MEMOIRS OF THE
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

No. 22
An Historical Memoir on the Qutb:
Delhi.

By
J. A. PAGE, A.R.E.A.
Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India.
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CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

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

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

The descendants of the Ghaznavi invaders, again, who found in the Punjaban a precarious refuge on the final break-up of Mahmud Ghaznavi’s empire in the 13th Century, became Indianised and absorbed in the native population, even as did those of the Arab settlers along the Indus a few centuries before; and, like the latter, they left no permanent mark on the civilisation and arts of the country they occupied—none, at any rate, that is traceable in the archaeological remains that are left to us to-day.

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

¹ Vide also Lane Poole’s ‘Medieval India,’ p. 35.
the architectural style of the Ghazni of "Mahmud the Great," obliterated for ever in the destruction of that city in 1125 A.D. For it is in the architecture of Ghazni that we must seek the seed that was brought to India by Muhammad Ghor, and germinated under the Turkic Slave dynasty that succeeded to the Delhi kingdoms in the 13th Century A.D.

With the conquest of Sindi by the Arab, Muhammad ibn Qasim, in 712 A.D., and the later occupation of the northern Panjáb that followed upon Mahmud of Ghazni's raids between the years 1000-20, we are thus not immediately concerned. The architectural history proper of Musalmân India commences with Muhammad Ghor's occupation in 1192 A.D., a date that marks the beginning of some seven centuries of uninterrupted Muslim rule in India.

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

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

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

From the introduction of the Indo-Saracenic style at the Quib its architecture goes forward through several distinct, though merging, phases. The Slave dynasty (1206-90), terminating virtually with Balban, coincides with the transitional stage of the new invading style, as it is manifested in the Quib mosque and the Tomb of Altanish at Delhi, and again in the Adhai-din-kā-
plumpura mosque at Ajmir, where Hindu elements still persist, though in an increasingly subordinate degree.1

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

The sturdy vigour and impressive design of the earlier Tughlaq architecture throw it into conspicuous relief with the staid, workaday structures3 of Firuzshah Tughlaq’s reign; though these again are markedly individualistic in design, with their multi-domed roofing, their plain battered walls, and attenuated minar-butressing at the quoins.

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

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

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1 In this latter monumen the only Hindu elements are the columns and other individual structural features that were shipped from Hindu shrines and utilised unaltered in the construction of the mosque. Where the structure had to be built from new materials, as in the great floral screen, the whole of the work, with its innumerable decoration, is eulogiously Saracen in style.

2 A curious cement treatment of arch soffits is a unique feature of this style, which only compares with the arch treatment later in the Early Mughal architecture.

3 By Kutia, Firuzshah and the Dipangar, Khirki, Nizamur, Koha, and Wazirabad mosques at Delhi, and the Palace of Himat. It should be remarked that those buildings of Firuzshah were all originally finished in stone from Belu.

4 The extremely refined architectural style of Ongujar is, surface, more directly influenced by the preceding temple architecture of its locality than is any other phase of Saracen architecture in India.
sloping buttresses, baste both originality and distinction upon this all but
final phase of Pathan architecture in India.

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

The usurpation of the Mughal throne by the Suri dynasty of Afghans
between the years 1530 and 1555 A.D. is responsible for the vigorous and quite
distinct architectural style exemplified in the Purana Qila at Delhi and its
Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque—a style characterised by the use of grey quartzite with
red sandstone dressings lavishly inset with black and white marble bands,
by a developed pendentive construction of dome support, and by the adoption
at the rear quoins of a meeqah of engaged angular turrets divided by hal-
cencies into foreshortened storeys; a feature that also distinguishes the earlier
Moti-ki-Masjīd and the Jamali Mosque at Mehrauli, and that reappears in
a modified form in the later Mughal style.

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

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

1 A quality I would specifically ascribe to the Purani Mosque of the Agra Fort.
2 Agra, Delhi, and Lahore.
3 Jahangir 1605-26 A.D., Shahjahan 1628-39 A.D. A curious decorative treatment of wine cups and mandas
in marble-coated panels in these reliefs is a significant characteristic of the architecture of Jahangir, and
incidentally a bazaar reflection of that emperor’s attitude towards the law of Islam that forbade the use of
the figmented grapes.
With the period of Shahjahan the Mughal architectural style attains its zenith, and the reign of the succeeding emperor Aurangzeb coincides with a tendency, as yet incipient but becoming increasingly marked, to emulate decadence—over-elaboration of ornamental detail with a lack of restraint in its application—which descends through all the Rococo redundance of the Nawabi architecture of Oudh to complete the cycle in the non-descript bastard style of to-day; a progress helped on its downward way by the influence of the pseudo-European architecture of the 19th Century, of which, again, one sees examples enough in Lucknow.

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

1 For a concise, authentic, and eminently readable account of the Mughal period in India a reference is suggested to Lewis Pugh's "Medieval India under Mughal Rule." (Fisher Unwin, London.)
CHAPTER II.

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

The Mosque, built, it is said, on the site of a demolished Hindu temple and constructed piecemeal with materials taken from twenty-seven others, was erected as a monument to the "Might of Islam." (Quwwat-ul-Islam) by Qutb-ud-din Aibak, slave, army commander, and Vicerey of Meeran-d-din, the Sultan at Delhi, to celebrate his decisive victory over the Rajput forces of King Ghiyas-ud-din, of the Ghurid dynasty, and of the Minors, commenced by this same conqueror and finished by the further addition of two more temples, one by his brother-in-law Ghiyas-ud-din Mubarak Shah (1231-36), who was succeeded by his son, who reigned until 1240. The massacre of the Minors, which occurred during the construction of the Qutb, is said to have been committed by the Sultan's orders, in order to avail himself of their knowledge of architecture. The minar, the tallest structure in India, was completed in 1230 A.D. by Qutb-ud-din Aibak, and is said to have been damaged by an earthquake in 1230. The mosque, however, continued to be used as a place of worship by the Muslims, and was later converted into a fort by the Sikhs in the 19th century.
and a muqarnas, from which to sound the name call to prayer—a monument to overcome the spirit of the vanquished “infidel” peoples, and sustain the courage of the “faithful” exiled from their distant Afghan hills.

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

1858. It is characteristic of the arguments advanced that the writer declares Baghel’s acts (as to his subsequent revised opinion so to the Hindu origin of the structure. A. S. E. IV, pp. 194, 195), to the result that he was subsequently forced (as to the conclusion it seems to me) to delinquency to his Chief.”

The principal controversies put forward in this paper are already adequately set out in a note by E. J. Bubandt, Devey Ram Sahib, Baghel, Wills and Historical Monuments, Northern circuit, in his Progress Report for the year ending March 31st, 1910.

Very strong presumptive evidence as to the intended use of the Minar as a mausoleum lies in the existence, on the second story, of the inscription containing verses 9-14 of the Surah Al-Ahzab (The Assembly) of the Quran—’O ye believers, when ye are called to pray on the Day of the Assembly, hasten to the commemoration of God, and keep merchandise.’ The second which is with God is better than any sport or merchandise, and God is the best provider.” (Title Papers India Office, 1913, p. 2; Said’s Queen, Surah LXII, p. 114; Oliver’s Works, p. 1443.)

It is not of evidence that seems to lead to this conclusion may be set out as below:

(a) The absence of the usual outer projection along the central aisle of the west wall of the latter additions by Ahmadzai whom such projections do occur. (P. 58, 59.)

(b) The existence of the plane of the north front of the mosque, below the interior pavement level, of three broad pavements or water drains arranged one on either side of the sura or central aisle, which have not been used by the Mohammedans in the drainage of the mosque court.

(c) The difference (amounting to over 1 foot) in the relative heights of the door to the upper and lower plinth moldings on the east and west sides respectively of the north entrance. This difference continues uniformly around the north, east, and south sides of the mosque between the north gate and the south gate. (P. 76.)

(d) The presence of typically carved stones from a Hindu temple built prominently into the lowest course of the plinth on the north front, east of the entrance porch. (P. 76, 79.)

(e) The existence on the west piers of the north and south girt of the outer plinth of the lower plinth—a feature that does not occur in the corresponding eastern piers of the same gate. (P. 74.)

From the above, it would seem that the original temple structure was accepted as is, moved to the north and south built against its north-east and south-east corners, and the cloister extended by the Mohammedans to complete the eastern half of the present quadrangle (see sketch diagram, P. 5.), with its further pavements on the east.

Additional support to this view is provided by the results of Baghel’s excavations in and around the compound in 1852 (A. S. E. IV, p. 77) that two distinct layers of stone paving were discovered beneath a further rough stone layer, these latter being, in his view, of the original temple. He laterly published opinions (A. S. E. IV, p. XX) on this matter that “the foundations of the inner and outer cloisters, as they stand, are not original Hindu, although distinct stone pavement, probably the part of the foundations of the building immediately behind the middle of the mukhtij proper, is Hindu.” Cunningham’s proposition, it should be remembered, was that “the lower portion of the surrounding wall below on which the mukhtij stood was the original unaltered platform of a Hindu temple.” The existence of the carved stones mentioned in (e) above discards the latter assumption, while the remaining forms appear to furnish evidence recalling the extensions put forward above, the assumption of the temple cloisters.

The photographs (P. 16) reproduced of the Gumbad-turk at Sinor, in the South district of the Deccan Presidency, illustrate a similar large open space cloister-like extension to the north, 60 feet below the bottom plinth molding, which factor also conflicts with the Moslem’s excavation (Ibnul, 1913, p. 135) that the level of the original temple foundations was some twenty feet or more below the level of the later quadrangle of the mosque.
plinth appears to coincide with that half of the mosque quadrangle west of the north and south gateways. The plan illustrated in Plate I will reveal more clearly than any written description the arrangement of the original mosque, and the extent of the subsequent additions by the emperors Akbar and Ahsanullah. Built in the shape of a simple rectangle enclosing a central quadrangular court, the mosque measures some 214 feet by 169 feet externally. The prayer chamber on the west is four bays in depth; the colonnade on the east, of three bays, being deeper by one bay than those along the remaining two sides. Centrally, in the three colonnaded sides, occur entrances, a shallow porch to the north and a deeper one to the east and south descending by a flight of steps to the level of the ground outside. Over the north and east gates are inscribed lintels recording in Naskhi characters the circumstances attending the erection of the mosque. In the four corners of the mosque secluded accommodation for the wazans was provided by means of little contracted apartments reached by narrow staircases in the thickness of the enclosing wall (see Pl. II).

In the prayer chamber proper, the roof extended at one level over the greater part of the fossa, as is apparent from the positions of fragmentary roofing slabs and lintels still remaining in the back face of the great arched screen; while the tall column shafts still standing at the north end of this chamber afford clear indications that the level of the roof here was raised some four feet above that of the adjoining wazan chamber which, in its turn, overtops the roof of the contiguous colonnades to the east (see section Pl. V). Corbelled capitals with five-fold projections surrounding certain of the columns of the prayer chamber furnish evidence of previously existing lintels arranged to form an octagon in support of the domes indicated in the accompanying plan, and give a definite clue to the arrangement of the columns beneath them. The positions of the mihrab-recesses in the west wall further assist in the visualisation of the original arrangement of the fallen interior, the bays of which would naturally be set out in symmetry with them, and not with the openings of the great arched screen, which, erected as an afterthought when the fossa had been completed, conforms neither with the column spacing nor with the mihrab-recesses behind it.

