with the Islamic and Shi'i tenets to expound the doctrines of Islam, and specifically those of Isma'ili imamate.²⁸ Therefore, to maximize the appeal of their preaching among Hindu followers, the concepts such as *hulūl* (incarnation of divinity in the human body) and *tanāsukh* (transmigration of the soul in different body), which were cardinal principles of Buddhism and Hinduism, were introduced in *Satpanthi* Isma'ilism. In the same spirit, Qur'an was offered to the Sindhi masses as the last of the *Vēdas* (sacred Hindu scriptures) and the Prophet of Islam, Muhammad (d. 632), was made homologous to the supreme Hindu deity Brahmā. Prophet Adam was recognized as Śiva, while the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad, 'Ali bin Abi Talib

²⁶ Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:195–99; Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1880, V:58, 133–34.

²⁷ John Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India* (Bombay: American Mission Press, 1855), 94–96. Due to lack of evidence, it is however, hard to assert if and when the Sammas of Thatta abandoned the practice of female infanticide.

²⁸ The Nizari *Satpanthīs*, along with those who were followers of Imam Shah (d. 1520), are known to have practiced the traditional Brāhman rituals such as the *ghāt-pat* or holy water ceremony, in which the sacred water was distributed among the attendees and names of the Isma'ili imams were recited in the prayers. Some Isma'ili sects in South Asia are also known to have cremated their dead, rather than burying them – a practice that was later abandoned. For details on these see: Zawahir Moir and Dominique-Sila Khan, “New Light on the Satpanthi Imamshahis of Pirana,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 33, no. 2 (2010): 210–34.

(d. 661) – the first Shi‘i imam, was acknowledged as the long-awaited tenth and final *avatāra* (reincarnation) of the deity Viśnu.²⁹ Furthermore, the Nizari Imams based at Alamut were equated with the five *pāṇḍava* brothers in the Hindu classical *Mahābhārata* (c. 200-400 CE), in addition to possessing the incarnated divine essence. Subsequently, the *pīrs* who represented these imams in India, assumed multiple identities for themselves, where at least one was inspired by figures of Hindu mythology. The assumption of local deified identities by the religious “others” was not a novel concept in the Indian environment. Since the early medieval centuries, the Vaiśnava Hindus are known to venerate Buddhism and their temples because Buddha is also long-considered one of the ten incarnation of Viśnu.³⁰ Hence, the Nizari *pīrs* appear to have deliberately chosen to imitate an established syncretic indigenized system. Recent investigations suggest that such organic accommodation of Isma‘ilism in Sindh, by representing it as the culmination of Hinduism (upon presenting Imam ‘Ali as the last *avatāra* of supreme god Viśnu), was also essentially a survival mechanism, as otherwise, the sect risked extinction within the contemporary state-aligned Sunni milieu.³¹

Samma adherence to this form of syncretic Isma‘ilism, prior to their rise as the rulers of Sindh, is corroborated by the powerful presence of a thriving Isma‘ili center in the vicinity of Thatta. Thatta city continued to be inhabited by the chiefs of native Sammas clans for centuries and, as discussed in detail in Chapter One, was the stronghold of their political power between the

²⁹ Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘ilī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 110–20; Daftary, *The Ismā‘ilīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 449–50; Esmail and Nanji, “The Ismailis in History”; MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, 152–53; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: Early Sufism and Its History in India to 1600 AD*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Pvt. Ltd., 1975), 110. The presentation of the Isma‘ili concept of imamate into a Hinduistic framework is best represented in the classic *ginān*, “*Dāsa Avatāra*” (Ten Incarnations), of which there are several versions attributed to different *pīrs* (see Nanji).

³⁰ Monier Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism; or, Religious Thought and Life in India*. (London: J. Murray, 1891), 114; Dharmasvamin, *Biography of Dharmasvamin (Chag Lo Tsaba Chos-Rje-Dpal), a Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*, trans. George Roerich (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), xxvii.

³¹ Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance*, 37–39, 121–22.

thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries. An ascetic, Hussain bin Rajpar bin Lakha – popularly known as *Shaykh Patha* (d. 1248), is recorded in folk legends as an influential Isma‘ili *pīr* of the Indus Delta region.³² He is also known to have assumed dual-identities; the second being that of *Rāja Gopīchand*, an immortal princely protagonist from Hindu mythology. For this reason, his shrine is venerated and pilgrimaged by the Hindu communities of Sindh till this date.³³ The area of his abode called Pir-Arr, or metonymically as Pir Patho (about 22 km south of Thatta), became an important religious center around the mid thirteenth century, especially after the arrival of another Nizari *pīr* Jamail Shah Datar from Girnar, Junagadh. Qani‘ reports that Jamail Shah migrated to the Indus Delta region on request of Shaykh Patha and is known to have functioned with a Hindu identity of *Gurū Gōrakhnāth*.³⁴ Shaykh Patha became the patron saint of Samma clans, and is recorded in primary textual sources to have been holding territorial *walāyah* over the Samma domains.³⁵ The Samma devotees established their necropolis close to the shrine of Shaykh Patha, which survives to this day where the Makli hill range ends. This necropolis remained the burial grounds for the Jams of Thatta for more than a century, only to be shifted to their royal necropolis on the plateau of Makli hill towards the close of the fourteenth century.³⁶

Later, however, Shaykh Patha was endowed with an uncompromising Sunni identity, and therefore, from the seventeenth century onwards, he is recorded as a disciple of the Suhrawardi

³² Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro, “Of Gorakhnath and Girnari,” *The Friday Times*, December 7, 2018. Kalhoro supports this claim with the existence of Isma‘ili Khojki inscriptions on the beams of the monuments at the site.

³³ Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, 247.

³⁴ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 761–63; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 628–29; Kalhoro, “Of Gorakhnath and Girnari”; George Weston Briggs, *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* (Calcutta: Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, 1938), 118; Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, 145.

³⁵ ‘Afif (d. 1388) records that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq’s death near Thatta before he could attack the city, as well as Sultan Firuz Shah’s first failed attack on Thatta in c. 1363 were assumed by the Samma to have miraculously taken place due to Shaykh Patha’s power of territorial *walāyah* (perceived spiritual power over a geographical region and its inhabitants). See: ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 231; Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 142–43.

³⁶ Thattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya’*, 60; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 564.

Sufi Baha' al-Din Zakariyya Multani.³⁷ Similarly, many other Isma'ili *pīrs* of Sindh have also been given mystically oriented identities, mostly of Sunni persuasion. Some are recognized to have purposefully adopted sufistic guise during their lifetime. Pir Shams al-Din Muhammad (active in thirteenth century), the progenitor of Nizari Isma'ilism in Sindh, espoused a hybrid appearance, personifying a cross between a Hindu *yogi* (ascetic) and a Muslim Sufi figure.³⁸ Pir Shams, whose tomb is preserved in Multan, is now locally identified as Shah Shams-i Tabriz (d. 1247), the Sunni spiritual mentor of Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273).³⁹ Whereas his descendent, the Isma'ili *pīr* Hasan Kabir al-Din (d. 1470), locally known as Hasan Darya, was also affiliated with the Suhrawardi Sufi *ṭarīqa* (spiritual path).⁴⁰ Such diverging “Hindu” and “Sunni” identities were at times purposely adopted by the medieval Isma'ili *pīrs* and served additional benefits. Where these identities made the proselytization of Nizari *pīrs* more attractive, it involuntarily served the purpose of *ṭaqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation) in times of duress, making them continually effective and less noticeable in their predominantly Hindu and Sunni environments.⁴¹ Another theory proposed is that of the spiritual union and substantial exchanges, in the late-medieval Sindh, between the Suhrawardi and Isma'ili religious beliefs. Such exchanges were originally detected

³⁷ Thattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 45–48; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 761–62; Sarah Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947*, South Asian Studies 50 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 19.

³⁸ Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa in Northern India*; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 77–81; Ivanow, “Satpanth”; Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance*, 75; Qamar-ul Huda, *Striving for Divine Union: Spiritual Exercises for Suhrawardī Sūfīs* (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 37.

³⁹ Kassam, *Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance*, 76–80; Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 385–86, 442–43; Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, 248–49.

⁴⁰ Wladimir Ivanow, “The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujerat,” *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* XII (1936): 19–70; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 78; Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 444; Farhad Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis: Traditions of a Muslim Community* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 179.

⁴¹ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 449–50. *Ṭaqiyya* is a Shi'i custom, practiced throughout history, consisting of concealing one's true faith upon fearing persecution at the hands of orthodox Sunni rulers.

between the mentors of both groups earlier in the twelfth century.⁴² Correspondingly, evidence exists of close relations and doctrinal affinities between *Satpanth* Ismaʿilism and the Suhrawardi and Qadiri Sufi *ṭarīqas* of Sindh.⁴³

The Pledge of Allegiance: Samma Adherence to the Suhrawardi *Ṭarīqa*

The rise of Ismaʿilism in Sindh coincided with the expansion of the Sunni Sufi groups, which originated in Transoxiana, Khurasan and southern Iran following the conquests of Mahmud of Ghazna.⁴⁴ Additionally, in the early thirteenth century Mongol incursions across Western Asia stimulated the decline of the Ismaʿili state of Alamut. Thereupon, the Nizari campaign faced a setback, including its *daʿwah* in Sindh, compelling the *pīrs* to adopt *ṭaqiyya*. Subsequently, the Sufi orders, which had by then received state patronage, and had become well-organized and popular among the Sindhi masses, gradually distanced the Sindhi elites from the Ismaʿili canons. Nevertheless, the religious milieu of southern Sindh remained essentially syncretic, with a multi-cultural and multi-faith population, predominantly following different versions/ sects of Islam, Hinduism and Jainism (Buddhism by this time had entirely disappeared from Sindh as a result of migrations). To address such diversified populace, the early Sufis modelled their approaches taking into consideration the prevailing missionary tendencies, in addition to the non-Muslim practices. In Sindh, the Sunni Sufis mostly adopted a sympathetic attitude towards all cults and creeds. The Sufi *khānqāhs* liquidated the social, ethical and ideological barriers; blurring the distinction between the diverse groups and giving birth to an integrated culture in Sindh – a culture of adaptability and acceptance where Hindus were affiliated to the Muslim *pīrs* and where the

⁴² Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, 38.

⁴³ Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 444; Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, 179–80.

⁴⁴ Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: Early Sufism and Its History in India to 1600 AD*, 1:111–12.

Brāhmans taught Muslims.⁴⁵ Such eagerness of these mystics to establish close connections with people of all faiths, reduced religious and cultural conflicts, and delivered seamless transition towards the Sunni religious practice.⁴⁶

The most popular and influential Sunni Sufi order in Sindh was of the Suhrawardi saints, the progenitor of which in the Indian subcontinent was Baha' al-Din Zakariyya of Multan (d. 1263). Zakariyya was trained in Bukhara, Madina and Baghdad, before being initiated into the order by Shihab al-Din 'Umar al-Suhrawardi (d. 1234) and sent to Sindh as the latter's primary *khalīfa* (deputy).⁴⁷ It is reported that at this time the local Sindhi clans began pledging allegiances to the Suhrawardi Sufis in large numbers. However, Zakariyya was neither interested in proselytization activities nor in preaching common Muslims.⁴⁸ It was Zakariyya's *khalīfa*, Sayyid Jalal al-Din Husayn (d. 1292), commonly known as *Surkh-pōsh* (lit. dressed in red), who was at the center of mass conversions occurring in Sindh's territories around and below Uch.⁴⁹ Jalal *Surkh-pōsh* migrated from Bukhara and established his *khānqāh* at Uch in the early thirteenth century. He belonged to a family that traced its descent from the tenth Shi'i imam, 'Ali al-Hadi (d.

⁴⁵ Sindh presents multiple examples of such saints. One well-known figure is that of Shaykh Tahir, who is known among Hindus as *Udērō Lāl*. His shrine near Tando Adam Khan is visited by the Hindus from all over Sindh. See: Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 476–77. Similarly, the shrine of Khawaja Khizr at Sukkur is venerated by Hindus who worship the saint as Indus river god named *Zinda Pīr*. See: Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, 6, 186; Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 230.

⁴⁶ Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India*, 263–64; Muhammad Umar, *Islam in Northern India During the Eighteenth Century* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1993), 371. Ziauddin Barani points out in his *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi* that because of the teachings of Sufi saints “vices among men had been reduced.” See: Baranī, *Tarikh-i Firōz-Shahī*, 344.

⁴⁷ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 20; Josef W. Meri, ed., *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 774; Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India: Early Sufism and Its History in India to 1600 AD*, 1:190.

⁴⁸ Rizvi, “Islamic Proselytization: Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries.”

⁴⁹ Qureshi, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent (610-1947)*, 47; Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics In India*, 224; M. H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh (From Geological Times to 1539 A.D.)*, 264. Jalal al-Din *Surkh-posh* (lit. clad in red) was the grandfather of Jalal al-Din *Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht* (d. 1384).

868), and is therefore, believed to have been covertly a sympathizer of *Ithnā ‘ashariyya* (Twelver Shi‘ism). Contrarily, his grandson Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari, popularly known as *Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān Jahāngasht* (d. 1384), is known to have identified himself as belonging to the Sunni Hanafi *madhhab* (school of jurisprudence), while also holding great veneration for *ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet’s family), as well as for all of the twelve Shi‘i imams.⁵⁰

Bukhari was an immensely influential and resourceful figure, representing several Sufi lineages (being invested with the *khirqās* of six different Sufi lineages, including that of Suhrawardi *silsilah*), and whose authority and popularity extended beyond the borders of Sindh.⁵¹ In c. 1340 Muhammad bin Tughlaq appointed him as the *Shaykh al-Islām* in *Siwistān* (now Sehwan), that is, the representative of the Sufi community at the court in Delhi and administrator of all the Sunni *khānqāhs* of the region. However, soon after he left *Siwistān* for an extensive religious voyage to Mecca and other parts of the Muslim world.⁵² Bukhari is noted for his staunch Sunni approach; for example, his disparagement of the *rawāfiḍ* (a derogatory term for Shi‘is that Bukhari frequently uses in his writings) and him strictly condemning to invoke God by names accommodated in Hinduism.⁵³ However, despite his renowned puritanical orthodoxy, recently scholars have hinted obscure Shi‘i overtones in Bukhari’s personality, as well as his close connections with Hinduism.⁵⁴ As noted above, Uch at this time was also an important Isma‘ili Shi‘i center, and an abode of several important Isma‘ili *dā‘īs*. Pir Shams al-Din’s great-grandson Pir Sadr al-Din (d. c. 1416), was very active in Uch in the second half of the fourteenth and early

⁵⁰ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 15–16, 41–42; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā ‘Asharī Shī‘īs in India*, vol. 1 (Canberra, Australia: Ma‘rifat Publishing House, 1986), 154; Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 99–100.

⁵¹ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 2, 23–34, 153. In sainthood the *khirqā* is any garment ritually bestowed by a Sufi master to his *khalīfa* to prove affiliations with a Sufi order.

⁵² Steinfels, 33–39; Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 103–4.

⁵³ Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 33; Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 41, 151.

⁵⁴ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*; Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*.

fifteenth centuries, and therefore, possibly came into contact with Bukhari.⁵⁵ This however, cannot be assumed with certainty how closely the two figures were linked. Nonetheless, Hasan Khan suggests Bukhari's secretive links to heterodox Shi'ism (*Satpanth*) being his "real spiritual tendencies" behind his outward orthodoxy, and therefore, his adoption of *ṭāqīyya* in a strictly Sunni Tughlaq setting.⁵⁶ This claim, however, appears too far-fetched. Rizvi claims that Bukhari's observance of *ṭāqīyya* was due to political reasons, yet also sees the affection Bukhari held for Imam 'Ali and the *ahl al-bayt* in the *Ithnā 'ashariyya* Shi'ī context.⁵⁷ A more plausible explanation is given by Steinfels. She proposes that Bukhari was drawn to the idea of tolerance towards Shi'ī adherents – though still remained somewhat critical of them – perhaps because he belonged to a Sayyid family (descendent of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima) and had also studied with several leading Shafi'ī scholars when he was in Arabia. Numerous cases are known where Shi'ī legal scholars participated in the Sunni legal systems through publicly affiliating themselves with the Shafi'ī *madhhab*.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, Bukhari is known to have converted countless Isma'īlis to Sunnism and Hindus to Islam, hitherto maintaining cordial relationships with contemporary Isma'īli *pīrs*.⁵⁹ Hence, Bukhari fostered yet another approach of syncretism and tolerance in Sindh, this time in the midst of orthodox Sunnism.

It is hard to establish exactly when the Sammas of Thatta came into contact with the Suhrawardi Sufis and permanently left the folds of Isma'īlism and Hinduism. Legends maintain

⁵⁵ Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, 179; Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 110–14, 205; Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 443. Pir Sadr al-Din's shrine exists in Jethpur near Uch and is now looked after by Twelver Shi'īs. The largest number of *gīnāns* are attributed to him and he played a key role in consolidating and organizing the *da'wah* during the Samma dynastic period, after a prolonged *ṭāqīyya* adopted by his predecessors. It is quite understandable considering the orthodox regime of the Tughlaq Sultans.

⁵⁶ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 101, 107–8, 122.

⁵⁷ Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'īs in India*, 1:154.

⁵⁸ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 16–17, 41, 151..

⁵⁹ Rizvi, "Islamic Proselytization: Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries"; Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 110–14; Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, 179.

that Jalal *Surkh-pōsh* was responsible for diverting Samma tribes towards Suhrawardi cause, however, this claim lacks concrete evidence. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in c. 1333 Jam Unnar was serving in *Siwistān* as a high-ranking officer in the imperial army. This position cannot have been given to an Isma‘ili in the Tughlaq regime. Contemporary sources have mentioned, in some detail, the extirpation ordered by the Tughlaq Sultans against the Shi‘i extremist groups, among whom the *rawāfid*, *malāhidīn* and *ibāhitīn* (derogatory epithets for Shi‘is and specifically Isma‘ilis) were included.⁶⁰ Therefore, in c. 1333 Unnar, who was already in dispute with Hindus (see above), had hitherto espoused Sunni denomination. It is probable that Jam Unnar, while based in *Siwistān*, came into contact with a young Jalal al-Din Bukhari, who was administering the Suhrawardi *khānqāh* in Uch at the time and was also influential in *Siwistān*. There is also a possibility that a meeting with Bukhari took place when the saint sailed down the Indus from *Siwistān* to Lahribandar – the seaport of Thatta, to set sail for his religious voyage in c. 1341.⁶¹ Later historians have claimed that the local tribal authorities in Sindh became disciples of Jalal al-Din Bukhari in 1349.⁶² However, the earliest reliable record of the Jams of Thatta honoring Bukhari’s authority is the *parwāna* (decree) written by ‘Ain ul-Mulk Mahru.⁶³ This *parwāna* reports that Bukhari, along with Shaykh Sadr al-Din (grandson of Baha al-Din Zakariyya of Multan), was in the middle of negotiating the first treaty between the “Muslim” Samma Jams and the Delhi Sultanate in c. 1358. On Bukhari’s mediation the Sammas agreed to provide military

⁶⁰ Firuz Shah Tughlaq, “Futuhāt-i Fīroz Shāhī,” in *The History of India, as Told by Its Own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*, ed. John Dowson, trans. H. M. Elliot, vol. III (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), 377–78; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 71.

⁶¹ Steinfels has worked out Bukhari’s probable route in 1341 to Mecca, which took him down the Indus river from Uch to the seaport Lahribandar; a route that passed through Thatta (the riverine port). For the map and details of the route see: Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 38–39.

⁶² Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astarābādī Farishtah, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī: Ma‘rūf bah Tārīkh-i Farishtah*, trans. Navil Kishore, vol. 2 (Kanpur, 1884), 567–70; Nadvi, “The Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquests,” 1935.

⁶³ Māhrū, *Inshā‘i Mahrū*, letter no. 99.

assistance to Tughlaq army in their operations in Western Indian region and to send horses worth of one *lakh tanka* as annual tribute, and possibly some women of Samma nobility were also sent to Tughlaq harem.⁶⁴ Afterwards, several contemporary texts verify that over the next two decades Bukhari's mediation was sought many times by the political rivals of Thatta and Delhi, prior to the saint's death in 1384 (see Chapter One).⁶⁵

These records suggest that by the mid fourteenth century close associations had formed between the Samma elites and the influential Suhrawardi Sufis. More importantly, Jalal al-Din Bukhari of Uch had significant sway over the Jams of Thatta and the former frequently interceded in the socio-political matters of the Samma clans. These associations also imply that around the time the Samma rebellion broke in Sindh, most of their elites, especially those prominent in social hierarchy, had embraced Sunnism as their official sect.⁶⁶ The above historical survey also establishes that the Sammas over the course of late-medieval centuries, subsequent to the arrival of Islam in Sindh, operated in a milieu where diverse religious and sectarian dynamics were simultaneously at play. These dynamics effectively shaped the religious ideologies of the society in contemporary Thatta that, as the following narrative demonstrates through the analysis of architectural forms, decorations and iconographies, the Sunni Sammas in the late fourteenth century essentially espoused hybrid religious identities.

⁶⁴ Māhrū, letter no. 99.

⁶⁵ 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 240–47; Anonymous, "Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhī," 9; Riaz ul-Islam, "The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources)"; Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 127–30.

⁶⁶ Later, Farishta also attests that many of the Samma chiefs had become "Muslims" before ascending on the throne of Sindh. As Farishta refers to Isma'īlis as "heretics," therefore, the author indicates the Sammas to have adopted Sunnism before the middle of the fourteenth century. See: Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:831. Although Farishta is at fault in his writings on the Sammas at several instances, yet here he is correct, agreeing with what Mahru and 'Afif, the contemporary writers who personally corresponded with the Samma chiefs, imply.

The *Khānqāh* of Shaykh Hammad Jamali

In 1363, the Samma insurgences against the Delhi Sultanate finally provoked Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq to declare war against the Jams. This war continued until 1367.⁶⁷ By this time, the Sunni ideology appears to have taken firm roots amongst the Sindhi masses, especially the common folks living in the villages around Thatta city. ‘Afif (d. 1388) indicates that in the second attack on Thatta, that took place in 1366, the Tughlaq forces took about 4,000 prisoners whom Sultan Firuz Shah ordered to keep safe, and well fed, specifically because they were “*Musalmān*” (here meaning Sunni in Tughlaq context).⁶⁸ The *malfūzāt* of Jalal al-Din Bukhari also indicate that his purposeful intercession between the two rival political powers was particularly because there were many “Muslim” fatalities on both sides in the first round of the battle.⁶⁹ Bukhari was instrumental in restoring peace in the region by negotiating a truce that resulted in the submission of the Samma Jams. Following the war, the maternal relative of Bukhari, Shaykh Hammad Jamali, was appointed his *khalīfa* for the propagation of the *silsilah* in the Deltaic region.⁷⁰ Shaykh Hammad found patronage in the Samma royal elites, and the latter consequently built the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Hammad – the first permanent structure of imperial patronage on Makli hill (Fig. 4). Such support of powerful and wealthy disciples has always been the primary source of sustenance for Suhrawardi Sufis, who were directed by their early theologian Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi to remain politically active to build networking alliances.⁷¹ This was the beginning of close

⁶⁷ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 190–208; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, 57–62; Anonymous, “Sīrat-i Fīrūz Shāhī,” fols. 76–80.

⁶⁸ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 233; ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, 69–70. ‘Afif on another passage also states that “the combatants on both sides were *Musalmān*.” See: ‘Afif, 71.

⁶⁹ See related excerpts from Bukhari’s *Malfūzāt-i Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān* and *Sirāj ul-Hidāya* in: Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources).”

⁷⁰ Boivin, *Historical Dictionary of the Sufi Culture of Sindh in Pakistan and India*, 294.

⁷¹ Meri, *Medieval Islamic Civilization*, 774. The relations of Suhrawardi Sufis with the political elites is also mentioned in: Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, 141.

devotional relations between the Sunni Suhrawardi Sufis and the recently converted ruling Samma elites.

The Jamali *khānqāh* after its establishment soon transformed into an institution for spiritual conduct and intuition (*sulūk wa ma‘ārfat*) training, and studying “exoteric and esoteric sciences” (*‘ulūm-i-zāhirī wa bāṭinī*).⁷² The epigraphic program of the *khānqāh* structure, specifically the verses from Qur’an 62 (*al-Jumu‘ah*, the congregation) carved inside the main hall (Fig. 11) also identify the use of this structure as a congregational space for the teaching of the Muslims, and perhaps also as a mosque. It should be reiterated here that the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* on Makli hill (Fig. 86), the earliest mosque commissioned by the Samma Jams in c. 1390 was erected a few years after the Jamali *khānqāh*. In addition, the verses carved over the architrave of the *khānqāh* structure promise rewards for the newly converts, among the Samma clans, and also hold warnings for those non-Muslims who had “not yet joined them” (Qur’an 62:3, 5-6, 8). Hence, these verses imply the presence of a body of non-Muslims among the Samma converts, who needed assistance in “purifying” themselves and in adopting the “true” path of rectitude, for which a “Messenger” in Shaykh Hammad Jamali was chosen, as the verses state:

“It is He who has sent among the unlettered a Messenger from themselves reciting to them His verses and purifying them and teaching them the Book and wisdom - although they were before in clear error - And [to] others of them who have not yet joined them. And He is the Exalted in Might, the Wise.”
(Qur’an 62:2-3)

⁷² Ṭhattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya’*, 50; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 561; Quddusi, *Tazkira-i Ṣūfiyā’ē Sindh*, 86. Part of several religious practices, the inner or “esoteric” knowledge is that which is available only to the initiates of the religion, while outward or “exoteric” form of knowledge is available to all. In Islam, reference to esoteric (*bāṭin*) meanings in relation to exoteric (*zāhir*) dimensions is often sought in the verse Qur’an 3:7, which states that the Qur’anic revelation contains clear and precise (*muḥkamāt*) as well as allegorical or unspecific (*mutashābihāt*) meanings. The distinction between the two forms is commonly based on the belief that only those initiated in a particular religious tradition or having achieved a certain level of spirituality can have access to the esoteric or higher teachings.

However, as shown previously, the form and decorative program of this hybrid structure also uses the formal vocabulary of the exuberant Māru-Gurjara temple style. This style originated from Gujarat-Rajasthan region, yet also stretched up to the Indus Delta and coastal Baluchistan (see details in Chapter Two). The *khānqāh*'s main hall indicates the *garbhagrha* sanctum – the focus of worship in Indic temples (Fig. 5). Although the *garbhagrha* sancta had already been adopted as part of the Islamic ritual buildings in Gujarat and Kutch, the Jamali *khānqāh* was the earliest Sufi structure of Samma patronage to have employed the modular unit.⁷³ It is not only the structural style that appropriates the indigenous Indic elements, but the holistic organization of ornamentation and epigraphy on the *khānqāh* structure that exemplifies the same. For this purpose, the arrangement of the entrance is worth noting in order to comprehend the prevailing Samma religious ideologies.

The *dvāraśākhā* (doorframe) of the only entrance to the Jamali *khānqāh*, in the middle of the eastern façade, uses modest monolithic *śākhās* (doorjambs) flanking both sides and supporting a sturdy *uttaraṅga* (lintel). This entrance, conforming to the artistic program of the whole structure, combines elements of syncretism, yet this time from diverse religions (Fig. 12). The lower block (*pēdyā*) of each *śākhā* offers on its outer side a *rathikā* (niche) framed by modest columns and stylistic *torāṇa* arch of Buddhist/Hindu provenance, carved in high relief.⁷⁴ Framed *rathikās* had deep religious connotations in Indic temples, therefore, there seems to be an apotropaic significance to their placement on the *khānqāh*'s entrance. These are primarily modest personification of a common eleventh- and twelfth-century exquisitely sculpted element, found at

⁷³ For Māru-Gurjara elements in the Islamic ritual buildings of Gujarat and Kutch, see: Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, chap. Four.

⁷⁴ In earlier scholarship these *rathikās* have been documented as “arched *mihrāb* motifs,” which contextually is an erroneous description See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 98.

the entrances of the sanctums and shrines of temples in Gujarat and Rajasthan, belonging to diverse stylistic idioms. In conventional temple settings, the *rathikā* shelters *dvārapālas*, the idolic figures of minor deities, conceived as the door-guardians for the sacred sanctum space inside.⁷⁵ Classical examples of this feature can be found in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* interior of the Māru-Gurjara styled Mahavira Temple at Kumbhariya, Gujarat (c. 1062) and on the pillars from the *guḍhamaṇḍapa* of the late tenth-century Mahā-Gurjara styled Sas Temple, Nagda (Rajasthan).⁷⁶ Sometimes these figures are multiple in number, as seen in case of the early eleventh-century Someśvara Temple, Kiradu (Rajasthan) and the thirteenth-century Luna Vasahi Jain temple (c. 1230) at Mount Abu (Rajasthan).

The *rathikās* on the entrance of the Jamali *khānqāh* however, are unoccupied, which makes one question if the Islamic appropriation of the element somehow altered its original purpose that was religious and defensive in nature? The answer lies in contemporary structures further east of Thatta, in the Jaina temples that had already been discussed in the Chapter Two. Among these temples is a dated example of the Gori Temple Complex near Nagarparkar, locally known as Gauri Jo Mandar (*Gaurī Jō Mandar*), built in c. 1376 by the Jaina merchant communities of southeastern Sindh (Fig. 20).⁷⁷ In this temple, the *rathikās* carved copiously on the entryways all over the complex, even outside its *dēvakulikās* (adjoining subsidiary shrines), shelter a variety of *dvārapāla* divine figurines (Fig. 154).⁷⁸ Similarly, the temple behind the marketplace in Nagarparkar town,

⁷⁵ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 138.

⁷⁶ Scholars have noted that the Sas temple (Nagda), which is a part of a larger complex called the Sas-Bahu Complex, belongs to an era in which the Māru-Gurjara style was fervently emerging. This example shows that in this formative phase there were some Western Indian temples that demonstrate the endurance of Mahā-Gurjara stylistic strains up to the early eleventh century. For details see: Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 102; Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 150–52; Dhaky, “The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat,” 34–35.

⁷⁷ Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:222.

⁷⁸ Jaina temples in the Māru-Gurjara style often contained a girdle of either twenty-four or fifty-two *dēvakulikās* (subsidiary shrines), each dedicated to a *tīrthankara* (the twenty-four teachers or saviors of Jainism, who establish or

called Bazaar Temple by the locals (Fig. 56), possesses proficiently carved *rathikās* housing *dvārapāla* figures on the entrance of the temple's *gūḍhamanḍapa*. Other models must have also existed, closer to Thatta, yet have not survived. Therefore, it is not possible that the Muslim Samma patrons, who themselves were converts from Hinduism and kept close relations with their Hindu and Jaina proconsuls, could have misunderstood the significance of the *rathikās* or the idea of manifestation implicit in this element. Since owing to its spiritual connotations, it remained an important feature on Indic temple entrances all through the medieval centuries. Nevertheless, in the Jamali *khānqāh*, the implications following the Islamic appropriation of the *rathikās* can be witnessed in the epigraphy on the *śākhās*, where the Qur'anic inscriptions with detailed diacritical markings are carved on the external side. These inscriptions on both sides are carved vertically (from top to bottom) and crudely composed, differing in their letter dimensions and degree of compactness, yet in a clearly legible *ta'liq* script (Fig. 12). On the other hand, the *uttaraṅga* (lintel) that was once adorned with an inscription, has now been effaced completely. On the left *śākhā* all four verses of Qur'an 112 (*al-Ikhlāṣ*, the sincerity) are carved in high relief, following the opening *basmala*. The inscription on the right *śākhā* is more widely spaced to adjust its shorter length. On this side, only a part of a verse is engraved, which reads:

“... *But Allāh is the best guardian, and He is the most merciful of the merciful.*” (Qur'an 12:64)

Additionally, projecting from the center of the *uḍumbara* (threshold) is a broken and visibly modest semi-circular *mandāraka* (moonstone; threshold stone). The elaborately carved semi-circular stones, the *mandāraka* originated in the Buddhist shrines to symbolize the concept of

re-establish the Jaina teaching on earth), connected to the main temple through cloistered corridors (*bhramantikā*). See: Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 129.

samsāra.⁷⁹ In Brāhmanical and Jaina settings the *mandāraka* is provided to sacralize the *uḍumbara* (threshold) of the temples as seen in the Someśvara Temple (Kiradu) and the Sās-Bahu Complex (Nagda). As noted in Chapter Two, the Jamali *khānqāh* concurrently also appropriates *rehmāna-prāsada* (abode/temple of Allah) in the Western Indian Islamic context.

The entrance of the Jamali *khānqāh* exhibits that both of its inscriptions must have been carefully selected to perform the function of guardianship and protection, perhaps for the doorway to maintain its talismanic powers, articulated in Islamic context. *Sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* primarily asserts the validity of the doctrine of *tawḥīd* (oneness) and of *al-ṣamad* (absoluteness) of God, and therefore, honored in both Sunni and Shi‘i traditions. In Suhrawardi Sufi rituals, this *sūrah* is a significant part of *dhikr* (spiritual exercises), as instructed by Baha’ al-Din Zakariyya Multani to his disciples.⁸⁰ However, in *ḥadīth* narratives, various collections such as *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (ninth century), *Jāmi‘ al-Tirmidhī* (c. 884) and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (ninth century), all have efficaciously asserted *sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* carrying apotropaic properties, therefore, to be recited for protection and defense.⁸¹ Verse 64 of *sūrah Yūsuf* (Qur’an 12), which asserts Allah being the “best guardian” of the sacred *khānqāh* structure, adopts the role of *dvārapāla* figures, while the revealed holy words of God carved at the entrance perform as amulets. Moreover, the presence of a semi-circular *mandāraka* emphasizes the sanctity of the Sufi *khānqāh* and equates it to the Indic abodes of divinity, such as temples.

⁷⁹ *Samsāra* is the endless cycle of birth, life and death, that is, reincarnation, which every soul goes through until it is liberated only by following the true Buddhist path. See: “Samsara | Indian Philosophy,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, April 7, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/samsara>.

⁸⁰ Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, 158–59, 162–63. For wider survey of the term *dhikr* see: “Āḥṭarī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms*, 2012, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1163/1573-3912_ei2glos_SIM_gi_00679.

⁸¹ Imam an-Nawawī, *Gardens of the Righteous: Riyādh as-Sālihīn of Imam Nawawī*, trans. Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, 1975th, Reprinted 2006 ed. (London: Curzon Press Ltd., 2014), 245; Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan, vol. 2 (Al Nabawi‘ya [Saudi Arabia]: Dar Ahya Us-Sunnah, 2000), bks. 66, Hadīth 39, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari>.

Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter Two, many artistic features of the Jamali *khānqāh* closely resemble those found in one of the earliest Islamic buildings constructed in India – the Shrine of Ibrahim. The well-preserved edifice, the Shrine of Ibrahim (c. 1160), located in Bhadreshwar (Kutch) is one of the earliest experimentations, within the Māru-Gurjara repertoire, for the Islamic ritual buildings of Western India (Fig. 22, 23). This syncretistically successful appropriation of an Indic temple style for an Islamic building led to the persistence of Māru-Gurjara idiom in the Muslim building communities of the wider Western Indian regions for the next few centuries.⁸² Moreover, the shrine also provided a close prototype to the Samma builders for the Jamali *khānqāh*.⁸³ However, it is noteworthy that the Shrine of Ibrahim, along with other twelfth-century Islamic monuments at Bhadreshwar, belonged to a flourishing merchant community of Isma‘ili creed. It has been suggested that the name “Ibrahim bin Abu al-Futuh” found inscribed on the shrine, refers to Ibrahim ibn al-Hasan al-Hamidi, the *dā‘ī al-muṭlaq* (the absolute missionary) of the Fatimid Isma‘ili *da‘wah*, assigned for Yemen, its neighboring regions, as well as Western India and Sindh.⁸⁴ As discussed earlier, while the Jams of Sindh embraced Sunni faith before the mid fourteenth century, their sub-clans living in Kutch continued owing allegiance to an unorthodox version of Islam, possibly *Satpanthī* Isma‘ilism, and also maintained links with the *Kānphaṭā* (slit-eared) ascetics of *Gōrakhnāthi* Hindus.⁸⁵ The Sindhi Sammas and their Kutchi clansmen are often seen in history to have come together for joint socio-political and

⁸² Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*.

⁸³ Chapter Two discusses in detail the similarities between the Jamali *khānqāh* and the Shrine of Ibrahim.

⁸⁴ Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*, 54–55.

⁸⁵ Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 94–97, 100–101, 103; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 106; Sheikh, “State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200–1500: The Making of a Region,” 41; Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1880, V:134, 184–85; Boivin, “Sufism, Hinduism and Social Organization in Sindh: The Forgotten Tradition of Pithoro Pir.”

military campaigns across the borders.⁸⁶ They were also connected through marital relations. Additionally, several Kutchi towns were linked to Thatta via water channels and through the Rann of Kutch, providing significant mediating markets for trade between Sindh and the eastern territories.⁸⁷ Hence, the transfer and exchange of artistic details, ideas, styles and knowledge between the two regions is entirely plausible.

Therefore, the *rathikās*, combined with the Qur'anic inscriptions, *mandāraka* and other Māru-Gurjara features of the *khānqāh* of Hammad Jamali demonstrate that the earliest Samma monument of royal patronage; built for a Sunni Suhrawardi saint and drawing upon the formal features of an Isma'ili Shrine, was appropriating the indigenous Hindu/Jain artistic vocabulary. The *khānqāh* structure and its decorative program, therefore, indicate the presence of hybrid elements in the Sunni faith espoused by the early Jams of Sindh – a faith representing heterodoxy with tripartite Hindu-Isma'ili-Sufistic connotations, syncretized under the blessings of Suhrawardi sufism, which the Samma patrons, and perhaps their craftsmen, had embraced by the fourteenth century.

The *Dargāh* of Shaykh Abu Turab

The purposeful visual communication of the Samma elites' hybrid belief system is further demonstrated in another structure from the late fourteenth century. The *dargāh* (shrine) of Shaykh Abu Turab (*alias* Haji bu Turabi), located on ancient Buddhist sacred lands near Gujjo village (Thatta district), provides an example of particular interest (Map 2). This *dargāh* complex, which includes a tomb enclosure, a modest *khānqāh*, and a small mosque along with a vast cemetery, lies

⁸⁶ Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 49; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 149–50; Williams, *The Black Hills: Kutch in History and Legend*, 100; Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 38, 102.

⁸⁷ Finch, Terry, and Foster, *Early Travels in India 1583–1619*, 191; Re'īs, *Mir'āt Ul-Memālik - The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reīs in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556*, 37; Goswami, "Sindhi Entrepreneurs and Their Pearling Enterprise in the Persian Gulf."

about 13 km west of the Makli necropolis (Fig. 155). Abu Turab's true identity is still doubtful. He appears in the hagiographic sources among the earliest mystic figures of Sindh, belonging to the *tābi* 'al-*tāb* 'īn (lit. 'follower of the followers' – the second generation after the companions of the Prophet). Qani' presents him as a close companion of the 'Abbasid governor of Sindh in the times of the fifth 'Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-808). The author also identifies Abu Turab as an Arab military commander who captured the strong forts of *Tharraṛī* and Bhakkar, in addition to some other principal towns of western Sindh, which he eventually governed.⁸⁸ MacLean, however, maintains that Abu Turab was an ordinary soldier in the Umayyad army, named Haji Turabi al-Hanzali, who died in c. 712 while crossing the Indus; and popular legend evolved around this person in due course of time, sacralizing his character and shrine.⁸⁹ Therefore, it is not without difficulty to ascertain the identity of this person; however, an attempt will be made shortly.

On Qani''s authority, many sources have established the date of original construction, as inscribed on the martyred saint's mausoleum, as 171 AH/787-88 CE.⁹⁰ Yet, on the domed square monument, which now does not preserve its original eighth-century form, this inscription is nowhere to be found, since at least the 1930s.⁹¹ The foundational inscription at present dates the

⁸⁸ Qani' has recorded the name of this 'Abbasid governor of Sindh as 'Ali bin 'Isa bin Haman (n.d), and the author states that this governor was appointed after the Barmakid governors of Sindh (r. 216-227 AH/831-841 CE). Although the Barmakids have been recorded in primary texts, the identity of Haman cannot be confirmed. See: Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 86, 765; Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 91. For the Barmakids, see: MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, 106 (note 48).

⁸⁹ MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, 111.

⁹⁰ Qani' also states that Abu Turab was the 'Abbasid governor of Sindh and that his tomb has the construction date 171 AH, that is 787-88 CE, inscribed on it. Aitken also mentions the tomb bearing the same date, assigning it to be "the oldest historical record of any kind in Sind." See: Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 86, 765; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 627; Aitken, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, 91; Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 29; Taj Ali, *Anonymous Tombs in the Gomal Valley, and the Beginning of Tomb Architecture in Pakistan*, vol. 4, Memoirs of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, 1988; M. H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh (From Geological Times to 1539 A.D)*, 169, 173.

