

The Use of Terminology *al-Khilafat* in the Coins and Epigraphs of Bengal Sultanate: *A Historical Interpretation*

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[Abstract: In the verdict of the *Shariah* of Islam *Khilafat* is connotated as a politico-religious institution and is regarded as the symbol of unity for the whole Muslim world. According to the *Shariah* the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) is the Khalifah or the representative of Allah on this earth. Methodically the institution of *Khilafat* originated at the demise of the Prophet in 632 C.E. This is why the *Khulafa Rashidun* or the Righteous Caliphs (632-661) and later on the rulers of the Umayyads (661-750) and the Abbasids (750-1258) are recognized as the lawful Caliphs or representatives of the Prophet. Moreover, the Sultans of autonomous and semi autonomous dynasties of different regions and countries are indirectly vouchsafed as the representatives of the lawful Caliph of the Muslim world. On the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 the Sultans of various countries of contemporary world tried to express their attitude towards the *Khilafat* in various ways in their coins. During the period of Bengal Sultanate (1204-1576 C.E.) the *Khilafat* question had its place in the coin-prints and in the epigraphical records as well.

There is no denying the fact that of the archaeological units coins and epigraphs play vital roles in writing and reconstructing the multidimensional aspects of Bengal Sultanate history. The *Khilafat* is a vital issue of their coins and epigraphs. An investigation in their coins and epigraphs reveals the fact that their attitude towards the *Khilafat* is reflected in four phases viz. to engrave the contemporary Caliph's name to show him allegiance, to use words honoring the Caliphate by dropping the Caliph's name, the adoption of *Khalifatullah* by the Sultans and last of all the inscribing of *Kalimah* and the name of four Pious Caliphs. The main objective of this paper is to make a historical interpretation of this issue traced in the coins and epigraphs keeping in view the socio-political perspective of the time.]

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Backdrop

Islam is the last revealed religion in the world and Prophet Muhammad (sm) is considered as the seal of the prophethood. No prophet after him with the revealed religion from Allah, the Lord of the universe for the guidance of mankind will make his step in this world. So Islam is the religion which has contained all the points needed for the guidance of humanity at large till the Day of Resurrection. It is echoed in the holy Quran "Today I (Allah) have completed for you the *Din* or the code of life, made the end of My bounty i.e revelation and have chosen Islam for you as the complete code of life".¹ It is the last verse of the holy Quran which was revealed to the Prophet (sm) in the mount of Arafat at the completion of his farewell pilgrimage in the tenth year of the Hijrah/632 C.E. Muhammad (sm) nor as a king or an emperor, but as a Prophet propounded the conception of *Ummah* just after his migration from Makkah to Madinah, and accordingly established an Islamic Commonwealth at Madinah.² This Islamic Commonwealth at the demise of the Prophet (sm) in 632 C.E. resulted in the origination of the *Khilafat* at Madinah by the election of Muslim population in favour of Abu Bakr (R.) as per the customary law of the democratic spirit prevalent in the *Ayyam al-Arab* or the Arab days at the advent of Islam.³ In Islam *Khilafat* is defined as a politico-religious institution and is considered as a symbol of unity for the whole Muslim world. According to the *Shariah* the Prophet Muhammad (sm) is the *Khalifah* or the representative of Allah on this earth. But methodically this institution of *Khilafat* started after his demise with the election of Abu Bakr (R.). This is why the *Khulafa Rashidun* or the Righteous Caliphs (632-661) and later on the rulers of the Umayyads (661-750) and the Abbasids (750-1258) are recognized as the lawful Caliphs or the representatives of the Prophet.⁴ Moreover, the Sultans of the autonomous and semi-autonomous dynasties of different regions and countries are indirectly vouchsafed as the representatives of the lawful Caliph of the Muslim world.⁵ On the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258 the Sultans of various countries of contemporary world tried to express their attitude towards the *Khilafat* in various ways in their coins. During the period of Bengal Sultanate (1204-1576 C.E.) the *Khilafat* question had its place in the coin-prints and the epigraphical records as well.⁶

