

ARCHITECTURE
OF
ANCIENT DELHI.



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THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT DELHI.



UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT OF
THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.



THE ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT DELHI,
ESPECIALLY THE BUILDINGS AROUND THE KUTB
MINAR, BY HENRY HARDY COLE, LIEUTENANT
R. E., LATE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF
THE NORTH WESTERN
PROVINCES,
INDIA

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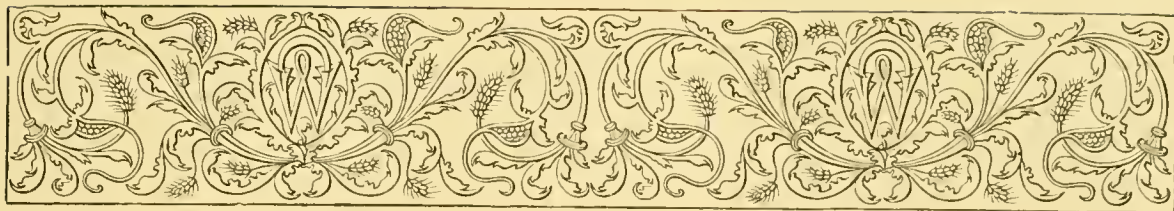
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RUINED BUILDINGS AROUND THE KUTB MINAR, NEAR MODERN DELHI.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.



DURING the governor-generalship of Lord Lawrence, Sir Stafford Northcote, in 1868, made the suggestion to the Government of India to conserve and record the most remarkable of the ancient monuments in that country. Although amounting to scarcely more than a tentative measure, a resolution indicating the value which the Government of India attached to the suggestion emanating from Sir Stafford Northcote was passed, whereby amateur photographers were encouraged in the taking of views of architectural buildings, and were pecuniarily assisted in so doing. Soon after a more comprehensive scheme was drawn up, by which the surveying of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the Upper Provinces was assigned to various parties who were charged to record, as far as possible, the measurements, and to take photographs of buildings and monuments and plaster casts of carvings and sculptured figures. Under the late Governor-Generalship, viz. that of the Earl of Mayo, many important results have been obtained by the prosperous working of the system, the cost of which has been supported by Imperial funds. Advantage of this organization was taken by the South Kensington Museum authorities, who applied to the Indian Government for a cast of the Eastern Gateway of the Sanchi Tope, and this work was speedily put in hand. As this and other work proceeded elsewhere, the necessity of a central authority presented itself, and that has been now met by the creation of a government officer, termed Director-General of Archaeology. Hence, it may be said, to the interest awakened in this country for Indian monuments of antiquity, is

due the institution of an archaeological survey by the Indian Government, and of a series of architectural investigations by the Committee of Council on Education for the South Kensington Museum. But the distinction between the seemingly allied interests, viz. 1stly, of the Indian Government; and 2ndly, of the South Kensington Museum, should perhaps be pointed out. India is not yet well provided with museums or with buildings affording accommodation for large works of fine art, and the special efforts of the Government have been directed to inquiries affecting history rather than those affecting art; the South Kensington Museum, on the other hand, in prosecuting its desire to obtain a series of illustrations of architectural monuments of all countries, seeks to procure records of the art of India. The history of India is intimately connected with the ancient monuments of that country. In some cases these monuments are her only reliable records. Here, then, the interests of the two works which have been begun will become allied and will mutually benefit one another. For, there can be no doubt but that archaeological investigations and surveys will happen to be made of buildings whose high artistic character renders them of sufficient importance for them to be carefully reproduced. Certainly the history of the world's art would not be considered to be perfect without a collection of typical art specimens from India. And the value to the students of these reproductions of typical art specimens will be considerably enhanced by the accompaniment of surveys and explanations.

Thus, while the Indian Government investigates the archaeology of its country, Great Britain endeavours to get architectural casts representing the styles of the Buddhists, Hindus, Jains and Muhammadans.

Major-General Cunningham, the Director of the Archaeological Survey of India, is now engaged in making a comprehensive survey of antiquities, by means of which reliable landmarks of history will become established and more solid information obtained in fixing dates than is at present procurable from native writings, which are more often based upon fables and traditions than on authenticated facts. Mr. Fergusson has frequently pointed out the historical value of ancient buildings in determining the state of civilization of nations at different periods of their progress, and lays a special importance on the styles of architecture, which he holds to have had so regular a growth and variation that dates may be fixed with a fair amount of reliance. General Cunningham intends, I know, to

supplement his archæological researches with all procurable facts and illustrations relating to architecture and ornament. In a few years the efforts of the Indian Government and those of the Science and Art Department will be productive of exhaustive information and of such illustrations and full-sized facsimiles as will be a valuable addition to architectural studies, and give additional interest to the more sober subject of archæology.

The plaster cast of the Eastern gateway of the great Buddhist Tope at Sanchi, to which I have alluded, was exhibited in the Reproduction Court of the International Exhibition of 1871, and its sculptures claimed the attention and interest of both archæologists and architects. The gate is thirty-three feet high, the two perpendicular pillars are crossed by three lintels. The entire surface, back and front, is covered with elaborate sculptures. Mr. Fergusson has at considerable length treated upon the art and history of the Sanchi Tope and its gateways in his work on "Tree and Serpent Worship" and exhaustive Archæological information relating to this ancient monument may be found in General Cunningham's work styled the "Bhilsa Topes." The transport of the casts of the gate from Bhopal, in Central India, materially increased the primary cost of reproduction. But it is satisfactory to find that the expenses incurred in the carrying out of the entire casting works compare favourably with the cost involved by operations of a similar nature. Representing, as it does, the style of the large and finely sculptured early Buddhist monuments, the Sanchi Gateway holds a high rank of architectural importance, and I do not think a better representative specimen of Buddhist art could have been selected.

An incident connected with the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to India in 1870, contributed in a remarkable manner to the successful transport of the casts of the Gateway from Bhopal to the Railway communicating direct with Bombay. Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal had met the Prince in Calcutta, and was so much struck by his good looks and agreeable manner, that she became imbued with a strong and loyal attachment for the Royal visitor. On her return from the Calcutta festivities to her State of Bhopal, and whilst my party were still engaged at Sanchi in the completion of the casts, she at once set to work to make the city of Bhopal wear a holiday aspect, and prevailed on Colonel Thompson, the political agent, to communicate an invitation to the Prince to visit her capital. In anticipation of its acceptance, she caused a temporary road

to be thrown up between Bhopal and the town of Hoshangabad on the line of railway, then only just completed, between Calcutta and Bombay. The track of country which intervenes between the two former places is very wild and hilly, and under ordinary circumstances the so-called road is difficult of passage, and anything but suited for carts containing fragile burdens. It thus oddly happened that as the Prince did not find it possible to visit Bhopal, the carts bearing the casts of the Sanchi Gate alone profited by the improved character of the road, and in consequence reached Hoshangabad without damage or accident. Had this improvement not been undertaken, it would have been necessary to have sent them to join the railway by a very circuitous and not much better road.

The authorities at the South Kensington Museum have recently constructed two large Courts, eighty feet high, for the Exhibition of full-sized reproductions of this character ; and they have, I believe, the intention to make such a collection of structural facsimiles as will enable a comparison to be instituted between the various modes of decoration allied with construction in all parts of the world. Since the reproduction of the Sanchi Gate, the Science and Art Department has caused casts to be made of Hindu and Muhammadan ornamental features from the Kutb, near Delhi and Fâthpûr Sikri near Agra.

At the end of 1870 I was deputed to carry out these latter operations at those places, and leaving London on the 7th of November, travelled across the Continent to Brindisi, where I met my assistant, Corporal Jackson of the Royal Engineers, on board the steamship *Arabia*. The materials and implements for the casting process had been despatched some weeks previously from London. On my arrival at Bombay, in December, I found that they had preceded me up country as far as Jabalpûr. Fâthpûr Sikri, near Agra, was my first resting place, where, having started some casting operations at the Palace of the Mogul Emperor Akbar, I left Corporal Jackson to superintend their completion. Without delay I instructed five native moulders, who had been employed as soap-stone carvers and workers of mosaics at Agra, in the casting process. They readily acquired the necessary skill. We then proceeded to set to work at the Kutb near Delhi, where we commenced making a series of facsimiles of the best specimens characteristic of the Hindu and Pathan sculptures, which abound among the ruins of that place. After the natives, who were engaged on the work, had shown themselves capable of carrying it out without the necessity

of my direct superintendence and continuous assistance, I devoted a large portion of time to making a careful investigation of the buildings and turned my attention to their history, as recounted by Syud Ahmed in the *Asâr-usunâdîd* and in other works. During these investigations I derived much help from General Cunningham's report of the Archaeological Survey for the season of 1862-3. The Kutb buildings are accurately described in this report, and with such a valuable and reliable guide it was not difficult to become acquainted with the leading historical features of the place.

By a previous arrangement Mr. Shepherd, of the firm of Messrs. Shepherd and Bourne, came to the Kutb to take a set of photographs of the most interesting buildings, and these are here published by order of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education, to form a collateral series of illustrations to the casts exhibited at the South Kensington Museum. Mr. Shepherd's renown as a skilful photographer is almost as widely spread in England as in India. The large sized views of the beautiful Himalayan Hills and of a great number of well-known buildings at Agra, Delhi, Amritsar, Benares, and other cities, have earned for the firm a well-deserved and high reputation. I feel I ought to express my sense of Mr. Shepherd's invariable attention and courtesy whilst carrying out my suggestions in regard to the photographs. In producing illustrations of architectural subjects, illustrations which in truth are merely intended to be faithful diagrammatic records, the clear reproduction of structural and ornamental details ranks higher in importance than the production of a picturesque scene, or view of the country. Mr. Shepherd's instincts and sympathies were inclined, and naturally so, more strongly to the latter than to the former, but to meet the special requirements of the illustrations prepared for this volume he changed his usual style and, in concurrence with my suggestions, concentrated his energies in securing most accurate photographs of the architectural features, thereby using his art as a means for scientific reproduction.

In my report to Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Exhibition of 1851 on the Collection of Reproductions exhibited at the London International Exhibition of 1871. I have already given a brief description of the gelatine process of obtaining casts. Piece moulding, whether in clay, plaster or any other material, involves considerable skill and time; hence, its unsuitability to reproducing large objects covered with much carving

or sculptures which from palpable reasons must be carried out expeditiously. In every class of "piece moulding" the method of covering the carved surface with a number of inelastic moulds capable of being individually removed with ease is theoretically the same. The perfection of the plaster piece moulding depends on the skill of the moulder in the disposition of the moulds, so as to have the fewest possible joints when the piece moulds fitted together completely cover the carving. Such a process is evidently not suitable, in respect of rapidity, to Indian sculptures, which are mostly of a very elaborate character—partaking largely of what is technically termed an "undercut" quality—and native moulders cannot be trusted to execute any such work alone, as it requires unbroken supervision on the part of some qualified person. A demand was thus created for a process which would be not only more easy and quick, but to a great extent would obviate the necessity of manipulating the casts when they issue from the mould. A process of moulding with gelatine was adopted, and it meets the requirements above stated to a very considerable extent. It is applicable in the reproduction of big objects by reason of the large area which a single mould can cover. As the gelatine is elastic, a great extent of "under-cut" in the carving may be embraced in one mould, thus rendering unnecessary the making of a number of joints. In withdrawing the elastic mould from the object under treatment, the gelatine stretches itself in order to become released from the "undercut," but it regains its shape almost immediately without destroying any of the extreme accuracy with which the gelatine is able to repeat every mark and grain on the surface reproduced. This gelatine process is more mechanical in its nature than piece moulding, therefore it is easily acquired by natives, who, with ordinary care and under supervision, execute it rapidly and well.

The method of preparing an elastic mould is briefly as follows:—The backing or wall to hold the mould is the primary work; the carved surface is thoroughly cleaned with hard brushes and soft soap, and all vegetable incrustations carefully removed. Rolls of clay are then applied, sheets of paper or coarse cloth intervening to keep the sculpture clean; the outer surface of the clay is moistened and smoothed, and a wall of plaster, strengthened with iron bars, built up against it. This wall, when set, is removed, and the clay taken away. The inner surface is scraped, cleaned, and oiled. When replaced, an interval of the exact thickness of the clay formerly applied will exist, and into this interval



GROUP OF MOULDERS AT WORK AT THE KUTB.

is poured gelatine. After about twelve hours' cooling in a temperature of not over 75° Fahrenheit, the gelatine will have attained the consistency of India-rubber, and may be peeled off the carved surface. In cases of deep undercutting, considerable force is required to effect this. The gelatine mould is then replaced on the wall, which is laid in a horizontal position on the ground, the inner surface of which it has reproduced in reverse, and being thus held rigid a plaster cast may be made in the usual way. Generally a fresh mould has to be made for every fresh cast that is produced, as the plaster in setting gets heated, and being in contact for some time with the surface of the gelatine, the heat melts the delicate portions of the gelatine, and destroys the mould. In cold weather more than one cast may be produced from a single mould. Various preparations are sometimes used to render some slight protection to the surface of the gelatine, but these almost invariably damage the sharpness of the mould. In every distinct operation the greatest care and attention are required, in order that the natural good qualities of the gelatine may be allowed perfect freedom in producing an accurate copy. The photograph on the opposite page, of the group represents the casting operations at the Kutb in progress. The three moulds under manipulation show the position of the gelatine mould inside the clay wall. That upon the box in the centre of the picture has been cleaned, and is ready for casting from. The other two are being brushed out preparatory to casting. On the left is the plaster of Paris in a bag—the pans in which it is mixed with the water are near to it, and water is being poured out, by the “Bhísti” or water bearer, into one of them. On the right are the copper pails in which the gelatine is boiled.

The casts made at the Kutb weighed about six tons when packed; an equal number of facsimiles were produced under the superintendence of Corporal Jackson, at Fâthpúr-Sikri, near Agra, and the whole collection was sent back to England, overland, and reached London about the end of May, 1871. They then underwent such repairs as had been rendered needful by the casualties of a long voyage, and from them have been reproduced two sets of casts, one for London and one for Edinburgh.

The casts of Indian subjects now in the possession of the South Kensington Museum represent—

1. *Buddhist* art, as illustrated by the Eastern Gateway of the Sanchi Tope (probable date, commencement of the Christian era. See General Cunningham's “Bhilsa Topes,”

Smith, Elder and Co., and Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship," W. H. Allen and Co.)

2. *Hindu* art, as shown by the sculptured pillars from the colonnade of the Court of the Mosque at the Kutb (date tenth to the eleventh century, A.D.).

3. *Pathan* art, as represented in the casts of the sculptures on the Kutb Gateways, on the Minar and on the surrounding buildings, date twelfth to fifteenth centuries, A.D. (See Fergusson's "History of Architecture," vol. iii. p. 645; "Journal Asiatique," 5th series, tom. xv.—xvii.; and "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," vol. 33, 1864, supplementary number.)

4. *Mogul* art, as shown in the series of casts from the Palace at Fathpúr Sikri (date about the middle of the sixteenth century). (See Fergusson's "History of Architecture," vol. iii. p. 697.)

I have heard the questions asked, "What practical use is there in these reproductions?" "What good can be derived from their exhibition in England?" "What would be the use of such collections to India?"

To the first two, I would reply that Indian architecture, like that of Egypt, Assyria, Greece, &c., is an important part of the History of the World's Art of Building, and that a student of architecture cannot complete his studies without the acquirement of, at least, some knowledge of Indian modes of building and decoration, and from these reproductions, which can be studied in his own country, he is able to derive a large number of suggestive principles. To the last, I would answer, that, as the people of India have for centuries been very considerable builders in ornamental styles of unusual purity, it behoves the governing heads of the country to *preserve*, and not pervert the artistic instincts of the natives.

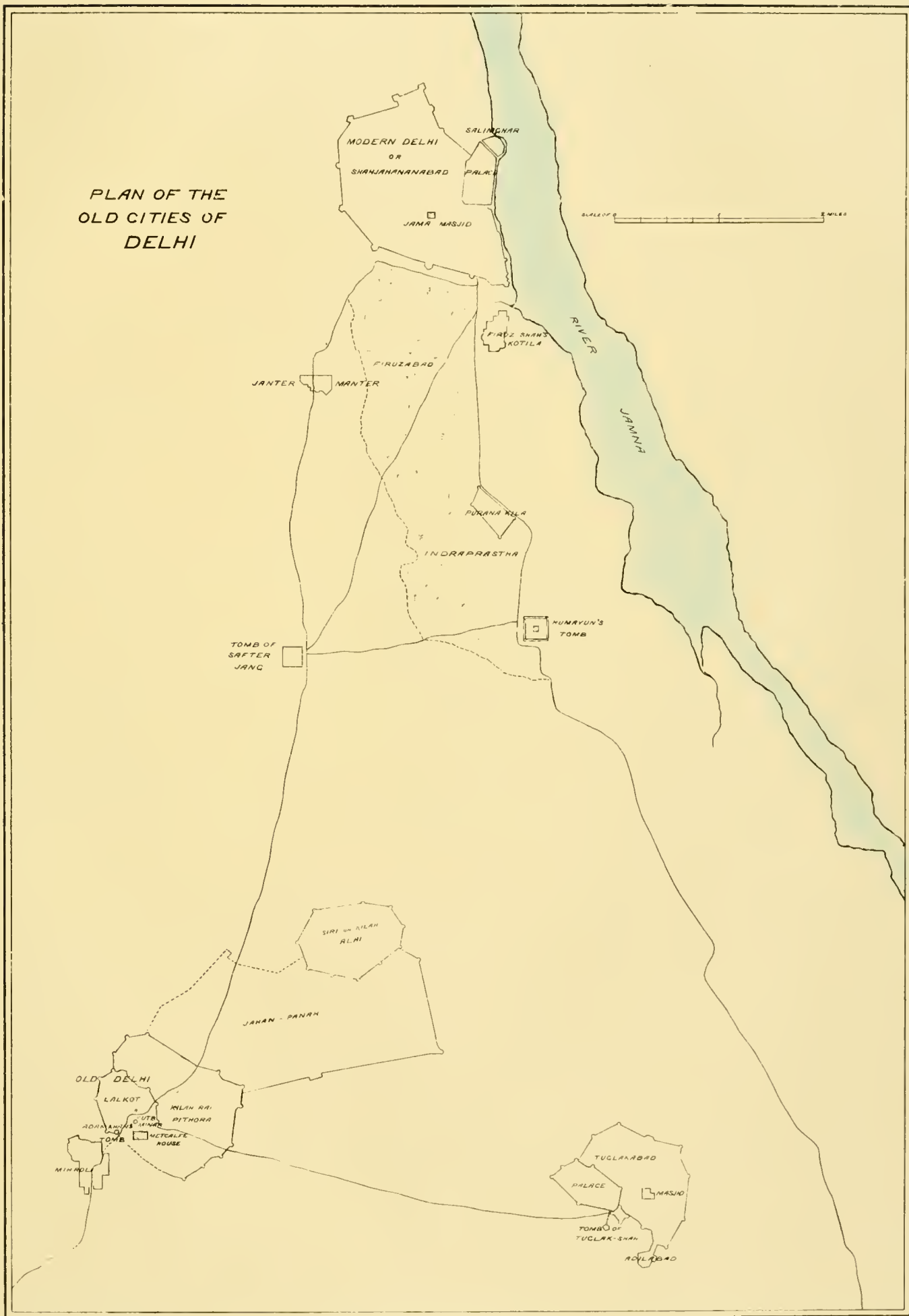
Until lately the idea of preservation had not assumed a tangible shape, and throughout India there are innumerable evidences daily springing up, all of which prove that European rule has debased Indian art by the mixture of European forms of ornament with those of Asia. Buildings, such as temples, mosques, palaces, schools, colleges, etc., suffer equally, and Hindu shapes, Mogul domes, Gothic arches, Greek columns, are considered suitable details to introduce in the same design by the modern native designer. But as he is

taught no better the evil increases with every new native building of importance. Hybrid agglomerations are hideous in proportion to the amount of rupees available for the undertaking, and thus the wealth of the builder becomes surety for the greatest number of styles which the native draftsman can carefully muddle together.

The want of proper instruction to native designers affects manufactures as well as architecture, and until such a want is supplied by a system of museums and schools, there is no hope for improvement in the present condition of Indian art. The museums should be well stocked with all classes of illustrations of ancient styles of architecture, and in the schools the student should be taught the arts which his ancestors and forefathers so well knew how to practise.



PLAN OF THE OLD CITIES OF DELHI





CHAPTER I.

THE ANCIENT CITIES OF DELHI.

MODERN DELHI—DATE OF COMPLETION—INDRAPAT—DILLI BUILT BY THE RAJA DHILU—RUINS ROUND DELHI—LÂLKOT—IDENTIFICATION OF THE RANGIT GATE—KILLA RAI PITHORA—ANANGPŪR—ANANGTÂL—SURUJ-KUND—MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST—MAHMUD OF GHAZNI—HIS CONQUESTS—SOMNATH GATES—SHAHAD-UD-DIN'S DEFEAT—HIS VICTORIES—ERECTION OF THE KUTE—SIRI TŪGLUCKABAD—MUHAMMAD TŪGLUCK—ATTEMPTED REMOVAL OF THE CAPITAL—FIRUZABAD—ASOKA'S PILLAR FROM MÍRAT—ASOKA'S PILLAR FROM KUMAON—SACK OF DELHI BY TIMUR—DELHI SHÍR SHAH—SALIMGHAR—SHAHJAHANABAD—DIWAN-I-AM—DIWAN-I-KHASS—JAMMA MASJÍD.

PLAN No. 1.



MODERN Delhi is situated on the west bank of the river Jumna, the circuit of its walls is over five miles, and encloses a citadel of a circuit of one mile and a half, in which is the celebrated palace built by the Emperor Shah Jehan, between A.D. 1637 and 1648. The city has ten gates, called the Calcutta, Kashmir, Mori, Kabul, Lahore, Farash-Khana, Ajmir Turkomán, Delhi, and Raj Ghat Gates.

Mir Yahia Kashi discovered the date of the completion of Delhi from the addition of the numerical value of the Persian letters contained in the well-known sentence, "Whoever inhabits Shahjahanabad (the city of Shah Jahan) will pass an agreeable time." The numerical value of the letters in this sentence makes a total of 1058, which, as a Muhammadan date, is equivalent to 1648—ten years before the death of the Emperor Shah Jehan.¹

¹ This method of recording is common in India, and frequently an inscription is the only means of calculating the date of completing a building. Each letter has a numerical value, and the sum total is the date recorded. The practice is a Muhammadan one.

The most remarkable sights in the city are the fort and palace, the Chandni Chowk, which is the celebrated street and bazaar, the Jumma Masjid, and several other mosques. The incidents connected with the siege of Delhi in 1857, have given to the Kashmir gate a modern interest. Here it was that General Nicholson broke into the breach with the first column, and met with his death whilst leading on his men. With this siege died the glories of the house of Timur and the Muhammadan power in India.

Indrapat.

Indrapat was the name of the earliest city in the neighbourhood of Delhi; its history is veiled in obscurity. According to the "Asâr-us-sunâdîd," by Syud Ahmed, it is said to have been built about 1450 years before Christ, on the spot where the present "Pûrana Killa," or Old Fort, now stands. This latter building lies three miles to the south-east of modern Delhi, and was built by the Rajah Anangpâl Tomar I. in 676 A.D. The walls, which are very thick, are damaged in many places. The Emperor Humayun repaired them in A.D. 1533, and used the fort as a palace, when it went by the name of Dîn Panah. In A.D. 1541 it was again repaired by Shîr Shah, and was then called Shîrgarh.

"At the time of the 'Mahâbhârata,' or great war between the 'Pandus' and Kurus, this Indrapat was one of the five pats, or prasthas, demanded from 'Duryodhun' by 'Yudhishthira' as the price of peace. These five 'pats,' which still exist, were Panipat,¹ Sonpat, Indrapat, Tilpat and Baghpat."²

According to the computation of General Cunningham, the date of the occupation of Indraprastha by Yûdhishthira was about the end of the fifteenth century, B.C., so that the date, 1450 B.C., given in the "Asâr-us-sunâdîd," as the foundation of Indrapat, would appear to be nearly correct. The present fort is a Muhammadan structure, and it is probable that none of the ancient remains of Indrapat, as occupied by Yûdhishthira in 1450 B.C., now exist.

¹ *First Battle of Panipat*, 1526. Baber defeated Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, near Delhi. *Second Battle of Panipat*. Hemu, minister of Shah Adil, raised a rebellion against Akbar in 1556, in the first year of his accession, when only thirteen, and was defeated by Behram Khan, Akbar's minister, at Panipat. *Third Battle of Panipat*. In 1761 the Afghans defeated the Mahrattas, and captured the capital of the Moguls at Delhi, thus extinguishing the Mogul empire.

² Indraprastha means the plain of Indra, which, according to General Cunningham, was the name of the person who first settled there.

Delhi took its name probably from the Rajah Dhilu, who, according to popular tradition, built a city in the neighbourhood (about 50 B.C.) of the Killa Rai Pithora. The city was rebuilt by Anangpâl I., who erected Purâna Killa in 676 A.D.; but it did not become the habitual residence of the reigning sovereigns until the reign of Anangpâl II., who established himself in Delhi in A.D. 1052, and built the fort of Lâlkot, around the Kutb Minar. The Rajah Pithora, in A.D. 1143, built the Killa Rai Pithora, and, in A.D. 1193, the Muhammadan invasion occurred, from which time Delhi became, in the hands of the Moguls, a very large and important city.

Dilli built by the
Rajah Dhilu.

The ruins at present existing round modern Delhi extend from the south of the city to the forts of Rai Pithora and Tûgluckabad, a distance of ten miles, the breadth of the area at the northern extremity is about three miles, and at the southern end from the fort of Rai Pithora to Tûgluckabad rather over six miles, the whole area being not less than forty-five square miles.

Ruins round Delhi.

The walls of Lâlkot, built in A.D. 1060 by Anangpâl II., are very massive, varying from twenty-eight to thirty feet in thickness. Their irregular outline has a circumference of two miles and a quarter, and stretches from the north to the east of the Kutb grounds (see plan No. I.). Half of the walls are still in good order, but the west gate is the only one that now remains.

Lâlkot.