The arrangement indicated in the plan aforementioned may be taken as being fairly authenticated by the existing internal evidence on the site, as revealed by a careful scrutiny of the remains. A point of particular interest in this original portion of the structure is the ingenuity with which the despised Hindu materials were re-assembled by Hindu artisans to meet the demands of their Muhammadan masters. Columns of

1 The dimensions of the original mosque are 214 ft. by 169 ft.
2 For transmission and translation see Appendix (i.)
3 On the colonnade of the mosque by Ahsanullah (see infra), the wazan chamber in the north-west corner of the original mosque was extended northwards to connect with the first pier of his great screen. This is clearly apparent from the indications existing at this corner; and it is probable that the treatment was repeated similarly at the junction of his southern extension of the mosque, though the remains here have long since disappeared.
divers designs and different temples were ranged together, sometimes set one upon another, in continuous rows to support a roof constructed, in its turn, of the flat ceiling slabs and shallow corbelled domes taken bodily from some wrecked Hindu shrines. Sculptured figures, profane in the eyes of the iconoclasts, were roughly mutilated and hidden from sight by a covering of plaster; sometimes built face inwards into the wall and the back inscribed with verses from the Holy Quran (Pl. 9d, 9e).

Pl. 60 furnishes an illustration of the manner in which column shafts, bases, capitals, etc., obtained from the many despoiled temples were assembled, with no regard to fitness or even symmetry, to form a pillar in support of the roof. Sivaite, Vaishnavite, Jaina images appear in a profusion eloquent of the thorough and impartial destruction of their "infidel" shrines, and of the genius for obliteration their desecrators exhibited in utilising the despoiled materials for their own purposes. All is improvised: no single feature but has been adapted and used second-hand.

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

This screen, erected by Iltut in 1196 A.D., is perhaps the most interesting feature of the mosque. As already noted, the bands of sinuous carving are, as regards their technique, wholly uninfuenced by Saracenic ideas. Their serpentine tendrils and undulating leaves are the work of the Hindu, who had developed these identical forms in his temples through generations of usage. The disposition of these foliated bands in the design of the façade

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1 Cunningham was able to identify both Jaina and Vaishnavite sculpture in the nearby (A.S.I., IV, p. 251), and I have recently obtained partly restored images of Gopati (a son of Siva) on a column immediately west of the north gateway, and on a sand-blasted spade-dome in the exterior plinth-coat of the same gate (Pl. 9d). There is also a sand-blasted Jaina image carved on a column in the north-east corner of the mosque, and incised in the upper register of the tower.

2 Birth of Krishna is an incision of Vishnu's consort seated on a whorl, in the northeast corner (Pl. 9e).

3 The central Hindu tower arch connecting the Hall with its supporting columns, as it appears in the Kajubhe temple, at Awhala in Gangetic Bengal, and elsewhere, is merely an elongated "dog" or street, and its existence does not qualify the applicability of the term "trabeate" to express a predominant characteristic of Medieval Hindu architecture.

4 This data is recorded on the face of the north pier of the central arch of the great screen. The screen would appear to have been completed two years after the completion of the remainder of the mosque in 1197 A.D., which date is recorded on the north gateway, together with the name of Sultan Injaruddin the Fat (see Appendix II A6). That it was erected after the columns of the prayer chamber had been set up, is apparent in the fact that the stones of the screen are "flushed" to save a masonry form, and the projection of the column capitals and bases at the north end, and are actually built into the back face of the screen instead of the central arch.
is, on the other hand, characteristically Saucenic in mood, and reveals at
once the relation between the Muhammadan croust, directing and the
Hindu arts, in whose interpretation of his ideas he was dependent for
the carrying out of his designs. The result is happy enough: the inti-
cately carved surface gives a "texture" to the massive screen, and in the
variations of the patterns and bands serves as an effective relief to the broad
flat surfaces. Illustrations of this screen appear in Pl. 2a, 2b, and of the
north, east, and south gateways in P1. 7a, 7b, 7c.
The iron pillar (Pl. 106) set up in the inner court axial with the main
central arch of the screen is an interesting feature as affording evidence of
the capacity of Hindu civilization in the 4th century A.D. to weld malleable
iron on so ambitious a scale.
The pillar would appear to have been erected originally as a standard
to support an image of Ganapati, the vehicle of Vishnu, in front of a temple
dedicated to that deity. The fluted "bell" capital with its double members is
a characteristic feature of the Gupta architecture of Northern India, and
affords a clue to the period of its erection; and this evidence is substantiated
by the Sanskrit inscription in Gupta characters of the 4th century A.D.
engraved on the pillar, recording its erection by a king named Chandra,
devotee of the god Vishnu, as a "lofty standard" of that divinity on "the
Hill of Vishnupada."
The probabilities are that the pillar was set up in its present position
by the Muhammadans, who prized it as a curious relic; the fact of the rough
uneven surface near the base now exposed above ground seeming to indicate
fairly conclusively that the intention was that this portion of the pillar should
be buried in the ground in the original site. (cf. the similar feature of the
Asoka stambha at Ketha Firoz Shahi, Delhi.) Where this original site was there is
no sufficient evidence to indicate.
A note on the interpretation of the inscription and its significance as a
record appears in Appendix ii (c).
So much for the mosque proper of Qutb-ud-din Aibak; before the advent
of Alauddin and Ala-ud-din Khalji.
Shamsh-ud-din Alauddin, Turk of Alberi, and slave successor of his slave
master to the Muhammadan throne of Delhi, was not content to leave this

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A chemical analysis of the iron made by Sir Robert Hadfield showed the following elements to be contained in it:

- Calcium: 0.066 per cent.
- Silicon: 0.004
- Phosphorus: 0.006
- Manganes: 0.006
- Total elements other than iron: 0.016 per cent.
- Iron: 99.984
- Total: 99.991 per cent.

Specific gravity, 7.43. Ball hardness, No. 18.

It has been suggested that the pillar was cast in its present form, and not forged; but the extreme purity of
the iron probably I would rather tend to discount this possibility.
Monument to invousing Islam unmarked by any attention; but would add to its scale and dignity as a work of religious grace.

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

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

Of Alai's columns little now remains; but it is apparent that the supply of elaborately carved Hindu columns had given out, and that he was reduced to the relatively plain shafts and capitals that compose them (Pl. 8c).

The feature of real interest is his extension of the great screen.2

Conferrable in general design with the existing screen of Qutb-i-din, Alai's extension betrays a considerable advance in the adoption of Islamic-Aman forms of surface decoration. The ambulante patterns3 are purely Saracen, their distinctive character being common to Saracenic architecture from India west to Spain.

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

2 The date 1229 A.H. is inscribed on the base of the southern part of the south end of Alai's western extension. (See Appendix I supra.)

3 The surface decoration of Alai's similar screen in the Alai Minar-i-Raz in New Delhi (Pl. 3a, b) is almost identical with that of his screen at the Qutb; and one may readily recognise the prototype of this characteristic Saracenic surface decoration in Byzantine architectural examples, of which the Bramante reconstruction in Plan III of the capitals, arch-moulds and spandrels beneath the pinacotheca of Santa Sophia in Constantinople is an instance. Its ready adoption by Saracenic architecture is to be seen in the case of the original base of the central minaret of the mosque of Al-Mahdi at Cairo, dated 969 A.D. (vidi Schultheiss's Manuel d'art Islamique, i, 209-37).
The Arabic lettering, too, has advanced beyond the simple elaborated shapes brought by the preceptors1 hand of the Hindus, and is especially the work of a craftsman more familiar with the characters he is carving. A comparison may be made in H. 30, 36 in which the differences between the two types are revealed. Here, too, we see introduced a combination of the square script and the elaborate and intricately interwoven Tughra characters. The attached oblongs are another feature of Aftaksh's screen extant that appears in Indo-
Sarcemic architecture for the first time, and that continues as a decorative feature almost uninterruptedly throughout the Pathan period, and afterwards in Mughal architecture. Altnahsh’s arches in the great screen, while maintaining the same pointed form, differ in contour, it is curious to note, from those of Alibak; the piquant little counter-curve at the apex, with the slight suggestion of “cups,” being missing from the former, though it appears again in Altnahsh’s Tomb (p. 196).

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

With Altnahsh’s sections at the 12th must be mentioned his Tomb at Altnahsh’s Tomb, situated immediately west of his own northern extension of the mosque (Pl. 11, 125). The tomb takes the form of a simple square chamber, and was covered originally by a circular dome, carried on a form of squinch-arch (see Plate XIV), which serves to negotiate the difference in shape between the square plinth below and the circle above.

Here again is seen a surface decration of a predominantly Sarcemic type, but little influenced by definitely Hindu forms, though these latter occur prominently in the interior as isolated features in one or two hands of carving below the arch typose, in a moulded string-course of the pendentive recesses, and again forming the pendant “drops” of the block corbels in the angles of the octagonal dome-drum.

devolved separately and independently on its own line from the ancestral line of a common contemporeal gynecomastia.

It is interesting to note that the adoption of the pointed arch in the Gothic architecture of 12th Century Europe was an independent development from the pointed arches of the mosque, and the pointed arch of Altnahsh’s tomb is not an imitation of it. The pointed arch in Gothic architecture is derived from the Romanesque style, and is found in the architecture of the Lombardic peoples of Italy, where it was used as a characteristic feature of their churches.

It should be noted that the identity of this tomb is that of Altnahsh, and that the tomb is of a simple square chamber. It is covered by a circular dome, carried on a form of squinch-arch, which serves to negotiate the difference in shape between the square plinth below and the circle above.

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Practically the whole interior surface, both walls and roof (with the exception of the lower walls on all but the west side, which were probably plastered), is intricately banded with a diaper of arabesque designs, elaborated with Quranic inscriptions in both Naskah and combined Naskah and Zaghe characters which frame the arched openings and recesses and form a frieze to the walls. Marble is introduced only in the central mihrab and in the cenotaph in the middle of the tomb chamber: the flanking mihrab recesses in the west wall, which are of similar design, being of red sandstone, with which material most of the interior is faced. The attached angle-niche in the north wall, similar to that of the gates of the mosque, appears in the plain ashlar-dressed external walls, and contrasts with the central bays of red sandstone, on which a decoration of purely Saracenic arabesque and Arabic inscriptions is concentrated. It is curious that none of the inscriptions on the tomb contains any historical record, the writings being exclusively extracts from the Quran. (See Appendix II (a).)

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

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

This gateway is the most noteworthy feature of Alau-d-din's additions. Built of finely worked red sandstone, with an external relief of marble disposed in incised bands and panels (see Pl. 15a, 15b, 15c, 14a, 14b), it is of exceptional merit architecturally. Its excellent proportions and simple composition, with pierced central openings echoing the contours of the covering dome, must be seen at close quarters, against an evening sky, in order to be rightly appreciated; though the loss of most of the upper wall-facings and the original parapet is necessarily a detraction.

