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Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707

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1981
The first mention of Mūlasthānpūrā, which undoubtedly gave its name to the modern city of Multān, occurs in the travels of Hiu en-Tsiang. He calls the city Meulo-sān-pū-lo which is transcribed into Mūlasthānpūrā. Multān was visited by the Muslim armies during the reign of Abū Bakr in 44/664, when Muhallab the Arab general, penetrated the ancient capital of Mallī. No effort was made to retain this conquest. Abū'l-Qāsim, better known as Ibu Khūrda dbih, was the earliest known of the Arab geographers who wrote about this region. His undated work, The Book of Roads and Kingdoms, describes the city of Multān by the name of Farj, because Muhammad b. Qāsim found vast quantities of gold in the city which henceforth was

map of Multān showing fort, city and surviving Muslim monuments in 1874

1. Tomb of Shāh Shams Tabrīz
2. Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥaqq
3. Tomb of Rukn-i ʿĀlam
4. Jāmiʿ Mosque
5. Sīkī Gate
6. Daulat Gate
7. Rahrī Gate
8. Dīl Dej Gate
9. Khigīrī Gate
10. Bauhar Gate
11. Harem Gate
12. Pāk Gate
13. Delhi Gate
called by the Arabs the 'House of Gold'.\footnote{S.M.Latif, *Early History of Multan* (Lahore, 1891), 2. Ibn Khurdādbih died 300/912.}

Al-Masʿūdī, who visited this city in 303/915, in his work 'The Meadows of Gold' (completed 330/942) gives a glowing tribute to Multān: "It is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musulmāns, and in its neighbourhood there are a hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages". Both Istakhrī, who wrote about 340/951, and Ibn Hauqal, who based his work on that of Istakhrī, speak of Multān as a large, fortified and impregnable city, about half the size of Mansūra, the ancient capital of Muslim Sind.\footnote{Ibid., 5.}

The next mention of Multān is made by the famous Arab geographer Abū Rihan al-Bīrūnī. According to him the city of Mūlasthānā was captured by Mahmūd of Ghaznī in 1005 when he defeated the Qarmatians. In 1193 the city was taken by Shīhāb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūr.

Whereas Istakhrī described Multān as half the size of Mansūra in 340/951, Idrīsī in 521/1130 described it as big as Mansūra itself. Munshi Ḥukm Chand also quotes this urban growth.\footnote{Munshi Ḥukm Chand, *Tārīkh-i Dilla-i Multān*, (Lahore, 1884), 44; he refers to Multān as quoted by al-Idrīsī in his work *Muzhāt al-Mushtaq fī Iftikhar al-Afaq*, and Zakariya al-Qazvini's *Āthar al-Bilad wa Ikhbār al-Bilād*.} At the death of Shīhāb al-Dīn (1205), Qubāchā was governor of Multān; in 605/1217 he lost it to Shams al-Dīn ʻĪltutmīsh. During the last days of the Tughlaqs the whole of their empire was almost in pieces. The people
of Multan elected Yusuf Gardīzī, a religious leader, to run the affairs of the city. Qutb al-Dīn in 857/1469 brought much desired peace and prosperity to this city.

Multān was then seized by Qutb al-Dīn Langah who till his death in 1483 ruled peacefully for fourteen years. For another eighteen years Multān was held by the Langah dynasty, and during this period Multān became the principal city on the route between Delhi and Qandahār. In 1526 the city was seized by Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, who was at that time ruling over Sind. He mounted this expedition on behalf of Bābur. On Bābur's death Humāyūn was compelled to surrender Multān to his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā. During the period when Humāyūn was in exile in Iran Shīr Shāh Sūr attacked Multān and gained control over it. It was recaptured by Akbar during his reign and remained with the Mughals till 1738. It had its most prosperous period during the reign of Aurangzīb. In 1738-39 Multān was attacked by Nādir Shāh and Ranjīt Singh invaded it in 1818. In 1848 it was annexed by the British.

Al-Idrīsī writing about Multān in the beginning of the twelfth century describes it as "a large city commanded by a citadel which has four gates and is surrounded by a moat." The fort till lately had four gates but none survives today except the one which is a

1. The exact date of Shīr Shāh's attack on Multān is not quoted by historians. For the events of the previous century, see Latif, op.cit., 2 ff
2. Sir Edward D. Maclagan, Gazetteer of the Multan District (Lahore, 1902), 16.
fairly recent construction and is known as Qāsim Gate. The four gates which the fort had were known as Khīdrī gate (to the north), called after Khīdr Khan, governor of Multān at the time of Timūr's invasion; that to the west, the De gate; that to the south, the Rahī gate and that to the east, the Sikkī gate. The walled city of Multān had six gates apart from the four mentioned above which belonged to the fort. No trace of the wall or any substantial trace of these gates survives. Various quarters of the city, however, are still known after these city gates. They were known as i) Delhī gate, ii) Daulat gate, iii) Lāhubī gate, iv) Baharī gate, v) Harem gate and vi) Pāk gate. The city walls were built by Nawāb 'Alī Muhammad Khan Khākwānī in 1170/1756.

Architectural Style

Although the whole of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent remained architecturally under the influence of Delhī, two cities of the Panjāb, Lahore and Multān, developed their own styles. The most conspicuous reason for this independent development was that it was through these two cities that Islām entered the subcontinent. Multān was the first to come under the influence of Islām through the invasion of Muhammad b. Qāsim in the early 8th century. Afterwards it maintained associations with Southern Persia to which it had ready access by sea as well as land. Much of its architectural character was therefore moulded by Iran rather than India. Multān's architecture, tiles, and

1. Alexander Cunningham does not refer to the Lāhubī gate in his Archaeological Survey of India Report 1872-73 (Calcutta, 1875) V, plate xxxvi
minor arts still testify to these facts. Lahore, on the other hand, received Islamic influence nearly two hundred years after Multān, through what is now Afghanistan. It was Mahmūd of Ghaznī who invaded the Panjāb and took control of Lahore and ended the long rule of the Hindus. Lahore thereafter remained the provincial capital of the Ghaznavid rulers.

The architecture of the Panjāb used mainly brick. In the absence of fine stone, which was not readily accessible, brickwork of remarkable quality was produced at Multān, "The bricks being not unlike those used by the Roman builders, broad but thin, and when occasion demanded it was not uncommon for them to be laid in upright courses to ensure additional strength."¹ The use of wood, e.g. in some of the mausoleums at Multān, is especially characteristic of this style. Nowhere else in Pakistan does woodwork have a comparable role in architecture as in Multān and its environs. The aim was to strengthen the brick structure by introducing wooden beams inserted horizontally into the walls. Buildings thus sometimes appeared almost articulated with timber. The use of timber made arches unnecessary and lintels were used instead. Walls thus gained increased durability and stability. Doorways, windows and overhanging balconies, all lavishly carved, were also executed in wood. Parts of buildings were also decorated with painted plaster and panelling of glazed tiles, in brilliant purple, deep blue and light blue on a white ground. The wooden house facades of Multān "although basically Islamic are

nevertheless strongly impregnated with the imaginative genius of the indiginous craftsman". ¹

The mausoleums in Multān are not of emperors or kings but of saintly personages. Their construction spans a period from the middle of the twelfth century to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Though these monuments have been repeatedly repaired, their original architectural design has survived. The mausoleums are those of: Abu'l -Fadl Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Yūsuf Gardīzī, commonly known as Yūsuf Gardīzī (1152); Shāh Bahā' al-Haqq; Shāh Dānā Shāhid (d.1270); Shāh Shams al-Dīn Tabrīzī (d.1276) and Shāh Rukn-i ʿAlām. The mausoleum of Yūsuf Gardīzī is rectangular in plan and the mausoleum of Shāh Bahā' al-Haqq, Shāh Dānā Shāhid and Shāh Shams al-Dīn are square or rectangular in plan while the mausoleum of Shāh Rukn-i ʿAlām is octagonal in plan with sloping walls. All these mausoleums are brick-built with a certain amount of wood used in them. The decoration is executed in cut bricks as well as the coloured glazed tiles for which Multān is famous.

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MAUSOLEUM OF SHĀH YŪSUF GARDĪZĪ

Shaikh Yūsuf Gardīzī was born at Gardīz in 481/1088 and came to Multān at the age of 32. He died in 531/1136. ²

This mausoleum in comparison with the rest of the mausoleums of

¹. P. Brown, op.cit., 32.
Multān
Tomb of
Shāh Yusuf Gardīzī
Multān is unique in architectural character for it has a flat roof rather than a dome. Also unlike other mausoleums which are either square or octagonal, it is rectangular in plan. The mausoleum is elaborately decorated with glazed tiles of exquisite beauty. The rectangular plan is approximately 5.60 x 8.70 metres with two doors on the southern side and one on the northern. To the south of the main building is a vast compound containing various other graves of the disciples of Yusuf Gardīzī and his family. An imāmbārā and a mosque were added to it in recent times.

The main entrance on the southern wall is off-centre. The door has a pointed arch enclosed in a rectangular frame which projects slightly from the main wall. Two projecting flat bands frame the door; the inscription in between is rendered in ṭughra'I on glazed tiles. For want of certain missing portions I am unable to give its text. Within the pointed arch above the architrave the bismillāh and the Islamic confession of faith is rendered in naskhī, in white letters on a blue ground. Above the door is a rectangular frame decorated with tiles bearing geometric patterns. The cornice has a cymarecta moulding above which are merlons all round. Below the cornice runs a band of inscription in the same manner and style as that in between the bands around the door.

On the exterior toward the west there is a construction which projects in order to accommodate the mihrāb inside; its walls have a distinct batter. About a foot or so below the horizontal band of inscription on this external side are four brackets probably built to hold oil lamps or themselves to hold the oil for illumination.
Inside the chamber, the anepigraphic mihrāb is surrounded by a rectangular frame, similar to the one noted at the entrance. The grave of the saint is a big mass of brick and mortar 3 x 1.50m and 75cm high. Just above the place where the corpse's right breast would be is a hole some 13cm in diameter. It is said that from this hole the saint's hand used to appear and bless his disciples.¹

The ceiling is elaborately embellished with tracery in stucco inlaid with small protruberant mirrors.

In this monument brick takes a secondary position as the whole of the structure is totally covered with tiles. It relieves for its effect not on the features employed in most architectural compositions, such as variety of planes, contrasting passages of light and shadow or the definition of mouldings, but wholly on the brilliant play of colour produced by these tiles.²

Leaving out the domes in some of the monuments of Bengal, the mausoleum of Shaikh Yusuf Gardīzī appears to be a prototype of the Chota Sōna³ and Tāntīpara mosques of Gaur.⁴

Close to this mausoleum is a small cupola covering a stone slab. According to a tradition this slab bears a footprint of Hadrat Ḥālī. In the court adjoining the cupola is a water reservoir, and to its

north is fixed a small slab of white marble bearing a three word inscription in Persian in nasta'liq. Thus

(Tr:) Wonderful Spring of Kauthar 1149.

Its date suggests that this tank was built by or during the period of Nawâb Saîf al-Daula 'Abd al-Samad Khân Dalîr Jang, governor of Multân in 1149/1736.

This cupola and shrine of Yûsuf Gardîzî is closely surrounded by houses two, three or four storeys high providing an absolutely unbefitting environment to this monument.

The Persian inscription inscribed over the small gateway on the southern side reads:

(Tr:) Are you aware of the lion rider who held a serpent in his hands,
He was Makhdûm Shâh Yûsuf, who lies here buried
Should a hurricane blow throughout the length and breadth of the world,
The lamp of the saints cannot be extinguished.
The date of his birth is obtained from the words "Shâh Yûsuf" (462)
And the date of his death from the words Shâh Gardîz. (557).

1. Both the dates given in the last couplet are wrong. The exact dates have been given in the text. Translation: Latif, op.cit., 32; he does not give the Persian text.
On the lintel of the eastern gateway there is a bilingual naskhī inscription in wood. This measures 57 x 9 cms. Its first line is in Arabic while the lower two are in Persian:

Line 1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بننا تقبل منا اک انت

Line 2

اسمع الله الظالمين و امر عين حكما عاليا بقوة الواسعين

Command the righteous and the evil-doers and to be firm in your speech

Line 3

عنة الكاظمين تقلب الاهلاب بوجه اعرضا نيا يوسف

Peace to the good-doers and the slaves of Allah.

(1) (Tr:) In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. O God! Accept from us; verily, thou hearest all and knowest everything. (Arabic ends). The sublime Khānqah of the model of the successful-in-love,

(2) the most distinguished amongst the seekers-after-truth, Qutb al-Aqtūb, the revered Saint Shāh Yūsuf Gardīzī, was erected during the tenure of Sajjādā of the Shaikh of Shaikhs,

(3) Shaikh Sadr al-Dīn Rājū, in the reign of the Sultan of Sultāns; Islām Shāh, in the year 955, and under the supervision of Sayyid Ahmad Husain Rajū, al-Husainī, al-Wasitī. 1.

On the southern main entrance there is another inscription in Arabic in tughrā characters. The whole text is of glazed tiles, in a single line

بناهَا الشيخ الامام الشافعي السعيد وماهي البديعة الشيخ

On the name of the Imam Shafīʿī, the accomplished, and the unique Sheikh

محمد دوست ولد شيخ المشايخ شيخ راهب وسید

Muhammad Dost, son of the Sheikh of Sheikhs, Sheikh Rāhīb, and Sāīd

الساسات سيد شيخ محمد الواصف الامام الشافعي

The sāṣāt, first Sheikh of Muhammad, the wāṣef, Imam Shafīʿī

فض الله ضن وراحة والمت من الهيجرة

May God Please, guard, and protect them, and all who have emigrated

---

This gate was erected by the benign Shaikh, the reviver of the laws of the Prophet and the destroyer of heresy, Shaikh Muhammad Yusuf, son of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh Raju, son of the Sayyid of Sayyids, Sayyid Fath Muhammad al-Wasiti, al-Gardizi, al-Husaini, al-Zaidi, in the year 1102 of the Hijra.

The tomb of Shah Yusuf Gardizi was followed by three similar examples constructed within a span of 15 years. The oldest of these is the mausoleum of Shah Bahai al-Haqq, followed by the mausoleum of Shadna Shahid and that of Shah Shams Tabrizi. They are square in plan with an octagonal second storey followed by a hemispherical dome above. These three monuments were built between 1262 and 1276.

MAUSOLEUM OF SHAH BAHAI AL-HAQQ.

The shrine is said to have been built by the saint himself, and according to Cunningham, there is only one other specimen extant of the architecture of this exact period, at Sonipat in India.

This tomb has a square plan measuring 15.55m per side. The lowest storey rises to a height of 12m. Above this rises another storey, this time octagonal in plan and some 5.75m in height; above this is the hemispherical dome. The whole structure is 23.40m high excluding the spire at the hemispherical dome. The major portion


2. Anon., "Multan", *Panjab District Gazetteer* (Lahore 1923), 278. The author does not identify the source.

Tomb of Bahá’u’lláh, inscription on the west porch.
of the building is covered in plaster of yellowish-white colour. The mausoleum has three entrances, but only the one on the eastern side is open. The fourth side contains the mihrab but externally this wall is similar to those of the north and south sides. Though the greater part of the building is covered with plaster, in places it was decorated with Multāni tiles and there still exist some fine specimens of diaper ornament in glazed tiles. Wherever plaster has vanished the brick infrastructure is visible below. Small sized bricks were used; the Mughals became extremely conversant with these bricks in this part of the country. During the siege of 1848 the tomb was so much damaged that it became an almost complete ruin. The shrine was repaired soon after by means of subscriptions collected by the then Makhdūm Shāh Mahmūd.¹

In the main chamber of the mausoleum beside the grave of the saint, there are the graves of many of his disciples and also that of his son Sadr al-Dīn, father of Rukn-ī Ālam. There are several graves in the courts which surround the main building. These include the grave of Muzaffar Khān, Shāhnawāz Khān and Makhdūm Bahā' al-Bakhsh. Opposite the main entrance is the grave of Muzaffar Khān who died a martyr's death in 1818 fighting to defend Multān against the Sikhs. This small tomb is decorated with blue Multāni tiles which appear to be original. A fine Persian inscription in nastālīq, in places obliterated, on this grave reads as follows:

¹ Anon., "Multan", Panjāb District Gazetteer (Lahore, 1923), 278.
Tomb of Bahā' al-Ḥaqq, inscription on the rear of entrance.
(Tr:) The brave son of the brave, and Hajji Amir of Multan, Muzaffar
In the day of battle, with arm and sword
He attacked like a lion (i.e. ghazanfar)
When with cheerful face, he set out for Paradise,
The porter of Heaven's gate said, "Come, O Muzaffar".

On the eastern wall of the mausoleum there is another inscription
almost wholly obliterated. The few sections of some sentences which
still survive suggest that the dome of the shrine was repaired by
one Pir Muhammad of Thanisar.

On the southern gate of the wall enclosing the shrine is a
long Persian inscription in deep blue lettering on a white ground.
It is written in nasta'liq and contains eleven couplets. The text
of the inscription is contained on three tiles bearing four couplets
each except the third one which has three couplets and the date at
the end. The inscription reads:

1. This is a chronogram reading 1233 AH.
Tomb of Baha’al-Haqq: rear view of entrance.
In the name of Him
who is Most Holy

During the reign of the Emperor of the World (Durrānī),
When everybody's hunger was satisfied with bread
And everywhere bread was available at low price,
Nowhere was famine, except in Multan.
No one died except from starvation,
and exaction of dues on wheatstock (grain) has made
the price very high.
Now for God's sake and for the sake of God's friend
(i.e. the Prophet),
And by the succour of the Sayyids, the holy descendents
amongst mankind,
and by the grace and kindness of Ghauth Ālām Pîr,
Who in holiness exceeds all other saints (and)
By the aid of the kindness of the great Makhdûm
Bahā' al-Dīn,
And for the sake of Rukn-i Ālām,
And for the praise of Ahmad Šāh Abdālī
For whom kings receive their crowns,
Ali Muhammad Khān the slave of God
Has remitted the taxes on grain.
If any subidār takes tax on grain,
May his wife be divorced three times.
A voice from Heaven said in the name of the most Holy, God
The eternal giver of the treasures (1174 AH)
1174/1760-61
To the south of the mausoleum of Baha 'al-Haqq is a grave built of white sandstone. This bears a Persian inscription in two lines. The inscription is on a tile measuring 17.5 x 15 cm. It has blue letters on a white ground. The first line is almost obliterated except one or two words. The inscription reads as follows:

\[
\text{رودکنایی}
\]

\[
\text{گنگت کناره کنیم پر یور}
\]

(Tr:) [no translation of first line]

Line 2: said the date, "May his grave be full of light".

The words \(\ldots\) are a chronogram which yields the date 1009.

According to Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica\(^1\), to the south-east of the shrine of Baha 'al Haqq were the ruins of a mosque which according to the Tadhkīrāt-i Multān\(^2\) was erected by Shīr Shāh Sūrī. At the back of it was the grave of Shāhnawāz Khān, the third son of Muzaffar Khān. It bears a tiled inscription in naskhī and nastālīq in deep blue characters on a white ground, placed within a pointed arch. The inscription reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{لا علی الاللہ} \\
\text{عیوب سعی الاللہ} \\
\text{چترین شاپتار خان ن بلان بنیشن} \\
\text{فضل انتی جمال برو ماجه عدید سی} \\
\text{جستم خوشم شیخ آن علی شیخ} \\
\text{گنگا فرید کر حاکم بلان چیخید}
\end{align*}
\]


2. The author does not identify the author of the Tadhkīrāt-i Multān. The place and date of publication are not mentioned either.
Multān
Tomb of Bahā’al-Ḥaqq

INSCRIPTIONS

Kalima-yi ṭayyībah

Bismillah

Sūra al-Ikhlāṣ

Shahādah

Section of a Qur’ānic inscription

Section of a Persian inscription bearing chronogram.

Section of a bilingual inscription.
(Tr.) There is no god but Allah 
and Muhammad is His prophet.

When Shāhnawāz Khān was martyred at Multān, the curved 
sword of slaughter appeared to him like the moon of 
the Cīd. When I asked the year of death of this soldier 
of God and martyr, wisdom said "The governor of Multān 
became a martyr".

The last four words of the second hemistich of the second couplet 
i.e. حاکم ملتان شیخ شریف contain the chronogram, according to which 
the date of the death of Shāhnawāz Khān took place in 1233/1818.
The shrine of Shâh Shams is situated to the east of the citadel on which the mausoleum of Baha‘al-Haqq and Rukn-i Alam is situated. This mausoleum is almost at the foot of the citadel. The monument is very like the shrine of Baha‘al-Haqq. The original name of the saint was Shams al-Dîn and he came from Sabzawar in Iran. He was born in 1165 A.D. but the exact date of his arrival in Multān is not known. He died in Multān in 1276 A.D. The shrine was first built by his grandson in 1330 A.D.\(^1\) It was however totally rebuilt by one of the followers of the saint in 1780 A.D.\(^2\)

"The main body of the tomb is square of side and 30 feet in height, surrounded by a verandah with seven openings on each side. Above this it takes an octagonal shape and is surmounted by a hemispherical dome covered with glazed sky-blue tiles. The whole height is sixty-two feet. Portions of the walls are ornamented with patterns in glazed tiles but the colours are chiefly blue and white, with a perfectly even surface, which betrays a late age."\(^3\) When I visited this shrine in June 1979, the building appeared to have undergone considerable change since A.Cunningham recorded his observations. No veranda encloses the mausoleum today with seven openings on each side. The shrine is now approached from the south.

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2. The guardians of the shrine are Shi‘ites, and they declare that the Shams after whom the shrine is named is called Shams Tabriz - by mistake, the real cognomen being Tabriz or "heat-giving".

side; a small flight of steps leads up to a terrace, at whose extreme north-west corner there is a small door giving access to the court of the shrine. To the north of the raised terrace and east of the court is the main building of the mausoleum. Opposite to the west are hujras and a small mosque. It has two square storeys, the lower one resting on a huge platform of brick. The lower storey has three openings on the west side. There is a probability that there were seven openings to this lower storey, but if so these were closed at a later stage. This storey is square and each side measures 10.20 metres. This is followed by an octagonal storey and the dome.

The present building has accumulated coats of whitewash which have altogether ruined the decoration. Some mediaeval specimens of glazed tiles however survive in places. The parapets of the three storeys are decorated with floral geometric designs in glazed tiles. "There are two inscriptions on the door of the tomb in Persian of 12 and 14 lines respectively in praise of saint."¹ There are Qur'anic inscriptions in naskhī above the arches forming the clerestory in the octagonal storey. These are made up of glazed white tiles with blue characters. The parapets have arches each bearing the words "Allāh" and "Muhammad" in characters which are neither naskhī nor nasta`līq but something in between.

¹ Eastwick quoted by Panjab District Gazetteer, (Lahore, 1923), 289. These inscriptions do not survive now.
MULTĀN: Tomb of Shāh Shams Tabrizī
The dome of the shrine is wholly covered and decorated with beautiful glazed tilework in blue and white patterns. Such tiles have been made at Multan from the medieval period onwards. The art is known under the name of Kānsī or Chīnī work. According to a tradition prevailing in Multān the art received further encouragement from the Mughals. It is likely that the main foreign influences came from Iran in the wake of Timūr. Certainly Multān has long been famous for its fine tilework.

On the west side of the court there is a small mosque flanked by hujras. It has repeated geometric patterns forming the words 'O God' and 'O Muhammad' but these appear to be recent work.

**MAUSOLEUM OF RUKN-I ĀLAM**

The mausoleum of Rukn-i Ālam is the most conspicuous building of Multān. Originally, like his grandfather Bahā' al-Haqq Zakariyya, Rukn-i Ālam had his tomb located in the fort. The fort no longer exists. Instead there is a high mound, though this is known as gilla or "fort" locally. The mausoleum of Rukn-i Ālam is situated on the south-western corner of the citadel. "Rukn-i Ālam was a man of great religious and political influence in the days of the Tughluq sovereigns, and was in Multān when the city was visited
Multān
Tomb of
Rukn al-Din Ālam

(after Cunningham)
by the traveller Ibn Battūta.\(^1\)

**General Introduction**

Unlike the mausolea of Bahā' al-Ḥaqq and Shāh Shams Tabrīzī, this building is not square in plan. It is an octagon of 27 metres diameter outside and 15.52 meters inside, the thickness of walls being more than 3.90 meters. Outside at each angle there is a circular tapering buttress forming a small tower.

The slope outside the monument has been emphasised by the addition of tapering turrets at the angles. The use of tapering walls, turrets and an octagonal plan was a major advance in the architectural style of the period. This plan and elevation was apparently a complete departure from the traditional design of tomb buildings on the subcontinent. The Tughlaqs produced similar monuments at Delhi later. Walls with pronounced batter and with sloping turrets occur under Multānī influence in later Indian Islamic architecture.\(^2\) Relevant parallels are the mausoleum of Ḥālid Akbar at Multān, which I shall discuss later, and the mausoleum of Mā'ī Jivāndī in Uch Sharīf in Bahawalpur district. This tomb, being anepigraphic, does not fall within the purview of my study.

**External Elevation: First Storey**

The first storey externally of the mausoleum of Rukn-ī Ḥālam is

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decorated with a dado of carved bricks and tiles. This portion also has cut brick decoration raised by nearly 4.5 cm from the surface. Above the arched recesses of the openings on each side of the octagon there is a decorative frieze. This is built of almost square geometric motifs containing the word 'Allāh' in the middle, in thulth characters [described through a diagram above]. After thirty courses of bricks above this frieze is the parapet of the first storey. The lowest part of the parapet consists of an arabesque design composed of chain moulding A; after this, three courses of bricks are followed above by another band of geometric and floral motifs B; above them are the merlons. Each of the
merlons C has a leaf moulding within flanked by bracket mouldings D. All these mouldings on the parapet are of brick. The first storey rises to a height of 12.40 metres.

The entrance opening has a heavy wooden lintel with a relieving arch above. This entrance generally remains closed. Normal access is provided from another door provided on the south side of the octagon which leads into a square ante-chamber linked with the main body of the mausoleum.
The first octagonal storey is surmounted by another, smaller, octagon. Each side of this octagon is 7.70 metres. This storey is 8.5 metres high.

The second storey is octagonal externally, each side corresponding to that of the first storey. A 16-sided zone of transition is however provided inside. Each side corresponding to the first storey has an arched opening which is provided with a jāl\(^1\) on the exterior to keep the pigeons out. Inside as well as outside each arched opening is provided with an architrave decorated with cut bricks; the exterior is further embellished with glazed tiles. The brick designs outside are similar to those inside but with minor variations.

The brick geometric designs are mainly formed of horizontal and vertical accents.

1. A sort of terracotta screen or grille.
These designs A rise by 3.75cm from the general surface. A frame around the arched openings has similar designs on each of the eight sides, while the area between C the apex of the arch and the horizontal bar of the frame is covered with intricate designs in tilework B. Above the frame is a saw-tooth design D followed by small knobs E and above the knobs, following a fillet 5cm wide, are merlons 3.75cm in relief. Each of these merlons, which seen as a facade number eight complete merlons with a half-merlon closing each end, is filled with intricate geometric patterns. These merlons are followed by a frieze (see fig.) consisting of almost inverted merlons with a chain design linking all the merlons together. Above and below this frieze are again the saw-tooth mouldings so beloved of Multānī craftsmen. Finally come the blind merlons of the parapet made of small arch mouldings attached to a straight and smooth parapet wall. There are 10 such merlons on each side, with a half-merlon at each corner. The height
of each merlon is equal to 9 courses of bricks. Each corner of this storey has been provided with a small turret or tower-top smaller but similar in shape to those provided atop the circular buttresses of the first storey.
A fine example of moulded bricks can be seen in the merlons of the second storey which bear the Muslim confession of faith; cut brick designs occur mostly over the arch apices inside, and whole-brick designs can be seen all over the interior as well as exterior elevations.

**Interior**

Inside, in the corners, wooden brackets are noticeable; these have carved motifs executed in a very crude fashion. The architrave above the entrance, inside, is surrounded by a huge arched frame and exactly above the door there is another arch containing geometric brickwork. Above this is a string course which is a popular feature on this monument. Above this follows the tympanum of the outer arch which is filled with cut brick patterns C.

The finest decorative work is around the mihrab which is wholly enclosed in shīsham wood casing. The curve of the niche is also covered with shīsham and carved with octagonal and other polygonal designs. Below these designs is a band filled with arabesques carved in wood. Both the spandrels contain six-sided stars of David contained in a circle.
On all three sides the mihrāb is enclosed by a band of calligraphy. The characters project about 0.75cm. The technical standard, like the calligraphy itself, is indifferent. Geometric and floral motifs punctuate the text, which is Qur'ānic, sūra ii (al-Baqarah), 255-7.
Multān
Tomb of Rukn-i Ālam
Inscriptions

Kalima-yī tayyībah in merlons: brickwork

A section of Qur'anic inscription surrounding mihrāb: woodwork
2nd Storey - Interior

The second storey is hexadecagonal inside containing a zone of transition of alternating windows and blank arches. The interior of the dome is without any embellishment, except for a band of tiles at the base of the dome. This tilework appears to be original. The tilework of Multān is strikingly different both from the delicate mosaic tilework of Lahore and from the heavier glazed terracotta tiles of the lower Indus country of which the buildings of Thatta provide the best example. The colour scheme is more limited; only dark and light blue, turquoise and white appear, as in the early work of Thatta.¹

This tomb marks the climax of Multānī architecture and is surprisingly original. Burton-Page cites only one previous example of an octagonal plan for an Islamic mausoleum in the sub-continent:² the tomb of Sultan Ghāzī at Delhi built in 1231, though he dismisses it as being a crypt rather than a tomb. He therefore attributes the octagonal plan to the local genius of Multān.

The mausoleum is built of brick bounded with horizontal beams of [shisham wood]. Previously the whole of the exterior was elaborately decorated with glazed tile panels. These had been removed for repairs when I visited the mausoleum in May 1979. The surviving tilework consisted mainly of azure, dark blue, light blue and white

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colours. Other decoration comprises geometric patterns made of brick, stringcourses and battlements. The brick patterns and tiles have been raised considerably from the surface by 3 to 4 cm. This has a dramatic effect, since besides colour, design and pattern, light and shade also contribute to the overall effect.

According to the map of Multān produced by Alexander Cunningham there used to be a mosque on this citadel east of the fort. It was the Jāmi' mosque of Multān but it does not survive. Ibn Battūta records an Arabic inscription of the time of Ghiyāth al-Ḏīn Tughluq Shāh. Ibn Battūta says¹ he himself saw this inscription:

اَلَّذِي نُقَلِتِ الصُّرُقُ وَعَشَى مَرَةً

قَبْسَتْهُمُ فَخَمَتُهُ سِمِّيَتُ بِالحاَكِمِ الْغَازِيِ

(Tr.) I have waged war on the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and put them to flight; Hence I am known by the name of Malik al-Ghāzī or the hero who fights against the infidels.

The source does not indicate where the inscription was located in the mosque. It is not even clear whether it was seen in situ by Ibn Battūta.²

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1. Quoted by Latif, op.cit., 42.

2. H.A.R. Gibb (tr.) Ibn Battūta, Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354, makes no mention of such an inscription.
General Introduction

ʿAlī Akbar was a saint of repute who is claimed as a religious leader both by Twelver Shiʿas and Ismaʿilīs. Not much is known about the life of this saint. According to the inscription in situ seen by me on the facade of this mausoleum, ʿAlī Akbar was one of the great-grandsons of Ismaʿilī Daʿī Sabzavārī. The mausoleum is situated in a north-westerly colony of Multān, known as Sūrajmiyānī. According to the inhabitants of the Sūrajmiyānī quarter, most of them are Shiʿas and descendants of the saint.

The mausoleum is a remarkable contribution to the style of Multānī architecture, typified by the mausoleum of Rukn-i ʿAlam. Its design so closely resembles the design of Rukn-i ʿAlam that it looks like a replica of it but on a smaller scale. It shares with the larger monument an octagonal plan, three stories and tapering angle buttresses crowned by turrets. Its walls are also decorated with brick designs and tilework exactly in the manner of Rukn-i ʿAlam. The openings are provided with grilles or jālīs and the walls have horizontal wood courses as well. In one respect, however, the mausoleum of ʿAlī Akbar is much richer than that of Rukn-i ʿAlam, and that is its faience embellishments which comprise glazed tiles of square, rectangular and octagonal shapes. These small tiles appear to have been made to order.

1. The mausoleum was built in 993/1585.
1st Storey

The building stands on a square platform which is 30 metres a side and 1.70 metres high, and which is built of red brick of very superior quality. Above this platform stands the main building of the mausoleum; it is approached by six steps on the west of the platform. The main building is octagonal in plan and each side of the lowest storey measures 4.95m. Each side has a pronounced perpendicular wall 11.14 metres high. The buttresses at the corners taper rather sharply toward their apices and are crowned by small low cupolas. The bases of the finials above the cupolas resemble inverted lotus flowers.

The buttresses at the corners are all circular except the two which flank the main entrance, which are octagonal. The thick wall of the ground storey also contains a narrow staircase on the north western side. This leads to the area provided for circumambulation at first storey level.

The outer surface of the first storey has been divided into two, for each side of the octagon is provided with two rectangular panels, placed one above the other. The sides which do not have openings have recessed arches. These arched panels are divided into four and embellished with tiles having floral designs. The panels have a border of tiles bearing floral patterns. In between the borders of the lower and upper panels on the west and entrance side there is an inscription which records the genealogical details of the saint. The inscription is flanked by two buttresses at the corners of the
octagon. These are not round like the rest but octagonal and are decorated with as many as 31 horizontal courses of tiles.

At the top of the first storey is a row of blind merlons each containing the word "Allāh" executed in white on deep blue tiles slightly recessed. The parapet is marked by a projecting moulding running all through and all around the monument including the cupolas.

2nd Storey

The octagonal first storey rises to a maximum height of 11.70 metres. On this is placed the second storey, which is also octagonal in plan. This is smaller in size; each of its sides measures 3.77 metres externally, thus providing a narrow space for circumambulation above the first storey. The second storey bears faience revetments on each side of the octagon arranged in three oblong panels divided by means of a thin fillet of bricks in relief. The central panel houses a recessed arched panel bearing a rectangular opening. Above these recessed arches and panels is a band composed of crotchets and stars arranged alternately. This band runs all along on all the eight
sides of the storey. Each angle of this storey has been fortified with domed turrets which rise above the second storey. The decorative scheme of brickwork and tilework in horizontal bands is found on all sides of the octagon and continues on the turrets as well. The battlemented parapet is distinguished by means of mouldings consisting of bands 5cm wide which make intricate rectangular geometric patterns below each of the merlons. These are covered with white plaster.

3rd Storey: The Dome

The third storey of the mausoleum is the dome which rises to a height of 5.20 metres. The dome is stilted and rests on a drum 1.72m high. The outer diameter of the dome is 9.00 metres at the base. The hemispherical dome is crowned by a pinnacle corresponding in shape to the pinnacles of the turrets of the first storey. This finial is also crowned with a crescent. The surface of the dome is fully covered with plaster and has various accumulated coats of whitewash.
Interior

Inside the chamber the two principal graves are built on a brick platform 33cm high. Both these graves have a wooden canopy above, exactly in the manner of the graves of Shāhābūz Qalandar at Sehwan and Rukn-ī Čālam at Multān. These two main graves are placed exactly in the central position of the chamber. There are 36 smaller graves as well, scattered all around. The second main grave is said to be that of the grandson of Čālī Akbar though there is no epigraphic record to confirm this.

The first storey is octagonal internally as well. It has openings on alternate sides. Except for the main entrance on the south side, the openings are each closed by a terracotta Ḧālī. All these arched openings are recessed within another arch. The arches are "Tudor" two-centered arches complete with voussoirs and keystone. But all these structural details have been covered with plaster. Each arch is enclosed in a rectangular frame projecting slightly from the wall surface.

