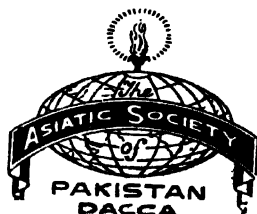


THE MANARA IN INDO-MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE

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IN
INDO-MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE**

TO MY WIFE

PREFACE

Although interest in Indo-Muslim architecture has been strong since the middle of the last century, the bulk of the publications on the subject, including the *Archaeological Surveys*, are devoted to the exclusive study of the monuments of different sites, or to the dynastic classification of these buildings and their general characteristics. The connected study of individual types of monuments has generally been neglected and, therefore, their stylistic background and development have not been properly assessed. The present book attempts an analytical study of such a specific type of monument — the *manāra*.

The discussion of the background and development of *manāras* in Indo-Muslim architecture has concentrated on defining the various types of *manāras* and on describing the stylistic variations within each type. The book, however, should not be taken as a catalogue of *manāras*, because in several instances only the most important and representative examples have been listed. In the absence of a recognised vocabulary for some of the stylistic variations of *manāras* examined, several new terms such as 'Front Corner Ma'dhana', 'Front Corner Turret', 'Rear Corner Turret' and 'Pinnacle Turret' had to be invented. These, however, should not be taken too rigidly as they represent perhaps more convenient expressions than real technical terminologies.

In the preparation of the book I have received invaluable help from various sources, though possibly I may not now remember all. Although I started writing the book in Pakistan

sometime in the early sixties, I would not have been able to give it to its present shape if I had not availed the opportunity of the Nuffield Foundation Fellowship to go to the U. K. The fifteenth month tenure of the Fellowship from April 1965 to June 1966 had given me the required time and access to various libraries and museums of London to complete and revise the book. My indebtedness to the Nuffield Foundation can thus perhaps be hardly over-emphasized.

I am also deeply indebted to various Professors of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and to my teachers and friends in Pakistan and abroad whose share in the completion and production of the book is considerable. Before he left for Australia to join the National University at Canberra, Prof. A. L. Basham ungrudgingly went through the three chapters of the first draft of the manuscript; Dr. P. Hardy then went through the entire manuscript with great patience. Both of them offered valuable criticisms, and suggested improvements. Mr. J. G. Burton-Page and Dr. G. Fehervari helped me much by way of discussion and in clarifying many practical problems of Muslim art history. Prof. B. Lewis and Mr. Simon Digby gladly offered me some of their photographs (Prof. Lewis : *Pls.* 46, 76, 85 & 87; Mr. Simon Digby : *Pls.* 3, 4, 12, 33, 82, 91, 95 & 96) to incorporate into the book. But for their photographs, the book would have been poorer in plates. All other photographs, besides a few of mine, are from the *Archaeological Surveys of India*. Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah, Dr. S. M. Imamuddin and Dr. M. R. Tarafdar of Dacca University, and Prof. A. H. Dani of Peshawar University read the typescript and suggested important improvements to make before publication. My friend Dr. Mian Muhammad Saeed, and my pupil and colleague Mr. A. K. M. Yaqub Ali helped me in various ways in the preparation of the book. I am also greatly

indebted to Mr. S. C. Bhattacharya of Dacca University who with great care and patience went through the proofs. The Asiatic Society of Pakistan has greatly honoured me by publishing the book, and I would like to record here my deep sense of appreciation for this. My wife who constantly encouraged and helped me in the preparation and publication of the book deserves my thanks.

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KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

APRAS :	<i>Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor.</i>
APRASC :	<i>Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle.</i>
APRST :	<i>Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey.</i>
AR :	<i>Asiatic Researches.</i>
ARAS, BC :	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle.</i>
ARAS, EC :	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Eastern Circle.</i>
ARASI :	<i>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, of India.</i>
ARHAD :	<i>Annual Report of the Hyderābād Archaeological Department.</i>
ASBR :	<i>Archaeological Survey of Bengal Report.</i>
ASIR :	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Reports.</i>
BM :	<i>Burlington Magazine.</i>
BPP :	<i>Bengal Past and Present.</i>
CHI :	<i>Cambridge History of India.</i>

CII :	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.</i>
EI :	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam.</i>
EIM :	<i>Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica.</i>
HI :	Elliot & Dowson's <i>The History of India, as told by its own Historians.</i>
IA :	<i>Indian Antiquary.</i>
IGI :	<i>Imperial Gazetteer of India.</i>
IGI, PS :	<i>Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series.</i>
JASB :	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.</i>
JASP :	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan.</i>
JBBRAS :	<i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JHAS :	<i>Journal of the Hyderābād Archaeological Society.</i>
JPUHS :	<i>Journal of the Punjāb University Historical Society.</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.</i>
JUPHS :	<i>Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.</i>
MASI :	<i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,</i>
NWP :	North Western Provinces.
PASB :	Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
SPA ;	<i>A Survey of Persian Art (ed. by A. U. Pope).</i>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To make a study of *manāra*¹ in Indo-Muslim architecture, it is necessary to refer briefly to the origin of this significant feature of Muslim building art. The Arabic or Persian term *manāra* or *manār*² literally means a place where fire (*nār*) burns. Originally it was applied to the *pharos*³ at Alexandria at the top of which a fire burnt at night as a warning for mariners.⁴ The term was also employed in Arabic poetry, for sign-posts⁵ or for the oil-lamp in the cell of a Christian monk.⁶ Gradually the meaning of the word was extended to denote lighthouses generally,⁷ and then during the time of the

1. This word has been frequently used in inscriptions of the monuments (see Appendix I). People in India and Pakistan, however, prefer the word *manār* or *minār* for general use.
2. Although Van Berchem (see E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmaler*, Berlin 1918, p. 113) believes that the two words were not originally synonymous, and that *manār* meant a stone or a building provided with fire, while *manāra* was one provided with light, it really seems that the words were used interchangeably (see Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *The Minaret and its Relationship to the Mosque in Early Islam*, vol. I, unpublished Ph. D. thesis of the University of Edinburgh, 1965, p. 115).
3. See its history and architecture in H. Thiersch's *Pharos Antike, Islam und Occident*, Leipzig & Berlin, 1909.
4. See the descriptions of Ibn Khordādbēh, Ya'qūbi, Ibn al-Faqīh, Ibn Rostēh, Mas'ūdi, Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal and others in H. Thiersch, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.
5. Al-Dīnawarī (*Al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, ed. by V. Guirgass, Leyden, 1888-1912, p. 14) mentions that these sign-posts were provided with fire at night.
6. K. A. C. Creswell in *BM*, vol. XLVIII, p. 134; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. I, Oxford, 1932-40, p. 39.
7. Creswell in *BM*, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Muslims to include not only mosque-towers, but also by analogy to embrace any structure whose height is its most important dimension, whether isolated or forming part of another building. The word thus eventually became a synonym for tower in English.

At first, however, the word *manāra* does not seem to have been applied by the Muslims to their mosque-towers. The earliest known terms for mosque-towers were *ma'dhana* and *sauma'a*. Ibn al-Faḳīh¹ calls the four square towers of the great *temenos* of Damascus, which is now the great Umayyad mosque, *ma'dhana*, although he knew that they were older than Islam. Maqrizi² speaking of the reconstruction of the mosque of 'Amr at Fuṣṭaṭ in 53/673 says that Khalifa Mu'āwīya ordered Maslama, the ninth governor of Egypt 'to build *sawāmi* (pl. of *sawma'a*) for the *adhān*. So Maslama constructed four *sawāmi* for the mosque at its four corners.³ He was the first one to construct them in it, there having been none other before this time.⁴ ... The ladder (*sullam*), by means of which the *mu'dhdhins*

1. Creswell in *BM, op. cit.*, p. 137 ; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture, op. cit.*, p. 38.
2. Creswell in *BM, op. cit.*
3. Creswell (*Early Muslim Architecture, op. cit.*, p. 38) believes that the four *sawāmi* of Maslama were suggested by the four towers at the corners of the *temenos* at Damascus, and that they were small square towers. Corbet's opinion (see *JRAS*, 1870, p. 772) about their shape is illuminating. He writes, 'It is difficult to say what the exact form of these may have been : the name [*sawāmi*] given them by our authority [*Maqrīzī*] is neither of the words ordinarily in use for minaret : in all likelihood they were but something like sentryboxes, perched on the roof at each corner; the germ of the future graceful sky-pointing minaret.' Since all Syrian *manāras* built before the 7th/13th century are square, and the word *sauma'a* is employed throughout North Africa where these are always of this type (see G. Marcais, *Les Monuments arabes de Tlemcen*, Paris 1903, p. 39), Creswell, (*op. cit.*, p. 39) is inclined to believe that the term was used only for square towers.
4. Not only the mosque of 'Amr, but all the known mosques constructed before this were without *manāras*. Creswell (*Early Muslim Architecture, op. cit.*, p. 11) is worth quoting here : 'In the time of Muḥammad no such thing as a minaret was known. He and his followers when they first came to Madīna prayed, according to Ibn Hishām, without any preliminary

mounted, was in the street until Khālīd ibn Saīd transported it inside the mosque.' The word *ma'dhana* or *ma'dhina*, derived from *mi'dhana*, is now universally employed to distinguish the tower used by the *mu'adhdhan* from other *manāras*. The word *sauma'a* denoting a *ma'dhana* is used widely only in North Africa.

The use of the word *manāra* or *manār* in relation to mosque architecture appears to have begun immediately after the reconstruction of the mosque of 'Amr. Ibn 'Abdu-l-Ḥakam and Maqrīzī¹ inform us that at about the same time *manār* for the *mu'adhdhan*s were added to the mosques of all districts except those of Khaulān and Tujīb.

In Indo-Muslim architecture, the words *ma'dhana* and *manāraq* appear to have been used for mosque-towers from the very beginning of the Muslim conquest of Sind. Thus the author of the *Chach-Nāma*² informs that in one of his letters to Hajjāj bin Yūsuf, Muḥammad bin Qāsim, giving particulars of his conquests, wrote, 'Instead of idol temples, mosques and other places of worship have

adḥan or call to prayer. But having heard that the Jews used a horn (*shōfār*), and the Christians a *naqūs* or clapper...they wanted something equivalent for their own use. The idea of calling to prayer is said, according to some Traditions, to have been suggested to the Prophet by 'Umar who found, when he communicated the decision, that he had just been anticipated by the angel Gabriel. Another Tradition has it that 'Abdullah son of Zayd had it revealed to him in a dream and informed the Prophet, who adopted it. Muḥammad therefore ordered Bilāl, who was his herald, and who thus became the first *mu'adhdhin*, to give the call to prayer. He was accustomed to pronounce it from the highest roof in the neighbourhood of the mosque, which...was merely the courtyard of Muḥammad's house.'

The first and second mosques at Kūfa and Baḡra were without *ma'dhanas*. Even during the time of the Umayyads, *ma'dhanas* were not a regular feature of mosques. Thus the poet al-Farazdaq speaks of the *adḥan* as being chanted from the wall of every city (*JAOS*, vol. XXX, p. 135).

1. Creswell in *BM*, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
2. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. I, p. 164.

been built, pulpits have been erected, the *khuṭba* is read, the call to prayer (*ma'dhana*) is raised, so that devotions are performed at the stated hours. The *takbīr* and praise to the Almighty God are offered every morning and evening.' The same author¹ tells that when Muḥammad bin Qāsim had settled terms with the principal inhabitants of the city of Multān, he 'erected a Jāma ' Masjid and minarets (*manāra*).'

The earliest *ma'dhana* in India of which a description survives is the *manāra* at Sohadrā.² Abu-l-Fazl calls it a *manār*.³ The Quṭb Manāra which is the earliest surviving example of a *mu'adhdhan's* tower in the sub-continent is called in its inscriptions *manāra* and 'imarāt.⁴ In contemporary historical writings,⁵ this latter tower is called both a *manār* and *ma'dhana*, the former term being more popular. The other surviving examples of mosque-towers which were used as *ma'dhanas* are almost invariably called *manāra* in their inscriptions ; the word *imarāt* is used in inscriptions only occasionally.⁶ The reason for the popularity of the term *manāra* is to be found in the fact that the ancestral home of the builders was either Iran or Turkestan, where the use of the word *manāra* or *manār* is very common. The word 'imarāt also occurs there, for one of the *mu'adhdhan's* towers of the *musalla* in Herat is called 'imarāt in its inscription.⁷ The word *mil* occasionally used in Iran for the mosque-tower,⁸ however, does not seem ever to have occurred in India.

1. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

2. See Chap. II (i).

3. *ASIR*, vol. XIV, p. 43.

4. See Appendix I.

5. Amīr Khusrau in his *Ta'rīkh-i-'Alāi* (Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 70) calls it a *manār*, Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq in his *Futūḥat-i-Fīrūz Shāhi* (*ibid.*, p. 383) also calls it *manār*, but Abu-l-Fidā (*ASIR*, vol. I, p. 195) describes it as a *ma'dhana*.

6. See Appendix I.

7. *EI*, vol. III, part I, p. 227.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

Although the use of the term *manāra* appears to have had religious significance at the beginning in Indo-Muslim architecture, *manāra* soon became common for other towers used for secular purposes. Thus a free-standing tower of the early sultanate period in the neighbourhood of Delhi is known as 'Chor Manāra'.¹ The hunting and pleasure towers of Fathpūr-Sikri and Sheikhupūra are called 'Hiran Manāra'.² The watch-tower at Nimsarāi is known as 'Nimsarāi Manāra'.³ Some of the *lāṭis* erected in imitation of the Delhi Iron Pillar are known as 'manāra'.⁴ The Mughal milestones are famous as 'Kos Manāra'.⁵ The word is also used to imply the decorative tower or buttress of a building.⁶ The *manāra* in Indo-Muslim architecture may thus broadly be studied under the following heads, viz , *Ma'dhana*, Secular Towers, and Turrets.

The Muslims occupied Sind in 94/712, and subsequently dynasties were established and persisted at Manṣūra and Multan till the close of the 4th/10th century. During this period these rulers and their officers erected numerous mosques⁷ and some of these mosques, if not all, must have *ma'dhanas* as their adjuncts. But unfortunately, the literary and archaeological evidence is insufficient to permit us to describe clearly these mosques and their *ma'dhanas*. Although some of the foundations of mosques have been discovered and excavated in recent years in places like Brahmanābād⁸ and Bhambore, it could not be precisely ascertained if these mosques had *ma'dhanas*, or if they had, in what parts of these mosques they were erected, and what they looked like. An inference, however, can be made from the four square corner towers of the *temenos* at Damascus which

1. See Chap. III (iii).

2. *Loc. cit.* .

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. See Chap. III (i).

5. See Chap. III (ii).

6. See Chap. IV.

7. Elliot & Dowson, HI, vol. I, pp. 120, 122, 127, 129, 158, 164, 192, & 207.

8. H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta 1929, p. 50.

were used by the Muslims as *ma'dhanas*, and the four corner manāras of the mosque of 'Amr at Fustaṭ which were in all probability influenced by those at Damascus, that the *ma'dhanas* erected by the Muslims in their early occupation of this sub-continent were square.¹ But their form may have changed with the change of regime from the Umayyads to the Abbasids. The latter were under the influence of old Iran and built round *ma'dhanas* for their mosques,² although the square type appears to have continued for some time at first.³ It is possible, therefore, that the Abbasids also erected round *ma'dhanas* in India, as they did in their central capitals in Iraq.

The shape of *ma'dhanas* erected in the Punjāb under the Ghaznavids may be ascertained from the manāra at Sohdra. This is the only known *ma'dhana* of the Ghaznavid period in India, and is also the earliest *manāra* in Indo-Muslim architecture of which a description survives. It was probably a detached tower, and was octagonal in shape built on a square foundation. This plan and design must have been derived from the contemporary *manāras* of Iran, of which only a few examples are known today. The style does not seem to have exercised any influence on the subsequent Indian *ma'dhanas*.

From the time of the Ghurid invasion and the foundation of Muslim rule in India by the first imperial dynasty of Delhi, our

1. In fact all *ma'dhanas* erected in Syria and Egypt during the Umayyad period were square.
2. The *manāras* of the mosques of Sāmarrā (234-37/848-52) and Abū Dulāf (246/860-61) — two of the greatest surviving Abbasid mosques — are round in plan. They have a spiral staircase outside, and are generally known as *Manāra Malwiya*. They were developed on the model of the old Babylonian *zikkurat*. The round tower of the great mosque of Raqqa probably dates from the 6th/12th century (K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. II, Oxford, 1932-40, p. 47.).
3. The pre-Seljuk manāra of the Tārjk Khāna at Dāmghān (133-71/750-86) was square; and so was possibly the manāra of the mosque of Shustār (SPA, vol. II, p. 1026.)

knowledge about the architecture of Indian *ma'dhanas* is, however, more clear. The building of the Quṭb Manāra at Delhi by Quṭb-ud-din Aibak, the lieutenant of the Ghurid Mu'izu-d-din bin Sām, and Iltutmish opens a new chapter in the history of Indo-Muslim *manāras*. The Quṭb Manāra is a round tapering tower, divided into several storeys by balconies, and stands detached on the south-eastern corner of the Quṭb Masjid at a distance of about 160 ft. from its wall. Built on the model of the Ghurid *manāra* of Jām, this *manāra* combines in itself some decorative features of the towers of Iran and Turkestan, and the result is that it became the most beautiful *manāra* ever built by any ruler. Thus once this 'finest tower'¹ was erected in the imperial capital, it at once became the model for several subsequent single *manāras* built in various parts of the sub-continent. Though some of these latter *manāras* show variations in detail, and some of them are also not independent from the main structure of the mosque to which they are related, all of them are built on the same general plan and design—a round tapering *manāra* externally divided into several storeys by balconies, and ascended to the top by a spiral staircase inside.²

Because of their height and proportions, the Quṭb Manāra and all the subsequent single *ma'dhanas* are sometimes described, rather

1. R. N. Munshi, *The History of the Qutb Minar*, Bombay 1911, p. 5.
2. The origin of these round *manāras* has been traced by Thiersch (*op.cit.*, p. 151) to the Hellenistic memorial columns, and by Diez (*Persien, Islamische Baukunst in Churasan*, Berlin 1923, p. 55 ; also see *SPA*, vol. II, p. 928) who disagrees with Thiersch to the Buddhist *lāps*. But neither of these slender shafts with only a few feet in height appears to stand a satisfactory comparison with the round *manāras* which are sometimes more than 200 ft. in height, and have an inevitable spiral staircase inside. It is probable that these *manāras* were adapted from the *Manāra Malwīya* of the mosques of Sāmarrā and Abū Dulāf, which in turn, owes its origin to the Babylonian *zikkurat*. The change of the arrangement of the staircases from the exterior of the *Manāra Malwīya* to the interior of these tall round *manāras* speaks of the ingenuity of the architects who did it first.

inaaccurately, as Towers of Victory (*jayastambhas*).¹ None of these towers in fact was ever erected to commemorate a particular victory of a sultān as has been suggested.² But as personal eulogies and achievements of the sultāns are recorded on these *manāras* along with religious inscriptions,³ it is appropriate that they may be regarded as Towers of Glory (*kīrtistambhas*). The Quṭb Manāra has indeed an inscription in which it is called a *kīrtistambha* of Malikdīn.⁴ By constructing mosques and such *ma'dhanas*, the

1. J. Fergusson (*The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, vol. I, London 1855, pp. 81, 414, 416 & 421; also *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised ed. vol. II, London, 1910, pp. 60, 194, 206 & 260) in describing the tower of Kumbha Rānā at Chitor which he believes was erected as a *jayastambha* to commemorate Kumbha's victory over Mahmūd Khaljī of Mālwa, appears to have initiated the theory. He makes a comparison of this tower with the Quṭb Manāra and other single *ma'dhanas* and writes, 'the Muhammadans ... adopted the plan of erecting towers of victory to commemorate their exploits' (*Hand book* p. 81). Although the first *śloka* of the tower of Kumbha Rānā mentions the war between himself and 'the lords of Goojur-Khand and Mālwa', the second and the larger of the *ślokas* is devoted entirely to perpetuating 'Kumbha's glory' and 'the splendour of his dominion'. In this latter *śloka* the tower has been called a *kīrtistambha* (J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, vol. II, Madras, 1873, pp. 696-97). Besides, as Tod records (*op. cit.*, p. 696) the whole genealogy of the Rānās of Ghitor was once inscribed on the 'body' of the tower. With all these glories of the reign of Kumbha Rānā and the genealogy of his ancestors recorded on it, the tower of Chitor, therefore, may be rightly regarded as a *kīrtistambha* (Tower of Glory) as is designated in its inscriptions, and not as a *jayastambha* to celebrate a particular conquest.
2. No contemporary historian describes these *ma'dhanas* as Towers of Victory, nor do the inscriptions on them (see Appendix I) suggest that they were such towers.
3. See Appendix I.
4. *Loc. cit.*

suḷṭāns wanted to leave memorials to posterity as just Muslim rulers,¹ and these memorials certainly provided an excellent place for recording their names and achievements. The height and massiveness of the *ma'dhanas* may be looked upon as symbolic of the power and glory of the suḷṭāns who erected them.

A different type of *ma'dhana* is to be found in the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmīr,² built about the same time as the Quṭb Manāra. Here are two manāras, instead of one, and they are not detached from the mosque like others of their contemporaries. These manāras are built in pairs over the central gateway of the prayer hall, and are on a much lesser scale than the single *ma'dhanas*. Built in imitation of the design of the Quṭb Manāra, the arrangement of these *ma'dhanas* in pairs is also an Iranian conception going as far back as the towers of the Jāmi' Masjid of Iṣfahān. But it is interesting that this arrangement of the *ma'dhanas* did not afterwards find favour among the architects of the imperial dynasties of Delhi and Agra, for other instances of similar *manāras* do not appear to exist anywhere in their domains. The reasons for this unfavourable attitude were probably, firstly, the technical weakness of the structures which are slender in design and which do not have independent foundations of their own in the ground, and secondly, the small dimension of the towers which were too small to satisfy the personal ambition of the imperial rulers to whom a *ma'dhana* was not only a *mu'adhdhan's* tower, but also a Tower of Glory—a massive structure signifying personal fame and

1. The purpose of erecting such monuments may be best gathered from an inscription on the mosque of Mīrzā Murād Khān, a Turk at Sherpūr in the Bogra district of East Pakistan. It says, 'It is narrated that whoever desires that he may be counted, at his death, among the living ones and that people may remember him with respect, and help him with blessings, should try to (a) build a mosque, (b) excavate a tank, (c) erect a minār, (d) lay out a garden, or (e) do other good work, such as give charity to the recluse if he happens to pass by his cell. These works will survive him as his memorials.' (*EIM*, 1937-38, pp. 21-22.)
2. Pls. 11-12

splendour. It is, however, in the distant province of Gujarāt, under its independent rulers, that the arrangement was accepted as the general principle of building *ma'dhanas*. The idea does not appear to have been accepted without trial, for the *manāras* of the earliest Jāmi' Masjid of the independent sultanate—the Masjid of Aḥmad Shāh in the Bhadr, and some others are not *ma'dhanas*, but are small turrets without any staircase inside.¹ Thus once the architects became successfully acquainted with the method of building such *manāras* over a gateway, and the rulers seemed to become satisfied with the conception, the technique was further developed in the Jāmi' Masjid of Aḥmadābād where turrets were elaborated into *ma'dhanas*.² In the change an interesting advance is to be noticed. Whereas the *ma'dhanas* of the mosque of Ajmīr, and the turrets of the mosque of Aḥmad Shāh and Haibat Khān are all built on the roof of the mosque, the *ma'dhanas* of the mosques of Gujarāt are all built from the ground. These *ma'dhanas* with Hindu stepped square outlines, richly ornamented with arched panels of trellis-work and horizontal string-mouldings of varied designs, stand out buttress-like from the ground to the level of the mosque roof, relieving its flat front wall. Above the roof, they rise as octagonal and round towers of tapering design, relieved by galleries on very richly carved brackets, and surmounted by conical caps of various patterns.

From Gujarāt, the gateway *ma'dhana* found its way into Khāndesh where the best preserved example is to be seen in the *manāras* of the Bibi-Ki-Masjid at Burhānpur.³ Built in the same style of the *ma'dhanas* of Gujarāt, these *manāras*, however, show variations in their upper members. Instead of a plain arch-opening which leads to the gallery of the top-most storey of the *ma'dhanas*, each of the *manāras* of the Bibi-Ki-Masjid are provided with four oriel windows on the highest storey. The form of the crowning member has also been changed. In place of the conical cap of the Gujarāt *ma'dhana*

1. Pls. 48-50.

2. Pl. 13.

3. Pl. 23.

which betrays Hindu influence particularly in the horizontal rib-decoration, a dome surmounts the *manāras* giving them a definite Muslim appearance. The *manāras* of the Bibī-Kī-Masjid are, indeed, some of the best examples of the gateway style.

Besides the single and the gateway *ma'dhanas*, *manāras* may be found attached to Indian mosques either at the front corners or at some four corners. The latter type may be described as a quadruple *ma'dhana*. The front corner ones are built at the ends of the front facade of the mosque or of the prayer hall, and may stand as if to guard the entire structure. The idea of building such *manāras* in India appears to have been first expressed in Gujarāt¹—not, however in the capital of the province, but outside it. The *manāras* of the mosques of Alif Khān in Dholka or of the mosque of Sayyid 'Uṭhmān at 'Uṭhmānpūr are among the earliest examples of this style.² Being built in a distinctive way, these mosque towers also show designs distinctive from those of the contemporary *ma'dhanas* of Gujarāt. The *manāras* of Alif Khān's mosque are simply square in plan, and those of the mosque of Sayyid 'Uṭhmān, although, like many others in Gujarāt, stepped square at the bottom, are round in most of the upper storeys—quite different from their contemporaries. The later examples of the style, all in the capital city of Aḥmadābād however, follow the general design of the local gateway *ma'dhanas*—stepped square at the bottom, octagonal and round at the top, the entire length being decorated with horizontal carved string-mouldings and arched panels.

The new style spread from Gujarāt to the neighbouring territories of Rājputanā and Khāndesh where the surviving examples are to be seen in the Shams-i-Masjid at Nāgaur,³ and in the Jāmi'

1. The contemporary *manāras* of the mosque at Bāgerhāt in East Pakistan were, however, influenced by the quadruple *ma'dhanas* of the Khirkī Masjid in Delhi.
2. Pls. 26-27.
3. Pl. 24.

Masjids of Asīrgarh and Burhānpur.¹ The design of these manāras conforms, with slight local variations, to the same pattern as that of the towers of Gujarāt. The style also penetrated into Bijāpur, but it did not find general acceptance there. The only known example of the style in Bijāpur is the manāras of the Makka Masjid. From Khāndesh (which was annexed by Akbar in 1010/1601), this arrangement of *ma'dhanas* was borrowed by the Mughals. The Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Delhi built during the reign of Shāh Jahān, contains the best examples of this kind of *ma'dhana*.¹ The design of these Mughal manāras appears, however, to be distinctly Iranian in origin.

The quadruple *ma'dhana* in India is a feature of late Mughal mosques. The four *ma'dhanas* of the mosque of Wazīr Khān in Lahore were probably planned in imitation of some contemporary Ottoman manāras, whereas those of the great Bādshāhi Masjid, also in Lahore, were arranged following the towers of the great mosque of Damascus.² The shape of the *ma'dhanas*, of the Bādshāhi Masjid is almost the same as that of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' of Delhi. The *ma'dhanas* of the mosque of Wazīr Khān and of the Bādshāhi Masjid represent the climax of multi-manāras in Indo-Muslim architecture.

An interesting variety of *ma'dhanas* dating from the Mughal period is to be noticed in Kashmīr. They fall into an altogether different group from those mentioned above, and did not exercise any influence outside the province of Kashmīr. They must have evolved from the designs of pre-Mughal days, because both the surviving famous mosques of Srinagar appear to date originally from the 8th/14th century. The *ma'dhanas* in the present style consist of a square open pavilion built on the pyramidal roof of the mosque itself or on the same roof of its gateways. The pavilion is surmounted by a slender spire which has pediment

1. Pls. 32-33

2. E. Diez (*SPA*, vol. II, p. 928) believes that the arrangement of manāras in fours has a magic connection with the four quarters of the Universe.

decoration on each of its four sides at the bottom, and has an umbrella motif at the top.¹ The style is derived from pre-Muslim temples in Kashmir, and indeed forms one of the most interesting designs of *manāra* architecture.

