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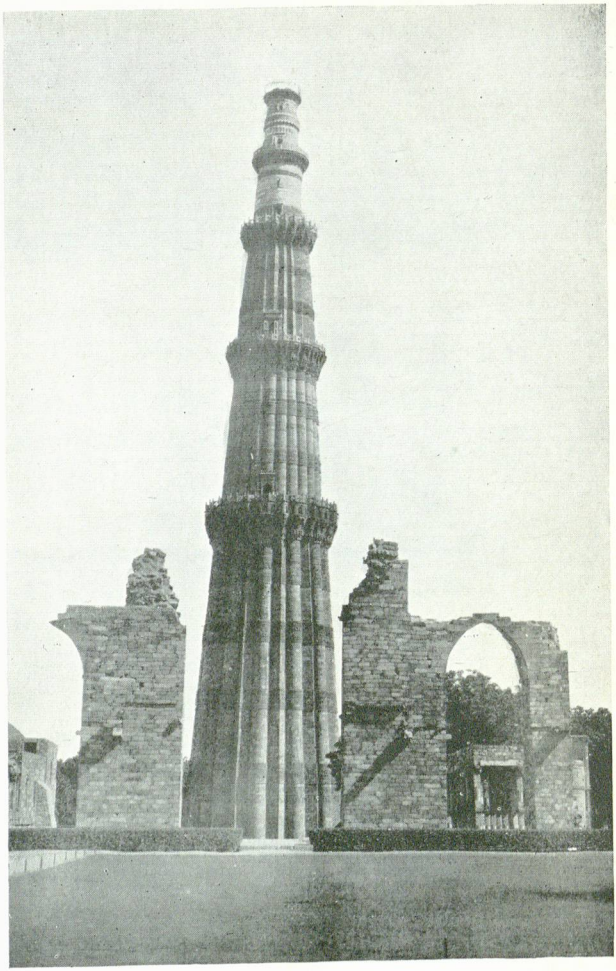

KUTB MINAR

Frontispiece

DELHI

ITS STORY AND BUILDINGS

BY

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SECOND EDITION

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INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE buildings of Delhi furnish a striking epitome of the history both of the city itself and of Hindustan. But, scattered as they are over an extensive area, the works of one period mingling with those of another, the monuments confront the visitor with what appears at first sight to be a baffling problem. Why did seven so-called cities arise in this particular neighbourhood? What motives indicated their sites? Why do we find examples of incongruous styles of architecture jostling one another in apparently meaningless confusion? This little volume attempts to answer these and other kindred questions and to serve the needs of visitors who approach the city and its surrounding ruins with a desire to grasp the fascinating tale which, if studied in due order, those monuments can unfold. Its main intention is to give in compact form a history of the principal events connected with Delhi and of some of the buildings as illustrating that history.

In this second edition I have added a short chapter on the eighth city — the new capital of India which has recently been erected; and I have re-written Appendix II with reference to new roads and improved means of transport.

I desire here to repeat my acknowledgment of the assistance I have received from previous works dealing with Delhi and with India, and my thanks for the aid given me by Sir John Marshall and Maulvi Zafar Hassan,

of the Archaeological Department, in preparing the original edition. I would now add my thanks to Sir Herbert Baker, for valuable suggestions regarding Chapter XV; and to Sir Hugh Keeling, who kindly looked through that chapter; to Mr. John Murray, who has courteously permitted me to utilise the map of Delhi contained in his *Handbook for Travellers in India* for adaptation to the needs of this volume.

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THE SITE OF DELHI

COMPARED with many other historic cities, Delhi is not of great antiquity. The Greek Megasthenes, who was Seleucus Nicator's ambassador at the court of Chandragupta at the end of the fourth century B.C., and the Chinese pilgrim of the seventh century A.D. do not mention the name. It is held by some that the oldest Delhi is not older than 300 A.D., by others that it was founded in the eleventh century. Of the Hindu city which existed prior to the Muslim conquest at the close of the twelfth century, the fragments which remain are very slight. The interest of Delhi is not its great age. It is rather that the place was long the seat of a great empire, and that on this particular site a succession of cities or citadels arose, whose buildings or ruins constitute a unique record of the history of upper India and whose architecture manifests by clearly marked, successive stages the development of a very noble phase of the Saracenic art.

Tradition has placed Delhi on the site of Indraprashtha, the city sung of in the *Mahabharata* as founded by the Pandavas; and the name is preserved in Indrapat—the stronghold of Humayun and Sher Shah, otherwise called the Purana Qila (old fort). If this is true, no trace of that epic settlement remains.[1] Delhi first became

[1] The discovery of some large bricks, however, which may date from as early as the fourth century A.D., show that the site of Indrapat is of some antiquity.

important in the eleventh century as a city of the Rajputs, contemporary with the Plantagenets in England and the Hohenstaufens in the Holy Roman Empire.

The question naturally arises why city after city was built on this particular site and why, in a country where capricious monarchs thought little of transferring their place of residence at short intervals to long distances, the capital of India, with the exception of certain periods, remained rooted to this particular plain. To the east flows the Jumna; to the west is the Ridge—the last expiring effort of the Aravalli range in its push northwards. The plain forms a triangle, its apex to the north, where the Ridge meets the river at Wazirabad, gradually widening till we come to Old Delhi, situated on the western end of a low lateral spur; this spur runs in a broken line towards the river and includes on the way the rocky platform of Tughlaqabad. A theory advanced is that the river formed the attraction; and this theory is supported by the fact that in earlier times the river or some of its branches undoubtedly flowed further to the west than now, that it gradually receded eastwards and that the succession of cities followed this change. But the problem still remains why the seat of empire should have hugged this particular reach. The idea of the commercial advantages of a riparian site is difficult to maintain in view of the fact that any other stretch of river would probably have been equally advantageous.

The true cause is more probably to be found in considerations of defence—considerations of high importance in 'a time that hover'd between war and wantonness, and crownings and dethronements.' The Ridge on the one side—insignificant as it would be in a country of hills, but important as the northern apex of broken

country impinging upon the great riverine plain—and the river on the other, formed a convenient *point d'appui* either for forays into the rich champaign or for warders of the marches who had to guard the naturally defenceless gap from Delhi northwards to the Himalaya. Once the city became established here, the tradition and the name formed further strong inducements for retaining the imperial headquarters on this site. It is easy to conceive that the same superstitious belief came to centre in the locality as that which clung in later days round the hill-fortress of Asirgarh, and that the ruler who held not Delhi was deemed to exercise no secure sway over the broad plains of Hindustan.

The invasions of India have generally been from the north-west, down the Bolan, the Khyber or the Malakand pass. The Himalaya and the mountains that stretch southwards through Afghanistan and Baluchistan are to-day naturally regarded as her border and her defence. But in days when strategic railways and artillery were non-existent this was not the case. The defence line was formed by the great rivers of the Punjab and the Indian desert; and the boundary of India was less distinctly marked than now. Sometimes the rulers of India included Afghanistan also in their empire; sometimes the forces of outside pressure pushed back her border to the Sutlej or even further eastwards. In 327 B.C. Alexander the Great found the Punjab rivers no insurmountable barrier. His thrust towards the Gangetic plain failed by reason of climatic causes, the dissatisfaction of his troops and uprisings of tribes in his rear. After Alexander's death, Seleucus Nicator made an attempt to recover the Indian conquests, but was defeated by Chandragupta. But after the death of Asoka,

Chandragupta's grandson, the great Mauryan dynasty weakened. Græco-Bactrian kings invaded India, piercing even as far as Oudh. The Bactrian kingdom was in turn overwhelmed by new nomad hordes. The Parthians annexed Taxila. Then, during the first and second centuries A.D., the Kushans extended their empire as far east as Benares. This conquest was of a more permanent nature than were the invasions of the Greeks or the Bactrians. An eloquent testimony to the fact that north-western India belonged during those times to a circle of civilization different from that of the Hindus and drew its inspiration from Greece and the Near East is found in the antiquities of the North-West Frontier and the Punjab—the beautiful Gandharan sculptures of the Peshawar and and Lahore Museums, the semi-classical ruins of Taxila and the mixture of eastern and western influences at Muttra and even further afield. It was as though Europe had stretched an arm through the gap formed by those lands which cradled ancient empires and early seats of culture, between the Arabian deserts to the south and the nomad-peopled steppes to the north, and had seized, but fitfully and indirectly, this north-western pocket of India. The influence was sometimes exercised through alien peoples and, as it extended, it was soon overpowered by Indian art and thought.

The Scythian and the subsequent invasions were part of the great world movement from the steppes and forests of central Asia and northern Europe, the same movement which brought the Frank, the Hun and the Goth to the shores of the Mediterranean and destroyed the Roman Empire.

Just at the time when this movement, though not ended, seemed to have lost its greatest force, much of

Europe and Asia was plunged into a new series of changes. The Prophet Muhammad (570-632 A.D.) preached a religion of conquest. The armies of Islam, starting from Arabia, rapidly swept through western Asia to the Hindu Kush and the Oxus, and through northern Africa and the Mediterranean coasts to Spain, and even into France. But India was for the present secure. The Arab descents upon the shores of Bombay and Kasim's invasion of Sindh by the Mekran coast in the seventh and eighth centuries had no abiding effect. When trouble came, it was not from the birth-place of Islam but from the Turanian tribes of central and northern Asia. In fact, the Muhammadan invasion of India represented less a religious war than a continuance of the great national movements which had previously brought upon her the Aryans, the Scythians and the White Huns. The invaders mainly came from the wilds of central Asia. The earliest were Turks and Afghans — Sabuktagin in the tenth century A.D. and Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh, who made incursions, but, save in the Punjab, without lasting effect; Shahab-ud-din (known as Muhammad of Ghor), who conquered Delhi at the end of the twelfth century and who was succeeded by the Turkish and Pathan dynasties, Slave, Khilji, Tughlaq, Sayyid and Lodi. But, though within a few years of the capture of Delhi the Muhammadans had extended their conquests through northern India into Bengal, and though a century later they were raiding far into southern India, they found themselves as early as the latter half of the thirteenth century face to face with a new horde of invaders, the dreaded Mongols, or Mughals, who proved a constant source of trouble to the so-called Pathan dynasties and whose outrages culminated in the

massacre perpetrated by Timur (Tamerlane) in 1398. The empire of the Khiljis and the Tughlaqs fell to pieces, and when the Mughal Babar invaded India in 1526 he found her a comparatively easy prey.

During these centuries, Delhi, set between the Ridge and the river, like a last bastion pushed northward from the barrier of sand and mountain on the west and south, guarded the narrow gap which led between this last spur and the Himalayan foot-hills into the wide plains beyond. Alexander did not reach it; but one can well imagine that the warriors gathered along the low, wall-like range in expectation of his advance. It is likely that it stood as a bulwark, though an ineffectual bulwark, against subsequent invaders. It it certain that it so stood when Prithvi Raja opposed the on-coming hosts of Shahab-ud-din, again when the Turkish conquerors themselves had to put forth their full strength against the following swarms of Mongols, and yet again when Babar overthrew the last of the Pathan dynasties. Thenceforward the tradition and consecration of the place maintained it, though not continuously, as the seat of empire. In early British times it found itself again a frontier town against the martial races of the Punjab, as the walls still testify, restored by British engineers after its capture by General Lake in 1803. The shadow of empire drew the mutineers to it in 1857; and the maintenance of the prestige of the Government demanded its speedy reduction. To-day the glamour of its name has again attracted the paramount power to build on that historic site what promises to rank among the most magnificent of the capital cities of the world. But it is the rocks of the battle-stricken Ridge and the stern walls of successive fortresses that give to the place its compelling characteristic and provide an

historic background for the charm of sumptuous palace, mosque and garden, with which the Mughal knew so cunningly to adorn the wilderness and the desolate places, and for the splendours of the new metropolitan city of modern India.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVEN CITIES

THE plain whose position has been described in the last chapter has provided the site for seven cities, each of which has sprung upon a different portion of the area, though their limits have sometimes overlapped. The number has suggested a fanciful analogy to the seven hills of Rome. The analogy between the two cities in other ways is far from fanciful—the long tale of empire and of tragedy, the massive ruins, the tomb-lined roads and the epitome in architecture of the history of past dynasties.

The site forms a triangle of approximately seventy square miles. The two sides, west and east, are the Ridge and the Jumna. The base is a line of low broken hills, jutting from the Ridge eastwards almost to the river. The apex is marked by the fourteenth century buildings of Wazirabad. The present city of Shahjahanabad (with the modern civil station) spans the triangle from side to side. On the western end of the base stands Old Delhi. About half-way on the base eastwards is Tughlaqabad. Between these points are the sites of the other cities.

These cities belong to the Muhammadan period of Indian history. Prior to the end of the twelfth century A.D. the Hindus ruled in Delhi, and the Turkish kings built their first settlement on the site of a Rajput city. Before the middle of the eighteenth century the power of the Mughal empire had passed away; but its kings, though they no longer ruled, continued to reign. In 1803 the British entered Delhi and remained the guardians of

these titular monarchs till the deposition of the last of them as the result of the mutiny of 1857. Thus the Muhammadan period lies between a Hindu and a British period.

This period at its greatest length lasted for 664 years. But, for over a hundred years before its conclusion, the Mughal empire had ceased to exist either as an administrative power or as the producer of great monuments. The period falls into two clearly defined halves of practically equal length. The first lasted from 1193 to 1526 A.D. During that time five different dynasties ruled in Delhi, five of the seven cities were built, and their architecture displays several clearly developing styles. (The dynasties and the architecture are often designated Pathan,[1] since the original conqueror, Muhammad of Ghor, came from Afghanistan. The term Turkish or Turanian would be more correct. Out of the first forty recorded sultans up to Humayun's restoration probably only nine were Afghans.) The second nominally lasted from 1526 to 1857, but the empire rapidly weakened after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. During this time the ruling family (with an interval of fifteen years when the throne was held by the Afghan house of Sur) was the Mughal house directly descended from Timur the Tartar. The Mughal period has left us a magnificent heritage of buildings; but nearly all of these date from the first 150 years, during which there was a rapid artistic development, falling soon after, like the empire itself, into decadence.

It would be easy to argue that the cities of Delhi were in reality less or more than seven. The first, second and

[1] *Pathan* means an Afghan settled in India.

fourth cities mentioned below really form successive growths in the development of a single centre of population. On the other hand, it may be urged that the earlier Hindu city should not be omitted as a separate entity and that certain minor cities (of which the traces have disappeared), such as that at Kilokhri, should figure in the list. The new capital has added an eighth city. But the accepted number of the Muhammadan cities is seven; and these are the cities whose remains are extant and with which we are here mainly concerned. Their names and dates are as follows:—

(i) Old Delhi, built by the Slave dynasty and begun about the close of the twelfth century on the site of the older Hindu capital. This is represented to-day mainly by the Kutb Minar and the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque.

(ii) Siri, built by Ala-ud-din of the Khilji dynasty about the year 1303, some three miles to the north-east of Old Delhi, in order to provide for the growing population. Its sole interest consists in the remains of portions of its walls, constructed as a protection against Mongol raids.

(iii) Tughlaqabad, built by the first emperor of the Tughlaq line in 1321, some four miles to the east of Old Delhi. This is an impressive ruin, with its great walls, massive, though sadly fallen, its remnants of the palace within and the perfect tomb of its founder, Ghiyas-ud-din, without.

(iv) Jahanpannah, built by the next Tughlaq sovereign, Muhammad Shah, in 1327, with a view to joining up Old Delhi and Siri with walls and thus safeguarding the inhabited quarters which had naturally grown up between (hence its name, 'Protection' or 'Asylum of the World'). It contains various monuments — the Bijay Mandal and the Begumpur Mosque, and includes

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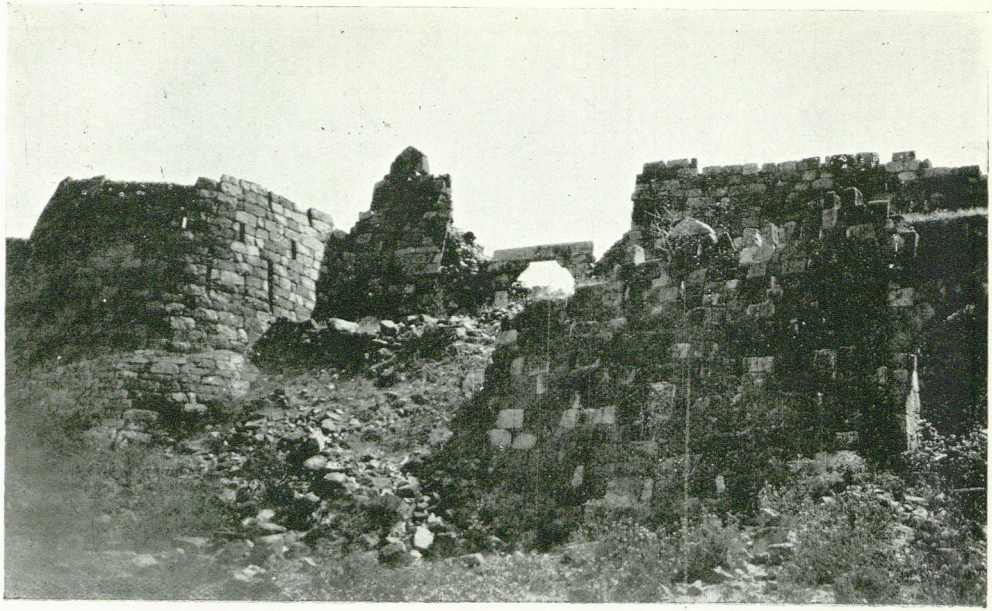

TUGHLAQABAD

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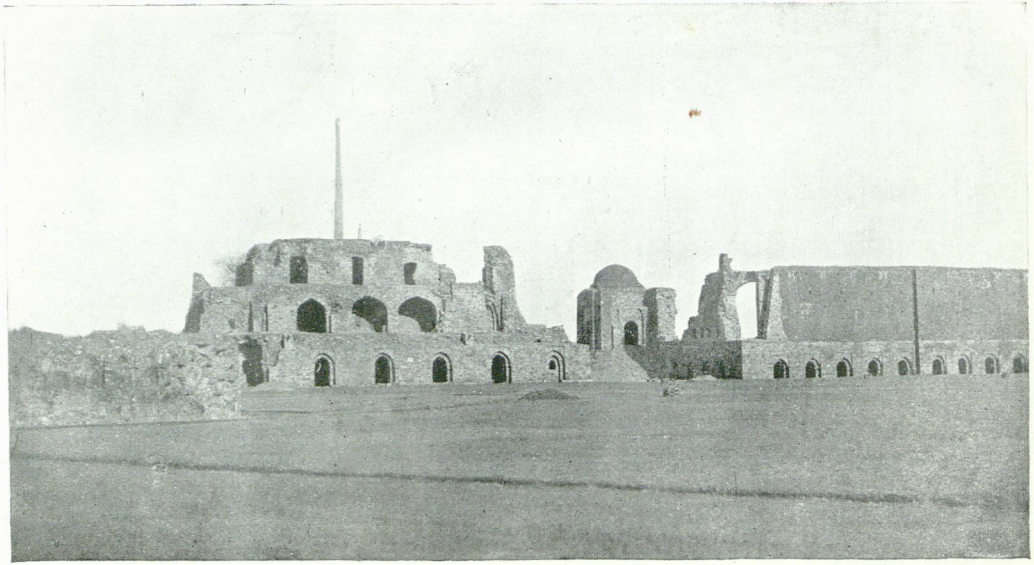

FIROZABAD

within its circuit the groups of buildings at Roshan Chiragh Delhi and Khirki.

(v) Firozabad (sometimes called Firoz Shah's Kotila), built about 1354 by yet another of the Tughlaq line, about eight miles north of Old Delhi and just outside the south-eastern corner of the wall of the present city. It is remarkable for the high platform on which an Asoka pillar is planted and the ground-plan of a fine mosque. But the buildings of this long reign are scattered far and wide. The Kalan Masjid[1] (great mosque), just inside the present city walls, was no doubt included within Firoz Shah's city, and signs of the handiwork of this era extend from Wazirabad on the north to Begumpur and Khirki on the south.

(vi) The Purana Qila, otherwise known as Indrapat, apparently begun by the Mughal emperor Humayun, completed by the so-called usurper Sher Shah (1540-1545) and again inhabited by Humayun on his restoration. Its splendid walls contain Sher Shah's Mosque and the Sher Mandal; and just to the south are Humayun's tomb and other buildings.

(vii) Shahjahanabad, built by the Mughal emperor Shahjahan, between 1638 and 1658. The Fort or Red Palace and the Jama Masjid are its principal features; and its walls, restored by the British, are in good preservation.

To the north of Shahjahanabad lies the modern civil station, mainly situated between the northern wall and that portion of the Ridge which formed the line whence the attacks were launched against the mutineers in 1857.

[1] Sometimes called Kali Masjid (black mosque). *Masjid* is used where, often because preceded by an adjective, it has been commonly adopted in European parlance.

Two and a half miles from the south-western curve of the walls is situated the new capital.

Such are the seven cities. The first five (so far as they remain) were built in the styles of architecture developed during the Turkish and Pathan dynasties who constructed them. The Purana Qila and adjoining buildings show mixed characteristics of the Pathan and Mughal art—naturally, since Sher Shah was an Afghan and Humayun a Mughal. The principal buildings of Shahjahanabad (save for pre-existing structures included within its circuit) exhibit the Mughal style at its zenith. It will be observed that the five earliest cities were built by the first three dynasties, the Slaves, the Khiljis and the Tughlaqs. The remaining two dynasties of the Sayyids and the Lodis constructed no separate cities. But they evolved a distinctive style of architecture and have left some striking monuments. This point is mentioned here only because it is necessary to bear in mind that no description of Delhi would be complete which restricted itself to the seven recognised cities. The country is strewn with groups of buildings which are not enclosed within the walls of any of those fortress-towns. Sultan Ghari (west of Old Delhi) was constructed during the Slave dynasty. The Tughlaq period left many isolated monuments—Adilabad, the out-lying fort to the south of Tughlaqabad; the dargah[1] and bridge at Wazirabad; the Chauburji Mausoleum and other buildings along the Ridge; and Hauz Khas,[2] which, though excavated by

[1] *Dargah* means an enclosure containing the tomb of a Muhammadan saint, venerated as a shrine and generally having a mosque in the enclosure. By reason of its sanctity the spot often became a favourite burying-place for future generations. (See Chapter XIV.)

[2] *Hauz* means a reservoir; *Khas* means private, as in *Diwan-i-Khas*.

Ala-ud-din Khilji, was restored and surrounded with its present buildings by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The monuments of the Sayyids and the Lodis are mainly found at Khairpur (about midway between Old Delhi and Shahjahanabad), but also scattered to the south of that place. Isolated buildings of the Mughal period are the tombs of Humayun and Safdar Jang. Sometimes, too, buildings of a later period have sprung up within the walls of a more ancient city. Thus, mosques of the time of Firoz Shah are found in Jahanpannah, which includes also Roshan Chiragh Delhi—a place which has received additions any time from 1356 to 1729. The enclosure of Nizam-ud-din's dargah is another spot with a long history. It was commenced in the reign of Ala-ud-din Khilji; but it contains tombs of the Mughal times. In or near Old Delhi are to be found the tank and dargah of a saint, Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, who came to Delhi with the first conquerors, which is thus of very early origin, though it contains a graveyard where lie the last Mughal emperors; a fine mosque of the time of Babar and Humayun and the tomb of Adham Khan (Akbar's foster brother).

The fact that the so-called Pathan period produced no less than five cities might appear to be evidence, if such evidence were needed, of the unsettled state of the country and the constant necessity of finding new defensive positions. But any such theory must be cautiously received. The position of Old Delhi was dictated by the existence of the Hindu city, whose walls and masonry could be used by conquerors building in haste. Siri and Jahanpannah were its natural extensions into the plain. Tughlaqabad was perhaps partially planned with a view to providing a less vulnerable fortress against the Mongols.

The city of Firoz Shah exhibits no special defensive qualities; Firoz Shah was a great builder and probably founded this city as an outlet for his propensities in this direction. Indeed, the original site never ceased, at least until Mughal times, to be a large centre of population. The city sacked by Timur in 1398 was that comprised within the walls of Old Delhi and its extensions. Jahanpannah contains buildings of the time of Firoz Shah and even later; Old Delhi contains the Jamali Mosque (late Afghan) and the tomb of Adham Khan (early Mughal). Many apparent difficulties connected with this seat of empire are solved when it is realised that the six cities south of Shahjahanabad were not separate cities in the proper sense of the term, but that Tughlaqabad, Firozabad and even probably the Purana Qila were rather new palaces which grew up in the neighbourhood of the original settlement and its suburbs, Siri and Jahanpannah. The pressure of over-population in a great centre and the mere love of building urged the emperors to seek spots where their palaces could be expanded and strengthened in comparative quiet and security. Firozabad has been likened to the Windsor of Old Delhi. No single one of these so-called cities could have held the whole population. They formed the official quarters of the actual city, whose mosques, tanks, garden-houses and suburbs spread over much of the plain. The centre was changed, but the population only slowly gravitated towards it from the old circumference. The same process is being enacted now. The new capital at Raisina is to Shahjahanabad as were Tughlaqabad and Firozabad to Old Delhi.

With the accession of Akbar, Delhi suffered temporary eclipse. He and his successor made their headquarters at Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri and Lahore. When Shahjahan

built the Red Palace, the centre of population changed, the old sites became deserted and Shahjahanabad has remained the real city of Delhi from the middle of the seventeenth century till to-day.

Shahjahanabad forms a complete city, its restored walls generally in good condition, its great mosque perfect as when it was built, and the fort, though shorn of much of its glory, still well preserved. The older cities have decayed through war, neglect and the depredations of subsequent builders. Their limits are often a matter of conjecture. The western rampart of Old Delhi still remains; so also, though in sad ruin, the walls of Tughlaqabad. These were less liable to demolition by the forces of nature or of man through the facts that they largely face the sides of scarps and their sites were less accessible for the transport of stones to new buildings Save for some portions of the wall of Siri, the circuits of the other cities prior to the Purana Qila are marked only by mounds. Their walls were unsupported by hill-sides and, situated in the plain, formed a tempting quarry. Veneration has spared mosques and tombs from actual spoliation and sometimes has tended them with care. But the palaces and other secular buildings have disappeared: of the Lal Kot[1] of Old Delhi and the hall of a thousand pillars in Jahanpannah probably no trace remains, and but little is left of the palaces of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and Firoz Shah. Much masonry was removed by Firoz

[1] The Red Fort. Red sandstone has been largely used (and is now being used) in the construction of the various Delhis, though it is not an indigenous product and has to be conveyed from the neighbourhood of Bharatpur—distant 115 miles. The palace of Shahjahan is also called the Red Fort or Palace. This material has also been largely used in the construction of the new capital.

Shah and Sher Shah; and Sher Shah's fort (the Purana Qila), though its magnificent walls have been spared, is, save for the mosque and the Sher Mandal, a mere shell tenanted till lately by a squalid hamlet.

CHAPTER III

THE ARCHITECTURE OF DELHI

THE styles of architecture used by the Muhammadans at Delhi form a distinctive group among the many Saracenic styles developed in India. Controversy has arisen round the question to what extent this genus of art owes its inspiration to Indian or to outside sources. Let us at once give both sources their due and close the controversy by naming the genus Indo-Saracenic. It is not a thoroughly satisfactory name, any more than Pathan is a suitable designation for the earlier dynasties. Indeed it is Saracenic only in the sense that it is Muhammadan; and anything less akin to what the mind ordinarily associates with the word Saracenic could hardly be imagined than the solid, heavy structures of some of these Delhi styles. But the name is commonly accepted, conveys a fairly well understood idea, and gives their due to two opposing elements.