The second storey, though octagonal externally, is hexadecagonal inside. Each alternate side of the 16-sided second storey has an arched opening; four of these are above the first-storey openings. All these openings have been provided with grilles locally known as Ḥafāris. These openings are contained in recessed arches. The upper top end of this storey has a cavetto moulding which separates the second storey from the base of the drum of the dome. The top of the second storey has a zone of transition which rests on a cavetto,
which in turn rests on a row of brackets built of exposed bricks.

Above the drum the dome is completely hemispherical. Internally it is covered either with a thin layer of plaster or with coats of whitewash. There is a shamsah at the apex of the dome.

Interior Decoration

Above a dado 1.05m high there are two horizontal bands contained within three horizontal fillets. The lower band is ornamented with a running creeper design while the upper band contains small alcoves with sunflowers painted in red and black instead of the usual yellow colour of sunflowers. The painting technique closely resembles that of tempera. Above the arched openings there is a row of niches slightly recessed by the use of plaster itself rather than of the brick underneath. Each of these niches bears a floral motif within. The spandrels and soffits of the arched openings also have floral decoration. The rest of the surface is covered with plaster.

Epigraphy

Above the west gate an oblong panel bears an inscription giving genealogical information about the saint. This tiled inscription is rendered in naskhi of poor quality, and reads:
In the name of God, The Compassionate, The Merciful.

Pir Sayyid Sultan cAli Akbar, son of Sayyid Musa, son of Sayyid Islam al-Din, son of Sayyid Kabir al-Din, son of Sayyid Sadr al-Din, son of Sayyid Shihab al-Din, son of Sayyid Faqir al-Din, son of Sayyid Shams al-Din, son of Sayyid Salah al-Din, son of Sayyid Salih al-Din, son of Sayyid Islam al-Din, son of Sayyid Mu'min Shahr, son of Sayyid Khalid, son of Sayyid Mushtaq al-Din, son of Sayyid Ahmad, son of Sayyid Hashim, son of Sayyid Muhammad, son of Sayyid Hadi, son of Sayyid Ghalib, son of Sayyid cAbd al-Jamal, son of Sayyid Mansur, son of Sayyid Musafir, son of Sayyid Imam al-Din, son of Sayyid Nur Muhammad, son of Sayyid Isma'il, son of Sayyid Imam Ja'far, son of Sayyid Imam Muhammad Baqir, son of Sayyid Zain al-'Abdin, son of Imam Sayyid Husayn, son of Sayyid Imam Shah Mardan cAli, may God extend His mercies to him, son of Abi Talib and Muhammad Mustafa, son of cAbd Allah and Abu Talib, both sons of cAbd al-Muttalib, son of Hashim, son of cAbd al-Munaf.

From the hand employed for the calligraphy and its rough execution and also from the decaying state of the glazed tiles, it
appears as if some very immature and illiterate artist or rather artisan was employed for this purpose. This idea is further borne out since in some cases the placing of tiles is such that the flow of the design is broken i.e. the tiles have not been joined properly. Little consideration appears to have been given to symmetry or design.

However, as far as the building of the monument is concerned, it appears that unusual enthusiasm and interest was shown in its construction and execution. Leaving the inscriptional panels aside, perhaps the best available talent was engaged to erect this edifice.

A third inscription exists on glazed tiles, again on the eastern facade of the monument, and continues to the south eastern side of the octagon. This reads thus:

ابنائى باي ایس روضت متسمسر ورسدان سبک
Ramzan 993 م صدو ونیسو سبک

(Tr:) The foundation stone of this sacred mausoleum was laid in the month of Ramadan 993 A.H. (corresponding to 1585 A.D.)

Below these inscriptions there is yet another inscription of fairly small scale which, unusually for Pakistani buildings, records the names of the architects. The inscription reads,

کارستان ابراهیم و رجاح بن موسی البیوری

(Tr:) Work of the masters Ibrahīm and Rajah sons of Mūsa Lahaurī.

Some strange scribblings inside the mausoleum were of particular
interest to me. Some of them were in Arabic and some in Persian, while others were in a script with which I am not familiar, but which resembles Hindī, Gurmakhi, Gujarāṭī or Bengālī. Most probably these scribblings are Gujarāṭī since most of the Ismāʿīlīs belong to Gujarāt and there is every possibility of their having visited this tomb. The scribblings bear the dates 1193/1779, 1194/1780, 1222/1807 and so on, and are done in bright black ink.¹

Other Surviving Monuments

The mausoleum of Shāh Dānā Shahīd is situated near the Delhi gate. Structurally it resembles the shrines of Bahāʾal-Haqq and Shāh Shams Tabrīzī, but it is not as big or as conspicuous as they are. The mausoleum has a square first storey followed by an octagonal second storey and then a dome, hemispherical in shape but slightly stilted. The ring below the hemispherical dome is decorated with Multānī tiles. The dome is covered with a thick coat of plaster plus accumulated layers of whitewash. The body of the building has some surviving examples of original tile and brick decoration.

Another shrine situated to the north of Shāh Shams Tabrīzī's shrine is the shrine of Bābā Safrā, which is a small domed building, square in plan. It also has some very fine specimens of Multānī tiles.

¹ I am grateful to the students of the third year architecture class of the University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, Pakistan who at the time of my visit were working on a measured drawing project of this mausoleum. They happily provided me with the necessary information.
tiles. Structurally the building is not of any great importance.

There are a number of mosques in Multan, some of them quite old and of considerable architectural merit. The oldest of these is the mosque known as Sawî or "green" mosque. The other Sawî masjid in Multan is comparatively recent. The older mosque is not very well known and most people call it a maqbara rather than a mosque. It is situated in a heavily populated area, so it is only possible to reach the monument on foot.

The locality where this mosque is situated is known as Mahallah Taulay Khan, and stretches north west of the mausoleum of Rukn-i Alam. The Sawî mosque is situated on a double platform, each one metre high and approached by a flight of steps. The upper steps have sloping jambs which reflect Hindu influence on this monument. The walls on the north and south have rectangular panels which contain blind arches. Each of these panels has a saw-tooth moulding at the architrave, while the arches are provided with a pattern of grilles painted on within the arches. Above these panels and at the top of the outer wall are blind merlons.

1. Multan it may be mentioned here, has the honour of being the birthplace of various distinguished men in history. The Delhi Emperor Muhammad Tughlaq Shân is said to have been born about the end of the 13th century in a hamlet now lying between the Luhari gate and the civil lines church. These quarters are still known by the name of 'Taulay-Khan' - a corruption, it is said, of Tughlaq Khan. For the birth of other important men in Multan, see E. D. Maclagan, Gazetteer of the Multan District 1901-2, (Lahore, 1903), 333-4.
Exactly opposite the entrance is the **mihrab**. Its flanking walls are horizontally divided into two long panels. Each contains recessed rectangular panels which in turn have recessed blind arches treated in the same manner as outside. The wall at the top has blind merlons. At the end of these walls are circular tapering bastions or round buttresses, crowned with a domical top but without pinnacles. The central arch is also enclosed in a rectangular frame.

The mosque is wholly built with small typically Mughal bricks which are exposed except on the wall containing the **mihrab**. Since the mosque is high and small in plan it has a major emphasis on verticality. The decoration is mostly done in tiles. Arches and round buttresses are particularly noteworthy for grilles, and geometric and floral motifs, respectively. Original tilework survives
on the round buttresses in horizontal bands and on the surface of certain graves.

The Sāwī masjid is not, in fact, a mosque but a tomb. Why it is termed a mosque is not known. Certainly it has a large and conspicuous miḥrāb facing the entrance. The court of the "mosque", measuring some 3.10 x 3.80 metres, contains several large and small graves.

Though its facade, particularly the door jambs and steps, attest to Hindu influence, the possibility of Tughlaq influence cannot be ruled out. Tapering corner minarets, bastions or buttresses were typical of that style. The mosque belongs to the period of Akbar.¹

1. Historians do not suggest any exact date of this mosque. Keeping its various aspects in view it appears of early Akbari period between 1555-65.
Inscriptions on the grave of Şafar Quli.
The so-called mosque contains, as noted above, several graves but one in front and almost in the middle of the court is especially distinctive. It has a large katabshof marble on its head side bearing an inscription in nastaliq on both sides in Persian verse.

The text on its front reads:

(Tr:) 1. When Saffār Qulī, who was a store of bounty and a heaven of generosity, and who with his generosity used to remove the rust from the mirror of the heart,
2. decided to leave for Paradise, his departure opened hundreds of avenues of discomfort to the face of his companions.

3. The eyes of the people shed blood at (the grief of his) separation and the sky became hazy and dull with the mournful sighs of his relatives.

4. It was the night of 10th Sha'ban, in the year nine hundred and ninety-nine, when he started (his journey) for Paradise.

5. O God! Provide him shelter in the shadow of Your mercy, for he never begged anything except your mercies. 1

6. [Written] by the poorest of the poor, the humble, the dust of (his) feet, Sayyid Hamiyat-Allāh of Blahe. 2

At the back of the slab appears the following Persian text, once again in engraved nastālīq in a similar composition.


2. I have not been able to identify the geographical position of such a town.
Thus have pious men (said), and the words (are) from the tradition of Ja'far the Truthful:

1. That this treacherous world is desolate, but a hundred times more desolate is my heart,

2. That prefers to live in this world in order to sit on the throne of this world.

3. But the next world is a real place of happiness and happier still is the heart which is full of enlightenment,

4. that does not wish to live except in the next world, that is content and does not bother if the present world is destroyed.

5. Inscribed in the months of the year one thousand and ninety-nine by Zakariyya, son of Ustad Muhammad, son of Jiwan of Multan.

There are quite a few other inscriptions of white letters on azure ceramic tiles but they are severely damaged and it is difficult to decipher them. Most of these ceramic tiles are original. The entrance to the gate of this building is approached by a small flight of steps on the eastern side, exactly opposite the mihrab. That gateway has sloping jambs on either side which is another characteristic of the architecture of the Tughlaq period.

The main entrance has an iron gate. The jali work of the mihrab, according to local people, was repaired in 1934-35 and at the same time low walls were built and provided with barbed wire.

1. Ja'far Sadiq, i.e. Ja'far the Truthful, is the sixth Imam of the Shi'as.

2. The inscription does not say which month.

3. There are two contradictory dates i.e. 1009 in words and 999 in numbers. The correct date of Saffar Quli's death is 999 as recorded on the front of the slab.
In the centre of Multān, in the Chauk Bāzār, is situated a mosque of considerable size known as the masjid of ʻAlī Muhammad Khān. The mosque was built by the Pathan governor of Multān, Nawāb ʻAlī Muhammad Khān Khākwāni in 1171/1757-8. The mosque is provided with a water reservoir for ablutions and with a number of baths. It exhibits good specimens of Multāni tilework. The mosque is built on a slightly raised platform and has shops on three sides. During the Sikh rule, the mosque was used as a court of the Nazim. The mosque was restored to the Muslims with the coming of British rule. A tiled Persian inscription is placed over the gateway of the mosque; it has white characters on a deep blue and azure ground. It reads as follows:

بِفضلاً أَنْزِيرُ وَرَحْمَةُ الرَّحْمَانِ
بِإِيْنِ اسْتَضُرَّتْ جِبَالٌ غَنُورُ وَرَحْمَانٌ
سَبَّابِلَ مَعَانِي لاَ بَازَارَ سَعَتْ نُسَار
كُلُّ بِشْرَ جَيْدٌ نَزُو دَارَجَ وَقَطَامُ آيَان
بَنَاءُ مَسْنَدِ وَجُهامٌ وَجِيَاهُ وَحُوضٌ عَجِيب
بَسَاحَتِ بِبَسِرَ بَازَارَ نَطْمُ مَلَان
بِلَارَ سَالَ بَلايْشَ إِنَّفِغَ مَعَت
مِئَوَرْ مَسْنَدٌ عَلَى مُحَرَّمِ خَان

(Tr.) - By the grace of God and the Prophet, the last of the prophets,
- And (by the) favour of the Saint Jālān, who is esteemed in both the worlds,
- In place of the (Police Official) court and with the motive of eradicating crime -
- for the place was a manifest source of crime and suppression -
- this mosque, bath, well and special reservoir
- were built on the street by the governor of Multān.
The invisible voice of an angel from Heaven said, for the year of its foundation:

"The lofty mosque was built by 'Ali Muhammad Khan."

The chronogram is contained in the words namūd masjid-i 'Ali. 'Ali Muhammad Khan is equivalent to 1171 A.H.

This mosque is also, wrongly, known as masjid Wali Muhammad Khan; the reason for this seems obscure.

In the western side of the city, in the Chaupar Bāzār, is situated another small but famous mosque. Its original name appears to be lost and today it is known as Phūl Hattianwāli Masjid or "the mosque of the florists". The entrance of this mosque is indeed flanked by florists' shops. The mosque was built during the period of Emperor Farrukh Sayyir (1126/1713-14 to 1131/1719). The mosque has a small courtyard and a lofty arch giving access to the sanctuary. Its red brick and glazed tile decoration is notable and represents original 18th century work of high quality.

The Īdghān of Multān is situated about one mile north-east of the citadel of Multān. It was built in 1148/1735 by Nawāb 'Abd al-Samad Khan, the then governor of Lahore. The mosque is a fine building and its covered area is almost too profusely decorated with inscriptions and floral and geometric motifs. Initially this mosque had a width of 54 feet and a length of 240. Its dimensions have recently been increased in view of the growing populace of Multān who congregate here to offer Īd prayers. It has a central dome with
open-plan chambers on either side. It has seven domes in all. The
courtyard is brick-paved and a small canal runs from east to west in
the middle. A comparatively low wall is built around its court.
The eastern, extended portion is unpaved, and has trees growing in
it.

Over the central arch of the sanctuary is the only large-sized
inscription, which is in nastālīq characters. It is on a greyish-
white stone slab in dark blue, almost black characters. It is in a
single line and reads:

By the graciousness of the most Holy God, by the
help of the Creator and through the pleasure of
genuine determination of the nawāb of great
honours, Saif al-Daula 'Abd' al-Samad Khan
Bahādur Dalair Jang Ahfari, this grand ʿIdgah
was completed in the year one thousand one hundred
and forty-eight of the Hijra.

Inside the multifoil arch below this inscription are eleven
smaller arches made of masonry. Over the architrave each contains
the Muslim confession of faith, while the hood of the arch is filled
with painted arabesque motifs. On the parapet above are merlon-
shaped mouldings containing the words 'O God!' and 'O Muhammad',
written in naskhī in each. This arrangement runs on for the whole
length of the facade. The spaces on the piers between the openings
have panels each filled with calligraphy of a selection
from the Qur'ān in naskhī on tiles. The ground is blue while the
Multān in the past has provided facilities for constant and regular exchanges of ideas which took place here due to the visits of its local people to various cultural centres of Islam in central Asia and elsewhere, and to the influx of foreign artists, architects and craftsmen - especially in the wake of the Mongol conquests. Multān therefore came to reflect many new architectural styles. Thus, as far as its architectural heritage is concerned, Multān is a very rich town and can easily be compared with towns like Thatta in Sind and Lahore in the Panjāb. But the biggest problem is that of conservation; except for the mausoleum of Rukn-i Cālam, its buildings have not been given their due share of preservation and renovation. Hence many of them have over the years changed their appearance quite fundamentally. It is therefore an urgent task to restore the medieval monuments of the city to their original splendour.
During the year 1083/1672 the hostilities of the Afghans caused a major crisis. The Mughal armies under the command of Muhammad Amir Khan, governor of Kabul, were defeated. The Emperor Aurangzeb called Mahabat Khan from the Deccan and appointed him governor of Kabul, placing the command of the Mughal forces in his hands. In obedience to the imperial orders Mahabat Khan proceeded to Peshawar en route to Kabul. He travelled through the Margalla Pass and found that stretch of road in serious disrepair. He immediately ordered its repair.

Margalla Pass is situated between Rawalpindi, Islamabad and Taxila. It is at a distance of 24 km from the Rawalpindi city centre. Margalla Pass is not a pass in the rigid sense of the term, nor should it be compared with the other passes of this region like the Kohat Pass, the Malakand Pass and the Khyber Pass. A straight stretch of road, nearly 400m in length, allows the traveller to go from one end to the other of this pass. Geographically and militarily it is of little significance.

The event of the passage of Mahabat Khan and the so-called repair of the road was recorded on a slab of black slate. The inscription has been rendered in a very elegantly carved nastaliq. It measures 40 x 83cm and bears eight lines of Persian verse and three lines of Persian prose. In between these two sections there is sufficient place to accommodate yet another line. Some historians are of the view that a line from this section has been obliterated. In my view, however, this is not correct, since a single hemistich would look odd at the end of four well-composed couplets and there is no room for a full extra couplet. The prose section appears complete in itself. The ravages of time have seriously damaged the slab. Several letters, portions of words and a large number of diacritical marks have disappeared altogether. This has made it almost impossible to establish the true text.

1. This slab is now in the Lahore Fort Museum.
The earliest attempt to read this inscription was made by Delmerick in 1871. Delmerick could decipher only four lines of verse and some words of prose. He failed even to decipher the Arabic word at the top of the inscription (جارود); he read it as ٖنیك .

Another attempt to decipher it was made by Rehatsek in 1874. According to N.A.Khan, Rehatsek's reading also had many discrepancies. A further attempt to read the text was made in 1918 by Shams al-ُUlama' Jivanjī Jamshidī Modi. As I have already said, certain historians suspected another line between the verses and the prose. Modi did the same: "The line here has disappeared. It does not seem to be a running line but a mere heading to the effect that now follows the name of the architect, supervisor, builder, etc."

Modī provides us with a more complete recording of the text. He records the first line as ٖبَيْ اَلْعَبَّاسَ ... whereas what I could see was ٖبَيْ اَلْعَبَّاسَ ... . Obviously the slab was in a better shape of preservation when Modi saw it. The

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3. See Khan, op.cit., 275.


Margalla
Inscription
sixth line, similarly, has lost quite a few words. In 1918 the line was read as پوسر و پیچاپو بر ازمان. What survives today is just three words ... پیچاپو بر ازمان. The text recorded in 1918 was as below:

پوسر و پیچاپو بر ازمان

The text recorded in 1918 was as below:

پوسر و پیچاپو بر ازمان

Modī translates this as follows:

(Tr:) The Omnipotent
- The Khan, who possess a powerful claw and respect inspiring nobleness and
- Before whom even a lion is powerless.
- Built in the hill of Markala
- Which is linked with the high heavens,

2. This word could be پیچاپو or پیچاپو.
3. معاشر makes absolutely no sense here. ساز does not mean anything; see Steingass, op.cit., 432.
- An edifice which out of respect is
- Always honoured by a kiss by the heavens.
- The Mughal said, "What is the date of the year?"
- [He replied:] "The moonlike face of Hindūstān."
- Under the supervision of Mīrzā Muhammad Mirānī (?) [or Mīrasā' (?)] the superintendent of highways (راستان)
- Ahmad the architect and Jangdāsh and ... Sharaf
- And Dīyāldās were ... in the year 1083
- completed [or built or prepared]."

The last line of the verse is interesting and gives the date of repair undertaken. Its abjad calculation yields the date 1083.

In 1968 A.N. Khan¹ published the following text of the inscription:

¹ Khan, op. cit., 278.
He translated the inscription as follows:

**(Tr:)** "He is the Almighty

- The august Khan with powerful grip in whose claws (even)
  the tiger (feels himself) feeble and weak,

- In the high hills of Margala which on account of their
  height are close to the celestial globe

- (The Khan) built (here) such a lofty highway the heaven
  kisses it continuously

- The (poet) Mughal composed the following line to find
  out the date of the construction (of the highway): the
  forehead of the moon-faced (sweetheart) of Hindustan."

The question of what this inscription commemorates demands an
answer. Maybe some monument was built here which no longer survives.
The **Rawalpindi District Gazetteer**¹ says that the inscription records
the completion of the pavement of the road which, it says,"The pave-
ment was no doubt a remarkable achievement in those days." One
should not forget that the word *khan* in the fifth line - خان or خان
or خان - also means a house, an inn or a caravansarā'i. It is after
all unlikely that anybody would speak so highly of the mere cutting of
a road. There is strong textual support for this view, for the fifth
line can be and should be read separately from the previous one. Its
obvious meaning is then: "He built the *khan* (خان in the accusative)
of noble aspect." A.N.Khan changes خان into خان to prove that the
inscription is to commemorate a road. His text is seriously defective,
probably on account of the damaged state of the slab itself.
Certainly when Modi read it the inscription was in a much better state
of conservation than fifty years later when A.N.Khan saw it.

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(1907), 35.
I discussed this inscription with Dr. G.R. Sabri Tabrizi of Edinburgh University's Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies. He critically examined both the texts. He was of the opinion that the text given by Modi is more sound and appropriate. He too appreciated how the poet of this inscription has made a pun on the word khan. The use of the word راهروی is also unsuitable, for this word is used for a corridor and not a highway. A highway is always called شاپراه (shāhrāh). Yet another aspect to be considered is that the inscription was not found on the roadside but above the mountain to which a rubble paved passage leads. Why should an inscription commemorating a road be at a place where it looks irrelevant? I am therefore strongly of the view that the inscription belonged to some building, perhaps a sara'ī.

The following is an attempt to establish a final text. The translation is my own.

خان توی یتیم مهابیت شلوه
شیر ز سر بیتی اور تائوان
ورکشی مار طرک کر بور
که پیرو پیش تووانان
ساخت خان ار زرزوی شروف
لوسر دید پیره پور پران
گفت سفح ازی تارخ سال
نا صیہ میوه بندمنان

1. I am indebted for this information to Dr. Sabri-Tabrizi. See also Steingass, op. cit., 566 and 727.
The Khan with powerful grip and majestic appearance, [who is so powerful] that the tiger feels himself feeble in his grip,

- in the skirts of Margallah hills, which on account of their height are united with the zone of heaven,

- built a caravansārāʾī by way of his excellence in glory [or "dignity"] which is kissed by the universe eternally.

- The [poet] Mughal composed the [following] to find out the date of the year [of construction] "a forelock [of the one] who is beautiful like the moon of Hindustan".

A word about the meaning of "margalla" would not be out of place here. Mar in the Hindi language signifies "to rob on the highway" and galla a "caravan". Thus the name denotes a place where caravans are plundered. These meanings are given by the Emperor Jahāngīr for the Margalla Pass.¹ The fact that caravans were looted here further strengthens the view that the inscription commemorates a building which was raised here in order to restore confidence and a sense of security to travellers.

In my view in the last couplet the words refer to the poet of Aurangzīb's time whose takhallus was Mughal. It was a custom with the Mughal and other poets of the subcontinent always to use their pen name either in the first or in the second hemistich of the last couplet. Mughal Khan was a poet and an officer of the court of Emperor Aurangzīb and held different posts throughout the reign of that Emperor.²

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¹. Emperor Jahāngīr, "Waqīʿat-i Jahāngīrī" in Dowson and Elliot, op. cit., 310.
**Peshawar**

Between the thirteenth and sixteenth century Pathans from Afghanistan spread over the region now called the Suba Sarhad and ever since then this region has remained dominated by Muslims. The city of Peshawar lay on the route of invading armies who crossed into the subcontinent through the Khyber Pass. Much of its political history resembles that of Lahore. The Pathans of this area were never completely subjugated by any of the rulers of India. During Mughal rule even Akbar and Aurangzib kept no more than a loose control over this area. With the fall of the Mughals the area became a part of the Durrani empire founded by Ahmad Shah Abdali.

1. During the Raj this suba was called the North West Frontier Province. For its early history see also C.C. Davies "Peshawar" Encyclopaedia of Islam, III, (London, 1936), 1066.
In the Andarshahr quarters of Peshawar stands the mosque of Mahābat Khān who was governor of Peshawar during the reign of Shāhjāhān. In the north west of the city is the famous Bālahisr fort. Close to the Mahābat Khān mosque is the well known Qissakhwānī Bazar. In one of the back streets of Qissakhwānī there is a small anonymous mosque. This mosque once contained a very important historic inscription carved on a stone slab and fixed within a small alcove in the front wall.

This stone bearing a Mughal inscription is now in the Peshawar Museum. It has a beautiful inscription in nastaʿlīq characters. The writing is carved in the surface of the slab which is an unusual characteristic. Thus its letters are not raised from the surface as is common with other Mughal inscriptions. Wherever the letters were incised they were filled by another stone of different colour resulting in a fine pietra-dura effect. In this specimen however, the engraved letters have been left unfilled.

The text of the inscription consists of four couplets and two lines of prose. Between each two hemistiches a vertical passage has been left which contains, geometrically balanced, two floral motifs.

According to the custodian of the Peshawar Museum the imām of the mosque says that the inscription did not belong to the mosque in whose wall it was fixed. Instead it was actually placed in one of the walls of a bridge built over Bara nullah. This bridge, which was

1. This is also confirmed by W. Din, "An Inscription in the N.W.F. Province", Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-9, (1910), 203-4.
built by Shāhjāhān, does not survive. In its place a new bridge was constructed in the year 1857 by the British Government. It is possible that when the old bridge was demolished the inscribed slab commemorating the construction of the bridge fell into the hands of the great-great grandfather of the imam of the mosque. If so, it was he who, considering it sacred, brought it to Peshāwar and placed it on the facade of this mosque.

A view of the present Bārā bridge.

1. This bridge is on the Peshāwar-Bārā road, which is a section of the great trunk road which was built by Shīr Shāh Sūr.
This slab is of considerable size (70 x 90cm). The slab is in fairly good condition except for its top left corner which is slightly chipped off, obliterating the letter of i.e. the last letter of the second hemistich of the first couplet. The text runs as follows:

Shâhjahân, the king and conqueror. Praise be to God through whose grace

- Buildings of great charity were founded,
- By the friend of the generous, ĶAbd al-Latîf, whose
- Like the world has seldom produced.
- He built a bridge in Peshâwar;
- Oh God, as long as the world endures may it remain.
- For the date of its completion the mathematician said,
- May this charitable work ever endure and prosper.

1. This translation is from the word مهندس which also means "engineer". "Mathematician" appears more appropriate here.
Peshawar
Inscription:
Bāra Bridge
(Tr:)(prose)

"In the reign of his majesty, the shadow of God, the second Lord of the happy conjunction and in the days of Nawwab Lashkar Khan, under the management of the slave of the god of love, Da'ud, the son of Abu Muhammad Quraishi, it received the blessing of completion".

The words in the last hemistich contain the date which according to abjad computation comes to 1039 A.H.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{A} & \text{B} & \text{C} & \text{D} \\
4 & 1 & 2 & 1 \\
8 & 7 & 214 & 810 \\
D & C & B & A \\
\end{array}
\]

\[A + B + C + D = \text{Date}\]

\[810 + 214 + 7 + 8 = 1039 \text{ A.H.}\]

Beside the name of the Emperor Shâhjâhan the inscription records the names of three other persons: Lashkar Khan, 'Abd al-Latif and Da'ud. The identity of Da'ud, an architect and that of 'Abd al-Latif, the founder of the bridge, is established. Lashkar Khan's name remains rather puzzling. His name occupies the place of honour in this inscription. History records the names of at least three Lashkar Khans. The first was Lashkar Khan Muhammad Khurâsânî. ²

He died in 982/1574. Obviously this could not be the one in question.

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1. 1039/1629 was the third year of Shâhjâhan's reign.

The second was Lashkar Khan ʿAbd al-Hasan Mashadi. He also served under Jahāngīr. He was appointed governor of Kābul when Shāhjahān acceded to the throne. Then he succeeded Mahābat Khān as the governor of Delhi. The third was Lashkar Khan Jān Nithār. He was a trooper and bodyguard of Shāhjahān. He died in 1081 A.H. According to Dīn, Lashkar Khan ʿAbd al-Hasan Mashadi is the one who has been mentioned in this inscription for the first one died earlier and the last did not occupy a sufficiently exalted office to effect the building of such a monument.

Attock

Attock and Cuttock are two similar words and names of two cities at the extremities of the empire of Akbar. Both of these have the word Banaras added to their names in the Tabaqat. Nizam al-Din Ahmad writes that in the 27th year of his reign Emperor Akbar, in the month of Rabi-al-Thani, ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which was then called Sind-sagar, and he (Akbar) called it Attock Banaras (Atak Banares).

The Emperor Jahangir also makes a mention of this fort in his memoirs: "On Monday the 17th, I encamped near the fort of Attak, on the banks of the river Nilab. This fort, which is very strong, was

4. The Indus was also known by the name Nilab, but it is not now known by this name since the town of Nilab has declined and Attock has risen. Strangely enough, this river to the north of Attock is known as Abbasin, and to the south to Kalabagh as Attal. The Hindus however called it Sind.
constructed under the direction and superintendence of Khwājah Shamsu-d dīn Khwāfī by order of my father".  

At that period the place was called Attock Banāras, as it is now in the vicinity of the place itself. Banāras is a small ruined town about a mile to the east of the fort where the tomb and garden of Bairam Beg, the guardian of Akbar, are still conspicuous.

Khwājah Shams al-Dīn Khwāfī, the architect of Attock fort, also built a platform and a water reservoir at Hasan Abdāl. The Khwājah was long employed as wazīr by Akbar. He also built a dome at Hasan Abdāl for his own burial. But his destiny was not to be there.

Akbar laid the foundation stone of this fort in the year 991/1581 at a colourful ceremony after the successful completion of his expedition against Muhammad Ḥakim Mirzā, governor of Kabul. The primary consideration of building this fort was its military value. As Akbar himself was an accomplished soldier and was fully acquainted with the science and art of war, the building of this fort was a deliberate tactical move, not only to control Kabul, but also to counter the menace of some of the local tribes. The immediate mission

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4. Ibid.
before Akbar was to stop the invading forces of his half brother Mirza Hākim from crossing the river. Mirza Hākim in the past had actually crossed the river and gone as far as Lahore when Akbar was busy in the turmoil of Bengal.

The task of building the fort was entrusted to Khwajā Khwāfī, who as a reward for his superb efforts was later appointed the diwan of Panjāb. In his history, Shaykh ʻAbd al-Qādir Badaʻūnī1 records that the name Attock Banāras was coined by Akbar himself to distinguish it from Cuttack Banāras in Orissa. Another story tells us that Akbar, finding the great river unfordable, deep and rough, called its left bank atak (obstruction). When he reached the other side safe and well, he laid the foundation of Khairābād or abode of safety. A large army of oarsmen and boatmen were also brought here and made to settle. A place in the locality is still known as Mallītula (corruption of Mallāhītōla).2 Akbar is said later to have visited this fort in 1589.3

The fort is situated 92km north of Rawalpindi on the main route to the Khyber Pass. It is 75km south of Peshāwar. Its elevation is approximately 333m above sea level and it is situated at a place where the river Kabul joins the Indus. The confluence of the two rivers also makes it almost impassable throughout most of the year.

2. Mallāh = boatman; tōla = group.
The fort has nothing in common with the forts built by the Mughals at Agra, Delhi and Lahore. The forts at Agra, Delhi and Lahore were more like palaces and centres of entertainment, but this one was purely for defensive purposes. Its fortifications are more than a mile in circumference, punctuated at irregular intervals with eighteen bastions or watch-towers. All are circular in plan except one which has an oblong plan. All these watch-towers are connected by a gallery which is an interesting feature of the fortification. The gallery is narrow and is contrived high up in the walls. The greater part of this gallery has a vaulted stone roof, but there is a stretch which is composed of bricks. The battlements, loopholes and machicoulis bear evidence of changes made to meet new needs arising from changing military techniques. The uneven and irregular stratum below has a series of guard rooms. The facing of the wall is wholly built of stone masonry, while the thickness of the wall itself consists of brick and stone rubble. The back of the wall is again of stone. Some unassailable parts of the wall are also made of brick laid in thick lime mortar. The brick used is known as lakhūrī and is manufactured locally.
The original main gate was the Lahore gate. Its structure is of grey sandstone which does not appear to be indigenous. There are three other gates to the fort: Delhi Darwaza, Abī Darwaza and Mallāhī Darwaza. The Lahore gate provides access to the inner quarters of the fort. This gate was the only access to the river from inside the fort; it was also a dividing line between the outer and inner periphery and between the upper and lower regions of the fort. Since the fort stands on a slope on the bank of the Indus, its interior is much lower in altitude and in places descends almost below the level of the river.

The entrance to the outer area of the fort is through the Delhi gate. This outer area contained a number of buildings like a hammäm, more commonly known as begum hamam (ladies' bath) and an audience hall of moderate size. Since the fort is now used as a garrison headquarters by the Pakistan Army it was not possible to get access to most of these interesting parts of the fort. Major-General Hayauddin, who wrote about this fort, however, describes the hammäm as a marvellous relic of the past which speaks eloquently of the architectural skill of the Mughals. This hammäm has an entrance hall and small rooms for disrobing. There is decorated cresting on the pillars which looks very pleasing. The entrance hall leads to the hot and cold rooms where the bath could be enjoyed under varying degrees of temperature. These baths have double walls.

The fort is, as already noted, strictly a defensive monument of

purely military character. There is no decoration of any sort but that in the hammam mentioned by Hayauddin.

The present entrance to the fort is through a small gate known as Maurī Gate. It is set between two semi-circular bastions projecting out of the fasil. This gate comprises two arches; the inner arch is a simple pointed arch while the outer arch is a multi-cusped one. Above the inner pointed arch is fixed a small marble slab bearing a Persian inscription in nastaʿlīq. It reads:

(Tr:) Shield of the monarchs of the world, King Akbar, May God enhance his splendour, Allāhu Akbar (God is Great) 991/1581

1. Maurī means a mouse-hole.
Tōchi

The Tōchi valley is situated to the west of the city of Bannū between Idak and Spinwam. Certain historians are of the view that this area was on the route of the early Muslim invaders.¹

This region has outstanding historic and epigraphic significance in that here multi-lingual stone slabs were found belonging to the third century of the Islamic era. One example has Arabic and Sanskrit

¹. S.Q. Fatimi, "First Muslim Invasion of the North West Frontier of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, VIII, (1963), 25-32.
epigraphy. Another one has Sanskrit and Bactrian texts and a third one Arabic and Bactrian texts. The slabs are in such a deplorable state that the Arabic can only just be recognized as such. The style of writing if very carefully examined seems to be verging on kufic as used by the Ummayads. The script has distinct vertical, oblique and horizontal strokes and is without letter pointing.

The use of three languages in the inscription is a very significant phenomenon. The use of Sanskrit proves that the local language was Sanskrit. Since it was adopted for inscriptions it was probably the main medium of communication. Bactrian, the second language, was the language of the Shahi rulers. The Shahis, though rulers of purely local significance, once ruled the regions now comprising Pakistan and Afghanistan and used Bactrian as their lingua franca. Arabic was of course a language which was almost new to the people of this region; its use suggests that the Arab conquerors ruled this region at the time. It can, therefore, be maintained that this region consisting of Spinwam, Idak and Tochi recognized the authority of Muslim rulers from Arabia, and from the date given in one inscription they had established their authority well by 243/875. The inscription mentions one Hayy ibn 'Ammār, who was in control of this area for his Arab masters. It is this inscription, the only legible one, which is discussed below.

1. All these slabs are now in the Peshawar Museum.
2. See Safadi, op.cit., 16.
The writing on this slab is raw. The style resembles kufic with marked angularity, but in some words curves have also been used. Angularity is more conspicuous in ج and ل while curves are particularly noticeable in the formation of ن and و. The vertical strokes in the teeth of the letter س are also emphasised. The head of the letter م is

عمر

not solid but a full circle. Initial also has a circular head, while terminal is not drawn full; its shape appears as

These features suggest that this style of angular writing was, at this stage, being influenced by some cursive script. Whereas and appear curved, letters like and are also not without cursive influence. The text is unpointed and is laid out as follows:

الnelsة حفي س عمر لعل
النمسا صالح عمله
وعلاءه سوم ومن عمله [ ]
كتب لوم الحمض سلمه
و علمه حلون من حلوي
لا ولا سد سلمه وارممس ومن عمله على مقد ولال مقد اقبر

The text of the slab should be read as follows:¹

¹. As suggested by the Curator of the Peshawar Museum.
It was ordered by Hayy b. Ammar to construct this tank
May God accept his pious deeds
It was recorded on Friday the 13th
Day of Jamada al-Awwal
Of the year 243
The Blessings of God be upon Muhammad
The chosen and his pious descendants

It remains however obscure where this water reservoir was built in Töchî. None of its remains survive today.