Like their forerunners in the Middle East, the Indian *ma'dhanas* must have served a variety of purposes besides being used by the *mu'adhdhans* to call the Faithful to prayer. But evidence for such assumptions is scanty. By depending, however, on the knowledge of early and contemporary *ma'dhanas* in the Middle East, on local tradition and present custom, as well as upon the inscriptions recorded on Indian *ma'dhanas* it is possible to offer some suggestions. According to Ibn Baṭṭāyah,² kindled lamps were hung on the *manārās* of Makka for those who could not hear the night calls to prayer. The popular name of *Chirāg Minar* (lamp tower) applied to the Fīrūz Manāra of Gaur must have had a similar origin. Al-Samhūdī³ informs that if a mosque had more than one *manāra* each was assigned for a specific religious purpose, such as *adhān* (calling the Faithful to prayer), *tas'hīr* (reciting verses for taking *saḥūr*),⁴ and *tawqīt* (appointed calls). It is not improbable that such *manāras* as those of the mosque of Wazīr Khān and the Bādshāhi Masjid at Lahore were used for similar purposes. The sighting of the new moon of the month from *manāras* was customary in the early days of Islam : it was normally the duty of the *imām* and the *mu'adhdhan* to watch for the moon from the summit of *manāras* ; sometimes trustworthy people were also appointed for the purpose.⁵ The practice still prevails in India and Pakistan, and is particularly observed in sighting the moon of *Ramadhān* (fasting month). *Ma'dhanas* were also used for *i'tikāf* (worship or meditation). Muslama bin Mukhallad appears to be the first to worship

1. Pl. 37.

2. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 32.

3. *Ibid.* p. 7.

4. The meal which is taken before dawn for fasting.

5. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

in a *manāra* ; the celebrated theologian al-Ghazālī used to worship in the western *manāra* of the great mosque of Damascus.¹ Other instances of similar worship are also known from the Middle East.² But in India such modes of worship were rare, and the only known *manāra* which appears to have been used for the purpose is the Firūz Manāra at Gaur. The reason for this rare use may be that the tall and narrow Indian *ma'dhanas* with a spiral staircase inside never had any room inside the tower which could be used permanently for living. On the other hand, some of the *manāras* of Syria and Egypt contained 'saint's cells', and were used perpetually by devout Muslims. This in fact explains why the word *sauma'a* (saint's cell) is sometimes used for *manāra* in Syria, Egypt and North Africa. It is recorded that early *ma'dhanas* were sometimes illuminated with candles and lamps on feast days.³ The practice must have existed also in India, because even nowadays in both India and Pakistan the mosque and *manāra* forming part of a *Darga* (saint's tomb) are illuminated particularly in times of 'Urs.⁴

In times of necessity, early *ma'dhanas* also served secular purposes. Thus it is narrated that an untimely *adhan* from the *manāra* of the city's Jāmi' Masjid was taken as a warning of disorder in the city, and a means of informing the Khalīfa of the need to take swift and appropriate action.⁵ It is possible that some Indian *ma'dhanas* were used to serve a similar purpose for the sultāns and emperors. In actual fighting *ma'dhanas* were sometimes used for both offensive and defensive purposes.⁶ An interesting example of such a fight in India—although between non-Muslim rulers—is known from the *ma'dhanas* of the Bādshāhi Masjid at Lahore. Upon these

1. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, pp. 29-30.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 & 33.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 30.

4. Religious ceremony celebrating the union of the soul of a deceased saint with the supreme spirit.

5. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

towers Sher Singh, during his siege of the citadel in 1257/1841, posted his match-lock men 'who with their fiery weapons',¹ spread destruction in the ranks of the besieged Dogras, the supporters of Mahārānī Chand Kour². The fusillade resulted in the defeat of the Rānī and the coronation of Sher Singh. Like their predecessors outside the Indian sub-continent,³ Muslim rulers must also have used *ma'dhanas* as observation posts for choosing appropriate sites for other buildings in the city, or for keeping a watch on the people in it. Flags of victory were sometimes put on early *madhanas*.⁴ According to Ya'qubi, when Muḥammad al-Zakiyah revolted in Madīna during the reign of al-Manṣūr, 'Isa bin Mūsā in trying to subdue the revolt raised a black flag on the *ma'dhana*. The rebels thought that the mosque had been captured by the Abbasid army, and they fled.⁵ It is not improbable that flags were hoisted on Indian *ma'dhanas* under similar circumstances or after victorious campaigns. Like those outside the sub-continent,⁶ Indian *ma'dhanas* could also be used for calling the people to official or public work, and for delivering proclamations or for praising the rulers. The *ma'dhanas* near the sea-shore or on river-sides in India and Pakistan are sometimes seen being used as light houses. Reports are available that in Syria, and Iran and Turkestan punishments were sometimes executed by throwing the victims from the top of *ma'dhanas*.⁷ As a Turko-Iranian custom, it is probable that this method was known to the Indian rulers.

The *ma'dhanas* attached to Indian mosques were not purely functional. They were of considerable value to the architecture of

1. Probably *Zambūras* (light guns).

2. S. M. Laṭīf, *Lahore*, 1819, p. 114.

3. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*, p. 42.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

7. The *Manāra* of Bukhārā, for this reason, is known as the 'Tower of the Dead' (*ibid.*, p. 47).

the mosque itself. How bare do the mosques without *ma'dhanas* look in comparison to those which are provided with *manāras*! Indeed, the architectural beauty of a mosque rests with the beauty of its domes and *manāras*. Besides, the tallest *ma'dhanas* must have embellished the cities in which they were erected.

It is interesting to note that the number of surviving *ma'dhanas* in India and Pakistan is very scanty in comparison with the number of surviving mosques. The explanation for this discrepancy in number is not to be found in the hypothesis that all the mosques in India were once provided with *ma'dhanas* and that they have all been destroyed with the passage of time. No doubt many *ma'dhanas* have perished, but the truth is that the vast majority of known mosques were erected without *ma'dhanas*. Indeed, except for the mosques of the early imperial dynasties, and a good number of those in Gujarāt, very few mosques were provided with *ma'dhanas*. All the known mosques of Jaunpūr were built without *ma'dhanas*. Except the Jāmi' Masjid in the Koṭla Firūz Shāh and the Khirkī Masjid, none of the surviving mosques of the Tughlaq period has a *ma'dhana*. With two exceptions, all the existing important mosques of Bengal—now in West Bengal and East Pakistan—are without *ma'dhanas*. So are the numerous mosques of the Deccani sultanates. Two of the largest and grandest Mughal mosques—one at Fathpūr-Sikrī and the other at Agra—do not have *ma'dhanas*. Ibn Ḥawqal¹ ascribes the reason for the absence of *ma'dhanas* in such mosques to the stern orthodoxy of some rulers. Because this feature of the mosque was not to be found in the mosque of the Prophet at Madīna, and was introduced only after the end of the pious Khilāfat, they rejected it as superfluous. That this reason prompted most of the Indian rulers to exclude *ma'dhanas* from their mosques may further be supported by some of their mosque inscriptions. Whereas Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and Haider have been regarded in all these inscriptions as the *chirāg* (lamp), the *masjid* (mosque) the *miḥrab*

1. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(prayer-niche) and the *minbar* (pulpit) of the Islamic religion respectively,¹ no mention has been made of the *manāra* in comparison with any one of them. This shows that the *manāra* was not held in such high estimation as the other features mentioned above. The call to prayer in the Indian mosques which did not have *ma'dhanas* was thus made either, as in the mosque of the Prophet at Madīna, from their roofs, or from their gateways. In mosques which did not have staircases to ascend, the call to prayer must have been made, as is done nowadays, from the forecourt of the mosques or some nearby high places.

Besides *ma'dhanas*, *manāras* were also erected in India for secular purposes. Although architecturally not so important as the *ma'dhana*, these towers provide us with interesting varieties of Indo-Muslim monuments. Unlike the *ma'dhana*, these *manāras* are independent of other structures and were built for various purposes. For our discussion here they may broadly be divided into three groups, viz., the *lāṭī*, the *kos manāra*, and miscellaneous towers.

The *lāṭī*² (literally pillar or column) is of two kinds. The first kind consists of the Hindu iron-shafts and monoliths kept intact or re-erected by Muslim rulers within or near a mosque, or in a convenient high place : and the second comprises the stone towers built by the same rulers in imitation of these iron-shafts and monoliths. The round tapering iron-shaft within the courtyard of the Quṭb Masjīd at Delhi is the earliest example of the first kind. It stands in its present place from pre-Islamic times, and was probably connected with the Hindu temples which were destroyed by Quṭbu-d-dīn to erect the mosque in their place. Quṭbu-d-dīn retained the tower in its place, which is now the courtyard of the mosque, probably to mark his disregard of the local tradition that Hindu rule would last as long as it remained standing. In other words it was kept intact as a monument of the victory over the Hindus which he and his master

1. *EIM* 1937-38, pp. 29 & 33-34.

2. Chap. III (i).

Mu'izu-d-dīn bin Sām scored in 588/1192. Inspired probably by similar intention, some later rulers brought similar old towers from other places and re-erected them in their capitals. When such towers seemed no longer available or could not be transported intact, they built like ones themselves. The latter towers were profusely carved with inscriptions mentioning the name and deeds of the sultāns and were thus allowed to serve a dual purpose: a Tower of Victory, and a sultān's commemorating *manāra*—a Tower of Glory.

The Mughal *kos*¹ *manāra* constitutes an interesting example of secular towers erected in India. Many of them survive now in Northern India and West Pakistan.² Traces of several others have been located. Bābar in his Memoirs speaks of the *kos manāra* which he ordered to be built between Agra and Kabul.³ Jahāngīr in his Memoirs⁴ tells us of the order he gave to erect pillars from Agra to Lahore at every karor. It is likely that the *kos manāras* which are listed below in Chapter III date from the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr.⁵

1. *Kos* is an Indian word : the equivalent word in Persian is *karoh*, in Sanskrit, *krosa*. Abu-l-Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbarī*, trans. H. S. Jarret, vol. II, Calcutta 1891, p. 414) lays down that Akbar fixed the *kos* at 100 *tanābs* (cords) each *tanāb* consisting of 50 *ilāhī gaz* or at 400 *bāns* (poles) each *bāns* consisting of 12½ *gaz*. The length of a *kos* during the time of Akbar, therefore, was 5,000 *gaz*, each *gaz* consisting of $32 \frac{818}{1000}$ inches. (H. M. Elliot, *Memoirs on the History, Folk-lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, vol. II, London 1869, p. 194). Measuring the distance of several *kos manāras* which varies from one to another, Elliot fixes the average distance of a *kos* at 2 miles 4 furlongs 158 yards. The distance of a *kos* in Mālwa and Bengal, according to Abu-l-Fazl (*op. cit.*, p. 415), varied from that in the 'Delhi Country' where it was based on Sher Shāh's measurements. This subject has also been discussed by J. Tieffenthaler in *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde*, vol. I, Berlin 1786, pp. 23-28 ; and by A. Cunningham in *Ancient Geography of India*, London 1871, Appendix B., p. 571.
2. Chap. III (ii).
3. *Ain-i-Akbarī*, p. 414 n.
4. *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, 'Aligarh ed. 1864, p. 277.
5. *APRSt.*, *Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1913.*, p. 7 ; *ibid*, 1914, p. 45 ; *ibid*, 1915, p. 17.

The distance between the *manāras* where they run in line has been generally found to be between 2 miles 3 furlongs, and 2 miles 5 furlongs.¹ The *manāras* are generally of brick and plaster, and a great majority of them are built on square plinths. Above the plinth the towers taper towards the top, and are generally divided by a wide moulding into two parts.² The lower part is octagonal, and the upper part is round. The round part is sometimes stepped a little towards the inside. The top ends in a domical cap, and is sometimes surmounted by a finial. In general, the round tapering part of the *manāras* resembles the Tughlaqian corner towers. Some of the *manāras* are, however, of exceptional design.³

The *kos manāras* vary considerably in height, ranging from 10ft. 9ins. in the Rawalpindi district of West Pakistan to 50ft. in the Muzaffarnagar district of Uttar Pradesh.⁴ They are indeed very important in determining the courses of Mughal highways.

Manāras for miscellaneous uses are to be seen in many places of the sub-continent. They are mostly round and tapering, and follow generally the design of the single *ma'dhana*. Only a few square examples are known. Some of these round *manāras* are interestingly patterned with projecting motifs.⁵ These motifs appear to have been inspired by Iranian examples dating as far back as the Sassanian period.⁶ The object of these secular towers varied: some of them were no doubt watch-towers, but several of them were hunting and pleasure towers. Some of them are also known to have been erected as signal or lamp towers, while others as commemorative

1. *APRAS, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906*, p. 22 ; also *APRSt.*, *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 45, and *ARASI*, 1926-27, pp. 4-5. During the time of Bābur the distance for raising a *kos manāra* between Agra and Kabul was fixed at every 9 *kos* (*Aīn-i-Akbarī*, *op. cit.*, p. 414 n).

2. Figs. 5-7.

3. As for example, a *manāra* in Cawnpur District is round and tapering, and ends in a sharp conical top.

4. *APRSt.*, *op. cit.*, 1915, p. 7.

5. Pls. 43-44.

6. Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

towers. Being built for non-religious purposes, the builders did not pay much attention to their architectural composition, and the consequence is that most of them lack solidity and artistic merit.

Beside the *ma'dhana* and secular towers, a distinctive type of *manāra* is to be seen in Indo-Muslim architecture. These *manāras* invariably form parts of buildings, and are built either as buttresses or merely as ornamental appendages.² A sharp distinction between the *manāras* used as buttresses and those used as decorative adjuncts is, however, not possible, because in many instances they serve both purposes together. In stylistic analysis, these *manāras* or turrets as we shall call them, may broadly be divided into several groups, viz, the gateway turret, the front corner turret, the rear corner turret, the corner turret and the pinnacle turret.

The gateway turret flanking the entrance archway of a building appears to have two independent developments: one in Northern India, derived probably from the gateway bastion of the contemporary fort or palace ; and the other in Gujarāt, based at first on the arrangement of the *ma'dhanas* of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmīr, but later on elaborated to bring their outline down to the ground. The design of the slender and round tapering turrets of the Khirkī, Begampuri and Kalān Masjids in Delhi³ which represent the earliest examples of the North Indian development was made in imitation of the corner towers of the Jāmi' Masjid of Badā'un.⁴ These towers were later on copied in the Bādal gateway of Chānderī built about a century later.⁴ The straight and fluted turrets of the Jamālī Masjid⁵ were also probably derived from the Tughlaqian turrets. They however, show more delicacy in design—appropriate for the new Iranian type of gateways, and certainly are the forerunners of the Sur and later Mughal gateway turrets. The beautifully patterned gateway

1. Chap. IV.

2. Fig. 11 & pl. 34.

3. Pl. 77.

4. Pl. 47.

5. Pl. 53.

turrets of the tomb of Akbar at Sekandara or of Itimadu-d-daula and Taj Mahal in Agra represent the culmination of the style,¹ and are only a few of the best examples of the Mughal Period. The earliest representative examples of the Gujarāt development are to be seen in the gateway turrets of the mosques of Cambay and in those of the mosque of Hilāl Khān Qāzi at Dholka.² Like the *ma'dhanas* of the Ajmīr Jāmi' the turrets of the mosque of Hilāl Khān Qāzi also have flutings. In the mosques of Sayyid 'Ālam and Aḥmad Shāh at Ahmādābād, the lines of the gateway turrets were first brought down to the ground to flank the gateways,³ and this principle later on gained much popularity in the province. In Gujarāt not only all the later gateway turrets but also all the gateway *ma'dhanas* were erected in this fashion.

The front corner turret flanking the front facade of a building made its first appearance in the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmīr.⁴ In Gujarāt some of the earliest examples of this style are represented by the manāras of Darwīsh 'Alī's and Ibrāhīm Sayyid's mosques at Ahmādābād built in the first quarter of the 10th/16th century. It is likely that these latter towers were built in imitation of the front corner *ma'dhanas* of the province, such as the manāras of Alif Khān's mosque in Dholka,⁵ the manāras of Sayyid Uḥmān's mosque at Uḥmānpūr⁶ or those of the mosque of Muḥāfiz Khān at Ahmādābād⁷—all built in the previous century. Like these *ma'dhanas*, the design of the front corner turrets in Gujarāt is also stepped square at the bottom, and octagonal and round at the top. Because of this similarity of design, it is sometimes indeed difficult to ascertain from outside if these towers are turrets or *ma'dhanas*. From Gujarāt the

1. Pls. 84, 85 & 87.

2. Pls. 48-49.

3. Pl. 50.

4. Figs. 13-14.

5. Pl. 26.

6. Pl. 27.

7. Pl. 28.

style penetrated to the neighbouring territories of Bīdar and Bijāpur, and eventually also to Golcondā.¹ The turrets in the monuments of these places, however, vary in general design. They are mostly octagonal—a result of local development,² and are simpler in decoration. Free from complicated Hindu workmanship, these octagonal turrets are a special feature of the Deccani monuments, and form a distinctive contribution to the development of Indo-Muslim architecture.

The rear corner turrets are generally built at the extreme ends of the back of a building and at the corners of the *miḥrāb* projections of the mosque. Sometimes, however, they are found only at the latter place. The earliest example of such turrets built at the corners of a *miḥrāb* projection appears to be those at the exterior angles of the *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' Masjid of Badā'un. They are very small, and rise only from the middle of the *miḥrāb* projection. The design of the rear corner turrets in the subsequent sultanate buildings was derived from the Tughlaqian gateway turrets, while their shape in the Mughal monuments was derived from the Mughal gateway *manāras*. The style was popular in Delhi during the Lodi period, and in Jaunpur under the Sharqī rulers.

The corner turret is seen in Indo-Muslim architecture from one of the earliest surviving monuments—the Sulṭān Ghārī in Delhi.³ The builder of this tomb must have derived the idea from earlier Muslim monuments in the Middle East, where from the time of the Umayyads corner turrets became a feature of Muslim buildings. The turrets of the Sulṭān Ghārī do not seem to have left any mark on the subsequent turrets of the Mamlūk period, because the surviving corner towers of Balban's Masjid at Jalālī are square.⁴ The corner

1. Pls. 61-73.

2. The *manāras* of the mosque of 'Alī Barīd's tomb are, however, inspired by those of the Madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān—a monument of much Iranian influence.

3. Fig. 16.

4. Pl. 75.

turrets of the Tughlaq period were built in two different designs. One of these designs—represented by slender, round and tapering *manāras*—made its first appearance in the tomb of Rukn-i-'Alam at Multān,¹ and the other—characterised by heavy, squat, round and slightly tapering towers like those of the Sulṭān Ghari—is seen in the Kalān Masjid of Delhi. The former design appears to have exercised influence in Northern India up to the middle of the 10th/16th century, but the latter was adopted in modified form only in the distant province of Bengal. Like this latter design, the Bengal *manāras*² are short in height, but, unlike them, they are straight and octagonal, and are divided into sections by string mouldings. Decorated with local engrailed arch-motif and Hindu chain and bell patterns on their facets, the Bengal *manāras* indeed show a drastic modification of their Tughlaqian forerunners. Some of these turrets are also provided with pinnacles of local design.

A few turrets in Bengal, such as those in the Adīna Masjid of Pāndua³ or in the Gumtī Gate and Lattan Masjid at Gaur are patterned with flutings in imitation of the Quṭb Manāra or the manāra of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmīr.

Turrets at the corners of a building are rare in Gujarāt. The corner manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid of Chāmpānīr are the only examples of such a style in the province known to the writer. These turrets are imitations of the gateway *ma'dhanas* of the mosque.

In the Deccan such turrets are seen in Bijāpūr, Hyderābād and Golcondā. They are, however, few in number in comparison with the front corner turrets found in these areas. The Bijāpūr turrets are octagonal in design, and are divided into several sections by ring-mouldings or projecting balconies. From the top of the ring-mouldings rise sculptural petals which constitute a general characteristic of all kinds of turrets in the Deccan. These petals were probably originated from the Hindu lotus motif. The turrets of

1. Pl. 76.

2. Pl. 79.

3. Pl. 78.

Hyderābād and Golcondā are also octagonal in design, but in some instances, their upper parts are round. Moulded lanterns are, however, a special characteristic of Hyderābād and Golcondā turrets,¹ and these distinguish them from other *manāras* in the subcontinent. This feature occupies the place of the ring-mouldings of Bijāpur turrets, and was originally an Iranian conception. The turrets of Bijāpur, Hyderābād and Golcondā are all crowned by cupolas resting on sculptured petals.

The Mughal corner turrets are the glory of Indian *manāras*. Built either in round or octagonal designs, some of these turrets are very lofty and extremely decorative.² Both these types appear to have been derived from the *manāras* of Herāt and Samarqand. In loftiness and majestic beauty some of these turrets, however, far surpass their central Asian forerunners. The round turret appeared early in Mughal architecture, and reached its culmination under Shāh Jahān in the *manāras* of the Tāj Mahal. Mughal octagonal turrets were first built during the reign of this Emperor, and the style continued throughout the later Mughal period.

The pinnacle turret was the most common type of *manāra* in Indo-Muslim architecture. It is possible that they were developed independently without any external influence. They were built on the corners of the roof and intermediately, and on the drum of the dome. In general they are polygonal or round in form, and taper upwards. The few square pinnacle turrets of Bīdar are indeed exceptional. The pinnacle turrets of the Sayyid and Lodī periods are both at the same time polygonal and round.³ The round pinnacle turrets of Gulbarga are, almost without exception, fluted, and were probably influenced by those of the Tughlaqs.⁴ The Gulbarga turrets exercised influence on some turrets in Bīdar. Some pinnacle turrets of the later Mughal period are also fluted,⁵ but they appear

1. Pls. 81-83.

2. Pls. 84-87.

3. Fig. 17.

4. Pl. 92.

5. Pl. 98.

to have developed independently of those in Gulbarga or Bīdar. All the different pinnacle turrets have a common feature in the cupola which varies in size and shape according to the design of the turret

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The *manāras* in Indo-Muslim architecture were built of three kinds of materials, viz. stone, brick and wood. The use of these materials depended on what was generally available in a particular region. Thus the *manāras* in Northern India were built of granite, sandstone and marble. In the Punjāb they were built of brick and sandstone. While sandstone and local trap constituted the chief materials in Gujarāt and in the Deccan respectively, in Bengal all *manāras* were built of brick. The *manāras* in the Deccan were generally covered with plaster. Wooden *manāras* were built only in Kashmīr. In some instances, a combination of materials such as stone and brick was also used. But such combinations were rare, and were generally the result of restoration work.

It will be evident from Appendix I that only the *manāras* of religious significance have inscriptions. These inscriptions generally consist of Quranic verses, sayings of the Prophet, and eulogies of the builders. By inscribing their names along with religious texts, the builders must have intended to transmit their names to posterity as pious benefactors, and thus to derive blessings from the Faithful. But it is interesting that the names of the architects who actually shaped the *manāras* are very rarely mentioned in these inscriptions. That some of the architects were non-believers is a possible reason for this omission, but more important was probably the unwillingness of the rulers to couple their names with those of others, particularly of subordinates. The decision of the ruler was indeed more important than the deed of the architect.

CHAPTER II

THE MA'DHANA

1. The Single Ma'dhana

GHAZNAVID

The Manāra at Sohdra, West Pakistan

Abu-l-Fazl¹ speaks of 'a high brick manār' at Sohdra in the district of Gujranwālā. This has now disappeared altogether, but it was still standing in a tolerable state of preservation at the beginning of the 13th/19th century.² During the Sikh rule a portion of the manāra gave way,³ and in 1281/1864 the whole fell down, and eventually became a complete ruin. In 1296/1878-79 A. Cunningham visited the place and noticed the bricks of the manāra which were being utilised by a local man in building his house.⁵

Description. Cunningham⁶ records the following description of the manāra : 'The minār had eight sides, and stood upon a square foundation... The foundation was about 32 feet square, and the octagonal minār about 24 or 25 feet in diameter, with walls

1. Mentioned in *ASIR*, vol. XIV p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.* The bricks were 11 in. square and 2½ in. thick.

6. *ASIR*, vol. XIV, p. 44. The description was based on the measurement of the ground plan and the information given by the local people.

4 feet thick. Its height is variously said to have been 50 *gaz* or 60 *hāths*, or more. It must, therefore, have been at least 100 feet. It had a winding staircase leading to the top, and was most probably a *māzina* or *minār* attached to a *masjid*, for the use of the *muazzin* to call the Faithful to prayer. It was five storeys in height, with small openings or windows to give light. These openings were filled with brick trelliswork, each trellis being formed of four bricks $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. I found one of these trellis bricks, which was pierced with a very light and graceful tracery'.

Date. According to the local people, this *manāra* was built by Malik Ayāz, a favourite slave who accompanied Maḥmūd of Ghazna to India, and whose sister Maḥmūd married.¹ Cunningham² suggests that Sohdra might have formed the *jagīr* of Ayāz when he built the *manāra*. If this was so, the *manāra* must have been built after 412/1021, when Punjāb was formally annexed to Maḥmūd's dominions.

General Observations. The features of the *manāra* support the above data. The oldest *manāras* of Iran, and the lands adjoining it on the east and north usually seem to have been octagonal, as the ruins of the *manāras* in Nād 'Ali and Sijistān (3rd/9th century) and Zaranj (5th/11th century) show.³ The *manāras* of Ghazna, built in the first half of the 6th/12th century, show similar features. The *manāra* at Sohdra is very significant, because in it we have the earliest *ma'dhana* in Indo-Muslim architecture of which a description survives.

MAMLUK

The Qutb Manāra, Delhi (Pls. 1—4)

Of all the existing *ma'dhanas* of the world, the Qutb Manāra is perhaps the most widely known, and certainly the most beautiful.

1. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. II, pp. 183-85.

2. *ASIR*, vol. XIV, p 44.

3. *EI*, vol. III, part I, p. 230.

To quote J. Ferguson,¹ not an ordinary judge, '...the minār is the most beautiful example of its class known to exist any where... The only Muhammadan building known to be taller than this is the minaret of the mosque of Hasān at Cairo ; but as the pillar at old Delhi is a wholly independent building, it has a far nobler appearance and both in design and finish far surpasses not only its Egyptian rival but any building of its class known to me in the whole world. It stands at a distance of about 160 feet² from the south-east corner of the mosque of Quṭb-u-d-din Aibak.³

Description. As originally designed the manāra stood some 224 ft.⁴ in height except the circular pavilion at the top which must have been at least 10 ft., making the total height about 240 ft. At present, however, it stands 238 ft. 1 in. in height⁵ up to the stump of the pavilion, the increased height being accounted to the restoration of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq. The manāra is 47 ft. 3 ins. in diameter at the bottom⁶ tapering to a width nearly 9 ft. at the summit.⁷

Although originally divided into four storeys by projecting balconies dividing each stage, Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq divided the fourth storey of the manāra into two, thus making five in all. The bottom storey is 94 ft. 11 ins. in height, the second storey is 50 ft. 8½ ins., the fourth storey is 25 ft. 4 ins., and the topmost storey is 22 ft.

1. *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised ed., vol. II, London 1910, p. 206.
2. R. N. Munshi, *The History of the Qutb Minar*, Bombay 1911, p. 84, °
3. On the inner lintel of the eastern gateway of the mosque, and on the outer arch tympanum of the same there are two inscriptions referring to the construction of the mosque by Quṭb-u-d-din Aibak. (See Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Atharu-s-Sanādīd*, Delhi, A. H. 1293, p. 587 ; E. Thomas. *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London, 1871, pp. 22-23 ; *EIM*, 1911-12, pp. 13-14 ; *MAI*, No. 22, p. 29)
4. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 195 n.
5. *Ibid*, p. 195.
6. *Ibid*.
7. *Ibid*.

