

# KING KALAAFAAN MANUSCRIPTS

*How the Maldives monarchy treasured the remembrance of a fallen king for more than four hundred years.*

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR LINGUISTIC  
AND HISTORICAL RESEARCH



# *King Kalaafaan Manuscripts*

*How the Maldives monarchy treasured  
the remembrance of a fallen king for  
more than four hundred years*

AHMED NAZIM SATTAR

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## FOREWORD

The discovery and interpretation of the Kalaafaan Manuscripts represent a turning point in our approach to the whole idea of heritage management. Subsequent work carried out in order to preserve and interpret the ancient documents, opened up new opportunities for historians and culture specialists in the form of fresh raw material. In this respect, President Mohamed Nasheed's decision to initiate the Hangnaameedhoo Project enabled the National Centre to begin planning an exhibition of these manuscripts. The island of Hangnaameedhoo began to appear as a viable template for developing cultural tourism. Protecting and preserving these scrolls of paper along with renovating the old mosque and shrine of King Kalaafaan became our immediate target.

The Team soon realized the scope of the programme in terms of management where collaborations had to take place between the Office of the President, Ministry of Tourism Arts & Culture, Department of National Planning, Ministry of Finance, Island Council, resort developers and owners, just to name a few.

President Nasheed also was keen to conduct an enquiry into the circumstances that surrounded the old manuscripts. Restoration and repair of the scrolls soon commenced, with special facilities and space being provided for the work inside Muleeaage, the official residence of the President.

Ms Naseema Mohamed, the team leader who was at that time engaged on a book project did not waste time in pondering the possibilities before the team. Instead she began the difficult task of assisting in the documentation, interpretation of the originals and drawing up a project plan. An avid researcher herself, Ms Naseema Mohamed's familiarity with the early history of Maldives helped the team venture into this research oriented programme.

Mr Ahmed Nazim Sattar, a keen researcher of history, has done some excellent work in translating the difficult Old Dhivehi texts into English. He has brought the feel of the Old Dhivehi into English, a very arduous task indeed, so that the spirit of the ancient writers can be felt through the words. This book is indeed a wonderful achievement, that will help researchers of Maldivian history, by

giving precise and accurate information on events and personalities that have so far been only names written on paper.

A long time associate of the National Centre, Mr. Ahmed Rasheed with the eager assistance of his wife Khadeeja Hassan Maniku helped decipher the ancient Maldivian script, Dhives Akuru. Mr Ali Ibrahim Maniku Kelaa Alibe', a history buff himself, also contributed his time and knowledge. Nazly Ibrahim, Ismail Nasru assisted in the historical research, while Ms Shiuna, Thoiba Saeed, and Mohamed Nashraah must be commended for their patience in tackling the administrative component of this project.

The members of the committee in charge of steering this project must be given the credit for the smooth launching and the many hours of dedication that enabled the National Centre to manage this programme.

This book would not have been published save for the generous sponsorship conferred by . . .

For these reasons and more, I take great pleasure in presenting this gem-of-a-book on King Kalaafaan, written and compiled by Mr Ahmed Nazim Sattar.

**Ahmed Naseer,**  
Chairman,

National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research,  
Male', Maldives.

*28 Shawwal 1430*  
*17 October 2009*





## THE FIND

Following the first multiparty presidential elections in the Maldives in October 2008, the first democratically elected president Mohamed Nasheed was sworn in on 11th November 2008. Having assumed the position of Head of Government, the President moved his new administration to the President's Office.

It was during the setting up of the new administration in the President's Office by the new government, that President Nasheed discovered box loads of old manuscripts in the President's Office in danger of being discarded. Having rescued these priceless manuscripts – more than 800 documents – the President commissioned a team of competent people to conduct an extensive study on the manuscripts.

This project is the result of the study of ten of these “paper grant” manuscripts relating to the tomb of the slain king Sultan Ibrahim III (1585-1609), popularly known as King Kalaafaan. This tomb is located in the island of Hangnaameedhoo in Alifu Dhaalu (Ari) Atoll, where the ship carrying the slain King was brought by the tide. The King was buried by the side of the main mosque of the island. For more than four hundred years, this tomb has been revered by Maldivians, rulers and people alike. Documents providing for the upkeep of this tomb were inscribed by many of the kings and queens who came thereafter.

It was decided to display copies of the manuscripts discovered in the President's Office, with explanatory texts, in the land adjacent to Kalaafaan's Tomb, in the island of Hangnaameedhoo, for the information of visitors and Maldivians alike.

## INTRODUCTION

### WHAT IS A “FAIYKOLHU”

A faiykolhu – here translated as a paper grant – is described as an “official document” according to “A Maldivian Dictionary” by Christopher Reynolds.

In his work, *The Maldive Islands, Monograph on the History, Archæology, and Epigraphy*, 1940, British civil servant and Maldives historian H.C.P Bell writes that Maldivian historical records fall into four broad categories:

(i) *Inscriptions and grave epitaphs*

(ii) *Lomaafaanu or land grants inscribed in copper plates*

(iii) *Faiykolhu, which were royal beneficiary documents cut on wood or written on vellum or paper*

(iv) *Chronicles, namely the Radavalhi, a minor curtailed history, and Divehi Tarikh, a more complete history*

The importance of these paper grants is described by François Pyrard de Laval (ca. 1578 – ca. 1623) who was held captive in Maldives, having been shipwrecked on Baa Atoll in 1602. Pyrard was a Frenchman who is remembered for a personal written account of his adventures in the Maldive Islands from 1602 to 1607(1609?).

In his work titled the *Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil* he says:

*I have also observed, as a matter pertaining to the forms of their judicature, that they put not the process or the pleadings in criminal causes into writing, nor the indictments, nor the depositions, nor the judgments: all is very prompt and summary. And it is the same in civil actions, except in suits for hereditaments, or coco-trees (which are immovable property), wherein judgments are delivered by the Pandiare or the Naybes. In such case they grant writs [of possession], sealed with their seal in ink, for I have never seen them*

*use wax for sealing, and these serve for evidence to their posterity, to the end that thenceforth neither he that hath gained the cause, nor his heirs, may be disquieted in their possession (Pyrard VI. p. 207 )*

In the case of paper grants relating to King Kalaafaan’s Tomb – the subject matter of this book – they relate to the waqf endowments donated to the Tomb for its upkeep starting from 1609 up to 1930.

### WHAT IS A “WAQF”?

Ludwig Adamec, in his book titled “The A to Z of Islam” describes a waqf as “real estate, or property given to God in perpetuity in support of religious and charitable institutions” (Adamec 273).

The Arabic preamble of Queen Kanba Aisha’s Grant (see p.53) explains the jurisdictions of a waqf in four logical stages, in the following terms:

*[From the Quran] The parable of those who spend their possessions for the sake of God is that of a grain out of which grow seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains: for God grants manifold increase unto whom He wills; and God is infinite, all-knowing (2:261); ...*

*[From the Hadith] “The Messenger of God said “When a man dies, his acts come to an end, but three, recurring charity, or knowledge (by which people) benefit, or a pious son, who prays for him (for the deceased)”.*

*[Interpretation by Scholars] “according to the Ulema a “recurring charity” (as mentioned by the Prophet) means a waqf”.*

*[Definition of Waqf] “It is also narrated that ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab got land in Khaibar; so he came to the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be on him, to consult him about it. He said, O Messenger of God! I have got land in Khaibar than which I have never obtained more valuable property;*



ISLANDS IN ARI ATOLL ENDOWED TO THE  
"GUILD" OF KALAAFAAN TOMB

# Maldives

Indian Ocean

## Malé Atoll

Kuramathi

## Ari Atoll

Ellaidhoo

Hangnaameedhoo

Bulhaalhohi

Mahibadhoo

Mandhoo

Dhidhoo

Hiyafushi

## Felidhe Atoll

*what dost thou advise about it? He said : "If thou likest, make the property itself to remain inalienable, and give (the profit from) it in charity." So `Umar made it a charity on the condition that it shall not be sold, nor given away as a gift, nor inherited, and made it a charity among the needy and the relatives and to set free slaves and in the way of God and for the travelers and to entertain guests, there being no blame on him who managed it if he ate out of it and made (others) eat, not accumulating wealth thereby".*

On the importance of these waqf endowments in Maldives Pyrrard says:

*The burial of the nobles and the rich is usually in the cemeteries around the mosques, where ground is bought dearly enough: except when they have themselves built the mosque, in which case they are wont to reserve a site for themselves and their family adjoining the mosque; and this is the most honourable place. This money is distributed, with other like profits, among the priests of the mosque; for besides the Moudins, every mosque has a certain number of other priests called Quiauary, who are maintained for the service of the temple and cemetery out of the funds settled by the builders of the temple. These incumbencies are very honourable, and are even bought. Only those of that temple can perform the funeral service at a burial there, not those of another. (Pyrrard V.1 p. 158)*

The contents of the ten paper grants related in this book demonstrate how the Maldives monarchy continued to treasure the remembrance of a fallen king for more than four hundred years by maintaining his tomb as a "recurring" charitable institution.





## DEATH OF KING KALAAFAAN

Sultan Ibrahim III (1585-1609) was the only son of the legendary Maldivian hero Sultan Mohamed Thakurufan the Great of Uteemu, who liberated Maldives from Portuguese domination according to Maldivian historical annals. Sultan Ibrahim is popularly known as King Kalaafaan (literally “Lord”). His mother was Rehendi Goyye daughter of Cat Fatima of Boshi Woods in Baarah.

Born in Uteemu Island circa 1547, the King met a tragic death, on 4 February 1609, at the hands of Malabar pirates and was buried in Hangnaameedhoo Island, Ari Atoll.

Paper Grant 1 describes the events that unfolded relating to the death of Kalaafaan.

*In the 1017th year since the Prophet’s migration from pre-eminent Mecca to godly Medina; on the Wednesday 28th of the month of Shawwal (February 4, 1609); a dozen and two Malabar galleys, having sailed in hostility against Ibrahim Fashanaa Kilegefaanu, the Warrior, the son of Mohamed Bodu Thakurufaanu the Warrior; having waged war against this Lord, and this Lord upon being martyred by a lance thrown at him by these people;*

Ibrahim Kalaafaan was the Maldives king at the time François Pyrard de Laval (ca. 1578 – ca. 1623) was captive in the islands. He writes:

*Two nights after that (it was in the month of February, in the year 1607) the king had warning of the coming of an armada of sixteen galleys or galleots, which were already preparing to enter the islands. The news greatly astonished both the king and his people, for they had no word of it before, and the suddenness of it surprised them. (Pyrard V.1 p. 310).*

*The king, having embarked for his safety in his royal galley, called by them Ogate Gourabe (gourabe means “galley”, and ogate, “royal”), along with his wives and his nephew, was constrained to leave behind the greatest part of his wealth, and all his arms and cannon, of which he had a*

*great store in the island, for he had no time to arm himself or to ship them; and then, at the same moment when all the rest were on board, he gave the word to use sail and oars, and to take the route for the south and the atollons of Souadou...(Pyrard V.1 p. 312)*

*The eight galleys that were bidden to go after the king came up with him and to close quarters, whereupon the king, attempting to defend himself was slain by a pike-thrust, followed by sword-cuts; his wives were taken prisoners, and his nephew was drowned (Pyrard V.1 p. 314)*

*The cause of the taking and death of the king was that there was no wind, but the greatest calm possible, and that the enemy's galleys were better for rowing than those of the king, which were only good for sailing, and of no use for oars. Had there been but a little wind they could not have caught him; but his ill-fortune cast him into this fate, which he fully merited for the great cruelties he had used. Not one of the island vessels was taken in this chase; and had the king and his wives embarked in them, they would have had a chance of escape; but his hour was come, and for my part I hold that it was by the mercy of God he was thus slain at the first shock, so that he saw not the sad and piteous spectacle, which met my eyes, of the condition of his wives and state. There was, however, no great massacre, for except the king and two or three others slain with him... (Pyrard V.1 p. 314)*

There is a discrepancy of two years between Pyrard's date of this event having occurred in 1607 and that of the Grant which puts the date as 1609.

Dhivehi Tarikh based on the Arabic chronicles of Hassan Tajudeen gives the following account of King Kalaafaan's death.

*He discussed many matters with scholars, looked out for the welfare of the people, and reigned justly for 24 years until Malabar pirates appeared in their ships. The king summoned his ministers and amirs, including judge Haddhunmathi Funadhoo Mohamed Fandiyaru Kaleygefan, and discussed*

*the battle plan. The judge suggested it was better to run and hide than to fight. The king quickly boarded a large ship leaving for the south of the country but the enemy approached the king's vessel and a sea fight started. People from the king's ship jumped overboard and swam to an uninhabited island. The king and Jamal Kalo fought the enemy and were martyred. The pirates grabbed cargo, swords, guns and lances, and then abandoned the vessel. It drifted to Hangnameedhoo island on Ari (Alifu) atoll. The islanders saw the ship and discovered on board the bodies of the king and Jamal Kalo. They were buried at the island mosque. The enemy entered Malè, looting the palace and assaulting the royal family.*

*King Kalafan was martyred on Wednesday 28th of the month of Shawwal 1017 (4 February 1609).*

#### IMPORTANCE OF KALAAFAAN'S TOMB TO THE MALDIVIAN MONARCHICAL ESTABLISHMENT

The Uteemu Dynasty who ruled the Maldives for most part of the Seventeenth Century claimed that the dynasty's second ruler, King Kalaafaan was martyred. Thereafter Kalaafaan's Tomb became the religious identity from which the Uteemu Dynasty legitimized their hold onto power, to counter their low status of lineage among the Maldivian royalty.