1. Corresponding to 7th September, 857 A.D.
**Pākpattan**

The ancient name of Pākpattan has been recorded as Ajōdhān. This, it is suggested, was after an ancient locality called Yauḍīya.\(^1\) Pākpattan is situated 46 km south-east of Sāhīwāl and 192 km almost due south of Lahore. Roads link Pākpattan with Sāhīwāl and Ōkārā, thus making a highway triangle. According to Cunningham the city of Pākpattan was in existence at the time of Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C.\(^2\) The city gained in importance during the period of the early Muslim invasion and is said to have been an important metropolis on the Multān-Delhi route.\(^3\) Its ancient name

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3. Ibid., 399.
Ajodhan is a Hindu name and it is not known how the city came to be called Pakpatan ("The fairy of the pure"). Historians ascribe this name to the presence of a saint called Baba Farid Ganji Shakr in this city.\(^1\) It is however recorded that at the time of the arrival of Shaykh Farid, the city was a deserted place.\(^2\)

There is no doubt that ever since the arrival of the Shaykh in this town and especially after he had established his residence here and after the construction of his mausoleum, the city gained a tremendous religious boost. The traditions set by the Shaykh were maintained by his sons and grandsons. Shaykh Farid al-Din Ganji Shakr made his permanent abode in this city some time in 640/1242.\(^3\) The complex comprising his mausoleum, the mausoleum of his son and of his grandson, two mosques, a sama khana and hujras, is known as the Khanqah of Baba Farid Ganji Shakr. The mosque within this complex was built by Muhammad b. Tughlaq\(^4\) but nothing survives of the original fabric. The tomb of Baba Farid Ganji Shakr was repaired by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlaq, but it too has undergone numerous structural modifications.\(^5\)

**ARCHITECTURAL CHARACTER**

All the buildings of the complex have frequently undergone

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3. *Ibid.*; Khan also quotes 658/1259, but this seems less likely.
Pākpattan
Tombs of Bābā Farīḍ
and 'Alāʼ al-Dīn
& other buildings

after Khan

395
repairs at the hands of inexpert artisans. A regular annual feature is the white-washing which has completely divested the monuments of fine detailed work. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the epigraphy outside the mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAlāʾal-Dīn. The tomb of the Ganj-i Shākr has lost all its original decoration though the basic structure is still there. The present external decoration is in a typical late local style comprising cut-glass work and painted floral motifs. This decorative work exhibits little taste or delicacy.

The Ganj-i Shākr mausoleum is a petite cubical structure measuring 5.20m a side with a cusped dome. It contains the famous Bihishtī Darwāzā in the south wall. This is opened once a year and gives access to the adjoining samaḵhāna.

Various architectural features existing in the monuments at Pākpatan bear witness to the notable influence of Central Asian traditions on the architecture of this part of Pakistan. These influences were brought to Pakistan first of all by the Ghaznavids. Their traditions were carried on by the Saljuqs. The local society was permeated with foreign elements. Amongst the immigrants were artists and artisans, soldiers and musicians, ḥakīms and dīrs, who together

1. It is generally believed that whosoever passes through the Bihishtī Darwāzā secures a place in paradise for himself (bihisht = Paradise, darwaza = gateway).

2. On the 5th of Muharram.

3. Amīr Khusraw, Tughlaqnama, ed. H. Farīdābādī, (Aurangabad, 1933), 84. He writes, "Chuzz, Turks, Mongols, Rūmī and Russians, who are like a falcon against the cock while fighting; beside Tajiks of Khurasān of noble birth whose lineage has never mingled with the base-born."
utilised their skill to restructure society. A major interest was exhibited in architecture and generated the markedly original Tughlaq style, now found in buildings at Delhi, Dipalpur, Multan and Pakpattan. Some of the finest buildings in this style were erected at Multan.¹ The tomb of Baha al-Haqq Zakariyya (built 661/1262) is one typical example of their building style. According to one source the tomb was built by the saint himself during his life and was later modified by the Tughlaqs.² Brown considers the tomb of Baha' al-Haqq as the most representative of the Tughlaq style. The Tughlaqs ruled for nearly a hundred years, from 1321 to 1414; their period began and ended with tragedy.³ But the Tughlaq dynasty, short as it was, contributed to Delhi a larger number of major monuments than any other Muhammadan dynasty.⁴ Even so, the efforts of the Tughlaqs are overshadowed in point of magnificence by the Mughals. The buildings of the Tughlaqs are found all over the far-flung site of Delhi and include three so-called cities and four important mosques, to say nothing of the lesser ones.⁵

The character of the Tughlaq buildings is distinctly demarcated from that of the preceding and succeeding architectural styles. The

¹. P. Brown, Indian Architecture, the Islamic Period, (Repr. Bombay, 1968), He calls this style a provincial style, which, with some reservations, may be accepted because the Tughlaqs built mainly in the Panjâb.
². See A. A. Gâlânî, Murâqqa-i Multân, (Lahore, 1938), 213 (in Urdu).
³. The Tughlaq dynasty was founded as a result of the confusion following the death of Qâlû' al-Dîn Khîlji and it came to a sudden end with the death of Fîrûz Shân Tughlaq.
⁵. Sharp, op. cit., 35.
earlier Tughlaq style, indeed, adopted some of the features found in the buildings of the Khiljīs; and later lent some of its own qualities to the architecture of the Sayyids and Laudhīs. Essential Tughlaq features include massive walls and marked slopes. The unadorned plainness of these walls is another salient feature. There is a sombre puritanism prevailing in Tughlaq monuments and there is a stricter adherence than before to Islamic forms and methods of construction.

The true arch predominates. The dome - which had only just come into use at Delhi, as in the Ālā'ī Darwāzā - is invariably present. The Tughlaq dynasty gave Delhi its first marble dome. Tughlaq domes are hemispherical and often extremely numerous on a single building, the Khirki mosque having no less than 89 on its roof.

The walls of the Tughlaq monuments had a long-lasting effect on the monuments of Panjab, particularly at Multān and Fākpattan. The sloping walls were their principal architectural feature. Their slopes recall Egyptian pylons. This slope or batter is a major characteristic of the time, reflecting perhaps a love of durability and solidity. The tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn has walls over 3.50m thick at the base and only 1.20m thick at the top. The tomb of Shaykh Ālā' al-Dīn at Fākpattan, though nowhere near the dimensions of the former, shows the strong influence of the Tughlaq style in its walls and dome.

THE COMPLEX OF BABA FARID

THE MOSQUE

This place is known by a number of names like the maqār, the darbār, or the khānqāh of Bābā Farīd Ganj-i Shakr. It seems probable that a mosque already existed here in Ajōdhan before Bābā Farīd settled here. Indeed, there seems to be a possibility that the saint decided to settle here chiefly because of an existing mosque. ¹ The mosque which surely existed during the lifetime of the saint was enlarged after his death, most probably between 664/1266 and 680/1280-81. In fact the whole of the complex was enlarged to a monument of considerable size. ² The mosque has three cusped domes over its sanctuary, the central one being larger than the two on the flanking sides. ³ The domes rest on a squinch system, the familiar and popular method of dome building with the Tughlaqs. Externally there is no other remarkable feature. Inside, each of the chambers of the sanctuary has a mihrāb, the central chamber having a larger mihrāb. No minbar built of masonry has been provided, though there may have been a wooden one. All three entrances to the sanctuary have wooden doors which, though old, look as if they were a subsequent addition.

The mosque is built on a platform roughly 1.50m in height which to some extent also confirms that some structure did exist here.

¹. Maulānā Fadl Allāh Jimālī, Sayyār al-Arifīn, (Delhi, 1310 A.H.), 36.
³. Sūltān Muhammad Tughlaq also built a mosque at Ajōdhan but its whereabouts are not known now. See ʿAlī Asghar b. Shaykh Maudūd, Jawāhir-i Farīdī, (Lahore, 1301/1884), 305.
before the saint adopted this site as a place of abode and worship.

**TOMB OF SHIHĀB AL-DĪN**

On the left of the steps leading to the courtyard of the mosque is the tomb of Shihāb al-Dīn, the second son of the saint. It is a cubical structure of a mere 2.40 metres per side, without any epigraphy of artistic or historic significance. The building has a characteristic Tughlaq dome.

**TOMB OF BĀBĀ FARĪD**

The tomb of Bābā Farīd is the key monument of the whole complex as far as religious importance is concerned, though structurally the mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn is much larger and more impressive. The tomb of Bābā Farīd is supposed to have been built soon after the death of the saint. The tomb building is almost a cube of 5.20m per side and has a cusped dome above raised on a pendentive system.

The small tomb chamber has its main entrance on the east, while on the south side there is another door more commonly known as bihishtī darwāzā ("entrance to paradise"). The bihishtī darwāzā is opened only once a year on the fifth of Muharram. The darwāzā gives

1. This is the day on which the door of Paradise is opened. The khatam (recitation of the complete Qur'ān) and sama (devotional songs sung by dervishes) are held as usual and about an hour before sunset some important personage enters the courtyard of the shrine along with a big crowd of devotees of the saint. An usher intones the cry "Allah Muḥammad ʿabar yār Ḥājjī Bābā Qūṭī Farīd". The celebrity enters the mausoleum of the saint from the eastern entrances followed by privileged guests and as many members of the public as the small tomb chamber can accommodate. All of them then pass the bihishtī darwāzā and approach the sama khāna for a session of mīḥrīl-i sama.
access to another room called the sama'khana this measures 5.20m by 11.70m.

EPIGRAPHY

The interior of the mausoleum is overwhelmingly decorated with cut-glass work which is of very recent date. The exterior however has some rather older inscriptions. The front of the mausoleum of Bába Faríd has a couplet over the main entrance executed in raised masonry and painted in black. The characters are nasta'liq. The inscription reads:

اللهraft
ملا
كلا الالله مهد رسول الله

(Tr:) God and Muhammad [have] four friends, Hajji, Khwajah, Qutb [and] Farid. There is no god but Allāh (and) Muhammad is the messenger of God.

Above this inscription is a cornice which comprises fillet and cyma recta mouldings, followed by a parapet. The parapet is made of small merlons and each of the merlons is inscribed with the name of Allāh and Muhammad alternately. These names are inscribed in jalli naskhī.

1. No date for these inscriptions can be given with certainty but in my view their style of rendition makes them contemporary with inscriptions found on the tomb of Shaykh Ālā' al-Dīn i.e. middle of the 14th century.
To the north-east of the tomb of Bābā Farīd and east of the main mosque is another small mosque commonly known as the Nizāmī Masīt. It has a square plan and each of its sides is less than four metres in length. The mosque comprises a chamber which is an exact cube without a dome and wholly built of white marble. The mihrāb has a cinquefoil arch above which is a short Qur'ānic inscription: sura ix (al-Tauba), 18. This inscription is rendered in naskhī style verging on thulūth and reads:

السَّمَّالِهُ الْحَمِيْرُ اللَّهُمَّ اسْجَدِ ََِٰٓاَلْمَسْجِدُ الْبَشِّرِ مِنْ تَوْلِيدِهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ

(Tr:) Bismillah. Only he can maintain the mosque of Allāh who believes in Allāh and the Last Day.

The wall bearing the mihrāb has the āyat al-kursi on the right and left of the mihrāb just at eye level. The style is the same as that of the inscription above the mihrāb.

According to Chughtai the style of the calligraphy and the selection of the āyat al-kursi for the inscription both suggest a Saljūq influence on the architecture of this period. According to him the use of this special verse (Sūra ii, al-Baqarah, 256) is generally found in Saljūq monuments in Turkey. This verse has been used in fact all over the Islamic world both in mosques as well as in tombs, but more

1. This inscription is also used in the Banbhore mosque.

often in tombs. The existence of *ayat al-kursî* in my opinion is not a very strong or logical point to identify influence. The *ayat al-kursî* has also been used in Ottoman mosques, the highest point of the dome was often adorned with it and verse 35 of sura xxiv, *al-Nûr*. ¹

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**TOMB OF SHAYKH ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN**

Shaikh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was the grandson of Bābā Farīd and was regarded as the most renowned and pious of Bābā Farīd's family. Contemporary sources pay handsome tribute to his piety and call him an embodiment of virtue and devotion. ² According to ʿAlī Asghar Chishtī, once, during the lifetime of the saint, Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughlaq implored the saint to allow him to construct a mausoleum for him. The saint expressed his desire to postpone the idea till his demise. After the death of the saint, therefore, the sultan appointed two of his courtiers, Qutb Khān and Bishārat Khān, to undertake the project. ³ The names of these two persons however do not occur anywhere else in the history of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq. The mausoleum was completed in 737/1337. ⁴ No major changes have been made in the structure of the tomb ever since and it continues to maintain its original character in general plan. Changes in the colour of the dome, and in the

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¹ See Schimmel, _op. cit._, 4.

² Divāʿ Barnī, Tārīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī, (Calcutta, 1862), 347.

³ ʿAlī Asghar Chishtī, Jawāhir-i Farīdī, (Lahore, 1884), 86, (in Urdu).

⁴ K.A. Nizāmī, "Farīd al-Dīn Maṣūm Ganj-i Shakar", _El_ ², 796; according to the author, Timūr and Akbar also visited the grave of Bābā Farīd for spiritual blessings.
Pākpattan
Tomb of Shaykh 'Alā' al-Dīn
painted calligraphy in merlons surrounding the dome, however, cannot
be ruled out. As far as the inscription surrounding the main entrance
is concerned, that too has lost the delicacy which originally it
would have had in exposed brickwork.

The mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn is situated to the east of
the main mosque in the complex and to the north-east of the tomb of
Bābā Farīd Ganj-i Shakr. It is a monument of considerable size and
resembles in its general appearance the mausoleum of Shaykh Bahāʾ al-
Haqq at Multān. The mausoleum is square in plan and each of its sides
is 13.50m in length, with slightly battered walls characteristic of the
Tughlaq style of architecture. The tomb is provided with three arched
entrances, one on each side but the west which has a mihrāb inside.
The main entrance to the mausoleum is on the south side which is
placed in a slightly projecting frame of masonry. The surface of the
frame is divided into three decorative bands of finely moulded
brickwork. The central band contains the Qur'ānic inscription made
with cut or moulded brickwork. Unfortunately the sharpness of the
letters has been ruined by repeated coats of whitewash. The two
surrounding bands are adorned with geometric motifs.

The doorway in the middle has a wooden frame, the top of which
is cut into a cinquefoil arch.

All four sides of the mausoleum externally have fine decorative
work in moulded brick meant to be left exposed. All the sides have
broad decorative panels on both sides of the entrances. The west
side has a continuous frieze. All these panels are decorated with
The absence of tile-work is surprising. When this building and even slightly earlier monuments were built in Pakpattan the city enjoyed close relations with Multān, both commercially and politically. The absence of tiles, which play such an important role in Multān's architecture, is therefore very significant and a noticeable feature. Possibly the absence of tiles can be attributed to the jealousy of disciples residing in this city who perhaps wanted to give it a different aspect from that of the monuments of Multān. We cannot, however, give too much weight to the omission of tile work in the mausolea of Pakpattan for in Multān itself the mausoleum of Shāh Dānā Shahīd is without tilework.

The Dome

The mausoleum is crowned with a hemispherical dome placed on a hexadecagonal drum, each side having conspicuous blind merlons. The dome is placed on the usual sixteen-sided structure. The transition from square to 16-sided figure is obtained in the traditional way by means of squinches which divide its four sides first into eight and then into sixteen above. Here the problem of "the phase of transition" which was adopted in India and Pakistan for the first time in the tomb of Iltutmish at Delhi has reached maturity and technical perfection.1 Perhaps the same architects designed the mausoleum of Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn at Pakpattan and that of Ghiyāth al-Dīn at Delhi, for besides many

common features the style of the squinches and central niches is very similar in both cases.\textsuperscript{1}

**Interior**

The interior contains as many as sixteen graves, eleven of them laid in a symmetrical way while the other five are laid in a rather haphazard way. The west side has a conspicuous mihrāb which is sunk deep in the wall. The mihrāb has a projecting frame around it filled up with intricate floral scrolls and undulating creeper designs. The central band of the frame contains Qur'ānic inscriptions made of carved or moulded bricks.

The top of the square chamber below the squinch level has been provided with wooden beams set horizontally in the masonry and these support the lower frame of wood consisting of three beams set obliquely on which rests the squinch. These beams are carved and bear floral designs.

Horizontal beams also occur at a height of about 2m in all the four walls and bear Qur'ānic texts in naskh which are not very ornate.

The use of wooden beams is common in some of the historic buildings of this period in Pakistan. Such buildings exist at Multān,

\textsuperscript{1} Khan, op.cit., 318.
Üch and Pākpattan. The tradition, it may be pointed out, has its roots in the architecture of Central Asia where wooden courses were frequently set horizontally in the walls. The origin of this device in Muslim architecture, however, goes back to the early days of Islam when courses of wood were used for the rebuilding of the Ka'bah in 608 A.D.\(^1\) A number of art historians have written about this technique.\(^2\)

The use of wood in a similar way can be observed at Multān in the mausolea of Rukn-i Ālam and Ālī Akbar, at Üch in the mausoleum of Bībī Jawindi and at Sitpūr in the tomb of Shaykh Nahār. It has been argued that the advantage of these wooden courses was twofold; first, it created resilience and flexibility in the fabric of the structure to counter possible damage from earthquakes; and secondly, it helped in countering the uneven settling of the structure at foundation.\(^3\) A third use is rather superfluous i.e. just to break the monotony of the large brick surfaces. This could certainly be true in cases where the wooden beams do not penetrate deep into the wall. The tomb of Shaykh Āla' al-Dīn is one such example; here these beams are only 62 cm thick and 45 cm broad and they serve to bear the carved

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3. Pope, op. cit., 903. "Wood was also employed in various supplementary ways, principally as binders to increase the elasticity of brick structures. We find it used for impost blocks in the Tārik Khana at Dāmghan and the mosque of Nayīn."
Epigraphy

The inscriptions in this mausoleum occur in three different media. The main gate on the south side has a frame filled with inscriptions from the Qur'an. These are rendered in cut brick or moulded brickwork. Inscriptions in the same technique also exist inside, around the mihrab. The second type occurs inside only. In this case the Qur'anic inscriptions are cut in timber. The third type comprises painted work and occurs on the arch of the entrance and on the merlons.

The frame of the entrance has three bands. The central one bears a Qur'anic inscription while the flanking two have floral motifs. The inscription is in naskhi verging on thulth and begins with the bismillah. The rest on the inscription comprises verses 1-5 of sura lxxvii, al-Mulk.

The two square panels above the arch entrance bear the words بُلْيَا اللَّهُ A and يَا خَمْد C while further above is the Muslim confession of faith followed by the bismillah D. Above this and inside the blind arch

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1. It may however be pointed out that certain portions of the mausoleum of Rukn-i ʿAlam, especially the walls of the staircase, do possess wooden framing set in the horizontal masonry which would undoubtedly have given resilience to the structure. Cf. Wilber, op.cit., 162ff, for the mosque of Dashtī, (Isfahan area).
Pâkpattan
Inscriptions;
Tomb of 'Alā' al-Dīn
is a recessed roundel bearing the words Allāh and Muhammad. E

Further above on the arch is a couplet F reading

اللهُ ﻣُؤَمَّرُ ﻋِيْار
حِبايْنَ خَواصِبٌ وَعَليِّينَ

With the exception of this couplet, which is in nastāʿīq and painted in black, all other inscriptions - i.e. B, C, D, and E - are in naskhī, painted in black.

The merlons further above around the base of the dome also have the words ﷺ and ﷺ placed alternately and painted in black naskhī.

Inside the mausoleum, wood has been used for inscriptions. It is finely worked and smoothed for carving purposes. These Qur'ānic inscriptions are on the top beam just below the squinches and the text covers verses 21, 22 and 35, 36 of sūra xxiv (al-Nūr) and verses 1, 2 and 3 of sūra lxii (al-Jumā). The lower band possesses Persian verses recording historical details of the mausoleum. Unfortunately none of these inscriptions is intact. The Arabic text is carved in thulṭ. The empty spaces are filled by making scrolls grow from the terminals of the letters. In the Persian inscriptions the blank spaces are filled with floral motifs. Each two hemistiches are separated by a vertical line.

The rectangular frame around the mihrāb has the āyat al-kursī. This band of the frame is flanked by floral bands. The arch of the mihrāb bears the Kalima followed by the bismillah. Both these inscriptions are in cut brickwork.
The inscriptions carved in wood which are found in this mausoleum are indeed a unique feature. They make an interesting analogy with the Saljuq monuments, where the architect generally provided inscriptions on doors and elsewhere in the interior of tombs and other religious monuments. Two examples will suffice.

A handsome door in the Freer Gallery of Art\textsuperscript{1} attributed to the end of the 11th century shows a very different phase of early Saljuq carving. Down the centre of the panel of the door is an irregular guilloche, the alternate roundels greatly magnified, the middle one larger in diameter than the pair at either end. The large circles have an outer zone filled with an inscription.\textsuperscript{2}

A wooden panel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art bears the date 546/1151 and the name of a prince of Yazd in the service of the Saljuqs, \textsuperscript{3} ʻAlā' al-Daula Abū Khālījār Garshāp. Within a gable are nine lines of squat and rather crowded kufic with occasional foliate finials.

The monuments in the complex of Bābā Farīd represent a sharp contrast to each other. The earliest of them all is the tomb of Bābā Farīd himself which is an extremely small structure. It is much

\textsuperscript{1} Pope, op.cit., pl.1461.

\textsuperscript{2} This inscription is in floriated kufic.

\textsuperscript{3} Pope, op.cit., 2614. According to Pope this inscription is translated by G.Wiet, \textit{L'exposition persane de 1931}, (Cairo, 1933), 28-9.

\textsuperscript{4} For more examples of Saljuq inscriptions in wood see Pope, op.cit., 2607-27.
smaller than the tomb of Shaykh ṫAlāʾ al-Dīn which is the dominant feature of this complex. ṫAlāʾ al-Dīn's tomb is also rich in ornamentation. Its interior is decorated with inscriptions on wood which make it unique in many respects and make it resemble the tomb of Rukn-i ṫAlam at Multān which has a similar inscription around its mihrāb. Finally there is the tomb of Shihāb al-Dīn; this is also a very small structure and contributes little to the architecture of Pākpattan.

The larger of the two anonymous mosques is on a platform but is a poor product of wood and brick. The other mosque though very small and insignificant - for it is not even surmounted by a dome - is nevertheless built of marble.

On the southern and eastern sides there are a number of hujrās. The hujrās on the south side are low structures without architectural merit. The space in front of these hujrās is covered with numerous unidentified graves. Some of these graves belong to the disciples of the saint and his sons.

The western extremity of the complex lies behind the mosque and also has some buildings - single-storey structures which serve as office, kitchen, stores, residences and lavatories. The north side of the complex has high houses very close to the complex. Except for a lane only 2m broad there is no space between these houses and the complex of Bābā Farīd.

This complex has much in common with that of Rukn-i ṫAlam. Both
are situated on high mounds. Both include mosques. But the
tomb of Rukn-i Ḍālam has a strong fasīl on the south and western sides
which the complex of Bābā Farīd lacks. Moreover, the main Rukn-i
Ḍālam complex does not include offices, lavatories, hujras and the
like as does that of Bābā Farīd. Finally, the mausoleum of Rukn-i
Ḍālam is far bigger than any of the buildings at Pakpattan.
Shaykhupūra

The present town of Shaykhupūra is situated about 34 kilometres north-west of Lahore. The famous Hiran Minār and the grand water tank in the middle of which stands the daulat khānā are situated 5km west of Shaykhupūra.

According to the pen picture drawn by the Emperor Jahāṅgīr in his Tūzik, this place was probably set amidst thick forest where game was plentiful.

Bhandārī suggests that the town of Shaykhupūra was founded by the Emperor Jahāṅgīr between 1605-27. He was lovingly called Shaykhū Bābā by his father Akbar, hence the name of the town. Abu'l-Fadl however records it as Shaykhpur. In the Tūzik-i Jahāṅgīrī, Jahāṅgīr himself refers to it by two different names, i.e. Jahāṅgīrpūr and Jahāṅgīrābād, while Mullā ʿAbd al-Hamīd Lāhaurī in his Bādshāhnāma

1. S.R. Bhandārī, Khulāsāt al-Tawārīkh, (Delhi, 1918), 453.
calls it Jahangirabad only. It seems probable that since Jahangir was more commonly known as Shaykhū in his youth, the names Jahangirabad and Jahangirpur might have been changed to Shaykhpūra as a result of popular usage. According to the Imperial Gazetteer the buildings at Shaykhpūra are the work of Dārā Shikoh, son of Shāhjahan, but this is not so.

The Hiran Minār is not situated within the present city of Shaykhpūra but is about six kilometres further west of it. The term Hiran Minār does not in fact refer to a single monument. It is a complex and the minār is part of it.

To the east of this minār is a huge water tank of an unusual design having an octagonal structure, daulat khānā, in the middle. The daulat khānā is approached from the west through an impressive gateway, facing the Hiran Minār. A causeway links the gateway with the daulat khānā. The daulat khānā is also called bārādārī which is a misnomer. A bārādārī is essentially a structure with 12 openings, (bara = 12; dar = door), while the daulat khānā has only eight, being an octagon with only one opening on each side. It is interesting to note that the daulat khānā has an amazing similarity with the Shīr Mandal built by Shīr Shāh Sūr and later used by Rūmāyūn as his

library and where he died.

All the monuments of this complex were built under the orders of Jahāṅgīr (1015/1607 - 1030/1620). As regards the construction of the tower, Emperor Jahāṅgīr himself records in his memoirs:

"On Tuesday the royal standards alighted at Jahāṅgīrpūr, which is one of my fixed hunting-places. In this neighbourhood had been erected by my order a manār at the head of the grave of an antelope called Mansarāj."

The minār served Jahāṅgīr as an observation post, providing a vista of the surrounding woods and thus being suitable for locating game while enjoying cool air. The romantic daulat khānā in the middle of the water tank, on the other hand, furnished a delightful spot for repose and diversion.

ARCHITECTURE

The Minaret: The minaret is circular in plan and it tapers towards the top. Its diameter at the base is 9.09m and at the top 6.90m. It has a total height of 30.60m. Unlike the other Mughal minarets there is no canopy or pavilion at the top. There is no indication either that there ever existed any such structure. This minaret therefore is a complete departure from the usual designs of Mughal minarets. No art historian has explained the reason for this unusual design. The absence of a pavilion on top of the minaret has made it look unimpressive and gives it the look of an unfinished monument.

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In the circular walls of the minaret there are 14 rows of holes, each row containing fifteen holes. The holes are squares of 15cm per side. There are no such holes in the second storey; the third storey has 4 rows while the fourth and fifth stories have five rows each. The purpose of these apertures cannot be fixed, for these holes are again a unique feature in Mughal architecture. Some of the theories which have been put forward assert that these holes were used for hanging the heads of game animals.  

Ahmad Rabbani compares it with the Minār-i Shāh in Isfahān, but the reference seems garbled, for no minaret of this name seems to be known in Isfahān.

On the other hand a minaret of animal skulls survives at Khuy in north-west Iran.

The minaret stands on an octagonal platform 1.20m in height. Each side of the platform is finished without any decoration. Above the platform is the first storey, also octagonal but slightly smaller in plan than the platform. Each side of this octagon is divided into three vertical and four horizontal panels. In the vertical division

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3. I am indebted to Dr.R.Hillenbrand for this information.
the middle panel is slightly wider than the flanking ones. The middle panel on the eastern side gives way to an entrance to the minaret which is approached by eight steps, now almost in ruins. There are no signs of any balustrade.

Immediately above this storey is a torus moulding running all around the body of the minaret. This moulding is about 10.5cm in height and is followed by a vertical strip of wall 10.5cm high which completes the lower octagon. Above this is the base of the third storey.

This third storey externally is 24-sided, and at the top is terminated by a torus moulding which also forms the base of the fourth storey. The fourth and fifth storeys are similar. The top storey is simply a ring of 1.32m in height.

INTERIOR

A spiral staircase consisting of 108 steps is found inside the minaret. Each step is 1.20m in width while the riser is 22.5cm and the treader is 37.5cm on the outer periphery of the stairs. Alongside the stairs there are 11 rectangular arched openings which provide light and air inside. Inside the third storey is a small octagonal room.
DECORATION

The entire interior as well as exterior of the minaret is covered with lime plaster. Only the second storey shows some remains of fresco paintings depicting hunting scenes. But these are in total ruin; in some places the plaster has fallen off while in others repair work has badly distorted whatever was left of the paintings. With the passage of time the lime plaster has become almost black. The minaret is wholly built of bricks laid in lime mortar.

EPIGRAPHY

Around the base of the minaret are the remains of certain structures but it is difficult to establish their nature and exact design. Very close to the minaret, to the south, is said to have been the grave of the antelope Mansraj with its unusual inscription which was, according to the Emperor Jahāṅgīr, composed and transcribed by one of the master artists and calligraphers of his court, Mullā Muhammad Husayn Kashmīrī. Rodgers and Beveridge have given the English translation of this inscription:

"In this enchanting place an antelope came into the world-holding (Jahan-giri) net of the God-knowing ruler Nur al-Din Jahangir Padshah. In the space of one month, having overcome his desert fierceness, he became head of the special antelopes."

The gravestone was made in the shape of an antelope. According to

1. Perhaps the antelope's name was Rāj and the syllable man the pronoun 'my'. In that case the translation would be 'my antelope Raj'. See Jahangir, vide Dowson and Elliot, op.cit., loc.cit.
Jahangir himself the inscription was carved on a stone of that minār.¹

Nothing of this sculpture of an antelope or of the grave now remains. According to A.N.Khan,² in 1959 when some digging was carried out at the base of the minār to expose the foundations of the structure for the purposes of conservation, the head of an antelope made of red sandstone was unearthed from a depth of about 90 to 100cms. The head was broken and slightly damaged. This head may be taken as an effigy of the Mansraj which Emperor Jahāngīr ordered to be made and placed on the spot. Dr. Abdullah Chaghatai³ wrote an article about this antelope suggesting that the miniature painting of Jahāngīr with an antelope is that of Mansraj. This painting is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. In my opinion it is very difficult to determine the identity of an antelope and the whole article seems rather speculative.

THE TANK

On the east of the minaret, at a distance of 82.50m, is situated the gateway of the tank, at the back of which is the causeway to the octagonal structure (daulat khānā) in the middle of the tank. At

2. A.Chaghatai, "In Memory of an antelope", The Pakistan Times, xii-27 (1953), I.
3. Rodgers and Beveridge, op.cit., 2.
Shaykhūpūra

Sketch Plan
of Tank
and Daulat-khāna

Pavement
Wall
Platform
Steps
Corner pavilion
Gateway
Ramp
Causeway or Bridge
Platform
Daulat-khana
each corner of the tank there is a square pavilion A having flights of steps going down into the tank on two sides B. The gateway is situated to the north-west of the tank.

The tank is rectangular in plan, measuring 268.50m by 225.60m. Each side of the tank has a ramp 19.60m wide. On the shorter sides of the tank these ramps are in the middle, while on the longitudinal sides they are off-centre towards the south. The reason for this slightly asymmetrical planning is not known. Probably a ramp exactly in the middle of the longitudinal side would have clashed with the gateway to the east. But then the building of the daulat khānā itself is not in the middle of the tank. The ramps are constructed by the brick on edge method (saw-tooth technique) for obvious reasons. There is a parapet wall all around the tank 1.05m high.

The four corner pavilions are squarish in plan; they are in fact 20-sided pavilions (see plan) placed in a square of 5.40m per side. The openings extend to the full height of the sides and have arched heads. Each opening in turn has a projection at the top as well, supported on brick brackets. A number of blind arches or niches decorate the interior and are finished in lime plaster. There are also signs of paintings which appear to be the work of the Sikh period. Inside there is also a dado of red paint with a double border in yellow and black. The apex of the intrados possesses an intricate floral pattern in red, yellow and green. The squinches are adorned with roundels with floral designs rendered in the same colours as those used in the intrados. Two flights of steps consisting of 8 steps each lead to the bottom of the tank, from the two sides of the
pavilion which face the tank.

Nowadays the tank receives its water supply through a small channel branching off from a rivulet called Shaykhūpūra Ṛajbahā and connected with the tank on its eastern ramp. In Mughal times, however, according to A.N. Khan,¹ there existed an elaborate system for filling up the tank with rain-water. The rain-water from the catchment areas was fed to the tank through a system of feeder channels and filtration tanks constructed in the south-west, south-east and north-east corners of the tank. These channels and filtration tanks have now disappeared, except for the remains of one feeder channel on the south-western side.

**GATEWAY**

The main gateway to the daulat khāna is situated in the north of the western ramp of the tank. Its placing is therefore somewhat unbecoming. Neither symmetry nor design has been taken into consideration. This rectangular vestibule measures 10.20m. by 6.60m.

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¹ Khan, *op.cit.*, 241
On its front, facing west and the Hiran-Minār, it has a large pointed arch flanked by four smaller arches provided one upon the other. Inside the gateway on both sides are two platforms 95cm high. The walls inside bear blind arches. The central ceiling is dome-shaped internally and has honeycomb decorations. From the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of the gateway, two flights of steps, each consisting of 14 steps, provide access to the roof.

The structure is wholly built of indigenous brick known as kankar bricks, laid in lime plaster. The surface is also covered with a thick layer of plaster. The external surface is also decorated with fresco painting, mostly done in straight lines around arches and rectangular recesses.

Behind the gateway is a bridge or causeway which provides access to the daulat khānā in the middle of the tank. This is supported on 21 pairs of pointed arches supported on pillars. The causeway is 102.60m long and 3.15m wide with a parapet wall 50cm high and 18cm thick. A square platform is built exactly in the middle and measures 7.08m per side.

DAULAT KHĀNĀ

At the other end of the bridge is situated the daulat khānā or so-called bārādārī. The daulat khānā is built upon an octagonal platform measuring 12m per side. This octagonal platform has a parapet wall as well which is a continuation of the parapet wall of the bridge.
Shaykhupura
Hiran Minar
DAULAT KHANĀ

Sketch Elevation and Plan

scale
metres
The daulat khānā itself has an octagonal plan and each side of its octagon is 7.78m. This structure is two-storied with an open pavilion on top which has arched pillars and a beautiful cupola.

The first storey rests on a platform 68cm high and approached from all the four cardinal sides by three steps. These steps lead to smaller square rooms which in turn give access to the octagonal major room or king's chamber. The main octagonal room measures 5.78m across. This chamber is centrally placed in plan and has eight subordinate rooms surrounding it. These are of considerably smaller sizes. The four rooms facing the main directions are square while the other four are rectangular. All the eight rooms are linked in circular arrangement with the main room as well as with each other. The square rooms measure 3.70 per side while the oblong rooms are 3.70m by 2.40m. The intercommunicating passage between smaller rooms is 54cm wide while in the case of the main chamber the width of the passage is 72cm.

Each of these nine rooms is provided with a fairly large number of niches. The whole interior as well as the exterior is fully covered with highly polished lime plaster. The fresco decoration is once again in straight lines of crimson and green and is mostly found around the niches and arched openings to the passages. Though the building is built of indigenous brick the floor is made of red sandstone but without any design of artistic merit.

1. Khan, op.cit., 245.
A flight of steps consisting of fourteen steps leads up from the north-western oblong room to the first storey. This storey has only one chamber, built exactly above the main chamber below, and of corresponding plan and size. This lonely room is surrounded by an open veranda instead of by smaller rooms. The veranda has three openings on each of the eight sides, the central opening being slightly larger than those flanking it. The veranda is built in trabeated style but the architraves of the openings rest on brackets made of bricks.