The canons of architecture are determined by various influences—the constructive material, climate, domestic requirements, religion, the teachings of nature and the desire to harmonise with the surrounding landscape. But art, though at times and in places it crystallises into distinctive styles and becomes penned in water-tight compartments, is a world-wide heritage, whose treasures are capable of exchange and its tendencies susceptible of interaction. The time when the Muhammadans conquered India was one of fusion and the movement of nations; it was also one of creative genius in the field of

architecture. In Europe the invading barbarians and the Muslim conquests had infused the traditions of Hellenism with new influences; while Hellenism again had left its mark upon the art of Asia. The Abbasid Caliphate had focussed the arts of the Middle East. The return-tide of the Crusades was bringing Europe into contact with sciences which it had lost. Already noble examples of development had arisen, mingling the characteristics of the classic, the Lombard and the Saracenic schools—Santa Sophia, Pisa, and St. Mark's. The late Norman style in England had just produced Lincoln Cathedral and was merging into pointed English. The characteristics of Saracenic art had impressed themselves on the classical traditions of Europe. Now they were carried into the plains of India, and there encountered a style equally distinctive and marvellously elaborated.

The style which the Muhammadans developed in India has to be regarded in two aspects—in its relation to the other Islamic styles prevalent in the Near and Middle East and in its relation to the indigenous art which the invaders found in India.

The Saracenic style which came into India and merged into the Indo-Saracenic was distinctively Islamic. But it was not harnessed to the models which characterize Arabian architecture. It has been said of Arabian architecture that 'one cannot help feeling that the style fails to give entire æsthetic satisfaction. Want of symmetry of plan, poverty of articulation, insufficiency of plastic decoration, and an incongruous mingling of wood and stone are the imperfections which strike most northern critics. The architects, in fact, bestowed the whole of their attention on the decoration of surfaces; and down to the present day the Arabian

artists have always displayed far greater ability in designing the most complicated ornaments and geometrical figures than in the treatment and proportion of masses.'[1] If we judge from their earliest efforts, the Turks were by nature great builders, endowed with large architectonic ideas. To quote a memorable passage of Fergusson, 'Nothing could be more brilliant, and at the same time more characteristic, than the commencement of the architectural career of these Pathans in India. So soon as they felt themselves at all sure of their conquest, they set to work to erect two great mosques in their two principal capitals of Ajmer and Delhi, of such magnificence as should redound to the glory of their religion and mark their triumph over the idolaters. A nation of soldiers equipped for conquest and that only, they of course brought with them neither artists nor architects, but, like all nations of Turanian origin, they had strong architectural instincts, and, having a style of their own, they could hardly go wrong in any architectural project they might attempt. At the same time, they found among their new subjects an infinite number of artists quite capable of carrying out any design that might be propounded to them.'[2] The Turanian conquerors were possessed of instinct rather than training. Many of them had seen the glories of Ghazni and they set the Hindus to work on the models they could remember. But details on their early monuments suggest that there was some interchange of ideas or of artificers between the Muhammadan powers; and, though the Turks made use of

[1] Franz Pasha, Architect to the Khedive's Government, quoted in *Indian Architecture*, by E. B. Havell (John Murray, 1913), p. 19.

[2] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, F.R.S. (John Murray, 1891), p. 499.

indigenous resources, the mainspring of their designs was essentially Islamic. There was next evolved a series of styles, which, among the many Indo-Saracenic schools developed in India, belong peculiarly to Delhi. The establishment of the Mughal power in the sixteenth century introduced a strong Persian influence; and for the first time the term Saracenic (with its associations of dreaming domes and airy gracefulness) becomes applicable to the buildings of the Muhammadan power in India.

The strong antithesis between Saracenic and Hindu architecture is obvious. The monotheistic puritanism of Islam delighted in the simplicity of the unbroken dome, the plain symbolism of the pointed arch and the slenderness of the minaret. Not only religion, but the deserts of Arabia and the wastes of central Asia dictated the single, outstanding feature, whose isolated effect was often heightened by the very insignificance of the remainder of the building. Congregational worship demanded large open spaces. The scarcity of material other than brick indicated the radiating arch. Broad surfaces were left unadorned or covered with shallow geometric or lettered patterns. Hindu polytheism, on the other hand, invited to variety and complexity of form and the decoration of every part with deep bas-relief and the human figure. Where each part was thus important, arrangement, massing and proportion became essential. Individual ritual suggested the narrow shrine and minuteness of workmanship. Ample material of stone and wood made unnecessary any form of keystone construction; the pillar and the architrave were deemed more suitable than the arch 'which never sleeps.' The diversified features of plain and valley, rich with crops

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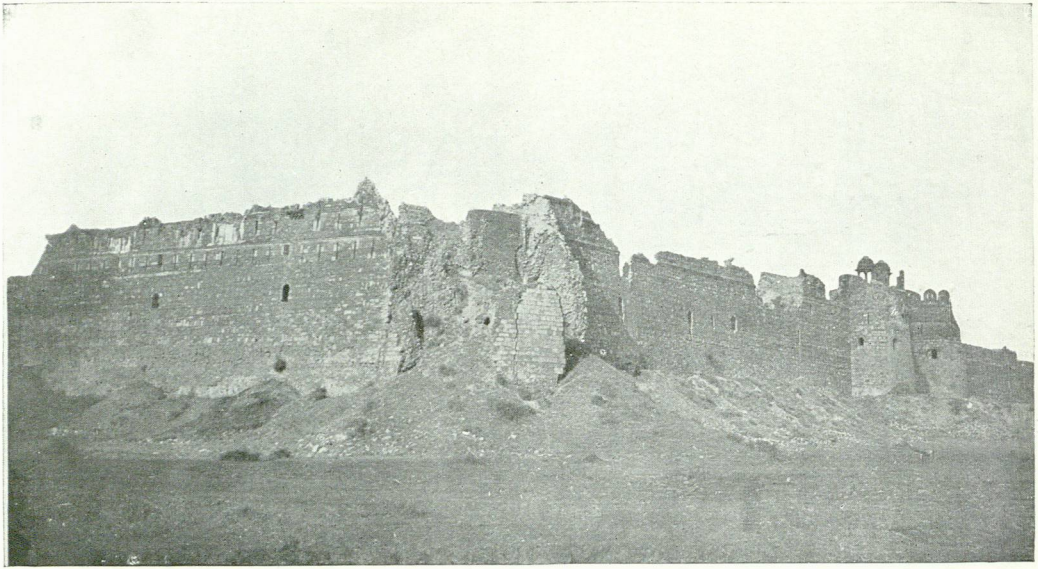

PURANA QILA

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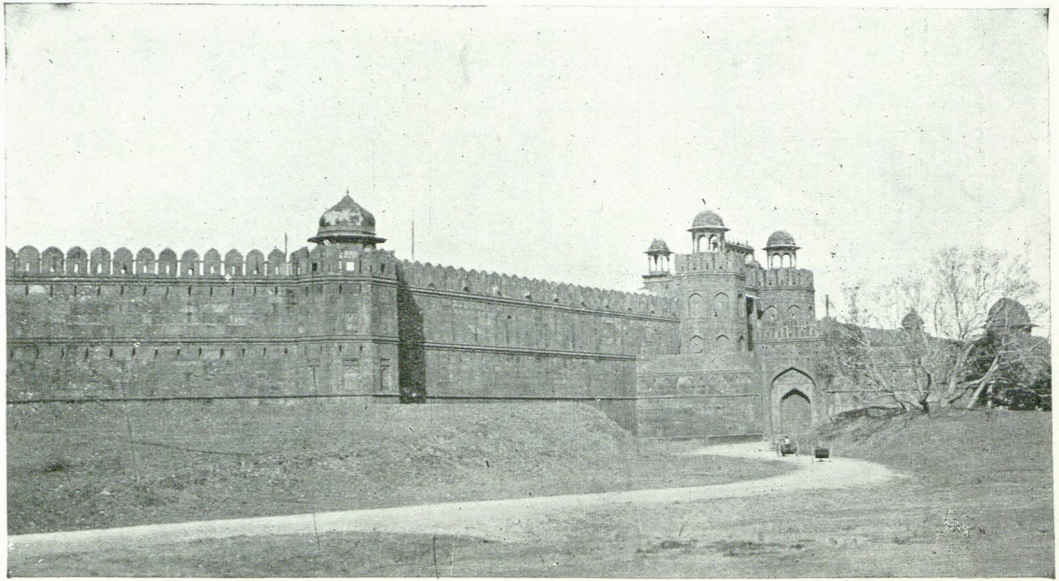

WALLS OF RED PALACE, WITH DELHI GATE

and timber, demanded in the works of man an equal richness of detail, light and shade; and themselves provided an abundance of models in leafage, flowers, fruit and animal-life. The conquerors could not fail to be influenced by the arts which had flourished around them. Hindu ornament began to invade the simple Islamic forms. The architrave appeared below the arch and was followed by the bracket and other features. The wall was broken with the dripstone[1] and the balcony. The plain severity of the dome submitted to the imposition of the *kalasha*, or ornate lotus-cresting, and its metal finial gave place to an elaborate carving in stone. Moreover, the Muhammadans learned from the Hindus lessons in the proportionate massing of buildings and the disposition of their parts. Lack of symmetry was remedied; and, in monuments such as the tombs of Isa Khan and Humayun, we find a splendid synthesis of Muslim ideals and Hindu methods of treatment.

The monuments of Delhi fall roughly into four styles, generally corresponding conveniently with dynasties, subdivided in some cases into minor species. For want of better terms, the first three may be called the Pathan styles, and the fourth the Mughal style.

First Pathan Style. When the Turks first settled in India, they had great ideas, but few models and no artificers. They let their imagination run riot and they utilised Hindu workmen for the realisation of their splendid, though unconventional, dreams. Building in haste, they began by adapting the materials of Hindu temples. They impressed Hindu masons to erect their arches and permitted them to employ their own constructional methods.

[1] A sloping eave of stone, called the *chajja*.

They also invoked their superior skill for the adornment of flat surfaces with Tughra characters and scroll-work. In this fashion the buildings at Old Delhi were produced and to this they owe their incongruous aspect. Not merely do the high Muhammadan arches contrast with the low, richly-carved Hindu colonnades, but the workmanship of those arches themselves and of the great minar show unmistakable Hindu characteristics applied to Muhammadan design. These monuments are the expression of a victorious, imaginative and semi-barbaric race carried out by the quiet, painstaking experience of their more civilized subjects. But the Muhammadans settled down to a more carefully composed plan of designing, as illustrated in the Jamaat Khana Mosque at Nizam-ud-din's dargah and the Alai Darwazah. It was replete with potentialities of development or decay.

Second Pathan Style. The Tughlaq period, under stress of political and religious influences, manifested a revulsion against the magnificence of outline and the Hindu workmanship adopted by the Slaves and the Khiljis. The Tughlaqs were the puritans among architects at Delhi. They constructed with the true arch and cultivated a severe simplicity. The style falls into two sub-classes.

The earlier Tughlaqs, while affecting a sternness of outline, did not eschew colour effects and marble ornamentation. Among the characteristics of this style are the marked batter of the walls and the massiveness and clean-cut purity of the design.

In the days of Firoz Shah, the great Tughlaq builder, the style takes on an air of studied gloom—blank, sloping walls, roughness of construction, squat domes and surfaces of artificially blackened plaster. Only on the interior do

we find the dripstone. Otherwise ornamentation is none or reduced to a minimum.

Third Pathan Style. The architecture of the Sayyids and the Lodis is of a more humanized type. The assurance of conquest and superiority had passed away. Hindu forms and adornments came to be freely used. The pointed arch took on new forms of outline. The pillar, the external dripstone, the architrave, the bracket and the kiosk were brought into requisition. Stone, marble and encaustic tiles were worked into colour-effects. The domes were broken with cresting and topped with heavy finials. But simple severity of outline confined that which it adopted to the place of subsidiary features. This style lasted on into the early Mughal times, which were interrupted by the reign of Sher Shah the Afghan.

Mughal Style. The second cycle begins with the victories of Akbar—the preceding twenty-nine years, from Babar's invasion to the second battle of Panipat, belong architecturally to the Pathan period. The style falls into two sub-classes, features common to both being the manifestation of Persian influences and the great scale on which buildings were planned.

In the time of Akbar there was at first a return to the simpler Islamic forms, combined with a free use of colours, whether in stone or in encaustic tiles. The emperor's toleration of other architectural styles is displayed in the original productions at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. At Delhi the type remained conventionalized — square solid structures, the tops adorned with cupolas and a high dome; the only infraction of the canons being the grotesque height to which the dome-drum was sometimes raised.

For some eighty years after the beginning of Akbar's

reign the emperor's court was held at Agra, Lahore and other places. Little of building was done at Delhi; and when Shahjahan constructed his new city at Delhi, the style had undergone material alteration. It was freer, more florid, aiming at grace of outline and delicacy of ornamentation. The period during which it flourished was brief; but during that period some wonderful creations were produced.

Such were the four styles—perhaps more properly six. The latest of the Mughal buildings exhibit initial symptoms of decadence. But the disorders of the eighteenth century and the decline of the imperial power checked building on any large scale. The lamentable demise of Indo-Saracenic architecture is to be witnessed not at Delhi but at Lucknow.

The motive and the main schemes of the monuments belonging to these styles remain throughout distinct and characteristic, wrought on the large and simple scale demanded by Islamic ideals. Whatever of incidental features or even of form was contributed by the indigenous art of the country, yet the Indo-Saracenic building retains its unity of purpose and displays as its main components the radiating arch, the dome and the 'pendentive'.[1] But the visitor is at first puzzled and amazed by an apparent incongruity of styles, which

[1] The pendentive is a device for obviating the difficulty of placing a circular dome on a square building and for minimising the outward thrust of the dome. In its simpler form it consists of a series of small arches spanning an angle, one above the other, the appearance produced being that of a corbelling out of the wall, and the effect being to convert a square into an octagon, etc. In its more elaborate form it consists of large arches stretching from one interior wall to another and often intersecting.

exhibit at one time a careless magnificence of design combined with the most delicate workmanship; at another a rough-hewn virility, devoid of grace and dependent for its effect on massive proportions and studied severity; again, this same severity fastidiously yielding to the richer indigenous forms by which the alien rulers found themselves surrounded; and finally the splendours of the seat of a vast and settled empire expressed in a delicate dream of marble halls and domes and pinnacles. The reasons for these alternations were political and religious. The monuments that remain form an epitome of the city's story. The size and magnificence of the Mughal buildings tend to concentrate attention upon them. But it is easy to agree with Fergusson that the buildings of other dynasties, commencing with the mosques at the Kutb and at Ajmer, make up a whole as extensive and more interesting, in an historical point of view, than even all that was done by the Mughals.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

THE view has already been put forward that the persistence of Delhi as a centre of population and, for six and a half centuries (with certain intervals), as the seat of empire was due to its position guarding the southern end of the gap which leads, without great physical obstacles, into Hindustan. This view may seem to be discounted by the fact that, when the Muhammadans at last seriously menaced her, India was anything but one undivided kingdom. It may appear that the sovereign of Delhi had little interest in the rich plains to the east and their inhabitants. But he had to guard his own portion of those plains; there was the sense of a common danger; he could not afford to be out-flanked; and, even if some of the kingdoms which his resistance might defend were hostile to him, it was better to preserve them for private plunder than to see them stripped by a foreign foe.

The defenders of India at the time of the Muhammadan invasions were the Rajputs, the warrior class, who did not then, as now, dwell in the deserts of what has since become known as Rajputana, but in the plains of the Jumna and the Ganges; Mahmud of Ghazni had pierced to the Ganges and into Kanauj, but his quasi-permanent conquests were limited to Sindh, Multan and the Punjab. In the middle of the eleventh century Delhi becomes known as the stronghold of Anang Pal, of the Tomara clan—the monarch whose name is associated

with the Iron Pillar and who probably set it in its present position. Then, in the twelfth century, Delhi and Ajmer came into the possession of the Chauhan Rajputs; and the romantic Prithvi Raja (otherwise called Rai Pithora) ruled near the reputed site of Indraprashtha over the surrounding plains, already celebrated as containing the mythic battlefield of Kurukshetra, where the Kauravas and the Pandavas waged continuous conflict for eighteen days and nights. To the east of him ruled Jaichand, chief of the Rahtor Rajput clan and king of Kanauj, with his capital at Benares. In Bengal there was the Sen dynasty; and there were other kingdoms of minor note.

The story of Prithvi Raja's quarrel with Raja Jaichand is well known. When the king of Kanauj decided that his daughter should make choice (*svayamvara*) of a husband and summoned the other kings of northern India to do him homage, Prithvi Raja in his pride refused to come. Thereupon Raja Jaichand set up in mockery at the hall-door an ugly clay caricature of the recalcitrant sovereign of Delhi. But the maiden, who was already in love with Prithvi Raja, scorned the brilliant kings gathered in the hall and threw the garland of her choice over the image. Prithvi Raja, who was equally in love with her and in hiding close by, dashed out at this moment, placed her on his saddlebow and rode off. Tradition says that the Rahtor king in revenge urged the Afghans to attack Delhi. The story is worth mention as illustrating the glamour of romance that grew about Prithvi Raja. But it is improbable; for the danger that threatened found the kings of upper India united to meet at least its first onset.

This onset came from Afghanistan, where the obscure house of Ghor had attacked the successors of Mahmud and burned the stately buildings of Ghazni. Twenty-five years later Shahab-ud-din (Muhammad of Ghor) descended into India, occupied Multan and Sindh, was repulsed from Gujarat by a Hindu army but succeeded in deposing the last Ghaznavid in the Punjab. His mixed host of Turks, Afghans and Persians then advanced upon the plains of India.

But the Chauhan king, who had been watching the Punjab (held since the time of Mahmud under Muhammadan sway), was quick to see the danger. The other Hindu chiefs rallied to him. He swooped down from his coign of vantage among the battlements on the low ridge and met the invader in the fateful gap between Delhi and the Himalaya. At Tarain, near to Thaneswar, in the neighbourhood of the legendary field of Kurukshetra and the historic site of the three battles of Panipat, he met and crushed the invader. Muhammad of Ghor, stung by this defeat, returned the next year (1192) with a larger army. Prithvi Raja met him again on the same field, was defeated, captured and slain. Raja Jaichand quickly met a similar fate. The Rajput resistance once broken down and the gap opened, the armies of Islam poured into the plains beyond, overran Kanauj, Bihar and Bengal, and in the space of eleven years had subdued most of India north of the Vindhyas.

Thus the conquest of Hindustan, so long deferred, was rapidly accomplished, though the invasion of southern India was postponed for another century. But the conquest was accomplished, not by Muhammad of Ghor himself, but by his slaves, Kutb-ud-din Aybek and Bakhtiyar. The former occupied Delhi in 1193 and

became Viceroy. Muhammad's interest lay rather westwards, in Afghanistan, central Asia and the disturbances then prevalent in Persia. He invaded the Oxus country and suffered defeat. Rebellions broke out in Afghanistan and India. But Kutb-ud-din remained loyal. Muhammad returned to the Punjab and subdued his foes, but was murdered in his tent by Gakkars—a turbulent tribe which figures largely in the history of these times. Kutb-ud-din, already designated Sultan of Delhi, became from that date (1206) the independent ruler of India.

Thus the first Pathan dynasty was founded. More properly these dynasties might be called Turkish. The first was descended from the Turkish slaves of Muhammad of Ghor. The Khiljis were probably of Turkish origin, though of Afghan up-bringing. The Tughlaqs were Turkish. So probably were the Sayyids, though they claimed descent from the family of the Prophet. The Lodis were Afghans.

It need be no cause for surprise that in those days slaves were elevated to the highest positions in the state. The Seljuks, who were at this time harassing Persia, and the contemporary Mamluk kings of Egypt afford examples of the same tendency. The time was one of great confusion, licence and cruelty. Strong men were needed to help monarchs through the perils that beset them and to carry on the rule. Selection among slaves had a far wider range than among sons. The Turks, captured by the monarchs of Ghazni and Ghor during their wars in central Asia, were powerful in mind and body and formed trustworthy agents for carrying out ambitious designs.

The succeeding chapters will briefly narrate the story of the Pathan dynasties and describe the monuments connected with their rule. It will be convenient to group

the Slaves and the Khiljis together, both for other reasons and because their memory is linked with Old Delhi. Then come the Tughlaqs with their long list of buildings. The comparatively insignificant lines of the Sayyids and Lodis and the distinctive architectural style of their time will be briefly treated. A further group of chapters will deal with the Mughals. Finally, a short account is added of the new capital.

CHAPTER V

THE SLAVE AND KHILJI DYNASTIES

KUTB-UD-DIN had for some time been virtual ruler of Delhi. He did not long survive his recognition as an independent sultan. The difficulty just mentioned of maintaining regular succession in a royal family was quickly proved on his death from a polo accident in 1210. His son showed himself unsuitable for the throne; and one of his slaves, Altamsh, succeeded after a year of disorder. Altamsh had to quell his rebellious lieutenants; and in his reign there commenced that menace which was to throw its shadow over Indian history for the next two centuries. The Mongols, under Chingiz Khan, the scourge of God, entered the Punjab. But this time the danger was averted, the invaders moving back westwards. Altamsh had to deal with rebellions in the Punjab and Bengal—those attempts on the part of provincial governors to set up independent kingdoms which are so marked a characteristic of the whole Muhammadan period. He succeeded in consolidating his empire; and he lies buried in Old Delhi in one of the noblest of Muhammadan tombs.

The troubles incidental to a family succession once more arose. Altamsh had wished to leave the throne to his daughter Raziya. This appeared to his nobles to be a proceeding little short of scandalous, and they proclaimed a son of Altamsh instead. This worthless debauchee quickly fell a victim to rebellion, was dethroned and died. The late monarch's wishes were now respected and Sultan Raziya soon proved that she possess-

ed all kingly qualities save sex. But the phenomenon of a Muhammadan state ruled by a woman was too much for the Turkish slaves who held the real power. Even marriage could not save her; and after three years she was slain. A second son and a grandson of Altamsh were placed successively on the throne, but could not retain it. A third son, Nasir-ud-din, was then tried, and, by dint of burying himself in religion and leaving all affairs to his great minister and father-in-law, Balban, succeeded in retaining the throne till his death twenty years later.

Balban, like Kutb-ud-din and Altamsh, the other two great rulers of this line, was a slave. Of noble birth in his native Turkestan, he was seized by marauders and carried a prisoner into India. He was ill-favoured and of dwarfish body; and Altamsh, while selecting slaves from among the captives, ignored him. The forward Balban cried out upon the sultan and demanded for whom he had bought the slaves of his choice. 'For myself,' said Altamsh. 'Then buy me for the sake of God,' retorted Balban. The sultan good-humouredly complied, and soon found he had made a satisfactory bargain. Balban rose to be one of the powerful slaves of the household. During the twenty-year reign of Nasir-ud-din it was Balban who ruled the empire; and, when that monarch died, Balban naturally occupied the throne and held it for another twenty-two years. He took care to murder or to weaken his powerful fellow-slaves. He suppressed lawlessness and rebellion with relentless cruelty. When his slave Tughril raised revolt in Bengal and defeated the sultan's armies, Balban, though an old man, himself marched against him and visited him and his family with fearful punishment. At the cost of rivers of blood and heaps of slain he brought peace and order into his

dominion. But an anxiety which haunted him to the end arose from the Mongols. With his well-trained army he kept constant watch from Delhi over the plain of the Punjab, where these barbarians were now free to work their will. Their depredations had thrown western and central Asia into confusion. It is stated that fifteen kings and princes, refugees from the Mongol horror, flocked to Delhi, together with men of learning. Finally, the sultan's favourite son was killed in battle against the Mongols, and the man of iron died in 1286 under the shock of sorrow. His grandson Kaikobad was set up. He proved a hopeless debauchee. So the nobles of the palace had him murdered and, in a turmoil of blood and intrigue, the Slave dynasty came to an end. Taking advantage of the confusion, the Turkish-Afghan faction of the Khiljis upset the older clique of nobles and proclaimed one of themselves, Jalal-ud-din, who was Adjutant-General of the army.

The first sultan of the Khilji line was a kindly, simple old man. Nervous of entering Delhi, he built himself a palace at Kilokhri. Such a king was ill-fitted for those hard times. He ruled only from 1290 to 1296, when his nephew and son-in-law, Ala-ud-din, after leading a successful expedition into the Deccan and amassing thereby sufficient wealth and power to facilitate rebellion, treacherously murdered the sultan, who had gone to meet him in the Allahabad district.

Ala-ud-din commenced his reign by slaying or blinding nearly all the faithful officers of his predecessor. He vigorously suppressed various rebellions, appropriated all land held in free right or as religious endowments, systematically set about impoverishing the Hindus (lest wealth should breed sedition) by taxing them to a half of

the produce and by other means of oppression, established a system of espionage, fixed the price of food-stuffs and otherwise conducted himself as a strong, capable but cruel and tyrannical ruler. He had constant trouble from the Mongols. He repulsed, with difficulty, a great host of them under the walls of Delhi in 1297. When a colony of Mongols, who had embraced Islam and been allowed to settle at Delhi, fell under suspicion of conspiracy, he massacred some thirty thousand of the men and drove the women and children destitute from the settlement. In 1303 the Mongols actually invested Delhi, at the moment practically undefended; but fortunately they retired. After this escape, Ala-ud-din gave greater attention to this danger and repeatedly overcame the Mongols with great slaughter. He was equally energetic in his foreign policy. He followed up his early campaign by other incursions into the Deccan, annexed Gujarat, attacked the Rajputs, who had retired into the natural fastnesses of the Indian desert, and took and sacked their famous hill-fort of Chitor. But he is most famous for his invasions of southern India, which, when the sultan found himself busied nearer home, were continued by his favourite eunuch, Malik Kafur, who plundered wide areas and set up a governor as far south as Madura. Ala-ud-din also extended the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque, commenced a megalomaniac minar to out-match the Kutb, built the exquisite Alai Darwazah, excavated Hauz Khas and established his palace in the new suburb of Siri, which, after the investment of 1303, he took care to protect with lofty walls, mingling the masonry with the blood and bones of captured Mongols. He lived to see his wealth increased, the borders of his empire widened and his dominions secure from invasion or internal trouble. But

in the end his followers were disgusted with his vices and cruelty, his counsellors fell victims to the jealousy of his favourite, his sons became debauchees, and he himself died of a dropsy in 1316.

Malik Kafur followed the usual procedure of disposing of possible rivals to his power and set Ala-ud-din's six-year-old son upon the throne. But within a few days he himself paid the penalty of his crimes at the hands of soldiers of the guard. Two of the infant king's elder brothers had already been blinded, and so were unfit for rule. A fourth survived, blinded his infant brother, and assumed the throne. The name of this last scion of the Khiljis was Kutb-ud-din Mubarik. He was given up to vice and fell wholly under the influence of a low-caste Hindu, who had assumed the Muslim name of Khusru Khan. Abandoning even the outward forms of religion and indulging in shameless indecencies, the monarch committed hideous cruelties upon foes and relations alike, and gave himself up to unbridled lust. After five years he was murdered in his palace by his favourite, who was able for a few months to indulge in an orgy of murder and obscenity. Muhammadans and Hindus alike were scandalized by his outrages. There was still a company of the old Turks, who could not lightly see the throne of Delhi thus defiled. They banded together under the leadership of Tughlaq Ghazi Malik, who had led a strenuous life in driving back the Mongols and guarding the marches of the Punjab. He advanced upon Delhi, routed the upstart monarch's forces and slew Khusru Khan. Then he called for a son of the house of Khilji. All were dead or blinded. By general acclaim he was himself hailed emperor and assumed the name of Ghiyas-ud-din.