General Cunningham writes of this still existing entrance to the ancient city: "It is said to have been called the Rangit Gate. This gateway was seventeen feet wide, and there is still standing on the left hand side a large upright stone with a groove for guiding the descent and ascent of the Portecullis. This stone is seven feet in height above the rubbish, but it is not probably less than twelve or fifteen feet. It is two feet one inch broad and one foot three inches thick. The approach to this gate is guarded by no less than three small outworks. The south gate is in the southmost angle near Adam Khan's tomb—and it is now a mere gap in the mass of rampart. Syud Ahmed states, on the authority of Zia Barni, that the west gate of Rai Pithora's Fort was called the Ghazni Gate, after the Mussulman Conquest, because the Ghazni troops had gained the fortress by that entrance. I feel satisfied that this must have been the Rangit Gate for the following reasons: first, the Mussulmans never make any mention of Lâlkot, but always include it as a part of Rai Pithora's Fort; secondly, the

Identification of the
Rangit Gate.

possession of the larger and weaker fortress of Rai Pithora could not be called the conquest of Delhi while the stronger citadel of Delhi held out. The evident care with which the approach to the Rangit Gate has been strengthened by a double line of works and by three separate outworks immediately in front of the gateway itself, shows that this must have been considered the weakest point of the fortress, and therefore that it was the most likely to have been attacked. For this reason I conclude that the Rangit Gate was the one by which the Mussulmans entered Lâlkot, the citadel of Delhi."

Killa Rai Pithora. The Fort of Rai Pithora can still be traced, and was built probably by the Raja Pithora in A.D. 1143 to surround the citadel of Lâlkot and protect the Hindu city of Delhi.

The circuit of Killa Rai Pithora was four and a half miles, and covered a large area of ground. "It possessed twenty-seven Hindu Temples, of which several hundreds of richly carved pillars remain to attest both the taste and the wealth of the last Hindu rulers of India."¹

Anangpûr. These were Hindu buildings concerning which native accounts are somewhat at variance : in addition, mention is made in the "Asâr us-sunâdîd" of a park built by Anangpâl in 676 A.D., at Anangpûr, which is three miles beyond Tûgluckabad, where he constructed a tank 115 feet by 150 feet. Another tank was built by him at the same time at Anangtâl, near the Kutb. When Ala-ud-din was building the base of the second and larger minar or tower in A.D. 1311 (see Plan No. II.), he brought water from this latter, and the remains of the open drain constructed for this purpose are still discernible.

Anangtâl. A circular tank at Surujkûnd, near Anangpûr, was, according to the "Asâr-us-sunadid," constructed by the Raja Kour Surujpâl, fifth son of Anangpâl, in the year A.D. 686, and the steps of it exist at the present time. An annual bathing of natives takes place at this spot.

Surujkûnd. It will not be here, perhaps, out of place to give an outline of the circumstances preceding the Muhammadan Conquest of the Hindus in India, which culminated with the capture of Delhi, and death of the last Hindu King of Delhi—the Prithvi Raja (Rai Pithora).

Muhammadan
Conquest.

¹ General Cunningham.

The Muhammadans made their first appearance in India in A.D. 664, when an army penetrated as far as Múltan, from Persia and Arabia, but the incursion had more the character of an exploration, than of a permanent invasion. Some years after—in A.D. 711, the Arabs under a commander named Muhammad Casim went to Dewal,¹ on the Sind coast, to avenge the capture of an Arab ship at that place. The Rajah Dahir of Sind was attacked, Dewal was captured, and Alor the capital of the kingdom fell—the Rajah himself being killed fighting in the midst of the Arabian cavalry. The Mussulmans now held both Múltan and Sind, and in possessing themselves of the various cities in those countries, had exacted tribute and enforced a conversion to the Muhammadan faith. All who opposed their rule they punished with death. After the reign of Muhammad Casim,² the Arabs ceased to make any further conquest, and in A.D. 750 they were driven out of India by the Rajputs; by this means the Hindus regained their possessions, and held them for the next four hundred years. During this time frequent excursions were made by the Muhammadans from Ghazni, naturally harassing and disquieting the Hindus. The founder of the house of Ghazni, Alptegin (a Turkish slave whose original duty had been to juggle before the Prince of Samani) retreated to Ghazni, on being deprived of his post as Governor of Khorasan and established there an independent state. *His* slave Sebcktegin succeeded him and, shortly after assuming the government of the new kingdom, was attacked by Jaipál the Hindu Rajah of Lahore. The latter was repulsed, and engaged to pay a heavy indemnity, but, returning to Lahore, repudiated the obligation. Sebektegin accordingly assembled a large body of troops whilst Jaipál obtained the assistance of the Kings of Delhi, Ajmir, Kalinjar and Kanouj, and advanced with an opposing army of one hundred thousand men. The Muhammadans proving victorious plundered the Hindu camp and extended their kingdom to the Indus. Mahmud the son succeeded to the government of Mahmud of Ghazni. Ghazni, and in A.D. 1001 defeated Jaipál at Peshawur and advanced as far as Batinda, on the Satlej. An expedition against the Rajah of Bhatia was successful, and in A.D. 1005 Múltan was laid siege to. In A.D. 1008 Anangpál was attacked a second time and a confederacy of the Rajas of Ugain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Kanouj, Delhi and Ajmir was

¹ Near Kuráchi, the present seaport of Sind.

² A. D. 714.

defeated. Two years later Mahmud conquered Ghor, in the mountains east of Herát, and took Múltan a few months later.

His conquests.

In fulfilment of his destiny he continued to make expeditions into India, and captured Tanésar, made two excursions into Kashmir, captured Samarkand and Bokhara, and in A.D. 1017 had penetrated as far as Kanouj. Mattra was plundered, many other cities reduced, and Mahmud returned to Ghazni laden with spoil.

His most celebrated expedition—regarded by all Muhammadans as typical of the greatest of religious invasions—was that into Guzerat, where he captured the Temple of Somnath and destroyed the image of a large idol in the body of which, it is said, was concealed a quantity of diamonds and precious stones.

Somnath Gates.

From the latter place he removed the famous “Gates of Somnath” to Ghazni, where they remained at the entrance to his tomb until General Nott, acting under the orders of Lord Ellenborough, removed them with the intention of replacing them in Guzerat; but they never got farther than Agra, where they are now kept in the Fort.

Shahab-ud-din's defeat.

Shahab-ud-din and Ghias-ud-din were descended from Sebektegin, Governor of Ghazni, and father of the famous Mahmud of Ghazni. They were associated together in the government of Ghazni. Shahab, being the Commander-in-Chief of the armies, resolved on overcoming the Hindus. He made an attack on the Delhi Rajah, Rai Pithora in 1186 A.D., but was signally defeated and driven back, with great loss, to Afghanistan.

His victories.

In A.D. 1193 he repeated the attempt and again invaded India. He advanced to attack the Hindu Raja in his stronghold (now the site of the Kutb buildings) and, being victorious on the banks of the Satlej, put him to death. On retiring from Delhi he left Kutb-ud-din, an ennobled slave, Governor of the Provinces of Delhi and Ajmir.

In the year A.D. 1194, Shahab-ud-din conquered Kanouj and Benares, and Kutb-ud-din invaded Guzerat, North Behar, Bengal, and Oude. He became sole sovereign in A.D. 1202, but was murdered in A.D. 1206. Kutb-ud-din now proclaimed himself independent sovereign at Delhi, and established Muhammadan rule in India.

Erection of the Kutb.

Kutb-ud-din erected the mosque at the Kutb out of the materials taken from the Prithvi Rajah's temples, and the buildings surrounding it were constructed at various times by the kings of Delhi. (See Chapter III.)

Siri.

Sultan Ala-ud-din, in A.D. 1304, founded the city of Siri. It was at this place (now

Shahpúr) that he intrenched himself and withstood the onslaught of the Moguls, who, under Turghai Khan, invaded India in the year A. D. 1303.

After their retreat he built himself a palace, probably the "Kasr-Hazar Situn," or Palace of the Thousand Pillars. The remains of a very extensive palace still exist inside the west half of the Fort of Shahpúr.

In A. D. 1321, Túgluck Shah commenced the city of Túgluckabad, which in plan Túgluckabad. consisted of a half hexagon in shape, with three faces extending rather more than three-quarters of a mile and a base covering an area of one mile and a half, and completed it in A. D. 1325. His son, Muhammad Túgluck Shah, fortified the ground between the Fort of Rai Pithora and the citadel of Siri and constructed five miles of wall, of which part of the south wall still exists. In A. D. 1325 he built the cities of Jahan Panah and Adilahbad, opposite Túgluckabad, but of the latter few traces are now to be seen.

Muhammad Túgluck reigned from A. D. 1325 to 1351. Although otherwise an Muhammad
Túgluck. accomplished prince, he appears to have shown much inconsistency by making numerous strange attempts at stupendous and unsuccessful undertakings. He crippled his resources by raising an enormous army to conquer Persia, and sent 100,000 men to reduce China; in the Terai of the Himalayas they perished of illness, and for some unaccountable reason he massacred all the soldiers left in the garrisons as the army advanced. One of his curious fancies was to remove his capital from Delhi to Deogiri Attempted removal
of the capital. (otherwise Daulutabad), in the territory of the Nizam. Having caused a fort to be cut there out of the solid rock, he ordered the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi to march for the new capital.

"The Sultan ordered all the inhabitants to quit the place, and upon some delay being evinced he made a proclamation stating that what person soever being an inhabitant of the city should be found in any of its houses or streets, should receive condign punishment. Upon this they all went out, but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses and a bed-ridden one in another, the Emperor commanded the bed-ridden man to be projected from a balista, and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Daulatabad, which is at a distance of ten days, and he was so dragged; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and then thrown into it; for

the order had been given that they should go to this place; when I entered Delhi it was almost a desert.¹ * * *

"He twice permitted them (the inhabitants) to return to Delhi and twice compelled them, on pain of death, to leave it. One of these movements took place during a famine, and caused a prodigious loss of life. The plan entirely failed in the end."²

The character of Muhammad Tughluck was of a curious mixture, whilst of a generous and free-giving disposition, he exhibited a strong liking for the spilling of blood. At his door could always be seen some beggar who had been enriched, and some human being who was suffering the agonies of a cruel death. His acts of generosity and of bravery, and his examples of violence and cruelty, obtained for him a notoriety amongst the people of India. In spite of this he was a most humble man, and one who was just in the extreme. Religious ceremonies were rigidly observed at his court, and he was very austere in regard to the observances of prayer and in doing penance for their omission. He was amongst those kings whose happiness was great, and who are lifted above the common sphere by their happy successes; but his predominant quality was generosity.³

In describing Tughluckabad General Cunningham remarks: "The fort stands on a rocky height, and is built of massive blocks of stone so large and heavy that they must have been quarried on the spot. The largest stone which I observed measured fourteen feet in length by two feet two inches and one foot ten inches in breadth, and must have weighed rather more than six tons."

The tomb of Tughluck Shah was placed by his son Muhammad outside the south wall of Tughluckabad, and the latter Sultan was also buried there. Firuz Tughluck was witness to many of the cruelties that his cousin Muhammad Tughluck perpetrated, and when he built the mosque in Firuzabad, put up the following inscription:—

"I have also taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late lord and master Muhammad Tughluck; and having pensioned and provided for them, have caused them to grant full pardon and forgiveness to that prince in the presence of the holy and learned men of this age, whose signatures and seals as

¹ Ibn Batatuh, quoted by Edwards, *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 202.

² Elphinstone, vol. ii, p. 65.

³ Ibn Batatuh.

witnesses are affixed to the documents, the whole of which, as far as lay in my power, have been procured and put into a box and deposited in the vault in which Muhammad Tughluck is entombed."

Firuzabad, the next city of importance, was built by Firuz Shah and was the most extensive of his works. It was commenced in A. D. 1354, and lay between Purana Killa and the ridge of hills to the north-west of Shahjahanabad or modern Delhi, and included the two palaces of Kushak Firuzabad, and Kushak Shikar; the latter being probably on the low range of hills.

It is likely that Firuzabad overlapped a portion of the present Delhi, as the Kala Masjid, built in Firuz Shah's reign, still exists near the Turkoman gate of the city. Firuz Shah brought two of Asoka's edict pillars from Mirat and Mouza Nohira in Kumaon, and set them up in his city.

The stone pillar from Mirat is at present on the hill north-west of Delhi, and bears the following inscription in English:—"This Pillar was originally erected at Mirat in the third century B.C., by King Asoka. It was removed thence, and set up in the Kushak Shikar Palace, near this, by the Emperor Firuz Shah, in A. D. 1356. Thrown down and broken into five pieces by the explosion of a powder magazine, 1713-19 A. D. It was restored and set up in this place by the British Government in 1867." The height of this pillar is 33 feet, the diameter at the base is 3 feet 2 inches, and that at the top is 2 feet 6 inches.

Asoka's pillar from
Mirat.

The pillar which was brought from Kumaon, was erected outside the Delhi gate, at the Kotila, by Firuz Shah, in A. D. 1368, where it still stands. General Cunningham states the total height to be 42 feet 7 inches, and the weight 27 tons. He says, "There are two principal inscriptions on Firuz Shah's pillar, besides several records of pilgrims and travellers from the first century of the Christian era down to the present time. The oldest inscriptions for which the pillar was originally erected, comprise the well-known edict of Asoka, which was promulgated in the middle of the third century B.C., in the ancient "Pali," or spoken language of the day. The alphabetical characters, which are of the oldest forms that have been yet found in India, are most clearly and beautifully cut, and there are only a few letters of the whole record lost by the peeling off of the surface of the stone. The inscription ends with a short sentence, in which

Asoka's pillar from
Kumaon.

King Asoka directs the setting up three monoliths in different parts of India, as follows :—"Let this religious edict be engraved on stone pillars and stone tablets, that it may endure for ever."

Although at the present time the structure which forms the base of the pillar appears to a casual observer nothing more than a heap of ruins, there remains sufficient traces in it of the comparatively recent existence of three stories, one above the other, which surrounded an altitudinal extent of probably 18 feet of the lower portion of the pillar. The upper, which was then the only visible portion, rises up to 24 feet. There is no capital to it now and at least 38 feet can be seen. In A.D. 1611 William Finch, a traveller who published a book of his travels, visited Delhi. He describes the three stories above mentioned and further states that the pillar, at the time of his visit, supported a globe surmounted by a crescent, which, with the entire upper portion of the pillar, was gilt. From this circumstance the Hindus gave it the name of the "Minar Zarim," or Golden Pillar. In earlier times it was called the stone pillar of "Bimsa." The legend being that, when the column was in its original spot in Kumaon, the Hindus believed it to be the walking-stick of "Bhim" the Giant Shepherd God; and they asserted that it could not be removed till the Day of Judgment. Firuz Shah, to prove the fallacy of this superstition, had the stone removed and set up in the precincts of his palace at Delhi.

Sack of Delhi by
Timur.

In consequence of the impotence of his rule, Mahmud Bin Muhammad Shah (a king of the house of Tughluck, who reigned from A.D. 1392 to 1412,) was driven from the new royal residence at Firuzabad, the possession of which city was usurped by Misrat Khan. The king retired probably to Old Delhi, over which, with the two cities of Siri and Jahan-panah, he retained his sovereignty. In A.D. 1398, Tamerlane, properly called Timur, a Mogul chieftain who has not unfrequently but erroneously been called a Tartar, marched upon Delhi with an immense army of his fellow-countrymen. Firuzabad and its Indian defenders were unable to withstand the attack of Timur who, gaining the mastery over the remaining portions of Delhi, sacked the entire city.

The following passage is taken from the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, or an autobiography of Timur :—"By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Delhi, by name Siri, Jahan-panah and Old Delhi, had been plundered. The *Khutbah* of

my sovereignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was, therefore, my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with the spirit of resistance, so that they brought on themselves the fate which was inevitable. When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Delhi, I took a ride round the city. Siri is a round city. Its buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Delhi also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Siri. From the Fort of Siri to that of Old Delhi, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahan-Panah is situated in the midst of the inhabited city. The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahan-panah has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside, and three on the inside towards Jahan-panah.

“The fortifications of Delhi have ten gates, some opening to the exterior, and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city I went into the Masjíd-i-jamai, where a congregation was assembled of syuds, lawyers, shaikhs, and other of the principal Musalmans, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and a defence. I appointed an officer to protect their quarter of the city and guard them against annoyance.”—ELLIOT'S *Historians*, vol. iii. p. 447.

Delhi having been sacked, the king, Mahmud Bin Muhammad Shah, fled to Guzerat.¹ The invaders did not long retain possession of Delhi, for, after taking Mírat, they returned through Cabul into Transoxiana (A. D. 1399).

In A. D. 1416 the city of Firuzabad began to decline, and in A. D. 1435 Syud Muhammad commenced the building of “Mokarikabad,” near Tugluekabad.

There are no records of any great city having been subsequently founded until after

¹ “The booty carried off from Delhi is said to have been very great, and innumerable men and women of all ranks were dragged into slavery. Tamerlane secured to himself the masons and workers in stone and marble, for the purpose of constructing a mosque at Samarkand.”—ELPHINSTONE'S *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 78.

the invasion of India by the Moguls, who, in A. D. 1526, under the Emperor Baber, sixth in descent from Tamerlane, came down from the Punjab, and meeting the King of Delhi—Ibrahim Lodi—at Panipat, defeated him with great slaughter and took possession of Delhi and Agra.

Humayun, who succeeded his father Baber in A. D. 1530, removed the seat of Government four miles from Delhi, in A. D. 1533, to Puranakilla, near the place where his tomb now is, and close to the village of Arab-ke-Serai.

His mausoleum was built by his widow Haji Begum, and is one of the earliest specimens of architecture of the Mogul dynasty. Humayun went through many vicissitudes of fortune. He was driven from his throne in A. D. 1540 by Shír Shah.

Delhi Shír Shah.

During the reign of Shír Shah, the city bearing that name “Delhi Shír Shah,” was enclosed and fortified. It extended from the position of Humayun’s Tomb to Firuz Shah’s Pillar or Lât, near which still exists a gateway—“the Kabuli Durwâza” of the new city. The circuit of the city was nearly nine miles, or double that of modern Delhi.

Salimgghar.

Salim Shah Sur, who succeeded Shír Shah in A. D. 1545, built the Fort of Salimgghar, which is still in existence, and over which now passes the line of the East India Railway from Delhi to Calcutta.¹ Salim Shah Sur reigned from A. D. 1545, when he was murdered by Muhammad Shah Sur Adil, his uncle. Humayun, in A. D. 1555, regained all his original possessions and grandeur; but in A. D. 1556 he was killed by a fall from his Library in Puranakilla, and was succeeded by his son Akbar, the most powerful and famous Emperor of India.

The Emperor Akbar principally resided in Agra, as also did Jahangir, who succeeded him, and it was not until the great Emperor builder, Shah Jahan, came to the throne that any great alterations or additions were made.

Shahjahanabad.

The city of Shahjahanabad was commenced in A. D. 1648 by the Emperor Shah Jahan, and has a circuit of over four miles. It lies on the west banks of the river Jumna, and

¹ “Salim Shah died after a reign of nine years; he was an improver, like his father, Shír Shah, but rather in public works than in laws. One division of the royal palace at Delhi was built by him; and although Humayun ordered it to be called Núrghar, by which name only it could be mentioned at Court, it still retained that of Salimgghar everywhere but in the royal presence.”—ELPHINSTONE’S *History of India*, vol. ii. p. 153.

is surrounded by a bastioned wall of stone. The principal building, constructed by order of the Emperor, was the fort or palace, which contained a number of beautiful detached apartments or reception halls. The Diwan-i-am, or Public Hall of Audience, is a large hall open at three sides, and supported by rows of red sandstone pillars. In the wall at the back is a staircase that leads up to the throne, which is raised about ten feet from the ground, and over it is a canopy supported on four pillars of white marble, the whole being curiously inlaid with mosaic work. Behind the throne is a doorway by which the Emperor entered from his private apartments. The whole of the wall containing this door is covered with mosaics of birds and animals,¹ in precious stones set into black marble, much resembling the well-known Florentine mosaics. These were arranged in "plaques" over its surface; the designs were probably executed by Austin de Bordeaux, who was employed at the court of the Emperor. The Diwan-i-am is now used as a sergeant's canteen. Diwan-i-am.

The Diwan-i-khass, or Hall of Audience, overlooks the Jumna, and consists of a beautiful pavilion of white marble, enriched with mosaics, gilded arabesques and paintings. The ceiling of this apartment was once covered with a valuable mass of silver filigree, but the Mahrattas in A.D. 1759 plundered Delhi and bore this off as part of the loot. Close to this pavilion are the King's Baths and Pearl Mosque, the latter being a beautiful small white marble building. Diwan-i-Khass.

The principal object of interest built by Shah Jahan outside the fort is the large mosque, or Jumma Masjid. It is situated on a rock near the celebrated Chandni Chowk, the principal street and bazaar of the city, and is approached by three magnificent flights of steps, leading to gateways of red sandstone. The largest of these is to the east; they all lead to a paved quadrangle, on the west side of which is the mosque 201 feet in length by 120 feet broad; the front is partly faced with white marble, and on the cornice of the upper feature are black marble inscriptions in the Nushk character, detailing the sums spent in the construction and ornamentation of the building. The Jamma Masjid.

¹ Some of the originals of the plaques of mosaics may be seen at the India Museum; there are four large pieces and seven small. They were taken by the troops under the command of Sir John Jones, 60th Rifles, after the capture of Delhi from the rebels in 1857. In the same Museum is also a larger and very remarkable plaque, representing "Orpheus," which occupied a central position in the wall.

interior is paved with white marble, and the exterior of the building is flanked by two minarets, 130 feet high, of white marble and red sandstone. Detail paintings of the mosaics, as well as coloured miniatures on ivory of the throne in the Diwan-i-am, of the interior of the Diwan-i-khass and of the mosque built by Shah Jahan, are exhibited in the South Kensington Museum.

Shah Jahan was the emperor who built the celebrated and beautiful Taj Mahal at Agra, in memory of Mumtaz Mahal his queen.

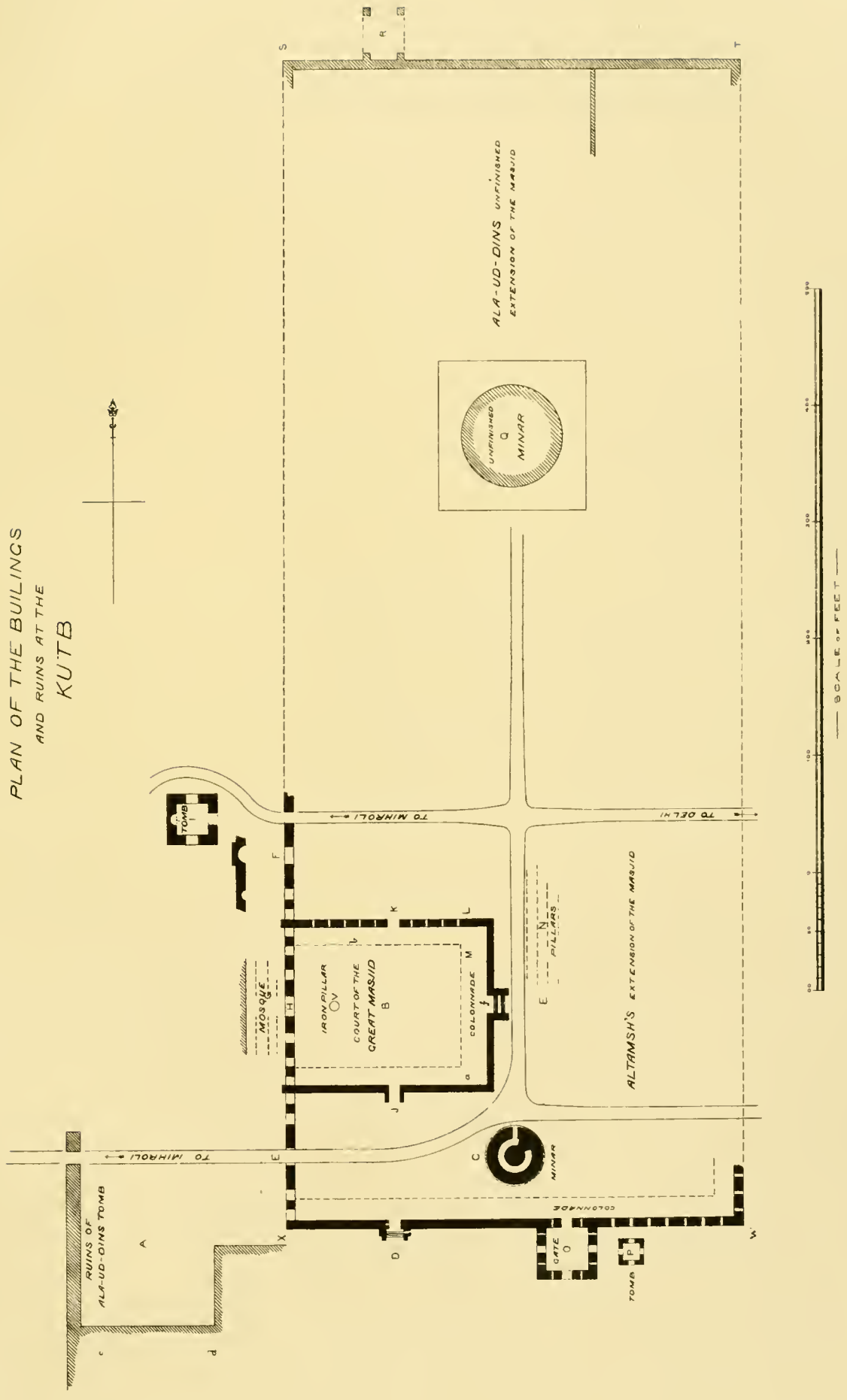
At Delhi, in 1863, some remarkable fragments of a large Muhammadan sculptured elephant and human figure were found and collected by Mr. C. Campbell, the executive engineer, who pieced them together and erected them in the public gardens, where they may be seen at the present time. Bernier, who visited Delhi at the commencement of the Emperor Aurangzib's reign, describes two such sculptures as having existed at either side of one of the gateways leading into the palace. "On one of the elephants," says he, "is seated the statue of Jai Mal, the renowned Raja of Chittúr, and on the other is the statue of his brother."

These sculptures were very exceptional works for Muhammadan artists to have undertaken, and were most probably made at the instance of the Emperor Akbar, who besieged Chittore and killed Jai Mal on that occasion. It is said that he caused the statues at Delhi to be erected to evince a sense of the merits of his foes; Aurangzib however, in a religious frenzy, stimulated by a deference to the hatred held by Mussulmans of images of all kinds, ordered them to be pulled down and broken up.

