
MANDU

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BY

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MANDU

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

THE HILL-FORT OF MANDU (22°2′ N. AND 75° 26′ E.) is situated about 35 kilometres south of Dhar, headquarters of the District of that name in Madhya Pradesh. The hill rises 633·7 m. above the sea-level and is separated from the main plateau of Malwa by a deep ravine, called the Kakra Khoh, which encircles it on its west, north and east and finally vanishes into the Nimar plain in the south. It is irregular in shape, with prominently higher spur of Songadh projecting into the west and a narrow but deep chasm of the ravine, penetrating right into the heart of the hill, to its east. Its length, east to west, is about 6 to 8 kilometres, whilst its width, north to south, is between 5 to 6 kilometres.

The hill range is endowed with a very attractive natural scenery, which is at its best during the rainy season, when on all sides, it is clothed in green with a number of brooks and torrents, rushing down into the ravine winding about its sides below. The vegetation is at its best and most luxurious in the monsoons, the beauty of which is further enhanced by about a dozen lakes and ponds interspersed on its top. The hill may, therefore, very well be styled as the beauty spot of Malwa and this is probably the reason why the city, enclosed within its fort-walls, when in its prime, was called by the Muslim rulers

as Shādīābād, 'the City of Joy'. Indeed, to an emperor with aesthetic sense, like Jahāngīr, there was 'no place so pleasant in climate and so pretty in scenery as Mandu in the rainy season.'

The most convenient rail-heads for Mandu are Mhow and Indore from where it is connected by good roads, *via* Dhar, the distance being 92 kilometres from Mhow and 98 kilometres from Indore. There is a regular bus service from these places to Mandu and taxis are available at Indore. Visitors intending to halt at Mandu can accommodate themselves, with prior intimation, in the Tourist Bungalow, P.W.D. Rest House and Vishranti Grih, the reservation authorities for which respectively are: the Manager, Tourist Bungalow, P.O. Mandu (District Dhar, M.P.), the Executive Engineer, Public Works Department, Dhar (M.P.) and the Secretary, Gram Panchayat, P.O. Mandu (District Dhar, M.P.).

Photographs of the monuments are available on payment with the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, Janpath, New Delhi-110011, or with the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal (M.P.). The monuments are open to the public daily between sun-rise and sun-set. The local representative of the Archaeological Survey of India posted at Mandu is the Conservation Assistant.

2. INTRODUCTION

History

Early Period (upto A.D. 1305)

It was in the midst of an inviting nature that some time early in the sixth century A.D. history was first made here and some sort of fortification was attempted by the political power of the day. A Sanskrit inscription, dated Vikrama Saṁvat 612 (A.D. 555), on the pedestal of a Jaïna image of Ādināṭha found at Talanpur, near Kukshi in District Dhar, says that the image was installed in a temple of Pārśvanāṭha, in a locality called Tārāpura inside Maṇḍapa-Durga, by a merchant named Chandrasiṁha Shā.[1] Firishta, the celebrated Muhammadan historian, quotes a legend saying that in the days of Khusrau Parvīz (A.D. 590-628) the fort was built by 'Anand Deo Rajput of the tribe of Bies', a name which is not traceable amongst the historical personalities of the day so far known to us. The above inscription, however, leaves no doubt about the existence of the hill-fort under the name of Maṇḍapa-Durga in the middle of the sixth century. It must have been

[1] *Vikrama-Smṛiti-Grantha* (Hindi), p. 598. It should be noted that Tarapur is now the name of a village at the top of the hill towards its south-west. Abul-Faḍl quotes quite a fanciful legend, current in his time, which derives the name from Maṇḍana, a goldsmith, who, it is said, discovered the *Pāras* stone i.e. magic touch-stone for making gold. Maṇḍana gave it to the reigning king who built the fort and named it after the goldsmith.

built some time before A.D. 555. About the origin of the Sanskrit name Maṇḍapa-Durga there is no clue available at present. Its Prākrit or vernacular equivalent is 'Māṇḍava', a name by which it is still popularly called in the region. The word Māṇḍava has been further corrupted to the present name of Mandu. Māṇḍava is found so mentioned also in Persian histories of the medieval period.

During the next three centuries we hear nothing about the fort. It seems, in the tenth century, that the fort formed part, probably as a frontier outpost, of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire of Kanauj. In an inscription of Vikrama Saṁvat 1003 (A.D. 946), found at Pratapgadh in Rajasthan, referring to the reign of king Mahendrapāla of this dynasty, it is stated that prince Mādhava was then acting as the 'great feudatory' or 'great governor' at Ujjain and his commander-in-chief (*balādhikṛita*) Śrī-Śarman, was carrying on the affairs of the state at Maṇḍapika i.e., Mandu. It is likely that the fortifications were strengthened at this time, since there was then a standing threat of invasions from the powerful kings of the Deccan. During the clearance of débris at Dilāwar Khān's mosque in the fort an inscription datable to this age has been found.

By the end of the tenth century the Paramāras rose to power in Malwa raising it to the status of an independent kingdom, with their capital first at Ujjain and later at Dhar, 35 kilometres north of Mandu. Under the Paramāras, especially under the kings Muñja and Bhoja, Malwa attained a height of power and

glory unmatched in the history of northern India of that period. The memory of king Muñja is still retained at Mandu in the name of the Muñja-talāo or tank within the royal enclave. The invasions of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī had not touched Malwa and it will be recalled that, in the course of his last campaign against Somanath in Gujarat, the famous invader had to divert his retreat to Ghaznī on an unfrequented route, because a vast and well-prepared army, presumably under the Paramāra king Bhoja, was blocking his earlier route. In view of the experience of his ill-fated Hindu colleagues in the north, Bhoja may have got himself ready for all the consequences of the war and may have further strengthened the defence works at Mandu. An image of Sarasvatī or Vāgdevī, a favourite deity of King Bhoja, has been found at Mandu, containing a Prākrit hymn to that deity, a subject which is more appropriately to be attributed to his reign.

An inscription on the snake-diagram (*sarpa-bandha*) in the local collection in the fort has the date Vikrama Saṁvat 1125 (A.D. 1068) and refers to Śri-Bhaṭṭāraka-Devendra-deva, possibly a vassal chief under the Paramāra King Udayāditya. The *Rāsamālā* says that the Mandu chiefs were paying homage to Udayāditya, whose capital continued to be at Dhar. It is not unlikely that the Lohani caves were excavated at about this time and some Śaiva temples erected in the vicinity of the caves and in other parts of the hill. There is reason to believe that the weak successors of Udayāditya frequently held their camp capitals at Mandu in

place of Dhar, which was militarily less secure and in course of time Mandu ultimately became the state capital. There is a long inscription discovered from the débris of the buildings in the fort. It contains a lengthy hymn to god Vishṇu composed by Bilhaṇa who, the record states, was the minister for war and peace to the Paramāra king Vindhyavarman, who ruled Malwa at the close of the twelfth century. Sallakshaṇa was a Chāhamāna chief in the court of king Arjunavarman (A.D. 1210-1218) and he erected some temples in the fort in the vicinity of Lohani caves. Certain royal grants, issued by Arjunavarman under his royal seals from Maṇḍapa-Durga, have also been found. In about A.D. 1227 Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish invaded Malwa, sacked Bhilsa and Ujjain; but the reigning Paramāra king, Devapāla, concluded a treaty and Mandu was left unmolested. This first Muslim invasion was a passing political calamity to the Paramāras, who continued to rule from Mandu as a weakened and shattered power. From A.D. 1256 to 1261 Jayavarman ruled from Mandu, as seen from his copper-plates discovered at Godurapura in Nimar District. Jayavarman was succeeded by Jayasiṁha II, who is mentioned as lord of Maṇḍapa-Durga in a memorial pillar from Valipur in District Dhar. He was defeated and killed in battle by the Chāhamāna king Jaitrasiṁha in A.D. 1269. In about A.D. 1283, Bhoja II ascended the throne of Malwa and an inscription of seven lines mentioning his name was found in the Rewa-Kuṇḍ area. This unfortunate king had to face the Delhi Sulṭān Jalālu'd-Dīn Khaljī in A.D. 1293 when the latter

invaded his kingdom, devastated the countryside around Mandu and returned with a large booty to Delhi. The fort of Mandu was still with the Hindu rulers upto 1305 when the final onslaught came. Mahlak Deo was then occupying the tottering throne. It is said that 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī had specially commissioned his trusted general 'Ainu'l-Mu'lk, "to cleanse the old Gabristan from the stench of infidelity." Kokadeva or Gogadeva, the general on the Hindu side, opposed the invading forces but was killed in action. A short inscription referring to Koka, who perhaps built a temple near the Lohani caves, has been found at Mandu. The king fled to the security of Mandu fort which was promptly invested. With the help of a spy 'Ainu'l-Mu'lk secured access to the fort through a secret passage and suddenly fell upon Mahlak Deo and slew him. The Hindu kingdom of Malwa was now finally dissolved and was made part of the Delhi Sultanate, under Muhammadan governors.

Medieval period and after

The history of Mandu under the Muhammadan governors of the Delhi empire does not appear to have been eventful till the beginning of the fifteenth century. A few Hindu or Jain temples were erected in the fort in the fourteenth century as seen from the scattered ruins. The governors held their capital at Dhar though they camped sometimes at Mandu. In the reign of Muḥammad-bin-Tughluq, Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī was the governor of Malwa, who, finding the political stability of the Delhi Sultans fast deteriorat-

ing, had assumed almost complete authority over the province in his charge. In A.D. 1401 he formally and finally declared independence and assumed royal titles. From this date the history of Mandu becomes more significant in so far as its standing monuments are concerned. Dilāwar Khān kept his capital at Dhar, but he paid frequent visits to Mandu where he sometimes held his court also. He did not live longer to rule and died in A.D. 1405. The only building activity of his time, visible at present at Mandu, is seen at the Tarapur Gate and in the mosque known after his name in the royal enclave. The fortification of the hill, as it now stands, and other improvements inside the fort were undertaken during his reign by his son Alp Khān who completed the works later in the course of his own regal career.

Alp Khān, with his regal name of Hoshang Shah, ascended his father's throne in 1405 and shifted the capital permanently to Mandu. He ruled Malwa for 27 years and carried the boundaries of his realm as far as Kalpi in the north and Kherla in the south. His warlike spirit brought him into conflict with the neighbouring powers of Gujarat, Delhi and Jaunpur. His constant wars with the Gujarat kings once cost him his throne, which he was able to recover shortly afterwards. Even in the midst of these strenuous wars, he displayed his fine taste of architecture as reflected in the stately edifices of the Great Mosque (Jāmi'-Masjid), the Delhi Gate, and his own tomb which rank amongst the finest monuments of the East. It is likely that some of the palatial buildings within

the royal enclave were raised for his residence and court by Sulṭān Hoshang. Most of the elaborate fortification of the hill was completed by him which not only shows him as a builder but also as a general with a high sense of military strategy; for the fortification of Mandu was regarded by Muslim historians as one of the most extraordinary in the then world.[1] Hoshang died in A.D. 1435, as a ruler most beloved of his subjects,[2] leaving the reins of his realm to his son Ghaznī Khān, who ascended the throne with the name of Maḥmud Shāh.

Maḥmud Shāh's reign, however, proved short lived, for he died in 1436 of poison administered to him at the instance of his own confidante, Maḥmūd Khān, who soon afterwards ascended the throne himself. With the death of this king, the rule of the Ghurī dynasty in Malwa came to an end. The only surviving monument at Mandu assigned to his reign is the mosque of Malik Mughīth to the east of the Sāgar lake.

Maḥmud Shāh, the first Khaljī ruler of Mandu, may rightly be styled as a soldier-Sulṭān, always engaged in military expeditions, as a result of which the kingdom of Malwa reached its widest limits in his long reign of 33 years. He waged wars not only against the rulers of Gujarat, Deccan and Jaunpur, but even against the Sulṭān of Delhi. The usual target of his expeditions was, however, the Rāṇā of Mewar and

[1]Firishta and Jahāngīr have both referred to the defences of the fort in eulogistic terms.

[2]It is said that shortly after the death, his tomb acquired sanctity and an *Urs* used to be held here every year till the last century.

to commemorate one of his victories over the Rāṇā he raised at Mandu a magnificent seven-storied tower only the basement of which has now survived. Though a man of exceptional military prowess, he was renowned equally for his love and patronage of learning and for his sympathetic understanding of human nature, which made his subjects, Muslims and Hindus alike, prosperous and happy during his long reign. It was because of his high personal qualities that Malwa rose under him to the status of a great and prosperous kingdom and was so recognized in the Islamic world of the time.[1]

His fondness for architecture is also amply evidenced by a number of great buildings in the capital ascribed to his reign. Of these the most magnificent were his own tomb, faced entirely with marble, the College or Madrasa—now styled as Ashrafī-Maḥal and the seven-storeyed tower mentioned above. Besides, he completed the works of his predecessor, Hoshang Shāh Ghūrī, such as the Great Mosque and the tomb. His buildings were, however, grand in design but too lofty in elevation and as they were built in a hurry and supervised by incompetent architects they fell down shortly after his death and all are now in imposing ruins.

