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No. 22

AN HISTORICAL MEMOIR ON
THE QUTB: DELHI.

BY

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THE QUTB: DELHI.

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

In approaching the subject in this preliminary chapter my aim will be limited to sketching lightly a general outline of the evolution of the Indo-Saracenic architectural style, bringing into relief the salient features that characterise its more prominent phases; and, in conjunction with this, to giving a very brief résumé of the more important events of contemporary political history attending this development. To deal fully with such a subject would require several volumes, and is far beyond the scope of a preface to a memoir on one particular example, albeit an extremely important one, of Muhammadan architecture in India.

It is primarily to the Ghorid occupation of the 12th Century that we owe the Muhammadan architecture of India. Whatever traditions and influence the Semitic Arab may have brought with him on his invasion of Sindh in the beginning of the 8th Century A.D., they have left no trace on the subsequent architectural history of India; and are now only recorded in a few Arabian place-names such as Mansura, and in titular designations such as Mir.¹

The descendants of the Ghaznavi invaders, again, who found in the Panjab a precarious refuge on the final break-up of Mahmud Ghaznavi's empire in the 12th Century, became Indianised and absorbed in the native population, even as did those of the Arab settlers along the Indus a few centuries before; and, like the latter, they left no permanent mark on the civilisation and arts of the country they occupied—none, at any rate, that is traceable in the archæological remains that are left to us to-day.

In the case of the later Ghaznavides this is all the more to be regretted since their buildings in Lahore might well have brought us a stage nearer to

¹ Vide also Lane Poole: *Medieval India*, p. 13.

the architectural style of the Ghazni of "Mahmud the Great," obliterated for ever in the destruction of that city in 1155 A.D.¹ For it is in the architecture of Ghazni that we must seek the seed that was brought to India by Muhammad Ghori, and germinated under the Turki Slave dynasty that succeeded to the Delhi Kingdom in the 13th Century A.D.

With the conquest of Sindh by the Arab, Muhammad ibn Qasim, in 712 A.D., and the later occupation of the northern Panjab that followed upon Mahmud of Ghazni's raids between the years 1000-26, we are thus not immediately concerned. The architectural history proper of Muhammadan India commences with Muhammad Ghori's occupation in 1192 A.D., a date that marks the beginning of some seven centuries of uninterrupted Muslim rule in India.

It was characteristic of the Arabs in the earliest campaigns of invading Islam that their architectural styles *in embryo* borrowed largely from the indigenous elements of the countries they had overrun. By the time that India was brought under the permanent subjection of the Muslim, however, the Saracenic architectural style had already crystallised into defined forms, and we see at the Qutb how quickly the borrowed elements of the Indian temple architecture were discarded, and how comparatively little was absorbed into the maturing Indo-Saracenic style. A few bracket types of Hindu corbel pursue their way right through to the Earlier Mughal period of the 16th Century, and here and there, perhaps, a column or pier is reminiscent of the plainer Hindu designs; but for the rest the character of the Muhammadan architectural style in India is noticeably distinct.²

Indigenous ornament of flowing semi-naturalistic pattern is accepted *faute de mieux* for the decoration of the earliest portions of the Qutb, as, for instance, in the embellishment of the great arcaded screen. But this is quickly discarded in favour of the more orthodox patterns as soon as the immigration of skilled Saracenic craftsmen permits of their adoption.

The temple architecture of the Chohan Kingdom embracing Delhi, Sambhar and Ajmir (*circa* 800-1192 A.D.) which succumbed to the Ghorid invaders had thus little abiding influence upon the architecture of the succeeding Turkish dynasty: the adaptation of Hindu constructional members, such as columns, domes, etc., to meet the immediate needs of the mosque builders was purely a temporary make-shift, to be discarded as soon as craft facilities should permit.

From the introduction of the Indo-Saracenic style at the Qutb its architecture goes forward through several distinct, though merging, phases. The Slave dynasty (1206-90), terminating virtually with Balban, coincides with the transitional stage of the new intruding style, as it is manifested in the Qutb mosque and the Tomb of Altamish at Delhi, and again in the Adhai-din-ka-

¹ Vide p. 23 *infra*, footnote 4.

² The subtle influence of environment on the developing Indo-Saracenic style, however, was undoubtedly a potent factor in the creation of its special character; and the effect of these geographical and racial influences is at once brought into relief through a comparison with the Saracenic architecture of other countries, such as Egypt.

jhompra mosque at Ajmir, where Hindu elements still persist, though in an increasingly subordinate degree.¹

With the architecture of the succeeding Afghan dynasty of the Khaljis (1290-1321 A.D.), as revealed in the Gateway of Alau-d-din at the Qutb, and the Jama'at Khana at Nizamu-d-din, Delhi, a marked change in style appears, more consistently Saracenic in its general design and in the technique of its decoration.² The contrast with the preceding phase is heightened by the use of new materials, and now begins a vogue of red sandstone and decorative marble reliefs, which holds sway through the earlier reigns of the following Tughlaqi dynasty (as displayed in the tomb of Ghiyasu-d-din at Tughlaqabad, and in the contemporary Rikabwali Gumbaz near Old Delhi), and is prominent again in the architecture of the Mughals.

The sturdy vigour and impressive design of the earlier Tughlaqi architecture throw it into conspicuous relief with the staid, work-a-day structures³ of Firozshah Tughlaq's reign; though these again are markedly individualistic in design, with their multi-domed roofing, their plain battered walls, and attenuated minar-buttressing at the quoins.

It is at this period that the flame of genius burns most brightly in the architecture of the several Provincial dynasties into which the kingdom of Firozshah split up after his death and the ensuing irruption of the Tartar invader Timur in 1398 A.D. The architecture of Gujarat,⁴ Jaunpur, Malwa, Bengal and the Dekhan stands almost unrivalled in its refined beauty and vigour of design; each phase distinct with its own individual character, a local modification of the common parent style of Delhi in which it had its origin.

The salvage of some residue of central authority by the two succeeding dynasties of the Indian Sayyids and Afghan Lodis, which ruled over the greatly circumscribed Delhi kingdom between the years 1414 and 1526 A.D., is commemorated in the existence of the group of tombs at Khairpur, and the Moth-ki-Masjid, near Delhi. Here one finds features developed from the Firozshah period—mihrab-panelled architraves enclosing an arched entrance doorway, as well as an original treatment of coloured tile decoration sparingly inset in friezes and, as in the mosque at Khairpur, of intricately incised surfaces of plaster arabesque. Octagonally planned tomb chambers enclosed within a surrounding aisle, each external angle of the polygonal façades emphasised by

¹ In this latter monument the only Hindu elements are the columns and other individual structural features that were stripped from Hindu shrines and utilised unaltered in the construction of the mosque. Where the structure had to be built from new materials, as in the great frontal screen, the whole of the work, with its arabesque decoration, is exclusively Saracenic in style.

² A curious cusped treatment of arch soffits is a unique feature of this style, which only reappears some two centuries later in the Early Mughal architecture.

³ Eg. Kotla Firozshahi and the Begampur, Khirkhi, Nizampur. Kalan and Wazirabad mosques at Delhi, and the Palace at Hissar. It should be remarked that these buildings of Firozshah were all originally finished in white stucco plaster.

⁴ The extremely refined architectural style of Gujarat is, perhaps, more directly influenced by the preceding temple architecture of its locality than is any other phase of Saracenic architecture in India.

sloping buttresses, bestow both originality and distinction upon this all but final phase of Pathan architecture in India.

The overthrow of the disintegrating Pathan kingdom by the Mughal adventurer Babar in 1526 A.D. put a period to the architecture of the Lodis, and in his hurriedly constructed mosque at Panipat in the southern Panjab one discerns already an incipient change in style, ill-defined as yet and marked most in the indecisive dome contour, but none the less heralding the eventual glories of the Mughal Capitals of the 16th and 17th Centuries A.D.

The usurpation of the Mughal throne by the Suri dynasty of Afghans between the years 1539 and 1555 A.D. is responsible for the vigorous and quite distinct architectural style exemplified in the Purana Qila at Delhi and its Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque—a style characterised by the use of grey quartzite with red sandstone dressings lavishly inset with black and white marble bands, by a developed pendentive construction of dome support, and by the adoption at the rear quoins of a mosque of engaged angular turrets divided by balconies into fenestrated storeys; a feature that also distinguishes the earlier Moth-ki-Masjid and the Jamali Mosque at Mehrauli, and that reappears in a modified form in the later Mughal style.

With the return of the Mughals the contemporary architecture of Persia makes its influence increasingly felt, and culminates in the intricately wrought and brightly coloured inlaid tile decoration and the high-drummed domes that are an especial feature of the 17th Century architecture of Lahore, and in the marble purity¹ of the contemporary monuments at Delhi and Agra. A delicate treatment of inlaid marble set with semi-precious stones exquisitely blended in colour and marking to represent the petals and curving tendrils of conventional flowers is a conspicuous feature of the architecture of this period—to be seen in the marble palaces of the three Mughal Capitals,² and *par excellence* in the Mausoleum of the Taj. A concurrent phase is characterised by the comprehensive use of red Agra sandstone sparingly relieved with a delicate white marble inlay applied to a kangura-frieze or to the slender attached shafts of lotus-capped minarets; a façade lightly panelled in mihrab-shaped squares, sometimes inset with a multiplicity of tiny crenellated niches—features common to the subsidiary buildings of the Sikandarah of Jahangir and of the Taj of Shahjahan.³

In the preceding architecture of Akbar (1556-1605 A.D.) a predominating Hindu influence (doubtless reflective of that emperor's unorthodox catholicity of outlook) is apparent in the general trabeate form of construction that frequently characterises it, of which the Fathpur-Sikri palaces and the Akbari buildings in the Agra Fort may be cited as examples.

¹ A quality I would specifically ascribe to the Pearl Mosque of the Agra Fort.

² Agra, Delhi, and Lahore.

³ Jahangir 1605-28 A.D., Shahjahan 1628-59 A.D. A curious decorative treatment of wine cups and carafes inset in mihrab-shaped panels in *basso relievo* is a significant characteristic of the architecture of Jahangir, and incidentally a brazen reflection of that emperor's attitude towards the law of Islam that forbids the use of the fermented grape.

With the period of Shahjahan the Mughal architectural style attains its zenith, and the reign of the succeeding emperor Aurangzib coincides with a tendency, as yet incipient but becoming increasingly marked, to emasculate decadence—over-elaboration of ornamental detail with a lack of restraint in its application—which descends through all the Rococo redundancy of the Nawabi architecture of Oudh to complete the cycle in the non-descript bastard style of to-day; a progress helped on its downward way by the influence of the *quasi-European* architecture of the 19th Century, of which, again, one sees examples enough in Lucknow.

This very brief introduction, while merely touching the fringe of the subject, may serve to illustrate the position occupied by the Qutb monuments in the sequence of development of the Saracenic architecture of India. The salient political events affecting this development have also been briefly reviewed;¹ and for a tabulated list of the kings and dynasties of Muhammadan India, as well as the Hindu dynasty of Chohan Rajputs at Delhi which succumbed to them, a reference is invited to *Appendix i* at the end of this volume.

¹ For a concise, authentic, and eminently readable account of the Muhammadan period in India a reference is suggested to Lane Poole's "Medieval India under Muhammadan Rule." (Fisher Unwin, London.)

CHAPTER II.

Among the many historical remains at Delhi,¹ the most notable both in point of antiquity and arresting design is the Qutb—a name given to the group of monuments embracing the Quwwatu-l-Islam Mosque of Qutbu-d-din Aibak and its great Minar, which stands out as a landmark for miles around. Included in the group are the Tomb of Altamish, the Madrassa (College), and what is believed to be the Tomb of Alau-d-din Khalji. These three monarchs were, in turn, responsible for the construction of the original fabric of this, the earliest mosque extant in India, and for its subsequent additions and extensions.

The Mosque, built, it is said,² upon the site of a demolished Hindu temple and constructed piecemeal with materials taken from twenty-seven others,³ was erected as a monument to the "Might of Islam" (Quwwatu-l-Islam) by Qutbu-d-din Aibak, slave, army commander, and Viceroy of Muizzu-d-din⁴ Muhammad Ghori ibn Sam, King of Ghazni, to celebrate his decisive victory over the Rajput forces of the Chohan chief, Prithvi Raj, in A.D. 1192,⁵ on the field of Narain; and the Minar,⁶ commenced by this same conqueror as an adjunct to the mosque, combined the purposes of a tower of victory

¹ Delhi, as an historical city and as distinct from the legendary Indraprastha (Indrapat), it should be remarked, dates only from the end of the 10th Century (993-94 A.D.), when it was founded by Anandpala of the Tomara clan of Rajputs, who gave it the name of Lalkot (Red City). It was captured from the Tomaras by Vighraha Raja, Chohan, about the middle of the 12th Century, to whose kingdom of Sambhar and Ajmir it was merely an appendage, governed at the time of Muhammad Ghori's invasion by the Raja's brother. (*Vide* Lane Poole's *Medieval India*, p. 51.) Delhi has no imperial history prior to the advent of the 12th Century Turks.

² Ibn Batuta says: "Before the taking of Delhi it had been a Hindu Temple, which the Hindus called Elbutkhana, but after that event it was used as a mosque." (A. S. R., IV. 46.)

³ *Vide* Appendix ii (a): Inscription on East Gateway.

⁴ More commonly known as Shihabu-d-din, *vide* *Early Hist. of India* (Smith), p. 359 note, and *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1911-12, p. 12.

⁵ The date recorded in the Inscription on the East Gateway of the Mosque, it should be remarked, is 587 H. (1191 A.D.), but there are cogent reasons for assuming that this record is not strictly contemporary with the erection of the mosque: *vide* *Epig. Indo-Mosl.*, 1911-12, p. 13; and *Early Hist. of India* (Smith), p. 358.

⁶ The question as to the origin of the Minar—whether erected by the Hindus or by their Muhammadan conquerors—has been, I think, fully disposed of in favour of the latter assumption by the evidence preferred by Cunningham (A. S. R., IV, preface and foot-notes in text). In a pamphlet latterly produced by Mr. R. N. Munshi (*The Qutb Minar*: Fort Printing Press, Bombay, 1911), a number of references extracted from various early Muhammadan writers, have been collected, which further support this view; though this author's conclusion that the original minar was wholly the work of Altamish ignores the inscribed dates in Nagari characters, Samvat 1256 (A.D. 1199) appearing thrice in the lowest storey (A. S. R., IV, pp. v and vi), which are still to be seen. The year here recorded antedates by seven years the death of the Ghori Sultan Muizzu-d-din ibn Sam, whose name, as well as that of his brother, Ghiyasu-d-din, with whom he shared the sovereignty at Ghazni (Lane Poole's *Medieval India*, p. 48) prior to the latter's death in 1201 A.D., is recorded in the inscriptions encircling the lowest storey of the Minar [*vide* Appx. ii (a), Inscriptions]. These facts are, in my opinion, conclusive evidence of the founding of the Minar during Qutbu-d-din's viceroyalty at Delhi. (See also footnote 2, p. 19 *infra*, re the record of Aibak's titles on the lowest band of the Minar, and again in the Mosque.) Another pamphlet dated 1913, produced by Mr. Kunwar Sain (Union Steam Press, Lahore), claims to establish the Hindu origin of the Minar. Its arguments are largely a repetition of those earlier advanced by Beglar (A. S. R., IV). The single positive factor put forward to support the case is the existence of a date in Nagari characters inscribed on the first storey of the minar, which the writer reads (dubiously, as he admits) as Samvat 1204 (1146-47 A.D.), but which other authorities I have consulted agree in reading as Samvat

and a *mazinah*,¹ from which to sound the *azām* call to prayer—a monument to overawe the spirit of the vanquished “infidel” peoples, and sustain the courage of the “faithful” exiled from their distant Afghan hills.

With regard to the founding of the original mosque, the internal evidence² The mosque, existing appears to indicate that, besides being located on the site of a demolished Hindu temple, the mosque embodied in itself a definite portion of that structure, up to the plinth level. The extent of this problematical temple

1704. It is characteristic of the arguments advanced that the writer dismisses Beglar's *volte face* (in regard to his subsequently revised opinion as to the Hindu origin of the structure, A. S. R., IV, and preface) with the remark that he “was subsequently almost made to recant his conclusions (it seems to me) in deference to his Chief.”

The principal contentions put forward in this pamphlet have already been adequately met in a note by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Supdt., Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, in his Progress Report for the year ending March 31st, 1919.

¹ Very strong presumptive evidence as to the intended use of the Minar as a *mazinah* lies in the existence, on the second storey, of the inscription containing verses 9-10 of Surah LXII (*The Assembly*) of the Quran:—“O! True believers, when ye are called to prayer on the Day of the Assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave merchandising. The reward which is with God is better than any sport or merchandise, and God is the best provider.” (Vide *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, p. 26; Sale's *Quran*, Surah LXII, p. 114; Gilman's *Sqaracens*, p. 444.)

² The items of evidence that seem to lead to this conclusion may be set out as below:—

- (a) The absence of the usual exterior projection about the central *mihrab* in the west wall (cf. the later additions by Altamish where such projections *do* occur). (Pl. 5a, 5b.)
- (b) The existence in the plinth of the north front of the mosque, below the interior pavement level, of three broken *parnas* or water drains arranged more or less symmetrically between the north-west corner and the north entrance gateway, which have *not* been used by the Muhammadans in the drainage of the mosque court.
- (c) The difference (amounting to over 1 foot) in the relative heights of the dado between the upper and lower plinth mouldings on the east and west sides respectively of the north entrance. This dado continues uniformly around the north, west, and south sides of the mosque between the north gate and the south gate. (Pl. 7a.)
- (d) The presence of typically carved stones from a Hindu temple built promiscuously into the lowest courses of the plinth on the north front, *east of the entrance gateway*. (Pl. 7a, 9a.)
- (e) The existence on the *west* jamb of the ruined south gateway of the *return* moulding of the lower plinth—a feature that does *not* appear in the corresponding eastern jamb of the same gateway. (Pl. 7c.)

From the above, it would seem that the original temple *chabutra* was accepted as it stood, a gateway to north and south built against its north-east and south-east corners, and the *chabutra* extended by the Muhammadans to complete the eastern half of the present quadrangle (see sketch diagram, Pl. I) with its further gateway on the east.

Additional support to this view is provided by the results of Beglar's excavations undertaken in the courtyard in 1871 (A. S. R., IV, 27) when two distinct layers of dressed stone paving were disclosed beneath a further rough stone layer, these former being, in his view, of the original temple. His latterly published opinion (A. S. R., IV, p. XV) on this question was that “the foundations of the inner and outer enclosure, as they stand, are not original Hindu, although doubtless some portion, probably the portion of the foundation of the back wall immediately behind the middle of the masjid proper, is Hindu.” Cunningham's proposition, it should be remarked, was that “the lower portion of the surrounding walls of the raised terrace on which the masjid stands was the original undisturbed platform of a Hindu temple.” The existence of the carved stones mentioned in item (d) above discounts this latter assumption; while the remaining items appear to furnish evidence reconciling the contention put forward above.

The photograph (Pl. 18c) reproduced of the Gondesvar temple at Sinnar, in the Nasik District of the Bombay Presidency, illustrates a similar large square *chabutra*-feature to that which, it is inferred, supported the original temple of Prithvi Raj. Certain of the temples at Khajuraho in Central India are other instances containing this feature that have come to my notice.

With regard to Beglar's excavation in the north-west corner of the *masjid*, and to the 14 feet depth of large rubble infilling that he found beneath the paving level here (A. S. R., IV, 27), the necessity for this unusually great depth of infilling can assuredly be ascribed to the extreme unevenness of the rock site on which the structure is elevated; for, at the south-west corner of Altamish's extension of the mosque, the virgin rock outcrops only some 6 inches below the bottom plinth moulding; which factor also conflicts with Mr. Sanderson's assumption (Annual, 1912-13, p. 122) that the level of the original temple foundations lies some twenty feet or more below the level of the inner courtyard of the mosque.

plinth appears to coincide with that half of the mosque quadrangle west of the north and south gateways.

The plan illustrated in Plate I will reveal more clearly than any written description, the arrangement of the original mosque, and the extent of the subsequent additions by the emperors Altamish and Alau-d-din. Built in the shape of a simple rectangle enclosing a central quadrangular court, the mosque measures some 214 feet by 149 feet externally.¹ The prayer chamber on the west is four bays in depth; the colonnade on the east, of three bays, being deeper by one bay than those along the remaining two sides. Centrally, in the three colonnaded sides, occur entrances, a shallow porch to the north and a deeper one to the east and south descending by a flight of steps to the level of the ground outside. Over the north and east gates are inscribed lintels recording in *Naskh* characters the circumstances attending the erection of the mosque.² In the four corners of the mosque secluded accommodation for the *zanana* was provided by means of little *entresol* apartments³ reached by narrow staircases in the thickness of the enclosing wall (see Pl. II).

In the prayer chamber proper, the roof extended at one level over the greater part of the *liwan*, as is apparent from the positions of fragmentary roofing slabs and lintels still remaining in the back face of the great arched screen; while the tall column shafts still standing at the north end of this chamber afford clear indications that the level of the roof here was raised some four feet above that of the adjoining *zanana* chamber which, in its turn, overtops the roof of the contiguous colonnades to the east (see section Pl. V).

Corbelled capitals with five-fold projections surmounting certain of the columns of the prayer chamber furnish evidence of previously existing lintels arranged to form an octagon in support of the domes indicated in the accompanying plan, and give a definite clue to the arrangement of the columns beneath them. The positions of the *mihrab*-recesses in the west wall further assist in the visualisation of the original arrangement of the fallen interior, the bays of which would naturally be set out in symmetry with them, and *not* with the openings of the great arched screen, which, erected as an afterthought when the *liwan* had been completed, conforms neither with the column spacing nor with the *mihrab*-recesses behind it.

The arrangement indicated in the plan aforementioned may be taken as being fairly authenticated by the existing internal evidence on the site, as revealed by a careful scrutiny of the remains.

A point of particular interest in this original portion of the structure is the ingenuity with which the despoiled Hindu materials were re-assembled by Hindu artisans to meet the demands of their Muhammadan masters. Columns of

¹ The dimensions of the original Temple *chabutra* embodied in this area are 124 ft. by 149 ft.

² For transcript and translation see Appendix ii (a).

³ On the extension of the mosque by Altamish (see *infra*), the *zanana* chamber in the north-west corner of the original mosque was extended northwards to connect with the first pier of his great screen. This is clearly apparent from the indications existing at this corner; and it is probable that the treatment was repeated similarly at the junction of his southern extension of the mosque, though the remains here have long since disappeared.

divers designs and different temples were ranged together, sometimes set one upon another, in continuous rows to support a roof constructed, in its turn, of the flat ceiled slabs and shallow corbelled domes taken bodily from some wrecked Hindu shrine. Sculptured figures, profane in the eyes of the iconoclast *Muslim*, were roughly mutilated and hidden from sight by a covering of plaster; sometimes built face inwards into the wall and the back inscribed with verses from the Holy Quran (Pl. 9*d*, 9*e*).

Pl. 6*a* furnishes an illustration of the manner in which column shafts, bases, capitals, etc., obtained from the many despoiled temples were assembled, with no regard to fitness or even symmetry, to form a pillar in support of the roof. Sivaite, Vaishnavite, Jaina images¹ appear in a profusion eloquent of the thorough and impartial destruction of their "infidel" shrines, and of the genius for adaptation their desecrators exhibited in utilising the despoiled materials for their own purposes. All is improvised: no single feature but has been adapted and used second-hand.

Ornament of unoffending geometrical pattern was utilised when forthcoming from among the temple stones; and when it came to the building of the great frontal screen, the Hindu craftsman was set to work upon alien arabesque designs and strange *Naskh* characters that must be woven in among his own sinuous patterns to frame a pointed arch—a feature again foreign to the whole tradition of *trabeate*² Hindu construction. How essentially "Hindu" in feeling are the elements of the ornamental reliefs is apparent when one compares the illustration of the carved bands on the original portion of the great screen of the Qutb mosque with that of the more characteristically "Saracenic" patterns ornamenting the subsequent extension of the same screen by the emperor Altamish (Pl. 3*a*, 3*b*) when Muhammadan architectural forms and traditions had become more established in Hindustan.

This screen, erected by Aibak in 1199 A.D.,³ is perhaps the most interesting feature of the mosque. As already noted, the bands of sinuous carving are, as regards their technique, wholly uninfluenced by Saracenic ideas. Their serpentine tendrils and undulating leaves are the work of the Hindu, who had developed these identical forms in his temples through generations of usage. The disposition of these foliated bands in the design of the façade

¹ Cunningham was able to identify both Jaina and Vaishnavite sculptures in the *masjid* (A. S. R., IV, p. iv), and I have recently noticed partly mutilated images of Ganpati (a son of Siva) on a column immediately west of the north gateway, and on a lintel built upside down into the exterior plinth east of the same gate (Pl. 9*a*). There is also a seated Jaina image carved on a column in the south-east corner of the mosque; and scenes depicting the "Birth of Krishna" (an incarnation of Vishnu) occur on carved lintels in the north-east corner (Pl. 9*c*).

² The curving Hindu *torana*-arch connecting the lintel with its supporting columns, as it appears in the Khajuraho temples, at Modhera in Gujarat, and elsewhere, is merely an elaborated "stay" or strut, and its existence does not qualify the applicability of the term "*trabeate*" to express a predominating characteristic of Mediæval Hindu architecture.

³ This date is inscribed on the face of the south pier of the central arch of the great screen. The screen would appear to have been completed two years after the completion of the remainder of the mosque in 1197 A.D., which date is recorded on the north gateway, together with the name of Sultan Muizzu-d-din ibn Sam (see Appendix ii (a)). That it was erected *after* the columns of the prayer chamber had been set up is apparent in the fact that the stones of the screen are "scribed," to use a technical term, round the projections of the column capitals and bases at the north end, and are actually built into the back face of the screen masonry about the central arch.

is, on the other hand, characteristically Saracenic in *motif*, and reveals at once the relation between the Muhammadan constructor directing affairs and the Hindu artisan, on whose interpretation of his ideas he was dependent for the carrying out of his designs. The result is happy enough: the intricately carved surface gives a "texture" to the massive screen, and in the variations of the patterns and bands serves as an effective relief to the broad flat surfaces. Illustrations of this screen appear in Pl. 2*a*, 2*b*, and of the north, east, and south gateways in Pl. 7*a*, 7*b*, 7*c*.

The iron pillar.

The iron pillar (Pl. 10*b*) set up in the inner court axial with the main central arch of the screen is an interesting feature as affording evidence of the capacity of Hindu civilisation in the 4th Century A.D. to weld malleable iron¹ on so ambitious a scale.

The pillar would appear to have been erected originally as a standard to support an image of Garuda, the vehicle of Vishnu, in front of a temple dedicated to that deity. The fluted "bell" capital with its *amalaka* members is a characteristic feature of the Gupta architecture of Northern India, and affords a clue to the period of its erection; and this evidence is substantiated by the Sanskrit inscription in Gupta characters of the 4th Century A.D. engraved on the pillar, recording its erection by a king named Chandra, a devotee of the god Vishnu, as a "lofty standard" of that divinity on "the Hill of Vishnupada."

The probabilities are that the pillar was set up in its present position by the Muhammadans, who prized it as a curious relic; the fact of the rough uneven surface near the base now exposed above ground seeming to indicate fairly conclusively that the intention was that this portion of the pillar should be buried in the ground in the original site. (*Cf.* the similar feature of the Asoka *lāt* at Kotla Firoz Shahi, Delhi.) Where this original site was there is no sufficient evidence to indicate.

A note on the interpretation of the inscription and its significance as a record appears in Appendix iii (*a*).

So much for the mosque proper of Qutbu-d-din Aibak, before the advent of Altamish and Alau-d-din Khalji.

Altamish's extension.

Shamsu-d-din Altamish, Turk of Albari, and slave successor of his slave master to the Muhammadan throne of Delhi, was not content to leave this

¹ A chemical analysis of the iron made by Sir Robert Hadfield disclosed the following elements in its composition:—

Carbon	0.080 per cent.
Silicon	0.046 "
Sulphur	0.006 "
Phosphorus	0.114 "
Manganese	Nil
Total elements other than iron	0.246 per cent.
Iron	99.720
TOTAL	99.966 per cent.

Specific gravity, 7.81. Ball hardness, No. 188.

It has been suggested that the pillar was cast in its present form, and not forged; but the extreme purity of the iron composing it would rather tend to discount this possibility.

monument to invading Islam unmarked by any attention; but would add to its scale and dignity as a work of religious grace.

The additions and extensions he effected are indicated in the plans illustrated in Pl. I and II. A wing was projected to north and south, and the enclosure extended to the east, impinging on the great minar south-west of Aibak's mosque. Outer entrances in each of these three sides were made axial with those of the original mosque, and the great screen was extended north and south in continuation of Qutbu-d-din's.

It is easy to discern in the symmetry that characterises the interior arrangement of the columns of Altamish's northern prayer chamber that *mihirabs*, columnar bays, and the spans of the arched openings in the great frontal screen were, from the first, conceived as a single homogeneous design, in contrast to the fortuitous arrangement of these features in Aibak's original mosque (see page 8, *supra*). The high double-storeyed central bay, with its surmounting dome, indicated in the section in Pl. IV. is a conjectural feature, and relies for its authenticity on the existence, in the rear face of the great screen, of double corbels at the arch-springing, and the fragmentary remains of lintels and roofing slabs projecting at a lower level. These indications lead me to assume that the double-storeyed arrangement so common in the 15th Century *Ahmadshahi* architecture of Gujarat was anticipated by Altamish in his extension of this first mosque to be built by the Ghorid conquerors of India. If this upper domed storey did originally exist (and there is no evidence available on the site precluding the possibility), it must have formed a very prominent feature of the design, filled, as the upper intercolumniations doubtless were, with screens of geometrical *jali* to exclude the weather.¹

Of Altamish's colonnades little now remains; but it is apparent that the supply of elaborately carved Hindu columns had given out, and that he was reduced to the relatively plain shafts and capitals that compose them (Pl. 8c). The feature of real interest is his extension of the great screen.²

Conformable in general design with the existing screen of Qutbu-d-din, Altamish's extension betrays a considerable advance in the adoption of Muhammadan forms of surface decoration. The arabesque patterns³ are purely Saracenic, their distinctive character being common to Saracenic architecture from India west to Spain.

¹ In Altamish's other mosque at Ajmir the very small corbels projecting from the jamb-face of the higher central bay of the great arched screen were probably intended to support the end of a high wooden transom, from which to suspend pendant lamps in front of the *lucan*. From their position it is obvious that no upper storey was intended here. At the Qutb, on the other hand, separate provision in the form of small square slots is made at the level of the arch-springing to accommodate the ends of similar light wooden beams to carry the pendant lamps.

² The date 1229 A.D. is inscribed on the face of the south pier of the end arch of Altamish's southern extension. (See Appendix ii (a).)

³ The surface decoration of Altamish's similar screen in the Adhai-din-ka-Jhompri mosque at Ajmir (Pl. 19a, 19c) is almost identical with that of his screen at the Qutb; and one may readily recognise the prototype of this characteristic Saracenic surface decoration in Byzantine architectural examples, of which the illustration reproduced in Pl. 3d of the capitals, arch-soffits and spandrels beneath the *gynæceum* galleries of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople is an instance. Its early adoption in Saracenic architecture is to be seen in the case of the original base of the restored minar of the mosque of Al-Hakim at Cairo, dated c. 990 A.D. (*vide* Saladin's *Manuel d'art Mussalman*, I, 91-97).

The Arabic lettering, too, has advanced beyond the simple unelaborated shapes wrought by the "prentice" hand of the Hindu, and is evidently the work of a craftsman more familiar with the characters he is carving. A comparison may be made in Pl. 3a, 3b in which the differences between the two types are revealed. Here, too, we see introduced a combination of the square *Kufic* and the elaborate and intricately interwoven *Tughra* characters.

The attached *mutakha*-columns¹ set in the recessed angles of the pier-jambs are another feature of Altamish's screen extension that appears in Indo-

¹ An early instance of the use of this feature is to be seen in the mosque of Ibn Tulun at Cairo, dated 876 A.D. (*vide* Saladin, *ibidem*, pp. 80-82). (See also Plate No. XVI.)

The similarity of the disposition of the arched openings in the naves of this mosque with those in certain of the bays of the Sassanid bridge of Dizful in Persia (5th Century A.D.) is also very noteworthy (*ibidem*, pp. 31 and 92). The pointed arches of this mosque, those of Haruna-r-Rashid's ruined palace at Rakka in Syria (790 A.D.), and those again of the mosque of Amru (692 A.D.) in Cairo (*ibidem*, p. 48) are probably the earliest instances of this feature existing in Saracenic architectural examples; and the source of this typical (even "hallowed") Saracenic form is probably to be found in Sassanid prototypes, of which an example occurs in this same bridge of Dizful.

As to the warrant for assigning to the pointed arches of the Bridge at Dizful (more accurately at Shushter) a Sassanian origin, it should, however, be remarked that Lord Curzon in his "Persia and the Persian Question" (Vol. II, pp. 374-75) states that "the bridge has evidently been built and rebuilt scores of times, as may be seen from the differing character of the material and the different style and size of the arches"; that "the oldest bridge was destroyed by Hejaz ibn Yussuf during the reign of Abdul Malik-ibn-Mervan (A.D. 684-705)"; and that "the dam is said to have been repaired by Timur in A.D. 1393." Thus, in the absence of an examination of such evidence as may still exist in the structure itself, the question of the origin of its pointed arches must remain an open one.

In commenting upon the origin of the pointed arch Signor Rivoira (in his *Moslem Architecture*: English translation by C. McN. Rushforth; Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. 148-53) states in a somewhat casual way that this is to be sought in India, and instances examples of the Buddhist Chaitya form as portrayed in the Gandhara period (2nd-6th Century A.D.) and later in the rock-cut Rathas of Southern India; though it may be remarked that this writer makes no attempt to establish any definite connection between such instances and the early Saracenic pointed arch-forms of Arabia and Egypt.

My own feeling in this regard is that the origin of this characteristic form of Saracenic architecture is, as M. Saladin suggests (*Manuel d'art Mussalman*, I, 23-24), rather to be found in the traditional form of portable tent used to this day by the nomad Arabs on the Euphrates, which consists of a detachable framework of curved supports meeting at the apex and covered with cloths, the curved shape of which, as he remarks, is that of the earlier Chaldean and Sassanid arch.

In this connection, the pointed arch-form of the dome-shaped Turkoman tent covered with cloths that he illustrates on page 17 *ibidem* is specially interesting, the more so when one perceives the significant similarity between the intersecting strips of tape stretched as a "chord" over the curved surface of the dome to secure the cloth coverings in position and the almost identical treatment of the "honeycombing" set-out decorating the interior of the later Saracenic domes (*cf.* the Mughal period in India).

Signor Rivoira's allusion to the Palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon as "an early example of the use of the simple pointed arch in Western Asia" is curiously in error. The arch form here is certainly not pointed in shape but approximates more to a parabola—*en chaînette* as M. Choisy designates this form (*L'art de bâtir chez les Egyptiens*).

M. Saladin (*op. cit.*) regarding the evolution of this early arch form states: "Cette courbure des voûtes a dû être inspirée aux premiers constructeurs chaldéens par la forme des berceaux de branchages qu'élevaient les riverains de l'Euphrate à cette époque, comme ils le font encore aujourd'hui. . . . Sur ces cintres en branchages, on a dû, dès l'origine, appliquer de la terre battue avec des roseaux, afin de former un revêtement plus solide et plus impénétrable aux rayons du soleil que ne l'étaient primitivement les étoffes ou des peaux tendues. Il est probable que l'habitude de voir aux arcs de ces cabanes une forme elliptique conduisit à la conserver lorsqu'on appareilla des voûtes en briques."

The typical chaitya form of horse-shoe arch as portrayed at Nasik, Ajanta, Karle and elsewhere in India also undoubtedly originated in a primitive construction of bamboo members shaped to a semicircular curve and held together at the foot by connecting ties, the whole then being encased with a mud plaster. The structural chaitya of brick discovered by Mr. Cousens at Ter in the Naldurg District of Hyderabad in 1901, and the other similar example at Clezaria in the Kistna District of the Madras Presidency found a few years previously, are but a development of this primitive wooden construction; but that the Indian examples of this arch-form influenced or reacted in any way upon the Saracenic examples there is no definite evidence available to prove. Rather it would seem that each

Saracenic architecture for the first time, and that continues as a decorative feature almost uninterruptedly throughout the Pathan period, and afterwards in Mughal architecture.

Altamish's arches in the great screen, while maintaining the same pointed form, differ in contour, it is curious to note, from those of Aibak; the piquant little counter-curve at the apex, with its slight suggestion of "ogee," being missing from the former, though it appears again in Altamish's Tomb (*infra*).

A further difference in his treatment of the screen extension is noticeable in the absence of the subsidiary upper arched openings above the lower side arches flanking the central archway of the original screen. Though the upper parts of both Altamish's and Aibak's screens are now largely missing, this difference in treatment is apparent in the existence of the dressed ashlar jambs illustrated in Plate IV, in which a conjectural restoration of the screen as it originally appeared is attempted. (See also Pl. 3c.)

With Altamish's erections at the Qutb must be mentioned his Tomb¹ Altamish's Tomb. situated immediately west of his own northern extension of the mosque (Pl. 11, 12a.). The tomb takes the form of a simple square chamber, and was covered originally by a circular dome, carried on a form of squinch-arch² (see Plate XIV.), which serves to negotiate the difference in shape between the square plan below and the circle above³.

Here again is seen a surface decoration of a predominantly Saracenic type, but little influenced by definitely Hindu forms, though these latter occur promiscuously in the interior as isolated features in one or two bands of carving below the arch *tympana*, in a moulded string-course of the pendentive recesses, and again forming the pendant "drops" of the block-corbels in the angles of the octagonal dome-drum.

developed separately and independently on its own lines from the accidental coincidence of a common constructional prototype.

It is interesting to note that the adoption of the pointed arch in the Gothic architecture of 12th Century Europe was an indigenous solution of the geometrical difficulty of negotiating the vaulted intersections of an oblong chamber; though it is possible that the germ of the idea came through contact with the East, as a result perhaps of the Crusades.

¹ It should be remarked that the identity of this tomb as that of Altamish has not been definitely established. It contains no commemorative inscription. In the *Fatuh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Firoz Shah refers to the college and the tomb of Altamish as possessing corner towers, pillars and concrete flooring. That description would not apply to this building but, as Sir John Marshall points out to me, it does apply very accurately to the Sultan Ghari Tomb in the neighbourhood; and this latter tomb, as we learn from an inscription, was erected by Altamish for his son. It is thus quite possible that the Tomb ascribed to Altamish may not be his.

² Sir John Marshall quoting Mr. Creswell, tells me that the squinch-arch is *probably* of Sassanian origin; and instances examples at Firozabad in Persia (5th century) and at Sarvistan; at the Martyrion of Mar Tahmasgerd at Kerkuk (470 A.D.); Qasr Kharaneh (5th century); and Qasr-i-Shirin (590-628). He, however, points out that it also appears elsewhere; at Ephesus in the 4th century; at Khoja Kalessi about 400 A.D.; at San Giovanni in the Fonte at Naples (c. 465); at Ravenna (c. 500); and at Sancta Sophia at Constantinople (532-7).

³ Fragments of the lowest inscribed course of the circular dome masonry still remain in position on the south side of the chamber.

The carved fragments of dome masonry stacked together outside the tomb to the north probably belong to the fallen Hindu domes of the Quwwatu-l-Islam mosque adjacent. It is interesting to compare these fragments, carved with the characteristic sunken scollops peculiar to Hindu and Jain domes, with the Saracenic "stalactites" of the Minar balconies (see Pl. 9b, 12b, 12c, 17a and Pl. XIII).

Practically the whole interior surface, both walls and roof (with the exception of the lower walls on all but the west side, which were probably plastered), is intricately banded with a diaper of arabesque designs, elaborated with Quranic inscriptions in both *Naskh* and combined *Kufic* and *Tughra* characters which frame the arched openings and recesses and form a frieze to the walls. Marble is introduced only in the central *mihrab* and in the cenotaph¹ in the middle of the tomb chamber; the flanking *mihrab* recesses in the west wall, which are of similar design, being of red sandstone, with which material most of the interior is faced. The attached angle-*mutakhas* that form a distinctive feature of Altamish's extension of the great screen of the mosque appear similarly in the jambs of the doorways and *mihrab* recesses and beneath the octagonal dome-drum of his tomb. The exterior of the tomb is very simple. A sparsely banded treatment in grey quartzite stone, similar to that of the gates of the mosque, appears in the plain ashlar-dressed external walls, and contrasts with the central bays of red sandstone, on which a decoration of purely Saracenic arabesques and Arabic inscriptions is concentrated. It is curious that none of the inscriptions on the tomb contains any historical record, the writings being exclusively extracts from the Quran. (See Appendix ii (a).)

Alau-d-din Khalji's
extension.

After Altamish — and an interval of some 90 years — comes the Afghan, Alau-d-din Khalji, whose ambitious schemes for still further extension failed of accomplishment before his death in 1315 A.D., and were then abandoned.

His extensions, indicated in the plan in Pl. I, were made to north and east, the limits of Altamish's southern alignment being maintained. Alau-d-din's erections, again, were marked by a symmetry that seems to have been instinctive in the Saracenic architect, and his gateways to north and east were set in precise alignment with those of his two predecessors; the Alaī Darwaza to the south having, however, necessarily to be placed to one side of Altamish's existing gate.

This gateway is the most noteworthy feature of Alau-d-din's additions. Built of finely worked red sandstone, with an external relief of marble disposed in incised bands and panels (see Pl. 13a, 13b, 13c, 14a, 14b), it is of exceptional merit architecturally. Its excellent proportions and simple composition, with pierced central openings echoing the contour of the covering dome, must be seen at dusk silhouetted against an evening afterglow to be rightly appreciated; though the loss of most of the upper wall-facing and the original parapet is necessarily a detraction.

The present square outline of the parapet of the façades is almost certainly an innovation on the part of Major Smith, who carried out extensive repairs to the gateway in 1828. As is very clearly apparent in the treatment of the red-stone facing and the marble dressings that still remain intact, the

¹ The *takkhana* vault beneath is curiously out of alignment with the chamber above, and on excavation by Mr. Sanderson in 1914 was found to be filled with fallen rubble *debris*, to have disturbed which would probably have jeopardised the safety of the whole structure. The three little light shafts and the original step descent on the north side have, however, been permanently exposed to view.

façade in the original design rose higher in the centre than at the sides, and the prominent marble string-course, which marks the difference in treatment between the upper and lower portions of the flanking bays, was carried up and round the central archway. Evidence that these flanking bays were lower is furnished in the return angles of the upper marble panels that are still preserved; for the margin at their sides would be carried round along their top of equal width to complete the "return." (See Pl. VII.)

The greater thickness of the centre portion of the west parapet wall, visible from the roof, is a corroborative indication of this raised feature in the original work that has survived the extensive repair operations of 1828. The more harmonious effect of this original treatment of the façade rising into the mass of the dome-background, as compared with its present abrupt termination, is very apparent if we consider the restoration of the gate illustrated in Pl. VII and the photograph of it as now restored (Pl. 13a).

The interior proportions of the gateway are again most pleasing; while the recessed corner arches of attractive "horse-shoe" form (see Pl. XIV) carrying a plain spherical dome over the square chamber are an especially happy solution of this universal constructional difficulty.

The development of Saracenic ornament attained in Alau-d-din's period is clearly revealed to us in the arabesque decoration of this south gateway. The broad, flat, diapered surfaces of the red-stone jambs are essentially Saracenic in feeling, and contrast curiously with the more indigenous ornamentation of sinuous tendrils and rounded lotus buds that frames the inscribed pilaster-panels between the smaller openings; while the projecting marble plinth-moulding might well have been brought direct from some Hindu shrine.¹ (See Pl. 13b, 13c.)

The inscriptions framing the archways on the west, south, and east fronts of the gate record the name and titles of "Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah (Alau-d-din Khilji), the Sultan," and his erection (actually extension) of the mosque in the year 1311 A. D. (*vide* Appendix ii(a)).

The junction of Alau-d-din's masonry with that of Altamish just west of the former's red-stone gateway is very clearly marked (see Pl. 16a), as is the slight divergence of his treatment of the window openings with their red-stone *jali* screens.

Only a short length of Alau-d-din's enclosing colonnades connecting his southern gateway with the south-east corner of his extension is now extant (Pl. 8d). The remaining portions have been represented on the site by a continuous screen of shrubberies along the east and north fronts. From his intended northern colonnade, towards its west end, project the recently excavated foundations of a large gateway set in alignment with the corresponding north gates of his predecessors.

Of Alau-d-din's eastern gate, represented by the gap in the shrubbery through which the visitor enters the quadrangular enclosure on leaving his

¹ The elaborate plinth and the descending flight of steps leading from the openings to the lower level of the ground outside were disclosed during an excavation made by Mr. Sanderson in 1914.

conveyance, no vestige now remains; but that there existed such a feature here is indubitable. This emperor's projected northern extension of the great arched screen, again, is only traceable in the low masses of masonry core which are all that now exists of his unfinished arch-piers.

Ambitious in his architectural, as in his political designs, Alau-d-din aimed in his projected extensions at completely dwarfing the efforts of his predecessors, and his great arched screen was designed to extend as far again as their's combined, and be of twice the scale. His projected minar, conceived on a scale that should double the proportions¹ of the existing minar, never rose above the first stage, and his whole scheme was abandoned at his death. Though it comprises only the original core of the structure, and that in a dilapidated condition (Pl. 15b), it is nevertheless possible to recognise several distinctive features that this great minar was intended to exhibit. The curious treatment of angular fluting, which may be likened in section to the outline of a flattened letter "M" separated by deep canellures, is very distinct, as also is the treatment of shallow curved recesses still apparent in the rough core of the double base (see perspective view, Pl. X); while the whole minar was evidently intended to be based on a high wide *chabutra*. Inside the minar it is very clear from the relative heights of the encircling windows which pierce the walls at every quadrant that the means of ascent was to be a very gradual ramp, and not a stair as in the smaller minar of Aibak and Altamish. Entered upon through a doorway on the east, the ramp would follow the inclination of these windows and ascend the minar in a direction from right to left.

Alau-d-din's great
screen extension.