It is admitted that in the paucity of contemporary written materials the archaeological units like the coins and epigraphs play vital roles in writing and reconstructing the various aspects of Bengal Sultanate history. The *Khilafat* issue is a prominent feature of their coins and epigraphs. An investigation in their coins and epigraphs reveals the fact that their attitude towards the institution of *Khilafat* is delineated in four apparent phases viz to engrave the contemporary Caliph's name to show him allegiance, to use words honoring the institution of Caliphate by dropping the Caliph's name, the adoption of *Khalifatullah* title by the Sultans and last of all the inscribing of *Kalimah* and the name of the four Pious Caliphs.⁷ The core objective of this paper is to make a historical interpretation of this *Khilafat* issue traced in the coins and epigraphs keeping in view the socio-political upheavals of the time.

Main discourse

Islam is an undivisible revealed enjoinder to be followed by human species (the *jini* also included). The practical implementation of this Divine edict is connotated as the *Shariah*. According to the *Shariah* of Islam *Khilafat* is an undivisible spiritual as well as material institution to conduct all socio-political and religious activities of man in order to establish Allah's sovereignty on this earth.⁸

The Prophet is the *Khalifatullah* or the representative of Allah on this earth while the Righteous Caliphs and the rulers of the Umayyads and Abbasids were considered the lawful Caliphs of the Prophet.⁹ In this way the Sultans of autonomous and semi-autonomous dynasties of the contemporary time were the representatives of the lawful Caliphs.¹⁰ They were expected to discharge all their duties and responsibilities paying their allegiance to the institution of the Caliphate, a symbol of world Muslim unity. The early jurists of Islam were of the opinion that in the question of the *Khilafat* at a time only one Caliph should be considered lawful of the Muslim world to get allegiance from the people.¹¹ But in the later time of the Abbasid dynasty the weak rule of the Caliphs paved the ground for the rise of autonomous and semi-autonomous Sultanates in the parts of their territorial jurisdiction and also in other countries of Muslim domination. Under these circumstances the jurists differed in their opinions regarding the question of *Khilafat*, and the allegiance towards it by the Sultans of various sundry dynasties and countries. To meet the situation the Sunni jurists expressed their opinions that on what the Caliph did not say anything contrary would be taken as his positive approval.¹² Hence the Sultans' activities all over their occupied territories received legal sanction. But after the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate in 1258. C.E. the Sultans of the contemporary world faced a strange situation in this respect, and they adopted various ways to express their allegiance to the Caliphate as an institution in inscribing appropriate legends in their coins. The Sultans of Bengal did not lag behind in this regard, on the other hand they came forward to ventilate their attitude towards the Caliphate through coin-prints issued by them.

Pertinently it may be mentioned here that the person holding the institution of the Caliphate is designated as one of these terminologies of *al-Khalifah*, *al-Imam* and *Amir al-muminin*.¹³ In spite of the differences in meaning any of the three terms according to the Sunnite view, is applied to the head of the institution of the Caliphate. It is a democratic as well as an institution which is constituted by election prevalent in the contemporary times. But the Shiite's view is that the head of the Islamic state must not be chosen by election, rather it is a hereditary one confined to the descendants of the Prophet especially among the progeny of 'Ali and Fatima.¹⁴ To the Shiite the institution would be called *Imamat* instead of *Khilafat*, and the head of it would be designated as *Imam* only. It has been said earlier that all the activities, pacts, treaties and appointments of state-officials could not be valid if the Sultan did not receive his approval of the lawful Caliphs. It is echoed in the statement of Khalil b. Shahin al-Zahiri (1410-1468) when he describes the Amir al-Muminin of the house of the Abbasids as follows: "He is the khalifah of God on this earth, cousin of His Apostle, the chief of the apostles and has inherited the khilafat from him (the Prophet). God Almighty has made him (the khalifah) ruler over the whole land of Islam. None of the kings of the East or the West can hold the

title of Sultan unless there be a covenant between him and the Khalifah. Some religious authorities have held it down that anyone who sets himself up a Sultan by violence, by means of swords, and without a compact with the Khalifah is a rebel and can not appoint anyone as an official or Qadi; if anyone is so appointed the decision and marriage contracts they make are invalid."¹⁵ Keeping this edict of the *Shariah* in view the Sultans of Bengal like all other Sultans of the East and West expressed their attitude towards the Caliphate in their coin-prints and other state protocols.