Above the second storey is an octagonal pavilion. This is approached by a flight of twelve steps from the octagonal room below. The octagonal pavilion is 6.60m across with a domed roof and corbelled eaves. The pavilion has irregular hexagonal columns at each angle and a multifoil arch above. Multifoil arches were a typical feature of Shāhjahān's architecture and it is very probable that these cusped arches were added during his reign.¹

The daulat khānā was built in 1030/1620 by Jahāngīr and alterations and renovation work were carried out by Shahjahān in 1043/1634.²

The tradition of erecting minarets on the site of the graves of favourite animals is not uncommon among eastern rulers. Hiran Minār is no doubt one of the most prominent examples.³ In Southern India

1. Khan, op.cit., 245
at Bidār there is a similar monument on the grave of a pet dog known as *kuttay ki qabr*¹ (The tomb of the dog).

Khān Zamān who was appointed governor of Sind by the Mughals in 999/1590 built a number of important monuments in Sind. Among the other notable buildings constructed by him was a minaret erected on the grave of his favourite horse, Margha. Only its remains exist now.²

Beside the complex of buildings known as Hiran Minār there is another monument of architectural interest. This is the *Shaykhupura* fort. This was also built on the orders of Jahāngīr, in 1619, under the supervision and to the design of Sikandar Mu'īn. It is an edifice of moderate size, and in grandeur and treatment it does not approach the Mughal forts at Delhi, Lahore and Āgra. It is built on a mound and of bricks and chunam mortar. The main gate is approached by a flight of steps. Immediately inside the main gate follows a veranda which surrounds and conceals almost the whole of the inner structure. From this veranda another flight of steps leads to the internal court. Along the parapet adjacent to the gate are servants' quarters and a few paces further is the summer house, a three-storied building, the top storey being without a roof at present.

The summer house is a small elegant building, built of brick and mortar and covered with lime plaster. The interior as well as the exterior of the summer house show fresco decoration made of

straight lines and floral ornaments. The niches have hunting scenes showing antelope hunting in particular, besides birds and other animals. Most of these paintings appear to have been tampered with by the Sikh rulers. Red, blue, green and crimson are the colours mostly employed.

The doors of the summer house are made of teak wood elaborately carved and some are in the shape of fancy grilles made of intricate patterns.
No Indian or Pakistani city can boast of having been the seat of so many imperial dynasties as Lahore. To this day its lofty houses, gilded minarets and bulbous domes, visible from afar, give it an imposing appearance. Since the monuments of Lahore form the largest single body of material in this thesis, it may help to set them in their context if the early history of Lahore, especially Islamic Lahore, is recounted in some detail.

Lahore is situated in a region famous in history as a camping ground of early Aryan migrations and the associated civilization. The Panjab, whose capital has been Lahore from time immemorial, was later the home of Northern Buddhism, which having received a fresh impulse from the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms and having converted the
Scythians to its faith flourished here. Alexander's invasion brought Greek forms to sculptural art in the North-West Frontier province and north of the Panjab in Pakistan. It has therefore been the cradle of many peoples and Lahore is from a political point of view in a crucial position in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It guarded the approaches of the sub-continent and from early times has served as a bulwark against foreign aggression. The Panjab, whose capital it has always remained, served also as one of the major recruiting grounds of armies in the East. It is a soldier's land.

Lahore has been successively the seat of ancient Hindu and Muslim monarchies, and was for two centuries the focus of struggle between Hinduism and Islam at the time of Sabuktagin and Mahmud of Ghazna and thereafter. More recently Lahore was the capital of the kingdom founded by Ranjit Sing, the so-called Lion of the Panjab, who is remembered in history as the desecrator of Muslim monuments in Lahore and the purloiner of the famous Kuh-i-Nur diamond. Since then many a ruler - good, bad or indifferent - has been given the title of Shir-i Panjab, i.e. "the lion of the Panjab".

Little has been written on the history of the architecture of Lahore. In 1873 T.H.Thornton published A Brief Account of the History and Antiquities of Lahore. This book was revised in 1876 by J.L.Kipling; it was a work of great merit but incomplete. A more comprehensive book about the history of Lahore was published in 1892, Lahore: its history,

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1. S.M.Latif, Lahore: its history, architectural remains and antiquities, (Lahore, 1892), preface.
2. And indeed it was a brief account, rather over-brief.
architectural remains and antiquities. 1 Despite the turbulent past of this city and the destruction meted out over the centuries to so many of its monuments, a number of medieval and Mughal buildings still survive. Chronicles which were being published in Lahore at the end of the last century also included intermittently accounts of Lahore. Among them were Tārīkh-i Majaddadiyah, and Tuhfat al-Wāsilīn by Shaikh Ahmad Zanjānī, and Khulāsāt al-Tawārikh by Sultan Ra'i. 2

General histories of India also give accounts of this great city; among them are Tabāqāt-i Akbarī and Muntakhib al-Tawārikh.

There are quite a few Hindu traditions about the beginning of the city of Lahore. The mythical founder of Lohāwar (Lahore) was Lov or Loh, one of the two sons of Rāma. 3

The first Muslim incursions into India were made in Sind in the time of the early caliphs. 4 One of the earliest Arabic chronicles, al-Baladhuri’s Futūh al-Buldān, gives an account of the first conquest of the Arabs in Sind (Pakistan). In this account Lahore is called by the name of A’lahwar. Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Baladhuri lived at the court of Baghdad c.850 A.D. under al-Mu’tamid bi’llāh. He narrates that in the year 44/664, in the days of the caliph Mu’awiya, Muhallab b. Abū Safrā made war on the infidels of Hind 5 and advanced as far as Banna 6

1. By S.M. Latif.
2. The exact date of publication is not known.
3. For full details of Hindu mythological accounts, see Latif, op.cit., 1 ff.; cf. Majumdar, op.cit., 226.
4. See the chapter of Thatta.
and Alahwar. The great traveller al-Idrisi of Morocco in his work Nuzhat al-Mushtaq fi Iftikhar al-Afaq, written in the 9th century, calls it Lohawar. 'Awar' is a termination and a corruption of the Sanskrit word awarna meaning a "fort". This is affixed to the names of many a town in this region - like Peshawar, Hinduwar, Jadrwar and so on.

Abu Rihan al-Biruni in his celebrated work, the Qanun, speaking about this country at the time of Mahmud's conquest at the end of the 10th century, mentions in his description of the Himalayas that they can be seen from Tacas and Lahawar. Abu'l-Fadl al-Baihaqi in his Tarikh-i Subuktigin observes that Diya' al-Din Barni always wrote it Lohur and in the Farhang-i Jahangiri it is spelt as Lanhaur, Lohawur and Lahawar, as well as Lohur. Ironmongers and blacksmiths are called lohar or lauhar and it is possible that this word could be a source for the city's name.

Amir Khusraw, of Delhi, writing in the latter part of the 13th century, calls it Lahanur. "In his well-known work Giran al-Sa'adain.

1. Lahore.
2. Al-Idrisi in Dowson and Elliot, op.cit., I, 91.
4. Taxila?
5. Lahore.
6. Abu'l-Fadl al-Baihaqi in Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., 11, 59. See also 'al-'Uthi, Tarikh-i Yamini in Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., 14-52. He gives some details of Ghaznavids' invasions.
he says:

(Tr:) From the confines of Samaniya to Lahānūr, there is no walled (city) but Qasur [sic].

Alexander's general Ptolemy mentions a city called Labokla, situated on the route between the Indus and Palibothra or Patălîputra in a tract of country called Kasperia, which is described as extending along the rivers Bidastes, Sandabal and Adris. This place (Labokla) is identified as Lahore. Labo is believed to be cognate with Lov, though it is not clear in which language.

Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India writes "In January, 1848, during a day's halt at the village of Lahor, which is exactly four miles to the north-east of Ohind, I procured several Greek and Indo-Scythian coins, from which it may be inferred, with some certainty, that the place is at least as old as the time of Panini himself or about B.C. 350."

1. Latif, op.cit., loc.cit.
2. Lahore?
4. Jhelum.
5. Chenāb.
6. Rāvī.
8. S.N. Majumdar (ed.), Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, (Calcutta, 1924), 67.
The celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang came to the Panjáb in 630 A.D. but he makes no mention of Lahore in his memoirs. He does however allude to one 'great city'. On the assumption that the great city alluded to by Chinese pilgrim in his travels was Lahore, Thornton fixes the approximate date of the foundation of Lahore c. 100 A.D.¹

The history of ancient Lahore, then, may briefly be recapitulated thus: the Lahore, Lovpūr and Lōhkōl of the Hindus; the Lohāwar, Lohār and Lahānūr of the Muslims; and possibly the Labokla of Ptolemy all refer to a single city which was founded towards the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.

Lahore seems to have risen to greater importance in the eighth or ninth century when it became the capital of the ruling family of the Brahmans, who in the tenth century were attacked by Subuktagīn and his son Mahmūd. The seat of government was moved to Lahore by Mahmūd, who, having rebuilt the city, established a garrison in a fort he had built.² The dynasty of the Ghaznavids ruled Lahore and almost the whole of northern India till 1186.³ Shortly after, Sultan Shīhāb al-Dīn took over power in 1203 the Ghakkars, a wild tribe inhabiting the hills north of the Panjáb, availing themselves of the Sultan's absence, overran the Panjáb and even captured Lahore. But Shīhāb al-Dīn (later

2. Murtada Husain, Ḥadīqat al-Aqlīm tr. S.C.Bārābānkawi (Allāhabād, 1904); 156 (in Urdu).
3. The Ghaznavid dynasty is also known as the Yamīnī Dynasty of Ghazni. See also al-Badā'uni, Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh, tr. G.S.A.Ranking, (Calcutta, 1898), 14 ff.
Mu'izz al-Din Ghūrī), with the assistance of Qutb al-Dīn, not only recovered Lahore and the province but also induced the Ghakkar to embrace Islam. After the death of Shihāb al-Dīn, his slave Qutb al-Dīn mounted the throne at Lahore on July 24, 1206. Qutb al-Dīn died at Lahore in 607/1210 and Iltutmish became the sovereign in 1217 after a short period of rule by Arūm Shāh, Qutb al-Dīn's son. Iltutmish's son Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd was appointed governor of Lahore. In 1218 Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm Shāh, having hurried through Transoxiana and Iran pursued by the Mongols, conquered Lahore. According to one source, "several thousand horsemen under Turta'ī, the general of Genghis Khan, crossed Sind in pursuit of Jalāl al-Dīn, and from thence went to Multān and ravaged that country and Lohāwar." During the reign of Sultāna Radīyah Begum, who succeeded her brother Rukn al-Dīn Firūz Shāh, the son of Iltutmish, Malik Ayyāz al-Dīn Kabīr Khān, who was governor of Lahore, broke out in revolt (1236). The Sultānah led her army from Delhi to Lahore and captured Lahore (1239). She was succeeded by her brother Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Bairam Shāh. Lahore was captured by the Mongols in 1241. The Mongols left Lahore after plundering the city and the governorship of Lahore went to Shīr Khān, a relation of Chiyyāth al-Dīn Balban, the able wazīr of Nasīr al-Dīn Mahmūd, himself a younger son of Iltutmish. He died in 1270, and was succeeded by Prince Muhammad, who held his court at Multān as he had to look after Sind as well. Amir Khusrav, the poet laureate, often hailed as the "father of Urdu", attended his court. During this period Sultan Balban

1. Bihr al-Buldān quoted by Latif, op.cit., 14. Latif does not identify the name of the author or say what text he used.

ordered the rebuilding of the Lahore fort. "He repeopled the towns and villages of Lahore which had been devastated by the Mongols and appointed architects and superintendents to restore them".  

During the Khilji and Tughlaq dynasties (1288-1414) Lahore played a minor role in political history. The Mongols continued to ravage its surroundings and on one occasion they reached as far as Delhi before being defeated by Zafar Khan, a general of Sultan 'Ala' al-Din, in 1298. Outside Lahore the Mongols made a number of settlements now called Mongolpura or Mughalpura. Ghazi Khan, the brave governor of Lahore under 'Ala' al-Din, put an end to the recurring attacks of the Mongols and pushed them back as far back as Kabul and Ghazna. Ghazi Khan was the son of a Turkish slave of Ghiyyath al-Din Balban. He ascended the throne of northern India under the title of Ghiyyath al-Din Tughlaq in 1321. He was the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty which ruled India from 1321 to 1414 A.D.  

In 1398 Timur crossed the Indus and pillaged Lahore and Multan. A timely submission by its governor Malik Shaikha Khokhar however saved the city from total destruction.  

During the rule of the Sayyids (1412-78) Lahore was not prominent at all.  

The power of the Afghan dynasty known as the line of Lodhis was  

1. Diya' al-Din Barni, Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi, in Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., 107.  
originally established in the Panjáb. The power of the Lōdhī family in the Panjáb excited the jealousy of the reigning sovereigns of Delhi who drove them into the hills. But when Bahlul, a Lōdhī prince, grew up he recaptured the whole of the Panjáb.¹

At this time the future emperor Zahir al-Dīn Bābur was in Kābul. The empire of Delhi was in utter disorder. The Panjáb was held by Daulat Khān Lōdhī and his sons, Ghāzī Khān and Dilāwar Khān. Daulat Khan was not happy with Sultan Ibrāhīm, the central power, who had appointed Daulat Khān as the governor of the Panjáb. Daulat Khān revolted, and Sultan Ibrāhīm sent an army from Delhi to dislodge him. Finding himself unable to resist this force, Daulat Khān offered his allegiance to Bābur and invited him to march to India.² Bābur gladly accepted the invitation.

Thus began the Mughal empire. Bābur crossed the Indus and marched through the country of the Ghakkars past the Jhelum and Chenāb rivers and approached Lahore. A little resistance was offered by those who coveted the crown; these included Bihār Khān Lōdhī and Mubārak Khān Lōdhī and some other princes. Their armies were mercilessly slaughtered by Bābur. Lahore was plundered and its streets burnt.³ Bābur stayed at Lahore for four days and then moved to Dīpalpur where the slaughter

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¹. For more historical details see W. Haig, The Cambridge History of India, iii, (Cambridge, 1928), 228-50.
². Haig, op.cit., 10 ff.
of Lahore was repeated. Daulat Khan was given a jagir. Babur then crossed Satluj and marched on to Sirhind. Daulat Khan, dissatisfied with the size of his jagir, revolted. When Babur rushed back Daulat Khan fled to the hills, but his son Dilawar Khan reconciled himself with Babur and received the title of Khan-i Khanan.

Babur, after giving Dipalpur to Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Lodhi, Sialkot to Khusraw Kukaltash, and Kalanur to Muhammad 'Ali Tajik, withdrew to Kabul. Mir Abd al-Aziz, a near relative, was put in charge of Lahore while a veteran Mughal officer, Baba Khushka, was appointed to watch the proceedings of Sultan 'Ala' al-Din. Scarcely had Babur crossed the Indus when Daulat Khan re-emerged from the mountains and advanced to Dipalpur and began to threaten the appointees of Babur. He defeated 'Ala' al-Din. Hearing of these developments, Babur again arrived at the scene and encamped on the banks of the Ravi. Daulat Khan's force, on hearing of the arrival of Babur, ran off helter skelter without fighting. Babur thereupon marched toward Delhi without entering Lahore. This was Babur's final expedition to India and the battle of Panipat fought on April 29, 1526 decided the fate of the empire for the next two hundred years. Delhi was captured and Babur thus laid the foundations of the Mughal dynasty in India.

1. A jagir is a vast stretch of land given by a government or a ruler to someone for his meritorious services.
2. See Ahmad Yadgar, Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana in Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., V, 25, 29-30.
Before Babur won the battle of Panipat in 1526 he had invaded Lahore at least four times on one pretext or another. The battle of Panipat was his fifth attempt to defeat an Indian ruler and it was after this victory that he decided to stay for good in India, thus laying the foundations of Mughal rule there. Before this battle, as Latif put it, "the followers of Babur contemplated with dismay the prospect of a prolonged stay in the inhospitable regions of India. The happy recollections of the vale of Farghana and its neighbouring mountains made them anxious to return home". But Babur impressed upon them the incalculable advantages of staying. His words had the desired effect.

The first town of importance that benefited by the establishment of the Mughal empire in the Panjab was naturally Lahore. Indeed, the early period of the Mughals can doubtless be regarded as the golden age of the history of Lahore. Once again it became the seat of a royal residence. The Mughals proved to be the most enlightened patrons of literature and fine arts and Lahore became a seat of learning under them. From the imperial courts of Bukhara and Samarqand learned men, poets, authors, orators, and men versed in science and technology gathered at Lahore. Fine gardens were laid out, canals were dug, spacious mosques were built, caravansarais were constructed and palaces, domes and minarets were erected. In short a powerful impetus was given to architecture.

Bābur was one of the most dynamic personalities in the history of Asia and it was his artistic ideals that laid the foundations of the style which was to follow. In his memoirs he notes that a considerable amount of building construction was undertaken, chiefly in the form of ornamental gardens. Unfortunately not much evidence of his building activity survives. There are however two mosques which have survived, one in the Kabulī Bagh at Panīpat and the other a Jāmi mosque at Sambhal. Both these mosques were built in 1526.1 Of a third mosque which he appears to have built within the old Lōdhī fort at Āgra Bābur himself complains that "it is not well done, it is in the Hindustani fashion".2

NASĪR AL-DĪN HUMĀYŪN

Humāyūn, three days after the death of Bābur, ascended the throne in the city of Āgra on December 29th 1530 A.D. His brother at that time held Kābul and Qandahār. In order to seize power he rushed to Lahore and after political manoeuvering entered the city with a strong force and took possession of the whole of the Panjāb. Humāyūn was a person of mild disposition; he confirmed the rule of his brother in the Panjāb beside Kābul and Qandahār. Kamrān laid a beautiful garden and constructed a bārādārī (summerhouse) on the right bank of the river Rāvī outside Lahore. The garden has disappeared but the bārādārī survives - partially - in mid-stream.

1. Brown, op.cit., 89.
2. Quoted by Brown, op.cit., loc.cit.
When the trouble between Humayun and Shīr Shāh broke out, Humayun sought refuge at Lahore but Kāmrān made a truce with Shīr Shāh by ceding the Panjab to him. This compelled Humayun to quit Lahore along with his family. Shīr Shāh attempted to force Humayun into a military confrontation but Humayun fled to Sind in November 1540, and from there he went to Iran.

Shīr Shāh was a magnificent monarch and with his command over great mercantile cities like Peshawar and Lahore he developed trade with the countries of central Asia and northern China. He connected the cities of Lahore and Multān by road and planted orchards on the way to refresh the weary travellers. He unfortunately died long before his time, on May 22nd 1545 A.D. Shīr Shāh on his deathbed regretted that he had not razed the city of Lahore to the ground, for according to him, "Such a large city should not exist on the very road of an invader, who immediately after capturing it on his arrival, could collect his supplies, and organise his resources there".  

Humayun, after an exile of nearly fifteen years, crossed the Indus unopposed on 2nd January 1555 and marched to Lahore which was abandoned on his approach. He entered the city on 24th February and then proceeded to Delhi. In July Humayun re-entered Delhi but he ascended the throne only to die. He died of an accident after falling down some steps in the Din-i Panah on January 25, 1556.

2. Latif, op. cit., 24. But the Tarikh-i Shīr Shāhī does not quote this incident.
3. See ʿAbd Allāh, Tarikh-i Dāʿūdī in Dowson & Elliot, op. cit., 498-9; and Khwandamir, Humayun Nama in Dowson & Elliot, op. cit., 124.
While a fugitive from India at the court of Shāh Tahmasp, Humayūn learnt a lot about Persian traditions. This enabled him to bring into India various Iranian architectural traditions. These traditions however matured only after his death. ¹

JALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AKBAR

Lahore was a place of great importance in Akbar's time. Abu'l-Fadl speaking of Lahore writes, "Lahore is a large city. In size and population it is among the first. During the present reign the fortifications and citadel have been strengthened with brick masonry and many splendid buildings have been erected."² Akbar founded a royal mint, as well as a carpet manufactory. Skilful gardeners from Persia were invited to lay out gardens at Lahore.

Akbar constructed two buildings outside Lahore for feeding poor Hindus and Muslims. One of them was called Dharampura and the other Khairpura. As a large number of jōgis (saints) also flocked to these houses a third house was built and was called Jōgīpura.³

Akbar built the Lahore fort anew; a number of buildings were added within it and the whole complex was provided with a high bastioned wall. The architecture of Akbar which survives in this fort

¹ Brown, op.cit., 89.
² Abu'l-Fadl ʿAllāmī, op.cit., 312.
³ Al-Badāʾūnī, op.cit., 334.
is very similar to the architecture of Āgra fort.¹ No reference to this fort would be complete without attention being drawn to the remarkable display of tile decoration which is so overwhelmingly displayed over the wall facing west. It extends from the present main entrance² to the extreme north. The tile decoration and mosaic work cover an approximate area of 432 x 15.30m.³

NŪR AL-DĪN JAHĀNGĪR

Jahāngīr was fond of Lahore and on his way to Kābul and Kashmīr held his court at Lahore. Under Jahāngīr Kalīj Khān was the first governor of Lahore. In the fifth year of his reign he was replaced by Murtadā Khān. Murtadā Khān built a muhālā (colony) at Lahore bearing his name, as well as a large bath and a chauk (square). The garden of Dilāwīz across the river Rāvi and the garden of Mīrzā Kāmān were in high favour with the king who passed many festive days there in the company of his harem and umāra’.

During his rule a new block was built in the palace of Lahore (Lahore Fort). This construction was carried out under the supervision of Māmūr Khān.⁴ Jahāngīr writes in his memoirs that these buildings were finished handsomely by the exertions of Māmūr Khān, "without exaggeration, charming residences and soul exciting sitting places had

¹ According to Brown both the forts at Lahore and Āgra were built simultaneously. See Brown, op.cit., 93.
² Originally called hāthhipōl or "elephant gate".
³ See J.Ph.Vogel, The Tile Mosaics of the Lahore Fort (Calcutta, 1929)
been erected in great beauty and delicacy”. Yāmīn al-Daulah (Āṣif Khān) was the ablest of the governors of Lahore appointed by Jahangīr. He had a special taste for architecture and embellished the town and the citadel (i.e. Lahore Fort).

Jahangīr's last days were embittered by the treason of Nūr Mahal, his beloved consort, who planned to usurp power for her son-in-law Shāhryār at the expense of Shāhjāhān, the rightful heir. Jahangīr fell in Kashmir and was on his way to Lahore when he died at Rajaurī in 1628, in the twenty-second year of his reign. His body was sent to Lahore, and according to the will of the Emperor was interred in the garden of his once beloved wife, Nūrjāhān (Nūr Mahal) on the right bank of the river Rāvī on the outskirts of Lahore.

SHIRAB AL-DIN MUHAMMAD SHĀHJAHĀN

Shāhjāhān was born at Lahore in 1000/1592. He received the title of Shāhjāhān (King of the World) from his father in 1616 when he was nominated successor. When Jahangīr died Nūrjāhān wished to make

1. Emperor Jahangīr, op.cit., loc.cit. The Persian text is as follows:

"يبيلة لكل مقاول وكثير ونبطين بأسم روح انواراء، ودعاهم وکيلوا، وانکاروا، ولاقروا، ولاقروا... وانشا واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکفا، واکفا... واکفا واکفا، واکفا، واکфа...
Shihryār the successor. She had married her daughter by Shīr Afgan to Shihryār. Shihryār was nicknamed nāshudni ("good for nothing"). Encouraged by Nurjahan and instigated by his intriguing wife, he proclaimed himself emperor at Lahore. Royal troops were sent by Shāhjahan, and Shihryār was defeated in a short battle which took place outside Lahore.

Shāhjahan was particularly attached to Lahore because it was his birthplace. The Padshāhnāma by ʻAbd al-Hamīd Lahānī gives a very detailed account of the Emperor's court at Lahore. He also refers to Wazīr Khān as the viceroy of the Panjāb who built the famous Wazīr Khān mosque at Lahore. According to ʻAbd al-Hamīd the Emperor entertained much respect for fakīrs (saints) and paid a visit to Hadrat-i Miyan Mīr, whose tomb is also situated in Lahore.

As the building of the daulat khāna ("fort" or "royal residence") had been neglected for a long time, the Emperor ordered the reconstruction of various parts of it, such as the ghusal khāna (bath room) and khwābghān (sleeping chambers). The restoration work was planned and carried out under the supervision of skilful engineers. The shāhburj (the royal tower) had been built by Jahāngīr; this failed to impress Shāhjahan and he ordered its demolition. A new tower was

1. For the details of this episode see R. Burn, The Cambridge History of India, iv (Cambridge, 1937), 183 ff.
2. Burn, op.cit., 561.
4. Latif, op.cit., 52.
raised in its place under the supervision of Yāmīn al-Daulah Āsif Khan who had already displayed much tact and judgement in the embellishment of imperial buildings. After the completion of the block the Emperor stayed in it for three days.¹

At Hiran Minār (Shaykhupūra), too, the Emperor did not think the buildings constructed by Jahāngīr sufficiently impressive. A new building was therefore ordered.² Following the pattern set by the emperor many of the high officials decorated the city with beautiful edifices. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Lāhmūṭi in his excellent work ḌAmal-i Ṣāliḥ mentions among others the names of Wazīr Khān and ṢAllāmī Afḍal Khān who each constructed spacious edifices at Lahore.³

In 1631 Ǧālī Mardān Khān was made viceroy of Lahore. He was famous as a great canal engineer. He planned and dug a canal from the river Rāvī to the famous Shalīmar garden, and this supplied water to the garden for all its needs. The Shalīmar garden was laid in 1634. Fruit trees for this garden were brought from Kābul and Qandahār.⁴

In the same year (1634) Yāmīn al-Daulah Āsif Khān, brother of Nūrjāhān and father-in-law of the Emperor, died. By the orders of

¹. Latif, op.cit., 52-3.
². Ibid.
³. Quoted by K. L. Kapūr, Ṭaḥiḥ-i Lāhaur (Lahore, 1884), 57 (in Urdu).
⁴. Originally the garden was known as farah bakhsh or fayd bakhsh, i.e. "joy giver" and "benefit giver" respectively.
Shāhjahan's strong interest in architecture extended to the designs and plans of the buildings. His first and most famous building was the Tāj Mahal at Āgra which was intended to contain the tomb of his wife.²

"Augustus's boast that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble has its counterpart in the building productions of Shāh Jahan, who found the Mughal cities of sandstone and left them of marble".³ There is no doubt that Shāhjahan demolished many structures of red sandstone built by his predecessors and in their place built marble palaces.

Owing to the prosecution of protracted wars in the Deccan

1. In Mughal days this locality was known as jilū khāna.

2. The Tāj Mahal was built to house the tomb of Mumtāz Mahal wife of Shāhjahan. Tāj is a corruption of the last part of mumtāz i.e. tāz. In many parts of Pakistan and India za "j" is pronounced as jim "z"; thus, tāj in place of tāz. Persons bearing the name Mumtāz are often nicknamed "Taj".

Aurangzīb had less time to hold his court at Lahore than his predecessors. But Lahore remained the dār al-saltanat (capital). His first visit to Lahore was in 1659 when he stayed in the garden of Fayd Bakhsh and paid a brief visit to the daulat khāna (the Fort). He also went to the Masjid-i Wazīr Khān and offered prayers there.¹

Even though he spent little time at Lahore, Aurangzīb did not neglect it entirely. Thus in the year 1662 he ordered a protective embankment to be built to save Lahore from deluges. This was about 6.5km in length. Flights of steps were made at intervals for people to bathe. The Bāḍshāhī Mosque, a far more ambitious project, was completed in the year 1637. It is a magnificent structure and the finest architectural achievement of Aurangzīb. He also modified the main gate of Lahore Fort; this is still called Ālamgīrī Darwāza after him.

The architectural productions of the Mughals during the later half of the 17th century were less numerous and of lower standard than those executed under the previous rulers of the same dynasty. A characteristic example of this dwindling interest in architecture is the mausoleum of Aurangzīb’s wife, Rābhī‘ah Durrānī, at Aurangābād, which is a grotesque reproduction of the Tāj Maḥal. In fact the Bāḍshāhī mosque of Lahore is the only monument which reaches the highest standards of Mughal architecture.

¹. Muhammad Kāzim, Ālamgīr Nāma, quoted by Latif, op.cit., 65.
After the death of Aurangzīb in 1707 the collapse of the empire was only a matter of time, and the few buildings in the Mughal style that were erected after this date are a melancholy proof of the decadent architecture that ensued.

Dārā Shikoh, the elder brother of Aurangzīb, who was put to death in 1659, was a great lover of monuments just like his father and he possessed fine literary taste. He was fond of Lahore where he was extremely popular and he fixed his residence there. He adorned the city with beautiful buildings and market places. The Sultan Sara'ī and Chauk Dārā Shikoh were built by him. This chauk had four gates on each side, decorated with kānsī work and in shape and style resembling the gateway of Wazīr Khān's mosque. Dārā was a faithful disciple of Hadrat-i Miyān Mīr and he had planned a grand mausoleum for the saint but his life did not allow him to do that. His wife Nadirah is also buried close to the mausoleum of Hadrat-i Miyān Mīr.

Lahore was the first city in Pakistan to receive the attention of the sons of Tīmūr and it was also the first to fall into decay. Practically no monument of imperial quality of status was added to this city after Aurangzīb.

1. Chauk means the crossing of roads at right angles.
2. Latif, op.cit., 64.
map of Lahore showing Muslim monuments built before 1707
map of **Lahore**
showing Muslim monuments built before 1707
map of 
Lahore 
showing 
Muslim 
monuments 
built 
before 1707
map of Lahore
showing Muslim monuments built before 1707

Scale
0 1/2 1 Km
Key to maps of Lahore marked A,B,C,D.

1. Tomb of Nurjahān,
2. Tomb of Ashīf Jān,
3. Tomb of Jahāngīr,
4. Bārādarī of Kīrāz Khānān,
5. Badshāhī Mosque,
6. Lahore Fort,
7. Mosque of Maryam Zamānī,
8. Small Mosque of Wazīr Khān,
9. Mosque of Ābd Allāh Khān,
10. Tomb of Shāh Șarāf,
11. Motī Masjid,
12. Mosque of Tibbī Bazār,
13. Sunehri Mosque,
14. Mosque of Wazīr Khān,
15. Tomb of Malik Ayyāz,
16. Tomb of Pīr Zakī,
17. Tomb of Shāh Mūsā,
18. Tomb of Abu'l Mā'ālī,
19. Mosque of Dā'ī Lādū,
20. Tomb of Shaykh Mūsā,
21. Masjid-i Naqībān,
22. Tomb of Shāh Gīlānī,
23. Tomb of Ḥuṣayn Tailī,
24. Tomb of Śāliḥ Sindī,
25. Tomb of Imām al-Dīn,
26. Tomb of Dā'im Sanj Bēghān,
27. Chilla of Bābī Parīād,
28. Tomb of Anārkalī,
29. Kīla Gumbād,
30. Tomb of Khwājah Șa'īd,
31. Tomb of Shāh Shīrāzī,
32. Tomb of Maujdaryāz,
33. Tomb of an unknown saint,
34. Chauquirī,
35. Tomb of Madhu Lāl,
36. Mosque of Khwājah Ayyāz,
37. Tomb of Shhauray Shāh,
38. Gumbād of Rasūl Shāhīs,
39. Tomb of Kīmat Khān,
40. Tomb of Mişyān Khān,
41. Tomb of Dā'ī Angā,
42. Sulābī Gāzh,
43. Varā ṭālā mēqbārah,
44. Tomb of Khwājah Māhmūd,
45. Șadam Rasūl,
46. Tomb of Kīr Mānu,
47. Mosque of Dā'ī Angā,
48. Tomb of Shaykh Muḥtrām,
49. Budhu kā āwā,
50. Tomb of Khān-i Daurān,
51. Tomb of Khān-i Khānān,
52. Tomb of Șāli Mardān Khān,
53. Tomb of Nawāb Șādiq,
54. Șālīnrā Gāzh,
55. Tomb of Miyān Naḍā,
56. Tomb of Nuṣrāt Khān,
57. Tomb of Nawāb Bahādār,
58. Hujra of Nawāb Ja'far,
59. Tomb of Mişyāt Khān,
60. Tomb of Shāh Shams Șādī,
61. Tomb of Līb al-Kisā'ī,
62. Tomb of Rustam Khān,
63. Tomb of Miyān Kīr,
64. Tomb of Nādira Begūn.
MAUSOLEUM OF DĀṬĀ GANJ BAKHSH

Dāṭā Ganj Bakhsh is a greatly respected saint of Lahore and his mausoleum is known as a darbār (court) by way of respect. His real name was Ālī Makhduṭum and he hailed from Ḥujwīr, a mahallah or quarter of Ghazna. He came to Lahore with Mas’ūd b. Mahmul of Ghazna in 431/1039 and decided to settle there. Having lived thirty-four years in Lahore he died in 465/1072 and was buried close to a mosque which he had himself erected. The mausoleum was built by Ibrāhīm, the successor of Mas’ūd, in 465/1072. No trace of this original building appears to survive.

Both the mosque and the tomb are built on an elevated platform. The mosque has a small sanctuary with five arches. Each corner of this building is decorated with small turrets. The sanctuary originally had three domes, the central one larger than the other two. These were increased to five in subsequent repairs. There is a small rectangular courtyard in front of the sanctuary. In the north-east part of the mosque is the octagonal building containing the grave of the saint. This has a dome larger than those of the mosque. The octagonal building of the tomb is enclosed in a rectangular building which has a flat roof at the level of the base of the dome.

1. For details of the life of the saint see Chishti, op.cit., 157 ff.
2. The exact dates of change in design are not recorded. According to the mujahwars the changes were introduced some time between 1935 and 1937.
Both buildings are built of brick. The inscriptive slabs above the arches in the mosque as well as in the tomb are of marble. In the east of the mosque and south of the tomb there is a small chamber. It is the hujra of Saint Khwajah Mu'in al-Din Chishti. Its openings are provided with marble grilles.

DECORATION

Both monuments are without any significant decoration. There is no tilework or woodwork. Some decoration in the form of floral motifs exists on the octagonal platform of the tomb and eight small arched openings on each angle of the octagon. This decoration comprises carving and inlaid work. According to Chishti all the marble work was done during the reign of Emperor Akbar.¹

EPIGRAPHY

A number of inscriptions carved in marble exist on the mosque as well as the tomb. The following Persian inscription in nastaliq is placed on the northern arch of the mosque:

The word sirdār contains the chronogram and gives the date of the saint's death as 465/1072. During this period the Panjab was still under the rulers of Ghazna.

The following inscription is placed on the eastern arch of the mosque. The inscription is in Persian and is rendered in nastālīq characters.

کریم ایوب اولیکی و صورت از لی این بسیر گریک
سال وین گنیب گنیر

(Tr:) Oh! What a dome, like another heaven,
By it [both] angels and virgins of Paradise
Stand with their long musky locks
and become intoxicated with its fragrance.
The year of the repair of this tomb
is found in the term chirag-i jamāl (the lamp of elegance).

The words chirag-i jamāl give the date of repair 1278/1861. On the top of the next arch i.e. the first arch to the east of the central arch, there is the following inscription in the same style and medium:

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1. Latif erroneously gives the date of the saint's death as 485 AH. See Latif, op.cit., 180.
The central arch of the mosque bears the following inscription:

بَلْ لا شَخْصٍ غَيْرَ ٱلْيَسَرُّ وَٱلْيَسَرُّ ٱلْيَسَرُّ وَٱلْيَسَرُّ

(Tr:) The lamps of mosque, minaret, mihrāb and minbar
Abū Bakr, ʿOmar, ʿUthman and Haydar (ʿAlī)

The following couplet in Persian is on the first arch to the north of the central arch. This inscription is also in nastāʿliq and carved in marble:

گَلِیبُ عَلیهِ الْفَضْلُ عَالَم مِنْ تَرْفِعۡرِخِیلا
کَمَالْ رَابِیٰ کَلْلال اَنْتَفَاضَ رَابِیٰ

(Tr:) The bestower of treasure and bounty of the world,
reflector of the splendour (nūr) of God,
An accomplished spiritual guide for the learned
and a steerer for the ignorant.

