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Editorial

The 11th issue has eight articles. The first article by Anjum Farooqi gives in great details the dynamics of coastal wet lands and coastal economic zones of India. The second article by Vikas Pawar, R.N. Singh and Cameron Petrie examine the dynamics of settlement pattern on the margin of Great Indian Desert. The rainfall and the run off in the river greatly affected the settlement pattern in the area according to this study. The third article by Dhanushka Kumara Jayaratne analyses the source of material used in the cist burials of Ihala Kalwella Ulpatha in Anuradhapura District of Sri Lanka. This study proves that there is direct relationship between the rock type used and distance of raw materials. The fourth article by Vijay Kumar traces the history of Kannauj, U.P. India from proto-historic period up to the modern times. The archaeological antiquities found from the Kannauj mound have been used to reconstruct the history of this place. The fifth article by Alok Ranjan gives the inscriptions found from districts Lakhisarai, Bhabhua and Nalanda from Bihar, India and Bhind & Vidisha from Madhya Pradesh, India. These inscriptions throw light on religious, political and social conditions of different parts of India. The sixth article by Deepak Kumar and Raghvendra Singh is about the coins found from Kannauj city, U.P. India. These finds when analyzed give a fair idea about circulation of metal money during early historic and historical period. The seventh article by Mazharul Haque, Manoj Kumar and Kamini Sinha describes the architectural features of the tomb of Shershah situated at Sasaram, Bihar, India. The eighth article by Paul Mason reconstructs the spread of 17th century Malabar factories of British East India Company. For this purpose, he uses documentary evidences and archaeological material. It discusses the architectural remains of the factories and other archaeological antiquities reflecting the culture of that period.

Vijay Kumar
Chief Editor
Indian Journal of Archaeology
The rise and fall of vegetation during the Quaternary: Palynological record from coastal sediments, India

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Introduction
The evolution of vegetation has always been in equilibrium with the climatic conditions and the response of the ecosystems. The magnitude and time scale has been quite variable from place to place but the matching of the global events is many times synchronous. The sea level changes have occurred in the geological history and several evidences are found world over in depository archives which represents the magnitude, intensity and duration of the events. The vegetational changes responding to climate change and coastal vegetation responding to climate as well as relative sea level or eustatic sea level fluctuations that have occurred in the past has been very well studied through several proxy records preserved in different archives. Such evidences either biotic or abiotic have provided tremendous insight into the climatic history, geomorphological changes, phytogeography, bio-geography, tectonic and volcanic events on the earth. However, it is still a debatable issue with regard to determining the accuracy of the historical events.

During the Quaternary period, the climate fluctuations played an important role in defining the relative sea level changes and the vegetation. Coastal zone is one of the most economic zones harboring rich biodiversity. The intermixing of sea water and fresh water has a significant potential in protecting the coastal wetlands and the vegetation. The magnitude of the terrigenous input in the marine sediments is often controlled by the fluvial or aelian systems which largely follows the climatic pattern, fresh water runoff gradient and the wind speed. Such fluctuations in the Indian Summer Monsoon since the last interglacial period have been documented with the help of Palynological studies in marine sediments from Arabian sea and since ~200 ka and from the northwest African coast. In the past, the repeated rhythmic cycles of glacial and interglacial conditions have largely affected the vegetation. The present day endemic genetic structure of the peninsular part of India particularly the pocket of south-western ghats flora.

The knowledge of vegetational changes responding to climate change in the past is primarily based on the interpretations related to migration and colonization of the vegetation and its sustenance, adaptability and susceptibility in stressed conditions. Such hangers eventually led to extinctions of several species or additions through the geological time period. Quaternary climate that had an effect on the rainforest vegetation in the Indian peninsula and the alterations
observed in the modern period is documented earlier, the Eastern Himalayas and south-Western Ghats are one of the 25 hotspots identified world over and in its present situation the semi-evergreen rainforest is more widespread than evergreen forest, which is not in equilibrium with the prevailing climatic conditions attributed to anthropogenic disturbances. The evergreen to semi-evergreen forests of western ghats are diverse with over more than 4000 plant species growing adapted to montane terrain and experience mixed climate supporting both temperate and tropical climate. Out of all the flora recorded about more than 56% of trees are monotypic and endemic evergreen rain forest located between $8^\circ-11^\circ$ latitudes$^4$. The floral diversity of this region in relation to climate has been a subject of extensive study$^5$.

**Materials and Methods**

The present work embodies the review of sedimentary cores/trenches studied in the southern coastal areas of the Indian peninsula. The Palynological investigations were carried out in sediments that were deposited in coastal terrestrial or off shore. The sub-sampling of sedimentary archives was done at an interval of 2-5 cm which was supported by the chronology using bulk organic matter ($^{14}$C Radiocarbon Ages) from BSIP Laboratory. Pollen/spore retrieval from the sediments was analyzed$^6$. The study areas comprised of coastal sediments on land in the west coast (Kerala) and the offshore marine core in the South-east Arabian Sea. In the west coast, the studied area comprised of Cauvery delta (Pichavaram estuary), Adyar and Couum estuary, Pulicat Lagoon and Krishna-godavari deltas. The results discussed here highlights the coastal vegetational record along with the hinterland vegetation deposited in the coastal sediments as clastics from land. The ratios of the marine versus terrestrial palynomorphs were calculated for interpretations of relative sea level transgression and regression phases in the past.

![Fig. 01: Land subsidence and sea water intrusion in the twin delta of Krishna and Godavari Rivers](image-url)
Climate and geological setup in the west coast
A general high-frequency instability of Late Pleistocene climate from north-eastern Arabian Sea and Greenland has been recorded on timescales of few millennium, centuries to decades. Arabian Sea, the north-eastern part of the Indian Ocean is bounded to the west mainly by the Arabian Peninsula, to the north by countries like Iran and Pakistan, to the east by the Indian peninsula and to the south by the Indian Ocean. The climate and surface water oceanography of the Arabian Sea region are dominated by south-west monsoon winds and the retreating north-east winds. These winds induce lot of upwelling in the Arabian Sea waters that triggers spectacular phytoplankton blooms, resulting in the region being one of the most productive areas of the world oceans. A stable, mid depth oxygen minimum zone (OMZ) at 200-1,200 m water depth prevails in the Arabian Sea due to high fluxes of both wind and river transported terrestrial sediment and high oceanic (monsoonal) surface-water productivity and biogenic fluxes. Palaeo-climatic studies have shown that the intensity of the monsoon varied through time. During the Last Glacial Maximum the summer monsoon was weaker, and the winter monsoon was stronger. The summer monsoon variability is recorded particularly well in the Arabian Sea where the strongest wind appears during summer. The variation in intensity of the winter monsoon induces fluctuations in productivity.

Net Rate of Sedimentation and Chronology in west coast
The sediment retrieved from on land or off shore for Palynological studies are in general, blackish, silty and clayey silt. The linear interpolation between the oxygen isotope stage boundaries reveals variations in sedimentation rates between 3.67 and 5.20 cm/ka (average of 4.14 cm/ka), with highest sedimentation (5.2 cm/ka) during MIS-4. During MIS-5, sedimentation rates varied from 0.8 to 7 cm/ka. With exceptions mentioned above, the rate of sedimentation during MIS-5 was maximum (Fig. 01) followed by MIS-3 and 1 on the basis of time span assigned to these Interglacial Stages. MIS-4 shows an increase in sedimentation as compared to MIS-2. The high rate of sedimentation recorded during interglacial periods also coincide with the abundance of high percentage of terrestrial pollen assemblage. The relative sea level rise and fall as inferred through quantitative marine verses terrestrial palynomorphs show the highest sea level stand during MIS-5.

The Vegetation from West coast since 140 ka
A unique montane vegetation occupying temperate habitats in tropical latitude is found in south-western Ghat forest (Shola forest), Kerala and Tamilnadu. The relics of an eco-climatic and geologic past is preserved in its pristine form at least in certain parts of these mist laden canopies of the mountains and have been described as fossil rainforest ecosystem. The diversification of the rainforest vegetation took place world over during the Late Cretaceous and Early Palaeogene at the
time period when the Indian plate was moving from southern to mid-latitudes passing through the equator\textsuperscript{15}. This continental drift and vegetational evolution, in response to changes in the global climate pattern has been reported earlier\textsuperscript{16}. Among these the Quaternary period witnessed the most dynamic climatic conditions\textsuperscript{17}, leading to an ecosystem change during which extinction of plants was more important than speciation. A dramatic vegetational evolution and its biogeographic shift were induced by climate change\textsuperscript{18}. It has been seen that the diversity of trees is the highest in those tropical regions where climate has varied the least during various geological periods and the lowest in those areas where tropical forests were most disrupted by the cyclic revolutions of climate, especially during the Pleistocene\textsuperscript{19}. The south Western Ghats is a home to endemic rainforest diversity due to highest rainfall in the region\textsuperscript{20}. The Tertiary deposits (Varkala Formation) along the south west coast of India reveals pollen assemblage that comprises about 49 taxa belonging to 43 families. All these species are at present distributed in the tropical Indo-West Pacific region. The Varkala pollen flora indicates a seasonal precipitation pattern with a dry and a wet period and moderate rainfalls during the warmest period\textsuperscript{21}. Short-term Palaeo-climatic records for Late Quaternary glacial and interglacial periods based on pollen studies are meager from eastern Arabian Sea\textsuperscript{22} and Kerala\textsuperscript{23}. However, the Pleistocene interglacial period around 80 ka shows considerable account of evergreen pollen taxa from Arabian sea\textsuperscript{24} and on land from Kerala\textsuperscript{25}. Similar studies from the Palni Hills have revealed the presence of Tropical rainforest since Late Pleistocene\textsuperscript{26}.

Pollen record of Tropical Montane Forest from lake sediments in Anamalai and Nilgiri Hills in the southwestern Ghats have also been documented for Holocene\textsuperscript{27}. These palyno-chronological studies obtained from deep core/ trench sediments are potential archives that have preserved the evidences of flora that were present in the geological time period. The result shows that evergreen to semi-evergreen rainforest dominated in the middle Holocene epoch, but prior to this the last glacial maxima (LGM), was largely represented by savanna grassland.

The rate of sediment deposition in the coastal land was largely influenced by a series of climate change during the Quaternary period since ~140 ka. The dynamics of climate fluctuations during the period defined the status of mangroves and the rainforest vegetation in the provenance, ie., west coast, India. The abundance and diversity of rainforest pollen assemblage comparable to the present day south-western Ghats flora of peninsular India was recorded during MIS- 5a. This indicates that the precipitation pattern and monsoon system was similar to that present now in southwestern Ghats. High percentage of the pollen belong to family Meliaceae followed by Sapotaceae, Anacardiaceae, Combretaceae, Moraceae, Myristicaceae, Myrsinaceae, Myrtaceae, Symplocaceae, Dipterocarpaceae, Rosaceae, Rutaceae, Lauraceae and Bignoniaceae. The palynological study from onland well sections record about 80 pollen taxa from Chaganachery (25 km from the present Alleppey coastline and near to Vembanad lake), Kerala\textsuperscript{28}. The pollen assemblage comprises 78 % of the evergreen and moist deciduous taxa along with the mangrove pollen and good percentage of
marine dinoflagellate cysts indicating estuarine ecosystem during MIS 5a (~80 ka) in Chaganachery. During this period (MIS 5a) abundance and diversity of pollen assemblage reveals firstly, the South-Western Ghats had dense evergreen rainforest vegetation both in hilly montane areas as well as riparian forest along the rivers providing polleniferous terrigenous matter in the marine realm. Secondly, the climate prior to YD event was quite warm and humid with high precipitation, low seasonality and the shoreline was much beyond the present day shoreline towards land on the Kerala coast during MIS 5a. Thus, the estuarine ecosystem recorded in Chaganachery corresponds to the global sea level high stand during MIS-5a around 80 ka\textsuperscript{29}. The study also reveals that during the high stand (MIS 5a) the pollen assemblage of rainforest remains high in marine sediment. Thus, it is inferred that the terrigenous pollen assemblage is likely to be high in marine sediment during high stands when the provenance is near to shoreline or in other words the magnitude of terrigenous input in marine realm is directly proportional to the high sea level.

The maximum penultimate glaciations ~150 ka resulted into extended desert in North Africa\textsuperscript{30}. During MIS-6 the climate was drier than present and therefore, the terrestrial organic matter input and the pollen assemblage shows low counts along the west coast. It is also inferred that because of glaciation the sea level would also have retreated from the rainforest line in the Indian sub-continent during this period. Following this, the Eemian Interglacial was interrupted by more cooler and drier phases during MIS-5b & d than present. Similar climate has been reported from North Africa during which the rain forest occupied a far greater area than at present, and rainfall was generally higher\textsuperscript{31}. The MIS-5a, c & e were moist phases and Palynological study reveals more dominance of the continental rainforest pollen in south-western Ghats than present. The schematic diagram drawn on the basis of marine verses terrestrial clastics, the sea level during entire MIS- 5 was higher and in close proximity to rainforest vegetation on land.

The intense dry and cooler phases across North Africa or Sahara- Arabia belt affected the northern monsoon belt too\textsuperscript{32}. Sea level was about 70m below and information comes mainly from cores off the west coast of Africa which record pollen flux changes from the continent between 57-24 ka (MIS-3). Between 28-25 ka the climate was significantly moister than at present across Africa\textsuperscript{33}. During MIS-2 and 1 the pollen record is negligible suggesting that glacial period post YD (Cold and drier climate) was vulnerable to rainforest vegetation. Records of pollen in core sediment prior to LGM from south-western Ghats too show savanna grassland vegetation and absence of rainforest flora. The vegetation loss during the LGM is apparent in the pollen spectra from core sediments (lacustrine) studied from Palni Hills, Anamalai Hills in south-western Ghats\textsuperscript{34}. The extant tropical rainforest in the region spread across south-western Ghats between 7 and 4 ka\textsuperscript{35}. Thus, during the LGM the major part of south-western Ghats’s montane (Shola) forest was represented by grassland which rejuvenated with the onset of warm and humid conditions during the middle Holocene.
Considerable fragmentation of the rainforest in south-east Asia too occurred during the LGM. Dominance of C4 vegetation during LGM in most of the peninsular areas in India has been reported. It has been documented that the unfavorable Quaternary stadial climate cycles forced isolation of the rainforest flora into pockets as ‘plant refugia’ which existed as riparian vegetation due to soil moisture availability. Such evidences of ‘plant refugia’ have also been reported from Africa. The evergreen and semi-evergreen species that generally grow on the sides of rivers/streams as moist tropical riparian forest, including Terminalia arjuna, Hopea parviflora, Mangifera indica, Drypetes roxburghii, Garcinia gummi-gutta, Mallotus stenanthus, Calophyllum calaba, Syzygium cumini, and Schefflera racemosa are common inhabitants of the extant flora in the region.

Palynological study from Miocene Varkala deposits of Kerala document about 49 pollen taxa belonging to 43 families that are still distributed in the tropical Indo-West Pacific region of the present day. The reconstructed climatic parameters for the Varkala pollen flora document a seasonal precipitation pattern with a dry and a wet period and moderate rainfalls during the warmest period. This seasonality is similar to that of the recent annual precipitation cycle in southern Kerala and affirms the presence of a monsoon-like atmospheric circulation over South India since the Middle Miocene Climate Optimum (MMCO). The vegetation in the south-western Ghats probably took refuge in the riparian zone or around large water bodies within the forests during adverse periods. Despite the wave of plant extinctions that occurred with increasing aridity from Neogene to Quaternary, the fossil record shows that large taxonomic components of the ancient flora remain in contemporary communities of Mediterranean regions and tropical non-Mediterranean regions around the world and include some of the most abundant modern families like Anacardiaceae, Avicenniaceae Dipterocarpaceae, Euphorbiaceae, Meliaceae, Rhizophoraceae, Rubiaceae, Rutaceae, Sapotaceae, Sonneratiaceae, etc. The pollen morphological resemblance of Tertiary and Quaternary pollen has been recorded showing similar morphological features. The ecological characteristics of ancient taxa appear to be highly conserved over geological time scales. Thus, the Pleistocene Palynological archive documented from Chaganachery on land and from Arabian Sea shows its lineage to tropical rainforest which occurred in most parts of India during the Palaeogene and Neogene in India and Southeast Asia. Later, the LGM period was vulnerable that triggered the local extinction, migration and replacement of the vegetation in Indian sub-continent. The hypothesis of ‘Plant refugia’ cannot be ruled out and the existing endemic vegetation in south-western Ghats is therefore, the legacy of Palaeogene/Neogene flora and is rightly called as fossil flora.

Holocene Vegetation and sea level dynamics in the south-east coast

All along the Indian peninsular coastline, the ancient man settled for the availability of riverine water which is replenished during monsoons. Thus, Indian Summer Monsoon played a pivotal role in the rise and fall of human settlements and their strategy in agriculture was largely based on this.
Vegetation pattern during the Holocene suffered more stress because of climate and ecosystem manipulation by human beings. As most of the habitation, industries, ports and recreation activities are centered along the long coastline of the Indian peninsula, it is very necessary to understand the changing landscape of these vulnerable areas. Erosion and accretion of sediments, land subsidence and upliftment are likely to create disbalance in the coastline thereby, affecting the economy of the country. Several studies related to vegetational evolution and relative sea level changes induced by landscape change and climatic fluctuations have been studied in the past. Palynological study carried out in sediment cores in order to address climate, Relative Sea level (RSL) and its relation to geomorphology since 8420cal yr BP have been studied until now from Krishna delta, Pulicat lagoon, Pichavaram estuary and in many other contemporary sites along the south-east coast. Although, much work has been carried out with different proxies from other east coast areas of India. Here, we confine the review of work carried out in the south-east coast through the help of palynology.

The scientists are attracted to deltaic sediments as these bear excellent records of sedimentation history, glacio-eustatic and changes and other dynamics of coastal zone. Palynological studies carried out in coastal sediments correlate well with the coastal mangrove evolution with the fluctuations in the climate change inducing relative sea level changes. The analysis of delta building process through time and the dynamics of the coastal wetlands are essential to predict the future changes especially in context of sea level rise and coastal erosion. Land subsidence in modern coastal or deltaic plains is a common process. Areas prone to subsidence activity are quite susceptible to sea invasion particularly, in the event of relative sea level rise due to global warming. Sea water...
invasion and loss of deltaic land have been reported in Krishna-Godavari delta\textsuperscript{43}, Ganges-Brahmaputra delta and in Bangladesh\textsuperscript{44} and elsewhere out of India from Po delta Italy, the Nile delta\textsuperscript{45}, Mississippi delta in U.S.A, the Yangtze delta, China\textsuperscript{46} and the Rhine-Meuse delta in Netherlands\textsuperscript{47}. Sporadic studies from the east coast of India are inadequate to infer Holocene sea level changes. Previous records of sea level during middle Holocene is estimated +5m around 6 ka\textsuperscript{48} and +3.0m around 7.3 ka\textsuperscript{49}, +4m in Sulurpet around 6 ka (North-west of Pulicat lagoon) in Andhra Pradesh\textsuperscript{50} and -2m around 5.6 ka in Annamalainagar (west of Pichavaram estuary) in Tamil Nadu\textsuperscript{51}. In other words, the record of intertidal/estuarine deposition on land that took place ~5-7 ka is now present at different depths suggesting upliftment/subsidence in the vertical stack of sediment deposited during Holocene. Presence/absence of mangroves and its associate pollen play an important role in the identification of coastal ecosystem induced by even the slightest rise in sea water ingression due to changes in the climate or tectonics in the area.

From Krishna Godavari Basin about four Units/ nine phases were identified on the basis of marine/terrestrial palynomorphs. In Unit 1, the marine palynomorphs indicate Palaeo-shoreline in Kanuru from 8420-8300 cal yr BP which is now ~4-5 kms from the present shoreline but after a short span a retreat in sea level took place between 8300-7040 cal yr BP. A retreat in RSL was recorded between 8300-7040 cal yr BP. The climate during this period was perhaps drier as both AP and NAP reduced along with Poaceae.

About 3-4 short-term intermittent rise/fall in RSL were recorded in Unit 2 between 7040 and 3980 cal yr BP in Kanuru and between 5225-3240 cal yr BP in Machilipatnam. During this period diversity of mangroves was more in Machilipatnam. Similar records have been earlier reported from Pulicat lagoon\textsuperscript{52}. The 8.2 kyr BP event has been widely reported from different areas globally during which the weakening of Indian and Asian monsoon took place and is largely linked with cooling of North Atlantic\textsuperscript{53}. Therefore, the weakening of monsoon is directly/indirectly related to RSL rise /fall that may vary from place to place. Intermittent fall in RSL during Middle Holocene transgression may therefore be somewhat linked to the weakened monsoon and the rise in RSL with the strengthened monsoon. Thus, at least 3 events of weakened monsoon occurred between ~7.0 to 3.0 kyr BP as is evidenced from studied sites. Between 7040-6695 cal yr BP, a good percentage of mangroves and other AP and NAP suggest warm and humid climate triggering rise in RSL and stability in coastal wetland (estuary). A fall in RSL is observed between 6695-6020 cal yr BP supporting low diversity of AP and NAP but fresh water algae and heterotrophs such as thecamoebians were recorded in high percentage suggesting fresh water sediment depositional environment but weakened summer monsoon. The period between 6020-5920 cal yr BP again witnessed a rise in RSL but was of short duration and unstabilized not allowing the growth of mangroves or its associates but due to tidal incursion high percentage of foraminifera linings and
dinoflagellate cysts were recorded. The tidal incursion reduced the fresh water forms like algae and thecamoebians due to increased salinity. This has been reported by Farooqui and Naidu\textsuperscript{54} from Godavari coastal wetlands.

Between 5920-5020 cal yr BP a fall in RSL was recorded again. Freshwater algal bloom was recorded along with the increased percentage of thecamoebians. Between 5020-3980 cal yr BP a slight rise in RSL was evidenced. True mangroves could not stabilize due to instability in the ecosystem. A fall in RSL was recorded again from 3980-240 cal yr BP. Freshwater algae and thecamoebians again increased in percentage. The present day mangrove cover shown in Fig. reveals pure forms of *Avicennia* and *Suaeda* interspersed by barren low relief highlands with salt cover that does not allow the growth of any vegetation. Since around 240 cal yr BP to Present, the area shows the ingressio of sea water. This rise may not be uniform in other parts of the Indian coastline in the present day. Therefore, the climate induced RSL rise/fall is largely controlled by the changes in the geomorphology of the area which may get triggered due to tectonics in the region induced by either natural reasons or aggravated by anthropogenic pressures in coastal areas.

Fig. 03: Salt pans amongst *Avicennia* mangroves due to evaporation of water and retention of salts on the ground surface

Fig. 04: *Rhizophora* mangrove roots exposed due to fall in relative sea level in Vellar estuary, Tamil Nadu
The Unit 3 is characterized by Non-estuarine sediment deposition since 3920-240 cal yr BP in Kanuru and since 3240-950 cal yr BP in Machilipatnam. The Unit 4 shows a rise in RSL in both the studied sites which began much earlier in Machilipatnam than in Kanuru. Loss of mangrove diversity and dominance of salt tolerant mangroves was recorded in Unit 4. Results indicate climate induced RSL fluctuations highlighting the cooling event of 8.2 kyr BP from Kanuru sight and duration of intermittent rise/fall of RSL during Middle Holocene transgression. The rate of sea level rise during the period was not continuous but interrupted by 3-4 retreats. At present the evidence of these are at different depths in both the sites and in other contemporary sites along the east coast of India suggesting neo-tectonics in the vertical stack of Holocene sediment.

Fig. 05: Relative sea level rise in Peddapatnam, Andhra Pradesh showing uniform growth of *Avicennia*, a salt tolerant plant

Holocene sea-level reconstructions are limited and fragmentary but RSL drop after 5 ka have been reported\(^5\) which is in conformation with the present study. On the basis of fossil mangrove deposits, Geyh and Kudrass\(^6\) stated that Holocene sea rose from below -12.8m to 1.2 m above present level between 8-6 ka and later between 5-4 ka. However, their data do not show whether the Late Holocene sea level fall was steady or oscillatory. The present study, and other records from contemporary east coast of India shows that the sea transgressed until 5-6 ka encroaching land (~15-25 km) and since then the delta prograded continuously but with intermittent short periods of rise and fall in RSL during Late Holocene\(^7\). The amelioration of climate from strengthened to weakened monsoon has been observed in Palynological studies carried out in different parts of Indian peninsula and the central/western part of India since 6 ka\(^8\). *Nypa* and *Hereteira* which was recorded around 4-5 ka in *Pichavaram*\(^9\) and *Sulurpet* (*Pulicat* lagoon) shows local extinction from the south-east coast\(^10\). At present abundance of scrubby *Avicennia* and *Suaeda species* dominate the euryhaline ecology in most of the coastal wetlands which is unable to support true mangroves.

The vertical stack of Holocene sediment shows highly variable net rate of sedimentation and evidences of Holocene transgression between 7 to 3.5 cal yr BP is at different depths in both the studied sites. An estimated average rise in sea level during 5-6 ka is ~1.2 to 1.5 m\(^6\) which is based on few records in limited area. The actual rise in sea level is debatable due to vertical displacement of
Holocene sediment along the east coast of India. The records of middle Holocene sea level is estimated +5m around 6 ka and +3.0m around 7.3 ka\textsuperscript{62}, +4.2m in Sulurpet around 6 ka (North-west of Pulicat lagoon) in Andhra Pradesh and -2m around 5.6 ka in Annamalainagar (west of Pichavaram estuary) in Tamil Nadu\textsuperscript{63}. In other words, the record of intertidal/estuarine deposition on land that took place \textasciitilde5-7 ka is now present at different depths suggesting upliftment/subsidence in the vertical stack of sediment deposited during Holocene. The present day mangroves in the Machilipatnam core sight is connected to the back waters flooded from the Kanuru sight in low-lying areas. The adjacent Goguleru creek is also reported to be under subsidence and therefore, the sea water ingression is observed in the most part of inter-deltaic areas of Krishna-Godavari River\textsuperscript{64}.

The Krishna river delta is governed by both erosion and accretion\textsuperscript{65}. Subrahmanyam et al.\textsuperscript{66}, inferred two parallel faults in the continental margin off the Krishna-Godavari delta and relate a continuous existence of Kolleru lake (35 km from the present shoreline) to its location in the tectonically active Gudiwada Sub-basin. The concavity observed between the twin deltas (Krishna – Godavari) is therefore, tectonically controlled\textsuperscript{67}. The Chintalapudi and Krishna Cross Trend faults of the basement extend offshore. The formation of Goguleru creek (north of Kanuru), is the low-lying portions of the palaeo beach swales filled by ingressing sea water and in between islands are the beach ridges\textsuperscript{68}. Similar beach ridges and swales are also observed in Kanuru site and the dominance of mangroves (similar height) here suggests the tectonically controlled recent ingression of sea water. However, as the input of fresh water in the estuary is restricted due to weakened monsoon and anthropogenic activity, the salt tolerant plants dominate the studied area. The study of sedimentary cores in Godavari delta reveal evidence of marine shells (Anadara) between 9 -11.5 m below the surface during 6.4 ka and the rate of subsidence calculated comes out to be \textasciitilde2-4 mm per annum. Since the last two millennium an increased rate of subsidence is estimated and is attributed to anthropogenic activity leading to exposed land and its erosion thereby triggering high input of sediment at the mouth of the Godavari delta\textsuperscript{69}. The increase in marine forms since 0.6 ka in river Nilarevu (Godavari river tributary) has also been reported through biological proxies by Farooqui and Naidu\textsuperscript{70}. Similar trend of post-deposition subsidence/upliftment in the Middle Holocene sediments is also recorded in the present study sites. The sea water ingression since the last 0.5 ka in both the sites suggest subsidence in the area due to which the sea water has ingressed in the areas of swales in between the sandy ridges.

The geometry of the faults and seismic records of the last two centuries have been mapped earlier\textsuperscript{71}. The overall subsidence of \textasciitilde1.3 to 2.2 cm/yr is observed in Sunderbans, Bengal Basin\textsuperscript{72} and a part of Bangladesh coastline due to which an estimated rise in RSL is 2.3 cm/yr. Global estimates of subsidence rates and a rise in sea level is 3.4 mm/year\textsuperscript{73} and 1.7 to 3mm/year\textsuperscript{74}. A rise in sea level predicted by 21\textsuperscript{st} century due to global warming may get aggravated by high rates of land
subsidence and coastal erosion. The average rate of sea level rise in India is 1.34 mm/year. It is recorded that about 43% of 1030 km long Andhra Pradesh coastline is under very high risk if the sea level rises by 0.6m resulting into an estimated loss of ~1.2 million people residing within an elevation of 2.0 m. Henceforth, climate induced global sea level rise is predicted to be 1-3mm/yr. A more recent predictability is ~1.5m by the end of this century. All these predictions of sea level rise are related to the geomorphology of coastal zones and may vary accordingly. East coast of India is characterized by gentle slope gradient of ~1-2m above mean sea level covering more than 4-6 km from the present shoreline. About 2-3 km of coastal zone is shallow ranging 0.4-1m a.m.s.l and is at a very high risk of inundation even if the slight rise in sea level occurs in future either due to climate or geomorphological changes.

The entire east coast of India is characterized by loads of sediment deposition brought by numerous rivers and its tributaries. The compaction is likely to occur in areas of highly unconsolidated sediment which governs the ecological status and the mangrove community. The unconsolidated sediments in the modern deltaic plains undergo a common phenomenon of land subsidence due to compaction under the load of subsequently deposited overlying sediments and groundwater pumping. If the subsidence rate in the area is high the vertical stacking of the sediments occur and the horizontal spreading of delta is restricted. The present study and other records from contemporary deltaic areas suggest that a rise in RSL is not uniform in the entire coastline of India and or elsewhere in the world, but differ from place to place. Consequently, due to variations in ecological conditions, the magnitude of impact on mangroves varied from place to place depending upon hydrostatic changes. The apparent rise in RSL in several pockets along the east coast of India could be attributed to vertical displacement of the un consolidated sediments rather than a net increase in global sea level rise. Therefore, planning area-specific measures to counter sea-level rise in low-lying areas is important. It is rather wiser to identify the areas of subsidence in deltaic plains for future planning.

Acknowledgement
The author is grateful to the Director, Birbal Sahni Institute of Palaeosciences, Lucknow for providing necessary facilities and to my Ph.D. students Dr. Jyoti Srivastava, Dr. Ranjana, BSIP and Prof. S.M. Hussain (collaborator), Dept. Geology, Madras University, Chennai for supporting and collection of samples for the study in their respective projects carried out earlier of which the review is done here. Thanks are also due to Dr. J. N. Pattan, National Institute of Oceanography, Goa for off shore sediments and Dr. J G Ray, SB College, Chaganachery, Kerala for providing the samples for the earlier studies.
Abbreviations:

1- LGM - Last Glacial Maxima
2- MIS - Marine Isotope Stage
3- MMCO - Middle Miocene Climate Optimum
4- OMZ - Oxygen Minimum Zone
5- RSL - Relative Sea Level
6- YD - Younger Dryas

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The rise and fall of vegetation during the Quaternary: Palynological record from coastal sediments, India


62. *Ibid*.


Harappan Settlement Pattern on the Desert Margin with Special Reference to Hanumangarh District

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The District Hanumangarh came into existence by carving out from Ganganagar district on July 12, 1994 as the 31st district of Rajasthan state. The district covering a total geographical area of 9656.09 sq. km² is located between 28°46’30’’ to 29°57’20’’ North latitudes and 73°49’55’’ to 75°31’32’’ East longitudes. It is surrounded by Ganganagar district in the west, Bikaner district in the south-west, Churu district in the south, Sirsa district of Haryana in the east and Firozepur district of Punjab in the north. The district derives its name from its headquarters in Hanumangarh town which is located at a distance of 64 km south-east of Ganganagar on the Sadulpur-Hanumangarh branch line of the northern railways. It is well connected also by road. The town was earlier known as Bhatner. In the year 1805, Maharaja Surat Singh of Bikaner seized Bhatner after conquering Bhatis and as the day of his victory was Tuesday which is known as the day of god ‘Hanuman’, Bhatner was renamed as Hanumangarh by him.

Previous Work

Not much exploration was done in the area under study. In the early decades of 19th century Lt. Col. Todd explored a small part of this area and reported some ancient sites like Kalibangan etc. L.P. Tessitori, an Italian scholar, in the course of his exploration visited Kalibangan in 1917 and 1918. Aurel Stein carried out extensive explorations along River Ghaggar and discovered a number of Proto-historic and Historical sites. A. Ghosh also explored this area and discovered some sites e.g. Sothi, Sher Pura and Nohar. The Harappan sites explored by Ghosh were revisited by K.N. Dikshit. They confirmed the existence of pre-Harappan pottery in this region. In 1980 K.F. Dalal explored Bahawalpur and Bikaner region along with the 'Lost' Saraswati River that is the only noteworthy work involving methodical survey and surface collection of ceramics. R. C. Thakran also explored some sites falling in Suratgarh and Hanumangarh Districts. Later V. Shinde piloted a random survey along the Ghaggar basin in search of Harappan sites.

Apart from these explorations a few sites in the present study area namely, Kalibangan, Sothi, Nohar (trail excavation), Dabdi, Dabli Was Chugta and Karanpura have been excavated.
Excavations at Kalibangan were started during 1960-61 and came to an end in 1968-69 after nine seasons of excavations. It has yielded the remains of Early Harappan (Period-I) and Mature Harappan (Period-II) culture. A few sherds akin to Hakra ware were found from the lowest levels of period-I. Sothi was excavated twice, first by A. Ghosh and later on by K.N. Dikshit. It has yielded evidences related to Early Harappan, Mature Harappan and Rangmahal cultures. The term Sothi-Siswal complex came into existence after excavations at Sothi and Siswal. Dikshit also took some trial trenches at Nohar in 1978. It has yielded the remains of early Harappan, Harappan and Historical remains. Dabdi (2006) was excavated under the Joint Direction of R.C. Thakran and Amar Singh. It has yielded remains of Early Harappan period single culture site. Most of the pottery having incised design and main shapes are bowls and basin. In the house of antiquity unique type of micro terracotta beads and micro beads of steatite were found. Dabliwas Chugta/Kamana (2011) was excavated under the Joint Direction of R.N. Singh (B.H.University, Varanasi) and C.A. Petrie (Cambridge University) under UKIERI project. Excavation carried out at Dabliwas Chugta have produced a number of significant results relating to the location and distribution of protohistoric settlements in the hinterland of Kalibangan, the preservation of those settlements and the geographical landscapes within which those settlements lie. Ghaggar floodplain deposits appear to surround the site, but are especially prevalent and thickening to the south, indicating that the site was located on the margins of a substantial former floodplain that continued to seasonally aggrade before, during and after the occupation of this site during the early-mid 3rd millennium BCE. The slow annual accumulation of eroded fine soil derived material would have provided a naturally replenishing and moisture retentive soil and ground water system, where the moisture would have gradually evaporated after each period of monsoonal flooding and the groundwater table would slowly fall before the next monsoonal replenishment. The excavation at Karanpura during 2012-13 and 2013-14 has revealed two cultural phase, viz., Early and Mature Harappan with a transitional phase noticed in some pockets. Karanpura is the only site in Lower Chautang valley, which has now been excavated in a horizontal manner, more scientific analysis will help in better understanding of the evolution of culture and the spread of Harappans during the mid-3rd millennium BCE. The excavator claim the site to around 16 ha during the Mature Harappan period, while the settlement was smaller during the Early Harappan period.

The area under study during the proto-historic time period was not much populated but was densely populated during the Historical and Medieval times, as can be judged by the number of sites reported from this region. This area comes under arid and semi-arid zone. Why these people settled here in such arid conditions? If they settled here than why they moved and where.

**Distribution of Settled Area of Different Cultural Periods:**

Since the settlements record for the ancient times considered here will never be complete, my position is that the absolute numbers and sizes of the sites is a portion of what was actually a part of the historic record. Secondly, archaeological exploration has proceeded in a way that has
led, more or less, to the same proportion of site reported from each phase. Thus, looking not at the absolute numbers and size of sites but at the relative magnitude of change between period can offer us a hint in seeing trends in population growth and settlement size. Most of the sites are shown multicultural occupation that presented difficulty in front the explorer that what is the actual size of site during the distinct culture. So we are taking the size either single or last period (surface period) to conclude the total floor area of different periods.

The earliest culture identified in the area of present study is Early Harappan culture. The total number of Early Harappan sites is 71 but only 9 sites are available for actual size. The total floor area occupied during this period was 427.84 hec. Settlement patterns of the Early Harappans were conditioned by the behaviour of the river providing an active flood plain and navigability of the river for internal trade, climate, accessibility to natural resources and trade routes, both internal and external. Settlement data for the Early Harappan culture (Fig. no. 01) are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Data for the Early Harappan Culture (Estimates of settled area)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Sites known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites with known size estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites with unknown size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settled area of sites with known size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated settled area of sites unknown size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated total settled area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average site size</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Harappan period is identified as the manifestation of Harappan culture due to its extraordinary urbanized form. During the course of exploration fifteen sites were identified which belong to mature Harappan period (Fig. no. 02). The total floor area occupied during this period was 123 hec. The average settlement size is 8.20 hec.

| Settlement Data for the Mature Harappan Culture (Estimates of settled area) |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| Total Sites known             | 15             |
| Sites with known size estimate| 05             |
| Sites with unknown sizes      | 10             |
| Settled area of sites with known size | 41 hec |
| Estimated settled area of sites with unknown size | 82 hec |
| Estimated total settled area  | 123 hec        |
| Average site size             | 8.20 hec       |
An interesting feature of the Harappan settlements in the study area is that the total number of settlements is lesser than the Early Harappan. This may be due to the fact that while reporting the Harappan remains from a site the explorers based their findings on the basis of a few typical Harappan pottery-forms like perforated jars, dishes with flaring rims, dish-on-stand with a long stem, triangular terracotta cakes, goblets, etc. It is possible that in the rural settlements, the Early Harappan tradition continued and some such sites may have been contemporary with the Harappan phase but either these did not come into the contact or these rural culture did not borrowed typical Harappan elements. R. S. Bisht stating about it says that qualitative and quantitative presence of the classical Harappan elements was dependent on the socio-economic or political status of a given site.  

One remarkable feature in the size and distribution pattern of sites is that sites away from river bed are smaller in comparison to sites along the river-sides. This was true not only for early cultures but historical and medieval periods also. The alluvial plain, which was inundated by the flood waters, might be the most attracting factor because of suitability for good agriculture, instead of fresh water or navigable transportation capability.
The **Late Harappan** phase is a stage of de-urbanization after the mature phase of Harappan culture. The total number of late Harappan sites is 7 and total floor area occupied during this period was 28 hec. After the mature Harappan, there is immense decrease in the settlements which shows the unfavourable condition during that period. It may be the reason for the migration of late Harappans (Fig. no. 03) in the east Sutlej-Yamuna Divide, particularly, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settlement Data for the Late Harappan Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Estimates of settled area)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sites known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites with known size estimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sites with unknown sizes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settled area of sites with known size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated settled area of sites with unknown size</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated total settled area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average site size</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The degenerate phase of Harappan culture is characterized by the absence of monumental architecture, large sized settlements and town planning. Some kind of script and graffiti, smaller seals also devoid of animal motifs, steatite discolor beads, chert blades, pottery of Harappan period and copper is also present. It also seems to us that surplus food economy, distant trade and control of central authority by this time had either weakened or almost ceased to exist.
Fig. 03: Map showing distribution of Late Harappan settlements (After Pawar 2012)

**Distribution of Sites in Different soil-zones:** Soil plays an important role in agricultural development and planning of a region. Herodotus⁹⁹, the Greek philosopher rightly points out around 300 BCE that ‘All history must be treated geographically and all the geographers must be treated historically’.

*Hanumangarh* district consists of Aeolian, flood plain (alluvium) and desert plain soils with widespread sandy, barren or well cultivated fields, sand dunes of varying heights and well-levelled plains for cultivation.

The area under present study can broadly be divided into two types of soil-zones the sandy loam in sandy area with undulating sand dune and alluvium plain mostly in different Palaeo-channel area of rivers. The distribution of sites in successive cultural periods is different in *Hanumangarh* area that shows the significance of soil in site selection.

The result of present explorations shows that the frequency of sites in respect to soil zones is different during the various cultural periods. Alluvium plain is always being the most attracting place for the site selection because it having soil that is deposited by the river, and good for agriculture not only for the early farming community even today also. District has only few
pockets of the alluvium soil those found in Ghaggar, Drisadwati and Sutlej palaeo-channel while the other wide area is having sandy soil that is deposited by Aeolian activity during the Holocene period. Here this is notable that the alluvium soil is in very low frequency (around 15%) in respect to total area of Hanumangarh district. So, the ancient people had to inhabit the sandy area also.

The Early Harappans located their site in alluvium plain or sandy area that is near the palaeo-channel. During the Harappan period, that is an urbanized phase, the sites show more interest (59%) in the alluvium plain even in the Late Harappan period settlers also had the same approach. The PGW period that is always assigned by the pastoralist and agricultural based nomad’s community, all the sites are in alluvium plain even in the middle of the palaeo-channel of Ghaggar (so called Saraswati). In the historical period most of the site fall in the sandy area that shows the soil is not the essential factor for settlement due to new life style. In the medieval period, this area was thickly populated and people needed more space for their settlements as well as agricultural and domestic activities. So they first chose alluvium plain but when it was not sufficient then they also chose the sandy area. When we analyzed the different soil-zones and average size of settlements, we found that the sites located in alluvium plain are bigger in size.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural complex</th>
<th>No. of settlements (in alluvium plain)</th>
<th>Settlements with known size</th>
<th>Average size</th>
<th>Estimated total floor area (in alluvium plain)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Harappan</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>10.00 hec</td>
<td>260 hec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harappan</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>12.00 hec</td>
<td>108 hec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Harappan</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>06.50 hec</td>
<td>26 hec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table showing number of sites and their area occupied in alluvium plain.
In the present study, we find that in general, there was a preference for the areas with better environmental conditions, favourable landscape, and good and fertile soil.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural complex</th>
<th>No. of settlements (in sandy area)</th>
<th>Settlements with known size</th>
<th>Average size</th>
<th>Estimated total floor area (in sandy area)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early Harappan</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>4.66 hec</td>
<td>210 hec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harappan</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>2.50 hec</td>
<td>15 hec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late Harappan</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>4.00 hec</td>
<td>12 hec</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table showing number of sites and their area occupied in sandy area.

In the proto-historic period, several Early, Harappan (mature) and Late Harappan settlements are found located in the alluvium plain. All the PGW sites are also located in the alluvial plain. In the historical and medieval times, the people liked to settle in sandy area and it is noteworthy to state that the total estimated floor area is also bigger than those located in alluvium. It does not mean that the settlers of this period were more interested in sandy area but it happened because of non-availability of alluvium plain.

The deposition of alluvial & sandy soil and cultural material mixed together suggest human occupation. The size analysis shows that when a site is in sandy area and reaches the size of 3-4 hec, there is a tendency towards fission. They could not grow bigger in size like the settlements in the alluvium plain. This fission of settlements in the sandy area was perhaps due to non-availability of sufficient good agricultural land in the immediate surroundings of the settlement.

Particularly, in the proto-historic period, the settlers preferred the alluvium plain which was flooded by various rivers or streams. On the basis of locational behaviour of sites, present explorers find out the linier pattern of sites mainly in the proto-historic period not possible afterwards.

Mature Harappan period, which is the advanced phase of early farming communities, the pattern of settlements shows the same attraction of settlers towards the rivers as was in the early phase but the number of sites has decreased rapidly. Whether the area became less favourable for new settlers and why they moved towards east? This question needs further studies by doing
paleontological and linguistic researches. In the subsequent period i.e. late Harappan period, the number of the sites shows that people during this period were not much interested in staying in this region. Does the abandonment of sites is the result of dryness of the river Drisadwati, Saraswati due to insufficient water? This question needs more attention of geological academics.

In Hanumangarh district, most of the sites (57 out of 71, around 80%) of the Early Harappan culture are re-occupied during Historical period. The excavator of Rangmahal site states that technologies unavailable, or unused, in prehistoric times have been a part of the Kushanas agricultural regime. There was development such as irrigation and the use of bund for impounding rain water. The emergence of new technological features in western India at about the time of Kushanas are conspicuous by their presence. Such agricultural technology could have allowed renewed settlements in northern Rajasthan, independent and unrelated to tectonics.

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18 Personal Communication with the Excavators.


20 Ibid.


27 Rydh, Hanna (1959) Rang Mahal - the Swedish Archaeological Expedition to India 1952-54.
A Preliminary Petrological Analysis on Cist Burial Site at Anuradhapura District of Sri Lanka

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Introduction
By nature, early human societies were more attracted to make burials because death may be an uninterpreted metaphysical aspect to early communities. According to Seneviratne, in primitive societies birth represents procreation, the beginning and the known: Death represents the departure, termination, the known and mysterious – hence the phenomena beyond control\(^1\). They believed that the "spirits" of the dead were kept alive within the community which in turn gave rise to the ancestor worship\(^2\). The centre point of the present research is an Early Iron Age (EIA) cist burial site located at Ihala Kalawella Ulpata (N 7° 58′ 28.09″ E 80° 39′ 58.81″, 764 ft MSL) in Anuradhapura district of Sri Lanka.

In the early stage, there were some notions on scientific involvements to interpret archaeological contexts. However, the paramount role of geology in archaeological studies toady can no longer be debated. The terms archaeo-geology, archaeometry, geoarchaeology and archaeological geology have been used to describe collaborative research efforts between the physical sciences and archaeology\(^3\). Archaeo-geology was first used by Colin Renfrew in 1976 to describe the contribution of the geological sciences to archaeology\(^4\). Geoarchaeology refers to the application of any earth-science concept, technique, or knowledge based on the study of artefacts and the processes involved in the creation of the archaeological record. In other words Geoarchaeology, in its widest scope, is the application of earth-science disciplines and subfields to the study of the archaeological record\(^5\).