The construction of the life-sized elephant consists of several pieces of black stone, with housings in white and yellow marble, and the figure which rode on it was of red sandstone.



PLAN OF THE BUILDINGS
AND RUINS AT THE
KUTB





CHAPTER II.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS SURROUNDING THE KUTB MINAR.

THE JANTER MANTER—SAFTER JANG'S TOMB—KUTB MINAR—SURROUNDING BUILDINGS—JÔG MAYA—TUGLUCKABAD—MOLANA JUMALI—THE METCALFE HOUSE—OLD DILLI—KILLA RAI PITHORA—GATEWAYS OF SHAMS-UD-DIN—ALA-UD-DIN'S GATE AND MINAR—TOMB OF IMÂM ZAMIN.

PLAN No. II.



THE great tower, called the Kutb Minar, stands about eleven miles from modern Delhi, and is surrounded by ruins of Hindu and Muhammadan styles of all periods. Leaving Delhi by the Lahore gate, the road passes the remains of the Janter Manter, or observatory, on the left, The Janter Manter. and the mausoleum of Safter Jang, about half way to the Kutb, on the right. The Janter Manter was erected by the Rajah Jai Sing, of Jaipur, in the reign of Muhammad Shah, about A.D. 1720, for astronomical purposes. It consists of several buildings, which having remained unused for some time, are now in a state of ruin. Safter Jang's tomb was erected by Nawab Shuja-dûlah, his son, and was planned somewhat Safter Jang's Tomb. after the model of the Taj at Agra. It is of red sandstone, surmounted by a marble dome, and occupies the centre of a garden about 300 yards square. From here on to the Kutb, one passes several ruined tombs on both sides of the road and enters the Kutb grounds under an old archway. On the left is the Dâk Bungalow, consisting of two small buildings where travellers can be housed for twenty-four hours. There are two roads, the chief one continuing straight on through the northern part of the ruins, whilst the other diverges to the left and, passing between the two buildings of the

Dâk Bungalow to the planted grounds, surrounds the minar and then rejoins the main road. The local authorities of Delhi keep up this part of the ground about the Minar as a garden. The cool shade of the trees and pleasant aspect of the ruins surrounded by turf, are a refreshing relief after the dusty road from Delhi. Approaching it from the road, no one can fail to be impressed by the great height of the Minar, which from base to summit is enriched by broad and frequent bands of elaborately carved ornament. It is a remarkable thing that from a distance of only a few hundred yards occasional glimpses of the tapering culmination of the Minar only are caught, and its size does not appear to be so very great. But this illusion is entirely dispelled when one finds oneself in close proximity to the lofty structure. Its architectural majesty and grandeur become very impressive.

Referring to the Plan, it will be seen that the greater number of the buildings still standing (represented in black) lie to the south-west; the whole area of the enclosure extends some distance to the north, where ruins only now remain, the enclosing wall being barely traceable.

In order to understand the disposition of the different buildings, it is best to ascend the first story of the Kutb Minar. The lower door faces the north, but the upper doorways, leading out from the central staircase to the galleries on the level of the three stories, face the west. Let the reader place himself, in imagination, at the doorway of the first story. Taking the neighbouring buildings first, the road passing the Minar to the right and under the archway at E (see Plan) leads on to the village of Mihroli, about a quarter of a mile distant, and by it the walls of Lâlkot are reached. Adam Khan's tomb, where I lived during my stay at the Kutb, is exactly in front and rises on a piece of elevated ground close to the walls of Lâlkot, which leave it on the west and wind round to the north and east. On the left of Adam Khan's tomb (see p. 123) is Mihroli, where are several modern royal tombs worth seeing; also two large diving wells, one being in Mihroli and one outside the present village. The former was built in A.D. 1263 by Muhammad Daoud Khan and is eighty feet deep. The natives dive down into the water for a small present. They leave the top with their legs apart, but, after a precipitation through the air of nearly 80 feet, and just before reaching the water, close them sharply together. The descent of their bodies is very swift, from the impetus they have obtained in their fall

Kutb Minar.

Surrounding
Buildings.

through the air prior to touching the surface, and in many cases they are able to catch the coin before it has sunk to the bottom of the water. The latter well is said to have been built by Anangpâl II. in A. D. 1052 when constructing the fort of Lâlkot.

Between Adam Khan's tomb and the enclosed grounds of the Kutb, is an old Hindu Jôg Maya. temple called the Jôg Maya. Syud Ahmed thus describes it :—"This temple, which is very celebrated, is situated near the obelisk of Kutb Sahib. The Hindus imagine that, in consequence of the Râkschas¹ Kans having lifted up its head (against the worshippers of Vishnu), Brâhma announced the news of the Avâtâr of Krishna. At the end of the Dwapar age, which according to the Indian calculation lasted for 4,953 years, Krishna became the infant child of the Queen Devaki—the wife of Vasudeva. Through fear of Kans, Krishna was taken to Gokal and then to Mathura. Kans having seized the child, flung it to the ground in order to kill it, but it disappeared like lightning. It was near this very spot that this miracle occurred, and the Rajah Sidmal, an officer of Akbar II. (1827) had the temple erected in celebration."²

The ruins of the city of Tûgluckabad are to be found about three and a half miles Tûgluckabad. south of the Minar. In the same direction and perhaps half a mile further off is a small tomb which goes by the name of Molana Jumali. It was erected in A. D. 1528, by Fiezûlla Molana Jumali. Khan alias Julal-ud-din, who spent a portion of his life there as an ascetic. The building consists of a small apartment decorated inside with encaustic tiles and coloured plaster, into the surface of which are incised a number of elegant arabesques; the exterior is ornamented with blue and yellow glazed tiles, samples of which I procured and brought to England in order to have them deposited in the Museum at Kensington. Fiezûlla Khan was a celebrated poet in the reign of the Emperors Baber and Humayun, and was buried at this spot in A. D. 1535.

Between this and the Minar is the building which Sir Theophilus Metcalfe when The Metcalfe House. resident at the Court of Delhi converted into a habitable dwelling. Formerly it was the tomb of Muhammad Kuli Khan, foster-brother to the Emperor Akbar, and was built about the middle of the sixteenth century. On a clear day the Jumma Masjid and

¹ "The 'Râkschasas' are gigantic and malignant beings."—ELPHINSTONE, vol. i. p. 179.

² De Tassy, "Description des Monuments de Delhi en 1852."

Fort at Delhi may be distinctly seen to the left of this building; also the tombs of Safer Jang, Humayun, and the outline of Purana Killa.

Old Dilli.

Turning now to the buildings close to the Kutb, the earliest known city of that neighbourhood was that built by the Rajah Dilu about 50 B. C., and it was probably occupied by the Rajah Dhava, who is said to have erected the Iron Pillar (see V on the Plan II. and page 39) which stands directly below the Minar in the Court of the Colonnade (B). The Rajah Anangpâl rebuilt Dilli in A. D. 676, but in A. D. 1052 Anangpâl II. constructed Lâlkot, the ancient walls of which may be seen to the east and north of the Kutb grounds. In A. D. 1143 the Rajah Pithora built the Fort of Rai Pithora to surround the Fort of Lâlkot on three sides, and to protect the Hindu city of Delhi from the Muhammadans. The circuit of this city in the twelfth century was about four and a half miles, and encompassed twenty-seven Hindu temples, built with beautifully carved pillars. It is probable that these temples were ranged about the ground surrounding the Minar. Some of the pillars still standing particularly those at N on the plan No. II., and at the south-east corner of the outer colonnade, have the appearance of being in their original position. When the Muhammadans under Shahab-ud-din conquered and killed the Rajah Pithora in A. D. 1193, these temples, and what is traditionally known as Rai Pithora's "Butkhana" or idol temple, were then standing; however, Kutb-ud-din the ennobled slave and commander of Shahab-ud-din's army, who was left as Governor of Delhi, overturned the buildings and is said to have constructed the enclosure and Masjîd (B and G on Plan II.) out of the materials and pillars of the Butkhana. The variety of styles which is presented in the columns of the courtyard renders this assumption doubtful, and implies that other materials than those furnished by the Butkhana were employed. At the present time the natives regard the courtyard as being the original Butkhana. It is thus mentioned by Syud Ahmed in the *Asâr-us-sunâdîd*, who states that the building of the Minar was commenced by the Rajah Rai Pithora. It is, however, an indisputable fact that the principal part of the present structure was built by Shams-ud-din Altamsh in A. D. 1229. Kutb-ud-din built the large gate at H to the west and there is one of his inscriptions on the gate at K to the north. On the Eastern Gateway he inscribed the date of his victory over the Muhammadans.

Gateways of
Shams-ud-din.

The gateways to the west at E and F were built by the Emperor Shams-ud-din

Altamsh in A. D. 1229, and his daughter constructed his tomb (at I) in A. D. 1235. In A. D. 1310 the Emperor Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah Kilji built the gateway at O on the plan, and commenced to enlarge the area of the Mosque to the north. The portion of wall at S, T, and R, still remains to testify to this work, and the length of the wall (S, T) corresponds to that of the side of the South Colonnade. It becomes therefore apparent that Ala-ud-din had the intention of extending the buildings, and thus of eclipsing in size and grandeur all that had been erected by his predecessors. He commenced a second tower or minar (Q), which now is a heap of rubble masonry, and built a mosque and school to the south-west of the enclosure (at A), where upon his death in A. D. 1317 tradition says he was buried.

Ala-ud-din's Gate
and Minar.

The small tomb outside the South Colonnade and wall containing the remains of a Muhammadan Fakir, Syud Imâm Zamin, was built in the year A. D. 1537. In overlooking the Kutb ruins as they now exist, our principal historical interest in them lies in their being the record of the Muhammadan invasion of India and the downfall of Hindu reign. Excepting where the materials of the pre-existent Hindu temples are used,—such as carved pillars, brackets, lintels, &c.—the buildings are the best of a few examples of highly-ornamented Pathan architecture, and form a powerful contrast in their massiveness and vigour to the refined and elegant architecture of the succeeding Muhammadan rulers—the Moguls—the builders of the sumptuous Taj at Agra, and the Fort and Palaces of Shahjahanabad.

Tomb of Imâm
Zamin.





CHAPTER III.

MASJID-I-KUTB-UL-ISLÁM.

(HINDU NAME—BUTKHANA.)

HINDU KINGS OF DELHI—MUHAMMAD GHORI—FERISHTA'S ACCOUNT OF THE MUHAMMADAN INVASION—DEATH OF MUHAMMAD GHORI.

PHOTOGRAPH I. View of the Iron Pillar from the West—Syud Ahmed's Account—De Tassy's Account—General Cunningham's Account—Analysis of the Iron—Great Length of the Pillar—Translation of the Inscription—Possible Origin of the Word "Dhili." PHOTOGRAPH II. General View of the Masjid and Colonnade—Date of the Victory over the Hindus—Syud Ahmed's Account—Its Inaccuracy—The Mosque Commenced by Kutb-ud-din—Cunningham's Opinion of the Construction of the Colonnade—The Colonnade—Hindu Sculptures—Fergusson's Description—Jaina Origin Questioned—Hindu Sculptures in the Masjid—De Tassy's Description of the Colonnade. PHOTOGRAPHS III. A and III. B. The Masjid-i-Kutb-ul-Islám—Hindu Sculptures. PHOTOGRAPH IV. Pillars in the Sanctuary of the Mosque—Jaina Style of Architecture. PHOTOGRAPH V. Pillars in the East Colonnade of the Mosque. PHOTOGRAPH VI. Pillars in the Centre of the East Colonnade. PHOTOGRAPH VII. Pillars in the North-East Corner of the Colonnade. PHOTOGRAPH VIII. Pillar in the North-East Corner of the Colonnade. PHOTOGRAPH IX. Pillars in the North Colonnade. PHOTOGRAPH X. View of the Great Arches of the Masjid Kutb-ud-din.



THE fullest account of the Ancient History of the Kings of Delhi is given by Joseph Tieffenthaler. There is also a partial account by Mir Sher-i-ben Afsos in the *Khilâssat attawarikh* of the early history of the country of which Delhi was the capital. But in absence of proof and authority better than can be gleaned by perusing its pages, no reliance should be placed upon it. The former named work commences with the *Pandava* dynasty, from which sprang the Kings *Júdhistir*, *Paraxit*, *Janamejaya*, and *Asvamedhadattu*—names mentioned only in the *Mahábârata*. Then follow sixty-eight unknown Rajahs up to *Vikramaditya*.

Hindu Kings of Delhi.

The next dynasty is one of the *Pala* Kings, with eighteen Rajahs, who altogether reigned 381 years and six months. The last—*Vikramapala*—tried to take the kingdom of Baracz from Trilochanachandra King of Ajodya, but was defeated, and so followed the loss of his dominion. Of the succeeding dynasty nine kings and the Queen Primavati reigned 102 years. After this Harapreman came to the throne. His reign, added to those of the three succeeding kings, spreads over a period of fifty years. The last king of this line Mahapatra, relinquished the government, when Adharasena King of Bengal took the throne of Delhi. The twelve Sena kings maintained their government for 160 years. Afterwards Dipasinha, who came from Badaridesa near the source of the River Ganges, obtained the supremacy at Delhi. The six “Sinha” retained the kingdom for 107 and a half years. The last one, Givansinha, was driven away by the Chohan king Prithvi Rajah.¹

In the *Bhâgavata Purâna*, Yúdhishthira was the first king of Indraprastha (see Plan II.) and the throne was occupied by the descendants of his brother Arjuna for thirty generations down to Kshemaka, who was deposed by his minister Visarwa; and the throne held for five hundred years by fourteen successive persons of his family. Then followed fifteen Gautamas, or Gotama vansas, followed by nine Mayuras. Rajapâla, the last of the dynasty, is said to have been killed by Sakaditja the Rajah of Kumaon.

The foundation of Dilli by the Rajah Dhilu may be taken as occurring about 50 B. C., and about the same time Vikramaditya became king of Dilli, but his descendants are said to have reigned in Ugain until A. D. 736, or for seven hundred and ninety-two years, when the first Tomara raja Anangpâl I. came to the throne and made Delhi the Capital.²

It was at this time that Delhi was rebuilt, and the site was probably the same as that now occupied by the Fort of Rai Pithora.

Delhi was ruled from A. D. 736 by the Tomara Dynasty of kings which commenced with Anangpâl I. The second king of this name who reigned in the year A. D. 1051, gave his daughter in marriage to Someswara, one of the Chohan kings. The issue was the famous Rai Pithora, who came to be formally acknowledged as heir to the throne of

¹ Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde* III. Beilage III. p. 1171.

² General Cunningham's Report, J. A. S. B. of 1864, page viii.

Delhi. This Prince reigned in Ajmir from A. D. 1174, but appears to have occupied the throne of Delhi from A. D. 1145 as, according to Abul Fazl, his reign was forty-eight years long, and his death occurred in A. D. 1193 ; moreover, a Sanscrit inscription translated by Captain James Tod, shows that in A. D. 1167 he withstood a siege, and in that year therefore he was probably on the throne.

Shortly after this event, the Rajah of Sakambhari, Visaladeva, the son of Avella, declared and commenced war against Pithora, and his commander Vighraharaja engraved two inscriptions on Firuz Shah's Pillar, so it may be inferred that for some time Delhi was in his power.

In A. D. 1175, Pithora forcibly abducted the daughter of Jai Chandra, king of Kanouj, who was not herself unwilling. Both Jai Chandra and Pithora were related to the last Chohan king, Anangpâl II.: two of the daughters of the latter were married to the respective fathers of the two former. The circumstances of the abduction may be briefly told. Jai Chandra considering himself to be supreme king, determined to make a great religious offering and called together all the neighbouring princes. But Rai Pithora looked upon himself as the senior and proper representative of the Chohan line, and so objected to Jai Chandra's undertaking this ceremony. Accordingly he absented himself from the ceremonial. At this the King of Kanouj was highly incensed, and had a golden statue made of Pithora, which he placed in the position of a sentinel in his palace.¹ The story relates how Pithora, with his body-guard of five hundred horsemen, carried off the statue from the palace, and then returned to Delhi. The daughter of Jai Chandra had in the meanwhile fallen in love with Pithora, and was consequently locked up by her father in a separate palace. From this she was carried away through the cleverness of Pithora's celebrated poet, Chand. The issue of the union of this Princess with Pithora was the Prince Rainsi, who was killed in the final struggle with the forces of Shahab-ud-din before Delhi, in A. D. 1193. According to Colonel Tod, the Rajah Pithora reigned at Ajmir, and had a deputy only at Delhi, Chandra Rai, his brother-in-law.

¹ Jai Chandra owned the greater part and the most productive lands of Bengal and the Doab, and was regarded, at that time as the most powerful king of India ; but it is uncertain whether Rai Pithora at any time owned to any allegiance to him.—LASSEN.

In A.D. 1184, Rai Pithora carried on a great and successful war against Paramardi Deva, the Rajah of Mahoba, and the various events have been recorded in the Book "Mahoba Khand," by the poet Chand, which formed a part of the record called "Prithvi Rajah Chohan Râsi."

Muhammad Ghori.

When Muhammad Ghori¹ in A.D. 1191 advanced towards Hindustan, Rai Pithora and Chandra Rai, his Viceroy, effected an alliance with the surrounding Hindu princes, collected a large army of two hundred horse and three thousand elephants, and met the invader fourteen miles from Thaneswar and eighty miles from Delhi, where they obtained a great victory. Muhammad Ghori would no doubt have suffered death had not one of the Muhammadan chiefs rescued him from off the field where he lay faint from loss of blood, and carried him to Lahore. Mr. Thomas writes of this, "In A.H. 587=A.D. 1191 in a more extended expedition into Hindustan, Muhammad Ghori was totally routed on the memorable field of Thaneswar, by the Chohan leader Prithvi Rajah of Ajmir." During a year's repose, the disgrace of this defeat did not cease to rankle within him, and after a much deliberated preparation he advanced towards this self-same battle-ground, where for the second time he encountered Pithora, this time supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of one hundred and fifty princes.² In relating the circumstances which caused the erection of the Kutb buildings, it will be perhaps considered interesting to supply a detailed notice of the great encounter which terminated fatally in the death of Rai Pithora, in whose reign so many buildings in and near Delhi were constructed.

Ferishta's account
of the Muhammadan
invasion.

After his disgraceful defeat, Muhammad Ghori dismissed all his officers who had deserted him in the battle, and subjected them to various indignities. He then returned to his brother Ghias-ud-din, who still retained the title of king, and proceeded on to Ghazni, where he spent the ensuing year in pleasure and festivity. At length having recruited an army of one hundred and twenty thousand chosen horsemen, composed of Turks, Tajiks, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold, he marched from Ghazni towards India, without disclosing his intentions. With this enormous army Muhammad Ghori proceeded towards

¹ "Moiz-ud-din Muhammad Bin Sam," or Shahab-ud-din.

² Thomas, "Pathan Kings of Delhi," p. 11.

Peshawar and Múltan, where he found adherents. When at Peshawar, an old sage of Ghor threw himself before him, crying, "O King, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom, but as yet thy design has been a subject of much speculation among us." Muhammad Ghor answered, "Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in Hindustan, notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease or waked but in sorrow and anxiety. I have therefore determined with this army to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the attempt." The old man, kissing the ground, said "Victory and triumph be thy attendants, and fortune be the guide of thy paths; but, O king, let the petition of thy slave find favour in thy ears, and let those chiefs you have so justly disgraced, be permitted to take the same opportunity of wiping away the stain on their character." Muhammad listened to the petition, and sent off a messenger to have the officers he disgraced at Lahore, released from the prisons at Ghazni. He then marched towards Lahore, whence he dispatched Kuwam-ul-mulk Hamsi and other noblemen to Ajmir, with an ultimatum to the Rajah Pithora, stating that he must choose between embracing the religion of the true faith, or a declaration of war. To this was sent back a haughty reply and Pithora at once sent round to all the neighbouring princes for aid, and in a short time was able to oppose the Muhammadans with three hundred thousand horse and three thousand elephants, besides an enormous multitude of foot-soldiers. With this powerful army he marched towards the enemy and waited for them on the banks of the holy Sarasvati (Sursutty). In the Hindu army were one hundred and fifty Rajput Princes who assembled in conclave, and having painted their foreheads with stripes of colour (as is at the present time still the custom) they swore by the holy water of the Ganges, that they would be the conquerors or die as martyrs to their faith. They then wrote a letter to the Muhammadans.

"We know you are no stranger to the bravery of our soldiers, or to our daily increasing numerical superiority, so, unless wearied of existence, take pity on your troops. Repent in time of your rash resolution and you shall be permitted to retreat safely, but if not, we have sworn to advance on you with our rank-breaking elephants, horses and invincible soldiers, and to crush you on the morrow."

Muhammad Ghor replied, "I am the general only of my brother (Ghias-ud-din), under whose command I have marched into India. I am bound by honour and duty to

exert myself in his service and I cannot therefore retreat without orders, but I shall be glad to obtain a truce until I have his answer."

The effect of this was to cause the Hindus to believe in the intimidation of the enemy and they spent the night in revelry, whilst Muhammad was preparing to surprise them. He crossed the river at dawn, and entered the centre of the camp before the alarm was given. In spite of confusion, the Hindu army had sufficient time to draw out their cavalry, which they did in four lines, and with their elephants, forced the enemy to retreat, until Muhammad putting himself at the head of twelve thousand of his best horsemen, clad in steel armour, drove through the Hindu ranks, and created disorder and panic. The Muhammadans now commenced to slaughter right and left, and the enormous army of Rai Pithora was utterly annihilated. The Vice-King of Delhi, Chandra Rai, was killed on the field and Rai Pithora was taken prisoner and put to death. The whole of the camp equipage and treasure of the princes fell into the hands of the conquerors. Muhammad Ghori went himself to Ajmir, of which city he took possession after putting several thousand of the resisting inhabitants to death. Afterwards, having exacted a heavy tribute, he gave over the country of Ajmir to Gola a natural son of Rai Pithora.¹

Muhammad Ghori now turned towards Delhi, intending to rase it to the ground, but the new (Hindu) king Gola, by means of presents of great magnificence, prevailed upon him not to put his intention into execution.² However, upon his homeward march to Ghazni, he passed through Delhi and, unable to resist the temptation of its riches, he plundered it.

Kutb-ud-din one of the best of Muhammad Ghori's commanders, with a large body of troops, remained in possession of the newly conquered territory, and no considerable time elapsed before he subdued and obtained possession of Mírat, taking the government out of the hands of the Chandradeva's, the family of Prithvi Rajah's brother.

¹ Mr. Edward Thomas in his "Pathan Kings of Delhi," describes a coin in his possession which contains both the names of Muhammad bin Sâm and the Prithvi Rajah, and remarks, "We find that the son of Rai Pithora, who had been advanced under the protection of the sublime Court, was left in charge of Ajmir, in which ease a numismatic confession of fealty would be quite appropriate."

² Brigg's "Mahomedan Power in India," vol. i. p. 178.

Later Kutb-ud-din took up his residence at Delhi, and compelled all the neighbouring districts to acknowledge the Muhammadan faith.

Muhammad Ghorí soon after left Ghazni, and marched on Kanouj, where he engaged the King Jai Chandra, who was at the head of a large body of horse, and three hundred elephants. Kutb-ud-din in command of Muhammad Ghorí's army signally defeated the Hindus, taking the whole of their baggage and elephants. He then marched on to Benares, and there destroyed the idols in above one thousand temples.¹ After this Muhammad Ghorí returned to Ghazni, laden with treasure and spoil.

In A. D. 1195, Muhammad again made a raid into Hindustan, and took possession of Biana, in the Bhurtpúr Territory and deputed Bahadúr Dín Toghrul to besiege Gwalior, whilst he returned to Ghazni. During the next year he heard of the death of his brother Ghias-ud-din, who had devoted himself essentially to the civil government of Ghazni. He forthwith retraced his steps while engaged in a military expedition and, in pursuance of the will of his deceased brother, he had himself duly instituted ruler at Ghazni. He then turned his attention to the conquest of Kharizm, in Transoxiana, but suffered a defeat which excited the Gakkars to rebellion. This tribe of mountaineers was a race of wild barbarians. Before they embraced Muhammadanism they had no religion or morality. Ferishta relates that whenever a female child was born, the child was carried to the house door and it was proclaimed, the child being held in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might take her there and then, otherwise she was immediately killed. In this way the number of men greatly exceeded that of the women, hence several men possessed one wife in common. When a wife was being visited by one of her husbands, she placed a mark on the door. This was the signal for any of the others not to enter there.

The Gakkars so frequently attacked the Muhammadans that their chief, assisted perhaps by promises of wealth and distinction, towards the end of Muhammad Ghorí's reign became a convert to the Moslem faith.

In the year A. D. 1206, a band of twenty Gakkars, whose relations had been killed in the war against Muhammad, conspired to take his life and made their way into

¹ Brigg's "Mahomedan Power in India," vol. i. p. 179.

the royal tent at Rohtak on the Jhelam. He was asleep with two slaves fanning him; these stood transfixed with fear on seeing the Gakkars who, without hesitation, stabbed the body of the king in twenty places.

Death of Muham-
mad Ghori.

Thus died Sultan Moiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam Shahab-ud-din Ghori, after a reign of thirty-two years from the commencement of his government of Ghazni. The kingdom became divided, his nephew Muhammad not being strong enough to keep it together. Kutb-ud-din who was still at Delhi proclaimed himself king, Yilduz, a slave, took Ghazni and Nasr-ud-din, another slave, took Múltan and Sindé. During the residence of Kutb-ud-din at Delhi, he commenced the buildings, the ruins of which are here illustrated and described. The capital then occupied the site of the Kutb buildings, and the ruined monuments have the double interest of recording the first Muhammadan conquest over the Hindus, and are also a few of the existing relics of the ancient capital before the transfer of the court to the north to Firuzabad and Shahjahanabad.



If, as General Cunningham assumes, the date of the pillar is 319 A. D., which corresponds to the downfall of the Bhuddist Gupta dynasty, it may perhaps be reasonably surmised that the origin was really Bhuddhist, and in imitation of Asoka's Lâts. The column probably occupied a central position in old Dilli, of which it is one of the solitary existing remains. There is a stone pillar on the South Colonnade, bearing the figure of Buddha the ascetic, or one of the Jain Hierarchs, and this may probably also belong to old Dilli. There are good grounds for supposing that Anangpâl II. was the builder of one of the temples that was destroyed to make the great Mosque, as one of the pillars in the south-east corner has the date S. 1124 (A. D. 1067), which is a period included in Anangpâl's reign.





