

ARCHITECTURAL ENCOUNTERS AT MAKLI NECROPOLIS
(14TH – 18TH CENTURIES)

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RABELA JUNEJO

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Science

Prof. Dr. Yaşar Kondakçı
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as the thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. F. Candaş Bilse
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Prof. Dr. Ali Uzay Peker
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Ömür Bakırer (METU, AH) _____

Prof. Dr. Ali Uzay Peker (METU, AH) _____

Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu (Koç Uni., VEKAM) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Zulfıkar Ali Kalhoro (PIDE, Isb. Pk.) _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Çağla Caner Yüksel (Başkent Uni., MİM) _____



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Name, Last Name: Rabela Junejo

Signature:

ABSTRACT

ARCHITECTURAL ENCOUNTERS AT MAKLI NECROPOLIS (14TH – 18TH CENTURIES)

Junejo, Rabela

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Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Ali Uzay PEKER

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The aim of this research is to evaluate building tradition of Makli from 14th to 18th century, a necropolis in Thatta, Sindh in present day Pakistan. Makli, said to be one of the largest necropolises in the world housing 125,000 (a slightly exaggerated figure) burial ensembles of varying range from free standing carved graves to elaborate tombs, is a UNESCO World Heritage site added to the list in 1981/82 as Historical Monuments of Thatta. The pluralistic architecture these tombs display is problematic when studied through old school taxonomic model and the research is directed to propose a fresh / alternative history of architecture for the site. This fresh perspective entails encounter and integration of building traditions as a paradigm. This research focuses on the standing tombs and does not cover other building types, to keep the scope of research within manageable limits. This three pronged research bases the study on on-site investigation, literature survey and analysis of the tombs to dispense plurality and coming together of foreign, local and Indic elements.

Keywords: Sindh, Encounters, Pluralism, Style, Subcontinent.

ÖZ

MAKLİ NEKROPOLÜNDE MİMARİ KARŞILAŞMALAR (14.-18. YÜZYIL)

Junejo, Rabela

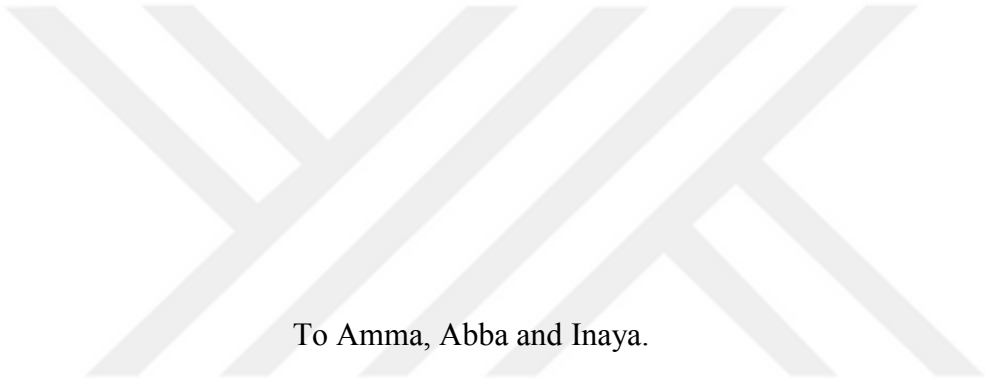
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Danışman: Prof. Dr. Ali Uzay PEKER

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Bu araştırmanın amacı, günümüz Pakistan'lı Sind, Thatta'da bir nekropol olan Makli'deki yapı geleneğini 14. yüzyıldan 18. yüzyıla kadar değerlendirmektir. Kendi başına duran oyma mezarlardan karmaşık anıt mezarlara kadar değişen 125.000 (biraz abartılı bir sayı) mezar topluluğuna ev sahipliği yapan dünyanın en büyük nekropollerinden biri olan Makli, 1981/82 yıllarında Thatta'nın Tarihi Anıtları olarak UNESCO Dünya Mirası listesine girmiştir. Bu anıt mezarların sergilediği çoğulcu mimarlık eski moda taksonomik model ile çalışıldığında problemlidir ve bu araştırma alan için yeni / alternatif bir tarih önermeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu yeni bakış açısı yapı geleneklerinin karşılaşması ve bütünleşmesini bir paradigma olarak belirler. Bu araştırma ayaktaki anıt mezarlara odaklanır ve araştırmanın yönetilebilir sınırlar içinde kalması için başka yapı tiplerini kapsamaz. Bu üç çatalı araştırma çalışmayı saha araştırması, literatür tarama ile çoğulluğu ve yabancı, yerel ve Hint unsurlarının bir araya gelişini yaymak için anıt mezarların analizine dayandırır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sind, Karşılaşmalar, Çoğulculuk, Taksonomi, Alt kıta



To Amma, Abba and Inaya.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is conceived amidst the process and is a continuation of studying the funerary remains of Makli necropolis of Thatta for masters' thesis in History of Architecture. The many questions that arose during masters' research and those that remained unanswered forever intriguing the mind propelled the author to continue studying the site for doctoral research implementations. At its heart this research is an exercise into questioning canon and style as a method to write history of architecture. In the process develop an alternate way – a paradigm to study remains of Makli and possibly other brazen sites like it that shake the very ground of the canon on which much historiography and academic text books are based on. The paradigm suggested is of encounter – of ideas that are religious, cultural, literary, artistic/architectural and social and what ensues and disseminates in the process, it is discussed in the second chapter. Makli a funerary memorial site in Thatta, Sindh remaining active from 14th to 18th centuries receiving the dead and housing them in magnificent tombs and graves etc. of stone and brick posed a challenge to the author of defying style. The very deportment of the sepulcher remains was an anomaly as it was near impossible to sort and categorize the architecture applying taxonomic tools. The years of studying history of architecture under styles was difficult to unlearn as it remained the most pervasive method of teaching the subject - the overarching gimmick to gauge, read and process every historic remain with. What was it about Makli that drove the author to redirect the perspective and how to provide an alternative implement to read, gauge and process the remains, is what makes the content of this dissertation.

Makli is essentially a hill outcrop that garnered prominence during Samma (1352-1524 CE) rule over lower Sindh, as their necropolis. Its augmented eminence coincided with Thatta becoming the official capital of the Samma rulers around mid-fourteenth century. Thatta, a mercantile city flourished in mid fourteenth century and continued the pattern till 1739 CE when the Kalhora rulers shifted the capital to Khudabad and river Indus changing its meandering course that has remained volatile in the deltaic regions.¹ When the rule of lower Sindh passed on to Arghun (1524-1555 CE) and Tarkhan (1555-1591 CE) rulers hailing from Qandahar, in present day Afghanistan, neither Thatta nor Makli declined by this shift. The status of both the necropolis and the city were retained and building activity, although comparatively less during Arghun times, continued at Makli. The city flourished for the living and the necropolis displayed the mastery of the artist and the masons working in tandem for the living and the dead, sustaining the former and glorifying the latter for posterity.

This chapter presents the main problem statement elaborated further in the aim and objectives for the research, charting out main research questions that the author has worked towards judiciously answering in the dissertation. The basic methodology adopted is discussed along with chapter structure and a brief discussion on their content.

¹ Thatta its importance as a city of mercantile nature etc. are discussed at length in master's dissertation therefore the discussion is curtailed here. For more information about Thatta refer, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Siddiqi, M. Idris. *Thatta*. Tourism Booklet, Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1970. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012. For Indus and its course refer, Raverty, H.G. *The Mihran of Sind and Its Tributaries :A Geographical and Historical Study*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1895. Haig, M. R. *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on its Ancient Geopgraphy and History*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. , 1894. Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Siddiqi, M. Idris. *Thatta*. Tourism Booklet, Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1970. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012. For Indus and its course refer, Raverty, H.G. *The Mihran of Sind and Its Tributaries :A Geographical and Historical Study*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1895. Haig, M. R. *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on its Ancient Geopgraphy and History*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. , 1894.

1.1:- AIM AND OBJECTIVES:

The standardization defying funerary monuments at Makli require a fresh historiographical approach to examine monuments based on their inherent pluralistic architectural merit.

Advancing from this problem statement the aim of the research is to not only questions canon and deliberate the problems within the approach but propose an alternative tool or paradigm. This paradigm to evaluate the architecture at Makli needs to be flexible enough to absorb, reconcile and/or contest multiple narratives. The narrative presented here in the dissertation is therefore one of many possible ways of analyzing the architecture at the site. Hence it is 'a' history of architecture rather than the all-encompassing 'the' history. The encounter / integration paradigm that author is proposing is reached through study of contemporary approaches in architectural historiography in general and specific to material culture of subcontinent. The integrative character of material remains be it art, architecture, coins and literature/poetry etc. stemming from subcontinent appear problematic if examination tools are taxonomic. The study of approaches taken by contemporary scholars shaking the ground and expanding or rupturing the canon led the author to formulate encounter of myriad agencies as a possible way to evaluate the site.

The objectives of the research are:

- To challenge and question the taxonomic approach toward history of architecture.

The remains at Makli disturb the canon - that is history of architecture written under styles. It is a reductive approach to write history of architecture and tends to reject or inferiorize plural intermixed designs. While questioning and challenging the canonic approach encounter is proposed as an alternative paradigm to examine and

understand sepulcher remains at Makli as canon does not do justice to holistically present the remains.

- To develop an alternative narrative around four hundred year building tradition of Makli Necropolis.

The material evidence on the site calls for an alternative approach for studying and understanding the remains. The written resources dealing specifically with the architecture of the site are found to be lacking in in-depth analysis and are more documentary in nature. There are gaps observed while examining the written resources and material remains simultaneously and there is a need for an alternative approach to writing about the material remains on the site.

- To deliberate on building construction practices that were retained and rejected, how, why and what was adopted, adapted, rejected and what evolved during the active years of construction.

Temporally studying the remains on site and following continuation and discontinuation of construction methods and practices, charting out points of departure of trends and extrapolating the rationale behind it, tying it to events like migrations and political changes etc. that may or may not have led to the shift is one of the objectives. This will provide insights into process of architectural production and the agents affecting it. This reflects on the encounter part that makes the basic frame work for evaluation and expands on the intent of the dissertation. The architecture reflects amalgamation of foreign, local and Indic elements both in construction technique and decorative program of tombs built. A similar attempt was made for masters' research where Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din (section 3.2.1) was investigated for carrying foreign and local elements architecturally, structurally, in decoration and possible symbolism of the form chosen.

This will be carried forward spatially and temporally for the entire site and tombs from different dynasties.

- To understand Thatta and lower Sindh as a sultanate polity like its counterparts in Gujarat, Bengal and Malwa etc.

The revisionist histories addressing provincial architecture of both the sultanate and Mughal period departs from the meta-center-dominating-periphery-narrative. These histories are not limited to buildings and architecture but delve into material culture and other historic domains. The potential and plurality of architecture produced in these independent semi-independent provincial polities is getting its overdue attention in the scholarship. Lower Sindh indicates similar patterns that are behaviorally synonymous with these polities; this needs further investigation to reach a conclusive ground for situating Makli -lower Sindh -Thatta as a sultanate polity.

- To question colonial architectural historiography with site based evidence and contemporary approaches in writing.

Colonial epistemological enterprise and literature produced in the wake of British control over subcontinent requires critical evaluation. The political propaganda facilitated via colonial writings its longevity and biases are important issues to be reasoned and contested. Post-colonial studies are a vast domain questioning various biases and falsified narratives that were developed and disseminated during British time. For the purpose of dissertation the focus is architecture and region of Sindh therefore the selected literature is from the two areas. It is this literature specific to architecture produced during British rule that led to germination of writing history under styles in the subcontinent.

1.2:- RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The problem statement and objectives briefed above enabled extracting of the following research questions this dissertation addresses throughout its length.

1. *Why must Makli be (re)evaluated to generate a fresh/alternative perspective on/ for its architecture?*
2. *How can Makli's architecture be studied if the taxonomic burden or approach is laid off?*
3. *What are the parameters of encounter as a paradigm and how it can be justified for the evaluation/analysis of the site?*
4. *What are the characteristic features of the site and the region of Sindh that align it with larger sultanate period revisionist historiographical approach?*

1.3:- METHODOLOGY:

A pilot study of the site was conducted starting in 2016 with extensive photo documentation of the standing tombs from material stock of both brick and stone tombs on the site. The documentation was structured to contain all four elevations of the tombs, interior details covering *mihrab* niche, entrance / openings from inside, zone of transition and domical profile and focused shots of decorative motifs. Where ever compound walls existed they were documented separate from the elevations of the tomb proper. The pilot study was supplemented with an in depth study of architecture of the tombs via sources like works of Dani, Lari and Hassan corroborated with the photo documented data.² The list and extensive summary of monuments thus produced gave basic information regarding date, dynasty and material etc. of tombs and detailed the design and decorative features. The summary

² Lari focuses on Samma monuments only and documents most of the Samma period tombs with drawings published in the book whereas Dani's is a monograph covering almost all standing tombs on the site. Hassan on the other hand has a shorter portion on monuments of Thatta as the book covers funerary memorial architecture in Pakistan. Refer, Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture* . Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001.

was cross checked with the photo documented data. The list and summary of monuments were organized based on damage assessment and preservation booklets by Heritage Foundation and the system employed by them for sorting monuments under different dynasties (refer appendix A). The color coding used in the selective catalog of monuments in appendix-A is also extracted from the said booklets.³

This preliminary study was imperative for formulation of problem statement. The evidence on the site was variegated enough to challenge stylistic categorization based on dynasties for example; Samma Style or Tarkhan Style etc. as present in the basic sources on architecture of Thatta. The separation under dynastic styles denied comparative evaluation of the tombs from different times dispensing continuities and discontinuities and the formulation of a rationale behind them.

This extensive summary document was cross referred throughout the dissertation process. The evidences that came to fore under the pilot study directed and greatly impacted the study of literature. Resources that were picked became supplementary and supportive to finding answers and cultivate understanding of the anomalies dispensed by on-site evidence. The literature therefore is evidence dictated and site takes precedence in the research making methodology empirical albeit qualitative. For the research extensive critical evaluation of literary sources was settled upon, for it was considered imperative to the dissertation. The historiographical analysis delving deeper into vices and virtues of older resources for example the colonial literature and potentials of the newer revisionist writings for example by Edwards, Flood, Eaton and Patel etc. in the context of subcontinent showed more promise compared to a rather shorter basic review of sources.⁴ The methodology hence,

³ *Damage Assessment Mission to the Necropolis of Makli at WHS Thatta, Pakistan*. Survey Report, Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011. *Preservation of Tombs of Sultan Ibrahim and Amir Sultan Muhammad, WHS Makli*. Preservation Proceeding Document, Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

⁴ Colonial sources detailed later in the research are for example, Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Period*. 4th. Bombay (Mumbai): D.B.Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1959.—. *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981 (1956). Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. —. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture - Volume I*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899. —. *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture: Being a*

swings between material evidence and its readings and literature serving the purpose to unpack and discern the jargon of evidence departing from oft adopted model of style. Theoretical content therefore is charted as an extensive historiographical debate that makes a strong case to study Makli in a newer revisionist light. Limited discussions with experts on history of Sindh etc. were although conducted and marginally facilitated the research but not holding greater traction in and for the dissertation, are circumvented.

1.4:- CHAPTERIZATION:

This dissertation is structured under five chapters each propelling the research forward to a comprehensive conclusion. The first chapter of introduction positions the premise of the research unveiling its intent, aim and objectives, postulating research questions, methodology devised and adapted for the purpose and overview of chapters.

The second chapter that is the most imperative to the research enumerates critical evaluation of the sources. This chapter forms the firm ground on which the research stands. It is structured thematically under various groups and respective sub groups. The sultanate period revisionist histories are discussed first as they provide a detailed look into approaches that are taken up by contemporary historians working on subcontinent. Dispelling canon requires a strong ground where its limited scope is questioned and challenged. This first theme charts out urgencies and exigencies of contemporary revisionist approach that takes evidence as primary and corroborates

Sequel to the Handbook of Architecture. London: John Murray, 1862. Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929. —. *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*. London, 1926. Of that which the author calls revisionist new histories examples are Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990. —. *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*. Karachi: Oxford University Press Pakistan, 2015. Flood, Finbarr Barry, ed. *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008.—. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000. Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003. Abha Narain Lambah, Alka Patel, ed. *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates*. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006.

earlier writings with material remains from a wider range transcending architecture. The conflicts that arise while examining material remains and subsequent literature demanded a new or fresh perspective to deal with the plurality of material remains. The marginalized appearance of sultanate period and its architecture called for focused and area specific studies rather than meta-all-encompassing surveys of Indian architecture and art, a product of colonial enterprise and taxonomic approach. This often neglected sultanate time period and the intermixed visual jargon the material culture of this time displayed is getting its due attention. The sultanate time and its historiographical issues are therefore important for forming a basis to discuss Makli as similar tendencies of disregard are observed for the site in colonial writings. This theme presents relevant problems and the approach taken to address or dismantle and demystify them for example the all-pervasive temple desecration and the propaganda it entails is discussed in the light of new evidence. The bi-polar narrative of foreign and/or local precedence for architecture of the subcontinent tilting to one side or the other as per the scholars inclinations is untwined. The polarity is mediated by introducing plurality where foreign, local and other agencies get their due share for making architecture/art manifest. The scholarly indulgence in one tendency somehow reduces the merit of the other. These polarities also foster the Hindu - Muslim / Indic - Islamic divide, a consequence of colonial enterprise retained in later nationalist narratives. This discussion concludes with presentation of revisionist approaches in history beyond architectural domains into literary or quasi-religious dimensions that supplement developing encounter as a paradigm.

The colonial literature, a vast body of historiographical material, is presented with focus on architectural surveys. These surveys remain relevant still, as the basic structure for writing Indian architecture mostly comes from them. Here Fergusson's and Brown's books, surveys in the likes of Fletcher orchestrated for Indian architecture, are deliberated upon. These books created the early schisms – separating architecture on the basis of religions of Islam and Hinduism.⁵ The wealth

⁵ Colonial sources detailed later in the research are for example, Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Period*. 4th. Bombay (Mumbai): D.B.Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1959.— . *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt.

of material these books dispense is indicative of the huge undertakings these writings were with drawings, plates, images and lithographs etc. These were however the inception of reading architecture of India in the light of the two major religious dimensions of 'Islam' and 'Hinduism'. The underscoring of one in favor of the other and the relative disregard for both in comparison to European architecture is highlighted in this portion of the chapter. A separate discussion on Sindh follows the generic presentation of surveys on Indian architecture. The focus of this part is Henry Cousens book that is supplemented with other colonial writings on Sindh.⁶

Later in the chapter, Sindh and its history is delved into, this part looks at earlier pre-colonial writings on Sindh written by local historians plugging in the debate the relative biases of colonial writers as well. Here an attempt is made to visualize a heterogeneous cultural milieu that fostered the intermixed or plural architecture of Makli. This reconstruction of the past facilitated situating Makli in an environment that was potent enough to receive, accommodate and probably appreciate the entwined intermixed visual jargon. This portion therefore is not a plain linear / chronological narrative of historic events and shifting political control from one dynasty to the other but rather the resource material at hand is sifted for markers of heterogeneity and relative co-existence of people from myriad ethnic and religious leanings. It does not however romanticize the idea of tolerance and social homogeneity rather points at co-existence and acceptance of/for certain allowances. Wherever possible attempts are made to draw equivalences but the recognition of difference, religious and ethnic, existed however not to the extent exploited in colonial writings. Mercantile character of Sindh that may have played a role in bringing the seemingly disparate tendencies to co-exist and exchange is explored. This narrative of Sindh's past therefore taps into apposite dimensions that further the dissertations intent. The chapter concludes with assessing and establishing

Ltd., 1981 (1956). Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. —. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture - Volume I*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899. Fletcher, Banister. *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur*. London, 1896.

⁶ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

parameters of encounter as a paradigm and the consequence of writing under styles on history of architecture.

The third chapter talks about the site of Makli and its details briefly. The selection criteria for monuments are discussed. A list of the standing tombs of Makli prepared during pilot study is shared in the chapter with basic information. The design and decorative details of the selected tombs supplemented by visuals are provided later in the chapter. This basic architectural description of tombs assists the analysis in the next chapter. The fourth chapter covers the analysis part here lithic sepulchers are discussed separately from their brick counter parts. The analysis is divided into discussion of formal and decorative details in a comparative manner charting similarities, differences and shifts that ensued from Samma to later Tarkhan/ Mughal period. A separate heading of symbolism of form and elements is also presented transcending brick and mortar and venturing into esoteric readings of architecture. The final chapter concludes the debates of the research bringing together the theoretical discussion of chapter two and analysis of chapter four. The research questions are deliberated upon in the chapter building on theoretical and analytical discussions. Future research directions and possibilities conclude the chapter.

CHAPTER 2

RELEVANT HISTORIOGRAPHIC DEBATES – MAKING THE CASE FOR MAKLI

Makli, the site with most extant funerary monuments from 14th – 18th C in lower Sindh with its capital at Thatta during medieval times, is the site of study for this PhD dissertation. It is a quintessential funerary site that saw building activity for over 400 years and observes building activity to date albeit rare due to heritage status of the site. Samma rule in lower Sindh in 14th century marks the wide scale use of the site as a necropolis after establishment of Shaikh Hammad Jamali's *khanqah* (hermitage and a school for spiritual teachings of a saint) and subsequent burial of the saint on the site. For Samma rulers the site worked as a sacred or special burial ground due to proximity of it from both their earlier and later seats of power – Samui and Thatta respectively. The presence of saintly figure, royal patronage, topographic formation and location of the site near the capital cities provided all the necessary ingredients for its use as a burial ground. Sacrality of the site was reinforced with development of legends and myths around it elevating its status compared to the earlier site of Pir Patho. Samma rulers encouraged the city dwellers to use Makli instead Pir Patho for burying their dead. Piety and politics went hand in hand here and Makli received funerary monuments of varying scale, building activity continued for almost 400 years decelerating after capital moves from Thatta to Khudabad and later Hyderabad around 1739 CE.⁷

⁷ For further information on Makli Necropolis refer Lari, Yasmeen, Suhail Zaheer Lari. *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997 & Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *Thatta Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad. Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

This chapter is organized thematically as an extensive literature review that ventures beyond identification of gaps and critically evaluates the sources. It is therefore a historiographical survey of sources that make the case for study of Makli in a newer light. It discusses problem of/with taxonomy and its repercussions for Makli. Colonial writings on India (and Sindh) are discussed focusing on architecture their propaganda and biases (if any).

Broadly this chapter is divided into sultanate period and contemporary debates rethinking and challenging writings on architecture. Evaluation of colonial writings and scholarship focusing on writings of James Fergusson and Percy Brown both of whom wrote extensively on architecture of Indian subcontinent and produced surveys akin to survey of western architecture. Their writings are considered seminal text on architectural historiography of India. Henry Cousens's book on 'Antiquities of Sindh' is evaluated as colonial resource on architecture of Sindh. This portion becomes important as it discusses colonial writings and the thinking they developed with respect to architecture creating the initial 'Hindu' – 'Muslim' / 'Indic' – 'Islamic' architectural divide. These writings also fostered and took forward the taxonomic classifications, appropriating scholarship on architecture with enduring consequences. First part is generic to South Asia whilst second part discusses writings on Sindh. History of Sindh with focus on Thatta from 14th-16th century is also presented to bring forth the general historic biases that perpetuated colonial writings and reflected on perceptions towards architecture. Discussing history of Sindh also highlights the important events that consequently shaped architecture at Makli. It provides a general socio-cultural and political understanding of the region. This becomes important as the heterogeneous socio-cultural milieu of Sindh was reflected in its architecture, producing forms that disturbed taxonomic approach of writing history. Questioning taxonomy challenging its reductive nature is discussed next. This orients the research in line with current historiographical trends, problems and limitations with proposing a fresh outlook/paradigm for writing history of architecture for Makli necropolis. Post partition scholarship produced on Sindh and Makli (emphasizing on architecture) are integrated in the debate of taxonomy briefly highlighting issues of recent scholarship where underlining themes of Nationalism

and/ or style are observed taking the Islamic architecture divide created before partition; further.

This chapter is targeted to problematize historiography in order to propose “encounter” of architectural ideas at Makli as a rethinking and reorienting tool to read the past. Rethinking of the past especially with respect to sultanate period architecture is not a new concept but bringing the debate to “architecture” of Makli and lower Sindh will be the contribution of the scholar. This chapter will facilitate selection of monuments as there are some 40 odd standing tombs in reasonable condition (excluding free standing graves) and scholar wishes to limit the scope of in-depth analysis to lesser number of monuments. A pilot study and photo-documentation of standing tombs was completed earlier and after selection of monuments in depth analysis is targeted.

2.1:- SULTANATE PERIOD AND CONTEMPORARY DEBATES:

The advent of Islam in the region is marked by extension of Umayyad Caliphate in Sindh in 712 CE, formally speaking. Later the region saw shifting Caliphate to Abbasid dynasty in Sindh and formation of Ghaznavid and Ghurid principality in Delhi, independent from Sindh. It was in 1260 CE roughly that Delhi sultanate was formed under the Mamluks independent from Central Asian and Arab political hegemony. Although recognition of caliphate existed before Mongol Invasion during and after which Delhi Sultans started calling themselves Caliphs. Later Abbasid Caliph in Egypt was recognized but shedding and accepting Caliphate depending on the political situation in the Muslim world continued.⁸ Delhi sultanate is a group of five ruling dynasties namely Mamluks (1206-1290 CE), Khiljis (1290-1320 CE), Tughlaqs (1320- 1414 CE), Sayyids (1414-1451 CE) and Lodis (1451-1526 CE) after which in 1526 CE Mughals establish themselves in Delhi. They were slave

⁸ For more information refer, Anjum, Tanvir. "Nature and Dynamics of Political Authority in the Sultanate of Delhi." Edited by Dr. Ansar Zahid Khan. *Quarterly Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* LIV, no. No. 3 (2006): 29 - 59. and Anthony Welch, Hussein Keshani, Alexandra Bain. "Epigraphs, Scripture and Architecture in the Early Delhi Sultanate." *Muqarnas* (Brill) 19 (2002): 12 43.

Turkic/Afghan dynasties that separated themselves initially from their Ghurid overlords. During the sultanate period there co-existed regional principalities with both Hindu and Muslim rulers either independent or being vassals to central Delhi hegemony. Under the sultanate imperial patronage mosques, madrassas, palaces, forts, tombs and other utility structures were built. Tughlaqs were the most prolific builders of the set.⁹

Architectural production on the site of Makli comes under medieval period (although extending it) and patronage although mostly local was under the larger umbrella of Delhi sultanate polities. Samma, Arghun and Tarkhan rulers enjoyed a greater liberty and ruled semi-independently from Delhi from time to time. It was during Akbar's rule that Thatta and lower Sindh came under Mughals and Northern Indian hegemony. Thatta's case, being the peripheral mercantile center producing an architectural vocabulary that departs from Delhi, is not a singular instance. There are diverse architectural tendencies observed in sultanate period producing regional / provincial varieties. The provinces did not adhere to a strict formula for architecture dictated by the center and exercised considerable architectural liberty, "*rather than a unidirectional relationship of 'influence' from Delhi, the sultanates of the Indian subcontinent witnessed a steady interchange of architectural concepts among themselves.*"¹⁰ Regional building traditions during sultanate period do not receive much attention although it is not entirely missing from scholarship. The lens shifts its focus on Delhi looking at architecture of imperial dynasties and regional principalities in this reference are either completely ignored or abbreviated, depending on the publication. Independent journal articles or multi-authored edited books compared to single author book volumes are more informative in this domain as they are synchronic rather diachronic in nature.

⁹ For further information refer Welch, Anthony. "Architectural Patronage and the Past: The Tughluq Sultans of India." *Muqarnas: Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar* (Brill) 10 (1993): 311-322.

¹⁰ Lambah, Abha Narain. "The Architecture of Sultanates: A Historical Prologue (Introductory remarks)." In *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates*, edited by Abha Narain Lambah, Alka Patel 13-17. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006. [pg 16]

2.1.1:- ‘S’ultanate V/S ‘s’ultanate:

Scholarship on sultanate period suffers from certain historiographical limitations which are being addressed lately. The singularity of the term sultanate with capital “S”, encompassing all pre Mughal architecture in the subcontinent (India-Pakistan-Bangladesh) from early 13th century to early 16th century, that ignores regional varieties and focuses more on Delhi as the center and imperial architecture. This reductivity is inherent in any survey of diachronic nature. To counter this and bring regional histories into perspective “*the period of sultanates*”¹¹ with a “lower case” is proposed as “*more accurate as the capitalized singular ‘Sultanate’ currently used in scholarship*”¹² that seems like a more feasible terminology. These lower case sultanates not only shift the gaze from Delhi but also become more inclusive with respect to multiple themes in history like, politics, architecture, literary works, and art etc. that can be addressed collectively in a more interdisciplinary fashion or separately as focused subject areas. Lower Sindh and Thatta during Samma, (Arghun and Tarkhan) period being a frontier port city can be approached as an independent sultanate polity in this light. As Samma the local dynasty taking advantage of the political struggles during Tughlaq period declared independence. This independence is reflected in shift of their spiritual alignment as well where site of Makli becomes a major player. Sufi Shaikh Hammad Jamali and his *khanqah* at Makli in this episode take spiritual reigns of the dynasty. Sammas disassociated themselves with spiritual hegemony of Multan under guidance of the Shaikh.¹³ Architecture of Makli takes precedence from regional stone carving practice and falls in line with Gujarat –

¹¹ Patel, Alka. "Revisiting the Term "Sultanate" (Introductory remarks)." In *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates*, edited by Abha Narain Lambah Alka Patel, 9-12. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006. [pg 11]

¹² Patel, Alka. "Revisiting the Term "Sultanate" (Introductory remarks)." In *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates*, edited by Abha Narain Lambah Alka Patel, 9-12. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006. [pg 11]

¹³ For further information refer Lari, Yasmeen, Suhail Zaheer Lari. *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997 & Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *Thatta Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad. Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982

Kutch and Rajasthan regions. Here both arcuate and trabeated building traditions are observed working simultaneously.

This continuation of local building techniques and adapting the foreign arcuated vocabulary makes study of Delhi sultanate architecture (and Makli's) slightly problematic and leads to the second limitation within scholarship.

2.1.2:- Local, Foreign or Plural: ¹⁴

For subcontinent during sultanate period the patrons who were Turkic and the masons who were local produced something that can be called hybrid architecture. ¹⁵

This consensus that the patron and the architect reached to produce buildings with hybrid tendencies is addressed in scholarship in majorly three ways, as per the observation of the author. There are scholars who appear inclined towards Central Asia and Persia as the yardstick for all that is built by or under Muslim patrons and functions can be ritually linked to Islam. The local tendencies and idioms that appear on the buildings are overlooked quoting Hillenbrand for example on Tomb of Shah Rukh – I – Alam,

Tomb of Rukn-i-Alam is anything but a local product. Rather it fits squarely within the tradition of the late Seljuk architecture as found in Iran and Central Asia. Local elements have been grafted on to Turco Iranian skeleton but they are of no more than secondary importance. ¹⁶

¹⁴ A discussion in a similar context was presented by the author in a conference paper published in a local journal and is paraphrased in the section. Refer, Junejo, Rabela. "'Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II: Place of Converging Architectural Idioms'." *Sindh Antiquities Quaterly Journal (Special edition on Makli International Conference)* (Department of Culture, Govt. of Sindh) 1, no. 4 (2018): 29-40.

¹⁵ Hybridity as a term is coined by Homi Bhabha in post-colonial studies and comes with its own baggage. This term is taken in the context of intermixing of architectural forms and aesthetics in the wake of change of patrons' religion from Hinduism to Islam. This does not assert or attest a radical shift in architecture due to religion rather points toward adaptation and adoption of ideas. Refer Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. Routledge, 2004.

¹⁶ Hillenbrand, Robert. "Turco-Iranian Elements in the Medieval Architecture of Pakistan: The Case of the Tomb of Rukn-I 'Alam at Multan." *Muqarnas* (Brill) 9 (1992): 148-174. [pg 148]

The saintly figure of Shah-Rukn-I-Alam revered by the Tughlaqs was a celebrated Sufi from the Suhrawardiya order and his final resting place has been an active and the most famous shrine of Multan and all of Pakistan. It is speculated that the tomb may have been commissioned by Ghaiyas-ud-din Tughlaq in 1320 CE as his own tomb but later gifted to the saint and his family by his son Mohammad bin Tughlaq. Hillenbrand does not stand on the wrong side of precedence whilst claiming Turco-Iranian features but the linkages he forms with a two centuries old Samanid tomb, a fantastic piece of architecture, seems slightly farfetched, in my opinion. The tendency to relate any architecture with a relatively distant past monument considered seminal in current historiography aligns the reading of the later monuments working as progeny and continuities of the prototype in some sense. Continued legacy and evolution of a singular idea reaching its culmination of funerary monuments in Taj Mahal perhaps, one can infer. The paper picks and selects complacent features drawing Central Asian parallels and discusses them under Turko - Iranian legacy. There are however scholars who go beyond the apparent Turko – Iranian legacy and find cues in the local building practices of the closer and at times larger vicinity of the subcontinent. These are the second group of scholars who maintain a rather heavier weight on the local precedence and agency. In some cases they become diametrically opposite of the first group by asserting as much weight to the local as their counterparts did to the foreign. There is no denying that both group of scholars come via scholarly approaches but their relative positions in discussing monuments and architecture is reflected in the writing by token acknowledgment of the foreign or the local. The same tomb is presented by Edwards in the following words,

The shrine of Rukn al Din Rukn-i Alam thus appears to have consolidated and extended local style so successfully as to undermine the appeal of stylistic alternatives imported from outside. This may be due, in part, to the fact that there is little in its form which is truly unprecedented. There is, however, one critical aspect of this monument which resists a standard art historical analysis--the octagonal plan. With no obvious parallels in the immediate vicinity, it is tempting to link the eight-sided form with equivalents from regions of the northwest. There, for example, the anonymous tomb at Bust and excavations in Qandahar suggest that octagonal mortuary pavilions were used by the Ghurids, the Afghan dynasty which exerted an undeniable impact on Indus Valley

architecture at an earlier juncture. However, the open arches and broad profile of the Bust tomb bear little resemblance to the massed solidity and soaring turreted form of the Multan shrine; moreover, it is unclear how funereal practices peculiar to this ethnically distinct dynasty which flourished in the 12th and early 13th centuries might have affected mortuary architecture in 14th century Punjab. The architectural conception in this case may seem closer to the Multani tomb than the octagonal pavilions of the Ghurids, but none of the Central Asian tombs provide an exact equivalent for the shrine, nor is it clear how the architectural idea may have been transmitted to the Indus Valley.¹⁷

Linking a 14th century tomb with centuries old monuments is farfetched and rightly pointed out by Edwards however it negates foreign agency. The two set of scholars, one coming from a fixed standpoint of Central Asian and by extension Persian centric approach and the other from a position more locally embedded, provide a glimpse of scholarship on architecture in the subcontinent. If this architecture is considered hybrid there are both local and foreign elements that are bound to appear. In the midst of these two tendencies of scholarship scholars like Anthony Welch reprove tainting of the local to serve visual and aesthetic sensibilities of the Muslim overlords pandering to the visual familiarity back home. The migrations from the Central Asian lands during sultanate period were common and in the middle of this an already existing practice of architecture was appropriated to the sensibility of the new patron. Here the writings appear derisive for a false foreign image disturbing the principals and modes of local architecture. Welch wrote extensively on Tughlaq architecture of the sultanate period and rejects hybrid or eclectic (if one may) tendencies that are suggested by Edwards and supported by scholar like Flood and Patel, Welch infers,

The architecture of this early Turkish-dominated period is not eclectic instead it is obsessed with imposing an aesthetic that carried comforting meaning to the conquerors. The attempt to replicate the familiar back home is over riding: it ignores North India's established building types and twists indigenous architectural techniques to accommodate it. The resulting torque is obvious, but

¹⁷ Edwards, Holly. *The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley (PhD Thesis)*. 1990 [pg 262]

not surprising without such mimetic references the sultanate would have appeared adrift in all too new and unfamiliar land.¹⁸

Welch and the likes are difficult to situate but here can be taken in the group supporting local precedence but rejecting or disapproving appropriations. There is a third and comparatively recent stream of scholars whose narrative thrives in the very eclecticism overlooked or rejected by the first two streams of scholars. They address and problematize integration process when the Turkic rulers commissioned buildings built by local masons and artisans. These negotiations that may have transpired between patrons and masons were part of the building process and open multiple possibilities to address the outcome in the form of a building. One may infer that their take on the architecture of subcontinent is neutral that let the material speak for itself and the historic context supplementing that narrative, acknowledging both the local and the foreign agencies. The focus shifts from point of origination and relocate itself in the very midst of the temporal and geographic area that produced it. It diverts the 'influence' narrative to nuances of exchange and appropriation or modes and methods of translations. The author follows a similar approach for understanding the architecture of Makli looking at it as eclectic or hybrid rather than Indic or Islamic - foreign or local to engender a fresh perspective for architecture of the site. The continuities and discontinuities and the rationale for them is pondered upon in the wake of changing patrons of local or Central Asian descent. The issue of Muslim patron and Hindu artisan that appears to have created some rift and generate architectural ruptures is addressed by Patel from a different perspective. Commenting on the architectural production in Gujarat under Muslim rule she states,

Muslims and non-Muslims would then work side-by-side in their inherited occupation. inscriptions from the mid-thirteenth century and afterward indicate that many Islamic buildings were constructed and maintained by both Hindu and Muslim craftsmen. Indeed, the mixture of creeds in many occupational guilds remained largely unchanged for the next several centuries,

¹⁸ Welch, Anthony. "Architectural Patronage and the Past: The Tughluq Sultans of India." *Muqarnas* (Brill) 10 (1993): 311-322. [pg 314]

as inscriptions from the reign of Ahmad Shah I also record that Hindu stoneworkers were employed in the construction of Islamic buildings.¹⁹

The essential categories of Muslim and Hindu that do not seem to intermix in any form are here presented working together to produce the patrons' desire. A much tolerant picture, one may infer, is presented where people from different religious and ethnic backgrounds by virtue of their profession came together and worked as oppose to behaving like immutable entities. The architecture hence produced is reflective of this consensus or tolerance. Flood's approach resonates with Patel's where he discusses a mosque in Ajmir,

The processes of transmission and translation witnessed in the mosques at Ajmir, Delhi, and elsewhere are considerably more complex than is suggested by the traditional scenario of a transumption between self-contained Iranian and Indic architectural traditions or a negotiation between mobile Turkic *ghulams* and sedentary Indic masons. The mobility of forms, idioms, and masons raises significant questions about architectural reception and aesthetic taste at the end of the twelfth century, questions that necessitate not merely a reevaluation of Indian mosques or architectural taxonomies, but nothing less than a re-conceptualization of medieval South Asian cultural geography.²⁰

Where Patel ventures into the communion of artisan from variety of faiths and creeds, Flood questions the very categories of Islamic and by extension Central Asian / Persian and Indic/ Hindu as essential-zed categories and delves into the process of building construction and how consensus, compromises, on part of both patron and mason, reception etc. of these hybrid buildings ensued. He is critical of the taxonomic approach as being reductive and leading to the irreconcilable divide of Hindu and Muslim – Indic and Islamic that projects itself ostentatiously on architecture.

The apparent treatment of subcontinent as an architectural *tabula rasa* by the scholars, where the true Islamic architecture flourished under the Timurid leanings

¹⁹ Patel, Alka. "Architectural Histories Entwined: The Rudra-Mahalaya/Congregational Mosque of Siddhpur, Gujarat." *JSAH* (University of California Press) 63, no. 2 (June 2004): 144-163. [pg 157]

²⁰ Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Lost in Translation: Architecture, Taxonomy, and the Eastern "Turks"." *Muqarnas: History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* (Brill) 24 (2007): 79-115. [pg 111]

and taste of the Mughals, led to a Central Asian architectural effervescence. The other group localized the architectural heritage to the genius of the Indian mason and artisan and assumed their Turkic overlords as barbaric, in my informed opinion. The fairly recent stream of scholars like Patel, Flood and Eaton etc. focused more on the 'process' addressing issues like conversions, to multi lingual texts, translations, cultural and otherwise, amalgamation of both arcuated and trabeated techniques in construction. They dismantle the monolithic narratives and consider sultanate period as one of the prolific one, where negotiations and reconciliations occurred, bringing it out of the shadows of Mughal architecture to be studied for its variegated nature. The architecture produced in that period took references from either local or foreign agencies and this was addressed from multiple stand points in architectural history. For Flood, for example this mixed – intermixed – hybrid architecture disturbed the roots of taxonomic classification one of the most long lasting tool/method of studying and producing scholarship on architectural heritage. Stylistic categorization being reductive establishes pure and recognizable features of one architectural tradition to differentiate it from the other and has little space for intermixed architectural jargon. This will be discussed later in the chapter under separate head but here it is sufficient to say that taxonomy and sultanate architecture were not on good rapports.

This comparatively rather new third stream of scholars does not shy away from inter/multi-disciplinary engagements and broadening the scope of material remains to all cultural products or heritage, from poetry to music to architecture literature and art. The encounter – integration approach that the author has set off to explore in the dissertation with respect to Makli draws cues from the third group and by virtue of that, aligning with the group. If one ventures beyond the basic morphology of any piece of art that may canonize it, not at the cost of overlooking it though, several possibilities to study heritage open up, for example, religious motivation of patrons and if it effected the product, artisan / mason and patron relationship, receptivity and use of complacent forms or idioms and the exploitation of the available technology etc. In this study of the process some questions are answered but many more are posed for further investigation. The encounter paradigm to study Makli hence opens

many avenues, for example the near absence of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic or figural forms on the tombs may reflect on the mason's ability to appropriate his craft as per the wish of the patron. This led to the use of extensive floral motifs common to the region in the Samma period monuments. The later tombs show a diversification of this floral - geometric ornamental approach it raises questions like did the artisans expand their jargon, were the patrons different from the previous ones and came with their own aesthetics what kind of negotiations occurred and how they are reflected in the architecture produced. These and other multitude of questions can be addressed via encounter paradigm. The run of the mill taxonomy cannot process them, if one goes via that approach the monuments at Makli will not be considered Islamic enough or Hindu enough and be rejected on the first scrutiny for their very eclecticism. The intermixed architecture of Makli may be judiciously studied under encounters – integration paradigm, in my opinion. This alternative approach digressing from the established practice of writing history under taxonomy, may provide a fresh look at the building tradition of the site and may situate it within the larger corpus of regional sultanate architectural variants. The semi – revisionist look at the historiography and re-examination of the remains aligns with the third tendency in architectural history writing or the writing on sultanate period. These three streams or tendencies discussed above are not the only approaches and are neither all inclusive nor exhaustive in nature but are the most viable to the author in the literature visited. Sultanate period with its new Muslim patrons and the local artisan with their limitation and expertise produced hybrid forms and structural nuances. To emulate the arcuate vocabulary of home, as Welch mentions, corbelled technique was appropriated for the desired results. Local craftsman, maybe, working under a foreign master mason or architect negotiated to create an imagery the patron desired. Artisans not as adapt with the in vogue geometric and arabesque interlacements applied floral design from their local motif magazines that were similar to the designs the temples of the region sported. These familiar temple motifs on mosques or tombs encourages spolia narrative, for most colonial scholars not much original was produced but reproduced from the destruction of temples and reuse of the materials. By the standards of taxonomic classification the temple building program and its aesthetic sensibility cannot be projected on mosques and

reuse of spolia becomes the most accepted explanation. Anthony Welch on Delhi's Quwwat-ul Islam mosque and its construction writes,

While the mosque plan is a standard hypostyle type, with four arcades around a large rectangular central court, it differs from the hypostyle mosques in Islamic lands to the West. Its pillars came from 27 Hindu and Jain temples in the Delhi region that were destroyed in the process of yielding materials for the mosque, and this process of destruction for reuse is replicated again and again as Islam expands into new regions of India over the next centuries.²¹

Patel views it differently,

... outright destruction of these complexes, which were so intricately embedded within communities near and far, would have resulted in a violent disruption of economic and social life in the area, possibly alienating the pilgrimage sites from their numerous possessions and, more important, relegating the latter to a liminal and ultimately useless administrative status. The complexes as conduits of social interaction in urban centers, and their generation of revenue and solidification as established during Chaulukya ruler-ship, had survived the larger political changes wrought by the Khilji and Tughlaq annexations of Gujarat. During the Muzaffarid sultanate's consolidation in the early fifteenth century, the modified appropriation of these resources was certainly more beneficial than the unforeseeable ends of random destruction.²²

The use of spolia cannot be completely rejected as there were instances of that, but spolia becoming the overarching larger narrative needs a relook as it denies the architecture built from scratch applying local so called Hindu motifs its due merit. The much exploited spolia narrative and its far reaching consequences for architecture of sultanate period and Makli are discussed in the forthcoming section.

²¹ Welch, Anthony. "Architectural Patronage and the Past: The Tughluq Sultans of India." *Muqarnas* (Brill) 10 (1993): 311-322. [pg 311]

²² Patel, Alka. "Architectural Histories Entwined: The Rudra - Mahalaya / Congregational Mosque of Siddhpur Gujarat." *Journal of SAH* 63, no. 2 (2004). [pg 156]

2.1.3:- Temple Desecration – Sifting Through Propagandas:

There is no denying desecration of temples and reuse of building material for construction purposes but the scale is exaggerated. The suggestion that these desecrations were mindless and Muslim invading hordes did not spare anything related to infidels, has been called into question. First and foremost use of word “destroyed” or “destruction” for enterprise of temple desecration requires reevaluation as it overshadows the process and rationale behind the action whilst propagating mindless razing or complete ruination of sacred spaces of one religious group by another religious group. If destruction, razing and ruination were the intent of the “Muslim” rulers, reuse of materials becomes close to impossible. Here the entire spolia narrative falls apart that has been exploited by colonial writers and later colonial sympathizers. This narrative puts architectural contributions under “Muslim” patronage as secondary to earlier existing “Hindu” architecture.²³ This clear cut divide in architecture on basis of religion makes concepts like appropriation, integration and adaptation redundant. It further rejects entire ‘spolia’ writings that formed basis of superior earlier and inferior later architecture in sultanate period scholarship; it simply loses its bearing and weight. As apparently Muslim rulers’ incapability to produce anything of value especially during the earlier sultanate periods made them reuse materials from “destroyed” temples. Hence whatever they constructed was secondary to that very temple that was “destroyed”. Also possession of technical expertise required to construct something meaningful from rubble resulting from destruction is yet to be seen. Therefore in my opinion word desecration must gain some traction here and destruction can be replaced. Desecration comes with its own baggage but fares better than destruction. Spolia was appropriated and used in construction of both religious and secular buildings in sultanate period most of which came from temples. Nevertheless use of spolia was not the overarching only existing method for construction. Somehow it became such, whenever edifices applied indigenous (read Hindu) structural, decorative and

²³ The terms Hindu and Muslim are put in inverted commas as these are problematic and singular terms that create a divide based on religion. This will be discussed at length later in the chapter. Here it is cited with reference to architecture as this divide seeped into writing of all forms of arts.

architectural elements. It was difficult for colonial writers to acknowledge use of local Hindu vocabulary in architecture of Muslim period. They were used to proposing clean cuts and departures in architectural aesthetics from one period to another that made classification under “styles” possible. Hence later built Muslim architecture adapting local vocabulary for construction received fair criticism in addition to generic derogatory remarks. For them the only rational explanation of such architectural digressions was use of spolia coming from nearby temples.

Architecture of lower Sindh met with similar criticism whenever it made to colonial scholarship for example,

The building art of Sind is trite and unimaginative ... It is possible that some of the stone work of this building is of Brahmanical origin procured from a neighboring temple, as there are miniature *shikharas* and other Hindu motifs among its carved details.²⁴

Similarly,

It was intended to have been a building of considerable pretensions, and it is rather remarkable in its way, for it is built almost entirely of Hindu elements, that is, such as generally found in Hindu Temples. Indeed, there seems to be sufficient proof that much of its sculptured material had been removed from one or more such temples.²⁵

Both the authors are discussing Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din²⁶ at Makli built during Samma period. It is a stone tomb of early 16th century and is heavily carved with

²⁴ Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981 (1956). [pg 115-116]

²⁵ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929. [pg 114]

²⁶ For further information refer Lari, Yasmeen, Suhail Zaheer Lari. *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *Thatta Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad. Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. & Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

variations of local lotus, sunflower and other motifs. Samma cluster at Makli in general, has local architectural vocabulary that was prevalent in the area having a strong stone carving tradition. It falls in line with the provincial architectural variations that existed during sultanate period. Both these celebrated writers made gross miscalculations while discussing Samma period architecture at Makli. Their uncertainty regarding use of material from nearby temples in the said tomb is apparent. They are both careful with/in making an assertive claim on that. It is rather suggested than declared, betraying authority with which most colonial writings were produced. Observing Samma cluster where both stone and brick are used for construction of tombs stone work clearly dominates. Enclosures, tombs, pavilions and free standing grave cenotaphs; one finds all these structures in stone. Even brick architecture employs stone on dados, door jambs and decorative detailing. Visually, hence stone dominates. Suggesting use of spolia from temples, on the basis of carving patterns and use of Hindu sacred elements, in Samma cluster is unintelligible. This has been rejected in later scholarship as the scale of temple desecration for some 12 -15 odd structures of various sizes (minus grave cenotaphs) does not add up. It discredits the entire architectural undertaking of Samma period and lower Sindh denying any agency of sorts and continuity of the local building tradition that informed these structures. Absolute departure from local traditions never happened in the subcontinent to create binary opposites of Muslim and Hindu architecture. Samma cluster at Makli is no different as local building tradition prevailed despite change of religious affiliations of the rulers/patrons. The use of spolia produced structures that were transitional or mixed in nature and represented continuity of the local building craft. They were nevertheless innovative in their own right as new functions and layouts were introduced by Muslim patrons that did not exist earlier in the subcontinent.

Two major biases about the use of spolia²⁷ and continuity of traditional building idiom present the scholars with is the propagation of ‘theory of iconoclasm’ and

²⁷ Flood [2009] is of the view that use of spolia also pointed to an aesthetic continuity of sorts while discussing Ghurid and Early Delhi sultanate mosque architecture in the subcontinent mentioning but not asserting that this practice of reuse might have played a role in the later architecture and its

Muslim rulers / patrons as destroyers that eventually leads to Hindu – Muslim divide, that still resonates within the political landscape of the region. Secondly, it rejects continuity and aesthetic appropriation of reused material hence denying any in depth study of monuments of sultanate period shunning them out as secondary. Flood, discussing the predicament for the Ghurid period structures in subcontinent says,

Instead of considering the Indo Ghurid monuments as random collections of mutilated fragments, or deficient reproductions of an ideal Persian mosque type, we might instead approach them as *Gesamtkunstwerks* (total art works), with their own aesthetic and iconographic values. Seen in this light, the monuments illuminate the mediation of regionally distinct architectural idioms and styles in ways that destabilize the fundamental dichotomy between ‘Indic’ and ‘Islamic’ traditions on which many previous analyses have been predicated.²⁸

Therefore if stripped off the taxonomic burden of classification and false divide based on religion (that never existed to such an exaggerated degree) one can start looking at the sultanate architecture in the light of socio-cultural and political milieu. Context and its value gains importance here and appropriating local idiom to serve the functions and sentiments of the new patrons’ - also gains traction. Site of Makli hence becomes one of immense value for study in this renewed position to architectural production of medieval subcontinent. As not only the earlier monuments of local Samma chieftains (1352-1524) but later monuments by Central Asian, Arghun (1524-1555), Tarkhan (1555-1591) and Mughal (1592-1739) overlords display a varied degree of appropriation of local and foreign aesthetics. Later monuments borrow from the existing vocabulary of the site and the region at large whilst mixing it with Central Asian/Persian aesthetic sentiments. It would be safe to assert here that funerary architecture at Makli remained in flux where new ideas were injected to the existing jargon of building craft. The encounter/integration paradigm will help dismantle the aesthetic value of Makli’s architecture

aesthetic vocabulary that becomes regional or local. Similarly where ever local architecture is witnessed it does not necessarily suggest use of spolia but rather a continuity of local or regional building tradition.

²⁸ Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. [pg 159]

that does not shrink itself to fit either “Hindu” or “Muslim” – “Indic” or “Central Asian/Persian” and by extension ‘Islamic’ taxonomic narratives. Therefore, it does not propagate iconoclastic characteristic of Muslim builders, on the contrary present them as agents developing newer aesthetical nuances with-in the limitations and opportunities the land they ruled provided them with.

‘Theory of iconoclasm’ gains momentum in the subcontinent both with respect to desecration of temples and face-value reading of Persian and Arabic sources of the period that denounce idol worship.

It would be wrong to explain this phenomenon by appealing to an essentialized ‘theory of iconoclasm’ felt to be intrinsic to the Islamic religion. While it is true that contemporary Persian sources routinely condemned idolatry on religious grounds, it is also true that attacks on images patronized by enemy kings had been, from about the sixth century AD on, thoroughly integrated into Indian political behavior.²⁹

Here with-in the broader geographic landscape of subcontinent Muslim rulers have been dubbed as foreigners as it served the colonial and later nationalistic political interest. The devices of colonial scholarship were dismantled post 1947 CE and its pieces were used for political gains at both sides of the border. Main element of this act was propagating the false Hindu – Muslim divide in the subcontinent that for India, a Hindu majority state, served the claim as original / true heirs of the soil having the right to rule. For Pakistan, a Muslim majority state, the differences between both religious groups fueled the “two nation theory” that formed basis for partition and demand for a separate homeland. Post 1947, these fissures that had little bearing in the medieval times spring up every now and then to justify oppression, vandalism, marginalization and other intolerant actions on both the sides. It is ironic that pluralistic societies of sultanate and Mughal period fall prey to anachronistic religious divide that came into existence and scholarship much later.

²⁹ Eaton, Richard M. "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States." In *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*, edited by Finbarr Barry Flood, 64-93. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008. [pg 70]

This divide as has been stated earlier had its reflection in architecture as well where mixed forms and decorative ideas were rejected as they did not fit either Hindu or Muslim established architectural tendencies. The narrative of temple desecration played a pivotal role in discrediting sultanate period architecture, both central and regional. If one sifts through the local practices prevailing in the region pre – sultanate period, according to both Eaton and Flood the rulers were emulating local practices,

.... it is clear that temples had been the natural sites for the contestation of kingly authority well before coming of Muslim Turks to India. Not surprisingly, Turkish invaders when attempting to plant their own rule in the early medieval India followed and continued established patterns.³⁰

Temples when seen in the light of being politically and economically charged institutions and not as sacred spaces only, provides a better perspective to their desecration. As Eaton suggests where-ever Turkish/Muslim rulers expanded the major temple of the area, for its political legitimacy and power, by virtue of its existence, vested in the king was desecrated. A mosque, mostly, was placed in its place using the material from the earlier temple. Here it is important to understand that not all temples of the subcontinent were razed to ground and mosques built in their stead. Where-ever the authority of the sultan and his proceeding armies, mostly in conflict zones, were challenged the act of desecration happened. Vassal kings may they be Hindu or Muslim were given increased autonomy, religious and otherwise, provided they submitted to the terms of agreement between them and the sultanate. The desecration of temples and reuse of material from the same, re-orientated political authority of the region. The recycled material hence, as Flood mentions, point to continuity (and discontinuity) of aesthetic tradition. By replacing a sacred space with another, appropriating spolia to fit the new function and sensibility (avoiding zoomorphic / figural motifs) nevertheless the familiar aesthetics of the ensemble probably appealed to the populace in general. Creating homologies or

³⁰ Eaton, Richard M. "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States." In *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*, edited by Finbarr Barry Flood, 64-93. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008. [pg 71-72]

similes through architecture (coins and text) fashioning a different yet similar visual landscape for people where the authority now lies with a new ruler.

The visual landscape where mosques replicated local architectural idiom albeit integrating its own elements (space configuration and use of corbelling for pointed arch) suggests acceptance of local building tradition by the new rulers. This action may be political authorities' way of localizing itself in the new geography where they were to stay and were not visitors/invaders for loot and booty. By rooting themselves in the traditional context of North India and subsequently most of subcontinent, using architecture as but one vehicle creating visual familiarity, adheres to continuity. Hence the mixed forms that have been written off as secondary and mere copies may have a deeper meaning and intention on part of the rulers. The intermixing of traditions religious, ethnic and otherwise created a tolerant and pluralistic social milieu that was carried forward after the sultanate period ended and Delhi came under Mughals.

Subcontinent was not a singular landscape where a monolithic Hindu culture prevailed. This gross miscalculation of pre-sultanate period has been reevaluated and although pagan in their religious motivations the entire region was neither ruled by a single monarch nor adhered to a singular variety of paganism. Of the famous cults the *Vaishnavism* and *Shaivism* were major but not the only cults.³¹ Scholars present rifts between the cults for political control both pre and post-sultanate period. The point here is to assert that neither "Hindu" nor "Muslim" rulers were ruling a community that was religiously singular nor the boundaries that remained constant. Colonial scholarship by packaging a plural ethno-religious space/place under monolithic binary religious categories of "Hindu" and "Muslim" discredited a whole body of material that remains to be studied beyond these notions. Although as Metcalf suggests that not only socio-politically but;

³¹ For further reading refer Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000, Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003, Eaton, Richard M. "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States." In *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*, edited by Finbarr Barry Flood, 64-93. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008.

In architecture as well the period was one of variety and creativity. To look at mosques of 15th Century for instance no one would mistake the brick mosque of Bengal, the almost Gothic modern structure of Kashmir, the temple like pillared halls of Ahmedabad, or the massive pylon-based mosque of Jaunpur for each other; yet all represented a Muslim culture new since the (sultanate) period had begun, now finding expression in variety of local context.³²

Temple desecration therefore needs to be looked beyond propaganda and while studying sultanate period monuments. Although the longevity of debates on the topic provide political rather historiographical gains,

By placing known instances of temple desecration in the larger context of Indo-Muslim state building and state maintenance, one can find patterns suggesting a rational basis for something commonly dismissed as irrational, or worse. These patterns also suggest points of continuity with Indian practices that had become customary well before the 13th century. Such points of continuity in turn call into serious question the sort of civilizational divide between India's 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' periods first postulated in British colonial historiography and subsequently replicated in both Pakistani and Hindu nationalist schools.³³

The method of recycling / reusing materials from temples, as mentioned earlier, produced forms and aesthetics that informed later architecture of similarly fused nature. The mixing of Indo-Persian/Central Asian vocabularies occurred and remained (to varying degrees) when Turkish Muslim rulers established a permanent base in Delhi and much of South Asia.³⁴ The encounter of architectural ideas both foreign and local, in which one agency was recycling and appropriating material from temples, produced architecture of mixed jargon that must be understood for its own historical value.

³² Barbara D. Metcalf, Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001-2006. [pg 14]

³³ Eaton, Richard M. "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States." In *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*, edited by Finbarr Barry Flood, 64-93. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008. [pg 82]

³⁴ South Asia and subcontinent are used interchangeably in the dissertation mainly constituting present day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The diachronic nature of architectural history surveys is why sultanate period does not get its due within scholarship and remains under shadow of Mughal architecture. It is treated as a shadow and/or false start to glories of Mughal architecture where 'pure' Timurid school forms and materials are observed. The inherent variety and pluralistic nature of sultanate architecture hence, becomes, where the purities were compromised. Therefore it remains subservient to Mughal architecture, a means to an end manifested in the Taj Mahal of Shah Jahan.

2.1.4:- 's'ultanate and Provinces – Translating Tradition and Drawing Equivalence:

The plurality of sultanate period is manifest in its regional architectural variants, more pronouncedly. Here some themes that do not relate directly to architecture and building activity, although supplementing it, but relate to socio-cultural diversity are presented to broaden understanding of various regions and how they operated at different times between early 13th – 16th centuries before Mughal dominion over Delhi in 1526 CE. Plurality or diversity transcended architecture and material culture where reconciliations and adjustments happened in the social-religious-political-literary realms drawing parallels for example between *bhakti*-Sufi ³⁵ traditions almost organically. Certain levels of equivalences were drawn through translating phenomena, religious and otherwise probably to situate them within the context and sensibilities of the populace. While browsing to find the colonial, singular 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' nomenclature for the people of subcontinent, one discovers multi – ethnic variables instead. In the Sanskrit sources of the time of Muslim dominion of the subcontinent one finds references that recognize the invaders based on their linguistic or ethnic backgrounds rather on religious identities,

From the 8th to 14th Centuries, as we know from contemporary Sanskrit sources, such elites (Rajput and Brahmans etc.) referred to invaders or immigrants from Iranian plateau not by their religion, but by their linguistic indent – most typically, as Turks (Turuska). These findings permit dramatically new ways of

³⁵ For further information refer Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000.

conceptualizing the character of cultural encounters at the dawn of the appearance of Muslims in north India. They suggest above all that, whatever Indo-Persian chroniclers might have thought, contemporary Indian elites did not regard the religious traditions of the newcomers as sufficiently alien to South Asia, or even as sufficiently remarkable, to warrant identifying those peoples as Muslims. Rather, they were conceptually accommodated as just one more ethnic group like Gurjaras, Vangas, etc. – in an already ethnically diverse region.³⁶

Contemporary Persian sources of the time differed from the Sanskrit tradition where the former favored a pan-Islamic narrative of the ‘*umma*’ the latter added to its already diverse repository of ethno-linguistic repertoire. This disturbs the singular Hindu – Muslim identities that were neither as homogenous as portrayed in scholarship nor religion as identity marker existed to an extent as was exploited later. In place of these religious identities - Turk (Turushka), Persian (Parasika) and Greek (Yavanas)³⁷ etc. were employed. Similarly within Muslims and Hindus, the ethnic and class/caste segregating elements existed. For example, Sunil Kumar discusses the contours of relationship between Turkic Sultans of Delhi and Persian literati’-s’- who eulogized them, being the court chroniclers. How accounts of Ziya al Din Barani, Amir Khusraw and others brushed their Turkic origins under the rug or ignored them altogether. They found ways to overlook the Sultan’s slave and frontier origins taking refuge in ‘Divine’ will as their source to power. Mongol invasion played an important role in strengthening Delhi sultanates status in the Muslim world at large during the 13th century and later. Delhi Sultans especially Khiljis and Tughlaqs were able to keep the Mongol threat at bay and provided refuge to fleeing migrants in the subcontinent. These generals by virtue of their military strength and warding off, Mongols became rulers of Delhi but were at one point frontier-men guarding the realm. The chroniclers choose omissions of uncomfortable and uncouth past (according to chroniclers’ sensibility) of their Sultans. In the wake of Mongol incursions representing the Sultans as saviors of Islam was an often employed trope.

³⁶ Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal. *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and Muslims*. New Delhi, 1998. From Eaton, Richard M. "Introduction." In *Themes in Indian History: India's Islamic Traditions 711-1750*, edited by Richard M Eaton, 1-34. New Delhi: Oxford University Press Delhi, 2003. [pg 10]

³⁷ Refer Talbot, Cynthia. "Inscribing the Other, Inscribing the Self: Hindu-Muslim Identities in Pre-Colonial India." In *Themes in Indian History: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*, edited by Richard M Eaton, 83-117. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003.

The silences and elisions were deliberate, a difficult task because frontier commanders who went on to become Sultans were also the subjects of their elaborate eulogies. These eulogies had to reinvent their protagonists in ways that displaced their troublesome ethnicities. Ghiyas al-Din Tughluq is a good example of this phenomenon. The Qara'una military commander who arrived to sedentary habits only as an adolescent is remembered in Persian historiography primarily as a warrior in the cause of Islam. According to the mid-fourteenth-century historian, Ziya' al-Din Barani, Ghiyas al-Din stood as an impenetrable wall against the onslaught of the Mongols.³⁸

This represents a complex stratified Muslim community that is far removed from their monolithic identity presented in colonial scholarship. Similar variations, class stratification etc. existed within Hindu communities. The narrative of “*umma*” and spread / saving of Islam probably existed on paper in these eulogies, which had an altogether different intent in presenting their masters as saviors. The way Persian eulogists appropriated when confronted with their master’s past; similar reconciliatory tendencies are observed by scholars when seemingly disparate traditions encountered each other in medieval subcontinent. The apparently irreconcilable Hindu-Muslim communities, one based on polytheism the other monotheism, in the subcontinent found ways to not only co-exist but exchange, adapt and integrate religious, cultural, linguistic and artistic ideas. They absorbed each other’s histories formed equivalences within the larger corpus of culture. Eleanor Zelliot whilst questioning the stringent religious ideas perpetuating scholarship of medieval India discusses poetry of Eknath (16th century *bhakti* poet in Maharashtra) called Hindu – Turk *Samvad* (dialogue).

The message that Eknath expresses through the *bharud* (*bhakti* poetry genre) form are most often these: the necessity for a moral life; the need to understand God as both *nirguna* (without qualities) and *saguna* (with qualities, a personal God); and the fact that underneath all the trappings of caste and sect is one reality.³⁹

³⁸ Kumar, Sunil. "The Ignored Elites: Turks, Mongols and a Persian Secretarial Class in the Early Delhi Sultanate." *Modern Asian Studies: Expanding Frontiers in South Asian and World* (Cambridge University Press) 43, no. 1 (Jan 2009): 45-77. [pg 59]

³⁹ Zelliot, Eleanor. "A Medieval Encounter Between Hindu and Muslim: Eknath's Drama - Poem Hindu -Turk Samvad." In *Themes in Indian History: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*, edited by Richard M Eaton, 64-82. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003. [pg 66]

This message resonates with Sufi teachings and it transcends the strict religious codes where all beings are equal before God, are His creation and God resides in all His creation. There are definite parallels that can be drawn not going in much detail of both *bhakti* and Sufi tradition there is a definite potential of exchange of concepts. Eknaths world, according to Zelliott, had Persians, Hindus, Turks, and Arabs and was a trading city. The cosmopolitan character of trading cities by virtue of demands of trade during medieval period creates a multi-ethnic/lingual/cultural milieu and probably a more tolerant society is witnessed near trading port cities. Having said that one cannot take away from the fact that medieval subcontinent was a place of conciliations rather than intense contestations: “a number of contemporary historians, both Hindu and Muslim, see the medieval period generally as one of tolerance, participation of Hindus in government, and cultural exchange.”⁴⁰

It was in this world, then, that the Hindu-Turk dialogue was written: a somewhat distant, always warring, reasonably tolerant Ahmadnagar kingdom; a memory of Sufi saints from the great and popular Chishti order; a Marathi literary renaissance so strong that even Muslims wrote *bhakti* poetry in Marathi.⁴¹

This is not the only instance of cultural absorption where Muslims engaged with local traditions and an effort was made to integrate religious thoughts. Mughal Prince Dara Shikoh (1615-1659), the eldest son of Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666), made great efforts to draw connections between Quran and Upanishads.⁴²

⁴⁰ Zelliott, Eleanor. "A Medieval Encounter Between Hindu and Muslim: Eknath's Drama - Poem Hindu -Turk Samvad." In *Themes in Indian Hisotry: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*, edited by Richard M Eaton, 64-82. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003. [pg 67]

⁴¹ Zelliott, Eleanor. "A Medieval Encounter Between Hindu and Muslim: Eknath's Drama - Poem Hindu -Turk Samvad." In *Themes in Indian Hisotry: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*, edited by Richard M Eaton, 64-82. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003. [pg 69]

⁴² Quran is the Holy book of Muslims and Upanishad is Vedic Sanskrit religious text of Hindus. For further information on Dara Shikohs efforts toward reconciling Quran and Upanishad refer: Friedmann, Yohanan. "Islamic Thought in Relation to the Indian Context." In *Themes in Indian Hisotry: India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*, edited by Richard M Eaton, 50-63. New Delh: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003. This text by Friedmann also presents scholars like Albiruni and his engangement with India. Albiruni although critical of Indians religious belief but appreciated their sciences. There was defintely resistance but there were instances of appreciation of each other on both

There existed a two way process of exchange and a mix of acculturation and multiculturalism existed. The way religious ideas spread was not monolithic and linear in fashion from center to periphery. Regions like Kashmir, Sindh, Bengal and Tamil Nadu, that are areas on the northern most periphery or port cities/town toward south and east, witnessed interaction with Muslim traders earlier than the establishment of Delhi sultanate. These regions had earliest instances of conversions where locals although converted to Islam retained their previous habits. In some places class segregations, either between Brahmans and lower classes or feudal and peasant classes, propagated conversions based on Sufi teachings of equality. Like the *bhakti* and Sufi tradition of Ahmadnagar where Muslims wrote *bhakti* poetry in Marathi, in Kashmir existed overlapping of *rishi* (ascetics or Hindu *yogis*) and Sufi tradition. The Sufi teachings of equality and denouncing of worldly materialism resonated with *rishi* teachings that led to conversion of non-Brahman classes to Islam. This conversion as it was organic was tolerant of former religious practices of the converts.

The fact is that even after conversion to Islam, the converts did not part with their old habits and customs, nor do they seem to have totally severed connections with their relatives. It would be more reasonable to suggest that the close contact of the new converts with their kith and kin must have accelerated the process of acculturation..... It is also of interest that Sultan Qutb al Din once performed a Hindu *yagana* and distributed gifts among Brahmans. Some other ancient festivals of Hindus also continued to be observed by the Muslims in the Sultanate period.⁴³

The impression that temple desecrating Muslims uprooted and abolished by force older cultural practices on basis of stringent religious teachings of Islam is called into question here. Also the notion that process of so called Islamization and conversion was similar everywhere in India and was done under the might of sword is rejected. As Patel, quoted earlier presenting a case for Gujarat, questions forcible conversions

sides and these instances need to be studied in order to have better understanding of Medieval India and its cultural landscape of exchange at that time.