We know that Kalaafaan's Tomb was revered by Maldivian kings even after the abolition of the monarchy in 1968. From King Kalaafaan's main paper grants displayed here we know the endowment to the tomb is extensive, with banana plantations and toddy-sugar producing coconut tree plantations bequeathed to the tomb. In addition many inhabited islands encompassed the "guild" of Kalaafaan's Tomb. Just to give an example of these endowments from the paper grants:

*The entire island named Kuramathi of Ariadhu Atoll, and all things belonging to the Crown from this island, the islet named Fenfushi in Kolhumadulu; the plot of land of seventy two bama [measurement] to the south of the*

*Land's End Mosque of Kandoodhoo that Lord Kalaafaan bought from Hussain Kalo Son of Judge Noordeen of Hanimaadhoo, having paid for it from his own possessions in Kolhumadulu Kandoodhoo; and all coconut trees, other trees, bananas and root cultivations upon the plot [all are endowed to the Tomb]*

We also know people were appointed to undertake the upkeep of the Tomb:

*Whereas these ten people are pleased that having been allowed to eat from the proceeds of the toddy of the toddy makers mentioned in the Grant and other things mentioned in this Grant; they shall conduct the tasks assigned upon this Lord's tomb as mentioned in this Grant according to the aforementioned way; and even if the aforementioned products were accurately entrusted to them or even if these products were less than mentioned, these people shall conduct what had been assigned upon them, and if one among the ten people is unavailable a righteous man from the island shall be put in place;*

These Reciters – as they were called – and the entire Hangnameedhoo population were then granted special concessions.

*Having listened and having assented to the plea, His Kind Majesty gave the Order with his noble tongue, for the upkeep of this Mosque, by the benevolence of this King, he has annulled holding people from this Island (to work for) mosque (endowments), and for carpentering boat houses and boats (for the Crown); And whosoever came ashore on the islet named Ellaidhoo that is endowed upon this Mosque, whether he be a man of power, or even if he be the Atoll Chief of this atoll, they shall not cut even a raw piece of wood or anything else from the island; and none shall land on this islet upon the displeasure of any of these subjects (of Hangnaameedhoo).*

Going forward two centuries, we know that during Sultan Mueenudeen I's (1799-1835) Ari Atoll "armada" tour of 1804, his first stop was Hangnaameedhoo island, to pay respects to Kalaafaan's Tomb.



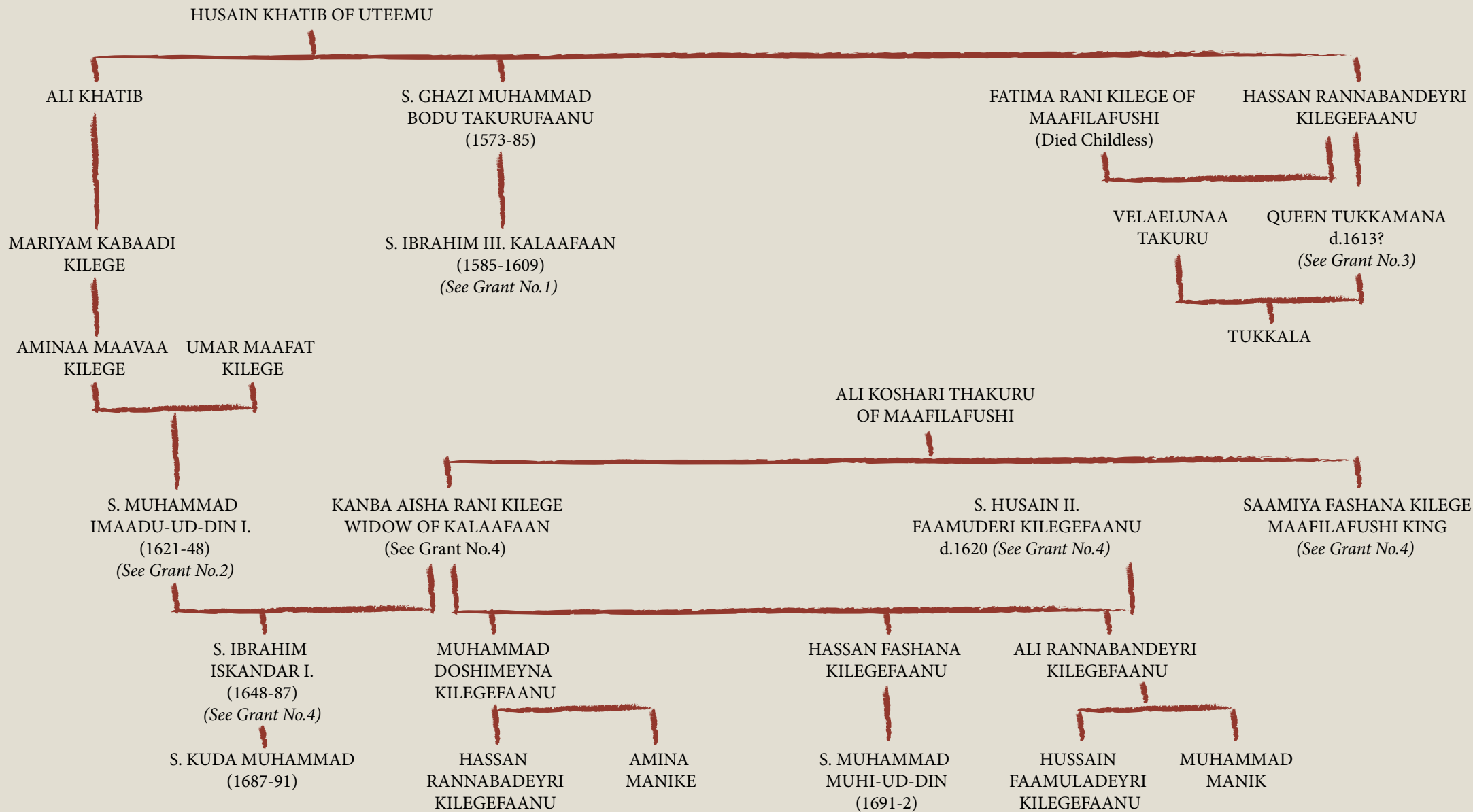
Mueenudeen's Ari Atoll Armada Raivaru Poem relates that his armada anchored in Hangnaameedhoo, where the King proceeded to Kalaafaan's tomb and recited the fatiha and offered ceremonial food and frankincense. And as "customary practice of former days" the King offered an Umbrella to the Tomb. He then slaughtered goats as offerings.

The paper grants relating to the Tomb also warn that whoever shows disrespect to the Tomb or the many coconut plantations belonging to it, shall go to Hell.

*and whoever annuls and destroys this Endowment shall enter Hell with the Infidels, they are those who minded to prostrate to idols and attempted to destroy the Ka'ba.*



# UTEEMU DYNASTY



## LIFE AND TIMES OF SULTAN IBRAHIM III KALAAFAAN (REIGNED 1585-1609)

### PYRARD'S ACCOUNTS

Pyrard gives a vivid account of the disposition and temperament of the King. Here are some excerpts:

*[on the King's lineage] "...the king we found there, who was not of lineage so good,... [his father Mohamed Thakurufan] had risen from low estate, and there were some always on the point of revolt; esteeming themselves of better lineage". (Pyrard V.1 p. 252)*

*The deceased king [Ali VI] had a son, who was the rightful heir to the throne. "[The King's father Mohamed Thakurufan] disliked that such rivals should exist; for the son [King Kalaafaan] was still young, and was never like to be as valiant as his father;... and had his son acknowledged for king before his death, causing all his servants and subjects to swear allegiance to him". (Pyrard V1. p. 252, 253)*

*[on the curiosity of the King] "And so his humour turned out, as I to some extent saw, for he was in nowise inclined to war, but solely to letters, sciences, and manufactures, and he was also much given to women, as, indeed, was nothing remarkable in that land". (Pyrard V1. p. 252)*

*"This king never went to war himself, he only dispatched forces; nor was he valiant like his father, who always went in person;" (Pyrard V1. p. 256)*

*[on the King's punishments] "The usual penalties are banishment to the desert islands of the south,... mutilation of a member, or the scourge, which is the most common, but infinitely cruel, ... and having "their feet passed through two pieces of wood in which holes were cut, which is their mode of securing prisoners"; and putting people in chains. (Pyrard V1. p. 205)*

*If the "king entertained some jealousy" towards someone and if it becomes a threat to his throne, he may resolve to put him to death, instructing his guards to seize "and bound him, and then dragging him along the ground, carried him to a place on the seashore, about a thousand paces off, where they put him into a boat and slew him, and then cast his body into the sea;" (Pyrard V1. p. 255)*

*[on the King's relations with his stepmother] "Sometime after this king lost his father, he began to ill-treat the wife that survived him, who was his own stepmother, and was called Manaye Quilague, and whom his dying father had especially commended to his care; whereupon, in her indignation, she was resolved to be avenged"; (Pyrard V1. p. 255)*

*[on two foreign ships voyaging to Arabia who chose to cast anchor in another island away from Male.] "The two ships cast anchor and remained there. ...on their arrival they came [to Male'] to salute the king with presents. The king liked these casual arrivals much, and received the unfortunate men with the kindest face in the world; but his smile was a deceit, and was worth nothing in the long run. (Pyrard V1. p. 281)*

*For his usual plan was to endeavour to get the vessels to come to his island, which they never would; and when he found them to be too strong, he ceased to importune them, fearing to lose their goods and traffic; but when he saw that they were weak, he made them come, under one pretext or another, pretending to be angry with them, so that at length they fell into his power, if perchance the captain of the vessel came to die; in short, nothing passed through his hands without a part sticking to them. ... the king was heir to such as died there, whether they left ship or goods behind them, wherefore most ships would not go there, or, as soon as their captain died, they sailed off as soon as possible". (Pyrard V1. p. 281)*

*[on a group of Hollanders shipwrecked in the Maldives] "(They were) unable to pass the Maldives without paying*

forfeit like ourselves: for one fine night she went upon the reefs of the island and was wrecked. [The Hollanders] remained about two months at Male, after which the king gave them a barque to take them off. ...[The Hollanders] were accused of having concealed some of the ship's treasure, to wit, gold, silver, and precious stones; for he kept them upwards of a month in prison, beaten and whipped every day, and bound with their faces to the ground... When, then, the king saw that he could draw nothing from them, he had them doctored and nursed, aid gave them some money to get home withal". (Pyrard V1. pp. 292 - 293)

"[the King's habit was] to tarry most of his time shut up in his palace, entertaining his queens, seeing his courtiers, and superintending numbers of workmen and artisans, such as painters, goldsmiths, embroiderers, cutlers, bead-makers, turners, joiners, armourers, and divers others, whom he kept at his palace, supplying them with materials, and paying them for their work as it was finished" (Pyrard V1. p. 224)

[on the King's fishing habit] "the king gives each of the twelve a heavy silver ring or bracelet, to put on his right arm, of the weight of a quarter of a pound, and to the captain one of gold: these they wear when the king goes to fish. Nevertheless, the king who reigned when I was there went a-fishing but rarely" (Pyrard V1. p. 189)

[on the King's religion] "At his palace, the king keeps the Pandiare, the Naybes, Khateebes, and Moudins, as well as the chief lords, gentlemen, and soldiers, or such as he selects on each occasion to dine at the palace, and after dinner he sits to administer justice ... A doctor of the law also follows, never losing sight of him, reading a book in his presence and admonishing him of his religion"; (Pyrard V1. p. 134)

[on the judiciary] "If the king wills, he has justice done, without any other party to the cause; but that happens rarely". In a case of adultery of a woman married to one of the king's chief officers, during the trial "the king had all the doors of his palace closed, so that none should enter to

beg the royal favour towards his wife: thus was equal justice done". "And ... after the judgment of the Pandiare some will plead to the king himself, who gives order for justice to be done and executed, and this by six lords, his chief officers, who manage the most important affairs of the realm. They are called Mouscoulis". (Pyrard V1. p. 199)

"Now, their law and custom obtains that when a king's officer or any of his family is a delinquent, before proceeding to justice the Grand Pandiare sends word to the king, asking if it be his pleasure that the process be according to the ordinary forms. This the king never refuses." (Pyrard V1. p. 306)

[on the King as doctor] "...the king always keeps a quantity of drugs, medicines, and recipes of all sorts for the sick, even charms. The people would go and ask for them, and he was well enough pleased to do this kindness to all corners; and by this means also to know who were ill, who recovering, and who dying, and so to provide for the burial of those who died. It was his wont to do this for the poor and for such as were without means, in manner suitable to the degree of each". (Pyrard V1. p. 84)

[When the King was slain] "They were even at much pains to get a white cloth for a winding-sheet, and a coffin to put him in – him who in his lifetime had so lavishly given to all the poor of his kingdom when they were in need". (Pyrard V1. p. 319)

## TAJUDEEN'S CHRONICLES

The eminent Maldivian historian and judge Hassan Tajudeen (1661-1727), in his historical chronicles of Maldives written in Arabic called, *Tarikh Deeba Mahal*, gives a kinder face to the King.

"He was a sensible, generous King; an awe-inspiring, magnificent, equitable and just Sultan; a learned scholar..."



*“He loved to spread Knowledge; and ordered people to learn the science of Islamic Law; employing such scholars by awarding them stipends, and loved to distinguish them apart from the rest of the people ...”*

*“He used to seek advice from the scholars and the judges on matters of this world and the hereafter...”*

*“He was abounding with an intelligent mind; clean in his policies, a valiant and just King, frequently endowing compassion and respect towards the weak among his flock...”*

*“He took heed of the affairs of his flock, improving their conditions, that during his reign they lived a prosperous life...”*

*“Scholars became prominent in his days; that they were like the guiding stars; the King’s reign was the Golden Age, as if the Monarchy was wearing the attire of a bridegroom embellished with gold and gems...”*

*“In his Reign justice spread across the realm, and the people were lifted away from the treachery of tyrants...”*

#### WIVES OF KING KALAAFAAN

Pyrard’s memoirs indicate King Kalaafaan espoused at least 6 times and did not marry the same woman twice. He also said the King always had “three queens” and chose a Chief Queen among them. And also that he had a lot of concubines and lovers.