The present square outline of the parapet of the façade is almost certainly an innovation on the part of Major Smith, who carried out extensive repairs to the gateway in 1858. As is very clearly apparent in the treatment of the red-stone facing and the marble dressings that still remain intact, the...
façade in the original design rose higher in the centre than at the sides, and
the prominent marble string-course, which marks the difference in treatment
between the upper and lower portions of the flanking bays, was carried up
and round the central archway. Evidence that these flanking bays were lower
is furnished in the return angles of the upper marble panels that are still
preserved; for the margin at their sides would be carried round along their
top of equal width to complete the "return." (See Pl. VII.)

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

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

The development of Saracenic ornament attained in Alau-d-din's period
is clearly revealed to us in the arabesque decoration of this south gateway.
The broad, flat, diapered surfaces of the red-stone jambs are essentially Sar-
acenic in feeling, and contrast curiously with the more indigenous ornamenta-
tion of sinuous tendrils and rounded lotus buds that frames the inscribed pilaster-
panels between the smaller openings; while the projecting marble pilaster-
moulding might well have been brought direct from some Hindu shrine.1 (See
Pl. 120, 13c.)

The inscriptions framing the archways on the west, south, and east fronts
of the gate record the name and titles of "Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shah
(Alau-d-din Khalji)," the Sultan," and his erection (actually extension) of the
mosque in the year 1311 A.D. (vide Appendix 16a).

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

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

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

1 The elaborate plinth and the descending flight of steps leading from the openings to the lowest level of the
ground outside were disclosed during an excavation made by Mr. Sanderson in 1814.
conveyance, no vestige now remain; but that there existed such a feature here is indubitable. The emperor's projected northern extension of the great arched screen, again, is only traceable in the low masses of masonry core which are all that now exists of his unfinished arch-piers.

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

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

Thus, the first arched opening (at the south end) is found to correspond approximately in size with the side arches of Amâlah's contiguous screen: the
next one, of greater span, necessarily rising higher in the same proportion; and
the third opening, repeating the first, results in an approximate duplicate of
the detached extension of Almasih. The greater height, as compared with this
latter, of the flanking portion of Alau-d-din’s screen results from the wider piers
at the extreme ends of the façade, the decorative motifs of the earlier screens,
with its hauled architectural treatment framing the arch and returning along the
top of the screen, being repeated in his design. The rise in the height of
the centre bay of this flanking portion of Alau-d-din’s screen is occasioned
by the greater height of the arched opening it contains.

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

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

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

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

4 It has been suggested that this college was built by Almasih, but I think the inference of probability rests
with Alau-d-din; the deciding因素, in my judgment, being the high rectangular stones and the more advanced carv-
inlaid profusely attached brackets beneath them, which are in distinct contrast to the flat central brick type of stones that
undoubtedly cover the Tombs of Almasih originally, and the primitive manner in which the latter lay across the outer of the arch.
On the south side of the court is located a large square structure (Pl. 16b) covered originally by a dome, now fallen, which is believed to be the tomb of the Sultan Alau’d-din. It was marked originally by a boldly projecting portico, of which remains still exist. Flanking this tomb chamber are two smaller chambers, oblong in plan, which are separated from the central tomb by narrow passageways. In the centre and western chambers were disclosed on excavation what appeared to be indications of a grave. The three buildings at this end of the court are contained in a common walled enclosure, as well as on the south side, which leaves a clear passage permitting of circumambulation about them, except in the case of the eastern chamber of the three, where the passage is omitted on the east side and the wall contains an ascending staircase leading to the roof.

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

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

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

1. It should be remarked in this connection that the present layout in which a single path is carried under the arched arc at the north end of these chambers is somewhat misleading, since there was no gateway or other means of entrance in this position originally.

2. The sketch is modelled on a modified form in the tomb of Siyavu’d-din Tug’ha, at Tughlaqabad (c. 1320 A.D.), wherein it is continued with a pointed arcade, and later in Sher Shah’s mosque in Fauhad (c. 1548 A.D.), under the courtyard.

This simple corbelled treatment of the pendentive in the Abu ‘Abdul is distinctively in character from the semi-dome that was more commonly found in the Iranian and other countries. Although there are some early examples of this form, yet it was not until the thirteenth century that it was first employed in India. The earliest example still extant is in the tomb of Siyavu’d-din Tug’ha (c. 1320), where a small dome is imposed on a domed chamber, though the actual pendentive form is of a very simple and unsatisfactory form. (See photograph, Pl. 15.)
It is a singularly fortunate circumstance that provides us with an almost complete history of the Minar from the commencement of its building in 1199 A.D. to its repair in Sikandar Lodhi's reign (1543 A.D.) in the inscriptions; it bears; though the ill-advised, if well-intentioned activities of later custodians have left their mark upon them, and have resulted in rendering the earliest ones very largely unintelligible.

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

The 4th, and final, storey, and probably most of the 5th, owe their existence to Firoz Shah Tughlaq, who repaired the minar of Sultan Muhammad-d-din (Muhammad Ghori), which had been struck by lightning, and raised it higher than before. From this quotation, and from the very noticeable reduction in the relative height of these last two stages compared to the three lower ones, not to mention the marked change in architectural style, it seems practically
certain that these two upper storeys of Firooz Shah have replaced a single and more happily proportioned stage that originally crowned the minarets of Altamash, (See Pl. XII and Pl. 17a).

The last of those earlier recorded repairs is referred to in the inscription frieze of the entrance doorway at the foot of the minare, where we learn that "The minar of his majesty . . . Shamsul-din . . . . . . . . . . in the reign of Sikandar Shah (Lodi) . . . . . . . . . . was repaired . . . . . in the year 900 H. (1500 A.D.)."

While on the subject of repairs executed to the minar, it will be convenient to record the attention of later restorers to which the structure has been subjected within the last one hundred and twenty years. On the first of August 1860 the old cupola of the Qutb Minar was thrown down and the whole pillar seriously injured by an earthquake. About two years after, the Governor-General authorized the necessary repairs to be begun, and the work was entrusted to Major Robert Smith of the Engineers, who completed it by the beginning of the year 1868, at a cost of Rs. 17,000. All the forms of the masonry were carefully preserved, but the rich ornamentation emitted (quite rightfly, from an archaeological standpoint, be it said).

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

[In the text, the author cites specific pages and notes from other works, which are not transcribed here.]
and his inference from the latter's report\footnote{Major Smith's actual words were: “The former rude and fractured entrance door of the base of the other is now repaired, and improved with new pullies, frieze, and repair of the inscription tablet.”} “that the whole of the entrance doorway is Smith's own design, a conclusion which has already been drawn by Mr. Ferguson, who denounces the work as being in the true style of Strawberry Hill Gothic” are however, very much beside the mark, as both Cunningham and Fergusson would have realised they were acquainted with the existence in Cairo of kansiya, of the same somewhat unusual stepped shape as crown this doorway, at the tomb of the Sultan Kalaun (died 1294 A.D.).\footnote{Fide Sal tin’s ‘I Architecture & Manual of Fort Mumbai, 1, 118. The prototype of all these examples is to be found in Sassanian architectural features; and an illustration of the use of almost identically shaped kansiya is forthcoming in the decoration of the silver Sassanian dish reproduced in Miss Bell’s ‘Persian & Egyptian Art (pl. 80).} and again at the mosque of Al Aqmar there, which feature M. Saladin would late from the year 1208 A.D.\footnote{Shaw, pp. 56-67. Sir John Marshall tells me that these kansiya are a very common feature in Egyptian architecture and are to be seen on many other buildings.} The strictures applied to this gateway are all the more remarkable in view of the fact that the same original kansiya (in which the “Strawberry Hill” allusion centres) exist again on the 2nd stoney opening of the Qutb minar itself, which should have been apparent to their critics. One of the inscribed slabs over the entrance doorway has, it is true, been replaced in its wrong order by the restorer, but, as is apparent through a close scrutiny of the work, all the masonry above the architrave, kansiya, cornice, inscribed frieze, and flat architrave alike (with the exception of the central stone of the last, and a plain narrow band immediately beneath the frieze) is patently composed of the old original weather-worn stones. The actual new work is readily distinguishable and is confined to the masonry below the architrave, as indicated by the “hatching” in the sketch in Pl. XVI. It certainly is open to stringent criticism, as are, indeed, the Gothic” balcony railings, and the irritating “Beppall” electri, now happily deposed. But I think it due alike to the restorer and to the modern student of Indo-Sassanric architecture to expose the fallacy of the criticism levelled at this doorway, which, originating in the authoritative dictum of Ferguson, has obtained currency for the last fifty years.

The two separate minars believed still to be standing in Ghazni provide us at once with both the immediate prototype of the Qutb Minar and an early instance of the custom among the Muhammadans of erecting such columns in the embellishment of their cities. The ultimate origin of those towers is probably to be found in such Sassanian structures as the towers of Jurj and Firozabad\footnote{The tower at Firozabad is ascribed to Ardashir (227-40 A.D.) the founder of the Sassanid dynasty. (Fide ‘Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquite au Present et d'Apres, Tome V, p. 669 et seq. and Benjamin’s Persia.)} (see sketches in Pl. XVI) in Persia, the Chaldian zigzag observatories, as at Khorassan—and the Tower of Babel.\footnote{Sal tin’s ‘I Architecture, 1. p. 24.} It is noteworthy that the external helicoidal ramp ascending these Sassanian towers is repeated again by the Muhammadans in the square minar attached to the mosque of Ibn Tulun\footnote{Sal tin’s p. 81.} at Cairo, which, though a later restoration, was modelled on the...
original one (dating from c. 900 A.D.) it has replaced; and this, in its turn, was copied from the minaret of the mosque at Samarra, near Baghdad, founded by the Khalifathathir as Meta din in 843 A.D., as is recorded by Makrizi.

The alternate rounded and angular fluting that is such an attractive feature of the Qutb minar is undoubtedly a development of the polygonal outline of the Ghani example; the connection of this feature with any Hindu or Jain parapets is, I think, too fortuitous to be in any degree probable. Compared with this, the decoration of the Minar is consistently Sasanian in character from base to top; though the somewhat hybrid style of Firuzshah's later additions is noticeably distinct. Features of typically Sasanian origin are practically non-existent, and only appear as narrow string-courses edging the inscribed bands, and as two minor members of the projecting balconies (see Plate XIII), the remaining ornament being distinctively Sasanian in character.