⁴³ Khan, Mohammad Ishaq. "The Impact of Islam on Kashmir in the Sultanate Period (1320-1586)." In *Themes on Indian History: India's Islamic Traditions (711-1750)*, edited by Richard M. Eaton, 342-362. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003. [pg 351]

similarly Khan here presents retention of older practices even after conversion. This integrative nature of religio-cultural practices is retentive rather than rejecting in nature where binary opposites did not exist (not to the extent written in colonial and Persian scholarship). Looking at local scholarship one observes a different relation between the two so called contesting groups of Muslims and Hindus. Here the apparent immutable identities are reconciled, linguistic and religious ideas are translated via process of cultural exchange and monolithic identities become flexible entities. It is where the life of prophet is written / translated into Tamil language and is regionally situated making references to folk-mythological stories in one region and in other poetry is written in local dialects that situates Islamic tradition within the local sensibility. Where Muslim poets adopt local traditions and reach out to local populace in the language and tradition they understand and local Hindu poets and writers produced highly Persianized literary material. Where Arabic title of “*emir/amir*” over a period of time translates to “*Hamir*” used by Hindu rajas and eventually becomes a common name within both Hindu and Muslim communities.⁴⁴ Till date this is a common local name in the region of Sindh. Hamir Soomro was the last recorded Soomra chieftain before Sammas took over in 1352 CE, formed their dominion over lower Sindh with their capital at Thatta and their necropolis at Makli.⁴⁵

The linguistic overlaps were not just simple translations they adopted words that held similar symbolic and sentimental meanings as they translated for communities that were well versed in local mythical traditions and were mostly converts.

The title of Umaru Pulavar’s *Cirappuranam* (life of prophet written in early 18th C and was not the only work of its kind many earlier such writings exist) is indicative of the blending of languages that emerges in its text. *Cira* is the Tamil form of the Arabic *Sirah*, meaning biography, specifically a biography of the Prophet. And *purana* (Tamil: ‘*Puranam*’) is a Hindu literary genre that includes pious accounts of the salvific deeds of a divine being, sometimes seen as an

⁴⁴ Refer, Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.

⁴⁵ Refer, Lari, Suhail Zaheer. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

incarnation of the supreme deity, and containing long poetic accounts of this person's wondrous qualities..... Calling the life of the Prophet Mohammad a *purana*, therefore, predisposes one to have certain ideas of the central figure in the text. The combination of a foreign (here Arabic) word with Sanskrit one in the title hints at what is to follow: the presentation of a 'foreign' religion in a language and in terms predominantly used by Hindus.⁴⁶

According to Narayanan, the author Umaru was well versed with "Hindu devotional literature in Tamil"⁴⁷ and epics like *Ramayana*⁴⁸ and make several references to them contextualizing life of Prophet as per mythical heroes of the region. There were borrowings, appropriating and situating one tradition into the garb of other and reception of these seemingly foreign ideas becomes intelligible. Regional Islam or Muslim communities were probably more diverse and plural toward their understanding and appropriating of religio-cultural practices. The center of Delhi although not as stringent leaned toward orthodox Islam every now and then. It is these instances that were apparently handpicked by colonial scholars whilst producing scholarship on Indian subcontinent. Lower Sindh and city of Thatta, if observed in this light, where equivalences not unlike Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Gujarat and Kashmir etc. were drawn, cultural continuities and breaks transpired, architecture of Makli then becomes more than secondary. The pluralistic tendencies of architecture of Makli can then be dismantled as instances of equivalence, where local and foreign traditions were reconciled when they encountered each other.

Bringing the discussion on rethinking of sultanate period to a close here the topics and themes presented above were specifically targeted from a select group of literature on sultanate period. These resources unpacked the conventionally held

⁴⁶ Narayanan, Vasudha. "Religious Vocabulary and Regional Identity: A Study of Tamil Cirappuranam (Life of Prophet)." In *Themes in Indian History: India's Islamic Traditions (711-1750)*, edited by Richard M. Eaton, 393-410. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003. [pg 396]

⁴⁷ Narayanan, Vasudha. "Religious Vocabulary and Regional Identity: A Study of Tamil Cirappuranam (Life of Prophet)." In *Themes in Indian History: India's Islamic Traditions (711-1750)*, edited by Richard M. Eaton, 393-410. New Delhi: Oxford University Press New Delhi, 2003.

⁴⁸ *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* are two famous ancient Indian epics narrating good and heroic deeds of local heroes and many gods. Their major premise is victory of good over evil written somewhere between 500-100 BCE.

notions, regarding the period, from 12th/13th century to 16th century and in cases later than that. The focus of this material did not center at Delhi (that remained the capital from time to time) but the lens shifted from Kashmir in the north, to Gujarat in the west and Tamil Nadu in the south. Situating lower Sindh within these themes and debates provide tools to read the oft neglected (in colonial scholarship) architecture of Makli in a new light. The site of Makli was not a *tabula rasa* over which the ‘Islamic’ funerary architecture sprang up without any references to local and/or foreign agencies from 14th to 18th century. This architecture was not devoid of continuities and contestations, developing in isolation. Local regional/provincial architectural and cultural predispositions hence help in understanding the architectural taste and trends that ensued at Makli. This study relieves architecture of sultanate period from teleological burden of being “necessary precursor to the Mughal imperium”⁴⁹ giving it the overdue value it deserves in the larger historiography of (Islamic?) architecture. These themes are presented here in order to broaden the scope of analysis and to better understand the modalities of architectural production, reception and consumption at Makli.

The baggage of colonial scholarship must be shed with respect to Makli in particular and South Asia in general. The repercussions of the huge body of literature referred to as colonial writings and its later progenies need evaluation. The longevity of Hindu – Muslim divide cannot be denied in the present geo-politics of the region. This anachronistic divide was one of the products of ‘Colonial Enterprise’ in the subcontinent created as propaganda and exploited for economic and political gains. Some selected colonial writings are discussed in the next section specific to architecture highlighting contributions and biases by its authors.

⁴⁹ Patel, Alka. "Revisiting the Term "Sultanate" (Introductory remarks)." In *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates*, edited by Abha Narain Lambah Alka Patel, 9-12. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006. [pg 9]

2.2:- COLONIAL ENTERPRISE AND MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE SUBCONTINENT:

The British entered the subcontinent's landscape somewhere around the late 16th and early 17th century as traders and merchants. This encounter resulted in the formation of British East India Company around 1600 that was a group / collective of merchants from Britain having been granted permit to conduct trade in the east from the Crown. In the next 100 years or so they taking advantage of the declining central control of the Mughals and rise of the Maratha forces in the Deccan regions – mushrooming of independent states like Hyderabad and Oudh (Awadh) etc. took control of most of the Indian subcontinent. Although not interested in the political control of the region at first, the British were here to stay. What initially was a trading liaison with the Mughal Empire turned into territorial control and colonization after gaining control of Bengal province in the mid-18th century and subsequently the entire subcontinent. Sindh, where Makli Necropolis near the city of Thatta is located, was annexed in 1843 CE. The mutiny or war of independence (depending which side the narrator is from) of 1857/58 CE marked the official control of the British/English crown over subcontinent and India was now a colony. East India Company that paved the way for British to enter the landscape was also officially abolished in 1857 although started losing its control in the late 18th and early 19th century.⁵⁰

Colonization although officially lasted for some 90 years post 1857 CE, began taking shape much earlier. By the time the Crown added India to its direct command much of the political control and ways to govern the land were already in place for them. It was through the Company's engagement with the locals for some 250 years before 1857 CE, which facilitated the only possible outcome, India becoming a British colony. After 1765 CE, when Company gained control over Bengal and were granted permit to collect taxes from Mughals, is where the British control of India begins. They started formulating regulations and laws, engaging more pro – actively with

⁵⁰ For further information refer, Barbara D. Metcalf, Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001-2006.

locals (especially with ambition) and cultivating their own army of local *sepoys*.⁵¹ Bengal therefore started operating as one of the Independent states under Mughal Empire which was crumbling due to multiple threats from within (Maratha's) and outside the subcontinent.

On 23 October of that year (1764)..... the British made themselves the masters of eastern India. No longer able to keep up the pretense that they were mere traders, in 1765, by a treaty with the Mughal emperor, in return for an annual tribute the Company secured the *diwani*, or revenue collecting rights, for the provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Legally, this made the Company the emperor's deputy, as revenue minister, a position they retained until 1858. The administration of justice, or *nizamat*, was left to the *nawab*. In form Bengal remained a Mughal province. In fact, however, it was wholly under the control of the East India Company, for neither the emperor in Delhi nor the figurehead *nawab* exercised any independent authority over the region.⁵²

Resources from Bengal being a rich province helped Company generate enough revenues to threaten, submit and over-throw most of the contenders (for control over subcontinent) by maintaining a larger standing army. This is the time where a serious effort is made by the Company personnel's to understand local culture, language and religion. Under Warren Hastings (1732-1818), becoming the first Governor General of India around 1772, Oriental studies begin. It is where, whilst creating a rule of law for governing locals justly based on their religion and scriptures, one witnesses the earlier instances of creation of Hindu and Muslim as separate entities/ identities.

Hastings further believed that there existed distinct and separate codes of law for Hindus and for Muslims. In civil suits regarding marriage, inheritance and the like, he wrote, 'the Laws of the Koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the Shaster with respect to the Gentoos [Hindus] shall be invariably adhered to'. This insistence on a fundamental difference between 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' reduced a variety of sectarian communities characterized by distinct customs and practices to two, each defined through its textual tradition. In so doing Hastings inaugurated the practice of seeing these categories as central to the organizing of

⁵¹ It is a corruption or Anglicized version of the local word '*sipahi*', meaning soldier.

⁵² Barbara D. Metcalf, Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001-2006. [pg 53]

Indian society; and this, in turn, helped shape how Indians constructed identities for themselves in subsequent years.⁵³

An enterprise of translating older texts in Sanskrit and Arabic began which led to formation of institutions for learning local languages by the English. Hastings is also credited with initiating the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 CE.

Hastings set in motion what was to become a decades-long enterprise of mastering India's geography, history, and culture. Driven in part by an Enlightenment enthusiasm to know, and thus to classify and order, everything under the sun, a study of India also advanced the interests of India's new rulers. As Hastings explained straightforwardly to the directors in 1784, 'Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state . . . it attracts and conciliates distant affections; it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection; and it imprints on the hearts of our countrymen the sense of obligation and benevolence.' Hastings's major institutional creation was the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Founded in 1784, under the leadership of Sir William Jones, the society dedicated itself above all to study of the religious and cosmological texts of Indian antiquity.⁵⁴

His predecessors followed in his footsteps by institutionalizing and Orientalizing the scholarship of and for the Indian subcontinent.

The last reform was that of Lord Wellesley (1798–1805), who founded the College of Fort William at Calcutta (1802) as a place where incoming civil servants were taught local languages prior to taking up their appointments. At the same time, the Company directors established a college at Haileybury in England (1804) to provide fledgling civil servants, required to spend two years there, with the rudiments of a general education before going out to India.⁵⁵

⁵³Barbara D. Metcalf, Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001-2006. [pg 58]

⁵⁴ Barbara D. Metcalf, Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001-2006. [pg 62]

⁵⁵ Ibid. [pg 60]

Study and institutionalization of archeological and architectural heritage of India did not escape the colonial fantasy. Nevertheless this study could not free itself from Hasting's Hindu-Muslim separation. This became a tool for classifying and ordering the architectural heritage of India where the foremost categories were Hindu and Muslim with chronological, geographic or at times thematic divisions.

2.2.1:- Architectural History Surveys of India by Colonial Writers:

Writings of English scholars on India went hand in hand with archaeological surveys⁵⁶, mapping, holding world expos and enterprise of museum building. The antiquarian interest led to development of all necessary institutions required. In ways, in my opinion, the colony became a reflection of the center, far removed from it geographically but mimetic in nature. The English were unearthing and historicizing Indian heritage for as much as themselves as the Indians. It was a civilizing mission that gained impetus due to writings of Charles Darwin (1809-1882 CE) and the Enlightenment project reached the colony.⁵⁷ Architecture as an agency for recollecting, retelling and building the story of the past became one of the important tools for serving the purpose. What started as an understanding of India to ascertain the right legal system based on religious scriptures of the communities that inhabited the region, became a full-fledged mission to present the locals with their own history written in a modern organized (taxonomic) fashion. This not only created a Hindu - Muslim divide but also propagated East - West divide.

The process of differentiating between East and West... went hand in hand with attempts to write a universal history of humanity which sought to incorporate all

⁵⁶ The Archaeological Survey of India was founded in 1861 and Alexander Cunningham became its first Director General.

⁵⁷ Refer, Barbara D. Metcalf, Thomas R. Metcalf. *A Concise History of Modern India*. second edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001-2006. Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York, 1978. Hoffenberg, Peter H. *An Empire on Display: English Indian and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. California: University of California Press, 2001. Breckenridge, Carol A. "The Aesthetics and Politics of Colonial Collecting: India at World Fairs." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 2 (1989): 195-216. Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

civilizations within ascending scale of progress, culminating in the achievements of the capitalist nation-states of Western Europe.⁵⁸

Another factor that impacted architectural survey writings and archaeological studies was over reliance on textual evidences. It appears similar to how Iliad and Odyssey, ancient epic poems of Homer, lead to discovery of ancient Greek cities of Mycenae and Minoan civilizations or how Vitruvian treatise of architecture remained a yardstick to measure classical Greek and Roman remains. The shortcoming in this approach is relegating a secondary status or complete rejection of evidence on ground, based on textual evidence. This also gave traction to Buddhist studies as there were parallels that could be drawn between Classical Greek architecture and Buddhist remains. Alexander the Great treaded on the Indian soil around third century BCE during his ambitious conquering the world campaign. This overlapped with the Buddhist dominion in the subcontinent especially in the northern regions. The classical Greek references in Buddhist architecture of the time led to assertion of an already established classical supremacy in architecture. The renaissance leading to modernization of Europe already owed a debt to rediscovery of classical studies. These references found so far removed from the Greek geography reasserted the classical canon making local Indian architecture subordinate.

It cannot, of course be for a moment contended that India ever reached the intellectual supremacy of Greece or the moral greatness of Rome; but, though on a lower step of the ladder, her arts are more original and more varied and her forms of civilization present an ever-changing variety, such as are nowhere else to be found.⁵⁹

Buddhist architecture therefore gained supremacy on grounds of affinity with classical architecture in the survey of architecture of Indian subcontinent. James Fergusson was one of the first scholars/historians to produce a comprehensive

⁵⁸ Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001. [pg 8]

⁵⁹ Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture - Volume I.* New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899. [pg 4]

survey in two volumes of 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture – Volume I & II'.

The first systematic and comprehensive historical study of Indian Architecture from colonial perspective was undertaken by James Fergusson. He was a Scottish Indigo Planter who, between 1835 and 1847, travelled widely, observed architects and workmen engaged in the construction of temples and conducted an extensive survey of the different types of ancient buildings in India..... Fergusson's most detailed and representative study was his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, whose first edition appeared in 1876.⁶⁰

Following the footsteps of Fergusson other colonial writers embarked on writing historical survey of Indian architecture. E.B Havel, J. A Page and Percy Brown are a few such names, therefore one can say, what Sir Bannister Fletcher attempted in England for European architecture these colonial writers were contemporaneously attempting in India. These surveys were indeed intended to be part of the larger universal/global history - survey of architecture. There is no denying that these writings were fairly comprehensive and relied heavily on archaeological publications. Numerous illustrations, measured drawings and photographs supplemented these publications visually aiding the distant reader in the center about the colony. Fergusson's publications, as they were the earliest attempt at survey, established a canon that remained unchallenged (barring a few instances) and had a great impact on writings that followed. His became the seminal literature often referred and later writings were often derivative of Fergusson's. The teleological narrative of origin, rise and decay became the principal with which architecture in India was analyzed. The prehistoric roots for any indigenous style were extracted textually and archaeologically and a constant correlation between material remains and textual / mythological sources were drawn. The major divisions or categories remained Buddhist, Hindu, Jain and Mohammanan (Muslim / Islamic) or Indo Saracenic (a term later scrapped) within which sub-categories like Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, or Mughal etc. were inserted. Building materials like wood, stone brick etc. and chronological sub-divisions were also employed for categorization. From

⁶⁰ Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. Ranikhet (India): Permanent Black, 2001. [pg 13]

examination of the two volumes of Fergusson's books on Indian architecture there are certain themes or more appropriately biases the scholar has come across. The assertion of supremacy of European architecture and/or classical antiquity was pervasive. By virtue of this Indian architecture of antiquity remained secondary to purity of classical Greek and arcuate supremacy of Roman architecture. On top of that the utilitarian non-monumental nature of Harappan / Indus Valley civilization of Mohenjo-Daro, attesting to Bronze Age riverine cultures of the third and second millennia BCE, did not impress the English much.⁶¹ The Buddhist architecture for its purity and affinity with classical architecture as stated earlier was presented as the prime specimen and later Aryan or Dravidian architecture in comparison remained secondary to Buddhist.

Fergusson divided the history of Indian Architecture into certain broad phases: the first phase, dating from second century BC to the first century AD and coinciding with the construction of the Buddhist monuments at Sanchi, Bharhut and Amaravati, marked the highest level of artistic achievement. The excellence of this art derived from a racial purity untainted by 'corrupt' Brahmanical influence, from the nationalistic principals of the Buddhist faith, and very likely from the presence of Greek masons and designers drawn from Indo-Greek colonies of Bactria.⁶²

The later post Buddhist architecture until the Muslims entered the landscape of India as rulers; was categorized as 'Hindu'. This separation of Buddhist and Hindu architecture, although both religions shared similarities and polytheistic nature, was to maintain the status of classical Greek architecture as fountainhead of all great architectures of the world, in my opinion.

The most important underlying division within these categories was racial in nature. The foreign albeit better Aryan tradition became corrupted overtime as it lost original ways and was integrated with the local features. The indigenous local stock

⁶¹ For further information refer, Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Period*. 4th. Bombay (Mumbai): D.B.Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1959.

⁶² Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. Ranikhet (India): Permanent Black, 2001. [pg 21]

of Dravidian, having lesser skills compared to Indo-Aryans but not corrupted by racial intermixing, retained architecturally better aesthetic. The flaw in these categories, as per my opinion, is that from origin (where-ever it was in history) to present times that crystalline purity was lost for the colonists and therefore it was lamented. It was as if they were looking for something that existed in the remote past to reach them unchanged in 19th century. The essentializing nature with which these histories were written relegated later architecture as corrupted in a similar way Baroque and Rococo styles were treated after Renaissance'. Intermixing of forms from one style to another met with criticism assigning lower rank to such monuments. The multi-ethnic and multi-religious nature of population was somehow expected to not have integrated culture and customs and retained the purity / essence of originality for period spanning (almost) a millennia. Hence the intermixed forms in architecture were not well received either. For example discussing the modern Jain temple architecture Fergusson writes,

Like most Hindu Buildings of the period, all these temples show very distinctly the immense influence the Muhammadan style of architecture had or the native styles at this age. Many of the temples here are surmounted by the bulbous dome of the Mughals. The true native *sikhara* rarely appears, but a modified form of it is prevalent and the openings almost invariably take the form of the Muhammadan foliated pointed arch. There is every variety of style and form and generally each stands on a terrace and is surmounted by one or more spires. The result is picturesque, but not satisfactory when looked closely into and generally the details want the purity and elegance that characterized the earlier examples.⁶³

The reservation English writers had regarding Indian architecture was reliance on trabeated system of construction although after 13th century the craftsman in India became well versed in constructing arches of fine quality. Hence as arcuate system is considered structurally superior and continued usage of trabeated structures somehow pointed to stagnation. Nevertheless, they remained critical when a Jain temple in 15th and 16th century adapts domical roof and foliated arched openings, in place of a *sikhara* roof and trabeated openings. This paradox creates confusion in today's reader where on one hand English scholars were rooting for structural

⁶³ Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. [pg 255]

progress but on the other hand were not equipped to stylistically situate intermixed forms. It is apparent that for them ‘arch’ was Muslim and ‘post and beam’ were Hindu. These religious demarcations of architectural elements are fairly pervasive in the colonial text examined by the scholar. Both Fergusson and Brown implicitly designated a religion to architectural elements. Hence, wherever these elements appeared simultaneously they were written as Hindu or Muslim irrespective of the structure being a temple or a mosque – or secular / domestic.

The architecture of India that stirred Fergusson's imagination and inspired awe and wonder was often downplayed by suggesting barbaric and uneducated nature of the local people. “Those who have the opportunity of seeing what perfect buildings the ignorant uneducated natives of India are now producing will easily understand how success may be achieved”⁶⁴. This constant acceptance and negation in the same paragraph, of greatness of Indian architecture and barbarianism of the populace, is discernible tone of the writing.

..... it is undoubtedly be conceded by those who are familiar with the subject that for certain qualities the Indian buildings are unrivaled. They display an exuberance of fancy, a lavishness of labor, and an elaboration of detail to be found nowhere else. They may contain nothing so sublime as the hall at Karnac, nothing so intellectual as the Parthenon, nor so constructively grand as a medieval cathedral; but for certain other qualities – not perhaps of the highest kind, yet very important in architectural art – the Indian buildings stand alone. ⁶⁵

Neither their contemporary structures were a match to medieval cathedrals nor the earlier remains stood a chance when compared to Roman architecture. Similar criticism appears when contemporary architecture in England found its way to India. In his “History of Modern Styles in Architecture” Fergusson delegates a fairly low status to Indian modern architecture. The attempts made by the colony to emulate the

⁶⁴ Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. [pg 4]

⁶⁵ Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture - Volume I*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899 [pg 6]

center were met with remarks like vulgar and bastard style.⁶⁶ Here too, the intermixing of elements both local and foreign did not go well with the English writers. The search for a pure Gothic cathedral or a Palladian villa in Indian landscape was probably a lost cause for Fergusson. What these writers were not able to process was a simple fact that when communities co-exist the cultures overlap and intermix. Architecture is fluid and these encounters of seemingly disparate communities produce flexible entities rather than immutable identities. This architecture in my opinion is one of reconciliation and negotiation. Designating religious divisions for taxonomic purpose creates an irreconcilable divide. Wherever local elements or trabeated structural system made its way to architecture patronized by the Muslims in the subcontinent it fostered either spolia narrative or a compensation reached due to limitations of the masons. Qutb Complex the first imperial and reasonably monumental structure built under the Mamluks (1206-1290 CE) Sultans of Delhi and expanded by later dynasties is a case in point. The earlier buildings of the complex especially the Quwat-ul Islam Mosque has met with criticism over use of post and lintel system and appropriation of spolia from temples. For most architectural historians as for the English the mosque, although one of the first imperial buildings built under Muslim patronage, was not Islamic enough. This mosque remains an anomaly where it cannot be categorized as either Hindu or Muslim by virtue of its function and local architectural characteristics respectively. For English and most contemporary scholars India reached its ripened age of Muhammadan architecture after arrival of Mughals. The Central Asian and Persian affinities of Mughal architecture with use of true arch and dome was the zenith and culmination of Muhammadan architecture.

The third style, the Mughul was the latest and the ripest form of Indo – Islamic architecture, which emerging after the middle of the 16th C continued to flourish until 18th C, by which time the empire founded by the descendants of the Timurids, the ‘Great Mughuls’, had begun to approach its end.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ For further information refer, Fergusson, James. *History of the Modern Styles of Architecture: Being a Sequel to the Handbook of Architecture*. London: John Murray, 1862.

⁶⁷ Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981 (1956). [pg 5]

This bifurcation of Indo Muslim architecture into pre-Mughal (Delhi sultanate) and Mughal designated a secondary status to sultanate architecture as has been discussed earlier. In a teleological sense Mughal Empire was where the essence of true Islamic architecture prevailed in India. In the later scholarship sultanate architecture mostly centered in Delhi were written as false starts. Colonial scholarship played its role in stylizing the narrative of Indo Islamic architecture on these lines. Similarly, the divisions that colonial writers presented of sultanate - provincial and Mughal whilst writing Indo-Islamic surveys perpetuated 20th and 21st C writings.⁶⁸ Provincial architecture before the Mughals of Bengal, Punjab, Gujarat and Deccan etc. were separate styles in themselves. Where Brown treats them separately he also designates separate stylistic categories for five dynasties of Delhi sultanate. Fergusson comparatively has a shorter chapter/section on Indo Islamic architecture. He also like Brown after him separates Provincial and Mughal architecture but sultanate is written as Pathan style (racial division based on first sultans of Delhi). Indo-Islamic architecture was favored by both Fergusson and Brown barring instances of intermixed forms they were critical of and/or uncertain to categorize. The use of arch was imperative to this approbation since it was akin to Roman architecture.⁶⁹ The narrative of Indo Islamic architecture revolved around the arch. As stated above arcuate forms were Islamic hence the post and lintel architecture of Gujarat although praised for its aesthetic and structural quality remained Hindu despite its function. These essentialized categories by virtue of their structural affinities were inherently reductive in nature. Where architecture of Gujarat garnered praise for remaining true to its post and lintel character and producing architecture of impressionable scale, Sindh received heavy criticism. Never treated as a separate provincial category it was mostly pitted with Punjab. Although sharing kinship, both structural and aesthetic, with the larger corpus of Gujarat, Kutch and Rajasthan area, architecturally lower Sindh and Makli failed to impress both Fergusson and Brown, not taking much space in their surveys.

⁶⁸ One such example is Alfieri, Bianca Maria. *Islamic Architecture of the Indian SubContinent*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2000.

⁶⁹ Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. Ranikhet (India): Permanent Black, 2001.

2.2.2:- Sindh's Architecture in Colonial Scholarship – A Commentary on Cousens "Antiquities of Sind":

Dubbed as a 'minor style'⁷⁰ and not having sufficient example to ascertain its stylistic association, architecture of lower Sindh did not garner much colonial attention. Fergusson and Brown both were quick to overlook local architectural precedence before the Mughal dominion of Sindh. They both placed geographical distance as one of the reasons why architecture in lower Sindh either did not develop or took precedence from rest of the Indian subcontinent. For the survey writer's brick took precedence over stone although a cursory examination of the Makli site reveals both building materials are extant in similar proportions. Brick made it possible for them to associate the architectural tendency after Mughal occupation; with Persia. "The architecture style that was practiced in Sind during the later mediaeval period may be described as a provincialized form of that which developed at the same time throughout Persia."⁷¹ Stone sepulcher architecture was localized specially during the early Samma Period that made Brown and later Cousens to speculate use of spolia. The red brick tombs with blue tile work co-existing with yellow stone tombs seemed problematic for colonial writers as stylistic categories could not be established. Makli site has a variety with respect to building materials, layouts and decorative aesthetics that makes it difficult for anyone trying to place a taxonomic system upon it. It disqualifies in my opinion if we keep the gaze taxonomic while writing about its architecture. Stylistic categorization is defied at Makli by virtue of its diversity, both material and aesthetic. For the colonial writers lower Sindh especially Thatta and Makli lacked in volume and monumentality of monuments to be of consequence. They nevertheless making their study comprehensive discuss the monuments with the bulk of Indo-Islamic architecture. Fergusson presents description of Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan (brick) as prime

⁷⁰ Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. [pg 511]

⁷¹ Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981 (1956). [pg 115]

example of Persian precedence but overlooks Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II that is in close proximity built entirely of stone and adapts localized vocabulary.

Henry Cousens writing a little later in the early 20th century also treats monuments at Makli similar to Fergusson and Brown. Cousens was an archaeologist with Archaeological Survey of India and produced a monograph titled “Antiquities of Sindh with Historical Outline” first published in 1929. This book was an extension of his earlier publication “Architectural Antiquities of Western India” in 1926. The earlier publication covered architecture from Bombay presidency and neighboring areas. The major portion went to Gujarat and its immediate vicinity. Sindh made it to the book but was a relatively shorter few page chapter and “Antiquities of Sindh” comes as a continuation of this earlier work. This is one of the most comprehensive writings on Architecture of Sindh written under the English and has been republished under auspices of Culture Department of Sindh. There are extensive writings on history of Sindh translated from mostly Arabic sources e.g. “History of Sindh as told by its own Historians” by Elliot or a multi volume series on history of Sindh by Lambrick or Postan’s “General observations on Sind” etc. to mention a few. For architecture Cousens’s book stands as most comprehensive, written in a similar vein as Fergusson and Brown. His general tone towards Sindh its environment, weather and people is derisive for example the opening line of the voluminous text, covering the architectural and archaeological heritage of Sindh, are:

Sind is a land of sepulchers and dust of ‘holy’ shams and ‘holy’ humbugs. When good old times under Hindus rule gave way to Muhammadan domination, the principal concern of its rulers seems to have been for the selfish pleasures of the living and the glorification of their dead.⁷²

The reason for this deprecating tone cannot be ascertained with authority but may lie in the reluctance of Sindh’s *Amirs* / rulers to succumb under British dominion. They extracted multiple treaties with un-favorable *amirs* of Sindh to gain mercantile dominion over Indus waters. Knowing the trade potential by sea route via ports of

⁷² Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929. [pg 01]

Sindh and the navigable Indus River connecting the region to northern inland territories was an opportunity missed if the *amirs* do not sway to British demands of conducting trade with-in the region. Sindh became a taxing negotiation for the British whose interests were probably only trade related. *Amirs* of Sindh were skeptical of their devices and were careful in executing any liaisons with them.⁷³ Therefore, it is probable that the length of time it took to gain the territory of Sindh and the mere mercantile interest of the British were the reason for the tone one is met with whilst perusing colonial material on Sindh. The weather conditions were harsh and compared to Gangetic plains of the North or the tropical nature of Bengal, Sindh is dry. Since the five tributaries of Indus in Punjab to the north culminate and unite in the mighty Indus, the singular river channel does not foster much vegetation barring within the vicinity of the river. It seems that this characteristic of Indus lend Sindh its title “Young Egypt”.⁷⁴ As river Nile greens adjacent areas with-in a vast desert of Egypt, here in Sindh, Indus does the same for an otherwise arid region.

Cousens like his predecessors, Fergusson and Brown, lends a tripartite division to architectural or ‘antiquarian remains’ of Sindh.⁷⁵ The pre-historic period lost to vagaries of time, the Hindu and Buddhist period or pre-Muhammadan and the Muhammadan period. The last period he is most critical of as sepulcher remains of saints and nobles were a waste of resource over dead. The popularity these holy shrines had amongst the general populace was also met with criticism. It is true that even today these shrines and graves attract people. The birth and death anniversaries of these saints and noble are celebrated and massive ‘*urs*’ are held that go on for

⁷³ For further information refer, Khera, P. N. *British Policy Towards Sindh upto the Annexation, 1843*. Lahore: Minerva Books, 1941.

⁷⁴ Eastwick, J. B. *Dry Leaves from Young Egypt: Being a Glance at Sindh Before the Arrival of Sir Charles Napier*. London: James Madden, 1849.

⁷⁵ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

days.⁷⁶ Other than being ritualistic in nature these *urs* are a great source of revenue generation and are mostly patronized by the local governmental departments. These shrines over a period of time became mini-cities in themselves and had architecture that was utilitarian as well as sacred in nature. Since Cousens was critical of the sepulcher remains and unable to understand the socio-cultural dynamics, these tombs had nothing impressive for him. In his opinion all the temples were desecrated due to iconoclastic nature of Arabs and spolia used in construction, hence there was dearth of material from Hindu period. Similarly, since he was critical of mausoleums; necropolises that were extant in the region did not certify as quality architectural remains. “Of medieval remains there is practically nothing in Sind” he states but his almost 500 page monograph on Sindh’s antiquities negate this statement.⁷⁷ The natural material of construction in Sindh is brick. The Bronze Age site of Moen-jodaro attests to it. Brick is a perishable material and with the arid nature of climate most sites and buildings deteriorated over time. There are stone monuments but mostly tombs are built with stone due to its durability. These abodes for the dead were consciously built with stone for posterity, in my opinion. Hence Cousens finds himself in a situation where instead of large scale grand mosques there are shrines and tombs. In probable dismay he states:

Unlike the Ahmad Shahi rulers of Ahmadabad who adorned their capitals with countless mosques, many of which are finest specimens of Indo-Saracenic work in India to which their tombs took quite a secondary place, the Sind chiefs thought more of themselves and their own personal grandeur, even in death, than the glory of God. Thus it came about that, with the exception of the great Jami Masjid at Thathah, which they did not build; they have left few mosques that can be counted a credit to them.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Urs* are death anniversary celebrations held at many famous shrines in Sindh and are mostly 2 – 3 day events. People from all walks of life and from all parts of the region flock the shrine during *urs* days. These events are centered on multiple cultural and ritualistic activities like music, poetry recitation and *dhammal* (a form of trance devotional dance).

⁷⁷ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929. [pg 9]

⁷⁸ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929. [pg 11]

Although Shaikh Khurshid Hasan recently authored a monograph of sorts on “Mosques of Sindh” which enumerates quite a wide range of mosques spread throughout the province. They are aesthetically diverse with each region bringing its own flavor to the design as well as decorative program.⁷⁹ Hasan’s recent contribution brings to light the bias Cousens had while writing on Sindh searching for an essentialized Grand Mosque from Arab or later periods and making peace with at least having a Mughal mosque at Thatta. Being derogatory and slightly ignorant of the cultural nuances of Sindh of that time, shrines were looked down upon. These shrines were the sacred spaces in Sindh and the ensemble along with tombs and other structures had mosques either within the main tomb building or being part of the complex. This may account for limited number of isolated mosques in the region. Samma cluster at Makli presents a similar scenario where tombs, shrines, *khanqahs* and a mosque are all grouped together.⁸⁰ Thatta mosque mentioned above famously called ‘Shah-Jahan Mosque’ was built during the Mughal dominion of Sindh under the rule of Shah Jahan stands at a much grander scale comparatively. It was completed as per accounts in 1647 CE and comes under the Mughal monuments of Sindh. There were, as stated, mosques in Sindh one being at the site of Makli in Samma cluster and the other being Dabgir mosque built in 1588 CE under Tarkhan dominion of Thatta. The reason for enumerating presence of mosques in Sindh is in no way to establish the religiosity of the region of which Cousens is so vehemently critical of, but an effort is made here to establish that although instances of isolated mosques, for the ‘glory of God’ to use Cousens words, were less in comparison but not absent altogether. All these mosques named above are found within the city of Thatta.

⁷⁹ Refer Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid. *Evolution and Development of Mosque Architecture in Sindh*. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research (NIHCR), 2017.

⁸⁰ For further information refer Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012. Suhail Zaheer Lari, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

The colonial writers in my opinion failed to comprehend the region of Sindh which is dubbed as “the land of the Sufis”.⁸¹ Therefore the proliferation of tombs and shrines attest to the fact that these edifices were equally sacred to the people. The work done by Holly Edwards in her PhD thesis ‘Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley’ that is recently published in book form titled “Of Brick and Myth: Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley” is telling in this regard where she enumerates a range of tombs mostly built in brick and unlike Cousens does not reject sepulcher monuments in search for the house of God. The book makes a profound case for study of architecture in the Indus valley lying in the study of its funerary structures. The almost 400 year of continued tomb building at the site of Makli is a testament to that. For Cousens this proliferation of funerary structures was nevertheless a handicap and throughout the book he, unable to disregard the tombs, resorts to denigrate them.

Sindh has architectural wealth worth studying and Cousens was aware of it but most of the earlier remains due to perishable nature of bricks, making the sites more of quarries for bricks than of archaeological value for nearby inhabitants, the arid nature of the climate and dust storms and lastly the changing course of Indus posed difficulties for the archaeologist.⁸² Indus has been volatile and infamous for changing its course fairly rapidly and Raverty and Haig talk about it at length.⁸³ It becomes far more unpredictable as it reaches the southern deltaic area. Since livelihood and sustenance heavily depended on the river in pre-modern times, people mostly migrated and settlements abandoned as per the change in the course of river.

⁸¹ Jotwani, Dr. Motilal. *Sufis of Sindh*. New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Govt. of India, 1986.

⁸² There is use of both baked and sundried bricks in the region with mud plastering. Sundried bricks are far less durable compared to baked brick that themselves have a shorter lifespan compared to stone structures.

⁸³ Refer, Raverty, H.G. *The Mihran of Sind and Its Tributaries :A Geographical and Historical Study*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1895. Haig, M. R. *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on its Ancient Geography and History* . London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. , 1894. and Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

Thatta, as Dani also mentions in his book lost its status as the capital of lower Sindh probably due to change in course of the river.⁸⁴ The modern day canal system and dams built have pretty much stabilized the course of the river. Cousens mentions this in his book where most of the older towns written in the Arab and Persian accounts or from Alexander's times are difficult to establish with certainty. The river has changed course several times and early 20th century study would have required intense archaeological campaigns in the regions. The remains he found most abundant in the region were from medieval times which were studied with an air of indifference. The book like earlier surveys is chronological in nature with regional sub divisions. The Buddhist remains are studied at length along with sites of Alor (Aror) and Brahmanabad. These sites were reminiscence of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of the region before the official coming of Arabs in the region in 711/712 CE. Sindh was the first official site conquered in Indian subcontinent under the Umayyad's. It has been oft written as a gate way of Islam in India by Muslim enthusiasts. Although Cousens could not establish the exact locations of the earlier Hindu and Buddhist sites but where-ever he could with some authority proclaim Hindu and Buddhist presence, the non-monumental nature of remains and archaeological material like pottery shards etc. thwarted his enthusiasm. As mentioned above the material brick perishing with time caused Cousens much dismay. The excavations under Sir John Marshall (during 1929 CE) that revealed Bronze Age site of Mohen jo Daro were still under process of being unearthed and although mentioned in miscellaneous remains section of the book are not detailed. Therefore, writing about earlier remains where very many mounds were identified but not many excavated must have been taxing for a colonial writer used to studying monumental architecture in India the he and his predecessors wrote about. Similarly, being the 'gate-way' of Islam the so called dearth of 'house of God' constructed by Muslims, disappointed him further, in my opinion. Only three years back (in 1926 CE) Cousens published a book enumerating Muhammadan remains from Gujarat and vicinity having remarkable mosques which display a marked monumentality and

⁸⁴ Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

grandeur.⁸⁵ In Sindh Cousens found funerary architecture instead and the site that witnessed such activity for almost 400 years, Makli, receives much dismissal in his writing. Relegated as “pretentious” by Cousens the stone monuments of earlier Samma period were dubbed as Hindu and propagated use of spolia, although this has been rejected by both Dani and Lari (refer note 17 and 18). Rather than making a direct remark to affinity of these structures with Gujarat’s style of architecture a detour is taken mentioning Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar’s capital for a short span of time.⁸⁶ It is well known that Fatehpur Sikri was built after Akbar’s capture of Gujarat and masons from the region were taken there to work on the fort.⁸⁷ This might be intended to link the works with larger corpus of Mughal architecture hence for many historians it is still the epitome of Indo – Muslim architecture in India. In a similar vein *Jamia masjid* built under Shah Jahan in Thatta that has been discussed above was the best specimen of Mosque architecture in Sindh. While struggling with placing the intermixed forms like his fellow writers in one instance he opposes the use of moon-stone, found in many tombs at Makli, as “without meaning” in a Muslim tomb.⁸⁸ For the later monuments brick forms take precedence over stone in the text similar to Fergusson and Brown the affinity with Persian architecture was also favored by Cousens in later Tarkhan and Mughal period. This does not attest to absence of stone monuments. The tile work and brick construction takes a greater portion of the text on Makli but mention of stone and brick aesthetics coming

⁸⁵ Cousens, Henry. *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*. London, 1926.

⁸⁶ The scholar in her master’s dissertation has elaborated at length regarding affinities between Gujarat’s stone monuments and Makli. The region of Sind – Kutch and Gujarat shared not only the building tradition but formed familial ties with each other. The current geo-political status of the region where Sindh is in Pakistan and Kutch and Gujarat fall under India does not mean these borders held true in 14th century. For further information refer Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

⁸⁷ Nath, Ram. "Sources and Determinants of Architecture at Fatehpur Sikri." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories*, edited by Monica Juneja, 563-583. Ranikhet (India): Permanent Black, 2001.

⁸⁸ Moon-stone is mostly found in temples at the threshold demarcating the boundary between sacred and profane. It is mostly in shape of a circle or half a circle having carvings mostly but also found in plain round shape. For further information refer Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

together specially in brick tombs is absent. Here again the intermixing of material aesthetics let alone decorative are brushed under the carpet. There are a lot of contradictions in the text for example, although stressing use of spolia in Jam Nizam's tomb some passages later the same tomb is declared displaying "sham" monumentality as the infill rubble masonry are fitted with dressed ashlar on the surface, suggesting new construction. Cousens quotes heavily from Burton, Raverty and the likes in his text who have written extensively on Sindh. The tone of the excerpts he quotes is needless to say condescending.⁸⁹ Burton declares tomb of Lal Shahbaz Qalandar in Sehwan as a "third-rate" construction and devotees are dismissed as a crowd seeking material benevolence. This again brings forth the limited comprehension Cousens and other writers had of the culture of land they were writing about. Like the *Rishi* and *Bhakti* culture in other parts of subcontinent, Sufi culture promoted equality, love for humanity and religious tolerance as basic tenants. These are the reasons why these Sufi shrines and personalities attracted people from all walks of life and diverse religious background. The cult figure of Udero Lal (Khwaja Khizr or *Zinda pir*⁹⁰), Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (Syed Muhammad Usman Marwandi 1143-1274 CE), Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (1689-1752 CE) and Sachal Sarmast (1739-1827 CE) etc. are a few revered Sufi figures of Sindh. They were not shams as written by Cousens but were learned men who wrote poetry and engaged in musical recitals. Shah Abdul Latif is famous for his book *Shah Jo Risalo* a compilation of his poetry that has been translated in several languages. Similarly, the culture of *dhammal* still exists and happens every Thursday evening at shrine of Lal Shabaz in Sehwan.⁹¹ For a colonial mind that was part of enlightenment project, these socio-cultural activities that digress from prescribed religious dictates for both Hindus and Muslims were an anomaly, in my opinion. These activities did not adhere to religious scriptures (Sanskrit Vedic scriptures or Quran) and early Arab

⁸⁹ Richard F. Burton wrote many books on Sindh "Sind Revisited", "History of Sind as told by its own Historians" and "Sind the Unhappy Valley" to mention a few. He left a considerable impression on his fellow colonial writers writing extensively in the late 19th century.

⁹⁰ *Zinda* means alive and *pir* means saint or saintly figure.

⁹¹ *Dhamal* is a type of devotional dance performed in spiritual ecstasy.

histories that they passionately consumed to fathom the Indian subcontinent. This over reliance on written material is visible in works of Brown, Fergusson and Cousens. Text took precedence over on ground evidence and daily realities of people, and hence most of the activities and spaces that facilitate these activities become a “sham”, as Cousens wrote in his opening remarks. It was beyond the Victorian mind of the civilizing colonial writers to understand Sindh beyond their capacity. The taxonomic inclinations where intermixed ideas are seldom tolerated took the best of them whilst they embarked on writing about Sindh. To understand Sindh especially from 14th to 18th century, we need to look beyond colonial writings to more contemporary work and some earlier pre British material.⁹²

2.3:- SINDH AND THATTA IN PERSPECTIVE – 14TH TO 18TH CENTURIES:

Sindh’s “Islamic History” (or so has been written – reproduced and politicized for centuries now) begins with the 711/712 CE conquest of the region under Mohammad Bin Qasim during Umayyad Caliphate (661-750 CE). The year 712 CE becomes important as not only in Sindh but it marks the start of Muslims rule on South Asian landscape. The Arab rule in Sindh makes it to almost every written material that elucidates upon Muslim rule in South Asia. Although there have been earlier interactions with the Muslim world due to trade and other missionary activities, 712 CE becomes the year Muslims successfully invade, settle and spread their control over South Asia starting from Sindh. Almost every narrative of history of Sindh about the Muslim rule begins with the figure of Mohammad Bin Qasim hailed as a benevolent hero or a tyrant villain dependent on which side is telling the story. Although 14th century landscape both in Sindh and larger Indian geography was unlike 712 CE the story must start when Mohammad Bin Qasim made Sindh part of Umayyad Caliphate. By the time 14th century and Samma rule appears in lower Sindh and Thatta where the story of Makli begins, Delhi is ruled by Turkic overlords

⁹² Monuments at Makli for the purpose of this dissertation are studied from 14th – 18th century. Although building activity continued but Thatta lost its status as capital of lower Sindh around 1739 CE.

declaring, accepting and denouncing Caliphate, larger Muslim world is recovering from the Mongol invasion (1206-1294 CE) and Abbasid Caliphate is reduced to a titular role. A much localized Muslim presence is witnessed in 14th century, in my opinion, as they internalized the socio-cultural dynamics over centuries of interaction. Nevertheless the fateful 712 CE features regularly in the narrative where Muslim is both a tyrant despot and generous just ruler as per authors predisposition. These binary categories facilitated the Muslim and Hindu divide and colonial writers monopolize this to the best of their abilities. The text that aided the scholarship is *Chachnama* the oft reproduced resource on the somewhat obscure Arab past of Sindh. Although the written material on Sindh is not overwhelming, barring colonial writings, it requires studying to build a comprehensible picture of the context 8th century onward.

2.3.1:- Chachnama and Beyond – Pre-Colonial Texts on Sindh by Local Muslim Historians:

Chachnama was written in early 13th century by Ali Kufi in Persian who claimed to be translating from an earlier 8th century Arabic original. This Persian source was translated by Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg in English in 1900 and became the major source on “History of Sindh” for the colonial writers. Although not the only writing that mentions conquest of Sindh by Arabs but nevertheless the most reproduced and quoted. Ali Kufi claims to be translating from Arabic original but Manan Ahmed Asif is of the view that *Chachnama* is a product of 13th century Uch (city in upper Sindh during 13th century and currently part of Punjab Pakistan).⁹³ It narrates the episode of Qasim’s invasion of the land that was under rule of *Raja Dahir*, the then Brahman ruler of Sindh and reflects on the Brahman and Buddhist past of the landscape.⁹⁴ The later mostly 17th and 18th century local text like *Tarikh I Sindh* by

⁹³ Asif, Manan Ahmed. "The Long Thirteenth Century of the Chachnama." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 49, no. 4 (2012): 459–491.

⁹⁴ Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Comissioners Press, 1900. Also refer, Elliot, H. M.

Mir Masumi also called *Tarikh I Masumi* an early 17th C source, *Tarikh I Tahiri* by Mir Tahir Muhammad Nasyani completed in 1621 CE and *Tuhfatul Kiram* by Ali Sher Qani written somewhere in 1767/68 CE etc. attested to popularity and longevity of *Chachnama* as they borrow heavily from it. These later local writings become more historically accurate as they near their contemporary period and discrepancies are observed when they narrate a distant “glorious” Arab past. Elliot in his book brings forth a handful of earlier Arabic texts that mention Sindh.⁹⁵

Starting from the Arab period and coming down to the early 18th century is a huge undertaking and author wishes no such attempt but mentioning some seminal text, their content and recreating a generic dynastic history is important to sketch a framework around the time period from 14th to 18th C. Elliot’s copious volume “History of Sindh as Told by its Own Historians” is a two part text where accounts of early Arab geographers and local histories are excerpted separately. The Arab accounts mostly encompass travels in Sindh after its annexation into the larger Islamic Caliphate and are from late 9th to 14th C. Histories and travel accounts of “The Merchant Sulaiman and Abu Zaid”, “Ibn Khurdabad”, “Al-Masudi”, “Al-Istakhri”, “Ibn Haukal”, “Rashidud Din translating from Al Biruni”, “Al - Idrisi” and “Al Kazwini” are presented.⁹⁶ The common points that are presented in the excerpts paint a plentiful picture of the land well-endowed with nature’s bounties. Fertile land flowing rivers specially Indus (written as *Mihran*) and almost always two separate geographic entities of Sindh and Hind (India) become a constant in the narratives. The land around the Indus River was Sindh and the Gangetic plains and parts east of

The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976.

⁹⁵ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period.* Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976. The book is posthumous text based on collection of essays and papers by the author and a similar publication “History of India as told by its own Historians” also exists commenting and presenting translated excerpts from the likes of Al-Biruni and Minhaj-us-Siraj etc. For further information refer, Elliot, Sir H. M. *The History of India as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period.* Edited by Professor John Dowson. London: Trubner and Co., 1869.

⁹⁶ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period.* Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976.

subcontinent were Hind. If this segregation was product of local nomenclature or more a fancy of Arab geographers is difficult to establish but what is clear is that subcontinent was read as two parts Sindh and Hind.⁹⁷ The religious and sectarian diversity and multiple kingdoms under separate rulers are an anti-thesis to singular Hindu - Muslim entities the later writings mention. Mansura and Multan mentioned as two most important Muslim towns under dominion of the Arabs retained their Hindu population with, as per text, fairly comprehensive religious freedom. The Sun Temple of Multan appears to be a great source of revenue and pilgrimage to the site converged Hindus from all parts of the subcontinent. Al-Masudi in his mid-10th C *Murujul Zahab* states,

Multan is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musalmans, and around it there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages. In it is the idol also known by the name of Multan. The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimage to it from the most distant places: they carry money, precious stones, aloe wood, and all sorts of perfumes there to fulfill their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the King of Multan is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe wood of Kumar, which is the finest quality, and one *man* (a local unit of weight) of which is worth 200 dinars.⁹⁸

The economic potential of the temple of Multan might have curbed the so called iconoclastic tendencies of Muslim in South Asia.⁹⁹ The subcontinent was a set of multiple geographic divisions where they might have religious and cultural affinities but were ruled by a range of Kings, as per these texts. The diverse range of religions existed and one finds set of Hindu, Buddhist, Jain¹⁰⁰, and later Arabs, Turkic and

⁹⁷ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976.

⁹⁸ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976. [pg 23]

⁹⁹ Iconoclasm of Muslim rulers is already called into question and has been discussed in temple desecration portion of the chapter refer section 2.1.3.

¹⁰⁰ Jainism although one of the religions existing in India is not separately mentioned by the Arab and later Persian writers probably due to shared similarities between Hinduism and Jainism. Similar

Central Asian Muslims, being and becoming part of the geography. This point is important to ponder upon as the binary categorize that trickle down to architectural analysis become invalid here. The protection and patronage of Sun Temple of Multan is but one example of it. Lower Sindh also retained its non-Muslim local population whilst Muslims maintaining political control in the area. As has been discussed earlier in the chapter Muslims were integrated as one of the multi-ethnic stock of people in the already diverse realm of Sindh and subsequently South Asia. The theories of iconoclasm, mass migrations, and forced conversions did not hold true during the Arab invasion and early years of Muslim rule neither, in my opinion, they ever reached a fanaticism at a later stage as has been portrayed.

The bountiful land with flowing rivers and functioning trade ports all across Indian peninsula therefore becomes a more plausible explanation for Arabs to secure Sindh rather a religious motivation to bring India under fold of Islam.¹⁰¹ This point is further validated by the policies Arabs exercised in Sindh. Where ever it was possible, peaceful negotiations were made and either the city submitted to Arab rule or agreed to pay tribute and tax.¹⁰² Matters were settled by sword only where the conditions were not accepted by the people and they decided to fight. Similarly a reversion to existing system of governance and managing state affairs was observed with the higher caste of Brahmins given charge of dealing with the matters of Non-Muslims albeit under the overall umbrella of Arab dominion.¹⁰³ This negates the general assumption held that Islam presented people with the opportunity to break the caste shackles and convert, by virtue of which they will garner equal status as

tendencies are observed in the text regarding Buddhism and Hinduism where the two are mostly subsumed as one in the text.

¹⁰¹ Patel, Alka. "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh." In *Sindh Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 81-95. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2008.

¹⁰² Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Comissioners Press, 1900.

¹⁰³ Ibid also refer Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984.

Muslims in the society. Conversion to Islam of people of subcontinent is a lengthy topic but it is safe to assume here that it was neither an overtly forceful event nor a liberating opportunity for people in general and happened over a period of time that took many generations.¹⁰⁴ The Buddhist and Hindus had religious scriptures of their own they were, like Zoroastrians in Persia, given status of *dhimmis* or *zimmis*.¹⁰⁵ “Since both Hinduism and Buddhism were literate religions possessing scriptures, it was not conceptually difficult for the Arabs to extend the Zoroastrian precedent to the non-Muslims of Sind and consider them ‘*ahl al-kitab*’ and *dhimmis*.”¹⁰⁶ There was a considerable religious freedom exercised by these non-Muslim communities and they were given funds to restore their temples and places of worship that were damaged during the invasion. These policies of restoring the earlier held state system, imposing taxes, including the communities into larger corpus of *dhimmis*, and religious freedom for communities etc. all point to urgency in my opinion of balancing out the effects of invasion and start reaping the monetary and otherwise benefits from the region. This is in no way denying the supremacy Arabs held for themselves and for the religion they professed. The patronizing remarks within these histories that reflect on superior status of Arabs cannot be overlooked, nevertheless the policies as per the texts were fairly clear on ‘minimal’ post invasion disturbances. In cases where they had to settle matters through sword, via constant consultation of Mohammad Bin Qasim with Hajjaj Bin Yousuf the then governor of Iraq, it was instructed to spare the lives of merchants, artisans and agriculturists also a reduced tax was imposed on them. “The artisans and merchants were not to be

¹⁰⁴ Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984. Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990. Although there must have been incidents of forceful conversions and converting to acquire a break from caste system but these were not the major trends when it comes to conversion Maclean stresses to it in detail in his dissertation.

¹⁰⁵ Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Commissioners Press, 1900. Patel, Alka. "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh." In *Sindh Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 81-95. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2008. Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984.

¹⁰⁶ Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984. [pg 106]

heavily taxed. Whosoever took great pains in his work or cultivation was to be encouraged and supported.”¹⁰⁷

Bringing these early Muslim/Arab policies into perspective a radical shift into the cultural, social, political and religious landscape did not happen. There were changes in the overall authority and ruler-ship but as the locals integrated the Arabs into a multi-ethnic stock similarly Arabs included the locals into ‘people of the book’ status. Therefore, in my opinion there was an attempt to, as Flood puts it for art work, translate and develop an understanding of the new turn of events. There is also a possibility that this translation and integration held traction in the 14th century when the Sammas started ruling lower Sindh. At the very least this background of the 8th century policies helps form a perspective as to how Sindh was able to hold its non-Muslim stock of population. Although the power passed down to Muslim rulers one after the other when we reach 14th century in the history of lower Sindh where Thatta and Makli become prominent, socio-religious diversity remained. Sammas who usurped local Soomra (or Sumra) chieftains controlled lower Sindh with their capital at both Samui and Thatta respectively from roughly 1352-1524 CE. The Qandahar (in present day Afghanistan) based Mongol descendants, Arghuns and Tarkhans secured a base for themselves in upper and lower Sindh after 1524 CE. Mughals officially take Sindh under their dominion in 1592 CE and retain power till 1739 CE.¹⁰⁸ The local histories that are mentioned above shed light on these events in detail. *Chachnama* retains its value for the later histories as it provided the much needed background of Muslim rule in Sindh. The time period from later Arab rule to Ghaznavid and Ghurid invasions is sketchy and histories start getting hold of the narrative from Samma period onward. The narrative is not entirely absent but slightly murky compared to the detailed accounts of Arab invasion in *Chachnama* and Samma period onward in other local histories. *Tarikh-i-Sindh* or more popularly *Tarikh-i-Masumi* of early 17th century providing comprehensive accounts of Sindh’s

¹⁰⁷ Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Comissioners Press, 1900. [pg 134]

¹⁰⁸ For further details Lari, Suhail Zaheer. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

occupation by Arghuns and Tarkhans, their dynastic lineage and engagements provide a token chapter of Arab invasion borrowing heavily from *Chachnama*.¹⁰⁹ These later histories provide copious biographical and seizure/invasion accounts which are suggestive of disputes that remained a constant and boundaries that kept on shifting. We find second hand references to Sindh in histories like *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* by Ziauddin Barani the 14th century Delhi sultanate historian and *Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl etc. The trade potential of Sindh having a port at *Lahari Bunder* and earlier at Debal always attracted rulers to gain territorial control over it.¹¹⁰ The potential of the port can be gauged by Emperor Akbar's decision to keep the jurisdiction of *Lahari Bunder* under his direct control after gaining territories of lower Sindh.¹¹¹

Arghuns wanted a secure geography to rule since Qandahar was becoming difficult for them to hold they conceded to try their luck eastward forming basis at present day Quetta (Shal) and Sibi (Siwi) they started moving and settling there. The incursions from Babur at regular intervals in early 16th century on Qandahar, Safavid and Uzbek threats becoming recurring in the wake of waning Timurid power, persuaded them to move eastward. This led them toward Baluchistan and Sindh and in 1524 CE deposing Jam Feroze the last Samma ruler they took charge of lower and upper Sindh. Sultan Mahmud was stationed at upper Sindh as governor on behest of Shah Shuja Beg who established himself at Thatta. Jam Feroze had invited Arghuns earlier in 1512 CE to regain control of Thatta from his cousin Jam Salah al Din. It is also narrated in *Tarikh – I – Masumi* how, during the reign of Jam Nizam al Din II

¹⁰⁹ Refer Masoom, Mahomed. *A History of Sind Embracing the Period from A.D. 710 to A.D. 1590*. Translated by Captain George Genville Malet. Bombay: Bombay Education Society Press, 1855. And also Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976.

¹¹⁰ During the later period the port of Debal probably silted and disappeared but *Lahari / Lahri / Lahori Bandar/Bunder* become active from where the Portuguese also conducted their trade with Sindh. Here *Lahari/Lahri/Lahori* is the name of the port and *Bunder/Bandar* means port in local language. Refer Haig, M. R. *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on its Ancient Geopgraphy and History*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. , 1894.

¹¹¹ Paliwal, Amita. "Sind in the Mughal Empire (1591-1740): A Study of its Admisitration, Society, Economy and Culture." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Aligarh, 2010.

(1461-1508 CE), Arghuns made incursion in Sindh but were defeated. Jam Feroze being relatively inapt compared to his father Jam Nizam al Din II lost Thatta first to Jam Salah al Din and later to Arghuns. Shah Shuja Beg and Shah Hasan Arghun, father and son duo, make the Arghun rulers of Sindh who held power from 1524-1555 CE although Jam Feroze was kept as their vassal since 1512 CE. Shah Shuja Beg had eyes on Gujarat further east of Sindh he died without success. His son Shah Hasan surrendered the idea and held onto Sindh and regions of Baluchistan with Sultan Mahmud holding upper Sindh for him like he did for his father Shah Shuja Beg.¹¹²

Tarkhans that were related to Arghuns and migrated with them to Sindh, after Shah Hasan passed away without an heir, took control of lower Sindh and Thatta. Conflict ensued between Tarkhan family and Sultan Mahmud the governor of Upper Sindh on entitlement of Thatta. This led Tarkhans to call for Portuguese help in 1556 CE who had long established trade links with Thatta. Portuguese finding Thatta unguarded and learning of the truce between Tarkhans and Sultan Mahmud, of sharing control between upper and lower Sindh, ransacked the city and left. Tarkhan rule in Thatta starts in the year 1556 CE onward until Mughals during reign of Emperor Akbar in 1592 CE, under military leadership of Khan –I- Khanan took control of both upper and lower Sindh acquiring monopoly on Indus River and its famous port of *Lahari Bunder*.

¹¹² *Tarikh I Masumi* narrates in detail the episode of Arghuns incursion in Sindh. It also provides accounts of Delhi Sultans, Samma Jams of Sindh and later takeover of Tarkhan Dynasty of lower Sindh and eventual subsuming of Sindh under the Mughals during Emperor Akbar in 1592. For further details refer Masoom, Mahomed. *A History of Sind Embracing the Period from A.D. 710 to A.D. 1590*. Translated by Captain George Genville Malet. Bombay: Bombay Education Society Press, 1855. Also refer Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976. Thattavi, Mir Ali Sher Qani. *Tuhfatul Kiram*. Translated by Akhtar Rizvi (Urdu). Hyderabad: Sindh Adabi Board, 2006. Lari, Suhail Zaheer. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Tarkhans held greater favor with the locals of Thatta and this convinced Akbar to reinstate Jani Beg Tarkhan as *hakim* of Sindh in fear of a possible mutiny.¹¹³ *Tarikh I Masumi*, *Tarikh I Tahiri*, *Arghun-Nama* and *Tufatul Kiram* shed greater light on the conflicts that unfolded during Arghun and Tarkhan occupation of Sindh. The timelines covered by these texts come to a close with Akbar's occupation of Sindh but *Tarikh I Tahiri* stretch it to include Tarkhans that were under Mughal governorship. *Tufatul Kiram* written during Kalhora period in 18th century becomes a more comprehensive resource as it covers in greater length timelines from pre – Arab to Kalhora reign and summarizes contents from the earlier histories of Ali Kufi, Masumi and Nasyani. It is nevertheless largely a hagiography and provides insights into family trees, migratory patterns and residing places of many saints, nobles and erudite men who traveled to and settled in Sindh.¹¹⁴ Mir Ali Sher Qani wrote two more books that directly relate to the research, *Hadeeqat-ul-Aulia* originally published in early 17th century and is a hagiography. It dispenses information of saints and scholarly men from towns like Uchh, Multan and Thatta including other cities of both upper and lower Sindh.¹¹⁵ *Makli Namo* translated in Sindhi from Persian original is another important 17th century resource by Qani, edited by Hassam Uddin Rashidi.¹¹⁶ Rashidi went to greater lengths to translate a comparatively smaller Persian text into a copious account with detailed notes, filling the gaps in information where ever necessary. *Makli Namo* provides biographical details of Sammas, Arghuns, Tarkhans and Mughal governors of Thatta. It reproduces historic accounts, for example, dealings of Tarkhans with Mughal

¹¹³ Masoom, Mahomed. *A History of Sind Embracing the Period from A.D. 710 to A.D. 1590*. Translated by Captain George Genville Malet. Bombay: Bombay Education Society Press, 1855. Also Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976. And Lari, Suhail Zaheer. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

¹¹⁴ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976

¹¹⁵ Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Hadeeqat-ul-Aulia (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam Uddin Rashidi. Translated by Dr. Abdur Rasool Qadiri. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2007 (1607).

¹¹⁶ Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Makli Namo (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam-Uddin Rashidi. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2010.

Emperors and royalty, relations with areas of Kutch and Gujarat etc. It also furnishes maps of the site, plans, images and epigraphic details of select tombs although goes on to describe almost all the extant tombs on the site. The editor also provides extensive family trees of the dynasties that ruled Thatta and are related to Makli.

If looked collectively these local histories provide, barring a few dating and naming errors, a picture of Muslim or Muhammadan (as per colonial writers) rule and their interactions in Sindh. Sammas the local dynasty, although their rule started in mid-14th century and continued till early 16th century, were mentioned in *Chachnama*. If the Samma tribe mentioned in *Chachnama* was actually the same as the dynasty that controlled lower Sindh in 14th century is difficult to establish but it is plausible.¹¹⁷

Elliot supports this view of Sammas being present and welcoming the Arab general Mohammad Bin Qasim with trumpets and drums in 712 CE.¹¹⁸ Samma Jams (as they were called locally) usurped local Soomra chieftains who had alliance with Delhi sultanate and this placed Sammas in trouble with Tughlaqs and Jam Tamachi was taken as prisoner to Delhi who was later released. Sammas also declared independence from Delhi after Tughlaq power started fading and ruled Sindh independently before the Central Asian Arghuns and Tarkhans invade and settle in Sindh in the early 16th century.¹¹⁹ The constant struggle of Arghuns and Tarkhans with the Mughals in North of India kept the old animosity of Qandahar alive in Sindh and India. Babur being one of the causes for Arghuns movement eastward from Qandahar had them skeptical of making future alliances with Mughals. They shared a common lineage with Mughals, both being descendants of Genghis Khan,

¹¹⁷ Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Comissioners Press, 1900.

¹¹⁸ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976.

¹¹⁹ Elliot, H. M. *The History of Sind as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Prof. John Dowson. Karachi: Karimsons, 1976. Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Comissioners Press, 1900. Thattavi, Mir Ali Sher Qani. *Tuhfatul Kiram*. Translated by Akhtar Rizvi (Urdu). Hyderabad: Sindh Adabi Board, 2006. Masoom, Mahomed. *A History of Sind Embracing the Period from A.D. 710 to A.D. 1590*. Translated by Captain George Genville Malet. Bombay: Bombay Education Society Press, 1855.

but motivations of Mughals worried Arghuns for they suspected losing Sindh to Babur and/or his descendants. This suspicion had quite a tasteless manifestation when Humayun fleeing north India in 16th century from Sher Shah Suri's attack was not provided refuge in areas of Sindh under Arghun control. This episode is narrated in *Tarikh I Sindh* of Masumi in quite a detail since Mohamad Masum, the author, was employed by Emperor Akbar's court. When *Tarikh I Sindh* was written Sindh was already under Mughal control. Masumi wrote firsthand accounts of the tension between Mughals and Tarkhans in late 16th century. Similarly other local histories also seem inclined to Mughal rule as they were either the direct patrons of these writings or these were commissioned by Mughal governors and *hakims*. They are similar to court histories and pandering to patron is but expected. Independent Tarkhan rule in Sindh lasted for approximately 30-35 years where the major rulers were Isa Khan Tarkhan the first and his son Mirza Baqi Tarkhan. Mirza Jani Beg grandson of Mirza Baqi ruled independent from 1586 – 1591/92 CE and later as Mughal governor, he died in 1601 CE in Burhanpur. His son Mirza Ghazi Beg succeeded him as governor and at one point held lands from Qandahar to Sindh, under Mughal Empire. Ghazi Beg was well favored in Jahangir's court and held Emperors respect,

Jahangir in the *Tuzuk* praises his administrative skill; he even referred Ghazi Beg as *farzand*, in fact, in his letters and *farmans* Jahangir refers him as 'worthy and eminent Baba Ghazi Beg *Bahadur* Tarkhan' and not even at a single place makes any remark against him. Rather, in the year 1606/07 CE he was given the charge of Qandahar in addition to Thatta, a single token of confidence.¹²⁰

The feud over Qandahar between Mughal and Tarkhan (and Arghun) elders was finally buried and Ghazi Beg became the unchallenged ruler from Sindh to Qandahar, a dream many Arghuns and Tarkhans had since they moved from Qandahar eastward in the early 16th century. It has been mentioned in *Tarikh I Masumi* and *Tuhfatul Kiram* that although Ghazi Beg was under Mughal Emperor but his administrative prowess was such that he exercised considerable independence in the matters of ruling his domains. Ghazi Beg died in 1612 CE and this ended the

¹²⁰ Paliwal, Amita. "Sind in the Mughal Empire (1591-1740): A Study of its Admisitration, Society, Economy and Culture." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Aligarh, 2010. [61]

Tarkhan governorship of Thatta under Mughals. Isa Khan Tarkhan the second who was part of court of Akbar and Jahangir both and later served under Shah-Jahan was not sent to Thatta. He rather remained at Mughal court and was sent to multiple places under various duties and finally gained territories in Gujarat as *hakim* and later governor. Although during Shah Jahan's time he was sent to Thatta for a short period in 1627/28 but was called back. The skepticism of Mughal courtiers barred them from giving direct control of Thatta to Tarkhans but Isa Khan Tarkhan II held a higher status in their court. During the short period of few months in 1627/28 when he gained governorship of Thatta he commissioned one of the grandest (stone) funerary abode for himself at Makli.¹²¹ As Tarkhan nobles after 1612 were not given Thatta as governors, Mughals appointed multiple governors from the court between 1612-1739 CE when they lost Sindh to Kalhora rulers. "In all over sixty governors were appointed by Mughals over Thatta."¹²²

If one peruses these texts beyond hagiographies, conquest, invasions and mutinies one finds mention of stories of *Momal-Rano*, *Umar-Marui*, *Sassui-Punho*, *Noori - Jam Tamachi* and *Lila-Chanesar* etc.¹²³ These folk love stories were immortalized by Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai in his poetry who was a 17th century Sufi poet of Sindh.¹²⁴ *Tuhfatul Kiram* mentions these stories in the text. These classic love stories making the folklore of Sindh come from different time periods in Sindh's history. Umar and Marui's story dates to Soomra period and Noori - Jam Tamachi's dates to Samma period, for example. These stories although presenting moral lessons suggest a sense of spirituality through love and sacrifice. The esoteric dimension of reaching

¹²¹ For further information refer, Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Makli Namu (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam-Uddin Rashidi. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2010.

¹²² Lari, Suhail Zaheer. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994. [pg 141]

¹²³ Thattavi, Mir Ali Sher Qani. *Tuhfatul Kiram*. Translated by Akhtar Rizvi (Urdu). Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006.

¹²⁴ His collection of poetry is called *Shah Jo Risalo* or more popularly *Risalo*. This collection has been translated by many scholars and Elsa Qazi's translation has been used. For further information refer Bhittai, Shah Abdul Latif. *Risalo of Shah Abdul Latif (Selections)*. Translated by Elsa Qazi. Maktabah Islamic Books, 2009.

and understanding the love of god through human love drawing parallels between the two in order to dispense the message of self-annihilation that is the core of spirituality, becomes the message.¹²⁵ Other than being a source of spiritual message and guide they professed moral lessons of good v/s evil, benefits of hardship and sacrifice and above all tolerance. These also drew attention through their narrative to the connectivity Sindh had with neighboring regions of, for example, Kech Makran that is part of present day Baluchistan.¹²⁶ These stories and their longevity where Shah Latif in his *risalo* in 17th century reproduces them attest to the (continued) literary tradition of Sindh. One finds references to Persian poetry and Arabic calligraphy being practiced in the region that moves the gaze away from invasions and succession struggles and situates architecture of Makli within this cultural milieu. This tradition gained impetus during Arghun and Tarkhan period as they brought strong Central Asian and Persian values with them to Sindh but the region was not alien to the culture before their arrival. This tradition requires discussion as within this diverse cultural background architecture of Makli was produced, evolved, thrived and expanded.

2.3.2:- Artistic and Literary Diversity of Sindh – Situating Architecture of Makli within a Heterogeneous Cultural Setting:

While writing about the artistic and literary tradition of Sindh a fair amount of credit is given to Central Asian and Persian precedence by scholars and researchers. This is understandable because the flow of Central Asian actors and factors remained a constant in the landscape of Sindh. With the coming of Arghuns and Tarkhans and later Mughal dominion of the region; cross cultural encounters became pronounced

¹²⁵ White, Charles S. J. "Sufism in Medieval Hindi Literature." *History of Religion* 5, no. 1 (1965): 114-132.