I THE MASJID I-KUTB-UL-ILAM

View from the North from the W. S.



PHOTOGRAPH I.

VIEW OF THE IRON PILLAR FROM THE WEST.

NOTE.—The white dots on the lower portion of the Pillar indicate a scale of five feet.



THE most curious monument of old Delhi, as well as one of the most remarkable relics of ancient India, is the iron pillar in the centre of the Colonnade of the Masjid-i-Kutb-ul-Islám. It consists of a circular shaft of iron, of which a portion twenty-two feet in height, is visible above the ground ; this terminates in a capital. Syud Ahmed's account runs as follows : “ This obelisk of the Rajah Dhava *alias* Midhava is situated near the column called the Kutb-Minar—the Minaret of Kutb-ud-din. It is completely cast in iron and, at the time of its being cast, care was taken to introduce at the top of the monument a kind of ornamental inlaying and carving of patterns.” [In this literal translation the Persian idiom is intended to express the idea that the capital was wrought into an ornamental shape.] The pillar is twenty-two feet six inches high from the ground, and at the thick end of the base measures five feet three inches in circumference. A celebrated tradition relates that at the period of the Rajah Pithora's reign the Pandits, or learned priests, placed this pillar on the head of the serpent rajah Basak, in order to provide, according to their faith, an efficient security for the maintenance of the Chohan dynasty.

Syud Ahmed's account.

Engraved on the obelisk are three verses of Sanscrit, written in a mixed character of Sanscrit and Nagri letters. The sense of them is as follows :

The Governor of Sind had assembled an army in order to fight the Rajah Dhava. This Raja, after having fought, became victorious, and ordered the construction of the obelisk in memory of his victory (see page 43).¹

M. De Tassy has supplemented his translation of Syud Ahmed's account with the following remarks :

“ The Rajah Dhava here alluded to, died before the completion of the monument, and

De Tassy's account

¹ Asâr-us-sunâdîd.

Mr. James Prinsep asserts that nothing is known of this king, unless he was one of the Hastingapúra rajahs; he also adds that the form of the letters of the inscription were in use in the third or fourth century of the Christian era, which makes him believe that this pillar must have been set up from the fifth to the eighth century, A.D. However, I do not admit this supposition, for the reason that the chronicles of the rajahs of India are well established and known from 676, A.D., until the Muhammadan Government."

"In none of these records is any mention made of this king. Moreover, as there is no date engraved on the pillar, it is evidently before Vikramaditya, as, after this period, it was the invariable custom to inscribe the date of erection on all monuments. Finally, the Kingdom of Hastingapúra had quite disappeared at the supposed period. I believe therefore that this obelisk was erected by the Rajah Midhava, otherwise called the Rajah Dhava, who is the nineteenth descendant from Yúdhistir. Up to the time that the kings of his dynasty came to inhabit Indrapat, their ancient capital had always been at Hastingapúra, and they had been consequently called the kings of Hastingapúr. The Rajah Dhava professed the religion of Vishnuism, as is recorded on the iron pillar. According to the best known historical works,¹ it is certain that the Rajah Midhava reigned nine hundred and five years before Christ, and, according to the exact calculation of English writers (savants), the king Yúdhistir ascended the throne in the year 1425 B. C. Therefore I believe that this monument must have been cast in the ninth century before Christ, but that it was not finished until a later period, when a king of unknown name caused the victory of the Rajah Dhava to be engraved on it, and had it erected on its present site."

There is nothing improbable in the supposition that this second operation occurred in the third or fourth century of the Christian era.²

General Cunningham has given an elaborate and learned account of this pillar, in his report for 1862-63 of the Archæological Survey of India.³ He thus describes the Delhi pillar: "A solid shaft of mixed metal, upwards of sixteen inches in diameter, and fifty

¹ Bhagarat Purana, Khalasat uttarikh, the Rajawali, and the Silsilat-ul-mulkh.

² M. Garcin de Tassy, "Les Monuments d'Architecture de Delhi. Journal Asiatique, July, 1860."

³ J. A. S. B. 1864, p. 34.

feet in length. It is true there are many flaws in parts, which show that the casting is imperfect, but when we consider the extreme difficulty of manufacturing a pillar of such vast dimensions, our wonder will not be diminished by knowing that the casting of the bar is defective." On the occasion of my visit to the Kutb vicinity, I procured a piece of the iron pillar from the rough portion of the base, by removing it with a hammer and cold chisel. Holding an opinion that the metal was nothing else than pure iron, I was naturally as anxious as others interested in this question to test the accuracy of the opinion; accordingly I brought home the sample for analysis.

Analysis of the iron.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Percy for the information he kindly afforded by an analysis of the specimen. After a careful examination he pronounced it to be of soft *wrought iron*. He was enabled to draw a portion of it under a hammer into a slender nail. He also stated that he considered the evidence as to the mode of manufacture of the column was conclusive, and that the process is not so difficult as might be supposed, even for Hindu workers in iron, 800 B. C. In his book on Iron and Steel, an account is given of iron-smelting in India. He writes:—"In ancient times iron was always extracted from its ores in the state of *malleable iron*, and to this day the same method is practised by the natives of India, Borneo, and Africa. * * *

"The primitive method of extracting good malleable iron directly from the ore, requires a degree of skill very far inferior to that which is implied in the manufacture of bronze. The production of this alloy involves a knowledge of copper-smelting, of tin-smelting and of the art of moulding and casting. From metallurgical considerations, therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that the so-called Age of Iron would have preceded the Age of Bronze. Archaeologists, however, seem generally to have arrived at an opposite conclusion, mainly from the fact that, while ancient objects of iron are exceedingly rare, ancient objects of bronze are abundant. But it should be remembered that iron is very rapidly corroded by oxidation, even in dry climates, whereas bronze is very slowly acted upon, even in moist climates. Hence, if objects of iron were ever so numerous in ancient times, it is certain that only few could have been long preserved, as the conditions necessary to protect the metal from oxidation must have been quite exceptional."

The dryness of the air at Delhi is the principal circumstance, probably, to which is

due the preservation of the iron pillar. During the hot season rain falls rarely, and during the rains which last for some three months after June, the temperature is high, and the heat readily disperses the moisture which may be generated upon the column, on account of the good conductive quality of the iron. During the cold season the air is, for the most part, very dry, and an occasional shower of rain soon evaporates.

A circumstance which may appear to many of minor importance, from which I am inclined to believe that the iron derives a species of artificial protection, is that native visitors have a habit of embracing the pillar with their naked arms, and of climbing up to the top. If man or woman can make their hands meet round the column with *backs* placed close to it, they are considered to have indisputably established their legitimate birth. As natives of both sexes continually cover the whole of their bodies with oil, as a protection against the power of the sun's rays, it somewhat oddly occurs that the rusted surface is kept in a state of polish in a manner which, in its results, is similar to the protective measures taken in the present day in dealing with the polished surface of steel guns. Sir Joseph Whitworth frequently rusts the surface of his guns, and polishes with oil, in order to prevent the spread of oxidation. The colour of the rusted surface of the column has an appearance like bronze, to which fact is probably due the general local belief that the metal is of a mixed composition and not of pure iron.

In spite of its plain character, this column attracts by far the greatest number of the native visitors to the ruins. During the progress of my work, which proceeded close to it, I frequently noticed large parties of native visitors come and go, having given their undivided attention to the iron pillar and to nothing else, in spite of the beauty and attractiveness of the surrounding buildings. The tradition about this pillar having rested on the head of the snake god is still a local belief and is the reason of its popularity.

General Cunningham thinks that the pillar is probably not less than sixty feet in length, he says : "The total height of the pillar above ground is twenty-two feet, but the smooth shaft is only fifteen feet, the capital being three and a half feet, and the rough part of the shaft being also three and a half feet. But its depth under ground is considerably greater than its height above ground, as a recent excavation was carried down to twenty-six feet without reaching the foundation on which the pillar rests. The whole

of the iron pillar is therefore upwards of forty-eight feet, and how much more is not known."

Great length of the Pillar.

Mr. James Prinsep referred the date of the inscription to the third or fourth century after Christ, and General Cunningham gives the date 319 A. D., as being approximately correct for the Rajah Dhava, as he may have assisted in the downfall of the Balabhi or Gupta dynasty. Mr. Prinsep writes:—"The language is Sanskrit; the character is of that form of Nágári which I have assigned to the third or fourth century after Christ, the curves of the letters being merely squared off, perhaps on account of their having been punched upon the surface of the iron shaft with a short '*cheni*' of steel. * * *

"The purport of this record is just what we might have calculated to find, but by no means what was formerly anticipated, or what will satisfy the curiosity so long directed to this unusual and curious remnant of antiquity. It merely tells us that a prince, whom nobody ever heard of before, of the name of Dhava erected it in commemoration of his victorious prowess. He was of the Vishnava faith, and he occupied the throne he had acquired (at Hastinapura?) for many years; but he seems to have died before the monument was completed. As there is no mention of royal ancestry, we may conclude that he was an usurper. * * *"¹

The following is a literal translation of the inscription by Mr. James Prinsep:—

"1. By him who learning the warlike preparations and entrenchments of his enemies with their good soldiers and allies, a monument of fame, engraved by his sword on their limbs, who, as master of the seven advantages, crossing over (the Indus?) so subdued the Vahlikas² of Sindhu, that even at this day his disciplined force and defences on the south (of the river) are sacredly respected by them.

Translation of the inscription.

"2. Who as a lion seizes one animal on quitting hold of another, secured possession of the next world when he abandoned this,—whose personal existence still remains on the earth through the fame of his deeds. The might of whose arm—even though now at rest—and some portion, too, of the energy of him who was the destroyer of his foes—still cleave to the earth.

¹ Extract from Prinsep's Indian Antiquities, by Thomas, vol. i. p. 319.

² The Bálhikas, or people of Balkh.

“ 3. By him who obtained with his own arm an undivided sovereignty on the earth for a long period, who (united in himself the qualities of) the sun and moon, who had beauty of countenance like the full moon :—by this same Rajah Dhava, having bowed his head to the feet of Vishnu, and fixed his mind on him,—was this very lofty arm of the adored Vishnu (the pillar) caused to be erected.”

According to local tradition Anangpâl I. in A.D. 1051 *erected* the pillar when he rebuilt Dilli. A Nagari inscription on it says that “in 1109 Samvat (A.D. 1052), Anangpâl peopled Dilli.” One of the local Fables is that the Rajah Pithora had the column dug up, although advised to refrain from doing so by the Hindu priests, and that, through this act he lost his kingdom to the Muhammadans,—but General Cunningham states that it was Anangpâl who rooted up the column. A learned Brahmin assured the king that as its foot had been so deeply driven into the earth, it rested on the head of Vasaki, the king of the serpents who supports the earth, and that as long as it stood, the dominion of his family would last. Anangpâl in removing it found the end clotted with the blood of the serpent king. He, regretting his want of belief in the words of the Brahmin, had it replaced, but failed to fix it firmly in the ground. Thus it remained loose (Hindustani, “dhila”) in the ground, and the name of the city became “Dhili.”

Possible origin of
the word Dhili.

The rough part of the pillar at the lower end rather favours the idea that it had been taken up, and not sunk so deep the second time, as the smooth shaft was probably the only portion intended to be visible above the ground.

When the Muhammadan conqueror took possession of Delhi, he was told that the Hindu rule would last as long as the pillar remained standing, and the mark of a cannon ball is pointed out by the guides as having been caused in the endeavour of Kutb-ud-din to batter it down. The dent is visible in the photograph on the left side of the shaft, about thirteen feet from the ground.

The Capital resembles those of some of Asoka's edict pillars, and it is probable that, like them, it originally had a figure on the summit. When the scaffolding of bamboos was erected round it to enable the native moulders to make a plaster facsimile,¹ I carefully examined the top of the capital and found that a slot still existed, which very probably held the figure in its place.

¹ To be seen in the Kensington Museum.





PHOTOGRAPH II.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MASJÍD AND COLONNADE.



HE inscription over the eastern gateway is a record by Kutb-ud-din, that he took the materials from twenty-seven idolatrous Hindu temples, to build the Great Masjíd. According to a calculation by General Cunningham, from twenty to twenty-five temples might have been made from the columns now in situ, so that the assertion may be taken to be probably true.

Besides such as are found near modern Delhi, there are several evidences of the Moslem conquest and of the consequent extension of the Muhammadan religion. The Mosque at Ajmir, like that at the Kutb, was avowedly built of the materials afforded by the local idol temples which had been destroyed by Muhammad Ghori, and bears an epitaph during the reign of the Sultan, translated thus by Colonel Lees :

“(This Masjíd was built) during the guardianship of Akbar, the son of Ahmed (by the help of God) the creator, the everlasting, in the month of Zi-Hijjáh, 596,” = A.D. 1199.¹

In addition to the inscription, above-mentioned, of his name, and the date A.D. 1193, of his victory over the Hindus on the *eastern doorway* to the Mosque (this is General Cunningham’s reading), Kutb-ud-din placed other similar ones upon the exterior surface of the *door* to the *north* of the Court, (see plan No. II.) date A.D. 1195,² and on the Central Arch of the Mosque itself, 1197 (see plan), all of which Mr. Thomas believes to have been executed under his direct auspices.

¹ Thomas, “Pathan Kings of Delhi,” p. 26.

² This inscription runs :—

“ In the name of the all mereiful God !
God calls those whom he pleases to Paradise,
And he directs according to his will in the right path.”

This building was erected by the high command of the Grand Sultán, who commands the respect of the temporal and spiritual Government, Muhammad Sam Nasir, the Prince of Behevers, in the year 592 (= 1195, A.D.). This gateway must have been completed in A.D. 1197 as the date is inscribed on the left side of the middle opening of Kutb-ud-din’s range of arches.

Date of the Victory
over the Hindus.

General Cunningham, in 1862, made an examination of the inscription over the eastern doorway of the Court-yard, and assigns the date of A.D. 1193 to it. This, if correct, coincides with the date of the capture of Delhi, but Mr. Thomas affirms that after the most careful investigation by a competent authority, he is no longer doubtful of the number being 587 A.H., instead of 589, and which is equivalent to A.D. 1191, two years earlier than the period stated by General Cunningham.

Syud Ahmed's
Account.

The account given in the *Asâr-us-Sunâdîd* asserts that the present enclosed court and Colonnade surrounding the Iron pillar (see B on plan No. II.) were the original Bhútkhana of the Rajah Pithora, and the natives still call them the Bhútkhana, or idol temple. The account runs: "This well-known idol Temple of Rai Pithora was built together with his Fort in the year A. D. 1143, and consisted on all sides of beautiful Halls containing several apartments. It was erected by such master sculptors that it is difficult for the eye to imagine better workmanship. On doors, walls and pillars were carved figures of men and animals and bells hanging by chains, and both sides of the building exist as formerly. Although the images were broken down during the supremacy of the Moslems, an estimate of their pristine beauty may be formed from the present state of the sculptures."

Its inaccuracy.

The reasons against the probable truth of this account are to be found in the present arrangement of the stone columns, each of which consists of two pieces placed one above the other, and in many cases the bases and caps are also in separate pieces. With the exception of five columns situated at the south-east corner of the Colonnade, no others have the same complete appearance. These, there can be no doubt, were left intact as their builders the Hindus erected them. On these five columns are engraved masons' marks which correspond, and are identical in shaft and base. On inspecting the other columns I found the masons' marks to be different on the several parts placed one above the other. And this fact convinces me of the eclectic character derived from their mode of erection by the Muhammadans, who made use of such bits of ruins as were found to be suitable one to the other, in respect of the acquirement of a certain height. In the corner to the south-east, the pillars are of a plain character like those represented in Photograph IX. which are situated on the north side. This plainness evidently conduced to the comparative correctness with which they were pieced together when used

for constructing the Mosque, as the portions so used more likely escaped the destruction and mutilation which were the fate of the ornamented pillars bearing a carving of the hated idolatrous image. An examination of the Photographs V. VI. VII. and VIII. will show how the carved portions of the pillars were pieced together. The upper and lower shafts do not correspond, and, as I have pointed out, it is obvious to anyone that they do not now stand as erected by the Hindus. Again, the enclosing walls round the Colonnade are certainly Muhammadan, being pierced by openings with pointed arches. I have, therefore, no hesitation in assuming that although the present enclosure may occupy the ground on which the Hindu Temples stood, the building as it now exists was erected by Kutb-ud-din in A. D. 1193, and is the so-called Masjid-i-Kutb-ul-Islām. As a partial corroboration of this I quote the following passage from General Cunningham:—"In February, 1853, I examined very minutely the pillared cloisters of the Great Mosque, and then came to the conclusion that the square about the iron pillar is all made up; the outer walls are not Hindu, the pillars are all made up of pieces of various kinds, the shaft of one kind being placed above that of another for the purpose of obtaining height.¹ The general effect is good; but a closer inspection reveals the incongruities of pillars half plain and half decorated, and of others that are thicker above than below." The Masjid, or sanctuary of the Mosque, is situated at the west, and some of the pillars may be seen to the left of the Photograph IV. (see G on plan). This part is very much ruined, and the stone roof has almost entirely fallen in. It measures about 135 feet by 31 feet, and consists of rows of fine Hindu pillars. In front of this is Kutb-ud-din's splendid gateway, containing seven arches, by which the Mosque was entered from the Court. The plain back of the south flank of the gateway may be seen in the Photograph II. The open Court measures 145 feet by 96 feet, and is surrounded on the north, south, and east, by Cloisters composed of rows of pillars—which are still standing in the eastern half of the enclosure—but in the western portion they are nearly all fallen. There were three

The Mosque commenced by Kutb-ud-din.

Cunningham's opinion of the construction of the Colonnade.

¹ I think that the five Hindu pillars in the south-east corner indicate the original average height of many of the other pillars used in the temples; at all events, many of the shafts were *portions* composing pillars and never intended to be used separately. As there appear to have been twenty-seven Hindu temples, there would have been many varieties of heights of shafts.

entrances to the Court, two of which I have alluded to, the largest being to the east (*f* on plan), and the northern gate (K), which are still standing, and are in a fair state of repair; the gate to the south (J) has disappeared, and the steps outside are the only remnants of this last Gateway.

The Colonnade.

The Cloister at the east end consists of four rows of pillars, and at the two corners on the south-east and north-east, there is an upper story, or kind of Pavilion, along which are ranged smaller columns supporting a low conical dome. A similar covering rests over the pillars opposite the eastern doorway and over the pillars of the northern entrance. At the north-west corner of the Court there are the remains of a pavilion and a similar one probably existed at the corresponding angle to the south-west. The northern wall is pierced by openings. On one of the outside Lintels (at L) is a piece of Hindu figure carving, one of the few sculptures that escaped destruction by the Muhammadans. I obtained a cast of this curious carving and brought it to the Kensington Museum, where it may be seen.¹ There is a second piece of figure carving on one of the inner Lintels of the Colonnade at the north-east corner, of which I also procured a fac-simile. Over the northern doorway and on the interior Lintel is a third piece of Hindu sculpture, it is however partly concealed by a block of stone.²

Hindu Sculptures.

Several carved panels of animals and figures still remain in the upper portion of the Eastern Pavilions, some of which are in fair order; but with these exceptions the Muhammadans mutilated every representation of the human figure and destroyed every other carved image that existed on the pillars or stonework. The Colonnades on the northern and southern sides consisted of only three rows of pillars, the third being half let into the thickness of the enclosing wall. The curious iron pillar (see V on plan) stands in the ground about thirty-five feet from and opposite to the central archway of the gateways leading into the Masjid.

Several old tombs are scattered about in the enclosure, and on the south-east side the ground is strewn with fragments of pillars and broken blocks of carved stonework.

Mr. Fergusson says of the Great Mosque: "The roofs and domes are all of 'Jaina' architecture, so that no trace of the Moorish style is to be seen internally. . . . The

Fergusson's description.

¹ See page 52, § 4.

² *Ibid.* § 1.

pillars are of the same order as those used on Mount Abu, except that those at Delhi are much richer and more elaborate. . . . They belong to the eleventh or twelfth century. . . . On the roof and less seen parts, the cross-legged figures of the Jaina saints, and other emblems of that religion, may still be detected."

During my stay at the Kutb, I made a very careful examination of all the figure carvings in order to trace, if possible, the Jaina origin of the ornamental stone columns. The plain pillars in the south-east, north, and outer Colonnades are, I think, unquestionably Brahminical. The carved pillars in the Mosque itself, and in the courtyard, are Jain in style, but I could discover no one figure so perfect as to be undoubtedly a Jain emblem; and here I would remark that in the temple of Karkotuk Nag on the banks of the Bandelkhand side of the Jumna, a few miles below Mhow, there are pillars which are very similar to the pillars in the Kutb Masjid (Photograph IV.); but it is quite certain that the temple of Karkotuk Nag was erected by the Hindus, and by them dedicated to the god Siva, although the character of the pillars partakes of the so-called Jain style of architecture. It appears to me that of the existing pieces of figure carving at the Kutb, those which are least damaged are Hindu. There are four in which the figures can be traced, but before describing these, it may be as well to explain that the Hindu "Triad" consists of three Gods:—

Jaina origin questioned.

1. Brahma . . . The Creator.
2. Vishnu . . . The Preserver.
3. Siva . . . The Destroyer.

Brahma was never very much worshipped as a separate divinity, although he is daily invoked in the religious services of the Hindus. With Vishnu and Siva the case is, however, widely different, they are worshipped as heads of almost distinct religions, and various sects uphold the supreme divinity of each as being paramount and the sole object of adoration; whilst their various incarnations or "Avatars" attract a very large share of veneration.

The most popular and principal objects of native predilection throughout all Hindustan and the outlying countries inhabited by Hindus are to be found in the various incarnations of the god Vishnu who, for the attainment of different results and benefits, assumed the character of nine different god-heads. The number of his elementary incarnations is said to be ten, but the tenth has yet to come. As Vishnu *pur et simple*, he was

commonly represented as a comely young man of a dark azure colour, and his first out of the ten principal incarnations is that of a fish, a character assumed for the purpose of regaining the possession of the Holy "Vedas," a book supposed to have been borne away by a fiend in a deluge. His second incarnation was that of a boar, and on his tusks he is stated to have raised the world, which had sunk into the depths of the ocean. A third impersonation was that of a tortoise; a fourth that of a man with head and paws like a lion. The fifth was that of a Brahmin dwarf; the sixth was "Parusa Rama," a Brahmin hero; the seventh was Rama Chandra; the eighth Krishna, a hero who delivered the earth from giants. The ninth incarnation was Buddha, a teacher, as is stated by Hindus, of a false religion, but which more probably was a clever device for explaining the Buddhist religion, that formerly had so powerful a sway over the greater portion of India and to which so large a number of Hindus became converted.

Hindu Sculptures
in the Masjid.

1. A piece above and inside the North Gateway; subject, several figures seated.
2. This piece consists of a stone measuring about four feet three inches long by seven inches deep, and is situated above one of the openings between the North Gateway and North-east Angle. See L on plan No. II. and Photograph III. A. The sculpture is somewhat of a primitive character, but appears to have been chiselled by a native sculptor whose power of art delineation was not of a finished character, although possessing the elements of true art feeling and sentiment. In the centre of the carving is a half-open door, which resembles the rude doors commonly to be seen in many native dwellings of the present day. The subject of the sculpture is repeated in the two halves of the stone. A female figure is reclining on a bedstead of a rather classical shape, shaded by a canopy. She is guarded by two sentinels, and beside her on the bed lies a child. There is a slight variation in the grouping in the two compartments. In that to the left a female is seated on a low stool chafing her feet, and three women are carrying two infants towards the half-open door in the centre. In the right compartment there are three women carrying three children, two appear to be engaged in washing them round a "Gharra," (a vessel in common use for holding water). On the extreme right are two cows and a young calf. The heads of the figures have not all been defaced by the Muhammadans, but have suffered from the natural decay of the stone.



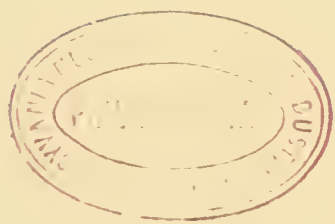
III A



III B

THE MASJID-I-KUTB-I-ISLAM

How. S. 100



The meaning of this scene is somewhat obscure, but, from the incidents of Krishna's birth, it may perhaps be not improbable that the female figure is intended to represent Dewaki, his mother. The seven children may also be accounted for as representations of the infant Krishna, in the different positions of being suckled, carried and washed. The cows and calf on the extreme right of the carving may be connected with "Ananda," the cowherd, who protected Krishna after his escape from Kansa—the open doorway in the centre of the panel suggests a connection with this escape. In Moor's "Hindu Pantheon" there is a plate (No. 58) representing the miraculous escape of the infant Krishna over the Yamuna, or Jumna, conveyed by his father, Vasudeva (*i. e.* giver of wealth) and protected by Sesha (or immortality), the guards placed by Kansa over his pregnant sister having failed in their vigilance. Kansa being enraged, ordered all newly-born infants to be slain, but Krishna escaped his various snares: one of which was sending a woman named "Patnia" with a poisoned nipple to nurse him. He was fostered by an honest herdsman named Ananda or "happy," and his amiable wife Yasoda or the "giver of honour," and passed the gay hours of youth, dancing, sporting and piping amongst a multitude of young "Gopas" or cowherds and "Gopias" or milkmaids, from whom he selected nine as favourites. The grouping of the figures bears some resemblance to the birth of Christ in the manger. Krishna was believed to be an incarnation of Vishnu as early as the period of the Chandra Gupta's,¹ and whatever similarity the circumstances of his birth may bear to that of Christ, it cannot be said that the Hindus borrowed the traditions of the Christian religion. (I brought back a cast of this carving, which may be seen at the South Kensington Museum.)

3. A carved architrave in the north-east corner of the inner courtyard. Subject, Vishnu lying on a couch, with a lotus rising from his navel and covered by a canopy. Indra on an elephant. Brahma, with three heads, on a goose. Siva on a bull.