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

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

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8 Ibidem., p. 94.
9 The only example of a temple sikhara of analogous plan I am aware of in the Chalukyan temple of "Doddabahuangy," at Dantali in the Dharwar District of the Bombay Presidency (Pl. 115).
10 The external corner towers of the Ashok-Shastra-Bhuma temple at Ayutthaya (Pl. 105) with their alternately angular and rounded fronts are undoubtedly as东方 incubus; as are the two small mortars surrounding the central part of its great frontal screen, which also are decorated with similar bands.
11 The illustrated examples of certain written to in the flatness of whose bands a definite reason for assuming the previous existence in this position of sculptured Hindu images, and the consequent Hindu origin of the minar, are not to be taken seriously. I have carefully examined the relief of those inscribed bands, and can state definitely that in each case the extreme projection of the Arabic lettering and the geometrically arranged matrix of the bands are in a single plane. This is very apparent if one studies the outline of the minar at look, silhouetted against the sky. This uniformity of surface relief is, of course, a universally characteristic feature of Sasanian architectural decoration, and without doubt inspired in the survived surface ornament of Byzantium. (I do no support the contention that, in the Qutb Minar, it has replaced bands of sculptured Hindu images, of the previous existence of which no proof of evidence exists.
12 It is of interest to note that in certain of the small ventilation slits up the staircase in the lowest story of the Minar is indeed in the juncture the outline of the original minaret's fall into "setting out" of the "rectangular."
the 10th; for from this were primarily derived the subsequent architectural and artistic glories of the Ghomz of "Mahmud the Great," a city of "the first rank among the many stately cities of the Caliphate." Sassanid remains of the 5th and 6th centuries, and the architectural relics of the earlier Arabian Khaldanes that they inspired, furnish the undoubted origins of the parent Sassanid style; but between the 10th and 12th centuries there is a hiatus, as far as the evolution of the style brought by Mahmud Ghori into India is concerned, and we can only deplore for all time the ruthless vandalism of the Ghori incendiary Alau-d-din Husain Jahan-shor (world-burner), whose sack and total destruction of Ghomz in 1185 A.D. (which, it is illuminating to remember, took place only 67 years before the buildings at the Quth were commenced) thus deprives us of another most important link in the chain.

Contemporary examples of Sassanid monuments are, however, left to us in Egypt; and at the mosque of Al-Aksar at Cairo is what M. Saladin considers to be the earliest dated example of "stalactite" corbeling decoration extant, the date of which is definitely recorded as 1155 A.D. The stalactites in this early example are, it is noteworthy, fully developed in form, and their existence, I venture to think, at once dispenses with the theory, expounded originally by Cunningham, that this essentially Sassanid feature as it appears at the Quth derives its origin from the honeycomb enrichments of shallow Hindu domes (cf. the reconstructed Hindu domes at the Quth, and the 11th Century Dibwara [Jain] temples at Mount Abu, Rajputana; see Pl. 96, Ivo). It is from Islamic centres beyound India that this stalactite decoration comes. The unifying influences at work on the development of Sassanid art

In the later origins, power fell more and more into the hands of the Tochi slaves engendered in the Court; and one of them, Alqayim, founded the Ghamzat (1084 A.D.), which succeeded to the Sassanid territory south of the Gures (also known as "Madder India") (cf. Cunningham's "History of Indian Architecture," P. 49). The palace of the king was built on the model of the Sassanid style and decorated with the same delicacy and richness as the Sassanid palaces. The walls were covered with frescoes and mosaics, and the ceilings were painted with arabesques. The architecture was characterized by large, open spaces, with columns supporting the ceilings, and by the use of arches and domes. The influence of the Sassanid style can be seen in the use of decorative elements such as the "stalactite" corbeling decoration, which was fully developed in form, and the honeycomb enrichments of shallow Hindu domes. These elements were also found in Islamic centres beyond India, such as Mount Abu, Rajputana, where the reconstructed Hindu domes at the Quth and the 11th Century Dibwara [Jain] temples are located. The unifying influences at work on the development of Sassanid art.
are at once realized when one remembers the custom of yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, which brought its devotees from every Mohammedan country, and provided unbounded opportunities on the long and tedious journey for interchange of ideas and discussion of technical questions among the pilgrims and crafts throughout the Islamic world; the means of which, so far as the third of 20th-century London, would instinctively congregate in occupational groups, impelled by a common human interest. And this dissemination of cultural ideas was again fostered by the potent ties of trade and commerce between the several countries held in the common bond of Islam.

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

A sketch, to a large scale, drawn with the aid of binoculars from the roof of the Ali Durz, showing the details of the "stalactites" of the first story balcony, appears in Plate XIII. The steps of the design indicated in this sketch in place of the present "Gothic" railing of Major Smith are a conjectural restoration, based on the original "stalactites" existing over the doorways in the basement and first stories of the minar. The probability that such battlements did exist originally in this position is supported by such evidence as is forthcoming from the indifferently drawn illustrations of the minar.

1 M. Bâdel p. 394; see the following passage: "Le peintres savent que la Mosquée, obligée... pour tout lien visuel, met en contact, d'après la place, des œuvres de toutes... Par une adresse naturelle, il y a de raisons infinies de se blâmer... Je fais un effort délibéré pour les exposer aux yeux des lecteurs, et...". Le voyage de la Mosquée était le plus émouvant pour les artistes de pays étrangers, et le plus puissant d'entre eux d'en savoir plus de ceux qui ont visité les lieux de cette manière. Major Bâdel fouille alors les Compagnons du Tour de France (J. L. Backenstoss, Le Manoir d'Azay (Nantes, 1941), p. 11)

The indications will also go far to explain the mutually indistinguishable development of Indo-Sasanian architecture under the Parthian dynasties. Whereas from Ghámīsh, Karunakaran, or Khurasan the route to Makkah and the Hajj lay directly through Bassorah and Sebghat, whereas the pilgrims might (for the Indian cabinet) the journey from India (and must be) for the subsequent Northwest another a segregated voyage by boat from the ports of Gházni direct to Jâlgal in the Persian Gulf, which brought them within some 60 miles of Makkah itself, and thus very considerably reduced their opportunity of intercourse en route with pilgrims from other Mohammedan countries. It is true that there was no alternative by land open to the Indian pilgrims on the coast of South and Makkah along the Persian Gulf; but in no question as to which would rival the less hospitable to the traveler, and which in consequence would be the more largely followed. It is of interest to note that Indian Mohammedan pilgrims of the present day is still transported by boat to Jâlgal under the arrangements made by Government with Messrs. Thomas Cook, of "Tourist" lines. From many records on travel-traffic between India and Arabia, see Linn-Potash's "Arabian Way," p. 23, K. and L.; p. 2, Canon, A.; p. 39, Ashcroft, A.; p. 77, 84, 85, 86; Al Zinaj, p. 155-6, Al Kindi; p. 294, Founder's Journal (1899 A.D.); Appendix, p. 1. 150, 444, 445, 82); Vol. TP, p. 166, 83, Alab, Banjar (1841 A.D.); p. 296, Monastic-Javanese (1907 A.D.); Vol. TP, p. 584, Pelletier, J. J. L., Vol. VII; p. 296, M. Khan; and Maw's diary (Hajj, vol. III), p. 154-5. With the advent of the Moghul the Persian influence returns, and the indirect striving among others and other Sasanian elements of the T'ang of Persia, as Sassanidas, make their appearance again in the architecture of his descendent in India, etc. (Great Moghul)." Sasanian architecture is first to be seen again enshrining in the hollow arts, enshrined at the crypt of the house of Hurgerzak's minaret of Kâshâ (p. 1150-1172; P. 175), built by his queen. From the Usur-Beg, daughter of his brother Hâlik (a "Bayal of the Prophet's race" (see Korkutbub))
published about the beginning of the nineteenth century,\(^1\) valuable though these drawings are as accurate records (see Pl. 21).

The illustrations in Plate XII afford a comparison of the minar as I conjecture it to have been completed by Altunmish (see page 19 supra) with the present minar as repaired by Firozshah Tughlaq, who "raised it higher than before." The authenticity of the crowning chhatris of the former rests frankly on nothing more definite than that which may exist in a certain propriety of design; for no contemporary example of such feature now remains to us. In the case of the chhatris indicated on the minar as repaired by Firozshah, however, there need be little mystery, notwithstanding the provocative "broken harps"\(^2\) and other nebulous features appearing in the mis-shapen travesties of the structure perpetuated by folk who had the opportunity of seeing the minar when a worthy record of its distinctive features would have been so valuable to latter-day comers in the field. Chhatris of Firozshah's period are fortunately left to us at the tomb of Khan-i-Jahan Thalangani, the Khidr Masjid, and other buildings in Delhi (see Pl. 225 and 5) and give at once a clear indication of the type of cupola that crowned the minar in the 14th Century A.D.; and from these the chhatris shown in the illustration has been adapted.\(^3\)

The Tomb of Imaam Zamzin (Pl. 224), situated immediately to the east of the Alai Gateway (through which it is approached) is a much later structure, dating from the time of the Mughal emperor Humayun.\(^4\) The tomb has no integral connection with the Qutb group,\(^5\) and its extreme proximity to it is probably to be explained by the supposition that Imaam Zamzin (otherwise Imaam Mahommed Ali), a member of the Chittia sect, a Sayyid descended from Hassan and Hussein, who is said to have come to Delhi from Turkestan in Sikander Lodhi's reign, held some office of importance in the mosque.

1 Design Humayun's account, Anonima Rerum Indicarum IV, 221, 222 (1798 A.D.). Mughal's Brief History of Archaeological Survey of India (1896 A.D.). Both the above (Humayun's account of a small form on the behavie) and Humayun's above (design Humayun's account of a small form on the behavie) do not also another early drawing of the minar exhibited in the Delhi Museum Cat. p. 31. The Mughal drawing shows the stairs instead of the minar. An Indian drawing exhibited in the South Kensington Museum (photograph reproduction of which was kindly given to me by Mr. Grimes, Architecutural Department, Delhi) shows the minar standing on a high 'tukra' or obelisk measuring over two times the diameter of the minar itself, and almost equaling it in height. From the style of the drawing it would appear to have been made within the last fifty years or so. Rakhsh's chhatris are significantly missing, and the decoration applied to the obelisk is of the later Mogul period, while it would be impossible to accommodate a base of this size to the limited area of the actual site. I think it may be stated with little doubt that this obelisk cannot claim to be the authentic 45.95 feet obelisk (though one of a more modest size might conceivably exist beneath the present make-up (general level), but once its appearance in the drawing to the accompanying confidence of the diplomatists, who thought a chhatris would add to the effect of the picture.\(^6\)

2 See supra, p. 8, 106.

3 Firozshah. The chhatris indicated in the drawing of the minar at Bhopal (Pl. XII) have been adapted from those existing on the Qutb Minar (Pl. 5), which, said the author, Moskow informed me otherwise, were intended to be of Firozshah's time. The information came to us too late to secure of the period being altered, and the writer is told to imagine a chhatris of the circular form "properly" type (cf. Plate 225), assuming Firozshah's style. In place of the open-columned chhatris I have shown.

4 See Appendix s.xii, for illustration, which bears the date 941 A.D. (1534-5 A.D.).

5 For this reason it is raised from the perspective representation illustrated in Pl. X, which is intended to represent the appearance of the monument in the time of Akbar's reign.
The tomb is a simple structure some 24 feet square in plan, surmounted by a dome rising from an octagonal drum, decorated with a double row of jambs and with a treatment of marble paneling above the chap. The spaces between the twelve square pilasters supporting the superstructure are infilled with a geometrical jābī of red sandstone in all but the centre bays of the west and south sides, which contain respectively a niche and an entrance doorway, both wrought in marble. Over the latter is an inscription in well-formed Nūshāhī characters, a translation of which appears in the Appendix [i]e. Marble is again used in the cenotaph and as a decorative relief in the interior, the radiating ribs of this material in the sandstone dome being a feature of interest. The whole structure of sandstone was originally covered with finely polished stucco, of which a considerable portion is still extant.