¹²⁶ Sasui –Punho telling the story of Prince of Kech Makran who came with his brothers to Sindh for trade purposes falls in love with Sasui a local girl coming from lesser means and decides to stay back with her. For further information read Elliot, Sir H. M. *The History of India as Told by its own Historians: The Muhammadan Period*. Edited by Professor John Dowson. London: Trubner and Co., 1869. Thattavi, Mir Ali Sher Qani. *Tuhfatul Kiram*. Translated by Akhtar Rizvi (Urdu). Hyderabad: Sindh Adabi Board, 2006.

in all artistic and literary domains. It is observed though, that, Central Asian and Persian precedence gains more traction over culture of Sindh and the local agency and precedence becomes secondary. The local books on history of Sindh enumerated above, for example, were when penned down they were in Persian because literati spoke and understood Persian. Similarly folklore and traditions when written down were found both in Persian and Sindhi language, although not limited to these. If the weight of written word tilted toward Persian the traditions dispensed were nevertheless local. A transaction of sorts was made of the local in linguistic tradition of the foreign. The language used though Persian was immensely localized adding to frustration of writers like Burton who appear fairly critical of the practice.

The Persian is, in Sindh, the language of literature, ceremony, office and epistolary correspondence. It is seldom used in conversation by the natives among themselves, except on public occasion or in displays of erudition. In pronunciation, idiom and selection of words, it differs as widely from the dialect of Shiraz and Isfahan, as the patois of Northern Italy deviates from the standard of language in Rome and Tuscany. It is corrupted chiefly by the ignorant admixture of Sindhi and has become thoroughly and systematically debased.¹²⁷

This view of Burton with regards to intermixing of language resonates with how Cousens treated and wrote about architectural production of Sindh in his book discussed earlier.¹²⁸ It is comprehensible that the encounter of foreign and local over a period of time led to exchange of jargon and interchangeability in the use of language. Substitutions were probably made making the language as well as artistic traditions more grounded with in the geography. Sindh was already a multi-lingual and multi-ethnic society.¹²⁹ We see a stock of Baloch, Seraiki, Punjabi and Sindhi people also Hindus of various castes and Muslims from various ethnic and

¹²⁷ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851. [pg 63]

¹²⁸ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

¹²⁹ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851.

geographic backgrounds, settled in Sindh.¹³⁰ One reason for this is definitely mercantile and trade activities that will be discussed later. Another is Sindh being geographically toward south probably worked as a safer place to migrate in the midst of unfolding Mongol drama in early 13th century or Safavid Shiite rule in 16th century, in my opinion. Sindh's interactions with Persian and Central Asian landscape date far back in history and apparently trade links were established both mercantile and inland with the corresponding neighboring geographies not just for Sindh but also India.¹³¹ The trading potential of the region was therefore not an Arab epiphany of 8th century. The relations remained either friendly or hostile during different times and evidences of marital alliances also appear.

There had existed an alliance between Sindhian Kingdom and Sassanid Persia since the fifth century A.D. It began with the advent of Bahram Gur (A.D. 430-38) in Sindh, when Rao Chungal (probably a grandfather of Rao Devayah) the ruler of Sind, gave his daughter in marriage to him. This event brought about a permanent and cordial political alliance between the imperial Sassanid court and Kingdom of Sind.¹³²

These alliances that are marital, trade related and mercantile in nature existed centuries before the Arab invasion and colonial rule. They may not be similar in nature as the world and its practices change with time but it is not impossible to comprehend a 14th to 18th century Thatta and Sindh having a multi-lingual, multi – religious and multi-ethnic society, where linguistic jargon and nomenclature get subsumed with the other and translations and substitutions occur in all socio-cultural domains. The search for untainted language, art and architecture that adheres to certain pure and sterile system and is not corrupted (as per Burton) by the agency of cultural overlap is futile. This dissertation aims to highlight the futility of such

¹³⁰ Refer Hughes, A W, ed. *A Gazetteer of Province of Sind*. 2nd. London: George Bell and Sons, 1876. And Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851.

¹³¹ Thapar, Romila. *Early India From the Origins to AD 1300*. California: University of California Press, 2002.

¹³² Baloch, N. A. "Sindh Historical Era." In *Sind Through The Centuries*, edited by Hamida Khuhro, 87-94. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1981. [pg 91]

endeavor and approaches architecture at Makli via encounter/integration as a paradigm. The criticism with the variety of Persian used in Sindh by Burton can therefore be examined in a different light. Sindh can be studied as a place constantly in flux, contracting and expanding negotiating the new and reconciling the existing and in the midst of this producing a literary tradition that was as much foreign as it was local. A Persian that may sound alien to local Central Asian and Persian denizens or corrupted to colonial writer but thoroughly localized for a Sindhi native at the same time existing as a foreign language. These linguistic interactions although as stated above are mostly credited to earlier Arabs and later Arghuns and Tarkhans but one finds Sammas the 14th century local ruling dynasty in Sindh producing poets from ruling stock writing in Persian. Was that Persian up to standards of 19th and 20th century colonial mindset adhering to correct jargon and grammar, is another question. Dr. H. I. Sadarangani in his monograph of sorts “Persian Poets of Sindh” reproduces the salvaged Persian couplets by Samma rulers and Sufi-saints of that time. He writes,

The oldest Persian poets of Sind, according to the extant annals, are the indigenous writers Jam Juna, Shaykh Hammad Jamali, Shaykh Isa Langotio, Jam Nindo and Makhdum Bilal all of whom belong to Samma Period.¹³³

He further states,

In the absence of any clear data we regard these as the earliest known specimens of Persian poetry written in Sindh, and assume that they mark the first stage in the periodic development of the Persian poetry in Sindh as presented in this monograph.¹³⁴

In his book Dr. Sadarangani reproduces Persian poetry from different periods of occupation like Arghun, Tarkhan and later Kalhora and Talpur periods till the colonial times. “Calligraphers of Thatta” by M. A. Ghafur, a similar monograph, enlighten us on Samma and later period calligraphic trends in Thatta and Sindh.

¹³³ Sadarangani, Dr. H. I. *Persian Poets of Sindh*. Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956. [pg x]

¹³⁴ Ibid. [pg xii]

There was use of multiple scripts for inscriptions and epigraphic evidence at Makli attests this. The “Kufic” and its floriated variant predates Samma period by few centuries was being practiced in Sindh as early as 10th century. Samma period onward focusing on Thatta and epigraphic records from Makli one finds Naskhi, Thuluth, Taliq, and Nastaliq scripts being used during different ruling dynasties.¹³⁵ These inscriptions reproducing Quranic verses and other information on the funerary monuments of Makli, in the absence of any primary source or monograph, become evidences in themselves worth documenting and studying to trace the development of Arabic and Persian literary traditions in Thatta during and after the Samma Period in Sindh. Recently a copious volume after a lapse of almost fifty years concentrating on the inscriptional details of funerary monuments of Makli has been published by Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari that furthers work of M. A. Ghafur.¹³⁶

The Persian (and Arabic) literary tradition within the context of Sindh are understandable as the *lingua franca* became Persian in the wake of Muslim rule in the subcontinent. This gave immense mobility to ideas within the larger Pan Islamic geography. One observes Persianization of Turkic Sultans of Delhi over a period of time. Similarly rulers of Sindh adopted the Persian language and conduct for courtly and other literary purposes. The adopted traits, linguistic and otherwise never replace the existing in its entirety rather they are adapted to the existing socio- cultural milieu. Since Hindus were involved in trade activities throughout Sindh and other parts of the subcontinent they would require a basic know how of different languages to conduct business etc. Sadarangani mentions a Hindu doing poetry in Persian going by the name “Munshi Shewakram ‘Utarid’” being pupil of “Muhammad Muhsin” and “best Hindu poet of his time”.¹³⁷ Although Shewakram belonged to Kalhora Period one can assume here that the Muslim as well the Hindu

¹³⁵ Ghafur, M. A. *The Calligraphers of Thatta*. Karachi: Pakistan - Iran Cultural Association, 1968.

¹³⁶ For further information refer, Lashari, Dr. Kaleemullah. *Epigraphy of Makli*. Karachi: Sindh Exploration & Adventure Society : Culture Tourism & Antiquates Department Government of Sindh., 2018.

¹³⁷ Sadarangani, Dr. H. I. *Persian Poets of Sindh*. Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1956. [pg xviii]

stock of population if not well versed and fluent spoke or understood basic Persian and Arabic. As mentioned above the local languages and dialects with their variants also prevailed they were not wiped out but co-existed. From Burton we learn that many schools and colleges operated in Sindh where various kind of education, primarily religious but also philosophy, medicine and history were taught in multiple languages. Translations of works from different parts of the Muslims world were introduced for example students going to these schools were well versed in writings of Maulana Rumi.¹³⁸ These translations were not unidirectional of Persian and Arabic works being translated in local languages and disseminated in South Asian and Sindh's context but various Sanskrit works were also translated in Persian language.¹³⁹ Ernst enumerates and categorizes the translation enterprise into four major categories in different time periods but the list is not limited to these four,

Among the translations from Indian languages into Arabic into Persian, four main categories of texts stand out as having special importance: 1) early Arabic and Persian translations on practical arts and sciences; 2) Persian translations of epics from the time of Akbar, having primarily political significance; 3) Persian translations of mostly metaphysical and mystical texts from the time of Dara Shukuh; and 4) Persian translations of works on Hindu ritual and law commissioned by British colonial officials.¹⁴⁰

Qutbuddin on the other hand provides information on the use of both Arabic and Persian within the context of South Asian where Arabic was favored for liturgical purposes and Persian along with local languages became the spoken language. She

¹³⁸ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851

¹³⁹ For further information refer; Ernst, Carl W. "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translation from Indian Language." *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 173-195. Qutbuddin, Tahera. "Arabic in India: A Survey and Classification of its Uses, Compared with Persian." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 2007: 315-338. Friedman, Yohanan. "Medieval Muslim Views of Indian Religion." *Journal of American Oriental Society* 95, no. 2 (1975): 214-221. Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000. Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003.

¹⁴⁰ Ernst, Carl W. "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translation from Indian Language." *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 173-195. [pg 174]

argues that although Arab rule did not spread over the entire subcontinent the later Central Asian and Persian dynasties encouraged Arabic patronage,

The succeeding dynasties of Muslim rulers—including the Ghaznavids, Ghurids, slave-Sultans, Khaljis, Tughlaqs, and Lodis in and around Delhi, the Bahmanis and Adil-Shahis in the Deccan, the Shah-Mirs in Kashmir, the Sultans in Gujarat, the Ilyas-Shahis in Bengal, and the powerful Mughal emperors who ruled the entire Indian subcontinent—all these dynasties, even though the language of their court administration was one of the Indian languages or Persian, continued to patronize Arabic-Islamic scholars and to promote the study of Arabic for religious purposes. Persian flourished in the subcontinent from the twelfth through the nineteenth centuries (especially from the late sixteenth through the eighteenth), largely with court patronage. It had a prominent place in Indian society at all levels, in both its Muslim and non-Muslim segments, with mainly literary and government functions, as well as Sufi religious ones.¹⁴¹

The period Burton is discussing within the context of Sindh is 19th century when cities like Hyderabad and Shikarpur gained importance and Thatta lost its glory days of past but we learn that when Alexander Hamilton travelled to Thatta in 1699 some “400 educational institutions where students from all over Asia learnt philosophy, politics and different branches of speculative sciences in addition to theology” existed.¹⁴² The schooling that Burton mentions therefore existed in Sindh before the Kalhora and Talpur periods. A diverse curriculum existed that was multilingual and both Hindu and Muslim students were enrolled in these institutes. Hindus who were aspiring for civil jobs were the main inducts in these schools, they were called the *Amils*.¹⁴³ These Hindus studying under Muslims, was difficult for Burton and other writers to process.

¹⁴¹ Qutbuddin, Tahera. "Arabic in India: A Survey and Classification of its Uses, Compared with Persian." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 2007: 315-338. [pg 316-317]

¹⁴² Siddiqi, M. Idris. *Thatta*. Tourism Booklet, Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1970. [pg 2]

¹⁴³ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851

The story of colonial vexation does not end at education there was intermixing of rituals, like astrologers were called to suggest an auspicious name for the baby on the 6th day of birth (by Muslims), there existed a belief in prophecy, magic and incantations etc. that according to Burton were a reflection of Hindu customs.¹⁴⁴ This porosity, religious, social and cultural led Postans to state,

The Hindu in Sindh is not the same orderly and respectable individual outwardly as his brother of the same faith in India: living in a state of society where he is only tolerated in proportion to his acceding to the customs of those about him, he has become half Mohammedan in his habits and practices, as well as dirty and slovenly in his person, totally neglecting those rules of caste and religion, which have in India the peculiar merit of raising the Hindu above the debauched Muslim.¹⁴⁵

According to Postan and other writers, Burton included, the laxity toward the strict rules prescribed in the scriptures of both Hindus and Muslims corrupted the people. This corruption that made the society pluralistic was not conducive to binary Hindu and Muslim categories. Similar instances of cultural intermixing have been discussed earlier in the chapter where cases of Deccan, Bengal and Kashmir etc. are cited to understand Sindh in similar vein as these regions.¹⁴⁶

The artistic and literary tradition of Sindh cannot be understood without discussing the role of Sufis and Saints both holy and learned men in their own right. *Tufatul Kiram* and *Hadeeqat ul Aulia* by Mir Ali Sher Qani enumerate scores of learned men who were either locals of Sindh or migrated in different periods and settled in Sindh. Most of them belonged to Syed families and were highly respected by the common

¹⁴⁴ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851

¹⁴⁵ Postans, T. *Personal Observations on Sindh*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843. [pg 67-68]

¹⁴⁶ For information on the other regions of Indian subcontinent refer; Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000. Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003.

people.¹⁴⁷ Sufis were, according to Burton, of two main types the *Jelali* and the *Jemali*.¹⁴⁸ Of the former Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (Usman Marwandi – 1177-1274 CE) of Sehwan is the most revered and of the latter Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai (1689-1752 CE) of Bhit Shah near Hala is the most celebrated.¹⁴⁹ Although the two lived in different time periods centuries apart from each other the pantheistic atmosphere their teachings created becomes the very essence of Sufi tradition in Sindh. These pantheistic and also theistic tendencies were not an Arab importation in Sindh. The sects for both Hinduism and Buddhism that were followed in Sindh during the 711/712 CE Arab invasion were theistic and traditional respectively that helped foster the Muslim monotheistic belief system.¹⁵⁰ The Pasupata Saivism a sect of Hinduism held concepts that fostered a pantheistic atmosphere and its initiation rites were similar to Sufi ascetic teachings. The Theravada Sammitiya Buddhism on the other hand focused on strict following of teachings of Buddha coming close to the traditionalist Islamic perspective where focus on following *Hadith* was primary and it drew parallels with the Sammitiya's focus on following teachings of Buddha.¹⁵¹ Derryl N. MacLean in his thesis makes the case for both orthodox religious leanings albeit intellectually secondary and practice oriented and also mystic tendencies that advanced in Sindh post Arab invasion to a conducive environment existing in Sindh prior to Arab invasion of 711/712 CE.

¹⁴⁷ For further information refer, Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Hadeeqat-ul-Aulia (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam Uddin Rashidi. Translated by Dr. Abdur Rasool Qadiri. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2007 (1607). And Thattavi, Mir Ali Sher Qani. *Tuhfatul Kiram*. Translated by Akhtar Rizvi (Urdu). Hyderabad: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006.

¹⁴⁸ *Jelali* means majestic and comes from the word *Jelal* and *Jemali* comes from the word *Jemal* meaning beauty. For further information on the two types of Sufis in Sindh refer Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851.

¹⁴⁹ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851.

¹⁵⁰ Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*.

The case is not exclusive to Sindh the mystical and esoteric dimension of Hinduism translating into *yogi* and *bhakti* practices and the propagating *wuhdatul wujud* (Oneness of God) via Vedantic teachings all attest to parallels between the Islamic Sufi and Hindu mystic traditions.¹⁵² The brand of Saivism that existed in Sindh makes a good case for propagation and retention of Sufism in Sindh that gained impetus due to migrations and other factors and Thatta 14th century onward became a center for learning being the capital of Sammas and later dynasties. This sheds light on the conversion of population as well although it is difficult to establish at present that the Buddhist stock of population inclined to the orthodox and the Saivites adhered to mystic dimensions of Islam whilst converting, but it is plausible. This also explains the religious, artistic and linguistic overlaps that Burton so vehemently opposes. He relates Sufism and its practices with Vedantic practices and acknowledges the role of Hinduism on Islamic Sufi practices but this cross pollination of different religious ideas are criticized.¹⁵³ He hence rests his case by stating, "But human nature always presents a general resemblance and among similar races, in similar climates, and under similar circumstances, the same developments may be expected and are found to be exhibited."¹⁵⁴ Annemarie Schimmel makes a good case for pantheistic and monistic leanings of Sufis in Sindh by presenting Mansur Al Hallaj as an inspiring figure for them specially in the later

¹⁵² For further information on parallels between Sufi and Mystic traditions of India refer, Ernst, Carl W. "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translation from Indian Language." *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 173-195. Qutbuddin, Tahera. "Arabic in India: A Survey and Classification of its Uses, Compared with Persian." *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 2007: 315-338. Kumar, Ashish. "Bhakti, Sufi and Mystical Movements in India." *Unpublished Research Paper*. n.d. Jotwani, Dr. Motilal. *Sufis of Sindh*. New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Govt. of India, 1986.

¹⁵³ MacLean questions the Vedantic influence and make the case for Pasupata Saivism sect of Hinduism facilitating Sufiism in Sindh. Burton on the other hand relates it to Vedantic teachings although both the authors accept the role of local mystic practices in the region fostering Sufiism. For further information refer Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984. And Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851.

¹⁵⁴ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851 [pg 200]

17th and 18th century.¹⁵⁵ He was revered and celebrated not only by Muslims but also Hindu mystics and poets. The martyred Sufis or mystics like Shah Inayat of Sind from early 18th century joined the quintessential Sufi martyr Mansur Al Hallaj upon his death.

Shah Inayat seems to have felt that he belonged to the great line of martyrs which started with Hallaj: like him he, too, prayed for those who killed him because they were rescuing him from the evil of existence. A Hindu poet of Sind, Mir Bhai Dalpatram (1769-1841) has composed a *mathnawi* about his martyrdom, and later poets like Sachal and Bedil have classified him as one of those lovers who, like Hallaj, have been killed because of their exceeding love.¹⁵⁶

In the frontier land of Sindh markedly at the periphery of central Islamic lands situated in a polytheistic realm the Islamic mystic figures of Masur Al Hallaj and Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi became synonymous with the likes of Buddha and later Guru Nanak of Sikhism, encouraging poetry and prose that attracted people from all walks of life and religions. It is in this environment that one can possibly start making sense of architecture of Makli that adapts synonymous decorative motifs on its funerary monuments coming from multi-religious artistic expressions. These motifs transcended the dictates of orthodox religiosity not expected by the likes of Burton and Cousens but was well situated in the land of Sindh. It is therefore not surprising when one finds the foreign rulers of later period like Tarkhans hailing from Central Asia adopting certain symbolically charged local decorative elements in their otherwise Central Asian design schemes, when building at Makli. The very environment of Sindh fostered these encounters and exchanges where foreign was adapted to the local in all artistic expressions where the distinction of what is Hindu and Muslim although existing in orthodox religious circles, dematerialized under the umbrella of larger universalist poetry and teachings of Sufis. This conciliatory nature of the land can also be understood from it being a mercantile trade emporium that

¹⁵⁵ Schimmel, Annemarie. "The Martyr-Mystic Ḥallāj in Sindhi Folk-Poetry: Notes on a Mystical Symbol." *Numen* (Brill) 9 (Nov 1962): 161-200.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. [pg 174]

attracted the Arabs to the land in the first place, later Mughals and the English became party to it, recognizing the trade potential of the region.

The 14th century Thatta having its port at *Lahari Bandar*¹⁵⁷ (port) was where in 16th century Portuguese ships decked and where Ibn-I-Batuta visited in 14th century on his way to China.¹⁵⁸ The mercantile nature of the land attests to the ease with which exchange of not only of goods but ideas might have materialized. The constant engagement of ports and cities attached to it with foreign agents' presents certain nonchalance in/of attitude toward diversity, a matter-of-factly quotidian of Sindh, in my opinion.

2.3.3:- Mercantile Nature of Thatta – Lahari Bandar and Indian Ocean Trade:

Tarkhans calling for Portuguese help in 1556 CE against Sultan Mahmud of Bhakkar after taking charge of lower Sindh and aspiring to control the entire region by taking upper Sindh from the Arghun representative, is an often repeated episode in 16th century history of Sindh. This 16th century occurrence was not an isolated incident that happened through accident. The ports of Sindh from very early periods were connected to the world through Indian Ocean trade. It was the looting of Arab ships by pirates according to one narrative that led to the occupation of Sindh in 711 / 12 CE by forces of Hajjaj Bin Yousuf commanded under Mohammad bin Qasim as the Raja of Sindh at that time Raja Dahir did not pay much heed to the complaints of maritime Muslim traders.¹⁵⁹ The mercantile control over Arabian Sea and Indus rivers' inland access made Sindh an important geographic location. The Arabs were

¹⁵⁷ The port is written with multiple spellings like *Lahari / Larri / Laurie / Lahori - bunder/bandar* but for the purpose of simplification Lahari Bandar is used here.

¹⁵⁸ Refer, Haig, M. R. "Ibnu Baṭūṭa in Sindh." *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge University Press) Vol. 19, no. No. 3 (July 1887): 393-412. Also Haig, M. R. *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on its Ancient Geopgraphy and History* . London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. , 1894.

¹⁵⁹ Patel, Alka. "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh." In *Sindh Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 81-95. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2008.

eyeing the trade potential of the region as per some scholars who challenge the spread of Islam or related fables concocted rationalizing Arab invasion of Sindh.

The actual reasons for the Arab Umayyad campaign in Sindh become clear when we examine the larger geopolitical realities of the early 8th century. Throughout the previous 100 years, the Arabs and various Central Asian powers had been competing to monopolize the land routes linking China to West Asia and beyond. In the early 700s, the Umayyads deputed another well-known military commander, Qutaiba ibn Muslim, to gain control of the legendary "Silk Routes". The consequent disturbances there diverted the traffic of merchants and merchandise to the maritime travel via Sri Lanka. Sindh with its strategic coastline on the Arabian Sea and the navigability of the Indus far northward all the way to the valleys of Kashmir, and Central Asia with its extensive overland links connecting the eastern and western extremes of the vast Continent, would together create a formidable trade empire and aid in the spread of Islam to the ends of Asia.¹⁶⁰

The earlier port *Debal* silted and its location is ambiguous many scholars equate town of Bhanbhore to port city of *Debal*. By the time Samma rulers dominated Thatta and its vicinity in 14th century, *Lahari Bandar* already replaced *Debal*, the port through which Arabs entered Sindh. The situation of deltaic Indus region had remained volatile, changes in the course of river Indus pertaining mainly but not limited to delta were a constant.¹⁶¹ Older river channels sedimented and new were formed similarly the changes in the course of river north of Indus delta in mainland Sindh gave birth to and perished multiple cities. Alor / Aror is one such example that lost its importance in the later years but was, during the Arab invasion, capital city of *Raja Dahir*.¹⁶² Thatta probably met the similar fate in 18th century when the river Indus changed its course and capital was moved westward to Hyderabad by Kalhoras. This can be debated but scholars like Dani propose shift in the course of

¹⁶⁰ Patel, Alka. "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh." In *Sindh Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 81-95. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2008. [pg 82]

¹⁶¹ Haig, M. R. *The Indus Delta Country: A Memoir Chiefly on its Ancient Geopgraphy and History*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. , 1894.

¹⁶² Refer Fredunbeg, Mirza Kalichbeg, trans. *The Chachnama: An Ancient History of Sindh: Giving the Hindu Period down to Arab Conquest*. Karachi: Comissioners Press, 1900.

river as one of the reasons for Thatta losing its importance in the later years.¹⁶³ During the 14th – 18th centuries though, Thatta not only remained the capital of lower Sindh but along with its port at *Lahari Bandar* it commanded the trade and maritime undertakings. The commercial activities that the Indian Ocean trade ensued were complimented by Indus River and its inland navigability that brought immense accessibility and mobility enabling economic activities. The city and the port grew and prospered together and Thatta and Sindh, as per some scholars, became synonymous to each other.

Its commercial, intellectual and cultural greatness during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries attracted travellers, traders, and scholars from different countries of Asia and Europe. European travellers, impressed by its charm and prosperity called it ‘Eldorado’ a utopia of wealth beyond avarice. To traders and travellers of the West, Thatta was practically synonymous with Sind. In 1607, the East India Company instructed its agents to sail to ‘Laurie – a good harbor within two miles of Nagor – Tuttle – as great and as big London.’ In 1613, Captain Paynton described Thatta as one of the most celebrated markets of India. Mandelslo praised the artisans of Thatta as the most industrious in the Mughal Kingdom.¹⁶⁴

The adulations of the passage above, if are sifted one finds cues of a prosperous town cashing on its maritime activities. The inland trade to upper Sindh and other parts of the subcontinent with the port at one (at-least) of the mouths of Indus delta definitely made Thatta an important town and market in the 14th – 18th century setting, this dissertation attempts to address. The references to the port by virtue of its economic benefits do not escape mention in many colonial writings like of Burton, Hughes, Cousens, and Postans etc.¹⁶⁵ One finds reference that Mughal Emperor Akbar, although giving Sindh back to its Tarkhan overlords in 1591/92 CE

¹⁶³ Refer Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

¹⁶⁴ Siddiqi, M. Idris. *Thatta*. Tourism Booklet, Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1970. [pg 2]

¹⁶⁵ Hughes, A W, ed. *A Gazetteer of Province of Sind*. 2nd. London: George Bell and Sons, 1876. Postans, T. *Personal Observations on Sindh*. London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1843. Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851. Burton, Richard F. *Scinde; or The Unhappy Valley Vol I & II*. London, 1851.

as governors kept *Lahari Bandar*, the port, under his direct jurisdiction, as has been mentioned above.¹⁶⁶ Akbar was aware and anticipated the economic benefits from the port similarly the colonial rulers occupying Sindh in 1843 CE were familiar with the activities and benefits of the port of Sindh and its inland connectivity through Indus river. The 17th century struggle of English to acquire trade monopoly over the port of Sindh is well documented. They acquired the official royal document to conduct trade activities from the port but were not granted as much favor as the Portuguese by the locals. The first Europeans to come to fore with respect to trade via Arabian Sea were the Portuguese in mid-14th century. They controlled much of the Arabian Sea and Red Sea mercantile activities through the port of Hormuz/Ormuz in present day Oman.¹⁶⁷ In Sindh it is mentioned they exercised immense favor with the local chiefs much to the displeasure of English. Portuguese communities were settled in Sindh and also conducted missionary activities in the region.¹⁶⁸ The level of success with these activities cannot be commented upon as not much is mentioned beyond information regarding the matter. The ramification of Portuguese presence on socio religious or artistic / material culture of Sindh lacks much attention. The exchanges that occurred in artistic domain from 14th – 18th century are absent compared to details of material goods that were exchanged through trade activities and the revenue they incurred.

The main export from Sind through *Lahri bandar* was textile taffetas of yarn and silk, indigo, saltpeter, sugar, leather goods, ornamented desks, writing cases and similar goods inlaid with ivory and ebony, quilts and mattresses. The goods which were imported were pearl from Bahrain, gold and silver which was brought by the Portuguese.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Paliwal, Amita. "Sind in the Mughal Empire (1591-1740): A Study of its Administration, Society, Economy and Culture." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Aligarh, 2010.

¹⁶⁷ Ali, Mubarak. *Essays on The History of Sindh*. Lahore: Fiction House Lahore, 2005.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. [pg 50]

The port of Sindh becomes one of the station points for ships headed east to Kutch and Gujarat regions as far as present day Sri Lanka (Ceylon). Although the 14th century material culture making its way to Europe and vice versa cannot be asserted at the moment but findings from earlier period examined by archaeologists attest to mobility of artifacts and ideas. These were from both pre and post Islamic periods, the pottery unearthed at the site of Bhanbhore shows Sassanid imagery along with the local motifs.

The thin-textured polychrome ware is painted with geometrical and floral patterns and stylized bird and animal motifs in black, red, dark brown, yellow over a cream slip. Motifs include the lotus, sunflower, rising sun, and friezes with peacock with elongated tail, antelope, and fish. And while the stamped ware is largely decorated geometrical patterns, the molded ware has flowers and figures. Sassanian influence is noticeable in the friezes of animals and birds executed in relief, encircled with dots and circles on the broad shouldered *kuzas* (pitchers) with spouts.¹⁷⁰

From the Islamic period 8th century pottery from workshops of Bhanbhore are found in Oman as per archaeologist Monique Keravran, “When Indian ceramics were unearthed in various quantities and qualities from seven levels at Suhar, a harbor site on the northern coast of Oman, the stamped and molded ware were similar to that found in Bhanbhore.”¹⁷¹ Further excavations on these sites can reveal more about the artistic exchange through artifacts that happened both in pre- and post-Islamic periods. The famous zoomorphic bronze door knockers from the town of Mansura dating to late 9th century when Sindh was under the Abbasid Caliphate reveal the use of foliated *Kufic* script that according to Flood display a mercantile link with Egypt and eastern African coast due to Arabian and Red sea maritime activities.¹⁷² This

¹⁷⁰ Currim, Mumtaz. "The Bhanbhore Palimpsest." In *Sindh: Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 96-105. Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2008. [pg 101]

¹⁷¹ Currim, Mumtaz. "The Bhanbhore Palimpsest." In *Sindh: Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 96-105. Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2008.

¹⁷² Refer, Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in "Arab" Sind." In *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Deborah S. Hutton Rebecca M. Brown, 365-397. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011.

particular *Kufic* script apparently was in vogue in the African parts of the Muslim world at the time the door knockers make their appearance in Sindh.

The Ismailia brand of Islam of Fatimid Caliphate from Egypt also make inroads to Sindh via mercantile trade activities and this according to some scholars led the Sunni orthodox Mahmud of Ghazna invade Sindh in the 10th/11th century.¹⁷³ The mercantile trade therefore is never a simple exchange of goods it not only brings economic prosperity to the region but also facilitates material exchanges. These activities were not, as have been mentioned, a by-product of Muslims settling in Sindh or subcontinent, according to Romila Thapar these activities date back to Bronze age and continued in different scale, proportion, shape and form till the coming of English and further later - to date.¹⁷⁴ While discussing the first two centuries of the Common Era the time when the Greeks have already had their encounter with the locals and have settled in the subcontinent how cross cultural ideas migrated all the way from Greece to subcontinent and were adapted to the sculptural and architectural language of the Buddhists. The gross miscalculations the English made with their monolithic Hindu, Muslim and Buddhist 'essential' identities are challenged in the book and Thapar presents a diverse sectarian range amongst the Buddhist and Hindu population. It presents multilingual – multi religious and variegated political entities that became larger empires at one point and disintegrated into smaller kingdoms at other times. What continued though was the prosperity that the trade and mercantile activities brought with them and how interactions with the other parts of the world kept remolding and reshaping identities through constant engagement with diverse range of people.

The picture of this period is that of many people moving in many directions. There were not only Yavanas trading with the Sub-Continent, but traders from

¹⁷³ Refer Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in "Arab" Sind." In *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Deborah S. Hutton Rebecca M. Brown, 365-397. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011. And also Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984.

¹⁷⁴ Thapar, Romila. *Early India From the Origins to AD 1300*. California: University of California Press, 2002.

various parts of India finding their way to Central Asia, to West Asia, the ports of Red Sea and to South East Asia. The wide distribution of pottery, artifacts and scripts are also indicators of this movement within the Sub-Continent and beyond.¹⁷⁵

This notion of Indian subcontinent between 200 BCE – 300 CE spelled by Thapar crediting the movement of human agency as a constant during the period applies to the earlier and later periods as well. Trade is a movement of sorts that brings people from various geographic locations in contact with each other and through these contacts exchange of various kinds happen. In this context of mobility trade is but one denominator, there are other reasons for travel or movement, for example, for religious pilgrimage. Muslims perform this pilgrimage every year in the month of Hajj and travel to Mecca for the purpose. For Sindh also the human mobility was not just trade related either, one finds mention of people from all across India going for pilgrimage to the revered site of Hinglaj in present day Baluchistan province of Pakistan. The site and vicinity of Makli and Thatta were, and still are, an important stop over for the pilgrims where Mata Bhawani temple at Makli works as a station point.

Today the site is generally known in Sindh as the Mata Bhawani Temple, and it enjoys the status of one of the most significant places of worship east of Karachi for the Hinglaj pilgrims. The temple is home to an annual festival in October but also sees many visitors subsequent to the main festivals at Hinglaj. This exchange of pilgrims bears witness to the strong link between the temple in Thatta and the shrine in Baluchistan. It is said that pilgrims should go to this temple before they set off for Hinglaj but also visit it once more after return. The importance of Thatta as an integral stop on the pilgrimage to Hinglaj indicates the significant number of pilgrims following the south eastern route, coming from Gujarat via the Rann of Kutch.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Thapar, Romila. *Early India From the Origins to AD 1300*. California: University of California Press, 2002. [pg 279]

¹⁷⁶ Schaflechner, Jürgen. *Hinglaj Devi: Identity, Change and Solidification at a Hindu Temple in Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. [pg 192]

The Mata Bhawani Temple at Makli receiving pilgrims in the midst of forever escalating tensions between the neighboring countries attest to the continued diversity or more appropriately tolerance of the region of Sindh.

This historic narrative of Sindh that has been (re)constructed here provides a glimpse into a perspective where a pluralistic society is brought to fore. This narrative is not all encompassing lengthy discourse of dynasties usurping one after the other neither a linear narrative of constant progress and increasing pluralism. It is an alternative perspective to Sindh's past that taps into a realm that made funerary architecture at Makli happen and provide cues to comprehend the ambiguities that it presented the colonial writers with. This discussion furthers the earlier presented debates and situates Makli as one of the regional varieties of architecture produced during Delhi sultanate (and later Mughal) period. Like the sultanates of Gujarat (1407-1573 CE) or Malwa (1392-1562 CE), Sindh between 14th – 18th century produced architecture that related to but not relied on the center in Delhi, neither this center was pointed to the larger Islamic nexus where Persian and Central Asian (specially Timurid) architecture takes precedence.¹⁷⁷ Gross generalizations have been avoided to the best of the abilities but some past references are made in lieu of scarce data from 14th – 18th century. The polar binaries of lofty post partition praise of Sindh aligning with Islamic sentiments or the unassuming colonial attitude to the culture and architecture of Sindh have been called into question. These are dispensed here to mediate polarities in order to understand Sindh as a geography that was fluid and flexible by virtue of its multi-religious and ethnic population and mercantile nature where polyglots dwelled and rituals got entwined. The past of Sindh presented here is attempted to provide semblance to the otherwise ambivalent funerary abodes at Makli, if the gaze is kept taxonomic and stylistic classifications are applied. Makli disqualifies, in my opinion, as a site of any merit if the reductive approach of stylistic categorization is insisted upon, as the very environment of Sindh that led to its production was permeable and receptive to pluralism and immutable identities became flexible entities here.

¹⁷⁷ Refer, Abha Narain Lambah, Alka Patel, ed. *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates*. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006.

2.4:- THE BURDEN OF TAXONOMY – DERIVING ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON ARCHITECTURE OF MAKLI:

Taxonomy is a household term in the lexicon of architectural historians. The classification of architecture producing multiple “styles” concomitant with different periods was the late 19th century historiographical approach providing semblance to the vast albeit presumably cluttered architectural remains of the past. The biological model of taxonomy disseminated into architectural history to order the apparently disordered built heritage.

Stylistic histories of architecture contributed to the 19th century larger cultural projects of knowing the world in its entirety (witness the world exhibitions, encyclopedias) and constructing taxonomies of all things, from insects, fish and chemical elements to culture and its multiform expressions.¹⁷⁸

Classifying architecture under styles was then a scientific (and objective) method loaned to serve a historians task. This approach to write architectural history in turn hugely supported architectural academic circles. This provided an organized understanding of architecture of the past with its various time periods and their stylistic manifestations to students of architecture. Taxonomy supplemented architects and architecture students to draw ‘informed’ inspiration from the past in their contemporary architectural designs. History of architecture in ‘style’ provided information on system of proportions, materials, aesthetic value of elements (also their authenticity or originality) and other discernable rubrics, serving architects. It facilitated the practice and also provided students with tools to systematically approach the historic epochs of architecture. For the 19th century and the colonial expansion, the multitude of historic data that was gathered, ‘style’ as a device worked to organize the ever increasing repository of architectural elements. It is the time period where enterprises like museums, feeding and furthering the antiquarian interests of people start appearing. The very potency of the 19th century and the ever expanding European world probably needed taxonomy to gain a grip over the

¹⁷⁸ Leach, Andrew. *What is Architectural History?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010. [pg 42]

realities of the time and not loose themselves in swarm of information concentrating in Europe from around the world.

Style allows the ordering of architectural production whether anonymous or not through aesthetic categories. The heterogeneity, discordance and lack of synchronization between different strands of architectural production can then be sorted into movements coming into ascendancy and then declining. This is evident in stylistic histories where teleological patterns of stylistic dominance and recession are imposed.¹⁷⁹

The mechanics of classification of architecture under styles therefore worked with identifying similar and dissimilar elements that are repeated in multiple built forms from a certain time period/movements for example, the gothic or renaissance style of architecture. The appearance of non-conforming stylistic patterns signaled to the shift from one style to another with a transition period that may acquire its own separate name like 'mannerism'. The coexistence of multiple styles within a single window of time were probably sorted through the similarities, pitting certain set of buildings in a single style and dissimilarities helping separate one style from the other. The quantity of representative elements of a certain style within the collective of buildings marked them as high or low examples of peculiar style. Similarly,

The presence of same style in a wide range of arts is often considered a sign of the integration of a culture and the intensity of a high creative moment. Arts that lack a particular distinction on nobility of style are often said to be style-less and the culture is judged to be weak and decadent. Common to these approaches are the assumptions that every style is peculiar to a period of a culture and that in a given culture or epoch of culture, there is only one style or a limited range of style. Works on style of one time could not have been produced in another.¹⁸⁰

The limitations in approach of 'style' led many groups of buildings to become non-styles or style-less. These limitations were not only applied to certain buildings in a

¹⁷⁹ Dana Arnold, Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Ozkaya, ed. *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*. 2006: Routledge, Abingdon. [pg xvi]

¹⁸⁰ Schapiro, Meyer. "'Style'." In *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, edited by Donald Preziosi, 143-149. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. [pg 144]

certain time period but in some cases the entire regions became non-styles. The seminal and still relevant text of Sir Bannister Fletcher on history of architecture is the prime specimen of that approach where (due to limited knowledge and understanding of the region) the entire architectural production of east becomes non-style.

Looking at world architecture in a post-colonial light, what is the possibility for a 'world history of architecture'? This question is approached through thoughts on east west plundering's in architectural history and in the strange double image of world history portrayed in Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture*, which (in all but the earliest and very latest editions) divided the world into 'The Historical Styles' and 'The Non-historical Styles'.¹⁸¹

The problems inherent in the (in) famous Fletcher's *A History of Architecture on the Comparative Method for the Student, Craftsman and Amateur* first published in 1896 with several later editions is that the book centered mostly on the west and provided a diachronic stylistic evolution of architecture hence formed a canon. Here architectural edifices that did not fit the standards of the canon were not included in the list that led to reductivity of approach. For Fletcher somehow the entire east did not fit the (western) canon. With the canonization of western architecture befell the marginalization of east. In the text western architecture was presented as evolutionary and developing whereas eastern architecture was either not included or was limited to a chapter or two. It was presented as stagnant non-evolutionary architecture that has not changed. Eastern architecture therefore became the non-style Schapiro was referring to. This went beyond the innocent ordering of architecture and supplemented the colonial enterprise in Indian subcontinent. This was the making of the 'self' and the 'other'.¹⁸² To curtail the discussion on shortcomings of Fletcher's book and other texts of 19th and 20th century dealing with history of architecture and working on the paradigm of style, borrowing from taxonomy, it is safe to state here that for the architecture of east (or non-west) the consequences

¹⁸¹ McKean, John. "Sir Banister Fletcher: pillar to post-colonial readings." *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge) 11, no. 2 (2006): 187-204. [pg 187]

¹⁸² Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York : Vintage Books, 1979.

were far reaching and went beyond architecture.¹⁸³ Therefore unpacking taxonomy beyond the classification and its consequences for the east or Indian subcontinent is important. The scope of taxonomy widens when one starts examining the ways in which it propagates east-west dichotomies in architecture facilitating the agendas of colonial enterprise. The survey books on architecture of India with 'style' as an approach have been discussed earlier in the chapter. The pluralistic nature of Indian architecture created problems for superimposition of taxonomy. This was nevertheless ignored and Fergusson and Brown went ahead with producing their texts. The yardstick of Greek and Roman architecture was applied over Indian architecture and Buddhist style reigned supreme in the narrative due to its association with Alexander and Greeks at one point in time.¹⁸⁴ The surveys produced were informative, the undertaking by the authors was huge and their efforts cannot be ignored. These texts were however supplemental to the civilization mission of the West over the East. The scholarship produced is now called an orientalist discourse. Orientalism is the term coined by Edward Said in the namesake book. For Said, the civilizational mission was not mere commentary on the assumed lower status of the east and its traditional ways but also an attempt to create diametrically opposite west that was everything the east 'must' aspire to be.

Orientalism is not a mere political subject matter or field that is reflected passively by culture, scholarship, or institutions; nor is it a large and diffuse collection of texts about the Orient; nor is it representative and expressive of some nefarious 'Western' imperialist plot to hold down the 'Oriental' world. . . . Indeed, my real argument is that Orientalism is -- and does not simply represent

¹⁸³ For further information on debates on Fletcher's book refer, Mckean, John. "Sir Banister Fletcher: pillar to post-colonial readings." *The Journal of Architecture* (Routledge) 11, no. 2 (2006): 187-204. Anderson, Christy. "Writing the Architectural Survey: Collective Authorities and Competing Approaches." *JSAH* 58, no. 3 (1999/2000): 350-355. Choi, Don. "Non-Western Architecture and the Roles of the History Survey." *Fresh Air - Proceedings of the 95th ACSA Annual Meeting*. Philadelphia, 2007. 745-750.

¹⁸⁴ Refer, Fergusson, James. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. Fergusson, James . *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture - Volume I*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1899. Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Period*. 4th. Bombay (Mumbai): D.B.Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1959., Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981 (1956).

-- a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' world.¹⁸⁵

What is that 'our' world? It is the west. Hence the most discussed and debated book by Edward Said 'Orientalism', expresses that the construction of the Orient by the western scholarship was more (if not more than in equal proportions) about the west itself. In setting east as a more indigenous, traditional and non-industrial geography the west in turn created itself as a more progressive, modern and industrialized geography. Orientalism is description of the east or the non-western society, culture, arts and crafts etc. in scholarship and literary criticism mostly by western scholars. During the time when Europe was making colonies, there was an urgency to understand the foreign colonies in order to establish their hegemony over them.

Orientalism came to represent a construct, not reality, an emblem of domination and a weapon of power a product of scholarly admiration for diverse and exotic cultures, and became the literary means of creating a stereotypical and mythic East through which European rule could be more readily asserted..... Visual representations of the East, no less than literary ones, apparently offer further evidence that Orientalism represents the epitome of occidental power, paralleling the monolithic discourse identified by Said in literary renderings of the East and expressing a set of binary oppositions, turning the represented Orient into the moral negative of the West.¹⁸⁶

The hegemony was established at the cost of creating not only the east – west binaries but as has been discussed earlier, the Hindu – Muslim binaries. How mere history surveys served the purpose of perpetuating these binaries is fairly visible in the colonial texts. The contents though periodically divided made clear, in black and white, the earlier Hindu and later Muslim rule in the region. This appears to be a simple chronological approach that is inherent in survey books based on style but unequivocally expresses that an otherwise Hindu region came to be dominated by Muslim usurpers, in my opinion. This was exploited by the colonizers. Avoiding digressions and reverting back to style and history of architecture, 'pluralism' was

¹⁸⁵ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York : Vintage Books, 1979.

¹⁸⁶ MacKenzie, John H. *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.

made into a nuisance colonial writers had to deal with. They needed to address the intermixing of formal and decorative elements into one another. This is where the style approach fell short and rather than modifying the approach to be inclusive, a large corpus of architecture although included in the books was dubbed as lesser architecture or non-architecture. The case of Makli and how Cousens approached it is a fair example of this, dedicating eight or nine pages to the entire cemetery having more than forty standing tombs and countless grave cenotaphs. The Mughal period monuments on the site were given due importance as they resembled Persian and Central Asian architecture.¹⁸⁷ This predominance of Mughal architecture was the outcome of the scholarship when the focus shifted to systemize and produce survey of Islamic architecture in line with the western style based surveys.¹⁸⁸ Here again one observes the longevity of stylistic approach in history of architecture. Delhi sultanate, a composite of five dynasties that ruled portions of Indian subcontinent after the Ghurid incursions in the region, received token mentions in these surveys leading to the glory of Mughal architecture. The ‘false start’ making ground for the Timurid(isque) Mughal monuments bringing true Islamic Architecture to the region.¹⁸⁹ Delhi sultanate itself received minimal attention in surveys of architecture and expanding into the regional variants of multiple independent sultanates rarely happened.

¹⁸⁷ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

¹⁸⁸ Islamic architecture survey books written in line with taxonomy and style mostly divide architecture on dynastic basis that is set chronologically. For example the golden age or age of Empires bring Ottoman-Safavid and Mughal time period together as the three Empires ruled major Islamic lands parallel to each other. This time period is further segregated with respect of each empire and their artistic and architectural heritage. Refer Bloom, Jonathan M, Sheila S. Blair. *Islamic Arts* . New York: Phaidon Press, 1997., Bloom, Jonathan M, Sheila S Blair. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*. Yale University Press, 1995. Hoag, John D. *Islamic Architecture*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers, 1963. Jairazbhoy, R. A. *An Outline of Islamic Architecture*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

¹⁸⁹ Where Abha Narain Lambha’s and Alka Patel’s edited book demonstrate the overarching supremacy of Mughal monuments in the scholarship of Islamic architecture in India, Bianca Alfieri works as a specimen /example of the problem. Abha Narain Lambha, Alka Patel, ed. *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates* . Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006. Also Alfieri, Bianca Maria. *Islamic Architecture of the Indian SubContinent*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2000.

Surveys are inherently reductive since writing a history of architecture encompassing all periods and all geographies is a tall order. The focused books on Indian Islamic architecture also assumed a higher status for Mughal architecture. In teleological sense Delhi sultanate became subservient background for Mughal glory.¹⁹⁰ This chapter discusses above the reexamination of sultanate period in the current scholarship and the intent is to understand architecture of Makli in line with the revisionist approach and a regional variant with-in the broader sultanate architecture of India. Makli as a site witnessing architectural activity for almost 400 years does get its share of focus on Mughal period funerary structures. This not only overshadows the earlier edifices built but also rejects the local elements adapted in Mughal monuments. Including architecture of Makli in the corpus of Mughal repository somehow made the periphery mimic the center aiming for higher standards of building activity, in my opinion. This inclusion can be celebrated but at the cost of losing the negotiations that happened on the site reconciling the assumed disparate elements into an ensemble that may adhere to established Mughal canon but was local to Sindh and India in its nuances. The burden of Mughal canon must therefore be shed to look beyond style, into exchanges.

Does 'style' as a tool for history hold much importance today for subcontinent? This cannot be answered with a yes or a no. After the English left the subcontinent in 1947, resulting in the formation of Pakistan and India as two separate geographic entities, local historians tended to develop historic narratives for the young countries. These histories took the task of correcting / editing the colonial bias with a nationalistic tinge.¹⁹¹ Monica Juneja enumerates several approaches taken by Indian historians to (re)write history of architecture like iconographic/ iconology approach, but Juneja maintains that these histories could not shed the colonial and stylistic burden in its entirety. There was an urgency to dig out mythical origins of Indian

¹⁹⁰ Abha Narain Lambha, Alka Patel, ed. *The Architecture of The Indian Sultanates* . Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2006.

¹⁹¹ Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. Ranikhet (India): Permanent Black, 2001.

nation in a distant past developing meta-narratives for creating nationalistic pride.¹⁹² On the other side of the border in Pakistan “Islam” became the meta-narrative and a multi-ethnic assortment of provinces was tied with the loose thread of religion to become a nation. The Hindu-Muslim binaries persisted and were projected onto the ‘new’ nationalistic histories and architecture got its share of the pie. Merits of these post partition nationalistic approaches cannot be discounted as they did damage control but where the colonial enterprise was working on ‘divide’ for their own vested interests the Hindu-Muslim identities were further essentialized on both sides of the border, now, to build nationalist pride.

As a process, nationalism creates, invents imagines and constructs ‘nations’ they are not natural given entities. As such, nationalism is a continuous process of ‘nation’ building that generates ‘national identity’ specifically in time and place – always leaving aside, of course, what or who is unwanted in, or to be excluded from, the ‘nation’.”¹⁹³

In this light the overlooked site of Makli by colonists became the pride of the ‘nation’ displaying eminent specimens of Islamic Architecture. Being declared a world heritage site by UNESCO in the early 1980’s furthered the narrative and added to its repertoire. There is no denying the importance of architecture at Makli, both in volume of monuments and the architectural expression. The way the architecture of the site was now historicized pandered to the colonial stylistic narrative. Under the larger umbrella of Islamic architecture the periodization with respect to dynasties was applied and the Samma- Arghun - Tarkhan and Mughal periods now became separate styles at Makli.¹⁹⁴ Appearance of ‘new’ aesthetics in the corpus of old with the coming of patrons from Central Asia and/or Delhi is

¹⁹² Juneja, Monica. "Introduction." In *Architecture in Medieval India: Forms, Contexts, Histories.*, edited by Monica Juneja, 1-105. Ranikhet (India): Permanent Black, 2001

¹⁹³ Ergut, Elvan Altan. "Presenting Ankara: Popular Conceptions of Architecture and History." In *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, edited by Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Ozkaya Dana Arnold, 151-168. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006. [Pg 155]

¹⁹⁴ For example, Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. And Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

discernible but parting each dynasty into a separate stylistic category is stretching the envelope. The way architecture at Makli, from the resources studied, was written about after partition by local scholars had 'style' as an organizing principle weighing it down. The scholars though did not deny the existence of Hindu or Gujarati elements and Hasan stretches precedence study to both Gujarat and Central Asia, there; however was a celebration of the Islamic elements with fervor, as per my observation. Now architecture of Makli aligned with the nationalistic pride and crowning glory of the province of Sindh with stylistically written history. Colonial biases were vehemently challenged and discarded but where India was looking for mythical past for its origins Pakistan aligned with Central Asia – Persia for its artistic development. Time is ripe to relook at the architecture of Makli and produce an alternative approach based on encounter- integration paradigm that attempts to celebrate the funerary monuments on the basis of exchanges that occurred over a period of time. The adaptations both local and foreign that happened for 400 years of building activity at the site should be accounted for. The attempt is to make this narrative look beyond religion and credit the permeability of architecture at Makli.¹⁹⁵ It is necessary here to discuss the modalities of encounter and associated terms and ground the paradigm as viable tool for analyzing architecture at Makli.

2.4.1:- Dismantling Encounter as a Paradigm:

The term "encounters" refers to exchanges that often are unexpected, unplanned, and brief, as well as hostile and adversarial. Numerous encounters between Islam and Christianity clearly have qualified as such, but others have not. In this sense, the use of the term "encounters" in conjunction with the papers of this publication is not always appropriate, for a number of the encounters presented in the articles of this volume were neither brief nor were they necessarily adversarial.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

¹⁹⁶ Al-Asad, Mohammad. "Encounters: A Preliminary Anatomy." *Gesta* (University of Chicago Press) 43, no. 2 (2004): 177-181. [Pg. 177].

Al- Asad's opening remarks for his article titled "Encounters: A Preliminary Anatomy" discussing Christianity and Islam and their interface with each other resonate with the rationale for using the term "encounter" for this dissertation. In Cambridge dictionary meaning of the word 'encounter' is written as a "chanced or unexpected meeting".¹⁹⁷ Moving further from the exact meaning of the word and taking cues from Al-Asad's opening remarks the term 'encounters' then proceeds to become an extended liaison between different dynasties and the architecture they produced at Makli, during those liaisons. Here the term has a more constructive outlook to address the unfolding of architectural situation at Makli, the site housing posthumous structures. Encounters here encompass the multifaceted range of actors and factors that brought about the funerary structures at Makli. Encounter ventures beyond the limited scope of history written under 'styles' and the guise of 'nationalistic narrative'. The contestations and mediations between the myth (nationalist re-orienting the country's history as 'Islamic Republic') and the monolith (colonial – taxonomic and under styles) is what defines encounter for the purpose of this dissertation. It approaches the site with respect to multiple agencies for example the range of patrons – being local, Central Asian and stationed at Thatta from the center, the artisans – who adapted a repertoire of brick and mortar and stone carving elements as per the wishes of patrons, the literary and cultural environment of Sindh from 14th – 18th century, the availability of materials of construction and its multiple manifestations on the site etc. and their encounters. Local, Central Asian/Persian and Mughal patronage is visible in the variety of structures at the site. In my opinion, the site absorbed this multiplicity by virtue of multi-ethnic and religious nature of the geography, challenging and disturbing the canonic approach of the colonial writers and nationalist enthusiasts. Colonial writers superimposed a Euro-Centric model at the site and the later writers on architecture made it fit into specimen of Islamic architecture. This dissertation attempts to negotiate a space between or beyond the myth and the monolith to provide a perspective voicing and advocating the heterogeneity. This outlook of the site then departs from the narrower existing

¹⁹⁷ *Cambridge Dictionary*. n.d. <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/encounter> (accessed February 13, 2020).

literature, but does not claim to be ‘THE’ perspective rather ‘A’ perspective on architecture of the site.

The point to be made here is that a multiplicity of narratives intersects in any building and it is important for our understanding of them to realize that any single narrative will be seen to be reductive if it is claimed as the only narrative that really matters. For buildings to be given their proper due as evidence, they need to be included in narratives that are constructed in ways that allow for multiple perspectives. Each perspective generates its own architecture from the building, as the long standing gestures come to be understood in ways that may be old or new.¹⁹⁸

Taking into account the trade oriented nature of city being the seat of power for lower Sindh acting as point of convergence for political power and resources, Thatta then can be read as a ground where multiple encounters ensued. One facet of those can be read as struggle for power that becomes intrusive, slightly unpleasant representation of encounter but exchanges like linguistic and artistic can be read as another facet of it. The attempt here is to not provide a traditional syncretic nature of the society where one religion – language and culture subsumed into another and there wasn’t the recognition of difference. On the other hand people from multiple religious- social- ethnic and linguistic inclinations co-existed and reconciled certain traits maintaining the separate identities. Otherwise the polyglot Sindh during the colonial time might not have existed. Hence encounter provides a wider scope for addressing these intersections and circumventions, questioning cultural assimilation and at the same time supporting integration and appropriation.¹⁹⁹ Concurrently it is not an anti-style or anti-nationalist narrative but an alternative perspective trying to understand Makli with-in its 14th – 18th century context via its architecture and vice versa.

¹⁹⁸ Ballantyne, Andrew. "Architecture as Evidence ." In *Rethinking Architectural Historiography*, edited by Elvan Altan Ergut, Belgin Turan Ozkaya Dana Arnold, 36-49. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006. [Pg. 48.]

¹⁹⁹ Cultural assimilation situates two groups into minority and majority where the minority adopts cultural traits of majority and becomes like majority. At Makli concept of cultural assimilation cannot be applied.

Encounter is a 'meeting' but not a short chanced occurrence that can be read as hostile rather it is a prolonged contact where exchange happens. These exchanges vocalize in multiple forms and architecture or art are one of those manifestations. As a paradigm for analysis of architecture at Makli encounter becomes a potent ground to sow the seeds for fresh outlook. Architectural encounter seen in light of a prolonged contact therefore not only observes the conspicuous shifts in design and material of funerary monuments but also notices the seemingly unassuming design and decorative features. Dell Upton in his article "Starting from Baalbek" presents a "Roman – Oriental and Cyclopean" Baalbek and suggests that all three of these have important historic insights and are worthy in their own right.²⁰⁰

The view from Baalbek emphasizes the unbounded fluidity and porosity of architecture. It shows us that there is no center that architectural ideas flow from place to place and time to time. The place where we believe we can see clearly bounded traditions with 'distinctive features' are the truly marginal places – the dead ends – and the closer we look, the fewer of them are. Baalbek teaches us to view fluidity on a variety of scales.²⁰¹

Encounters liberate architecture at Makli from the bounded-ness of taxonomy and Islamic nationalism and introduce a flow of ideas from regions both on the west and east of Sindh. Makli then attains permeability for adopting and adapting features and elements in architecture that during the 400 years (that are under study) get appropriated or discarded both from within and without site. Encounters provide enough room and space to accommodate the multiple flows and convergences in architecture on the site rather than the heavy laden terms coming with their own anthropological baggage. It provides enough neutrality to the scholar in order to shed the strict religious connotations associated with architecture under Muslim patronage. The formal (and otherwise) variety of funerary abodes one witness at Makli defies standardization of any sort. Therefore if the gaze is kept traditional and

²⁰⁰ Upton, Dell. "Starting from Baalbek: Noah, Solomon, Saladin, and the Fluidity of Architectural History." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (University of California Press) 68, no. 4 (December 2009): 457-465.

²⁰¹ Upton, Dell. "Starting from Baalbek: Noah, Solomon, Saladin, and the Fluidity of Architectural History." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (University of California Press) 68, no. 4 (December 2009): 457-465. [Pg. 464]

old school trying to fit the tombs into styles, ignoring the nuances, decorative and formal, Makli disqualifies as a site of merit.

2.5:- CONCLUDING REMARKS:

This chapter formed the theoretical and historiographical basis for the dissertation. It extended the rationale for proposing a fresh and alternative approach to read the funerary architecture produced at Makli in Thatta - Sindh during the 14th – 18th century. Summarizing the discourse outlined in this chapter the city of Thatta as the capital of lower Sindh having the most extant architecture on a cemetery ²⁰² aligns itself with the regional variants during the Delhi sultanate and Mughal period. Behaving synonymous to the sultanate of Gujarat (1407-1573 CE), or Bengal (1352-1576 CE) for example, Thatta was in a constant dependent - independent status with the center Delhi. Lower Sindh and Thatta like other semi-independent sultanates became part of the larger Mughal Empire in the subcontinent in 1592/93 CE. Here lower Sindh although never appearing in history books as a separate sultanate becomes one in my opinion. The reason for placing lower Sindh and Thatta as a regional sultanate polity is the similar range problems the region has to address. The issue of plurality, continuation of local building traditions becoming a fodder for temple desecration propaganda and the negligible attention its architecture receives in survey books of Islamic architecture with pre-Mughal monuments entirely absent in most cases, bring Makli in line with the revisionist approaches presented in the chapter for the corpus of regional sultanate architecture in the subcontinent. The weight of Central Asian and Persian influence needs unburdening to appreciate the local agency whilst acknowledging the borrowing from the regions to the west and east both. How these local and foreign elements encounter each other on the site giving us architecture which is both foreign and local at any given point needs a fresh perspective and study.

²⁰² Calling Makli a cemetery is with reference to the funerary monuments on the site. It does not behave at present as a cemetery but it is rather a fairly living site that attracts people from all walks of life history and heritage enthusiast or people visiting for sheer reverence etc. The active shrines of saints on the site make it a regular pilgrimage setting for general population as well. Therefore it does not act as a desolate graveyard.

The scholarship produced during colonial occupation of the region was enormous and as enormously biased at places and it was imperative to the dissertation to sift through the material and highlight and reason with these biases. The primary focus of this portion was the survey books on architecture superimposing a western organization principal on architecture of India and Sindh. The general disregard with which an “enlightened” colonial mind wrote about the building tradition of the subcontinent reflected their lack of addressing plural forms as they did not sit well with taxonomy and style – a western superimposition on east. These writings propagated the temple desecration and reuse of material which nevertheless was a reality of the region but got undue focus and weightage. This was applied as a primary explanation wherever intermixed or ‘Hindu’ forms appeared in Islamic buildings as for a colonial mind Hindus and Muslims were separate, in architecture and in any other cultural and artistic setup. This appeared to be false and the on ground conditions were different from what was portrayed in the scholarship. The two seemingly irreconcilable categories of Hindus and Muslims not only mingled but also exchanged artistic – linguistic and cultural ideas. These categories were themselves fairly diverse and more on ethnic grounds than religious. Therefore the binary Hindu - Muslim divide stood on a shaky ground that did not cover the sectarian and ethnic varieties within these two monolithic categories.

Sindh being the “gateway of Islam” needed to go beyond this slogan as although it received the invading Arab hordes in 711/12 CE it had a history prior to that instance. The mercantile nature of the city made it receptive to plurality and encounters with foreign agencies at multiple levels. The change in the religious inclinations of the rulers coming from a distant land added to the multiplicity rather than take away the diverse cultural nature - inherent in regions with mercantile trade activities. The policies that were exercised by the Arabs continued in the later stages and the process of conversion to Islam by a larger section of population did not obliterate the earlier religio-cultural activities nor the entire region converted from their earlier religious following to Islam. The Soomra and Samma rulers from the local stock having multiple origin stories who ruled lower Sindh most probably were later converts to Islam as the names of most of their ancestors have Hindu

connotations. The organic conversions over a period of time in Sindh are not entirely implausible. Similarly the retention of pre-Arab religions within the population is also not totally unfounded. The Sufi tradition of Sindh celebrated this diversity and many Sufis and saintly figures got exchanged among Hindu and Muslim population and were revered accordingly. The pre-colonial text sheds light on these saintly figures in hagiographies that were produced. These histories nevertheless remain largely invasion accounts of shifting boundaries and changing rulers mostly produced under Mughal patronage. It is again from the colonial writings one witnesses the artistic and linguistic diversity of Sindh although in a derided tone of writing. The pre-colonial scholarship is not entirely silent on the matter either. Therefore focused examinations of these sources then dispensed a Sindh that becomes true to a mercantile polity with diversity.

Bringing it all together under the paradigm of encounters being a contact that ensued exchange in cultural and linguistic domains conferring a portion to the building tradition of the region as well. With the taxonomic and nationalistic unburdening Makli in lower Sindh now sits in a premises which takes into account the fluidity and exchange of artistic ideas coming to fore in the architecture of the site. The very inconsistency of the architecture lamented by colonial writers becomes the strength of this building tradition, in my opinion, as it opens multiple avenues to investigate the architecture and the process of its erection and reception. The Meta – nationalistic histories of the site fitting these abodes into larger Islamic architectural repository never relieved from stylistic baggage either. The alternative approach for architecture of Makli to provide fresh perspective is therefore required that neither fell prey to lofty praises (post-partition) nor become derogatory (colonial). The nuances of architecture and its production are lost between these polarities. Encounters mediate a space as a paradigm between these polarities problematizing them and propagating exchange, integration, adoption, appropriation, translations, equivalences and rejections that emerged in the funerary monuments at Makli – the site the reigning dynasties of lower Sindh choose as their final resting place and building tombs for posterity. The monuments selection criteria and the architecture of tombs are discussed in the forthcoming chapter.

CHAPTER 3

MAKLI SITE – CRITERIA FOR SELECTION AND THE DESCRIPTION OF SELECTED TOMBS

Makli houses more than 40 standing tombs that are built using both brick and stone, embellished with a variety of stone carving patterns, tile and stucco work. It is an almost 4 km long, relatively linear site accessed through the southernmost edge abutting the main highway. Moving from South to North, concentrating toward the eastern edge of this hill outcrop from the Kirthar range system, one witness multiple types and scales of funerary ensembles starting from the latest to the earliest built as one progresses from South to North. Therefore, the first encounter of the visitor is with the Mughal and Tarkhan period monuments which date from early 17th to approximately mid-18th centuries. Traversing the expanse of the site and reaching the North close to where the hill descends, are located the Samma monuments the earliest built structures on the site. Between the southern and northern extreme are spread - tombs, grave cenotaphs, pavilions, enclosures and shrines of known and unknown nobles, saints, kings and their families, concentrating to the eastern side of the ridge. This eastern concentration can be justified in my opinion from the location of city of Thatta to the east of the site building a visual connection between the city and the necropolis.²⁰³

The city of Thatta changed hands with several rulers over time but Makli continued receiving funerary abodes. This continued building activity produced some of the finest examples of tombs in lower Sindh. Formally, if we strip it to basic, tombs are

²⁰³ The Thatta – Makli visual connection was discussed in the master's dissertation by the scholar for further information refer, Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012. [Pg. 19]

domed-square chambers but a diverse range of layout patterns existed. Also, tombs were not the only expression for funerary structures. Typological repository extended to enclosures housing free standing graves and canopy pavilions, isolated canopy pavilions, free standing grave ensembles, pedestals with western *mihrab* wall along with separate tomb buildings having multiple layouts.