It may be of interest to set out here the several items of evidence, definite or deducible, by which it was possible to build up (with some assurance as to its probable authenticity) the conjectural restoration of the great screen of Alau-d-din illustrated in Pl. X, with no other material, at first glance, than that provided by the low fragmentary masses of masonry which are all that is now left of this structure. In the first place, the size and relative spacing of these fragmentary piers, to which portions of the original ashlar facing still adhere, give a definite indication of the elevational treatment of the screen as regards mass and void; the proportions of the openings as to height being copied from those of the earlier screens which the extension was to augment.

Thus, the first arched opening (at the south end) is found to correspond approximately in size with the side arches of Altamish's contiguous screen; the

¹ Amir Khusru, in his *Tarikh-i-Alai*, says: "The Sultan determined upon adding to and completing the *Masjid-i-jami* of Shamsu-d-din (Altamish) by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth with lofty pillars, and upon the surface of the stones he engraved verses of the Quran in such a manner as could not be done even on wax; ascending so high that you would think the Quran was going up to heaven, and again descending in another line so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom (an optimistic anticipation on the part of the poet: for it seems certain that the work was never completed. See also footnote 6, p. 19.) he built other *masjids*. He then resolved to make a pair of the lofty minar of the *Jami Masjid*, which minar was then the single one of the time (with the exception, it should be remarked, of that at Koel, built by Kutlugh Khan during the reign of Sultan Nasiru-d-din ibn Altamish in A.D. 1252: A.S.R. IV, p. ix) and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islam. He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion." (Elliot and Dowson, III, 70).

next one, of greater span, necessarily rising higher in the same proportion; and the third opening, repeating the first, results in an approximate duplicate of the detached extension of Altamish. The greater height, as compared with this latter, of the flanking portion of Alau-d-din's screen results from the wider piers at the extreme ends of the façade, the decorative *motif* of the earlier screens, with its banded architrave treatment framing the arch and returning along the top of the screen, being repeated in his design. The rise in the height of the centre bay of this flanking portion of Alau-d-din's screen is occasioned by the greater height of the arched opening it contains.

Indubitable evidence of the high dominating central façade of the Alau-d-din screen is to be found in the greatly increased thickness and bulk of the remains of the piers composing it, which break forward beyond the normal line of frontage. Relative widths of openings contained in it reveal again the approximate heights of its arches, proportioned on those existing; and the treatment of the wings with their higher centre bays affords a clear indication of the design intended for this central portion of the screen, and predicates the rise of its centre bay. The small side openings of this prominent central façade, rising (according to their relative proportions) to but approximately half the height of the great centre archway, leave room above them for a repetition of the smaller subsidiary arched openings that were a feature of Qutbu-d-din Aibak's original screen; and thus the *motif* of the whole extension proposed by Alau-d-din but repeats in a general way (and logically enough) the treatment he found already existing in the combined screens of his two predecessors.

With regard to the architectural arrangement of the interior of Alau-d-din's prayer-chamber, the position of the openings in his frontal screen again furnishes a reliable clue to the probable spacing of the columns, and seems to indicate very clearly that the interior design of his predecessor's prayer-chambers was again called upon to furnish the model for his own. (See Pl. IIIb).

Altamish's architectural expedient of increasing the ceiling height of the centre bay of his prayer-chamber, (of which definite indications exist in the remains of roofing slabs in the back face of his screen) would doubtless also have been further exploited by Alau-d-din, whose greatly dominating central screen archway called for a correspondingly greater increase in the height of the chamber behind it.

Alau-d-din's College¹ (*madrassa*), lying immediately to the south-west of the mosque, is now in a very ruinous condition, but it is possible to visualise from a study of its fragmentary remains the appearance of the structure in the days of its founder. The College is built around a simple quadrangular court entered on the north side through a triple gateway of some size, the centre bay of which projects somewhat beyond those flanking it.

Alau-d-din's
Madrassa.

¹ It has been suggested that this college was built by Altamish, but I think the balance of probability rests with Alau-d-din; the deciding factor, in my judgment, being the high-drummed domes and the more advanced corbelled pendentive treatment beneath them, which are in distinct contrast to the flat conical Hindu type of dome that undoubtedly covered the Tomb of Altamish originally, and the primitive squinch-arches which carried that dome across the corner of the tomb.

On the south side of the court is located a large square structure (Pl. 16c) covered originally by a dome, now fallen, which is believed to be the tomb of the Sultan Alau-d-din. It was marked originally by a boldly projecting portico, of which remains still exist. Flanking this tomb chamber are two smaller chambers, oblong in plan, which are separated from the centre tomb by narrow passage-ways. In the centre and western chambers were disclosed on excavation what appeared to be indications of a grave. The three buildings at this end of the court are contained in a common walled enclosure, skew-planned on the south side, which leaves a clear passage permitting of circumambulation about them, except in the case of the eastern chamber of the three, where the passage is omitted on the east side and the wall contains an ascending staircase leading to the roof.

The east side of the main quadrangular court was bounded by a simple screen wall from which projects a single chamber, the dome of which, raised on a prominent drum or necking, was repeated symmetrically on the opposite side of the court. (See Pl. X.)

Along this western side is a series of small cell-like apartments (Pl. 16b), a distinctive feature of which is the method employed of supporting the flat-ceiled roof — a curious combination of Hindu and Saracenic devices. Thus the centre part of the roof is carried on a wide, deep-soffited pointed arch running axially north to south which,¹ in turn, is made to carry the ends of flat roofing slabs laid to form a simple diagonal coffer characteristic of the ceiling construction of the aisles of a temple *mandapa*. (See sketch, Pl. XIV.)

Another noteworthy feature of these *madrassa* cells is the use of what for the want of a better term may be called a corbelled pendentive in the corners of the two higher domed chambers that break the skyline towards the ends of the façade. It is the earliest instance of this corbelled treatment of a pendentive in India (*circa* 1290 A.D.), and is by no means an unhappy solution of this constructional problem.² (See sketch, Pl. XIV.)

¹ It should be remarked in this connection that the present lay-out in which a *bajri* path is carried under the isolated arch at the north end one of these chambers is somewhat misleading, since there was no gateway or other means of entrance in this position originally.

² One finds it adopted again in a modified form in the tomb of Ghiyasu-d-din Tughlaq, at Tughlaqabad (c. 1320 A.D.), where it is combined with a pointed-arched recess, and later in Sher Shah's mosque in Purana Qila (c. 1540 A.D.), under the centre dome.

This simple corbelled treatment of the pendentive in the Alai Madrassa differs greatly in character from the elaborate stalactites that one sees in Cairo and Algiers in a fully developed form, although these latter are some half-century earlier in date. It is true that both forms are derived from a corbel construction, but the Alai Madrassa example lacks that distinctive "dripping" effect which alone makes the term "stalactite" applicable to this universal form of Saracenic decoration.

The origin of the *true* pendentive — the triangular spherical support of a dome across the corner of a square chamber — is to be found in Byzantine architectural examples, the most notable of which is, of course, the Church of Sancta Sophia at Constantinople (532-7). The germ of the idea can be traced to the so-called Temple of Minerva Medica at Rome (A.D. 268), where a circular dome is imposed on a decagonal chamber, though the actual pendentives here are of a very nebulous and tentative form. Sir John Marshall tells me that probably the earliest example of the true pendentive in its developed form is in the Tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (c. 440); that the earliest example in Syria is at the Qasr-ibn-Wardan, a Byzantine building; and that the earliest Islamic instance of its use is at Qasr Amra (712-15).

It is a singularly fortunate circumstance that provides us with an almost complete history of the Minar from the commencement of its building in 1199 A.D. to its repair in Sikandar Lodi's reign (1503 A.D.) in the inscriptions¹ it bears; though the ill-advised, if well-intended activities of later restorers have left their mark upon them, and have resulted in rendering the earliest ones very largely unintelligible.

Thus we learn (or are able reasonably to infer) that the minar was commenced by the "Amir, the Commander of the Army, the Glorious, the Great,"² of the Sultan Muizzu-d-din Muhammad Ghori, who carried it (probably) up to the first storey³; when the advent of Altamish⁴ upon the scene resulted in three further storeys being superimposed upon it, and the minar carried to completion.⁵ Alau-d-din seemingly had no hand in its erection,⁶ being intent on outrivalling it in its imposing height by a still more pretentious minar of his own.

The 5th, and final, storey, and probably most of the 4th, owe their existence to Firozshah Tughlaq, who "repaired the minar of Sultan Muizzu-d-din (Muhammad Ghori), which had been struck by lightning, and raised it higher than before."⁷ From this quotation, and from the very noticeable reduction in the relative height of these last two stages compared to the three lower ones, not to mention the marked change in architectural style,⁸ it seems practically

¹ See Appendix ii (a).

² Occurs in the disturbed inscription in lowest band of basement storey; and this identical title again is prefixed to Qutbu-d-din Aibak's name in the inner inscription over the east gateway of the mosque. (See Appendix ii (a).)

³ As previously stated in footnote 6 on page 6 *supra*, the names and titles of both Muizzu-d-din Muhammad Ghori and his brother Ghiyasu-d-din occur in the 2nd and 4th bands of the inscriptions in this lowest storey.

⁴ The first mention of Altamish's name occurs in the lower band of the inscriptions on the 2nd storey, and may, I think, fairly be taken to indicate the stage when Altamish took up the work. His name and titles appear again on the doorway of this 2nd storey, where a reference to the "completion" of the building is given, though the sense of this word is not repeated in the 4th storey inscription where again (as well as in the 3rd storey) Altamish's name and titles are recorded.

⁵ On one side of the doorway in the 3rd storey is recorded:—"This building was completed under the superintendence of Muhammad Amir Koh."

⁶ In spite of Amir Khusru's assertion (*Tarikh-i-Alai*, E. and D., IV, 70) that Alau-d-din "directed that a new casing and cupola should be added to the old one", this work was almost certainly never carried out. From the very significant records of this emperor's character in Ziyau-d-din Barani's history, an undue altruism is the last quality that could be accredited to him; and we may be sure that the names and eulogistic titles of his predecessors (of a dynasty alien to his own), which are still extant on the minar, would not have been repeated on a new stone casing—to the total exclusion of his own name!

In this connection it is of interest to note that though Amir Khusru outlived the Sultan by some ten years, his *Tarikh-i-Alai* only records the events of the reign up to 1310 A.D. The Sultan died in 1315 A. D. (*vide* E. & D., III, 67).

The bare record of the name "Sultan Alavadi" (i.e., Alau-d-din) in Nagari characters, casually contributed apparently by an anonymous visitor to the minar, that appears on a doorway in the third storey [*vide* item no. 20 in Appendix ii (b)] does not affect the argument, and is of no more significance than the name of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughlaq that appears on the opposite jamb of the same doorway.

⁷ *Fatuhāt-i-Firozshahi*, E. and D., III, 383. For Sultan Firoz's own inscription on the 5th storey of the minar itself see Appendix ii (a). It may be noted that this inscription definitely records that the damage was done in the year 1369 A.D., that is, after the minar was seen by Abul Fida.

⁸ The actual junction of the repair inside the staircase at the beginning of the 4th storey is very clear. While the original interior casing of the minar is of Delhi quartzite stone, Firozshah's repair is done with red sandstone.

Against this hypothesis that the 4th storey, as well as the 5th, owes its authorship to Firozshah is the existence here of an inscribed marble band containing the name of Altamish: "Abul Muzaffar Itutmisha-s-Sultan" (*not*

certain that these two upper storeys of Firozshah have replaced a single and more happily proportioned stage that originally crowned the minar of Altamish.¹ (See Pl. XII and Pl. 17a).

The last of these earlier recorded repairs is referred to in the inscribed frieze of the entrance doorway at the foot of the minar, where we learn that "the minar of his majesty Shamsu-d-din.....in the reign of Sikandar Shah (Lodi).....was repairedin the year 909 H. (1503 A.D.)."

While on the subject of the repairs executed to the minar, it will be convenient to record the attentions of later restorers to which the structure has been subjected within the last one hundred and twenty years. "On the first of August 1803 the old cupola of the Qutb Minar was thrown down and the whole pillar seriously injured by an earthquake."² About two years after, the Governor-General authorised the necessary repairs to be begun, and the work was entrusted to Major Robert Smith of the Engineers, who completed it by the beginning of the year 1828, at a cost of Rs. 17,000. All the forms of the mouldings were carefully preserved, but the rich ornamentation omitted (quite rightly, from an archæological standpoint, be it said).

As General Cunningham observes,³ this part of the work appears to have been done with much patience and skill, and reflects great credit on Major Smith as a conservator of ancient monuments. The General's castigation of the "restoration" performed by Major Smith upon the entrance gateway (Pl. 17c),

Sultani, as in the other inscribed bands, be it noted), which might, at first glance, seem insuperable proof that this portion is the original work of Altamish.

Against this assumption, however, are ranged the following objections:—

- (1) The essential unity of the 4th and 5th storeys in point of architectural style, and their distinct contrast with the three lower fluted storeys, which is further marked by a total absence of any marble dressings on these latter. (Pl. 17a).
- (2) The junction of the repair, as evidenced inside the staircase by the change of material at the beginning of the 4th storey (mentioned above).
- (3) The exceptional altruism of Sultan Firoz's character in his dealings with those of his own faith, as witness his pathetic attempt at intercession with his Deity on behalf of his erring patron and predecessor, Muhammad Tughlaq (*vide* his *Pathuhati-Firozshahi*; E. and D. III, 385); and his practice of including in the weekly *khutba* the names of his predecessors, which "had fallen into neglect and oblivion", on the throne of Delhi along with his own name. (*ibidem* 376).

To a man of his nature, however anomalous it may seem with his times, the restoration of the record of Altamish's name with the full title of Sultan (as distinct from "Slave of the Sultan" *as-Sultani*) on that portion of the work which in the original must be accredited to him, may well have seemed the merest act of justice; to "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." And in support of this theory there exists in the red-stone facing on this 4th storey, below the above-mentioned marble band, the record of Firozshah's name inscribed in small Nagari characters.

¹As Cunningham remarks:—"Of the existing 379 steps, 3 belong to Major Smith's cupola, and 37 to the upper storey of 22' 4," which leaves 339 steps to the four lower storeys. In the time of Abul Fida (1330 A.D.) there must consequently have been 21 steps above the fourth storey to make up his total of 360 steps. These would be equal to 13 feet in height, making the total height in his time 228' 9" or 9' 4" less than at present (238' 1") (*vide* A. S. R., I, 195n)." This agrees with the statement of Firozshah quoted above. It may be noticed that a Nagari inscription on the 3rd storey (item no. 25 in Appendix ii (b)) records that the minar was also struck by lightning in the year 1326 A.D., but no damage is mentioned as calling for repair. It is to be inferred therefore that the minar suffered no serious injury on that occasion, and that it was substantially intact when Abul Fida saw it in 1330 A. D.

²A.S.R., I, 199.

³*ibidem*.

and his inference from the latter's report¹ "that the whole of the entrance doorway is Smith's own design, a conclusion which has already been drawn by Mr. Fergusson, who denounces the work as being in the true style of Strawberry Hill Gothic" are however, very much beside the mark, as both Cunningham and Fergusson would have realised had they been acquainted with the existence in Cairo of *kanguras*, of the same somewhat unusual stepped shape as crown this doorway, at the tomb of the Sultan Kalaun (dated 1284 A.D.),² and again at the mosque of Al Azhar there, which feature M. Saladin would date from the year 1208 A.D.³ The strictures applied to this gateway are all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the same original *kanguras* (in which the "Strawberry Hill" allusion centres) exist again on the 2nd storey opening of the Qutb minar itself, which should have been apparent to their critics. One of the inscribed slabs over the entrance doorway has, it is true, been replaced in its wrong order by the restorer, but, as is apparent through a close scrutiny of the work, all the masonry above the architrave: *kanguras*, cornice, inscribed frieze, and flat architrave alike (with the exception of the centre stone of the last, and a plain narrow band immediately beneath the frieze) is patently composed of the old original weather-worn stones. The actual *new* work is readily distinguishable and is confined to the masonry below the architrave, as indicated by the "hatching" in the sketch in Pl. XV. It certainly is open to stringent criticism, as are, indeed, the "Gothic" balcony railings, and the irritating "Bengali" *chattri*, now happily deposed. But I think it due alike to the repairer and to the modern student of Indo-Saracenic architecture to expose the fallacy of the criticism levelled at this doorway, which, originating in the authoritative *dictum* of Fergusson, has obtained currency for the last fifty years.

The two separate minars believed still to be standing in Ghazni provide us at once with both the immediate prototype of the Qutb Minar and an early instance of the custom among the Muhammadans of erecting such columns in the embellishment of their cities. The ultimate origin of these towers is probably to be found in such Sassanian structures as the towers of Jur and Firozabad⁴ (see sketches in Pl. XVI) in Persia, the Chaldean *ziggurat* observatories, as at Khorsabad—and the Tower of Babel.⁵ It is noteworthy that the external helicoidal ramp ascending these Sassanian towers is repeated again by the Muhammadans in the square minar attached to the mosque of Ibn Tulun,⁶ at Cairo, which, though a later restoration, was modelled on the

¹ Major Smith's actual words were:—"The former rude and fractured entrance door of the base of the column (was) repaired, and improved with new mouldings, frieze, and repair of the inscription tablet" (A.S.R., I, 199).

² Vide Saladin's *L'Architecture : Manuel d'art Mussalman*, I, 112. The prototype of all these examples is to be found in Sassanian architectural features; and an illustration of the use of almost identically shaped *kanguras* is forthcoming in the decoration of the silver Sassanian dish reproduced in Miss Bell's *Palace and Mosque of Ukhadir* (Pl. 80).

³ *ibidem*, pp. 86-87. Sir John Marshall tells me that these *kanguras* are a very common feature in Egyptian architecture and are to be seen on many other buildings.

⁴ The tower at Firozabad is ascribed to Ardeshir (227-40 A.D.) the founder of the Sassanid dynasty. (Vide *L'Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité* : Perrot et Chipiez, Tome V, p. 649 *et seq.*; and Benjamin's *Persia*.)

⁵ Saladin's *L'Architecture*, I, p. 24.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 81.

original one (dating from c. 990 A.D.) it has replaced; and this, in its turn, was copied from the minaret of the mosque at Samarra, near Baghdad, founded by the Khalifa Wathik ibn Motassim in 842 A.D., as is recorded by Makrisi.¹

The alternate rounded and angular fluting that is such an attractive feature of the Qutb minar is undoubtedly a development of the polygonal outline of the Ghazni example; the connection of this feature with any Hindu or Jaina parallels is, I think, too fortuitous to be in any degree probable.²

Compared with that of the mosque, the decoration of the Minar is consistently Saracenic in character from base to top; though the somewhat hybrid style of Firozshah's later additions is noticeably distinct. Features of typically Hindu origin are practically non-existent, and only appear as narrow string-courses edging the inscribed bands,³ and as two minor members of the projecting balconies (see Plate XIII), the remaining ornament being distinctly Saracenic in character.

The wide encircling bands inscribed with *Naskh* lettering afford a delicate relief to the plain fluted masonry of the great shaft, and are indeed a happy incident of the design; but perhaps the most interesting and effective features are the boldly projecting balconies at every stage, supported on an early type of the "stalactite" corbelling⁴ that is such a universally characteristic and attractive feature of Saracenic architectural decoration, common alike to the Qutb⁵ in India and the Al Hambra in Spain.

In seeking to trace the origin and evolution of this alluringly decorative form, it is indeed unfortunate that no record is available of the architecture of the cultured *Sāmānid* dynasty,⁶ which ruled the country about the Oxus in Northern Persia through the last quarter of the 9th Century to the close of

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

² The only example of a temple sikhara of analogous plan I am aware of is the Chalukyan temple of "Dodda basappa" at Dambal in the Dharwar District of the Bombay Presidency (Pl. 18b).

The external corner towers of the Adhai-din-ka-Jhompra Mosque at Ajmir (Pl. 19d) with their alternatively angular and rounded facets are undoubtedly as Islamic in origin as are the two small minarets surmounting the centre bay of its great frontal screen, which also are decorated with similar facets.

³ The laboured endeavours of certain writers to find in the flatness of these bands a definite reason for assuming the previous existence in this position of sculptured Hindu images, and the consequent Hindu origin of the minar, are not to be taken seriously. I have carefully examined the relief of these inscribed bands, and can state definitely that in each case the extreme projection of the Arabic lettering and the geometrically carved margins of the bands are in a single plane. This is very apparent if one studies the outline of the minar at dusk, silhouetted against the sky. This uniformity of surface relief is, of course, a universally characteristic feature of Saracenic architectural decoration, and without doubt originated in the undercut surface ornament of Byzantium. It in no way supports the contention that, in the Qutb Minar, it has replaced bands of sculptured Hindu images, of the previous existence of which no particle of evidence exists.

⁴ It is of interest to note that in certain of the small ventilation slits up the staircase in the lowest storey of the Minar is incised in the jambs the outline of the original masons' full-size "setting-out" of the "stalactites."

⁵ After the Qutb Minar, however, it is curiously abandoned throughout the Pathan period, but appears again in the wake of the Mughals in the 16th Century (Pl. 17).

⁶ The *Sāmānid* dynasty (874 A.D.—999 A.D.) whose sovereignty eventually extended over Transoxiana and Persia, was founded by Sāmān, a Persian noble of Balkh, who renounced Zoroastrianism and embraced Islam early in the 8th Century A.D. His four grandsons distinguished themselves in the service of the Khaif Mamun and were rewarded with the provincial governments of Samarkand, Farghana (afterwards Babar's little kingdom), Shash, and Herat. Under Ismail of this dynasty, the *Sāmānid* kingdom extended from the Great Desert to the Persian Gulf, and from India to near Baghdad. Its power was most firmly established in Transoxiana, where Bukhara and Samarkand became the centres of civilization, learning, art and scholarship for a large part of the Muhammadan world.

the 10th; for from this were primarily derived the subsequent architectural and artistic glories of the Ghazni of "Mahmud the Great," a city of "the first rank among the many stately cities of the Caliphate."¹ Sassanid remains of the 5th and 6th Centuries,² and the architectural relics of the earlier Arabian Khalifates that they inspired,³ furnish the undoubted origins of the parent Saracenic style; but between the 10th and 13th centuries there is a *hiatus*, as far as the evolution of the style brought by Muhammad Ghori into India is concerned, and we can only deplore for all time the ruthless vandalism of the Ghori incendiary Alau-d-din Husain Jahan-soz (world-burner), whose sack and total destruction of Ghazni in 1155 A.D.⁴ (which, it is illuminating to remember, took place only 67 years before the buildings at the Qutb were commenced) thus deprives us of another most important link in the chain.⁵

Contemporary examples of Saracenic monuments are, however, left to us in Egypt; and at the mosque of Al Akmar at Cairo is what M. Saladin⁶ considers to be the earliest dated example of "stalactite" corbelling decoration extant, the date of which is definitely recorded as 1155 A.D. The stalactites in this early example are, it is noteworthy, fully developed in form, and their existence, I venture to think, at once disposes of the theory, expounded originally by Cunningham,⁷ that this essentially Saracenic feature as it appears at the Qutb derives its origin from the honeycomb enrichments of shallow Hindu domes (*cf.* the reconstructed Hindu domes at the Qutb, and the 11th Century Dilwara (Jaina) temples at Mount Abu, Rajputana; see Pl. 9b, 18a).

It is from Islamic centres beyond India that this stalactite decoration comes. The unifying influences at work on the development of Saracenic art

In the later reigns, power fell more and more into the hands of the Turki slaves employed in the Court; and one of them, Alptigin, founded the Ghaznavides (994 A.D.), which succeeded to the Sāmānid territory south of the Oxus (*vide* Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 131).

¹ Lane-Poole's *Mediaeval India*, p. 32.

² *eg.* (1) The bridge of Dizful over the Karun (Persia) built by Vaharan V (the "Wild Ass") 420-440 A.D. (*vide* Benjamin's *Persia*, p. 210 (Fisher Unwin), Saladin's *L'Architecture*, I, p. 31).

(2) The palace at Ctesiphon (Tag-i-Kesra) of Chosroes I (Anurshirwan) c. 540-588 A.D. *vide* Benjamin's *Persia*, p. 227 *et seq.*, and Saladin, I, p. 324 (see also Plate no. XVI).

³ *eg.* Haruna-r-Raschid's palace at Rakka in Syria, near Damascus, built in 790 A.D. (*vide* Saladin, I, pp. 323, 433) (see also Pl. XVI).

⁴ "Of all the noble buildings with which the kings had enriched their stately capital hardly a stone was left to tell of its grandeur" (Lane-Poole's *Mediaeval India*, p. 47). The only remains of Mahmud's Ghazni that are recorded to exist relatively intact, I believe, are his own tomb, a Jami masjid, and two separate minars or pillars of victory; and of these no adequate description is available (*vide* Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture* II, 193).

⁵ The carved deodar gates of Mahmud Ghaznavi's tomb brought by Lord Ellenborough from Ghazni in 1842 are the only relic of this period accessible to us, and are thus of especial value as a minor link in the chain (see Pl. 20).

⁶ *L'Architecture : Manuel d'art Musalman*, I, pp. 95, 103. Other contemporary examples of this decorative feature occur in:—(a) the Gate of Chilla, in Sedrata, Algiers (1178-84 A.D.). (b) the Palace of the Ziza, at Palermo (1154 A.D.), and (c) in the *mimbar* of the mosque of Al Aksar, at Jerusalem, brought from Aleppo by Saladin on his restoration of the mosque in 1187 A.D. (*ibidem*, pp. 235, 237 and 62).

In each of the above examples, geographically widely separated, the "stalactites" are fully developed, and must have been current for hundreds of years even then. M. Saladin, it is interesting to note, identifies their origin with the horn-like projections of brick in the tombs at Rei, near Teheran, in Persia (755 A.D.), and in the *Qower* at Bostan, near Veramin (*ibidem*, p. 317).

⁷ A. S. R. I, p. 190.

are at once realised when one remembers the custom of yearly pilgrimage to Makka, which brought its devotees from every Muhammadan country, and provided unbounded opportunities on the long and tedious journey for interchange of ideas and discussion of technical practices among the professions and crafts¹ throughout the Islamic world; the members of which, as yet do those of 20th century London, would instinctively congregate in occupational groups, impelled by a common human interest. And this dissemination of cultural ideas was again greatly fostered by the potent ties of trade and commerce between the several countries held in the common bond of Islam.

Viewed in this aspect, it is not difficult to understand the universal affinity of Saracenic architecture; a character yet compatible with the separate and distinctive evolution of its variant local styles.

A sketch, to a large scale, drawn with the aid of binoculars from the roof of the Alai Darwaza, shewing the details of the "stalactites" of the first storey balcony, appears in Plate XIII. The stepped *kanguras* indicated in this sketch in place of the present "quasi-Gothic" railing of Major Smith are a conjectural restoration, based on the original *kanguras* existing over the doorways in the basement and first storeys of the minar. The probability that such battlements did exist originally in this position is supported by such evidence as is forthcoming from the indifferently drawn illustrations of the minar

¹ M. Saladin puts this very cogently in the following passage :—" Le pèlerinage annuel de la Mecque, obligatoire pour tout bon mussalman, mettait en contact, au époques de paix, des gens de tout pays. Par une affinité naturelle, les gens de même métier se réunissaient de préférence entre eux et réagissaient les uns sur les autres. Le voyage de la Mecque était long et onéreux pour les artisans de pays extrêmes, et les plus pauvres devaient s'arrêter et travailler le long du chemin afin de se procurer les ressources nécessaires. Pendant les séjours plus ou moins longs qu'ils faisaient dans les villes, les plus intelligents d'entre eux pouvaient apprendre les procédés de construction, les tours de main. Ils voyaient des modèles nouveaux cherchaient à les imiter lorsqu'ils revenaient chez eux. Ainsi faisaient jadis chez nous les Compagnons du Tour de France" (*L'Architecture : Manuel d'art Musalman*, I, p. 11).

This consideration will also go far to explain the markedly individualistic development of Indo-Saracenic architecture under the Pathan dynasties. Whereas from Ghazni, Samarkand, or Khorasan the route to Makka and the Hajjaz lay overland through Iraq and *via* Baghdad, whence a regular Pilgrims' Way was laid out and maintained by the Abbassid Khalif Mehdi (775-85 A.D. : *vide* Gilman's "*Saracens*" p. 361), lined with wells, sarais and distance stones (*cf.* the Indian *kos minars*), the journey from India itself entailed for the subsequent Pathan settlers a segregated voyage by boat from the ports of Gujarat direct to Jedda in the Red Sea, which brought them within some 60 miles of Makka itself, and thus very considerably curtailed their opportunities of intercourse *en route* with pilgrims from other Muhammadan countries. It is true that there was an alternative route by land open to the Indian pilgrim *via* the coast of Sindh and Makran and along the Persian Gulf; but there is no question as to which would entail the less hardship to the traveller, and which in consequence would be the more largely followed. It is of interest to note that Indian Muhammadan pilgrims of the present day are still transported by boat to Jedda under the arrangements made by Government with Messrs. Thomas Cook, of "Tourist" fame. For early records of sea-traffic between India and Arabia, see Lane-Poole's *Mediaeval India*, p. 5; E. and D., I, p. 2, *Salsilatu-Tarikh* (851 A. D.); pp. 61, 67, Albaruni (790 A.D.); pp. 77, 84, 87, 89, Al Idrisi; 539; Vol. IV, pp. 95-6, 98, Abdur-Razzak (1441 A. D.); p. 298, *Musakhi-Jahanara* (1567 A.D.); Vol., V, p. 264, *Tabakati-Akbari*; Vol. VII, p. 350, Khafi Khan; and Manucci's *Storia do Mogor*, vol. III, pp. 276, 488.

With the advent of the Mughals the Persian influence revives, and the stalactite string-courses and other Saracenic elements of the Tomb of Timur, at Samarkand, make their appearance again in the architecture of his descendants in India, the "Great Moguls." Stalactite decoration is first to be seen again ornamenting the hollow string-moulding at the springing of the dome of Humayun's Tomb at Delhi (c. 1556-72; Pl. 17b), built by his queen Hamida Banu (Hajji) Begam, daughter of his brother Hindal's shaikh, "a Sayyid of the Prophet's race" (the Koreishites).

published about the beginning of the nineteenth century,¹ valueless though these drawings are as accurate records (see Pl. 21).

The illustrations in Plate XII afford a comparison of the minar as I conjecture it to have been completed by Altamish (see page 19 *supra*) with the present minar as repaired by Firozshah Tughlaq, who "raised it higher than before." The authenticity of the crowning *chattri* of the former rests frankly on nothing more definite than that which may exist in a certain propriety of design; for no contemporary example of such feature now remains to us. In the case of the *chattri* indicated on the minar as repaired by Firozshah, however, there need be little mystery, notwithstanding the provocative "broken harps"² and other nebulous features appearing in the mis-shapen travesties of the structure perpetrated by folk who had the opportunity of seeing the minar when a worthy record of its distinctive features would have been so valuable to latter-day comers in the field. *Chattris* of Firozshah's period are fortunately left to us at the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani, the Khirki Masjid and other buildings in Delhi (see Pl. 22a and b) and give at once a clear indication of the type of cupola that crowned the minar in the 14th Century A. D.; and from these the *chattri* shewn in the illustration has been adapted.³

The Tomb of Inam Zamin (Pl. 22c), situated immediately to the east of the Alai Gateway (through which it is approached) is a much later structure, dating from the time of the Mughal emperor Humayun.⁴ The tomb has no integral connection with the Qutb group,⁵ and its extreme proximity to it is probably to be explained by the supposition that Inam Zamin (otherwise Inam Muhammad Ali), "a member of the Chistia sect, a Sayyid descended from Hassan and Hussain," who is said to have come to Delhi from Turkestan in Sikandar Lodi's reign, held some office of importance in the mosque.

¹ Ensign Blunt's account, *Asiatic Researches of Bengal*, IV : 324, (1794 A.D.); Blagden's *Brief History of Ancient and Modern India* (1805 A.D.). Both the above illustrate *kanguras* of a crude form on the balconies, as does also another early drawing of the minar exhibited in the Delhi Museum (Cat. no. J. 51). The Museum drawing shows six storeys instead of five! An Indian drawing exhibited in the South Kensington Museum (a photographic reproduction of which was very kindly given to me by Mr. Griessen, Arboricultural Superintendent, Delhi) shews the minar standing on a high wide *chabutra* measuring some three times the diameter of the minar base in width, and almost equalling it in height. From the style of the drawing, it would appear to have been made within the last fifty years or so. Smith's *chattri* is significantly missing, and the decoration applied to the *chabutra* is typical of the Late Mughal period; while it would be impossible to accommodate a base of its size in the limited area of the actual site. So I think it may be stated with little doubt that this *chabutra* cannot claim to be an authentic feature (though one of a more modest size might conceivably exist beneath the present made-up ground level), but owes its appearance in the drawing to the accommodating conscience of the draughtsman, who thought a *chabutra* would add to the effect of his picture.

² A. S. R., I, 198.

³ *Erratum*. The *chattri* indicated in the drawing of the minar as repaired by Firozshah (Pl. XII) has been adapted from those existing on the Qadam Sharif walls at Delhi; which, until Sir John Marshall informed me otherwise, I understood to be of Firozshah's time. This information came to me too late to allow of the plates being altered; and the reader is asked to imagine a *chattri* of the circular solid "peppercot" type (*cf.* Plate 22b) surmounting Firozshah's repair, in place of the open-columned *chattri* I have shewn.

⁴ See Appendix ii(a) for Inscription, which bears the date 944 H. (1537-8 A.D.).

⁵ For this reason it is omitted from the perspective reconstruction illustrated in Pl. X, which is intended to represent the appearance of the monument in the time of Alau-d-din Khalji.

The tomb is a simple structure some 24 feet square in plan, surmounted by a dome rising from an octagonal drum, decorated with a double row of *kanguras* and with a treatment of marble panelling above the *chajja*. The spaces between the twelve square pilasters supporting the superstructure are infilled with a geometrical *jali* of red sandstone in all but the centre bays of the west and south sides, which contain respectively a *mihrab* and an entrance doorway, both wrought in marble. Over the latter is an inscription in well-formed *Naskh* characters, a translation of which appears in the Appendix ii(a). Marble is again used in the cenotaph and as a decorative relief in the interior, the radiating ribs of this material in the sandstone dome being a feature of interest. The whole structure of sandstone was originally covered with finely polished stucco, of which a considerable portion is still extant.

Of the remaining buildings within the Qutb area little requires to be said. They have no archæological connection with the original monument.

There are the remains of a Late Mughal serai, through the east entrance archway of which the visitor enters the Qutb enclosure. The greater portion of the southern half of this structure, which was very dilapidated, has been dismantled to open up a symmetrical approach to the Qutb mosque area proper.

To the immediate north of this serai are the dilapidated remains of a Late Mughal garden containing the ruins of some graves in the centre, and of a mosque in the west wall. These remains have also been latterly conserved and the grounds laid out.

The "Bengali" *chattri* of red sandstone, now situated to the south-east of the mosque, formerly crowned the Minar, on which it was erected by Major Smith in 1828 to replace the fallen *chattri* of Firozshah Tughlaq. It was removed at the instance of the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, in 1848, to whom its distressing incongruity with the architecture of the Minar was apparent, and placed on a mound within the actual enclosure of Alau-d-din's extension of the original mosque, whence it was removed to its present position in 1914.

MEHRAULI, DELHI.
March 1920.

J. A. PAGE.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

HINDU DYNASTY.

The Chohans of Sambhar, Ajmir, and Delhi.

- (1) Samantaraja.
- (2) Jayaraja, son of (1).
- (3) Vighararaja I, son of (2).
- (4) Chandraraja I, son of (3).
- (5) Gopendraraja, son of (3).
- (6) Durlabha I, son of (4).
- (7) Chandraraja II, son of (6).
- (8) Govaka, son of (7).
- (9) Chandana, son of (8).
- A.D. (10) Vakpati I, son of (9).
- 950 (11) Simharaja, son of (10).
- 974 (12) Vighararaja II, son of (11).
- (13) Durlabha II, son of (11).
- (14) Govinda, son of (13).
- (15) Vakpati II, son of (14).
- 1030 (16) Viryarama, son of (15).
- 1085 (17) Durlabha III, son of (16).
- (18) Vighararaja III, son of (16).
- (19) Prithviraja I, son of (18).
- 1130 (20) Ajayaraja or Salhana, son of (19).
- 150 (21) Arnoraja, son of (20).
- (22) Vighararaja IV, son of (21). Con-
quered Delhi from the Tomaras.
- 66 (23) Prithivibhata, son of an unnamed
son of (21).
- (24) Somesvara, son of (21) by Kanchan-
adevi of Guzerat.
- 1170 (25) Prithviraja II, son of (24).

MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES.

Ghaznivides.

- 976 Sabuktagin.
- 997 Isma'il.
- 998 Mahmud.
- 1030 Muhammad.
- 1030 Mas'ud I.
- 1040 Maudud.
- 1048 Mas'ud II.
- 1048 Ali.
- 1049 Abda-r-Rashid.
- 1052 Tugril (usurper).
- 1052 Farukhzad.
- 1059 Ibrahim.
- 1099 Mas'ud III.
- 1114 Sherzad.
- 1115 Arslan Shah.
- 1118 Bahram Shah.
- 1152 Khusru Shah.
- 1160 } Khusru Malik.
- 1186 }

Ghoris.

- Qutbu-d-din.
- 1148 Saifu-d-din Suri.
 - 1149 Alau-d-din Husain Jahan-uz.
 - 1161 Saifu-d-din Muhammad.
 - 1163 Ghiyasu-d-din ibn Sam.
 - 1174 Muizzu-d-din Muhammad Ghoris (con-
quered Hindustan 1175 ff; succeeded
Ghiyasu-d-din at Ghor 1201-6).

KINGS of DELHI.

(i) Slave Kings.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1206 Qutbu-d-din Aibak. | 1240 Muizzu-d-din Bahauddin |
| 1210 Aram. | 1242 Alau-d-din Mas'ud. |
| 1210 Shamsu-d-din Altamish. | 1246 Nasiru-d-din Mahmud. |
| 1236 Ruknu-d-din Firoz I. | 1266 Ghiyasu d-din Balban. |
| 1236 Raziyatu-d-din. | 1287 Muizzu-d-din Kaikubad. |

FINGS of DELHI—*contd.*(ii) *Khiljis.*

- 1290 Jalalu-d-din Firoz II.
- 1296 Ruknu-d-din Ibrahim.
- 1296 Alau-d-din Muhammad.
- 1316 Shihabu-d-din Omar.
- 1316 Qutbu-d-din Mubarak.
- 1321 Nasiru-d-din Khusru.

(iii) *Tughlaqs.*

- 1321 Tughlaq.
- 1325 Muhammad Tughlaq.
- 1351 Firoz III.
- 1388 Tughlaq II.
- 1388 Abu Bakr.
- 1390 Muhammad.
- 1394 Sikandar.
- 1394 { Mahmud.
- { Nasrat.
- 1398-9 Invasion of Timur.
- 1399 Mahmud restored.
- 1412 (Daulat Khan Lodi).

(iv) *Sayyids.*

- 1414 Khizr.
- 1421 Mubarak.
- 1433 Muhammad.
- 1443 Alam.

(v) *Lodis.*

- 1451 Bahlol.
- 1488 Sikandar.
- 1518 Ibrahim.
- 1526 (Invasion of Babar).

(vi) *Suris.*

- 1539 Sher Shah.
- 1545 Islam Shah.
- 1552 Muhammad Adil.
- 1553 Ibrahim Sur.
- 1554 Sikandar.
- 1555 (Mughal Conquest).

(vii) *Mughals.*

- 1526 Babar.
- 1530 Humayun.
- 1539 (Deposed by Sher Shah).
- 1555 (Humayun restored).
- 1556 Akbar.
- 1605 Jahangir.
- 1628 Shah Jahan.
- 1659 Aurangzeb Alamgir.
- 1707 Bahadur.
- 1712 Jahandar.
- 1713 Farukhsiyar.
- 1719 Muhammad.
- 1748 (Invasion of Ahmad Shah Daurani).
- 1748 Ahmad.
- 1754 Alamgir II.
- 1759 Shah Alam.
- 1806 Muhammad Akbar II.
- 1837 Bahadur II.
- 1857 (Indian Mutiny).

APPENDIX II (a)

INSCRIPTIONS.*

Qutb Mosque (Masjid Quwwatul-Islam).

I. On the inner lintel of the eastern gateway.

East gateway.

Quran, Sura III, verses 91-2; and

این حصار را فتح کرد و این مسجد جامع را بساخت بقاریخ فی شهر سده سبع و ثمانین و
 حمله امیر اسفندالار اجل کبیر قطب الدوله والدین امیر الامرا ای بک سلطانن اعز الله انصاره بیست
 و هفت الت بتخانده که در هر بتخانه در بار هزار بار هزار دلیوال صرف شده بود درین مسجد بکار بسته
 شده است خدای عز و جل بران بنده رحمت کند هر که بر نیت بانی خیر دعا ایمان گوید -

Translation.

"This fort was conquered and this Jami Masjid was built in (the months of) the year 587 (1191—2 A.D.) by the Amir, the great and glorious commander of the army, (named) Qutbu-d-daulatwa-d-din, the Amiru-l-umara Aibak Sultani, may God strengthen his helpers. The materials of 27 temples, on each of which 2,000,000 Deliwal's had been spent, were used in (the construction of) this mosque. May God the great and glorious have mercy on him who should pray for the faith of the good builder."

II. In the Arch tympanum of the eastern gateway.

این مسجد را بنیاد کرد قطب الدین ای بک خدائی بران بنده رحمت کند هر که بنی این خیر
 ادعای ایمان گوید -

Translation.

"This mosque was built by Qutbu-d-din Aibak. May God have mercy on him who should pray for the faith of this good builder."

III. In the arch tympanum of the north gate.

North gateway.

Quran, Sura X, verse 26; and

فی شهر سده انفی و تسعین [و خمسمایه] جرت هذه العمارة بعالی امر السلطان المعظم
 معز الدین والدین محمد بن سام ناصر امیر المؤمنین -

Translation.

"In (the months of) the year [5] 92 (1197 A.D.) this building was erected by the high order of the exalted Sultan Muizzu-d-dunyawa-d-din Muhammad-ibn-Sam, the helper of the prince of the faithful."

IV. On the south pier at the foot of the inscribed band framing the central arch of the great screen. The great screen of Aibak.

... تاریخ العشرين من ذي القعدة سنة اربع و تسعين و خمسمایه -

* I am indebted principally to Khan Sahib Zafar Hasan, B.A., of the Archaeological Survey Deptt. for the readings and English renderings given here.

Translation.

"..... date, the 20th of Zil Qada of the year 594." (1199 A.D.)

Altamish's screen
extension.

V. On the south end pier (east face) of the southern arch of Altamish's southern extension of the great screen.

..... في شهر سنة سبع وعشرين وستمائة -

Translation.

"..... in (the months of) the year 627." (1229 A.D.)

VI. On a pillar in Aibak's prayer chamber.

في تولية العبد فضل بن ابي المعالي

Translation.

"Under the supervision (mutavalliship) of the slave Fazl ibn Abil Ma'ali."

The Qutb Minar.

Inscriptions on the basement storey. Lowest band :—

Basement storey.
1st Band, (lowest).

The arrangement of the inscribed slabs in this band has been disturbed by an illiterate restorer who has replaced them in an altogether arbitrary manner. The inscription largely consists of Quranic quotations, the only words of historic importance that can be read being :—

الامير الاسفيسالار الاجل الكبير

Translation.

¹"The Amir, the commander of the army, the glorious, the great."

These titles apparently refer to Qutbu-d-din Aibak (1206-1210 A.D.), but his name does not seem to be visible anywhere.

2nd Band.

2nd band.

..... رقاب الامم مولى ملوك العرب والعجم اعدل السلاطين فى العالم معز الدنيا والدين
..... الملوك والسلاطين باسط العدل والاحسان ظل الله فى الخافقين
..... الراعى لعباد الله العامى لبلاد الله القايم
..... السما المنصور على الاعداد حلال الامة
..... الباهرة فلک المعالي سلطان البر والبحر محرز
..... ممالك الدنيا ومظهر كلمة الله هى العليا اسكندر الثانى ابو المظفر محمد بن - ام خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه
..... وتعالى الله الذي لا اله الا هو عالم الغيب والشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم

Translation.

".....necks of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most just of the sultans in the world, MUIZZU-D-DUNYAWA-D-DIN.....the kings and sultans,

¹Vide Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, 1911-12, p. 16. Dr. . Horovitz, Ph.D.

the propagator of justice and kindness..... the shadow of God in east and west, the shepherd of the servants of God, the defender of the countries of God..... The firm.... sky, victorious against the enemies.....the glory of the magnificent nation, the sky of merits.....the sultan of land and sea, the guard of the kingdoms of the world, the proclaimer of the word of God, which is the highest, and the second Alexander, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD IBN SAM, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule. And Allah is high, besides whom there is no God, who knows what is hidden and what is revealed. He is compassionate and merciful....."

3rd band.—Quran, Sura XLVIII, verses 1—6.

3rd Band.

4th band.

4th Band.

السلطان المعظم شاعنشاہ الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولی ملوک العرب والعجم سلطان السلاطین
فی العالم غیاث الدنیا والدین معز الاسلام والمسلمین معی العدل فی العالمین علا الدولة القاهرة . .
. . . الامة الزاهرة شهاب الخلافة باسط الاحسان الزلوة فی الثقلمین ظل الله فی الخافقین العامی
لباد الله الراعی لعباد الله محرز ممالک الدنیا و مظهر کلمة الله هی العلیا ابرا
. . بن سام قسیم امیر المومنین انار الله برهانه

Translation.

"The greatest sultan, the most exalted emperor, the lord (mālik) of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the sultan of the sultans of the world,¹ GHIYASU-D-DUNYAWA-D-DIN, who rendered Islam and the Muslims powerful, the reviver of justice in the worlds, the grandeur of the victorious government.....of the magnificent, the bright blaze of the Khilāfat, the propagator of kindness and mercy amongst created beings, the shadow of God in east and west, the defender of the countries of God, the shepherd of the servants of God, the guard of the kingdoms of the world, and the proclaimer of the word of God, which is the highest, Abu.....ibn Sam, an ally of Amiru-l-muminin (the prince of the faithful), may God illumine his proofs."

5th band.—Quran, Sura LIX, verses 22 and 23 and attributes of God.

5th Band.

6th band.—Quran, Sura II, verses 255—260.

6th Band.

On the entrance doorway :—

Entrance doorway.