*The king soon sent his brother-in-law with a goodly number of soldiers in barques to go to our wreck and get from it all he could. This was the brother of the **chief queen**, and was entitled Ranabandery Tacourou, his own name being Mouhamede (Pyrard V.1 p. 58).*

*Now the king had two nephews, brothers, of whom the elder*

*was married to **the richest young lady** in all the islands, the grand-daughter of the governor of the country under the Portuguese rule. She was also sister to the prince, who came to our ship, and with whom the king was so annoyed that he boxed his ears, as I have related above. This lady was of noble birth, young and beautiful, and so the king became enamoured of her; but the mischief was that her husband would not leave her, nor she him: for she had no ambition to be queen, preferring her first condition and liberty. The husband and wife, then, aware of the king’s intentions, resolved to escape in a barque along with a younger brother... but while carrying out their plan they were unluckily surprised at their setting out: the king’s galleys caught them and brought them back to Male, where the poor husband was constrained to quit his wife... Before marrying her, the king was constrained to leave his other wife, ... the king never afterwards abandoned her; and when he was killed she was still with him, with two foreign women; (Pyrard V.1 pp. 263-264).*

*Some years after the death of his father he became enamoured of **a married woman**, the fairest in complexion and beauty in all the land, and abandoned **his first wife**, **whom his father had made him espouse**, in order to get this woman, who had three daughters as fair as herself, all married to princes and great lords. I have often seen her arm, as she showed it to us out of coquetry, and it was as white as that of the fairest in our country here. Her husband was a pilot, the cleverest in the country in his profession and in trade, and a man of large means. The king and this woman loved each other much, and he was minded to marry her, while she daily strove to persuade her husband to consent to leave her, but he would do nothing; wherefore in her anger she advised the king to put him to death. This the king for the love of her resolved to do; and having sent for him one day to give him some information about navigation on the country chart, when the man came, and was making his obeisance, the king gave him a blow with a dagger, intending to plant it in his abdomen, but the man raised his hand to parry the stroke, and turned the dagger straight into his eye, which it put out. He was not*

otherwise hurt, for I saw him often afterwards. He was an agreeable companion, and he it was who gave me the news of our mate and comrades who escaped from the island of Pouladou, having himself seen them chained by the feet. So, to return to this woman, she got the king to marry her, but, after living together for a while, he fell in love with her who was the chief queen while we were there, and so got tired of the other, who, in truth, was the lewdest woman in the world, abandoning herself indifferently to all sorts of men, slaves, as well as others. Yet that was not the sole cause why the king left her. (Pyrard V.1 pp. 262-263).

I have made mention above of Gouradou. I was at that island one day, and saw the mast and rudder of the ship that was lost there, wherein was the foreign queen who died in child-bed while I was about the king... I would tell what, during the time I was there, befell an honorable, rich, and discreet merchant of Bengal, called Mouhamede Caca, and his wife, also a foreigner, and very beautiful and fair-complexioned for those parts. She was called **Canboue Boubou**, Canboe being her personal name in the language of Bengal, and Boubou signifying Mademoiselle. Both were wrecked with the queen; they were her slaves, and were about thirty years of age, and had no children... but no sooner was their kind mistress dead, in manner already described, than every kind of misfortune and disaster overtook them (Pyrard V.1 pp. 257-260).

But to return to the merchant of Bengal, that would not take back his wife, as related above. He married **another woman**, who was thought to be the most lovely in all the islands... Now a second misfortune befell him, for as he lived near the royal palace, no sooner did the king set eyes on this wife, than he became violently enamoured of her... and, three months before the great Maldivé disaster, the king took her to wife, (Pyrard V.1 p. 265).

They brought back, too, the three queens in a miserable plight, and lodged them in the house of the king's nephew, adjoining the royal palace... The queens also told me in private a great deal about each other, viz., the chief queen,

**the foreigner from Bengal, who was as fair and white as the women of this country;** and the young one, whom the king had but recently taken, in manner already described, (Pyrard V.1 pp. 315-316).

## ON KALAAFAAN MARRYING HIS STEPMOTHER

H.C.P Bell says:

*Three of these wives were with him when killed. Documents give the names of the last two as "Aisha Bibi Kamana" and "Nasrat Kamana"; the third, a married woman with adult children, was probably "Midu Kanba", formerly a wife of his father (S. Muhammad Bodu Takurufanu), whom the son scandalized the Maldivé world by espousing (Bell, p. 28 footnote).*

Bell's deductions seemed to be based on Pyrard's memoirs, but Pyrard does not expressly say the King married his stepmother. Bell seems to suggest the married woman with three daughters whom the King married was his stepmother.



## THE TEN PAPER GRANTS

### 1. PAPER GRANT RELATING TO THE DEATH OF KING IBRAHIM III KALAAFAAN (1609AD)

Content: This Grant, written in Dives script, describes the events that unfolded pertaining to the death of King Kalaafaan. It relates that the King was chased by fourteen Malabar galleys, and killed by a lance thrown at him by these people. After he was killed the King's wives and his chiefmen came to Hangnaameedhoo island – where the slain king and his abandoned ship was washed ashore – and entombed him by the Mosque.

Given the Grant was ordered to be written by “all these chiefmen” instead of a reigning monarch, it can be deduced at least the original Grant was written following the entombing of the slain King a few days after he was killed, during which time the succession was in question.

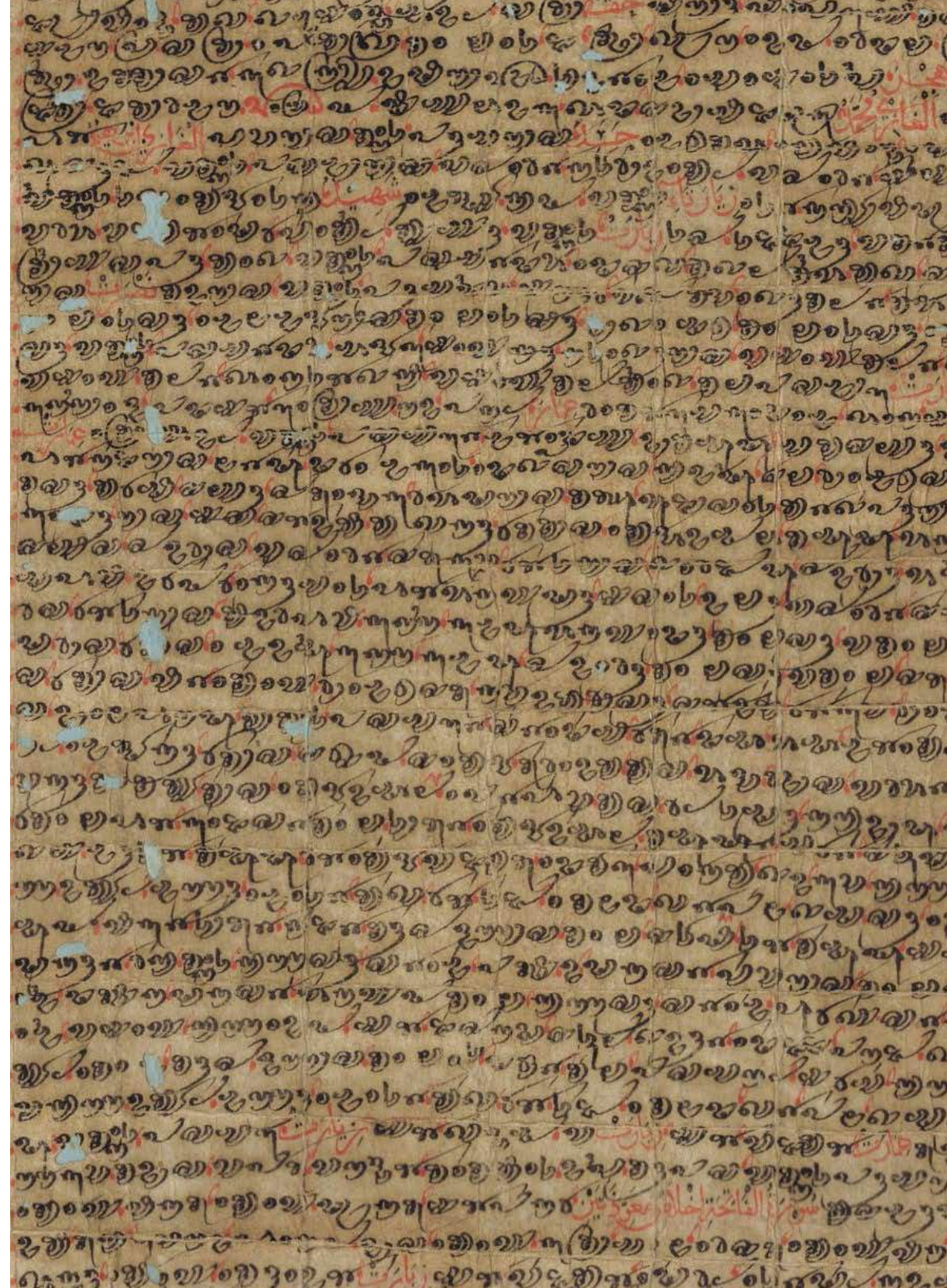
Date of Manuscript: This Grant is the oldest manuscript found so far relating to the death of King Kalaafaan. The Arabic attestation on the top of the Grant attributes the Grant of having been written “(during) the legal (days) of Judge Mohamed the son of Hakim Hassan son of Hakim Umar”.

This judge is believed to be Mohamed Fandiyaru Kaleygefan of Laamu Atoll Fonadhoo, who upon the arrival of Malabar pirates to attack the King “suggested it was better to run and hide than to fight” (Divehi Tarikh p.21).

The Grant says the King was killed on 28th Shawwal 1017 Hijra which falls on Wednesday 4 February 1609.

Alternatively this manuscript may have been written anytime “(during) the legal (days) of Judge Mohamed” who was stripped of his judgeship and sent away by the next king, Hussain II for the cowardly advice he gave the slain king (Bell, the Maldives: a Report on a Visit to Malé, 1921). The judge was again reinstated during the reign of Imadudeen I (1621-1648) and remained in the post until his death during the reign of Ibrahim Iskandar I, (1648-1687).

Measurement: 78.7cm X 31.8cm (Manuscript No. FO-105)





## 2. IMADUDEEN I GRANT (1628 AD )

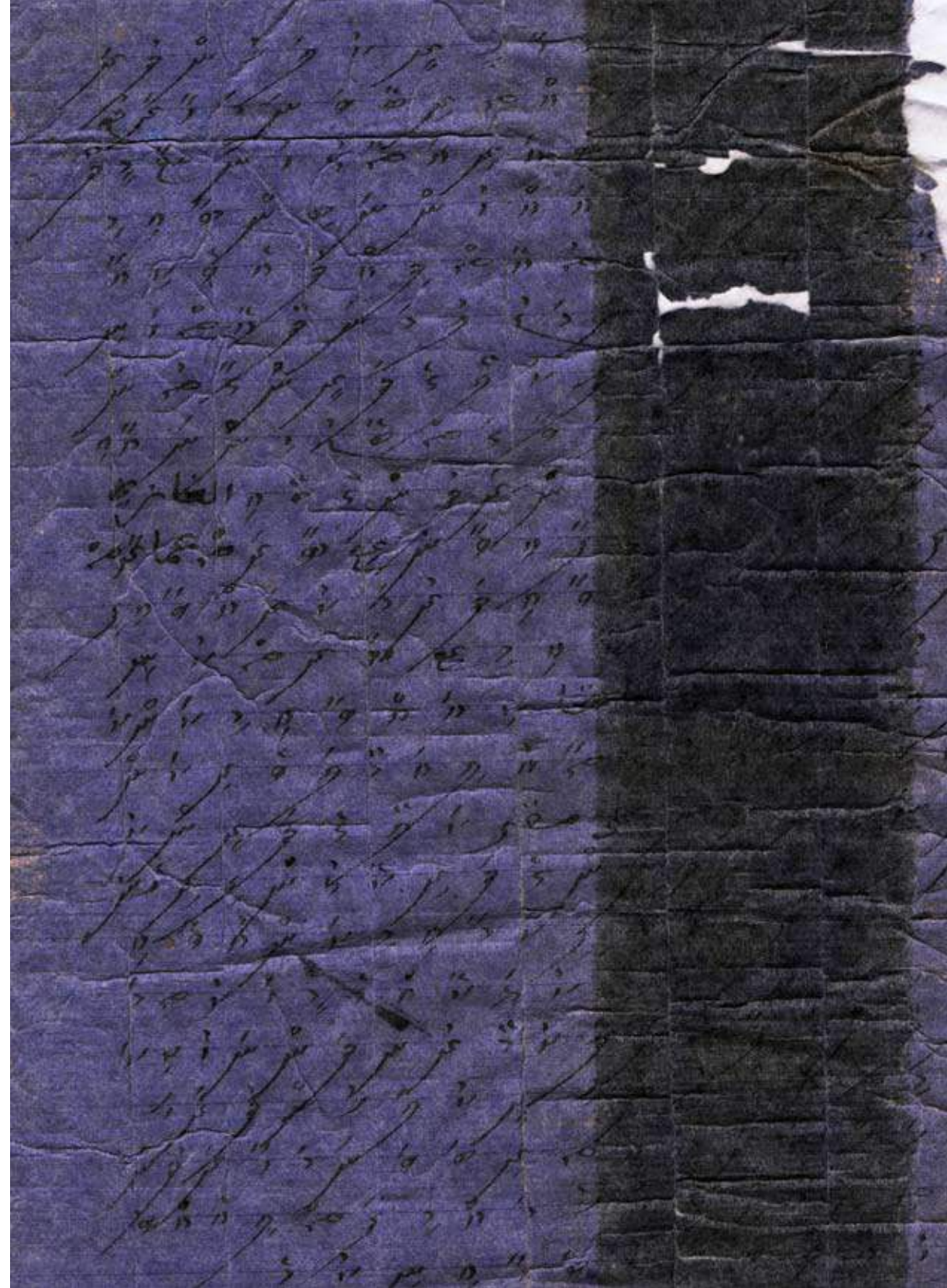
Content: This nineteenth century Thaana script transliteration of an original Dives script grant endows the custody of Kalaafaan's Tomb to the sole descendants of Don Ali Mukuri Kalo of Hangnaameedhoo, instead of the ten caretakers entrusted with this task in the 1609 grant. Also in this grant, the islet named Dhidhoo in Ari Atoll is added to the guild of Kalaafaan's Tomb.

Date of Manuscript: This Grant is written by His Majesty the Prosperous, Endowed with Beauty, Possessor of Great Wealth, Of Illustrious Race, (conversant with) Arts and Sciences, of Unsullied Fame, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe [Sultan Imadudeen I 1621-1648]. Although this title was – more or less – copied by all the kings of the nineteenth century, the fact that the grant refers to Kalaafaan as “our cousin” testifies the reigning king in question was from the Uteemu Dynasty. Imadudeen I of Uteemu Dynasty was the first, and the only king from the dynasty, to use the kingly title in question.