Background
In the global context, geo-archaeology can be taken as a fast-growing branch of the archaeological discipline. Various highly sophisticated earth science methodologies and techniques can be seen being applied to solve archaeological problems. However, compared to the world, geo-archaeological history of research in South Asian context is very recent especially in Sri Lanka, the island with unique archaeological background located in the southernmost tip of the Indian Ocean. However, in Sri Lanka, few attempts were made to interpret the prehistoric contexts\(^6\). In Sri Lanka, geo-archaeological applications are limited to address prehistoric contexts only. Earth science applications
are rarely used to address archaeological problems related to the Proto and Early Iron Age phases in Sri Lanka. Therefore, it can be claimed that those phases are poorly understood in scientifically. In this regard, the present paper attempts to fulfill the above-mentioned gap in the history of research.

As a branch of geology, petrology deals with the occurrence, origin and history of rocks. Petrography is concerned with descriptions of rocks, their mineralogy, structures and textures. A rock can be identified as a naturally formed, solid material composed of one or more minerals and having some degree of chemical, textural and mineralogical constancy. Lithic resources are abundant in almost every archaeological site, and lithic artefacts are invariably the best preserved of any remains. By nature, early human societies were more attracted to stone as a raw material to make their tools and monuments. The center point of the present research is also based on cist burial site in which the chambers are made by lithic slabs. Therefore, the attention of this research is focused on to identify the rock types, their mineral compositions and the places of origin to interpret its archaeological context. This approach is vital to determine and reconstruct the raw material deposits, technological aspects and ancient resource transport route network in the study area.

Methodology
The current investigation involved identifying and analyzing rock types to record the Petrological background of the study area as well as to examine the usage variations of different rock types of the burial ground. A total of 6 types was identified and the analyzed for goals mentioned earlier. This is a scientific field-based study. Therefore, expert knowledge was used to examine the geological background of the site. Visual observation was the primal identification method. Geological hammer was used to check the cross sections and collect samples from adjoining raw material sites. Each sample was collected with a clear cross section to analyze the structure and mineral composition. Standard classifications and collections were used for analytical purposes. The main difficulty faced on the survey was sampling. Because samples couldn't extract from burial chambers due to the legal and ethical disciplines. Therefore, the writer had to collect all samples from raw material sites which located in the adjacent area.

Results and Discussion: The Site
The center point of the present study is Ihala Kalawella Ulpata (N 7° 58′ 28.09″ E 80° 39′ 58.81″, 764 ft MSL) cist burial site. This site is located in the Waya Ulpatha GN division in the Palugaswewa DS division in Anuradhapura district of Sri Lanka. Totally, 28 cist chambers can be seen on the site, oriented in north-south direction. Two cist chambers were excavated by the Central Cultural Fund (CCF) in 2012. Totally 34 beads, terracotta object, two Iron slag, one Iron plate and fragments of crucible were also uncovered. Three charred samples were obtained from these excavation. On the basis of these, the site can be dated to the Early Iron Age period of the island according to the
standard periodization. Two of the samples obtained from the inside of a Cist was dated to the 520 – 390 B.C. and 390 – 200 B.C. Next sample is obtained from outside the Cist is dated to the time period between 360 – 270 B.C.\textsuperscript{10}. These samples were dated by the Beta Analytic laboratory in the USA with 98% probability.

**Geology of the study area**

The study area is located within the Highland Complex (HC) terrain, where the rocks are formed of crystalline metamorphic rocks. The major rock types found in the general area are Biotite-hornblende gneiss, medium to dark grey gneiss, Quartzite, Feldspar, tectonically layered charnockitised biotite-hornblende gneiss with thin quartzite, marble (usually coarse-grained and dolomitic), impure quartzite and quartz schist, and Granite Gneiss. The study area is devoid of rock outcrops but there are a few Garnet-biotite gneiss and Granulate gneiss boulders. The major minerals of these rocks are garnet, biotite, quartz, and feldspar. No landslides have occurred since it is not situated in a landslide prone area. The steep slopes are not in the area with potential landslide areas\textsuperscript{11}.

Geologically the study area belongs to the Highland Complex in the geological map introduced by P. G. Cooray\textsuperscript{12}. The Highland Complex (HC) is bounded on the West and the East by the Wanni Complex (WC) and the Vijaya Complex (VC) respectively (Fig. no. 01). According to this lithological classification, the study area belongs to high-grade metamorphic rocks. Totally, six different types of rocks identified during the survey. They are, (a) Hornblende Gneiss (Fig. no. 02), (b) Granitic Gneiss (Fig. no. 03), (c) Biotite Gneiss (Fig. no. 04), (d) Biotite-Garnet Gneiss (Fig. no. 05), (e) Quartzite and (f) Marble\textsuperscript{13}. Among the first four rock types (except Quartzite and Marble) used as raw materials to make their burial chambers by the Early Iron Age inhabitants. Detail description related to the raw material rock types summarized as follows.
Fig. 01 – Geological map of Sri Lanka
Fig. 02 - Hornblende Gneiss
Mineralogy: quartz - 45% - 50%, plagioclase - 40% - 45%, hornblende - 5% - 8%
Texture: fine to medium size grains
Structure: well-developed foliation, low fracture intensity

Fig. 03 - Granitic Gneiss
Mineralogy: quartz - 50% - 55%, K-feldspar - 20% - 25%, plagioclase 20%-25%, biotite5%
Texture: fine to medium size grains. Coarse grains in two locations
Structure: gneissic foliation, few fractures can be observed at some locations
Fig. 04 - Biotite Gneiss
Mineralogy: quartz - 45% - 50%, feldspars 40% - 45%, biotite about 10%
Texture: medium size interlocking grains
Structure: well developed gneissic foliation

Fig. 05 - Biotite-Garnet Gneiss
Mineralogy: quartz - 45% - 50%, feldspar about 40%, garnet - 5% - 10%
Texture: fine to medium size grains
Structure: weakly developed gneissic foliation
Conclusions

Field observations proved that above mentioned all rock types can be identified approximately within 1 km radius area around the burial site. Micro geomorphological studies attested that there are some boulder lines in Tambahitiya Kanda hill range as well as North – Eastern side of the cemetery within several hundred meters distance. Early Iron Age people used this natural advantage to locate their burial ground in this place. This suggestion proved by the field survey because there is an ancient quarry site with stone slab extracted marks on the boulder located approximately four hundred meter distance from the North – Eastern side of the burial site. Ancient cut marks on the boulder represent their stone slabs extraction activities. These cut marks are vital to understanding the Early Iron Age metal technology. Iron usage can be taken as a prime aspect in this period. Without sufficient Iron technology, they cannot extract stone slabs from the boulder. In addition to above mentioned cut marks, few conical holes are available on the boulder. The utility of those holes is unclear. However, it can be guessed that ancient inhabitants may be using these holes to temper their metal equipment during the quarry activities.

![Fig.06 – Rock types usage of the Ihala Kalawella Ulpatha Early Iron Age burial site](image)

According to the Petrological survey, the majority of burial chambers are made by Granitic gneiss and Biotite – garnet - gneiss rocks. However, observations proved that Hornblende gneiss and
Biotite – gneiss usage is fairly low than the first two types. (Fig. 06) This is a possible feature due to the distribution pattern of the rock types in the micro study area. According to observations Granitic gneiss and Biotite – garnet – gneiss boulders are located quite close to the burial site. Considering above mentioned details, it can be concluded that the availability of raw materials may be the prime aspect of the Early Iron Age people to locate their burial site at this place. In addition, cross-section analysis proved that this site is the most elevated flat land in the area. This feature may be the other reason for the Early Iron Age people to select this place to raise monuments for their ancestors. However, these arguments should be verified through the further investigations. As mentioned earlier, the present paper is an attempt to test the utility of earth science application to understand archaeological context. Field survey confirmed that there are plenty of archaeological evidences scattered in the entire region of the present study area. These span from prehistoric to later historical periods. Therefore, it can be proposed that a series of further field works is needed to understand the archaeological significances of the present study area.

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Abbreviations

CCF – Central Cultural Fund
EIA – Early Iron Age
GN – Grama Niladhari
HC – Highland Complex
MSL – Mean Sea Level
VC – Vijayan Complex
WC – Wanni Complex

References


History

Of

Kannauj

By:

Vijay Kumar
History of Researches: Kannauj has always been an important city of Northern India. It has also attracted the attention of scholars, archaeologists and historians. Cunningham visited this place between the years 1862-65 and published his researches in his Archaeological reports. Fuhrer wrote about the antiquities of Kannauj in 1891. In 1922, K. M. Panikar wrote a book titled Harsha of Kannauj. In 1926, Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji wrote a book titled. In 1934, Pires Edward. A wrote a book titled The Maukharis. A monograph on the archaeology of Kannauj was first published in 1955 by Shri. Ramkumar Dixit, Lucknow University. This was the part of the series of booklets on the history and archaeology of important ancient towns of U.P. This series was edited by Krishna Dutt Bajpai. On 15th May 1955, an article titled Kannauj Parichaya by Krishna Dutt Bajpai was published in Bachanesha Abhinandana Grantha. This article dealt with the history of Kannauj. In 1959, Roma Niyogi wrote a book titled History of the Gaharwala Dynasty. In 1964, Ramashankar Tripathi wrote History of Kannauj to the Moslem Conquest. In 1977, Shyam Manohar Mishra wrote a book titled Yāśovarman of Kannauj. In 1977, an article about the Kannauj Museum was published by G. K. Agnihotri in the Journal of Indian Museums.
Fig. No. 01: Map of Kannauj given by Alexander Cunningham (1862-65)


Corporation, New Delhi. In 2014, the catalogue titled Masterpieces of Kannauj Museum by Dr. A. K. Pandey was published.

**History of Kannauj:** The earliest archaeological culture found in Kannauj is OCP (Fig. No. 02-08). The whole Kannauj city stands on undulating mounds. The satellite towns of old mounds exist at Rijgarhar, Police line mound and Daipur. The OCP is found from Jaichand ka Qila in South-east to Sayyid Baba in the North. It appears that during OCP period, the city extended along western margin of the present day Kannauj city. The OCP is also reported from Rijgarhar located at considerable distance from the main city. The OCP pottery reported from different points of the city and its satellite town are shown below. Some of the OCP is burnished. Some of pot sherds leave ochreous powder when rubbed. Some pot sherds are greyish in color. Some of the pot sherds have incised designs on the surface. One terracotta disk found from Kanungyan, Kannauj OCP layer has incised decorations.

![Fig. No. 02: OCP found from Mohalla Ahmadi Tola, Kannauj U.P.](image)

![Fig. No. 03: OCP found from Mohalla Bajariya, Kannauj U.P.](image)
Fig. No. 04: OCP found from Jaichand ka Qila, Kannauj U.P.
Fig. No. 05: OCP found from Mohalla Kanungoyan, Kannauj U.P.
Fig. No. 06: OCP found from Mohalla Mubarakpur, Kannauj U.P.
According to local traditions, Raja Vena, the father of Pāthu ruled from this city in the hoary past. His son gave his name to the earth. He is reputed to be the first monarch who civilized people. In Puranas, Vena is shown as a wicked king who was killed by the Brahmins. Churning of the body of the dead
monarch produced Nishads and king Pithu. The dead king had seven daughters who were later deified as seven mother goddesses. The local goddesses whose temples exist in Kannauj are Kṣemakālī, Phīmati etc. Their temples are located in the different parts of Kannauj city. According to local legends, they were daughters of king Vena. It appears that the origin of this story is the Saptamatrika cult. The names of classical seven mother goddesses are: Brahmaini, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiśānavi, Indrānī, Varāhī and Chāmuṇḍā. Before these seven, during Śunga Saatvahana period (2nd-1st century B.C.), we find stone sculptures of Śri and many other goddesses whose worshipped was discontinued later on. During this period, the terracotta plaques of two goddesses are found all over Northern and Central India. One of these goddess has weapons inserted in her hair and the other is shown with flowers around her. The first appears to be proto-Durga and the second cannot be identified. This goddess might have been relegated to the cult of a folk deity. The cult of Phīmati is spread from eastern India to the Western India. The name suggest the association of the deity with flowers. The iconography of the second goddess relates it with Phīmati. During Mauryan and pre-Mauryan period, animal faced mother goddesses and snake goddess Mansa were worshipped as the terracotta figurine made during that period indicate. Before Mauryan period, the terracotta figurines of mother goddesses have been found from the different sites of Indian sub-continent, but we can’t relate them to the historical or present day mother goddesses. After Vena, the next king who ruled this kingdom was Amāvasu. He was the third of the six sons of Pururava (the son of Ila, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata) and Urvaśī, the celestial nymph. His other brothers were Āyu, Dhīman, Dridhāyu, Vanāyu and Satāyu. Amāvasu’s descendants (eight generations) continued to rule over his kingdom and their names are as follows: Bhīma, Kanchanprabhā, Suhotra, Jahnu, Sumanta, Ajaka, Balakasva and Kusa. Another account gives the following genealogy (seven generations): Ajamidha, Jahnu, Sindhudvipa, Balakaśva, Vallabha, Kuśika, Gadhi whose son and daughter were Vishwāmitra and Satyavati. After Vishwāmitra became an ascetic, the kingdom passed on to Ashataka, the son of Mādhavī. He was succeeded by Lauhi. Excavation at Raja Jaichand ka Qila by K. K. Sinha (Excavation Branch, Archaeological Survey of India) revealed painted grey ware pottery in period I. It is datable to period 1400-1000 B.C. Patanjali also mentions Kannauj. Some of the PGW pottery recovered from Kannauj city and now kept at the museum shows typical paintings on Grey ware (Fig. No. 09). These are shown in the following figures.
Excavation by K. K. Sinha revealed Northern Black polished ware in period II datable from 600-200 B.C. Some of the examples of NBP found in Kannauj but now kept in Archaeological Museum, Kannauj are as follows (Fig. No. 10).
Practically nothing is heard in the post Mahābhārata period of south Panchala or north Panchala, the name Panchala being used for the entire region of which Kampilya (Kampil) was the chief city which had till then been the capital of south Panchala. Most of the famous Panchala kings belonging to this period
ruled from Kampilya which now became one of the prominent centers of brahmanical learning and culture. The Panchalas and their kingdom are the third in the list (in the Puranas) of the ten ruling dynasties and their kingdom which were flourishing at the end of the Mahabharata war and continued till the time of Nandas but except for the number of their kings said to be twenty seven, who ruled one after the other during this period, no details are forthcoming.

Panchala figures as the tenth in the list of the sixteen premier states (mahajanapadas) in the time of Mahavira and Buddha and is said to have comprised the region by the present districts of Bareilly, Badaun and Farrukhabad. Originally a monarchial clan, the Panchalas formed a ‘sangha’ or republican corporation in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. At this time Sankisa, on the western border of the district seems to have rivalled Kannauj and Kampil in importance for a time as it was one of the most sacred places of Buddhism. According to legends, it was here that Buddha descended to earth after he had been away for three months in Trayastrima’s heaven34.

Phussa, a resident of Kāśi and son of Jayasena & Siremaya, one of the previous Buddhas preached to his two disciples at Kannauj, according to Buddhavamsa Commentary. Another Buddha named Kakusandha, a resident of Khemavatīnagara and son of Agidatta & Visakha, showed the twin miracle here at the gates of Kānyakubja. The city was ruled by nine kings of Mahāsammata race, the last king being Nardeva. Buddha passed by Kannauj on his way from Verañja to Vārānasī. His route passed through Verañja, Soreyya, Sankassa, Kannauj and Payagtittha (Allahabad). He crossed Ganges near Kannauj. Revata passed through Kannauj when he was going from Sankassa (Sankisa) to Sahjāti35.

Fig. No. 11: Pre-Mauryan Mother Goddess from Kannauj
About the middle of the 4th century B.C. probably in the reign of Mahapadma Nanda. This territory was annexed to the Nanda Empire of Magadha. After the Nandas, the area came under the domination of the Mauryas. According to Lama Taranath, Ashoka built stupas at eight holy places. One of the holy places is identified as Kannauj. Tradition credits Asoka with having built a great stupa at Kanyakubja on the hollowed spot where Buddha preached his sermon on the instability of human existence. Asoka built a monolithic pillar of a lustrous violet color at Sankisa (Sankashya) which was noticed by the Chinese traveler, Fa-hien in the 5th century. According to Kalhana’s Rajatarangini, Jaluka, Asoka’s son set himself up as an independent ruler in Kashmir conquered the territory as far south as Kannauj.

Fig. No. 12: Human/animal faced Mother Goddesses/Deity (Mauryan)

A large number of punch marked coins have been recovered from Kannauj city (Fig. No. 13). They belonged to imperial punch marked series belonging to Mauryan period. Some of these are as follows:
This city finds mention in the Mahabhasya of Patanjali who lived around 150 B.C. and was a contemporary of Pusyamitra Shunga\(^\text{39}\). The city is again mentioned by Ptolemy around 150 B.C.\(^\text{40}\). A brick kept in the Kannauj museum contains the name of Kumar Dasala who constructed some religious structure at Kannauj. This area was under Viresa, a Naga ruler during 1\(^\text{st}\) century B.C. as revealed by Jankhat inscription\(^\text{41}\) (Fig. No. 14). It is a seven line inscription and reads (1) Svāmīśā Virasenaśa, (2) saṁvatsare 10 3 gishmā, (3) naṁ pakṣe 4 divase 8, (4) .. mi me ... [y]likā [vā]-, (5) .. ya ... .. tata .. (6) .. vi ... ... n[a]ya (7) epru[sa] ... ... nima\(^\text{42}\).
Fig. No. 14: Jankhat inscription

Its translation is as follows: “In the year 10 (and) 3 of Swami Virsena, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season, on the day 8 .............”. At the top of the inscription a lotus flower flanked by two triratna symbols has been engraved.
The local coins dating approximately from the second century B.C. to the end of the 3rd century A.D. throw some light on the post Mauryan history of this region. Some coins of the local rulers, all having names ending in ‘mitra’ have been found at Kannauj and so the rulers of Panchala have often been designated the Mitra kings. The coins so far associated with Kannauj bear the names of these rulers Brahmanitra, Suryamitra and Viśnudeva. Of them only the coins of Viśnudeva are known to have come from Kannauj proper, while those of Brahmanitra and Suryamitra are ascribed to this locality because of their general similarity to the coins of Viśnudeva. An unassigned coin of exactly of same type as those of Brahmanitra and Suryamitra bears the name of one Gomitra who could well be associated with them. A fifth ruler, Sangavarman even though his coin is reported to have come from Kaushambi may be ascribed to Kannauj, since his types are significantly identical with those of Viśnudeva. The discovery of the coins of these rulers from Kannauj shows that either the south Panchala kingdom was later incorporated in one of the neighboring kingdoms of Mathura and Panchala or that these rulers actually belonged to either of these two kingdoms. It is not possible to ascertain the sequence and dates of these rulers on the basis of their coins though they are generally believed to have flourished between 100 B.C. and 200 B.C. Some of the coins of this period are shown below (Fig. No. 16):
Many terracotta plaques of *Sunga* period have been found in *Kannauj*. Some of them have been displayed at State Archaeological museum *Kannauj*. Some typical examples have been shown below. There is one terracotta plaque shows *Gajalakšmi* being anointed by two elephants (Fig. No. 17. A). another plaque shows the figure of a *Viṣṇu* holding *chakra* and a flower (Fig. No. 17. B) and the third plaque shows a couple in amorous posture (Fig. No. 17. C).
Excavation by K. K. Sinha revealed *Kushan* antiquities from *Raja Jaichand ka Qila*. Al Biruni narrates a story about a king of *Kannauj* who was a contemporary of king Kanishka of Kabul. It appears that this story is about earlier days of *Kushanas*. The story tells that Kanishka (?) was offended by a gift of embroidered cloth from the king of *Kannauj* which had a design of a footprint on it. When he invaded *Kannauj*, he was fooled by the minister of the king and his raid was not successful. The city came under the rule of *Kushans* as indicated by the large number of *Kushan* coins found here. The *Kushan* coins found are shown below (Fig. No. 18).
Kashmir Kushan coins have also been found from Kannauj U.P. India. This indicates trade and commerce between the two areas. The Kashmir Kushan coins are shown in the following figure (Fig. No. 19).

The terracotta figurine were also found from Kannauj mound. Some of them are shown below (Fig. No. 20).
A few sculptures of Kushan period are found in Kannauj. These have been shown below. These sculptures show an advancement over Sunga style. The female figures are more delicate in execution (Fig. No. 21. A & B) although they show the ornaments of the earlier periods. The second figure anticipates the flat girdle and cloth belt of later period. The figure of Buddha (Fig. No. 21. D) is robust and naturalistic.
Fig. No. 21: Stone sculptures of Kushan period (A, B, C & D) found from Kannauj
After Kushan, there was regular trade between Kannauj and western India as eleven Kshatrapa coins found from the city mound indicate. These coins have been depicted below (Fig. No. 22).

![Kshatrapa Coins](image)

Fig. No. 22: Kshatarapa Coins found from Kannauj

Achhyuta Coins have been found from Kannauj. This king has been mentioned in the list of the kings of Aryavarta conquered by Samudragupta (335 A.D.- 380 A.D.). These coins have been acribed to local dynasty of 4th century at Ahicchatra district Bareilly U.P. Obviously during that period Kannauj was part of his kingdom. Some of the coins of Acchhyuta found from city mound have been shown below (Fig. No. 23).
Fig. No. 23: Achyuta coins found from Kannauj

The other tribal coins found from the city mound have been shown below (Fig. No. 24).
During the 4th century A.D., the Guptas once again established imperial unity in India. The present district of Farrukhabad also shared the fruits of the golden ages of Guptas and contributed much towards its peace and prosperity. With the rest of the district, Kannauj probably came into Gupta empire in the time of Skandagupta (455-467 A.D.) but was not the capital of that empire. The Gupta coin found from Kannauj U.P. India (Fig. No. 25).

Fa-hien visited India during the reign of Chandragupta II, at the end of 4th and the beginning of 5th century A.D. According to his description river Ganges touched Kannauj. To the west of this town
about 6-7 li, on the bank of river Ganges is the place where Buddha preached his disciples upon instability, upon pain, upon the comparison of the body to the bubble of water and other similar subjects. This place can be identified with Dahlepur located to the north-west of the city at a distance of 3 kms from Chauki Haji Sharif. This place has yielded large numbers of early medieval sculptures. The mound is very large. Its south-eastern portion extends up to Chintamani ghat which has yielded the pottery of NBP, Gupta, early medieval and late medieval period. This city had two Sangharams both belonging to Hinayana sect. A war of succession appears to have followed the death of Skandagupta, weakening the empire in the hour of the danger. There is evidence of internal dissensions caused by disputed succession leading to the partition of the empire. There was a renewed invasion of the Hunas with far greater success than before. History undoubtedly records the continuance of the later Guptas who continued to rule till long afterwards but the Huna on rush appears to have brought the Gupta dynasty to its fall. By 512 A.D. the Hunas under the leadership of Toramana, overran north India as far as Eran (in the Sagar district Madhya Pradesh) was succeeded by Mihirakula who continued his father’s policy of cruelty.

The mound has yielded a very large number of terracotta figurine of Naigamesha and Naigameshi. It appears that the cult of Naigamesha and Naigameshi who were the special deity of children, was very popular in this area (Fig. No. 26). The terracotta images of Viṣṇu, Mahisasuramardini, Kuber, Ganeśa and Hanuman were also made which remain popular till the present times (Fig. No. 27-29). It appears that art of terracotta gets gradually refined by 500-600 A.D. This is very obvious in the images of Viṣṇu and Ganeśa. The terracotta plaques of Gupta period are well executed but the minute details that we find during Sunga period are missing in the terracotta plaques of this period. In addition to religious images, people made images of mother with child, Mithun images, images of warrior etc. in large numbers (Fig. No. 30). These images may be for decorative purpose or may be simply toys. The large number of figurines of elephant, elephant rider, horse, horse rider, bull, ram, boar, crocodile, bird and duck are also made (Fig. No. 31).
Animal headed Naigamesha (Early Gupta)  Human headed Naigamesha (Early Gupta)  Human headed Naigameshi (Later Gupta)  Human headed Naigamesha (Later Gupta)

Fig. No. 26: Terracotta images of Naigamesha & Naigameshi of Gupta period found from Kannauj

A & B  C  D  E

Fig. No. 27: Terracotta images of Viṣṇu (A, B, C), Mahisāsuranarindī (D) & Kuber (E) of Gupta period found from Kannauj
Fig. No. 28: Terracotta images of Gāmeśa of Guptā period found from Kannauj

Fig. No. 29: Image of Hanumān of Guptā period found from Kannauj
Fig. No. 30: Terracotta images from daily life of Gupta period found from Kannauj

Mother with Child
Couple
Warrior

Fig. No. A: Elephant
Fig. No. B: Elephant Rider
Fig. No. C: Horse

Fig. No. D: Horse Rider

Fig. No. E: Bull

Fig. No. F: Bull
Fig. No. G: Ram

Fig. No. H: Ram

Fig. No. I: Boar

Fig. No. J: Crocodile

Fig. No. K: Bird

Fig. No. L: Duck

Fig. No. M: Duck

Fig. No. 31: *Gupta* period terracotta Toys (A-M) found from Kannauj
The stone sculptures made during Gupta period show evolution from robust and slightly rigid figures through fine figures to figures reduced in fineness from early Gupta period to later Gupta period (Fig. No. 32). The clothes worn by Buddha in one of the figures below show fine folds\textsuperscript{51}.

Fig. No. 32: Gupta sculptures (5\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.) [A-E] found from Kannauj
The terracotta Shiva head with a benevolent look of Gupta (5th–6th century) period (Fig. No. 33). The provenance of the antiquity is Club Ghar, Kannauj. This antiquity was given by Shri Vidya Shankar Mishra of Gvāla Maidān, Kannauj. It shows a bun behind his head and his long locks falling on his shoulders. His canine teeth are visible and the third eye is also visible on the forehead. The beautiful broken image of Kartikeya made of buff colored sandstone and sitting on peacock is a good example of Gupta art (Fig. No. 34).

![Fig. No. 33: Shiva Head](image1)

![Fig. No. 34: Kārtikeya image (6th century A.D.)](image2)

The sealing of Gupta period (mid-6th century) found at Kannauj clearly indicates that some minor king named Rajagupta was ruling at Kannauj around mid-6th century (Fig. No. 35). The sealing shows the palm leaf. Below it is a 6th century inscription of two lines. It reads: (1) Śrīmahārāja gu, (2) pta kulasa.
Another sealing found at Kannauj and belonging to Gupta period indicates that this city was important during this period (Fig. No. 36). It shows a lion sitting in front of a wheel. It is obviously a Buddhist device and indicates that Buddhism was important during this phase. This fact is also attested by Fa-hien. There is a two line inscription below it. It reads: (1) da . Te sa ka sri (2) . . . . 54.

Fig. No. 36: A Gupta Sealing found from Kannauj

The following sculptural pieces found from Kshemakali temple, Kannauj proved that there existed a Gupta temple in this area (Fig. No. 37).

Fig. No. A       Fig. No. B
The later Guptas tried to revive their lost glory in this region but failed as the process of disintegration had gone too far and fresh complications had arisen owing to the growth of new powers. Among them, the Maukharis were the most powerful and were destined to play an important part in the later history of the northern India. Although ruling at first as feudal chiefs in Magadha (Bihar) and Kosala (Uttar Pradesh), the Maukharis gradually rose to power in the region and founded an independent kingdom at Kannauj perhaps about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Harivarman appears to have been the founder of the Maukhari dynasty. His queen was Jaiswamini and had the title of Bhattarika Devi. He was succeeded by his son, Adityavarman (who was married to Harshaguptā) and grandson, Ishvarvarman (who was married to Upaguptā) who were feudatories of the Gupta Empire. The queens of both these kings wore the title of Bhattarika Devi like the queen of Harivarman. Ishvarvarman was succeeded by his son Ishanavarman who conquered the Shulikas and Andhras and on the death of Kumaragupta III emerged as the unchallenged masters of Madhyadesha and Malwa. His wife was Lakshmiwati and wore the title of Bhattarika Mahadevi. He kept the Gaudas at bay and established himself at Kannauj which was the imperial capital of the north India for nearly five centuries. Sharavarman (576-80 A.D.), the successor of Ishanavarmana maintained the supremacy of the dynasty. Little is known about Sharavarman’s successor owing to a break in the records. Probably Avantivarman succeeded Sharavarman and was succeeded by his eldest son Grahavarman. He was married to Rajyashri, a princess.
of Thaneshwar, an alliance which linked the two powerful houses of the Maukharis of Kannauj and the Vardhanas of Thaneshwar and was largely instrumental in shaping the course of history during that momentous period. According to Banabhatta’s Harshacharita, Devagupta of Malwa advanced against Kannauj with the support and co-operation of Shashanka, the king of Gauda, just at the time when Prabhakaravardhana (the king of Thaneshwar and an ally of Maukharis) had died and defeated and killed Grahavarmana. Kannauj was seized and occupied and Rajyashri was thrown into the dungeon. Hearing of this calamity, Rajyavardhan, the king of Thaneshwar, proceeded to Kannauj but was killed by the king of Gauda. On hearing the tragic news of his brother’s assassination, Harsha also advanced towards Kannauj. He found his sister in the Vindhya forests and in the absence of any other Maukhari claimant, Kannauj passed into his hands. With his coronation in 606 A.D. the prosperity and importance of Kannauj so well began during the time of Maukharis grew tremendously and it now become the premier city of northern India\(^55\).

The earliest mention of Maukharis is found in a seal recovered at Gaya by Cunningham which has a legend “Mokhalī 7a”. It can be dated to Mauryan period\(^56\). As the later Guptas became weak, Maukharis who were their feudatories established themselves at Kannauj. There are many theories regarding the origin of Maukharis. Banjara caste which has Mukeri as one of their gotras used to carry goods on bullocks from one part of the country to another. It appears that people belonging to this gotra acquired political power and started calling themselves Maukhari. Harivarmana was the founder of the Maukhari house of the Kannauj. Haraha inscription gives him the proud epithet of Jvālāmukha, or the flame faced and the Asirga\(^6\) seal further testifies that “his fame stretched out beyond the four oceans” who had other kings brought into subjection by his prowess and affection for him. He bears the sub-ordinate title of Mahārājā. He was succeeded by ādityavarmana, his son born from Bha\(^55\)ārikā Devī Jayasvāminī. He also wears title of Mahārājā. Haraha inscription describes fire sacrifices by him. He was succeeded by Iśwaravarmana. It appears that, he successfully fought with the king of Dhārā. He also used the title of Mahārājā as is evident from Asirga\(^6\) seal. He appears to be a fire sacrifice. His son Iśānavarman succeeded him. He was born of the queen Bha\(^55\)ārikā Devī Upaguptā. Haraha inscription mentions the king fighting with Andhras, Śulikas and Gaudas. Iśānavarman was defeated by Kumāragupta as revealed by Apshad inscriptions. He was a believer of Vedic rituals. Iśānavarman was succeeded by Sarvavarmana whose mother was Bha\(^55\)ārikā Mahādevī Lakṣmīvatī. According to Apshad inscription, Sarvavarmana defeated Dāmodara-gupta. After this victory, Maukharis became dominant over Guptas of Magadha\(^57\). Avantīvarmana appears after Iśānavarman. Although Suisthitavarman, the father of Bhāskaravarmana is mentioned as contemporary of Harśa in Harśacharita. Most probably the throne of Kannauj was passed on to Avantīvarmana whose seal was found in Kannauj (Fig. No. 38) \(^58\). This seal reads: (1) [Chatussamudrātivakrānta kīrtiha pratāpanurāgopanatānyarā*] jo vannarnāśramvyavasthāpanapra navigation (2)
The genealogy of Harśavardhana is as follows. Puṣyabhuti was the founder of this line. Naravardhana became king after him. He married Vaiṣṇavi Devī. His son was Rājyavardhana who was married to Apsarā Devī. Ādityavardhana son of Rājyavardhana. He married Mahāsenaguptā Devī. Their son Prābhakaravardhana married Yaśovati Devī. He had two sons, Rājyavardhana and Harśavardhana. The Harśavardhana’s queen was Durgā. Hiuen-Tsang, a Chinese monk who stayed in India for about 11 or 12 years (leaving for China about 643 A.D.) found Kannauj a very prosperous place. His account has many details about the city, it foundation, the history of Harsha’s accession etc. and gives a picturesque description of the town and of a great religious ceremony which took place at the time of his visit. At that time, Kannauj was about 10 km in length and nearly 2.5 km in width and was surrounded by a moat and fortified with strong and lofty towers. It was very strongly defended and had lofty structures everywhere and in it rarities from foreign lands were collected. The inhabitants were well-off and there
were families with great wealth. Fruits & flowers were abundant and the agriculture was good. The people had a refined appearance and dressed in glossy silk attire and they were given to learning an art and were clear and suggestive in this course and they were equally divided among Hinayana and Mahayana sects. There were about more than 100 Buddhist monasteries with more than 10,000 followers of both the sects of Buddhism. There were 200 hundred temples of god. According to a story prevalent at that time, long ago Brahmadutta was the king of the city known as Kusumpur. He has 1,000 sons and 100 daughters. A very old Rishi lived near on the bank Ganges named great tree rishi. The Rishi had remained in Samadhi for long and a banyan tree had grown on his body. When he came out from his Samadhi, he saw king’s daughter playing in the wood near the river. It was one sided love at first sight. He asked the king to give his daughters in marriage to him. The daughter’s refused. King was afraid of the ascetic. But the youngest daughter made a sacrifice by offering to marry the Rishi to save her father and her country. Rishi was very annoyed on the rejection by other princesses. He cursed them to become humped back. The 99 princesses became so and city was known as the city of humped back girls i.e. Kanyakubja. According to Hiuen-Tsang, Harśavarman, the king was of trading caste. His father was Prabhakaravardhan. He became a king when his elder brother Rajyavardhana was killed by Shashank, the king of Karna-suvarna. Harsha was made the king after his death. When the ministers of state pressed Harśavarman to succeed his brother and avenge his murder, the narrative goes on to relate, the price determined to take the advice of Bodhisattva avalokitesvāra. An image of this Bodhisattva which had made many spiritual manifestations stood in a grove of the district near the Ganges. To this he repaired and after due fasting and prayer, he stated his case to the price that it was his good karma to become king and that he should, accordingly accept the offered sovereignty and then raised Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karna-suvarna and afterwards make himself a great kingdom. The Bodhisattva promised him secret help but warned him not to occupy the actual throne and not to use the title Mahārājā. Thereupon Harśavarman became the king of Kannauj with the title Rājaputra and the style Śilāditya. As soon as, he became ruler, he got together a great army and set out to revenge his brother’s murder and to reduce the neighboring countries to subjection. Proceeding eastwards, he invaded the states which had refused allegiance and waged incessant warfare until in six years, he had fought the five India. Then having enlarged his territory, he increased his army, bringing the elephant corps up to 60,000 and the cavalry 100,000 and reigned in peace for thirty years without raising a weapon. He was just in his administration and punctilious in the discharge of his duties. He forget food and sleep in his devotion to good works. He caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the Five Indias and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties. He erected thousands of topes on the banks of the Ganges established traveler’s rests through all his dominions and erected Buddhist monasteries at sacred places of the Buddhists. He regularly held the Quinquennial convocation and gave away in religious alms everything except the material of war.
Once a year he summoned all the Buddhist monks together and for twenty one days supplied them with the regulation requisites. He furnished the chapels and liberally adorned the common halls of the monasteries. He brought the Brethren together for the examination and discussion, giving rewards and punishments, according to merit and demerit. Those Brethren who kept the rule of their order strictly and were thoroughly sound in the theory and practice he “advanced to the Lion’s throne” and from these he received religious instruction, those who, though perfect in the observance of the ceremonial code, were not learned in the past, he merely honored with formal reverence, those who neglected the ceremonial observance of the order and whose immoral conduct was notorious were banished from his presence and from the country. The neighboring princess and the statesman who were zealous in good works and unwearied in the search for moral excellence not converse with those who were of different character. The king also made visits of inspection throughout his dominion, not residing long at any place but having temporary buildings erected for his residence at each place of sojourn and he didn’t go abroad during the three months of the Rain season retreat. At the royal lodge every day viands were provided for 1000 Buddhists monks and 500 Brahmins. The king’s day was divided into three periods, of which one was given up to affairs of government and two were devoted to religious works. He was indefatigable and the day was too short for him. The Pilgrim was on his way back to China and had gone again to the great monasteries of Nalanda of Magadha. Here he wished to remain for some time continuing his studies in Buddhist philosophy which had been begun there some years before. But Bhaskaravarma styled Kumara the king of Kamarupa had heard of him and longed to see him. So he sent messengers to Nalanda to invite and urge the pilgrim to pay him a visit. Yuan-chuang at first declined and placed his duty to China but his old Buddhist teacher Śilabhadra convinced him that it was also his duty to go to the Kamarupa on the invitation of its king who was not a Buddhist. The pilgrim at length yielded travelled to that country and was received by the king with great honor. In the course of a conversation, his majesty said to Yuan-chuang, “At present in various state of India a song has been heard for some time called the Music of the conquests of Ch’in wang of Mahāchina, this refers to your reverence’s native country I presume”. The pilgrim replies, “Yes, this song praises my sovereign’s excellence”. At this time, king Śilāditya was in a district the name of which is transcribed in our Chinese texts in several ways, Julien calls it “Kadjoughira” and Cunningham identifies it with the modern Kankola. He had been on an expedition to a country called Kung-yu-ta and was on his way back to Kannauj to hold a great Buddhist assembly there. Hearing of the arrival of the Chinese pilgrim at the court of the king Kumara, he sent a summons to the latter to repair to him with the foreign guest. Kumara replied with a refusal saying that the king could have his head but not his guest. “I trouble you for your head”, came the prompt reply. Thereupon Kumara became submissive and proceeded with the pilgrim and a grand retinue to join Śilāditya. To the north-west of the capital was an Asoka tope where the Buddha had preached excellent doctrines for several days beside it was a tope where the four past Buddha had sat
and walked for exercise and there was a small tope over hair and nail-relics of the Buddha. South of the preaching tope and close to the Ganges were three Buddhist monasteries enclosed by a common wall but each having its own gate. These Viharas had beautiful images, the Brethren were grave and reverend and these were thousands of lay Buddhists to serve them. The shrine or temple of the three fold vihara had a casket containing a wonder working tooth of the Buddha an inch and a half long which was exhibited to crowds of visitors for a charge of one gold coin each. There were other sacred Buddhist buildings near the city and there were also splendid temples to the Sun god and to Maheśvara respectively. Hiuen-Tsang had stayed at a monastery known as Bhadra Vihar in Kannauj. He stayed here for three months and under the direction of Viryasena a doctor of the three Piśākas he read the Viṃhāśā of Buddhadāsa which called Varmavīṃhāśā-vyākaraṇa.

After Harśa Vardhana, passed away in the year 647-648 A.D. Arjun, his minister usurped the throne. By Chinese account, Wang-heuen-tse killed him with the help of Tibetan and Nepalese soldiers. In this situation Bhāskarvarman of Kāmarupa, Assam annexed Karnasuvarna which earlier fell under Kannauj. Adityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta a feudatory of Harśa broke away and established his independent rule in Magadha. According to Firdausi, an ambassador of king of Kannauj introduced the game of Chess at the court of Naushirwan.

Fig. No. 39: Kuber 7th-8th found from Kannauj Museum
Muhammad Bin Qasim conquered Sindh in 717 A.D. The events of that period are given in this book. According to the author of Chhachanama, Satbana, son of Rasal was the king of Kannauj during the reign of King Dahir. According to the same book, when Matta, the chief of Siwistan went to the king of Kannauj, the country was in flushing condition. Kannauj was under the rule of Siharas, the son of Rasal. Matta went to him and represent thus: “Chach, son of Silaji is dead, and his brother Chandar, a monk has succeeded him. He is a devotee, and his whole day is occupied in the study of his faith with other religious persons in the temple. It is easy to wrest the kingdom from him. If you take his territories and place them under my charge, I will pay a tribute, and send it to your treasury”. Siharas said to Matta, "Chach was a great king, and had an extensive territory under his sway. As he is dead, I will bring his possessions under my own rule, if I take them. They will form a great addition to my kingdom, and I will appoint you over one of their divisions.” Siharas then sent his brother Barhas, son of Kasais. The son of the daughter of the great Chach, who ruled over Kashmir and Ramal, also agreed to join him, and they proceeded with their armies till they reached the banks of the Hasi, where they encamped. The agents and offices of Chandar, who were still in the fort of Deo, fled. The invaders took the place, and advanced on their journey till they arrived at Band Kahuya, where they halted for one month, and performed the worship of Budh. They sent a messenger with a letter to Chandar to induce him to come, make his submission, and sue for protection. After taking Sindh, Muhammad Bin Qasim sent Abu Hakim Shaibani at the head of ten thousand horse towards Kannauj, to convey a letter from the Khalifa, and with instructions to invite the Chief to embrace Muhammadanism, to send tribute, and make his submission. He himself went with the arm to the boundary of Kashmir, which was called the five rivers, where Chach, son of Silaij, the father of Dahir, had planted the fir and the poplar trees, and had marked the boundary. When he arrived there he renewed the mark of the boundary. At this time the chief of Kannauj was the son of Jahtal Rai. When the army reached as far as Udhafar, Abu Hakim Shaihani ordered Zaid, son of ’Amru Kallabi, to be brought before him. He said, "Zaid, you must go on a mission to Rai Har Chandar, son of Jahtal, and deliver the mandate for his submission to Islam, and say that from the ocean to the boundary of Kashmir all kings and chiefs have acknowledged the power and authority of the Muhammadans, and have made their submission to Amir ’Imadu-d Din, general of the Arab army, and persecutor of the infidels. That some have embraced Islam, and others have agreed to send tribute to the treasury of the Khalifa". Rai Har Chandar replied, "This country for about one thousand six; hundred years has been under our rule and governance. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach upon our boundary, nor has any one ventured to oppose us, or to lay hands upon our territory. What fear have I of you that you should revolve such propositions and absurdities in your mind? It is not proper to send an envoy to prison, otherwise, for this speech and for this impossible claim you would deserve such treatment. Other enemies and princes may listen to you, but not I? Now go back to your master, and tell him that we must fight against each other in order that
our strength and might may be tried, and that either I may conquer or be conquered by you. When the superiority of one side or the other in warfare and courage shall be seen, then peace or war shall be determined on”. Obviously the plan of Muhammad Bin Qasim was not completed because he was killed on the order of Khalifa and Arab rule remained confined to Sindh only. City of Kannauj like any other large cities of North India had the court poets, scholars, astronomers, philosophers, diviners and those who draw omens from flight of crows and jugglers.

After 75 years of death of Haršavardhana, Yaśovarman came to the throne of Kannauj. Information about him is given by Vākpati’s Gau 6avāho, Kalha, Rājarangī, Prabhāvakacharita, Prabandha-kośa and Bappabhaśūricharita. He ruled Kannauj between years 725-752 A.D. It appears that this king defeated the rulers of Magadha and Gauda, but Lalitāditya Muktāpi, the monarch of Kaśmīr defeated him.

Some of the examples of 8th century sculptural art are shown below. They manifest deterioration in realism and execution. The following sculptures found in Kannauj shows the sculptural style and art of that period (Fig. No. 40).

Fig. No. A: 8th century A.D. Shivalinga
Fig. No. B: Lady Figure 8th century
Fig. No. C: Lady carrying a water vessel 8th

Fig. No. D: Head of Parvati 8th

Fig. No. E: Ganeśa 8th

Fig. No. F: Kuber 8th

Fig. No. 40: 8th century images (A-F) found from Kannauj Museum
After Yashovarmana, except for some shadowy figures occurring in the later period of the 8th century, there followed a period of obscurity, during which mention is made of three Ayudha kings ruling at Kannauj in the works of Rajashekhara, the dramatist who flourished in this region. He refers to Vajrayudha as the king of Panchal which had its capital at Kannauj who ascended the throne some time about 770 A.D. and is said to have been defeated by Jayapida Vinayaditya of Kashmir. He was succeeded by Indrayudha and it was probably during this reign that Dhruva Rashtrakuta invaded the territories of the doab. Indrayudha was defeated and dethroned by the Dharmapala of Bengal who raised his protégé, Chakrayudha to the throne of Kannauj. This political arrangement was approved by nearly all the principal states then existing. But the Rashtrakutas could not tolerate the Bengal king’s assumption of supreme status in this region and accordingly a trial of strength between the two powers became inevitable. According to Sanjan plates of Amoghvarsha I, Dharmapala and Chakrayudha surrendered to Govind III, the Rashtrakuta king which created confusion in this region. Nagabhatta II of the Pratihar dynasty took advantage of this situation and defeated Chakrayudha after which continued during the 9th and 10th centuries. He was son of Vatsaraja and was married to Ista Devi. Under the Pratiharas, Kannauj reached the zenith of its power, learning and culture. Nagabhatta II, who ascended the throne in 805 A.D. conquered Kannauj in 810 A.D. and made it the capital of his growing empire. He was married to Ishta devi and was the devotee of goddess Bhagawati. He was succeeded by his son, Ramabhadra in 835 A.D. He was married to Appa Devi. After a reign of only three years or so, he was succeeded by his son, Bhoja or Mihir Bhohja (836-885 A.D.) with whose accession a new and glorious chapter began in the history of Kannauj. He was married to Chandra Bhattarika Devi. He was a great conqueror and his Empire extended from the foot of the Himalayas to the Narmada. His career was a great factor in making Kannauj, a radiating center of the political and cultural activities. He was succeeded by his son, Mahendrapala (885-910 A.D.) a fearless military genius who extended his father’s Empire adding more areas by conquest. He was married to Dehanaga Devi and Mahi Devi. He was a liberal patron of literature and letters and the richest literary of his court was Rajashekhara. His court poet Rajashekhara has given a live description of Kannauj city. He says that people imitate the language spoken in Kannauj and the ladies follow the fashion of hairdo and ornaments being followed by ladies of Kannauj.

Some of the finest examples of 8th-9th century stone sculptural art are shown below. Here also, one can clearly see the deterioration of style and perfection of Gupta period (Fig. No. 41-6).
Fig. No. 41: Buddha 8th-9th century A.D. found from Kannauj Museum
Fig. No. 42: *Varāha* figure (8th-9th century A.D.) found from Mubarakpur Tila, Kannauj
Fig. No. 43: Rishabhnatha 8th-9th
Fig. No. 44: *Tapasvini Parvati* 8th–9th
Found from Kannauj Museum

Fig. No. 45: *Mahisasuramardini* 8th–9th
found from Kannauj Museum
Baraha copper plate shows that in 836 A.D. Mahodaya and Kanyakubja were the popular names of Kannauj. Mahodaya was used for the city and Kanyakubja was used for bhukti (province) of the kingdom of which Kalinjar Mandal formed a part\textsuperscript{71}.