CHAPTER VI

OLD DELHI

THE seat of this strange and tragic empire was Old Delhi, built upon the site of the still older Rajput city of the Tomaras and the Chauhans. It occupies broken, elevated ground jutting eastwards from the Ridge. The citadel, called Lal Kot, forms part of the western front of the city's circumference and is fairly protected by ravines. The westward-facing walls, built on to a rocky scarp, are in fair preservation and give an idea of the strength of the fortifications. Parts of the wall of the city can be traced in a long mound which stretches south-eastward through the fields. Perhaps these walls incorporate some part of the old Hindu defences. Other relics of the Hindu period are the remarkably interesting tank called Surajkund, situated in the rocky spur to the south of Tughlaqabad, the Iron Pillar, and carved masonry utilised by the Muslim conquerors in the construction of their mosque.

The central building of the Muhammadan city is this mosque, called the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque (Mosque of the Might of Islam). Save for the tomb of the son of Altamsh (which is called Sultan Ghari, or the 'Sultan of the Cave,' because the tomb-chamber is mainly underground), three miles to the west, the noble mosque in Nizam-ud-din's dargah and some remnants of the walls of Siri, this mosque, with its attached tombs and the Kutb Minar, is the sole monument at Delhi of the Slave and Khilji dynasties. The tomb of Balban (to the south-

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SCREEN OF ARCHES WITH THE IRON PILLAR

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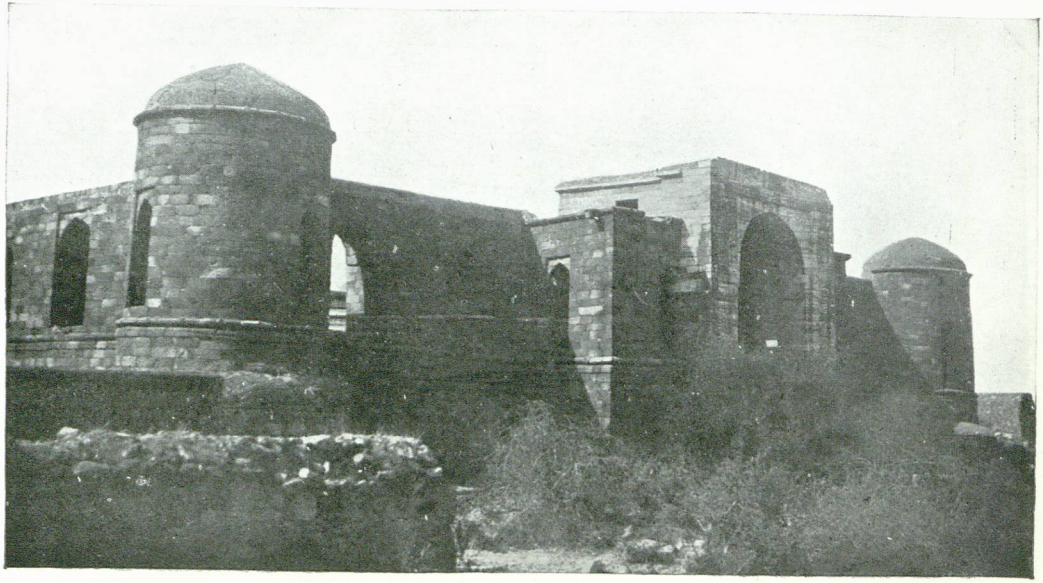


SULTAN GHARI

east) is in ruins. The buildings at Ala-ud-din's tank (Hauz Khas) belong to the restoration effected by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The Bijay Mandal may possibly be Khilji, but is more commonly attributed to the Tughlaq era.

The original mosque was obviously, like the other great mosque of the Slave sultans at Ajmer, a hurried construction.[1] It follows the plinth of the quadrangular temenos of a pre-existent Brahmanical or Jain temple, but is extended beyond this plinth at the eastern end. The pillared colonnades of that temple form the court-yard of the mosque, but with such carvings as offended Muhammadan taste mutilated or built inwards and imbedded in the wall, and probably with some rearrangement to suit the changed purpose. It is surprising how much rich carving, sometimes even bas-reliefs with human figures, was retained and left exposed. But there was needed some feature, of specifically Islamic character, to mark the direction of Mecca and to indicate the character of the building. So, on the western side, Kutb-ud-din built a great screen of arches, rising at the highest to fifty-three feet. The trabeate structure shows that Hindus were employed in its erection; it was doubtless Hindus too who covered the surface with an exquisite lace-work of Tughra lettering and flowered patterns. The general effect is peculiar. The screen is built in the position ordinarily occupied by the front wall of the shallow roofed building which often (though by no means

[1] The *Arhai din ka Jhompra* at Ajmer is an extensive mosque, built on the same lines as that at Delhi, with Hindu colonnades and a screen of Saracenic arches. The name, 'The hut of [built in] two-and-a-half days,' no doubt exaggeratedly denotes the speed of its construction.

necessarily) forms the western side of a mosque.[1] But the extreme western edge (here, as also at Ajmer), where one might have expected a wall equal in height to the screen and helping to carry a narrow (and possibly domed) roof, is occupied by nothing but the continuation of the low-roofed colonnade of Hindu pillars; and it is clear that no second storey was ever added which would partially have filled up the spaces behind the arch-openings. Unless therefore we are to suppose that canopies were draped from the arches to the colonnade (and there is no sign of the fixtures necessary for this), the worshippers must have looked through the arches, over the colonnade, to the open sky beyond—an arrangement hardly in accord with convention but sufficiently effective in its simplicity.

The mosque was subsequently enlarged by Altamsh and Ala-ud-din. The former trebled the breadth from side to side by adding new arches to either end of the original screen and erecting an outer colonnade, which likewise slightly increased the depth and just included the Kutb Minar. The second planned (but did not execute) a new court to the north as large as that of Altamsh, with a second great screen of arches; he also commenced deepening the whole by about 150 feet. It is interesting to see that the first builder selected the most ornate of the Hindu pillars — unless indeed the plainer ones in the court of Altamsh were only imitations, as those utilised in the court of Ala-ud-din clearly appear

[1] In essence, a mosque is merely a courtyard, with a wall to the west, marked with the *mihrab* or direction of Mecca. The covered space, domes and minarets are adjuncts, but not essentials. On the other hand, a mosque may be entirely or mainly covered in, e.g. that at Khirki.

to be. Another notable feature is the contrast between the surface carving of the earliest screen and that on the screen of Altamsh. The former contains many Hindu patterns; in the latter the patterns are purely Saracenic, the Muhammadans having in the meantime introduced these to the Hindu workmen. In the northern court stands the basement of the Alai Minar; in the south wall of the southern court Ala-ud-din constructed the Alai Darwazah. The original mosque contains the Iron Pillar, the first enlargement the Kutb Minar, and the second enlargement the Alai Minar and the Alai Darwazah. Closely attached to the mosque are the tombs of Altamsh and Ala-ud-din. These monuments will now be described in their order. But, noble as some of these are, they are only features subsidiary to the mosque, which, though overshadowed by the Kutb, still remains the centre of historic and architectural interest. The antiquity of the Iron Pillar, the incongruity of colonnade and lofty screen, the arches themselves, Islamic in design but Hindu in structure, mark out this spot as one of those where the strands of time are interwoven and whose movements speak to us with dramatic significance.

The Iron Pillar, near the middle of the original court, is the most interesting relic in Delhi of pre-Muhammadan times. Its story is obscure. The tradition is that it did not originally stand in this place, but was set up here by a king of the Tomara dynasty. The legends and rhymes which have gathered round it were collected by General Cunningham.[1] The oldest of the several inscriptions upon it assigns its making to a king called Chandra, who is conjectured to have lived in the fourth century A.D.;

[1] *Archaeological Survey of India*, Reports of 1862-65 (Simla, 1871), Vol. I, pp. 170-75.

it was made in honour of Vishnu and no doubt once carried on the top a figure of Garuda, the bird on which Vishnu rides; and the occasion was the defeat of a race or a dynasty called the Valhikas at the mouths of the Indus. Who these were is uncertain; but it is, says Fergusson, 'a curious coincidence that eight centuries afterwards men from that same Bactrian country should have erected a *Jaya Stambha* (pillar of victory) ten times as tall as this one, in the same courtyard, to celebrate their victory over the descendants of those Hindus, who so long before had expelled their ancestors from the country.'[1] It is only fair to the Hindus to remember that, wonderful as is the towering minar above, the Iron Pillar is even more astonishing. It is a forged bar of pure, unrusting iron, nearly twenty-four feet high, and said to weigh six tons, gracefully moulded at the top and so strong that a cannon fired at it (it is said by Ghulam Qadir) did it but little injury. The Hindus were able to do this piece of forging some sixteen centuries ago. One of the later inscriptions speaks of the founding of Delhi by Anang Pal II of the Tomara dynasty at a date interpreted as 1052 A.D.

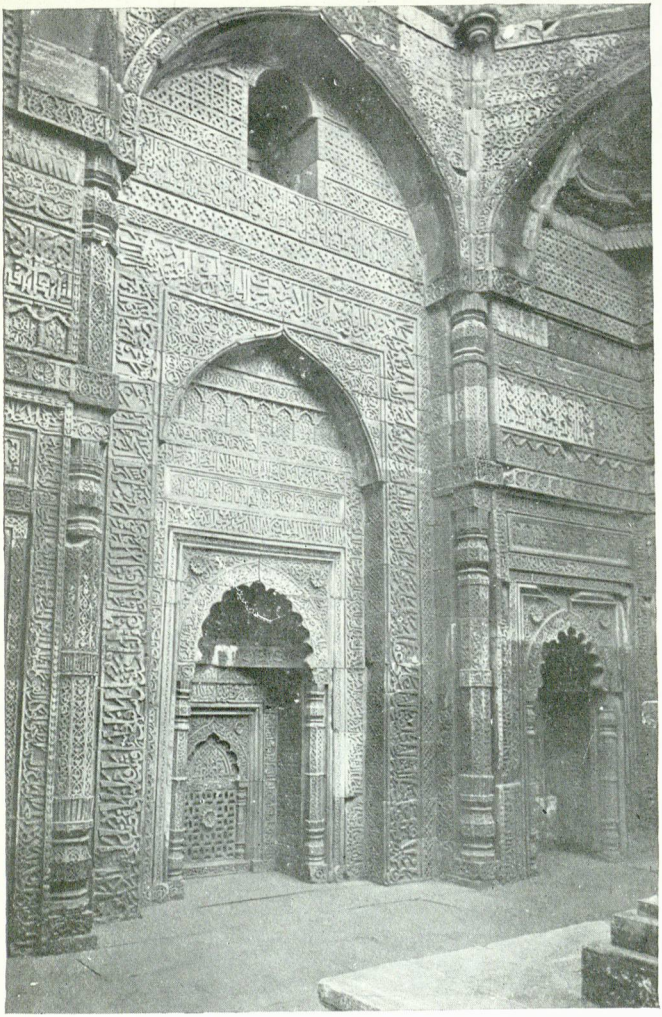
The Kutb Minar, which stands a little outside the south-east corner of the original mosque, has been the subject of many controversies. Its name, its origin, its use and the form of its cupola have been discussed with various results. Probably it was called after Kutb-ud-din Aybek; inscriptions on the lowest storey contain his name and that of Muhammad of Ghor; inscriptions on the next three, the name of Altamsh. It seems likely that it

[1] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, F.R.S. (John Murray, 1891), p. 509. A translation of this inscription has been placed on the northern wall of the mosque.

was begun by Kutb-ud-din and completed by Altamsh. It has been asserted that it dates from Hindu supremacy and was afterwards covered with the titles of sultans and verses from the Koran. There are no proofs of this; nothing in Hindu architecture resembles this particular tower; but the general form and the variety of its five storeys (one ornamented with alternate round and angular fluting, the next with round, the next with angular, the next plain and the last with only a moulded course) are reminiscent of the pillars of victory, with starlike base and round upper portion broken by a broad ornamented band, which stand on the plain of Ghazni. As to its use, opinion inclines to the view that the Kutb Minar was a pillar of victory; but, though mosques at Delhi apparently lacked minarets till the time of the Mughals, one of the inscriptions on the building and some lines of the poet Amir Khusru would appear to indicate that it was in fact the minaret of the mosque and used by the *Muezzin*. There seems to be no reason why it should not have served both purposes. Much has been argued about the cupola which surmounted it. Perhaps it never had one. But the officer in charge of its restoration after the British occupation placed a kiosk of his own design and a flagstaff on the top. These became objects of ridicule and were removed by order of the then viceroy. The kiosk still stands in the grounds. Whatever be the truth in these matters, the world possesses in this tower the proof of a wonderful feat (it is 238 feet high) of oriental engineering in the thirteenth century and a monument no less bold and original in design than exquisite in its detailed workmanship. The impression which it has exercised upon succeeding generations is manifested by the fact that it had the good fortune (not too common in the case

of Indo-Saracenic buildings) to attain completion, and, when decay threatened it, to undergo repair long after the monarch who commenced it had passed away. Twice struck by lightning, it was restored by Firoz Shah Tughlaq (who had the exceptional virtue of a passion for maintaining old buildings) in the fourteenth century, and again by Sikandar Lodi early in the sixteenth. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries it was seriously injured by earthquakes. The British Government restored it after General Lake's occupation. Isolated above the surrounding plain (for even the great screen of arches is dwarfed beside it), it stands like some mysterious sentinel which has watched the rise and fall of dynasties and of the cities which are visible from its galleries. Its stern strength mixed with delicate grace is symbolic of those early sultans, whose grim barbarity was yet often instinct with love for the gentler arts and susceptible to the beauty of nature or of handiwork. Fergusson, an expert critic, considers it is probably not too much to assert that this minar is the most beautiful example of its class known to exist anywhere—superior to Giotto's Campanile in the poetry of design and finish of detail.

Altamsh, who completed or continued the Kutb, is buried in a tomb just outside the north-west corner of the original mosque. It is stated to be the oldest existing tomb in India (though it can hardly be so old as the fortress-like tomb of his son, called Sultan Ghari) and it is certainly one of the most beautiful. It is rigidly plain in form and the exterior walls are ornamented only in the shallow bays. The interior is mostly covered with rich but delicate carving and has fine pendentives of the simpler type. If it is true that, as stated, Firoz Shah



TOMB OF ALTAMSH

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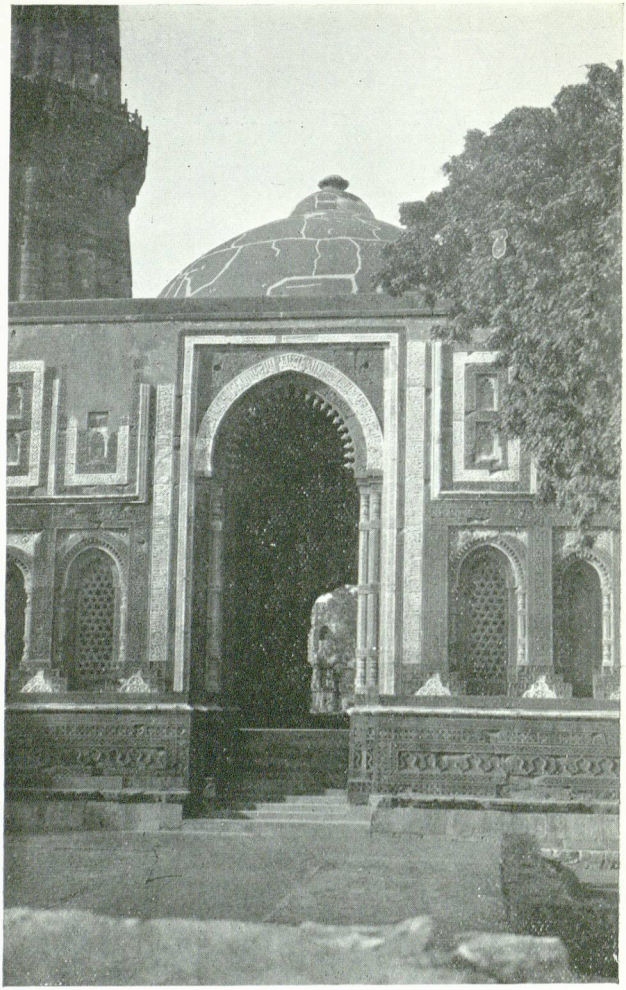

ALAI DARWAZAH

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Tughlaq repaired it, it is curious that he did not add a dome. The roof has apparently always been left open to the sky, though obviously constructed to carry a dome. But the abundance of light is advantageous in showing up the interior carving.

The tomb of Balban is outside the Lal Kot, away to the south-east, but within the circuit of the city walls. It was a square building, like the tomb of Altamsh, but larger and with side-rooms. It is in complete ruin.

The next great ruler was the terrible Ala-ud-din Khilji. His megalomaniac propensities urged him to attempt the enlargement of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque and the construction of a tower which would have dwarfed the Kutb Minar. The diameter is double that of the Kutb at the base; but only a small portion of this tower was completed. It stands, a rather sorry spectacle, to the east of Ala-ud-din's unfinished screen. To anticipate for a moment, Ala-ud-din's tomb, or what is credited as such, stands as a pendant to that of Altamsh, outside the south-west corner of the original mosque. Either it was of triple form or other buildings have encroached upon it. Attached to it is a building stated to have served the purpose of a *madrassa*. It was necessary to anticipate, because the two existing completed specimens of Ala-ud-din's work should properly be left over as the closing episode of this brief but pregnant style of architecture, of which unfortunately so little remains. The mosque at Nizam-ud-din's tomb is clearly of this sultan's time (it is sometimes ascribed to his son). The surface carving on the massive walls is characteristic. The arches which lead into the deep covered space resemble those of the Alai Darwazah. The Khiljis had evidently made great progress in the art of mosque-erection when they built

this elaborate domed edifice.[1] The Alai Darwazah was built as the southern gate of the enlarged Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque. It is plain in outline, with a rather unworthy dome; but some allowances must be made, since it has suffered from the ravages of time and the efforts of early restorers; it is moreover the oldest existing Saracenic dome in India. Tomb-like in shape, each wall pierced by a high, deeply-engrailed arch, the southern face having two smaller filled-in arches supporting the opening on either side and, above each of these lesser arches, a corresponding panel of elaborate carving, this building, says Fanshawe,' is one of the most beautiful specimens of external polychromatic decoration not merely in India, but in the whole world, while the carving of the interior may challenge comparison with any work of the kind.'[2] Fergusson, while noting some defects, says that it 'marks the culminating point of the Pathan style in Delhi. Nothing so complete had been done by them before, nothing so ornate was attempted by them afterwards.'[3]

The verdict is true. But, as an illustration of the architecture of the age and as a symbol of the character of those first Muslim rulers, it cannot compare with the Kutb or the tomb of Altamsh. The Turanian genius, fired by conquest, its imaginative qualities inspired by the wonder of new lands, manifested its first expression at Delhi in a series of buildings which breathe the spirit of new-found power and are designed and disposed with an

[1] See also p. 13.

[2] *Delhi Past and Present*, by H. C. Fanshawe (John Murray, 1902), p. 270.

[3] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, F.R.S. (John Murray, 1891), p. 510.

artless grace, each splendid in itself, yet grouped without single purpose or sense of relative proportion. The forms are large and simple; the construction and adornment perfect with the perfection peculiar to Hindu workmanship. The effect, if slightly bizarre, is wonderfully impressive. Of this group, more than of any succeeding work, it may truly be said that these Turkish conquerors 'built like giants and finished their work like jewellers.' In the Alai Darwazah there is noticeable a suspicion of decay; we feel that the early inspiration has lost something of its force and that ornamentation threatens to become an object rather than an incident. It is interesting to speculate what further development might have supervened. But the events of history turned the building faculty of Ala-ud-din's successors into another channel.[1]

[1] The other buildings at Old Delhi are of later date and style. The tomb of Imam Zamin (close to the Alai Darwazah) and the Jamali Masjid, both early sixteenth century, are of the late Afghan period; Adham Khan's tomb was built in 1566. The dargah of Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki contains buildings of various dates.

CHAPTER VII

THE TUGHLAQ DYNASTY

GHIYAS-UD-DIN TUGHLAQ (or Tughlaq Shah, as he is often called) reigned only four years. He was of mixed descent, his father having been a Turkish slave of Balban's and his mother an Indian. He restored order in his realm, built the strong city of Tughlaqabad, sent his son to quell the Deccan, which was in revolt, and himself led an expedition, without very tangible results, into Bengal. It was while he was returning from this expedition that he met his death in 1325. The facts are disputed; but the unbiased opinion of the African traveller, Ibn Batuta, who spent some years at the court of Tughlaq Shah's successor, is that he was murdered by his son. It is asserted that this son conspired with the priest, Nimza-ud-din Aulia, to destroy the sultan, that, as his approach became imminent, the priest was heard to repeat the phrase 'Delhi is yet distant,'[1] that a pavilion was constructed for the monarch's reception outside the city, and that it was arranged that a procession of elephants in front should collide with this pavilion, overthrowing it and burying Tughlaq Shah and his younger son. Whatever be the truth, the reputed parricide succeeded his father with the title of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq (he is frequently called Muhammad Shah Tughlaq) and soon made himself famous as one of the most extraordinary of monarchs.

[1] *Delhi hinoz dur ast.*

Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq was a refined scholar and a man of strikingly original ideas. His character was marred by uncontrolled temper and fiendish cruelty; and his administration was finally ruined by his habit of enforcing novel methods upon a conservative people and visiting them with wholesale hatred and massacre when they failed to respond. He consolidated a great empire stretching as far south as Mysore; but his exactions and eccentricities caused numerous revolts. Reckless and often misplaced liberality and the disastrous expeditions, by which in his megalomania he proposed to conquer Persia and China, emptied his treasury. He was compelled to increase taxation, a course which added to the prevailing discontent. He also issued a forced copper currency, which, being practically unrestricted, only led to worse embarrassment; the coins had to be called in and paid for, the government being left with great heaps of copper encumbering the city of Tughlaqabad. At the beginning of his reign, possibly in anger with the inhabitants of Delhi, he ordered their removal to Deogiri (Daulatabad), seven hundred miles away in the Deccan. Many died on the way thither and, when the scheme failed, on the return journey. The sultan established the extension of Delhi called Jahanpannah, partially surrounding it with walls. But he is stated to have removed the population a second time. His oppression and his heavy taxation rendered the people of Hindustan desperate. The Hindu cultivators abandoned their lands and took to the jungles, whereupon he ravaged the open land and burned the jungles, slaying every person who fell into his hands. He filled the offices of state with new-comers who had no tradition of loyalty. He died in 1351 on the banks of the Indus,

while quelling a revolt, but not before his tyranny had ruined his empire and produced almost universal rebellion. Bengal had become practically independent under Muslim rulers. In the Deccan the great Bahmani house, an Afghan dynasty, founded a kingdom. These two important regions remained detached from the control of Delhi till the time of the Mughals.

The late sultan's cousin, Firoz Shah Tughlaq, unwillingly accepted the crown, extricated the army from its difficulties in Sindh, and led further expeditions into that country and Bengal. These were unsuccessful, and Firoz Shah, content with a curtailed empire, settled down to restore the havoc wrought in the last reign and to indulge his taste for the hunting of wild animals and the construction of mosques, palaces and canals. He built a new city, Firozabad, considerably to the north of the previous centres of population. Devout and quiet by nature, he gave comparative peace to Hindustan and abolished torture; but he did not discourage slavery—on the contrary, he maintained an enormous army of slaves; and he continued the policy of intolerance towards the Hindus, destroying their temples, punishing the public practice of their religion and imposing a poll-tax on those who refused to embrace Islam. His long reign of thirty-seven years, though by no means free from oppression, marks a tranquil interlude between the tragic times which preceded and followed it.

When the aged sultan died in 1388, there were added to the usual difficulties of succession a number of revolts by the Hindus. The oppression of the subjects now proved the undoing of the empire, which fell to pieces and was not restored till Babar's invasion, a hundred and thirty-eight years later. During the ensuing six years

rival princes fought and fell; and, though in 1394, Mahmud, of the house of Tughlaq, entered upon a reign which lasted for eighteen years, he was opposed by another puppet king, who actually occupied Firozabad while Mahmud himself ruled at Old Delhi.

It was at this moment that the northern hordes made their culminating attack on Delhi. Timur the Tartar, aware of the confusion and anarchy which prevailed, left Samarkand with a force of 90,000 cavalry, descended into the Punjab, marched by Panipat through the gap north of Delhi across the Jumna, re-crossed near where the Ridge meets the river, at the same time slaying his prisoners, whose number was embarrassingly large, and gave battle to the sultan on the site where the new city is now rising at Raisina. The opposing host was led by Mahmud and his minister. The Delhi army fought bravely. But Timur was victorious. He pitched his camp at Hauz Khas, received the surrender of the city, and is said to have agreed to spare the inhabitants for a ransom—an agreement which was frustrated by quarrels over its collection and by lack of restraint in the Tartar army. Whether or no this is correct, the fact remains that Delhi was given over for three days to pillage and massacre. The city which suffered this fate was Old Delhi, with its extensions of Jahanpannah and Siri; and Timur's Memoir distinctly speaks of Jahanpannah as the centre of the inhabited portion. After remaining here a fortnight and examining with intelligent interest the walls and magnificence of these fortresses, Timur moved north, visited Firozabad, crossed the Jumna, reached Hardwar and then returned, skirting the foot-hills of the Himalaya, into the Punjab, whence he marched back to Samarkand, laden with spoil and captives.

The line of his march through northern India was marked by desolation and death.

Nasrat Khan, the rival emperor, had been defeated just before Timur's invasion and had fled from Delhi. After Timur's departure, he again took possession of Delhi, but was again driven out. Mahmud returned in 1405 and, after an ineffectual reign, died in 1412. Thus the house of Tughlaq came to an inglorious end.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BUILDINGS OF THE TUGHLAQS

NOTHING in the architectural history of Delhi is so startling as the contrast between the style of the Tughlaqs and that of their predecessors and their successors. The monuments of the Slave and Khilji dynasties display, though in simple forms, a triumphant exuberance of design combined with fine structural workmanship and a wealth and delicacy of surface ornament. Those of the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties assume new forms and Hindu features, while the palaces and tombs of the Mughals blossom into florid magnificence and concentrate whatever characteristics of beauty and splendour lay within the ken of those great conquerors. The buildings of the Tughlaqs, on the other hand, recoil into a severity, almost a rudeness, of form. The structure is rough and unadorned. The colour of the plaster is dark and forbidding. There is no care for the selection of material or the production of effects by different hues of stone. Some of the buildings (e.g. the mosque in Firoz Shah's Kotila) were probably once covered with white plaster to resemble marble; and the paintings in the dome of Firoz Shah's tomb show that interior decoration was not altogether despised. But, so far as form is concerned, the obvious intention was to create an impression by size and simplicity; and the monuments, as they stand today, seem to breathe a spirit of fanaticism and studied gloom.

The reason for this change can only be conjectured.

The Muhammadans in India were no longer the careless and irresistible victors of the thirteenth century. They were often in danger from various sources—chiefly from the dreaded menace of the Mongols. Nor were they any longer isolated among an alien race or separated from their co-religionists. The court of Balban and his successors was flooded with fugitives from before the Mongol scourge. Their spirit was subdued and, in frequent peril, they may well have examined their hearts and found (and the fugitives from other lands may have reminded them) that they had yielded overmuch to the arts of the conquered, surrendered to them the construction and adornment of their places of worship and of burial, and indulged the lust of the eye more than was permitted by the tenets of their faith. Whatever the cause, a sombre puritanism is the prevailing note in the buildings of the period; the method of construction is no longer that natural to Indian masons, but utilises the true arch and the true dome; and the decorative skill of the Hindu artificer is ignored.

The change did not come at once. The style of the Tughlaqs falls into two classes. The former of these adopted plain outlines and sloping walls, but did not despise good masonic workmanship and colour effects. It is illustrated by the extant tombs (two in number) constructed in the time of Ghiyas-ud-din and Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq (1321–1351). The second includes buildings constructed after those reigns to the end of the dynasty in 1414, and exhibits the style in all its severity. The monuments of this second class date mainly from the reign of Firoz Shah and are extremely numerous. A peace-loving and, on the whole, cheerful monarch, who loved mild festivity and the chase, he had a passion both

for building and for restoration, and recorded a list of the places which he had repaired. The buildings of his time are spread over a wide area — from Wazirabad on the north to Khirki on the south.

Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq moved his citadel to Tughlaqabad, more than four miles east from the eastern wall of Old Delhi. The place was readily defensible, being partially situated on a rocky platform, and the old warrior fortified it magnificently, with stern walls and vast bastions surmounted by frowning ramparts. The effect, with its massive, plain masonry, jealously narrow portals and sinister air, is strongly impressive—though time and the thrust of the heavy stones on the sloping walls has driven out the lower layers and reduced the place to a sad ruin. The subsidiary fort of Adilabad, built to the south in the time of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq and connected with Tughlaqabad by a causeway, is a slightly more intact specimen of the fortification of the time, the southern face of the citadel still presenting a formidable line of loop-holed walls and towers. Within the main city all is desolation. As one enters beneath Cyclopean lintels, the palace enclosure is on the left and an inner citadel on the right. But of these there is little left. The story goes that there was a feud between the saint Nizam-ud-din Aulia, who was at that time excavating the tank at his dargah, and the monarch, who was building Tughlaqabad. The sultan forced the local labour to complete his walls. The saint retaliated by causing the labourers to work on the tomb at night by the light of lamps. The sultan, observing their weariness and discovering the cause, forbade the sale of oil to the saint. The saint, not to be outdone, caused a light to exhale from the waters of the deepening tank so that

work could be continued. This ended the practical steps and the two competitors betook themselves to cursing. The sultan laid the curse of bitterness upon the waters of the tank. The saint declared that the city should be inhabited by Gujars or lie desolate.[1] The prophecy has been literally fulfilled; or perhaps subsequent events gave birth to it. The water at Tughlaqabad was scarce and bad, and, soon after its completion, the place probably ceased to hold any large population. Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq fortified Jahanpannah, and very likely moved his court to that new extension of Old Delhi. It has already been related that the saint was credited with complicity in the sultan's death.

Apart from these fortresses, almost the sole monuments of importance dating from the early Tughlaqs are two tombs. That of Ghiyas-ud-din is to the south of Tughlaqabad and, like Adilabad, is connected with the fortress by a causeway, which once crossed a piece of water probably diverted round the face of the walls, but now dry. At the end of the causeway is a small fortress, which suggestively takes the place of the tomb-gardens of the Mughals. The tomb itself, of red sandstone picked out with white marble and the dome faced with the latter material, is a noble monument. The masonry is good, though the blocks of marble in the dome are ill-fitted—perhaps because this was the first attempt of the kind at Delhi. Besides Ghiyas-ud-din, it is probable that his son, Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq, is buried here.

[1] *Ya base Gujar, Ya rahe ujar.*

A Gujar is a herdsman—sometimes a cattle-lifter. There are a few huts inside the walls of Tughlaqabad. I have never omitted to ask any denizen of that wilderness of ruins whom I have met to what people he belonged. He has invariably answered 'Gujar'.

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Tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq

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THE KALAN MASJID

The other tomb of this period is that of Kabir-ud-din Aulia. It lies to the north of Khirki, between the Begumpur Mosque and Roshan Chiragh Delhi. It is an obvious imitation of the Tughlaq tomb, but altogether inferior. The walls are of red sandstone, sparsely ornamented with white marble at the eastern entrance. The dome is ill-shaped and covered with the dark-stained plaster of the later Tughlaq style.

One other relic of this time survives and is of great interest. To the east of Khirki is a bridge-like construction, said to have been built by Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq and called the Sath Pulah (for the meaning of this, see p. 117, footnote). It appears to have been a dam across the ravine which runs from the south, with sluices for the overflow. The early Tughlaqs apparently had a liking for artificial lakes. The land immediately to the south of Tughlaqabad was certainly converted into a sheet of water, and it is probable that Adilabad was surrounded by a lake. This dam near Khirki was possibly intended to retain water for the defence or convenience of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq's city of Jahanpannah, and was actually in the alignment of the southern wall. Little else remains to tell of the site of this city. But on a mound just to the north of Begumpur is a curious plain building, a small room in a high-raised platform of masonry, which is said to have been connected with Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq's palace of a thousand columns. Its form is anything but palatial, and it appears more probable that it played some part in the fortification, either as a bastion or as a watch-tower (it commands a splendid view). It is called variously the Bijay (no doubt *Vijaya*, meaning victory), Badi or Bedi Mandal. Just below it is a tomb-like domed building. The villagers ascribe the former of

these buildings to Prithvi Raja; but there is no reason for crediting this legend.

The buildings of the first two rulers of this dynasty are grouped at their respective cities; for the remains described in the last two paragraphs are included within the extensive circuit of Jahanpannah. Firoz Shah definitely abandoned the southern site as a residence for his court, and built his new palace about seven miles north on the bank of the Jumna. The city which he there constructed is said to have been of enormous size. But it may be doubted if it was in the real sense a city. More probably the building which remains and is called Firozabad or Firoz Shah's Kotila was a fortress-palace and the so-called city consisted of scattered suburbs, etc., which grew up around. The principal city, as already stated, remained Old Delhi and its extensions. This is sufficiently indicated by Timur's account of his sack of the city and by the fact that two large mosques built at this period (Begumpur and Khirki) are in Jahanpannah; and the situation of another mosque, the Kalan Masjid, within the walls of Shahjahanabad, is no proof to the contrary, as a general place of worship was probably needed for the northern suburbs. Indeed, the whole plain was probably now a great centre of population, scattered about at the recognised 'cities' and in suburbs between. Little is left of Firozabad save fragments of walls, a lofty platform on which stands an Asoka pillar, and the remnants of a large mosque. Firoz Shah brought two Asoka pillars to Delhi, this one from the Ambala district and a second from the Meerut district, which he set up near the buildings he erected on the Ridge. The inscription of the edict on the Firozabad pillar is very full; it is, as are the edicts on other such

pillars, largely taken up with prohibitions of the slaughter of animals — though the prohibition as regards fish (probably a valuable form of diet in those days) extended only to certain days in the year. The other pillar was injured, it is said by an explosion, and the inscription is obliterated. The transport of these pillars was difficult in those days, and the setting up of one of them upon this platform was regarded as a wonderful feat and has been minutely described.

The remainder of the buildings of this time are widely scattered and can best be described under two headings—mosques and miscellaneous monuments, including dargahs, tombs, etc.

The four principal mosques were the work of Firoz Shah's minister, Khan Jahan. The peculiarities of the mosque of the period are high walls round the courtyard, with arcades of arches on the interior sides topped with heavy dripstones, and a number of domes, most of which are of inconspicuous size. There are no minarets. The stonework is rough. The lack of ornament and the dark-stained plaster combine to produce an effect of gloom. Yet these rugged structures have a certain sinister grandeur. The most northerly, the Kalan Masjid, is within Shahjahanabad, just to the north of the southern wall and between the Ajmer and Delhi gates. With its high-raised entrance, flanked by a pair of columns, it is the most imposing of the four. These columns (which one feels tempted to describe, on a false analogy, as 'minasters') are one of the few attempts at ornamentation in this style, and survive beyond it, being found on one of the Mujahidpur tombs, on the Khairpur Mosque, and elsewhere. Possibly they were intended to suggest the minarets which are so often an adjunct of the

mosque; and doubtless their form was suggested by the Kutb, whose outline they resemble in a conventional and miniature way. Indeed, the third band of the columns which flank the Khairpur Mosque have the alternate rounded and angular flutings of the lowest storey of the Kutb. (Such repetitions of a striking building are found elsewhere; witness the recurrence of stupas and Asoka pillars in Buddhist sculptures, and the manner in which mediæval Italian painters introduced the pyramid of Cestius and other notable forms into their depictions of cities.) The second mosque is that at the village of Begumpur within the circuit of Jahanpannah, of which city it was no doubt the Jama Masjid.[1] It is large and surmounted by many domes. It is lacking in adornment, save for some red slabs and rosettes at the entrance; and the drear effect is heightened by the existence of untidy habitations in the courtyard. A feature of it is the lofty arched bay which breaks the interior side of the western wall, and effectually screened from the worshippers in the court the only dome which is of reasonable proportions. The third, just to the south of Nizam-ud-din's dargah, is known as the Kali or Sanjar Masjid. Though in sad ruin, it is highly interesting as illustrating a not unnatural development of the arcaded mosques just described. Two open arcades are thrown across the court, meeting in the middle and joining the centres of the opposite walls. Thus the court is cut into four smaller courts. There is a fine domed entrance with an inscription in white plaster, stating that it was built by Khan Jahan in 1370. The arcades, both those at the sides and those crossing the court (or what is left of them), carry small

[1] Metropolitan Mosque, or Mosque of the Congregation.

domes. To the west of the four courts was the covered portion of the mosque, with small, arched *mihrabs*. Some years later Khan Jahan built yet a fourth mosque, which, again, is the logical outcome of the one just described. This is in the village of Khirki just within the Jahanpannah walls. The cross arcades are broadened, the four courts are reduced in size, and the result is one of the rare instances of a roofed mosque—or rather, one where the covered portion greatly exceeds the open. The four small quadrangles are symmetrically arranged and alternate with covered spaces of width equal to the quadrangles themselves. The effect produced is one of alternating gloom and light, and the pillared vistas form a contrast to the nakedness of other mosques of this period. The smaller mosque close to Begumpur, and that at the dargah of Shah Alam (Wazirabad) are less notable specimens of the time of Firoz Shah.

Among miscellaneous buildings may first be mentioned those connected with dargahs. The sultan erected the outer and the inner gates through which Nizam-ud-din Aulia's dargah is entered from the north; also the eastern gate of Roshan Chiragh Delhi. The dargah of a saint named Shah Alam, to the north of Shahjahanabad, and the noble bridge which there spans the Najafgarh canal are also of this time. Something will be said of these dargahs in Chapter XIV. Next, there is a curious group of buildings, erected by Firoz Shah on the Ridge, to the north of Shahjahanabad. The chronicler says that, filled with grief at the death of his favourite son, Fateh Khan, the emperor was persuaded to divert his mind by hunting. So he made an enclosure for game and erected buildings on the spot. These were called collectively the Kushk-i-Shikar. That which

remains of them consists of a curious, lofty building, called Pir Ghaib, which has been variously described as an observatory and a clock-tower, the Chauburji (four-domed) mausoleum, the second of the Asoka pillars which the emperor brought to Delhi, and a mysterious underground passage connecting the top of the Ridge with an open well on the western side. This last has been discovered only recently and its purpose cannot be ascertained. Among the tombs of the period two which deserve notice are the Qadam Sharif and Firoz Shah's own tomb. The former lies half a mile west of the western wall of Shahjahanabad. It is the tomb of the son just mentioned. The father built it with care, surrounded it with fortress-walls and, it is said, requested from the Caliph a print of the Prophet's foot, which is still preserved before the tomb and from which the place derives its name of the Sacred Footprint. The Footprint is said to rest over the heart of the prince. A less romantic version says that Firoz Shah permitted his son to take some precious object from his treasury. To the emperor's dismay, Fateh Khan selected the Footprint, for which an immense sum had been paid. The compromise arrived at was that the relic, intended to be placed over the emperor, should be set over the heart of whichever of the two died first. The second is at Hauz Khas, about half a mile west of the western side of Jahanpannah, and approached by striking off to the right of the Kutb road at the group of tombs at Mujahidpur. The tank was originally the work of Ala-ud-din Khilji, after whom it was originally called Hauz Alai. But it was restored, along with many other buildings, by Firoz Shah; and there he placed his own tomb — a noble epitome of the architecture of his age, plain, with

sloping walls, but finely proportioned and surmounted by a dome which springs from a low drum and, unlike so many domes of that period, forms a perfectly symmetrical and effective feature of the building. The paintings on the interior of this dome have already been noticed. The structures which branch from the tomb to north and west along the edges of the tank combine with this central monument to make up a picture of surprising beauty. The long-lived sultan, who guided his empire for many years through various perils and whose delight it was to adorn his capital with buildings, rough indeed but effective, and to water the country with canals, sleeps there in fitting surroundings.

There is a small dargah just to the left of the Kutb road between Hauz Khas and the walls of Siri. It is called Makhdum Sabzawari. Built in the Tughlaq time, but after Timur's invasion, it forms a fitting link with the style of the Sayyid and Lodi dynasties. The Hindu features of the gate, the external dripstone on the mosque, and the plaster decoration on the interior of the dome of the tomb, bespeak the passing of the puritan period of art at Delhi. Yet that period need not be regretted. It checked the tendencies just visible in the Alai Darwazah, for nearly a century it re-asserted the sterner Islamic forms and it counteracted any decadent influence by an almost harsh virility.

CHAPTER IX

SAYYID, LODI AND SUR DYNASTIES AND THEIR BUILDINGS

TIMUR'S raid completed the confusion which had begun in the reign of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq and increased under the feeble rule of his successors. The empire was destroyed. Khizr Khan, the Governor of Multan, who had actually assisted the invaders, declaring himself a Sayyid or member of the house of the Prophet, founded the dynasty of that name and ruled, nominally as Timur's vicegerent, over Delhi itself and a small territory. He and his three successors passed uneventfully away. They were little more than petty chieftains among a number of similar or more important states.

In 1450 an Afghan, Bahlol Lodi, who was independent ruler of the Punjab, seized Delhi and for a time restored the reputation of its crown. He subdued the small principalities in the neighbourhood of Delhi and overcame the ruler of Jaunpur, an important kingdom which had arisen on the ruins of the empire and which comprised Oudh, Benares, Bihar and other territories. Bahlol died in 1489, is said to be buried at Roshan Chiragh Delhi, and was succeeded by his son, Sikandar. After him the third and last of the line, Ibrahim, gave dissatisfaction to his chiefs, with the result that rebellions broke out and the confused state of the country afforded opportunity to a new and powerful invader.

During these two dynasties the empire was practically in abeyance, though there was a flicker of resuscitation

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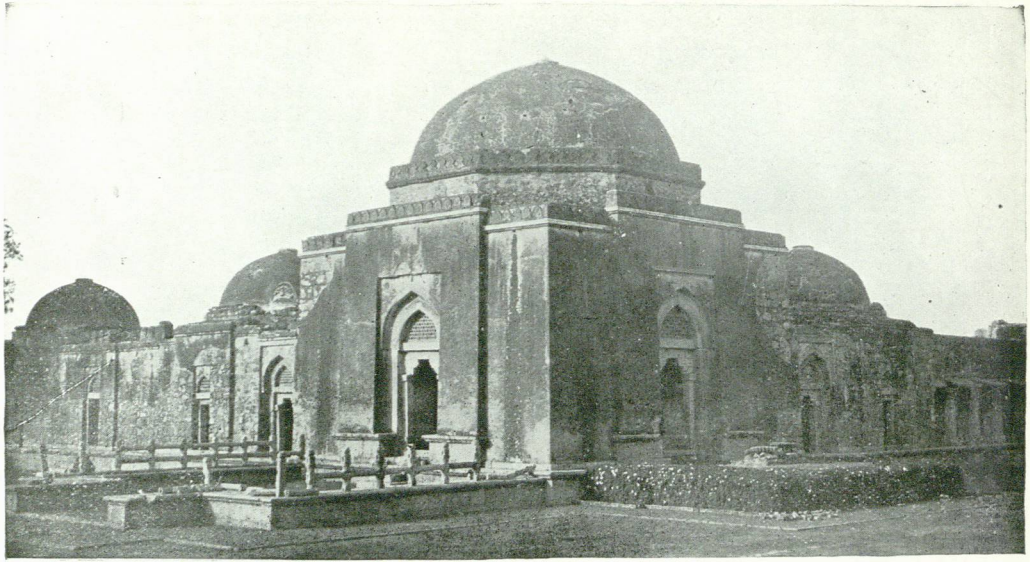

TOMB OF FIROZ SHAH TUGHLAQ

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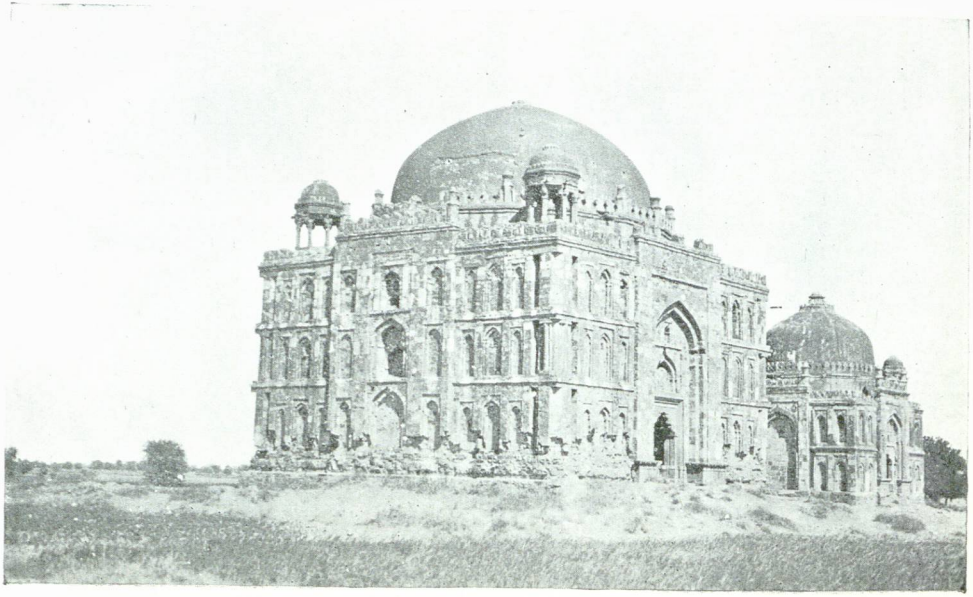

TIN BURJ

under the Lodis. Nevertheless, these rulers constructed some notable monuments in their limited realm; and there was developed at Delhi during that time a style which, as Fergusson says,' may be considered as the last expiring effort of the Pathans, or the first dawn of that of the great Mughals, and it was well worthy of either.' Indeed, the architectural period laps over into the time of the Mughal dynasty. In 1526 Babar overthrew the last Lodi at Panipat. Fourteen years later the Afghan Sher Shah, of the house of Sur, defeated Babar's successor; and for fifteen years there was an interlude, during which Afghan kings held sway and carried on the building tradition of the Sayyid and Lodi times. Not only does this style persist for twenty-nine years beyond the conquest of Babar, but examples of it are found of the time of Akbar. It is therefore necessary, in considering this last of the Pathan schools of architecture, to encroach upon the early Mughal period.

The buildings of the Tughlaqs had marked a reaction against the unconventionally splendid efforts of the early conquerors with their utilisation of Hindu materials and craftsmanship. A counter-reaction was certain to set in against a style which, in some of its examples, exhibited an almost deterrent puritanism; especially when the designers were constantly influenced by the delicacy and sumptuousness of the indigenous works around them. The rulers of Delhi were no longer irresistible conquerors nor lords of a far-flung domain. They maintained precarious sway over a narrow territory, and, no longer able to pose as a definitely superior and victorious caste, were content to tolerate the inhabitants and to profit by their skill. Hence we find Hindu characteristics — dripstones, dentated courses and battlements, and, on the

summit of the domes, the *kalasha* or lotus-cresting. The form of the buildings, too, becomes more elaborated and studied.

The Sayyids and Lodis built no special citadel at Delhi. Indeed, the Lodis, especially Sikandar, lived largely at Agra. When in Delhi the sultans probably occupied Firoz Shah's Kotila. But out of five who died natural deaths four are buried at Delhi; and the period has bequeathed a noble series of tombs, mainly grouped at a spot called Khairpur. Humayun, on the other hand, commenced, and Sher Shah completed and inhabited, the citadel called Purana Qila. But these two principal groups by no means exhaust the monuments of this period, which, if we zig-zag from north-east to south, may be locally classified as follows:

(i) The Purana Qila, some two miles south of the Delhi gate of Shahjahanabad, has magnificent walls, in fair preservation. Their comparatively perpendicular pitch and the ornamentation of the gates, surmounted by groups of kiosks, differ wholly from the grim fastnesses of the Tughlaqs and herald in the style of the forts at Agra and Shahjahanabad. The interior of the citadel contains two buildings. The Sher Mandal is one of the few secular buildings preserved at Delhi in times prior to that of Shahjahan. It is plain and unprepossessing — a two-storied octagonal construction surmounted by a large kiosk. It is sometimes stated to have been a library. Whatever its use, its inconvenience for domestic purposes is evidenced by the fact that Humayun, descending its steep and narrow staircase from evening prayers, fell and received injuries from which he died. The other is renowned as one of the latest and most exquisite specimens of Indo-Afghan art. Plain in

outline, perfectly proportioned, yet with an unostentatious wealth of moulded and coloured design, Sher Shah's Mosque (also called Qila-i-Kohna Masjid) forms a high-water mark in the art of the period. Apart from the subdued richness of the eastern face, the back wall is architecturally interesting, with its turrets at the corners, Kutb-like columns flanking the central bay and tiled balconies. Much of the adornment in the turrets is peculiarly Hindu.

(ii) About two miles to the south-west of the Purana Qila and just to the east of Safdar Jang's tomb is the site of the village of Khairpur, with four distinguished buildings in the line from north to south—a noble group. The northernmost is the tomb of Sikandar Lodi, plain, without kiosks, and situated in a walled enclosure, which for size and the apparent intention of its structure stands midway between the fortress-grave of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and the spacious closes which surround Humayun's tomb or the Taj. Just to the east is a beautiful bridge, of very similar construction to the Barah Pulah on the Muttra road. To the south is a noble but nameless tomb.[1] It is of the lofty, square type of the period, the sides broken by filled-in arches and projecting bays. The twelve angles thus formed are crowned at the top with minute kiosks surrounding a drum-supported dome. The arches of the doors have Hindu brackets and there is an effective use of blue encaustic tiles. Still further to the south is a remarkable conglomeration of buildings—a mosque, of which the western external wall is flanked with columns (see p. 57) and is adorned with brackets, while the

[1] Villagers have assured me that this, and not the building at Roshan Chiragh Delhi, is really the tomb of Bahlol Lodi. But there is no reason to credit this story.

interior is ornamented with flat plaster mouldings, regarded as the best specimen of this work preserved in India; an assembly hall; and a tomb-like building, generally described as a gateway, which resembles the unidentified tomb just described, save that it is more virile in general conception and in the features which break the wall-surfaces. This last building, be it gateway or what, is the finest of the square buildings of this period. The masonry is rough; but the colour-scheme of gray, picked out with red sandstone, dark slate-coloured marble in the spandrels and a few yellow rosettes, is very delicate. The proportions, both within and without, are perfect, the dome loftier and more assertive than usual, the deeply arched pendentives relieving the severity of the interior. The doors piercing the arches are Hindu in character, with heavy, bracketed architraves. The date appears to be 1494. The last building towards the south in this row is the tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid, the 'nameless sepulchre' which Fergusson has described and sketched.[1] It is earlier than the other buildings of this group; yet, though rigorously plain, it gives an impression of richness, with its octagonal form, exterior colonnade of pillar-borne arches, deep dripstone, large kiosks and spacious dome.

(iii) A mile and a quarter due south from Khairpur is the village of Mubarikpur, partially enclosed by walls and containing a mosque and the tomb of Mubarik Shah Sayyid. This is the earliest important specimen of this type of octagonal tomb and generally resembles the tomb, just described, of Muhammad Shah Sayyid. Outside the village, to the west, are three square tombs known as the

[1] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, F.R.S. (John Murray, 1891), pp. 515-16.

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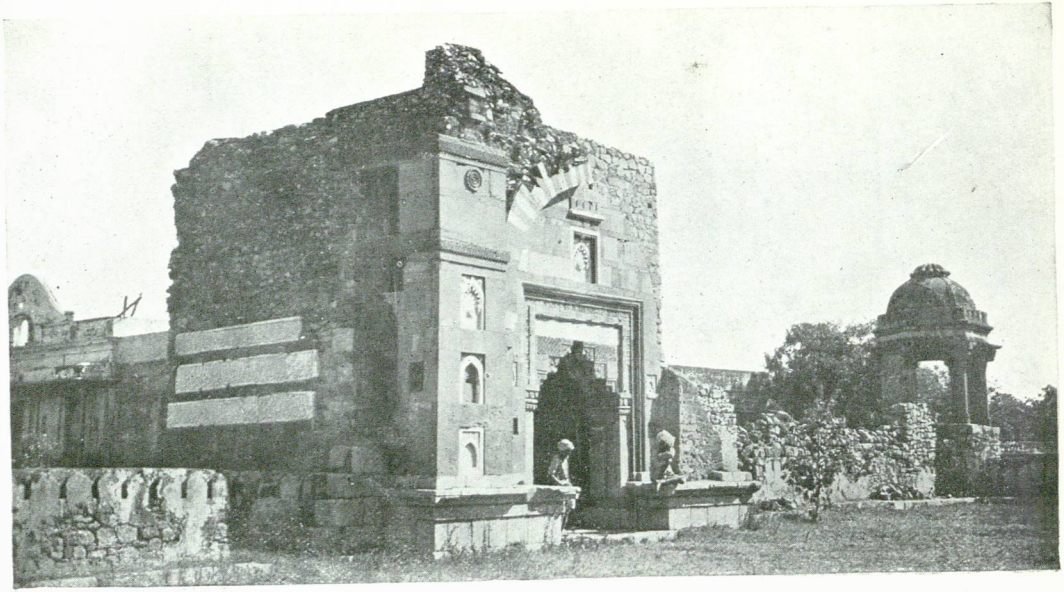

MOTH-KI-MASJID—ENTRANCE

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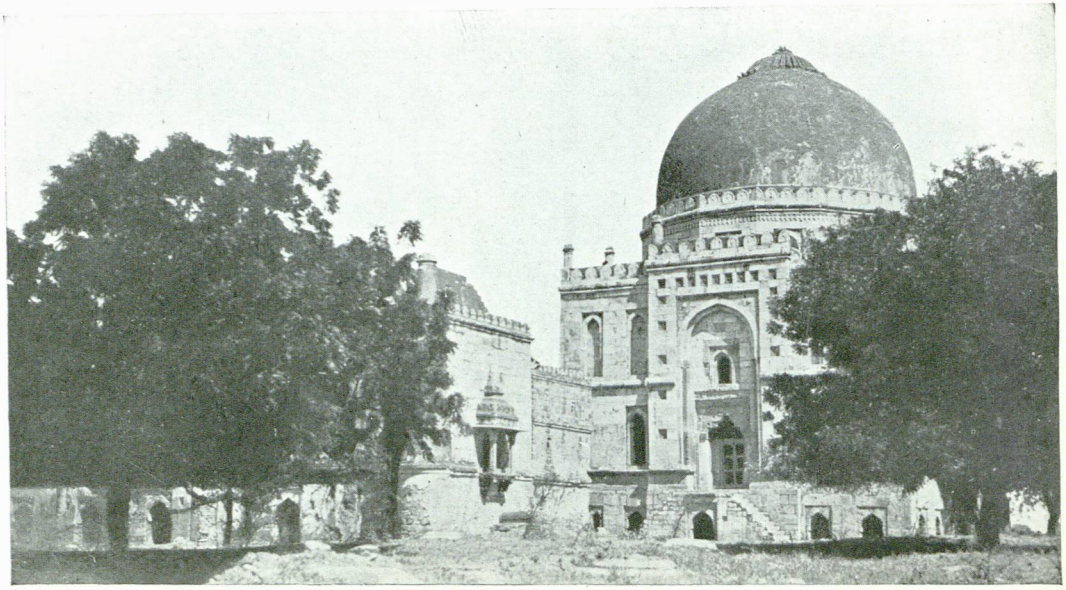

KHAIRPUR MOSQUE—ENTRANCE

Tin Burj (three towers). All are of rough workmanship; but the large one, improbably stated to be that of Khizr Khan, the first of the Sayyids, is imposing by its massive proportions and gains additional distinction from the large kiosks which still mark some of the corners.