⁹¹ In the year 1934, Muhammad Shafī visited the monument and copied all of its inscriptions but could not find the inscription from 171 AH/788 CE. The inscriptions of this monument first received attention in 1930-31, when a

monument's (re)construction to 782 AH/1380 CE. However, the mausoleum appears to have been rebuilt, repaired and its façades renewed on several occasions, and therefore, very little of the original structure now survives.⁹² The style of the fluted conglomeration of the low-profile dome suggests that the super-structure possibly belongs to a much later renovation cycle, while the colorfully painted façades with turreted entrance portal indicate the exterior to be a recent composition (Fig. 155).⁹³ Nevertheless, certain interior details and the basic structural character of the tomb reveal its original form. These details include some parts of the *mihṛāb* composition on the western wall and the triple-arched squinches at all four corners. Additionally, the brick corbelling beneath the surface finishes, effectively set within the intermediate octagonal space to convert the square base into a circular ring for the dome, also appear original (Fig. 156). This type of arrangements in brick tombs can be seen in the thirteenth-century tombs of Lal Mahra Sharif Complex near Dera Ismail Khan (Pakistan), and had become common throughout the Indus Valley by the fourteenth century.⁹⁴

For the present study, the surviving architectonic device on the *qibla* wall, in the interior of Abu Turab's tomb, is worth noting. Set within a tall tripartite rectangular frame in the middle of the western wall, the deep *mihṛāb* niche forms the lowest part (Fig. 157). The middle section

copy was sent to Ghulam Yazdani, of the Archaeological Survey of India, for examination, however, was published only after 1934. See: Shafi, "Sindh Ke Ba'az Katbe," 140; Ghulam Yazdani, "Muslim Epigraphy: 1930-31," in *Annual Report Of The Archaeological Survey Of India For The Years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1933-34 And 1933-34* (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India Publications, 1936), 217; Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 130–31.

⁹² The notes on the features of this tomb, as discussed here, along with their photos, were taken during the field survey in the summer of 2015. Recently, in 2018, the tomb's interior was completely renovated, and all the material evidence, including inscriptions and ornamental motifs, were unfortunately destroyed. The interior surfaces are now covered in their entirety using coloured tile and mirror mosaics. The exterior still presents its turreted façades and later structural renovations yet made more colourful.

⁹³ Inside the tomb at the top of the *mihṛāb* composition a date 1352 AH/1934 CE is inscribed, which possibly gives the date of one of these renovations. The small turrets at the entrance façade have also changed their sizes and shapes recently (after 1960s) as seen in: Shafi, *Ṣanādīd-i Sindh*, 8–10, photo no. 14.

⁹⁴ Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 225–29, 242–43; Ali, *Anonymous Tombs in the Gomal Valley, and the Beginning of Tomb Architecture in Pakistan*, 4:20–37.

consisted of a glazed clay plaque, exhibiting the foundational inscription in Persian in high relief, which has now been replaced with an approximate copy.⁹⁵ The topmost section is a three-part arrangement with a square glazed tile in the center, bearing an epigraphic roundel. On either side of this tile motif, inscriptions offering salutation on the Prophet are carved in high relief. On the right side Qur’anic verse 33:56 is inscribed, while the left bears a short Arabic *ruba’i* (quatrain) by one of the greatest Persian literati, Shaykh Sa‘di Shirazi (d. 1292).⁹⁶ Both of these inscriptions, however, from their style and script appear to have been a much later addition to the *mihrāb* device, in addition to the incipient wordings and *basmala* at the very top.

For a detailed examination of the late fourteenth-century religious settings of Thatta and hybridity in the beliefs of the ruling Jams, the purpose, content and design of two of these epigraphic elements that were installed during the Samma restoration, deserve some attention. First is the square clay glazed tile in the center of the topmost section of the *mihrāb* composition. This ornamental device endures an epigraphic roundel that presents us with a visuo-textual novelty. It bears verses of Qur’an 112 (*sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ*) radially inscribed inside a circle, in a clockwise arrangement, in *naskhi* script (Fig. 158). However, the Arabic inscription uses elongated characters, interlaced together to form a six-pointed star – a hexagram in the middle, which is filled

⁹⁵ M. Shafi has misrecorded that the plaque was originally placed on the eastern wall of the tomb (instead of the western *qibla* wall). Copying from Shafi, Riaz al-Islam mentions the same, which Edwards also follows. See: Shafi, “Sindh Ke Ba‘az Katbe,” 140; Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources),” 381; Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*, 243 (also note 98). This plaque, however can be seen installed at its original location within the *mihrāb* composition on western wall in a photo from the 1960s. This is confirmed by Dr. N. B. Baloch (Director Sindh Museum), who later removed the plaque to preserve it in Sindh Museum at Hyderabad, while placing the approximate copy at its place, which is still present. For this photo see: Shafi, *Ṣanādīd-i Sindh*, 8–10 (photo no. 16). For Baloch’s testimony see: Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 130–31 (also see note 1).

⁹⁶ The verse reads: “Indeed, Allah confers blessing upon the Prophet, and His angels [ask Him to do so]. O you, who have believed, ask [Allah to confer] blessing upon him and ask [Allah to grant him] peace” – Qur’an 33:56. While, this *ruba’i* by Shaykh Sa‘di is part of the introductory chapter of *Gulistān* (The Rose Garden), an eminent work completed in 1258 CE. This *ruba’i* later attained great significant in South Asian Muslim culture. It reads:

“He attained eminence by his perfection The darkness was lifted by his beauty
Lovely are all of his qualities Blessings upon him and his family.”

with a small flower motif. If correct in assuming that this device was placed on the western wall during Jam Juna's rebuilding in the fourteenth century, it is the earliest example of an epigraphic-hexagram motif in Sindh.

In all the Abrahamic religious communities there are shared associations for the six-pointed star or the hexagram. A favored motif within the genre of Islamic talismanic art, this particular motif is traditionally linked to the apotropaic seal of Solomon (*khātim al-Sulaymān*).⁹⁷ Additionally, in medieval Islamic treatises on occult practices, the six-pointed star in a circle is known as a symbol possessing supernatural powers of healing and protection.⁹⁸ As discussed above, the *ḥadīth* compendia also identify *sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* having apotropaic character.⁹⁹ Therefore, there is one possibility that the tile motif in the *miḥrāb* composition of Abu Turab's tomb, bearing *sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* was placed to work as an amuletic device for protection of the mystic figure and his visitors. Similar talismanic connotations can be detected in the clay plaque with foundational inscription, fixed below this epigraphic-hexagram motif, which will be considered shortly. However, in the absence of further evidence, it is hard to draw a definitive conclusion regarding the significance of such talismanic symbols in the fourteenth-century Samma socio-religious culture. Although, another amuletic device with explicit apotropaic function, is noted to

⁹⁷ Christiane Gruber, "Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You Are Well Protected: Seal Designs in Late Ottoman Amulet Scrolls and Prayer Books," in *Visions of Enchantment: Occultism, Magic and Visual Culture: Select Papers from the University of Cambridge Conference* (UK: Fulgur Press, 2019), 22–33; Yasmine Al-Saleh, "Amulets and Talismans from the Islamic World," in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, accessed July 24, 2019, https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tali/hd_tali.htm; M. Kubilay Akman and Donna M. Brown, "Ahmad Al-Buni and His Esoteric Model," *The Esoteric Quarterly*, no. Spring (2018): 51–75.

⁹⁸ This representation is specifically found in the foremost medieval source on occult practices, titled *Shams al-Ma'arif*, by the renowned Arab mathematician and Sufi scholar Ahmad al-Buni (d. 1225). These ideas on al-Buni's six-pointed star (*rub 'al-ḥizb*) are discussed in some detail in: Akman and Brown, "Ahmad Al-Buni and His Esoteric Model."

⁹⁹ Imam an-Nawawi, *Gardens of the Righteous: Riyādh as-Sālihīn of Imam Nawawi*, 245; Bukhārī, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, vol. 2, bks. 66, Hadith 39.

have been incorporated around the mid fifteenth century on a Samma *chattrī* tomb in Makli necropolis (discussed below).

Instead, varied forms of geometric hexagram motifs are found on many earlier tombs all over the Indus Valley, including the Suhrawardi mausoleums of Rukn-e ‘Alam at Multan (1324) and the thirteenth-century tombs of Lal Mahra Sharif. It has been suggested that the presence of these hexagram motifs is a symbolic representation of covert Shi‘i beliefs of the Suhrawardi saints, and of their relationships with the openly professing Nizari contemporaries.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned above, although such claims are doubtful; interestingly, the earliest examples where Arabic characters were woven into the format of an epigraphic six-sided star belong to the Isma‘ili era in Fatimid Egypt. For example, the medallion at the dome of Mashhad of al-Juyushi (1085) and on the north minaret of the Mosque of al-Hakim (early eleventh century).¹⁰¹ Although the motif became a popular decorative device and its varieties are known from later Muslim dynasties such as the Seljuks, Ilkhanids, and Timurids, and in India during the Mughal regime (1526-1857). However, following the construction of Abu Turab’s tomb, the motif is encountered in southern Sindh again after a gap of more than two hundred years (Fig. 159), at the shrine complex of Shaykh Birkiya bin Shaho Katiyar (d. 1590). This shrine complex includes two mosques and a mausoleum, and is located near Tando Muhammad Khan, about 86 km northeast of Thatta. Katiyar clan of Sindh considers themselves a sub-branch of Sammas, while Shaykh Birkiya, with a Suhrawardi-Isma‘ili hybrid personality, is noted as a patron saint of Sammas, later in the sixteenth century.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 151–57, 235–37.

¹⁰¹ Bernard O’Kane, “Monumental Calligraphy in Fatimid Egypt: Epigraphy in Stone, Stucco, and Wood,” in *The World of the Fatimids (Exhibition Catalogue)* (Toronto: Aga Khan Museum; The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2018), 142–59. For detailed discussion on the relationship of such circular devices and Isma‘ilism, see: Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 60–99.

¹⁰² Thattavī, *Ḥadiqat al-Auliya’*, 180; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 543–46. The textual sources do not comment much upon his sectarian affiliations but record that he became a disciple of Baha’ al-Din Zakariyya Multani later in life, only when provoked by others. Nevertheless, in the absence of authentic information, it is hard to reach a definite

Therefore, as another possibility, a question may be asked: can the epigraphic-hexagram motif on the square tile, placed atop the *mihrāb*, perhaps echoes the Shi‘i/Isma‘ili past of the contemporary Sunni Sammas of Thatta? This theory, subsequently, instigates an inquiry into the identity of Abu Turab, which at least one scholar has mentioned having Shi‘i connotations.¹⁰³ Currently, the *sajjāda nishān* (caretakers; successors) of the *dargāh* complex outwardly identify themselves as followers of Sunni Islam, embracing Shafi‘i *madhhab*. However, the *dargāh* is also imbued with ‘Alid loyalism in venerating the family of Imam ‘Ali, as evident from the textual content and iconography of the epitaph (Fig. 160).¹⁰⁴ Similar approach has also been observed earlier in the discourses of Jalal al-Din Bukhari (see above). The *sajjāda nishān* also claim, based on tradition, that the actual name of the mystic is Shaykh Abu Hafz Rabi‘ ibn Sabih, whereas “Abu Turab” is simply an epithet.¹⁰⁵ If this identification is accepted, then it is notable that Shaykh Abu Hafz Rabi‘ is recorded in *Ma‘āsir al-Kirām* (c. 1750) as the earliest Muslim mystic to have died in Sindh in 776 CE.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, “*Abū Turāb*” (father of the dust) was essentially a *laqab* (appellation of honor) of Imam ‘Ali, which was bestowed upon him by the Prophet himself.¹⁰⁷ It has also been documented that in the early centuries of Islam the Sunni fanatics used to label the

conclusion regarding his faith. However, Shaykh Birkiya’s assumption of an additional identity of Hindu provenance, that of Raja Vir (*Rāja Vīr*), hints towards a Suhrawardi-Isma‘ili hybrid personality. In one of Shaykh Birkiya’s mosques, image of the epigraphic-hexagram motif, bearing *sūrah al-Ikhlāṣ* inscribed inside a circle, can be seen.

¹⁰³ Billimoria, “Inscription on the Tomb of Abu Turab in Sind.”

¹⁰⁴ The reverse side of the epitaph shows the sacred names of ‘Ali, Fatima, Hassan and Husayn, inscribed inside flowers. These flowers are shown blooming from a single plant, metaphorically representing Prophet Muhammad, hence, creating a Shi‘i motif of *Panjetān Āl-i ‘Abā* or simply *Panjetān* (the sacred five). At the very bottom of the epitaph, the mystical sword of Imam ‘Ali, called *dhulfiqār*, is also etched.

¹⁰⁵ This is also evident from the inscription over the obverse side of the epitaph on the gravestone.

¹⁰⁶ This date also conforms with the original date of construction inscribed on Abu Turab’s tomb, as recorded by Qani‘ (see above). *Ma‘āsir al-Kirām*, written between 1738 and 1752 was written before *Tuḥfat al-Kirām* (1767) of Qani‘. It also mentions Abu Hafz as *tābi‘ al-tāb‘īn* and among the first authentic *muḥaddithīn* (transmitters of *ḥadīth*) of Islam. See: Ghulam ‘Ali Bilgrami Azad, *Ma‘āsir al-Kirām* (c. 1750), ed. ‘Abd al-Allah Khan (Hyderabad, Deccan: Kutub Khana-i Asifiyyah, 1910), 6.

¹⁰⁷ Imām al-Bukhārī, “Hadith 228, Book 78 - The Book on Good Manners and Form (al-Adāb),” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, accessed August 31, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/78/228>.

followers of ‘Ali as “*Turābiyyah*,” intended as an abuse.¹⁰⁸ However, according to *aḥādīth* (plural of *ḥadīth*; Prophetic sayings) it was Imam ‘Ali’s preferred title, and hence, is considered honorific among the Shi‘i groups.¹⁰⁹ This causes one to envision Haji Abu Turab - the influential ‘Abbasid warrior saint, actually being an adherent of Shi‘i faith.¹¹⁰

Pre-Isma‘ili relations between the Indian subcontinent and Shi‘ism commenced very early, even before the Arab conquest. Drawing upon the works of Arab historians, scholars have noted the consequences of the eighth-century Shi‘i revolts that had left a number of ‘Alids and Shi‘i followers in Sindh.¹¹¹ During the reign of ‘Abbasid Caliph al-Mansur (r. 754-775), a Zaydiyya Shi‘i colony existed in southern Sindh, which had also mobilized support for the rule of the descendants of Imam ‘Ali.¹¹² Therefore, contrary to MacLean’s claim that an ordinary Sunni Umayyad soldier is the inhabitant of Abu Turab’s tomb, it looks more plausible that this earliest mystic of the Indus Delta was either inclined towards a Shi‘i sect or was assigned a Shi‘i identity. This identity must have also survived under the Isma‘ili regime of southern Sindh to have held significance for Jam Juna. However, at a later stage a partial Sunni spirituality was ultimately appropriated by the *sajjāda nishāns*, as in the case of many other Isma‘ili mystics of Sindh (discussed above).

¹⁰⁸ Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies (Muhammedanische Studien)*, ed. S.M. Stern, trans. S.M. Stern and C.R. Barber, vol. II (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), 117 (see also note 8 & 12).

¹⁰⁹ Imām al-Bukhārī, “Hadīth 3703, Book of Companions of the Prophet - Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,” accessed May 31, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/62/54>; Imam Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj, “Hadīth 59, Book 44 (The Books of the Merits of the Companion),” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Muslim*, accessed September 1, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/muslim/44/59>; al-Bukhārī, “Hadīth 228, Book 78.”

¹¹⁰ Several Shi‘i factions are reported to have existed in southern Sindh even during the ‘Abbasid regime, prior to the rise of Isma‘ilism with the support of the Fatimids. Some of them are briefly discussed later in this chapter.

¹¹¹ Derryl MacLean has devoted several pages to the ‘Alids and Shi‘i movements in Pre-Isma‘ili Sindh, where he has drawn upon the histories of several Arab writers. For details, see: MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*, 126–30.

¹¹² Ibn Athir, *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*, vol 5 as quoted in: Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā ‘Asharī Shī‘īs in India*, 1:140–41.

The second element worth considering in the tomb of Abu Turab is the poetic composition of the foundational inscription, etched on a clay plaque with multi-colored glazing (Fig. 161). This inscription is among the earliest extant Persian texts from southern Sindh, but more importantly it is the earliest surviving foundational inscription from the Samma dynastic period. Before moving on to examine the content of the plaque, its outer frame should be given a brief look. This outer frame presents several motifs, although it lacks aesthetic refinement. Among these motifs is an impression of lateral-lozenge pattern band (*ratnapaṭṭa*) at the top. Set in the middle of this band is inscribed an uncommon incipient phrase that reads: *Basmala-i ḥasan al-asmā'* (In the name of Allah – the finest of the names).¹¹³ Instead of the standard Islamic invocation, which originates from the Qur'an, the *basmala* phrase from Abu Turab's tomb appears to have been drawing upon a number of authentic *aḥādīth*, which assert that when God is invoked by the name "Allāh," the supplications become especially effective because it is the "Greatest Name" of all.¹¹⁴ In addition, the "Great Name of God" is considered an ultimate emblem of power and sovereignty. Also, in continuation to the discussion on Islamic occultism, in the popular medieval treatises on occult

¹¹³ I have been unsuccessful in finding any authentic information on the term *ḥasan al-asmā'* or *al-ism al-ḥasan* for that matter, which appears not to have been used in any of the medieval or early modern compilations or texts. The commonly used term in *aḥādīth* is *al-ism al-A'zam* – the Greatest Name (for details see below). All ninety-nine of Allah's names are collectively termed as *al-asmā' al-ḥusnā'* (the Beautiful Names). Therefore, further study is required to solve the mystery of this modification in the Samma inscription.

¹¹⁴ For reference, these *aḥādīth* can be seen in: Ibn Majah, "Hadith 30, Book 34 - Book of Supplication," in *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/ibnmajah/34/30>; "Hadith 78 & 79, Book 8 - Kitāb al-Salat," in *Sunan Abi Dawud*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/abudawud/8/79>; Imām al-Tirmidhī, "Hadith 109, Book 48 - Chapters on Supplication," in *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/48/109>. Venetia Porter quotes the medieval theologian Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (d. 1209) that the name *al-Raḥmān* may be God's "Greatest name" of all, which (as the above-cited *aḥādīth* certify) is one of the greatest, along with "Allāh" (especially in Hadith 109 in *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*). The Persian theologian al-Tusi (d. 1274) in his *Kitāb al-Luma'* has explained in detail why it is only "Allāh" which is the greatest name. See: Abū Nasr b. 'Alī al-Sarrāj al-Tusi and Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, *Kitāb Al-Luma' Fi 'l-Tasawwuf* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1914), 25–26; Venetia Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?," in *University Lectures in Islamic Studies*, vol. 2 (London: Al-Tajir: World of Islam Trust, 1998), 135–51.

sciences, the unique qualities of God’s names, including his “Greatest Name” is often linked with talismans and magical formulas for protection and healing.¹¹⁵

The main body of the plaque clearly identifies Haji Abu Turab as *walī-Allāh* (lit. friend of God; but also the chosen custodian) and ‘Ala al-Din Jam Juna as *sarfarāz-i Sind* (ruler of Sindh) as well as the vassal of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, and the patron of the tomb (Fig. 161).¹¹⁶ The inscription, which also preserves the date of (re)construction as the month of Safar, 782 AH/May 1380, appears to have provided a great opportunity for Jam Juna to advertise his political status, affiliations and his legitimacy to rule Sindh. As recounted in Chapter One, by the last quarter of the fourteenth century political differences had risen between the two ruling Samma families, that of Jam Juna and his elder brother Jam Unnar. Consequently, after the revolt of Tamachi (Unnar’s son) against the Delhi Sultanate, Firuz Shah Tughlaq conferred the principality of southern Sindh to Jam Juna in c. 1374. In return, the Jam captured Tamachi along with the latter’s son and sent them from Thatta to Delhi as political hostages.¹¹⁷ Subsequently, these circumstances aroused altercations between Jam Juna and the Suhrawardi patron saint of Thatta, Shaykh Hammad Jamali. Asserting his territorial *walāyah*, Shaykh Hammad manifested his authority in making decisions

¹¹⁵ For details see the section “The Greatest Name of God” in al-Buni’s thirteenth-century grimoire *Shams al-Ma’arif*. The translation of this section is published in: Edgar Walter Francis, *Islamic Symbols and Sufi Rituals for Protection and Healing: Religion and Magic in the Writings of Ahmad Ibn ‘Ali al-Buni* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 192–204. For secondary literature see: Lloyd D. Graham, “In Islamic Talismans, Repeat-Letter Ciphers Representing the ‘Greatest Name’ Relate to an Early Prototype of the Seven Seals and May Link the Seals with the Pleiades,” *Epigraphic Society Occasional Papers* 29 (2011): 70–91; Gruber, “Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You Are Well Protected”; Guy Burak, “The Section on Prayers, Invocations, Unique Qualities of the Qur’an, and Magic Squares in the Palace Library Inventory,” *Muqarnas, Treasures of Knowledge: An Inventory of the Ottoman Palace Library*, 14 (2019): 341–66; Porter, “Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?”

¹¹⁶ Moreover, although the plaque states that the Jam Juna commissioned the monument, or rather its reconstruction, it was carried out under the supervision of one Musa bin Shahjan. Yet, the identity of this person is obscure. For a detailed analysis of this inscription see: Billimoria, “Inscription on the Tomb of Abu Turab in Sind”; Shafi, *Ṣanādīd-i Sindh*, 8–10 (also photo no. 16); Shafi, “Sindh Ke Ba’az Katbe,” 140; Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 130–31.

¹¹⁷ ‘Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, 244; Sīrhindī, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 138; Thattavī, *Hadīqat al-Auliya*, 105; Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 130, 133; Riaz ul-Islam, “The Rise of the Sammas in Sind (Based on Contemporary Sources).” Also see Chapter One.

of the realm, and due to his spiritual associations, aided in legitimizing Tamachi's claim to sovereignty.¹¹⁸

As mentioned in Chapter One, the role of regional *wālīs* has often been very significant in the political matters of Islamic South Asia.¹¹⁹ The Bhamani court poet 'Abd al-Malik Isami (b. c. 1311), explains this philosophy in his *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn* (c. 1350) as:

“In every country there is a man of piety who keeps it going and well. Although there might be a monarch in every country, yet it (the country) is actually under the protection of a *fakīr* (Sufi *Shaykh*).”¹²⁰

Simon Digby, a renowned South Asian scholar, further clarifies that in medieval India, particularly in the dominion of the greater Delhi Sultanate, the Sufi *Shaykhs* holding territorial *walāyah* or *walāyat* (also spelled *wilāyat*, here meaning perceived spiritual power over a geographical region and its inhabitants) had the power to bestow kingship upon individuals whom they considered worthy. Digby also points out that such beliefs were more likely to flourish in societies where usurpations were common or there wasn't any strong tradition of hereditary rule.¹²¹ Hence, the Samma clans of Sindh were highly likely to have been influenced by this ideology. Furthermore, the ascendancy of Jam Tamachi on the throne of Sindh was prophetically promised to him and his

¹¹⁸ 'Abdul Qadir Thattawi (d. c. 1607) narrates the plight of Jam Juna and his argument with Shaykh Hammad over the latter's biased position in the matter. Qani' has also narrated the events in a similar way. The texts further give anecdotal details on Tamachi's later miraculous release from prison in Delhi and Shaykh Hammad sending an occult military force of thousands to support the former in winning the battle against Jam Juna. See: Thattavī, *Ḥadīqat al-Auliya'*, 53–58; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 563.

¹¹⁹ For details see: Digby, “The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India,” 241–42.

¹²⁰ 'Abd al-Malik 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, ed. A.S. Usha (Madras: University of Madras, 1948), 455; 'Abd al-Malik 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ Salāṭīn or Shāh Nāmāh-i Hind of 'Iṣāmī*, trans. Agha Mahdi Husain, vol. III (New York: Published for the Dept. of History, Aligarh Muslim University [by] Asia Pub. House, 1967), 687.

¹²¹ Digby, “The Sufi Shaikh as a Source of Authority in Medieval India”; Digby, “The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan.” For more clarity of the term *walāyah* or *walāyat*, and its similar term *wilāyat* (similar abstract noun with slightly differing vocalization) also see: Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 20–21.

descendants by *wālī`i-Thatta* Shaykh Hammad, which became all the more justifiable in the contemporary ideological framework.

These narratives mainly exhibit the contemporary communal views that demonstrate the socio-religious and political influences of the Suhrawardi Sufis in Thatta. Jam Juna's outward loyalties also rested with the Suhrawardi *silsilah*, as he enjoyed Jalal al-Din Bukhari's long-standing political patronage. However, the Jam lacked support of the local representative of the order. Although, Bukhari's affiliation had won Jam Juna sole proprietorship of southern Sindh, yet his altercations with Shaykh Hammad left the former's position vulnerable and his authority disputable amongst the Samma clansmen. Therefore, by associating himself with the cult of Abu Turab and by commissioning the renovation of the *shaykh's* tomb, Jam Juna appears to have been accessing the *barakah* (blessing) of the earliest Muslim saintly figure of the Indus Delta region; and in doing so, was seeking validity to rule Sindh. However, the presence of Shi'i iconographies, further reinforced by the medieval identity of the entombed figure, symbolizes Samma Jam's hybrid sectarian affinities. Interestingly, the tomb was not (re)built using the vernacular Māru-Gurjara style, as in case of the Jamali *khānqāh*. Yet, for its formal concept, it drew on the Sultanate period brick tombs of the Indus Valley.¹²² This also supports Jam Juna's ancillary connections with Delhi, as he was presiding in Thatta essentially as a Tughlaq vassal.

Conclusion

In modern scholarship the Sammas of Sindh are categorized either as orthodox Muslims or as Sunni enthusiasts, with former allegiances to Isma'ilism. However, as this chapter demonstrates,

¹²² Holly Edwards's interesting work on the development of Islamic Architecture, mainly of funerary nature, in the Indus Valley also includes Abu Turab's tomb among many other examples discussed. For details on the general development of brick funerary structures, see: Edwards, *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*.

their religious identities at any point of their dynastic rule cannot be defined in such simplified terms. The conversion of the Hindu Samma clans of Sindh to Islam was a lengthy and complex process, which began as early as the last quarter of the tenth century at the hands of the Shi'ī Isma'īli *dā'īs*. The Nizari traditions record that at this time the Isma'īli *pīrs* were deified as the spiritual mentors of the Samma Jams of the Indus Delta region. The *da'wah* concentrating particularly in Sindh formulated *Satpanth* – a syncretistic version of doctrines entrenched with Hinduistic elements and customs, to attract the masses.

The Sammas remained exposed to such composite belief system for centuries, hence, did not sever links to their pre-Islamic cults, customs, identities and appellations. With these traditions they finally came into contact with the Suhrawardi Sufis, particularly Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari of Uch, in the fourteenth century and adopted the Sunni creed. Embracing this new faith coalesced the Samma sub-groups into a powerful hegemony against the Delhi Sultanate, led by the Jams of Thatta. However, during the early years of their dynastic rule, under the umbrella of the Suhrawardi culture of integration, the Jams retained liminal religious identities. This is evidenced by the architectural and decorative program of the *khānqāh* of Hammad Jamali and the *dargāh* of Shaykh Abu Turab, both commissioned in the second half of the fourteenth century by the ruling Jams of Sunni Suhrawardi persuasion. Drawing upon the indigenous Indic artistic vocabulary and the Shi'ī iconographies, the Samma patrons and their craftsmen, in these structures present their hybrid religious ideologies.

Chapter Six

CARVED IN STONE: EPIGRAPHY, MOTIFS AND THE DIVERSE RELIGIOUS IDENTITIES OF THE SAMMA DYNASTIC ELITES

The artistic program of the Samma funerary artifacts often lack historical data, and they seldom identify the deceased elites. The inscriptions and motifs on the Samma tombs in the Makli necropolis, however, constitute a large body of visuo-textual sources available for the study of religious identities under the Samma dynasty. The Samma architectural inscriptions present many eschatological verses as part of the epigraphic corpus, including both Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic texts carved in stone. Among these, Qur'an 2:255, that is the Throne verse, was exploited extensively, being a formulaic element expected to be included on funerary artifacts. Nevertheless, a sizeable corpus evinces that the Samma patrons, calligraphers and artisans, while planning the epigraphy and ornamentation of their tombs, also drew heavily upon the *ḥadīth* compilations, their auxiliary texts, medieval Islamic devotional literatures and the verses addressing Prophet Muhammad.

In Islam the *aḥādīth*, or at least the canonical collections of them, are reliable record of the body of oral as well as textual accounts of the formative period that existed in the early eighth century. Therefore, they form a corpus of material on understanding the *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), Islamic theology and eschatology, social, moral, and personal matters, and so on – primarily supplementing and enlarging the instructions offered by the Qur'an. However, Bernard Lewis has put forward a more symbolic purpose of *aḥādīth*. He writes that there appears to be “no better way of promoting a cause, an opinion, or a faction than to cite an appropriate action or

utterance of the Prophet.”¹ This notion can be equated to the use of verses in the architectural inscriptions, drawn from the Qur’an, and with reference to the Samma funerary artifacts has already been noted in Nizam al-Din’s mausoleum (Chapter Four).

Taking Lewis’s hypothesis as the point of departure, this chapter primarily explores the implicit subtext interlaced into the epigraphic as well as visual motifs found on the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Samma tombs and cenotaphs from the Makli necropolis. Through meticulous analysis, it will be demonstrated that these motifs were invested with religious and sectarian connotations and they exhibit diversity in the religious denominational inclinations of the Samma elites. Therefore, the Samma funerary artifacts will be shown as offering a framework to help us comprehend facts on the religious identities of the dynasty that are otherwise lost in historical memory.

Emergence of a Traditional Sunni Literary Society

In the fifteenth century Thatta emerged as a literary society where the Sammas familiarized themselves with several scholarly works of religious importance. Among these works, literature on Sunni *fiqh*, major *ḥadīth* compilations and their auxiliary sources, popular in Sunni spheres, remained foremost. A close connection existed between these texts and the contemporary epigraphs from the Samma cenotaphs in Makli necropolis. A stone lid over a crumbling cenotaph (Fig. 162) among a group of individual graves, located a few meters east of the *Jāmi‘ Masjid*, provides an opportunity to examine this connection. This group originally had about four graves, now in very dilapidated conditions. At present, it is hard to visualize the original style of the cenotaphs, but they possessed – as can be seen on site –rectangular lids having wide flat tops,

¹ Bernard Lewis, *The End of Modern History in the Middle East* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2013), 79.

similar to those found inside the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister.² Stylistically, such cenotaphs can be dated from around the mid fifteenth century or later. Among these, one slab particularly has a *miḥrāb* image carved on its top. Staring from the east side, this top slab also displays the frequently occurring Throne Verse (Qur'an 2:255), inscribed in full, which ends on the northern side. However, the southern side presents a single verse, opening with the word *āmant-u* (the expression of belief), accentuating the main axioms that shape the faith (*imān*) of the believers, according to Islamic theology. The inscription's translation reads:

“I believe in Allāh and the malā'kah (angels), and His scriptures and His messengers and the last day, and in al-qadr (Divine decree) that all good and evil is from Allāh – the almightiest, and in life after death.”

The abridgement of this creedal statement can be sourced to many *sūrah*s of the Qur'an, for example, the verses 2:177, 2:255, 2:285 and 4:136. These Qur'anic verses, however, do not mention more than five of the axioms together. Yet, in a *ḥadīth* known as *ḥadīth al-Jibrīl* (*ḥadīth* of Gabriel), which is recorded in most of the canonical *ḥadīth* compilations followed by the Sunni Muslims, a detailed version of the statement with all axioms is noted.³ Moreover, among these canonical collections, the ninth-century *Musnad* of Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855) presents a close model for the Samma inscription.⁴ Sometime during the medieval centuries, this complete version was given a specific form within the Sufi circles in South Asia; a form that was inscribed on the

² Today human factor greatly impacts Makli necropolis, particularly with regards to these single gravestones. These impacts have converted such gravestones into portable objects, frequently made to change their location. For example, during my visit to the site in June 2013, the present inscribed stone slab was placed on top of another nearby dilapidated grave. Also, two of the original slabs were missing from the area by August 2015.

³ Several other versions of the statement, with little differences, can be seen in: Muslim al-Hajjaj, “Hadith 1, Book 1 - Book of Faith,” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Muslim*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/muslim/1>; Imam al-Tirmidhi, “Hadith 5, Book 40 - The Book of Faith,” in *Jāmi' Al-Tirmidhī*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/40/5>; Imām Ahmad al-Nasa'i, “Hadith 6, Book 47 - The Book of Faith and Its Signs,” in *Sunan Al-Nasā'ī*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/nasai/47/6>.

⁴ For Ibn Hanbal's version see: Abu Abdullah Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, “Hadith 2924,” in *Musnad Imam Ahmad Bin Hanbal*, ed. Huda al-Khattab, trans. Nasiruddin al-Khattab, vol. 3 (Maktaba Dar-us-Salam, 2012), 42–43.

above-mentioned slab of the cenotaph in Makli necropolis. The inscription is recognized as *imān al-mufaṣṣal* (detailed declaration of faith), specifically formulated for the newly converts to be recited in Sufi devotional rituals.⁵ The contemporary hagiography *Tadkirat al-Murād* (1505) catalogues *imān al-mufaṣṣal*, along with another credal statement called *imān al-mujmal* (abridged declaration of faith), as part of the comprehensive method of meditation and *dhikr*. It has been recorded that during the Samma dynastic rule, the Sunni Sufis of Thatta used to impart this method of meditation to their newly converted adherents.⁶

A cenotaph inside the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister, provides the next opportunity to explore the sectarian affiliations of Samma elites, as demonstrated in their knowledge of the science of *ḥadīth*. While all of the cenotaphs in this tomb carry Qur'anic verses from various *sūrahs* praising God and seeking His forgiveness in the afterlife, one grave is particularly distinct. It is one of the two anonymous multi-tiered *chaūkhandī*-styled cenotaphs that are highly ornamented and topped with pointed barrel shaped monoliths, placed in the main chamber of the tomb on the east side. On the head of the top stone *basmala* is inscribed in relief below which, at the base of the barrel shaped stone, an inscriptional band runs on all façades (Fig. 163). This band displays the Qur'anic verses 39:53-54 on promising God's mercy to the ones who repent. On the west façade two vertical lines separate these verses from the following:

⁵ *Imān al-mufaṣṣal* and *imān al-mujmal*, along with the six *kalimas*, all grounded in *aḥādīth*, were formulated by the Sunni scholars in South Asia, specifically for the new converts to understand the basic concepts of Islam. Therefore, they were compiled and probably introduced as part of the curriculum in *madrassa* teachings and in Sufi *khānqāh* circles. To this date, *imān al-mufaṣṣal*, *imān al-mujmal*, and the *kalimas* are taught and memorized in South Asia, particularly in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh, at the basic level in *madrassa* teachings of Sunni *masālik* (pl. of *maslak*; interpretative traditions), as the fundamental principles of Islamic beliefs. See: Ali Riaz, *Faithful Education: Madrassahs in South Asia* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 180.

⁶ Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 38.

“*Sulaymān bin Ṣurad narrates: The messenger of Allāh, peace be upon him, said: whoever is killed by his stomach [illness] will not be punished in the grave; narrated by Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī.*”⁷

The text appears to have been deliberately chosen to explicate the probable cause of death of the entombed, that is, due to an abdominal disease.⁸ More importantly, it is documenting an uncommon *ḥadīth*, which is recorded in only three of the major collections.⁹ However, this *ḥadīth* is also recorded in another lesser known work, *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunnah* (c. 1120), by the celebrated Persian Shafi‘i scholar Abu Muhammad al-Baghawi (d. 1122).¹⁰ Though, the inscription from the mausoleum of Fath Khan’s sister tend to modify the traditional phrasing of the *ḥadīth* (in the collections it is reported as part of a conversation between two companions of the Prophet, and not as being transmitted on the authority of a single reporter, Sulayman bin Surad, as the Samma version depicts). Moreover, it indicates referring to a couple of compilations by naming two narrators – Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 855) and al-Tirmidhi (d. 892). Hence, one is inclined to believe that for the fifteenth-century Sammas the *Musnad* (c. 840) of Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal

⁷ For the original Arabic text see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 541.

⁸ Death by abdominal disease also appears in the *ḥadīth* collections as one of the circumstances of martyrdom. For example, Imam Bukhari cites a popular *ḥadīth* quoted by Abu Huraira in which death from abdominal disease or stomach complaint is regarded as one of the five (sometimes quoted as seven) circumstances of martyrdom, other than being killed in the path of Allah - *Jihād*. See: Imām al-Bukhārī, “Hadīth 45, Book 56 - Book on Fighting for the Cause of Allāh (Jihād),” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, accessed August 20, 2020, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/56/45>. Reference to martyrdom in the Samma inscription although is a possibility but is not of much relevance here. For more information on the status of martyrdom through stomach disease, see: David Cook, *Martyrdom in Islam* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 33–34.

⁹ Despite the popular version of the *ḥadīth* cited by Imam Bukhari (above in note 8), the particular version which is carved on the Samma cenotaph is uncommon and shorter. Although classified as *ḥasan* (fair), this *ḥadīth* has also been given the status of *gharīb*, which significantly means that only a single reporter is found conveying it. This can be confirmed in *Musnad Ahmad*, *Sunan al-Nasā’ī* and *Jāmi‘ at-Tirmidhī*. See: Abu Abdullah Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, “Hadith 22867,” in *Musnad Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal*, trans. Maulana Muhammad Zafar Iqbal, vol. 10 (Lahore: Maktab-i-Rehmania, 2009), 511; Imām al-Tirmidhī, “Hadith 100, Book 10 - The Book on Janā’iz (Funerals),” in *Jāmi‘ Al-Tirmidhī*, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/10/100>; Imām Ahmad al-Nasa’i, “Hadith 236, Book 21 - The Book of Funerals,” in *Sunan Al-Nasā’ī*, accessed August 16, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/nasai/21/236>.

¹⁰ Abu Muḥammad al-Baghawī, “Hadith 1132,” in *Maṣābīḥ Al-Sunnah* (c. 1120), accessed April 2, 2019, <https://al-maktaba.org/book/32891/530>. *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunnah* (lit. the lamps of *Sunnah*) was among the popular sources in the twelfth century, specifically compiled for didactic purposes. See: “Hadith - The Compilations,” in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed July 23, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hadith>.

and *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (c. 884) of Imam al-Tirmidhi, both widely circulated collections among the Sunni groups, held some significance.

In the late medieval centuries, several genres of religious literatures, including the allegorical interpretations or exegesis (*tafsīr*) and commentaries (*sharḥ*) on the Qur’an and the *ḥadīth* compilations; lexicographic dictionaries; linguistics, rhetoric, logic and *sīrat* (prophetic biography) texts were also composed. Additionally, the revised editions of the *ḥadīth* collections were compiled, particularly to make them more accessible to those who were not much knowledgeable in the science of *ḥadīth*. Correspondingly, al-Baghawi’s work was improved and expanded in the early fourteenth century, purportedly to educate non-specialists, by another Persian traditionalist, ‘Abd Allah al-Khatib al-Tibrizi (d. 1340). Al-Tibrizi’s composition was titled as the acclaimed *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ* (lit. the niche of lanterns; c. 1336). Interestingly, this auxiliary text records the inscription from the mausoleum of Fath Khan’s sister in its entirety; including the names of the single transmitter and the two narrators – exactly as it appears on the Samma tomb (Fig. 163).¹¹ This could be suggestive of the possibility that the Samma patrons or the epigraphy designers were not only familiar with the *ḥadīth* compilations of the Sunni scholars, but the annotated anthologies of those collections were also circulating in Thatta. Such auxiliary literatures were possibly taught in the *madrasas*, as by the mid fifteenth century the city had evolved into a center of Islamic mysticism and theology.¹²

¹¹ Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd Allāh Khatīb al-Tabrīzī, “Kitāb al-Janā’iz,” in *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*, trans. Hafiz Zubair Ali Zia (Lahore: Maktabah al-Islamia, 2013), 515–16, http://archive.org/details/MishkatAl-MasabihOfSheikhHafizZubairAliZaiR.a_201807.

¹² Mir Ma‘ṣūm has fleetingly indicated the presence of quite a few *madrasas* and *khānqāhs* in Thatta around the mid fifteenth century. The city retained its academic vibrancy for the next two centuries at least, as the seventeenth-century English merchant, Alexander Hamilton, in his travelogue mentions the city boasting hundreds of institutions for teaching Islamic philosophy, theology and politics. See: Ma‘ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘ṣūmī*, 102; Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, I:128.

There is substantial evidence that around the same time, the Jams of Thatta were also involved in the local production and circulation of copies of *tafsīr* and *sharḥ* literatures. Fortunately, one such work, exclusively concerning with *al-mantaqiya* (science of logic) has survived. In c. 1453, the contemporary Samma ruler, Muhammad bin Fath Khan *alias* Jam Unnar III (r. 1452-1454), commissioned the commentary (*sharḥ*) of the classical handbook of logic, *al-Shamsiyya fī al-qawa'id al-mantaqiya*, written by the Shafi'i logician Najm al-Din al-Katibi of Qazvin (d. 1277).¹³ As revealed from the *ex librīs* or dedicatory note in the preface, to compose this *sharḥ* manuscript that was entitled *al-Zubdat: Sharḥ al-shamsiyya fī 'ilm al-mizān*, Jam Unnar III employed Maulana 'Ala al-Din, son of the *qādī* of Mangrol – a port city on the southwestern Saurashtra coast (Gujarat). Several handwritten copies of this Arabic manuscript were prepared at *Ashawal* (Ahmedabad, Gujarat) and brought to Thatta with the intention of facilitating the students at the *madrasas* with a standard reference text on Islamic logic; and to make the subject more comprehensible for the inhabitants of the city.¹⁴ The populace of Thatta were familiar with works of Sunni jurisprudence, including anthologies such as: *Mukhtaṣar al-Qudūrī*, a traditional

¹³ The model handbook available appears to be in the form of a concise or *mukhtaṣar* treatise, available for scholars in India in the fourteenth/fifteenth centuries and using which the commentaries were written. This concise treatise was the famous fourteenth-century work by an anonymous scholar titled, *Mukhtaṣar al-mizān al-mantaq*. Several copies of *Mukhtaṣar al-mizān* are preserved, for example, in the India Office Library collection and Princeton University Library. See: Otto Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, vol. 1 (London: The Secretary of State for India in Council, 1877), 155; Rudolf Mach and Eric Linn Ormsby, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts (New Series) in the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 172. Muhammad bin Fath Khan *alias* Jam Unnar III, upon accession took the title of Sultan Sikandar Shah II. Fortunately, the correct lineage and complete name of this Samma Jam became available from the opening folios (folio 3) of the *al-Zubdat sharḥ al-Shamsiyya* (discussed here), whose name along with his title and *'urf* appears in the manuscript as: “Muhammad al-ma'ruf ba Unnar bin Fath Khan bin Sadr al-Din bin Tughachi bin Jam.” See: Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 1:156; Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 128, also see notes; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 190–91, 655.