4 ins.¹ The base of the manāra is a polygon of 24 sides,² each side measuring 6 ft. 1½ ins., and it is 2 ft. in height. The bottom storey has the same number of faces formed into convex flutes which are alternately angular and semi-circular. The second and the third storeys are also fluted : in the second storey the flutes are all semi-circular, and in the third storey these are all angular. The fourth storey is circular and plain, but the fifth storey is partially fluted with semi-circular flutes like the second storey. The three lower storeys of the manāra are constructed of three kinds of masonry—'an outer veneer of Agra sandstone slabs to act as bond stones, a hearting of rubble stone masonry and an inner face of ashlar masonry of Delhi stone'.³ The colour of the sandstone up to the second storey is generally a pale pinkish buff, but that of the third storey is a dark red. The fourth and fifth storeys are constructed of red sandstone in the interior, but of white marble and occasional placements of sandstone in irregular widths on the exterior. Inside the manāra there is a spiral staircase of 379 steps leading to the top, the number of steps originally being 360 up to the fourth storey.⁴

The decoration of the manāra is provided by the inscriptional bands on its body arranged in 'geometrical series',⁵ and the methods

1. *ASIR*, vol. I, pp. 195-96. The dimensions given here are the mean results of two sets of measurements, the first taken by A. Cunningham in 1255/1839, and the other by Frederick Abbott in 1263/1846 (*ibid.*, p. 196). The measurements taken by Ensign Blunt in 1209/1794 however differ from those of Cunningham, and are recorded as 90 ft. for the first storey, 50 ft. for the second, 40 ft. for the third, 23 ft. for the fourth, and 39 ft. for the topmost storey (*AR*, vol. IV, pp. 313-14).
2. *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. 197. Ensign Blunt (*op. cit.*, p. 313) is not correct when he counts 27 sides. Andre Maricq (*Le Minaret de Djam*, Paris 1959, p. 67) is wrong when he says that the Quṭb Manāra has no base.
3. *APRST, Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31 March, 1915*, p. 13.
4. Abu-l-Fidā who wrote about 700/1300 describes the manāra as made of red stone and very lofty, with many sides and 360 steps (*ASIR*, vol. I, p. 195).
5. *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. 52.

designed for the support of the balconies of the different storeys. The inscriptions are written in bold Arabic letters of Ṭughrā character, and have been interwoven with raised foliate designs interspersed with rosettes. The inscriptional bands are again enclosed by raised narrower borders, two, three or four in number on each side, executed differently in different bands, and have a supporting arabesque band of different motifs of almost the same width between the two lowermost bands. The lowest inscriptional band is placed between two narrow borders of lozenges and roundels and the arabesque band above has a rope border on the lower side and a lozenge border on the upper. The next inscriptional band is enclosed by three borders on each side arranged as follows : the first or the nearest border to the inscription consists of a lozenge border, the second a rosette border, and the third a hanging border half-circling a row of triangular inverted palmettes between which hang pendants. Since these three bands are placed very near to each other, they have sometimes been described as consisting of only one band in relation to others. The next inscriptional bands either in the bottom storey or in the second and third storeys are executed with almost similar patterns—the number of borders however varying from band to band. The inscriptional band on the fourth storey is placed between two rope borders. Above this band there is a border of diapers which is surmounted by a pair of rope borders. The diapers are separated from one another by vertical raised lines.

The methods designed for supporting the balconies consist of stalactite bracketings of exquisitely minute work represented by a cluster of miniature cusped niches with brackets in between. The niches are further patterned inside with raised gratings giving the appearance of a honeycomb. When first built, the balustrade around the balconies consisted of small 'battlements'.¹ The present balus-

1. In 1209/1794 Ensign Blunt saw them, and wrote, 'I found the battlements in many parts entirely ruined, and those that were standing in such a decayed state, as to render it a matter of some danger to venture out from the staircase'. (*AR*, vol. IV, p. 314).

trade of small posts alternating with plain fields of perforated diapers belongs to the restoration of the early 13th/19th century.

The tops of the doorways are decorated with the *kangūras* or stepped battlements.

Date. The date of the Quṭb Manāra can be best ascertained by the inscriptions it bears, rather than by scanty literary references of the contemporary period, which are sometimes inaccurate. The earliest dated inscription which is found on the manāra is *Samvat 1256*¹ (596/1199), and it occurs thrice on the main entrance. On the strength of its repeated occurrence it has been suggested that the building of the manāra was commenced in that year.² The subordinate titles of Quṭbu-d-dīn on the lowest inscription band,³ and the sovereign titles and praises of Muḥammad bin Sām and his brother Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, who equally shared the Ghurid empire, on the second and fourth inscription bands⁴ are good evidence of the foundation of the manāra by Quṭbu-d-dīn, possibly at the behest of Muḥammad bin Sām. The appearance of Ghiyāsu-d-dīn's name on the fourth band suggests that the manāra up to that portion or

1. *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. VI. The earliest inscription on the manāra, however, appears to be the one under the soffit of the lintel over the 18th slit window in the third storey. It is in Nāgarī, and the meaning is uncertain. On epigraphical grounds the inscription is assignable to about the 3rd/9th century. (*MASI*, No. 22, p. 91). About the inscription, J. F. Blakiston who was once the Archaeological Superintendent of Muhammadan and British Monuments in the Northern Circle remarks, 'The inscription is on the underside of the lintel in an exceedingly difficult place to chisel and is on one stone. It seems to be incomplete, that is to say, the ends of the inscription are cut off owing to the ends of the lintel being set on the side jambs of the window. In my opinion the inscription was carved on the stone before it was set in its present position'. (*Ibid.*, p. 41 n). John Marshall (*CHI*, vol. III, p. 578) also supports that view and writes, 'it is on the soffit of a window lintel, in a position which leaves no doubt that this particular stone came from some older structure'.
2. *MASI*, No. 22, p. 19.
3. See Appendix I.
4. *Loc. cit.*

perhaps up to the first storey was erected before 599/1202-03, the year of his death. Since the name and sovereign title of Iltutmish appear on the lowest inscription band ¹ of the second storey, there can be no doubt that Iltutmish started his share in the building of the manāra from this storey. The occurrence of Iltutmish's name as 'bright meteor of the sky of the Khilāfat' in the said inscription further implies that Iltutmish commenced his erection of the storey after 626/1229, when he received a robe of honour and a patent investiture from the Khalīfa of Baghdād.² Significantly enough in all the inscriptions ³ of Iltutmish occurring on the second and third storeys of the manāra, he has been associated with the 'Khalifa of God'. The omission of the word 'Khalifa' from his inscription ⁴ on the fourth storey can be easily explained by the fact that this was written not during his time but during the period of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, who repaired the manāra after it was injured by lightning in 770/1369.⁵ The record ⁶ on the doorway of the second storey that the manāra was completed by the order of Iltutmish, together with his inscriptions ⁷ on the third and fourth storeys—the latter storey inscription being inscribed by Fīrūz Shāh—proved that the erection of the manāra was completed by Iltutmish and that it originally stood up to the fourth storey only. The rendering of Fīrūz Shāh's inscription by Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Nawāb Zia-ud-dīn ⁸ as 'the erection of this building was ordered during the reign of Shāms-ud-dīn Altamish' is dubious. Horovitz ⁹ translates it, and rightly, as 'This building was ordered in days of the rule of Iltutmish',

1. *Loc cit.*

2. *CHI*, vol. III, p. 54.

3. See Appendix I.

4. *Loc cit.*

5. *Loc cit.*

6. *Loc. cit.*

7. *Loc cit.*

8. Quoted in *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 203

9. *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 28 ; see Appendix I.

which, as Cunningham¹ points out, may refer to the fourth storey only, and not to the whole manāra. Sulṭān Fīrḡz Shāh, who caused this inscription to be written in the name of Iltutmish, himself calls the Quṭb Manāra 'the manāra of Mu'izu-d-dīn Sām'.² The statements of Shams-i-Sirāj and Abu-l-Fidā in calling this tower the manāra of Iltutmish may be explained as 'conveying only the popular opinion,'³ and are certainly not entitled to the same weight as the three inscriptions on the bottom storey which record the name and titles of Muḥammad bin Sām and his brother, and the titles of Amīr Quṭbu-d-dīn. Sekandar Lodī's inscription⁴ on the main entrance 'of the manāra of his majesty the King of Kings Shamsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn' may refer to the upper part of the manāra actually built by Iltutmish.

The Nāgarī inscription⁵ on the left-hand abatement of the door of the third balcony, namely, 'The pillar of Victory of Sultan Alāvadi,' has raised the problem of whether 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī was associated with the construction of the manāra. The inscription appears to be in agreement with the statement of Amīr Khusrau in his *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi*⁶ that 'Alāu-d-dīn directed that a 'new casing and cupola' should be added to the manāra and also with that of Bābar' when he calls it the manāra of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī. Cunningham,⁸ who was not aware of the inscription, but who read both Amīr Khusrau's and Bābar's statements, believed, despite the Arabic inscriptions mentioned above, that the whole of the present red stone facing was added by 'Alāu-d-dīn, and that 'to

1. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 203.
2. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 385.
3. *ASIR*, vol. I, 'p. 203.
4. Appendix I.
5. *Loc. cit.*
6. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 70.
7. *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. IX.
8. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 204 n.

his reign we must assign all that is rich and beautiful in its decoration'. No doubt, looking at 'Alāu-d-dīn's red sandstone gateway, some arguments can be put forward in support of Cunningham's views, but those who have studied the character of 'Alāu-d-dīn and have read his interminable inscriptions¹ in the 'Alāi Darwāza would find it difficult to believe that if he had re-covered the manāra he would have renewed its existing inscriptions without having his own name inscribed somewhere on this structure, as he does so often on the 'Alāi Darwāza. It is on this account that Carr Stephen² entirely dissents from Cunningham's opinion in favour of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī. J. A. Page³ also, for the same reason, notes that in spite of Amīr Khusrau's assertion the casing was almost certainly never carried out. 'From the very significant records of this emperor's character in Ziyau-d-dīn Baranī's history,' he writes, 'an undue altruism is the last quality that could be accredited to him; and we may be sure that the names and eulogistic titles of his predecessors (of a dynasty alien to his own), which are still extant on the minār, would not have been repeated on a new stone casing—to the total exclusion of his name'. In this connection it is of interest to note that although Amīr Khusrau outlived 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī by some ten years, his *Tārīkh-i-'Alāi* only records the events of the reign of the Sulṭān up to 710/1310. It is very likely that Bābar was misinformed about the builder of the manāra. This would not be unusual after a lapse of 300 years; or it may be that the similarities between the 'Alāi Darwāza and the Quṭb Manāra in material and in some aspects of decoration led him to make this conclusion. The Nāgarī inscription mentioned above containing the bare name 'Sulṭān Alāvādī' appears to have little significance against all the

1. *EIM*, 1917-18, pp. 23-30; also *I MASI* No. 22, pp. 34-38.

2. *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Ludhiana 1876, p. 66 n.

3. *MASI*, No. 22, p. 19 n6.

inscriptions of Quṭbu-d-dīn, Muḥammad bin Sām and Ilututnish, and was possibly, as Page¹ thinks, inscribed on the manāra by an anonymous visitor at a later time, or it may be that the inscription represents a minor repair during the time of 'Alāu-d-din Khaljī by a Hindu mason² who, of his own accord, exalted the Sulṭān by making him the builder of the manāra.

Restoration and Repair. The restorations and repairs of the manāra are also recorded in its inscriptions. Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq repaired the manāra after it had been struck by lightning. The two Nāgarī inscriptions³ on the third balcony record that the monument was struck 'on the 7th day of the (month) *Bhādra* in the year *Samvat* 1382 (727/1326) in the 25th *ghari* in the Janakamātra', and that 'on Wednesday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of *Chaitra* in the year *Samvat* 1389 (733/1332) the work of fame of the illustrious Sultan Muḥammad Shāh'. Near the latter inscription are the names of three masons, Nānā, Salhā, and Loḷā,⁴ who also cut the inscription⁵ of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh to be mentioned soon. Page's⁶ inaccurate translation of the part of the second inscription—as 'the (pillar) of fame⁷ of the illustrious Sultan Muḥammad Shāh' possibly led him to reject the significance of the name of Muḥammad Tughlaq on the manāra.⁸ It is true that the name of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was in no way connected with the erection of the Quṭb Manāra but the work referred to in the inscription undoubtedly signifies the repairs made

1. *MASI*, No 22, p. 19 n6.

2. Names of several Hindu masons are inscribed on the manāra. (See Appendix I.)

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. *Loc. cit.*

5. *Loc. cit.*

6. *MASI*, No. 22, p. 42.

7. The word is *kīrtti*, and not *kīrttistambha* as was understood by Page. See Appendix I.

8. *MASI*, No. 22. p. 19 n6.

by the Sulṭān in consequence of the lightning mentioned in the first inscription.

The present fourth storey of the manāra, as already mentioned, and the topmost storey are the restoration works of Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq. The Nāgarī inscription ¹ in the red-stone facing of the fourth storey records the name of the Sulṭān and states that the manāra was struck by lightning on the '15th day of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna* in the year *Samvat* 1425' (770/1369) and that the repairs were done by Nānā, Salhā, Lolā, and Lashmaṇa. The Persian inscription ² on the doorway of the fifth storey records the same damage in the year 770/1369, and that Sulṭān Firūz Shāh 'built this portion of the edifice with care.' This inscription was supplemented by another Nāgarī inscription ³ on the same storey, which states that the work was carried out in the temple of Viśvakarman by a mason (*sūtradhārī*) ⁴ who was the maternal grandson of the son of Chahaḍadevapāla. Immediately below the Nāgarī inscription are no less than five numbers given in Nāgarī figures, all of which are preceded by the word *gaz*, as *gaz* 22, *gaz* 3, *gaz* 26, *gaz* 131, and *gaz* 134.⁵ It is possible that these measurements were used in determining the nature and extent of the repairs executed by Firūz Shāh.

The fact that the fourth and fifth storeys of the manāra were built by Firūz Shāh may also be proved by the architectural difference of these storeys from the rest of the structure, as well as by the words of the Sulṭān himself and the 'exceptional altruism' of his character. It will be noticed on examining the manāra that the first three storeys are covered with sandstone on the exterior, while the top two are covered with marble and sandstone in irregular widths. The actual junction of the repair inside the staircase 'at the begin-

1. Appendix I.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. Appendix I.

4. The literal meaning of the word *sūtradhārī* is carpenter.

5. *ASIR*, vol. I, p 201; see also Appendix I.

ning of the fourth storey is also very clear to see ; while the original interior casing of the manāra is of Delhi quartzite stone, Firūz Shāh's repair is done with red sandstone. The difference may also be noticed in the erection of the arches in the two upper storeys where as C. J. Campbell,¹ whose early training as a Civil Engineer gives special weight to his opinion, points out that they have true voussoirs, whilst in the three lower storeys they are all overlapping Hindu arches. The essential unity of the fourth and fifth storeys in point of constructional and decorative styles, and their distinct contrast with the three lower fluted storeys, which are marked by a total absence of any marble dressings, are sufficient to justify the conclusion that the three lower storeys belong to a period far removed from that of the two upper. Firūz Shāh's own words² in his Memoir, 'The manāra of Sulṭān Mu'izu-d-dīn Sām had been struck by lightning, I repaired it, and raised it higher than it was before' is also illuminating in this respect. His statement can be better understood by a reference from Abul Fidā³ who, writing about 700/1300, said that the Quṭb Manāra had 360 steps. At present the manāra has 379 steps⁴ of which 3 belong to the early 13th/19th century restoration leaving therefore 376 during the time of Firūz Shāh, an increase of 16 steps from the original structure. This increase justifies the division of the original fourth storey into two—the present fourth and fifth, bringing them thus into symmetrical harmony with the lower three storeys. Firūz Shāh's piety, so famous in Indo-Muslim history, must have been responsible for inscribing the name of Iltutmish on the fourth storey which was originally the work of the latter Sulṭān himself. 'To a man of his nature,' as Page⁵ observes, 'however anomalous it may seem with his times, the restoration of the record of Altamish's name with full title of Sulṭān on

1. *JASB*, 1866, p. 205.

2. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 383.

3. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 195.

4. *Ibid.* p. 195 n.

5. *MASI*, No. 22, p. 20 n.

that portion of the work which in the original must be accredited to him, may well have seemed the merest act of justice : to "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's".

The last of these recorded repairs by a Muslim sulṭān is mentioned in the Persian inscription of Sekandar Lodī¹ on the frieze of the main entrance doorway. The inscription reads that the manāra was damaged, and consequently, the cracks were filled in and the upper storeys were repaired in his reign under the superintendence of Khānzādah Fath Khān, the son of Masnad-i-Ali Khawāṣ Khan, on the first day of Rabi' u-l-Akhir in the year 909/23rd Sept, 1503. The repairs referred to were executed on the second and fifth storeys because, among the epigraphs of these storeys, there still exist two Nāgarī inscriptions of the same date, *Samvat* 1560.²

Several dates of a later period in Nāgarī characters also occur on the manāra, but in all cases omitting the name of the ruler, signifying either casual writings by visitors or minor repairs. Thus there are two inscriptions³ on the second balcony, one of which records, 'Engraved in the year *Samvat* 1599 (949/1542) by the mason (named) Sish, son of Hirā,' and the other 'on the 6th *Māgha* of the year *Samvat* 1617 (968/1560).' One of the inscriptions copied from the Quṭb Manāra in 1337/1918-19 is a brief record of about the 11th/17th century which designates the manāra as a *kīrtistambha*.⁴ On the first storey there is an inscription⁵ which reads 'Chunilāla fixed this screen in *Samvat* 1832 (1189/1775).'

From the beginning of the 13th/19th century significant repairs have been executed on the manāra. In 1197/1782 it was much dama-

1. See Appendix I.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. See Appendix I.

4. *ARASI*, 1918-19, part I, p. 25.

5. See Appendix I.

ged by storm and earthquake.¹ But when Ensign Blunt² sketched it in 1209/1794, the old cupola of Fīrūz Shāh was still standing although much dilapidated. But in 1218/1803 the cupola was thrown down, and the whole manāra was seriously damaged by an earthquake.³ A drawing of the manāra, while it was in this state, was made by Captain Elliot upwards of two years after the earthquake but the engraving of this drawing is too small to show the nature of the balustrades of the balconies.⁴ About this time the dangerous state of the manāra was brought to the notice of the Governor General who authorized the necessary repairs to be begun at once, and entrusted the work to Major Robert Smith of the Engineers.⁵ The work however does not seem to have started before 1238/1822 because in that year Walter Ewer reports⁶ on 'The present state of the *Cootub Minar*' which 'is calculated to excite apprehensions of its speedy destruction.' 'On the west side' he says, 'many stones have been forced out with a degree of violence sufficient to cause a vertical crack in the staircase and centre pillar. On the east a *Banyan* tree has taken firm root, and if no one takes the trouble to remove it, there can be no doubt that it will ensure the fall of the tower, before many years have elapsed. This is to be regretted, for the *Cootub Minar* is a work unrivalled of its kind in this country, and in some respects in the world.' Major Smith completed the work at the spring of 1244/1828 at a cost of Rs. 17,000.⁷ All the forms of the mouldings were carefully preserved in his work, but the rich ornamentation omitted

1. De Tassi, *Description des Monuments de Delhi en 1852*, p. 248.

2. *AR*, vol. IV, p. 313. Blunt's rude sketch conveys no intelligible idea of the old cupola, and is sarcastically compared by Robert Smith to 'a large stone harp' (*ASIR*. vol. I, p. 198).

3. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 199.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*

6. *AR*, vol. XIV, p. 486.

7. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 199.

as too costly.¹ As Cunningham² observes, this part of the work appears to have been done with much patience and skill, and reflects great credit on Major Smith for the conscientious care which he bestowed upon it. But he³ disapproves the 'flimsy Mogul pavilion' which Robert Smith fixed on the top of this 'grand and massive specimen of Pathān architecture.' In fixing the pavilion Robert Smith added 3 additional steps on the top of the manāra.⁴ Major Smith's pavilion was taken down in 1269/1847 by order of Lord Hardinge,⁵ and Cunningham⁶ thought that this was done at the suggestion of Hardinge's eldest son 'whose known artistic taste and skill would at once have detected the architectural unfitness of such a flimsy pavilion for the summit of this noble column.' Major Smith also restored the present balustrades of the balconies.⁷ He further repaired 'the former rude and fractured entrance door of the base of the column' and improved it 'with new mouldings, frieze, and repair of this inscription tablet.'⁸

Minor repair work appears to have been done on the manāra in *Samvat* 1935 (1296/1878) and the name of the mason (*mistārī*) is given in a Nāgari inscription⁹ as Mohana Lāla. In 1333/1914 a careful examination of the manāra was made following the appearance of a 'bulge' in the third storey.¹⁰ But the report was satisfactory,¹¹ and what was apprehended as a 'bulge' was explained by A. Croad, the Executive Engineer of the Department of Archaeology, as merely

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 195 n.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 199.

8. *Ibid.*

9. See Appendix I.

10. *APRSt. Muhammedan and British Monuments, Northern Circle. For the year ending 31st March, 1915*, p. 13.

11. *Ibid.*

the coming away of the outer veneer from the inner rubble.¹ In 1339/1920-21 a new iron railing was provided on the Quṭb Manāra to take the place of an old one that had become dangerously loose.²

General Observations. It is unnecessary now to endeavour to trace the Hindu origin of the Quṭb Manāra. The common belief that the manāra was built by Rai Pithorā³ for the purpose of giving his daughter a view of the river Jumnā, a belief which found some support among scholars in earlier days,⁴ has been conclusively negated by more penetrating students of the subject.⁵ Marshall's words,⁶ 'the whole conception of the minār and almost every detail of its construction and decoration is essentially Islamic' may be taken as a summary expression of this conclusion. The 3rd/9th century Nāgarī inscription of the third storey, as has already been pointed out, belonged to an older structure : and the reading of another Nāgarī inscription on the second storey by Kunwār Sain⁷ as *Samvat* 1204 (541/1146-47) has been corrected by Dayā Rām Sahnī,⁸ as *Samvat* 1074 (1057/1647). It may be that along with the Muslim workmen Hindu craftsmen were also employed in the construction of the manāra, because the Hindus were traditionally used to build in stone material. But the fact, as will be noticed shortly, that the Quṭb Manāra had

1. *Ibid.*

2. *ARASI*, 1920-21, p. 4.

3. Chohān Prithvī Rāja was commonly called Rai Pithorā.

4. See the views of T. Metcalfe and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in *ASIR*, vol. I, pp. 183, 190-193; J. D. Beglar in *ASIR*, vol. IV, pp. 46-58; Kunwār Sain in *JPUHS*, 3 (1934), pp. 89-113.

5. See the opinions of A. Cunningham in *ASIR*, vol. I, pp. 189-204; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-66; R. N. Munshi, *op. cit.*; Dayā Rām Sahnī in *APRSt.*, *Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1919*, pp. 7-10; J. A. Page, in *MASI*, No. 22, pp. 19-25; J. Marshall, *CHI*, vol. III, pp. 577-79.

6. *CHI*, vol. III, pp. 578-79.

7. *Op. cit.*

8. *APRSt.*, *Hindu and Buddhist Monuments etc.*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

witnessed all its essential features in its immediate predecessors in the neighbouring countries, and that it was erected under the superintendence of a Muslim architect—Muḥammad Amīr Koh¹ (possibly a native of Fīrūz Kōh, the capital of the Ghurid Sulṭāns.²) prove beyond doubt that it was fundamentally a Muslim monument. Even 'the looped bell-and-garland and *lotus* borders of the older Hindu tradition'³ has been stylized into abstract form to border the inscriptions. According to S. K. Banerjī⁴, 'what have been suggested as the bells, look like pendants and the horizontal line of the chain looks like an ornamental border to the Arabic inscriptions.'

The widening of our knowledge about the *manāras* and tomb towers of Iran, Turkestan and Afghānistan and the recent discovery by the French Archaeological mission in Afghānistan of the Ghurid *manāra* at Jām⁵ have made it easier to establish that the Quṭb *Manāra* both in its design and decoration, is a Muslim building. The *Manāra* of Jām at the Ghurid site of Fīrūz Kōh in Afghānistan erected by Sulṭān Ghiyāsu-d-dīn—the brother of Mu'īzu-d-dīn Muḥammad whose name and titles occur along with those of his brother on the Quṭb *Manāra*, was undoubtedly the immediate predecessor of the latter. Built on an octagonal scolo this *manāra* of Jām, the round tapering tower of about 195 ft. in height, is divided externally by wide balconies on brackets into three storeys and contains a spiral staircase for ascending to the top which is crowned by an arched pavilion. It has, therefore, almost the same character as the Quṭb *Manāra* differing only in material and in the external flutings of the latter.

1. The name of the architect is mentioned in an inscription. (see Appendix I) on the third storey of the *manāra*.
2. Andre Maricq & Gaston Weit. *op. cit.*, p. 65.
3. K. de B. Codrington, *An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Art in India*, 1933, p. 3.
4. *JUPHS*, vol. X, p. 44.
5. See the report about the *manāra* in Andre Maricq & Gaston Weit, *op. cit.*

The origin of the flutings of the Quṭb Manāra can be traced to those of the tomb towers and *manāras* of Iran, Turkestan and Afghānistān. Starting with the angular flutings of the Gunbad-i-Qābūs in Gurgān (397/1006), we have other pre-Quṭb examples of flutings in the *manāras* of Nād 'Alī and Zarand (apparently of the 3rd/9th and 5th/11th century respectively ¹), in the *manāra* of Jar Kurgān (502/-1108-9)² in the tomb tower at Rayy (534/1139) and in the Ghaznī *manāras* of the early 6th/12th century. ³ The important *manāra* at Jar Kurgān combines especially several of the traits of the Quṭb Manāra. It has the conspicuous tapering character of the Quṭb, and is, like the latter, composed of a cluster of round flutings in at least two sections, girdled in the middle by a wide band of inscriptions and bridged at the top by little 'squinch-like arches'.⁴

The top of the Quṭb Manāra consisted of a pavilion ⁵ similar to that of the *manāra* of Jām. Ibn Baṭūṭah ⁶ who saw the pavilion describes the cupola as a glistening white marble dome with golden 'apples'⁷ surmounting it. The material of the cupola, however, was changed from marble to red sandstone during the restoration of Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq. When Ensign Blunt ⁸ saw the *manāra* in

1. *SPA*, vol. II, p. 1027.

2. *Historical Monuments of Islam in the U. S. S. R.*, Tashkent, p. 26.

3. The so-called 'tower of Maḥmūd' has been recently shown to be in fact a tower built between 511-47/1117-53 for the Ghaznavid Prince Bahrām Shāh and to be later than the second tower of the same type inscribed with the name of Masūd III, (492-508/1099-1114) — (see, *Syria*, vol. XXX, pp. 110-21).

4. *SPA*, vol. II, p. 1027.

5. The design of the pavilion (as restored by Fīrūz Shāh) is preserved in a miniature of *Waḳīat-i-Baburi*, now in the Alwār State Library. The picture depicts Bābar going round the city of Delhi with the Quṭb Manāra in the background. The *manāra* is drawn in an extraordinary skill, hardly distinguishable from a present day photograph.

6. H. A. R. Gibb, *Travels of Ibn Baṭūṭah*, London 1921, p. 195.

7. The 'apples' formed the finial of the dome.

8. *AR*, vol. IV, p. 314.

1209/1794, its summit was 'crowned with a majestic cupola of red granite'.¹

A few words may be said here about Smith's restoration of the manāra. The flimsy balustrades which he put around the balconies do not harmonize with the massive style of the structure. The original battlement-like balustrades must have been very rich and beautiful—most appropriate to the manāra.

Cunningham's castigation² of the 'restoration' performed by Smith upon the entrance gateway and his inference from the latter's report that 'the whole of the entrance doorway is Smith's own design', a conclusion which has already been drawn by Fergusson³ who denounces the work as being in 'the true style of Strawberry Hill Gothic', appears to be wholly baseless. The *kangaras* which are the main objects of Cunningham's criticism and which he recommends to be 'altogether removed' were not only used extensively in early Muslim architecture such as in the buildings of Khirbāt al-Mafzar, Ukhaider, Sāmarrā, Cairo and Spain, but also exist on the second storey opening of the Quṭb Manāra itself.⁴ The motif was used by the Muslims in the decoration of the Qu'ran of the 1st & 2nd/7th & 8th century,⁵ and was ultimately derived from the ancient architectural ornamentation of Iran.⁶

It is interesting that, following Fergusson's theory of its being a *jayastambha*, the Quṭb Manāra has often been regarded as a Tower of Victory by later writers. Fergusson's theory, as has been

1. The stone must have been red sand-stone.

2. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 199.

3. *The Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, vol. I, London.

4. *MAI*, No. 22, p. 21.