قال النبى صل الله عليه وسلم من بنا مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له فى الجنة بيتا مثله - عمارت
مناره مبارک حضرت سلطان السلاطین شمس الدنیا والدین مرحوم مغفور طاب ثراه رجعل الجنة مثواه
شکست شده بود مناره مذکور در عهد دولت سلطان الاعظم والمعظم والمکرم سکندر شاه بن بهارل شاه
سلطان خلخاله ملکه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه عمل خانزاده فتحخان بن مسند عالي خراسخان . .
. . و درز بندى و مرتبها بالا مرمت کرد [ه] مرتب کنانید الغره من ماء وبيع الخرسنه تسع و تسعمائة

Translation.

"The Prophet, on whom be God's blessing and peace said : 'He who builds a mosque for God, God will build for him a similar house in paradise.' The fabric of the minar of his majesty the king of kings Shamsu-d-dunyawa-d-din,² who has received God's pardon and forgiveness, (the deceased) may his grave be purified, and may paradise be his resting place, was injured.

¹ Brother of Muizzu-d-din in previous inscription.

² Altamish.

In the reign of the great, the illustrious and exalted king, (named) SIKANDAR SHAH,¹ the son of BAHLOL SHAH SULTAN, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and exalt his power and prestige, and under the superintendence of Khanzadah Fath Khan, the son of Masnad-i-Ali Khawas Khan..... The cracks were filled in and the upper stories were repaired on the first day of Rabia II in the year 909 (23rd September 1503 A.D.)."

Immediately to the right of the doorway.

ابن مناره فضل ابو المعالي بردند

Translation.

".....of this Minarah was Fazl Abul Maali.²"

Inscriptions on the 2nd storey :—

Lower band.

السلطان الاعظم شهنشاه المعظم مالك رقاب الامم مفخر ملوك العرب والعجم ظل الله في العالم
شمس الدنيا والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين تاج الملوك والسلطين . . . في العالمين
علا الدولة القاهرة وجمال الملة الزاهرة المريد من السماء المظفر على اعداء شهاب سما الخلافة ناشر العدل
والرافة محرز ممالك الدنيا ومظهر كلمة الله العليا ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطاني ناصر امير المؤمنين
خدا الله ملكه وسلطانه واعلى اموره وشانه

Translation.

"The most exalted sultan, the great emperor, the lord of the necks of the people, the pride of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the shadow of God in the world, SHAMSU-D-DUNYAWA-D-DIN, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the crown of kings and sultans,.....in the worlds, the grandeur of the victorious government, the majesty of the shining religion, helped from the heavens, victorious over his enemies, the bright meteor of the sky of the Khilāfat, the propagator of justice and kindness, the guard of the kingdoms of the world and the proclaimer of the word of the High God, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR ILTUTMISHA-S-SULTANI,³ the helper of the prince of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and increase his power and rank."

Upper band.—Quran, Sura XIV, verses 29—30 ; and Sura LXII, verses 9—10.

On the doorway.

امر باتمام هذه العمارة الملك المريد من السماء شمس الحق والدين ايلتتمش القطبي نصير

امير المؤمنين

Translation.

"The completion of this building was commanded by the king, who is helped from the heavens, (named) SHAMSU-L-HAQWA-D-DIN ILTUTMISHA-L-QUTBI,⁴ the helper of the prince of the faithful."

Inscriptions on the 3rd storey.

السلطان المعظم شاعنشاء الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم مولى ملوك العرب والعجم سلطان السلطين
في العالم حافظ بلاد الله ناصر . . . خليفة الله . . . الاسلام والمسلمين غياث

¹ Lodi.

² The same name is recorded on a column in Aibak's prayer chamber.

³ Shamsu-d-din Altamish "as-Sultani": slave of the Sultan Aibak.

⁴ Al Qutbi "of the Sultan Qutbu-d-din", the inference being "slave" of, as above.

Second storey.
Lower Band.

Upper Band.
Doorway.

Third storey.

الملوك و السلاطين العامى لبلاد الله الراعى لعباد الله يمين الخلافة باسط العدل و الرافة ابو المظفر
يلتتمش السلطاني نصير امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و [اعلى] امره و شانه -

Translation.

"The great sultan, the most exalted emperor, the lord (mālik) of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the king of kings in the world, the protector of the lands of God the helper.....Khalifa of God.....of Islam and the Muslims, the help of the kings and sultans, the defender of the lands of God, the shepherd of the servants of God, the right hand of the Khilāfat, and the promulgator of justice and kindness, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR ILTUTMISHA-S-SULTANI, the helper of the prince of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and increase his power and rank."

On the doorway.

Doorway.

السلطان المعظم شهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم فخر ملوک العرب والعجم المريد من السماء
المظفر على الاعدا سلطان ارض الله حافظ بلاد الله ناصر عباد الله محرز ممالك الدنيا مظهر كلمة الله العليا
جلال الدولة القاهرة نظام الملة الزاهرة شمس الدنيا والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين ظل الله في العالم
القاب الامم والخلافة مايه العدل و الرافة سلطان السلاطين الدولة و الملة يلتتمش السلطان يمين
خليفة الله ناصر امير المومنين -

Translation.

"The great sultan, the most exalted emperor, the lord (mālik) of the necks of the people who vies with the kings of Arabia and Persia, helped from the heavens, victorious over his enemies, the sultan of the earth of God, the protector of the lands of God, the helper of the servants of God, the preserver of the kingdoms of the world, the proclaimer of the word of the High God, the splendour of the victorious rule, the administration of the refulgent religion, (named) SHAMSU-D-DUNYAWA-D-DIN, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God in the world, the crown of the sovereignty and the people, the source of justice and mercy, the king of the kings of the empire and religion, the right hand of the Khalifa of God, the helper of the prince of the faithful."

On one side of the door.

تمت هذه العمارة فى نوبت العبد المذنب محمد امير كوه

Translation.

"This building was completed under the superintendence of the slave, the sinner (named) Muhammad Amir Kōh."

Inscriptions on the 4th storey.

Fourth storey.

امر بهذه العمارة فى ايام الدولة السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه المعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولى ملوک
الترک و العرب والعجم شمس الدنيا والدين معز الاسلام والمسلمين ذوالامن والامان وارث ملک سليمان
ابو المظفر يلتتمش السلطان ناصر امير المومنين -

Translation.

"(The erection of) this building was ordered during the reign of the most exalted sultan, the great emperor, the lord of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Turkistan, Arabia and Persia, SHAMSU-D-DUNYAWA-D-DIN, who renders Islam and the Muslims powerful"

who affords security and protection, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR ILTUTMISHA-S-SULTAN,¹ the helper of the prince of the faithful."

Fifth storey.

Inscription on the fifth storey.

Doorway.

On the doorway.

درین مناره شهر سده سبعین و سبعمائه بامت برق خلل راه یافته بود بتوفیق ربانی برگزیده
عنایت سبحانی فیروز سلطانی این مقام را باحتیاط تمام عمارت کرد خالق بدیعین این مقام را از جمیع
آفات مصون دارد

Translation.

"The Minar was injured by lightning in (the months of) the year 770 (1369 A.D.). By the Divine grace FIROZ SULTAN, who is exalted by the favour of the Most Holy, built this portion of the edifice (muqām) with care. May the inscrutable Creator preserve it from all calamities."

Alai Darwaza.

The greater part of the inscriptions on the east, west and south archways is obliterated, and the reading thereof given below is based on the facsimiles to be found at the end of *Asaru-s-sana'id* (Ed. Cawnpore, 1904, pp. 42-7, inscriptions Nos. 15, 16 and 17).

East Facade.

I.—On the marble architrave framing the eastern archway.

بنا این بقعه شریف و اساس این عمارت عظیم بود در عهد سلطنت و ایام مملکت خدایگان
سلاطین جهان خسرو دارا نشان سلطان کامل عدل وافر احسان شهنشاه شامل . . . و نافذ فرمان
معلی منابر اسلام محیی آثار احکام بانی منابر مساجد طاعات رافع اسرار معابد عبادات عامر بلاد هدایت
غامر دیار غوایت . . . و تاج سلطنت . . . و سیر مملکت مظهر قوانین جهاد
مبهرین برهین اعتماد ضابط بلاد . . . و طین رافع بناء محراب و منابر اسلام کاسر اساس صوامع
اصنام ناصب قواعد خیرات خافض خرافیت مسکرات بادشاه کشور کشای سید رحمت خدای مرید بقائید
یزدان ابوالمظفر محمد شاه السلطان یمن الخلف ناصر امیر المومنین خلدالله ملئه فی عمارت
المسجد وابد سلطانه فی انارت المعابد وابقاء فی المملکت والخلافت مدی الدنیا ما تلیم سورة
سبحان الذی امری بعبده لیل من المسجد الحرام الی المسجد الاقصی - فی القاریخ فی الخامس العشر
من شوال سده عشر و سبعمائه -

Translation.

"The erection of this noble edifice and the foundation of this lofty building were undertaken in the reign and during the kingship of the lord of the kings of the world, the king of Dariushlike splendour, the sultan of perfect justice and abundant benevolence, . . . the emperor whose commands are universally obeyed, the exalter of the pulpits of Islam, the reviver of the impressions of the commandments (of God), the founder of the pulpits of mosques, the exalter of the foundation of the places of worship, the founder of the guiding cities, the destroyer of sinning countries . . . and crown of kingdom . . . and the throne of royalty, the expounder of the laws of holy war, the elucidator of the arguments of *Ijtihad* (legal or theological decision), the master of the countries . . .

¹ Sultan, as distinct from Sultani. This is one of the points that lead me to assume that this particular inscription in marble was the work of Firozshah Tughlaq on his repairing the minar. (See also note on p. 19 *supra*.)

the exalter of the foundation of the arches (*mihrabs*) and pulpits (*mimbars*) of Islam, the destroyer of the foundation of the places of idol worship, the maker of the rules of charity, the destroyer of drinking houses, the king, conqueror of countries, the shadow of the mercy of God, helped by the help of God, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH,¹ the king, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-muminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom in reward of his building of mosques and continue his rule for ever, for his illuminating of places of worship, and preserve him in his kingdom and rule as long as the world exists and this *Surah* is read: 'Praise be unto him who transported His servant by night from the sacred mosque (of Makka) to the Masjid-al-Aqsa (temple of Jerusalem)' ², on the 15th of Shawwal, the year 710 (7th March 1311 A.D.)."

On the face of the arch, upper band (marble).

بفرمان برگزیده حضرت رحمان و ضابط ممالک جهان سلطان سلیمان نشان علا دنیا والدین غوث
الاسلام والمسلمین معز الملوك و السلاطین واقع بذات خیرات و الملحدین رافع
اساس محراب و منبر ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان یمین الخلافة ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه الی
یوم القیام این مسجد شامخ ارکان راسخ بنیاد عمارت کرده شد -

Translation.

"By the order of the chosen of the merciful God, the master of the countries of the world, the Solomon-like king, great in the world and in faith, the consoler of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, the founder of a charitable building.....atheists, the exalter of the foundation of the arch (*mihrab*) and pulpit (*mimbar*), (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the king, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-muminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom until the day of judgment, this mosque of delightful pillars and firm foundation was erected."

On the lower face of the same arch (red stone).

این مسجد جامع شامخ برگزیده حضرت رحمان
سکندر العهد والزمان علا دنیا والدین خسرو خسروان افاق قمر رفیق ابو المظفر محمد
شاه السلطان یمین الخلافة ناصر امیر المومنین

Translation.

"This famous congregational mosque.....the chosen of the merciful God, the Alexander of the time and the age, great in the world and in the faith, king of kings of the world, compeer of the moon.....ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the sultan, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-muminin....."

II. On the marble architrave framing the western archway.

West Façade.

چون ایند تعالی علا علاوه و سمی اسماره برای اعیان مراسم ملت و اعلاء معالم شریعت خدایگان
خلفاء جهان را برگزیده تا هر لمحہ اساس دین محمدی استحکام می پذیرد و هر لحظه بناء شریعت

¹ Alau-d-din Khalji.

² Quran, Sura XVII, verse I. The "Dome of the Rock."

احمدی قوی میگردد و از برای درام مملکت و نظام سلطنت عمارت مساجد طاعات بعدم کلام من لا رب سواه که انما یعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان یمین الخلیفة ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه الی يوم القیام فی رفع بناء جوامع الاسلام و ابقاء مدي الزمان فی اشاعت الاحسان فی القاریخ فی الخامس عشر من شوال سنة عشر و سبعماية

Translation.

"Whereas the Almighty God, whose glory is great and whose names are exalted, with a view to revive the observances of faith and raise the banners of religion, chose as the lord of the kings of the world, so that the foundation of the religion of Muhammad may become firmer every moment, and the foundation of the law of the religion of Ahmad may be strengthened increasingly every instant, and the kingdom may be perpetuated and the administration of the government assured, and mosques for worship be erected in compliance with the order of Him except whom there is no God: 'He shall build the mosque of God who believeth in God'.....ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the king, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-muminin (chief of the faithful), may God continue his kingdom until the day of resurrection, and exalt him for the erection of the mosques of Islam, and preserve him long to perform benevolent action, on the 15th of Shawwal, the year 710 (7th March 1311 A.D.). On the arch face, upper band (marble).

حضرت علیا خدایگان سلاطین مصطفی جاء الضارع الامر الله المخصوص بعنايت الاکرم الاکرمین علا الدنيا والدين غوث الاسلام والمسلمین معز الملوك و السلاطین القايم بقائید الرحمن ابو المظفر محمد شاه سلطان سکندر ثاني یمین الخلیفة ناصر امیر المومنین خلد الله ملکه بناء این خیرات سنت جماعت است عمارت فرمود

Translation.

"His majesty the great, the lord of the kings, of Mustafa-like dignity, humbly submitting to the command of God, the chosen by the favour of the Most Merciful, great in the world and in faith, the redresser of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, firm with the help of the Merciful, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the king, the second Alexander, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-Muminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom, erected this place for Sunnat-o-Jama'at." On the arch face, lower band (red stone).

این که ثانی بیت المعمور و در افواه چون چنان مذکور است بخلوص عقیدت و صفا طوبیت مجلس اعلی خدایگان سلاطین زمان علا الدنيا والدين سلطان البر و الزخار المريد بقائید الرحمان ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان یمین الخلیفة ناصر امیر المومنین الی يوم الدين

Translation.

"This (mosque), which is a second Kaba and is reported to be like paradise, (was built) with pure faith and good intention by the exalted, the lord of the kings of the age, great in the world and in faith, the king of land and sea, helped by the help of the merciful (God), (named

¹ Quran, Sura IX, verse 18.

² The sect of Muhammadans who believe the first four Caliphs to be the true successors of the prophet; i.e., the Sunnis, as distinct from the Shiāhs.

ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the king, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amīru-l-Muminin (chief of the faithful).....until the day of judgment."

III. On the marble architrave framing the southern archway.

South Facade

بتوفیق ایزد بیہمتا و امثال مسجد اسس علی التقوی تعالی امره و شانه
توالی عدله و احسانه بر . . . مامور امر فول و جہک شطرا المسجد الحرام محمد رسول اللہ علیہ
السلام کما قال من بنی مسجد اللہ بنی اللہ لہ بیتا فی الجنة مجلس اعلی خدایگان سلاطین زمان شہنشاہ
موسی فر سلیمان امکان راعی شرایط شریعت محمدی و حامی مراسم ملت احمدی مرکز مناہر معالم
و مساجد و موطد قواعد مدارس و معابد مہمد بنیان رسوم مسلمانی و مؤسس مبانی مذهب نعمانی
قالع اصول مردہ فجار و قاطع فروع قید کفار و ہادم بذاتی صوامع اصنام و رافع اساس مجامع اسلام مظهر
ایات قاهر کفرہ قاصع فجورہ و زعمین فائق قلاع شامخ ارکان ضابط بقاع راسخ
بنیان المر اللہ المغان ابو المظفر محمد شاہ السلطان یمین الخلفۃ معین دین اللہ
ناصر امیر المومنین مد اللہ ظلال جلا لہ علی راس العالمین الی یوم الدین بنا فرمود این مسجد کہ
مسجد جناۃ زمروہ اولیا و طبقہ اتقیا و مجمع ملائک کرام محضر ارواح انبیاء عظام است
بتاریخ فی الخامس عشر من شوال سنہ عشر و سبعمایۃ

Translation.

"By the grace of the peerless God and.....'Verily the foundation of a mosque is laid on piety,' Whose command and glory are high and Whose justice and peace are great.....commanded 'Turn your face towards the holy temple (of Makka), as Muhammad the prophet of God, may peace be upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque for God, God builds a house for him in Paradise,' the exalted, the lord of the kings of the age, the emperor of Moses-like splendour and Solomon-like dignity, the keeper of the commands of the law of Muhammad, the helper in the observances of the religion of Ahmad, the strengthener of the pulpits of the places of learning and mosques, the supporter of the rules of the schools and places of worship, the strengthener of the foundation of the observances of Islam, the builder of the foundation of the faith of Numan (Abu Hanifa), the uprooter of the dead (old) principles of evil doers, the destroyer of the doctrines of infidels, the demolisher of the foundation of the places of idol worship, the exalter of the foundation of congregations of Islam (mosques), the medium of (Divine) signs, the suppressor of infidelity....., the uprooter of evil-doing from the face of the earth, the conqueror of forts with lofty piers, the master of places of strong foundations.....beneficent God, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the Sultan, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the helper of the religion of God and the ally of the Amīru-l-Muminin (the chief of the faithful), may God extend the shadow of his dignity over the heads of mankind until the day of resurrection, built this mosque, which is the mosque of paradise for saints andmen of piety and a place of assembly of the eminent angels, and an edifice inhabited by the souls of the chief prophets, on the 5th of Shawwal the year 710 (7th March 1311 A.D.)."

On the arch face, upper band (marble).

این مسجد کہ در فوسحت و رفعت چون بیت المقدس بلکہ ثانی بیت المعمور است حضرت
اعلی خدایگان فایض فضل شامل احسان المہرید بنائید الملک المغان علا الدنیا والدین الظفر ابو المظفر
محمد شاہ السلطان یمین الخلفۃ ناصر امیر المومنین مد اللہ ظلال عظمتہ الی یوم الدین بصدق نیت و
خلوص عقیدت بنا فرمود

Translation.

"This mosque, which in extent and height is like unto Baitu-l-muqaddas, nay is the second Baitu-l-mamur (Kaba), was built in pure faith and good intention by his exalted majesty, the lord, the diffuser of grace and beneficence, helped by the help of the benevolent king, great in the world and in faith, the victorious, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the king, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-muminin (chief of the faithful), may God continue the shadow of his majesty until the day of judgment."

On the arch face, lower band. (red stone).

در عهد هما یون حضرت علیا الدنیا والدین الغالب بجنود
الظفر ابو المعظفر محمد شاه السلطان یمین الخلافة ناصر امیر المومنین مد الله ظلال خلافته علی رزس
العالمین الی یوم الدین این مسجد که بوصف و من دخل امن موصوف است

Translation.

"During the auspicious reign of his exalted majesty.....world and faith, triumphant with his victorious army, (named) ABUL MUZAFFAR MUHAMMAD SHAH, the king, the right arm of the Khilāfat, the ally of the Amiru-l-muminin, may God extend the shadow of his kingdom over the heads of mankind until the day of resurrection, (built) this mosque, to which is accorded the attribute : 'He who enters it attains salvation'."

THE TOMB OF IMAM ZAMIN.

The inscription is written in well-formed *naskh* characters carved in relief on a marble slab over the doorway.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم - وظیفه حمد و دعای که مجارران حظیره قدس و ساکنان روضه انس بان
قیام نمایند نثار خداوند که مقربان درگاه از دنیا و آخرت را فدای راه از نموده و نقد جان و دل بیکران
کل را صرف بارگاه از فرموده و درون دافره و تحیات متکثره بمشهد معطر و حظیره منور شفیع رزس محشر
وال و اصحاب اطهر از اصل و متواصل باد و بحضرت موفی الخیرات و مبشر البریات توفیق ازلی را
رفیق حضرت هدایت مرتبت محمدت صفوت محمد علی چشتی مشرب حسینی نسب عمده سادات
عظام خلاصه اتقیای کرام عیسی عالم ترک و تجرید موسی کوه عزلت و تقرید المرد من عبدالله الغنی
قطب الملت و طریقت سید حسنی الحسینی گردانید تا این بقعه شریف و منزل لطیف را احداث نموده
وصیت فرمود که چون مدت حیاتش که بسرآید و بتشریف ادخلواها بسلام امنین
مشرف گردیده بسوء حظیره قدس و روضه انس پرواز نماید مقبره فایض الانوار انحضرت این بقعه نامدار
باشد و کان اتمام هذا البقعه فی شهر سنه اربعه و اربعین و تسعمایة -

Translation.

"In the name of God, who is merciful and compassionate. May continual praise (of God) and prayer be offered by the residents of the sacred enclosure and the dwellers of this favourite tomb as a sacrifice to God, whose friends have sacrificed this world and the next in His path and made the immense treasure of life and heart a sacrifice to His court. May manifold praises reach the sweetly scented and illumined graves of the intercessor on the day of judgment (Muhammad, the Prophet) and his pure descendants and friends, and his holiness the charitable and announcer of good tidings to the world, who made the divine grace a friend of his holiness.

the guide of men and chosen of Muhammad, (named) Muhammad Ali of the Chishtia sect, descendant of Husain, a support of the great Sayyids, the best of the revered devotees of God, a Jesus of the world of seclusion and asceticism, a Moses of the mountain of retirement and seclusion, helped by God, Who is rich, the pole-star of religion and faith, and a Sayyid descended from Hasan and Husain, in that he erected this holy and elegant building and left his parting advice that when.....his life.....should come to an end and, being favoured with the call 'Enter therein (paradise) in peace and security,' it should fly to the sacred enclosure and favourite garden, this celebrated building should become the bright tomb of his holiness. This building was completed in (the months of) the year 944.

APPENDIX II. (b)

¹Nagari inscriptions on the Qutb Minar.

1. On yellow stone, broken, 12th face of the 24-sided foundation on the left-hand side of the Main Entrance. Illegible.

2. On yellowish quartzite, 1st face of the 24-sided foundation on the right-hand side of the Main Entrance.

Text. समत् १२५६

Translation. "Samvat 1256 (1199 A.D.)."

3. On yellowish quartzite, left-hand jamb of Main Entrance door, 4th course.

Text. समत् १२५६

Translation. "Samvat 1256 (1199 A.D.)."

NOTE.—This is the earliest date inscribed on the Minar, and shows that the monument existed in the present form in or prior to the year 1199 A.D.

4. On left-hand jamb of Main Entrance door, 9th course.

Text. पिरथौनिरपः

Translation. "The King Pirthi." (The reading is uncertain.)

5. On right-hand jamb of Main Entrance door, 8th course.

Text स्तम्भो

Translation. "The pillar."

6. On right-hand jamb of Main Entrance door, 11th course. Illegible.

7. On left-hand jamb of the 5th slit window up stair-way.

Text.

1. 1. मलिकदीन की कीरतिस्तम्भ

1. 2. स्वस्ति । भवतु ?

1. 3. मलिकदीन

1. 4. मलिकदीन

¹ I am indebted to Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., for the readings and English renderings given of these inscriptions.

Translation. "This pillar of fame of Malikdin. May it be for good luck."

This inscription designates the Minar as the pillar of fame of a certain Malikdin, but who this man was is not known. It shows that the monument was not regarded as a ma'zinah only.

(For reference, vide page 9 of the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year 1918-19.)

8. On right-hand jamb of the 5th slit window up stair-way.

Text.

1. 1. चुला जालौ लगाई
1. 2. समत् १८३२
1. 3. चूनीलाल ता०

Translation. "Chunilal fixed this screen in Samvat 1832. Chunilal, dated....."

9. On right-hand abutment of door, near iron fixing, 1st Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. समत् १५६० वरषे (षे)
1. 2. चैत्र सुदि २ लौषी-
1. 3. तं विसत्तु [कंठे]न

Translation. "Written by Vishnu Kanth on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year Samvat 1560."

10. On right-hand jamb of the 11th slit window, up stair-way.

Text.

1. 1. ४, ५, २, ३, ४
1. 2. १५, १०, ५
1. 3. १, ८, १
1. 4. १, ६, ७, २

11. On right-hand jamb of the 11th slit window up stair-way.

Text.—Repetition of the imprecation :—इ को मा को गादह चोदे

Translation. Indecent.

(A similar inscription occurs on Jaina temple No. 12 at Deogarh, District Jhansi.)

12. On right-hand jamb of 11th slit window up stair-way.

Text.

1. 1. राना राना
1. 2. १, २, ३, ४, ५, ६, ७, ८, ९
1. 3. मगो सुभो पे जलो वावा
1. 4. १०, ११
1. 5. राना

Translation. Unintelligible.

13. On right-hand jamb of 11th slit window up stair-way.

Text कसधरा, साठे, पाहुला, साठे, साठे, पाहुला, पाहुला, साहुला, गोपडा, (मं)गसो, कहला

Translation. The document presumably records names of masons.

14. On left-hand jamb of the 15th slit window up stair-way.

Text स्वसती गडाहह वासुलोमपादे

Translation. Unintelligible.

15. On left-hand abutment of door, 2nd Balcony.

Text ६माघ समत् १६१७

Translation. "On the 6th Magh of the year Samvat 1617."

16. On right-hand jamb of door, 2nd Balcony.

Text गोपा गोपा क दया . . . पा

Translation. Unintelligible.

17. On the face of the 8th angle on the left-hand side, 2nd balcony.

Text.

1. 1. समत् १५८८ लिषीतं सिष संगचा -
सु हीरापुत्र

Translation. "Engraved in the year Samvat 1599 (by) the mason (named) Sikh, son of Hira."

18. On the face of the 8th angle on the right-hand side. 2nd Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. समत् १८३५
1. 2. सन् १८७८
1. 3. मोहनलाल मिसतरो भाद्रव सुदि ५

Translation. "Samvat 1935, 1878 A.D. The mason Mohan Lal on the 5th of the bright fortnight of Bhadra."

19. Under the soffit of lintel over 18th slit window, up stair-way.

Text. श्रीगोविन्दपत्नी भोजपत्नी

Translation. The meaning is uncertain.

(On epigraphical grounds the inscription is assignable to about the 9th Century A.D. and is thus the earliest record noticed on the Minar. It should, however, be ascertained if this stone originally belonged to an earlier structure or was meant for the Minar itself.¹)

20. On left-hand abutment of door, 3rd Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. श्रीसुलत्राण अलावदी वि-
1. 2. जयस्तम्भ

Translation. "The pillar of victory of Sultan Alavadi (i.e. Alau-d-din)."

¹ Mr. J. F. Blakiston, Archaeological Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, Agra, to whom this point has been referred, remarks as follows :—"The inscription is on the underside of the lintel in an exceedingly difficult place to enisel and is on one stone. It seems to be incomplete, that is to say, the ends of the inscription are cut off owing to the ends of the lintel being set on the side jambs of the window. In my opinion the inscription was carved on the stone before it was set in its present position."

21. On right-hand abutment of door, 3rd Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. श्री समत् १३८८ वर्षे चैत्रशुदि ११ बुध -

1. 2. दिने त्रिसुलत्राण महंमदशाहि को कोरति

Translation. "Om. On Wednesday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year Samvat 1389, the (Pillar) of fame of the illustrious Sultan Muhammad Shah (Tughlaq)."

22. On red sandstone, 4th course, 3rd Balcony, right-hand side of the door.

Text.

1. 1. नाना सालहा लोला

1. 2. ब्राह्मण

(The epigraph mentions certain architects names Nana, Salha and Lola ; the same names are also mentioned in inscription No. 24.)

23. On red sandstone, 9th course, 3rd Balcony.

Text.—Uncertain.

24. On a yellowish stone, 8th course, 3rd Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. समत् १४२५ वर्षे फाल्गुण वदि १५ गुरुदिने फीरोज शाहि के राजि बीजु पडो वाहुडि
उसरायो

1. 2. सूत्र नाना सालहा लोला लषमण समत् १४२५ वर्षे द

Translation. On Thursday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phalguna in the year Samvat 1425 (i.e., 1369 A.D.) lightning fell. The (monument) was (then) repaired in the year Samvat 1425. The architects were Nana, Salha, Lola and Lashmana.

(For reference vide p. 10 of the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1918-19.)

25. On red sandstone, 8th course, 3rd Balcony.

Text मुहमद सुरत्राण की राजि भादव मासि बीजु पडि सातमिदिने घटिका २५ जणकमात्राः
संवत् १३८२ वर्षे

Translation. In the reign of Muhammad Sultan on the 7th day of the (month) Bhadava in the year Samvat 1382 (1326 A.D.) in the 25th *ghari* in the Janaka-matra, the monument was struck by lightning.

(For reference vide No. 25 of the 'List of Inscriptions' attached to the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year 1918-19.)

26. On red sandstone, 10th course, 3rd Balcony, left-hand side of door.

Text.

1. 1. अजिजेरित नाथारि सुतजेरितनाथं जिमुत्त दंडगज १३८४

1. 2. तनात दंडगज ११॥२॥

1. 3. सरफह डगज १॥१॥

Translation. Uncertain.

27. On the marble soffit of arch over doorway, 4th Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. संवत् १५६० .
1. 2. [भाद्र] सुदि ८, १५६०
1. 3. केसा . . .

Translation. "On the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Bhadra in the year Samvat 1560" (the rest unintelligible).

28. On left-hand marble abutment, 4th Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. ओं स्वस्ति ओ सुरिवाण फेरोजशा -
1. 2. हि विजयराजे(ज्ये) सम्वत् १४२६ वरि-
1. 3. पे फाल्गुण सुदि ५ शुक्रदिने सु-
1. 4. नारो जीर्णोधा(द्धा)र कृतं योविश्व-
1. 5. कर्म प्र(प्रा)सादे रचितः सूत्रधारि
1. 6. चाहडदेवपालसुतदो(दौ)हिच
1. 7. सूत्र[पातः प्रतिष्ठा निपाति -
1. 8. त उदै गज ८२]

Translation. "Om. In the auspicious reign of the illustrious Firoz Shah Sultan on Friday the 5th of the bright fortnight of Phalguna in the year Samvat 1426, the restoration of the Minar was carried out in the palace or temple of Visvakarman. The architect was the maternal grandson of the son of Chahadadevapala; the measuring cord was drawn and the foundation laid. Height, 92 yards."

(For reference see p. 10 of the Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year 1918-19).

29. On red sandstone, left-hand abutment, immediately below No. 28, 4th Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. गज २६
1. 2. उदै गज १३१
1. 3. (स) वितं गज १३४ ॥ शिल्पो
1. 4. सूत्र नाना साह्वा दारुक -
1. 5. श्री धरमु वानानि ग . . .

Translation. "Yards 26. (Height) 131 yards. 134 Yards. The designers were the architects Nana [and] Salha and the carpenter Dharmu Vanani."

APPENDIX III (a).

The Gupta Inscription on the Iron Pillar.

We owe it to the genius of James Prinsep¹ that the mystery of the inscribed characters on the iron pillar has been solved. It is true that that great scholar's rendering did not afford a wholly satisfactory interpretation of the many difficulties presented by the record, but his initial work in 1838 paved the way for subsequent investigators, whose further researches have now resulted in a rendering of substantial accuracy.

Among the several translations available that by Dr. J. F. Fleet² is given below. It has the advantage of being very literal :—

“He on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vaṅga countries he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against (him) ; he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas were conquered ; he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed ; he, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like, (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth ; though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by (the merit of his actions, but) remaining on (this) earth by (the memory of his) fame ; by him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm, and (enjoyed) for a very long time ; (and) who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon,—having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Viṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was set upon the hill (called Viṣṇupada).”

Dr. Vogel, in an unpublished manuscript to which I have had access, writes in regard to the above : “As usual in Indian inscriptions, the historical information is hidden under much rhetorical ornament. The historical facts to which the Iron Pillar inscription refers are that a ruler of the name of Chandra, deceased at the time when it was composed, had conquered the Vaṅgas and Vāhlikas or, which comes to the same, the Vaṅga and Vāhlika country : for in Sanskrit the tribal name in the plural is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe in question. The Vaṅga country is undoubtedly Bengal. As to Vāhlika, (also Bāhlika, usually spelled Vāhlika or Vāhlika), the name is explained as the ancient form of modern Balkh. It has, however, been pointed out that this rendering cannot well be applied to Chandra's exploits and that the tribe vanquished by him should probably be located somewhere in Baluchistan. This conclusion is indeed unavoidable if we adopt the above rendering of the passage which says that Chandra conquered the Vāhlikas “after having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhu, i.e., the Indus.” I am somewhat doubtful whether this is the only possible interpretation and whether the expression *sapta mukhāni sindhoḥ* could not simply indicate the *sapta sindhavaḥ* of the Rīgveda, in other words the river Indus and its tributaries. The term *mukha* would then have to be taken in the sense not of “the mouth of the river” but rather in that of “a riverhead.” I cannot, however, at present adduce any passage from Sanskrit Literature to support such an explanation, and wish only to recommend it to the judgment of Sanskrit scholars. The character used in the epigraph is that of about the fourth century of our Era.”

With regard to the identity of the King Chandra of this record, the belief was generally held up to some eleven years ago that he was one of the earlier sovereigns of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, either the first or the third ruler of that line. In 1913, however, Dr. Haraprasad Shastri of Calcutta³ advanced a theory that the Chandra of this inscription was one of the Varman Kings of Pushkarana, in Jodhpur, Rajputana, and that he was an independent contemporary of Samudragupta (c. 330-375 A.D.), the second of the Gupta line.

¹ *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* 7. 630.

² *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III. (Early Gupta Kings) Calcutta, 1888, p. 139 f.

³ *Indian Antiquary* XLII, 1913, p. 218.

This view Mr. V. A. Smith, who had previously identified this king with the second Chandragupta of Magadh,¹ now accepts²; and, pending any further discovery bearing on the point, the matter must rest here.

APPENDIX III (b).

Modern Inscriptions on the Iron Pillar.

Note on the more modern inscriptions engraved on the Iron Pillar, by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A.³

"The earliest of these inscriptions dates from A. H. 964 (A.D. 1556), and it is not easy to explain the total absence, with the single exception of a short epigraph of A.D. 1053, of any records on the pillar, of the long period of about 1,100 years that elapsed from its original erection by the king Chandra in the Gupta period. Mr. V. A. Smith is of opinion that the pillar was originally erected somewhere else, perhaps at Mathura, and transferred to its present site in the eleventh century. Of the inscriptions copied by me, one is a short Persian epigraph dated in the year A. H. 964 and records the name of a certain Ali Asghar Husain, son of Israil. Two others, in Nagari characters, are dated in the Samvat years 1572 and 1580, but supply no information of any value. The remaining three inscriptions which are also written in Hindi are, however, not without some historical importance. One of them is incised on the south-east face of the pillar four feet above the top of the platform. It consists of six lines and records that on Saturday, the 13th of the black fortnight of Kuvar (Asvin), in the Samvat year 1767 (A.D. 1710) Maharajadhiraja the illustrious Durgarjan Singh, the Budela, i.e., Bandella Raja of Chanderi, who was the son of Durga Singh, who was the maternal grandson (*nati*) of the illustrious Raja Devi Singh, came here, and adds a wish that his salutations may reach any Raja that may visit this place. The inscription was written by Tribhuvanarai, a Kudariha Kaith. Then follows the name of a certain Indrajit of Sultanpur, who might have carried out the engraving of the epigraph. It would have been interesting to know the purpose of this prince's visit to old Delhi, but no mention is made of it. It is noteworthy that a Nagari inscription dated in Samvat year 1789 carved on the Narghati at Deogarh records the name of the same prince and his genealogy and after it the fact that Raja Udet Singh and Raja Chhasal Singh, i.e., Chhatrasal Singh, did something.

The other two inscriptions³ are carved side by side on the south-east face of the pillar, the major part of the left hand record being enclosed in a line. The latter epigraph begins with the words *Sammāt Dhilli 1109 Amgapala vadi*, and to judge from the form of its characters must have been engraved in the year mentioned in it. The rest of the writing, though it appears at first sight to be a direct continuation of the earlier portion, is 774 years later in date and records the visit of Chatra Singh ji Chauhan in Samvat 1883. The information recorded is to the effect that Prithiraj (flourished) in Samvat 1151 and that in the 23rd generation from him was descended the illustrious Maharava ji Chatrasingh ji. The other inscription states that in Sam. 419 there was a Raja, a scion of Tuvār (Tomara) race named Amgapala, and in Sammat 648 a certain Vasudeva Chauhan Raja Indra. In the 21st generation from the latter was Raja Prithiraja in Sam. 1151 and in the 28th generation from him Raja Chatrasingh in Samvat 1888. The only fact of any value supplied by these inscriptions is the date of Samvat 1109 for Amgapala. The rest of the information having been recorded in the years 1827 and 1832 A.D. from memory is incorrect. The most glaring mistake that is at once spotted is the date of Sam. 1151 (A.D. 1096) for Prithiraj."

¹ V. A. Smith: *The Iron Pillar of Delhi*, in *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1897, p. 1 f.

² *Early History of India*, 1914, p. 290 note.

³ These inscriptions are noticed by General Cunningham in his A. S. R., Volume I, page 175, but his remarks are incorrect in some respects.

APPENDIX IV (a).

✓ *Résumé of Excavation and Conservation work carried out at the Qutb since 1910.*

As a preliminary to undertaking any serious excavation work in the Qutb area it was essential to divert the old Delhi-Gurgaon Road which formerly ran right across it, touching the north-west corner of Altamish's Tomb. The proposal for this diversion was made as far back as 1909 when Delhi was still under the Punjab Administration, and before the creation of the enclave around the New Imperial Capital — an event that naturally gave a great stimulus to archaeological work in Delhi. A comprehensive programme of Archaeological Works was prepared under the orders of the Government of India by the late Mr. Gordon Sanderson for preserving the many important historical monuments in the enclave, and the Qutb group deservedly found a prominent place in the list of projected works.

The roadway removed, and the then cultivated area about the Alai Minar to the immediate north of it acquired, the field was open to an exhaustive scheme of excavation, which, as the work progressed, was successful in disclosing the hitherto hidden remains of Alau-d-din Khalji's extension of the great arched screen. Some idea of the magnitude of the work may be gathered when it is stated that the clearance of the site to its present (and original) level entailed the removal of some three to four feet of earth and stone *débris* over the whole area. The disposal of this vast amount of "spoil" became a problem in itself, and frequently threatened to stop further progress with the work. Fortunately the construction of the many new roads required in the New Capital served as an opportune channel of relief, and a great deal of useless stone *débris* was thus disposed of.

Early in the work Smith's *chattri*, which had been deposed from its former place on the summit of the minar and placed on a mound within the present mosque enclosure at the instance of Lord Hardinge in 1848, was again shifted to its present position where, however, it was at first set up on another of the mounds built by Sir Thomas Metcalfe. Both mounds have now been removed and the *chattri* placed upon the ground, as it at present stands.

Altamish's extension immediately to the north of the original mosque was cleared of some three feet of earth and stone rubbish, when a series of column bases was disclosed in this area. A lower plinth of the original mosque was also unearthed some five feet beneath the ground level and the original foundations here exposed. A start was made on the clearance of the area reclaimed by the diversion of the old road, and by the end of the year 1912-13 the whole of Alau-d-din's northern extension had been exposed. While the work of excavation was going on the needs of conservation were not lost sight of, and useful repair was executed on the old dilapidated masonry of the great screen.

The complete clearance of the site necessitated the demolition and removal of the old *dāk* bungalows and servants' quarters located in the ruined dalans of a "Late Mughal" serai, which had encroached on the original Qutb area. A beginning was made on a system of water ducts and channels required for subsequent irrigation purposes, and something was done towards the laying out of *bajri* pathways on the site.

During 1913-14 a pumping plant was provided, and the north court of Alau-d-din's extension, which had been cleared in the previous year, was grassed, planted with trees, and laid out with paths and shrubberies to indicate the mass of the fallen colonnades; the missing wall of the east façade was extended up to the north-east corner of the area, and the base of the Alai Minar built up on the original remains disclosed in the excavations.

A new red sandstone *Baradari* was added to the present *dāk* bungalow (which escaped the fate of its fellows encroaching on the site), and the furniture and equipment of the bungalow improved to meet the needs of the increasing number of visitors.

The paving of Altamish's colonnades was replaced, where missing, with concrete laid at a slightly lower level to differentiate it from the original work. Excavations west of the original mosque were taken up, and the *takhana* or crypt of Altamish's Tomb revealed. The base of an adjoining structure to the south of the Tomb also came to light during the clearance, revealing a treatment of red stone facing inscribed with bands of Arabic lettering. It would seem that these remains formed originally the enclosing walls of an internal open court at the back of the mosque.

During this year the clearance of Alau-d-din's College buildings was completed, except for grassing the court. On the south side of the quadrangle, the level of the court was found to be slightly raised, as disclosed by the levels of the thresholds of the openings of the west façade, which were higher at this end. The outer wall of the college on the north, east and west sides was found fairly intact up to the plinth level, which was marked by a string-course similar to that of the original mosque. Shrubberies, enclosed by low *inga* hedges, to indicate the mass of fallen buildings were planted on the north side of the court. Contrary to local belief, which assigned to this position the reputed grave of the Sultan Alau-d-din Khalji, no trace of any tomb was found on the removal of the *débris*; though evidence of what appeared to be a grave was found some seven feet beneath the surface in the larger ruined structure on the south side of the court immediately opposite, which is thought to be the Tomb of the Emperor. Fragments of marble paving still *in situ* lend colour to the assumption that the building was intended to accommodate the remains of a person of importance. The present concrete repair of the grave here indicates the extent of the remains disclosed.

The very large quantity of earth and *débris* removed from this part of the site was utilised in forming the raised terraces to the south of the Qutb enclosure.

The precincts of the Tomb of Inam Zamin, east of the Alai Darwaza, were also cleared and the ground dressed; and a circular approach road under construction for vehicles entering the area was carried to completion in this year.

Altamish's paving along the east side of the original mosque of Qutbu-d-din, and along the contiguous sides up to the centre porches, north and south, was removed to disclose permanently the full depth of the original plinth, and a box drain constructed to carry away the rain-water from the resulting trench. The presence of sculptured Hindu stones built into the plinth thus disclosed is one of the factors indicating the Muhammadan origin of this portion of the structure (*vide* p. 7 and footnotes: *supra*).

During the year 1915-16 the work of exposing the original plinth of the mosque of Qutbu-d-din was completed, and the eastern and southern gates were "boxed" with low retaining walls, leaving them permanently open to view. An excavation made to trace the foundation level of the Alai Darwaza was successful in disclosing the deep elaborately carved plinth, as well as the remains of original steps in the south and west doorways, which had been covered up by modern steps whose "rise and tread" did not correspond with the original ones discovered beneath them. This has enabled the restoration of the southern and western flights to be carried out. As the present floor of the gateway is also of more recent age, built over the original one, it was found necessary to recess an additional step in the flooring to join the original steps with the present floor; it being infeasible to lower the floor to its original level, since this would have entailed building up the base of the seat around the interior walls of the gate. The ground to south and west of the gate was reduced in level to that of the original paving here, and a series of paths laid out to give access to adjacent buildings.

An original flight of steps in the south-east corner of Alau-d-din's College, leading to the roof, was put in order to enable visitors to ascend and obtain a comprehensive view of the area. Further clearance was carried out around Altamish's Tomb, and the remains of a later pavement

disclosed some twelve inches above the original level. A strip of land to the north of the Tomb was acquired, and the prayer-chamber of Alau-d-din's extension of the mosque was cleared of *débris*, laid with gravel and demarcated by *inga* hedges. All the remaining fragments of the piers of his great arched screen were repaired and secured from further decay.

By the end of the year 1914-15 the bulk of the work undertaken at the Qutb had been completed. In the following year, however, several of the pillars in the colonnade of Altamish, which were leaning at precarious angles, had to be reset; and in order to compensate for the stoppage of traffic through the Qutb grounds a new path was made between Mehrauli and Lado Serai. A further improvement was effected by extending the grounds towards the south, and including in them the area next to the Metcalfe estate.

During 1916-17 the Late Mughal garden with its central *chabutra* of neglected graves, which was till then under cultivation of crops, was acquired, its walls and *chattris* repaired, and the enclosure grassed and planted with trees and creepers—thus absorbing the garden into the Qutb grounds, in the north-east corner of which it is situated. Some minor excavation was further done in the rear of Altamish's Tomb, and the base of an ashlar stone wall running parallel with the west wall of the mosque was brought to light, together with the original paving of the court here. It was, however, impossible to do more here than expose the face of the wall, since the remainder of the building extended under the Delhi-Gurgaon road. It is worthy of mention that, in the course of excavations, there came to light a number of fragments of early blue glazed tiles of geometric design, approximately contemporary with the adjoining buildings. Tiles of the same kind were also recovered during General Cunningham's excavations at the Qutb in 1871, and again during Mr. Sanderson's excavations in 1913. Similar fragments are still occasionally found within the area of Qila Rai Pithora, and there can be little doubt that this particular kind of tile-work was extensively used for the decoration of early Muhammadan structures.

The Qutb Minar.—It has been remarked for some considerable time that the masonry of the third storey of the Minar has bulged. An early photograph in Carr Stephen's *Archæology of Delhi* clearly shows this bulge, and it is improbable that it has appreciably increased during the last hundred years. The minar was damaged by lightning (as is recorded in the records of Firozshah Tughlaq's reign, as well as on the minar itself: *vide* Inscriptions; Appendix ii(a), *supra*) in 1368, and since then it has suffered several severe earthquake shocks, such as the one in 1803, when the cupola was destroyed. It is not improbable that the displacement of the masonry is the result of settlement that occurred while the tower was being built, due to the work being "run up" too quickly and to the excessive use of mortar.

¹ "In July 1914, Mr. A. Croad, Executive Engineer, II Project Division, Delhi, examined the bulge in the third storey, and reported that the construction of the walls appears to have been of three kinds of masonry, an outer veneer of Agra sandstone slabs to act as bondstones, a 'hearting' of rubble stone masonry, and an inner face of ashlar masonry of Delhi stone. He suggests that the outer veneer has merely come away from the rubble, and that, if examined, a space between them would in all probability be found inside. He does not advocate the use of the Fox grouting machine as has been suggested, being of opinion that the pressure of the grout during pumping would tend to displace still further the outer veneer, and considers iron bands would be more feasible and less costly. As there is no sign of crushing on the inside, and no flaking away of the stone there appeared to be no danger."

Numerous small cement "telltales" applied across the joints in this storey and in the ground storey where the masonry appeared to be somewhat disturbed have not so far (February 1920) revealed any appreciable further movement in the old fabric, it is reassuring to record.

¹ Progress Report of the Superintendent, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending March 31st, 1915.