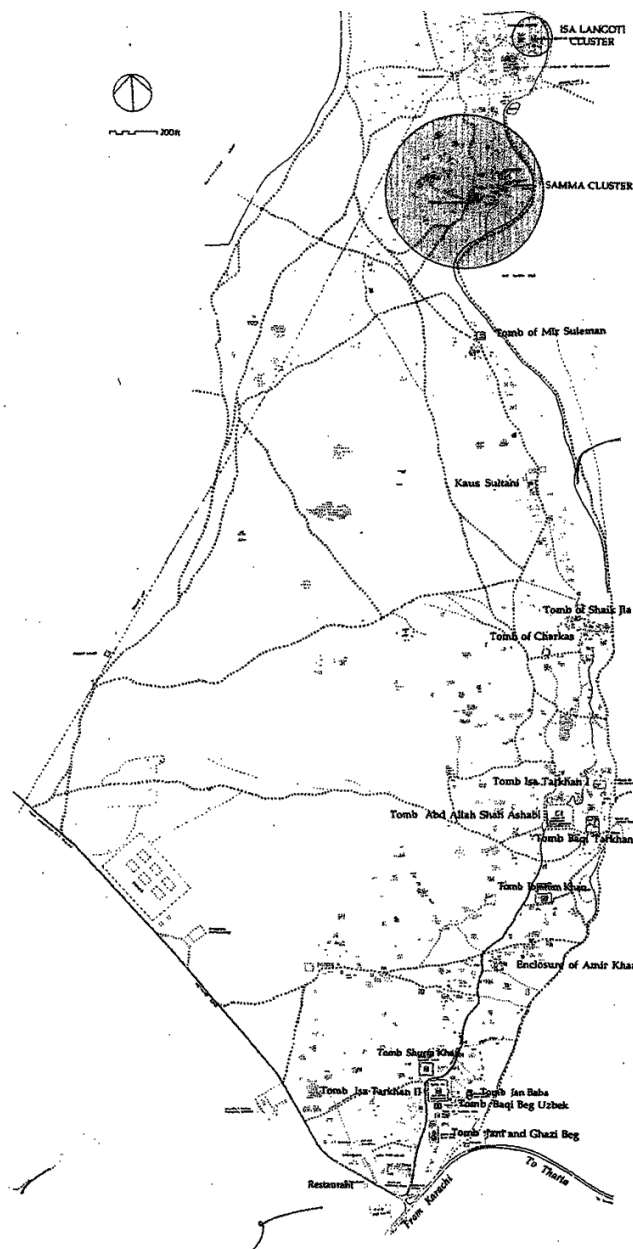


Figure 1: Map of Makli Necropolis [Lari 1997, Pg. 21]

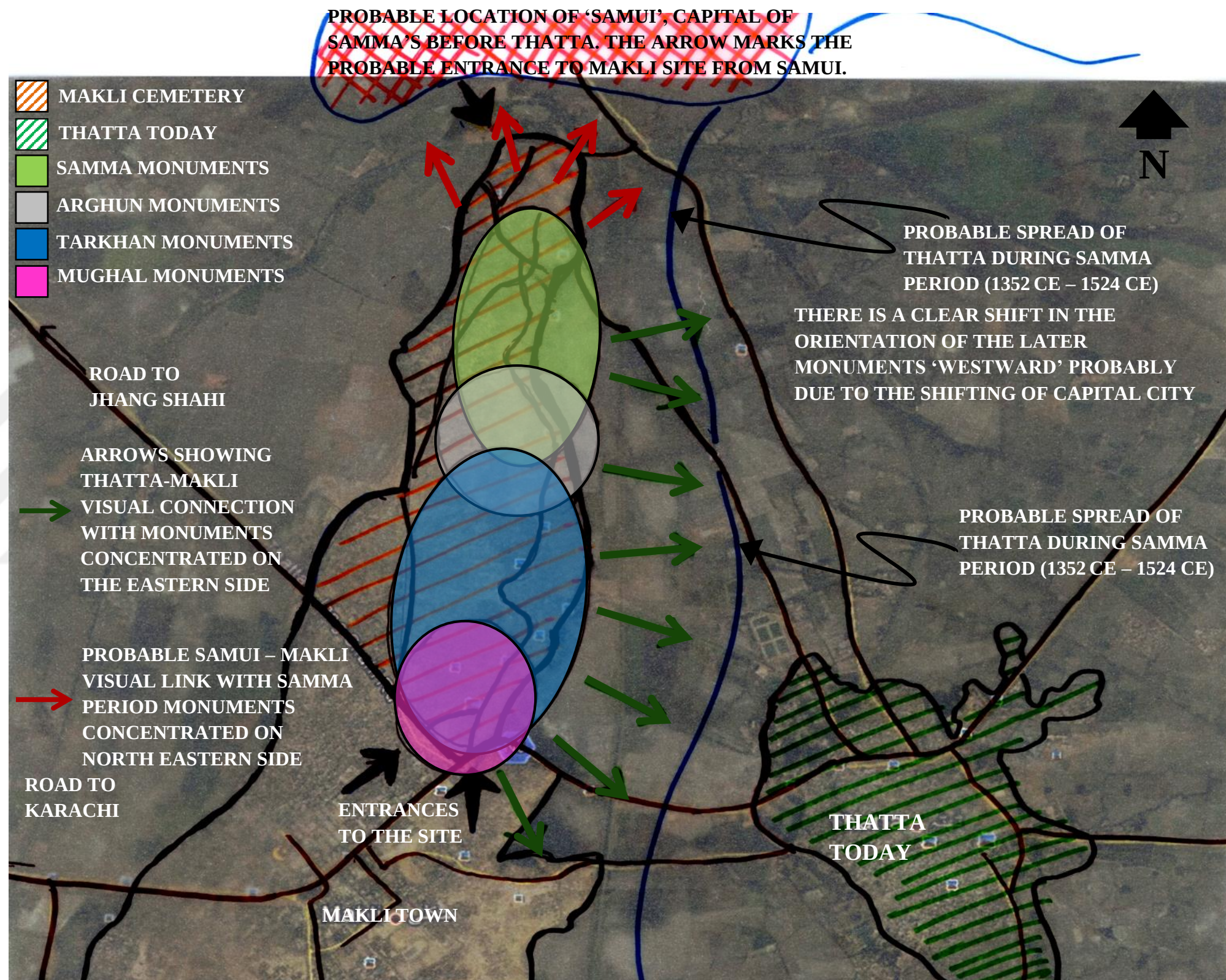


Fig 2: Map Showing Makli hill and dynastic distribution of funerary monuments [Junejo 2012, Pg. 22]

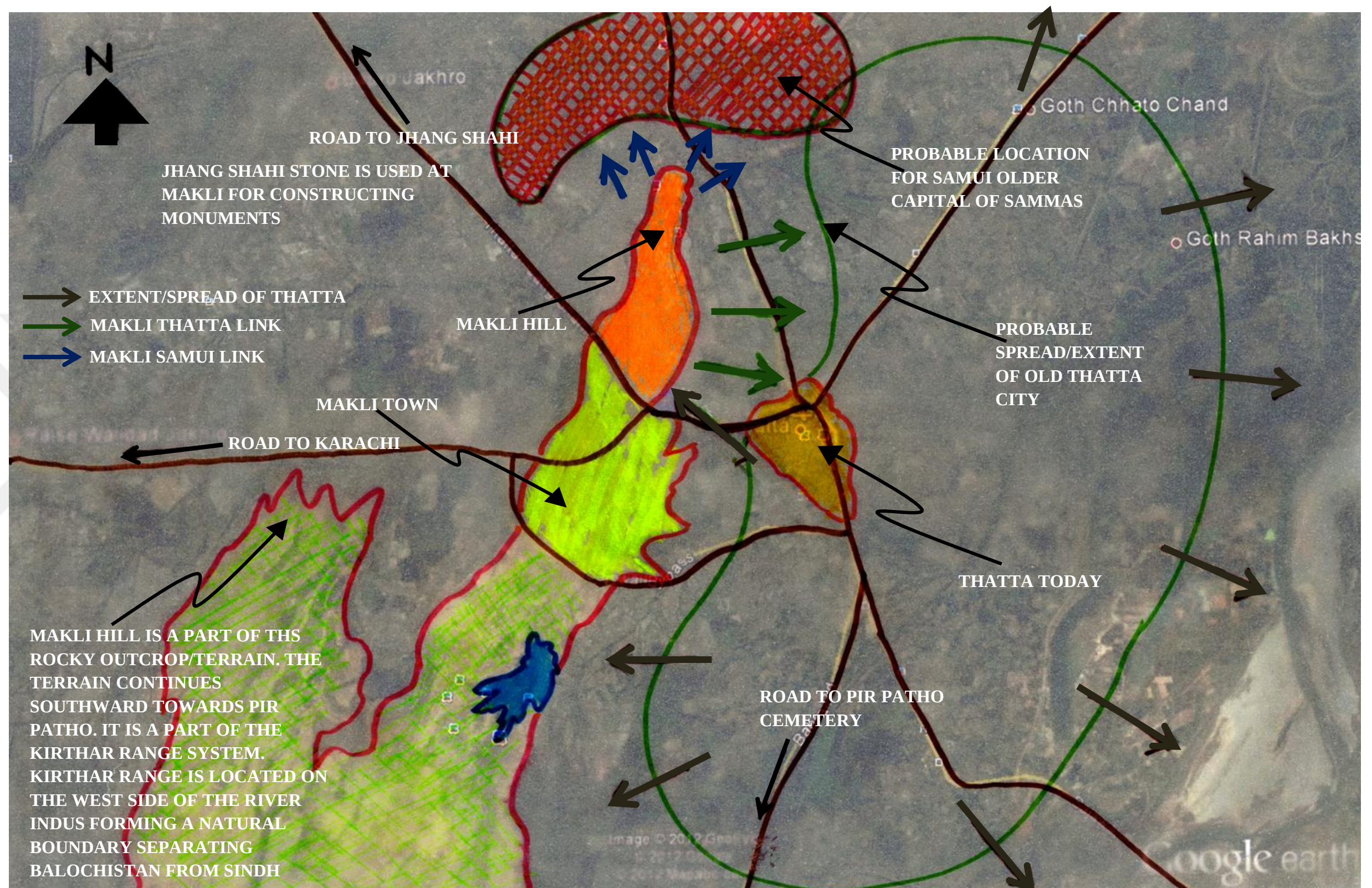


Figure 1: Map showing Makli hill and surrounding areas with road connections and links [Junejo 2012, Pg. 23]

The major dynasties or time periods were: ²⁰⁴

1. Sammas (1352-1524 CE).
2. Arghuns (1524-1555 CE).
3. Tarkhans (1555 – 1591 CE).
4. Mughals (1592 – 1739 CE).

A comprehensive list of tombs that were standing on site in a readable condition and some basic information about the structures is enumerated below. ²⁰⁵

Table 1: List of Tombs at Makli

	NAME	DYNASTY/ DATE	BUILDING TYPE	MATERIAL	IMAGE
1.	Tomb of Jam Tamachi	Samma Period (1490-1513 CE)	(Octagonal <i>Chattri</i> /Canopy Pavilion)	Stone	
2.	Unknown Tomb of Samma Noble 01	Samma Period 1454-61 CE	Domed Square Chamber	Brick	
3.	Tomb of Malik Rajbal	Samma Period 1457 CE	Domed Square Chamber	Brick, with dado level stone masonry	

²⁰⁴ These dates are the most accepted although slight variations are observed between different texts. Refer Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

²⁰⁵ This list is prepared by consulting the report, *Damage Assessment Mission to the Necropolis of Makli at WHS Thatta, Pakistan*. Survey Report, Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011. And the monograph, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. For brief discussion of the selected monuments from the list refer appendix A of catalog of monuments.

Table 1 (continued)					
4.	Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan	Samma Period 1508 CE	Domed Square Chamber	Brick with stone door jambs and lintels.	
5.	Tomb of Mubarak Khan	Samma Period 1490-1513 CE	Enclosure	Stone	
6.	<u>Tomb of Jam Nizam-al-Din</u>	Samma Period 1509 CE	Domed-Square Chamber	Stone	
7.	Tomb of Shaikh Jia.	Samma Period (Early 16 th century)	Domed Square Chamber	Brick	
8.	<u>Kaus Sultani</u>	Samma Period 1513 CE	Domed Square Chamber	Brick with dado level stone masonry	
9.	Unknown Tomb	Samma Period (16 th century)	Enclosure	Stone	
10.	Unknown Tomb	Arghun Period Early 16 th century	Enclosure	Stone	

Table 1 (continued)					
11.	Unknown Tomb	Arghun Period Early 16 th century	Enclosure	Stone with tracery pattern	
12.	Unknown Tomb	Arghun Period Early 16 th century	Domed Square Chamber	Brick with Plinth/dado level stone masonry	
13.	Unknown Tomb	Arghun Period Early 16 th century	Grave Platform / Pedestal	Stone	
14.	Unknown Tomb	Arghun Period Early 16 th century	Domed Square Chamber	Brick with Plinth/dado level stone masonry	
15.	Tomb of Mir Sulaiman	Tarkhan Period 1557 CE	Enclosure	Stone	
16.	Tomb of Amir Sultan Mohammad	Tarkhan Period Mid-16 th century	Enclosure	Stone	
17.	Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim	Tarkhan Period 1559 CE	Domed-Octagonal chamber	Brick with stone plinth/pedestal	

Table 1 (continued)					
18.	Unknown Tomb	Tarkhan Period Mid-16 th century	Square <i>Chattri</i> / Canopy Pavilion	Stone	
19.	Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan-I	Tarkhan Period Mid-16 th century	Enclosure with <i>chattri</i> / canopy structures inside	Stone	
20.	Tomb of Mirza Mohd. Baqi Tarkhan	Tarkhan Period Late -16 th century	Enclosure	Stone	
21.	Tomb of Family of Mirza Mohd. Baqi Tarkhan	Tarkhan Period Late -16 th century	Enclosure	Stone	
22.	<i>Zenana</i> (precinct for women) Tomb of Mirza Mohd. Baqi Tarkhan	Tarkhan Period Late -16 th century	Enclosure	Stone	
23.	Tomb of Badi Uz Zaman Tarkhan	Tarkhan Period Early -17 th century	Octagonal <i>Chattri</i> / Canopy	Stone	

Table 1 (continued)					
24.	Unknown Tomb on Baqi Tarkhan Enclosure	Tarkhan Period Late -16 th century	Octagonal Chattri / Canopy	Stone	
25.	Tomb of Habshad Bai	Tarkhan Period Mid -16 th century	Enclosure	Stone	
26.	Unknown Tomb near Aulia Pir	Tarkhan Period 16 th century	Domed square with adjoining chambers	Brick	
27.	Unknown Brick Tomb	Tarkhan Period 16 th century	Domed square with adjoining chambers	Brick	
<u>28.</u>	<u>Tomb of Mirza Ghazi and Mirza Jani Baig</u>	Mughal Period Early 17 th century (1601 CE)	Domed-Octagonal chamber	Brick with stone plinth/ pedestal	
29.	Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkhas (Satcharni)	Mughal Period Early 17 th century	Domed-Octagonal chamber with 4 adjoining stair towers	Brick with stone plinth/ pedestal	

Table 1 (continued)					
30.	Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan	Mughal Period 17 th century	Domed-Square chamber with round corners acting as stair towers	Brick with stone plinth/ pedestal	
31.	Tomb of Mirza Baqi Baig Uzbek	Mughal Period 17 th century	Enclosure - 4 Iwan Plan	Brick	
32.	Tomb of Mughal Governor 01 Ghairat Khan	Mughal Period 17 th century	Platform with <i>mihrab</i> wall	Brick with stone pedestal	
33.	Tomb of Mughal Governor 02	Mughal Period 17 th century	Platform with <i>mihrab</i> wall	Brick with stone pedestal	
34.	Tomb of Mughal Governor 03	Mughal Period 17 th century	Platform with <i>mihrab</i> wall	Brick with stone pedestal	
35.	Tomb of Mirza Jan Baba	Mughal Period Early 17 th century	Enclosure with Canopy/ <i>Chattri</i> pavilion	Stone	
<u>36.</u>	<u>Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan-II</u>	Mughal Period Mid-17 th century (1646/47 CE)	Enclosure – Domed - Square chamber- 4 Iwan Plan	Stone	

Table 1 (continued)					
37.	Unknown Tomb South of Jani Baig's Tomb	Mughal Period Mid-17 th century	Canopy/ <i>Chattri</i> pavilion	Stone	
38.	Unknown Tomb	Mughal Period Mid-17 th century	Canopy/ <i>Chattri</i> pavilion	Stone	
39.	Tomb of Mirza Tughral Baig	Mughal Period Mid-17 th century	Sqaure Canopy / <i>Chattri</i> on a platform with <i>mihrab</i> wall	Stone	
40.	Unknown Tomb	Arghun or Mughal Period?? Mid-17 th century	Domed Square Chamber	Stone	

The list of monuments presented above give a glimpse of plurality the site contains in its architectural expression. This trait of the site makes every tomb in a readable condition a potential nominee for the selection for in depth study. To limit the scope of analysis for dispensing the plural nature of the site there is a need to shortlist the monuments making the analysis comprehensive. The monument selection criterion for the purpose is presented here.

3.1:- CRITERIA FOR SELECTION OF MONUMENTS:

To acquire a level of systemization the tombs are initially separated into brick and stone built tombs. This separation however does not claim to become a canonic division feature of the site. There are aesthetic cues the brick built tombs take from

the stone carving tradition fracturing the sterility of use of materials. Therefore this division provides a generic grasp to the scholar for conducting analysis and in no way propagates the idea of making stone and brick tombs as essential categories on the site from where further categorizations may emanate. Having said that the construction methods and larger aesthetic application slightly differ in the tombs from both materials, since the behavior of these materials dictates scope and limitation inherent in their nature. This division of sorts appears to be rather passive in comparison, with lesser historiographical baggage. The tombs from both the building materials display the application of local and foreign elements in varying scales and degrees. This point is kept in mind while charting out the selection criteria. Similarly some dynasties were more prolific in their building activity and others were not. These and other considerations lead to the development of rationale for selection of monuments.

The basic criteria for selection therefore are:

1. Tombs are selected from both brick and stone built stock and analyzed separately for the purpose of acknowledging the structural and constructional nature of both the materials. Nevertheless any similarities and exchanges within materials will be indicated discouraging canonic discourse.
2. The tombs displaying the maximum degree of integrated – intermixed elements and forms become more potent for selection for analysis purpose as they become prime specimens of plurality of the site. Hence monuments with greater display and range of pluralities are preferred.
3. During both Samma and Tarkhan (Mughal governorship period) ruler-ship of Thatta, Makli received maximum funerary structures. With respect to material, scale and variety these time periods provide a wider range for selection purpose. Therefore both Samma and Tarkhans under Mughals become suitable time frames to select monuments from.

4. The present day condition of the tombs with respect to understanding their layout, form, building material and decorative features is an important criterion for selection. The tombs that are in better condition and have withstood vagaries of time are preferred.

It is proposed to select a set of two tombs from both stone and brick constructions from the Samma and Tarkhan under Mughals time frame. For the purpose of analysis these tombs from different time periods will be separately and comparatively analyzed. The dialogue this comparative analysis will generate will help in understanding the traditions the site sustained and rejected over time. Similarly, separate discussions on the tombs will highlight the building trends and traditions of that particular time period. In this vein the analysis becomes both synchronic and diachronic in nature with reference to the site. This approach may dispense the degree of permeability the site inherits or sustains during its active years of receiving funerary structures.

3.2:- SELECTED TOMBS AND THEIR ARCHITECTURE:

From the list of monuments presented above and the selection criteria charted out following four tombs are selected,

- For stone built monuments;
 1. Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din built in 1509 CE from Samma period.
 2. Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II built in mid-17th century (approximately around 1646/47 CE) from Tarkhan/Mughal period.
- For brick built monuments
 1. Kaus Sultani built in 1513 CE from Samma period.
 2. Tomb of Jani Beg and Ghazi Beg started tentatively in 1601 CE Tarkhan/Mughal period.

These four tombs fit the spelled criteria and come from both material repositories they are however not prototypical but share similarities with other monuments on the site. During analysis other extant monuments will be plugged-in to the discussion to validate the plurality on multiple levels the monuments spell out. Tomb of Jam Nizam and Isa Khan Tarkhan II are the finest examples of stone built monuments of their time. Similarly, Kaus Sultani a relatively later Samma tomb displays a level of maturity in the brick tombs of Samma period taking cues from earlier brick edifices. Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg on the other hand draw reference from Samma and their contemporary stock of brick tombs and bring a pluralistic aesthetic to the fore. Although Jani and Ghazi Beg's tomb is one of the many examples and immense variegation is observed in brick building tradition of Tarkhan / Mughal period. This variety of design, layout and decorative applications is what makes Makli a site challenging taxonomy that should be acknowledged and studied for its own merit. The basic information of the monuments selected their general layout, architectural and decorative features are discussed below.

3.2.1:- Tomb of Jam Nizam al – Din:²⁰⁶

Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din is one of the finest funerary monuments at Makli. It is unique in the Samma ensemble of monuments for being the only domed square chamber built in stone. The dome according to sources was either never built or collapsed later. A square of almost 37'x37' dimension it is the most intricately decorated tomb having floral and geometric carved motifs. Completed in 1509 CE during the reign of Jam Feroze son of Jam Nizam al Din construction must have started during the lifetime of Jam Nizam.

²⁰⁶ The summary of basic information on the tomb is prepared from, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. [Pg. 65-90] Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. [Pg. 76-77] Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. [Pg. 144-234]. Also refer chapter 4 - Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

3.2.1.1:- Plan and Section:

It is square plan with varying wall thicknesses having opening for entrance on three sides that are northern side – southern side and western side. Eastern wall has an opening with a jail placed on it probably carved from a single slab of stone and appears to be a later insertion based on the carving pattern, in my opinion. Thickness of southern and western wall is similar at 6 feet. Western wall houses a set of steps providing access to both the balcony ensemble and the rooftop, oriel balcony outside and *mihrab* niche inside and hence has an off centered entrance. Thicknesses of eastern and northern walls are similar at approximately 3 feet 6 inches. The oriel is written as a *darshan jharoka* by Lari for its probably symbolic connotations.²⁰⁷ This square base employs an octagon and hexa-decagon in the zone of transition that was to receive the (never constructed) dome on top. Samma builders were using corbelling for making domes on canopy pavilions and used true domes for brick monuments. This missing dome then perhaps point to technical limitations of Samma masons. Square base receives the octagon at 12 feet and hexa-decagon at 23 feet making the dome-less chamber approximately 30 feet high. Lancet shape arches are applied in zone of transition with deep corner squinches for octagon and relatively shallower squinches for hexa-decagon (figure 5 - 6). These squinches are not true based on arcuated system rather use trabeated system to achieve an arcuate image. Bracket like moldings with carved details adorn the squinches having rosettes on tympanum of these corner vaults.

²⁰⁷ *Darshan* means sight and *Jharoka* means oriel balcony, Lari 1997 refers to the oriel on Jam Nizam's tomb as *darshan jharoka* for placing such an element on a funerary monument might hold symbolic connotations for the visitors to the grave. Refer Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. [Pg. 144-234]

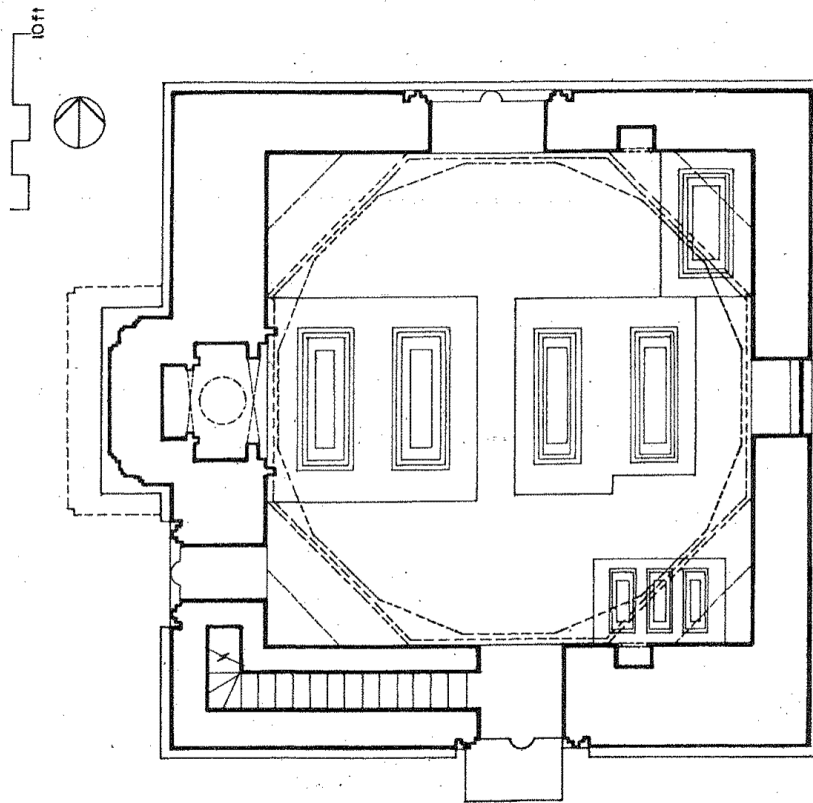


Figure 2: Plan of Tomb of Jam Nizam. [Lari 1997 - pg. 146]

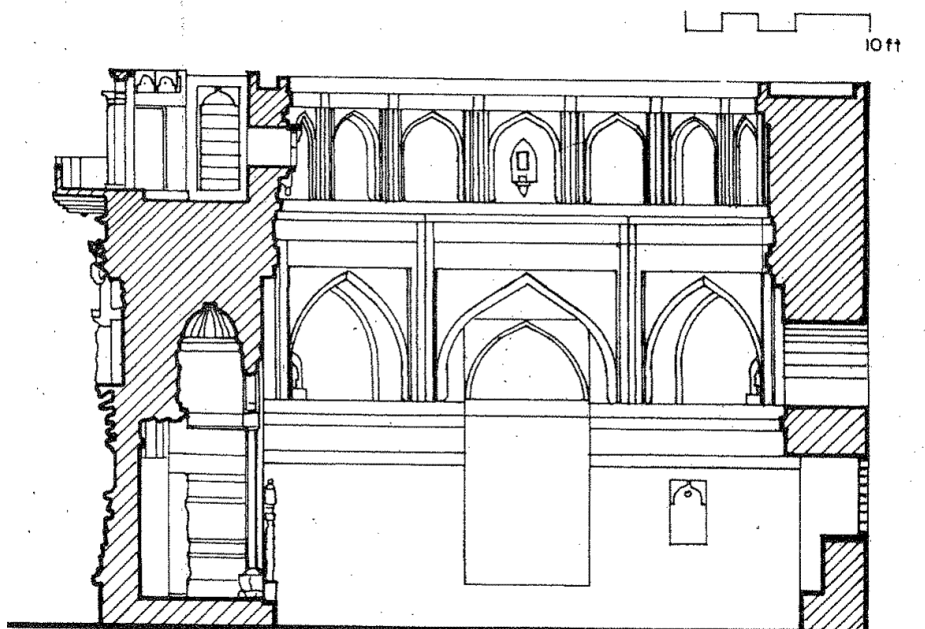


Figure 3: Section of Tomb of Jam Nizam. [Lari 1997 - pg. 147]

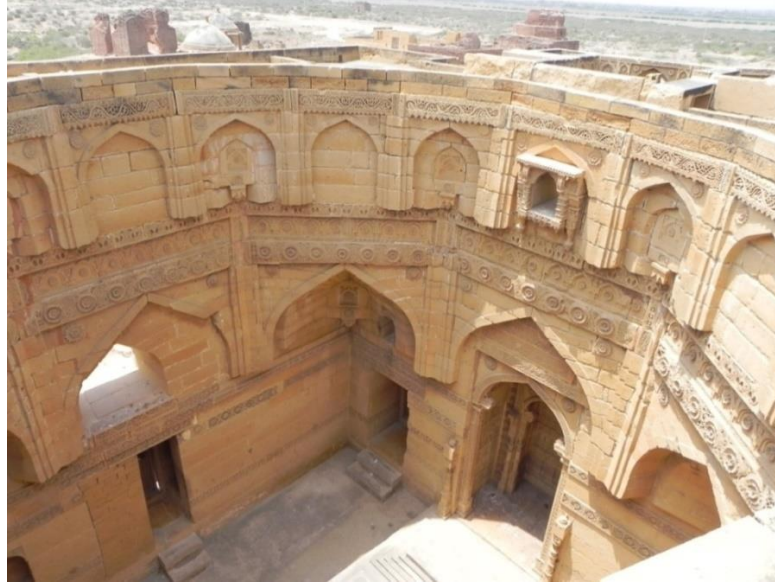


Figure 4: Base, corner brackets and zone of transition, Tomb of Jam Nizam.

3.2.1.2: Elevations:

Elevations of tomb of Jam Nizam al Din have carved bands with motifs running along the entire square ensemble both inside (comparatively scarce) and outside. On the outside the bands number at fourteen and have carvings. These carving are high relief, low relief and incisions with a range of motifs for example, lotus bands, sun flower bands, generic geometric shapes and a singular *thulth* scripted calligraphic band. As have been mentioned above three walls receive entrances the northern, southern and western, where northern entrance was closed off at a later time. These entrances employ lancet arches similar to the transition zone. To set the entrances apart the linear decorative bands break at the heavily decorated architraves having floral motifs and calligraphic inscriptions. Western entrance sits in the right corner complimenting the adjacent oriel assemblage and the other two are centered in comparison, with slight deviations. The most arresting article of the tomb ‘the oriel’ is perched at the west wall. The eastern screen sits opposite the *mihrab* niche in the interior in a complimentary relation. The motifs and elements on the tomb come from variety of local architectural traditions like the ‘moon stone’ a semi-circular or circular step placed at the threshold of the entrances is from Buddhist and Hindu temple architecture.

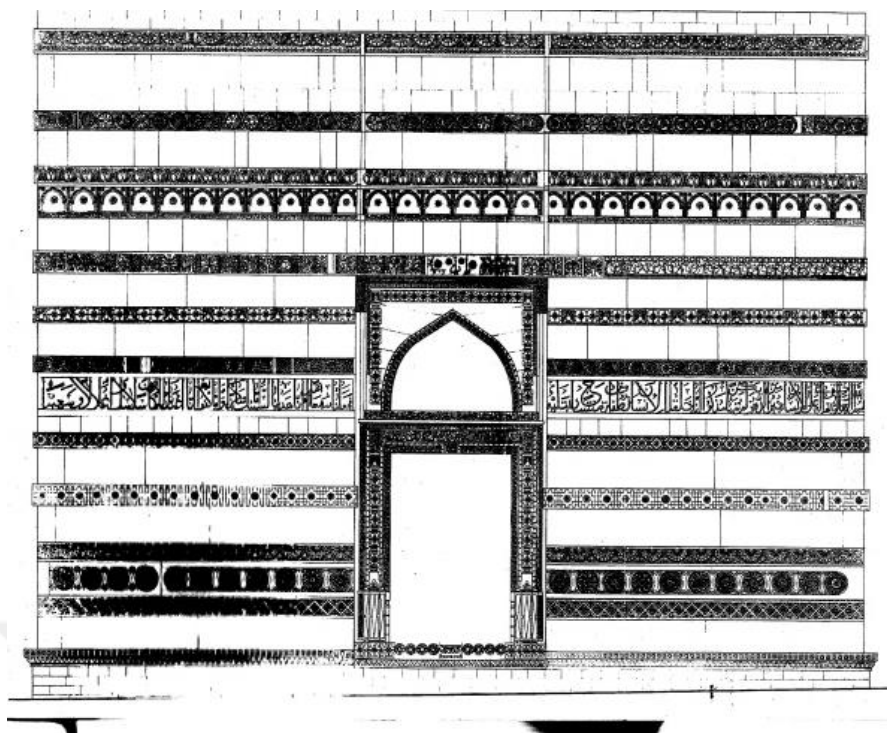


Figure 5: North Elevation, Tomb of Jam Nizam. [Lari, 1997 – pg. 236]

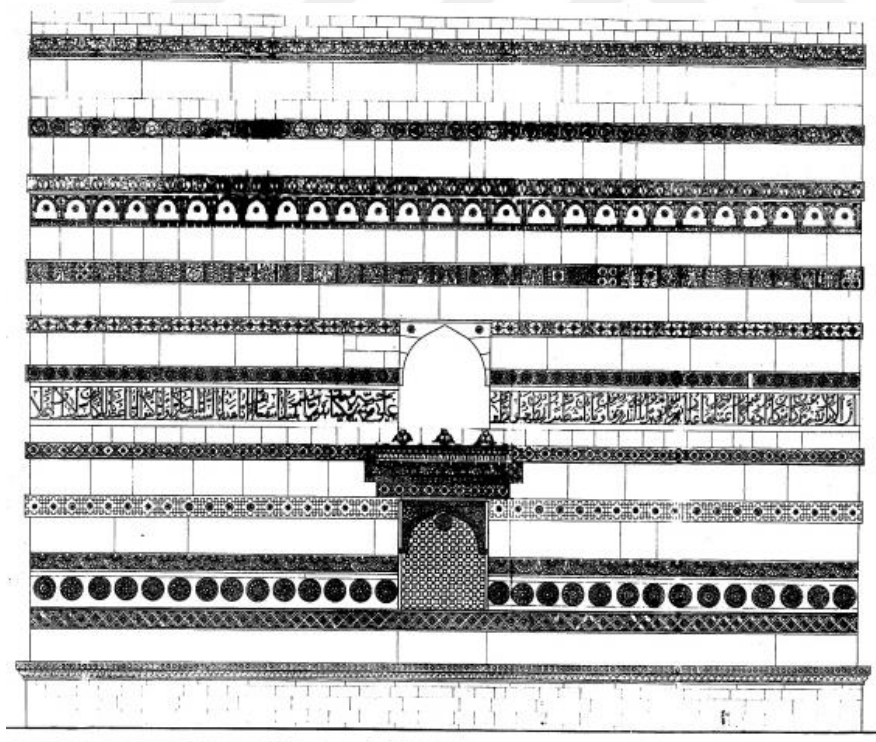


Figure 6: East Elevation, Tomb of Jam Nizam. [Lari, 1997 - pg. 237]

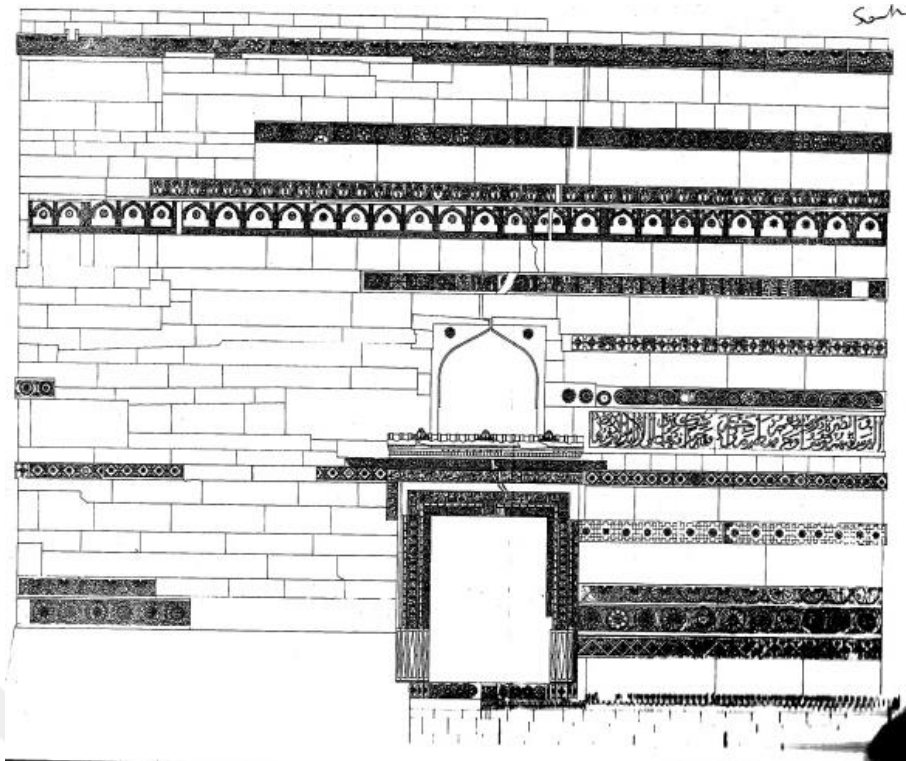


Figure 7: South Elevation, Tomb of Jam Nizam. [Lari, 1997 pg.-238]

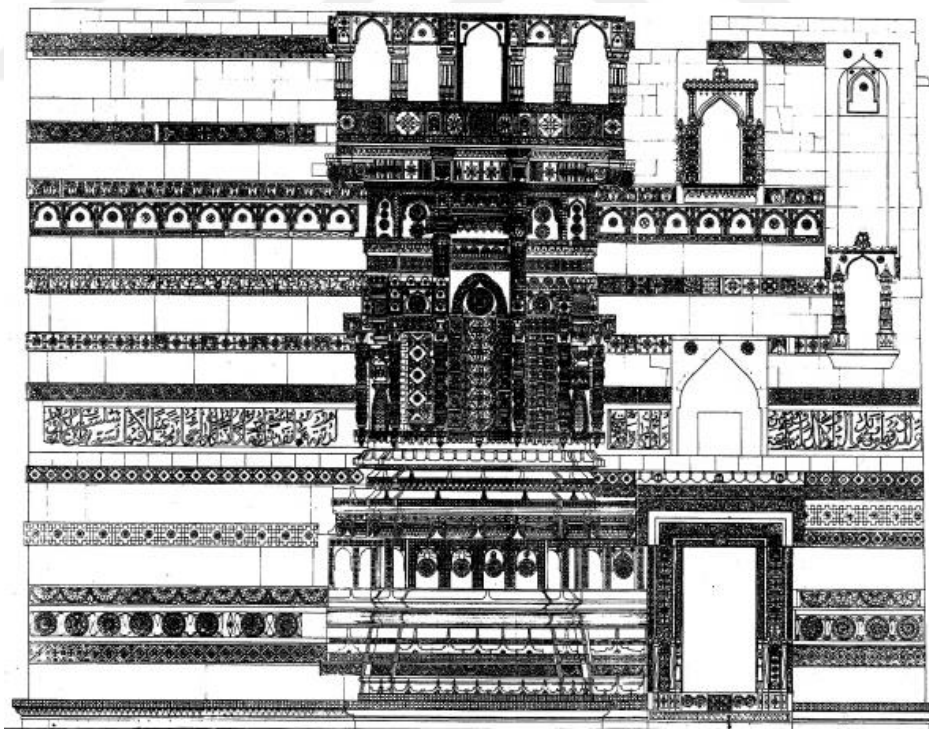


Figure 8: West Elevations, Tomb of Jam Nizam. [Lari, 1997 - pg. 235]

The decorative bands with their assortment of patterns provide the elevations with a certain continuity and visual movement. The haste observed on southern elevation with hotchpotch masonry and discontinued bands is representative of the political turmoil during the reign of Jam Feroze. The visuals of decorative bands presented below show the ability of Samma masons and their command over carving in stone.



Figure 9: First band – cornice and series of diamond motifs, Tomb of Jam Nizam.

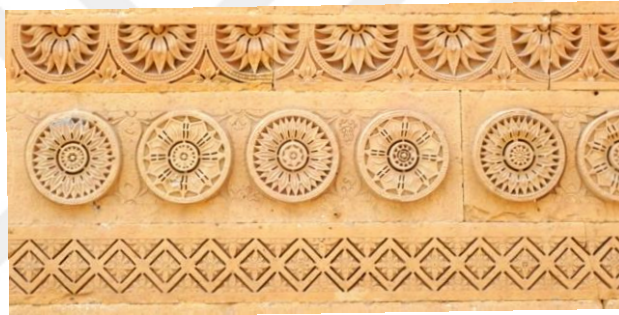


Figure 10: Second, third and fourth bands – diamond chain with floral motifs – rosette roundels – half lotus or *padma* chain, Tomb of Jam Nizam.

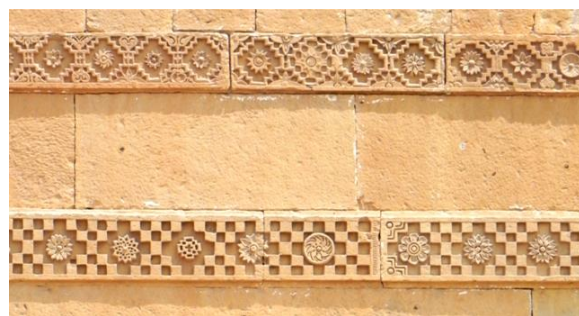


Figure 11: Fifth and sixth bands – checkered pattern with mini rosettes, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 12: Seventh and eighth bands – *thulth* calligraphy and lotus / sunflower in high relief, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 13 Ninth band – vase (*kalasa*) and water leaf pattern, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 14: Tenth band – geese (west and north wall) and tree motif, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 15: Eleventh and twelfth band – blind lancet arches with rosettes - interlacing leaf scroll tracery, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 16: Thirteenth band – roundels with motley inscribed patterns, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 17: Fourteenth band – half lotus similar to band four, Tomb of Jam Nizam.

3.2.1.3: The Oriel Balcony:



Figure 18: Oriel Balcony at western elevation – Tomb of Jam Nizam.

This oriel balcony on the western elevation is the most pronounced feature of Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din. One observes the use of miniature oriels as decorative elements on tombs from all periods but here the full scale oriel becomes one of its kinds on the site. This 10 feet 6 inches wide balcony assemblage, running through the entire height of the tomb, can be bifurcated into four levels or stages. The carvings on the first stage fuse with the decorative program of the tomb having a strong appearance and forming the base. Second level of this ensemble uses blind miniature arcades and is in sync with the door lintel toward left. The most striking is third stage bringing the craftsmanship of Samma masons to the fore. Here one witnesses the conglomerate of seemingly disparate carved elements complementing each other. The tripartite set of lancet arches resembles a miniature *pishtaq*²⁰⁸ and is topped with projecting brackets to receive the balcony opening. Pilaretes form the division between arches and they are flanked by an assortment of miniature *sikharas*,²⁰⁹ lotus roundels and infill geometric motifs. Almost every inch of this portion is meticulously carved. The final level or stage is the projecting balcony opening that is set atop a set of brackets with fine carvings. Here again one finds tripartite lancet arches but they are not blind they rather form the opening for the implied *darshan* of / by the deceased. The dividing pilaretes here are relatively stumpy in appearance. It is open to sky giving a slightly incomplete look. This unfinished look is synonymous with absent dome on the tomb chamber. The absence of an appropriate top layer and the dome plus the haphazard assembly of southern wall indicate political instability of the time, as has been mentioned earlier.

²⁰⁸ *Pishtaq* is a rectangular vaulted space mostly used as entrance portals or adorning the front of *iwans*.

²⁰⁹ *Sikhara*, comes from a Sanskrit word it means 'mountain peak'. The *garbhagriha* (temple sanctuary) of the Hindu temples employ a full scale *sikhara* roof.



Figure 19: Third level of projecting balcony showing the winding brackets and miniature *sikhara*, Tomb of Jam Nizam.

3.2.1.4: Interior:

Interior takes precedence from the decorative program of linear bands outside but uses other elements within the entire decorative program. The monochromatic whole appears fairly sculptural and majestic due to contained atmosphere of the interior in comparison to outside. The absent dome creates an open to sky effect and let generous amount of light inside compared to dome retaining tombs of later period that appear ill-lit due to lesser amount of light inside. As discussed in the plan the interior has a square base, an octagonal and hexa-decagonal zone of transition that

houses the corner false squinches and other decorative elements. The *mihrab* on the western wall in the interior becomes the focal point synonymous with the oriel outside. Interior gets a solid albeit heavier appearance by virtue of the deep corner squinches in the octagonal zone of transition. Openings for entry are, as discussed earlier, on the western, northern and southern side where at present the western entrance remains the frequently used. The bands wherever applied follow the exterior and apply the same decorative program. There are steps accommodated to lead to the oriel on the western side. The soffits, treads and openings along the stairs apply generous use of carved motifs. Triple *mihrab* becomes the most carved element of the interior and is surmounted by a cupola on top as can be seen in the plan and section drawings [figure 4 – 5]. The borders or corners of the niche apply pilaretes, use lancet arches, floral roundels and low relief carvings on the surface of the niche. To accentuate the *mihrab* further the hexa-decagonal zone of transition accommodates a miniature oriel or *jharoka* complimented by arched shaped opening on the other three sides. The effect of the solid and carved surfaces similar to exterior provides coherence to the decorative program. The use of diverse motifs some as fillers others symbolically charged add value to this 14th century tomb.

The structural program of this tomb uses post and lintel system to achieve the arcuate appearance.²¹⁰ This is a common occurrence or construction method in South Asia where the arcuated sensibility of the patrons was accommodated by the post and lintel expertise of the masons. The appearance of this method in the 14th century in Samma monument where Delhi has already acquired a grasp on arcuate construction is something worth discussing. The design, decorative and structural idiosyncrasies, as one can call them, will be furthered in the analysis chapter.

²¹⁰ This is discussed in the masters' dissertation by the scholar, refer Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

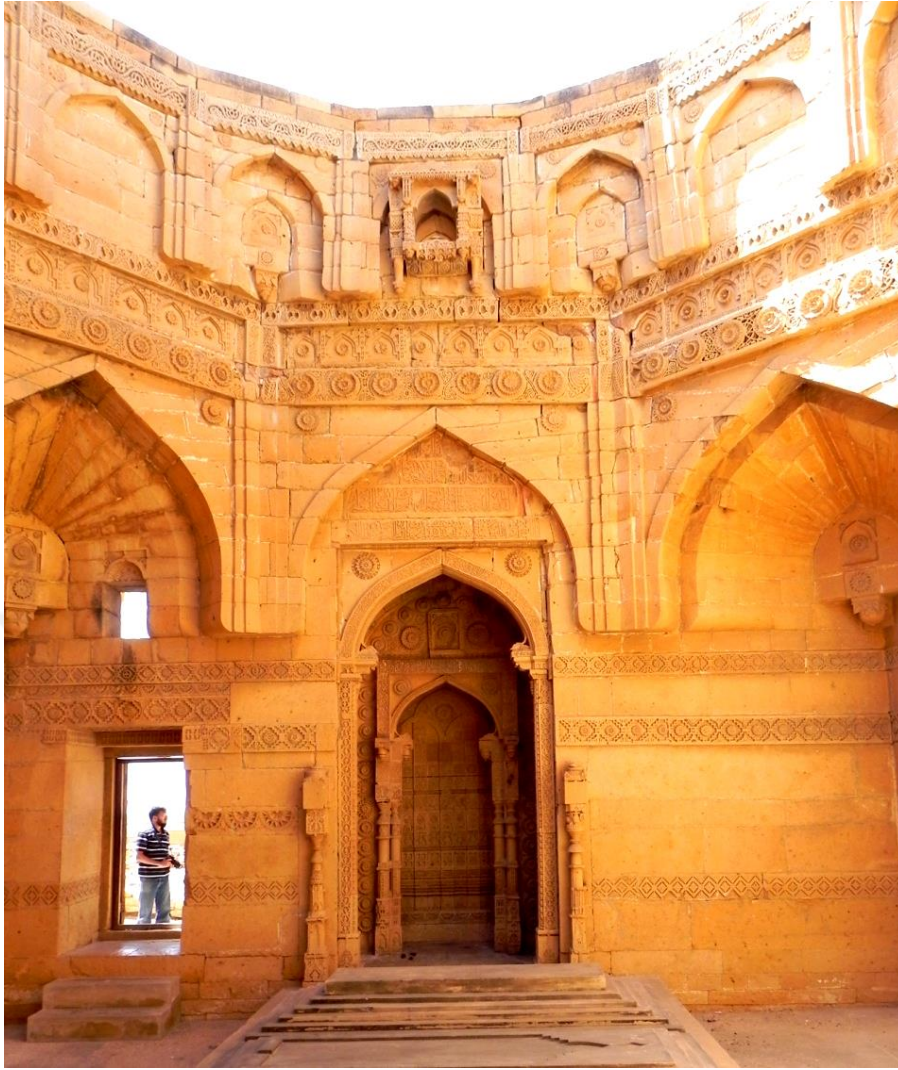


Figure 20: Interior with triple mihrab, and zone of transition, Tomb of Jam Nizam.

3.2.2:- Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II: ²¹¹

Isa Khan Tarkhan II had the most successful political career in my opinion and having served three Mughal Emperors, Akbar (1556-1605 CE), Jahangir (1605-1627 CE) and Shah Jahan (1627-1658 CE). He rose to prominence after spending a fair

²¹¹ The summary of basic information on the tomb is prepared from, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. [Pg. 141-148] Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. [Pg. 89-90] Also refer, Junejo, Rabela. "'Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II: Place of Converging Architectural Idioms'". *Sindh Antiquities Quaterly Journal (Special edition on Makli International Conference)* (Department of Culture, Govt. of Sindh) 1, no. 4 (2018): 29-40.

amount of time at Akbar's court (1603 CE – 1012 Hijri onward) and learning the political ways of the Mughals. From garnering menial to slightly relevant stations and posts he became governor of Gujarat in 1642 / 43 CE (1054 Hijri) and had a three months stint at being governor of Thatta in 1628/29 CE (1037-38 Hijri).²¹² *Makli Namō* elucidates at length about his whereabouts and informs on his movements within and outside Sindh. There was an apparent succession feud between Mirza Jani Beg and Isa Tarkhan II that remained intact in Mirza Ghazi Begs time as Mughal governor of Sindh. This succession feud and apparent life threatening situation led Isa Khan Tarkhan II to Mughal court during Akbar's reign. Due to these conflicts with Jani and Ghazi Beg Isa Khan Tarkhan II spent most of his time outside of Thatta, acquiring multiple positions at Deccan and Gujarat regions.²¹³ His association with Thatta cannot be dismissed as he chose to build his tomb on the same ground as of his ancestors, despite having assigned stations at various locations in India, during Mughals. It is speculated that he commissioned work on his tomb when he was stationed as governor of Thatta in 1628/29 CE and construction took almost eighteen years. Isa Khan Tarkhan II died in 1652/1653 CE (1062 Hijri) as per *Makli Namō*.²¹⁴ This tomb that is built entirely from stone converge multiple design elements from Central Asian and local tendencies but the weight of Gujarat's design idiom is apparent.

3.2.2.1: The Enclosure:

Mirza Isa's tomb is built within a four iwan enclosure, and the tomb is centrally placed at the intersection of the *iwans*. The four *iwans* are centrally positioned on the east, west, south and north enclosure walls. West wall of the enclosure

²¹² The monograph by Dani [1982] is scarce on whereabouts of Isa Khan Tarkhan II but *Makli Namō* mentions his life and career in greater length for further information refer, Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Makli Namō (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam-Uddin Rashidi. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board , 2010.

²¹³ For further information refer Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Makli Namō (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam-Uddin Rashidi. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board , 2010.

²¹⁴ For further information refer Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Makli Namō (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam-Uddin Rashidi. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board , 2010.

accommodates a *mihrab* niche and the east wall becomes the entrance to the compound. All the iwans have *pishtaq* like treatment and are higher than the adjoining walls this further highlights the centrally placed tomb chamber. The treatment of the compound wall is kept in low relief and the scheme is consistent throughout barring the iwans that are treated slightly differently due to their elevated scale and presence. The wall carvings are similar both inside and outside of the compound. Here the bottom is of blind miniature arcades with inscribed lobed rhombuses. The main body of the compound wall is divided into rectangular segments that frame the pointed arch inscribed within. The border of each segment uses low relief with a series of diagonally arranged square pattern accommodating a rosette within the square. This carving is wrapped on all four sides of the segments situating or highlighting each arch of the arcade. Minimal carvings appear in the arch highlighting the borders and creating a readable frame around it. The segmented arcades are topped by a narrow band having knotted geometric motif. The only difference in treatment of the wall surfaces between inside and outside is the deeper niches that blind arcades of outside form inside. These niches are used for sitting purpose by visitors today.

The simplicity of the wall treatment is carried forward in the iwans and one does not encounter excessive carvings here either. The carvings that are found being in low relief also balances the chiaroscuro effect minimizing the readable volumes of the surfaces. This contrasts with the volume of the vaulted spaces, enhancing / pronouncing them. The entrance iwan appears full height having flushed flanking posts that differ from the inside iwans where the flanking posts are shorter compared to the iwan vaults. Decorative treatment is similar on all four iwans having miniature oriels on the flanking surfaces with border panels housing carving patterns. Here one finds rosettes, diagonal square chains, blind arches and calligraphic bands above entrance door and *mihrab* niche. Entrance forms a pointed arch barrel vault with the door opening emphasized by carved stone lintels and jambs, brackets, border moldings, high relief rosette / medallion on the tympanum and a calligraphic inscription above the spandrel. Above the oriels are shallow blind arches barely readable with lobbed rhombus and incised floral pattern.



Figure 21: Compound wall from outside with the tomb visible inside, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.

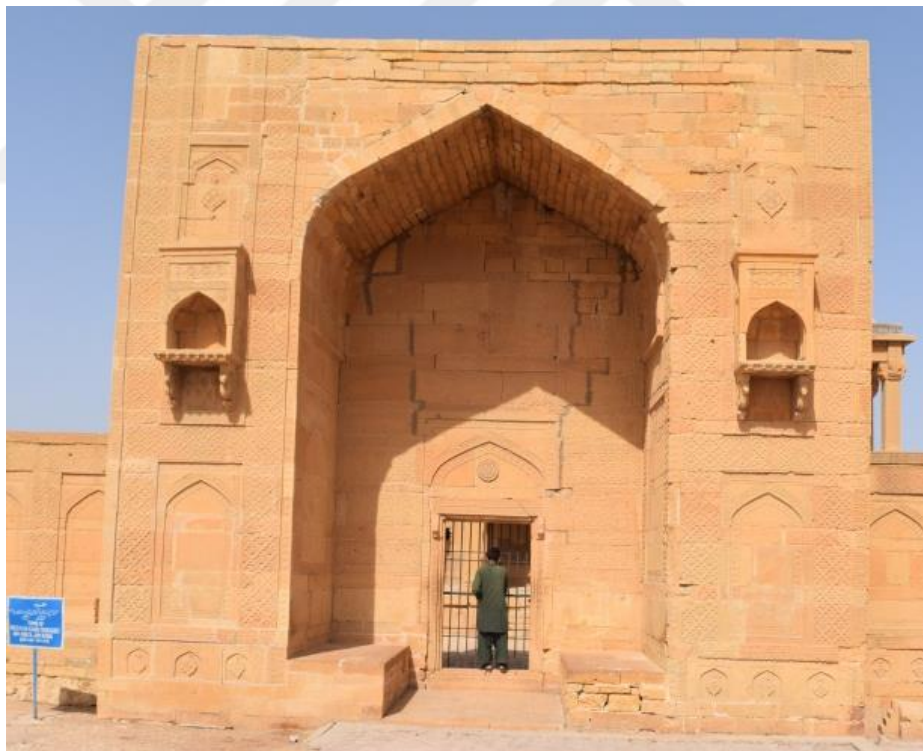


Figure 22: Main entrance *iwan* / vault eastern wall of the compound, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.

The northern and southern iwan are treated in similar manner with oriels on flanking shorter posts, corner squinches supporting a half dome of the vault recess. Western iwan accommodates in same scheme a carved *mihrab* niche with flanking border pilaretes and low relief carvings on the surface of the *mihrab*.



Figure 23: Southern *iwan* from inside the compound, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.



Figure 24: Western *iwan* with *mihrab* niche, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.

3.2.2.2: Plan and Elevation:

The tomb chamber perched at the intersection of the four iwan compound wall sit atop an almost two feet high plinth and is accessed from a set of steps. Plinth receives a band of miniature arcades with rosettes similar to the base of compound wall and the steps are positioned centrally at all four sides of this domed square chamber. The overall plan is dipteral i.e. a double colonnade wraps around the main chamber. This colonnade is double height and has galleries on the upper floor accessed through set of stairs provided on the eastern side of the chamber flanking the eastern steps accommodated within the colonnade.

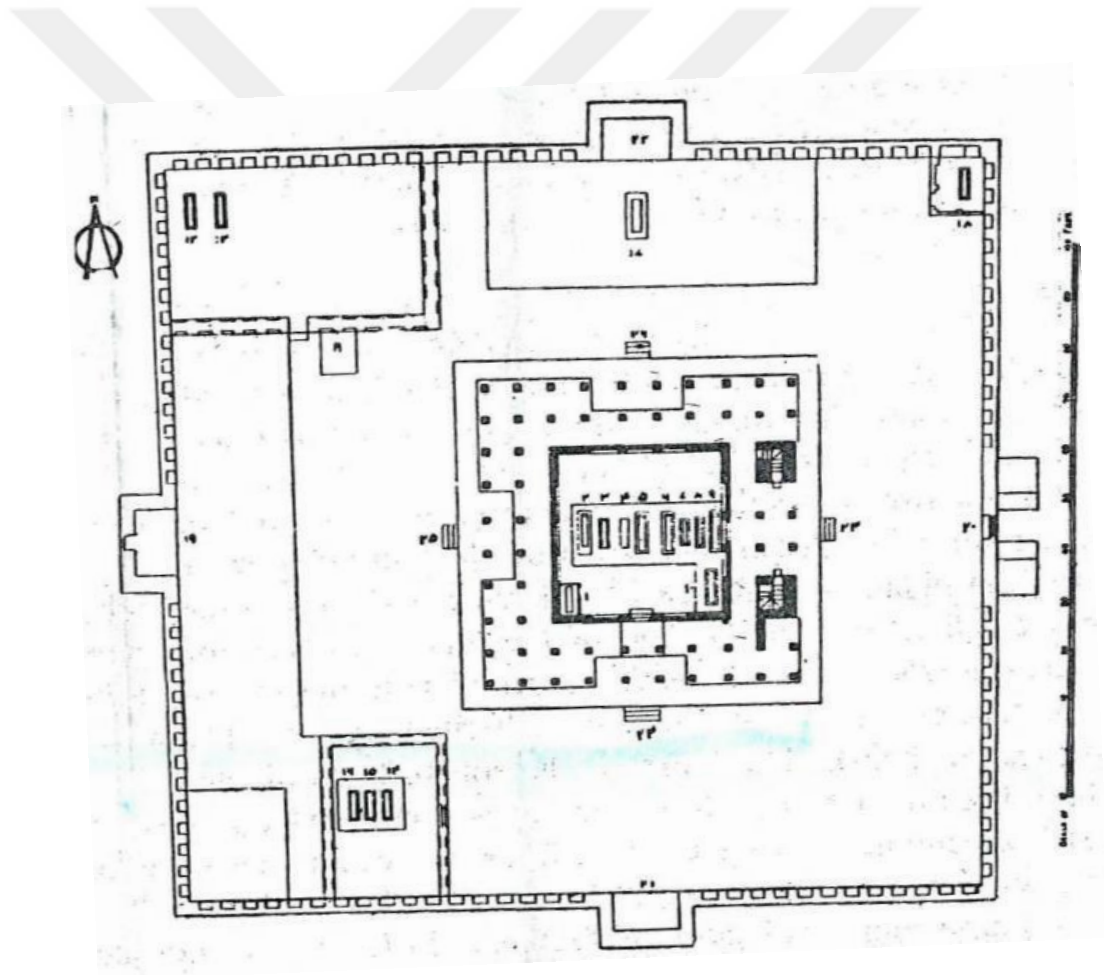


Figure 25: Plan of tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II with the enclosure wall around it.
[Dani 1982, pg. 141]

The use of double height colonnade sets it apart from earlier and later stone tombs. This colonnade partially hides the walls of domed chamber behind it. These walls have low relief carvings covering the entire surface with inset arcades and motifs with multiple floral and geometric patterns. The arcade applies pilasters with *muqarna* capital detail in conjunction with the colonnade. The colonnade uses arabesque floral patterns on the square shafts surmounted by four bracketed *muqarna* capitals and a corniced square base. The lintels of the colonnade are carved in similar manner. The lower soffit of the gallery uses flat slabs with rosette carvings of a range of patterns whereas the upper floor is covered with cupolas. Upper colonnade uses balusters at the bottom and a dentil molding separating lintels from the roof cornice projection.

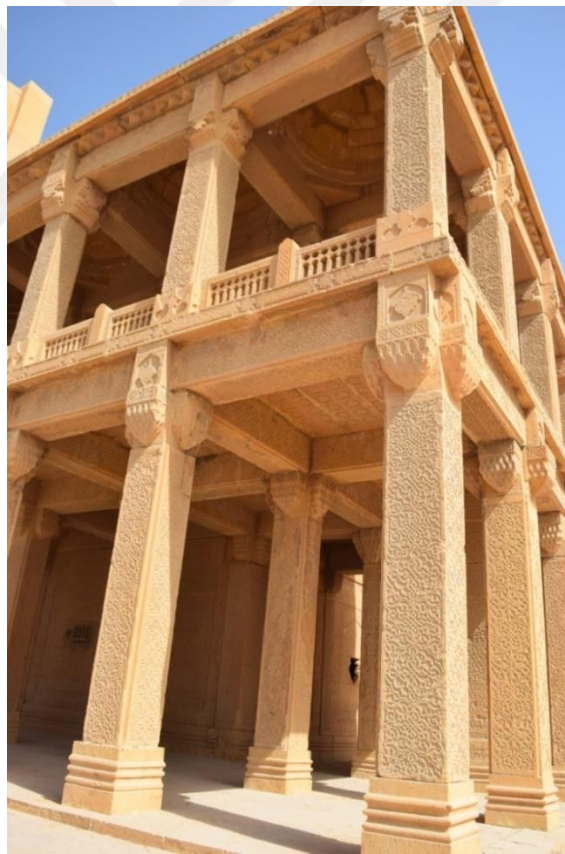


Figure 26: Upper and lower colonnade, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.

Deviating from the eastern entry of the compound, the tomb chamber is entered through southern side but the platform can be accessed through all four sides as is visible in the plan [figure 27]. The three remaining sides of the tomb have openings covered with stone *jali* / net and are inaccessible. The *jali* is made of six pointed star - grid pattern. The cross axial symmetry of the overall composition is complimented by use of triple arched accesses along the steps placed opposite the high iwans of the compound walls. These access points like the compound wall break from the overall height of the colonnade hiding the dome behind them. The attic of these triple arched access points uses wide bands of arabesque in low relief and ornate moldings highlight the arches. The transition zone of the dome barely visible from outside is carved in similar scheme fusing the entire decorative program together. The dome is topped with an inverted lotus flower forming the finial. The overall planning and treatment of elevations of the tomb chamber and the compound celebrate the cross axial symmetry.

3.2.2.3: Interior:

Interior repeats the outer wall treatments inside with *jali* openings on the eastern, western and northern sides and main entry through southern side. Here again the wall is compartmentalized by use of pilasters with arabesque shafts and *muqarna* half capitals. The surfaces are similarly carved in low relief patterns. Transition zone uses interlacement of arches forming octagonal drum and corner squinches with wider *muqarna* details. This transition zone subsequently becomes hexa-decagonal and receives the dome. Inner surface of the dome is plain and does not apply carvings like the wall surfaces. The flushed sides of octagon use openings with *jali* moldings and miniature oriel hanging delicately in the center of the *jali*. These opening let a limited amount of light in the relatively dark interior of the tomb chamber. *Mihrab* is provided outside on the enclosure wall and unlike other domed chambers is therefore absent from the interior. The carved graves are placed on a platform in the center of the tomb but one observes presence of grave cenotaphs on the northeast corner of the enclosure area also. These may be later inclusions from / by family members of Isa Tarkhan II. The tomb remains in a good condition.

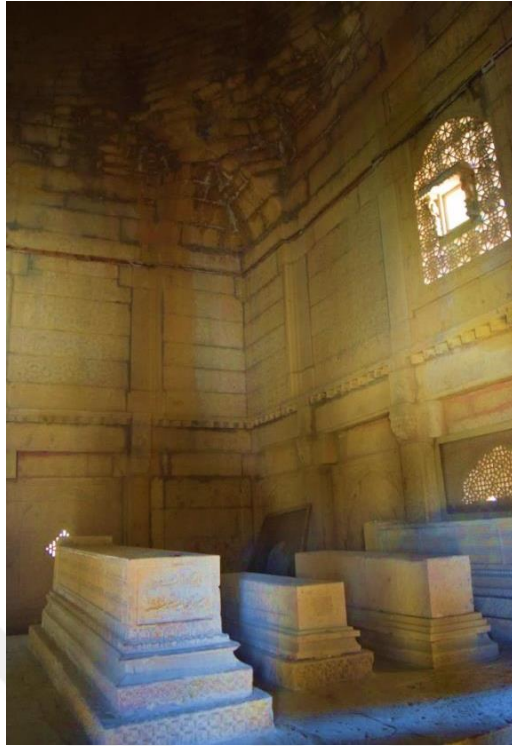


Figure 27: Interior of the tomb showing stone grave cenotaphs – wall surfaces and corner squinches, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.

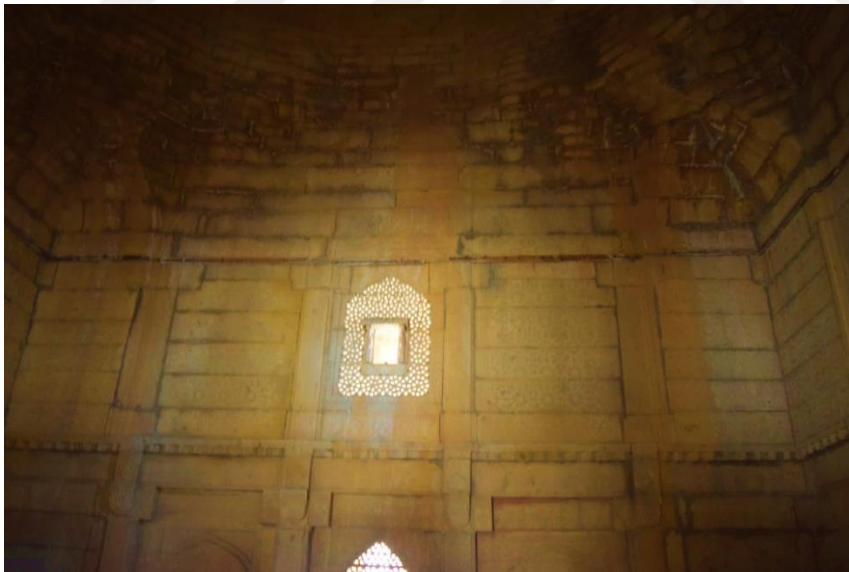


Figure 28: Interior of the tomb showing wall surfaces, corner squinches, *muqarna* detail and springing of the dome, Tomb of Isa Tarkhan II.

3.2.3:- Kaus Sultani: ²¹⁵

Kaus Sultani's tomb comes from the brick built repository of Makli and belongs to Samma period built somewhere around 1513 CE. The sources referred are relatively silent on the whereabouts of the deceased and the patron but the tomb merits high on Samma brick built edifices, in my opinion. Brick tombs of Samma period appear ingenuous compared to later period tombs. Although inherently being domed square chambers one finds a variety of design and decorative schemes. Brick tombs employ true arch system of construction but the domes remain partially or minimally intact as in Kaus Sultani and completely missing in other cases. A cautious deployment of structural system is observed with double squinches that in some cases reach the base of the tomb. This indicates masons uncertainty while using arcuate structural system. One can ascertain inexperience of Samma builders with arcuate technique and reservations that come to fore in precautionary measures taken like the double squinches to support the dome. Nevertheless the technical and aesthetic merit of these tombs cannot be dispelled as these instances become potent with possibilities and a high degree of experimentation is observed here.

Kaus Sultani is built in the later Samma period and is located toward south west of the main Samma cluster, in a relatively isolated setting.

3.2.3.1 Plan:

The plan uses the domed square design scheme and a small square stairwell jutting out from the north east corner. Dimensions are given at 33'*33' for the chamber and 10'* 10' stairwell in the sources. The added stairwell sets the tomb apart from other brick tombs of Samma period. This does not mean the rest of the brick ensembles followed a standard scheme. Makli ensembles are anything but standard much to the chagrin of colonial historians. The condition of the tomb appears rundown especially

²¹⁵ The summary of basic information on the tomb is prepared from, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. [Pg. 54-57] Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. [Pg. 79]

with the collapsed dome but it retains enough materiality to inform the visitors of its design and decorative program. The openings are set on three sides that are east, north, and south with west wall housing the *mihrab* niche. Eastern wall is lengthened by the stair well to 10 plus feet with northern wall accommodating the offset in the corner. West wall has *mihrab* depression jutting out from the exterior. The square base converts to octagon and hexa-decagon that received the dome that is almost entirely collapsed. One can speculate that the dome had herringbone brick courses like the Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan but not enough of it remains to draw a firm conclusion.

3.2.3.2 Elevations:

The elevations of the tomb take precedence from the earlier built brick tombs and appear battered but the angle of inclination is almost unreadable. Based on the amount of ornamentation used on the southern façade this may have worked as the primary opening with access provided from east and north sides as well. The tomb marries the brick and stone aesthetics. One encounters the use of plaster where ever the brick work has retained it. Interior holds the plaster better than the exterior. Here like the tomb of Malik Rajbal (S. No. 3 in the list of tombs) stone masonry is used up to the dado level. Brick lining is applied to form vertical panels on all four elevations. These linings slightly projecting from the wall surfaces used carved geometric motifs on plaster (stucco work). Mostly variations of diamond and square shape are observed covering the entire length of the linings. This aesthetical device of applying carving on plaster has been observed in earlier brick tombs as well. Tile work on the other hand is missing and appears only with later Tarkhan and Mughal period brick tombs. The reason for covering brick surface with plaster might lie with the workmanship or quality of the bricks used. The exposed brickwork due to missing plaster today, although does not appear insalubrious. Use of plaster gave much room to the masons and carvers to apply motifs on the surface not discrediting the attempts to achieve patterns via brick lying. They were able to achieve *muqarnas* and honey comb moldings on the brick surfaces that were later plastered and rendered smooth.



Figure 29: South Elevation the most ornamented of the four, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 30: North Elevation with projecting stair well, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 31: East Elevation with the adjoining stair well, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 32: West Elevation with *mihrab* projection, Kaus Sultani.

Brick and plaster were exploited as much the expertise of Samma builders allowed and their hold over stone carving for ornamentation is convincingly displayed in the tomb. The use of dentils achieved through brick courses is observed before the parapet separating the tomb chamber from the drum behind it. Dentils also appear at the springing of the dome not much of which remains today.

The treatment above the stone dado of the walls concentrates around the openings centrally placed at each wall barring the western wall. The southern elevation is the most ornamented and displays use of stone jambs, lintels and architraves wrapping the entrance. The stone is carved with floral and geometric patterns and the architrave projects outward on brackets. Calligraphic band appears along with the architrave ensemble. The threshold on the south elevation uses moonstone similar to Jam Nizam al Dins tomb. The pointed arch opening is broken by architrave that separates the tympanum from the area below. Flanking the opening are arched niches having half *muqarna* domes, topped with a set of niches with honey comb moldings and having miniature oriel at the bottom. The opening receives its own set of tripartite niches above using pointed arch but only one remains.

Eastern elevation having similar five panels achieved through brick linings has opening in the middle but here a relative simplicity is witnessed with only a stone lintel provided at the opening. Similar flanking niches topped with three honey comb niches are present but the oriel; moonstone and stone jambs etc. are missing. The treatment of the half dome of flanking niches here uses ribbed pattern opposed to *muqarna* pattern. Eastern elevation has an extra opening leading to the stair well. This is a relatively shorter opening with plain stone jambs and lintels and arched openings above the door way to let the light in. The stair well has its own set of linings continuing the overall elevation program. Northern elevation becomes increasingly simple with only a carved stone lintel and a set of honey combed niches above. Two arched openings appear on the stairwell projection here. Western elevation bears the similar program of honey comb moldings flanking *mihrab* projection whereas the projection itself receives an arched niche with a probable half dome that seems worn out today. The *mihrab* projection probably applied a sort of

corbelled carving on plaster but not much of it remains to ascertain the overall pattern program.

The zone of transition is not clearly visible from outside but a high octagonal drum is apparent with openings on four sides aligning with the door openings below. Dentils like the parapet appear on the springing on the dome separating drum from the body of dome. It can be inferred that the dome was similarly plastered as the walls. Dome of tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan retains traces of plaster therefore the assumption holds some weight. The collapse of dome is unfortunate as much depends on speculations rather than actual material evidence from the tomb.

3.2.3.3 Interior:

The interior of the tomb houses two graves on a slightly raised platform in the center. One of them is in a ruinous state and the other in a fairly good condition displaying heavy stone carvings and calligraphy. The remnants of brick plaster in the interior are more remarkable than the exterior and one observes carving patterns around *mihrab* niche, lining the squinches and cornice moldings around the drum and springing of the dome. These moldings accentuate the features of the interior and the otherwise virtually bare walls. Structurally the double squinches appear above the stone dado with smaller one at the base and corner larger squinch on top of it. The lower squinch uses honeycomb moldings or *muqarnas* and upper squinches are simpler with central plaster molding and semicircular chain accentuating the arch that is repeated on all eight sides of the octagon. The sides flushing with the openings and walls use *muqarna* moldings covered with plaster highlighting the openings from the inside. The hexa-decagon uses the same aesthetic program of minimal plaster moldings.

The focal point in the interior like other tombs is the *mihrab* niche with a chamber at the back. The *mihrab* brings together flanking slender pilaretes carved in stone and having ornamental motifs, diamond patterned plaster moldings above the dado highlighting the *mihrab* and a calligraphic band on top. Above the *mihrab* opening

that employs a pointed arch are similar *muqarna* moldings observed on the elevations. The overall interior has five zones – dado stone base – plastered square with smaller squinches – octagon with larger corner squinches – hexa-decagon zone of transition and the now almost missing dome.



Figure 33: Interior southwest corner of the tomb with *mihrab* niche, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 34: *Muqarna* moldings of the zone of transition, Kaus Sultani.

3.2.4:- Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg: ²¹⁶

Jani Beg coming from Tarkhan lineage became the last of the Tarkhans to rule free from Mughal subservience, he died in 1601 CE. His son Ghazi Beg who died in 1612 CE is probably buried in the same tomb and was the governor of Thatta under the Mughals. Dani and Hasan are of the view that the tomb belongs to Jani Beg and do not mention Ghazi beg while discussing the edifice in the books.²¹⁷ The booklet prepared by Heritage foundation from which the list of monuments has been extracted refers to both Jani and Ghazi Beg while mentioning the tomb.²¹⁸ It is an enclosure type tomb much like the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II but built in brick as the main construction material.