A grant of Imadudeen I on the same subject found in the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research states that in the seventh year of the king (1628 AD) the grandchildren of Ali Mukuri Kalo came before the king to plead with him to grant the guardianship of the Tomb to them. This grant is of the same period.

The English watermark on the paper on which the Thaana script transliteration was written gives its date as 1874.

Measurement: 25.cm X 16.7cm (Manuscript No. R-4)





### 3. QUEEN TUKKAMANA GRANT (1661 AD.)

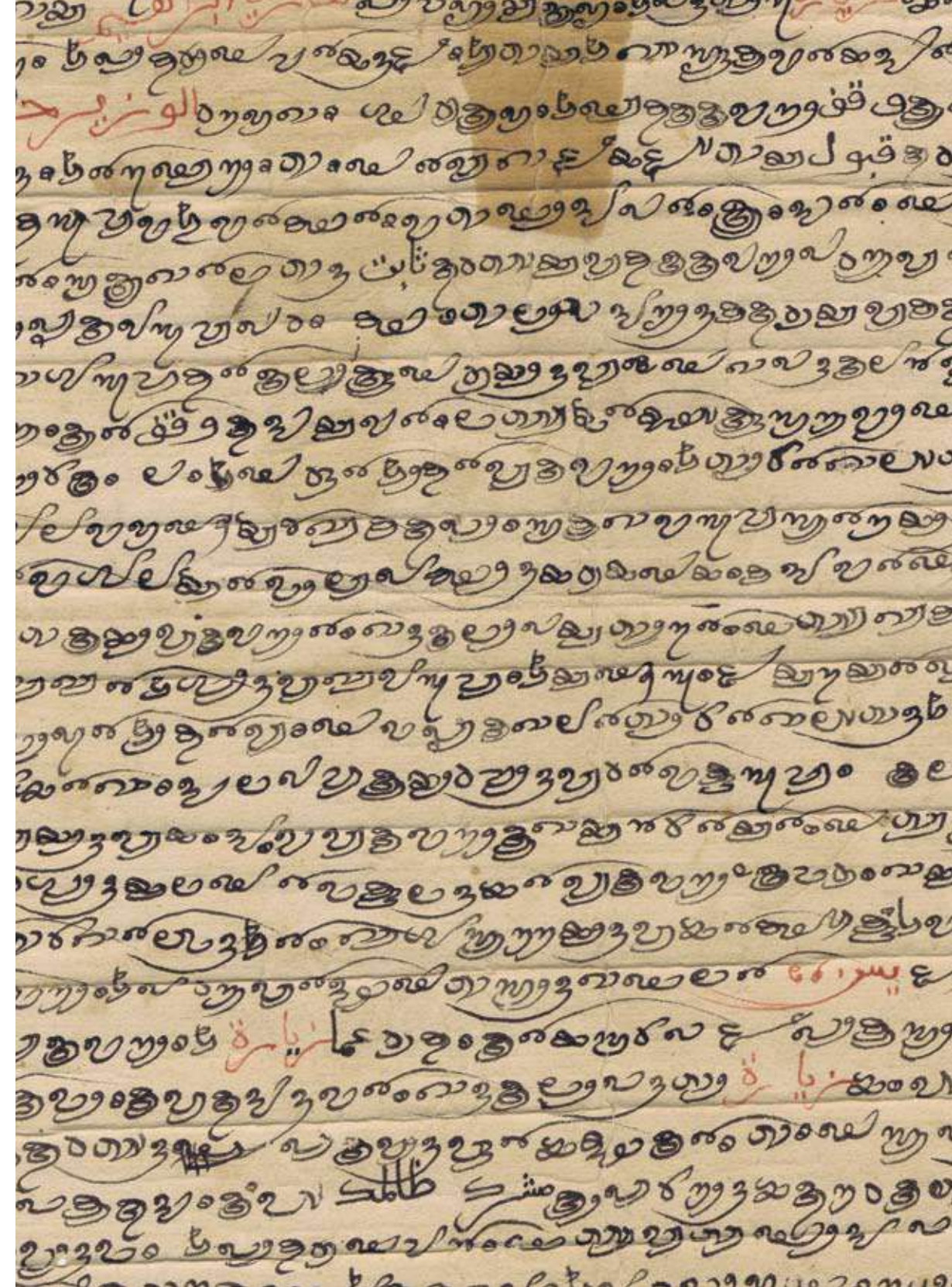
Content: This Grant gives the name of the Queen– King Kalaafaan’s cousin Tukkamana – who was one of the contenders to the throne following the King’s death, childless, in 1609. This Grant is inscribed in the Old Dives script.

According to Bell, “tradition in Malè is unanimous that on the death of Kalaafaan, that for some time (weeks, months, even up to four years) Kalhu Kamana [Tukkamana], daughter of Hassan Ranna Banderi Kilegefanu, uncle of S. Ibrahim III, ruled (at least nominally) until her death at sea, or at Mahibadu Island (Ari Atoll), when on pilgrimage to offer the customary annual alms (aharu mati fula kakkan) at Hanna Midu Island (Hangnaameedhoo, in Ari Atoll) where the slain Sultan Ibrahim had been buried”.

This Grant relates that when this Tukkamana died another “guild” was established to look after her tomb, the upkeep of which was entrusted to the Reciters of her cousin King Kalaafaan’s Tomb. The issue brought to a remedy in the Grant is that by 1661, this guild was breaking up with people having disputes over Tukkamana’s inheritance. So once again, her cousin Ibrahim Iskandar I, reigning in 1661, identifies what were Tukkamana’s endowments and who are responsible for its upkeep.

Date of Manuscript: This Grant is written in the thirteenth year of the reign of His Majesty the Prosperous, Endowed Rich in Gold, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, which is one of the titles of Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar I, (1648-1687). Therefore it was written in 1661.

Measurement: 33.0cm X 24.4cm (Manuscript No. FO-36)





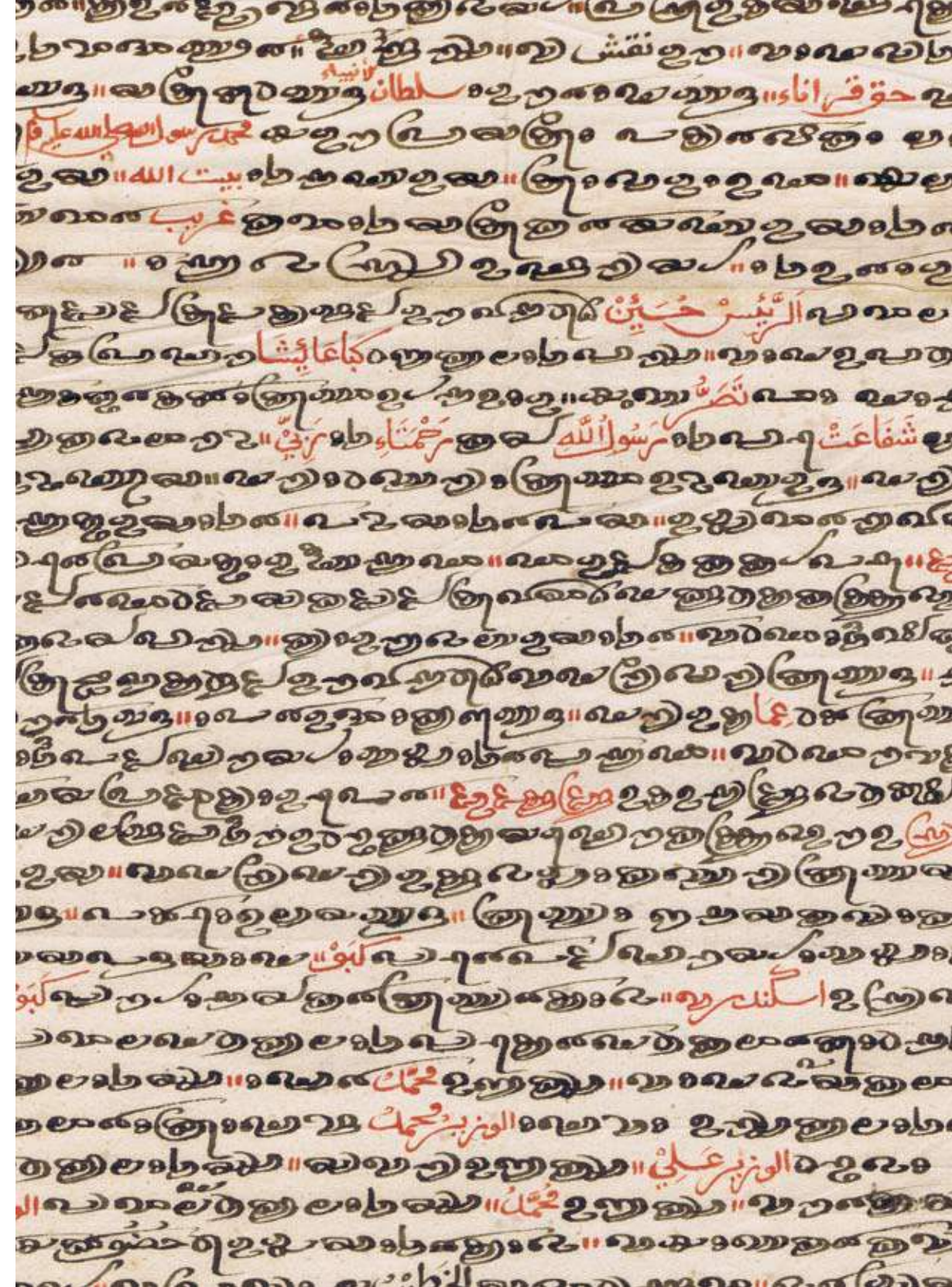
#### 4. CHIEF QUEEN KANBA AISHA'S INHERITANCE (1666 AD)

Content: This Grant, written in Dives script, describes the enormous wealth left by King Kalaafaan's Chief Queen Kanba Aisha Rani Kilege of Maafilaafushi Island, on her death in 1666. It relates to a mosque she co-sponsored to build in Malè along with the two successive kings she married after the death of Kalaafaan. The Grant describes that following King Kalaafaan's death she married Sultan Hussain II and then Imadudeen I (1621-1648), the father of the reigning king Ibrahim Iskandar I, (1648-1687).

The Grant mentions that there were indeed two kingdoms reigning in Maldives following the death of Kalaafaan. It says in order to buy the island of Maalhos in Ari Atoll the Queen had to pay 100 larin to the kingdom in Malè, and another 50 larin to the kingdom in Maafilaafushi island, where the Queen's brother reigned. The Queen was the common factor between the kingdoms, being wife of one king and sister of the other.

Date of Manuscript: The Grant was written by the Queen's son King Ibrahim Iskandar upon the death of the Queen. The inscription on the Queen's tomb in Malè Friday Mosque states she died on 9th Shauban 1076 of the Hijra which falls on Sunday 14th February 1666.

Measurement: 148.6cm X 29.5cm (Manuscript No. FO-111)





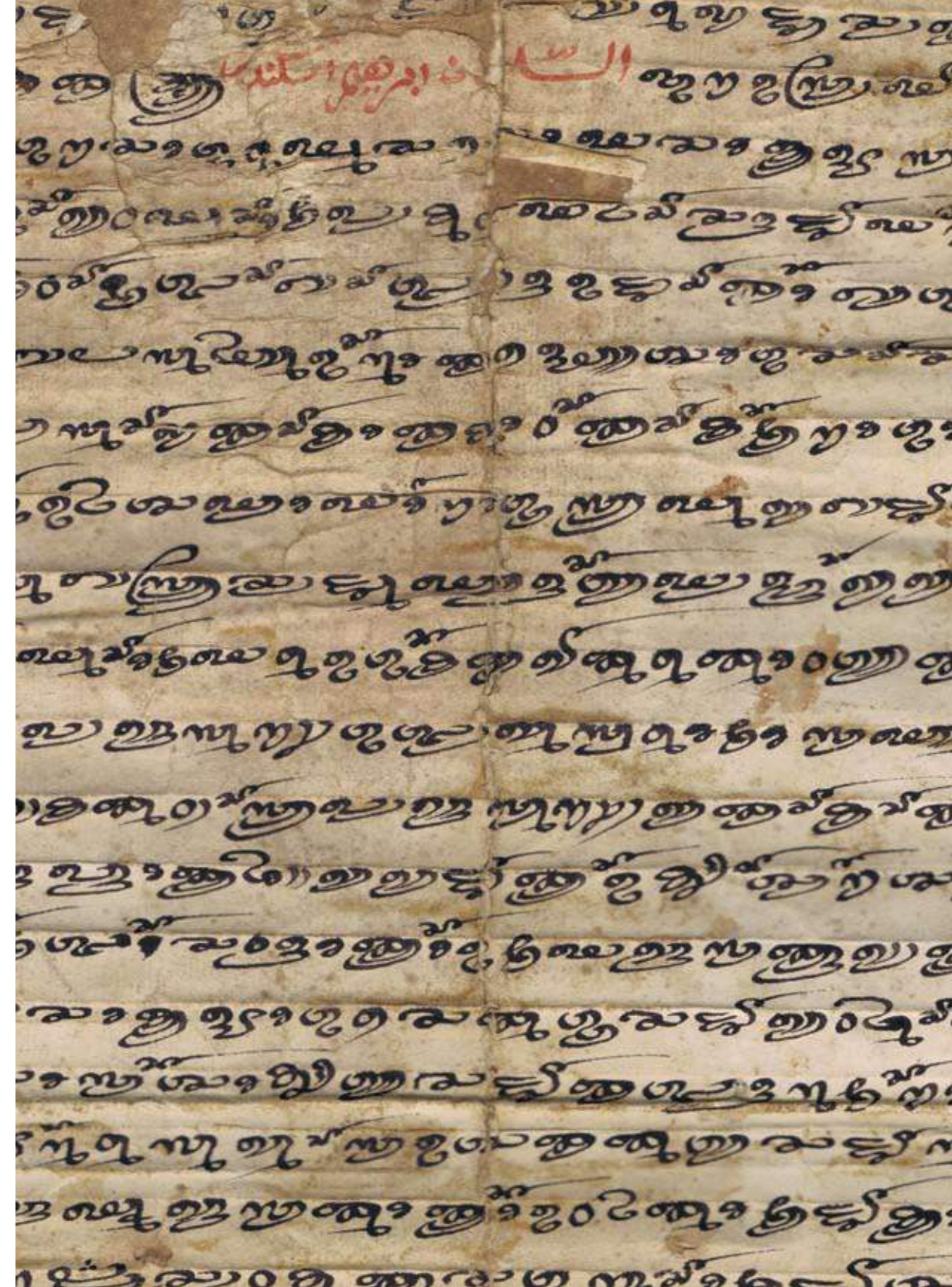
## 5. IBRAHIM ISKANDAR II GRANT (1737 AD)

Content: This is a concessional grant, written in Dives script, given to people of Hangnaameedhoo Island, for the fact that King Kalaafaan lay buried in that island. The islanders are exempted from obligatory labour that all subjects of the realm had to perform every year for the reigning king in Malè. These include building boats for the Crown in order to take the proceeds of taxation to the King, and other community chores.