4. A piece of stone carving on an architrave measuring about four feet long by nine inches deep, situated inside the north-east corner of the Colonnade. See M on plan No. II. and Photograph III. B. Subject: on the left are two men carrying circular vessels (*i. e.* "Gharras") in "Banghis," [*i. e.* slung at both ends of a bamboo, which is carried on the

¹ Lassen's "Indische Alterthums Kunde." Vol. ii. p. 1107.

shoulder.] They probably contain milk, for next to them is a female figure engaged in churning milk into butter and she is doing this in the same way as frequently practised in India at the present day. A long bamboo stick with prongs at the end is being twisted in a vessel by means of a leather strap which is passed two or three times round it. The operation is very similar to that practised by sailors in spinning the water out of a mop.

The next figure is carrying a vessel on her head, then follows a sentinel holding a stick, and in the centre of the carving is a small building or temple, inside which is a standing figure. Outside this and on the right is another sentinel, with his hand placed over his mouth as if to restrain a burst of laughter. Beyond are four figures seated on low stools round a Rajah and his wife; the latter is being fanned by a female attendant. The party seem to be enjoying a feast, and their fun has no doubt excited the merriment of the sentinel. In most native entertainments butter is very largely used and its preparation in the left compartment is probably in reference to the repast here portrayed.

The heads of all the figures are a good deal mutilated, but the remarkable mode of dressing the hair into a sort of "chignon" may be easily traced. It resembles the Buddhist head-dresses in the sculptures on the Gateways of the Sanchi Tope, in Central India, and is very likely an adaptation from them. (A facsimile of this may be seen in the Kensington Museum.)

M. De Tassy, in describing the buildings about Delhi and that at the Kutb, adopts, in reference to the latter, the text of Syud Ahmed, and has fallen into the local error of supposing this identical building to have been a Hindu palace and temple previous to the Muhammadan invasion. His description runs as follows :—

De Tassy's description of the Colonnade.

"Near the palace of the Rajah Pithora was a large temple, which was very celebrated. At the four corners of this temple were four apartments, and in the centre was a courtyard. There were doors on the north, south, and east, the sacred image being situated to the west. The Palace and Temple were erected in the year 538 of the Hejira (A.D. 1143). The construction is so admirable, and the artists were so clever in the sculpture of the stonework, that it is impossible to conceive anything more perfect. On each stone were engraved such beautiful scrolls of flowers as to outdo description. On all the doors, walls and pillars, were carved figures of idols and bells hanging from chains. At the present

time the north and east sides exist as formerly. In conformity with the usage of the Vishni religion, an *iron pillar*¹ was erected in the temple and, since the sculptures on the doors and walls represent the Avâtar or incarnation of Krishna, (this probably refers to the carving just described, page 52, § 2) figures of Mahadeo, Ganesh and Hanumân, it follows that the temple was dedicated to the religious service of the Vishni sect of Hinduism. Although at the time of the Muhammadans the statues were destroyed, one can still easily recognise, by the remains, what was intended to be represented.”²

General Cunningham has stated that, with the exception of the iron column and one stone pillar in the Colonnade having a Buddhist or a Jaina figure, there is nothing older than the tenth or eleventh century in the Great Mosque or in its neighbourhood.

¹ It is possible that the iron Lât or pillar may have been worshipped as a Lingam, but it is an emblem of Siva rather than of Vishnu.

² M. Garein de Tassy, “Description des Monuments de Delhi en 1852, d’après le Texte Hindustani de Sâiyid Ahmad Khan.”



PHOTOGRAPH IV.

PILLARS IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE MOSQUE.



THE principal aim of my visit to the Kutb ruins was to obtain facsimiles of the best pillars in the Colonnade. They have a beauty and variety of ornament unequalled, so far as is known, in the whole of the northern part of India, and are some of the best samples of a style of architecture, evidently one suggested by that of the Jains, of which specimens abound in Rajputana and Bandelkhand. In the present instance it would appear that the temples from which the pillars and materials had been taken to build the Mosque were Brahminical. Those emblems of the very few which can be recognised do not readily identify themselves with any of the twenty-four Jain hierarchs ; there is, however, some uncertainty as to this.

Jain style of
architecture.

The pillars shown in the photograph stand in the Masjid, or Mosque, at a place marked G on the plan, and support carved stone architraves; they are arranged at a distance of 6' 5½" from centre to centre; the roof is closed in by slabs of stone placed over the corners of the architraves, the opening in the centre being covered with one large slab, which is carved. The architraves in some places have remains of figure carvings, but, through the innate antipathy of the Muhammadans to figure ornament, all the heads have been knocked off. The column in the foreground is the best specimen of the kind in this portion of the building and court; the upper bell ornament is singularly elegant and owes its application as a decorative detail to the bells commonly used in all ages in Hindu temples, where they are rung by the officiating Brahmin to summon the people to prayer and to drive away demons and evil thoughts.

The bell has, from the earliest times, been a sacred utensil in Asia ; and the Kings of Persia used bells, made of gold, to adorn the fringes of their skirts. Lower down, and in the centre of the shaft, is a broad band of very elaborate foliated sculpture, consisting of

ornamental forms so thoroughly conventionalised as to defy their identification with the original foliage which suggested them. The twisted ornament at the bottom is rendered by serpent-like tails springing from human bodies placed at the corners. These tails are intertwined, right and left, with the tails of adjacent figures and are made to terminate in the shape of a snake's head over the figures at each corner.

The pillars have the appearance of having been pieced together and erected in accordance with the intention of the original Hindu design, and most probably were all taken from one temple. The Sanctuary of the Mosque, as pre-eminent in importance, would have been doubtless commenced before the Court and Colonnade, and from the overturned temples of the conquered Hindus the best materials were selected for its construction.

A cast composed of sixteen pieces was made of the pillar in plaster, and had it not been for the use of elastic gelatine moulds, the centre carving would have been an almost endless work, on account of the depth and "under-cut" of the ornament. But by the use of this process the middle band was moulded in two pieces instead of in several hundred pieces, which would have been necessary had the ordinary process of piece moulding in plaster been employed.

The wall to be seen on the left is at the back of the mosque, and faces the great arches of Kutb-ud-din. It appears to have been quite plain, and composed of blocks of from one to two feet broad.





IV. THE MASJÍD-I-KUTB-UL-ISLAM.

Pillars in the Sanctuary of the Mosque.



PHOTOGRAPH V.

PILLARS IN THE EAST COLONNADE OF THE MOSQUE.

HE most elaborate and effective pillars are in the Colonnade at the east end of the courtyard. They are built up to the same height, but beyond this they have no precise resemblance one to the other. Each part of them differs as regards size, shape and detail of ornamentation; some are made up of as many as five detached pieces, but as a rule only the two shafts, base and cap are in separate blocks. Crowning the columns in the centre of this cloister are a number of caps, with brackets arranged to support architraves at the angle of an octagon and to sustain the central dome, so that in some, at least, of the pre-existing twenty-seven temples, the Jain method of constructing a roof was employed by the Hindus. The pillars in the courtyard are thirteen feet in height and rest on a slab of stone two feet square and nine inches high. The interval in the length of the Colonnade, is seven feet seven inches and a half from centre to centre, and six feet one inch in the cross direction.

The pillar in the foreground has a cap consisting of four brackets, to the under part of each of which figures or statues appear to have been fastened. The lower part of each bracket has a hole to receive the mortice of the figures or ornaments used.

The shaft under this capital is, no doubt, wrongly placed. There is no support upon which the figure could have rested. In the lower shaft on the next column there are the remains of a small ledge or support for a figure, and it seems to me to be a reasonable surmise that such a shaft as this would have been more appropriate to the capital than the one which at present is there.

PHOTOGRAPH VI.

PILLARS IN THE CENTRE OF THE EAST COLONNADE.

NOTE.—The white marks on the lower part of the centre pillar indicate a scale of five feet.



THESE pillars are grouped together opposite to the eastern entrance and their arrangement is octagonal in form. The dome which rests upon them is closed in by successive horizontal layers of carved stones placed one above the other, the eight corners of each slab resting upon the eight sides of that immediately under it, until at length a single slab covers in the top. The column in the foreground of the photograph resembles the character of those to be seen in the Jaina Temples on Mount Abu,—the lower shaft being long, and the upper one short. In many of the carved stones there are the remains of cement or plaster, which it is probable was used by the Muhammadans to hide the carved images, or, on the other hand, by the Hindu inhabitants of Delhi to preserve them. The pillar to the right has a ledge similar to the one to which I have drawn attention in the preceding photograph, and as in that case, so in this it was very likely once occupied by a figure, or supported a truss like that often used in the construction of Hindu temples to strengthen a long beam or architrave. These trusses usually sustain the centre of the beam. They rest on projections placed some distance down the sides of the two pillars opposite to one another, which support the beam. In some buildings the trusses were elaborately ornamented and present a very attractive appearance.



VI THE MASJID-I-KUTB-UL-ISLÁM.

Pillars in the Centre of the East Colonnade.

PHOTOGRAPH VII.

PILLARS IN THE NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE COLONNADE.

NOTE.—The white dots against the central column indicate a scale of five feet.



CLOSE examination of the different styles of ornament employed in the Colonnade will show both the remarkable versatility and fertility of invention possessed by the stone carvers in carrying out their designs. The simpler mode of merely incising the outline of the pattern occurs in the upper member of the centre pillar of this photograph. This kind of treatment, which I have every reason to believe is Hindu in origin, was undoubtedly appreciated by the Muhammadans. In the two side ranges of arches, built by Shams-ud-din Altamsh, they have adopted that kind of ornament and carried it out in a still more simple way, being careful to maintain a greater flatness of surface.

In this view of the north-east corner of the Colonnade, may be seen in the background the steps leading to the pavilion at the angle (see M L on the plan and pages 36 and 38). The figures forming the cap or capital of the centre pillar may possibly be representations of Vishnu as a Brahmin dwarf. The legend runs that for the purpose of regaining possession of the earth and sea, over which a Rajah had acquired dominion, the god assumed the form of a dwarf; but the gods, fearing that even heaven would fall into the Rajah's hands also, Vishnu presented himself in the above-mentioned character and begged to have granted to him as much space as he could step over in three paces: the Rajah granted the request, believing that so diminutive a figure could not require much room for such a purpose. At the first step Vishnu cleared the whole earth; at the second he stepped over the ocean; as no space was left for the third, he released the Rajah from his promise, on the condition of his retiring into Hell.

In connection with the casting operations which were carried out here, I may be allowed to mention that the safety of the moulds was considerably imperilled by the

presence of a well filled and sleek Brahmin bull. This animal—regarded with great reverence by the Hindus, who were unceasing in their ministrings to his comfort—was permitted to take up his quarters every night amongst these pillars, naturally esteemed as objects of sanctity, having formed a portion of a sacred structure. As the casts were produced, and day by day accumulated on the spot, so it seems did the bull's wrath become kindled. At last one evening matters had evidently reached a climax for him, as I discovered him furiously goring the white plaster moulds. The next day I represented to the native villagers the inimicality to my work from a continued residence of the bull in the Colonnade ; after a prolonged expostulation I obtained the promise of a remedy, and the bull's night lodging was changed.





VII. THE MĀSJĪD - I - KUTB - UL - ISLAM.

Pillars in the North-East Corner of the Colonnade.

PHOTOGRAPH VIII.

PILLAR IN THE NORTH-EAST CORNER OF THE COLONNADE.



THIS pillar, which is the central object of the foreground in this photograph, is, in spite of its conglomerate construction, beautiful and little damaged. Of the many pillars composing the Colonnade, to me this seems to be the most perfect; and the casting of it in plaster was the first operation which the native moulders accompanying me to the Kutb undertook. The successful result obtained has now been built up at the South Kensington Museum. The elaborate carving of columns adopted towards the end of the eleventh century, closely assimilates the ornamentation in this example, hence this period appears to be the date of the execution of the several portions of the pillar. The base, two shafts and cap, are in separate pieces, and merely rest one on the other without any cement or means of joining. To the left of the photograph may be seen the floor of the corner pavilion, which is supported by capitals immediately surmounting the first shaft of each of the sixteen small and somewhat plainly designed pillars which form the basis of the pavilion structure. It will be observed that the floor of the pavilion is between three and four feet lower than the beams of the roof which rests upon the series of columns of which one highly decorated example has already been described above. For the position of the pillar which was cast see M on plan No. II.



VIII THE MASJID-I KUTUB-I-ISLAM

Pillar of the Mosque of the Prophet



PHOTOGRAPH IX.

PILLARS IN THE NORTH COLONNADE.

NOTE.—The white marks on the centre pillar show feet.



ON the northern as well as the southern sides of the court the pillars are all of a much plainer character than on the east, and from their simplicity are, I imagine, of an earlier date. Although evidence of a positive kind cannot be detected, in the shape of corresponding mason-marks in the different detached pieces, as in the case of the five pillars at (a) on Plan II. (see p. 48), these columns have somewhat the appearance of being built of parts, some of which were contiguous portions of the same pillar, in one of the twenty-seven Hindu temples said to have been broken up on this spot. For reasons already cited, the plain character of the stone cutting and the absence of figure carving would have suggested to the Muhammadans the propriety of rebuilding the columns as they existed in situ. It has already been pointed out that one of the pillars in the south-east corner bore the date 1067 A.D. and it was of a kind similar to those here photographed, hence I infer that the pillars in the photograph are the work of the middle of the eleventh century. I think that probability is lent to this supposition by the fact that Anangpâl II., whose reign commenced in A.D. 1051, rebuilt Delli in A.D. 1052 and probably built also some Hindu temples. His ancestor, Anangpâl I. we know to have been of the Vishnu religion, and he therefore may be presumed to have been of the same persuasion and to have built Brahminical temples—remains of which very possibly are among the materials composing the Colonnade.

The pillars in the photograph are similar to those to be found in a large number of Brahminical temples, and have the common characteristics of the square and octagonal

section appearing in the same shaft. The primitive mode of decorating a square Hindu column, commenced by cutting off the corners and by a number of plain incisions. As the demand for ornamentation increased, the surfaces of the remaining portions were carved and elaborated in many various ways, and a large number of different modes of treatment are presented in the pillars of the Colonnade.





IN THE MASJÍD-I-KUTB-UL-ISLAM.

Pillars in the North Colonnade.

PHOTOGRAPH X.

VIEW OF THE GREAT ARCHES OF THE MASJID.



HE life of Kutb-ud-din, who was the founder of a monarchy of “slave” kings, is Kutb-ud-din. typical of the history of the Tūrki slaves who frequently rose to authority and even sovereignty throughout Asia, and for some period furnished a series of Indian rulers. It would seem that these slaves were often purchased by noblemen and kings for high prices and were prized on account of their animal strength or cleverness, qualities which in many cases raised them far above their social position.

Kutb-ud-din-Aibik was of a brave and virtuous disposition; open and liberal to his friends, courteous and affable to strangers. In the art of war and good government he was inferior to none, nor was he a mean proficient in literature. In his childhood he was brought from Turkistán to Nishapúr, and there sold by a merchant to Kazi Fuhr-ud-din Bin Abdul Azíz Kufi who, finding that Heaven had endowed him with genius, sent him to school, where he made considerable progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, as well as in science. His patron and master dying suddenly, he was sold as part of the estate by the executors, and having been bought for a considerable sum, was presented for sale to Moiz-ud-din Muhammad Ghorí; that Prince purchased him and called him by the familiar name of Aibik, from having his little finger broken. Aibik conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of his new master, that he attracted particular notice and daily gained his confidence and favour. One night, his master having given a grand entertainment at court, ordered a liberal distribution of presents to be made among his servants. Aibik partook of this munificence, but had no sooner retired than he divided his share among his companions. The king hearing of the circumstance asked the cause, and Aibik kissing the earth replied, that all his wants were so amply supplied by his majesty’s bounty, that he had no desire of burdening himself with superfluities, provided he retained his sovereign’s favour. This answer so pleased the king that he

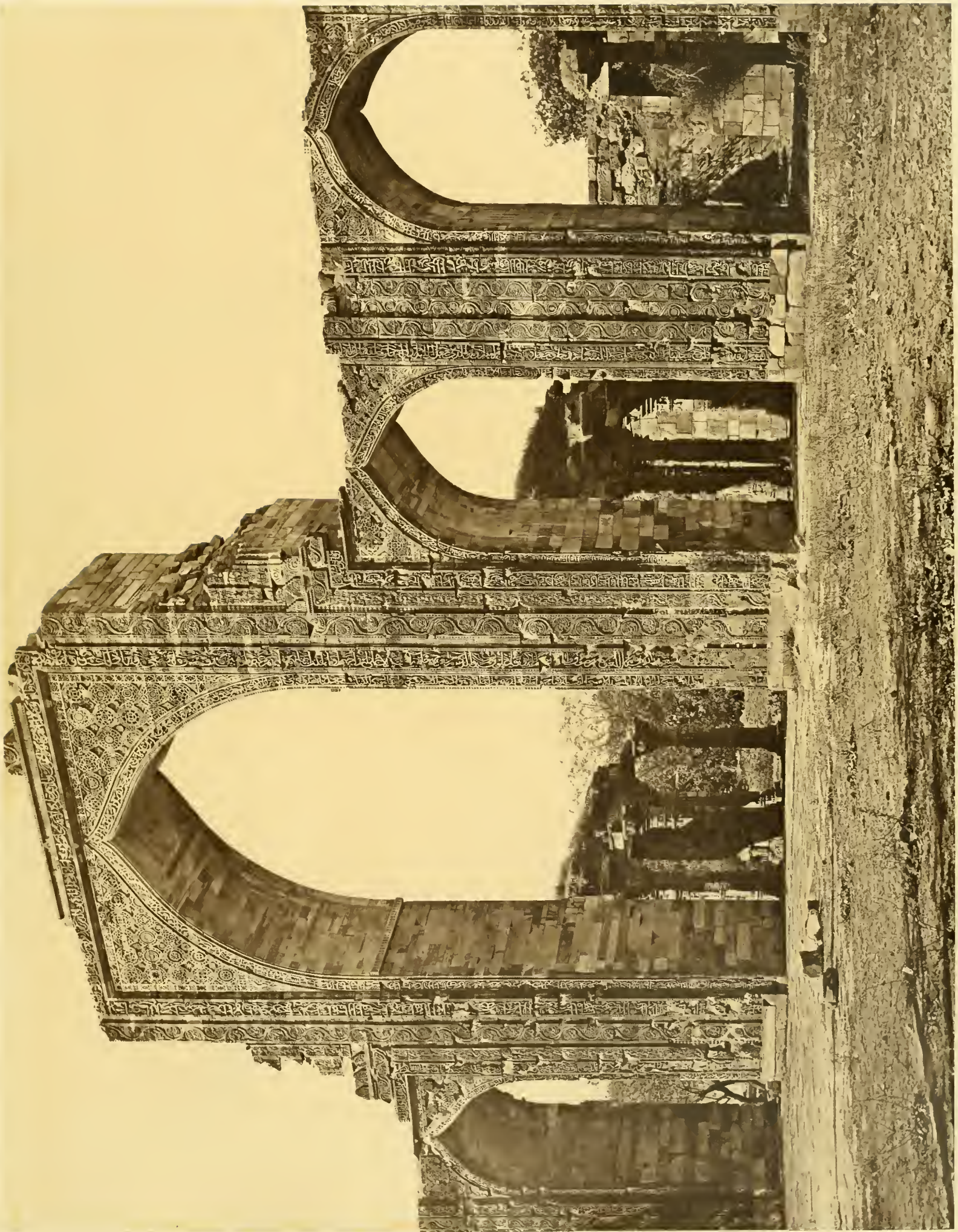
immediately gave him an office near his person and afterwards appointed him master of the horse.¹

When Muhammad Ghori conquered the Hindus in A.D. 1193, Kutb-ud-din was appointed commander of the army left in possession of the invaded territory. He laid siege to Delhi and captured that city after much hard fighting and bloodshed. He led the armies of Muhammad Ghori against Jai Chand, King of Benares; and in A.D. 1194 defeated Bhima Deva, of Nahrwala (the capital of Guzerat). Soon after Gola, the son of Rajah Pithora, was attacked by his brother at Ajmir, and Kutb-ud-din's advance to that place drove back the enemy. In A.D. 1202 he captured Kalinjar and plundered it of a great quantity of gold and jewels. In A.D. 1205 he was sent for by Muhammad, the nephew of Muhammad Ghori, to receive the title of King of Delhi. Kutb-ud-din married the daughter of Taj-ud-din Yildúz, and towards the end of A.D. 1205 was engaged in driving his father-in-law away from Lahore, which the latter had captured. He pursued him as far as Ghazni, where he was again crowned. The latter part of Kutb-ud-din's life was abandoned to pleasure and he was driven out of Ghazni by Taj-ud-din Yildúz, and was obliged to retire to Lahore. After this he reverted to temperate habits; and in A.D. 1210 was killed by a fall from his horse while playing at hockey on horseback (Chowgan).

When Kutb-ud-din ascended the throne at Lahore as sultan, he was not very prosperous; partly on account of his prodigality, which had earned him the name of "Lâk Bakhsh" or "Bestower of Lâks" and partly because the great wealth of India had been dissipated by frequent conquests, and all the plunder derived by them taken to Ghazni. He was succeeded by Aram his son in A.D. 1210; but after a short year's reign, the youthful king was deposed by Shams-ud-din Altamsh (then governor of Budaon), who had been the slave of the slave Kutb-ud-din.

The following is the literal translation of Syud Ahmed's account of the building of the Mosque. In the year A.D. 1193, when Kutb-ud-din Aibik, the commander-in-chief of Moiz-ud-din Muhammad (son of Sam alias Sultan Shahab-ud-din Ghori) conquered Delhi, he converted the Butkhana into a masjid, and ejected the idols from it. On the doors, walls

¹ Briggs's "Muhammadan Power in India," vol. i. pp. 189, 190.



and pillars, wherever images were carved, he destroyed them all, but otherwise spared the carved stonework and on the gate to the east he affixed the date of the victory and his name. Afterwards, when he had conquered Ajmir and the Forts of Ranthora, Nahrwala and Guzerat, he returned to Ghazni and received the orders of Sultan Moiz-din to continue the work of building a mosque in the Butkhana. He therefore returned to Delhi, commenced the large range of gateways and constructed the mosque behind (A. D. 1195).

This magnificent gateway originally consisted of seven pointed archways, but at present there are the remains of only five. The central opening measures twenty-two feet wide and is about forty feet high to the crown of the arch; the side arches measure ten feet wide and are about twenty-five feet to the crown of the arch. The whole surface facing the east is covered with the most elaborate carvings and ornamental inscriptions in Arabic letters. At the back, facing the west and looking towards the mosque, the wall is quite plain. The thickness from back to front is about eight feet, and the stones are all laid in horizontal courses, excepting in the smaller pointed arches at the side, where the upper part has a few voussoirs. Much of the ornament quite differs from that adopted in the surrounding Muhammadan buildings. The lower band of the Minar is, however, an exception, as the sculptured arabesque on it resembles that running up the spaces intervening between the small gateways and up each side of the great gateway. In the Minar ornamentation the pattern is incised, while the main surface is left flat; but on the gateways may be found several bands of scroll-work, which are carved and rounded to produce a foliated effect. These variations of carving and ornamentation tend to show that, at the period of commencing the gates of the Masjid and the Minar, the Hindu builders who were employed were permitted without much restriction to reproduce the style of ornament still to be found in many of the Hindu columns. Later, however, this freedom in decorating buildings was certainly not accorded. This is exemplified in the Minar and tombs, where the details are of a pure Muhammadan type. The flatter ornament, which was afterwards adopted here, appears in the spandrils of the arches, and is essentially Muhammadan in its flavour, it being the early Muhammadan instinct to use geometric patterns or to generalize only from natural forms.

Amidst the ruins of the Masjid, visible in this photograph through the arches, there is

nothing to indicate how high the roof abutted over the ranges of the columns against the back of the gateway. There is little doubt that the greater portion of the upper arch was open both at the front and back, and although the building formed a part of the Masjid, it had both in look and intention, somewhat the character of the Triumphal Arch, to account for its appearance in such a place. In order to secure a sample of the Pathan ornament of the middle of the twelfth century, I obtained a cast of a piece of the arabesque and ornamental inscription which encircles the smaller archway on the immediate right of the Great Central Gate, and its situation may be identified on Photograph X., about seven feet from the ground, on the right hand pier of the Central Arch. This cast, together with the other facsimiles from the buildings, is to be seen at the Kensington Museum.

The inscriptions on this range of gateways are:

- I. By Kutb-ud-din, dated A. D. 1197-8.
- II. By Shams-ud-din-Altamsh, dated A. H. 629, = A. D. 1231.
- III. By Ala-ud-din, dated A. H. 710 = A. D. 1310.





XL THE KUTB MINAR



CHAPTER IV.

THE KUTB MINAR.

PHOTOGRAPH XI. General View of the Kutb Minar — Origin of the Column — Description of the Minar.

PHOTOGRAPH XII. View of the Kutb Minar from the West—Inscriptions—First Story—Second Story—Third Story—Fourth Story—Fifth Story—Builders of the Tower—Use of the Column—Dimensions. PHOTOGRAPH XIII. Base of the Minar from the East. PHOTOGRAPH XIV. First Gallery of the Minar—Firuz Shah—His Inscription on the Minar—His Public Works and Repairs—Firuz Shah's Restoration of Delhi Buildings—Firuz Shah's Reign.

PHOTOGRAPH XI.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE KUTB MINAR.



THE History of this remarkable pillar has been the subject of much controversy among English writers, Hindus, and Muhammadans. The Hindus claim to have commenced it, and, according to Syud Ahmed, the Hindu Rajah Rai Pithora built the first story of the Lât or pillar, to enable his daughter to see the river Jumna daily and to behold the rising sun. He supports this view by the assertion that she was of the religion of the Surûj Mokhi, the followers of which regard the Jumna as the daughter of the sun and accordingly consider the worship of the river as a part of their religious duties.

Origin of the Column.