In any account of the archæological work carried out at the Qutb, it would be graceless not to mention the devoted labours of the late Mr. Gordon Sanderson, Superintendent of the Archæological Department, who was directly responsible for the operations, which were substantially completed before he left the Department to join the Indian Army Reserve of Officers in February 1915. To commemorate his regrettable death of wounds in October of the same year while serving with the Gurkhas in France, the small marble sundial (Pl. 22d.) on the lawn to the south-east of the Mosque area has been erected, inscribed with the motto: "*Transit umbra: lux permanet.*" (The shadow passes: the light remains.)

J. A. P.

APPENDIX IV (b).

Table showing the sums spent annually on the Conservation of the Qutb Area at Delhi, since the year 1910.

YEAR.	Amount expended.
	Ra.
1910-11	2,385
1911-12	1,920
1912-13	*23,965
1913-14	*24,280
1914-15	2,230
1915-16	7,915
1916-17	6,645
1917-18	6,775
1918-19	8,690
1919-20	6,621

(* The bulk of the excavation work was done in these years.)

THE LANCET, LONDON, SATURDAY, 19th JANUARY 1901.
 Vol. 157, No. 4000. Price 6d. per copy.
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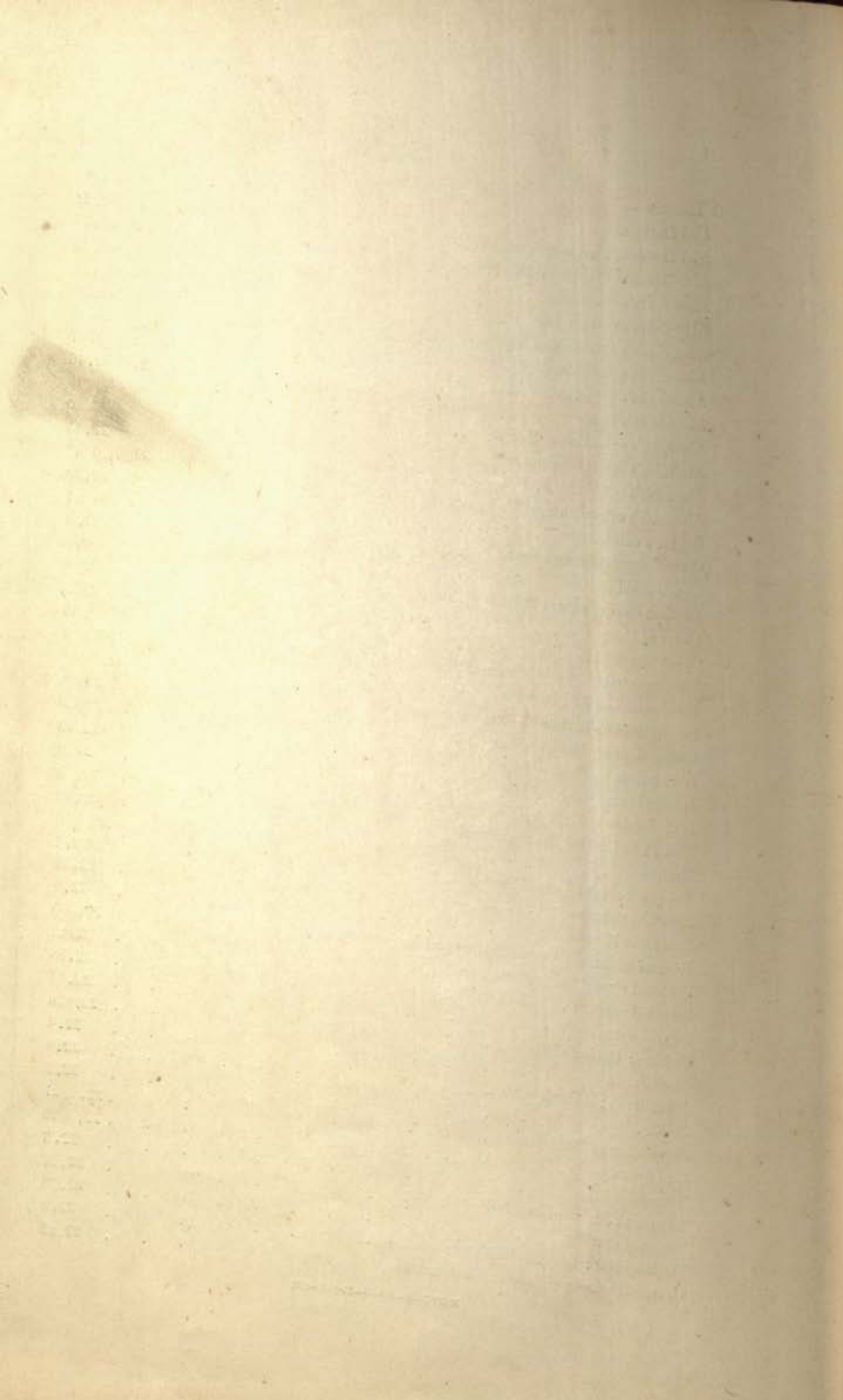
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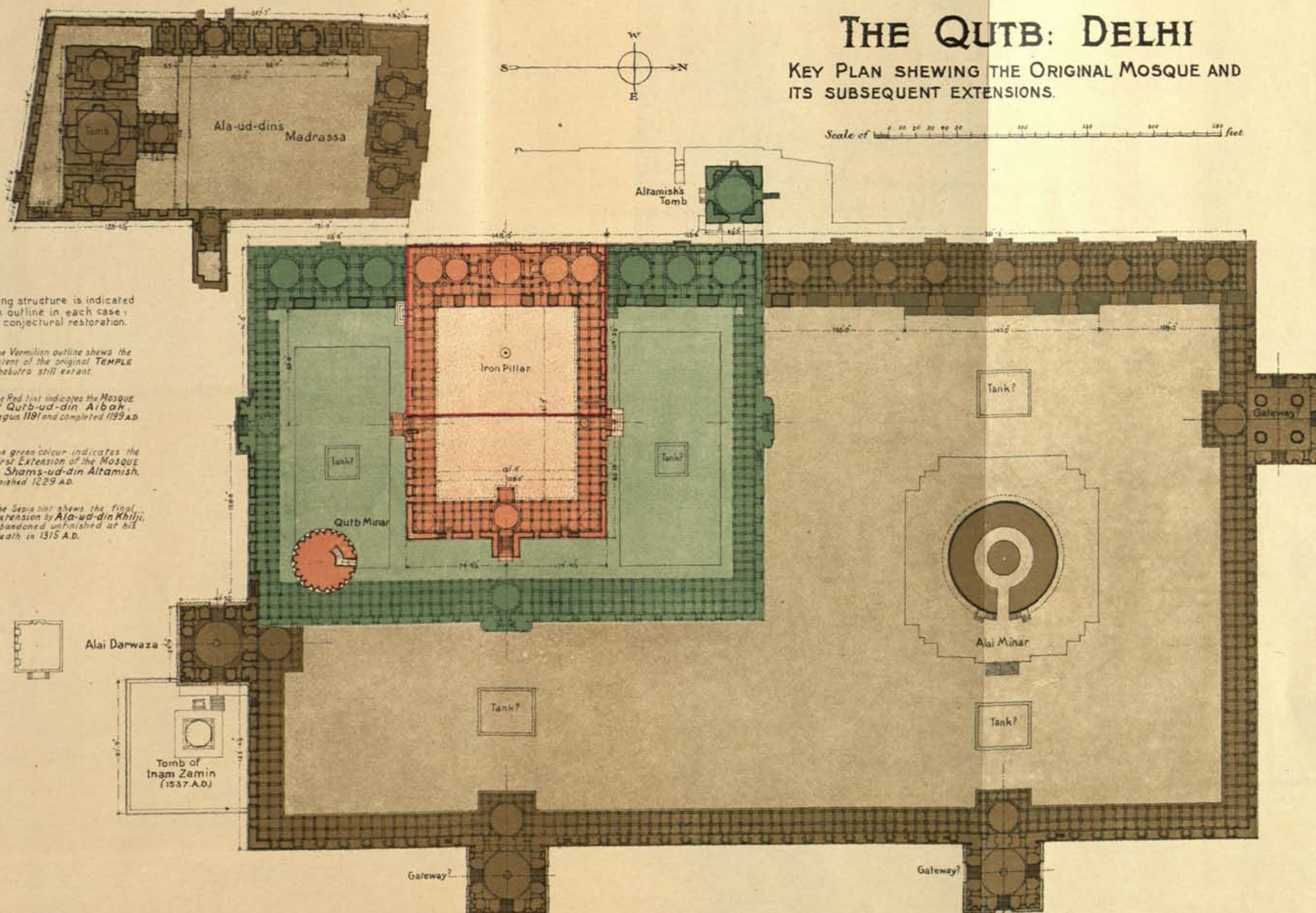
THE QUTB: DELHI

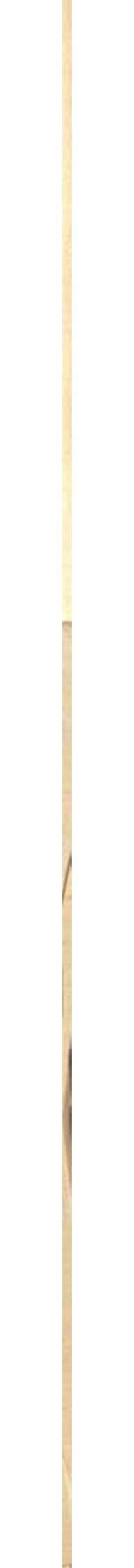
KEY PLAN SHEWING THE ORIGINAL MOSQUE AND ITS SUBSEQUENT EXTENSIONS.

Scale of 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120 130 140 150 feet.

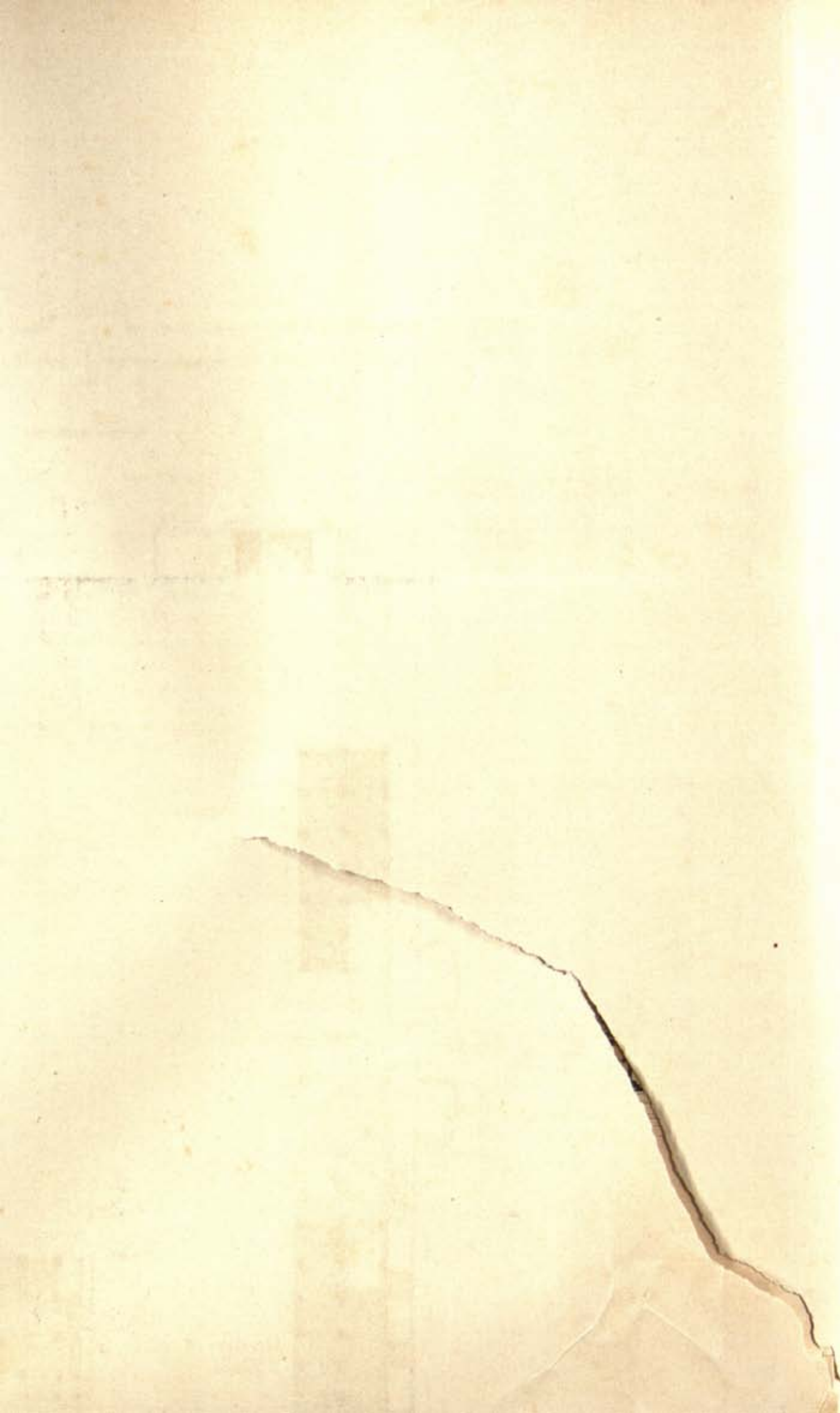
NOTE: The existing structure is indicated by the firm black outline in each case; the remainder is a conjectural restoration.

-  The Vermilion outline shows the extent of the original TEMPLE Chabutra still extant.
-  The Red tint indicates the Mosque of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, begun 1191 and completed 1199 A.D.
-  The green colour indicates the First Extension of the Mosque by Shams-ud-din Altamish, finished 1229 A.D.
-  The Sepia tint shows the final Extension by Ala-ud-din Khilji, abandoned unfinished at his death in 1315 A.D.







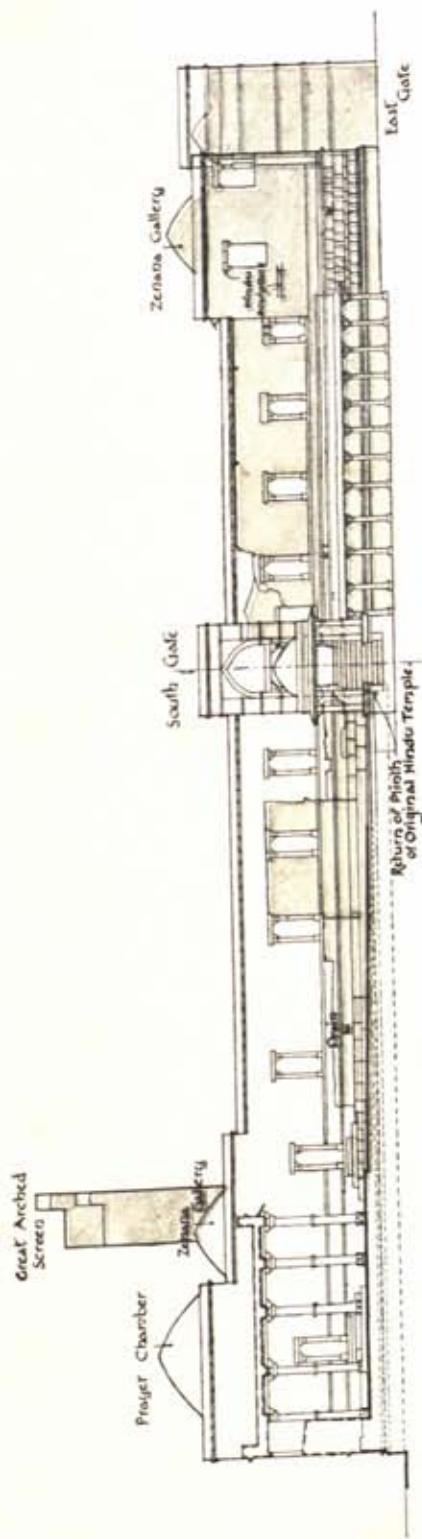


THE QUTB, DELHI.

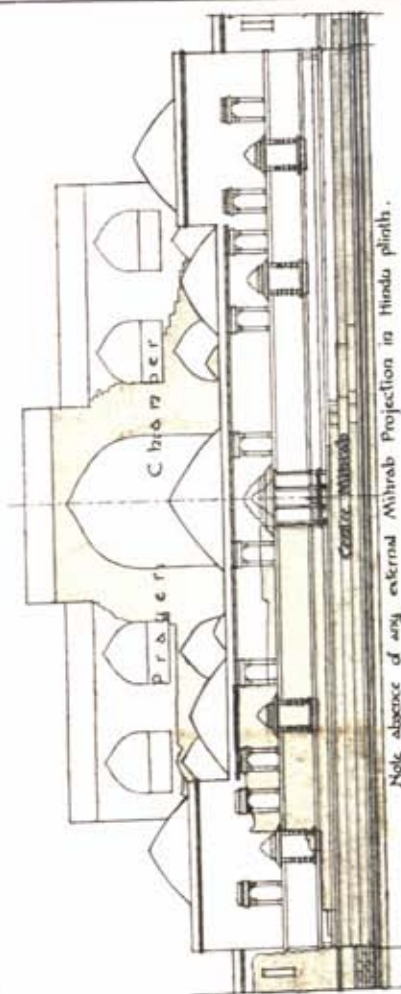
MOSQUE OF QUTB-UD-DIN, CONJECTURALLY RESTORED.

Scale of 10 Feet.

NOTE: The gray-wash indicates the structure at present existing; the remainder is a conjectural restoration.

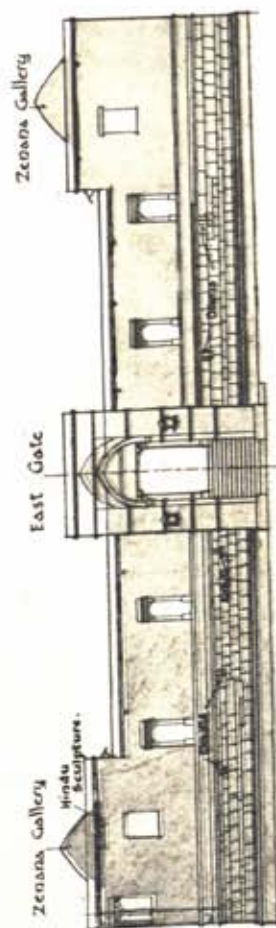


South Elevation.



West Elevation.

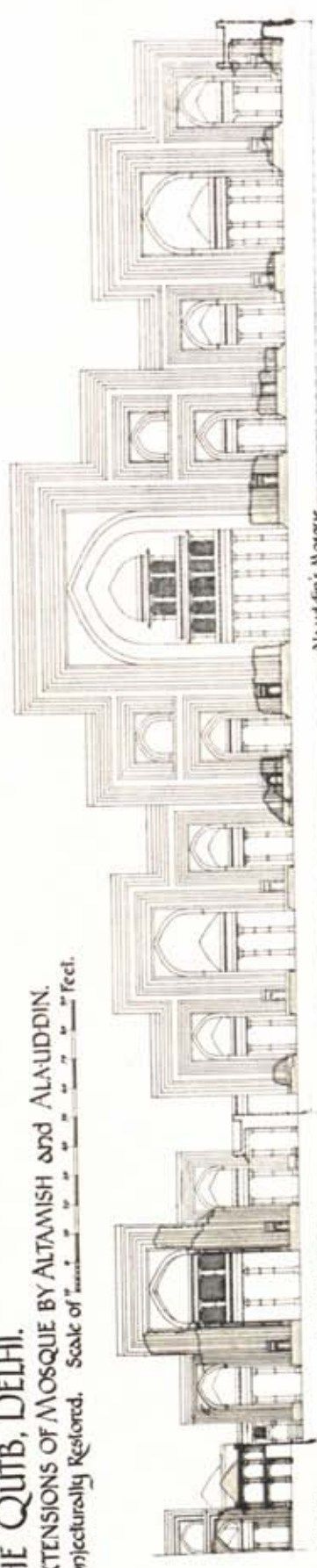
Note absence of any external Mihrab Projection in Hindu plinth.



East Elevation.

Archaeological
Survey of India:
Dec. 1921.

THE QUTB, DELHI. EXTENSIONS OF MOSQUE BY ALTAMISH AND ALAUDDIN. Conjecturally Restored. Scale of Feet.



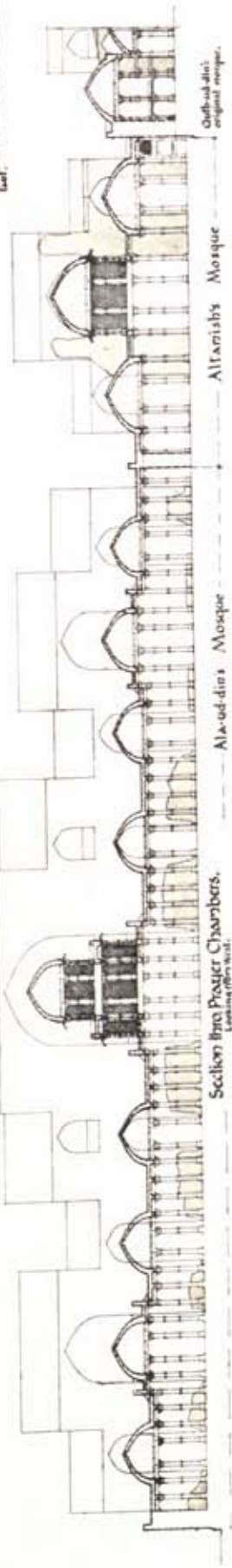
NOTE: The first half of the drawing indicates the existing structure; the added outlines & coloration represent conjectured extensions. The original plan of the building is shown in the plan at the bottom left, while being conjecturally reconstructed on the architectural evidence on the right.

East Elevation.

Altamish's Mosque.

Alauddin's Mosque.

Qutb-ud-din's original mosque.

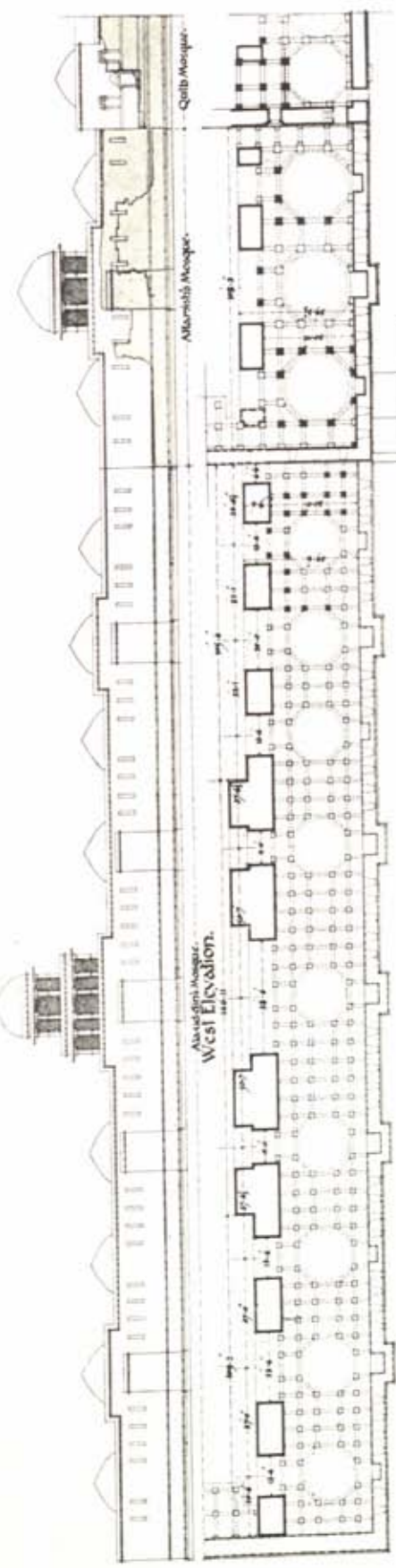


Section line through Prayer Chambers.
Looking from East.

Alauddin's Mosque.

Altamish's Mosque.

Qutb-ud-din's original mosque.



West Elevation.

Alauddin's Mosque.

Altamish's Mosque.

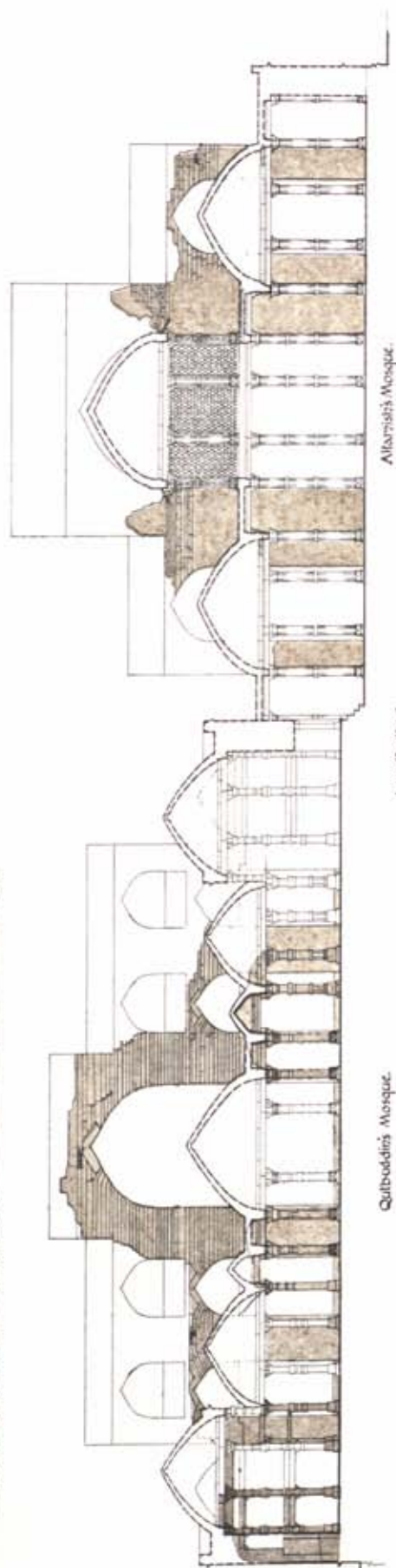
Qutb Mosque.

PLAN.

Tomb of Altamish.

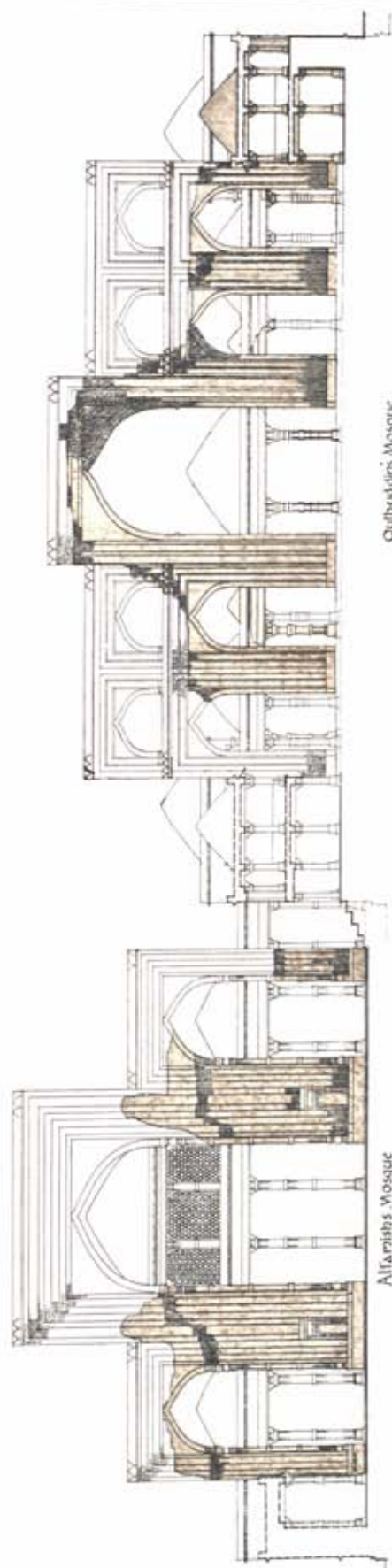
Archaeological Survey of India
1907-1908

THE QUTB, DELHI. MOSQUES of QUTB-UD-DIN and ALTAMISH. Conjecturally Restored. Scale of 1" = 10'.



Longitudinal
 Section thru Prayer Chamber,
 looking west.

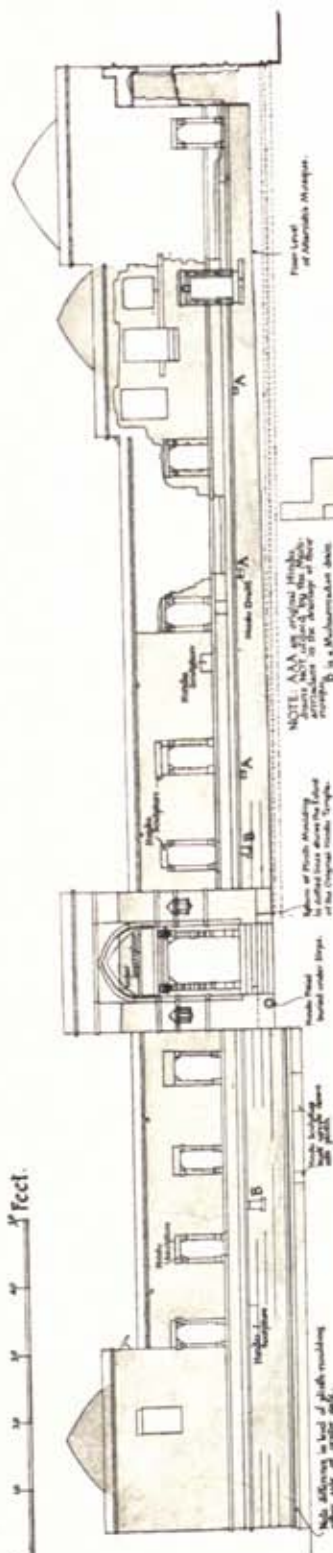
NOTE: The dotted section line indicates the position of the section. The solid line indicates the position of the section. The dotted line indicates the position of the section. The solid line indicates the position of the section.



Architectural
 Survey of India
 Jan 1926

THE QUTB, DELHI.
MOSQUE OF QUTB-UD-DIN, CONJECTURALLY RESTORED.

Scale of 1" = 100 feet.



North Elevation:

NOTE: AAA are original Hindu deities not created by the practitioners in the design of these images. © 1994 Mahamudra Inc.

Notes on North Atlantic
by Alfred Russel Wallace
of the Original British Empire.

Fusion Level
of Subordinate's Autonomy

Credit Scoring

Zentrum Gallery

cross Gallery
(above)

Prayer Chamber

Prayer Chamber

Longitudinal Section
Through the North-East and North-West
Zanana Galleries and North Cloister.

Great Source

Prayer: Chapter

Eastern Gulf and Cuba/Caribbean

Original text of
Albany's Monique Tondelli

Although Eastern Gate
and Colonnade

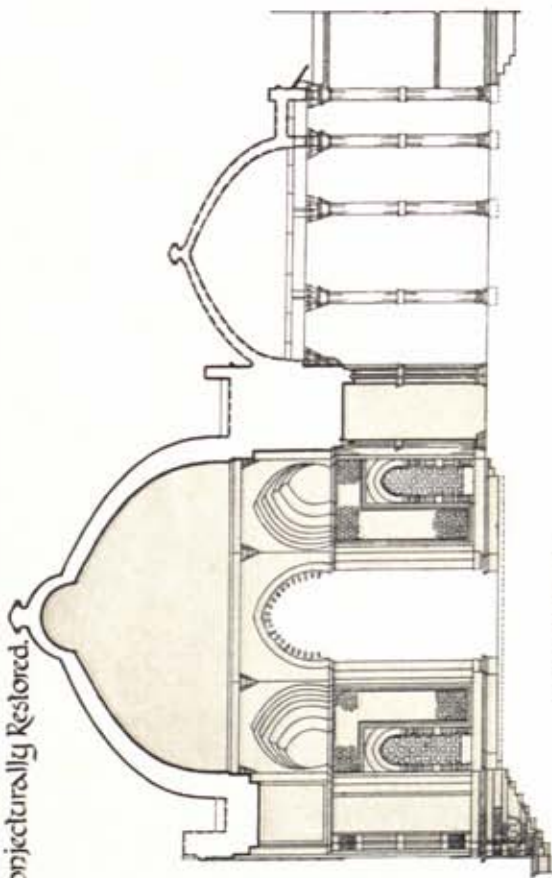
Longitudinal Section
Through Centre of Mosque.

Dashed line shows the finger level

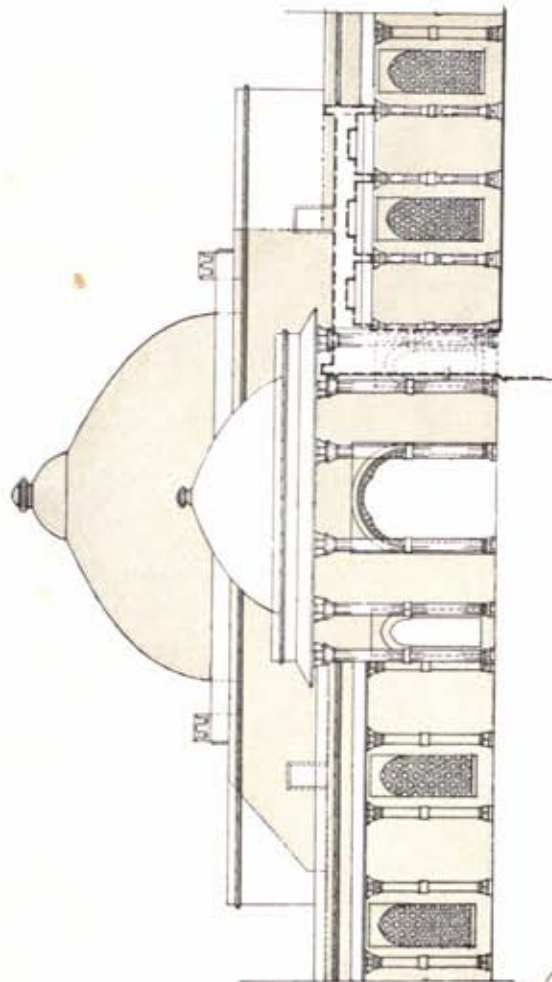
Level of Court used

Arthurological
Society of India
Jan. 1931

THE QUTB: DELHI. ALAI DARWAZA or GATE-WAY of ALAUDDIN. Conjecturally Restored.

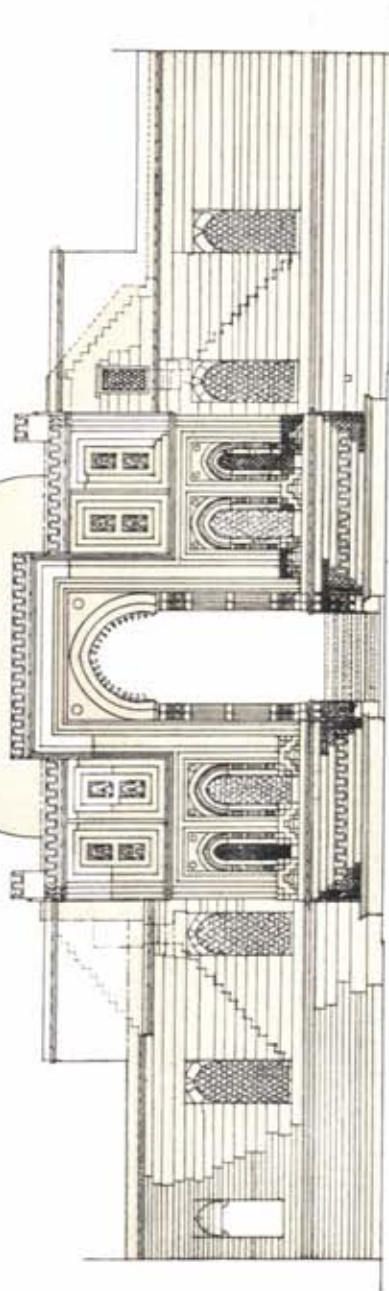


Cross Section.
Looking from East.



North Elevation.

NOTE: The firm black outline indicates the existing structure in section; the dotted outline a conjectural restoration. Similarly, the gray-wash indicates the extent of existing elevational features; the portion left white being conjecturally reconstructed on the internal evidence extant.



South Elevation.

Scale of Feet.
0 10 20 30 40 50

Archaeological
Survey of India:
Dec. 1927.

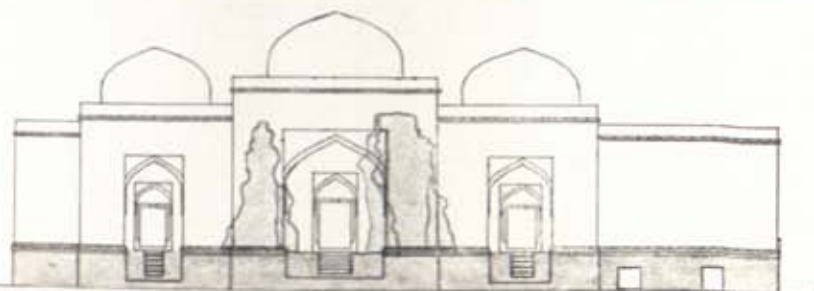




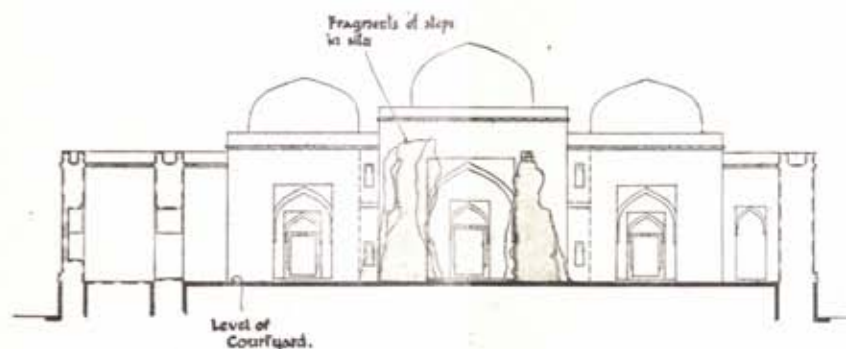
THE QUTB, DELHI.

MADRASA (COLLEGE) OF ALA-UD-DIN. Conjecturally Restored.

Scale of  Feet.



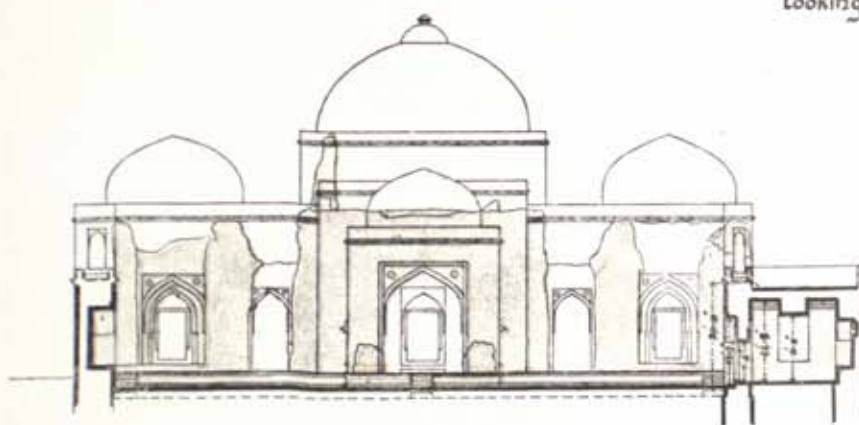
North Elevation
of Front Gates to Madrasa.



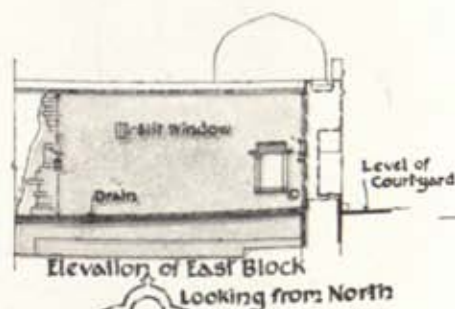
South Elevation
of Front Gates to Madrasa.
Looking from Courtyard.

NOTE: The firm black outline indicates existing structure; the dotted outline a conjectural restoration.

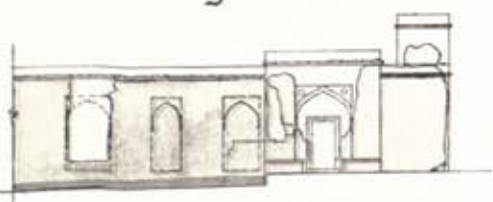
Similarly, the gray wash indicates the existing elevational features.



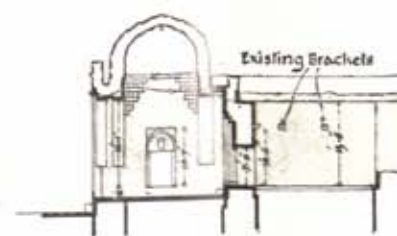
Cross Section
Through Line A.B.



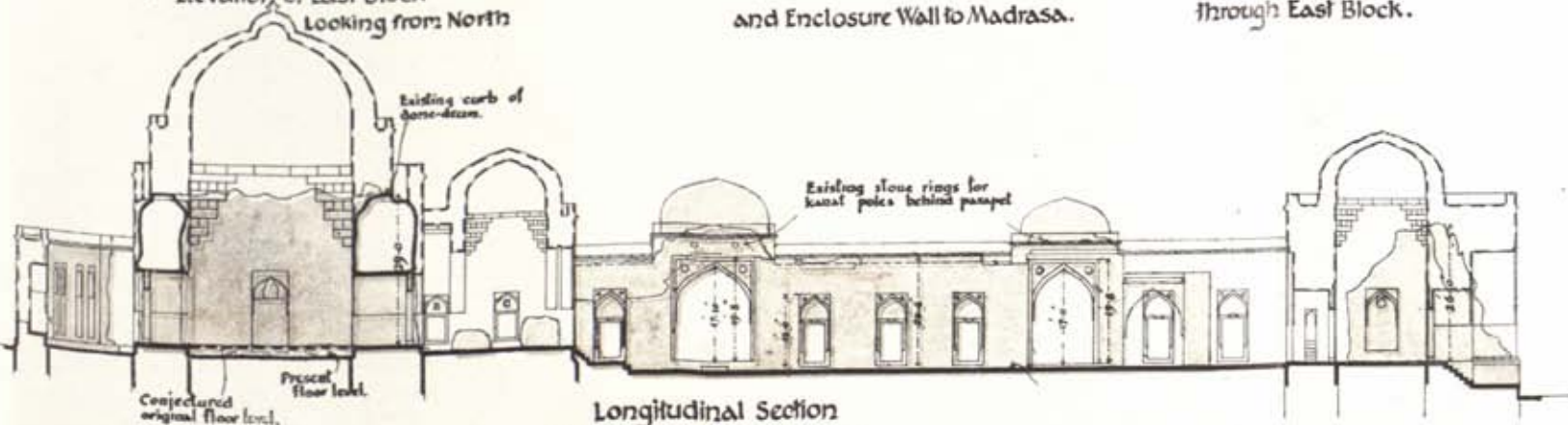
Elevation of East Block
Looking from North



Elevation of South Gate,
and Enclosure Wall to Madrasa.



Longitudinal Section
through East Block.

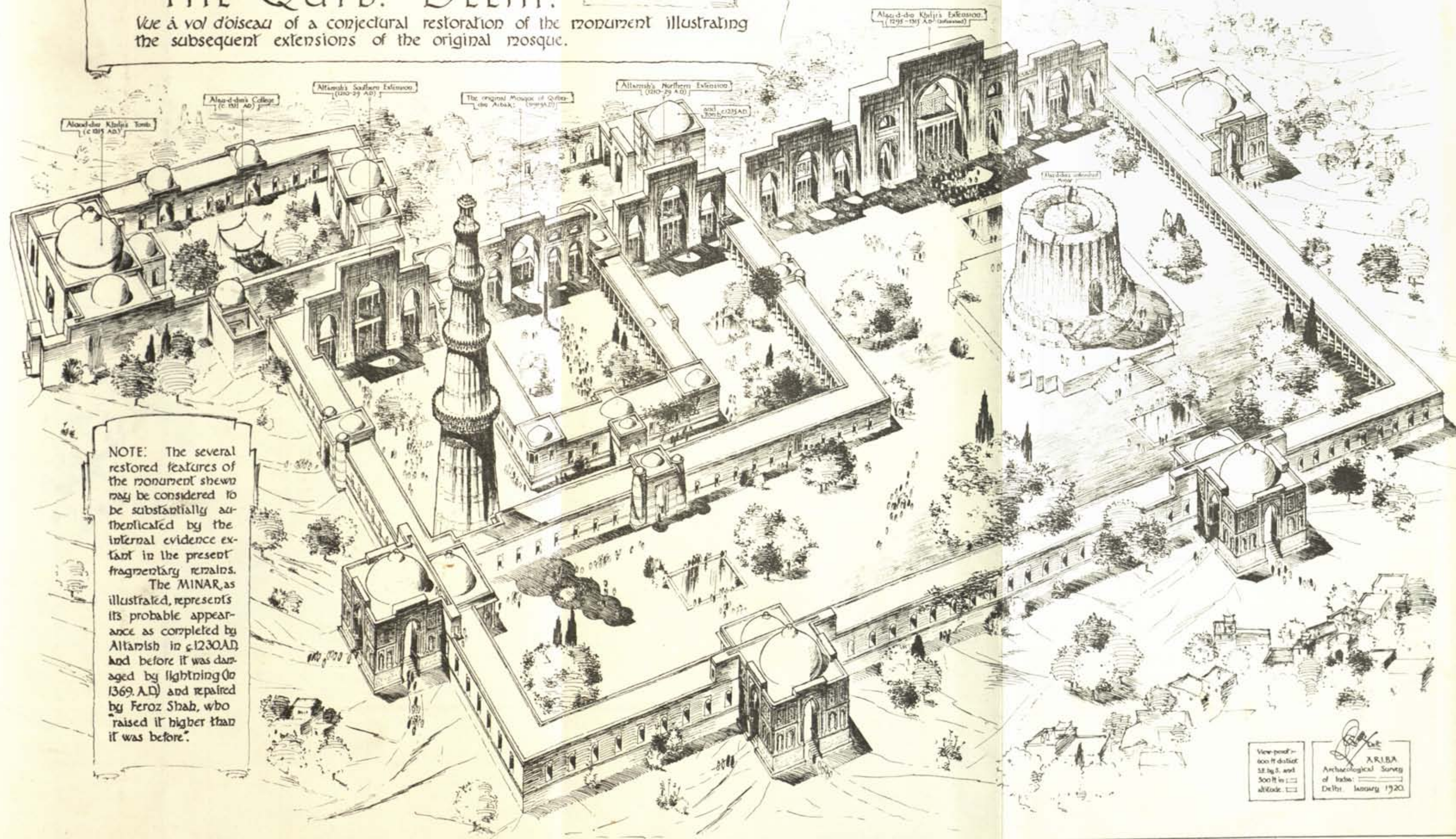


Longitudinal Section
through Centre of Madrasa.