The same inscription is repeated on one of the arches of the octagonal structure marking the grave. There are a number of other inscriptions but they are all of very recent date (they have been added some time between 1970 and 1976).

1. Dargāh is a shrine; threshold; mosque; or tomb of a reputed saint.
According to Latif, there was another inscription which was on a marble slab and inserted over the entrance gateway. These verses were of Maulānā ʿAbd al-Rahmān Jāmī. Latif does not say anything about the style of the script. The text and translation as given by Latif are as follows:

صوايازیر

لا یار الله محمد رسول الله
ایین روشن کر باینیش شیرد یونص است
و نیست کر باصق بیروست
اه بیست شیست شیست بیانت
ران سال و وساطت اخفال آدراز بیست

(Tr:) God is excellent

There is no god but God, and Muhammad is the Prophet of God.
This mausoleum, the foundation of which was laid through the bounty of God, is intended as a sepulchre for Makhdūm ʿAlī, who has joined the Divine essence.
Having departed from this transient world, he obtained eternal life:
Therefore the prominent date of his death was found in the word hast (ever existent)

The word hast gives the date 465/1072.

MAUSOLEUM OF PĪR BALKHĪ

Not much is known about the life of this saint. Even if he did indeed hail from Balkh, the date when he migrated to Lahore is not known. An inscription which appears to be modern on the doorway only suggests that he died in the year 1211. Even this date is doubtful as
Tufail puts the date of his death as 736/1239. Out of the two sources, Tufail looks more reliable.¹

The mausoleum is situated adjacent to the Sunahri Masjid in the Kashmiri Bazar. The mosque was built about five hundred years after the building of the saint's tomb by Nawab Bhikari Khan Mu'in al-Mulk. When the mosque was being built the tomb was in the way. The major portion of the tomb was therefore demolished. The hujra in which the pir was lying buried was, however, spared. The hujra is square in plan and measures approximately 3m each side, and has a small dome above.

In the Lahore Museum there is an Arabic katibah which bears an inscription in naskhī characters and which perhaps belongs to the tomb of Pir Balkhi. The inscription reads as follows:

हिस एमकबर दी दी दी साहीद दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी दी

(Tr:) This is the tomb of the great martyr Abu'l-Hamid al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Husain Abu Bakr al-Zikri al-Balkhi, the mercy of God be upon him. He lived till the age of ninety-eight and died on Friday 9th Dhu'l-Hijjah and that day was the day of 'arafah [in the Hajj] in the year 643.

The date 643 A.H. does not correspond to either of the two dates referred to above. The relationship between the actual date of the death of the saint and this inscription is therefore purely conjectural, and there is not enough to decide in favour of either date.

MAUSOLEUM OF SAYYID ŠŪF

Sayyid Šūf died in the year 786/1289 and was buried at Lahore in a place known as Muhallal Rurrah. It is situated to the south-east of the Masjid-i Wazīr Khān. The history of this saint is obscure. It is known, however, that he was a contemporary of Sayyid Ishaq whose tomb is in the courtyard of the Wazīr Khān mosque. Tufail states that in the beginning, i.e. towards the end of the thirteenth century his tomb was on a small platform built of kiln-burnt bricks and that there was no roof. For centuries the grave existed in this form. During the rule of the Lōdhīs a certain noble, Nadīr Khān by name, built his havailī (stately home) opposite this grave and also ordered the construction of a brick chamber over the grave. The grave chamber was then in the vast courtyard of the havailī. During the reign of Shāhjāhān, Wazīr Khān bought all the property of this area and built a new structure over the tomb. But a dome over it was added by Sultan Muhammad Ḳāshmīrī during the Rāj. The latest reconstruction was carried out in 1852 as is indicated by an inscription.

1. Tufail, op.cit., 327.
2. Ibid. The author gives no historical references.
The chamber over the grave is rectangular with a domed roof. This small structure is surrounded by a courtyard, which in turn has a balustrade of white marble enclosing it. The main doorway of the tomb is on the south side. On the architrave of the doorway there is another inscription.

EPIGRAPHY

An inscribed slab bearing the Arabic and Persian texts is fixed over the southern entrance to the tomb. The Arabic text is rendered in naskh while the Persian is rendered in nasta'liq. The following is the full text: ¹

Bismillah

There is no god but God and Muhammad is the Messenger of God. The tomb of the most pious, the master of the perfect, the nearest to God, the cream of nobility, Sayyid Suf who distributes mercy and great enlightenment. This tomb was built in the period of Padshah Abu'l-Muzaffar Firuz Shah Tughlaq.

¹ These inscriptions are unpublished.
The interior of the mausoleum is austere and without any decoration of note. The grave is placed in the middle with a marble ta'wiz on the north. The grave is surrounded by a low balustrade of marble. Each wall has a niche.

The inscription on the ta'wiz is wholly rendered in nasta'liq. The following is the full text of the inscription:

كك رضي الله عنهم السفاحين، مؤسس الخلق، رضي الله عنه

The Shaykh of Shaykhs, the honourable and venerable, generous Sayyid, Sayyid Suf, distributor of benevolence. May God have mercy on him, al-Hasan al-Suhrawardi. Date of death 786 [AH]

This text is followed by the following eight lines of poetry.

(Tr:) This is a grand grave of a living heart, and to kiss the dust [of this grave] the sky is bowing down.

1. "Living heart" is a literal translation of Proverbially this means "generous".

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1. "Living heart" is a literal translation of Proverbially this means "generous".

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He [Sayyid Šūf] was a distributor of benevolence, a treasure of unity [one-ness of God] and an advisor with a broad forehead. He is a saint who makes everything pious, he is the guide for this world and for the faith.

Martyrdom is like rouge on his face which is a grace for the nation and the country. He can sacrifice his head; he is a fighter, a killer of Shaddād, and he reaches everywhere, covering long distances.

Having come out with flying colours from the battle fought in the way of God that great, pious man is enjoying sweet dreams.

MAUSOLEUM OF ABŪ ISHĀQ MUZANG

Abū Ishaq settled in the outskirts of Lahore after migrating from Bukhārā. The historians do not record the date of his arrival. He probably arrived in Lahore at some time in the early sixteenth century. Soon the locality where he put up came to be known after him as Muzang, and it is still known by the same name. Muzang is now in the centre of an ever-expanding Lahore.

Chishti erroneously states that the tomb was built in the time of Humāyūn, but Abū Ishaq died in 985/1577, which was in Akbar's time.

1. A broad forehead is considered as a symbol of wisdom.
2. Shaddād was an imperious king, founder of the garden of Iram; his name is synonymous with an oppressor, a tyrant (Steingass, op.cit., 738).
3. This implies receiving the rank of martyrdom.
4. Meaning that he is lying peacefully in his grave.
PLAN

The mausoleum is square in plan and is situated on a square platform about 32cm high and approached by two steps on the south side. The tomb chamber has its only entrance on the south side. The building has a bulbous dome. Adjacent to the mausoleum and situated to the north of it there is also a small mosque. There is a hujra in the east. Both mosque and hujra are of undistinguished architecture. All three buildings are of brick.

INTERIOR

Inside, the grave of the saint has a wooden balustrade surrounding all four sides. The walls inside are plain up to about 90cm and after that each wall has niches in it. The western wall has a mihrāb of semi-circular plan. The interior of the dome is without decoration; both walls and dome are totally covered with plaster.

EPIGRAPHY

The epigraphy is the most remarkable feature of this small but chaste monument. The most outstanding feature of the epigraphy is that the words سُبْحَانَ اَللَّهِ are repeated below the dome on all four walls. This inscription is rendered in naskhī. The letters are in relief and are made of the plaster with which the walls are totally covered. Around the circular base of the dome, sura lxvii (al-Mulk) is inscribed in naskhī. Its letters are also made of plaster. Inside the mihrāb there were originally two couplets; neither of them is now entirely
Legible. One of these has the following words intact:

**(Tr):** His majesty Shaykh Shāh Abū Ishaq
Was ...... ...... God called him.

Adjacent to this structure there is another structure, smaller but similar in other respects. It also has its opening on the southern side. The building contains the graves of the two sons of the saint besides his relatives and disciples. In all there are seventeen graves. The mihrāb is decorated with the names of Allāh, Muhammadd, Abū Bakr, Umar, Uthmān and ʿAlī. The names of Allāh and Muhammad are quite clear but those of the caliphs are written in khatt-i muʾammah. At the base of the dome sūra xxv (al-Furqān) is inscribed in naskhī while following it there is sūra cxii (al-Ikhlās) in bold thulth. On the southern wall the following inscription is rendered in a naskhī hand:

قال عليه السلام... العوالمين حي نفی الدارين

**(Tr):** Peace be upon him, he said "The believer lives [happily] in both the houses"[i.e. this world and the world after death].

On all four walls attributes of Allāh are inscribed; they are:

 projectiles pātāhā, yāsaitār pāghūtar

**(Tr):** O Steadfast, O Exceedingly Powerful, O Coverer, O Forgiver.

These are surrounded by medallions in which all the ninety-nine attributes of Allāh are arranged in a pleasing style and manner.
The northern and eastern walls also have the following inscription:

سَكَامُ مُعْلُومٍ كَرِيمٍ كَرِيمٍ

(Tr:) Peace! a word from a Merciful Lord. ¹

The northern wall bears the bismillah, which is not very clear. In the spandrels of the mihrab بِيَبِّ (O God) is inscribed. ²

Chishti states that this tomb which is so rich in epigraphy was built by a merchant of Lucknow who was a devoted disciple of the saint. From Lucknow he came especially to Lahore to build the tomb of the saint. Abu'1-Fadl ²Allâmî does not refer to him in the A'In-i Akbarî at all.

MAUSOLEUM OF MUHAMMAD SHÂH MAUJDARYÂ

Sayyid Muhammad Shân was a resident of Úch in Bahâwalpur. When the protracted siege of Chittor caused anxiety to Akbar, he was advised by the royal astrologers to seek the help of this saint. It is said that Akbar went barefooted to the saint, who accompanied him to Chittor. Soon the impregnable fort fell. The saint at the earnest solicitations of the emperor left Úch and made Lahore his residence. ³

1. Sûra xxxvi (al-Yâsîn), 58.
2. According to Chishti op.cit., 109, the northern and eastern walls also had this inscription:

   Tr: whosoever admonished [others] about death that is sufficient for him [to save him on the day of judgement].

3. The incident has been quoted in detail by Chishti, op.cit., 96.
As a gesture of indebtedness Akbar built the mausoleum of the saint in 1000/1591 when the saint was still living.¹

**PLAN**

The tomb is situated on a square platform some 1.35m high and measuring 12.30m per side. The building of the tomb is also square and is placed in the middle of the platform. Each side measures 10.50m. Each side has a large arch in the middle flanked by three superimposed recessed niches on each side. Each corner of the parapet has a turret crowned by very low cupolas. There is a dome of substantial size over the tomb building which still retains much of its original intensive decoration. It is placed on a fairly high drum giving it further height and making it more conspicuous.

![Tomb of Maujdaryā](image)

The whole building, including the platform, is built of brick, covered with lime plaster.

**INTERIOR**

Inside, apart from the grave of the saint, there are eleven graves belonging to the relatives and sons of the saint. The chamber is square

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¹ Chishtī, *op.cit.*, 96.
internally, and there is an octagonal zone of transition with squinches. The eight sides have the remains of illegible Persian inscriptions. The building is void of decoration internally. It is wholly covered with plaster and is white-washed.

EPIGRAPHY

The entrance to the mausoleum is at the south side. Above the large arch on this side there is an inscription in glazed tilework. The inscription is in Persian and rendered in nasta‘liq.

روضه مقبرة الواصلين تدوز الفاری،
متبول باکیا باری خیر سباه وریا
خانی وزرالصبر مرقد یزدگردی از وینت

(Tr:) The holy shrine of the best of the departed, the excellent among the pious, the beloved of God the Most High, Miran Sayyid Muhammad Shāh Maujdarya Bukhārī. May God illumine his last resting place. Built in the reign of Akbar Shāh.

There is no other inscription outside. Inside there are a number of inscriptions. There are at least eight Persian couplets below the dome in the zone of transition, for each of the sides bears a couplet. Unfortunately, none of these is in a good enough state of preservation to be read. The lower walls are also decorated with Persian inscriptions in nasta‘liq characters. All these letters are raised from the surface; they are most probably made of a material prepared from lime, locally called chūna gach.

1. Meaning those who have departed from this world.
The northern wall has the following inscription:

محمد عربی کا بروی پرودیارست
کے کر جاک ورش نہیں نشان جاک پرودیار

(Tr:) Muhammad of Arabia is the honour of both worlds, He who is not the dust of his threshold, let dust be on his forehead. ¹

The south wall has the following inscription:

زیروں کا جھان برواز دل را
زیجرم فلک وان اسنب وگلرا

(Tr:) Divert thy attention from the affairs of this world, and know that you are made of water and clay.

رخ وچیت دوجی دوجی کا
دل غور را ازین دنیا جاگا

(Tr:) Turn your face and thoughts to God and turn your heart aside from this world.

The western wall has the following two couplets:

گر آشکار دنیا نئا مکست
درون خاک یارکس رمکام مکست

(Tr:) After all, the affairs of this world have no end, But the resting place for everyone is under the ground.

¹. The same inscription appears inside the main entrance of the Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore, and on the facade of Gulābī Bāgh's gateway, Lahore.
(Tr:) By the help of God, the Merciful, and [by the help of] the spirits of the holy saints,

The west wall has these two couplets:

پیام سید رحمت شاه بخاری
مرتب گشت استنیاری کاری

(Tr:) The efforts of Sayyid Rahmat Shāh Bukhārī have resulted in the construction of this edifice. 1

و حکمت تاریخ اور گوش یک بست
بخش رومی وان سادات

Wisdom spoke the date in everybody's ear: the mausoleum is splendid and holy.

The last three words in the last hemistich give the date of completion of repairs (1253 A.H.) by Sayyid Rahmat Shāh Bukhārī, who was most probably one of the descendants of the saint.

MAUSOLEUM OF SHĀH ABU'L-MA'ĀLĪ

This saint, Shāh Abu'l-Ma'ālī, was a person of great sanctity and lived during the reign of Akbar and Jahāngīr. He died in the year

1. Construction here means repairs. These repairs were done by Rahmat Shāh who was a descendent of the saint.
He built most of the mausoleum during his lifetime. The construction was completed by his son after his death.

**PLAN**

In general appearance the mausoleum is very similar to the mausoleum of Muhammad Ṣāḥib Maujdarya. It is situated on a platform 1.40m high which is a square of 11m. each side. The main building of the mausoleum is almost a cube, each side measuring 7.40m. The building has four main recessed arches, one on each side. Within the main arches are the arched entrances. Niches comprising half arches in two tiers are introduced on each corner flanking the main arch A. This feature seems to be novel. These recessed blind arches or niches are contained in a rectangular frame which is itself also slightly recessed.

The parapet above is flat and without any merlons or other mouldings, nor are there any turrets at the corners. The dome which crowns the rectangular building is placed on a 16-sided drum divided into three portions by horizontal rings. The lowest portion of the dome has window openings on the four cardinal sides. The dome has a rather low profile with a fine finial above.

The whole structure from the platform up to the dome is made of...
brick and lime mortar. The building is wholly covered with white plaster. The framing bands around the main arches and recessed niches are painted black.

**DECORATION**

The building has no decoration externally or internally.

**EPIGRAPHY**

A brief Arabic inscription survives on the southern entrance of the tomb. The inscription is rendered on a masonry frame in black naskhi characters:

\[ \text{(Tr:)} \text{Verily, the friends of God never die, but they are living, though people cannot perceive them.} \]

**MAUSOLEUM OF DĀ'Ī ANGA**

The mausoleum is situated behind (i.e. to the north of) the famous Gulabī Bāgh Gateway. The real name of Dā'ī Anga was Zīb al-Nisā'. History does not say why she was known as Anga. The meaning of the word dā'ī is "wet nurse"; Dā'ī Anga was the wet nurse of Shāhjāhān and was held in great esteem by him. The inscriptions inside the

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1. This lime mortar is in fact an admixture of lime and kairī (ground brick) mixed in such proportions as to provide an excellent cementing material.
mausoleum state that the mausoleum was built in 1082/1671. It is not known whether Dā'ī Anga died in this year.

PLAN

Externally the mausoleum is a low square building built on raised ground (not on a platform). This was probably done for the sake of introducing a subterranean chamber. There are twelve entrances to the building, three on each side. A small octagonal chamber inside each corner is connected with the two oblong chambers in the middle of each side. The main chamber is square internally.

A flight of stairs leads to the roof from the outside. The approach to these steps is at the north-eastern corner. Above each corner there is a small pavilion, square in plan and with delicate pillars. The structure is wholly built of brick and covered with plaster. Above there is a cupola at each corner and a low profile dome with a chevron design made of glazed tiles.

DECORATION

There is a wide band of glazed decoration on each side near the parapet. The band runs from one end to the other and comprises floral motifs arranged geometrically. The surviving specimens seem as brilliant in colour and finish as they must have been on the day they were put there.

Inside, the most important decorative element is the Qur'ānic
Lahore
Tomb of Dā'ī Anga
Sketch Plan

Inscription in the central chamber signed by calligraphist Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and dated 1082 AH.
inscriptions. The roofs of the four small corner chambers have geometric patterns made by painting the contours of the squinches. The ceiling of the main octagonal chamber has been decorated similarly. All these lines are about 3.5cm wide and are drawn in sepia colour.

**EPIGRAPHY**

The epigraphy survives only in patches. The surviving fragments show that inscriptions were placed on all four sides of the internal square chamber at the level just above the approaches. The inscription is Qur'anic and runs in two tiers comprising the whole of sura xlviii, *al-Fath*. It is rendered in beautiful bold thulth with an accent on the verticals. The inscription is on plaster and is rendered in black. It ends with the signature of the calligrapher:

كُتِبَ عِمَّامَتَ اللَّهُ دُلِّيَ وَسُنُّمَ بتَسْبِيحُ اللهِ الحَمِيدِ

(Tr:) Written by Muhammad Salih, may God forgive his sins and overlook his faults,'(in the) year 1082 hijri.

Latif writes that there were two graves in this mausoleum: one was that of Dā'ī Anga and the other that of her daughter Sultan Begām.¹ Both these cenotaphs are now missing and the central chamber of the mausoleum has only its brick-paved floor.

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¹. Latif, *op.cit.*, 135.
MAUSOLEUM OF MIYĀN WADDĀ

Miyān Waddā was born in 995/1586 and died in the year 1095/1583.¹ Thus he lived for a full one hundred lunar years. He thus witnessed the rule of four major Mughal sovereigns, from Akbar to Aurangzīb. He established a madrasah in the Taylpūra quarter of Lahore where he gave instruction in theology, jurisprudence, hadīth and tafsīr. According to a desire expressed by him no dome was built over his grave.² The building is brick-built.

PLAN

The mausoleum of the saint is almost like a mosque; it comprises four sections. The antechamber to the main building is domed and has its entrance on the east side. Within this chamber is a passage which leads into the first chamber of the saint's mausoleum. This portion of the mausoleum is in the form of a typical Mughal mosque. This section on the eastern side has three multifoil arched entrances, the central one being slightly larger. Within these are rectangular openings providing access to the

1. Latif, op.cit., 156.
2. Ibid.
interior. Above these rectangular openings are arched mouldings. The central portion is higher in elevation and has small turrets at the corners, while the end corners of the building have larger and higher turrets.

DECORATION

The building is without any decoration of note.

EPIGRAPHY

Two couplets in Persian exist on the southern entrance to the mausoleum. These are rendered in fine nasta'liq in black on a slab of buff stone contained in a frame of masonry:

(Tr:) Hear the date [of the demise] of that ocean of wisdom, Who spent the whole of his life in the love of God. He sacrificed his heart and life in His cause. He was without doubt a second Isma'īl. 1

1. The real name of Miyan Wadda was Shaykh Muhammad Isma'īl.
The mausolea of Jahangir, Asif Jah, and Nurjahan were all situated in a huge complex. When in 1859 the railway line was laid, it passed through the complex and the tomb of Nurjahan was separated from the other two.

The garden in which the mausoleum of Jahangir now stands was laid by Nawab Mahdi Qasim Khan in the year 965/1577. At that time it was outside Lahore, across the river Ravi, in the village of Shadhara. Today it is very much a part of Lahore.

Since the nawab had no issue the garden was left unclaimed after his death. When Mihr al-Nisa', the later Nur Mahal, became Nurjahan she took possession of this beautiful garden. Money was spent lavishly for its expansion and development on the orders of the queen. The garden, which was previously known as the garden of Nawab Qasim, now came to be known as Dilkusha since Nurjahan had named it so.

The garden is equipped with canals, parterres, tanks, waterfalls, cascades, fountains

1. For a sketch of his life, see Chishti, op.cit., 277.
and a variety of fruit trees, the largest number being of mango and jāman trees.

Before his death at Rājaurī in 1627 A.D. Jahāngīr expressed a wish to be buried in the garden of his lovely and accomplished wife, Nurjahan, thus paying her the last tribute of love and affection. His dead body was therefore brought from Rājaurī to Lahore where he was buried in the Dilkushā garden. The superb monument over the grave of Jahāngīr was raised by Shāhjahan, his son and successor.

A portion of the garden and its surrounding wall has been washed away by the annual deluge caused by the river Ravi. The structure of the mausoleum itself suffered at the hands of the Sikh ruler Laha Singh¹ and by the ruthless vandalism of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.²

PLAN

The entrance to this superb building complex is through two massive gateways built of stone and masonry opposite each other to the north and south. Both these gates lead into a square enclosure about five hundred paces each side internally. This square area is in between the mausolea of Jahāngīr and Ṵāsīf Jāh and served as a sara‘ī.³ There is a dispute about who was the real builder of this sara‘ī.

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1. During his rule and during the rule of the other two, sacred monuments were demolished for the sake of selling their bricks and other building material.


3. Latif, op.cit., loc.cit., calls it the sara‘ī of Jahāngīr; Chishti, op.cit., 855, calls it the sara‘ī of Shāhjahan.
Lahore
Tombs of Jahāngīr and Āṣif Jāh

main entrance to the complex

ruined area

Tomb of Jahāngīr

Tomb of Āṣif Jāh

gateway

sarā'ī

Scale 0 50 100 200 300 400 meters

railway line

Tomb of Nūrjahan

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Historians have different opinions about it, since the garden of Dilkushā belonged to Nurjahan. According to the available sources Jahangir never took any personal interest in this garden and its architecture, so the circumstantial evidence favours Shahjahan. He probably built this sara'i as a connecting edifice between the mausolea of his father and father-in-law.

Each side of the sara'i has a gateway in the middle with the exception of the west side which has a mosque. There are twenty-six cells on each side of each gate and of the mosque. This brings the number of cells to two hundred and eight. The cells are brick built with a roof resting on vaulted construction. Each cell has a veranda followed by an open space in front. The whole construction of the sara'i is nearly 1.5m above the normal ground level.

The gateway on the eastern side is the main entrance to Jahangir's tomb. This gateway is built of red sandstone with inset geometrical patterns in white marble. Opposite this gate is the mosque. Its dome has been demolished. There remains no decoration in this mosque worthy of note. In the southern extremity of this mosque is a small opening which provides access to Asif Jah's tomb.

The gateway built of red sandstone provides access to the tomb of Jahangir. The tomb building is situated in the middle of a square garden of nearly 520m per side which is divided by four canals starting from the middle of each side of the central building. The main structure of the mausoleum is built on a platform of red sandstone, the vertical sides of which are carved and inlaid with precious stones.
Its floor is decorated with cut and inlay work using a variety of stones. Above this platform is the main body of the mausoleum, a square 63.5m per side, surrounded on all four sides by a corridor giving access to the chamber behind. These cells were probably for the accommodation of visitors.

The central part of the mausoleum containing the sarcophagus is approached by a corridor on the western side. This corridor is decorated with mosaic, inlay work, and *pietra dura* work of the highest quality. The *pietra dura* work comprises geometric and floral patterns executed with extraordinary skill and finesse. The walls also bear painted floral work. The stone pieces are joined and inlaid with such mastery that a moving finger on the surface cannot feel the joints. Even the shading of some of the flowers, like the roses, is rendered by different colours of stone.

The central chamber is decorated exquisitely in the same manner as the corridor which provides access to it, but its floor is much more remarkable. It is made of purest marble and is inlaid with precious stones. The four walls are also decorated with superb floral designs, all in *pietra dura*. There are four arches, one in the middle of each side; the northern, southern and eastern arches are closed by marble grilles. The roof of this chamber is, surprisingly, absolutely free of any decoration and appears to have been finished in white plaster.
SARCOPHAGUS

The sarcophagus is fairly high from the chamber level. It is made of the purest and whitest marble. Its lower portion is adorned with geometrically arranged floral designs once again modelled in light and shade. All these floral motifs are made of cut and inlaid stonework of supreme craftsmanship. The longitudinal as well as the north and south sides of the sarcophagus bear inscriptions rendered in black inlaid marble.

EPGRAPHY

With the exception of the word "Allāh" engraved in the niches of the main gateway east of the sara'i, the epigraphy is confined to the sarcophagus in the main chamber of the mausoleum. The longitudinal sides of the sarcophagus bear the ninety-nine attributes of Allāh, all rendered in black naskhi. Each attribute is placed in a rectangle made of black inlaid marble. Latif thinks that this sarcophagus, including its decoration and inscriptions, is wrought in the same fashion as the tomb in the Tāj Mahal at Āgra. If this is so, Shāhjahan in building the Tāj certainly made the best use of the experience which he gained by building this edifice. Latif in fact goes so far as to say that the "mausoleum of Jahāngīr is a monument of surpassing beauty, the finest ornament of Lahore, and the most magnificent edifice in India after the Tāj and the Kutb".

1. See also, J.Ph.Vogel, Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, (Allahabad, 1909) 27 ff.
2. Latif, op.cit., 105.
3. Latif, op.cit., 104.
On top of the sarcophagus selections from various suras are put together to make a long Qur'anic inscription. It begins with the bismillah followed by the words صَحِبُ السَّارَارَةِ الرَّزِيبَ (He forgives all sins). The Qur'anic text then begins prefixed by the words قال الله تعالى وتعالى (So said God the Holy and High). This is followed by verse 53 of sura xxxix (al-Zumar), verse 184 of sura iii (al-Imran), verse 118 of sura xxiii (al-Mu'minun) and verses 180-2 of sura xxxvii (al-Saffat). On the northern panel the following inscription is rendered in naskhi:

هوallah الذي لا إله إلا هو الرحمن الرحيم والشهدة هو الرحمن الرحيم

(Tr:) God is the only God. There is no god but God. He knows what is concealed and what is manifest, and he is merciful and compassionate.

The southern panel has the following Persian inscription in nastaliq:

مرقد متمرّر علی حضرت عثمان بن عفان
لظرالدين محمد جاهنجیر پادشاه 1037 هـ

(Tr:) The illuminated resting place of his majesty the asylum of pardon, Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad Jahāṅgīr Pādshāh 1037 AH. [1627 AD].

Outside the entrance to the corridor which leads to the tomb chamber there are covered flights of steps, each comprising twenty-five steps.

1. The whole Qur'anic text comprises seventeen lines. The Qur'anic inscriptions of Jahāṅgīr's mausoleum have not been identified before.

These lead up to the roof of the square monument. The floor of the roof is paved with tessellated stones. Each corner of this storey has a fine minaret, four storeys high, inlaid with chevron designs of yellow, black and white stone and variegated marble. Each of these minarets rises to a height of 28.5m and has sixty-eight steps inside. These minarets have pavilions with white cupolas crowning them. Each storey is divided by a projecting gallery outside garnished with a delicately carved marble fence or parapet.

An interesting feature of Jahāngīr's tomb vis-a-vis the Bādshāhī Mosque is that from a minaret of either monument one can see only three of the four minarets of the other.

1. "Thornton in his work on Lahore says that the Mausoleum of Jahāngīr was built by Nūrjahan, and that there existed originally a dome and awnings which were removed by Bahādur Shāh son of Aurangzīb. This account is not supported by contemporary authors. The tomb was built by Shāhjahan and its tomb chamber was left open and unroofed according to the will of Jahāngīr. It is clear therefore that the central roof never had a dome" (Latif, op.cit., 107).

The roofing of the central part of the dome has been a matter of long controversy. Some suggest that the two-storied structure of marble in the Hadūrī Bāgh was originally the second and third storeys of Jahāngīr's tomb; see J.D.Roag, Islamic Architecture, (New York, 1977), 378 (illustration). The ceiling of the tomb chamber very clearly suggests some later modifications, but a very close examination of the fabric - which would involve removing some of the plaster - would be needed before the question could be settled.
MAUSOLEUM OF ABU'L-HASAN ĀSIF JĀH

Abu'l-Hasan Āsif Jāh was the father of Arjumand Bānū Begūm, the queen of Śahjahan. Commonly called Muntāz Mīrāl (excellence of the palace) or Tāj Mīrāl (crown of the palace), she was the tenant of the Tāj Mahal at Āgra. Āsif Jāh was also a brother of Nūrjahan, the queen of the Emperor Jahāngīr, whose mausoleum exists close to Āsif Jāh's tomb. Āsif Jāh was the wazīr of Śahjahan and also the commander-in-chief of the Mughal forces. He bore the titles of Yāmīn al-Daula (خان-ا خانان خانان) and Sipahsālār (commander-in-chief). He is considered as the richest of all the Mughal umārā' and wazīrs.¹

Āsif Jāh died in 1051/1634 and was buried in the west of the sara'ī which existed to the east of Jahāngīr's mausoleum. Its main entrance was however not through the sara'ī.

PLAN

The edifice stands on an octagonal platform in the middle of a square garden approximately four hundred paces a side. The octagonal platform is approximately a meter high; in the centre of it is placed the octagonal building of the tomb.

1. An unbelievable account of his wealth is given by Ābd al-Hamīd Lāhaurī, Badshāh Nāma in Dowson & Elliot, op.cit., vii, 69.
Lahore
Tomb of Āṣif Jāh

Sketch Plan and Elevation
Each side of this platform has a water reservoir, with a fountain in the middle. The tomb comprises a single room which has the sarcophagus. Each side of the octagon provides access to this room. These entrances are of uniform size and dimensions. Externally each side has a large pointed arch set in a rectangular frame (D). Within these larger arches (A) are smaller arches (B). The smaller arched openings provide access to the interior. Above these are arched windows almost half the size of the openings below (C). This arrangement is repeated on all eight sides.

**DOME**

The dome is the most dominating aspect of this monument. Its height is almost equal to the height of the octagonal structure below.

**DECORATION**

According to Chishti¹ and Latif² the octagonal portion of the building was wholly covered with glazed tiles. A small portion of this decoration still survives above the eastern arch. The dome was wholly covered with white marble of the highest quality. Both tiles and

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marble slabs were removed by Ranjit Singh to decorate the Sikh temple at Amritsar. The whole of the interior and the floor was also covered with marble and this was also stripped by the great Sikh Maharajah. Some of the marble slabs which were inlaid with coloured stones were taken to the Hadurī Baugh, where the craftsmen employed by Ranjit Singh failed to put them in the right order. These stones were thus laid haphazardly.

The sarcophagus, which is also made of marble and inlaid with precious stones, was like the sarcophagus of Jahāngīr vandalised to enrich the already wealthy Mughal wazīr. The sarcophagus was found lying in the garden outside and was put into position by the Raj.¹

The whole of this beautiful structure was in the middle of a beautiful garden with canals reaching to its extremities from the middle of each side of the square platform. The outside walls were also decorated with precious stones.

The basic construction, including walls, walks, platform and dome, is of brick which was covered with plaster and then faced with tiles and marble slabs.

Amīn al-Dīn, without quoting the source of his information, tells us that the entrances of the building were fitted with gates and doors

decorated with bronze. Outside, the four water reservoirs were decorated with marble mouldings. The interior was finished with golden and silver lamps and chandeliers and expensive carpets covered the floor.

**EPIGRAPHY**

It is not known whether the main structure had any inscriptions. The only surviving inscriptions are on the marble sarcophagus which is a replica of Jahangir's sarcophagus, but slightly smaller in size. Its first tier was inlaid with precious stones forming floral patterns running in an undulating manner. Almost all of these stones have been removed except the black marble. The ugly cavities are now full of dust. The upper tier has on its longitudinal sides the ninety-nine attributes of Allāh. The top has the *bismillah* followed by

(He forgives all sins) and then the following inscription:

\[
	ext{هَوَاللهُ لا إِلَهَ إِلَّا الْهَيْبَ}
\]
\[
	ext{وَالشَّهَادَةِ هُوَ الْرَّحْمَنُ الْرَّحِيمُ}
\]

(Tr.) God is the only God. There is no god but God. He knows what is concealed and what is manifest, and he is Merciful and Compassionate. 2

The northern side bears this inscription:

\[
	ext{كُلُّ نَسْبُ وَالْتَقْطَةَ الموتِ}
\]

1. All the inscriptions of Āsif Jāh's mausoleum are unpublished.
2. Verse 22 of sūra lix (al-Hashr).
Every living being will taste death.\(^1\)

All these inscriptions are rendered in bold naskhī and inlaid with black marble.

The sarcophagus is in a very poor state of preservation and much of it, particularly the corners, has been broken off.

The mausoleum of Āsif Jāh stands out and its dome is particularly visible from afar, but it is the ruined bulk that can be seen. Even so it has a very imposing if melancholy appearance and is one of the most dignified historical monuments of the city of Lahore.\(^2\)

There is another mausoleum in Lahore which has a very close resemblance with that of Āsif Jāh - namely the tomb of Āli Mardān Khān, the famous canal engineer of Emperor Shāhjāhān; but there is no epigraphy in that building.

**MAUSOLEUM OF NŪRJAHĀN**

The original name of Nurjahān was Mihr al-Nisā' ("the sun of women"). Jahāngīr named her Nūr Mahal ("the light of the harem"). After becoming queen she assumed the title of "the light of the world"

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1. Beginning of verse 184 of sura iii (al-Imrān).
2. See also Brown, op.cit., 107.
She was one of the most powerful and able queens of the Mughals.

She was a woman of many talents; she occasionally composed Persian poems, and wrote under the takhallus (nom de plume) of makhfī (hidden). She was responsible for many innovations in women's dress and also designed various types of jewellery. Some evidence of the respect she enjoyed is shown by the fact that her name appeared on coins along with that of Jahāṅgīr. The Jahāṅgīr coins bore the following couplet:

\[
\text{بَعْضِ شَاهِ جَهَانِ بَعْضِ مَصْدَاقُ}
\]

(Tr:) By order of the Emperor Jahāṅgīr, the value of gold was increased a hundred fold by the name of Nūrjahan Bādshāh Begum (i.e. Empress).

Before getting married to Jahāṅgīr, she was married to a brave Turkoman, ʿAlī Qulī Beg, who was commonly known by his nom de guerre Shīr Afgan (the "lion-queller"). She died at the age of seventy-two, in 1055/1638.

Her mausoleum - which she herself built during her lifetime - is situated opposite the mausoleum of her brother Āsif Jāh and close to the mausoleum of her husband Jahāṅgīr. A railway line now separates

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1. The exact pronunciation of Nūr Mahal is Nūr-i Mahal, and Nūrjahan Nūr-i Jahan, following the Persian idāfat.

2. It is interesting to note that two Mughal ladies, i.e. Salīma Sultan Begum, second wife of Akbar, and Zīb al-ʾNīsāʾ Begum, daughter of ʿAurangzīb, composed verses under the same nom de plume, Makhfī. See Abuʾl-Fadl, op.cit., vol.1, 309, 510.