Of the remaining buildings within the Qub area little requires to be said; they have no archaeological connection with the original monument.

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

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

The "Bomball" charvīs of red sandstone, now situated to the south-east of the mosque, formerly crowned the Minār, on which it was erected by Major Smith in 1828 to replace the fallen charvīs of Firuzshah Taghboor. It was removed at the instance of the Vicewr, Lord Hardinge, in 1848, to whom its distressing incongruity with the architecture of the Minār was apparent, and placed on a mound within the actual enclosure of Alaud-dīn's extension of the original mosque, whence it was removed to its present position in 1914.

MISRARI, DELHI,
March 1920.

J. A. PAGE.
APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

HINDU DYNASTY.

The Cholas of Sambhuvar, Ajayna, and Delhi.

(1) Samantabahu.
(2) Jayavarman, son of (1).
(3) Vidravarman I, son of (2).
(4) Chandravarama I, son of (3).
(5) Gopendravarman, son of (4).
(6) Durakshama I, son of (4).
(7) Chandravarama II, son of (6).
(8) Govinda, son of (7).
(9) Chandravana, son of (8).
A.D. (10) Vakpati I, son of (9).
950 (11) Simhavarman, son of (10).
974 (12) Vignaharsha II, son of (11).
(13) Durashma II, son of (12).
(14) Govinda, son of (13).
(15) Vakpati II, son of (14).
1030 (16) Viryavara, son of (15).
1085 (17) Durashma III, son of (16).
(18) Vignaharsha III, son of (17).
(19) Prithviraja I, son of (18).
1123 (20) Ajayavara or Salhana, son of (19).
1150 (21) Amara I, son of (20).
(22) Vignaharsha IV, son of (21). Conquered Delhi from the Tamarsas.
66 (23) Prithviraja, son of an unnamed son of (21).
(24) Somevara, son of (23) by Kausar-mahari of Gauriya.

MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES.

Ghurid dynasty.

976 Saljuq bin.
997 Ishaq.
999 Mahmud.
1030 Muhammad.
1030 Mas'ud I.
1040 Mandel.
1046 Mas'ud II.
1048 Ali.
1049 Abd-al-Rahim.
1052 Tughril ( swiper ).
1052 Farukkhussay.
1059 Ishaq.
1059 Mas'ud III.
1154 Shams.
1115 Anus Shah.
1118 Bahram Shah.
1132 Khosru Shah.
1160 'Adil Khosru Malik.
1186 ʿAdil Shah.

Ghurid.

Qutb ad-din.
1148 Suleiman ibn Shari.
1149 Alauddin Husain Jahan-nawi.
1151 Suleiman ibn Mahmud.
1193 Khizr ad-din ibn Sam.
1174 Mu'izz ad-din Muhammad Ghori (conquered Hindustan 1175 ff.; succeeded Ghurid ad-din at Ghur 1201-6).

KING'S OF DELHI.

(i) Slave Kings.

1296 Qutb ad-din Alau.
1296 Alau.
1310 Shahshah ad-din Altanah.
1326 Kolhuq ad-din Firet.
1326 Kaziyyat ad-din.

1296 Mu'izz ad-din Bahara
1312 Alau ad-din Mas'ud.
1316 Nasir ad-din Mahmud.
1326 Ghiyath ad-din Balkhan.
1297 Mu'izz ad-din Kaki bahadur.
THE QUTB : DELHI

FIVE OF DELHI—contd.

(iii) Tughluq

1321 Tughluq
1325 Muhammad Tughluq
1332 Firuz Tughluq
1358 Tughluq II
1359 Abu Bakr
1380 Bahlul Lodi
1394 Sikandar
1394 Bahadur
1396-9 Invasion of Timur
1399 Haidrun restored
1412 (Daulat Khan Lodi)

(iv) Sayyids

1444 Khizr
1471 Muhammad
1485 Muhammad
1458 Akbar

(c) Lodis

1518 Buland Shah
1520 Islam Shah
1526 Muhammad Adil
1533 Hoshang Shah
1534 Sikandar Lodi
1555 (Mughal conquest)

(vi) Rangas

1570 Babur
1580 Humayun
1582 (Deposed by Sher Shah)
1563 Humayun restored
1565 Akbar
1565 Jahangir
1580 Shah Jahan
1605 Aurangzeb Alamgir
1656 Bahadur
1672 Shah Jahan
1713 Farrukhsyar
1727 Muhammad
1758 (Invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani)
1748 Ahmad Shah
1737 Alamgir II
1750 Shah Alam
1856 Muhammad Ali Khan
1857 Bahadur Shah II
1857 Indian Mutiny
APPENDIX II (9)

INSCRIPTIONS.

I. On the inner lintel of the eastern gateway.

Qutb Mosque (Masjid Qutb-ud-din). "This mosque was built by Quenth-d-din Aibak. May God have mercy on him who should pray for the faith of this good builder."

Translation.

II. In the arch tympanum of the eastern gateway.

Qutb, Surah III, verse 93: and

Translation.

III. In the arch tympanum of the north gate.

Qutb, Surah III, verse 93: and

Translation.

"In the months of the year (A.D.) 597 (1197 A.D.) this building was erected by the high order of the exalted Sultan Mu'izz-d-din-Dirgha-d-din Muhammad-ud-din the helper of the prince of the faithful."

IV. On the south pier at the foot of the inscribed band framing the central arch of the great gate.

Translation.

I am indebted principally to Khan Sahib Saher Husain, R. A., of the Archaeological Survey Dept. for the readings and English renderings given here.
"... ... ... ... ... date, the 29th of 23 Quid of the year 594." (1199 a.d.)

V. On the south and face of the southern arch of Alhambra's southern extension of the great screen.

... ... ... ... ... on a pillar in Alhambra's prayer chamber.

Translation.

"... ... ... ... ... in the month of the year 627." (1229 a.d.)

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

Translation.

"Under the superintendence (costallishing) of the slave Paul ibn Ali Makali."

The Qub Minur.

Inscriptions on the basement story, lowest hand —

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

العصر السفلي للقلعة الأثر.

Translation.

"The Amir, the commander of the army, the genius, the great."

These slabs apparently refer to Qubur-ibn Alhak (1206-1218 a.d.), but his name does not seem to be visible anywhere.

2nd band.

Translation.

"... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most... ... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most... ... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most... ... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most...

Translation.

"... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most... ... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most... ... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most... ... ... ... ... ... found at the base of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most..."
the propagator of justice and kindness; the shadow of God in east and west; the shepherd of the servants of God; the defender of the counties of God; The firm;... skylight against the storms; the glory of the magnificent nation, the sky of merits; the suitor of land and sea, the guard of the kingdoms of the world, the preserver of the word of God, which is the highest, and the second Alexander, (named) Amir Mustafar Muhammad Ben Sam, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule. And Allah is high, besides whom there is no God, who knows what is hidden and what is revealed. He is compassionate and merciful.

Translation:

The greatest suitor, the most exalted successor, the lord of the leaders of the people, the master of the kings of Abbasia and Persia, the suitor of the leaders of the world, the propagator of justice and kindness; the shadow of God in east and west; the defender of the counties of God; the shepherd of the servants of God; the guard of the kingdoms of the world; and the preserver of the word of God, which is the highest, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule.
In the reign of the great, the victorious and exalted king, (named) Shamsuddin Balban, the son of Bariq Umar Sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and exalt his power and greatness; and under the superintendence of Khusraw Fath Khan, the son of Manqal-ali Khwaja Khan, the great conqueror of the world, the carvings were filled in and the upper stories were repaired on the first day of Rabi al-Awwal in the year 599 (23rd September 1303 A.D.).

Immediately to the right of the doorway.

Translation.

"...of this Minareh was Fadl Allah Hanb, 2"

Inscriptions on the 2nd story.

Lower band.

امیر الاشْهر هذِه المَنارَه مَنْعَنِئ مَهَر الْعَلَّام، وَأَمْرُ الْمُوَلِّي فَانْهَاهُ فِي الْعَالَم

Inscriptions on the 3rd story.

Third story.

Translation.

"The most exalted Sultan, the most victories, the leader of the emirates, the Prince of Princes, the helper of Islam and the Muslims, the king of kings and sultans, his victory, the sword of the victors, the protector of the people, the champion of justice and kindness, the sultan of the earth and the hand of the faith, may God perpetuate his kingdom and exalt his power and greatness.

Inscriptions on the 1st story.

Translation.

"The completion of this building was commanded by the king, who is helped from the heavens (named) Shamsuddin Ahmad Shirazi, the helper of the prince of the faithful.

Inscriptions on the 2nd story.

Translation.

"...of the faithful Qutb-ud-din, the reference being "above" of, as above.

1 Bariq Umar Sultan ("Bariq Umar Enderincin").
2 "Fadl Allah Hanb" is a variant of the name Fadl Allah from the Balbans' line.
3 "Qutb-ud-din Qutb-ud-din" is a common reference in Arabic literature, often used to indicate a venerable elder or royal figure.
The Qutb: Delhi

The great sultan, the most exalted emperor, the lord (milâh) of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the king of kings in the world, the protector of the lands of God, the helper………of Islam and the Muslims, the help of the kings and sultans, the defender of the lands of God, the shepherd of the servants of God, the right hand of the Khalifah, and the promulgator of justice and kindness, (named) Amin Musaffar Huvwâna-o-Sultan, the helper of the prince of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and increase his power and rank.”

On the doorway.

The great sultan, the most exalted emperor, the lord (milâh) of the necks of the people who rose with the kings of Arabia and Persia, helped from the heavens, victorious over his enemies, the sultan of the whole of God, the protector of the lands of God, the helper of the servants of God, the preserver of the kingdoms of the world, the proclaimer of the word of the High God, the splendor of the victorious ruler, the administration of the religious state, (named) Shams-ul-\textsuperscript{2}Qurtub, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God in the world, the crown of the sovereignty and the people, the source of justice and mercy, the king of the kings of the empire and religion, the right hand of the Khalifah of God, the helper of the prince of the faithful.”

On one side of the door.

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

Inscriptions on the 4th story.

The erection of this building was ordered during the reign of the most exalted sultan, the great emperor, the lord of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Turkestan, Arabia and Persia, Shams-ul-Qurtub, who raised Islam and the Muslims powerful.
THE QU'B: DEIR. 

who afforded security and protection, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, (named) JARUL MUKKAFAR KHUMAIRAH-BULANNA,1 the helper of the prince of the faithful."

On the doorway.

Translation.

"The Mount was injured by lightning in the months of the year 770 (1309 A.D.). By the Divine grace PARAS BIZARAN, who is exalted by the favour of the Most Holy, built this portion of the edifice (mosque) with zinc. May the inestimable Creator preserve it from all calamity."  2

Ahlai Darawaza.