THE QUTB: DELHI.

Vue à vol d'oiseau of a conjectural restoration of the monument illustrating the subsequent extensions of the original mosque.

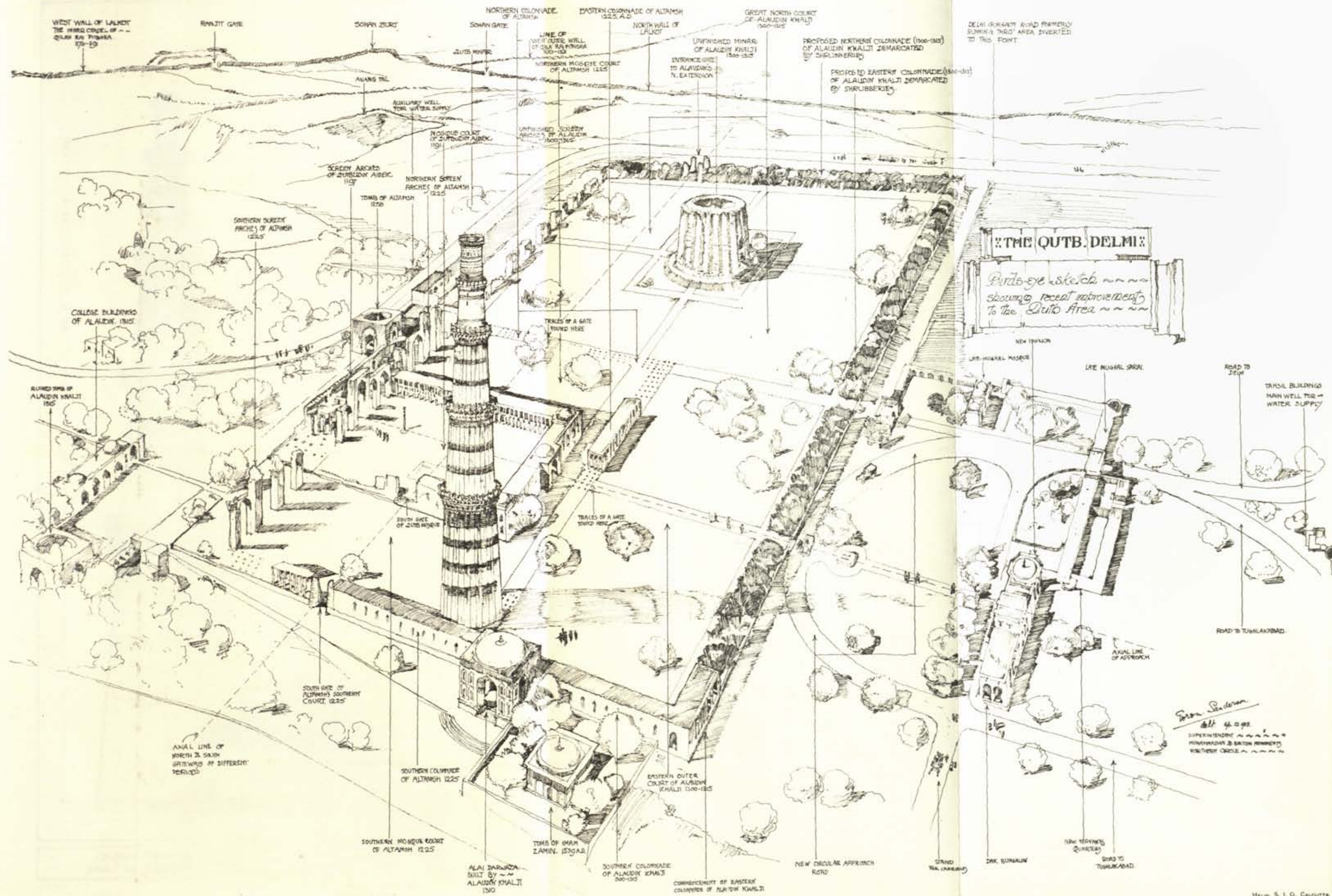


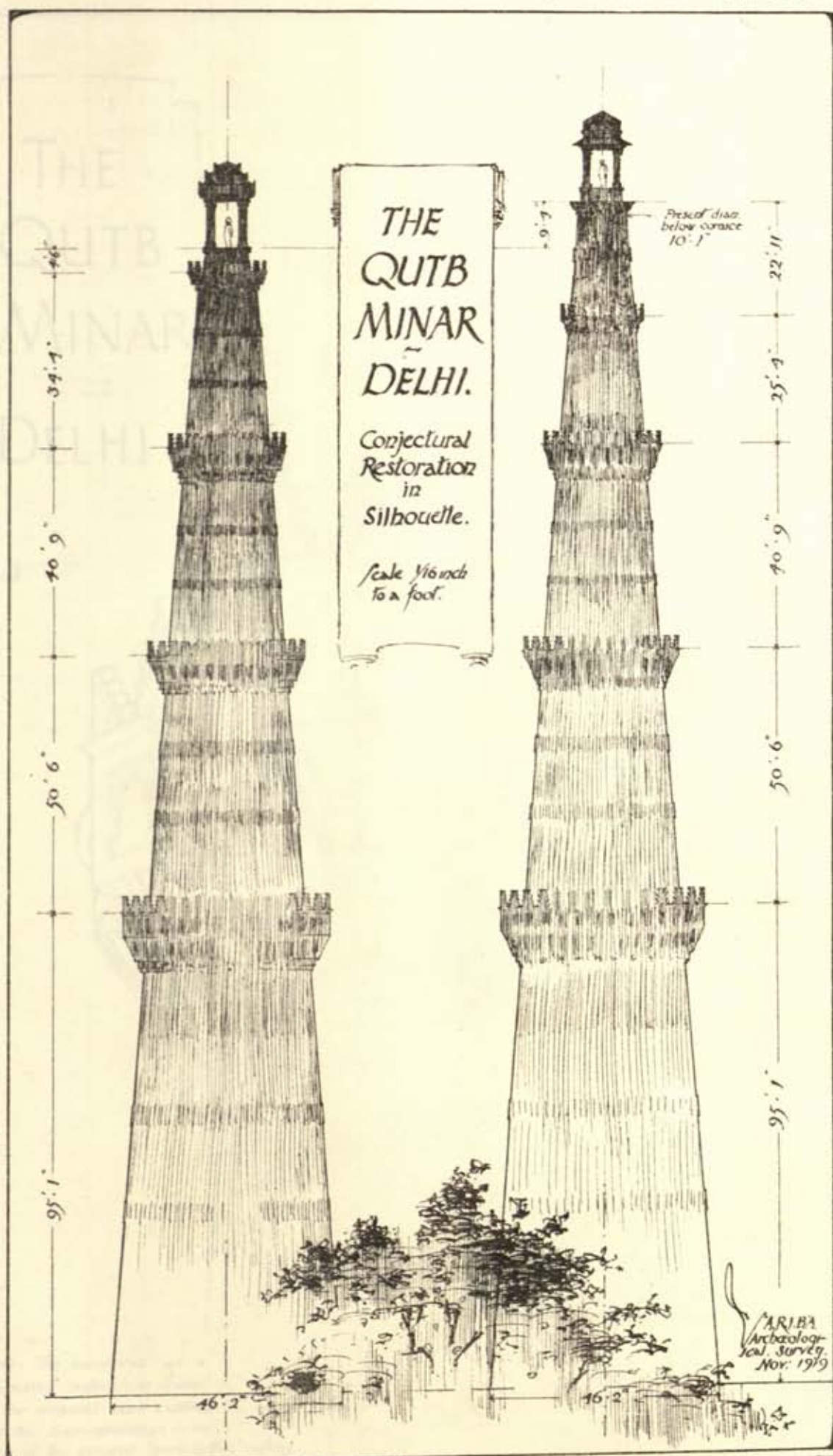
NOTE: The several restored features of the monument shown may be considered to be substantially authenticated by the internal evidence extant in the present fragmentary remains.

The MINAR, as illustrated, represents its probable appearance as completed by Alauddin in c. 1230 A.D. and before it was damaged by lightning (in 1369 A.D.) and repaired by Feroz Shah, who "raised it higher than it was before."

View-point—
600 ft distant
S.E. by S. and
500 ft in
altitude.

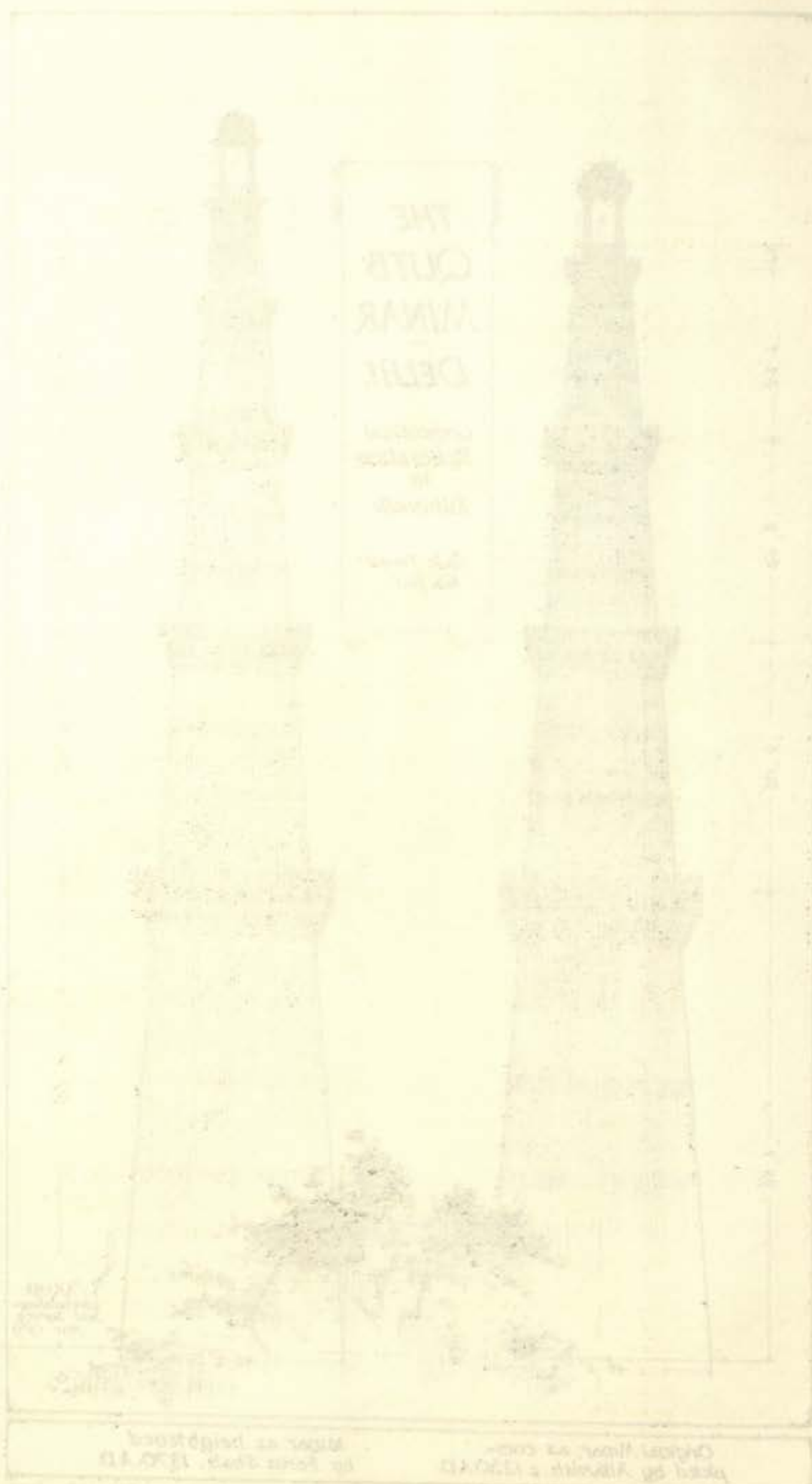
A.R.I.B.A.
Archaeological Survey
of India
Delhi, January 1920.





Original Minar, as com-
pleted by Alauddin. c. 1230 A.D.

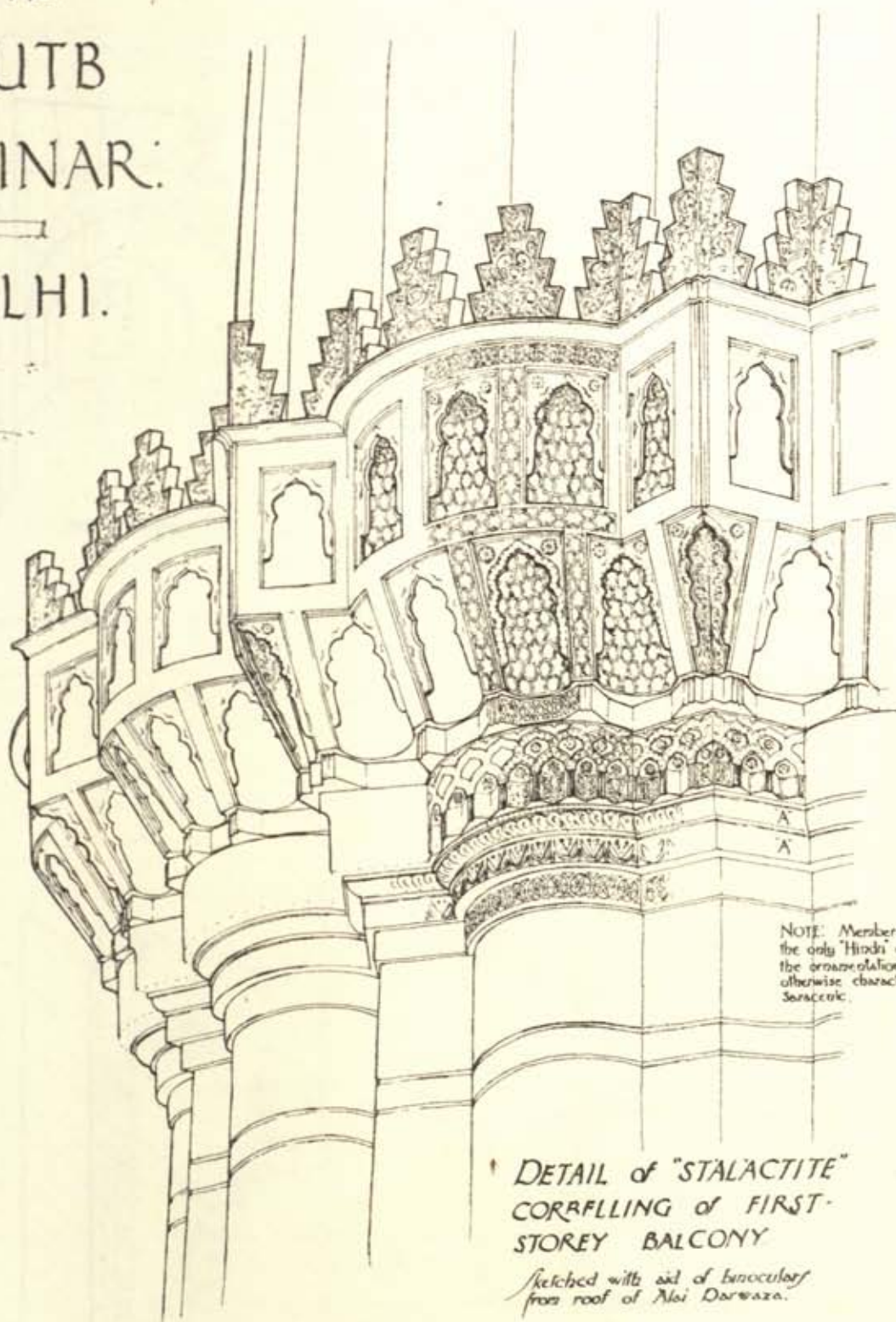
Minar, as heightened
by Feroz Shah. 1370 A.D.



THE CUTS WIND DEBT

Copyright
1904
by
The
Cuts
Wind
Debt

THE QUTB MINAR. — DELHI.



NOTE: Members A A are the only 'Hindu' elements of the ornamentation, which is otherwise characteristically Saracenic.

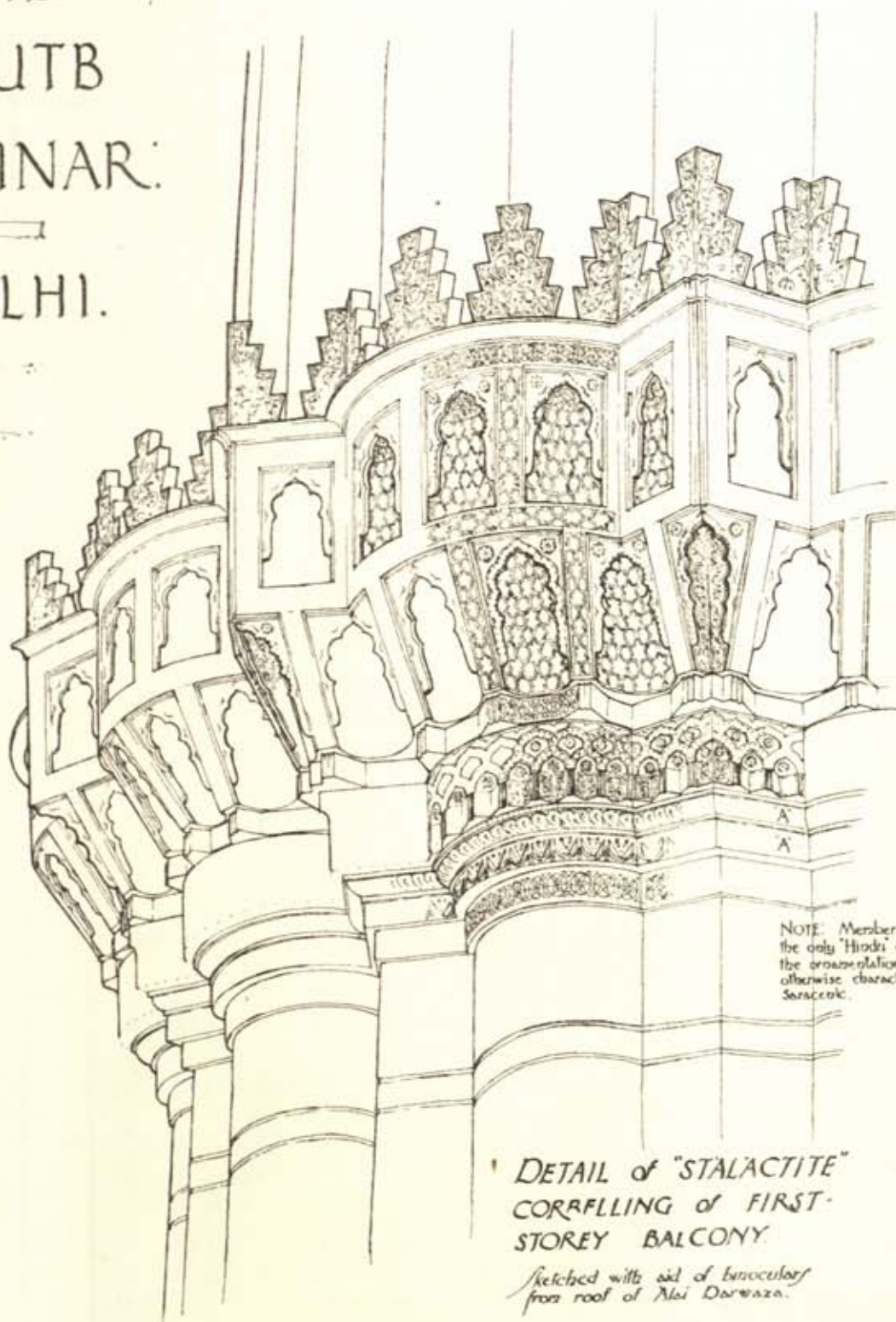
DETAIL of "STALACTITE" CORBELLING of FIRST- STOREY BALCONY

*sketched with aid of binoculars
from roof of Nisi Darwaza.*

Note:—The "kanguras" are a suggested restoration, based on the original ones existing over the door-openings—in place of the present "quasi-Gothic" railing.

ARJ. BA
Archaeological Survey.

THE QUTB MINAR. — DELHI.



NOTE. Members A A are the only 'Hindi' elements of the ornamentation, which is otherwise characteristically Saracenic.

'DETAIL of "STALACTITE"
CORRELLING of FIRST-
STOREY BALCONY.

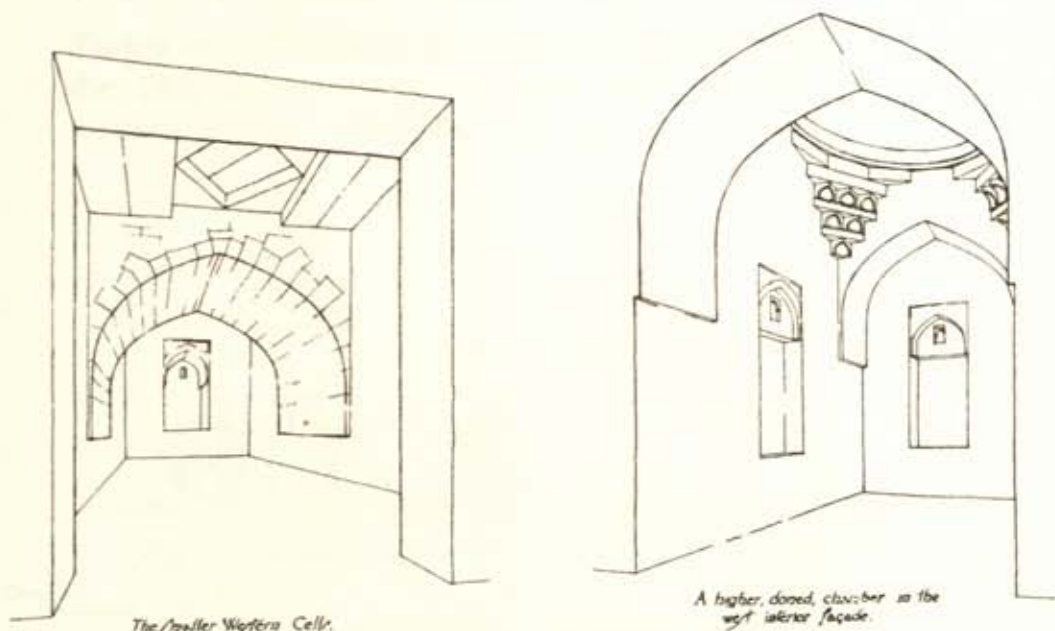
*sketched with aid of binoculars
from roof of Alai Darwaza.*

Note:- The "kanguras" are a suggested restoration, based on the original ones existing over the door-openings — in place of the present "quasi-Gothic" railing.

ARJ. SA
Archaeological Survey.

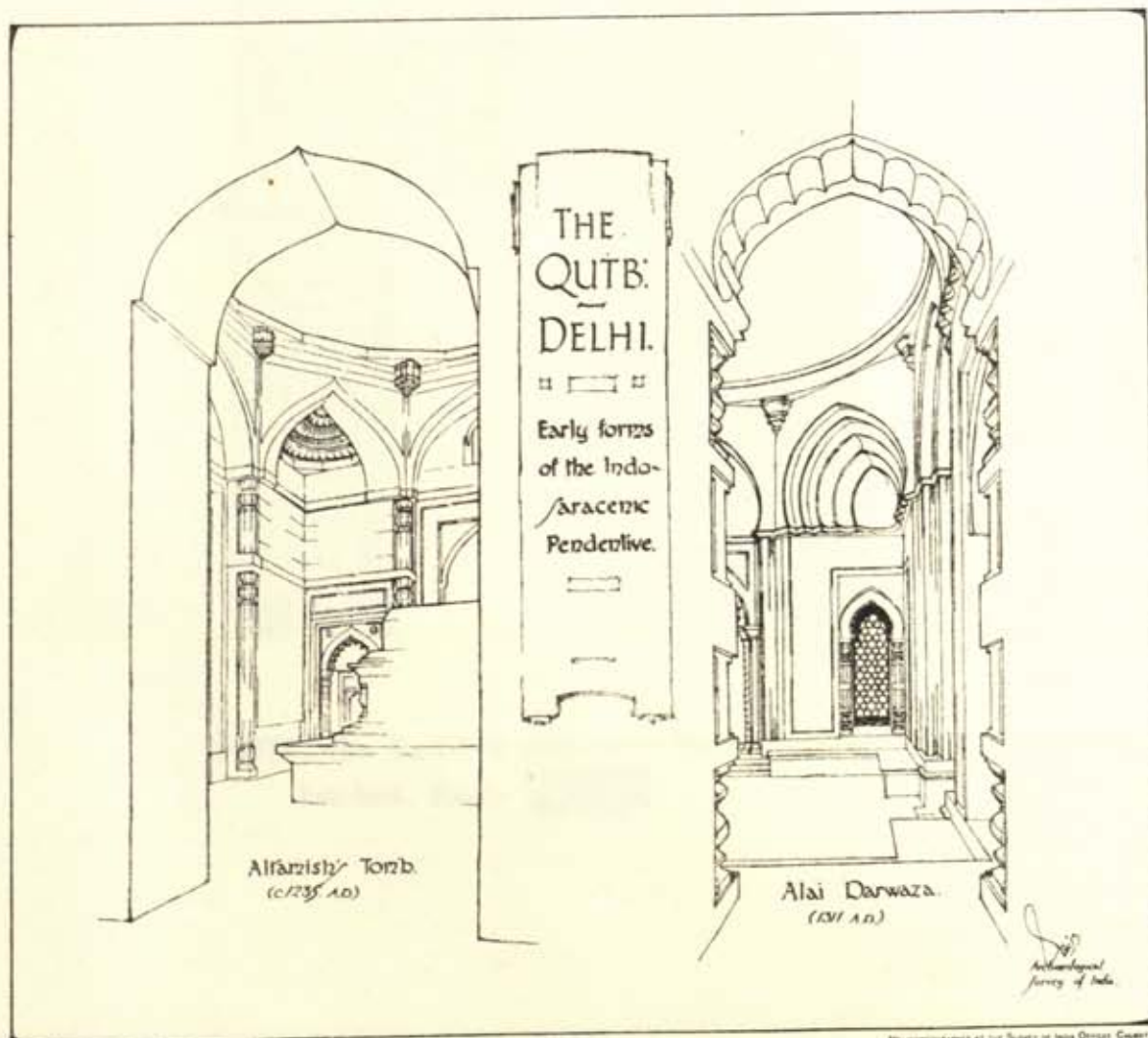
THE QUTB: DELHI. ALAU-D-DIN'S COLLEGE.

Early types of the Indo-Saracenic Pendentive.



The smaller Wierera Cells.

A higher, domed, chamber in the west interior facade.



THE QUTB: DELHI.

Early forms of the Indo-Saracenic Pendentive.

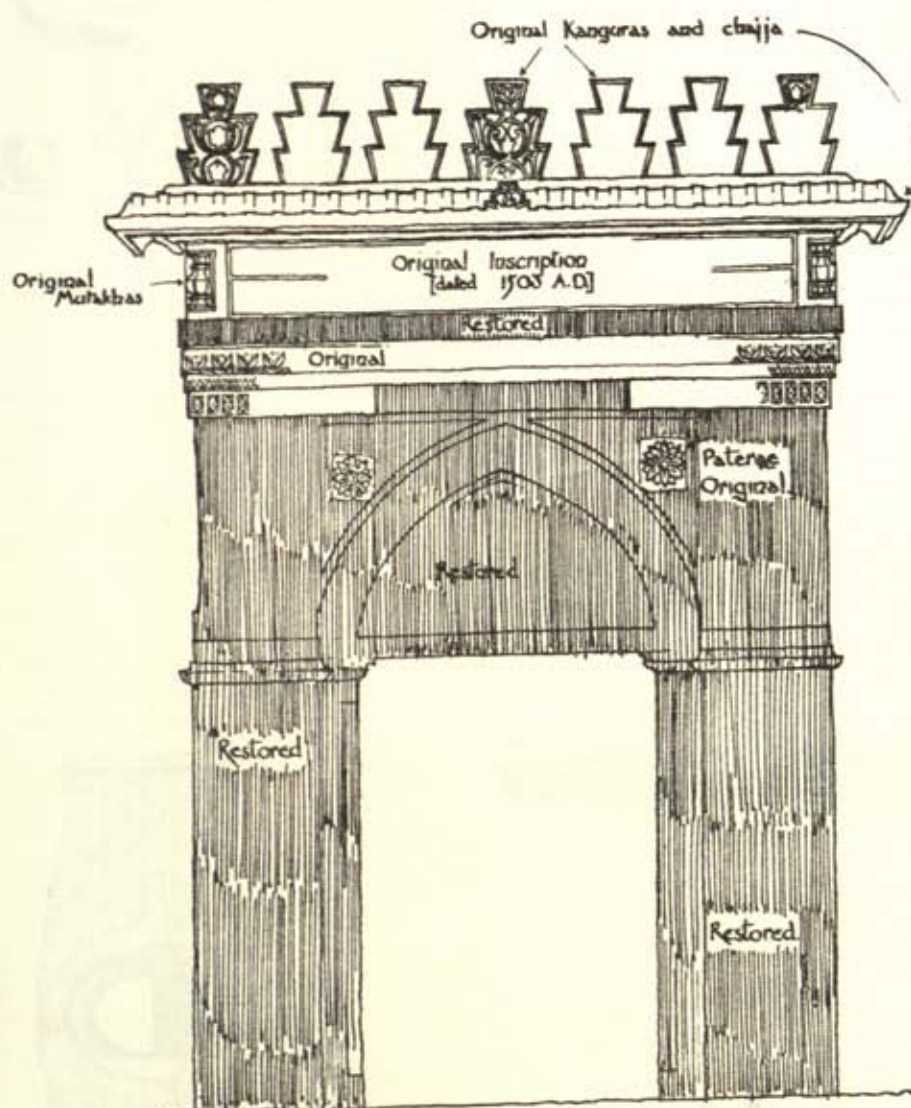
Alfanzish's Tomb (c.1235 AD)

Alai Darwaza (1302 AD)

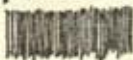
Archaeological Survey of India.

THE QUTB MINAR: DELHI.

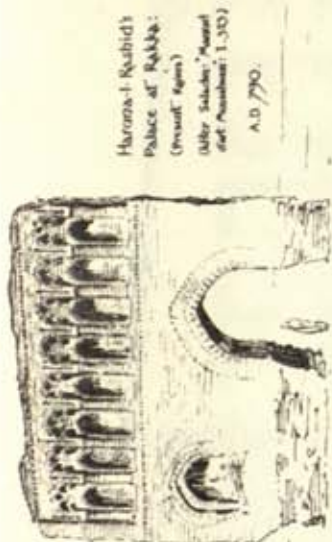
Sketch of ENTRANCE DOORWAY differentiating the Original work re-placed in 1828 and the modern repair supplementing it.



NOTE: The Restored portion is shown hatched, thus:-



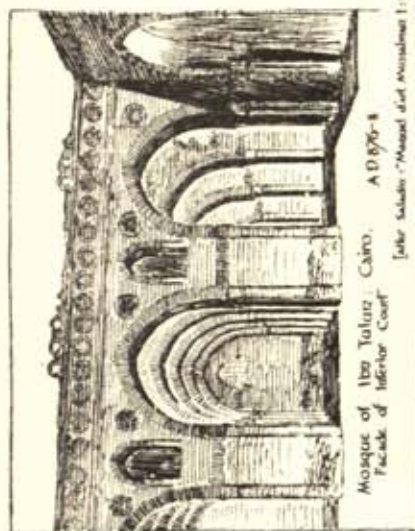
[Signature]
A.R.I.B.A
Archaeological Survey
of India: Jan 1920.



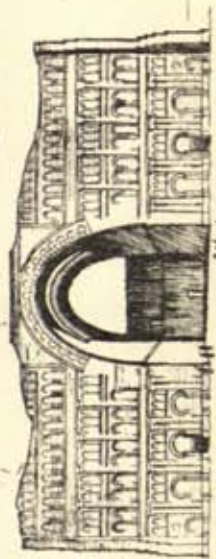
Harima-i-Nabid's
Palace at Nabid:
(Present figure)
(After Salazar, 'Mansab
and Mansab', 1, 30)
A.D. 790.



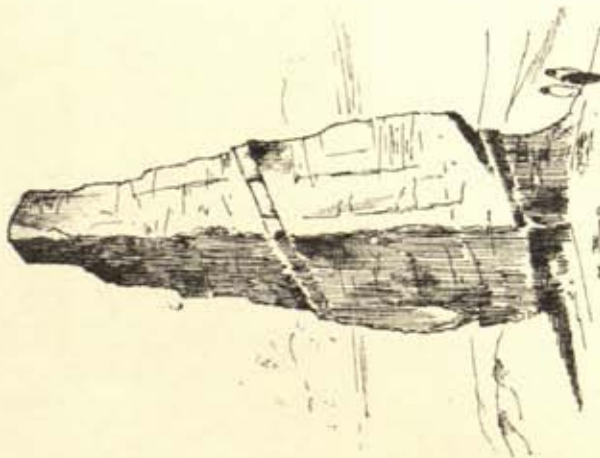
Bridge of Dufal
on the Persian. Persian. Sassanid c. 420 A.D.
(After Dufal, 'Art antique de la Perse')



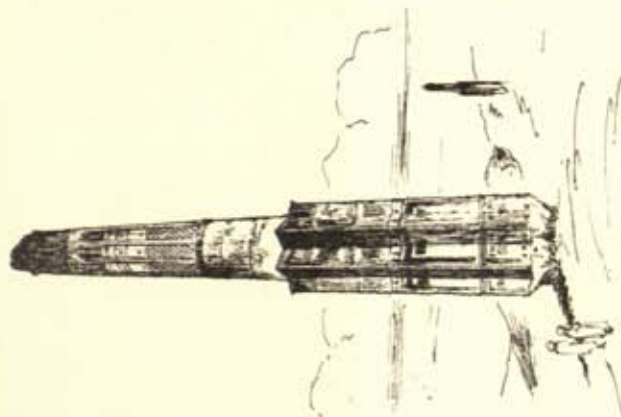
Mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo. A.D. 876-8
Facade of Interior Court
(After Salazar, 'Mansab and Mansab', 1, 30)



Palace of Choroës I, at Ctesiphon. after Burzuriya
[Middle 6th Century A.D.]
Central Arch: 85' high, 72' wide,
and 115' deep.



Ruined Tower at Ferozabad: [Sassanid]
Persia.
after: Flavius Josephus, 'Judea
Antiquities', p. 130.
[Middle 3rd Century A.D.]



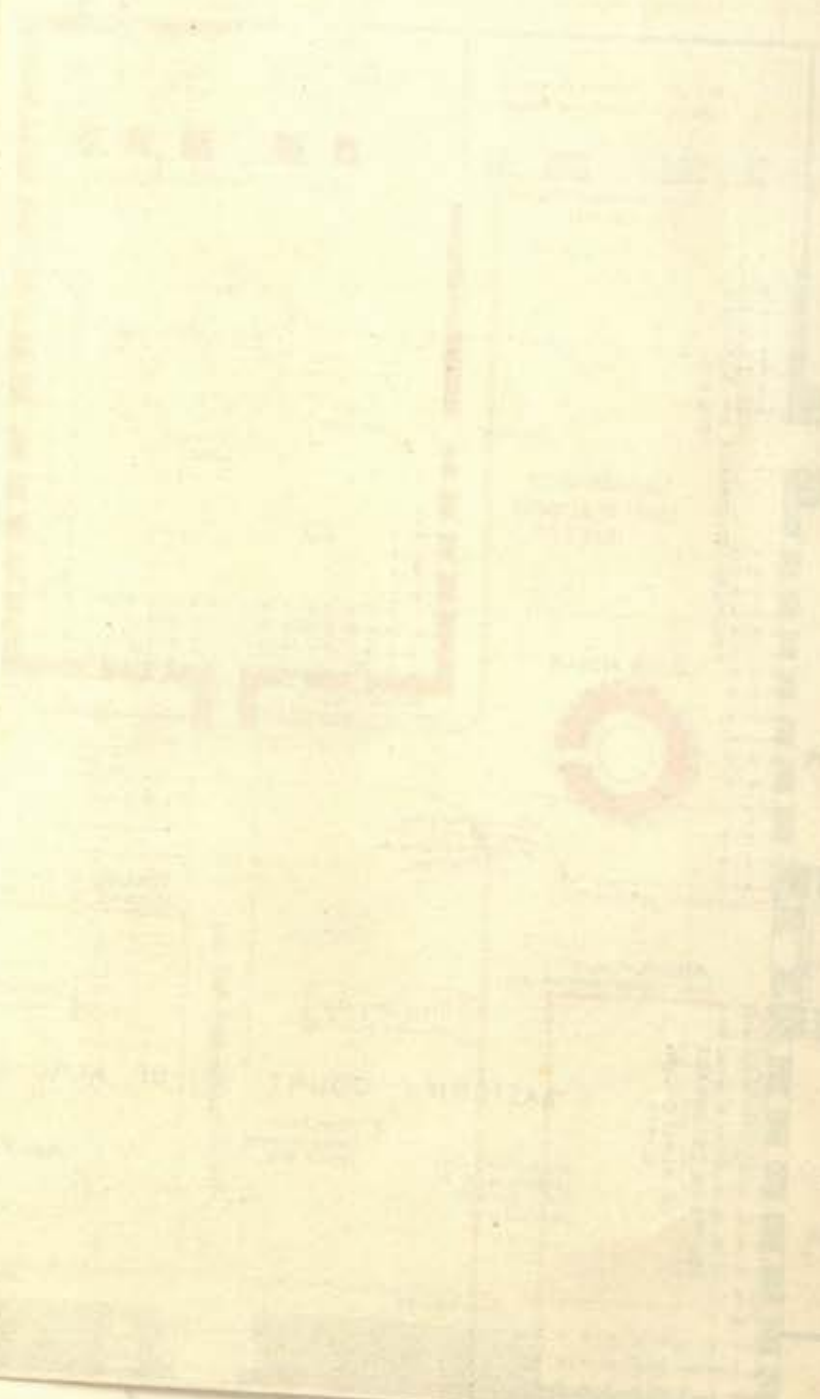
Minar at Ghazni.
after: Burzuriya vol. II, p. 179.
[Early 11th Century A.D.]

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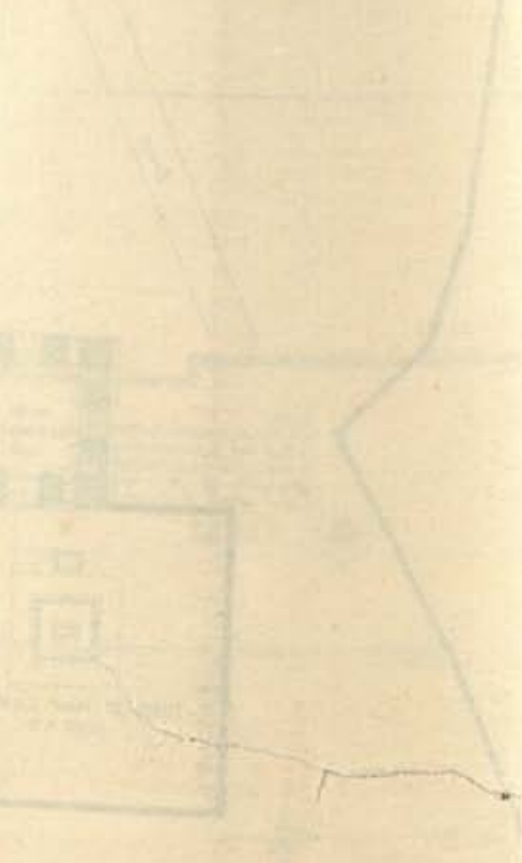


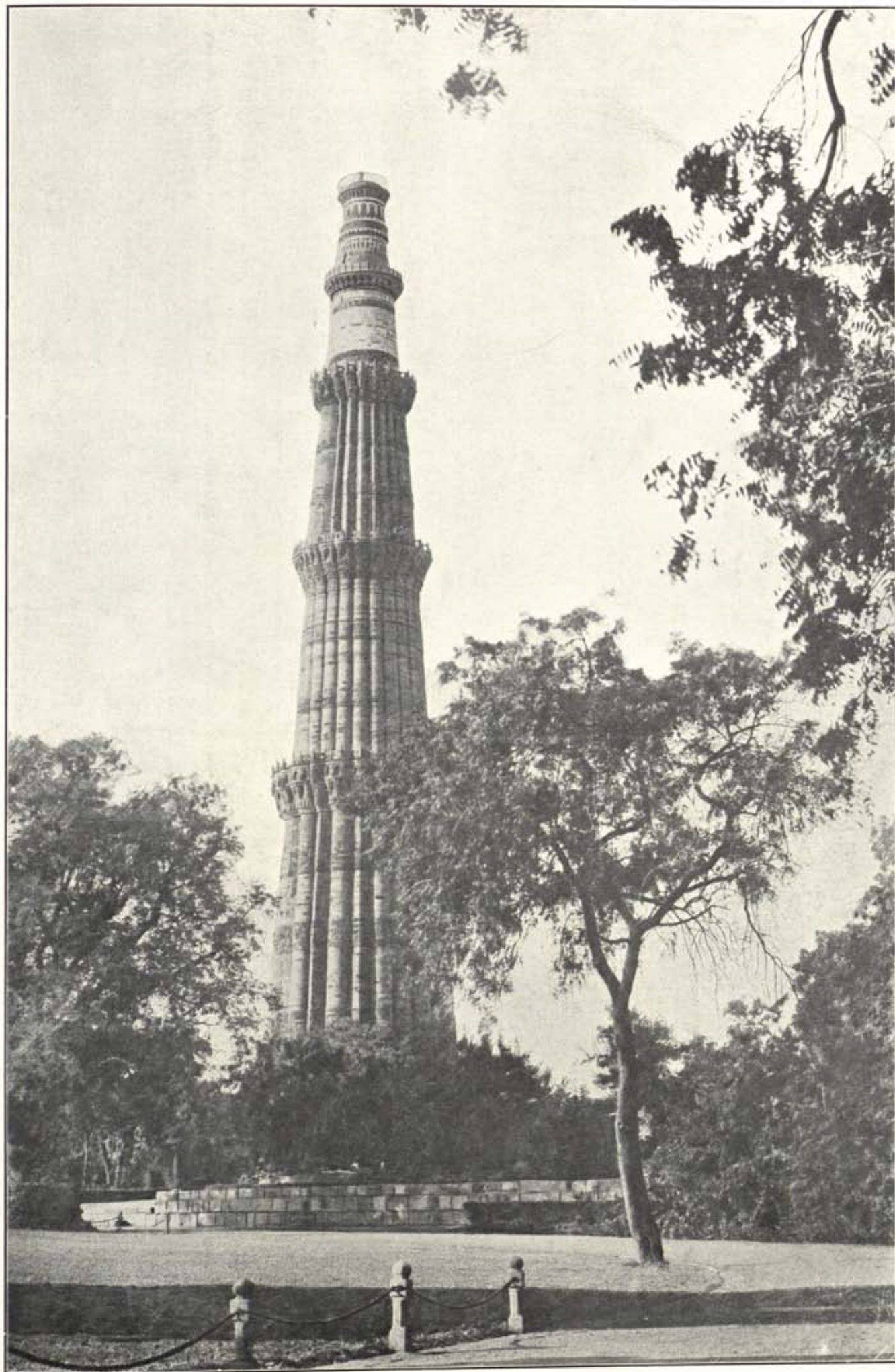
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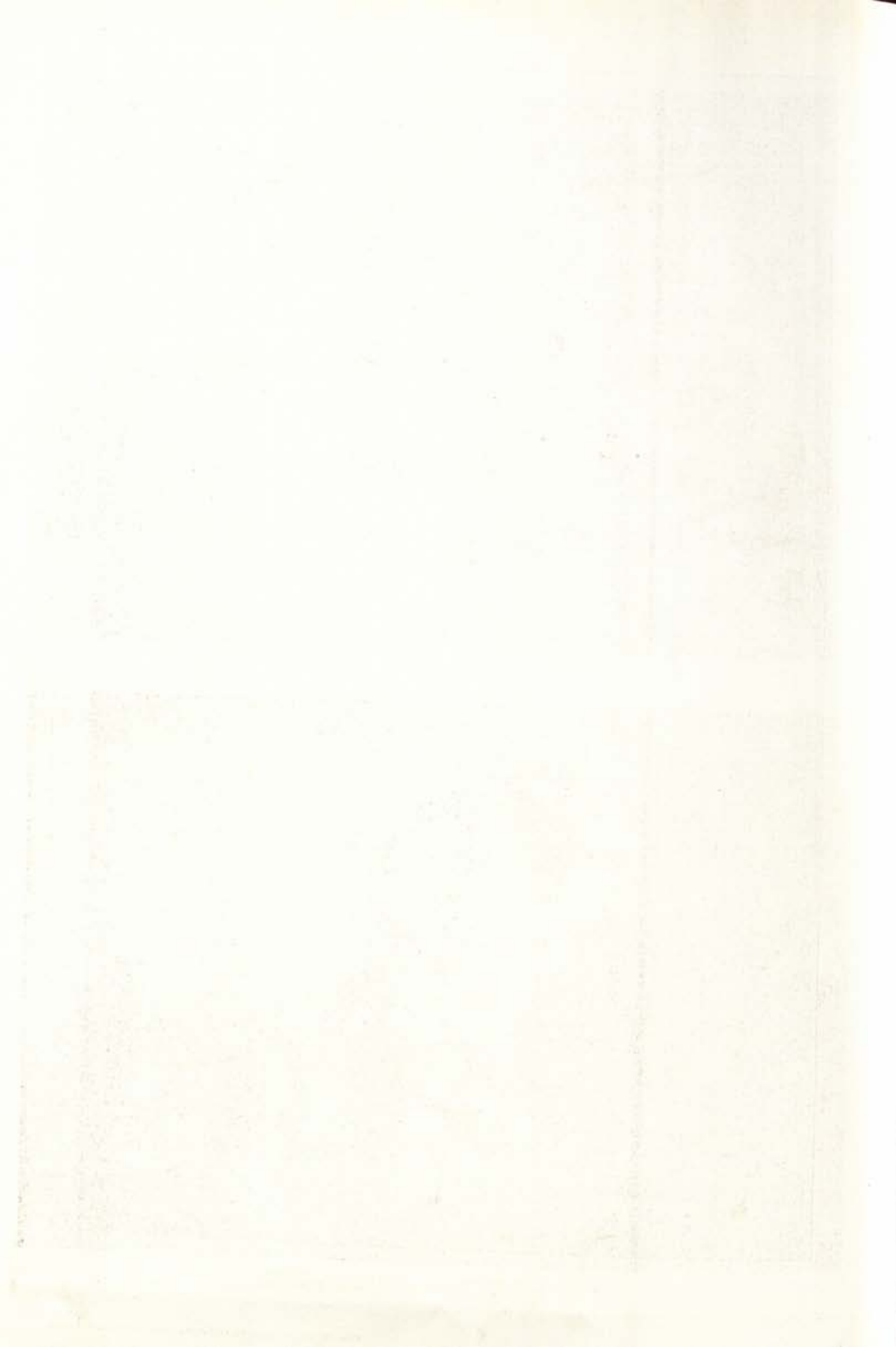
- 1. ...
- 2. ...
- 3. ...
- 4. ...
- 5. ...
- 6. ...
- 7. ...
- 8. ...
- 9. ...
- 10. ...