One peculiar fact discovered in the Grant was that the nearby resort of Ellaidhoo was endowed to the people of Hangnaameedhoo and that no one was allowed to land there without permission from the islanders.

Date of Manuscript: This Grant is written in the seventeenth year of Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar II, (1720-1750). Therefore it was written in 1737.

Measurement: 38.1cm X 29.2cm (Manuscript No. FO-48)





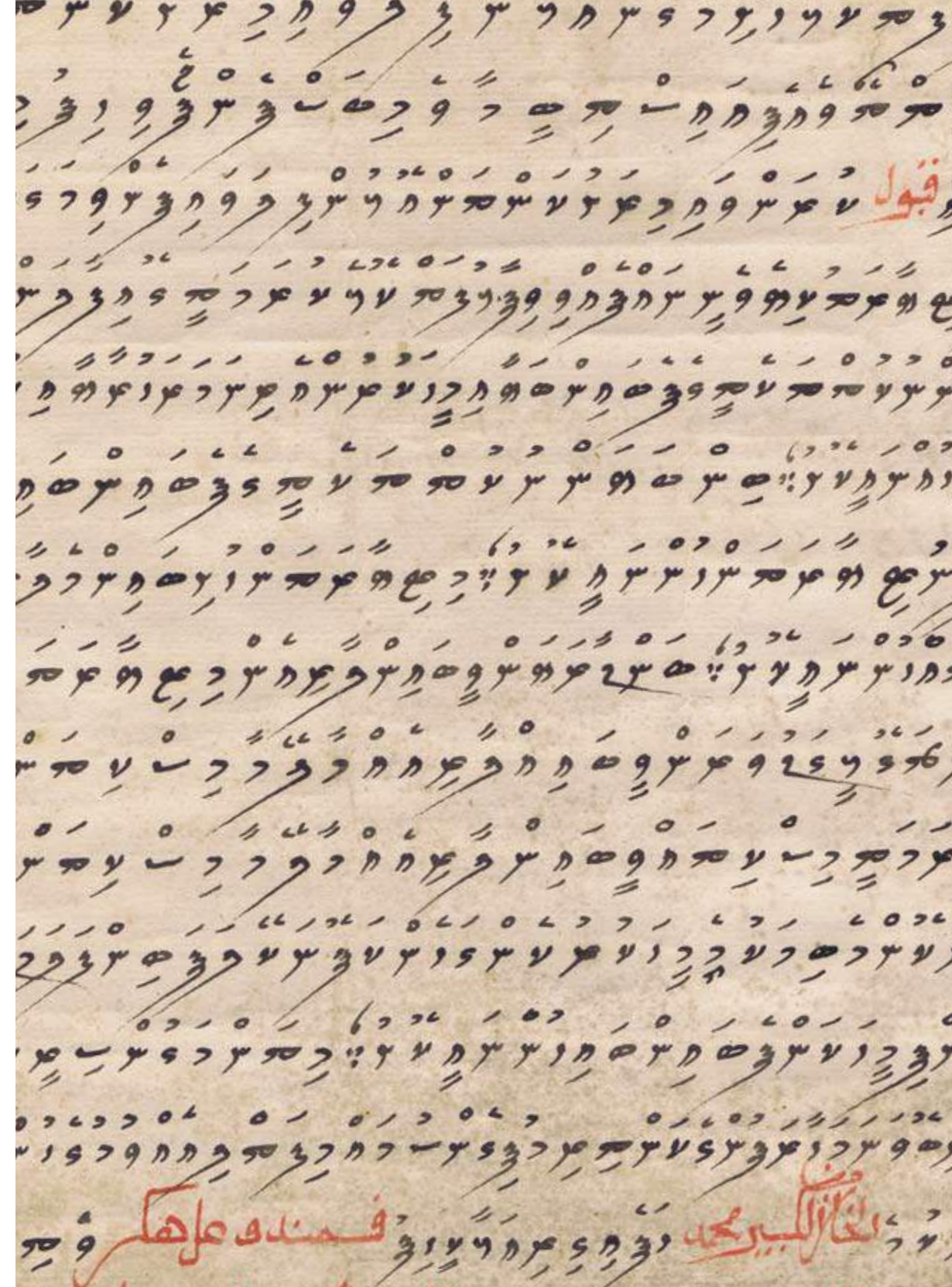
#### 6. HASSAN NOORDEEN I GRANT (1792 AD)

Content: This grant, written in Thaana script, identifies how the people of Kuramati Island, Ari Atoll, had to pay tax, levied in 1609. The entire island was endowed for the upkeep of King Kalaafaan's Tomb. For this reason they petitioned to King Hassan Noordeen I (1779-1799) who gives some concessions.

Accordingly instead of giving their entire Produce Tax, from trees and other cultivations, to the Reciters of Kalaafaan's Tomb, they may keep half of it for the mosque in Kuramati. Also the King orders that whoever among the islanders cultivates anything in the island, may keep half of its produce to themselves.

Date of Manuscript: The date given in the grant is the month of Muharram 1207 A.H, which is August or September 1792 AD.

Measurement: 38.1cm X 24.4cm (Manuscript No. FO-35)





## 7. GRANT WRITTEN BY ALI MAAFAIY THE SCRIBE

Content: This nineteenth century Thaana script transliteration of an original Dives script grant affirms that the “Big Plot” in Kandoodhoo in Thaa Atoll formally entrusted to the Amina Mava Kilege (mother of Imadudeen I) Mosque in Malè and the islet named Dhidhoo in Ari Atoll are bequeathed to the guild of Kalaafaan’s Tomb.

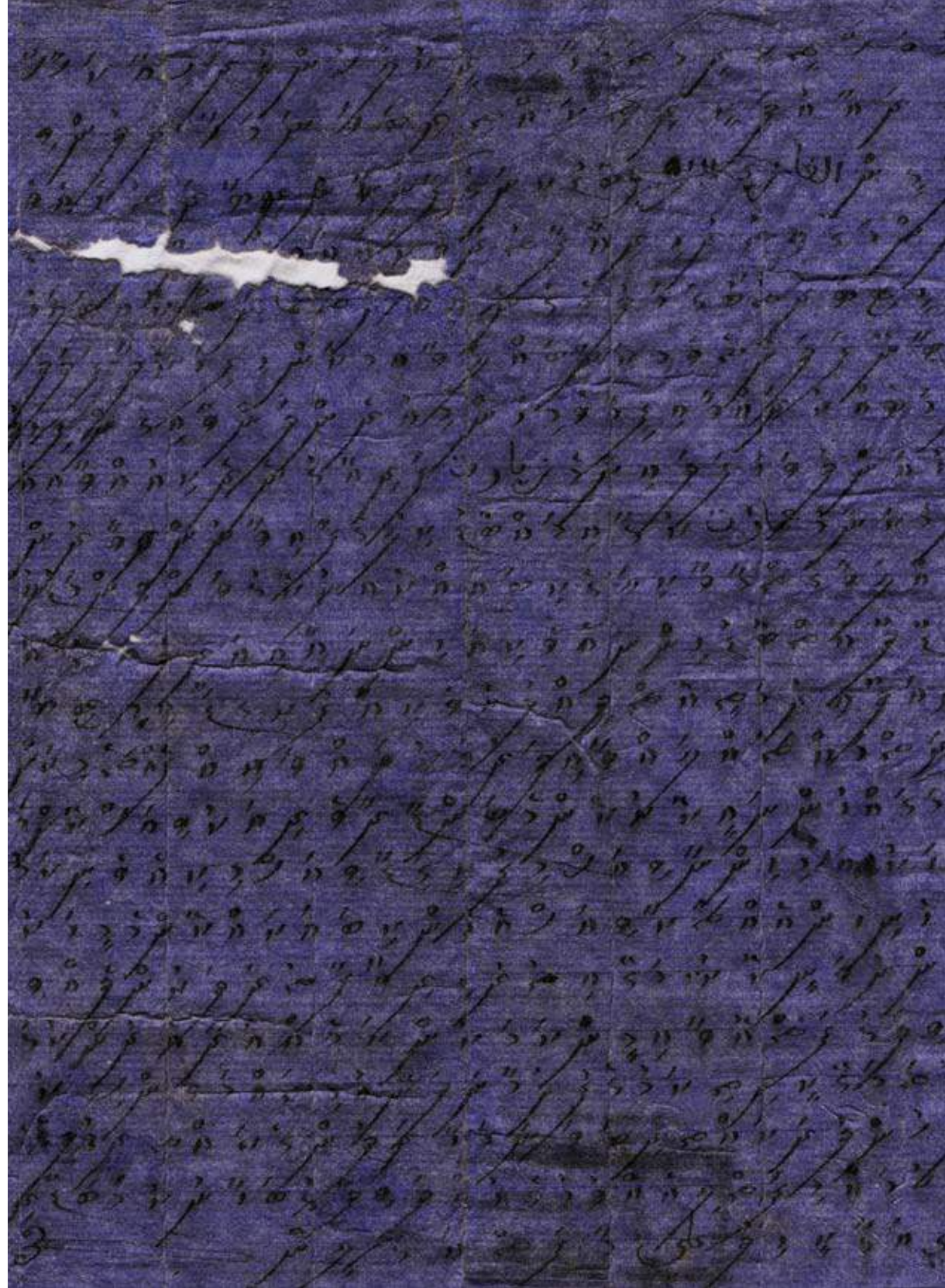
Date of Manuscript: This Grant is given by His Majesty the Prosperous, Endowed with Beauty, Possessor of Great Wealth, Of Illustrious Race, (conversant with) Arts and Sciences, of Unsullied Fame, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe. Given that this title was – more or less – copied by many kings of the 18th century and all the kings of the 19th century, it is difficult to determine the reigning king and therefore the date of the grant.

In this grant, King Kalaafaan is not referred as “our cousin” and therefore the grant is post Uteemu Dynasty.

The grant is written by Ali Maafaiy the scribe upon the direction of Bandeyri Ali.

The English watermark on the paper on which the Thaana script transliteration was written gives its date as 1874.

Measurement: 22.3cm X 19.7cm (Manuscript No. R-3)



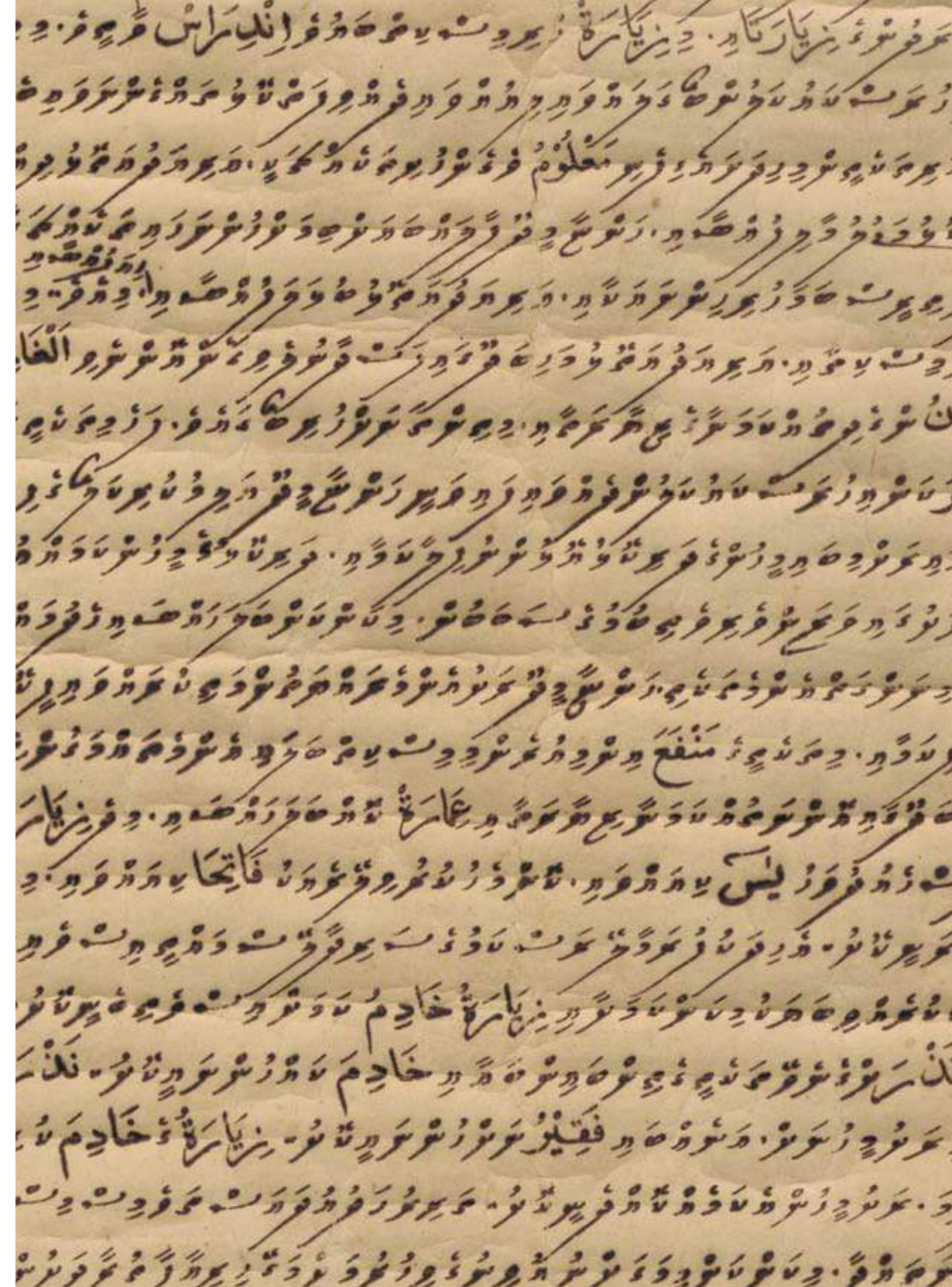


#### 8. SHAMSUDEEN III GRANT (1930 AD)

Content: Written in the 29th year of the reign of Sultan Mohamed Shamsudeen III (1893; 1903 – 1934), this Grant says, from previous grants it was found that the upkeep of King Kalaafaan's Tomb and Tukkamana's Tomb in Mahibadoo island, were hitherto bestowed on the male heirs of Ali Mukuri Kalo of Hangnaameedhoo. However, given that the caretaker's descendants are no longer identifiable, and those claiming lineage not being resident in Hangnaameedhoo; the Sultan has decided to make the whole community of Hangnaameedhoo caretakers of the tomb. The Grant is written in Thaana script.