The greater part of the inscriptions on the east, west and south archways are obliterated, and the reading thereto given, below is based on the facsimiles to be found at the end of Arsame-asma-dok (Ed. Camporee. 1904, pp. 45-7, inscriptions Nos. 13, 16 and 17).

1.—On the marble architrave (raising the eastern archway).

باده بني دانم و آیره و آداس آیه مبارک ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ همزمان بی‌درود سکندر. و امیر مالک خانه
سالمین لازیم خسرو درآیند نشان مطافی امل یاد و املا نشانگر شاه. و امیر مالک
علی مبارک باش. جامع از اترک در بآیند مبارک صاحب عاطف و املا سعید باش. مبارک. فداک
پای گزارت خانه. ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ... رحمت سکندر ... و امیر مالک خانه
باده بی‌درود ادرمیا. فاقدی فاقدی ... ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ... طالب زاده حرحپ و امیر مالک
اعتماد تاج مبارک خانه. فاقدی فاقدی. سعید باش مبارک. امیر سعید باش. مبارک بدان. بدن لازیم خسرو القابه. جامع از اترک. مبارک صاحب عاطف. پای گزارت ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰...
باده بی‌درود ادرمیا. فاقدی فاقدی ... ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ 
باده بی‌درود ادرمیا. فاقدی فاقدی ... ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ۹۰۰ ... 

Translation.

"The erection of this noble edifice and the foundation of this lofty building were undertaken in the reign and during the kingdom of the heir of the kings of the world, the king of Dastarkhaneh splendid, the sultan of justic and abundant benevolence... the emperor whose commands are universally obeyed, the sultan of the people of God, the bearer of the impress of the commandments of God, the bearer of the pulpit of imamate, the exalted of the foundation of the places of worship, the founder of the guiding cities, the destroyer of mixing nations

............ and the throne of royalty, the exasperate of the laws of holy war, the exalted of the arguments of thy nobility (legal or theological decision), the master of the countries...

1 Bulan, as distinct from Bulanai. This is one of the princes that took us to examine that particular inscription in marble which is west of Dastarkhaneh. From here we have to its west. (See also note on p. 9 supra.)
the smasher of the foundation of the arches (maqbara) and pulpit (mihrāb) of Islam, the des- tower of the foundation of the places of idol worship, the maker of the rules of charity, the destroyer of drinking houses, the king, conqueror of the curse, the shadow of the money of God, helped by the help of God, (named) Aqīq Mūsāf ar Muhammad Shāh, the king, the right arm of the Khilafah, the outly of the Amīr al-mumāminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom in reward of his building of mosques and enunciates his rule for ever for his illumination of the places of worship, and preserve him in his kingdom and rule as long as the world exists and this Seer is read. 1 Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night from the sacred mosque (of Makka) to the Masjid-al-Aqsa (temple of Jerusalem) 2 on the 10th of Shawwal, the year 110 (13th March 1331 A.D.).

On the face of the arch, upper hand (maqsūl).

By the order of the chosen of the merciful God, the master of the countries of the world, the Solomon-like king, great in the world and in field, the counselor of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, the founder of a charitable building, 3 austerities, the exalter of the foundation of the arch (wādēh) and pulpit (mihrāb), (named) Aqīq Mūsāf ar Muhammad Shāh, the king, the right arm of the Khilafah, the outly of the Amīr al-mumāminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom until the day of judgment, this mosque of delightful pillars and firm foundation was erected.

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

By the order of the chosen of the merciful God, the master of the countries of the world, the Solomon-like king, great in the world and in field, the counselor of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, the founder of a charitable building, 3 austerities, the exalter of the foundation of the arch (wādēh) and pulpit (mihrāb), (named) Aqīq Mūsāf ar Muhammad Shāh, the king, the right arm of the Khilafah, the outly of the Amīr al-mumāminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom until the day of judgment, this mosque of delightful pillars and firm foundation was erected.

Translation.

... By the order of the chosen of the merciful God, the master of the countries of the world, the Solomon-like king, great in the world and in field, the counselor of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, the founder of a charitable building, 3 austerities, the exalter of the foundation of the arch (wādēh) and pulpit (mihrāb), (named) Aqīq Mūsāf ar Muhammad Shāh, the king, the right arm of the Khilafah, the outly of the Amīr al-mumāminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom until the day of judgment, this mosque of delightful pillars and firm foundation was erected.

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

... By the order of the chosen of the merciful God, the master of the countries of the world, the Solomon-like king, great in the world and in field, the counselor of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, the founder of a charitable building, 3 austerities, the exalter of the foundation of the arch (wādēh) and pulpit (mihrāb), (named) Aqīq Mūsāf ar Muhammad Shāh, the king, the right arm of the Khilafah, the outly of the Amīr al-mumāminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom until the day of judgment, this mosque of delightful pillars and firm foundation was erected.

West facade.

... By the order of the chosen of the merciful God, the master of the countries of the world, the Solomon-like king, great in the world and in field, the counselor of Islam and the Muslims, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, the founder of a charitable building, 3 austerities, the exalter of the foundation of the arch (wādēh) and pulpit (mihrāb), (named) Aqīq Mūsāf ar Muhammad Shāh, the king, the right arm of the Khilafah, the outly of the Amīr al-mumāminin (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom until the day of judgment, this mosque of delightful pillars and firm foundation was erected.

West facade.

1 Aqīq Mūsāf ar the Khilafah.
2 Quran, from XVII, verse 1. The “Dome of the Rock.”
TRANSLATION.

"Whereas the Almighty God, whose glory is great and whose names are exalted, with a view to revive the observance of faith and raise the banners of religion, chose as the lord of the kings of the world, so that the foundation of the religion of Muhammad may become firmer every moment, and the foundation of the law of the religion of Ahmad may be strengthened increasingly every instant, and the kingdom may be preserved and the administration of the government assured, and mosques for worship be erected in compliance with the order of Him who has none there is no God," 1 Abu'l-Muqaffa' Muhammad Suhayl, the king, the right arm of the Khalifah, the viceroy of the Amur ibn Mas'ud (chief of the pious), may God continue his kingdom until the day of resurrection, and exalt him for the erection of the mosques of Islam, and preserve him long to perform benevolent actions, on the 16th of Shawwal, the year 710 (7th March 1311 A.D.).

1 On the south face, upper hand (marble).

"His majesty the great, the lord of the kings, of Mustafa-like dignity, humbly submitting to the command of God, the chosen by the favour of the Most Merciful, great in the world and in faith, the finder of Islam and the Mu'minun, the bestower of honour on kings and princes, first with the help of the Merciful, Abu'l-Muqaffa' Muhammad Suhayl, the king, the second Alexander, the right arm of the Khalifah, the viceroy of the Amur ibn Mas'ud (chief of the faithful), may God perpetuate his kingdom, erected this place for Sunnah-ul-A'malin."

2 On the south face, lower hand (marble).

"This masjid, which is a second Ka'bah and is required to be like paradise, was built with pure faith and good intention by the exalted, the lord of the kings of the age, great in the world and in faith, the king of land and sea, helped by the help of the merciful (God), named..."
III. On the noble architrave framing the southern archway.

"By the grace of the peaceless God and...Yield the foundation of a mosque is laid on piety." Whose command and glory are high and Whose justice and peace are great. Ordained: Turn your face towards the holy temple of Makka, as Muhammad the prophet of God, may peace be upon him, said 'He who builds a mosque for God, God builds a house for him in Paradise,' the celestial, the lord of the kings of the age, the emperor of Moses-like splendour and Solomon-like dignity, the keystone of the commands of the Law of Muhammad, the helper in the observance of the religion of Ahmad, the cornerstone of the purliput of the places of learning and mosque, the support of the rulers of the schools and places of worship, the strengthener of the foundation of the observance of Islam, the builder of the foundation of the faith of Surah (Al-i-Hafla), the uprooter of the evil (old) principles of evil, the destroyer of the doctrines of infallible, the demolisher of the foundation of the places of idol worship, the creator of the foundation of congregations of Islam (mosque), the medium of (Divine) signs, the suppressor of infidelity, the uprooter of evil-dealing from the face of the earth, the conqueror of forts with lofty pinnacles, the master of places of strong foundations benefitted God, (named) Abu Muzaffar Muhammad Sana, the Sultan, the right arm of the Khalil, the helper of the religion of God and the ally of the Anwar-i-Muminin (the chief of the faithful), may God extend the shadow of his dignity over the heads of mankind up until the day of resurrection, built this mosque, which is the mosque of paradises for saints and...men and the place of assembly of the constant angels, and an edifice inhabited by the souls of the chief prophets; on the 5th of Shawwal the year 720 (5th March 1321 a.d.)".

On the arch face, upper band (inscribed).
"This mosque, which in extent and height is like unto Baita-ul-Maqabila, now is the second Baita-ul-Haram (Kaba), was built in pure faith and good intention by his exalted majesty, the Lord, the dispenser of grace and beneficence, helped by the help of the merciful King, great in the world and in faith, the victorious, named Ali Musafir Muhammad Shah, the king, the right arm of the Khilafat, the ally of the Amir-ul-Momineen (chief of the faithful), may God preserve the shadow of his majesty until the day of judgment."

Translation.

"During the auspicious reign of his exalted majesty.............the place where he is buried, amid the verdant emerald green, lies the tomb of Ali Musafir Muhammad Shah, the king, the right arm of the Khilafat, the ally of the Amir-ul-Momineen, may God extend the shadow of his kingdom over the heads of mankind until the day of resurrection, (built) the mosque, to which is appended the attribute: 'He who enters it attains salvation'."

Translation.

The inscription is written in well-formed naskh characters carved in relief on a marble slab over the doorway.
the guide of men and chosen of Muhammad. (named) Muhammad Ali of the Chakhtis sect, descendant of Husain, a support of the great Sayyids, the best of the revered devotees of God, a Jesus of the world of ascension and asceticism, a Moses of the mountain of retirement and seclusion, helped by God, who is rich, the pole-star of religion and faith, and a Sayyid descended from Hassan and Husain, is that he erected this holy and elegant building and left his parting advice that when...........his life...........should come to an end and being favoured with the call “Enter therein (paradise) in peace and security,” it should fly to the sacred enclosure and favourite garden, this celebrated building should become the bright tomb of his holiness. This building was completed in the months of the year 944.

APPENDIX II. (b)

1 Nagari Inscriptions on the Qutb Minar.

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

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

Text. वधु १९४४

Translation. “Samvat 1296 (1190 A.D.).”

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

Text. वधु १९४४

Translation. “Samvat 1296 (1190 A.D.).”

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

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

Text. निरपेक्षगृह

Translation. “The King Peribhi.” (The reading is uncertain.)

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

Text. सरचो

Translation. “The pillar.”

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

7. On left-hand jamb of the 8th slit window up stair-way.

Text.

1. समिति को निर्माणाच
2. चैत्र 1: वधु २०५६
3. चैत्र २०५६
4. चैत्र २०५६

1 I am indebted to Sir Bhikhabhai Daya Nanabhai M.A., for the readings and English renderings given of these inscriptions.
THE QUBB DELHI.