There are various arguments in favour of the pillar having been so commenced by the Hindus, and to facilitate a more ready comparison of the different views held, I have appended the various arguments in favour of the Hindu theory, together with the reasoning of General Cunningham, who holds the opinion that the construction of the Minar is from first to last the work of the Muhammadans and not any adaptation of a pre-existing monument.

the north-east, in the direction of Delhi, and the Minarets of the Great Mosque would be visible on a clear day, a little to the left of the unfinished Minar of Ala-ud-din. Syud Ahmed speaks of the latter as "Adhbani" (or half-finished) Lât or Lât Naturnam. The Emperor Ala-ud-din, wishing to render himself famous to all posterity, ordered the commencement of this tower, which he intended to be 200 yards high or double the height of the completed Minar of Shams-ud-din Altamsh. There is no doubt that, when undertaking the construction of this huge pile, he intended it to be the Mazinah (or Tower for calling to prayer) of the Mosque which he purposed to extend and in fact began the walls of, in A. D. 1310. No portion of these walls is visible in this photograph, but the unfinished Tower can be seen rising above the trees and ruins to the left of the picture. Including the plinth and terrace, it now measures about eighty-seven feet in height, and, in its present state of rough rubble masonry, is about eighty feet in diameter. The terrace is about 124 feet square and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high above the ground which it occupies; the plan of the Tower having a shape similar to that of a large cog-wheel. When the Emperor Ala-ud-din died in A. D. 1316 the building had been abandoned, but it is uncertain at what precise period this occurred; whether some years before his death, or immediately after it when no one remained to take an interest in its completion. The building to be seen next to this ruin is one of the gateways (see F on Plan II.) built by Altamsh (the son-in-law of Kutb-ud-din) to extend the mosque to the cloister at XW. (See plan No. II.) E, the second gateway, may be seen rising above the trees on the left and close to the Minar. The mosque underwent three formations—I. Kutb-ud-din constructed the present and most perfect court, (B) of which the great gate to the west (built A. D. 1195) may be seen half way between the two towers. II. His son-in-law Altamsh, in A. D. 1229, extended the enclosure to about six times its former area. See the two side gateways E and F, which increased the west front (H) to nearly three times its length. And, III. Finally, Ala-ud-din made the effort to more than double the second extension W and F and to build a gigantic Tower (see Q, A. D. 1310).

On coming into power Indian princes more generally preferred to commence an entirely new and independent palace or mosque rather than to enlarge or preserve the buildings erected and used by a former king. That which appears to me to be an exceptional instance of successive enlargements of the same building may be accounted for

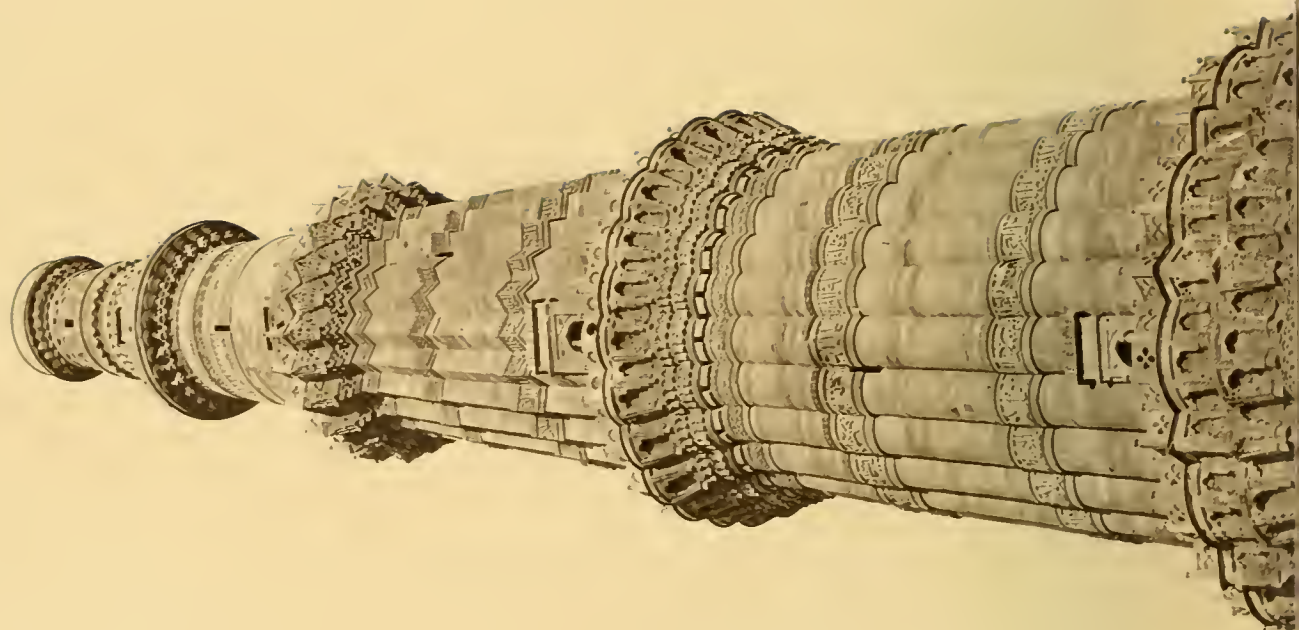
by the monumental character of Kutb-ud-din's old Mosque and Minar, which were regarded as victorious emblems of power and conquest.

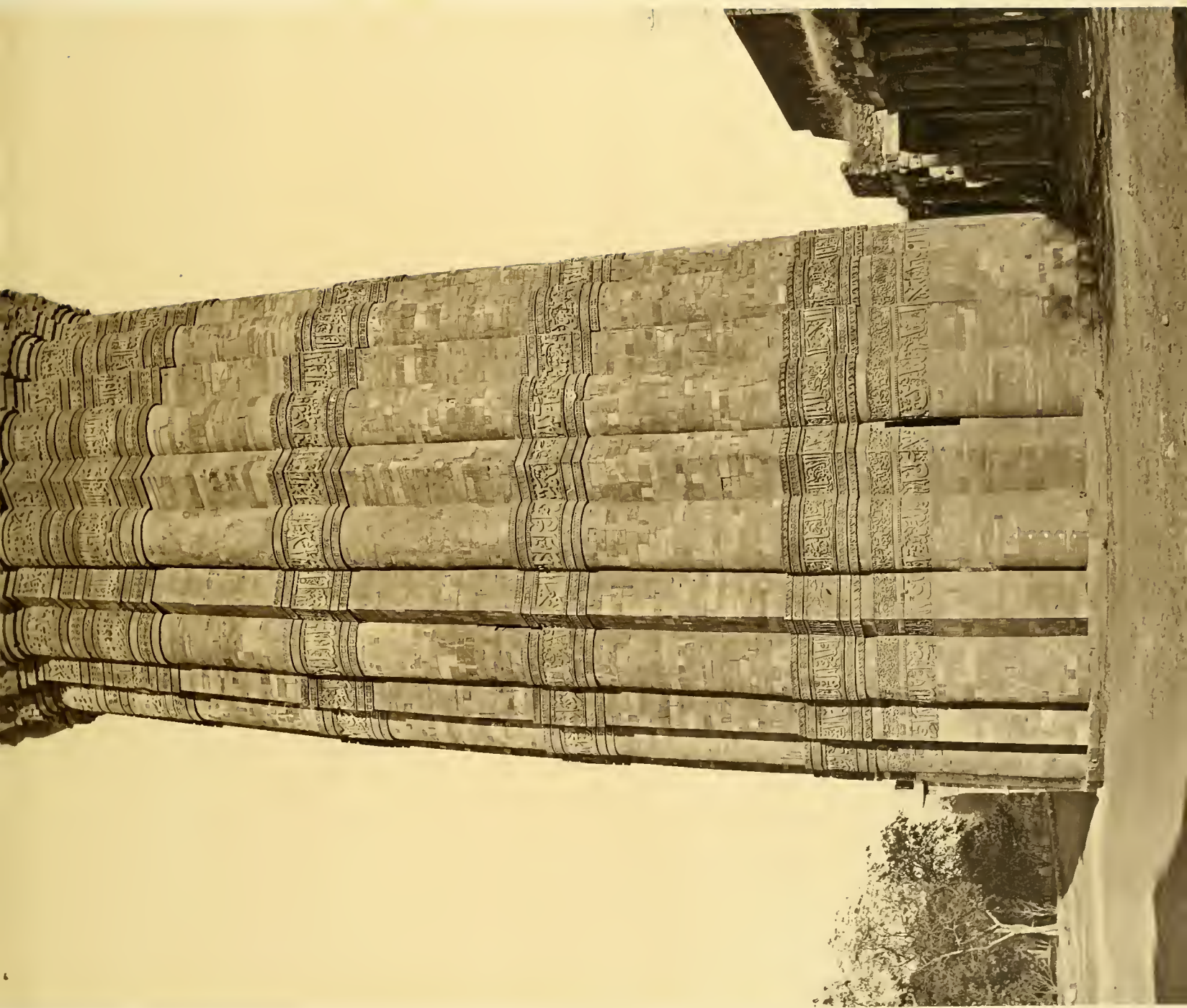
On the right of the Kutb Minar are the remains of Ala-ud-din's mosque and tomb. Syud Ahmed says they were erected in A. D. 1315; but another account says that the Emperor erected them for himself in A. D. 1307. Firuz Shah is reported to have repaired them in the middle of the fourteenth century, and to have placed a sandal wood grating round the tomb, but at the present time there are no signs whatsoever of the existence of the sarcophagus among the ruins. A portion of the ruins of these buildings may be seen through the gateway in Photograph No. XV; and their disposition is marked at A on the plan No. II.

For several miles round the Kutb pillar are ruined heaps of buildings, fragments of pillars and many hundred Muhammadan tombs, all testifying to the ancient grandeur which existed at different periods round the capital of the Muhammadan Emperors.









PHOTOGRAPH XII.

VIEW OF THE KUTB MINAR FROM THE WEST.¹

NOTE.—The white dots on the centre of the base of the Tower indicate a scale of five feet.



HAVE previously alluded to the architecture of the Pathans as characterised by vigour, massiveness and grandeur ; and in looking at the Kutb Minar one cannot resist the reflection that whilst these tough warriors were endowed with the fighting qualities of giants, they could also build like them and were moreover far from unskilful in the application and use of graceful and beautiful forms. The contrast thus instituted between the qualities of vigour and those of a more delicate nature is at once striking and agreeable. Mr. Fergusson, in writing about the Kutb Minar, bestows on it a large measure of praise. He writes : “ The minaret of the Mosque of Hassan at Cairo is known to be loftier than this pillar ; but as the Minar is an independent building it has a far nobler appearance, and, both in design and finish, far surpasses its Egyptian rival, as indeed it does any building of its class.”

The material used throughout the whole of the exterior surface is the red sandstone, with the following exceptions : In the fourth and fifth stories, there are white marble bands. In the fourth compartment a facing of marble has a belt of dark stone at the bottom ; in the fifth there are two belts of white marble and some ornamental work close under the cornice of the uppermost terrace. The construction of the pillar is somewhat curious. At the base the plan is alternately angular and fluted ; in the second compartment the flutes are all circular, and in the third they are again all angular ; the intermediate galleries being supported by honeycombed bracketing, which is by no means the least important feature of successful ornament in the pillar.

The history and different periods of erecting the pillar are recorded in the various bands of Arabic inscriptions which occur in the compartments. Some bands, however,

Inscriptions :
First Story.

¹ The photograph was taken in two plates, the camera being raised upon its transverse axis to cover the upper part of the pillar. In order to avoid the distortion which is apparent in looking at the photograph from any but the one right position, the eye should be thirteen inches from the paper and opposite to the fourth white dot above the plinth ; the effect is then in true perspective.

only contain verses from the Koran. The first story contains six bands ; but the letters in the first one have become obliterated, and when repairs were effected a correct restoration was not made. Only this can be recognised by Syud Ahmed : “ Amir-ul-Amra Sipah, Salar Julilúl Kubir ;”¹ and these are the recognized titles of Kutb-ud-din, so that probability is thus lent to the assertion that the base of the tower was *commenced* by him.

The second band speaks in terms of praise of Mozuffur, Moiz-ud-din, Muhammad Bin Sam. The occurrence, here and in the fourth line, of this name, which is that of Kutb-ud-din's sovereign master, is quite in accordance with this theory.

The third line contains verses from the Koran.

In the fourth line is set forth the praise of Moiz-ud-din Abulmozuffur Mahammed Bin Sam.

The fifth line consists of the ninety-nine names of “ God Almighty.”

The sixth line contains verses from the Koran.

Although it is reasonable to assume that Kutb-ud-din commenced the basement of the Minar, the great work of completing it fell to the share of his brother-in-law Altamsh and the column is consequently connected with *his* name in particular.

On the entrance-doorway facing the north is written :—“ The Minar of Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh, having been injured, was repaired during the reign of Sikunder Shah son of Bahlol, by Futeh Khan, son of Khawas Khan in A. H. 909 = 1503 A. D.”

Second Story.

In the second story there are two bands.

The first line contains the name and praise of Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh.

The second line contains verses from the Koran respecting the summons to prayer on Friday.

Over the doorway facing the west, outside the first gallery, is written, “ That Sultan Shams-ud-din ordered the completion of the Building.”

Third Story.

There is one band inscription in the third compartment which contains the praise of

¹ Thomas's “ Pathan Kings of Delhi,” page 24. “ There is a further record of his active participation in the erection of these buildings, on the defaced lower band of the Minar immediately over the foundation course where his recognised titles are still legible.”

Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh, and on one side the builder's name is inscribed,—Muhammad Amireho. Over the doorway to the west, on the gallery, are inscribed the praise of Shams-ud-din.

Over the doorway in the fourth story there is an inscription recording that the Minar Fourth Story.
was ordered to be erected during the reign of Altamsh.

The doorway inscription in the fifth story is in Arabic letters and Persian dialect :— Fifth Story.
“This minaret was damaged by a thunderbolt and repaired by Firuz Shah in A. H. 770
(A. D. 1368).

“This inscription (the fifth story) has an important bearing upon the history of the minaret itself, though it merely tells us that Firuz repaired the damage caused by lightning ; but, taken in connection with the Sultan's own words in his Autobiography (see page 88) we gather a distinct affirmation that the minaret was commenced under the auspices of Moiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam, which fully bears out the suggestive reading of the name of Kutb-ud-din Sipah Salâr, as still legible upon the bands of the lower story.”¹

Many Muhammadan writers call the pillar the *Minar of Altamsh*, but it is obvious, as has already been pointed out, that it was commenced by Muhammad Ghorî. The mention of one of the titles of Kutb-ud-din makes it highly probable that he was the officer directly concerned in carrying out the wishes of his sovereign. And additional Builders of the
Tower.
probability is lent to this by the fact of the Minar being called the *Kutb-minar*. I myself believe that Kutb-ud-din commenced the work. It is known for certain that the Emperor Shams-ud-din Altamsh continued and completed it between A. D. 1229 and 1236. Firuz Shah had it repaired in A. D. 1368 ; and the Sultan Sikander Bhalol again repaired it in the year A. D. 1503. Finally, the British Government in 1826 had it thoroughly put in order by Major Robert Smith, of the Engineers, who put up the balustrades round each gallery, repaired the lower entrance, and constructed the cupola of the Minar now on an artificial mound between the Minar and the Dâk Bungalow ; but all are quite unsuitable in style to the original ornament, and the cupola was removed by order of Government (under Lord Hardinge) from the top of the Minar in 1847 or 1848.

Syud Ahmed maintains that originally there were seven compartments, and that the

¹ Thomas, “Pathan Kings of Delhi,” p. 284.



PHOTOGRAPH XIII.

BASE OF THE MINAR FROM THE EAST.

NOTE.—The white marks in the centre of the lower part of the base show a scale of feet.



HIS view was taken from the east of the Minar, and includes the two first bands of inscription, the lower one being cut into the surface of the stone, whilst the upper one is raised about two inches above it. The former circumstance is cited as a reason in favour of the Hindu origin of the column, it being held that the Muhammadans *found* the pillar built up to a certain height, and were obliged to *inscribe* the first band of inscription and arabesque. The character of the ornament in the lower band closely resembles the ornament on the middle gateway of the Masjīd built by Kutb-ud-din. The foliation in both is rounded; *vide* the casts of carvings of the lower band of the Minar and of a portion of the ornamental inscription from Kutb-ud-din's Gateway in the Kensington Museum. The ornament used by Shams-ud-din in continuing the building is of an incised character, the outer surface remaining smooth and uncarved, while that prepared by order of Kutb-ud-din was carved in more direct imitation of natural forms. It would appear that Shams-ud-din altered the mode of decoration at the period of continuing the building and preferred the raised bands, which are certainly more effective and produce a more marked contrast of light and shade.

The lower part of the first band is ten feet from the plinth and is four feet in width; the second band, above, is five feet wide and twenty feet from the top to the plinth. The bell feature occurs in the upper and lower borders of the latter, and the ornamental bands next to these borders are composed of a series of contiguous rosettes. Both features are often to be seen in Hindu temples, so that the Hindu masons employed by the Pathans were permitted to introduce some of their native designs. That the masons were Hindu may be gathered from the horizontal mode of construction in all the Kutb buildings. The mutilation of the letters in the lower band may have been caused by the crushing weight of the super-structure, evidence of which is to be seen in all parts of

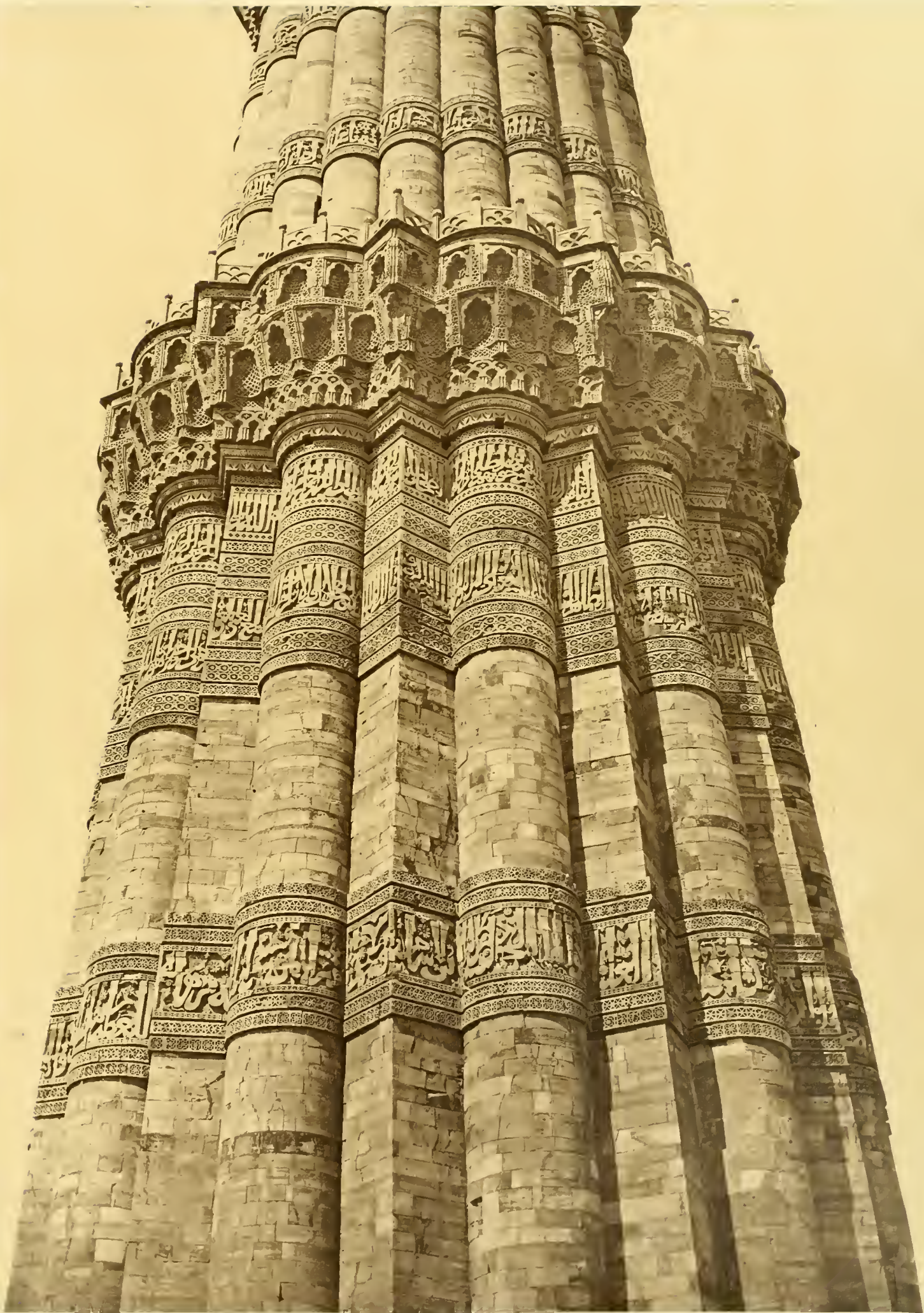
the basement. The ornament on the raised portions is less liable to the crushing, and has remained in a more perfect condition.

There is a portion of a still lower band about six feet from the ground, near the entrance door, which in the various repairs has not been repeated all round the column. A few Arabic words still exist, which Syud Ahmed renders, "Fuzl son of Abul Muali high priest" and the name, if anything, furnishes additional evidence in favour of the Muhammadan origin of the pillar.

On the left of the photograph is a part of the colonnade, which surrounds the Masjid, as enlarged by Altamsh (see X, W. on Plan No. II.). The columns are all plain—consisting of two detached shafts, a cap and base. These have the appearance of having been originally made to be fitted together, as they now appear and they not impossibly still hold their original position. On the left is the south-east corner of the outer wall of the Great Mosque. I obtained a cast of a part of the ornament on the tower just above the first inscription—it measures about two feet by three feet six inches—and has been deposited in the South Kensington Museum, as a representative piece of ornamental carving of the time of Kutb-ud-din-Aibik, about A.D. 1193. The original portion is situated on the west of the entrance doorway—the cornice of which is just visible in the photograph on the right.

The first band of inscription is almost illegible (see page 79), the second speaks in terms of praise of Muzuffur-Moiz-ud-din Muhammad Bin Sam (see page 80).





XIV THE KUTB MINAR.

First Gallery of the Minar.



PHOTOGRAPH XIV.

FIRST GALLERY OF THE MINAR.



THE view was taken from the roof of Ala-ud-din's gateway (see O on plan). in order to obtain the details of the bracketing which supports the gallery above the first story, about ninety-seven feet above the ground. The mode of constructing the cornice is characteristic and consists of a series of overlapping layers of highly carved stone. Without some such feature it would have been incumbent on the builder to continue the angle fluting in the second story, but with it he added greatly to the beauty and grandeur of the Minar, and was able to introduce a variety in the upper flutings. With so ornamental a material as the Arabic alphabet, it would have been difficult to fail to make the bands of inscriptions an attractive adornment; but the richness of the subordinate ornamentation contributes in no small measure to the extreme beauty of the column. Although the decoration is lavishly applied in these bands the intervals of plain wall qualify it and prevent the eye from feeling a sensation of surfeit. The upper inscription immediately below the cornice of the first story, contains verses from the Koran. The next line consists of the ninety-nine names of God Almighty and the third band sings the praises of Moiz-ud-din Abulmozuffur, Muhammad Bin Sam. After the first story, as is here apparent, the column tapers rather suddenly, and to this fact is due the diminished impression of height which one feels in looking at it from any distance. The interior of the Minar is occupied by a spiral staircase of 379 steps, which leads to the four galleries and to the top. The stone walls are bare and unornamented—here and there being inscribed the names of various native visitors.

The assumption that Kutb-ud-din commenced the building of the tower under instructions from his imperial master Muhammad Ghorî is based on tolerably accurate authority and evidence; inscriptions on the tower bring to notice the fact of Shams-ud-din having built a considerable portion of the monument. Some historical events connected with the lives of the two former personages have been mentioned elsewhere in

this account (see pages 69-70 and 93-94). The restoration of the Minar by Firuz Shah, undertaken in the year A. D. 1368, was a work of considerable magnitude and attracts attention to the principal occupation of his reign by reason of its being foremost among his numerous repairs of buildings.

Firuz Shah. In A. D. 1351 Firuz bin Rajab ascended the throne of Delhi, but at first was opposed by Khwajah-i-Jahan, the Delhi minister, who set up a supposititious son of Muhammad bin Tugluck. Firuz was a weak man, fond of wine, a sportsman and so merciful and credulous, that in less turbulent times he would have suffered great disadvantage.

His Inscription on the Minar. The inscription on the fifth story takes notice of his having repaired the Minar, and he thus records his predilection for building in an autobiography called the "*Futúhát-i-Firuz Shahi*."¹

His Public Works, "Among the gifts which God bestowed upon me his humble servant, was a desire to erect public buildings; so I built many mosques and colleges and monasteries, that the learned and the elders, the devout and the holy, might worship God in these edifices and aid the kind architect with their prayers. The digging of canals, the planting of trees and the endowing with lands, are in accordance with the direction of the law. Again, by the guidance of God, I was led to repair and rebuild the edifices and structures of former kings and ancient nobles, which had fallen into decay from lapse of time, giving the restoration of these buildings the priority over my own building works. The Jumma Masjid of old Delhi, which was built by Sultan Moiz-ud-din Sâm had fallen into decay from old age and needed repair and restoration. I so repaired it that it was quite renovated.

Firuz Shah's restoration of Delhi Buildings. "The western wall of the tomb of Sultan Moiz-ud-din Sâm and the planks of the door had become old and rotten. I restored this, and in the place of the balcony I furnished it with doors, arches and ornaments of sandal wood.

"The Minarah of Sultan Moiz-ud-din Sâm had been struck by lightning. I repaired it and raised it higher than it was before.

"The Hauz-i-Shamsi, or tank of Altamsh, had been deprived of water for years by some graceless men who stopped up the channels of supply. I punished these incorrigible men severely and opened again the closed up channels.

¹ Translated in Elliot's "*Historians*," iii. 332.

“The Hauz-i-Alai, or tank of Ala-ud-din (the Hauz-i-Kháss) had no water in it and was filled up. People carried on cultivation in it, and had dug wells, of which they sold the water. After a generation (Karn) had passed I cleared it out, so that this great tank might be filled from year to year.

“The Madrasah (college) of Shams-ud-din Altamsh had been destroyed. I built it up and furnished it with sandal wood doors. The columns of the tomb which had fallen down I restored better than they had been before. When the tomb was built its court had not been curved but I now made it so. I enlarged the hewn stone staircase of the dome and I re-erected the fallen piers of the four towers.