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VIEW OF QUTB MINAR FROM ENTRANCE TO QUTB GROUNDS.





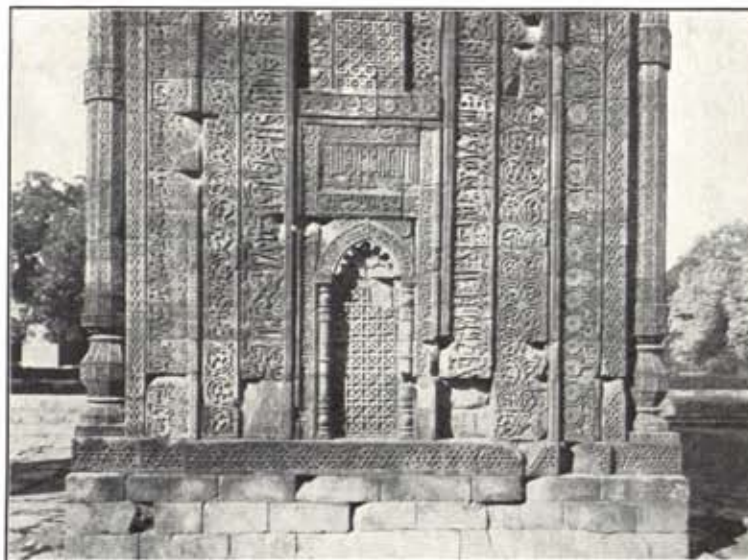
(a) FRONTAL VIEW OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S GREAT SCREEN.



(b) VIEW OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S GREAT SCREEN, FROM S.S.E.



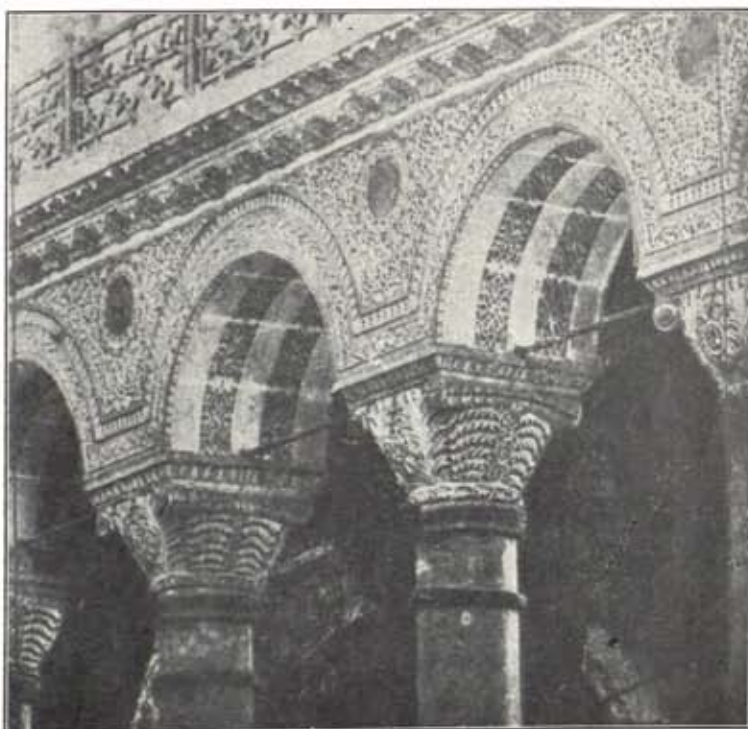
(a) DETAIL OF HINDU CARVED ORNAMENTATION OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL GREAT SCREEN.



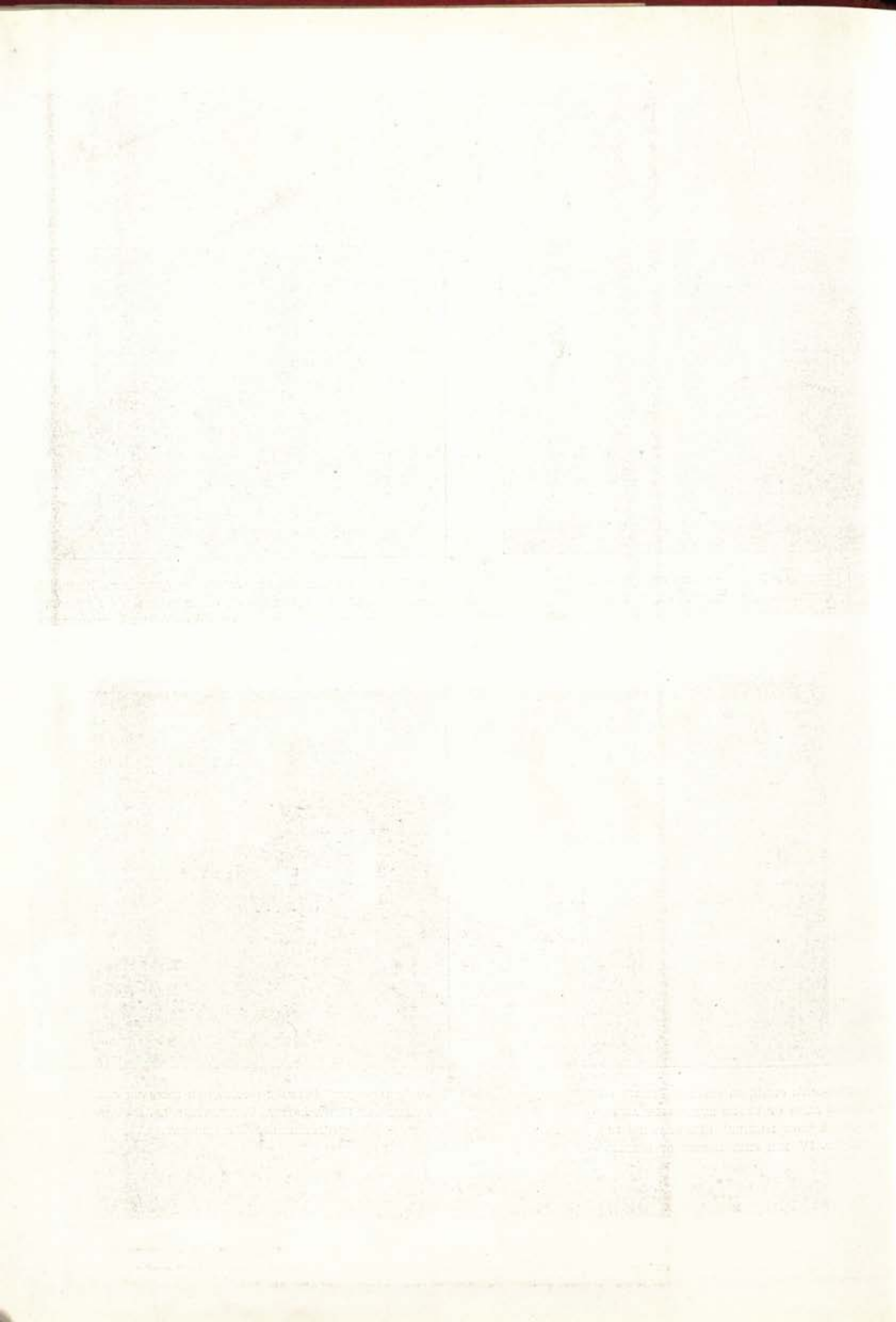
(b) DETAIL OF SURFACE DECORATION OF ALTAMISH'S SCREEN EXTENSION. (COMPARE DETAILS OF ORNAMENTATION ON ATTACHED ANGLE COLUMNS WITH THAT IN SOFFIT OF GYNAECIUM GALLERY ARCHES OF SANTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE: PLATE No. 3 d).



(c) QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL SCREEN. DETAIL VIEW OF BROKEN JAMB OF UPPER SUBSIDIARY ARCHED OPENINGS (NOW MISSING). SEE DRAWING IN PLATE No. IV FOR RESTORATION OF SCREEN.



(d) "ARABESQUE" SURFACE DECORATION BENEATH GYNAECIUM GALLERY OF SANTA SOPHIA, CONSTANTINOPLE. (PROTOTYPE OF SARACENIC SURFACE DECORATION).

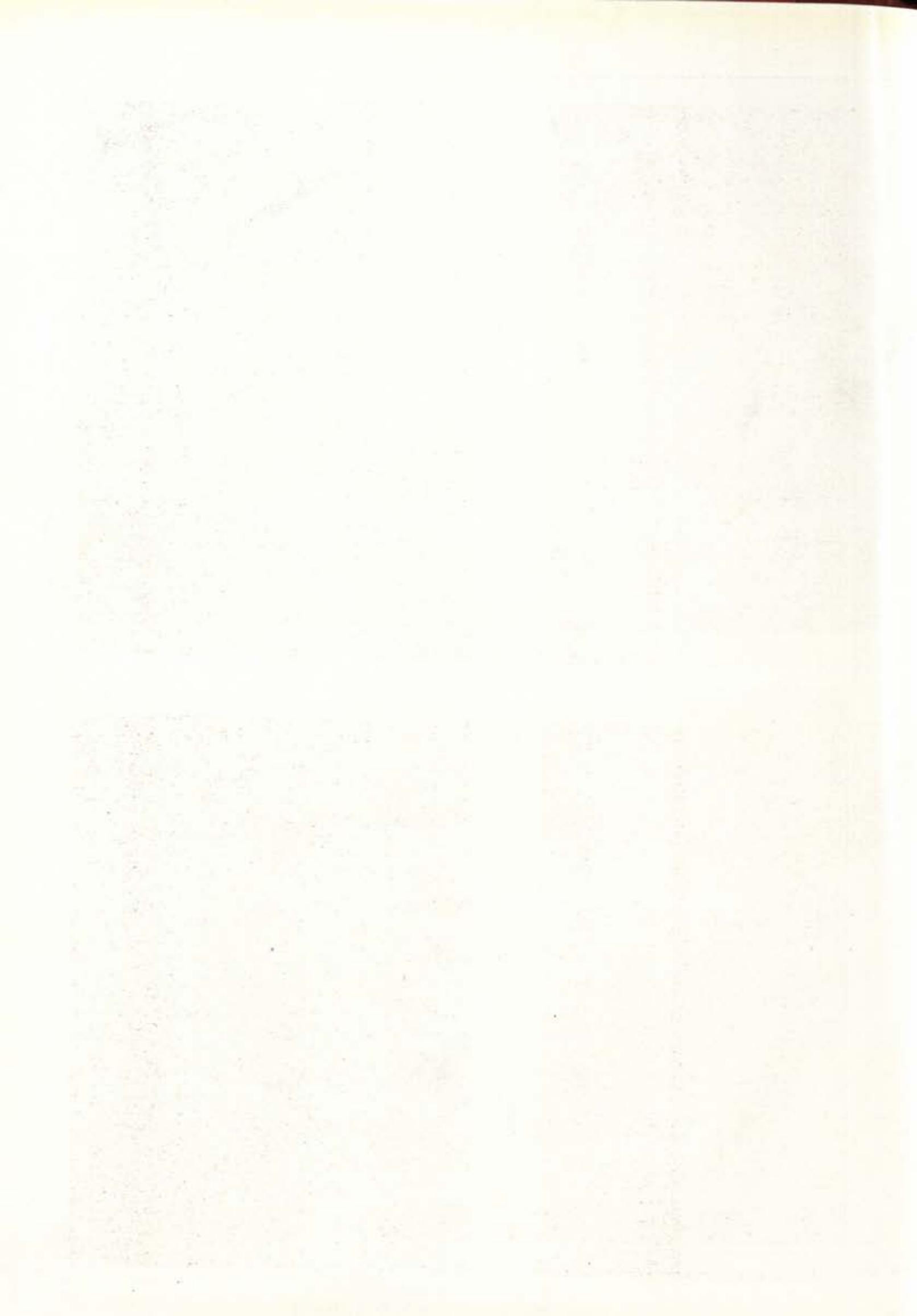


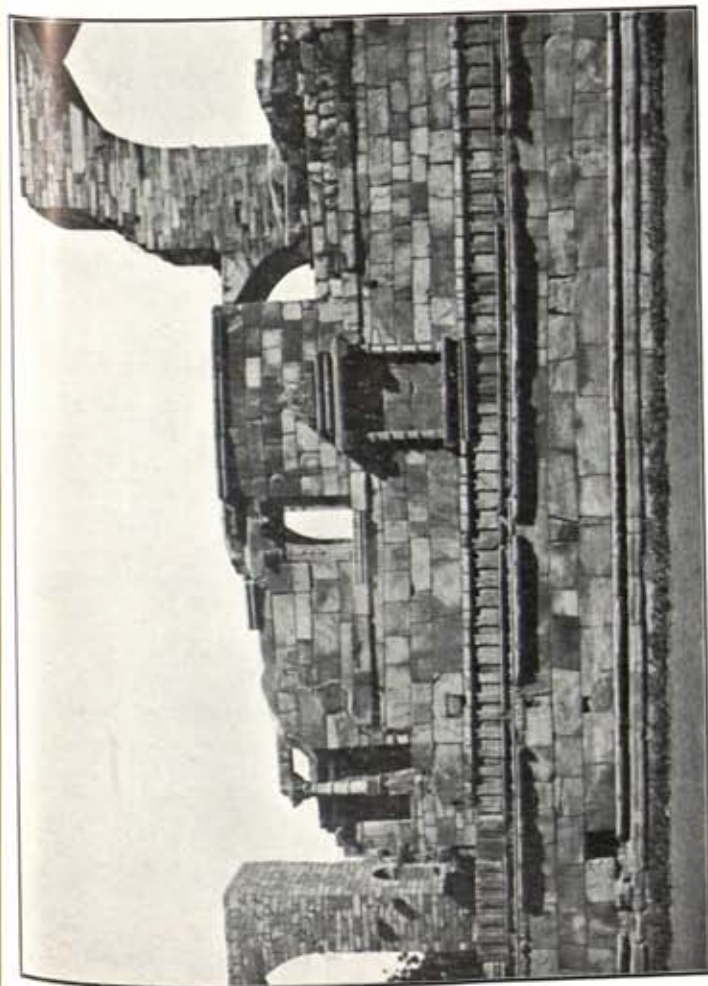


(a) FRONTAL VIEW OF ALTAMISH'S SOUTHERN SCREEN EXTENSION.

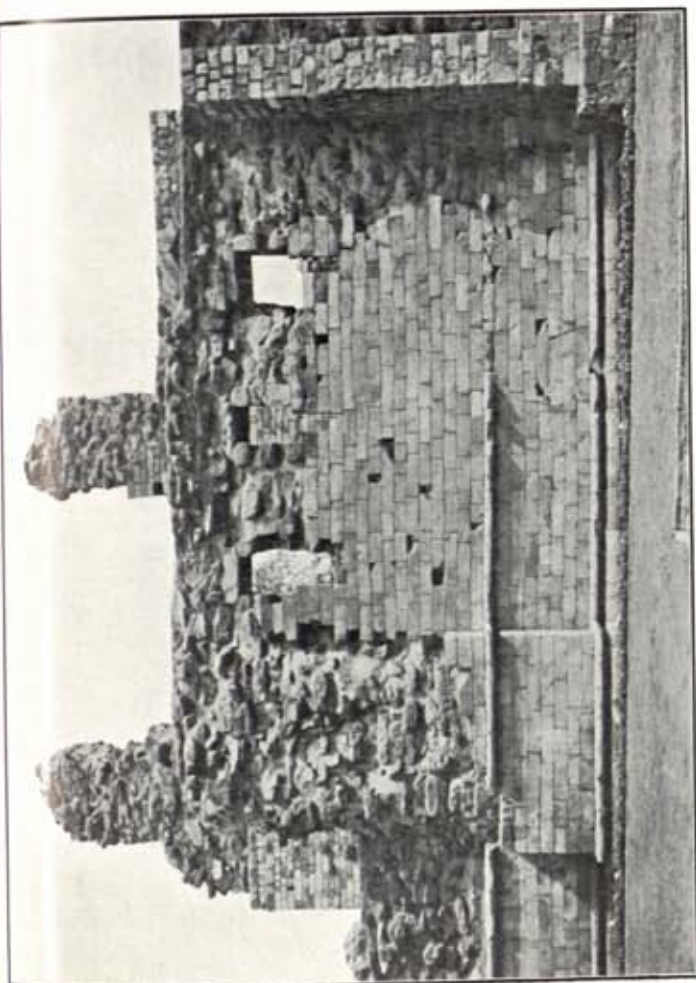


(b) VIEW OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE FROM S.W., SHOWING RUINS OF PRAYER CHAMBER (NOTE ABSENCE OF ANY MIHRAB PROJECTION IN THE CENTRE OF PLINTH, AND COMPARE SIMILAR FEATURE IN ALTAMISH'S EXTENSION, WHERE MIHRAB PROJECTION DOES EXIST: (PLATE NO. 5 b)).





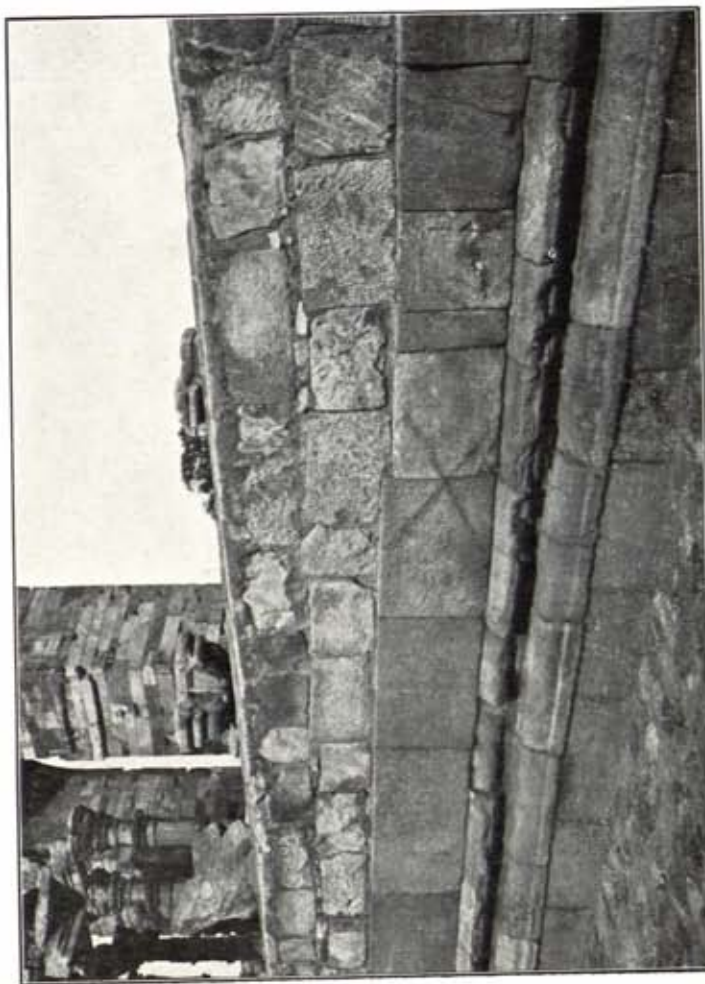
(a) FRONTAL VIEW OF WEST WALL OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S MOSQUE ILLUSTRATING EXTERIOR TREATMENT OF MIHRAB (NOTE ABSENCE OF ANY PROJECTION IN PLINTH).



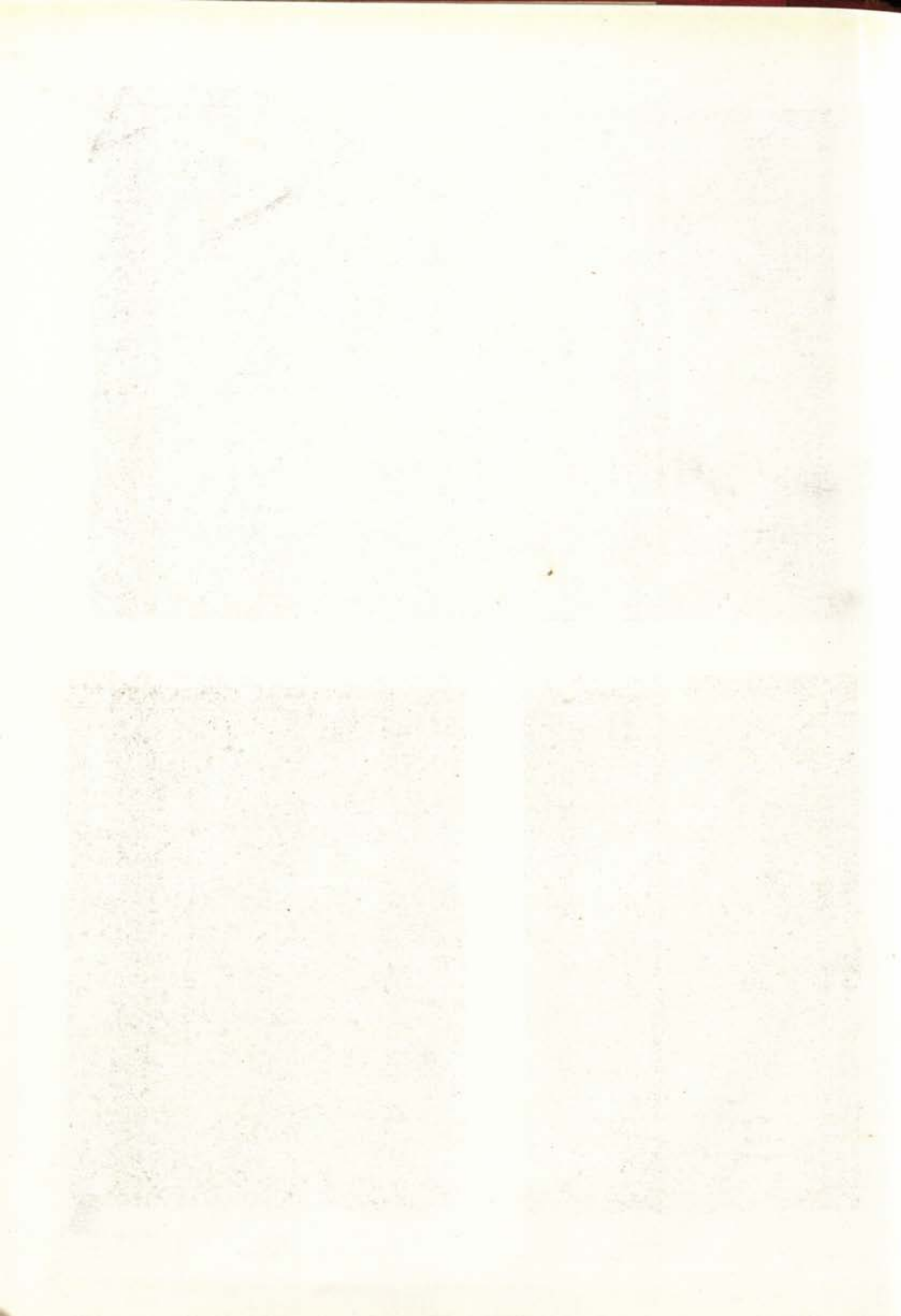
(b) WEST FACADE OF ALTAMISH'S NORTHERN PRAYER CHAMBER, SHOWING MIHRAB PROJECTION TO THE LEFT (COMPARE PLATE NO. 4 b).



(c) VIEW OF N.W. QUOIN OF THE MOSQUE OF QUTBU-D-DIN (AND OF THE ASSUMED ORIGINAL HINDU TEMPLE), SHOWING MITRED RETURN OF PLINTH MOULDING.



(d) VIEW OF THE CORRESPONDING S.W. QUOIN OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S MOSQUE (AND OF THE ASSUMED ORIGINAL HINDU TEMPLE), SHOWING RETURN OF PLINTH MOULDING. (QUOIN INDICATED BY A CROSS).





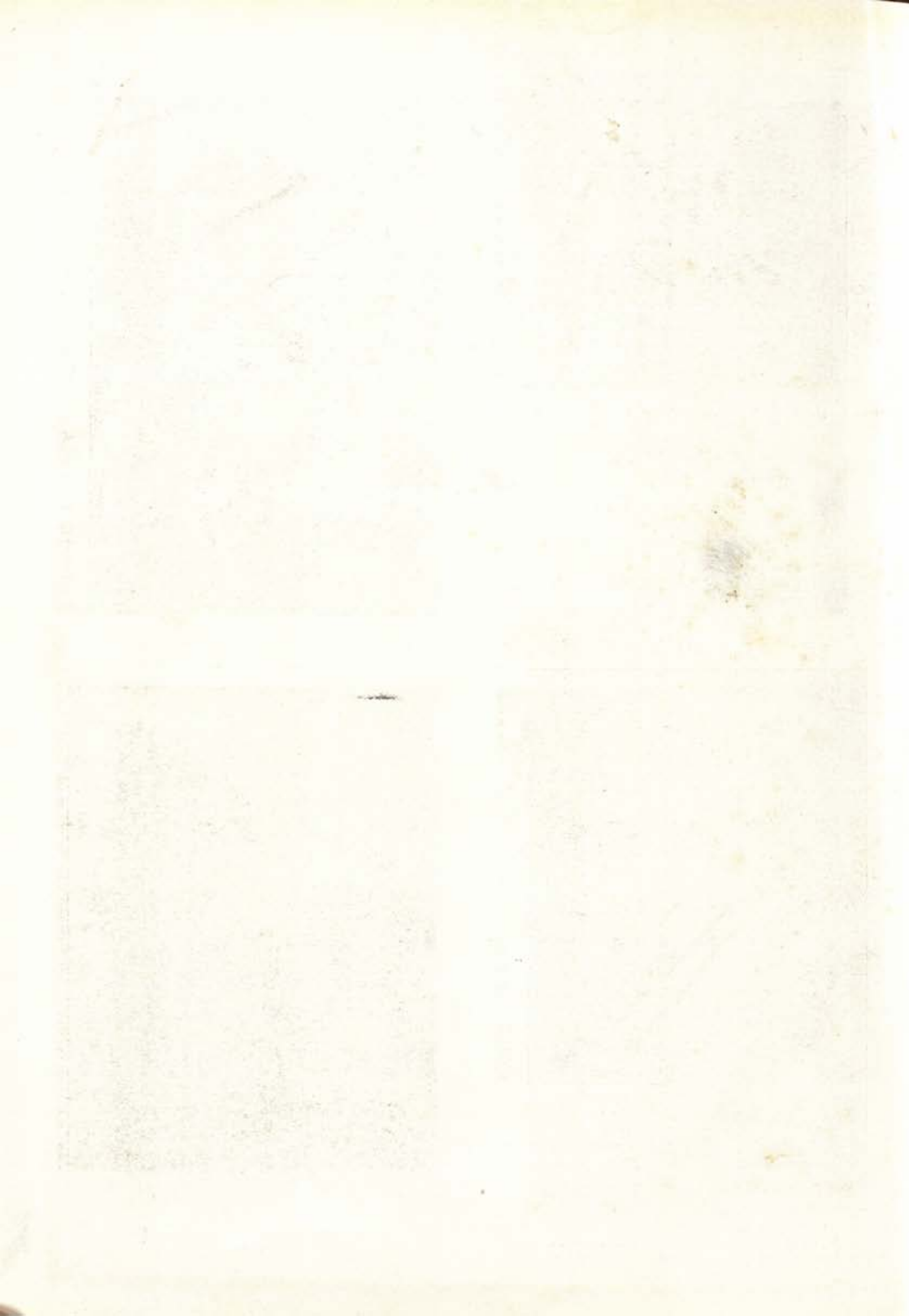
(a) VIEW OF EAST COLONNADE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE.

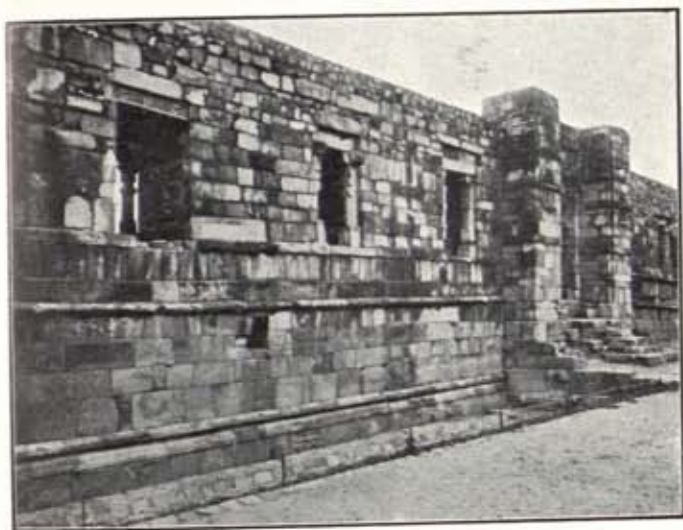


(b) A CARVED HINDU COLUMN SET UP IN N. COLONNADE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE.

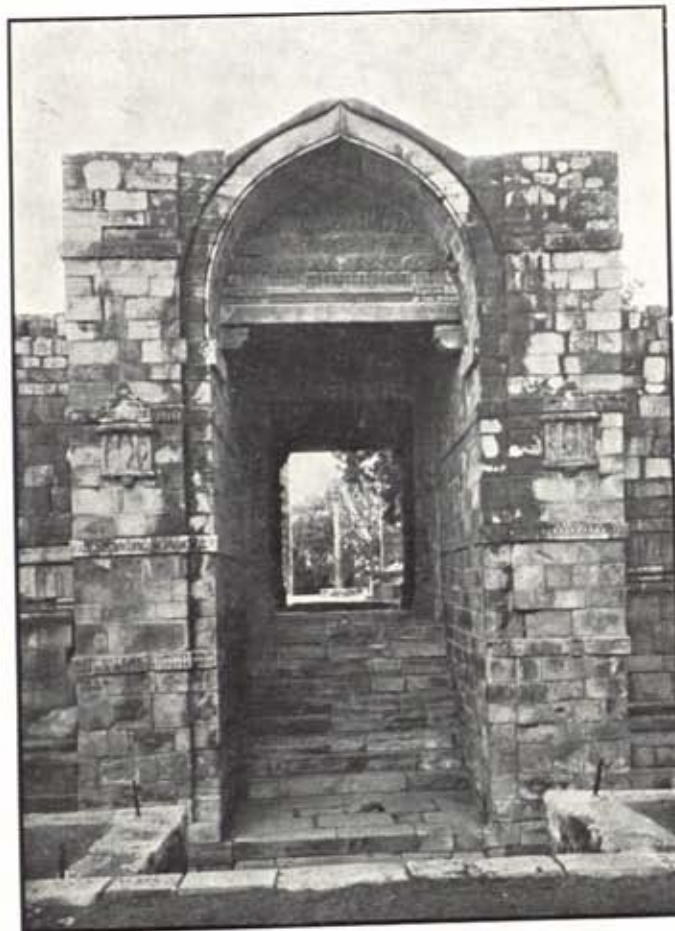


(c) DETAIL OF HINDU CARVING ON ANOTHER COLUMN IN QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL COLONNADE.





(a) QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE. EASTERN HALF OF NORTH FACADE, SHOWING HINDU CARVED STONES BUILT INTO PLINTH, AND ALSO SCULPTURED LINTEL PORTRAYING "BIRTH OF KRISHNA" OVER UPPER WINDOW.



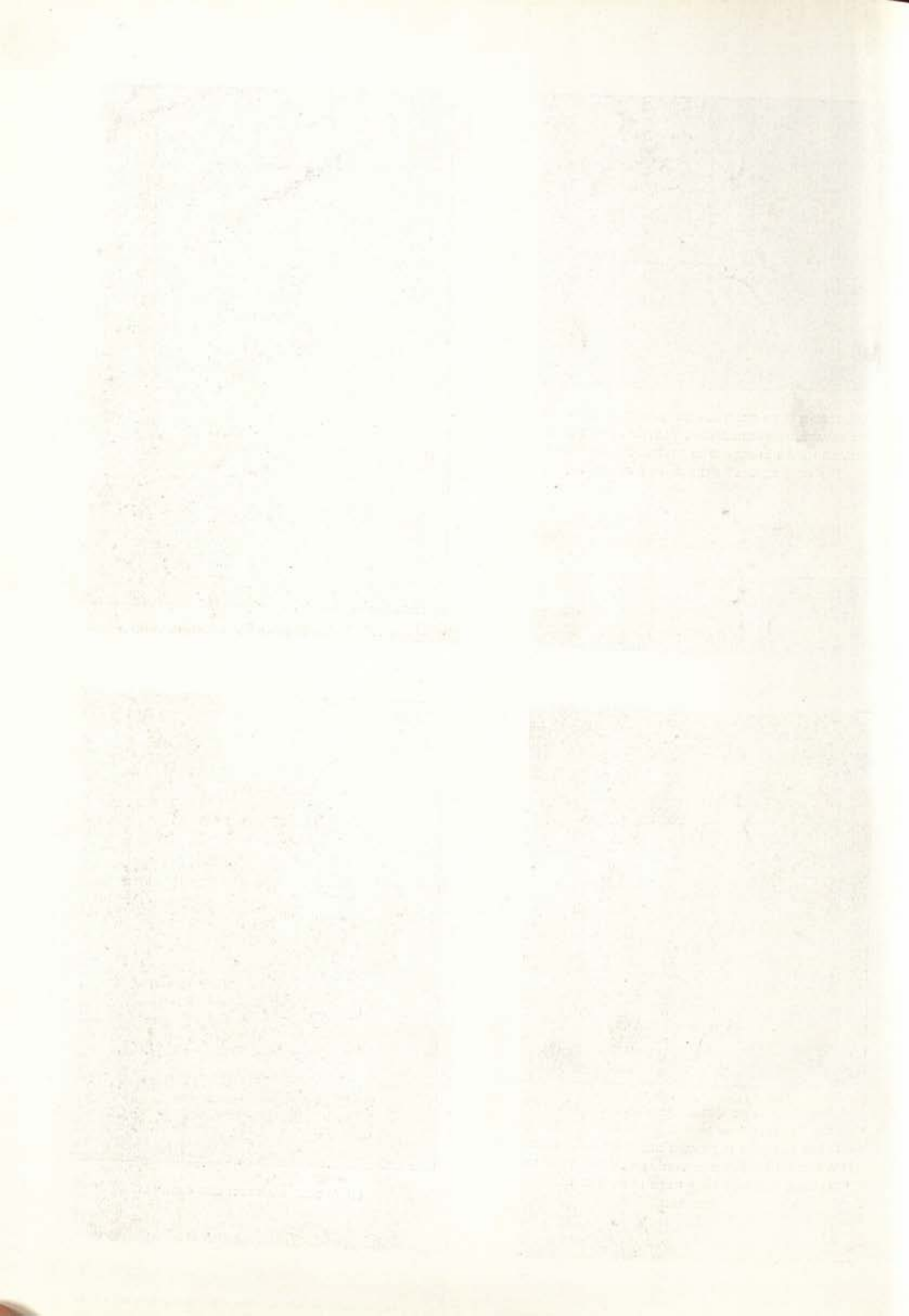
(b) VIEW OF EAST ENTRANCE GATE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE.

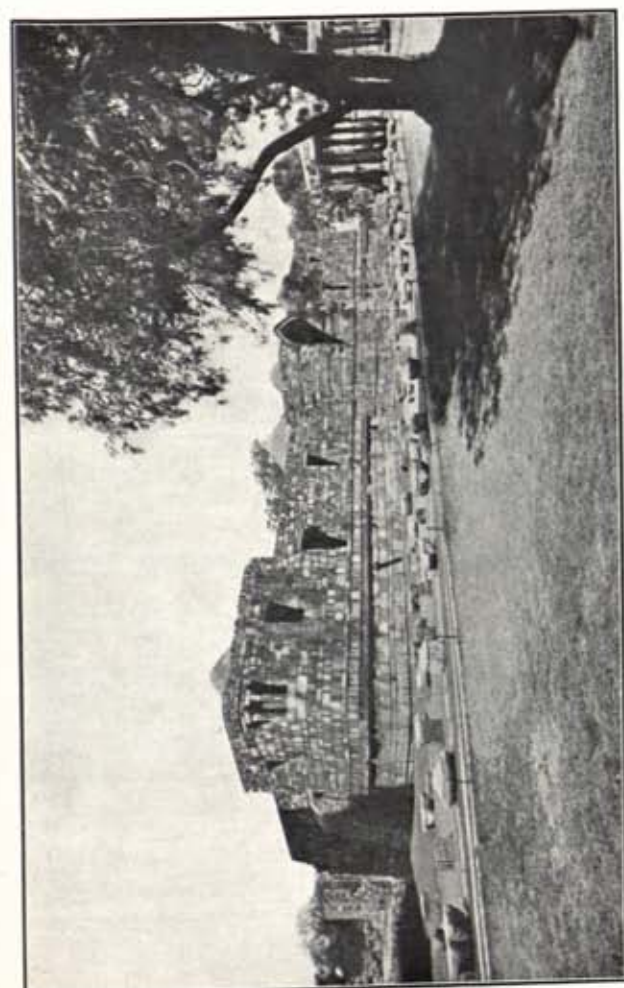


(c) SOUTH GATE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE, SHOWING "RETURN" OF PLINTH-MOULDING ON WEST JAMB ONLY. ITS OMISSION FROM THE CORRESPONDING EAST JAMB IS A FACTOR SUPPORTING THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE CHABUTRA WEST OF THIS GATE IS OF THE ORIGINAL TEMPLE.

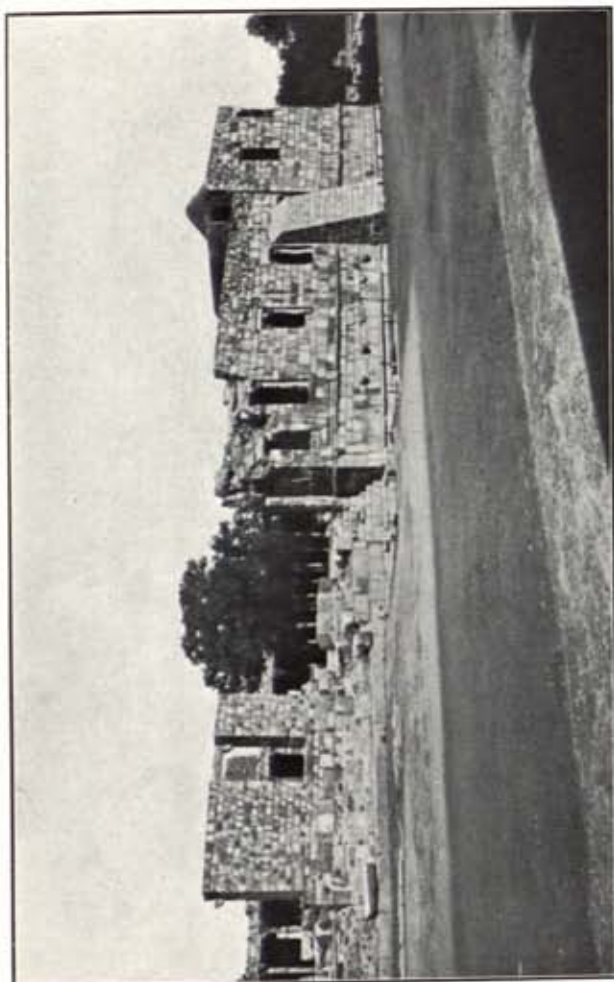


(d) ALTAMISH'S SOUTHERN GATEWAY.

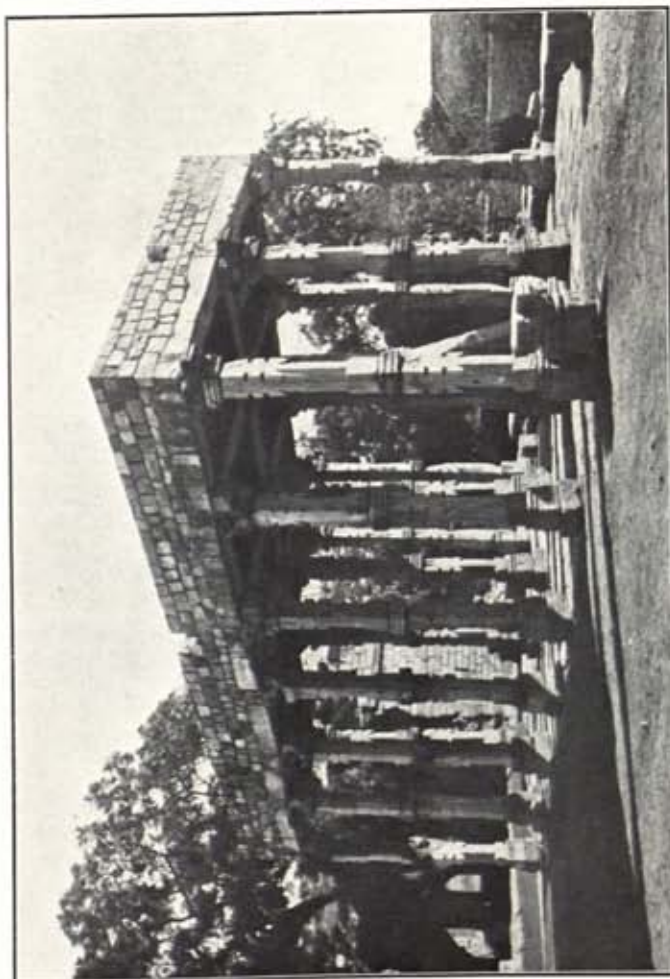




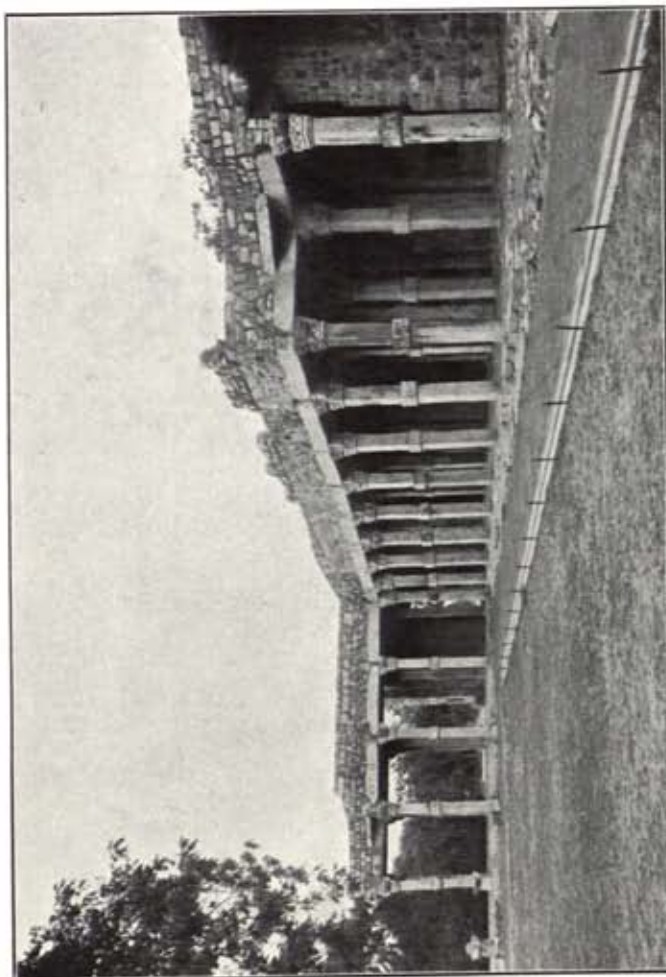
(a) QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE. EAST FACADE FROM S.E., SHOWING ALSO THE REMAINS OF ALTAMISH'S COLONNADE.



(b) SOUTH FACADE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE.



(c) VIEW OF ALTAMISH'S SOUTHERN COLONNADE.



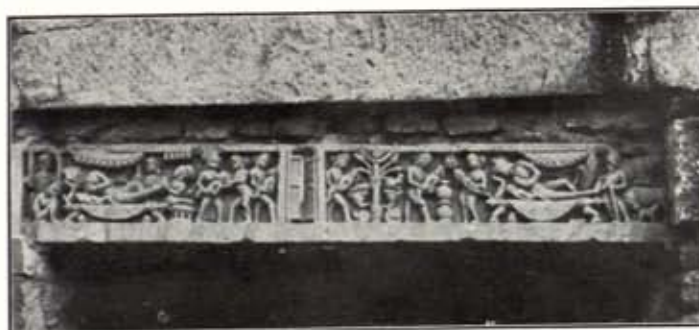
(d) INTERIOR VIEW OF ALAUDDIN'S COLONNADE IN S.E. CORNER OF THE MOSQUE.



(a) DETAIL OF HINDU SCULPTURED LINTEL BUILT UPSIDE-DOWN IN THE PLINTH OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S MOSQUE EAST OF THE NORTH GATEWAY; THUS PROVING THE MUHAMMADAN ORIGIN OF THIS PORTION OF THE CHABUTRA.



(b) VIEW OF DOMED HINDU CEILING OF COLONNADE IMMEDIATELY BEHIND THE EAST ENTRANCE GATE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S MOSQUE.