²¹⁶ The summary of basic information on the tomb is prepared from, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. [Pg. 173-174] Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. [Pg. 95-96]

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ *Damage Assessment Mission to the Necropolis of Makli at WHS Thatta, Pakistan*. Survey Report, Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

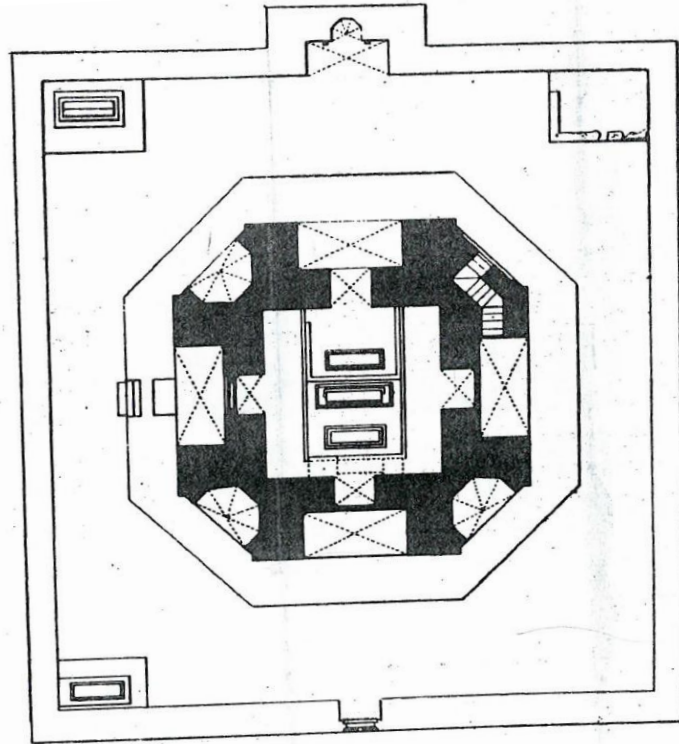


Figure 35: Tomb enclosure of Jani and Ghazi Beg. [Dani 1982 – pg. 171]

3.2.4.1 Enclosure:

The enclosure here is a simple low height stone compound wall marking the boundary of the tomb and giving it a sense of containment. Standing at dimensions of approximately 78' * 72' this enclosure centrally holds the hexagonal tomb with the restored dome on top. At two points the enclosure breaks height and its monotony of stone courses, the main entrance fashioned like a *pishtaq* and the *mihrab* located outside the tomb as was the case with Isa Khan Tarkhan II tomb. The tomb hence becomes bilaterally symmetrical from the east – west axis. The enclosure accommodated an approximately 3' high platform / plinth on which the tomb stands. The main entrance is accentuated by height and application of decorative motifs.



Figure 36: Entrance to the compound - Eastern wall of enclosure, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The opening uses pointed arch but both the tympanum and spandrels are solid. Tympanum uses arabesque with four floral medallions and spandrel employ a denser arabesque pattern with border linings. A floral diamond chain separates the lintel above from the spandrel below itself acting as a secondary lintel. Calligraphic bands wraps around the opening bordered by geometric filigree. This opening ensemble has vertical band of multi-foil mini-arches having floral and geometric details with chain and pin wheel design etc. flanking both the sides but the band on the left remains intact today.

The *mihrab* on the west enclosure wall creates a barrel vaulted *iwan* space with further recess of the *mihrab* niche set at a lower height within the vault. The overall composition is relatively plain and the carving program appears incomplete on the flanking posts. The upper portions of the post have very fine carving details of multiple geometric and floral motifs. The finesse of the incision carvings is remarkable but unfortunately is not carried through the entire post. The recessed wall surface within the vault housing the *mihrab* niche has a floral medallion placed at the cusp of the arch. The surface uses dense arabesque with calligraphic band on top of the *mihrab* recess. Flanking the *mihrab*, are the pilaretes synonymous with the other three tombs discussed coupled with shallow pointed arch recesses with medallions in the center.

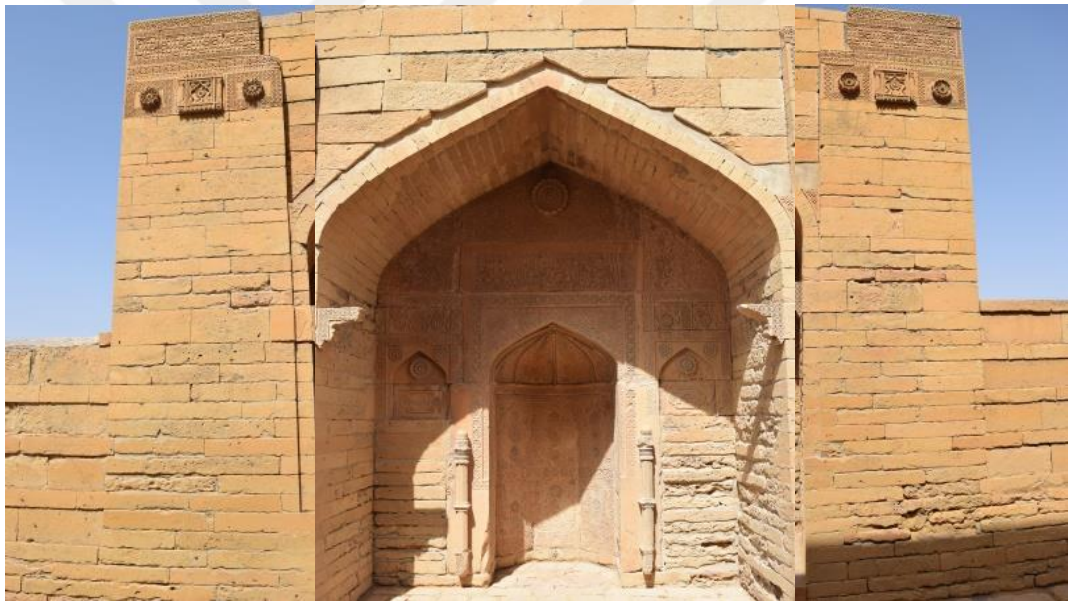


Figure 37: *Mihrab* on west wall of the enclosure, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The *mihrab* niche is topped with a ribbed half dome a small floral pendent in the center highlighting the radial geometry. The pendent has been used extensively in Samma monuments in canopy pavilions. The surface of the *mihrab* uses tripartite multi-foil arches as motif with low relief medallions and infill arabesque. The spandrel of the niche is similarly carved with a thin border wrapping around it.



Figure 38: Close up of *Mihrab* on west wall of the enclosure, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The incisions, high and low relief carvings on this *mihrab* are the finest of all the tombs discussed with respect to their detailing. Since Ghazi Beg at one point had jurisdiction till Qandahar as governor, it appears the wealth accumulated led him to spare no expense on the tomb of his father which later probably housed his remains as well. It seems the time it took to achieve such fine work and the volatile political situation under Mughals after passing of Ghazi Beg lead to incomplete work similar to what one observes in tomb of Jam Nizam al Din in the Samma period. It may also point to the otherwise barren enclosure wall that might have received carved courses if Ghazi Beg was alive. Even with its incomplete look the execution of what made it to the tomb is amongst the finest of stone carvings that appear at Makli.

3.2.4.2 Plan and Elevation:

The plan of the tomb is octagonal departing from the usual domed square chamber (figure 41). Tarkhan and Mughal period witnessed variety in the layout of the tombs where a prototypical domed square is hardly found. Sultan Ibrahim's tomb a little further from said tomb also displays a perfect octagonal plan (no. 17 in the list of monuments). Entering from the eastern side of the enclosure wall the tomb is accessed through the only opening on the southern side. The brick built edifice is perched on a stone plinth almost 3' high accessed via set of steps on the southern side of the platform. The octagonal plan has almost full length deep recesses and alcoves. Alternating between barrel vaulted (south – west – north and east) and half-domed recesses (southwest – southeast and northeast) the tomb appears fairly voluminous. Northwest side accommodates the stair well leading to the roof above and is a flat.

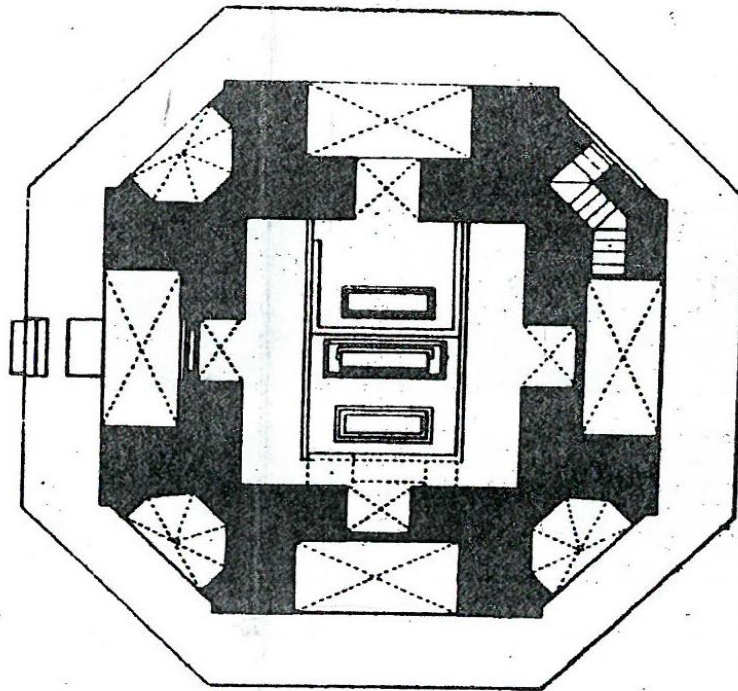


Figure 39: Plan of tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg. [Dani 1982, Pg. 171]

The outside octagon converts to square inside and applies the squinch based structural system to receive the dome on top. The tomb uses the true arch system of construction. From a larger octagon outside to the inner smaller octagon that receives the dome much decorative drama ensues. Three stone carved grave cenotaphs appear inside and two are located outside the tomb abutting the enclosure wall.



Figure 40: View of tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The elevations are treated with multiple materials and decorative program that come together on the wall surfaces. Here the dado level stone work is reduced to skirting level with stone treated corners reaching the dado level. The dado receives tiled panels in light – dark blue and white using a basic hexagonal grid pattern with floral infill details bordered by floral vine patterns. The multiple hues of blues and variety of the motifs create a contrast with monotone stone at the base. The movement of the eye from the dado to the surface of the walls is maintained by using alternate red and

light/dark glazed bricks. Thicker pronounced pointing in white mortar and alternating red brick and glazed brick masonry gives sleek sharper appearance to the overall surface brick work. The eight vaulted sides are emphasized by using dark blue glazed bricks as opposed to lighter hue of blue on the wall surfaces.

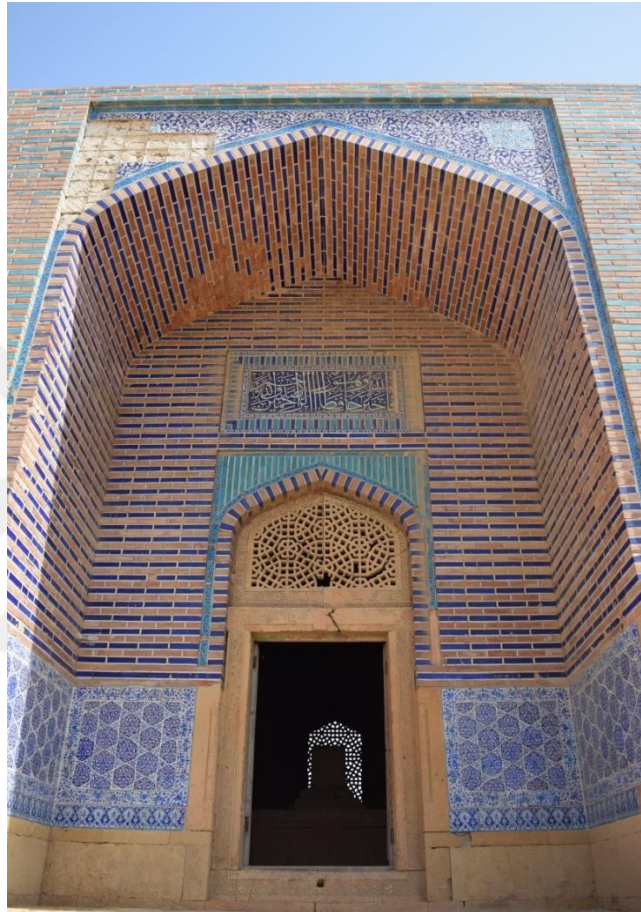


Figure 41: Entrance to the tomb chamber on southern side,
Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The main entrance toward south having a barrel vault applies tile work over the spandrel and uses arabesque in white on a dark blue background. The main opening is rectangular with a pointed arched tympanum separated by a lintel on top. The entire entrance assemblage is of stone. Tympanum uses a stone carved screen with hexagonal grid pattern. The stone corner detail similar to dado receives pilaretes here to mark the entrance. Above the entrance is a wide tiled calligraphic inscription. Here

again contrast of blue color is applied with light blue glazed brick vertical bands over the spandrels of entrance. Similar dialogue of tiled and stone patterns is created on the east – west and north sides where the opening is substituted with full length screen of the same design as entrance.



Figure 42: Southeastern corner alcove, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The corner alcoves carry forward the scheme of wall decoration in dark blue glazing in the recesses. Tympanum here has tile work arranged in vertical bands in white and dark blue color with floral pattern. The probability of a calligraphic band above the alcove is high but it is difficult to ascertain as the tile work does not remain. The otherwise simpler alcove applies lobed square motif on the narrower ends of the wedges forming the half dome. Light blue color contrast with the dark blue glazing of the surface.

The restored dome in cement is painted white from the outside and appears to be a *muqarna* or coffered dome if the restoration remained true to the original scheme of dome construction (figure 42). There is a possibility of a double shell or skin dome but the scholars referred do not point to the tomb having double skin or shell dome with certainty merely suggesting it. The elevations in brick and glazed tiles with the surrounding monochromatic enclosure wall create a complimentary dichotomy in the overall visual reading of the tomb.

3.2.4.3 Interior:

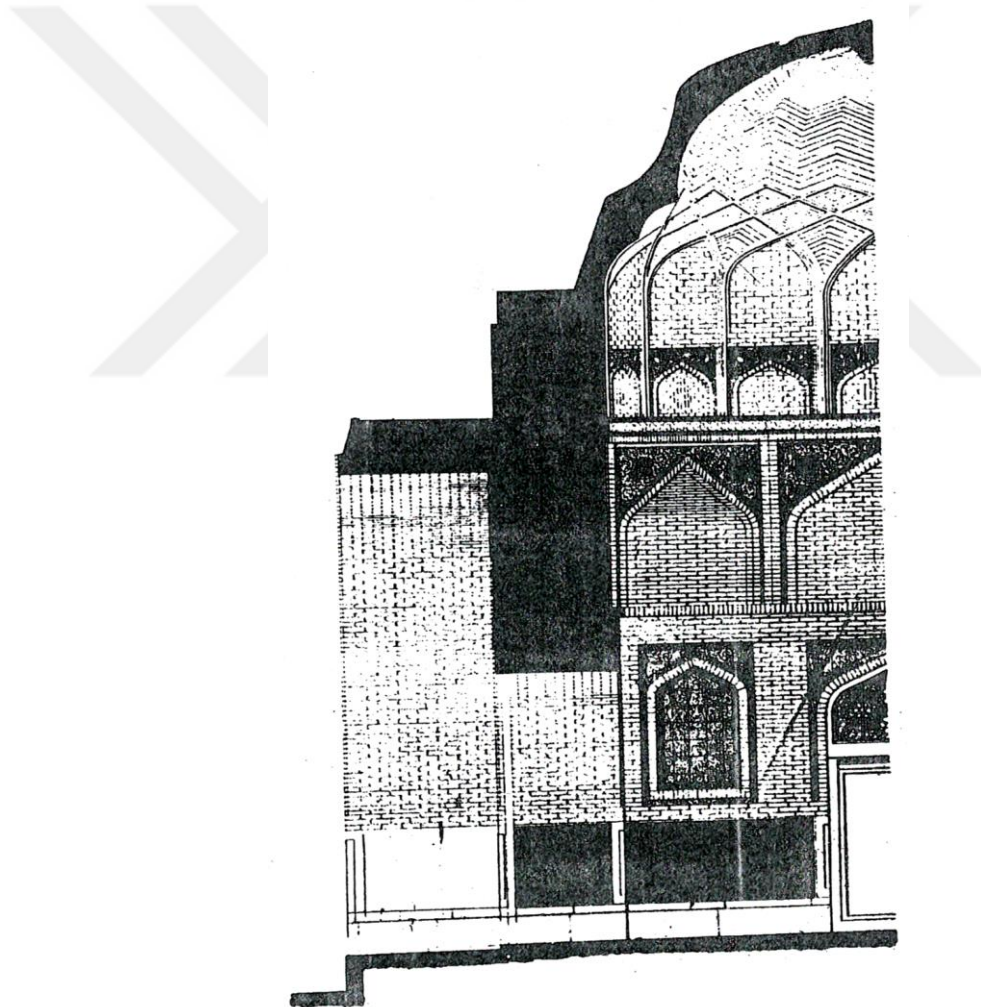


Figure 43: Section of tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg. [Dani 1982, Pg. 168]

The same program of surface decoration, color combinations and use of material is carried inside the tomb till the dado level. The area above the dado and below the zone of transition uses arched panels with lobed curvilinear pattern having floral infill. These panels are formed of tiles with light/dark blue and white color and the tympanum uses arabesque. The panels are flanked on both side of the screen openings and the entrance to the tomb. Here similar scheme of alternate light and dark blue glazed bricks is used with red brick and thick white pointing. Basic division of the wall surfaces in the interior is tripartite the screened entrances with the barrel vaults outside in the middle barring the southern side that is the entrance. Flanking this unit are arched panels on both sides above the dado below the lining of zone of transition. The scheme is consistent and brings coherence to the entire program.



Figure 44: Interior showing side panels – corner squinch - screened opening and grave cenotaphs, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The zone of transition uses squinches at the corners converting the square interior into the octagon. The glazed tiles in this zone are dark blue opposed to the lighter blue glazing of the walls below. The theatrics unfold above the hexa-decagon with radiating interlacement of arches on the drum to situate the dome. The sixteen sided arcade above the octagon generate *muqarna* like interlaced - ribbed pattern similar to tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan's II tomb. This treatment is a later introduction in the zone of transition and is absent from the Samma brick tombs. The radial nature of interlacement on a shell structure creates a movement toward the dome on the top that in many cases use extensive tile, stucco or other decorative work celebrating the radial geometry. The collapsed dome has a plain cemented surface a far cry from how the masons and artisan of Jani and Ghazi Beg may have treated it, in my opinion. The section drawing in figure-45 strongly suggests a chevron /herringbone treatment of the brick courses respecting the interlacement pattern. . Domes in both Dewan Shurfa Khan's tomb and Mirza Baqi Beg's enclosure (no. 30 and 31 in the list of monuments) use herringbone pattern and the Samma period brick tombs also tried hands with herringbone design. It can be safe to assume that herringbone was the pattern used here as well. The herringbone courses may have alternated between glazed and red brick as the overall masonry work.

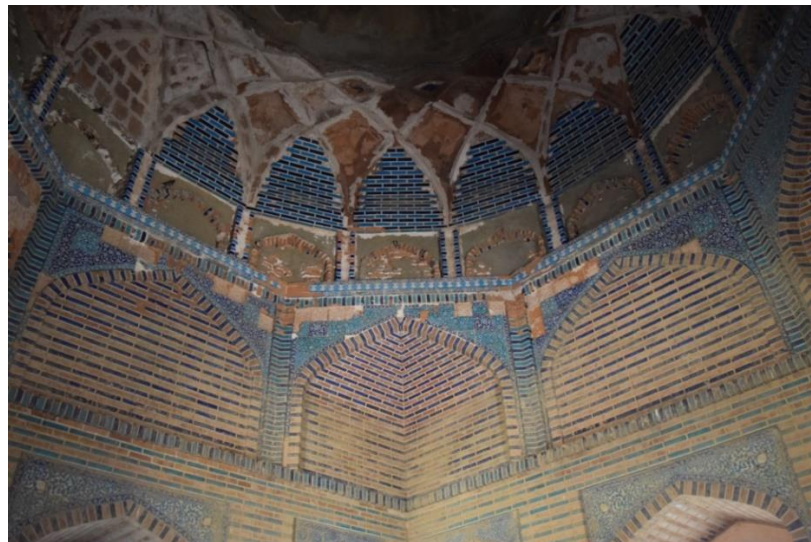


Figure 45: Zone of transition – corner squinch – hexa-decagon arcade and interlacements above, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.



Figure 46 Dialogue between and brick – grave cenotaphs – stone screens and brick wall surface, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

The dialogue between brick and stone that was created outside between the tomb and enclosure wall is repeated in the interior. The stone grave cenotaphs placed on a high stone pedestal inside the tomb applying extensive carvings, stone screens and corner stone detailing all come together here to create the complimentary dichotomy of materials in this otherwise brick faced tile decorated interior. Tomb of Mirza Jani and Ghazi Beg Tarkhan the last of the four selected tombs does not disappoint considering the plurality of Makli.

3.3: CONCLUDING REMARKS:

The chapter put forth the criteria for selection of monuments. The selection, from the enumerated 40 tombs in the list of monuments presented in the chapter, is imperative to the dissertation. Selecting tombs that dismantle the canons and discourses with the historiographical tendencies of today is what takes the encounter narrative forward. As has been maintained almost the entire funerary assemblage at the site of Makli,

the cacophony for some and euphony for others, dispels canon and engenders plurality. This makes the selection criteria futile, one can assert, but it was imperative for the purpose of containing the analysis and to maintain hold over the analysis presented in the following chapter. The four selected tombs are discussed in detail in this chapter bringing to fore their design, layouts, elevations and decorative program. The analysis chapter will continue the stone and brick division and the four selected tombs will be discussed respective to their major material of construction. The analysis in the forthcoming chapter however does not overlook the non-selected tombs and put them aside. The entire repository of stone and brick built edifices will be engaged with from reference point of the selected tombs. This will make the analysis comprehensive in my opinion crediting the entire site for its design, material, structural and ornamental merits. The forthcoming chapter presents the analysis of the henceforth selected monuments.

CHAPTER 4

EXAMINING SEPULCHER BRICOLAGE AT MAKLI: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED TOMBS

The sepulcher remains selected from the assortment of tombs at Makli are examined here in the chapter. This examination or analysis goes beyond the basic information provided in the preceding chapter and attempts to unfold the encounter paradigm that has been discussed earlier. The premise of this analysis bases itself on the historiography debates that are presented earlier. It stresses on situating lower Sindh and Makli with in the corpus of regional sultanate and (later) provincial Mughal variegated architectural heritage. Sultanate architectural history received limited space in the Indo-Islamic surveys and it was curtailed to fit in the pre –Mughal category. Within this already reduced approach the regional architectural variants that departed from Delhi, the imperial sultanate building corpus, were further abridged. Grouped under regional or provincial styles of Deccan, Sindh/Punjab, and Gujarat etc. these regional variants resonated with surveys produced under colonial rule by English writers and scholars.²¹⁹ It is safe to infer here that, in ways the later writings produced were adhering to and working as extensions of colonial scholarship, since the categorization under styles and taxonomy prevailed. Also the pre Mughal treatment of the sultanate architecture similarly retained a colonial residue. The colonial bemoaning, when it comes to Makli having Hindu elements and lesser monumentality compared to the rest of subcontinent, was later

²¹⁹ For example, Khan, Ahmad Nabi. *Islamic Architecture in South Asia: Pakistan - India - Bangladesh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. Alfieri, Bianca Maria. *Islamic Architecture of the Indian SubContinent*. London: Laurence King Publishing, 2000. For colonial writings, Fergusson, James. *Hisotry of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume II*. Edited by James Burgess. London, 1910. Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*. 3rd. Bombay (Mumbai): D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1981 (1956).

supplemented with nationalistic tendencies and celebrated. The newly founded state can now boast Islamic architecture of its own and Makli served as feather in the crown being declared a world heritage site by UNESCO in 1981.²²⁰ Reading Makli through the limited scope of colonial and/or post-Independence writings denies the site its true potential in my opinion. The nationalistic writings celebrated the site and it is worth celebrating for its architectural merit. Where these writings, although immense contribution to scholarship, fell short for the author were categorization under taxonomic model and insistence on dubbing them as “Islamic” architectural heritage. Does architecture have religion is another debate altogether but the term Islamic generate a kind of visual echo that tilts to Central Asia and Persia more than subcontinent and its brick and lithic pre Muslim architecture.²²¹

Domes and minarets dominate our imaginary of Islamic architecture, as geometry, flowers, leaves, and calligraphy evokes Islamically compliant decorations. Yet many mosques across Asia embody different referents: many of the oldest mosques in China look like pagodas – from the Huaisheng Mosque in Guangzhou, which is claimed to date to 627, to the Grand Mosque in Xián, built in the early Ming era, and several Sufi shrines that dot Linxia’s ‘Little Mecca’; this style even passed on to Chinese Muslim diasporas in Southeast Asia, as evident in the Panthay mosque built in Mandalay in 1868.²²²

Discussing mosques Formici presents a similar predicament with respect to China where mosques followed the local architectural precedence and look like pagodas. An enterprise of appropriating and repurposing existing architectural practice to the ritualistic requirements of Islam for example in mosques etc. transpired in newly

²²⁰ Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

²²¹ This visual echo can be understood if one refers to the countless Islamic architectural survey books. Surveys as has been stressed multiple times in the dissertation come with their own baggage of redcutivity and teleological approach. Refer for example Sheila S Blair, Jonathan M Bloom. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*. Yale University Press, 1995. Jonathan M Bloom, Sheila S. Blair. *Islamic Arts*. New York: Phaidon Press, 1997. Hillenbrand, Robert. *Islamic Architecture: Form Function and Meaning*. Cairo: American University Press, 2000. Jairazbhoy, R. A. *An Outline of Islamic Architecture*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

²²² Formici, Chiara. *Islam and Asia: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. [Pg. 54]

acquired geographies, as Islam spread. The phenomena was not endemic to Asia argues Formici, but was a pervasive one. The circumstances of these appropriations nevertheless varied from region to region as accommodating a new ritualistic idea into existing practice depended both on the existing and new; and where and how the translations and equivalences can happen. These equivalences in multiple fields, literary and otherwise, with respect to South Asia have been discussed earlier in the dissertation (section 2.1).²²³ In case of Makli appreciation of local pre Muslim heritage and the apparent resonance with Central Asian and Persian architecture were both present but somehow the writings by local historians remained lopsided, indulging and engaging with the latter more than former, as per my observation.²²⁴

Makli is a site that has the potential to place any writer / scholar in a conundrum by virtue of its plurality. In my opinion, it is difficult site to deliberate upon, unless one is open to multiple points of views to evaluate its architecture. The conundrum reverberates with the vexation author felt whilst studying the site in the early days of research as the tools to study came from the training of reading architecture under a canon and stylistic categorization. It was shedding of the canon and looking beyond style that helped understand site on its own terms and for its own potentials. Makli disqualifies if the gaze is kept old school, i.e. taxonomic, and trying to fit it into any reductive canon is a severe scholarly injustice, in my opinion. The versatility of the site equips one with tools to read the site from myriad referential points from Central Asian precedence to local agencies giving 'a' as compared to 'the' history of architecture. Elements from various sources Gujarat, Kutch, Rajasthan, Imperial

²²³ Chapter 2 section 2.14 elaborates on this for further information refer, Stewart, Tony K. "In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim-Hindu Encounter through Translation Theory." *History of Religions* (The University of Chicago Press) 40, no. 3 (Feb 2001): 260-287. Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000. Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003. Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.

²²⁴ For example refer, Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Khan, Ahmad Nabi. *Islamic Architecture in South Asia: Pakistan - India - Bangladesh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Delhi, Makran and Central Asian regions create euphony at Makli that echoes in its tombs. This however does not discredit lower Sindh's own architectural heritage. It rather addresses a communion of sorts with appropriation, integration, adoption and adaptation of elements within locally present architectural practice, hence an encounter where negotiations and reconciliations foster. For Makli one must keep the possibility of varied referential points open and their encounter is presented in this chapter.

4.1:- LITHIC MONUMENTS IN SIMILITUDE AND CONTRAST - A DIALOGUE:

From the stone repository of tombs at Makli, Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din²²⁵ and Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan the second are selected and their architectural features have already been discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Both these ensembles are built entirely of limestone featuring an array of decorative patterns adorning the surfaces. Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din completed in 1509 CE and Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II in 1646-47 CE were both built almost 150 years apart under different patrons. At the time of construction and completion of the former lower Sindh was under waning Samma rule and threats both internal familial and from the west became recurring. The rushed assembly of southern wall and the missing dome are indicators in stone of the ensuing political situation of the time. A meticulously conceived ensemble appears to have fallen prey to the temporality and shifting political landscape. Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II on the other hand barring a few inconsistencies can be read as whole and comes to us in almost pristine form. This (perhaps) attests to a stable political situation in lower Sindh as by then the ruling stock of Tarkhans, were under Mughal suzerainty working as their governors. Although Isa Khan Tarkhan II, as has been discussed earlier, had a fairly shorter stint at being governor of Thatta and faced mortal threats at one point, but the situation

²²⁵ Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din has been discussed in detail by the author in master's dissertation therefore some arguments and points will be reproduced here. The departure from master's dissertation is questioning style as at that time the author still supported stylistic narratives but did challenge the limited scope of taxonomy. Refer, Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

seemed not as grim as he was able to commission one of the loftiest stone tomb for posterity at Makli. These lithic sepulcher entities share a dialogical relation that exist both in complimentary and contrasting domains, as per my observation. For the author the conversations appearing to be diachronic in nature venture beyond the generic teleological - cause and effect narrative and a linear progression of start-summit-decline. Compared dialogically, in apparent conversation, the two tombs share commonalities that result in formal, structural and decorative contrasts and similitudes in stone. This apparent conversation that happens in stone and mortar, as anticipated by the author, is presented in the following sections.

4.1.1:- A Conversation in Stone – Reading the Form of Lithic Sepulchers:

The basic form both these tombs and all other tombs at Makli have is the domed – square chamber. This form of a cube capped with a dome is one of the most common and prevalent form for funerary structures in the lands dominated by Muslim rulers and patrons.²²⁶ There is no dearth of the same in the regions of present day Pakistan and specimens are available both in brick and stone variety.²²⁷ The proliferation of tombs within the subcontinent makes it one of the important building typology to be studied for development and evolution of architecture in medieval times during the Muslim political domination of the region. Abbreviating these two funerary abodes

²²⁶ The domed square chamber and the tomb towers the “archetypical” forms of tombs have been discussed in detail by the author previously in master’s dissertation along with the inherent symbolic connotations it held for various writers looking for transcendental symbolic meaning into funerary abodes. For example Ardalan and Bakhtiar relate domed-square to cosmic tent with the square connoting earthly domain and dome the cosmos or the world beyond the earthly realm. For further information refer Nadir Ardalan, Laleh Bakhtiar. *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1973. Daneshvari in his book does similar symbolic transcendental readings into the tomb towers the second archetypical tomb type built under muslim patronage. Daneshvari, Abbas. *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran and Turan: An Iconographical Study*. Lexington: Mazda Publishers in Association with Udena Publications, 1986. This dissertation intends to further beyond canon and archetypes therefore abstains from delving into the discussion on these here. Also refer Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

²²⁷ For example refer, Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990.—. *Of Brick and Myth: The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley*. Karachi: Oxford University Press Pakistan, 2015.

to the archetype fit them with in the canon and aligns them with the vast collection of tombs built under Muslim patronage but it is an abbreviation nevertheless. Departing from this archetype both tomb of Jam Nizam and Isa Khan Tarkhan II have formal idiosyncrasies that should be addressed as they are analogous to the pluralistic nature of lower Sindh (refer chapter 2, section 2.3).

Isa Khan Tarkhan's II tomb is placed centrally at the crossing of the axes of four *iwan* enclosure (fig: 24-27). This centrality accentuated by the equidistant *iwans* compositionally elevates the status of the tomb within the enclosure walls. The intersecting axes therefore operate as a visual tool that increment focus on the main tomb chamber expected to be a domed square chamber with its celestial - transcendental symbolism elevating the spirit of the deceased to the heavens above. This expected visual trope is ruptured by presence of a double colonnade wrapped around the tomb cloaking the domed chamber behind (fig 49).



Figure 47: East elevation with colonnaded terrace and barely visible dome of the tomb chamber behind with flanking north and south iwans of the enclosure, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

The four *iwan* plan, having its roots in Persian and Central Asian architecture and a double heighted colonnade coming from local lexicon create a complimentary formal syntax. Colonnaded interiors and exteriors in lithic monuments are part of the larger Gujarat's – Kutch's and Sindh's architectural practice.²²⁸ In terms of appearance the presence of colonnade with four bracketed capitals put Isa Khan's tomb in the ambit of local architecture. The four *iwan* enclosure cannot be overlooked having clear traces of Central Asian – Persian precedence. Although by this time application of four *iwan* type plan is witnessed in Imperial Mughal architecture etc. and has been clearly situated locally.²²⁹ It appears that formally Isa Khan Tarkhan's tomb is challenging the four *iwan* coupled with domed square chamber that could have easily placed it in line with Mughal and Timurid 'style' of architecture, by inserting a double height colonnade around and hiding the lofty dome behind it, Isa Tarkhan's tomb misses fitting the archetype. Looking at it from another perspective provides one with cues to understand that, since Isa Khan Tarkhan II remained stationed in Gujarat and the vicinity in varying capacities throughout his political career under the Mughal rulers, this tomb can perhaps be a result of various impressions provincial Gujarati and imperial architecture made on him. Isa Khan encountered various architectural examples throughout his career that appear to converge in his last resting place. The visual landscape of Gujarat that is fairly lithic in its appearance definitely resonates with the sentiment of Isa Tarkhan's tomb and the presence of colonnade attests to that. The coming of four *iwan* on the very site of Makli ensued when the migrating Arghuns and Tarkhans (coming from Qandahar) settled as rulers of Thatta 1524 CE onward. Before 1524 during Samma rule tombs appear to stand isolated without any compound wall although enclosures were present but they mostly housed grave cenotaphs. Mubarak Khan's familial enclosure is one such example from stone construction.

²²⁸ Patel has extensively discussed the prevalence of Maru-Gurjara style with in these regions especially with reference to stone construction. She places provincial Gujarat, Kutch, Rajasthan and Sindh as regions using this style. For further information refer Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

²²⁹ For example Tomb of Humayun has a four *iwan* enclosure with garden complex between tomb and the enclosure wall. Also Shah Jahani Mosque in Thatta (1659 CE) is a four *iwan* plan.



Figure 48: East elevation of enclosure of Mubarak Khan (1490-1513 CE), Samma period.



Figure 49: Interior of enclosure of Mubarak Khan (1490-1513 CE) housing grave cenotaphs, Samma period.

The use of *mihrab* niche appears on enclosure walls but four *iwan* type enclosures with tombs centrally placed, made an appearance during Tarkhan and Mughal period. Although the earlier enclosures had entrances on the remaining two or three sides and these entrance portals were treated elaborately but the impression given was not four *iwan*. The enclosure walls of the later period also detached the *mihrab* from the tomb chamber and housed them on the western side of the enclosure, resembling the earlier enclosures on the site. This however was a departure from the formal layout practice and is both additive and subtractive in nature. Adding a periphery to the tomb chambers provided them with a sense of bounded-ness but subtraction of *mihrab*, an important architectural feature of the previous tombs, ensued. Almost all the tombs in the later period, four *iwan* enclosure type or otherwise, have *mihrabs* on the outside of the tomb rather than inside. One can infer that a growth or evolution in the layout pattern of the enclosure walls transpired in the later period. Another

important factor to consider is the fluidity of layout patterns that were not adhering to a standard formula. The foot print of the tombs varied. The so called basic typology of sepulcher remains namely - tombs, enclosures, canopies and free standing graves seem to fall apart in closer examination. This does not infer that the site was incoherent but rather plural in nature. A combination of multiple layouts from free standing canopies, canopies on a pedestal with free standing *mihrab* wall, enclosures with tombs – canopies and graves inside, four *iwan* enclosures, free standing pedestals with graves on top, and all the various types in standalone variety can be found on the site. Much variation is observed in the foot prints of tombs that are square or octagonal, tombs having attached stair towers on one of four sides being symmetrical or asymmetrical. The point stressed here is that immense variety formal, material and of layouts, existed at Makli. The site behaves as fairly absorbent and accommodating with respect to the choices of patrons and displaying the expertise as well as limitations of the masons. It provided the patrons coming from ruling or noble stock with liberty to conceive their final resting place as per their wishes. The only limitation they may have encountered was keeping with in the skill-set of the artisans and masons. One can imagine a dialogue between the master mason and the patron of where and how they can reach a consensus, minimizing / optimizing the compromises both on part of the mason and the patron.

Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din appears to be doing something on the similar lines when an arcuate image of a tomb was projected via trabeated system of construction. It stands diametrically opposite to Isa Khan Tarkhan's tomb, as per my observation. It insists on being read as a domed square chamber.²³⁰ But is it really a domed square chamber with arcuate systems in place is a point to ponder upon. Samma masons were well versed in trabeated system of construction and it is this system they applied to generate the domed square chamber with its bracketed transition zone to fulfill wish of the patron. Almost 100 years later under a different set of rulers the masons that have acquired skill in working under arcuate technique were instructed

²³⁰ There are points in the following discussion that are reproduced from master's dissertation for the sake of producing a comparative discussion on the two tombs. Refer Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

to screen the ensemble with trabeated aesthetics.²³¹ Looking back in time a set of different masons and artisan were instructed otherwise, to use their trabeated skill and generate arcuate aesthetics.



Figure 50: View of north and south walls of Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din having canopy pavilion of Jam Tamachi on the left.

Rationale for the form of the tomb cannot be ascertained with authority but multiple brick examples of the same form existed on site as well as in the Indus valley however, the square tomb in stone at Makli during Samma period is unique to Jam Nizam only. The parting from the apparent established practice of Samma times of stone canopies, pedestals and enclosures and choosing stone rather than brick to

²³¹ Use of trabeated system to generate arcuate forms by corbelling etc. was a phenomenon that came to South Asia while the Ghurid Mamluks in early 13th century settled in Delhi. Quwwat ul Islam Mosque early 13th century construction commissioned by Qutbuddin Aibak in Delhi registers one of the earliest displays of this phenomenon. In the mosque that employs lithic trabeate construction a corbelled arcuate screen has been discussed by scholars like Welch and Flood. The intent of that screen can be read on similar lines as the placement of colonnade by Isa Tarkhan II on his tomb. Where the earlier Muslim patrons tried to garner an arcuate semblance for the structure a few centuries later in the Southern extreme of the region a patron decided to do the opposite – hiding the arcuate construction. Refer Flood, Finbarr Barry, ed. *Piety and Politics in the Early Indian Mosque*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2008. Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. Anthony Welch, Hussein Keshani, Alexandra Bain. "Epigraphs, Scripture, and Architecture in the Early Delhi Sultanate." *Muqarnas* (Brill) 19 (2002): 12-43.

construct a square tomb may point to the material preference of stone for royal tombs as Edwards speculates.²³² Edwards suggests that there can be a material based distinction when it came to royal and noble tombs with former built of stone and latter from brick. Whatever may be the reason for choosing stone for a square tomb building, it is clear from the existing remains on the site that Jam Nizam's funerary abode stand as the only example from Samma time built entirely in stone emulating the existing brick tombs in its formal countenance. The reasons for the said form may have come from existing precedence of domed squares built in brick not just on the site but from the larger corpus of funerary buildings existing in the region.²³³ The intent may have been to align with the larger geography and the material choice may have been personal to the patron. Although similar stone abodes in both brick and stone are found in earlier and contemporary Buddhist and Hindu remains of the region.²³⁴ These Buddhist and Hindu temples etc. cannot be dismissed as precedence and both Edwards and Patel make a strong case for borrowings from local building corpus despite the religious association of the buildings and patrons. Patel stresses on application of local building practices used inclusively for varied clients coming from diverse religious backgrounds.²³⁵ In terms of materials as well, the availability mattered and although stone is visually pervasive but a strong case for brick construction can also be made. In my opinion both brick and stone were applied as per availability and probably stone was preferred where both the materials were readily available at least for buildings of religious nature. There is no hard and fast rule that can be ascertained this is apparent at Makli where both materials come to

²³² Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid. Also refer Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

²³⁵ By "diverse religious backgrounds" it is meant that neither the 'Hindu' nor the 'Muslim' were singular, monolithic and immutable entities. The religions practiced in the subcontinent both before and after Muslim rule were fairly dynamic with multiple sectarian dimensions. Similarly the Islam that was followed had dynamism and multiplicity of its own. This has been sporadically discussed in chapter 3.

fore in construction. Antecedent, contemporary and subsequent building practices from both east (Gujarat - Kutch) and west (Baluchistan – Central Asia / Persia) had a role to play in the formal conception of funerary remains at Makli, in my opinion.

The *jharoka* or oriel added to the crystalline cube (figure 20-21 & 52) of Jam Nizam's tomb is another unique feature on display. Presence of miniature *jharoka* both blind and as openings for decorative purposes was common at Makli and the larger geographic region to the east of lower Sindh. This feature creates a complimentary relationship when compared to Isa Khan's tomb analogous to the visual ambiguity the colonnade creates. If read via lens of taxonomy these two features stand as anomalies where pure "Islamic" forms were "corrupted" by application of local and on top of that "Hindu" architectural features. If examined aesthetically both these features add to the overall morphology and decorative program of the ensembles. These so called digressions remained consistent on the site no matter the time period and the patron. Trying to fit the two tombs into "Muslim" – "Hindu" and/or "Islamic" – "Indic" categories will require overlooking one category in favor of the other. The nature of lower Sindh and the subcontinent was such that it remained open to multiple cues for exchange of ideas in cultural realm and architecture was not divorced from that concept. This is how the site dictates plurality that it allows a patron to integrate a four *iwan* arcuate domed square chamber with a colonnaded ensemble and some 100 years or so earlier it also allowed another patron to create an arcuate imagery from post and lintel means of construction with a full scale oriel. The form of these tombs can be read as 'trabeated but audaciously arcuate' in case of Jam Nizam's tomb and 'arcuate but flamboyantly trabeated' in case of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

4.1.2:- Etchings in Stone – Examining Lithic Decorative Jargon:

As the two tombs swing between contrast and similitude when it come to their form, similar contrasting and complimentary subtleties can be observed in the decorative program they venture to apply. Isa Tarkhan's II tomb fuses the local decorative

jargon with arabesque floral and geometric grid patterns.²³⁶ Jam Nizam's tomb however takes motifs and features from the larger Gujarat, Kutch and Rajasthan nexus.²³⁷



Figure 51: Arabesque details of the column with four bracketed *muqarna* capitals, Colonnade of Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II

²³⁶ These arabesques and grid patterns are synonymous to the Central Asian precedence and are a forte of decoration called Islamic. These decorative patterns do grow and evolve into immense varieties under the patronage and in lands dominated by Muslim rulers.

²³⁷ These areas are read as separate geographic entities due to present political status of the region but in the medieval times as well they remained separate polities both during sultanate as well as Mughal period. The boundaries however were fairly porous and shifting. Sindh as a separate sultanate polity and Mughal province shared architectural synonymity with regions to the east. It was stressed by the author in master's thesis as well as asserted here that this region of Gujarat-Kutch-Sindh and Rajasthan (to an extent) worked in tandem and shared architectural similarities although remaining separate polities. There have been countless stories of Samma and later Tarkhan rulers taking refuge in Kutch region due to internal political rifts. Not only were Samma related to nobility in Kutch and Gujarat, Isa Tarkhan II had maternal relatives in the area and while saving his life from Jani Beg he fled to the Kutch for refuge. Therefore it is difficult to separate these at least when it comes to architecture and aesthetical references. Refer Qani, Mir Ali Sher. *Makli Namo (Sindhi)*. Edited by Hassam-Uddin Rashidi. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2010. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012. Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.



Figure 52: Stone screen above the entrance of tomb chamber employing hexagonal or six pointed star grid and the soffit of the colonnaded terrace using modulation of lotus flower roundel, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.



Figure 53: Corner visual of the four bracketed capitals and post and lintel arabesque moldings, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

The geometric grid patterns and arabesque appear at the site of Makli with the coming of Arghuns and Tarkhans. They were hailing from Central Asia and associating these patterns with the west which migrated to the east in Sindh is not implausible. The absence of these motifs from the Samma tombs also supports the argument that these were westward importations. As the patrons from Arghun and Tarkhan stock settled; at the same time decorative vocabulary situated itself firmly in

the region. The question however arise whether the local motif magazines and decorative elements were altogether discarded or integrated with the ‘new’. The soffits in figures 54 and 55 of Isa Khan’s tomb invalidate the discarding and support the integration. Decorating soffits and ceiling panels with floral motifs mostly lotus roundels full bloom or in a grid, is a consistent feature of the site. Application of four bracketed capitals on columns was prevalent earlier on the site and is coming from local jargon although the *muqarna* decoration is later.



Figure 54: Slab above the opening with full bloom lotus and lotus vine details, Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din.



Figure 55: Four bracketed capital, Canopy of Jam Tamachi.



Figure 56: Miniature oriels on main entrance *pishtaq* – close up, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan.

Isa Khan Tarkhan's II tomb utilizes other decorative elements like projecting miniature oriels, lotus/floral roundels on tympanums, pilaretes accentuating the *mihrab* and filler checkered moldings etc. that were continuation of earlier decorative practices. These moldings and motifs appear on earlier Samma stone ensembles and can be observed on Jam Nizam's tomb.



Figure 57: Miniature oriel in the interior - zone of transition, Tomb of Jam Nizam.



Figure 58: Miniature oriel in the interior perched in the middle of pointed arched opening with a stone screen having six pointed star geometric grid pattern, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.



Figure 59: *Mihrab* with pilaretes, Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din.



Figure 60: *Mihrab* with pilaretes, Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II.

There was therefore a definite continuation of aesthetic idiom and retention of prior practices. Arabesque and geometric grid patterns hence became part of the existing body of carving patterns and decorative elements. Much from the past was adapted and at times directly borrowed in case of pilaretes and miniature oriels. Carvings however become low relief compared to high relief carvings of Samma times. It appears that there was an adaptation and also an acceptance of local elemental jargon in the Tarkhan aesthetic sentiments. Samma coming from the local stock might not have faced the problem with local elements. For them making true arches etc. pandering to the growing new architectural idiom in the subcontinent may have been the challenge. This aesthetic sentiment adapted by Tarkhans was at the same expanded with elements which Arghuns and Tarkhans brought with them. Tomb buildings, barring graves and enclosures, during Arghun period appear less in number in comparison and it takes flight with Tarkhans coming to power especially under the Mughal governorship. There is a possibility that during this time of relative lesser building activity the local masons and artisans experimented and adapted to the aesthetic requirements of the patrons. Looking at unknown Arghun enclosures

and early Tarkhan ensembles in stone this becomes clear. The possibility of a stock of artisans and masons in the retinue of Arghuns and Tarkhans cannot be overlooked. The subsequent work during the later period on the site may have been a result of local and migrating artisans learning from each other expanding their relative expertise and working in collaboration.



Figure 61: The use of pilaretes lotus roundels, lotus vines, and arabesque panels can be observed here in the western *mihrab* wall, Tomb enclosure of Isa Khan Tarkhan I 1572 CE – Tarkhan Period.

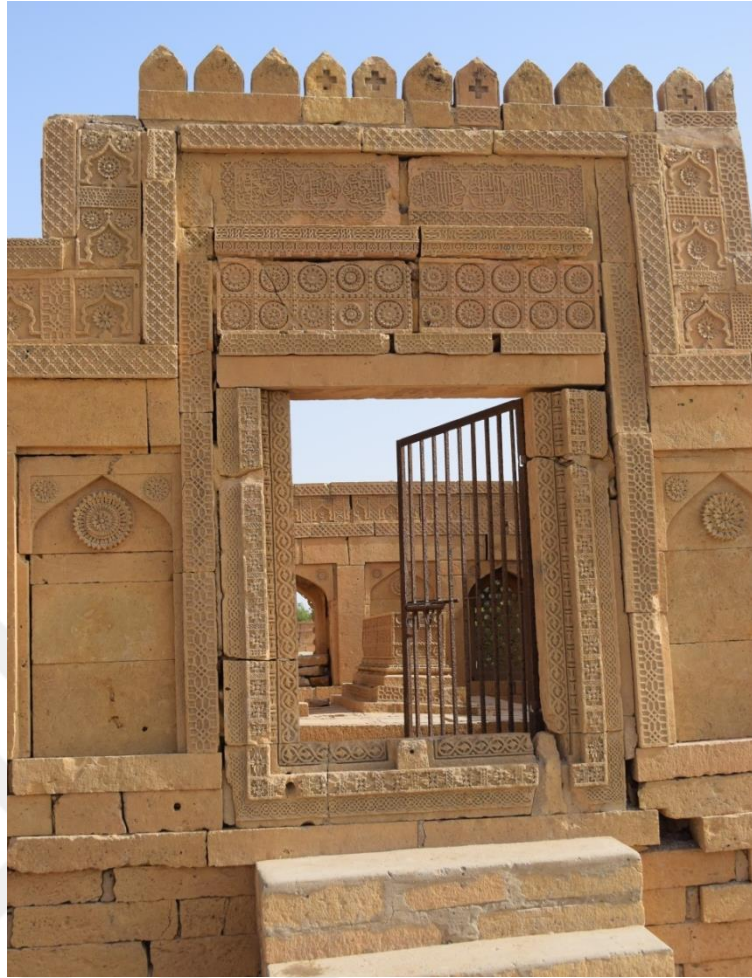


Figure 62: The battlements, lotus roundels, lotus vines, multi-foil miniature arcade with floral roundels and other synonymous filler motifs are visible at this entrance, Tomb enclosure of Habshad Bai 1586-1592 CE – Tarkhan Period.

The above figures from the early Tarkhan enclosures attest to the continuation of decorative patterns and motifs here one also observes use of both low and high relief carvings that appear in Isa Tarkhan's –I enclosure. The arabesque patterns are in low relief whereas the lotus vines and roundels are in relatively high relief along with the pilaretes flanking the *mihrab* (fig 63). Another element that displays longevity is the moonstone a semi-circular or circular step at the threshold of the tombs and enclosures.²³⁸ This step appears in range of carving patterns from fairly elaborate to

²³⁸ Moonstone called *sadakanda pahana* comes from Sinhalese architecture and is found in Buddhist temples. If one closely observes the Samma period's contemporary architecture in neighboring Gujarat, who as per Patel were designing under Maru- Gurjara style or idiom itself an evolution of Maha Maru and Maha Gurjara styles, the resonance appears strong between Sindh's and Gujarat's

very basic and unadorned variety in almost all Samma tombs including Tomb of Jam Nizam. Missing from the tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II there are however other, but not all, tombs of later period that carry the moonstone in relatively simple or non-ornate variety.

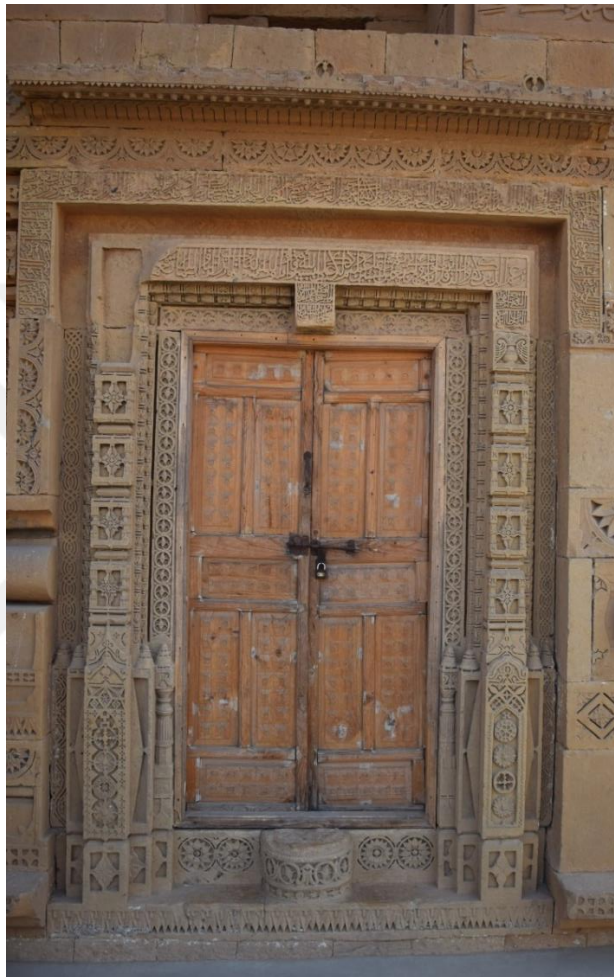


Figure 63: Western entrance with moonstone step at the threshold, Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din.

architecture. The use of style is debatable but it supports author's assumption that Gujarat - Kutch - Sindh and Rajasthan shared porous boundaries and architectural similarities. Moonstone the kind seen in Samma tomb in fact the entire entrance portal resembles Gujarati idiom and this threshold assembly is called *udumbara*. Refer Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. [pg. 173]. Also for moonstone and its application on Samma tombs refer Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.



Figure 64: Non ornate variety of moonstone step at the threshold, unknown enclosure with tracery/ *jali* pattern – Arghun period.



Figure 65: Non-ornate and relatively smaller moonstone step at the threshold of Tomb of Amir Sultan Mohammad 1556 CE – Tarkhan period.



Figure 66: Semicircular ornate moonstone at threshold of Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim
1585 CE– Tarkhan Period

The continuation of decorative elements and carving patterns albeit with modification and expansion of the repository of patterns and motifs resonates with the polyglot nature of Sindh. Burton was critical of the quality and purity of Arabic and Persian spoken in Sindh and a similar reservation Cousens expressed with the architecture the land produced.²³⁹ These reservations however were a result of a certain way of examining architecture - a study that dwells on periodization and categorization. Aesthetic canons that were painstakingly charted out and demarcated left little room for anomalies and digression, provided they were anomalies and digressions to begin with, although measuring via yardstick of the canon they fit the bill. Periodization also suppressed the idea of continuity as it indicated departures and clear cuts. One period ended and another began and the study of new and old relative to each other was overlooked. Makli having a continued building activity for almost 400 years considering the above presented set of elements and motifs makes a strong case for continuity and expansion of the decorative corpus. This challenges not just the colonial scholarship but also canonization and supports encounter of various formal, aesthetic and structural techniques that came together to generate a

²³⁹ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851. Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

final resting place for the patron and his extended family. The resultant ensembles not just reflect on aesthetic plurality but also a receptivity and accommodation of aesthetic viewpoints converging at Makli from both east and west. This encounter can therefore be read as a fruitful one and considering the temperament of lower Sindh this does not appear implausible unless one maintains a colonial gaze.

4.2:- BRICK AESTHETICS – VISIBLE CONTINUITIES AND DEPARTURES: ²⁴⁰

As has been discussed Makli was the site that sported tombs constructed with both the brick and stone. Lower Sindh had access to both the materials having quarries for stone construction similarly retaining brick making kilns and setups. The use of brick for making tombs continued throughout the active days of tomb construction at the site for almost 400 years. Indus Valley and Baluchistan regions had a long standing brick building tradition and a strong material precedence exists from 8th century onwards of funerary structures i.e. tombs built using bricks. ²⁴¹ Both Hassan and Edwards enumerate funerary structures built in brick making a strong case for co-existing brick tradition along with stone in the region.

Although much of subcontinent is a stone working sphere, there is ample evidence of a deeply rooted brick working tradition in the Indus Valley. Use of this material is concentrated in the region south of Salt range and east of Suleiman Mountains where it was the material of choice due presumably to the relative ease of its manufacture as well as lack of adequate stone. Employed in the construction of both stupas and temples, Indus valley brickwork exhibits its

²⁴⁰ The brick tombs of Samma period were discussed in a paper submitted for a conference held in Jamshoro Sindh. The author unfortunately could not present the paper due to unforeseeable circumstances. To avoid plagiarism of content a reference to the paper is added here, Junejo, Rabela. "Samma Builders at Makli and The Brick Aesthetics." *Paper submitted for 2nd International Conference on Sindh Studies organized by Institute of Sindhology, University of Sindh*. Jamshoro, November 2019.

²⁴¹ Refer, Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990. Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001.

own distinctive character. This may be gauged with reference to such sites as Stupa of Mirpurkhas and Temple of Patan Minara and Kallar...²⁴²

The use of brick in the region predates coming of Muslims in the subcontinent and numerous existing sites can be seen as examples and many more that may have been lost attesting to perishable nature of brick compared to stone. They may still be hidden under mounds awaiting archaeological intervention. The Bronze Age site of Mohenjo-Daro validates the use of brick. As Edwards has pointed out above the Stupa of Mirpurkhas, which is in Sindh, endorses the longevity of use of brick as a building material which continues to date in the region. The use of brick for tomb construction seems as old as initiation of tomb building in the region. Some earliest examples from Baluchistan like Tomb of Mohammad Bin Haroon in Bela early 8th century, or Tombs at Jhalwar, Kharan district etc. from early 11th century stand witness to the long standing brick building tradition.²⁴³

Makli's visual reading is dominated by the monochromatic stone sepulchers however the red or stucco plastered mud colored brick tombs do not go unnoticed. They fall in line and work as continuation of the brick building tradition of the Indus Valley as per Edwards. Brick construction at Makli comes with its own aesthetic devices that evolve and grow over a period of time. They similarly display formal and decorative pluralism that is the emblematic to the site, as per my observation. The tombs selected for analysis from brick construction are Kaus Sultani and Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg from Samma and Tarkhan (under Mughal's) times respectively. Their architectural features have been discussed in the preceding chapter. Brick construction at Makli without a doubt takes structural, formal and decorative flight during the Tarkhan and Mughal times. One observes a variety of foot prints square - octagonal etc., use of tile work and glazed brick in hues of blue and lofty domes with high drums supported on interlaced arches etc. The very dispositions of these later

²⁴² Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990. [pg. 121-122]

²⁴³ Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990. Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001.

tombs align them with the central Islamic lands and its brick and tile aesthetics. This visual adherence to a certain accepted canon for “Islamic” architecture received positive remarks from Cousens.²⁴⁴ The visual association of these with the larger corpus of Mughal architecture as they were built when Sindh was under Mughal control added to the weightage these later brick tombs received in scholarship.²⁴⁵ There are still characteristic features one observes in the later brick tombs that borrow heavily from the site and validate the continuity of local building tradition. The question arises as to what could be taken from earlier brick buildings and applied on these later tombs. The celebratory features of tile work and red brick with lime / gypsum pointing and glazed tiles were all missing from the Samma brick construction. The lack of these elements became one of the reasons for lesser standing Samma brick tombs received or in case of Cousens did not make it to the book. Samma brick tombs no matter their standing as per canonic standards bring to fore characteristic features of value. These formal and aesthetic features will be discussed in comparison with the later tombs taking the selected buildings from brick repository as case studies.

4.2.1:- Stucco Moldings, Stone Insertions and The Coming of Glazed Tiles in the Makli Brick Tombs:

The brick tombs at Makli during Samma times are assumed to be lesser varieties of brick construction. There are various reasons for that, one being the coating of surfaces with plaster from both inside and outside to presumably hide discrepancies. Use of double squinches in the transition zone for supporting the dome above and the partial and full collapse of almost all the domes in ways validate reservations of and display limitations the masons may have had whilst building in brick. The plaster however acted as an aesthetic device where carvings and moldings appear adding to

²⁴⁴ Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

²⁴⁵ For example, Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Khan, Ahmad Nabi. *Islamic Architecture in South Asia: Pakistan - India - Bangladesh*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

the visual repertoire of the tombs. The plaster and moldings are sparingly visible today as much of it got chipped off from the surfaces outside. Interior plaster moldings are retained better compared to exterior. These decorative devices differ diametrically from the later tile applications on the tombs.²⁴⁶ The stucco was applied in a considerate manner. It respected the brick laying nuances and gave a smooth appearance to the moldings achieved via angular or projecting courses of bricks. There were carved patterns of geometric design that were simpler, applied on vertical brick projections that generated vertical panels on the elevation. These vertical panels in sets of three, five or seven also appear consistent with Samma brick tombs.



Figure 67: South west view indicating remains of plaster and dentils, Kaus Sultani (1513 CE), Samma Period.

²⁴⁶ Although neither Dani nor Hassan suggests any tile work during Samma period but Heritage Foundation has hinted on tile work during Samma period through some photographs published in a booklet on *Kashikari* (tile and other glazing works are named *kashikari* in Sindh). As there is not much information available at present to assert tile work the author maintains that it was absent or scarcely present during Samma time and its application if it was applied was not as extensive as the later tombs. Refer Lari, Yasmeen. "Revival of Ancient Kashi in Sindh." *A UNESCO / Republic of Korea Funds-in-Trust Project - Sustainable Development and Community Involvement Initiatives - A Study by Heritage Foundation of Pakistan*. Karachi: Heritage Foundation - UNESCO, 2015. Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Hassan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001.



Figure 68: South elevation with dentil moldings and vertical linings, Tomb of Malik Rajbal (1457 CE), Samma Period.



Figure 69: South elevation with seven vertical panels and diamond motif on plaster, Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan (1508 CE), Samma Period.

The above examples from Samma period brick work present apparent consistency but there are definite digressions observed. The consistencies appear to be mostly but not limited to decorative approach with vertical paneling and surface plaster with patterns. One can infer that these tombs can be grouped together based on the time period they were built and the consistencies they display pointing to a certain decorative approach toward brick tombs during Samma times. The *muqarna*, honey comb and stalactite type moldings that appear on the façade and also interior (fig 35 - 36) of Kaus Sultani are missing from the facades of Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan and Malik Rajbal however they were applied in the interior of the tombs and at Makli Masjid which was constructed during early 16th century. Kaus Sultani therefore brings the interior moldings to aestheticize the exterior. It progressively applies not only the interior moldings on the exterior but also takes the stone decorative element and their application on brick tombs a step further. This coming together of materials of both brick and stone may indicate a growth in the overall brick aesthetics where there is no shying away from inserting stone elements within brick ensembles, however disturbing the so called material integrity.



Figure 70: Honey comb moldings in the interior, Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan, Samma Period.



Figure 71: Muqarna/ stalactite moldings in the interior of Makli Masjid (1389-92 CE), Samma Period.

Kaus Sultani displays a level of maturity in an evolutionary sense. Although the author maintains reservations of reading these as start-summit-decline triad and advocates a plurality that had both consistencies and digressions however there are clear indications that Samma builders were able to expand their brick aesthetic corpus by inserting the already existing stone elements which become elaborate over time. The earlier brick tombs of Hamsheera Fateh Khan and Malik Rajbal cited here apply stone in their decoration and / or construction in varying degrees. The southern opening of Hamsheera Fateh Khan's tomb make use of stone frame along with minimal carvings and a moonstone threshold, north and east openings appear simpler and without stone framing.



Figure 72: Stone used for framing entrance, Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan, Samma Period.

Similar features appear in Kaus Sultani and since it is a later Samma tomb the precedence from the earlier tombs cannot be overlooked. Kaus Sultani brings together the *muqarna* and honey comb moldings with plaster and fuses them with stone dado, miniature oriels, carved framing (south wall), lintel slabs with half lotus bands (east and north), carved moonstone and pilaretes flanking the *mihrab*. All these features common to stone ensembles supplement the brick buildings furthering their visual appeal.



Figure 73: Southern opening with stone carving details, carved moonstone threshold and brick the moldings above, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 74: Bracket over the architrave with lotus vines southern opening, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 75: Miniature oriel on southern elevation, Kaus Sultani.



Figure 76: Pilaretes flanking the *mihrab* niche perched on the stone dado, Kaus Sultani.

It will not be an over statement if Kaus Sultani is considered a successful attempt at brick building, bringing decorative features from both materials and situating them on the tomb in a pleasing manner. The application of decorative elements does not appear random and placements are well thought of. Respecting and emulating the elemental placement of stone tombs, being morphologically similar, the oriels, moonstones and pilaretes etc. all visually and compositionally fit perfectly with *muqarna* moldings. This integration of both stone and brick related decorative elements feature in the later tombs as well. Tomb of Mirza Jani and Ghazi Beg built almost hundred years later is but one example. The brick built octagonal tomb

situated within a stone compound wall applies stone in various capacities for ornamental purposes (fig 38-40, 42-44). The entire compound wall built of stone although a low height endeavor has a high entrance *pishtaq* and a higher *mihrab* niche keeping with the trend of enclosure tombs of the later period and of having *mihrab* outside the tomb proper. The stone carvings appear to take from both earlier and existing practices, fashioning stone into myriad patterns. The lotus roundels on the tympanum of the entrance arch, pilaretes of the *mihrab* and skirting level (not dado) stone lining with corners highlighted using pilarete pilasters appear on the tomb carrying forward the earlier tradition. These earlier features work in tandem with the six pointed star - stone screens set in the openings of the tomb chamber (fig 38-40, 42-44).

The finesse of stone carvings witnessed in the tomb of Jani - Ghazi Beg is unsurpassed. Ghazi Beg, a governor under Mughals, remained the unchallenged ruler of territories from Qandahar to Sindh (refer section 2.3.1). This larger geographic control from Central Asia to lower and upper Sindh may have contributed to the finesse of carving patterns as one can assume that monetary constraints may have been limited or non-existent for such a ruler. Employing the best stock of masons and artisan who specialize in their craft also appear plausible for someone like Ghazi Beg. The tomb however feels unfinished when one studies the compound. The carvings that appear as filigree work requires a level of precision and needs time, a volatile entity in those periods considering the shifting political landscape.

The change of governor after Ghazi Beg's demise in 1612 CE may have led to incomplete appearance of stone work, one can infer. After Ghazi Beg's death governorship of Thatta changed multiple hands and the later governors appear less keen to finish the tomb of their predecessor with as much as zeal and enthusiasm. Although the tomb as have been mentioned earlier is associated with Jani Beg and not Gahzi Beg by both Dani and Hassan but Lari in her booklet maintains that it was the final resting place for both father and the son. The starting date for the tomb is recorded at 1601 CE that is the year of death of Jani Beg. The construction of the

tomb may have continued after Jani Beg's death and that it eventually may become the final abode for both father and the son is probable.

If one assumes that the work continued during Ghazi Begs tenure as the governor the reason for the incomplete look can then be inferred as political volatility. Political situations makes the most sense here, nevertheless whatever made it to the surface of the tomb attests to Ghazi Beg's control and power over the region. It also demonstrates the continuity of stone decorative elements in brick edifices. Where the tomb departs from earlier brick decorative practices is application of extensive tile work and absence of stucco moldings.²⁴⁷ This tile work in multiple hues of blue and white covers selected portions of the tomb like spandrels and dados both inside and outside. The alternating glazed blue and red brick courses create an ornate rhythm coupled with blue and white tile work and stone ornamentation. The alternate laying of glazed and red brick courses is called *baana'i* technique hailing from Persia and Central Asia aligning visually with Timurid building tradition or as per Dani the Herat school of architecture.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Stucco moldings and stalactite work appear on Arghun and Tarkhan monuments these tombs that are in almost ruinous state and retain very little of their previous form. Nevertheless the continuation, although limited, of stucco work can be attested through these brick buildings. In Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg due to the restoration with cement of the dome and interior spaces it is difficult to establish if there was any stucco moldings applied. Exterior elevation and its decorative application do not however indicate any stucco moldings.

²⁴⁸ *Baana'i* technique is laying of mud or red color brick courses with glazed bricks mostly in blue and comes from Persia. [<http://www.islamic-art.org/Glossary/NewGlossary.asp?DisplayedChar=2>] also refer Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

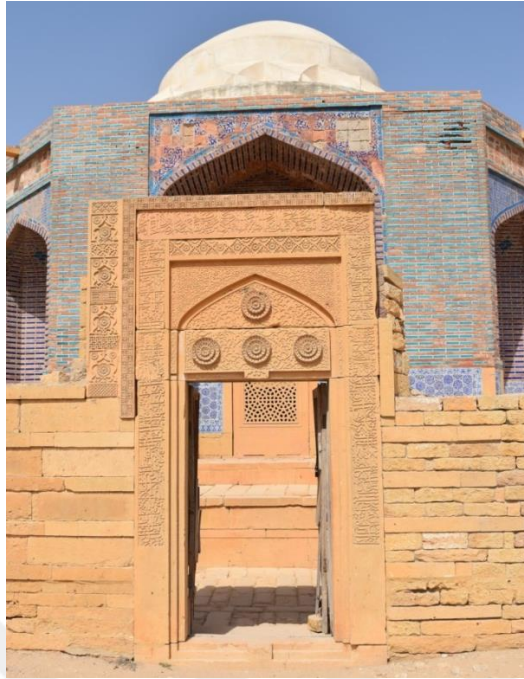


Figure 77: Entrance on the eastern side of compound wall and the octagonal tomb behind, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.



Figure 78: Eastern façade with stone, skirting corner pilasters and geometric screen, Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg.

Repetition of similar scheme inside of alternating courses visually connects the interior and exterior. Similarly stone compound wall of the exterior and the stone grave cenotaphs on a stone pedestal inside maintains the visual balance of stone and brick both inside and outside. It is a harmoniously designed edifice compositionally tall and aesthetically sound and balanced. Extensive tile decoration in Sindh considering Makli appears very late compared to the central Islamic lands and North India much to the delight of colonial writers who celebrate the “true” Islamic monuments on Makli aligning with central Islamic lands.²⁴⁹ It is in late 16th and early 17th century that one encounter use of tiles on a larger scale at Makli. Although in Multan, that remained part of upper Sindh and Punjab jurisdictionally, Tomb of Shah Rukh I Alam built in 14th century is a brick building that uses extensive tile work. Tomb of Bibi Jawandi in the Uch necropolis applies tile work for surface decoration built in 15th century. Therefore in the region tile work was already used but enters the realm of Makli almost a century or two later.