¹⁴ Loth, *A Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, 1:155–56; Baloch, *Sindhī Zubān Wa Adab Kī Tārīkh*, 128–29, also see notes; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 190–91, 655. Several copies of this manuscript have survived (yet awaiting detailed examination and publication) including at least three in London as part of the India Office Library collection, and one in the archival collection of the National Museum at Karachi (possibly the same from the Sindh University Library). For their call no. and locations see *ibid*.

handbook on Sunni *fiqh* by Hanafi jurist Imam Abu al-Husayn al-Quduri (d. 1036); from the ideal Islamic curricula the famous textbook on Arabic syntax, *al-Kāfiya fī n-naḥw* by Jamal al-Din Ibn al-Ḥajib (d. 1249); and *Kanz al-‘Ummāl*, a *ḥadīth* collection based on several Sunni sources and composed by ‘Ali bin ‘Abd al-Malik al-Muttaqi (d. 1567), a Sufi scholar from Burhanpur (the capital of Khandesh Sultanate).¹⁵

Dissemination of such multiple scholarly literatures of Hanafi and Shafi‘i schools, two of the four major schools of Sunni jurisprudence, further supports the growing influence of orthodox Sunnism in Thatta during the fifteenth century. It has been documented that in the second half of the century, an urban sub-division named *Mughalwāra* was established in the capital city, specifically to inhabit the Turco-Mongol migrants who also included the followers of the Shafi‘i *madhhab*.¹⁶

For the Love of Muhammad: Manifestations in the Devotional Epigraphs from the Samma Cenotaphs

The *ḥadīth* compendia and other supplementary works on Sunni *fiqh* were not the only texts that were quoted in the epigraphic compositions of the Samma dynastic tombs. The verses composed by the scribes, and commissioned by the patrons, further included subtle pledges, devotional notes, invocatory *ṣalawāt* – here meaning petitions directed towards the Prophet outside of the obligatory *ṣalāt* (prayers) – litanies and the Qur’anic verses, all *invoking the* Prophet. Notably, conferment of the *ṣalawāt* (blessings; *durūd* in Persian/Urdu, although other terminologies have also been used) upon the Prophet has been recommended to the Muslims in the divine Qur’an (Qur’an 33:56); and

¹⁵ Asani narrates some Sindhi poetic verses by Qadi Qadan (1463-1551), the *qāḍī* of Thatta in the times of the last Samma ruler Sultan Firuz, and who also remained active during the Arghun period. The poetic verses name these few traditional handbooks by Sunni scholars. See: Asani, “Qāzī Qādan: A Pioneer Sindhi Poet.”

¹⁶ Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 153–54; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 587; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 126–32.

authenticated in several works of *ḥadīth*, particularly in their chapters on prayers.¹⁷ Over time numerous versions of the *ṣalawāt* expressions had been set forth by both mystic Sufis and orthodox scholars. However, as Richard McGregor has pointed out, their formulization is often associated with the saintly figures or the founders of the Sufi orders, and they were significantly presented in public religious rituals, and frequently recited upon burials and visits to the funerary sites (as shown below).¹⁸ By the late medieval centuries, several compositions of invocations and devotional literatures, narrating various versions of the *ṣalawāt* expressions, had become available, recording the ever-changing yet similar, often rhyming invocations, repeated hundreds of times in the form of Arabic poetry.¹⁹ In these devotional notes were hidden the literary vehicles to plead the Prophet for intercession in various occasions, for example, with God for forgiveness, against the infidels, for unexpected dangers, in dispelling poverty and hard-living, specifically on the Day of Judgement, and so on.²⁰ This idea is further elaborated by John Taylor, who notes that while Qur'an does not explicate if intercessions after death can be availed, except as God wills; “yet the traditions are confident of the intercession of the Prophet and theologians promise that even great sins may be forgiven” except of course for the supreme sin of *shirk* (unbelief), which merits eternal fire.²¹

¹⁷ Imām Abu Dawud, “Hadīth 115, Book 8 - The Book of Prayers,” in *Sunan Abi Dāwūd*, accessed April 2, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/abudawud/8/115>; Maulana Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhlawi, *Virtues of Invoking Blessings and Peace on the Noble Prophet - A Translation of Faḍā'il-i-Durūd Sharīf*, trans. Mawlana Irfan Adalat, second (London: Azhar Academy Ltd., 2014), 18–39.

¹⁸ Richard McGregor, “Notes on the Literature of Sufi Prayer Commentaries,” *Mamlūk Studies Review* XVIII (2013): 199–211. McGregor also cites other publications on such supplicatory notes (*du'ā'* and *adhkār*) becoming a part of the Sufi literary canons from at least the tenth century (see his note 9).

¹⁹ Annemarie Schimmel, *Deciphering the Signs: A Phenomenological Approach to Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 115.

²⁰ For various virtues attached to the recitation of the *ṣalawāt* see the brief statements of the fifteenth-century Shafi'i scholar Imam al-Sakhawi (d. 1492) in: Kandhlawi, *Virtues of Invoking Blessings and Peace on the Noble Prophet - A Translation of Faḍā'il-i-Durūd Sharīf*, 41–42.

²¹ John B. Taylor, “Some Aspects of Islamic Eschatology,” *Religious Studies* 4, no. 1 (1968): 57–76.

In popular piety, any reference to Prophet Muhammad is enough to access his *barakah*, as he has been affirmed as a source of *rahma* (blessing) by the Qur'an itself (Qur'an 21:107).²² Therefore, inscribing even just the Prophet's name on funerary artifacts implores *barakah* for the deceased. In keeping with the same ideology, two fifteenth-century Samma tombs preserved in the Makli necropolis present alternate ways of showing devotion to the Prophet. One specimen, found east of the *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli, presents a modest example (Fig. 164). This specimen is the four-tiered elaborately ornamented *chaūkhandī* cenotaph with a pointed barrel shaped top, exhibiting stylistic and formal similarities with the above-mentioned cenotaph in the tomb of Fath Khan's sister. Therefore, it can be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, if not from before. Only on the northern facing of the barrel-vault shaped top inscriptions are carved. In the center, the shortest form of invocation for the Prophet: *Muḥammad 'alayh-i al-salām* (Muhammad, peace be upon him) is inscribed compactly. Encircling this salutation, the Qur'anic verse 17:79 is engraved, emphasizing the prescription of supplementary night prayers (*ṣalāt al-tahajjud*) to the Prophet and its ensuing rewards. Additionally, below these verses first half of Qur'an 25:58 is also carved on the rectangular surface that again addresses Muhammad and proclaims:

“And put your trust (O Muḥammad) in the Ever Living One Who dies not, and glorify His Praises, and Sufficient is He as the All-Knower of the sins of His slaves.” (Qur'an 25:58)

Ṣalāt al-tahajjud, also termed as *qiyām al-layl* (standing of night) or *ṣalāt al-layl* (prayers of night), is an optional prayer which the Prophet is recorded to have performed regularly. Its importance is reinforced in several *aḥādīth*, recorded in various collections.²³ Owing to the

²² Qur'an 21:107 reads: “And We have not sent you, [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds.”

²³ To quote a few references, see multiple entries in: Book 19 (*Kitāb al-Tahajjud*) from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/19>; Book 5 (*Kitāb 'iqāmat al- ṣalāt wa al-sunnah fīha*) from *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, <https://sunnah.com/ibnmajah/5>; Book 20 (*Kitāb qiyām al-layl wa taṭu' al-nihār*) from *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*,

Prophet’s exhorting regarding this prayer without making it compulsory, the adherents of Sunni jurisprudence specifically deem it significant in accessing the Prophet’s *barakah*, as his Companions are recoded to have done.²⁴ Although the significance of *ṣalāt al-tahajjud* is recognized in Shi‘i Islam as well, yet its consistent practice is essentially recorded under the leadership of the Rightly-guided Caliphs Abu Bakr (d. 634) and ‘Umar (d. 644). Imam ‘Ali on the other hand is recorded in the textual sources not to have performed *ṣalāt al-tahajjud* on at least one occasion, deeming it voluntary.²⁵

Contrarily, a somewhat longer version of the *ṣalawāt* is inscribed on another grave located north of Malik Rajpal’s tomb. This spot holds two graves with intricately carved five-tiered undated cenotaphs. Here again only the one with barrel-shaped stone top presents an epigraph on the north face of the headstone (Fig. 165). The text appears to have been executed poorly by an unprofessional hand and is compactly carved in a limited space, therefore, not easily legible. It can be interpreted as:

*“In the name of Allāh, the Merciful
O Allāh! grant mercy to Muḥammad till your mercy is exhausted
And confer blessings on Muḥammad till your prayers are exhausted
And confer blessings on Muḥammad till your blessings are exhausted
And confer blessings on the grave of Muḥammad (more) amongst all graves
And confer blessings on the soul of Muḥammad (more) amongst all souls
Grant through your mercy, O! most Merciful of the Merciful”*

<https://sunnah.com/nasai/20>; and Book 6 (*Kitāb ṣalāt al-musāfirīn wa qaṣariḥā*) from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim*, <https://sunnah.com/muslim/6>.

²⁴ The performance of *ṣalāt al-Tahajjud* is in general regarded as *sunnah*, see: A.J. Wensinck, “Tahadjjud,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 2012, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2/tahadjjud-SIM_7302.

²⁵ For reference see: Imām al-Bukhārī, “Hadith 7, Book 19 (*Kitāb al-Tahajjud*),” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, accessed September 1, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/19/7>; Imām Ahmad al-Nasa’i, “Hadith 15, Book 20 (*Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl Wa Taṭu‘ al-Nihār*),” in *Sunan Al-Nasa’ī*, accessed September 10, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/nasai/20/15>; Imām al-Bukhārī, “Hadith 3 & 5, Book 31 (*Kitāb Ṣalāt al-Tarāwīḥ*),” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, accessed September 1, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/31>.

The inscription, though essentially a salutation to Prophet Muhammad, is not of the standard kind, and indicates medieval sufistic provenance. In modern Islamic culture, it is termed as *ṣalāt al-rūḥ* or *durūd-i-rūḥī*, the salutation for (the deliverance of) the spirit. *Ṣalāt al-rūḥ* is customarily recited for the salvation of the deceased, and upon visiting the graveyards, as recommended primarily in the Naqshbandi and Qadiri Sufi circles in the Indian subcontinent. However, its recitation beyond South Asia is limited.²⁶ Nonetheless, *ṣalāt al-rūḥ*, inscribed on the Samma cenotaph, appears to be a combination of excerpts from the extremely popular *ṣalawāt* compendium *Dalāʿil al-Khayrāt*, written by the Sufi of Shadhili order, Abu ʿAbd Allah ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli (d. 1465).²⁷ This collection of devotional prayers, known to have been widely recited since its compilation in the fifteenth-century, is divided into seven sections, one for each day of the week. *Ṣalāt al-rūḥ* appears to draw upon the third section to be read on Wednesdays (*al-ḥizb al-thālith fī yūm al-ʿarbāʿ*) and the fifth section to be recited on Fridays (*al-ḥizb al-khāmis fī yūm al-Jumuʿah*).²⁸ Additionally, an abridged form of *ṣalāt al-rūḥ* is also recorded in one of the greatest and most comprehensive works written on the subject of invoking blessings upon the Prophet, *al-Qawl al-Badīʿ*, written by the reputable Shafiʿi scholar Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Sakhawi (d. 1492).²⁹ Quoting a *ḥadīth*, al-

²⁶ I have been unable to locate the use of this invocatory formula anywhere outside of the Indian subcontinent. Also, the historic origin of this *ṣalawāt* is unclear and will remain so until scholarship will pay some attention to the Sufi prayers from medieval South Asia, and devotional literatures in general.

²⁷ Alev Masarwa, “Al-Jazūlī, Abū Mūsā,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, 2019, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_32805. *Kitāb Dalaʿil al-Khayrāt wa Shawāriq al-Anwar fī Dhikr al-Ṣalāt ʿalā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār*, is one of the first major compilation of prayers and *ṣalawāt* for Prophet Muhammad, authored by Imam al-Jazuli. It is divided into seven sections, narrating prayers for each day of the week.

²⁸ Abu ʿAbd Allah al-Jazouli, *Dalāʿil Al-Khayrāt*, ed. Muhammad Sajad Ali, trans. Siddi Hassan Rosowsky (USA; UK: NonBooks Press Inc., 2005), 57, 83.

²⁹ *al-Qawl al-Badīʿ fī Ṣalāt ʿalā Habīb al-Shaftīʿ* is published a number of times in several languages, for example: Shams al-Din Muhammad al-Sakhawi, *Faḍaʿil Durūd-i-Pāk (al-Qawl al-Badīʿ fī Ṣalāt ʿalā Habīb al-Shaftīʿ)*, trans. Sayyid Muhammad Iqbal Shah Gilani (Lahore; Karachi: Zia al-Quran Publications, 2013).

Sakhawi identifies this *ṣalawāt* as a route to gain spiritual proximity to the Prophet and eventually win his support, particularly on the Day of Judgement for him to pursue salvation for the reciter.³⁰

Another aspect worth highlighting is that in al-Jazuli's versions of the *ṣalawāt*, as in case of many of the standard *ṣalawāt* supplications, *Āl-i Muḥammad* (the progeny of Muhammad, family of Imam 'Ali) are also included in the prayers of blessings. However, in both of the Samma specimen the family of Muhammad, are not mentioned. This makes one wonder if this was a deliberate act to project an anti-Shi'i mindset, which was becoming popular in Thatta in the second half of the fifteenth century, due to the rise of orthodox Naqshbandi Sufis? (discussed in detail later in the chapter). Hence, the intended purpose of the Qur'anic verse 17:79, encircling the invocatory phrase on the first cenotaph, as well as *ṣalāt al-rūḥ* on the second, is evidently to seek *barakah* of the Prophet in personal devotion and petition for intercession in the matters of the afterlife. However, they can also be described as Sunni with a tinge of Sufi connotations.

Alternative implications of the act are also identified in late-medieval supplementary texts describing the virtues of invoking the Prophet for rewards. These include drawing upon Muhammad's name and spirituality, alone or together with God's, as a method of seeking political authority, in addition to protection, security and at times medicinal therapy, hence rendering apotropaic qualities. While traces of the latter have been detected in previously discussed monuments (primarily Abu Turab's tomb), it is noteworthy that occultism is generally dismissed in the Islamic cultures as a forbidden form of knowledge, and practice of its several disciples as unorthodox. Nonetheless, a corpus of scholarship and artifacts, belonging to the pre-modern and

³⁰ Al-Sakhawai claims that he has taken this *ḥadīth* from the compilation of *Abu al-Qasim al-Sharif al-Sabti* (d. 1358) although he has been unable to trace the source for its authenticity. Hence making the *ṣalawāt* more of a "popular" version. Excerpts from al-Sakhawai's *al-Qawl al-Badi'* are reproduced in Kandhlawi's *Faḍā'il Durūd Sharīf*. Particularly for the *ṣalawāt* on Samma cenotaph, see: Kandhlawi, *Virtues of Invoking Blessings and Peace on the Noble Prophet - A Translation of Faḍā'il-i-Durūd Sharīf*, 71–72.

early-modern centuries, has survived that attests to the popularity, permissibility, and theorization of these practices, sanctified as legitimate sciences (*‘ulūm*), in both Sunni and Shi‘i spheres.³¹

The eight-pillared *chatrī* tomb of the unidentified Samma prince/princess, located east of Mubarak Khan’s funerary enclosure, presents an explicit case, in its epigraphy, on the manifestation of apotropaic capabilities. As discussed in Chapter Two, the form of this structure marks a strong etymological connection with the *raṅgabhumikā* (dancing platforms) – a component of the Māru-Gurjara temple *maṇḍapas* (pavilions). The single inscription of this *chatrī* presents an interesting case of textual phrasing with several undertones. Carved on the inner side of its northern *uttaraṅga* (lintel) that rests on the lavishly carved columns (Fig. 166), the translation of the inscription reads:

*“In the name of Allāh, the most Beneficent, the most Merciful. I [create a] fence by saying there is no God but Allāh. I seal [this] in the name of Muḥammad, the messenger of Allāh.”*³²

Outwardly a credal statement, beginning with *basmala*, this inscription presents the *shahāda*, affirming the singularity of God (*tawḥīd*) and prophethood (*risālat*) of Muhammad. However, it also offers the first case of Persian script to be carved in Makli necropolis and earliest use of the *abjad* numeral system. It is perhaps the only time the system was used by Samma scribes. The construction date of the monument is encoded in its last phrase: *muhr zadm banām-i Muḥammad*

³¹ For a concise yet informative essay on the doubtful impression of occultism in Islamic history, see: Matthew Melvin-Koushki, “De-Orienting the Study of Islamicate Occultism,” in *Arabica - Islamicate Occultism: New Perspectives*, Special Double Issue (BRILL, 2017), 287–95. In the Fall of 2016, the Ashmolean Museum (University of Oxford) showcased over a hundred spectacular artifacts from the Islamic world, spreading from Morocco to China, and created between the 12th and the 20th centuries. Titled, *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural*, it was the first major exhibition to explore occultism in the art of the Islamic world. The artifacts on displays ranged from the dream-books to talismanic clothing and jewel-encrusted amulets. I was fortunate to get a chance to see these works of breathtaking quality and astonishing scale. For details on the items displayed, see the exhibition catalogue with several informative essays: Francesca Leoni et al., *Power and Protection: Islamic Art and the Supernatural* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2016).

³² For original text: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 548.

Rasūl Allāh (I seal in the name of Muḥammad, the messenger of Allāh). The sum of numeric values of this poetic phrase provides the year 843 AH/1439-40 CE as the date of construction.³³ Diversely, on close examination it also appears that in the use of specific words along with the religiously charged phrases, the scribe had thoughtfully composed this inscription to perform an explicit function – to invoke spiritual blessings and safeguard the Samma sovereign in the life after death. The first half creates a hypothetical ‘fence’ (*hiṣār*) around the monument, while professing to the most fundamental doctrine of Islam. The second half ciphers that this fencing is further secured by putting a ‘seal’ (*muhr*) in the auspicious name and title: “Muhammad – the Messenger of God (*Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*).”

Interestingly, the official seal or signet ring of Prophet Muhammad was also engraved with similar textual composition, that is, *Allāh, Muḥammad*, and his title *Rasūl Allāh*, written in the same order.³⁴ This seal/signet ring was used by the Prophet to stamp formal letters of correspondence and documents, to provide authentication. There is evidence that the holy seal/signet ring was later used by the Rightly-guided caliphs (*Rāshidūn*), and its duplicate by the Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphs as well as the Ottoman Sultans for practical purposes. However, the validatory role to support political legitimacy and religious authority of its possessors has also

³³ Kaleemullah Lashari, 548. Chronograms of this type take the form of short phrases or single words which encode the *tārīkh-i ma‘nawī* (meaningful date), in which the date must be calculated from that word or phrase with the help of the numerical values of the Arabic letters, see: G. Krotkoff, “ABJAD,” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abjad>.

³⁴ Imām al-Tirmidhī, “Hadith 28, Book 24 - The Book on Clothing,” in *Jāmi‘ Al-Tirmidhī*, accessed May 31, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/tirmidhi/24/28>; Imam Abu ‘Isa al-Tirmidhi, *Shamā‘il Al-Muḥammadiyyah: The Characteristics of the Holy Prophet Muhammad*, ed. Selma Cook, trans. Bahaa ad-Din Ibrahim Ahmed Shalaby (el-Mansoura: Dar al-Manarah, 2002), 68–69; Imām al-Bukhārī, “Hadith 83, Book 77 - The Book on Dress,” in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, accessed August 31, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/77/83>; Imām Ahmad al-Nasa‘i, “Hadith 177, Book 48 - The Book of Adornment,” in *Sunan Al-Nasa‘ī*, accessed March 9, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/nasai/48/177>; Imām Ibn Mājah, “Hadith 3770, Book 32 - The Book on Dress,” in *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, accessed March 9, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/urn/1278910>.

been suggested.³⁵ Additionally, the Prophet's seal was believed to function as an amulet. Moreover, in the medieval and early-modern times, diverse textual and graphic impressions of Muhammad's seal were adopted in a variety of Islamic objects, from sacred clothing to geomantic devices; used for practical, therapeutic, defensive, as well as talismanic purposes.³⁶ Likewise, the acknowledgment of God's all-encompassing powers and expression of the core Islamic belief in the Islamic occult arts is a "licit" formula for seeking refuge in the divine, pursuing protection and healing.³⁷

Taking these instances as a point of departure, it can be assessed if the inscription on the *chattrī* tomb east of Mubarak Khan's enclosure was conceived to act as an amulet or talismanic device. For this purpose, the terms "*hiṣār*" and "*muhr*" play very significant roles. In the South Asian culture, the Persian term "*hiṣār*" (with its root in Arabic *ḥāṣara*, lit. protective barrier or siege) has been repeatedly exploited, up to the present day, in the rituals of marking imaginary and actual talismanic/protective boundaries, around objects or persons. Therefore, the inscription's textual composition strongly hints that it makes the *shahāda* appear as an incantation, and the inscription to act as an intangible amuletic device to create a sacred space within the tomb. A

³⁵ Hilmi Aydın, *The Sacred Trusts: Pavilion of the Sacred Relics, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul*, ed. Talha Uğurluel and Ahmet Dođru (New Jersey: The Light Inc., 2004), 101; Gruber, "Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You Are Well Protected"; Christiane Gruber, "The Rose of the Prophet: Floral Metaphors in Late Ottoman Devotional Art," in *Envisioning Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, Arts and Archaeology of the Islamic World (BRILL, 2016), 223–49. For authentic information on the use of Muhammad's seal by the Caliphs see: al-Bukhārī, "Hadith 83, Book 77 - The Book on Dress"; Imām al-Bukhārī, "Hadith 96, Book 77 - The Book on Dress," in *Ṣaḥīḥ Al-Bukhārī*, accessed August 31, 2019, <https://sunnah.com/bukhari/77/96>. The first copy of the original seal is now preserved in the "Pavilion of Sacred Relics" in the Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul (for details on this see: Aydın, p. 101).

³⁶ Gruber, "Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You Are Well Protected"; Gruber, "The Rose of the Prophet: Floral Metaphors in Late Ottoman Devotional Art"; Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?"

³⁷ Francis, *Islamic Symbols and Sufi Rituals for Protection and Healing: Religion and Magic in the Writings of Ahmad Ibn 'Ali al-Buni*, 192–204. And also: Graham, "In Islamic Talismans, Repeat-Letter Ciphers Representing the 'Greatest Name' Relate to an Early Prototype of the Seven Seals and May Link the Seals with the Pleiades"; Gruber, "Go Wherever You Wish, for Verily You Are Well Protected"; Porter, "Islamic Seals: Magical or Practical?"

similar act is performed in Western as well as Indic occultism of creating a circle of protection against evil and magic, while chanting sacred hymns.³⁸ Therefore, by harnessing the supernatural powers of the doctrinal phrase, the scribe seeks to either ward-off danger or a means to provide salvation for the deceased, as well as the visitor who reads the text upon entering the protective space.

Although, as mentioned above, for the talismanic objects to perform diligently only God's reference is enough, and therefore, with the first half of the inscription the purpose of an amulet has been achieved; the second half provides further credibility to the act. The “*muhr*” (seal) in the Prophet's name and title further strengthens the talisman. Therefore, instead of creating a graphic seal-like motif, the verbal/textual seal is created, nonetheless. Moreover, in association with Muhammad, his prophethood (*risālah*), and his “seal” of rulership, endorsement is obtained for the act or perhaps even for the political authority and legitimacy of the Samma prince (though, his personal identity is kept hidden). The eight-pillared *chatrī* tomb east of Mubarak Khan's enclosure, therefore, is the only definitive case of Islamic occultism recorded in Samma dynastic period, or for that matter in the entire Makli necropolis.

Between Orthodoxy, Heterodoxy, and Sufism: The Samma Patronage of Composite Religious Culture

Imitating the Suhrawardi model of an ideal society where all religions had to be in coalition, the culture of religious tolerance, acceptability and integration also flourished in Thatta during the fifteenth century.³⁹ The social and religious divide between the Sunni Samma groups in Sindh, their Isma'ili kinsmen in Kutch as well as their Hindu proconsuls remained fluid throughout

³⁸ In Hinduism and Buddhism, examples exist of creating cosmogramic *maṇḍala* circles while uttering sacred *mantra* (magical incantations).

³⁹ These coalesced traditions and relations are observed in the Suhrawardi-Nizari Isma'ili associations which are highlighted in: Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, 132–33; Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*.

history (see Chapter One). This culture corresponds to Jalal al-Din Bukhari’s “all accommodating” approach that has been discussed in the previous chapter. The outcomes of such religious accommodations are observed in the patronage of the Sindhi-Hindu tribes and significant presence of their leaders at the Samma royal court. These tribes included the semi-autonomous Sodhas of Umerkot, and the Lohana and Bhattiya mercantile communities of the Indus Delta. Additionally, the tolerant attitude of Samma Jams is further manifested in the permissibility to several Sufi orders to operate at the same time in Thatta, and also in keeping a lenient attitude towards the contemporary Shi‘i and Jaina communities.

That the Samma elites continued to conform with the Suhrawardi viewpoint is endorsed in the fact that they remained absolutely faithful in mysticism (at least outwardly) to the Suhrawardi *ṭarīqa*. Furthermore, they sustained strong ties with the cult of their patron saint Shaykh Hammad Jamali, whose *barakah* was actively sought at least up-to the middle of the fifteenth century. The continued devotion of Sammas to the Suhrawardi Sufis is exhibited in a firm evidence from the eight-pillared *chatrī* tomb in Makli, built by the Samma prince Malik Rahu. Datable to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, this *raṅgabhumikā* (dancing platforms) styled tomb holds a single stone-cenotaph. Moreover, the tomb preserves the earliest foundational inscription of the necropolis (Fig. 167). On the inner side of an *uttaraṅga* (beam) on the west, a hybrid Perso-Arabic epitaph reads:

“*This monument is built by the generous [hearted] Rāhū... [disciple of] Shaykh Ḥammād l-Jamāl, walī [Allāh?] ... In the reign of Jām Tughlaq [bin] Sikandar Shāh, on the date of the eight and ... eight [hundred]...*”⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Dani in his reading of the inscription has overlooked the words “*daryā-dil*” (generous-hearted) and “*Shaykh Ḥammād l-Jamāl,*” both of which even at present are legible, though the word “*dil*” with difficulty. Lashari has not clarified the word either. Following the previous reading by Muhammad Shafī, Lari and Lari have, however, read

This partly-effaced inscription displays the prince Malik Rahu's preferential identity: not in his noble lineage but in his spiritual associations.⁴¹ Rahu's lineage is confirmed from the Persian inscription of a nearby brick tomb of his grandson Malik Rajpal (built in the last quarter of the fifteenth century), which confirms his royal descent from the first Samma Jam, Malik Firuz al-Din Unnar.⁴² His connection with the cult of *wālī-i-Thatta* Shaykh Hammad, even after the saint's demise in c. 1395, was perceived as a means to continue seeking the *barakah* of the saintly soul for salvation.⁴³ Nevertheless, what is more significant in this connection is the covert indication of an absence of any "major" local Suhrawardi center after Shaykh Hammad's death, and the weakening of Suhrawardi hegemony in Thatta (and also southern Sindh in general) in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁴⁴

daryā-dil as *daryā-Khān* (name addition to Rahu), which does not seem correct. They also add the words "*wālī-ahad Tamāchī*" (heir/ crown prince of Tamachi) to Rahu's identity, as recorded by Shafi. In Lari's publication the photos (from 1970s) do show some part of the text, which has disintegrated and is not legible at present. However, the foundational inscription in Malik Rajpal's tomb and the genealogy of Samma Jams worked out by Rashidi, do not link Rahu to Jam Tamachi but show the former as a progeny of Tamachi's brother. Therefore, the title "*wālī Allāh*" for the Shaykh seems more plausible and Lari and Lari appear to be wrong in this claim as well. Several textual sources identify Tamachi's son Salah al-Din as his successor and heir. Unless some rubbings of the inscription taken in the early twentieth century by ASI officers and other personnel, for example Q.M. Moneer are consulted (I have been unable to locate them yet), it is hard to confirm the original text. See: Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 41–42; Shafi, "Ancient Inscriptions in India," 16; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 124; Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 548; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah* see: *nasb-nama salātīn Samma* :↵.

⁴¹ It is possible that his lineage was also carved later in the verse, but as the latter part has been damaged beyond reading, it is hard to make a definite conclusion.

⁴² Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 546; Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 52; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 72.

⁴³ The cult of Shaykh Hammad Jamal remained significant at least up till the late sixteenth century. Sidi 'Ali Reis, the Ottoman general, on his visit to Thatta in 1552 is recorded to have visited Makli necropolis specifically to pay his respects on the graves of Shaykh *Djmali* (Jamali) and *Miri* (?). See: Re'īs, *Mir'āt Ul-Memālik - The Travels and Adventures of the Turkish Admiral Sidi Ali Reis in India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Persia, during the Years 1553-1556*, 37–38.

⁴⁴ In wider context this failing could also be placed in the context of the temporary setback that the Suhrawardi authorities had to face, mainly at their religious center of Multan, as a result of their falling out of favor with the rulers of Upper Sindh. However, later in the sixteenth century the order was revived in lower Sindh, and a small town named Hala (128 km northeast of Thatta) became another leading center of Suhrawardi activity, while other satellite centers also developed. On this see: Ansari, *Sufi Saints and State Power*, 20. It is also noteworthy that Thatta was also revived as one of these centers when Sufis like Shaykh Ni'amat-Allah, a descendent of Baha' al-Din Zakariyya Multani, migrated to the city and established his *khānqāh* on Makli Hill in the late-Samma period. Shaykh Na'imat-Allah was later buried at the same place, where now his *dargāh* still exists in dilapidated condition. He was

Nonetheless, at this time, the presence of Suhrawardi *khānqāhs* of “minor” significance are recorded. For instance, Maulana Shaykh Mahmud (n.d.), an itinerant Suhrawardi Sufi from Multan, transiently resided in Thatta and acquired allegiance from the aforementioned Sultan Tughlaq bin Sikandar Jam Juna II (r. c. 1425-1452) and his kin. Yet, the Jam is noted to have sustained his syncretic lifestyle despite his commitments, and did not renounce “the heathen customs of [his ancestral] family.”⁴⁵ Therefore, Shaykh Mahmud devised to initiate Jam Juna II into the discipleship of the most prominent and influential fifteenth-century Suhrawardi Sufi of Gujarat, Sayyid Burhan al-Din Bukhari *Quṭb-i ‘Alam* (d. 1452) – the grandson of Jalal al-Din Bukhari.⁴⁶ Consequently, in c. 1444, the Jam gave one of his daughters in marriage to the son and virtual successor of *Quṭb-i ‘Alam*, and also contracted marital alliances with the saint’s royal patrons – the Muzaffarid Sultans of Gujarat (see Chapter One).⁴⁷ From here onwards, the Jam is recorded to have frequently resided in Ahmadabad, in the company of the orthodox Bukhari Sufis, where he was also interred after death, instead of the Samma royal necropolis on Makli hill.⁴⁸

the father of the celebrated Shaykh Jiyyah, an influential figure during the Arghun and Tarkhan dynastic periods, who appears to have worked more independently. See: Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 752; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 264.

⁴⁵ ‘Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Khātimah-i Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī (Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī Supplement: With Explanatory Notes and Appendices)*, trans. Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1928), 50–51; Ṭhattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 198. Jam Juna II was a descendent of Jam Juna – the elder, who has been discussed earlier as the patron of Abu Turab’s tomb. For chronological entry of Jam Juna II and his predecessors see: Ṭhattavī, 248–49, 666, also see Table: *nasb-nama salātīn-i Samma* :۳.

⁴⁶ Shaykh Mahmud playing a vital role in this association is only recorded in *Mirat*. See: Khān, *Khātimah-i Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī*, 50. When Sultan Mahmud Khalji (r. 1463-1469) of Malwa invaded Gujarat, Sultan Qutb al-Din sought Sayyid Burhan al-Din’s help to intercede and extend his blessings. Manjhu and Ulug-khani report that Sayyid Burhan al-Din sent his son *Shah-i ‘Alam* in the battlefield to accompany the Sultan, who due to the saints’ help was eventually victorious. Other chroniclers also glorify the Sufi Sayyid’s spirituality and Sultan Qutb al-Din’s adherence to him. See: Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 137–46; Ulug-Khānī, *Zafar Ul-Wāliḥ Bi Muẓaffar Wa ‘Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:6–10; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:235; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:577.

⁴⁷ Manjhū, “Mīrāt-i Sikandarī,” 153–54; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part I:237; Khān, *Khātimah-i Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī*, 50.

⁴⁸ Khān, *Khātimah-i Mīrāt-i-Aḥmadī*, 50. The Bukhari Sufis and their royal patrons of Gujarat played a significant role in proselytizing the “heretic” tribes living in the western coastal regions, specifically in Junagadh and Kutch. See: Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders, and Pilgrims in Gujarat 1200–1500*, 167.

The reign of Jam Juna II proved to be momentous for several other reasons as well. The Sultan took interest in public works, established law-enforcing posts in each *pargana*, and devised an admirable system of civil and military administration that aided in securing the north-western territories of the Samma Sultanate.⁴⁹ More significantly, towards the end of this Jam's sovereignty, Suhrawardi authority in Thatta and its twin town Samu'i-nagar was challenged when disparate religious dynamics started to surface. Contrary to the Suhrawardi teachings of integration, the orthodox Sunni Sufis, primarily of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri orders, began to dominate the religious environment of the region, apparently to save Samma society from moral and spiritual indolence. The Naqshbandi activities in Thatta will be discussed later in the chapter. The Qadiri Sufis began intensive operations for the propagation of Sunni doctrines in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

The missionary activities of Qadiri Sufi order were directed towards the Hindu populace, and specifically on converting the native Lohana clans to Islam. Lohanas were among the prominent trading communities and landowners of lower Sindh, who were also politically influential. Manekji – the head of eighty-four of the Lohana *nukhs* (sub-clans), was at a position of prominence in the Samma court. A large population from these clans are recorded to have accepted Islam at the hands of Abu Zakariyya Yusuf al-Din (n.d.), a direct descendent of the celebrated Hanbali theologian and founder of the Qadiri *ṭarīqa*, 'Abd al-Qadir Gilani (d. 1166). Shaykh Yusuf al-Din left Baghdad for Sindh in c. 1430 and during his decade-long stay, he was

⁴⁹ Ma 'šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma 'sūmī*, 97–98; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:833. Additionally, Jam Juna II is also said to have commissioned several public buildings, including the restoration of the ancient fort of *Kalāṅkōt* near Thatta, which was renamed as Tughlaqabad. See: Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 86–89, 612–14; Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 559–60.

present in Thatta in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰ Murakkab khan, a governor of Sultan Tughlaq Jam Juna II, became the Shaykh's disciple and facilitated the Qadiri Sufi's proselytizing zeal.⁵¹ About 700 families (comprising of more than 6,000 people) inhabiting the territories of Thatta embraced Islam under Yusuf al-Din's guidance, and the latter gave this community a new identity, calling them "Mēmon," which has persisted till the present era.⁵²

The Messenger of Allāh has Spoken Truth! Between Epigraphs, Misquotations and the Politico-Religious Propagandas in Late Samma Period

Parallel to the transformations in the religious atmosphere of the region, the second half of the fifteenth century also brought a significant political shift. A dispossessed Samma prince, Ra' i Dhan 'urf Jam Sanjar, returned from Kutch and laid claim to the Sultanate.⁵³ Jam Sanjar, while in exile,

⁵⁰ T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam: A History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith* (Westminster: Archibald Constable & Co., 1896), 224–25; James M. Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency: Gujarāt Population (Musaalmans and Pārsis)*, vol. IX Part II (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1899), 50–51; Enthoven R. E., *Landmarks in Indian Anthropology: The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 3 (Delhi: Cosmo Publication, 1922), 52–53; Ansar Zahid Khan, "The Role of the Qadiri Sufis in the Religious Life of Sind," in *Sind through the Centuries: Proceedings of an International Seminar Held in Karachi in Spring 1975* (Karachi; New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 119–23. Yusuf al-Din's year of arrival from Baghdad is recorded as: 1421-1422 by Arnold, Campbell and Enthoven, and 1442 by Khan. I have been unable to find any definite or primary textual reference, therefore considering it to be sometime in-between.

⁵¹ Enthoven states that this "Markab Khan" was probably the Samma ruler "Jam Ra' i Dan," (Ra' i Dhan *alias* Jam Sanjar) yet according to Rashidi's chronology Ra' i Dhan (written as Rao Danno) came to power in 1454. Nizamuddin and Farishta have one Jam Mubarak in their list of Samma Jams, as an officer and relative of Jam Juna II, who also ruled after the latter's death for a very short period. It is more probable that he is the "Markab Khan" who supported Yusuf al-Din upon becoming a disciple. Singh also follows Enthoven on this incident, yet both do not cite any references.

⁵² The word "Mēmon" is a corruption of *mo'min*, which means believer. Muslim Memons are spread as traders and merchant communities (*baniyaṅs* or *banias*) mainly in Gujarat, but also in fairly large numbers in Karachi, Calcutta, Madras, Malabar coast and as far as Zanzibar and East African coasts. See: R. E., *Landmarks in Indian Anthropology*, 3:52–53; Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, 1899, IX Part II:50.

⁵³ Ra' i Dhan was the grandson of Jam Tamachi, who along with his family was exiled to Kutch earlier in the century, where he was given refuge by his Hindu and Isma'ili kinsmen. He is also mentioned as Rao Danna or Rayadhan in near contemporary sources. Mir Ma'sum has both Ra' i Dhan and Jam Sanjar as separate individuals ruling successively, and Qani' also follows the same detail in his *Tuḥfat al-Kirām* (1767). Nizamuddin and Farishta do not mention him at all yet have Jam Sanjar in their list as father of Jam Nindo. Whereas Abul Fadl states that father of Jam Nindo, "Sanjar, commonly called Ra-Dhan," ruled for eight years. According to Rashidi and N. B. Baloch, both are the names of one individual who assumed the title of Sultan Sadr al-Din Shah, a title also mentioned in the inscription over the tomb of Nizam al-Din, and therefore, is considered correct. See: Ma'sūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 99–100, 477–78; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 166–68; Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, 1949, II:344; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 666, Chart ٢.

had formed strong connections with his non-Muslim kinsmen and acquired a great following in Kutch. He was raised to the throne of Sindh with popular support from local tribes of diverse faith, both Muslims and non-Muslims, inhabiting the wider Western Indian region.⁵⁴ Assuming the title of Sultan Sadr al-Din (r. 1454-1461), Jam Sanjar took charge of the Sultanate's administration in 1454.⁵⁵ Thereafter, Sindh's culture, economy, commerce, industry and agrarian production began to regain its former glory (see Chapter Six). It was during his rule that the Sammas sought to identify their regime with *sharī'a* (Islamic law) by supporting *'ulamā* (religious scholars) and reinstating the jurisdiction of the *qāḍīs* (judicial authorities) by awarding them with reasonable stipends.⁵⁶ This model of governance was further advanced under the long and auspicious rulership of his son, Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo (r. 1461-1508), who in Sindh's ballads and oral traditions, still lives as a model sovereign, acquiring the status of a "Sufi-Sultan."⁵⁷ Jam Nindo is also celebrated as an accomplished Sufi poet and a religious intellectual, who encouraged *sunnah* among his Muslim subjects. The anecdotes in literary sources present him as a just yet merciful ruler, a Sunni orthodox yet liberal Muslim. Jam Nindo is also recorded for his great humility in personal affairs and keeping company of eminent *'ulamā*, *qāḍīs*, Sayyids and Sufis of his time.⁵⁸ Moreover, he wisely supplemented his religious administration with eminent figures who had studied *uṣūl-i-fiqh* (rules of jurisprudence) and *ma'qūlāt* (rational sciences) from distinguished scholars based in Islamic cultural centers like Herat.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 100–101; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:778. Mir Ma'sum and Qani' also passingly indicate the intercession of a *darvīsh* advancing Jam Sanjar's claim to kingship, conforming to Simon Digby's ideas discussed above.

⁵⁵ Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 99; Aḥmad, *The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, 1939, III, Part II:778; Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kutch & Kathiawar*, 2:199.

⁵⁶ Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 101–2; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168.