Numismatic evidence reveals that Bengal Sultans' attitude towards the Caliphate can be assessed in four tiers. In the first tier the Sultans of Bengal inscribed the name of the Abbasid Caliphs and presented themselves as *Nasir Amir al-Muminin*.¹⁶ Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Iwaz Khalji (1211-1226) struck the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Nasir (1180-1225) and al-Zahir (1225-1226) in his coins adding his name therein as *Nasir Amir al-Muminin* or the Helper of the Leader of the Faithful.¹⁷ But after him the other Sultans of Bengal till the year 1323 at the end of the reign of Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Bahadur Shah (1310-1323) inscribed the name of the last Abbasid Caliph Imam al-Mustasim (1242-1258)¹⁸ in their coins although the Caliph died in 1258 to show their symbolic allegiance to the Caliph of Baghdad. In the second tier the Sultans of Bengal dropping the name of any particular Caliph inscribed in their coins the phraseology of *Yamin al-Khilafat* and *Nasir Amir al-Muminin*¹⁹ i.e. the right hand of the *Khilafat* and the helper of the leader of the faithful to express their homage to the Caliphate as an institution. It continued, as the numismatic evidence shows, till the accession to Sultan Abul Mujahid Sikandar Shah to power in 1357.²⁰ Because still then the legality of the reinsated Abbasid Caliphate in Egypt was not unanimously settled in the Muslim world. So to avoid this unusual controversy the Bengal Sultans wisely adopted that formula only to show their affinity with the Caliphate as an institution of the Muslim *Ummah*. In the third tier to shun all their weakness in stemming the tide of internal disturbances and external aggression the Bengal Sultans on the agreed opinion of the contemporary *ulama* and jurists took the bold step of assuming the *khalifatullah* or its concept bearing title for themselves.²¹ It needs analytical explanation in the perspective of contemporary socio-political upheavals. In the fourth tier the Sultans after the end of the Husayn Shahi dynasty in 1538 retreating from the phraseologies applicable to the institution of the *Khilafat* referred to above inscribed in their coins the *Kalimah* and the name of the Righteous Caliphs²² i.e. Abu Bakr, Umar, Uthman and 'Ali to express their unflinching adherence to the concept of the pristine Caliphate. Of the four tiers the third tier i.e. adopting of the *Khalifatullah* title is considered here for an in-depth and vertical study.

Regarding this *Khalifatullah* issue what could be derived from the numismatic and epigraphic sources is delineated below with all its particulars.

Abul Mujahid Sikandar Shah (1357-1392) assumed the title of *al-Imam al-A'zam* and *al-Khalifah al-Mu'azzam* in his coins.²³ It indicates that he appropriated for himself such title which is legally applicable for the lawful Caliph of the Muslim world. How could this move of Sultan Sikandar Shah be justified? The necessity of his time urged Sikandar Shah to assume this type of caliphal title on the approval of the *ulama* and jurists for the stability of the independent Sultanate of Bengal. Because his contemporary Sultan Shams

al-Din Firuz Shah Tughlaq of Delhi received investiture from three Caliphs of the reinstated Abbasid dynasty in Egypt, and in allegiance to them he struck their names in his coins.²⁴ These are called the caliphal issues of the Sultan. In this way Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq established his authority on firm footing in Indian politics and adopted the title of *Firuz Sultani*.²⁵ This emboldened him to attack Bengal twice one in 1353 during the time of Sultan Ilyas Shah and another in 1359 during his own time (Sikandar Shah).²⁶ In this situation Sikandar Shah of Bengal Sultanate assumed this caliphal title, mobilized all shades of people in his favour to prevent the Delhi aggression and weakened the moral strength of the armed forces of Sultan Firuz Shah. In this strategy Sikandar Shah was successful and Delhi Sultan had to retreat to Delhi in 1360. The Adina mosque inscription dated 770 A.H./ 1369 C.E. supports the contention of caliphal title adopted by Sultan Sikandar Shah.²⁷