The Pratihar coins have been found from Kannauj U.P. India in large numbers (Fig. No. 47). These are random finds and it indicates that availability of silver coins with local population in considerably increased during this period. It is obviously an indicator of increase in the wealth and trade in this area.

Fig. No. 46: Saptamatrikā panel (8th-9th century A.D.) found from Kannauj Museum
One inscription of 9th century was found on the architectural fragment kept in Ajaipal temple, Mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj (Fig. No. 48). It mentions that someone did some holy work i.e. built some temple or placed an image. This two line inscription reads, “(1) . . . Subhuvan Su (2) ruvasava. suddam Karyam”.

Fig. No. 48: Inscription found in Ajaipal Mandir
The following two images of Kalyansundar and Ganeśa are classical examples of Pratihar sculptural art (Fig. No. 49 & 50). At present these are kept in the house of Harinarayan Tandon, Mohalla Farsha Kannauj U.P. These images clearly shows the loss of realism and accuracy of depiction in the sculptures.

Fig. No. 49: Kalyansundar (9th century A.D.) kept in the house of Harinarayan Tandon, Mohalla Farsha Kannauj
Fig. No. 50: Ganesa figure (9th century A.D.) kept in the house of Harinarayan Tandon, Mohalla Farsha Kannauj
During the 9th century A.D. we see a great resurgence of Buddhism in Kannauj as attested by the large number of terracotta sealings and Buddhist stone sculptures (Fig. No. 51). The following thirty nine Buddhist sealings which record the Buddhist formula, “ye dhammahetu prabhavohetu tathagato. vaditesam chayonirodhavādī mahasrma Zāh” indicates that religious activities of Buddhist were increased during the 9th century A.D.
The following image showing an inscribed but defaced figure of Buddha, is of 9th century A.D. and made of red colored sandstone (Fig. No. 52). The size of the antiquity is 12x13.5 cm. The provenance of the antiquity is Kannauj. It records the Buddhist formula and reads “ye dhammahetu prabhavohetu tathagato. vaditesain chayonirodhatvādi mahāsrma ।ah”. This image also indicates that Buddhism was going strong in that period.
Another inscribed stone of 9th century A.D. and made of buff colored sandstone (Fig. No. 53). There is a two line inscription on this stone piece. It reads “(1) ka . . nta. . (2) bhayatijalam.”
The following image carved on both sides of a stone now kept in museum shows the image of Ardhanarishwar on one side and Lakshmi on the other side (Fig. No. 54). This image belong to 9th century A.D.

Fig. No. 54: Goddess Lakṣmī (9th century A.D.) found from Kannauj museum

The following image of Hanuman kept in the factory of Mr. Ram Kapoor resident of mohalla Saraimeera, Kannauj gives one of the earliest depiction of Hanuman as deity (Fig. No. 55). Although it has been painted red by its present owner. It shows Hanuman in vyakhyana mudra.
Fig. No. 55: Figure of Hanuman (9th century A.D.) kept in the house of Mr. Ram Kapoor, Saraimeera Kannauj

The following two images of Viṣṇu and Durga belonging to 9th century A.D. indicate that in 9th century the popularity of the two deities continued (Fig. No. 56 & 57).
Fig. No. 56: Viṣṇu kept in Gauri Shankar temple, Shankar Kannauj (9th century A.D.)

Fig. No. 57: Mahisāsuramardinī kept in Gauri Temple, Kannauj (9th century A.D.)
The following two Vishwarupa images now housed in Ram Laxman temple, Qutlupur, Kannauj U.P. and Shivalinga kept in the factory of Ram Kapoor, Sarai Meera Kannauj are great examples of late 9th century A.D. (Fig. No. 58-60). These were also noticed by Cunningham.72

Fig. No. 58: Vishwarupa image (9th century A.D.), Ram Laxman temple, Qutlupur Kannauj
Fig. No. 59: Vishwarupa image (9th century A.D.), Ram Laxman temple, Qutlupur Kannauj
Fig. No. 60: Śivalinga carved with the standing images of Śiva, Sūrya, Brahmā and Viṣṇu on all four sides (9th century A.D.)

The following images of Mahisasuramardini, Durga, Uma-Mahesh, Ganeśa, Viṣṇu and a male accompanied with his wife belonging to 9th century A.D. (Fig. No. 61-7).
Fig. No. 61: Mahisasuramardini 9th
Fig. No. 62: Durga 9th
Fig. No. 63: Uma-Mahesh 9th
Fig. No. 64: Ganeśa 9th
Fig. No. 65: Viṣṇu 9th

Fig. No. 66: Viṣṇu 9th

Fig. No. 67: Male accompanied with his wife 9th
After Mahendrapala, the Pratihar history of this region is a record of disputed succession, internal trouble and the beginning of decline. Bhoja II came to the throne with the help of Kokkaladeva, the Chedi ruler and the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna II but he was soon displaced by his half-brother, Mahipala, who got the support of Harshadeva Chandel. Bhoja II was son of Dehanaga Devi. Though some disturbances were caused by the Rashtrakuta. Mahipala was the son of Mahendrapala’s second wife Mahi Devi. He was married to Prasadhana Devi. Mahipala soon tided over his initial troubles and resumed his father’s scheme of conquest. His reign over his region brought its stability for a short period. He was succeeded by his son, Vinayakapala who ruled only for a short time. The period when Devapala ascended the throne shortly before 948 was marked by the rise of the Chandellas. This was the signal for the decline and disruption of the empire which continued during the time of Vijayapala until it became divided among several powers. A few tirthankara images have been found from Kannauj. They mostly belong to 9th-12th century. It appears that the adherents of Jainism were lesser in numbers in this city. This city doesn’t find any important place in Jain literature.

There is an image of a tirthankara Parshvanatha (Fig. No. 68) sitting in dhyana mudra on a siôhāsana kept inside the house of Jagat Narayan Kapoor, Kannauj U.P. He is flanked by Indra and Upendra. Seven hooded snake is visible behind his head. Two maladhari vidyadhara are shown above his shoulders. Two devotees are sitting at the bottom on both sides of the siôhāsana. One line inscription reads the name of female devotee who got this image installed (Fig. No. 69).

Fig. No. 68: Image of Tirthankara Parshvanatha kept in the house of Jagat Narayan Kapoor, Kannauj
Fig. No. 69: It is the image of the inscription found on the bottom of the image of tirthankara Parshvanatha and it reads “Veljaka Śrāvikā”. This inscription can be dated to 9th-10th century A.D.

Some of the examples of sculptural art of Kannauj covers the images of mother goddess (Parvati?), Ganeśa, Varaha and Ravanagnagha. These have been shown in the following figures (Fig. No. 70-3). The sculptural art doesn’t lose the realism of Gupta period completely but the ornaments and clothes worn by deities changed in this period. The loops hanging from the waist of the deities appear but these are smaller in size. The keyura is still spiral in shape although some deities wear flat jewel studded variety of these ornaments. The clothes can scarcely be distinguished the folds and decorations on the clothes are minimal.

Fig. No. 70: Goddess 9th-10th
Fig. No. 71: Broken *Ravanugraha* image 9th-10th

Fig. No. 72: Dancing Ganeśa 9th-10th

Fig. No. 73: Varaha-Viṣṇu 9th-10th
The only Buddhist image of 9th-10th century was found from Tajpur Nuakhas situated on the western margin of the Kannauj mound. It is the figure of goddess Aprajita (Fig. No. 74). Below her lotus pedestal, one can see Ganeśa, four female devotees and two male ascetics. She is flanked by two standing female attendants and two sitting female attendants above the pedestal. It indicates that by 10th century Buddhism had lost popularity in Kannauj area.

The image of Rishabhanatha sitting in dhyana mudra of 10th century A.D. is found from Kannauj (Fig. No. 75). It is made of buff colored sandstone. The size of the antiquity is 39x23x8 cm. The provenance of the antiquity is Kannauj. It shows the sihāsana is carved with two bulls, one kneeling devotee and dharma.
chakra. It bears an inscription. It reads “Bhaval”. The siōhāsana is flanked by yaksha and yakshi of Tirthankara. Indra and Upendra, two Mālādharī Vidyādhara, Trichatra, Dev Dundubhi and four miniature Tirthankaras are shown in his parikar. Ābhāmandala is visible behind his head. At the bottom is the Navagrahas forming a band. This image indicates that Kannauj had small number of people following Jain religion during this period.

Fig. No. 75: Image of Rishabhanatha found from Kannauj museum
The following images of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Ganeśa & Lakshmi, Shiva inside a rathika, Chamunda, Kartikeya, a female head, Vaman, Brahma, a warrior, Brahma & Saraswati, an elephant and Surya belonging to 10th century (Fig. No. 76-87), clearly show that the sculptural art of this period has lost the natural style and vigor of Gupta period. There is no expression on the faces of these images. The body posture is rigid and the ornaments become stylized and have been carved in very low relief.

The lower part of an inscribed image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, belongs to 10th century A.D. is shown below (Fig. 76). It is made of buff colored sandstone. The size of the antiquity is 13.5x5x7.5 cm. The provenance of the antiquity is Kannauj. It shows the Mahisasura emerging from the body of the headless buffalo. The two feet of the goddess are also visible. There is a short inscription on the pedestal of the image. It reads “Yavaharu”.

Fig. No. 76: Image of Mahiṣāsuramardinī found from Kannauj museum
Fig. No. 77: Ganeśa & Lakshmi 10\textsuperscript{th}

Fig. No. 78: Shiva housed in a rathika 10\textsuperscript{th}
Fig. No. 79: Chamunda 10th
Fig. No. 80: Kartikeya 10th
Fig. No. 81: Female head 10th
Fig. No. 82: Vaman 10th

Fig. No. 83: Brahma 10th

Fig. No. 84: Warrior 10th
An 11th century inscription found in Mohalla Tiliya and presently kept under a peepal tree (Fig. No. 88). In this some Guru has been praised. It is three line inscription and reads as “(1) Vādo chchhalatatvah…"
(2) Yumanāḥpatitirgurubrahmānonanda. . (3) Yamatdrishyamvahati vindhyasya. . " It testifies that the building activities were being carried out during this period.

The close of the 10th century was marked by the Muslim invasion of India. Rajyapala was the ruler of Kannauj when Mahmud Ghaznavi attacked Kannauj in 1018 A.D. The iconoclast swept away all the Hindu religious edifices that were standing here. Utbi (in his book Tarikh Yamini) narrates the invasion of Kannauj as follows. Mahmud Ghazanavi launched attack on Kannauj after finishing his raid on Mathura. On his approach, Jaipal, the king of Kannauj fled across the river Ganges when Mahmud invaded Kannauj on 8th of Sha’ban. He labelled to the ground every fort which he encountered on his way. He collected a large booty in the form of prisoners and wells. The city of Kannauj consisted of seven forts on the bank of Ganges. In Kannauj, there were nearly 10,000 ancient temples. The inhabitants of the place fled from the city. The seven forts were taken in one day and were plundered by Ghazanavi’s army. Muhammad Ufi in his Jami-ul-Hikayat narrates the same story74. Khwaja Masud bin sad bin Salman in his book Diwan-i-Salman wrote poems in praise of Ghazanavis75. This submission of the Pratihar monarch enraged the Chandela chief, Ganda and his forces under the command of the crown prince Vidyadhardeva killed Rajyapala and placed his son Trilochanapala on the throne. When Mahmud learnt about this, he marched towards Kannauj in October 1019 and routed Trilochanapala in a decisive
engagement and captured all the seven forts of Kannauj. The long tottering Pratihar power now received its final blow and although Trilochanapala escaped death nothing is known about him or his successors after this. The process of disintegration had set in some fifty years before when the feudatories of the Pratiharas had started declaring their independence but now even those who had persisted in their loyalty ceased to owe any allegiance to their erstwhile overlords. One such dynasty was that of the Rashtrakutas of Vodamaynta (modern Badaun). In the second quarter of the 11th century these Rashtrakutas seem to have begun to exploit fully the downfall of the Pratiharas. They not only became independent but also occupied Kannauj itself and probably held away as far east as Bahraich. An inscription of the Chalukya dynasty of Lata dated 1050 A.D. associates the Rashtrakuta dynasty with Kannauj. Another inscription found at Badaun also gives some account of the Rashtrakuta dynasty and its connection with Kannauj. The first known king of this family was Chandra who seems to have established his supremacy over Kannauj during the period of disorder that followed the invasion of Mahmud Ghazni. He was succeeded by his son, Vigrahapala, and he by his son, Bhuvanpala, who flourished in the third quarter of the 11th century. During this period, Chalukya Someshvara I and Chola Virarajendra of south India invaded Kannauj. Bhuvanpala’s son and successor was Gopala who is referred to in the Badaun inscription as the king of Gadhipura (Kannauj). It was during his reign that Mahmud, the governor of the Punjab plundered Kannauj76. Ruins of Rang Mahal (Fig. No. 89 & 90), which is situated in the south-west angle of the citadel, consist of a strong brick wall faced with blocks of Kankar 240 feet in length and 25 feet in height above the sloping ruins but more than 40 feet above the level of bazar. It is strengthened in front by four towers of buttresses, 11 feet broad and 61 feet apart. The wall itself is 7 feet thick at the top and behind it a 10 feet distance, there is a second wall 5 feet thick high and at 9½ feet farther back a third wall 3½ thick and fourth wall at 21 feet. The distances between the walls most probably represent the width of some of the rooms of the old Hindu palace which would thus have a breadth of 56 feet. But the block kankar walls can be traced for a distance of 180 feet back from the south-east buttress to a wicket or small door which would appear to have formed a side entrance to the courtyard of the palace. As far as it can be now traced, the palace covered area of 240 feet in length by 180 feet in breadth. It is said to have been built by Ajai Pal to whom also is attributed a temple which once stood close by Ajai Pal are said to have reigned a short time before Jai Chand but the names of the intervening princes are not known77.
The two images of Viṣṇu riding Garuna (Fig. No. 91) and Surya (Fig. No. 92) belonging to 11th century indicate that after the initial setback of the invasion of Mahmud Ghazanavi, the situation at Kannauj had again improved and people could build temples and install images of their favorite deities. The details of the two images are given below. The first image is an inscribed broken lower part of the image of Viṣṇu riding Garuna belonging to 11th century A.D. It is made of buff colored sandstone. The size of the antiquity is 28x38x24 cm. The provenance of the antiquity is Kannauj. It shows damaged figure of Garuna and the two legs of Viṣṇu. A female attendant is shown on the right side. There is a
one line inscription on the pedestal of the image dated samwat 1177 and reads Samwat 1177 Vaiśākh sudī 3 gurau vāyak śirāmadatta tasya dāsi sālya tena pratimā pratisāpitā. The second image of Surya is a typical example of 11th century, made of buff colored sandstone. The size of the antiquity is 88x46x30 cm. The provenance of the antiquity is Kannauj. He is accompanied by danda pingala and two Ashwanikumaras. Mahasweta @ Bhudevi is standing in between the legs. He is holding two flowers. He is also wearing shoes.

Fig. No. 91: Viṣṇu riding Garuna found from Kannauj museum
An inscribed image of Shiva presently kept in Banda museum written in local dialect of Nagari dated vikram 1065 magha sudi 6 uttrayan mentions in six lines that an Aditya Prasad (Temple of Sun) was built by Maharaj Sumal78.

During the troublesome period that followed the departure of Mahmud from northern India. Chandradeva, the founder of the Gahadavala dynasty seized the throne of Kannauj from Rashtrakuta king Gopala. Under the vigorous rule of the Gahadavalas the kingdom of Kannauj absorb distant parts of northern India. Chandradeva was the first Gahadavala king of Kannauj who ruled almost over the whole of what is the present region of Uttar Pradesh and is said in the Chandravati inscription of 1089-90 A.D. to have protected the sacred places of Kushika (Kannauj), Uttar Kosala and Indraprastha. Chandradeva was succeeded by Madanchandra (also known as Madanapala) sometime between 1100 and 1101 A.D. According to Muslim chronicles, Ala-ud-daulah Masud III invaded Hindustan, the capital of which was Kannauj and took Malhi (the king of Kannauj) prisoner who purchased his release by paying a large sum of money. Malhi is evidently identical with Madanchandra. Govindchandra (Madanchandra’s son) is
known from Indian records to have defeated the Muslims during the life time of his father’s reign as the de facto ruler of the country during his father’s reign, he ascended the throne probably in 1111 A.D. repulsed an attack of Rampala of Gauda and very soon made himself a considerable power by his conquests. The wide distribution of his coins and of inscriptions recording grants of land made by him proves that in his days Kannauj once more recovered a large measure of its old importance. He was succeeded by his son, Vijayachandra, sometime after 1154 and like his father, he also successfully repulsed an attack of the Muslim invader probably Khusrau Malik. At that very beginning of his reign, an unmistakable symptom of the decline of the Gahadavala power manifested itself in the loss of Delhi, the full significance of which was realized when about a generation later, the Muslims attacked the Delhi region and occupied it, rendering the Gahadavala frontier practically defenseless. Vijaychandra, was succeeded by his son, Jaichandra, in 1170 A.D. He was the last great king of the Gahadavala dynasty whose power and extensive jurisdiction was noticed even by the Muslim historians. During his reign (1170-1194 A.D.), the Chauhans became powerful and having annexed Delhi were bidding for supremacy in the north under the vigorous rule of Prithviraj III. Towards the south, there were the Chandellas whose power at that time was at its height. Kannauj (Jaichandra’s capital) was the scene of the svayamvara of his daughter, Samyogita, who was carried out by Prithviraja III (with her consent). Perhaps this was the cause which was sowed the seed of enmity between the Chauhans and the Gahadavalas.

Notices of the place have also survived from the pens of the Ibn-Hukul Almasaudi and Abu Zaid, the Muslim chroniclers. In the last decade of the 12th century, Muhammad Ghori attacked Kannauj and destroyed it. Under Muslim rule it continued to be a place of considerable political and strategic importance. But the foundation of Farrukhabad at the beginning of the 18th century deprived Kannauj of its former greatness. Lack of sympathy between these two powers led to the lack of military cooperation with each other when Muhammad Ghori invaded India and defeated & killed Jaichandra in 1193 A.D. at Chandawar district Firozabad. Vidyadhar was court poet of Jaichand. There is no known literary work ascribed to him but some of his couplets are found in Prakrit Paingalam. He praises Jaichand in these poems. In one such poem, he says that, “O Jaichand, your glory has won, all the other types of glories”.

“Chanda kunda kasa hara hira Tiloana, kelasa,
Jetta Jetta Setta Setta Kasis Jinniya te kitti”.

Vidyadhar writes in great details about the kings of different countries who ran away when they heard of his invasion. The kings who ran away were king of Bengal, king of Orissa, king of Saurashtra, king of Maratha country and king of Champaran. It’s obviously an exaggeration.

“Bha Bhajjia Banga Bhaggu Kalinga Telanga Ranmukti Chale,
Marhattha Dittha Laggia Kattha, Sorattha bha paa pale,
Cham paran kam va pavvar kiai pana vijjahar bhan mam tiware,
Jhanvar prottha othi givahar kasimar rana”.

In one of the poems, he writes himself as the minister of the king.  

“Bhanjia malwa ganjia kannala jinnia gujjara lunthia kunjara,  
Bangla-Bangla, Oddiaa Moddia, Mechchha kanpea kittia thappia”.

Jaichand’s son Harishchandra (aged 19 years) continued to occupy Kannauj even after 1193 A.D. According to one view, he owed his existence to the diplomatic foresight of Muhammad Ghori, who suffered him to rule as a feudatory but according to a different view, he ruled as an independent sovereign through under the new Muslims rulers at Delhi, a thesis that finds support an inscription of Vikrama Samwat 1253 (1197 A.D.) in Mirzapur which records the erection of a pillar when Vijaya Karna was the ruler of the region around the Mirzapur region. The inscription does not mention the name of the king of Kannauj but simply uses the phrase, “Srimat Kanyakubja Vijayarajye”. According to another view, this indicates that “although Vijaya Karna had not made himself independent of Kannauj, the Muslim supremacy over the kingdom was perplexing or adherent to him and so he discretely omitted any specific reference to Harishchandra or his Muslim overlord”.

The following images of Uma Mahesh, Chamunda, Goddess, vyala and a mother goddess belonging to 11th-12th century show departure from naturalistic style of sculpture leading to rigid postures and increased ornaments with poor workmanship (Fig. No. 93-7).

Fig. No. 93: Uma-Mahesh 11th-12th
Fig. No. 94: Chamunda 11th-12th
Fig. No. 95: Goddess 11th-12th

Fig. No. 96: Makara vyala 11th-12th

Fig. No. 97: Mother goddess 11th-12th
After the invasion of Mahmud, the capital was shifted from Kannauj to Bari which is three days journey from Kannauj. Bari can be identified as the town of the same name situated west of the Sidhauri town district Sitapur U.P.\textsuperscript{81}

Kathāsaritasāgar of Somdeva (a Kashmiri court poet born in 11\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.) has many stories set in the city of Kannauj. The framework of Kathāsaritasāgar is the story of Udayana and his son Narvāhandutta. There are many sub-plots and side stories set in this frame work. Many stories apparently belong to the times before 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. but some of the stories about Kannauj are of 11\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. The story of Sundaraka makes this city the place of his teacher Viṣṇuswāmī and his wife Kālaratri. Kālaratri is a witch practicing black magic. She makes amorous advances towards Sundaraka and as a result, he is beaten and thrown out. Later on, he himself learns black magic and returns to the city. The king comes to know about the activities of the witch through Sundaraka and questions Kālaratri about her conduct. She confesses everything and disappears in thin air. The king banishes her in absentia\textsuperscript{82}. Another story is about Devadatta, the son of Jayadatta, a petty king. Devadatta was married to the daughter of Vasudatta, a merchant of Pātaliputra. King Jayadatta suddenly died and his kingdom was usurped by his relatives. When Devadatta visited his father-in-law for financial help, he discovered that his wife was unchaste. He picked up an ornament of this wife. He got money by pawing it in the city of Kannauj and purchased horses, elephants and hired soldiers. He regained his kingdom with the help of the king of Kannauj. After this, he divorced his wife and remarried\textsuperscript{83}. Another story is about Dhavalmukha who was the servant of Chandrapiṇḍa, the king of Kannauj. Dhavalmukha had two friends, Kalyāṇavarman and Virabāhu. His wife wanted to test who was a better friend. Her husband told her that she should approach both of them one by one and tell them the news that he has fallen out of favor with the king. On hearing this, Kalyāṇavarman didn’t do anything but Virabāhu came running to help his friend. By this small test, the two friend was identified by them\textsuperscript{84}. Another story is about three Brahmin youths from Kānyakubja who resurrected Mandāravatī, the daughter of Agniswāmī, a resident of village Bramhasthal located on the bank of river Yamuna\textsuperscript{85}. Another story of a Brahmin named Vāmadatta, who was the son of Śūradatta and Vasumati. He was employed with the king of Kānyakubja like his father. He was married to Śaśiprabha. She learnt witchcraft and was in amorous relation with a cow herd. When Vāmadatta discovered this, she turned him into a buffalo. By his goodluck, he again gained human form with the help of a good witch who married him to her daughter Kāntimati and taught him witchcraft. After learning this art, he transformed his former wife into a mare and took his revenge by beating her daily. After some time on the advice of a guest, he and his wife became Vidyādharas\textsuperscript{86}.

The Gahadawal coins series found from Kannauj U.P. India (Fig. No. 98) are shown below.
The following images of an attacking lion, Nandi, Viṣṇu, Varaha and Vyala belonging to 12th century are typical examples of sculptural art (Fig. No. 99-103). The figures are extremely stylized and the animal figures particularly don’t look like the real animals. The legs of the figures become disproportionate and thin. The ornaments becomes heavy and crude.
Fig. No. 100: Nandi 12th

Fig. No. 101: Viṣṇu 12th
Abhidhana Ratnamala by Halayudha mentions Kanyakubja and Mahodaya as the name of Kannauj. During Gahadwal rule, the city of Kannauj was also known as Kusik Teertha and the name Kanyakubja was given to the kingdom. Chandradeva, the founder of Gahadwal dynasty is invariably extolled as “one who had acquired the kingdom of Kanyakubja by the prowess of his arm”. Kanyakubja Visaya is said to be including in Varanasi in Somnathpattan Prasati of Bhava Brihaspati. Hemchandra (1088-1173 A.D.) in his Abhidhana Chintamani mentions Kanyakubja and Mahodaya as the names of Kannauj. Fuhrer recovered a fragmentary inscription in characters of 12th century near Bala Pir’s tomb and deposited it in Farrukhabad town hall.
Muhammad Ghorī conquered Kannauj in 1193 A.D. and defeated Jaichand in the neighborhood of Chandavar district Firozabad U.P. In his book Rauzatu-t-Tahirin, Tahir Muhammad mentions the incident when Qutubuddin reduced Kannauj and took possession of 300 elephants and appointed Sultan Qutubuddin as the viceroy at Delhi. Muizzu-d din Muhammad bin Sam, Qutbu-d din Aibak; "That flaming wave drove the Rai of Kannauj into the Ganges, where he was drowned, and took from him fourteen hundred elephants". Altamash had to capture Kannauj again.

The one miniature votive image of Vishnu belonging to 12th-13th century represents the sculptural art of this period (Fig. 104).

The following lower part of a broken and inscribed image of Mahavira sitting in dhyana mudra of 13th century A.D. represents the sculptural art of this period (Fig. 105). There is a three line inscription on the pedestal of this image. It reads, “(1) Samvat 1108 sāke . . vadi suke śrī . . sī dvi ghe śrīya soha (2) dāvā śasi syo ञa sumati ma . . samasta gośthiko (3) deva dharmo ayam”. It appears that Jain religion was going strong after Muslim invasion.

Fig. No. 104: Vishnu 12th-13th found from Kannauj museum
During the reign of Iltutmish, one of his Malik Nusratuddin Tayasi Muijji who was a brave soldier was given the control of armies of Kannauj and Mahaban. He attacked Kalinjar in 1233-4 A.D.96. Malik Kamruddin Keeran Timur Khan was given the fief of Kannauj during the reign of Razia Sultan97.

Sultan Alauddin Masud Shah son of Ruknuddin Firoz Shah ruled between 1242-6 A.D. He ordered his two uncles to be released from the prison and one of them Malik Jalaluddin was given the fief of Kannauj. The other uncle Sultan Nasiruddin got the fief of Bahraich98. Sultan Muajjim Nasirudduniya Waddin Mahmud Shah became king. In 1247, royal armies reduced a Tilsanda fort situated near Kannauj99. In 1248, Malik Jalaluddin Masud Shah who was the brother of king went from Kannauj to pay respect to the king who was camping at Kara district Allahabad100.

Balban ruled Delhi between 1266-87 A.D. The following interesting incident is quoted in Tarikh-e-Firozshahi. Once upon a time, when Balban was sitting in his Darbar, he asked Adil Khan and Timur Khan, “Don’t you remember that when Sultan Shamsuddin gave fief of Kannauj to his eldest son Shahzada Nasiruddin. At that time, he also gave deputy-ship of that place to Khwaja Aziz, the son of Bahroz wazir”. Balban gave post of Khwajgi of Kannauj to Nizamuddin Zunaidi and the post of mint master of Kannauj to Jamaluddin Marzuq. At that time, Balban’s minister Khwaja Aziz Bahroz recited a couplet which indicated that Mutsarrif Jamal Marzuk Kannauji was of inferior descent, and hence he should be remove from that post. The enquiry confirmed the suspicion and Jamaluddin Mazruq was promptly removed and so many other officials who were not of high descent. It should be noted that Balban himself was a slave. This incident happened at the court at Delhi101. Malik Darpi held the fief of Kannauj during 1288-89 A.D.102. The coins of Balban found from the Kannauj city is shown below (Fig. 106).
Alauddin Khilji gave the district of Kannauj to Malik Jalaluddin. Alauddin Khilji laid seized around Nandana, a fortified village near Kannauj. The hindu rebels fought to the end and died fighting Alauddin valiantly.

When Muhammad Tughlaq was in the neighborhood of Kannauj, Sayyed Hasan, father of Ibrahim, the purse bearer broke out into rebellion in Ma’bar. During his reign, the revolt of Ain-ul Mulk and his brothers at Sargdware. The Malik was an old courtier and associate of the Sultan, so he feared the weakness of his character and the ferocity of his temper. Considering himself on the verge of destruction, he, by permission of the Sultan, brought his brothers and the armies of Oudh and Zafarabad with him when he went to Sargdware, and they remained a few kos distant. One night he suddenly left Sargdware and joined them. His brothers then passed over the river with three or four hundred horse, and, proceeding towards Sargdware, they seized the elephants and horses which were grazing there, and carried them off. A serious revolt thus arose at Sargdware. The Sultan summoned forces from Samana, Amroha, Baran & Kol, and a force came in from Ahmadabad. He remained a while at Sargdware to arrange his forces, and then marched to Kannauj and encamped in its suburbs. Ain-ul Mulk and his brothers knew nothing of war and fighting, and had no courage and experience. They were opposed
by Sultan Muhammad, who had been victorious in twenty battles with the Mughals. In their extreme ignorance and folly they crossed the Ganges below Bangarmau, and thinking that the Sultan's severity would cause many to desert him, they drew near to offer battle. In the morning one division of the Sultan's forces charged and defeated them at the first attack. 'Ain-ul Mulk was taken prisoner, and the routed forces were pursued for twelve or thirteen kos with great loss. The Malik's two brothers, who were the commanders, were killed in the fight. Many of the fugitives, in their panic, cast themselves into the river and were drowned. The pursuers obtained great booty. Those who escaped from the river fell into the hands of the Hindus in the Mawas and lost their horses and arms. The Sultan did not punish 'Ainul Mulk, for he thought that he was not wilfully rebellious, but had acted through mistake. After a while he sent for him, treated him kindly, gave him a robe, promoted him to high employment, and showed him great indulgence. His children and all his family were restored to him.

During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, Kannauj was one of the provinces of his empire. Amir Gayasuddin Muhammad came to India around 1341-2, Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq had so much respect towards Abbasid Khalifas that he went to received Makhdumzada up to Palam village. Whenever Makhdumzada in the court, Sultan made him sit near his own throne. He gave him 10 lacs tankas area of Kannauj. Palace of Siri, all the revenue of Siri fort, a lot of land and ponds. During the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, Ibn-e-Batuta reached Delhi. At that time, king had gone to Kannauj. Kannauj was a suba during the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq.

In 1389 A.D. when Sultan Muhammad Shah succeeded Firoz Shah, he collected a large army. He was joined by Amir Malik Daulat Yar Kamboj who was the Subahdar of Kannauj. On his way to Jaunpur, Firoz Shah Tughlaq passed through Kannauj. Sultan Muhammad Shah, the son of Sultan Firoz Shah visited Kannauj on his punitive march against rebellious jagirdars from Etawah to Dalmau. In 1392-3, Muhammad Shah came to know that Sabir, Adhran, Jeet Singh Rathore, Virbhan (Mukkadam of Bhogaon district Mainpuri), Abhay Chand (Mukkadam of Chandwar district Firozabad) raised the banner of revolt. Sultan ordered Malik Mukarrbul Mulk to subside the disturbance. Mukarrbul Mulk started towards Kannauj. The rebels faced him and wanted to fight but Mukarrbul Mulk enticed them into talks. All these people were invited to Kannauj fort except Sabir. All these people were arrested and killed. Sabir escaped toward Etawah. After this victorious Mukarrbul Mulk came back to Muhammadabad. Sultan Mahmud Nasiruddin Shah, the youngest son of Muhammad Shah ascended the throne. In May 1394, Khawaja-e-Jahan, the wazir was ordered to chastise the rebels of Etawah, Kol, Khor, Kampil and Kannauj. He conquered the whole area of Kannauj, Kara, Oudh, Sandila, Dalmau, Bihar and Bahriach to Tirhut. Tughlaq Shah, son of Fateh Khan, the grandson of Sultan Firoz Shah, ascended the throne. Azam Humayun, son of Malik Tajuddin Turk was appointed the wazir of the king. During his reign, Malik Daulat Yar governed the ikta of Kannauj. It appears that, there was no important Jain shrine in Kannauj because
the book *Vividh Jain Teerth Prakalpa* written by Jinprabha Suri doesn’t mention any important Jain religious site located in Kannauj.

In 1394, Malik Sarwar who had earlier received the title of Khwaja-e-Jahan from Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah Tughlaq-II, was also appointed the Governor of Jaunpur which included Aktas of Kannauj, Oudh, Kada, Dalmau, Sandila, Bahraich, Bihar and Jaunpur. Iqbal Khan usurped the throne of Delhi from Sultan Nusrat Khan. In December, 1400, he proceeded on the conquering tour of Northern India and visited Kannauj. Mubarak Shah, the Sharqi ruler also came up from Jaunpur and camped on the other side near Kannauj. This continued for two months, then each party retired to his own home. In 1401 A.D. Sultan Mahmud came back to Delhi but the hatred between him and Iqbal Khan remained. Iqbal Khan again went to Kannauj and took Sultan with him. This time, Ibrahim Shah, the brother of late Mubarak Shah came to face Sultan Mahmud and Iqbal Khan. As the battle was about to start, Sultan Mahmud went to join Sultan Ibrahim who paid him no attention, therefore he went to Kannauj. He expelled Malik-zada Harbui who held the place for Mubarak Shah and installed himself in his place. Iqbal Khan returned to Delhi and Mubarak Shah to Jaunpur. At Kannauj, all ranks of people joined Sultan and the scattered guards and dependents rallied round him. The Sultan was content with this ikta of Kannauj. In 1404 A.D., Iqbal Khan proceeded from seize of Etawah to Kannauj and attacked Sultan Mahmud. The fort of Kannauj was very strong and therefore he couldn’t take it and returned to Delhi disappointed. Iqbal Khan was killed by Khijr Khan on 10th November, 1405 in the battle of Ajodhan. Daulat Khan, Ikhtiyar Khan and other Amirs sent a deputation to Sultan Mahmud to take over the government. Sultan left Kannauj with a small force and proceeded to the capital where he assume the sovereignty. In October, 1406, Sultan came to Kannauj and Daulat Khan sent an army to Samana. As the Sultan approached Kannauj, threatened the city and crossing the Ganges laid seize. But after sometime, he retired to Jaunpur and Sultan retired to Delhi. When Ibrahim Shah heard of Sultan retreat, he returned to Kannauj and besieged the city being held by Malik Mahmud Tarmati. He held out four months, when no one came to the rescue, he surrendered. The fief of Kannauj then given to Ikhtiyar Khan, grandson of Malikyar Khan Kampila. Having passed the raining season in Kannauj, Ibrahim Shah marched against Delhi in the month of October 1407.

One building, to which tradition ascribe a pre-Muslim origin is the Jama masjid, lies in Latitude 27°03’34.07” N and Longitude 79°55’11.35 E. It stands on a lofty mound in the very heart of the city and is said to have been renovated by Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur in 1406. Above the entrance of the compound exists a badly damaged Persian inscription in Naskh script dated 3rd October 1426 A.D. Jama Masjid was constructed by Ibrahim Shah of Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur. Another inscription in Arabic language and in Thulth script exists over the arch above the pulpet of the mosque. It reads, “Huwa Ya Allah (He is O! Allah) in the characters of 15th century”. Another inscription in the inner recess of central mihrab exists. It is in Arabic language and Naskh script. It contains a form of first creed in the characters of 15th
There is another inscription below this. It is also in Arabic language and Naskh script. It reads, “Allahu Akbar (Allah is Great) in the characters of 15th century”. There exist an inscription to the right of the central mihrab. It is in Arabic language and in Thulth script. It is fragmentary and contains part of the throne verse. It is in the characters of the 15th century. There in another inscription below this in Arabic language and Naskh script. It is badly damaged and fragmentary. It contains religious text only. It is the characters of 15th century. In the right mihrab, there exists an inscription in the Arabic language and thulth script. It contains religious text only in the characters of 15th century. In the left mihrab, there exists an inscription in Arabic language and thulth script. It contains religious text only in the characters of 15th century.

Cunningham gives the following sketch of this Masjid in his reports, “When I first visited Kannauj in January 1838, the arrangement of the pillars was somewhat different from what I found it in November 1862. The cloisters which originally extended all round the square, are now confined to the masjid itself, that is, to the west side only. This change is said to have been made by a Muhammadan Tahsildar shortly before 1857. The same individual is also accused of having destroyed all the remains of figures that had been built into the walls of the Jama and Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht. It is certain that there are none visible now, although in January 1838, as recorded in my journal, I saw several Hindu figures placed side ways and upside down in the walls of the Jama Masjid. The inscription over the doorway of the last which I saw in its place in 1838 is said to have been removed at the same time for the purpose of cutting of a Hindu figure on the back of it. I recovered this inscription by sending to the present tahsildar for it. The Jama masjid as its stands now is a pillared room, 108 feet in length by 26 feet in width supported on four rows of columns. The roof is flat excepting the center and ends which are covered with domes formed by circles of stones gradually lessening until they meet. In front of the masjid, there is a courtyard 95 feet in width, the whole being surrounded by a stone wall 6 feet in thickness. The exterior dimensions are 133 feet from west to east by 120½ feet. In 1838, there were still standing on the three sides of the courtyard portion of the original cloisters formed of two rows of pillars. The masjid itself was then confined to the five openings in the middle of the west side, the seven openings on each flank of it being formed of only two rows of pillars the same as on the other three sides. The masjid now consists of a single room supported on 60 pillars without any cloisters but originally the masjid itself was supported on 20 pillars with cloisters on yard. The whole number of pillars was then 128. To make up this number we have 60 pillars of the present masjid and no less than 58 spare capitals still lying in the courtyard which together make up 118 or within 10 of the actual number required to complete the original design. The pillars of the Jama Masjid may, I think be seen in their original Hindu form at the sides of the small door ways in the north and south walls of the court. Each pillar is formed of five pieces, a base and capital with a middle piece which divides the shafts into two equal portions and may be called the upper and lower shafts. The shafts are 10 inches square and
3 feet 9 inches in height. The base is 1 foot high and the middle and capital are each 3 inches but making the whole height 9 feet 10 inches. But the pillars as re-arranged by 14 feet 2 inches high, the extra height having been gained by adding a piece to each portion of the shaft. These shorter pieces which are 2 feet 1 inch in height are always placed above the original shafts of 3 feet and 3 inches”126.

*Jama Masjid* was built on traditional plan having a central courtyard surrounded by western prayer hall on the western side and enclosure on northern, southern and eastern side. The main entrance has been provided on the eastern side in the form of a gate house. The gate house is provided with the entrances on the eastern, southern and northern side. The gate house is attached with the mosque with an entrance on the western side. So far as the western liwan is concerned. It is oblong on the plan. It is aligned on north-south axis and divided into central nave and flanking aisles on each side. The flanking aisles are seven in number. The western liwan is four bays deep while the central nave is forming a square bay. On the right side of the mihrab, a mimbar has been provided. The western liwan consists of three mihrabs where the central one is the main mihrab and flanking mihrabs are subsidiary. Central mihrab is bigger in dimension and the back portion of the wall is projected towards western side. The western liwan is surmounted by a bigger and broader dome placed on nave. The central dome is flanked by two cupolas based on the side aisles. The mosque has been provided two more gateways. One in the center of southern wall and another is in the northern wall towards eastern periphery. Two cloisters exist in the south-eastern corner. Both are built on a rectangular plans that seems to be later construction. Towards the eastern side, masonry well exist, which is the main source of water for the mosque. Towards the western side, a small chamber is built in the northern wall. It was attached with the side aisles. The whole structure of the mosque was constructed with bricks, stones and lime mortar. The structure of the mosque is devoid of any decorations. Mihrab of the mosque is composed of a bigger arch which is cusped and is based on two nook shafts. This figure are accommodates the smaller arch same in the orientation but of smaller dimension. The mihrab is placed in a rectangular frame which has been surmounted by the band decorated with calligraphy. All the aisles and bays along with the naves have been constructed with the two shafts of the pillar putting on each other to achieve a considerable height. So far as the roof is concerned, lantern roof which were generally found in the temple architecture. The nave is surmounted by a dome, with interior having a domical ceiling which is built with corbelled rings. The interior surface of the corbelled rings have been decorated with different motifs engraved on it. From the analysis of different components of building and its architecture, it seems to have been built with old material and different structures part of the building.
Fig. No. 107: Satellite Image of *Jama Masjid*, Kannauj, U.P.

Fig. No. 108: Drawing of *Jama Masjid*, Kannauj U.P.
Fig. No. 109: Aerial view of Jama Masjid, Kannauj U.P.

Fig. No. 110: Front view of Jama Masjid, Kannauj U.P.
Fig. No. 111: Inscription on the entrance portal of the mosque
Fig. No. 112: Jama masjid courtyard looking from east

Fig. No. 113: Western liwan of Jama Masjid looking from east
Fig. No. 114: Western liwan looking from North-east
Fig. No. 115: Western liwan looking from North-east
Fig. No. 116: Central Mihrab of Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 117: Central mihrab of the mosque
Fig. No. 118: Inscriptions around the *mihrab*, around the arch and inside the *mihrab*
Fig. No. 119: Inscription inside the central mihrab
Fig. No. 120: Inscription on the left side of the mihrab
Fig. No. 121: Lower part of the inscription on the left side of the mihrab
Fig. No. 122: Inscription on the left side (inside the mihrab)
Fig. No. 123: Inscription on the right side (inside the mihrab)
Fig. No. 124: Inscription at the center of the mihrab
Fig. No. 125: Central mihrab and mimbar of Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 126: The view of pulpit of the mosque
Fig. No. 127: General view of the central *mihrab*
Fig. No. 128: Southern part of the prayer hall
Fig. No. 129: Northern part of the prayer hall
Fig. No. 130: General view of the prayer hall
Fig. No. 131: *Mihrab* (closer view)
Fig. No. 132: Mihrab of Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 133: Ceiling of Nave of Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 134: Central *mihrab* and *mimbar* looking from South-east
Fig. No. 135: Mimbar and pillars of Northen part of prayer hall
Fig. No. 136: View of southern part of the prayer hall
Fig. No. 137: The southern mihrab
Fig. No. 138: Closer view of the writing on the arch of the southern mihrab
Fig. No. 139: The northern mihrab
Fig. No. 140: Closer view of the inscription in the center of the northern mihrab
Fig. No. 141: Inscription on the northern mihrab
Fig. No. 142: Closer view of the writing on the arch of the southern mihrab
Fig. No. 143: View of southern part of the prayer hall
Fig. No. 144: Mihrab and part of ceiling of nave of Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 145: Mihrab and part of ceiling of nave of Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 146: Southern Mihrab and part of ceiling Jama Masjid
Fig. No. 147: View of a bay and ceiling of the southern part of western liwan
Fig. No. 148: Part of western liwan, tank and courtyard of Jama Masjid looking from North
When Ibrahim Shah learnt that Zafar Khan who had conquered the territory of Dhar was planning to proceed to his capital Jaunpur. He went back to Jaunpur leaving Marhaba Khan with a small force in the fort of Baran. Sultan Mahmud marched from Delhi to Baran and defeated Marhaba Khan. In the battle, he took shelter in the fort but was pursued and killed by the Sultan’s arm. Sultan then proceeded to Sambhal. Tatar Khan who was holding the fort moved to Kannauj. Sultan gave the charge of this place to Asad Khan and returned to Delhi.127

Shaikh Rizkulla Mushtaki in his book Wakiat-i-Mushtaki mentions one Sufi saint named Shaikh Muhammad Miskin, who resided at Kannauj, and was much revered by his credulous disciples. It is related of him that when his house was destroyed by fire, a store of rice was burnt along with his other goods. “It matters not,” said he, ” the harvest of us who are scorched (with fire as well as the light divine) will not all be destroyed,” and threw the grain upon the ground, when they came to reap it, was found to be double. When this marvelous produce was brought before Sultan Sikandar, he devoutly thanked God that such men were produced in his time.128
The following coins belonging to Sultanate Period were found from Kannauj U.P. India (Fig. 150).

Fig. No. 150: Sultanate Coins found from Kannauj city presently kept in Kannauj Museum

Mahmud Shah Sharqi died in 1457-58. After his death, Shahjada Bhikan was given the title of Sultan Muhammad Shah and was made the king by Amirs and officers of Jaunpur in consultation with Bibi Raji, the mother of late Sultan. He was a tyrant and everybody was unhappy with him. He ordered the execution of his brother Hasan Khan and Qutub Khan, who were imprisoned in Jaunpur. This was done by Kotwal of Jaunpur. He got this done by calling his mother Bibi Raji from Jaunpur to Kannauj and ordering his officials to kill his brothers. When the news of the murder reached his mother Bibi Raji, who had reached Kannauj. She was greatly aggrieved for Hasan Khan, she declined to enter the presence of Muhammad Shah. When Muhammad Shah heard of his mother’s return, he
wrote to her, saying, "Why do you mourn on account of the execution of an individual? All the princes will meet with a like fate, and then you can mourn for them all at once!" 130. During this period, the courtiers and nobles of Muhammad Shah were in continued dread of being getting executed. After this the following incidents took place. Husain Khan, a younger brother of Muhammad Shah, sent Sultan Shah and Jalal Khan Ajodhani to inform Muhammad Shah that the troops of Sultan Bahlul intended to make a night attack; that 30,000 horsemen and thirty elephants had been detached for the purpose, and had taken a position on the banks of the Jharna. Sultan Muhammad, on receiving this news, sent a division of his troops to oppose them. Prince Husain Khan desired to take his brother Shahzada Jalal Khan with him, and sent a man to call him but Sultan Shah remonstrated against the delay, representing that Jalal Khan might come up afterwards. Upon this, they went off in the direction of the enemy. It so happened, that Sultan Bahlul’s army was prepared for these movements; so that when Prince Jalal Khan, in obedience to the summons of Husain Khan, had left the army of Muhammad Shah, and started for the Jharna, he found himself in the presence of the Sultan’s troops, instead of Husain Khan’s. Thereupon, Sultan Bahlul’s men seized Jalal Khan, and brought him into the presence of their sovereign, who imprisoned him, determining to retain him as a hostage for the safety of Kutb Khan [Husain Khan, when he heard of this capture of Jalal Khan, being in fear and dread of Muhammad Shah, took to flight and went to Jaunpur]. Muhammad Shah was terror-stricken when he learnt the capture of one brother and the flight of another, fearing that the latter might go and do damage to his interests throughout the country; but being unable to offer any opposition, he went to Kannauj, and was pursued as far as the Ganges by Sultan Bahlul, who returned to Delhi after plundering a small portion of the baggage [and capturing some elephants and horses] 131. After this battle, Hussain Khan was made king and was given title of Hussain Shah by his mother Bibi Raji and other officers of Jaunpur court. He dispatched an army against Muhammad Shah Sharqi who was killed in the battle near Aiggar Ghat on the bank of Ganges 132.