5. See p. 11 & Pl. 5 in E. Diez, *Kunst der Islamischen Völker*, Berlin 1915.

6. A building depicted on an Urartean bronze from Toprak Kale in the Van region shows a wide cornice with *kangūras*, The bronze is dated 8th-7th century B. C. and is now in the British Museum. Achaemenid, Parthian and Sassanid buildings with *kangūra* ornamentation have been recently published by A. U. Pope in his *Persian Architecture*, London 1963 (Figs. 18, 24, 35, 49, 51 & 52).

explained in the previous chapter, is inaccurate, and his belief that the *manāra* was a 'Column of Victory' erected by Quṭb-u-d-dīn to celebrate his conquest of the Hindus is without support. None of the contemporary writers ever call the *manāra* a 'Tower of Victory', nor do any of the Arabic and Persian inscriptions on it regard it as such. The only Persian inscription ¹ which records the mere date of the conquest of the old fort of Delhi along with that of the erection of the Quṭb mosque is on the inner lintel of the eastern gateway of the same mosque, and not on the *manāra*. The Nāgarī word *kirtistambha* ² occurring on the left side of a window in the first storey of the *manāra* does not make the tower a *jayastambha*, because the meaning and significance of the two words are not the same. The Nāgarī words *Alābadim kī jayastambha*,³ although they apparently give an impression that the *manāra* was a 'Tower of Victory', in fact, are of little or no significance. It is almost certain that the name of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī' was not associated with the construction of the *manāra*.

Cunningham's belief ⁴ that one of the objects of the *manāra* was 'to humble the pride of the infidel' also does not call for serious attention. The tall and round tapering *manāras* of Iran, Turkestan and Afghānistan which unmistakably influenced the Quṭb *Manāra* from plan to detail were all erected long after the lands had been Islamized, and as such none of the *manāras* could be intended for such a purpose. The Quṭb *Manāra* was a logical development from its predecessors, and an intention by the conquerors to subject the infidels to 'daily indignity' by the *mu'adhdhan's* call to morning and evening prayers, from its summit, as Cunningham thought ⁵ is

1. *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 13; also *MASI*, No. 22, p. 29.

2. See Appendix I.

3. See Appendix I.

4. *ASIR*, vol. 1, p. 195.

5. Considering the height of the *manāra*, and the consequent difficulty involved in ascending to its top at least twice a day, if not five times, by the *mu'adhdhans*, several writers suggest that the lowest gallery was the

certainly out of the question. The manāra, with all the Quranic inscriptions ¹ on it, and described by the contemporary writers ² as the *ma'dhana* or the manāra of the great mosque of Delhi, is primarily a religious structure. The recording of the titles of Quṭb-u-d-dīn, and of the names, titles and glories of the Ghurid Sultāns on the monument makes it also a 'Tower of Glory' of these rulers, not to commemorate the conquest of Delhi, but to perpetuate their names to posterity as the erectors of the Quṭb, and as noble rulers. The completion of the structure by Iltutmish gave him an opportunity to share in the erection of this sacred structure, the benefit of which he expected to derive in the next world, and also to record his own name, titles and achievements. Beside its being a *ma'dhana* and a 'Tower of Glory' the manāra must have also served the purpose of embellishing the old city of Delhi.

Van Berchem and Andre Maricq's suggestion ³ that the Quṭb Manāra was originally intended by Quṭb-u-d-dīn to be his tomb tower, and that on his death, after the completion of the first storey, it was converted by Iltutmish into a manāra is based on the following arguments : first, that the alternately angular and circular flutings of the manāra bear resemblance to those of the tomb tower of Kishmār, which was erected at about the same time ; second, that the manāra is situated at an eccentric place in relation to the mosque ; third, that the disorderly placement of the inscription

mu'adhdhan's balcony. (See Carr Stephen, *op. cit.* p. 58; J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, *op. cit.* p. 206)

1. See Appendix I.
2. Shams-i-Sirāj calls it a *manār*; Abu-l- Fidā, a *ma'dhana*; Sultān Firūz Shāh, a *manāra* (Elliot & Dowson, *H. I.*, vol. III, p. 383, and *ASIR*, vol. I, pp. 194-195).
3. The inscription of Sultān Sekander Lodī which mentions the manāra as that of Iltutmish begins with the saying of the Prophet, "He who builds a mosque for God will build for him a similar house in Paradise. (See Appendix I).
2. E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmaler*, Berlin 1918 pp. 109-116; Ander Marieq & Gaston Wiet, *op. cit.* p. 67.

blocks of the first storey of the manāra is no simple restoration ; and fourth, that the rapid tapering of the upper storeys of the manāra is not in accordance with aesthetic principles. The first argument has been adequately negated by Prof. Habibullah.¹ He observes that the date of the Kishmār tower is uncertain,² and that a serious objection to this hypothesis is the fact that in the Quṭb Manāra the structural positioning of the spiral stairway which occupies the centre of the inner space in the first storey appears to be part of the original plan and not an after-thought, thus leaving no space for the tomb, whereas in Kishmār and in all the other tomb-towers the grave occupies the centre. The unfoundedness of the second argument will be apparent when one remembers that most of the similar Seljuk *ma'dhanas* stood on the north-eastern corner of the mosque,³ and that several of the subsequent *ma'dhanas* of the Sultanate period also occupied similar positions in relation to their mosques.⁴ The disorderly arrangement of the inscriptions containing the titles of Quṭbu-d-dīn on the lowest band of the first storey of the manāra may not be necessarily taken as the result of an extraordinary restoration. All other inscriptions⁵ on the same storey containing the names of Muḥammad bin Sām and his brother Ghiyāsu-d-dīn which at once nullify the theory that the storey was intended to be the tomb-tower of Quṭbu-d-dīn, are in absolute order. Page,⁶ who examined all the inscriptions and every part of the manāra is of opinion that the displacement is due to an illiterate restorer. Andre Maricq's charge that the aesthetic merit of the

1. *The Foundation of the Muslim Rule in India*, second ed., Allahābād 1961, p. 366 n. 19. *

2. A. U. Pope (*SPA*, vol. II, p. 1023) dates it in the 14th century.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 1029. The north-eastern corner of a mosque in Iran, in relation to the *qibla*, is the same to the south-eastern corner of a mosque in India and Pakistan.

4. As for example, the Koil Manāra or the manāras at Bayāna.

5. Appendix I.

6. *MASR*, No, 22, p. 30.

manāra has been affected by the rapid tapering of the upper storeys, in fact, raises a technical problem. A slower tapering of the storeys certainly would have made the manāra higher than it was originally built and this extra height might well have impaired the strength of the structure. The Quṭb Manāra does not appear to have been subjected to such a criticism before. It has often been described as 'something unique of its kind',¹ as 'the most beautiful example of its class',² as 'the finest tower' ³ ever built, or as 'the most perfect example of a tower known to exist anywhere'.⁴ Maricq's judgment is a subjective one, and cannot therefore carry any great weight.

The appellation of the manāra confronts us with a problem. R. N. Munshi ⁵ has devoted a complete chapter to it, and his conclusion ⁶ appears to be that Iltutmish gave its title after the name of both Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, Iltutmish's master and patron who started the building of the manāra, and Qutbu-d-dīn Ushī,⁷ the contemporary saint who was highly honoured by the Sulṭān. But it really appears that the manāra was never known by this name during the time of Iltutmish, or even 300 years after his death. In its inscriptions, the manāra is simply known as the 'manāra'⁸ or 'imārat'⁹ or the 'manāra of Shamsu-d-dīn Iltutmish'.¹⁰ In the contemporary historical writings, as pointed out above, it is simply known as the *ma'dhana* of the Jāmi' Masjid of Delhi or the manāra of Sulṭān

1. J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture. op. cit.*, p. 206

2. *Ibid.*

3. R. N. Munshi, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

4. J. Marshall, *CHI*, vol. III, p. 579.

5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 62-76.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 78. In another place (p. 93) Munshi writes that Iltutmish named the Quṭb Manāra after the saint.

7. A sketch of the life of Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī of Ush will be found in Neamet Ullah's *History of the Afghāns* (Eng. tr. by Dorn, London 1736, part II, book III, p. 2)

8. Appendix I.

9. *Loc. cit.*

10. *Loc. cit.*

Mu'izu-d-dīn Sām. Bābar knew it, although wrongly, as the manāra of 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī. The appellation, therefore, appears to be comparatively modern, and it is probable that the name has its root in a later tradition which calls the manāra 'Quṭb Ṣahib Kī Lāṭh' (Pillar of Quṭb Ṣahib).¹ This Quṭb Ṣahib is evidently the saint Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtyār Kākī of Ush who died in 633/1235, and whose tomb is nearby.²

The Manāra at Koil, 'Aligarh

The manāra at Koil used to occupy exactly the same position with regard to its mosque as that of the Quṭb Manāra to the mosque of Quṭbu-d-dīn.³ It stood in Koil until 1279/1862, when it was pulled down with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor to make room for improvements around the mosque, and for a row of shops.⁴

Description. In the *N. W. P. Gazetteer*⁵ the description of the manāra runs thus : 'The Minār stood on the high ground of the Bala kila. It consisted of a round tower on a square base, apparently divided by external cornices into stages, or it may be that balconies were at one time thrown out as in the Delhi pillar. At the time of demolition, the first stage and a part of the second still rema-

1. Sayfīd Aḥmad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

2. Several 13th/19th century writers agree that the appellation might be derived from the name of the saint. However, they do not give any reason except that his tomb is nearby. (See *Literary Intelligence*, vol. XX, 1851, p. 353; *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 184; Raverty, *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣiri* (Eng. tr. London 1881, pp. 621-22n). W. Haig's statement (*CHI*, vol. III, p. 55) that the Quṭb Manāra was founded in honour of the saint Khwāja Qutbud-dīn Bakhtyār Kākī of Ush does not appear to have any contemporary historical support.

3. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 191; *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. ix.

4. *Gazetteer, N. W. P.* vol. II, Allahābād 1875, p. 517.

5. *Ibid.*

ined. The base was of block kunkur, with a few pieces of red sandstone: the first stage was entirely of block kunkur, and the second of burned bricks. To the north, a doorway opened on a spiral staircase made of block kunkur which originally led to the top of the column. The staircase was lighted by several apertures, and opened on the balcony at the top of the first stage. The lower stage was 54 feet high, and what remained of the second stage was 20 feet. The external circumference at the base was 80 feet, and the walls here were six feet, diminishing at top of the first stage to four and a half feet. Immediately where the kunkur staircase terminated, there was an ornamental Hindu pillar laid across the stairway, and above this several beams of wood.'

Date. The date of the manāra is recorded on an inscribed slab which has survived the fate of the tower, and is now preserved in the Nizām Museum, 'Aligarh Muslim University.¹ According to the inscription,² the manāra was erected by order of Balban in 652/1253 during the reign of Sulṭān Nāsiru-d-din Maḥmūd.³

General Observations. The description of the manāra quoted above suggests that it was built to the same design as that of the Quṭb Manāra with the exception that the latter was fluted and had a polygonal base instead of a square one. A writer in Ledlie's *Miscellany*⁴ who saw the manāra in decaying condition comments on it in the following words, 'Though vastly inferior to the Kutb Minār at Delhi in size and beauty, it is almost equal in historical interest, and deserves to be rescued from the grasp of decay's effacing fingers.' The second storey of the manāra built of burnt bricks was possibly a restoration of a later date. The termination of the 'kunkur staircase' by 'beams of wood' was also an indication of the restorers' hands.⁵ It is interesting to note that the Hindus of Koil appear to have in-

1. *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 22.

2. Appendix I.

3. Balban was then governor of Koil.

4. Quoted in the *Gazetteer, NWP*, vol. II, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

5. *Ibid.*

vented the same 'mythical origin' for this manāra as those of Delhi did for the Quṭb. As in the Delhi tradition so in that of Koil, 'the tower was erected at the desire of the pious daughter of the king, who wished to look daily upon the sacred stream of the Jumna or Ganges'.¹ The coincidence can hardly be accidental and we may well admire the ingenuity by which they tried to glorify their own kings and people.

KHALJI

The 'Alāi Manāra, Delhi

(Pls. 1-2.)

This stands due north from the Quṭb Manāra at a distance of about 425 ft., and was originally within 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī's extended enclosure of the Quṭb Mosque. It receives its name from 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī who began its construction but could not finish it owing to his untimely death. About its erection Amīr Khusrau² records the following : 'He then resolved to make a pair of the lofty manār of the Jāmi' Masjid, which manār was then the single (celebrated) one of the time, and to raise it so high that it could not be exceeded... He ordered the circumference of the new manār to be made double that of the old one, and to make it higher in the same proportion'.

Description. The manāra, now in ruins, stands on a rough circular plinth, 20 ft. in width, and this, in its turn, rests on the base proper, a square with its corners cut into a series of re-entrant angles. The shaft, consisting wholly of the rough shapeless greystone of the country, is more than 250 ft. in circumference, 90 ft. in diameter, and some 80 ft. in height. The outer face of the wall is divided into 32 sides or flutes of 8½ ft. each and was probably intended to have

1. *Ibid.*, p. 518.

2. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 70.

a marble or red sand stone casing ¹ like the Quṭb Manāra, in which event the diameter and the proportionate height of the manāra no doubt would have been the double of that of the Quṭb,² as is stated by Amīr Khusrau. The thickness of the outer wall is 18 ft. 3 ins. and the entrance of the manāra is on the east side. On the north, at some height, there is a window intended to light the spiral ascent, 9 ft. 9 ins. wide, around the central pillar which is 26 ft. in diameter.

Date. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān³ states, without mentioning his source, that the building of this manāra was commenced in 711/1311 but as 'Alāu-d-dīn Khaljī did not die until 716/1316, the work was probably stopped sometime before the end of his reign.⁴

General Observations. The manāra, if finished, would have been one of the most remarkable structures in the world. The idea of erecting such a stupendous manāra was no doubt inspired by the other manāra of the mosque. It may be that 'Alāu-d-dīn had the intention of giving to the mosque an impression of greater sublimity by erecting another manāra, as the words of Amīr Khusrau suggest; but anybody who has studied the character of the Sulṭān must agree that

1. Tradition states that the manāra was to have been cased with marble, and J. D. Beglar (*ASIR*, vol. IV. p. 63) notes that the marble itself had been collected for the purpose, and long lay neglected, till it was used, up in Humāyūn's tomb.
2. The diameter of the base of the Quṭb Manāra is 47 ft. 3 ins. and the original height of the manāra was about 240 ft. The height of the 'Alai Manāra if kept proportionate with the base would have been 476 ft. exclusive of any cupola which might have been erected on its summit (*ARASI*, 1912-13, p. 130).
3. Aḥmad-u-Sanā'idī, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
4. It is probable that the work was stopped in 712/1312, because in that year the Sulṭān became so extremely ill that his wife and son 'entirely neglected him, while his minister Kāfūr exercised all the powers of the state, and even aspired to the throne. As 'Alāu-d-dīn never rallied, it seems not improbable that all his expensive building works then in progress may have been stopped by the minister, who wished to secure the money for himself.

he wanted to erect this lofty and unsurpassable manāra chiefly in order to satisfy his own vanity—in order to prove that he was greater than Aibak or Iltutmish, or any of his predecessors.

The manāra was also designed after the Quṭb Manāra, but it is now the mere skeleton of what would have been a grand column covered with elaborate flutings. The base of the manāra is interesting because the re-entrant angles, unlike the flutings of the Quṭb Manāra suggest the influence of Hindu tradition. The spiral roadway of the structure, according to Cunningham,¹ was to have steps which were never commenced, but Page,² the careful investigator of the monuments of the Quṭb, disagrees with him and writes, 'Inside the Minār it is very clear from the relative heights of the encircling windows which pierce the walls at every quadrant that the means of ascent was to be a very gradual ramp, and not a stair as in the smaller minar of Aibak and Altamish.' Entered upon through a doorway,' he continues, 'the ramp would follow the inclination of these windows and ascend the Minār in a direction from right to left.' If Page's assertion is correct, it is clear that the manāra was to have a similar ascent as those of the manāras of Sāmarra and Abū Dulāf with the only difference that the ascent was planned here inside the manāra, while those of Sāmarra and Abū Dulāf were constructed outside. Andre Maricq's hypothesis³ that the 'Alāi Manāra was a tomb-tower is based on the physical resemblance of this manāra to that of Quṭbu-d-dīn and Iltutmish which, he supposes, was originally meant to be a tomb-tower. The theory is wrong, and needs no consideration.

1. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 206.

2. *MAJI*, No. 22, p. 16.

3. *Le Minaret de Djam*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

The Manāra At Sulṭānpūr, West Khāndesh

This manāra no longer survives today. Its erection is known from an inscriptional tablet now preserved in the Rasūl Khānjī Museum at Junagarh.¹ According to the inscription,² the manāra was built by Malik Sayyid Muḥammad Mubārak 'Azz Sulṭānpūrī during the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn Khaljī (716-20/1316-20).

TUGHLAQ

The Manāra-i-Zarīn, Delhi

(Pl. 5.)

The Manāra-i-Zarīn or the re-erected Aśokan column on a pyramidal structure is one of the best preserved monuments of Sulṭān Fīruz Shāh (Tughlaq) in Delhi. This is on the northern side of Jāmi' Masjid in the Koṭlā Fīrūz Shāh.³

Description. The pyramid on which the column stands consists of three terraces progressively decreasing in size, the first terrace measuring 118 ft. square, the second 83 ft. square and the third 55 ft. square,⁴ giving the building thus a stepped appearance. On each terrace which is of rubble stone set in mortar of admirable quality,⁵ is a series of vaulted cells surrounding the solid core of the structure into which the foot of the column of Aśoka is built. The column is a sand-stone monolith, 42 ft. 7 ins. high, of which the upper portion of 35 ft. is polished and the rest is left rough; the buried

1. *EIM.* 135-36, p. 48.

2. See Appendix 1.

3. See the conjectural reconstruction of the Koṭlā in *MASI*,⁶ No. 52, pl. 11.

4. *Ibid* p. 3n.

5. *ASIR.* vol. IV, p. 1.

portion of the column is 4 ft. 1 in.¹ It is tapering in design—the upper diameter is 25 ft. 3 ins. and the lower diameter is 38 ft. 8 ins., the diminution being .39 ins. per foot. Its weight is more than 27 tons,² and the colour of the sand-stone is pale orange, flecked with black spots.

The column which originally stood in the village of Toprā³ or Toprā *alias* Maqbulābād⁴ in the Ambālā district from where Firūz Shāh carried it to his new capital of Firūzābād in Delhi contains several inscriptions⁵ of which the earliest one is that of Aśoka. It records his religious edicts which were promulgated in the middle of the 3rd century B. C. in the ancient Pali. The account of the removal of the pillar from its original site and its re-erection in the Koṭlā is given in detail in the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*⁶ of Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf (who was most likely an eye-witness of the re-erection

1. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 162. The statement of Shams-i-Sirāj (quoted in *MASI*, No. 52, p. 5) that 8 *gaz* (each *gaz* measuring about 3 ft.) of the column was sunk in its pedestal is wrong. The author of the *Strat-i-Firūz Shāhī* (a Persian manuscript, dated A. H. 1002, in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Patna: Eng. tr. of extracts in the *MASI*, No. 52) quoting Sulṭān Firūz Shāh himself expressly states that only two *gaz* (yards) of the column was fixed in the masonry (*ibid.* pp. 39 & 42). The reason for burying such a little portion of the column is given by Firūz Shāh in the following words, 'This lofty pillar, while it was standing on the ground, was buried in the foundations to a depth of three yards, but now that it has been erected on the top of such a lofty building, only two yards of it is fixed in the masonry, though in fact it ought to have been more firmly fixed here. But if more of it is taken down or fixed into the masonry, its height will decrease' (*ibid.*, p. 42). The difference of about 2 ft. as is seen nowadays must be accounted to the wearing away of the original sloping masonry around the column.
2. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 164.
3. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 350.
4. *MASI*, No. 52, p. 34.
5. *JASB*, 1837, pp. 796-813; *ASIR*, vol. I, pp. 165-69; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-39; and *MASI*, No. 52, pp. 26-29.
6. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, pp. 350-52.

as he records that he was twelve years of age at the time when this was set up) and in the *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*.¹ The authors in their respective accounts describe the methods adopted for lowering, transporting and re-erecting the famous monolith : how it was lowered on to beds of silk cotton, encased in reeds and raw skins, and hauled to the banks of the Jumnā on a carriage with forty-two wheels ; how the Sulṭān came to meet it in person and how it was then transferred to boats and so brought to Firūzābād : and also how it was lifted, stage by stage, on to the stepped structure, and there with the help of windlasses and ropes of great thickness raised to the perpendicular. When the column was at last fixed, Shams-i-Sirāj² informs that some ornamental friezes of black and white stone were placed 'round its two capitals, and over these there was raised a gilded copper cupola, called in Hindi Kalasa'. The author of the *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*³ gives further details when he writes that a pavement of coloured stones was laid all round the monolith which was gilded and was surmounted by a crescent. The gilding of the column and of the finial no doubt gave the pillar the name of *Man-āra-i-Zarīn* or Golden Manāra. The gilt pinnacle was still in its place in 1020/1611 when William Finch⁴ visited Delhi and described 'the Stone Pillar of Bhīmsa'⁵ as 'passing through several stories,' having on the top 'a globe surmounted by a crescent'. When the column was removed from its original site, a large square stone was found beneath it, which was also transported to Delhi and placed again beneath the column in its new situation.⁶

1. *MASI*, No. 52, pp. 33-42.

2. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 352.

3. *MASI*, No. 52, pp. 41.

4. Quoted in *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 163.

5. The column in its original site was traditionally known as the 'Stick of Bhīma' the second of the five Paṇḍavas. (Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, 111, p. 350)

6. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 162 ; *MASI*, No. 52, p. 4.

Date. According to the author of the *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*, the column was raised in 768/1367.¹

General Observations. The idea of placing such an ancient column near the Masjid-i-Jāmi' in the Koṭlā must have been inspired by the Iron Pillar within the courtyard of the Quṭb Mosque. The design of the pyramid in receding storeys may be said to have been influenced by the ancient Indian *pāsāda* or Buddhist *vihāra*.

The pyramidal structure on which the column is placed must have been used as a *ma'dhana* of the mosque, because at the time of the removal of the column from its original place, Sulṭān Firūz Shāh is reported to have said,² 'By the grace of the Creator, who sees and hears everything, we shall remove this lofty pillar and make a manār of it in the Juma'h Mosque of Firūzābād where, God willing, it shall stand as long as the world endures.' Firūz Shāh's words have been supplemented by the author of the *Sīrat-i-Firūz Shāhī*³ who, after its re-erection, writes, 'After it had remained an object of worship of the polytheists and infidels for so many thousands of years, through the efforts of the Sulṭān Firūz Shāh and by the grace of God, it became the manār of a place of worship (masjid) for the Faithful'. The authenticity and accuracy of these remarks are supported by the fact that the pyramidal structure was connected with the mosque by a corridor, and staircases were provided for ascending to its top.

The author of the *Sīrat*⁴ lavishly praises the column after it has been re-erected and wonders how it was carried to the top of

1. *MASI*, No. 52, pp. 35 & 41. Cunningham's date as 'about 757/1356,' (*ASIR* vol. I, p. 161) is not correct. The date given by the author of *Sīrat-i-Firuz Shāhī* is corroborated by the fact that Sulṭān Firūz Shāh brought and re-erected this tower after his return from his expedition against Thatta (Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. 111, p. 350). Firūz Shāh marched towards Thatta in 769/1362, and was definitely back in Delhi in 767/1365 (see *CHI* vol. 111, p. 180).
2. *MASI*, No. 52, p. 34.
3. *MASI*, No. 52, p. 42.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the pyramidal structure. He describes the pillar 'as high as the heaven', 'a hillock of gold', 'the lote-tree of Paradise', and exclaims, 'O God ! how did they lift this heavy mountain (i. e. the pillar) ; and in what did they fix it (so firmly) that it does not move from its place ?' Evidently the shifting and setting up of the column may be regarded as a remarkable feat of engineering, and considering the indifferent mechanical appliances then available, the Sulṭān and his engineers had every reason to be proud of their achievement.

LODĪ

The Ukha Manāra, Bayāna

At a distance of 32 ft. northwards from the north-east corner of the Ukha Temple, earlier a mosque,¹ there are the remains of a manāra.

Description. It is round and plain, and well built of cut stone. Its present height is about 40 ft. with a base diameter of about 28 ft. and a top diameter of about 26 ft. The circumference at the base is about 85 ft. The entrance doorway, about 5 ft. wide, points to the south-west and is raised 3 ft. 8 ins. from the ground. It opens on to a circular staircase, 6 ft. in width, leading to the top of the manāra. The doorway has a pointed arch fitted with well cut Quranic inscriptions.

Date. Just above the door there is a long Persian inscription² of nine lines of verse in a double column which records that the manāra was erected by Nizām Khān in the reign of Ibrāhīm Shāh bin Sikandar Bahlūl Shāh in 926/1520. On the floor of the manāra a mason has carved a date as *Samvat* 1574³, corresponding to 923/1517, in which year Sikandar Lodī died. It is probable, therefore,

1. *ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 71. Carlleyle (*ASIR*, vol. VI, p. 50) believes that the Ukha Temple was originally a *mandir* which had been considerably altered by the Muslims when they held Bayāna and turned it into a mosque. The mosque has again been changed into a temple.
2. Appendix 1.
3. *ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 74.

that the construction of the manāra was begun either in the last year of Sikandar Lodi's reign or immediately after his death, when Ibrāhīm Lodi had just ascended the throne.

General Observations. Carlleyle¹ thought that the manāra was left unfinished by the builders, and that it never even reached the top of the first storey. The complete plainness of the surface of the manāra which breaks its decorative link with those already described and the difference between the base diameter of only 2 ft. indicating the intention of carrying the tower to a much greater height and giving more slope to the upper storeys, suggest the possibility of Carlleyle's judgment being correct. Even if, however, the manāra was complete constructionally, it remained unfinished aesthetically.

Like the manāra at Vijaymandargarh, the purpose of this tower is recorded on its inscription.²

BENGAL

The Manāra of The Adina Masjid, Pāndua (Fig. 1.)

Although the great Adina Masjid of Pāndua, now in West Bengal, is not known to have a *mu'adhḡhan's* tower, 'the round base of some solid building,' discovered by J. D. M. Beglar³ on the west side of the mosque appears to provide a clue for tracing its *ma'dhanq*. The 'round base' of the building is within the western enclosing wall of the mosque,⁴ and has 'a straight wall' on its top of 'some kind of entrance chamber, such as usually forms the entrance of inclosures for Muhammadan Tombs or Masjids'.⁵ It is in front of the opening of the Western enclosing wall which runs parallel

1. *ASIR*, vol. VI, p. 51.

2. Appendix 1.

3. *ASBR*, 1888, Part 11, p. 5.

4. The mosque stands within an outer enclosure (*ziyadah*) 'of irregular shape, which appears to have been bounded on three sides, the N. W. and S. by walls; and on the East, by a wall and a pair of tanks' (*ibid.*, p. 1).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

to the Māldā-Dinājpur Road, and is directly on the west side of a postern at the qibla wall of the mosque. Beglar thought that the base originally belonged to a stūpa, but that it later on formed the

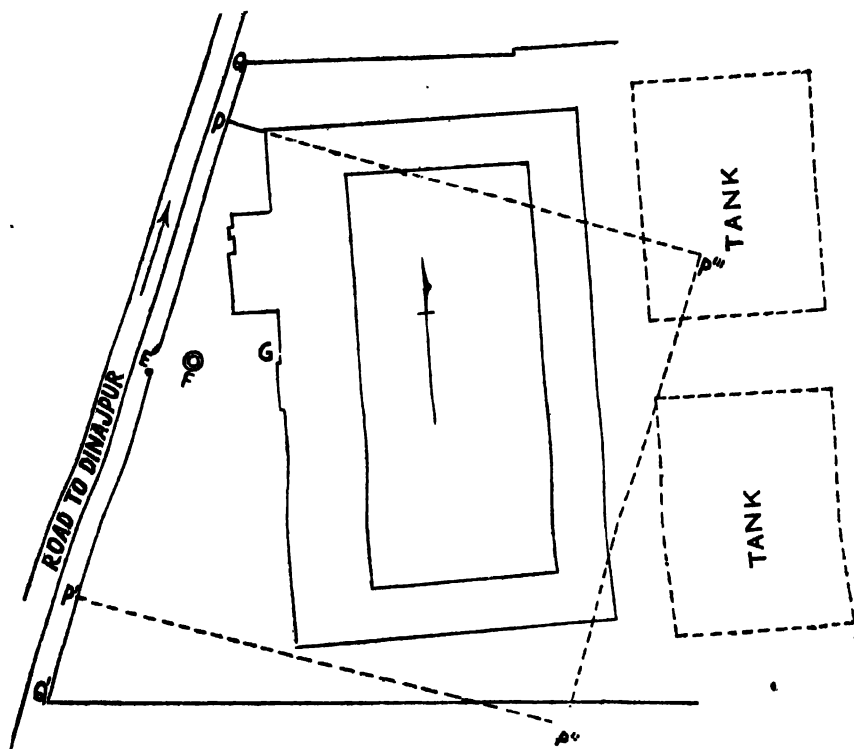


Fig. 1. The plan of the Adina Masjid,
Hazrat Pandua. Drawn after J. D. M. Beglar

- P-P' Old boundary wall of the temple area
- P-P'-P''-P''' Supposed boundary wall of the temple area
- Q-Q' and the continuous lines, Masjid boundary walls
- E Entrance to Masjid enclosure
- F Stupa (?)
- G Postern to the Masjid

platform of a Muslim building.¹ Without, however, entering into controversies whether the base ever formed part of a stūpa,² it is possible to deduce that the Muslim building erected on the 'round base,' was round in design and that it had an entrance doorway. Could not this round building then be the *ma'dhana* of the mosque? Although it does not appear to be usual that a *ma'dhana* should be erected at the rear of a mosque, its construction might have been dictated by the existence of the road from Māldā to Dinājpur which runs along the western wall. Of the three other boundary walls Beglar speaks of a 'space or road' only in the eastern walls, but this 'space or road' must have been an opening of secondary importance because of its location on the opposite side of the main road. The western opening was, therefore, the main entrance of the mosque-enclosure. It is thus not unreasonable to suppose that the *ma'dhana* was erected near this entrance. And it was probably because of this entrance and the *ma'dhana* that a postern entrance was provided in the western wall of the mosque. The mosque was erected in 770/1369.³

The Manāra at Chhota Pāndua, Hughly

(Pl. 6)

Of all the existing buildings of Chhota Pāndua, in the Hughly District of West Bengal, this manāra is the most important. It stands at the south-east side of the *Barī Masjid*, at a distance of 175 ft.

1. *Ibid.*

2. Beglar argues (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6) that the 'round base' formed part of a Buddhist stūpa because it was constructed of large bricks which, he thinks, are the characteristic of Buddhist architecture. But he appears to contradict himself when he advances his theory that parts of the great mosque were built of large bricks borrowed from old temples within the area (*ibid.*, pp. 2-6).

3. *JASB*, 1873, pp. 256-57; J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, London 1878, p. 62, pl. 46, No. 1; *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 93; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 11, pp. 282-83; Shamsu-d-din Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. 1V, Rājshahi 1960, p. 38.

Description. It is round in design, and consists of five storeys, each lessening in diameter from 60 ft. at the base to 15 ft. at the top.¹ Its total height is 125 ft.² In the centre of the manāra there is a spiral staircase leading to the top. The staircase opens out to a terrace which runs all round the base of each successive storey. The entrance door of the manāra is on the west side towards the mosque. It consists of a stone door-frame, on either side of which stands a pillar supporting the architrave above.

The walls of the manāra are plastered, and are decorated in the three lower storeys with round flutings. Originally, enamelled tiles were used in the inside walls of the tower.³ The entrance pillars are carved square at the base, but polygonal above. The polygons are broken by horizontal string mouldings, and are ornamented with a chain and ball pattern.

Date. According to an inscription, incised on a huge basalt now lying in the *Astāna* of Shāh Ṣufī Sulṭān,⁴ the Bari Masjid was built in 882/1477 by Ulugh Majlis-i-ʿAzam during the reign of Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh. The mānara being its *ma'dhana*⁵ must, therefore, be of the same date.

1. The diameter of the various storeys are given thus: Bottom storey-60 ft. below, 58 ft. 2 ins. above; second storey- 48 ft. 1 in. below, 47 ft. 6 ins. above; third storey- 37 ft. 5 ins. below, 34 ft. 8 ins. above; fourth storey- 26 ft. below, 23 ft. 10 ins. above; topmost storey- 15 ft. below, 12 ft. above (*ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 126).
2. The height of the various storeys is measured as follows: Bottom storey- 25 ft; second storey-25 ft; third storey-30 ft; fourth storey-18 ft; topmost storey- 18 ft. (*ibid.*)
3. *PASB*, 1870, p. 122.
4. *BPP*, vol. XIV, part I, 1917, pp. III-112.
5. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 127. Dr. A. H. Dānī (*Muslim Architecture in Bengal* Dacca 1961, p. 46) argues that the manāra 'can hardly be taken for the *Mazina*' for 'its shape and size mark it out as a victory tower.' His argument appears to be based on the theory that the Quṭb Manāra was a Tower of Victory. The theory has been discussed and needs no elaboration here.

Restoration and Repair. The topmost storey of the manāra fell down in 1303/1885 due to a severe earthquake.¹ But in 1325/1907, the Department of Archaeology restored it.² The Department also repaired the stairs from the basement storey of the manāra to the top of it.³ In 1331/1912-13,⁴ and 1335/1916-17,⁵ further repair works were undertaken on the manāra. Certain damages to the walls and arches caused by the earthquake of 1353/1934 were repaired in the next year.⁶

General Observations. The manāra because of its size and shape has often been compared with the Quṭb Manāra of Delhi.⁷ But there is a fundamental difference between the two: whereas the various storeys of the Quṭb Manāra form a continuous tapering outline from its bottom to the top, the storeys of the manāra at Pāndua give a broken outline of the structure in receding shafts. The only other earlier example of its class in Indo-Muslim architecture which exists now appears to be the Chaubāra of Bīdar which consists of a base and a receding storey.⁸ It is not, however, certain if the manāra was inspired by the Chaubāra, or was developed ingeniously from the Tughlaq corner towers.⁹ The plastering of the walls, no doubt, suggests a Tughlaqian influence.

The Firūz Manāra, Gaur (Pl. 7)

The Firūz Manāra is one of the most famous of the surviving monuments of Bengal. Its top part, however, does not exist today,

1. *Bhāratī*, Māgha 1317 (Bengali era), p. 855.
2. *ARAS*, EC, 1907-08, p. 7.; also *Bhāratī*, *op. cit.*, p. 855.
3. *Bhāratī*, *op. cit.*, p. 855.
4. *ARAS*, EC, 1912-13, p. 31.
5. *Ibid.*, 1916-17, p. 18.
6. *ARASI*, 1935-36, p. 17.
7. *ARASI*, 1902-03, pp. 21 & 56; *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Calcutta 1912, p. 41.
8. See pl. 40.
9. Being a Bahmanī structure, it is likely that the Chaubāra had Tughlaqian inspiration.

and was probably destroyed about the beginning of the 13th/19th century. The manāra stands outside the citadel of Gaur on its eastern side, and is situated on the north-eastern edge of the large mound 350 ft. long from north to south by 225 ft. broad.¹ The walls of the building which once stood on the mound were all cleared away at the end of the last century A. D.² On the east of the manāra there is a fine tank still in existence.

Description. The lower part of the manāra below the door-sill was once covered with a platform of coarse marble,³ but now the space is filled up with earthen work.⁴ A flight of steps now leads the visitor to the entrance of the manāra. From the foot of the entrance which originally had a door of *sal* wood,⁵ the building rises to a height of 84 ft.⁶ in five storeys. The three lower storeys are twelve-sided, and have a diameter of 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ ft. each,⁷ but the two upper storeys are round, and, like the manāra of Chhota Pāndua, become less and less in diameter. The last storey which no longer exists today was originally an open pavilion covered by a dome.⁸ While the round portion of the manāra is marked off from the lower part by a projecting stone cornice, all the twelve-sided storeys are separated from each other by horizontal stone string-mouldings. There is a spiral staircase of seventythree steps inside the manāra, and this leads one to the top of the tower which is now finished off

1. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 58.

2. *Ibid.*

3. J. H. Ravenshaw, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The height of the platform, was about 15 ft. (J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, op. cit.*, p. 260).

4. This work was done by the Department of Archaeology in 1330/1911 (Abid 'Alī Khān, and Stapleton *Memoirs of Gaur and Pāndua*. Calcutta 1931, p. 59.

5. *Ibid.*

6. J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, op. cit.*, p. 259.

7. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 59.

8. Daniell's illustration of the manāra gives an idea about the existence of this pavilion (see his *Oriental Scenery*, London 1816. Fifth Series, No. XXIII).

with a flat roof. All the storeys of the manāra are pierced with window openings corresponding to the entrance doorway.

The decoration of the manāra is confined mostly to the lower storeys. The facets are panelled, and these are ornamented with engrailed arch-motifs from where hang the chain and bell ornamentalations. The stone string-mouldings are bordered with lattice patterns, leaf and rosette designs, and dentil works. The entrance doorway which is faced at the top with stone is decorated with three big rosettes in the spandels. Above, the doorway frame has two horizontal string-mouldings which are surmounted by battlemented designs. The slab of the blue stone forming the door-sill must have been taken from a Hindu temple, as it is covered with figures apparently 'representing a boar hunt'.¹

Date. The manāra, according to an inscription, was erected by Saifu-d-dīn Fīruz Shāh (892-95/1487-90).²

Repair. Minor repairs were done to the manāra in 1323/1905,³ in 1324-25/1906-07,⁴ and in 1326-27/1908-09.⁵ Further repairs were made in 1336-37/1917-18,⁶ and 1339-40/1920-21.⁷

General Observations. The manāra resembles the *ma'dhana* of Chhota Pāndua in receding storeys and tile decoration. In other features also, such as in the polygonal design and decorative details, the tower is 'a product of Bengali architecture'.⁸

The independent existence of the manāra has led some to believe that the tower is not a *ma'dhana*.⁹ But the walls which were

1. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 59.

2. Appendix I; also *JASP*, vol. VIII, No. 2, pp. 66-68.

3. *ARAS, EC. for the year ending with April 1905*, p. 3.

4. *ARAS, EC. 1906-07*, p. 5.

5. *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 26.

6. *Ibid.*, 1917-18, p. 20.

7. *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p. 33.

8. A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

9. J. Fergusson (*The Illustrated Handbook, op. cit.*, p. 421; also *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, op. cit.*, p. 360) believes that the manāra is a Victory Tower. He suggests this as an analogy from his theory that

found in the mound on the south-western side of the tower appear to prove sufficiently that there existed a mosque at one time. The door of the manāra is on its south-west side and points towards the middle of the mound where must have been the central doorway of the mosque. The position of the manāra in relation to the destroyed mosque is, in fact, the same as that of the Bayāna and Vijaymandargarh manāras to their mosques.¹ Moreover Ghulām Husain Salīm's information² that 'a mosque, a tower and a reservoir' were erected by Firūz Shāh leaves us no doubt that the Firūz Manāra was a *ma'dhana*. This is the exact description of the destroyed mosque (now the mound), and the surviving manāra and the tank.

The top of the manāra was probably used at a later date by some *pīr* (saint) for *i'tikāf* (meditation), and hence it is sometimes known as *pīrasa manār*. The local epithet *Chirāg minār*³ probably has its origin in the *mu'adhdhan's* lamp hung to indicate the time of prayer and other purposes.

The Manāra of Rukn Khān, Devikot

This manāra does not survive today. Its erection is known from an inscriptional slab fixed over the main entrance to the shrine of Shāh 'Aṭā at Devikot⁴ in the Dinājpur district of West Bengal.

the Quṭb Manāra was a Tower of Victory. The theory, as has already been noticed, has no foundation, and there is no record of any significant victory of the reign of Firūz Shah. To prove Fergusson's theory, some writers (see *ARASI*, 1902-03, pp. 54-55) incorrectly assign the erection of the tower to 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shah who was 'the conqueror of Kamrup, Jajnagar and Orissa, (for detailed discussion see *JASP*, vol. VIII, No. 2., pp. 58, 61-63, 64-66).

1. The position of the Quṭb Manāra in relation to the Quṭb Mosque is also similar with the exception that the great manāra stands on the south-east side of the mosque, instead of on the north-east.
2. *Riyaz al-Salaṭīn*, Eng. tr. by Abdus Salām, Calcutta 1902, p. 125.
3. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 59.
4. *JASB*, vol. XLI, part I, p. 106; *EIM*, 1929-30, p. 12; Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmed, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-91.

According to the inscription,¹ the manāra was erected by Rukn Khān 'Alāu-d-dīn Sarhatī in 918/1512 during the reign of Sulṭān Husain Shāh.

MALWA

The Manāra of Maḥmūd Khalji, Māndu

This manāra stands on the north-west corner of the Madrasa, opposite the great mosque of Sulṭān Ḥuṣhang.

Description. It is now in ruins, and only the base survives to a length of 32 ft. above ground level. Emperor Jahāngīr who describes his visit to this manāra in his Memoirs,² gives its measurements as follows: 'It has seven floors.'³ On each floor there are four verandahs and on each (floor) there are four small doors. The height of this building is 54½ *gaz*, and the circumference is 50 *gaz*. From the ground of the seventh floor there are 171 *gaz* (steps).

The circumference of the manāra was measured by Barnes⁴ as 157 ft. at the ground level, and considering the slope of the walls, this measurement closely approximates to Jahāngīr's circumference of 50 *gaz* at the level of the platform of the Madrasa when the *gaz* is taken as the *Ilāhī gaz* of 33 ins.⁵ The stairs leading from the ground floor inside the manāra are each 9 ins. in height, and 171 of them would give the height of the seventh floor as 128½ ft. or about 22 ft.⁶ below the top of the building which, according to Jahāngīr's measurement, was about 150 ft. high.

1. Appendix 1.

2. A. Rogers & H. Beveridge's tr. London 1909, p. 381. *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 34.

3. Firīshṭa (J. Briggs's *Firīshṭa*, vol. IV, p. 210) corroborates this when he writes that the tower was seven storeys high.

4. *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 37.

5. *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 37a.

6. This must have been the height of the pavilion above the structure.

The base of the manāra is of plain sandstone, and the excavation report of 1321-22/1903-04 shows that the tower was not, as it is today, without decorative features. 'The main structure', according to the report,¹ 'was undoubtedly of red stone throughout, but there would seem to have been a string course of marble at each floor, and numerous slabs of sand stone have been dug up, inlaid with white, black or yellow marble in the form of small *mihrābs*'.² The manāra must also have been decorated with tiles, for Finch³ speaks of the tower as 'built of green stone like marble.'

Date. Firishṭa⁴ relates that the madrasa and the manāra were built by Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī after his return from the Chitor campaign in 846/1443.

General Observations. Although the manāra no longer survives today in its entirety⁵ its description as recorded by Jahāngīr and the report of the archaeological excavation prove beyond doubt that the manāra was a round tapering tower of seven storeys high, each storey being marked by a stalactite balcony like the Quṭb Manāra. All the storeys were decorated with green tiles and marble bands. The eighth storey of which Abu-l-Fazl⁶ speaks was probably the cupola or the pavilion at the top of the structure.

1. *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 38.
2. This must be the description of the stalactite brackets holding the balconies of the different storeys.
3. Mentioned in G. Yazdānī, *Māndū, the City of Joy*, Oxford 1929, p. 58n.
4. J. Briggs's *Firishṭa*, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
5. E. Barnes (*ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 39) thought that the fall of the manāra was due to the shock which the falling tomb (of Maḥmūd Khaljī in the courtyard of the madrasa) must necessarily have given to the whole structure. A more probable cause, however, may be found in the fact, as Jahāngīr informs, that Akbar destroyed a large number of buildings with a view to rendering the place less attractive to his rebel subjects, causing 'the gateways, towers, and ramparts with the city within to be dismantled and laid in ruins'. (*Western States Gazetteer*, vol. V. Bombay 1908, p. 506) Akbar visited Māndū twice, once in 972/1564 when pursuing Abdullah Khān and again in 1007/1598 just before the capture of the fort of Asirgarh (*ibid.*, p. 505).
6. *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 34.

Following Firishta's mention of the erection of the manāra immediately after his account of the campaign of Maḥmūd Khaljī against Rānā Kumbha, some writers¹ tend to regard the structure as a Tower of Victory. They probably do not consider the manāra as a *ma'dhana* because it was built on one of the corners of the madrasa, and not on a corner of the mosque. But Firishta never says that Maḥmūd Khaljī built this manāra 'to commemorate his victory over Rājā Kumbha'. His account of the campaign followed by his narration that Maḥmūd Khaljī built 'a school (madrasa) and also a tower seven storeys high, opposite the masjid of Sulṭān Ḥūshang'² does not justify the assumption that the manāra was built as a Tower of Victory. Was then the madrasa also constructed as a monument of Victory? None of the inscriptions of the madrasa of which the manāra was a part suggest this. Brown's observation³, 'It is interesting to note that a little earlier the Chitor Rānā himself had erected that famous and beautiful tower, the Jaya Stambha at Chitor to celebrate his victory over Maḥmūd, a fact which evidently inspired the latter to counter this when the opportunity occurred, with his own triumphal column' is not based on correct chronology. Kumbha Rānā defeated, if at all he did,⁴ Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khaljī in 859/1454-55, and not in 844/1440 as Brown thinks.⁵

There cannot be any doubt that the manāra was a *ma'dhana*. It is erected on the nearest side of the madrasa to the mosque which together with the former containing the tomb of Maḥmūd Khaljī

1. Such as J. M. Campbell in *JBBRAS*. vol. XIX, p. 167; C. E. Luard in *Western States Gazetteer*, *op. cit.* p. 507; J. Marshall in *CHI*, vol. III, p. 621; G. Yazdāni, *op. cit.*, p. 58; and P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
2. *ARASI*, 1903-04, p. 34 n2. Compare this rendering with J. Brigg's translation (*Firishta*, *op. cit.*, p. 210) which is inaccurate and misleading.
3. *Indian Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
4. See Brigg's *Firishta*, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23.
5. He appears to have followed J. Fergusson (*A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, *op. cit.* p. 59) who wrongly gives this date. Kumbha Rānā erected his tower in *Samvat* 1515 (863/1458) - J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, vol. II, Madras 1873, pp. 696-97.

and the mausoleum of Sulṭān Ḥūshang nearby, forms what may be called a 'religious ensemble'.¹ Similar ensembles, with *manāras* towering over them and used as *ma'dhanas* are not rare in Muslim architecture, and are particularly noticeable in Iran and Anatolia.² The manāra, like others described above, may also be well regarded as a Tower of Glory of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

GUJARĀT

The Manāra of Muḥammad Ghaus, Aḥmadābād (Pl. 8.)

This manāra stands on the south corner of the front facade of the mosque, and is one of the two paired towers flanking the prayer hall of the mosque. The other tower on the north corner is solid, and must be regarded as a turret.

Description. It is octagonal in plan, and is built in two stages. The lower stage which is wider in circumference than the upper is up to the roof level of the mosque. The upper stage which rises only several feet higher than the roof has a projecting balcony supported on carved brackets. The balcony is reached by a flight of steps which runs through the middle of the attached south wall and ends spirally at the top.

The faces of the tower immediately below the balcony are decorated with arched niches, which rest on a string moulding.

1. G. Yazdānī (*op. cit.*, p. 60) makes the following note about this: 'Standing at the middle of Maḥmūd Khaljī's tomb, one notices that the halls of Ḥūshang's tomb, the Jāmi' Masjid, and of this building are so planned that the centres of all three are in one straight line'. It is not improbable that the plan of the madrasa was also laid out like that of the great mosque by Ḥūshang. Unlike the tomb of Maḥmūd Khaljī which was of marble, both the mosque and the madrasa are built entirely of red sandstone.
2. See the plan of the Masjid-i-Jāmi' and Madrasa of Ardistan in *SPA*, vol. II, p. 951, Fig. 326; also the ensemble of Khuand Khātūn (mosque, madrasa and tomb) in A. Gabriel's *Monuments Turcs d'Anatolie*, vol. I, Paris 1931, pl. XIII.

The lower stage is ornamented only with four string courses which run round the mosque.

Date. The date of the mosque is not known, but it may well have been completed before the death of Muḥammad Ghaus in 970/1562.¹

General Observations. It is not known if the manāra originally stood up to the same height of the turret on the other side, or was stopped up to the present level. If it was stopped, as has been suggested,² the tower must have been left unfinished. The plain octagonal design of the manāra is in marked contrast with other *manāras* of Gujarāt,³ and it has been thought that the mosque, with all its peculiar features, 'was certainly never planned by a Gujarāt architect'.⁴

JAUNPUR

The Manāra at Vijaymandargarh, Bayāna (Fig. 2.)

The most curious building of Vijaymandirgarh ⁵ is its manāra. It stands on the very top of the citadel and forms a very conspicuous object on approaching the fort. It is 16 ft. from the north-east corner of the traces of the foundation of a large building with a spacious enclosure ⁶ which must have been its mosque.

Description. It is curious from its peculiar shape which is narrow at top, bottom, and middle and swells out intermediately like two superimposed barrels. It is built upon a narrow plinth which

1. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmadabad*, Part II, London 1905, p. 48.
2. J. Burgess. *op. cit.*, p. 49.
3. pls. 13-22.
4. J. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
5. The great hill fort of Bayāna is known by the name of Vijaymandirgarh (the fortress of the temple of Vijaya).
6. *ASIR*, vol. VI, pp. 64-65.

raises it a little from the ground. The shaft is divided into two storeys by a wide gallery, the lower storey being about 42 ft. and the upper storey 32 ft. in height. The circumference at the base near the ground is 75 ft. 2 ins. with a diameter of 24 ft. and the circumference at the base of the second storey is 56 ft. with a diameter of 15 ft. 8 ins. The height of the manāra was formerly much greater

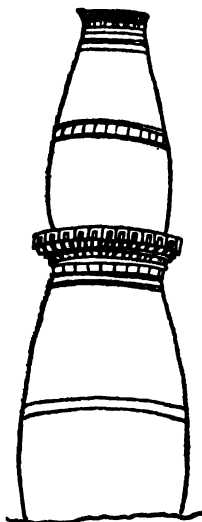


Fig. 2: The Manāra at
Vijaymandirgarh,
Bayāna.

as it was originally surmounted by a third storey which was demolished by an explosion of gunpowder in an old powder magazine situated to the northwest of the manāra, during some siege of the fort, probably by the Jats, when they took it.¹ The proportionate height of the lost storey must have been about 24 ft. exclusive of any cupola on its top which would give us a total height of more than 100 ft. This is confirmed by the statement of Abu-l-Fazl² who calls it 'a very high tower'.

The doorway of the manāra in comparison with the structure is very small, and measures 2 ft. 3 ins. in width and only 5 ft. in height. It is surmounted by a lintel and a pointed arched recess. The

doorway leads to a spiral staircase inside by which one ascends to the top. The opening to the gallery on the top of the first storey is 6 ft. 2 ins. in height and 2 ft. 7 ins. in breadth.

At a height of about 18½ ft. from the base of the lower storey there is a band of white marble round the manāra. Above this band, at a height of about 9 ft. there is a small window with a pointed horse-shoe arched top for letting light into the staircase. Below the

1. *Ibid.* p. 65.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Gladwin's tr., vol. II. Calcutta 1783-86. p. 37.

gallery at the top of the first storey there is again a row of small slit-holes for letting light in. Below this row there are three bands encircling the maṅṛa. The middle band is decorated with a Kufi inscription of religious character in a single line. The side bands are ornamented with little round discs in relief. The gallery stands at first on a plain cyma-carved moulding, above which is another cyma-carved moulding with ribs at regular intervals. This latter moulding supports a row of three-tiered brackets holding the gallery itself. The gallery is encircled by a row of rectangular battlement stones of the same size fitting close together side by side. The battlements are ornamented outwardly with painted cinque-foiled arched recesses with raised discs at their spandrels. The edges of the battlements are ornamented by a series of square compartments each filled by a lozenge-shaped ornament.

About II ft. above the balcony there is a band of yellow stone edged by a dark line of demarcation. Above this there is a band of alternate green and blue squares composed of coloured glazed tile work let into the wall. Immediately above this there is another yellowish-coloured band. About 10 ft. above this band, there is a narrow dark-coloured band above which is another in white marble containing an inscription of a single line in Kufic character. Above the latter there is a further narrow dark band surmounted first by a narrow red band and then by a broad yellowish-coloured band containing four lines of inscription. The maṅṛa above is ruined, and Carlisle,¹ in 1288-89/1871-72, saw the 'broken, shattered and jagged remains of what was once a second upper balcony.'

Date. The date of the maṅṛa is recorded in an inscription² on the arched tympanum and lintel of the entrance doorway. It informs that the maṅṛa was built by Dāūd Khān bin Muḥammad Khān in 861/1456-57 during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh.³

1. *ASIR*, vol. VI, p. 68.

2. Appendix I.

3. This Muḥammad Shāh must be Muḥammad Shāh of Jaunpūr, who ascended the throne in 861/1456-57 and reigned up to 863/1458-59, as no

General Observations. The manāra's design appears to be unique. The writer has not yet come across any manāra anywhere which might have influenced its shape. The curious design was probably imitated from a temple *shikhara* or a dome finial, and the credit for its translation into such a gigantic structure without undermining its strength and solidity must lie with the architect whose name, Mufīd Khān, is recorded on the right jamb of the doorway.¹ It is interesting that the purpose of this mauāra is written on its surface.²

DECCAN

The Chānd Manāra, Daulatābād (Pl. 9.)

This manāra stands on the north side of a small mosque at the foot of the famous fortress of Daulatābād. It may be seen from miles around.

other Muḥammad Shāh reigned in this region during this period. Carlleyle's reading of the inscription is faulty (see *ASIR*, vol. VI, pp. 66-67), and consequently his assigning the manāra to Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid (837-849/1433-1445) and its 'conservation for use' in the time of Bahlūl Lodī (855-894/1451-1488) is incorrect. Daud Khān who ordered the manāra to be built is regarded by Cunningham (*ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 85) as the same Dāūd Khān as mentioned by Firishta (Brigg's tr., vol. I, p. 541) as governor of Bayāna in 851/1447. Dāūd Khān's two dates of 851/1447 (Firishta) and 861/1456-57 (manāra inscription) are in accordance with the date of the slab inscription of his grandfather Awhūd Khān (820/1417) and with that of his father Muḥammad Khān (850/1446) in the famous Bayāna well (see *ASIR*, vol. XX, pp. 82-83 & 78-79). Architecturally also the manāra falls within the Sharqī group of monuments. The use of neatly tooled ashlar masonry, wide mouldings, colour on bands, ogee curve on the top of the gateway arch, pointed horse-shoe windows, multifoiled arch-recesses with boss on spandrels, and tiered brackets on the manāra is typical of Jaunpūr architectural style (see A. Fuhrer & E. W. Smith, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpūr*. Calcutta 1889).

1. Appendix I.

2. *Ibid.*

Description. It is more than one hundred feet in height,¹ and is divided into four storeys by wide balconies on brackets. It gradually tapers towards the top, and ends in a proportionate dome. All the storeys are round, and are decorated with encircling string bands. The second storey is, however, specially treated in three sections: the lowest section is plain, the second is decorated with blind arched panels, and the third is fluted. Between the second and third sections is a dividing narrow battlemented course. The manāra was once decorated with glazed tiles of much beauty.² A spiral staircase inside the tower leads towards the top.

Date. According to an inscription³ in the south wall of the mosque, the manāra was constructed in 849/1445 by the order of Parvez bin Qaranfal.

General Observations. The manāra is considered one of the most striking pieces of Indo-Muslim architecture in southern India. It is unlike its predecessors in Northern India, and its slender graceful outline reminds one of the *manāras* of Turkish mosques⁴ rather than the massive single towers of Iran, Afghānistan or Turkestan. The tile decoration of the tower may also have an inspiration from the same direction, probably from Iran. In spite of these external influences, the manāra, however, bears some indigenous trait. The

1. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

2. *IGI*, vol. IX, new ed., p. 201; *IGI, PS, Hyderabad State*, p. 211.