The clear epithet of *Khalifatullah*²⁸ inscribed in the coins of Sultan Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah, a converted Muslim of Raja Ganesh house demands explanation. The assumption of this caliphal title in the contemporary political turmoil seems to be appropriate and demand of the time. As a covert Muslim Jalal al-Din's (Jadu) accession to the throne of Bengal Sultanate was accepted with much hesitation and doubt by the Muslims. As such he took various steps to get the support and at the sometime to earn the confidence of the people for the legality of his power in reigning the country. With this end in view he established madrasahs at Makkah and Madinah, and also in sending financial assistance to the people of Egypt²⁹ tried to prove his competence as an ardent Muslim than the traditional Muslims of the time. Moreover, he spent a lot of money in repairing and reconstructing the mosques and madrasahs destroyed by his father Raja Ganesh while he was on the throne for a little time.³⁰ All these activities are included in the duties and responsibilities of a Caliph. In addition he put his appeal through the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf al-Din Bars bay (1422-1438) to get the investiture of the reinstated Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. Perhaps he was successful in this venture as it is reported that in 833 A.H./ 1429 C.E. the envoy of the Caliph of Egypt came to the court of Sultan Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah to confer on him to discharge all his activities supposed to be discharged by a Caliph.³¹ Hence it is found that in the next year 834 A.H./ 1430 C.E. Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah inscribed in his coins the title of *Khalifatullah*³² which continued till the end of his reign. It is, therefore, reasonable to believe that by this trick Jalal al-Din attracted the attention of the people to his lawful rule in one hand and kept in check legally the intrigues of the nobles and courtiers of the dethroned traditional Sultans. Thus Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah had his success against the odd situation with the adoption of the *Khalifatullah* title. Moreover, this *Khalifatullah* title of Jalal al-Din was instrumental in striking lawfully the covetous eyes of the Sharqi Sultans of Jawnpur towards the riches of Bengal.³³ Therefore, this type of wise decision in adopting *Khalifatullah* title was the necessity of time, and at the same time it bears witness to the foresightedness of Sultan Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah.

In overthrowing the House of Raja Ganesh the later Ilyas Shah rule was restored with the accession of Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah to the throne of Bengal Sultanate in 841 A.H./ 1437 C.E.³⁴ The numismatic and epigraphical records show that the first two Sultans of this dynasty Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah and his son Rukn al-Din Barbak Shah assumed the title of *Khalifatullah bil hujjati wal burhan*³⁵ (the Caliph of Allah with proof

and evidence) possibly to restore law and order situation in the country arisen out during the time of Shams al-Din Ahmad Shah of Raja Ganesh house and to break down the moral strength of the followers of this house. Moreover, both the Sultans intended to show that if a converted Sultan (Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah) could dare to appropriate for himself the *Khalifatullah* title then they as Sultans of hereditary and traditional Muslim lineage were most fitted to adopt the lofty title of *Khalifatullah bil hujjati wal burhan*, thereby creating a halo of intimidation in the minds of the followers of dethroned house of Raja Ganesh. An inscription of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah dated 858 A.H./ 1454 C.E. supports the contention.³⁶ Sultan Rukn al-Din Barkak Shah (1459-1474) had the credit of expanding his territorial limits to Orissa in the West and to Kamrupa in the East.³⁷ On the other hand in the epigraph he has been honored with *al-Adil* (just), *al-Badhil* (generous), *al-Fazil* (learned) and *al-Alim* (wise)³⁸ all these attributes qualify himself for adopting the title of *Khalifatullah bil hujjati wal burhan*. His learning, prudence and humanitarian works bear testimony to these aspects of his character. Hence his adopting of the aforesaid title is justified, and it received the legal sanction of the *ulama* and jurists of the time.