Other buildings belonging to the 15th century are the mosques of Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht and the tomb of Makhdum Akbai. The painting by William Daniel and Thomas Daniel made during early 18th century shows the condition of this shrine during the same period (Fig. 151). It shows a lot of graves between the mosque and the three tombs which have disappeared now. It also shows a dilapidated dome at the western end of the nave near qibla.
When Cunningham visited Kannauj in 1838, he found three broken figures of some Hindu temple lying outside Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht. He also found a broken figure of Shasthi, the goddess of fecundity and a pedestal with a short inscription dated in Samvat 1193 or 1136 A.D. The people also affirm that a large statue formerly stood under a tree close by.

Above the entrance of the enclosure exists an inscription put up during the reign of Hussain Shah of Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur dated Nov-Dec 1476 A.D. It records that the lofty gate of the tomb was constructed at the instance of Shah-i-Hiri Fateh Khan by Sayyid Raju (Fig. 152).
Another inscription in Persian language and Nastaliq script states that the tomb of the saint Shah Jalal, originally constructed by Shah Hiri during 1476 A.D. having been damaged due to earthquake was reconstructed during 1794-95 A.D. by Abbas Ali, a descendant of the saint and the Sajjada\textsuperscript{136} (Fig. 153).
The famous saint Makdhum Jahaniya Jahangasht who lived from 1308-1384 with his headquarters at Uch district Bahawalpur Pakistan, belonged to Suhrawardi sect of Sufis. His father was Sayyed Ahmad and his grandfather was Jalalludin Surkha Posh. His son was Nasiruddin Mahmud whose son Shah Jalal came to live in Kannauj. Shah Jalal had many sons. The tombs of his three sons, Shah Umar, Shah Mahmud and Shah Kabir exist in Shikarpur. One of his sons, Shah Qutub Alam lived in Gujarat.

The complex of Makdhum Jahaniya exists on highly raised platform where each corner of the platform was conceived in the form of a tapering circular bastions. North-western and south-western bastion are extend at present whereas the other corner bastion have faded away.

The complex of Makdhum Jahaniya consists of a spacious mosque on the western side and three square tomb buildings existing on the eastern side in front of the mosque. The mosque is composed of western liwan. It is divided in the central nave and side aisles. On the northern side, there are four aisles, each being five bays deep. On the southern side of the nave, there are two aisles divided into five bays. The central nave is based on square plan and in front having double three aisles. These aisles and front area of the nave is divided into square bays with the help of pillars. The western façade is composed of nine arched openings of equal size. The pillars used in the nave and aisles consists of bays and octagonal shafts and abacus above. These pillars are providing support to the arches above. Once
the square nave was surmounted by a hemi-spherical dome which was destroyed in the course of time. So far as the phase of transition is concerned, both the stages have been achieved in corbelled pendants taking the shape of toothed design. Rest of the bays in aisles and front area of the nave have been surmounted by lantern roofs and domical ceilings. In the center of nave, in the western wall, there is a mihrab which is built in the form of a wider alcove. On both sides of mihrab, small hallow projections have been given in the western wall. The bays in front of these hallow projections are surmounted by domical roofs. The northern wall of the mosque was built with thick masonry of kankar blocks and are provided with trabeated passage in the center. These thick walls in turn provide the terrace to the upper hallow storey which have been provided with openings towards inside of the western liwan. Southern wall in decoration and orientation imitates the northern wall but its thickness is just one-third of the northern wall. In the center of southern wall, a passage has been provided which is similar to that of northern wall. The elevation of the roof of western liwan considerable. The interior of the western, northern and southern walls have been provided with triple storeys of blind niches where the dimension of the blind niches decreases from lower side to the upper side. The mihrab is hexagonal in shape. Three front sides of the hexagon have been embellished with blind arches based on nook shafts. The main arches of the mihrab consists of double arches in recessed plane and both the arches are supported by nook shafts. The mihrab has been placed in a rectangular frame where spandrels are composed of a socket filled with the full blown lotus. Moldings of the arches of the mihrab have been engraved with different designs. The mosque was constructed with red sandstone & asymmetrical and seems to be built not in one stage. The façade is composed of nine arched openings. It has been surmounted by arched windows. Each placed on each arched opening. At the roof level, the structure ones was provided with projected eves which have faded away in the course of time. Only brackets are found extent there. The elevation of the façade composing lower arched openings surmounted by arched window, is equal to the interior elevation. A tomb building existing in the mid of southern side in front of the mosque was built on a square plan. It has been provided at all cardinal points. These cardinal entrances are trabeated where the brackets have been provided to support the lintel. Each cardinal entrance is surmounted with dropping eaves. The structure is highly elevated and seems to be cubical. The elevations of the entrances is just half of the elevation of the structure. All the facades of the structures are similar to each other. These facades are plane with no decorations at all. A cornice has been provided which divides the façade into two storeys. All the corners of the structures have been embellished with square pillared pavilion. These pillared pavilions have been roofed with domes which are crowned with an inverted lotus and finials. The tomb building is surmounted by a broad dome placed on a highly octagonal drum. The dome is crowned by an inverted lotus and the finial. The central dome is surrounded by four domed pillared pavilions which break the monotony of the central dome. Interior of the tomb structure has been embellished with arched niches, blind arched
niches, flanking both sides of the entrance. The stages of the phase of transition have been achieved with corbelled pendantives in a first stage whereas the second stage has been achieved with lintel and supported by brackets. Above it an arcade of blind arches sixty in numbers has been built.

Another tomb building is situated in the center of the complex on the northern side of the large and middle tomb building. The tomb building is built on square plan and provided entrances on southern and eastern sides. These entrances are trabeated where lintel is placed on corbelled brackets and below, two nooks shafts have been provided. The entrance has been placed in a rectangular frame which is a little projected outwards. The entrance have been provided with dropping eaves. The façade of the tomb building is without any decorations except the cornice is dividing the façade into two storeys. At the roof level, the railing consists of parapet design. At the corner, four minarets have been built which are in decaying position. The tomb building is surmounted by a shallow dome placed on high rise octagonal drum. Upper portion of the octagonal drum has been conceived in a parapet design. The shallow dome is broader is crowned by finials. So far as the interior is concerned, it is plane and both stages of phase of transition have been employed. The first stage has been achieved through corbelled pendantives having toothed design. The second stage of the phase of transition has been achieved through lintel or beam. Above this, the arcade of blind arches have been placed on sixteen sides. The dome is built with keystone and radiating stones. This tomb building has been constructed with dressed red sandstone and is devoid of any other types of decorations. The architectural analysis of the tomb building indicates a synthesis of Sultanate architecture with that of regional style, most probably the Sharqi style.

Another tomb building is situated on the eastern periphery of the complex. This tomb building has followed the middle tomb building in orientation and shape but it is smaller in dimensions. It was built on a square plan and was provided with two entrances on western and southern sides. These entrances are trabeated entrances composed of nook shaft, corbelled brackets and lintels. These entrances are projected outside and are placed in rectangular frame. The entrances are provided with dropping eaves. All the facades of the tomb building are plane and two cornices have been provided which give the double storey effect. All the corners of the structure have been surmounted by square domed pillared pavilions which surround the central dome. The main structure is surmounted by a wide and broader dome resembling the dome of the middle tomb building, though its dimensions are smaller than that of the middle tomb. Here dome is placed on octagonal drum. Interiorly, the structure is devoid of any decorations and both stages of the phase of transition have been employed in this tomb building. The first stage has been achieved through corbelled pendantives while the second one with lintel. The dome is true as it is constructed with key and radiating stones. The elevation of the structure is considerable while the elevation of entrances is just half of the structure. Aesthetically all these tomb
buildings are built on vertical plane. The horizontal proportions of these buildings are less pronounced in comparison to its vertical proportions.

Fig. No. 154: Satellite Image of *Makhdum Jahaniya*
Fig. No. 155: Drawing of *Makhdum Jahaniya* complex
Fig. No. 156: Drawing of the mosque of Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht complex
Fig. No. 157: Drawing of the tombs of Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht complex
Fig. No. 158: Aerial view of *Makhdum Jahaniya* complex from South-east

Fig. No. 159: Aerial view of *Makhdum Jahaniya* complex from West
Fig. No. 160: Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht complex looking from South-west

Fig. No. 161: Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht complex looking from South
Fig. No. 162: Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht complex looking from North

Fig. No. 163: Mosque of Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht complex looking from east
Fig. No. 164: Mosque of Makhduum Jahaniya Jhangasht complex looking from east
Fig. No. 165: Inner view of the western liwan of Makhduum Jahaniya mosque looking from North
Fig. No. 166: Southern wall of the liwan of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 167: Ceiling of the southern part of the western liwan of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 168: Closer view of the gate in the southern wall of *Makhdum Jahaniya* mosque
Fig. No. 169: Closer view of the eastern part of the southern wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 170: Closer view of the western part of the southern wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 171: Closer view of the southern part of the western wall of Makhduum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 172: Central mihrab of the western wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 173: Northen part of the western wall of *Makhdum Jahaniya* mosque
Fig. No. 174: Northern part of the western wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 175: Northen part of the western wall of *Makhdum Jahaniya* mosque
Fig. No. 176: Western part of the Northern wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 177: Western part of the northern wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 178: Central part of the northern wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 179: Eastern part of the northern wall of Makhdum Jahaneya mosque
Fig. No. 180: Eastern part of the northern wall of *Makhdum Jahaniya* mosque
Fig. No. 181: Panoramic view of Northern side of prayer hall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque
Fig. No. 182: Panoramic view of southern wall of prayer hall of *Makhdum Jahaniya* mosque
Fig. No. 183: Northern wall of Makhdum Jahaniya mosque looking from outside
Fig. No. 184: North-west tomb looking from north-west, *Makhdum Jahaniya* complex
Fig. No. 185: North-west tomb looking from west, *Makhdum Jahaniya* complex
Fig. No. 186: Dome of the the north-western tomb
Fig. No. 187: Phase of transition of north-western dome
Fig. No. 188: North-west tomb looking from south-west, Makhdum Jahaniya complex
Fig. No. 189: Tomb of Shah Jalal looking from west
Fig. No. 190: North-western tomb looking from South
Fig. No. 191: Wall connecting the tomb of Shah Jalal and north-western tomb having a gate in the middle
Fig. No. 192: Dome of the *Shah Jalal* mosque showing phases of transition
Fig. No. 193: North-west corner of tomb of Shah Jalal showing first phase of transition
Fig. No. 194: Interior view of the tomb of Shah Jalal
Fig. No. 195: Tomb of Shah Jalal looking from North
Fig. No. 196: Eastern tomb looking from North-west
Fig. No. 197: Tomb of *Shah Jalal* looking from North-east
Fig. No. 198: Eastern tomb looking from North
Fig. No. 199: Tombs of Shah Jalal and eastern tomb looking from North
Fig. No. 200: Western gate of eastern tomb
Fig. No. 201: Inside view of eastern tomb showing phases of transition
Fig. No. 202: The two phases of transition of eastern tomb
Fig. No. 203: Roof of eastern tomb

Fig. No. 204: Makhdum Jahaniya complex looking from South-east
Fig. No. 205: Makhdum Jhanjhiya complex looking from South

Fig. No. 206: Makhdum Jhanjhiya complex looking from South-west
The tomb of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed lies in latitude 27°0'31" N and longitude 79°57'57" E, in village Rijgirhar, Kannauj. He was friend of Makhdum Jahaniya Jahangasht and his tomb built in 842 H (1438 A.D.) was restored by Emperor Aurangzeb138.

The complex of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed consists of four monuments, out of which there are two tomb buildings, one mosque and a gateway. The complex is designed on east-west axis. Once it was surrounded by an enclosure western, southern and eastern enclosure was bay now faded away. Entrance gate exists on the eastern corner. The entrance gate is composed of a bigger which accommodates a trabeated gate where pillars support the corbelled bracket and lintel above. The arch of the arch of the entrance gateway is fixed in rectangular frame and surmounted by the parapet designs at the roof level. The parapet design carries engraved designs. The flanking wings of the gateway are plain and devoid into three storyes with the help of projected cornice.

The mosque is the complex is built on an oblong plan and is composed of the western liwan. The western liwan is divided into central nave and flanking aisles. The nave and aisles both are the two
Bays deep. All the bays are rectangular in shape. Four pillars have been used to divide the western liwan into nave and side aisles. So far as the façade of the mosque is concerned, three trabeated openings are provided. In center of the western wall of the nave, there exists a mehrob which was built recessed arch fix in a rectangular plan. The structure of the mosque has been constructed on the trabeated principle, where pillars and lintels have been used. Roof of the mosque is built with lantern method.

A tomb building exists on the northern side of the mosque. The tomb building is built on a square plan and provided with two entrances on eastern and southern side. At the cardinal points, there is a mehrob on the western side merged in the thickness of the wall whereas another mihrab which is less pronounced has been built at the cardinal points on the northern side. Both the entrance has been built on the trabeated principle using pillars, corbelled brackets and lintel. The height of the entrance is just half of the elevation of the structure. All the façades of the tomb building are similar to each other having no decoration at all. At the roof level, railings are built with a parapet motif. The structure is surmounted by a shallow and pointed dome which is not hemispherical at all. The dome is surmounted by a crowning element. At all the corners, small turrets have been built. Interior of the tomb structure is square and a full-fledged phase of transition has been employed. The first stage of the phase of the transition has been achieved through corbelled pendantives whereas the second stage has been achieved by lintel supported by brackets. Corbelled rings have been used to build the dome. The mihrab on the western side is composed of the two recessed arches fixed in a rectangular frame and oblong on plan. Another mihrab exist on the northern side has been built with an arched fixed in a rectangular frames. The nave is aligned on north-south axis which is surmounted by stone railings fixed in miniature pillars.

Another tomb building exists in the north-western corner. It is built on a square plan. It has been provide an entrance on the southern side. The entrance is composed of lintel, corbelled brackets and pillars. The structure of the tomb building is surmounted by a fixed hemispherical dome having mutilated finials. The phase of the transition is composed of two stages where first stage has been achieved with toothed corbelled pendants. In second stage, lintels have been used. The whole structure is devoid of any decorations and its construction can be ascribed to Sayyed-Lodi period.
Fig. No. 208: Satellite Image of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed
Fig. No. 209: Drawing of the three tombs in *Makhudum Akhi Jamshed*
Fig. No. 210: Drawing of *Makhdum Akhi Jamshed* complex with the old gate and courtyard
Fig. No. 211: Gate of *Makhdum Akhi Jamshed* complex

Fig. No. 212: Gate of *Makhdum Akhi Jamshed* complex and the wall
The inscription (Fig. 213) fixed at the top of the entrance gate of enclosure records the construction of arched entrance (takh) of the tomb of saint Jamshed popularly known as “urf Sheikh Akhi”, by Buddhan, son of Qutub Noor composed by the builders and written by Alam Mir and dated 870 H Rabi 10 Sunday (1465 A.D. November, 30), during the reign of Hussain Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur. The verse are in Persian language and Naskh script. It reads as follows:

(1) Tareekh-e taq.... Jamshed....Akhi

(2) een rauza kakaba mando sabat darjaha, ba izzat kar ba azmat ayan (This tomb like qaba in quality with respect an open glorification),

(3) Dar ahade badshahe khuda bande ilmo aqla, Sultan Hussain Salmanullah (In the time, master of knowledge and wisdom, king Hussain should be kept intact by God within the world),

(4) Kardam bina zataq wa azhimmat zaman, ta yadgar zazanaq ranzq nisha (This mihrab was built with courage and enthusiasm so that it remains a memorial & symbol),

(5) Maqad............Maqbar e shan taq, Yammul Ahad Rabi ul akhir waham azan (This mihrab was built on the month of the day of shams rabi ul akhir hijri),

(6) zae taq badgareeq noor malik, kardam murattab az karme marde fasle mustar (In the place of taq with the help of Qutub noor malik. I wrote this inscription with the support of an obliging man).

(7) Muddat mantaqid satanad, qatib a kael alim mir.
Fig. No. 213: Inscription fixed at the top of the entrance gate of enclosure
There is another inscription (Fig. 215) above the entrance of the tomb of the saint records the gate of construction of the building in the reign of Sultan Hussain and the writing was composed by Ali Ahmad. These verses are in Persian language and Nastaliq script. It is dated to 870 H (1465 A.D.)

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Fig. No. 215: Inscription above the entrance of the tomb of Akhi Jamshed
Fig. No. 216: Phase of transition of the tomb of Makhdom Akhi Jamshed
Fig. No. 217: Ceiling of the tomb of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed and second phase of transition
Fig. No. 218: Ceiling of the tomb of *Makhdum Akhi Jamshed*
The following inscription was found inside the tomb of Akhi Jamshed fixed on the northern wall (Fig. 220).

Fig. No. 219: Phases of transition of the smaller tomb

Fig. No. 220: Inscription fixed on the northern wall of the tomb
Fig. No. 221: Phases of transition of smaller tomb and mihrab towards west
Fig. No. 222: Phases of transition and ceiling of the tomb of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed
Fig. No. 223: The smaller tomb looking from South, *Makhdum Akhi Jamshed* complex
Fig. No. 224: Phases of the transition of the second tomb, *Makhdum Akhi Jamshed* complex
Fig. No. 225: Another view of phases of transition and mihrab in the western wall, Makhdum Akhi Jamshed complex
Fig. No. 226: Base of the pillar lying in complex
Fig. No. 227: Sculptural fragment lying in the complex

This inscription (Fig. 228) below read as.

(1) Rauza hazrat akhi jamshed qutubul arifeen, yafta tamir dar ahade shahe sultan Hussain (Tomb of Qutubul Arifeen Hazrat Jamshed was built during the time of king Sultan Hussain).

(2) Azpae salas ali ahmad chusar dar jeb kar, rashke firdaus amad azhatif neda ainoore ain (Many years Aftaz Ali Ahmad, when meditation, when sound came, God said from heaven, “O light of my eyes”).

(3) san hijri 870 (1465 A.D.)
Fig. No. 228: Inscription found in Makhdum Akhi Jamshed complex

Fig. No. 229: Mosque located in south-eastern corner of Makhdum Akhi Jamshed complex
The tomb of *Sheikh Fatehulla* lies in latitude 27°01’45.76” N and longitude 79°57’21.78” E. It is situated to the north-west of *Makhdum Akhi’s* tomb in village *Rijgirhar, Kannauj*. Fuhrer says that there was an inscription over the gate which informed that the tomb belonged to *Sheikh Nagah* who died in 1009 H or 1600 A.D.¹⁴¹.

The tomb of *Sheikh Fatehulla* is built on a square platform interiorly but exteriorly it takes oblong shape as the thickness of northern wall much more than the other wall. The entrance has been provided on the southern side. It is in the form of trabeated door. In the center of the eastern, western and northern side, blind two storey arches have been provided interiorly. Double storey arches on the western side serves the purpose of *mihrab*. The grave is aligned on the north-south axis. The whole structure is built with semi dressed stone and lime mortar. Exteriorly the whole structure is without any plaster and is surmounted by a huge circular dome placed on an octagonal elevated drum. The dome is crowned with huge inverted lotus and finial. The exterior of the dome has been peeled off. Its plaster was in decaying position. The corner of the structure have been conceived in the form of a *minars*. All the corners of *minars* have been surmounted by turrets elevated beyond the parapet level. Out of these turret, only one is extent. The octagonal drum of the dome has been provided with parapet design on the upper sides. Interiorly to convert the square into circle to bear the circular base of the dome phase of transition has been employed. The first stage of transition has been achieved with toothed design corbelled projecting towards inner side while at the second stage has been achieved through stone beam supported by brackets. The dome is composed of courses of radiating stones and key stones. The sealing of the dome was once covered with lime plaster which must have stucco decorations, but the plaster and its decoration has been peeled off. Presently whole structure is in dilapidated condition and desperately needs repair. Once the tomb of *Fatehulla* existed in the center of enclosure which has been provided with an entrance gate on the southern side. Some portion of the gate has survive. On the basis of architectural analysis and the shape of the dome and the entrance gate at the enclosure, this structure can be assigned the time period of *Sayyid* and *Lodi* dynasty.
Shekh Fatehullah ki Mazar, Rijgirhar, Kannauj

Fig. No. 230: Drawing of the tomb of Sheik Fatehullah
Fig. No. 231: Satellite Image of tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah

Fig. No. 232: Tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah looking from North-west
Fig. No. 233: Tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah looking from South-west
Fig. No. 234: Tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah and a dilapidated gate, looking from South
Fig. No. 235: Interior view of the tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah showing mihrab in the northern wall and phases of transition.
Fig. No. 236: Phases of transition of the tomb of tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah
Fig. No. 237: Ceiling of the tomb of tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah
Fig. No. 238: North-east corner of the tomb of tomb of Sheikh Fatehullah showing phases of transition
The tomb of unknown person known as Gumta situated in the village Daipur lies in latitude 26°57′46.27″ N and longitude 80°00′22.89″ E.

The structure locally known as Gumta is a tomb building. In the absence of any inscription and any reference in the contemporary sources, the Gumta can’t be identified. The structure is built on a square plan interiorly and exteriorly having the entrance on southern side is a trabeated entrance. It is composed of pilasters in turn supporting the corbelled brackets and lintel above. Interiorly in the center of eastern, western and northern sides, double storeyed arches have been provided. The structure is surmounted by a huge dome placed on a highly elevated octagonal drum. Upper side of the octagonal drum has been decorated with parapet motifs. The exterior of the dome has been conceived with flutings. The dome once carried inverted lotus and finial which have faded away in the course of time. Presently exterior of the dome is covered with plaster while sides of the main structure and the drum has no plaster. All the sides of the structure have parapet at the roof level. Interiorly the structure is square. Hence a full-fledged phase of transition, along with two stages has been achieved. In the first stage squinches built where corner squinches take the shape of alcoves. These squinches are true in nature. The second stage of the phase of transition has been achieved through pendentives supported by brackets. The inner phase of the second stage has been decorated with blind arches numbering sixteen and the second stage of transition facilitates the circular base of the dome. So far as the dome is concerned, it is a true dome as it is composed of radiating stones and key stones. Contrary to the exterior, the interior of the structure has been built with red dressed stone. The corners of the main structure at the roof level once were occupied by pillared pavilions. Only one such pavilion has
survived. These corners pavilions are squared and composed of four corner pillars and surmounted by a dome. On the basis of the square plan, shape of the arches, shape of the squinches, shape of the dome, the shape of the elevated drum of the dome and masonry leads us to conclusion that this structure belongs to Lodi period.

Fig. No. 240: Drawing of Gumta, village Daipur
Fig. No. 241: General view of the unknown tomb known as Gumta, village Daipur
Fig. No. 242: Gumta looking from North-west
Fig. No. 243: Entrance of Gumta looking from South
Fig. No. 244: Northern wall and phases of transition of Gumta
Fig. No. 245: Phases of transition and ceiling of Gumta
Athdara: Athdara is a pillared pavilion built on an octagonal plan. In this pillared pavilion, masonry piers have been used at all angles. All the openings are trabeated where lintel had been placed on the brackets. Above the openings, projected eves were constructed once, which have been erased out in the course of time. This pillared pavilion is surmounted by a dome which looks like cupola. The structure seems to be a tomb building but at present there is no grave inside. The octagonal structure, interiorly has the second stage of the phase of transition, which has been achieved through lintel supported by brackets. The structure is built with dressed kankar blocks and sandstone. At present, the structure is in dilapidated condition. On the stylistic ground, this building can be ascribed to Sayyed-Lodi period.
Athdara, Near Police Line, Kannauj

Fig. No. 247: Drawing of Athdara
Fig. No. 248: Ceiling and phases of transition of Athdara
Fig. No. 249: Piers of Athdara

Fig. No. 250: General view of Athdara
Sultan Bahlul Lodi established Lodi dynasty in 1451. Once Bahlul stationed at Sarhind, came to know that there are Shah Alam’s son’s in Delhi only with 9-10 thousand cavalry. They were fond of hunting. Bahlul marched towards Delhi with 30,000 cavalry. On hearing this, Shah Alam’s son’s went to Sultan Hussain who was at that time camping at Kannauj. Sultan Hussain prepared to throw Bahlul Lodi out of Delhi and laid seize around that city. At that time, Bahlul had 50,000 cavalry. Sultan Mahmud couldn’t take the city and went back to Jaunpur. Bahlul Lodi chased him and reached Kannauj and started collecting resources for the war. Sultan Hussain went back to Kannauj and collected resources for the final war. When he came back for the confrontation, he camped at Muhammadabad at the bank of Ganges. Muhammadabad is located east of Kannauj. Sultan Bahlul also reached Muhammadabad and raised a mud fort and the war started. Hussain Shah arrested Qutub Khan, the envoy of Bahlul Lodi. In retaliation, Bahlul Lodi arrested Shah Alam’s sons. On this, the Queen of Hussain Shah gave Qutub Khan a proposal that if her two brothers are released, she will get him released. It was arranged that there will be a treaty of peace between the two parties and Sultan Hussain will make move towards Jaunpur. Qutub Khan had told Bahlul Lodi that when Sultan Hussain moves, they should attack the Jaunpur army. This way Sultan Hussain was defeated. Sultan Hussain escaped but Qutlu Khan was arrested. Sultan Hussain reached Jaunpur and collected another army. Bahlul followed him there and defeated him. Sultan Hussain escaped towards east. Bahlul followed him till Sarang. When Bahlul Lodi invaded Jaunpur, Sultan Hussain moved from Jaunpur to Kannauj via Bahraich. On hearing this news, Bahlul Lodi also moved towards Kannauj. There was a battle near river Rahab. In this battle, Sultan Hussain lost and his treasure and army was captured by Lodis. His wife Bibi Khunza was imprisoned by Sultan Bahlul. Khunza went back and joined her husband in 142. In 1479, Sultan Bahlul Lodi annexed the kingdom of Jaunpur. After this, Kannauj was given to Khawaja Ahmad. Sheikh Rizkullah Mushtaqi narrates two stories relating to the city of Kannauj, in his book Waqiat-e-Mushtaqi which occurred during the reign of Bahlul Lodi. One story was narrated to him by Adil Kannauji. Once upon a time, river Ganges was flooded. It started under cutting a graveyard. The bones of the dead were getting washed away. Some Sayyids of Bukhara decided that they will transport these bones to some other place of burial. They started doing this. In one grave, they saw a person lying covered with kafan. Kafan was covered with flowers. His nostrils were plucked with two flowers. In another grave, the dead body was covered with scorpions. After seeing this, they learnt their lesson and never came back to the graveyard. The second story is like this. There was a cook in Kannauj. He made a tomb for himself and planted flowering trees around this. There was a Bukhari Sayyid in Kannauj who used to come to this tomb and say, “This grave is not fit for the cook. It is grand”. When Sayyid died, he was buried in another graveyard. After him cook also died. People took cook to the tomb, he had made for himself. When the tomb was opened, they found the dead...
body of Bukhara Sayyid. When people came to know about this. They said, “Sayyid loved this place so his body has come into this grave”. Obviously the cook was buried near the feet of this grave^144.

When Sikandar Lodi was 18 years old, there was a battle near Kannauj between himself and his younger brother Barbak Shah. Barbak Shah came up from Kannauj with an army. When he was about to start for the engagement a Darvesh came to him and said to him, “Give me your hands”. Sikandar complied with his wishes. Darvesh caught his hands and said, “Go and you will be victorious”. He pulled his hands. Darvesh asked, “Why have you pulled your hands?” He said, “I have pulled my hands because what you say is not right”. Darvesh said that you will be victorious. Sikandar Lodi said, “This statement of yours is not good”. When Darvesh asked the reason for it. He said, “When two Muslims are going to fight, then it’s not appropriate to say that one would win. Instead of this, he should say that the Islam be glorified”^145. During the reign of Sikandar Lodi, Kannauj was given to Mian Gadai Farmuli as jagir^146. He was a wise man. He like the company of scholars and learned people. He always remained with the king^147.

Sultan Ibrahim Lodi moved towards Oudh to suppress the rebellion. He reached Bhogaon on 7th January 1518. From there, he wanted to go to Kannauj. Sultan reached Kannauj where he was attended by Malik Qasim, the Subahdar of Sambhal. Most of the Amirs and Jagirdars of Sambhal for e.g. Sayeed Khan, Sheikhjada Muhammad Farmuli etc. came to see Sultan. Sultan sent an army against Shahjada Jalal Khan who had raised the banner of revolt and camping in Kalpi. Before this army reached, Jalal Khan moved towards Agra with 30,000 cavalry. Sultan Ibrahim’s army reached Kalpi and the town was reduced to submission^148. Ibrahim Lodi, a fickle minded king was feared by his Grandees. After he assassinated Mian Bhua treacherously. Many nobles rebelled against the king. Islam Khan, the son of Azam Humayun, with the mask of obedience, and began to assemble an army at Agra. When the Sultan heard this, he wished to send troops against him; but, suddenly, several grandees left Delhi, and went over to Islam Khan, and the insurrection was thus rendered more formidable. The Sultan appointed others of the umara, who proceeded towards Lucknow, near which place they were attacked by Iqbal Khan, of the tribe of Azam Humayun, with 5000 horsemen. This engagement occurred at Bangarmau near Kannauj. Many men were slain, and the King’s army was defeated. When this news reached him, he dispatched another army, and directed that the insurgent nobles should first be subdued, and that afterwards steps should be taken to overcome Iqbal Khan. The army of Islam Khan amounted to nearly 40,000 horsemen, ready for action. Shaikh Raju tried to induce the rebels to submit. They replied that they would do so if Azam Humayun were released from prison. The Sultan, on a reference made to him, would not consent to this, and when all was ready for war such fighting took place as had never been witnessed. Three or four thousand soldiers fell on both sides and there was a great bloodshed. At last, a soldier of the Sultan’s, who was an inhabitant of
Kabul, facing Islam Khan, discharged his match lock at him, and struck him in the forehead and he fell to the earth. This caused the rebels to disperse, and the King's army, taking advantage of the panic, attacked them. Thus the only reward which Islam Khan met with for his rebellion and ingratitude was death, while Sayeed Khan and others were made prisoners. The rebel forces were utterly routed, and the insurrection suppressed. When the King learnt this, he was much pleased, and behaved towards the army, which had fought so well and loyally for him, with the greatest kindness; but he did not forget the malice of the nobles149.

Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodi on 21st April, 1526 and the empire of lodi's passed on to Babur. He gives the revenue of Kannauj as 1, 36, 63, 358 tankas. He says that when he defeated Ibrahim Lodi, Kannauj and the whole country beyond the river Ganges, was in the hands of refractory Afghan chiefs such as Nasir Khan Lohani, Mahruf Farmuli and others. These chiefs had elected Bihar Khan son of Dariya Khan as their king and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammad150. In August 1526, Sultan Muhammad Duldai was given Kannauj as fief by Babur. He was also given the task of suppressing Qutub Khan who was holding Etawah151. Sultan Muhammad Duldai having retired from Kannauj joined the army of Babur. When Babur was attacking Chanderi, he had sent his army towards east. The army was defeated and fall back from Lucknow to Kannauj. In February 1527, Babur proceeded towards Kannauj, son of Mahruf fled from the city and occupied the east side of the river Ganges opposite Kannauj. After this Babur's army passed Kannauj and encamped on the western bank of Ganges152. In April 1527, Kannauj was given to Muhammad Sultan Mirza because Sultan Muhammad Duldai took Sarhind which yielded revenue of 15 lacs instead of 30 lacs of Kannauj153. In September 1527, When Sultan Mirza reached Kannauj, the Pathans whose leader was Biban vacated Kannauj and retired to Khairabad154. Babur describes the fight during the crossing of the Ganges on 12th March 1528, in the following words, “My troops went out and seized a number of the enemy's boats, which they brought in. From above and from below they collected about thirty or forty boats in all, of different sizes. I sent Mir Muhammad Jalalban to throw a bridge over the river. He accordingly went and marked out a situation, about a kos below our encampment. I appointed commissaries to provide everything requisite for the bridge. Near the place where the bridge was to be build, Ustad Ali Kuli brought a gun for the purpose of cannonading, and having pitched upon a proper spot, began his fire. Having planted a swivel on an island, at a place below where the bridge was constructing, a fire was commenced from it. Higher up than the bridge a breastwork was raised, over which the matchlock men fired with great execution. For several days, while the bridge was constructing, Ustad Ali Kuli used his gun remarkably well. The first day he discharged it eight times; the second day sixteen times; and for three or four days he continued firing in the same way. The gun which he fired was that called Deg-ghazi (the victorious gun). It was the same which had been used in the war with Sanka, the Pagan, whence it got its name. Another gun, larger than this, had been planted, but it burst
at the first fire. As soon as the bridge was nearly completed, on Wednesday, the 19th of the last Jumada, I moved and took post at the end of it. The Afghans, amazed at our attempt to throw a bridge over the Ganges, treated it with contempt. On Thursday, the bridge being completed, a few of the infantry and Lahoris crossed and had a slight action with the enemy. On Friday, part of my household troops, the right of the center, the left of the center, my best troops, and foot musketeers crossed over. The whole Afghans having armed themselves for battle, mounted, and advancing with their elephants attacked them. At one time they made an impression on the troops of the left, and drove them back, but the troops of the right and of the center stood their ground, and finally drove from the field the enemy opposed to them. The fight continued sharply till afternoon prayers. The whole night was employed in bringing back across the bridge such as had passed to the other side. If that same Saturday eve, I had carried over the rest of my army, it is probable that most of the enemy would have fallen into our hand. . . . That day we conveyed over our artillery, and next morning the troops had orders to cross. About the beat of the morning drum, information reached us from the advanced guard that the enemy had gone off and fled. I commanded Chin Timur Sultan to push on before the army, in pursuit of the enemy.”

North of Chandan Shaheed’s tomb lies the mound where the grave of Malak Mahroo Shah exists.

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Fig. No. 251: Satellite Image of the mound of Malak Mahroo Shah
The tomb of Chandan Shaheed, who was the companion of Salār Gazi Masūd, lies in latitude 27°04′14.83″ N and longitude 79°55′04.80″ E. to the north of Kannauj city very near Mohalla Chauki Haji Sharif. His tomb was repaired by Bābar. Following is the description of the ruins of this tomb.

The present ruins exists on the same foundation. The structure was built on a square plan having three gates on east, south and north in the center while western side has been closed to accommodate the qibla. The original structure was built with kankar blocks while some old material has been reused for building this structure. As per the epigraph, this tomb building built in 1529 A.D. This fact can be corroborated with the existence of one surviving arched passage and fragments of arched gateway. The fragments of the arched gateway have been embellished with medallions inscribed with “Allah”. The grave in this structure has been aligned on North-south axis. This structure was once surmounted by a dome. To place the dome in the phase of transition, squinches have been used as indicated by some
surviving portion of the tomb. This tomb building was originally built during Sultanate period as proved by foundation of kankar blocks. But it was raised to the ground and Mughals built it afresh on the same foundation. This tomb building existed on a high rise mound. Four line inscription in oblong panel has been discovered from the same ruined building is now kept in front of the gate of the tomb building. As per this inscription, this tomb building was built by Muhammad and Muhammad Al Mohi who were the officials of Babur. The present nomenclature is misnomer as the epigraph are silent about who was buried in it.

Fig. No. 253: Satellite Image of the ruins of the Chandan Shaheed’s tomb
Fig. No. 254: General view of the ruins of the tomb of Chandan Shaheed looking from west
There is an inscription (Fig. 256) carved on a block of stone and at present kept in front of the ruins of the tomb. The upper two line inscriptions are in Persian language and Nashtaliq script. Muhammad Bin Yar Muhammad Balkhi built this building during the reign of Muhammad Zahiruddin Babar Ghazi in 12 Zilkad 936 Hijri (1529 A.D.). It reads:

(1) Imarat kard een gumbad Muhammad bin yar Muhammad Balkhi dar zamane hazrate Badhshah

(2) Muhammad Zahiruddin Babur Gazi Fissani Asar (12) shahre zilkada (11 months) 936 Hijri.

The same inscription is repeated below it which is written in Arabic.
Fig. No. 256: Arabic Inscription found in the debris of the tomb of Chandan Shaheed
Fig. No. 257: Reused Sculptural piece now fixed in walls of the tomb of Chandan Shaheed
Fig. No. 258: Reused Sculptural piece now fixed in walls of the tomb of Chandan Shaheed
Fig. No. 259: Interior view of Chandan Shaheed's tomb looking from South
Fig. No. 260: Interior view of Chandan Shaheed’s tomb
After the death of Babur, the throne passed on to Humayun. In 1533-34, Muhammad Sultan Mirza with his sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza raised the banner of revolt against Humayun and collected an army of 5-6 thousand Mughals, Afghans and Rajputs. After attacking Bilgram, they went to Kannauj, which was held by the sons of Khusru Kokaltash. These men surrendered, and were replaced in charge of Kannauj. Mirza Hindal, who was in Agra went out against them accompanied by Sheikh Phool Muhammad Kokaltash Tughlana Beg Khusru son of Kokaltash, recaptured Kannauj. Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza had been send to Jaunpur and Manikpur respectively by Sultan Mirza. They were called back by him. Shah Mirza started back immediately but Ulugh Mirza wrote to his father, “Postpone the fight any how and don’t fight till I come back”. Shah Mirza and Sultan Mirza came to the eastern bank of Ganga to give the fight. Mirza Hindal consulted his Amirs. Everybody advised him to attack the enemy before Ulugh Mirza comes. Tughlan Beg Koka said, “I have a servant whose jagir is in this area. He can tell us the best place to cross the river”. Mirza Hindal was very happy and gave Saropa to Tughlan Beg and said, “No service can be greater than this. Go and do this job”. Mirza Tughlan Beg called the boatmen of that
area and gave them Saropa and promised to give them 1,000 tankas as a reward and said, "Make arrangements for crossing the river". The boatmen went away and identify a place where army could pass. Tughlan Beg came back and said, “Congratulations, with the grace of the king. The place for crossing the river has been identified”. Mirza Hindal called Sheikh Phool and recited fatiha and ordered the tents will remain where they are. We will cross the river with army in such a way that our enemy don’t come to know about it. After this, we will give the enemy fight. The army cross the river in the night. The whole army reached the other side around mid-night. In the morning, the fight ensured between the two armies and Sultan Mirza was defeated. Sultan Mirza and his son, Shah Mirza proceeded towards Ulugh Beg who was in Jaunpur. Mirza Hindal gave Bilgram to Tughlan Beg. Crossing the Ganges near Bilgram, the armies met, and a battle ensued, in which the rebels were defeated. Hindal pursued and overtook them at Oudh, where Ulugh Beg and his sons were assembled and ready to fight again. The news or the Emperor's return from Gujarat to Agra now arrived, and the rebels fought once more, and were defeated. Hindal then returned victorious to Agra

Nooruddin Muhammad Mirza who was married to Humayun’s sister Gulrang Begam and whose daughter was Salim Sultan Begam was sent to Kannauj. This Nooruddin Muhammad Mirza killed Sheikh Phool who was sent by Humayun to convince Mirza Hindal who revolted against Humayun. He did this in a garden near Agra city. Muhammad Jama Mirza and Muhammad Sultan Mirza were blinded by the orders of Humayun and imprisoned in the fort of Bayana for hatching a conspiracy against Humayun. Muhammad Sultan Mirza escaped towards Kannauj with his two sons.

The description of the battle of Kannauj and final retreat of Humayun from India in the words of Mirza Haider is as follows: “When all the brothers were assembled, they conferred together upon the state of affairs. The discussion was protracted, but do profitable decision was arrived at; in fact, nothing was proposed that was worthy of the occasion, for as it is said, "When Fortune's adverse, minds are perverse." Kamran Mirza was very anxious to return, but Humayun disregarded all his representations. Seven months were wasted in weary indecision, until the opportunity was lost, and Sher Khan was on the Ganges ready for war. In the midst of this confusion Kamran Mirza became very ill. The climate of Hindustan had brought on some serious disorders. When he had thus suffered for two or three months, he lost the use of his hands and feet. As no medicine or treatment relieved him, he became the more desirous of departing to Lahore. At length his maladies so increased, that he made up his mind to return thither. This departure of Kamran Mirza was the turning-point in the rise of Sher Khan and the downfall of the Chaghatai power. The Emperor greatly urged him to leave some of his officers and forces as auxiliaries, but Kamran Mirza, on the contrary, did all he could to induce all the men of Agra to go away with him, and strenuously rejected the proposal to leave his own army behind. Mir Khwaja Kalan, who was his prime minister, also exerted himself to the same purpose. Kamran Mirza sent him on in advance, and then followed in person. While this was passing, Sher Khan advanced to the banks
of the Ganges, and passed his army over. Kutb Khan, his son, marched towards Etawah and Kalpi. These territories were the ikta of Husain Sultan, who was one of the Uzbek Sultans, and Yadgar Nasir Mirza, son of Nasir Mirza, the brother of the Emperor Babar. Part of Kalpi belonged to Kamran Mirza, and he had sent to that district Iskandar Sultan as his representative. These three persons marched against Kutb Khan, who was slain in the battle, and they gained a complete victory. The Emperor now marched from Agra towards the Ganges against Sher Khan. Although Mirza Kamran would not consent to my parting from him, the writer remained behind without his consent. Kamran Mirza himself, shamefully leaving only Iskandar Sultan with about 1000 men as auxiliaries, went off to Lahore, taking with him all the men of Agra he could carry with him; thus giving strength to the enemy and preparing defeat for his friends. The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shah on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, of the house of Timur, and grandson by a daughter of Sultan Husain (of Khurasan), had come to India to wait upon the Emperor Babar, and had been received with every mark of kindness and kingly favor. After Babar's death he had several times revolted against Humayun; but being unsuccessful, he had sought forgiveness, and had been pardoned. Now having colluded with Sher Khan, he deserted. A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Khan, and so could expect no favor from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kamran's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore. Among the equipment's which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (gardun), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (zarb-zan), which discharged a ball (kalola), of 500 miskals weight. Haider Mirza several times saw that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (be-khata) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass, and weighed 5000 miskals, and the cost of each was 200 miskals of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a parasang. As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavorable, in that case we could not at least be accused of having abandoned an empire like Hindustan without striking a blow. Another consideration was, that if we passed the river, desertion would be no longer possible. We therefore crossed over. Both armies entrenched themselves. Every day skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for a camp; to move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such a deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was proposed to move to a rising ground which the inundation could not reach, and which lay
in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose. I said that we would on the morrow try the enemy on the touchstone of experience, for he ought not to attack while we were on the march, as the arraying of an army at the time of marching is contrary to sound judgment. The morrow was the 10th of Muharram, and we must keep our forces well under control until we see if the enemy comes out of his trenches and advances against us. Then at last a regular pitched battle will be fought between us. The proper plan for us is to place the mortars (leg) and swivels (zarb-zan) in front; and the gunners, nearly 5000 in number, must be stationed with the guns. If he does come out to attack us, there is no time or place more suitable than this for battle. If he does not come out of his entrenchments, we must remain drawn up till about mid-day, and then return to our position. Next day we must act just in the same way. Then the baggage must move to the new position, and we must follow and occupy the place. This scheme of mine met with general approbation.

On the 10th Muharram, 948 h., we mounted to carry the plan into effect, and formed our array. As had been determined, the carriages (gardun) and mortars (deg) and small guns (topakchiyan) were placed in the centre. The command of the guns was given to Muhammad Khan Rumi, the sons of Ustad 'Ali Kuli, Ustad Ahmad Rumi, and Husain Khalifa. They placed the carriages and mortars (deg) in their proper positions, and stretched chains between them. In other divisions there were amirs of no repute, men who were amirs only in name. They had got possession of the country, but they had not a tincture of prudence or knowledge, or energy or emulation, or nobility of mind or generosity qualities from which nobility draws its name. Humayun had posted Haider Mirza upon his left, so that his right flank should be on the Emperor's left. In the same position he had placed a force of chosen troops. On my left, all my retainers were stationed. I had 400 chosen men, inured to warfare and familiar with battle, fifty of whom were mounted on horses accoutered with armor. Between me and the river, there was a force of twenty-seven amirs, all of whom carried the tugh banner. In this position, also, were the other components of the left wing, and they must be judged of by the others. On the day of battle, when Sher Khan, having formed his divisions, marched out, of all these twenty-seven tugh banners not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance upon them. The soldier-ship and bravery of the amirs may be conceived from this exhibition of courage. Sher Khan came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him (peshtario) were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 40,000, all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armor. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the amirs and officers of the army was such as I have described. When Sher Khan's army came out of its entrenchments, two divisions (jauk), which seemed to be equal to four divisions, drew up in that place, and three divisions advanced against their opponents. On our side I was leading the centre, to take up the position which I had selected; but when we reached the ground, we were unable to occupy it: for every amir and wazir in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, has his ghulam.
An amir of note with his 100 retainers and followers has 500 servants and ghulams, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatever place there was a conflict, the ghulams were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror. In short it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the chariots, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Those who were behind so pressed upon those who were in front, that they broke through the chains. The men who were posted by the chains were driven beyond it, and the few who remained behind were broken, so that all formation was destroyed. Such was the state of the centre. On the right Sher Khan advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line they all pressed towards the centre. The ghulams whom the commanders had sent to the front rushed to the lines of chariots, the whole array was broken, and the amir was separated from his men, and the men from the amir. While the centre was thus thrown into disorder, all the fugitives from the right bore down upon it. So before the enemy had discharged an arrow, the whole army was scattered and defeated. I had estimated the Chaghatai army as numbering 40,000 men, excluding the camp followers (ghulam) and workmen (shagirdpesha). They fled before 10,000 men, and Sher Khan gained a victory, and the Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded. Not a gun was fired, and the chariots (gardun) were useless. When the Chaghatais took to flight, the distance between their position and the Ganges might be nearly a parasang. All the amirs and braves (bahaduran) fled for safety to the river, without a man of them having received a wound. The enemy pursued them, and the Chaghatais, having no time to throw off their armour and coats, plunged into the river. The breadth of the river might be about five bowshots. Many illustrious amirs were drowned, and each one remained or went on at his will. When we came out of the river. His Majesty, who at mid-day had 17,000 workmen in attendance upon his Court, was mounted upon a horse which had been given to him by Tardi Beg, and had nothing on his head or feet. "Permanence is from God, and dominion is from God." Oat of 100 retainers, eight persons came out of the river; the rest had perished in the water. The total loss may be estimated from this fact. When we reached Agra, we made no tarry, but, broken and dispirited, in a state heart rending to relate, we went on to Lahore. On the new moon of Rabi-ul-awwal, 947 h. (1540 A.D.), the princes, amirs, and people had drawn together at Lahore. The throng was so great that it was difficult to move about, and still more difficult to find a lodging. Every one acted as his fears or his interests led him.”