Translation. "This pillar is made of Mahalab, May it be for good luck."

This inscription designates the Minar as the pillar of fame of a certain Mahalab, but whose name is not known. It shows that the monument was not regarded as a masjid only.

(For references, see page 56 of the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, India, and Hindustan Monuments, Northern India, for the year 1916-18.)

8. On right-hand jamb of the 6th slit window up stairs-way.

Text.

1. 1. खुला बाँधो समाहि
2. 2. सफ्य राज
3. 3. पूजनालाल ता

Translation. "Chamalal fixed this arch in December 1832. Chamalal, dated. . . . . ."

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

Text.

1. 1. समन १८३२ परि (५)
2. 2. चेत बढ़ि त नैलागी
3. 3. ला बिनला (सेव) ला

Translation. "Written by Vihir Kant on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Chitra in the year Samvat 1896."

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

Text.

1. 1. र. २. ३. ४. ५.
2. 2. ६. ७. ८.
3. 3. ९. १. १.
4. 4. ५. ६.

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

Text. — Repetition of the imprecation: — यो भी मो की माअाया पावी

Translation. Indecent.

(A similar inscription occurs on Sino temple No. 12 in Deoghat, District Ranchi.)

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

Text.

1. 1. राा राा
2. 2. ४. ५. ६. ७. ८. ९. १.
3. 3. माया माया से कामी माया
4. 4. १०. ११.
5. 5. राा

Translation. Unintelligible.

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

Text. भवानि, मार्ग, पाड़का, साररी, माराम, पाड़का, पाड़का, पाड़का, गोशा, (२) मारम, गोशा

Translation. The document presumably records names of masajis.
14. On left-hand jamb of the 15th slit window up stair-way.
   
   Text: अक्षय वर्षाब्द नामीभाषायें
   Translation: Unintelligible.

15. On left-hand abutment of door, 2nd Balcony.
   
   Text: सप्तवें वर्षाब्द, १६२७
   Translation: “On the 6th slab of the year Sumatra 1617.”

   
   Text: दोनों कोलां या दोनों... गा
   Translation: Unintelligible.

17. On the face of the 8th angle on the left-hand side, 3rd balcony.
   
   Text: ११. सप्तवें १६२४ नमोरोग निम्न भवनम्
   नृमुखापूर्व
   Translation: “Engraved in the year Sumatra 1624 (by) the mason (named) Nilm, son of Mira.”

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

   Text:
   १. १. सप्तवें १६२४
   २. सप्तवें १६२५
   ५. महेन्द्रवर्मन विभारेश्वरी महाशय कुमार सूरि
   Translation: “Sunvata 1625, 1878 A.D. The mason Mohan Lal on the 5th of the bright fortnight of Bhadra.”

19. Under the arch of lintel over 15th slit window, up stair-way.
   
   Text: दोनों विविधमानोऽयो प्रमाणाः
   Translation: The meaning is uncertain.

20. On left-hand abutment of door, 3rd Balcony.
   
   Text: १. १. महेन्द्रवर्मन पक्षाध्याये दि
   २. अनवयम्
   Translation: “The pillar of victory of Sultan Akbari (i.e., Abu-l-Din).”

(On epigraphical grounds the inscription is assignable to about the 8th Century A.D. and is thus the earlier record settled on the lintel. It should, however, be remembered if the stone originally belonged to an earlier structure or was meant for the Mira tank.)


Text: १. १. महेन्द्रवर्मन पक्षाध्याये दि
   २. अनवयम्
   Translation: “The pillar of victory of Sultan Akbari (i.e., Abu-l-Din).”

(On epigraphical grounds the inscription is assignable to about the 8th Century A.D. and is thus the earlier record settled on the lintel. It should, however, be remembered if the stone originally belonged to an earlier structure or was meant for the Mira tank.)

In my opinion, the inscription was carved on the stone before it was set in its present position.

Text.

1. ती वर्ष 1336, थर्म चैत्र २३ गुप्त

1. दिन योगधर्म अस्वास्थयांकित को खोरित

Translation. "On Wednesday, the 23rd of April 1336, the (Piler) of a monument on the occasion of the illustrious Sultan Muhammad Shâh (Taghlaq)."

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

Text.

1. साल 1343 दिन 24 शुक्रवार दिन २४ नियोजन दिनको राष्ट्री बोधुप दही बीम्इ दिनको समय

1. २. दिन राष्ट्री व माननको बोधुप दही डनको समय

(Text-uncertain; may mention certain architects named Nana, Salla and Lela; the same names are also mentioned in inscription No. 24.)

23. On red sandstone, 5th course, 3rd Balcony.

Text.—Uncertain.

24. On a yellowish stone, 6th course, 3rd Balcony.

Text.

1. साल 1343 दिन 24 शुक्रवार दिन २४ नियोजन दिनको राष्ट्री बोधुप दही बीम्इ दिनको समय

1. २. दिन राष्ट्री व माननको बोधुप दही डनको समय

Translation. On Thursday, the 24th day of April 1343, the (monument) was (then) repaired in the month of Chaitra. The architects were Nana, Salla, Lela and Laimu.

(For reference to p. 10 of the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for 1914-15.)

25. On red sandstone, 7th course, 3rd Balcony.

Text.

पुरातत्त्व प्रमाण को राष्ट्री बादन वानक बोधुप पढ़ि वानकिनी बिसि २६ जनवरालाग्रह बोधुप ११०2 वर्ष

Translation. In the reign of Muhammad Sultan on the 7th day of the (month) Bhadava in the year Svaravat 1336 (1326 A.D.) in the 25th year in the Jumna-makar, the monument was repaired by lightning.

(For reference to p. 35 of the 'List of Inscriptions' attached to the Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year 1914-15.)

26. On red sandstone, 8th course, 3rd Balcony, left-hand side of door.

Text.

1. घर्णित बादनको बिसि २६ जनवरालाग्रह बोधुप २०२4

1. २. दिन राष्ट्री व माननको बोधुप दही डनको समय

1. ३. दिन राष्ट्री व माननको बोधुप दही डनको समय
THE QU'UB : DELHI.

Foundation. Uncertain.

27. On the marble steps of arch over doorway, 6th Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. भद्रकालम् १५६०
2. २. [शब्द] वृद्धि ५. १५६०

Foundation. "On the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Bhaadra in the year Suncvat 1560"
(arch unidentifiable).

28. On left-hand marble abutment, 6th Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. राजा बाहिर दो परराष्ट्र वीरीयताम्
2. २. वि विवरणादेव(अ) भद्रकाल १५६० वर्षे
3. ३. वे भद्रकालम् वृद्धि १ प्राकृतिक स्
4. ४. सानी दोषायियां(अ) र तर दोषायियां
5. ५. कम स(अ) वाद रणित्व गुप्तपार्वि
6. ६. भानमदेवाबालालारो पदो पिन्ध
7. ७. चपचाप गणन प्रतिक मिशियि
8. १. १. न मले न गा ८.३]

Foundation. "On the auspicious reign of the illustrious Prince Shah Sultaan on Friday the 8th of the bright fortnight of Phalgun in the year Suncvat 1428, the installation of the Minar was carried out in the palace or temple of Vivekaram. The architect was the material ganchon of the son of Chalhaddevapala; the measuring rod was drawn and the foundation laid. Height, 90 yards."

For reference see p. 39 of the Annual Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Delhi and Buddhaksh Works, Northern India, for the year 1919-20.

29. On red sandstone, left-hand abutment, immediately below No. 28, 6th Balcony.

Text.

1. 1. मले २१
2. २. यद्य पला १२१
3. ३. [शब्द] विवरण १२१ विषयां
4. ४. युह नमा माणा दाराकः
5. ५. धी भरण वाजायि म

Translations. "Yards 28. (Height) 31 yards. 156 Yards. The designer was the architect Bana [Saha] Sulta and the carpenter Dharmo Vangal."
APPENDIX III (c).


We owe it to the genius of James Princep 1 that the mystery of the inscribed characters on the iron pillar has been solved. It is true that that great scholar's rendering did not afford a wholly satisfactory interpretation of the many difficulties presented by the record, but his initial work in 1838 paved the way for subsequent investigators, whose further researches have now resulted in a rendering of substantial accuracy.

Among the several transliterations available that by Dr. J. F. Fleet 2 is given below. It has the advantage of being very literal —

"He on whose arm was inscribed by the sword, when in battle the Vaṅga kings {the sword was} kindled (and turned) back with him; the enemies who, taking together, came against him; he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river (Ganges), the Vaṅga kings were conquered; he, by the leader of whose prowess the southern season was even still performed; he, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy which utterly destroyed (his) enemies, like, (the remnant of the great glowing heat) of a burned out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth; though he, the king, as it were, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in (bodily) form to the land (of paradise) won by him (the merit of his actions), but remaining on (this) earth by the memory of his fame; by him, the king, who attained sole auspicious sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm, and (enjoyed) for a very long time; (and) who, having the name of Chandrā, carried a heaviness of countenance like (the beauty of) the full moon, having in faith fixed his mind upon (the god) Viṣṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was set upon the hill (called Vindhyagiri)."

Dr. Vogel, in an unpublished manuscript to which I have had access, writes in regard to the above: —

"As usual in Indian inscriptions, the historical information is hidden under much rhetorical ornament. The historical facts to which the Iron Pillar inscription refers are that a ruler of the name of Chandrā, deceased at the time when it was composed, had conquered the Vaṅgas and Vaiḥikas or, which comes to the same, the Vaṅgas and Vaiḥikas country; for in Sanskrit the tribal name in the place is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe in question. The Vaiḥika country is undoubtedly Bengal. As to Vaiḥika, (also Vaiḥika), usually spelt Viṅgā or Vaiṅika, the name is explained as the ancient form of modern Bākha. It has, however, been pointed out that this rendering cannot well be applied to Chandrā's exploits and that the tribe vanquished by him should probably be located somewhere in Baluchistan. This conclusion is indeed undeniable if we adopt the above rendering of the passage which says that Chandrā conquered the Vaiṅikas "after having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Ganges, i.e., the Indus." I am somewhat doubtful whether this is the only possible interpretation and whether the expression septa sakthiśēkhā (seven mouths of the Indus) could not simply indicate the apsara māndakini of the Rigveda, in other words the river Indus and its tributaries. The term sakthi would then have to be taken in the sense not of "the mouth of the river" but rather that of "a riverhead." I cannot, however, at present advance any passage from Sanskrit Literature to support such an explanation, and wish only to recommend it to the judgment of Sanskrit scholars. The character used in the epigraph is that of about the fourth century of our Era."

With regard to the identity of the King Chandrā of this record, the belief was generally held up to some eleven years ago that he was one of the earlier sovereigns of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty, either the first or the third ruler of that line. In 1939, however, Dr. Harisingh Shastri of Calcutta 4 advanced a theory that the Chandrā of this inscription was one of the Varna Kings of Paukhras, in Judhpur, Rajputana, and that he was an independent contemporary of Suanmgupta (c. 350-375 A.D.), the record of the Gupta line.