3. See Appendix I

4. In finding out Turkish influence on the manāra, one should not overlook the historic fact that the Bahmanī dynasty during whose period it was erected had established itself in defiance of the Sultanate of Delhi, and to maintain its position had to employ Iranians and Turks in large numbers. Firishta (quoted in *ARHAD*, 1925-26, p.3) observes that the favourite companions of Prince Mujāhid Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh I 'were for the best part either Persians or Toorks' The extraneous elements having been in favour of the Deccan court, the architecture of the place began to be influenced by them and, in the later buildings of the Deccan, an unmistakable imitation of certain Turkish and Iranian architectural features may be noticed.

balconies, as for example, are not supported here by stalactite brackets like those generally seen in Turkish or Iranian *manāras*, but by Hindu brackets of several tiers almost universally employed in Indo-Muslim architecture. These bracketed balconies must have exercised influence on the *manāras* of Gujarāt, as many towers of this province are almost exactly divided into storeys by similar balconies on brackets.

The *manāra* has been described, like the Quṭb Manāra, as a Tower of Victory,¹ and to support this view some writers² erroneously ascribe the erection of the tower to the conquest of the fort of Daulatābād by 'Alāu-d-dīn Bahmān Shāh (748-59/1347-58), the first ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty. According to the inscription which records the erection of the *manāra*, it was built during the time of 'Alāu-d-dīn Ahmad Shāh (839-62/1436-58), the tenth ruler of the Bahmanī dynasty, and not by the first ruler. The inscription even does not say that the *manāra* was erected by Aḥmad Shāh but it records 'by Parvez, the slave of the king'.³ The *manāra* beside its being a *ma'dhāna*, however, may be said to be a Tower of Glory of Aḥmad Shāh and his powerful deputy.

It is probable that the *manāra* was once surmounted by a crescent, from which it may have derived its name.

The Ek Manāra,⁴ Rāichūr

(Pl. 10.)

This *manāra* stands on the south-east corner of the courtyard of the mosque of Ambar in the Rāichūr Fort.

1. J. Fergusson, *The Illustrated Handbook*, *op. cit.*, p. 421; also *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 201; *IGI*, *op. cit.*, p. 201; *IGI*, *PS*, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
2. *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 23
3. It is possible that Parvez who may originally have been sent from Bijdar to Daulatābād to supervise the building of the mosque and the *manāra* took advantage of his party's powerful position to inscribe his own name along with that of the king (*EIM*, 1907-08, p. 23).
4. Literally means single *manāra*.

Description. It is round and plain; and measures about 65 ft. in height and 13 ft. in diameter.¹ It is divided into two storeys by projecting galleries, each storey being furnished with windows to let light and air into the interior. The galleries are supported on three tiered simple brackets, and are surrounded with stone balustrades. The manāra gradually tapers towards the top, and ends in a 'rounded dome' like the Chānd Manāra at Daulatābād. The dome has a finial which is surmounted by a crescent.² A spiral staircase inside the tower leads towards the top.

Date. The mosque, according to a Persian inscription on its entrance, was constructed by one Ambar in 919/1513-14. The manāra may, therefore, be of the same date.

General Observations. In general design, the manāra conforms to the style of the Chānd Manāra, or the tower of Maḥmūd Gāwān at Bidar.³ Like the former this has also been described as a Tower of Victory. But the builder of this manāra, Ambar, was an unimportant person,⁴ and no victory is known to have been associated with his name.

The Manāra in Galna Fort, Nāsik

The manāra does not survive today. Its erection is known from a Persian inscription in one of the towers of the Galna Fort.⁵ According to the inscription,⁶ the manāra was erected in the fort in 977/1569 during the time of the venerable Palsad Khān.⁷

1. *ARHAD*, 1929-30, p. 13.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Pl. 31.

4. This Ambar is to be distinguished from the famous Mālik Ambar who played a very important part in the reign of Murtazā Nizām Shāh II of Aḥmadnagar, a century later (*ARHAD*, 1929-30, p. 13 n.)

5. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. XVI. *Nāsik*, Bombay 1883, p. 437 nl.

6. See Appendix I.

7. It is not exactly certain if the inscription refers to a *ma'dhana* or a watch-tower. The existence of an old mosque in the fort, however, suggests

11 The Gateway Ma'dhana

MAMLUK

THE MANĀRAS OF THE ĀMI' MASJID, AJMIR

(Pls. 11—12.)

On the top of the central arch of the prayer hall facade of the great mosque of Ajmīr, popularly known as the *Arhāidinkā-Jhonpra* (two and a half days' shed)¹ there stands a pair of beautiful manāras. The tops of both of these manāras are now ruined, but enough of them still remains to enable us to visualise their original appearance.

Description. The manārs were tapering hollow towers, 10½ ft. in diameter at the base, with 24 flutes alternately angular and circular. They were divided externally into separate sections by horizontal bands of writing, of which two bands of the north manāra still remain partly legible. A doorway leads to the staircases of the manāras, which once led the *mu'adhdhans* to the top of the towers.

Date. According to two inscriptions² on the manāras, they were built by Sultān Iltutmish (608-34/11-36).³

General Observations. These manāras provide the earliest example in India of a pair of *mu'dhdhan's* towers. The arrangement was possible because of the massiveness of the supporting screen wall which is 11½ ft. thick. The inspiration certainly came from Iran

- that the manāra could have been a *ma'dhana*. It is possible that the tower might also serve the purpose of a watch-tower. The date is mentioned in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. XII, Oxford 1908, p. 124.

1. The story goes that Quṭbu-d-dīn finished the original mosque in two and a half days—hence two and a half days' shed. But according to J. Marshall (*CHI*, vol. III, p. 58) the name dates from Marāṭha times, when an annual *mela* (fair) was held there lasting two and a half days.
2. See Appendix I.
3. The mosque was originally built by Muḥammad bin Sām or Quṭbu-d-dīn in 596/1200 (*ASIR*, vol. II, p. 261; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 15). But the screen wall and the manāras were added later by Sultān Iltutmish.

where examples of Seljuk paired *ma'dhanas* on the top of portals existed in the 6th/12th century at Nakhichewān,¹ Ardistan² and Tabas.³ The manāras of the Masjid-i-Adinah in Iṣfahān (before 421/1030)⁴ and the manāras of Sangbast (387-419/997-1028)⁵ which antedate the Seljuk *manāras* by a century appear to be the earliest known examples of a pair of *manāras* flanking a gateway.

GUJARĀT

The Manāra of the Jami' Masjid, Aḥmadābād (Pl. 13.)

These famous manāras no longer survive in their entirety. Only those portions which flank the central archway of the Prayer-hall facade as buttresses remain. The towers which crowned the archway were destroyed by the earthquake in 1235/1819.⁶

Description. The lower part of the manāras up to a certain height is stepped square, but above they are five-sided and round—the whole is profusely ornamented with carvings. The vanished upper part, as the drawing of Forbes⁷ indicates consisted of four richly carved tapering storeys marked by projecting cornices carried on brackets. A flight of steps from the roof of the mosque led to the platform of the manāras, which was crowned by a conical top surmounted by a finial. The conical top was patterned with horizontal rib-mouldings.

1. *SPA*, vol. II, pp. 987 & 1029.
2. *Athar-e-Irān*, vol. I, 1936, fig. 196 (manāras of the Majjid-i-Imām Hasān).
3. *Ibid.*, fig. 197 (manāras of the madrasa).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 315. They no longer remain.
5. *SPA*, vol. II, pp. 987 n2 & 1029. Only one remains.
6. T. C. Hope & J. Fergusson, *Architecture of Ahmedabad*, London 1866, p. 44; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. IV, *Aḥmedābād*, Bombay 1879-p. 27 In; J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmedābād*, part I, London 1900, p. 32.
7. James Forbes made a drawing of the facade of the mosque in 1196/1781 which—though the perspective in places is somewhat at fault—gives a fairly correct representation of what must have been the appearance of these manāras in his time (J. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 33).

Date. The mosque was erected in 827/1424.¹

General Observations. The manāras were elegantly proportioned and were once famous in the East as 'the shaking minarets of Aḥmedābād'. Forbes who was the first to draw attention to the mosque and the manāras does not mention this peculiarity. But the following extract from the journal of Col. Monier Williams² is of interest :

31st May 1809—we found, on examination today, that the minarets of the Juma'ah Masjid shook just as much, or even more, than any of the others, and that one communicated the motion to the others fully to as great a degree as those of the Bibi Saheb's.³ Indeed, we tried the experiment upon every perfect pair of stone minarets within and about the town today and the effect was just the same with them all.

'As the motion that one of the minarets receives from the shaking of the other might be supposed to be communicated to the whole intermediate building, I lay down on the terraced roof, equidistant between the two minarets, while people above were shaking them, but I was not sensible of the smallest motion or agitation whatever in the building under me.'

The shaking manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid and other mosques of Aḥmadādād were famous in their day. But it is not known how the strange phenomenon of the sympathetic trembling of the towers was produced. Since such towers appear to have been very susceptible to damage by earthquake, it seems that their construction was weakened in some way in order to produce the trembling effect.

The manāras must have been influenced by similar towers in Iran where, at Ashtarjān, there survives a single tower, apparently

1. J. Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, London 1876, p. 5; also his *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
2. Quoted in J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33. For other similar views see H. Cousens, *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, London 1926, pp. 63-64.
3. See pl. 15.

originally one of a pair,¹ which is known to have been erected before the twin manāras of Aḥmadābād. The date of the shaking manāras of Garladan near Isfahan is not certain—they were probably erected after the Ilkhanid period.²

The manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid of Aḥmadābād appear to be the earliest example of a pair of gateway *ma'dhanas* in Gujarāt. The subsequent examples in the province certainly drew inspiration from them.

The surviving portions of the manāras show how details of local ornamentation were adapted in a Muslim building.

The Manāras of Quṭbu-d-din Shāh's Masjid, Aḥmadābād

Like those of the Jāmi' Masjid, these manāras have not survived above the level of the roof. The lower parts, which still exist, flank the central arched entrance.

Description. The extant portions are solid buttresses of stepped square design, and do not contain the stairs which run up straight in the thickness of the walls to the roof. They are profusely ornamented with broad and fine horizontal mouldings and other minute devices. The broad mouldings divide the height into a series of sections with carved niches on the front and on each side. The niches are arched at the top, and are flanked by slender pillars joined above the arch by serpentine brackets.

Date. The mosque was erected in 853/1449.³

General Observations. The carvings on the existing parts of the manāras are markedly Hindu and have become by adaptation a

1. Of the two manāras of the mosque of Ashtar jān only one is described as 'shaking' (*Athār-e-Irān, op. cit.*, p. 346). The manāras are dated in the first quarter of the 8th/14th century. (*Ibid.*, p. 350).
2. *Athār-e-Irān, op. cit.*, p. 354; D. N. Willar, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, The Ilkhanid Period*, Princeton 1955, p. 153.
3. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, Bombay 1897, p. 291.

common feature in the Muslim architecture of Gujarāt. It is interesting that the niches, designed like the *mīhrābs* of the earliest mosques in the province, were later almost exactly copied as an ornamental motif in some of the palaces of Akbar at Fathpur-Sikri.¹

The Manāras of Malik 'Alam's Masjid, Aḥmadābād

(Pl. 14)

Flanking the only arched entrance of the mosque, these manāras originally rose to a considerable height above the roof. But they were badly shaken when the upper portions fell down, and in consequence in 1300/1882² the Public Works Department pulled down the entire shafts above the mosque facade. After about eight years portions of the manāras were rebuilt, but not to their previous height.³

Description. The lower sections of the manāras which act as the buttresses of the entrance, are built similarly to those described above with the exception that these are much plainer in design. The upper rebuilt sections are also plain, and these are decorated with a projecting cornice carried on three tiered brackets. A spiral staircase leads upwards inside the manāras.

Date. The mosque is dated about 854/1450.⁴

General Observations. The manāras may be taken as marking the transition from the complex Hindu manner of construction to the plain Muslim style. The spiral staircase which starts from the ground level of the manāras appears to be the first example of their kind in Gujarāt.

1. See pls. LXV, LXX, LXXIII in E. W. Smith, *The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, vol. II, Allahābād 1896.
2. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Ahmedabad*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

**The Manāras of The Bibīji Masjid at Rājāpur,
Aḥmadābād
(Pl. 15.)**

These manāras flank the main arched entrance of the mosque. The two upper storeys of the left hand side manāra, however, were broken down by lightning sometime at the end of the 13th/19th century.¹

Description. The manāras taper upwards and are divided into four storeys by galleried balconies supported on carved brackets. The upper three storeys are round, but the bottom storey up to about the middle of its height is stepped square, and then becomes octagonal. The shafts, in all the storeys, are carved with rich, horizontal or ring mouldings. The manāras are crowned with conical cupolas patterned with horizontal ribbing. An internal spiral-staircase winds the whole way from bottom to top.

Date. The mosque was built in 858/1454.²

General Observations. The manāras are elegant, and have certainly exercised an influence on the design of the manāras of Bibī Achūt Kūkī's Masjid and the Masjid of Sarangpur.

**The Manāras of Bibī Achūt Kūkī's Masjid,³ Aḥmadābād
(Pl. 16)**

These manāras flank the main arched entrance to the mosque, and originally rose to a considerable height. The earthquake of 1235

1. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 79; J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
2. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 292. In the inscription, the erection is ascribed to Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn.
3. It is not exactly certain who was Bibī Achūt Kūkī; but it is probable that she was the wife of Hāji Malik Bahāu-d-dīn, a wazīr of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarah (J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 64).

/1819 destroyed their top portions.¹ In 1302/1884 a large portion of one of the broken manāras had to be taken down and rebuilt.² The manāras, as mentioned above, resemble those of the Bibījī Masjid, and must have been built along with the mosque in 877/1472.³

The Manāras of Jāmi' Masjid, Dholka

These paired manāras on both sides of the central archway of the mosque survive up to a height of only 37 ft. One storey above the roof level alone exists today. Judging from what remains, the manāras appear to have been very similar to those of Bibī Achūt Kūkī's Masjid. The mosque was built some time towards the end of the 9th/15th century, probably not later than 890/1485.⁴

The Manāras of Sarangpur Masjid, Aḥmadābād (Pls. 17-18.)

Flanking the main arched entrance of the mosque, these manāras stood in their entirety until the third quarter of the last century A. D. when the left hand manāra was demolished to the level of the roof by a private person who claimed possession of the mosque and sold the stones of the towers.⁵ About fifteen years afterwards the north manāra, which was still intact, was taken down up to the roof level by the Public Works Department as it was considered to be unsafe;⁶ and as in many other similar instances at Aḥmadābād, no effort was made to restore it. An old photograph of the towers, however, has been preserved to make a description of the manāras possible.

1. *Ibid.*

2. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

3. *Ibid.*; J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

4. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture in Gujarāt*, London 1896, p. 36.

5. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part II, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Description. The lower part of the manāras up to more than half of their height is stepped square ; then they are octagonal. The entire storey is profusely carved by horizontal string mouldings, and other details, among which the arched niches on the exposed sides of the square are prominent. The niches are filled with carved filigree ornament.

The upper part of the manāras was round and slightly tapering, and was divided into four sections by projecting cornices supported on brackets. All these portions were moulded by horizontal string courses. A spiral staircase ran from the attached wall of the mosque to the top of each of the manāras. The tops were probably, like others, conical.

Date and General Observations. The manāras resemble those of Bibījī's and Achūt Kūkī's mosques, but are much improved both in proportion and decoration. It is probable therefore that the mosque was erected at the end of the 9th/15th or the beginning of the 10th/16th century. The builder was said to be Mālik Qiwāmul-Mulk Sārang, a powerful noble at the courts of Mahmūd Begarah and his son Muzaffar II, who rebuilt the ward in the south-east of the city still bearing the name of Sarangpūr.

The Manāras of Rani Rupavati's Masjid, Aḥmadābād

Like others mentioned above, these paired manāras once stood flanking the main arched entrance of the mosque. But their upper parts were destroyed by the earthquake of 1235/1819.¹ The lower parts are similar to those of Sarangpūr Masjid with some variations in the details of ornamentation. They probably date from about the same period—the end of the 9th/15th or the beginning of the 10th/16th century.

I. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmedabad*, part II, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

The Manāras of Bāi Harir's Masjid, Aḥmadābād

(Pl. 19.)

These manāras flank the main arched entrance of the mosque, and once rose 30 ft. high above it. Now they remain only up to the roof level of the mosque. A photograph taken about 1287/1870 shows a large portion of the south manāra as it was then.

Description. The existing parts of the manāras up to the height of $18\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the ground are stepped square, and then octagonal. The octagonal part is divided into two almost equal sections by a projecting cornice surmounted by a battlement motif. The octagonal part ends in a balcony supported on carved brackets. Above the balcony, the towers were round which part was again divided into two sections by a balcony. The staircases were built at the start into the attached wall of the mosque, and then from the top of the roof these were taken inside the manāras. The stepped square parts of the manāras is very elaborately carved in the usual style, but above, the shafts were plain.

Date and General Observations. The date of the mosque or of the manāras is not definitely known. The facade of the mosque as well as the design of the manāras, including the arrangement of their stairs, resemble those of the mosques of Bibījī, Miyān Khān Chishtī and Bibī Achūt Kūkī. But the upper parts of the manāras here are plainer than those of the above-mentioned ones and sufficiently confirm that they are of later construction. The present mosque and the manāras, therefore, were in all probability built at the end of the 9th/15th or at the beginning of the 10th/16th century.

The Manāras of Sidi Bashir's Masjid, Aḥmadābād

These manāras too, stand flanking the principal arched entrance of the mosque.¹

1. The mosque is ruined except the archway and the manāras.

Description. They are slightly tapering towers of $69\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height, and are divided into four storeys by balconies supported on carved brackets. The bottom storey up to more than half of its height is stepped square, and then becomes octagonal. The shaft of the second storey is at first sixteen-sided, and then becomes round. The third and fourth storeys are round. A spiral staircase inside leads towards the top of each manāra. The manaras are carved from top to bottom and are surmounted by conical cupolas decorated with horizontal ribbing. Above the cupolas, there are finials.

Date and General Observations. No inscription of the mosque is available to ascertain its date. But the manāras very much resemble those of Bībī Achūt Kūkī's and Muhāfiz Khān's mosques, although they are comparatively plain and harmonious. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that they were built at about the same time, though probably a little later than those of Muhāfiz Khān's mosque (897/1492)

The Manāras at The Railway Station, Aḥmadābād

(Pl. 20)

At the southern end of the railway station of Aḥmadābād there stand the two largest and loftiest manāras of the province. They form a pair, but all traces of the mosque to which these magnificent manāras belonged have vanished.

Description. They are slightly tapering, and are about 100 ft. in height. The shafts are divided into six storeys by balconies supported on carved brackets. The bottom storey, about a little more than two-thirds of its height, is stepped square; then it is octagonal. The second storey is octagonal, the third sixteen-sided, and the upper ones round. The sixth storey is divided into two parts by a projecting cornice. A staircase inside each of the towers leads to the platform below the canopy. The manaras are thoroughly carved, and the canopy above is like that of Sidī Bashīr's mosque, but a little more elongated to form a slight ogee curve with the finial.

Date and General Observations. The manāras broadly resemble those of Sidi Bashīr's Masjid, and it is probable that they date from about the same time. Since the manāras, both in proportion and magnificence, surpass all others in the province, it is very likely that they formed part of a massive mosque built by Maḥmūd Begarah (862/917/1458-1511) the greatest of the Gujarāt Sulṭāns.

The Manāras of The Jāmi' Masjid, Champānir

(Pl. 21.)

These manāras flank the main arched entrance of the Prayer hall facade and are well preserved, except that the top of the south manāra was 'shattered by a cannon shot wantonly fired at it by the tyrant Patankar, Sindia's governor in 1812.'¹

Description. They are 100 ft. in height and are stepped square at the ground storey. This storey reaches to the roof level of the mosque. Above this the manāras are octagonal up to the fourth storey being separated from the other by a projecting cornice. The fifth storey is sixteen-sided, and is divided from the topmost storey, which is round, by an open balcony supported on carved brackets. The tops of the manāras are conical and are ornamented with horizontal rib-mouldings. The stairs of the manāras start from within the mosque, and lead up to the galleries, and beyond to an aperture at the top of each tower.

The first storey of the manāras is elaborately carved, and at intervals above, there are carved string courses.

Date. The mosque was built in 914/1508-9.¹

General Observations. These manāras strongly resemble those of Bāī Harīr's Masjid, erected at about the same time or probably a little earlier.

1. *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. III, Bombay 1879, p. 309.

1. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarāt*, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

The Manāras of the Nagina Masjid, Chāmpānīr

(Pl. 22)

These paired manāras which flank the main archway of the mosque are almost exact copies of those of the Jāmi' Masjid of Chāmpānīr, but are built on a much smaller scale. The sixteen-sided storey is omitted here. Architecturally the mosque belongs to the first quarter of the 10th/16th century.

KHANDESH

The Manāras of the Bībi-ki-Masjid, Burhānpūr

(Pl. 23)

These manāras once flanked the main archway of the mosque. But now only the right hand side manāra remains. Photograph of the two manāras taken about the beginning of this century, however, still exists.

Description. They rise to a considerable height above the roof of the mosque, and are divided into three storeys, by projecting cornices, on moulded brackets. The ground storey of the manāra is octagonal, but the second storey is sixteen-sided. The topmost storey is round, and has four oriel windows supported by carved brackets. The base of the ground storey, up to the height of the springing line of the entrance arch is, however, stepped square, and is elaborately ornamented with horizontal string-mouldings and niches. All the other parts of the manāras are decorated with carved ring-mouldings. The ground storey of the manāras is of stone and the others are of brick.¹ A spiral staircase inside the manāras leads to the *mu'adhdh-an's* platform which is crowned by a spherical cupola.

Date. The mosque was probably built sometime during 927-47/1520-40.²

1. *ASIR*, vol. IX, p. 116.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 115. The mosque was built by one of the queens of the Farūqī dynasty—probably by the Gujarati Princess, the daughter of Muzaffar Shāh, and the wife of 'Adil Khān III.

Repair. The surviving manāra was extensively repaired during the year 1376-77/1956-57, and subsequently.¹

General Observations. The manāras were planned and designed in imitation of the neighbouring style of Gujarāt. They bear resemblance, notably, to the manāras of the Bibiji Masjid, Bibi Achūt Kūkī's Masjid and Sarangpūr Masjid in Aḥmadābād. Their originality lies, however, in the upper portion of the towers in the oriel windows and in the shape of the crowning member, the spherical cupola.

III The Front Corner Ma'dhana

SAYYID

THE MANĀRAS OF SHAMS MASJID AT NĀGAUR, JODHPŪR (Pl. 24)

These manāras stand on the two front corners of the mosque.

Description. They are built of stone, and are 50 ft. in height. The entire height is divided into three storeys marked externally by horizontal string-mouldings. The first storey is square, the middle storey is octagonal, and the third storey is round. From the middle storey, the manāras taper towards the top and end in conical domes. The manāras are entered by a narrow passage at the front end of the first storey. The passage is only 2 ft. 1 in. broad, and leads by three flights of steps towards the top. The first flight reaches the middle storey, and the second flight leads to the third storey, whence winding staircases lead to the platform at the top.²

Date and General Observations. Although the mosque is said to have been founded by Shams Khān during the reign of Shamsu-d-dīn Iltutmish,³ its narrow archways, parapet battlements and clerestory gallery—features manifestly borrowed from Gujarāt archi-

1. *Indian Archaeology*, 1956-57, p. 61.

2. *ASIR*, vol. XXIII, pp. 66-57.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

ecture—assign it to the 9th/15th rather than the 7th/13th century.¹ The said Shams Khān must have been the Shams Khān Dindānī, the governor of the Sayyid Sulṭān Khizr Khān.² The upper storeys of the manāras apparently resemble the quadruple manāras of the Khirkī Masjid of Delhi.³

BENGAL

The Manāras of the Sāth Gumbaz Masjid at Bāgerhāt,
East Pakistan (Pl. 25)

These manāras occupy the front corners of the mosque and stand about double the height of the mosque facade. There are also two towers at the rear corners, but those are symmetrical turrets, and are built in imitation of the front manāras.

Description. The manāras are round and are divided into two storeys marked externally by a pair of projecting cornices. The top of the manāras is domed over, and is marked off from the shaft by another projecting cornice. A spiral staircase inside the manāras leads to the upper storey which has window openings. The interior of the south-east manāra is a little dark in comparison to that of the other, and hence is called by the people *Andhār Mānik* (Dark Room). The north-east manāra is called *Raushan Mānik* (Lighted Room).

Date. The mosque was built about 864/1459.⁴

General Observations. The manāras were built in imitation of the quadruple manāras of the Khirkī Masjid of Delhi.⁵ They left a bearing on the corner turrets of several subsequent buildings in the locality, such as the Masjid Kur Masjid (c. 854/1450), the tomb of Khān-i-Jahān (863/1459), or the Jāmi' Masjid at Sailkūpā (early 10th/16th century).

1. *CHI*, vol. III, p. 622.

2. *A Gazetteer of the Jodhpūr State*, Ajmīr 1909, p. 207.

3. See pl. 34.

4. *CHI*, vol. III, p. 604; Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmed, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

5. See pl. 34.

GUJARĀT

The Manāras of Alif Khān's Masjid, Dholka
(Pl. 26.)

These manāras stand on the two front corners of the mosque. They are partly broken, and only the south manāra retains its entire height.

Description The manāras are 79 ft. high, and are brick, square towers in two receding storeys. The elongated cupola which stands on the upper storey is also receded a little, giving thus, in fact, the appearance of three storeys. The lower storey projects 21 ft. from the front wall of the mosque and is solid up to the roof level, above which it contains stairs leading to the upper storey. The stairs begin from the outer ends of the mosque, and are brought into the manāra on the roof level. The upper storey is open on all four sides by pointed arches. The drum of the cupola is also pierced with arched windows.

The decoration of the manāras is simple. The inner part of the front face of the lower storey has six vertical panels, alternately arched and rectangular. The spandrels of the arched panels are ornamented with carved pattern. Both the storeys are battlemented at the top.

Date. There are no inscriptions left in the mosque to guide us about its date. But Alif Khān is known to have been one of the favourite companions of Maḥmūd Shāh Begarah who advanced him to the title of Khān and command of 5,000.¹ It is probable, therefore, that the mosque was erected during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Begarah (862-917/1458-1511). By a comparison of the mosque with the brick Rauza of Daryā Khān at Aḥmadābād,² it is possible to place it in the early part of the sulṭān's reign.

General Observations. The towers appear to be unique in the history of Indian *ma'ādh*nas. In the sub-continent where octagonal

1. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat*, op. cit., p. 34.

2. See J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmedabad*, part I, op. cit., pp. 58-59 & pls. LXIX-LXXII.

and round towers found favour from the 5th/11th century, square towers are indeed rare. The inspiration of the present manāras must have come from outside India, probably from Egypt, where the manāra of the Fatimid mosque of al-Juyūshī (478/1085), the oldest *ma'dhana* in Cairo retaining its form,¹ is almost of the same design. The arrangement of the manāras on the two front corners of the mosque appears to have been derived from the same source. The front corner manāras of the mosque of al-Ḥakīm in Cairo are one of the earliest examples, if not the earliest, of this arrangement of *ma'dhanas*.

The Manāras of Sayyid 'Uṭhman's Masjid, 'Uṭhmānpūr
(Pl. 27)

The manāras stand on the corners of the front facade of the mosque. They are still nearly entire, and only the cupolas on the top have vanished.

Description. The manāras, in comparison to the height of the mosque, are very high. The shafts are divided into six storeys by projecting balconies resting on carved brackets. The bottom storey is stepped square, and rises up to the roof level of the mosque. The second storey is octagonal, but all the upper storeys are round. From the second storey the manāras taper upwards. The winding staircases leading to the various balconies of the manāras do not start from their bases, but from two balcony-windows in the north and south ends of the mosque which are reached by a few stone steps outside.

The entire height of the manāras is decorated by a profusion of carved ring-mouldings. The facets of the exposed sides of the bottom storey are further ornamented with carved rectangular panels filled with filigree designs.

1. M. S. Briggs, *Muhammadian Architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford, 1924, p. 72.

Date. The mosque dates from about 865/1460.¹

General Observations. Unlike the manāras of Alif Khān's Masjid, these towers conform to the general design of Gujarāt manāras. They, however, look disproportionate to the mosque, and may have better suited a larger and stronger structure.

The Manāras of Muhāfiz Khān's Masjid, Aḥmadābād
(Pl 28.)

These manāras are among the best preserved *ma'dhanas* in Gujarāt, and occupy like those just described, the two ends of the front facade of the mosque.

Description. They are stepped square up to the facade level, and above become octagonal. The octagonal part is tapering, and is divided into three storeys by two balconies supported on carved brackets. The lower balcony, like the shaft, is octagonal, but the upper balcony is sixteen-sided. The manāras are capped by conical cupolas patterned with horizontal rib-mouldings. The cupolas were originally crowned by brass plates in the form of *pippal* leaf. Spiral staircases are provided inside the towers for ascending to the balconies.

The manāras are richly decorated throughout with carved horizontal ring-mouldings, and other minute designs. The panels of rich floral tracery that adorns the three sides of the lower part have been the subject of greatest ingenuity and care.

Date. The mosque was erected in 897/1492.²

Restoration. The present metal crescent over the top of the manāras replaced the original brass plates, and was restored about 1298/1880 under the direction of Major Cole.³

1. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 67. The mosque was built by Maḥmūd Begarah in memory of the saint, Sayyid 'Uṭhmān.
2. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 289 ; J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmedābād*, part I, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
3. Burgess, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81.

General Observations. Of all the surviving *ma'dhanas* in Gujarāt, these manārs of the mosque of Muhāfiz Khān are the strongest in construction. Hence they have still survived to their entirety. The manāras are extraordinarily carved, and, indeed, hardly any space is left without carving.

The Manāras of Sidi Sayyid's Masjid, Aḥmadābād

They also stand on the corners of the front facade of the mosque, but survive only up to the roof level.

Description. The surviving towers are octagonal, about 9 ft. 3 ins. in diameter, and contain spiral stairs by which one ascends to the roof. Their bases are tastefully moulded, and three carved string-courses run round the shafts about 5 ft. apart. The octagonal faces between these string courses are relieved with plain niches in rectangular panels. The recesses over the doorways are more elaborately carved than the others.

Date. The style of the mosque places it at the end of Maḥmud Shāh Begarah's reign (862-917/1458-1511).¹

General Observations. These manārs are unlike those we have already described. There are no elaborately carved niches and panels, nor is there the multiplicity of mouldings, broken by re-entrant angles which distinguish the Gujarāt manāras of the 9th/15th century. The doorways of the manāras do not start from the mosque interior but from the nearest faces of the octagon as one enters the mosque. For the first time the architect appears to have been free from local influence, and tried a plan of his own.

The Manāras of Shaikh Hasan Muḥammad Chishtī's Masjid, Aḥmadābād.

(Pl. 29.)

These manāras occupy the extreme ends of the front facade of the mosque, but are extant only up to the roof level. The surviving parts are stepped square in the usual Gujarāt style, and are elabora-

1. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmedabad*, part 1. *op. cit.*, p. 41.

tely carved with string-mouldings, arched panels filled with filigree ornament, and other details of carving. The staircases of the manāras are similarly built to those of Sayyid 'Uthmān's mosque, but are entered from the inner side of the end walls instead of from the outer side. The mosque was erected in 973/1565-66.¹

The surviving parts of the manāras of Bābā Lulū's mosque, also at Aḥmadābād, are very similar ² to these manāras of Shaiḫ Ḥasan Muḥammad Chishti's mosque. But since the date of the former mosque is not available, it is not known which of the two was built earlier.

The Manāras of the Masjid at Shāh 'Ālam, Aḥmadābād

These mānāras stand forward about 9ft. from the front corners of the mosque, and are among the best preserved at Aḥmadābād.

Description. They are slightly tapering towers of 90ft. high, and stand on stepped square bases. Above the base the manāras are octagonal up to two storeys, and then become round. The round shafts are divided into five storeys by projecting galleries supported on carved brackets. The topmost storey is surmounted by a conical ribbed top crowned with a finial. A spiral staircase inside the manāras leads to the *mu'adhdhan's* gallery.

The manāras are ornamented at intervals with string-mouldings. The upper octagonal storey is fluted.

Date. The mosque is undated, but the date of the manāras is known. They were added to the mosque at a later date, and were begun by one Najabat Khān early in the 11th/17th century, and after his death were completed about 1030/1620 by Saif Khān—the same person who built a hospital and college in Aḥmadābād.³

Repair. The manāras were injured by earthquake in 1235/1819, and were repaired in 1280/1863.⁴

1. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

2. Some differences can be seen only in the details of carving.

3. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmedābad*, part II, *op. cit.*, p. 22

4. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

General Observations. The manāras are built in the usual Gujarāt style. The comparative plain appearance of the towers may be attributed to their late construction when local influence diminished to a great extent as has been noticed in the manāras of Sidī Sayyid's Masjid or in the manāra of Muḥammad Gaus' Masjid.

KHĀNDESH

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Asīrgarh (Pl. 30)

These manāras stand at the front corners of the Prayer hall of the mosque, and are of the same design as that of the manāras of the Bibī-Ki-Masjid at Burhānpur.¹ The date of the mosque is recorded in its inscriptions which give 992/1584 as the year of the commencement, and 996/1587-88 as the year of the completion.² The southern manāra was repaired in 1340-41/1921-29, and in the following year.³ The manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid of Burhānpur which was erected a year later is of the same style.⁴

DECCAN

The manāras of the Makka Masjid, Bijāpur are the two tall clumsy-looking manāras attached to the corners of the eastern end of the corridor round the courtyard of the masjid in the citadel.⁵ These towers are built of rough simple masonry, and probably, by unskilled labour.⁶ Instead of fine cutstone brackets found in later buildings, wood was here used, supporting wooden balconies, pieces of which still remain.⁷ The manāras are ascended by spiral staircases inside, and were no doubt part of an old mosque.⁸

1. See pl. 23.

2. *EIM*, 1925-26, pp. 1-2.

3. *ARASI*, 1921-22, p. 23; *ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 46.

4. *ASIR*, vol. IX, p. 117.

5. H. Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, Bombay 1916, p. 39.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

The Manāras of the Madrasa of Maḥmūd Gāwān, Bidar
(Pl. 31.)

Of the two manāras which once stood on the front corners of the madrasa of Maḥmūd Gāwān, only the one on the north-east corner survives to day. The other on the south-east corner fell 'either in the latter end of the 17th century' when the place was besieged by Aurangzib, and a quantity of gunpowder exploded so as to ruin it,¹ or in 1107/1696 when the madrasa suffered a great damage from lightning.²

Description. The two manāras must have been of the same description. The surviving manāra has an octagonal base of 67ft. 4 ins. in girth at the ground level,³ above which it is round and gradually tapers towards the top ending in a dome. The round shaft is 45 ft. in circumference immediately above the base,⁴ and is divided into three storeys by two balconies which project from the main body of the tower in a curvilinear form. The height of the manāra up to the balcony of the first storey is 78 ft. 8 ins. up to the second storey it is 107 ft. 8 ins., and up to the base of the dome it is 119 ft. 8 ins.⁵ The dome rises some 8 ft. from its base and is crowned with a finial 3 ft. high.⁶ The total height of the manāras is thus about 131 ft. from the ground level. A spiral staircase inside the tower leads to the different storeys.

The lower part of the manāra was originally decorated with encaustic tiles arranged in a chevron pattern, the colours being yellow, light green, and white.⁷ Owing to rain-water which percolated through fissures in the lime beds into which the tiles were fixed many of them have fallen down, but a considerable number are still

1. J. Brigg's *Firishta*, vol. II, p. 510.
2. G. Yazdānī, *Bidar*, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 94.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. G. Yazdānī, *Bidar*, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

intact, and these convey a clear idea of the decorative scheme of the manāra.¹ In each storey at the neck point there was a band of calligraphic devices containing religious texts, and these were reproduced in mosaic tiles, the letters being white fixed to a deep blue background, on which some floral designs in green and yellow were also worked out.² Above this band immediately below the balcony are horizontal courses of light green tiles.³ The balconies in their present condition are denuded of any kind of decoration, nor have they any trace of the parapets which originally must have been an attractive feature of the ornamentation of the tower.

The tile-work of the second storey of the manāra has almost completely perished, and it is difficult now to determine the designs of the lower two bands. The third band probably, like the neck band of the first contained religious texts reproduced in an ornamental style of writing, while the portion immediately below the balcony of this stage would have contained horizontal courses of tiles of a single colour only, possibly green.⁴

The manāra in its third storey looks now more bare, for its tile decoration has completely disappeared.

Date. According to a chronogram⁵ the madrasa was erected by Maḥmūd Gāwān in 877/1472. The date of the manāras, therefore, must have been the same.

General Observations. The arrangement of the manāras on the corners of the front facade of the madrasa may be influenced by the contemporary style of Gujarāt, but in design and decoration the manāras are totally Turco-Iranian in conception.⁶ While the curvil-

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. G. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

6. Maḥmūd Gāwān, the builder of the madrasa was a man from Iran—a native of Gilān, and he served a dynasty which, as has already been mentioned, depended on the strength of the Iranians and Turks to maintain their position. It was therefore natural that this minister of Muḥammad Shāh III imported workmen and building material from his own country to achieve his purpose.

inear support of the balconies very much resembles those of the manāras of Ulu Cami at Birgeh (712/1312-13)¹ or of the manāra of Hatuniye Cami at Manissa (894/1488)², the octagonal and round shape of the manāras has indeed been inspired by such *manāras* as are to be seen in Sirwān (5th/11th century),³ Kerāt (6th/12th century)⁴ and Isfahān.⁵ The dome and decoration of the manāra are also Iranian in origin, and must have been imitated from such examples as the dome of the manāras of Masjidi-Gawhar Shād (821/1418) in Mashhād and the chevron decoration of the Dū Manār Dar al-Diafeh in Isfahān (first quarter of the 8th/14th century).⁶

Along with lecture halls, professors' quarters, students' cubicles and a library, the madrasa also contained within it a mosque,⁷ and as such the manāras were used as *ma'dhanas*. The surviving manāras, like the tower of Māndū, must also have been used as the *mu'adhdhan's* tower of the mosque which once occupied the north-eastern part of the madrasa.⁸

MUGHAL

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Delhi

(Pls. 32-33.)

The Prayer hall of this gigantic mosque is flanked by two manāras on its north-east and south-east corners.

1. See. R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in Southern-Western Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931, p. 26.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
3. *El.*, vol. III, part I, p. 230.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The Manār Cihil Dukhtarān (501/1107), the Gar Manār (515/1121), the Masjidi-i-Shaia Manār (Seljuk), and the Ziyār Manār (550-688/1155-1289) are all round towers with octagonal bases. (See *Athar-e-Iran*, vol. I, 1936, pp. 318-46.)
6. *Ibid.*, p. 350.
7. *CHI*, vol. III, p. 636.
8. Yazdāni, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

Description. They are tapering towers of octagonal design, and rise 130 ft. high from the pavement of the mosque. Built in red sandstone and white marble placed vertically in alternate stripes, the entire length of the manāras is divided into three storeys by projecting balconies. The balconies are reached by flights of narrow sandstone steps in the interior. On the top of each of the manāras is a marble pavilion consisting of a cupola and a dripstone supported on slender pillars.

Date. The mosque was erected during the years 1060-66 /1650-55.¹

General Observations. Although the arrangement of the manāras is similar to that of the manāras of the Jāmi' Masjids of Asīrgarh and Burhānpur, which in turn were influenced by the front corner manāras of Gujarāt, the design of the present manāras appears to have been derived from such towers in Turkistan as are to be seen in the mosque of Bibī Khānum at Samarqand. The historical connection between the Timurids and the Mughals, indeed, induced the latter people to derive many of their building features from this Turco-Iranian source. The style of the manāras is seen in several mosques of Delhi, built during the reign of Shāh Jahān and his son Aurangzīb.

1. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *op. cit.*, part III, p. 7; M. T. Beale, *Miftahu-t-Tawārīkh*, Agra 1879, pp. 390-93; Car Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 & 254-55.

IV The Quadruple Ma'dhana

TUGHLAQ

THE MANĀRA OF THE KHIRKĪ MASJID, DELHI

(Pl. 34.)

These manāras stand at the four corners of the enormous mosque.

Description : They are tapering towers of round design, and are externally divided into three sections by two cornices which run round the top of each storey of the mosque. The third section consists of a pavilion with four large arched windows on four sides, and is crowned at the top with a cupola. Below the cupola the manāras are girdled by a cornice which holds battlements. The cornice below the pavilion also holds battlement motifs. The second section of the shafts is pierced with arched window openings, to admit light and air. The manāras are about 50 ft. high, and are ascended by a staircase inside.

Date : The mosque was built by Khān-i-Jahān Jaunā Shāh, the son of Fīrūz Shāh's *wazīr*, Khān-i-Jahān Tilangīnī. The definite date, however, is not known. According to Sayyid Aḥmad,¹ the mosque was built about 777/1374, but according to, Carr Stephen² it was probably built in 789/1387.

General Observations : The manāras resemble the corner towers of the Sulṭān Ghārī,³ which probably inspired them. They in turn influenced the manāras of mosque of Bāgerhāt⁴ now in East Pakistan.

1. *Op. cit.*, part I, pp. 21 & 23.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

3. See Fig. 16.

4. See pl. 25.

MUGHAL

The Manāras of The Masjid of Wazir Khān, Lahore
(Pl. 35.)

The mosque of Wazir Khān is an architectural monument of surpassing beauty and elegance, and is certainly the chief architectural ornament of the city of Lahore. It has a manāra at each of its four corners of the courtyard.

Description : They are made of brick, and stand at a height of 100 ft. from the pavement. The entire height is divided into two storeys by a square projecting gallery resting on moulded brackets. The first storey is square, and the second storey is octagonal. On the top of the second storey is again an octagonal gallery which rests on stalactite works. Surmounting the gallery is an octagonal pavilion on slender pillars. It is crowned by a ribbed cupola with a drip-stone below. The cupola has an inverted lotus finial. The manāras are ascended by a spiral staircase inside.

Along with other parts of the mosque the manāras are decorated sumptuously. Each of the square faces immediately below the first gallery is ornamented with three vertical panels filled with faience mosaic in floral plant motifs. This faience mosaic is locally called *Kāshi*. The faience pieces are set in hard mortar to represent stems, leaves and flowers, and they are so fitted together that they appear to be painted work, though they are strictly inlay. Each face of the octagonal storey is similarly decorated with two vertical panels alternating with two horizontal ones. Above the panels of this storey is a horizontal band in geometric patterns over which the entire surface of this storey is again divided into sixteen panels and ornamented with the same material. The parapets of the galleries and the drum of the cupola have also faience decoration mostly in continuous vertical and inverted arch-patterns.

Date. The mosque was erected in 1044/1634-5.¹

1. S. M. Latif, *Lahore*, Lahore 1892, p. 215 ; Muḥammad Bāqir, *Lahore Past and Present*, Lahore 1952, pp. 336-37.

General Observations. The arrangement of the manāras on the four corners of the courtyard appears to be unique in Indian mosques.¹ It is not certain if this arrangement is the result of the architect's ingenuity, or was influenced by the manāras of the mosque of Sulṭān Aḥmad in Istanbul, built only a few years earlier (1018-25/1609-16).² The design of the manāras is very pleasing to the eye. The change from square to octagon gives a degree of lightness, while the division of the surface into rectangular panels suggests rigidity. The decoration is extremely rich. Saturated with brilliant sunlight and glowing purple shadow, the effect of the gorgeous colours against the soft blue tropical sky is indeed indescribably rich and jewel-like. The design exercised an influence in shaping turrets of several important monuments.³

The Manāras of the Bādshāhī Masjid, Lahore

(Pl. 36.)

The Bādshāhī Masjid is the largest and grandest mosque in Pakistan and its four manāras, one at each corner of the mosque-quadrangle and towering above every other object, may be seen from many miles around.

Description. They are made of red sand-stone and stand at a height of 143 ft. 6 ins., excluding the crowning pavilion. Octagonal in design, the manāras measure 67 ft. in circumference at the base and diminish in diameter as they rise towards the top. The entire height is divided into three storeys by projecting galleries which are approached by flights of narrow steps of red sand-stone in the interior. Above the topmost gallery rise the pavilion on eight slender pillars, and it is surmounted by a marble cupola with a drip-stone below. The cupola has an inverted lotus finial.

1. The courtyard of the Bādshāhī Masjid at Lahore is different in plan.
2. The mosque of Sulṭān Aḥmad has six manāras—four at the corners of the courtyard, and two on the corners of the back facade. The manāras of the back facade are omitted in the present mosque.
3. See pl. 88.

Date. The mosque was erected in 1084/1673-74.¹

Restoration. The pavilions are restored recently. The original ones were taken down after 1256/1840 when an earthquake dangerously damaged them.

General Observations. The mosque is said to have been built 'in imitation of the mosque of al-Walid',² and consequently conforms to the principle of having four *ma'dhanas* on its four corners. Although simple in their design and plain in their appearance, the manāras stand conspicuous for their magnitude and cannot fail to impress the observer with their colossal and solemn grandeur.

V The Kashmīr Ma'dhana

The Manāra of The Masjid of Shāh Hamadān, Srinagar (Pl. 37.)

Like other manāras we have noticed, this manāra does not stand outside the mosque proper nor is it attached to any of its corners. It is a part of the roof of the building, and stands on its apex.

Description. The manāra consists of a square open pavilion on the pyramidal roof of the square mosque. The pavilion stands on wooden columns, and, like the building below, has a pyramidal wooden roof in two tiers holding a slender spire. The spire has a pediment decoration on each of its four sides at the bottom, and is surmounted by a pinnacle which has an umbrella motif at the top. The manāra is ascended by ladders from the ground floor.

Date. Over the doorway of the mosque is carved an inscription which gives 786/1384 as the year of Shāh Hamadān's death.³ But it is doubtful if it can be the date of the present building. Baron von Hugel who visited Kashmir in 1251/1835 speaks of it as a mod-

1. S. M. Laṭīf, *op. cit.*, p. 113 ; Muḥammad Baqir, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

2. S. M. Laṭīf, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

3. R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, London 1935, p. 79.

ern looking structure.¹ It is probable that the present mosque, restored on the original one, dates from the 11th/17th century.²

General Observations. The manāra presents a peculiar style of *ma'dhana*, unknown in the sub-continent. The style is purely local, and was developed from the pyramidal roof of the existing Hindu temples. The roof of a temple at Vangath, that of the Buniar temple or the Śiva temple at Payar show how closely they resemble the pyramidal roof and spire of the mosque.³

The Manāras of the Jāmi Masjid, Srinagar

These manāras are not constructed on the corners of the building. They are built over the roof of the gateway in the middle of each of the four sides of the great quadrangle. They are however of the same style as the *ma'dhana* of the mosque of Shāh Hamadān. Although the mosque is said to have been erected by Sikandar Butshikān who reigned in Kashmīr from 793/1390 to 818/1415, it is known that the structure underwent several subsequent restorations.⁴ The present mosque dates from the reign of emperor Aurangzīb who restored it after its destruction by fire in 1085/1674.⁵ The restorations have not effected any change in the original plan and composition of the mosque.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

2. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, pls. LVIII & LIX.

3. See *ARASI*, 1915-16, pls. XXXIX. The first two temples are dated 2nd/8th century. (*Ibid.*, pp. 64 & 68).

4. See the history of the mosque in R. C. Kak, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 84 ; P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

CHAPTER III

SECULAR TOWERS

I The Lāṭ

MAMLŪK

The Iron Manāra, Delhi (Pl. 38.)

This famous lāṭ stands within the courtyard of the great Quṭb Masjid at a distance of about 11 yards¹ from the screen arches. Generally known as 'Delhi Iron Pillar', it is also called 'Meharauli pillar' after the name of the village in which it stands.²

Description :—The lāṭ is a round solid tapering shaft of 'pure malleable iron of 7·66 specific gravity'.³ Its total length from the top of the capital to the bottom of the base is 23 ft. 8 ins.⁴ —22 ft. are above ground, and only 1 ft. 8 ins. is below ground.⁵ The lower diameter of the shaft is 16·4 ins., and the upper diameter is 12·05 ins., the diminution being ·29 of an inch per foot.⁶ The capital, which is of the bell pattern, is 3½ ft.⁷

The base of the lāṭ is a knob, slightly irregular in shape, 2 ft. 4 ins. in diameter, resting on several little pieces like bits of bar-iron, let into the stone underneath, and secured with lead.⁸ The stone platform which is seen round the base forms no part of the original pillar and was built only at the end of the 13th/19th century.⁹ The

1. *JRAS*, 1897, p. 4.

2. *CII*, vol. III, pp. 139-40.

3. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 170.

4. *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. 28.

5. *JRAS*, 1897, p. 4.

6. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 169.

7. *JRAS*, 1897, p. 4.

8. *ASIR*, vol. IV, p. 28.

9. *JRAS*, 1897, p. 5.

capital consists of seven parts, namely, a receded bell, a thin plain disc, three discs with serrated edges, another thin plain disc, and a square block.

Date. The lāṭ records its own history in a deeply cut Sanskrit inscription of six lines on its western face. The inscription¹ is a posthumous eulogy of the conquests of a powerful king named Chandra, as to whose lineage no information is given. This Chandra was probably the great Chandra Gupta II (C. A. D. 376-415) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.² The lāṭ originally stood somewhere outside Delhi, but was brought in the capital in or about 444-45/1052-53 during the time of Anaṅga Pāla whose name is 'also inscribed on the pillar.'³

General Observations :—It is probable that Anaṅga Pāla re-erected the lāṭ on its present site, and Quṭbu-d-dīn allowed it to stand there. Whereas the transference of other stone lāṭs is recorded by contemporary Muslim chroniclers, none of them appears to have mentioned the bringing of this lāṭ from a different place by Quṭbu-d-dīn and its re-erection within the courtyard of his mosque. On the other hand, tradition supports the view that the lāṭ was retained in its present place by Quṭbu-d-dīn.⁴ The fact that the lāṭ is sunk

1. See *JASB*, vol. III, p. 494 & vol. VII, pp. 629-31 ; *JBRRAS*, vol. X, pp. 63-65 ; *CII*, vol. III, pp. 141-42 ; *JRAS*, 1897, p. 6 ; *MAI*, No. 22, pp. 44-45.
2. *JRAS*, pp. 5ff. Prof. A. L. Basham does not agree with Harā Pasad Shastri (*IA.*, vol. XLII, p. 218) that the Chandra of this inscription was one of the Varman kings of Pushkarana in Jodhpur. He tells the writer that in style the lāṭ is a Gupta monument.
3. *ASIR*, vol. I, pp. 171 & 174.
4. Cunningham (*ASIR*, vol. I, p. 173) notes a tradition thus : 'When the Muhammadan conqueror first took possession of Delhi, he was informed that the inscription on the Iron pillar declared that the Hindu rule would last as long as the pillar remained standing, on hearing which, to show his contempt of the prophecy, the proud victor allowed the pillar to stand'. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (*Atharu-s-Sanādīd*, Delhi, A.H., 1293, p. 59) suggests that the pillar was left in its position by the conqueror as a witness to the glory of Islam.

undisturbedly into the layers of dressed stone of the old Hindu floor further argues for its being erected in its present position during pre-Muslim times.¹ Judging from the analogy of Buddha Gupta's monolith at Eran, where a square block similar to that of the capital of the lāṭ serves as the pedestal to a statue, it is probable that the Iron lāṭ was originally surmounted by an image of Viṣṇu, the god to whom it is dedicated.²

The lāṭ is important for our purpose because it inspired several Muslim rulers to erect or re-erect similar pillars within mosque enclosures or elsewhere.

TUGHLAQ

The Manāra at Kushk-i-Shikār, Delhi

Of the two Aśokan lāṭs which were brought to Delhi, and re-erected there by Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, the one described as *Manāra-i-Zarīn* has already been noticed. The other stands on a small ridge near the Kushk-i-Shikār (Hunting Place)³ to the north-west of Shahjahānābād.

Description. The lāṭ at Kushk-i-Shikār is of sandstone, and measures about 33 ft. in length.⁴ It is round in design and at the bottom its diameter is 3 ft. 2 ins.⁵; above it tapers upwards at the rate of one-fifth of an inch per foot.⁶

1. The topmost layer of stones forming the present courtyard of the Quṭb Mosque is of irregular stones of various shapes and sizes, evidently belonging to various portions of ruined structures with the material of which the mosque was constructed.
2. *JRAS*, 1897, p. 5.
3. Elliott & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 350.
4. *JASB*, vol. VI, part II, p. 795.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 168.

The lāṭ contains several edicts of Aśoka, beside several minor inscriptions of pilgrims and travellers of later dates.¹ The Aśokan inscriptions are almost exact duplicates of the inscriptions on the *Manāra-i-Zarīn*.²

Date of re-erection. According to Shams-i-Sirāj Afīf³ this lāṭ was brought from Mirath by Fīrūj Shāh after he returned from his expedition against Thatta, and erected in the Kushk-i-Shikār (Hunting Palace). The date of this erection, therefore, must be after 764-65/1362-63 when he was engaged in the expedition,⁴ perhaps about 766/1364.

Restoration. The lāṭ was thrown down and broken into several pieces by the accidental explosion of a powder magazine in the time of Farrukhsiyar (1125-32/1713-1719.)⁵ After lying on the ground for nearly one hundred and fifty years, it was restored by the British Government and placed on the same ridge where it was set up by Fīrūz Shāh.⁶

General Observations. The erection of this lāṭ was probably inspired by the Iron pillar noticed above.

1. *Ibid.* vol. V, p. 143.

2. *JASB*, vol. VI, part II, p. 794.

3. Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. III, p. 350.

4. *CHI*, vol. III, pp. 180-81.

5. *ASIR*, vol. I, p. 168 & vol. V, p. 143.

6. *Ibid.*

The Firuz Manāra, Hissār

This lāṭ stands within the courtyard of a mosque at Hissār in the East Punjāb.¹ It was first brought to notice by W. Brown in 1253/1838.²

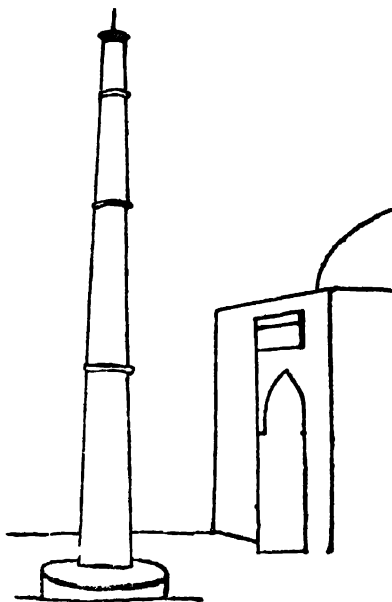


Fig. 3. The Firūz Manāra, Hissār

Description. The lāṭ is circular in plan, and is divided into four sections by wide mouldings. The bottom section is of buff coloured sandstone, while the second, third, and fourth are of red sandstone. Above the fourth section there remains the base of a marble finial and an iron spike. The lāṭ is about 30 ft. in height, and the diameter at the base is only 3 ft.³

1. It is because of this lāṭ that the mosque is known as 'Lāṭ-Kī-Masjid'.
2. *JASB*, vol. VII, pp. 429-430.
3. *APRAS, United Provinces and Punjab, for the year ending 31st March 1905*, p. 35. The measurements given in this report do not agree with those

The lāṭ is decorated with 'ornaments savouring of Hindu workmanship' at the division between the first and second sections. Between the second and third sections are two marble bands—the one above the moulding being wider than the other below.

Date. A manuscript in a private possession at Hissār entitled *Memoirs of Ruḡnu-d-din* states that the mosque and the lāṭ were built by Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq.¹ The domed building on the east of the lāṭ has a typical Firuzian slope, and this supports this statement. The date of its erection therefore should be about 757/1356 when Firūz Shāh founded the city of Hissār.

According to Brown,² the base of the lāṭ up to a height of about 10 ft. is of one piece of stone, and 'was one of the ancient Baudh monuments'. The other part has the appearance of having been partially worked by Firūz's orders'. The combination of marble and sandstone³ on the junction of the second and third sections supports this view.

It is probable that, like the Delhi pillars, the lāṭ at Hissār was also brought from some other place to its present site.⁴ Cunningham⁵ read some of the inscriptions engraved on different parts of the lāṭ, and from the shapes of the different letters, he concluded that they belonged to the first century A. D.

given by Brown (*JASB*, vol. VII, p. 430) who states that the circumference of the lāṭ above the ground is 8½ ft., and the height from its base to the top of the spike is about 45 ft. Brown's measurements were copied by Cunningham in the *ASIR*, vol. V, pp. 140-41. Noticing the discrepancy between his own measurements and the figures given by Cunningham, W. H. Nichols (*APRAS*, *op. cit.*) wrote that the lāṭ he measured was different from the one he noticed in Cunningham's report. It appears that Nichols did not see Brown's report where there is a drawing of the lāṭ which however suggests that they are identical. It is possible that Brown's measurements are inaccurate.