When Humayun reached Bhojpur, he found Sher Khan encamped with a large army on the other side of the Ganges. The Emperor ordered a bridge to be thrown over, and it was soon constructed at the ferry of Bhojpur. The Afghans brought up the elephant Gard-baz, which they had taken at the battle of Chaunsa, to destroy the bridge, and the elephant pressed against the head of the bridge and brought
it down. He was now thought advisable to march along the bank of the river to Kannauj. Abbas Khan Sherwani in his book Tarikh-i-Shershahi says that in April, 1540 during the campaigns of Shershah, Humayun came to Kannauj. Shershah also fortified himself on the opposite side of the river Ganges. At this juncture he received intelligence that Khawas Khan had slain Maharta. There was great rejoicing in the Afghan army, and Shershah wrote to Khawas, saying: "Come with all speed to me; for I and your other friends are awaiting your coming before we engage the enemy; we are looking anxiously in your direction." And when he heard of the near approach of Khawas Khan, he sent a herald to the Emperor Humayun, saying, "I have for some time entrenched myself here. The Emperor has the power to choose. If he will cross the river he may fight with me on this side; or, if he prefer it, I will cross the river, and fight with the Emperor on that side." When the herald came to the Emperor, and reported what Shershah had said, the Emperor, in utter contempt of Shershah, replied: "Say to Sher Khan that if he will retreat some kos from the waterside, I will cross the river Ganges and give him battle." The herald returned and told Shershah what the Emperor had said. Shershah retreated several kos from the river bank. The Emperor Humayun, having prepared a bridge, crossed the river Ganges. Hamid Khan Kakar, one of Shershah's nobles, said, "You ought to attack the Mughal army before they have all crossed the river." Shershah replied: "I have never before had any advantages, and have been compelled to use stratagems in warfare. Now by the favor of the all-powerful, my force is not inferior to the Emperor's. I will not now, notwithstanding my advantages, break my promise in the face of day. With my army arrayed in the open field, I will give battle without fraud or stratagem. God's will, whatever it may be, will be manifested." When Shershah understood that the whole force of the Emperor was across the river, he returned towards it, and carefully throwing up, according to his custom, an earthwork embankment opposite the Emperor's army, encamped close by it. After some days Khawas Khan also came; on the very day he arrived, Shershah marched in fighting order, and captured all the supplies which were coming to the Emperor's army, and took 300 camels, and a large convoy of bullocks. On the 10th Muharram, 947 h., both armies drew out their forces. Shershah thus arranged his army. In the center was Shershah himself, with Haibat Khan Niazi, who bore the title of 'Azam Humayun, Masnad Ali, Isa Khan Sarwani, Kutb Khan Lodi, Haji Khan Jaloi, Buland Khan, Sarmast Khan, Saif Khan Sarwani, Bijli Khan, and others. On the right were Jalal Khan, son of Shershah, who after Shershah's death succeeded him on the throne, and was entitled Islam Shah, Taj Khan, Sulaiman Khan Kirani, Jalal Khan Jaloi, and others. On the left, Adil Khan, son of Shershah, Kutb Khan, Rai Husain Jalwani, and others. When Shershah had drawn up his army in this order, he said to the Afghans: "I have used my best exertions to collect you together, I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of such a day as this. This is the day of trial; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghans replied: "The mighty king has much protected and favoured us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion." Shershah ordered each chief to return to his own
followers and to remain with them; and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array. The Emperor’s forces were broken by Khawas Khan’s division, but Shershad’s right, under his son Jalal Khan, was defeated, four of the chiefs, however, kept their ground, such as Jalal Khan himself, Mian Aiyub Kalkapur Sarwani, and Ghazi Mujli. When Shershad saw that his right was broken, he wished to go to its assistance; but Kutb Khan Lodi said: “My lord, do not quit your own post, lest men should think the centre also is broken. Go on into the midst of the enemy.” As Shershad’s division proceeded straight on, they encountered the Mughal force which had routed Shershad’s right; they defeated and drove it on the Emperor’s centre division. Shershad having driven away the Mughal force in front of his son Jalal Khan; and his left, in which was his other son ’Adil Khan and Kutb Khan Banet, having repulsed the troops opposed to them, fell on the Mughal centre. Shershad’s right, which had been defeated, rallied at the same time, and thus the Afghan army completely surrounded the Mughal force. Shershad’s sons and other Afghan chiefs performed many gallant acts, especially Haibat Khan Niazi and Khawas Khan, who drove back the Mughals with the stroke of the watered sabre and the point of the life-melting spear. The Emperor Humayun himself remained firm like a mountain in his position on the battlefield, and displayed such valour and gallantry as is beyond all description. When the Emperor saw supernatural beings fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to these unearthly warriors, and turned the bridle of his purpose towards his capital of Agra. Bairam Khan was a Turk of the Kari-Kuinlu branch. He was born in Badakhshan and studied at Balkh. At the age of sixteen he entered the army of Humayun, and fought in the disastrous battle of Kannauj164. Shamsu-d din Muhammad was a native of Ghazni, and began life as a common soldier under prince Kamran. It was he who assisted the Emperor Humayun out of the river after the disastrous battle of Kannauj (supra, p. 205), accompanied the Emperor in his exile, and his wife was one of the nurses (atka) of Akbar. As foster father (atka) of Akbar, he received the title of Atka Khan, and his sons were the Kokas or kokaltashes of the Emperor. His family is sometimes called the Atka- Khal165. Humayun received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that bloodthirsty whirlpool. The greater part of his army was driven into the river Ganges.

Shershad being at his ease regarding the Mughals, wrote to Shujat Khan, whom he had left as faujdar, in the country of Bihar and Rohtas, to besiege the fort of Gwalior, and he told the bearer of the Farman”. The son of Shujat Khan, by name Mahmud Khan, has been slain; do not tell him before he has quitted Rohtas, lest on hearing of the death of his son he delays and puts off his coming.” As soon as he received the Farman, Shujaat Khan went and besieged Gwalior. From Kannauj Shershad dispatched Barmazid Gur with a large force in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor Humayun, and he also sent another force under Nasir Khan towards Sambhal. Having speedily settled the country about Kannauj, he betook himself in the direction of Agra166. During the reign of Shershad, Bairak Niazi, who was shikkar of Kannauj, was very tough with highway robbers and trouble
makers living in the pargana of Malkonsah that no man dared to draw a breath in contravention of his orders. Bairak Niazi so established authority over the people of Kannauj, that no man kept in his house a sword, an arrow, a bow, or a gun, nay, any iron article whatever, except the implements of husbandry and cooking utensils; and if he ordered the head-men of any village to attend him, they obeyed his order, and dared not for one moment to absent themselves. The fear and dread of him was so thoroughly instilled into the turbulent people of those parts, that according to the measurement they paid their revenue to the treasurers167. Sherwani says that Shershah destroyed the old city of Kannauj, the former capital of the Kings of India, and built a fort of burnt brick and on the spot where he had gained his victory he built a city, and called it Sher Sur. It appears that the fort of Daipur which is still popularly known as Shershah ka Qila is the fort being referred to in his description168.

Jama masjid Muhammadi, lies in latitude 26°57′49″ N and longitude 80°00′35.09″ E, in village Daipur, is composed of western liwan and a platform in front. The mosque is divided into central nave and side aisles. The nave and aisles are oblong on plan and are internally interconnected with the help of arches. The central nave enshrines a qibla in the center of the western wall which has been projected a little towards outside. The side aisles contain mehrabs in the center of the western wall. The façade of the mosque is composed of three arched openings where the central one is bigger and wider than the flanking ones. All arches have been placed in a rectangular frame which has been projected towards outside. The mosque is surmounted by three huge domes. Each sits on nave and flanking aisles. All the domes are placed on a high rise octagonal plan having parapets above and the projected cornice below. The central dome surmounting the nave is bigger and broader than the flanking ones. All the domes are fluted and crowned with inverted lotus and finials. Quions of the western wall have been conceived as tapered minars elevated more than the roof level. These minars have been built in such a way that they merged with the corners. Both the corners of the façade also have tapered minars but these minars are not merged in the corner but only touch them. The elevation of these front minars are half of the elevation of the structure. The exterior and interior surface of the structure have been plastered and are devoid of any decorations. It appears that the present plaster is a later edition, when the original plaster deteriorated. The architectural features, corner minarets, space arrangements, shape of the domes and arched openings of the façade indicate that the mosque was built during Lodi period.
Fig. No. 262: Drawing of Khankah Masjid
Fig. No. 263: Satellite Image of Khankah Masjid, Daipur

Fig. No. 264: Khankah Masjid, Daipur looking from South-wests
Fig. No. 265: Khankah Masjid, Daipur looking from west
There are two inscription fixed in the Khankah Masjid, Daipur, one above the other. The upper one (Fig. 267) is a six line inscription and reads as follows: (1) Qutba Tareekh Maszid e Tamir (2) . . Ba een ehtamam haidadul gahar Ali maqan (3) Sayyid Hasan Ibn Mohammad . . ahale Jahan (4) Dar ahad Shere Islam. . Firdaus zillulahul alamin (5) shud maszide dar Shergarh tareekh (6) san 950 H (1543 A.D.).
Fig. No. 267: Upper Inscription in the Khankah Masjid, Daipur

The lower one is a seven line inscription (Fig. 268) and is reads as follows:

(1) Kata Tareekh

(2) Marammat Masjid Daipur

(3) Shikasta jabaja thi Shergarh ki Masjide Kohna Khabargiri nakarta tha koi bhi na ek muddat se (old mosque of Shershah was in dilapidated condition and nobody was giving heed to it since long).

(4) Shahabuddeen ke dil men khayal iska hua paida, kare khair par ho jae amada, wo himmat se (Shahbudden thought of repairing it, he should start doing the good work with courage).

(5) Mazaro Masjido farsho hesarw chah banwaya, Khuda ne di unhe taufeeq ki apni qudrat se (He built grave, mosque floor, boundary wall and well. God gave him courage to do this).

(6) Na thi zati garaj tha phir sabillah se maqsad, Who naji bil yakeen honge Muhammad to shifatse (He had no self-interest, he wanted to do good to other with the recommendation of Muhammad, they will be emancipated).

(7) Faheem Ab Misrae Tarikh Hijri sal me likh do, Do bala raunaqe maszid hui kaisi marammat se (Faheem now write the date in Hijri and beauty of the mosque was increased after repairs).
Fig. No. 268: Lower inscription in the Khankah Masjid, Daipur
Fig. No. 269: Central mihrab of Khankah Masjid, Daipur
Fig. No. 270: Phases of transition of Khankah Masjid, Daipur
Fig. No. 271: Interior view of the prayer hall of **Khankah Masjid, Daipur** looking from North
The battle described by Jauhar, the writer of Tazkiratu-l-wakiat gives a different prospective. His describes the events in the following words, “After the battle had raged for some time, information was brought to his Majesty that the Prince Hindal had discomfited the Afghans opposed to him, but that the left under Askari was compelled to retreat. Mirza Haidar represented that in order to let the fugitives pass, it was requisite to lose the chains of the carriages (araba), which formed a barricade in front of the centre. His Majesty unfortunately complied with this advice, and the chains being unloosed, the runaways passed through the line of carriages in files. During this time, an Afghan clothed in black advanced and struck the King’s horse on the forehead with a spear, on which the animal turned round and became unmanageable. His Majesty afterwards related that as soon as he could control his horse, he saw the Afghans employed in plundering the carriages, and wished to have charged them, but some person caught the reins of the steed, and led him to the bank of the river. Here, while undetermined how to act, he saw an old elephant which had belonged to the late Emperor. He called to the driver to bring the elephant to him, who did so. He then mounted, and asked a eunuch who was in the howdah, what was his name. He replied, "Kafur." His Majesty then ordered the driver to carry him across the
river, but the fellow refused, and said the elephant would be drowned. On which the eunuch whispered, that he suspected the driver wished to carry them over to the enemy; it would therefore be advisable to take off the fellow’s head. The King said, "How shall we then make the elephant cross the river?" The eunuch replied, that he understood something of driving an elephant. Upon hearing this. His Majesty drew his sword and so wounded the driver that he fell off into the water, and the eunuch stepped down from the howdah on the neck of the animal, and caused him to pass the river. His Majesty further related, that when he arrived near the bank, it was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. At length, some of the camp colour-men, who were on the lookout for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards Agra. The King having been joined by the Princes Hindal and Askari and the Mirzas Yadgar Yasir, etc., proceeded joyfully towards Agra. When they reached the village of Bhain-ganw, the peasants, who were in the habit of plundering a defeated army, stopped up the road, and one of them wounded Mirza Yadgar with an arrow. On which the Mirza said to the Prince "Askari, "Do you go on and punish these villagers, while I stop to dress my wound." The Prince was displeased at this request, and gave the Mirza some abuse, on which the other retorted in harsher language, and the Prince struck him three times with his horsewhip, which was returned with interest on the other side. When intelligence of this unpleasant fracas reached the King, he said, " They had better have vented their spite on the robbers than on each other. What has happened cannot be recalled, but let us hear no more of it.” In short, the King reached Agra in safety” 171.

Yet another narrative of the same battle given by Nizam-ud-dim Ahmad in his book Tabakat-i-Akbari is as follows, “The Emperor then marched against Sher Khan to the banks of the Ganges, and passed over the river at Kannauj. For one month he remained encamped in sight of the enemy. His army numbered 100,000 horsemen, while that of the Afghans did not exceed 50,000. At this conjuncture, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons again exhibited their perfidy, and without reason fled from the royal army. The detachment which Mirza Kamran had left as a reinforcement also went off to Lahore. So disaffection having become the fashion, many of the troops went off and scattered over various parts of Hindustan. The rainy season came on, and the place where the army was encamped being flooded with water, it was determined to move to higher ground. While this was being done Sher Khan came forth to fight. The battle was fought on the 10th Muharram of this year [947 h., 17th May, 1540 A.D.J.] Many of the soldiers, being dispirited, fled without fighting. A few only of the bravest went into the fight, and the day being lost, the whole army fled. Humayun became separated from his horse in the Ganges, and was helped out of the water by Shamsu-d-din Muhammad Ghaznivi, who afterwards, in the reign of Akbar, received the title of Khan-i-azam. When Sher Khan heard of his escape, he was sorry, and exclaimed, " I was in hopes he had perished, but he has got off” 172.
The following incident at the council of Afghan chief’s and fief holders took place at Gwalior. This relates to the fief holder of Kannauj, Shah Muhammad Farmuli. At this council, he was dispossessed from it by Adali and was given to Sarmast Khan Sarwani. This induced Sikandar Khan, Farmuli’s son, a young and bold man, to exclaim: "To what a pass have things come, that our estates are taken from us, and settled on the tribe of Sarwanis, who are no better than sellers of dogs!" A stormy debate ensuing from both sides, Shah Muhammad, who was then sick, endeavored to persuade his son not to use such abusive language. But to this he replied: "When Shershah had one day cast thee into an iron cage, with the intention of putting thee to death, Islam Shah came and induced the Shah, at his intercession, to grant thy life: and now dost thou not perceive the design of all these to ruin thee? Why should one brook such insult? " At this moment Sarmast Khan, who was a tall and robust man, placed his hand familiarly upon Sikandar’s shoulders, as though to pacify him; but, in fact, with the intention of securing him in his grasp, and said: "My friend, what is the reason of such anger and exasperation?" However, Sikandar, perceiving his intention, drew his dagger, and dispatched him on the spot. A general uproar and tumult pervaded the Council, and all rushed upon Sikandar to apprehend him; but he, with a drawn sword in his hand, cut down or wounded all towards whom he turned. 'Adali, on witnessing this sanguinary scene, ran off to his private apartment, pursued by Sikandar; whom he, however, succeeded in excluding by chaining the door. The greater part of the amirs had previously thrown away their swords and fled; and Sikandar stalked about everywhere like a madman, and in this manner two hours elapsed. At last, Ibrahim Khan Sur, brother-in-law of 'Adali, drew his sword and attacked Sikandar; who, being surrounded on all sides, was killed; and Daulat Khan Lohdni dispatched Muhammad Farmuli with one blow. The result of these transactions was a general dispersion of the amirs, 'Adali’s authority rapidly declined, and everyone looked after his own interest alone, as soon as he had secured his personal safety by flight. Before this scene transpired, Taj Kirani, a brother of Sulaiman, having, from the different expressions of the Council, foreseen what would happen, had left the Council-room, and proceeded as far as the gate of the citadel of Gwalior, by which he was about to descend, when he met Shah Muhammad Farmuli. He explained to him the uproarious state of the Council, and said that no respect was shown to any one, and that there was no unanimity in their deliberations; it was therefore the safest way not to frequent the Council any more, but to retire into private life: he himself would not appear any more. He invited Shah Muhammad to join him, and repair to a place affording security against misery, till affairs took a better turn. Shah Muhammad rejected this offer, in consequence of which he was killed in that riotous Council. Taj Kirani went to his house, and made all preparations for flight. When he had received intelligence of what had passed, he set out in the afternoon for Bengal, and 'Adali dispatched an army in pursuit of him. Another account of the same incident by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad in his book Tabakat-i-Akbari is as follows, “Sultan Muhammad Adali one day held a Court in the fort of Gwalior, and nobles of renown were present. A distribution of jagirs was being made, and
Adali made an order that the country of Kannauj, which was the jagir of Shah Muhammad Farmuli, should be taken from him and given to Sarmast Khan Sarbani. When this was announced, Sikandar Khan, son of Shah Muhammad, a young and daring man, cried out fiercely, "Things have come to this pass that they are taking our jagirs away from us and are giving them to this set of Sarbani dog-sellers." His father, Shah Muhammad, was ill, but he forbad his son to utter such unseemly and harsh expressions. But the son retorted, "Sher Khan (Sher Shah) once put you in an iron cage and intended to take your life, but Salim Khan interceded for you and was the means of delivering you from that peril. Now this Sur faction is determined upon ruining you, and you do not see it. These men will not leave you in peace, and why should we suffer this degradation?" Here upon Sarmast Khan Sarbani, who was a very tall and powerful man, placed his hand in a false coaxing way upon the shoulder of Sikandar, and said, "What does all this mean, my lad?" intending to make him prisoner. But Sikandar guessed his object, drew a dagger and inflicted such a wound upon the shoulder of Sarmast Khan that he fell dead at his feet. He then killed and wounded several others. In the midst of this scene Adali got up and ran into the women's apartments. Sikandar rushed after him, but Adali bolted the door on the inside, and with difficulty escaped. The nobles of Adali who were present drew their swords to prevent the escape of Sikandar, who, raging like a maniac, cut down and killed and wounded wherever he went. This state of affairs went on for an hour or two (yak do gari), till Ibrahim Khan Sur, the husband of Adali's sister, drew his sword and wounded Sikandar. Others then fell upon him and dispatched him. Daulat Khan Lohani killed Shah Muhammad Farmuli also with one blow of his sword 174.

After Humayun his son Akbar ascended the throne in 1556. When Khan-zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan raised the banner of revolt against Akbar, he ordered Munim Khan to march in advance with a strong force, and to cross over the river at Kannauj. Akbar joined him at Kannauj and he himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwal he crossed over the Jumna, and marched to chastise the rebels. Upon approaching Kannauj, Munim Khan came forth to meet him, bringing with him Kiya Khan Gang, who had joined the rebels, and begged forgiveness for him. The Emperor pardoned his crime, and restored him to his former position. He remained ten days waiting for an opportunity to cross the river. When the waters subsided, intelligence was brought that Sikandar Khan, heedless of what was to happen, was still in Lucknow. Thereupon Akbar left Khwaja Jahan, Muzaffar Khan, and Moin Khan in charge of the camp, and started off at midnight with a valiant body of men to march against the rebel with all speed. That night and the next day he struggled through all obstacles without taking rest, and on the following morning came in sight of Sikandar at Lucknow. As soon as Sikandar heard of his approach, he hastily abandoned Lucknow and fled. The horses of the Emperor's force were quite worn out with fatigue, so Sikandar made his escape, and went off unmolested to Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan, They also were now alarmed, and retreated from before Asaf Khan to Jaunpur. They marched from thence, and sending forward their adherents,
they crossed the river at the ferry of Narhan, and halted on the other side of the river. After the battle of royal forces with Sikandar and Bahadur, the defeated retreating royal force assembled and came to Kannauj. Khan Zaman was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four kos distant from Kannauj, in which Mirza Yusuf Khan was shut up. Nineteen days after his arrival at Agra, the Emperor left Khan-khanan in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd Shawwal, 974 h., marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached the pargana of Saket, Ali Kuli Khan decamped from before Shergarh, and fled to his brother Bahadur Khan, who was in Manikpur. Abdul-Kadir Badauni who left his home at Basawar, and went to Agra in 1559 A.D. He later on went to Chunar with Mihr-Ali-Beg. Abdul-Kadir Badauni visited Makanpur, a dependency of Kannauj. In Makanpur is located the tomb of Shaikh Badiu-l Hakk wauddin Shah Madar. It was here in Shergarh/ Kannauj, Abdul-Kadir Badauni translated a book called Singhasan Battisi. He named it Khirad-afza. At that time, the court of Akbar was held there in Kannauj itself. The whole incident in his own words is as follows, “In Jumadal Akhir, while the Court was at Shergarh, otherwise called Kannauj, a book called Singhasan Battisi, which is a series of thirty-two tales about Raja Bikramajit, King of Malwa, and resembles the Tuti-nama, was placed in my hands; and I received His Majesty’s instructions to make a translation in prose and verse. I was to begin the work at once, and present a sheet of my work on that very day. A learned Brahman was appointed to interpret the book for me. On the first day I completed a sheet, containing the beginning of the first story, and when I presented it, His Majesty expressed his approbation. When the translation was finished, I called it Khirad-afza, a name which contains the date of its composition. It was graciously accepted, and placed in the Library. Abul Fazal describes the revenue administration of Kannauj Sarkar during the reign of Akbar is as follows. The Sarkar of Kannauj contained 30 Mahals, 2, 776, 773 bighas, 16 biswas, revenue 52, 594, 624 dams, Suyuraghal 1184, 655 dams, castes various, cavalry 3765 and infantry 78, 350.

<table>
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<th></th>
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<th>Revenue D.</th>
<th>Suyuraghal D.</th>
<th>Cavalry</th>
<th>Infantry</th>
<th>Elephants</th>
<th>Castes</th>
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**Parmanand**, a poet belonging to Vallabhacharya sect and a famous Ashtachhapa poet was born in 1603 in Kannauj. His 835 padas are there in the book Parmanand Sagar. Many Mughal coins were found in Kannauj U.P. India. Some of them are being given below (Fig. 273).
Fig. No. 273: Mughal Coins found from the Kannauj city
Jahangir was very fond of Miran Sadr Jahan. He was promoted to a command of 4,000 and received Kannauj as Tuyal\(^{183}\). Jahangir gave jagir to Khankhana in Kannauj so that he could chastise and extirpate the rebels and insurgents of that area\(^{184}\). Jahangir awarded Rup Khawass, the title of Khawass Khan promoted him to the rank of 1000/500 and gave him the post of garrison commander of Kannauj Sarkar\(^{185}\). On July 28\(^{\text{th}}\), 1616, Sayyid Abdul Waris who was garrison commander of Sambhal Sarkar was appointed in Khawass Khan’s place as governor of Kannauj Sarkar. His rank was fixed at 500/500 for duration of this posting\(^{186}\). On October, 30\(^{\text{th}}\), 1619, Jahangir halted in Kannauj. The garrison commander of Kannauj Sarkar, Sayyid Nizam son of Miran Sadr-i-Jahan, paid homage and presented two elephants and several hunting birds. One elephant and two hawks were accepted\(^{187}\). On 11\(^{\text{th}}\) January, 1624, Rustam Khan was made the commander of the garrison of Kannauj Sarkar\(^{188}\). In the beginning of 1626, Abdul Rahim, son of Bairam Khan, who was shown all sorts of regal favor and was given back the title of Khankhana awarded a robe of honor and a horse and granted leave to depart as governor of the Kannauj Sarkar\(^{189}\). Fuhrer discovered a slab dated samvat 1548 (1626 A.D.) near Bala Pir’s tomb and was deposited in Farrukhabad town hall\(^{190}\).

Mughal architecture is represented by the tombs of Bala Pir and his son, Sheikh Mahdi. Sheikh Kabir, commonly called Bala Pir, is said to have been tutor to the brothers, nawabs Dalel Khan and Bahadur Khan, the former having governed Kannauj in the days of Shahjahan. There are five inscriptions on the door of the tomb of Bala Pir (Fig. 274-279). One dated 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) November 1644 in Persian prose and verse and Nastaliq script records the death of Hajrat Sheikh Kabir Bala Pir son of Hajrat Sheikh Kasim Kadiri\(^{191}\). Second inscription in Persian language and Nastaliq script dated 1647-48 A.D. records the construction of the lofty tomb\(^{192}\). Third inscription in Persian language and Nastaliq script dated 1647-48 A.D. records the construction of the tomb of Sheikh Kabir by Sheikh Mahadi\(^{193}\). The fourth inscription in Persian language and Nastaliq script states that the lofty dome was constructed during the time of great Nawab Bahadur Khan, son of Darya Khan Afghan Ghoriya Khail Daudzai\(^{194}\). Fifth inscription dated 1642-43 A.D. in Persian language and Nastaliq script records the demise of Sheikh Kadir Shah, son of Hajrat Sheikh Kabir\(^{195}\).
Fig. No. 274: Five inscriptions on the door of the tomb of Bala Pir

Fig. No. 275
The tomb of Sheikh Muhammad Mahdi has three inscriptions on the door (Fig. 280-83). One dated 21st March 1676 records the death of Hajrat Sheikh Muhammad Mahdi, son of Hajrat Sheikh Kabir Bala Pir, grandson of Sheikh Qasim Qadiri\(^{196}\). The second inscription in Persian language and Nastaliq script records the construction of lofty tomb during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb\(^{197}\). The third inscription dated 1676-78 in Persian language and Nastaliq script records the construction of the tomb of Sheikh Muhammad Mahdi Sulaimani Qadiri\(^{198}\).

Fig. No. 280: Three inscriptions on the door of the tomb of Sheikh Muhammad Mahdi
The complex of the *Balapir* is aligned on easy-west axis. It consists of four structures where the two tomb building exists on raised platform and a monumental gateway along with a mosque exists on eastern side of the tomb building. The structure of the monumental gateway is aligned on north-south axis. The gate house is composed on a central passage flanked by chambers on the eastern side and cloisters on the western sides. The eastern façade of the gateway is composed of two arches fixed in a rectangular frame and both the corners are occupied by the *minars*. The bigger arch accommodates the lower arch which provides the functional entrances. Both the flanking wings of the frame is divided into four storey where cornice has been used in the lower two storey and the third storey contains a blind arched niche and the uppermost storey consists of a square plan. The horizontal part of the frame surmounting the arches is divided into three oblong panels. The façade is surmounted by parapets and at both corners, two turrets have been provided coming out from the blown lotus surmounting the corner *minars*. The whole façade is projected on eastern side. The gate has flatly roofed. A staircase has been provided with northern wing from the western side aligning from west to east. The eastern side
flanking chambers are square on plan have been provided with entrance from western side which opens in the flanking cloisters. The flanking cloisters opens in the passage. So far as the western façade of the gate house is concerned, it is composed of an arch which is equal to the arch of the eastern façade. The whole structure is built with brick and lime mortar and the interior and exterior surfaces have been clad with red sandstone.

The two tomb building exists on a raised platform. Both the structures are built on west-east alignment. The western plan is built on a square plan and having a considerable elevation. The structure is provided entrance on the southern side. It is composed of arched entrance fixed in a rectangular frame surmounted by a cornice and a panel inscribed with design. The upper part of the entrance is divided into a central oblong panel and side panels. The arches have been embellished with spandrels. The arches have been placed on nook shafts. Two niched panels have been placed on both sides of the upper part of the arches. The structure of the entrance has been placed projecting outside.

The facades of the tomb structure resemble each other and are given two storey effects with the help of a projected cornice. At the roof level, all the facades are surmounted with parapet designs. The corners of the structure have been embellished with square domes, pillared pavilions which break the monotony of the central dome. The structure is surmounted by a broad and a very prominent dome placed on a raised octagonal drum. The dome is crowned with an inverted lotus and finial. The interior of the structure contains a hexagonal mihrab with arch in the center of the western wall where as two oblong arched niches have been placed in the center of the north and eastern wall. The interior façade of the structure have been provided with double storey affected with a projected cornice. The upper storey is composed of the first stage of the phase of transition where the squinches have been used in the form of arched alcove in the center. Above this stage, lintels supported by brackets have been used to convert an octagon into sixteen sided polygon. Above this line, the arcade of small blind niches has been provided which supports the circular dome. The dome is built with radiating corners of the stone and key stone. Once the interior surfaces, the structures were plastered which in turn carried the stucco decorations. In the course of time, this plaster has been peeled off, leaving some patches intact.
Fig. No. 284: Satellite Image of the Tombs of Bala Pir & Sheikh Mahdi and the Mosque & Gate of the Bala Pir Complex
Fig. No. 285: Drawing of Bala Pir complex
Fig. No. 286: Drawing of the tombs of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 287: Panoramic view of the Tombs of Bala Pir

Fig. No. 288: General view of Tombs from South
Fig. No. 289: Panoramic view of Balapir complex and the mosque

Fig. No. 290: General view of Bala Pir and other graves in the campus looking from South
The gate situated towards the south-east of the tomb bears an inscription dated 1665-66 in Persian language and Nastaliq script (Fig. 292). It records that Mahmud Khan, son of Salim Khan Tarin, constructed the gate of the tomb of Sheikh Kabir. This verse was composed by Mahdi199.
Fig. No. 292: Inscription on the gate situated towards the south-east of the tomb
Fig. No. 293: Gateway leading to *Bala Pir*
Fig. No. 294: West side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 295: Tombs of Bala Pir looking from South-east

Fig. No. 296: Gate of the west side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 297: Northern wall and graves (Inner view) of west side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 298: Phase of transition and ceiling of west side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 299: Ceiling and phases of transition of west side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 300: Eastern wall of west side tomb of *Bala Pir*
Fig. No. 301: Rear façade of the eastern side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 302: Eastern side tomb of Bala Pir looking from North-west
Fig. No. 303: Both the tombs of Bala Pir looking from North-west
Fig. No. 304: Western facade of the west side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 305: Front façade of the eastern side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 306: Gate of the eastern side of the tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 307: Northern wall (Inner view) of eastern side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 308: North-western corner showing phase of transition and western wall (Inner view) of the eastern side tomb of Bala Pir
Fig. No. 309: Ceiling of eastern side tomb of *Bala Pir*
Fig. No. 310: Phases of transition and decorations of eastern side tomb of *Bala Pir*
There is an inscription at the top of the opening. It is fixed on the large gate located towards the east of the Bala Pir complex. It is in Persian language and Nastaliq script. It records that gate was constructed by Sheikh Muhammad Mahdi through the help and assistance of the great Nawab Dilair Khan, son of Darya Khan Ghoriya Khail Daudzai, the mason was Chhinka\textsuperscript{200} (Fig. 314).
Fig. No. 312: Drawing of the Gate of Balapir
Fig. No. 313: Main gate of Bala Pir complex
Fig. No. 314: Inscription at the top of the opening of the gate
Fig. No. 315: Rear facade of the gate of the Bala Pir complex
Fig. No. 316: Interior of the southern gate
Fig. No. 317: Interior of the southern gate
Fig. No. 318: Ceiling of the southern gate
The mosque of Shueb Kadri is situated to the north of the twin tombs has one inscription dated 1663-64 in Persian language and Nastaliq script records the construction of the mosque by Shueb, the Khalifa (Fig. 320). This inscription is on the right side of the central door of western liwan. There was one more inscription on the right side of the central door of the western liwan. It has faded out\(^{201}\). There was an inscription in Persian language and Nastaliq script to the left of the entrance of prayer hall. It records the name of Shuaib, son of Bahar Khan (Pahar) Kakar Gharghasti, a disciple of Shiekh Muhammad Mahdi Qadiri\(^{202}\).

The mosque is built on oblong plan. It is composed of western liwan. It is divided into central nave and two side aisles. The nave is built on square plan. The side aisles are very narrow. Nave and aisles are connected with arches whose spring point is projected from the wall. Façade of the mosque is composed of single arched opening. It pierces a rectangular depressed niche. Interiorly the central nave contains mihrab in the center of the western hall. At the roof level, parapet designs have been provided. Mosque is surmounted by single dome placed on an octagonal drum decorated with parapet motif. The original inverted lotus has been converted into an inverted round saucer and a finial of late
period. Interiorly the phase of transition has been employed where the first stage has been achieved with squinches and second stage with corbelled designs. The interior and exterior surface has been plastered. The roof of the narrow aisles is vaulted. There is a large grave in front of the mosque. It appears that the mosque is a funeral mosque.

Fig. No. 320: Inscription on the right side of the central door of the western liwan
Fig. No. 321: Façade of the mosque
Fig. No. 322: Front façade of the mosque
Fig. No. 323: Interior view of the prayer hall
Fig. No. 324: Phase of transition
Fig. No. 325: Squinch, corbelling and the ceiling of the mosque
Fig. No. 326: Interior view of the mosque
Fig. No. 327: Ceiling of the narrow aisles
Fig. No. 328: Another view of the ceiling of the nave
Fig. No. 329: Phase of transition and roof of the mosque
Another inscription at the top of the main entrance of the mosque written in Persian language and Nastaliq script records the construction of mosque by Skeikh Mahdi. It is dated to 1063 H (1657-8 A.D.) (Fig. 331).
There is another inscription above the central mihrab of the mosque located towards the south of Balapir tomb. It is in Arabic language and Naskha script. It is in the characters of 17th century and reads “Allāh”204 (Fig. 332).
The mosque of Bala Pir is composed of western liwan and aligning on north-south axis. The western liwan is divided in two central naves and side aisles which are connected with each other with the help of arches. The mosque is built with heavy arches that have a very prominent spring point. The western façade is composed of three arched openings of equal side and dimensions corresponding to
the nave and aisles. Each arched opening is recessed in a rectangular frame and the spring point of these arches are projected from the walls. At the roof level, the western façade is surmounted by dropping eaves supported on stone brackets. The mosque is surmounted by a central dome and flanked by vaulted roof. The nave interiorly contains the phase of transition where the first stage of the phase of transition has been achieved through squinches and second stage through corbelling. The nave contains a mihrab in the center of western wall while side aisles have been provided with mihrab in the form of a blind arched niche. The mihrab in the central nave is hexagonal on plan and is recessed in a rectangular frame. The part of the wall of the nave containing the mihrab projected towards backside. All the four corners have been surmounted by the tapered minars. The same type of minars are also found on the both corners of the projected part of the western wall. The central dome surmounting the central nave is hemi-spherical based on octagonal drum and crowned with inverted lotus and finials. The flanking vaulted roofs take the shape of banglarad roofs having a central edge with a finial in the center. The analysis of the structure and architecture of the mosque indicates that the mosque was constructed sometimes in the beginning of 16th century though it was modified and repaired in the 17th century. The span of the arches is wider than its elevation which is peculiar feature of Lodi structure. The whole structure has been plastered with cement in the modern period and some structural parts of the mosque might have been the modern construction.
Fig. No. 333: Drawing of Masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 334: Western façade of the masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 335: Front façade of *masjid Bala Pir*
Fig. No. 337: Closer view of the front façade of masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 337: View of prayer hall of masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 338: Central mihrab of masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 339: Phases of transition of *masjid Bala Pir*
Fig. No. 340: Ceiling of masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 341: Inner view of prayer hall of masjid Bala Pir looking from North
Fig. No. 342: Westren wall of prayer hall of masjid Bala Pir
Fig. No. 343: Eastern wall of prayer hall of masjid Bala Pir

Sayyid Muhammad of Kannauj, the tutor of the Emperor Aurangzeb, was celebrated in the whole of Hindustan. He rebuilt Rang Mahal in Mohalla Ajaipal in 1685 A.D. and named it Jasmine or little pearl (Motiya)\textsuperscript{205}. There were five very strong forts which belonged to this city, of which scarcely a vestige now remains\textsuperscript{206}. His tomb/ Rauza situated in Mohalla Ajaipal. The tomb building is built on a square plan and provided with four arched entrances at all cardinal points. All the facades of the tomb building are alike resemble with each other in orientation and in dimensions. Each façade is composed of a central arch flanked by blind arched niches which elevate up to the point of spring on central arch. At the roof level, a projected cornice has been provided. The central arch contains two smaller arches where the smallest arch accommodates the real entrance. The bigger central arch and the middle arch have cusps. The surface between the middle arch and the central arch has been divided into oblong panels placed horizontally as well as vertically. The flanking blind arched niche contain cusps. Interiorly, a full-fledged phase of transition has been employed in this structure. The first stage of the phase of transition has been achieved through squinches which forms alcove in the corners. The second stage has been achieved through the corbelling process. The interior façade of the tomb building have been given
double storey affect with blind arches. The interior surface of the structure has been plastered which has peeled off in the course of time. The structure is surmounted by a semi bulbous dome placed on a circular drum. The façade of the circular drum is divided into two horizontally with the help of a cornice. The dome is crowned with a prominent inverted lotus and a finial. The finial has been wiped out completely. All the corners of the structure have been surmounted by small turrets which emerged from a blown lotus and the upper part of the turrets has been conceived in the form of a blown lotus. Since the structure is square and surmounted by a circular dome, a full-fledged phase of transition has been employed in the tomb building. On the base of the shape of the cusps and the arches, the entrance structure and the shape of the dome above, the construction of the tomb building can be ascribed to the closing years of 17th century that is late Aurangzeb’s period.

Fig. No. 344: Satellite Image of Rauza, Temple of Ajaypal & Rang Mahal @ Motia Mahal
Rauza, Ajay pal Road, kannaúj

Fig. No. 345: Drawing of Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj
Fig. No. 346: General view of Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj
Fig. No. 347: Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj looking from South-west
Fig. No. 348: General view of Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj looking from South-west
Fig. No. 349: Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj looking from North-east
Fig. No. 350: Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj looking from South
Fig. No. 351: North-western corner (Inner view) of Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj
Fig. No. 352: Ceiling and phases of transition of Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj
Fig. No. 353: Northen wall of Rauza, mohalla Ajaipal Kannauj
Another important tomb is that of Saiyyed Muhammed Kannauji, the tutor of Aurangzeb and the founder of Sarai Miran. The tomb lies on Latitude 27°33'33.42" N and Longitude 79°55'48.90" E. The Sarai lies on its western side across G. T. road at a distance of 60 meters.

*Rauza, Sarai Meera* is a mausoleum of the son of Saiyyed Muhammad Kannauji. The tomb building exists on a raised platform which aligns of north-south axis. A stepped approach has been provided in the middle of the southern side. The tomb structure is built on a square plan containing four arched entrances at the cardinal points. The tomb structure has symmetrical facades. Each façade is composed of central *pistaq* built on a hexagonal plan. The *pistaq* is flanked by double storey blind arches on both sides. The central *pistaq* is composed of three arches where the biggest arch contains two smaller arches. The smallest arch which is cusped, facilitates the real entrance. The biggest arch is constructed in such a way that it accommodates the arch nettings and an arcade of blind arches. The surface between the biggest arch and the middle arch is embellished with oblong plans placed horizontally and vertically. All the arches of the façade have been placed in an oblong frame. The whole façade is surmounted by projected cornice. The central *pistaq* is surmounted by a *bangladar* wall and corners of the structure are
surmounted with small fluted domes with a circular drums. In the tomb building of Sarai Meera, the first stage of phase of transition has been achieved through squinches which form ornamental alcoves. The triforium has been decorated with arched in stucco. Corbelled pendantives has been used in the second stage. Interior surface of the structure has been decorated with oblong panel placed horizontally and vertically. Two arched niches have been provided on both sides of the entrance gate. The southern façade accommodates a staircase on the angle in the right wing. The structure is surmounted by a huge dome with a prominent inverted lotus and finials as a crowning element. The exterior surface of the tomb building has been plastered and whatever decoration is found, it is on stucco plaster. An analysis of the proportion and the shape of the pistaq, vaulted roof above the pistaq and the proportion of the whole building indicates that the tomb building was constructed in the second half of the 18th century.

Fig. No. 355: Satellite Image of Sarai Miran and the tomb of the son of Saiyyed Mohammed Kannauji
Fig. No. 356: Drawing of Rauza Sarai Meera Kannauj
Fig. No. 357: Southern façade of Rauza Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 358: View of Rauza Sarai Meera Kannauj from North-east
Fig. No. 359: Northern wall of Rauza Saraimeera Kannauj (Inner view)
Fig. No. 360: North-eastern corner of Rauza Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 361: Phase of transition and arch nettings of Rauza Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 362: Northern wall, phases of transition and part of ceiling of Rauza Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 363: Ceiling of Rauza Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 364: Northen wall of Rauza Sarai meera Kannauj
Sarai Meera was once a full-fledged sarai which is composed of a courtyard surrounded by cloisters and rooms which have thoroughly encroached by modern habitation. The only surviving structures of the sarai are the northern gateway & a mosque and some parts of the enclosure wall. The northern gateway was built on a pattern of a gatehouse. The structure of the gatehouse is aligned on east-west axis. The gate house is composed of a central passage flanked by double storeyed cloisters adjusted in the same elevation. The eastern and western facades of the gateway are aligned so far as the orientation and the dimension are concerned. The façade consists of a central arch which in turn accommodates the smaller arch providing the actual entrance. The lower arch is plain while the upper arch is multi-foliated. Both arches are placed in a rectangular plain and surmounted by an oblong panel. The flanking wings of the gateway contains the orial domed windows and arched niches on and below the orial windows. Both the corners of the façade have been conceived in a minar. At the roof level, a cornice has been provided which is further surmounted by parapets. The flanking cloisters have three arched openings. These arches are multi-foliated arches. The gatehouse is surmounted by a shallow dome. The ceiling of the
dome is fluted. The phase of transition has been achieved through corbelling. The whole structure of the gatehouse was once cladded with lime mortar which has been peeled off in the course of time.

Fig. No. 366: Satellite image of Saraimeera
Fig. No. 367: Drawing of Sarai Meera
There is a four line inscription (Fig. 368) above the main gate of Sarai. It reads as follows:

1. Dar-e-daualat aurang shahe alam la-ir

2. Abadshuda buqaye firdaus nazir
This inscription says that an area was inhabited which was in the likeness of heaven during the reign of Aurnagzeb. This inscription further says that “May! Mohammad Abad Kabir Prosper”.

Fig. No. 369: Inscription above the gate of Saraimeera
Fig. No. 370: Inscription above the gate of *Saraimeera*

Fig. No. 371: Gate of *Saraimeera* from South
Fig. No. 372: Inner view of eastern side of the main gate of Saraimeera
Fig. No. 373: Ceiling and phase of transition of the main gate of *Saraimeera*
**Sarai & Saraiwali Masjid, Meera Tola:** The mosque is situated in the central of the courtyard of the sarai. The mosque is composed of western liwan and a courtyard in front. The western liwan of the mosque is divided into central nave and side aisles. The central nave is oblong on plan while flanking aisles are square on plan. The central nave contains a hexagonal mihrab accommodated in the center of western wall. A portion of the western wall corresponding to the nave has been projected towards western sides. The façade of the mosque is composed of three arched openings and two arched alcoves. These arched openings has been fixed in a multi-foliated big arch. The structure of the mosque is roofed with circular cupolas or a very shallow dome. The nave and side aisles are connected with broad arches of very thick masonry which recalls the arches of Lodi period.