In pursuance of his father and grand-father Sultan Shams al-Din Yusuf Shah (1474-1481) also adopted the title of *Khalifatullah bil hujjati wal burhan* i.e. the Caliph of Allah with proof and evidence.³⁹ It is a question that what points prompted him to inscribe this lofty title in the epigraph. From the epigraphical evidences it shows that the jurisdiction of his Sultanate extended to Orissa in the West and to Sylhet in the East. Moreover, the laws of the *Shariah* were strictly and impartially applied throughout the country, and the *ulama* and jurists were enjoined to watch over on their proper application in all sphere of man's life and state affairs.⁴⁰ A good number of mosques were built in all directions of Bengal during his time. Credit goes to him for the foundation of Darasbari *Jami masjid* and the residential madrasah (University) as well in Mahdipur area in the suburb of Gaur, now in the Shibganj Police Station of Chapainawabganj district in Bangladesh.⁴¹ It is not, therefore, unreasonable to hold this view that Sultan Shams al-Din Yusuf Shah fits well in the assumption of this type of title. The last ruler of the later Ilyas Shahi dynasty Jalal al-Din Fath Shah (1481-1486), son of Nasir al-Din Mahmud Shah was a benevolent Sultan of the dynasty. He earned his fame as a valiant warrior in the land and sea, an interpreter of the mysteries of the holy Quran, the learned in the knowledge of the religions and also of human bodies.⁴² For these qualities his adoption of the title *Khalifatullah bil hujjati wal burhan* is quite justified. 'Ala al-Din Husayn Shah (1493-1519) the founder of the Husayn Shahi dynasty is the illustrious ruler of the independent Sultanate. Of all the rulers of Bengal Sultanate he reigned the longest time with success and reputation. Conquests were made in all directions, and the territorial boundaries of Bengal expanded. A large number of mosques including the madrasahs were constructed in all the important and strategic places besides the capital cities and mint towns.⁴³ His patronization of learning and literature surpassed all the records before and after of the dynastic rules in medieval Bengal.⁴⁴ His father Ashraf al-Husayni was the Sharif of Makkah, and he claimed his lineage to the descendants of the leader of the prophets i.e. Prophet Muhammad (sm).⁴⁵ In the epigraphic records he is found to have been designated with the title *Khalifatullah bil hujjati wal burhan* i.e. the Caliph of Allah with proof and evidence.⁴⁶ Considering all his attainments and achievements it is not unreasonable to consign this lofty *Khalifatullah* title in full to the person of Sultan 'Ala al-Din Husayn Shah of Bengal Sultanate.

Concluding Remarks

Khilafat is a socio-political and religious institution of the Muslim *Ummah*, and it is regarded theoretically a symbol of unity for the Muslim world. The *Khilafat* as a politico-religious institution in all practical purposes originated after the demise of Prophet Muhammad (sm) on the model of his formation of *Ummah* and establishment of state as per Divine direction at Madinah. The head of *Khilafat* is introduced as *Khalifah*, *Imam* and *Amir al-Muminin*. Prophet Muhammad (sm) is the *Khalifah* of Allah or His representative on this earth, and all other Caliphs as a whole are theoretically the *Khalifah* of the Prophet or his representatives in the Muslim world. In the same way the Sultans of various dynasties and countries during the existence of the Caliphate are theoretically representatives of the lawful Caliphs of Muslim world. Pertinently it may mentioned here that *Khilafat* originated after the demise of the Prophet at Madinah in 632 is known as *Khilafat Rashidah* or rightly guided Caliphate, and it continued till 661 C.E. Then theoretically in the same year was established the Umayyad dynasty in the name of the *Khilafat* with its capital at Damascus, and it continued till 750 C.E. With the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty the Abbasids, the Hashemite branch of the Quraysh rose to power in 750 with the nomenclature of the *Khilafat* having their capital at Baghdad, and this Abbasid *Khilafat* continued till the fall of Baghdad by the Mongol Halaku Khan in 1258. Thus the Sunni *Khilafat's* chronological continuation ended in 1258, and the Muslim world remained without *Khilafat* for three years. Realizing the gravity of the situation Mamluk Sultan Bybars 1 of Egypt sought a scion of the Abbasids al-Zahir by name and restored the Abbasid *Khilafat* in Egypt with al-Zahir as head in June 1261. This *Khilafat* acted as spiritual head and the Sultanate discharged all sorts of activities in the name of the *Khilafat*. This restored Abbasid *Khilafat* remained in Egypt till the year 1517 when Sultan Selim I conquered Syria and Egypt took all the insignia of the *Khilafat* to Turkey, and appropriated for himself the title of *Khalifah* in addition to that of Sultan. Thenceforth the *Khilafat* was transferred to Turkey, and the Ottoman Turks used for themselves both the terms of Sultan and Caliph till 1924 when Kamal Ata Turk abolished both the institutions of *Khilafat* and Sultanate. Thus the Muslim world lost the *Khilafat*, a symbol of unity and Sultanate, a representative rule of the *Khilafat* forever. In this context the *Khilafat* issue of Bengal Sultanate (1204-1576) as inscribed in their coins and epigraphs has been death with vertically and to a greater depth.