Maḥmūd died in A.D. 1469 succeeded by his eldest son Ghiyāth-u'd-Dīn who, unlike his father, devoted all his regal career of 31 years to peaceful pursuits. In

[1]Because of this fame of Malwa, embassies were sent to the court at Mandu by Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd, grandson of Timūr, by the Khalīfa of Egypt, a gesture which was promptly reciprocated by the Sulṭān with a number of rare and precious presents.

spite of his extraordinary fancy for women,[1] he never touched wine. He was deeply religious-minded and ruled with order, liberality, justice and charity. There was almost no war in his long reign and the kingdom was peaceful, happy and prosperous. When he was almost eighty he died, it is said, of poison administered to him by his own son Nāsiru'd-Dīn, an incident which has been narrated most feelingly by Jahāngīr in his *Memoirs*.[2]

Little is known, for certain, about the building activity of Ghiyāth-u'd-Dīn who, as he dwelt throughout his reign at Mandu, must have adorned the capital with a number of edifices. Of them, the picturesquely situated Jahāz-Maḥal should fittingly be attributed to him, in view of the spirit of enjoyment which pervades all through its construction.

Nāsiru'd-Dīn ascended the throne in A.D. 1500, but he had an unhappy and troubled career. He was first called upon to resolve the domestic feuds and other uprisings in his kingdom. The circumstances of his guilt seem always to have haunted his mind which ultimately made him suspicious and violent in temperament. He died of a burning fever after an unhappy rule of only 10 years leaving the kingdom to his third son

[1]It is said he had at one time 15,000 women of various classes and professions in his seraglio. Five hundred beautiful and young Turkish females in men's clothes and an equal number of Abyssinian females, all in uniform and armed, used to stand as guards to his right and left sides respectively.

[2]This crime of patricide attributed to Nāsiru'd-Dīn made him most detestable in the estimation of Sher Shāh and Jahāngīr who, on their visits to Mandu, are said to have desecrated his tomb and offered a number of indignities to his remains.

Maḥmūd. Like his predecessors, he too was fond of building, of which the best existing evidence is the beautiful palace near the Rewā-Kuṇḍ now accredited to Bāz Bahādur.

The domestic feuds, which originated in the time of his father, continued to torment Maḥmūd II more violently. He could cope with them mainly with the assistance of a Rajput chief Medinī Rāy, who eventually wielded considerable influence over the king and his affairs. The power of Rāy soon became unbearable to the king who, under some pretext, fled from Mandu and with the help of Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gujarat and regained power after ousting the Rajput chief. But the king did not keep good relations with Bahādur Shāh, the successor of Muẓaffar Shāh, who, in A.D. 1526, invaded Malwa and having successfully invested the fort of Mandu, took Maḥmūd a prisoner and annexed the territory to his kingdom.

There are three important monuments at Mandu which can be definitely ascribed to Maḥmūd's reign. They are the Gadā Shāh's house, Gadā Shāh's shop and the tomb of Daryā Khān, who was an officer at his court. Of these, Gadā Shāh's house seems to have been associated with the Rajput chief Medinī Rāy, since it contains two paintings representing a chief and his queen who may be identified with Medinī Rāy and his consort.

Malwa remained a dependency of Gujarat till A.D. 1534 when Humāyūn conquered the fort, while the King Bahādur Shāh escaped from Songarh, the citadel of Mandu, after having let his horses down from

the precipice. But, as soon as Humāyūn left Malwa, Mallū Khān, an officer of the former Khaljī dynasty, retook all the territory between the Narmada and the town of Bhilsa and crowned himself at Mandu with the title of Qādir Shāh in A.D. 1536.

In 1542, Sher Shāh invaded and conquered Malwa and appointed Shujā'at Khān as his Governor in Malwa. Shujā'at Khan died in 1554 almost as an independent sovereign. After a domestic feud amongst his three sons, one of them, Malik Bāyazīd, crowned himself as an independent ruler with the title of Sulṭān Bāz Bahādur. During these political vicissitudes it appears that Mandu witnessed little of building activity, as no monuments worth mentioning of this period are now seen in the fort.

Bāz Bahādur showed some spirit of enterprise in the beginning, but after his disgraceful defeat by the Rānī Durgāvatī he almost forswore fighting. He gave himself up to the science of music, in which the famous and beautiful Rūpamatī proved to be his most favourite associate and consort. The selfless and devoted love between them is a favourite theme in the folk-songs of Malwa. It was in this state of affairs that Akbar's general, Ādham Khān, invaded Malwa in A.D. 1561, and routed him near Sarangpur. Bāz Bahādur fled from battle, but Rūpamatī fell into the hands of the invaders. The faithful lady, however, committed suicide instead of falling victim to the allurements of the enemy.[1] Of the monuments at Mandu associated with

[1]A ruined domed structure at Sarangpur is locally known as the tomb of Rūpamatī. But it is not possible to ascertain the authenticity of the tradition.

him and his consort mention may be made of the beautiful reservoir, Rewā-Kuṇḍ, the palace near it called after him and the pavilions on the crest of the ridge nearby, which are popularly connected with the name of his consort Rūpamatī.

Under the Mughals, Mandu lost its former glory, though building activity continued to be encouraged here for some time. Emperor Akbar visited the fort about four times in the course of his military campaigns to the Deccan, as is recorded in inscriptions found at Mandu. The grand marble mausoleum of Maḥmūd Khaljī was already showing signs of crumbling down in his time and Akbar had it repaired, though in a somewhat inartistic manner. It was in his reign that the delightful palace, popularly known as Nīlkaṇṭh, was built by Shāh Budāgh Khān, the then Governor of the fort. Akbar's successor, Jahāngīr, was, however, more fascinated by Mandu. He stayed in the fort for nearly seven months in the course of which he had the old edifices repaired and also new ones built. He has left living description of the place in his famous *Memoirs*, which show how he enjoyed the charm and beauty of its scenery with a number of brilliant state functions, games and frolic.

As a prince Shāh Jahān visited Mandu twice and subsequently four of his court architects made a pilgrimage in A.D. 1659 to pay their homage to the master builders of the place. An inscription in the tomb of Hoshang Shāh testifies to this fact; and it mentions Ustād Ḥāmid, one of the four architects, who was closely associated with the building of the Tāj at Agra.

In view of the visits of this succession of Mughal emperors and their lively interest in the Mandu monuments, it may indeed be worthwhile to study and compare them together with the famous monuments at Agra and ascertain the possible influences of the former over the latter.

But the fortunes of Mandu had already passed away with the fall of Bāz Bahādur. Jahāngīr's successors did not show much interest in the fort which began to be deserted and consequently lost its former importance. Little is heard of it in the last days of the Mughal empire. The Marāṭhas under Malhār Rāo Holkar defeated Ḍiyā Bahādur, the Mughal Governor of Malwa, in A.D. 1732, in a battle of Tirla near Dhar, and from that date the fort continued to be under the Marāṭha rulers of Dhar.

Architecture

Before proceeding to the individual monuments, it may be of interest to a visitor to know certain essential characteristics of their architecture. A majority of the standing monuments at Mandu were raised in the period of hardly 125 years, between A.D. 1401 to A.D. 1526 i.e., an age when the Muhammadan kings of Malwa ruled independently from Mandu. As in Delhi and elsewhere, before they could firmly consolidate their power, they resorted to the easy expedient of desecration and destruction of Hindu temples and to the utilization of their materials for their mosques or tombs in conformity with their own ideas of architectural compositions. The two mosques of Dilāwar Khān and Malik Mughīth at

Mandu exemplify this initial or first phase of Indo-Islamic architecture at Mandu. All the other buildings, with the few exceptions of Nīlkaṇṭha, Jāli-Maḥal and others of the Mughal days, belong to the second or classical phase of Mandu's architecture, with certain marginal variations, understandably due to passage of time and changes in architectural ideas and tastes. Of this fully developed or mature phase (i.e. classical phase) the best example of a mosque is to be seen in the Jāmī'-Masjid, the grandest and loftiest of all the existing buildings at Mandu. Of the tombs, the mausoleum of Sulṭān Hoshang ranks foremost; though the tomb of Maḥmūd, with the seven-storeyed tower of victory by its side—nearly 45·7 m. high when intact—must have been once a far more imposing and awe-inspiring edifice, which is now seen only with the basement and piles of ruins. Of the palaces the Jahāz-Maḥal and the Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal stand side by side in strange contrast to each other in their aesthetic and constructional features, though belonging to the same age.

A visitor who may have seen similar monuments in other parts of the country will be easily impressed by certain broad characteristics of these buildings. It will be observed generally that the Mandu rulers and builders disdained at efforts to produce luxurious ornamentations or decorations on exteriors and interiors of buildings to the extent as found elsewhere in the country. A look at the Jāmī'-Masjid and the Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal shows how they visualized dignity and grandeur in architecture through simplicity, austerity and massiveness of construction. We do not find here the schematic

display of miniature domes, arches and niches as artistic motifs for purely decorative purposes. The arrays of arches and little domes at the Jāmi-'Masjid are found used mainly for functional or constructional reasons than for purely decorative purposes. The delicate and intricate screenwork or *jālis* on stone, of which we get the finest contemporary examples at Ahmadabad and Delhi are seen sparingly used in Mandu buildings. The lofty *minārs*, gracefully adorning the frontages of mosques and tombs elsewhere, are absent in Mandu. Maḥmūd's tower of victory could not be said to have fulfilled the purpose of a *minār*. The Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal has few parallels for solidity of construction in relation to its dimensions. Its massive buttressed walls, seem to have been overdone even if absolute stability was the intention of its designers. Its masonry is chaste-looking, barren but bold, bereft of any ornamentation worth the name. Even the Jahāz-Maḥal, which typifies the decorative aspect of Mandu architecture, cannot be said to have been lavishly ornamented as compared with similar buildings elsewhere. Here the coloured tiles and stones are sparingly used for decorative effect. Traceries and screens are not much in evidence. There is no exaggerated display of the usual decorative motifs. Yet the building looks charmingly decorative largely because of its enviable situation between the two tanks and also because of those lovely and tiny domes, the conical ones mixed with domical ones, breaking the skyline.

3. MONUMENTS

The fortifications and the gates

A closer survey or examination of the topography of Mandu[1] will indicate how the Hindu and Muslim rulers made the best of it consistent with the conditions of their age. The strategic advantages offered by its natural situation obviously commended themselves first to their attention. The hill is irregular in shape with a high and projecting protuberance in the west, called the Songadh and a narrow but deep chasm of the valley penetrating right into the heart of the hill from the east. To the north is the elevated plateau of Malwa of which the hill forms but a part; while to the south, about 300 metres or more below, is spread the Nimar plain thus making the hill almost inaccessible

[1]In the extreme western end of the Mandu plateau, on a detached hill, there are ruins of earlier fortifications which are locally known as those of Būḍhī Mandu (earlier or ancient Mandu). The ruins are situated in the heart of an inaccessible and dense forest. They represent two or more gates, one to west and another to east. Inside is a large lake and ruins of a large group of temples of which five are seen much bigger in dimensions. Amongst the numerous sculptures and carvings are included a colossal Gaṇeśa image, some representations of the Śaiva goddess Durgā, etc. The area has not been fully explored as yet. From the style of sculptures the temple ruins can be dated to about the tenth century A.D. It is not unlikely that the Maṇḍapikā of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra inscription refers to Būḍhī Mandu rather than to Mandu of the present day. It is most probable that the early Paramāra kings abandoned Būḍhī Mandu and raised new fortifications at Mandu sometime in late tenth or eleventh century. See *Vikrama-Smṛiti-grantha* (Hindi), pp. 598 ff.

to intruders from this side. The fortification of and habitation on the hill were, therefore, determined more or less by these factors of the topography of the hill (pl. IX).

With regard to the early fortifications of Maṇḍapa-Durga there is not much to be observed today. But from the position of the Muñj tank it can very well be surmised that the main defence works were concentrated by the Paramāra kings in the area surrounding this tank (i.e. in the royal enclave). This area is protected on three sides by deep valleys, with the expanding plateau of the hill to the south, where the township was conveniently located. When fortified, this area could defend itself as an independent fort within the hill. The Lohani caves are situated here amidst ruins of temples built during the Hindu times. Since the Hindus rarely used lime as mortar for stone masonry, it is very likely that the Paramāra fortifications were made up of dry masonry of huge blocks of stone, a material which the later Muhammadan kings readily utilized for their own much stronger masonry works, partly in lime mortar. Two of the existing gates such as the Bhaṅgī Gate and the Rāmpol Gate show definite traces of Hindu mode of construction of pillar and lintel style. Before the Muhammadan invasion Mandu did not witness any fierce or prolonged siege of historical note. It is therefore probable that the Paramāra or earlier fortifications were more or less confined to the limited area referred to above, a conclusion which is also supported by the position of the Bhaṅgī and Rāmpol Gates. It appears that for an emergency the Hindu kings had raised some

fortifications at Songadh, a purely Hindu name indicative of its fortified condition. Inside Songadh too is an ancient Hindu reservoir with temple ruins in its vicinity.

The perimeter of the hill-top runs over a length of nearly 45 km. and a major portion of it is defended by a strong and solid masonry wall of stone boulders and rubble. It should be noted that all these stupendous fortifications were carried out in an age when the use of gun powder and canons was not known. Further, in addition to the general fortification of the hill, there were two fortified enclosures on the plateau wherein the royal palaces were located. One of them was the great Royal Enclave which accommodated a huge complex of palatial buildings and the second one was near the Rewā-Kuṇḍ which protected the palace of Bāz Bahādur and other buildings near the Kuṇḍ. In addition to these two was the inaccessible citadel of Songadh, separated from, but connected with, the main hill by a narrow neck of land. It was intended for protection against special emergencies. These defence arrangements were so elaborate and complicated that a Muslim chronicler like Firishta considered them to be "the most extraordinary in the then world."