(iv) A mile to the south-west is a village called Mujahidpur and a mile further south from this village, just on the right of the Kutb road and where a path branches off to Hauz Khas, stand three unidentified square tombs; and several others are scattered near about. The construction is rough and plain, the walls slightly sloping, and the buildings generally recall the Tughlaq style and illustrate the transition from it to that of the Sayyids and Lodis, of which these are probably the earliest specimens.

(v) Finally, there are scattered buildings of this period widely spread over the plain and indicating the continued importance and size of Delhi. On the north is Salimgarh, built by Sher Shah's son, Salim, in 1546, at the north-east corner of the Red Palace. It is said to have been intended as a protection against attacks by Humayun. If this is true, the fact would suggest that the regular crossing place of the Jumna was near the present railway bridge. This fort is quite plain and remarkable only for its reminiscences—Aurangzeb confined one of his brothers there, and Ghulam Qadir is said to have made his escape through it. Between Mubarikpur and Muhajidpur [groups (iii) and (iv)] stands the Moth-ki-Masjid, a beautiful specimen of the mosque of the period. The colouring within is soft but striking; the treatment of the western wall (a difficult feature in all mosques, particularly those of this type) is very bold, the surface being deeply broken, a course of arches added below and elaborate turrets

erected at the corners. The story told regarding the origin of the name of this mosque is that Sikandar Lodi one day saw a grain of pulse (*moth*) lying on the pavement of the principal mosque of Delhi. He picked it up and gave it to his minister, Mian Bhoiya, who deemed that a grain honoured by the king's touch should not be forgotten. So he planted the grain, sowed the resultant seed and sowed again till, from the proceeds of that one grain, he had acquired enough money for the building of the mosque. At the southern boundary of Old Delhi there is another mosque, the Jamali Masjid, of the same general plan, but, though of later date (1528–1536), much plainer. Close to Humayun's tomb and the Arab Sarai is the octagonal tomb of Isa Khan, a grandee of the time of Sher Shah. It is a fine specimen of the type. Its ornamentation is particularly elaborate, consisting of pierced stone screens, plaster moulding and coloured tiles. The rather florid effect is heightened by the carved stone finial rising from the lotus cresting of the dome. To the west is Isa Khan's Mosque, the central bay of red sandstone, the two side bays of grey stone, with rather unpleasing tile-work. The fact that this mosque occurs late (1547) in the period and at the time when the style was seeking new and more ornate forms is indicated by the arrangement of domes. The central dome is much like that of Sher Shah's mosque. But the two side domes are raised high on pillars, with trabeate construction, and resemble the pavilions which were soon to become so common a feature of the roof. Adham Khan's tomb is at the south-west corner of Old Delhi. Adham Khan was son of one of the foster-mothers of the emperor Akbar. He committed various offences and finally quarrelled with and murdered Atgah Khan (also

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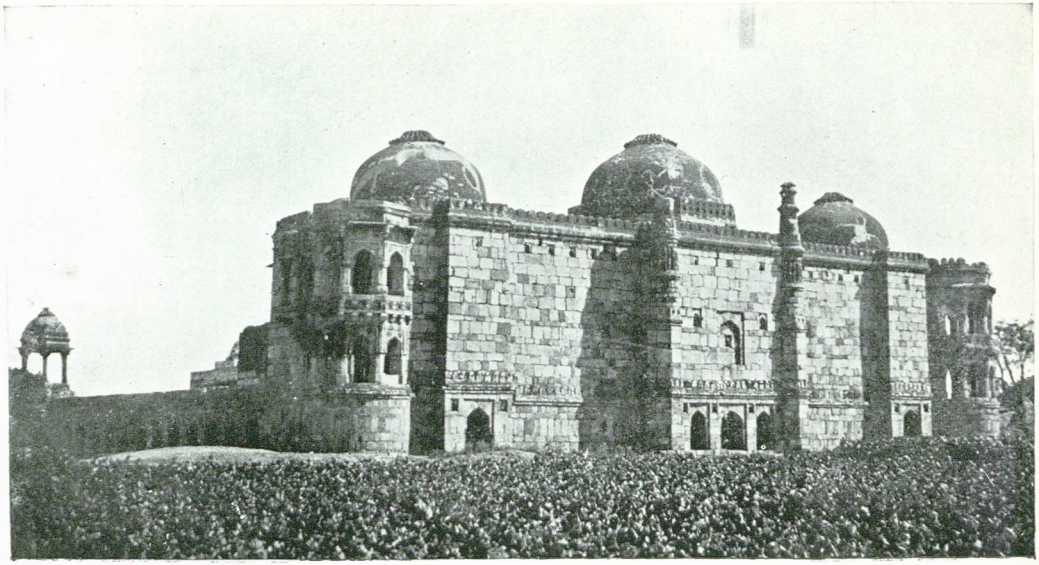

MOṬH-KI-MAṢJID—WESTERN END

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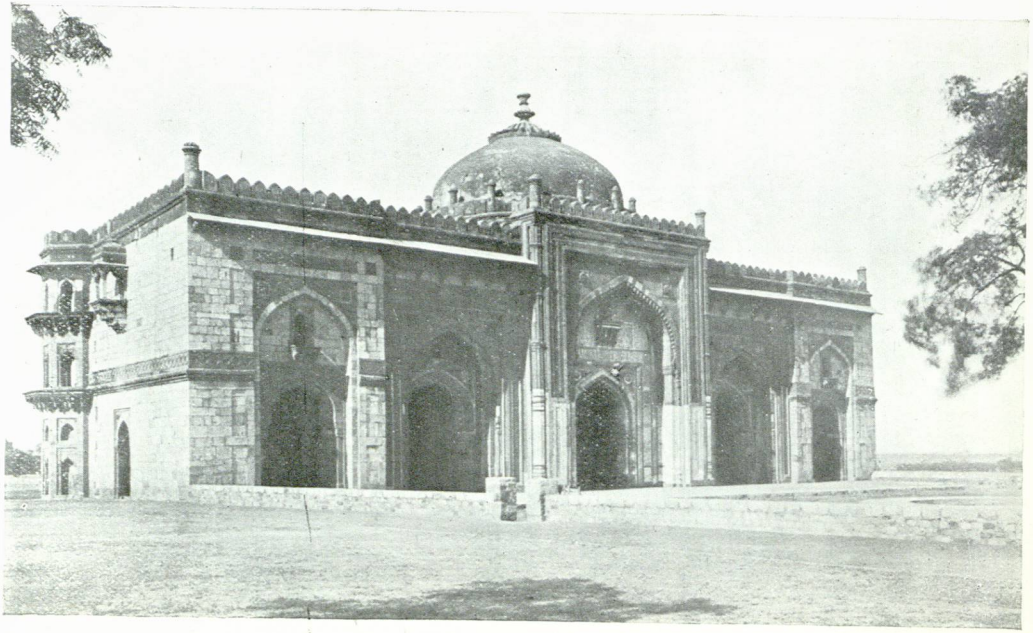

SHER SHAH'S MOSQUE

known as Tagah Khan or Azam Khan), the husband of another foster-mother of the emperor. Atgah Khan had saved Humayun's life and, having rendered useful service to Akbar also, had been made Governor of the Punjab and, after Bairam Khan's dismissal, the emperor's minister. Akbar, infuriated at his murder, ordered Adham Khan to be twice precipitated from the terrace of the palace at Agra and freed himself from the pernicious tutelage of the foster-mother and her relations. The tomb is a massive and rather grotesque structure, of the octagonal type, but with an upper dome-carrying storey considerably smaller than the lower. Atgah Khan also lies buried at Delhi, in Nizam-ud-din's dargah. But, though of the same date (1566), his tomb properly belongs to another style and will be described in Chapter XIV. The large tomb standing on an eminence to the east of the Kutb is said to be that of another of Akbar's foster-brothers, Muhammad Kuli Khan.

These buildings cover a period of 152 years. The list just given is topographical and does not follow the order of time. The earliest are probably included in the group at Mujahidpur; then comes the group at Mubarikpur; next, the tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid (1445) at Khairpur. The works of the Lodi dynasty are the tombs of the two sultans—that at Roshan Chiragh Delhi, said to be Bahlol's,[1] and that of Sikandar at Khairpur; the Moth-ki-Masjid and the mosque and assembly hall of Khairpur. The Purana Qila is mainly of the time of Sher Shah (1540–45); his mosque and the

[1] It seems doubtful if this tomb can be Bahlol Lodi's; and, though it may have some interest for the specialist, I do not advise the visitor who is not a specialist to take the trouble to find it. See also p. 115.

Sher Mandal, both within that fort, were built in his reign; and Isa Khan's tomb was built just after its close. The tomb of Adham Khan belongs to the reign of Akbar.

The types of building during the period are three. First, there is the square tomb, in the earlier instances reminiscent of Tughlaq architecture by reason of sloping walls and the columns which face the angles of the projecting bays. A curious excrescence which appears on one of the Mujahidpur tombs and also on the neighbouring tomb of Mubarik Shah Sayyid is a lantern on the top of the dome; this novel feature was quickly discarded. In later examples the walls are perpendicular, more boldly broken, and ornamented with filled-in arches. Second, the octagonal tomb introduces a new form which rapidly sprang into full development. The extant tombs of the sultans of these two dynasties are of this type, save that of Bahlol Lodi, if indeed the tomb ascribed to him is really his. The characteristics are the pillared colonnade round the interior building, the heavy dripstone and the kiosks which encircle the central dome. Thus, in point of ornateness and compact finish, these tombs furnish a new departure. The sloping buttresses at the angles are a tradition from Tughlaq methods, and serve to counteract the thrust of the dome. Third, there are the mosques, with a courtyard (entered, in the case of the Moth-ki-Masjid, by a gateway of marked Hindu features) and with a covered oblong building on the west. These buildings, severely plain in form, bear one or three small domes; they possess no minarets; and they appear almost bare and unadorned till closely approached. Then it is found that the western face is flanked with galleried turrets, taking the place of the columns of the Khairpur Mosque, and that the eastern is a gem of well-proportioned

arches, coloured stones and carved brackets and projections. Save for a suggestion that the ornamentation is adventitious, the taste displayed is faultless.

Inglorious as the period was, it furnishes a fine series of architectural efforts, and, while linked with the Tughlaq style by the restrained sedateness of most of its effects, exhibits a new synthesis with Hindu forms and paves the way to the larger splendours of the Mughals.

CHAPTER X

THE GREAT MUGHALS

THE most splendid period of the Muhammadan empire in India is ushered in by the romantic figure of Babar. He was a direct descendant of Timur and could claim relationship also with Chingiz Khan. Part Mongol and part Tartar, he manifested their characteristics of restless energy and even of ruthless cruelty. But he was also a man of education and enlightenment, he had come under the influence of Persian civilisation, and he was himself a fascinating writer. He and his successors pursued methods very different from those adopted by his marauding ancestors. Mongol and Mughal denote the same race. But the one name recalls nomadic tribes intent only on loot and slaughter, the other the builders of a great empire and the patrons of art and letters. It is therefore permissible to substitute at this point the latter for the former. Any such nomenclature, however, is a convention; the royal family was of mixed race; the ruling class comprised representatives of the various nationalities which had invaded India, mingled with Persians and with Hindus promoted to high place.

At the age of eleven Babar was king of Samarkand. He was twice driven from that precarious throne, but maintained himself as ruler of Kabul. On several occasions he had made minor expeditions into India. When the Governor of the Punjab and other nobles, disgusted with the treatment they received at the hands of Ibrahim Lodi, invited Babar to their assistance, he

launched an invasion. Close to the spot where, three hundred and thirty-four years previously, Muhammad of Ghor had defeated Prithvi Raja, in the gap between Delhi and the mountains, his little army, computed at 12,000, opposed the far greater host of Ibrahim. The odds were heavy against the invader. But his military talents and resource had been trained in a life of war. He brought with him artillery, then first seen on these northern plains of India. Lashing his bullock-carts together, with his guns at intervals, and open lanes for cavalry charges, he resisted Ibrahim's onslaught and threw the army of Delhi into confusion by flank attacks. The first battle of Panipat (1526) ended with the total defeat of the sultan, who was himself left dead upon the field.

Babar entered Delhi and Agra and installed himself at the latter place. But his days were not to know peace. The empire was still to win. He was surrounded by warlike Rajputs and quasi-independent Afghan chiefs. He defeated both and, after forty-eight years of crowded life, died, leaving a large but unstable kingdom which ran from Kabul on the west to the borders of Bengal on the east.

His son, Humayun, was lacking in energy and quite unable to cope with the difficulties which he inherited. He abandoned Kabul and the Punjab to his brother and was finally defeated and driven out by Sher Shah, an Afghan of the Sur family who ruled in Bihar. Delhi was again under an Afghan ruler. Sher Shah built (or completed) the Purana Qila, established a strong administration, in a brief reign of five years (or, it may even be said, three years, if he assumed the title only in 1542) carried out many beneficent reforms and proved himself

one of the ablest rulers of that age. He was killed in battle against the Rajputs (1545) and is buried in an imposing tomb at Sasseram, the capital of his original state in Bihar. His son, Islam Shah (generally called Salim Shah), who built the fort of Salimgarh at Delhi, reigned ineffectually for nine years, whereupon a disputed succession added to the general confusion. Humayun, who had fled to Persia, had invoked the assistance of the Shah and had established himself at Kabul and Kandahar, now seized the opportunity, invaded India and entered Delhi in 1555.

The next year the restored monarch fell as he was descending the Sher Mandal and died from his injuries. He is buried in the splendid tomb which his widow built to the south of the Purana Qila.

The throne which Akbar ascended was by no means secure. It was disputed by two nephews of Sher Shah, one in the Punjab, the other in the eastern part of the United Provinces, while Hemu, the Hindu minister of the latter, actually occupied Agra and Delhi and proclaimed himself sovereign under the historic title of Vikramaditya. Akbar, who was in the Punjab with his guardian, Bairam Khan, met Hemu in battle. Again the place of encounter was Panipat (1556). Hemu was at first successful; but his eye was pierced by an arrow; and, as so frequently happened upon the fall of the leader, his army fled. The boy Akbar, ordered to this act by Bairam Khan, struck the dying Hemu with his sword and his companions completed the deed. Of the two nephews of Sher Shah, one yielded and the other was killed in conflict with the ruler of Bengal.

These pages attempt to tell the story of Delhi, not that of India. Akbar's name is but little connected with

Delhi. He built the magnificent fort of Agra and afterwards the palace city of Fatehpur Sikri (close to Agra), with its exquisite workmanship and strongly Hindu features. His dismissal of Bairam Khan; his early tutelage under his foster-mother; his wars in Rajputana, Gujarat, Bengal and Khandesh, which extended his empire from Kabul to the Bay of Bengal and beyond the Tapti; his orderly administration; his policy of conciliation with the Hindus (including his own marriage with a Rajput princess), and his religious toleration and innovations—these are matters of general history. The great emperor was buried near Agra within a vast tomb, which combines various styles of architecture. According to some accounts it was desecrated in a local revolt of Jats during Aurangzeb's reign.

The fifty-year reign of Akbar was followed by the accession of his son, Jahangir, who reigned for twenty-two years (1605–1627) and made his headquarters sometimes at Agra, sometimes at Lahore. He was given to wine and suffered from a violent temper which led him at times to commit atrocities. He suppressed the rebellion of his son, Khusru, at the beginning of his reign, with relentless cruelty, and partially blinded the prince, who, however, lived on in semi-confinement for sixteen years, when he was strangled by order of his brother, afterwards the emperor Shahjahan. Jahangir entrusted the administration to his wife, Nur Jahan. His reign was marked by several rebellions and by the loss of Kandahar to Persia. But it was uneventful and its most interesting features were the growing communication with Europe, the influence of the Jesuits, aggressions by the Portuguese and Sir Thomas Roe's mission. Its close was marked by the rebellion of the heir-apparent, Shahjahan, who was

defeated near Delhi and fled to the Deccan and Bengal, but eventually came to a kind of understanding with his father. Jahangir died while on return from a summer visit to Kashmir, and lies buried at Shahdara, near Lahore.

Shahjahan was already credited with the strangling of Khusru and the poisoning of another of his brothers. When his father died, he himself was far away in the Deccan, and it was only in accord with the usual procedure that a younger surviving brother seized the throne. But this pretender was blinded by Shahjahan's father-in-law, who was maintaining the heir's interests in the north; and Shahjahan's orders that all his own male relations should be put to death appear to have been generally obeyed. His reign of thirty years was one of great magnificence and, so far as Hindustan was concerned, of comparative security and peace. But the Deccan was afflicted with war. It was at this time the cradle of future emperors, training them in leadership and administration. Shahjahan, though he effected no great conquests there, marched to the throne from his headquarters of Burhanpur, at the gate of that tempting land. As emperor, he overthrew the kingdom of Ahmadnagar and reduced Golconda and Bijapur to some sort of dependence. He left his third son, Aurangzeb, as viceroy, and history repeated itself. At first Aurangzeb, unable to carry on the administration by reason of the exhaustion of the country and his father's suspicions, resigned, was sent to Balkh, where he failed conspicuously, was then commissioned to reduce Kandahar, which had again been taken by the Persians, and there again failed in three sieges, which cost the finances dear and effected nothing. He was next sent back to the Deccan, where he made war on Golconda and Bijapur.

As the prizes were about to fall into the prince's hands, his jealous father, alarmed at the son's growing power, made peace with the sultans of those countries on condition of the payment of indemnities and cession of certain territories. But, when Shahjahan fell seriously ill in 1657 and was desirous of securing the succession for his eldest and favourite son, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb rebelled, marched northwards, defeated Dara near Agra, entered the city and imprisoned his father. The fratricidal war ended in the imprisonment of the youngest of Shahjahan's sons, Murad Baksh, in Salimgarh and his subsequent execution in Gwalior; the hunting of the second son, Shuja, into Arakan, where he met some mysterious fate; and the betrayal, after a series of fights and flights, of the eldest, who was paraded first alive and then dead through the Chandni Chowk or principal street of Delhi.

Shahjahan lived through eight years of imprisonment in the fort of Agra, often gazing out from the Samman tower upon the Taj, which he had built over his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal. His body was laid beneath it when he died. His character has been variously painted. But, whatever his faults, he had maintained his throne in great magnificence, was a patron of arts and letters, and has left us some of the most splendid monuments which the world can show. He adorned Agra with the Taj and the Moti Masjid. But he also restored the glories of Delhi, building the present city of Shahjahanabad, with its walls, its Red Palace and its enormous mosque.

In his time Indo-Saracenic architecture reached its zenith. His successor, a religious fanatic, cared nothing for the encouragement of arts. His iconoclastic zeal led him to destroy numbers of Hindu temples, and his buildings are confined mainly to mosques, such as those

at Muttra and Benares, erected to mark the site of such destruction. He re-imposed the poll-tax on the Hindus. He fought with the Rajputs and the Afghans and carried on extensive wars in the Deccan, where he spent many years of his life subduing the Muhammadan kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur. The Muslim power extended almost to the south of the Peninsula. But he was more and more harassed during these operations by the Marathas under their leader, Shivaji. This race of hardy soldiers, which bred also astute statesmen, steadily began to gain ground, and after the end of this reign became the ascendant power in India. But other forces were preparing. Madras had been founded in 1640. Bombay became a British possession in 1661. Calcutta was established in 1690. Aurangzeb's system of concentration, his oppression of the Hindus and his ambitious conquests of territories too vast to hold together, combined to sap the foundations of the empire. His tasks unaccomplished, he died in extreme old age while still hunting his volatile Maratha foes, and was buried with the utmost simplicity at Rauza, near Daulatabad in the Deccan.

A century and a half had been occupied by four long reigns. Hindustan (but not the Deccan) had known a period of peace such as had seldom fallen to her before. Famine and plague were there; and the nobles kept up their extravagant splendour at the expense of the poor. But the land was safe from external foes and comparatively free from internal strife. The fame of the magnificence of the great Mughal spread through the world. Agra and Delhi became reputed centres of imperial pomp. But the writing was already on the wall, and after 1707 it began to be fulfilled.

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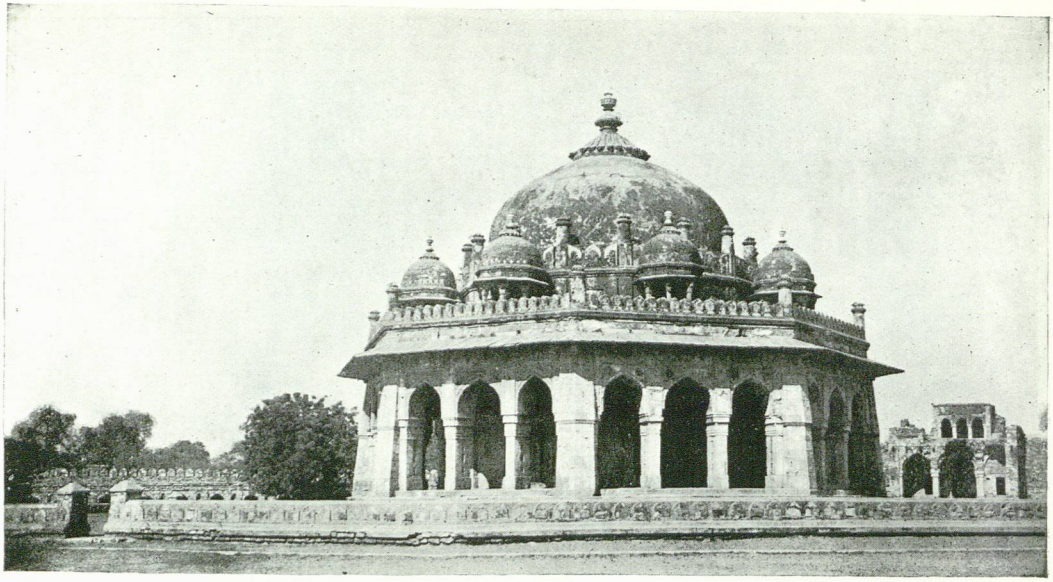

TOMB OF ISA KHAN

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TOMB OF HUMAYUN

CHAPTER XI

SHAHJAHANABAD

THE buildings erected at Delhi by the Mughal emperors or the nobles of their court are less numerous than might be expected, unless it is realised that these resided only occasionally at the old capital, Akbar preferring Agra and his own palace-city of Fatehpur Sikri, Jahangir making his headquarters mainly at Lahore, and Aurangzeb spending much of his time in the Deccan. Even their tombs, save that of Humayun, were built elsewhere.[1] Shahjahan returned to Delhi and held his court there in great splendour. The later and lesser emperors of that line generally remained at Delhi—indeed, some of them had no other place where they could dwell; and where they dwelt they were buried.

The main subject of this chapter is Shahjahanabad. But first it is necessary to describe an earlier group of buildings. For the monuments of the period of the great Mughals fall into two classes, marked out both by age and by locality.

The first of these is Humayun's tomb and the surrounding buildings. It has already been shown that the early days of the Mughal emperors, interrupted by the Afghan interregnum of Sher Shah and his short-lived

[1] Babar is buried in Kabul, among the cool hills and orchards which he loved; Akbar was laid in his grandiose tomb at Sikandra, near Agra, said to have been desecrated; Jahangir is buried at Shahdara, near Lahore; Shahjahan, by his adored wife in the Taj at Agra; Aurangzeb, near Daulatabad in the Deccan.

successors, coalesces architecturally with the time of the Lodis. But, at the time when Humayun died, shortly after his restoration, there was a sudden break from the old traditions into buildings on a vaster scale, their parts elaborately massed and their features borrowed largely from Persian forms. Thus it comes that, just to the south of the Purana Qila (the Delhi of that time), there are found buildings of the Afghan and earlier Mughal styles, as well as structures of later date.

These early Mughal buildings date from the time of Akbar. Conspicuous among them is the tomb of Humayun, built by his widow. For size and impressive grandeur no other tomb built at Delhi, and indeed few in India, can compare with it. Raised on a high plinth, it displays on each side a great arch in a deep bay, while the sides of each projecting wing have also large, though lesser, arches and small arches, in two storeys, on the obliquely-cut angles. The colour-scheme, with a liberal use of white marble, is boldly effective. On the roof stands a forest of cupolas, produced by setting a large one on each wing and a pair of smaller ones over each bay, and in the centre one of the finest domes in the world, of white marble, raised on a deep drum. This dome is of the purest Saracenic form, plain, perfectly contoured, eschewing the *kalasha* and surmounted only by a simple finial. Notwithstanding the adornment of colour and cupolas, the general effect is almost severe; no dripstone breaks the surface of the walls. The building is a striking example of the austerity of Islam overawing the elaboration of the design and breaking through the raiment of rich colour which adorns it.

Historically this tomb is full of tragic reminiscences. In addition to the graves of Humayun and his wife, there

are here those of Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb's eldest brother, put to death in Delhi, and of the emperors Jahandar Shah and Alamgir II, both murdered. The vindictiveness of the enemy and the assassin did not ordinarily pursue the victim after death. It was at this tomb that Hodson, in 1857, seized the persons of the last emperor and his two sons.

Humayun's tomb invites a pause to consider for a moment the surroundings of Muhammadan tombs as illustrated at Delhi and elsewhere. Those of Altamsh and Ala-ud-din are almost adjuncts of a mosque. Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq's is truly the adjunct of a fortress, connected with it by a causeway and itself surrounded by fortress-walls. Firoz Shah's is faced on two sides by buildings and in front by a rail, possibly imitated from Buddhist models, enclosing a narrow space. The tombs of the Sayyids rise, the one from a crowded village, the other from waste land ; and it is difficult to divine the original setting of either. Sikandar Lodi's is in the middle of a walled enclosure, which was perhaps once a garden. In the case of Humayun and, later on, of Safdar Jang, the walled circuit is sufficiently extensive to contain a park of lawns, shrubberies and little water-courses. Thus history is revealed from the times of lawlessness to those of comparative peace. Often, though not always, the practice was for a great man to build his own tomb during his lifetime, ' as all people must who are really desirous of sepulchral magnificence'. The Tartars, continues Fergusson, ' built their sepulchres of such a character as to serve for places of enjoyment for themselves and their friends during their lifetime, and only when they could enjoy them no longer they became the solemn resting-places of their

mortal remains'.[1] This anticipation of death and its circumstances may nowadays seem morbid. Perhaps it was due to the desire for a place where the living could contemplate, and the dead could reap, a calm which that turbulent world seldom provided; and it has certainly secured to us some of the noblest of oriental monuments.

To the south of Humayun's tomb are three other tombs. The small red one in the enclosure is said to be that of a favourite barber of that emperor. It is of a type characteristic of this period, square, surmounted by tile-adorned kiosks and a black, slightly bulbous dome. To the south-west is a large tomb, and to the south-east one with a blue-tiled dome. When Bairam Khan, the Bismarck of Akbar's younger days, was dismissed, rebelled and, having been defeated and pardoned, started to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, he was murdered in Gujarat by an enemy. His son, Abdur Rahim, was saved and afterwards promoted to high place by Akbar. He proved on the whole a useful general and a powerful governor and thus rewarded the emperor's generosity. The Khan Khanan (or Chief of Chiefs, as he was called) is said to have built the blue tomb for Fahim Khan, one of his friends and supporters. He himself is buried in the large tomb to the west,[2] which must have been an imposing monument before it was robbed of its marble facing. It rises from a high platform, obviously copied from Humayun's tomb. The tomb itself is square, with

[1] *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, by James Fergusson, F.R.S (John Murray, 1891), p. 575.

[2] And to the west of the Muttra road. Humayun's tomb, Isa Khan's tomb and mosque, the Arab Sarai, the so-called barber's tomb, and Fahim Khan's tomb are all in a compact group to the east of the road.

shallow projecting bays, pavilions and a high drum carrying the dome.