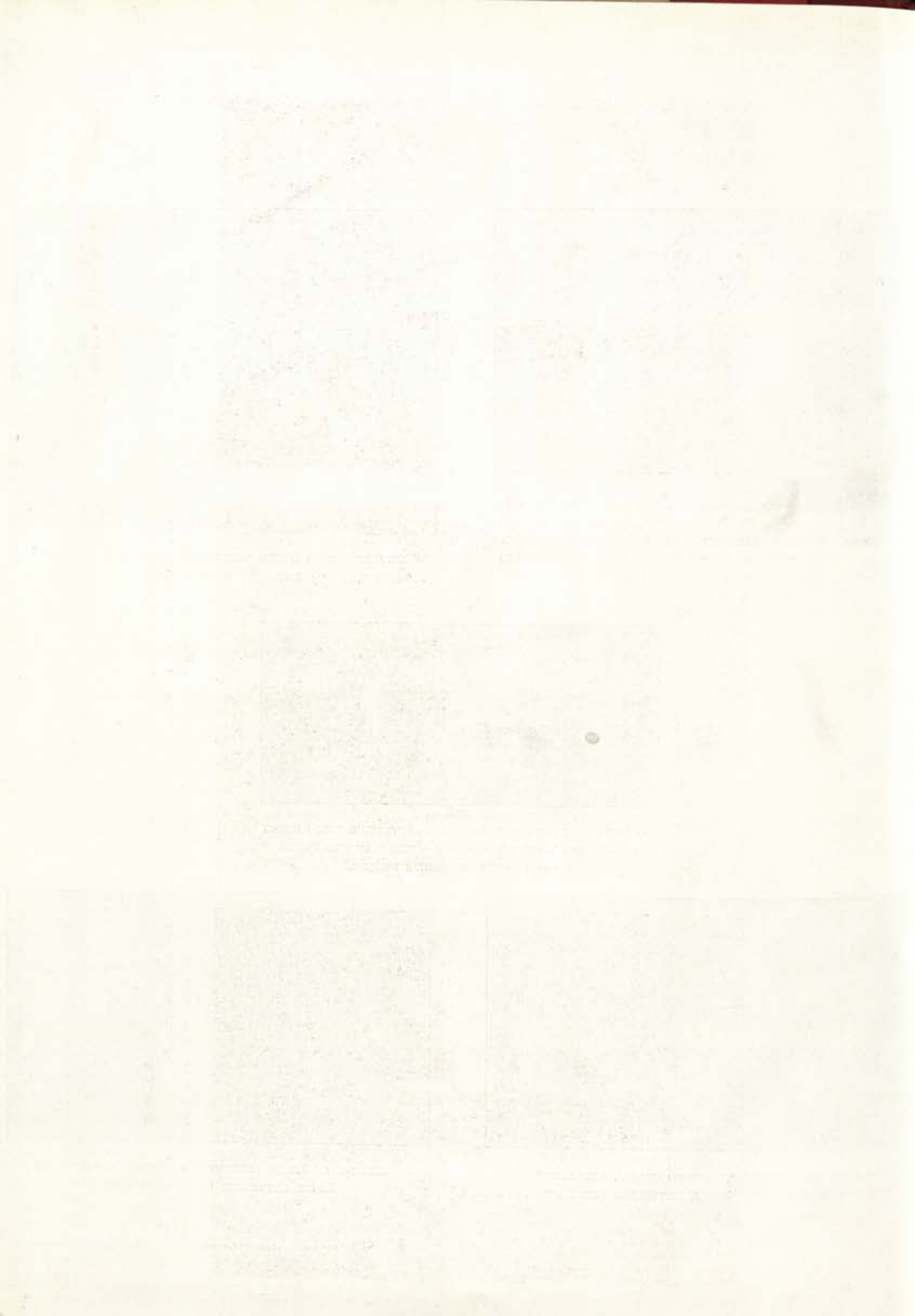
(c) DETAIL OF SCULPTURED LINTEL PORTRAYING THE "BIRTH OF KRISHNA", SITUATED OVER A WINDOW IN THE NORTH FACADE OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S MOSQUE.

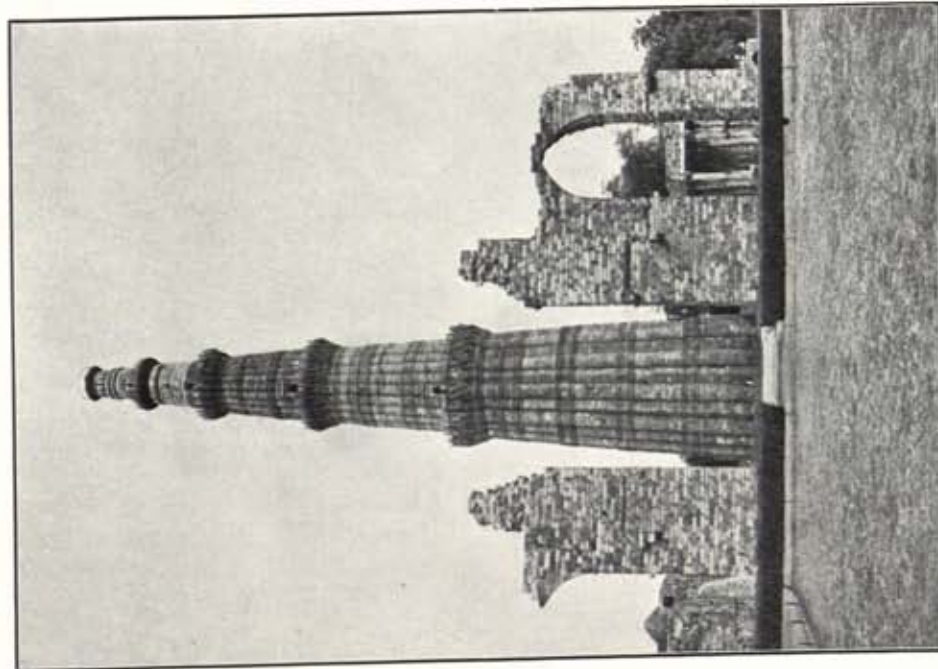


(d) OBERSE OF HINDU SCULPTURED STONES, THE REVERSE OF WHICH IS INSCRIBED WITH NASKH LETTERING (SEE PLATE No. 9 e).

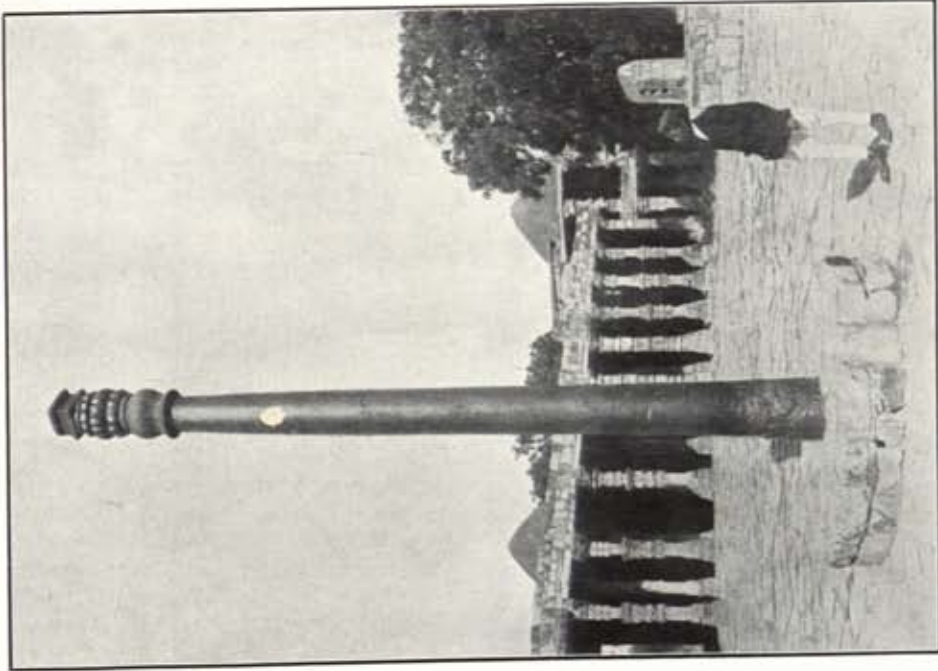


(e) REVERSE OF HINDU SCULPTURED STONES INSCRIBED WITH NASKH LETTERING (SEE PLATE 9 d).

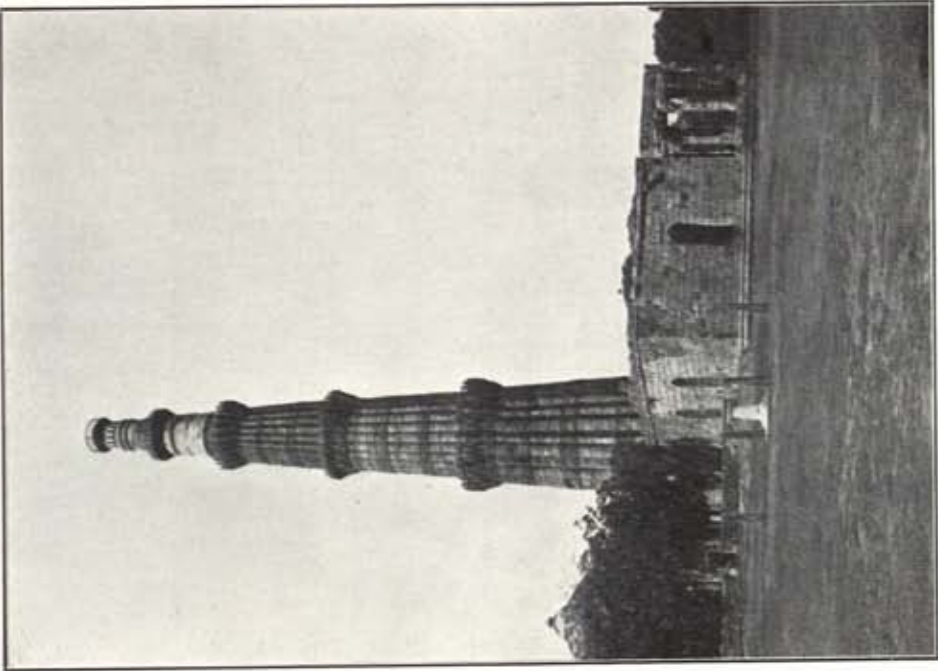




(a) QUTB MINAR; GENERAL VIEW FROM WEST, SHOWING ALSO THE REAR FACE OF ALTAMISH'S SOUTHERN SCREEN EXTENSION.



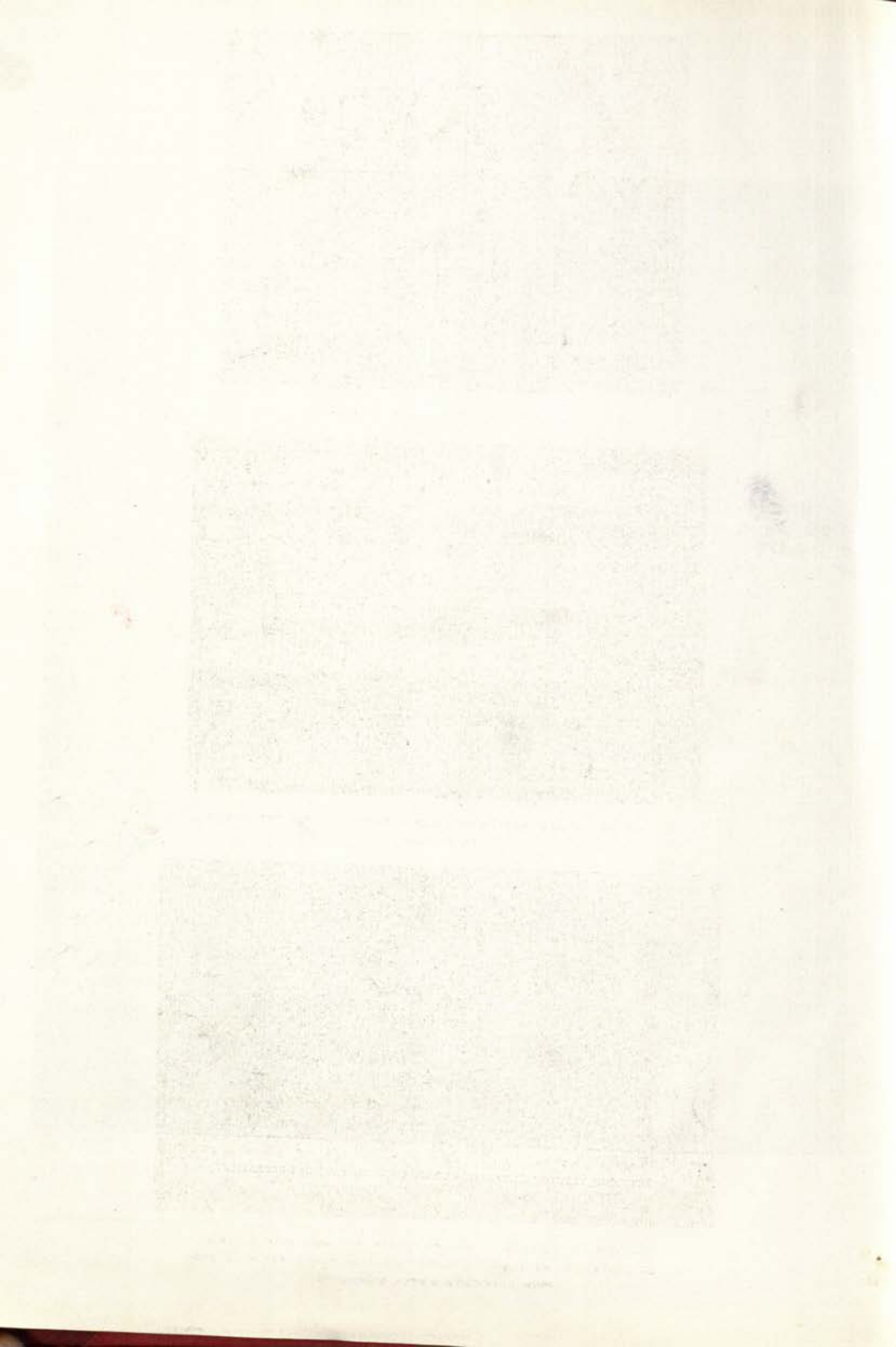
(b) VIEW OF THE IRON PILLAR, SHOWING ALSO ZANANA MEZZANINE IN N.E. CORNER OF QUTBU-D-DIN'S MOSQUE.



(c) VIEW OF MINAR FROM S.E. SHOWING CORNER OF ALAU-D-DIN'S EXTENSION OF THE MOSQUE.



INTERIOR VIEW OF ALTAMISH'S TOMB, SHOWING CARVED DECORATION.





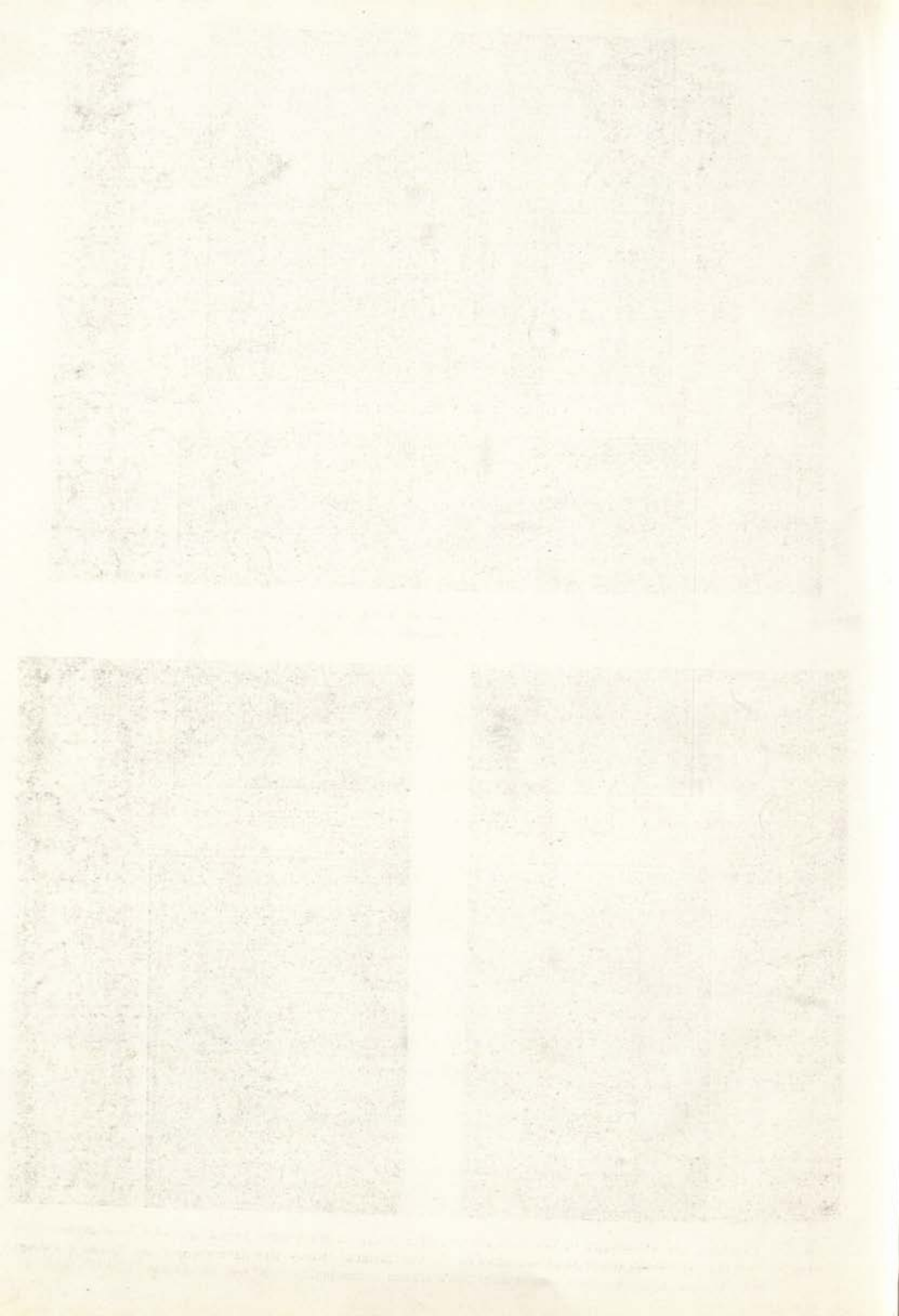
(a) ALTAMISH'S TOMB, SOUTH FACADE.

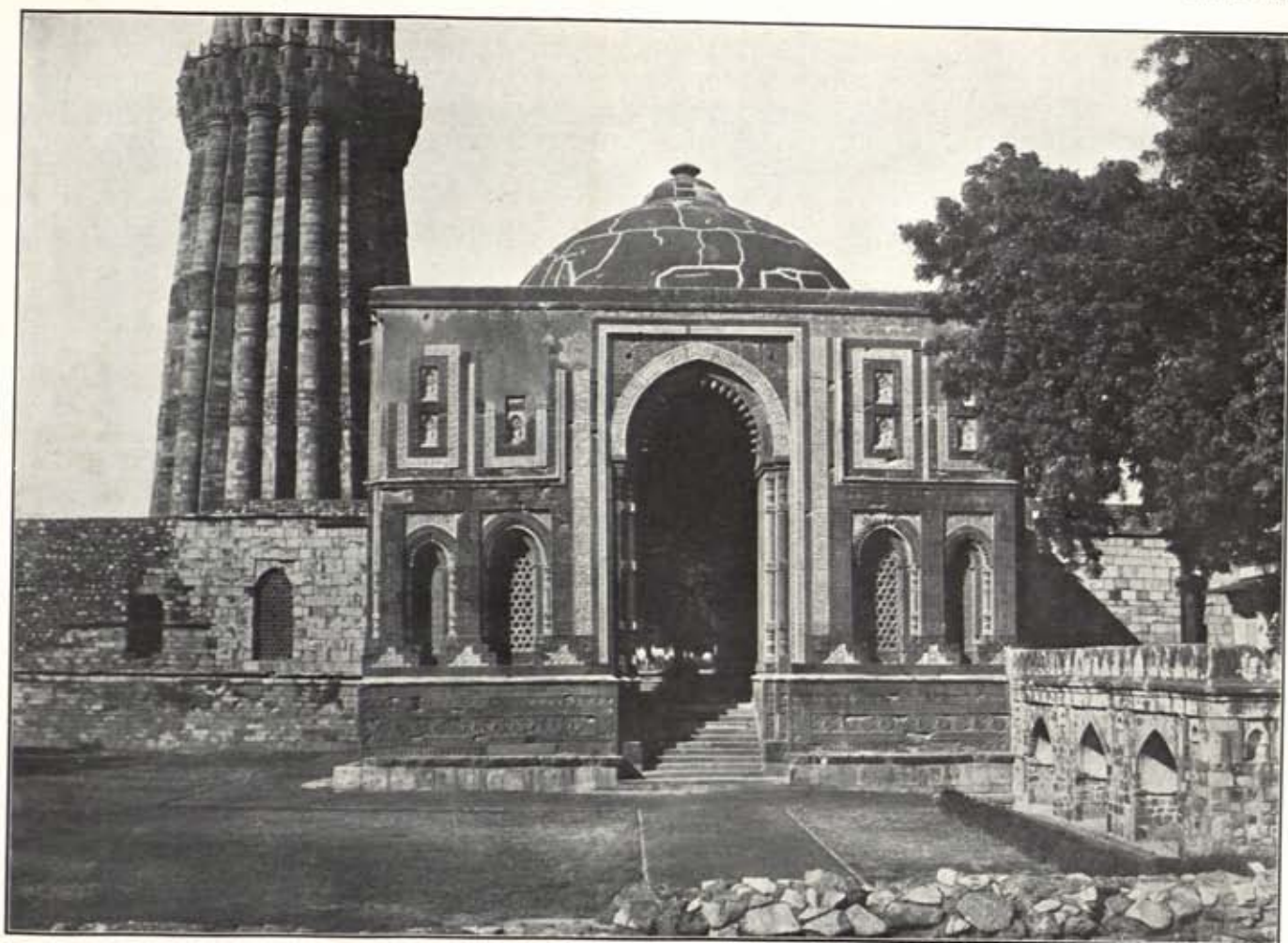


(b) VIEW OF INSCRIBED AND CARVED STONES FOUND IN ALTAMISH'S MOSQUE EXTENSION.

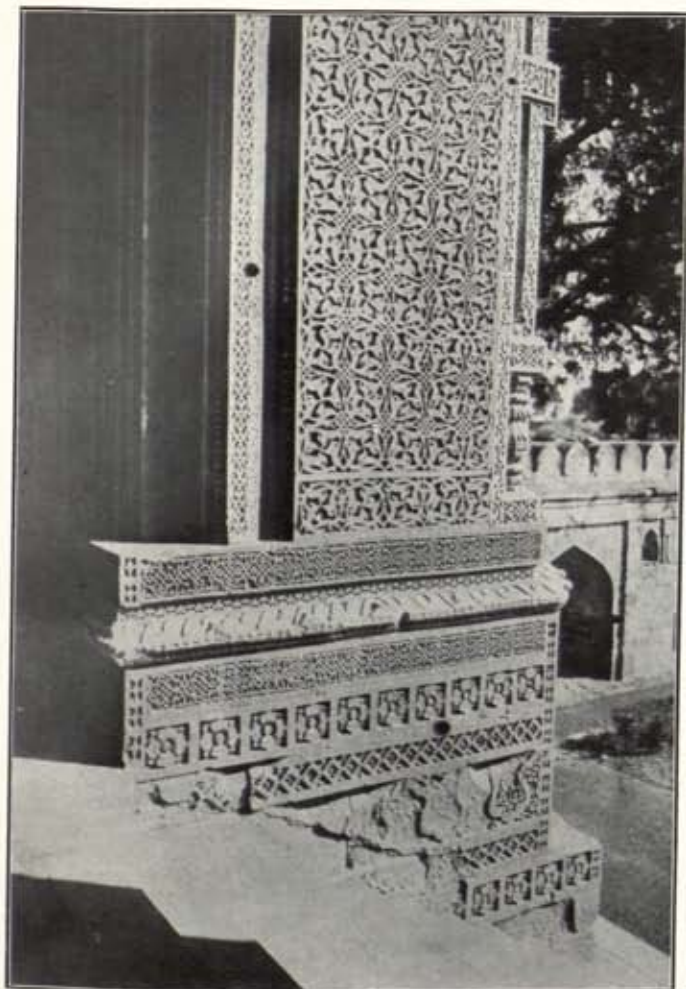


(c) FRAGMENTS OF CIRCULAR COURSES OF A DOME, PROBABLY FROM ALTAMISH'S TOMB. (NOTE ALSO FRAGMENT OF STEPPED KANGUBA, WHICH MAY HAVE COME FROM ALTAMISH'S SCREEN EXTENSION).

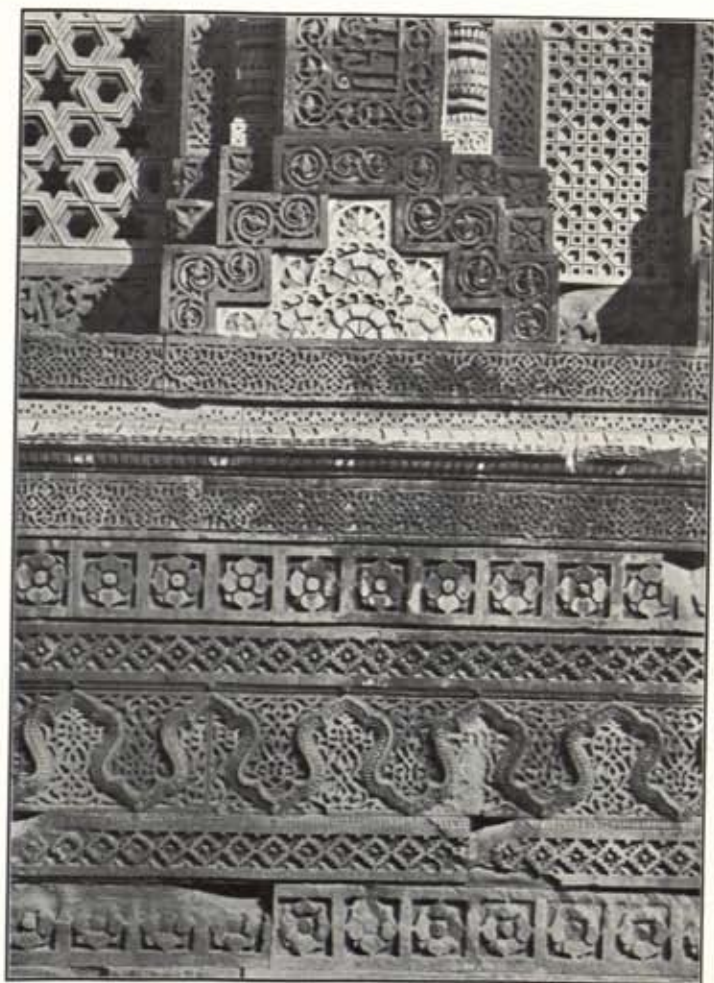




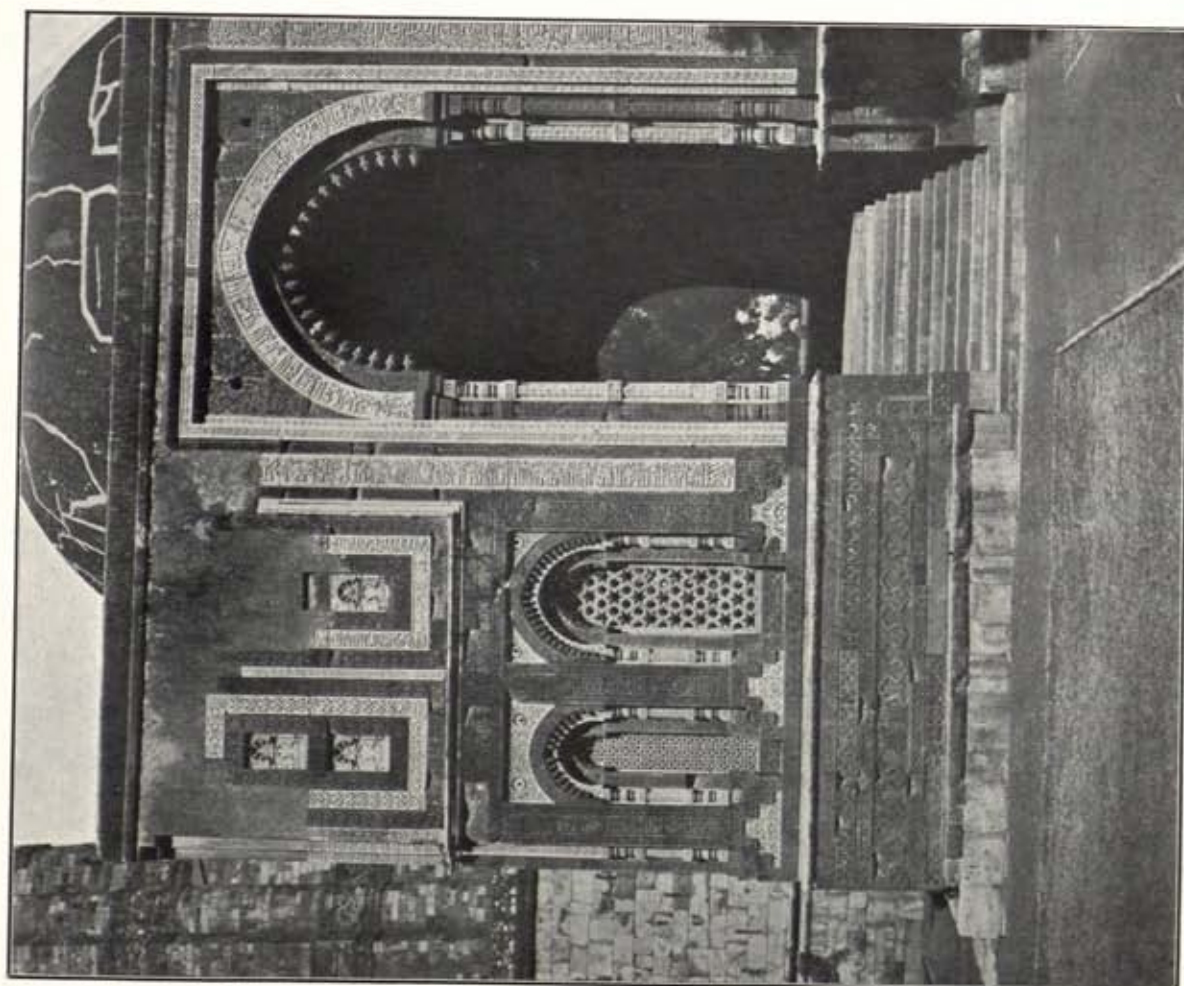
(a) VIEW OF SOUTH FACADE OF ALAI DARWAZA AS REPAIRED BY MAJOR SMITH R.E. IN 1828. (COMPARE RECONSTRUCTED UPPER PARAPET IN DRAWING PL. NO. VII).



(b) ALAI DARWAZA, DETAIL OF JAMB CARVING (NOTE CONTRAST OF SARACENIC SURFACE CARVING WITH HINDU TYPE OF MARBLE PLINTH MOULDING).



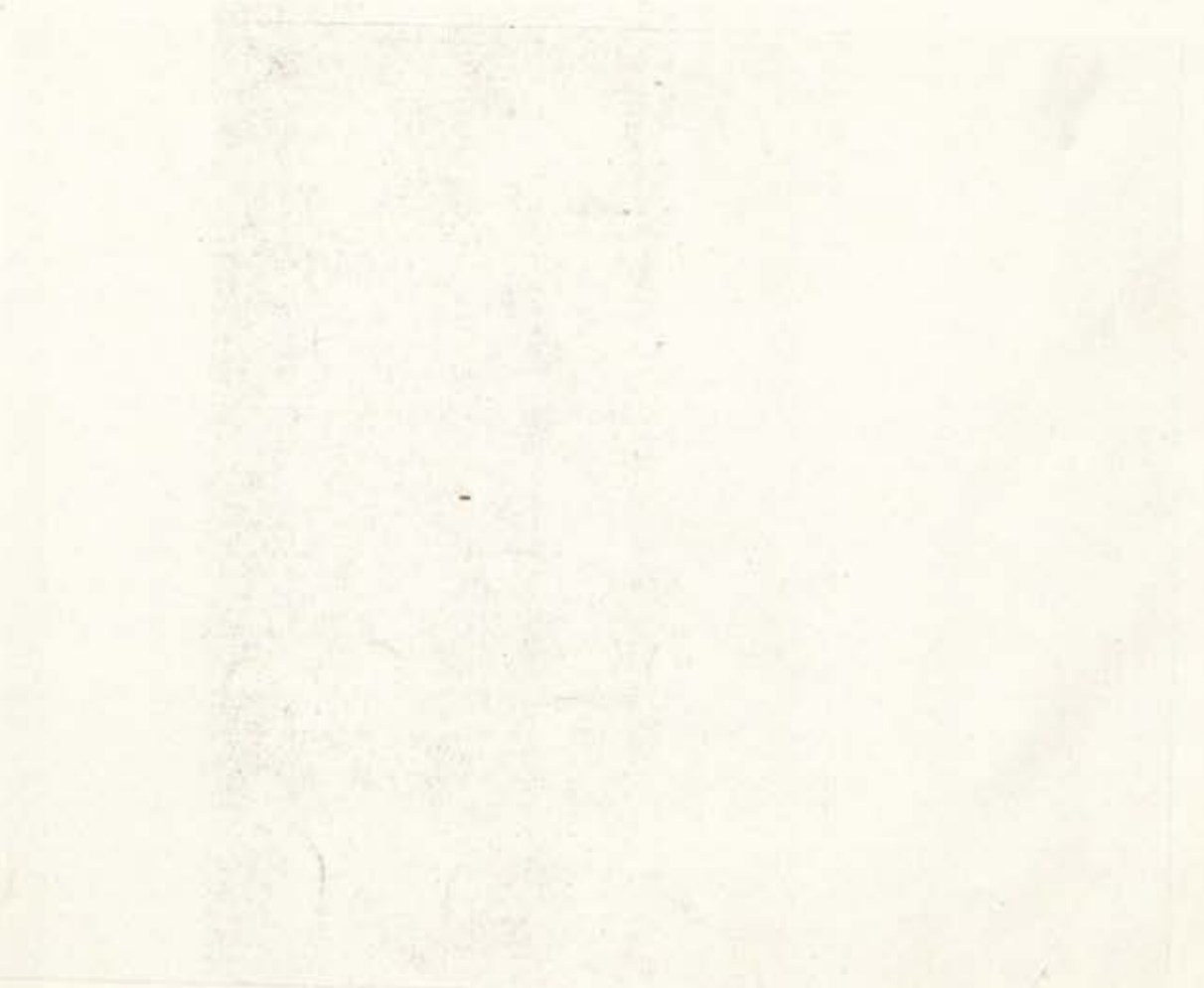
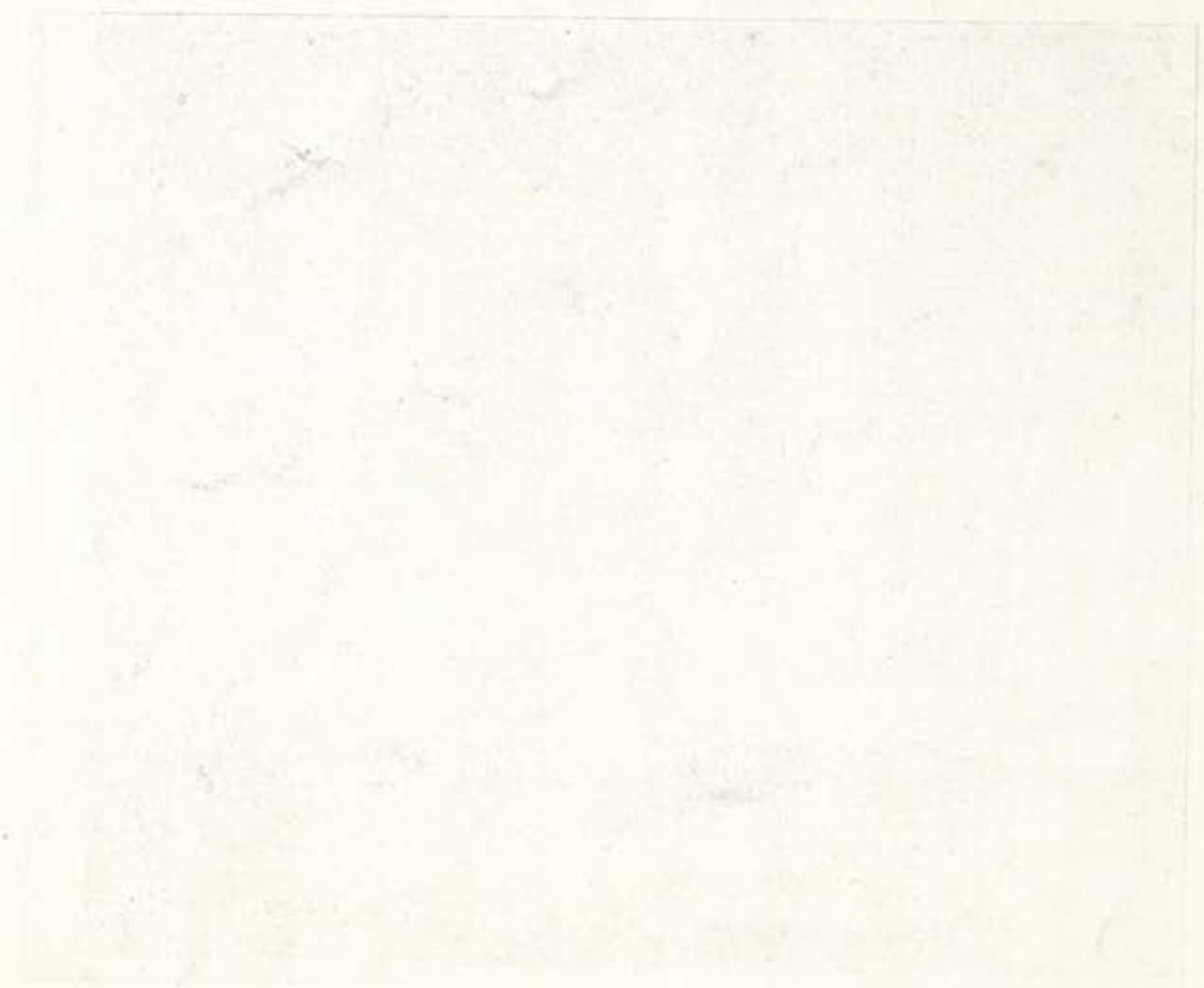
(c) ALAI DARWAZA, DETAIL OF CARVING ON EXTERIOR, SHOWING COMBINATION OF SARACENIC AND HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE DECORATION.

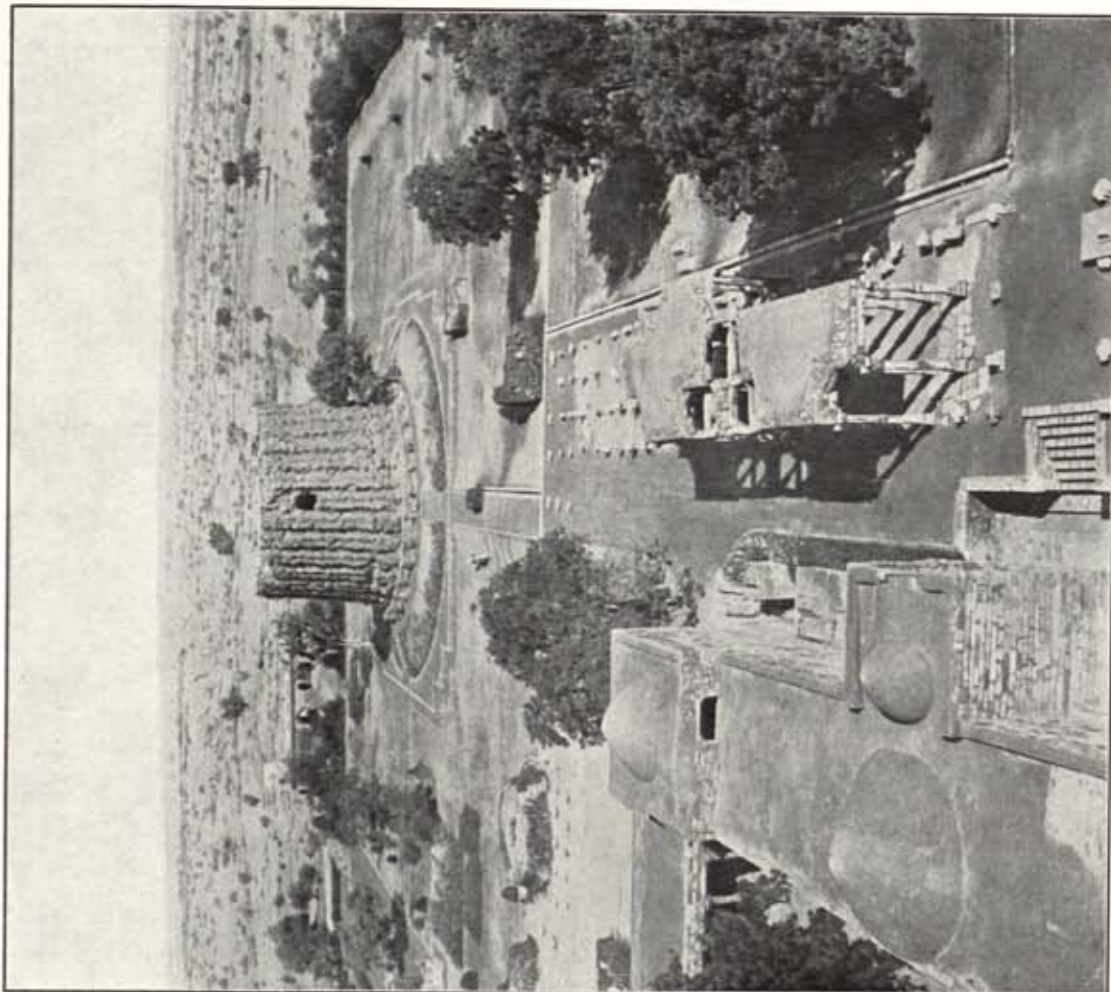


(a) ALAI DARWAZA, DETAIL OF PANELLED TREATMENT IN MARBLE AND RED SANDSTONE.

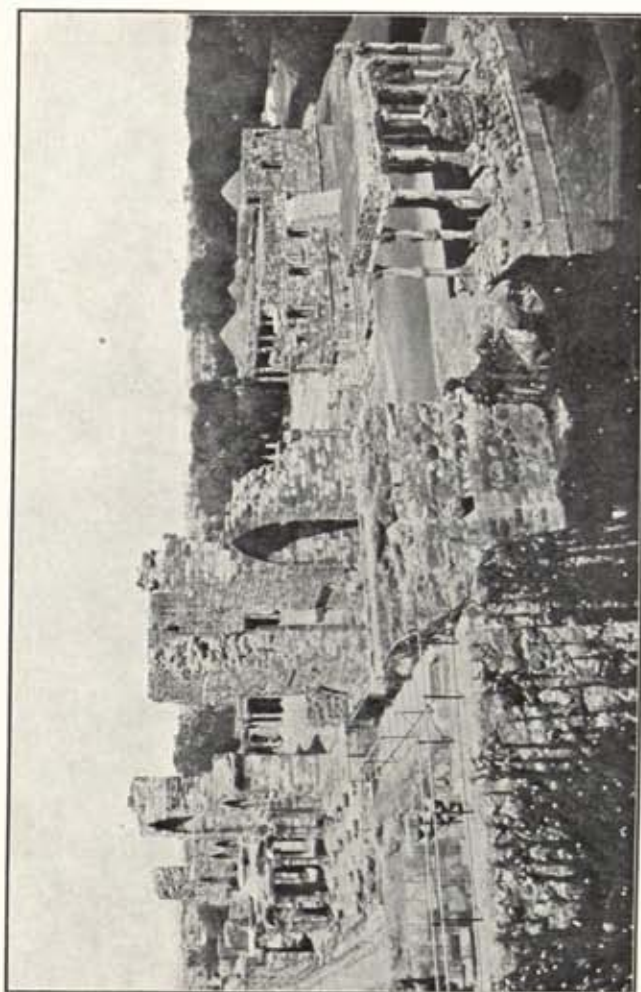


(b) ALAI DARWAZA, VIEW OF NORTH FACADE SHOWING SEMI-CIRCULAR ARCH.