A look at the existing fortification walls in the map (pl. IX) will show how the defence works were raised on various sides of the hill. From the viewpoint of military strategy the fort is more exposed from the north where the slope rises in mild ascents leading the visitor along a circuitous road to the top of the hill. This was also the principal and common approach to the fort,

which the builders took special efforts to fortify and protect against any military emergency. The main gateway or entrance to the fortress proper, therefore, lay on this side and was styled as Dihlī-Darwāza, as it faced the direction of the historical city of Delhi. It was itself approached through a series of gateways, well-fortified with walled enclosures and strengthened by bastions, such as the ʿĀlamgīr and Bhaṅgī-Darwāza, through which the present road now passes, which thus gave added security to the otherwise weak defences of the fort in this direction.

The principal Dihlī Gate, which must have been the main target of enemy attacks in many a siege witnessed by the fort, is now in a somewhat shattered condition. It is seen with a number of arched openings, five in all, as one goes up the stone pavement with sloping stages. Of these, the uppermost one must have been considerably higher and grander in appearance; but it had fallen long before with only its piers now existing. Lower below it is the second arch, 8·5 m. high from the pavement and 4·04 m. in span. It is very well proportioned, with beautiful crenellation along its head, inset with fine blue enamels offering a pleasant contrast with the red sandstone of the structure. The other three arches seem to have been constructed later. Beyond them is the inner gate on both sides of which there were rooms for the guards. The passage all through these arched openings was originally covered, though considerable part of the roof has fallen.

There is another comparatively inaccessible gateway on this side called the Rāmpol-Darwāza of rela-

tively earlier date. In the north-east, the deep chasm of the valley penetrating into the body of hill was, as a measure of military precaution, closed at its mouth by an embankment consisting of a series of steps popularly known as Sāt-Sau Sīḍhī, i.e., 'Seven hundred steps'. The fortification wall, therefore, does not run along the edge of the hill facing the chasm but is connected with the embankment from where it is further carried on to the southern side. At the eastern end, to the south, is the Jahāngīrpur gate, provided with a double enclosed entrance and rather inaccessible at present due to the overgrown and thick forest on this side. Though the hill is very steep to the south, history records that the fort was attacked and besieged more often from this side, which had, therefore, to be defended by a continuous fortification-wall and by a gate called Bhagwānpur, about 3·2 km. away in the valley below. The gate is not, at present, accessible to visitors except by a foot-path. It is, as usual with the defence works in the fort, provided with a double arched entrance enclosed by massive walls. It seems because of the frequent attacks on this side more defence works were erected to enclose and protect the Rewā-Kuṇḍ area, where some of the palaces were built.

The fortification wall, however, continues to run along the edge of the hill to the south-west where one of the most important gates of the fort is situated. This is the Tārāpur Gate which figures so often in the military history of the fort. It is called after the village Tarapur in the Nimar plain below. The hill here falls very precipitously and a paved pathway goes down to

the plains. It is only the uncommon but daring military strategy of taking the garrison, idling in a lull of security, by surprise tactics, practised sometimes by the gallant besiegers like Humāyūn and others, that has made this gate famous in history. For, otherwise it is unbelievable that the assailants could dare force an entry from this side, with the steep ascent of 304·8 m. before them, in the face of the watchful garrison ready to hurl huge boulders of stone which, rolling down the slope, could easily have crushed them down to death.

The Gate originally consisted of an outer archway facing a flight of masonry steps, protected on both sides by massive walls and further inwards a second arched entrance, on which an inscriptional tablet is seen recording that it was constructed by Dilāwar Khān, the first Muslim Sulṭān of Mandu, in the year A.D. 1406-7. The enclosed passage, zigzag between them, was covered by a vaulted roof from above. In between these older archways, on the landing along the steps, was later constructed, under orders of the emperor Akbar, another gateway meant more for ceremonial purposes than for reasons of military security. On a side wall of this gate is an inscription which attests to this fact. The square bastions on both sides of the entrance were apparently built to give added security to the defences of the gateway.

From the Tārāpur Gate the fort-wall runs towards north-west upto a point where the plateau of the main hill of Mandu meets, through a narrow neck of land, the lofty hill of Songadh, towards west, which in history was used as the emergency citadel of the Mandu fort.

Here, at the approach to Songadh, stands an arched gateway which was rebuilt by the Marāṭhas in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Songadh hill was also strongly defended by masonry walls of stone; but there are no residential buildings inside belonging to the days of the Sulṭāns of Malwa. It appears that the citadel was rarely, if ever, used by the Sulṭāns of Malwa. But when Humāyūn laid siege to the fort in 1534, then held by Baḥādur Shāh of Gujarat, the latter had to seek protection in this citadel and had in the end to fly from it by lowering himself and his horses by ropes down the most dangerous precipitous cliffs along the western part of the hill. Considering the dangerous situation of these cliffs it must have indeed been a most remarkable and trying feat of the war. During its occupation by the Marāṭhās in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a strong *gaḍhī* or fortress was built inside on the hill-top, the ruins of which are still to be seen. The hill is extremely difficult of access and is covered with very thick jungle in the midst of which is an ancient reservoir with embankments built of dressed blocks of stone without mortar, belonging to the earlier days of the Paramāras.

The monuments in the fort

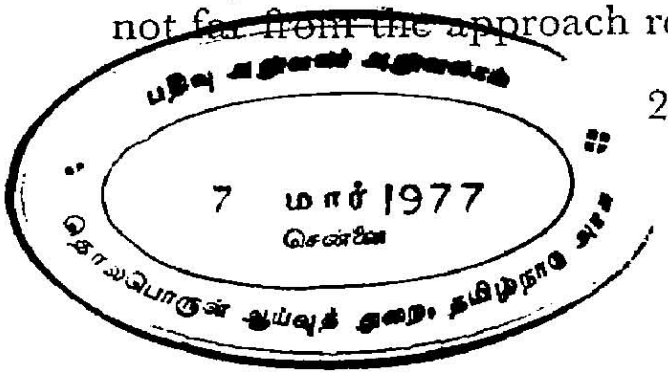
Ancient monuments—Lohani caves and temple ruins

There are no ancient monuments standing in Mandu fort at present with the exception of the Lohani caves, not far from the royal enclave area. The caves are but ordinary excavations without much of

carvings therein and without any inscription recording the date or circumstances of their excavation. In view of the many scattered Hindu ruins in their vicinity, some of which bear inscriptions, it is likely they were excavated in about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. In plan they represent a few rock-cut cells meant primarily for residence, perhaps of Śaiva Jogīs (or *yogins*). In their front is a rock-cut cistern. Their premises were once filled with débris, which, when cleared, yielded some 80 sculptures or carvings now kept in the local museum in the Dharmasala attached to Hoshang's tomb.

On exploration, the entire surroundings of the caves were found scattered with carved fragments representing ruins of Hindu temples, mostly Śaiva, which once stood there, but were presumably destroyed and their materials used in later Muslim buildings. In a few cases orginal plinths of these temples could be exposed. To the south of the caves is still seen standing a monolithic pillar about 5 metres high which probably adorned the front of a temple. In the Lālkoṭ area near Champā-Bāoḍī sculptures of Hindu female deities were recovered. The mosque of Dilāwar Khān was built out of materials from dismantled Hindu temples. There is also reason to believe that within the massive walls of the Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal such materials now lie embedded in huge quantities, for some of them can now be seen peeping out of the core of their fallen masonry.

Similar temple ruins were also discovered in the other parts of the hill. Behind the *Sāt-Kothaḍī* building, not far from the approach road to Rūpamatī's pavilion,



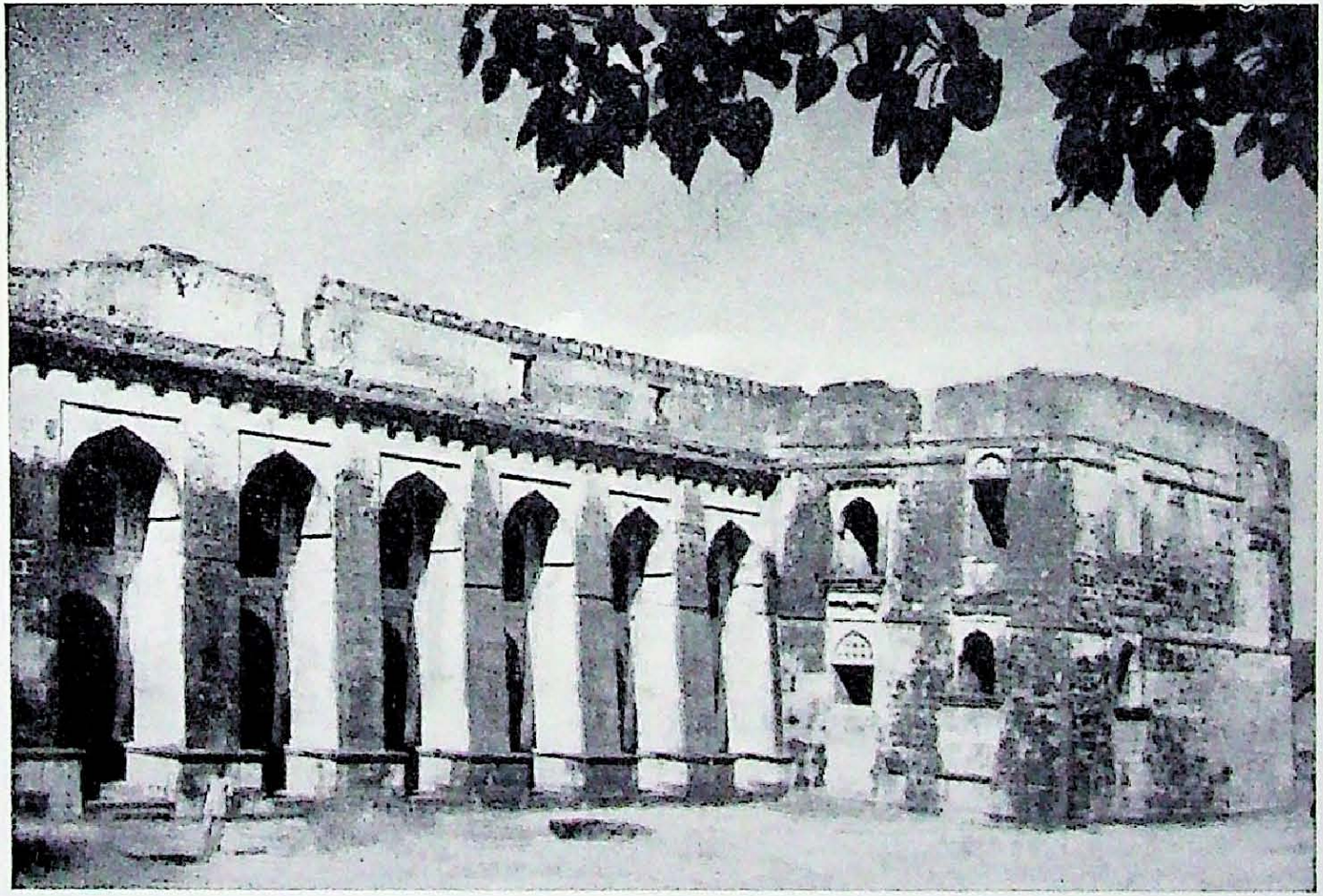
was discovered the plinth of a Śaiva temple, sculptures representing Durgā, Śiva, Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, Śiva's bull and a carved ceiling with figures of dancers and musicians. The ruins are probably of the twelfth century A.D. Similar sculptures and carvings were noticed at a spot called Panch-Pawali near the Sāgar lake. On a mound by the side of the approach road near Rewā-Kuṇḍ were also discovered Śaiva images and an inscription of the Paramāra king Bhoja II. In the isolated peak of Songadh too such ruins were traced.

All these scattered finds are now housed in the local collection of the Archaeological Survey of India and include about a dozen inscriptions ranging from tenth to fifteenth centuries A.D. Part of the collection is housed in the *Dharmasala* attached to the tomb of Sulṭān Hoshang. It includes architectural pieces like carved brackets, lintels, parts of carved door frames, fragments of carved pillars, miniature *śikharas* or spires of temples, *āmalakas* which once adorned temples, etc. They indicate the existence of Paramāra temples in the fort. There are some marble pieces of Jaina temples of later dates. During clearance work, such ruins were noticed at the monuments like Hoshang's tomb, Gadā Shāh's shop, Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal, Tripolia Gate, etc.