Figure 79: Tomb of Shah Rukh I Alam, 14th C Multan [Wikipedia]

²⁴⁹ For example, Cousens, Henry. *The Antiquities of Sind with historical Outline*. Calcutta: Archaeological Survey of India Series, 1929.

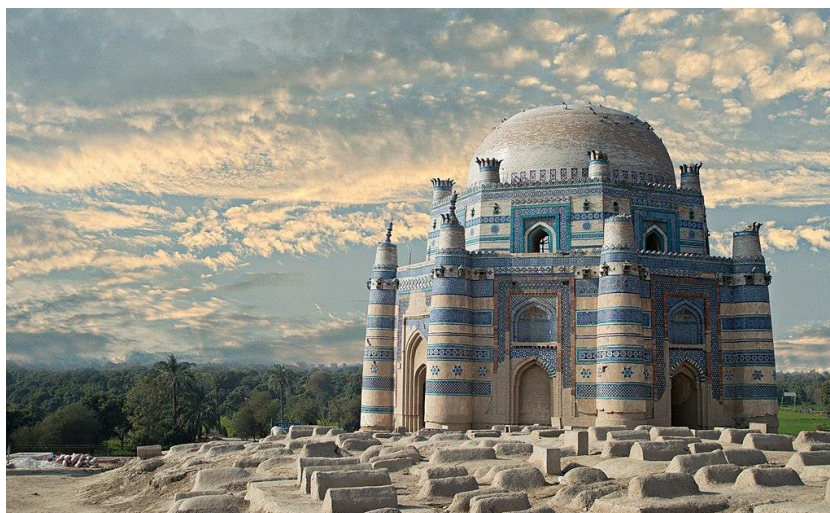


Figure 80: Tomb of Bibi Jawandi, 15th C Uch Sharif [Wikipedia]

Tile manufacturing workshops in Sindh were mostly located in Thatta, Hala and Nasarpur etc. where both Thatta and Hala workshops were most famous. The art of tile making, glazing work, glazed pottery and ceramic etc. was called *kashikari* in Sindh. Hala is to date famous for its blue and white colored glazed pottery goods.²⁵⁰ The tile working and manufacturing in Sindh comes probably from Persia and Central Asia since the manufacturing technique relates to the west of Sindh rather than the east or north in Delhi. Gill and Rehren in their paper support the western importation of tile work in Sindh based on their material composition and analysis.²⁵¹ As mentioned earlier stucco work existed with the tile work and intermediary Arghun and Tarkhan brick tombs display use of stucco. Arghun tombs although become more sophisticated compared to Samma structurally and aesthetically but they carry forward similar brick building approach as the Sammas. Tarkhan period tombs like their stone counterparts' apply stucco with tile work as is seen in stone decoration where the ambit furthers with incorporation of arabesque and grid geometric patterns along with lotus medallions etc. The coming together and co-

²⁵⁰ Lari, Yasmeen. "Revival of Ancient Kashi In Sindh." *A UNESCO / Republic of Korea Funds-in-Trust Project - Sustainable Development and Community Involvement Initiatives - A Study by Heritage Foundation of Pakistan*. Karachi: Heritage Foundation - UNESCO , 2015.

²⁵¹ Maninder Singh Gill, Thilo Rehren. *An Analytical evaluation of Historic Glazed Tiles From Makli And Lahore, Pakistan*. UCL Institute of Archaeology, London, UK; College of Humanities and Social Sciences, HBKU, Qatar, 2017.

existence of various decorative, structural, and design elements is where the spirit of Makli lies as it accommodated all these in funerary ensembles for posterity reflective of the plurality and flexibility of the time period.



Figure 81: Unknown brick tomb having more sophisticated brick paneling, Arghun period mid-16th C.



Figure 82: Unknown brick tomb with stalactite interlacement is lined with stucco moldings, Arghun / Tarkhan Period.



Figure 83: Unknown brick enclosure with stalactite interlacement achieved through crisp brick linings opposed to stucco and adorned with blue tile work, Tarkhan/ Mughal Period.

Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg therefore comes to us having a strong earlier and contemporary brick building tradition. A more experienced lot of masons and artisans that have previously worked on the site were now able to bring stone decorative elements and situate them compositionally with tile work etc. in a more mature and aesthetically pleasing manner. However one can neither dismiss the earlier buildings as low in status nor put the Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg as the culmination of brick work at Makli. These can be read as monuments that accommodated encounters from various aesthetic leanings in a compositionally sound manner. These negated the confines of what is and can be Islamic and celebrated convergence of multiple aesthetic cues from multiple centers.

Looking at the two examples selected from brick tombs at Makli one can safely assert that similar to the stone buildings these brick edifices displayed as much variety and continuation of tradition and borrowed from the earlier decorative practices of the site. There were features that were retained like miniature oriels,

pilaretes, lotus motifs, stone dados, moonstones and stucco work (but not as much as earlier tombs) and within this decorative vocabulary came glazed elements sporting arabesque, geometric motifs and calligraphy.

4.2.2: Formal Disposition and Structural Development in Brick Ensembles:

The basic form for brick tombs as with stone tombs is domed square yet the layouts show diversity. Square is sometimes replaced with an octagonal profile for example and this diversity of foot prints was not a later phenomenon. The basic square tombs of Samma time had layouts that were not standard. One finds square tombs having additional stair towers or antechambers attached to the main body of the tomb in Kaus Sultani and Hamsheera Fateh Khan's tomb respectively (figure 31, 32, 71). The visibility of the drum in zone of transition appears in some tombs while in others it is missing on the outside with a higher cuboid profile capped with a dome as in tomb of Malik Rajbal (figure 70). These additions and profile variations in a standard domed square chamber however become more pronounced over time. In the Tarkhan and Mughal times tombs are supplemented with chamfered corners giving an octagonal profile as in tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkhas. This tomb has a relatively smaller square chamber in the center with a dome on top. It is highly symmetrical in design the four corners of the square have attached octagonal chambers housing graves, with stairs leading to the top and smaller domes that acted as roof. All the domes have collapsed but this early to mid- 17th C tomb has a relatively complicated plan and profile. The tomb sports five domes in total and appears horizontal rather than vertical in profile (figure 86-87). Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan likewise acting as a domed square chamber supplants the otherwise crisp corners with four round turrets housing spiral stair towers (figure 88-89). Tomb of Jani and Ghazi Beg with its octagonal plan is not the only occurrence and has Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim to complement it with its octagonal plan (figure 90). The assertion here is that both with Samma and Tarkhan / Mughal periods one encounters a diversity of plans and profiles. Squares, with additional chambers, visible or hidden drum profiles, octagonal profiles, etc. squares with round turrets supplemented with variegated decoration. Brick enclosures sported a variety of layouts with large scale mosques

and *mihrab* chambers. Many unknown tombs in ruinous state defy standardization of plans and profiles that make it difficult to situate these in taxonomic lexicon. Plurality therefore becomes a better tool to comprehend these funerary abodes.

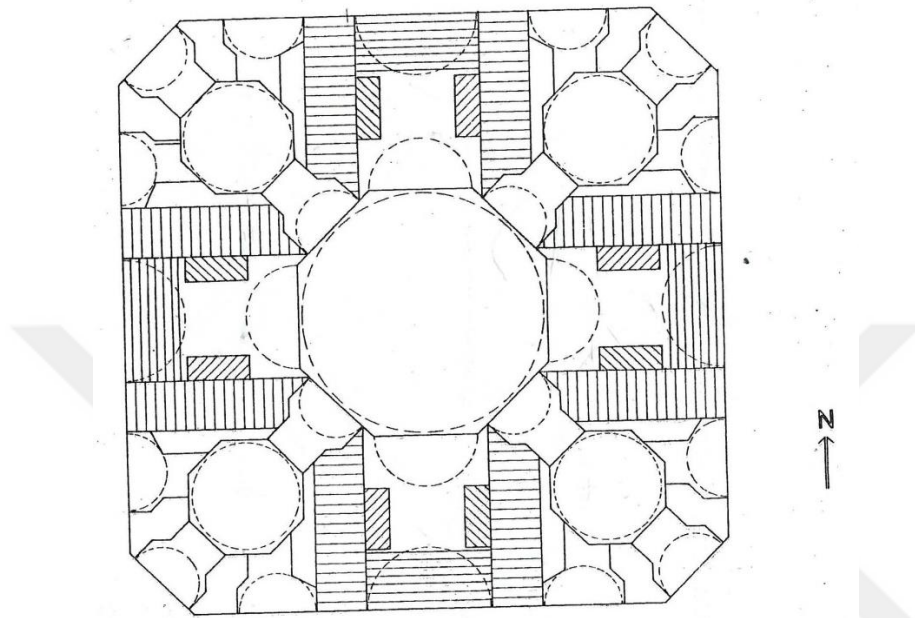


Figure 84: Plan, Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkhas, Tarkhan / Mughal Period. [Dani 1982 – pg. 166]



Figure 85: Western Elevation, Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkhas, Tarkhan / Mughal Period.

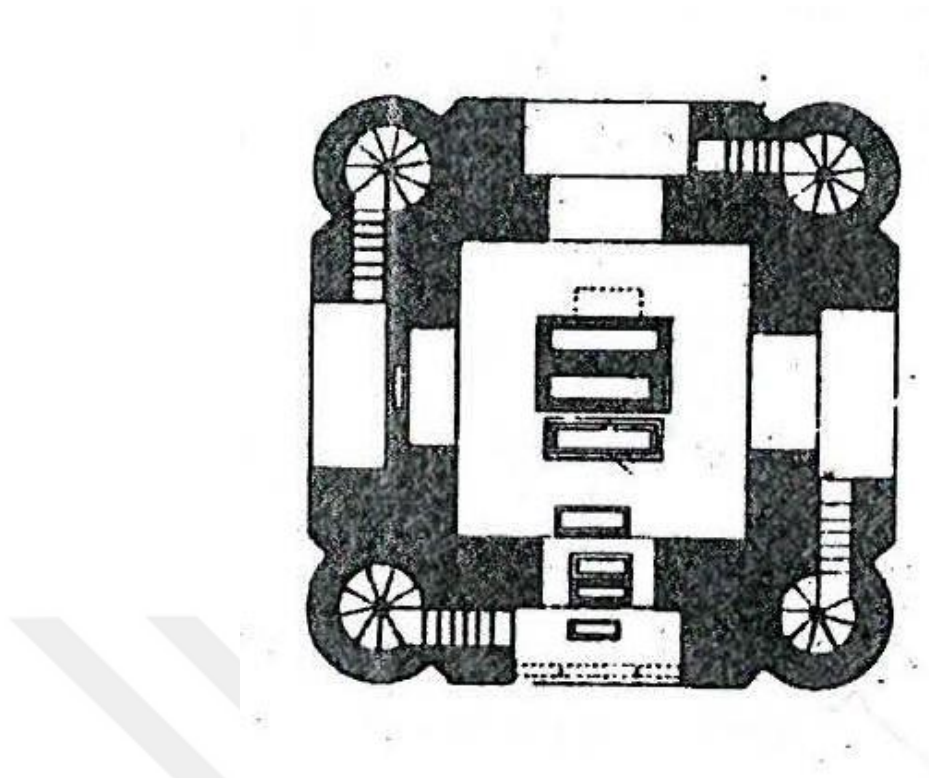


Figure 86: Plan, Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan 1638 CE. [Dani 1982 pg. -171]



Figure 87: Southern Elevation, Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan.



Figure 88: View, Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim. [Wikipedia]

Structurally the tombs advance from the use of ‘double’ corner squinches, used to convert the square plan into an octagon, hexa-decagon and circle to receive the dome, to employing single corner squinches with interlacement of arches that provided bracing and support to the dome above. This may have been the reason that later domes remained intact mostly. The added interlacement and projection of arches coupled with squinches made the domes stronger, in my opinion. Along with structural stability they added to the visual repertoire of the interior where infill tiling, stucco work and crisp brick linings came together in a visually coherent and aesthetically pleasing manner. The dome profiles became taller and elongated circular drums received domes that were bulbous, onion type and hemispherical. A stone necking was mostly provided to demarcate the springing of the dome as it takes flight from the drum (figure 89-90). These were probably double skin domes as Dani maintains that dome of Jani - Ghazi Beg’s mausoleum that collapsed and was restored displaying *muqarna* moldings outside must have had a capping above it to give it a smoother domical profile.²⁵² Since interlacement of arches formed *muqarna* patterns inside having an infill layer of masonry outside for a spherical reading of

²⁵² Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

dome profile is plausible. The finials of these domes were either *kalasa* type or inverted lotus flowers. Samma domes in comparison were not that complicated and these are all later structural and formal interventions. What gets retained though from Samma times is the herringbone masonry of domes. The herringbone brick lying appears in Hamsheera Fateh Khan's tomb and Kaus Sultani may have applied it as very little remains from dome to be certain. The synonymy that Kaus Sultani draws from Hamsheera Fateh Khan's tomb although makes it difficult to dismiss herringbone brick lying. The two tombs selected from the brick corpus have collapsed dome with Jani – Ghazi Beg's restored in cement (unfortunately). The section drawing in figure 45 supports the inferences drawn here. In a similar vein looking at other Samma tombs retaining partial domical profiles adds weight to the speculation made regarding Kaus Sultani's dome.

The continuation of herringbone brick lying is compatible with multiple other older traditions and devices that feature in later tombs. The practice grew and additions were made and the visual coherence older and the new produced was consistent with decorative, structural and formal continuations and departures at Makli.



Figure 89: Herringbone brick lying, Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan, Samma period.

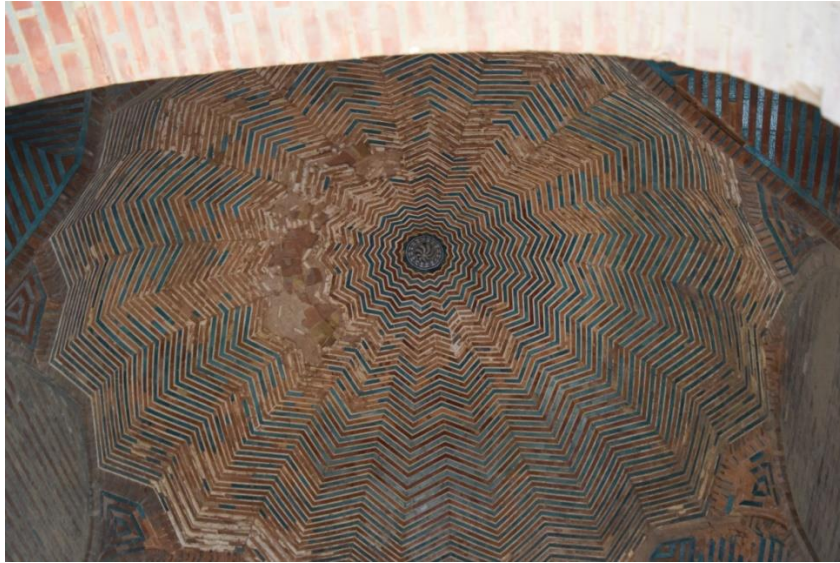


Figure 90: Herringbone brick lying, Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan, Tarkhan/Mughal period.

4.3:- DECORATIVE AND FORMAL SYMBOLISM AT MAKLI:

The sepulcher remains examined above built with brick and stone, housing remains of the deceased and their family, under patronage of the rulers and nobles of Thatta are a bricolage in my opinion. Bricolage a heavily laden philosophical term coined by Claude Levi Strauss in his book “The Savage Mind” dismantled here, in simpler words endorses decentered or multi-centered stimuli for architecture at Makli.²⁵³ The term supports and gives definition to the pluralistic fluid content, witnessed and analyzed above, at Makli. The stressing over origins and religio-geographic associations, shrinking buildings into styles and overarching nationalistic narratives etc. leave limited room to negotiate with the supposed incoherence and assess material culture of the site. The shift from the established gaze however opens endless possibilities to draw associations without projecting strict religious adherences and geographic centers of origination. It unburdens the approach to read material culture, of which architecture is but one manifestation, in a light that does not emanate from standardization but rather challenges it. Standardization, colonial and nationalistic both, appears to be at odds with the material culture of the site. Therefore bricolage in ways provide enough room to place Makli in its ambit it also,

²⁵³ Refer, Strauss, Claude Levi. *The Savage Mind*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson , 1966.

in my opinion, validates the encounter paradigm for understanding built material culture of the site as diverse as Makli.²⁵⁴ Hence calling funerary remains at Makli a bricolage simply facilitates a new way of understanding, reading and projecting those remains.

The idea of bricolage produces a new way to talk about, and think about, systems and structures without falling into the trap of trying to build a new system out of the ruins of a deconstructed one. It provides a way to think without establishing a new center, a privileged reference, an origin, a truth. It also inspires creativity and originality, making possible new ways of putting things together.²⁵⁵

The continuities and departures presented in the analysis of the selected tombs, based on decorative program, formal connotations and structural applications in both brick and stone buildings, provide enough ground for integration of local, Indic and Central Asian / Persian precedence.²⁵⁶ These associative parallels or precedence are not limited to the parameters of decoration, form and structure and can be expanded into symbolism and/or meaning associated with these forms, elements and ornamentation. Therefore using bricolage as a spring board the encounter of decorative and formal features having deeper associative meaning is presented in forthcoming section.

²⁵⁴ The site cannot be diverse with respect to today's standards but with respect to medieval standards the existing technology, material availability, geographic building culture and idiom it manages well to display diversity.

²⁵⁵ Mambrol, Nasrullah. *Literary Theory and Criticism - Section on Claude Levi Strauss' Concept of Bricolage*. March 21, 2016. <https://literariness.org/2016/03/21/claude-levi-strauss-concept-of-bricolage/> (accessed June 06, 2020).

²⁵⁶ As per the study conducted the author is of the opinion that although local and Indic are difficult to separate but here local means from Sindh which although was not much different from its neighboring Indian polities and regional sultanates they were however politically separate. Also Indic is used as a larger umbrella term for subcontinent but again it is difficult to segregate subcontinental architectural idiom from the local architecture in Sindh however nuanced characteristic differences plus the way precedence comes together on site make it local to Sindh and its plural character. Lower Sindh shared lesser similarities with even Upper Sindh's architecture of Multan and Uch but draw parallels with Kutch and Gujarat regions. So Indic here can be understood as larger subcontinental realm and local can therefore encompass Sindh-Kutch-Gujarat regions.

4.3.1:- The All-Pervasive “Lotus” and its Carved Ornate Associates:



Figure 91: Assembly of multiple lotus motifs from stone tombs at Makli.

Lotus called “*Padma*” in Hindi is the most pervasive carved motif in tombs of Makli and remained popular throughout the active building days at the site. The *padmashila* (pendant), *ardhapadma* (half-lotus), *padmalata* (lotus vines), and *padmajala* (lotus band) etc. were some of its representations at Makli.²⁵⁷ This motif in its myriad forms and representations was common to subcontinent and its patrimony. An

²⁵⁷ For Padma /lotus carved patterns and its local nomenclature refer, Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Masons and Mobility: Indic Elements In Twelfth-Century Afghan Stone-Carving." Edited by Roberta Giunta Anna Filigenzi. *Fifty Years of Research in the Heart of Eurasia*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per l' Africa e l' Oriente, 2009. 137-160., —. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. Acharya, Prasanna Kumar. *An Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944-46.

important motif from pre – Muslim times it stayed relevant and was integrated extensively into decorative program of buildings of Muslim patrons. The lotus is not an ordinary decorative motif that was inspired from the context and its appearance was not an accidental artistic expression of inspiration from nature. It retains symbolical iconographic importance for Jain, Buddhist, and Hindu cultures and religion. It is one of the eight auspicious Buddhist symbols and the Buddhist *chakras* are represented through many petal lotuses. The eight auspicious symbols are not exclusive to Buddhism but are collectively used in Jain and Hindu symbolism with slight variation of/in meaning. These symbols are the parasol, the golden fish, the conch shell, the lotus, the urn or *kalasa*, the infinite knot, the banner, and the wheel.²⁵⁸ All these symbols are considered sacred and have inherent associated meanings same is the case with lotus.

The lotus flower is considered to be a symbol of purity or of pure divine origination, represented as mental and spiritual purity. Since the lotus symbolizes purity and since dependent arising releases all sentient beings from the stains of all kinds of unconscious mistakes or deeds committed through body, speech and mind; and the copious blossoming of a hundred petals – the white-lotus symbolizes abundance of virtue, happiness and goodness.²⁵⁹

Arising from the muddy waters untainted by the surroundings it becomes emblematic to purity and therefore is associated with mental and spiritual purity of humans and gods. Lotus, a local flora, breeding and growing in a murky environment arising unaffected and attractive, draws interpretations that are associatively sacred and symbolic. The murky waters in which it grows are read as the struggles and worldly associations from which a human, like Buddha, arise and attains enlightenment like a

²⁵⁸ Beer, Robert. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. , 2003. Karlsson, Klemens. "The Formation of Early Buddhist Visual Culture." *The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief: Material Culture* (Routledge - Taylor and Francis Group) 2, no. 1 (2015): 68-96. Namgyal, Tseten. "Significance of 'Eight Traditional Tibetan Buddhist Auspicious Symbols /Emblems' in day to day Rite and Rituals." *The Tibet Journal* 41, no. 2 (2016): 29-51. *Balance by Buddha Groove - Meaningful Symbols – A Guide to Sacred Imagery*. n.d. <https://blog.buddhagroove.com/meaningful-symbols-a-guide-to-sacred-imagery/> (accessed March 12, 2020).

²⁵⁹ Namgyal, Tseten. "Significance of 'Eight Traditional Tibetan Buddhist Auspicious Symbols /Emblems' in day to day Rite and Rituals." *The Tibet Journal* 41, no. 2 (2016): 29-51. [pg. 29]

lotus appears facing the light of the sun. This phenomenon of retaining beauty and purity disassociating with the very waters that produce it make lotus a flower associated with gods and divinity. In Hinduism lotus becomes part of larger water cosmology appearing in sculptures of the gods and on architecture and at times becoming an iconic symbol for divinity.

Much of the ornamental imagery is related to the Water Cosmology, a belief in which all creation arises from the water. This is expressed in various motifs, notably the lotus; flowers and foliage overflowing from a jar of water; trees and vegetation in which sap, the essence of water, flows; and creatures, such as fish, crocodilian *makaras*, elephants, snakes, and other marine animals, that live in or near water.²⁶⁰

The flower often appear in sculptures as a throne for gods, a pedestal where gods stand and many gods like Lakshmi and Vishnu are portrayed carrying lotus flower in their hands. The iconographic implication can therefore be seen as gods arising or growing from lotus or as extension of lotus and subsuming the purity of the flower with and in divinity. For both Hinduism and Buddhism lotus therefore remains an important symbol associated with gods and their attributes.

The Indian lotus, which grows from the dark watery mire, but is unstained by it, is a major Buddhist symbol of purity and renunciation. The lotus seats upon which deities sit or stand, symbolizes their divine origin. They are immaculately conceived, innately perfect, and absolutely pure in their body, speech and mind. As a sacred symbol the lotus was adopted by many of the world's greatest civilizations, from Egypt and Japan and widely incorporated into their arts and architecture. The lotus opens and closes with the sun Surya, the Vedic sun god, holds a lotus in both hands, symbolizing the sun's path across the heavens. Brahma, the Vedic, god of creation, was born from a golden lotus that grew from the navel of Vishnu, like a lotus growing from an umbilical stem.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ Chandra, Pramod, *The Sculpture of India 3000 BC - 1300 AD (Exhibition Catalogue)*. Edited by Amy Pastan. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1985.

²⁶¹ Beer, Robert. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. , 2003. [pg. 7 -8]

Lotus in the early days of Buddhism along with the parasol, Bodhi tree and Buddha foot prints etc. was used as aniconic representation of Buddha.²⁶² It similarly got associated with Jain “luminous beings” acting as their aniconic counterpart.

The most pervasive meaning of lotus in the Indian sacred arts is that of a spiritually enlightened being such as Buddha or Mahavira, who like the lotus has risen from the mire of earthly temptations and has blossomed fully, untainted by the muddled existence of lower levels.²⁶³

This pre –Muslim symbolism of lotus and its application on architecture, art and sculptural work of all these religions and cultures of the subcontinent creates an antediluvian aura around the ubiquitous lotus. If a highly charged motif like lotus was applied on the funerary structures at Makli the understanding of its meaning and its conscious application is not a farfetched assumption. Sindh in the medieval times was a polyglot culture and a multi religious society under the rule of Muslims. The references in architecture from various sacred traditions and the acceptance and integration of a local floral motif with its symbolic connotation therefore can be assumed as intelligible rather than a thoughtless decorative placement, in my opinion. Lotus does not appear alone and there are other similar motifs laden with symbolic meanings.

²⁶² Karlsson, Klemens. "The Formation of Early Buddhist Visual Culture." *The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief: Material Culture* (Routledge - Taylor and Francis Group) 2, no. 1 (2015): 68-96.

²⁶³ Kumar, Sehdev. *A Thousand-Petalled Lotus: Jain Temples of Rajasthan, Architecture and Iconography*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Center for the Art - Abhinav Publications, 2001.

Kalasa also called *kalash*, *purnaghatta* and *ghatapallava* with slight variation in motif form have similar meaning of “jar of plenty” or abundance sometimes empty but mostly filled with foliage coming out of it. ²⁶⁴ It is also one of the eight auspicious Buddhist sacred symbols. ²⁶⁵



Figure 92: Assembly of *Kalasa* (*kalash* - *purnaghatta* - *ghatapallava*) from stone tombs at Makli.

²⁶⁴ For *Kalasa* and its associate terminologies and meaning refer, Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. Acharya, Prasanna Kumar. *An Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944-46.

²⁶⁵ Beer, Robert. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. , 2003.

Kalasa simply understood as a pot or an urn with or without foliage although not as pervasive as lotus regularly features at Makli. Carved in various ways as incisions, abstract geometric variation and as visible pot/ urn shape, *kalasa* was favored in Samma period and its use on later stone monuments is minimal to non-existent. It however remains a popular dome finial for canopy tombs of both early and later period. The domed – chambers applied *amalaka* finials of inverted lotuses like dome finial of Isa Tarkhan's II tomb (figure 23). The term *kalasa* is specifically used for the finials and vase and foliage motifs that appear on the pilaretes and pillar capitals are called *ghata-pallavas*.²⁶⁶ As an auspicious symbol of plenty it draws parallels with womb, abundance (wealth / knowledge) and good fortune etc.

The golden treasure vase, or 'vase of inexhaustible treasures', is modeled upon the traditional Indian clay water pot. This pot is known as *kalas(h)a* or *kumbha*, with a flat base, round body, narrow neck and fluted upper rim. This womb like sacred *kumbha* is venerated in India at the great religious 'pot festival' of the *Kumbh Mela*. As divine vase of plenty it possesses the quality of spontaneous manifestation, because however much treasure is removed from the vase it remains perpetually full.²⁶⁷

The motif feature on Jain, Buddhist and Hindu temples and here makes an entry into the funerary abodes in its myriad manifestations. The most extensive use is on the tomb of Jam Nizam al Din of Samma period which displays the most exquisite carvings at Makli of local and Indic variety. In the later tombs since the repository of patterns was expanding with inclusion of arabesque and geometric grid patterns the use of *kalasa* almost disappears. The design of pilaretes was modified although their use remained popular in flanking *mihrab* and as a modified variety *kalasa* top was replaced with something that appears as an inverted pot type. This pot like detail was a modification or variation of *kalasa* is difficult to establish but can be considered as a possibility. The modified version if was of *kalasa* then it may have continued but this cannot be stated with certainty.

²⁶⁶ Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. [Pg 169-173]

²⁶⁷ Beer, Robert. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. , 2003. [pg 6-7]

The jar however having symbolic meanings that are myriad transcends into the architectural realm of Muslim tombs and may connote immortality or a plenty in the hereafter. An indication of abundance it may also connote mercy of god in the other realm where the deceased is supplied with all kinds of wealth and treasure token representation of entering heaven, perhaps. In this light it becomes a signature of receiving a place in heaven by the deceased, bestowed with gods plenty and mercy, in my opinion.

The deceased were probably considered saintly receiving plenty in the afterlife. They were also provided devices and elements for making a benevolent appearance in this world through the miniature oriels, one can infer. The miniature and in case of Nizam Al Din full scale oriels, open or blind (acting as niches), were a decorative element that appear at Makli in earlier and later stone and sometimes brick tombs. This oriel called a *jharoka* in local language was a consistent feature of Rajasthani and Gujarati architecture and from what appears at Makli may have been a feature in architecture of Sindh.

A *Jharokha* is an oriel window projecting from upper stories of a building used in medieval Indian architecture. *Jharokha* is a window projecting from the wall face of the building in an upper storey overlooking a street, market or any other open space. This study shows that the trend of a protruding window similar to *Jharokhas* seems to be present in different regions with their regional architectural flavor. The Indian architecture has influenced by various empires, and a lot of external influences came to this region because of the trade route. The style and features of *Jharokha* vary concerning the local material and techniques available. The different era and different regions adopted this window form according to their own needs and aesthetics.²⁶⁸

Becoming popular in the Mughal period during Akbar's time and retained in Jahangir's and Shah Jahan's times as a ritualistic device, they acted as *darshan jharokas* (*darshan* meaning sight and *jharoka* an oriel – cumulatively meaning an

²⁶⁸ Zulfikar, Zain. "Tracing The Origin of Jharokha Window Used In Indian subcontinent." *Journal Of Islamic Architecture* 5, no. 2 (2018): 70-76. [pg 76]

oriel for the sight/seeing) for emperors in their *diwan-I-aam* or the public court acting as a throne for the emperor to sit, hear and resolve issues of the subjects.²⁶⁹



Figure 93: Assembly of miniature and full scale (Jam Nizam al Din's tomb west wall) oriels at Makli

²⁶⁹ Kaur, Manpreet. "Romancing The Jharokha: From Being A Source Of Ventilation And Light To The Divine Conception." *International Journal of Informative & Futuristic Research (IJIFR)* 2, no. 6 (02 2015): 1791-1797. Zulfiqar, Zain. "Tracing The Origin of Jharokha Window Used In Indian Subcontinent." *Journal Of Islamic Architecture* 5, no. 2 (2018): 70-76. Kumar, Nirmal. "Rituals Of Power And Power Of Rituals: A Study of Imperial Rituals and Invented Traditions in 16th Century North India." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. Indian History Congress, 1997. 244-252.

The ritualistic importance bestowed to this oriel in Mughal period has been a later development but the oriel was present as a feature in pre-Mughal times going as far back as the Buddhist times. The *gavaksha* and *candrasala* niches and windows carved on the stupas of Buddhist acted as suppression in the wall surface to house mostly the image of the deities or of learned Buddhist monks and teachers considered saintly, it also transcends into Hindu temple architecture.²⁷⁰ *Gavaksha* and *candrasala* have interchangeable meanings “a dormer window (decorative feature) or open pavilion on upper storey.”²⁷¹ Some may claim that it was an ornamental feature with no symbolic weight as Nath put most of the features of Hindu temple architecture in an aesthetic rather than symbolic dimension.²⁷² The meaning these niches attained with symbolic overtones may have been a later development nevertheless them acting as placeholders for sculpted images of gods in temple architecture appears important enough to garner the spiritual and religious symbolism, in my opinion. Grover in his book present the evolutionary development of both Hindu and Buddhist temples in India discusses various symbolical associations the elements of the temple had and developed over time like the *sikhara* roof or use of *vastupurush* mandala for the layout plan of temples or abstaining from building arches not because of technical limitations but because some religiously based idea “that arch never sleeps” and hence is avoided.²⁷³ The treatise developed for the architecture in India by the learned Brahman priests exercising a monopoly over the interpretation of them may have been a power move as stated by Grover but there were religious mythological meanings associated with the architectural

²⁷⁰ Refer Ebert, Jorinde. "Niches, Columns, and Figures in Some Petroglyphic Stūpa Depictions of the Karakorum Highway." *Artibus Asiae* (Artibus Asiae Publishers) 54, no. 3/4 (1994): 268-295. Theodore C. Hope, James Fergusson. *Architecture of Ahmedabad: The Capital of Goozerat*. London, 1866.

²⁷¹ Refer Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

²⁷² Nath, R. *Elements of Indian Art and Architecture*. Jaipur: The Historical Research Documentation Program, 1986.

²⁷³ Grover, Satish. *Buddhist and Hindu Architecture in India*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2003 (1980).

elements.²⁷⁴ These oriels were popular during Samma contemporary architecture of the neighboring regions as is seen in the 15th century Teen Darwaza (fig 96) in Ahmedabad Gujarat with similar elemental nomenclature as appears at Makli.



Figure 94: Teen Darwaza built in mid- 15th century sporting oriel windows on the parapet with *kangura* battlements, Ahmedabad. [Wikipedia]



Figure 95: Navlakha Temple at Sejakhpur built in 12th century, Gujarat. [Wikipedia]

²⁷⁴ Grover, Satish. *Buddhist and Hindu Architecture in India*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2003 (1980).



Figure 96: Navlakha Temple at Sejakhpur built in 12th century close up of the niches house relief sculptures of gods, Gujarat. [Wikipedia]

Its application in Teen Darwaza in 15th C and the temple of Navlakha in Gujarat a few centuries earlier used as the sculpture niche for gods attests to its pre-Mughal usage, religious and secular / ceremonial. The 12th century use is still fairly recent compared to 3rd C BCE application in Buddhist temple at Sanchi.

Jharokha was an old Indian concept, and the idea essentially belonged to the region which extended roughly between the Jammuna and the Tapti and the Banas and the Betwa. Its form too belonged to this region: the word *jharokha* appears to have been derived from the “*jala-gavaksa*” or an ornately designed window open or with *jali*, with its own pedestal, brackets, pillars, and crown which projects from an upper story, the earliest examples of which, in rudiments could be traced in the Sanchi bas-relief of the 3rd century BC.²⁷⁵

So this age old element going through various permutations and combinations appear at Makli in an image synonymous with the contemporary architectural traditions of that time. The elements of this oriel as put by Nath above are present in the oriels of Makli. Here the sculpture of the god is replaced by lotus medallions or other ornamental motif or left empty. The full scale *jharoka* of Jam Nizam al Din (figure 20-21-52) according to Dani was a popular feature in full scale in the neighboring

²⁷⁵ Nath, R. "The Mughal Institution of Jharokha." In *Art and Culture*, edited by S. P. Verma A. J. Qaisar. Jaipur: Publication Scheme, 1993. Quoted from Kumar, Nirmal. "Rituals Of Power And Power Of Rituals: A Study of Imperial Rituals and Invented Traditions in 16th Century North India." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. Indian History Congress, 1997. 244-252. [pg. 246]

Gujarat but not so famous in Sindh.²⁷⁶ Lari calls it *darshan jharoka* where the famous Nizam al Din the Harun-ul Rashid of Sindh made an appearance for the subjects from the afterlife.²⁷⁷ Something that can be interpreted as an afterlife venture of Jam Nizam, became a proper full-fledged ritual practice of the Mughal's when they were alive.



Figure 97: Darshan Jharoka of Shah Jahan in Lahore Fort.

²⁷⁶ Dani, Ahmad Hassan. Thatta: Islamic Architecture . Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

²⁷⁷ Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. For further symbolic readings of jharoka of Jam Nizam's tomb refer, Junejo, Rabela."Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

The ritualistic purpose that the Mughals associated with it has been termed as an “invented tradition” in the likes of how Hobsbawm describe it, by Kumar, aligned with the earlier ritualistic concepts of the region it made reappearance and was re-appropriated during Mughal times, in my opinion.²⁷⁸ Their usage therefore at Makli relates to the long standing tradition of the region at large and it was popular in medieval times in the neighboring regions of Thatta sharing similar architectural tradition. The miniature paintings of Mughal period showing this very important ritual that they re-invented seemed akin to the oriel niches housing gods in the temples. Were the Mughals imitating the gods? Were they god like rulers of the region? Was this an attempt to visually relate and re-create a long established temple motif of gods to attest to their divine sanctions of sorts? Were they employing existing imagery to draw complacency of their subjects? These questions can be pondered upon and similarly projected on the reasons for which this motif / element appears at Makli. The sacred and symbolic importance of oriel can be stressed through the visual parallel the home shrines of gods share with the age old element, mostly made from wood these miniature oriels house gods along with the ritual paraphernalia custom made for domestic ritual/prayer purposes. The visual appearance resonates with the oriel and brings the age old placement of gods in the temple niches within a domestic setup.



Figure 98: Home shrine for gods having similar elemental vocabulary as the oriel niches / windows at Makli. [<https://www.hindujagruti.org/> - Google images]

²⁷⁸ For invented traditions refer, Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, ed. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. For ritual appropriation refer, Kumar, Nirmal. "Rituals Of Power And Power Of Rituals: A Study of Imperial Rituals and Invented Traditions in 16th Century North India." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*. Indian History Congress, 1997. 244-252.

The presence of lotus, the pot (*kalasa*) and the oriel makes a strong case for symbolical leanings in use of elements and motifs at Makli that were pregnant with mythological and spiritual meanings and if nothing else situate the tombs in the long standing local architectural tradition of the region. Other features like moonstone or *udumbara* (a threshold) and the miniature pilarete flanking the *mihrab* make a recurring appearance on site and have associative symbolic meanings coming from the local lexicon of elements and motifs.²⁷⁹ The moonstone was used in Buddhist temples as an elaborate threshold.²⁸⁰ The pilarete has been associated with the staff of prophets by Dani, exclusively associating them with Sindh ‘style’ of architecture although it was a regional element appearing in Gujarat and Kutch areas as well.²⁸¹ These elements that often appear at Makli in motif and elemental form make a strong case for the local architectural tradition that was being practiced in Thatta and lower Sindh and probably understood with its many inherent symbolical trappings.



Figure 99: Assembly of moonstones from Makli

²⁷⁹ Moonstone has been discussed in the master’s dissertation by the author as a feature in Jam Nizam’s Tomb, for further details refer, Junejo Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012.

²⁸⁰ Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

²⁸¹ Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

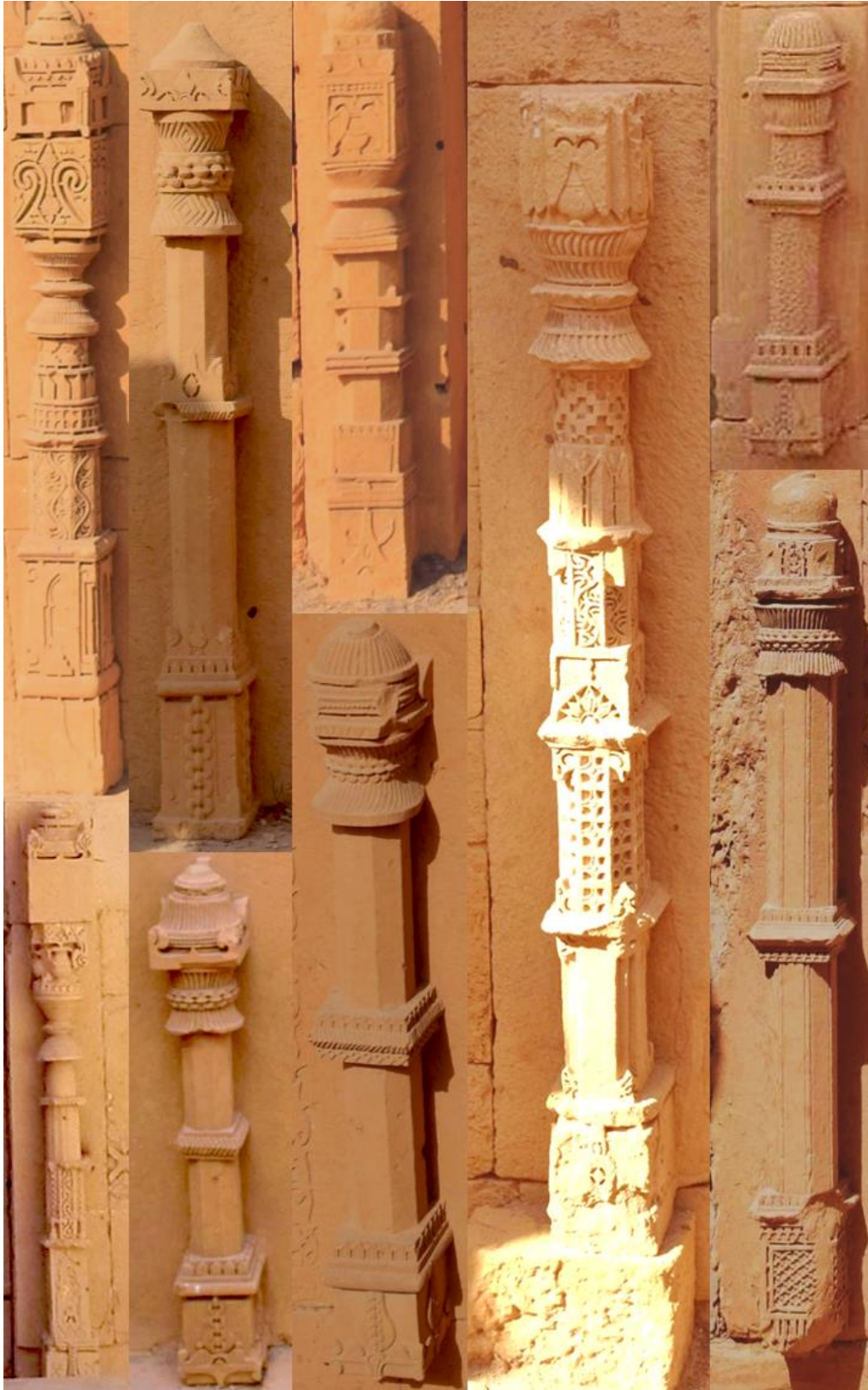


Figure 100: Assembly of flanking pilaretes from Makli.

The discussion on local elements does not discredit the symbolic association of the grid geometric patterns from the corpus of 'Islamic' architecture.²⁸² These Islamic geometric patterns, called 'Islamic' by virtue of their recurrent appearance on buildings built under Muslim patronage and application on buildings of sacred nature but not limited to them, as they developed and matured under Muslim artisans and scholars gave them an esoteric meaning linking them to platonic geometry and inherent subliminal meaning these shapes and forms held from time immemorial. The coming of the Arghuns and Tarkhans from Central Asian lands led to the incorporation of these motifs in the existing repository. These may have been coming from Delhi one can infer but the Tughlaq building traditions appearing in Multan in 14th century do not appear at Makli. It is only after the coming of Central Asian Arghun and Tarkhan stock of people, who ruled Thatta and lower Sindh for a good half century independent from Mughals, that integration of Islamic patterns along with local motifs appear at Makli.

4.3.2:- Geometric Patterns and the Esoteric Readings:

The geometric grid patterns or the arabesque interlacements as per Burckhardt are the most pervasive ornamental feature used in buildings built under the patronage of Muslim rulers and subjects.²⁸³ These patterns became a regular feature and also acted as identity markers for buildings to be considered Islamic. These patterns developed, grew and extensively exploited by Muslim patrons bequeathed them this association with Islam and the enterprise called Islamic art. From the Mamluk Egypt to the sultanate India this Islamic art was recognizable, in its diverse manifestations, by the use of geometric patterns inherently based on the circle and its many polygonal

²⁸² The word Islamic is used here and in the coming section on grid geometric and Arabesque patterns to differentiate the two motif repositories the local and the central Asian /Persian. It however does not propagate the sense in which the Islamic and Hindu terms were used in colonial scholarship. Since these motifs develop immensely during Muslim rule and in lands governed by them and have been called collectively as Islamic ornamentation and patterns etc. the same has been maintained here for the sake of clarity.

²⁸³ Burckhardt, Titus. *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*. Bloomington: World Wisdom Inc., 2009. [pg. 67]

variants. Exploiting the esoteric dimension of ‘Unity’ and multiplicity the circle provided geometric potential where a single pattern could be projected in a grid form infinite number of times. From there it could converge into that parent circle and also emanate from it infinitely, covering entire surface of the built structures. The circle representing unity then becomes the basic shape and its esoteric sacred reading become synonymous with the divine.²⁸⁴ Being rejected as merely ornamental the scholars like Nasr, Burckhardt and Crichtlow etc. studied these patterns with respect to their esoteric transcendental dimension providing a higher meaning to the use and understanding of these patterns that dwelled in the spiritual realm. The Muslim mathematicians encountering the Greek philosophy and mathematics expanding it were called Pythagoreans coming from the same scholarly group of the ancient past.²⁸⁵ Crichtlow explains the basic geometric patterns starting from circle the parent shape/pattern,

The circle becomes the archetypical governing basis for all geometric shapes that unfold within it From the basic circle and the hexagonal arrangement of a group of tangential circles of the same radius surrounding it emerge the three primary shapes: the triangle, the hexagon and the square.²⁸⁶

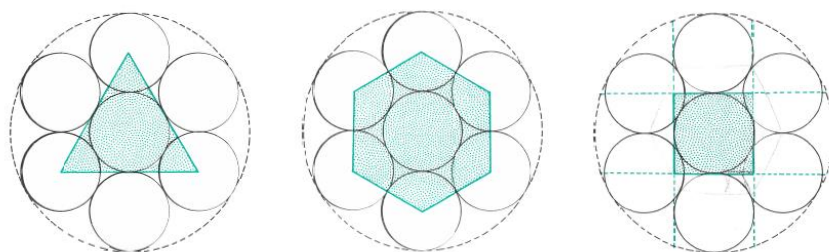


Figure 101: Basic shapes of triangle – square and hexagon generated from a circle
[Crichtlow 1976 – pg. 25]

²⁸⁴ Refer, Crichtlow, Keith. *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976. Nasr, Sayyed Hossein. *Islamic Art and Spirituality*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1987.

²⁸⁵ Crichtlow, Keith. *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976.

²⁸⁶ Ibid [pg 7]

These shapes creating myriad patterned grids from the corpus of Islamic art had inherent meaning hidden and manifest through Unity an attribute of the divine.

Islamic art is the result of the manifestation of Unity upon the plane of multiplicity. It reflects in a blinding manner the Unity of the Divine Principle, the dependence of all multiplicity upon the One, the ephemerality of the world and the positive qualities of cosmic existence or creation about which God asserts in the Quran, 'Our Lord! Thou createst not this in vain.' (111; 191) This art makes manifest, in the physical order directly perceivable by the senses, the archetypal realities and acts, therefore, as a ladder for the journey of the soul from the visible and the audible to the Invisible which is also Silence transcending all sound.²⁸⁷

This resonance with the unity and the divine was evident to the artisans who worked on the monuments aestheticizing them for the viewer and evoking and elevating the spiritual position of the beholder.

These self-evident mathematical patterns with their esoteric philosophical value became invisible foundation upon which the 'art' was built. This meant that the 'Islamic' artist was not only versed in the mathematics in the geometrical sense, but that mathematics was integral to his art as it was a 'universal' structure supporting insights that characterize all true art. The great masters of this art were certainly motivated by and versed in spiritual disciplines that gave both content and meaning to their work and placed it in the tradition of aiding the viewer to raise his or her spiritual understanding.²⁸⁸

Going forward by this understanding the artisans working on these buildings were creating art that was holy and seeing them can be understood as an act of worship, in my opinion. This is a lengthy topic with copious amount of scholarship available here it is safe to assert that the patterns coming from the corpus of Islamic art were as symbolically laden as their local counterparts. Nasr is a proponent of a connection between all traditional pre modern arts (including architecture) where a ritual act of circumambulation, for example, of the holy *Kaaba* draws associations with the

²⁸⁷ Nasr, Sayyed Hossein. *Islamic Art and Spirituality*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1987. [pg. 7]

²⁸⁸ Critchlow, Keith. *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1976. [pg. 8]

circumambulation of the Buddhist stupa.²⁸⁹ These are interchangeable acts of rituals co-existing in different physical and temporal realms. Diverging from the anthropomorphic display of gods in sculptural form here the divine became manifest in the circle and its many polygonal variants creating awestruck patterns that were then colored using tile mosaics or remained monochromatic. These patterns appear at Makli in the wake of Arghuns and Tarkhans settling and ruling Thatta and lower Sindh.



Figure 102: Assembly of geometric grid patterns from Makli

²⁸⁹ Refer, Nasr, Sayyed Hossein. *Islamic Art and Spirituality*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1987. Kaaba is the house of God for the Muslims in the direction of which the prayers are directed. All the mihrab niches in mosques or tombs point towards Kaaba that is due west in case of Makli. Refer *Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation Islamic Art Networks - Technical Glossary*. January 2002. <http://www.islamic-art.org/Glossary/NewGlossary.asp?DisplayedChar=11> (accessed June 17, 2020).

This is a clear indication of westward importation of the decorative motifs the use of which is rare to almost absent from the earlier Samma corpus of carved motifs. The symbolic connotation these carved motifs had absorbed from the local, Indic and Central Asian agencies co-exist at Makli. The site display tolerance enough to sustain and use the motifs from multiple reference points adorning the funerary abodes of the deceased. What becomes interesting is continuity of local decorative, structural and formal jargon along with Central Asian / Persian departures. Here both larger subcontinental and the Islamic symbolical readings can be projected on the tombs and its decorative program. Associations can be drawn from both local and foreign agencies depending on the position of the scholar. These associative readings can similarly be projected on the formal appearance of the tombs - the domed square chamber.

4.3.3:- The Mandapas or the Chahar-Taq – The Domed Square Form and its Pluralist Symbolism:

The form of the domed square a basic cube with half a sphere on top unite the square and the circle in three dimensions. These two shapes and their three dimensional form have symbolic attributes that transcend the decorative two dimensional domain of grid patterns and can be read similarly in the forms and the meanings they acquire based on the inherent esoteric understanding of these basic shapes.²⁹⁰ Sayyed Hossein Nasr in the foreword for “Sense of Unity” writes,

The Square of the *Ka’bah* repeated in the classical courtyards and buildings, is not *just* a square. It is also the symbol of stability and completion and reflection of the quadrangular temple of paradise of which the *Ka’bah* itself is the earthly image. The octagonal form of so many mosques is not *just* an architectural device to enable the architect to place the dome upon a square base, but a reflection of the Divine Throne (*‘arsh*), which according to Islamic traditions is supported by eight angels. The dome is *just* not a way to cover the walls. It is the

²⁹⁰ The symbolism of domed square form w.r.t Islamic esoteric readings was discussed in master’s dissertation and is presented here briefly. Refer, Junejo, Rabela. "Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters at Makli Necropolis (14th - 16th C)." Ankara: Unpublished Thesis, Dec 2012. [pg 86-89]

image of the vault of heaven and beyond it of the infinite and illimitable world of the Spirit of which the sphere or circle is the most direct symbol.²⁹¹

The physical and the heavenly realm are represented in architecture through the cube and the vault then. The stability of the square and the dynamism of the circle are associated with the physical and the heavenly realm and coming together at Makli in the tombs may infer symbolical readings into form and not just the decorative program. The square and the circle than transcend being simple shapes and become laden with symbolic esoteric meanings.

The square or a cube is the most arrested and inactive shapes. The cube is therefore regarded as the symbol of the earth in the macro-scale the circle or sphere, which is the most perfect shape, symbolizing the lightness and total mobility of Spirit. The terms “cosmic tent”, “majestic parasol”, “cosmic egg” and “heavenly bowl” convey the esoteric meanings associated with dome. Within Islamic culture, the dome (*gunbad*) maintains its ancient imagery while prong a vivid manifestation of fundamental Islamic cosmogony. By means of symbolic transfer, the Islamic attributes of center, circle and sphere are inherent in the dome are fully realized.²⁹²

Ardalan and Bakhtiar producing an extensive work on Persian architecture and the inherent symbolical readings, drawn from multiple philosophical and theosophical texts produced in the early days of Islam, maintain that these forms with their number symbolism were esoterically conceived. They draw parallels with Persian and Zoroastrian traditions and domed square here becomes synonymous with the likes of *chahar-taq* or a fire temple.²⁹³ Explaining *chahar-taq* he writes,

In its forms, it embodies the most basic resolution of the square and the circle. The cubical volume of the base, viewed as man, earth. Or the earthly paradise is the supreme symbol of immobility and the most externalized manifestation of

²⁹¹ Quoting Nasr from foreword refer, Ardalan, Nadir, Laleh Bakhtiar. 1973. *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*. Chicago. Univeristy of Chicago Press.

²⁹² Ardalan, Nadir, Laleh Bakhtiar. 1973. *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*. Chicago. Univeristy of Chicago Press.

²⁹³ *Chahar –Taq* is a square structure having arched openings from four sides covered with a dome. Refer, *Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation Islamic Art Networks - Technical Glossary*. January 2002. <http://www.islamic-art.org/Glossary/NewGlossary.asp?DisplayedChar=11> (accessed June 17, 2020).

the Creator In short, it presents to the imagination those basic and apparently the most stable aspects of temporal life. Super imposed upon this space is the circular or spherical dome, representing the world of pure quality. Symbolizing the lightness and total mobility of the Spirit, it is a form that has no beginning and no end. Its sole point of reference is its center, through which develops the metaphysical axis that links it with the axis of the square resting below it. This Vertical Cause unites the two forms qualitatively and the transformation of the circle into the square represents a quantitative unification Here, then within the primordial forms of the circle and the square traditional man finds his spatial locus. The *chahar taq* shelters his place of spiritual birth life and death.²⁹⁴

All the elements in this form of domed square coming together in a tomb from the threshold to the *mihrab* and the dome represent the ascending of soul of the deceased into the other world. It is where the deceased leaving the physical body into the square representing the earth is lifted in the spirit form into the heavens one can infer. The dome being representative of the heaven or the spiritual realm above gets accentuated vertically reinforcing the flight of the spirit. The tomb of Jam Nizam, Isa Tarkhan II, Kaus Sultani, Jani-Ghazi Beg and all other tombs can then be read with the lens of spiritual symbolism. Abbas Daneshvari demonstrates similar reading for the tomb towers of Iran in his book where ingredients of shade, ascension and veneration along with the symbolism of shapes and forms are dispensed for the reader.²⁹⁵ The pre modern or traditional architecture, built under Muslim patronage is replete with symbolic overtone both in its form and number symbolism of geometric patterns.²⁹⁶ These symbolic overtones are however not limited to the Islamic theosophical realm.

Alka Patel makes a strong case for *mandapas* and *garbhagriha* of temples being parallels of the main dome chamber of the mosque and similarly of the canopy

²⁹⁴ Nadir Ardalan, Laleh Bakhtiar. *The Sense of Unity: The Sufi Tradition in Persian Architecture*. Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago, 1973.

²⁹⁵ Daneshvari, Abbas. *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran and Turan: An Iconographical Study*. Lexington: Mazda Publishers in Association with Udena Publications, 1986.

²⁹⁶ Nasr, Sayyed Hossein. *Islamic Art and Spirituality*. New York: State University of Newyork Press, 1987. [pgs. 37-60]

pavilions used as tombs.²⁹⁷ Patel's book focuses on the Maru-Gurjara style or tradition of architecture in vogue in 12th -14th centuries in Gujarat. This insightful research brings to fore the treatises of architecture produced by the local masons for architecture that incorporated the mosque as a temple building typology called *rahmana prasada*.²⁹⁸ Not only was there a clientele for architecture and a democratized secularity amongst the masons and artisans there was also a visual complacency and acceptance of motifs that do not disturb the basic canons of Islam and hence a mosque becomes an important typology to be included in the treatise so as to ease the process of construction. The *mandapa* for Patel therefore becomes derivative synonym of the main mosque *liwan* bay and that unit could be multiplied to attain multiple bays as the size of the mosques grew.²⁹⁹ The *garbhagriha* of the temples having a basic square form with multiple corner moldings that developed overtime topped with a *sikhara* roof coupled together are potent with spiritual meanings.³⁰⁰ These temple forms and holy sanctums were they the main inspirational springboard for the masons when the tombs and mosques for Muslim patrons were integrated in the buildings corpus of the region or the synonymity was drawn from the symbolical esoteric leaning of the *chahar-taq* and its variant. Maybe for the local masons it was the former and the patron it was the latter both borrowing from

²⁹⁷ Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Elements of temple architecture are presented in appendix c.

²⁹⁸ *Rahman* is one of the attributes and names of the Muslim god and *prasada* meaning temple coming together in the treatise became a building type loosely understood as temple for a Muslim god. Refer, Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. [pg 10]

²⁹⁹ Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. [pg 110]. Here *liwan* means the roofed prayer hall in front of the *qibla* in Indian mosque and *mandapa* is the columnar hall or canopy pavilions preceding the *garbhagriha* the womb house or sanctum of the temple the mostly holy place of the temple where statue of deity is placed with a *sikhara* meaning mountain peak above. For further information refer Acharya, Prasanna Kumar. *An Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944-46. Grover, Satish. *Buddhist and Hindu Architecture in India*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2003 (1980). Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. [glossary pg. 169-173]

³⁰⁰ Grover, Satish. *Buddhist and Hindu Architecture in India*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2003 (1980).

their personal understanding and theosophical leanings. This interchangeability of associations that appears at Makli and the pregnant readings from this prolific symbolical realm that can be projected on these forms, where a tomb can be a *mandapa* in its canopy form or a square can be derivative of a *garbhagriha* coming from local lexicon and local Hindu and Buddhist traditions it also can be a *chahartaq* utilizing the basic cube form with arches and vaults representing the union of the earthly and heavenly realms. The pillared porches of the temples, the *mandapas*, are visually identical to the canopy tombs of medieval period both formally and decoratively. At the same time the cubes of the tombs resonate with the cube of the Kaába and the dome is the cosmic domain drawing meaning from Islamic theosophical repository.

The availability of architectural examples from local, Indic temple architecture and western Central Asia/ Persian mosques and tombs reconcile at Makli to produce architecture in both its lithic and brick form that (can) draw parallels from these points reference. The encounter, therefore, was not just of the physical and decorative material it transcends into the spiritual domain. This encounter not only brings polygonal grid patterns and lotus together but projects parallels on the form which can either be a sanctums of temples or square of a *Kaába* or both. The plurality at Makli hence, come full circle integrating, formal, structural, decorative and symbolic propensities from the region and / or foreign or distant lands.

4.4:- CONCLUSION – UNPACKING THE REGIONAL AND FOREIGN AGENCIES:

While dismantling the inspirations from multiple centers there is always a catch, that is, one culture becoming superior and the other inferior. The analysis and symbolical readings of the selected monuments presented in this chapter however negated and discouraged the idea of a superior or an inferior culture and by extension religions. The process of mediation of religious ideas were fairly mature by the time one reaches 14th century in Sindh and it continued as observed till the 18th century as evidenced in the architecture of Makli. Fourteenth century Sindh have already gone

through the process of organic conversions that Eaton, Edwards and Maclean advocate.³⁰¹ It came under the Muslim rulers in the early 8th century exchanging multiple hands and reaching fourteenth century under the rule of local Samma overlords who themselves went through a process of conversion. From fourteenth to eighteenth century further change of rulers appear finally lower Sindh subsumes into the larger Mughal domain as a province under Emperor Akbar in the late 16th century and continued to be so till the Kalhora rulers from the local stock took charge in the mid-18th century.³⁰² This Sindh of fourteenth century had developed compatibility and complacency with a plural polyglot way of life manifest in its literature that used Persian or Sanskrit and Sindhi languages along with many other dialectical variant of myriad local languages. The Persian that was fairly contextualized much to the chagrin of Burton is representative of the contextualized architecture of Makli.³⁰³ It is a Sindh where in the earliest capital city of Mansura under the Muslim rule were found door knockers that showed a foliated Kufic famous in African mercantile regions and the zoomorphic forms coming from local jargon.³⁰⁴

³⁰¹ Refer, Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984. Edwards, Holly. "Genesis of Islamic Architecture in Indus Valley." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. New York, 1990. Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000. Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003.

³⁰² Refer, Lari, Suhail Zaheer. *A History of Sindh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

³⁰³ Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851.

³⁰⁴ Refer Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in "Arab" Sind." In *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Deborah S. Hutton Rebecca M. Brown, 365-397. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011. —. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.



Figure 103: Two door knockers from the set of four excavated at Mansura the Abbasid capital of Sindh. [Flood, 2011 - 375]

The door knockers are therefore an encounter in the early days of Islam not shying away from combining the art of calligraphy, the sacred art, with zoomorphic grotesque motifs common in the region. How does one situate such items or art and architecture in an “Islamic” or “Hindu” canon as whatever they visually presents unsettles the boundaries of the canon and refuse to be standardized by virtue of their plurality. Flood presents this dilemma in an eloquent manner in his article suggesting the scarcity artifacts from Arab Sindh and the further shortage in the art history scholarship says,

...those few artifacts that may be confidently identified as of Sindi provenance straddle the divide between what modern scholars define as “Islamic” and “Indic” cultures, and are therefore not easily accommodated within the taxonomies that have ordered modern scholarship on South Asia since its inception under colonial rule in the nineteenth century. It is, however, precisely this elusive quality that lends the art and architecture of Sind its interest, not only as remnants or a “lost dimension” of Abbasid art, but also in their simultaneous claim to what are usually thought of as distinct cultural identities. In this sense, the material from early medieval Sind, however fragmentary, provides a convenient site from which to begin rethinking the categorical structures upon which modern understandings of the past are invariably based. In doing so, it not only poses a challenge to the canons and taxonomies of modern art history, but

calls into question the logic of stasis and singularity that underlies contemporary notions of a medieval “clash of civilizations.”³⁰⁵

These disturbing qualities that shock the taxonomic paradigm were retained throughout the centuries and are readable in the sepulcher remains of Makli. This in essence is tantamount to the mercantile absorbing culture of Sindh where derivations can be drawn from Islamic cosmic symbolism and at the same time auspicious Buddhist, Jain and Hindu connotations. It is where the domed square can be achieved from trabeated structural components and an arcuate form gets camouflaged by a colonnade. The centuries of co-existence nurtured the encounters and parallels and equivalences were drawn probably some fluctuating flexible boundaries were set as well. It is this realm some 800 years or so later after the Arab occupancy of Sindh the local Samma rulers start building their tombs for posterity that disturbed the colonial gaze. The later writings although mentioning local contributions of the early pre – Muslim past situated the monuments within larger corpus of Islamic building tradition and did stylistic divisions based on dynastic rule leaving limited room for a dialogue for continuities and departures both from within the site and the larger geography, in my opinion. Why Sindh then did not totally become arcuate as by 14th century Delhi and its architecture was fairly conversant in arcuate syntax. Were the Samma retaining some semblance of their past even after conversion or was it just an accepted visual vocabulary of architecture that was used and continued throughout the building activity at Makli. The insistence on using certain forms although with the limited capacity of masons and placements of elements and motifs somehow dismiss the idea of unintelligible juxtaposition and rather advocates a conscious attempt at retaining the local and absorbing the new. Sindh had the tendency and potential to do so as has been the tradition for so many centuries. What then becomes local to Sindh, although not limited to it and can be projected on the mercantile centers of Indian subcontinent, is providing a prolific ground for encounter of architectural and artistic ideas defying style, taxonomy and cultivating integration, adoption, adaption and hence plurality. Any limiting singular framework may not do

³⁰⁵ Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in "Arab" Sind." In *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Deborah S. Hutton Rebecca M. Brown, 365-397. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011. [pg. 368]

justice to the architecture of Makli that borrows and appropriates from myriad referential points. A kaleidoscopic rather than myopic lens can provide a comprehension to the four hundred years long building tradition of the site – and using encounter as a paradigm that acts as an entity flexible enough to encompass the ambivalences of the site. The analysis therefore presented in the chapter attempted to bring myriad regional and foreign agencies (from whichever position one reads them as regional and foreign) to supplement the reading and comprehension of the tombs at Makli.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION – SUMMING UP AND CONTEMPLATING FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES

The dissertation dealt with the funerary remains of Makli analyzing them under the encounter – integration paradigm. The site of Makli houses funerary remains from four different ruling dynasties and witnessed continued building activity for four hundred years. Between fourteenth to eighteenth centuries Makli the necropolis of the ruling elite of Thatta, the capital of lower Sindh, saw an impetus and increment in tomb building activity. This rather productive time for building monuments for the dead has garnered Makli a position as one of the largest necropolises in the world and a world heritage site status with UNESCO.³⁰⁶ The site is the crowning glory for the now relatively smaller town of Thatta dispensing clues of the once exalted past, now lost. Architectural and heritage value of the site is indicated by the world heritage status. The dissertation study examined the heritage declared architecture of the site and presented analysis of selected monuments. The rationale for the examination was supported by at length discussion and inquiry of historiographical material, older and contemporary. Preceding the analysis this discussion formed the basis for investigation and provided tools to evaluate the tombs and their architecture. This chapter concludes the discourse presented in the preceding chapters by summing up information dispensed. It addresses research questions presented in the introduction chapter in the light of discussions posited in the dissertation and proposes future directions that stem from the research.

³⁰⁶ Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

5.1:- OVERVIEW:

The preliminary investigations of the material remains of the site helped identify gaps within the already existing scholarship for example the three major books referred, by Dani, Hasan and Lari – a monograph of monuments of Makli – a comprehensive literary source on the funerary memorial architecture of Pakistan and a focused monograph of the Samma period monuments respectively.³⁰⁷ The information centric approach of the literature on site provided much needed base used as a spring board, as basic architectural information with select drawings, dimensions of monuments, decorative details and information regarding the deceased from the epigraphic information of the tombs already existed in these sources. Therefore a ripened environment existed for the author to further the literature and evaluate tombs within encounter - integration paradigm as basic level information already existed in published sources. The encounter paradigm was supported with literary sources under several thematic heads and their critical evaluation was presented in chapter two of the dissertation. The second chapter structured thematically dispensed a historiographical discourse and critical review focusing on but not limited to ‘architectural sources’ of subcontinent majorly covering sultanate time frame.

The need to propose a fresh outlook or an alternate history of architecture for the site was supported by the evaluation of sources. The architecture of Makli and by extension lower Sindh was aligned with the regional architecture produced during sultanate period and later Mughal period. The problems in history writings whilst dealing cumulatively with sultanate period were, they became increasingly Delhi centric condensing regional or provincial variants into few pages of the book and taking Delhi or imperial architecture as a yard sticks to measure the regional architecture. The plurality was addressed as discrepancy or an adulteration of sorts as elements were associated with religions and by that understanding Muslim elements

³⁰⁷ Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982. Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid. *The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture*. Karachi: Royal book Company, 2001. Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997.

and Hindu elements could not appear on a single building rather than taking these monuments as plural they were taken as secondary. Temple desecration and use of spolia propagated the barbaric might of Muslim rulers raging destruction wherever they set foot and it received undue weightage any ambivalences were provided a resolution of reuse of material from a razed temple for making mosques and mausoleums etc. This exaggeration of spolia narrative had a colonial residue, temple desecration was neither as widespread nor a new phenomenon for the land and had pre-Muslim history and legacy. The sultanate history therefore was in need of much denied attention that it started receiving in recent past. In fields of artistic and literary domain revisionist histories started to appear at the core addressing the exchanges and appropriation that ensued by virtue of pluralistic nature of the period. In this newly formed perspective lower Sindh was situated by the author as another sultanate provincial or regional polity, architecture of which could not be addressed with central Delhi and its imperial building material as benchmark. Here, lower Sindh became synonymous with other sultanate polities like sultanate of Gujarat (1407-1573 CE), or Bengal (1352-1576 CE) for example. Parallels were drawn highlighting characteristics of Sindh falling in line with other variegated provincial polities at the core again was the plurality manifest in the nature of the land and by extension in architecture of Makli. Prior to discussing lower Sindh colonial literature, a huge epistemology exercise, propagandizing the architectural remains to generate a Hindu -Muslim / Indic – Islamic rift was dismantled and the surveys produced on architecture were focused. This seminal oft referred literature created a twofold interrelated problem of Indic - Islamic and Hindu – Muslim divide and was pivotal in superimposing the Euro Centric model of taxonomic categorization of architecture and its writing under style. This model showed longevity perpetuating the contemporary history writings albeit in a slightly revised nationalistic guise. Taxonomic burden required shedding in order to begin any revised/ alternate writing on history of architecture of lower Sindh. The standardization or production of canonic narrative on Makli was impossible and unnecessary. The site stands audaciously defying standardization that was demonstrated in the analysis chapter. The alternative approach charted out to examine the 400 years of architectural production on the site based itself on the encounter – integration paradigm. The

coming together of variety of elements, from diverse religious, geographic and ethnic referential points converging at Makli, was vindicated under encounter – integration paradigm. Before proceeding with that in the analysis chapter however, encounter, its merits and premise were discussed in order to understand its limitations and boundaries. It facilitated and supplemented a revised approach that cumulatively dealt with myriad agencies like foreign, regional and Indic supporting pluralism. Encounter defined as a fruitful contact, encouraged the idea of exchange and acknowledged the porosity of Makli as a site absorbing and appropriating shifts and departures coming with migration of rulers from the west and reflected in its architecture. It also mediated the polarity of Islamic – Indic assumed to be monolithic entities and hence non-negotiable. In reality these entities that were a product of colonial reading of medieval past of the subcontinent were disapproved. These suggested immutable identities displayed enough flexibility and reconciled. This reconciliation is manifest in the architecture of the funerary remains at Makli.

To produce a comprehensive analysis of the architecture based on encounter-integration paradigm a set of four tombs was selected from some forty standing tombs. The criterion for selection was based primarily on the condition of the tombs. Other components for criteria had basis on the wealth of material they displayed for analysis. The more decoratively populated tombs provided enough ground for extensive analysis. The four tombs selected were from both brick and stone varieties and from Samma and Tarkhan (under Mughals) period. The list of standing tombs was however formed providing basic information about these ensembles and a catalog of some 28/30 selected monuments from different all dynasties is added in appendix 01 for readers' facilitation. The basic design features layout plans, elevations, decorative program of all four selected tombs were detailed separately forming the ground work for analysis.