⁵⁷ Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168–70; Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 102–3.

⁵⁸ Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma'sūmī*, 102–4; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 168–69.

⁵⁹ Pūrānī, *Nuṣrat Nāmāh*, 65; Khan, "Shaheed Mubarak Khan."

Notwithstanding such predominantly Sunni atmosphere, parallel presence of contrasting religious dynamics can also be detected at the Samma court. A close study of the inscriptions from the funerary monuments erected towards the end of Jam Nindo's reign, that is, at turn of the new millennium of Islam, reveals significant information about these dynamics. One example is found in the tomb of Kazeruni *Shaykhs*, located close to the mausoleums of Kaus al-Sultani in Zone III (Fig. 1). As mentioned in Chapter Four, the structure of this tomb has now collapsed and only its foundations survive around the three stone graves. For the present purpose, the middle cenotaph of Shaykh Junayd ibn 'Abd al-Latif al-Hashmi *nisba* al-Kazeruni (d. 1501) is particularly noteworthy (Fig. 120). Although the flat top surface of the cenotaph has been damaged quite significantly, yet from the fragmentary words it can be rightly inferred that the inscription framing all four sides read the Throne verse (Qur'an 2:255), followed by Qur'an 3:18 (*Āl-i 'Imrān*). Inside this frame, towards both ends of the *mihrāb* image, geometric *kūfic* or *kūfi murabb'a* script is used to interlock Arabic characters to form quadrilateral ornamental motifs, that reiterate the sacred names *Muḥammad* and 'Alī four times (Figs. 121). These names are rotated four times at ninety-degree angle so they can be assembled into squares. Hence, the motifs are also termed as *chār Muḥammad* and *chār 'Alī* (*chār* means four), where the latter has enjoyed long-popularity as a Shi'i motif.⁶⁰ Additionally, in the *chār Muḥammad* motif all four of the *Muḥammads* radiate from a central point of origin (Fig. 122), where they all share a common *mīm* – the initiating alphabet, whereas the last character of all four 'Alīs interlock to form a swastika symbol in the middle (Fig.

⁶⁰ James W. Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi'ism: Iraq, Iran and the Indian Sub-Continent* (London: Azimuth, 2011), 47–48; Raya Shani, *A Monumental Manifestation of the Shi'ite Faith in Late Twelfth-Century Iran: The Case of the Gunbad-i 'Alawiyān, Hamadān* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 141–42. The terms are also written as *chahār Muḥammad* and *chahār 'Alī*. Additionally, square Kufic was often used in architecture to create geometric patterns with alternating glazed tiles with plain bricks. This elaborated version of the textual decorative technique is termed as *bannā'ī*, however, if the brickwork design is in relief then it is termed as word *hazār baf*.

123). Interestingly, the swastika icon is also often found in irrefutably Shi‘i monuments of late-medieval Iran.⁶¹ Hence, the inscribed square *kūfic* motifs manifest Shaykh Junayd’s adherence to Shi‘i Islam.⁶²

The northern and southern faces of the cenotaph preserve details on the lineage and death of this immigrant-descended member of Kazeruni family living in Thatta (see Chapter Three). These inscriptions (Fig. 168) describe Shaykh Junayd as *afḍal-ul-mashā’ikh al-Islām* (the best of the *Shaykhs* of Islam), however, his official position within the Samma religious administration is not clear. The texts on the lateral façades of the cenotaph reveal some more interesting accounts. The western side preserves the Qur’anic verses 9:21-22 (*al-Tawbah*):

*“Their Lord gives them good tidings of mercy from Him and approval and of gardens for them wherein is enduring pleasure. [They will be] abiding therein forever. Indeed, Allah has with Him a great reward.”*⁶³

To give this message more credibility, the text ends with the expression, *ṣadaq al-Allāh al-‘Aẓīm* (Allah Almighty [has spoken] truth). Continuing with similar scheme, the lateral side on the east reads (Fig. 169):

*“The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: The Lord has most mercy [for] who is his slave, when he enters into his grave, and the people and his family disperse – and the messenger of Allāh [has spoken] truth.”*⁶⁴

The Prophet’s name, his title and his wordings are employed here to provide credibility to Shaykh Junayd, and hence, act as a “*muhr*” (seal) of the Prophet, similar to what has been discussed earlier

⁶¹ Shani, *A Monumental Manifestation of the Shi‘ite Faith in Late Twelfth-Century Iran*, 141–42.

⁶² While meaningful to Muslims in general, the names appear together in artistic productions categorized as Shi‘i. For other examples on how these sacred names are used as signs of Shi‘i ideology of the patrons, see: O’Kane, “Monumental Calligraphy in Fatimid Egypt”; Bierman, *Writing Signs*, 115, 131–32.

⁶³ For the original reading (Arabic) of the inscription, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 491.

⁶⁴ For original Arabic, see: Kaleemullah Lashari, 491.

in the inscription on the *chattrī* tomb located east of Mubarak Khan’s funerary enclosure. Besides, with its specific use of phrases *Qāl al-nabī* (the Prophet said) at the beginning and *ṣadaqa Rasūl-Allāh* (the messenger of Allah [has spoken] truth) at the end, the script of this inscription is distinctly proposed as a *ḥadīth*. More so, since the noble phrases such as “The Prophet of God said...” were used over the centuries by scholars of *ḥadīth* to preserve the Prophet’s legacy in its “true” form.⁶⁵ However, the *ḥadīth* on Shaykh Junayd’s cenotaph was never said by the Prophet but rather is part of a sermon delivered by his cousin ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Abbas (d. 687), who was the governor of Basra during Imam ‘Ali’s administration as a Caliph.⁶⁶

Another instance of *ḥadīth* fabrication occurs in the funerary enclosure of *Khān al-‘Āzam* Mubarak Khan (d. 1520). As mentioned previously, construction of this enclosure commenced in 1490 but continued over the next three decades. Above the southern doorway (Fig. 132), the inscription carved on the stone lintel begins with:

*“The Prophet, peace be upon him, said: If you are bewildered on the matters [of life], seek help from the people of the graves – O messenger of Allāh you [have spoken] truth. This shrine [is constructed] by the orders of”*⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Jonathan A.C. Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choices of Interpreting the Prophet’s Legacy*, 2nd ed. (London: Oneworld Publications, 2017), 225.

⁶⁶ By the mid eighth century this was a well-documented consensus, mainly among Sunni scholars, that it is not a *ḥadīth* and its provenance to ibn ‘Abbas had also been established. Although, the verse was erroneously regarded among the sayings of the Prophet in the early years of Islam. Of these medieval scholars, one of the *tābi‘ al-tāb‘īn*, ‘Ata’ al-Khurasani (d. 752), the Persian jurist (*faqīh*) and exegete (*mufasssīr*) of Qur’an, was repeatedly quoted in late-medieval texts in the sections discussing visiting graves and afterlife. These texts included, for example, the one written by Maliki scholar *Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Qurtubi* (d. 1273), which narrate ‘Ata’ al-Khurasani as the source regarding this verse’s provenance to ibn ‘Abbas. In some texts, therefore, it is also recorded as a direct quote of ‘Ata’ al-Khurasani, which is not correct. Hanbali scholar ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200) has also narrated this verse of ibn ‘Abbas’s in his *majlis fī dhikr al-qubūr* (sitting on the discussions about graves). See: Jamal al-Din Abu al-Faraj ibn al-Jawzī, *Bustān al-wā‘iẓīn wa-riyāḍ as-sāmi‘īn*, ed. Aiman al-Bahiri (Beirut, Lebanon: al-Muassasah al-Kitab al-thaqafiah, 1998), 202; Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Qurtubi, “Chapter on the Mercy of God for his servants upon entering the grave,” in *al-Tadhkirah fī Ahwāl al-Mawta wa-Umūr al-Ākhirah*, ed. Sadiq bin Muhammad Ibrahim (Riyadh: Maktaba Dar-ul-Minhaj lil-nashar wa al-tawzi‘, 2004), 345.

⁶⁷ For the translation of the second half of this inscription, see Chapter Three. Lashari has slightly misread this inscription but for the Arabic version see: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 537.

As discussed in Chapter Four, these wordings are part of a longer epigraph which extends political propaganda in support of Mubarak Khan's aspirations. Possibly in an effort to assert Mubarak Khan's political legitimacy, the inscription begins with a *ḥadīth*. Additionally, with the use of the noble phrases the scribe ensures that it is convincingly attributed to the Prophet. Nevertheless, this *ḥadīth* was unanimously denounced as *mawḍū'* (baseless forgery) by several medieval scholars, including Islam's most powerful theologian, *Shaykh al-Islām* Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328).⁶⁸

Across the centuries the *'ulamā* of Islam have strictly forbidden the fabrication of *ḥadīth*, considering it a horrendous sin. In Sunni scholarly culture, the intentional misrepresentation of the Prophet's traditions has been considered absolutely egregious. To that end, a warning by the Prophet himself, which became a mantra of the Sunni *'ulamā* that has also been frequently quoted by them, states: "Whoever misrepresents me intentionally, let him prepare for him a seat in Hellfire."⁶⁹ This consequently brings us to the question: Why within the active literary culture of Sunni persuasion that the Samma Jams of Thatta had cultivated since the beginning of their hegemony, the use of counterfeited *aḥādīth* or misrepresented quotations became seemingly popular at the turn of the sixteenth century?

Scholars have noted that since the early centuries of Islam, the exploitation of Prophet's sayings or narrating *aḥādīth* of dubious origin have served diverse propagandist purposes.⁷⁰ As the Muslims revere Muhammad as "*al-Ṣādiq al-Amīn*" (the truthful and honest one), hence his words are held as utmost authoritative references, almost similar to those of the Qur'an.⁷¹ Moreover, as

⁶⁸ Taqī al-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyyah, *Majmū' al-fatāwā*, ed. 'Amir al-Jazzar and Anwar al-Baaz (el-Mansoura: Dar el-Wafaa, 2005), 246–47; 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn Baaz, *Majmū' fatāwā wa maqālāt matnū' ah*, ed. Muhammad bin Saad al-Shuwi'r, 2nd ed., vol. 4 (Riyadh: Dar al-Qasim lil-Nashar, 2008), 327. For different ratings in *ḥadīth* science and the system adopted, as also discussed earlier in this chapter, see: Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choices of Interpreting the Prophet's Legacy*, 40–41, 225.

⁶⁹ Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choices of Interpreting the Prophet's Legacy*, 223–25..

⁷⁰ Lewis, *The End of Modern History in the Middle East*, 79–80.

⁷¹ Brown, *Misquoting Muhammad: The Challenge and Choices of Interpreting the Prophet's Legacy*, 38, 221.

already stated above, referring to an appropriate action or quotation of the Prophet was the best approach to promote a cause, opinion or faction.⁷² Hence, as shown below, the fabricated *aḥādīth* on the above-discussed monuments are of paramount importance in the Samma period that might have performed as propagandist devices.

Regarding Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph, its inscriptions appear to have been carefully selected to stress upon the empathy and greatest rewards that God has already committed for the deceased on entering his grave. Qur'an 3:18, inscribed on the cenotaph, refers to those who will attain salvation.⁷³ The Prophet's cousin Ibn 'Abbas is highly revered by both Shi'i and Sunni Muslims as the first exegete of the Qur'an and one of the great scholars of early Islam. Today there exist numerous manuscripts and several editions of *fatwās* and *tafsīrs* which are attributed to him. He also played an important role in the political and military events of his time, and from among the companions of the Prophet was a partisan of Imam 'Ali.⁷⁴ Manipulation of his words and projecting them as a *ḥadīth*, in addition to asserting great rewards and declaring Shaykh Junayd to be the best among the *Shaykhs* of Islam, collectively delivers a propagandist statement. Similar statements are recorded in textual sources to have been verbally expressed by Shaykh Junayd himself during his lifetime.⁷⁵ Additionally, parallel proclamations can also be found on the adjacent cenotaph of his son, Shaykh Yahya bin Shaykh Junayd (d. 1513). The inscription carved on the southern façade of this stone cenotaph reads (Fig. 170):

“He died on Monday, the fifteenth of the holy month of Ramadan, prevailing blessings of the year nine hundred and nineteen (919 AH/1513 CE); God

⁷² Lewis, *The End of Modern History in the Middle East*, 79.

⁷³ “Allah witnesses that there is no deity except Him, and [so do] the angels and those of knowledge - [that He is] maintaining [creation] in justice. There is no deity except Him, the Exalted in Might, the Wise.” (Qur'an 3:18)

⁷⁴ L. Veccia Vaglieri, “Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, Glossary and Index of Terms*, 2012, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0035.

⁷⁵ Ṭhāṭṭavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 37. It is recorded in *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn* that Shaykh Junayd used to make statements like: “Anyone who passes through me (keeps my company), will enter the heavens without account.”

*sanctified his soul and the light of his grave and raised him to the status of the persons who sit in high places [of heaven], and the Prophets, and the steadfast affirmers of truth, and the martyrs, and the righteous.”*⁷⁶

Drawing on Qur’anic verse 4:69 (*al-Nisā’*), this inscription is an extension of the same propaganda of dispensing exalted status to the deceased. In the epigraph on the northern façade several commemorative titles are used for both Shaykh Yahya and his father Shaykh Junayd.⁷⁷ However, the decorative program of Shaykh Yahya’s cenotaph does not exploit Shi‘i iconography. Nevertheless, all the inscriptions from the two cenotaphs cautiously validate both of these religious authorities of Thatta. Need for such cautious propaganda is very much comprehensible; the Kazeruni *Shaykhs* although were employed by the tolerant Samma sovereigns, yet they were working in a staunch Sunni milieu (see below).

At the same time, the *ḥadīth* inscribed on the doorway of Mubarak Khan’s enclosure, in addition to assisting his political ambitions, could have also been selected to symbolize his ulterior religious affiliations. However, it is well-documented that Mubarak Khan was not a follower of any Shi‘i sect, but was nurtured under the supervision of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo himself, in a firm Sunni environment.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, in the later years of his life, the *Khān al-‘Āzam* supported the Mahdawi millenarian movement of Sayyid Muhammad Jaunpuri (d. 1505).⁷⁹ A pious Chishti Sufi from Jaunpur (in present-day Uttar Pradesh), Sayyid Muhammad declared himself to be the long-awaited *al-Mahdī* – the promised eschatological savior of Islam – in the last

⁷⁶ For original inscription in Arabic: Kaleemullah Lashari, *Epigraphy of Makli*, 490.

⁷⁷ These titles include terms like *Shaykh al-ajal al-‘Āzam* (Great *Shaykh* of the future) and *Sayyid al-mashā’ikh* (Master of all *Shaykhs*). See: Kaleemullah Lashari, 490.

⁷⁸ Thattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Tāhīrī*, 54–56; Khan, “Shaheed Mubarak Khan.” Qani’ has also provided some details regarding Mubarak Khan’s personality, his background, his career growth during the reign of Jam Nindo and his death. For details see: Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 176–77; Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 180–85.

⁷⁹ Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 177; Siddiqi, “Mahdi of Jaunpur in Sindh”; Syed Husain Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud (AHS)*, 27. Mahdism is the millenarian and messianic tradition in Islam (see below).

decade of the fifteenth century, first at Makkah and then while residing at Ahmedabad in 1497.⁸⁰ He was banished from Gujarat for his messianic proclamations and radical messages. After spending some time in Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) he arrived at Thatta and established his *khānqāh* on Makli hill in c. 1501.⁸¹ One should note that lower Sindh, due to its strategic geographical position, was frequently used as a sanctuary for controversial figures fleeing persecution. However, Sayyid Muhammad's focus on rejecting the political and religious status quo quickly earned him bitter opposition from the *'ulamā* of Thatta as well, and he was forced to leave for Khurasan in 1503.⁸²

During his eighteen-month stay in Thatta, Sayyid Muhammad managed to secure support from several adjacent areas, and also succeeded to recruit followers from among the *ashrāf* (affluent political and religious class) occupying prominent positions at the Samma court. Among others, these included two significant judicial authorities (*qādīs*) of the Samma Sultanate. One is the famed Sindhi literatus Qadi Qadan (d. 1551), who later became the *qādī* of Thatta in the times of the last Samma ruler Sultan Firuz, and also remained active under the Arghuns as the *qādī* of Bhakkar.⁸³ While second is Shaykh Muhammad of Herat, who after migrating to Sindh first

⁸⁰ Bandagi Miyan Vali ibn Yusuf, *Inṣāf-Nāmah* (c. 1540), ed. Sayyid Dilawar (Hyderabad: Shamsiyah, 1947), 11–15. Assembled by Bandagi Miyan Vali ibn Yusuf (d. 1548), *Inṣāf-Nāmah* is the earliest collections of Mahdi traditions related to Sayyid Muhammad. Corresponding to the Messiah of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, *al-Mahdī* or Imam Mahdi is the awaited deliverer, who would appear before the end of the world to restore religion and justice. This notion is shared by all of the Abrahamic religions. In this regard, Derryl Maclean writes, “In the course of the Muslim ninth century (fifteenth century AD), a number of millennial movements emerged throughout the Muslim world in anticipation of the tenth and the impending appearance of a mahdī (‘rightly-guided one’), messiah-like figure who, it was widely believed, would herald the events of the end of the world at the close of the first millennium. Most of the movements were ephemeral, and we know of their existence primarily in refutations of the jurists. One, however, did exhibit considerable chronological durability and textual productivity. This movement was the Indian Mahdawi founded by Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri.” (Derryl Maclean, 2000).

⁸¹ Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 597.

⁸² Derryl N. MacLean, “La Sociologie de l’engagement Politique: Le Mahdawiya Indien et l’Etat,” in *Mahdisme et Millenarisme En Islam*, Revue Des Mondes Musulmans et de La Méditerranée, Série Histoire 91–94 (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 2000), 239–56; Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, 301–5; Michel Boivin, “Shivaite Cults and Sufi Centres: A Reappraisal of the Medieval Legacy in Sindh,” in *Sindh Through History and Representations: French Contributions to Sindhi Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2008), 22–41.

⁸³ Ma ‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma ‘sūmī*, 276–77; Asani, “Qāzī Qādan: A Pioneer Sindhi Poet.”

acquired the position as the *qāḍī* of Uch and later of Bhakkar and Thatta. It might be worth noting here that Mahdism acquired particular importance in the doctrines of Shi‘ism, notably the *Imāmiyya* who have survived in the forms of the *Ithnā‘ashariyya* (Twelvers) and Isma‘ilis.⁸⁴ Hence, the popularity of Sayyid Muhammad among the *Imāmiyya* communities of Sindh in large numbers, is also plausible.⁸⁵ Additionally, Sayyid Muhammad secured allegiances from the influential scholar and primary spiritual mentor of Jam Nindo, Shaykh Sadr al-Din (d. c. 1500).⁸⁶

More significantly, the commander-in-chief Mubarak Khan became a devout sympathizer of Sayyid Muhammad, and notwithstanding the opposition of the *‘ulamā* acknowledged the latter as *al-Mahdī* – the guided one.⁸⁷ If given more attention to the content of the fabricated *ḥadīth* in Mubarak Khan’s enclosure, it metaphorically indicates *Khān al-‘Āzam* as “the enlightened one” to be consulted even in death, by the perplexed individuals. Therefore, this part of the inscription adds a spiritual connotation to the larger propagandist scheme and serves as an extension of Mubarak Khan’s credibility, being a disciple of the messianic *al-Mahdī*, who is believed to restore the religion and justice.

⁸⁴ Farhad Daftary, “Mahdisme et Millénarisme En Islam. Edited by Mercedes Garcia-Arenal. (Revue Des Mondes Musulmans et de La Méditerranée, Série Histoire, 91–94). Pp. 328. Aix-En-Provence, Édisud, 2000.,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 12, no. 2 (2002): 196–98. Additionally, Shi‘i scholars also developed the idea that the Mahdi would be an ‘Alid imam, belonging to the Prophet Muhammad’s family or the *ahl al-bayt*.

⁸⁵ Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:591.

⁸⁶ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 655–56, 659, 754; MacLean, “La Sociologie de l’engagement Politique: Le Mahdawiya Indien et l’Etat”; Siddiqi, “Mahdi of Jaunpur in Sindh”; Syed Husain Balkhi, *The Mahdi Maud (AHS)*, 27. MacLean mentions him as the *muftī* (jurist) of Thatta, while Qani‘ mentions one contemporary Shaykh Sadr al-Din as the grandson of Baha‘ al-Din Zakariyya Multani (TK; p 580), which is incorrect. The grandson of Baha‘ al-Din Zakariyya was the *Shaykh al-Islām* Sadr al-Din of Uch who arranged a treaty between the Samma Jams and Tughlaq Sultan sometime around 1358 (see Chapter One for details).

⁸⁷ Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 177.

The “Naqshbandi Reaction” and the Endurance of Composite Religious Culture

To have felt the need to make such elusive propagandist statements, the above-discussed specimens imply a challenging atmosphere for the contemporary Samma elites who did not uphold the banner of Sunni orthodoxy. It appears that the members of minor sectarian groups, be it from the immigrant or immigrant-descended Kazeruni Shi‘i community or supporters of Mahdawi doctrines, struggled to have maintained a distinct self-identification, within what could only be envisioned as a hostile Sunni environment. However, we have several mentions in the textual sources of the contemporary ruler Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo, despite being an established Sunni, holding respect for every faith, including Brāhmanism and Jainism, in addition to his associations with the holy men of various Islamic sects.⁸⁸ It was the monarch’s efficient administration and far-sightedness that held his multi-faith Sultanate firmly together, leading his people into a new era of progressive reforms. Jam Nindo’s booming strategies uplifted the coexistence of diverse religious cultures and sects in the late Samma society, and further stimulated the harmonious, integrated and religiously tolerant atmosphere. Therefore, if the metropolitan Thatta of Sultan Nizam al-Din advocated this integrated and religiously tolerant culture, then what were the reasons behind the above-mentioned hostilities, struggles, and propagandist acts in the first place?

⁸⁸ Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 102–3; Thattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 169. On Nizam al-Din’s piety we find several anecdotal references in textual sources. For instance, Qani‘ narrates the miraculous appearance of *qādī* ‘Abdullah bin Tajīya’s body on Makli Hill in need for burial “at the hands of a man who had never in his life looked at the sky without first performing *wuḍū’* (the Islamic ritual of purification),” in other words, the most pious among all. After much deliberation no one of such stature was found other than Sultan Nizam al-Din himself, who then performed the ritual. Safa‘ī also gives a similar account, narrating that “the Sultan wouldn’t look at the sky without *wuḍū’* even when a Huma appeared over his head.” See: Thattavī, 169, 655; Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27. The mythical bird Huma in Indian tradition is recognized with holding the ability of kingship-bestowing characteristics and in Sufi traditions symbolizes unreachable enlightenment and great fortune. On Nizam al-Din’s Sufi poetry, Lari and Lari quote Persian verses composed by the Sultan; yet do not cite any source. See: Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 12.

This query takes us back to the arrival in Thatta of the orthodox Sunni Sufis of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri orders close to the mid fifteenth century. The missionary works of Qadiri Sufis resulting in the conversion of influential Hindu traders and landowners have been briefly noted above. Yet, the activities of Naqshbandi Sufis in Thatta deserves some examination. In order to comprehend the factors responsible for the appearance of these orthodox elements, at this particular time, one needs to understand the religious ambiance of the Sultanate and its capital city in the second half of the fifteenth century, owing to the lenient religio-cultural policies of the Samma Jams.

Since the appearance of the Sammas on the political front of Sindh, the chief Nizari *pīrs* are said to have acquired a certain degree of independence; by the turn of the fifteenth century they had established a local hereditary dynasty of their own.⁸⁹ After a gap of few decades, in which the *pīrs* had observed *ṭāqīyya* and conducted the *da‘wah* in secret, Pir Shams al-Din’s great grandson, Sadr al-Din (d. c. 1416), emerged as a dynamic figure. Based in Uch, Sadr al-Din adeptly re-invigorated the *da‘wah* and re-organized the Nizaris in Sindh, without any recorded conflicts with the ruling Jams.⁹⁰ Moreover, he also established the first *jamā‘t-khāna* (lit. place for congregation) in Kotri, about 90 km from Thatta (on Thatta-Hyderabad highway), for communal activities of his

⁸⁹ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 443; Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismā‘īlī Da‘wa in Northern India*.

⁹⁰ Daftary, *The Ismā‘īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 443. Pir Sadr al-Din’s shrine exists in Jethpur near Uch and similar to other Isma‘īli tombs in Sindh, has departed from its Isma‘īli roots. The *Pīr* is now revered as Haji Sadr Shah, considered a Sunni Sufi by some and an *Ithnā‘ashariyya* (Twelver) saint by others. The largest number of *gīnāns* are attributed to him and he played a key role in consolidating and organizing the *da‘wah* during the Samma dynastic period, after a prolonged *ṭāqīyya* that was adopted by his predecessors. It is quite understandable considering the orthodox regime of the Tughlaq Sultans. We have somewhat firmer evidence that presents Sadr al-Din operating within the *Satpanthi* framework upon assuming not one but three identities of Hindu mythical provenance, those of *Hariśchandra*, *Sahādevā*, and *Bārgur*. See: Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 76–77, 168 (note 203). Moreover, Sadr al-Din actively proselytized across Sindh, Kutch and peninsular Gujarat, yet also appointed his deputies (*mukhīs*) for Nizari missionary centers in Punjab and Kashmir. Additionally, he is credited with mass conversions among the Sindhi-Hindu mercantile communities from *Kśatriya* castes, who were given the honorary title of “*khōjās*” upon conversion.

followers.⁹¹ As mentioned in Chapter One, the Samma dominion by the mid fifteenth century, extended over most parts of Sindh, encompassing almost all regions below Multan (Map 1). However, Sadr al-Din's elder son Hasan Kabir al-Din *alias* Hasan Darya (d. 1470), who inherited the former's seat of the *da'wah* at Uch, espoused a liminal identity as he also appears in the Suhrawardi records as a Sufi *Shaykh* of this order.⁹² In the light of syncretistic and integrated culture of contemporary Sindh, it is hard to imagine that this liminality was exclusively for *taqiyya* purposes. Hence, it was perhaps organically appropriated under the umbrella of overarching spiritual traditions. The Nizari Isma'ilis, as cited in Chapter Five, are recorded to have presented themselves as one of the many mystically oriented communities. Additionally, evidence of close relations and doctrinal affinities existing between the Nizari Shi'is and Sunni Suhrawardi circles has also been offered in recent scholarship.⁹³ Such covert relations and personalities appear to have, at least for some time, compromised the status and sectarian individuality of the Suhrawardi order in Sindh.⁹⁴

Although, the Samma Jams themselves were not directly influenced by the *da'wah* reformations, yet they appear to have remained Isma'ili sympathizers and such coalesced relations only strengthened the prevailing composite atmosphere of Sindh. At the same time, the growing popularity of many Bhakti traditions in greater India also instigated the revival of several Hindu

⁹¹ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 443; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 77; Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, 179.

⁹² Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujerat"; Nanji, *The Nizārī Ismā'īlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, 78; Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 444; Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, 179. Following Hasan Kabir al-Din's death in c. 1470, the base of the *da'wah* moved from Sindh to Gujarat.

⁹³ Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their History and Doctrines*, 444–45; Ali S. Asani, *The Būjh Nirānjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1991); Huda, *Striving for Divine Union*, 35–39; Daftary, *A Short History of the Ismailis*, 179–80.

⁹⁴ Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus* (see Chapter 6).

cults, especially those related to god Śiva, particularly in the Thatta region.⁹⁵ The Hindu Brāhmins of Thatta began enjoying the status of *ahl al-dhimma* (protected people); openly practicing their religion and also serving at the Samma court on prominent positions.⁹⁶ The chiefs of the Hindu Sodhas of Nagarparkar, Umerkot and Sehwan, and the Sehta tribes of northern Sindh and Cholistan, were awarded *iqṭā'* and higher echelons in the government, and in turn they provided military support to the Samma Sultans in times of need.⁹⁷ We also find the Hindu Lohana and Bhattiya merchant communities of central Sindh receiving royal patronage, which resulted in the revival of prosperous trade from Sindh by the late fifteenth century.⁹⁸

Therefore, at this particular time, the rise of a new wave of Sunni orthodoxy bearing the flag of Naqshbandi order, is perhaps not a coincidence. The Naqshbandi Sufis rose to counter the tides of these imagined apostacies and heresies in the midst of the dwindling Suhrawardi authority in Thatta. A similar movement was also promoted later in the sixteenth-century Mughal-India. At that time, the Naqshbandis resolved to orthodox reformation of Sufism, which the modern scholars call a “Naqshbandi reaction,” in protest to Mughal emperor Akbar’s (r. 1556-1605) neglect of

⁹⁵ Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, 308–16; Boivin, “Shivaite Cults and Sufi Centres: A Reappraisal of the Medieval Legacy in Sindh.” For some details on the Bhakti movements in the late medieval India, see: Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 140–47.

⁹⁶ Thattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, 308–9.

⁹⁷ Mir Ma‘sum states that it was the people of Sehta and Sodha tribes of Sindh who allied with the Samma forces against the invading Arghuns (see below). Ma‘šūm, *Tārīkh-i Ma‘šūmī*, 159–60. The chiefs of the Sehta tribe, Jam Bayazid and Jam Ibrahim, were given important positions at the Samma court, yet they later renounced allegiance and entered into the service of Husayn Langah. See: Nahāvandī, *Ma‘āšir-i-Raḥīmī*, 1:271–72; Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:845.

⁹⁸ Some of the more influential of the Bhattiya merchants even extended their influence over the neighboring Kutch region. See: Dharamsi Sampat [Gujrati] 1935 (p 7-8), cited in Simpson, *Muslim Society and the Western Indian Ocean*, 39. Most of the Lohana and Bhattiya merchants were the *baniyaṅs* who were native to both Sindh and Gujarat and had been involved in the Indian Ocean trade, especially with Arabs of ‘Oman, since before the Sassanid times. Bhattiya *baniyaṅs* from Sindh are recorded in the oral traditions of the Indian merchant communities of Muscat as the first to settle in the region in the fifteenth century and are known to be thriving when Muscat was under the Portuguese control. Allen has recorded his personal communications with the descendants of these merchant communities who have written on the history of the Bhattiya merchants. Allen also mentions a Gujarati series as an extremely important source for the history of the Bhattiya community throughout India and the Indian Ocean basin. See: Calvin H. Allen, “The Indian Merchant Community of Masqat,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 44, no. 1 (1981): 39–53.

Islamic doctrines, his syncretism, and the experimental ideas in his self-created religion *Dīn-i Ilāhī*.⁹⁹

In the Thatta region, a less prominent Naqshbandi *khānqāh* of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti (d. 1427) had already existed towards the northern edge of Makli hill to challenge the ideologies of Shaykh Hammad Jamali, although the relations between the two saints remained cordial.¹⁰⁰ However, the Naqshbandi order became most influential under the direction of Sayyid Muhammad Husayn *alias* Pir Shah Murad (d. 1487) and his brother Sayyid ‘Ali Kalan (d. 1472). Born to an immigrant Sayyid from Shiraz (Iran), Shah Murad’s spiritual attainment in c. 1465 resulted in the launch of an intense proselytization in the Indus Delta region. He quickly gained popularity and great following, including a number of adherents from the Samma royalties and prominent elites.¹⁰¹ In the spiritual hierarchy Shah Murad claimed for himself the exalted status of *Quṭb al-Aqṭāb* (the supreme mystical pole).¹⁰² His *khānqāh* on the border of Samu’i-nagar and Makli rivalled in authority the court of Jam Nindo, which often excited the monarch’s apprehension. The

⁹⁹ Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, 182–90; Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 363–64, 402.

¹⁰⁰ Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 564–65, 572–73; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 22–23; Quddusi, *Tazkira-i Ṣūfiyā’ē Sindh*, 119–20. Both saints are often mentioned in textual sources to have indulged in scholarly debates and poetic exchanges. However, Shaykh ‘Isa was younger in age and not as eminent among the mystic circles in and around Thatta. A‘zam Thattawi gives us a more detailed account of their meetings, also narrating that Shaykh Hammad often used to quote, “Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti is that man whose turban’s honor touches the skies.” See: Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 23; Quddusi, *Tazkira-i Ṣūfiyā’ē Sindh*, 119. Scholars also believe that Shaykh ‘Isa belonged to the Chishti order, which was not very popular in Sindh at this time but according to Nizami (1961; 178) had attained an “all-India status” otherwise. Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti possibly departed from Chishti *silsilah* on the birth of Shah Murad. For discussion on the architecture of this *khānqāh* structure, see Chapter Two.

¹⁰¹ Shah Murad won as disciples, among others, Jam Marak (the son-in-law of Jam Nindo) as well as Shaykh Nathar and Shaykh Mala (companions of the Jam). See: Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27–28; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 581; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 15–16.

¹⁰² Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 16–22. *Quṭb al-Aqṭāb* is a Pope-like Sufi patriarch, who was considered a spiritual ruler co-existent with the temporal Sultan in medieval India. According to the Naqshbandi ideological concept of spiritual hierarchy, which was nurtured to maturity in the Mongol period Herat, a *quṭb* is superior to everyone, including the secular rulers. For details see: Jürgen Paul, “The Rise of the Khwajagan-Naqshbandiyya Sufi Order in Timurid Herat,” in *Afghanistan’s Islam, From Conversion to the Taliban* (University of California Press, 2017), 71–86. For significance of a *quṭb* in spiritual hierarchy in India, see: Aziz Ahmad, “The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal Muslim India,” *Der Islam: Zeitschrift Für Geschichte Und Kultur Des Islamischen Orients* 38, no. 1 (1963): 142–53.

Saint's forceful conversion of Hindu temples into mosques, as part of the reformations of orthodox Sunnism, was not encouraged by the Sultan, yet despite several attempts the latter failed to avert such operations.¹⁰³

In addition to the anti-Hindu campaigns, Shah Murad's preaching also appears to have set the tone for most of the anti-Shi'i polemics in the late fifteenth-century Thatta. To that end, *Tadkirah al-Murād* (1505), reveals the hostile messages delivered by the Saint to his *khalīfas* (deputies) and disciples. He went to the extent of deeming the obligatory Hajj pilgrimage as "unnecessary," as it required crossing the borderlands that were inhabited by *rāfiḍīn* (*rawāfīd*) and *malāhidīn*.¹⁰⁴ The communities of the eastern and southeastern borderlands of Samma Sultanate were either Hindus, Jains or followed a hybrid religion. Additionally, a large Baluch population of *Imāmiyya* faith also inhabited these lands, along with the fishing communities who adhered to *Ithnā'ashariyya* Shi'ism.¹⁰⁵ During the Samma dynastic period the pilgrims from Sindh crossed these lands to reach Gujarati ports from where larger vessels used to carry them to Mecca annually.¹⁰⁶

Therefore, with the popularity of such fanatically Sunni attitudes the adversaries resolved to carefully project their own identities and agendas, as seen above in the case of Kazeruni *Shaykhs*. Besides, the sovereign Jam Nindo's spirit of tolerance and accommodation did not support the

¹⁰³ As narrated in hagiographies, a local mosque, by the name of *Masjid-i Ṣafah* existed inside the main city and was initially an ancient Hindu temple, which was under the patronage of Lakhi Mal, the *dīwān* (minister) of Jam Nindo. When Shah Murad resolved to convert this magnificent edifice into a mosque, Jam Nindo opposed the idea. The exact date of the temple's conversion is not available, yet this incident occurred after Shah Murad's spiritual attainment at the age of 40 and before his death, that is sometime between 1465 and 1488. See: Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27–28; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Kirām*, 581; Ṭhattavī, *Tuḥfat al-Ṭāhirīn*, 15–16.

¹⁰⁴ Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Farishta, *Tārīkh-i Farishta*, II:590–91; Lokhandwala and Khān, *Mīrāt-i Aḥmadi*, 48; Ulug-Khānī, *Zafar Ul-Wāliḥ Bi Muḥaffar Wa 'Ālihi: An Arabic History of Gujarat*, I:21; Manjhū, "Mīrāt-i Sikandarī," 194–95.

¹⁰⁶ William H Moreland and Richard Burn, "The Ships of the Arabian Sea about AD 1500," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 71, no. 2 (1939): 173–92; Hussain Khan, "Sea-Borne Horse Trade to 'Al-Sind Wa'l-Hind' Before the Coming of the Portuguese," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 39, no. 4 (1991): 311–14; Goswami, "Sindhi Entrepreneurs and Their Pearling Enterprise in the Persian Gulf."

Naqshbandi schism, and hence, at his court diverse religious elements continued to co-exist without prejudice.¹⁰⁷ These elements included, though were not limited to, both the Hindu and Shi‘i authorities. As noted above, although Shaykh Junayd’s official position within the Samma religious administrative framework is not clear, yet for him and his progeny to have found their last resting place in the royal necropolis suggests a significant status. More importantly, the inscription on the northern face of Shaykh Junayd’s cenotaph (Fig. 168) records his father ‘Abd al-Latif al-Hashmi as the *Shaykh al-Islām* – the highest-ranking individual in the religious bureaucracy of the Islamic societies.¹⁰⁸

A firmer evidence of Jam Nindo’s patronage of Shi‘i personnel is exemplified in the tomb of Amir Khidr (d. 1506), located south of the tomb of Kazeruni Shaykhs in Zone III. Lying in the open over a slightly raised piece of land, this tomb is without any structure or a marked boundary and has a single sizeable rectangular-shaped cenotaph (Fig. 171).¹⁰⁹ One of the very few dated tombs from the Samma dynastic period, this cenotaph has five-tiered pyramidal form, and is modestly ornamented with motifs and inscriptions carved on the flat top of the lid. The foundational inscription is carved on the shorter façades of the lid. Starting from the northern façade it continues on the southern side and states:

¹⁰⁷ Ṭhattavī, *Tadkirah al-Murād*, 27; Ṭhattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām*, 581; Ṭhattavī, *Tārīkh-i-Ṭāhirī*, 54–55.

¹⁰⁸ No further information is given about ‘Abd al-Latif and he is not mentioned in any of the textual or hagiographical sources. Therefore, it is difficult to reach a conclusion if he served as *Shaykh al-Islām* for the Samma Jams. The office of *Shaykh al-Islām*, the head of the religious bureaucracy and a primary jurisconsult, was generally given to persons of outstanding literary and religious pre-eminence. In some cases, *Shaykh al-Islām* also oversaw a hierarchy of state-appointed *‘ulamā*. For details on this position and its significance in different Islamic societies, see: Richard W. Bulliet, “The Shaikh Al-Islām and the Evolution of Islamic Society,” *Studia Islamica*, no. 35 (1972): 53–67. For a brief discussion on the significance of *Shaykh al-Islām*’s position in South Asia and Sindh, see: Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhī* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1942), 179–80; Khan, *History and Culture of Sindh*, 97–100.

¹⁰⁹ Adjacent to this tomb is another grave, a bit small in size, probably of a close relative or wife. The latter grave, however, had dressed rubble masonry stones placed in four tiers and covered with mortar, therefore, now just the trace remains.

“*The Amīr al-‘Āzam Amīr Khidr son of Ibrahim Khalīfa has died in the month of Muḥarram of the year nine hundred and twelve al-Hijrīyyah (912 AH/1506 CE).*”

The identity of Amir Khidr presented in this inscription as *Amīr al-‘Āzam Amīr Khidr son of Ibrahim Khalīfa* declaims quite a few details. Firstly, this inscription confirms Amir Khidr serving in the Samma administration at an eminent position to have been awarded with the title of *Amīr al-‘Āzam* (the great *Amīr*). In the early centuries of Islam, the title *Amīr* was used for the commanders of the armies or for the governors who had full administrative or financial authority. In Arab administrative traditions the *Amīr* also led prayers, built mosques and were concerned with maintaining order and ensuring the collection of taxes.¹¹⁰ As several textual sources maintain that *Khān al-‘Āzam* Mubarak Khan continued to serve as the chief military commander of Jam Nindo’s armies, Amir Khidr’s role might have been, therefore, more administrative, serving as the chief-governor or chief-minister, possibly of Thatta. Secondly, Amir Khidr’s father Ibrahim is designated as *khalīfa* (lit. Caliph) in the inscription. Besides its standard connotation in Islamic culture, the term “*khalīfa*” was also used as a technical term in the language of the Sufis and that certain authorized exponents of some of the religious orders were styled as *khalīfa* for being the successor of the founder of the order.¹¹¹ This was also a common practice within the Suhrawardi order, as hinted in the last chapter. Therefore, his father’s title too confirms Amir Khidr’s eminent status in his ancestral background of Sufistic distinction.

¹¹⁰ A. A. Duri, “Amīr,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 2012, http://dx.doi.org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0602. Under the Seljuks, Ayyubids and Mamluks, the title *Amīr* was given to military officers of all ranks (also to the princes). In the fourteenth century Mamluk Egypt, the *Amīrs* were commanders who were given fiefs in order to maintain their troops, and their primary duties were military.

¹¹¹ Thomas Walker Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 200.

The carvings on the slab's flat top also present us with an interesting visuo-textual composition (Fig. 172). The center of the surface is divided into two sections; one section exhibits pointed-arched *mihrāb* images carved on either end, while the other section displays a stepped-arched *mihrāb* with a pinnacle and a chain-like motif hanging from the middle. A textual border frames this composition on three sides, while on the head side (north) the square *kūfic* ornamental motif of *chār ʿAlī* is carved.¹¹² Here the motif of Muhammad's name is, however, not provided, while *ʿAlī* is carved forming a swastika in the middle exactly as it appears on Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph.