Medieval monuments

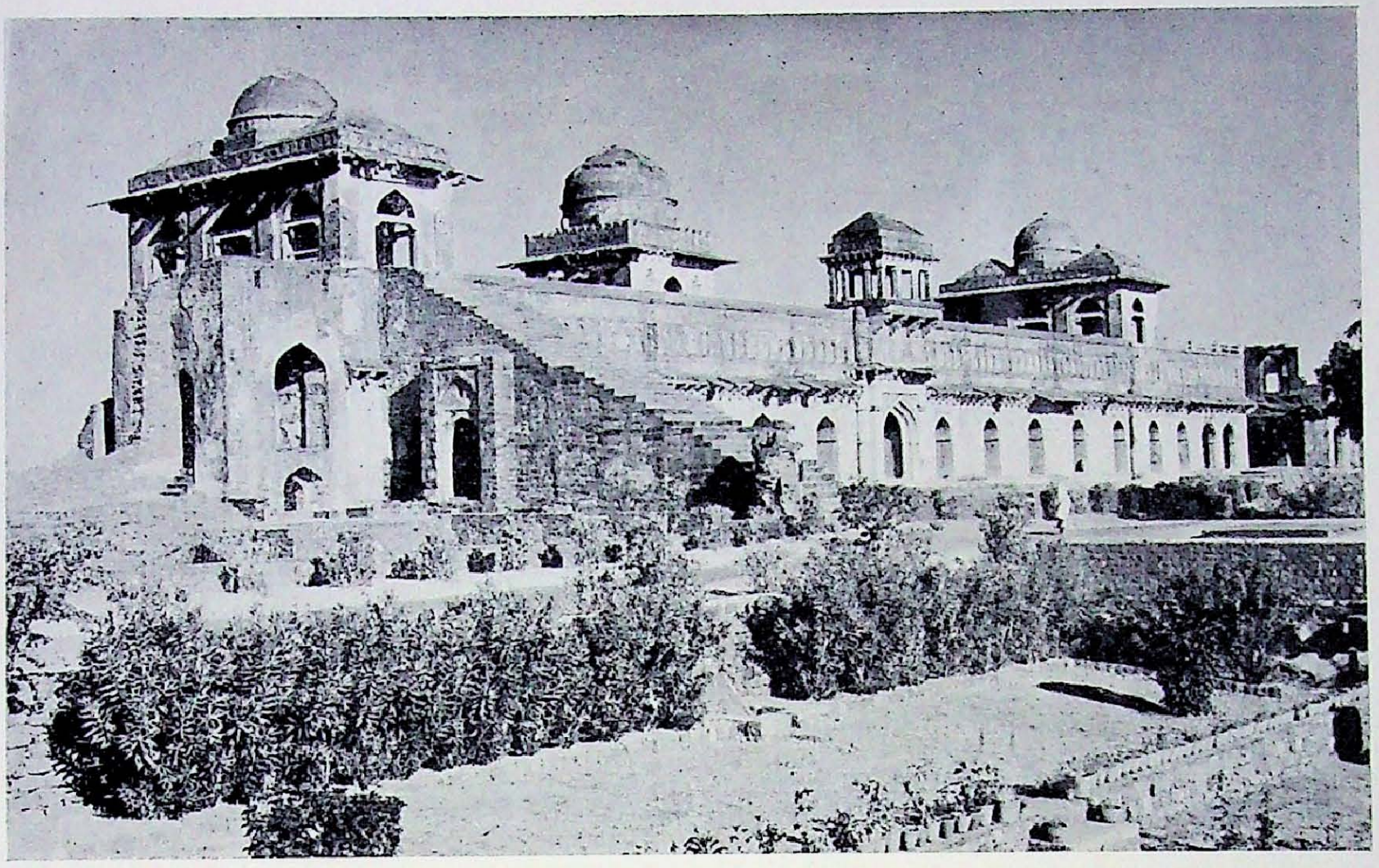
The historical buildings in the fort number about 75 and are situated in certain distinct groups as under:—