“Tomb of Sultan Moiz-ud-din, son of Sultan Shams-ud-din, which is situated in Malikpúr. This had fallen into such ruin that the sepulchres were undistinguishable. I re-erected the dome, the terrace and the inclosure wall. Tomb of Sultan Rukn-ud-din, son of Shams-ud-din, in Malikpúr. I repaired the inclosure wall, built a new dome and erected a monastery (Khámkáh). Tomb of Sultan Jelal-ud-din. This I repaired and supplied with new doors. Tomb of Sultan Ala-ud-din. I repaired this and furnished it with sandal wood doors. I repaired the walls of the Abdar-Khánah and the west wall of the Mosque, which is within the College; and I also made good the tessellated pavement (farsh-i-táshib). Tomb of Sultan Kutb-ud-din and the (other) sons of Sultan Ala-ud-din, *i.e.* Khizr Khán, Shádi Khán, Farid Khán, Sultan Shahab-ud-din, Sikandar Khán, Muhammad Khán, Usman Khán and his grandsons and the sons of his grandsons. The tombs of these I repaired and renovated. I also repaired the doors of the dome and the lattice work of the tomb of Shaikh-ul-Islám, Nizam-ul-hakk-wa-ud-din, which were made of sandal wood. I hung up the golden chandeliers with chains of gold in the four recesses of the dome and I built a meeting room, for before this there was none. Tomb of Málik Tag-ul Mullk Káfuri, the great wazir of Sultan Ala-ud-din. He was a most wise and intelligent minister, and acquired many countries on which the horses of former sovereigns had never placed their hoofs, and caused the *Khutbah* of Sultan Ala-ud-din to be repeated there. He had 52,000 horsemen. His grave had been levelled with the ground and his tomb laid low. I caused his tomb to be entirely renewed, for he was a devoted and faithful servant. The Daru-l-áman, or ‘house of rest.’ This is the bed and resting place of great men. I had new sandal wood doors made for it and over the tombs of these distinguished men

I had curtains and hangings suspended. The expense of repairing and renewing these tombs and colleges was provided from their ancient endowments. Jahan-panáh: This foundation of the late Sultan Muhammad Shah, my kind patron, by whose bounty I was reared and educated, I restored. All the fortifications which had been built by former sovereigns at Delhi I repaired.

“I was enabled, by God’s help, to build a Dáru-sh shifá, or hospital, for the benefit of every one of high or low degree who was suddenly attacked by illness or overcome by suffering.”¹

Firuz Shah’s reign.

The reign of Firuz Shah was not celebrated for great political events, but in the construction of public works he has left a large number of records of his government. According to Ferishta he erected no less than 845 different works of more or less importance and size. Among these the most beneficial to the welfare of his subjects and the prosperity of the country were the canals by means of which he rendered barren parts of his dominions fruitful. It is said that the Sultan never transacted any business without referring to the Korán for an augury, and his beneficence in commercial projects crops up amusingly when he seeks for ecclesiastical sanction for his share of ten per cent. on the outlay.² The Sultan engraved a code of new regulations, drawn up by himself, on the walls of his Masjíd in Firuzabad. He had ordered the construction of this mosque in the year A.D. 1354, in the enceinte of his palace, and the ruins still exist near the (stone) column (at the Kotilla). The dome of this mosque was octagonal, and on its eight sides he had caused to be engraved the abridgment of the account of his conquests, which he directed himself, also the ordinances which he made on the subject of succession; regulations for the prevention of corporal punishment and for the prevention of illegal imposts; but no traces now remain of this cupola, nor are there any ruins of it to be discovered. It is certain that it existed up to the time of the Sultan, Jahangir, but it is not known when it was destroyed.³ When Timur took Delhi, in A.D. 1398, a service was performed in this mosque for the prince—(Tuzûk

¹ Futuhát-i-Firuz Sháhi. Translation in Elliot’s “Historians,” iii. 382.

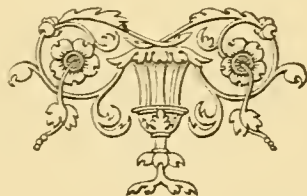
² The assessment of ten per cent. on the total outlay or the cost price of the canals, as a rent charge for the use of the irrigation water by the agriculturists. Elliot’s “Historians,” vol. iii. p. 301.

³ Asar-ud-sunadid.

Timûri.) The Ordinances run as follows: "It has been usual in former times to spill Muhammadan blood on trivial occasions and, for small crimes, to mutilate and torture by cutting off the hands and feet; by pulverising the bones of the living criminals with mallets; by burning the body with fire; by crucifixion and by nailing the hands and feet; by flaying alive; by the operation of hamstringing and by cutting human beings to pieces. God, in his infinite goodness, having been pleased to confer on me the power, has also inspired me with the disposition to put an end to these practices. It is my resolution, moreover, to restore in the daily prayers offered up for the royal family the names of all those princes, my predecessors, who have reigned over the empire of Delhi, in hopes that these prayers being acceptable to God may in some measure appease his wrath and ensure his mercy towards them. It is also hereby proclaimed that the small and vexatious taxes, under the denomination of Kotwalli, &c., payable to the public servants of the government as perquisites of office by small traders; that licenses for the right of pasturage from shepherds, on waste lands belonging to the crown; fees from flower sellers, fishsellers, cotton cleaners, silk sellers and cooks; and the precarious and fluctuating taxes on shopkeepers and vintners, shall henceforward cease throughout the realm: for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realise it at the expense of so much distress, occasioned by the discretionary power necessarily vested in tax gatherers and officers of authority; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of the book. It has been customary to set aside one-fifth of all property taken in war for the troops; and to reserve four-fifths to the government. It is hereby ordered that in future four-fifths shall be distributed to the troops, and one-fifth only reserved for the crown. I will on all occasions cause to be banished from the realm persons convicted of the following crimes:—Those who profess atheism, or who maintain schools of vice. All public servants convicted of corruption, as well as persons paying bribes. I have myself abstained from wearing gaudy silk apparel and jewels, as an example to my subjects. I have considered it my duty to repair every public edifice of utility constructed by my predecessors, such as caravanserais, masjîds, wells, reservoirs of water, aqueducts, canals, hospitals, almshouses and schools; and have alienated considerable portions of the revenue for their support. I have also taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my lord and master, Muhammad

Túgluck, and having pensioned and provided for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that prince in the presence of the holy and learned men of this age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed to the documents, the whole of which, as far as lay in my power, have been procured and put into a box and deposited in the vault in which Muhammad Túgluck is entombed. I have gone and sought consolation from all the most learned and holy men within my realm and have taken care of them. Whenever my soldiers have been rendered inefficient for service by wounds or by age, I have caused them to be pensioned on full pay for life. Two attempts have been made to poison me but without effect.”¹

¹ Briggs “Muhammadan Power in India,” i. 464.





CHAPTER V.

SHAMS-UD-DIN'S GATEWAYS AND TOMB.

SHAMS-UD-DIN'S REIGN. PHOTOGRAPH XV. South-West Gateway. PHOTOGRAPH XVI. North-West Gateway.

SHAMS-UD-DIN'S INSCRIPTIONS—HIS EXTENSION OF THE GREAT MOSQUE. PHOTOGRAPH XVII. Exterior of Shams-ud-din's Tomb. PHOTOGRAPH XVIII. Interior of Shams-ud-din's Tomb. PHOTOGRAPH XIX. Niche in the Tomb called Sultan Ghori.



IN the *Tabkat Nasiri* an account is given of the ancestry and early life of Shams-ud-din Altamsh, who rose to be the greatest of the slave-kings of Delhi. At first sight it seems remarkable that the most majestic and beautiful remaining buildings at the Kutb were the works of these *slave-kings*. But this fact undoubtedly testifies to the ambition and energy with which this race of sovereigns was endowed. Notwithstanding the inferior breeding of his parents, Altamsh is said to have been able to trace his descent from a noble family. Like the Joseph of scripture history, he was looked on with jealousy by his brothers on account of the partiality shown to him by his father. Whilst out hunting these brothers stripped and sold him to a merchant who carried him to Bokhara. Here he was sold to a prince who educated him. He was owned by various people and eventually purchased by Kutb-ud-din at Delhi, for 50,000 pieces of silver.¹ Profiting by the education given to him, Altamsh displayed talents whereby he was able to ingratiate himself with, and obtain the good opinion of, his master, whose second daughter he married. After holding an appointment as Governor of Gwalior, Búlandshahar and Budaon—he became, in A. D. 1210,

Shams-ud-din's reign.

¹ 1,00000 jitals. See Thomas' "Pathan Kings of Delhi."

General-in-Chief to Kutb-ud-din, and on his master's death, marched to Delhi and expelled Aram, his son. On his coming to the throne Altamsh was supported by many chiefs and princes, but Farukh one of his generals rebelled and collected a large force of malcontents to oppose him before Delhi; the Emperor was victorious in the fight, and established himself thus more securely on the throne. The Kalif of Bagdad recognized the independence of Shams-ud-din Altamsh's government, and this recognition was the first to be accorded by any of the supreme Muhammadan potentates to an Indian monarch. In A.D. 1215, he was engaged in subduing Taj-ud-din Yilduz—King of Ghazni, who, after having professed to acknowledge his sovereignty, marched on Tahnesar; but Yilduz was defeated, and Shams-ud-din imprisoned him at Budaon, where he was buried. During the year A.D. 1217 Altamsh defeated his brother-in-law, Nasir-ud-din Kúbáchah, placed his heir apparent on the throne of Lahore. In A.D. 1225, he went to Bengal to exact tribute from Ghias-ud-din, the reigning Prince, whom he deposed. Altamsh left Nasir-ud-din, his son, in possession of Behar.

The embassy from Arabia, bringing the royal robes from the Khalif of Bagdad, arrived in A.D. 1229, at Delhi, and was received with great joy and rejoicing. Altamsh soon after turned his attention to Gwalior, which had fallen into the hands of the Hindus, and, after a long siege, captured the fortress. He next marched to Malwa and reduced the Fort of Bhilsa, in Bhopal (luckily he did not penetrate so far as Sanchi, where, there can be little doubt, in accordance with his inherent antipathy to Hindu structures, he would have demolished the magnificent ruins of the Buddhist gateways surrounding the Great Tope). He next attacked Ugain, and there destroyed a very large temple, the erection of which is stated to have taken 300 years. He returned to Delhi with the images of Vikramaditya and Mahadeva in stone, also with several brass idols taken from the temple, and had them all broken on the door of the great Masjíd at the Kutb.¹ Altamsh fell sick in A. D. 1236, and died the same year at Delhi, where he was buried. (See pages 101-3, and Photographs XVII. and XVIII. for the account and description of his tomb.)

His reign lasted twenty-six years, and history shows him to have been an enter-

¹ Briggs, "Muhammadan Power in India," vol. i. p. 211.

prising and, at the same time, a good prince. The erection of the upper stories of the magnificent Minar would alone suffice to hand down his name and memory. But he also elevated the status of his empire to that of one of the finest in the world, and did so moreover at a period of the Muhammadan History of India made critical both by frequent but futile aggressions on the border by the Moguls, and by the jealousy which his antecedents and relations with his predecessor aroused amongst the nobles and princes of the dominion.

All Hindustan, with the exception of a few remote districts, acknowledged the sovereignty of Delhi during his reign ; the obedience of the various dependencies varying, however, in different degrees from complete subjection to almost independent vassalage. In succeeding reigns it therefore frequently happened that the rule of weak princes threw the country into great confusion, from which it required a vigorous monarch to re-establish order.

The inscriptions which Shams-ud-din placed upon the works carried out under his directions are to be found :

Shams-ud-din's
inscriptions.

- I. Over the doorway of the second story of the Kutb Minar.
- II. On the upper band of the second story.
- III. On the third story, over the doorway.
- IV. On the centre arch of the Masjid.

During the reign of this Emperor, the Masjid-i-Kutb-ul-islam was enlarged by the erection of two Gateways to the north and south, and by the adaptation of a portion of the remaining Hindu columns in the construction of a new court, about six times the size of the original one. The Colonnade of this Court has to me the appearance of being *in situ* as the Hindus placed it, General Cunningham, in estimating the pillars of the first Mosque and in testing the validity of the assertion inscribed on the east Gate, that they composed twenty-seven temples, does not include these outer pillars. It is possible that Shams-ud-din, in making his enclosing Colonnade, took advantage of some of the pillars which probably formed a portion of the palace of Raja Pithora, alluded to by Syud Ahmed as having been constructed in the year A. D. 1143. Each of the two additional Gateways consists of ranges of five arches, the centre one being the largest; according to the General, they were intended to form new and separate Mosques and not merely

His extension of
the Great Mosque.

extensions of the Jumma Masjid. He holds that the niche (see F on Plan No. II.) in the middle of the wall behind the northern wing, affords evidence to justify this supposition. However, the words of Syud Ahmed are merely:—

“The Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh wished to enlarge this Mosque, and in 627 A. H. (1229 A.D.) he had three¹ new doorways erected on the north flank and on the south flank, and he increased the area of this Masjid to the outer halls of the Raja Pithora's buildings.” The doorways have been ornamented with a carved exterior of red sandstone, and on the surface are engraved verses out of the Koran, some in Nuskh, others in Kufic letters, so as to produce beautiful arabesques and floral patterns. On the left of the central Gate are inscribed the words: “During the months of the year (A.H.) 627,” which was the period of erection.

The length of the whole range of Gateways of the Jumma Masjid is three hundred and eighty-four feet, and the breadth of the enclosure is four hundred and eighteen feet. The Minar stands in the centre of the length, and at a distance of eleven feet from the Colonnade. (See C on Plan.)

It is said by Syud Ahmed that in A.D. 1233, Shams-ud-din having conquered Malwa and Ugain, destroyed a temple dedicated to Mahadeva, and brought the images to the Gateways of his Mosque, where he had them destroyed (see page 94).

The range of arches on the south flank of the Great Masjid are much ruined. The central opening of twenty-four feet width has lost the upper part of the arch and the arch on the left is in a tottering condition.

¹ This is a mistake, originally there were five doors to each.



PHOTOGRAPH XV.

SOUTH-WEST GATEWAY.

NOTE.—The white marks on the left centre pier of the Gate indicate a scale of five feet, measured against the wall.

REFERRING to Plan No. II. it will be seen that a roadway passes through the central doorway (E) to the village of Mihroli. The view here photographed is taken from a point in the centre of the said roadway, looking towards the village. No traces are left of the rear wall which closed in the back, as the Plan leads me to infer, as it does in the case of the central building of Kutb-ud-din (G), and of the Gate similar to the one here represented and situated to the north (see Photograph XVI.). Like the latter structure, the openings in this range numbered originally five—of which three alone are still to be seen—but the dimensions were the same, and the ornamental treatment and construction precisely similar in each one. On each side of the central opening of this S. W. Gateway and rising above the niches, is a broad band of geometric pattern, unlike in all points the broad scroll-work which exists on the Gateway of the Central Mosque.

The side arches, the curves of which were covered by Arabic inscriptions, measured about thirty-five feet in height, and the central arch was about fifty feet high. When Shams-ud-din's two additional Gates (E and F) were in perfect condition, the whole seventeen arches, which included Kutb-ud-din's central range (H), must have presented a very fine and grand appearance.

The admirable freedom and grace of the ornamental arabesques and inscriptions which cover the whole surface of the stonework are such excellent examples of this style of art, that I speedily selected a small and uninjured portion for reproduction in plaster, and the facsimile of a piece on the left of the centre arch including a

portion of the vertical band of inscription and measuring about three feet by two feet, may be seen at the Kensington Museum. It is a good specimen of Pathan ornament of the thirteenth century A. D., its actual date being about A. D. 1229. The general surface is flat and is not strongly marked by any contrasting effects of shadows ; but the foliated work and ingenious treatment of the Arabic characters, intermingled with ornament, exhibit the fertile and facile imagination which the original designer was enabled to bring to bear upon the invention of his work.





PHOTOGRAPH XVI.

NORTH-WEST GATEWAY.

NOTE.—The white dots on the right pier of the arch, and close to the pillar, indicate a scale of five feet.

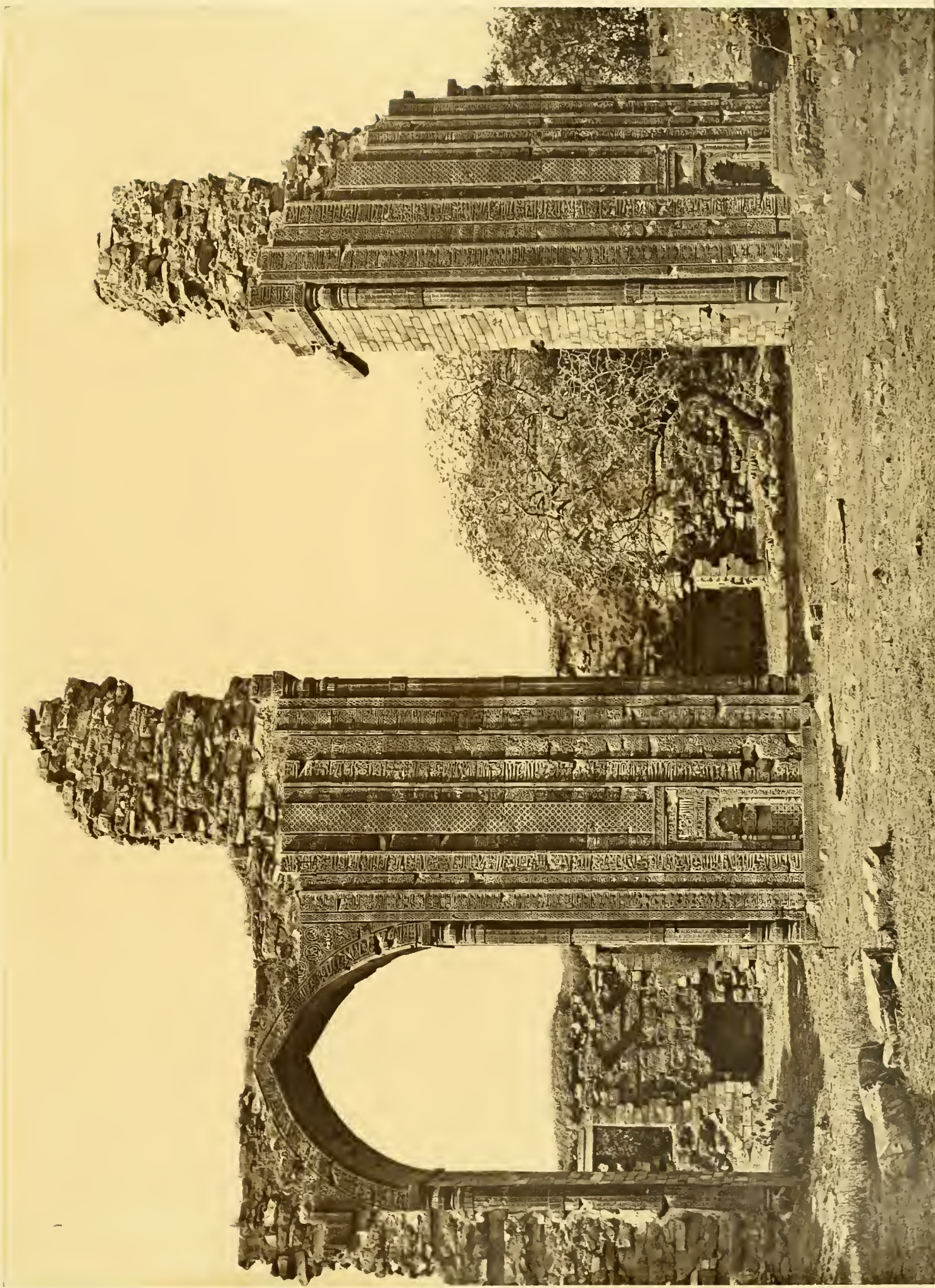


THE Gateway built by Shams-ud-din in A. D. 1229, on the northern flank of the Jumma Masjid is in a still more ruinous condition than that described on the preceding pages. The arches which formerly existed at the north extremity have fallen to the ground, and only two out of the five openings are still to be seen, namely, the central one and that contiguous to it on the left. The archway of the latter is still perfect, and the style of ornament which was applied to the spandrils is revealed in a still remaining portion of masonry; but of the centre arch a mass of rubble masonry, bared of its sculptured facing, alone remains to indicate the upper part. A few feet of sculptured Arabic characters testify to the fact that a band of inscription ran round the arch. The whole range of five arches when complete measured one hundred and ten feet. The centre Arch is twenty-four feet wide; the next two on either side measure thirteen feet and the flank openings were ten feet in width. In this Photograph the niche may be seen in the enclosing wall in rear of the gate, which led General Cunningham to believe that the supplementary Gateways of Shams-ud-din, of which this is the northern one, were for additional Mosques and not merely as an extension of the Masjid-i-kutb-ul-islám.

The wall at the back is quite plain, so is also the rear of the Gateway. Its thickness is eight feet, and the whole of the front surface is elaborately carved, or rather incised—the inscriptions in Nuskh and Kufic, and the ornamental arabesques being simply cut on the surface, which was left flat. The change in the character of the ornament from that on the central Gateway is remarkable, it is of a more severe and simple character. On either

side and next to the pillars of the openings, are broad bands of ornament which run vertically upwards. At first sight the pattern seems to consist of an interlacing of geometric forms; on closer examination, however, Kufic letters will reveal themselves; and in the midst of what appears to be a strictly regular pattern, the native designer has most ingeniously introduced whole sentences from the Koran.





PHOTOGRAPH XVII.

EXTERIOR OF SHAMS-UD-DIN'S TOMB.

NOTE.—The six white marks on the left of the doorway represent a scale of five feet, measured against the wall.



HE tomb of the Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh is situated to the north-west of the Kutb ruins, and passed to the north by the road which leads from the Kutb Dâk Bangalow to the village of Mihroli, about a quarter of a mile off. The building is square, with sides measuring forty-three feet and a half, the walls are seven feet thick and the interior measures twenty-nine and a half feet square. It was erected by his two children, Sultan Rukn-ud-din Firuz Shah and the Sultana Riziah about A.D. 1236. The former reigned for about six months, but during this time no public events of any great importance occurred and he lived a low and debauched life. His sister the Sultana succeeded him in the possession of the capital as the first Empress of India. Her reign would have prospered had she not fallen in love with an Abyssinian who was in employment about her court, and thus given rise to resentment among her nobles. A rebellion arose and in A.D. 1239 she was defeated by the governor of Sirhind; the Abyssinian met with his death, and she was captured and shut up in the Zenana of the conqueror. The governor in advancing on Delhi was overcome, and he and the Sultana met their death. The latter was buried in Delhi, where her tomb still exists, though in ruins.

The exterior of Shams-ud-din's tomb is of grey quartz, the walls being plain, with the exception of the doors, which are carved and decorated with arabesques and inscriptions in Kufic and Arabic, containing verses from the Koran. I have been fortunate enough to procure the numbers of the verses, through the kindness of Dr. Rien of the British Museum. In the examination of the photograph, he made out that the inscription round

the outer doorway consists of verses 21—24 from LIX. Koran ; the writing round the pointed arch embodies verses 1—10 from LV. Koran, and that round the interior of the doorway, perceptible beyond, consists of verses 14—16, XXIII. Koran.

The photograph is taken from the south ; there are doorways on all sides excepting to the west ; but there appears to be some doubt as to the existence at any time of a covering or dome to the roof ; however, the Sultana lived long enough in Delhi to have attended to its completion, and I cannot help thinking that had no roof ever existed the interior would have suffered more than at present appears, from the state of the carvings which are of sandstone.

This building is perhaps the earliest Muhammadan tomb in India, and the most perfect existing shrine among several other Pathan tombs of a later date. In this respect, therefore, it is a valuable record of one class of early Pathan buildings, and is as worthy of being carefully preserved as a unique example of Indian architecture as is the great Kutb Minar—the upper portions of which are contemporaneous with it.

One of the most striking features of the Pathan methods of ornamentation is illustrated in this Photograph, and consists in the even-balancing of the plain and decorated surfaces, and in the light and shade produced by the raised patterns. This quality of evenly-distributing ornament over a flat surface, has in all times been inherently natural to Muhammadan designers of architectural buildings, and originated, no doubt, with their love for geometric patterns, which they invent to the present day with greater ease and with even a greater degree of variety and ingenuity than any other people in the world. The study of patterns, the construction of which is based upon a strict adherence to mathematical law, whereby a perfection of distribution and balance of parts are secured, induced naturally a facility in the composition of ornaments the details of which are not strictly confined to geometrical figures ; and this facility became developed in the handling and treatment of every description of outline.

A good series of examples of Muhammadan ornament, in which this quality is very marked, are to be found in the carved panels of the Sultana's apartments in Akbar's palace at Fathpúr Sikri, and casts of them may be seen in the Kensington Museum.



XVII SHAMS-UD-DIN'S GATEWAYS AND TOMB

Entrance of the Tomb.

PHOTOGRAPH XVIII.

INTERIOR OF SHAMS-UD-DIN'S TOMB.



THE interior of the tomb of the Emperor Shams-ud-din Altamsh consists of red sandstone and marble, and the sarcophagus in the centre of the square is of white marble. The wall to the west—which forms the subject of this Photographic illustration—is provided with niches, such as usually occur in a mosque, and the carved marble and stonework of these features show signs of having been coloured in green and purple. The lower portion of the three walls to the north, south, and east is now plain, but on that to the south there are traces on a few plastered patches of coloured ornamental arabesques. It would thus appear that formerly the walls were covered with a species of cement, the surface of which was painted. Firuz Shah is reported to have placed a roof over the tomb. On page 89 there is a record of his having repaired and roofed the “Madrasah” of Shams-ud-din Altamsh, but I do not think this is identical with the tomb of the latter Emperor at the Kutb, and I know of no record stating that he repaired the latter building, or that it was ever used as a “Madrasah” or school before receiving the remains of Altamsh. The Kufic inscriptions are here curiously interwoven with a species of ribbon arabesque,—*vide* the band under the bell ornament about fifteen feet from the ground,—indeed the ingenuity of the decorations is throughout most admirable and full of beauty. Here, as in most buildings of the kind, the upper portion of the masonry walls assumes the shape of an octagon, and the corner niche converting the square base into an eight-sided wall is at once ingenious and an element of additional beauty to the whole design. It cannot, however, compare with the niche serving a similar purpose in the Gateway of Ala-ud-din (see Photograph XXI.) If the first principles of architectural construction and decoration be applied in judging the merits of this building, it would seem wrong that the pillars supporting the

corners of the octagonal superstructure should be covered with a diaper ornament such as is suitable to flat wall surfaces, but which is inapplicable to structural features in which the idea of strength should not be diminished. It is, however, only after a minute inspection that the eye catches this slight deviation from first principles, and it is easy to make allowance for what, after all, does not detract from the general pleasing effect of the whole.





XVII SHAMS-UD-DIN'S GATEWAYS AND TOMB

Interior of the Tomb



PHOTOGRAPH XIX.

NICHE IN THE TOMB CALLED "SULTAN GHORI."