Although this *chār ʿAlī* with swastika motif establishes the Shi'i identity of Amir Khidr, the patron or designer of the cenotaph continues to proclaim *Amīr al-ʿĀzam*'s sectarian affiliations in the inscription framing the top surface. This inscription reads:

“O Allah! Shower blessings upon Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā and ʿAlī al-Murtaḍā and Ḥasan al-Riḍā and Ḥussayn the martyr of Karbala and ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn and Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and Mūsā al-Kāzīm and ʿAlī Mūsā al-Riḍā and Muḥammad al-Taḳī and ʿAlī al-Naqī and Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī and Muḥammad al-Mahdī – blessings of God Almighty be upon them all.”

Starting from the eastern side, this message presents the Shi'i *ṣalāwāt* containing salutation upon the Prophet and all twelve of the Shi'i Imams. This confirms the adherence of Samma Sultanate's *Amīr al-ʿĀzam* or chief-minister to the *Ithnāʿashariyya* faith.

Conclusion

The epigraphy on the Samma funerary artifacts from the fifteenth century evinces the growing influence of traditional Sunnism in Thatta. The city emerged as a literary society where the Samma

¹¹² Ghafur, *The Calligraphers of Thatta*, 49.

patrons and the epigraphy designers had at their disposal literary works such as: the *ḥadīth* compilations of Sunni scholars, their auxiliary literatures and annotated anthologies, as well as popular *ṣalāwāt* compendia. Moreover, multiple scholarly literatures of Hanafi and Shafi‘i schools (two major schools of Sunni jurisprudence) are found circulating in the fifteenth-century Thatta, which by this time had evolved into a center of Islamic mysticism and theology. These texts were also utilized by the scribes for the selection and composition of the epigraphic programs of the Samma royal tombs, such as the cenotaph in the mausoleum of Fath Khan’s sister (c. 1473). To exhibit their Sunni identities further, the Samma tombs also present devotion to the Prophet Muhammad in the inscriptions displaying his words in the form of *aḥādīth*, invocatory *ṣalāwāt*, litanies and the Qur’anic verses, all *invoking the* Prophet. Yet, in this atmosphere of devotion, unorthodox practices of the Sammas are also exemplified, for instance, in the use of the occultist formula in the *chatrī* tomb east of Mubarak Khan’s enclosure.

In the middle of traditional Sunnism, certain Samma elites also continued their faithful following of the Suhrawardi *ṭarīqa*, in addition to sustaining heterodox lifestyles, and in this course promoting a composite culture in Thatta. To counter the moral and spiritual indolence of this form of Samma society, the orthodox Sunni Sufis of the Naqshbandi and Qadiri orders, began religious reformations around the middle of the century. The Naqshbandi Sufis, known for their anti-Hindu and anti-Shi‘i attitudes, quickly became popular by the late fifteenth century, threatening to restructure the tolerant religious milieu. However, parallel presence of contradictory religious dynamics, receiving imperial patronage, are also detected in the select funerary monuments erected at the turn of the new millennium of Islam. The members of minority sectarian groups, such as the ‘Alid loyalist Kazeruni community, supporters of millenarian Mahdawi movement, or the elites

adhering to *Ithnā'ashariyya* sect, although struggled in this hostile Sunni environment, were also supported by the contemporary ruler Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo.

The Jam despite being recorded in textual sources as an orthodox Sunni, held respect for every faith and sect. He employed, among the higher administrative ranks, men from disparate religious backgrounds, including Brāhmanism, Jainism, Mahdism and specifically Shi'ism. Hence, in this way the greatest Samma ruler was also replicating the inclinations of Sayyid Jalal al-Din Bukhari – the Suhrawardi mentor of the Jam's ancestors, who belonged to the Sunni Hanafi *madhhab*, yet was also influenced by the Shafi'i scholars in Arabia.¹¹³ Thus, the Samma dynastic rulers projected multiple religious and sectarian identities. The center of their political power, Thatta also remained a multi-cultural and multi-faith society, primarily due to the Jams' syncretic and tolerant religious policies. The fact that Thatta, or southern Sindh in general, was a religious and cultural cosmopolis also finds validation in the contemporary writings of Duarte Barbosa, the Portuguese officer who states that over “the kingdom of Diul (southern Sindh)... a Moorish (Muslim) king holds rule, and the greater part of the folk are Moors with some Heathens who are wholly subject to them”¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Steinfels, *Knowledge before Action*, 15–16, 41–42; Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā' Asharī Shī'īs in India*, 1:154; Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus*, 99–100.

¹¹⁴ Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa (1518)*, I:106.

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

In a recent interview for the documentary film titled “Makli: Art to Archaeology,” Ihsan H. Nadiem, a leading Pakistani archaeologist, provocatively categorizes the architectural style of Samma monuments in the Makli necropolis as “Hindu.”¹ He further declares that the climax to this unfamiliar “Hindu” style appropriated by the Samma patrons and artisans was reached in the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din – an assertion he had also made in his book published some twenty years ago.² Nadiem’s misperception primarily comes from considering the Māru-Gurjara style as limited to Hindu temples of Western India. Therefore, the employment of Māru-Gurjara architectural vocabulary in the Samma dynastic architecture eventually leads him to use the broad and inaccurate religious term of “Hindu.” Whereas, other prominent archaeologists and art historians had earlier described the same set of monuments through the lens of regional and religious orientations of their Muslim patrons, classifying them under the polarities such as “Sindhi,” “Islamic,” and “Indo-Islamic.”³ The problem here does not lie as much in the scholarly perception or the terminologies, as it does in the classificatory framework commonly apprehended for the examination of historic entities from South Asia in general. Primarily, these simplistic categories of “Hindu” and “Islamic/Muslim” were formulated in the previous centuries, when the analytical discourse on India’s history was in its infancy and required such convenient and overly broad classifications to begin the narrative process.⁴ However, now that the South Asian art historical scholarship is in a somewhat advanced phase of its intellectual evolution, such a simplified

¹ The documentary film with Nadiem’s interview was released in 2017. See: Omer Saleem, *Makli: Art to Archaeology (Documentary on Makli)* (Muhammad Farrukh, 2017), <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XjZ91ThAzpY>.

² Nadiem, *Makli*, 14–15, 40–41.

³ Dani, *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, 26, 70; Lari and Lari, *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*, 38, 92.

⁴ Patel, *Building Communities in Gujarāt*, 165.

framework based on geographically or religiously exclusive identities need to be reconsidered. Creating a firm religious and regional divide among historic artifacts, these strictly contrasting “Hindu-Muslim” or “Indo-Sindhi” classifications fail to acknowledge the complexities of interactions across societies, religions and regions, which play a significant role in shaping the societal as well as artistic cultures. Moreover, these broad classifications undermine our understanding of historic artifacts and sites, resulting in imprecise scholarship, and at times even leading to dangerous consequences, as will be shown shortly.

The present research addresses this key methodological issue in clearly demonstrating that the overall artistic program of the Samma dynastic architecture does not reflect any single culture, religion or region. In fact, it evinces a hybridization of style and character, and hence, transcends the standard categorization of architectural artifacts from South Asia. To comment further on this critical issue, some vital findings based on a collective visual evaluation of the Samma architecture should be summarized.

Firstly, the Samma group of monuments as the only surviving evidence on the dynastic culture not only attest to the artisanal capabilities of the contemporary artisans, but also the varied tastes and ideologies of their patrons. These monuments present the diverse architectural traditions of southern Sindh in the late-medieval period, which had gradually evolved over the previous centuries, and can be acknowledged as being “local” in some capacity, and therefore, shouldn’t be classified otherwise. Synchronously, however, the Samma structures did intermittently embrace imported artistic features owing to the mobility of artistic ideas, commodities and people, especially the artisans, resulting from political migrations as well as cross-cultural and cross-regional encounters. Moreover, the Samma building activities present the late-medieval/early-modern Thatta as a key place of mediation between the negotiating or co-existing culturally and

religiously diverse inhabitants. Subsequently, this analysis also accounts for the culture of the wider Samma Sultanate of Sindh.

Secondly, the Samma monuments present a complex artistic culture representing multiple dimensions and themes. One of these dimensions is deeply rooted within the Māru-Gurjara style of temple architecture and ornamentation, which was originally perceived as having a geographic stretch limited to what are today the modern Indian states of Gujarat and Rajasthan, from where it originated. Use of this distinctive temple style in the monuments of Samma patronage challenges not only the “Sindhi” and “Islamic” identities of the Samma architecture but also the identity of the “Māru-Gurjara” style itself. Originally termed as the “Solankī style,” the preferable expression of “Māru-Gurjara,” which is based on regionality, was later adopted by art historians in an attempt to avoid dynastic classification as the style remained in use following the end of the Solanki dynastic period (c. 940-1244).⁵ However, as shown in Chapter Two, the actual limits of circulation and transmission of Māru-Gurjara architectural style in the late-medieval/early-modern centuries extended up to the western boundaries of present-day Balochistan; while in the north it touched present-day southern Punjab, encompassing all of modern Sindh. The style even made incidental appearances in distant regions like central Afghanistan, and henceforth, the regional identity of Māru-Gurjara also becomes exceedingly problematic.

Likewise, close parallels to most of the Samma brick structures and even some stone artifacts are not to be found in Sindh or in the Indian subcontinent, but in Iran and Central Asia. These structures appropriated several ornamental devices and techniques invested with Turco-

⁵ The term “Solankī style” has been initially used in scholarship, for example: Dhaky, “The Chronology of the Solanki Temples of Gujarat.” The shift in the classification of the style based on dynasty to the one based on region came in the 1960’s. For further details, see: Pramod Chandra, “The Study of Indian Temple Architecture,” in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. P. Chandra (Varanasi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), 35 (especially see note 102); Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 120.

Persian and Timurid influences, traces of which can still be spotted on close investigation. Moreover, the Samma brick tombs further advance the notion of hybridity and transculturation by amalgaming two completely disparate architectural traditions and idioms. As shown in Chapter Three, where these Samma tombs introduce Turco-Persian ornamentation and Timurid architectural techniques, for which there are no precedence in southern Sindh, these hybrid buildings also share, though cautiously, concepts and iconographies with the Western Indian Māru-Gurjara repertoire.

Chapter Four looks at two funerary monuments of Samma royal patronage as case studies, the tomb enclosure of Mubarak Khan and the mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din, to broadly show how the archaeological and architectural remnants, especially those associated with the dead, are reflective of the corresponding political events and allow insights into the matters of opposing political powers. These mausolea, in the choice of the hybrid forms and decorative programs, appropriating both the Māru-Gurjara and Timurid artistic vocabulary, provide sources of supplementary information that has virtually gone unnoticed to date. Through meticulous reading of the inscriptions and visual motifs on these monuments, this chapter also demonstrates how funerary architecture can effectively be used to decipher key evidences about past cultures, politics, and even individuals, essentially to complement the scanty evidence one can gather from the near-contemporary literary sources.

Lastly, this research also clarifies some misconceptions regarding the religious, ethnic and cultural composition of the contemporary Thatta. Hopefully, the analysis in Chapters Five and Six of the extant Samma inscriptions and motifs, presents with equal clarity the extraordinary record of pluralistic religious and sectarian identities of the Samma elites and their patronage of a religiously cosmopolitan society. By the time the Samma Jams came to power, they had their

religious beliefs embedded in a hybrid culture that goes beyond the polarized categories of “Muslim” and “Hindu,” as they maintained eclectic religious practices, despite having adopted Sunnism outwardly. Incidents of deep imbuelement of previous Hinduistic and Isma‘ili affiliations, of secularism and unorthodoxy, and of Sufism and traditional Sunnism are concurrently reflected in the Samma artistic culture. These facts lead one to conclude that in general the dynastic elites retained liminal religious identities that cannot be classified according to any of the standard religious categories. Moreover, the epigraphy and iconography of the Samma artifacts reflect hybrid elements in their Sunni faith – a faith representing transculturation having non-Islamic/non-Sunni religious connotations. Besides, among the Samma elites are also found members of minority communities and opposing sectarian groups, such as the ‘Alid loyalist, supporters of Mahdawi movement, the elites adhering to *Ithnā‘ashariyya* or twelver-shi‘i sect, and the non-Muslim Jainas and Hindus.

Therefore, with such diversity in the cultural, stylistic, regional and religious connotations of the extant Samma monuments, one can rightly protest by asking: How can we define the Samma architectural artifacts, especially in the royal necropolis of Makli, with monolithic identities? It becomes questionable when terms such as “Islamic/Muslim,” “Hindu,” “Sindhi” or even “Turco-Persian” and “Māru-Gurjara” – that are restricted by specific religious and geographic boundaries – are used. Since this unique group of monuments concurrently fosters multiple identities, it can first and foremost be re-classified using more reflective terms such as “transcultural,” “transregional,” and “transreligious.” Pre-existing classifications, however, cannot be outright rejected. Nevertheless, if future art historical scholarship on South Asia is to gain in depth and accuracy, building a nuanced interpretative framework is required in order to address the complexity of transculturalism and hybridity as presented at Makli and Thatta.

The imprecise categorization of historical monuments could create another issue that demands attention here as it holds contemporary relevance. It should be noted that the socio-religious make-up of Western India, and particularly that of historic Sindh, had never been rigid. The fluidity of religious practices and affiliations, the cultural integration and peaceful co-existence of diverse religious communities is recorded throughout the medieval and early modern histories.⁶ Hence, the perception of “Hindu” and Muslim” as two self-contained and separate communities having mutually exclusive religious identities is rather a recent phenomenon that has created a stringent Hindu-Muslim divide. In these circumstances any form of misinterpretation of architectural monuments can cause serious consequences. This notion brings us to the growing trend of Hindu nationalism in India, which in recent years has brought forward several non-profit organizations and social-media propagandist movements labelled “Reclaim Temples.”⁷ These movements primarily identify ancient temple structures or sites, which principally include the instances of reuse by Muslim communities, either in the form of adaptive reuse of temple sites or recycling of temple spolia in the Islamic ritual buildings, such as mosques. Evidence for the identification of such buildings are often sought in the district gazetteers and Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) reports, including those from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸

⁶ Buddhist and Hindu had never been mutually exclusive identities at any time in India and particularly in Sindh. Similar cross-culturalism between Islam and Indic religions and cultures was prominent during the early period of Islamic conquests of India as well. Patronage and prosperity of Muslim communities under Hindu rulers and of Hindu communities under the Muslim rulers of India is another aspect that has been ignored in scholarship while identifying the strict religious divide between historic communities. For detailed discussions along these ideas: MacLean, *Religion and Society in Arab Sind*; André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, 11th-13th Centuries*, vol. 2 (BRILL, 1997), 338; HK Sherwani, “Cultural Synthesis in Medieval India,” *Journal of Indian History* 41, no. 1 (1963): 239–59.

⁷ <https://reclaimtemples.com/>; <https://www.facebook.com/ReclaimTemples/>; <https://reclaimtemples.org/>

⁸ Reclaim Temples, “Reclaim Temples on Twitter: Tanka Masjid in Dholka Gujarat #ReclaimTemples,” *Twitter* (blog), accessed May 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/reclaimtemples/status/975694265115279360>; Reclaim Temples, “Reclaim Temples on Twitter: Jami Masjid at Munjpur Gujarat #ReclaimTemples,” *Twitter* (blog), accessed May 2, 2020, <https://twitter.com/reclaimtemples/status/975705107252654080>.

As mentioned previously, for the colonial scholars and archaeologists, such as Cousens and Burgess, the classification of Western Indian archaeology was limited to the polarized categories of either “Hindu” or “Islamic/Muslim/Muhammadan.” Henceforth, in the ASI publications these authors have repeatedly referred to the intricately carved Islamic ritual buildings in stone that employ features from the (Māru-Gurjara) temple architectural idiom, including those of Samma royal patronage in Sindh, as essentially resulting from materials salvaged from Hindu temples.⁹ Such misperceptions, which have no room for transculturalism, are indeed dangerous, especially when examined in the present socio-political milieu. An example is found in the case of the infamous Babri Masjid (1528), the sixteenth-century Mughal mosque in Ayodhya (Northern India) that survived in interfaith harmony for centuries. Between 1857 and 1949, several propagandist movements much like the present-day “Reclaim Temples” were launched. These movements also invoked narratives in official publications, such as gazetteers that facilitated the affirmation of the site as the *Rām janmabhoomī* – the birthplace of Hindu deity Rām.¹⁰ Such undertakings ultimately led to Babri Masjid’s desecration by the Hindu rightists in December 1992, which generated a series of Hindu-Muslim riots not only in India but also across the borders in Pakistan and Bangladesh, supplemented with the destruction of several Hindu and Jaina properties of historic importance in the Muslim majority lands.¹¹ Worth noting in this context is the fact that the decades-long legal battle on this disputed property recently ended in favor of the

⁹ Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, 10, 114–16, 126–27; Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII:210; J. Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedabad*, 1905.

¹⁰ A. G. Noorani, “The Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi Question,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 24, no. 44/45 (November 1989): 2461–66; Surriya Varma and Jaya Menon, “Was There a Temple under the Babri Masjid? Reading the Archaeological ‘Evidence,’” *Economic and Political Weekly* 45, no. 50 (December 2010): 61–72.

¹¹ Reuters, “Pakistanis Attack 30 Hindu Temples,” *The New York Times*, December 18, 1992, <https://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/08/world/pakistanis-attack-30-hindu-temples.html>.

Hindu claimants in a court verdict that relied heavily upon the doubtful reports of the ASI.¹² Thus, the misinterpreted and loosely assigned classifications by Cousens and Burgess in the previous ASI reports and by Ihsan Nadiem in more recent scholarship, are like the ticking time-bombs that can trigger similar catastrophic events, if misused by fundamentalists. Such incidents further emphasize that use of these polarized and strictly opposing classifications can produce indistinct narrativization, along with disregard for the organic evolution of historic sites. This is an obfuscation rather than clarification of the past architectural and cultural events. It makes the expansion of the existing simplified classification system all the more necessary.

Moreover, the critique of the simplified classification categories, especially of “Hindu” and “Muslim,” and also the methodology of analysis exploiting notions of hybridity, transculturation, and translation connects this research to the growing body of multi-disciplinary research on South Asia, which includes significant titles such as: *Beyond Muslim and Hindu* (2000), *Beyond Turk and Hindu* (2000), *Objects of Translation* (2009), *India in the Persianate Age: 1000-1765* (2019), *The Loss of Hindustan: The Invention of India* (2020) and so on. This dissertation by closely scrutinizing the Samma architectural remains, using the methodology of analysis and exploiting the notions of hybridity, transculturation, and translation, therefore, hopes to contribute towards scholarship in valuable new ways.

¹² India Today Web Desk, “Ayodhya Verdict: The ASI Findings Supreme Court Spoke about in Its Judgment,” *India Today*, November 2019, <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/ayodhya-verdict-the-asi-findings-supreme-court-spoke-about-in-its-judgment-1617433-2019-11-09>; Varma and Menon, “Was There a Temple under the Babri Masjid?”

Glossary of Architectural Terms

This glossary of architectural (and related ornamental) terms is based on the *Encyclopedia of Indian Temple Architecture (North India)*, ed. M.A. Dhaky, 1998 (for Sanskrit terms) and the *Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. J. Bloom & S. Blair, 2009 (for Islamic terms), unless otherwise noted.¹

A

<i>āmalaka</i>	“myrobalan fruit”; crowning member of Nāgara (Latina and <i>śekhārī/anēkāṇḍaka</i>) temple
<i>āmalasāraka</i>	large “cogged wheel” shaped stone crowning the North Indian <i>śikhara</i> -spire; broader and more compressed <i>āmalaka</i>
<i>anēkāṇḍaka</i>	“not one-spired”; multi-spired (Nāgara <i>śikhara</i>)
<i>ardhapadma</i>	half-lotus (decorative motif)
<i>ardharatna</i>	split-diamond (decorative motif)

B

<i>bannā'ī</i>	builder's bond; technique, in which an entire structure or wall was decorated, often with inscriptions, formed by glazed bricks set between plain ones
<i>bāradarī</i>	a building or pavilion with twelve doors
<i>bhadra</i>	central offset (wall-division)
<i>bhadraka</i>	square pillar-type with central projection on plan and in elevation
<i>bhadraka-stambha</i>	<i>bhadraka</i> used as wall-pilasters
<i>bhadra niche</i>	decorative niche, usually projecting from the central wall of <i>mūlaprāsāda</i> , framed by ornate pillars and topped with an <i>udgama</i>
<i>bharaṇa</i>	fluted or ribbed echinus
<i>bhiṭṭa</i>	plinth; rectangular course below the base

C

<i>candraśālā</i>	dormer-window (decorative motif)
<i>caravanserai</i>	inn for caravans, merchants and their wares
<i>catuḥśākhā</i>	doorframe having four <i>śākhās</i>

¹ Dhaky, *North India: Beginnings of Medieval Idiom c. A.D. 900-1000*, II, Part 3:403–22; Jonathan M. Bloom and Sheila S. Blair, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* (Oxford University Press, 2009), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195309911.001.0001/acref-9780195309911>.

<i>chāhār-ṭāq</i>	literally “four arches,” is a modern term for an equilateral architectural unit consisting of four arches or short barrel vaults between four corner piers, with a dome on squinches over the central square. ²
<i>chajjā</i>	Mughal and Hindu term for projecting eaves or cover usually supported on large carved brackets ³
<i>chār Muḥammad</i>	a geometric <i>kūfic</i> epigraphic motif that repeats the name Muhammad four times, forming a revolving square ornament ⁴
<i>chār ‘Alī</i>	a geometric <i>kūfic</i> epigraphic motif that repeats the name ‘Ali four times, forming a revolving square ornament ⁵
<i>chatrī</i>	domed pavilion
<i>chaūkhandī</i>	tombs with multiple stone slabs or caskets stacked one on top of another to form a kind of steep, stepped pyramid, capped with several layers of horizontal slabs ⁶

D

<i>daṇḍacchādyā</i>	projecting sloping eave showing/simulating a series of minor logs on the upper surface
<i>dargāh</i>	shrine
<i>dēvakulikā</i>	minor/subsidiary shrine; peripheral shrine
<i>dvārapāla</i>	door-guardian
<i>dvārsākhā</i>	doorjamb
<i>dviśākhā</i>	doorframe having two <i>śākhās</i>

E

<i>ekāṇḍaka</i>	single spired; mono-spired
<i>ekāṅga-prāsāda</i>	single limbed mosque

G

Gandhāra-Nāgra	generic name for Hindu temples of Indus Valley and Salt Range (present-day Pakistan)
<i>garbhāgrha</i>	womb-chamber; sanctum
<i>gavākṣa</i>	“cow’s eye” (decorative motif); <i>candraśālā</i>

² Huff and O’Kane, “ĀHĀRTĀQ.”

³ Andrew Petersen, *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture* (London: Routledge, 2002), 52, <https://doi-org.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/10.4324/9780203203873>.

⁴ Allan, *The Art and Architecture of Twelver Shi’ism*, 47.

⁵ Allan, 47.

⁶ Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Chaukhandi Tombs*, 1.

<i>gavākṣākāra</i>	projection; balcony ⁷
<i>ghanṭā</i>	bell; crowning bell-shaped finial of <i>phāmsanā/samvaraṇā</i>
<i>ghaṭapallava</i>	vase-and-foliage member
<i>gūḍhamaṇḍapa</i>	closed or semi-open columnar hall
<i>gunbad</i>	dome; domed tomb ⁸

H

<i>haṁsa</i>	goose, gander (decorative motif)
<i>haṁsa-mithuna</i>	pair of geese (decorative motif)
<i>havēlī</i>	mansion; large courtyard house
<i>hazār baf</i>	thousand-weave; patterned brick ornamentation
<i>haṣīra</i>	a roofless enclosure around the gravesite
<i>hujra</i>	small chamber or cell ⁹

I

<i>īdgāh</i>	large open-air space where prayers are held on the occasion of the two major religious festivals in Islam, <i>īd al-Fitr</i> and <i>īd al-Aḍḥā</i>
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J

<i>jagatī</i>	plinth, high platform
<i>jālī</i>	perforated stone screen usually with an ornamental pattern ¹⁰
<i>Jāmi</i> ‘ <i>Masjid</i>	congregational mosque
<i>janḡhā</i>	wall frieze between <i>vēdībandha</i> and <i>śikhara</i>

K

<i>kalaśa</i>	“pitcher”; torus moulding; pot-shaped finial
<i>kalikā</i>	bud (conical decorative motif, usually shown in suspension)
<i>kalpavallī</i>	meandering wish-fulfilling vine motif
<i>kapōta</i>	quarter-round or roll cornice; overhanging cornice
<i>kapotālī</i> or <i>kapotapālikā</i>	cyma-recta eave/cornice
<i>karōṭaka</i>	“bowl”; large circular ceiling

⁷ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 136.

⁸ Petersen, *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture*, 103.

⁹ Petersen, 111.

¹⁰ Petersen, 131.

<i>khānqāh</i>	building reserved for Muslim mystics belonging to a religious order
<i>khuracchādyā</i>	curved and ribbed eave or awning
<i>kṣipta</i>	“thrown”; ceiling whose concentric courses recede inwards ¹¹
<i>kṣonī</i>	straight-edged cornice of <i>phāmsanā</i> ¹²
<i>kumbhaka</i>	square base of column/pillar
<i>kūṭina</i>	superstructure-type with corner aediculae

L

<i>lalāṭabimba</i>	crest figure, central (figure, rarely floral) symbol positioned in the center of the temple door lintel
<i>lambana</i>	decorative central pendant in larger ceiling

M

<i>madrasa</i>	Islamic college of jurisprudence, often comprising an open or roofed court surrounded by large rooms for teaching and prayer and small rooms for accommodation
<i>mañcikā</i>	dais-like moulding supporting figure-bearing niche
<i>maṇḍala</i>	diagram used for planning or meditation
<i>maṇḍapa</i>	hall, generally columnar
<i>mandāraka</i>	projecting central part of ornate doorsill; moonstone; threshold stone
<i>maṇḍovara</i>	Temple’s/closed hall’s portion above <i>jagatī</i> or <i>pīṭha</i> and below eave or awning; wall proper
<i>maqbara</i>	mausoleum
<i>mārī</i>	lofty structure or upper floor of a house ¹³
<i>mihrāb</i>	niche, usually concave, in the <i>qibla</i> (Mecca-orientated) wall of a mosque
<i>minār</i>	minaret, Tower attached to a mosque from which the muezzin gives the call to prayer
<i>minbar</i>	Pulpit in a mosque, often made of wood or stone
<i>mishkāṭ</i>	niche; wick-holder
<i>miśraka</i>	“mixed”; composite highly ornate pillar-type combining various geometric sections from square to circular
<i>miśraka-stambha</i>	pillar of <i>miśraka</i> order
<i>mukhacatuṣkī</i>	four-pillared entry porch

¹¹ Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*, 16–17:37.

¹² Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*, 27.

¹³ Carter, “Old Sites on the Lower Indus.”

<i>mukhamaṇḍapa</i>	front hall; quadrilateral entry portico
<i>mūlaprāsāda</i>	main shrine; shrine proper in relation to subsidiary shrines
<i>muqarnas</i>	Three-dimensional decorative device used widely in Islamic architecture, in which tiers of individual elements, including niche-like cells, brackets and pendants, are projected over those below

N

Nāgra	generic name for temples with a variety of North-Indian spires (primarily Latina and śekhari)
<i>namāzgaḥ</i>	place of prayer

P

<i>padma</i>	lotus
<i>padmajāla</i>	lotus-web; chain of lotuses with each lotus set within a beaded semi-circle
<i>padmapatra</i>	lotus leaf, lotus foliage motif
<i>padmaśilā</i>	multi-petaled lotus pendant or medallion
<i>padma-vitāna</i>	ceiling replicating the lotus in full bloom; lotus ceiling ¹⁴
<i>pañcaśākhā</i>	having five <i>śākhās</i>
<i>patraśākhā</i>	doorjamb adorned with foliage
<i>paṭṭa</i>	band; frieze
<i>pēdyā</i>	lower block of doorjambs (often carved with figures of goddesses and door-guardians)
<i>phāmsākāra</i>	having tiered pyramidal form
<i>phāmsanā</i>	tiered, pyramidal roof-type
<i>pīṭha</i>	pedestal, moulded base of structure
<i>pūrṇaḥaṭa</i>	Indic motif of the vase-and-foliage or vase-of-plenty

R

<i>raṅgabhumikā</i>	slightly raised nave-platform in hall; ritual-dancing platform
<i>raṅgamaṇḍapa</i>	open pavilion-type pillared hall
<i>rathikā</i>	framed niche
<i>ratna</i>	diamond or lozenge motif

¹⁴ Wessels-Mevissen, "A Note on the Ceiling Designs in the Temples of Northern Karnataka, with Special Emphasis on the Lotus Blossom Motif."

<i>ratnapaṭṭa</i>	band of lozenge/diamond pattern
<i>rehmāṇa-prāsada</i>	abode of Allah; mosque ¹⁵
<i>rehmāṇa-surālaya</i>	temple of Allah; mosque ¹⁶
<i>riwāq</i>	covered arcade
<i>rucaka</i>	square pillar type

S

<i>ṣaḥn</i>	courtyard
<i>śākhā</i>	decorative door-band; doorjamb
<i>samatala vitāna</i>	flat ceiling
<i>saṁvaraṇā</i>	tiered pyramidal roof-type with ribbed bell-shaped members as decorative motif, placed in rows at all tier-levels
<i>sāndhāra</i>	temple having inner ambulatory passage around the sanctum
<i>satūnī</i>	pillared unit
<i>śēkharī</i>	complex multi-spired superstructure type (Nāgara temples)
<i>śikhara</i>	“top-knot”; tower, spire; superstructure (North India)
<i>śīrṣa</i> or <i>stambhaśīrṣa</i>	pillar bracket
<i>skandhapaṭṭikā</i>	suspended leaves at the extremities (decorative motif) ¹⁷
<i>stambha</i>	pillar; pilaster
<i>śūrasena</i>	lobed pediment; pediment made up of a large <i>gavākṣa</i> window, usually with lateral half-loops

T

<i>torāṇa</i>	gateway; arciform gateway-pattern
<i>triśākhā</i>	doorframe having three jambs

U

<i>uccālaka</i>	attic pillar
<i>udgama</i>	pediment
<i>uḍumbara</i>	doorsill; threshold
<i>utkṣipta</i>	“thrown out”; ceiling projecting outwards ¹⁸
<i>uttaraṅga</i>	architrave of the entablature; beam; lintel

¹⁵ Nath, “Rehmāṇa-Prāsāda: A Chapter on the Muslim Mosque from the Vrksāṇava.”

¹⁶ Nath.

¹⁷ Dhaky, “The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture,” 162.

¹⁸ Nanavati and Dhaky, *The Ceilings in the Temples of Gujarat*, 16–17:37.

V

<i>varaṇḍikā</i>	moulded parapet; elevational set of mouldings separating <i>jaṅghā</i> from <i>śikhara</i>
<i>vēdībandha</i>	basal wall mouldings, consisting primarily of <i>khura</i> , <i>kalāśa</i> , <i>antrapāṭṭa</i> and <i>kapotapālī</i>
<i>vedikā</i>	railing; balustrade
<i>vikarṇa-vitāna</i>	triangular ceiling slab
<i>vitāna</i>	central ceiling

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Appendix A: Chronological Chart of the Samma Dynasty*

1. Firuz al-Din Shah Jam Unnar I (as Samma warlord: c. 1333-1351)[†]
2. ‘Ala al-Din Jam Juna I (as Samma tribal chief: 1351-1367; as Tughlaq vassal: 1374-1389)
3. Sadr al-Din Banhbina bin Jam Unnar I (as Samma warlord: c. 1351-1367)
4. Khayr al-Din Jam Tughachi (as Tughlaq vassal: 1367-1374)
5. Rukn al-Din Shah Jam Tamachi (as commander of Thatta: 1367-1374; as Sultan: 1389 - 1392)
6. Salah al-Din Jam Unnar II (1392 - c. 1404)
7. Jam Nizam al-Din I (c. 1404 -?)
8. Jam Ali Sher (?)
9. Jam Karan (?)
10. Sadr al-Din Jam Sikandar Shah I (d. c. 1412)
11. Jam Fath Khan (1412-1425)
12. Tughlaq bin Sikandar Jam Juna II (r. c. 1425-1452)
13. Jam Mubarak (1452)
14. Muhammad bin Fath Khan Jam Unnar III/Sultan Sikandar Shah II (r. 1452-1454)
15. Ra’i Dhan/Sadr al-Din Jam Sanjar (r. 1454-1461)
16. Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo (r. 1461-1508)
17. Nasir al-Din Abu al-Fath Jam Firuz Shah (r. 1508-1522)

* This chronological chart is primarily based on the one worked out by Rashidi, although some additions in the regnal dates have been made based on my own studies and analyses. Some dates still remain obscured. For Rashidi’s chart, see: Thattavī, *Maklīnāmah*, 666, Chart ب.

[†] Dates are regnal.

Appendix B: List of Samma Monuments in the Makli Necropolis and Thatta*

1. *Khānqāh* of Suhrawardi Sufi Shaykh Hammad Jamali in Zone II (c. 1370)[†]
2. *Dargāh* of Shaykh Abu Turab near Gujjo (1380)
3. *Khānqāh* of the Naqshbandi Sufi Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti in Zone I (late fourteenth century)
4. *Jāmi‘ Masjid* of Makli Necropolis in Zone II (c. 1390)
5. Tomb of Shaykh Hammad Jamali, east of *Jāmi‘ Masjid* (late fourteenth century)
6. *Māṛī* of Jam Tamachi at Hilaya (late fourteenth century)
7. Anonymous stone tomb southeast of the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* in Zone II (late fourteenth century)
8. Tomb of Shaykh ‘Isa Langoti in Zone I (c. 1427)
9. Octagonal *chatrī* tomb (erroneously known to be) of Jam Tamachi in Zone II (fifteenth century)
10. Octagonal *chatrī* tomb of anonymous prince/princess, east of Mubarak Khan’s enclosure in Zone II (843 AH/1439-40 CE)
11. Octagonal *chatrī* tomb attributed to Samma prince Malik Rahu in Zone II (constructed between 1425 and 1452)
12. Octagonal *chatrī* tomb of anonymous noble in Zone I (fifteenth century)
13. Hexagonal *chatrī* tomb of anonymous Sufi saint in Zone I (fifteenth century)
14. Hexagonal *chatrī* tomb attributed to Qadi ‘Abd Allah in Zone II (fifteenth century)
15. Mausoleum of Samma prince Malik Rajpal in Zone II last quarter of the fifteenth century

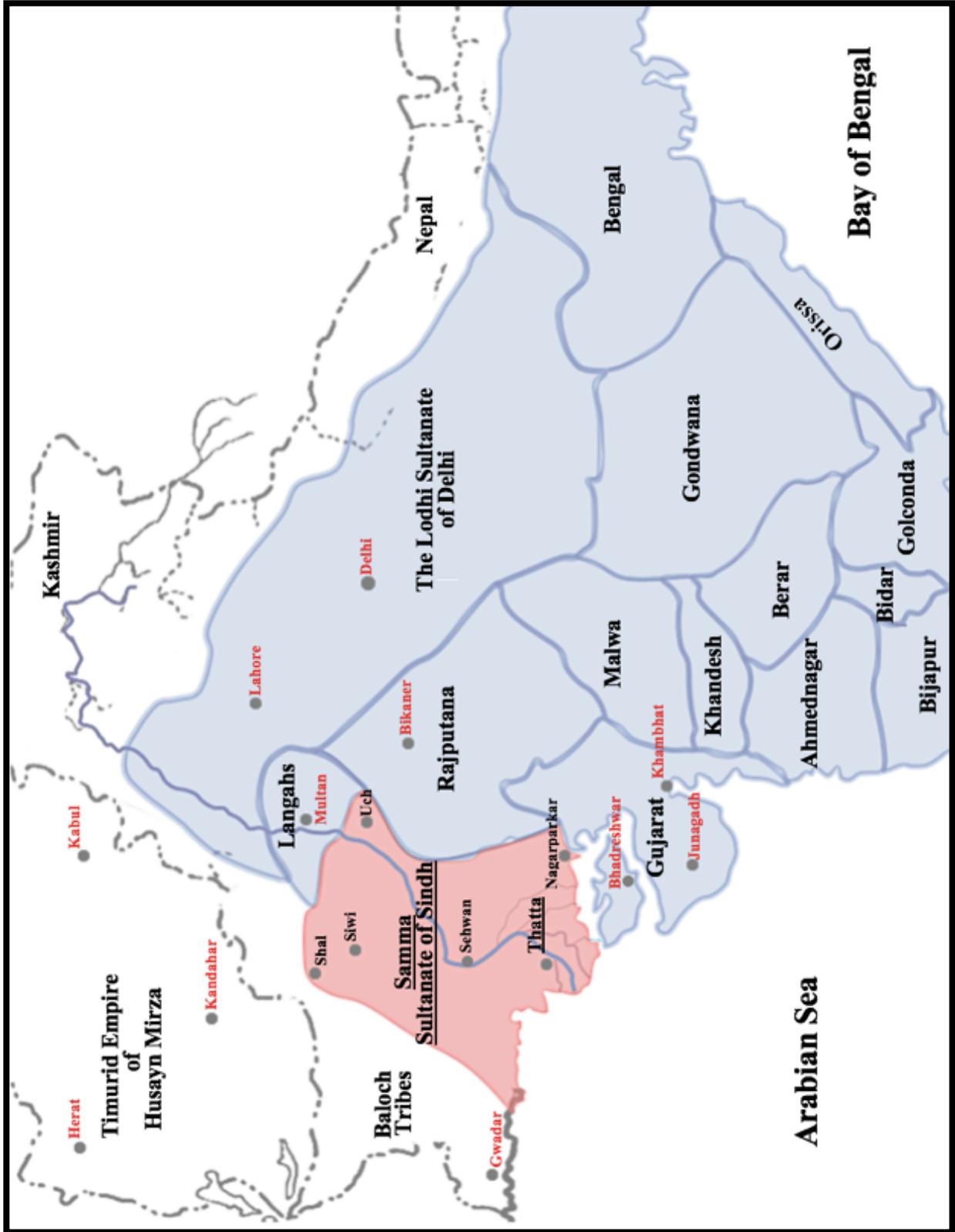
* Only monumental structures within Thatta district (either intact or in slightly ruined state at present) are listed here.

[†] These are tentative dates of construction of monumets or the broader time frame, unless confirmed through inscriptions (where both the *Hijrī* AH and Commen Era CE dates are given).

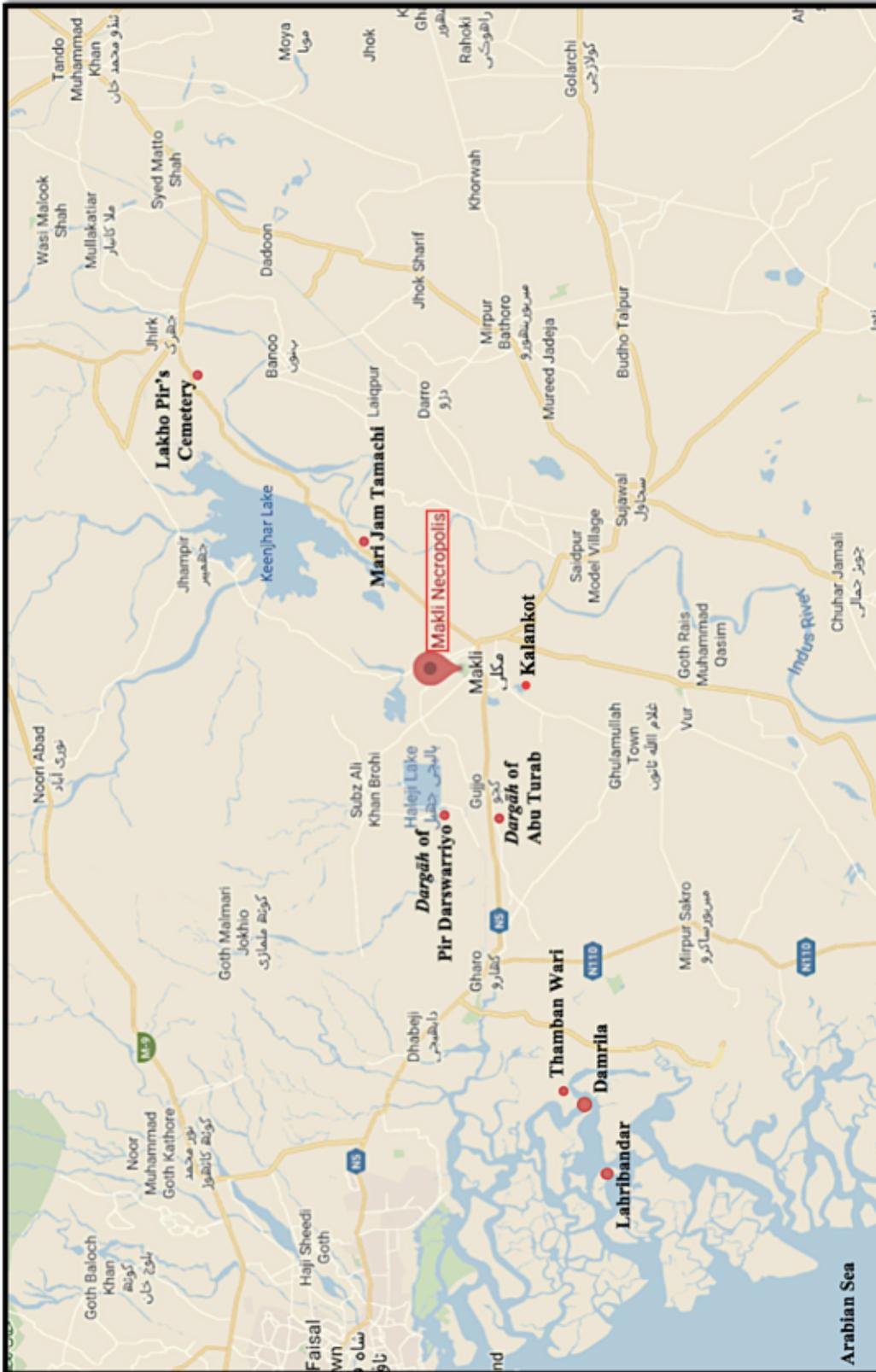
16. Mausoleum of anonymous Samma prince/princess, southwestern end of Zone II (second half of fifteenth century)
17. Anonymous mausoleum east of Mubarak Khan's funerary enclosure, southwestern end of Zone II (second half of fifteenth century)
18. Mausoleum of Samma princess, sister of prince Mian Fath Khan, in Zone II (878 AH/1473 CE)
19. Unidentified mausoleum west of Samma royal monuments (908 AH/1502-03 CE)
20. Ruined tomb of Kazeruni *Shaykhs* in Zone III (907 AH/1501 CE - 919 AH/1513 CE)
21. Mausoleum of Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo in Zone II (began 915 AH/1509 CE)
22. Mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan in Zone III (919 AH/1513-14 CE)
23. Tomb enclosure of Mubarak Khan in Zone II (895 AH/1490 CE - 926 AH/1520 CE)

Appendix C: Maps & Figures*

* All maps and figures are my own, unless otherwise noted.