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**Fig. No. 374:** Drawing of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 375: Rear façade of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 376: Northern side gate of prayer hall of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj

Fig. No. 377: Middle gate of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 378: Mihrab of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj

Fig. No. 379: Phase of transition of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj
Fig. No. 380: View of prayer hall of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj

Fig. No. 381: View of western wall and prayer hall of Saraiwali Masjid, Saraimeera Kannauj
During the reign of Aurangzeb, Muhammad Chishti of Kannauj, was a learned man with an excellent nature, and one who had an experience of poverty. His ancestors had long reside in Kannauj, which in old times was the capital of the powerful Hindu Rajas, and was a great city—thay say that it had 3,000 shops of sellers of Pan (betel leaf). During Aurangzeb’s reign, it was a dependency of Agra and existed between Agra and the provinces of Allahabad & Oudh. In the early days the Mir lived in his native town, and spent his days in retirement, and in poverty and full reliance upon God and in contemplation of spiritual ideals. About the end of Shah Jahan’s reign, he at the urgent request of that appreciative Sovereign came to his court. Shah Jahan was a true patron of learned men, and he regarded the arrival of the venerable Sayyid, who was a paragon of esoteric and exoteric knowledge, as a rare boon and fervently welcoming him admitted him to his intimate circle. Many days had not passed before he lost the power and by Aurangzeb’s orders people were prohibited from waiting upon him. But the Mir in question was constantly in attendance on him, and from the beginning of the 32nd year to his (Shah Jahan’s) death profitably discoursed to him on spiritual matters and Traditions. Afterwards Aurangzeb summoned him with all honor from Agra, and exalted him by admitting him to his intimate circle. For three days in the week he used to discuss with the venerable Sayyid the writings of the Hujjat-ul-Islam Imam Muhammad ghazzai, especially the Traditions recorded in Ibiya-ul-Ullum and the Fatawa-i-Alangirshahi which was compiled under the superintendence of that Monarch. That great man (the Sayyid) was always zealously engaged in giving religious instructions, and in trying to improve the religious views of the people. On the Journey to Ajmer, he did not accompany Aurangzeb. In the 24th year, after the fight of Muhammad Akbar (the Prince) he came to the royal court from the Capital, and was accorded a royal welcome. After the Sayyid’s death, Aurangzeb often referred to him as the Teacher of Ala Hajrat (Shahjahan) and myself who am forgetful of death. It is well known that the Sayyid was a disciple of Shaikh Muhibb Ullah of Allahabad who was we versed in estoric and exoteric learning. Though he was inclined towards the Khwajagan-i-jannat but his teachings were similar in many respects to those of the great Shaikh Muhyy-uddin Arabi. He wrote a commentary called the Akhas-i-Khawwas on the Fasus-al-hukam. In his lifetime and up to the present day, perverse people create a commotion alleging that the book was heretical. The treatise on fallacy by the Shaikh acquired great celebrity. They say that when it was brought to notice of Aurangzeb, the Shaikh himself was dead at the time, but two disciples of his were well known in Delhi at that time. One Mir who was a person generally respected and honored, and the other Shaikh Muhammadi, who dressed as a darvish and lived a religious life. The King first asked the Mir about the difficult passages in the treatise, but the Mir denied that he was the disciple of Shaikh. After that a message was sent to Shaikh Muhammadi to the effect that if he was a disciple of Shaikh Muhibb Ullah he should recognize the statements in that treatise with the sacred laws of the Shariat, otherwise he should renounce his discipleship, and put the treatise into the fire. He replied that he did not deny his discipleship, and that he also could not renounce the doctrines. He had not yet
attained to the station (Mugam) from which the Shaikh had discoursed. As soon as he would attain that high station, he would, in accord ance with the request, write an exposition of the difficulties. Aurangzeb had decided to burn the book, there was more fire available in the King’s kitchen than in the houses of religious mendicants trusting in God. The King ordered it to be burnt. In short, the Mir showed no desire for office or for Amirship, and did not leave the ranks of the learned (the owners of broad turbans), but in his own country became the owner of land and villages. His two sons, Sayyid Amjad Khan and Sayyid Abdul Karim Sharif Khan, who became famous as the sons of the King’s teacher, attained to Mansabs and jagir, and suitable offices. The first in the 13\textsuperscript{th} year was appointed the censor of the camp on the death of Qadi Muhammad Husaain of Jaunpur, and for a long time performed the duties of that office with great dignity. His son also had the name of his father, and was exalted and respected as the Sadr of Delhi. Later he was made the Bakhshi and the Waqia-navis of the same place. It is stated that he used to hold a review of the mansabdars for the Friday prayers (i.e. he saw that they attended the Friday prayers). In the reign of Bahadur Shah he was promoted to the office of the Sadr-i-kull and granted the title of Sadr-i-jahan, and a high rank. In the time of Jahandar Shah he was removed (from his office). He was really trustworthy. In the beginning of Muhammad Farrukh siyar’s reign, he at the instance of Qutb-ul-Mulk, was appointed Sadr-u-Sudur, but was removed on account of the differences between the Mir and the Vazir. Perhaps he was also for a time the Divan of Ajmer and Faujdar of Sambhal about the end of Farrukh siyar’s reign, he took on lease some of the crown-lands, and on the settlement of the accounts suffered a heavy loss. The second son Sayyid ’Abdul Karim, who also had studied the prescribed courses at school, was appointed as the Amin for collecting the poll-tax (Jijya) in the city of Burhanpur during the time when the Court was stationed there. He worked honestly, and vigorously, and used strong measures in the collection of the tax. In the past year only Rs. 26,000 had been collected from the whole city, but in three months he collected Rs. 1,20,000 from half the city and deposited it into the royal treasury. His salary was increased, his services were recognized and praised, and he was appointed amin for the collection of the poll-tax in the four provinces of the Deccan. Later he was exalted by the receipt of the title of Sayyid Sharif Khan. When during the siege of Hyderabad, owing to the heavy rain and consequent flooding of the river Manjara, the arrival of the provisions was stopped, and there was such scarcity that living did not refrain from eating the dead, and heaps of dead were to be seen everywhere, the post of krori of the market fell upon Sayyid Abdul Karim whose probity and strictness had become well known; while Mirza Yar Beg, although such an appointment in the four provinces was likely to lead to an increase in honor, refused to undertake the task in face of the great havoc that prevailed. As such an employment could result in nothing but disgust and a bad name, the people bitterly complained of his severity, but the royal secretaries, who had worked under him, were greatly pleased at his appointment. When the rains lessened, things became cheaper, and the Khan received permission to proceed to the four provinces and collect the poll-tax according to the Shariat
law. After his death, his sons, Imam-ud-Din Khan and Mir Abdul-ul-Rahim Sharif Khan who were real brothers, fell out with their half-brothers Fasih-ud-Din and others. After some time a signed note (by Aurangzeb) was received by Inayat Ullah Khan (saying) that they had become accustomed to Mansabs and jagirs, and had given up the ways of poverty and of the children of jaqirs. "And their father was a righteous man." So their appointments ~should be confirmed. Among them Sayyid Abd-ur-Rahim was appointed Amin of the poll tax for the province of Berar, and during the reign of Bahadur Shah received the title of his father. In Jahandar Shah's time he was nominated as the Deputy-governor of Agra, and in the reign of the Muhammad Shah, he was appointed Faujdar of Jaunpur as the Deputy of Azim Ullah Khan, and received the area on lease. He employed a large force, but could not manage it, and losing his ancestral property left for the Deccan. Nawab Asaf Jah recognized his merits, and appointed him for a time the Deputy-governor of the Deccan, and later made him Superintendent of Aurangabad. When Nadir Shah the Great invaded India, he was summoned to the Presence for certain explanations together with the clerks of that great officer (Asaf Jah). The Khan presented himself before Nadir Shah before whose majesty even the planet Mars trembled—and without fear answered all questions. On the return of Asaf Jah to the Deccan he was appointed the Bakhshi and granted the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and received the gift of drums. In the end of safr 1159 A.H. (March, 1746 A.D.) he was nominated as the Deputy-governor of Berar. He was an accomplished military man, and one who had seen the world, but it is stated that he was not generous. Out of a hundred promises that he made not one was fulfilled. Aurangzeb, who was highly suspicious of his officials, wrote to Inayat Ullah Khan as appears in Kalmati-Taiyibat, 'Abdi-ur-Rahim son of Sharif Khan who was a Sayyidzada, and a trustworthy student of theology, has sold pearls worth nearly Rs. 10,000 to a jeweler. Call for his explanation and take over the money. Do not give him any employment for he displays wheat and sells barley (is deceitful), and is only gilt (zarandud- golden crusted or unreal). In fact, the characteristics which he showed in his youth have now become more marked. The lines of his character have deepened with his years.

During the reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748 A.D.), in the tenth year of his reign, Burhanul Mulk led an army against the fort of Chachandi, near Shahabad Kannauj, the chief of which was Hindu Singh, a Chandela Rajput. He was, however, not to be subdued; but Raja Gopal Singh Bhadauria, who accompanied Burhanul Mulk, under the pretense of making peace, went to Hindu Singh and told him that it was not expeditious to quarrel with the Emperor's nobles, that he should leave the fort for three days, and he called God to witness that, after three days, when peace would be concluded the possession of the fort should be restored to him. Hindu Singh was deceived, and left the fort, and with his family and property pitched his tents at some distance. The third day, by the order of Burhanul Mulk, Raja Gopal Singh, breaking his word, took the fort and zamindari into his own possession. Consequently Hindu Singh, having no remedy, prepared to fight with the army of Burhanul Mulk, which amounted to about sixty thousand horse, but, baffled in his attempt, retreated towards the territory of
Chatrsal. As a punishment for violating his promise, Raja Gopal Singh soon hastened towards his own destruction. After his death, his son, Antrat Singh, was confirmed in possession of that district\(^2\) during the 15\(^{th}\) year of his rule, Wazirul Mulk Itimad ud daula Kamruddin Khan, with 70,000 horse, marched from Delhi against Udaru, the Zamindar of Kora Jahanabad, who had killed Jan Nisar Khan. Udaru, on receiving the intelligence, retired from the district, and Kamruddin Khan returned to the seat of Empire through Kannauj and Farrukhabad\(^1\). During the second invasion of Ahmad Shah, at this time Kaim Khan Afghan, who was the chief of Kannauj and Farrukhabad, and a noble in the Royal Court, who held a mansab of 7000, and had the titles of Kaim Jang and Kaimu-d daula, whose father likewise had held these lands in the time of the former Emperor, made arrangements for war upon Sadullah Khan, son of the Zamindar of Alola and Bangash, in the district of Sambhal, on the other side of the Ganges, and got together a large force and artillery. Sadullah Khan heard of his approach, and prepared to resist his attack, but first tried the effect of negotiation. But as Kaim had the superiority in force, he would not listen to any negotiation. A general battle ensued. In the midst of the battle a ball struck Kaim and killed him. Sadullah Khan returned with immense spoil to his own territory\(^3\). Hakim Gulam Muhammad Khan obtained the rank of five hundred personal allowance, with some jagirs in the mahal of Sakrawa, in the district of Kannauj, and the parganas of Azam and Al in the Punjab\(^4\). During the tenure of Suja-ud-daula as Nawab at Lucknow, Durrani Shah, after his engagement with Datta, which terminated in the destruction of the latter, had dispatched Najibu-d daula to the province of Oudh with a conciliatory epistle, which was as it were a treaty of friendship, for the purpose of fetching Nawab Shujau-d daula Bahadur. Najibu-d daula accordingly betook himself by way of Etawah to Kannauj; and about the same time Nawab Shujau-d daula marched from Lucknow, and made the ferry of Mahdipur, which is one of the places in Etawah situated on this side the river Ganges, the site of his camp. An interview took place in that locality, and as soon as the friendly document had been perused, and the Nawab’s heart had been comforted by its sincere promises, he came to the fixed determination of waiting on the Shah, and he sent back Raja Beni Bahadur, who at that time possessed greater power and influence than his other followers, to rule as viceroy over the kingdom during his absence\(^5\). When Raja Naval Rai Kayastha, the governor of Oudh took his residence in Kannauj in 1750 A.D., he alter the name of Motiya Mahal to Rang Mahal\(^6\). When Nawab Shujau-d daula approached the Shah’s army, the prime minister, Shah Wall Khan, hastened out to meet him, and, having brought him along with him in the most courteous and respectful manner, afforded him the gratification, on the 4th of Zil hijja, 1173 A.H. (18\(^{th}\) July, 1760 A.D.), of paying his respects to the Shah, and of folding the son of the latter, Timur Shah, in his embrace\(^7\). Harnam Singh in his book Saadat Jawed narrates the following event. When, in 1186 A.H. (1772 A.D.), the province of Kannauj, and the country up to the boundary of Anup Shah, was wrested from the possession of the Dakhinis by the Nawab, Raja Maha Narain was appointed governor of it. At the same time, Rai Gurdas Singh, the author’s father, according to the Nawab’s orders, having resigned his office as deputy in the
district of Kora, under Mirza Haidar Beg Khan, was employed in the settlement of the new acquisition. During the time that he was so employed, Mukhtar-ud-daula, being disgusted with Raja Maha Narain, obtained Nawab Asafu-d daula’s orders to confiscate his jagir. In the year 1834, Bahadur Singh narrates Kannauj is a large city, and it is known to be very ancient. It appears that the city of Kannauj was several time populated and several times deserted. The city stands on the banks of the Granges, which now runs two kos from it, but during the rains it reaches it. The climate of Kannauj is good and temperate. It now lies in ruins, and is inhabited here and there like a village. It is famous for its chintz, chirah (a kind of turban), and fruits of different kinds. At present, it is chiefly occupied by the Sayyids, (of Bokhora).

The state coins (Later Mughal period) series found from Kannauj U.P. India (Fig. 382):

![Fig. No. 382: State (later Mughal period) Coins found from Kannauj city](image-url)
Unknown Tomb- I, Makrandpur Kannauj: This tomb is again built on a square plan but its corners have been chamfered which transforms the structure exteriorly into a regular octagon. At all the cardinal points, arched entrances have been provided. These arched entrances are composed of double arches where a smaller arch is fixed in a bigger arch. Upper arch is multi-foliated. The smaller arch is providing the real entrance. These arches are fixed in an oblong plan. The chamfered corners have been conceived in double storeys where the upper storey is a blind niche and lower storey is in the form of an alcove. The structure is surmounted by a dome placed on a high rise circular drum. The dome is crowned with very prominent inverted lotus and finial. Interiorly, the phase of transition has been employed. This has been achieved through corbelling. The dome is true as it is composed of courses of bricks in radiating manner and key stone. Both the interior and exterior surfaces of the building, once were covered with plasters which has deteriorated in the course of time. Its construction can be dated to the closing years of Aurangzeb or early years of 18th century.

Fig. No. 383: Drawing of the tomb, Mohalla Makrand Nagar Kannauj
Fig. No. 384: Unknown tomb, *Mohalla Makrand Nagar Kannauj* looking from South
Fig. No. 385: Northen wall of the Unknown tomb, Mohalla Makrand Nagar Kannauj
Fig. No. 386: Phase of transition of Unknown tomb, Mohalla Makrand Nagar Kannauj
Fig. No. 387: Ceiling of Unknown tomb, Mohalla Makrand Nagar Kannauj
Muhammad Khan Bangas was born in 1665 at Mau Rashidabad. He became a mercenary at the age of 20. In 1712, when he was 48 years old, Farrukhaiyar, on his way to contest the empire with his cousin Jahandar Shah, sent an invitation to him from Khajuha in the Fatehpur district. Muhammad Khan joined him with 1200 men in the battle of Samogara (district Agra). Jahandar Shah was defeated and Muhammad Khan distinguished himself in this battle. He was given the title of Nawab and grants of lands of...
Bundelkhand and this district. After successfully commanding expeditions against the Raja of Anupshahr and Raja Meda, and joining in the campaign against Girdhar Bahadur at Allahabad, he obtained leave to return to his home. Here he occupied himself with founding the towns of Kaimganj and Muhammadabad. The first, named after the Nawab’s eldest son, is not far from Mau-Rashidabad. On a high mound called Kal-Ka-Khera, the Nawab built a fort. It is said that Farrukhsiyar was annoyed at Muhammad Khan’s presumption in naming a town after himself. To appease his wrath, the Nawab announced his intention of founding another and naming it after the emperor. Kannauj, which in 1720 belonged to his son Kasim Khan, was bestowed on several Hindus in succession. On 30th September 1720 he declared support for Muhammad Shah. On the 4th and 5th November 1720 at the battle of Hasanpur, in the Agra district, Muhammad Khan took part in the defeat of Sayyid Abdullah, who was made prisoner. He was rewarded with an increase of rank, the title Ghazanfar-i-jung (Lion of Fight), seven lakhs of rupees in cash and a grant of parganas Bhojpur and Shamsabad in addition to his former fiefs. In 1722 and 1723, he took part in the campaign against Churamani Jat and in Ajmer. In July of later year, he moved to Bundelkhand to suppress the revolt of Chhatrasal. He went to Gwalior to oppose a Maratha attack. In 1726, he assisted in suppression of Chauhan Raja of Mainpuri. In 1727, he was ordered to suppress revolt in Bundelkhand but failed. In 1729, the Governorship of Allahabad was taken from him and given to Sir Buland Khan, Mubariz-ul-Mulk. He gained the Governorship of Malwa in 1730. In the same year, he faced a huge Maratha army at Siron and submitted to it. He was recalled to Agra where he arrived on 6th December 1732. He fought against Marathas the next 2 years and was restored to the Governorship of Allahabad, but he was again removed from this post after a few months. Kannauj was given back to him on his raising objection that it was too near his home to be left in the hands of a Hindu. Muhammad Khan died in 1743 and his eldest son Kayam Khan succeeded him. At the death of Muhammad Khan, his dominions embraced the whole “do-abab” from Aligarh to Fatehpur including Farrukhabad district, Etah district, district Kanpur, parts of Badaun, Shahjahanpur, Aligarh and Etawah districts. In 1748, Safdar Jang, the Subedar of Oudh, was appointed Wazir by the new emperor Ahmad Shah. A royal order, asking him to reduce Rohailkhand and offering him the Governorship of the same for this task reached him. He was killed in the battle between the villages of Daunri and Rasulpur near Badaun. After him, his brother Islam Khan became Nawab. In December 1749, emperor Ahmad Shah attended by Wazir Safdar Jang, marched from Delhi to Koil on his way to resume Bangas territory. Safdar Jang moved towards Etah and ordered Nawal Rai, the Deputy Governor of Oudh to march on Farrukhabad from Lucknow. He annexed the territory of Farrukhabad including Kannauj. He made his headquarters at Kannauj. Bibi Sahiba was kept under surveillance while five sons of Muhammad Khan were sent to Allahabad as hostages. Nawal Rai’s administration was unpopular. Bibi Sahiba escaped and rallied the support of Pathans. Ahmad Khan, the second son of Nawab Muhammad was chosen as leader of the revolt. Nawal Rai moved to meet this army of Pathans and camped at Khudaganj. On 1st August 1750, Nawab Kayam
Khan advanced to attack the camp. Nawal Rai was killed in the fight and Pathans occupied Kannauj and Farrukhabad. Safdar Jang at once ordered the execution of five captive sons of Muhammad Khan at Allahabad. On 17th September 1750, a battle was fought between Ismail Khan and Suraj Mal Jat at the head of 5000 men, and Farrukhabad forces were led by Rustam Khan Afridi. In the first engagement, Rustam Khan was killed but Kayam Khan renewed the struggle and Wazir’s army was routed. Wazir himself was wounded. Ahmad Khan’s armies advanced on Lucknow and Allahabad with no result. When Wazir Safdar Jang himself advanced to Allahabad, Ahmad Khan retreated to Farrukhabad. Later on, mercenary Maratha army called by Wazir laid a cease on Farrukhabad. Nawab could not offer any resistance and retreated to Aonla across Ganges. In the autumn of 1751, he tried to invade Farrukhabad but was driven back to Kumaon where he held out against Marathas for several months. In the meantime, Ahamad Shah Durrani invaded India for second time. The emperor counselled Wazir to make peace in March of 1752. Mahakavi Ghagh who has written poems about agriculture was born in Kannauj in 1753. Mohalla Sarai Ghagh is associated with him. The Terms were arranged. The money to be paid to Marathas by Safdar Jang for their assistance was now to be paid by Ahmad Shah. Nawab alienated half of his territories to Malhar Rao Gaekwad till the payment of dues were made. The Parganas given over to Marathas were Amritpur, Saurikh, Sakatpur, Talgram and Kannauj. Gaekwad’s agents stationed at Kannauj and Aligang were to monitor the administration of the territories given over to Marathas. The place called Maratha Haveli probably indicates the official residence of the agent of Marathas at Kannauj. This arrangement continued till the crushing defeat of Marathas in Panipat in 1761. After this defeat, Marathas withdrew from northern India. Ahmad Khan, who had been made Amir-ud-Daula and Imperial Pay-Master did good service at Panipat. Shuja-ud-Daula, accompanied by the emperor Shah Alam, advanced towards the end of 1762, as far as Kannauj with the intention of conquering Farrukhabad. This project was abandoned because Ahmad Khan was joined by Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Rohailas. Wazir Shuja-ud-Daula was defeated at Buxar on 23rd October 1764. He was again defeated on 3rd May 1765 by General Carnac at Jajmau. A treaty was concluded by which he recovered his territories, with the exception of Kora and Allahabad, which were assigned to the emperor Shah Alam. In 1769, under Mahdaji Sindia, Holkar and others, Marathas again made a plan to invade this area. After many unsuccessful engagements, Hafiz Rahmat Khan returned to Bareilly and Ahmad Khan was quickly forced to return to Marathas the 16 and half Parganas which they had held until 1761. In July 1771, Ahmad Khan was succeeded by his son Muzaffar Jang, who was 13-14 years of age. The real power was in the hands of Fakhr-ud-daula. The emperor was at Kannauj at the moment and was urged by his favorite Hisam-ud-Din to resume the Farrukhabad territory. Fakhr-ud-daula made preparations to oppose the imperial forces and side by side, he also opened negotiations. In the meantime, upon paying 6 Lakh Rupees to the emperor and one Lakh to Nazaf Khan, Muzaffar Jang officially succeeded to his father’s title and territories. Immediately after the emperor left, there was in-fight among Pathans.
in which Fakhr-ud-daula was killed and his place was taken by Hafiz Rahmat Khan. In 1773, Muzaffar Jang joined Shuja-ud-Daula in expelling Marathas from southern Parganas of Farrukhabad district. Almas Ali Khan, the eunuch, was appointed the governor of these areas. Muzaffar Jang was present at the battle of Katra between English and Rohailas where Hafiz Rahmat Khan lost his life. By the treaty of Faizabad signed by the Oudh Nawab Asif-ud-daula early in 1775, it was agreed that regular brigade of the Company’s troops should be stationed at the Oudh territories. Asif-ud-daula then applied for a second force, officered by Englishmen, to consist of six battalions of sepoys, artillery and a proportion of cavalry. The brigade thus formed was in 1777 incorporated with the army of the Company and stationed at Fatehgarh. By the engagement of the 19th September 1781, the temporary brigade was to be recalled within the Company’s territory. Warren Hastings, the Governor General, did not fulfil this engagement, but renewed the promise when he visited Lucknow in 1784. He left orders to that effect with the Resident, but a reaching Calcutta found that his action was overruled. Another appeal was made to Lord Cornwallis, but without success. The tribute of four lakhs due from Farrukhabad to Oudh had been assigned for part payment of the expenses of the contingent at Fatehgarh, and this soon fell into arrears. In May 1780, an English Resident was appointed but was withdrawn in 1785, when Lord Cornwallis had succeeded to the post of Governor General. Muzaffar Jang died on the 22nd October 1796, after a short illness. Poison was suspected and Mr Lumaden, the Resident at Lucknow, came with Asif-ud-daula to Farrukhabad to enquire into the matter and settle the succession. The crime was brought home to the Nawab’s eldest son, Rustam Ali Khan, who was deported to Lucknow where he died after 1824. There were two claimants to the succession. The Chelas Parmal Khan and Muhamdi Khan put forward the late Nawab’s second son, Imdad Husain, Nasin-i-jang, then thirteen or fourteen years of age. On the other hand, Umrao Begam, the first wife of Muzaffar Jang, supported by her brother Amin-ud-dauly, produced her grand-nephew and adopted son, Dilawar Jang, grand-son of Amin-ud-daula. The dispute was at length ended by a compromise, in virtue of which Nasir Jang succeeded, under the tutelage of Amin-ud-daula. It was stipulated that the new Nawab should receive an allowance of Rs 50000 a year, but in every other respect Amin-ud-daula had uncontrolled authority.

Graveyard opposite Kashiram Awas: Presently there is a graveyard opposite Kashiram Awas. An archaeological study of this graveyard indicates once there was a structural complex existing at the same location. Presently some ruinous structure confirms its antiquity. For example, the ruins of an entrance gate on the southern side and surviving parts of a kanati mosque.

The surviving parts of the entrance gate are just sufficient to reconstruct its architectural features. The gate is composed of a central passage. The passage has been provided a trabeated entrance consisting of pillars, corbelled brackets and lintel. This trabeated gates has been placed in a big arch. The shape of the arch is neither four center nor three centered but it takes the shape of horse shoe where the spring points are less curved and arched started with separate spring point. The
spandrels of the arch contain floral medallions. Surmounting the arch, a toothed design has been provided. Arch with trabeated entrance are placed in a rectangular frame which is recessed in the wall. To approach the trabeated entrance, a flight of steps has been provided. A ruinous wall containing a mihrab in the form of an arched niche can be identified as a part of kanati masjid. The shape of the arch of mihrab a striking resemblance with that of ruinous gate.

Fig. No. 389: Drawing of graveyard near Kashiram Awas
Fig. No. 390: Entrance gate of the enclosure of graveyard near Kashiram Awas (looking from South)
Fig. No. 391: Entrance gate of the enclosure of graveyard near Kashiram Awas (looking from North)
Fig. No. 392: The gate, modern tomb and graves of graveyard near *Kashiram Awas* looking from west
Fig. No. 393: Sculptural piece standing in the graveyard near Kashiram Awas
Fig. No. 394: Kanati mosque in the graveyard near Kashiram Awas
**Fig. No. 395: Rear façade of Kanati masjid in the graveyard near Kashiram Awas**

**Masjid Daipur:** This mosque is situated on the bank of river Ganges. It contains an inscription in Arabic prose and Persian verse. It is written in Naskha and Nastaliq style. It states that this mosque was constructed by Kamaluddin Hussain. The inscription was written by Muhibullah Rajgiri. The surmane obviously refers to the Rajgirhar. The chronogram gives the gate of this inscription as 1147 H (1734-35 A.D.)

Currently this inscription is missing.

The mosque at Daipur is composed of western liwan. It is divided into central nave and side aisles. The nave and side aisles are built on square plans and connected with each other by the shallow arches. The façade of the mosque is composed of three arched openings where all arched openings are placed in a bigger arch and placed in oblong frame. Each arched opening flanked by double small niches at the spring point and above. Interiorly, the central nave contains mihrab in the center of western wall. The portion containing the mihrab is projected back. At the roof level, the parapet design are provided. The mosque is surmounted by three domes, all placed on a circular drum. The elevation of circular drums is considerable. The domes are crowned with inverted lotus and finials. Both the corners of the façade are occupied by minarets which are elevated beyond the roof level and surmounted by...
pavilion motifs at the top. Interiorly phase of transition has been employed where the first stage has achieved by squinches and second stage with pendantives. The interior and exterior surface of the structure have been plastered and is devoid of any decorations. It appears that originally there was a mosque built by Shershah built at this place. As is obvious from the inscription referred to earlier. An analysis of the architectural features of the structure indicates that this mosque was repaired again in the early years of 19th century.

**Fig. No. 396: Drawing of Masjid Daipur**
Fig. No. 397: Front façade of Masjid Daipur
Fig. No. 398: Closer view of the front façade of Masjid Daipur
Fig. No. 399: Central mihrab of Masjid Daipur
Fig. No. 400: Phases of transition of *Masjid Daipur*
Fig. No. 401: Celing and phases of transition of *Masjid Daipur*
Fig. No. 402: Eastern façade of the masjid daipur
Fig. No. 403: Southern side elevation of masjid daipur
Fig. No. 404: Rear façade of Masjid Daipur
Akbarshah Baba @ Narewale Baba, behind State Museum, Kannauj: This tomb building is built on a square plan where all the cardinal points have been embellished with entrance gate whereas the northern side was closed. These entrance gates have been projected outside. All the facades of the tomb are similar to each other. The entrance gate is composed of double arches where a small arch providing real entrance has been placed in a bigger arch. These arches have been fixed in a rectangular frame. At the corner of the structure, four pillared pavilions have been built which are non-functional. The structure is surmounted by a dome placed on a circular drum in crowned with inverted lotus and finial. The construction of this tomb building can be ascribed to 19th century.
Fig. No. 406: Drawing of Akbarshah Baba @ Narewala Baba
Unknown Tomb II, in the campus of Mahila Thana: The tomb building represents the architecture of 19th century. It is built on a square plan providing entrances at the cardinal points. All the facades are symmetrical and the central portion of the façade contains the multi-foliated arch in a rectangular frame. The arch in turn accommodates the trabeate entrance. The structure is surmounted by a dome placed on a high rise circular drum. The lower portion of the dome has been provided with rings. The
The dome was once crowned with very prominent inverted lotus and finial which was in decaying position. Interiorly the phase of transition has been employed. To break the monotony of the dome, on all the corners non-function kiosks have been built. The kiosks have domed roof. The structure has been plastered interiorly and exteriorly which has deteriorated with passage of time.

Fig. No. 408: Drawing of Unknown Tomb, Mahila Thana Kannauj
Fig. No. 409: Southern façade of the Unknown Tomb, Mahila Thana Kannauj
Wadulla Shah: This mosque lies in Mohalla Hajiganj of Kannauj city. It was built by two brothers, Wadulla Shah and Habibulla Shah. They were local Zamindars. The mosque is composed of western liwan and a courtyard in front. The western liwan is divided into a central nave and side aisles which are connected with low rise multi-cusped arches. The western façade consists of three arched openings where the central one is prominent than the flanking ones. The mosque is surmounted by three domes, all are placed on circular drums. The central dome is broader and bigger than the flanking ones. All domes are crowned with a very prominent inverted lotus and finials. The corners of the western façade have been occupied by the six storeyed minars. The upper most storey of the minar has been conceived as a fluted dome with finials. The fourth storey of the minars is fluted. The storeys of the minars are devastated by the projected cornices. To roof with circular domes, a full-fledged phase of transition has been employed with the help of squinches in the first storey and pendentives in the second storey. The nave accommodates the hexagonal mihrab in the center of the western wall. The western wall of the nave has been projected back and is surmounted by the octagonal turrets. The structure of the mosque is surmounted at the roof level by parapet designs. The inner and outer surfaces of the mosque were once covered with lime mortar which must have carried stucco decorations but presently it is having a cement plaster. The architectural analysis of the structure of the mosque indicates that the mosque was constructed in the opening years of 19th century.
Fig. No. 411: Drawing of the mosque and tomb of Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 412: Western side view of the mosque and the tomb of Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 413: Central mihrab of the mosque Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 414: Ceiling and phases of transition of the mosque Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 415: General view of the western wall of the mosque Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 416: General view of the prayer hall of the mosque Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 417: General view of the eastern wall of the mosque Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 418: Front façade of the mosque Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
The tomb of the Wadulla Shah, is built on a square plan and is provided with arched openings at the cardinal points. All the façade of the tomb building resemble each other so far as the orientation and dimensions are concerned. Each façade is composed of a central arch containing a *pistaq* flanked by double storeyed blind arched niche. The *pistaq* consists of a smaller arched opening in the center. The vault of *pistaq* contains arch meetings and arcade. All were achieved in stucco. Above the *pistaq* and flanking double storey wings, oblong panels have been provided. At the roof level, a very prominent projected cornice has been provided. The corners of the structure at the roof level are surmounted with pillared pavilions which contain balustered supporting the square *bangladar* dome surmounting the central *pistaq* in façade, there is a *bangladar* vault carrying the flutings. Between the *pistaq* and *bangladar*
vault, three small blind arches have been provided. The structure is surmounted by a semi bulbous dome placed on a high rise circular drum. The dome is crowned by a prominent inverted lotus and finials. Interiorly the surface of the walls contains three arches where the central arch facilitates the entrance and the flanking arch contains small arched niche in the upper part. All the arches are surmounted by oblong panels and a decorated cornice. The first stage of the phase of transition has been achieved through squinches which forms alcove in the corners while the second stage of the phase of transition has been achieved though pendantives supported by the brackets which is in turn facilitates the circular base of the dome. The interior surface of the structure is heavily decorated with floral designs and the niche motifs with colors. The architectural analysis of the structure especially vault roof, corner pavilions and the shape of the central dome and the ornament and decorations of the interior indicates that this was constructed in the early years of 19th century.

Fig. 420: Drawing of the tomb of Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah
Fig. No. 421: Souther façade of the tomb in Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah Complex
Fig. No. 422: Decorations of the wall of the tomb in Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah Complex
Fig. No. 423: Phase of transition of the tomb in Wadulla Shah/ Habibulla Shah Complex
Fig. No. 424: South-eastern corner of the tomb in Wadulla Shah/Habibulla Shah Complex
By the treaty of the 10th November 1801, the Nawab Wazir had ceded to the Company not only his territories in Oudh, but also his parganas in this district and the four and a half lakhs paid as tribute by Farrukhabad to Oudh, and in 1802, Henry Wellesley was at Bareilly engaged in settling the newly ceded lands. An attempt of Amin-ud-daula to reduce Nasir Jang’s allowance determined the latter to
see whether he could not make a more secure bargain with the English. Proceeding to Bareilly, he opened negotiations, and on the 4th June 1802 there was signed at Bareilly a treaty by which the Nawab ceded his country in return for a yearly allowance of Rs 10,800 to himself and his dependents. All rent-free grants, pensions and Jagirs, which could be shown to have been established previously to the death of Muzaffar Jang, were to be continued. General Lake camped at Kannauj in August 1808, on his way to the capture of Aligarh, which was then held for Sindhis by the French adventurer Perron. But the belief that the British were now fully occupied led the Raja of Thatia to revolt. His castle was besieged and stormed, and his domains confiscated, while he himself fled southwards across the Jamna. In October 1804, Holkar laid cedes to Delhi but on the arrival of General Lake he crossed Jamna and decided to ravage do-aab including this area. He pursued Holkar and reached Aliganj to find the town still burning. The Marathas had moved to Farrukhabad. General Lake decided to attack them at Farrukhabad on 17th morning. Holkar took a flight and his forces were defeated and disbursed.

Raja Yashwant Singh born in 1807 was the Raja of Tirwa Riyasat. He was the poet of Sanskrit and language. He wrote two books namely Shringar Shiromani and Shaalhotra\textsuperscript{218}. Maniram Mishra who born in 1810, authored two books, Chhanda Chhappani and Anand Mangal. Anand Mangal is the translation of the 10th chapter of Bhagwat Purana. Chhanda Chhappani is the book of poetic meters\textsuperscript{219}. Nasir Jang died in 1813 and was succeeded by his 10 year old son Khadim Hussain who bore the title Shaukat-e-Jang. He also died of small-pox in 1823 at Delhi. He was survived by Tajammul Hussain who died without issue in 1846 and was succeeded by his first cousin Tafazzul Hussain.

The incident which occurred in 1802 at Kannauj is described by Thorn and Fanny Parkes is as follows. Thorn says that jackals and tigers inhabited the ruins of medieval buildings. On one of the hunting excursions, a tiger of large sized was shot with a pistol by General Lake just as the ferocious animal was in the act of springing upon Major R. Nairn by whom it had been previously speared. Major R. Nairn commanded 6th regiment Bengal Native cavalry. He fell at the siege of Kachora on the 12th March 1803. His tomb is located at Rathibhanpur, tehsil Sikandar Rao district Aligarh U.P.\textsuperscript{220}

Kannauj was part of district Farrukhabad when the war of independence broke out in 1857. From the early part of that year there had been great excitement in the Farrukhabad district, a rumor that the government was issuing leather rupee coated with silver in order at once to depreciate the currency and destroy caste, obtaining considerable credence locally. In March 1857, Major Weller of the Engineers received a visit at Fatehgarh from a native banker, who informed that he had some of these rupees in his possession. The usual fables of flour polluted with bone dust and contaminated wells were also in circulation. As elsewhere, these stories probably had a considerable effect on the Hindu population, while the Pathans of Farrukhabad were irritated by memories of recent supremacy. They were ready for fight. But the disaffection was not widespread\textsuperscript{221}. 
News of the outbreak of Meerut on 10th May, 1857 was received at Fatehgarh some four days after its occurrence. On the 14th May, 1857, the District Magistrate Mr. Probyn convened a meeting at which it was resolved to strengthen the guards at the central treasury and the outlying police stations and tehsils. In the third week of the May arrived rumors regarding the troubled state of the neighboring Shahjahanpur district and a force of several hundred matchlock men was dispatched to prevent any rebels from crossing the Ramganga. But all was quiet and after halting a few days they returned. On the 22nd arrived, the news that the 9th native infantry had mutinied at Aligarh. Starting from Fatehgarh on the 26th with a few irregular native troopers. Mr. Bramley reached Aliganj, where he was afterwards joined by Mr. Edwards and other fugitives from Badaun. But on the same night (the 29th) they broke out, seizing their arms and it was only Colonel Smith’s great tact that induced them to return to their duty. This first overt act of rebellion roused all, except perhaps Colonel Smith himself. On the 2nd June arrived tidings that three mutinous regiments, two of irregular horse and one of the irregular foot, had passed into Kannauj by a ferry further downstream. Traversing that tehsil without causing much havoc, they marched up to the Grand Trunk road through Gursahaiganj and Chhibramau sacking the police stations at both places and the tahsils at the latter. After nightfall on the 3rd June, some 115 Europeans and Eurasians men, women and children embarked on the Ganges in about a dozen vessels. On arriving opposite to Mahadewa and Beloi, Kannauj, they were surrounded, plundered and even fired on by the Rajput villagers but on payment of a ransom of Rs. 1000, they were permitted without further molestation to reach Nawabganj in the Kanpur district. Here they were seized by sepoys and being afterwards brought before the Nana Sahib were killed.

On the 28th May, Mr. Probyn had been prevented by the threatening attitude of the soldiery from removing the district treasure in the fort. But now on the 4th, after Mr. Probyn’s departure, Colonel Smith once more attempted the important transfer. Both out in the district and its headquarters British rule was practically dead. On the 4th of June, a force of a cavalry crossed the Ganges and plundered the Kannauj tehsil. On the same day at Fatehgarh, the Nawab of Farrukhabad arrogated to himself the right of suppressing disturbances. Mr. Probyn was convinced that the 10th would again mutiny. On the 16th, the Fatehgarh regiment demanded and obtained the release of a criminal who was to have been hanged that day and the courts hitherto kept open by Captain Vibart and Deputy Collector Kalb Husain were closed. On 25th, Sitapur sepoys moved to the Shisham Bagh cleared the ground for action and opened fire. On 3rd July, 1857, the evacuation was safely accomplished as planned and at 02:00 AM on the 4th of July, three boats pushed off, commanded respectively by Colonel Smith, Colonel Goldie and Major Robertson. The crew of the last boat was exclusively European, for boatman had been difficult to hire and except two faithful sepoys and a cook, the native retainers of the garrison had slunk one by one away.
Only Mr. Churcher and Mr. Jones survived this journey. Major Robertson’s boat stranded on the way at Singhirampur. The survivors were taken back to Fatehgarh and killed. Colonel Smith and his whole party was captured at Bithur and was killed. On June 18\textsuperscript{th}, Tafazzul Husain was declared Nawab of Farrukhabad which included Kannauj also. Nawab divided his dominion in two parts, eastern and western. Eastern dominion was governed by Nazim Muhasan Ali and Western part was govern by Ahmad Yar. The highest appellate court was the Privy Council composed of two commissioned officers of the 41\textsuperscript{st} native infantry named Ganga Singh and Sheoghulam Dichhit with Ashrat Khan for president. Under them was a court of three muftis. His revenue system is described as follows. A little of the land revenue reached headquarters. He imposed a heavy octroi duty, amounting in some cases to 7 percent of the value, on all articles imported into or exported from the principal towns. The octroi of the other towns was made over to the soldiers perhaps because they were the only people who could realize it. At their instance wheat and ghee were exempted from duty. The excise revenue was less. The ferry revenue was left into the hands of the soldiers. The army consisted of the 41\textsuperscript{st} Native Infantry from Sitapur added six regiments of foot and five of cavalry. The artillery was a newly raised force of 200 men who were supposed to work 24 guns of various caliber. All recruits were armed with a musket or blunder buss known as “Sher-Bachcha”, swords and garasa. Agha Husain was commander-in-chief but his discipline was not very strict for not a man would follow him on a foray unless travelling expenses were paid in advance. Before the evacuation of the fort by the English, the turbulent Rajputs of Mahdewa and Beloi had already ventured to attack Kannauj. The attack was repulsed with loss but several of the towns people were slain\textsuperscript{224}. Emperor Bahadur Shah confirmed Nawab as his Viceroy of Farrukhabad. The southern part of the district was more disturbed where Muhasin Ali was Nazim. They admitted Nawab's supremacy but appropriated his revenue. Nawab issued an order that officers of 41\textsuperscript{st} Native Infantry should be obeyed in all things. They immediately stopped slaughter of cows and ordered that city refuse should be carried off on donkeys instead of on oxen. Gulam Ali imposed a tax on the butchers who were slaughtering these sacred animals. On 19\textsuperscript{th} July, Havelock forces re-occupied Kanpur and there was panic in Farrukhabad. Prices of all articles and commodities except wheat doubled and trebled. Only sellers of cotton fabric made profit. The soldiers were in want of money and plundered the merchants. Land holders were frequently ousted by arm plunderers from their land. The potato crop completely failed and a large tract of land was left fallow for want of seeds. Delhi was captured by Britishers on 19\textsuperscript{th} September. After this, Bakht Khan passed through Farrukhabad district on his way to invading British Garrison of Kanpur under Brigadier Wilson. He returned after getting defeated there. Returning to Kannauj on 23\textsuperscript{rd}, he met Brigadier Greathed. Bakht Khan supported by Nawab of Farrukhabad was utterly defeated. Greathed marched to Kanpur while Bakht Khan move to Farrukhabad. The pro-British jamindars got emboldened by this and defeated Mohasan Ali twice, as a result he was replaced by Thakur Pandey. He assumed the title of Collector. He was more tyrannical than his
predecessors. On 1st December, Nawab invaded Etawah and captured it. Nawab Ali was appointed Governor of this place. On 25th December, Brigadier Walpole reoccupied Etawah. Nawab’s deputies at Etah were defeated at Gangiri and Patiyali. Nawab tried to oppose Colin Campbell on 2nd January at khudaganj but lost. On 3rd January, Britishers entered Fategharh. Before this, the Nawab, Prince Firoz Shah and others cross the Ganges and found a temporary refuge at the court of Khan Bahadur Khan at Bareilly. Mohasan Ali crossed over to Shahjahanpur. On 23rd after the fall of Kalpi, the sepoys crossed the district and went across the river Ganges. After the occupation of the fort by Britishers in 1857 a force was sent out to the neighboring areas to wipe out the freedom fighters. At each halting place, a court of summary jurisdiction was held which condemned to death scores of men for their supposed atrocities at Fategharh in the previous June. The prisoners were hanged on trees. One such mass execution took place in the town of Palamau which had been an important center of freedom struggle. The commissioner guarded by the military, held his court at the police stations. A great numbers of arrested persons were brought up and marched up in the batches to a large banyan tree which stood in the center of the square and 130 freedom fighters were hanged till no more room was left on it. The castle in which the Nawab had been living was razed to the ground and later its site was occupied by the tehsil building and the town hall. His wife, Bilqis Zamania Begum, was deprived of all her belongings. She passed her days in miserable condition near the site of the palace itself. Several men of the Nawab’s family paid with their lives. During the suppression of revolt, the gadhi of Raja of Thathiya was destroyed. Hundreds of rebels were hanged around G.T. Road near Sarai Miran. The number of people of different villages of Kannauj who were killed during 1857 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>No. of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Kusumkhor</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Amrauli</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mahadeva</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kannauj Khaas</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tirwa</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tirwaganj</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Thathiya</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Daniyapur</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following people were tried for participating in the war of Independence and were awarded death sentence or life imprisonment:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of Freedom Fighter</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Shri. Kalicharan Lodh</td>
<td>Saraineera</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Shri. Devdas Shukla</td>
<td>Tirwa</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Shri. Ramdulare</td>
<td>Tirwa</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Shri. Subedar</td>
<td>Tirwa</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Shri. Jawahar Singh</td>
<td>Makrandnagar</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Shri. Devideen</td>
<td>Makrandnagar</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Shri. Muhammad Azam Khan</td>
<td>Balapir, Kannauj</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Shri. Suraj Singh</td>
<td>Chandapur</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Shri. Praag Das</td>
<td>Kannauj</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Shri. Afzal Khan</td>
<td>Kusumkhor</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Shri. Gulam Khan</td>
<td>Kusumkhor</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Shri. Shahjada Pohkar Singh</td>
<td>Thathiya</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Shri. Vishram Singh</td>
<td>Thathiya</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Shri. Bhoopal Singh</td>
<td>Thathiya</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Shri. Virbhadra Singh</td>
<td>Tirwaganj</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Shri. Maheshwar Singh</td>
<td>Tirwaganj</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Shri. Rahmat Ulla Ansari</td>
<td>Saraineera</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Shri. Foolchandra Khatri</td>
<td>Saraineera</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Shri. Jodha Singh</td>
<td>Malkapur</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Shri. Abdul Rahim Khan</td>
<td>Kusumkhor</td>
<td>Life Imprisonment</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cunningham who visited Kannauj during 1862-63 gives the following sketch of Kannauj, “At that time, Kannauj occupied only the north end of the site of the old city, including the whole of that of now called the Kitah or citadel. The boundaries are well defined by the shrine of Haji Harmayan (Fuhrer names him as Haji Harnayan but presently it is known as the shrine of Haji Sharif) on the north, the tomb of Taj Baj on the south-west and the masjid and the tomb of Makhdum Jahaniya on the south-east. The houses are much scattered, especially inside the citadel, so that though the city still covers nearly one square mile, yet the population barely exceeds 16,000 in number. The citadel which occupies all the highest ground is triangular in shape, its northern point being the shrine of Haji Harmayan, its south-west point the temple of Ajai Pal and its south-east points the large bastion called Kshem Kali Barj. Each of the faces is about 4,000 feet in length, that of the north-west being by the bed of the nameless dry Nala, that to the north-east by the Chhota Ganga, while that to the south must have been covered by a ditch which is now one of the main roads of the city running along the foot of the mound from the
bridge below Ajai Pal’s temple to the Kshem Kali bastion. On the north-east face the mound rises to 60 or 70 feet in height above the low ground on the bank of the river and towards the Nala on the north-west, it still maintains a height of 40-50 feet. On the diately below the temple of Ajai Pal but it increases to 40 feet below the tomb of Bala Pir. The situation is a commanding one and before the use of cannon the height alone must have made Kannauj a strong and important position. The people point out the sites of two gates, the first to the north near the shrine of Haji Harmayan and the second to the south-east close to the Kshem Kali Burj. But as both of these gates lead to the river, it is certain that there must have been a third gate on the land side towards the south-east and the most probable position seems to be immediately under the walls of Rang Mahal and close to the temple of Ajai Pal²³⁰.

Sheikh Idratullah Taukir was an Urdu poet. He was Nayab Riyasat of Tirwa Riyasat. Hafiz Sadruddin Akeel who was born in 1864 in Mohalla Sheikhana was also a famous Urdu poet²³¹.