(i) The Royal Enclave, (ii) the group near the

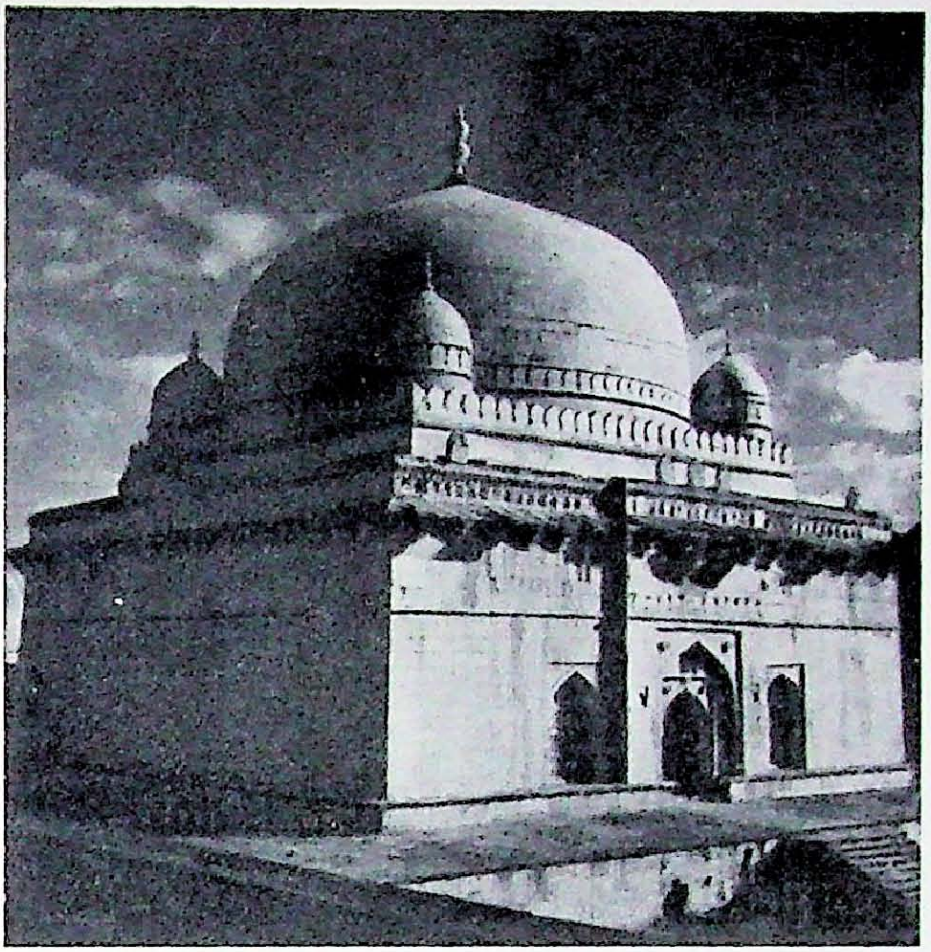


Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal, part view. See p. 30

PLATE I

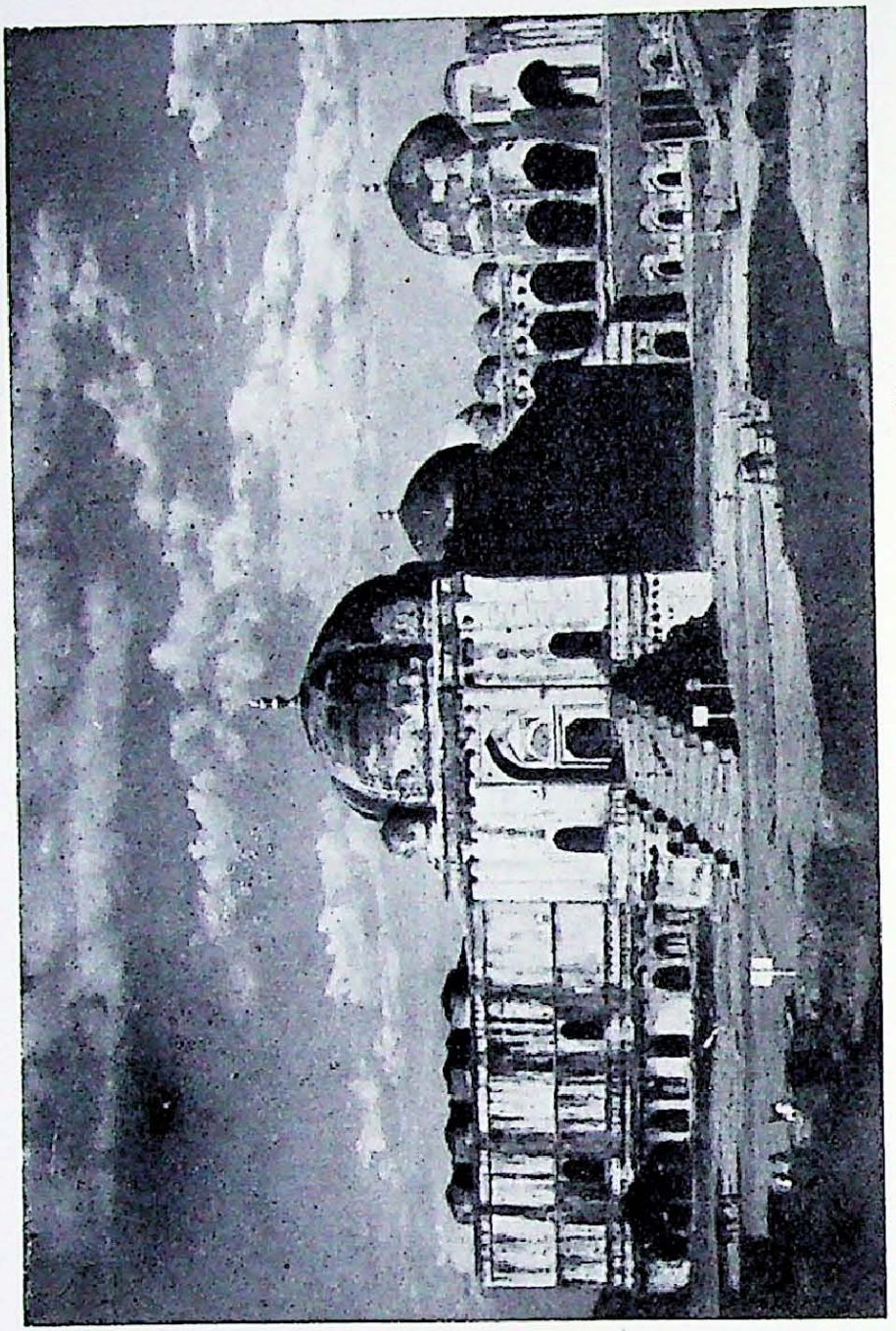


Jahāz-Mahal *See p. 33*

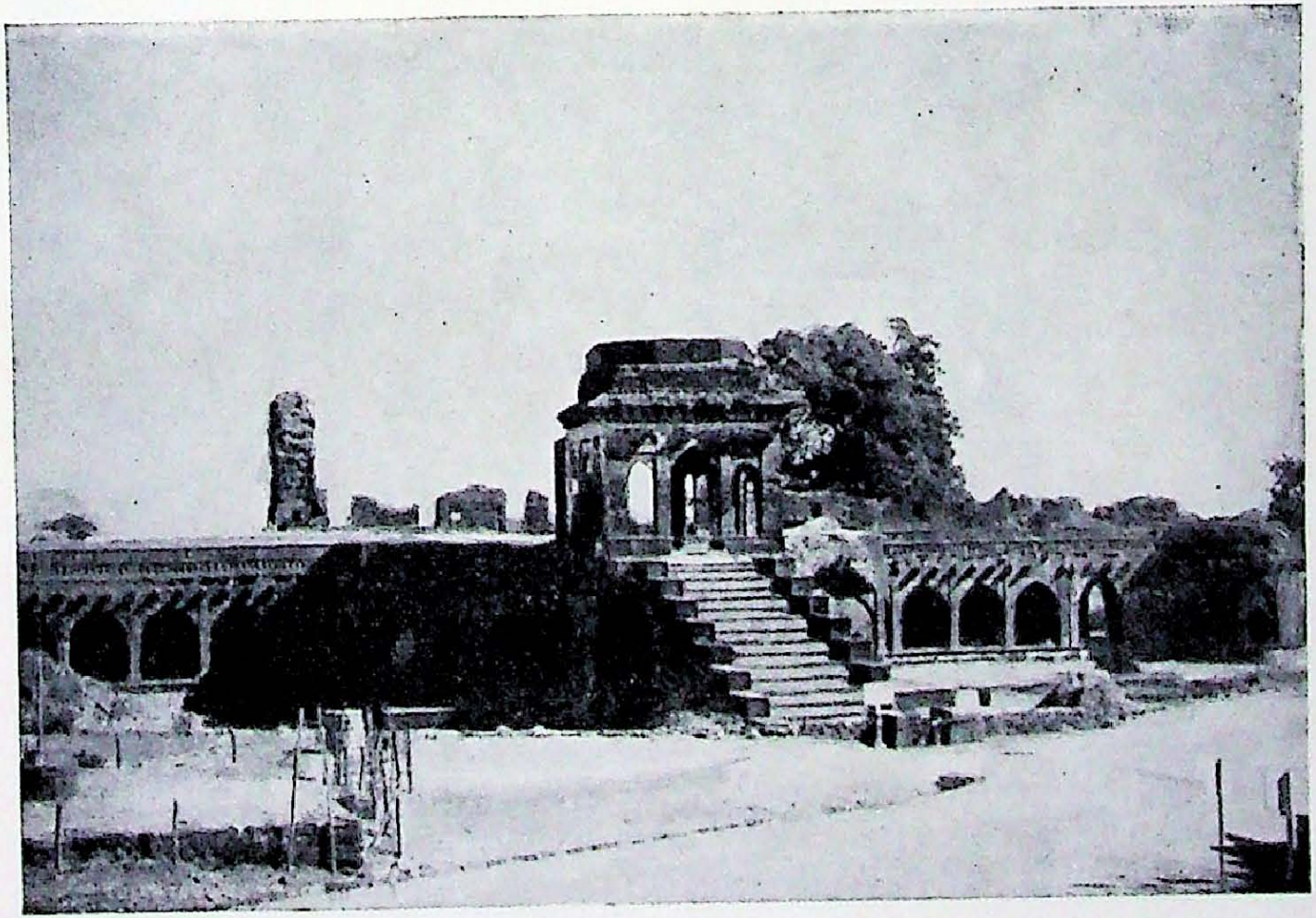


Tomb of Hoshang Shāh. See p. 37

PLATE IV



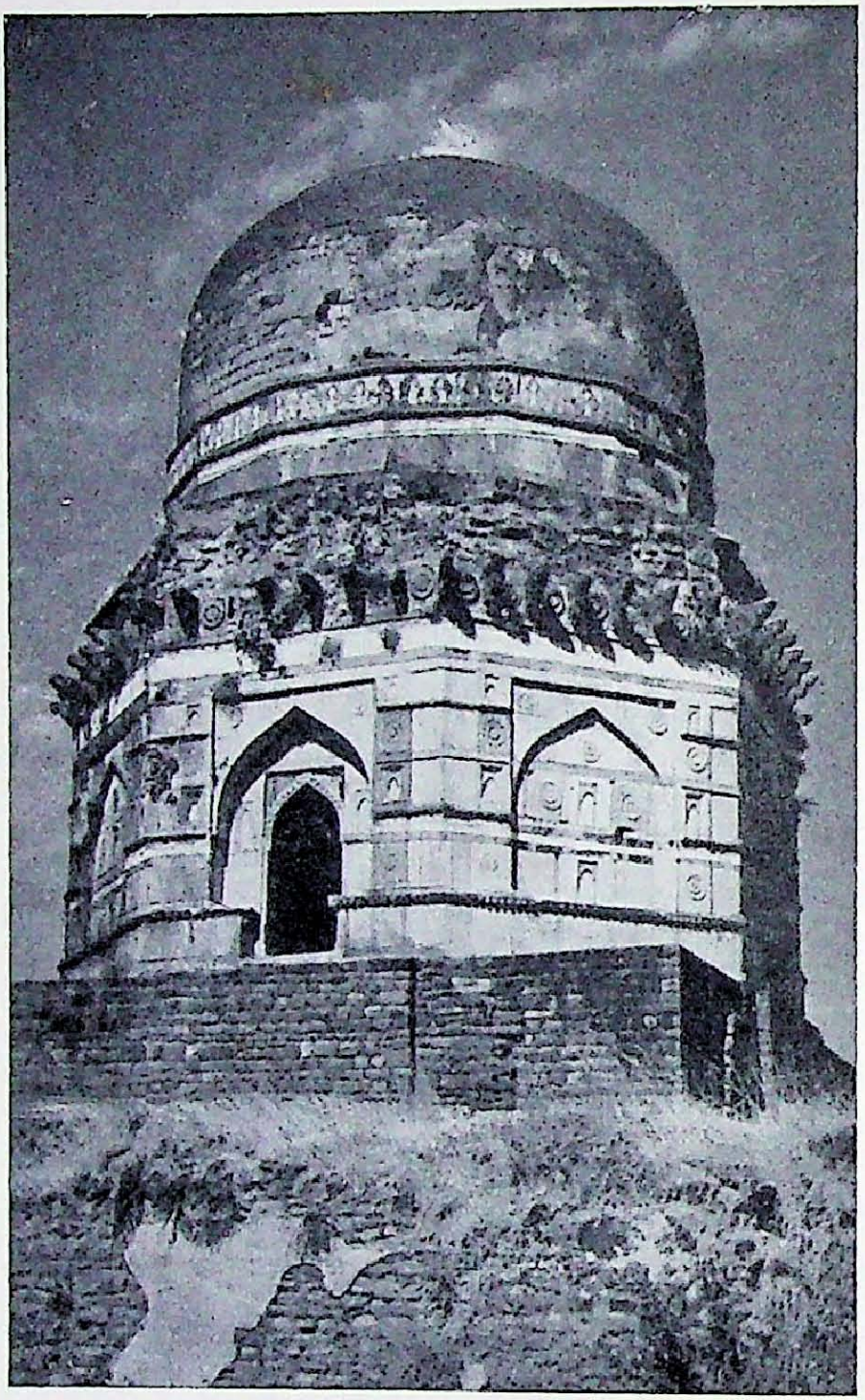
Jāmʿi-Masjid, general view. See p. 39



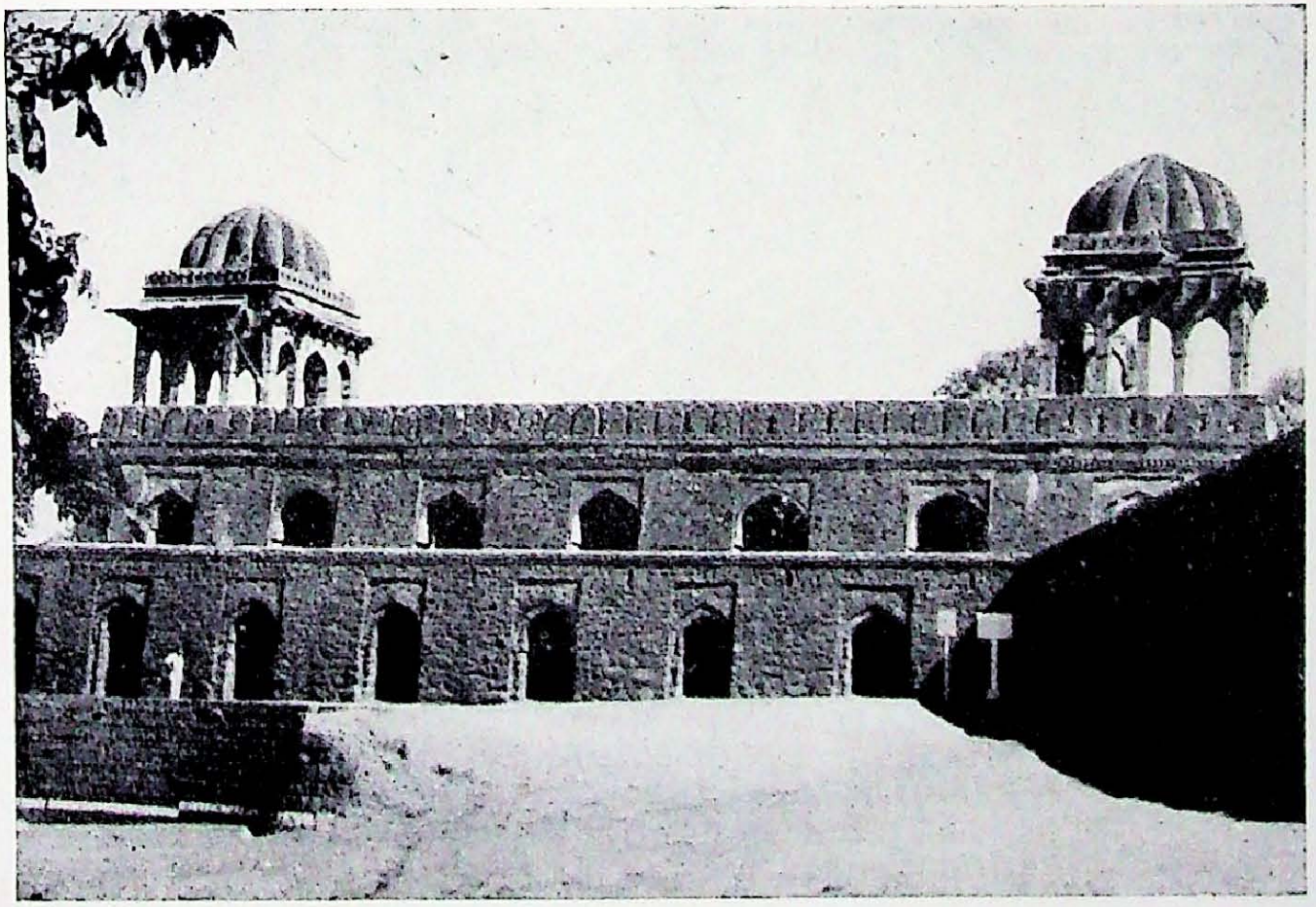
Ashrafi-Mahal. See p. 42

PLATE V

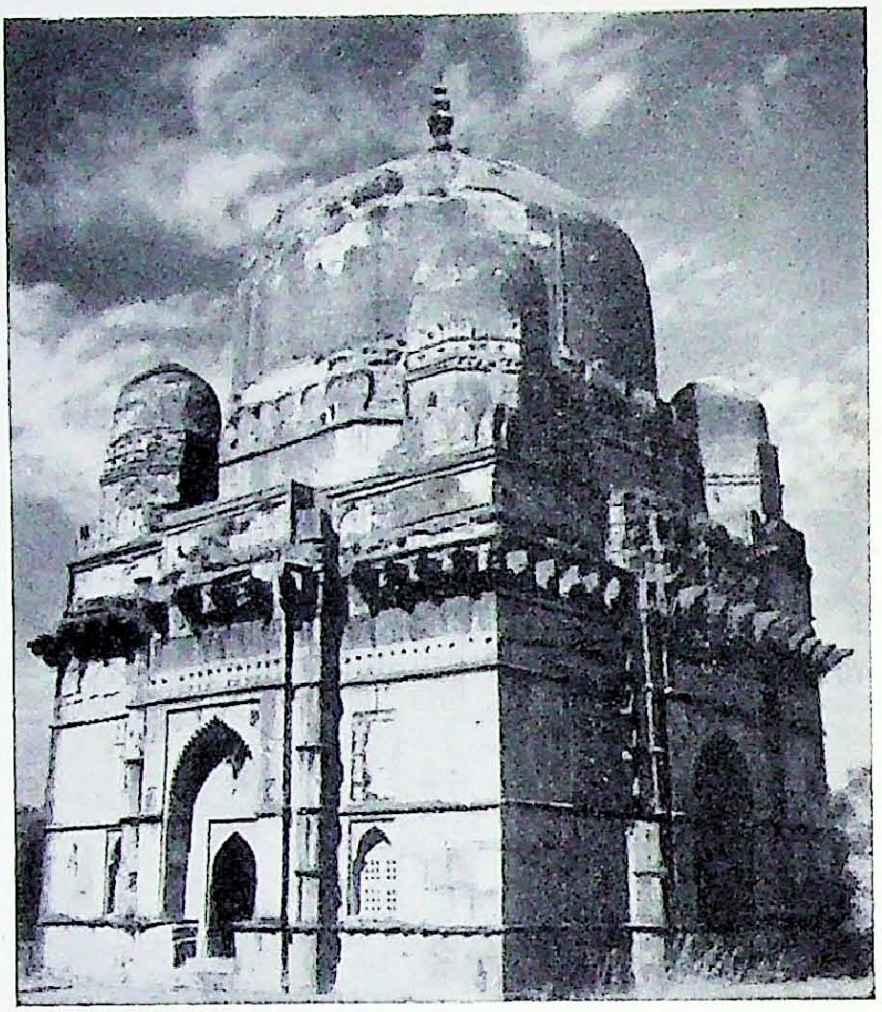
PLATE VI



Dai-Ki-chhoṭi bahen-kā-Maḥal. See p. 46



Rūpamatī's pavilion. See p. 49



Tomb of Daryā Khān. See p. 52

village of Mandu, (iii) the Sāgar-Talāo group, (iv) the Rewā-Kuṇḍ group, (v) the group between the Sāgar-Talāo and the village, and (vi) miscellaneous scattered monuments.

The visitor may, therefore, plan his visit accordingly —preferably commencing with the entrance to the fort near Dihlī (Delhi) Gate.

The Royal Enclave

Dilāwar Khān's Mosque

This is the earliest Indo-Islamic building at Mandu as is clear from an inscription datable to A.D. 1405 referring to the reign of the first Muslim king of Malwa. It was meant specially for the members of the royal family. Its plan consists of a central court enclosed by colonnade, one aisle deep to north, east and south and four aisles deep to west. The pillars and the ceiling inside are in Hindu style while the niches in the western wall and the main door also bear rich ornamentation. The architecture of the building is considerably influenced by Hindu workmanship—a feature often found characteristic of the earliest Indo-Muslim architecture of Malwa.

Nāhar-Jharokhā—Tiger balcony

To the east of this mosque is a square at the southern end of which are seen the ruins of a balcony called Nāhar-Jharokhā because of an effigy of a tiger which once supported it. It was meant apparently for the king to show himself up to his subjects, a practice which

is historically found more common with the Mughal emperors and from the style of the building at its back it was very probably built in the time of Jahāngīr when he was staying at Mandu. It may further be recalled here that such *Darshan-Jharokhās* are found in Delhi and Agra forts whence the Mughal kings showed themselves to their subjects every morning.

The Hāthī-Pol

The main entrance to the enclosure containing most of the palatial buildings was through this gate which is known as Hāthī-Pol on account of the two damaged figures of elephants flanking it on both sides. The figures are less than life-size and unlike the Hindu method of carving such figures into monoliths, they were done in masonry with plaster all over. The gate-way, fortified with bastions at its sides and in the main, consists of two arches, at a distance from each other, enclosing guard-rooms and a covered passage in between them. It will be noticed that architecturally this gate is not in keeping with the other gates in the fort, as will be clearly seen from the style of its arches and from the bastions meant for mounting guns, a feature obviously presupposing the use of gunpowder in warfare not known to the early Sulṭāns of Mandu. The gate is thus likely to have been raised by the engineers of Jahāngīr who stayed in Mandu for a pretty long time.

Ujālā- and Andheri-Bāodīs

Out of the two wells the Ujālā-Bāoḍī (or bright well, so called because it is open, as opposed to the

other, which is covered and hence called Andherī-Bāoḍī or dark well) is larger and deeper and has two flights of steps on two sides leading to water level. Inside are a number of arcades and landings for the convenience of water carriers. At the northern top is a water lift and opposite it on the southern top is a pavilion for royal guards to keep watch on the water.