Date of Manuscript: The date given in the grant is 23 Jumada Al-Akhira 1349 A.H, which is Friday 14 November 1930 AD.

Measurement: 43.7cm X 25.4cm (Manuscript No. FO-112)





#### 9. ABDUL MAJEED DIDI GRANT ( 1930/31 AD)

Content: This is the smallest grant relating to King Kalaafaan's Tomb in the find. The grant is signed by Prime Minister Abdul Majeed Didi. It is a kind of memo given to the people of Hangnaameedhoo that they are entitled an yearly payment of 6000 coconuts, 30 adubai (60 bottles) of coconut oil, 18 bundles of coir rope, 200 cadjans, 5 fowls, for the upkeep of Kalaafaan's Tomb.

Date of Manuscript: The manuscript is dated 1349 AH which is 1930/1931 AD.

Measurement: 23.4cm X 10.4cm (Manuscript No. FO-74)



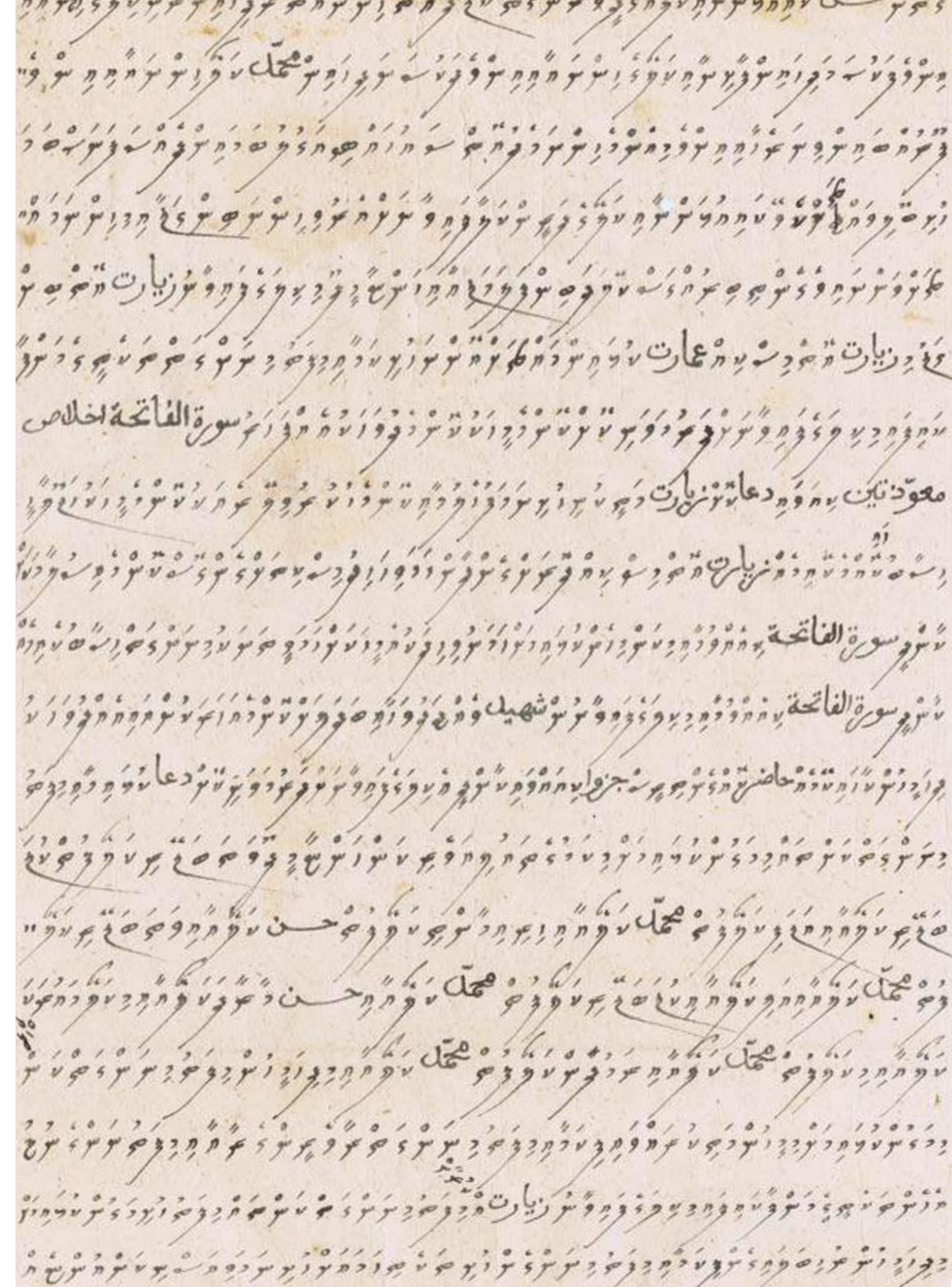
Handwritten text in Dhivehi script, likely the content of the grant. The text is written in black ink on aged paper. At the bottom, there is a date in Arabic numerals (1349) and a signature in red ink.



## 10. TENTH GRANT

The tenth grant is a direct transliteration to Thaana script of the main grant of 1609. The manuscript has not been dated but is believed to be early 20th century.

Measurement: 42.2cm X 31.8cm (Manuscript No. FO-84)



## APPENDIX: TRANSLATIONS OF THE PAPER GRANTS

### 1. PAPER GRANT RELATING TO THE DEATH OF KING IBRAHIM III KALAAFAAN (1609 AD)

*(Arabic introduction)* Praise be to God (...)

This is a legal and genuine waqf as according to the religion of our Prophet, (for whom we are) thankful;

(This is written) in the legal days of Judge Mohamed the son of Judge Hassan the son of Judge Umar

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful; Praise be to God who donates (unreservedly) to the obedient among the Jinn and Mankind; (...)

And when the sky is rent asunder and becomes red like [burning] oil (55:37); The parable of those who spend their possessions for the sake of God is that of a grain out of which grow seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains: for God grants manifold increase unto whom He wills; and God is infinite, all-knowing (2:261); Behold, those who sinfully devour the possessions of orphans but fill their bellies with fire: for [in the life to come] they will have to endure a blazing flame! (4:10); Whoever shall come [before God] with a good deed will gain ten times the like thereof; but whoever shall come with an evil deed will be requited with no more than the like thereof; and none shall be wronged (6:160)

The Messenger of God said “When a man dies, his acts come to an end, but three, recurring charity, or knowledge (by which people) benefit, or a pious son, who prays for him (for the deceased”).  
*(End of Arabic introduction)*

For the Love bestowed by Us, the Lord, the All-highest Righteous God – who hears even the footsteps of black ants as they pace forth among anthills on a dark night – having made Mohamed The Messenger Peace be Upon Him supreme in all things, the noblest among the Apostles; having sent him with the Religion of Truth for all Mankind and Jinni;

In the 1017th year since the Prophet's migration from pre-eminent Mecca to godly Medina; on the Wednesday 28th of the month of Shawwal (February 4, 1609); a dozen and two Malabar galleys, having sailed in hostility against Ibrahim Fashanaa Kilegefaanu, the Warrior, the son of Mohamed Bodu Takurufaanu the Warrior; having waged war against this Lord, and this Lord upon being martyred by a lance thrown at him by these people;

Whereupon the two wives who were under this Lord; Lady Aisaa Bibi and Lady Nusrat; and those Elders who were under this Lord at the time; Hakuraaveti Kalo and Velavalthunai Kalo and Maabandeyri Kalo and Koshari Kalo; and all palace guards who were under the feet of this Lord; these people, having gone to Hangnaameedoo to entomb this lord, and having entombed him; vouchsafed that unless all agreed to bestow means to build Kalaafaan's Tomb, it will not be built.

Having thus determined, it was agreed that construction shall be carried out by those bequeathed to this Lord, to wit: Vaati Alla of Maakandoodoo, Hassan the son of Manadood Ali, the Dervish of Landoo and his son, Himandood Ali the toddy maker, Hika of Mahibadood, Ali of Kirandee, Ramudana of Ukulhas, Kaddood Moosa and his two sons, Hussain from Diyamigili and all coconut trees belonging to him, Ali and Umar the sons of Mohamed of Kolhumadulu Kandoodoo, and all coconut and other trees belonging to them; Umar of Baresdood and Hassan of Mundood, Mohamed the son of Marudooruheivaa of Madifushi and his younger brother and all coconut and other trees of the Crown under their watch; and Huvadood Muhamedey Kalo in Timarafushi, and the two-badhi toddy-making coconut trees belonging to him, and Huvadood Umarey Kalo in Veymandood, and the two-badhi toddy-making coconut trees belonging to him, and all toddy belonging to the person of each of these toddy makers, and the toddy of all coconut trees under the hands of any of these toddy-makers, and all coconut trees inherited to this Lord [Kalaafaan] that grew from the seed of those coconut trees planted by this Lord in Malè-Funadood;

The entire island named Kuramati of Ariadu Atoll, and all things belonging to the Crown from this island, the islet named Fenfushi in Kolhumadulu; the plot of land of seventy two *bama* [measurement] to the south of the Land's End Mosque of Kandoodoo that Lord

Kalaafaan bought from Hussain Kalo son of Judge Noordeen of Hanimaadoo, having paid for it from his own possessions in Kolhumadulu Kandoodoo; and all coconut trees, other trees, bananas and root cultivations upon the plot,

Whereas the land plot of the Queen to the north of the plot bought by Hassan Kaiulhannai Kalo from the people of Kandoodoo, having paid for it from his own possessions; and the adjacent plot to the west (of the Queen's plot) belonging to Fashanaa Kalo; and the adjacent plot to the south belonging to Mohamed Kalo; and the adjacent plot to the east next to the beach; the plot in the midst of all these plots that was bestowed on Kalaafaanu by children of Bolivachchah Kevey Kaiulhannai Kalo; the plot being 64 *angulu* (1 *angulu* = 1.125 inches) 192 *bama* (1 *bama* = 72 inches) by 48 *bama* and all coconut trees, other trees, bananas and root cultivations upon the plot, all these shall be endowed for the plot of land where this Lord's tomb is located in Hangnaameedoo and for the building of the mosque on which this tomb is placed.

Whoever eats from the proceeds of any of the produce aforementioned in this Grant, shall pray for the salvation of this Lord every day having recited Sura Fatiha and Ikhlas and the Two Protection Suras and having supplicated thus shall wipe out if any dust is collected on the tomb; and on every Friday eve, each one, upon reaching the day of his turn, having measured a laahi (approximately 1kilo) of rice shall bring a rice dish to the Mosque where the tomb is laid, and shall feed it to a Muslim and shall recite the Sura Fatiha; and whosoever is unable to conduct in this manner at the required time and place, shall conduct the same wherever he may be, having fed (a Muslim) and recited the Sura Fatiha; and as compensation for the day this Lord was martyred, every year on that day, having prepared a feast suitable for ten people, and having assembled them and recited the 30 Sections (of the Quran) and fed them, shall pray for the salvation of this Lord;

In order to conduct the tasks mentioned in this Grant in the aforementioned way, these tasks are entrusted upon Kuda Bandeyri Kalo the son of Hangnaameedoo Vata Bandeyri Kalo and Mohamed Kalo the son of Adafi Kalo and Hassan Kalo the son of Hiriimaanti Kalo, Mohamed Kalo the son of Vata Bandeyri Kalo and Ali Kalo and Mohamed the son of Kuda Bandeyri Kalo, Hassan Maaraada Kalo,

and his Mauraka Kalo and his son Mohamed Kalo and Mohamed Kalo the son of Ramudan Kalo; these ten people are entrusted to conduct the tasks mentioned in this Grant according to the aforementioned way;

Whereas these ten people having been satisfied and having accepted the arrangement to eat from the proceeds of the toddy of the toddy makers mentioned in the Grant and other things mentioned in this Grant; they shall conduct the tasks assigned upon this Lord's tomb as mentioned in this Grant according to the aforementioned way; and even if the aforementioned products were accurately entrusted to them or even if these products were less than mentioned, these people shall conduct what had been assigned upon them, and if one among the ten people is unavailable a righteous man from the island shall be put in his place;

That these ten people testify that they agree to conduct the tasks mentioned according to the aforementioned way. Whereupon the Endowment that we all brothers have entrusted for the upkeep of Kalaafaanu Tomb so that the prayer call will not cease to exist in all the many mosques; so long as the sun and moon follow their orbit, and whoever annuls and destroys this Endowment shall enter Hell with the Infidels, they are those who minded to prostrate to idols and attempted to destroy the Ka'ba. And all those Muslims who proceed according to what is prescribed shall enter Heaven along with the Saints praised by Almighty God.

Whereupon all these chiefmen requesting to issue a grant as according to the aforementioned way, Rakkau Fandiakkalo wrote thus.