Tafazzul Husain surrendered himself in January 1859 and was tried on the double charge of treason and murder. He was sentenced to death. Later on, Governor General suspended capital punishment on condition that he will go away from British territory. On this he went to Makka and remained there. Niyaz Muhammad evaded arrest for many years and took employ with Nawab of Junagarh. In 1872, he was recognized and arrested at Bombay. He was tried and condemned to death. Later on, court commuted his sentence to transportation for life²³².

Abdul Alleem Khan ‘Aleem’ was born in 1874. His father’s name was Haji Rahim Yaar Khan Rayis. He was also an important Urdu poet. He was also the editor of literary magazine Kannauj Panch²³³. Sayyid Ali Ahmed Jeerak was born in mohalla Qaji Tola in 1878. His father was Sayyid Abdul Haqim. He was also an Urdu poet. His younger brother Sayyid Fazal Ahmad Fahim who was born in 1884 was also a famous poet²³⁴. In 1898, Sheikh Muinuddin Ansari was also an important poet. He became a teacher and went to Bhopal²³⁵.

Kannauj produced a great artist who took the art of Nautanki to new heights and entertained the people of Northern India with his art. In 1903, Trimohan Lal Kurmi son of Mathura Prasad and Parvata who was later called the king of Nautanki, started his own Nautanki Company. He was born in 1883 in Kanpur. His company produced the famous female artist like Padamshri Gulab Bai. He also produced two famous Kawwals, Shankar & Shambhu. Trimohan made Kanpur city, the base of his operations. The other famous Nautanki artists from outside Kannauj were Chhiddan Nakkarchi & Jumman Nakkarchi of Aligarh, Dholakiya Kamru from Mathura, Pandit Satyanarayan from Kanpur, Baja Master Mahbub from Kanpur, other artists Pandit Vishambharnath, Kanhaiyalal Mali, Betayi Nai, Comedian Totaram from Etawah and Babu Singh from Nakata, Chaumukhi Kalakar from Kanpur²³⁶.

In 1904, a committee was formed under Sayyid Nawab Murtaza Hasan to make a dharma shala and musafir khana. The two buildings were made after raising donations. The land was given by Lala
Chhotelal son of Lala Bhajanlal. Later on in 1922, this dhamshala building was given to Nagar Palika on rent.

The 20th century saw the beginning of nationalist movement in the country. In the district, the youth became restless, discontentment broke out. During the Bangabhanga Andolan (agitation against partition of Bengal) of 1905, public meeting, strikes and protests were held in the district to create awareness among the people about the anti-national policies of the government. Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, the great nationalist leader’s movement for boycotting foreign goods also went ahead. Even in the interior of the district the Swadeshi movement struck deep roots when mass oaths to boycott foreign articles and cloth, and to patronize Swadeshi goods were taken by the people.

The first literary magazine to be published from Kannauj was Mohini. It was a half weekly magazine. In 1906, the editor of Mohini was Puttan Lal Saraswat. It was owned by Hardinni Lal Khatri and was printed from Ratnakar Press. This press was owned by Sahadeva Prasad Mishra.

Imperial Gazetteer describes Kannauj of 1908 as being situated on the edge of the old high banks of the Ganges but for the high mounds and buildings described above, was not distinguishable from many places of similar size. The houses were fairly well built but small and the most conspicuous modern building was a fine sarai which was completed recently. The dispensary tahsili and munsifi were located at Sarai Miran, two miles south of Kannauj. The town was administrated under Act XX of 1856 with an income of about Rs. 4,000. It was famous for its scent distilleries where rose water, attar of roses and other perfumes were produced which have a great reputation. Calico-printing was also carried on, but was not so important an industry here as in Farrukhabad city. There was formerly a small manufacture of country paper and a cotton gin which had worked at intervals in the last few years. The town schools had 113 pupils and two primary schools. There was also a flourishing aided school housed in a fine building.

In his gazetteer, Neave gives the following sketch of Kannauj of 1911. The population of Kannauj fluctuated very considerably during the last half century. From 16, 486 in 1847 it rose in 1853 to its maximum of 21, 964 from which it fell in 1865 to its minimum 10, 335. There was a steady recovery and in 1901, the inhabitants numbered 18, 552 of whom 11, 286 were Hindus and 6, 924 Musalmans. The inhabited site of 298 acres is scattered over the lands of five villages, Kannauj, Kandrauli, Tajpur-Naukast, Aldauddinpur and Umarpur. The boundaries of the town of that time was roughly described as triangular, the three angles being marked by the shrine of Haji Harmain, now known as Haji Sharif on the north, the tomb of Tajbaj on the south-west and the mosque and sepulcher of Makhdum Jahaniya on the south-east. But the town was a mere fraction of the ancient city, whose traces were found as far as
south as Sarai Mira and Rajgirhar. Surrounding groups of ruins and mounds of masonry debris showed where stood the towers, the palaces and the temples were of the past. Old titles, old coins and pieces of broken sculpture encountered the ploughshare in its course through the neighboring fields. The removal of the ancient bricks with which these fields were strewn proved a task of despair. But of such materials were composed the houses of then Kannauj city of that time, the huts of adjoining villages, and the ballast of the railroad. We need not believe with Colonel Tod that the circumvallation of the city once “covered a space of more than thirty miles”. But the testimony, of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, and the areas covered by ruins today, show that Old Kannauj must have stretched for over three miles along the old cliff of the Ganges. It stands on the mounds and slopes carved by the ravines which descend through that cliff to the old river bed. The streets were therefore usually steep; while the different quarters or wards were marked off by narrow gullies. This situation has the merit of securing perfect drainage. It was easy to detect in the general appearance of the two signs of former greatness. Many of the houses now half destroyed and but partly inhabited were originally handsome buildings. The more modern were built on the ruined sites of the old city and the brick work foundation may be seen to extend to a great depth. House has been built on house as its predecessor fell to pieces. The busiest portion of the town was the Bara Bazar, a long wide winding road paved with brick. It was entered from its eastern end through an old gateway which formed the west portal of a sarai built in the reign of Shahjahan (1628-58 A.D.) by Nawab Bahadur Khan. Of this sarai, a few chambers only remain; the rest have cut away by the backward erosion of deep ravines at that time. At present no remains of the Sarai exist. At the other end of the street was a large watercourse crossed by an old bridge whose inscription shows it was built about 1700 (1758 samwat) by Sripratap Agdar, Murlidhar and Ram Krishna Agarwals. Another important business center was a wide and shady grain market known as Turab Ali Bazar. Its wells were much frequented, for few others in the town yield such drinkable liquid. The water of the nearly half of the wells was said to be brackish, a circumstance which points to their having been dug in old inhabited sites. The water of the lowland flats towards the Ganges was good everywhere.

The restoration of law and order after the events of 1857 gave an impetus to trade and commerce in the district. Some new roads and railway lines were constructed which helped to some extent in fighting famines. The close of the 19th century saw the rise of the activities of the Arya Samaj in Farrukhabad and other towns. Its doctrine of monotheism, upliftment of untouchables, education of women and widow remarriage were responsible for a considerable social change. Certain other developments took place in the district in this period such as the reorganization of the administration, revision of land and revenue settlements, introduction of canals and railways, and the establishment of post offices, hospitals and schools in which English was taught.

Kannauj town area became Nagar Palika in 1919 and its first chairman was Sayyid Badruddin S.D.M (Sub-divisional Magistrate). The second chairman was Dileep Chandra Jain (S.D.M.). The third
chairman was A. E. Emerson (S.D.M)\textsuperscript{244}. In 1919, Britishers passed Roulette Act and started oppressing the people. To oppose this, \textit{Mahatma Gandhi} started non-co-operation movement in August, 1920. Law courts and educational institutions were boycotted and meetings and \textit{hartals} were held at \textit{Farrukhabad, Fatehgarh, Kampil, Shamsabad, Kannauj, Indergarh} and other towns. Local leaders addressed meetings explaining the concepts of \textit{Swadeshi} and \textit{Swaraj}. A campaign was launched in the district for using indigenous goods especially \textit{Khadi}. For the first time students, peasants and workers were drawn in the large numbers into the national movement when they boycotted shops selling foreign cloth. The people were exhorted to leave government service and boycott the courts and the children were asked not to go to the government schools. The district administration imposed a ban on the sale of \textit{khaddar} but foreign cloth worth thousands of rupees was reduced to ashes in public places. Towards the close of 1921, the movement gathered momentum particularly on the eve of the visit of the Prince of Wales to the country. During this period, \textit{Mahatma Gandhi, Moti Lal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru}, Mother of Maulana Muhammad Ali, Satyadev Parivarajak came to Kannauj. In Kannauj city and Kannauj tehsil, Shri. Hanuman Prasad Shukla, Narvadeshwar Prasad Pandey, Ram Narayan Mehrotra, Shiv Mohan Lal Guruji, Maulana Hamidur Rahman, Maulana Abdul Hai Banke, Muhammad Abbas, Abdul Ajij Gandhi, Muhammad Ayub, all inhabitants of Kannauj and Jagat Narayan Shukla and Baldev Prasad Arya of Jalalabad, Swami Shivanand of Thathiya and Dr. Sadanand Tiwari of Tirwa led the movement. People became volunteers of \textit{Congress Swayam Sewak Sangathan} and \textit{Khilafat} committee. During that time, people used to sing the following song in Hindi during meetings and processions:

\begin{quote}
“Utho Bhaiyon Chalo Aaj Mata ne Tumhe Bulaya Hai,
Karmveer Gandhi ke Dwara yeh Sandesh Pathaya Hai,
Uthakar Rakh do Pustak Veer,
Gulami ki Todo Janjeer,
Na Jab Tak ho Bharat Swadheen,
Na lo Vishraam Na ho Shramheen,
Deshwasiyo ko Gandhi ne Yahi Mantra Bataya Hai,
Utho Bhaiyon Chalo Aaj Mata ne Tumhe Bulaya Hai”.
\end{quote}

Foreign clothes were burnt. Shops of foreign cloth and liquor were picketed. About 1,000 volunteers sat on \textit{dharna} in D. J. High School, Kannauj. National High School was established at Devthe. At present, it is called \textit{Sushila Devi Inter College, Kannauj}. The boys who left D. J. High School got admission in National High School and Hanuman Prasad Shukla was made the first Principal of that school. \textit{Ram Dayal Dikshit} and Maulvi Vilayat Hussain resigned from the post of Teacher of D. J. High School. \textit{Mahesh Dutt Mishra} gave up his law practice. \textit{Munshi Raghubraj Singh} left the post of Honorary Munsif. Shri. Harihar Singh, Bhavadutt Mishra, Brahmadutt Dikshit ‘Lalam’, Kalicharan Tandon and Braj Mohan Purohit joined the movement. \textit{Visheshwar Prasad}, a teacher in D. J. High School was thrown out. \textit{Binda Prasad Bhattacharya},
Jainul Abdin Farooqi and Hari Narayan Tandon, who were students in D. J. High School were expelled. Braj Narayan Saxena ‘Azad’, Shyam Lal, Seth Vasudeva and Seth Chandragupta formed Vanar Sena of young people. They started collecting grains and money from the houses of the residents of Kannauj. Collected grains and money was used for furthering the movement.

British Government started suppressing the movement. Hanuman Prasad Shukla, Narvadeshwar Pandey, Ram Narayan Mehrotra, Shiv Mohan Guruji, Muhammad Hamidur Rahman, Muhammad Abbas, Abdul Hai Banke, Muhammad Ayub and Abdul Ajij were arrested in 1922 and were awarded rigorous imprisonment of one and a half year. Similarly large number of leaders and volunteers of Thathiya, Tirwa and Jalalabad.
were also sent to prison. During 1921-22, the songs of Pandit Shivamohan Guruji, Maulana Abdul Hai Banke, Brahmadutt Dikshit Lalam and speeches of Ram Narayan Mehrotra were heard by the people of Kannauj and these motivated them to participate in the freedom struggle. One of the popular song of that time is as follows:

“
Ae Madre Hind na ho gamgin, din achche aane wale hai,
Aazadi ka paigam tumhe hum jald sunane wale hai,
Maa tumko jin jallado ne di hai tagleef zaifi me,
Mayus na ho magruro ko, hum jald hatane wale hai”

Sayyid Rashid Ahmad Zaqi son of Sayyid Fazal Ahmad Fahim, an important Urdu poet was born in 1922. Tahir Hussain ‘Tahir’, the son of Sheikh Tafazzul Hussain, an important Urdu poet born in 1922 in Ahmadi Tola, Kannauj.

In 1925, Smt. Sarojini Naidu presided over the All India Conference of National Congress. A large number of workers and volunteers from Kannauj city and surrounding areas attended this meeting. Kalicharan Tandon was appointed the member of Swagat Samiti during this conference. After this, there was great euphoria in Kannauj. Congress started working for Hindu-Muslim Unity, liquor ban, Harijan Sewa and promotion of Khadi. Bal Krishna Sharma ‘Naveen’ addressed a meeting in Kannauj. Pandit Shanti Swaroop did organizational work in tehsil Kannauj.

Sayyid Irshad Ahmad Darraq, the brother of Rashid Ahmad Zaqi, an important Urdu poet was born here in 1925. Muhammad Yunus Beg ‘Yunus Kannauji’, was born in Mohalla Haziganj, Kannauj in 1926. His father was Muhammad Yusuf. He edited the monthly Urdu magazine Rage-sang.

In 1928, Simon Commission was boycotted and a procession of donkeys carrying the symbolic report of Simon Commission were taken out in the town and meetings were also held in the town and surrounding rural areas. During this movement, Govind Vallabha Pant and Jawaharlal Nehru were injured in lathi charge in Lucknow. Lala Lajpat Rai died in a Lathi charge in Lahore. In retaliation Bhagat Singh and Shivaram Rajguru killed John P. Saunders, Assistant Superintendent of Police in December 1928.

On March, 29, 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru arrived at Farrukhabad and was taken to the city in a procession to attend the U.P. Provincial Political Conference. During the conference, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi explained the programme of the Congress which included the enlistment of Congress volunteers. In his speech, Acharya Narendra Deo said that India was a slave country and should first fight against the laws which fettered its freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru advocated the enlistment of members to the Congress and the use of khadi. In April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt exploded two improvised bombs inside the Central Legislative Assembly in Delhi. They showered leaflets from the gallery on the legislators below, shouted slogans, and then allowed the authorities to arrest them. The arrest, and the resulting publicity, had the effect of bringing to light Singh’s complicity in the John Saunders case. Awaiting trial, Bhagat Singh gained much public sympathy after he joined
fellow defendant Jatin Das in a hunger strike, demanding better prison conditions for Indian prisoners. It ended in Jatin Das death from starvation in September 1929. Singh was convicted and hanged in March 1931, aged 23. In his diary written during his last days in prison, he quoted profusely from Marxist philosophers.

Mahatma Gandhi made a hurricane tour of the whole of the northern India in order to gather support for his newly-launched civil disobedience movement and on September 21, 1929 coming by car from Mainpuri, he stopped at Chhibramau and Khemapur where he received donations of money. On his arrival, he met with the local leaders. In the afternoon, he went to address a meeting of a woman at Saraswati Bhawan where about 1,000 women had assembled. In the evening, he addressed a meeting of about 20,000 persons in the front of the town hall at Farrukhabad. The proceedings opened with the distribution of the address of the welcome, printed in Hindi on khaddar which was offered on the behalf of municipal board, the district Congress committee and other local institutions. Two silver plates and a silver casket as well as a purse of Rs. 3000 were also presented to him. In his speech, he dwelt on five main points: the boycott of foreign cloth, fostering of the khaddar industry, abstinence from intoxicants, removal of untouchability and enlistment in the congress. On September 22, in the morning, he along with Kasturba Gandhi attended the meeting of Mahila Sabha organized at Sushila Devi Mahila Sudhar Bhawan and in the afternoon, he attended a public meeting held Gwal Maidan, Kannauj (Fig. 427). There was a crowd of 8,000 people in this meeting. There were speeches by members of town Congress committee, the municipal board, the Arya Kumar Sabha and the Swayam Sudhar Sabha. Seth Shri. Shiv Gulam Das presented 1,001 Rs. to Mahatma Gandhi. On this, Pandit Shanti Swaroop declared Sethji, the Bhama Shah of Kannauj251.
On 17th December 1929, Kannauj elected its first chairman Rai Saheb Pandit Kunwar Bihari Lal Tiwari Advocate. He remained chairman of Farrukhabad Nagar Palika for a long time. The second elected chairman was Lala Shymalal Gupta who remained in this position for ten years. The third chairman was Rai Bahadur Pandit Jageshwar Prasad Bhattacharya. At the end of 1929, according to the resolution of Lahore Congress, Vaman Rao Pitre hoisted National flag on 26th January, 1930. The people of Kannauj resolved to continue the struggle for political, economic and social freedom. Fazal Haq Shokh Kidwai, a poet, was born in mohalla Ahmadi Tola, Kannauj in 1929. His father was Abdul Haq.

In March 1930, Mahatma Gandhi started non-violence civil disobedience movement by violating salt laws. After the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi during Dandi March, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vitthal Bhai Patel, Kamla Nehru and Purshottam Das Tandon visited Kannauj and urged people to participate in freedom struggle. People were fired with the spirit of Independence and they made salt at different places and picketed shops of foreign goods and foreign clothes. The Lathaits of Thakur Kundan Singh, the Jamindar
of Tirwa attacked people holding meetings at different places. In one meeting at Tamoli wala Mandir in Tirwa, the attack of his goons was particularly vicious. After this, Shri. Ram Bharose Yadav, Thakur Lukman Singh and many other leaders and volunteers who had been injured in the lathi charge were arrested by him. On hearing this news, Kalicharan Tandon, Dr. Mohanlal Dubey and Diwan Daya Shankar Saxena reached that place in a Tonga (a horse driven vehicle) belonging to Pandit Ramadharji Bhattacharya, Advocate because rented vehicles were not allowed to be taken to Tirwa. On the third day, in violation of section 144 CrPC (Criminal Procedure Code) preventing unlawful assembly of people, Shri. Visheshwar Prasad Bhattacharya addressed a huge gathering at Tamoli wala Mandir after taking out a procession. During that meeting, the following patriotic song was sung in Hindi:

“Meri Mata ke sar par Taj rahe,
Koi Gair Na Dast Na Daaj rahe,
Mere Hindu Musalma Ek rahe,
Bhai Bhai ke Rasmo Riwaz rahe,
Ghee Doodh ki Nadiya Behti rahe,
Ghar Ghar me bhara nit Naaj rahe,
Mere Veda rahe aru Kuran rahe,
Meri Puja rahe aru Nammaj rahe,
Madhav ki chah khuda ki Kasam,
Meri baad bafaat yah yaad rahe,
Khaddar ka kafan ho mujh par pada,
Vande Mataram Alfaz rahe”.

From Kannauj city, Shri. Ramdayal Tiwari, Kanhaiya Lal, Kalicharan Tandon, Pandit Visheshwar Prasad Bhattacharya, Pandit Rajnarayan Mishra, Shri. Shivnarayan @ Vande mataram, Mahadeva Prasad Gupta, Haridutt Sharma, Kunj Bihari Lal Tiwari, Bittodevi wife of Kunj Bihari Lal Tiwari, Smt. Dharmavati, Smt. Tulsi devi; From Dadavari area, Shri. Daal Singh, Raghunandan Singh, Hajuri Singh; From Tirwa area, Shri. Chaudhary Ram Bharose Singh, Dr. Sadanand, Horilal Yadav, Prayag Narayan Srivastava; From Thathiya area, Shri. Swami Shivanand, Chunnilal, Shahjade Lal; From Baghelayat area, Shri. Lukman Singh, Angano Singh, Raghuvard Singh, Kundan Singh, Govardhan Singh, Multan Singh; From Jaspuraur area, Shri. Karan Singh, Kundan Singh, Pandit Harishchandra Bajpai; From Jalalabad area, Shri. Jagat Narayan Shukla, Baldeva Prasad Arya, Prayag duttji, Baladin, Matiram, Rohan Babu, Mahadeva Prasad, Chhammilal, Horilal, Hakeem, Lalla Harijan; From Sarai meera & Makarand nagar area, Shri. Suraj Prasad Tiwari, Pandit Yagyadutt Tiwari, Ramsewak Gupta, Prem Narayan Tiwari @ Manni Azad, Vidya Prakash Mishra, Brijkishor, Chaurasiya, Sardar Mohan Singh, Sonelal, Pandit Ramadhar Shukla, Sitaram; From Majhila area, Shri. Thakur Hakim Singh & Lal Singh; From Auser Simariya area, Shri. Chandrika Prasad Shastri, Rudradutt, Subedarsingh Yadav, Narayan Prasad Sharma, Padam Singh and hundreds of other workers and volunteers were arrested,
fined and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. But their enthusiasm was unfazed. The volunteers and workers went to different districts of the state on the invitation of Congress. A young farmer belonging to the hamlet of village Phaguha on the bank of river Ishan was shot dead by the police. The villagers belonging to Kiswapur, Kannauj observed boycott of Lagaan under the leadership of Rohan Babu. Thousands of Bighas of land belonging to farmers was confiscated. These farmers could not cultivate this land till 1938. This land was auctioned on very cheap rates. Later only with the efforts of Congress government, they could get their lands back. In 1930, a vachanalaya was started in mohalla bagiya. It was named Navjiwan Pustakalaya. A hand written quarterly magazine named Navjiwan was published from this library cum reading room. Darshan lalji Naresh was its editor. Siddhanath, Shri Krishna and Gopinath Kanaujia were its writer. Pandit Sundar Lal Dubey, the owner of Firm Pandit Devi Prasad Prayag Dutt started a monthly magazine called Sugandha Samachar.

In March 1931, there was a pact between Gandhi & Irwin and all the arrested Satyagrahis were released from jails. On their release, a big conference held under the president-ship of Surya Kumari. A dinner was arranged in the honor of Master Iqbal Bahadur, Balwant Singh and other satyagrahis who earlier had gone to jail.

The first sitting of the Farrukhabad district conference was held on May 9, 1931. It’s audience included many women, numbered about 1000. The patriotic song of India, “Bande Mataram” was sung with the audience standing. The second session on May 10 was attended by about 3000 persons including 100 women. Resolutions were passed approving the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and emphasizing Hindu-Muslim unity. Another conference was held on May 11, 1931 presided over by Sundar Lal of Allahabad and attended by about 4,000 persons including 150 women.

A large crowd met Jawaharlal Nehru at each station, on November 30, 1931, en route from Kanpur to Kannauj. At Kannauj, he addressed a meeting of about 2000 people. In the evening, he addressed a meeting of 5000 persons at Farrukhabad and was presented with a purse of Rs. 1000. He also addressed meetings at Chhibramau, Kaimganj, Jalalabad, Turajaghat and Gursahaiganj.

In January 1932 Mahatma Gandhi was arrested after round table conference in London. There was complete hartal in Kannauj. In Kannauj British government arrested Suraj Prasad Tiwari, Kalicharan Tandon and hundreds of Congress workers & volunteers. All of them were sent to jail and the first two persons were sentenced to six months imprisonment. The shops of foreign clothes and foreign liquor were picketed on the command of Congress party. Hundreds of Congress workers were arrested for this. They were sentenced to imprisonment, fine was imposed on some of them. The property of some of the agitators was auctioned to realize the fine. The no-rent campaign also received a fresh impetus during February and March of 1932, when pamphlets urging the cultivators not to purchase property that had been attached by the government was circulated at Gursahaiganj, Muhammadabad, Kaimganj,
Indergarh and Rajpur. The peasants of the district refused to pay land revenue and several arrests were made. The civil disobedience movement continued unabated till May 1934, when Mahatma Gandhi withdrew it. During this movement more than 700 persons from the district were sent to jail or were fined. In 1934, Govind Vallabh Pant who was deputy leader of opposition in central assembly presided over a meeting held at Motilal Park near Phoolmati temple299.

Congress candidate Babu Sriprakashji won the election of central assembly in 1935. In the same year, Babu Shyamlal Gupta of Congress won the election for the seat of Chairman of Kannauj municipality board. In 1936, in the elections campaign of U.P. Assembly, Congress leaders namely Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel, J. B. Kriplani, Kumari Mani Ben Patel visited Kannauj. Suba Balwant Singh of Congress defeated KUNDAN SINGH, the Qiledar of Tirwa Riyasat260. After the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement, the people in the district participated in the elections for the provisional legislative assembly which was to sit in 1937. The elections were significant from many points of view. They gave an opportunity to the leaders and supporters of the Congress to come into close contact with the masses which resulted in greater political activities. The Congress also won an absolute majority in the provincial assembly. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, then Chief Minister of U.P. hoisted flag on the Kannauj Municipal Board building261. Muhammad Fahim Khamosh was born in mohalla Kamgaran Kannauj in 1937262.

During the Second World War (1939-45), the government issued orders to the local landlords to supply, the number being fixed according to the assessment of land revenue. In 1940, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Congress gave this slogan: “Dwitiya Vishwa Yuddha me Sarkar ko Aadmi aur Paise se madad dena Haram” (Indian should not help British Government with man power and funds)263. Satyagraha was done at different places of Kannauj & Babu Shriprakash (member Central Assembly), Suba Balwant Singh (member state assembly), Babu Shyamlal Gupta (Chairman Kannauj Municipality Board), Kalicharan Tandon, Lala Brajnarayanji Azad, Ichchhalal Sharma, Subedar Shukla, Kunj Bihari Agnihotri, Kunj Bihari Tiwari, Rajkumar Pathak, Jhammu Lal Gupta, Ram Sahai (Ajaipal wale), Ramratan Gupta, Ramkumar Verma, (residents of Mohalla farsh) courted arrest. In other parts of the district, Thakur Raghunandan Singh Vidrohi, Balwant Singh, Chiranji Lal Paliwal, Narayan Prasad Sharma, Chandrika Prasad Shastri, Subedar Singh Yadav, Shiva Singh, Horilal Yadav, Prayagdutt Shukla, Maniram, Pandit Baldar, Pandit Vasudeva Pathak, Chhammi Lal Katiyar courted arrest. Subhash Chandra Bose also visited one general meeting in Kannauj during that period. He criticized the British Government and exhorted people to come together and oppose the government with all possible means264. Seth Chandragupta, the owner of Firm Mrs. Beniram Moolchand started a monthly magazine called Kannauj Samachar in 1939. Ganga Dayal Trivedi was the editor of this magazine265.
Subhash Chandra Bose, who visited Farrukhabad on January 25, 1940 met with an enthusiastic reception, his audience numbering some 10,000 persons. He made a speech advocating an immediate mass struggle for the country’s Independence. In 1941, thousands of Congress members launched individual Satyagraha against the war fund and courted arrest in large numbers.

On August 8, 1941, the Indian National Congress passed a resolution calling upon the British to relinquish power and quit India. When this movement was launched, nearly all local leaders were arrested but other volunteers filled up places vacated by their arrest. The movement resulted in large scale uprooting of railway lines and pulling down of telephone wires. Schools and Colleges were closed for an indefinite period and anti-government literature was distributed. The people from the rural areas also joined the movement.

In 1941, a monthly magazine named Rashtriya Halchal was published out by Seth Chandragupta. Ganga Dayal Trivedi was the editor of this magazine. For some time, he was assisted by Shiv Prasad Dwivedi ‘Prasad’.

In June 1942, Kalicharan Tandon visited Mahatma Gandhi in Sewa Gram Vardha. In July 1942, Professor Sibban Lal Saxena visited Kannauj and explained to important Congress members the future strategy of opposing the British Government. On 8th August, 1942, Mahatma Gandhi gave the slogan of “Angrejo Bharat Chhodo”. In this connection, the people raised the cry of “Karo ya Maro”. The same night, important Congress leaders were arrested. Dr. Jiwan Shukla was arrested in the morning of 9th August.
and then he was sent to Fatehgarh jail, when he was going from Farrukhabad to Kaimganj. He was released from jail after 15 months. Hundreds of congress workers were arrested and imprisoned for arson, dacoity and trials were held against them. On 13th August 1942, people gathered at Tamoli temple of Tirwa. Under the leadership of Chiranjilal Paliwal, they went to station officer of Police Station Indergarh, Shri Khwaja Saheb and asked him to resign from his post. Naturally, he didn’t comply with their request. On this some young people stole his pistol and disappeared. Ramsanehi Pandey, Kanhaiyalal, Ghasiram and other thirty-two people arrested, trials were conducted against them and they were awarded with long rigorous imprisonment. Their property was confiscated. Their houses were destroyed. Punitive taxes were imposed and exacted from the residents of Tirwa with ruthlessness. In this incidence, hundreds of citizens were accused of harboring the Congress people and were harassed. Some youths from Jaspura area were arrested and tried for burning down post office and pound. Since the evidence was not sufficient, they were acquitted.

Between the years 1930-42, the duos of Ramdayal Tiwari-Kanhaiyalal, Bharat Singh-Hajuri Singh inspired people for the freedom struggle. Yagyadutt Tiwari and Prayag Narayan Srivastava motivated them with speeches. The poems of Prem Narayan Tiwari ‘Manni Azad’ of Makrandnagar and Ichchharam Sharma inspired them. Rajnarayan Mishra wrote patriotic plays. Suraj Prasad Tiwari of Makrandnagar acted in these patriotic plays and influenced a lot of people. Shiva Narayan @ Bande Mataram organized the volunteers of Congress and played bugle. Kalika Prasad Bhandari, Dayaram, Baba Komal Das did great service during the camps held during that period. Kunj Bihari Tiwari lost his son, when he and his wife Bitto Devi were in jail. After coming out of jail, Kunj Bihari Tiwari died. After his death, his wife also died by giving up food and water.

The Congress leaders were released in 1946 and in the general elections for the provisional legislature the Congress again gained a majority. With the end of the war and particularly after the victory of the Labour party in the elections in the Britain, the Independence of India became an immediate issue. The fight for freedom was now waged not in the battle field but round the council table.

On August 15, 1947, the country was liberated from Alien rule and since the August 15 has been celebrated as one of the three national days of the country. The district celebrates Independence Day every year in a befitting manner and there is rejoicing in every home.

On hearing the news of the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi (on January 30, 1948), the whole district went into mourning. Markets, schools, offices and all government and other institutions etc. were closed and several processions were taken out and meetings held to mourn the tragic and irreparable loss of the “Father of the Nation”.
In 1949, Shyamlal Gupta and Kalicharan Tandon jointly started a weekly paper Sawdhan. The chief editor of this paper was Kalicharan Tandon and the editor was Ganga Dayal Trivedi. It continued till 1952.

With the enactment and adoption of the Constitution of India on January 26, 1950. India became a sovereign democratic republic. The day was celebrated in the district by taking out processions, holding meetings and illuminating houses, shops and government and other buildings. It is known as Republic Day and is celebrated with enthusiasm every year all over the district.

The memory of nationalists who participated in freedom struggle has always remained fresh in the memory of the inhabitants of Kannauj. On the occasion of the celebration of the silver jubilee year of the Independence (1972) 508 persons of the district who had taken part in the freedom struggle and their dependents were given the inscribed tamra patras (copper plates) placing on record the services rendered by them on their forebears to the cause of the liberation of the Country from foreign rule.

Fig. No. 429: Group Photograph of the Office Bearers of U.P. Legislature Congress Party (March 1957)
The other important Hindi poets born in Kannauj after Independence were Devi Sahai Bajpai, Ganesh dutt Shashtri, Baburam Shukla, Chandra Manohar Mishra, Ichchhalal Sharma and Lakshmi Narayan Dwivedi. Muhammad Arif ‘Arif’, an Urdu poet was born in 1942 in Kannauj city. Fazil Ahmad Alvi ‘Fazil’ was born in 1946. His father was Sayyid Rashid Ahmad Zaqui. Hayat Fatehpuri, an Urdu/ Hindi poet was born in 1948. Mamnun Ahmad Siddiqui ‘Mamnun’ was born in 1958. His father was Amir Ahmad Siddiqui.

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Newly discovered inscriptions in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh

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This research paper is written with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore. In my collection a good number of miscellaneous epigraphs come from Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, throwing new light on various aspects of local history. The inscriptions collected have been divided into four groups –

1. Inscriptions dealing with social aspects.
2. Inscriptions relating to Satī system.
3. Inscriptions relating to Jainism.
4. Inscriptions pertaining to Buddhism/ Hinduism.

Inscriptions dealing with social aspect-

1- Inscription from Ashokadhāma temple, village Chauki district Lakhisarai, Bihar

This inscription was copied from the Ashokadhāma temple, a famous temple in Chauki village in the Lakhisarai district, Bihar (Fig. 1). The inscription is fixed in a platform built in the premises of the temple. It is in Nāgarī characters, Sanskrit language and datable to about the 10th century A. D. records the construction of the temple by Bharat who was the son of a trader. From social point of views, this inscription is important as it reveals that in the 10th century A. D., traders took interest in constructing temples.
Newly discovered inscriptions in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh

Text:

1. Sidham Bhallipati Virigata Va Ḡkah: Dvām-ṛkasutah:
2. Bharat-ṛ na Punyadh-ṛyamidama kirti kāritasya

2- Inscription from Bichhre hill, district Lakhisarai, Bihar

The second important inscription was copied from Bichhre hill in the Lakhisarai district, Bihar (Fig. 2). This inscription is datable to about the 10th century A.D. It is in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language. In the first line, it reads JatidhavalŚilākaṭṭakaviputra and the second reads liyhatāmra.ka. Here Jatidhaval is a stone cutter as revealed from the suffix Śilākaṭṭa. The inscription is also socially important as it revealed that in 10th century A.D. that the individual can change his profession successive generation took regardless of his caste, colour etc. Here it appears that the father of Jatidhaval was a poet/Vaidhya by profession whereas his son took the work of stone cutting.

Text:

1. JatidhavalŚilākaṭṭakaviputra
2. liyhatāmra.ka.
3- Inscription from *Mundeśwarī* temple, district *Bhabhua, Bihar*

![Inscription from Mundeśwarī temple, district Bhabhua, Bihar](image)

*Fig. 03: Inscription from Mundeśwarī temple, district Bhabhua, Bihar*

This inscription copied from *Mundeśwarī*, in the *Bhabhua* district, Bihar is engraved on a stone slab and datable to about the 7th-8th century A.D. The incomplete inscription in *Siddhamātrikā* characters and Sanskrit language, records the obeisance of *Āchārya Suhatra* to food and probably acts pertaining to stone water jar and mentions *Yaśanāga* whose son name is not in the extant.

Text*:

1. *Siddhamātrikā:* **āchāryasuhatra bhojanapraṇama[ati]
2. *śilākumbhi yaśanāgaputra*

* Incomplete

** Expressed by a symbol
Inscriptions relating with Sati system

1- Inscription from Jagannātha temple premises at Naugānva, Gohad Tahsil, district Bhind, Madhya Pradesh

![Inscription from Jagannātha temple, Naugānva, Gohad Tahsil, district Bhind, Madhya Pradesh](image)

Engraved on a satī stone lying loose in the Jagannātha temple premises at Naugānva, Gohad Tahsil and in the Bhind District, Madhya Pradesh (Fig.) in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language. This inscription is dated to Vikrama 1458, Āśvina va. 14, Monday corresponding to 1400 C.E., October 17. The record gives the name of Uddharaṇa Dēva, Tomar king of Gwalior and Gopāchala (ancient name of Gwalior). It seems to record the performance of satī by the wife of Paṁ Kesō. This inscription is important as it indicates that Uddharaṇa Dēva continued to be in possession of the Gwalior region even as late as V.S. 1458.

Text:

1. Om siddhi saṁvātu 1458 varṣa-ā-
2. sūni vādi 14 sōmavāsara-gopāchala
3. gadha durg-rājā Udhāraṇa dīva pati
2. Inscription from Śati Sthān in Chandahārā, district Bhind, Madhya Pradesh

This inscription engraved on Śati stones fixed in the ground in the Śati Sthān in Chandahārā, in the Bhind district (Madhya Pradesh), dated 1586 A.D. (Fig. 4), mentions Jai Singh who was probably a local chief.

Apart from this a good number of Śati inscriptions were also in Gohad Tahsil, district Bhind (Madhya Pradesh). All these Śati records indicate the prevalence of the Śati custom and practice of erecting memorial stone for them in this area.

Text:

1. Rāmsha saṁvatu 1586
2. Varsh >pausha va 6 . .
3- Inscription from Betvā ghāta, tahsil Vidiśā, district Vidiśā, Madhya Pradesh

This inscription engraved on a Sātī stone fixed in the ground near Betvā ghāta, tahsil Vidiśā, district Vidiśā, Madhya Pradesh is dated Vikrama 1851 (1794 A.D.) (Fig. 5). This inscription in Nāgarī characters and local dialect, records the performance of satī by Subhī Bhagvatī daughter of Paṃ śrī Ravī Jī belonging to Pārāsara Gotra, wife of Tulānandā Jī.

Text:

1. . . . sāvana . . .
2. // athā śrī nṛpati vikramāṭīya rājiya saṅvat 1851 sāke 1716 mīti mārgasira suddha13 //
3. Budhavāratā dina satī bhayī subhī bhāgavatī . . . sutā paṃ śrī hari ji pārāsara gotra //
4. // bhārgva tulānanda ji tasya patni patavrata vā . śrī gai . . dārī sahagamana kiyau tinkī
5. // śrī . . . sevaka saravata sīṁgha desa . ganai
6. chau raṅgatā bananā subhaṁ bhavatu
Inscriptions related to Jainism:

1- Inscription from *Jaina* image, *Barahada, Mehgaon Tahsil*, district *Bhind, Madhya Pradesh*

Fig. 07: Inscription from *Jaina* image, *Barahada, Mehgaon Tahsil*, district *Bhind, Madhya Pradesh*

Fig. 08: Inscription from *Jaina* image, *Barahada, Mehgaon Tahsil*, district *Bhind, Madhya Pradesh*
This inscription engraved on the pedestal of a headless Jaina image, copied from Barahada, Mehgaon Tahsil, in the Bhind District, Madhya Pradesh (Fig. 6 & 7), written in Nāgarī character and local dialect and dated Vikrama 1412, records the obeisance the Jaina tīrthaṅkara by a person belonging to Mūlasaṅgha:

Text:

1. Saṁvatu 1412 . . . gaṇa. . . dinī śrīmula samhe gata
2. Vāya . . . yasva pāyaraha: praṇamati

2- Inscription from Biharsharif state museum, district Nalanda, Bihar

Fig. 09: Inscription from Biharsharif state museum, district Nalanda, Bihar
Fig. 10: Inscription from Biharsarif state museum, district Nalanda, Bihar

Engraved on the pedestal of Jaina image preserved in the Biharsarif State Museum in the Nalanda District, Bihar (Fig. 8 & 9) and dated Samvat 1548, this inscription in Nāgarī Character and local dialect, mentions Bhaṭṭāraka Śri Jinchandra Jivaraja Papḍivala belonging to Mūlasaṃgha and Sri Rājā Sivasiva.

Text:

1. samvata 1548 vaśhe bēsāsha suḍi 3 śrī mulasāmyha bhatāragaṇa śrī jina
2. chandra vā: sāda jīvarāja pāpadivāla sahara marāsā śrī rājā
3. sivasiva rāvala
Newly discovered inscriptions in Bihar and Madhya Pradesh

Inscriptions pertaining to Buddhism/ Hinduism-

1- Inscription from Kumaithā, district Lakhisarai, Bihar

A good number of Buddhist inscription engraved on Buddhists copied from the Lakhisarai and the Nalanda District (Bihar are written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī Script and indicates the prevalence of Buddhism in the area.

![Fig. 11: Inscription from Kumaithā, district Lakhisarai, Bihar](image)

I copied this inscription from Kumaithā, Lakhisarai District (Bihar) (Fig. 10) engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image in character of about 9th and 10th centuries A. D. It is written in Sanskrit language and Nāgarī script, records the Buddhist formula, ‘yē dharma’ and mentions that the image is the gift of Hemadēva.

Text:

1. yē dharma hētu prabhaḥaḥ hetum teṣāṁ tathāgatotpava ṃ tesaṁ cha yo nir-dhama vaṁ mahaśramaṇaḥ: / dēyadhamoyāṁ thakura śrī hemadevasya //
2- Inscription from Biharsharif, district Nalanda, Bihar

This inscription is copied from Biharsharif, in the district Nalanda, Bihar engraved on the pedestal of the Surya image and datable to about the 9th century A.D., this inscription, in Nagari characters and Sanskrit language, records that this is the gift of Kāyasta Vijaya’s son.

Text:

1. dharmṁ-yaṁ kāyastya vijaya
2. ta putra aus-adā tasya
3- Inscription from Biharsarif state museum, district Nalanda, Bihar

Engraved on the halo of the Jambhala image, preserved in the Biharsarif State Museum in the Nalanda District, Bihar (Fig. 12) and datable to about the 9th century A.D., this inscription in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language, records the request for shelter in the deity by Sutradhāra Vardhiki in Nālandā.

Text:

1. śrī nālandāyaṁ sūtradhāra vardhaki śranyāh
The following is the catalogue coins found from Kannauj area and presently kept in Kannauj museum. The coins are made of Gold, Silver and Copper. These coins were found from different points of the city mound itself. These are random finds by the inhabitants of the city. The bar chart showing the number of coins belonging to different periods has been drawn below. Being the random finds, the numbers clearly indicate the money supply available in the hands of the people during different periods. The finds clearly indicate that during Mauryan, Kushan, Pratihar, Sultanate and Mughal (early and late), the metal money available in the hands of the people was more. These periods are the period of prosperity in the history of India. This study indicates that random coins find belonging to a period from an area is an indicator of the prosperity during that period (Chart 01).