NOTE.—The white marks near the right pillar indicate feet.

 HIS tomb is situated about three miles to the west of the Kutb and contains the remains of the eldest son of the Emperor Shams-ud-din Altamsh,—Nasir-ud-din Mahmud who was created Prince of Bengal by his father. He reigned at Lakhnauti (*i. e.* Gour the ancient capital of Bengal), and on his death, during the lifetime of Altamsh, was removed to Delhi, A. D. 1228. The tomb, which is called "Sultan Ghori," consists of a square enclosure with apartments on the four sides, on the west is a small mosque made entirely of marble. In the centre of the enclosure is an underground chamber in which is placed the tomb. The entrance is of marble, and above it are some verses from the Koran in Nuskh and Kufic characters. The examination of this photograph, so kindly undertaken by Dr. Rieu, resulted in the following information:—

The outer band of inscription consists of Koran XLVIII., verses 1-5.

The inner border is Koran III., verses 16-17; and the band round the arch of the niche is Koran III., verses 90-91; whilst the inscription above the panel is the Muhamadan Creed.

The Niche here photographed is situated in the building, and is composed of several blocks of white marble. The dimensions round the outer band of inscription measure ten feet nine inches wide by twelve feet six inches high, and the niche itself is four feet wide and eight feet high to the crown of the arch. It is curious as a piece of thirteenth century carving of somewhat crude design, and is dependent almost entirely on the Arabic and Kufic letters for ornamental details. Taken as a whole it has an agreeable effect, and possesses a character of outline and treatment which is to be found repeated in the niche in the tomb of Imâm Zamin; but in this latter example the elaboration is greater, and the date of carving some three hundred years later. (See Photograph XXIII.)



NIN. THE TOMB CALLED "SULTAN GHORI.

Niche in the Tomb.



CHAPTER VI.

ALA-UD-DIN'S GATEWAY.

ALA-UD-DIN'S ACCESSION TO THE THRONE.—MOGUL INVASION. PHOTOGRAPH XX. Doorway on the Northern Side. PHOTOGRAPH XXI. Doorway on the Southern Side. PHOTOGRAPH XXII. Exterior of Ala-ud-din's Gateway from the South. PHOTOGRAPH XXIII. Exterior of the Tomb known as "Imâm Zamin." PHOTOGRAPH XXIV. Niche in the wall towards the west in the tomb called Imâm Zamin. PHOTOGRAPH XXV. Tomb of Adam Khan.—Pathan Tombs.—Adam Khan's Career.



HE Emperor Jelal-ud-din Firuz, the first of the Khilji dynasty, removed his court to Kaikubad to the south-east of Humayan's tomb. His accession accomplished the transfer of the throne from the Turks to the Khiljis, but his nephew and son-in-law Ala-ud-din, inspired with a desire for power and the possession of the crown, intrigued with the "Turki" the partisans of the former dynasty. He accordingly commenced hostilities against the southern Hindu kingdoms, with the object of accumulating wealth to enable him to cope with the Sultan. Finding however that deceit promised a quick result, with less trouble and risk than open rebellion, he deluded Jelal-ud-din into paying him a personal visit. Whilst the Sultan was conversing with him unattended and unguarded, he in a most cruel and cowardly manner had him assassinated, and at once proceeded to take steps to acquire the reins of government.

Ala-ud-din's accession to the throne.

The son of the assassinated sultan, Rukn-ud-din Ibrahim was proclaimed king at Delhi, but soon after was driven away by the approach of Ala-ud-din to Mûltan.

Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah Khilji began his reign by all manner of festivals and amusements, which had the desired effect of making his subjects forget the circumstances connected with the death of their former king. Among the higher classes he distributed honours and distinctions; and having advanced six months' pay to the whole of his army.

he turned his attention to the extirpation of the family of his father-in-law and uncle, Jelal-ud-din. In this he was successful, but not without much cruelty. In A.D. 1296, intelligence reached Delhi that the Moguls had mustered an army of 100,000 men, and were preparing to conquer Múltan, the Panjab, and Sind. Ala-ud-din, nothing daunted, prepared to encounter the invasion, and dispatched his brother, Alaf Khan, with a large and well-disciplined body of men to oppose the intruders. The opposing forces met near Lahore, and after a fierce fight the Moguls were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men. During the next year a second great invasion occurred, which had for its object the conquest of Hindustan. The Moguls numbering 200,000 horse advanced under Kutlugh Khan to Delhi, and encamped on the banks of the River Jumma without hindrance. The whole population crowded in terror into Delhi, and in a short time a famine set in for want of supplies. Ala-ud-din determined in this strait on attacking the enemy, and marched out with a huge army of 300,000 horse. Ferishta says of these forces that such enormous hosts had never, since the appearance of the Muhammadans in India, been engaged at the same time, and in the same place. The battle was successful for Ala-ud-din, and the Moguls, beaten and disheartened, retreated out of India. In A.D. 1298, Ala-ud-din commenced some remarkable projects; first, he proposed to establish a new religion, with the object of making himself out to posterity as a sort of second Muhammad. Equally absurd was his second design—namely, to undertake the entire conquest of the world! The next year's events rather weakened the desire to accomplish either of these, as his armies suffered a severe defeat at Rantanbhor and the king, on his way to take the field in person, narrowly escaped being treacherously murdered by his nephew, Rukn Khan. The king had become detached from his camp whilst out hunting; his nephew together with a few followers, seizing the opportunity of attacking him whilst unguarded, discharged some arrows, which struck him to the ground. He was left for dead by the would-be assassins, but, recovering after a while, continued his way to Rantanbhor and defeated the rebels after much hard fighting, and with a considerable amount of difficulty. During Ala-ud-din's absence, a slave, Haji Mola, plundered the ruby palace at Delhi, and succeeded temporarily in raising an insurrection. In A.D. 1303, Turghai Khan reached the capital of Delhi with an army of 120,000 Moguls, and the king on his return from the Deccan intrenched himself on the plains

beyond the suburbs. One night the Moguls retreated, without any apparent cause, to their own country—an event attributed by historians to the miraculous intervention of a saint.

Ala-ud-din built a palace on the spot where he had been intrenched, and founded the city of Siri, (see Plan No. I. and page 16.) Soon after he sought to provide for a greatly increased army by fixing the price of all produce, by prohibiting export of grain, and by regulating the pay of his soldiers, so that the revenue could bear their cost. The next year an irruption took place into India of 40,000 horse under Ali Beg and Khwaja Tash, and the king, sending an army under Tugluck Khan, defeated the enemy at Anroha. Aibik Khan, to avenge the death of Ali Beg and Khwaja Tash invaded Hindustan, but was also defeated in A. D. 1305 on the banks of the Indus. The 3,000 prisoners who were then captured were sent with Aibik Khan to Delhi and there trodden to death by elephants. Towards the close of the king's reign, Malik Naib Kafur, who commanded the army in the Deccan, availed himself of his master's dying hours to forward his own intrigues against the heirs of the throne.

Ala-ud-din ruined his constitution by intemperance and excess, which at length brought on an illness of a serious character A. D. 1316, when he died with the reputation of having been the wealthiest, most powerful, most ignorant and cruel monarch that had ever sat on the throne of Hindustan. He is said to have been buried in the tomb to the south-west of the Kutb arches (see A on Plan No. II.), but there is some uncertainty as to his remains having ever been placed in this building which, during his lifetime, had been utilized as a mosque and "madrissah" or college.

Mir Khusru gives an account of Ala-ud-din's buildings and the following translation from the Persian text is given in Elliot's "Historians": "The Sultan determined upon completing and adding to the Masjid Jumma of Shams-ud-din, by building beyond the three old gates and courts a fourth with lofty pillars, and upon the surface of the stones he engraved the verses of the Koran in such a manner as could not be done even on wood; ascending so high that you would think the Koran was going up to heaven; and again descending in another line so low that you would think it was coming down from heaven. When the whole work was complete from top to bottom, he built other masjids in the city, so strong that if the nine vaulted and thousand eyed heavens were to fall, as they

will in the universe quake on the day of resurrection, an arch of them will not be broken. He also repaired the old masjids of which the walls were broken or inclining, or of which the roof and domes had fallen. He then resolved to make a pair to the lofty minar of the Jumma Masjid, which minar was then the single celebrated one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded. He first directed that the area of the square before the masjid should be increased, that there might be ample room for the followers of Islám. He ordered the circumference of the new minar to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion, and directed that a new casing and *cupola* should be added to the old one. The stones were dug out from the hills, and the temples of the *infidels* were demolished to furnish a further supply. He also ordered repairs to be made to all the other masjids and forts throughout the kingdom.¹

¹ Elliot's "Historians."



PHOTOGRAPH XX.

DOORWAY ON THE NORTHERN SIDE.

NOTE.—The six white dots on the right, indicate a scale of five feet.

UDGING from the intentions indicated by the extensive remains, Ala-ud-din's designs in reference to the Mosque at the Kutb were of an exalted character; but it was destined that he should neither live to see nor leave a sufficient influence to insure, the completion of them as originally conceived. Attention has already been directed to his extension of the enclosure to the north, and I took some measurements of the walls and ruined parts that are still traceable, as shown and plotted on Plan No. II.

The impossible magnitude contemplated by Ala-ud-din, in his scheme of buildings, satisfactorily accounts for the very unfinished appearance which they present; and especially does this become evident in the remains of the base of the incompleated Minar, which was to have towered up to a height of 600 feet. It is, however, more difficult to account for the shattered condition of his so-called tomb, which was a building standing intact in the year A. D. 1317. The thickness and strength of its walls still testify to the extraordinary solidity of its construction. Perhaps the tempest and earthquake which damaged the upper story of the Minar in 1782 A. D., may have also levelled this building to the ground. Whether this supposition be correct or not, the only building of Ala-ud-din which is still in a comparative state of entirety is the gateway which he constructed on the South Colonnade of Shams-ud-din's extended Masjid, *vide* O on Plan II.

It was commenced during the reign of the Emperor Ala-ud-din in the year A. D. 1310, and built of red sandstone, inlaid in different parts with carved bands of white marble. After the completion of this doorway, he is said to have ordered the commencement of

the additions to the mosque. Syud Ahmed writes that a range of eleven arches was begun, the central opening being forty-eight feet wide. In A. D. 1311 the workmen were still engaged on this work of extension, but it was not terminated before the death of the sovereign in A. D. 1316. (See S. T. on Plan No. II.)

The length of the wall to the north corresponds with the length of Altamsh's Southern Colonnade (W, X), which clearly indicates that the two buildings were intended to form two of the sides of one great structure, inclosing a large open court. The second minar (Q) is exactly opposite to the Kutb Minar, and is situated in the centre of the added part of the enclosure (F, S, and T), a very unusual position for a mazinah to occupy in a masjid. It is built of the greystone of the neighbourhood, and would have been faced with carved slabs of stone had it been completed. The substructure or terrace of this Minar covers an area of 124 feet square and is seven and a half feet in height. Above this is the plinth which is four and a half feet deep. The plinth recedes a similar distance (four and a half feet) to the tower which it encircles. The pile, including the terrace and the plinth, stands at present eighty-six feet above the ground and is composed of a central pillar twenty-six feet in diameter, and surrounded by a passage nine feet nine inches wide (the spiral staircase has not been commenced); while the outer wall or casing is about eighteen feet three inches.¹ Thus the rough mass of the tower is about eighty-two feet in diameter, and may be roughly said to be double the size of the Kutb Minar. The illness of Ala-ud-din in A. D. 1312 probably put a stop to the further progress of the work. The ground adjoining that now occupied by the traces of this building is overgrown with jungle, vegetation, and bushes. A small portion only is cultivated, so that without a somewhat careful examination, which visitors have seldom the time or inclination to make, this interesting effort to out-do the magnificence of the buildings erected at an earlier period is passed unnoticed. The half-finished tower is easily seen, and is pointed out by the guides, but not as having any connection with the extension of the mosque, of which it was an important but detached feature.

¹ The poet Amir Khusrau has thus described the Minar:—"This minaret has the appearance of a pillar of stone which has the heavens for a pedestal—or rather could one say that the heavens were below and surmounted by this pillar."



XX. ALA-UD-DIN'S GATEWAY

Gateway to the Northern Side.

Ala-ud-din's Gateway (see O on Plan No. II.) is a stone building thirty-four feet six inches square inside, with walls eleven feet thick ; the whole is surmounted by a flat dome about fifty feet from the ground. On each side is a doorway ; those to the south-east and west being lofty (thirty-five feet to the crown of the arch) and covered with a pointed horse-shoe arch ; the soffit is panelled, and covered with arabesques and inscriptions, the outer edge is fretted. The door on the north side, of which this is a photograph, is circular. It has an inner edging of carved stone-work, in style reminding one of Spanish Moresque ornament. This edging is shaped into a slightly bent trefoil arch and the effect of it is exceedingly elegant. I may be allowed to draw attention to the deviation from geometrical forms which is exemplified here as well as in the capitals of conventionalized lotus leaves. This is probably due to the employment of Hindu workmen, who, as may be inferred from the abundance of instances similar to the present ones, seem to have indulged in taking frequent opportunities of reverting to their own inclinations regarding ornament instead of complying with the strict principles of their masters the Muhammadans. The Doorway is about fifteen feet high to the centre of the arch and twelve feet wide. The corners of the building are pierced by two windows closed by perforated screens of white marble and their shape is the same as that of the other doorways, but they are only one-third the size.

Mr. Fergusson, in writing about this building, remarks :—" It * * displays the Pathan style at its period of greatest perfection, when the Hindu masons had learned to fit their exquisite style of decoration to the forms of their foreign masters. Its walls are decorated internally with a diaper pattern of unrivalled excellence."



PHOTOGRAPH XXI.

DOORWAY ON THE SOUTHERN SIDE.

NOTE.—The white marks on the left of the Photograph represent feet, as measured on the wall.



HE interior of the doorway is, in its way, one of the most pleasing and agreeable sights of the Kutb buildings. The ornament, applied to the surface of the walls with a lavishness of carving scarcely exceeded by the Alhambra itself, is everywhere appropriate, and of an elegance and ingenuity difficult to find the equal of in any other building in India. The mode by which the square walls are changed into the form of an octagon in the upper part supporting the dome is remarkable and full of suggestion. The corners of the square are cut off by pointed arches or niches of the horse-shoe shape, which diminish in size as they retire towards the angle, the effect being that of massiveness, and of that class of beauty which any thoroughly appropriate and simple feature necessarily expresses.

The ornament inside the doorway is one of those delicately-traced arabesques which are always pleasing by reason of their wonderful ingenuity and elegance,¹ and the geometric patterns on the inner walls are diversified, suitable and handsome. The dome and pendentives are quite plain; it having no doubt been obvious to the builders that the grateful shade cast by the dome would have made any elaborate ornament so high up ineffective; whilst to have introduced light *through* the dome would have been to admit a glare; thus defeating the obvious purpose of the building, namely, to provide at the threshold and entrance to the inclosure of the mosque, a pleasant retreat in the middle and heat of the day.

¹ A portion of this carved wall surface may be seen in fac-simile at the Kensington Museum, as I had a plaster cast made on the spot.

The Arabic inscriptions, which contain verses from the Koran and the name of Ala-ud-din frequently repeated, are incomplete both inside and outside the building, on account of its ruined state, but the well-known title of Ala-ud-din Sikandar Sâm, and the date A.D. 1310 are to be read.





XI ALA-UD-DIN'S GATEWAY

Ala-ud-Din's Gateway, Delhi

PHOTOGRAPH XXII.

EXTERIOR OF ALA-UD-DIN'S GATEWAY FROM THE SOUTH.

NOTE.—The white marks on the left of the steps indicate a scale of five feet.

HE remains of the ornamentation upon the exterior surface of the building testify to the beautiful effect which the complete and undamaged structure must formerly have derived from its details. The lightest portions are of white marble, while the darker ones are of red sandstone. The contrast of these materials enhances the value of the decoration cut into them. The juxtaposition of the two columns in the gateway, although many examples of such arrangement exist, together with the minute ornament upon their exposed sides, is pleasing.

It will be observed that upon the bands on the upper portion of the building are Arabic inscriptions, but I have already said they are almost illegible.

The walls are crowned by a parapet, and the dome, which is flat, is only visible at a distance. Perhaps the pleasantest feature of the exterior is to be found in the marble tracery of the windows. In this the usual geometrical forms predominate. The windows at the two extremities are deeply cut into the thickness of the side walls, and therefore partake more of the character of a niche, or "mihrab." The ornament used during Ala-ud-din's reign had not changed, from the flat style of the time of Shams-ud-din Altamsh and in this building, as in the gateways built by the latter Sultan, the patterns are mostly incised and uncarved.



PHOTOGRAPH XXIII.

EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE TOMB KNOWN AS "IMÂM ZAMIN."

NOTE.—The six white dots on the left of the doorway indicate a scale of five feet.

BELOW the Kutb pillar and to the east of Ala-ud-din's Gateway, is situated a small tomb which contains the remains of Muhammad Ali Masjîd, also known by the soubriquet of Husain Pai Minar, and Muhammad Fakîr Syud Imâm Zamin. This man was a celebrated Muhammadan priest who officiated in the principal Masjîd in Delhi during the reign of Sikandar Lodi (A.D. 1488-1517). During the first part of Humayun's reign in A.D. 1535, Muhammad Ali had this building erected with a view of using it during his lifetime as a dwelling—a sort of hermit's retreat—and when his death occurred in A.D. 1537 he was there interred according to the wishes which he left on record.

It frequently happens that both Pathan and Mogul tombs have previously served the purpose of a residence or pleasure resort during the lifetime of the founder. In the majority of cases a garden is first enclosed by a wall of more or less ornamental character, then a pavilion is erected in its centre which is called a "Baradari;" literally this word means "twelve doored," but the term is frequently applied to pavilions having a larger number of openings or entrances. When the builder dies it is customary to deposit his remains in this central building, and if he is a man of note and position the bodies of his wife and family are placed under the same roof. A contemporaneous building of this class in the neighbourhood and close to the Kutb Minar is the tomb called Molana Jumali,¹ which Fiez-ul-la Khan used as a retreat in A.D. 1528, and where he was buried in A.D. 1535. Both buildings are designed in the style of the "late Pathan" architecture, and their

¹ See page 27, it is situated to the South of the Kutb, about a quarter of a mile off.

erection occurred during the sovereignty of the Afghans, just before the Mogul invasion. In the present example the traces are left of the early adopted plan of using the columns of a Hindu building, and of replacing them to support the superstructure of a Pathan tomb. Here the supporting pilasters are of a Hindu character, and were no doubt made expressly for the building; they are placed round a square apartment of about sixteen feet interior dimension. The wall to the west, as is usual in most tombs, is filled up by an ornamental niche or "milrab" (see Photograph XXIII), which occupies a position in the centre. On the three other sides of the building the intervals between the pilasters are filled in with screens of red sandstone perforated with a variety of very pleasing geometric traceries. The small entrance faces the south, and above the lintel is a marble slab with an inscription in Arabic characters. A marble sarcophagus occupies the centre of the square apartment and rests on a marble floor. The square form of the building passes through the usual process of changing to an octagon in order to support a semi-circular dome about twenty-five feet high. A stone eave projecting about three feet above the caps of the pilasters on all four sides, protects the open screen work from glare and rain.





XXIII IMAM ZAMIN'S TOMB

PHOTOGRAPH XXIV.

NICHE IN THE WALL TOWARDS THE WEST, IN THE TOMB CALLED
“IMÂM ZAMIN.”

HE niche, situated in the western wall, in the interior of the tomb, forms a graceful piece of decorative carving, and a plaster cast of it was made and brought to England for exhibition in the Kensington Museum, where it may now be seen. The original, which is of white marble, is a very good example of a favourite mode of mural decoration. Its outline consists of a pointed arch supported by broken pillars; the back of the recess being elaborately carved with arabesques and inscriptions. In buildings of a more domestic character, niches similar in shape are commonly used as shelves, or for containing lamps and in such cases are placed some feet above the ground. In the present instance, the niche serves as a species of sanctuary or altar (*mihrab*), and is meant to do honour to that part of the building pointing westward, towards which Muhammadans prostrate themselves in the exercise of devotions. The subject of the inscriptions engraved on the surface of the niche has been obtained through Dr. Rien, who kindly gives the information that the writing over the arch and above the panel embodies the Creed of the Muhammadans.





XXIV IMÂM ZAMIN'S TOMB.

View in the Wall towards the West.



PHOTOGRAPH XXV.

TOMB OF ADAM KHAN.



THE Pathans have left a large number of tombs scattered around Delhi, the forms of which are strangely characteristic of the stern and uncompromising qualities of the builders, when they had ceased to be so largely influenced by the Hindu methods of ornamentation which, during the early period of conquest, were so much intermingled with their own styles. The common form of these tombs consists of a square or an octagonal chamber with a dome surrounded by a verandah, each side having three openings with pointed arches. In the early examples the domes and arches were flat or rather depressed ; the tendency to become stilted and of less robust outline being greater with the approach to the period of the Mogul rulers. The Pathan style of later date introduced a greater degree of elaboration ; the tombs and mosques were made more ornamental, frequently being covered with elaborate marbled work and with coloured tiles of great beauty both in respect of colour and design. These coloured tiles produce a very pleasing and agreeable relief to the sombre colour of the stone, and add a bright and crisp quality of light and colour to the buildings which they adorn. Blue and yellow glazed tiles are those most frequently used in the exteriors, and are sometimes treated like mosaics, the patterns being cut out in one coloured tile, and filled up by a tile of a second colour. Pathan Tombs.

In the tomb of Adam Khan we have a specimen of architecture built during the reign of a Mogul ruler in which, however, the then not forgotten style of the Pathans has been adhered to. The plan consists of an octagonal chamber of fifty feet diameter, surrounded by a verandah. The eight openings into the inner chamber are now blocked up, in order to render the building habitable for the civil authorities, who find it necessary to visit the locality in their tours of inspection and duty in the Delhi District. These

openings correspond with the central arches of each of the octagonal sides of the verandah, and above the terrace of the verandah is a dome, which rises from a sixteen-sided wall to a height of about one hundred feet above the floor of the tomb. The whole building is raised on a large octagonal terrace about twelve feet from the ground ; the walls enclosing the terrace are loop-holed, as if for the purposes of defence, and at each angle is situated a small tower. The great peculiarity of the building consists in a staircase, constructed after the fashion of a labyrinth in the thick walls surrounding the inner chamber. This staircase in one direction reaches the terrace above the verandah in a few steps, whilst in another direction it winds up and down round the building, finally ending against a dead wall. Visitors thus frequently become lost, and much merriment is caused in their endeavours to find their way out again.

Adam Khan's
career.

Adam Khan Anka, son of Maham Anka, was foster-brother to the Emperor Akbar. In the year A. D. 1560 he was appointed to the command of an army which had been called together for the conquest of Malwa. The ruler of that country, Baz Bahadur, was a man of great indolence and could not be induced to undertake the necessary preparations for defence until the enemy had advanced to the very gates of his capital. Adam Khan in consequence achieved an easy victory, succeeded in capturing the property of Baz Bahadur and appropriated the ladies of his harem.¹ To the Emperor his master he sent only a few elephants out of a large accumulation of valuable booty; and Akbar, conceiving from this mark of indifference that Adam intended to render himself independent, at once marched towards him, and arrived before Sarangpūr where Adam Khan, unaware of the king's approach, was on the point of leaving the city to besiege Gangrar; but, meeting the Emperor outside the walls, he accompanied his royal master with many signs

¹ An affecting incident occurred on this occasion. Baz Bahadur had a Hindu mistress, who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was as accomplished as she was fair, and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindu language. She fell into the hands of Adam Khan on the flight of Baz Bahadur, and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she appointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes, and lay down on a couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought she had fallen to sleep, but on endeavouring to wake her on the approach of the Khan, they found she had taken poison, and was already dead. (Khafi Khan quoted by Elphinstone in his "History of India," vol. ii. p. 262.)





of respectful submission, back into the city. During the following year Muhammad Khan Atka was appointed Prime Minister at Delhi and soon acquired great influence with Akbar; Adam Khan, being jealous of the power which threatened to accrue to this new favourite, resolved to compass his ruin; but all endeavours failed and brought the author to shame and degradation. However, Adam Khan had determined to destroy his rival; and one day, when Muhammad Khan was reading the Koran aloud in the hall of audience, Adam Khan entered and saluted him; but the minister, according to the custom on such occasions, continued his prayers, and took no notice of the salute. Adam Khan, in the heat of the moment, stabbed the minister to the heart and left the court. The king, who was in the adjoining apartment asleep, came out on hearing the disturbance and, on finding the body of the minister weltering in blood, drew his sword and was about to pursue and put the murderer to death with his own hand, but remembering his dignity, refrained and ordered his attendants to throw the culprit over the parapet. Maham Atka died forty days afterwards from grief, and both father and son were interred in the tomb at Delhi which, it is stated, Akbar had caused to be built for the purpose. It is difficult to account for the construction of a labyrinth in a building intended to contain the body of a murderer; and unless the building had been designed before Adam Khan's death,¹ one can only imagine that the staircase labyrinth in the wall was for the wandering spirit of the unhappy culprit. The building goes by the name of "Bhul-bahliyân," or, "place where one loses oneself."

The sarcophagus, which consists of a block of stone of simple outline, was formerly situated in the centre of the tomb, under the dome; but since the building has been converted into a rest house or road bungalow for the civil officers of the district, it has been placed in the verandah, facing the north. The position of Adam Khan's tomb is indicated on Plan No. I. (see page 11). It is situated on the extreme south-west limit of the area which included the various sites occupied by the cities of Delhi for over 2,300 years, *i.e.* from the year B.C. 1450 to the present day. It was in this building that I stayed during the casting operations at the Kutb; and in spite of the somewhat dismal character

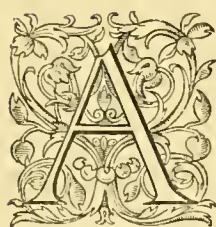
¹ Which is not unlikely; the building like other tombs of Muhammadan's may have been used during Adam Khan's life as a place of recreation.

of my temporary abode, under whose vaulted dome the slightest noise produced mysterious echoes, I still look back with pleasure to the time passed in connecting together links of history relating to the surrounding ruins, and in studying the infinite variety of architectural forms which once made the Delhi buildings the fit abodes of Hindu kings, and lent splendour and grandeur to the capital of the Muhammadan emperors of India.





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