A comparatively analysis was conducted of selected stone and brick tombs separately discussing their architectural and ornamental design. A further collective analysis of formal and decorative symbolism was also presented. The tombs not only displayed mingling of elements - formal, design and decorative, but also shared esoteric

dimension that drew stimulus and equivalences from both eastern Indic and western Central Asian/ Islamic traditions. It challenged the colonial surveys and nationalistic writings on history of architecture that propagated singular “Islamic” character for the tombs on site. The colonial writing surveys rejected most early monuments as being Hindu in their countenance to qualify for Islamic building corpus and insinuated use of spolia. They however favored the later brick and tile tombs with lofty domes as truly Islamic having the prerequisite Persian sensibility. The nationalistic post- Independence writings were sympathetic to the local / Indic contributions held on to the stylistic division separating Samma – Arghun – Tarkhan – Mughal political periods as separate stylistic categories however the analysis showed that many elemental features continued well throughout the 400 year building activity despite the political authority. By colonial formula therefore, overlooking of local features that continued, to situate the later buildings like tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan or Mirza Jani and Ghazi Beg (appendix A) into the Islamic taxonomic canon the monuments were reduced and chamfered as per the boundaries of the canon. This is a reductive approach denying anomalous features or forms a standing in corpus of building of merits in history of architecture. The analysis that was set forward to highlight so called anomalies successfully attempts to bring them to fore. It also supported the encounter narrative as one observes the appearance of arabesque floral and geometric grid interlacements appearing on the tombs with the coming of the Central Asian overlords not found on the previous tombs. This rather later appearance of the decorative program from the central Islamic lands to lower Sindh as we are talking about 16th century indicated that this mobility or migration and settling of Arghun and Tarkhan rulers ensued a new aesthetic dimension to the decorative program. Similar trends of departure were observed in design and form of the tombs. The continuities and shifts or departures, accommodation of the new within the existing made the site versatile and hence pluralistic in nature. The analysis showed that the standard taxonomic approach cannot do justice to the architecture of Makli.

5.2:- DELIBERATIONS ON THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. *Why must Makli be (re)evaluated to generate a fresh/alternative perspective on/ for its architecture?*

Makli being a plural site cannot reduce into the myopic approach of 'style' that is increasingly being debated and questioned in current history writings. The approach of colonial writers on Indian architecture based heavily on western model of taxonomy when superimposed on subcontinent the so called disturbing visuals of integrative architecture disturbed the canon fixating on inherent purity of forms and elements. These are discussed in chapter two under the head 2.2; Makli acting similarly could not be read and written via style as an approach. The style narrative that was taken forward in post-independence writings for Makli tried to rectify the biases and gross miscalculations of colonial writers. These however sanctified style narrative categorizing architecture under dynastic categories denying comparative analysis and continuation of earlier on site traditions. The analysis however proves that although there were additions in the building traditions the earlier ways were taken forward. Therefore it was important to evaluate Makli via a different lens as style no matter how inclusive left much to be desired and remained reductive.

2. *How can Makli's architecture be studied if the taxonomic burden or approach is laid off?*

Encounter proposed as an alternative way of looking or writing on Makli retained enough flexibility. This flexibility when bargaining for encounter-integration as a paradigm is manifest in analysis. For example the arabesque patterns in the later tombs when Arghuns and Tarkhans came and settled in Sindh clearly indicates the westward importation of the pattern. The encounter of decorative elements is clear in the coming of arabesque integrated with for example the lotus medallions already a common locally used decorative motif. Therefore encounter with its

adoptions, adaptations, appropriations and integrations became potent premise to analyze Makli's architecture.

3. *What are the parameters of encounter as a paradigm and how it can be justified for the evaluation/analysis of the site?*

Encounter as discussed in chapter two meant an extended liaison between multiple actors and factors. It is not taken as a clash of sorts but rather a constructive association while Makli changed hands among various dynastic patrons. Encounter provides flexibility enough to deduce the negotiations that may have transpired when for example Isa Khan Tarkhan II wished to cloak his archetypical tomb with four *iwan* compound and domed square chamber with a colonnade. Or when Jam Nizam al Din wished for an arcuate visually based on trabeated construction methods. The various adoptions, adaptations and appropriations this integrative method may have taken are studied with relative ease when encounter is taken as a paradigm. Style categorizes whereas encounters dispenses negotiations and contestations that may have ensued. Style looks at architecture as an end product encounter however looks at it as a process.

4. *What are the characteristic features of the site and the region of Sindh that align it with larger sultanate period revisionist historiographical approach?*

The site being a victim of colonial partiality for displaying 'Hindu' (a colonial demarcation) features on 'Muslim' tombs resonated with the approach taken for most of Indic monuments in their writings. The revisionist contemporary approaches taps into the process through which the integration happens and how the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic visuals were appropriated to settle within the boundaries / limitations of the forbidden of the new patrons. The allowances that were exercised and omissions that appear while reuse of material from temples or when masons from local origins develop their repertoire of making arches that develop from corbelled technique to true arch system. Makli having similar tendencies as the rest of the subcontinent and Sindh being polyglot and

culturally heterogeneous region as discussed in chapter two section 2.3 fits perfectly within the sultanate with small 's' and aligns with the revisionist contemporary writings and required a fresh perspective to view the region and the site.

5.3:- CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIELD OF HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE:

The scholar proposed encounter - integration as a paradigm for study of architectural remains of Makli. It was deliberated in the research how an alternative approach is imperative for study of remains at Makli as they are pluralistic in nature. The encounter paradigm was validated by an in depth architectural analysis. This analysis brought together the entire site whilst systematically locating the various encounters that ensued by identifying departures, continuations and additions - especially with the coming of Arghuns and Tarkhans and importation of their westward aesthetics.

The dissertation advocated the appreciation of both local and foreign elements for their aesthetics merits disregarding the religion and disassociating architecture of Sindh from the burden of "Muslim" or "Hindu" religious categories. By virtue of this the bi-polar narrative of foreign and local, therefore, was also called into question.

The research initiated evaluation of architecture of Makli that departs from STYLE and CANON, the most pervasive method to study history of architecture that is inherently reductive in nature. By bringing the contemporary revisionist approaches in architectural history writings of the subcontinent to the region of Sindh, the style and canon was challenged and a new dimension for reading architecture of Sindh and Makli via encounter was carried forward. This led to proposing reading of region of Sindh as a separate sultanate polity, as it operates in similar fashion and inherits similar biases. The colonial literature specific to architecture of Sindh was critically studied supplemented by sources dealing with the subcontinent at large. By bringing the debate of colonial bias in architectural writings to the region of Sindh the scholar

contributed to the architectural historiography - as the region of Sindh remains almost a virgin territory while questioning colonial bias.

5.4:- FUTURE RESEARCH POSSIBILITIES AND DIRECTIONS:

The two major future directions that came to fore while conducting research on Makli and its architecture were study of the larger Indian ocean littoral and the dissemination of cultural and artistic heritage in the backdrop of mercantile activity and the study of stone carving tradition of the lower Sindh and its neighboring regions like Baluchistan to the west and Tharparkar – Kutch and Gujarat to the east.

The Indian Ocean studies focused on material and artistic cultural dissemination from lower Sindh and its ports can further the plural and accommodating nature of the land. It can also make one grasp the communications and exchanges that were held amongst the neighboring mercantile cities of the region. The Portuguese trade on the port of Sindh was discussed in section 2.3.3 of the dissertation and there is immense scope for further research in this direction. The trade ports have been mentioned in several old history accounts and stretch trade activities from the region as far back as Bronze Age and earlier times. By virtue of their mercantile nature these ports and their associate cities appeared fairly tolerant and exposed to the world at large than their in land counter parts, perhaps.³⁰⁸ The mercantile nature of Sindh for example as mentioned by Flood applying floriated *Kufic* script on the door knockers of Mansura (figure: 105) that was in vogue in Africa at the time and not in the subcontinental region at large shows the peculiar or concentrated mercantile artistic borrowings that ensued due to connectivity through the Indian Ocean trade.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁸ Refer, Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Thapar, Romila. *Early India From the Origins to AD 1300*. California: University of California Press, 2002. Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in "Arab" Sind." In *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Deborah S. Hutton Rebecca M. Brown, 365-397. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011. —. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009.

According to Patel and Eaton the earliest Muslim communities were also communities that were connected with trade.³¹⁰ The interactions that these communities had with the locals the kind of architecture they produced or negotiated etc. provide interesting insights into early accommodation of a monotheistic belief in the world largely dominated by polytheist tendencies. The invasion of the Arabs on Sindh in 711/12 CE that granted them the permanent presence in the subcontinent and bestowed on Sindh the title of gateway of Islam was largely an endeavor to acquire a trade post.³¹¹ Although this can be debated but the later policies of the Arabs in the region are reflective of the importance of the trade post of Sindh.³¹²

The inland trade routes also played an important role but these maritime – mercantile ports of Sindh have potential to shed further light on the polyglot tendencies of the region that may have been an outcome of interaction with myriad diverse range people coming from different areas for trade purposes and the locals interacting with them learning about the wonders of the world at large. This may have made Sindh tolerant to the diversity but it must be studied further to understand the dynamics of exchanges and interactions. The kind of port cities or port infrastructure that can be reconstructed from the sources or the workshops of copper workers or pottery workers etc. built near the port if any can also be investigated. The port held importance for Sindh and the Arab invasion of 711/12 CE, Emperor Akbar stationing Tarkhan governors in Thatta the capital but keeping the port under his direct jurisdiction or the British trying hard to negotiate with the Mir's of Sindh to get a

³⁰⁹ Refer, Flood, Finbarr Barry. "Conflict and Cosmopolitanism in "Arab" Sind." In *A Companion to Asian Art and Architecture*, edited by Deborah S. Hutton Rebecca M. Brown, 365-397. Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2011.

³¹⁰ Eaton, Richard M. *Essays on Islam and Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2000. Eaton, Richard M., ed. *India's Islamic Traditions, 711-1750*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press India, 2003. Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

³¹¹ Patel, Alka. "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh." In *Sindh Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 81-95. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2008.

³¹² Maclean, Derryl N. "Religion and Society in Arab Sind." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Montreal, 1984.

treaty for trade from its ports despite the disfavor the received, are telling accounts of the significance the port held for quite a long time in history.³¹³

The second area for future research comes from the lithic building tradition of funerary structures in lower Sindh that swings between artistic and architectural realms. Makli was not the only instance where carved grave cenotaphs appear in lower Sindh. It was a local practice in vogue in the regions of lower Sindh, Baluchistan and Gujarat Kutch areas. There are scholars who have worked on the tribal funerary tradition of Sindh.³¹⁴ The select few of these remarkable graveyards are presented in appendix B. Since the focus of the research was on tombs and their architecture grave cenotaphs of Makli were not included in the research and a parallel tribal practice of stone carved grave tradition existed their interactions and correlations can be explored. It may also be directed towards the communities of artisans and masons guildic or otherwise that may have existed in the area as the demand for the work and patronage seems immense. The proliferation of the remains of the graveyards is a testimony to a huge demand of such funerary structures and the possibility of a thriving artisan community of stone carvers. These funerary memorial structures can shed light on the dynamics the ruling elite shared with the tribal martial races. Here the accommodating nature of Sindh and exchange of traditions amongst communities coming from diverse ethnic and religious background is again manifest in erection of memorial stones for the fallen heroes and

³¹³ Paliwal, Amita. "Sind in the Mughal Empire (1591-1740): A Study of its Admisitration, Society, Economy and Culture." *Unpublished PhD Thesis*. Aligarh, 2010. Ali, Mubarak. *Essays on The History of Sindh*. Lahore: Fiction House Lahore, 2005. Burton, Richard F. *Sindh and The Races that Inhabit the Valley of the Indus*. London: W H Allen and Co., 1851. Baloch N. A., A. Q. Rafiqi. "The Region of Sind, Baluchistan, Multan and Kashmir: The Historical, Social and Economic Settings." *UNESCO Silk Road Dialogue, Diversity and Development*. n.d. <https://en.unesco.org/silkroad/knowledge-bank/regions-sind-baluchistan-multan-and-kashmir-historical-social-and-economic-setting> (accessed October 11, 2019). Patel, Alka. "Of Merchants, Courtiers, and Saints: The Islamic Architecture of Sindh." In *Sindh Past Glory Present Nostalgia*, edited by Pratapaditya Pal, 81-95. Mumbai: Marg Publication, 2008. —. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

³¹⁴ For example, Lashari, Kaleemullah. *A Sudy of Stone Carved Graves*. Karachi: Sindh Archives Information and Archives Department Govt. of Sindh, 1996. Kalhoro, Zulfiqar Ali. "The Tombs of Burfat Tribe at Taung, Thana Bula Khan, Sindh." *Ancient Asia* 3 (2011): 79-97., —. *Perspectives on The Art and Architecture of Sindh*. Karachi: Endowment Fund Trust , 2014. Brohi, Ali Ahmad. *History of Tombstones of Sind and Baluchistan* . Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1986.

deities in Tharparkar region.³¹⁵ The commemoration of the deceased finds in routes into the religion where funerary practices differ from the Muslim practice. What kind of parallels can be drawn between the two commemorative practices? What exchanges social, religious and artistic occurred? This area has potential for future deliberations.

Other than these two major streams, some additional areas that hold potential for future researches on the site is study of the epigraphy of the site that has been taken up by scholars from time to time and a comprehensive extensive research in the field will be a good addition to the corpus of studies on Makli.³¹⁶ This study of epigraphy can lead to the information about the masons and craft persons who worked on the site opening up multiple avenues for further research possibilities. Comparative analysis of cemeteries and necropolises built under Muslim patrons with Makli holds a lot of potential as another research area. There is much that remains to be studied and researched further with respect to lower Sindh and its material culture between the prolific fourteenth to eighteenth and later centuries before the coming of British in Sindh in 1843 CE. A portion of that architectural history is presented in this dissertation from a fresh perspective by the scholar. From the outset Makli remained a difficult site to tackle with the old school taxonomic tools. Unless a fresh premise was charted out for evaluating the architecture the author believes the narrative produced would have been injudicious. A site like Makli should not be viewed with a restrictive vision that has plagued scholarship on Quwattul Islam mosque of Delhi with scholars either focusing on its many post and lintel temple components or the arched screen that adorns the front of its *liwan*. Architecture, if unburdened from the rigid categorization, has immense potential to reflect back on the social and cultural dynamics of its time and Makli and its architectural remains stand as a testament to that.

³¹⁵ Kalhoro, Zulfiqar Ali. *Archaeology, Art and Religion in Sindh*. Karachi: Culture and Tourism Department, Government of Sindh., 2018.

³¹⁶ The most recent work on epigraph is by Dr. Kaleemullah Lashari, refer, Lashari, Dr. Kaleemullah. *Epigraphy of Makli*. Karachi: Sindh Exploration & Adventure Society : Culture Tourism & Antiquates Department Government of Sindh., 2018. One earlier work on the same lines is, Ghafur, M. A. *The Calligraphers of Thatta*. Karachi: Pakistan - Iran Cultural Association, 1968.

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GLOSSARY ³¹⁷

Ahl-al-Kitab: People of the book. In the early days of Islam Christians and Jews were considered people of the book as all these are Abrahamic religions. Once Islam spread to other regions Zoroastrians and Hindus / Buddhist were also given a similar status and rights as people of the book. Also refer Dhimmis/Zimmis.

Amalaka: Myrobalan fruit used as the crowning member of temples in India. It is shaped like a segmented disc and crowns the sikhara roof with a finial on top.

Arabesque: This is one of the major vegetal and geometric interlacement techniques used in Islamic architecture. It appears like scrolls of leafs and stems interweaving to create an interlaced geometry.

Ardhapadma: Half lotus appearing as stone carved motif in architecture.

Banna'i: This is an ornamental technique originating in Persia using alternative glazed and plain bricks pattern achieved through laying of brick masonry.

Bhakti: Originating in southern India and spreading all across the peninsula, it is medieval period movement preaching love, devotion, inclusiveness and equality drawing parallels with Sufism.

Bunder / Bandar: A local term in Sindh used for mercantile port.

Calligraphy: The art of writing verses from Quran on myriad surfaces like, scrolls, books, objects and architecture. Multiple scripts developed overtime for example Kufic, Nastaliq and Naskhi etc.

³¹⁷ For terms from Islamic architecture the following are referred, *Thesaurus Islamicus Foundation Islamic Art Networks - Technical Glossary*. January 2002. <http://www.islamicart.org/Glossary/NewGlossary.asp?DisplayedChar=11> (accessed June 17, 2020). Petersen, Andrew. *Dictionary of Islamic Architecture*. London: Routledge, 1996. For local and Indian terms following are referred, Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004. Flood, Finbarr Barry. *Objects of Translation: Material Culture and Medieval "Hindu-Muslim" Encounter*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. Acharya, Prasanna Kumar. *An Encyclopedia of Hindu Architecture*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944-46. *Balance by Buddha Groove - Meaningful Symbols – A Guide to Sacred Imagery*. n.d. <https://blog.buddhagroove.com/meaningful-symbols-a-guide-to-sacred-imagery/> (accessed March 12, 2020). Kumar, Sehdev. *A Thousand-Petalled Lotus: Jain Temples of Rajasthan, Architecture and Iconography*. New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Center for the Art - Abhinav Publications, 2001. Grover, Satish. *Buddhist and Hindu Architecture in India*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2003 (1980).

Candrasala: Dormer window or an open pavilion this also appears as a motif perched on an ogee or horseshoe arch in Indian decorative applications.

Chahar-Taq: A square open structure having a dome on top mostly associated with pre and post – Islamic Persian architecture. It is considered as precedence for domed square tombs.

Darshan Jharoka: Darshan means sight and jharoka is an oriel window or opening collectively they translate as an oriel for sight or viewing. It was used by Mughal emperors as an element in their public courts accentuating the importance of the ruler.

Dhम्मal: This is a form ritual dance performed on the mazaars of Sufis to indicate merriment or esoteric ecstasy.

Dhimmis / Zimmis: The people of the book like Jews, Christians and later Zoroastrians, Hindus and Buddhist etc., who were charged a tax or *jizya* and provided protection in return under the Muslim rulers, also refer dhimmis / zimmis.

Garbhagriha: The inner sanctum of temples in India where the main deity resides.

Gavaksha: Cow eye or sun ray aureole – used as a decorative motif also refer candrasala.

Ghatapallava: Vase and foliage motif used as an ornamental feature in architecture also refer kalasa.

Ghulam: Literally meaning slave but the connotations differ from current understand as these slaves were trained and groomed for battle or other arts as per their expertise and rose to highest official ranks in the court. Some of these slaves became ruler and 13th century in India marks the rise of Ghurid slave dynasties for example the Mamluks of Delhi.

Hadith: The collection of sayings of Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H).

Hakim: Ruler or lord in Mughal times people were given feudatories to rule over under the Mughal imperial authority.

Hazarbaf: Literally translating as thousand weave it is pattern achieved through brick lying pattern appearing like a weave pattern on architectural surfaces.

Hijri: Marks the first migration of Prophet and his companions from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE. Hijri marks the beginning of Islamic Hijri calendar.

Iwan: It is a vaulted opening mostly arched mostly having an open space or a court in front. The early appearance of an iwan comes from Sassanid architecture and was

later appropriated and applied under Muslim patronage and spread far and wide under various Muslim ruled countries.

Jali: Screen achieved through use of geometric grids of square, triangle and hexagon but not limited to it.

Jamia Masjid: Jamia masjid is a mosque that is specifically for but not limited to Friday noon prayers. Larger congregations are encouraged therefore Jamia Masjids are larger in size compared to the regular neighborhood mosques.

Jelali: Jelal or Jalal is one of the attributes or names of Muslim god Allah; it translates as anger, majesty and glory of Allah. Therefore Jelali becomes an adjective for people or divinity showing / displaying these attributes.

Jemali: Literally meaning beautiful, Jemal is an attribute of Muslim god Allah; translating as beauty and Jemali by that meaning becomes an adjective for beautiful people or divinity.

Ka'aba: The house of god in Mecca. Muslims face the direction of Ka'aba when they say their prayer five times a day.

Kalasa (Kalasha): Kalasa is a jar shaped motif mostly used as finial of domes or sikharas it is one of the auspicious symbols of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain cultures, also refer ghatapallava.

Kashikari: Enameled mosaic tile work mostly in hues of blues. Kashikari is not limited to architectural ornamentation and appears on ceramic and glazed pottery work. In Sindh the famous centers for Kashikari are Hala and Thatta.

Khanqah: Hermitage or monastery of a saint or a Sufi.

Mandala: It is a sacred geometric motif or chart that transcends religious and cultural boundaries. It appears mostly as square or circular in shape oriented as per cardinal points. It symbolizes cosmos and everything within it. Mandala plans appear in architecture also used as decorative motifs and for meditative purposes.

Mandapa: It is a columnar hall appearing in Indian temples mostly preceding the garbhagriha.

Mazaar: Mausoleum

Mihrab: The prayer niche in the mosque indicating the direction of Ka'aba.

Moonstone (sadakanda pahana): A semicircular step used in Buddhist temples also appearing at Makli, also refer udumbara.

Muqarna: An important decorative element used in buildings built under Muslim patronage can be translated to stalactites. They are achieved through brick or stone laying in succession in arcuated corners like squinches and chamfered to appear like a cascade of small arches, forming honeycomb like pattern. Later these muqarnas, although having a structural function earlier, became mostly ornamental.

Nawab: Nawab was a title of a feudal of state or viceroy holding the region maintaining sovereignty of the emperor for example Nawabs under the Mughals. This is a local term used in South Asia mostly.

Nizam: Nizam was the title mostly associated with the monarchs of Hyderabad in present day India. These were rulers that got independent during waning days of Mughal Empire in the 18th to 20th century serving as vassals for Mughals and later the colonial rulers.

Padma: Lotus.

Padmajala: Lotus chain, here Padma means lotus and jala means chain.

Padmalata: Lotus vine.

Padmashila: Also spelled padmasila, it is a lotus pendant hanging from the center of the corbelled dome, mostly found in canopy pavilions at Makli.

Pilarete: Miniature or small pillars / columns mostly round and segmented and flanking the mihrab niches.

Pilaster: Half columns projecting or jutting out from the wall.

Pir: A Muslim saintly or holy man.

Pishtaq: Persian term for a portal projecting from the façade both horizontally and vertically. Pishtaq acquired a certain morphological appearance but the ornamentation varied from region to region.

Purnaghatta: Vase of plenty, also refer kalasa.

Rahmana Parasada: Literally translating as temple for Allah or Rahman (one of the attributes or name of Muslim god Allah). This was a locally appropriated term for mosque, used in architectural treaties in the subcontinent more prominently in Gujarat and Rajasthan regions.

Raja: Local term for ruler or king in subcontinent.

Risalo: Associated with Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai the 17th/18th century Sufi poet and saint of Sindh the Risalo is collection or compendium of his poetry mostly referred as Shah-jo-risalo or only Risalo.

Rishi: Rishis are mystics or ascetics of Kashmir from the Rishi order drawing parallels with the Sufi culture.

Sanskrit: The ancient Indo-Aryan language of the subcontinent. Vedas and most of the early religious text of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism are written in Sanskrit.

Sepoy/ Sipahi: Soldier, the local term used in subcontinent was sipahi anglicized into sepoy by the colonials.

Shaivism: The cult of Hindu god Shiva.

Sikhara (shikhara): Literally translating to mountain peak it is spire like roof used in temples. The garbhagriha the holiest of the sanctums in the temple use sikhara roofs mostly.

Stupa: Originally funerary mounds appropriated in Buddhism to house relics or mark a sacred spot. Stupas are mostly hemispherical and are circumambulated.

Sufi: A Muslim ascetic or saint practicing or associated with one of the many silsilas or orders of Sufism like Naqshbandi or Suhurwardiya etc.

Sultan: Title of a Muslim ruler having Arabic origins.

Torana: Gateway, especially ceremonial gateways at cardinal points of a Stupa.

Udumbara: Threshold, also refer moon-stone.

Umma: Also spelled ummah means community used as a collective word for all of Muslim community.

Urs: Celebration of the death anniversary of a Sufi saint at their mausoleum or shrine by devotees.

Vaishnavism: The cult of Hindu god Vishnu.

Wuhdatul Wujud: Literally translating as oneness or being or unity of existence associated with metaphysical dimension of Sufism, also spelled Wahdatul wujud.

Yogi: Literally meaning a practitioner of yoga.

APPENDICES

A: - CATALOG OF SELECTED STONE AND BRICK TOMBS OF MAKLI:

The catalog of selected stone and brick monuments at Makli is prepared and shared with the readers of this research in order to provide an overview of sepulcher remains at Makli. This is not an all-inclusive list and some twenty eight plus tombs are enlisted. Different sources enumerate different number of structures that may or may not be directly funerary structures here the concern is tombs therefore tombs are presented which are in relatively better condition. Stone tombs are presented first and the brick tombs are presented later with dynastic sub-divisions.

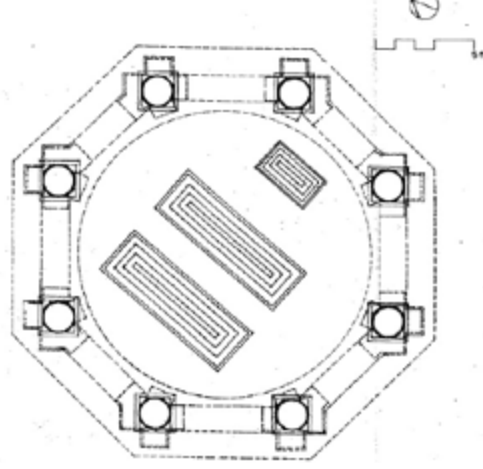
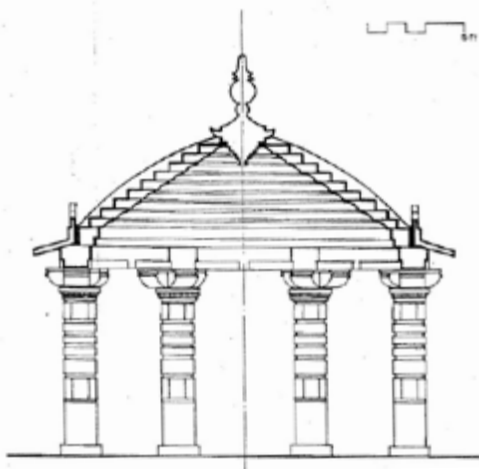
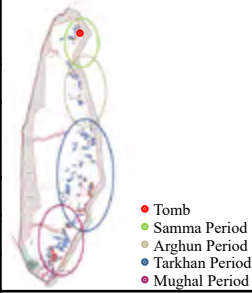
This catalog takes references from two of Heritage Foundation Pakistan booklets / publications one for color coding based on dynastic divisions and the location map and other for basic division of monuments under Samma, Arghun, Tarkhan and Mughal times, GPS coordinates and the reference number of the tombs.³¹⁸ This basic data makes the top information panel of the catalog. Photographs are taken by the author and basic information at the bottom is extracted and summarized from multiple sources.³¹⁹

³¹⁸ For color coding and map used refer, *Preservation of Tombs of Sultan Ibrahim and Amir Sultan Muhammad, WHS Makli*. Preservation Proceeding Document, Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011. For reference number, GPS coordinates and division of monuments refer *Damage Assessment Mission to the Necropolis of Makli at WHS Thatta, Pakistan*. Survey Report, Karachi: Heritage Foundation, 2011.

³¹⁹ Lari, Suhail Zaheer, Yameen Lari. *The Jewel fo Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997. Dani, Ahmad Hassan. *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*. Islamabad: Institute of Islamic History Culture and Civilization, 1982.

Tomb of Jam Tamachi

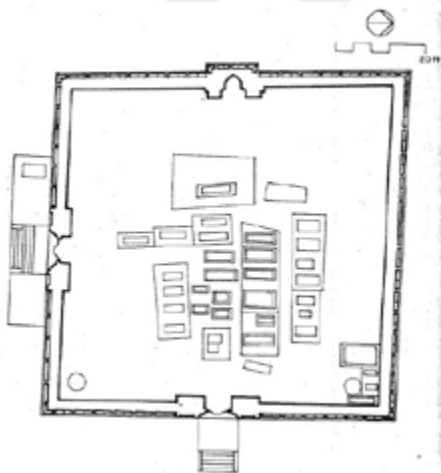
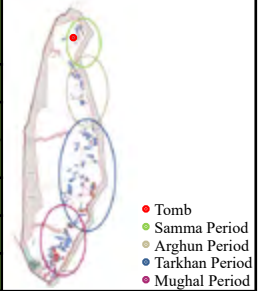
Dynasty/ Date:	Samma Period (1490-1513 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Octagonal Chattri / Canopy Pavilion
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.05
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.351'; E 67° 54.120'; 30m



Canopy of Jam Tamachi is built in stone with decorated columns shafts and four (at times five or six segments) bracketed capitals. Monolithic column shafts are segmented and have variety of engraved motifs coming from local carving repository. Drip stone or chajja, kangura type battlements and a smooth plaster coat having a kalasa (jar of plenty) finial make the outer profile of the canopy resting on columns. The dome is achieved through corbelling forming progressive rings carved or unadorned, and a padmasila (lotus) pendant at the soffit below. There are at least four canopies in the Samma cluster of which three are octagonal and one is hexagonal. Tombs of Jam Tamachi, Darya Khan Rahu, Qazi Abd Allah and unknown canopy having Persian script are the standing polygonal canopy tombs in the Samma cluster. Features presented here are all consistent with slight variations in all Samma canopies.

Tomb of Mubarak Khan alias Darya Khan

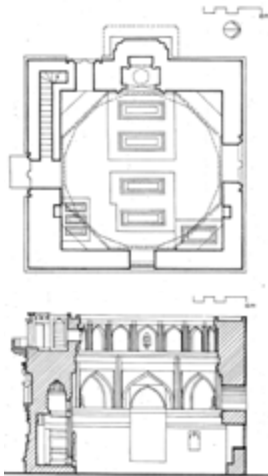
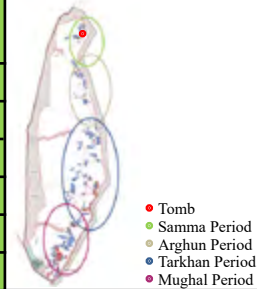
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period (1490-1513 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No.:	WHS4-1.14
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.351'; E 67° 54.120'; 30m



Mubarak Khan who served under Jam Nizam al Din as his Prime Minister in late 15th and early 16th century is buried in an enclosure type tomb. The enclosure is built in stone and served as a familial tomb. It is raised on a plinth of almost five feet accessed through a flight of steps on eastern and southern openings. This enclosure of finely dressed lime stone masonry encompasses an area of 72 square feet. Relatively limited carvings appear on the enclosure walls that are battered and capped with kangura battlements. Southern and eastern openings are higher than the walls. Plain walls and carved / decorated entrances create a contrast accentuating the entrances. Miniature oriels, blind pointed arch moldings with lotus roundels, diamond bands and filler checkered motifs are used for ornamentation. Inside the precinct are graves scattered, built in stone and carved in varying degree with floral and geometric motif. Mihrab niche is double tiered and has flanking pilaretes. The walls inside have shallow arcade of multi-foil arches. Mubarak Khan's grave inside is identifiable through a turban cap placed on his cenotaph indicating the patriarch of the family.

Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din

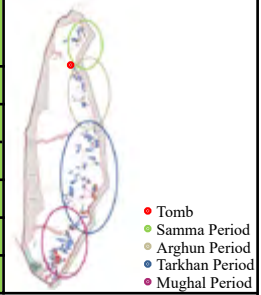
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period (1509 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Domed Square
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.15
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.351'; E 67° 54.120'; 30m



Tomb of Jam Nizam al Din is the only example of stone domed square tomb from Samma period. Being the most celebrated ruler of Samma time dubbed as Harun-ul-Rashid of Sindh his tomb is reflective of his status. The synonymity of the tomb with its contemporary buildings in Gujarat shows alignment with the larger Sindh-Kutch-Gujarat-Rajasthan lithic building tradition. The stone tomb is structurally trabeated but visually arcuate. The surface of the tomb is decorated with linear bands with variety of motifs like lotuses, diamonds, lotus vines and a single band of calligraphy. The most striking element is the full scale oriel on the western façade. This oriel called darshan jharoka applies motifs like miniature sikhara, pilaretes, serpentine brackets and lotus medallions. This cube was intended to have a dome that was never built. The tomb has openings from all side barring eastern with elaborate moonstones on the thresholds. Interior accommodates a mihrab on the western wall and has deep bracketed squinches in the transition zone. Mihrab is flanked with pilaretes and is recessed deep within the western wall with exquisite carvings.

Unknown Enclosure

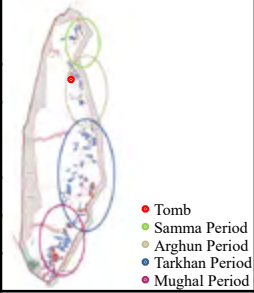
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period (16th C)
Material:	Stone Cladding on Brick Masonry Infill
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.19
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.016'; E 67° 54.242'; 33m



It is simpler version of tomb enclosure and a modest structure with brick masonry infill cladded with finely dressed limestone casing. It has entrance only toward the east and a mihrab niche on the western wall the other two sides are closed. Eastern entrance albeit simpler has a circular step at the threshold that is a moonstone visible in other Samma tombs. The surface is decorated with inset or recessed multi-foil arches. Interior is likewise simpler with similar recessed multi-foil arches and a mihrab niche on the western wall having a two centered arch. Both the mihrab projection and eastern entrances are higher than the regular height of wall making the two elements more pronounced in appearance.

Unknown Enclosure

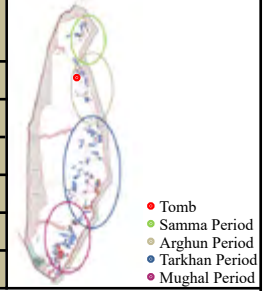
Dynasty/Date:	Arghun Period (16th C)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-2.01
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.305'; E 67° 54.141'; 25m



It is simpler stone enclosure with plain stone masonry walls. The only entrance is to the south with higher jambs and floral carving. The enclosure is raised on a plinth and is reached through a flight of steps. There is a half moonstone at the threshold. Mihrab on the west wall inside is recessed with a pointed arch standing higher than the walls. The soffit of the niche is recessed with a pointed arch standing higher than the walls. The soffit of the niche has curved stone panels covering the semicircular recesses of the niche. Flanking the mihrab niche are pilaretes with minimal carving similar to Darya Khan's enclosure. There were decorated graves inside but the sarcophagi are in a much damaged state with slabs scattered inside.

Unknown Enclosure with Tracery

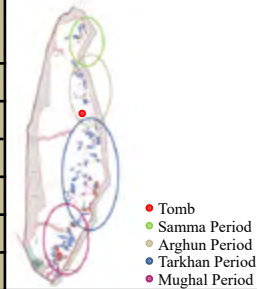
Dynasty/Date:	Arghun Period (16th C)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-2.02
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.305'; E 67° 54.147'; 25m



This is a smaller enclosure with kangura battlements only a portion of which remains and some fallen pieces of the battlement are seen on the ground. It applies larger monolithic stone panels as major portion of the wall uses tracery patterned jali or screens. The tracery or screen consists of six pointed stars in a grid pattern. There are three openings on every facade of the wall. Entrance is from the south. It has a mihrab niche on the western wall with pilaretes and pointed arch. At the threshold there is a moonstone. The grave sarcophagi inside sport arabesque patterned floral vine in low relief.

Unknown Grave Platform

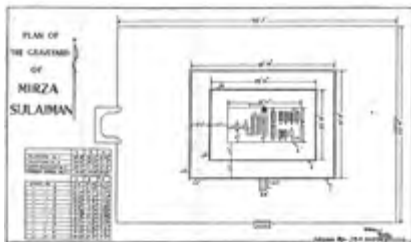
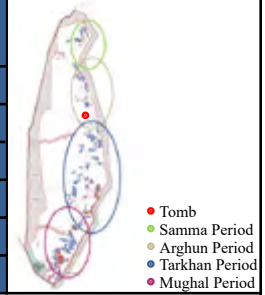
Dynasty/Date:	Arghun Period (16th C)
Material:	Stone Cladding on Brick Infill Masonry
Type:	Grave Platform
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-2.04
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.776'; E 67° 54.188'; 29m



It is a stone built grave platform having 4 graves one of which is a child grave distinguishable due to its smaller size. It has a wider plinth above which the platform for the graves is placed reached through a flight of steps. The fallen cladded stone reveals that inside it has brick masonry work. The major features in terms of decoration are multi-foil pointed arches with a rosette on top working as shallow niches or insets on the surface. North, East and West side have a set of two arches flanking a broader central panel having a geometric grid pattern. The south side which becomes the entrance, as it houses the steps has a set of three comparatively narrow arched panels flanking the steps that are accommodated in the center. It accommodates the pilaretes on the four corners of platform quadrangle that are seen flanking the mihrab niches. Grave platform at Makli are common that were at times provided with enclosure walls and hence became enclosure type. Free standing graves grouped together mostly are found both on platforms or raised plinths and they make up the main funerary assemblages at Makli.

Tomb of Mir Sulaiman

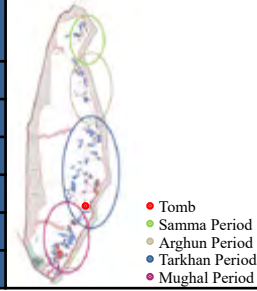
Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period (Mid 16th C / 1557 CE)
Material:	Stone on Brick with Rubble Infill Masonry
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.01
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.334'; E 67° 54.154'; 25m



Tomb enclosure of Mirza Sulaiman son of Isa Khan Tarkhan I died in 1557 according to the inscription on one of 13 graves within the enclosure, that had a headstone but it has fallen now. It is a 94' x 68' enclosure on a raised plinth reached through doors at the east and south. The walls are plain with regular stone courses devoid of any carvings. This is also true for the door jambs as they are left plain. There is an unadorned moonstone step at the south entrance. Mihrab niche inside on the west wall is plain except for the pilaretes flanking it with barely any carvings. The niche is deeper and has two set of arches hence it is a double niche devoid of carving. The enclosure has a platform almost 4' high in the center on which the grave sarcophagi are placed with dimensions 49' x 36'. Since the steps leading up on the platform are placed toward south that may have been the principle entrance. The graves on top are of varying decorative motifs with arabesque and have calligraphic inscriptions and verses carved on them.

Tomb of Amir Sultan Mohammad

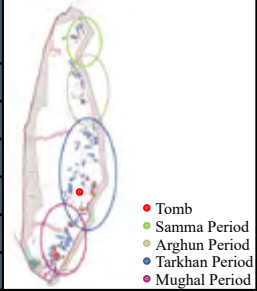
Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period (Mid 16th C / 1556 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.02
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.491'; E 67° 54.182'; 23m



This comparatively smaller stone enclosure is a part of an ensemble of two tombs standing on a slightly raised platform within a single precinct. According to the inscription the tomb belongs to Amir Sultan Mohammad, son of Amir Haji Beg Mughal who died in 1556 CE. Entered through the southern side that is the only entrance it has a single grave inside and a mihrab niche toward west. The entrance is made prominent by making it higher than the walls and it has moonstone step at the threshold and kangura battlements on top. The mihrab is simple flanked by pilaretes half octagon with a half segmented cupola on top. The four walls are divided into three segments or panels. The central panel on the south wall houses the entrance whereas the west wall houses the niche. The rest of the panels on all four walls have pointed arch opening with a stone jali / screen with alternating hexagon and six sided star grid pattern.

Unknown Square Canopy Pavilion

Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period (Mid 16th C or Mid 17th C)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Composite - Trabeated and Arcuated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.05
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.584' ; E 67° 54.174' ; 25m

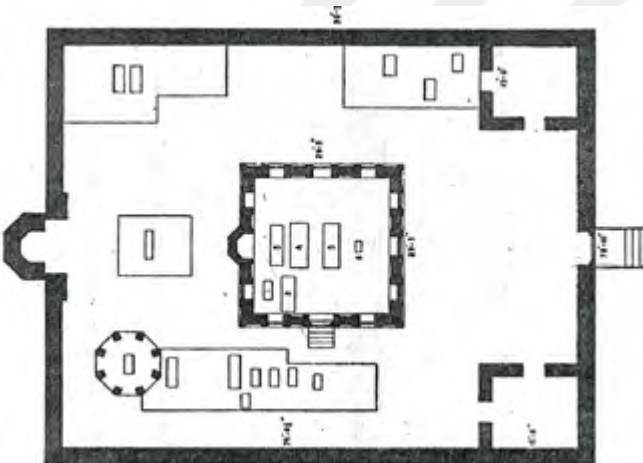
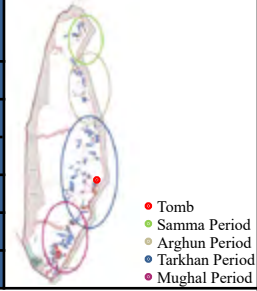


This is a canopy pavilion having a square plan with a dome on top and dated to mid-16th century by some scholars but is also dated to 17th century based on the proliferation of square plan canopies during mid-17th century.

The square plan has 12 monolithic columns three on each side. The square columns have four bracketed capitals with muqarna carvings toward the outside and chevron incisions toward the sides. The column shafts have incision carvings on the outer faces on two sides. It is placed on a high platform approached through a flight of steps having a dome on top. There are slanting dripstones above which run a series of dentils and the kangura battlement surmounted by a plastered dome. The transitions zone here is unique as it employs interlaced arrangement of arches upon which rests the apparently corbelled dome. The tomb sets precedence for square type canopies and a shift in carvings that are mostly incisions rather than high or low relief. Here a coming together of motifs is observed like lotus rosettes are seen with geometric interlacement design.

Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan I

Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period (Mid 16th C / 1565 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.06
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.600' ; E 67° 54.277' ; 20m

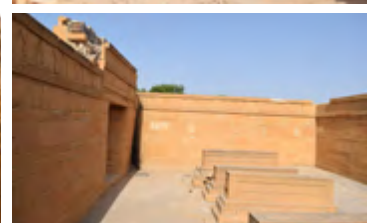
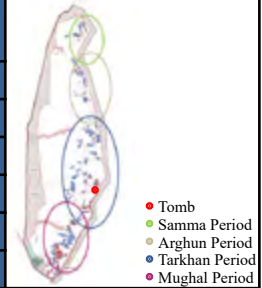


The tomb is designed as a double enclosure in stone having a canopy pavilion and set of multiple graves scattered around the periphery of the first enclosure wall with a separate plain mihrab on the west wall. The first enclosure wall plainly conceived and does not show many remarkable decorative patterns barring low carved simple multi-foil inset arches running along the parapet level. Inside the first enclosure wall placed at the center of it is another smaller enclosure acting as tomb proper for Isa Kha Tarkhan I standing in contrast the plain outside enclosure.

This smaller enclosure is raised on a plinth and sports fairly ornamented surfaces. The basic scheme both inside and outside is arched paneling on the walls with carved borders and parapet above. Here the earliest appearance of arabesque is recorded at Makli integrated with lotus rosettes, calligraphy band, hexagonal grid screen, and pilaretes flanking the (second) mihrab. Isa Khan Tarkhan's I tomb can be interpreted as a point of departure from where ensemble enclosures start appearing at Makli and an integrative vocabulary of motifs appear on the tombs.

Tomb of Mirza Baqi Tarkhan & Family

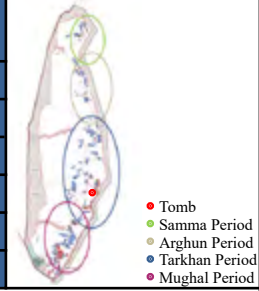
Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period (Late 16th C to Early 17th C)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure Ensemble
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.08 – 4-3.10
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.600' ; E 67° 54.277' ; 20m



Tomb enclosure of Mirza Baqi Beg Tarkhan is a collection of different scale enclosures and two canopy pavilions within a precinct. In the center of the set of tombs lies Baqi Begs enclosure and other tombs that are within the precinct are larger family enclosure towards north of Baqi Begs tomb, a smaller enclosure toward north east which is a zenana (female grave enclosure) and two canopy pavilions toward south. The precinct is approached through a door / gate towards the east. Baqi Beg's personal enclosure within the precinct similar to Isa Khan Tarkhan I is the most elaborately carved and sports almost similar decorative scheme as Isa Tarkhan's. The higher pishtaq of entrance and raised mihrab wall surface arched paneling with lotus medallions and arabesque panels hexagonal screen work, lobed arches, pilaretes etc. all appear as decorative motifs on the tomb keeping with the tradition of stone carving. Other enclosures within the precinct are fairly unremarkable in comparison. The canopies within are simpler compared to Samma canopies but use corbelling, four bracketed capitals, lotus and other motifs on the lintels and a padmashila (lotus pendant dangling from the soffit).

Tomb of Habshad or Ahinsa Bai

Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period (1586-1592 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.11
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.574' ; E 67° 54.282'; 19m

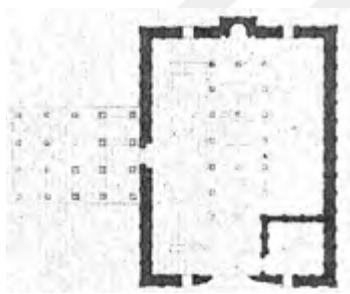
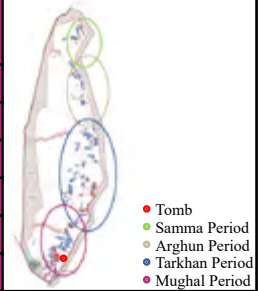


This enclosure lies right outside the enclosure precinct of Baqi Beg Tarkhan. It is almost similar in design to Baqi Beg Tarkhans enclosure having arched panels with tracery and blind panels alternating with a set of rosettes embellishing the tympanum and spandrel areas. The tracery panels are different on the eastern wall they follow a simple hexagon and six pointed star grid whereas the rest of the walls have a hexagonal grid but the design is more complex.

Entrance is toward south reached through a flight of steps. The entrance has a kangura battlement on top and bands of carved motifs below. The height of the entrance is more than the walls. The mihrab height is slightly exaggerated than the normal the recurring motif on the mihrab is the multi-foil arch with the rosette in the center. This pattern is also repeated on top of the walls. The flanking staff or pilarettres are missing here. One observes an extensive use of lotus motif and the geometric chain motifs that come from Samma repository. It is a comparatively smaller enclosure and the overall carving scheme is fairly elaborate and detailed.

Tomb of Jan Baba

Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period (1608CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Enclosure with canopies
Structural System:	Trabeated with Arcuated Domes over Canopies
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.08
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.205'; E 67° 54.044'; 24m

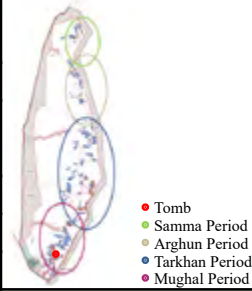


The tomb built by Isa Khan Tarkhan II for his father Jan Baba is entirely made of stone and brings together multiple design elements together in this enclosure type tomb. The overall tomb has two units one is the colonnaded entrance porch towards south on a raised plinth. This colonnade has twelve columns, four breadth wise and three length wise. The enclosure is 48' * 34' internally and has a raised platform in the center housing three square canopies sharing the center pillars and in total having 18 pillars with three domes on top. At the northeast there is an enclosed zenana chamber. The overall carving on the façade is low relief with embossed moldings and incisions. The tomb employs all the techniques of carvings with a wide array of motifs and designs.

The decorative program of the tomb is very elaborate and some of the common features it uses are series of inset arched panels on the surface of the wall both inside and outside, use of lotus/sunflower medallions on the walls, flanking carved pilaretes on the mihrab portal and the main entrance is flanked by miniature jharoka hidden behind the colonnade.

Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan II

Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period (Mid 17th C - 1646/47 CE)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Domed Square inside Four <i>Iwan</i> Enclosure
Structural System:	Composite - Arcuate & Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.09
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.219'; E 67° 54.997'; 29m

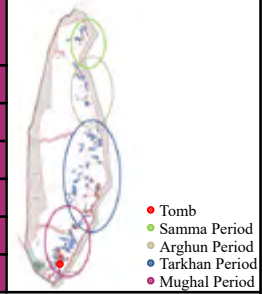


Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan the second or junior is one of the most magnificent tomb at Makli in terms of size, design and decoration. He became governor under the Mughals was mostly posted outside Thatta in the Deccan region and his tomb took 18 years to complete. It is built entirely of stone and brings forth elements that remain unique to this tomb. The tomb is an enclosure type with the main domed square chamber sitting in the center of the enclosure.

The entire scheme can be divided into three main parts the enclosure wall with four iwans, colonnade wrapping around the main tomb chamber and domed square chamber in the center. Enclosure wall applies mostly low relief carvings with inset pointed arch panels adorned with lotus rosettes, the iwans are higher than the wall and act as pishtaq with mihrab iwan being the highest. A relatively simpler enclosure wall stands in contrast with the highly ornate double colonnade. The column shafts are square with arabesque motif and four bracketed muqarna capitals. The main tomb chamber is based on arcuate structure and dome is achieved through true arch system.

Tomb of Mirza Tughral Beg

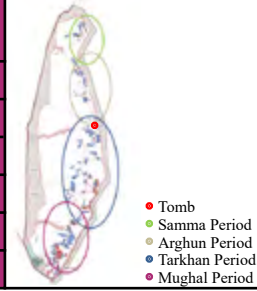
Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period (Mid 17th C)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Canopy on Pedestal with <i>Mihrab</i> Wall
Structural System:	Composite - Arcuate & Trabeated
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.16
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.117'; E 67° 53.993'; 26m



This is a composite tomb having a high platform (4' high) with a mihrab wall and on top of the platform is a canopy tomb with square plan. Platform measures 27' each side. The canopy 16' 3" each side, has 12 pillars four on each side. The pillars are square slightly plain only the outer surface is carved with lobed square incisions with a four bracketed capital. The outer face of the capital has muqarna moldings and inner face has flora kind motif in incision. The transition zone inside has interlaced arches with plain stone courses that are chamfered to give smooth appearance. The outside of the canopy has kangura and dripstones which is supported on brackets. There are bands of carving running on top of the mihrab wall and the entire wall has set of blind arches. This tomb is in line with the square canopies that were built in the Tarkhan and Mughal period.

Unknown Domed Square Tomb

Dynasty/Date:	Arghun or Mughal (<i>Dating of Tomb Contested</i>)
Material:	Stone
Type:	Domed Square Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.21
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.979'; E 67° 54.286'; 29m

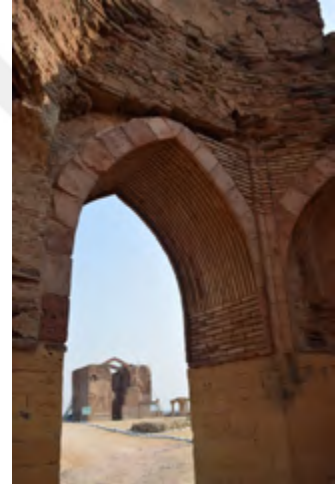
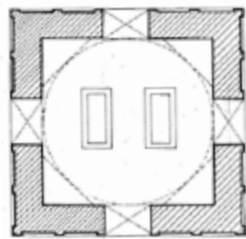
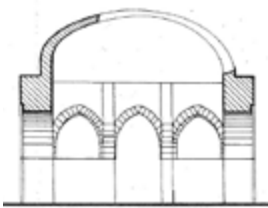
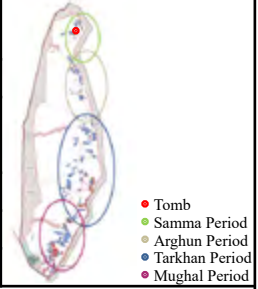


This stone tomb is dated to Mughal period by Lari but earlier scholars place it somewhere between end of Arghun and beginning of Tarkhan period. The tomb is in a poor condition. This is a domed square tomb built entirely in stone. The dome either was never built or it collapsed later. If there was ever a dome it was definitely an ambitious attempt as the chamber is 31' each side.

The outside walls are simpler with a diamond string motif running along the length of the walls at plinth level. It is open form all four sides having a set of three arches on each façade the central arch works as an opening. Inside there are floor length deep squinches that transform the inner chamber into an octagon and arches are achieved through use of voussoirs. Interior is also simpler with plain courses of stone only the octagon that receives the dome has a band of similar string motif with a floral variation. This tomb with its high deep squinches and plain stone masonry sits pretty isolated toward the very east of the Makli hill, and appears majestic almost royal.

Tomb of Malik Rajbal

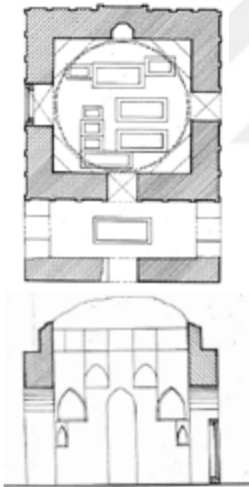
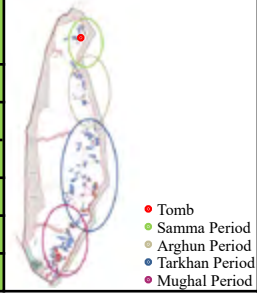
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period 1457 CE
Material:	Brick with Stone Dado
Type:	Domed Square
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.10
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.351'; E 67° 54.120'; 30m



Malik Rajbal was son of Malik Unar descendant of Firuz Shah Sultan (Jam Unar) as per the inscription in the tomb. Jam Unar was one of the rulers of Samma period and that makes Malik Rajbal a prince of Samma clan. His tomb one of the earliest from the brick material is square in plan having a dome on top that is partially intact. It measures 22 ft. x 22 ft. in plan and has a height of 17 feet before the springing of the dome. It sits on a raised platform. The elevations have lancet arch openings from all four sides that are centrally placed and mihrab niche is absent. The stone dado on elevations reaches a height of 6 feet. There are brick linings on the surface creating five vertical panels on each elevation. Dentils moldings are achieved through brick work near the parapet level. The profile of elevation hides the drum or zone of transition from outside raising the sides of the cube to the springing of the dome. Inside the squinches are simpler and the brick surface above dado was plastered with stucco that has chipped off. Decorative moldings are not visible due to the condition today but may have been part of the decorative program of the interior. It is a rather simpler tomb from the brick variety.

Tomb of Hamsheera Fateh Khan

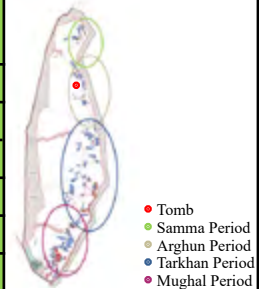
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period 1508 CE
Material:	Brick with Stone Lintels
Type:	Domed Square
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.11
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.351'; E 67° 54.120'; 30m



The date of the tomb is considered 1492 CE by some scholars, others attribute the year 1508 CE. The name is also debated due to translation of the word hamsheera which is translated both as sister or milk brother. It is square in plan with an additional antechamber to the east. Measurements have discrepancies both measured as 29ft. x 13 ft. and 21ft. x 9ft. Elevations have lancet arch openings on north, south, and east sides and a mihrab on the west. Brick vertical linings appear dividing the elevation in seven vertical panels with the central being the widest. Antechamber panels are nine on north and south elevations with lancet arch openings on north, south and east sides with the west side abutting the tomb chamber. Elevations and interior are plastered with stucco which is retained partially on the surfaces. Interior displays honey comb moldings in the double squinches converting the square into the octagon to receive the dome. Stone jambs and lintel adorn the south opening with lotus floral incisions and mihrab niche is flanked by stone pilaretes. Dentils achieved through brick work line the parapet. Dome is partially retained having herringbone courses. Exquisitely carved stone graves are housed in the tomb and ante chamber alike.

Tomb of Kaus Sultani

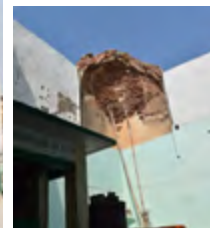
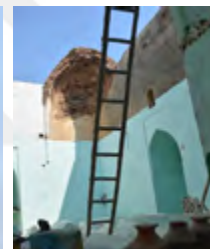
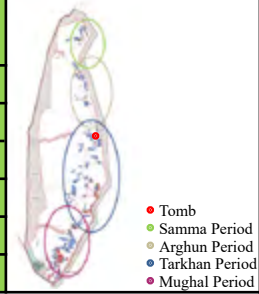
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period 1513 CE
Material:	Brick with Stone Dado and Decoration
Type:	Domed Square Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.17
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.184'; E 67° 54.199'; 28m



The tomb built in 1513 CE and belonging to Samma Period is located further south-west of the main Samma tomb cluster. The plan is a square with an attached stair tower to the north east corner of the tomb. Tomb proper measures 33'x33' and the attached stair tower is 10'x10'. The dome of the chamber has entirely collapsed but the drum is partially intact and visible from the outside. Elevations follow Samma vertical brick linings and panels model. Main chamber has five panels while stair tower with separate entrance has two panels. Tomb of Kaus Sultani fuses both brick stucco work both inside and outside and stone carved motifs and elements in its design. The elevations has honey combed muqarna moldings on the surface niches below which miniature stone oriels are placed on the southern wall. Southern elevation and entrance have ornate stone carved jambs with lotus carvings. North and east walls have stone lintels on the openings. West wall sports a mihrab niche with stucco plaster and molding patterns. The zone of transition is similarly plastered and has honey comb patterns in the double squiches above the stone dado. Dome may have sported a herringbone brick laying but not much of it remains to be certain.

Tomb of Shaikh Jiah

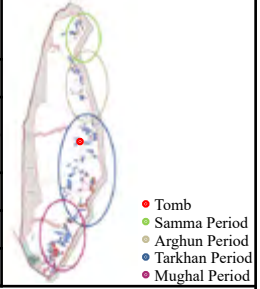
Dynasty/Date:	Samma Period Early 16th century
Material:	Brick
Type:	Domed Square Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-1.18
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.898'; E 67° 54.262'; 27m



Tomb of Shaikh Jia is an active shrine and people visit it for blessings and veneration of the saint. It has undergone many repairs overtime and what the original decorative program was, is difficult to establish. The plan is slightly rectangular compared to the regular square. It has battered walls with vertical linings similar to other Samma brick tombs. The battered walls are attributed to Tughlaq building tradition in subcontinent. The linings divide the façade into panels breaking the severity of almost plain surface. This brick monument had a dome which is not extant today. The outside has been plastered with cement and originally it may have sported stucco plaster as per Samma practice. Much of interior has also been plastered with cement including the graves and painted in a light green hue. It might have had a stone dado or plinth with carved motifs but it is difficult to establish. The renovations done indicate the continued veneration of the saint and the tomb is flocked by people on auspicious holy days.

Unknown Brick Tomb

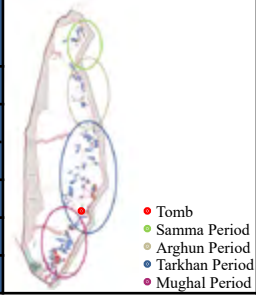
Dynasty/Date:	Arghun Period 16th century
Material:	Brick with Stone Plinth
Type:	Domed Square Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-2.05
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 46.025'; E 67° 54.232'; 30m



This unknown brick tomb appears sophisticated in its profile. The plan is square with collapsed dome and portions of the walls. It is 28 feet x 28 feet in dimension and display a plinth or slightly lower dado level stone masonry. There are remains of a collapsed stair tower mostly a pile of brick rubble at present on the north-east corner. Much of the zone of transition has collapsed but the structure may have deployed the squinch system to receive dome. The entrance openings are on east, west and north sides and west have mihrab niche projection. The brick linings on the elevations of the tomb appear superior in their conception and execution compared to Samma brick ensembles. It is much thought out in terms of composition, we see set of three or four coupled together and the spaces within the panels are treated with pointed arch shallow niches. The grouping of arches and linings together provide a sense of verticality and the height seems more exaggerated than it actually is. The surfaces were not plastered, at-least not entirely, with indication of tile work and this attempt at naked brick façade with tiles goes a long way appearing in the later Tarkhan and Mughal tombs.

Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim

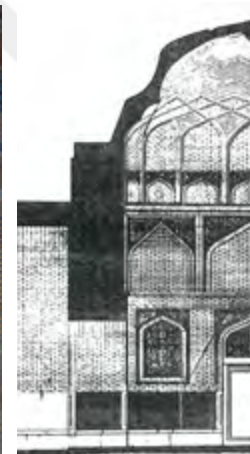
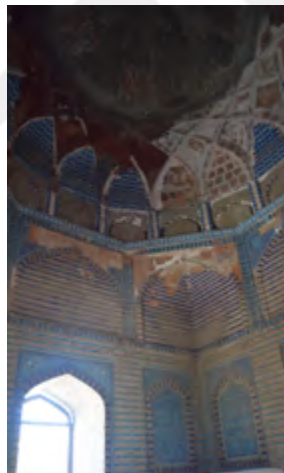
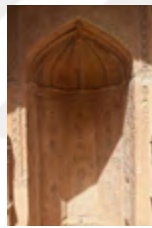
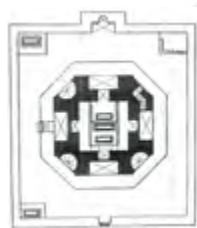
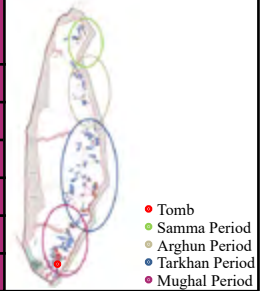
Dynasty/Date:	Tarkhan Period Mid to Late 16th Century
Material:	Brick with Stone Skirting & Decorative Elements
Type:	Enclosure with Domed Octagon Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-3.03
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.491'; E 67° 54.189'; 28m



This tomb belongs to Sultan Ibrahim son of Isa Khan Tarkhan I and the inscription is dated to 1559 CE. According to Dani the tomb was built in a later period between (1572-1584 CE) in Baqi Begs time. It is a brick built tomb falling in enclosure type. The enclosure measures 138' x 88' having flagged stone platform in the center sits the octagonal tomb chamber. The west of the enclosure according to the sources housed a mosque 34' x 12' nothing of which remains today. Brick entrance portal remains intact on the east. Within this enclosure precinct sits a small stone enclosure of Amir Sultan Mohammad. The main sides of the octagon measure 24' and corners are 15'. The main tomb chamber from inside is a square having a dome on top supported on squinches. The octagon has arched recesses at 7 corners and the eighth north-west corner houses a stair well leading to top. It is entered through an opening on the south the rest of the east, west and north sides have tracery stone screens with geometric patterns. Elevations are adorned with tile work in blue and white on the spandrels and tympanum or the arches and the dado was tiled but not much remains of that at present. This tiled decoration is coupled with stone jambs and lintels.

Tomb of Mirza Jani and Ghazi Beg

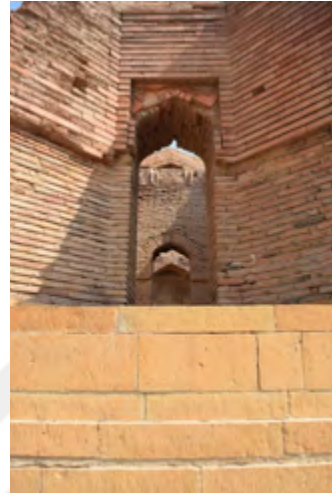
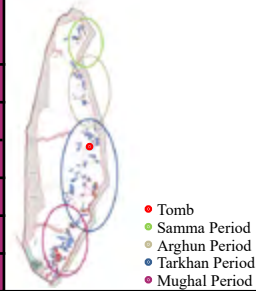
Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period Early 17th Century
Material:	Brick and Stone Enclosure Wall
Type:	Enclosure with Domed Octagon Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.01
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.159'; E 67° 53.985'; 37m



Mirza Jani Beg son of Pinda Beg and father of Ghazi Beg was the last autonomous Tarkhan ruler and later became governor under the Mughal. Ghazi Beg is possibly buried in the same tomb as his father. It is an enclosure type tomb with the main octagonal chamber in the center. Stone enclosure displays remarkable carvings appearing like filigree work with both geometric and floral patterns. Mihrab niche is housed within the enclosure and the main entrance treated like a pishtaq is on the eastern side. The tomb chamber is octagonal from outside and square from inside is entered through south opening. The east, north and west side have arched openings with inset tracery screen in stone. The elevations have alternate red brick and blue glazed brick masonry and exquisite tile work on dado level. The gypsum or lime mortar pointing adds to the overall masonry composition. The collapsed dome was restored in cement later and display muqarna moldings. It uses tile work along with decorative stone jambs and lintels on the tomb for decorative purposes both inside and outside. The dome had herringbone masonry and interlacement of arches supported on corner squinches. Interior replicates the exterior decorative program.

Tomb of Khusrau Khan Charkhas

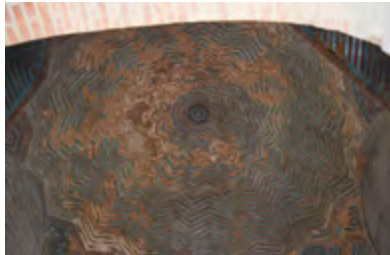
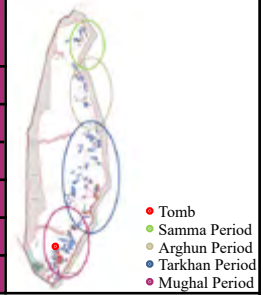
Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period Early 17th Century
Material:	Brick with Stone Plinth
Type:	Domed Square with Octagonal Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.02
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.859'; E 67° 54.221'; 31m



Khusrau Khan Charkhas was an official under the governorship of Mirza Jani and Ghazi Beg and after annexation of Sindh under the Mughals he rose to importance under the official ranks. His tomb is called Satcharni or seven stairs. Khusrau who died in Ajmer in the year 1619 is not buried in the tomb he commissioned but is buried near dargah of Khawaja Moinuddin Chisti. The tomb at Makli nevertheless has a very sophisticated design likes of which are only observed in Taj Mahal or Humayuns' tomb. It celebrates an octagon to the fullest. The plan is composed of a central larger octagon and four smaller octagons on each corner. These five octagons had a central larger and four smaller domes that have all collapsed. Perched on a high plinth having stone casing it is reached through seven steps and has openings are on all four sides. Mihrab attached or independent is absent. It is in a fairly dilapidated state with almost all the tile work gone that once adorned the interior spandrels and tympanums of pointed arches. Wider open muqarna and interlacement work also appears in the interior. The tomb is an example of naked brick architecture.

Tomb of Dewan Shurfa Khan

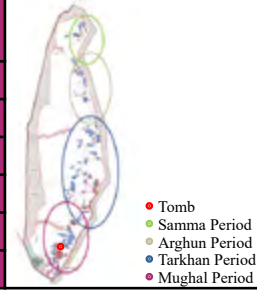
Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period Mid 17th Century
Material:	Brick with Stone Plinth
Type:	Domed Square Chamber
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.03
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.249'; E 67° 53.982'; 29m



Dewan Shurfa Khan was a local serving as Mughal minister died somewhere around 1638 CE. The mihrab wall is dated to 1642 CE. It is brick built tomb having a combination of glazed blue and red bricks. Tomb measures 38' x 38' with circular corners housing four staircases leading to top. It falls into the enclosure type having brick enclosure wall accessed through the south opening. Mihrab is on the enclosure wall conceived entirely in brick and adorned with tile work barring the two inscription tablets at the top corners that are in stone. The tile work is reminiscent of hazar bah pattern (basket weave) seen in countless brick monuments of Central Asia. The main tomb chamber is centrally placed within the enclosure on a raised platform. There are openings on all four sides and are set within a high deep pointed arch, having tile work on the spandrels and tympanum. Masonry is red and glazed blue tiles with alternate courses of both. The screens here are achieved through brick rather than stone work. It is a highly symmetrical design. The interior uses squinches and interlacement to receive the herringbone masonry dome. The herringbone repeats the glazed blue and red courses and the dome looks exquisite from the inside.

Tomb of Mirza Baqi Beg Uzbek

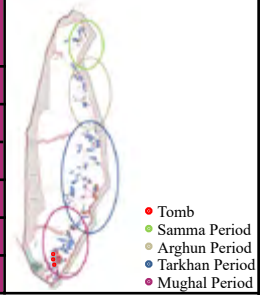
Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period Mid 17th Century
Material:	Brick with Stone Plinth
Type:	Enclosure
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.04
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.195'; E 67° 53.908'; 26m



Tomb of Baqi Beg Uzbek is a rectangular enclosure measuring 75' x 69' internally with 2'- 3" thick walls. The mosque unit is the most prominent feature of the overall enclosure. The stone graves are placed centrally on a raised platform in open courtyard. It is a four iwan plan. The iwan on the east is the main entrance, south and north wall iwans open to the courtyard. The west houses the principal pishtaq serving as the center piece of the entire enclosure and acting as access to the mosque chamber behind it. The tomb has glazed and red brick masonry with tile work and employs minimal stone work for door jambs and plinth etc. The entire façade is made of a series of open arches niches sporting tile work on the spandrels both within and outside. The main mosque has a dome on top seems hidden due to high pishtaq but much visible from the outside. It is flanked by smaller rooms on both sides making it a tripartite design. This is celebrated on the outside within the enclosure where the main pishtaq is flanked by slimmer panels having a set of double blind arches. Interior of the mosque show herringbone masonry with alternate glazed and red bricks like other tombs and the domes is achieved through squinches.

Tomb of Mughal Governors 1-2-3

Dynasty/Date:	Mughal Period 17th Century
Material:	Brick
Type:	Platform with Mihrab Wall
Structural System:	Arcuate
HF Reference No:	WHS4-4.05, WHS4-4.06 and WHS4-4.07
GPS Coordinates:	N 24° 45.190'; E 67° 53.971'; 23m, N 24° 45.184'; E 67° 53.970'; 24m & N 24° 45.198'; E 67° 53.974'; 22m



These three Mughal governor tombs are presented collectively here as they have similar design features. They were probably part of separate enclosures but today stand as grave platforms with a solitary mihrab wall to the west. The raised platforms are brick & stone built and with single grave on each. Two graves sarcophagi are in stone and the one left is plastered with cement today as a botched restoration process perhaps. The mihrab has set of blind arches flanking the main higher central portion, in varying numbers. Mughal governor one has three arches flanking the mihrab on each side, governor two has a single arch flanking the mihrab and governor three has a set to two arches on both sides of the mihrab. The top is adorned with battlements made of brick and placed at a slight distance from each other unlike the previous monuments. Mihrab is typical semi-octagonal chamber placed within a higher arched frame. The half domes are achieved through use of interlacement of arches generating muqarna like pattern inside. There is a possibility of use of tile work on the flanking arches and the spandrels and interior of the mihrab nothing of which is extant today.