Map 2 The Samma Sultanate of Sindh and the Indian Subcontinent in c. 1500.



Map 3 Location of Samma dynastic monuments and sites in Thatta district.



Map 4 Dispersal of Māru-Gurjara architectural style. From Dhaky, 1975



Map 5 Dispersal of Māru-Gurjara architectural style (revised map)

- Dispersal of the Māru-Gurjara Style (After Dhaky 1975; Patel 2004)
- Dispersal of Māru-Gurjara Style by the end of Samma Dynastic Period (c. 1522), based

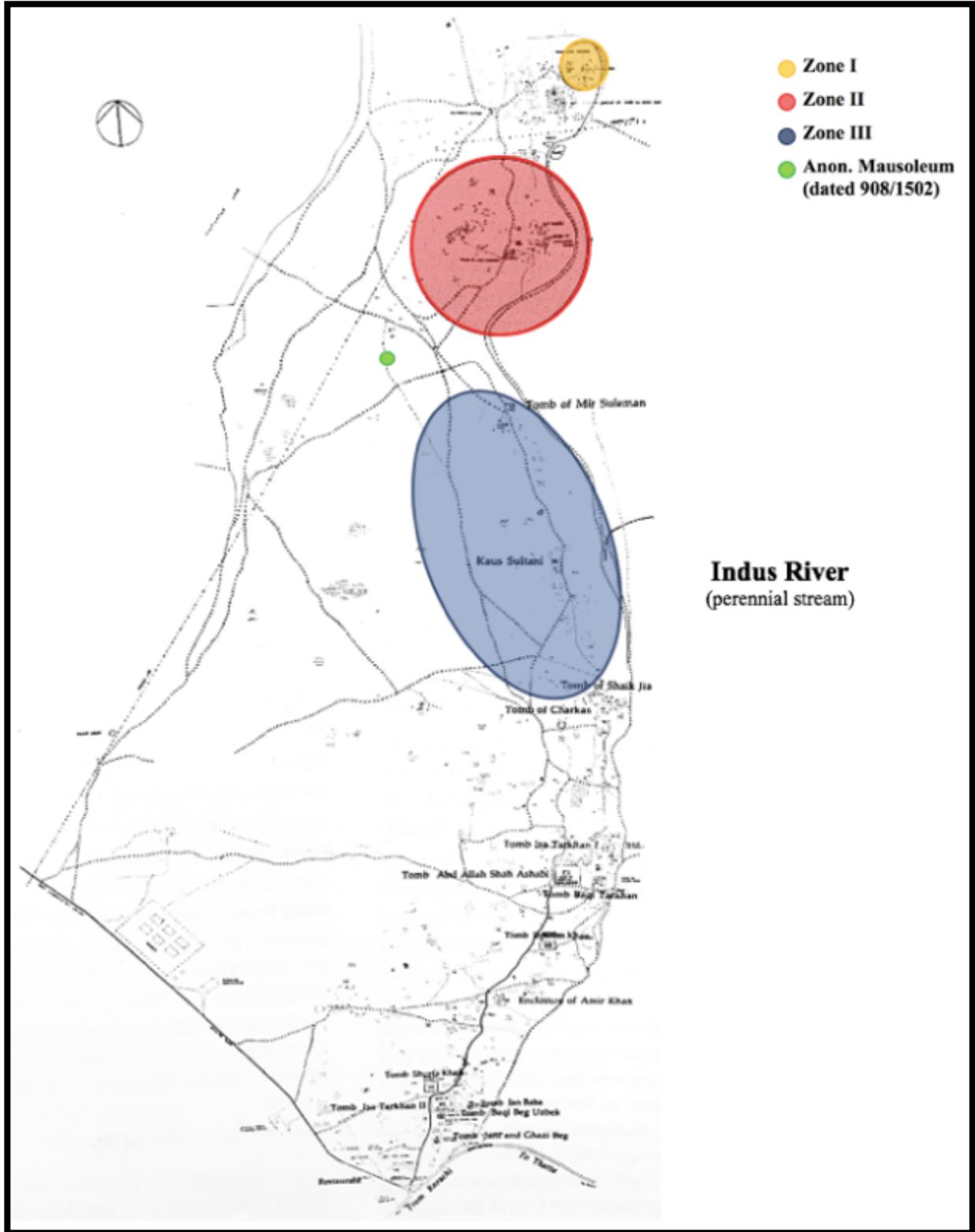


Fig. 1 General plan of Makli necropolis. Three zones of Samma building activities between the late-fourteenth and the early-sixteenth centuries (After Lari & Lari, 1997).



Fig. 4 *Khānqāh* of Shaykh Hammad Jamali in Makli necropolis, Zone II. Overview

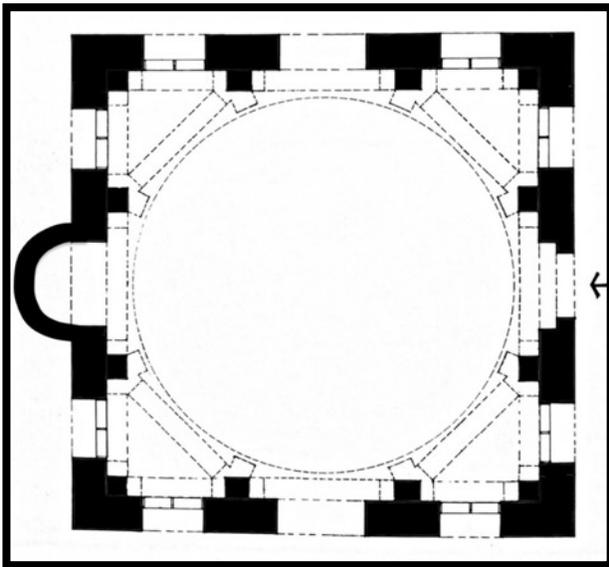


Fig. 6 Plan of Jamali *khānqāh*.
After Lari & Lari, 1997

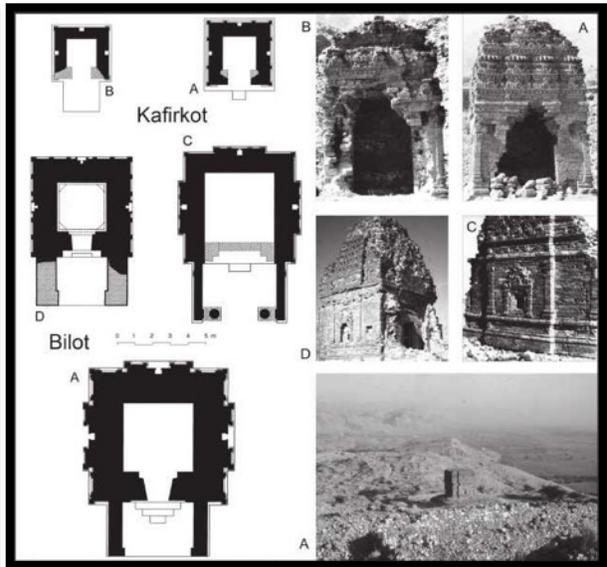


Fig. 5 Gandhāra-Nāgara temples of Salt Range.
Source: Meister, 2010



Fig. 7 Surya Temple at Modhera (1027). Overview of the exterior from the southeast.
Source: AIIS, Accession No 73935

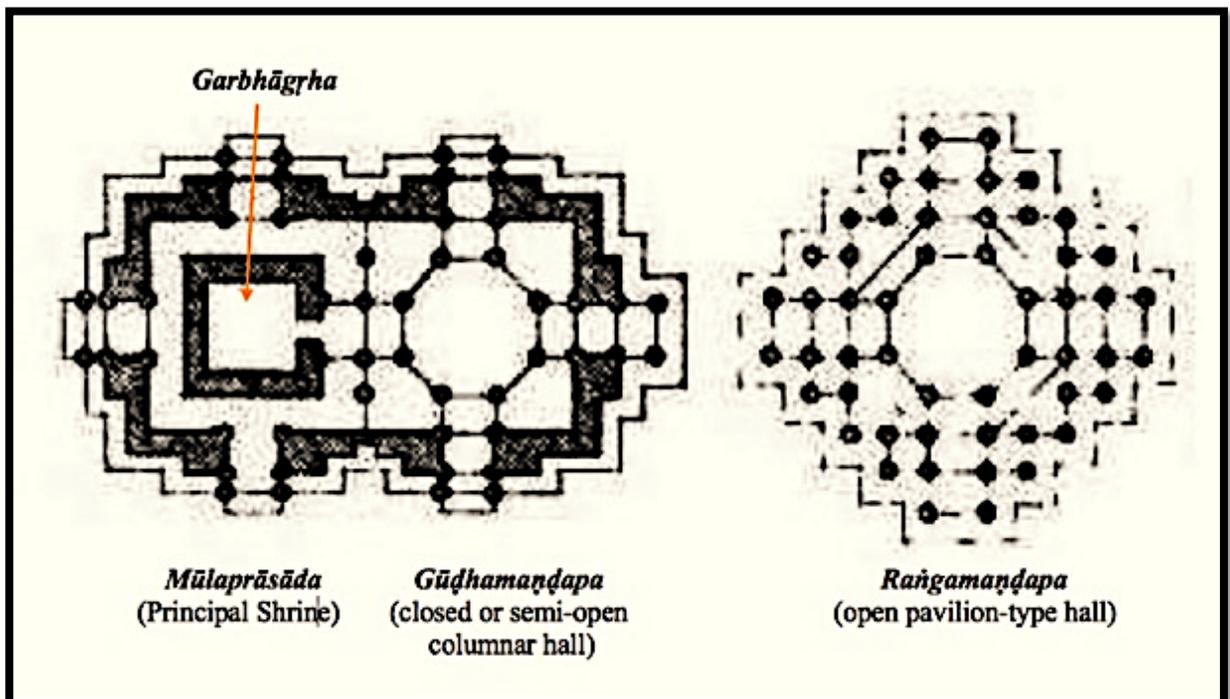


Fig. 8 Sketch Plan of Surya Temple at Modhera. Source: Alexander Forbes, 1856



Fig. 9 Someśvara temple, Kiradu (1020). General View. Source: AIIS, Accession no. 63775



Fig. 10 Someśvara temple, Kiradu. Raṅgamaṇḍapa (open pavilion-type hall) interior. Source: Ashwin Jain, Virtual Museum of Images & Sounds (VIMS)



Fig. 11 Jamali *khānqāh*. View of sanctum's interior (west side). Structural details and *bhadraka-stambhas*



Fig. 13 Jamali *khānqāh*. Entrance doorway



Fig. 12 Someśvara temple at Kiradu (11th C).
Entrance to the *mūlaprāsāda*.
Source: Ashwin Jain, VIMS



Fig. 14 Jamali *khānqāh*. View of sanctum's interior decoration and epigraphy



Fig. 15 Jamali *khānqāh*. View from sanctum's interior, carved ornamentation on surfaces



Fig. 16 Ninth-century Harishchandra-ni Chori Temple at Samalaji (Gujarat).
Source: Alka Patel Archive, 2002-2005

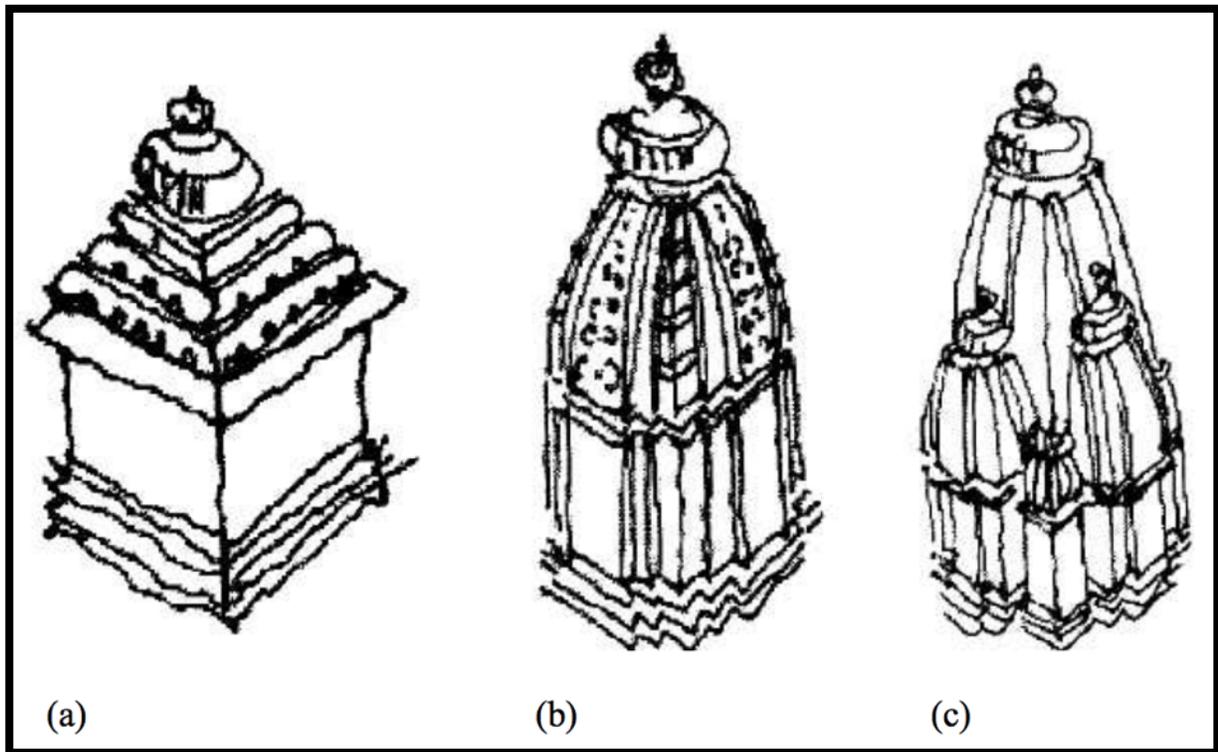


Fig. 17 The three different forms of Māru-Gurjara superstructures. a) Pyramidal *phāmsanā*, b) Mono-spired *śikhara*, c) Multi-spired *śekhārī*. Source: Hardy, 2007



Fig. 18 Śiva Temple, Junagadh (c. 1030). *Raṅgamaṇḍapa* ceiling, *sabhamarga* type.
Source: AIIS, Accession no. 61368



Fig. 19 Pavilion-type *chatrī* at Bhadreshwar, Kutch (twelfth century). Stepped corbelled dome.
Source: Alka Patel Archive, 2001



Fig. 20 Overview of the Gori Temple Complex, Nagarparkar (c. 1376). Image courtesy of Dr. Abdul Rehman



Fig. 21 Step-well Madhav Vav, Wadhwan (1294). *Phāmsanā* roofing units.
Source: Alka Patel Archive, 2002-2005



Fig. 22 Shrine of Ibrahim (554 AH/ 1160 CE) at Bhadreshwar, Kutch. General View.
Source: Alka Patel Archive, 2001



Fig. 23 Shrine of Ibrahim. Main sanctum, interior. Source: Alka Patel Archive, 2001

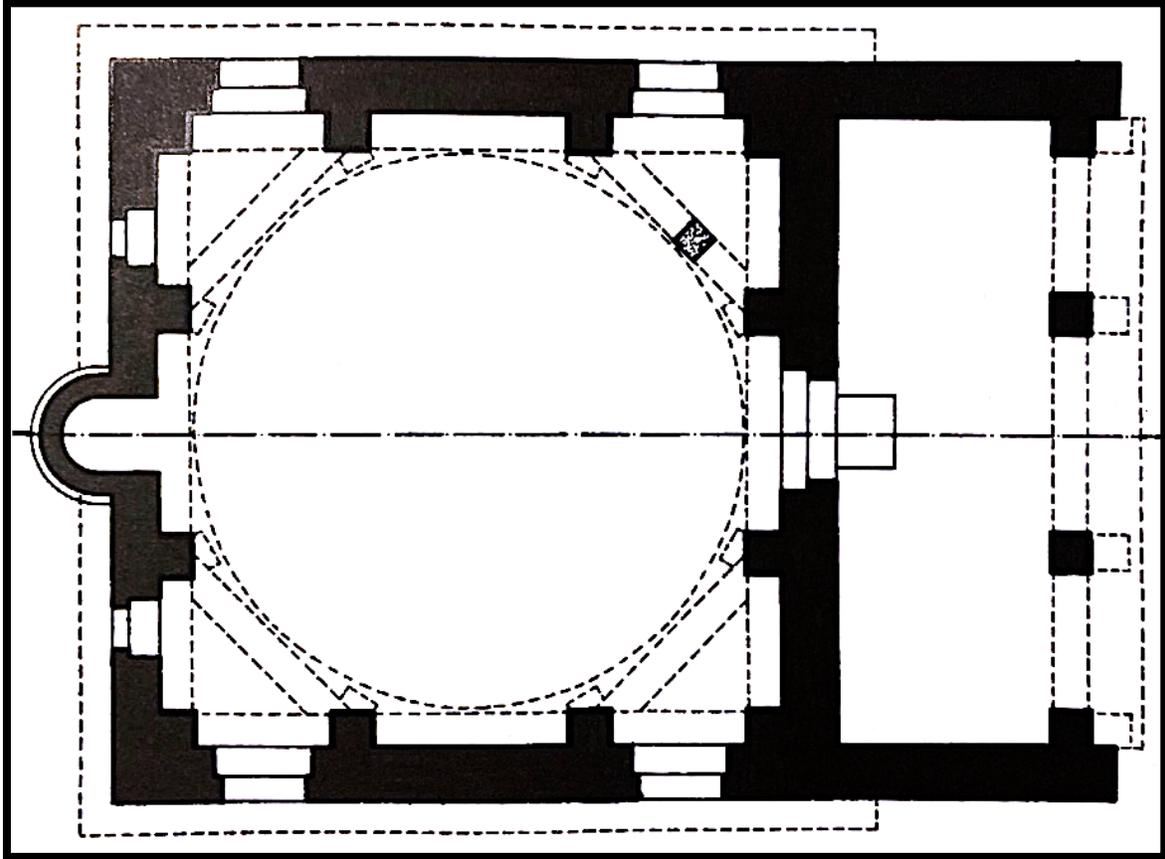


Fig. 24 Plan of the Shrine of Ibrahim at Bhadreshwar, Kutch. After Shokoohy, 1989



Fig. 25 The *khānqāh* of Shaykh Hammad Jamali. Wreckage of structure includes *kalikā* and *padmapatra* motifs carved on the edges.



Fig. 26 The *khānqāh* of the Naqshbandi Sufi Shaykh 'Isa Langoti (c. 1390) in Zone I. General view

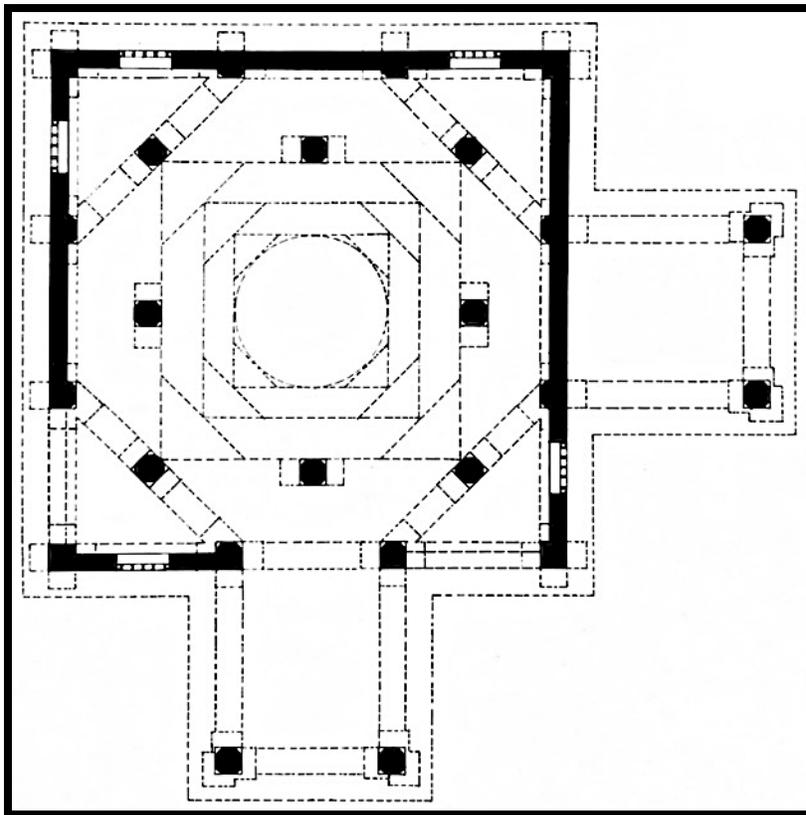


Fig. 27 Plan of Shaykh 'Isa Langoti's *khānqāh*.
After Lari & Lari, 1997

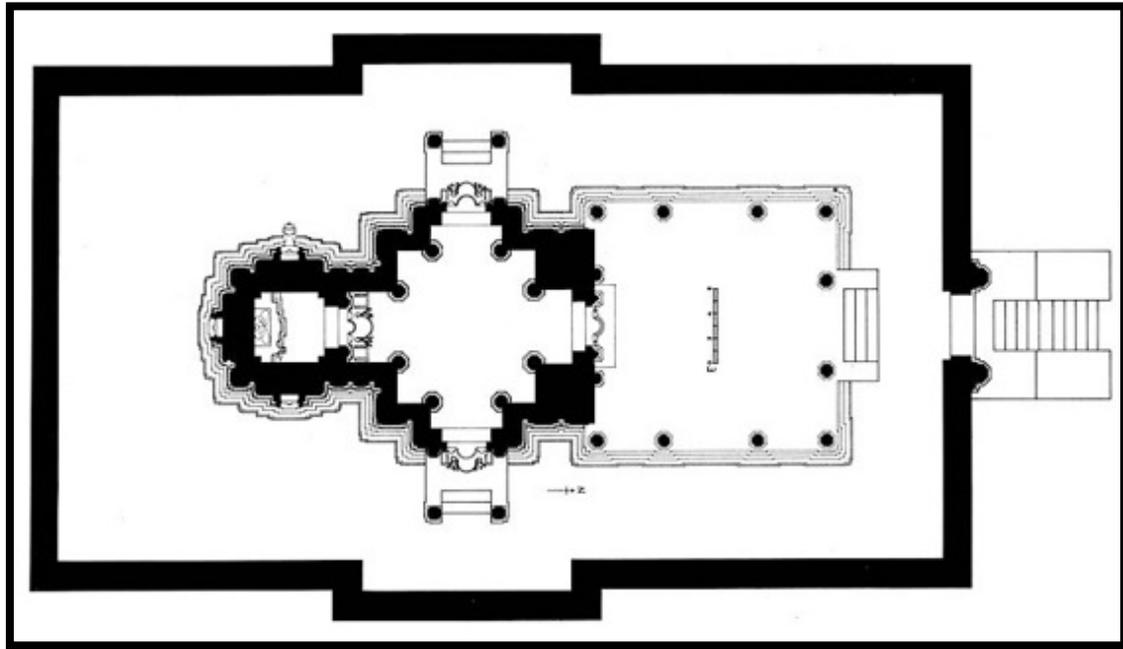


Fig. 28 Plan of Sambhavanatha Temple at Kumbhariya, Gujarat (c. 1232). Four-pillared entry porticos, *mukhacatuṣkīs*, attached with the *gūḍhamandapa*. Source: Dhaky & Moorti, 2001



Fig. 29 Shaykh 'Isa Langoti's *khānqāh*.
View of the interior.



Fig. 30 Corbelled dome of Langoti *khānqāh*.
Interior view from below.

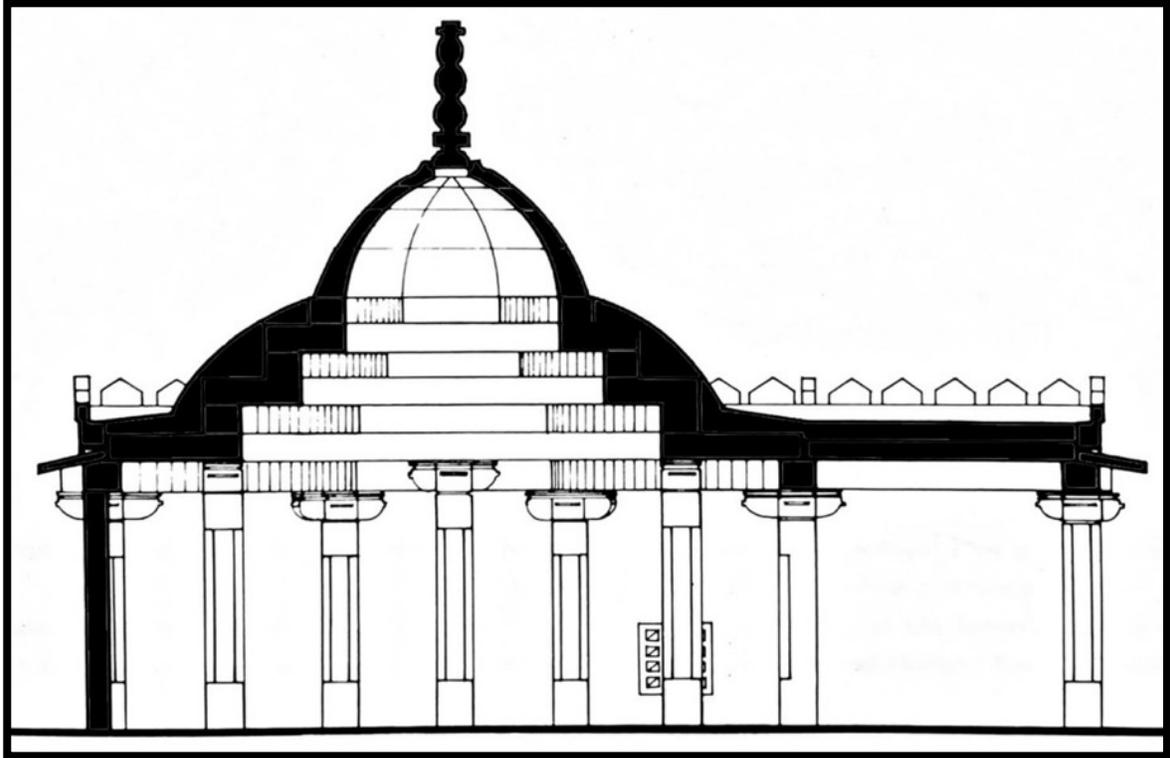


Fig. 31 *Khānqāh* of Shaykh 'Isa Langoti. Sectional drawing. After Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 32 Devi Shrine, Osian (mid-ninth century).
Phāmsanā roof with *ghanṭā* on top.
 Source: Meister, 1976

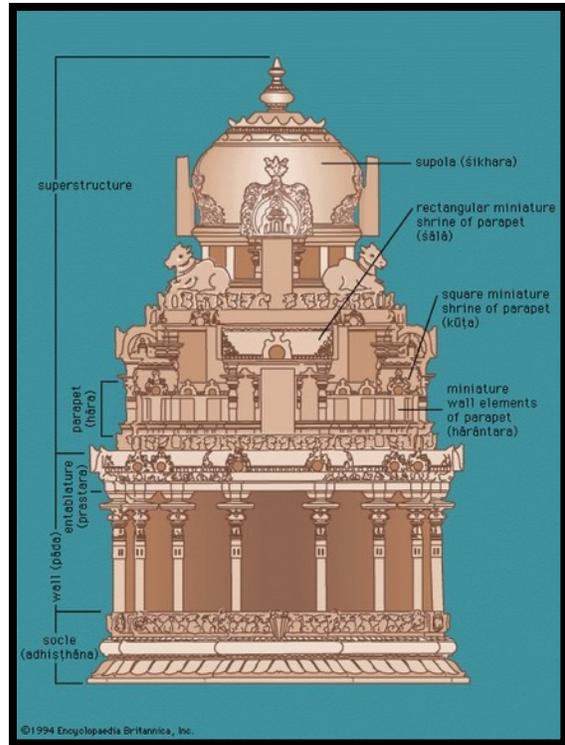


Fig. 33 Elevation of South Indian temple with the *kūṭina* type of superstructure.
 Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.*



Fig. 34 Ruined stone tomb southeast of the *Jāmi' Masjid* in Zone II (late fourteenth century). General view



Fig. 35 Overview of ruined stone tomb southeast of the *Jāmi' Masjid* (traces of brick tomb of Shaykh Hammad Jamali visible at the back)

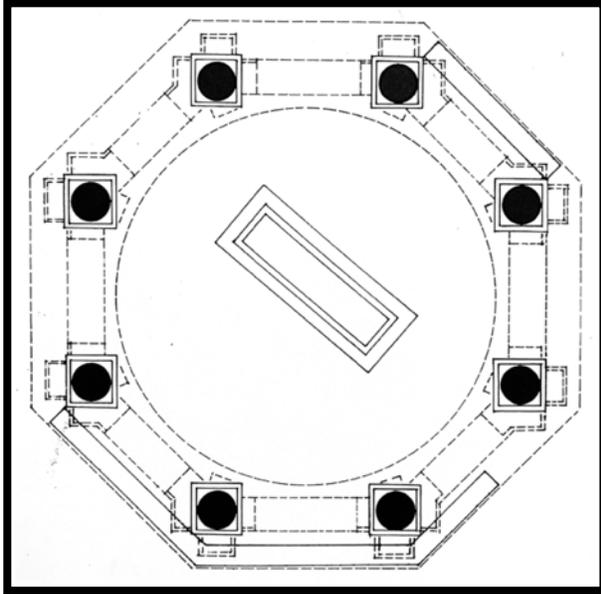


Fig. 36 Plan of octagonal *chatrī* tomb attributed to Malik Rahu (Zone II). After Lari & Lari, 1997

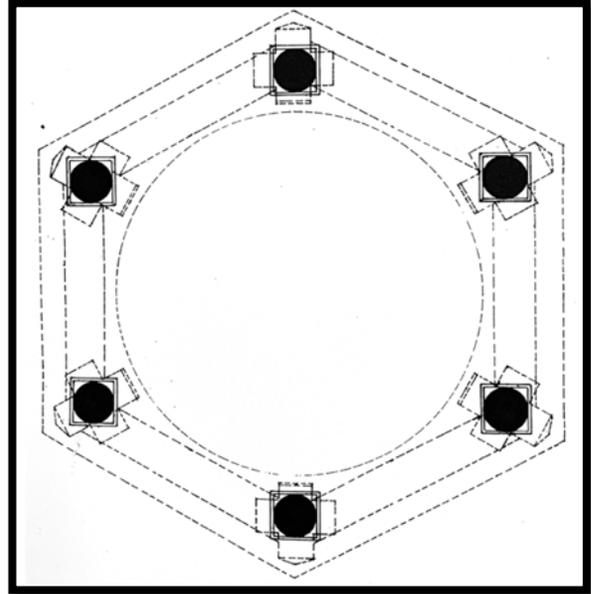


Fig. 37 Plan of hexagonal *chatrī* tomb attributed to Qadi 'Abd Allah. After Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 38 Overview of octagonal *chatrī* tombs in Zone II (fifteenth century). *Chatrī* tomb carved with an *abjad* date of 843 AH/1439-40 CE is in the foreground, and the one built by prince Malik Rahu is in the back.



Fig. 39 Interior view of *chatrī* tomb located east of Mubarak Khan's funerary enclosure.
Kṣipta type corbelled dome resting on columns.

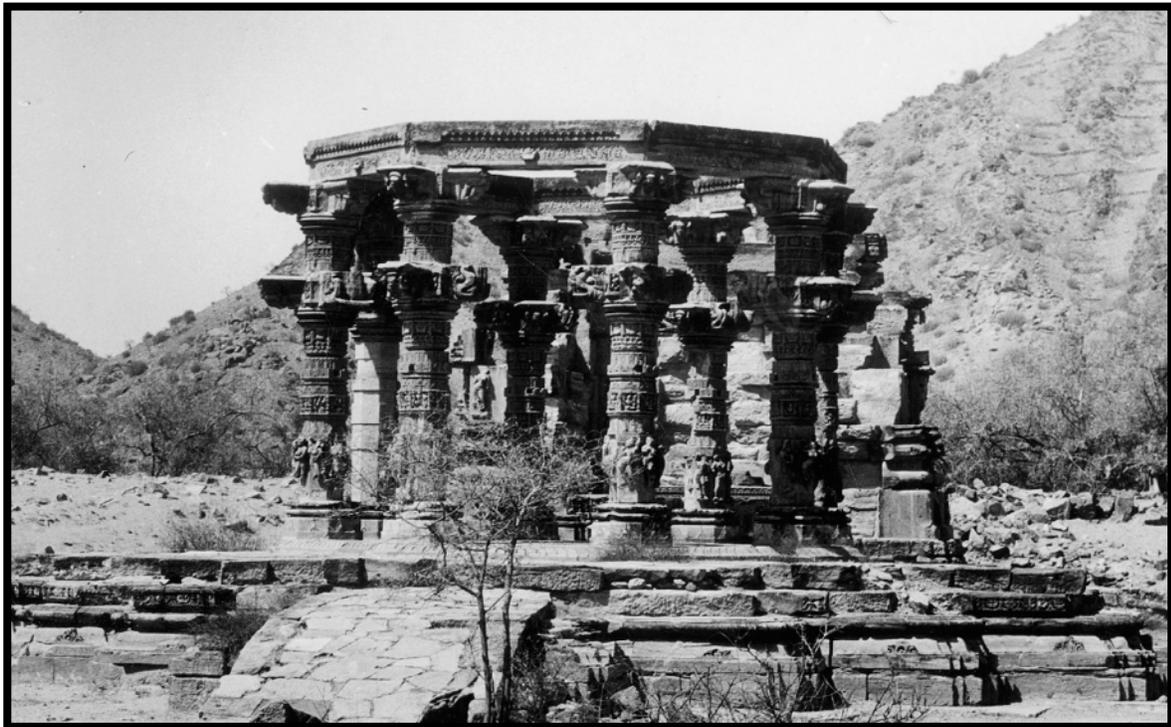


Fig. 40 Viṣṇu temple, Kiradu (c. 975), Rajasthan. Detached *raṅgabhumikā* unit.
Source: AIIS, Accession number: 63933



Fig. 41 Octagonal *chattrī* attributed to Samma prince Malik Rahu. Structural details



Fig. 42 Plainer triangular *pūrṇaghaṭa* motif on square bases of *miśraka-stambhas* of Samma *chattrīs*



Fig. 43 The so-called *chattrī* of Jam Tamachi. View of the structure from below

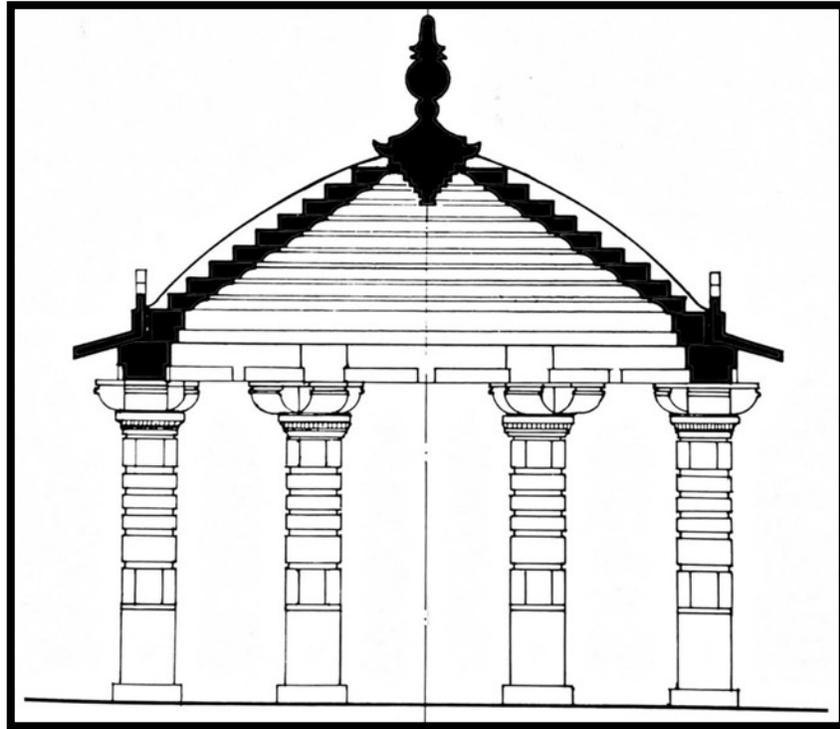


Fig. 44 Sectional drawing of the so-called *chattrī* of Jam Tamachi. After Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 45 Twelve-pillared *chattrī* tomb of Mirza Tughril Beg (dated 1649) in Makli necropolis

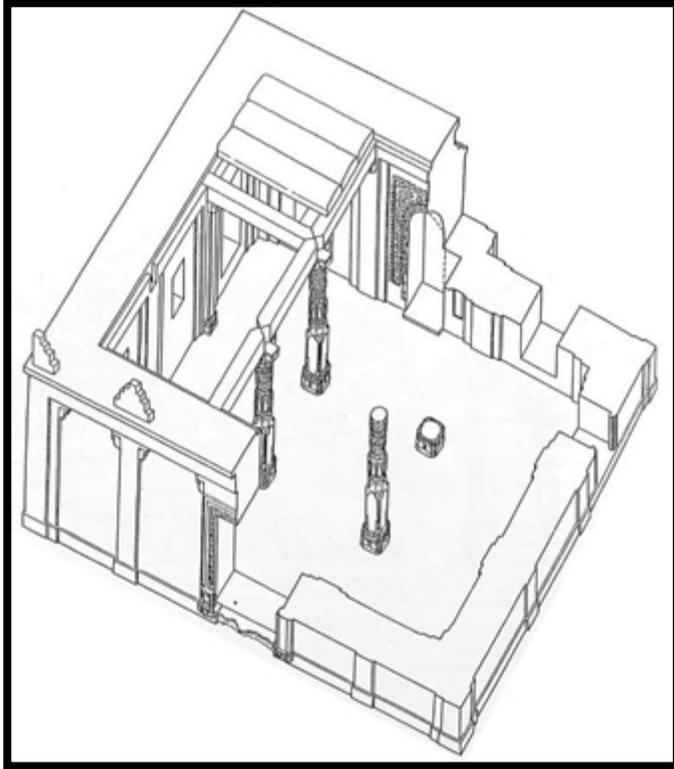


Fig. 46 Reconstruction drawing of Thamban Wari hypostyle mosque. Source: Kervran, 1996



Fig. 47 Multi-sectional *miṣraka* column of Thamban Wari. Source: Carter, 1932

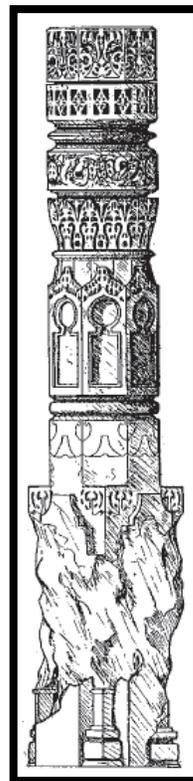


Fig. 48 Recent images of *miṣraka* columns from Thamban Wari. Source: Kervran, 1996



Fig. 49 Kafir Jo Hat near Gujjo, Thatta district (thirteenth century). Source: Carter, 1932