4. Ibid.
the mausoleum of Nurjahan, from the other two.

According to Tufail, Nurjahan had built a palace close to the mausoleum of her husband and brother. Attached to this palace was a beautiful and spacious garden of 90m each side. This was divided into four main parterres, and was known as Chahar Chaman (four-gardens).\(^1\)

There seems every likelihood that her tomb is set in the middle of the former Chahar Chaman. The description of Nurjahan's tomb as recorded in the ZafarNama-yi Shahjahan\(^2\) is very different from what we see today. According to the author of the ZafarNama-yi Shahjahan, this tomb also had a majestic dome decorated with glazed tiles and having a radius of 6.75m. The building was fully covered with marble externally and with sang-i abri\(^3\) and yellow buff stone internally. Today, however, there is neither the dome nor internal and external stone embellishments.

**PLAN**

The mausoleum is square in plan - 41.14m each side - and has seven openings or entrances on each side. Each intersecting corridor is roofed by a brick vault. Inside, the mausoleum is like a maze. Each side externally has a major entrance right in the middle placed in a

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1. Tufail, op.cit., 403.
2. Quoted by Tufail, op.cit., loc.cit. He does not identify the author or location of this work.
3. "Variegated stone".
Lahore Tomb of Nurjahan
SKETCH PLAN

not to scale
large rectangular block of masonry with three arched openings on
either side. The whole structure is raised on a brick-built platform
72cm high and approached by two steps in front of each main entrance.
The corners have octagonal blocks attached to them. Perhaps the
queen wanted to raise minarets on them following the style of Jahāngīr's
tomb. These octagonal corner blocks terminate with the height of the
building. The parapet throughout is provided with a grille of red
sandstone 35cm in height.

The existing structure is built of brick covered with plaster
which probably held the marble slabs, but none survive. This plaster
has also come off at a number of places. Exactly in the middle of the
plan where two main axial foyers intersect each other is the chamber
which held the cenotaph. The cenotaph was placed on a brick-built
platform some 2.40m square and 22cm high. This platform must have been
covered with marble of the most expensive quality but not a bit of it
was left by the greedy Ranjīṭ Singh. The replicas of the cenotaphs are
also bare now but their bricks are not exposed; they are covered with
pale brown plaster. The grave of the queen is situated in the middle
of this platform, while the grave of her daughter Lādīlī Begum, whom
she bore to Shīr Afgan, is on her eastern side.

DECORATION

In its present state, the mausoleum is void of any decoration.
Its walls are plain and flat, its arches simple and their spandrels
empty. The floor is bare and walls desolate. It is a true picture of
what Nurjahan had once composed in poetry

\[ \text{\textcopyright} \]
(Tr:) Upon my grave [when I shall die] no lamp shall burn, no jasmine lie.

Latif writes that this mausoleum had a marble sarcophagus which was a work of most chaste workmanship. It was of the same size and quality as those of Jahāngīr and Āsif Jāh, with the attributes of Allāh engraved on it. The vaulted rooms were all covered with marble and wrought with flowers of mosaic, but these were removed by Ranjīt Singh.

EPIGRAPHY

According to Sylvia Crowe Nūrjāhān wrote her own epitaph, which, translated by the poet John Bowen, runs thus:

Upon my grave when I shall die,  
No lamp shall burn nor jasmine lie,  
No candle with unsteady flame,  
Serve as reminder of my fame,  
No bulbul chanting overhead,  
Shall tell the world that I am dead.

I saw these Persian verses myself about ten years ago. They were inscribed in black inlaid marble. The inscription was in three columns each having one couplet inscribed in fine nastālīq hand. The inscription was on the eastern longitudinal side of the lower tier. Both sides of the top tier bore the attributes of Allāh.

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2. Quoting Fergusson, Latif, op.cit., 109, writes "Half the splendour of the [Sikh] temple at Amritsar is due to the marbles plundered from this mausoleum". The cenotaph seems to have been recently removed by the Archaeological Department to facilitate renovation work, which is now in progress.

Anārkali was the name given by Akbar to one of his favourites in the harem. Her real name was Sharaf al-Nisā' Nadira Begum. Though she was in Akbar's harem, she was - according to some accounts - found by the Emperor exchanging smiles with the prince Salīm, later Jahāngīr. The Emperor ordered her to be buried alive. She was accordingly placed in an upright position and was built around with bricks. Sharaf al-Nisā' was put to death in 1008/1599. Her tomb was built by Jahāngīr after becoming Emperor in 1615. Why Jahāngīr waited so long to build this simple structure for his beloved has also not been explained by the historians. Why Jahāngīr writes his name as Salīm when he had been known as Jahāngīr for ten years also requires some explanation. An emperor who can write his personal name on his beloved's sarcophagus might be expected to make a mention of her in his biography. An Emperor who writes so frankly about his love-match with Nūrjahan could surely write even a line for the object of his earlier love.

**PLAN**

The building is octagonal in plan and 23m in diameter, but on

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1. Lit. meaning "pomegranate blossom".
2. Lit. meaning "dignity of women".
3. This incident is quoted by many recent historians but no contemporary historian gives this story. Even the Akbar Nāma and the Tūzuk-i Jahāngīr are without any reference to Anarkali or Sharaf al-Nisa' Nadira Begum.
4. According to Chishti, the mausoleum was built by Akbar; op.cit., 130. Latif writes that the mausoleum was built by Jahāngīr in 1024/1615; op.cit., 187. Neither of these authors gives the source of their information.
account of the eight octagonal towers which are attached to its exterior at regular intervals, it gives the impression of being circular.\(^1\) The circular structure is placed in the middle of a square marble platform 45cm high and having its main entrance on the south side. The arched entrance is placed in a rectangular frame of masonry which rises to a height of a little over nine metres. A flight of steps is attached to the south-eastern side of the exterior. This takes one right above the door and then inside the building. Inside at this level there is a gallery all around the inner periphery supported on huge arches cut into the projecting walls and springing from the octagonal bastions outside. These large arches support the base of the dome directly. These arches suggest flying buttresses, though they are not. The monument including the dome rises to an approximate height of 27 metres.\(^2\)

Barring the square platform and the marble sarcophagus, the building is a massive structure of brick. The eight octagonal towers or bastions are solid except for their tops. The monument is wholly covered with plaster and is white-washed.

**DECORATION**

The most remarkable ornamented area is the platform of white marble; it is inlaid with black marble producing bold geometric designs.

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1. Both Latif, *op.cit.*, 186, and Chishti, *op.cit.*, 130, call it a building with a circular plan, which is complete nonsense.

2. Personal communication from Mr. Quraishî, the superintendent of this building.
On the building itself there is no particular decoration. The eight octagonal towers are divided into five parts excluding the flat area below and the pavilion atop. These five portions comprise three rectangles and two square niches. The rectangular frames have arched niches within them. Each of the five visible sides of the octagonal towers have the same arrangement. The outlines of all these niches are painted black, which helps in breaking the monotony of otherwise absolutely white surfaces. The area between each pair of towers is divided into two tiers which are indicative of its two stories. Each storey has a window in between each pair of towers. These windows are placed in arched niches set within rectangular niches.

Each of the eight towers is crowned by a kiosk with eight arched openings and a cupola plus finial. The dome is stilted with the help of a drum more than two metres in height. At this level there is a decorative band some fifty cm. wide bearing cinquefoil geometric motifs. Above this decorative band the dome begins. It has a low profile and is crowned with a finial.

There is no decoration inside worth mentioning.

The doorway on the south side with a flight of steps leading up to it externally, is the ugliest portion of this monument. Though the monument is big in size, it is not very impressive and nowhere near the standards which the Mughals maintained particularly during the period of Jahāṅgīr, let alone Shāhjāhān.
Epigraphy survives only on the sarcophagus. This is one big block of marble and the inscriptions are carved in excellent nasta\textsuperscript{c}liq. Not only is the standard of nasta\textsuperscript{c}liq superb but the cutting of the embossed letters is extraordinary. The precision is meticulous. "It is," according to Eastwick, "one of the finest pieces of carving in the world".\textsuperscript{2} The top and the longitudinal sides all together bear the ninety-nine attributes of Allāh. Below these names, the eastern side bears these words: 

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
صحیح به دلیل عشق سلیم اکبر
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

("Desperately in love, Salīm Akbar"). On the other side, below the attributes of God, is inscribed this couplet:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
ساتنی اسم شکرگویی کرکار نشان دهنده را
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(Tr:) Until the day of resurrection I would give thanks to my God. Ah! If I could behold the face of my beloved once more. .

Without doubt when this building was built a garden would have surrounded this monument. I know personally that the river Rāvī used to flow very close to this mausoleum and that alone must have provided a picturesque environment for this building.

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1. The sarcophagus was originally in the middle of the building. During the Raj the building was changed into a Protestant Church. The marble sarcophagus was removed from its original place and was placed near the eastern window, where it still is (Chishti, \textit{op.cit.}, 130).

2. Eastwick quoted by Latif, \textit{op.cit.}, 187; the author does not identify Eastwick's work.
Miyān Mīr was a descendent of the second caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khattāb. His ancestors were natives of Sīstān, where he was born in 957/1550. The saint died at Lahore in 1045/1635. Dārā Shikoh, the legal successor and son of Shāhjāhān, was a devoted disciple of the saint. Not only he but Jahāngīr and Shāhjāhān also paid various visits to this saint. Prince Dārā Shikoh is said to have planned the building of a road of red sandstone from the place of the saint to his house in Sultānpura, a distance of about seven kilometres. But as he was murdered by Aurangzīb his plans never took shape. Furthermore, he planned a majestic mausoleum for the saint as well and for this fine marble and red sandstone had already come. Chishti2 writes that the quantity of the building material was so enormous that Aurangzīb with the same material built the Bādshāhī Mosque at Lahore.

PLAN

The mausoleum of Miyān Mīr is located in a vast rectangular enclosure about 300 metres a side. There are two entrances to this, one on the north side and the other on the south side. The northern entrance is the main approach to this mausoleum. This whole area is enclosed in a brick wall 2.43m high which has niches at regular intervals. To the west of the courtyard is a mosque. Though a mosque

existed here from the time of the saint, the present one is a recent construction. It is built on a platform one metre in height and approached by four steps, the fifth being the platform itself.

The eastern extremity of the enclosure has some hujras for mujawars and caretakers.

In the middle of the large courtyard is the marble platform, a square of 17.37m per side and 91cm high, with four steps in the middle of the northern and southern sides. The vertical sides have niches with multifoil arches. The tomb building stands on this platform; it is 7.62m square in plan and a little over eight metres in height including the finial.

The central building, i.e. the platform and the tomb building above, is made of pure marble. The courtyard around is laid in red sandstone while the mosque, the hujras and the boundary walls are all built of brick. The two main gates bear slabs of marble as well as red sandstone but the basic construction is carried out in brick.

**DECORATION**

The decoration of the central structure invites some attention. This marble platform has multifoil arched niches on the sides, twenty-two on the eastern and western sides, and twenty on the other two as these sides also bear the steps. The single-chamber monument above has its main entrance on the southern side. Each side is divided into three horizontal panels, the central one being the largest of the
three and fitted with marble grilles. Only the southern side has an opening in the middle of the grilled panel. The central panel is flanked by horizontal and vertical rectangles, three on each side. The lower and uppermost rectangles are placed horizontally while the central one is vertical, having a trefoil arch within. These panels are engraved with floral motifs. Near the niche or chhajja is a band of roundels, each circle bearing a flower within which is engraved in marble. The niche above projects some 60cm; above this the vertical walls of the building continue, punctuated with a horizontal projecting band. The roof above is a pyramidal structure having an ogee profile.

The decorative pattern outside is repeated inside, where the walls have similar niches. The dome inside is simple, with no decoration worth mentioning.

**EPICRAPHY**

The northern and southern gateways bear the attributes of Allāh on the vertical piers, while the architrave above has the kalima-yi tayyibah; but all these inscriptions are very recent.

The only original inscription is above the southern entrance of the central building. This is engraved in white marble and filled with black. The Persian inscription comprises three couplets in nasta’liq:
Miyan Mir was the head of the department of pious persons, 
The dust of his threshold has become an elixir, 
[He] travelled to the city of eternity 
After being oppressed by enduring great labour. 
Wisdom wrote the year of his death: 
'Miyan Mir has proceeded to the highest heaven'.

The last hemistich gives the date of his death: 1045/[1635]. This inscription is also given by Chishti and Latif. Latif writes that the chronogram is also given by Prince Dārā Shikoh in his work Sakīnât al-Auliya'.

I shall now refer to some mausolea which are very insignificant as far as their architecture is concerned but which possess relevant inscriptions. These mausolea are in a state of total neglect and they have lost much of their elegance and original decorative work. No doubt their inscriptions too will soon disappear.

1. Chishti, op.cit., 278.
2. Latif, op.cit., 177.
3. Ibid.
One of these mausolea is that of Shaykh Muhtram. He is buried in a very austere building, square in plan and measuring about 7 metres a side with a dome above. It has four turrets at each of its corners. The tomb is brick-built and has an arched entrance on each side. The southern doorway serves as the main entrance and the following inscription is inscribed in stone in nastālīq over the arch:

Баастан ан ترام ارادت ما

(Tr:) On your threshold I bow my head with respect. ¹

On the same wall there is another brief inscription, which reads:

والله ی نیس ادیابین

(Tr:) and God love those who are penitent.

The north arch has these following couplets in naskhī:

الله اعتمدت علیه
الله اعتمدت که گم

According to Chishti there were a number of other inscriptions but none survives today except those already mentioned. ²

The tomb of Shāh Shams al-Dīn Qādirī is another severely neglected monument. In plan and construction it has a great similarity to the

1. According to Chishti this should be a couplet, op.cit., 411.
2. Chishti, op.cit., loc.cit. According to Chishti the saint died in 1102/1690.
mausoleum of Shaykh Muhtaram; thus it is square in plan, has turrets at each corner of the parapet and is domed. According to Tufail\(^1\), the saint died during the reign of Jahangir in the year 1021/1613 and his tomb was built by Shāhjahan after the death of the saint. The tomb, however, does not possess any feature characteristic of Shāhjahan's architectural style. The following inscription is inscribed in nastālīq in black on a block of marble:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{پیرا} & \text{ریز بخش بخشت} \\
\text{بیاراست ایزد بخش بخشت} \\
\text{بخت وریز فرشال و} \\
\text{بخت اضراعت بخش بخششت}
\end{align*}
\]

(Tr:) When the sun of the faith packed his baggage to depart from this world, God decorated paradise [because] he was coming. When I asked aged wisdom the year [of his death] He replied pleasantly: "His home is paradise".

The words ِبخش بخشت give the date 1021.

One of the most impressive of tomb inscriptions is found in a monument which was built to accommodate the grave of some saint who eventually was not buried there. The domed building is therefore empty and graveless. This monument is situated in the enclosure of Miyān Wadda. It has a very interesting Arabic inscription comprising five couplets in naskhī:

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\(^1\) Tufail, op.cit., 432.
(Tr:) 0 you who dwell in grand palaces,
Soon you will go underground in a grave.

An angel is shouting loudly every day
"You are born to die and the houses you
have built are to be destroyed".

Our life in this world is but a short one;
The place of our permanent abode is the dark
house underground [the grave].

You were created from the earth free of sins
But you return to earth laden with sins.

This inscription on stone will last in this world
Long after the bones of the inscriber have turned
into ashes.

It will be seen from the selected examples discussed above that
the city of Lahore is very rich in tomb buildings. Apart from the
tombs of Jahāṅgīr, Āsif Jāh and Nūrjāhān, other tomb buildings display
almost similar plans. These monuments were often square in plan with
a dome and some turrets on the parapet. In spite of this generalised
plan many variations existed, especially in the decorative elements and
their inscriptions.
Leaving out the mausolea built by sovereigns, the building material was chiefly brick and chūna gach, a sort of plaster made of chunam. But even in brick monuments the inscriptions were usually on stone, marble being the first choice although red or grey sandstone were widely used.

Chishti gives descriptions of eighty-four tombs which were built in Lahore from the time of the Chāznavids to the Sikh rule. Unfortunately most of them do not exist any longer; if they survive at all they are a picture of negligence. Most of them lack inscriptions, or if they had any, these have disappeared; such inscriptions as exist are often not original but recent and often put up by the disciples of a holy man eager for the projection of their own names.

If generalisations are to be made about the mausolea of India and Pakistan, it seems beyond dispute that it is the tombs of the Mughals which are particularly splendid and lavish in ornamentation. The Mughals built a series of tombs from the time of their first ruler to that of the last de facto one. It is interesting that not only in Lahore, but throughout India and Pakistan, tombs are more numerous than mosques; they house not only sovereigns, but queens, wazīrs, umara and saints.
Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707

Lahore 2

Mosques

Apparently the oldest mosque of Lahore - to which only a reference now survives - was built by a Sultan of Ghazna. This mosque was locally known as Khishti Masjid because it was built of mud brick. Although Lahore continued to be an important town both during and after the rule of the Ghaznavids, no further architectural achievement is recorded until the time of the slave sultan Qutb al-Din Aibak. He is said to have built a palace - casr-i Humayun - but no trace of it exists, if indeed it was not the Lahore Fort itself. On his death his mausoleum was also built in Lahore.

1. Fakhr-i Mudabbir, Ādāb al-harb wa shuja‘ā'a (extract published as a supplement to the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, May 1938, 38. This article does not bear the name of the translator, nor does the translator identify the sultan and period in question. But it seems likely that the translator is I.M. Shafi (see her "Fresh light on the Ghaznavids", Islamic Culture XII (1938), 189-234, which is a partial translation of this same treatise). The material ranges freely over the reigns of many Ghaznavid sultans.


3. Ibid.
The next reference to a mosque is to one by the name of khū'ī¹ or Chāh Mīrān.² This still survives in part. Probably this mosque was situated close to some well, as khū'ī and chāh both mean a well. It was built in the period of Sultan Mubarak Shāh who entered Lahore in 825/1421.

1. The exact word is khhū'ī (کھوئی) not khū'ī (خوئی).
2. Chaghatai, op.cit., 64.
This, then, the oldest surviving mosque in the city, is a little over half a kilometre north of Chāh Mīrān and is built of brick covered with plaster. The interior is decorated with geometric designs, medallions and the kalima-yi tayyibah. Latif associates the name of one Mīr Mahdī with this mosque but does not elaborate on who he was.\(^1\) According to Latif the place was an ʿīdghān.\(^2\) Chaghatai asserts that this ʿīdghān was deserted for some reason, (though he does not give a reason for this supposition), and that thereafter people began to use it as a graveyard. Later Mīr Mahdī built his hujra here.\(^3\)

The place of worship usually termed ʿīdghān is also known as the musalla.\(^4\) In Harāt the musalla, madrasa and mosque of Gauhar Shād\(^5\) are well-known monuments and were built in 820/1418.\(^6\) In Asia Minor and Central Asia the Saljuqs also built such musallas outside various towns.\(^7\) As salāt in Persian - and thence in Turkish\(^8\) - is called namaz, the musalla came to be known as namāzgāh and since these precincts were used for the namaz of the ʿīd the term namāzgāh soon changed to ʿīdghān. This term is still current throughout Pakistan and India.

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2. An ʿīdghān is an open-air mosque for performing the ʿīd prayers. It is usually built out of town. See E.Mittwoch, "ʿīd", El\(^1\), 444.
3. Chaghatai does not support these statements by any historical evidence. His views are therefore purely conjectural.
4. See A.J.Wensinck, "Musalla" El\(^1\), 746.
5. Gauhar Shād was the wife of Shāh Ruḥš, the son of Timūr.
Multān is considered to be the first city where an ʿIdgāh was built. This ʿIdgāh still exists but has been restored so often that it looks almost recent now. The well-known historian Firishta also refers to an ʿIdgāh in Lahore and that reference is probably the oldest reference to an ʿIdgāh in that city. He mentions the ʿIdgāh of Lahore under the account of Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zakariyyā of Multān, one of whose disciples - Shaykh Badar Sijistānī - offered prayers in the ʿIdgāh of Lahore. Dārā Shikōh also refers to an ʿIdgāh where his spiritual leader Hadrat-i Miyan Mīr used to go for meditation. This according to Dārā was known as ʿIdgāh-i qadīm ("the old ʿIdgāh"). No remains of this ʿIdgāh are extant today. The local people who live in the area east of the Lahore railway station say that a Jahangīrī ʿIdgāh existed there, i.e. in the Misrī Shāh and Fayd Bāgh quarters, and that it was demolished when the railway station was expanded towards the end of the last century. In a Government of India publication, Lahore, there is mention of another ʿIdgāh near Gulābī Bāgh.

The ʿIdgāh which stands at the site of the old Khishtī Masjid is an interesting monument. Very little besides its miḥrāb remains. However, in this respect it corresponds to a typical ʿIdgāh pattern which continued in use throughout the last century. Such buildings were placed outside cities and comprised a large open area bounded by

2. Firishta, Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī (Lucknow, 1933), 669 (in Urdu); the name of the translator is not given.
3. Dārā, Sakīnat al-auliyā (Lahore, n.d.) 99-100 (in Urdu); the name of the translator is not given.
4. See also Chaghatai, op.cit., 70.
5. Anon., Lahore, (Lahore, 1876), 153.
four walls. There was an entrance on each side except for the sibla side which was marked by a mihrāb. This was normally of great height to render it as conspicuous as possible to those entering the enclosure.\(^1\) This ʿIdgāh is situated on a stretch of land whose level is nearly 1.5m higher than the surrounding area. The overall rectangular surviving structure of the mihrāb is 7.31 high and 6.70m wide. The height of the mihrāb’s arch in the middle is 3.96m and the width 3.35m while it is 1.54m deep. The remains of the walls attached to it on both sides show that the walls were 3.65m high. Within the mihrāb there are three arched niches and above them are the squinches to support the half dome of the mihrāb. The main arch of the mihrāb may be classified as ʿajmani or ʿajaman according to Wilber.\(^2\) This can also be described as a four-centred arch.

The arch and its rectangular frame are all built of brick and covered with plaster.

**DECORATION**

The wall surface inside the mihrāb below the three blind arches is blank and rectangular. The three arched niches within the mihrāb are filled with geometric patterns made of raised plaster. The design springs from 12-pointed and 10-pointed stars beautifully intermixed. The geometric pattern is very intricate and it is almost impossible for

\(^1\) Cf., for example, the ʿIdgāh of Gujrat.

the eye to follow a line continuously. Above these niches is a stalactite moulding in a wedge shape. The rest of the area is filled with geometric designs made of 5-pointed stars and hexagons. All these elements are made of plaster in relief, something rarely found in Mughal architecture. The plaster of the southern spandrel of the main arch has fallen, thus obliterating all the decoration there. The other side has a medallion in the shape of a fan-moulding $F$. The central part bears the kalima-yi tayyibah.

The surrounding rectangular frame is decorated with geometric patterns emerging from various types of stars and polygons. Above the arch the frame is divided into two horizontal bands and a long slab bearing an inscription is placed in between them.

Kalima-yi tayyibah, detail of fan-moulding in the spandrel.
Two specimens of epigraphy survive on this monument. The first is the medallion already mentioned. Its central part bears the kalima-yi tayyibah in naskhi characters made of plaster in relief.

The oblong panel above is divided into five smaller rectangles. The two outer rectangles and the central one are smaller than the other two but in size all three are the same. Each of these latter panels bears the kalima-yi tayyibah made of raised plaster in naskhi and arranged in two lines, لا الحد لا الله in the upper line and كُمْدِّرسُونِ اللَّهُ in the lower. The same division of the kalima is carried out in the fan moulding of the spandrels. The remaining two panels bear this inscription in the same style and technique:

اللهُمَّ أَنْ لِي كَمْدُ وَقَيْلَ يَا أَصْحَابُ وَتَحَكُّ وَتَقَامُ

(Tr:) O God, bless Muhammad and the descendants of Muhammad as many times as your creatures have stood and sat down. 1

In front of this mihrāb there now exists a large graveyard.

With few exceptions, the historically important mosques of Lahore were built during the sovereignty of the Mughals. Some of these were the result of their direct patronage while others were built as a result of the patronage of wazīrs and umara'.

1. This expression refers to standing up and bending down to prostrate oneself during salāt.
The great characteristic of the Mughal mosque is that the mosque itself is rendered as conspicuous as possible vis-a-vis its surroundings. A Mughal mosque generally has a vaulted hall surmounted by three domes. These domes are bulbous and the Mughals have the credit of introducing them into India. In most cases the central dome is the largest one and the central portal is more dominating and dignified than the rest. In front of this there is a court - the size varies from small to large or very large - bordered by an arcade or ambulatory on three sides. These arcades are deliberately given less importance than the main structure on the qibla side. The arcade on the other three sides is usually punctuated by an entrance portal in the centre. But more importance is given to the gate which faces the sanctuary. This gate is therefore always more dominating and more ornamented than the other two. Often where mosques have a large sahn or courtyard a water reservoir is also provided for ablutions. The four corners are also provided either with pavilions (burj) or minarets. The whole of this structure is built on a high platform so as to have a huge flight of steps in front, to give the whole structure a very impressive look and to make the visitor feel dominated by the "house of God".

Lahore is as rich in mosques as in tombs. According to my own rough estimate every street of Lahore has an average of two mosques. The number of existing mosques is in thousands and it is increasing day by day. Most of the old mosques are situated inside the walled city or very close to it. One such mosque is the mosque of Muhammad Salih.

MOSQUE OF MUHAMMAD SĀLIH

Muhammad Sālih Kambūh was the author of ḌAmal-i Sālih, the history of the life of the Emperor Shāhjāhān from his birth to his death in 1076/1665. He was a fine calligrapher. He was also a poet of repute and wrote under the Persian title of Kashfī and the Urdu one of Subhān. He was a singer and soldier as well and commanded a battalion of five hundred.

The mosque of Muhammad Sālih is situated immediately inside the Nauchī Gate. An inscription on the gateway shows that the mosque was built in 1070/1659. It is built of brick and is fully covered with plaster, which is mostly intact but with age and lack of maintenance has developed patches of deep grey and black. The domes are almost black with patches of grey here and there. Beside brick and plaster a considerable amount of chinīkārī is found there.

PLAN

The mosque is built in typical Mughal fashion, for it is raised on an artificial brick platform which is approached by a flight of five steps and then by a gateway adorned with chinīkārī and inscriptions. Behind the door is a small sahn and then a sanctuary, access to which is by three arches of which the central one is the largest. To the

2. Ibid.
north of the courtyard is a chamber or hujra and to the south a well to provide water for ablutions. Inside the sanctuary the qibla side has five blind arches; each arch contains a small mihrab. The central arch as well as the mihrab within it is larger than the rest. The area above the top portions, the five arches, the spandrels of those arches and the space between the arches is decorated with inscriptions.

The mosque has three domes, the central one being larger than the other two. They are bulbous and in general characteristic of the Shāhjahan style of architecture.

**DECORATION**

The decoration is carried out in chini karī or kashi work. The style of kashi work is exactly that of monuments like the Mausoleum of Dā'ī Anga, the Gulābī Bāgh gateway, Chauburjī and the Mosque of Wazir Khān. It should be noted that all these works also belong to the period of Shāhjahan.

**EPGRAPHY**

In a work of limited scope such as this thesis, it is not possible to deal with all the inscriptions of this mosque. Indeed, a separate monograph could be written on the inscriptions of this jāmi' alone. However, an inventory of the major inscriptions is given here.

1. Like the Mosque of Wazir Khān, this mosque is full of both Qur'anic and non-Qur'anic inscriptions.
On the main gateway, there are three oblong panels above the arched entrance. The ground of these panels is of yellow tilework, verging on orange. This pigment is locally called بستنی (basantī).\(^1\) The letters in these panels are composed in the same technique but in azure. This colour is locally called لاجوردی (lajvardī).\(^2\) The following is the text of the inscription starting from the right or northern panel:

![Inscription Text]

1. The term basantī is derived from basant, a folk festival of the Panjāb held at the end of winter. During this period the fields become full of yellow mustard flowers. The whole countryside thus becomes yellow or basantī.

2. Armenian blue, meaning lapis lazuli.
in two separate panels in nastā ʿiḥiq:

محمد عربه كابروي بردورسراست
کس کرماک درش نیست فکا پرلوا

(Tr:) Muhammad of Arabia is the honour of both worlds. He who is not the dust of his threshold, let dust be on his head.

There are a number of Persian couplets on the faces of the northern and southern arches as well as on their soffits and above them. Some of these couplets are intact, while others have been obliterated - these were not in glazed tilework but were rendered in black paint on white plaster.

In the sanctuary the most decorative part is the miḥrāb. It is set in a simple rectangular frame of masonry. Its plan at ground level is a half octagon. The five sides of the half octagon converge to a point at the apex of the miḥrāb. Inside the miḥrāb towards the top are three circles. These have a yellow ground and the letters are azure; the whole scheme has been carried out in tile mosaic. In each circle are written three of the attributes of Allāh. The northern circle has the following names, each preceded by ۰ ۰ ۰ ("0 "):

- مَعَطِی (the Granter)
- مَانِی (the Withholder)
- دَر (the Distresser)

The central circle has the following names:
Nāfi (the Advantager)
Nūr (the Splendour)
Hādī (the Guide)

The eastern circle has the following names:

Badī (the Absolute Originator)
Gālī (He who remains)
Wārīth (the Heir)

All these are rendered in naskhī.

Each spandrel of the mihrāb comprises an octagon and two triangles. The octagon is clearly defined by outlines whereas the triangles are not; they are described by leaving the space around them blank of floral motifs. The northern octagon contains the words yā Muzīt (0 Strengthener) and the southern one the words yā Jāmī (0 Great). In these two octagons the ground is red and the letters are in white naskhī. The four triangles bear the name of the first four caliphs; starting from the northern side they read yā Abū Bakr, yā ʿUmar, yā ʿUthmān and yā ʿAlī.

Above the apex of the mihrāb is a large medallion comprising three concentric circles. The central circle contains the āyat al-kursī; the middle circle is divided into numerous rectangles and so is the outer circle. These rectangles bear the ninety-nine attributes of Allāh.

The other four arches in the sanctuary bear various ḥadīth but
they are all in a very poor state of preservation and cannot readily be identified. One of the arches on the northern side of the main mihrāb still preserves the words of the bismillah followed by تَقَالُ بِإِنْفَرْضِ النَّاسِ, while the spandrels have یَا غَنِّي (O Self-sufficing) and یَا مُغْنِي (O Sufficer). On another arch some words of a darūd survive.

According to my count there are at least another hundred and fifty Persian couplets over and above the Qur'ānic inscriptions and hadīth. They are written in black paint on the walls over the arches in this mosque. Most of this material has suffered from complete negligence. Scarcely a single line of any text is intact. The tiled inscriptions have however survived owing to their durable material.

Since Sālih was a poet himself it is possible that he inscribed verses composed by himself on the walls of this mosque as Mīr Māṣūm did in his monuments at Sukkur; but further light can only be shed on this topic when the inscriptions are subjected to detailed analysis.

1. A form of benedictional litany.
2. See chapter on Sukkur.
Da'ī Anga was the wet-nurse of Shāhjahān and as such Shāhjahān greatly respected her.¹ She thus became an important lady during his reign. She built this mosque in 1045/1635 in the eighth year of Shāhjahān's reign.²

**PLAN**

The sanctuary is the most dominating part of this mosque; it is roughly three times as long as it is deep. It has a very small courtyard in front of it, which again is three times as long as it is wide. This courtyard is without any boundary walls, but its dimensions are fixed by its brick floor. According to Chishtī, this mosque originally had four minarets.³ Only two remain now; they are placed at the corners of the sanctuary facing the courtyard. These are provided with stairs inside but only up to one stage so that they give access to the roof of the mosque but no further. The sanctuary has one central multifoil arch with one smaller multifoil arch on each side. The interior has a mihrāb in the main chamber behind the central arch while the two flanking chambers have arched niches in the western wall. To the south of the courtyard is the tank for ablutions.

The mosque has three bulbous domes, the central one being larger

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1. Latif, *op. cit.*, 163.
2. Ibid.
than the other two.

The construction of the mosque is in brick and is covered with plaster. The facade and the interior are covered with tilework.

**DECORATION**

The mosque is fully adorned with chini work. Much of this work was restored after the Sikh period. The floral decoration is usually in balanced designs, such as a plant having an equal number of stems and leaves on both sides of the stem. This type of design is everywhere; it is commonly placed in arched, rectangular or square niches. Yellow, orange, blue and green are the dominant colours. Other floral decoration exists elsewhere but very little as compared to the type described above. There is very little emphasis on decoration with geometrical motifs.

**EPIGRAPHY**

The mosque has a large number of inscriptions but only a few are in the original tile mosaic. Others which are recent are painted in a rather gaudy style and colours.

The central arch bears the Islamic confession of faith or the kalima-yi tayyibah in naskhi verging on thulth. This is rendered on a yellow ground with azure letters in tile mosaic. Under the kalima-yi tayyibah are inscribed in naskhi again in tile mosaic the names of Allāh, Muhammad, Abū Bakr, Ğūthmān, Ğalī, Hasan and Husain.
Inside the sancutary the western wall has Qur'ānic and non-Qur'ānic inscriptions in naskhī style, again in tile mosaic. The Qur'ānic inscription comprises the āyat al-kursī while the non-Qur'ānic inscription comprises a darūd. The chamber in the central hall has on its southern wall two tiled inscriptions in nasta'liq. These are in Persian and are rendered on a white ground in green letters. They give the names of the person who supervised the construction of the mosque and the calligrapher who wrote the inscriptions; these names follow the two inscriptions respectively:

بَا اِبْتِحَامُ خُوْرَ مُقْبُولٍ باتِمَ كَرِيمَهُ

(Tr:) Completed under the personal supervision of Maqbul.

کتبَ اِبْرَاهِیْمَ سِنَتِ ۱۰۴۵

(Tr:) Written by Ibrahīm (in the) year 1045 [AH].

اللَّهُمَّ سَلِيْلَ عَلِیٰ الْمَلَکَ وَعَلِی الْمَلَکَ نَصِيبَتَ عَلِیٰ

ابْرَاهِیْمَ وَعَلِی الْبَاِرِیْمَ آَکَ الهیْم نَصِیْبَهُ کُرِیْمَ

اللَّهُمَّ بَارِکَ عَلیٰ مَلِکَ وَعَلی الْبَارِیْمَ کُرِیْمَ کُرِیْمَ کُرِیْمَ

ابْرَاهِیْمَ وَعَلی الْبَاِرِیْمَ آَکَ الهیْم کُرِیْمَ کُرِیْمَ کُرِیْمَ
This mosque was built by the Emperor Alamgir Aurangzib. It was completed in the year 1084/1674. Before the construction of this mosque started, the Emperor issued a firman in which he expressed a very strong desire to build a grand mosque at Lahore. In the firman he defined the mosque as 'proverbial in its exhilarating and purifying appeal'. He further commanded that this mosque should be such that it should be acclaimed as unprecedented and unparalleled in its architecture. According to the same firman a sum of thirty lakhs of rupees was allocated for the mosque.

The construction of the mosque was diligently supervised by the Emperor's foster-brother Fida'i Khan Kukah who was a person of considerable merit at the court of Alamgir Aurangzib. Shahjahan's court historians mention that the original name of Fida'i Khan was Muzaffar Husain and he was the elder brother of Khanjahan Kukaltash. In the thirty-first year of Shahjahan's reign he was given the title of Fida'i Khan.

1. Despite its size and importance, the Badshahi Mosque is still inadequately known from the art-historical point of view. The only detailed account of it published so far appears to be that of Abdallah Chaghatai, and even this is by no means exhaustive. It therefore seems justifiable to devote considerable space to an account of this building.