The Andherī-Bāoḍī nearby is surrounded by a corridor at the top with a dome in the centre of its roof, just above the well, the dome having an aperture at its apex to admit light and air inside. Below the corridors along the edge of the well is a fine arched gallery approached by a stepped passage from above which further goes down to the water level.

Gadā Shāh's shop and house

There are two buildings inside the royal enclosure associated with a personality called Gadā Shāh, one styled as his 'shop' and the other as his 'house'. The ruins of both the buildings are so imposing that it is inconceivable that their supposedly common master was a person of mean importance and the fact that they are situated inside the royal enclave would tend to show that he was a person of great importance and power of his time at Mandu. The name Gadā Shāh literally means "Beggar Master", obviously a nick-name, which, from the history of Malwa of these times, should more appropriately be applicable to the Rajput chief, Medinī Rāy, who, for a time, though a servant of the Sulṭān Maḥmūd II, had virtually become the master of the realm.

The so-called "shop" was once a Hall of Audience probably for the general public, the Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal to the west being meant for select assemblies, which seems confirmed from the common style of the two buildings.

The present construction was, however, planned on a larger scale, the hall being much larger in size, the thrust of its gigantic arches being counteracted by extremely massive buttresses built along the walls in spite of which the building is now in a miserably ruined condition. Unlike the natural stone facing of the Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal the walls of this edifice were plastered over and further adorned with coloured tiles traces of which are still to be seen.

The "House" is a two-storeyed building, the ground floor having arched openings and side apartments and the upper storey consisting of a hall and two side rooms.

In the centre of the hall was a fountain, the surplus water from which was channelled out through a network of channels and spouts carved into the heads of an elephant and tiger respectively, a feature peculiarly Hindu in conception, thus strengthening the conjecture of its association with Medinī Rāy. Further in the niche, at the south-west corner of the hall, are two well-executed paintings representing a chief and a lady, may be the Rajput chief and his consort. On the exterior of the edifice are traces of decorated panels and other designs in plaster.

The Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal

Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal (pl. I) literally means a "Swinging palace" a name given to it because of its peculiarly

sloping side walls. Architecturally, it marks itself distinctly from the other palaces at Mandu by the extreme simplicity of its style of construction although having a definite aesthetic appeal.

The plan of the building is "T"-shaped, with a main hall and a transverse projection at the north, probably added, as will be clear from a close observation of the changes in the masonry on the exterior. On both sides of the hall there are six arched openings above which there are windows filled with beautiful tracery work for admitting light and air inside. The massive vaulted roof of the hall has disappeared though the row of lofty arches which once supported it are still intact. The thickness of the side walls is 2·7 m. but they are further strengthened with massive sloping buttresses obviously to counteract the thrust of the lofty arches which once supported the huge ceiling above.

The "T"-shaped projection was later added probably to provide a well-guarded approach for the king. Its interior is planned like a cross formed by the main passage leading to the hall and by another passage crossing it at right angles in the mid-passages, the main one along a flight of sloping stages meant for the royal ladies to go up in a palanquin or on a pony or on an elephant since it is popularly called as Hāthī-chaḍhāo. It consists of big hall, the pillars and the ceiling of which are now no more. There seem to have been much later additions to this part of the building as seen from its brick walls which are quite out of tune with the other parts of the structure.

The exterior of the building with the neatly chiselled masonry with fine joints, is extremely simple and stern to look at, except for a band or two of carved mouldings. Indeed, the architects here seem to have almost turned puritanic having reduced ornamentation to the minimum, found chiefly on the tracery work of the windows, so much that the coloured tile-work, commonly used in the scheme of decoration of the other great buildings in Mandu, is found here almost totally discarded. It seems that they had aimed to build a structure dignified and simple yet majestic in appearance, unlike those which existed then in Mandu, worthy for being used as the great Audience Hall of the Sulṭāns, and in this, it will even now be admitted, they had a complete success. Architecturally, therefore, the building should be assigned to the end of Ghiāthu'd-Dīn's reign, i.e., the end of the fifteenth century A.D.

The royal palaces and the Champā-Bāoḍi

Along the northern side of the Muñj-Tālāo are seen a number of structural ruins lying in such a confused mass that no idea can now be formed of their original layout or plan. From the splendour of their ruins, however, it can be said for certain that these were once the luxurious retreats of the Sulṭāns of Malwa which, of all the great buildings of Mandu, have suffered most at the hands of nature and man. Among the ruins is a well called Champā-Bāoḍī because of the sweet flavour of its water is said to smell like the *Champak* flower.

A subterranean passage goes down to the base of the well and further connects itself with a labyrinth of vaulted rooms, known as "Tahkhāna", which are almost on a level with the water of the Muñj-Tālāo, with which it is connected through a gallery leading to a pavilion on its western banks. From the Tahkhāna steps descend down to the base of the well which has arched niches on the walls, its top being kept open for admitting air and light. The Tahkhāna is thus so ingeniously constructed and connected with the well and the pavilion on the bank of the Tālāo that even in the worst parts of the summer the rooms were constantly kept cool and comfortable with gentle breeze flowing from the pavilion to the rooms through the gallery and then finally passing out of the top of the well.

At a short distance from the well is the *ḥammām* or hot-bath in the ceiling of which beautiful stars were cut for light. From the *ḥammām* one has to pass through the ruins of the palaces to reach along the Water Pavilion on the western margin of the tank. The existing remains of the structure show only a pair of halls with vaulted ceilings. Its main façades were built of marble adorned with panels and medallions of blue and yellow tiles some of which bear Kūfī inscriptions.

The Jahāz-Maḥal

If the great mosque and the tombs of Hoshang and Maḥmūd, to be described below, represent the serene grandeur of the building art of Mandu, the Jahāz-Maḥal (pl. II) may be said to reflect the spirit of its romantic beauty and joyous hilarity so characteristic

of the palace life of the Muslim rulers of India. Popular imagination has paid quite a fitting tribute to it by giving it an appropriate name of Jahāz-Maḥal, i.e., Ship Palace; for it is so artistically built, with a frontage of little less than 121·9 m. and width about 15·2 m. and the height of its façade about 9·7 m., on the narrow strip of land between the waters of the Muñj and Kapūr tanks that it presents the sight of a ship anchored in between them.

To appreciate the poetic fancy behind the simile, one must view it from the uppermost terrace of the Tavelī-Maḥal in the midst of the rainy season when the tanks are full to the brim and the nature around all green with vegetation. The effect is most charming in the lusty silence of a clear moonlight against which the silhouette of the building, with the tiny domes and turrets of the pavilions gracefully perched on the terrace, presents a most delightful spectacle. Indeed it is most interesting to find in the *Memoirs* of the emperor Jahāngīr that during his stay at Mandu his beloved queen Nūr Jahān, famed in history for her exceptional beauty, used to reside in this palace where grand functions were held, about one of which the emperor writes: "It was a wonderful assembly. In the beginning of the evening they lighted lanterns and lamps all round the tanks and buildings and a lighting up was carried out the like of which has perhaps never been arranged in any place. The lanterns and lamps cast their reflection on the water and it appeared as if the whole surface of the tank was a plain of fire. A grand entertainment took place

and the drunkards indulged themselves to excess". One can just imagine the original beauty of the construction and the joys of life it witnessed from the above account.

The plan of the ground-floor of the building consists of three large halls, with corridors in between and narrow rooms at the extreme ends, and a beautiful cistern beyond the northern room surrounded by a colonnade on its three sides. At the back of each hall a pavilion projects over the Muñj tank, the one behind the central hall being rather larger in dimensions. It has a domical ceiling decorated with a band of blue and yellow tiles. The other pavilions are of smaller dimensions and are filled with stone framework comprising arched openings from which, when occupied by ladies of the harem, curtains might have been hung.

The room at the southern end of the building has a water-channel from which, it appears, the cistern at the other end received its supply of water. The cistern is beautifully designed and has a landing below the top margin for the convenience of those not knowing to swim.

It is its spacious terrace, approached by a lengthy flight of steps, and adorned with pavilions showing a pleasing variety in their domes and turrets, that offers the most delightful view to a spectator. The two pavilions at the ends are much larger in dimensions, and are divided into three compartments, the central one having a domical roof a little higher than the pyramidal roofs over the side com-

partments. The artistic effect produced by this variety in the forms of the roofs is indeed very appealing.

Just above the central pavilion at the back of the ground floor, there is a similar projecting domed pavilion on the terrace. Both its inside and outside bear bands of blue and yellow tiles and traces of paintings in floral motifs.

The small *chhatrī* opposite, projecting over the front side of the terrace, has a tiny pyramidal roof which offers a very pleasing contrast to the other pavilions on the terrace.

In the south-east angle of the southern pavilion, there was a water-lift which supplied water to the open bath at the northern end through a water channel running along the front of the terrace. The bath here is similar in design to the cistern on the ground-floor though it is smaller in dimensions.

It would be noticed that, unlike the natural stone-facing of the Jāmi'-Masjid and the great tombs, here the surfaces of the walls and roofs are covered with a thick coat of plaster, a feature which is also observable on the upper portion of the entire façade of the building in front.

The Kapūr tank in front had masonry margin all around and in the middle of its waters was a pavilion, now in ruins, which was once connected with the west side of the tank by a causeway which has disappeared. There are traces of an aqueduct in the front side of the Jahāz-Maḥal from which water flowed down into the tank near the causeway splashing gently over a cascade or two. The arched under-

ground channel exists even now connecting the waters of the two tanks.

The Taveli-Mahal

The name Taveli is a corrupt form of Tavelā which literally means 'Stable'. The building was thus a "stables block" or mansion since its ground-floor was used for the stables, the apartments in the above two storeys being meant for the accommodation of the guards. This is easily explained by the fact that a gateway is seen close by this building offering access from the south to the Royal Enclave. The terrace of the Taveli-Mahal commands a beautiful view of the surrounding country and the ruins, and for this reason it was once converted into a Rest House for use of the visitors.

II. The group about Mandu village

Tomb of Hoshang Shāh

The entrance to this tomb is through a porch, square in plan, with well-proportioned and artistic arched openings on three sides supporting the marble dome above. The interior of the porch is plain except for a band of carved miniature arches set with blue ornamented tiles. The exterior of the dome is also simple with an imitation parapet carved in relief along its drum and a band of stars cut in the masonry below (pl. III).

Beyond the porch inside is a stone pavement which runs along the northern and southern sides

only of the big court, in the middle of which stands the mausoleum on a square marble platform. The platform is quite simple in construction except for the carved ornamental border with projecting lobes, a feature indicating the influence of the Hindu sculptors employed for the building.

The walls are 9·6 m. high from the platform with a row of elephant tusk brackets supporting the *chhajjā*, above, which is a neat band of ornamental miniature arches carved in relief. Though the porch faces north the entrance to the tomb proper is from the south through a doorway of exquisite proportions and with simple but pleasing ornamentation. The decoration of the door consists of a band of half-blown lotus flowers along the sides and at the top, and of rosettes carved in relief in the spandrels and of blue enamel stars set in the masonry. The artistic effect of these is heightened by the perforated screens on both sides with beautiful geometric designs. These screens are found in the other walls also which were devised to admit a subdued light into the interior in keeping with the solemnity of the tomb.

The interior is a square, 14·9 by 14·9 m., which, higher up, is transformed into an octagon by arches and then into sixteen sides through the usual device of squinches so as to bear evenly the load of the huge dome above. In other respects, the interior is plain but for the ornamental mouldings such as the miniature arches with blue enamel background running all along the rim of the dome.

The main sarcophagus of Hoshang is carved in

the form of a casket with receding bands and with a *miḥrāb* moulded at the top having posts of Hindu design. There are also other graves below the dome only three of which are in marble.

On the right jamb of the door is an inscription recording that the four architects of Shāh Jahān visited the place in A.D. 1659 to pay homage to the builders of the tomb. Of them, it may be noted, one was Ustād Hāmid who was closely associated with the building of the famous Tāj at Agra.

Externally the dome is flat and heavy, adorned with small domed turrets, of rather conical shape, at the four corners. The finial of the dome is crowned with a crescent, a feature which seems to have been imported to Mandu direct from Mesopotamia or Persia.

To the west of the tomb is a colonnade with three rows of pillars dividing its depth of 7·6 m. into three aisles. What is interesting here is the predominant influence of Hindu architecture in the designs of the pillars and brackets and the arrangement of the flat roof supported on lintels. At the back of the colonnade is a long and narrow hall with a long barrel-vaulted ceiling in the usual Muslim style contrasting with the flat ceiling of the colonnade outside.

The Jāmiʿ-Masjid

By far the most majestic building existing at Mandu is the Jāmiʿ-Masjid. It is said that the builders had designed it after the great mosque of Damascus. Its construction was started by Hoshang and completed by Maḥmūd Khaljī in A.D. 1454. The plan,

elevation and design of the building were conceived on a very grand scale; for the plan is 97·4 m. square with a huge domed porch (16·8 m.) projecting from the eastern façade, approached by a stately flight of nearly thirty steps. The whole construction stands with a huge plinth about 4·6 m. high above the ground level. On both sides below the porch the façade of the plinth has been arranged into a verandah 1·8 m. deep with arched openings for a number of cells inside meant for visitors or the staff of the mosque. For the best appreciation of the general scheme of this building one should stand on the high platform of the Ashrafī-Maḥal in front and watch from there the plinth artfully concealed by the arched openings of cells with the huge domed porch projecting in the centre, the background being dominated by similar imposing domes, three in all, the space between them being filled up by seemingly innumerable miniature domes, a sight that must impel a feeling of smallness before the Almighty in the mind of the faithful. One is at once struck here by the hugeness of its proportions and stern simplicity of its construction, almost devoid of decoration except for the usual borders of ornamental arches inset with coloured tiles (pl. IV).