**Chart 01: Number of Coins found during Different period in Kannauj**
**Punch Marked Coins:**

**Coin No. 01**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.0 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is **Kannauj**, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 02**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obverse</th>
<th>Reverse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.42 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x1.1 cm. The provenance of the coin is **Kannauj**, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 03

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.30 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 04

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.38 gram. The size of the coin is 1.1x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 05

Obverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.30 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Reverse


Coin No. 06

Obverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Reverse
Coin No. 07

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.10 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 08

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.30 gram. The size of the coin is 1.1x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 09

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 10

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.38 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 11

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.80 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 12

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 13

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.45 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 14

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 15

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.27 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 16

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.17 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 17**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.61 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 18**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.12 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 19

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.38 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 20

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.39 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 21**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.41 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 22**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.27 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 23

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.33 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 24

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.19 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 25

Obverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.46 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Reverse

Coin No. 26

Obverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.12 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Reverse
Coin No. 27

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 28

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.35 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 29
It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.36 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 30

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.10 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 31

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.48 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 32

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.45 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 33**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 34**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.48 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 35

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.45 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 36

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 37**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.30 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 38**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.14 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.23 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.1 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.0 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 41**

![Coin Image](image1)

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.35 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 42**

![Coin Image](image2)

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.12 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 43

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.30 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 44

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 45

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.21 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 46

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.28 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 47

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 48

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.23 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x0.9 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 49**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.20 gram. The size of the coin is 1.1x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 50**

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.28 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 51

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.31 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 52

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.39 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.1 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 53

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.46 gram. The size of the coin is 1.7x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 54

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. The weight of the coin is 3.37 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 55

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.46 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 56

It is a Punch marked coin of imperial series. The weight of the coin is 3.41 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Cast Tribal Coins:

**Coin No. 57**

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 2.04 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 58**

It is a local cast coin of Panchal. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 6.57 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 59

It is a local cast coin of *Panchal*. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 6.28 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 60

It is a local cast coin of *Panchal*. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 8.13 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coin No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>It is a local cast coin of <em>Panchal</em>. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 2.64 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is <em>Kannauj</em>, Uttar Pradesh, India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.65 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is <em>Kannauj</em>, Uttar Pradesh, India.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coin No. 63

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 4.17 gram. The size of the coin is 1.7x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 64

It is Cast Tribal coin. It is of 1st century A.D. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.19 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 65

Obverse

Reverse

It is an uninscribed tribal cast coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 2.45 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh, India.
Ancient Coins:

**Coin No. 66**

It is an ancient coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.68 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 67**

It is an ancient coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.23 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 68

Obverse

Reverse

It is an ancient coin (1st-2nd century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.47 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 69

Obverse

Reverse

It is an ancient coin (1st century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.68 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 70

![Obverse](image1)
![Reverse](image2)

It is an ancient coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 2.19 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 71

![Obverse](image3)
![Reverse](image4)

It is an ancient coin (4th century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.08 gram. The size of the coin is 0.7x0.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 72

It is an ancient coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.83 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 73

It is an ancient coin (4th century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.77 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 74

It is an ancient coin (4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.80 gram. The size of the coin is 0.7x0.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 75

It is an ancient coin (4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.70 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Kushan Coins:

**Coin No. 76**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.51 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 77**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 2.56 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 78

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.88 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 79

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 15.28 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 80

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 17.23 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 81

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 15.42 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.48 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.38 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coins of Kannauj

Coin No. 84

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 9.06 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 85

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.80 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 86**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 15.12 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 87**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.42 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 88**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 17.14 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 89**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 17.23 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 90

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 7.72 gram. The size of the coin is 2.2x2.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 91

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.99 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 92

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.23 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 93

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 7.79 gram. The size of the coin is 2.2x2.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 94

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 9.55 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 95

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 7.88 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 96**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 7.70 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 97**

It is a *Kushan* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 15.76 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.45 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 98

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.38 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 100

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.07 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 101

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 15.02 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 102

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.60 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 103

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.14 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 104

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 15.06 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 105

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 7.44 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 106

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 8.43 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 107

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.51 gram. The size of the coin is 2.7x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 108

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.83 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 109

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.71 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 110

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.28 gram. The size of the coin is 2.4x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 111

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 8.20 gram. The size of the coin is 2.2x2.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 112

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.99 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 113

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.70 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 114

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.09 gram. The size of the coin is 2.3x2.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 115

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 14.27 gram. The size of the coin is 2.2x2.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 116

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 6.40 gram. The size of the coin is 2.1x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 117

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 16.0 gram. The size of the coin is 2.5x2.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 118

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 11.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 119

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 9.96 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 120

It is Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 4.93 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 121

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 3.66 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 122

It is a Kushan coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 4.36 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 123

It is a Kashmir Kushan coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 7.64 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 124

It is a Kashmir Kushan coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 6.88 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 125

It is a Kashmir Kushan coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 7.50 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 126

It is a Kashmir Kushan coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 7.53 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 127

It is Kashmir Kushan coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 5.97 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 128

It is a Kashmir Kushan coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 7.13 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Tribal Coins:

**Coin No. 129**

It is tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.10 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 130**

It is a tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.0 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 131

It is a tribal coin (1st century-2nd century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 2.34 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 132

It is a tribal coin (4th century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.19 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj.
Coin No. 133

Obverse

It is a tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.12 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Reverse

Coin No. 134

Obverse

It is a tribal coin (4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.10 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Reverse
Coins of Kannauj

Coin No. 135

Obverse

Reverse

It is a tribal coin (4th century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.71 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 136

Obverse

Reverse

It is a tribal coin (4th century A.D.). It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 0.68 gram. The size of the coin is 0.7x0.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 137

It is a tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.48 gram. The size of the coin is 1.1x1.1 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Kshatrapa Coins:

**Coin No. 138**

It is a Kshatrapa coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.02 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 139**

It is a Kshatrapa coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.2 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 140

It is a Kshatrapa coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 1.13 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 141

It is a Kshatrapa coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 1.90 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 142

It is a *Kshatrapa* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.18 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 143

It is a *Kshatrapa* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.43 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 144

It is a *Kshatrapa* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.22 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 145

It is a *Kshatrapa* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.18 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a *Kshatrapa* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

It is a *Kshatrapa* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.13 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 148

It is a Kshatrapa coin (238-39 A.D.). It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.0 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Achutya Coins:**

**Coin No. 149**

Obverse

Reverse

It is an *Achutya* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.50 gram. The size of the coin is 0.8x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 150**

Obverse

Reverse

It is an *Achutya* coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.65 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x1.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 151

It is an Achutya coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.39 gram. The size of the coin is 1.0x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 152

It is a tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.25 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a tribal coin. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 1.80 gram. The size of the coin is 0.9x0.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Gupta Coins:

It is a Gupta coin. It is made of silver. It is of the reign of Skandagupta. The weight of the coin is 2.23 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Pratihar Coins:

**Coin No. 155**

Obverse  
Reverse

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.80 gram. The size of the coin is 1.7x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kanauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 156**

Obverse  
Reverse

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.69 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kanauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 157**

It is a Pratihāra coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.86 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 158**

It is a Pratihāra coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.08 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 159

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.62 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 160

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.67 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 161

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.80 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 162

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 4.00 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 163

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.30 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 164

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.28 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 165

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 8.5 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 166

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.20 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 167

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.61 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 168

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.69 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 169

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.76 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 170

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.83 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 171

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 1.88 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 172

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Cast Tribal coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 1.66 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 173

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.82 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 174

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.64 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 175

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.96 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 176

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.60 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coins of Kannauj**

**Coin No. 177**

![Obverse](image1)

![Reverse](image2)

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.34 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 178**

![Obverse](image3)

![Reverse](image4)

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.86 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 179

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.85 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 180

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.75 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 181

![Obverse](image1) ![Reverse](image2)

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.82 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 182

![Obverse](image3) ![Reverse](image4)

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.36 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 183

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.73 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 184

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.91 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 185

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.92 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 186

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.80 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 187

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.40 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 188

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.76 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 189

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.82 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 190

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.57 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 191

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.92 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 192

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.81 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 193

It is a Pratihār coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.88 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 194

It is a Pratihār coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 2.73 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 195

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.86 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kanauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 196

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.57 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kanauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 197**

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.62 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannaúj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 198**

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.79 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannaúj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 199

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.69 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 200

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.70 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 201**

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.89 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 202**

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.86 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 203

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.28 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 204

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.52 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 205

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.92 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 206

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.92 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 207

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.75 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 208

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.69 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 209

Obverse
Reverse

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.88 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 210

Obverse
Reverse

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.82 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 211

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.88 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 212

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.66 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 213

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.80 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 214

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.85 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 215

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.82 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 216

Obverse
Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.72 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 217

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.81 gram. The size of the coin is 1.7x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 218

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.96 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 219

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.81 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 220

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.60 gram. The size of the coin is 1.7x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 221

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.70 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 222

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.89 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 223

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.83 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kanauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 224

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.84 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kanauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 225

![Image of Coin No. 225]

Obverse  
Reverse

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.67 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 226

![Image of Coin No. 226]

Obverse  
Reverse

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.54 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 227

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.73 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 228

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.77 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 229

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.66 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 230

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.67 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 231

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.55 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 232

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.34 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 233

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is gram. The size of the coin is cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 234

Obverse

Reverse

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.76 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 235

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.76 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 236

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.71 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.1 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 237

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.78 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 238

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.84 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 239

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.77 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 240

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.65 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 241

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.64 gram. The size of the coin is 1.2x1.2 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 242

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.08 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.59 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.83 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 245

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.74 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 246

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.87 gram. The size of the coin is 1.1x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 247

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.97 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 248

It is a Pratihar coin. The weight of the coin is 3.81 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
**Coin No. 249**

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.78 gram. The size of the coin is 1.7x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 250**

It is a Pratihar coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.39 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 251

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.47 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 252

It is a *Pratihar* coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.77 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 253

It is the coin of Gujarat. It is of 10th-12th century. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 4.01 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 254

It is the coin of Gujarat. It is of 10th-12th century. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 11.87 gram. The size of the coin is 1.3x1.3 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 255

It is the coin of Gujarat. It is of 10th-12th century. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.86 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 256

It is the coin of Gujarat. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.36 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Coin No. 257

It is a Gujarat coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 4.0 gram. The size of the coin is 1.4x1.4 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

Coin No. 258

It is a Gujarat coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 4.01 gram. The size of the coin is 1.5x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a Gujarat coin. It is made of silver. The weight of the coin is 3.84 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.6 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Early Medieval Coins:

**Coin No. 260**

![Obverse](image1)

![Reverse](image2)

It is an early medieval coin. It is of 9th-10th century A.D. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 3.80 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.7 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 261**

![Obverse](image3)

![Reverse](image4)

It is an early medieval coin. It is of 9th-10th century A.D. It is made of copper. The weight of the coin is 3.61 gram. The size of the coin is 1.6x1.5 cm. The provenance of the coin is Kannauj, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Gahadwal Coins:

**Coin No. 262**

It is a *Gahadwal* coin. It is made of Gold. The weight of the coin is 3.81 gram. The size of the coin is 2.0x2.0 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.

**Coin No. 263**

It is a *Gahadwal* coin. It is made of Gold. The weight of the coin is 4.19 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
It is a *Gahadwal* coin. It is made of Gold. The weight of the coin is 4.19 gram. The size of the coin is 1.8x1.8 cm. The provenance of the coin is *Kannauj*, Uttar Pradesh, India.
Sher Shah Tomb, Sasaram: The Greatest Tomb of Sixteenth Century

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Introduction

The empire of the Mughals was founded by Babur in 1526 but unfortunately it was interrupted by the Sher Shah Suri who seized Delhi and for fifteen years Muslim Sur Dynasty ruled Delhi. Sher Shah Tomb sits in a tank, a clear reference to al-kauser, the heavenly fountain of spiritual rewards. This reference is specifically spelled out, for the Quranic chapter al-kauser or abundance, is inscribed on the tombs prayer niche. Thus Sher Shah constructed for himself a monument in which the entire setting was intended to represent the paradise, the world of eternity. Sher Shah Patronage of tombs served a similar purpose. That is, they served to elevate his lineage by post glorifying his ancestors and thus indicating his suitability for kingship. Further, the size and shape of these tombs provided an explanation for their construction. The tomb at Sasaram is octagonal; a type during this period usually reserved for Afghan royalty but it is much larger and placed in more spectacular setting than any of its precedents.

Principal of architecture

Approach to the site

This principal is useful when you want to arrive at an important space, for instance at courtyard. Before entering this space you usually move into a narrow dark corridor where there is nothing interesting. Its connection with the rest of the world is maintained by the means of causeway access to which is permitted through a strongly built guard room on the edge of the northern side of the lake which on occasion could be closed and defended.
The access to the mausoleum is through the entrance gateway. When approaching through the gateway over the water, one gets down to experience the concept of heavenly fountain. After
passing through the pathways one has to go up by several steps then one can finally reach the raised platform to feel the splendour and grandness of the tomb.

**Design aspects**

The octagonal tomb is topped by a dome, 22-metre in span and surrounded by ornamental domed kiosks. This mausoleum is made of red sandstone and is almost square shaped. It is often referred to as the second Taj Mahal of India. The tomb is on a square stone plinth with domed kiosks, impressive *chhatri* at each of its corners.

![Site plan](image)

**Fig. 03: Site plan**

Surrounding the main dome are eight pillared cupolas on the corners of the octagon of the chamber walls. The interior of the tomb is well ventilated and lit as light passes through large windows on the top portion of the walls fitted with stone *jalis* of varying patterns.
At first sight the mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram appears to have been built on perfectly symmetrical plan but the examination of its sub-structure shows that a curious correction in its orientation had to be effected during the course of its erection. It was intended that the building should have faces opposite the point of compass, but on completing the great stepped plinth it was discovered that through some miscalculation this foundation of masonry was eight degree in error. It was too late to alter the sub-structure; the remaining upper part of the building was carried out an angle with its basement, the ground plan being sufficiently inclined to bring its sites exactly in the right direction.

In addition, there are stone banks and stepped moorings on all sides of the plinth, that can be accessed from the mainland through a broad stone bridge. Its height from the floor to the apex of the dome is 101 feet and its total height above the water is over 150 feet. The octagon chamber of the tomb has an interior diameter of 75 feet and an exterior diameter of 104 feet.
Of its five storeys, the two comprising the foundation of this island tomb consisting of stepped basement rising directly out of the water and tall terrace above, are both square in plan, the latter being so designed that its upper surface forms terrace with pillared pavilions at each corner.

The lower storeys are in the form of a verandah, having triple arches on it eight sides with a projecting eave above and over which rises a parapet with crenellations and merlons. The second stage is a plain wall similar to tomb of Hassan khan but here its surfaces have been partly screened by pillared kiosk at each angle, and there are also projecting windows in between. The third stage is the drum of the dome and this also is relieved by a series of kiosk which actually break into its circular base, thus carrying the eye along its ascending curves to the massive lotus finial which crowns the whole structure. Brown¹ notes that “It is an inspired achievement, a creation of sober and massive splendour of which any country would be proud….the proportion of its diminishing stages, the harmonious transition from square to octagon, and from octagon to sphere, the variety and distribution of its tonal values, the simplicity, the breadth, and scale of each major element, and finally, the carefully adjusted mass of the total conception, shows the aesthetic capacity of the Indian architect at its greatest, and his genius at its highest”. Alfieri² notes,” indeed more than a few scholars considered this mausoleum more successful even than the Taj Mahal”.

Passing to interior arrangements of this tomb the chamber is entered through the encircling veranda by doorway, on each side except that in the west which is sealed to accommodate the mihrab. It is single vaulted hall 66’ in diameter and there is no double dome so that it rises directly to a height of 90’ from the pavement to crown. The interior of the chamber is moderately plain,
the only enrichment being inscriptions carved on the Qibla wall consisting of graceful calligraphy but with little ornamental elaboration.

**Proportion**
This principle concerns the size of different elements of a historical building both on the Plan and facade. Building a perfectly symmetrical monument is not so complex as that, if one exempts both the imposing size of it, the quality of its execution and the riches with which it has been trimmed. On the other hand, making a well-proportioned building is much more difficult, especially since at the time of its construction there were few means of simulation. The very form of the Sher Shah Tomb is quite original, as it was infrequent to have to build such a large building. Its size allowed fancies, like its proportion between the width of the sides and its height which is most original.

![Proportion in Elevation of the tomb](image-url)
The members of the Suri Dynasty had built lower mausoleums, the proportion of which made them closer to the ground. The domes, which were frequent, could not make them so high. At the Sher Shah Tomb, on the contrary, it is the whole monument that grows towards the sky, the dome only bringing an additional "arrow", much like the Gothic cathedrals of the middle ages, in the West. To reinforce this impression the dome was placed on a drum, a piece of cylindrical architecture. The ratio of plan may be analysed that the periphery of first grid gets consumed in the verandah and masonry. The geometry of an elevation shows that ratio between width of a base to height is 1:2. The earlier tomb structure of sultanate period was not having such kind of a scale. This was the tallest tomb structure of its time that was conceived by great builder Sher Shah.

**Symmetry**

In architecture, symmetry is the reflection of shared forms, shapes, or angles across a central line or point called the axis. Basically, components that mirror each other across an axis are...
symmetrical. Symmetry helps bind various elements of a structure together into a single, unified whole.

It is also commonly used to create a sense of rational order and calm logic, a favoured aesthetic. The Tomb of Sher Shah was designed on the basis of symmetry. Symmetry among Suris was very important, it meant order, rigor, precision, perfection for them. This is why the imagery of Paradise is associated with the perfect symmetry of things, as the Qur'an quotes it.

**Harmony**

This monument is constructed of the fine sandstone, the masonry being in large block laid rather in irregular courses but the stones are well dressed with good joints. As it now appears the building is a uniform grey mass presenting a sombre effect in keeping with its solemn purpose. Its grim grey bastioned walls are strongly built of rough but well bonded rubble masonry, a distinct contrast in colour and structural texture to the high artistic finish of the gateways formed of smooth red sand stone and white marble with occasional in sets of blue glazed.

**Aesthetic**

The external elevation of Sher Shah is impressive from the stepped base to the finial of the dome. The forms march upward and inward in silent procession.
The elevation displays an elegant triangle of forms against the sky. The varying size of different masses is appealing to the eye as are the various openings placed on its own artificial island and placed so that the tomb appears askew the effect that does not appear odd. Rather it adds to the beauty and mystery of this tomb. It defers little in general appearance from pre-existing Lodi models safe for the expanses of the drum supporting the majestic central dome featuring chhatri clustering round each of its eight corners.

Conclusion
The mausoleum conceived by Sher Shah Sur in Sasaram evokes a sense of grandeur. This tomb served as visual form of legitimation for the Sur dynasty in much the same fashion that some Islamic dynasties produced fictitious genealogies to prove their royal worthiness. The architecture of Suri dynasty depicts that they were more inspired by the Tughlaque and Lodi style. It was well within the standard Indo Islamic tradition for one of the first sultans of a dynasty to establish dynastic burial ground with elaborate tombs with exceptional setting, floating like a flawless pearl on the water of artificial lake. The tomb is the second highest in India which attracts tourists.
References

INTRODUCTION

Archaeological study of sites associated with European trading companies in India is very much in its infancy, yet the research potential of these sites has long been recognised. In contrast the socio-economic historiography for the same period is substantive and diverse. By using the 17th century factories of the English East India Company in the Malabar region as case studies, this paper considers ways in which this disparity could be addressed and offers an appraisal of the evidence that could be unlocked through a focused historical archaeology approach. The first section considers contemporary documentary evidence for the factories, revealing issues that influenced acquisition of factory site, architectural form and in some cases the circumstances leading to their withdrawal. The second section presents the potential range of archaeological evidence that could be gathered, as demonstrated by the handful of investigations of contemporary European factory sites. The paper concludes by briefly assessing the contribution the study could make to broader research themes.

Before proceeding further, the term ‘factory’ in this context should be defined. Its modern usage, implicitly associated with processes of manufacture and assembly does not apply to the trading establishments of the European companies in the Indian sub-continent and beyond. Chaudhuri (1978) offers a succinct but accurate definition, ‘The term ‘factory’ at this time merely signified an establishment for merchants to carry on business from within a foreign country and is derived from the word ‘factor’ meaning an agent employed by the principal merchant.’3 For the East India Company in the 17th century, it is evident from consultation of primary documentary sources that the term ‘factory’ was a generic one, used without reference to the specific architectural form, extent and wider setting that existed on the ground. Often it was used interchangeably with the term ‘house’, another ambiguous label that could apply to the entire establishment or just to the building in which administrative tasks were performed and the factor’s domestic quarters located. The transposable usage of these terms is consistently demonstrated by the contemporary literature. Beyond the administrative/domestic structure (what might be termed the ‘factory house’), storage facilities were also required, and these are most commonly referred to in contemporary documents as warehouses. Thus, the factory house and the attendant warehouse(s)
can be considered the two basic units of a factory, though their architectural form varied significantly, from local vernacular styles to forts built to European military blueprints.\(^5\)

![Factory locations map](image)

**Fig. 01: Factory locations**

**DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE**

**Source Material**

The principal sources of documentary evidence for factory location, setting and form are contained within the vast archive of surviving original Company correspondence held within the India Office Records (IOR) as part of the British Library’s Asia, Pacific and Africa collections. Most of the contemporary documents are scattered throughout the factory records of *Surat* and later, Bombay\(^6\), the Presidencies which oversaw the operations of the Malabar factories and also the IOR’s extensive ‘Original Correspondence’ catalogues.\(^7\)

The immense task of transcribing the many thousands of letters and consultations that make up the IOR archive was diligently undertaken in the last decade of the 19\(^{th}\) century and first half of the 20\(^{th}\) by F C Danvers and W Foster in their *Letters received by the East India Company from its servants in the East* series\(^8\) (covering the period 1602-1617), and then continued by Foster and later C G H Fawcett in the *English Factories in India* series (spanning the period 1618-1684).\(^9\) These
publications present transcripts of all Company correspondence to 1654 and then, as the amount of correspondence proliferates, extracts from the key documents through to 1684.

For the period post-dating 1684 (and in some instances earlier) select original documents have been examined and transcribed by the author. The majority of these are held in the IOR Original Correspondence catalogues.\(^\text{10}\)

Apart from these sources, descriptive accounts were produced by various contemporary visitors to littoral south-west India. Foremost among these are the works of three English mariners whose accounts span most of the period in question: Peter Mundy\(^\text{11}\) (covering the period 1628-1655), Edward Barlow\(^\text{12}\) (1670-1697) and Captain Alexander Hamilton\(^\text{13}\) (1688-1723). In addition the 1670s are particularly well-served by a trio of published journals; that of a French cleric known as Abbé Carré\(^\text{14}\) (1672-74), his countryman, the physician Gabriel Dellon\(^\text{15}\) (1688-76) and his English counterpart Dr John Fryer\(^\text{16}\) (1672-1681). Unlike the work some of their contemporaries, their accounts appear reliable, corroborating not only with each other, but also with Company documents. As such the following descriptions borrow heavily from their testaments.

**Calicut (1616-17, 1659-)?:** A factory was established at Calicut (Kozhikode) in April 1616 following a brief period of trade in Cranganore (Kodungallur) where the Zamorin of Calicut, engaged in hostilities with the Portuguese, had entered into an agreement with the English whom he viewed as a potential ally.\(^\text{17}\) In a letter of 15\(^{\text{th}}\) July 1616 the Company’s factor at Calicut, George Woolman, reported leaving part of his stock in one of the Zamorin’s houses at Cranganore, but gives no details of the premises he had relocated to.\(^\text{18}\) He complains of the lack of trade at Calicut; barely a month later Woolman had died and the factory was withdrawn in March 1617.\(^\text{19}\)

With Company attention principally focused on trading ventures along the Coromandel Coast and Mughal territories, over forty years passed before a presence in Calicut was re-established. In March 1659 Robert Masters was stationed there to buy red wood and cardamoms and on his return to Surat at the end of the year he carried a letter from the Zamorin inviting the Company to return, which they duly accepted, writing to London of, ‘… the convenient lying of the factorye, the quiet trading in it…’ \(^\text{20}\) The venture, however, was short-lived and by March 1661 the factory had been withdrawn.\(^\text{21}\)

In October 1664 factors Charles Smeaton and Robert Barbor were sent to Calicut, with the instruction that, ‘the house inhabited by their predecessors would be at their disposal’.\(^\text{22}\) In their first dispatch they reported being, ‘…well received by the officials, who assigned them a house and gave them permission to display their flag’.\(^\text{23}\) The factors were based here until June 1665 until the construction of a new factory was completed. In letters spanning February to May 1665 they complain of the ineffectiveness of their broker in securing trade and the threat posed to English commerce and their own personal wellbeing by the Dutch.\(^\text{24}\) Nevertheless, by mid-June 1665 the new factory was finished and the factors were able to report their,’…joy for our being that very morning freed, by an
entrance into our new house, from those many inconveniences we had, by reason of our former ill accommodation, sustained in that place.\textsuperscript{25} For the rest of the year and through to mid-1666 the factory continued to trade, principally for pepper, offering in exchange consignments of cotton and opium supplemented with cash. Trade was brisk; in a letter dated 23\textsuperscript{rd} June 1666 the factors reported that their existing warehouse was full of pepper and that the construction of a second adjoining warehouse was underway.\textsuperscript{26} These correspondences give an indication of the general character of the factory and the circumstances leading to its completion, but do not provide evidence for its exact structural form or location.

A reversal in English fortunes in Calicut was precipitated by the death of the reigning Anglophile Zamorin, his successor choosing to align interests more closely with the Dutch. Smeaton and Barbor were forcibly taken from the factory on 29\textsuperscript{th} August 1666 and in their subsequent report give passing details of the factory’s design: a courtyard used for ‘imbayling pepper’ is mentioned as is a ‘chamber’ occupied by Mr Barbor – presumably his private accommodation, reached via a flight of stairs. After being seized, the factors were taken to one of the Zamorin’s houses along the coast in Ponnani.\textsuperscript{27} When eventually released, having succumbed to certain financial demands, they returned to Calicut but eventually fled to Tanore (Tanur) where a temporary factory was established with the blessing of the local Raja (see below).

On their return to Calicut two years later, the factory and 150 tonnes of pepper stored in its warehouses were found to be untouched and trade was resumed until the winter of 1670 when the factory, like much of the town, was destroyed by a great storm.\textsuperscript{28} Edward Barlow’s journal contains a sketch of the Calicut seaboard on the eve of this event (Fig.02). The view is an off-shore perspective showing a heavily wooded coast lined with buildings either side of the mouth of a river, presumably the Mampuzha. It gives no indication of the factory location but the area depicted corresponds with the historic neighbourhoods of Kuttichira and Thekkepuram. Gabriel Dellon, visiting Calicut at the time, wrote, ‘Whilst I was there I was an eye-witness of the Disaster that befell the English, whose Habitations, which had not been Built many Years before, were entirely swallowed up by the Waters.’\textsuperscript{29}
The loss of the factory heralded a return to rented accommodation prior to work commencing on a replacement. The site for the new factory had still not been decided upon when the new chief factor, George Bowcher, dispatched a letter dated April 1671 reporting that the
partially standing remains of the previous factory were ‘ready to fall down’ and a short time afterwards it had been completely washed away by the sea. The town’s governor offered the English the choice of site for their new factory, the construction of which was to be paid for by their customs duties. Work was subsequently begun but soon ground to a halt as arguments over financial matters took hold – an impasse which appears to have kept the English in rented premises until the appointment of a new governor in July 1674. Of the rented accommodation only Dr Fryer provides useful comment following a visit to Calicut in November 1673. His description is brief; he notes, ‘Ashore the first House facing us was the English; near it were placed six small Pieces, resounding our Salutes at our Entry…’

The factors finally took possession of the new factory in March 1675. Dellon, who briefly stayed with the English factors in their rented accommodation (but gives no details of its appearance), noted that the new factory had been built, ‘…in a rising and consequently less dangerous piece of Ground.’ The location may have been that shown in an engraving by James Forbes, whose extensive observations along the Malabar coast in the 1760s and 70s were published in an illustrated volume of the early 19th century. The engraving shows the flags of various nations, including the Union flag, flying from higher ground beyond the heavily wooded shoreline, with a line of jagged mountain peaks in the background (Fig. 03).

Fig. 03: James Forbes view of Calicut, late 18th century (The British Library)
Porakad (1662-65): The short-lived factory at Porakad (Purakkad, Alappuzha district) was established by in early 1662 to exploit cheap supplies of quality pepper. Few details of its appearance are recorded and its location within the modern-day village of Purakkad cannot be pinpointed with any degree of accuracy from the consulted sources.

In March 1662, shortly after the dispatch of two factors, a letter to the Company in Surat refers to, ‘…the King of Porcatt having built a house at his owne charge for the reception of our factors…’

There is no explicit detail of the style and extent of the new factory.

In early 1663 a letter from the Porakad factors John Harrington and Alexander Grigby, recommends that, in the face of growing competition from the Dutch, two stone houses are built; one on the coast, which was already partially constructed, and the other up country. Each was to be set amid a plot of ground planted with coconut trees. Another letter dated April 1663 states that the King had already entered into a treaty with the Dutch and, ‘…commanded the Companies flagg, raised in front of the factory to seaward, to be taken downe, and gave way that the Dutch should set up theirs.’

Further allusion to the proximity of the sea is given in a letter of 17th November 1663, the factors complaining that guards were sent to picket their brokers’ house and others were deployed, ‘…in divers places hard by our house neare the strand…’

By February 1665 the state of both English affairs and the factory building itself had further degenerated; Grigby comments in a letter to Surat, ‘…our factory is but as a choutry…’ Foster defines a choutry as an open shed or loggia. It is unclear whether this was an accurate description of the factory house at this time or simply a metaphor used by the disgruntled factor. Grigby had been ill for some time and in the same letter stated his intention to recuperate in the better accommodation afforded by the Company factory at Old Kayal (Kayalpatnam, Tamil Nadu). Five months later Grigby wrote again, announcing the Dutch capture of Porakad, his resultant imprisonment, and that the factory was now occupied by, ‘…their factour resident in our place…’

Tanore (1666 - c.1673): The modern-day village of Tanur lies on the coast c.30km south south-east of Calicut (Malappuram district). Evidence for the factory is principally found in the accounts of travellers who visited it during its short lifespan and whilst Tanore features moderately in the Company correspondence, there is no evidence for its setting or appearance.

As alluded to in the Calicut correspondence set out above, the factory at Tanore was born out necessity rather than design. It was established at the invitation of the local Raja in the autumn of 1666 following the Company’s ejection from Calicut. Thence, from July 1668, Tanore appears to have operated as a subsidiary to the re-occupied factory at Calicut and it is from this slightly later period that evidence for its appearance emerges.

The first to pass comment was Edward Barlow who laded pepper at Tanore in 1670 aboard the Experiment. He noted that an English merchant was based there for the Company’s factory at
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Calicut and also that the village lay on the shore, with no bay or river. Barlow’s journal also contains a sketch of the coast at Tanore which shows only a bare stretch of palm-fringed sand.

In November 1773 Tanore was visited by both Dr Fryer and Abbé Carré, the former writing:

Their Houses are little Hovels or Hogsties, the best of them scarce worth the Name of a Booth. The English House is in the fashion with the rest, covered all over with Cajans, and seated (which they mightily affect) under Trees...

Abbé Carré’s view was more sympathetic; having visited the factory and being offered accommodation there he remarked simply, ‘I declined with thanks, seeing how much they were embarrassed, as the house was not large enough to lodge all their own officers.’

The factory must have been closed shortly afterwards as no further reference is made in the correspondence and accounts of the period.

Baliapatam (1669-1675): The origins, development and withdrawal of the Company’s short-lived factory at Baliapatam (Valapattanam, Kannur district) are relatively well documented. The following information has been drawn from transcriptions of Company correspondence in Foster’s and Fawcett’s ‘English Factories’ series (1927 and 1936 respectively), supplemented with the first-hand accounts of Dellon, Abbé Carré and Fryer, all of whom visited the factory during the first half of the 1670s.

The factory was established in 1669 following negotiations with the Prince of Cannanore (Kannur) who offered the Company the site of an abandoned indigenous hill fort overlooking the Valapattanam River. Alexander Grigby, the former Porakad factor, visited the site in May 1669 and reported his findings to Surat the following month,

…it being about 4 miles from the barre of Billiapatan, being an old Mallabar fort, but well situated by the rivers side, and water enough for a vessel of 40 or 50 tunns to come upp to it, but noe accommodation of dwellinghouse or warehouses, and solitary, there having formerly bin a bazar but now quite disinhabitent...

The local name of the fort was Cota Cuna, which Fryer (1698) translates as ‘fair palace’. Modern-day Kottakkunnu lies c.8km upstream from the mouth of the Valapattanam on its southern bank and the remains of a fort are located in close proximity, next to the Valapattanam Bridge. The extant structures, however, are exclusively of indigenous design and it has been noted that a hill on the northern bank of the river also bears the name ‘Kotta’ and may therefore be an alternative site for the factory.

In November 1669 Grigby was sent back to Baliapatam with instructions to settle the factory in the manner in which he saw fit and by agreement of the Prince, the costs of its construction were to be met by reduced customs duty. By July the following year the factory was described as ‘half-settled’ with two warehouses nearly complete. Gabriel Dellon visited the
factory soon after and wrote of its setting, ‘The English Factory of Batiepatan, is above a League and a half from the Sea-side, built upon rising Ground just on the very River-side, which will not bear any Ships of Burthen.’

He was followed by his countryman, the Abbé Carré and also Dr Fryer, both of whom leave good descriptions. The Abbé Carré writes,

It is on a high eminence, which on one side has a very agreeable view of a large river with several branches flowing through pleasant meadows. On the other side is a sort of jungle...All the main buildings on the side of the river are difficult of access, being above a very steep slope, and the rest of them, including a large courtyard, are encircled by walls with four small bastions, on which are some pieces of artillery. These guard the land-side, which is the weakest. Below this fortress are a large building for storing goods and about twenty houses, forming a little village in a pleasant palm-grove, where they lodge their soldiers...

Fryer arrived at the factory aboard a small vessel manned by lascars, or ‘Sea-men of the country’. Of the factory location he writes,

It having the advantage of an Hill, has an easy Prospect over the Water, as broad here as our Thamesis; and over the Verdent Meadows, which spread themselves Westward, till Hills of Cardamoms do bound the sight, running from thence North by East...On the East a gravelly Forest with tall benty Grass, offers, besides its taking Look, diversity of Game; as Hares, wild Boars, Tigres, and wild Elephants...

Fryer also gives a description of the factory’s morphology and fortification,

It is walled about by the English with Mud, except the two round Points towards the land, whose Foundations and Bastions are of Stone. They have Fourteen small Guns mounted; here are twenty two Soldiers, besides Factors: The Air so salubrious, that never any English are remembered to lay their Bones here. The Fort is a Tetragone from Corner to Corner.

The surviving Company correspondence from this period is dominated by reports of troubled relations with local merchants, who resented the English purchasing pepper from sources outside the local bazaar and thus escaping a tax levied by the local mosque. Nevertheless, trade continued to flourish with factors reporting high demand for imported goods such as lead, copper, coral and broadcloth. However, the outbreak of the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1672 followed by the death of the Anglophile Prince of Cannanore in August 1673 left the factory in a precarious position. After much prevarication it was eventually closed in the spring of 1675.
Tellicherry (1683-): The former Company fort at Tellicherry (Thalassery, Kannur district) is now a historic monument maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India with a comparatively well documented early history. It occupies a coastal promontory to the west of the town’s centre (Fig. 04).

Fig. 04: Aerial view of the fort at Tellicherry

The East India Company originally acquired the factory site through fortuitous means. Established by the French in June 1670, it was abandoned by its occupants in April 1682 whereupon the Calicut factors, Chase and Mitchell, successfully petitioned the Prince of Cannanore for its possession. A description of the early French factory is given by Gabriel Dellon (1698) who, according to the historian Robert Orme, was present at the time of its construction. Dellon states that the land was sold to the French by the Prince of Cannanore and fortified in an indigenous style,

There is a House Built according to the Indian Fashion, of Wood and Earth, upon a rising Ground in the midst of an Orchard, containing betwixt 2 and 300 Cocoë-Treees; and something lower there is a large inclosure full of Cocoë and other Fruit-Treees, surrounded with a small Ditch…No sooner were the French put in possession of the place, but they caused a House with Commodious Watch-Houses for their Merchandizes to be Built out of such Materials as the Country afforded, all which, they fortified with all possible diligence…
He also describes a small ‘market-town’ located to the rear of the factory and the dwellings of fishermen near the shore.

The Abbé Carré’s visit came a little later and his description of the French factory suggests that the early fort had been consolidated,

It has a fine main-building and big attached warehouses, which are situated on a high and pleasant place, surrounded by great ditches like a fortress. Facing the sea, there is a large terrace, at the end of which the Company’s flag is flown in the highest spot. On the landside there is a lovely garden which provides vegetables all the year round.67

It was probably this arrangement that the Calicut factors took possession of in 1683 amid protests from the French and Dutch. Surat, nevertheless, ordered that the factory be maintained and pepper was soon being laded in quantity.68 A year later a warning that the French-built house would unlikely see out another monsoon was issued from Tellicherry but Surat refused to sanction any outlay on the existing building, stating that the Company would rather build a new one from scratch.69 It is clear that at the turn of the 1690s the Company were still deferring the decision to invest in the fortification of the site, ‘We are very willing to make a thorough settlement at Tellechery…but to tell you the plaine truth our conditions are such at present that we can’t admit of going upon any fortification this yeare…’70

By the beginning of the 18th century, however, the situation had changed; Alexander Hamilton’s description of the fort gives some impression of the substantial improvements that had been made by that date,

…pretty well fortified with Stone Walls and Cannon. The Place where the Factory now stands belonged to the French, who left the Mud-walls of a Fort built by them, to serve the English when they first settled there, and for many Years they continued so, but of late no small Pains and Charge have been bestowed on its Buildings; but for what Reason I know not, for it has no River near it that can want its Protection, nor can it defend the Road from the Insults of Enemies, unless it be for small Vessels that can come within some Rocks that ly half a Mile off, or to protect the Company’s Ware-house, and a Punch-house that stands on the Sea-shore a short Pistol-shot from the Garison.71

He goes on to say that the catalyst for the fortification was a prolonged period of animosity between the Company and the local nairs which occurred in the first decade of the 18th century. The Archaeological Survey of India cite 1708 as the year of the existing fort’s completion.72
Retturah and Brinjaon (1688-c.1696): There are very few published references to the factories that operated in the late 1680s/1690s from Retturah (Vettoor) and Brinjaon (Vizhinjam) in territory of the Queen of Attingal (Thiruvananthapuram district). Where mentioned by contemporary writers it is usually in the context of the negotiations leading to the establishment of the fort at Anjengo (see below). As their origin post-dates the coverage of the ‘English Factories’ series, original correspondence contained in the British Library’s India Office Records, transcribed by the author, have been used.

Sites for factories at Retturah and Brinjaon were acquired by the Company following protracted negotiations dating from 1678 when the Queen of Attingal first wrote to the English offering trade in her dominions. As will be seen, whilst both factories were conceived as forts from the outset, attempts to attain this status were foiled by a combination of local opposition, Company dictate and the challenging monsoon climate. Nevertheless, the pertinent correspondence contains details of the planned fortification of these sites (particularly Brinjaon) prior to the fort at Anjengo being completed at the close of the 17th century.

Although the preamble for the factory records for Anjengo state that both factories were established in March 1688, Retturah appears to have been the first to be meaningfully settled. A letter dated July 28th, 1688 from Bombay to Calicut, states, ‘…by all means encourage the settlement (Retturah) and we will for certain send ships and men to fortifie in the Queens Countrey…’ However, by November 1690 the fortification had still not been built, the Company refusing to sanction the necessary works.

In the early 1690s a series of letters were written by the Retturah factor, Daniel Acworth, but much of their content relates to difficulties faced in establishing the factory at Brinjaon. In December 1692 he reports that soldiers and guns have been landed at Brinjaon because the company’s flagstaff there had been cut down by the Dutch. The flag had been raised, he claims, on the order of the Queen of Attingal; however, no mention is made of a factory, the inference being that the land hereabouts was notionally allocated to the English in order to deter the Dutch who had ‘…conqueured all along upon the coast except this Queenes dominions, which they alsoe threaten and it’s believed they will come with force of arms against the Queen of Attinga, which made us more earnest to fortifie it…’

On 31st May the following year Acworth writes from Brinjaon,

[The Dutch] will be contriving means to supplant your honours until they are firmly settled and fortified in the Queen’s Dominions… we have procured[?] from her to raise our flagstaff and to build a small[?] house (where myselfe and the soldiers now reside in) allsoe to make a mudd wall round the house which before were able to finish, the raines and wind severall times demolish it…

Acworth goes on to report that following their failure to build in mud, they attempted to build the wall in stone but were prevented from doing so by the local officials. He also speculates on the
fortification of another site - a coastal promontory west-north-west of the factory - and makes constant references to the threat posed by the Dutch.

In July 1693 the Company’s most senior servant in India, Sir John Goldsborough, wrote to Acworth from Madras seeking clarification of the situation in Attingal and of the progress made at Brinjaon,

You have omitted to write [about?] either brick or stone for to build a fortification with, but by your peons I understand there is plenty of stones. Nor have you mentioned what watter there is where you thinck to fortify…

In a second letter to Brinjaon, also dating to July 1693, Goldsborough issues instructions to then newly appointed Chief Factor, John Brabourn,

The description Mr Acworth gives of your place says that it may be made allmost Impregnable, and that there is not such another place to fortify on from Cochin to Cape Comorin, but the mannor of the fortification that is to be built must be left to you there and those you carry with you…if your ground will permitt I thinck a square fort as Madrass is (but not soe bigg) is the best figure, and to be made with 4 bastions and flanck[ers]...

The factory at Brinjaon was clearly never built to this specification but whatever did exist on the ground in mid-1694 was described as a ‘ffort’ by Brabourn in a letter which also contains terms for the fortification of land at Anjengo: one of which was that Brinjaon factory site be returned to the Queen.

Anjengo (1695- ): Like Tellicherry, the East India Company’s fort at Anjengo (Anchuthengu, Thiruvananthapuram district) survives as an historical monument maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India (Fig. 05). It was founded at the very end of the 17th century, consolidating the Company’s presence in the territory of Attingal in replacement of its earlier factories at Rutterah and Brinjaon.
Documentary sources contained within the factory’s designated IOR catalogue date exclusively from the 18th and early 19th centuries but the preamble to the records gives a summary of the circumstances which led to its establishment and eventual completion in 1697. As a result of this agreement, the Company finally gained permission to establish a stone-built fort in Attingal,

I do give unto them the hill of the Tonges which is in Anjengo to fortifie with stone and to abide there for ever…the Company may build Ware-houses, for their goods and houses for their people to dwell in…

A monopoly on the region’s pepper was also granted and custom duties set. In a covering letter dispatched by John Brabourn he makes an important observation, noting that the land allocated for the warehouses and employees’ houses will lie outside the perimeter of the fortifications.

Exactly a year after the grant of the land, the Anjengo factors wrote to the Company giving details of their progress. They complain of the problems procuring materials for the fort, specifically the overpriced local stone, bricks, timber and *chunam*, a type of plaster made from lime-shell and...
sand. Whilst the rough cutting of stone and manufacture of bricks was organised locally, they requested the Company to send a master mason, carpenter and smithy with assistants together with skilled stone cutters. Reference is also made to the previous dispatch of a draft showing the type of fort that ground would permit them to build,

...which is a square of about 90 yards and will carry about 60 or 70 gunns. The east and west sides are defended very well with the sea and the river. The passage to the South end between the sea and the river is very narrow not above 40 yards and the north end about a hundred so it is not possible to bring many men to assault us.

Edward Barlow witnessed the construction of the new fort when stopping at Anjengo aboard the Septer in 1695,

...the East India Company were newley settled a factory and building a new fort... [the Queen] invited the Company to settle a trade in her dominions, and gave them leave to build a fort but how long they will be willing to live in peace with the Company and with the fort that they have built, I know not.  

Unfortunately, Barlow gives no detail of the factory’s setting or appearance, but his comments regarding the Queen’s tolerance of the English were intuitive. In 1697, regretting her decision to allow the English to fortify, she sent a sizable force, three to four thousand strong, to evict them.  

The fort must have been in a state of near completion because the attack was successfully repelled by the English.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Locating the former sites of the factories within their modern-day settings is an obvious precursor to any form of archaeological investigation. Of the eight Malabar factories, four (Porakad, Tanore, Retturah and Brinjaon) are unlikely ever to be traced due to the paucity of recorded locative evidence, short duration of tenure, and insubstantial structure. If any archaeological remains of these factories survive, they would surely only ever be revealed through accidental discovery.  

In complete contrast the forts at Tellicherry and Anjengo are still extant as protected Ancient Monuments, both falling under the auspices of the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) Thrissur Circle. Studies of their history and upstanding architecture have been undertaken, most recently by Dr Ajit Kumar in his publication ‘The Forts of Kerala’.  

Sitting somewhere between the tangible remains of these forts and the ‘lost’ factory sites, are Calicut (the factory extant at the end of the 17th century) and Baliapatam; both are better served by the historical record. Of the two, the setting of Baliapatam is better described, to the extent that its location can be narrowed down to a handful of sites with the ‘kotta’ place-name, lying on elevated topography near the river in modern-day Valapattanam.

For the locatable sites, some indication of their archaeological potential is provided by the small corpus of disseminated results deriving from the investigation of contemporary European
sites. Whereas archaeological consideration of English East India Company sites is limited at best, the archaeological legacy of the EIC’s principal commercial rival at this time, the Dutch United East India Company or Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), has received slightly more attention. Small targeted excavations of VOC sites have recently been undertaken on the Coromandel Coast at Sadras and Pulicat.\textsuperscript{91} In addition, the Danish Ostindish Kompagni’s fortification at Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast has also seen limited archaeological investigation (Fig. 01).\textsuperscript{92} Although modest in scale, these investigations have demonstrated the variety of structural remains and finds assemblages that are likely to be preserved at the English factory sites.

The extant Dutch fort at Sadras (Kanchipuram district, Tamil Nadu), dates from the second decade of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. In 2003 the Archaeological Survey of India conducted a series of excavations revealing several structural features, a cemetery, occupation layers and a large assemblage of imported artefacts deriving from both Europe and the Far East.\textsuperscript{93} The structural evidence offers a comparative body of evidence for the architectural development of some of the English Company’s later 17\textsuperscript{th}-century Malabar factories, most notably the fort at Anjengo.

The broad range of excavated material culture recovered from the excavations also provides an insight into commodities that were consumed and traded by the fort’s occupants. The finds assemblages include imported pottery such as Dutch Delftware, porcelain from China, England and Germany and Dutch tobacco pipes. Very few locally-manufactured items were noted, leading the excavation team to team conclude that most of the everyday items consumed by the occupants of the fort were imported from outside of India. Cultural interaction, however, was evident in the form of a makeshift board for the Tamil game of \textit{aadu-puli aataam} (goat and tiger game), found scratched on a brick.

Excavations targeting the ruins of the Dutch fort at Pulicat (Thiruvallur District, Tamil Nadu) were recently undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India with the aim of recovering the structural ground plan and associated material culture.\textsuperscript{94} Pulicat is of particular interest in the context of this paper as the English were tenants of the Dutch here in the years 1621-23 following the temporary closure of their early Coromandel factory at nearby Petapoli.\textsuperscript{95} Sections of the fort’s curtain wall were recorded, with evidence for trapezoid bastions at each corner, built in brick and laterite blocks bonded with lime mortar. Assemblages of both locally produced and imported pottery were recovered, the latter including Chinese and Islamic wares. As with Sadras, imported clay tobacco pipes were also present.

The Danish Ostindish Kompagni’s fortification at Tranquebar (Tarangampadi, Nagapattinam district, Tamil Nadu) on the Coromandel Coast has also been the recent subject of limited archaeological investigation through the collaboration of the Archaeological Survey of India, the National Museum of Denmark and the Government of Tamil Nadu which curates the fort as a
protected monument.96 The excavations were limited to an area outside the fort’s main gate where remnants of a moat and causeway were revealed. The deposits filling the moat contained finds assemblages including the ubiquitous clay tobacco pipe, bottle glass, locally produced pottery and imported wares including Chinese porcelain and English stoneware.

Where excavation is not possible, valuable information can still be gleaning through non-intrusive techniques. Recent research focusing on two English factory sites at Karwar and Bhatkal in North Kanara, Karnataka included walkover and photographic survey combined with a broader appraisal of the topographic and historic landscape features in the vicinity to corroborate documentary evidence for their settings (Fig. 06).97 At both sites, multi-period structural remains were observed, some clearly representing historic building fabric of reasonable antiquity whose provenance could, in theory, be tested through very limited evaluation. Moreover, at Bhatkal the graves of three English factors dating to the 1630s represent one of the earliest English cemeteries in India (Fig. 07). At Karwar, scatters of pottery and ceramic building material were observed across the site of the factory, principally comprising local wares, but with smaller quantities of imported fabrics including English plain-glazed earthenware. At both sites a combination of truncation through modern development, issues pertaining to accessing privately owned land and dense vegetation cover (more so in the case of Karwar) hampered the detection of potential archaeological features, but nevertheless, it was concluded that fragmentary upstanding remnants of the factories may survive, with almost certain potential for buried archaeological remains replete with artefact assemblages.

Fig. 06: Detail from ‘A Chart of the Bay of Carwar’ showing English factory
CONCLUSION

The combination of evidence from historical sources (including documents, maps, contemporary sketches and paintings) with archaeological evidence (including historic landscape appraisal, historic architecture, physical remains, material culture and environmental evidence) offers potential for a holistic approach to the study of European trading companies in India. The evidence can be applied to individual factories, in some instances locating examples where no obvious upstanding remains survive and revealing aspects of their structural form and historic setting. Documentary evidence can often provide context for the foundation of factories, with accounts of the negotiations between local elites and company representatives shedding light on the motivations of each party, together with detail of more prosaic matters including ground rents and customs duties.

Fig. 07: The graves of three English merchants at Bhatkal (photo: author)
Recent archaeological investigation of a small number of sites has demonstrated that in addition to the structural remains of the factories themselves, rich assemblages of material culture survive in associated contexts. These not only offer insight into prevailing domestic arrangements of the factories occupants, but in the case of ceramic assemblages, shed light on patterns of trade across local, regional and international networks.

Combining material and documentary evidence for the factory sites, a historical archaeology approach could provide an innovative angle from which to tackle several broader, yet linked, areas of research. These might include the study of early inter-cultural encounters, the impact of the European arrival on regional geopolitics and economic systems, aspects of Indian cultural influence on the west, the origins of colonialism and the emergence of nascent globalisation.

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Abbreviations

ASI Archaeological Survey of India

EIC East India Company

IOR India Office Records (British Library)

VOC Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie