

THREE DAYS AT DELHI

(THE CAPITAL OF INDIA)

A Guide to Places of Interest WITH History and Map

BY

WILLIAM H. A. NEWELL, F.R.G.S.

Indian Army

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INTRODUCTION

IN writing a guide to Delhi my original purpose was limited to a desire to save time, fatigue and expense to the visitor making a short stay in the capital. There is so much to be seen that unless a methodical programme is drawn up and adhered to the inevitable result must be a vexatious waste of precious moments, energy and money. Believing that in a case of the kind "brevity is the soul of wit," I aspired to be as brief as possible. To this end I merely appended a short history, or rather a synopsis of the history of Delhi, so curtailed that it was impossible to even touch upon the many stirring and tragic crises through which the immortal city has passed.

I thought that the majority of visitors would prefer a bird's eye view of the great and terrible events that, periodically, swept over the land; political cyclones which, in turn, created and destroyed the successive dynasties which strew with their ruins the man-worn plain still dominated by that seventh architectural wonder of India, the Kutb Minar, the triumphal tower erected by the Pathan conqueror of Hindustan.

The first edition of my little guide book to Delhi appeared in August 1913. It was rapidly followed by

two reprints. At the same time fault was found with it on the score of undue brevity. I was repeatedly asked for a history of the Moghul Emperors, together with a more detailed account of the many historical places in, and about Shah Jahan's city and palace. These requests I endeavoured to comply with in my fourth edition, which ran into three thousand copies. Despite the war, and consequent cessation of tourist traffic, these are now exhausted. In bringing out my fifth edition I have made but few additions to the earlier text. I do not pretend that the history appended is anything more than a sketch. The best I can hope for it is that it will render Delhi more intelligible to those who have travelled far to see its famous places. They will find the task more fatiguing and possibly, less superficially interesting than at Agra. I venture, however, to predict that no man will leave Delhi without bearing away some indelible impressions. Insensibly his horizon will have widened. He will realize, as he never did before, how little he really knows. At the same time he will have become a better educated and more thoughtful man for the experience. Standing by the grave-sides of dead dynasties, some faint glimmering will reach him regarding the answer to the riddle of human destiny, and the lesson man has to learn.

To those who prefer to skim lightly over the surface of things I offer no apology for the longer account I now give. They can skip such passages as they find dull. At the same time to at all appreciate Delhi it is essential to be acquainted with its history, otherwise most of its celebrated sights will be unintelligible.

Unless something is known of its antecedents, its why and its wherefore, a stone, no matter how curiously and beautifully carved, remains but a stone, and it is the same with the most historical building. A word of explanation, a light thrown, an appeal to the imagination and crumbling walls, their splendours dimmed by the dust of ages, stand out in all the vivid colours of romance.

For a brief spell past becomes present and quick and dead unite in mystical communion.

H. A. NEWELL, *Lt. Colonel*,
Indian Army.

THREE DAYS AT DELHI



(THE CAPITAL OF INDIA)

THE philosopher desirous of meditating upon the futility of human greatness could find no more congenial sphere for reflection than the neighbourhood of Delhi. Taking for text, *Tout lasse, tout casse, tout passe*, he would be moved to utter much that is profound at sight of the ruin-scattered plain whereon seven cities rose to greatness, swayed the fortunes of successive dynasties, then dwindled into dust and were forgotten, their splendours unrecorded save by crumbling stones littered across a track many miles in extent. Now, by a curious fiat of destiny, an eighth Delhi is to rise, phoenix-like, from the ashes of these past empires.

No doubt the new capital of India will be a fine and beautiful city. For the present generation of men, however, it will lack a soul. Hallowed by many memories, those ghostly Delhis, which have lived, and suffered and died, will long hold a charm no modern rival could eclipse. Be the thoroughfares never so wide, the gardens scientifically watered and artistically laid out, the buildings sanitary and splendid, they will hardly

attract as do the old familiar landmarks. What modern structure, for instance, would awaken the emotions stirred at sight of the Kutb Minar, the ancient watch-tower erected by Kūtb-ud-Din, A. D. 1200 ?

This founder of the dynasty known as that of the " Slave Kings " commemorated his victory over Prithvi Rai, the last Hindu sovereign of Delhi, by erecting his capital upon the ruins of that of his predecessor. No sooner was the change effected than Masjids replaced the temples of Vishnu. By order of the conqueror the old gods were broken and banished, their worship prohibited and their worshippers slain. In place of tinkling bells, waving lights, fragrant incense and heavily perfumed flowers the Muezzin summoned the faithful to prayer, with the cry, " There is no God, but God ! Muḥammad is the prophet of God !" in mosques of puritanical simplicity. Nor was this all. The new religion meant far more than the forcible introduction of a doctrine which substituted one deity for many. No sword, however sharp, could compel the entire Hindu people to adopt monotheism in preference to their faith in an ancient pantheon inherited from the prehistoric past. What the victors could, and did accomplish was to inaugurate a completely different order of civilisation, alien laws, and a hitherto unimagined development of culture, on lines as unlike those traced by Hindu precedent, as could well be conceived. Hence originated a strange style of architecture, a hybrid language known as Urdu, or Hindustani, and, eventually, a central Government fated for a while to control the greater portion of the Indian peninsula.

Despite the change of creed, of ideals, of masters and of men, Delhi was still Delhi. During the centuries that followed the capital was destined to experience many more vicissitudes of fortune, and transfers of site under monarchs whose nomadic instincts, the legacy of tent dwelling ancestors, led them to transfer their headquarters, and the sites of their cities, as unconcernedly as their forbears had moved their camps. At times the imperial city ceased to be the first in Hindustan. A temporary eclipse of the kind occurred under Akbar. In 1570 the Great Moghul decided to transport the headquarters of his empire to Agra. His son, Jahangir, was content to follow the paternal example and held his court at that place and at Lahore. The next reign was destined to witness not only the restoration of Delhi, but its apotheosis.

In 1628 Shah Jahan mounted the Masnad. Within the first ten years of his reign he elected to restore Delhi to its former position as capital of Hindustan. Just what prompted this momentous decision is not stated. Possibly not being a robust man he preferred the climate, which offers less violent contrasts than that of Agra. It is equally probable that his passion for splendour, and the extravagance of his tastes, led him to found a city, as a lesser man might erect a monument to perpetuate his memory.

Before deciding upon a site for his new metropolis Shah Jahan paid several visits to the neighbourhood. With critical eye he passed in review the remains of those ancient capitals that flourished at Indraprastha—the Delhi of the five Pandava princes—the Hindu Delhi.

of Prithvi Rai—still dominated by the Kutb Minar, the triumphal tower of his Moslem supplanter—Tughlaqabad, Jahan Pana, Siri and Firozabad.

Finally, after due consultation with various astrologers, Jahan approved a site on the west bank of the Jumna, some five miles north of the old capital and fort where Humayun, his great-grandfather, had passed the closing months of his stormy reign.

The stars and planets pointing to Friday, the 9th Moharram, A.H. 1048 (1638 A.D.), as auspicious for the purpose, the foundation stone of the citadel was laid on that date. Nine years later the work was completed. The Emperor was then absent in Kabul. On word being sent him he returned, and entered his new capital with due show of pomp and ceremony, expressing his satisfaction with what had been accomplished by naming the place Shahjahanabad.

According to his instructions, the metropolis was enclosed by high battlemented walls of red sandstone. These measured $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles in circuit and were pierced by ten gates, known respectively as the Calcutta Gate, to the north-east, close to the Palace, and leading to the present railway station, the Mori Gate, to north, the Kabul Gate, to west, facing the Sadar Bazar and providing the exit from Chandni Chauk, the Farash Khana Gate, to south-west, the Ajmir Gate, to south-west, the Turkoman Gate, to south, the Delhi Gate, to south, and the Raj Ghat, to east, commanding the river.

The glory of the capital centred in the citadel. This occupied a walled enclosure a mile and a half in circuit,

and was entered by two stately portals still known as the Lahore and Delhi Gates of the Fort.

From the reign of Shah Jahan until the fall of the Moghul dynasty in 1857 Delhi continued to be capital of India. For the next half century Calcutta usurped the position so long held by the imperial city. At the Coronation Darbar of 1911 the King Emperor George V. restored Delhi to its former high estate. The proclamation announcing that Delhi was once more the capital of India was followed by the decree that a new city should be erected more in keeping with modern requirements.

Absolute freedom of choice was allowed the Committee appointed to decide upon the site of New Delhi. Beyond the proviso that the projected metropolis must be in close physical and general association with the existing capital founded by Shah Jahan, and the Delhis of the past, they were left an open field from which to make selection. Naturally this was governed by certain important considerations such as water supply, health, sanitation, space for expanding and for providing parks and recreation grounds.

After mature deliberation ten miles were apportioned for the new city and fifteen for cantonments. Then followed the vexed question of locality. Concerning the stones laid by their Imperial Majesties, it was clearly understood at the time that these commemorated an important occasion and were not the foundation stones of New Delhi.

Although left a free field from which to make selection, the task of the Committee was far from being an easy

one, the more so as the country about Delhi presents peculiar difficulties.

Shah Jahan's city, on the west bank of the Jumna, stands about half-way down a narrow strip of land some 76 miles in length. This tract forms the administrative district of Delhi.

The census return of 1911 gave the population of the town as 232,837. Half of the inhabitants lived inside the city walls, while the remainder were divided between the civil station, on the north, and the suburbs to west and south, known as Sabzi Mandi, Sadar Bazar and Paharganj.

Nature has arranged the neighbouring country into four distinct divisions, namely the Delhi Hills, the Jumna Riverain, the slopes to south and the tableland watered by the Western Jumna Canal. To each of these localities the Committee, in turn, devoted their attention.

THE DELHI HILLS

These start from the village of Wazirabad and continue past the city walls in a south-westerly direction. The fact that they do not anywhere attain to a height of more than 915 feet has earned the eminence the name of the Ridge. Formed of quartzite rock the Ridge presents little variety, being characterised by a flat rugged surface, such scant vegetation as there is being limited to occasional pockets of soil.

JUMNA RIVERAIN

In common with other rivers of Northern India, the Jumna has a wide sandy bed flanked by high banks, and

is subject to flooding. The valley it waters constitutes the riverain. As the river passes Delhi its sandy bed skirts the elevated ground occupied by Jahan's citadel and the bank formed by the eastern fringe of the Ridge.

North of Wazirabad the riverain extends a distance of about four miles to the Grand Trunk Road near the village of Balsua Jahangirpur. On its eastern side the riverain is artificially bounded, north of the two railway bridges, by the Eastern Jumna Canal. South of the bridges its limit is the embanked training work of the Agra Canal. In normal years the many creeks intersecting the vicinity are well supplied from July until September.

When the Jumna floods, the entire section is inundated. This renders the district unsuitable for permanent occupation and therefore not a fitting site on which to build a city.

THE SLOPES TO SOUTH

Rising from the Jumna Riverain, in close proximity to the Muttra Road, the alluvial skirts on the eastern side of the slopes extend to the hills west and south. At the village of Naraina the rising ground is broken by an isolated group of rocks.

TABLELAND

Irrigated by the Western Jumna Canal the so-called tableland is situated west and north-west of Delhi, between the Southern Panjab Railway and the Grand Trunk Road. Bordering upon the city it is laid out in profusely watered gardens. Near Wazirpur plantations of watermelon, sugarcane and rice flourish in a local depression. The remainder of the plain produces heavy crops. The

soil is peculiarly retentive, which renders drainage a very slow process.

CLIMATE

Whereas most places lay claim to four seasons, Indian tradition only assigns three to Delhi. These are the dry, the wet, the cold.

Beginning on February 20th, the first is characterized by hot winds and a rising temperature. The second starts on June 20th. From this date monsoon winds and rain prevail. The third season commences on October 20th, when the weather cools and bleak north-westerly winds cause the thermometer to drop to 47° , and even to freezing point.

HISTORIC GROUND

It was on the eastern bank of the Jumna, some seven miles outside the city walls, that Lord Lake fought the famous battle of Delhi in 1803. To north of the town, on the western bank of the river, is the Darbar area. Here, in 1911, their Imperial Majesties, George V. and Queen Mary, laid the stones commemorating the fact that Delhi had once more been made capital of India.

The Barari Plain was the scene of the great Darbar held by Lord Curzon to celebrate the accession of Edward VII. Nine years later this splendid pageant was eclipsed by the still more magnificent ceremony at which King George V. personally assumed the crown of India.

On this side of the city the land between the Ridge and the river is about a mile and a quarter in extent. It includes the civil station, consisting of some hundred bungalows, and the Metcalfe Estate. The part of the Ridge stretching from Flagstaff Tower to Hindu Rao's House and the

Mutiny Memorial is hallowed ground. With regard to the site of the Darbar camps, these covered about three square miles of flat and featureless country, and commanded the least interesting view of Delhi.

Fringing upon the eastern slope of the hills south of Shahjahanabad lie those famous ancient cities, each of which bequeathed the magic name of Delhi to its successor. With the exception of the old Hindu metropolis near the Kutb the sites of those dead capitals were within easy reach of the Jumna. No doubt their locality was decided by the all-important consideration of water supply.

Leaving the Moghul city founded by Shah Jahan, and proceeding down the foreshore of the riverain, the road leads past the Delhi of Firoz Shah. Further along is the site of Indraprastha, the prehistoric Delhi of the Mahabharata, the Delhi of Humayun and of Sher Shah, Humayun's citadel, his tomb, and the Durgah of Nizam-ud-Din. On a rocky eminence stands the fortress city that constituted the Delhi of Ghiyas-ud-Din Tughlaq.

To right lie the Lal Kot, the Kutb, the Kila Rai Prithora, Hindu Delhi, Siri, and Jahan Pana.

Midway between the modern metropolis of the Moghuls and the old city of the last Hindu kings of Delhi lie the mausoleum of Safdar Jang, Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, and the tombs of the Lodi monarchs. To the left, towards Delhi, is the curious collection of gnomons and equatorial dials erected by the famous astronomer, Jai Singh II., Raja of Ambar, now Jaipur.

SITE OF NEW DELHI

After prolonged study of the neighbourhood, and careful weighing of the pros and cons of the various localities,

the Committee decided that historical, geographical, and sanitary considerations all turned the scales in favour of a southerly site for New Delhi. The land stretching up from the Kutb road to the Ridge was unanimously approved as most suitable. Not only is it close to Shah Jahan's city, it likewise commands a good approach from several points. The Naraina Plain, on the further side of the Ridge, is admirably adapted for cantonments.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

From time immemorial Delhi has been famous for the art of its gold-and silversmiths. They are particularly skilful in engraving gems, and make a speciality of jade ornaments, such as locketts, pendants, and brooches, veined with gold and set with precious stones in bird and flower designs. Whereas modern jewellery of this description is by no means unduly expensive, old Delhi work, in cut and gem encrusted jade, is described as priceless. The babul ornament is another survival. It is pretty and of peculiar interest as proving that, although the Phœnician method of soldering gold in grains has long ranked amid the lost arts of Europe, it has continued to flourish in India to this day.

It is curious that a people so frugal in their tastes and parsimonious in their habits as the Hindus should yet profess such a love of jewellery and gorgeous display. This struck Megasthenes, who comments upon the sharp contrast between their passion for all kinds of costly ornament and the simplicity of their lives.

Delhi goldsmiths excel in devising lovely mounts for

the world-renowned miniatures commonly called Delhi paintings. The style is Persian and was undoubtedly introduced from the country, which inspired so many of the arts and crafts characteristic of Moghul India. They most usually portray the various Moghul emperors, notably Akbar, Jahangir, and Jahan, and the beauties of the imperial seraglio. Among the last the Empress Nur Jahan, favourite wife of Jahangir, and her niece, Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the lady buried in the Taj at Agra, form the most popular subjects.

The miniatures are exquisitely painted on ivory. When converted into jewellery they are usually set in lockets, brooches, and bracelets. Other ivory paintings depict the many famous historical places in and about the capital. Whether portraying a person or a scene, all bear eloquent testimony to the fact that the limners have lost none of the skill which distinguished their ancestors at the Moghul court. Now, as then, the best painting in India is Delhi work.

Another speciality of the capital is carving on wood or ivory, while Delhi embroideries are known the world over. Not even in Lucknow are more quaint and beautiful varieties to be found in jewelled and embroidered slippers, and the same may be said of caps. Brightly coloured silk embroidery on fine white muslin, is a characteristic local product. Exquisite chikan, or needlework, is done upon velvet, satin, and leather, as well as round the borders of Rampur chadars and the still more celebrated shawls of Cashmere.

The gold and silver embroideries peculiar to Delhi are not Indian, but Persian in style. A flourishing trade is

carried on in sumptuous gala dress both for men and women. The materials used are of the most gorgeous description, and they are further enriched with a quantity of lovely needlework. Garments of this kind are highly esteemed throughout the country, and command prices that would come as a surprise to Europeans.

Delhi produces a quantity of lac ornaments, notably bangles and beads.

Lac work is a popular industry all over India. The finer quality, such as is applied to furniture and house decoration, is mostly manufactured in the larger towns, but minor articles, such as lacquered walking-sticks, boxes, mats, toys, and variegated lac marbles are made everywhere.

The kaleidoscopic effects, so puzzling to the uninitiated, are, in reality, simple of achievement, although a certain dexterity of manipulation is required. The multi-coloured canes are the result of twisting variously hued lengths of melted sealing-wax about the cane in alternate bands of sharply contrasting tone. The cane is next held close to a fire. Short perpendicular lines are scratched through the hot wax with a needle to draw the shades into one another. The cane is then rolled upon a smooth cold surface, and the seemingly intricate process is complete.

The gold varnish, which lends a deceptive richness to the meanest article, is made from a mixture of boiling myrrh, copal and sweet oil. The silver lustre is composed of tinfoil and dry glue diluted with water, heated and left to cool. The silvery deposit remaining at the bottom is painted on with a brush. When dry the orna-

ment is polished by rubbing with a string of glass beads.

Glazed pottery is a noted Delhi industry. It is not indigenous and dates no further back than A. D. 1212, when the conquest of China, by Chinghiz Khan, led to the art of glazing ware being introduced into India and thence to Europe.

Of course, every Indian village has its potter. Any and all day he may be seen squatting in front of his whirring wheel, a heap of moist clay by his side, and an ever-increasing number of vessels growing up around him. All the polish these receive is applied by a pebble.

The great demand for domestic pottery has its source in the Hindu prejudice against using the same utensil twice, hence the potter, is a national institution with a recognized social status dating from before the days of Manu.

Glazed pottery is another matter and takes rank with the sumptuary arts. Old glazed tiling is only found on Muhammadan buildings. In its earliest form it appears in a uniform and peculiarly penetrating shade of turquoise blue. Encaustic tiling of this description is still to be seen on ancient Pathan tombs, mosques and gateways as well as on the roof of Jodh Bai's Palace at Fath'pur Sikri. The multi-coloured tiles, which came into vogue later, belong to the great Moghul period, namely from 1556 until 1750.

PATHAN PERIOD.

It is impossible to appreciate Delhi and the varying character of its architecture without some conception of what is meant by the term Pathan Period.

From remote antiquity until the latter part of the 12th century, Delhi was a Hindu city. At the time of its invasion and subsequent conquest by the Pathans it was ruled over by Prithvi Rai, a Rajput sovereign whose memory, thanks to the bards, lives in the hearts of the people to this day. This last Hindu king fought with desperate bravery in defence of his capital, which was situated around where the Kutb Minar now towers, a landmark to the countryside.