*(in Arabic) this paper of writing has been attested by the Khateeb, the Judge Moosa the son of Abdulla*

Don Mohamed Kalo of Maafushi son of Umar Khateeb Kalo testifies that this grant is written according to the aforementioned way,

Ismail Maafahakka Kalo son of Khateeb Hassan testifies that this grant is written according to the aforementioned way,

Khateeb Ibrahim Kalo son of Kuda Badeyri Kalo wrote as according to what is mentioned in the Grant.



## 2. IMADUDEEN I GRANT (1628 AD )

His Majesty the Prosperous, Endowed with Beauty, Possessor of Great Wealth, Of Illustrious Race, (conversant with) Arts and Sciences, of Unsullied Fame, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe (said):

We hereby bequeath and bless that all land belonging to the Crown in the island of Hangnaameedoo in Ari Atoll in this emerging and submerging Kingdom (ruled by Us), and the islet name Diddoo on the eastern side of this atoll, and the Big Plot in Manadoo in Miladunmadulu that was bought (by ...) from the children of Don Ahmed Kalo of Hanimaadoo; all these are endowed for the repair of the Tomb of our cousin Ibrahim Fashana Kilegefaanu the Warrior;

The custody of eating from the proceeds of these (endowments), for sweeping the Tomb, roofing it with cadjans, to recite the Fatiha and administer feasts; all these tasks are hereby assigned to the male children of Don Ali Mukuri Kalo of Hangnaameedoo;

Whoever is minded to destroy and nullify this (endowment), let him learn the reckoning of Our Auspicious Feet;

When the Great Monarch of the Universe, A Kshatriya, (born) of illustrious race, (conversant with) arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, gave permission that an Edict be written and His Majesty's Seal affixed thereto...

## 3. QUEEN TUKKAMANA GRANT (1661 AD.)

In the Thirteenth year of the reign of (His Majesty) the Prosperous, Endowed Rich in Gold, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, was enthroned, all those Reciters bequeathed to the Tomb of Our cousin, Ibrahim Fashana Kilegefaivaanu, the Warrior; approaching Our auspicious feet pleaded that the Endowment of Tukkamana the daughter of Vizier Hassan Rannabadeyri; – (the upkeep of which) was entrusted to us subjects – so as not to let this Endowment be



split into different portions;

And so having listened to this plea; and having acquiesced, We bestowed a Grant to the same affect as the previous grant; in so doing, having found evidence and having proven upon it; (it was found) that when this Tukkamana passed away, her surviving husband Velavlhunai Takuru, the Foreigner, and the son born to this Takuru from the womb of Tukkamana named Tukkalaa; this father and son, for the salvation of this Lady, granted the Endowment thus:

That the proceeds of the plot of land in Miladunmadulu Manadoo, having seventy two *bama* on every side, that this Lady bought from the children of Judge Noordeen of Hanimadoo, having paid for it from her own possessions; and (the proceeds of) Maalifushi Island in Kolhuendin-madulu; and the land having thirty *bama* on every side named Gey-gandu located in Mandoo in Ariadu Atoll, that this Lady's cousin Kalaafaan bestowed to her; and all coconut trees planted on this plot by Hussain of Goidoo; and the island named Embulhelafushi of Ariadu Atoll that this royal couple bought, from their own possessions, from Maadu of Nilandoo; and all coconut trees, other trees, bananas and root cultivations upon this plot; and the islet-orchard named Hiyafushi in the same atoll where coconut trees on behalf of this Lady were planted; and the Big Orchard, that she bought from her own possessions, from the children of Koshari

Beyaa of Tiladunmati;

In return for reciting Sura Yasin on the day (of every year) this Lady passed away, and to have this Lady's Tomb constructed and have the annual fatiha recited; these proceeds for conducting these tasks have been entrusted to the Reciters of Kalaafaan's Tomb.

And every Tyrant who embezzles any of these proceeds and annuls or destroys them shall enter Hell with the Infidels; and (Beware) those who attempt to annul this Grant so vouchsafed under Our Feet, and embezzle any of these proceeds; let them learn the Magnitude of Our Reckoning;

When the Prosperous, Endowed Rich in Gold, a Kshatriya, Monarch gave permission that an Edict be written and His Majesty's Seal affixed thereto, his subject, the Judge Abu Bakr wrote thus;

#### 4. CHIEF QUEEN KANBA AISHA'S INHERITANCE (1666 AD)

*(Arabic introduction)* Praise be to God, the Creator, the Evolver, the Praiseworthy

What is (written) in this public document has been proven to me to be genuine

(I am) the Jurist, the Khateeb, the Judge Mahmood the son of the Celebrated Judge Mohamed

In the name of God, Most Gracious, Most Merciful; Praise be to God who doubles the Good and conceals the Bad and praise and salutations to Mohamed, the best of creatures, and to his family and companions. He is the one who obliterates unbelief, the master of all good things.

The parable of those who spend their possessions for the sake of God is that of a grain out of which grow seven ears, in every ear a hundred grains: for God grants manifold increase unto whom He wills; and God is infinite, all-knowing (2:261); Behold, those who sinfully devour the possessions of orphans but fill their bellies with fire: for

[in the life to come] they will have to endure a blazing flame! (4:10);

The Messenger of God said "When a man dies, his acts come to an end, but three, recurring charity, or knowledge (by which people) benefit, or a pious son, who prays for him (for the deceased)".

(Whereas) according to the Ulema a "recurring charity" (as mentioned by the Prophet) means a waqf.

It is also narrated that `Umar ibn al-Khattab got land in Khaibar; so he came to the Prophet, peace and blessings of God be on him, to consult him about it. He said, O Messenger of God! I have got land in Khaibar than which I have never obtained more valuable property; what dost thou advise about it? He said : "If thou likest, make the property itself to remain inalienable, and give (the profit from) it in charity." So `Umar made it a charity on the condition that it shall not be sold, nor given away as a gift, nor inherited, and made it a charity among the needy and the relatives and to set free slaves and in the way of God and for the travelers and to entertain guests, there being no blame on him who managed it if he ate out of it and made (others) eat, not accumulating wealth thereby.

It is also narrated that the Messenger of God, Mohamed peace and blessings of God be on him, said "Be afraid of God, and be just (in sharing property) among your children".

It is also narrated that he (the Prophet) said "I will not bear witness to any injustice by one who keeps preferences among his children" *(End of Arabic introduction)*

I, the Lord, Righteous God. High and Mighty, having sent noble Mohamed Peace be Upon him, bestowing upon him the Righteous Quran, sent him to teach the Faith in the fear of God and beliefs in its tenets to the two bodies Jinni and Mankind;

During the year 1027 (1618 A.D) since the Hijra from pre-eminent Mecca to holy Medina, (of the Prophet) who destroyed Idol Temples, built the Ka'ba, and acting with noble humility imparted to the region a regal distinction;

The Chief Hussain Famuladari Kilegefan (Sultan Hussain II) and the

Queen Kanba Aisha Rani Kilege; this royal couple, having decided to do charity from their own possessions, having unrestricted right of disposal (of these possession) and being in sound mind; this couple, desiring mercy from the Lord and intercession from the noble Messenger of God, seeking admission to Paradise, set their hearts to build a Mosque;

Having started the Mosque, but before the construction was complete, this Lord having passed away;

And after many days, this Queen having married His Highness the Prosperous, Endowed with Beauty, Possessor of Great Wealth, Of Illustrious Race, (conversant with) Arts and Sciences, of Unsullied Fame, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe (Sultan Imadudeen I 1621-1648), and by the toil of this King, in the year 1029 (1620 A.D) since the Hijra, constructed this Mosque, having installed its four walls and the gate, and dug the wells; and after having constructed the graveyard (of the Mosque), this King having passed away;

That the Queen petitioned to the auspicious feet of His Majesty the Prosperous, Possessor of Great Wealth, Pious, Imparter of Wisdom, Manifold, Powerful as a Lion, Famed like the Nine Gems, Accomplished, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe (Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar I 1648-1687); who was borne by this Queen to the (deceased) King; and having constructed a bathing tank by the Cemetery of the Mosque; yet, before bequeathing an endowment to the Mosque, nor having written an Edict (regarding the mosque); but having informed the tasks assigned, this Queen theretofore having gone to the grave;

Deciding to do good for the (deceased) Mother-Queen; this King Iskandar, and the younger (son) of the three sons of Hussain Famuladari Kilegefan (Sultan Hussain II), to wit, Vizier Hassan Fashana Kilegefan, and (his son) Don Mohamed Manik (Sultan Mohamed Muhiudeen 1691-2); this father and son;

And Hassan Rannabandeyri Kilegefan – the son of the eldest among these lords (of Hussain II) Vizier Mohamed Doshimeyna Kilegefan,

And Amina Manike;

And Vizier Hussain Famuladari Kilegefan the son of Ali Rannabandeyri Kilegefan (of Hussain II);

And Mohamed Manik;

These seven lords, all in attendance, having ordained the Khateeb of pre-eminent Malè, Attorney General Ibrahim Takuru to conduct the tasks assigned;

Wherefore – in order to conduct the tasks as according to the Shari'a – having asked and sought from the Queen's children and her slaves and confidants, the last Testament of the Queen whilst alive; all were unanimous that:

(She willed) that regardless of those children who died before her or survived her, the custody of this Mosque is given to all the Queen's children and their children; that all her other possessions are the choice of those children who survived the Queen's burial;

Having attested this testament, and deciding to follow it; the King Iskandar said We are a lord who has no children issued to this World; that the custody of a mosque is befitting for those with progeny; and therefore We ask whether it would be suitable for the Shari'a, if We hereby bequeath the custody of this Mosque to Our three uterine elder brothers and their progeny?

For this request, the Judge Takuru said as a charity given by the King to his brothers, that is indeed righteous;

And so, the lords having agreed to this manner, as willed by the Mother-Queen, the endowment (for the Mosque) bequeathed from the possessions of the Mother-Queen are:

The plot of hundred *bama* on the road of Small Ali, that this Queen bought, from her own possessions, from the children of Ismail Famuladeyri Kalo, having bought it from her Beach Palace; and having given this plot – of the measurements so mentioned – to the Reciters of the Mosque of the Mighty King of the Universe Ibrahim Fashana Kilegefan, the Warrior (Sultan Ibrahim III Kalaafaan); and having bought in return the western plot in the Kanbaa block; and because on the eastern (side of which) the Mother-Queen had built





the Beach Palace, by Our (the King) auspicious feet having given the entire plot-area to these Reciters, the plot We (the King) bought and gave in return to the Mother-Queen (is bequeathed to the Mosque's endowment);

And going north from this plot; adjacent to the west is the plot of the Malè Great Mosque; and south to it is the plot of the Warrior Ibrahim Fashana Kilegefan Mosque (Sultan Ibrahim III Kalaafaan); the hundred *bama* plot between these two plots, on which this Mosque is placed, and all things on this plot thereof;

That on the plot on which Hassan Rannabandeyri Kilegefan of Uteemu, the Warrior, had built the palace for his wife Queen Fatima Rani Kilege of Maafilaafushi Island, for this cause the plot given to her being to wit: to the east 30 *bama* up to the land of the Great Mosque, going north twenty *bama*, to the west thirty-four *bama* up to the plot on which Amina Mava Kilege Mosque is placed; to the south sixteen *bama* adjacent to this mosque; the plot in the midst of (all these plots) amounting to three *riyan* (1 *riyan* = 27 inches) eight *agoo*, a hundred in *bama* measurement;

Whereas the mentioned Queen Fatima Rani Kilege having passed away; and her possessions having gone to the Treasury, to wit (as possessions) of Ibrahim Fashana Kilegefan, the Warrior (Sultan Ibrahim III Kalaafaan); and this King (Sultan Ibrahim III Kalaafaan) having dispossessed all he inherited from (the deceased) Queen; bequeathed them under witnesses to this Queen Aisha Rani Kilege being married to her; therefore this plot, and all things on this plot thereof;

And the plot to the east of the one that the Queen bought from her Beach Palace from the children of Faqee; (the measurement of this land being) eighteen *bama* to the east, from the plot instituted by Faqee as a Waqf; to the north thirty *bama* starting from Ken'bualhaa Road; to the west twenty-five *bama* starting from the plot under the Recitership of Badru Doshimeyna Kalo;

Now from the south-east corner of this plot the land given as a rubbish dump from Queen Sanfa Rani Kilege's Diyaduvva Compound, going seven *bama* north into this plot; south of this plot is the rubbish dump; going nine *bama* east from the north (boundary); thus the

plot amid these being the palace-block of Queen Sanfa Rani Kilege daughter of King Haji Mohamed; this being a plot of one hundred and eight *bama*; and all things in this plot thereof;

Whereupon Yahya Takuru of Nilandoo having become a bondsman of this Queen, bequeathed under witness, by his consent (to donate) all his possessions of cultivable land, plantations and members of his family;

Out of these the plot in Galolhu; this being to the east thirty-three *bama* starting from the road leading to the main road; to the north forty-five *bama* from the plot under the Recitership of Delhi Queen; to the west thirty-eight *bama* starting from the wall of Debeyranin Mosque. To the south, starting from Fankolhulaa Road to Kolihingaa Road, the plot named Ban Hinna in the midst of these plots mentioned; this being a plot of fifty-seven *bama* and all things in this plot thereof;

In the days when there were kingdoms in two islands of Maldives, having paid hundred larin to His Majesty of Illustrious Race, of Unsullied Fame, of Illustrious Race, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, in Malé, and another fifty larin to Haji Saamiyaan Faashinaa Kilegefaanu, the Warrior, in Maafilaafushi Island, altogether a hundred and fifty larin; to buy the big island of Maalhos in Ariyadoo Atoll; the Queen having dispossessed it from the Crown, and taken it as her own possession.