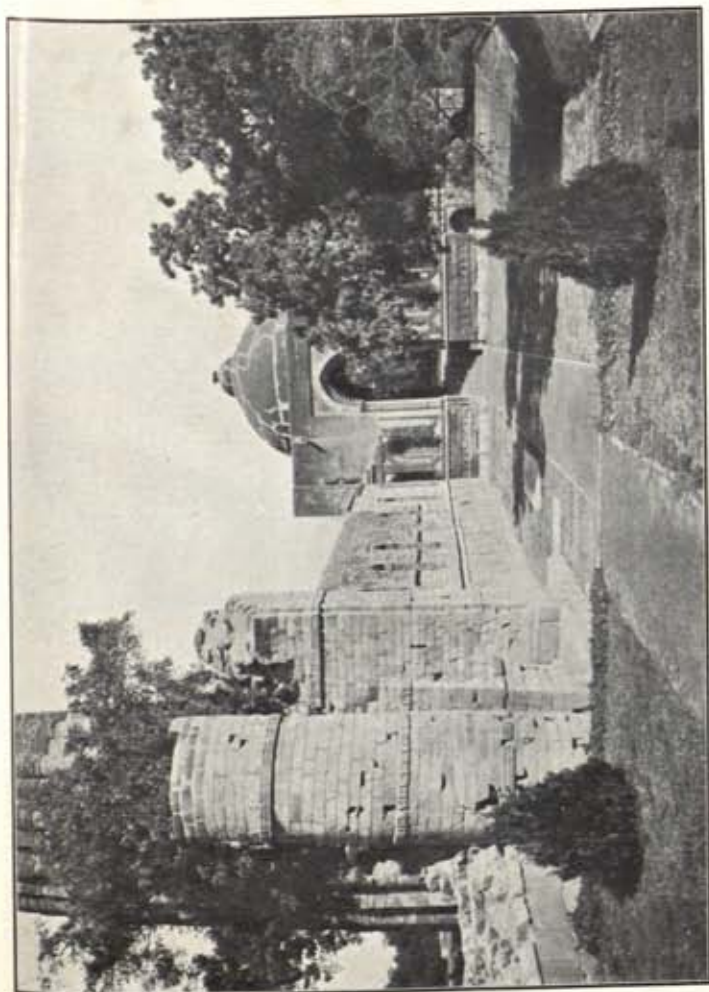




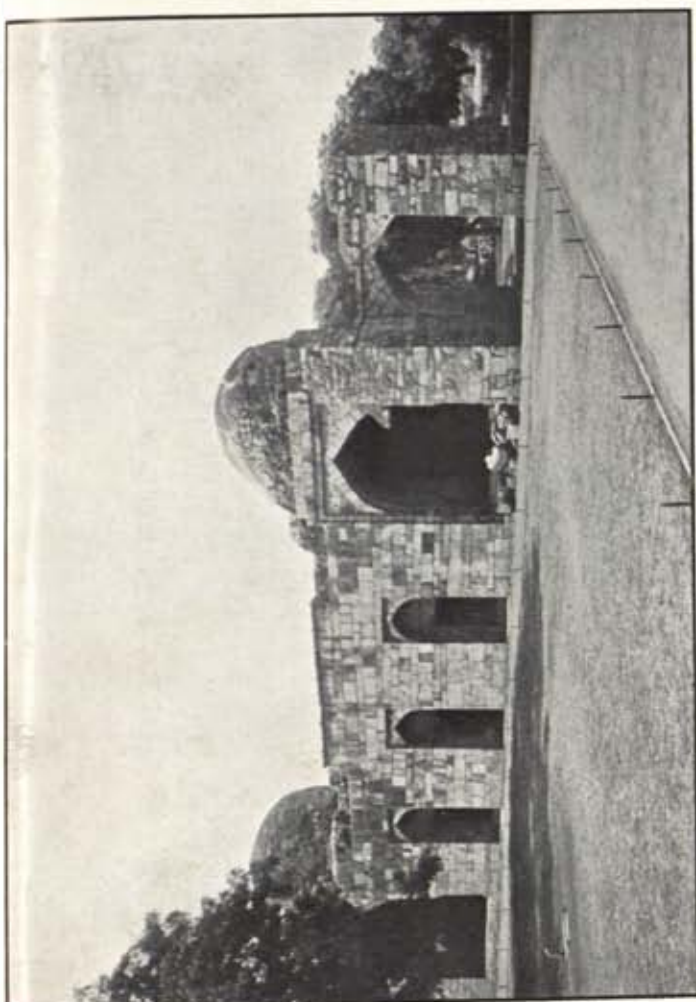
(b) GENERAL VIEW OF MOSQUE AREA FROM FIRST BALCONY OF MINAR, SHOWING QUTBU-D-DIN'S ORIGINAL MOSQUE (EASTERN PORTION), REMAINS OF ALTAMISH'S COLONNADE, AND ALAU-D-DIN'S UNFINISHED MINAR.



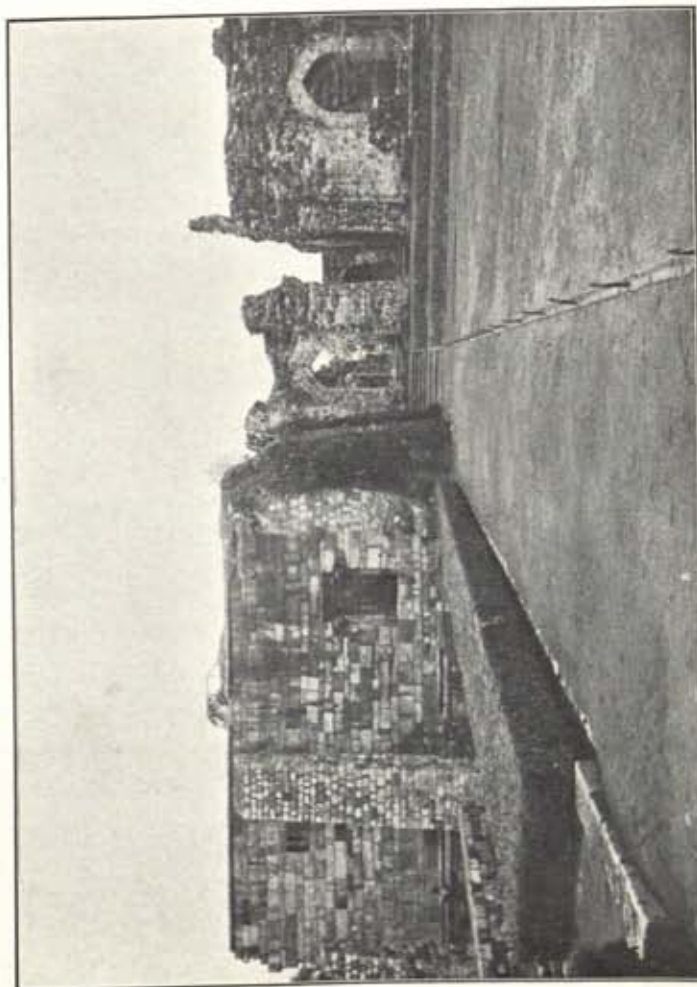
(a) GENERAL VIEW OF QUTB MOSQUE AREA, FROM ROOF OF ALAU-D-DIN'S COLLEGE.



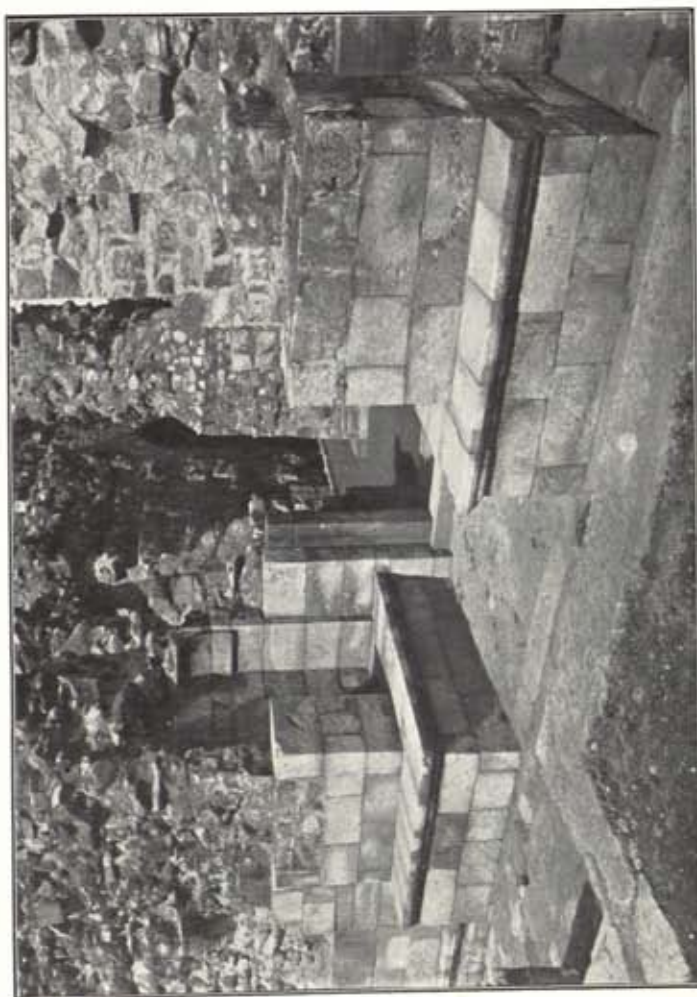
(a) VIEW OF ALTAMISH'S AND ALAU-D-DIN'S SOUTHERN GATEWAYS, SHOWING JUNCTION OF MASONRY IN THE CURTAIN WALL BETWEEN THEM.



(b) ALAU-D-DIN KHLIJI'S MADRASSA (COLLEGE); VIEW OF BUILDINGS ON WEST SIDE OF QUADRANGLE. THE ARCHWAY ON THE RIGHT-HAND SIDE WAS ORIGINALLY ENCLOSED BY THE SAME FACADE TREATMENT AS EXISTS BETWEEN THE DOMES.

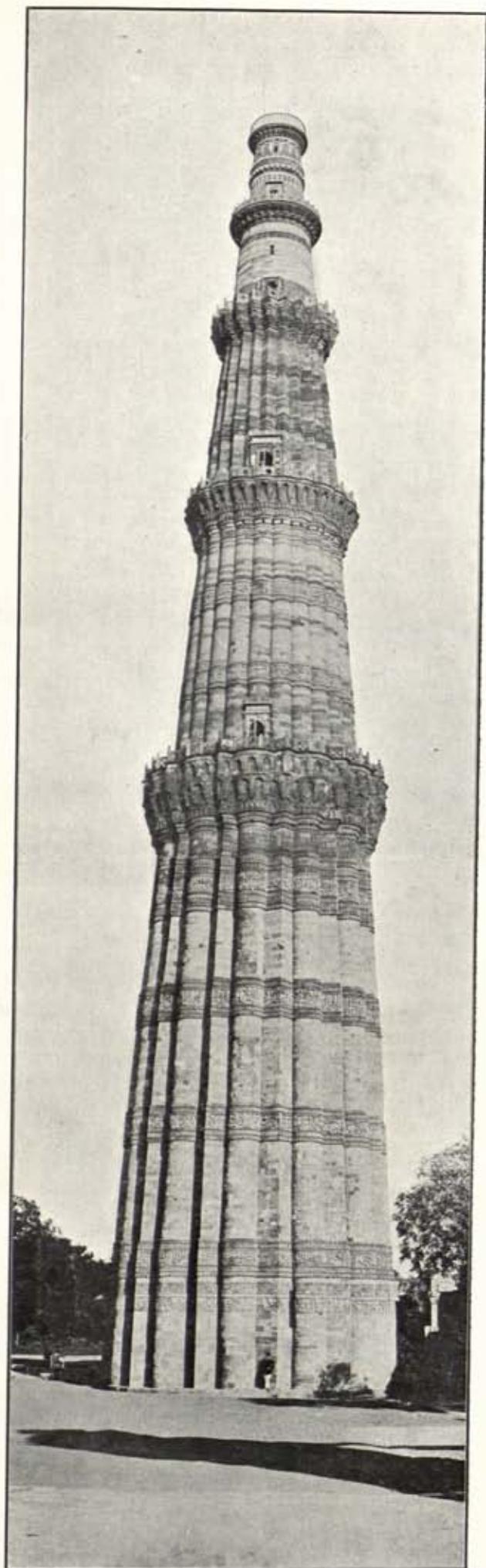


(c) ALAU-D-DIN'S MADRASSA; VIEW OF SOUTH FACADE OF COURT.

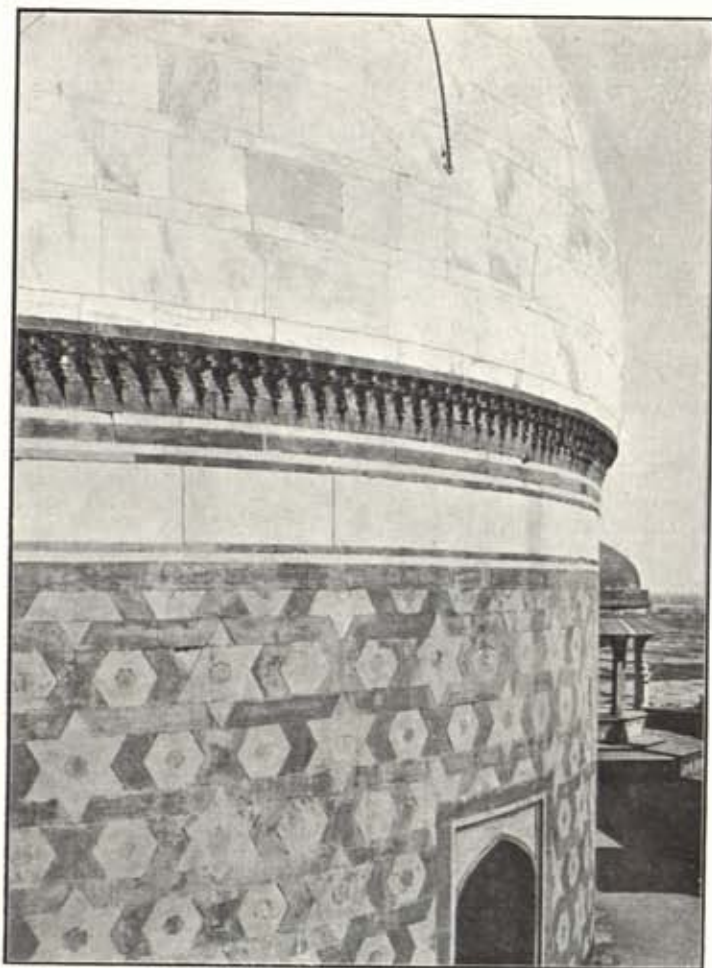


(d) ALAU-D-DIN'S MADRASSA; VIEW OF REMAINS OF GATE IN THE SOUTH FACADE.

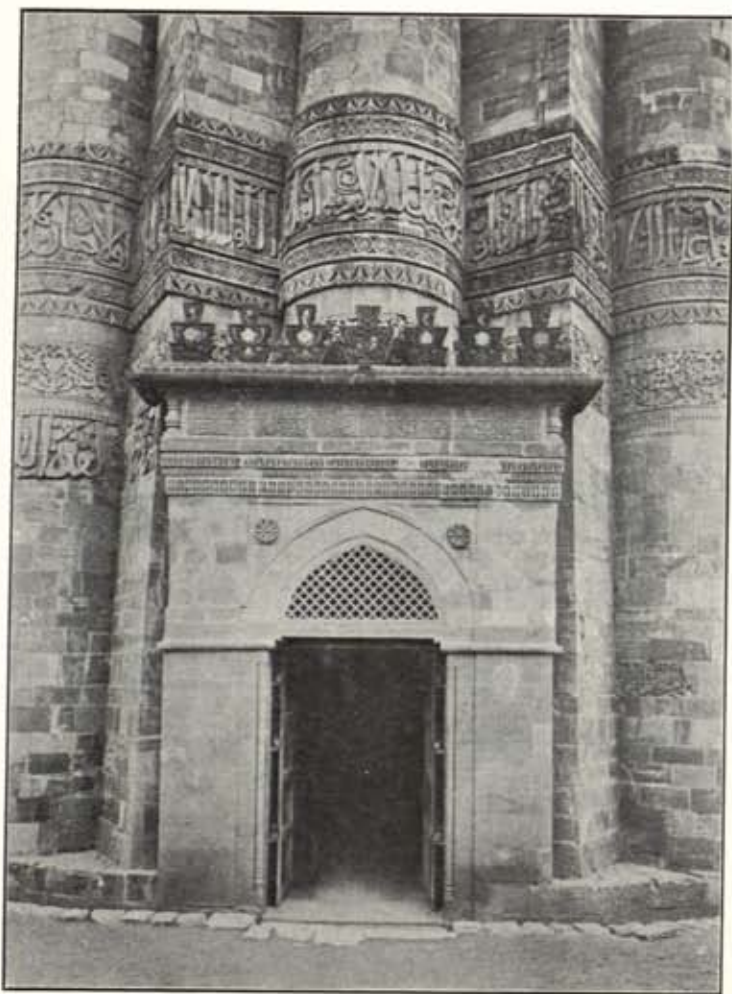




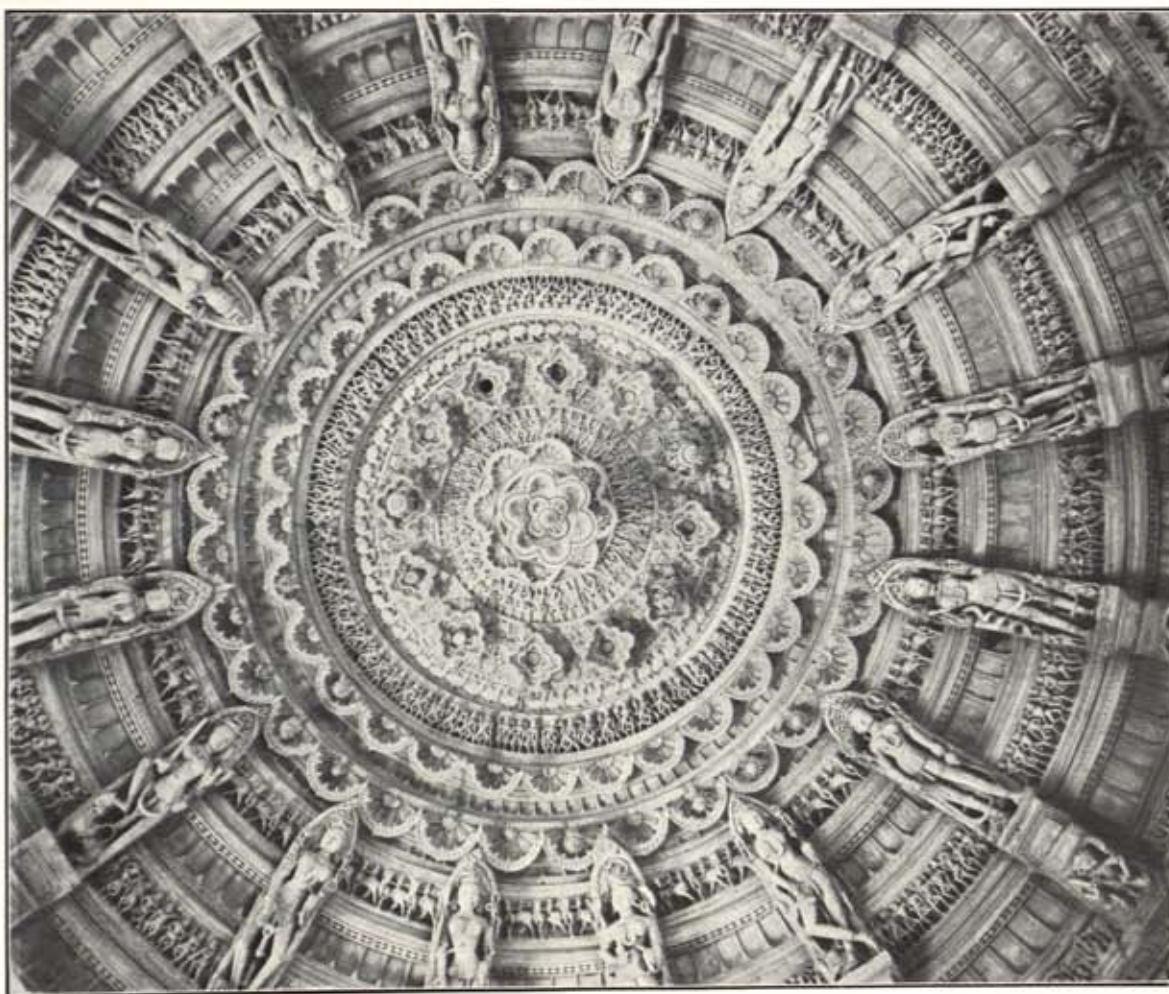
(a) VIEW OF THE QUTB MINAR, CONTRASTING THE ARCHITECTURAL STYLE OF THE ORIGINAL WORK OF ALTAMISH WITH FIROZ SHAH TUGHLAQ'S LATER REPAIR OF THE TWO TOP STOREYS (c f. ALSO "STALACTITE" DECORATION OF HUMAYUN'S TOMB, DELHI, PL. 17 b).



(b) DETAIL VIEW OF "STALACTITE" DECORATION AT SPRINGING OF DOME OF HUMAYUN'S TOMB, DELHI; THE FIRST INSTANCE OF THE REAPPEARANCE OF THIS TYPICAL SARACENIC FEATURE IN INDIA AFTER ITS EARLY USE IN THE BALCONIES OF THE QUTB MINAR.



(c) MINAR. ENTRANCE DOORWAY (REPAIRED BY MAJOR SMITH, R.E. IN 1828). ALL THE WORK ABOVE THE ARCHITRAVE IS THE ORIGINAL REPLACED IN POSITION.



(a) VIMALA SHAH'S TEMPLE AT MOUNT ABU, RAJPUTANA. VIEW OF GREAT DOME IN CENTRE. THE HONEYCOMB ENRICHMENTS OF THIS ARCHITECTURAL FEATURE CERTAIN WRITERS HAVE THOUGHT TO BE THE SOURCE OF THE TYPICAL "STALACTITE" DECORATION OF THE SARACENIC ARCHITECTURAL STYLE; BUT ERRONEOUSLY IN THE PRESENT WRITER'S VIEW (COMPARE BALCONIES OF THE QUTB MINAR).



(b) DODDABASAPPA TEMPLE AT DAMBAL, DHARWAR DISTRICT, BOMBAY. VIEW FROM S. E. SHOWING STAR-SHAPED PLAN OF SJKHARA, IN WHICH ARCHITECTURAL FEATURE CERTAIN WRITERS SEEK THE PROTOTYPE OF THE QUTB MINAR PLAN.



(c) MAHADEO TEMPLE AT GONDESVAR, SINNAR, NASIK DISTRICT; GENERAL VIEW FROM N. E.





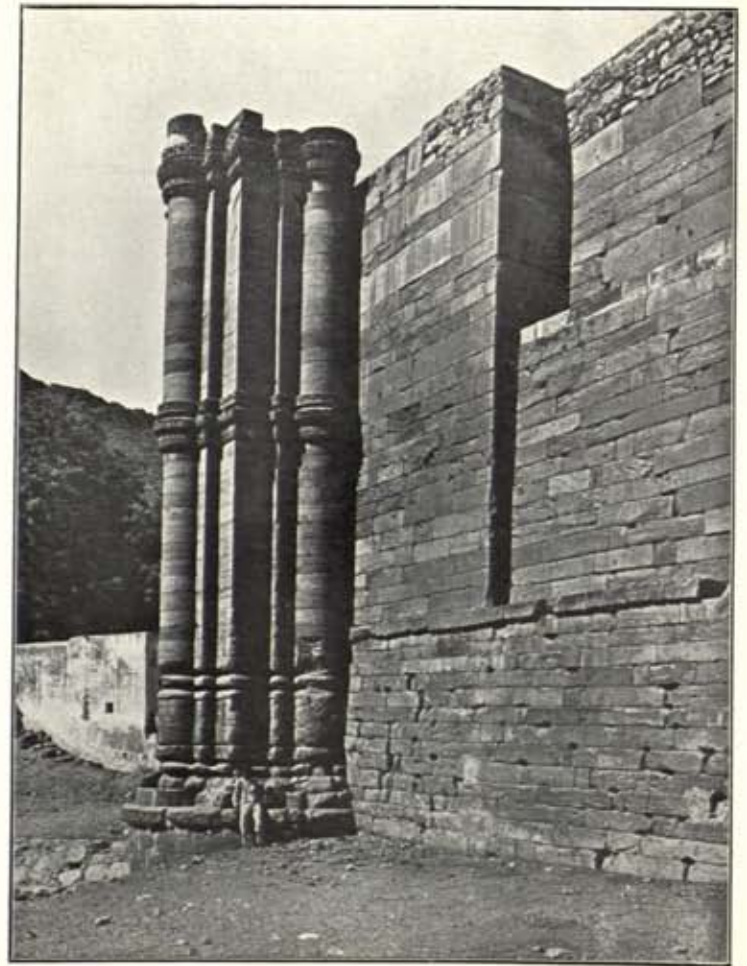
(a) AJMIR MOSQUE. CENTRE BAY OF GREAT SCREEN.



(b) AJMIR MOSQUE. INTERIOR OF PRAYER CHAMBER, SHOWING SIMILAR ARRANGEMENT OF HINDU COLUMNS TO THAT AT THE QUTB.



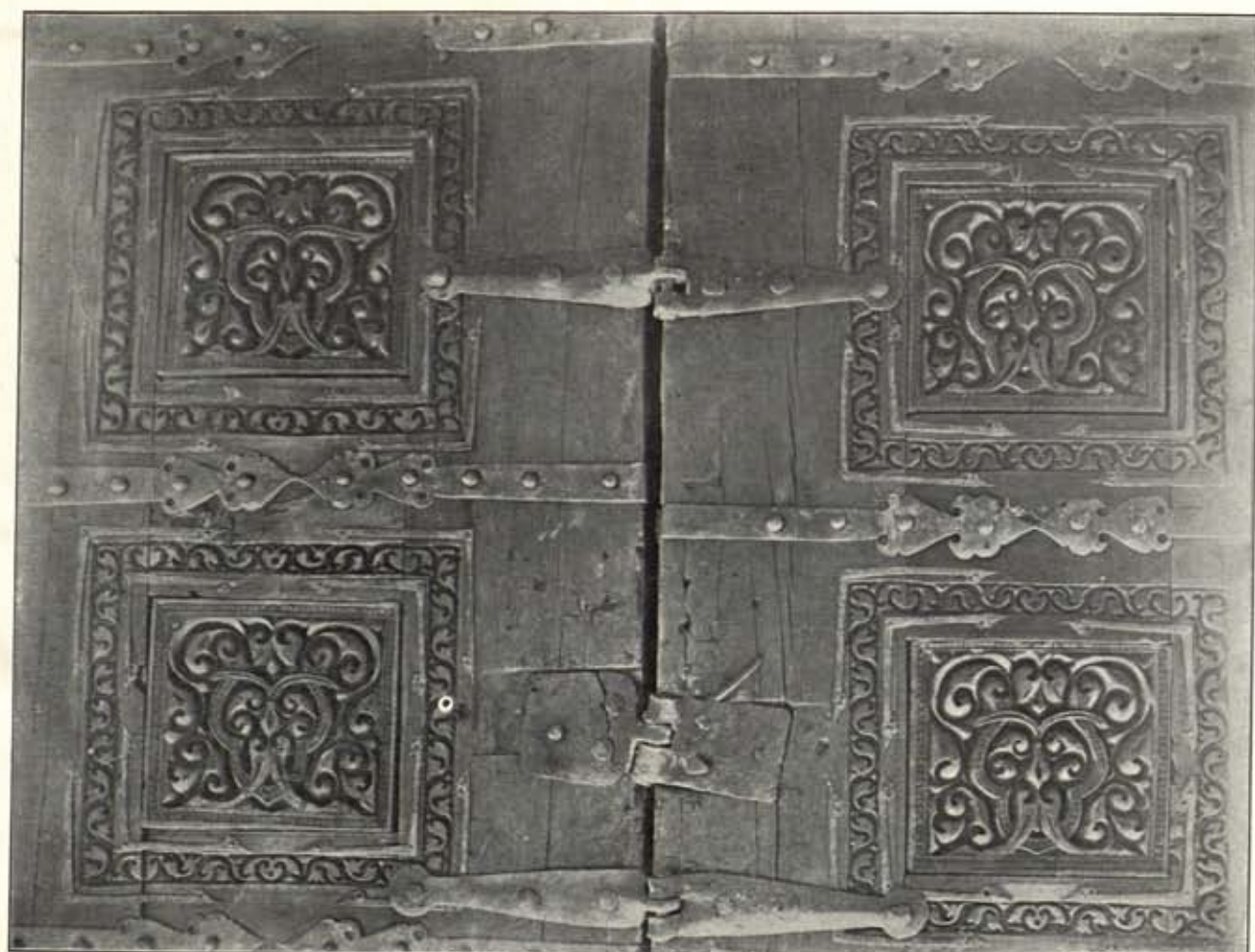
(c) AJMIR MOSQUE. DETAIL OF SARACENIC ORNAMENT (COMPARE ALTAMISH'S SIMILAR DECORATION AT THE QUTB).



(d) AJMIR MOSQUE, CORNER BASTION (COMPARE PLAN WITH THAT OF QUTB MINAR).

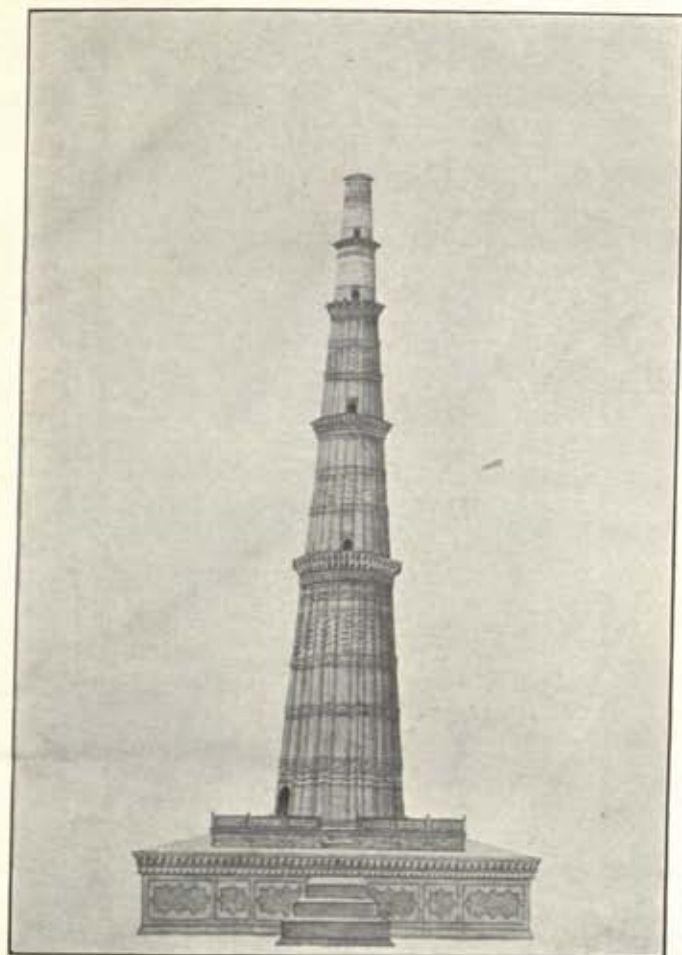


(a) GHAZNI GATE, DETAIL OF FRONT PANELS.

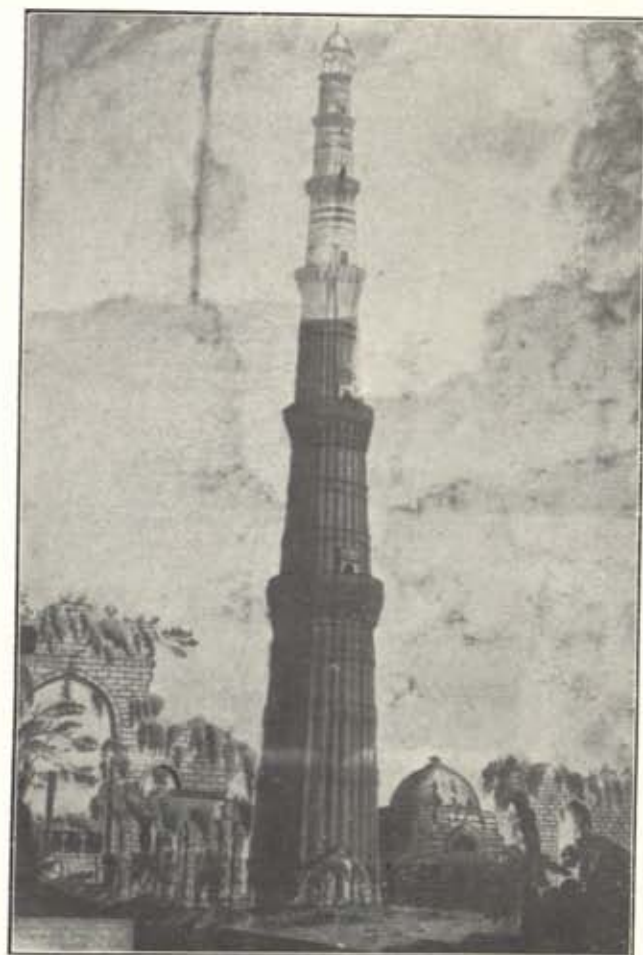


(b) GHAZNI GATE, DETAIL OF REAR PANELS.





(a) QUTB MINAR, REPRODUCED FROM A PICTURE EXHIBITED IN THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, SOUTH KENSINGTON, LONDON.

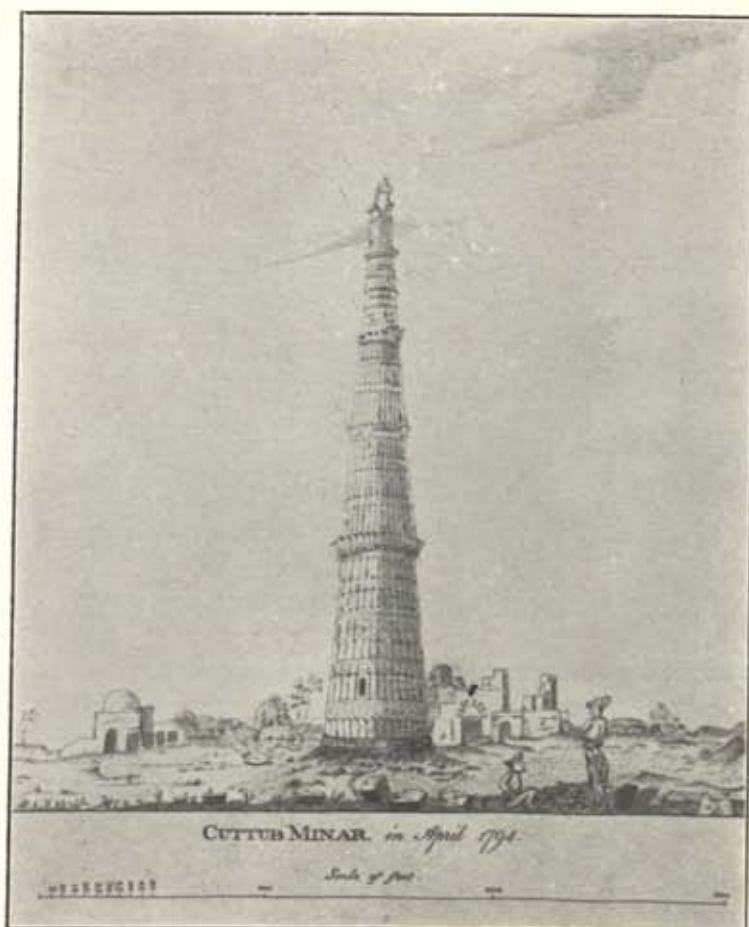


(b) QUTB MINAR. REPRODUCTION OF A PICTURE IN THE DELHI MUSEUM (CAT. NO. J 51). NOTE THE KANGURAS AROUND BALCONIES, AND THE ONE STOREY TOO MANY.



QUTB MINAR DELHI

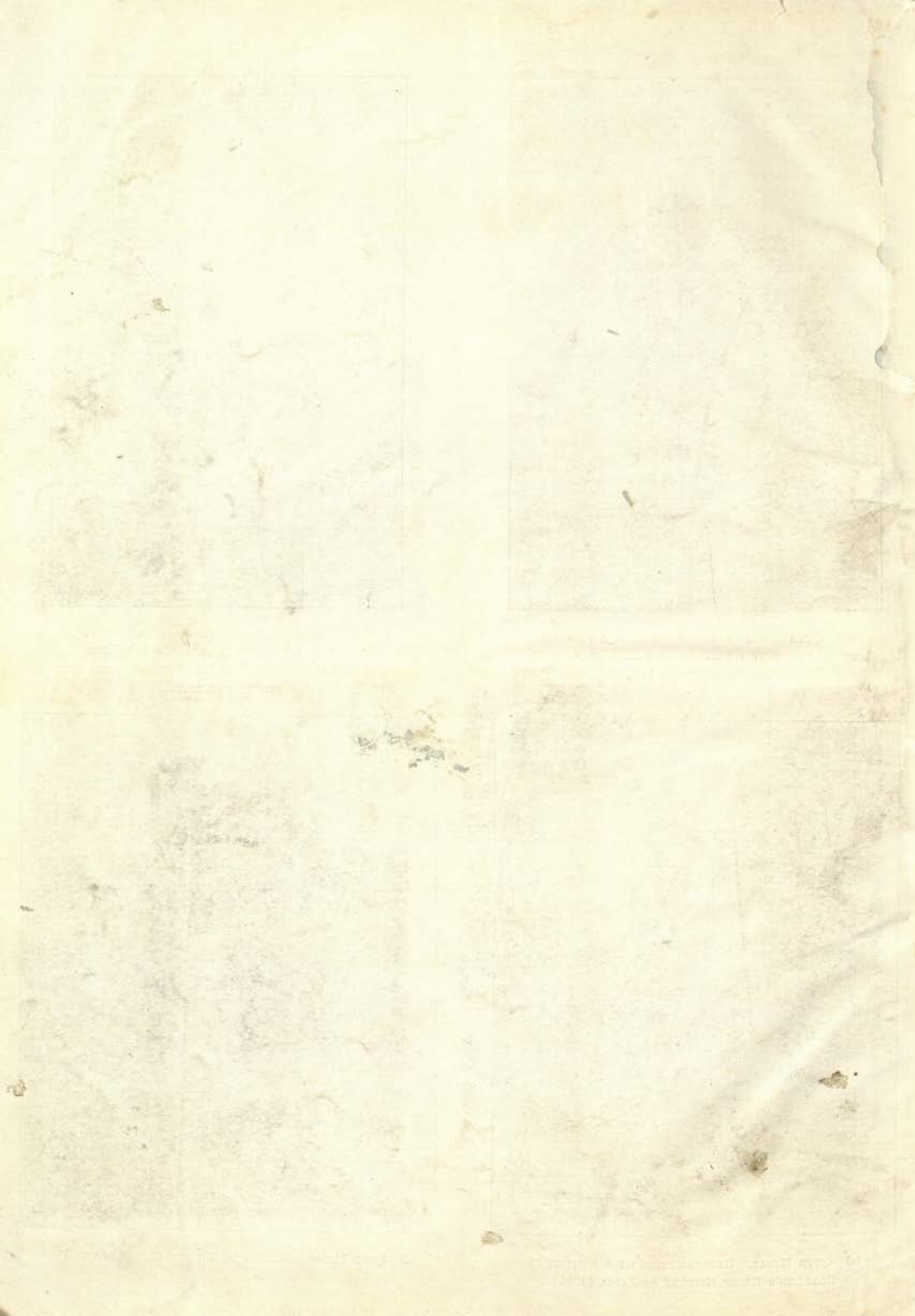
(c) QUTB MINAR. REPRODUCTION OF A PICTURE IN BLAGDEN'S BRIEF HISTORY OF INDIA (1806).

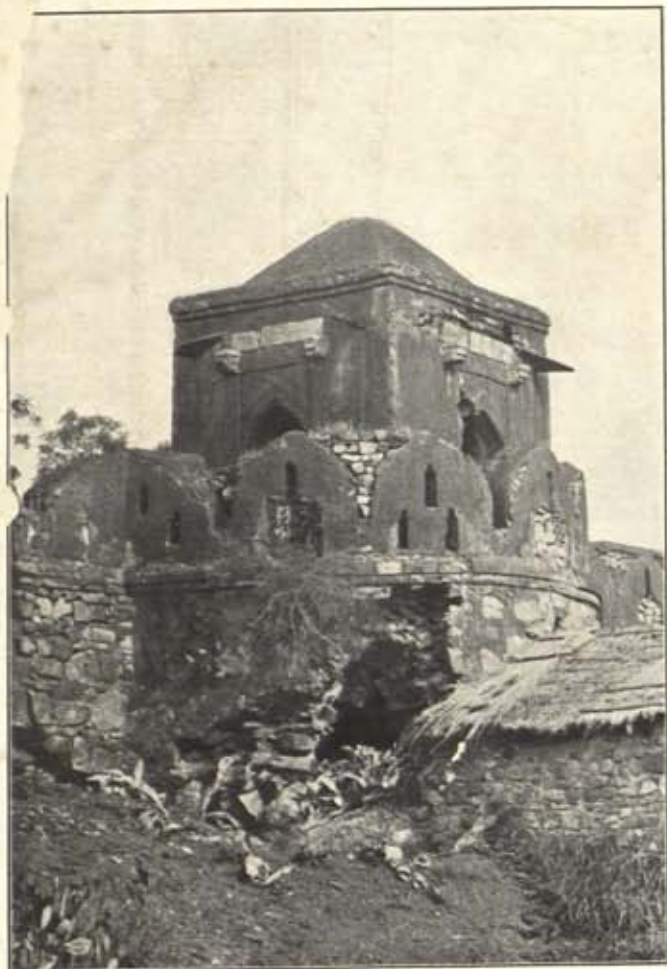


CUTTUB MINAR. in April 1794.

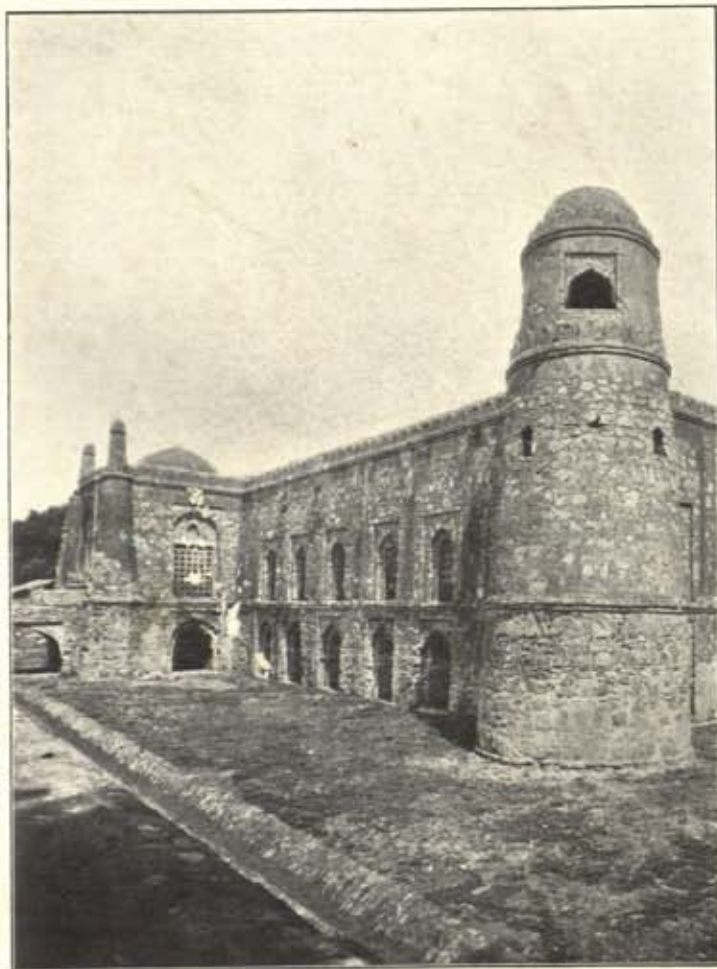
Scale of feet.

(d) QUTB MINAR. SKETCH BY ENSIGN BLUNT DATED 1794.





(a) EXAMPLE OF SQUARE CHATKHRA OF FIROZ SHAH'S PERIOD AT THE TOMB OF KHAN-I-JAHAN TILANGANI.



(b) EXAMPLE OF ROUND CHATKHRA OF FIROZ SHAH'S PERIOD AT THE KHIRKI MASJID.

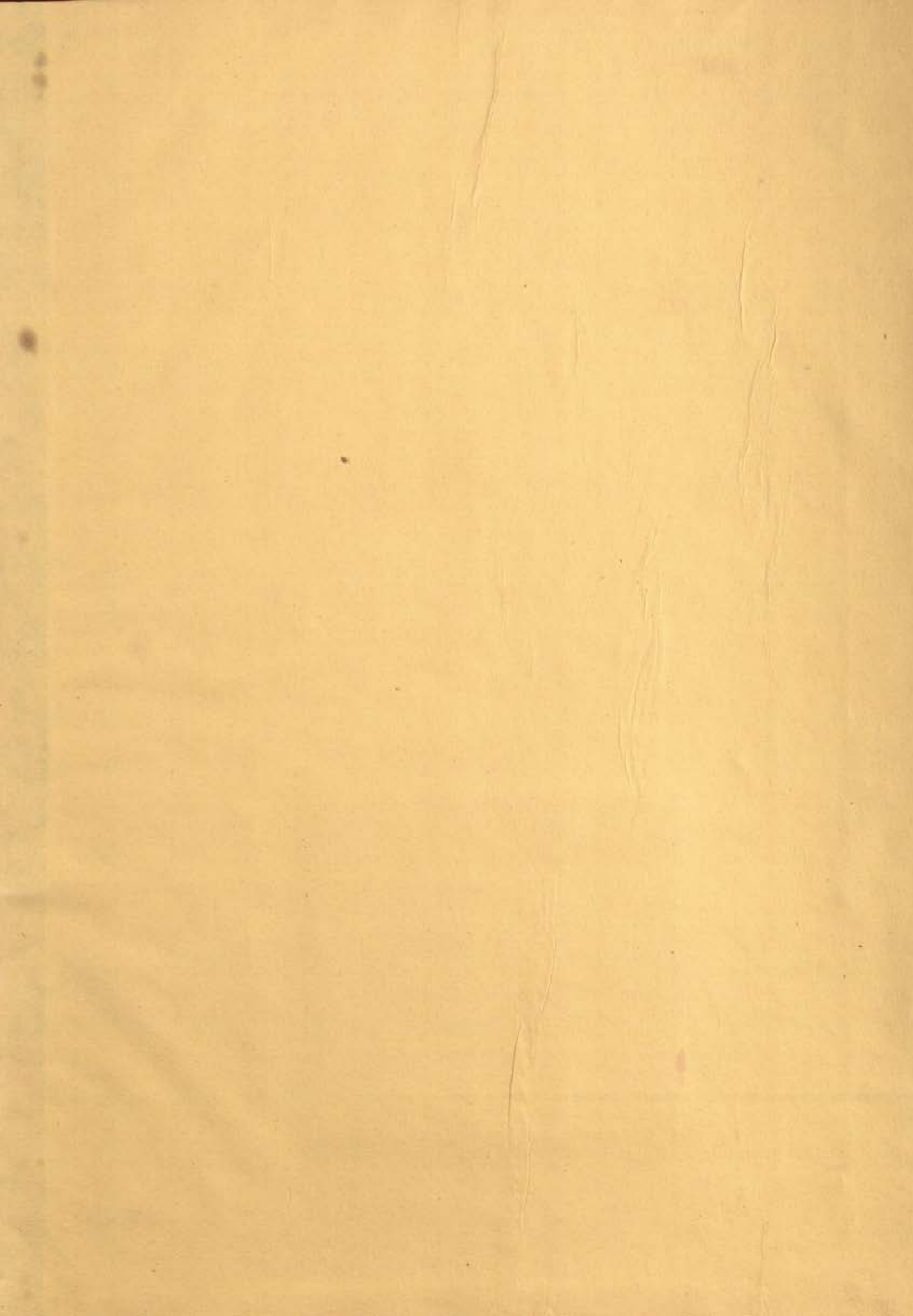


(c) TOMB OF IMAM ZAMIN AT THE QUTB.



(d) SANDERSON MEMORIAL SUNDIAL ERECTED AT THE QUTB.





Ms. A. 9. 2. 11. 18175

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