Undaunted by repeated repulses and a serious defeat sustained in 1191, the invader, Muhammad-ud-Din Ghori, returned in 1193. This time he was successful. Prithvi Rai was driven from Delhi with great slaughter. In the following year, the conqueror carried his victorious standard into the neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Canouj. As a result of this fresh success he founded the Pathan Empire of India. Dying in 1206, he was succeeded, in this portion of his dominions, by his General, Kutb-ud-Din Aibak. A Turkoman by birth, this able leader had risen from slavery to command the army. It was he and his successor, Altamash, who introduced Pathan architecture into Hindustan.

Kutb-ud-Din erected his capital on the site and with the materials of Prithvi Rai's ruined city, where he started to build the famous tower that bears his name. This masterpiece of Pathan architecture was completed

by his son-in-law and successor, Altamash, and was surrounded by other beautiful edifices of the same date.

The first period of Pathan architecture is characterized by rich Hindu carving, elaborate surface ornamental bas-reliefs and an exuberant wealth of sculptured detail. The roofs of mosques and courts were supported by innumerable pillars, the spoils of Jain and Hindu temples.

The second Pathan period illustrates a strong revulsion of feeling against this superfluity of ornament. In striking contrast to its predecessor it is distinguished by stern simplicity and massive grandeur.

The third period marks the epoch at which Hindu masons had learnt to adapt the tropical exuberance of their school to the plainer forms introduced by their conquerors. The result is that the last Pathan period is famous for the restrained beauty of its decorative details, the fineness of its chiselled effects, and the happy blending of Hindu and Muhammadan styles.

MOGHUL PERIOD.

Historically speaking, the Moghul period extends from A. D. 1525, when Babar assumed the rank and style of Emperor of Hindustan in the citadel of Agra, to 1857, when the last monarch of the line was deposed in Delhi. From an architectural point of view, however, the period is confined within considerably narrower limits. It may be said to have begun with Akbar (1556—1605) and to have ended with his great grandson, Aurangzib (1659—1707)

Before Akbar's time there was no Moghul Empire. Although he is styled third of the Moghul rulers of Hindustan, his immediate predecessors, Humayun and Babar, did no more than spend their lives in ceaseless efforts to create the empire which, under his wise and auspicious rule, rose to be a world power. Whatever their tastes or inclinations may have been, neither Babar nor his son, Humayun, had thought or leisure to spare for constructing beautiful palaces or stately masjids. Theirs was the stern business of war and of empire building.

Akbar was the first and Aurangzib the last of the Great Moghuls. The latter was followed by a succession of puppet kings. Theirs was essentially the day of small things and architecture knew them not. Even historically they were but shadowy figures lacking real substance.

When architectural allusion is made to the Moghul period it may safely be held to refer to a work executed by one or other of those famous builders Akbar, Jahangir, Jahan and Aurangzib.

The school is divided into two classes. Some authorities prefer to name the earlier of these the mixed Hindu-Muhammadian style of Upper India. To this category belong the buildings constructed by Akbar and Jahangir between 1556 and 1630. These are mostly of sandstone. They are characterized by the elaborate beauty of their decorative carving, in which geometrical designs mingle with those introducing figures, and flowers, and for the amazing amount of skilled manual labour lavished upon them. The interiors and exteriors were

further ornamented with gilding, brilliantly coloured frescoes and encaustic tiling. The shape of the domes and the infinite number of small kiosks, crowning roofs and gateways are also distinguishing features of the earlier school.

The second Moghul period presents a marked contrast to the first. To it belong the white marble edifices of Shah Jahan erected between 1640 and 1658. Persian ideas predominate and *pietra dura* is freely introduced, an art brought into India by Florentine mosaic workers. While his father and grandfather had been content to build their palaces of red sandstone, Jahan was satisfied with nothing less splendid than snowy marble inlaid with precious stones.

One of the first important buildings of the Moghul period is Humayun's tomb at Delhi. Possibly it may have been commenced by Humayun himself or, at any rate, the site chosen by him, and laid out as a garden with the idea that it should ultimately enclose his mausoleum. It was finished by Akbar just as, later on, his own Durgah, begun by himself in the Garden of Bihishtabad at Sikandarah, near Agra was, in turn, completed by his son Jahangir.

The finest examples of Akbar's style are the Jahangir Mahal, in the citadel at Agra, and the palaces and religious edifices at Fath'pur Sikri.

Contrary to the laws of Muhammad, who strictly enjoined that no tomb should rise above a foot from the ground, and who prohibited sepulchral architecture, it was the custom of each Tartar and Mongolian monarch, as he advanced in years, to construct a

sumptuous mausoleum for himself, surrounding it with a flower garden and embattlemented walls embellished by stately gateways. A masjid was generally provided where prayers might be said for the repose of his soul. Thanks to this practice, posterity owes some of the finest architectural achievements in the world, notably the Taj Mahal, erected by Shah Jahan over the remains of his beloved wife, at Agra.

Unlike both his father and his son in this respect, Jahangir was not a great builder. His most noted surviving achievements are the tomb of Akbar, and that of his father-in-law, Itmad-ud-Daulah. The latter mausoleum was begun in 1615 and finished in 1625. It foreshadows the later style introduced by Jahan being inlaid with precious stones and many-coloured marble mosaic.

SHAH JAHAN

Famed as one of the most magnificent monarchs in history Shah Jahan, Shihab-ud-Dian—Lord of the World, Flame of the Faith—was born on January 6th, A. D. 1592. He succeeded his father, Jahangir, in 1628, at the mature age of thirty six. His mother was a Rajput princess, daughter of Udai Singh, known as the Fat Raja of Marwar. Her name was Jagat Goyasini, but she is popularly referred to by her title of Jodh Bai. Both his grandmothers were Hindus. When a child he was the favourite grandson of Akbar. As such he was summoned to the Great Moghul's dying bedside. The boy was then fourteen years of age. He was styled Sultan

Khurram, and continued to be so known for many years after his father had succeeded to the masnad.

From the outset Jahangir's reign was disturbed by constant rebellions among his sons. The eldest, Prince Khusru, set the example, and the others were quick to imitate him. These family quarrels, coupled with the lax rule and intemperate habits of the Emperor, must inevitably have brought disaster upon the throne, but for the ability of Jahangir's favourite wife, the beautiful and celebrated Nur Jahan. She it was who governed the country. Fortunately she had sound advisers in Mahabat Khan, the noted Afghan general, a native of Kabul, and the Prime Minister, her brother Asaf Khan. Nevertheless the affairs of the realm were in a slack and disorderly condition. Mismanagement, intrigue and bribery prevailed. All those holding public office were unblushing in their greed for bribes from Nur Jahan downwards. It was impossible to accomplish anything excepting at the price of costly gifts to the Empress and her brother. Subahs, or provinces, and sakirs were farmed out to the highest bidder on contract. Thieves infested the roads and byways. The army was neglected and degeneration generally marked all branches of public service. Had a powerful and determined enemy fallen upon the country from without the chances would have been in favour of the invader.

Of Jahangir's sons Sultan Khurram—afterwards Shah Jahan—was unquestionably the most capable. Against this he was peculiarly susceptible to feminine influence. His entire life, character and reign were coloured by his passionately loved wife, Aliya Begam, known to fame as

Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the lady buried at the Taj in Agra. Although his favourite she was not his first bride. When twenty one years of age the Lord of the World married for a second time. This union proved the dominant passion of his life. From then until his dearly loved consort's death, some eighteen years later, he was, contrary to Muhammadan practice, a monogamist. She was a Persian, the beautiful daughter of his father's prime Minister Asaf Khan, consequently a niece of the all powerful Empress Nur Jahan.

So long as Aliya Begam lived her influence over her husband was paramount. She was his counsellor, shared his secrets, inspired his policy, particularly his hostility towards Européans, and was the inseparable companion of his travels. Faithful to custom she accompanied him on his campaign against Jahan Lodi. At Burhanpur she gave birth to their fourteenth child. As a result she died in camp at that place on June 17th, 1631, aged thirty-nine years and four months. Her death was particularly tragic occurring as it did so soon after Jahan's accession. The grief stricken Emperor caused the precious remains to be carried to Agra. There, in pursuance of a promise, he erected the peerless white monument to her memory known the world over as the Taj Mahal, or Crown of Palaces.

The Empress left three daughters and four sons. The eldest, Jahanara Begam, was seventeen years of age when her mother died. She was beautiful, high spirited and accomplished. The Emperor turned to her for consolation. Gradually her ascendancy over him increased until she became paramount in his life. In this

way Jahan may be said to have constantly been subject to feminine influence, first that of his wife, and subsequently of his daughter.

Although thanks to his Rajput mother, and two Hindu grandmothers, Jahan was only one fourth Moghul, by birth, his affection for his Persian wife inspired him with a bigoted dislike for those not professing the Muhammadan faith. Prejudice on the part of the Empress is cited to explain Jahan's hostility towards Europeans, a factor which Sir Thomas Roe, the British envoy sent by James I to the court of Jahangir, laments as the source of many of the difficulties and obstacles wherewith he had to contend. No doubt this same dislike of his wife's, and her desire for vengeance was indirectly responsible for Shah Jahan's destruction of the Portuguese mission at Hughli, in 1631, although, by then, the Empress had passed to her rest.

Notwithstanding his aversion for Non-Moslems, and his attack upon Hughli, Shah Jahan was by no means a religious bigot in the sense of his son and successor, Aurangzib. Under his rule Hindu generals held high commands in the imperial army. Jesuits were powerful at the court of his eldest and favourite son, Dara. Moreover Catholic missions were permitted in the capital. Although Shah Jahan had been the favourite grandchild of Akbar he was far from being the most popular of the claimants to his father's throne. Contemporary writers describe him as cold and haughty. They accuse him of lacking the charm of a genial, or sympathetic manner.

When twenty five years of age he was commanded by

his father to pacify the Deccan, at that time divided between a number of warring Muhammadan dynasties sprung from governors, originally despatched to rule over the various provinces conquered by the Delhi emperor. As occasion offered each, in turn, had thrown off the imperial yoke and founded an independent kingdom. Jahan succeeded in gaining the temporary submission of Ahmadnagar, thanks to the good offices of Malik Ambar, the powerful Prime Minister, who had risen from the humble position of an Abyssinian slave. Jahangir rewarded his son with the title of Shah Jahan, and the rank of a Sihayan of thirty thousand horse, an honour only conferred upon princes of the blood. In his thirty first year Jahan fell into disgrace. As a result his elder brother, Parwez, was proclaimed heir apparent. Shah Jahan at once rebelled. He marched out from Mandu, and was met by Parwez, who forced him to retire eastwards, where he sought refuge in Bengal. Three years later Jahan again opened hostilities. Proceeding to the Deccan he was there joined by his former opponent, now his ally, Malik Ambar, Prime Minister to the king of Ahmadnagar.

Shah Jahan personally led an assault against Burhanpur, but was again defeated by a relief force under Parwez, and the celebrated Moghul general, Mahabat Khan. Crushed by this second disaster, Jahan wrote a humble letter of submission to his father. The easy going Emperor pardoned him but banished him to Nasik, near Bombay, where he remained an exile from court.

He had not long to wait. In less than two years a

series of events occurred which entirely changed the course of his destiny. The first of these momentous happenings was the rebellion of Mahabat Khan. The second was the death of Parwez, the heir apparent. This was shortly followed by the demise of Jahangir

No sooner was the Emperor dead than Nur Jahan sought to seize the throne for Shahriyar, the prince to whom she had given her only child, the daughter of her first marriage. This prince was renowned for his personal beauty. Unfortunately for himself he was possessed of an easy going character, his aversion for any sort of work and lack of decision having gained for him the nick name of Na-shudani, or Do Nothing. Acting on the energetic advice of his ambitious mother-in-law, Nur Jahan, Prince Shahriyar caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in Lahore, to which city he had retired on account of the humiliating disappearance of his hair and eyebrows, from Fox's disease.

The plans of the Dowager Empress were frustrated by her brother, Asaf Khan. The Prime Minister felt that his sister had reigned long enough; furthermore, loyalty to his own imperial son-in-law, Shah Jahan, led him to espouse this prince's cause in preference to that of his far less capable younger brother. To this end, Asaf Khan despatched a messenger with all haste to the Deccan. At the same time he provided a stop gap in the person of Bulaki, a grandson of Jahangir by the deceased Prince Khusru, whom he proclaimed Emperor with the title of Dawar Baksh, or God Given.

Upon receipt of the signet ring, and message sent him by Asaf Khan, Jahan immediately proceeded to observe

a short period of mourning. Having paid this mark of respect to his father's memory, the Prince set off for Agra, where he formally ascended the Masnad on February 6th, 1628. Prior to this Asaf Khan had seized Shahriyar in Lahore and caused his eyes to be put out with a red hot iron. Finally the unfortunate "Do Nothing" was, by Jahan's orders, executed as a usurper. Just what became of Dawar Baksh is not definitely stated. Some accounts say that he made good his escape to Persia. It is practically certain that he was first deprived of sight as a precautionary measure, the law prescribing that no prince afflicted with blindness might occupy the Moghul throne.

Having murdered his last surviving brother, blinded his nephew and caused his three cousins, the sons of his uncle, Sultan Danial, to be strangled, Jahan found himself in undisputed possession of the Masnad.

Manucci gives a different version of the manner in which Jahan disposed of certain of his relatives in Lahore. The Venetian chronicler states:—"They were in the hall where King Jahangir gave audience, and were busy writing. Without showing them any mercy, Shah Jahan's emissaries built up the door, leaving them inside. To this day it remains bricked up. It is a custom with these kings and lords that after their death the chamber in which they die is walled up and never opened any more."

Although the wholesale slaughtering of his relatives hardly prepossesses in his favour, Jahan does not seem to have been purposelessly cruel. On the whole, he appears to have made a just ruler and to have studied the

welfare of his subjects. On assuming imperial power his first act was to order the release of all political captives confined in the state prison at Gwalior. This accomplished, he set himself to correct the evils which had marred the closing years of his father's reign, when that lax and almost imbecile monarch had left his realm to be governed by Nur Jahan and her family.

Chief among the new ruler's reforms was the institution of a vigilant police force throughout the country. He sought to promote agricultural interests, and listened patiently to all grievances daily brought to the foot of his Judgment Seat. Indian chroniclers extol the order and arrangement of his territory and finance, declaring that, in these respects, he ranks first among the many rulers of Hindustan. No monarch, before or after his time, maintained so splendid a court. His extravagance was on an unprecedented scale, although in his personal dealings he was curiously mean.

Manucci pays tribute to Jahan as a ruler. He says:—"The lasciviousness of Shah Jahan did not interfere with his care to govern his country most perfectly. He upheld the maxim of his father that true justice must be enforced, rewarding the meritorious and punishing the guilty. He kept his eye on his officials, punishing them rigorously when they fell short in their duty. This was the reason that he kept at his court an official with several baskets full of poisonous snakes. He would order that in his presence they should be made to bite any official who had failed to administer justice, leaving the culprit lying in his presence till the breath left him—Others who had deserved death were

commanded to be thrown to mad elephants, who tore them to pieces."

Manucci goes on to cite a case of which he had been an eyewitness. The accused was a Kotwal named Muhammad Said. He was proved guilty of taking bribes whereupon Jahan condemned him to be bitten in the hand by a cobra capello. The Emperor did not rise from his seat for an hour, by which time the wretched man had expired.

Manucci further cites a curious punishment in the case of military commanders who fled from battle. Not only were they made to suffer in their own persons but rats were placed in the trowsers of their wives and daughters "to disgrace and frighten them."

The earliest grief to sadden Jahan's long reign was the death of his dearly loved wife. Of their fourteen children only seven survived her. Four of these were sons—Dara, Shuja, Aurangzib and Murad Buksh (Desire attained). The three daughters were the beautiful Jahanara Begam born A.D. 1614, Roshanara Begam, born 1617 and Gauhara born 1631. The second was less good looking and accomplished than her gifted elder sister.

She was, however, possessed of a genius for intrigue, which rendered her a valuable ally to her crafty and ambitious brother, Aurangzib, whose cause she espoused throughout. For her part Jahanara was passionately devoted to Dara, a handsome, generous, and high spirited prince, the favourite of his father. Unfortunately, the prince alienated popular feeling by a certain affected superiority of manner, and a too open espousal of

Western ideas, customs and manners. As heir apparent he maintained a minor court. In defiance of public sentiment his cabinet council consisted of three Jesuit priests, as well as a Neapolitan, named Malpica, a Portuguese, and Henri Burze, a Fleming.

Sultan Shuja was appointed governor of the eastern subahs, Murad of Gujarat, and Aurangzib of the Deccan.

Apart from such administrative ability as he possessed, Shah Jahan's reign is particularly celebrated for the lavish splendour of his Court, and his unparalleled magnificence as a builder. With increasing years his passion for pomp and extravagant display seems to have augmented rather than diminished. Not content with providing beautiful marble additions to the already superb Moghul palace at Agra, he set about erecting a new citadel at Delhi. According to contemporary accounts, by travellers and others, this last surpassed anything of the kind in India or elsewhere.

Collecting the imperial treasure, Jahan caused the famous peacock throne to be constructed. Tavernier, the French Jeweller, saw this marvel and estimated its value at over six millions sterling.

Furthermore Manucci relates how the Emperor devised curious safeguards for his treasure. At Delhi, for example, he caused two deep cellars to be excavated under the palace. Massive marble pillars upheld the ceilings. Gold was stored in one and silver in the other. To prevent of their being carried away surreptitiously he had the precious metals converted into coins of such size and weight as to preclude of their being stolen, and used in ordinary currency.

Of utilitarian works the Ravi Canal was his most important. It was while the Emperor was in Lahore, engaged upon supervising the cutting of the canal, that Manrique, the Portuguese monk, paid a visit to that city. Jahan was then in the fourteenth year of his reign and the height of his prosperity. Asaf Khan, brother to the Dowager Empress Nur Jahan, and father-in-law of the Emperor, was Prime Minister, and drew an annual salary equivalent to five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

During Manrique's stay in Lahore he witnessed the celebrations in honour of the Emperor's birthday. January 6th was the auspicious date. It was ushered in by salvos of big guns. Various spectacular entertainments followed. Early in the afternoon the Emperor paid a visit to his mother, escorted by a long and glittering cavalcade of princes and grandees.

On his return to the Palace a sumptuous banquet was served, after which the real business of the day was transacted. For this the Emperor repaired to a specially prepared apartment, richly furnished and displaying, in the place of honour, a gigantic pair of gold scales incrustated with gems, which swung from massive gold chains. Himself loaded with a dazzling wealth of jewels, the Emperor took his seat in one of the scales. He was then solemnly weighed four times; the first against bags of rupees, the second against bars of gold and precious stones, the third against rich brocades, costly drugs and rare spices, and the fourth against food stuffs and sweet meats. All were then distributed among the poor, who had good cause to exclaim "A happy birthday!"

Not so the nobles. These were next called upon to present their birthday presents, their loyalty being estimated according to the value of their offerings. Many of the gifts were of ruinous cost and sorely taxed the resources of the donors. In return the Emperor bestowed upon each a handful of gold and silver fruit of such light weight that a thousand could not have been worth more than fifty rupees. This discrepancy between what he gave and what he received formed part of Jahan's revenue system.

Tales of magnificence such as this reached Europe, where they fired popular imagination. Possibly the youthful genius of young Milton was influenced thereby. At any rate, the stories gave rise to the prestige of the Great Moghul in far away lands, the very names of which were, probably, unknown to Shah Jahan. When, by reason of his building projects and lavish expenditure generally, the imperial coffers needed replenishing, Jahan turned his attention to the fabulously rich kingdoms of the Deccan. These had already proved a Tom Tiddler's ground whereon his Moghul predecessors had picked up gold and silver at need. The wealth of Golconda alone had long passed into a proverb. Thevenot describes some of the hoarded treasure of the country, and particularly of the palace, which he affirms was "paved with gold." Speaking of the sovereign, he says "—This Prince wears on his head a jewelled ornament, almost a foot long, of inestimable value. It is a rose of great diamonds from three to four inches in diameter. On the top of the rose is a little crown out of which rises a branch resembling a palm tree. The stem is a good inch

in diameter and six inches long. It is made of several sprigs or leaves each having at its extremity a lovely long pearl, in shape like a pear. At the foot of the posie are two bands of gold in which are set large diamonds encircled with rubies which, with great pearls hanging down dangling on all sides, makes an exceeding fine show. These bands are fastened round the head with clasps of diamonds."

Shah Jahan's first attack upon the Deccan was completely successful. In order to save the remnant of their people from annihilation, the Sultans were forced to sue for peace on the Emperor's own terms. Their request was granted. Although they were allowed to remain on in their dominions their power was limited to that of governors, while the Emperor and his successors were proclaimed lords paramount in the Deccan.

In 1656 Aurangzib prevailed upon his father to again wage war against Golconda. Aurangzib appointed his son, Muhammad, leader of the expedition. Directly news of the invasion reached him the Sultan hastened to render his submission but it was a case of the hungry wolf and the lamb. The object of the campaign being plunder, Muhammad sternly refused to consider any explanation or peace overtures. The Mughul troops fell upon the population, slaying until the streets and squares of the richest city in the world literally ran with blood. As it offered the greatest share of loot, the quarter occupied by bankers and jewellers suffered most. The booty was enormous.

Finding resistance vain, the Sultan retreated to his citadel, whence shortage of provisions speedily forced

him to issue forth to give battle at the head of six thousand horse and twelve thousand foot. He again suffered defeat and Muhammad entered the Fort. The Sultan implored mercy for his miserable subjects, but the work of carnage continued until the King's beautiful daughter approached and added her tears and prayers to those of her father.

Muhammad was overcome by the rare loveliness of the princess. A treaty was concluded whereby he received the Sultan's daughter for wife with a kingdom in reversion for dowry.

Early in his reign some unknown cause had rendered Agra distasteful to Shah Jahan. Accordingly, he transferred his capital to Delhi. This city continued the headquarters of his splendid Court until 1657, when he was seized with a dangerous and very painful complaint. Previous to this he had proclaimed Dara, his favourite son, heir apparent.

Nemesis, though tardy, now overtook the stricken Emperor, forcing him to reap as he had sown. His rebellious conduct had darkened the last years of his father, Jahangir's reign. In turn, the revolt of his own sons was to bring his grey hairs "with sorrow to the grave."

No sooner was Jahan incapacitated by illness than Dara assumed the office of Regent. At this time Murād Baksh was in Gujarat, where he promptly defied his eldest brother by causing himself to be proclaimed Emperor, and having coins struck to that effect. Shujah did likewise in Bengal and proceeded to march against Agra.

Meanwhile Aurangzib made no open move. He contented himself with receiving reports from his sister, Roshanara, and other secret agents at Court, and quietly watched the course of events from his post in the Deccan.

Although by far the most ambitious of Jahan's four sons, Aurangzib had persistently concealed his designs upon the Masnad under the cloak of excessive piety. He had even carried his show of religious zeal to such lengths as to affect the habits and wear the dress of a fakir.

Finding his brothers, Shujah and Murad, up in arms against him, Dara hastened with his invalid father to Agra.

Shujah made speed towards the same point, but was intercepted by an army under Jai Singh, Raja of Ambar, defeated and forced to seek safety in Burmah, where he disappeared from the pages of history.

Perceiving that the Imperial forces under Dara were more than a match for any troops which he could singly bring into the struggle for the crown, Aurangzib had recourse to stratagem. He accordingly approached his brother Murad with offers of service. The pretended fakir professed his earnest wish to see Murad proclaimed Emperor. This accomplished, he, Aurangzib, only desired permission to renounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and devote himself to prayers and meditation.

Murad walked into the snare spread for him. Uniting his army with that of Aurangzib, the two combined proved too strong for the Imperial forces. Agra capitulated. Shah Jahan was made prisoner in June, 1658. Dara was forced to fly. For some time he managed to elude his

pursuers, but was ultimately betrayed into their hands. By Aurangzib's orders he was dragged in chains to Delhi, where he was ignominiously paraded through the streets of Shahjahanabad and executed in prison, A.D. 1658.

No sooner was this formidable rival disposed of than Aurangzib, seized Murad and flung him into the state prison at Delhi. Here the unfortunate dupe was murdered in 1662.

Of Jahan's sons only one now remained, and he constituted himself his father's gaoler. The deposed Emperor—the contemporary of Charles I. of England—dragged out eight weary years in the fort at Agra, his captivity shared by his beautiful daughter, Jahanara Begam. Finally, in 1666, he breathed his last in the Saman Burj, or Jasmine Tower, that glittering white marble and gem encrusted pavilion, of many memories. Aurangzib laid the grief-worn body of the aged Emperor in the Taj Mahal beside the wife of his youth, the love of a lifetime.

ITINERARY



FIRST DAY—FORENOON

Start at 7 a.m. Drive through the Ajmir Gate en route for Kutb Minar. First stop—Jantar Mantar. Second stop—Safdar Jang. Third stop—Kutb Minar, where breakfast and lunch may be procured at the Rest House.

FIRST STOP—JANTAR MANTAR

Situated about two miles from Delhi, the Jantar Mantar, or Observatory, consists of a scattered group of curiously shaped buildings suggestive of the figures of a puzzle. At the request of Muhammad Shah, then in the third year of his reign, the Observatory was erected by the most famous astronomer of the age, Jai Singh II., Maharaja of Ambar and founder of the noted city of Jaipur. Although the original design was never completed, quite enough was done to prove considerable astronomical skill. In evidence of this the great equatorial dial still stands, its unusual dimensions having gained for it the title of Samrat Yantar, or Prince of Dials.

Besides the immense gnomon there are two on a smaller scale. The three are connected by a wall on which a graduated semicircle is described for measuring the heights of objects lying due east or west.

Rather south of the Samrat Yantar are two round buildings open to the sky, with a central column in each.

These were designed for observing the sun's azimuth as well as lunar and stellar altitudes and azimuths. The fact that one is the facsimile of the other is attributed to a desire on Jai Singh's part that observations made in the first should be verified or corrected by others taken in the second.

The Jantar Mantar sustained some damage at the hands of Jats and other invaders, but was restored by a descendant of Jai Singh II., the present Maharaja of Jaipur, in honour of King George's visit to Delhi in 1911. A large and complete Jantar Mantar exists within the palace precincts at Jaipur. Similar observatories were erected by Jai Singh II. at Oojein and Benares, the Jantar Mantar, in the last-named city, being in a good state of preservation.

SECOND STOP—SAFDAR JANG.

Prime Minister to Ahmad Shah, Safdar Jang ("Piercer of Battle Ranks") was nephew and successor to Saadat Khan, a Persian from Khorasan, who had so ingratiated himself at the Moghul Court as to be nominated first Nawab of Oudh.

The Piercer of Battle Ranks, whose name, as distinguished from his title, was Mansur Ali Khan, played an important part in Delhi politics, rising to the coveted post of Wazir. He was eventually foiled by Ghazi-ud-Din, grandson to the old Turkoman noble who founded the dynasty of Hyderabad.

The tomb of Safdar Jang is a particularly fine one. Commenced in the year of his death, A.D. 1753, it stands in a beautiful garden about five miles from Delhi. The

palatial sepulchre commands a large extent of ground laid out in lawns, flower beds, fountains and an aqueduct. High battlemented walls display octagonal towers at the corners, conspicuous for elaborately carved screens of pierced red sandstone.

The entrance consists of an imposing gateway. To right of it rise the triple domes of a red sandstone Masjid, the facade adorned by three high arched doorways. The tomb itself is of polished white marble, handsomely sculptured and in a perfect state of preservation. On it is the inscription :—

" However great and pompous a man may be in the presence of his fellow men, he is small and humble before God. "

The cenotaph occupies the central hall of the durgah. Off it open eight rooms, four octagonal and four square. The roof rises to a height of 40 feet, and supports a bulbous dome with marble minarets at each corner. The terrace, on which the mausoleum stands, is raised 10 feet above the level of the garden and is 110 feet square. It gives access to the vault containing the grave of Safdar Jang. A feature of Moghul sepulchres is that the real sarcophagus rests hidden away below ground, being represented by a more ornate cenotaph prominently displayed on an upper storey.

TOMB OF SIKANDAR LODI.

Interest attaches to a group of four dilapidated tombs and the ruins of a mosque situated within easy reach of Safdar Jang. The mausoleum to north is believed to be that of the celebrated Lodi king, Sikandar, best known to Westerners as the first monarch to make his capital

at Agra. The tomb to south is ascribed to the time of Firoz Shah. It belongs to the Pathan period, as does the Masjid. The remains of the last named edifice are similar in design to the famous mosque at Firozabad, which so excited the admiration of Taimur, in 1398, that he carried off all the masons to construct a similar sanctuary for him at Samarkand.

The same neighbourhood contains the Hauz Khas, or bath—a ruined tank—and tomb of the Emperor Firoz Shah, *obit* A. D. 1388.

THIRD STOP—KUTB MINAR.

Described as the seventh wonder of India, the famous Kutb Minar towers eleven miles south-west of Moghul Delhi. It dominates the surrounding country for a considerable distance, defying time, an enemy that has wrought sad havoc with those early Delhis which flourished on and around the spot where it now stands. The first of which any authentic record remains was a large and prosperous capital founded by the Sakars prior to the Christian era. Laid waste by Vikramidita II. about A. D. 78, it was succeeded, towards the middle of the eighth century, by a new metropolis erected by Anang Pal, the first king of the Tamars, a Rajput tribe owning dominion over a considerable tract of land between the Himalayas and the Vindhyan range. The Kutb Minar stands exactly in the middle of the site once covered by their citadel.

During the eleventh century the place again changed masters. It was wrested from the Tamars by the Chauhans, another Rajput tribe. The conquerors

immediately established themselves in Delhi, where, in 1066, they started building the Lal Kot, or Red Fort. This formidable stronghold was two and a half miles in circuit, and was enclosed by walls of colossal proportions. The west side possessed three gateways each 17 feet wide and protected by a portcullis. The ramparts averaged 60 feet in height and 30 feet in thickness, enormous bastions appearing at all the salient angles. The extensive line of curtains was further safeguarded by numerous small towers.

Springing from the north-west corner of Lal Kot the city wall extended northwards for half a mile. It then continued in a southeasterly direction for a mile and a half. Afterwards it ran for a mile along the south, finally returning three-quarters of a mile to its starting-point.

When repeated Muhammadan raids became a serious menace to Delhi it was decided to erect a new fort in the quarter from which attacks were most to be feared. Known as the Rai Prithora, this second stronghold was considerably larger than Lal Kot. The circuit of its walls was four and a half miles more than that of the older fort. At the same time it stood on lower ground and was less easy of defence. Tradition describes it as having had ten gateways. It contained twenty-seven Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist temples, the elaborately carved pillars of which were subsequently used by the Muhammadan conquerors to decorate their mosques.

In spite of the gallant and sustained defence put up by Prithvi Rai, or Rai Prithora. as the last Hindu Emperor

of Delhi is variously called, the city at last fell, in 1193, to the Moslem invaders led by Muhammad Ghorī and his General, Kutb-ud-Din. While Muhammad pushed his victories farther afield Kutb-ud-Din was left behind in the conquered capital with the title of viceroy. He still held this position in 1206, when Muhammad Ghorī died without an heir. This led to the breaking up of the newly created empire. Kutb-ud-Din became ruler of Muhammadan India, with Delhi as his capital. He founded the dynasty known as that of the Slave Kings from the fact that he, and most of his successors, rose from the position of slaves to wield supreme power. The old city, that witnessed their brief hour of glory, is now a deserted ruin, above which the Kutb Minar still towers, a mark of exclamation emphasizing the truth that man's works live long after he has passed away and been forgotten.

Commenced by Kutb-ud-Din Aibak A.D. 1200, the celebrated tower was completed by his son-in-law, Shams-ud-Din Altamash (1210-36). A century later the fourth and fifth storeys were rebuilt by Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1351-88). Owing to the extreme durability of the red sandstone, from which it is constructed, the Minar presents a deceptively modern appearance, while the excellence and curious beauty of the design constitute it the architectural glory of Delhi.

The present height of the tower is 238 feet 1 inch. It slopes from a diameter of 47 feet 3 inches at the base to barely 9 feet at the summit, and is divided into five graduated storeys, each emphasized by a balcony composed of richly carved projecting

pendentives in the style characteristic of the first Pathan period.

The three lower storeys are of red sandstone, and are the work of Kutb-ud-Din and of his favourite slave and successor, his son-in-law Altamash. They are elaborately ornamented with carved scrolls repeating Arabic verses from the Koran and the name and praises of Kutb-ud-Din.

The basement bears twenty-four facets in the form of convex flutings alternately semicircular and rectangular. Those of the floor above are all circular, while those of the third are uniformly angular. On the fourth storey the projections are cylindrical, and on the fifth are both angular and plain.

The first storey runs up 94 feet 11 inches. No doubt it was from here that the Muezzin called to prayer in the beautiful Masjid below. The second storey attains an altitude of 50 feet 8½ inches, the third 40 feet 3½ inches, the fourth 25 feet 4 inches, and the fifth 22 feet 4 inches.

A spiral staircase, numbering over 300 steps, leads to the summit, where a cool, strong breeze may be enjoyed on the hottest and stillest of days. Originally a cupola crowned the column. This was destroyed by earthquake in 1803. Now a simple railing girds the top.

MINAR OF ALA-UD-DIN.

About 425 feet north of Kutb Minar rises the unfinished Minar of Ala-ud-Din. This was begun in 1311, and was intended to have been twice the size and height of its earlier rival. It attained an altitude of 87 feet when work was abandoned owing to Ala-ud-Din's death in 1316.

ALAI DARWAZA.

The abortive tower is by no means the only architectural record left by Ala-ud-Din, a monarch who succeeded to the Masnad through assassinating Jahal-ud-Din, founder of the Pathan line of Khilji. The crime was the blacker in that the regicide was doubly related to his murdered Sovereign, being his nephew and his son-in-law.

In spite of a bad beginning the reign of Ala-ud-Din lasted for twenty years, and was famous for great architectural activity. A religious bigot and iconoclast, he destroyed those Jain, Buddhist and Hindu temples which his predecessors had spared. He then proceeded to sprinkle the outer walls with the blood of 1,000 Moghuls specially massacred for the purpose. He added a fourth court to the Great Mosque and built the town of Siri. His finest achievement was undoubtedly the Alai Darwaza, held by many authorities to be the most beautiful gateway in existence. Its date is placed at A.D. 1310 by which time Hindu masons had learnt to adapt their work to the forms introduced by their alien conquerors.

Consequently the grand portal illustrates the first Pathan period at its very best.

Square in plan the gateway measures $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside and $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet externally. The walls are 11 feet thick, and the height from the floor to the domed ceiling is 47 feet. A lofty door ennobles each of the four sides, while the general effect is further enhanced by a wealth of decorative carving.

Ala-ud-Din sleeps within easy distance of his beautiful

gateway. His tomb stands in the south wall of the enclosure behind the mosque.

MOSQUE OF KUTB-UD-DIN

If time has dealt kindly with Kutb Minar, the same cannot be said of the Great Mosque of Kutb-ud-Din, described by Ibn Batut, the Moorish traveller, who saw it within a century of its erection, as peerless in beauty and extent.

Particular interest attaches to the ruined sanctuary on account of it having been the earliest Muhammadan house of prayer ever built in India. Begun in 1193, immediately after the Mussulman conquest of Delhi, the walls are Pathan, but the richly wrought pillars are the spoils of Hindu, Jain and Buddhist shrines found in the vicinity. As such, Fergusson attributes them to the ninth or tenth century A.D.

On its western side the mosque extends 385 feet from north to south, and is enclosed by eleven fine arches, the largest of which was 22 feet wide and 53 feet high. Their general design may have been that of the alien conquerors, but the exquisite and intricate carving wherewith they are covered is unquestionably Indian.

Behind the arches, at a distance of 32 feet, was the wall. Hindu columns filled up the intervening space with magnificent effect.

A species of pillared hall, 135 feet in length, is regarded as having constituted the Liwan, or shrine, which must have been one of the grandest and most beautiful ever erected. Five rows of sculptured columns support the roof, while an inscription upon the entrance gives

the date A.D. 1193 and the name of Kutb-ud-Din, Commander-in-Chief of the army of Muhammad Ghori, who in that year wrested Delhi from Prithvi Rai, the last Hindu Emperor.

Pillared cloisters enclose the quadrangle to eastward.

From time to time various alterations and additions were made to the Masjid. Under Altamash (1211-36) the sacred enclosure was enlarged and the Kutb Minar brought within its limits. The combined facade of the original and later structures stretched 384 feet, and possessed a depth of 220 feet. The pillars numbered over 600, and nothing could exceed the beauty and variety of the carvings. Further features were introduced by that great builder, Ala-ud-Din Khilji, in 1300.

THE PILLAR OF RAJA DHAVA

This is one of the most curious monuments in India. It stands within the mosque-precincts, where its presence has in turn excited wonder, curiosity and superstitious awe. Opinions differ as to its exact date but it is generally attributed to the third century A.D. According to old belief it was held that so long as the Pillar of Raja Dhava should stand Hindu rule would endure at Delhi. The tradition was repeated to Kutb-ud-Din, who showed how much importance he attached to sayings of the kind by allowing the column a place in his mosque. Here it continues to this day.

The pillar consists of a solid shaft of wrought iron 23 feet 8 inches in length, surmounted by a capital composed of a series of bevelled rims. The theory has been advanced that the pillar was fashioned from

malleable iron built up of horizontal cylinders heated and welded together by the simple process of hammering.

A common belief prevailed that the column was so deeply sunk in the earth that none could penetrate to its foundation. This was quickly disproved. Investigation revealed it to be firmly fixed underground at a depth of 3 feet, where it terminates in a knob resting on eight strong bars attached to stone blocks.

The shaft displays a sharply cut Sanskrit inscription to the effect that "the pillar is the arm of fame of Raja Dhava who obtained, with his own arm, an undivided sovereignty of the earth for a long period." Sad to relate his pillar is all that remains of the fame of Raja Dhava. Who he was or where he lived is alike forgotten. He is believed to have reigned at Delhi in the third or fourth century A.D.

Not only is it very strange to find so mighty a bar of iron forged at so early a period, it almost savours of magic to discover that, although the column has been exposed to the storms of seventeen hundred years, not a particle of rust corrodes its smooth surface. The inscription is as sharply defined and as legible as on the day it was first cut.

THE OLDEST TOMB IN INDIA.

To Altamash, son-in-law to Kutb-ud-Din, belongs the credit of enlarging the Masjid and completing the great Minar. He died in 1236 and is buried near the north-west corner of the mosque. His tomb is the oldest known to exist in India. It was erected by his son and his daughter, afterwards the celebrated Empress Raziyyah,

and is of the prevailing red sandstone relieved with white marble. Originally it was decorated with brilliantly coloured paint and gilding in addition to the carving which, alone, has survived the ravages of time.

In the western wall is a mihrab after the fashion of a mosque.

Unlike most buildings of the kind the durgah is open at the top. Tradition ascribes this to a wish on the part of Altamash to have "no other roof than the sky."

Further picturesque remains are those of Lal Kot and Kila Rai Prithora, the old forts of the last Hindu king of Delhi.

Numerous traces are still discernible of an early Buddhist temple. Now Hindu, Jain, Buddhist and Muhammadan ruins mingle in one common dust; time, that great socialist and leveller, being no more a respecter of creeds than of persons.

THE TOMB OF ADHAM KHAN.

Leaving the immediate neighbourhood of the Minar attention is attracted to an imposing mausoleum, the Dargah of Adham Khan. It stands on a slight eminence reached by flights of stone steps, about half a mile to the south-west. The building is large and roomy and is encircled by a wide corridor. It is now used as a rest house by officers of the Delhi district.

Some compunction at this invasion of his slumbers might be felt but for Adham Khan's history. As it is even the most merciful must opine that in death, as in life Adham Khan does not merit much consideration.

A noted General in the Moghul Army, Adham Khan

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was son to Maham Anka, a lady who, as nurse to Akbar exercised a powerful influence over that great Emperor in his youth. Early in his reign Akbar (1556-1605) despatched Adham Khan to suppress a rising in Malwa. The insurrection was headed by Baz Bahadur, an adherent of the rival house of Sur.

Adham Khan was completely successful. Baz was forced to seek safety in flight, leaving his beautiful wife Rup Mati, the noted poetess, behind in Sarangapur. No sooner had the Moghul General stormed the enemy's citadel than he sent word to Kup Mati commanding her to receive him. The unfortunate lady dared not disobey. Accordingly she dressed in her finest robes, donned all her jewels and decked herself with sweetly perfumed flowers. She spared no pains whereby she might enhance her fatal loveliness. The conqueror becoming impatient at the delay she bade him approach.

Eager to see the beautiful and far-famed poetess Adham Khan lost no time in obeying the summons. Entering the forbidden Zanana precincts he hastened towards the direction indicated. On the threshold of Rup Mati's chamber he paused to feast his gaze upon a face and form fairer far than rumour had painted. She was indeed lovely. Suddenly a curious fear assailed him. Why was the beautiful woman so strangely still? Was she transfixed with terror at his presence? If so he would reassure her. Advancing he laid a caressing hand upon one rounded arm. It was cold. A faint sweet fragrance hovered round her like that of a certain flower whose fragrance is poison. Then he knew the truth. She had preferred death to his embrace.

Enraged by what he deemed the insult offered him, Adham Khan consoled himself by appropriating two young girls belonging to Baz Bahadur's family. These he relegated to his harem. News of the affair reaching Akbar, the General was commanded to relinquish the girls. The order was never obeyed for Maham Anka, the General's mother, put both to death.

Adham Khan was recalled to Agra, where he continued for some time in disgrace. It was not long before Nemesis overtook him. Jealous of Shams-ud-din, best known as Azam Khan, the Atgah or "Foster Father" of the Emperor, Adham Khan planned his death. To this end he dealt him a fatal thrust in a fracas one evening in the Palace at Agra. Akbar had retired to rest. Adham Khan hastened to the imperial bedroom to plead his cause and sue for mercy. The Emperor received him with a well-directed blow which knocked him senseless. Twice Akbar caused him to be flung from the roof of the Palace to the courtyard below. The second fall broke his neck. At the time Maham Anka was living at Delhi where she had founded a college. Some vague rumour reaching her she hastened to Agra to learn the truth. On her arrival she was received by the Emperor, who told her the facts of the case. When she knew all she bowed her head saying in a low voice: "His Majesty has done well."

With this she returned, brokenhearted, to Delhi, where she died in little more than a month.

Akbar erected the handsome durgah near Kutb Minar for her remains and those of her son.

BAOLIS

Not far from where Adham Khan and his mother lie are two immense baolis, or wells of considerable depth and unusual proportions. Three sides of each long-shaped enclosure are surrounded by tiers of stone corridors, while the approach to the water is down innumerable flights of stone steps. Men and boys hover in the vicinity eager to earn a few annas by diving into the inky depths from a dizzy height for the entertainment of visitors.

Two hundred feet south-east of Adham Khan's tomb is yet another, the mausoleum containing the sons and brothers of his victim Azam Khan.

DURGAH OF SULTAN GHORI

Sultan Ghorī was the son of Altamash. His mausoleum lies to the west of Kutb Minar in the deserted village of Mallickpur Koyi. It is chiefly composed of marble and is a good example of the best Pathan period.

RETURN JOURNEY

First Stop—Nizam-ud-Din. Second Stop—Humayun's Tomb.

Third Stop—Indraprastha, otherwise known as Indrapat, or Purana Kila.

FIRST STOP—NIZAM-UD-DIN

Named after the saint, whose tomb renders it one of the most revered places of Muhammadan pilgrimage in India, Nizam-ud-Din is a little village about five miles

from Moghul Delhi. The cemetery is particularly interesting as containing characteristic examples of marble masonry representing the continuous efforts of six centuries.

Entrance is through a low stone gateway flanked by apartments now used as schoolrooms. The date on the gate is A.D. 1378. Both it and an inner portal, by the tank, were built by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The tank contains a sunken archway rumoured to lead to a cell once occupied by the saint.

On either side of the entrance is an old Pathan tomb while to the right rises a double-storeyed mosque.

The first building to attract attention is the Chausat Kamba, or Hall of Sixty-four Pillars, erected by the Moghul Emperor Jahangir (1605-27). It contains the tomb of Aziza Kokal Tash, a foster-brother of the great Akbar, and consists of a marble hall shut in on all four sides by carved screens of white marble. The roof is covered by twenty-five small domes. A little farther on is the enclosure containing the tomb of Nizam-ud-Din.

The Saint

Numerous pilgrimages are made to the spot hallowed by long association with the pir, or saint, and many marvellous tales are told of cures wrought by a visit to the shrine, of prayers miraculously answered and boons conferred. Enemies of the sanctuary recount other and sinister traditions concerning the personality of the holy man who flourished under Ala-ud-Din Khilji and five subsequent monarchs. According to these Nizam-ud-

Din is variously described as having been a wizard, a member of a dangerous secret society with headquarters at Khorasan, in Persia, and as the founder of Thuggism.

Like Muhammad, whose follower he was, Nizam-ud-Din appears to have been subject to ecstatic fits, under the influence of which he uttered prophecies. In this connection it is told how, while Ghias-ud-Din Tughlaq Shah was absent on a military expedition, Nizam-ud-Din foretold that he would never return alive to Delhi but that his son, Muhammad Tughlaq, would succeed to the Masnad. On being warned that in spite of his prophecy the Emperor was even then making all speed to his capital, Nizam-ud-Din tranquilly replied: "Hinoz Dilli dur ast" ("Delhi is still far"). Events proved him correct. Ghias-ud-Din never re-entered his capital. He was killed as he was about to do so.

It is related how, when Nizam-ud-Din died, Muhammad Tughlaq Shah was one of those who carried his bier to the tomb where his mortal remains now lie.

In the central court is the durgah of Nizam-ud-Din. A white marble veranda runs round the exterior, while screens of pierced white marble safeguard the sarcophagus. The dome is of the Pathan type. The mausoleum was erected by Muhammad Ibn Tughlaq (1324-51).

KHIZRI MOSQUE

Impinging upon the western wall of the durgah is the Yamat Khana or Khizri Mosque, a sombre edifice erected by Firoz Tughlaq III., A.D. 1353.

To south of where the saint sleeps cluster the graves

of many noted personages. Great indeed was considered the privilege of being buried near to so holy an influence.

GRAVE OF JAHANARA BEGAM

Next to the mosque is a marble enclosure, the grave of Jahanara Begam. The beautiful daughter of Jahan Shah, the faithful companion of his long imprisonment in the fort at Agra, sleeps beneath a casquet-shaped monument decorated with raised tracery. The top is open and filled in with turf. At one extremity a narrow marble slab, some six feet high, bears the celebrated inscription composed by the princess herself shortly before her death at Delhi in 1681. The lines run:—

"Let no rich pall adorn my grave. The grass is the best covering for the tomb of the poor in spirit, the humble, the transitory Jahanara, disciple of the holy men of Chisht, the daughter of the Emperor Jahan."

The holy men of Chisht here referred to were the fakirs of Ajmir. The most noted of the community was Salim Chishti, the saintly founder of Fath'pur Sikri.

Bernier describes Jahanara Begam as "very beautiful, a great wit and passionately beloved by her father." Many tales are told of this popular Princess whose golden bedstead bore the following Hindi inscription:—"Begam Sahib ka palang sone ka" (The Begam's golden bed). Manucci says of her that she was "lovely, discreet, loving, generous, openminded and charitable. She was loved by all, and lived in state and magnificence. This princess had an annual income of three million rupees, in addition to the revenues of the port of Surat, assigned for her expenditure on betel. She had in addition many

precious stones and jewels that had been given to her by her father. She exerted herself a great deal to secure the crown for her brother, Dara..... When the Begam leaves her palace to go to court she proceeds in great pomp, with much cavalry and infantry and many eunuchs. The last named, who surround her very closely, thrust on one side everyone they find in front of them, shouting, pushing and assaulting everybody without the least respect of persons." He goes on to tell how the Princess was borne in a palanquin covered with a rich cloth, or net of gold glittering with jewels or pieces of looking glass. Water sprinklers walked in front laying the dust. Eunuchs drove away the flies with peacock feather switches attached to long gold handles decorated with brilliant enamels and gem encrusted. Men servants carried staffs of gold or silver and frayed a passage shouting "Out of the way!" Others held up vases containing perfume. The princess, once the object of so much adulation, sleeps between a son and daughter of two later Moghul Emperors. To east lies Muhammad Shah, the unfortunate monarch during whose reign Delhi was sacked in 1739 and a hundred thousand of the population massacred by the Persain invader, Nadir Shah.

THE GOLDEN-TONGUED PARROT

A gateway to the south leads to the tomb of Khusru, the first Urdu poet. His sweet and musical verses gained him the nick name of the "Golden-Tongued Parrot." He was a contemporary of Nizam-ud-Din and the favourite bard of Firoz Tughlaq III., in whose palace he was a *persona grata*. His songs are still popular.

CHABUTRA YARAIN

Hard by is the Chabutra Yarain, or Seat of Friends whereon Nizam-ud-Din was in the habit of sitting and conversing with his intimates. The same enclosure contains the durgah of Mirza Jahangir, a son of Akbar II. The tomb is exquisitely carved in a design of flowers and leaves and is surrounded by a beautiful marble screen.

Near neighbour to the campo santo is the great well, known as Nizam-ud-Din's baoli. It was built in 1321 by the first of the Tughlaqs, the Emperor Ghizas-ud-Din, founder of Tughlaqabad. Here boys dive for annas.

DURGAH OF AZAM KHAN

Outside the east wall is the tomb of Azam Khan, the Atgah, or foster-father of the great Akbar. He it was who saved Humayun's life in battle when that monarch was defeated by Sher Shah. Eventually Azam Khan was murdered by Adham Khan in the palace at Agra. Akbar executed summary justice upon the assassin.

SECOND STOP—THE TOMB OF HUMAYUN

Not far from Nizam-ud-Din is the tomb of Humayun. Particular interest attaches to it from an architectural point of view, for it is the earliest example of the Moghul school, and introduces certain characteristic features. Notable innovations are the minars, or towers, which here appear for the first time at the four angles of the main building. The narrow necked dome is also a novelty.

Humayun himself selected the site for his mausoleum

Upon his death in 1556 the work was immediately started by his widow, Hamida Banu, popularly known as Haji Begam, the mother of Akbar. This princess is buried here, as are several Emperors and Princes of the House of Taimur, notably Jahandar Shah (1712-13), Farrukh-Siyarshah (1723-19), and Alamgir II. (1754-59).

The durgah was completed in 1565 at a cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees. It stands in the midst of a large garden, planted with grass and flowers, and screened by high walls with superb gateways to the south and west. Built of red sandstone ornamented with marble bands, it stands on two graduated terraces. The upper of these contains the grave of Dara Shikoh, favourite son and heir apparent to Shah Jahan. The ill-fated prince never mounted the masnad, being murdered by his brother Aurangzib while a captive in the state prison of Salimgarh.

The actual tomb of Humayun is of polished white marble. It occupies the place of honour in the large central chamber, off which open a number of lesser apartments.

It was in one of these dimly-lighted rooms—the nearest on the right—that Bahadur Shah, the last Moghul Emperor of Delhi, sought refuge in 1857 after the fall of the city.

History records nothing stranger nor more dramatic than the imperial tragedy enacted within the shadowy tomb on that hot September afternoon. Here, by the gleaming marble sarcophagus of the first hereditary monarch of the House of Taimur, the last monarch of the famous line yielded up the sword wherewith Huma-

yun had cut his way to Empire. Bahadur Shah surrendered unconditionally to the British as represented by Major Hodson, Lieutenant Macdowell, and a small force of Indian troopers.

The Emperor's life was spared, but his sons and nephews were summarily executed by Major Hodson, with his own hand, within sight of the tomb. For this act the British Parliament resolved that Major Hodson should be recalled and stand his trial in England. Meanwhile the gallant and greatly-daring officer had fallen, mortally wounded, at the storming of Begam Kothi, now the Post Office, Lucknow. He is buried near La Martiniere College in that city.

At one time the upper storey of Humayun's tomb was used as a college. This turned out scholars of repute, but was abandoned rather more than a century and a half ago.

Opposite the durgah stand the tomb and mosque of Isa Khan built by Islam Shah Suri, A.D. 1547.

THIRD STOP—INDRAPRASTHRA, OTHERWISE INDRAPAT, OR PURANA KILA

According to most authorities Indraprasthra is the oldest site in Delhi. Here stood the famous city built in pre-historic times by the five Pandava Princes, the heroes of the Mahabharata. As such it is claimed to have been the contemporary of Troy.

The name is essentially Hindu. Literally interpreted it signifies Indra's field, from *Indra*, the god, and the Sanscrit word *prasthra*, a field. It is believed to have formed part of one of five tracts of land held by the five

Pandava Princes, and claimed by Yudisthira, their leader as the price of peace. Despite the modesty of this demand their adversary, the Kuru sovereign Duryodhana, reported that they should not have so much country as a needle's point could cover.

The ultimatum led to a rupture of diplomatic relations. The five princes marched against the king. They inflicted a crushing defeat upon him on the plain of Karuchet, not far from the hardly less celebrated battlefield of Panipat. This war is said to have taken place about the middle of the fifteenth century B.C., in which case the founding of Delhi would be contemporaneous with the Exodus and Ninevah.

In those distant days the river bed of the Jumna lay a mile to the west of its present position. Its old course is now traced by the modern road.

LAL DARWAZA

The Lal Darwaza, or Red Gate, is a fine example of the third Pathan period. It faces the old Fort from the opposite side of the road, and was originally the Kabul Gate of the Delhi of Sher Shah and Humayun. The capital of these two rival claimants for Imperial power extended from the Lal Darwaza to south of the site now occupied by Humayun's tomb. The circuit of the walls was twice that of Shahjahanabad or Moghul Delhi.

In January, 1612, Finch, the English merchant venturer, paid the city a visit on his way to the Court of Jahangir. He describes how he approached it from the south, crossing the river by means of the Bara Pul, a bridge of eleven arches which led to the Ajmir Gate.

PURANA KILA

The Old Fort is also known as Dinpana, or Asylum of the Faithful. Little more than a mile in circumference, it is rectangular in plan and is enclosed by walls of great solidity. These are rather mocked by the incongruous and, comparatively, fragile kiosks that appear above them in a couple of places. Traces of enamel still show on the gateways. The interior is now occupied by a village. Above the insignificant flat-roofed huts two buildings rise conspicuously. One is Sher Mosque and the other Sher Mandal. The first is also known as Kila Kana Masjid. Both were erected about 1541 by Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan conqueror of Humayun.

After the defeat and flight of the Moghul Emperor, Sher Shah assumed the position of Sultan of Delhi. He made the Old Fort his citadel, re-naming it Sher-garh after himself. He reigned wisely and well from 1540 until 1545, when he was killed at the siege of Kalingar. Brief as was his tenure of office his name ranks among the greatest rulers India can claim, the famous land revenue system enforced by Akbar having originated with him.

Within a few years of the death of Sher Shah Humayun again became paramount at Delhi, returning to his former citadel, where he died on January 26th, 1556.

SHER MOSQUE

This celebrated Masjid is the finest example of the third Pathan period. Built of sharply-chiselled red sandstone, relieved with marble, slate and coloured

stone work, it displays a flat roof with a crenellated sky line. Small pinnacles appear at the corners and a bold dome in the centre. The facade consists of five horseshoe arches above high, deeply-embayed portals, while the interior was decorated with brilliantly coloured enamelling.

In conformity with Pathan custom the Muezzin stood on the flat roof to call to worship. This stern race of Muhammadans does not seem to have regarded the minars of the Moghuls as adjuncts to a house of prayer, but rather as towers indicative of temporal power and the pride of victory.

SHER MANDAL

Sher Mandal is a small two-storeyed edifice of red sandstone, octagonal in shape, and surmounted by a kiosk, or open pavilion. The first steep flight of steps leads to a stone chamber, once Humayun's library. Here faint traces are still discernible of mural colour decoration. It was on the staircase that Humayun met with the accident which caused his death. He had climbed up on to the roof to pray and enjoy a huqah in the moonlight. Coming down he fell and sustained mortal injury, a mishap that will surprise no one who has ever made the descent.

For a while he lay senseless at the foot of the flight, but ultimately recovered sufficiently to rise and walk back to his apartments in the citadel. There he died within a few days at the age of forty-seven, just six months after he had succeeded in regaining his lost empire.

KOTILA

As the return journey to Delhi is made, along the Muttra Road, the eye is attracted by a group of ruins, from which a tall column detaches itself with increasing distinctness. This is the Kotila, otherwise known as Firoz Shah's Lat. It was brought to its present position by Firoz Shah Tughalq (1351-88). This sovereign found it in the village of Tobra in the Khizrabad district. He caused it to be wrapped in reeds and ramskins. Thus carefully encased it was lifted on to a specially constructed wagon run on forty-two wheels. Men hauled it with ropes to the Jumna, whence it was transported by boat, to be finally set up in the new city of Firozabad.

Originally erected by Asokha, King of Magadha, 250 B. C., the Kotila is one of a series of pillars built by him from Kabul to Orissa. Cut out of palish pink sandstone the monolith rests upon a pyramidal structure of rubble-stone, and attains a height of 42 feet. The base is rough but the remaining 35 feet show a brilliant polish. It is covered with inscriptions the oldest of which are in ancient Pali, the spoken language of the third century B.C., a vernacular Sanscrit of Buddhist times that still survives as the sacred tongue of certain Buddhist countries.

The writing on the pillar repeats the fourteen famous edicts of Asoka concerning the preservation of animal life, the extending of cultivated areas, quinquennial expiation, the establishment and promulgation of religion, the ordination of priests, the appointment of reporters, provision for the administration of justice, religious toleration, the King's condemnation of frivolity, prohibi-

tion of vain festivities, the King's desire that his people should be righteous, the duty of munificence, and thirteen names of contemporary sovereigns, including those of Antiochus II., Ptolemaios Philadelphus, and Antigonus Gonatus, 280-240 B.C. In conclusion the pillar relates how Asoka caused wells to be sunk and trees to be planted along the wayside.

When Finch visited Delhi, early in the seventeenth century, the pillar was surmounted by a glittering globe and gilded crescent, hence the name *Minara-i-Zurin*, or Golden Column, which he heard applied to it.

The encircling ruins are all that remain of the citadel of the once flourishing town of Firozabad, said to have had a population of 150,000, and to have been over six miles in length and two in breadth. From the fragments scattered around the base of the Kotila it is impossible to determine either the plan or the dimensions of the ancient palace. The probability is that it was a massive stone structure of the type characteristic of the Second Pathan Period, an excellent example of which survives in the Kalan Masjid. This old mosque was likewise built by Firoz Shah and stood within the walls of his metropolis. His architectural activity may be gathered from the fact that in addition to erecting Firozabad he is stated to have built 40 mosques, 30 schools, 20 sarais, 5 hospitals, 100 tombs, 10 baths, 150 wells, 100 bridges, a canal from the Jumna and 50 sluices.

It was to the ruins surrounding the Kotila that the Moghul Emperor Alamgir II. was lured to his death by the orders of Ghazi-ud-Din, the Commander-in-Chief, to whom he originally owed his place on the Masnad.

Upon being told that a noted fakir had taken up his abode in the ruins of Firoz Shah's citadel the pious Emperor announced his intention of paying the holy man a visit. Accordingly he repaired to the deserted spot. He was about to enter the pretended lodging of the saint when he was seized and his head struck off. The hired assassins then flung the body on to the river bank, where it lay for a couple of days. Finally it was buried, but without regal honours.

SECOND DAY—FORENOON

Visit the Fort, Jama Masjid, Jain Temple, Chandni Chauk and Kalan Masjid.

THE FORT

The Moghul Palace, or Fort as it has come to be called, stands within the city originally named Shahjahanbad, but now better known as Delhi. High but not particularly massive walls run round the enclosure, an irregular octagon a mile and a half in circumference, having two long sides on the east and west, and six short ones to north and south.

In front of the river the battlements rise 60 feet, increasing to a height of 110 feet on the landside, where further protection was afforded by a moat 75 feet wide and 30 feet deep. Bernier, the celebrated French physician to the Court of Aurangzib speaks of this ditch as plentifully stocked with fish. He goes on to tell how it adjoined beautifully laid out gardens, and how the low land to the east, between the Palace and the Jumna,

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served as a parade ground and as the arena for those celebrated elephant fights, a form of sport to which the Moghuls were particularly attached.

The Fort is the work of Shah Jahan, the monarch who removed the headquarters of empire from Agra to the near neighbourhood of Humayun's Delhi. Here he set about erecting his citadel on the main land immediately south of Salimgarh, a stronghold built by Islam Shah in 1546 as a defence against the advance of Humayun.

Manucci gives an interesting account of the operations, and declares that Jahan obtained his building materials from the ruins of ancient Delhi and Tughlaqabad. He writes:—"The Emperor expended large sums in the construction of the city, and in the foundations he ordered several decapitated criminals to be placed as a sign of sacrifice. The said city is on the bank of the river Jumna, in a large plain of great circumference, and is in the shape of an imperfect half moon. The walls are built one half of brick and the rest of stone. At every hundred paces is a strengthening bastion, but on these there is no artillery. The chief gates are the one leading to Agra, and the one leading to Lahore. Within the city are large and well built bazaars, where are sold things of every kind. The principal are those which correspond with the streets leading to the fortress, and end with the two above mentioned gates. There are also in Delhi fine palaces for the nobles. A great number of other houses have thatched roofs but are highly decorated and commodious inside. In one corner of the city, on the northern side, is the royal fortress facing the east. In front, between it and the river is

left a space for elephant fights. The king sits at the window to look on, as likewise the women, but they are behind gratings. From there also the King sees the parades held on the same ground, of Omrahs (grandees), Rajas and nobles. Beneath the royal balconies a mad elephant is kept, night and day, out of ostentation. Shah Jahan planted two gardens, one on the north side, the other on the south. As the river Jumna does not rise high enough to irrigate them Shah Jahan, at great expense and labour, constructed a deep canal from a river near Sirhind, one hundred leagues from Delhi."

Jahan called his new metropolis Shahjahanabad. With time this gradually gave place to the more familiar title of Delhi; so that although the ancient city had yet again changed its site, its name survived as capital of Hindustan.

Chiefly constructed of red sandstone the citadel took nine years to complete. It consisted of twelve principal edifices, several of which have entirely disappeared, and their place been taken by grass planted lawns. The work was finished in 1648 at an estimated cost of one hundred lakhs of rupees.

Word that his beautiful new palace was ready for his reception reached Jahan in Kabul. He was then in the twentieth year of his reign and the fifty-seventh of his age. Upon receipt of the welcome intelligence he made all speed to Delhi, where he was received with that pomp and pageantry he so highly valued.

His state entry was through the gate facing the river. The handsome prince Dara Shikoh, his favourite son and heir-apparent, rode in the howdah beside him, scattering

gold and silver over the Emperor's head. Meanwhile the Palace had been splendidly decorated with all that wealth could lavish or art devise. Superb hangings and carpets adorned the courtyards, which were gay with howkebahs, those stars of gold and other bright metals only hung up in front of imperial palaces. Velvets, painted and embroidered silks from China, kincobs and rich soft crimson shawls from Kashmir draped walls, colonnades and ceilings. The Emperor signified his approval by a lavish bestowal of honours and gifts.

During the reign of Shah Jahan and that of Aurangzib, his successor, the Fort was known as the Kila-i-Mubarak, or Fortunate Citadel, as well as by its historical name of Kila-i-Shahjahanabad. Under Bahadur Shah II. (1837-57), the last Moghul Emperor, it was styled the Kila-i-Mualla, or Exalted Fortress. This explains how the Court language of that period came to be termed Urdu-i-Mualla.

Since the splendid days of Shah Jahan—days when the rich were very very rich, and the poor were very very poor—the citadel has suffered many and cruel vicissitudes of fortune. In 1719 considerable damage was done by repeated earthquake shock, which continued for over a month. In 1739 the Persian invader, Nadir Shah, carried off the famous Peacock Throne together with many other palace treasures. Later on serious havoc was wrought by Maratha assaults during the reign of Ahmad Shah Durani in 1759. Finally the minor courts, connecting corridors, several buildings and gardens were demolished soon after the mutiny of 1857. The materials were utilized in the present barracks-

The result is that little remains to testify to the once unparalleled magnificence of the Palace as described by Bernier and others.

Gates

There are two main entrances to the Fort, the Lahore Gate to the west and the Delhi Gate to the south. The latter displays two splendid elephants set up by Lord Curzon to replace the originals destroyed by that relentless iconoclast, Aurangzib. In addition to these two principal gates, there are three others of minor importance. Particular interest attaches to the one leading to Salimgarh as having been used by the King Emperor George V. at his state entry in 1911.

South of the Rang Mahal the base of the wall was formerly pierced by a wicket. This is now closed. Tradition points to it as the King's Gateway, and tells how it was only opened to allow of the dead body of an Emperor being carried out to burial.

Below the Musaman Burj is the Khizri, or Water Gate of Mutiny fame. On the memorable morning of May 11th, 1857, Captain Douglas desired it might be flung wide to allow of his addressing the mutineers gathered in force on the low ground by the river.

Although seldom visited, on account of its out-of-the-way position, the water gate beyond the Asad Burj is both interesting and characteristic.

CHATTA CHAUK

The Fort is usually entered from the west where the Gate looks across to Chandni Chauk, the principal thoroughfare of Delhi.

Like most of the buildings in Jahan's citadel Lahore Gate is of red sandstone. It displays an arch 41 feet high and 25 feet wide, set between half octagon towers surmounted by octagonal pavilions. Further decoration takes the form of a screen of small coupled chattris below seven diminutive white marble cupolas that finish in tapering minars topped by lanterns.

Aurangzib (1658-1707) sought to further strengthen the west entrance by erecting a barbican with walls running up 40 feet and a doorway, on the north side, surmounted by an embattled parapet and minars.

When news of these additions reached Jahan, in his prison at Agra, he wrote to his usurping son: "You have made the Fort a bride and set a veil before her face."

The square in front of the Lahore Gate was the camping ground of Hindu nobles during the twenty-four hours it was their turn to mount guard.

The grand archway admits to a roofed arcade. This is the famous Chatta Chauk (Umbrella Street) otherwise known as the Bazar-i-Musaqqa, or Covered Mart. It is of the prevailing red sandstone beautifully carved in floral designs, and bears inscriptions from the Koran. The sides are lined with double rows of cloisters, while the centre is marked by an octagonal courtyard open to the sky. Bishop Heber likens this unique approach to the aisle of a vast Gothic cathedral. It is said that the plan was suggested by Jahan himself.

Originally the Chatta Chauk led through to a great quadrangle with a tank in the middle and arcaded cloisters all round. This court was 200 feet square, and was

occupied by the Omrahs of the Nazir, or Controller of the Household. To left and right stretched arcades gay with the vivid life of the bazaar. Here sat the Court jewellers, goldsmiths, picture painters, workers in enamel, carpet manufacturers, weavers of rich silks, kincobs, fine cloths for turbans and makers of pyjama girdles ornamented with gold and silver flowers, together with a thousand other beautiful and costly luxuries adapted to the sumptuous taste of the most splendid court in the world.

NAUBHAT KHANA

Although the quadrangle has disappeared an important building, once situated on its eastern side, still survives. This is the Nakkar, or Naubhat Khana. It was the imperial drum house, where, on ordinary occasions, the orchestra played five times during the twenty-four hours. On Sunday, which was kept as a festival sacred to the sun, music continued from dawn until dark. A similar mark of respect was paid to the day of the week on which the reigning Emperor happened to have been born.

The orchestra consisted of three varieties of drum respectively entitled the Kowrek or Demameh, the Nekarah and the Dchl. Other instruments consisted of the Sing or conch shell, and different kinds of gold, silver and brass trumpets designated the Serna, the Nefer, and a third in the form of a cow's horn.

Abul fazl describes the customary musical programme repeated every morning. An hour before sunrise a vigorous blast of the Serna called sleepers to awaken.

Simultaneously the Kowreh was beaten. These two were soon joined by the Kerna and the Nafer, the other instruments following suit with the sole exception of the Nekarah. An interlude followed. This was broken by the Serna and Nafer which played the musical modes. Last of all the Nekarah was loudly beaten. This gave a signal for the people to pray, with one voice, for blessings upon the Emperor. Such was the reveille sounded in every palace, camp and garrison throughout Hindustan during the plenitude of Moghul dominion.

Before passing the Naubhat Khana all were forced to alight excepting only the Emperor and princes of the blood. Even Ambassadors and other high dignitaries were obliged to proceed from here on foot to the Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience.

DIWAN-I-AM

Originally 500 feet long and 300 feet wide, the court of the great Darbar Hall was enclosed by arcaded cloisters, brilliantly gilt and decorated with brightly painted chunam, or shell plaster. The cells in the encircling colonnade were two deep. They were divided between the Omrahs, among whom rivalry waxed keen on State occasions as to whose quarters should make the bravest show.

The imperial kitchens lay to north. To east was the Diwan-i-Am built of red sandstone, formerly overlaid with richly gilt and coloured mouldings.

JHAROKHA

Commanding the body of the hall a few feet above the floor level, the main wall opens to display a white

marble recess, 20 feet wide, protected by an elaborately carved marble balustrade. The interior is panelled with small squares of black marble, unique of their kind in India. These are wonderfully inlaid with coloured mosaic in semi-precious stones such as jade, agate, lapis lazuli, etc. Birds and flowers are most exquisitely executed and the designs are worthy of the workmanship being those of Austin de Bordeaux, 'a renegade jeweller of genius, who sought refuge at the Court of Shah Jahan after having defrauded various European sovereigns by means of imitation gems.

A much discussed feature of the mosaic is the figure of Orpheus seated under a tree playing the lute to an audience composed of a lion, a hare and a leopard. The central figure is held to represent de Bordeaux himself.

The recess was known as the *Nashiman-i-zill-i-ilahi*, or Seat of the Shadow of God, but was more commonly alluded to as the *Jharokha*. Here the Great Moghul sat daily for a couple of hours in Public Darbar. Petitions were handed up to him by high Court officials specially stationed below for that purpose. So much importance was attached to these mid-day Darbars that the Emperor dared not absent himself without imminent danger of a general rising.

The Judgment Seat is entered from behind, where it used to connect with the Emperor's apartments by means of a staircase and corridors. In those days the scene must indeed have been a splendid one. Bernier depicts the great hall as hung with heavy curtains of purple brocade looped with cords of scarlet silk tasselled with gold. Magnificent Persian carpets, of extraordinary length

and breadth, stretched under foot while a purdah of flowered tissue veiled the Jharokha until such time as the Emperor should appear. Sounds of music floated from the Naubhat Khana swelling the confused hum that rose from the waiting throng. Immediately below the Judgment Seat was a small marble platform inlaid with semi-precious stones. Tradition ascribes it as having been reserved for the Vazir and the Maharajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur. Beyond the raised dais a heavy silver balustrade enclosed a space, 40 feet by 30 feet, sacred to the highest nobles of the empire. Without again stood dignitaries of less exalted rank, minor officials being relegated to the Gulal Bari or Red Enclosure immediately outside the Diwan-i-Am. The remainder of the vast court and encircling cloisters was thronged with spectators, litigants, petitioners and others who had business with the Emperor, for the Great Moghul was personally accessible to the least of his subjects.

When the crowd threatened to become too pressing, further admittance was denied by mace bearers and attendants who laid about them with heavy cudgels in a manner that meant business.

At a given signal all conversation was stilled and movement ceased. Every one present, from prince to peasant, assumed an attitude of profound humility, standing with bent head, downcast eyes and hands crossed upon the breast. Shah Jahan had abolished the fashion of kissing the earth at the Emperor's approach. The music in the Naubhat Khana grew louder and more triumphant. Simultaneously the flowered curtains fell apart. High up in his recess, like a picture on the wall,

glittered the dazzling figure of the Great Moghul, a figure to strike terror, for a frown meant death. He sat on the Peacock Throne, a large chair or divan of solid gold, the birds decorating it being ablaze with diamonds, pearls, sapphires, rubies and emeralds.

Bernier describes the Emperor's dress. It consisted of a white satin tunic heavily embroidered in a raised design of coloured silk flowers outlined in gold. Cloth of gold composed the turban. This fastened in front with a jewelled bird resembling a heron, set with diamonds of extraordinary size and value, one immense yellow stone, said to be priceless, shining like a small sun in the claw. A collar of great pearls fell from throat to waist. At either side of the Emperor stood princes of the blood apparelled with appropriate magnificence, while splendidly dressed attendants, armed with peacock fans and switches cooled the air and kept off insects.

The business of the day began forthwith. Each plaintiff, no matter how poor, nor how insignificant, had but to hold up his hand with a petition and he obtained a hearing. As soon as the Emperor caught sight of him he was commanded to approach and his case was dealt with.

When the proceedings threatened to grow monotonous, or the Emperor wearied of executing justice, the imperial horses were brought past the Jharokha for inspection. Next came the elephants. Each had its hide painted, a brilliant black, two vermilion lines running down from the forehead to form a V on the trunk. In addition the animals were richly caparisoned, having splendidly embroidered cloths as complete covering, while each wore a

massive silver chain across its back, with two dangling silver bells at the sides making a musical tinkle-tinkle with every movement. From the ears of the imperial elephants fell long white chouries made from the tails of the yak, or Tibetan ox, and counted extremely valuable.

JILAU KHANA.

In Moghul times a gateway, north of the Diwan-i-Am, opened into the first of two courtyards which guarded the approach of the Diwan-i-Khas, or Hall of Special Audience. Neither of these courtyards now exists. Their position is marked by shrubberies and lawns. A gateway known as the Jilau Khana, or Abode of Splendour, led through the western wall of the first quadrangle. It was characterized by a scarlet awning, hence it earned the name of Lal Purdah, or Red Curtain.

DIWAN-I-KHAS.

Now nothing more formidable than open grass-planted spaces divide the Diwan-i-Am from the once jealously guarded Hall of Special Audience. This beautiful marble pavilion stands on a raised platform, its flat roof supported by engrailed arches, and pillars inlaid with mosaic flowers in green serpentine, many coloured agate, red and purple porphyry and blue lapis lazuli. On the cornices at either end gold letters repeat the world-famous inscription: "If there be a Paradise on earth it is this, it is this."

A small water channel runs through the hall. In hot weather it cooled the air perfuming it at the same time. It was known as the Nahr-i-Bihisht or Stream of Paradise.

Lieutenant-Colonel Forrest, who visited the Palace in 1820 says of the Diwan-i-Khas : " In the centre was the Masnad or low throne on which the Emperor sat, and near it a block of purest crystal, 4 feet long by 3 feet wide and 2 feet deep, the most beautiful stone ever seen."

One of the chief glories of the Audience Chamber was the ceiling. Valued by Tavernier, the French Jeweller, at twenty-seven million francs, this masterpiece was of wood stained a deep shade of crimson richly overlaid with gold, and almost entirely covered by raised gold and silver foliage. The wonderful ceiling was looted by the Marāthas in 1760 and melted down. Nevertheless the exquisite pavilion still stands, a miracle of mosaic carving and delicate tracery.

It was to the Diwan-i-Khas that the Emperor retired, after his mid-day Darbar, to discuss confidential affairs with a privileged few. Here, too, he held his Court every evening. Woe, to that official who failed to attend. His pay was cut, he was degraded in rank and his future fortunes jeopardized, if not irretrievably lost.

TAKHT-I-TAUS.

On the marble dais stood the peerless Takht-i-Taus, or Peacock Throne, previous to its being carried off to Persia by Nadir Shah in 1739. Tavernier speaks of seven Moghul thrones. By far the most magnificent was the Takht-i-Taus, valued by the French jeweller at six millions sterling. The Badshah Namah gives an account of how it originated. According to this authority Shah Jahan commanded all the imperial treasure to

he collected, with the exception of his own personal jewels. The gems, to the value of eighty lakhs of rupees, were entrusted to Bebabdah Khan with instructions to convert them into a throne. The Superintendent of the Goldsmith's Office immediately started upon the work, which took seven years to complete. One large ruby in it, the gift of Abbas II., Shah of Persia, to Jahangir, was worth a lakh of rupees alone.

The throne was of gold approached by three steps of the same precious metal studded with gems. It was surmounted by a golden canopy supported by twelve emerald pillars. The under part of the roof was inlaid with brilliantly coloured enamels, and the upper displayed a pair of peacocks entirely ablaze with jewels. Further wonders were a tree of jewels and a parrot cut out of a single emerald.

When Nadir Shah carried the Peacock Throne back to Persia he kept it in a pavilion specially constructed out of treasure looted at Delhi. This was fashioned from scarlet cloth lined with purple satin and covered within and without with rich embroideries of animals, birds, flowers and trees thickly studded with jewels. The tent poles were of gold and gems, and formed a circle about the Peacock Throne. Both invariably accompanied the conqueror wherever he went. It took seven elephants to carry them.

From the time of Jahan, whose favourite apartment it was, the Diwan-i-Khas became intimately associated with the destinies of the Moghuls. Hither Jahan came on his first entry into the newly completed Palace. Taking up his position on the Peacock Throne he

proceeded to distribute honours and gifts. Here, too, those secret conferences were held whereat imperial issues were decided,

During the course of its history the Diwan-i-Khas has been the scene of more than one epoch-making episode. In 1716 its marble walls witnessed the parting between Farrukhsiyar Shah and Gabriel Hamilton, the Scottish surgeon, who had saved the Emperor's life by performing a successful operation upon him on the eve of his marriage with a Hindu Princess. When taking leave Doctor Hamilton was rewarded with a firman whereby his employers, the East India Company, were empowered to erect a factory on the banks of the Hughli, and to extend their operations over a territory embracing thirty-eight townships. In this way the Presidency of Fort William came to be formed, a small enough matter at the time but one destined to have far-reaching results,

Three years later Farrukhsiyar was assassinated. He was immediately succeeded by his son, a lad of seventeen. Shortly after young Muhammad mounted the Masnad, his great minister, Said Hussain Khan, was murdered. The Said's brother Abdalla fell upon the palace in a fury of revenge. He forced open the imperial treasury and robbed the Peacock Throne of its most precious jewels.

On February 9th, 1739, the Persian invader, Nadir Shah, entered the palace. Forthwith he named twenty-five millions sterling as the price of the Moghul Emperor's ransom. In order to raise this sum Muhammad brought out his richest treasures; vast heaps of gold and silver in coin and ingots, thrones, diadems,

jewelled vases and plate, and, finally, the famous Peacock Throne. Nadir Shah accepted all. As he sat enthroned in the Diwan-i-Khas he expressed his satisfaction by removing his own turban and exchanging it for the jewelled head-dress of his host.