1 Royal Asiatic Society's Journal 7, 666.
3 Indica et Indologica, 3, 41, 1913, p. 216.
This view Mr. V. A. Smith, who had previously identified this king with the second Chandragupta of Magadha, now accepts, and, positing any further discovery bearing on the point, the matter must rest here.

APPENDIX III (b).

Modern Inscriptions on the Iron Pillar.

Note on the more modern inscriptions engraved on the Iron Pillar, by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A. 1

"The earliest of these inscriptions dates from A. H. 961 (A.D. 1555), and it is not easy to explain the total absence, with the single exception of a short epigraph of A.D. 1683, of any records on the pillar, of the long period of about 1,000 years that elapsed from its original erection by the king Chandra in the Gupta period. Mr. V. A. Smith is of opinion that the pillar was originally erected somewhere else, perhaps at Mathura, and transferred to its present site in the eleventh century. Of the inscriptions copied by me, one is a short Persian epigraph dated in the year A. H. 961 and records the name of a certain Ali Asghar Husain, son of Israil. Two others, in Nagari characters, are dated in the Samvat years 1572 and 1580, but supply no information of any value. The remaining three inscriptions which are also written in Hindi are, however, not without some historical importance. One of them is inscribed on the south-east face of the pillar four feet above the top of the platform. It consists of six lines and records that on Saturday, the 16th of the black fortnight of Kusag (Avani), in the Samvat year 1207 (A.D. 1189) Mahanadishiraha the illustrious Duragjai Singh, the Rada, i.e., Randalla Rajai of Chandri, who was the son of Durga Singh, who was the maternal grandson (sani) of the illustrious Raja Devi Singh, came here, and adds that his descendants may reach any Raja that may visit this place. The inscription was written by Tribhuvanansi, a Kudartita Kashi. Then follows the name of a certain Indrakut of Sutnam, who might have carried out the engraving of the epigraph. It would have been interesting to know the purpose of this prince’s visit to old Delhi, but no mention is made of it. It is noteworthy that a Nagari inscription dated in Samvat year 1520 inscribed on a piece of stone that stands near the Dargah of Dadiyak, records the name of the same prince and his genealogy and after it the fact that Raja Vicer Singh and Raja Chhanail Singh, i.e., Chhatrand Singh, did something.

The other two inscriptions2 are carved side by side on the south-east face of the pillar, the major part of the left-hand record being enclosed in a line. The latter epigraph begins with the words Samvat Delhi 1169 Angapala voel, and to judge from the form of its characters must have been engraved in the year mentioned in it. The rest of the writing, though it appears at first sight to be a direct continuation of the earlier portion, is 74 years later in date and records the visit of Chara Singh ji Chankhan in Samvat 1203. The information recorded is to the effect that Prabiraj (founded) in Samvat 1151 and that in the 23rd generation from him was descended the illustrious Mahana Jo Chhastriji. The other inscription states that in Sam. 419 there was a Raja, a son of Taran (Taran) name named Angapala, and in Samvat 640 a certain Daudkiran Chankhan Raja Indra. In the 21st generation from the latter was Raja Prabiraj in Sam. 1151 and in the 22nd generation from him Raja Chaitman in Samvat 1188. The only fact of any value supplied by these inscriptions is the date of Samvat 1199 for Angapala. The rest of the information having been recorded in the years 1527 and 1582 A.D. from memory is incorrect. The most glaring mistake that is at once spotted is the date of Sam. 1151 (A.D. 1595) for Prabiraj.

1 V. A. Smith: The Iron Pillar of Delhi, in Journal Royal Asiatic Society, 1897, p. 11.
2 Rocky History of Delhi: 1896, p. 296 note.
3 These inscriptions are noticed by General Cunningham in his A. S. R., Volume 1, page 112, but his remarks are incorrect in some respects.
Appendix IV (a).

Relief of Excavation and Conservation work carried out at the Qutub since 1920.

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

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

Early in the work Smith’s chamber, which had been deprived from its former place on the summit of the minar and placed on a mound within the present mosque enclosure at the instance of Lord Hardinge in 1816, was again shifted to its present position, where, however, it was at first set up on another of the mounds built by Sir Thomas Metcalfe. Both mounds have now been removed and the chamber placed upon the ground, as it at present stands.

Alauddin’s extension immediately to the north of the original mosque was cleared of some three feet of earth and stone rubbish, when a series of column bases was disclosed in this area. A lower plinth of the original mosque was also unearthed some five feet beneath the ground level and the original foundations here exposed. A start was made on the clearance of the area reclaimed by the diversion of the old road, and by the end of the year 1913-14 the whole of Alauddin’s northern extension had been exposed. While the work of excavation was going on the needs of conservation were not lost sight of, and useful repair was executed on the old disintegrated masonry of the great screen.

The complete clearance of the site necessitated the demolition and removal of the old old bungalows and servants’ quarters located in the ruined dalalas of a “Left Manchik” area, which had encroached on the original Qutub area. A beginning was made on a system of water ducts and channels required for subsequent irrigation purposes, and something was done towards the laying out of drives and pavements on the site.

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

A newly built stupaBanarsi was added to the present old bungalow (which escaped the fate of its fellows crowding on the site), and the furniture and equipment of the bungalow installed to meet the needs of the increasing number of visitors.
THE QUTB: DELHI.

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

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

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

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

Alhamiah’s paving along the east side of the original mosque of Qutb-d-din, and along the south and north sides, was removed to disclose permanent by the full depth of the original plinth, and a box drain constructed to carry away the rain-water from the resulting trench. The presence of sculptured Hindu stones built into the plinth thus disclosed is one of the factors indicating the Muhammadan origin of this portion of the structure (see p. 197 and footnotes: supra).

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

An original flight of steps in the south-east corner of Alawd-din’s College, leading to the roof, was put in order to enable visitors to ascend and obtain a comprehensive view of the area. Further clearance was carried out around Alhamiah’s Tomb, and the remains of a later pavemen
discussed some twelve inches above the original level. A strip of land to the north of the Tomb was acquired, and the prayer-chamber of Alauddin's extremity of the mosque was cleared of debris, laid with gravel and demarcated by iron hedges. All the remaining fragments of the pillars of his great arched screen were repaired and secured from further decay.

By the end of the year 1914–15 the bulk of the work undertaken at the Qubbat had been completed. In the following year, however, several of the pillars in the colonnade of Altamsh, which were leaning at precarious angles, had to be reset; and in order to compensate for the stoppage of traffic through the Qubbat grounds a new path was made between Mehmadi and Lada Street.

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

The Qubbat Minar—It has been remarked for some considerable time that the masonry of the third storey of the Minar has bulged. An early photograph in Carr Stephen's Archæology of Delhi clearly shows this bulge, and it is improbable that it has appreciably increased during the last hundred years. The minar was damaged by lightning (as is recorded in the records of Firuz-shah Tughluq's reign, as well as on the minar itself; codice inscriptions: Aṣḥābatī 499, supra) in 1509, and since then it has suffered several severe earthquake shocks, such as the one in 1883, when the minar was considerably injured. It is not improbable that the displacement of the masonry is the result of settlement that occurred while the tower was being built, due to the work being "run up" too quickly and to the excessive use of mortar.

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

Numerous small cement "ballast" applied across the joints in this storey and in the ground storey where the masonry appeared to be somewhat disturbed have set so far (February 1920) revealed any appreciable further movement in the old fabric, it is restraining to record.

1 Report of the Superintendent, Mohammedan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the Year ending March 31st, 1920.
In any account of the archaeological work carried out at the Qutb, it would be impossible not to mention the devoted labours of the late Mr. G. C. Sanderson, Superintendent of the Archaeological Department, who was directly responsible for the operation, which was substantially completed before he left the Department to join the Indian Army Reserve of Officers in February 1915. To commemorate his regrettable death of wounds in October of the same year while serving with the Gurkhas in France, the small marble sundial (Fig. 22d.) on the lawn to the south-east of the Mosque area has been erected, inscribed with the motto: "Travest video: hut permanet." (The shadow passes: the light remains.)

J. A. F.

APPENDIX IV (5).

Table showing the sums spent annually on the Conservation of the Qutb Area at Delhi, since the year 1919.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>1919-20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918-19</td>
<td>8,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-18</td>
<td>6,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-17</td>
<td>6,645</td>
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<td>1915-16</td>
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<td>8,168</td>
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<td>1912-13</td>
<td>2,326</td>
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<td>1911-12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(*) The bulk of the excavation work was done in these years.
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THE QUTB, DELHI.
Tomb of Alauddin, Conjecturally Restored.

Scale

Note: The plan only includes the
completed portions.

Cross-Saloon
Looking-north-east.

Plan

Alamshah’s Mosque.

South Hoolme.

Pl. 75.
THE QUTB: DELHI.

Here is an attempt at a conjectural reconstruction of the monument, illustrating the subsequent alterations of the original mosque.
THE QUTB MINAR
DELHI.
Conjectural Restoration in Silhouette.
Scale Here the feet.

Original Minar, as completed by Alberini, c. 1230 A.D.
Minar as heightened by Feroz Shah, c. 1370 A.D.
THE QUTB MINAR
DELHI.

Detail of "stalactite" cornicing of first-storey balcony

Note: The "tassels" are suggested indications based on the original corn curling and the door ornamentation — a feature of the period's "Greek-style" order.

PLATE XIII.

Note: Maximum size on the side facing southwest.

A. K. G. A.
Architectural Survey.

[Signature]
THE QUTB, DELHI. ALAUD-DINS COLLEGE.

Early forms of the Indo-Arabic Minaret.

The Twelve Western Cupola
A higher detailed view on the right above Dome

THE QUTB
DELHI.

Arches Minaret
370 feet high

Arched Entrance
12th Century

Plate XIV
The Qutb Minar: Delhi.

Sketch of entrance doorway differentiating the original work replaced in 1828 and the modern repair supplementing it.

NOTE: The restored portion is shown hatched, 1828.

ARBA
Archaeological Survey of India: 1870.
(6) Queen Dhu’ay’s original mosque. Eastern half of
masonry peculiar, showing Hindu capital carved out of
tufa, and also sculptured living water-pouring “Nimai
or Raina,” over three windows.

(39) View of east extreme gate of Queen Dhu’ay’s
original mosque.

(38) North gate of Queen Dhu’ay’s original mosque,
showing “resources” of pleas-begging on west side.

(60) Akbar’s southern gate, gate.

Plate 1.
(a) View of inscribed and carved stones found in Alcazar's mosque.

(b) Fragments of circular columns of a dome, probably from Alcazar's tower. (Note also fragment of steppedhands, which may have come from Alcazar's upper extension.)
(a) View of north facade of Jalis Dinwali as repaired by Major Smith F.R. in 1906. Capture reconstructed outer parapet in drawing fig. No. VIII.

(b) Jalis Dinwali, detail of jambs carved. Note contrast of sandstone relief carving with Bichit types of marble plinths mouldings.

(c) Jalis Dinwali, detail of carving on exterior, showing combination of sandstone and Bichit moulding in the decoration.