The doorway of the porch consists of marble jambs and lintel bearing exquisite decoration which, except for the subject-matter of ornamentation, reminds one of doors of Hindu edifices. The interior consists of a spacious hall about 13·7 m. square with the beautiful *jālī* screens on the sides above which are seen fine bands of blue enamel tiles set as stars or lozenges.

Beyond the western door of the porch is the great court of the mosque, enclosed on all sides by huge colonnades with a rich and pleasing variety in the arrangement of their arches, pillars, numbers of bays and in the rows of domes above.

The western colonnade or the prayer hall is the most imposing of all, with numerous rows of arches and pillars which go to support the domical ceilings of the small fifty-eight domes and of the three large ones rising majestically above the rest. One is lost here in the midst of pillars and arches, all severely plain. The stern simplicity of the interior offers a most effective contrast to the seventeen niches along the western wall which bear beautiful sculptured crenellation along their heads and have their jambs worked out in polished black stone with carvings of Hindu design. The central niche is the most beautifully designed of all and is further ornamented along its sides with a scroll of interwoven Arabic letters containing quotations from the holy *Qurān*. Near it is the raised pulpit with its elegant marble dome supported on four arches, the brackets and balustrade of which bear clear traces of Hindu influence. At the extreme ends of this colonnade are arranged upper apartments meant for ladies and royal visitors.

The northern and southern colonnades have eleven arched openings with rows of carved brackets supporting a *chhajjā* above them. Along the northern side of the building are two entrances one for the court and the other for the prayer hall, the latter with a domed porch outside being meant for the king.

The Madrasa or Ashrafī-Maḥal

To the east of the great mosque in front is seen a huge platform-like structure (pl. V) presenting an impression that it must have once supported a magnificent building only the ruins of which are now in existence. But the buildings here belonged to two different stages of construction, the earlier representing a college (*madrasa*) attached to the great mosque in front, planned and designed in conjuction with it. For, the existing remains indicate that this college was planned as a great quadrangle with a spacious open court, like that of the great mosque, enclosed on all sides by a number of small cells for students. Along its exterior were two rows of arcades, the inner ones affording entrance to the cells. The quadrangle had a projection to its west facing the porch of the great mosque and almost of equal dimensions, 10·7 m. square, with the cells and the double arcades continued along its sides as in the main structure. This projection was extended further by about 9·1 m. so as to present the main frontage to the building; but the superstructure is no longer in existence. At the four corners of the quardrangle were round towers, three of which are traceable even now.

Tomb of Maḥmud Khaljī

Soon after the *Madrasa* was built, Maḥmūd Khaljī made changes in its construction. The north-east tower was raised seven storeys high to commemorate his victory over the Rāṇā of Mewar. Only its basement exists now with a height of 9·8 m. indicating its enor-

mous height when it was intact. The king further filled up the spacious court of the quadrangle so as to make it the basement for his own tomb. On the terrace of the western projection of the original quadrangle was arranged a beautiful domed porch, still existing in ruins, approachable by broad steps and affording the entrance to the mausoleum. Very little of the mausoleum is now left; but the surviving remains clearly show that it must have been the most magnificent of all the buildings in Mandu. The dome must have been much larger in proportion to the domes of the Great Mosque and of the Tomb of Hoshang since the interior of the building on which it rested is 19·9 m. square, while the interior of the great mosque and the tomb of Hoshang are respectively 13·7 m. and 14·9 m. only. For the load of such a huge dome, the 3·4 m. thickness of the walls and the foundations thereunder seem to have been quite inadequate, and thus this great building collapsed hardly within a few generations after it was built. The edifice was already in a perilous condition in the time of Akbar whose engineers executed repairs to it rather inartistically by inserting patches of red stone in beautiful dados of the white marble.

The tomb had three openings on each sides, the middle one being loftier than the others. The walls were decorated with excellent carvings and calligraphic devices for which it seems special Persian artists were engaged. The sarcophagus was placed on a beautifully carved yellow marble base which still survives. The facing of whole of this grand building was

done entirely in marble of various shades such as white, yellow, black, etc., which gave an added charm to the building especially in its various schemes of decoration. It will be interesting to observe that the two great domes of Jāmi'-Masjid (one over the porch and the other over the centre of its prayer hall) and the marble dome of the tomb of Hoshang must have been in one line with the huge dome of this tomb, rising about 7·6 m. higher than the others, which must have been a very grand sight indeed when all the buildings were built afresh.

III. The Sāgar-Talāo group

Malik Mughīth's mosque

In the large group of monuments round about the picturesque Sāgar-Talāo the most important monument is the mosque built, as stated in an inscription on its doorway, by Malik Mughīth, the father of Maḥmūd Khaljī, in A.D. 1432. Like the mosque of Dilāwar Khān, the plan of this building consists of a central court enclosed by colonnades, one aisle deep, on all sides, except in the west, where it is four aisles deep. The main entrance here is, however, through a projecting and raised porch with a number of rooms on both sides, built in the basement, apparently for the staff of the mosque and pilgrims. In front of the rooms is a well-designed arched corridor which, with the porch projecting in the middle and the small turrets at the corners, presents rather an impressive frontage to the building. The porch was once surmounted

by a dome which has disappeared but was supported by the existing pillars of Hindu design belonging to some earlier Hindu temple. In order to give proper support to the circular rim of the dome, however, arches have been built across the corners thus changing the square plan into an octagon above, which has produced a sort of disharmony in the general design of the porch. The same effect is observable in the interior where the numerous carved pillars, probably taken from the ruins of earlier Hindu temples, go to make up the colonnade around the court. The ceiling of the western colonnade consists of three small domes, with flat or star-shaped compartments in between. Right below the domes, the halls are square in plan. In the western wall are a number of delicately carved niches their *miḥrābs* being further adorned with blue tiles and bands of floral designs.

Caravan Sarā'i

In front of the mosque is a large inn called Caravan Sarā'i which was probably attached to the former and thus built at the same time. Its plan consists of a spacious open court in centre enclosed, on each side, by a pair of halls with vaulted ceilings and rooms built at both ends. The rooms were used for storage of goods while the halls provided the living accommodation.

Dāi-kī-Chhoṭī Bahen-kā-Maḥal (or Gumbad)

This building to the south of the Sarā'i is associated with some lady related to a certain wet-nurse of

one of the princes of Mandu. It is really a tomb, though called a Maḥal or palace. It is, however, possible that it was once her house in which she was buried later. Such practices are not uncommon with Muslims. The tomb is situated in the midst of a beautiful natural scenery which will be better appreciated from the highly raised double terrace on which the building stands (pl. VI).

The plan of the tomb is octagonal with arched openings in the four sides facing the main cardinal points, the remaining four sides being decorated with outlines of arches. The exterior wall surfaces are divided into panels by means of bands of projecting masonry, a feature not found in the earlier buildings at Mandu and obviously betrays the influence of Hindu craftsmanship. The shapely dome crowning the edifice bears traces of tile-work in blue on its exterior, the interior being tastefully adorned with carvings though rather sparingly.

A little south of this tomb are seen traces of a beautiful garden and pavilion with cisterns and cascades much after the fashion of the Mughals to whom its layout should be attributed.

Dāī-kā-Maḥal (or Gumbad)

The 'Maḥal', or more properly the mausoleum, stands on a lofty basement with arched openings for rooms on its western side and traces of circular towers at south-east and north-east corners on which there once stood beautiful pavilions in level with the floor of the tomb. In the middle of the spacious terrace

is the tomb and along its western fringe are the remains of a beautiful mosque. The mosque consists of a double hall with vaulted ceilings with traces of tile decoration. The windows projecting from the southern and northern walls deserve special notice showing the influence of Hindu design in their balustrades and in the elephant-tusk brackets supporting them.

The tomb proper is square in plan with arched openings in the middle of the walls, the upper portion of which is decorated with a row of miniature arches. The most noteworthy feature of the building, however, is the elongated octagonal neck of the dome enclosed by an ornamented parapet with the tiny kiosks on the corners of the octagon. It is rarely to be found in Mandu though it is a common decorative device with domes in the Deccan.

Jālī-Maḥal

After passing the echo point on the road (where a fine echo can be heard because of the deep and wooded valleys below) at a distance of about a 200 m. the road takes a turn to the east from where on a hill to the south of Sāgar-Talāo is seen a fine domed structure called as Jālī-Maḥal. It is really a tomb of some noble, square in plan, with three arched openings on each side, which, except for the entrance in south, are filled with screens carved in geometric patterns of Muslim style. Though in fact there is no perforated screen or *jālī* work here still the building is popularly called Jālī-Maḥal apparently from the carved screen work mentioned above.

IV. Rewā-Kuṇḍ group

Rewā-Kuṇḍ

Like the Muñj-Tālāo, the earlier Hindu name of this tank has survived to the present day partly because of the sanctity of its waters to the Hindu and partly due to its association with the names of Bāz Bahādur and Rūpamatī who, it seems, widened and rebuilt the Kuṇḍ.

The Kuṇḍ is lined with masonry from which steps go down to the water level. Above its north-western angle are some halls with arched openings apparently forming part of the pleasure resorts which once stood here facing the crystal waters of the tank. They seem to have undergone additions in different periods thus presenting a variety in their pillars and arches. At the northern end of the Kuṇḍ was a water-lift to supply water to the nearby palace of Bāz Bahādur.

Bāz Bahādur's Palace

Situated on the slope of a hill in the midst of a picturesque natural scenery the main gateway to the palace is approached by forty broad steps with landings at intervals. The passage through the gateway is covered with rooms for the guards on both sides and with a vaulted ceiling above, the openings being arched at both ends. The passage further leads to the outer court of the palace with its main doorway in front. The main portion of the palace consists of a spacious open court with halls and rooms on all the four sides and a beautiful cistern in its middle. Beyond the

colonnade on the northern side at its centre projects an octagonal pavilion with arched openings overlooking the depth below in which there was once laid out a beautiful garden, traces of which are still seen. The eastern and western sides of the court have almost the same plan i.e. they have square rooms at the ends, with entrance in the middle on the western side, the corresponding portion on the eastern side being left open, the purpose of which is not clear. The southern side consists of a hall with two rooms on both sides and openings at the back side into another hall which affords access to another court to the south. This court is much smaller in dimensions than the former court, and was probably meant for the attendants of the palace. Like the first court it is also surrounded by rooms and halls. Into the wall, separating the attendant's quadrangle from the main buildings, is built a flight of steps leading to the spacious terrace above. On the terrace are seen two beautiful *bāradarīs* from where one can have enchanting view of the surrounding country. There is an inscription in Persian over the main entrance which assigns its construction to Sulṭān Nāṣir Shāh in A.H. 914 (A.D. 1508-9).

Rūpamatī's pavilions

On the lofty crest of the hill to the south beyond the palace of Bāz Bahādur stand the pavilions associated with the romantic name of Rūpamatī. A closer examination of the structure of the building (pl. VII) shows that it had undergone two or three stages of construc-

tion in different periods. The original structure, as will be clearly seen from the east, consisted of a low but massive hall with two rooms at both ends. The walls have a sharp slope towards the base and the arches are rather heavy in proportion to their spans. The parapet above the walls also belonged to the original structure. This part of the building without the pavilions above thus belongs to the earliest stage and seems to have been built originally for maintaining an effective military watch over any possible enemy movements on this side of the fort, which falls down here abruptly to a depth of 365·8 m. towards the distinctly visible Nimar plains below.

The remaining part of the building was built along the western side of the plinth of the original block on the slope of the hill, so as to form a basement which has further two prolonged projections, in the form of corridors, one going towards the west and the other, in the opposite direction, along the northern side of the block, towards the east. The corridors in the basement have a number of arched openings across their width to support the ceilings. The western projection contains a large cistern to which only rain water could be supplied during the monsoons by means of a channel running from the roof to the reservoir below.

It is, however, the pavilions on the terrace of the original block, which have given a more distinctive appearance to the building. They are square in plan at the base and are crowned with hemispherical domes fluted both outside and inside. The pavilions are

known after Rūpamatī who, it appears, used to come here daily from the palace nearby to have her *darshan* of the sacred Narmadā, the stream of which is seen from here on a clear sunny day, winding about like a white serpent on the plains below. From the style of their arches and pillars, however, the pavilions were probably built a century earlier than Rūpamatī's time as they approximate more to the earlier buildings in Mandu.[1] To enjoy the romantic beauty of the site from here one should visit it at the time of sunset or in a clear moon-light when he will surely feel himself to be in a fairy dream-land of the past, an experience he might never forget.

V. Group between the Sāgar-Tālāo and the village

The Hāthi-Maḥal or the Elephant Palace

Between the village and the Sāgar lake along the east of the road stand a small group of buildings, viz. the Hāthī Maḥal, a few mausoleums and a *Sarāi*.