4. Ibid.
The mosque adheres to the typical Mughal mosque plan. It has an imposing entrance on its eastern side, to the west of Lahore Fort and Hadurī Bāgh. This gateway is a very impressive structure and stands on a terrace 22 steps high, the lowest step being more than 29m long and the uppermost 23.78m. The individual height of the gate building is 23 metres and its width is 19.5 metres. It has a terrace in front of it with the dimensions 19.5 x 10.5m. The topmost level of the gateway, therefore, is nearly thirty metres high. Thus the gateway is a huge building by itself and is fully in keeping with the Mughal tradition of building majestic and lofty structures as portals to their religious monuments. The gateway is square in plan and its eastern and western facades are almost identical. This structure has a saucer dome. The gateway is not a mere facade; it is a two-storeyed building provided with a central passage and many chambers. At present this gateway houses a religious museum and the residence of the imām or khatīb.

Behind this gateway is a massive sahn nearly square in plan. It measures 159m on the north-south axis and 158.10 on the east-west axis. Originally it was paved with bricks laid on their edges, with special

1. Latif says that the Badshāhī Mosque was built on the same lines, however, as the Mosque of al-Walīd in Makkah (op.cit., 113).

2. Cf. the Buland Darwāza of the Great Mosque at Fathpur Sikrī, the gateway of the Shahjahan Mosque at Delhi, and that of the Wazir Khan Mosque at Lahore.

3. See the plans published by Chaghatai. These reproduce architectural drawings made c. 1928 but never published before Chaghatai did so in 1972.
Lahore
Badshahi Mosque
Sketch Plan

from Pakistan Ancient Monuments Repairing Authority
areas for prayer being demarcated with a border of black marble.¹

The present floor is of red sandstone laid with square slabs with musallas defined in original fashion by lines of black marble.

In the middle of the courtyard is the water reservoir serving for ablution; it is a square of 15m each side. Slightly to the west of the reservoir the whole of the courtyard rises a step higher. This is followed by another step. This second rise does not extend from the northern to eastern ends of the courtyard but is limited to the width of the facade of the sanctuary. This feature emphasises the holiness of the sanctuary. The courtyard is covered with the exception of the west side by a corridor or ambulatory.² This corridor is on a platform 2.90m high and has its own height of 3.90m. These corridors are divided into regular bays on the north and south sides while on the east side the corridor is divided into cubicles used for housing the staff of the mosque and for madrasas.

To the western side of the whole scheme stands the sanctuary. This is 1.5m high from the floor level in front of it, 82.5m wide (i.e. from north to east) and 36m deep (i.e. from east to west.) The enclosing walls are around 16m high. Its facade has a central high arch flanked

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1. Latif, op.cit., 113. It is of course standard practice in mosques of the sub-continent to indicate the place where worshippers should stand in the sanctuary by means of straight lines inlaid in the floor surface or embroidered in carpets. In the sanctuary of the Bādshāhī mosque, strong lateral black marble lines are laid every two square slabs of stone (in the west-east direction) to indicate where each worshipper should stand so as not to hamper his neighbour.

2. The covered verandah on three sides of the courtyard is known as dalān locally.
by five arches on either side. The sanctuary itself consists of two rows of arcaded chambers. The sanctuary is surmounted by three large marble domes, bulbous in profile and fully covered with white marble. The central dome is larger and much higher than the other two. They are placed on a well-developed squinch system. In reality, these domes are built of inner and outer shells thus using the familiar technique of the double dome, with distinct spaces between the outer and inner shells. The central dome rests on a drum 7.10m high and the flanking domes are built on drums 6.30m high. The domes are crowned with beautiful gold finials.

The mosque has at each of its corners a lofty minaret of three stories. These minarets stand on a solid platform of a little over six metres high. Each minaret rises to a height of 43m excluding the pavilions at the top and their cupolas. The external circumference of these minarets is 22.10m at the base and 12.55m internally.

1. The bulbous double dome first appears prominently in Mughal architecture in the mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi (972/1564). This tomb was built by his widow Hamida Banu Begum who acquired the services of two Persian architects: Mirak Mirza Ghiyath and Ustad Khuda KulI (see C. Stephen, The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi (Ludhiana, 1876), 202 ff). One should, however, not overlook the insignificant tomb of Shihab al-Din Tadj Khan (907/1501) which also had a double dome. See Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Athar al-sanadid, (Kanpur, 1904), 41. The reasons for the innovation of the double dome were the inclination of the builder to raise the height externally and at the same time to maintain the proportions internally. This innovation also helped acoustics by controlling the echo of sound inside the sanctuary; in a large domed space such control was hard to achieve.

2. Latif, op.cit., 114 erroneously gives the external circumference as 67 feet and the internal circumference as 8.6 feet.
Lahore
Badshahi Mosque
Section through Praying chamber, Courtyard, Main Gate

from Pakistan Ancient Monuments Repairing Authority
Access to the top of these minarets is through a flight of steps inside each of them. At the intermediary level between each storey there are oblong openings to admit light and air. The topmost portion of these minarets dates from the reconstruction of 1939.

**DEcoration**

Various decorative devices and ornamental embellishments are introduced on the red sandstone and the white surface of the interior. Such decoration is found in the main portal, on the facade and in the sanctuary, and comprises various techniques. There are stone carvings in red sandstone and in marble, with decorative motifs of white marble laid in the red sandstone. These inlaid patterns stand out in relief from the red sandstone surface; others are level with it. There is also mural decoration in which floral arabesque schemes are carried out in colours approximating to the natural colours of the flowers and leaves depicted. Other decoration includes architectural elements like merlons, kiosks, pavilions, pinnacles, domes and so on. Arched forms also add to the decoration as they are not for purely structural purposes but serve decoration ends too. Almost all the arches are multifoil and pointed.

The facade of the sanctuary has two main parts: the central arch and the flanking wings. The central arch is placed in a large rectangular frame with two turrets rising from the ground and above the rectangular frame. This rectangular frame is divided into three parts. The outer and inner bands are void of any decoration but the
central band has mihrāb patterns in two sizes placed alternately. These are made of marble and are inlaid in red sandstone. The white inlaid decoration also stands out in relief.

The spandrels have centrally placed flowers from which stems rise bearing buds and leaves. The technique is the same as that described above. The arch is multifoil and comprises six curves on each of its sides. The apex bears a leaf moulding. The border of the curves and of the leaf moulding is of marble. Above the rectangular frame are fourteen merlons, twelve complete and two half-merlons at each end. These are also inlaid in white marble standing out in relief.

The two small minarets or turrets at the corners are hexagonal but each side has a convex curve. The top pavilions emerge out of a flower bud moulding having eight petals. The pavilions or kiosks above are made of a combination of red sandstone and white marble. These pavilions are not accessible as there are no steps within. Their size does not permit it.

The decoration in the soffit of the arches and under the half-domed ceilings also requires

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1. Mihrāb is a local term; the patterns are in this shape:
attention. The soffit has a creeper motif which runs from one end to the other. It has a central stem out of which branches grow bearing flowers, leaves and buds. The half-domical ceilings also depict, in marble, creepers arranged to make a pattern which is very nearly geometrical. The inner multifoi1 arch is made of marble with acanthus motifs on its border. Its sides have rectangular niches enclosing multifoil arches, each of them bordered with white marble. The two wings on each side of the central arch have five arches each. The spandrels of these arches each have a sunflower of marble in relief. The space in between the arched openings is divided into rectangular niches each enclosing another niche with a multifoil arch whose spandrels again depict a sunflower each. The borders of the outer niches are made of white marble. The area above the arches has four decorative bands. The lowest bears mihrābī designs carved in oblong panels. Above this is the second band bearing decoration in relief. The panels in this band are much larger. There is one panel above each group of three panels in the lower band. The third band is a repetition of the lowest or first band. Above this band and below the parapet is a series of acanthus motifs.

The parapet itself comprises three torus mouldings crowned by merlons. The merlons enclose a small melon-like motif topped by a pinnacle.

The walls inside the sanctuary are also divided into various rectangles laid vertically or horizontally. These have multifoil arched niches in them. Since the interior is covered in white plaster, the outlines of the rectangular and multifoil niches are made more
prominent by being outlined in black paint. Nearly every wall bears one large multifoil arch above the dado. This arch is divided into nine panels, each slightly recessed, and within these are further multifoil arches.

The multifoil arches in the aisles within the sanctuary bear floral motifs in their spandrels and an acanthus leaf moulding horizontally placed above the arch.

The mural decoration is painted in various colours on the walls not faced with marble, and on the vaulted ceilings of the various bays within the sanctuary. Most of this painted work does not appear to be original and most of the patterns and motifs have not been carefully executed. However the mural decoration in the spandrels of the various arches, within the stalactite vaults and on the concave surface of the cornices is well executed. The ceilings, vaults and cornices have a scheme of repeated floral designs in stucco using low relief.¹ Much of this decoration looks like the product of stencilling though it is not.²

2. The repeat patterns were in fact made by pouncing; see Chaghatai, op.cit., loc.cit.
Unlike other broadly comparable Mughal monuments, this grand edifice is not very rich in epigraphy. It possesses only two inscriptions: one on the main gateway and the other in the central arch above the smaller arch it encloses. The inscription on the eastern gateway is framed by double lines bearing relief bosses. The inscription consists of three lines. The first line comprises the kalima-yi tayyibah in naskhi. The central line gives a historical text and is in bold ornamental naskhi verging on thulth particularly in its vertical strokes and its lavish use of orthographical and decorative signs. This line names the Emperor Ālamgīr Aurangzīb as the builder of the mosque, and gives the year in which this mosque was completed. The third line is in nasta'liq and bears the name of Fīdā'ī Khān Kūkah, the person who supervised the construction of this mosque. The second and third lines are in Persian. Their text runs as follows:

(Tr:) There is no god but Allāh and Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh. The mosque of the victorious and valiant king Mūhiyy al-Dīn Ālamgīr was constructed and completed in 1084 Hijrī [1674 AD]. Under the supervision of the humblest of the humble, he who belongs to the royal household, Fīdā'ī Khān Kūkah.

The second inscription inside the mosque comprises the kalima-yi tayyibah in two lines preceded by the two words
Bādshāhī Mosque: Inscription on the gateway.
"The most worthy to be mentioned" [is:]). This is in a slab of white marble and the letters are laid in black marble in thulth. The lower line bears the words

اُفْضَالُ الْإِيْدَارَاللَّهِ

and the upper line

حَمْدُ الرَّسُولِ اللَّهِ

(Tr:) The most worthy to be mentioned [is that] There is no god but Allāh and Muhammad is the messenger of Allāh.

MOSQUE OF MARYAM ZAMĀNĪ OR BEGUM SHĀHĪ MOSQUE

This mosque was built by Maryam Zamānī, wife of Akbar and mother of Jahāngīr. As the inscription on its northern gateway shows, it was built in 1023/1614. According to the A‘īn-i Akbarī, Maryam Zamānī was the daughter of Rajāh Bihārī Mal and sister of Rajāh Bhagwān Dās. According to Abu'l-Fadl the Jāmī Masjid of Lahore was built by Bhagwān Dās. The author does not give any details. Bhagwān Dās probably supervised the building of the mosque attributed by Abu'l-Fadl to his sister. There is no jāmī in Lahore attributed to the efforts of Bhagwān Dās to the best of my knowledge.

1. See Abu'l-Fadl, op.cit., 309. Her real name is not known but her title was Jodh Ba'ī or "princess of Jodhpūr".

2. According to Abu'l-Fadl, op.cit., 328, Bihārī Mal was the first Rajput who joined Akbār's court. He was a commander of five thousand.

3. His name is also written as Bhagwān, Bhagwānt and Bhagwant. He joined Akbar's court along with his father. His daughter was married to Jahāngīr and was the mother of Shāhjahan. He was also a commander of five thousand.

Mural decoration.

photo: Lahore Museum.
The mosque is situated east of the Lahore Fort and inside the Mastī Gate.

**PLAN**

The plan of the mosque is not strictly in accordance with plans of Mughal mosques. Instead, this mosque presents a combination of the Mughal and Pathan styles of architecture. Its massive domes, one large central one and two smaller side ones, and its bulky arches, are in the old Pathan style, but the gateway, the balconies and the side chambers are more Mughal than Pathan in their construction. The most typically Mughal aspect of the mosque is its decoration, particularly the Qur'anic inscriptions in the soffits and the hadith under the apex of the main arch. The mosque has a courtyard which is accessible through a narrow entrance on the eastern side and a similar entrance on the southern side. The court is four steps lower than the normal level of the street outside. The entrance is a rectangular opening, having an arched niche above which contains an inscribed slab. Immediately inside the entrance stands a reservoir girdled with columns supporting a roof of recent construction.

The courtyard is roughly twice the length from north to south that it is from east to west. It is thus rather narrow and looks even

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1. See Brown, *op.cit.*, pl.IX, 1-2. Some typical examples of Pathan architecture are Jamaat Khana, Ajmer and Ukha Masjid, Bayana; see also Haig, *op.cit.*, pl.I, 2.
Mosque of Maryam Zamani, decoration in the interior of prayer chamber.

photograph: Lahore Museum
more congested owing to the structure over the reservoir. The sanctuary is the same width as the courtyard but it is only a little over fifteen paces in depth. It has a large and elegant mihrāb. The central arch is higher and is flanked by two arches on either side a little over half the height of the main arch. At each of the four corners of the courtyard above the boundary wall is a pavilion (burj). The building is built of brick and its walls are covered with plaster.

**DECORATION**

The mosque, though in use, is in a deplorable state of conservation. The front of the sanctuary has almost turned black with dirt. It is without any decoration of note. The facade is divided into various rectangular recesses of varying sizes. The central arch is encased in a huge rectangular frame comprising various niches arranged horizontally and vertically. The soffit of the arch is decorated with paintings. Within the larger arch there is a smaller arch also decorated with stucco-work. The other four arches are treated in the same manner. Black, manganese red and yellow are the dominant colours in all the geometric patterns. All these patterns have been drawn and worked out with extreme care. The whole of the interior of the sanctuary is covered in the same ornament and so are the four recessed arched niches and the mihrāb in the western wall. The stucco work of this mosque is reminiscent to that in the Mosque of Wazīr Khān.

The domes externally are covered with chunam and have no applied ornament; they are large and low. The central dome is in fact hidden.
behind the huge rectangular frame which contains the central arch.
Internally these domes are decorated with geometric patterns springing
from polygonal forms at the vertex.

The square towers at the corners are not high. Their height is
equal to that of the frame of the central arch. They are covered with
plaster and are plain. These square towers recall the early Islamic
architecture of India which was built by Hindu masons.

EPIGRAPHY

The eastern entrance has an arched niche over its architrave
containing a slab of deep grey slatestone. This has a Persian
inscription in nasta'liq. The letters are cut in stone and have been
been traced in white paint. This white filling seems to have been
carried out recently. The white paint smudges out of the actual carved
portions and has distorted the sharp outline of the letters. The
inscription reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{سماحی بعنتی} \\
\text{شام \textit{نامه} لغت زاکان که \textit{بیشان}} \\
\text{بادی \textit{رب} در\textit{چان} روش \textit{پیرو}}
\end{align*}
\]

(Tr:) The Begum Shāhī Mosque
completed—1025AH

1. Meaning the mosque of the Begum of the Emperor.

2. This date does not correspond with the date of its construction
given elsewhere in the mosque in a chronogram (vide infra, p.530).
It is possible that the eastern entrance alone was built in that
year and therefore that this inscription refers only to that
particular building campaign.
Lahore
Mosque of Maryam Zamani

Inscription on the southern entrance.

Inscription on the eastern entrance.
The conqueror of the world, Shāh Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad Badshāh
O God. May [he] shine in the world like the sun and the moon.

This inscription surprisingly does not include the usual sobriquet of Nūr al-Dīn: "Jahāngīr"¹

The inscription on the southern gateway is similar in its technique of writing, material and positioning. It reads:

الذاكر

مِنْتٍ إِبِّيِّرَ أَراَكَ فَرَكَّشَتَ كَارَازَابْشَرَ
همٌّ جَمِيِّعٌ شُوا رَحَمَصَ صَاحِبٌ سَنِدَرَ
صَوْرَتْ مَرْكَزٍ زَائِلٍ بَانَ صَدَالْكَان
كَرْعَانَاتٍ إِنَّها سَاخِرَتْ جَاكَتَ هَدِيهَ
أَهْلِهِ نَارَخَ فَخَرَجَنَ بِيْنَ بِيْنَ بَيْنَحَت
كَرْمِي كَرْمَكُمْ إِبْتَمُوشِ شَهيِّرٍ

(Tr:) God is Great.
God be thanked, through whose mercy -
Under the auspices of Allāh and by order of one sitting on the throne [= the ruler] -
The founder of this house is Hadrat-i Maryam Zamanī.²
This place of salvation was built with the bounty of Allāh.
I thought about the date of the completion of this edifice which is like paradise.
At long last I found it [in the words] an elegant mosque.

¹ Emperor Jahāngīr does not mention this mosque or its construction in his Tūzuk. The reference to Maryam Zamanī, his mother, is also unexpected. She is mentioned only briefly in the Tūzuk. See his Tūzuk-i Jahangīrī, tr. A. Roger, ed. H. Beveridge, (London, vol. I 1909 & vol. II 1914), 76, 78, 81, 145, 230, 401 and 64, 66, 68, 123, 202, and 261 respectively.
² The Emperor Jahangīr in his Tūzuk always addresses her as Hadrat-i Maryam Zamanī.
According to abjad computation, the words خوش سپید yield the date of the completion of the mosque as 1023 AH. This again does not correspond with the date given in numerals on the eastern entrance.

Inside the mosque the kalima-yi tayyibah is inscribed over the central arch in the recessed rectangular panel, followed by a Qur'anic inscription of the ayat al-kursi rendered in excellent naskhī painted on plaster. Under the apex of the central arch the following hadīth is inscribed in naskhī in a half circle, the white letters raised from the turquoise surface:

(Tr:) So said the messenger of Allāh, may the mercy and blessing of Allāh be upon him. "The faithful in the mosque is like a fish in water".

MOSQUE OF WAZĪR KHĀN

Wazīr Khān, a Pathan by race, was a native of Chiniot in the Jhang district. He rose from obscurity to the position of Wazīr in the reign of Shāh Jahan.¹ His full name was Shaykh 'Ilm al-Dīn² ibn Shaykh

¹. According to Chishti, op.cit., 735, Wazīr Khān rose to prominence after curing Nurjahan, the queen of Jahangir. According to J.L.Kipling he cured one of the concubines of Shāh Jahan and thus achieved prominence. See J.L.Kipling, "The Mosque of Wazir Khan, Lahore", The Journal of Indian Art, XIX (1887), 17.

². Kipling erroneously gives his name as "Ali ud Din" (op.cit., 17).
Abd al-Latif ibn Shaykh Husam al-Din. After entering the service of Shajahan he was first made superintendent of the household (ستاده) and then Mir-i Saman (سرائی) or superintendent of the royal kitchen. Then by successive stages he was promoted to diwan, created an amir (commander) and appointed subaydar of Lahore. It is said that various buildings in the Lahore Fort were built under the supervision of Wazir Khan.

The Mosque of Wazir Khan was completed in 1044/1634. It was built on the site of the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Ishaq commonly known as Miran Badshah, of Kazirun in Iran. The saint settled in Lahore during the time of the Tughlaqs. His tomb still stands to the south-west of the square courtyard of the mosque.

PLAN AND ELEVATIONS

The main gateway, a gem in itself, has its surfaces relieved not only by rectangular panels of varying sizes but also by two oriel windows provided with balconies carried on richly carved brackets. The balconies have four square pillars with a grilled parapet between, a

2. Suba, lit. province; subaydar, a person possessing a suba, i.e. the governor.
3. Latif, op. cit., 52. It is not clear from the histories when he was given the title of Wazir Khan.
4. See Chishti, op. cit., 731, for the life history of the saint.
5. Latif, op. cit., 216. The author does not identify the ruler.
Lahore

Mosque of Wazir Khan

Sketch Plan

531.
after J.D. Hoag
above and a vaulted roof with two finials, Hindu in style according to Burton-Page.  

The mosque is entered by a short flight of six steps by way of a pointed arch placed in a massive rectangular portal complex. Behind the arch is an octagonal vestibule 9.45m across. This vestibule leads on the north and south sides into corridors 5.20m wide. The corridors have four shops on the western side, and five on the eastern side. All these shops are double-roomed. The shops on the eastern side are twice the size of the shops opposite. The corridor running towards the north ends with six steps going down into the street of a busy bazar. The other corridor has a dead end now on account of the construction of houses on that side. The vestibule has four double rooms opening from its diagonal sides. To the west it has a smaller gate reached by two large steps; this leads to the courtyard of the mosque. On both the sides of this entrance there are stairs leading up to the roof.

The courtyard measures 39.60m north to south and a little less than 51m on the other axis. In the middle is a square tank measuring about 10m per side. At a distance of 39.60m from the door to the west the level of the courtyard rises by 15cm. Thus the "sunken" part of the courtyard forms a square. The eastern, northern and southern sides of the courtyard have hujras. There are three hujras on each side of the entrance. These are oblong and have different dimensions except their width which is 1.20m in each case. The smallest is 2.74m, the

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medium one 3.65m and the largest 4.57m in length.

The hujras of the northern and southern sides are apparently of uniform size. There are twelve on each side and another one towards the west end which is a double-room hujra. Barring the double-room hujras, all measure roughly 2.50m by 2.40m. Looking from east to west, after five hujras on the north and south sides of the courtyard both facades have doorways containing steps up to the roof level. The one on the north used to open into the bazar but is now closed permanently, as is the one on the southern side of the courtyard. The structure of these doorways rises nearly twice the height of the hujras. The hujras were built to accommodate students of the traditional Islamic sciences and for the use of travellers.

The sanctuary is as wide as the courtyard (39.60m) and has a depth of 14m. The central arch has a span of 6.40m and the flanking two arches each have a span of 4.50m. The height of the central arch up to its apex is 13.70m while the smaller arches have a height of 6.10m. The facade is stepped; its height above the smaller arches is 8.20m while above the central arch it is 14.50m.

The central arch is placed in a huge rectangular frame which is profusely decorated with floral motifs and inscriptions in glazed tile-work. The front of the rectangular piers between the smaller arches has recessed niches filled with ahadith and similar texts.

The largest dome in the sanctuary has a height of 17.60m including its finial while the smaller domes above the side chambers are 14.50m
Lahore
Mosque of Wazir Khan
Section through west-east axis
high. All these domes are double-shelled.¹

The mosque has four beautifully adorned minarets at its four corners. These are built on a square base of 5.29m a side. The square base rises to a height of 8.20m - equal to the height of the hujras or that of the facade above the smaller arches. At that level they become octagonal with a circular staircase inside. Their height up to the top of their pinnacles is 29m.² These minarets have no intermediary balconies. There is just one balcony at the top surrounding the pavilion.

DECORATION

Almost every visible surface of the mosque is decorated. All this ornament is carried out in two media, painted work on a chunam surface and glazed tilework.³ The plainness of the walls is broken by the division of the flat surfaces into slightly sunk rectangular panels, alternately vertical and horizontal. The vertical panels have a cusped arched niche within them generally filled with tile mosaic. This treatment of surfaces exist throughout the courtyard facade and on the minarets, the main gate and the sanctuary. Floral motifs and inscriptions are the staple designs.

¹. See also F.H. Andrews, "Wazir Khan's Mosque", The Journal of Indian Art and Industry, X (1903), 27.

². All the measurements are by courtesy of the students of the Architecture 3 class of the University of Engineering & Technology, Lahore, who carried out a measured drawing project of this mosque.

³. This is also known locally as chinī kārī, kāshī kārī or kānsī work. Glazed tilework had in fact been known in Northern India in the early Sayyid and Lodhī tombs in the fifteenth century. It was also known in Thatta and Multān even earlier. See J.Burton-Page "Wazir Khan's Mosque", in R.E.M.Wheeler (ed.), Splendours of the East, (London, 1965 ), 95.
Mosque of Wazīr Khān: a hadith on the façade of sanctuary.
Inside the mosque the central arch is particularly noteworthy. A beautiful border surrounds this archway. There are horizontal panels all along the upper portions of the lower walls to right and left of the central arch. The spandrels are filled with floral designs, both sides meticulously balanced. A similar precision can be seen in the designs around the arch of the main gateway.

The decoration inside the sanctuary is rich and elaborate. This consists mostly of painted motifs on a lime mortar surface.¹ Round the lower parts of all the walls runs a dado 1.20m high, bearing an arabesque design. Toward the top of this dado runs a floral border and above this are thin bands of uniform colour. The walls above the dado are divided into rectangular panels placed alternately horizontally and vertically; the vertical panels have an arched niche within them. The spandrels thus formed are filled with bright colours - dark red or blue with the usual arabesque pattern. The field of the vertical panels is usually filled with a graceful flowering plant in a balanced composition. The horizontal panels are treated more conventionally and give a pleasing contrast to the others. But the most dominating factor inside the sanctuary is the series of inscriptions rendered in various styles and media.

The decoration on the minarets also requires special attention. The division of the height into several parts is pleasing. The square base has a dado 1.20m high made of geometrical patterns in conformity

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¹ Andrews, op.cit., 29. He calls it fresco on a chunam surface.
with the facade of the sanctuary. The upper portion of that base is then divided into nine recessed panels, arranged in three rows. The upper and lower row each have three vertical panels while the middle row has three horizontal ones. All the vertical panels have cusped arches in them filled with flowering plants balanced on a vertical axis. Their spandrels are filled with arabesque designs. The three central panels have rather conventional patterns with radially balanced floral designs. The projection of the gallery above is supported by brackets, followed by a cornice and then a parapet which is decorated with an undulating pattern of yellow, blue and Indian red.

The octagonal shaft of the minarets formerly had a dado but only the white plastered surface remains now. Above this, each side has two vertical and two horizontal panels, placed alternately and decorated in the style explained above. Above this arrangement is a band of geometrical patterns; this runs all around the minaret. This band is followed by three narrow torus bands. The portion above bears the most elegant ornament in the entire mosque. Here, each side has a tall pointed arched panel flanked by similar half-panels on both sides. Thus there are sixteen panels in all on eight sides. The panel in the middle of each side is decorated with the usual balanced flowering plant while the intermediary panels have elegant cypresses in them, bright green in colour. From the heads of these arched panels springs a graceful tracery of gulab kari or pendent work drooping gently outward to carry the gallery with the richly coloured base of the balcony above. Above this rises the elegant kiosk with sloping chhajja (eaves) above. An octagonal drum crowns this and is followed by a circular one which curves slightly outwards to support the dome with its lotus finial.
The domes are low but elegant. The central dome is in fact entirely hidden behind the huge rectangular frame of the main arch. The domes have the profile of a low pointed arch. All six domes (including the one on the gateway) have an undecorated exterior. They are crowned with lotus finials.

EPIGRAPHY

Inscriptions perform a major role in the decoration of this monument. Leaving aside the hujras to the north and south of the courtyard, inscriptions exist on almost every visible part of the mosque. Above the balconies of the oriel windows on the main gateway are oblong horizontal panels, two in number, bearing inscriptions. A large oblong vertical panel below each of them also has an inscription on it. The long horizontal panel above the main arch bears the Muslim confession of faith in nasta'liq characters prefixed by the words 

\textit{afdal al-dhikr} [\textit{امض الالك} i.e. "the noblest of recitals"](is) ["there is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is the messenger of Allāh").

The angles of this gateway have impressive pilasters with chevron ornament; at the top they bear turrets. The surface of the facade between these two pilasters is divided into numerous square and oblong panels. With the exception of the two large rectangular panels on the right and left of the steps, all other oblong panels are laid horizontally. The large vertical panels on both sides of the entrance have inscriptions.

1. Or "the most worthy to be mentioned".
Lahore
Mosque of Wazir Khan
INSCRIPTIONS

Kalima-yi tayyibah

In praise of Allah

Ya Fattah (the Opener)
(repeated four times)

Kalima-yi tayyibah (centre)
surrounded by Abu Bakr,
Umar, Uthman, Ali (repea-
ted four times).

Darud
All the inscriptions on the main gate are in blue tilework and in nastaliq. The text of the inscription to the north of the steps and of the entrance is:

(Tr:) He, the Most Complete.
This house, like the sanctuary of heaven, is the source of bounty.
It has, like the haram of the Ka'bah, for its object the benefit of mankind.
May its gate ever remain open to the congregation with prosperity, until the day of resurrection.

On the left of the entrance are the following couplets:

(Tr:) He, 0 virtuous man! The cultivator will reap on resurrection day whatever he sowed in the world
In your dealings, then, leave a good foundation in the world,
For all have to pave their way to heaven through this gateway at last.

The following inscription is immediately above the northern balcony:
Mosque of Wazīr Khan, inscription on the gateway.
The founder of this house of God is the humblest of old and faithful servants, Wazir Khan.

and in the rectangle above this:

constructed during the reign of the valiant king, the lord of the fortunate conjunction, Shahjahan.

The inscription immediately above the southern balcony is as follows:

When I asked wisdom the date of its completion, [it] said, "Say the founder of this mosque is Wazir Khan."

The words in the second hemistich give the date according to abjad computation: 1044 [AH]. Above this inscription there is another horizontal rectangular panel. This contains the following couplet:

When I asked wisdom the date of this magnificent mosque, [it] answered, "This is the place of worship of the pious".

In this couplet the words of the second hemistich
give the date according to abjad computation - 1044 [AH]. Surprisingly, however, the date given in numerals under the kalima-yi tayyibah is 1045.

On the other side of this magnificent gateway, i.e. facing the courtyard just above the entrance, there is a Persian couplet. It is on a yellow ochre ground and is written in blue letters. The ground is interspersed with foliage of green leaves, Indian red branches and orange flowers. The border of the panel is made of two thin black lines with mihrābī motifs in between them. The inscription reads:

(Tr:) Muhammad of Arabia is the honour of both worlds; who is not the dust of his threshold, let dust be on his head.

From the point of view of inscriptions, the richest part of the mosque is its sanctuary. Its facade as well as its interior is overwhelmingly decorated with inscriptions. It is difficult to make even an inventory of these inscriptions here for want of space. They are both Qur'ānic and non-Qur'ānic.¹ We begin with the facade. All the inscriptions which are above the small arches and under the cornice are on a white ground and are written in blue letters. The medium is tilework and the script is naskhī verging on thulth.

There are two panels above the arches and one on the wall between

¹. All the inscriptions mentioned hereafter are unpublished and hitherto unidentified.
the two arches. The three panels on the north of the central arch
have sura ix (al-Taubah) 17-22. The three panels on the south of the
central arch have verses 23-4 of the same sura.

The central arch has on its rectangular frame sura xlvi (al-
Fath) complete. The rectangular panel above the arch has the āyat al-
kursî. Under the apex of this arch is inscribed the darūd in a half-
circle in thulth. 1

Inside the main arch is a smaller arch. Several inscriptions
crown its rectangular frame. There are five large oblong panels, each
with a pointed arched top, placed vertically. The first, third and
fifth panels have a blue ground and the remaining two a manganese red
ground. The letters are in white naskhī verging on thulth. The panels
will be discussed in order, beginning with the north and moving
southwards. The first panel has verse 147 of sura iii (al-
Cīmrān); the next panel has verse 114 of sura v (al-Ma'idah); the central panel
has verse 191 of sura iii (al-Cīmrān) and the fourth and fifth panels
respectively have verses 193-4 of sura iii (al-Cīmrān). The rectangular
frame of the smaller arch has verses 164-6 of sura vi (al-An càm). The
inscription in the frame is on a blue ground with white letters. The
spandrels have an attribute of Allāh: ātā Fattāh, repeated. The word
is so composed that ātā Fattāh can be read from the bottom, top, right
or left sides. In each of these compositions ātā Fattāh is repeated, therefore,
four times. Beside these Qur'ānic inscriptions, there are some non-
Qur'ānic inscriptions. These are in two arched panels, one above the

1. The white letters of the darūd are made of plaster and stand out
in relief.
other, on the pier between the smaller arches. The arched panels are placed in large oblong panels above the dado and cover all the area between every two arches. They have a border of red bricks. Within the border are two rectangular panels vertically placed, the lower one being slightly taller than the upper one. The space between the panels and the brick border is filled with tilework comprising geometric designs. Within the rectangular panels are arched panels; both the inner and the outer borders have a brick frame. Within the arched frame of bricks the lower panel has a blue border with white and yellow flowers. The ground in the middle is yellow ochre, and the letters are in bold blue naskhi. The inscriptions on the north of the central arch are two hadīths:

喃اليه السلام اد يك الاذان في البيت مصدر
لمخرج لمحة وهو لا يريد الراجع منهم منافق

(Tr:) Said [the Prophet], the blessings of Allāh be on him: He who is in the mosque during the adhan and leaves the mosque without having a need to come back, and with the intention not to do so, he is a hypocrite.

The second part of the inscription is another hadīth:

قائ علي الاملاه سمع فلم يجيب
خلا صمت له الا عن عذر
صدق رسول الله

(Tr:) Said [the Prophet], the blessings of Allāh be on him: He who hears the call for prayer and does not go to the mosque, his prayer will not be accepted by God unless he has an excuse for not going.

1. This in fact is not brickwork but plasterwork finished to resemble bricks.
The upper arched panel has a yellow border with blue flowers on it.
The ground in the middle is white and the letters blue:

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
الله محمد الرزق عمر
عثمان علي حسن حسن

(Tr:) There is no god but Allāh and Muhammad is His messenger.
Allāh, Muhammad, Abū Bakr, Īyār; Īthmān, Īlī, Hasan, Husain.

The kalima-yi tayyibah is written in a very clear and neat hand but
the second part of this inscription, which comprises names, is composed
in khatt-i mu‘ammah. Further inscriptions occur to the south of the
central arch in between the two smaller arches. The lower panel
contains the following hadīth:

تال عليه السلام- المومنين من الصحب
كما سك في المياه والمنافقين في المسجد
والطائري القفص. تال عليه السلام- من الكثود
ملاحوم اليمنيون علي الصب الأول

(Tr:) Said [the Prophet], peace be upon him: the believer in
the mosque is like a fish in water and a hypocrite in
the mosque is like a bird in a cage. There is no doubt
that God and the angels send blessings upon the former.

The upper arched panel bears this hadīth:

تال عليه السلام
تفسير صلواته الجماعة
صلواته الف تكبر وعشرين رجب

(Tr:) Said [the Prophet], peace be upon him: a prayer offered
with the jama’at (congregation) is superior by one
thousand and twenty seven times to other prayers.
Mosque of Wazir Khan, inscriptions on the facade of sanctuary
The central prayer chamber of the mosque is square in plan with a double mihrāb in the wall opposite the entrance. The large mihrāb-like alcove is rectangular in plan, about a meter deep and dome-shaped at the top, the transition from rectangle to dome being achieved by means of pendentives. The inner mihrāb is semi-octagonal in plan and is similarly domed. The inner mihrāb has a rectangular frame around it having a blue ground and white letters; the medium is plasterwork. The frame contains verses 38-41 of sura xxiv (Ibrāhīm). The spandrels have two multifoil roundels, one in each spandrel, bearing the words ya Fattāh. Above the rectangular frame is a cornice followed by a large panel with a pointed arch. This is flanked by two smaller panels. The central large panel has verses 53-5 of sura xxxix (al-Zumr). The apex of the ceiling has an inscription arranged in a circle. In the middle is the kalima-yi tayyībah surrounded by the names of the first four caliphs in an intricate fashion.

The chambers to the north and the south also have mihrāb-like niches in them. All of them are surrounded by various attributes of Allāh executed in painted plaster. They are composed in such a way that a single line appears to contain all the attributes which are linked by a trefoil motif alternating with each attribute. The spandrels are decorated with short sentences in praise of Allāh like ("all praise be to Allāh who is the Best of all") and ("all praise be to Allāh who is the Kindest of all") and ("all praise be to Allāh who is the most Magnificent of all").