It was also in the Diwan-i-Khas that Nadir Shah and the Moghul Emperor—virtually his prisoner—sat smoking their hubble-bubbles and drinking their coffee on the eve of the massacre of Delhi, when a hundred thousand of the inhabitants fell to the swords of the Persians.

A.D. 1798 witnessed the most grim tragedy ever enacted within the walls of the beautiful white marble pavilion. It was during the reign of Alam Shah. The Rohilla leaders, Ghulam Kadir and Ismail Beg, made themselves masters of the palace. Convinced that immense booty was concealed therein, they first commanded, then threatened, and ultimately tortured the aged monarch to reveal its hiding-place. In vain the ill-starred sovereign protested that none such existed. The ladies of the harem were tied up and whipped. His children were dashed to pieces in front of him. At length Ghulam Kadir drew his dagger and struck out the Emperor's eyes in the Diwan-i-Khas, after which he set fire to the place and withdrew.

Early in the nineteenth century Lord Lake entered the Diwan-i-Khas. Here he found the representative of the once mighty Moghuls, a blind old man seated under a ragged canopy, in verity a "king of shreds and patches."

Fifty years later the Hall of Special Audience echoed

to the acclamations of the mutineers who, in May, 1857, proclaimed Bahadur Shah II. Emperor of Hindustan. Just seven months from that date the Diwan-i-Khas was converted into a Judgment Hall. Hither the last monarch of the House of Taimur was brought, a prisoner, to stand trial for his life.

HAMMAM

To western ideas it seems strange that the Hammam, or Turkish baths, should have been in such close proximity to the Diwan-i-Khas. Entrance to the baths faces the north wall of the Hall of Special Audience. The small rooms at either side are said to have contained baths for the imperial children. There are three main apartments. All are lined with marble inlaid with mosaic, and are lighted by stained glass windows framed in marble lattice work.

The first of the suite is the Aqab-i-Hammam. This was a dressing room and overlooks the river. It contains three basins fitted with fountains, one of which was fed from a reservoir supplied with rose-water.

The second room has a central basin for hot or cold water, and a marble divan. The third was exclusively devoted to hot baths. The heating apparatus is built into the west wall, and consumed, on an average, 125 maunds of wood. A gold jet marked each of the four corners of the cold-water reservoir, while the warm bath was inlaid with precious stones.

The Hammam was a favourite resort of the earlier Moghul Emperors. Many urgent affairs of state were transacted within its marble walls to the soothing

accompaniment of the splash of rose-water fountains. Various writers of the period allude to important interviews that took place in the Ghusal Khana. For some unexplained reason the Hammam, in the palace at Delhi, does not appear to have been used later than the reign of Aurangzib.

MOTI MASJID

Built A. D. 1657 by Aurangzib, third son and successor to Shah Jahan, the Moti Masjid, or Pearl Mosque, was the Emperor's private house of prayer. It is entirely composed of white marble and stands within a small courtyard enclosed by red sandstone walls, and entered by small brass gates of handsome design. The original domes were of heavily gilt copper. These were destroyed by gunshot during the Mutiny. A similar fate befel the chronogram carved on a stone slab in the sanctuary. This consisted of a verse from the Koran and ran: "Verily places of worship are set apart unto God; wherefore invoke not any other therein, together with God."

The interior decorations, jewelled lamps, silken hangings and many other glories have long since departed. Still the Pearl Mosque stands, a beautiful case robbed of its gems.

THE EMPEROR'S PRIVATE APARTMENTS

These included the Tasbih Khana, or House for Praising God by the telling of beads, the Khwabgah, or Palace of Dreams, and the Baithak, or Place of Social Intercourse. This last was also called the Toshan Khana, or Wardrobe.

As its name implies the Khwabgah contained the King's sleeping apartments, a suite of three rooms, the walls inlaid with semi-precious stones, further ornamentation taking the form of carved screen work and inscriptions.

Count von Orlich, who visited the palace in 1843, described having passed the imperial bedroom. A curtain hung in front of the door. Outside it sat a rhapsodist engaged in lulling the Emperor to sleep with stories, in the approved fashion of the "Thousand and One Arabian Nights Tales."

It was a happy thought which inspired the Hon. Mr W. M. Hailey, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, to suggest that certain of the Emperor's private apartments should be refurnished in Moghul style. Two of the western rooms were selected as most appropriate to the purpose.

Bernier gives a graphic description of how a Moghul interior was arranged in the seventeenth century. The floor was concealed beneath a cotton mattress four inches in depth. During the hot weather this was spread with a fine white cloth, and in the cold with a silken carpet. At one side of the room were ranged a couple of mattresses covered with handsome embroidery. These were for the master of the house and any distinguished visitor. Near each was a large brocaded cushion, other cushions being scattered around at intervals. Several feet above the ground the wall was cut into a variety of shapes, the recesses filled with china vases and pots of flowers.

Old miniatures bear out the accuracy of Bernier's description. In them the master of the house is most

frequently portrayed resting against pillows, a dish of sweetmeats and a huqqa by his side, and a small dagger, with a crutchshaped handle, within easy reach.

MUSAMMAN BURJ

The Musamman Burj projects from the eastern wall of the Khwabgah and is an octagonal pavilion formerly known as the Burj-i-Tila, or Golden Tower, from the fact that its cupola was sheeted with heavily gilt copper. Five of the eight facets command the river. Of this number four are filled with pierced marble screens. The one in the centre is open and gives on to a small covered balcony added by Akbar II. The same monarch was the author of the two long inscriptions on the arches.

In Moghul times the Musamman Burj was the scene of the historical Darshan or Showing Ceremony, an indispensable item in the imperial daily programme. Hither the Emperor came regularly at dawn, stepping out on to the balcony to salute the rising sun and in turn, receive the salutations of his newly awakened subjects.

After the Coronation Darbar, in 1911, the King Emperor George V. and the Queen Empress Mary paid a graceful compliment to the old custom by appearing at the Showing Place of the Musamman Burj, where they were affectionately greeted by waiting crowds gathered on the low ground between the Fort and the River.

RANG MAHAL

White marble is extensively used in the Rang Mahal, or Palace of Colour, the largest of the buildings once sacred to the imperial seraglio. As its name infers it

was formerly sumptuously painted and gilt. The ceiling was of silver overlaid with golden flowers. This was in the gorgeous days of Jahan Shah, at which epoch the place was known as the Imtiyaz Mahal, or Palace of Distinction. Under Farrukhsiyar the gold and silver were stripped off and melted down to meet a pressing emergency.

The principal salon is divided into fifteen bays of engrailed arches springing from twelve-sided piers. On the upper part of the soffit traces are still discernible of gilt flowers arranged in a conventional design. Five windows in the eastern wall command the river. From behind their pierced and fretted marble screens the Begams, and certain privileged ladies, gazed down eagerly upon elephant fights and wild beast shows which took place on the sandy ground outside the fortifications.

At either side of the great salon are small ante-rooms. The lower part of the walls is of marble and the upper of ornamental stucco finished off with glass borders. The centre of the palace displays a sunken stone basin and a fountain fed by a water channel. This last is part of the celebrated Nahr-i-Bishit, or Stream of Paradise, into which Shah Jahan caused beautifully coloured fish to be thrown. Each had a gold ring about its neck set with a ruby and two pearls.

When its walls were brilliant with colour, its ceiling of silver and gold and its roof adorned with glittering copper cupolas, the Rang Mahal must indeed have deserved the eulogies lavished upon it by Court Scribes and others. For some time after the Mutiny it was occupied by the British as a Mess House.

MUMTAZ MAHAL

Now used as a Museum, the Mumtaz Mahal once formed part of the Harem. Since Moghul days it has served as a Military prison and as a Sergeants' Mess. Other names for it are the Chota Rang Mahal and the Khas Mahal. Formerly it connected with the larger palaces by means of arcades. It was near neighbour to an edifice described by Hearn as the Darya Mahal, or River Palace, a kind of pavilion surmounted, on the Jumna side, by a pediment bearing the carved figure of a bird.

GARDENS

Although little of their original beauty remains the Gardens of Shah Jahan's citadel were in every way worthy of the palaces. They were laid out in flowered parterres watered by marble channels and innumerable fountains, while fruit trees and rose bushes abounded in great variety, further shade being afforded by white marble pavilions of graceful design.

One of the largest of the gardens was the Hayat Baksh or Life Bestowing. The western portion of this is now covered by the barracks. Beyond again stretched the Mehtab Bagh, or Garden of Moonlight, the present barrack square.

SALIMGARH

The Fort of Salimgarh, or Nurgarh, as it is also styled, was the work of Salim Shah, son and successor to Sher Shah Suri, the conqueror of Humayan. Commenced A.D. 1546 it was originally protected by nineteen bastions and walls three-quarters of a mile in circuit. It stands on an island in the Jumna and once connected with the

Moghul citadel by means of a bridge of five arches erected by Jahangir in 1621. Historically it is now chiefly interesting as having been the State Prison, where numerous unsuccessful claimants to the Moghul throne languished and died, their end accelerated by slow poison, or the rope of the strangler.

JAMA MASJID

At first glance the Jama Masjid, or Great Mosque, is by far the most striking building in Delhi. It owes much of its imposing effect to its position on a rocky eminence commanding the palace and city. Erected by that master builder, Jahan Shah, at a reputed cost of Rs. 100,00,000, it was begun in 1644. During five years no less than 5,000 masons were employed upon it daily. Finally it was finished in 1658.

Built of red sandstone and white marble the sanctuary faces a spacious quadrangle enclosed by sandstone walls. Long, wide flights of stone steps lead up to the three gateways. The largest and most important is to the east. Glittering copper spires surmount the marble cupolas and the stone-paved courtyard conveys an impression of vastness impossible to describe.

As a matter of course the Liwan, or shrine, occupies the western side. It is $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and 120 feet wide, and is flanked by two minars of striped white marble and red sandstone, whence the Muezzin calls to prayer at the appointed hours. The marble floor is marked off into innumerable small spaces, 3 feet long by half a foot broad, framed in a narrow black border, each just large enough for one worshipper. In the space to right of that

reserved for the officiating mullah—a space no larger than those thousands of others, and identical with them in every respect—Shah Jahan knelt in prayer, his face towards Mecca.

Cloisters run round three sides of the vast quadrangle, the corners emphasized by octagonal kiosks of white marble. The domes above the Masjid are of marble, and rest upon bulbous supports instead of rising direct from the roof, while the attendant towers attain a height of 130 feet, and are ascended by steep stone stairs. A tank occupies the middle of the courtyard. In the cool shadow of the encircling arcades white-bearded old Moulvis expound the mysteries of the Koran to listening groups of disciples, or display the sacred relics, among which visitors are shown a sandal worn by the Prophet during the Hegira, or Flight from Mecca; the miraculous imprint of his foot in stone; a chapter of the Koran written from his dictation; and, most precious relic of all, a long red hair from Muhammad's beard.

When the Moghul Court was in residence at Delhi it was the Emperor's custom to attend the Jama Masjid in state on Friday mornings. The road was carefully swept and watered. Musketry lined up on either side. Preceded by a fanfare of trumpets and the beating of drums the imperial procession came into sight. In the van were the Omrahs, who either rode or were carried in palkis. Next followed the Emperor, while a host of Mansabdars and mace-bearers brought up the rear.

In the courtyard of the mosque the Great Moghul annually celebrated the sacrifice of Abraham by slaughtering a camel at the Eed festival.

During the latter days of the Moghul Empire the Friday pilgrimage to the Jama Masjid was practically the sole occasion upon which the Emperor ventured beyond the shelter of the palace walls. Finally, on the fourth Friday in September, 1857 the last monarch of the line of Taimur paid a farewell visit to the Great Mosque. A few days later the glory of his house was for ever quenched in the Tomb of Humayan.

JAIN TEMPLE

This forms a striking contrast to Moghul architecture. The Jain Temple is situated a short distance from the Jama Masjid, and must be approached on foot, the way thereto being through an intricate maze of passages too narrow for vehicular traffic. It was built a century ago by Lala Harsukh Rai Shugan Chand, who spent eight lakhs of rupees upon it.

The interior of the sanctuary is profusely painted, gilded, and carved, while the various Tirthankaras, or Apostles, occupy greater or lesser altars according to their importance in Jainology. One of the most interesting features of the temple is the strut, familiar in all Jain architecture as the means whereby the longer beams under the domes are strengthened. Alone in the temple at Delhi was the architect inspired with the happy idea of combining use and ornament by decorating the back of the strut with pierced foliage of unusual delicacy and beauty. In this manner the support was converted into a constructive bracket of great decorative finish.

CHANDNI CHAUK

This is one of the finest Indian streets in existence. It is three-quarters of a mile long and 50 yards broad, and leads from the Lahore Gate of the palace to the city gate of the same name. An avenue of nim and pipal trees runs down the centre splitting the wide thoroughfare into two separate roads. Chandni Chauk is world-famed for the skilful gold and silversmiths who have long made it the headquarters of Indian jewellery. To those unversed in the East and its ways it is difficult of credence that these unpretentious little shops, innocent of all glitter and display, should contain gems worth a king's ransom. Still harder is it to believe that the now placid street, with its pleasant avenue of nims and pipals, has more than once run red with blood.

History records no scene more terrible than that enacted in Chandni Chauk on a spring morning in 1739. The Persian invader, Nadir Shah, had entered Delhi. He had taken up his quarters in the beautiful Moghul Palace, where he proceeded to exhort the weak Emperor Muhammad concerning his imperial duty while mulcting him of the imperial treasures, fleecing his nobles and plundering his subjects.

Awed by the presence of a large disciplined Persian force encamped outside the city walls the people of Delhi bore all with patience. At last, however, famine threatened. Nadir Shah attempted to dictate the price of grain, whereat the citizens rose in revolt. A mob, armed with a miscellaneous assortment of weapons, rushed upon the citadel, killing all Persians encountered *en route*.

When news of the insurrection reached Nadir Shah he sent word to his General, Thamas Khan, commanding him to enter the capital with 20,000 troops. At midnight Nadir Shah made his way to Chandni Chauk. Here he took up his position in the mosque of Roshan-ud-Daulah and waited for dawn. At length it broke big with the fate of Delhi. As the first rays of the sun struck the doomed city, Nadir Shah's gaze fell upon little heaps of slaughtered Persians. Simultaneously a pistol-shot rang out through the clear morning air, killing the officer by his side. Nadir Shah drew his sword. This was the signal for a general massacre.

The Persian troops fell upon men, women, and children. None was spared. Indians of rank hastily collected their women and treasure and consigned them to the flames. Other Hindu wives, whose men had already perished, flung their children into tanks and wells and sprang in after them.

All the while Nadir Shah stood stern and unmoved, a passive spectator of the scene from the mosque of Roshan-ud-Daulah. At last the miserable Moghul Emperor plucked up courage to approach. Supported by his principal Omrahs he drew near to the terrible presence, and implored mercy for the remnant of the citizens. As he listened to the faltering prayer Nadir Shah's brow cleared. Sheathing his sword, he exclaimed: "For the sake of Muhammad Shah I forgive." Over 100,000 inhabitants of Delhi had perished between sunrise and 2 p. m., while Nadir Shah had stood, with drawn sword, in the mosque of Roshan-ud-Daulah.

Near by is the Kotwali, or chief police-station, where

in 1857 Major Hodson exposed the corpses of the Moghul Princes slain by him within sight of Humayan's Tomb. In Chandni Chauk, too, is the house from which a bomb was thrown at the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, during the State entry in 1912.

KALAN MASJID

This curious-old mosque is hidden away in the southern part of the city, near the Turkman Gate. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it formed part of the original Firozabad, and is practically the only surviving building of that vanished Pathan capital. An inscription records how it was finished A.D. 1387, in the year preceeding the death of its builder, Firoz Shah Tughlaq.

In style the Masjid is massive and lacking in decorative effect. It consists of a single hall of gloomy aspect measuring 71 feet wide by 41 feet deep. Rows of stone pillars divide it into fifteen squares, each of which is roofed by a dome, the one in the center being the largest and most lofty.

The walls are those of an early mediæval fortress, and show three openings filled in with fretwork screens of red sandstone. Other apertures were originally closed with pierced white marble carved in bold geometrical designs, while the entire sanctuary was enlivened with brightly painted and gilded stucco.

The approach is through a small stone-paved courtyard jealously safeguarded by massive walls of immense solidity. Steep steps lead up to the platform on which the mosque rests. The height from the ground to the top of the battlements is 66 feet.

SECOND DAY—AFTERNOON

Visit Queen's Garden and St. James' Church. Drive through the Kashmiri Gate and stop at Nicholson Gardens. Continue along Alipur Road and visit Kudsia Gardens. Pass Metcalfe House and Secretariat, driving via Circuit House Road, Flagstaff Tower and the Ridge to the Tomb of Shah Alam. Return via Sabzi Mandi and visit Roshnara Gardens.

QUEEN'S GARDENS.

Queen's Gardens occupy the site of the famous Sarai erected by Jahanara Begam, the eldest and favourite daughter of Shah Jahan. Contemporary writers describe it as the most beautiful building of the kind in Hindustan. The walls of the upper chambers were decorated with paintings, and the grounds were laid out with ornamental tanks and fountains. It was reserved for the accomodation of distinguished visitors to the capital, and wealthy Moghul and Persian traders. When the Emperor went to view his beloved daughter's architectural triumph, he was accompanied by that finished Persian courtier and wit, Sa'adullah Khan, who, at sight of it exclaimed, "If the terrestrial paradise is on earth it is here, it is here," a phrase subsequently immortalised upon the white marble walls of the Diwan-i-Khas, in the palace.

ST. JAMES' CHURCH

When lying dangerously wounded on the battlefield of Uniyara Colonel James Skinner made a vow that, should he survive, he would erect a church. This is how St. James' came to be built. Colonel Skinner spent £10,000 upon it. Like its founder the sacred edifice has had its

share of war's alarms. The original ball and cross, which surmounted the dome, may still be seen riddled with shot fired during the Mutiny.

Not only did Colonel Skinner build St. James' Church, he erected a Hindu temple and a Muhammadan mosque; surely a unique example of religious impartiality. The grave of the munificent and unsectarian patron lies to the north side of the church. Several members of his family are buried near by. In the Indian Army his name is perpetuated by two regiments, namely, the 1st (D.Y.O.) Lancers (Skinner's Horse) and the 3rd Skinner's Horse.

NICHOLSON GARDENS.

Here stands the statue of General John Nicholson, the famous leader who headed the successful assault on the Kashmiri Bastion during the storming of Delhi in September 1857. The Bastion carried he reformed his men, drove the enemy from the ramparts and swept on past the Mori and Kabul Gates. From inside the latter a passage runs along between the city wall on the right, and a line of flat-roofed houses on the left. Here General Nicholson received a mortal wound from a musket ball fired from a high strongly built house, its blank face broken by two windows. A tablet now marks the spot where he fell shot through the chest. As he lay on the ground he asked to be moved into the shade of a tree. This done he exclaimed: "I will remain here until Delhi is taken."

Later on in the day Lord Roberts, then a lieutenant, saw a deserted dhooly near the Kashmiri Gate. The bearers had decamped. Approaching he drew aside the

curtains and discovered the dying General in great agony. Lord Roberts caused him to be carried to camp, where he expired nine days later at the comparatively early age of thirty-six.

KUDSIA GARDENS

These old gardens lie about half a mile north of the Kashmiri Gate. They were laid out by Kudsia Begam, mother of the ill-fated Ahmad Shah from whose reign dates the final decline of the Moghul Empire. Little remains of the garden walls beyond a ruined gateway, while the mosque shows the scars of wounds received during the Mutiny.