The name Hāthī-Maḥal of the building seems to have been given to it for its rather disproportionately massive pillars, looking like the legs of an elephant, supporting the high dome above. It is planned like a *bāradarī* with three arched openings on each side. The dome has here, externally, a high octagonal base divided into bands of masonry moulding which have

[1] There are two damaged inscriptions on the inner side of the wall of the chamber which do not admit of clear decipherment. But the style of writing and readable titles apparently ascribe them to period of the Sulṭāns of Malwa.

thus imparted an unusual height to the dome. Traces of decorative tile-work in the bands are still seen on the exterior. It seems, the building was originally constructed as a pleasure resort and later converted into a tomb, since a sepulchre is now seen inside and a mosque is also standing nearby, rather too close, thus spoiling its external architectural effect. The mosque is a double-hall in plan divided into ten bays by pillars supporting the vaulted ceiling above.

The tomb of Daryā Khān

The building (pl. viii) stands on a raised platform. Its exterior is faced with red masonry and was once decorated with coloured enamels in various intricate patterns. Near the piers of arches are seen octagonal posts in the traditional style. The most interesting feature of the building, however, lies in the small domes at the four corners surrounding the main dome in the centre. They remind one of similar domes on the tomb of Hoshang in comparison to which the domes here are rather clumsy.

The interior is a square hall with arches built across the corners to support the dome above. The only ornamentation inside is in the band of miniature arches set with blue tiles and in the beautiful stone trellis-work fitted into the walls for purposes of admitting light and air within.

The main sarcophagus is dedicated to Daryā Khān, who was employed in the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd II (A.D. 1510-26).

There are a number of other ruined buildings

close by from which, it appears, the area was quite an important one containing gardens and other pleasure houses.

VI. The miscellaneous scattered monuments

The Lā'l-Maḥal or Lāl Bungalow

In the heart of the woods near the eastern fringe of the hill is situated the Lā'l-Maḥal or Ruby Palace now called Lāl Bungalow. It was used by the Mandu Sulṭāns as their summer retreat. It was divided into three portions, the central one being meant for reception and the side ones being used for dwelling purposes.

In front of the central division is a spacious open court. This portion of the palace is in a much ruinous condition showing now the remains of only a large platform and of a *bāradarī* thereon. The western division is, however, better preserved. It has a separately enclosed court in front. In plan it consists of a colonnade, three aisles deep, with corridors at the back and double halls at each end. The colonnade has seven openings towards the court, each opening containing a pair of well-proportioned arches supported on square masonry columns of rather simple design, thus imparting a plain dignity to the building. The eastern division consists of three halls with rooms at each end. In its front is a spacious platform with a cistern in the middle. There are traces of cascades and water channels in this portion of the palace suggesting that it was used as a retreat during the hottest parts of the year.

Chishtī Khan's Palace

This building stands on the edge of the projecting spur of the hill to its east commanding an excellent view of the valley below. It is in a much decayed condition so that its plan cannot be made out for certain. It seems its plan originally consisted of a central court enclosed by a number of halls and rooms of which traces are still seen in its south and north. The southern wing, however, is somewhat better preserved. In one of the rooms at its eastern end the walls are seen with coloured enamels and paintings giving but a faint idea about the original character of the building. From a pavilion on this side steps go down to an underground cellar.

The palace was evidently built as a retreat in the rainy season when the valley is clothed in green with the hill-streams and waterfalls giving an added grandeur to the scenery.

Chhappan-Mahal

This building is really a tomb of some noble but is known as Chhappan-Mahal as it was repaired in the Samvat 1956. It stands on a 0·9 m. high platform which itself is constructed on a spacious terrace, 3·9 m. high above the ground, thus offering a commanding position to the structure. In the basement of the terrace, towards the south, are built rooms with arched openings evidently for the use of pilgrims and servants. Higher up, on the walls of the building are seen beautiful brackets and mouldings in Hindu style to support the *chhajjās* above.

The interior is sparingly but gracefully ornamented with a band of niches set with deep blue tiles and higher up a fringe of other delicate carvings along the rim of the dome.

On the whole the building exhibits a fine sense of proportion in its arches and the dome and a happy blending of the Hindu love for decoration and the stern simplicity of the Muslim conception of building. It is on this ground that the monument is assigned to the sixteenth century i.e. to the last stage of the architecture of Mandu.

The building is now the private property of H.H. the Maharaja of Dhar and can be seen by permission of his Highness.

The Nīlkaṇṭh palace

The present structure was apparently built on the site of a shrine of Siva, the god with the Blue Throat, viz. *Nīla-Kaṇṭha*, a name which survived during the last three centuries in spite of the Muslim character of the building. The monument is more attractive for its extremely charming situation, offering a magnificent view of the valley below, than for its architectural qualities.

It is approached by a long flight of steps, sixty-one in all, leading down to the western projection of its court. The main portion of the court is enclosed by rooms to its west, south and east, the northern portion being kept open to enjoy the view of the valley. In the centre of the court is a fine cistern to which water was supplied by a channel or cascade built along the plinth of the apartment on the southern side.

The rooms on the east and west sides have semi-domical roofs and only one arched opening each towards the court, their floor being on a higher level than that of the court but on a lower level than that of the room on the southern side. In the inner room to the south is an octagonal cistern which was fed with water from the dried up tank on the plateau above as can be judged from the traces of a water channel and a fine cascade on the back of the building. The outer room was apparently the principal apartment of the palace as it overlooks the court and the valley beyond. On its walls are seen some inscriptions of the time of Akbar recording the expeditions of the Emperor to the Deccan and Khandesh and containing also certain interesting verses referring in a pathetic vein to the futility of earthly pomp and glory.

Two of the verses may be rendered thus:

(*i*) 'Till when wilt thou boast that thy mansion has reached the heaven ?
They will laugh at our vainsome heart.
Come take warning from the history of others
Before that they listen to our history.

(*ii*) 'At dawn I noticed an owl roosting
In the balcony of Shirwān Shāh:
Plaintively it uttered this warning,
Where all that Pomp and where all that Glory ?

APPENDIX

Synopsis of dates, history and monuments of Mandu

Date	Ruling dynasty or king	Monuments
6th century to A.D. 950 (approx.)	Later Guptas, partly Gurjara-Pratīhāra Dynasty of Kannauj and Paramāras as vassal chiefs	Inscriptions and sculptures
A.D. 905 (approx.) to A.D. 1305	Paramāra Dynasty of Malwa	Carved fragments and other stray antiquities now in local collection at Dharmasala, Hoshang's tomb.
A.D. 1305 to A.D. 1400	Sulṭāns of Delhi	
A.D. 1401 to A.D. 1405	Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī	Dilāwar Khān's Mosque and Tārāpur Gate.
A.D. 1405 to A.D. 1435	Hoshang Shāh Ghūrī	Fortification walls, Jāmī'-Masjid, and Hoshang's tomb.
A.D. 1435 to A.D. 1436	Maḥmūd Shāh Ghūrī	Malik Mughīth's mosque.
A.D. 1436 to A.D. 1469	Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī I	Jāmī'-Masjid (completed) Victory Tower, tomb of Maḥmūd Khalji and *Madrasa*
A.D. 1469 to A.D. 1500	Ghiyathu'd-Dīn Khaljī	Jahāz-Maḥal, and Hiṇḍolā-Maḥal.

A.D. 1500 to A.D. 1510	Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Khaljī	Palace near Rewā-Kuṇḍ (now called Bāz Bahādur's Palace).
A.D. 1510 to A.D. 1526	Mahmūd Shāh Khaljī II	Gadā Shāh's house and shop and Daryā Khan's tomb.
A.D. 1526 to A.D. 1534	Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat? Humāyun, Qādir Shāh.	
A.D. 1534 to A.D. 1561	Sher Shāh's governor Shuj'āat Khān and Bāz Bahādur.	Bāz Bahādur's palace (additions only), the Rewā-Kuṇḍ monuments and addition to building called Rūpamatī's Pavilions.
A.D. 1561 to A.D. 1732	The Mughals	The Nīl-Kaṇṭh Palace, the Nāhar-Jharokha, Hāthī-Pol, etc.
A.D. 1732 and afterwards	The Marāṭhas (Dhar State).	Marātha Gaḍhi at Songadh

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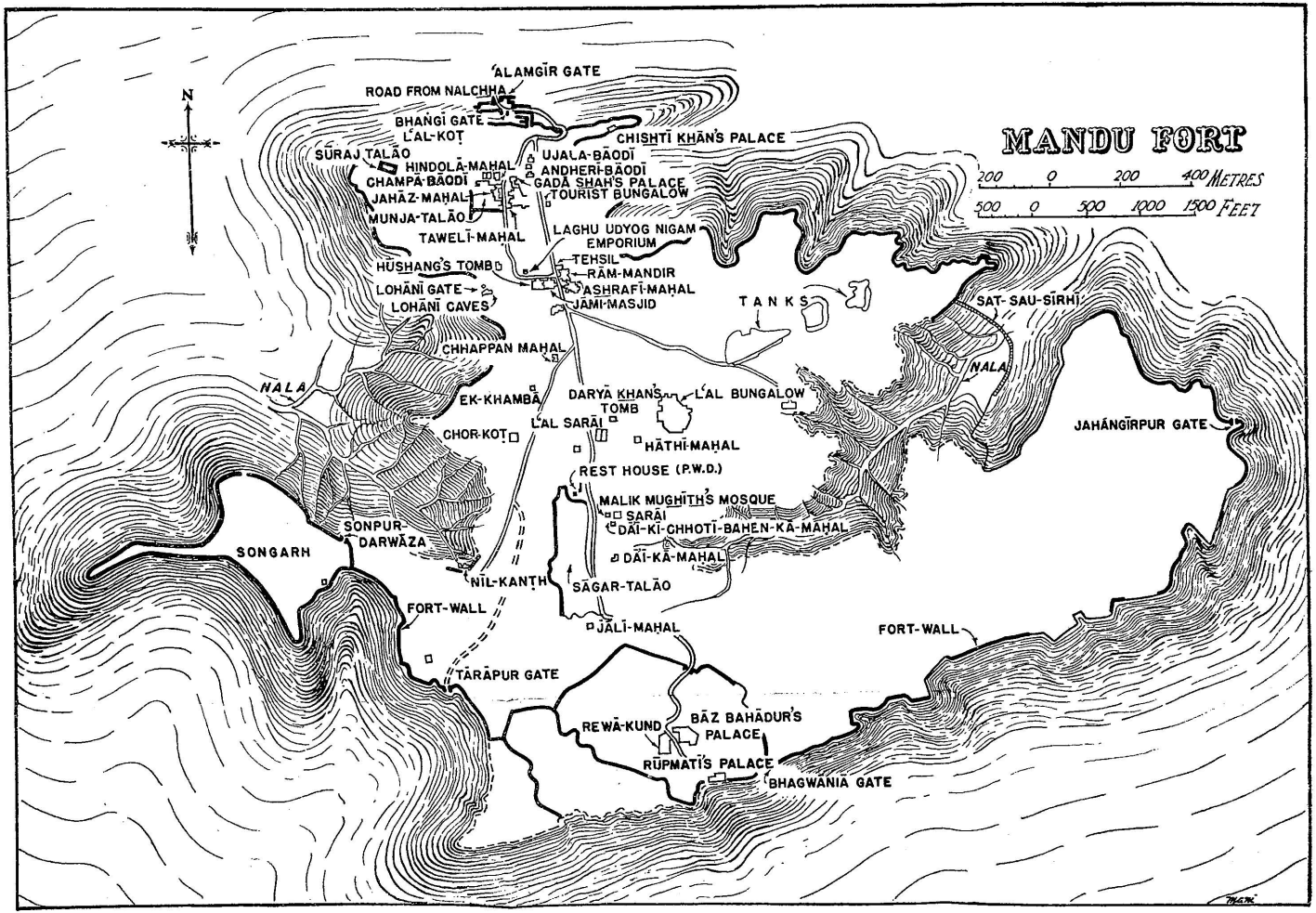
MANDU FORT
200 0 200 400 METRES
500 0 500 1000 1500 FEET
N
'ALAMGĪR GATE
ROAD FROM NALCHHA
BHANGĪ GATE
LAL-KOṬ
CHISHTĪ KHĀN'S PALACE
SURAJ TALĀO
HINDOLĀ-MAHAL
CHAMPĀ-BĀODĪ
JAHĀZ-MAHAL
MUNJA-TALĀO
UJALA-BĀODĪ
ANDHERĪ-BĀODĪ
GADĀ SHAH'S PALACE
TOURIST BUNGALOW
TAWELĪ-MAHAL
LAGHU UDYOG NIGAM EMPORIUM
HUSHANG'S TOMB
TEHSIL
RĀM-MANDIR
LOHĀNĪ GATE
LOHĀNĪ CAVES
ASHRAFĪ-MAHAL
JĀMI-MASJID
TANKS
SAT-SAU-SĪRHĪ
CHHAPPAN MAHAL
NALA
NALA
EK-KHAMBĀ
DARYĀ KHĀN'S TOMB
LAL BUNGALOW
LAL SARĀI
CHOR-KOṬ
HĀTHĪ-MAHAL
JAHĀNGĪRPUR GATE
REST HOUSE (P.W.D.)
MALIK MUGHĪTH'S MOSQUE
SARĀI
SONPUR-DARWĀZA
DAĪ-KĪ-CHHOṬĪ-BAHEN-KĀ-MAHAL
SONGARH
DAĪ-KĀ-MAHAL
NĪL-KANṬH
SĀGAR-TALĀO
FORT-WALL
JĀLĪ-MAHAL
FORT-WALL
TĀRĀPUR GATE
REWĀ-KUND
BĀZ BAHĀDUR'S PALACE
RŪPMATĪ'S PALACE
BHAGWĀNIĀ GATE