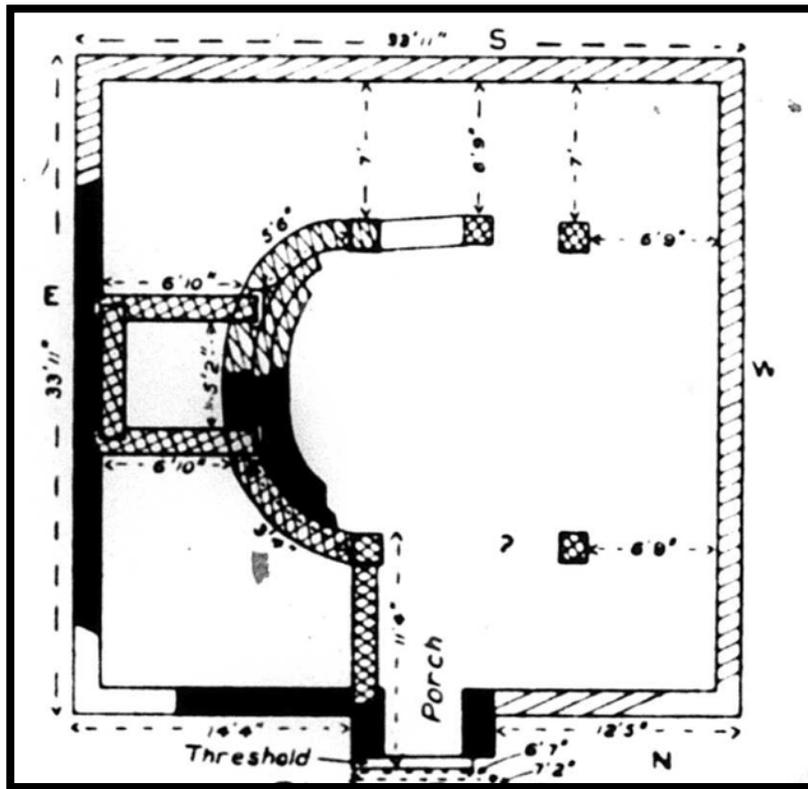


Fig. 50 Sketch plan of Kafir Jo Hat near Gujjo, Thatta district. Source: Carter, 1932



Fig. 51 Mari of Jam Tamachi at Hilaya, near Keenjhar lake (Thatta district). Overview

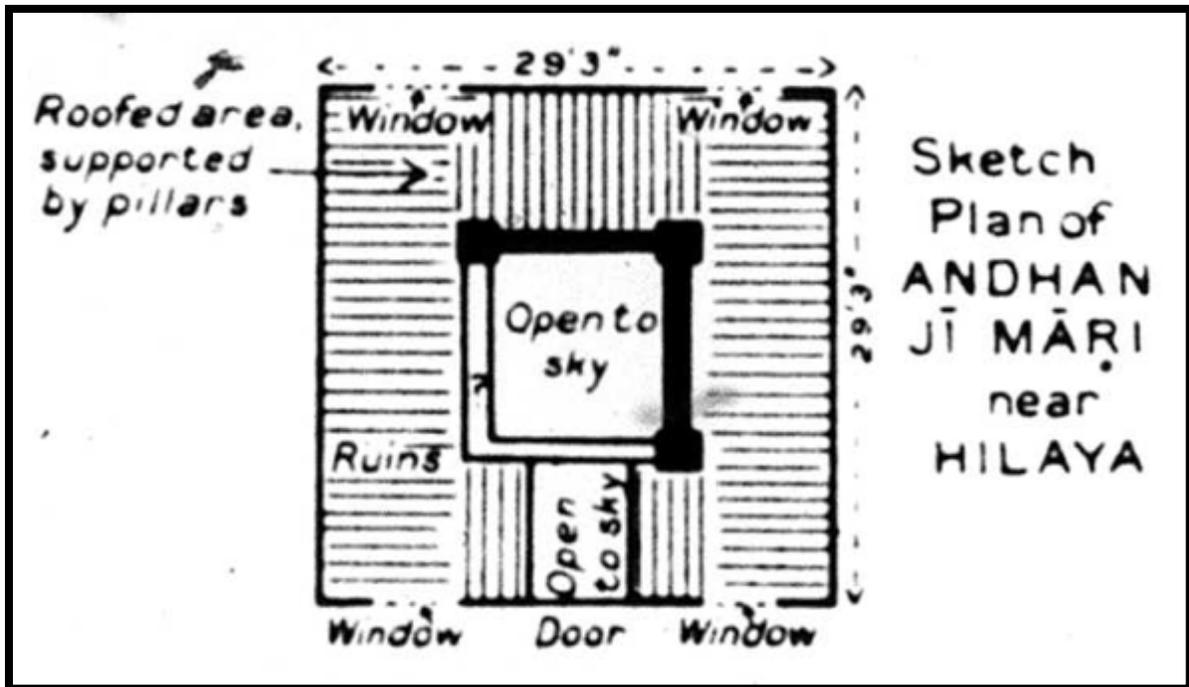


Fig. 52 Sketch plan of Mari of Jam Tamachi. Source: Carter, 1932



Fig. 54 Mari of Jam Tamachi. Interior columns are plainer version of the *mišraka* order

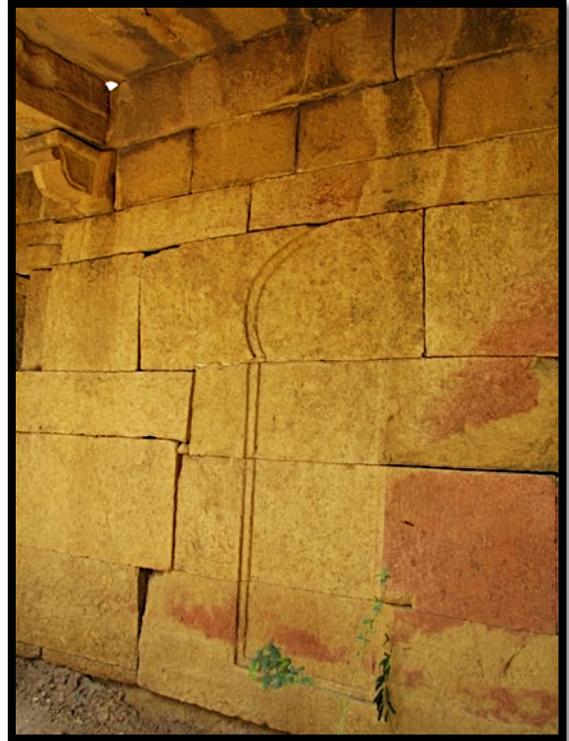


Fig. 53 Mari of Jam Tamachi. *Mihrāb* image on *qibla* wall



Fig. 55 Doorway of Mari of Jam Tamachi. *Dvārsākhā* and *uḍumbara* with floral and geometric carvings. Present-day condition (left), From Carter, 1932 (Right)



Fig. 56 Bazaar Temple in Nagarparkar, Sindh. *Śekhārī* above *mūlaprāsāda* and *saṁvaraṇā* roof above *mukhamaṇḍapa*. Image courtesy of Dr. Abdul Rehman



Fig. 57 Jain Temple at Viravah near Nagarparkar, Sindh. *Śekhārī* above *mūlaprāsāda* and *saṁvaraṇā* roof above *mukhamaṇḍapa*.



Fig. 58 *Chaūkhandī* tomb in the Makli necropolis from the Samma dynastic period



Fig. 59 Variety of *chaūkhandī* tombs in the Makli necropolis from the Samma dynastic period



Fig. 60 *Chaūkhandī*-type Samma tomb in Zone II, Makli necropolis. Flat top style.



Fig. 61 Samma cenotaph variety from the anonymous mausoleum east of Mubarak Khan's funerary enclosure



Fig. 62 Carving on the flat top of cenotaph in the Lakho Pir's graveyard (fifteenth century)

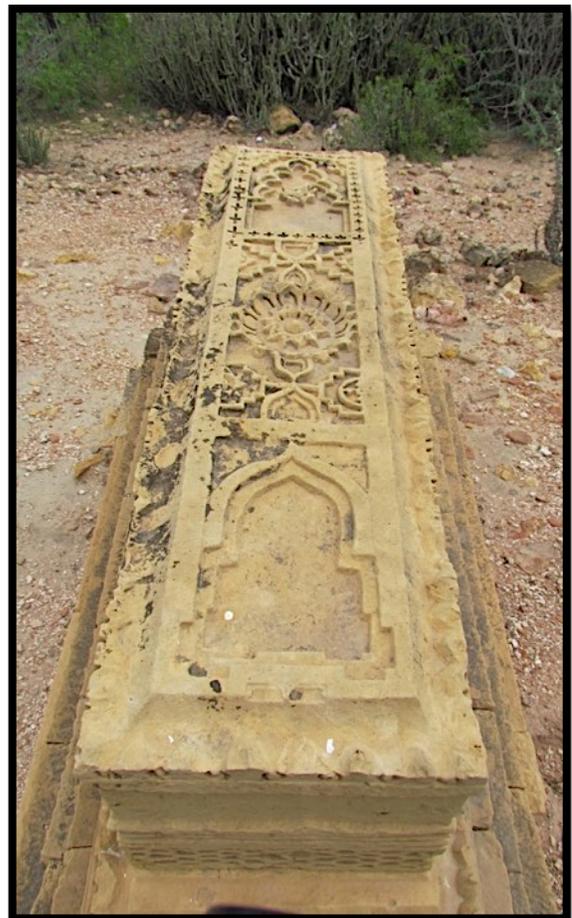


Fig. 63 Carvings on the flat top of the cenotaph northeast of 'Isa Langoti's *khānqāh* in Zone I



Fig. 64 Samma period *chaūkhandṭs* in the Lakho Pir's graveyard (fifteenth century)



Fig. 65 Khambhat marble tombstone of Ikhtiyar al-Dawla (d. 716 AH/1316 CE).
Source: Lambourn, 2004



Fig. 66 Khambhat tombstone of Rasulid governor, Nur al-Din Ibrahim (d. 711/1311), of Dhofar (Oman). © V&A Museum, London (museum number A.12-1933)

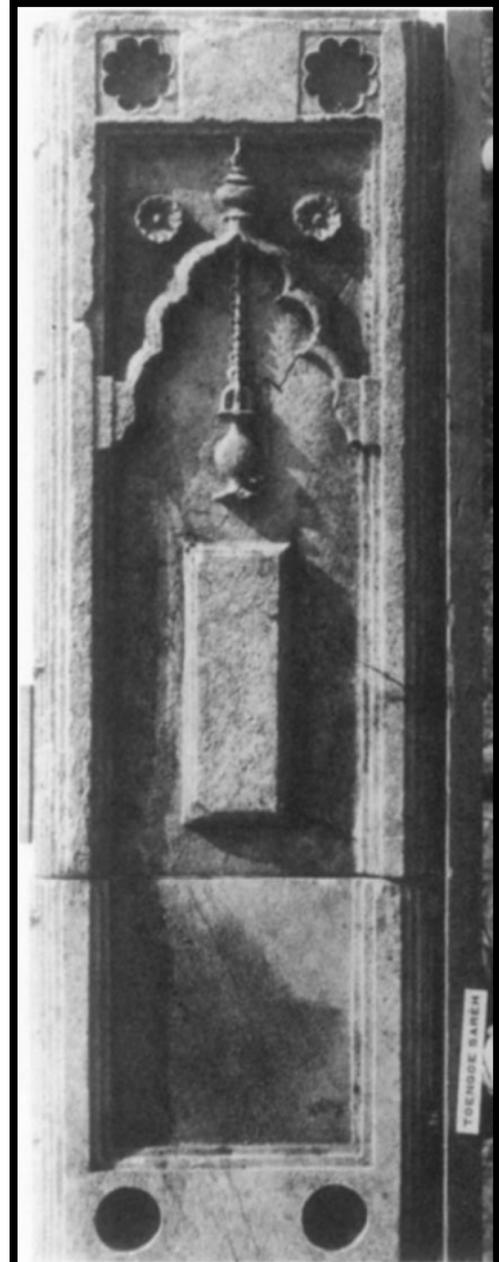


Fig. 67 Partly carved cenotaph lid of grave 6, Teungku Sareh. Leiden University Library, Legatum Warnerianum, the Netherlands, Or.23.481. Source: Lambourn, 2004

Fig. 68 Panel, Gujarat, India, 15th–16th centuries, marble, carved, H. 136 cm x W. 33 cm
© The Aga Khan Museum, AKM904

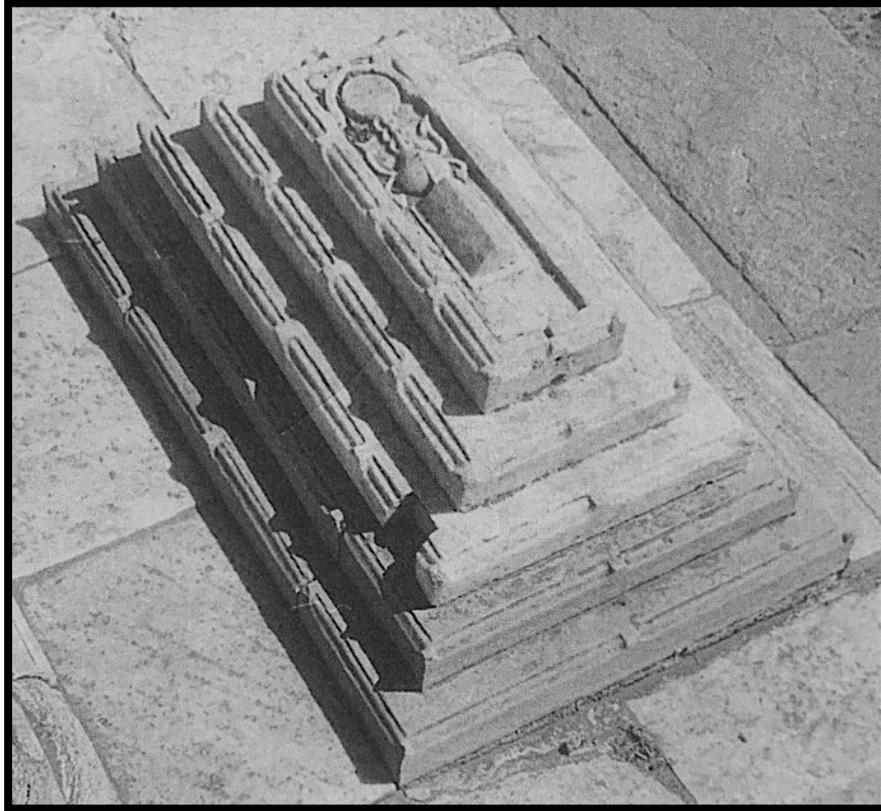


Fig. 69 Marble cenotaphs in the mausoleum Rani no Hajiro (c. 1445) at Ahmedabad, Gujarat.
Source: Zajadacz-Hastenrath, 2003



Fig. 70 Cenotaph lid, undated but perhaps fifteenth century, Lal Mahalla grave platform, Khambhat (Gujarat). Source: Lambourne, 2003

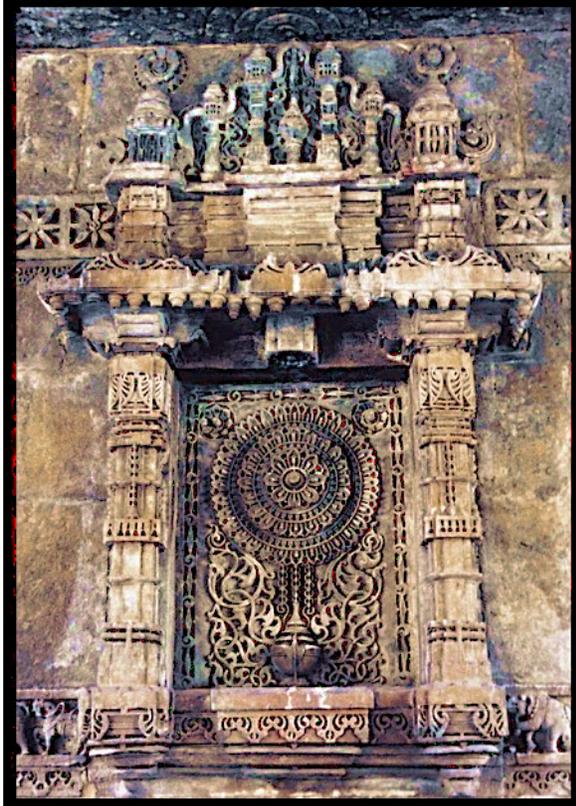


Fig. 71 Late fifteenth-century Rudabai Vav at Adalaj (near Ahmedabad), Gujarat. Interior detail of *bhadra* niche. © 1996 Alka Patel (Alka Patel Archive: South Asian Art and Architecture, Artstor Digital Library)



Fig. 72 Triangular motif with stenciled carvings on the cenotaph in the funerary enclosure of Mubarak Khan



Fig. 73 *Kalikā (conical bud) motif* carved on the cenotaph northeast of Langoti *khānqāh* in Zone I



Fig. 74 *Kalikā motif* on the cenotaph in the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister



Fig. 75 *Kalikā motif* on the cenotaph in the ruined tomb south of Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum



Fig. 76 Anonymous fifteenth-century *chaūkhandī* near the *dargāh* of Pir Darswarriyo on Haleji Lake (Thatta district)



Fig. 77 Cenotaph carved with banana trees *in the ruined tomb south of Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum*



Fig. 78 Cenotaphs inside the courtyard of Shrine of Ibrahim at Bhadreshwar, Kutch (late-twelfth/ early thirteenth century). Source: Shokoohy, 1989



Fig. 79 *Chaūkhandī* style cenotaphs, Shah Hussayn Cemetery in Sindh (seventeenth & eighteenth centuries)



Fig. 80 Mausoleum of Bangi Ismail at Gwadar, Balochistan (1468-69). Eastern façade showing Māru-Gurjara decorative features (*bhadra* niche, *mandaraka*, and *dvārsākhā*). Source: Stein, 1931



Fig. 82 *Bhadra* niche, Muleśvara Temple, Padan. Source: Gaudani & Dhaky, 1967



Fig. 81 Mahā-Gurjara styled Temple III at Roda (late-eighth century). Source: Dhaky, 1975

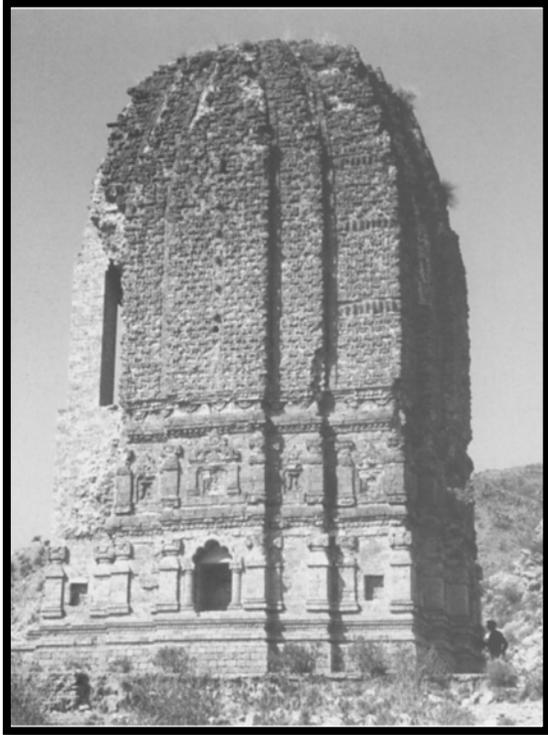


Fig. 83 Hindu Shahi brick Temple B (mid-tenth century) at Amb Sharif, Punjab.
Source: Miester, 2005

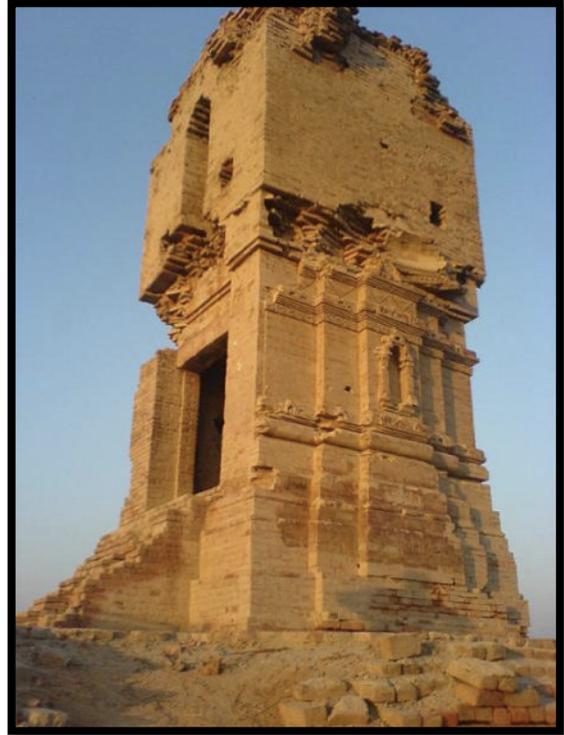


Fig. 84 Pattan Munara Temple, Rahim Yar Khan (eleventh century). Image courtesy of Dr. Abdul Rehman

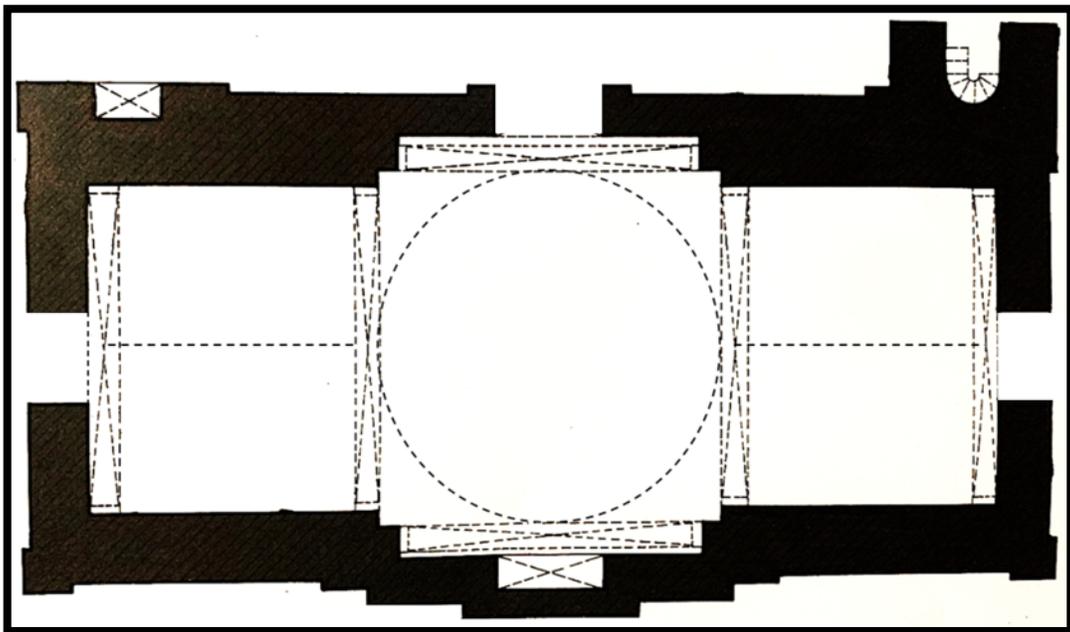


Fig. 85 Plan of *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli. After Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 86 *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli (c. 1390). General view

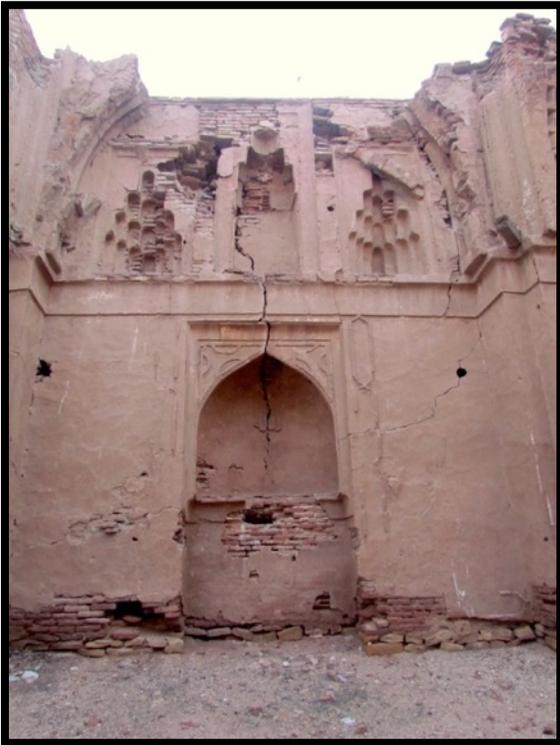


Fig. 88 *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli. *Qibla* wall (west)



Fig. 87 *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli. Interior north wall



Fig. 89 *Jāmi' Masjid* of Makli. Interior view showing arches and central bay



Fig. 90 Dabgir mosque of Thatta (dated to 977 AH/1588 CE). Overview

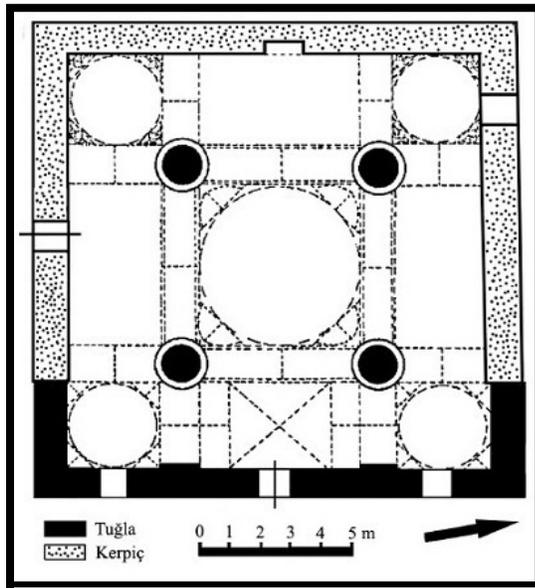


Fig. 91 Masjid-i Degaron at Navoi (near Hazara), Uzbekistan. Plan and Overview.
Source: İbrahim Çeşmeli, 2007

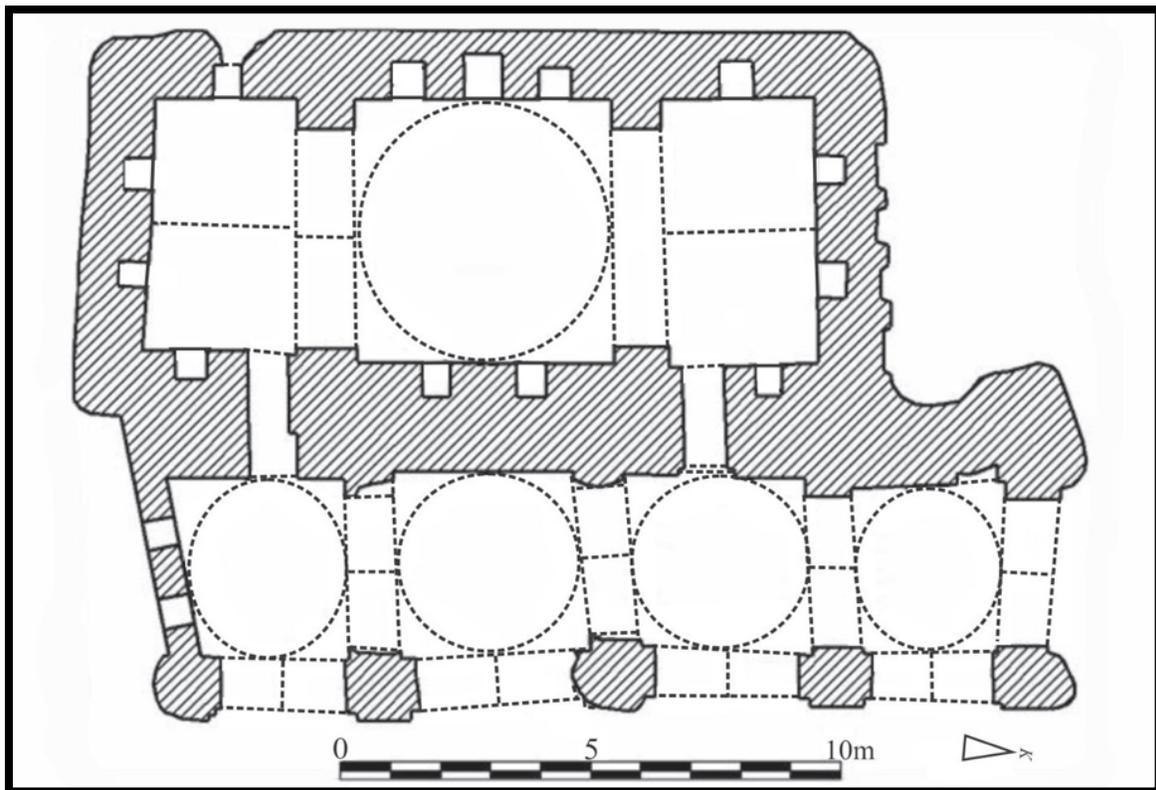


Fig. 92 Restitution plan of twelfth/thirteenth-century brick mosque of Khoja Sarboz at Shaartuz, Tajikistan.
Source: Çağlayan Hergül, 2016



Fig. 93 Fragments of inscriptive frieze found at the site of thirteenth-century congregational mosque of Damrila. Source: Monik Kervran, 2014



Fig. 94 Tomb of Shaykh 'Isa Langoti (c. 1427) in Zone I

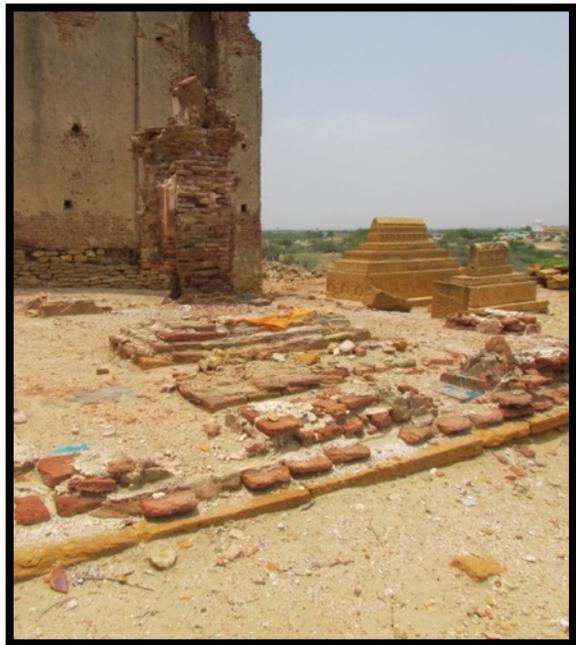


Fig. 95 Tomb of Shaykh Hammad Jamali in Zone II (late fourteenth century)



Fig. 96 Mausoleum of Malik Rajpal in Zone II (last quarter of the fifteenth century)



Fig. 97 Mausoleum of Malik Rajpal. Interior view, zone of transition

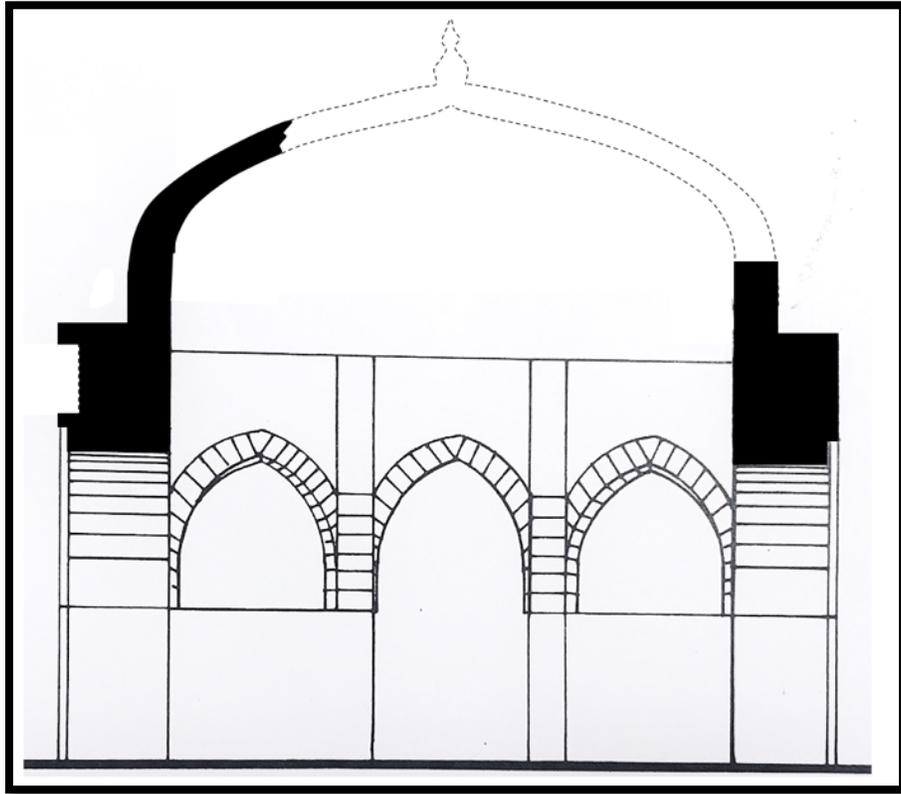


Fig. 98 Mausoleum of Malik Rajpal. Sectional drawing. After Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 99 Mausoleum of anonymous Samma prince/princess in Zone II



Fig. 100 Anonymous mausoleum east of Mubarak Khan's funerary enclosure



Fig. 102 Ghurid tomb of Shaykh Sadan Shahid (late-twelfth/ early-thirteenth century). Southern façade.
Source: Flood, 2001



Fig. 101 Tomb of Ahmad Kabir (c. 1203) near Multan. Eastern façade.
Source: Rehman & Hussain, 2011



Fig. 103 Interior view of anonymous mausoleum east of Mubarak Khan's funerary enclosure



Fig. 104 Mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister (built 878 AH/1473 CE). View from north

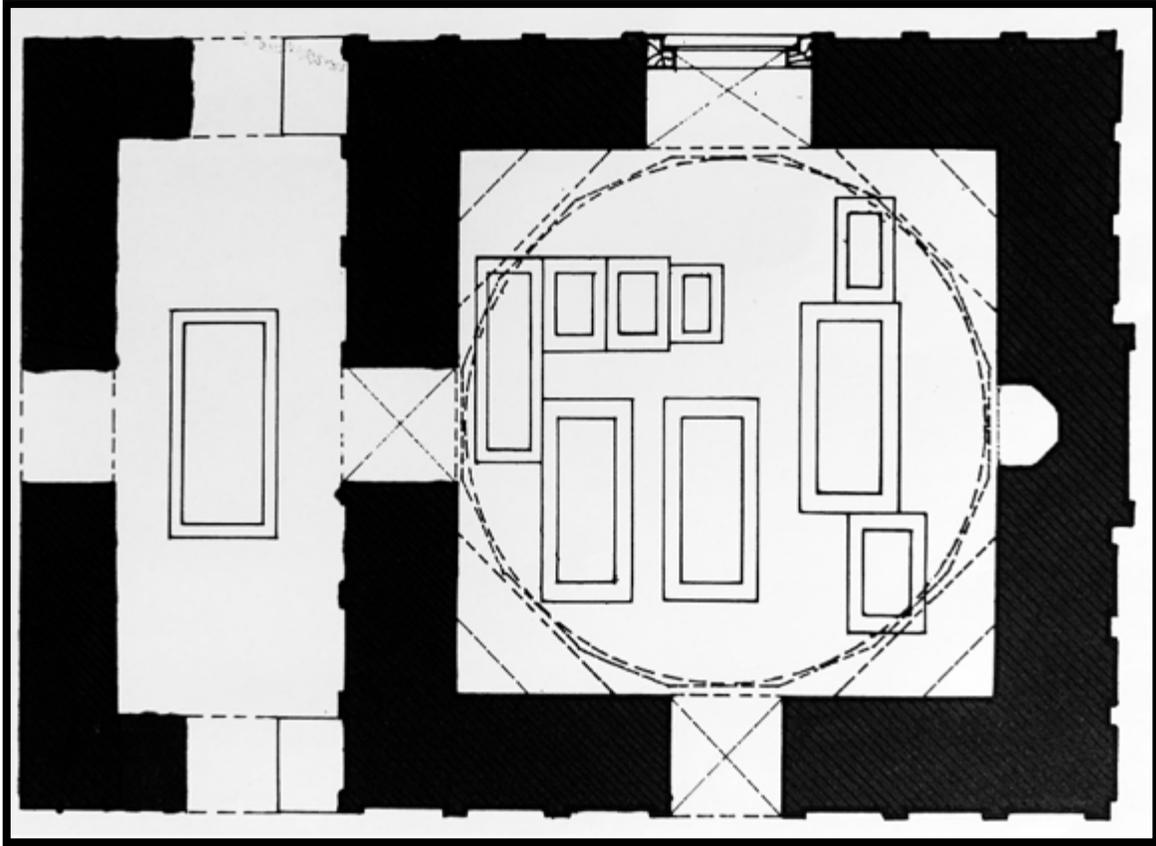


Fig. 105 Plan of mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. After Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 107 Ruined brick enclosure located immediately south of Nizam al-Din's mausoleum

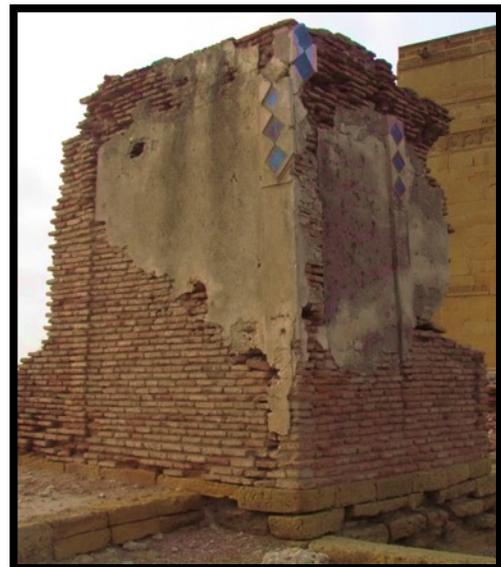


Fig. 106 Monochromatic glazed tiles on the façades of ruined brick enclosure



Fig. 108 Mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. *Mihrāb* composition on *qibla* wall (interior west).



Fig. 109 Mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. Zone of transition.



Fig. 110 Mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. Interior detail of dome.



Fig. 111 Mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister. Southern doorway.



Fig. 112 Unidentified mausoleum (built in 1502). View from east.



Fig. 113 Mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan (919 AH/1513-14 CE). Overview.



Fig. 114 Mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan. Interior *qibla* (west) wall.



Fig. 115 The zone of transition and interior details of mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan.



Fig. 116 The *chaūkhandī* type cenotaph of Malik Kaus al-Sultan (d. 1513-14).



Fig. 117 Mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan. South façade.



Fig. 118 Mausoleum of Kaus al-Sultan. Detail of main (southern) doorway with doorframe of *catuṣśākhā* (four-jambed) variety carved with Timurid arabesque pattern and possessing a small ornate *mandāraka* at the threshold.



Fig. 119 Tomb of Kazeruni *Shaykhs*. Overview (foundations visible on the right).



Fig. 120 Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph from southwest.



Fig. 121 Top surface of Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph bearing *mihrāb* image with curved fleuron.

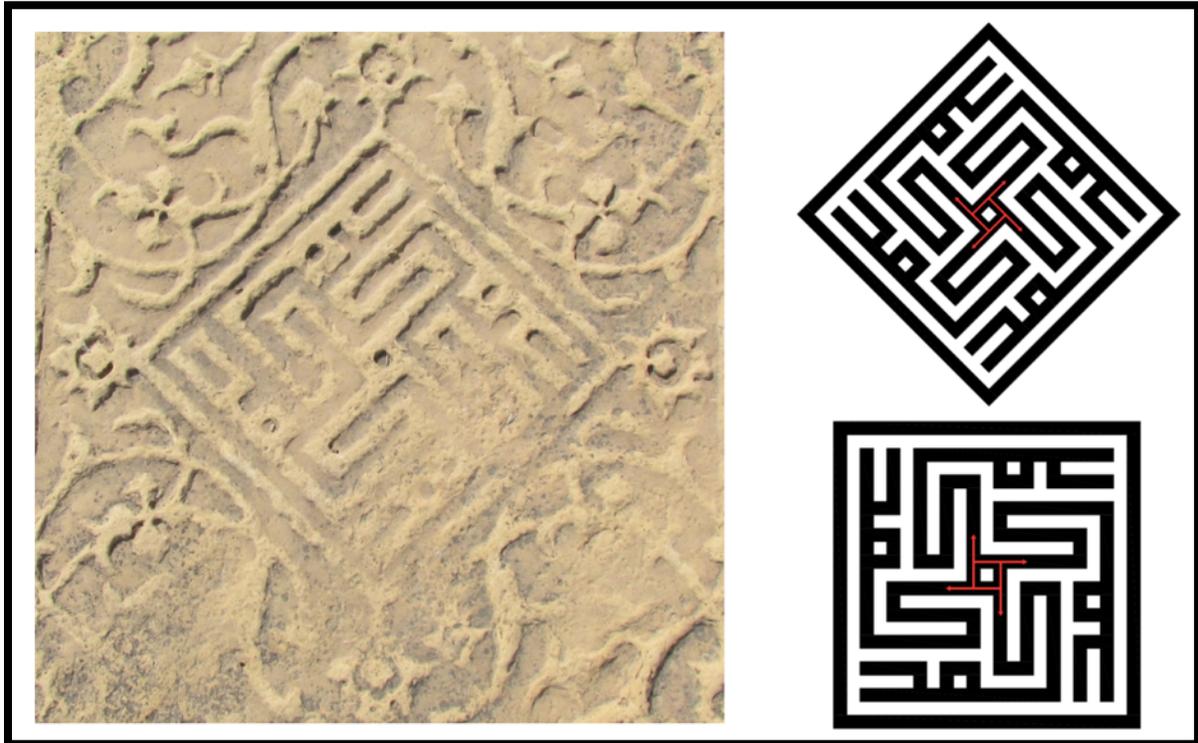


Fig. 122 Square *kūfic* motif of *chār Muḥammad* towards head side of Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph top.