SOURCE: Obtained directly from the author

Notes and References

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- ³ T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate* (Karachi: Oxford University press, 1965), pp. 19-20.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 22 ff.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, p. 20.
- ⁶ H. Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Vol. 11 (Delhi: Ideological Book House, Reprint 1972), pp. 132. ff. (Henceforth *IMC*).
- ⁷ A K M Yaqub Ali, *Muslim Numismatics and Calligraphy in Bengali* (Dhaka: Bangla Academy 1st edition 1987, Book Choice 3rd edition 2008), p. 233 (Henceforth *MNC*).
- ⁸ T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 45-47.
- ⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 73-74.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 78-79.
- ¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 77ff.
- ¹² A K M Yaqub Ali *MNC*, p. 233.
- ¹³ T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 39-40.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 55.
- ¹⁵ Khalil b. Shahin al-Zahiri, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamalik*, ed. P. Ravaisse, p. 89; T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 101.102.
- ¹⁶ H. Nelson Wright, *IMC*, pp. 145 ff.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 145.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 148.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 149-156.
- ²⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 156.
- ²¹ *Ibid*, pp. 155-167; S. Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. IV. (Rajshahi: Verandra Research Society, 1980), pp. 55,99,123 & 151 (Henceforth *IB*)
- ²² H. N. Wright, *IMC*, pp. 181-182.
- ²³ *Ibid*, pp. 154.
- ²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 10, 60-63; T.W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, p. 105.
- ²⁵ H.N. Wright, *IMC*, pp. 62 ff.
- ²⁶ Muhammad Mohar Ali, *History of the Muslims of Bengal* (Riyad: Imam Muhammad ibn Saud Islamic University, 1985), pp. 137-138 (Henceforth *HMB*).
- ²⁷ S. Ahmed, *IB*, pp. 135-138.
- ²⁸ H.N. Wright, *IMC*, p. 163.
- ²⁹ Ziauddin Desai, "Some New Data regarding the pre-Mughal Muslim Rulers of Bengal" Vol. XXXII, No. 1. *Islamic Culture* Hyderabad, India, 1958. p.204.
- ³⁰ Quoted in *Islamic Culture*, p. 204.
- ³¹ *Ibid*.

³² A Karim, *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal* (down to 1538) (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1960), p. 77. (Henceforth *Corpus*)

³³ A K M Yaqub Ali *MNC*, p. 235.

³⁴ Abdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal* (Dhaka: Jatiya Sahitya prokash edition 2007), pp. 59-80. (Henceforth *SHMB*)

³⁵ *Ibid* p. 60.

³⁶ A K M Yaqub Ali, *Select Arabic and Persian Epigraphs* (Dhaka: Islamic Foundation Bangladesh, 1988), pp. 45-50. (Henceforth *SAPE*).

³⁷ Muhammad Mohar Ali, *HMB*, pp. 169 ff.

³⁸ S. Ahmed, *IB*, Vol. IV. p. 78.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 99

⁴⁰ Muhammad Mohar Ali, *HMB*, pp. 172-174.

⁴¹ A.H. Dani, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal* (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1961), pp. 108 ff. (Henceforth *MBA*).

⁴² S. Ahmed, *IB*, Vol. IV, p. 123.

⁴³ A.H. Dani, *MAB*, pp. 116-140.

⁴⁴ M.R. Tarafdar, *Husain Shahi Bengal* (Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan, 1965), pp. 238-283.

⁴⁵ H.N. Wright, *IMC*, p. 172.

⁴⁶ S. Ahmed, *IB*, Vol. IV. pp. 163 & 201.