B: - SINDH'S CULTURE OF STONE CARVED GRAVES:

The lithic remains at Makli showing extensive stone carvings on the tombs, enclosures, canopies and grave cenotaphs are not exclusive to the site. The entire region of Sindh has scattered graveyards dotted with canopies and free standing graves. Some of these graveyards or cemeteries predate the building activity of Makli but mostly are from the same or later dates. These graveyards almost contemporary and later to Makli suggest a long standing funerary tradition in the region. There are numerous graveyards that are mostly belonging to tribal castes and people, listed in multiple books on Sindh's grave culture.³²⁰ This rich heritage of stone carvings on the graves by tribal people is presented here via images in order to give a glimpse of the milieu and construction practices in which Makli and later royal graveyards flourish. There was a definite link between the tribal and the royal culture. These tribesmen were considered marshal people and they aligned themselves with the royalty mostly serving in their armies.³²¹ The major tribes were for example Burfat, Jokhias and Kalmatis etc. with sub-divisions and clans. Their customs and traditions involved various activities like cattle stealing from another tribe. The person succeeding in doing so was considered a hero and celebrated in death by either a memorial stone on his grave or a carved grave displaying his warrior like skills by carving horses and arms on it with other recurring patterns. This commemorative act transcends the religious barriers and many Hindu communities residing in Tharparkar and Nagarparkar regions celebrated their dead heroic people by placing a

³²⁰ For example, Brohi, Ali Ahmad. *History of Tombstones of Sind and Baluchistan*. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1986. Lashari, Kaleemullah. *A Study of Stone Carved Graves*. Karachi: Sindh Archives Information and Archives Department Govt. of Sindh, 1996. Kalhor, Zulfiqar Ali. *Memorial Stones of Tharparkar*. Karachi: Endowment Fund Trust For Preservation of the Heritage of Sindh, 2017. —. *Perspectives on The Art and Architecture of Sindh*. Karachi: Endowment Fund Trust, 2014. Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid. *Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan*. Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996. Hastenrath, Salome Zajadacz -. *Chaukhandi Tombs: Funerary Art in Sind and Baluchistan*. Translated by Michael Robertson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

³²¹ Ibid.

memorial stone for them. The possibility for this shared tradition between the Hindu and the Muslim communities comes perhaps from the shared tribal traditions where religious leanings may have played a secondary role.³²² This shared or heterogeneous cultural milieu of Sindh is reflected upon in the dissertation in section 2.3.

These tribal people being semi-nomadic moved from place to place for literally the greener pastures for their cattle etc. This movement may have led to accumulation of various cultural ideas that may have differed from place to place. These tribal people engaged in various crafts that ranged from textile to pottery to jewelry making etc. The camel art of Sindh in Matiari region by Jat tribe discussed by Kalhoru in his book shows a synonymity with carvings on the grave. This art where the hairs on the skin of a camel are fashioned with elaborate patterns is similar to the patterns witnessed on the graves.³²³

The practice of making patterns on the body of a camel is common in and around the village of Digano, Jamali. The whole body of the camel, including neck and tail is skillfully patterned. Mostly camels that have more hair are opted for creating patterns, while others are decked out with colorful cloths and trappings. The scissors is the only instrument that is used for making amazing patterns on the body of a camel.³²⁴

A similar tendency of exchange among existing craft practices and the carvings observed on graves is discussed by Bunting. A parallel between the textile and jewelry work common in Sindh was drawn with the carved grave cenotaphs as similar pattern work was observed in both.³²⁵ Whether these exchanges occurred

³²² Refer, Kalhoru, Zulfiqar Ali. *Memorial Stones of Tharparkar*. Karachi: Endowment Fund Trust For Preservation of the Heritage of Sindh, 2017. –. *Archaeology, Art and Religion in Sindh*. Karachi: Culture and Tourism Department, Government of Sindh., 2018.

³²³ Kalhoru, Zulfiqar Ali. *Archaeology, Art and Religion in Sindh*. Karachi: Culture and Tourism Department, Government of Sindh., 2018

³²⁴ Ibid. [pg 71]

³²⁵ Bunting, Ethel-Jane W. *Sindhi Tombs and Textiles: The Persistence of Pattern*. New Mexico: Maxwell Museum of Anthropology: University of New Mexico Press, 1980.

from grave carvings transmitting into the craft or vice a versa, but the evidence suggest that a certain connection existed between the craft and stone carving tradition. These connections are worth exploring understanding as to how the motifs transcended the various art and craft mediums with relative ease and the probable role of the tribal women who did these crafts. The tribal setup and history of Sindh is therefore a promising territory for further research.

The author would like to share images of some of the extant (tribal) graveyards of Sindh to provide the reader with understanding of the context in which Makli as a site develops and grows.

1. The Chaukhandi ³²⁶ (also written Chowkundi) graveyard, majorly housing dead from the Jokhia tribe, in present day Karachi.



Figure 104: Grave cenotaphs, Chaukhandi.

³²⁶ For further information refer Hasan, Shaikh Khurshid. *Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan*. Karachi: Royal Book Company, 1996. Hastenrath, Salome Zajadacz -. *Chaukhandi Tombs: Funerary Art in Sind and Baluchistan* . Translated by Michael Robertson. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.



Figure 105: Canopy Pavilion and bracketed columns, Chaukhandi.



Figure 106: A square canopy pavilion with graves, Chaukhandi.



Figure 107: A polygonal canopy pavilion similar to what is witnessed at Makli site, Chaukhandi.

2. Taung tombs ³²⁷of Burfat tribe in Thano Bula Khan, Sindh:



Figure 108: Taung tombs 01, [<http://heritage.eftsindh.com/site/561/jamshoro/taung-tombs-thano-bula-khan>]

³²⁷ For further information refer Kalhor, Zulfiqar Ali. *Perspectives on The Art and Architecture of Sindh*. Karachi: Endowment Fund Trust , 2014. Lashari, Kaleemullah. *A Sudy of Stone Carved Graves*. Karachi: Sindh Archives Information and Archives Department Govt. of Sindh, 1996.



Figure 109: Taung tombs 02, [<http://heritage.eftsindh.com/site/561/jamshoro/taung-tombs-thano-bula-khan>]



Figure 110: Taung tombs 03, [<http://heritage.eftsindh.com/site/561/jamshoro/taung-tombs-thano-bula-khan>]

3. Pir Patho³²⁸ graveyard in Thatta Sindh held an important status before Makli became the royal cemetery it however did not lose its importance and continued to receive the dead although in comparatively lesser numbers.



Figure 111: Canopy pavilion, Pir Patho.



Figure 112: Grave platform, Pir Patho.

³²⁸ Refer, Brohi, Ali Ahmad. *History of Tombstones of Sind and Baluchistan*. Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 1986.

C: - BASIC LAYOUT AND FEATURES OF TEMPLES: ³²⁹

Temples in subcontinent used as worship places by people belonging to Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, along with many sectarian sub branches of all the three polytheistic religious practices, shared multiple architectural and symbolical features that were exchanged amongst these doctrines. These pre-Muslim religions almost developed simultaneously give and take a few centuries and shared multiple belief systems appropriating them as per the prescribed tenets of the particular religion. They shared multiple sites where Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples were built side by side. Although there are differences but here a basic layout, section and features of the temples are presented. Some of these features in miniature or full scale form appear at Makli and the carving patterns on these temples are visible on the carved stone ornamentations at Makli.

Temple architectural studies are a vast area of research and this basic layout, section or features are in no way suggestive of an all-encompassing unitary method by which temples are designed. It is however more of a rudimentary design template and recurring features that are associated with temples of subcontinent. The mandatory appearance of these features on each and every temple is however not inferred here. Patel discusses the formal synonymity between a domed-square chamber and a *mandapa* or *garbhagriha*, for example, in reference to masons and artisan adapting their understanding of spaces for a new Muslim clientele. ³³⁰ The shared building tradition where form, motifs and elements moved from temples to tombs and vice

³²⁹ The basic information shared here is extracted from, Grover, Satish. *Buddhist and Hindu Architecture in India*. New Delhi: CBS Publishers and Distributors, 2003 (1980). Chandra, Pramod, ed. *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975. Brown, Percy. *Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Period*. 4th. Bombay (Mumbai): D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Pvt. Ltd., 1959.

³³⁰ Patel, Alka. *Building Communities in Gujarat: Architecture and Society During Twelfth Through Fourteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004.

versa, perhaps, as is witnessed at Makli, is telling of the exchanges between the two religions and questions the basic premise of colonial scholarship.

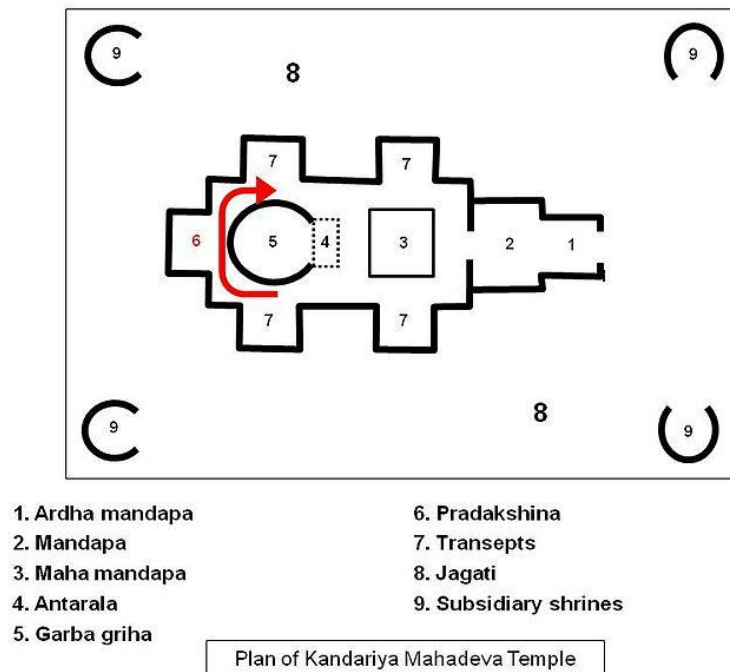


Figure 113: Basic layout plan of temple [Wikipedia]

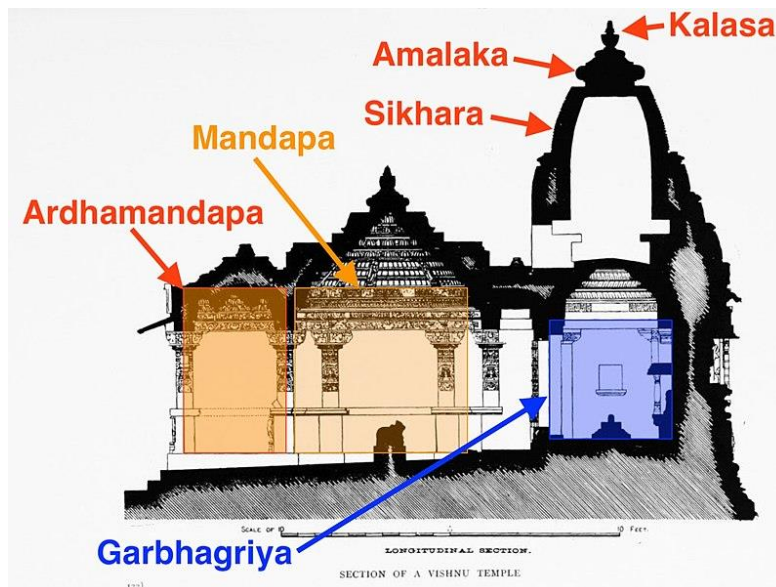


Figure 114: Basic section of temple [Wikipedia]

Garbhagriha is the main “womb chamber” of the temple and it receives the *sikhara* or *shikhara* roof on top. This is the chamber where the statue of the principal deity to whom the temple belongs is situated. The chamber is mostly square in plan over time receiving complicated corner chamfering and moldings. The aspect of circumambulating in this innermost sanctified space draws parallels with the aspect of circumambulation that exist in multiple religions.

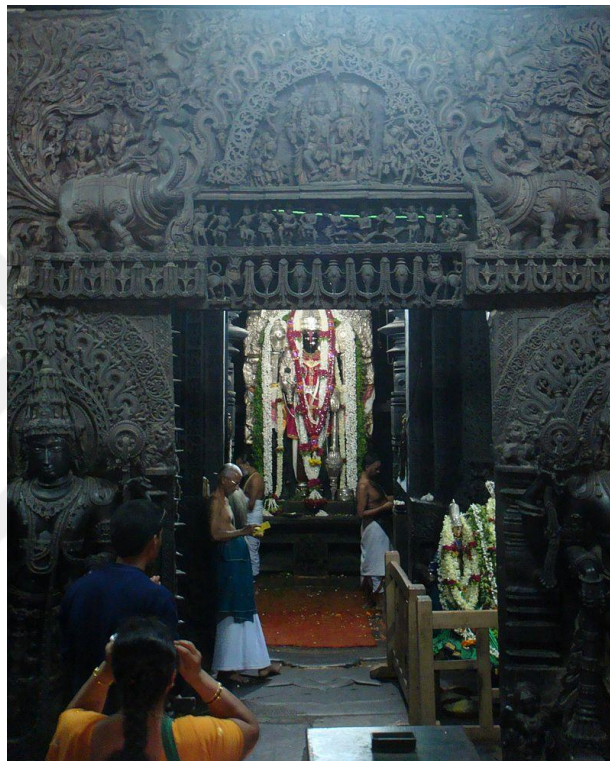


Figure 115: Interior of Garbhagriha, Chennakeshava Vishnu Temple in Belur India.
[Wikipedia]

Mandapa is mostly conceived as a pillared or colonnaded hall open from sides but enclosed chambers with walls are also found. This hall precedes the *garbhagriha* and acts as an assembly area for the devotees. This is written as a social gathering space for people and functions as the prelude to the main chamber where the deity resides. Here an orchestration of movement is observed where one space leads to another space incrementing the sacred significance as one moves deeper into this linearly organized temple space. It receives a pyramidal roof synonymous with *sikhara* but

relatively shorter in height further augmenting the importance of *garbhagriha* chamber. There are many types of *mandapas* that differ slightly in their functions one of the types the ***ardhamandapa*** for example is mostly placed before the main *mandapa* chamber working as a porch or an elaborate entry foyer.



Figure 116: Mandapa of a Vishnu temple in Rajasthan evoking the canopy pavilions of Makli. [Wikipedia]



Figure 117: Someshvara Temple showing *garbhagriha* a decaying *mandapa*, Kiradu, Rajasthan in 1897. [Wikipedia]

Sikhara in literal terms means “mountain peak” it is the most commonly found roofing device in temples giving a vertical profile to a rather linear and horizontal layout plan of temples. The most elaborate *sikhara* roofs are provided on the main chamber of *garbhagriha*. These *sikhara* roofs come in variety of idioms and at-times display a complex design of multiple miniature *sikharas* dotting the body of the main *sikhara* profile. A miniature *sikhara* pair appears in full scale oriel ensemble of tomb of Jam Nizam al Din at Makli and Jain temples dotting the landscape of Tharparkar region of Sindh show use of *sikhara* roofs and other elements in their design.



Figure 118: Jain Temple with *mandapa* preceding the main *garbhagriha* chamber, sporting a *sikhara* roof with miniature *sikharas*, Virwah, Tharparkar, Sindh.
[<https://antiquities.sindhculture.gov.pk/index.php/antiquities-sites/jain-temple-virwah-tharparkar>]



Figure 119: *Sikhara* with *amalaka* and *kalasa* finial, Adinatha temple, Khajuraho, India. [Wikipedia]

Amalaka in temple architecture is an interpretation of “myrobalan fruit” and it tops the *sikhara* coupled mostly with a *kalasa* finial. Its appearance is like a disc with segmented portions and it is the most commonly found finial / pre-finial detail of northern Indian temples. These temples are called Latina temples a distinction based on the form and the finial of *sikhara* roof.

Kalasa has been discussed in detail in section 4.3.1 also refer figure 94.

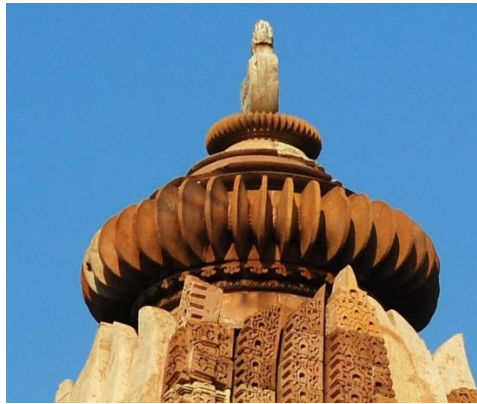


Figure 120: A set of double *amalaka* top on the *sikhara*, Devi Jagadambi Temple, Khajuraho, India [Wikipedia]

Toranas or *torana* are “gateways” that are mostly free standing entry markers. These are provided as gateways to temples and stupas alike. This feature is also commonly shared between Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples and may have held symbolic connotation as working as a threshold between sacred and profane realms. *Torana* of stupa at Sanchi is one of the most famous along with the stupa itself.



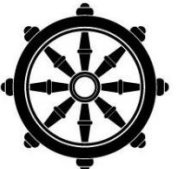
Figure 121: *Torana* with the stupa mound behind it, Sanchi, India. [Wikipedia]

D: LIST OF EIGHT AUSPICIOUS SYMBOLIC ELEMENTS FROM BUDDHIST, HINDU AND JAINA CULTURES:³³¹

There are various symbolical motifs that are shared among the three major pre-Muslim religions of the subcontinent. Although these are mostly celebrated as Buddhist symbols but a collective reverence existed and it is this shared sacredity that may have led to permeation of these symbols in the lexicon of motifs on tombs built under and for Muslim patrons. Eight of these auspicious symbols are the most used and symbolically charged are presented here. Some of these symbols are discussed in the section 4.3 of the main dissertation body. Adapted interpretations or similes of some of these symbols make it to architecture as is observed in the use of lotus and *kalasa* motif. Here a tabulation of remaining symbols including the ones shared is provided for the facilitation of the reader.

Symbol	Meaning	Image
The Parasol	This symbol indicates shelter or protection. The countenance appears identical to the canopy of <i>chattri</i> pavilions.	
The Golden Fish	The fish symbolizes freedom from the cycle of life - death and rebirth. The fish as it liberates the soul from the shackles of this cyclic process.	

³³¹ The information in this appendix is summarized from, Beer, Robert. *The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols*. Chicago: Serindia Publications Inc. , 2003.

The Conch Shell	The conch shell works as a call for prayers its sound is expected to wake individuals from their worldly slumber and put them on the path to salvation.	
The Lotus	Lotus has multiple symbolic connotations but the main idea behind its pervasive symbolism is that it rises from murky – muddy waters pure and untainted. This makes it a symbol of enlightenment and purity of human soul or spirit to mention a few. It is also associated with gods and in Hinduism it is mostly carved as a seat where the effigy of the god sits.	
The Urn or Kalasa	At its very basic interpretation the urn or <i>kalasa</i> stands as a symbol of abundance and plenty. A sign indicating blessing and benevolence of the divine. It may also indicate plenty of wisdom and knowledge.	
The End - Less Knot	As there appears no beginning or an end to this entwined knot it represents infinity, eternity and also interconnectedness of all forms of life on earth. The knot motifs used on graves and tombs considered	
The Banner	This flag or banner is representative of enlightenment in the sense that it indicates victory of human over his/her human fallacies. A celebratory marker of overcoming the bounds of worldly desires and obstacles to the path of enlightenment and salvation.	
The Wheel	Although an age old symbol of sun in the region the wheel generally indicates the continuity, movement and motion. In Buddhism it is interpreted as <i>dharma-chakra</i> or the wheel of law.	

E: VITA

JUNEJO, RABELA

Nationality: Pakistani

Date of Birth: 23rd Oct. 1983, Larkana.

Email: rabelajunejo@yahoo.com



EDUCATION:

2013-2020 PhD Scholar - History of Architecture Program,
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

2010-2012 Masters in Architectural History
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

2000-2006 Bachelors in Architecture:
Mehran University of Engineering & Technology,
Jamshoro.

WORK EXPERIENCE:

June 2013 – Present Assistant Professor, DAP – NEDUET, Karachi.

June 2007 – June 2013 Lecturer, DAP – NEDUET, Karachi.

July 2006 – June 2007 Architect, Mubarak Associates, Karachi.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS:

2020 PhD dissertation titled “*Architectural Encounters at Makli Necropolis: 14th – 18th Century*”, METU, Ankara, JULY 2020.

2018 Paper presented at First International conference on Makli titled, “*Tomb of Isa Khan Tarkhan the II – Place of Converging Architectural Idioms*” held at

Makli, Thatta 13th – 14th Jan 2018. Paper published in Sindh Antiquities Quaterly Journal (Special edition on Makli International Conference), Department of Culture, Government of Sindh, vol. 1, no. 4, Pages 29-40.

2016 Paper presented at 24th Conference of International Association of Historian of Asia (IAHA - 2016) titled, ***“Pluralism of Funerary Monuments: Reading Architectural Encounters at Makli Necropolis”***, held in Islamabad, Pakistan from 5th – 9th Dec., 2016. Paper published in proceedings of the conference.

2014 Paper presented titled, ***“Makli Necropolis (14th – 18th Century): Investigation into Geometric Ornamentation”*** at Nexus Conference on Relationships between Architecture and Mathematics, 9-12 June 2014, Ankara, Turkey

2010 Master’s thesis titled ***“Architectural Permeability: Stylistic Encounters in the Architecture of The Makli Necropolis (14th – 16th Centuries)”***, METU, Ankara, DEC. 2010

SCHOLASTIC HONORS:

2013 Doctorate Funding, NEDUET, Faculty Development Program.

2011 Best Student Award, Masters, METU, Ankara.

2010 Master’s Funding, NEDUET, Faculty Development Program.

2006 Second Position, B-ARCH, MUET, Jamshoro.

LANGUAGES:

English Advance

Urdu Fluent

Sindhi Good

Turkish Basic

F: TÜRKÇE ÖZET / TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu tez, Mimarlık Tarihi yüksek lisans derecesi için Thatta Makli Nekropolü mezarlık kalıntıları çalışması sürecinde tasarlanmıştır ve bu araştırmanın devamıdır. Yüksek lisans tezi araştırması sırasında ortaya çıkan, yanıtı olmayan ve durmadan zihni meşgul eden sorular, yazarı doktora araştırmalarında da bu konuyu çalışmaya itmiştir. Bu araştırma özünde mimarlık tarihi yazım yöntemi olarak kanon ve üslubu sorgulamaya yönelik bir çalışmadır. Bu süreçte farklı bir yöntem geliştirmek - Makli kalıntılarını ve çoğu tarih yazımı ile ilgili ve akademik ders kitabının dayandığı kanon kavramının temelini sarsan iddialı yerleri çalışmak için bir paradigma. Önerilen paradigma karşılaşma ile ilgilidir - dini, kültürel, edebi ve sosyal fikirlerin karşılaşması ve bu süreçte ortaya çıkan ve yaygınlaşan unsur.

Sind eyaleti, Thatta ilinde 14-18. yüzyıllar arasında ölümleri kabul eden ve taş veya tuğladan muhteşem anıt mezar ve kabirlerde misafir eden bir mezar anıtı alanı olan Makli, sıra dışı üslubuyla bir sorun oluşturmaktadır. Taksonomik araçlar uygulayarak bu mimarlığı sınıflandırmak ve vasıflandırmak neredeyse imkansız olduğu için bu mezar kalıntılarının varlığı bir anomali idi. Makli ile ilgili olarak, yazarın bakış açısının yönünü değiştirmeye iten şey ve kalıntıların okunması, tartışılması ve işlenmesi için alternatif bir aracın nasıl sağlanacağı konusu bu tezin içeriğini oluşturur.

Makli Nekropolü Hakkında Temel Bilgiler:

Makli aslında aşağı Sind'te Samma (MS 1352-1524) egemenliği sırasında bir nekropol olarak önem kazanan bir tepe çıkıntısıdır. Makli, Thatta'nın on altıncı yüzyılın başlarında Samma yöneticilerinin resmi başkenti haline gelmesiyle saygınlığı artmıştır. Bir ticaret şehri olan Thatta, bu dönemde gelişmiş ve Kalhora hükümdarları başkenti Khudabad'a kaydırıldığı MS 1739'a kadar bu gelişmeyi

sürdürmüştür. Aşağı Sind'in egemenliği, bugünkü Afganistan'daki Kandehar'dan gelen hükümdarlar olan Argun'a (MÖ 1524-1555) ve sonrasında Tarkan'a (MÖ 1555-1591) geçince ne Thatta ne de Makli bu değişimden dolayı zayıflamadı. Hem nekropolün hem de kentin statüsü korundu ve Makli'de inşaat faaliyetleri devam etti. Yaşayanlar için kent gelişti ve nekropol, yaşayanlar ve ölümler için birlikte çalışan sanatçı ve ustaların uzluğunu sergilerken yaşayanları güçlendirdi ve ölümleri ise gelecek nesiller için yüceltti.

Makli nekropolü ve Aşağı Sind'in başkenti olan Thatta şehri, 14-18. Yüzyıldan yaklaşık dört yüz yıl boyunca birçok hanedan değişikliğine tanık oldu. Mezarlık olarak Makli'yi kullanan ve Thatta'ya hükmeden dört büyük hanedan şu şekildedir:

1. Samma Cemleri (CE 1352-1524)
2. Argunlar (CE 1524-1555)
3. Tarkanlar (CE 1555-1591)
4. Babürlüler (1592-1739 CE)

Çoğu bilim insanı Sammaları daha sonra İslam'a geçmiş olan Rajput klanına mensup yerli insanlar olarak görür. Sammalar Sind'in toprak sahipleri idi ve bugün Hindistan'da Kutch ve Gucerat olarak anılan yerlerdeki yöneticilerle ilişkileri vardı. 1351/52 yıllarında Delhi Sultanlığı (Tuğluk Hanedanlığı 1320-1414) ile yerel Soomra şefleri (yaklaşık 350 yıl boyunca Samma'dan önceki egemen hanedan) arasındaki soğuk ilişkiden faydalanarak aşağı Sind'te egemenliğini kurmuştur. Sammalar Sind'i neredeyse 150 yıl boyunca Delhi'nin baskısından kısmen bağımsız olarak yönettiler. Cem Feroz (1508-1524), Samma hükümdarlarının sonuncusuydu ve yeteneksizliği ile taht kavgaları Samma Hanedanlığı'nın düşmesi ve Cem Feroz'un kuzeni olan Juna ailesinden Cem Salahaldin'e karşı yardım için çağırdığı Kandehar merkezli Argunlar'ın kendisini tahttan indirmesi ve Aşağı Sind'te kendi egemenliğini kurması ile sonuçlanmıştır.

Argun ve Tarkan hükümdarları, Türk boylarına ait Orta Asya bölgesindendi ve Argun Han'ın oğullarının soyu Cengiz Han'a dayanmaktaydı. İran'ın çoğu bölgesinde

Safevi (1501-1736) egemenliđi kurulduktan sonra Timurlu hanedanlıđı üyeleri, prensleri, aile fertleri ve soyluları vb., Babürlü hükümdar Babür'ün (1526-1530) Hindistan'da kendi egemenliđini kurması gibi Asya'nın dođu kısımlarında egemenliklerini kurmuşlardır. Argunlar hem iç hem de dış gerginliđin ortasında bir bölgeyi kendileri için güvence altına almak istiyorlardı. 1524'te Şah Hasan Argun Thatta'da egemenliđini kurdu ve Samma hükümdarlıđı bitti. 1555 yılında Argun hükümdarı Şah Hasan'ın ölümünden sonra akraba hanedan olan Tarkanlar kendilerini Thatta ve Sind hükümdarı kıldılar. Tarkan hanedanının hükümdarları çoğunlukla baskıcı olarak bilinmiştir. I. Mirza İsa Tarkan (1554-1565) ve daha sonra ođulları Thatta'yı yönetmiştir. Mirza Cani Bek (1593) ve Mirza Gazi Bek (1614) Babür İmparatoru Akbar (1556-1605) ve Cihangir'in (1605-1627) valileri olarak iktidardaydılar. MS 1592'den 1738/39'a kadar tayin edilen Babür valileri Thatta'yı yönetti. Thatta'nın son Babür valisi, iktidarı Miyan Nur Muhammed Kalhora'ya teslim ettikten sonra, Thatta siyasi itibarını ve Makli de Sind'deki mimari ve manevi hegemonyasını kaybetti.

Makli alanı aslında daha önce bahsedildiđi gibi anıt mezarlardan oluşan bir mezarlıktır. Anıtlar, yukarıda bahsedilen egemen hanedanların yöneticilerine, soylularına, valilerine ve ailelerine aittir. Anıtlar bina tipi ve yapı malzemesine göre sınıflandırılabilir, ancak yerleşim düzeni ve yapı tiplerindeki sınırsız çokluk birbirine karıştığı için bu katı bir kural ortaya koymaz. Taş ve tuđla malzeme de birbirine karışır ve steril kalmaz, ancak anıt mezarlardaki ana tipleri izleyen geçici bir kavrayış sağlamak için alandaki hem tekil hem de karışık çeşitler dikkate alınır.

- 1. Kubbeli Kare Planlı Anıt Mezar**, içinde kabirler (sekizgen çeşitlemeli) ve tepesinde kubbesi olan, taş veya tuđladan, çini süslemeli veya süslemesiz mezar odalarıdır.
- 2. Baldaken Anıt Mezar**, çoğunlukla taştan yapılmış, kubbeli, yanlardan açık olan altıgen veya sekizgen yapılar.

3. **Üstü Açık Anıt Mezar**, içlerinde mezar bulunan ve taş veya tuğladan yapılmış dörtgen şeklinde örtüsüz yapılardır. Çevreleyen duvarların içine çoğunlukla aynı ailenin üyeleri gömülür. Sonraki dönemde bu anıt mezarlar, çevreleyen duvarları içinde tam mezar odaları barındırmıştır.

4. **Kümelenmiş veya Tekli Mezarlar**, çoğunlukla taştan yapılmış en ince taş oyma desenlerine sahip olan tüm mezarlığa yayılmıştır.

Ana mezarlık yapıları yukarıdakiler olmak üzere Makli tepesinde **Cami** ve/veya **“Hangâh”** ya da muhterem erenlerin zaviyeleri gibi başka yapı türleri vardır. Alandaki yapılar taş veya tuğla olmak üzere modern öncesi malzemelerden inşa edilmiştir. Bu araştırma, her iki inşaat malzemesinden yapılmış anıt mezarları içerir. Mezarlar ve diğer yapı tipleri araştırma kapsamı dışında tutulmuş olsa da gerekli görüldüğünde bunlar da anılmıştır.

Amaç ve Araştırma Soruları:

Bu araştırmanın amacı, kanonu sorgulamak ve bu yaklaşımdaki problemleri tartışmak ve alternatif bir araç veya paradigma önermektir. Önerilen karşılaşma/bütünleşme paradigması, her şeyi kapsayan bir 'tarih' yerine 'bir' mimarlık tarihi sunar. Karşılaşma/bütünleşme paradigmasına genel ve alt kıtanın maddi kültürüne özgü mimari tarih yazımındaki çağdaş yaklaşımlar incelenerek ulaşılmıştır. Alt kıtadan çıkan sanat, mimarlık, madeni paralar ve edebiyat/şiir vb. ürünlerin bütünleştirici niteliği, taksonomik inceleme araçları söz konusu olduğunda sorunlu gözüktür. Temeli sarsan ve kanonu genişleten veya yıkan çağdaş akademisyenler tarafından benimsenen yaklaşımların incelenmesi, alanı değerlendirmenin olası bir yolu olarak sayısız etkenle olan karşılaşmanın açık ve kesin bir dille ifade edilmesini sağladı.

Bu araştırmanın amaçları şunlardır:

- Mimarlık tarihindeki taksonomik yaklaşıma karşı çıkmak ve bunu sorgulamak.
- Makli Nekropolü'nün dört yüz yıllık yapı geleneği ile ilgili alternatif bir anlatı geliştirmek.
- Korunan ve terk edilen yapı teknikleri üzerine, neyin, nasıl ve neden kabul edildiğine, uyarlandığına, terk edildiğine ve inşaatın faal olduğu yılları boyunca neyin geliştiğine ilişkin düşünmek.
- Thatta ve Aşağı Sind'i Gucerat, Bengal ve Malwa'daki muadilleri gibi bir saltanat yönetimi olarak anlamak.
- Sömürgeci mimarlık tarihi yazımını sahaya dayanan kanıtlar ve çağdaş yaklaşımlarla sorgulamak.

Tez boyunca aşağıdaki araştırma soruları ele alınmaktadır

1. *Makli, mimarlığı ile ilgili yeni/alternatif bir bakış açısı oluşturmak için neden (yeniden) değerlendirilmelidir?*
2. *Taksonomik izlek veya yaklaşım bırakılırsa Makli mimarlığı nasıl incelenebilir?*
3. *Bir paradigma olarak karşılaşmanın parametreleri nelerdir ve alanın değerlendirilmesi/analizi için bu paradigma nasıl gerekçelendirilebilir?*
4. *Alanın ve saltanat üzerinden alanı daha geniş bir revizyonist tarih yazımı yaklaşımına hizalayan Sind bölgesinin karakteristik özellikleri nelerdir?*

Temel Metodoloji:

Alanın pilot çalışması, 2016 yılında başlayarak tuğla veya taş malzeme envanterinden ayakta duran anıt mezarların kapsamlı bir şekilde fotoğraflanması ile gerçekleştirildi. Bu belgeleme anıt mezarın dört cephesini, iç detayları, içten ve dıştan giriş açıklıklarını, kubbe profilli geçiş bölgesini ve dekoratif motiflere

odaklanmış çekimleri içerecek şekilde yapılandırıldı. Bileşik duvarların bulunduğu her yerde, bunlar asıl anıt mezarın cephelerinden ayrı olarak belgelenmiştir. Bu pilot çalışma, anıt mezarların mimarisi üzerine derinlemesine bir çalışma ile desteklenmiştir. Anıtların tasarım ve dekoratif özelliklerine ilişkin temel bilgi ve detaylar veren bir liste ve kapsamlı bir özet hazırlanmıştır. Anıtların listesi ve özeti, Heritage Foundation tarafından hazırlanan hasar değerlendirme kitapçığına ve farklı hanedanlar dönemlerindeki anıtları ayırmak için kullandıkları sisteme göre düzenlenmiştir (bkz. Ek A).

Bu ön çalışma, problem tanımının formülasyonu için zorunluydu. Alandaki kanıtlar üslup üzerinden sınıflandırmaya meydan okuyacak kadar çeşitlendirildi. Tezin akışı boyunca bu kapsamlı özet belgesine göndermeler yapılmıştır. Pilot çalışma kapsamında öne çıkan kanıtlar, literatür çalışmasını yönlendirdi ve büyük ölçüde etkiledi. Seçilen kaynaklar, cevapları bulmak ve yerinde kanıtların ortaya koyduğu anomalilerin anlaşılmasını geliştirmek için tamamlayıcı ve destekleyici olmuştur. Bu sayede literatür kanıtlarla yazılır ve bu, metodolojiyi ampirik olmasına rağmen nitel kılarak araştırmada alan öne çıkar. Metodoloji, maddi kanıtlar ile bunların okumaları ve literatür arasında salınır ve bu genellikle benimsenen üslup modelinden ayrılan kanıt jargonunun çözümlemeyi ve kavramayı amaçlar. Dolayısıyla kuramsal içerik, Makli'yi daha yeni bir revizyonist ışıktaki çalışmak için güçlü bir durum yapan kapsamlı bir tarihsel tarih yazımı tartışması olarak sunulur. Bu bağlamda literatür; edebi, epigrafik, mimari ve sanatsal alanları kapsayan kültürel malzemeyi konu edinen alt kıtadan benzer durumları analiz ederken kullanılan araçları sağlamıştır. Bu nedenle analiz, 14. - 18. yüzyıldan kalma eyalet/bölgedeki kalıntıların alt kıta örneklerinden önce gelir ve bunları Makli'deki mezarları değerlendirmek için alır ve uygular. Yazarın katkısı, 14. yüzyıldan 18. yüzyıla kadar tüm yapı geleneğini kapsayan çağdaş tarih yazımı tartışmalarını genel olarak Sind'e ve özellikle Makli mimarlığına uygulamaktır.

İçeriğin Özeti:

Makli alanı, daha geniş bir çerçevede bölgesel/eyaletteki saltanat mimarlığının ve Babür döneminin eyalet mimarlığındaki eğilimlerinin şemsiyesi kapsamında çalışılmış ve çözümlenmiştir. Revizyonist tarihler olarak adlandırılan taksonomiye reddeden 14. - 18. yüzyıl zaman dilimi boyunca eyalet mimarlığı ve maddi kültür üzerine mevcut olan araştırmalar, çalışmayı kolaylaştırmıştır. Saltanat dönemi üzerine olan revizyonist tarihler, kıta üzerinde çalışan çağdaş tarihçiler tarafından benimsenen yaklaşımlara ayrıntılı bir bakış sağlar. Bu tarihçilerin amaç ve söylemleri örtüştüğü ve büyük ölçüde eleştiri ve araştırma parametreleri geliştirdiği için bu tarihler araştırma için önemlidir. Bu kanonları defeden tarihler, yaklaşımın sınırlı kapsamının sorgulandığı ve buna karşı çıkılan sağlam bir zemin oluşturmak için araçlar sağlar. Çağdaş revizyonist yaklaşım, birincil olarak kanıtları ele alır ve daha önceden yazılanları (örneğin sömürgeci) mimarlığı aşan daha geniş bir aralıktaki maddi kalıntılarla doğrular. Maddi kalıntılar ve daha sonraki literatür incelendiğinde ortaya çıkan çatışmalar, bir maddi kalıntı çokluğu ile başa çıkmak için yeni veya taze bir bakış açısı gerektirmiştir. Referans kitaplarında saltanat dönemi ve mimarlığının marjinalleştirilmiş görünümü; Hint mimarlığı ve sanatının, sömürgeci girişimin ve taksonomik yaklaşımın bir ürünü olan meta-her şeyi kapsayan araştırmalar yerine, odaklanılmış ve bölgeye özgü çalışmalar yapılmasını gerektirdi. Bu sıklıkla ihmal edilen saltanat dönemi ve bu dönemin maddi kültürünün sergilediği karma (intermixed) görsel jargon, günümüz araştırmalarında gerekli ilgiyi görmektedir. Sömürgeci yazılarda alan için benzer göz ardı etme eğilimleri gözlemlendiğinden, saltanat dönemi ve bununla ilgili tarih yazımı konuları, Makli'yi tartışmak üzere bir temel oluşturmak için önemli hale geldi. Saltanat dönemi bu konuyla ilgili sorunlar sergiler ve bu sorunları, örneğin her yere nüfuz etmiş tapınağa saygısızlık ve beraberinde getirdiği propaganda, ele almak veya parçalarına ayırmak ve gizeminden arındırmak için benimsenen yaklaşım yeni kanıtlar ışığında mevcut araştırmalarda tartışılmaktadır. Akademisyenlerin eğilimlerine göre bir tarafa veya diğer tarafa doğru eğilimli olan alt kıta mimarlığı için yabancı ve/veya yerel öncelikli çift kutuplu anlatı çözülmüştür. Kutupluluğa, yabancı, yerel ve diğer etkenlerin mimarlık/sanati ortaya koydukları için gerekli paylarını aldıkları çoğulculuk aracılık eder. Bir eğilime

gösterilen akademik hoşgörü, diğerinin değerini bir şekilde azaltır. Bu kutuplar ayrıca daha sonraki milliyetçi anlatılarda sürdürülen, sömürgeci girişimin bir sonucu olan Hindu-Müslüman / Hint-İslami ayrımını da teşvik eder.

Makli mezarlığında günümüze kalan yapılardan en çoğuna sahip olan Aşağı Sind'in başkenti Thatta şehri, Delhi Sultanlığı ve Babür dönemi mimarlığının bölgesel veya eyalet değişkelerine göre kendini hizalar. Örneğin Gucerat (1407-1573 CE) ya da Bengal (1352-1576 CE) saltanatı ile aynı tutumda olan Thatta, İmparatorluk Merkezi olan Delhi ile sürekli bir bağımlı-bağımsız durumda kalmıştır. Aşağı Sind ve Thatta gibi diğer yarı bağımsız saltanatlar, MS 1592/93 döneminde alt kıtadaki daha büyük Babür İmparatorluğu'nun bir parçası oldular. Tarih kitaplarında hiçbir zaman ayrı bir saltanat olarak görünmese de kanımca aşağı Sind bir saltanat olarak davranıyor. Aşağı Sind ve Thatta'yı bölgesel bir saltanat yönetimi olarak konumlandırmamın nedeni, yukarıda belirtildiği gibi, bölgede ele alınması gereken benzer sorunlardır. Çoğunluk meselesi, yerel yapı geleneklerinin sürmesinin tapınağa saygısızlık propagandası için bir yem haline gelmesi ve İslam mimarlığı referans kitaplarında Babür öncesi anıtlarla birlikte bu mimarlığa gösterilen önemsiz ilginin çoğunlukla tümüyle göz ardı edilmesi, Makli'yi revizyonist yaklaşımlar ve alt kıtadaki bölgesel saltanat mimarlığının külliyatıyla aynı hizaya getirmiştir. Orta Asya ve Fars etkisinin ağırlığının, yerel etkenleri takdir ederken hem doğudan hem de batıdan alıntı yapmayı takdir etmenin rahatlığına ihtiyacı vardır. Herhangi bir noktada hem yabancı hem de yerel olan mimarlığı sunan bu yerli ve yabancı unsurların alanda nasıl karşılaştığı yeni bir bakış açısı ve çalışma gerektiriyordu. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi bu çalışma, bölgedeki sömürgeci araştırmaların yan ürünü olan üslup veya taksonomi kapsamında mümkün değildi.

Mimarlık için geniş bir tarih yazımı malzemesi olan sömürgeci kaynaklar referans kitaplarda yoğunlaşmıştır. Hala mimarlık tarihi yazmanın temel yapısı çoğunlukla bu referans kitaplardan geldiği için bunlar hala geçerli. James Fergusson (*"History of Indian and Eastern Architecture- Volume I & II"* [*Hindistan ve Doğu Mimarlığı - Cilt I & II*]) ve Brown'ın (*"Indian Architecture: Buddhist and Hindu Period and Indian Architecture: Islamic Period"* [*Hindistan Mimarlığı: Budist ve Hindu Dönemi*])

ve Hindistan Mimarlığı: İslam Dönemi]) Hindistan mimarlığı üzerine olan referans kitapları, örneğin sömürge dönemindeki Hint mimarlığı üzerine çok fazla yazı yazmış olan Sir Bannister Fletcher tarafından Avrupa mimarlığı için yürütülen mimarlık araştırmalarına dayanarak biçimlendirilmiştir. Bunlar İslamiyet ve Hinduizm dinleri temelinde mimarlığı bölen erken hizipleşmeleri yaydıkları için tartışma konusudur. Bu yazılar, alt kıtada mevcut olan iki önemli dini boyut olan İslam ve Hinduizm'in ışığında Hindistan'ın mimarlığını okumanın başlangıç noktasıydı. Birinin diğerinin lehine vurgulanması ve her ikisinin de Avrupa mimarlığına kıyasla göz ardı edilmesi, bu malzemelere ilişkin okumalarda görülebilir. Bu kitapların yaydığı malzemenin zenginliği, bu yazıların çizimler, resimler, görseller ve litografiler vb. ile devasa projeler olduğunu gösteriyordu. Yine de bu muazzam araştırma, kimi zaman muazzam bir biçimde önyargılıydı ve bu tezin bu malzemeyi derinlemesine inceleyip bu önyargılara dikkat çekmesi ve bunlar üzerine akıl yürütmesi gerekliydi. Mimarlık üzerine referans kitapları, Hindistan ve Sind mimarisi üzerine Batılı bir örgütlenme ilkesi bindirdi. "Aydınlanmış" bir sömürgeci zihnin alt kıtanın yapı geleneğine ilişkin yazdıkları ile göz ardı edilenler, çoğul biçimlere değinmek konusundaki eksikliği yansıttı çünkü bunlar taksonomi ve üsluba -batının doğuya yaptığı bir giydirme- uymuyordu. Bu yazılar, tapınağa olan saygısızlığı ve malzemelerin yeniden kullanılması söylemlerini yaydı. Bunlar, bölgenin bir gerçeği olsa da yersi bir odak ve ağırlık noktası olmuştu. Bu, İslami yapılarda karma ya da 'Hindu' biçimlerin ortaya çıktığı her yerde birincil açıklama olarak uygulanmıştır. Çünkü sömürgeci zihne göre mimaride ve diğer kültürel ve sanatsal kurgularda Hindular ve Müslümanlar ayrıydı. Bu yanlış görünüyordu ve sahadaki durum araştırmalarda betimlenenden farklıydı. Görünüşte uzlaşamayan Hindu ve Müslüman kategorileri yalnızca birbirine karışmakla kalmadı, aynı zamanda sanatsal - dilsel ve kültürel fikir alışverişinde bulundu. Bu kategoriler oldukça çeşitliydi ve din temelli olmaktansa daha çok etnik temelliydi. Bu nedenle, ikili Hindu-Müslüman bölünmesi, bu iki monolitik kategorideki mezhepsel ve etnik farkları kapsamadığı çatlak bir zeminde duruyordu. Bu dönem iki farklı mimari anlayışın birbiriyle karşılaştığı bir zamandı ve bu, karma biçimlerin üretilmesinin nedenlerinden biriydi ve tasarım kemerli ve kemersiz yapı yöntemlerinden oluşan farklı anlayışların bir araya gelmesiydi. Bundan dolayı saltanat dönemi,

araştırmalarda az ilgi görmüştür. Yukarıda belirtildiği gibi bu biçimlerin mantığında yıkılan tapınaklardan gelen malzemelerin yeniden kullanılması vardır. Bu, bir yandan Müslüman hükümdarları tapınakların yıkıcısı ve Hindu karşıtı olarak gösterdiği için öte yandan da Müslüman hükümdarların bu erken döneminde ön plana çıkan, yerel halkla karşılaşan ve bir bağ kuran tüm mimarlık ya tapınak parçalarından geldiği ya da yeterince İslami olmadığı için çok az dikkat çekmiş olduğundan iki tarafı keskin bir kılıçtı. Makli'deki ve alt kıtadaki diğer alanlarda bulunan kanıtlar, tüm alanların tapınaklardan malzeme kullanmadıkları ve yeni yapıların tapınaklarda bulunan taş mimarlık ile benzer mimari dağarcık ile yapılmadığını gösterir. Gucerat- Racastan ve Sind bölgeleri, yapıların Müslüman himayesi altında ve İslam'ın ritüel işlevleri için yapıldığı ve bunun, tapınak yapımına ve tapınağın görsel jargonuna benzediği iyi örnekler sunar. Üslup kapsamında bir sınıflandırma herhangi bir karşılaştırmalı analiz için sınırlı alan bıraktığı için başka sorunlar da söz konusuydu. Bir üslup sanki tek başına işliyormuş gibi, diğer üsluptan hiçbir şeyi kendine mal etmediği veya fikir alışverişinde bulunmadığı varsayılmış ve bu beklenmiştir. Budist ve Hindu mimarlığı, dini yakınlıklarına dayanarak yalnızca mimari kelime dağarcığını paylaşmakla kalmayıp, aynı zamanda her iki dini eğilimin tapınaklarının aynı yerde inşa edildiği ve bunların her iki grup tarafından da eşit derecede saygı gördüğü birçok alanı paylaşmıştır. Bunlar sömürgeci yazılardaki önyargılardan veya tutarsızlıklardan bazılarıydı. Makli ve Aşağı Sind, sömürgeci yazarlar tarafından yazıldığında benzer önyargılarla karşılaşmış ve burada da saltanat dönemi ile benzer eğilimler görülebilir olmuştur. Bu nedenle bölgeyi ve bölgedeki Müslüman egemenliğinin tarihini anlamak için Sind'de sömürgecilik öncesi yazılara bakmak önemliydi. Bu yazılar aynı zamanda Sind sömürgeci kaynaklarda öne çıkan önyargıların karşılaştırılmasına ve sorgulanmasına yardımcı olmuştur.

Sind'in tarihi, Makli'nin karma veya çoğul mimarlığını besleyen heterojen bir kültürel ortamı görselleştirme girişimi olarak düşünülmektedir. Geçmişin bu yeniden inşası, Makli'yi dolaşık ve karma görsel jargonu karşılayabilecek, barındırabilecek ve muhtemelen takdir edebilecek kadar güçlü bir çevrede konumlandırmayı kolaylaştırdı. Dolayısıyla bu, tarihsel olayların düz bir doğrusal/kronolojik anlatımı değildir ve politik hakimiyeti bir hanedandan diğerine kaydırmak yerine, eldeki

kaynak malzeme, heterojenlik ve sayısız etnik ve dini eğilimlerden gelen insanların göreceli birlikte varoluşuna ilişkin belirteçler bulmak için elenmiştir. Bununla birlikte, hoşgörü ve sosyal homojenlik fikrini romantikleştirmez, bunun yerine belirli izinler için birlikte varoluşa veya belirli izinlerin kabul edilmesine işaret eder. Paralellerin çizilebildiği her yerde denklikler çıkarılmaya çalışıldı, ancak dini ve etnik fark, sömürgeci yazılarda kullanıldığı kadar olmasa da tanındı. Sind'in ticari karakteri, görünüşte birbirinden farklı olan eğilimlerin bir araya gelmesinde ve alışveriş içinde olmasında rol oynamış olabilir. Dolayısıyla araştırmada Sind'in geçmişinin bu anlatımı, tezi amacına yönelten uygun boyutları kullanır. “İslam'ın kapısı” olan Sind, MS 711/12'de işgalci Arap ordularını karşılamasına rağmen, bu olaydan önce de bir tarihi olduğu için bu sloganın ötesine geçmesi gerekiyordu. Şehrin ticari doğası, onu çokluğa açık hale getirmiş ve yabancı etkenler ile birçok düzeyde karşılaşmayı sağlamıştır. Uzak bir ülkeden gelen hükümdarların dini eğilimlerindeki değişim, ticaretin yapıldığı bölgelerin doğasında bulunan çeşitli kültürel doğayı ortadan kaldırmak yerine çeşitliliğe katkıda bulunmuştur. Sömürgecilik öncesi metinlere göre Araplar tarafından uygulanan politikalar daha sonraki aşamalarda da devam etti ve daha geniş bir nüfus kesiminin İslamiyet'e geçme süreci, daha önceki dini kültürel faaliyetleri bozmadı ve tüm bölge aha önceki dinlerini bırakıp İslam'a geçmedi. Aşağı Sind'i yöneten birden fazla köken hikayesine sahip olan yerel nüfustan Soomra ve Samma hükümdarları çok büyük olasılıkla sonradan İslam'a geçmişlerdi çünkü, atalarının çoğunun isimlerinin Hindu çağrışımları vardı. Sind'te belirli bir zaman dilimindeki organik dönüşümler tümüyle mantıksız değildir. Benzer şekilde Arap öncesi dinlerin nüfus içinde korunması da tamamen temelsiz değildir. Sind Sufi geleneği bu çeşitliliği kutladı ve birçok Sufi ve aziz figür Hindu ve Müslüman nüfus arasında değiş tokuş edildi ve buna göre saygı gördü. Üretilen hagiografılardaki bu aziz figürlerine sömürgecilik öncesi metin ışık tutuyor. Bu nedenle, bu kaynaklara odaklanmış incelemeler, çeşitliliğe sahip ticari bir rejime sadık kalan bir Sind sunar. 14. yüzyılda başlayan Samma egemenliği, müzakerelerin ve uzlaşmaların önceden planlandığı ve geliştiği bir yerdi. Bu ortamda Samma dönemi mimarlığının yerel yapı uygulamalarından alması alışılmadık bir durum değildir. “Hindu formları” ve “Müslüman formları” daha sonraki bir kurgu olarak görünür. Görünüşe göre, üretilen mimarlık, patronun dini eğilimlerinin ilkeli

sınırları içinde kaldığında, yapı üslubunun önemli olmadığı anlaşıyor. Bu nedenle, erken ve sonraki dönemlerde, bulunduğu bölge olan Sind'i taklit eden heterojen bir yer olan Makli'de biçimlerin, tasarımın ve dekoratif fikirlerin bütünleşmesine tanık oluyoruz. Bu mimariyi incelemek için saltanat dönemi revizyonist tarihinin incelenmesinde kullanılan araçlar, bir paradigma olarak karşılaşma - bütünleşme önerisine yol açmıştır.

Karşılaşma paradigması, bölgenin yapı geleneğinin bir kısmını bahşeden kültürel ve dilsel alanlarda alışveriş sağlayan bir temas olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Taksonomik ve milliyetçi yükün alınmasıyla Aşağı Sind, Makli şimdi, alandaki mimarlıkta öne çıkan sanatsal fikirlerin akışkanlığını ve değişimini veya başka bir deyişle karşılaşmayı hesaba katan bir öncüle dayanıyor. Sömürgeci yazarlar tarafından hayıflanılan mimarlıktaki tutarsızlık, mimarlığı, kurma ve alımlama sürecini araştırmak için birçok yol açtığından, bu yapı geleneğinin güçlü yanına dönüşür. Bu nedenle Makli mimarlığının yeni bir perspektif sunması için alternatif bir yaklaşım, ne yüce övgülere (bölünme sonrası) ne de aşağılayıcılığa (sömürgeci) kurban gitmemelidir. Mimarlığın ve üretiminin nüansları bu kutuplar arasında kaybolur. Bir paradigma olarak Karşılaşma, kutuplaşmaları sorunlu kılarak ve -egemen hanedanların ebedi istirahatgâhı olarak seçtiği ve gelecek nesiller için anıt mezarlar inşa ettiği- Makli'deki mezar anıtlarında ortaya çıkan değişim, bütünleşme, benimseme, mal etme, çeviriler, denklikler ve reddetmeleri yayarak bir mekâna aracılık etmiştir.

Bu nedenle anıt mezarların analizi, tarihe kanonik yaklaşımı bozan unsurları ortaya çıkarmak için yapılır. Bundan önce neredeyse ayakta duran kırk anıt mezardan dört anıt mezar analiz için kısa listeye alındı. Bunlar taş veya tuğla malzemeden yapılmıştı. Kırk anıt mezarın tamamı analiz edilemediği için bu seçim tez için zorunluydu. Bugünün tarihî eğilimleri ile kanonları ve söylemleri parçalarına ayıran anıt mezarları seçmek, karşılaşma anlatısını ilerleten bir tavidir. Bazıları için kakofoni ve diğerleri için ahenk olan Makli alanındaki tüm anıt mezarlar topluluğu, kanonu defeder ve çoğulluğu oluşturur. Bunun seçim kriterlerini verimsiz kıldığı iddia edilebilir, ancak analizin kontrollü olması için bu zorunluydu.

Anıt mezar seçimi için temel kriterler şunlardır:

1. Anıt mezarlar tuğla veya taş envanterden seçilir ve her iki malzemenin yapısal ve yapımsal (structural and constructional) doğasını kabul etmek için ayrı ayrı analiz edilir. Bununla birlikte, malzemelerdeki herhangi bir benzerlik ve alışverişin kanonik söylem için caydırıcı olduğu belirtilecektir.
2. En üst düzeyde bütünleşik - karma unsurlar ve biçimler sergileyen anıt mezarlar, alanın çoğulluğunun en iyi örnekleri olduklarından analiz amaçlı seçim için daha etkilidirler. Bu nedenle, daha geniş sunum ve çoğulluk aralığına sahip anıtlar tercih edilmiştir.
3. Makli'de en çok anıt mezar yapımı Thatta'nın hem Samma hem de Tarkan (Babür valiliği dönemi) egemenliği altında olduğu dönem gerçekleşmiştir. Malzeme, ölçek ve çeşitliliğe ilişkin olarak bu zaman dilimleri seçim amacı için daha geniş bir aralık sağlar. Bu nedenle Babür egemenliğindeki hem Samma ve hem de Tarkanlar, anıtları seçmek için uygun zaman dilimleri haline gelir.
4. Anıt mezarların yerleşimlerini, biçimlerini, yapı malzemelerini ve dekoratif özelliklerini anlama bakımından günümüzdeki durumu seçim için önemli bir kriterdir. Daha iyi durumda olan ve zamanın sürprizlerine dayanan anıt mezarlar tercih edilmiştir.

Babür zaman dilimindeki Samma ve Tarkan'dan taş veya tuğla olan yapılardan iki anıt mezar kısa listeye alındı. Seçilen mezarlar şunlardır:

- Taştan yapılmış anıtlar için;
 1. Cem Nizam al Din Anıt Mezarı MS 1509 yılında yapılmıştır, Samma döneminden kalmadır.

2. İsa Han Tarkan Anıt Mezarı, 17. yüzyıl ortalarında (yaklaşık 1646/47 MS) yapılmış, Tarkan/Babür döneminden kalmadır.
- Tuğladan yapılmış anıtlar için
 3. Kaus Sultani, MS 1513'te yapılmış, Samma döneminden kalmadır.
 4. Cani Bek ve Gazi Bek Anıt Mezarı MS 1601'de, Tarkhan / Babür döneminde geçici olarak başlamıştır.

MS 1461'den 1508'e kadar olan Cem Nizam al Din, Samma hanedanlığının en ünlü ve başarılı yöneticilerden biriydi. Anıt Mezarı, taştan inşa edilmiş tek kubbeli kare mezar odası olduğu için Samma anıtları topluluğunda benzersizdir. Kaynaklara göre kubbe ya hiç inşa edilmemiş ya da sonrasında yıkılmıştır. Yaklaşık 37*37' boyutunda bir kare olan, çiçek ve geometrik oyma motifli en karmaşık süslemeye sahip anıt mezardır. Cem Nizam al Din oğlu Cem Feroze döneminde MS 1509 yılında tamamlanan inşaat kendisi hayattayken başlamış olmalıdır.

Bana göre üç Babür İmparatoru Akbar (CE 1556-1605), Cihangir (CE 1605-1627) ve Şah Cihan'a (1627-1658 CE) hizmet eden II. İsa Han Tarkan en başarılı siyasi kariyere sahipti. Akbar'ın sarayında (1603 CE - 1012 sonrası) makul bir süre geçirdikten ve Babürlerin politik adaplarını öğrendikten sonra ön plana çıktı. Uşaklıktan daha ilgili görevlere ve makamlara ulaştı ve MS 1642/43'te (H. 1054) Gucerat'ın valisi oldu ve üç ay sonra MS 1628/29'da (H. 1037-38) Thatta'nın valisi oldu. Cani ve Gazi Bey Tarkan arasındaki haleflik kavgaları nedeniyle, II. İsa Tarkan zamanının çoğunu Thatta dışında geçirerek Deccan ve Gucerat bölgelerinde birden fazla görev elde etti. Thatta ile olan ilişkisi, Hindistan'daki çeşitli yerlerde görevlere atanmasına rağmen anıt mezarını atalarıyla aynı yerde inşa etmeyi seçtiği için reddedilemez. 1628/29 yılında Thatta valisi olarak göreve başladığında anıt mezarı için çalışma başlattığı ve inşaatın yaklaşık 18 yıl sürdüğü tahmin ediliyor. II. İsa Han Tarkan, MS 1652 / 1653'te (H. 1062) öldü. Tümüyle taştan inşa edilmiş mezarı Orta Asya ve yerel kaynaklardan çok sayıda tasarım unsurunu bir araya getiriyor. Dört eyvanlı karma duvar içine yerleştirilmiş yüksek kubbeli bir kare mezar odasıdır ve

anıt mezar topluluğundaki en ilgi çekici özelliği ana mezar odasını çevreleyen iki kat yüksekliğinde bir kolonaddır.

Kaus Sultani'nin anıt mezarı Makli'deki tuğladan inşa edilmişler arasındadır ve MS 1513 civarında yapılmış olup Samma dönemine aittir. Yine çeşitli tasarım ve dekoratif şemalar kullanılan kare kubbeli bir mezar odasıdır. Bu anıt mezarda, sıva ve tuğla kalıpların yanı sıra süs amaçlı dekoratif ve oyma taş özellikleri kapsamlı bir şekilde uygulanmıştır. Samma döneminde tuğla anıt mezarlar, gerçek kemer yapı sistemi kullanır, ancak kubbeler Kaus Sultani'deki gibi kısmen veya asgari olarak bozulmadan kalır ve diğer durumlarda tümüyle yok olmuştur. Bazı durumlarda anıt mezarın tabanına ulaşan çift tonozlarla yapısal sistemin temkinli bir şekilde dağıtıldığı gözlenir. Bu, kemer ve kubbe sistemi kullanırken taş ustalarındaki kararsızlığı gösterir. Kaus Sultani geç Samma döneminde inşa edilmiştir ve ana Samma kümesinin güney batısında, nispeten yalıtılmış bir ortamda yer almaktadır.

Tarkan soyundan gelen Cani Bek, Babür egemenliğinden bağımsız hükmeden Tarkanların sonuncusu oldu ve MS 1601'de öldü. MS 1612'de ölen oğlu Gazi Bek muhtemelen aynı anıt mezara gömüldü ve Thatta'nın Babür valisi oldu. Bu, II. İsa Han Tarkan'ın anıt mezarı gibi bir üstü açık tipte bir anıt mezardır ancak ana yapı malzemesi olarak tuğla kullanılmıştır. Ana mezar odası, üzerinde bir kubbe bulunan bir sekizgendir. Bu anıt mezarda oyma taş süslemeler ile çini süslemeleri çokça kullanılmıştır.

Seçilen dört anıt mezar ile tüm taş ve tuğladan yapılmış yapılar analizde seçilmiş anıt mezarların referans noktalarıyla bağlanmıştır. Bana göre bu; tasarım, malzeme, yapısal ve süs nitelikleri açısından tüm alanın hakkını veriyor ve analizi kapsamlı kılıyor.

Analizde taş anıt mezarlar ayrı ayrı tartışılmakta ve tuğla anıt mezarlar ayrı ayrı tartışılmaktadır. Analiz, Samma'dan geç Tarkan/Babür dönemine kadar olan benzerlikler, farklılıklar ve kaymaları gösteren biçimsel ve dekoratif detayların karşılaştırmalı bir şekilde tartışılmasına ayrılmıştır. Biçim ve unsurların sembolizmi

de temel tasarım parametrelerini aşarak ve mimarlığın ezoterik okumalarına girerek sunulur. Analiz, birden fazla merkezden gelen anıt mezarlardaki özellikleri vurgulamıştır. Birden fazla merkezden aşılama parçalarına ayırırken, her zaman bir aldatmaca vardır, yani bir kültür daha üstün ve diğeri daha aşağı olur. Bununla birlikte, seçilen anıtların analizi ve sembolik okumaları, üstün veya aşağı bir kültür ve buna bağlı olarak din fikrini reddetmiştir ve bunu desteklememiştir. Minyatür çıkımlar, ayaşı eşikler ve bol motifli küpler vb. gibi temel unsurların, inşa faaliyeti boyunca alanda sürekli kullanıldığı gözükmiştir. Yerel jargonda ortak olan bu motiflerin yanı sıra, “İslami” mimarlıkta aşkın ezoterik boyutlarda sembolik anlamlar yüklü geometrik süsleme ve arabesk, mevcut jargonla kaynaşmaktadır. Bu unsurlar yalnızca eskinin devamını değil, aynı zamanda yeni unsurların da benimsenmesini önermektedir. Alandaki estetik bir program, yerel Müslüman öncesi ve Müslüman dini boyutlarından gelen sembolik motiflerle ağır bir şekilde yüklü hale gelirken bu ayrıca farklı dinlerden kutsal veya sembolik motiflerin kabul edilmesini de önermiştir. Haliyle bu, sömürgeci yazılarda yanlış bir şekilde yayılan Hindu-Müslüman ikili kategorileri ve dolayısıyla üslup sınıflandırmalarını boşa çıkarır çünkü alanda birden fazla yapı geleneği ile yapılan alışverişler söz konusudur.

Mimari geleneğin çeşitli dini fikirlere aracılık etme süreci, Sind'de 14. yüzyıla ulaşıldığında oldukça olgunlaştı ve Makli mimarlığında kanıtlandığı gibi 18. yüzyıla kadar gözlemlenmeye devam etti. On dördüncü yüzyılda Sind, halihazırda organik din değiştirme sürecinden geçmişti. 8. yüzyılın başlarında Müslüman hükümdarların egemenliğine girmiş, birkaç kez el değiştirmiş ve on dördüncü yüzyıla kendileri din değiştirme sürecinden geçen yerel Samma derebeylerinin egemenliği altına girmiştir. On dördüncü ila on sekizinci yüzyıl arasında, yöneticilerin daha fazla değişmesi ile nihayet Aşağı Sind, 16. yüzyılın sonlarında İmparator Akbar'ın egemenliğindeki bir eyalet olarak daha büyük Babür hükümüne girer ve 18. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar böyle devam eder. On dördüncü yüzyılın Sind'i, çok dilli bir yaşam tarzıyla uyumluluk ve yakınlık geliştirmiştir. Taksonomik paradigmayı sarsan, rahatsız edici nitelikler yüzyıllar boyunca korunmuş ve Makli'nin mezar kalıntılarında okunabilir haldedir. Bu, özünde, İslami kozmik sembolizmden ve aynı zamanda kutlu Budist, Jain ve Hindu çağrışımlarından türevlerin ortaya çıktığı Sind'in ticari özümseyici kültürüyle

eşdeğerdir. Bu, kubbeli karenin kemersiz yapısal bileşenlerden elde edildiği ve kemerli bir biçimin bir kolonad ile kamufle edildiğinde söz konusudur. Yüzyıllardır süren birliktelik, karşılaşmaları besledi ve paralellikler ve denklikler kurulurken muhtemelen bu süreçte dalgalanan kimi esnek sınırlar da belirlendi. Sind'in Araplar tarafından işgalinden 800 yıl kadar sonra, yerel Samma yöneticileri, ileride sömürgeci bakışları rahatsız edecek şekilde gelecek kuşaklar için anıt mezarlarını inşa etmeye başladı. Daha sonraki yazılar, erken Müslümanlık öncesi geçmişinin yerel katkılarından bahsetmesine rağmen, anıtları İslami bina geleneğinin daha büyük birliği içinde konumlandırdı ve hanedan kuralına dayanan üslup ayrımlarına gitti. Bana kalırsa bu, alanda ve daha geniş coğrafyada süreklilikler ve ayrımlar konusunda diyalog için sınırlı bir alan bıraktı. 14. yüzyılda Delhi mimarlığında kemer ve kubbe sistemi dizimi oldukça bilindiği halde Sind neden tümüyle kemer ve kubbe sistemine dönüşmedi? Samma, din değiştirdikten sonra bile geçmiş görünümünü koruyor muydu veya Makli'deki yapı faaliyeti boyunca kullanılan ve devam eden kabul edilmiş bir görsel mimari kelime dağarcığı mıydı? Taş ustalarının ve unsurlar ile motifleri yerleştirirken olan sınırlı kapasiteye rağmen belirli biçimlerin kullanımındaki ısrar bir şekilde anlaşılabilir bitişiklik düşüncesini dışlıyor ve bunun yerine yereli koruma ve yeniyi özümseme konusundaki bilinçli çabayı destekliyor. Bu, yüzyıllardır süren bir gelenek olduğu üzere Sind de bunu böyle yapma eğilimine ve potansiyeline sahipti. O zaman Sind için yerel olan, bununla sınırlı olmamakla birlikte ve Hint alt kıtasının ticari merkezlerine de yansıtılabilecek olan şey, üslup, taksonomiye meydan okuyan bütünleşme, benimseme, uyarlama ve dolayısıyla çoğulluğu besleyen mimari ve sanatsal düşüncelerin karşılaşması için verimli bir zemin sağlamasıdır. Sınırlayıcı tekil çerçeve, Makli'nin sayısız referans noktasından ödünç alan ve özümseyen mimarlığına adil davranmaz. Miyop lens yerine kaleydoskopik bir lens, alanın dört yüz yıllık bina geleneğini kavrayabilir ve karşılaşmayı, alanın ikirciklerini kapsayacak kadar esnek davranan bir paradigma olarak kullanabilir. Analiz, Makli'deki mezarların okunmasını ve kavranmasını desteklemek için bölgesel ve yabancı sayısız etkeni (hangi konumdan onları bölgesel ve yabancı olarak okuyorsa) bir araya getirmeye çalıştı.

MS 1843'te İngilizlerin Sind'e gelmesinden önceki üretken on dördüncü ila on sekizinci ve sonraki yüzyıllarda Aşağı Sind ve maddi kültürü ile ilgili çalışılacak ve araştırılacak çok şey var. Bu mimari tarihin bir kısmı bu tezde yazar tarafından yeni bir bakış açısından sunulmaktadır. Başından beri Makli, eski moda taksonomik araçlarla ele almak için zor bir yoldu. Mimarlığı değerlendirmek için yeni bir öncül belirlenmedikçe yazar, üretilen anlatının yersiz olduğuna inanıyor. Makli gibi bir alan, kısıtlayıcı bir bakışla görülmemelidir, katı bir sınıflandırma yükünden arındırılırsa, zamanının sosyal ve kültürel boyutlarını yansıtmak için yeterli potansiyele sahiptir ve sitedeki mimari kalıntılar bunun kanıtıdır.



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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : JUNEJO

Adı / Name : RABELA

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