Just to the west of Humayun's tomb and at the entrance are the enclosure of Isa Khan's tomb and mosque, the Arab Sarai (1560), containing two tombs, and, in the junction of the roads, the Sabz Posh (green-covered) tomb, mainly distingushed by the ungainly length of its drum, which bears the remains of a displeasing pattern of blue, green and yellow tiles.

This short architectural period at Delhi, truncated, so to speak, by the departure of the court to Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, borrowed characteristics from the Lodi style, but also, in the case of Humayun's tomb, gives promise of a new era and manifests, though in a quite different form, that generous design, subtlety of subdued ornamentation and simplicity of outline which characterize the buildings of the first Turkish conquerors. Akbar's studied tolerance adopted the heterogeneous features which are found at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. The inevitable revulsion occurred. But, when Mughal architecture re-emerged at Delhi, it was not in any puritanic form comparable to that of the Tughlaqs. The Mughal emperors were too cosmopolitan in taste, too grandiose in their ideas, to restrict themselves to austere designs of unadorned masonry. The buildings of Shahjahan display a novel freedom of design. But all is subordinated to the Islamic tradition, and, in general effect, is more Saracenic (in the ordinary understanding of that term) than anything which had preceded it at Delhi.

For nearly eighty years Delhi ceased to be the official capital. In 1638, Shahjahan, weary of the crowded and inconvenient conditions at Agra, decided to build his palace at Delhi on a splendid scale. He erected the Red

Palace and the Jama Masjid. In ten years the new palace was ready; and the emperor made his state entry. The city of Shahjahanabad rose round it, defended at first with mud walls, which were replaced by brick walls in 1658.

In these two buildings we find the fullest expression of the Mughal school of architecture. The forms adopted are freer and less frigid than that of Humayun's tomb; Hindu features are once more utilised; there is a new and imaginative breadth of design.

The walls of the Red Palace measure 1,000 by 600 yards, and on the land side rise over 100 feet in height. The site is low-lying, with the result that the impression produced falls far short of that of the proud front of Agra fort. But the massive, red sandstone circuit, with its battlements, its pavilioned towers and its lofty gates, is imposing enough from the open *champ-de-Mars* to the west; and the view from the Bela[1] on the riverside, where marble palaces peer over a lower wall, has the unreal appearance of a magic dream. One doubts at first sight whether these walls were seriously intended for defence. But it is probable that they were; and Aurangzeb strengthened the Lahore gate with a barbican.

The palace, with its walls, forms a unified whole, built (with few exceptions) at the same time and on a single plan. Sufficient is left to show the interior arrangements of the royal household; and the place is, says Fergusson, 'or rather was, the most magnificent palace in the east—perhaps in the world'.

[1] The Bela is the low-lying land between the Red Palace and the Jumna.

In addition to the two larger gates with their barbicans — the Lahore gate, looking westward down the Chandni Chowk, and the Delhi gate in the southern wall, with its life-size elephant statues erected by Lord Curzon to take the place of those destroyed by Aurangzeb — there are two large towers with pavilions at the ends of the eastern wall, that on the north the Shah Burj, that on the south the Asad Burj. At the north-east corner stands the older fort of Salimgarh, round which the Jumna once doubtless ran, its westerly branch spanned by Jahangir's bridge. This old bed is now dry; Jahangir's bridge has disappeared; instead, the railway spans the gulf between the opposing walls and the lines traverse Salimgarh before emerging on the great bridge across the Jumna.

The original plan of the palace was as follows. From the Lahore gate there ran eastwards a succession of buildings and courts devoted to the more public ceremonies of the emperor. Along the top of the eastern wall, above the river, were his private apartments, in a line from north to south—baths, hall of private audience, sleeping apartments and zenana. The first line, meeting the second at right angles, formed, and still forms, a T-shaped arrangement. These buildings remain tolerably intact. The spaces westwards of the two arms of the top of the T were filled with subsidiary courts and buildings—kitchens, store-houses, etc. Northwards (the northern arm of the T being longer than the southern) were the gardens, called Hayat Baksh (giver of life) and Mahtab Bagh (garden of the moon); and, adjoining the northern wall, were the houses of the royal princes. Running northwards from the Delhi gate and forming, so to speak, the base of the parallelogram of

which the top or eastern side is the river frontage, was a broad road lined with the houses of retainers, shops, etc. The Hayat Baksh garden has been largely restored. The rest of the parallelogram which fills in the vacant spaces of the T has been cleared of buildings or is occupied by barracks. Even some of the principal buildings which still exist were put to strange uses in the years succeeding the Mutiny and before Lord Curzon insisted on the sanctity and preservation of these historic monuments. There were various reasons for this vandalism, one of which, perhaps not sufficiently realised, is that in the decadent days of the empire even the central part of the palace had been allowed to fall into a lamentable state of squalor, as described by Bishop Heber in 1824. Thus it was difficult to realise the intrinsic beauty of the buildings, and it may be counted as fortunate that the most important of them have survived.

The palace is entered from the Lahore gate by a great covered arcade, which has received unstinted and deserved praise from many pens. At the eastern end of this arcade, a court is entered, once containing a tank—the tank round which the European survivors were massacred in 1857 (see p. 106). Still going east, the road of entry passes through an arch under the Naubat Khana, or bandstand, where the royal band played at intervals.

This arch leads into an inner court of great size, once surrounded on three sides by the rooms of the nobles, the central part of the eastern side still occupied by the Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience. This is an open, colonnaded building, the rows of pillars, with engrailed arches, presenting dignified vistas—all the more dignified, perhaps, since the surface has lost the plaster and gilt,

which may have once covered it, and appears in naked stone. In the middle of the eastern side (which is closed by a wall) is a recess in which stands a high raised throne with a canopy of inlaid marble known as 'the Seat of the Shadow of God'. This was the durbar-seat of the emperor and in it possibly stood the Peacock throne, while from the dais in front the minister handed up petitions. (The Peacock throne, which Tavernier on a personal inspection valued at nearly six and a half millions sterling, was carried off by the Persian ruler, Nadir Shah, during his sack of Delhi in 1739.) Behind the throne, on the wall of the recess, are the well-known panels of *pietra dura*, including the delineation of Orpheus charming the beasts, which were placed after the Mutiny in the South Kensington Museum and restored to their original place through the offices of Lord Curzon. Their origin has formed the subject of controversy. They have commonly been assigned to a French artist. Sir John Marshall points out that most of the material is Italian, and thinks it not unreasonable to suppose that they were designed and executed in Italy and brought to India. Bernier and others have described the glories of the durbar held in this hall, when the hall itself was extended on its three open sides by embroidered fabrics supported on silver-covered pillars, the nobles stood below the throne, and the emperor himself appeared beneath the marble canopy, clad in soft raiment, pearls and diamonds.

To the east of this is yet another court. Closely approaching the monarch's private apartments and forming the way by which he passed from them to his place of public business, it was made befittingly resplendent and was surrounded on the north, west and south sides by arches and buildings, with a tank in the

middle. These buildings have gone and the tank is dry. In the middle of the court is placed a basin of marble, one of those through which the canal water was formerly brought. Its workmanship moved the Muslim chroniclers to wonder.

The eastern side of this court is still occupied by a part of the zenana. For at this point the cross-bar of the T is reached. The central building, where the two lines join, is the Rang Mahal (coloured hall), remains of the lavish decoration of which are still visible on the arches. To the south is the Mumtaz Mahal (hall of distinction), another of the zenana apartments, now an archaeological museum. Between these two and again further south were other buildings, which have disappeared. This, with the exception of the Asad Burj at the end, is all that remains of the southern arm of the line along the river frontage. A peculiarity of these buildings and also of those to the north is the miniature channel, called the Stream of Paradise, which ran along the middle of them, the water, brought from Ali Mardan's canal, entering the palace under the Shah Burj on the north, supplying the baths, traversing the Diwan-i-Khas, the sleeping apartments, the Rang Mahal and Mumtaz Mahal, sometimes flowing under portions of marble flooring, sometimes welling into inlaid basins, like that which is still seen in the Rang Mahal. Rippling over the marble, it added to the soft lusciousness of these apartments and to their coolness in the hot days.

The first building as one goes northwards from the Rang Mahal contained the most private of the emperor's rooms —for quiet talk, for sleep. There also abuts from this building the Musamman Burj (octagonal tower), projecting over the eastern wall, with the *jharoka*, or showing

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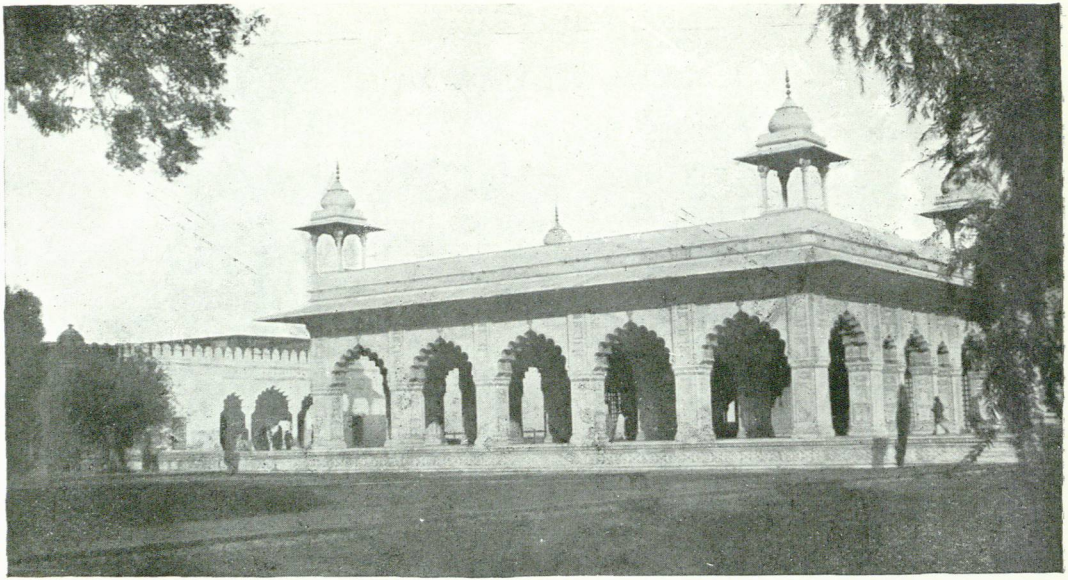

DIWAN-I-KHAS

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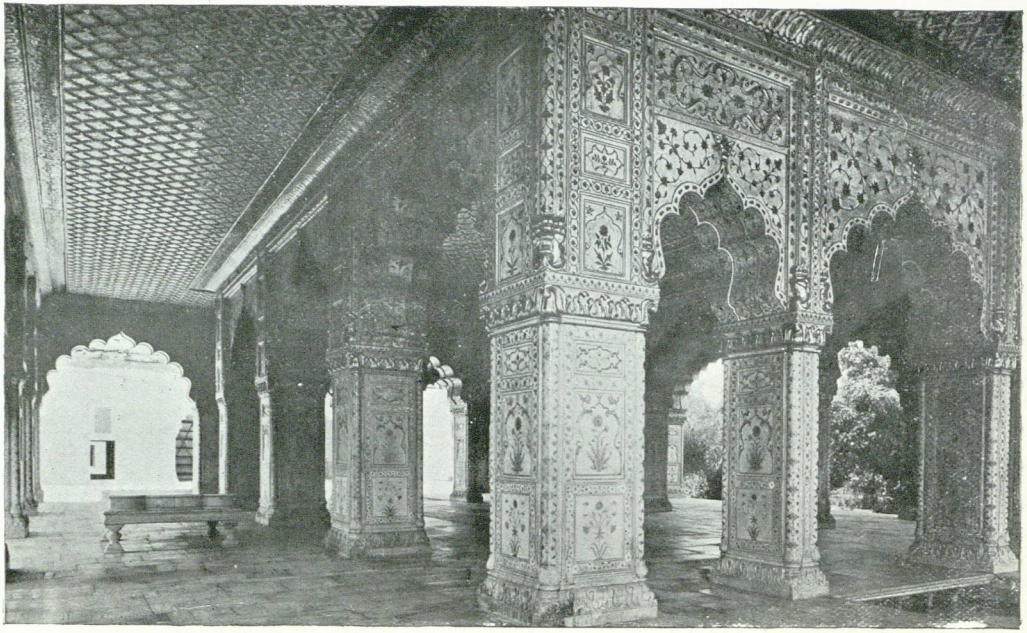

DIWAN-I-KHAS—INTERIOR

place, in front, whence the emperor made his appearance to the people below, to please them or to satisfy them that he was still alive. Here (and on the little open balcony just to the south) Their Imperial Majesties repeated this ceremony in December of 1912, while a vast procession passed below. The interiors of these buildings are remarkable for their fine and often nobly worded inscriptions and for the famous translucent screen of marble, bearing the scales of justice surrounded by the firmament of heaven.

The next surviving building to the north is the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Private Audience. Simple as it is—an oblong pierced with lightly engrailed arches, broken by a deep dripstone and with a plain kiosk at each corner —it is yet, both within and without, one of the most exquisite remains of Mughal art. The piers have been robbed of much of their precious inlay; the silver ceiling has gone; the Peacock throne (which was probably kept here for greater safety in the later days of the empire) was carried off to Persia. But there is still enough of subdued magnificence to show that the repeated inscription on the upper panels had some justification—'If there is a heaven on the face of earth, it is this, it is this, it is this'. This place forms also the very *arcana* of the splendid and tragic days of Mughal rule. Here Shahjahan interviewed his highest nobles in all his splendour; 'Here Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah were received by their unhappy and unwilling hosts; here the Jats and Marathas and Rohillas set an example for the mutineers of 1857 of disregard of everything due to royalty; here Ghulam Qadir, the Rohilla, blinded the emperor Shah Alam; and here, in 1803, the latter received his rescuer, Lord Lake, and

conferred high-sounding titles upon him'.[1] Here also the last emperor was proclaimed by the mutineers in 1857, and underwent trial in 1858.

Baths formed an important part of Mughal palaces in India. The block of bathrooms to the north of the Diwan-i-Khas is singularly fine, with its floors and basins of inlaid marble. Their use was not restricted to bathing purposes; their coolness or their warmth, according to the season, afforded a convenient place for transacting business and for interviews. The heating arrangements can still be traced in the most westerly of the rooms.

Just to the west of the baths is the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque).[2] This was built by the pious Aurangzeb, who desired to have a regular place of prayer always at hand. The marble carving is very chaste. But the mosque as a whole shows signs of the oncoming of decadence, though the bulging, over-large domes were put up after the Mutiny to replace the smaller domes of copper-gilt which originally surmounted the building. Northwards, on the edge of the wall, stands a small marble pavilion called the Hira Mahal. It was built by the last of the Mughal kings.

In the north-eastern angle is the Shah Burj, fronted on the south side by a marble pavilion with a cascade through which the canal water entered the palace and traversed its eastern line of buildings. To the west of this portion of the line is the Hayat Baksh garden. To the north and

[1] *Delhi, Past and Present*, by H. C. Fanshawe (John Murray, 1902), p. 36. See also pp. 97-99 of the present volume.

[2] The term seems to have been used for mosques of white marble. There is a splendid Pearl Mosque in the Fort of Agra, another in that of Lahore; and there is also one near Delhi at the dargah of Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki (see p. 100).

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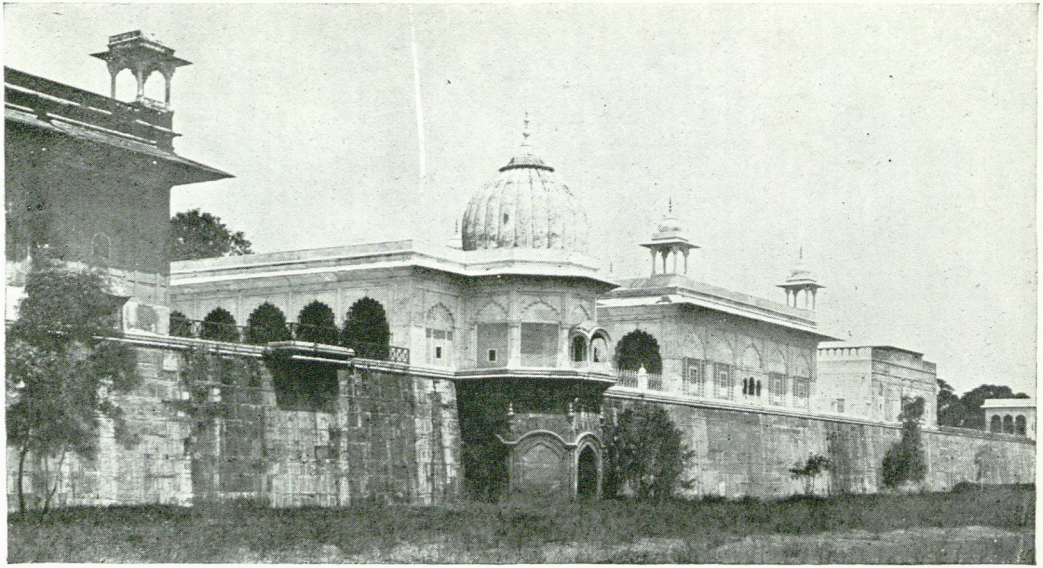

BUILDINGS OF THE RED PALACE FROM THE RIVER SIDE

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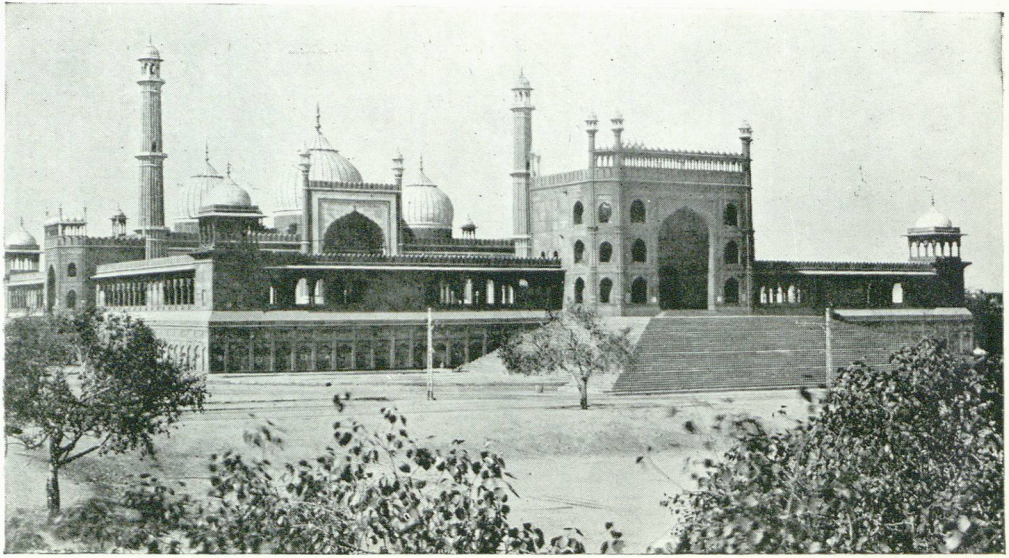

THE JAMA MASJID

south of it are marble pavilions, from which the garden was supplied with water falling over cascades with niches to hold candles behind the stream. These pavilions are called Sawan and Bhadon after two of the rainy months. In the middle is a pavilion of red sandstone.

Such is this wonderful relic of the days of the great Mughals. To the west of it, across the *champ-de-Mars*, stands the Jama Masjid, contemporary with the palace. Thither the emperors passed in solemn procession to service, down the long arcade to the Lahore gate, across the open space and through the great central door of the mosque. The outside is of red sandstone. The central gate rises high above the walls of the court and affords a good example of the device—a semi-dome pierced by a portal of moderate dimensions—whereby, as pointed out by Fergusson, the Saracenic architects solved the difficulty of combining a door not too lofty for its obvious use with the dignity of the portico appropriate to a vast building. The walls are colonnaded, topped with dripstone and battlement, and flanked by pavilioned towers. The whole is built upon slightly rising ground and supported on a high plinth, which, with the three broad flights of steps leading to the three gates, east, north and south, heightens the effect of solidity and grandeur of these portions of the building. The western side of the court, however, and the superstructure of domes and minarets, are in contrast with this square solidity and display the soft contours and dreamy lightness generally associated with Saracenic buildings. This contrast has brought some criticism upon the mosque, while the streaky, bulbous domes and striped minarets are regarded as the advance-guards of the coming decadence. But the architect has in truth produced a harmonious whole out of the square, uncompromising

exterior, relieved by its generous breadth, and the fairylike effects which blossom above it. Whether the eye concentrates on the massive outlines and proportions of the exterior, the great court four hundred feet each way, or on the western face with its white marble panelling, its domes and its minarets, or whether it takes the general effect made up by these features, this mosque stands out as a great epitome of Indo-Saracenic art, its design lavish, well-proportioned and imperial in its dimensions, its features blending Islamic severity with a magical delicacy of grace. One other relic of the last of those great days is the mosque of Zinat Mahal, in Dariyaganj. She was a daughter of Aurangzeb, and, by her father's stern command, condemned, like his other daughters, to celibacy. The mosque is a typical building of the age, with striped, bulbous domes. It is called Zinat-ul-Masjid — a name which at once records the foundress and describes the building as an ornament among mosques.

CHAPTER XII

DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE AND OF ARCHITECTURE

We pass from the glories of this empire and its proud monuments to its decline and fall. On the death of Aurangzeb the usual war of succession took place. His eldest son, Bahadur Shah I, was victorious, the other two sons being defeated and slain. The reign was mainly remarkable for a rebellion of the Sikhs, who now became something of a power in the Punjab. Bahadur Shah was followed first by Jahandar Shah, then by Farukhsiyar, both of whom were murdered. The power fell into the hands of two Sayyid brothers of a family distinguished in the imperial service. They placed two ephemeral puppets on the throne, whose combined reigns lasted only a few months and need not be recorded.

The next emperor was Muhammad Shah II. His reign of twenty-nine years (1719–1748) witnessed the direst calamities. The empire fell to pieces. Asaf Jah, the minister, despairing of the condition of things, retired to the Deccan and set up as a practically independent ruler at Hyderabad under the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. This resulted in a war, in which the Sayyid brothers lost their lives. Another governor, Saadat Khan, founded the kingdom of Oudh. Early representatives of both these families left, as will presently be narrated, notable buildings at Delhi, with which a kind of nominal connection was maintained. The Marathas began to organize their conquests. The descendants of Shivaji gradually

abandoned all power to the minister or Peshwa, who ruled at Poona and was more or less recognized as head of the Maratha confederacy, while Maratha chiefs founded new principalities — the Gaekwar at Baroda, Holkar at Indore, Scindia at Gwalior, and Bhonsla at Nagpur. In 1737 a Maratha raid pierced to within a few miles of Delhi.

The next misfortune was the invasion of Nadir Shah, the ruler of Persia. Instigated, as it is sometimes asserted, by the Nizam-ul-Mulk and the ruler of Oudh, and certainly tempted by the wealth and weakness of India, he marched through Kabul and Lahore in 1739, and met the imperial army at Karnal, near Panipat, in the gate of Hindustan. Once more that stricken field was fought over, and once more the invader conquered. The Shah entered Delhi in company with the Mughal emperor. At first harmony prevailed. But the report of Nadir Shah's death, followed by a tumult resulting in the slaughter of some of his soldiers and, some say, the narrow escape of Nadir Shah himself from a gun-shot, enraged the invader or afforded him the opportunity he sought. He had come out from the Red Palace, where he and the emperor were lodged, to quell the tumult, and now, sitting at the Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-Daula, which still stands in the Chandni Chowk, he ordered and deliberately watched the massacre of the inhabitants. It is said that a hundred thousand were slain ; and, when the Mughal emperor's intervention stayed the bloodshed, a systematic looting of the rich city took place, while the massacre was repeated on a smaller scale four days later. Nadir Shah returned to Persia, having robbed Delhi of loot estimated at four millions sterling in addition to Shahjahan's Peacock throne.

But his total booty is stated to have been far greater and he gained also the territories to the west of the Indus, which were now permanently reft from the Mughal crown. A fleeting success marked the close of Muhammad Shah's reign. On the death of Nadir Shah, an Afghan chief, Ahmad Shah Abdali (or Durani), who henceforward plays a large and sinister part in the history of northern India, had seized Kabul and the surrounding territories. He invaded India and was repulsed on the Sutlej. But the emperor's minister, Kamr-ud-din, fell in the battle, and this loss so wrought on Muhammad Shah that he died. His tomb is in the dargah of Nizam-ud-din.

Ahmad Shah Abdali quickly returned and obtained the cession of the Punjab. The new emperor was also named Ahmad Shah. Everything was in confusion. The Rohillas revolted. The emperor was a plaything between the rivalries and intrigues of the families of Oudh and Hyderabad. The representative of the former, Safdar Jang, a nephew of the first king of Oudh, summoned the Jats of Bharatpur to aid him against Ghazi-ud-din, the grandson of the Nizam. Ghazi-ud-din defended Delhi against this attack and then, on discovering that the emperor was playing a double game, himself besieged Delhi with the aid of the Marathas. The city surrendered and Ahmad Shah was deposed and blinded.

Ghazi-ud-din was now the real ruler of the narrow domain left to Delhi. But he set up a puppet, called Alamgir II (Aurangzeb having previously assumed the name of Alamgir). The puppet intrigued against the master and called in Ahmad Shah Abdali, who entered Delhi in 1756. Again the city was plundered and suffered massacre. But the Afghan chief was not to have it all

his own way ; for the aggressive Marathas occupied the Punjab, and Ahmad Shah found it necessary to invade India again in 1759. Ghazi-ud-din, alarmed at his approach and dreading a second betrayal by the emperor, persuaded Alamgir to visit Firozabad to see a saint who was supposed to be living there. The emperor encountered, instead of a saint, an assassin ; and his headless remains were buried in Humayun's tomb. Ahmad Shah again entered Delhi and recognized Alamgir's son, Shah Alam, as emperor. But the Marathas had set their mind on the complete conquest of upper India. They possessed themselves of Delhi. Had they been skilfully led, they might have established a Hindu supremacy over all Hindustan. But they shut themselves up at Panipat — once more the field on which the fate of northern India was to be decided. Again the forces of India fought the invader from Afghanistan. But this time the latter, who was in the Bulandshahr district, advanced from the south-east. The vast Maratha host, cooped in the town, were unable to pursue their usual Parthian tactics. Ahmad Shah sat down before them till hunger compelled them to come out and give him battle. All day the Marathas seemed on the point of victory. But at evening Ahmad Shah ordered a charge by fresh troops; the nominal leader of the Marathas was wounded and fell from his horse ; and the whole Hindu army fled, suffering terrible slaughter in the retreat.

Though the remnants of the Maratha host retired south and their dreams of empire north of the Vindhyas were broken, their activities did not altogether cease. Nor did Ahmad Shah himself consolidate any empire. His troops mutinied and he had to lead them back to Kabul. He invaded India again six years later, but did

not reach Delhi. Meantime confusion grew worse confounded. The new emperor was living mainly at Allahabad, with the patronage and support of the British, who had suddenly acquired enormous influence and responsibilities as the result of the battles of Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764). He received the districts of Allahabad and Kora (previously part of Oudh) and a pension of twenty-six lakhs a year from the East India Company, upon whom he in turn conferred the Diwani or financial administration of Bengal, Bihar and such part of Orissa as was not in the hands of the Marathas. In 1770 he entered Delhi, which had long been the cockpit of rival factions and was at the moment occupied by the Marathas. The Maratha army, however, started off in pursuit of Zabita Khan, the ex-minister, whom they had displaced. By one of the strange vicissitudes of that unstable time, these two parties seem to have coalesced, the Marathas approached Delhi, there were some skirmishes near Tughlaqabad and the imperial troops retired into the city. The only strong and steady personality at this time was Shah Alam's minister, Najaf Khan, who defended the shrunken territories of Delhi against the Jats, the Sikhs and the Rohillas, fighting yet another battle of Panipat against the latter. When he died, Shah Alam threw himself upon the protection of Scindia, who placed a Maratha garrison in the Red Palace. But, when Ghulam Qadir, son of Zabita Khan, desirous of the appointment of minister, appeared from the east and encamped on the side of the Jumna opposite to the palace, Shah Alam's allies melted away. Thrice did Ghulam Qadir bombard the palace and thrice he entered it, but on the first two occasions was urged to depart by promises or by the arrival of troops in support of the emperor. At the

third he was not to be denied. He extorted the post of minister, but, not content with that, demanded money which was not forthcoming, deposed Shah Alam, placing on the throne a puppet whom he openly insulted, and finally summoned the emperor into the Diwan-i-Khas and there blinded him. Ghulam Qadir had previously sworn loyalty to Shah Alam. He asked him in mockery what he could see. 'Nothing,' replied the emperor, 'save the Holy Koran betwixt you and me.' The Marathas returned, but too late to avert this tragedy. Though the empire had fallen on evil times and though this was not the first time an emperor had been blinded, some vestiges of tradition and sanctity still attached to the person of the Badshah. The feeling of horror found expression in the awful tortures and death which awaited Ghulam Qadir when, having fled over Salimgarh to the east of the Jumna, he was thrown from his horse and caught, and in the dark stories which gathered round his life and its ending.