The two side chambers immediately to the north and south have the words "Allāh" and "Muhammad" inscribed above the mihrābs in the arched
Lahore
Mosque of Wazir Khān
INSCRIPTIONS

Attributes of Allah

Allah Muhammad

Allah u kāfi

Section of a hadith

Kalima-yi ṭayyībah, Allah, Muḥammad, Abu Bakr, Ūmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, Hasan, Husayn.

Section of a Persian couplet.
recesses. Both these words cover almost all the area of the niche. Within the word "Allah" is written the āyat al-kursī while the word "Muhammad" has verses 28-9 of sura xlviii (al-Fath), verse 144 of sura iii (al-Imrān) and verse 40 of sura xxxiii (al-Ahzāb). The light blue ground of this panel is interspersed with turquoise foliage.

The chambers at the extreme ends have a similar arrangement but in place of the words "Allah" and "Muhammad" the arches in them have the words Allāh kāfī ("God is sufficient"). These words do not contain any further inscription though their size is as large as those of "Allah" and "Muhammad" in the adjoining chambers.

Not much is known about the calligraphers who worked in this mosque and produced these excellent specimens of calligraphy. Only one inscription has been signed by a calligrapher, one Muhammad ʿAlī. His signature (Katabahu Muhammad ʿAlī) appears under the lowest southern inscription on the front of the gateway. It can be assumed on stylistic grounds that all the inscriptions on the gateway including the one facing the courtyard were done by him. He has an excellent hand in nastaʿlīq.
Lahore Fort

The origin of Lahore Fort is shrouded in obscurity but we find it mentioned in the history of the invasions of Muhammad Ghūrī. These invasions took place in the years 576/1180, 580/1184 and 582/1186. The Fort was ruined by the Mongols in 639/1241, and was rebuilt by Chiyāth al-Ḍīn Balban in 666/1267. It was again destroyed in 801/1398, this time by the armies of Ṭīmūr. It was again rebuilt, in sun-dried bricks, by Sultan Mubārak Shāh in 825/1421. Mention of the fort is also made in connection with the arrival of Mīrzā Kāmrān from Kābul in the first year of Humāyūn's reign. Humāyūn's successor Akbar

1. Also known as Mu'sizz al-Ḍīn Muhammad Sām Ghūrī; for his invasions of Lahore and references to Lahore Fort see Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shāh Fīrishta, Tārīkh-i Fīrishta, vol.I (Kānpūr, 1884), 56.

2. N.Bakhsh, Historical notes on the Lahore Fort and its buildings, (Lahore, 1964), 218. The author quotes Minhaj al-Sirāj, Siyāsāt al-amsār fi tajribat al-āthar, but does not identify its place of publication, date and page numbers.

3. Fīrishta, op.cit., 77.

4. Ibid., 159.

5. Nizām al-Ḍīn Ahmad, Tabagāt-i Akbarī, (Lucknow, 1875), 137.

demolished the old mud fort and rebuilt a new structure in brick and solid masonry; the work is thus referred to in the Ā'īn:

"Lahore is a large city in the Bari Doab. In size and population it has few rivals. In old books it is called Lohawar. It lies in longitude 109° 22', and latitude 31° 50'. In this everlasting reign the fort and palace have been built of burnt bricks. As it was for some time the seat of Government, lofty edifices were erected, and delightful gardens added to its beauty". 2

This fort is also mentioned in connection with Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm's rebellion in 974/1566. 3 Akbar built the fort at Lahore simultaneously with the one at Agra. According to Brown, 4 in many respects both these forts were built according to similar conceptions, though the one at Agra is considerably smaller.

**PLAN**

In plan the fort is a huge rectangle or a parallelogram measuring 365m by 320m, and contained within an immense boundary wall. Inside, the whole area has been divided into two approximately equal rectangles. The northern rectangle had the private houses of the royal family, arranged almost at right angles to each other. The other area was for public use and contained buildings which were accessible to the public

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1. The term bārī doāb is derived from the two canals (= dō āb) which flow from the river Rāvī. Dō (dū) āb signifies an area which is between these two canals.


3. Nizām, *op.cit.*, 276. He was also the son of Humāyūn.

for official and service requirements. In between these two areas there was an alignment of buildings acting as a barrier. This area included buildings like the Mōtī Masjid, or the makātib khāna (library), quarters for the guards and gardeners.

The southern part of the plan comprises stables, houses for the cooks, tūsha khānas¹ and offices. All these buildings are situated close to the boundary wall surrounding a huge court, to the north of which stands the dīwān-i ām.

The northern or the private sector comprises the palace of Akbar and a camping ground in the east. To its west is the quadrangle of Jahāngīr. This comprises a khwābgāh,² a garden with a water reservoir in the middle and another khwābgāh opposite. Further west are some chambers, a marble bārādārī and a garden followed by another khwābgāh. This portion and the portion described after this belongs to the period of Shāhjāhān. The khwābgāh is situated just inside the northern fasīl³, while a chamber called arzgān⁴ projects out of the fasīl. The next rectangular block contained a row of hammams⁵ and an open court in front on the northern side, with a marble pavilion close to the fasīl. All this area is called khilcātkhāna.⁶ To the west of the khilcātkhāna is a well and a small mosque. To the south of the khilcātkhāna is the most

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1. Meaning storerooms or wardrobes.
2. Meaning bedrooms or sleeping chambers.
3. Here meaning the boundary wall.
4. An elevated chamber from which one could obtain an aerial view of the surrounding country.
5. Meaning bathrooms.
6. Khilcāt means to be alone and khāna a house; hence the term denotes a house of complete privacy.
decorative and grand part of the palace comprising a large marble-paved courtyard with a water tank and fountain in the middle and canals leading to the pavilion on all four sides of the quadrangle. The eastern part has rooms used as bathing chambers for the queen and other ladies of the royal family. The north is housed with the Shishmahal or 'palace of mirrors'. To the east is the Naulakha, meaning nine lakhs. Probably this small marble pavilion was built at a cost of that amount; hence its name. South of the courtyard is a row of chambers.

The fort is so built that though internally everything is at one level, externally the surrounding ground is much lower, particularly on the north-western side. As we move from the Akbari Mahal and camping ground to the Naulakha the building seems to gain tremendous height externally. Internally, the level remains uniform. The overall height of the great platform under the fort thus rises from six to seventeen metres. The platform with the exception of wells and a few lower chambers is just a solid mass of earth and debris.

In order to align the massive eastern gateway with the entrance of the Badshahi Mosque the eastern fasıl is crooked in form, but to a visitor this does not seem so as the gateway, the Haduri Bagh in front of it and then the Badshahi Mosque are built on rectangles whose parallels are analogous to that of the main gate of the fort. This gate is apart from the Hathpi Pol1 which is further north of it.

A variety of materials has been used for various parts of the

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1. Meaning elephant.
fort. The buildings erected by Akbar are mostly in brick and red sandstone and the architecture of this period is mostly a combination of beam and bracket as its principal structural system. Brick, red sandstone and marble are the building materials in the structures which belong to the period of Jahangir. Some of his brick buildings, like khwābghās, are brick built but wholly covered with plaster. The buildings of Shāhjahan show a considerable use of marble and abri\(^1\) stone beside brick and chunan work. These buildings are lavishly decorated with inlay (pietra dura) work, stone carvings and reflective mirrors inlaid in plaster bases. The only monument which belongs to Aurangzeb's period is the Pearl or Motī Mosque which is a petite structure of the purest white marble.

**DECORATION**

The buildings of the Akbar period show carvings in the bases and capitals of columns in the dīwān-i ḍam and also on the seat of the emperor and its decorative balcony reached by a flight of steps provided in the private area just behind the northern end of the dīwān. Jahangir's buildings have similar decoration and more in the form of mural decoration in the bārī and chhōtī (large and small) khwābghās. But the most exquisite decoration belongs to the period of Shāhjahan. The double columns of the Shīsh Mahal are elaborately carved. Its walls are decorated with plasterwork and inlaid mirrors. The walls and attached columns of the Naulakha have the most refined type of pietra dura work. The marble floors, with a floral pattern made of black

\(^1\) Sang-i abri or abri stone is a variegated highly fossiliferous kind of marble.
marble inlay, are superb. The marble grilles of the Naulakha and other parapets are the finest examples of decoration consisting of stone-cutting and carving.¹

A rare type of decoration is found on the eastern wall. This consists of a great mural made of glazed tile-work extending from the Hāthī Pōl (Elephant Gate) to the extreme north corner of the wall, a surface 15.5m high and nearly 44m long. The whole surface is divided into various rectangles and squares and within them mihrābī niches, all adorned with chīnī work depicting floral motifs, animals, human figures and geometric patterns.²

**EPIGRAPHY**

There are only two inscriptions in the whole of the fort, an astonishingly small number. One is above the Hāthī Pōl; the other is over the gate to the makātib khāna. Although these have already been published³ they are given here for the sake of completeness. The inscription on the Hāthī Pōl is on marble slabs; it is in nastaʿlīq characters which are inlaid in black marble. The inscription comprises six couplets of Persian. There are two horizontal rows of mihrābī frames, each row having five frames. The central frame is twice the

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size of the others, containing a complete couplet while the other frames carry only a hemistich. The panels are read in a sequence from right to left with the top row first and the second row following:

(Tr.) The king, a Jamshīd in dignity, a Solomon in grandeur, a Saturn in state, Who has carried the banners of his glory beyond the sky and the sun, The rival of the sahib-i qiran (lord of the happy conjunction) Shāhjāhān, in justice and generosity - Nūshirwan is no equal to him nor Afīrūn a peer to him - Ordered a shāhburj 1 to be erected which for its immense height Is like the Divine Throne beyond imagination and conception. In purity, height, elegance, and airiness, such a tower Has never appeared from the castle of the sky nor will. The sincere servant and faithful disciple ʿAbd al-Karīm After the completion of the building devised this date; For like the fortune of this king, a Jamshīd in arms, May this lofty tower remain safe from destruction. 1041 AH - the fourth year after the accession. 2

The above inscription, as is evident from its text, commemorates the building of a pavilion in the palace during the period of the Emperor Shāhjāhān. The other inscription belongs to the period of Jahāngīr and records the date of completion of his palace by Maʿmur

1. Shāhburj refers to the high pavilion over a corner of the Shīsh Mahal.
2. This translation is after Cope, op.cit., 309 ff.
Jahāngīr has dealt with this construction at considerable length in his autobiography. The inscription, as already stated, is over the arched gateway of the makātib khāna and is placed within a long rectangular recessed panel. The inscription is within a frame made of half-octagonal stars at each end. This frame is flanked on each side by an eight-sided star containing a sunflower within. The inscription comprises a single line of raised nasta’līq letters on a marble slab:

\[
\text{'In the twelfth year after the blessed accession of His Imperial Majesty, the shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, a Gayumarth in state, an Alexander in arms, the asylum of the Caliphate, the Emperor Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr, the son of Emperor Jalāl al-Dīn Ghāzī, corresponding to AH 1027, the building of this auspicious palace was completed under the superintendence of his most humble disciple and slave, the devoted servant, Ma'āmūr Khān.}
\]

Chauburjī was originally a gateway to the garden of Princess

2. See also Jahāngīr, Tūzuk-i Jahāngīr, tr. Sayyid Ahmad (Aligarh, 1864), 284 (in Urdu). This information is not given in the English translation.
3. 1617-18 AD.
5. Chau = four and burjī = kiosks or minarets; chauburjī is thus a monument with four minarets.
Zīb al-Nisā' or Zabindah Begum, the daughter of Aurangzīb.¹ Chishtiī states that this garden extended from the darbar of Data Šāhib to Nawānkōt on the north-south axis and from this gateway to the banks of the Rāvī on the east-west axis.² It thus covered an overall area of some twenty-five square kilometres. Not a vestige of this garden remains today. The gateway was built in 1056/1646.³

PLAN

The monument is a typical Mughal gateway, square in plan with a similar front and rear. It has a central arch within which is a small arched opening. Above this there are three small arched windows at the first storey level. The main arch is flanked by two smaller arches on each side, the lower one placed above the bight of the platform. At each corner there is a minaret, octagonal, low and without any pavilion and cupola above. According to Latif the building had a central dome as well.⁴ This seems rather unlikely as no other gateway in Lahore has a dome. Besides, the ceiling itself does not suggest that there ever was a dome.

The gateway has a similar front (east) and rear elevation. The other two sides are absolutely flat except for the three small arched openings on either side which admit light and air to the first storey.

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2. Chishtiī, op.cit., 634.
3. Latif, op.cit., 189. According to the author the date of the construction of Chauburjī was inscribed on the monument at the end of the āyat al-kursī.
4. Ibid.
Lahore
Chauburji
Gateway to the garden of Zib al-Nisā'
The building is wholly built of brick and covered with lime plaster.

**DECORATION**

This is one of many buildings in Lahore decorated with glazed tilework or *chīnī* work executed in a mosaic technique.¹ The inscriptions on this monument were particularly rendered in this medium while other decoration was executed in frescoes of exquisite beauty. The surviving portions notwithstanding their age are as fresh and brilliant as ever.

The various sides of the minarets which spring from the base of each corner are all divided into rectangular panels placed alternately on a vertical and a horizontal axis. A similar arrangement is carried out on the spaces in between the five arches of the facade. These rectangular panels are filled with floral designs. It is worth pointing out that barring the minarets and the use of multi-foil arches, the edifice has considerable similarity with the gateway of the *Gulābī Bāgh*,² built nine years later.

The spandrels are usually in deep colours - dark red or blue or some other equally rich background with conventional flowing patterns of flowers and leaves in naturalistic colours. The variety of flowers introduced into these designs, and the energy and verve with which they

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². See infra, p. 557.
are drawn, is remarkable. The same kind of enthusiasm is constantly expressed in Mughal miniatures and book illustrations.

**EPIGRAPHY**

Above the inner arch contained within the larger one on the eastern side runs an inscription. It is in a long horizontal panel divided into four mihrābī rectangles. The first panel is completely missing and only three survive. Each of these panels originally contained a hemistich in blue nastā'īlīq letters on white, executed in tilework. The texts of the second, third and fourth hemistiches are as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(Tr:)} & \quad \text{This garden has been founded on the pattern of the garden of paradise.} \\
& \quad \text{The garden has been bestowed on Miyan Bā'ī} \\
& \quad \text{By the bounty of Zabinda Begum, the lady of the age.}
\end{align*}
\]

A similar inscription was on the western side of the gateway, but except for the words 1 nothing survives.

According to Latif,\(^2\) the uppermost part of the facade just below

1. Miyan Bā'ī was a favourite female attendant of Zabinda Begum, and when the garden was complete the royal lady bestowed it on her. For the full story, see Latif, *op.cit.*, 189.

the cornice formerly contained the date of the foundation of the building: 1056/1646. This does not survive. Now only a portion of the āyat al-kursī survives inscribed in naskhī characters. The spandrels of the upper flanking arches have the word Allāh inscribed in them.

**GULĀBĪ BĀGH**

Like Chauburjī, Gulābī Bāgh is a gateway to a garden. In its general appearance it is similar to Chauburjī but it lacks the corner minarets.¹ As an inscription on the gateway tells us, the garden was laid out and the gateway built under the patronage of one Mūrzā Sultan Beg. He was a cousin of Mūrzā Ghīyāth al-Dīn, who was himself the husband of Sultan Begum, the daughter of Shāhjahan.² According to Chaghatai there was no daughter of Shāhjahan with that name,³ but Chishti confirms that there was, and he seems to be the more reliable source.⁴

The Mūrzā came to India in 1649 AD from Iran and was appointed admiral of the Mughal navy. He built this gateway to his garden in 1655 and died two years later in 1657 at Hiran Minār.⁵

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1. Vide supra, p. ; The building of Chauburjī is larger than that of Gulābī Bāgh.
2. Latif, op.cit., 134.
5. Ibid.
PLAN AND ELEVATION

The monument is square in plan. There is a central foyer which runs through it on its north-south axis. The approach to this passage is through a smaller archway which is housed in a larger arch in the usual Mughal style. The smaller arch rises only up to the first storey level. Above this is an arched opening flanked by niches.

Inside the gateway on both sides of the passage are chambers, three on each side and approximately of the same size. These chambers are built on a platform a little over 50cm high. At the back of the monument there are two smaller entrances provided with wooden doors. These entrance contain stairs of twenty-five steps each.

The approach to the first-storey chambers is from the northern chambers at the lower level. The first storey has a similar arrangement of chambers to that of the lower level, except that there is an additional room over the central passage. In all there are seven chambers at the first-storey level with the addition of two galleries or open chambers over arched recesses flanking the main arch at ground level.

The eastern and southern elevations of the gateway are scarcely worth detailed analysis. These sides contain nothing but recessed rectangular panels set in the plaster. In the middle of both sides

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1. Wherever the plaster has fallen off and bricks are exposed, no recessed panels can be seen, which shows that the recessed panels are only superficial.
there is a rectangular opening at first-storey level. This provides air and light. The other chambers received light and air from their openings on the south and north sides respectively.

DECORATION

The facade is almost a square. It contains a large pointed arch in the middle and within this there is a smaller pointed arch which provides access to the interior. The main arch is flanked by two superimposed arches on either side. The lower arches have a smooth pointed arch but the upper arches are multifoil in the "Shāhjahānī" fashion. These arched openings at first-storey level are provided with grilles at the base made of red sandstone carved in geometric patterns. The two upper arches have balconies with rooms behind them. From all this it will be clear that arches and arched panels are the major elements of architectonic decoration in this facade.

The space between the five arches is divided into various rectangles placed horizontally and vertically. Near the parapet are also four square panels on the sides of each arch below. The square panels contain geometric designs which are radially balanced. The vertical rectangular panels depict plants placed in almost geometric symmetry. They are executed in exactly the same fashion as those of the Wazīr Khān Mosque. Indeed, this doorway as a whole has a great similarity to the facade of the gateway of the Wazīr Khān Mosque. This monument has angle pilasters elegantly decorated with zigzag ornamentation just like those of the Wazīr Khān Mosque. The decoration in the spandrels appears to be an exact copy of that in the mosque. Above the main arch
The kalima-yi tayyibah is inscribed which again recalls the gateway of the mosque in question.

The buildings erected during the reign of Shāhjahān exhibit a unity of plan and decoration which was maintained past the middle of the seventeenth century. Similarities in the plans of gateways and in tile decoration are the two most salient features of that unity. In fact in tile decoration the Mosques of Wazīr Khān (1634), Dā'ī Anga (1635), Muhammad Sālih Kambūn (1659), the facade of the Lahore Fort (1630-40), the mausolea of Āṣīf Jāh (1657), Dā'ī Anga (1671) ʿAlī Mardān Khān (1657), Zīb al-Nisāʾ (1669) and the gateways of Gulābī Bāgh (1655), Shālīmār Garden (1637) and Chauburjī (1646) all exhibit a very similar style. All these monuments were built in Lahore within less than forty years and their tilework represents the most popular mode of decoration of the day.

EPIGRAPHY

It is very interesting to note that all the rectangular panels which are laid horizontally on the facade of this gateway bear inscriptions. With the exception of the two larger rectangles between the smaller arches each rectangular panel bears one line or a single hemistich. The larger panels between the arches have couplets in them. Once again, with the exception of these larger panels, all the panels have a white ground with blue nastālīq letters on it. The larger panels have a yellow ground with blue nastālīq letters. All these fields are interspersed with flowers and leaves. The rectangular panels have been converted into mīhrābī panels by using geometrical designs.
GULĀBĪ BĀGH: inscription on the facade of gateway.
on the sides.

Above the main arch and below the cornice and the parapet is inscribed the kalima-yi tayyibah prefixed by the words (afdal al-dhikr). On the right or eastern side of this panel is another rectangular panel, nearly half the length of the one bearing the kalima; it has the following hemistich on it:

محمد عربه كابورى بروسراست

(Tr:) Muhammad of Arabia is the honour of both worlds.

Exactly opposite this panel is another one on the left or west of the panel with the kalima. This panel bears the second hemistich of the couplet:

کسی کر خاک در نش نپست خاک بر سر او

(Tr:) He who is not the dust of his threshold, let dust be on his head.

The panel east of the main arch and between the lower and upper arches has the following couplet on it:

غوش که ایا باغ که دارد وارداری

که گل شیرین و مر زیبی و پاغش

(Tr:) A garden so pleasant that the poppy is scarred with the mark of enviousness. The flowers of the sun and moon are fit to decorate it as lamps.

1. Meaning "the most worthy of mentioning".
2. The red poppy flower has a black centre.
3. Latif, op.cit., 134 erroneously reads the couplet as It should be noted that both these couplets make a rubā'ī.
In the other panel opposite to this and on the western side of the arch is inscribed this couplet:

زیتونیکم خر، بارسیدگانی
کتاب ابغض تازته، تازغش

(Tr:) Ghāzī asked wisdom the date of the garden. The date given was 'gulābī bāgh' (garden of roses).¹

Under this couplet is written the date in numerals: 1066/1655. The words gulābī bāgh in the second hemistich also give the date 1066 according to abjad computation.

Inside the main arch and above the smaller arch there is another inscription comprising a rubā‘ī. Each of its hemistiches is written in a mihrabī horizontal panel.² Starting from the right or eastern panel the four hemistiches read:

بائن باغ سفارت نامه، باب کرم

(Tr:) The founder of this generous garden, the opener of the gate of liberality,

وکادار درازه، گرم ساخت باغ بجیون ارم

(Tr:) Is he who [through the mercy of the] Lord of the firmament built a garden similar to the garden of paradise.

ابن سینا بروش، خواستن ادیسه دعا

(Tr:) The pious thus prayed to God as they had the right to pray:

1. It should be noted that both these couplets make a rubā‘ī.

2. This arrangement is exactly in the same manner as the one existing over the smaller entrance arch of the Chauburjī (see supra, p.556)
(Tr.) May Sultan Beg live an honourable life for ever and ever.
A BRIEF NOTE ON THE GATES OF OLD LAHORE

The old city of Lahore - which is also known as the walled city - is situated on a slightly more elevated mound than the rest of the city. The whole of this elevated ground is composed of the accumulated debris of many centuries. The river Rāvi used to pass to the north and west of this mound making a semi-circular bend. The river has now changed its course and flows some two metres north-west of it. The plan of the city is like an irregular trapezium. Since the old city is said to have been repopulated by Mahmūd of Ghazna and enlarged by his favourite servant and counsellor Ayāz around 1023, the present form of the plan may reflect this expansion.

The credit of building a massive defensive wall, however, goes to Akbar who during his residence at Lahore (1584-98) completed this huge project. The original city wall was about 9.50m high and was entirely made of baked bricks. The old city is just two kilometres in length and 1.2 kilometres in width. The wall built around it was around 4.80 kilometres in circumference. Access to this city was formerly gained by thirteen gates built at irregular intervals. They will now be briefly described.

1. Raushna I Darwāza. This is situated to the south of Hadūrī Bagh which is in front of the Badshāhī Mosque. The gate probably

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1. Latif, op.cit., 84.
2. See also Majumdar, op.cit., 228.
served as the principal entrance to the royal precincts, i.e. the palace and the mosque. I myself saw some stone pillars with brackets above around it and in front of the Badshahi Mosque about twenty years ago. These pillars had provision to hold oil lamps. According to the inhabitants of this locality these lamps were lit at night; thus the gate came to be called raushna'i darwaza or "gate of light".

2. Kashmīrī Darwāza, probably so named because it faces the direction of Kashmīr.

3. Mastī Darwāza. 'Mastī' appears to be a corruption of masjidī (mosque) as it is in this gate that the famous mosque of Maryam Zamānī (the mother of Jahāngīr) is situated.¹

4. Khidrī Darwāza. The river in olden times flowed in front of this gateway. The gate must have been named Khidrī after Khwājah Khidr, the companion of Moses, who is renowned in Muslim tradition as a rescuer of those who are in danger.

5. Yakkī Darwāza. Yakkī is probably a corruption of Zakī, a martyred saint of Lahore.

6. Delhi Darwāza. This is so named because it faces the main road which connects the city of Lahore with Delhi.

¹ Latif, op.cit., loc.cit., erroneously suggests that it was in this gateway that the mosque of Maryam Makānī, the mother of Akbar, was located. But neither Maryam Makānī nor Humayūn built any mosque in this vicinity.
map of Lahore showing old walled city and its gates
Reconstructed after Laff.
7. **Akbarī Darwāza.** Named after Akbar.

8. **Mōchī (Mauchī) Darwāza.** According to Latif, Mōchī is a corrupted form of Mōtī. Mōtī Rām was a Mughal officer in the time of Akbar who lived in this quarter.

9. **Shāh Ālamī Darwāza.** Named after Muhammad Mu'azzam Shāh Ālam Bahādur Shāh, successor of Aurangzīb Ālamgīr.

10. **Lauhārī Darwāza.** Lauhārī is a corrupted form of Lāhaurī.

11. **Mōrī Darwāza.** Maurī or mōrī means a mouse-hole; the gate is so named because its size as a whole is very small and its opening is quite narrow.

12. **Bhātī Darwāza.** Named after the Bhātīs or Bhattīs, an ancient Rajput tribe who once lived here.

13. **Taksālī Darwāza.** The Mughals had their taksāl or mint in this locality. The gate thus came to be known as Taksālī Gate.
Adhān. (also ādhān)
Afḍal al-dhikr
Ahadīth.

Allāhu akbar

Amīn al-mulk
Ardgāh

Čārsh
Āyat

Bāgāh
Bait Allāh
Bārādārī

Barī
Basantī
Begum
Begum hammām
Bismillah
Burj

Chāh
Chashmah, Chashma
Chauk
Chaʊkīdār

A Call to prayer.
The most worthy to be mentioned.
Pl. of hadīth (see hadīth)

This formula is known as takbīr, meaning "Allāh is great".
governor, prime minister.
Pl. of nabi (see nabi).
open stretch of land, a courtyard within a palace.
sky, heaven
A verse of the Qur'ān (pl. āyāt).

Garden.
House of Allāh, i.e. the Ka'bah.
A pavilion or a house with twelve openings.
(bara = 12; dar = door).
Big, huge.
yellow
Lady of noble descent, wife of a noble or chief.
Ladies' bath.
Formula denoting bismillah al-raḥmān al-raḥīm.
Tower.

A well; see also Khū'ī.
natural spring.
Crossroads, a square.
Watchman.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chīnī work</td>
<td>Glazed tilework, also known as kāshī work and kānsī work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhajjah or Chhajja</td>
<td>A projecting cornice or eave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhatri (also chatri)</td>
<td>Lit. umbrella, a kiosk, a pavilion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chhotī</td>
<td>Small, tiny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūna gach</td>
<td>Lime plaster or chunam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chūnam</td>
<td>Lime plaster; same as chūna gach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darbār</td>
<td>A royal court; also used for the tombs of the saints, dargāh, and khanqāh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dargāh</td>
<td>A king's court; a place or building containing the grave of a saint or religious leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darūd</td>
<td>A sort of benedictional litany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darvīsh or darvīsh</td>
<td>Poor, indigent, a dervish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwāza</td>
<td>Door, gateway.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daulat Khāna</td>
<td>Lit. treasure house; royal residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwan</td>
<td>A chief officer of state, in charge of the treasury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwānī</td>
<td>A type of script which was mainly used for official correspondence (diwānī = official).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwan-i Khass</td>
<td>House of special, private, audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diwan-i cam</td>
<td>House of public audience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dō āb or dū āb</td>
<td>An area of land irrigated by two canals or situated between two canals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqīr</td>
<td>A mendicant or needy person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farah bakhsh</td>
<td>Joy giver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasil</td>
<td>An entrenchment, wall, rampart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayd Bakhsh</td>
<td>Benefit giver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firāmūz</td>
<td>See qairāmūz.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fīrman</td>
<td>A mandate, order, command, a royal patent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaurkhānah also gaurkhāna and gurkhana</td>
<td>A family graveyard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghayb</td>
<td>Hidden, concealed, invisible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghāzi</td>
<td>A Muslim soldier who fights against infidels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic Word</td>
<td>English Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghusul Khāna</td>
<td>Bathroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadīth</td>
<td>A tradition, saying of the Prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāfiz</td>
<td>One who knows the whole Qur'ān by heart.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajr-i aswad</td>
<td>The black stone of the Ka'bah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakīm</td>
<td>A physician, a philosopher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammām</td>
<td>Bath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háththī</td>
<td>Elephant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Havailī</td>
<td>A stately home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huffāz</td>
<td>Pl. of hāfiz (see hāfiz).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hujjra(h)</td>
<td>A chamber, a cell, an apartment usually within a school, mosque or mausoleum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Īdgāh</td>
<td>A place particularly built to offer the ġīd prayers or salāt-ī ġīd (see also musallā and namāzgān).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ģjām</td>
<td>Letter-pointing (also known as naqt); the system of placing certain number of small dots above or below a letter to differentiate consonants with identical outlines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imām</td>
<td>A person who leads the prayers in a mosque; leader.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ja'farī</td>
<td>A grille made of wood comprising a criss-cross design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jahān numā</td>
<td>Panorama, exhibiting the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jallī</td>
<td>Bold; larger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jama'dar</td>
<td>A collector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jazm</td>
<td>An early Arabic script with stiff and angular characteristics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilū Khāna</td>
<td>A porch, vestibule, ante-chamber.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jōgī</td>
<td>Saint.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāfīr</td>
<td>An infidel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalima-yi tayyibah</td>
<td>The Islamic confession of faith. &quot;There is no god but Allāh and Muhammad is His messenger&quot;.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kānsī work

Kāshī work

Kataba, Kataba or Katībah

Kātīb

Khalīfah or khalīfa

Khānqah

Khatīb

Khatt

Khatt-i mu'amma(h)

Khūlī

Khilāat Khānā

Kiswa(h)

Kufic

Khwābgah

Glazed tile work; also called chīnī work or kāshī work.

Glazed tile work, associated with the town of Kashān in Iran.

Epitaph, inscription.

Scribe, calligrapher, writer.

Caliph.

A convent, abode of a holy man, a tomb of a saint.

A preacher, an orator, a person who delivers the sermon before prayers in a mosque. See imām also.

Script, handwriting.

An intricate style of calligraphy difficult to read.

A well, or chāh.

Private chamber.

The cloth which covers the Ka'bah.

An early script which still survives in a number of variant styles.

Sleeping chamber.

Armenian blue; lapis lazuli blue.

A very early style of Arabic script consisting of thick straight and angular strokes.

A very old woman.

Library.

Written, a letter, an epistle.

Booty.

Museum.

A mosque generally small in size.

A very early type of Arabic script. None of its specimens survives.

A hole.
Mazar
Mihraabī
Mīr-i samān
Mōṭī
Mu'allaqāt

Mudawwar
Muhalla, Mahalla, Mahallah
Muhāqqqaq

Mujāwar or Mujāhwar
Musallā
Muthallathī

Nabī
Naqt
Naskhī

Nasta'liq
Nawwāb or nawāb
Nur

Panj tan pāk

Pardahdār or Pardah-dār
Pinjrah
Pīr
Fōl

Shrine, tomb, sepulchre, grave.
Arched, mihraab-like.
One in charge of the royal kitchen.
Pearl.
Pl. of mu'allaq, hanging; a name ascribed to the poems composed by pre-Islamic Arab bards. These were written and hung on the door of The Ka'bah.
Rounded.
Quarter; a colony.
An early script in which the letters were far less angular than Kufic, with well spaced ligatures. Lit. "meticulously produced".
An attendant of a mosque or a shrine, one attached to a shrine.
A place of prayer, a carpet for saying prayers (see namazgāh and īdgāh).
Triangle, triangular.
A prophet, a messenger of God.
See ijām.
A cursive script derived from thulth at the end of the 8th century A.D. but matured towards the end of the 9th century.
A type of script, developed out of ta'liq and naskh scripts, in Iran.
A noble, a nabob, a governor.
(Divine) light, shine, splendour, applied as an epithet to Muhammad or other religious leaders.
The five pious persons i.e. according to the Shi'ites: Muhammad, ʿAlī, Fatimah, Hasan and Husain and according to the Sunnis, Muhammad, Abu Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthman, and ʿAlī.
A lady who wears a veil.
A cage for keeping birds.
A mendicant, religious person.
Gateway.
Qabr
An impression of the foot of the Prophet.
Qadam rasūl
Also known as "fīrāmūz". The taqīlīq script, according to some Arabic sources, was developed by the Persians from an early and little-known Arabic script called fīrāmūz. Fīrāmūz or Qairamūz was cursive and unpretentious and remained in vogue till the end of the 9th century.
Qalam
A pen.
Qalandar
A kind of itinerant Muhammadan monk, with shaven head and beard, who abandons everything to wander in the world.
Qawwālī
A devotional chorus.
Qibla
An epithet of the Ka'bah; commonly used to mean "the correct direction for prayer".
Qibla rūkh
Facing the Ka'bah.
Qītah
Distich, whose first line does not rhyme with the second. A segment or a portion.
Qubba
A dome, vault, cupola, arch, alcove.
Quls
Four suras of the Qur'an which begin with the word qul, i.e. sura cix (al-Kāfīrin), cxii (al-Ikhlas), cxiii (al-Falaq) and cxiv (al-Nās).
Rahla
A small wooden folding device to hold the Qur'an for reciting. Often carved and decorated.
Rāj
Period of British rule in India.
Raudah
A mausoleum.
Rawānī
Fluency, running, proceeding.
Riqa
A script developed in the 12th century from thulth. It was regarded as a twin script with tawqīlīq.
Rubā
A quatrain.
Sahn
A courtyard.
Salāt
Prayers, benedictions, blessings.
Sama-khāna
A place for listening to devotional choruses and music.
Sang-i abrī
Variegated Stone.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sardar or Sirdar</td>
<td>A general, king's lieutenant, a chief in any department.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shafi'</td>
<td>An intercessor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahadah or tashahhud</td>
<td>Witness of testimony of oneness of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shishmah</td>
<td>A kind of tree bearing very hard wood of yellow and deep brown colour, particularly suited for the manufacture of furniture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shishmahal</td>
<td>Palace of mirrors (shish = mirror; mahal = palace).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shuhada'</td>
<td>Pl. of shahid, a Muslim martyred fighting against infidels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sifat (also saffat)</td>
<td>Attributes of Allah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sihr</td>
<td>Magic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikhara</td>
<td>The spire of a Hindu temple.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirah</td>
<td>Biography of the Prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subaydar</td>
<td>Governor of a province (suwa = province; dar = keeper or possessor).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sufi</td>
<td>A higher order of mystic than qalandar. The Sufi acknowledges no spiritual head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sura</td>
<td>A chapter of the Qur'an.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabib</td>
<td>A physician, a doctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takbir</td>
<td>The formula of Allahu Akbar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takhallus, Mutkhallus</td>
<td>Nom de plume, pen-name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'lliq</td>
<td>A script which according to some Arabic sources was developed from firmuz (qairamuz). Its development was particularly influenced by the riqa' and tawqi' scripts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariikh</td>
<td>Date; history; chronogram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tashkil</td>
<td>The application of various orthographical signs to Arabic consonants to represent fathah, dammah, kasra, sukun, and shaddah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tauhid</td>
<td>Oneness of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'uwiz or ta'widh</td>
<td>Epitaph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta'zim</td>
<td>Respect, reverence, gentility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thulth</td>
<td>Lit. One-third. One of the early scripts and contemporary with tumar, jalil, and nisf. This script is particularly known for its elegant curves at lower termini and its long verticals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ti'm</td>
<td>Twin. A type of script in which angular and cursive styles were combined.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tughrah-i
Taisha Khana

A type of script in which the text (usually short) assumed the shape of a monogram.

A place where furniture is kept, a store room, a wardrobe.

Ulanah
Umarah

Pl. of alim, learned, wise.

Pl. of amir; one who commands orders or rules. In the Mughal court the umarah were generally advisors to the padishah.

Wudū

Ablution.

Zanah or zanahah

Ladylike or of ladies.
Islamic Inscriptions in Pakistani Architecture to 1707

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"Knowledge is not knowing a thing but knowing where to find it"


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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**ERRATUM**

Entry 263 should be read after entry 200.
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