And the island named Ariadoo in this atoll (Ari Atoll) that this Queen bought – having paid for it from her own Beach Palace – from the children of Maafahaiykkalo the Foreigner, and all coconuts, bananas and other cultivations in this island thereof;

And the island named Maafushi in South Malé Atoll, that this Queen bought from her possessions, from Is Hassan Takuru the Old; and all things on this island thereof;

Whereas this King having instituted these (mentioned) things as the endowment for the Mosque;

From the proceeds of these things, renovations on the Mosque shall be made, and its wells cleaned and ladles (for drawing water)

placed, and it shall be covered with cadjan roofing, its lamps oiled, the mosque dusted, muezzins appointed who would call for the prayer five times and supplicate for salvation; And so the custody of carrying out these tasks are hereby entrusted to the progeny of these three lords (of Sultan Hussain II)

Of the things mentioned, Malhos in Ariadu Atoll and the plot of Queen Fatima Rani Kilege situated in Maafannu Ward in pre-eminent Malé are entrusted to the progeny of Vizier Mohamed Doshimeyna Kilege;

Ariadoo and the enclave of Queen Sanfa Rani Kilege the daughter of King Haji Mohamed situated also in Maafannu Ward in pre-eminent Malé, are entrusted to the progeny of Vizier Ali Rannabandeyri Kilege.

The plot named Ban Hinna in Galolhu Ward in pre-eminent Malé, and the island named Maafushi in the south of this (Malé) atoll are entrusted to the progeny of Vizier Hassan Fashana Kilege

Having assigned these tasks in this manner, that this Endowment so instituted shall not be annulled nor neglected so long as the sun and the moon endure; so long as the prayers are called and supplications given, and the servants of God prostrate to Him;

Any Muslim who is minded to proceed with this endowment in this manner, be it King, Chief Queen, Princess, Royal Prince or Royal Personage, Atoll Nobles or Soldier; fearing God and seeking the path shown by the Prophet Mohamed, shall attain mercy and enter Heaven along with the Believers and Muslims;

Any Muslim who is minded to destroy and nullify this endowment, be he from a King, Chief Queen, Princess, Royal Prince or Royal Personage, Chief Minister, or Lesser Nobles or Soldier; be he of an Infidel King, Chief Queen, Princess, any ignorant (barbarian) from any family, shall enter Hell to be castigated along with the Infidels; they are those who are minded to burn the Qur'an, destroy the House of God, dismantle sacred tombs, and places of worship; they are those who are minded to slaughter the Heifer, shape idols and worship these, distancing themselves from the Lord and the Messenger.

When the Great Accomplished, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe gave permission that an Edict be written accordingly, and His Majesty's seal affixed thereto, upon the direction of Bandeyri Hussain Handeygiri, the Khateeb Ali the Scribe attested and wrote thus;

*(in Arabic) this paper of writing has been attested by Vizier Hassan the son of the Chief Hussain, the Grateful*

*This psalm-like document has been attested by the Chief Hassan the son of Vizier Mohamed, the Renowned*

*This document (written) by the grace of the Distinguished King is attested by Vizier Hussain the son of Vizier Ali, the Distinguished*

(in Dhivehi) This document is attested by Vizier Mohamed Kalo the son of Naseeb Handeygiri Kalo

*(in Arabic) What is written in this paper document is attested by the Khateeb, the Judge Mohamed the son of Haji Ali the son of the renowned Judge Mohamed;*

*This psalm-like document is attested by the Vizier, the Harbour Master Ibrahim the son of Mohamed, the Renowned;*

*What is written in this celebrated document is attested by the Vizier Ibrahim the son of the renowned scholar Jamaludeen*

*What is (written) in this celebrated recorded paper document is attested by the Judge Mahmood the son of the Khateeb, the Hafiz Moosa, the reknowned;*

*What is (written) in this paper document is attested by the Judge Ali the son of the renowned Hafiz Mohamed;*

## 5. IBRAHIM ISKANDAR II GRANT (1737 AD)

In the Seventeenth year of the reign of (His Majesty) Prosperous, Possessor of Great Wealth, Imparter of Knowledge, a Kshatriya, Sultan Ibrahim Iskandar, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, was enthroned, all Subjects of Hangnaameedhoo Island of Ari Atoll, having come to the feet of this King pleaded;

That due to enormity of Crown labour enforced unto our island, we are unable to restore and upkeep the Mosque. And (the labour) of building boats and other island chores (for the Crown) having increased, in lieu of previous tradition, they pleaded to lessen such work;

Having listened and having assented to the plea, His Kind Majesty gave the Order with his noble tongue, for the upkeep of this Mosque, by the benevolence of this King, he has annulled holding people from this Island (to work for) mosque (endowments), and for carpentering boat houses and boats (for the Crown);

And whosoever came ashore on the islet named Ellaidhoo that is endowed upon this Mosque, whether he be a man of power, or even if he be the Atoll Chief of this atoll, they shall not cut even a raw piece of wood or anything else from the island; and none shall land on this islet upon the displeasure of any of these subjects (of Hangnaameedhoo). And that the Reciters of the Tomb shall go and bring back Hangnameedhoo islanders in whichever islands they may be ;

And whoever annuls or opposes any of that mentioned in this Grant bestowed by Our auspicious Feet beware; let them learn the Magnitude of Our Reckoning;

When the Endowed, Orderly, Possessor of Great Wealth, Imparter of Knowledge, a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, gave permission that an Edict be written and His Majesty's Seal affixed thereto, his subject, Umar Gadahamaanti wrote thus;

## 6. HASSAN NOORDEEN I GRANT (1792 AD)

In the fifteenth year of the reign of (Sultan Hassan Noordeen Iskandar) the son of Sultan Hassan Izzudeen the Warrior, ... (His Majesty conversant with) arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, Great Monarch of the Universe, a Kshatriya – in the month of Muharram, all subjects of Kuramati having visited the auspicious feet of the King pleaded:

That they have come requesting to clarify the proceedings stipulated in the Grant by His Majesty Sultan Mohamed Imadudeen and theretofore to proceed as according to the Grant in relation to this island.

This having been requested, and (the King) having agreed, and having clarified the proceedings of this island, the (King) stipulated the following:

That in the Grant endowed to the Hangnaameedoo Kalaafaan's Tomb Reciters, out of the produce of Fruit Trees of Kuramati Island, (hereafter) half of the proceeds of the Ground Share and the toddy of anyone who draws (toddy) from the coconut trees (among the island's Fruit Trees) shall belong to the Kuramati Mosque;

(The other) half of the proceeds of the Ground Share shall go to Kalaafaan's Tomb (in Hangnameedhoo Island); and out of the share endowed to the Tomb the larin endowed to the Tomb shall (continue to be) endowed to it; and out of the Government Share a larin shall also go to the endowment of this Tomb;

Out of the Machangolhi Palace Share, a larin shall be endowed to the Malè Great Mosque;

Out of the Kuramati Mosque Share, a larin shall be endowed to the Malè Great Mosque;

And whosoever plants a coconut tree, other tree, banana or other root cultivations (in the island) shall receive half of their proceeds;

When (His Majesty) a Kshatriya, Mighty Monarch of the Universe, gave permission that an Edict (accordingly) be written and His

Majesty's Seal affixed thereto, upon the reciting of (His Majesty's) subject, the Chief Treasurer Mohamed Handeygiri, the subject Hussain the Master, the son of subject Ali Hakuraveti of Fasmandoo Island wrote thus; year 1207 (1792 AD.)

## 7. GRANT WRITTEN BY ALI MAAFAIY THE SCRIBE

The Great Monarch of the Universe, a Kshatriya, (endowed with) beauty, possessed of great (weight of) prosperity, who imparts wisdom, (born) of illustrious race, (conversant with) arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, said:

The Reciters of the Tomb of the Great Kilegefan Ibrahim the Warrior, having come to our auspicious feet, beseeched:

That the endowments to the Tomb having decreased there is naught for the repair and upkeep of the Tomb; and therefore to look into the matter and bless (them) with something to sustain (the Tomb);

Whereas, when these people pleaded thus, as customary practice of former days, having brought out the Farivalhu (bondibaiy - rice pudding) from the Tomb and having partaken of it;

(We) endowed and blessed the Tomb, for all its repairs, with the plot the Great Kilegefan bought from his own possessions, named "the Big Plot" in Kandoodoo in Kolhumadulu that was (previously) in the care of Mava Kilege; and islet named Diddoo to the east of Ariadu in Ariadu Atoll;

That this shall be hereafter prescribed as such; that whosoever, be he a King, or leader or any other person, shall not divert; be it this Plot or this Islet or any other thing under the recitership of this Tomb, to any other direction;

Whoever is minded to destroy or challenge any of what is assigned by this Grant given by Our Auspicious Feet, let him learn Our reckoning;



When the Great Monarch of the Universe, A Kshatriya, (born) of illustrious race, (conversant with) arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, gave permission that an Edict be written and His Majesty's Seal affixed thereto, upon the dictation of the subject Bandeyri Ali, the subject Ali Maafaiy wrote thus.

#### 8.SHAMSUDEEN III GRANT (1930 AD)

He (God) is Self-Sufficient

In the name of God, most Gracious, most Merciful; Praise be to God, the Most High, the Supreme. And peace and salutations be upon our Master Mohamed and to his family and his companions.

(Whereas) in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of the Sultan Mohamed Shamusdeen Iskandar – Great Monarch of the Universe, a Kshatriya, (endowed with) beauty, possessed of great (weight of) prosperity, who imparts wisdom, (born) of illustrious race, (resembling) the Sun and Moon, (conversant with) arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, son of Sultan Ibrahim Noordeen Iskandar the deceased, (His Majesty), seated upon the Throne, vouchsafed (the following pronouncement);

Given that Sultan Ibrahim the Warrior, the son of Sultan Mohamed of Uteemu the Warrior, is buried in the island of Hangnaameedhoo in this emerging and submerging Kingdom ruled by Us; and whereas this King's Tomb and the Mosque in which the Tomb is placed, having met with disrepair and ruin;

Having brought the Grants endowed to this Mosque and the Tomb by previous kings (it was found that):

For the Tomb, the Mosque and the Tomb of Tukkamana the daughter of Hassan Rannabandeyri Kilegefan the Warrior who is buried in Ari Atoll Mahibadoo; those acknowledged as endowments to these three beneficiaries are as follows:

Dhiddoo and the island named Kandoo-gandu [Ellaidhoo] in Ari Atoll; Maalifushi in Kolhumadulu (atoll); all proceeds of the Ground Share of Hangnaameedhoo fruit trees; an orchard measuring 30 *bama* in Mandoo of Ari Atoll; Bulhalafushi and Hiyaafushi in Ari Atoll;

Whereas it was found that previous kings had granted the custody of these endowments to the male heirs of Ali Mukuri Kalo of Hangnaameedhoo;

Nonetheless, given that this lineage (of custodians) is by now confused; and given also that those who claim to be descendants of this lineage are no longer resident in the island; and therefore the upkeep of these places being difficult to maintain and (thus) fall into neglect; it was decided that all the aforementioned endowments are hereafter granted to the guardianship of all the people of Hangnaameedhoo;

Whereas these people (custodians) having been satisfied and having accepted (the arrangement); from the proceeds of the endowments they shall take care of the Mosque and repair it and shall also repair and take care of this Tomb and the Tomb of Tukkamana in Mahibadoo; shall offer prayers to these two tombs on their anniversary days; shall recite Sura Yaseen on the Five Auspicious Days; shall recite the fatiha on every Friday-eve; all these tasks shall be accomplished without fail;

That those appointed as Keepers of the Tomb – by any given king enthroned on the Throne in pre-eminent Malè at any given time – shall remain in their appointments; that the Keeper shall receive the Fish Share of the Tomb and a third of all things dedicated (to the Tomb) as fulfilment of vows;

Out of dedications of vows the remaining one-third shall go to the people of the island and one-third to the poor;

If the Keeper requests help for a task relating to the Tomb, the people of the island shall assist them.

That this Endowment so instituted by Our auspicious feet shall not be annulled nor neglected so long as the sun and the moon and the stars endure; so long as the prayers are called and supplications given; and whosoever attempts to challenge against what is prescribed in the

Grant shall be a sinner the same as any tyrant who destroys (God's) endowments and shall encounter His wrath in this world and the hereafter; such will also learn the Magnitude of Our Reckoning;

Having assigned these tasks in this manner, when the Great Monarch of the Universe, A Kshatriya, (born) of illustrious race, (resembling) the Sun and Moon, (conversant with) arts and sciences, of unsullied fame, gave permission that an Edict be written and His Majesty's Seal affixed thereto, his subject, Moosa Malim the Scribe of Pre-Eminent Malè the son of subject Hassan of Hura wrote thus;

Composed on the Twenty-Third Day of the Month of Jumad al-Thani 1349 (14 November 1930) of the Hijra of our Master Mohamed peace be upon him.

#### 9. ABDUL MAJEED DIDI GRANT (1930/31 AD)

In the thirtieth year of King Shamsudeen III, this is a document given to the hand of Hangnamedhoo islanders as a reminder that by advent of every month of Shawwal, the yearly payment of six thousand coconuts, thirty *adubai* of coconut oil, eighteen bundles of coir rope, two hundred pieces of cadjans and five fowls, shall be paid in full, year to year, to be consumed by the people of Hangnameedhoo – who are the custodians of Kalaafaan's Tomb;

That the people of Dhiddoo is hereby subscribed all the coconut trees and other trees that belong to the Ground Share of the fruit trees of the island, together with half of the fish belonging to the Island (Crown) Share;

This is a reminder that the above shall be hereafter prescribed as such;

Year 1349 (1930/31 AD)

Abdul Majeed Didi

#### LIST OF IMAGES

Page 10 (Eng. section) & page 8 (Dhivehi section): Wooden tablet found in the mosque in Hangnamedhoo inscribed in Arabic. Date of inscription unknown.

Page 16 (Eng. section): One of the pillars in Hangnameedhoo Mosque. This could be part of the ship on which Kalaafaan was washed ashore.

Page 21 (Eng. section) & page 16 (Dhivehi section): Kalaafaan Tomb and Mosque in Hangnameedhoo.

Page 44 (Eng. section): Picture of Prime Minister Abdul Majeed Didi

Page 53 (Dhivehi section): Sultan Mohamed Shamsudeen III

Page 52 (Eng. section) & page 64 (Dhivehi section): Tomb of Ibrahim Iskandar I in Malè Friday Mosque. It was left to this king of the Uteemu Dynasty to consolidate the remnants of the civil war fought among members of his family four decades before his reign, following the death of Kalaafaan in 1609.

Page 56 (Eng. section) & page 72 (Dhivehi section): Tomb of Chief Queen Kanba Aisha in Malè Friday Mosque. Pyrard calls her "the richest lady in all the islands".

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