The career of Kudsia Begam presents the extremes of fortune to a remarkable degree. Born a slave she rose to be the wife of an emperor and mother to his successor. Her son lost his throne through the machinations of Ghazi-ud-Din, the youthful commander-in-chief who, at sixteen years of age, was nominated to supreme control of the army by Safdar Jang, Grand Vazir to Ahmad Shah. Ghazi-ud-Din repaid the confidence placed in him by deposing his Emperor and blinding both him and his mother, Kudsia Begam.

METCALFE HOUSE.

This is the large white residence of the commissioner. The original building to occupy the site was erected by Sir T. T. Metcalfe, I. C. S. It played an important part in the Mutiny when its subterranean rooms and passages afforded concealment to Lieutenant Vibart and other refugees from Delhi. Sir T. Metcalfe rendered

valuable assistance to the military during the storming of Delhi, and subsequently received the thanks of Government. He is buried in St. James' Church.

TOMB OF SHAH ALAM.

Here rests the feeble monarch born A. D. 1728. In 1759 he succeeded his father Alamgir II. but was forced to fly from Delhi, to escape the designs on his life entertained by Ghazi-ud-Din, the Commander-in-Chief who, in his role of king-maker, had first set Alamgir II. on the throne and then assassinated him. Shah Alam returned to Delhi in 1771, taking up his residence in the Moghul Palace. Seventeen years later he fell into the power of the Rohillas led by Ghulan Kadir. The unfortunate monarch was first tortured and then blinded on the pretext that he refused to reveal the whereabouts of the imperial treasures believed, by his captors, to exist in the citadel.

As a result of Lord Lake's victories the sightless Emperor was taken under British protection in 1803. Three years later he died and was buried at Wazirabad two and a half miles from the Kashmiri Gate.

THE RIDGE

The Ridge occupies the northernmost spur of the Aravalli Mountains, and was the vantage ground from which the British batteries played upon Delhi during the siege of 1857. The neighbourhood is rich in historical associations. Here it was that Firoz Shah built his summer palace, the Khusk Shikar, in the fourteenth century. His capital, Firozabad, extended from the

Ridge to Indraput and contained eighteen townships and eight great mosques, each of which accommodated ten thousand worshippers. Here too stands a second Asoka Lat inscribed with the edicts of the mighty Buddhist monarch of the third century B.C. This was brought from near Meerut by Firoz Shah, who caused it to set up in the grounds of the Khushk Shikar. Unfortunately it was broken by an explosion in the eighteenth century.

FLAGSTAFF TOWER,

This formed one of the four principal posts on the Ridge during the siege of 1857. It was held by a strong infantry picquet, a second picquet being stationed within shelter of the massive old Pathan Mosque to the south.

HINDU RAO'S HOUSE.

Three hundred yards beyond the Observatory stands the residence once occupied by Hindu Rao, a Marathi nobleman. This house constituted the keynote of the British position. As such it was subjected to fierce attack by the enemy.

THE MEMORIAL.

This tall monument occupies the extreme right of the Ridge, on the spot where the besiegers erected a heavy gun battery.

SABZI MANDI.

A village near to which are two beautiful arched gateways built in 1728.

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ROSHANARA GARDENS

These now make one with the Sirhindi Gardens. They were originally planned by Roshanara Begam, the second surviving daughter of Jahan Shah and Mumtaz-i-Mahal, the lady buried in the Taj at Agra. Roshanara was the favourite sister of Aurangzib. It was largely owing to her talent for intrigue, and the information she supplied him with from the Palace, that this prince was enabled to supplant his elder brothers and secure the throne for himself.

Roshanara lies buried in the leafy heart of her beautiful garden.

THIRD DAY—FORENOON

Start early. Drive to Tughlaqabad. Visit Jahan Pana and Siri.

TUGHLAQABAD

The citadel and fort of Tughlaqabad lie about nine miles from Moghul Delhi. Historians assert the almost incredible fact that the colossal work of building both was commenced A.D. 1321 and finished two years later, namely in 1323. In shape the ancient capital resembles a half hexagon, and is over five miles in circumference. Massive stone blocks of great thickness compose the walls, which attain a mean height of 40 feet. Ranges of towers and bastions rendered the stronghold practically imprægnable to attack by any military method practised in the fourteenth century.

The fort was entered by thirteen gateways. It stands

on a rocky eminence. One-sixth of the enclosed area is occupied by the citadel placed in the south-west angle and containing the Emperor's palace. Extensive ruins mark the sites of two important buildings, the Jama Masjid and the Burj Mandar. Water was stored in seven tanks, and in a remarkable well sunk 80 feet in the solid rock.

The foundations of the stronghold are honeycombed with subterranean corridors and apartments at depths varying from 30 feet to 80 feet. A series of domed chambers, believed to have been the quarters of the garrison, runs along below the ramparts, which are loop-holed, and so allow air and light to penetrate to those underneath. Some of the stones forming the walls are 14 feet long and 2 feet 2 inches thick. The probabilities are that these gigantic blocks were quarried on the spot, for each must weigh over 2 tons.

On the south side is a big artificial lake supported, at the south-eastern angle, by an embankment. Further protection is afforded by a wide moat that surrounds the remainder of the fort.

The old capital was founded by Tughlaq Ghazi Khan, a soldier of fortune, who crowned his military adventures by dethroning the reigning house of Khilji and usurping the Masnad. He assumed imperial power in 1320, and was assassinated by his son four years later.

TOMB OF TUGHLAQ SHAH

This unique mausoleum was begun by Tughlaq, but was not completed until the year following his death. Enclosed within sloping walls and warlike turrets it has

far more the appearance of a fortress than of a tomb. This effect is enhanced by its position in the centre of the artificial lake, whence it connects with the citadel by means of a stone causeway carried on twenty-seven arches a distance of 600 feet.

The mausoleum is a massive edifice of stone ornamented with marble. Square in plan, the walls stretch up $61\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and are 21 feet in thickness. The roof is dome crowned, the height from the top of the pinnacle to the ground being 80 feet. A lofty door and pointed arch are the distinguishing features of each of the four sides. Within are three graves, those of Tughlaq, his queen, and his son Muhammad Tughlaq. About the name of the last still clings the odium of parricide.

The story runs that Tughlaq had been away in Bengal and Dacca. As he was returning to Delhi his son prepared a public welcome. To this end the prince put up a specially constructed pavilion, so planned that, as the Emperor stood in it to watch the imperial elephants pass, the shaking of the heavy beasts should cause it to collapse and bury him in its ruins. The scheme worked perfectly, and Muhammad succeeded to the Masnad.

THE CHEST

A reign which began so inauspiciously did not improve as it went on: Muhammad turned out a monster of cruelty, a veritable Nero of the East, who came to be known by the unenviable title of the Khuni Sultan, or Bloody King. After a reign of terror, lasting twenty-seven years, he died in 1351, and was succeeded by his cousin, the mild and excellent Firoz Shah.

Muhammad's grave is reputed to contain a coffer placed therein by the good Emperor Firoz. This is filled with duly executed documents signed by all the deceased monarch's victims, the halt, the maimed, the blind, to the effect that they freely forgave the injuries he had inflicted upon them, either by slaughtering their relatives, or torturing and crippling themselves. To obtain these pardons, Firoz Shah is said to have sought out those who had survived the barbarous treatment of his cousin and implored their pity for the dead tyrant. Finally, he collected all the papers, and, placing them in a chest, buried them in the grave where they lie at Muhammad's head. By this act Firoz hoped—to quote his own words—"that God of his infinite mercy will take compassion upon my departed friend."

ADILABAD

This small fort stands near the south-east corner of Tughlaqabad. It was built by Muhammad Tughlaq.

JAHAN PANA

The fortified position known as Jahan Pana, or World's Asylum, lies north-east of the Kut'b. It was the capital erected by Muhammad Tughlaq, and was enclosed by massive walls some five miles in circumference. The ramparts were pierced by thirteen gates, of which six were on the north side and seven on the south.

SIRI

This was the Delhi of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji A.D. 1295-1315. The place is now known as Shahpur.

Originally enclosed by particularly massive walls, these were demolished by Sher Shah (1540-45) and the materials transported elsewhere for further use.

Early in the fourteenth century India was invaded by the Moghuls under Janghiz Khan. The result was that Ala-ud-Din was compelled to retire to Siri. After the retreat of the enemy he caused the famous palace of a thousand pillars, known as the Kasr-Hazar-Situn, to be erected on the spot where the Moghuls had pitched their camp.

At the time of the fearful punishment inflicted upon the populace by Taimur Shah, who caused a triumphal pyramid composed of the heads of the slain to be raised outside the walls, Delhi consisted of three cities, of which Siri was the principal. The conqueror has left a written record of his impressions of the capital of Hindustan: "When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Delhi, I took a ride round the three cities. Siri is a circular city. Its buildings are lofty and are enclosed by strong fortifications of stone and brick. Old Delhi has a similar fort but larger. From one to the other—a considerable distance—runs a massive wall of stone and cement. The part called Jahan Pana is in the centre of the inhabited area. The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates, of which Jahan Pana has thirteen, Siri seven, and Old Delhi ten."

HISTORY

The possessor of occult power who, by mere contact with an object, claims to see, as in a mirror, the hidden

drama in which it has figured, would find a wide field for the exercise of his powers in the forty-five miles of ruins covering the plain whereon stands the Delhi of to-day. Unfortunately the average historian is gifted with no such vision, and so the story of the stones of Delhi must remain to a great extent untold. Even the origin of the city's name is but conjecture. The same uncertainty prevails regarding when, how, and by whom it first came into being. According to Ferishta it was founded some 400 years B.C. upon the site of Indraprastha, the Aryan settlement immortalized in the famous epic, the Mahabharata, as the capital of the five Pandava princes. In those far off ages dense virgin forests covered what is now an arid plain, manworn and strewn with the tombstones of dead dynasties. Ferishta further states that after the destruction of Canouj Delhi became the acknowledged capital of Hindustan.

From such meagre information as may be regarded as reliable the old Delhi of earliest historical times appears to have been a large and flourishing city in the immediate neighbourhood of the Kutb Minar. It covered an extensive area, and constituted the metropolis of the Sakars until A.D. 87, when it was captured by Vikramidita II.

Towards the middle of the eighth century the capital was rebuilt by Anang Pal, the first king of the Tamars, an important Rajput tribe whose sway extended from the Himalayas to the Vindhyan Range. The conquerors established themselves at Delhi which, from then on, constituted their headquarters. They erected fortifications and continued in power until the twelfth

century, when they were overwhelmed by the Chauhans under Visalder, a Rajput chieftain from Ajmir. This monarch was grandfather to Prithvi Rai, the celebrated Rai Prithora of bardic fame, who built the fort near the Kutb Minar, the ruins of which still bear his name. He was the monarch who so long and so desperately opposed the Muhammadan advance, only to be defeated in the end and put to death. His renown survives, coupled with that of his beautiful and high-spirited wife, in the songs of the bards and in numerous popular legends. To this day their romantic love story and its tragic sequel, involving as it did the fate of nations, are favourite themes throughout Northern India.

The defeat of Prithvi Rai sounded the death knell of Hindu supremacy over Delhi. Subsequent dynasties were all Muhammadan.

TURKS.

Authentic history really begins with the conquest of the Chauhans by Muhammad Ghori, A.D. 1193. Abandoning Ghazni to the rule of his brother, Muhammad proceeded to devote his entire energies to establishing an extensive empire in Hindustan. As a ruler he proved one of the best and ablest India has ever known. His victorious career was cut short in 1205, when he was assassinated while absent on an expedition in the Punjab. He left no son, so was succeeded by his Commander-in-Chief. This successful leader became Emperor of Delhi under the title of Kutb-ud-Din Aibak. With him originated the dynasty known as that of the

Slave Kings, from the fact that he, and most of his successors, had risen from the position of slaves to rule an empire.

Kutb-ud-Din died in 1205. He was followed by Aram Shah, a weak sovereign, who was promptly deposed and put to death by Shamshu-ud-Din Altamish, son-in-law to Kutb. The new king proved the most capable of the line. His reign was marked by considerable architectural activity. He completed the Kutb Minar and built the Buthkhana, a great pillared cloister, of the mosque, as well as a college near to where his tomb now stands.

The next monarch was his son, Rukn-ud-Din Firoz I. This prince ascended the Masnad in 1235, but was compelled to abdicate in the following year, when his sister, the famous Empress Raziyyah, was unanimously elected to the vacant throne. To her belongs the distinction of having been the only queen who ever ruled over Delhi. She must have been a woman of remarkable courage and ability, leading her army in person in the field. In proof of her erudition it is told that she had read the entire Koran. Despite this she made religion subservient to the needs of her case. She doffed the veil and donned the tunic and cap of a man. Her face uncovered she rode on elephants and granted public audiences. But for all this she was a woman, and herein lay her undoing. The open preference she evidenced for her Master of the Horse, an Abyssinian slave, led to jealousy and revolt. Battles followed, but accounts differ as to the ultimate fate of the Empress. Some state that she was taken prisoner and put to death.

Others again tell how she escaped alone from the battle-field. After riding some distance she lay down to sleep, when she was murdered by a poor countryman for the sake of her jewels and the rich dress she wore. Her tomb is said to be near the Turkman Gate of Moghul Delhi.

Raziyyah was followed by two monarchs in quick succession. Both were deposed, and affairs remained in an unsettled state until the accession of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, 1246-65. This sovereign was content to lead the life of a recluse and leave his empire to be ruled over by an able minister. On his death without heirs he was succeeded by his vazir, Ghujas-ud-Din Balban. The latter experienced no opposition. He was of humble origin, having been one of a company of Turkish slaves known as "The Forty." These had waxed all-powerful during the weak administration of the past nineteen years. Many anecdotes are told of Balban, who appears to have been much addicted to splendour and outward show. It is said that during a reign of twenty-two years not even his most private personal attendant had ever surprised him in anything less dignified than full Court dress. He was never known to crack a joke. Jest and laughter were prohibited in his presence, and appointments were only given to those of unimpeachable birth. In spite of these little idiosyncrasies Balban made an excellent ruler. He strengthened the army, rolled back the tide of Moghul invasion, and subdued Bengal. Unhappily his only son fell in battle against the Moghuls. At the same time Khusru, the poet, was taken prisoner. He was ultimately ransomed by his friends, who raised a large sum for the purpose.

Balban never recovered from his son's death. He died of a broken heart A. D. 1287. His two successors were in turn assassinated, with the result that the dynasty came to an end three years later.

KHILJIS.

The first of this line, Jalal-ud-Din Firoz II., assumed imperial power in 1290. He came of the Pathan house of Khilji. A mild ruler, his short reign of five years was constantly threatened by internal dissensions and repeated Moghul raids. Finally he was murdered by his nephew, who was also his son-in-law, Ala-ud-Din Muhammad II. In his effort to secure the Masnad the regicide was opposed by Rukn-ud-Din Ibrahim I. who, however, only remained in power for a few months. Ala-ud-Din made short work of him and of his claims.

No sooner had he disposed of his rival than Ala-ud-Din set to work to demolish such of the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist shrines as had been spared by his predecessors, the Slave Kings. He treated the ancient temples of the gods as quarries whence he drew the materials to build his famous gateway, the Alai Darwaza, the fort of Siri and the unfinished minar, near to the beautiful Mazina of Kutb-ud-Din, which it was to have eclipsed in size and elaboration of sculptured detail. In addition to these celebrated works he strengthened the fortifications along the route usually followed by the Moghul invaders via Dilalpur, Multan and Lahore. During his reign of twenty years the noted saint, Nizam-ud-Din, settled in the neighbourhood of old Delhi on the spot to which his tomb now attracts so

many thousand pilgrims. At length Ala-ud-Din died in 1315. His end is attributed to poison.

During the next five years three sovereigns followed in rapid succession. Each was murdered. The last of the Khiljis, Nasir-ud-Din Khusrau, was assassinated within twelve months of mounting the fatal Masnad.

TUGHLAQs.

In the chaotic condition of affairs that prevailed after the death of Ala-ud-Din the Hindus retook their ancient metropolis. Their triumph, however, was but short-lived. In less than six months they were driven out by the Pathan General Ghazi Malik Ghiyas-ud-Din Muhammad Tughlaq. This vigorous leader restored Moslem rule, after which he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor in the palace at Siri. A.D. 1320. He immediately commenced erecting the fort and citadel of Tughlaqabad whither he transferred his capital. Five years later he was murdered by his son Muhammad III. Ibn Tughlaq Shah, popularly known as the Khuni Sultan, or Bloody King.

The new monarch was a curious mixture of good and bad qualities. On one hand he was forceful, magnetic, intellectual, capable and accomplished. On the other he was irreligious, tyrannical and ferociously cruel.

During the early part of his reign Delhi was scourged with famine. This aroused his passionate resentment. He took vigorous steps to compel the entire population to remove to Deogri, now Daulatabad, near Elura, which he proclaimed his capital. Delhi became a desert waste until another violent change of mood led him to

forcibly repopulate the abandoned city from places in the vicinity. His reign brought untold misery upon his subjects. It was a fortunate day when this monarch of misrule departed from a world where he had caused so much suffering.

His successor differed from him as day from night. Firoz Shah III. was as mild as his late cousin had been violent. From 1351 until 1388 he ruled over a happy and a prosperous people. He erected the city of Firozabad which he made the headquarters of his empire. This flourishing and beautiful metropolis extended from where Humayan's tomb now stands to the Khusk Shikar on the Ridge.

Not long after Firoz Shah had passed on to receive the reward of a good and useful life Delhi was laid waste by the most terrible invasion the long-suffering city had ever experienced. In the latter part of the fourteenth century Taimur Shah, the dread Tamerlane of European historians, fell upon the doomed capital.

Born in the town of Kash in Transoxiana, or Great Tartary, A. D. 1336, Taimur was a direct descendant of that formidable warrior Genghis Khan. He was sixty-three years of age when, having swept all before him, he reached Delhi on December 24th, 1391, and commanded his vast army to encamp within sight of the city walls. In order to strike further terror into the hearts of the population he dictated the public massacre of a hundred thousand Hindu prisoners, after which their heads were used to construct a triumphal pyramid. This measure was so far effective that Mahmud II. fled the city and

sought refuge in the desert. Taimur at once entered Delhi, where his new subjects tendered their homage and implored mercy. His soldiers proceeded to sack, slay and burn until the once splendid metropolis of Hindustan was reduced to a smouldering ruin.

As the result of Taimur's invasion, and the irreparable damage wrought by his army, Delhi shrank to the position of an insignificant state.

SAYYIDS

The Tughlaq dynasty terminated in 1414, and was succeeded by that of the Sayyids. These remained in power until 1451. Of the four kings, who in turn wielded the sceptre, not one was of any note nor did the line leave any architectural record worthy of mention.

LODIS.

In 1451 the House of Lodi was established. The second of the line, Sikandar Lodi (1488—1517), was a religious bigot. He destroyed Hindu temples and forbade pilgrimages. Agra was his capital, but Delhi had, under his predecessor, Bahlol, regained much of its former importance. The third and last of the dynasty, Ibrahim II., was defeated by the Moghuls under Babar, meeting his death in battle on the fateful field of Panipat. From thence on dates Moghul supremacy in India.

With the Lodis originated the third, or decorative, Pathan style of architecture.

MOGHULS.

BABAR, 1526—1530

Just a century and a quarter after the sack and demolition of Delhi by Taimur, his fifth in descent, Babar Shah, became Emperor of Hindustan.