These things happened in 1788. The blind emperor continued to reign under the patronage of the Marathas and, to some extent, of the Company. But his empire was departed. A rhyme was made to ridicule the extent of his jurisdiction.

From Delhi to Palam
Is the realm of Shah Alam.[1]

The power had passed to the Marathas and the British, and between these the real struggle lay. Holkar fell out with the Peshwa. The latter fled from Poona, but

[1] *Az Delhi ta Palam*
Badshahi Shah Alam.

Palam is a village ten miles out of Delhi.

was restored to his throne by the British, after he had signed the treaty of Bassein, whereby he sacrificed his real independence and guaranteed the payment of a British force for his protection. The Viceroy, the Marquess of Wellesley, in pursuance of this policy of subsidiary treaties, which he regarded as the only cure for the turbulent and miserable state of the country, failed in his endeavour to bring Scindia and Bhonsla to the same point of view. War broke out in 1803. In the Deccan, the Viceroy's brother, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, broke the Maratha power at Assaye. In the north, General Lake, having carried the fort of Aligarh by assault, pushed rapidly up the left bank of the Jumna and defeated Scindia's forces at the battle of Delhi (otherwise called Patparganj). The battle was a severe one, fought on the eastern side of the river opposite Humayun's tomb, among the long grass and swamps which cover that place in September. The British were opposed to near four times their own number, posted in a good position, with seventy guns. The Marathas were tempted out by a feigned retreat of the cavalry, while the infantry, concealed in the grass, advanced, poured a steady volley at short range into the foe, and charged. General Lake, whose horse had been killed under him in the action, crossed the river into Delhi on the 14th September and, in the Diwan-i-Khas, received at the hands of the old and blinded monarch the titles of a noble of the vanished empire.

The decay of architecture was synchronous with that of power. The graves of members of the royal family and of nobles are to be found, sometimes detached, but more often in one or other of the dargahs described in Chapter XIV. The mosques which were erected are

generally small and, like the more elaborate of the tombs, they display marks of decadence—over-bulbous domes and mere ornament superseding design. A pretty mosque erected in the beginning of this period is the Moti Masjid at one of these dargahs, that of Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki. Another is the Sonahri (i.e. golden, possibly because, like several other small mosques in Delhi, it is built of fawn-coloured stone) Masjid of Roshan-ud-daula, close to the Kotwali in the Chandni Chowk. This mosque is the spot whence Nadir Shah viewed the massacre of the inhabitants in 1739.

A very interesting relic is the observatory of Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, commonly called the Jantar Mantar, built probably about 1724. It is situated a little more than a mile southward from the wall of Shahjahanabad. The masonry instruments, some of which were devised by the raja himself, are four. The large gnomon with two (now partially buried) quadrants is an equinoctial sun-dial. The two concave hemispheres were used, with the aid of cross-wires which threw their shadows on to the curved surface, to ascertain the position of the sun and other heavenly bodies. The two circular buildings, which, like the hemispheres, are complementary to one another, are intended for altitude and azimuth observations. The curious 'mixed instrument,' consisting of a gnomon with two semi-circles on either side, was apparently for measuring the declination of the sun and for other purposes. The idea of these giant astronomical instruments is that, being immovable and of a size permitting of minute measurements, they are more accurate than small metal instruments. The raja built more or less similar ones at Jaipur itself and at Ujjain and Benares. He died in

1743; 'his wives, concubines and science expired with him on his funeral pyre'.[1]

Close to the Ajmer gate is the tomb of Ghazi-ud-din, father of Asaf Jah, the first Nizam of Hyderabad, and a noble of the days of Aurangzeb and of his short-lived successors. The tomb is in a courtyard built out from the city wall and fortified with a ravelin in British times. The adjoining mosque is fine and the material, red sandstone, goes some way to counteract the signs of decadence. These buildings and the foundation for students which still exists in the enclosure and is still kept up, with Government assistance, as an Anglo-Arabic school, form a pleasant group and remind us that even in that hard age there was a respect for learning and the quiet atmosphere which it demands.[2]

Ghazi-ud-din's tomb and mosque were built early in the eighteenth century (he died in 1710). It is a curious coincidence that, while they recall the beginning of Hyderabad as a great state, a building erected not many years later and situated four miles to the south, just to the right of the Kutb road, is reminiscent of another important state that broke away from the empire about the same time. Safdar Jang was the nephew of the first king of Oudh. For some time minister of the emperor, he had a poor reputation in war (he deserted his command just before the encounter with Ahmad Shah Abdali at the close of Muhammad

[1] *The Astronomical Observatories of Jai Singh*, by G. R. Kaye (Government Printing Press, Calcutta, 1918).

[2] There are other relics of educational buildings—the *madrassa* at Ala-ud-din's tomb and the college of Maham Anga (one of Akbar's foster-mothers and the mother of Adham Khan) near the Purana Qila.

Shah's reign) and played a sinister part in the intrigues of those troublous times. But he trimmed his sails and died, a successful politician of the age, in 1753. His tomb is the last great Muhammadan monument at Delhi. It has been condemned for its excess of ornamentation and effeminate structure of fawn-coloured stone patterned with other hues. But it is a finely-proportioned work, and in size, massing of its component parts and general effect, stands out superior to anything produced in the previous half-century. It is a last expiring effort.

CHAPTER XIII

LAST DAYS OF THE MUGHALS

THOUGH the British had been victorious in 1803, the fierce chief, Jaswant Rao Holkar, who had at first dissociated himself from the other Maratha powers, was still in the field. He defeated a British force in Rajputana and marched on Delhi. The city was under the control of Colonel Ochterlony as Resident, with Colonel Burn in military command. The force at their disposal was inadequate. The walls were ruinous. Orders were received to retire into the Red Palace and await reinforcements. Burn disobeyed them. For seven days the Maratha army, greatly superior in numbers, vainly launched bombardment and assault against the southern walls. They then drew off, and General Lake arrived with a relieving force. He hastened after Holkar and completely defeated him. The recall of the Marquess of Wellesley, the reversal of his forward policy, its renewal by Lord Hastings and the final Maratha war in 1817–18 are beyond the scope of these pages. The only recognition of the gallant defender survives in the name of the Burn bastion in the western wall.

Delhi was placed under a Resident, also styled Agent to the Governor-General; later on his place was taken by a Commissioner. The emperor, who had long been shorn of any real power, exercised his titular sovereignty in the palace. In 1806 the blind Shah Alam died and was succeeded by Akbar Shah II. The British, after the experience of the siege in 1804, restored the walls. For

Delhi was, as it had been so often in the past, the frontier fortress and arsenal, guarding the plains of India from possible incursions from the Punjab.

There are three buildings of this time which deserve mention by reason of their associations. Colonel James Skinner was a soldier of fortune in the service of Scindia. When war broke out between Scindia and the British, he left the service of the former and raised the famous Skinner's Horse. It is narrated that, lying wounded on the field of battle, he vowed the building of a church. This church (St. James's) was erected perhaps about 1824. It is just inside the Kashmir gate. The design is Palladian, with a good dome. It was much injured in 1857 and required restoration. The old metal ball which surmounted the dome lies in the churchyard, riddled with shot. Besides the vault of the Skinners and the memorial cross on the north, inscribed in various languages, there are the graves of Mr. William Fraser, the elder Sir Theophilus Metcalfe and others. In the interior are many tablets telling of violent death in May, 1857.

This William Fraser was murdered on the Ridge while riding back from the city, where he had been dining with the Raja of Kishengarh. The murder was planned by a young nawab between whom and Fraser some cause of enmity had arisen. William Fraser was the builder (in 1830) of the house upon the Ridge which was afterwards called Hindu Rao's House, and became well known in 1857. It is curious that the name of the commissioner who was murdered on May 11th, 1857, was Simon Fraser.

Another famous house was built at Delhi about this time. Three members of the family of Metcalfe were

connected with Delhi. Lord Metcalfe, who was provisional Governor-General for a time, and afterwards Governor of Jamaica and Governor-General of Canada, was Resident at Delhi from 1811 to 1819. One of his brothers, who inherited the baronetcy, Thomas Theophilus, held the same post, and about 1835 built Metcalfe House north of the city, transporting thither his pictures and library. In fact the Metcalfes settled down here, possessed land and had a country house (consisting of, and built round, a tomb, which, with relics of the portico of the house, still stands) at the Kutb. A son, Sir Theophilus John Metcalfe, succeeded his father as fifth baronet, was joint Commissioner at Delhi at the outbreak of the Mutiny and narrowly escaped the fate of the other civil officers. After various adventures, he joined the relieving British force and became known for his stern punitive measures. Metcalfe House was gutted by Gujar marauders during the siege and long stood a ruin. It was then rebuilt and is now converted into a chamber for one of the Indian Legislative Houses.

In 1837, on the death of Akbar Shah II, Bahadur Shah II became emperor. The presence of this scion of bygone power, his partial jurisdiction within a limited area, and the large number of members of the royal family, were a source of embarrassment to the orderly development of administration. On the death of the heir-apparent in 1856, the Government of India decided that the eldest son should be recognised as head of the family, but that 'instead of the title of King and the external signs of Royalty, he shall have the designation and position of Prince or Shahzadah of the House of Timour', and in no case was Bahadur Shah's favourite son, Mirza Jawan Bakht, to be recognized as the heir.

It was also stipulated that the royal family should move their abode to the Kutb.[1]

Whether this decision had anything to do with the outbreak of the Mutiny is a question. Probably it had not. There were other causes which led to that terrible episode. The trouble, kindled at Meerut and there unchecked, quickly spread to Delhi. The tradition of the place and the presence of the titular monarch served as a rallying point for the forces of disorder.

The events of May the 11th, 1857, are sufficiently well known—the arrival of the mutineers from Meerut on the Bela below the palace, the murder, by ruffians of the palace, of the commissioner, Mr. Simon Fraser, the collector, the chaplain and two ladies in the Lahore Gate; the resistance put up by the European civil residents of the city, ending in the slaughter of many of them and the firing of their houses; the gradual defection (with some honourable exceptions) of the troops in the cantonment and the death of many of their officers; the gallant defence by nine men, and eventual blowing up, of the arsenal; the gathering of women and children at the Flag Staff Tower on the Ridge and their flight northwards toward Ambala from that scene of terror. On the 16th May the families of such of the white or mixed population of Dariyaganj (to the number, probably, of fifty-one) who had not been killed, having been confined in a small room, were seated round the tank which then lay to the west of the Naubat Khana and massacred in cold blood by the emperor's servants. They were mostly women and children.

A small relieving force was organized from the Punjab

[1] *Records of the Delhi Residency and Agency* (Lahore, 1911), p. 466.

and was joined by troops from Meerut. There was a sharp encounter at Badli-ki-Sarai, a few miles north of Delhi, on June the 8th. Yet once again the plain north of the apex formed by the Ridge and the river formed the field of battle. As the result, the British force occupied the northern section of the Ridge, their southern post being above the depression near Kishanganj and Sabzi Mandi. But it was besieged rather than besieging. Inadequate in numbers, unprovided with heavy artillery, it was unable to attack the walls, which had been strengthened by the British after the Maratha attack of 1804. More than once surprise attacks upon the city were planned, only to be abandoned. The troops were camped on the space between the Ridge and the Najafgarh canal. They were open to constant attack from the city to the south, from the suburb of Sabzi Mandi to the south-west, from Metcalfe House to the south-east, and even from the rear. The enemy guns on the walls harassed the defenders on the Ridge. The flanking position of Sabzi Mandi was particularly troublesome ; and during a heavy attack on the 9th July a party of cavalry from this suburb managed to pierce within the British encampment.

Thus the troops lay during the heat of June and the rain of the monsoon. Cholera was constantly prevalent and carried off the commander, General Barnard, the previous commander, General Anson, having died of the same disease previous to the battle of Badli-ki-Sarai.

Meantime in the palace there was much confusion. The emperor had at first tried to stop the entry of the sepoys. He was distressed by their invasion of the Diwan-i-Khas, their demands of pay and the ribaldry to which they sometimes treated him. He even called

upon them to leave the city. But he was frightened and puzzled and probably thought that, should the Mutiny succeed, he would regain the substance of power. So he called the sepoys his *bahadurs*, distributed rewards to those who brought in heads of the English, and made a a poem urging the faithful to obtain victory on the day of Id. A mutineer of the name of Muhammad Bakht Khan was really in command.

Gradually reinforcements arrived at the Ridge and, though the enemy also were reinforced, the British gained ground to the east of the Ridge. The siege-train was now on the way. A large force of the enemy moved out to the westward to cut it off. General Wilson, who was now in command, was aware of this and sent General Nicholson to intercept the mutineers. He found them posted at Najafgarh, some fourteen miles away, and charged them out of their position, capturing most of their artillery. The siege-train arrived early in September. Preparations began for the bombardment and the assault on the northern wall of the city.

This wall is flanked on the west by the Mori bastion. Towards the eastern end is an angle containing the Kashmir gate, the shallow projection enfiladed by the Kashmir bastion, whence the wall again runs for about 250 yards in an east-north-easterly direction to the river and ends in the Water bastion. Three batteries of breaching guns were constructed, more or less opposite the three bastions, that in front of the Water bastion (known as the Custom House battery) being less than 200 yards from the wall. Breaches were effected close to the Kashmir and Water bastions. Early on September the 14th the assaulting parties advanced. Two won

through the breaches. A third gained the Kashmir gate, which had simultaneously been blown in by a small explosion party. Nicholson, who had led one of the storming columns, started from the Main Guard just within the Kashmir gate, to clear the walls. He made his way to the Mori bastion, turned to the left along the inside of the western wall and then received a mortal wound. A fourth column operating to the west, with a view to the capture of the suburb of Kishenganj, failed in the attempt. The cavalry were employed in guarding this flank; for an attack on the camp, while most of the British troops were in the fighting line, might have had serious results. Street fighting followed the assault and continued for six days, at the end of which the whole city was occupied.

On the seventh day after the assault Hodson of Hodson's Horse secured the person of the emperor, who had taken refuge, with armed followers, at Humayun's tomb. The day after he again visited the tomb, captured two of the sons of Bahadur Shah, and, when near the Delhi gate of the city, fearing (so it was alleged) a rescue, shot them. The next day Nicholson died of his wound.

Thus ended an incident in the history of Delhi to which this bald narrative can do but feeble justice. The hardships which the troops suffered, their courage and their endurance under the prolonged attacks of a more numerous enemy and terrible disease, have been ably told in more detailed narratives. The total British force (and this term of course includes the loyal Indian troops who played so gallant a part in the operations) numbered at the time of the assault only 8,748 of all ranks; and of these nearly 3,000 were in hospital. It was this little

force that stormed the deep ditch and the formidable walls, in face of a determined and desperate foe.

The next year the emperor's trial took place in the Diwan-i-Khas. He was found guilty of abetment of rebellion and murder and of other charges, and was deported to Rangoon. Thus ended the Mughal dynasty, which, for the past hundred years, had been no more than a name. In the same year the rule of India passed to the British Crown. On January 1st, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India in this imperial city. Similar ceremonies took place on the accession of the two succeeding sovereigns. But, on the last of these occasions, His Majesty came to Delhi in person to show himself to the people and announced the city as once more the capital of India. A tragic event was the attempted assassination of Lord Hardinge, as he was proceeding along the Chandni Chowk to the Red Palace on December the 23rd, 1912, formally to receive the new imperial city from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SHRINES OF DELHI

BEFORE passing finally from the period of Muhammadan sway, it will be convenient to mention the shrines or dargahs of Delhi. The student is liable to find these places a trifle puzzling and irritating. The buildings are sometimes crowded together, so that it is difficult to get an idea either of the place as a whole or of the individual monuments. The dwellings of custodians cluster around. The mind is confused by the explanations of guides. The names of many of those who lie buried in the enclosure are unfamiliar, yet obviously revered. The architecture exhibits the characteristics of different styles. Side by side with some grave or relic of the fourteenth century are interred notables of the nineteenth. Occasionally a tomb erected centuries ago has been reconstructed through the care of the pious upon the latest and most decadent models. For this reason it has seemed best to give a brief separate description of the better known of these shrines, though outstanding buildings, such as the mosque at Nizam-ud-din, have also been noticed in their proper place. Save for such buildings, the interest of these dargahs is historic rather than architectural. They were sought after as burial places by emperors who did not desire, or could not afford, the isolated splendour of a mausoleum, by members of the royal family, by ministers and by men of learning. A humble grave in the proximity of a saint's bones was no despicable alternative to a palace-like dome.

The oldest of the shrines of Delhi is that of Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, south of the Kutb Minar in the village of Mehrauli. He is supposed to have come with the first conquerors and died in the reign of Altamsh. But the dargah, with the passage by which it is approached, the obviously recent gate and the Moti Masjid, wears a modern look. Probably the only really old portion which is still recognizable is the deep tank on the eastern side. The saint's mosque has been restored; and his grave is merely a mound of earth surrounded by pierced marble screens of the nineteenth century. The Moti Masjid, built by Bahadur Shah I at the beginning of that century, is pretty though decadent.

The historic interest of the place centres in a tiny graveyard just south of the Moti Masjid. It is the resting-place of three emperors—Bahadur Shah I, Shah Alam and Akbar Shah II; also of the heir-apparent, Mirza Fakr-ud-din, who died (some assert, was poisoned) in 1856. The graves are quite plain. Among them is an empty space which had been reserved for Bahadur Shah II, the last emperor, who was deported to Rangoon. Near the tank is the grave of the sometime minister of Shah Alam, Zabita Khan; and another is said to contain the mutilated remains of his son, Ghulam Qadir, who blinded Shah Alam. In other parts of the dargah are the graves of the nawabs of Loharu and Jhajjar. To the west are the house and mosque of Hakim Ahsanulla Khan, the physician and adviser of the last emperor.

The most famous of the shrines is that called Nizam-ud-din, to the west of Humayun's tomb, where the cross-road branches off from the Muttra road to the Kutb road. Nizam-ud-din Aulia was one in a succession of saints

who had for some generations trained up disciples as their successors in sanctity, and is himself credited with having brought up Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (Roshan Chiragh Delhi), who was the last of the line. Nizam-ud-din had a long life, extending from the reign of Balban to the first year of Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq (1324). During this time it is possible that he took a hand in politics; his dispute with Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq and his suspected complicity in the death of that sultan have already been described.

The beginning of his famous dargah dates from the time of Ala-ud-din Khilji, who is said to have offered him a lakh of rupees and, on its refusal, to have built the mosque called Jamaat Khana, which forms part of the western side of the enclosure. Tradition assigns the actual building to Ala-ud-din's son, who barely survived his father. It is certainly of this period; for, though its covered space, domed over and unusually deep, is very different from previous attempts at mosque-building at Delhi, and though the two side-arches and chambers may possibly be early Tughlaq work, the construction of the walls, the style of the surface adornments and the three engrailed arches are clear proofs of the style and the age. Doubtless there was once an open court; but this has been crowded up with the tomb of the saint himself and with those of Jahanara Begum, the emperor Muhammad Shah (Mughal) and others. This overcrowding of the dargah and the labyrinth of dwellings on the east side go far to destroy the effect of the splendid mosque and the tomb of Atgah Khan (see p. 69); and the divers into the saint's tank, and attempts to turn attention to the golden cup which still hangs untouched through the centuries in the middle nave of the mosque, or to the mother-of-pearl inlay in the tomb itself, combine to disturb

the mood in which this place of really beautiful and sorrowful things should be examined.

After the mosque, which is the finest building of the group, the second is the beautiful polychromatic tomb of Atgah Khan, the minister of Akbar, who was murdered by Adham Khan (see p. 69). It is a square building, the dome supported on a drum, the walls of red sandstone largely covered with carved marble and patterned tile-work.

The third is the Chausath Khambe, or hall of sixty-four pillars, built by Atgah Khan's son, Mirza Aziz Kokiltash, as a graveyard for himself, his brothers and others of his clan. It is to the east of the dargah and fortunately outside the crush of buildings which surrounds the saint's tomb. It in no sense resembles a burial place, being a flat-roofed pavilion of pale grey marble. It is finely proportioned, of astonishingly perfect masonry, and is rendered very effective by the beauty of its proportions, its material and the geometric patterns on the walls.

The other buildings, though of historic interest, are for the most part modern and without great architectural value. In addition to the highly ornate tomb of the saint,[1] there is a seventeenth century tomb of the poet Amir Khusru, a contemporary of Nizam-ud-din. The simple grave of Jahanara Begum, daughter of the emperor Shahjahan and the companion of his imprisonment, is famous for its Persian inscription, 'Let nothing but grass cover my grave; for that is the covering meet

[1] The original tomb was built by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Nothing is left of it. The existing tomb dates from the time of Akbar. But there have been numerous later additions, the present dome having apparently been built by Akbar Shah II in 1823. The appearance of the tomb is distinctly modern.

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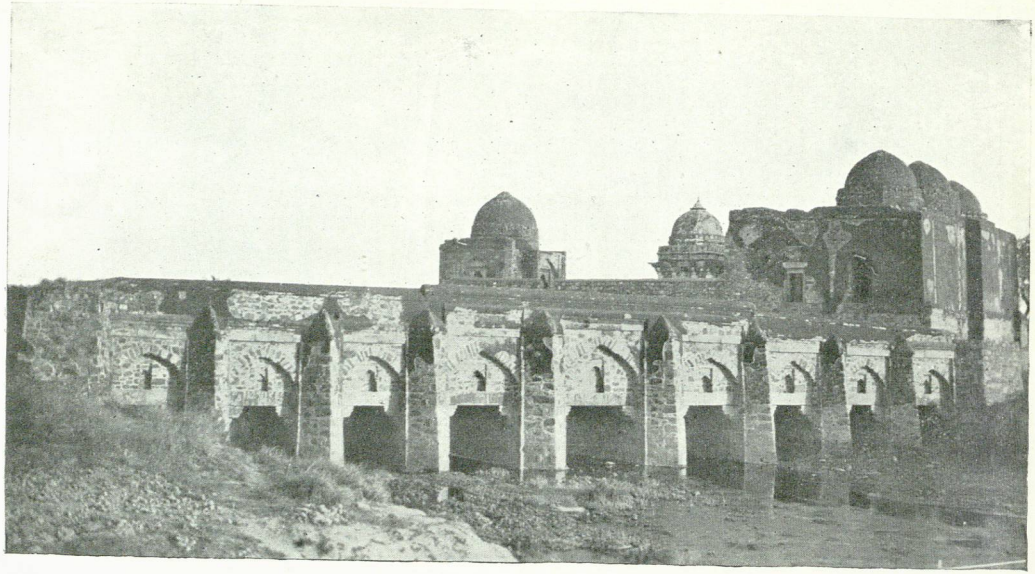

SHAH ALAM'S DARGAH, WITH BRIDGE

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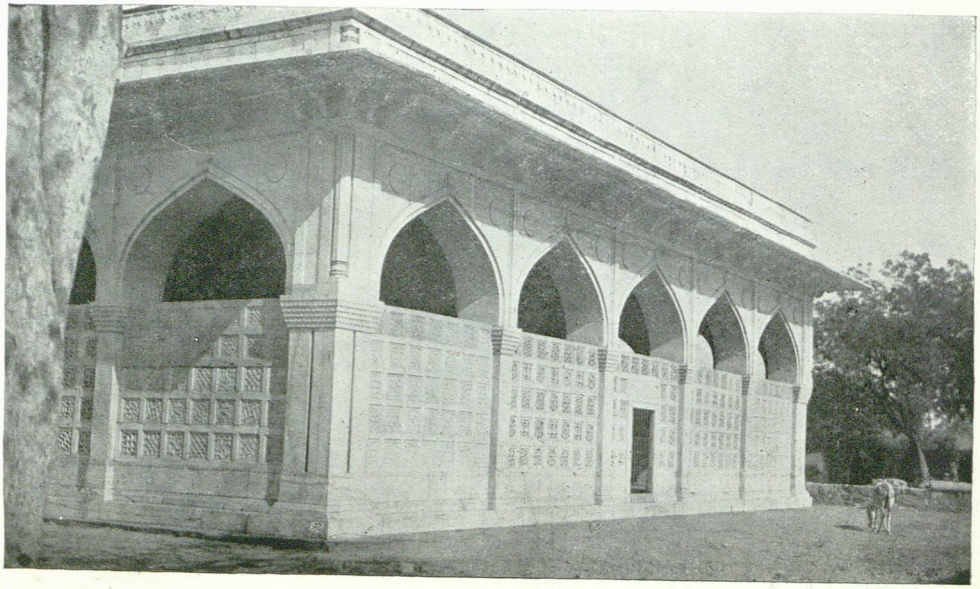

CHAUSATH KHAMBE

for the lowly'. Other graves are that of the emperor Muhammad Shah (Mughal), during whose reign Delhi was sacked by Nadir Shah, and that of Jahangir, son of Akbar II, the last emperor but one.

Roshan Chiragh Delhi lies half a mile to the south-east of the south-eastern corner of the ruined walls of Siri, and within the circuit of Jahanpannah. It is the dargah of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, who was generally called Roshan Chiragh Delhi (the Bright Lamp of Delhi) and, as just stated, was a disciple of Nizam-ud-din Aulia. He died during the reign of Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who is supposed to have built one of the gates. The tomb is not impressive. The enclosure is occupied by a village. The most striking feature is the western face of the wall of the enclosure, built on the edge of the water-course which used to flow through Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq's sluice. This wall is comparatively modern, having been built in 1729. Among the other buildings which it contains, besides the saint's tomb, is the alleged tomb of Bahlol Lodi—a small, square building with plaster-covered walls, a dome at each corner and a loftier one in the middle. It is surrounded with buildings on all save the west side, which happens to be the least interesting side; hence it is difficult to examine its features. There is an external dripstone supported on brackets round the other three sides, with white plaster on which are the remains of fine moulding. It bears some characteristics of the Lodi period, but does not conform either to the square or to the octagonal tombs of that time. If it is the tomb of Bahlol, who was no despicable ruler, fate has served him meanly in the matter of his burial.[1]

[1] The villagers at Roshan Chiragh Delhi deny that the tomb of Bahlol Lodi is there, and say it is in Shahpur—the village within

These three dargahs lie to the south of Shahjahanabad. To the north, just where the end of the Ridge dips down into the Jumna and disappears, there is a fourth, which, in its solitude and simplicity, forms a strong contrast to those described. This is the tomb of a less known saint, Shah Alam, who lived in the time of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The enclosure contains a three-domed mosque, the tomb of the saint and a domed entry. It so happens that at the same spot and in the same period a bridge was built over the Najafgarh canal to carry the road running northwards. As the fame of the saint was not sufficient to tempt the great ones of succeeding times to lay their bones at his shrine, the place is not overlaid with later structures and has preserved its unity of style and its original form. Severe and unadorned, like other buildings of that age, it yet presents a restful and satisfying picture.