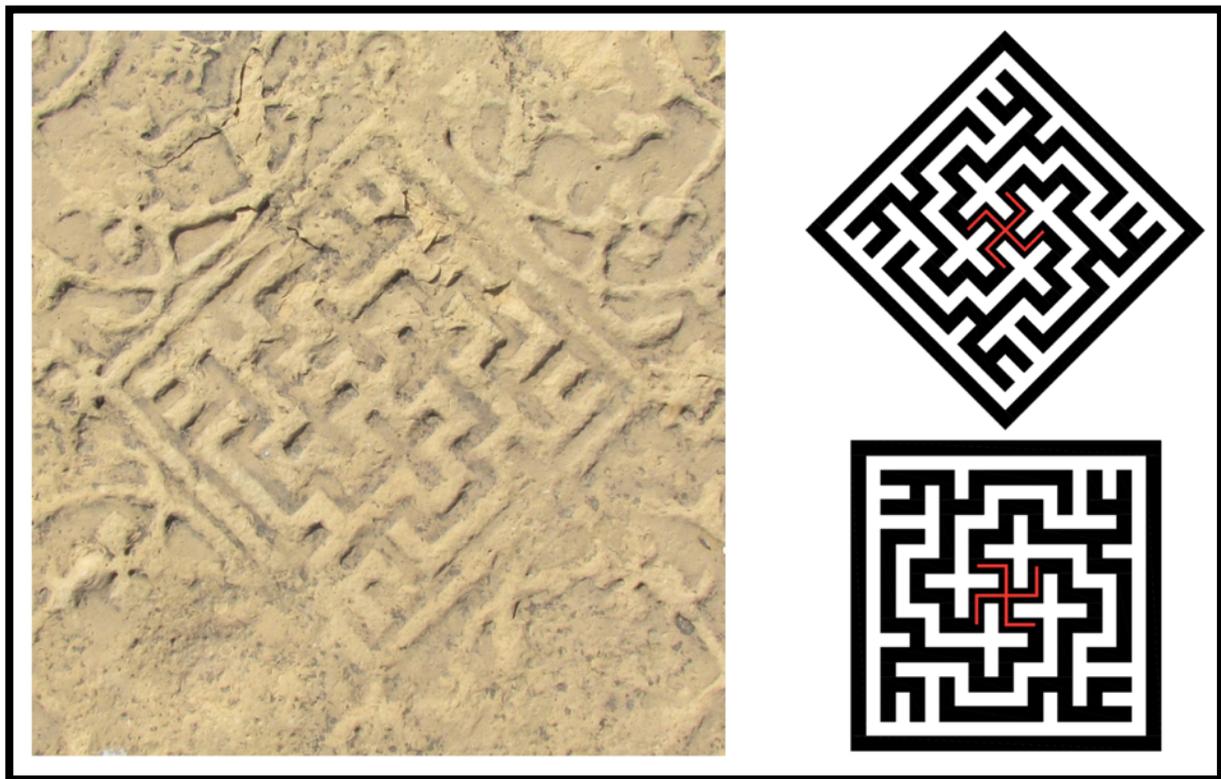


Fig. 123 Square *kūfic* motif of *chār 'Alī* towards foot side of Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph top.



Fig. 124 Wooden double door from Mazandaran (northern Iran), dated 1487, in the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto (<https://www.agakhanmuseum.org/collection/artifact/doors-akm707>)

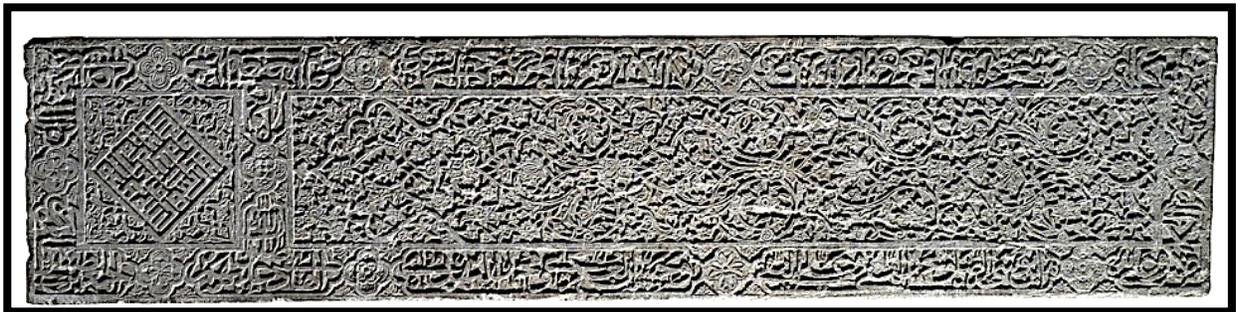


Fig. 125 Top surface of the Timurid cenotaph in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha SW.152.2009. Source: https://www.christies.com/Lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?hdmSaleID=21536&LN=150&intsaleid=21536



Fig. 126 Stone cenotaph of Shaykh Yahya bin Shaykh Junayd (d. 1513 CE).



Fig. 127 Lid of Shaykh Yahya's cenotaph (d. 1513 CE).



Fig. 128 Persian couplet carved on the *chaūkhandī*-type cenotaph in the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister.



Fig. 129 Persian *rubāʿ* carved on the *chaūkhandī*-type cenotaph (adjacent north wall) in the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister.



Fig. 130 Coins from Samma numismatic collection at the National Museum, Karachi (Copper issues of Nizam al-Din and Firuz Shah).



Fig. 131 Mubarak Khan's Funerary Enclosure. View from southeast (Gateway on Eastern façade).



Fig. 132 Mubarak Khan's Funerary Enclosure. Gateway on southern façade.

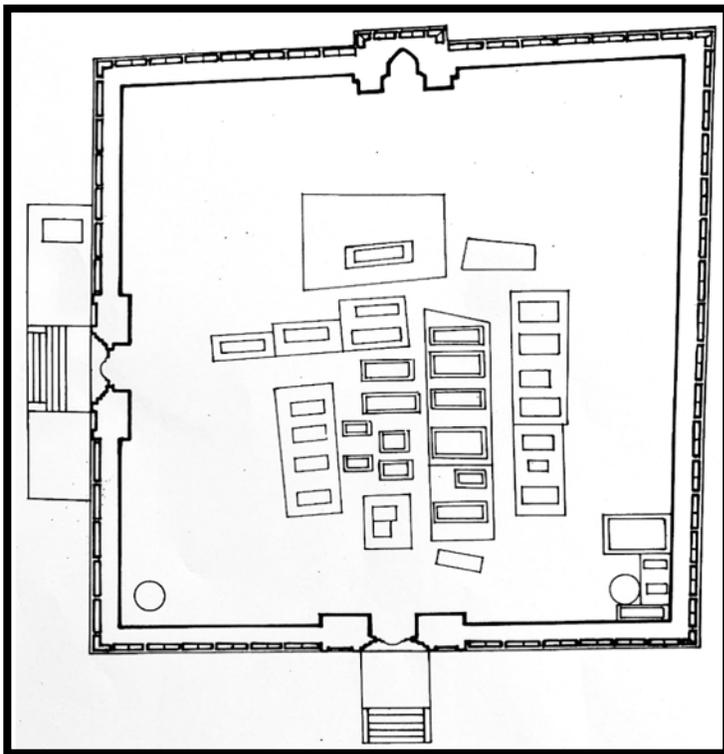


Fig. 133 Plan of Mubarak Khan's Funerary Enclosure (family tomb). From Lari & Lari, 1997



Fig. 134 Mubarak Khan's cenotaph in front of the ornamental *mihrāb* niche on the west.



Fig. 135 Different forms representing funerary headgears on Samma cenotaphs in Makli.



Fig. 136 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo. General view.

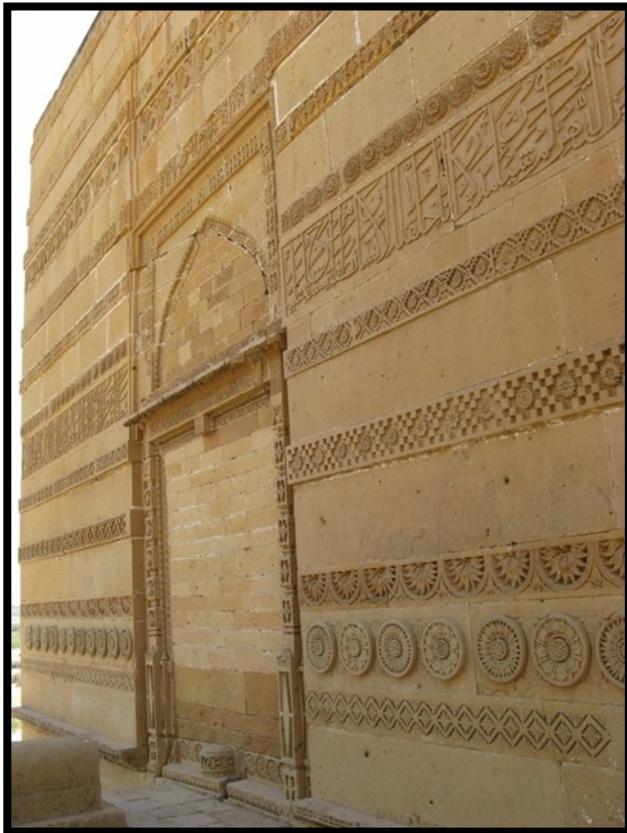


Fig. 137 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo. Northern facade (doorway now closed).

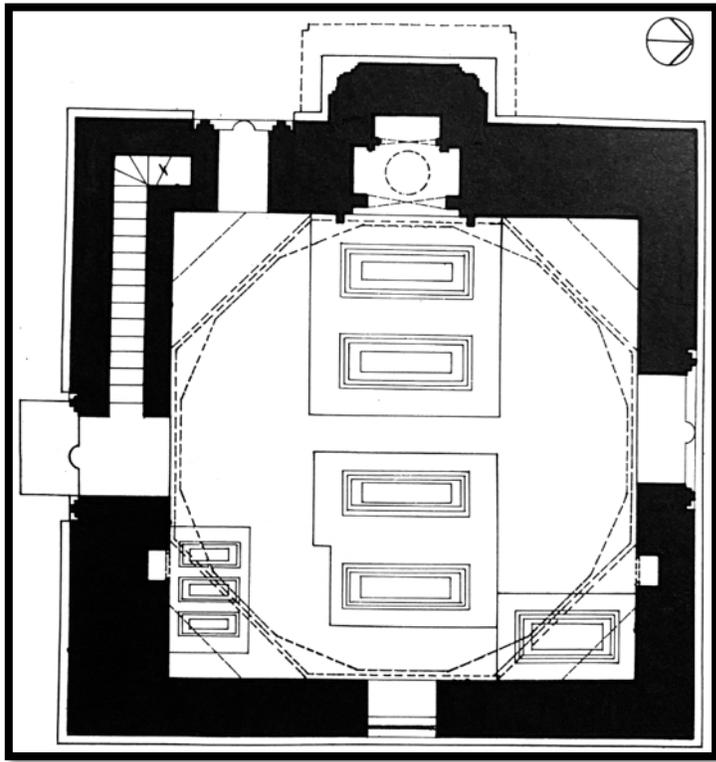


Fig. 138 Plan of Sultan Nizam al-Din's Mausoleum. After Lari & Lari, 1997

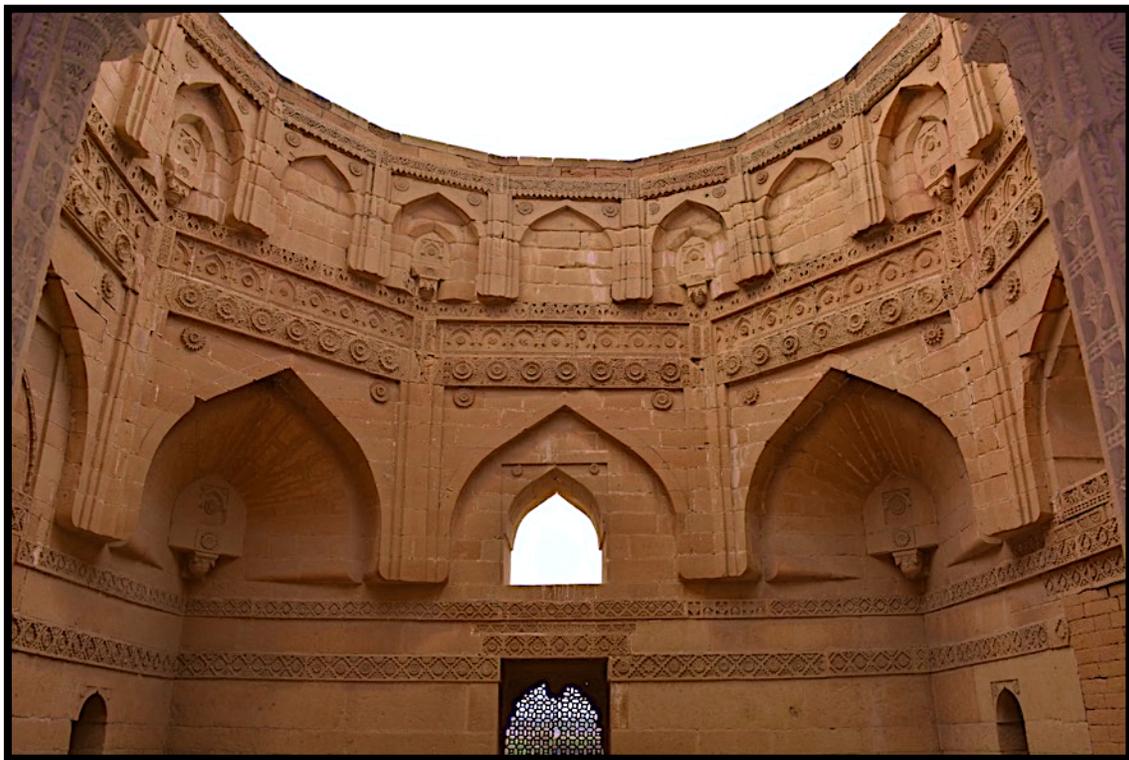


Fig. 139 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. Transformation of cuboid into circular base for dome (View of eastern side in the interior).



Fig. 140 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. Inner passage to reach the *gavākṣākāra* balcony.

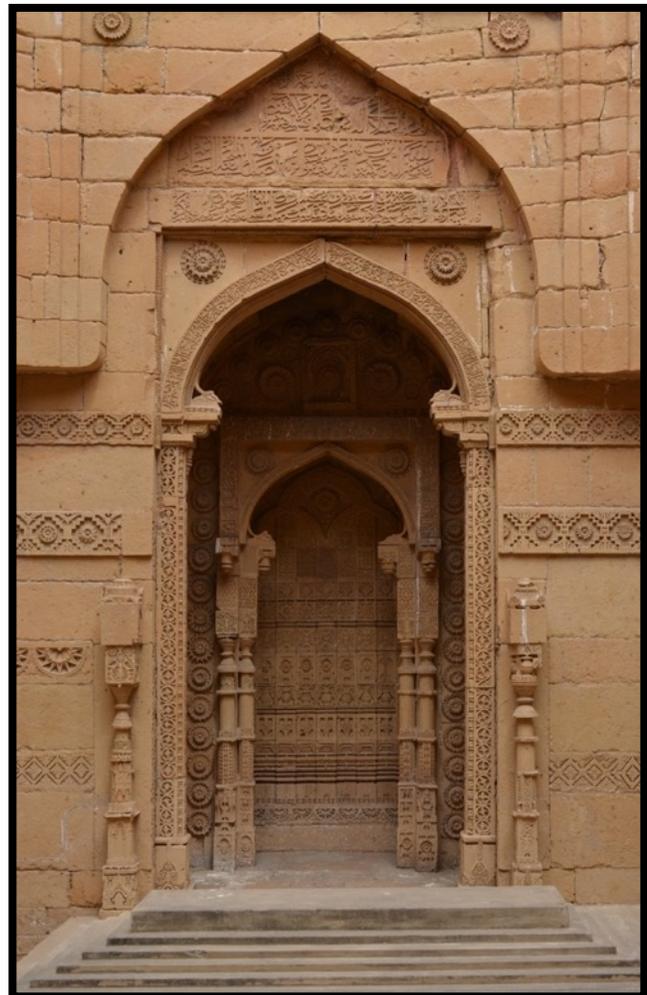


Fig. 141 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. Interior view of the composite highly ornate *mihrāb* niche (2 m deep) on the west wall



Fig. 142 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nanda. Cupola above the *mihrāb* niche with a hanging multi-petaled *padmaṣilā* in the middle.

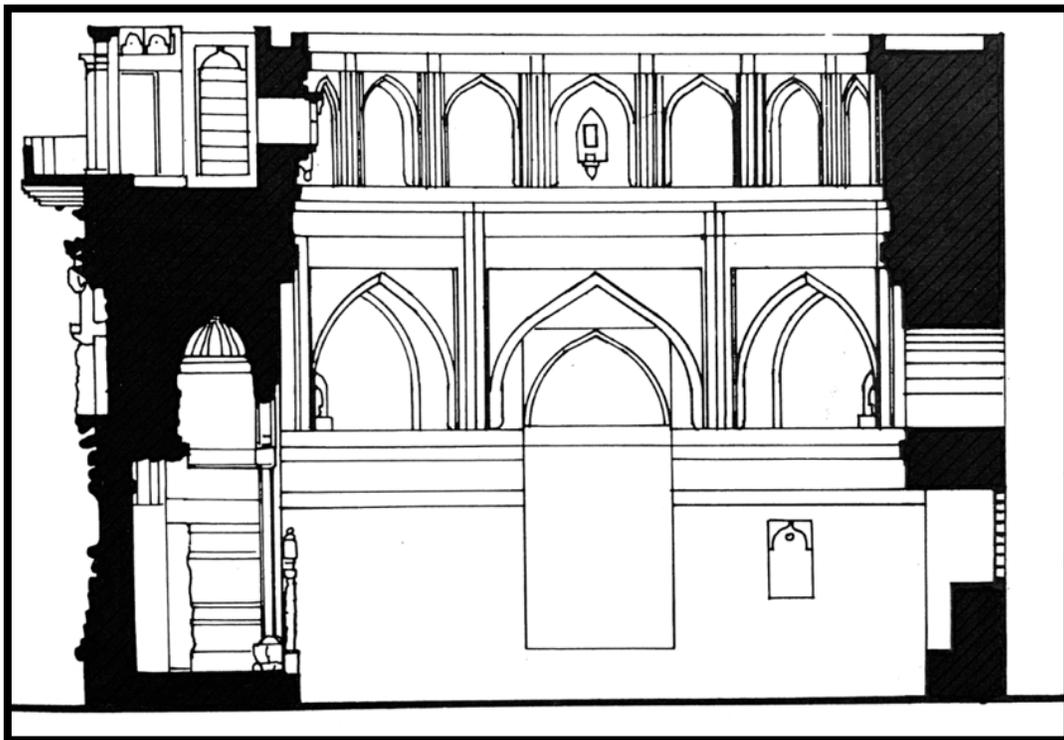


Fig. 143 Sectional drawing of Sultan Nizam al-Din's mausoleum. After Lari & Lari, 1997

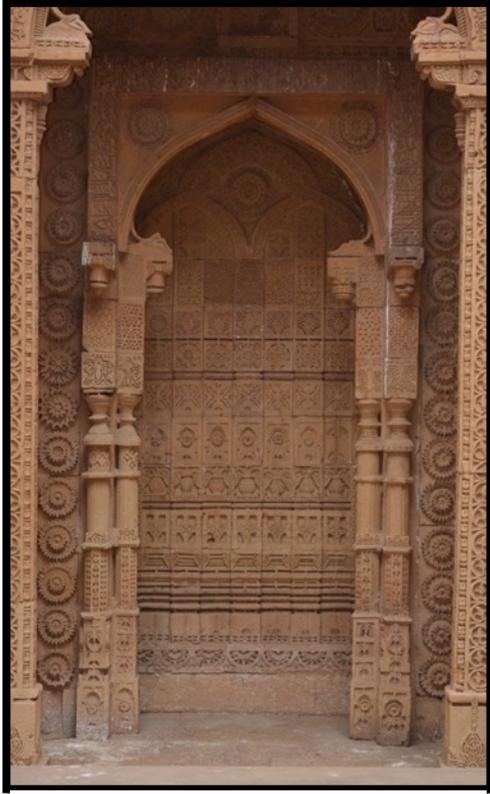


Fig. 144 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo. Inner most *mihrāb* niche.

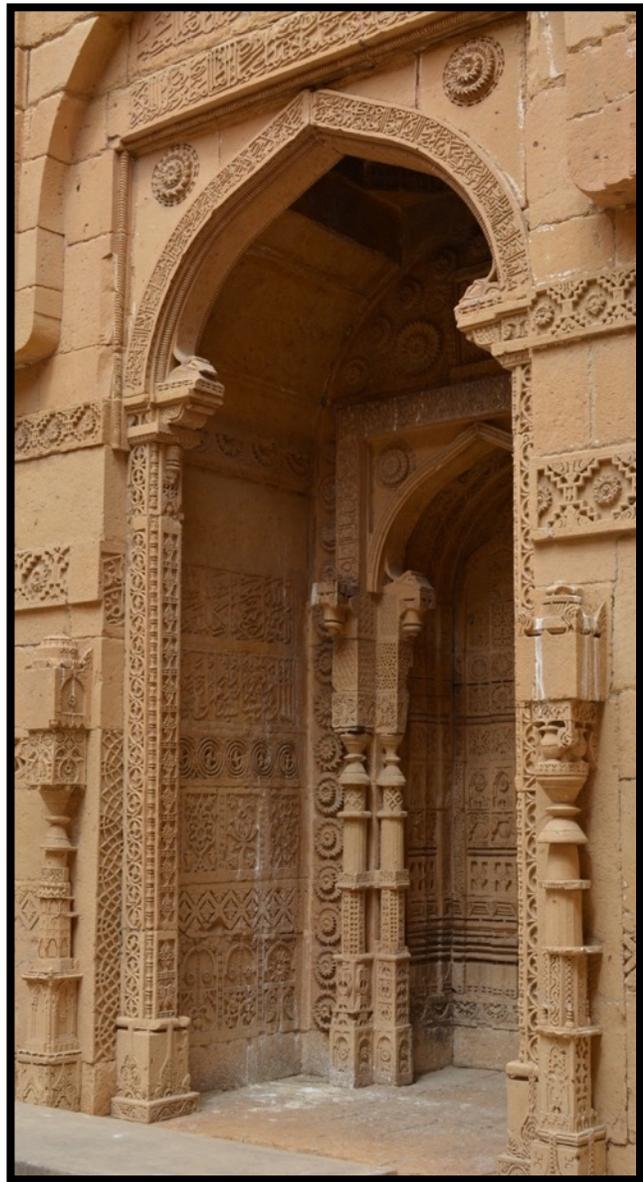


Fig. 145 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo. Motifs and inscriptions inside the *mihrāb* niche.

Fig. 146 Rare silver coin issued by Sultan Firuz Shah (N.M.1977.13), in the collection of National Museum, Karachi.



Fig. 147 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo. Exterior projection of the *mihrāb* on the western façade.



Fig. 148 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din Jam Nindo. Side view of the *mihrāb* projection.

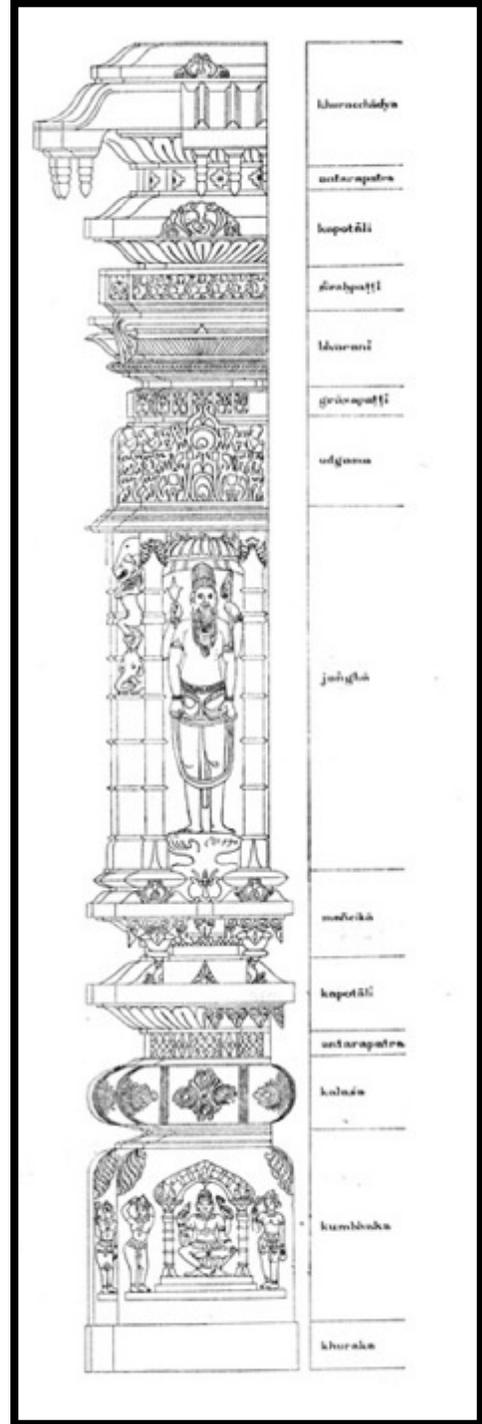


Fig. 149 The *maṇḍovara* (principal wall) projection of Māru-Gurjara *mūlaprāsāda*. Source: Dhaky, 1975

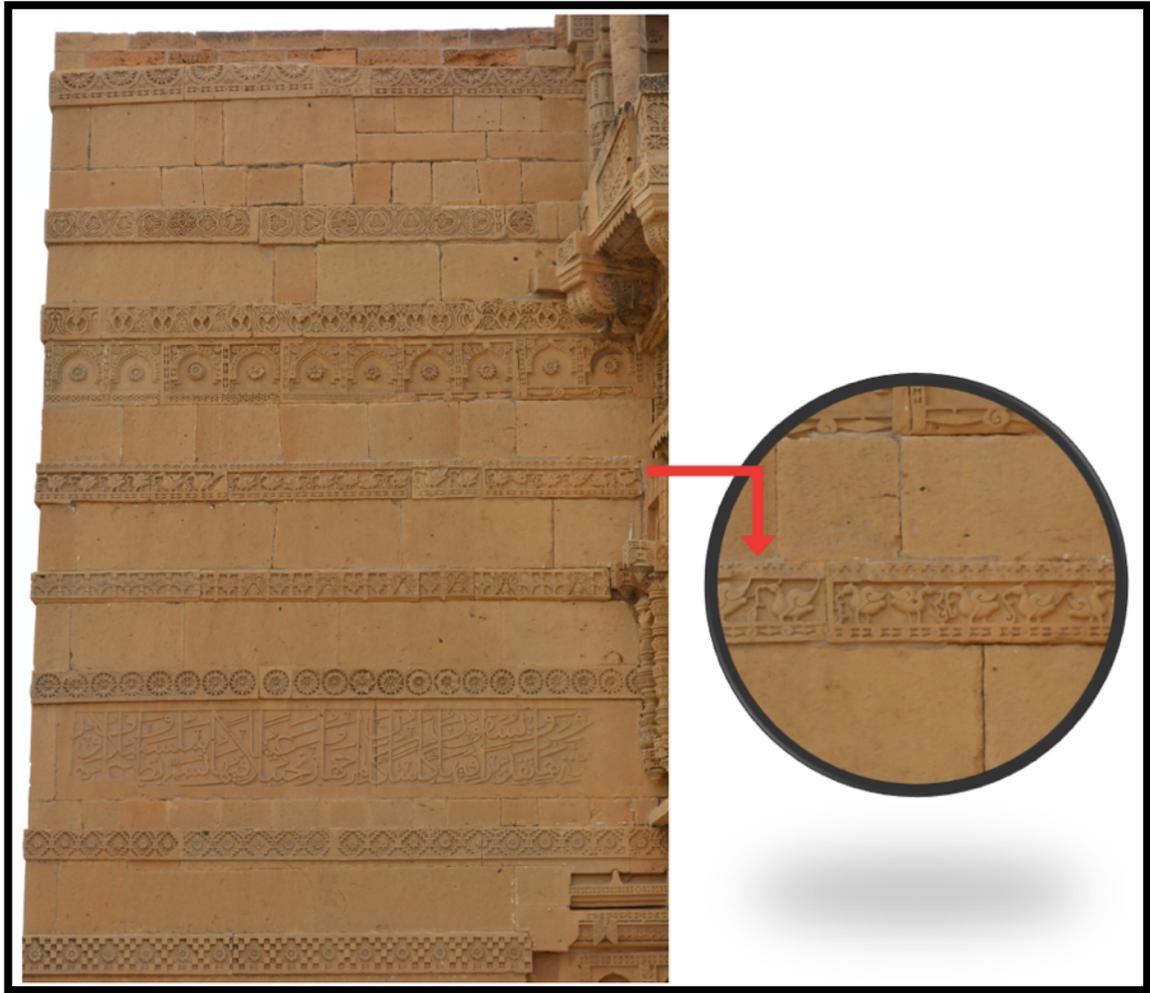


Fig. 150 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. Ornamental friezes on the west wall.



Fig. 151 Reused frieze of *hamsas* in the interior of Shahi Masjid at Khatu, Rajasthan (c. 1203).
Source: Flood, 2009.

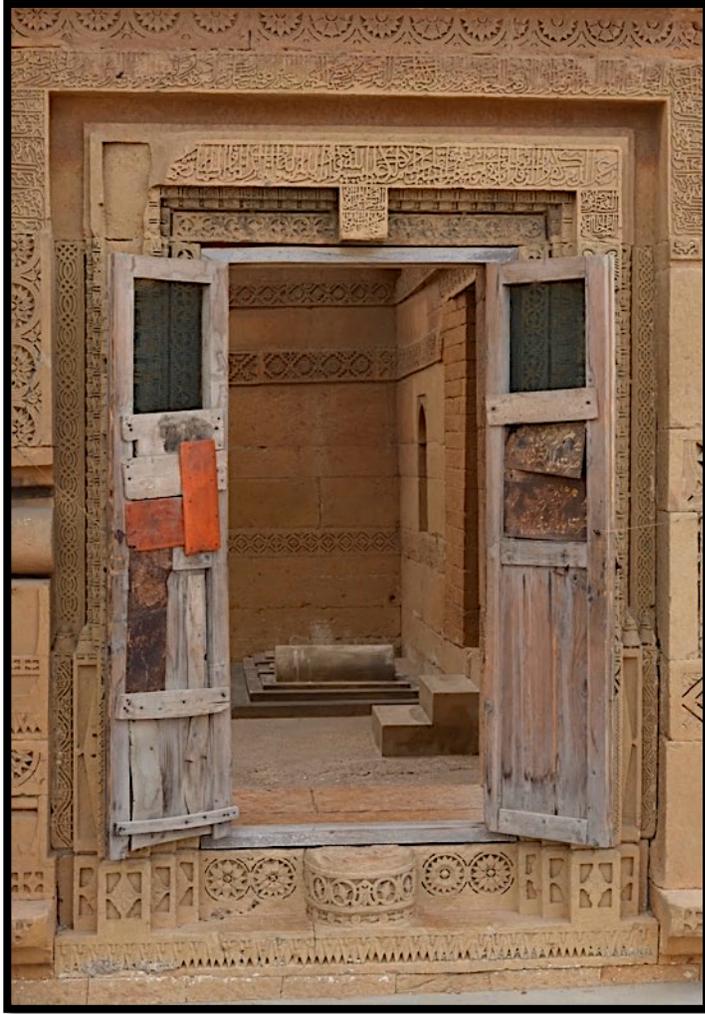


Fig. 153 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. *Semicircular mandāraka* projecting from the *uḍumbara* (threshold) of western doorway.



Fig. 152 Mausoleum of Sultan Nizam al-Din. Inscriptions frieze on the western façade (light markings are visible on the right).



Fig. 154 Gori Jain Temple (c. 1376) near Nagarparkar, Sindh. *Rathikās* at the entrance of *dēvakulikā* subsidiary shrine sheltering *dvārapāla* figurines.

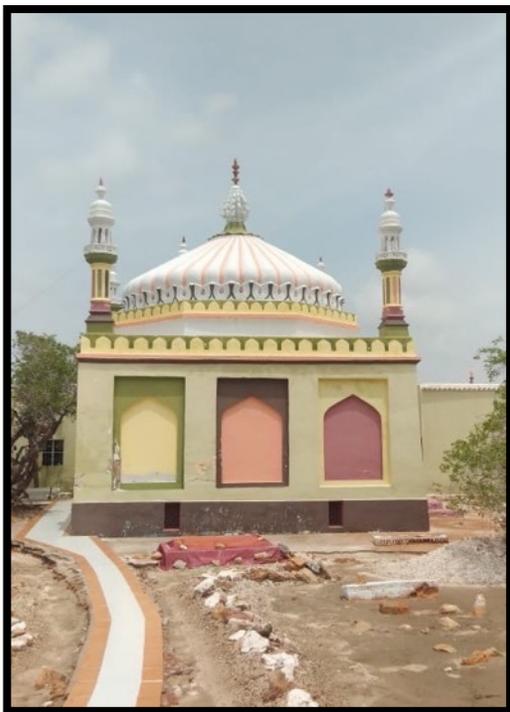


Fig. 155 *Dargāh* of Abu Turab near Gujjo, Thatta district after recent renovations (Photograph taken in fall 2019).

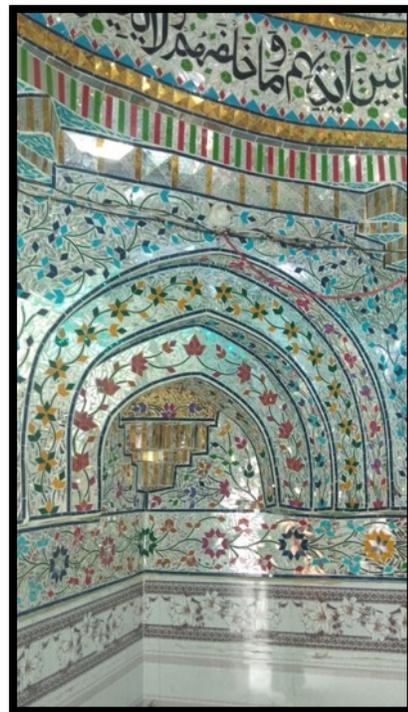


Fig. 156 *Dargāh* of Abu Turab. Triple-arched squinch (interior) after recent renovations. (Photograph taken in fall 2019)

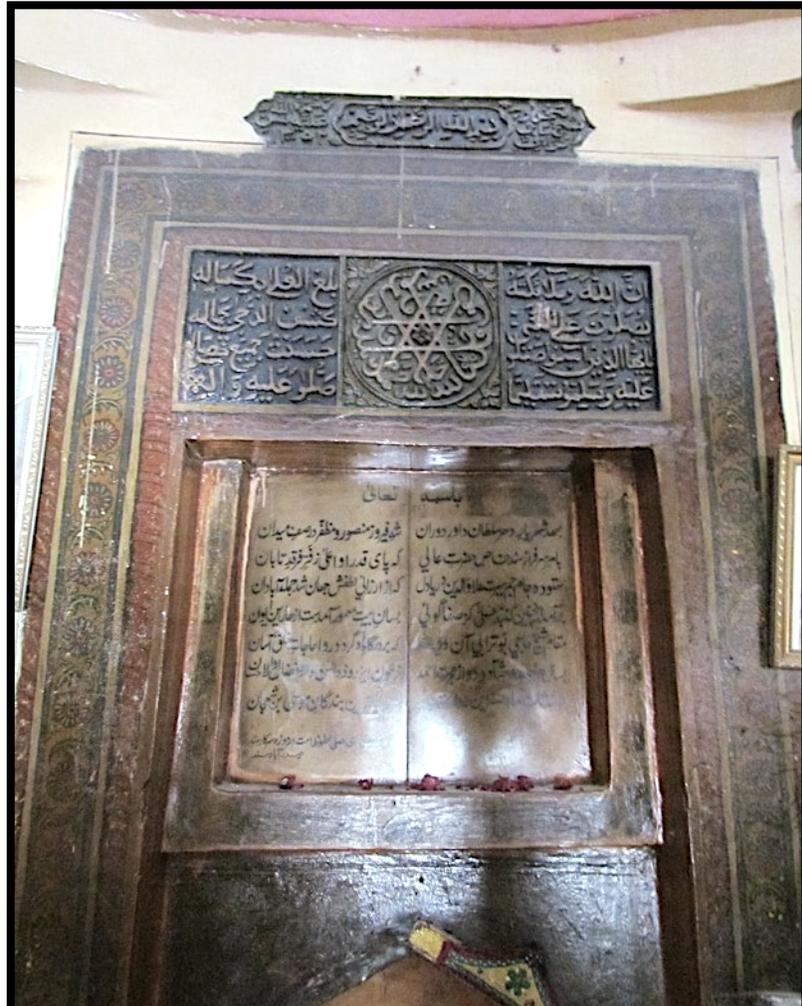


Fig. 157 *Dargāh* of Abu Turab. *Mihrāb* composition on the *qibla* wall (interior) before recent renovations. (Photograph taken in summer 2015).



Fig. 158 *Dargāh* of Abu Turab. Detail of epigraphic-hexagram motif on the *qibla* wall before renovations.



Fig. 159 Epigraphic-hexagram motif from the shrine complex of Shaykh Birkiya, Tando Muhammad Khan.

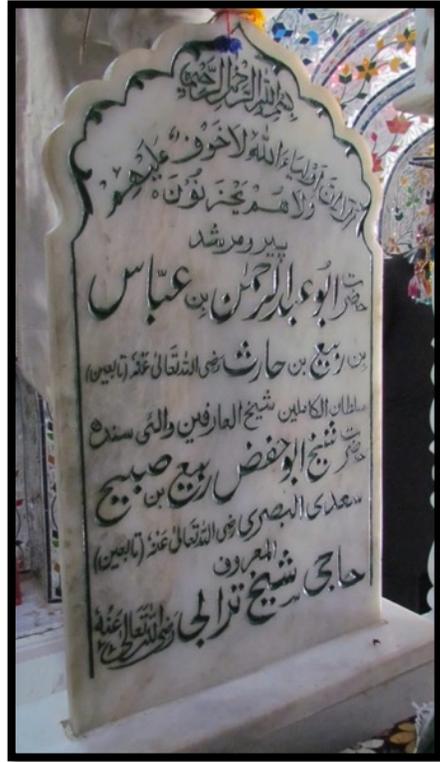


Fig. 160 *Dargāh* of Abu Turab. Views of Abu Turab’s marble gravestone.



Fig. 161 The original epigraphic plaque from the *dargāh* of Abu Turab, now preserved in Sindh Museum, Hyderabad.



Fig. 162 Stone lid from Zone II of Makli necropolis carved with *imān al-mufaṣṣal*.



Fig. 163 *Ḥadīth* carved on the *chaūkhandī*-type cenotaph (adjacent north wall) in the mausoleum of Fath Khan's sister.



Fig. 164 Cenotaph east of the *Jāmi‘ Masjid* of Makli.

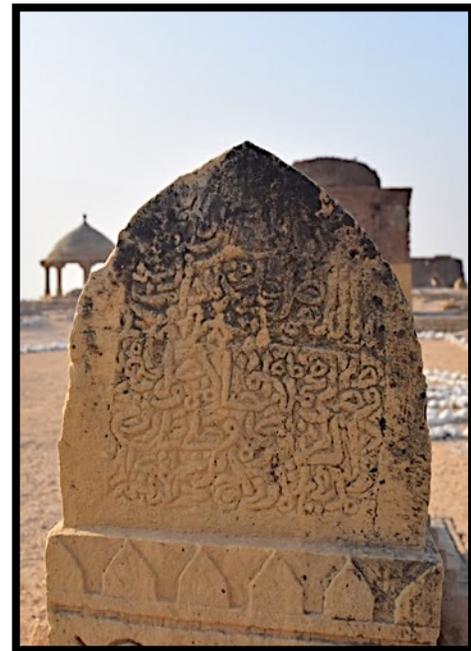


Fig. 165 Cenotaph north of Malik Rajpal’s tomb, carved with a longer version of the *ṣalawāt*.



Fig. 166 Inscription carved on the lintel of *chatrī* tomb located east of Mubarak Khan's funerary enclosure.



Fig. 167 Partly effaced inscription on the lintel of *chatrī* tomb built by Samma prince Malik Rahu.



Fig. 168 Inscriptions carved on the north and south faces of Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph.



Fig. 169 Inscription carved on the eastern face of Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph.



Fig. 170 Inscription carved on the southern face of Shaykh Yahya bin Shaykh Junayd's cenotaph (d. 1513).



Fig. 171 The tomb of *Amīr al-Āzam* Amir Khidr (d. 1506).



Fig. 172 Top view of Amir Khidr's cenotaph carved with Shi'i *ṣalāwāt* and *chār 'Alī* motif.