Muhammad Zahir-ud-Din (Upholder of the Faith), better known by his sobriquet of Babar the Tiger, was the grandson of Abu Sa'id, seventh Khan of Transoxiana. Born A.D. 1482, he early succeeded his father as chieftain of Farghanah. At the age of twenty-two he was driven from his heritage by Sharibana and his Usbeg Tartars. After this reverse in 1504 Babar turned his attention to becoming master of Afghanistan and Badakshan. Successful in this he established himself at Kabul, where he remained for twenty years. All the while, however, he nurtured dreams of following in the footsteps of his redoubtable ancestor, Taimur, and of re-establishing Tartar rule in Hindustan. It was not, however, until he attained the age of forty-three that he found himself in a position to realize his ambition. Advancing with a small but well-disciplined army he was four times repulsed. On the fifth occasion he was assisted by the Afghan Governor of Lahore, and proceeded swiftly against Delhi. Finding the enemy nearing his gates the last of the Lodi kings, Ibrahim II., collected a force of a hundred thousand men and a thousand elephants. The two armies met on the plain of Panipat. All told the troops under Babar only amounted to twelve thousand. Nevertheless, superior discipline told, as it always must.

The Lodi king was slain and his army routed in utmost disorder.

This sweeping victory made Babar master of Delhi. He occupied the city and hastened to Agra, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan. Three years later he expired in that city, his dying words framing the request that he might be buried in Kabul.

Contemporary historians describe Babar as a humane and enlightened prince, a boon companion and a dashing and fearless leader. He excelled in the arts of writing poetry and music, his most serious defects being his penchant for opium and strong drink. His followers were good fellows like himself, who affected gilded armour and brocaded garments, and were skilled in the use of artillery. On their warlike expeditions they were accompanied by their wives, unveiled women well fitted to be the consorts of warriors.

In appearance Babar was pale and thoughtful. His face was oval and he wore a small black pointed moustache.

HUMAYAN, 1530-1556

Babar was succeeded by his eldest son, a youth of nineteen, to whom he bequeathed "a vast though incoherent empire extending from Badakshan and Kunderj, beyond the Hindu Kush, including all Afghanistan, the Panjab, Hindustan, Rajputana and Bihar."

Muhammad Humayan. (Augustus) Nasir-ud-Din (Defender of the Faith) was hampered from the first by the continued intrigues of his two brothers, Hindal and Camiran, to whom, unfortunately for himself, he was much attached. Another and more powerful enemy

was Sher Shah, the Afghan. The last mentioned had a remarkably adventurous career.

Originally known as Ferid he was the son of Husein, of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous district on the borders of Persia. He owed his famous sobriquet to the Sultan of Bihar, in whose presence, while out hunting, he slew an enormous tiger with a single stroke of the sabre. As a mark of admiration for his daring and prowess the Sultan rewarded Ferid with the title of Sher Khan, or the Tiger Chief. Shortly after this the Sultan died. At the request of the widowed Sultana Sher Khan became guardian to the boy-king. The queen dowager did not long survive, whereupon the entire authority passed into the clever and resourceful hands of the ambitious Afghan. He was not the man to let slip an opportunity. Gathering an army together in Bengal, he marched against Humayan. A prolonged struggle ensued between the two "Tigers." The end came when the defeated Moghul was forced to fly for his life. While making his escape across the desert of Scind his famous son Akbar was born on October 15th 1542, in the little desert fortress of Umarkot.

Humayan first sought the protection of Tahmasp, Shah of Persia, at whose court he remained for a period of four years. Thereafter he proceeded to Kabul, where he passed the next nine years. He restricted his efforts to ruling over his father's ancient kingdom and waited.

SURIS

SHER SHAH, 1539-1545

With Humayan in exile Sher Shah rose to greatness as Emperor of Hindustan. He established his headquarters at Delhi in the citadel now known as Purana Kila but then entitled Shergarh.

An indefatigable worker, with a genius for organization and detail, he entirely reconstructed the Government. His greatest work, however, was the famous land revenue system which Akbar introduced with brilliant success later on. He also outlined the policy of universal tolerance in matters of religion to which the Great Moghul afterwards owed the glory of his reign.

Just where the genius of Sher Shah would have led must remain problematical, Six years after he had grasped the sceptre, which he wielded with such immense benefit to all, the ablest monarch India has ever known was killed by the accidental exploding of a powder magazine at the siege of Kalingar.

After the death of Sher Shah the affairs of the realm were thrown into utmost confusion by disputes among his successors and their various backers.

RETURN OF HUMAYAN

In 1554 messengers from Delhi arrived at Kabul inviting Humayan to return and restore order. He lost no time in acceding to the request. Assisted by his able General Bairam Khan, he swept all before him, entering Delhi in triumph in the autumn of 1555. He did not live long to enjoy his reconquered greatness. Early in the

following year a fall down the stone stairs of his library in the citadel at Delhi resulted in injuries to which he succumbed.

From first to last Humayan appears to have been possessed of a most amiable and sympathetic personality. His many misfortunes were due rather to his virtues than to his faults. Ferishta strikes the keynote of his character when he says of him: "Had Humayan been a worse man he would have been a greater monarch."

AKBAR, 1556-1605

Akbar was the first and finest of the four Great Moghuls. With him originated the powerful and consolidated empire which endured throughout the reigns of his three successors and then went to pieces.

Akbar was only thirteen years old when he became emperor of Hindustan. At the time of Humayan's death he was absent in the Panjab, where he was encamped near Amritsar with Bairam Khan. His return to Delhi was barred by Hemu, the Hindu General who had risen from the position of cornchandler to command the army of Adil Shah Suri, the Afghan usurper whose overthrow of Sher Shah's lineal descendant, and the disputes resultant therefrom, had given Humayan his opportunity of reconquest. The two armies met at Panipat. That of the Moghuls was inferior in point of numbers, but superior as regards discipline. It was commanded by Bairam Khan, brother-in-law to Humayan and guardian to the boy Emperor. The Afghans were routed and their leader Hemu taken prisoner and slain.

This victory gave Akbar undisputed mastership of

Delhi and Agra. For the next five years he remained under the able tutelage of Bairam Khan. Upon the death of his great General he threw off all yoke and took entire personal control. Alert in mind and active in body, nothing was too big or too small for his attention. A bold and successful leader in battle, he greatly extended his empire, whereupon he set himself to consolidate what he had won. Possessed of wide sympathy he was an assiduous student of history, basing his policy upon the lines traced out by his great predecessor, Sher Shah. He adopted this monarch's land revenue system and his wise tolerance in religious matters, sought to put down the practice of Sutti, or widow burning, and abolished the hated Jizia, a tax on all not holding the tenets of Islam. On current coin he did away with the Kalimah, or Moslem profession of faith so obnoxious to Hindus, and selected his ministers irrespective of creed. By every means in his power he laboured to promote harmony by reconciling the various opposing parties in the State. Believing that misunderstanding in matters of religion was a fruitful source of discord, he instituted weekly meetings which were held every Friday evening in the Ibadat Khana, or Hall of Worship, at Fatehpur Sikri. He himself was present while Jesuit missionaries, Jain, Brahmin, Shiah, Suni, Parsi, Buddhist, fakir, sadhu and yogi propounded their beliefs and unbeliefs in heated controversy. In the end Akbar compiled a religion of his own, drawn from what he deemed best in existing creeds. This he styled the Tauhid-i-Ilahi, or Divine Monotheism. His converts, however, were few and the cult did not survive his reign.

Akbar was a great architect and a liberal patron of artists. He did not share the Muhammadan prejudice, based on the commandments of Moses, against painting from life. On the contrary he established a picture gallery and employed a number of artists to beautify and illuminate the borders of Persian manuscripts.

The closing years of his glorious reign were darkened by the rebellion of his son, Salim, and by the deaths of the best beloved among his friends.

Generous to the last he freely forgave his heir, whom he summoned to his dying bedside and there invested him with his own imperial turban, and the sword with which Humayan had reconquered Hindustan.

JAHANGIR SHAH, 1605-1627.

Nur-ud-Din (Light of the Faith) Muhammad Jahangir (World Grasper) was in his thirty-seventh year when he ascended the Masnad. Born of a Rajput Princess he was the first-fruit of those mixed Moghul and Hindu alliances which became the rule with subsequent monarchs. While heir-apparent he was known as Sultan Salim, a violent, arbitrary, and undisciplined Prince whom jealousy had led to murder his father's beloved friend, the great historian Abul Faz'l. Years, however, and the tragic death of his first wife, a Rajput Princess, had moderated his character until, as Emperor, he appears in the more amiable guise of a ruler much addicted to the pleasures of the table, to the wine-cup, and to opium, and little concerned with the affairs of the vast state he was called to govern.

During his reign no innovations were attempted. The

boundaries of the empire remained much as they were at the time of Akbar's death, except that Khandahar passed to the Persian Shah. The Dekhan shook off some of its allegiance, and the Marathas began to make their name heard. Another event of political importance was the arrival of Sir Thomas Roe at Agra, the first English ambassador accredited to the Moghul Court. Still more momentous was the granting of a firman to a company of English merchant venturers, whereby these were empowered to establish a factory at Surat.

It is probable that the excesses in which Jahangir indulged would have shortened his life but for the influence of his beautiful wife, the famous Nur Jahan. This clever and accomplished Persian was the widow of one of his Generals. She was thirty-four at the time of her marriage with the Emperor. Very shortly her influence became paramount. Declaring her capable of conducting all affairs Jahangir withdrew more and more from public life. It was the Empress who sat in the Jharokha, or imperial balcony, and conferred with the chief ministers. Her name appeared upon gold coins and on State documents. Indian historians of the period praise her beauty, wit, and marvellous tact. They recount anecdotes of her generosity, and tell how she provided 500 orphan girls with dowries out of her own privy purse. As was only natural she showered favours upon her immediate family. Her father, Itmad-ud-Daulah, was made Vazir with an annual salary equivalent to £500,000 sterling. The next highest post in the imperial gift was bestowed upon her brother, the able Asaf Khan. She married her niece, the celebrated

Mumtaz-i-Mahal, to Sultan Khurram, afterwards Jahan Shah, and allied her own child, her daughter by her first husband, to Jahangir's youngest son, the handsome but ill-starred Sultan Shahriyar.

Witty, wise and beautiful though she was, Nur Jahan was quite incapable of directing the affairs of the vast Moghul Empire. The Government became corrupt; nothing could be accomplished without bribes, and the highroads and byways were infested with robbers. Further disorganization was caused by the frequent rebellion of Jahangir's sons. Matters were somewhat more settled at the time of Jahangir's death. He died at the age of fifty-eight while returning from Kashmir, and was buried in a splendid mausoleum at Lahore. Close by is the more modest Rauza of his Empress, Nur Jahan.

JAHAN SHAH, 1628-1658

On becoming Emperor, Sultan Khurram assumed the title of Shah Jahan Shihab-ud-Din (Lord of the World, Flame of the Faith). His first care was to remove all rival claimants from his path. This accomplished, he set himself to remedy the abuses that had flourished during the last reign. Like his father he was born of a Rajput princess, so was, in reality, more Hindu than Moghul. His affection for his Persian wife, the beautiful niece of Nur Jahan, prejudiced him, however, in favour of followers of Islam; still, although he is known to have persecuted Christians, he never displayed anything but an easy tolerance towards his Hindu subjects.

The magnificence of his Court was such that tales of the Great Moghul reached remote parts of Europe, and

inflamed the public imagination with visions of boundless wealth and the splendours of Ind.

History knows Jahan best as an unrivalled builder. In the thirtieth year of his gorgeous reign he was struck down by a painful and dangerous malady. Immediately his four sons rose in arms to contest the succession. Ruse prevailed over right and might, and Aurangzib emerged victorious from the struggle. He imprisoned his invalid father in the Jasmine tower of the citadel 'at Agra. Here Jahan remained until his death in 1666.

AURANGZIB, 1658-1707

At this late hour it is impossible to form a just estimate of the Prince who, on August 2nd, 1658, assumed imperial power with the style and title of Muhayyi-ud-Din Aurangzib Alamgir (Preserver of the Faith, Ornament of the Throne, World Grasper). Weighed according to results, the last of the four Great Moghuls would indeed be found wanting. The Supreme Judge, however, is not thus biassed, and Aurangzib will only have had to answer for his motives. This being the case the monarch, whom Moslems revere as a saint but whose mere name causes Hindus to shudder, may have fared better than would have been the case had he been summoned to appear before a bar of modern historians.

Possible when the secrets of all hearts come to be known Aurangzib may be proved no worse than his three brothers. Each wanted the throne, and each was unscrupulous as to how he obtained it. Aurangzib's conduct appears the blackest because of his hypocrisy. As quite a young man he affected supreme indifference

to worldly things. He donned the habit of a fakir, and announced his earnest wish to retire from the world. All the while, however, he was scheming to get the throne for himself. Whether his motive was a purely selfish one, or whether he genuinely desired temporal power in order that he might enforce the faith of Islam, is a moot point. He was thus far sincere that even when his deep-laid plans had succeeded, and he was Emperor, he continued to lead a life of stern self-denial. He existed almost entirely on herbs and pulse. No intoxicating beverage ever passed his lips. He ate sparingly and slept little. Such slumber as he indulged in was taken on the ground, where he lay wrapped in a tiger skin. He was an enemy to pleasure and *les beaux arts*, showing no favour to musicians and painters. As he grew older his parsimony increased.

A stern Moslem in all things he even obeyed the Prophet's injunction that his followers should ply a trade, hence Aurangzib made slippers and embroidered caps wherewith he earned a living. When not engaged in public affairs he devoted his leisure to prayer, ablutions and study of the Koran. It is little wonder that Muhammadans should still speak of him reverently as a saint, especially those who fall into the popular error of confusing religiosity with religion.

Although wedded to two Hindu wives Aurangzib was a bigoted persecutor of the ancient faith professed by the greater portion of his subjects. At Muttra, Benares, and elsewhere, he caused temples to be razed to the ground and Masjids erected in their stead. He revived the hated Jizia, a tax imposed on all those not professing the tenets

of Islam, and gave public appointments to Mussulmans in preference to Hindus.

On the other hand he was a generous patron of education, and was himself a scholar of no mean repute. He was well versed in literature, and spoke Persian, Arabic, and the tongue of his Moghul ancestors. Withal he was a narrow-minded bigot, and by estranging his Hindu subjects, he introduced division into the united empire which Akbar had welded together by means of a liberal and enlightened policy, and sympathies wide enough to embrace all men.

In his memoirs Aurangzib records the terms in which his father summed him up: "Aurangzib," said Jahan, "excelled both in action and in counsel and was well fitted to assume the burden of affairs; but he was full of subtle suspicion, and never likely to find anyone whom he could trust."

The end of Aurangzib's long reign of fifty years found him engaged in fruitless warfare in the Dekhan. Shortly before his death he wrote to one of his sons: "The instant passed in power has left only sorrow behind. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My precious time has been spent vainly." To another he wrote: "I depart and carry with me the fruit of my sins. Wherever I look I see nothing but God. . . . I have committed numerous crimes and know not with what torments they may be punished."

Finally he passed away on Friday, February 21st, 1707 aged ninety-seven. His last words were: "Oh! that my death may happen on a Friday! Blessed is he who dieth on that day."

With the passing of Aurangzib the last of the really great Moghuls, the empire fell into rapid decline. Subsequent sovereigns were either hopelessly weak or incurably vicious. Whichever was the case, the result was the same. A state approaching anarchy supervened, and the country became a prey to armed adventurers. Delhi was frequently stormed, plundered and reduced to a condition bordering upon ruin. Meantime the Hindu power began to reassert itself in the person of the Marathas, and for a while it almost seemed as though the supremacy of the Maha Bharata would be re-established. The issue was finally decided on the fateful field of Panipat.

THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

In this vital struggle between Muhammadan and Hindu more was at stake than those participating could possibly have foreseen. Had the fortunes of war favoured the Hindu league, the crumbling Moghul dynasty must instantly have fallen to pieces. There would have been no subsequent occupation by Scindhia, no French intervention, and consequently no campaigns by Lake, and no annexation by Wellesley. The British would have held Bombay, Madras and Bengal as they still hold Gibraltar and Hong-Kong. We should have had no more say in the internal affairs of Hindustan than we have in those of Nepal or Thibet.

By 1759 matters in India had reached a crisis. The Maratha confederacy had made itself paramount from Berar and Mysore to the River Ganges. Further extension was temporarily checked by Haidar Ali and the Nizam on one hand, and by the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh

on the other. To the west a new opponent had sprung up in the recently founded Daurani Empire under Ahmad Shah. This last, however, was so far an unknown quantity in Indian politics.

The man of the moment was Sadasheo Rao, popularly known as the Bhao, cousin to the Peshwa, and the real leader of the Maratha coalition.

Delhi was without an Emperor. Alamgir II. had just been murdered, and his son was in hiding. The Moslem powers were in the act of entering into a defensive alliance, but Oudh still held back.

Feeling the moment opportune the Bhao advanced from the south with a force thirty thousand strong. *En route* he was joined by further troops under Scindhia, Holkar, the Gaekwar, Gobind Punt and others. Suraj Mul brought up twenty thousand Jats, and many Rajput states contributed.

The Marathas seized Delhi and proceeded to loot the palace, where they stripped the famous gold and silver ceiling from the Diwan-i-Khas.

The imminence of the danger threatening them forced the Moslem powers to unite against the common foe. They accordingly took up their position at Shahdara, the hunting ground of the Moghul Emperors near Delhi, from which it was separated by the River Jumna.

The Marathas, for their part, encamped with much show of splendour. Their tents were enriched with the spoils of Hindustan, and made a brave show, being composed of silks and brocaded stuffs surmounted by flags and glittering gilt ornaments. This luxury proved their undoing. They were further hampered by a park

of artillery and a regular force of drilled infantry. At guerilla warfare they excelled. Had they adhered to their old methods of light cavalry, each man equipped with just enough for his immediate needs in the way of food, forage, bedding and heel ropes, there is little doubt but that the day would have been theirs. The fates and Bhao willed otherwise, however.

The first blow was struck by the Marathas. Moving up to Kunjpura, some eighty miles north of Delhi, the Bhao stormed the fort and captured the entire garrison of Afghans.

Ahmad waited until the Dasahra to retaliate. This festival celebrates the victorious advance of Rama upon the Isle of Lanka (Ceylon), and is regarded by Hindus as particularly auspicious for any military venture. Possibly it was irony which caused the Muhammadan leader to select it as the day on which to make his attack upon the Hindu army. A series of engagements ensued, in which the forces of Islam got between Delhi and the southern army until the latter was gradually forced back as far as Panipat. Here the Marathas pitched their camp, about which they dug a trench 60 feet wide and 12 feet deep, with a rampart for guns.

Ahmad Shah took up his position four miles to the south. His defence works consisted of timber abattis, in front of which he pitched his own observation tent.

Matters went from bad to worse for the Marathas, who were finally reduced to the verge of starvation. The cold winter of the North further enhanced the sufferings of these men from the south. On the evening of January 6th the leaders met in the Darbar Tent.

They had not tasted food for two days, and declared their preference to die fighting rather than wait for death by hunger. As a result of their representations Pan Supari was served out all round, and it was resolved to try a sortie at daybreak on the following morning.

Exactly at dawn the Marathas came out to give battle. In anticipation of a *combat à l'outrance* they had disarranged their turbans and smeared turmeric over their faces. For a long time the fortunes of the day remained undecided. At 1 p. m., however the tide turned in favour of the Moslems, and the Marathas were routed with immense slaughter. Bhao and most of the great Hindu generals were slain.

After this decisive victory the Muhammadan allies entered Delhi, and the fugitive Alam Shah was invited to return and take up his position as Moghul Emperor. The final downfall of the dynasty occurred in 1857. The British assumed control in Hindustan, and Calcutta became the capital. It appeared that Delhi's glory had for ever departed. Not so! The Imperial City which crowns India's Emperors is not destined to occupy a subordinate position.

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