The bridge at this dargah is an impressive structure with its narrow arches and buttressed piers. Its style bespeaks its antiquity. There are several other old bridges at Delhi. The Sath Pulah at Khirki (see p. 55) is not a bridge, though it may have been used as

the ruined walls of Siri. There is a large building just to the west of Shahpur, but there is no reason to suppose that it is Bahlol's tomb, and it is alleged by the people of Shahpur to be that of a Begum. As stated in a previous footnote, the unidentified tomb at Khairpur is said to be Bahlol's ; of this also there is no proof. The knowledge of villagers regarding the monuments that surround them is generally scanty and unreliable ; but they ordinarily know the tomb of a Badshah. The question of this tomb is doubtful and it appears not unlikely that Bahlol is not buried at Delhi at all.

I do not recommend the visitor to Delhi to attempt an expedition to Roshan Chiragh Delhi. The tramp over the fields is long, and there is very little to see at the end of it.

such in addition to its main purpose as a dam and a sluice. Three bridges of later construction (probably of Akbar's time) span the stream that runs by Sikandar Lodi's tomb. The one close to that tomb possibly carried the road from Firozabad to Old Delhi. The second, near Nizam-ud-din, may have led to Jahanpannah. The third and largest, known as the Barah Pulah (twelve-piered) bridge, still carries the Muttra road. These later bridges were ornamented with columns rising from the buttresses.[1]

There are other burial-grounds at Delhi, besides those of ancient times. The three European cemeteries contain the graves of some whose names will live. In that outside the Kashmir Gate, within sight of the breach which he stormed, is a simple slab of marble which briefly tells of the victory and death of Nicholson.

[1] The Ath Pulah at Sikandar Lodi's tomb has seven arches, the Barah Pulah has eleven. So the numbers of the names do not correspond with the number of arches. They probably indicate the piers or else the pairs of small columns.

CHAPTER XV

THE NEW CAPITAL (NEW DELHI)

Two reasons have already been indicated as explaining the persistent association of Delhi with the capital of India. That which first operated was a military reason—the situation of the place at the northern extremity of the line of natural defences that guarded the Doab and Bengal from invasion. The second reason was political; the glamour of empire had gathered round the spot; the veneration that attaches to a long-established capital and to the successor (even though only the titular successor) of a great line of kings, urged each aspirant to power to possess himself of the ancient seat of sovereignty and of the person of the emperor.

When, on December 12th, 1911, His Imperial Majesty announced the removal of the administrative capital from Calcutta to Delhi, there were added other reasons. It is not necessary to enter into these. Suffice it to say that it had long been recognized as anomalous that the important Presidency of Bengal ranked only as a Lieutenant-Governorship and that the appointment of a Governor with his headquarters in Calcutta rendered inconvenient the continuance of the Government of India in the same city. The change has been criticised on various grounds. But, once it had been decided as inevitable that the Viceroy should no longer make his chief place of residence in the principal city of Bengal, the claims of Delhi were almost irresistible. Its choice accorded with popular tradition and sentiment; its situation is central; its proximity to

large groups of Native States brought the central Government into closer touch with the Indian princes, who rule over more than one-third of the peninsula.

Whatever controversies may have arisen over the selection of the locality and of a site, there can be no doubt as to the magnificence of the scheme which has been elaborated. The achievements of Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker and of the staff of Government engineers headed by Sir Hugh Keeling eclipse in splendour and solidity the cities of preceding dynasties and possess the inestimable advantage of profiting from the inventions and hygienic ideals of modern times.

The site, previously called Raisina, of New Delhi is about two and a half miles to the south of the southern wall of Shahjahanabad. At this point there occurs a rocky out-crop, just to the east of the main Ridge. By the blasting away of its top a great platform was formed, thirty-two feet above the level of the plain below and commanding a superb view—eastward to the grim walls of the Purana Qila, north-eastward to the fairylike domes and minarets of the Jama Masjid in Shahjahanabad. The main *motif* of the lay-out consists in the location of Government House and the Secretariat buildings upon this platform, and the cutting of two vistas from this central point in the directions just indicated.

It is impossible here to deal with the stupendous undertaking involved in the erection of this new capital or to describe the many buildings (residences, museums and large hostels for the accommodation of the legislators) which adorn the city. Some idea of the scale of the work may be gathered from the fact that the labour-force employed upon the site at times numbered 29,000. The railway-track and the tramway-track laid

down for the purpose of construction each measured sixty miles, and together had a carrying capacity of 2,000 tons per day. The bricks (apart from other materials) used in the building would, if laid end to end, girdle the earth over four times. Much of the stone was quarried at a distance of 115 miles.

The most remarkable features of the city are best approached along the main vista (or King's Way). Starting at the War Memorial Arch, the road runs westward towards the platform, between the houses of the Members of the Governor-General's Executive Council and the Museums and Record Office. One of these museums contains the remarkable frescoes brought by Sir Aurel Stein from Central Asia. The two Secretariat buildings tower up in front, and between them arises the great dome of Government House. Just at the foot of the platform is the Great Place, to the north of which stands the Legislative Building or Parliament House—a pillared circle half a mile in circumference, which recalls memories of the Colosseum at Rome. In the centre of this circle is a domed library, from which radiate the three buildings for the accommodation of the Chamber of Princes, the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. In the spaces between these three chambers are open courts and fountains.

From the Great Place the road rises to the summit of the platform, ascending as it were through a pass formed by the two Secretariats. Thence it traverses the Viceroy's Court, past a great column presented by the late Maharaja of Jaipur, to the splendid façade of Government House.

These central buildings—the Parliament House, the Secretariats and Government House—make up a self-contained group unique in magnificence and immensity

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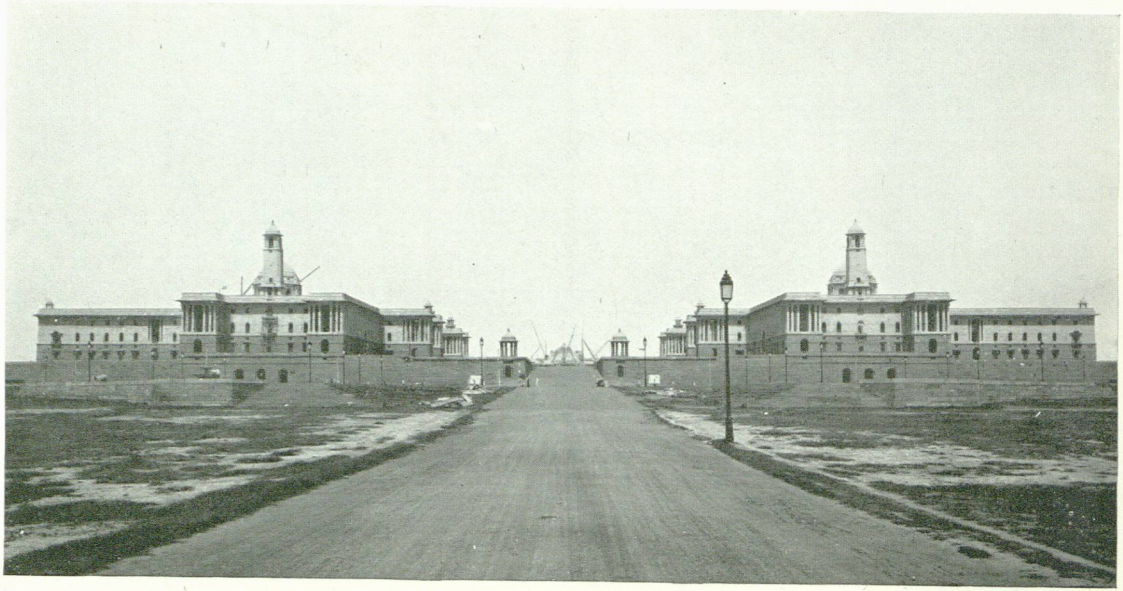
PARLIAMENT BUILDING

To face page 121



THE SECRETARIATS

of proportion. A dignified restraint of outline, a wealth of rich detail in portico, window, balcony and cupola, the contrast of red sandstone and white marble, the stately courtyards, the soaring domes and campaniles—all these present a miraculous picture which few, if any, of the architectural works of man can rival.

The style adopted in these buildings varies and, naturally, is richer and more ornate in some than in others. Classic features are combined with oriental elements in the Parliament House and in Government House. Sir Herbert Baker, speaking of the buildings for which he is responsible, and especially of the Secretariats, writes that 'the principle which has prompted the design, as far as any principle in building is conscious or can be put into words, has been to weave into the fabric of the more elemental and universal forms of architecture the thread of such Indian traditional shapes and features as may be compatible with the nature and use of the buildings'. He notes, as the most pleasing characteristic of the old buildings in India, the wide, flat spaces of bare, sunlit walls, contrasted and enriched at rare intervals with the more elaborate features of profusely adorned doors, windows and balconies—the solid front upon the public thoroughfare and the open court within. Among other eastern devices used are the dripstone, casting its deep shadow down the sun-smitten walls, pierced marble screens, the open canopied tower and the high arched portal.

Such is the eighth city of Delhi, surpassing its predecessors in magnificence and in the great ideals which it symbolizes—the blending of oriental art and achievement with the sterner influences of the west; the maintenance of ordered rule through a continent of heterogeneous

peoples; the tradition of a beneficent administration which, in its kind, is without parallel. The stories of the past and the aspirations of the future hallow the site and shed a lustre on its palaces. On this very spot Timur the Tartar defeated the Tughlaq forces; almost in its centre is the tomb of the Sikh martyr, Teg Bahadur, who, gazing to the west, prophesied the coming of a conquering race and the downfall of the power that had oppressed him; and here assemble, under a peaceful constitution, representatives of the remotest provinces, which in former times were held or lost through force, violence and bloodshed.

CONCLUSION

SUCH is the city of Delhi—a city of strange vicissitudes and memories. Of the forty-two Muslim sultans who can be said actually to have ruled or reigned over Hindustan (most of them with Delhi as their seat of empire), at least ten were murdered, two died in battle, two were blinded and many were violently deposed. The same city has witnessed scenes of unparalleled magnificence and pomp.

For many decades the monuments of bygone dynasties lay neglected and forlorn. The great work of preservation, initiated by the unremitting efforts of Lord Curzon, has been continued by succeeding viceroys, by the Archaeological Department under Sir John Marshall, and by Sir Malcolm Hailey. To-day those buildings rest in peace. The palace and the mosque of Shahjahan stand in the open spaces of the city, shorn indeed, save at rare intervals, of the pomp and ceremonial which once frequented them, but with their red battlements sturdy as ever and their marble pavilions and domes bathed in the same everlasting sunshine. The battered walls hear no cannon save those of salutes, and the mouldering river-front forms delicate pictures under the shade of garden-trees. In the plains to the south, the sterner monuments of the early dynasties rise from the wooded plain or from among green fields of wheat, oats and tobacco, where the only sound that breaks the silence is the creak of the wooden wheel and the swish of the water as gentle-eyed oxen pull the bucket from the irrigation-well. Yet, look-

ing on them, we can conjure up again the stream of agitated life that once swept through them and picture the shadowy procession of fierce sultans, their cruelties and their wickednesses and the resolute sway by which they kept rough order through wide and turbulent lands.

Above those ancient palaces soar the splendours of the new city, eclipsing the massive walls of the Tughlaqs and the dreamlike domes of Shahjahan. It clings to the rocky Ridge that through the centuries has guarded the narrow gateway into the broad plains of India. But the symbol which it holds aloft is that of peace, justice and progress.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS

Date and Dynasty	Principal Events and Sovereigns	Monuments and Map Reference Numbers	Pages of Reference to Monuments
A.D.			
1000–1192. Chauhan Rajputs	Prithvi Raja repulses first invasion from Afghanistan	**1.** Old Delhi (Hindu City, otherwise called Qila Rai Pithora and containing the Lal Kot)	*10, 36*
1193–1290. Slave (nominally began in 1206)	Conquest of Delhi and Northern India	**2.** Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque (begun)	*36*
	Kutb-ud-din Aybek	**3.** Kutb Minar (begun)	*40*
	Altamsh, 1211–1236	**4.** Dargah of Khwaja Kutb-ud-din Bakhtiyar Kaki	*13, 112*
	Mongol invasion; Chingiz Khan	**5.** Tomb of Sultan Ghari	*36, 42*
		6. Tomb of Altamsh	*42*
	Balban, 1266–1286	**7.** Tomb of Balban	*36, 43*
1290–1320. Khilji	Ala-ud-din, 1296–1315	**8.** Siri	*10, 34*
	Conquest of Gujarat and invasion of the Deccan	**9.** Alai Minar	*43*
		10. Jamaat Khana Mosque (in Nizam-ud-din's dargah)	*43, 113*
		11. Alai Darwazah	*43*

Date and Dynasty	Principal Events and Sovereigns	Monuments and Map Reference Numbers	Pages of Reference to Monuments
A.D. 1290–1320. Khilji		**12.** Tomb of Ala-ud-din	*43*
1321–1414. Tughlaq	Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, 1321–1325	**13.** Tughlaqabad	*10, 53*
		14. Tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din	*54*
	Muhammad-ibn-Tughlaq, 1325–1351	**15.** Adilabad	*53*
		16. Jahanpannah	*10, 47*
		17. Bijay Mandal (?)	*55*
	Revolt of provinces and partial break-up of empire	**18.** Sath Pulah Sluice	*55*
		19. Tomb of Kabir-ud-din Aulia	*55*
	Firoz Shah Tughlaq, 1351–1388	**20.** Firozabad	*11, 56*
	Long and peaceful reign; empire restricted to Hindustan	**21.** Kalan Masjid	*57*
		22. Begumpur Mosque	*59*
		23. Kali or Sanjar Masjid, 1370	*58*
		24. Khirki Mosque, 1387	*59*
		25. Pir Ghaib (at Kushk-i-Shikar)	*60*
		26. Chauburji Mausoleum	*60*

DATE AND DYNASTY	PRINCIPAL EVENTS AND SOVEREIGNS	MONUMENTS AND MAP REFERENCE NUMBERS	PAGES OF REFERENCE TO MONUMENTS
A.D.			
1321–1414. Tughlaq		**27.** Dargah of Shah Alam (at Wazirabad) and bridge	*116*
		28. Hauz Khas (restored)	*34, 37, 61*
		29. Tomb of Firoz Shah (at Haus Khas)	*51, 61*
	Sack of Delhi by Timur, 1398	**30.** Makhdum Sabzawari	*61*
1414–1450. Sayyid	Empire much weakened and in abeyance	**31.** Tombs near Mujahidpur	*67*
		32. Tin Burj	*67*
		33. Tomb of Mubarik Shah Sayyid	*66*
		34. Tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid	*66*
1450–1526. Lodi	Partial recovery of empire	**35.** Tomb of Bahlol Shah Lodi (?)	*115*
		36. Moth-ki-Masjid	*67*
		37. Tomb of Sikandar Lodi	*65*
		38. Nameless Tomb at Khairpur	*65*
1526–1540. Mughal	Invasion of Babar and first battle of Panipat, 1526	**39.** Khairpur Mosque	*65*
	Babar, 1526–1530		
	Humayun, 1530–1540	**40.** Purana Qila (begun)	*11, 64*

Date and Dynasty	Principal Events and Sovereigns	Monuments and Map Reference Numbers	Pages of Reference to Monuments
A.D.			
1526–1540. Mughal		**41.** Jamali Masjid (completed)	*68*
1540–1555. Afghan (Sur) interlude	Sher Shah, 1540–1545	**42.** Sher Mandal	*64*
		43. Mosque of Sher Shah, 1541	*65*
		44. Salimgarh	*67, 98*
		45. Mosque and Tomb of Isa Khan	*68*
1555–1857. Mughal (restored)	Humayun (second time)	**46.** Tomb of Humayun	*80, 109*
	Akbar, 1556–1605	**47.** Arab Sarai	*83*
	Second battle of Panipat, 1556	**48.** Tomb of Adham Khan	*68*
	Empire restored	**49.** Tomb of Atgah Khan	*113*
		50. Chausath Khambe	*114*
	Jahangir, 1605–1627	**51.** Tomb of Fahim Khan	*82*
		52. Tomb of the Khan Khanan	*82*
	Shahjahan, 1628–1658	**53.** Shahjahanabad	*11, 84*
		54. Red Palace	*84*
		55. Jama Masjid	*91*
	Aurangzeb, 1658–1707	**56.** Moti Masjid (in palace, 1659)	*90*
		57. Zinat-ul-Masjid, Mosque, 1710	*92*

Date and Dynasty	Principal Events and Sovereigns	Monuments and Map Reference Numbers	Pages of Reference to Monuments
A.D. 1555–1857. Mughal	Death of Aurangzeb and beginning of decline of empire	**58.** Moti Masjid (in Khwaja Kutb-ud-din's dargah)	*112*
		59. Tomb, Mosque and College of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, 1710	*101*
		60. Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-daula, 1721	*94, 100*
		61. Observatory of Raja Jai Singh (Jantar Mantar), 1724	*100*
		62. Walls of Roshan Chiragh Delhi, 1729	*115*
	Sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, 1739	**63.** Tomb of Safdar Jang, 1753	*101*
	Sack of Delhi by Ahmad Shah Abdali, 1756		
	Battle of Plassey and beginning of British supremacy, 1757		
	Third battle of Panipat, 1761		
	Battle of Delhi, 1803, and its defence by Colonel Burn, 1804		
		64. St. James' Church, 1824	*104*
		65. Hindu Rao's House, 1830	*104*

Date and Dynasty	Principal Events and Sovereigns	Monuments and Map Reference Numbers	Pages of Reference to Monuments
A.D. 1555–1857. Mughal		**66.** Metcalfe House, 1835	*105*
	Mutiny and siege of Delhi, 1857		
The rule passes to the British Crown, 1858			
	Proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India, 1877		
	Durbar on accession of King Edward VII, 1903		
	Durbar on accession of King George V, December 12th, 1911	**67.** The New Capital	*118*

APPENDIX II

HOW TO SEE THE PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS

THIS Appendix is intended for the use of those who have only a short time in which to see Delhi and who wish to see its monuments systematically—that is, as an architectural epitome of the story which centres round this city. For this reason I select only a certain number of typical buildings and recommend the visitor to see them in the order suggested. Unless some such plan is followed, the great number of buildings which one is tempted to visit and their heterogenous styles are apt to produce weariness and a sense of confusion. Both for such persons and also for those who can devote longer time, the map at the end of this Appendix indicates the position of almost all the monuments mentioned in this book by means of numbers corresponding to the number shown against each monument in the third column of Appendix I. The map also gives a general idea of the environs of the city and accurately shows the new roads. It is no longer essential, as it was in old days, to economise time by avoiding repeated journeys over the same route. The motor car and the multiplication of roads have eliminated the difficulties of distance.

A tolerable idea of Delhi can be obtained, without any undue exertion, in four days, arranged as follows:

First Day.—Early Pathan Buildings (*Slave, Khilji and Tughlaq*). Drive to Old Delhi (**1**) and see the Iron Pillar, the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque (**2**), the Kutb Minar

(3), the tomb of Altamsh (6), the Alai Darwazah (11), etc. (pp. 36 ff.). This will occupy the morning. Drive on eastwards to Tughlaqabad (13. p. 53) and have a picnic lunch under the shady trees to the south of the walls. After lunch go up into the ruined city through the main entrance, and, turning to the right, ascend to the roof of the citadel, whence you will get a good idea of the ruins in general, of Adilabad (15. p. 53) and of the tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din (14. p. 54) to the south, and a fine view over the surrounding country. On descending, walk across to the tomb. Then drive back by Old Delhi. Two miles north of Old Delhi a path branches off on the left hand. A walk of about a mile along this path will bring you to Haus Khas (28. pp. 34, 61) and the tomb of Firoz Shah (29. p. 61). The walk is well worth taking, and, if thus done in the evening, need not be tiring. The reward is great.

Second Day.—Later Pathan and Early Mughal Buildings. Taking the same road as yesterday, drive south as far as Khairpur and see the group of Sayyid and Lodi buildings (pp. 65-67). Then take the cross-road eastwards, and, when you reach the Muttra road, turn north and go into the Purana Qila (40. p. 64). Sher Shah's mosque (43. p. 65) will give you a good idea of the mosques of that period. Then turn south, get your car into shade and eat your lunch sitting in it. Dismount at the cross-roads close to Humayun's tomb (46) and Nizam-ud-din's dargah. It is worth while going into the dargah if only to see the Jamaat Khana Mosque (10. pp. 43, 113), which, however, belongs to the Khilji period, and Atgah Khan's tomb (49. p. 113). Then cross the road towards Humayun's tomb, failing not to look at Isa Khan's tomb (45. p. 68), a little on the right of the road. You can

then see Humayun's tomb (**46.** pp. 80, 109) in the evening, when it looks its best.

Third Day.—Mughal Buildings. A restful day can be spent seeing the Red Palace (**54.** p. 84) and the Jama Masjid (**55.** p. 91). See the latter in the morning and the former in the afternoon, as they show better at those times. You will also be able to take a drive along the Ridge that day and see the objects of interest on it (pp. 104 ff.).

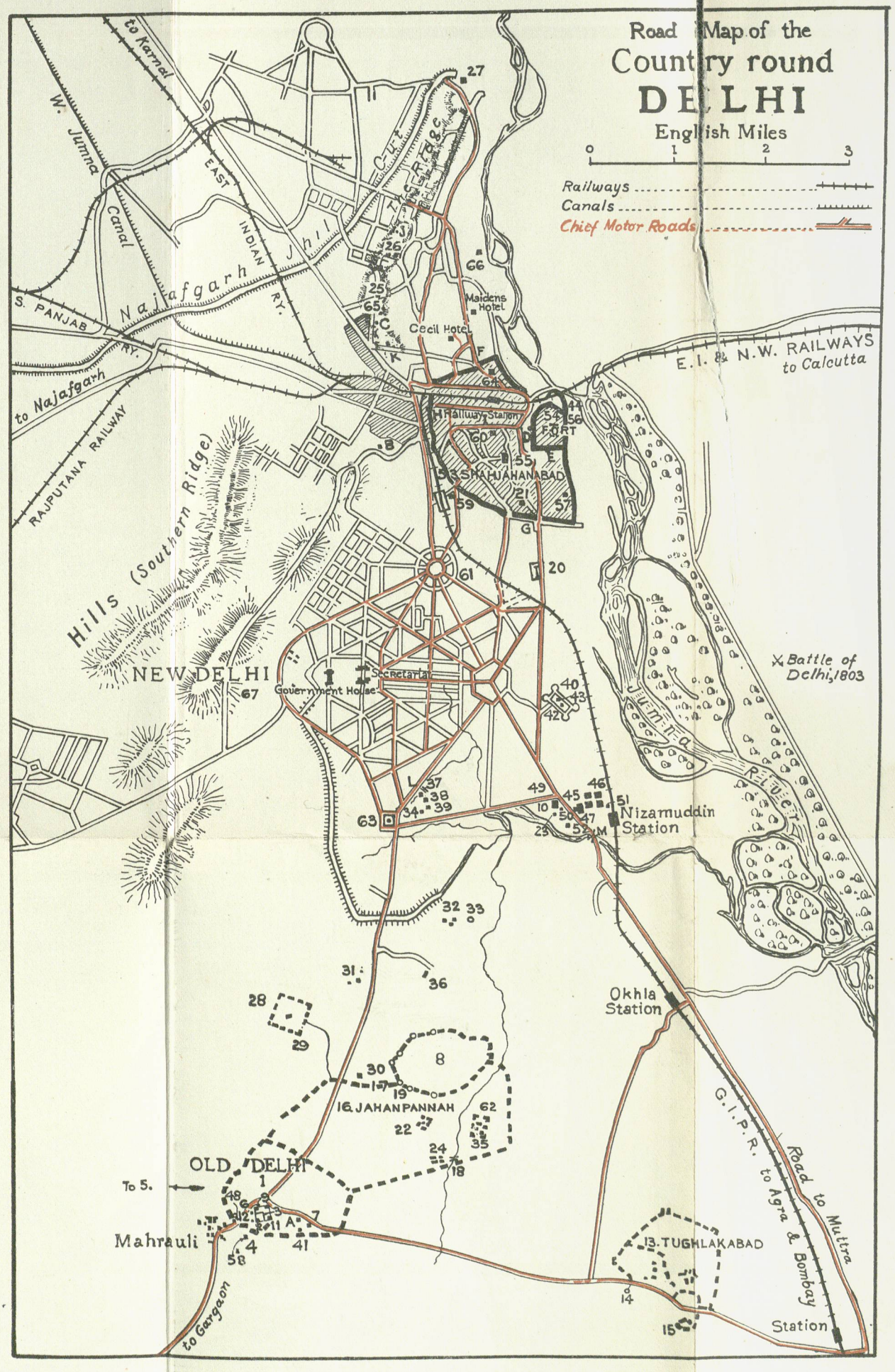
Fourth Day.—New Delhi. The morning light is the best for seeing the new capital (**67**). It is well to keep the afternoon for re-visiting any place which you have particularly liked or for seeing some monument (such as Firozabad, **20.** pp. 11, 56) which has not been included in the foregoing itinerary.

Monuments as numbered in Chronological List

1. Old Delhi
2. Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque
3. Kutb Minar
4. Dargah of Khwaja Kutb-ud-din
5. Tomb of Sultan Ghari
6. Tomb of Altamsh
7. Tomb of Balban
8. Siri
9. Alai Minar
10. Jamaat Khana Mosque
11. Alai Darwazah
12. Tomb of Ala-ud-din
13. Tughlaqabad
14. Tomb of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq
15. Adilabad
16. Jahanpannah
17. Bijay Mandal
18. Sath Pulah Sluice
19. Tomb of Kabir-ud-din Aulia
20. Firozabad
21. Kalan Masjid
22. Begumpur Mosque
23. Kali or Sanjar Masjid
24. Khirki Mosque
25. Pir Ghaib
26. Chauburji Mausoleum
27. Shah Alam's Dargah
28. Hauz Khas
29. Tomb of Firoz Shah
30. Makhdum Sabzawari
31. Tombs near Mujahidpur
32. Tin Burj
33. Tomb of Mubarik Shah Sayyid
34. Tomb of Muhammad Shah Sayyid
35. Tomb of Bahlol Lodi (reputed)
36. Moth-ki-Masjid
37. Tomb of Sikandar Lodi
38. Nameless tomb at Khairpur
39. Khairpur Mosque
40. Purana Qila
41. Jamali Masjid
42. Sher Mandal
43. Sher Shah's Mosque
44. Salimgarh
45. Mosque and Tomb of Isa Khan
46. Tomb of Humayun
47. Arab Sarai
48. Tomb of Adham Khan
49. Tomb of Atgah Khan
50. Chausath Khambe
51. Tomb of Fahim Khan
52. Tomb of the Khan Khanan
53. Shahjahanabad
54. Red Palace
55. Jama Masjid
56. Moti Masjid (in palace)
57. Zinat-ul-Masjid Mosque
58. Moti Masjid (in Kutb-ud-din's dargah)
59. Tomb, etc., of Ghazi-ud-din
60. Golden Mosque of Roshan-ud-daula
61. Observatory of Jai Singh (Jantar Mantar)
62. Walls of Roshan Chiragh Delhi
63. Tomb of Safdar Jang
64. St. James's Church
65. Hindu Rao's House
66. Metcalfe House
67. The New Capital

Monuments, etc., lettered but not shown in Chronological List

A. Tomb of Muhammad Kuli Khan (reputed)
B. Qadam Sharif
C. Asoka Pillar on Ridge
D. Lahore Gate of Palace
E. Delhi Gate of Palace
F. Kashmir Gate of City
G. Delhi Gate of City
H. Burn Bastion
I. Chandni Chowk
J. Flagstaff Tower
K. Mutiny Memorial
L. Ath Pulah Bridge
M. Barah Pulah Bridge



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