1. *APRAS*, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
2. *JASB*, vol. VII, p. 429.
3. This is one of the characteristics of Firūz Shāh's style of architecture.
4. *ASIR*, vol. V.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142. The inscriptions record the names of pilgrims who visited the spot where the lāṭ originally stood.

General Observations. The erection of the lāṭ within the courtyard of the mosque must have been inspired by the Iron pillar of the Quṭb Masjid of Delhi.

The Manāra at Fathābād, Hissār

This lāṭ stands in the spacious courtyard of a mosque.

Description. It is a round tapering column of red sandstone, and is 10 ft. 2 ins. in height and 6 ft. 1½ ins. in circumference at the bottom.¹ Except the oval top which is separated from the shaft by a plain band and a plainly moulded capital, the entire lāṭ is inscribed with the genealogy of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq in



Fig. 4. The Manāra at Fathābād, Hissār.

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. II., p. 159.

thirty-six lines of Arabic-Tughra characters.¹ The letters of the inscription are now much ruined, and many patches of the stone have fallen off.

Date. The lāṭ was probably erected after 757/1356 when Firqz Shāh founded the city of Hissār.

General Observations. The erection of the lāṭ on the courtyard of a mosque was no doubt inspired by the Iron pillar of the Quṭb Masjid. The carving of the inscription on it must also have been inspired by the inscription of this Iron lāṭ.

The Manāra in Front of The Masjid of Ibrāhīm

Nāib Barbāk, Jaunpūr

This lāṭ stands about 27 ft. in front of the middle of the southern wing of the mosque.

Description. It is built of red sandstone, and is 40 ft. in height. It has remained apparently wholly unaltered from the date of its erection.² The lāṭ is octagonal at the base which rises in five steps to the height of some 4 ft. 6 ins. The shaft is then at first square, then octagonal and then round, and is crowned with a finial of a Hindu design. Round the upper half of the octagonal section runs a six-line inscription in fine Arabic Tughra characters.

Date. According to the inscription³ the lāṭ was erected in 778/1377.

General Observations. Like those noticed above, the erection of this lāṭ was also inspired by the Iron pillar of Delhi. The design of the lāṭ, however, appears to have been derived from some other Hindu column than this famous Iron pillar.

1. The inscription is said to have been deciphered by Maulavi Ziaud-dīn Khān and translated into English (*ASIR*, vol. XXIII, p. 11.)
2. Fuhrer & Smith, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur*. Calcutta 1887, p. 26.
3. See Appendix I.

MĀLWA

The Iron Manāra, Dhār

At a distance of about 80 ft. from the northern gate of the Lāṭ Masjid at Dhār, there lies a broken piece of an Iron lāṭ from which the mosque derived its present name. Of the other two broken pieces one was once lying at a High School there, and the other was set up and fixed in a masonry basement in the public garden as the Lāl Bāgh, not far from the High School.¹

Description. The broken piece near the mosque originally formed the lower part of the lāṭ, whereas the one at the School formed the middle part and that in the garden the upper part. The lower part measures 24 ft. 3 ins. in length, and is square in section throughout ; in length the second part is 11 ft. 7 ins. of which 8 ft. 6 ins. is square and 3 ft. 1 ins. is octagonal ; and the third piece, which is 7 ft. 6 ins. in length is octagonal throughout.² The breadth of the square shaft of the lower section is $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins. at its upper end, while the breadth of the square part of the middle section is $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the diameter of the upper section is $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins.³ There is probably a missing piece between the middle and upper sections.⁴

All the three sections of the lāṭ are dotted at intervals with a number of small holes varying in depth from $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to 3 ins., and in diameter about $1\frac{1}{4}$ ins. They run up each of the four sides of the square shaft and the corresponding faces of the octagon.⁵

Date. The original date of the lāṭ is uncertain. Like the Iron Manāra at Delhi, this was also probably erected in connection with a temple and was dedicated to some god or goddess. The

1. *ARASI*, 1902-03, p. 205.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 211n.

4. *Ibid.*

5. The holes, according to Cousens (*ibid.*, p. 207), were made as the mass of the lāṭ was built up, in order to hold the ends of crowbars or levers with which the workmen could better handle and roll over the great heavy column as bit by bit of semi-molten metal was added and welded on to the white hot stump of the shaft.

lāṭ was probably entire when 'Ainu-l-Mulk Mutānī was sent by 'Alāu-d-din Khaljī to effect the conquest of Mālwa in 704/1304. After being demolished by the Muslims, and its shaft broken into two pieces, which lay about for a hundred years, the greater length was brought down by Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī, about 808/1405, to be erected before the mosque he had just built at Dhār.¹ Here it remained until Sultān Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, in 938/1531, reduced Māndū and wiped out its dynasty. He is said to have wished to carry the lāṭ to Gujarāt, and in attempting to do so, allowed it to fall, when it broke into two pieces.² The longer of the two pieces (i.e. the lower section) was noticed by Akbar on his way to the Deccan, when he caused an inscription to be written on it recording his halt there.³ The inscription is written upside down.⁴ This is due to its having been engraved while the pillar was lying with its lower end tilted upwards.⁵ This part of the lāṭ was ordered by Jahāngir to be carried to Agra for erection in the courtyard of Akbar's mausoleum to be utilized as a lamp post.⁶ But the order was not carried out, and the piece still lay in 1320/1902 against the high masonry basement upon which it was set up by Dilāwar Khān.⁷

Upon some parts of this section of the lāṭ are some names and letters in the Devanāgarī character, all apparently belonging to a period later than the 8th/14th century, but which, unlike Akbar's inscription, are engraved in the correct position with the hands of the letters at the top.⁸

General Observations. The setting up of the lower part of the original lāṭ near the Lāṭ Kī Masjid by Dilāwar Khān was, no doubt, inspired by other examples already noticed in Delhi and elsewhere.

1. *ARASI*, 1902-02, p.210 ; *EIM*, 1909-10, pp. 11-13.

2. *JBBRAS*, vol. XXI, p. 348 ; *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 13.

3. See Appendix I.

4. *ARASI*, 1902-03, p.205.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *JBBRAS*, vol. XXI, p.348 ; *EIM*, 1909-10, p.13.

7. *ARASI*, 1902-03, p.205 ; *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 13.

8. *ARASI*, 1902-03, p.205.

II The Kos Manāra

MUGHAL

KOS MANĀRAS FROM AJMIR TO AGRA¹

They are situated as follows :—

Ajmīr District²

1. On the 7th furlong of 2nd mile from Ajmīr to Jaipur.
2. On the 4th furlong of 3rd mile of the same road.
3. To the north of Ghugrā village, and to the left of road leading to Kair village. The manāra is about 4 miles west of Gangwana.
4. About 9 furlongs to the north of Kair village, and 2 miles due north of No. 3.
5. About 6 furlongs to the west of Chatrī village, and about 2½ miles to the north-east of No. 4.
6. About 4 furlongs to the north-east of Khairpurā village, and about 2½ miles to the north-east of No. 5.
7. About 2 miles to the south of Huṣhaira village, and 1½ miles to the south-east of Ararkā village.
8. About 2 furlongs to the north-west of Huṣhaira village, and about 2 miles to the north-east of Ararkā.

Kishengarh State³

9. At the village of Kūchalū. Traceable.
10. About 3 furlongs to the south of Kaliaṇpurā village. Traceable.
11. About 1 mile to the east of Judlī village.
12. At the village of Ralaotā.

1. The description of all these *manāras* is not available.

2. See *APRSt., Muhammadan and British Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1914*, p. 45.

3. *APRSt., etc., op. cit., 1914*, p. 45.

13. Two and a quarter miles to the east of No. 12.

14. The site is supposed to be in the river bed about 2 furlongs to the south-west of Harmara village. Non-existent.

15. Two and a quarter miles to the east of No. 14.

*Jaipur State*¹

16. At the village of Galotā.

17. At Salī—about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the north-west of the Railway Station.

18. At the village of Sirūr.²

19-21. In the neighbourhood of the village of Sakun.³

22 & 23. In the neighbourhood of the village of Nandhan

24. At the village of Binjūlā.

25-27. Near the village of Sawardā.

28. At the village of Palū.

29 & 30. Near the village of Makhūmpūra.

31. At the village of Gardūtā.

32. At the village of Nasrūdā.

33. At Kalīanpura.

34-35. Near Bagrū.

36. At the village of Chirūti.

37. At the village of Pallārī.

38. At Kalwāra.

39. At the village of Niotā.

40. At the village of Madeo⁴—about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the west of Sanganir.

41. At Tholai.

1. *APRSt.*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 46-47. The line of the road passes from Kishengarh into Jaipur State near Galotā.

2. From Salī the road turns sharply to the south towards Sirūr. (*ibid.*, p 46)

3. The line of road now turns almost due east towards Sanganir. (*ibid.*)

4. From Madeo the road turns northwards till it reaches the next manāra at Tholai whence it turns north-east (*APRSt.* etc., *op. cit.*, 1913, p.46)

42. At Goliawās.
43. At Deorī.
44. At Jaipur (*muhalla* Sirkigaran).
45. At Jaipur (Manak Chauk).
46. At Jaipur (Mūrī Brahmpūri).
47. At Amber (Ghatī).
48. At Amber Bāzār.
49. Near Mūrī.
50. At Bani.¹
51. At Raghodas-Kā Bas.
52. At Dhora.
53. At Naila.
54. At Koonthara.
55. At the village of Ghatā.
56. At the village of Phailsarī.
57. At the village of Bhaurwālla.
58. At Chanpūrā.
59. At the village of Jhīr.
60. At the village of Khārī.
61. At Banskū.²
62. At Hauz Mahal.
63. At Khairla.
64. At Malarna.
65. At Mangal Gabind.
66. At Khainla Heengata.
67. At Ganglawās.
68. At Rampūrā.
69. At Bhaglao.
70. At Barasna.

1. Leaving Bani the road turns to the south-east towards Naila and continues in this direction till Banskū is reached (*APRS. op. cit.*, 1914, p.46).
2. The line of the road from this point is towards the west in the direction of Toda Bhīm (*APRS. etc. op. cit.*, 1914, p.47).

71. At Kharandī.
72. At Sanair (also known as Jāmānpur)
73. At Kothrā.
74. At Tora.
75. At Farrashpūra.
76. At Mahalai.
77. At Gairolī Jhūmnā.
78. At Gerrata.
79. At Gerrata.
80. At Nahar Khurā.
81. At Nahar Khurā.
- 82-84. At Toda Bhīm.¹
85. At Nangal.
86. At Jharisa.
87. Near Paota.
88. Near Paota.
89. At Bhūpur.
90. At Santa.²

Bhāratpur State³

91-105. All these *manāras* run from Bhūsāwār, and passing through the village of Pichūrā, they enter the village of Khānwā and thence to the district of Agra. Five are traceable.

Agra District.⁴

106. Just outside the Ajmīr Gate of Fathpur-Sikrī.
107. On Agra Fathpur—Sikrī Road—mile 15, furlong 2.
108. On Agra Fathpur—Sikrī Road—mile 12, furlong 7.
109. On Agra Fathpur—Sikrī Road—mile 11, furlong 1.
110. On Agra Fathpur—Sikrī Road—mile 9, furlong 4.

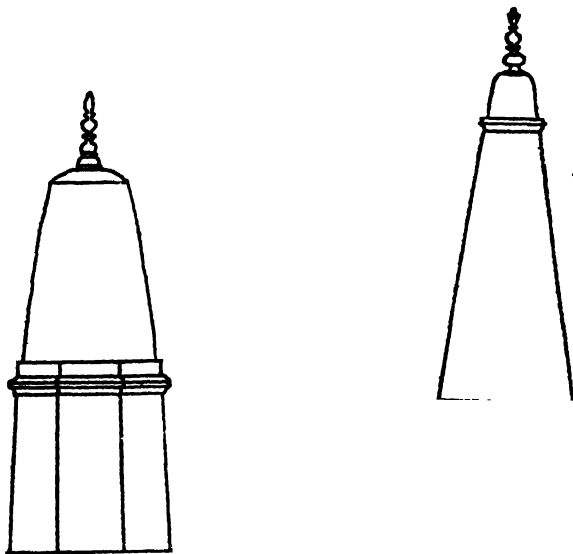
1. Leaving Toda Bhīm the road runs in an easterly direction and passes into Bhāratpur territory (*APRSt.*, etc., *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 47.)
2. The road now enters Bhāratpur state.
3. *APRSt.*, etc., *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 47.
4. *APRSt.*, etc. *op. cit.*, 1914, pp. 47-48.

KOS MANĀRAS FROM AGRA TO DELHI (VIA MUTTRĀ)¹

These are situated as follows :

*Agra District*²

1. On Agra-Muttrā Road—mile 4, furlong 3. It is 29 ft. in height including the finial at the top.



†

Figs. 5 & 6. *Kos Manāras at Agra-Muttrā Road.*

2. On Agra-Muttrā Road—mile 6, furlong 7. It is 34 ft. 10 ins. in height including the finial at the top.

3. On Agra-Muttrā Road—mile 9, furlong 4.

4. On Agra-Muttrā Road—mile 12, furlong 1.

1. The description of all these *manāras* is not available.

2. *APRAS, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1906*, p. 22 ; also *APRSt.*, etc., *op.cit.*, 1914, p. 48.

Muttrā District¹

5 & 6. They stand at the commencement of the 'Dig' and 'Circular' roads in Muttrā.

7. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 3, furlong 5.

8. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 11, furlong 5 ; to the west of Chumah village.

9. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 13, furlong 1.

10. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 16.

11. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 19, furlong 1 ; at Chatta Sarāī.

12. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 24, furlong 3.

13. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 26, furlong 7.

14. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—mile 29, furlong 4.

Gurgāon District²

15. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—2½ miles to the south of Hudal.

16. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—at Hudal.

17. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—2½ miles to the north of Hudal.

18-22. On Muttrā-Delhi Road.

23. At Palwāl.

24-28. Muttrā-Delhi Road—all near road.

Delhi District³

29. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—to the north of Ballabgarh.

30. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—to the south of Faridābād.

31. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—2½ miles to the north of Faridābād.

32. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—2½ miles to the south of Badarpūr.

1. *APRSt.*, etc., *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 48.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *APRSt.*, etc., *op. cit.*, 1914, pp. 48-49. Some of the *mandras* which are mentioned on p. 48 of the report as belonging to Gurgāon District fall, in fact, in Delhi District.

33. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—outside the north gate of Sarāi Badarpūr.
34. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—2½ miles to the north of No. 33.
35. On Muttrā-Delhi Road—between 5th and 6th mile-stones from Delhi.
36. Two furlongs to the south of the Pūrana Qila (Indrapat) Delhi.¹

KOS MANĀRAS FROM DELHI TO LAHORE ²

They are situated as follows :

*Delhi District*³

1. Just north of Nārela Railway station.
- 2-4. Between Nārela and Sonapat.
5. At Sonapat.
6. Two and a quarter miles to the north of Sonapat—between railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road.
7. Two and a quarter miles to the north of No. 6.
8. Near Larsauli—between railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road.
9. Just north of Ganaur railway station.

*Karnāl District*⁴

10. At Nizāmpur.
 - 11 & 12. At Panipat Taraf Unsar.
 13. At Taraf Afghān.
 14. At Siwālī.
 15. At Jatipūr.
 16. At Manāna.
1. ASIR, vol. IV, p. 73 ; APRAS, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1910, p. 16 ; APRSt., etc., op. cit., 1912, p. 20 ; Ibid. 1915, p. 6.
 2. The description of all these manāras is not available.
 3. APRSt., etc., op. cit., 1914, p. 49. The manāras which are mentioned in p. 49 of the report as belonging to Gūrgāon District fall, really, in Delhi District.
 4. APRSt., etc., op. cit., pp. 6-7.

17. At Kiwāna.
- 18 & 19. At Gharaunda.
20. At Kohand.
- 21 & 22. At Taraorī.
23. At Bhenī Kalān.
24. At Fathpur.
25. At Amin.
- 26 & 27. At Karnāl.
28. At Daha.
29. At Sarāi Sūkh.
30. At Bīwānī Khera.
31. At Adhor.
32. At Thanesar.
33. At Zainpurā.
34. At Shahābād.
35. At Mohri.

*Ambāla District*¹

36. At Samalka—between railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road.
37. At Jurasī—on Delhi-Ambālā Road, near mile 44.
- 38 & 39. Near Pānīpat—mile 52 and 55.
40. At Dullāpur—on Delhi-Ambālā Road.
41. At Kaundh—on the west side of railway.
42. At Gharaunda—on Delhi-Ambālā Road.
43. Near Gharaunda—between railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road, near mile 65.
44. At Kūtail.
45. At Kambupurā—to the east of Delhi-Ambālā Road.
46. On Delhi-Ambālā Road—near mile 72.
47. On Delhi-Ambālā Road—near mile 75.
48. Two miles to the west of Delhi-Ambālā Road—opposite mile 77.
49. Between miles 79 and 80—near the west side of railway.

1. *APRS*., etc., *op. cit.*, 1914, pp. 49-50.

50. Near Taraorī—2 miles to the west of Delhi-Ambālā Road.
51. Near Amin railway station—to the west of railway.
52. Opposite mile 95—3 miles to the west of Delhi-Ambālā Road.
53. At Dhīrpūr—between railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road.
54. At Jharūnī—between railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road.
55. At Ratangarh. Traceable.
56. At Shahābād. Traceable.
57. At Jainpūrā.
58. At Mohri.
59. To the west of railway and Delhi-Ambālā Road—between miles 116 and 117.
60. At Babyāl.
61. At Sūrānge, to the west of railway—between miles 123 and 124.
62. At Ambālā City—mile 125.
63. To the east of Ambālā-Ludhianā Road—between miles 128 and 129.
64. At Sambhū railway station—on Ambālā-Ludhianā Road. Traceable.
65. Near Rājpurā—on Ambālā-Ludhianā Road, between miles 133 and 134.
66. To the east of Ambālā-Ludhianā Road—mile 136. Traceable.
- 67 & 68. These manāras are all on the east side of railway. They are in a straight line parallel to it, but distant from it about 2 miles. Traceable.
69. Opposite Gobindgarh railway station—at mile 171 of Ambālā-Ludhianā Road. Traceable.
70. At Ghūngrālī—on Ambālā-Ludhianā Road, between miles 169 and 170. Traceable.
71. At Kātī—on Ambālā-Ludhianā Road, near mile 173.
72. At Dorahā—near mile 180. Traceable.
73. At Sahnewāl—near to and on the west side of railway.

- 74. At Manglī—near to and on the west side of railway.
- 75. At Dhandarī Kalān—near to and on the west side of railway.
- 76. At Ludhianā—near to and on the west side of railway.

*Jullundhur District*¹

- 77. Between Phillaur and Nūrmahal.
- 78. At Nūrmahal.
- 79 & 80. Between Nūrmahal and Nakūdār.
- 81. At Nakūdār.
- 82. Between Nakūdār and Dakhnī.
- 83. At Dakhnī—between Nakūdār and Sultānpūr.
- 84. Between Dakhnī and Sultānpūr.
- 85. About 2½ miles to the east of No. 84. Traceable.

APRS., etc., *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 50. Entering the Jullundhur District the line of the road is not found following the main metalled road, leading through Phillaur, Jullundhur to Amritsar, and the railway, but branches off due west from Phillaur passing through Nūr Mahal, Nakūdār and Sultānpūr. The manāras which were grouped in the report as belonging to Ludhiana District (*ibid.*, p. 51) are in fact between Jullundhur District and Kapurthala State.

Kapurthala State¹

- 86. Near Dhadwāndī.
- 87. Between Dhadwāndī and Sultānpūr.
- 88. At Sultānpūr. It is 26 ft. in height.

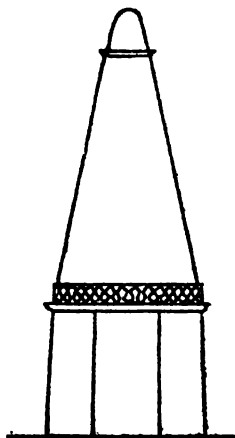


Fig. 7. *Kos Manāra at Sultānpur, Kapurthala State*

- 89. About $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the north of Sultānpūr.
- 90. About $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the north of No. 89.

Amritsar District²

- 91, 92. Near Jullundhur-Amritsar Road—between miles 272 and 273.
- 93. Near Jullundhur-Amritsar Road—at mile 278.
- 94 & 95. Near Jullundhur-Amritsar Road—between miles 278 and 279.

Lahore District³

- 96. Near Mauza Rattaqadda.
- 97. At Maniala Khurd Kalām—about 82 miles to the east of Lahore. Traceable.

1. *APRSt.*, etc. *op. cit.*, 1914, p. 51.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

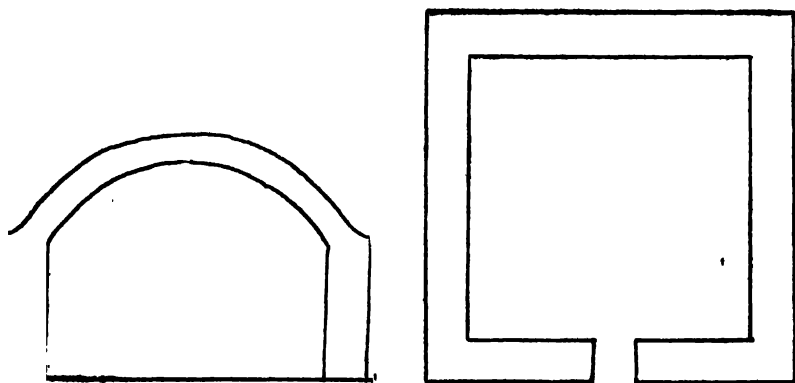
98. At Maniala—2½ miles to the west of No. 97. Traceable.
 99. At Shāhū-Kī-Gharī—just outside Lahore railway junction.

KOS MANĀRAS FROM LAHORE TO ATTOCK

They are situated as follows :

Rawalpindi District¹

1. Near Golra station. This manāra was collapsing when the archaeological report was made in 1333/1914. It was square in design, and was more than 14 ft. in height including the vaulted cupola. It was hollow in the interior, and its walls were 2 ft. 6 ins. thick. There was a doorway on the middle of one of its four sides.



Figs. 8 & 9. *Kos Manāras near Golra Station, Rawalpindi.*

2. Near Thatta. It is of the same design as No. 1, but is smaller in dimension and is only 10 ft. 9 ins. in height.

1. *APRSt.*, etc., 1914, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

KOS MANĀRAS FROM AGRA TO ALLAHĀBĀD¹

They are situated as follows :

Etawāh District²

1. At the village of Paighampūr.
2. At the village of Jarhaulī.
3. At the village of Panhār
4. At the village of Bhāgantipūr.

Cawnpur District³

5. At the village of Deosar.
6. At the village of Rājpur.
7. At the village of Pailwār.
8. At the village of Jalālpur Sikandara.
9. At the village of Sardārpur.
10. At the village of Sankhīn Buzurg.
11. At the village of Pitāmpur.
12. At the village of Hallā.
13. At the village of Chaparghatā.
- 14 & 15. At the village of Gaur.
- 16 & 17. At the village of Bhognipur.
18. At the village of Raigāwan.
19. At the village of Khalāspūr.

1. The description of all these manāras is not available.
2. *APRSt.*, etc., *op. cit.*, 1917—18, p. 78.
3. *APRSt.* etc., *op. cit.*, 1917-19, pp. 77-78.

III Miscellaneous Towers

MAMLUK

The Chor Manāra, Delhi

(Pl. 39.)

About three miles to the north of the Quṭb Masjid, and 'on the very edge of the old high road which passed along the western side of Jahānpanāh',¹ there stands a manāra locally known as *Chor Minār* (Thieves' Tower). Its top part no longer survives today.

Description. It is now a round tower of 26 ft. in height, with a lower diameter of 21 ft. and upper diameter of 18½ ft. It stands on an arched terrace just 10 ft. in height and 36 ft. square. The present top of the manāra is, therefore, 36 ft. above the ground. The tower has a pointed arched doorway which leads to a winding staircase inside, 2½ ft. wide. The lower part of the manāra above the level of the terrace is quite plain, but at 8 ft. there is a belt of moulding all round. Above the moulding there are, at regular intervals, nine rows of round holes about 9 or 10 ins. in diameter. In each row there are twenty-five holes, so that there still remain 225 holes.

Date. The date of the manāra is not definitely known. Its resemblance with the manāra at Koil (652/1254) in plan, and the use of radiating voussoirs for its entrance arch—a feature known to have been introduced in Indo-Muslim architecture in the reign of Balban (664-86/1266-1287),² however, places it after the middle of the 7th/13th century.

General Observations. The purpose of the manāra is uncertain. Cunningham,³ who saw the manāra in 1288/1871 and 1300-01/1882-83, gives an interesting account of its purpose which is worth quoting : 'The Chor Minār, or 'Thieves' pillar' is a round tower, pierced

1. *ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 149. The city of Jahānpanāh was built by Muhammad b. Tughlaq (725-52/1323-51) by linking up the walls of Old Delhi on the one side and Siri on the other.
2. *CHI*, vol. III, p. 582.
3. *ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 149-50.

with numerous round holes for the reception of human heads. I first saw this tower in 1871, when I guessed that it might be one of the pillars which the early Muhammadan kings were in the habit of building up with the decapitated heads of their prisoners. During my recent visit to the ruins of Delhi I determined to examine this tower more carefully, and, if possible, to ascertain its object. For this purpose I pitched my camp near the village of Begampūr and close to Chor Minār.....At the time of my visit in 1871 I could not gain any information whatever about this tower, and again during the whole morning of my late visit every man professed entire ignorance about it. In the meantime I had satisfied myself, by the measurements just recorded, that the tower was intended for the reception of human heads, which was further confirmed by the discovery of something like human hair still sticking to the mortar in one of the holes. But during the course of the afternoon a party of three women, who happened to be passing by, gave the name of *Chor-Minārah*, with the explanation that, in former days, when thieves were executed, their heads were cut off and stuck into these holes, where they could be seen by all the people. The women also pointed to the Kos Minar close to the road and said that all the travellers along the road could see the heads'.

In view of numerous examples of pyramids of heads erected by powerful Muslim sultāns both in India and Middle East,¹ and in the absence of inscriptions or historical information about it, it is difficult to disagree with Cunningham about the purpose of the manāra. Since, however, the manāra was erected 'on the edge of the old high road', there is also the possibility that it was erected as a watch or a lamp tower.

1. A Cunningham (*ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 150) has cited several of these examples.

TUGHLAQ

The Tooth Manāra at Bir, Hyderabad

Firishta¹ describes how Muḥammad bin Tughlaq lost a tooth while passing Bir in one of his expeditions, and how it was buried with royal pomp. The story still survives at Bir and a small tower built along a mountainous track, eight miles south-east of the town, is pointed out as the tomb of the royal tooth.² The tower is built on a square platform, measuring 35 ft. each way, and consists of a hall, 23 ft. 10 ins. square, surmounted by a dome.³

DECCAN

The Manāra at Bīdar Fort

At a little distance from the Gumbad Darwāza towards the north-east, there is a tower which Yazdānī⁴ describes as follows: 'The interior of the tower is beautifully finished with plaster-work. The plan of the building is square at the base, measuring 11 feet 6 inches each way. The ceiling is domical, with ribs in imitation of a wooden structure. On either side of the tower, towards the south-west and north-east, there are remains of halls. At a lower level, from this tower towards the north-west there are some rooms, the walls of which are extremely thick, with arches heavy in proportion but stilted at the top. The rooms are at present in possession of the descendants of the old guards of the fort who apparently have been living there for several generations. The tower, according to the same writer,⁵ 'was utilised as the "keep", for it commands a complete view of the city walls up to the Habshi Kot and of the low lands in the south-east as well as of the front ramparts towards the south-west'. It must have been built between 833/1429 when the building of the city and fort of Bīdar was begun and 836/1432 when it was completed.⁶

1. Mentioned in *ARHAD*, 1920-21, p. 14.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Bīdar, its History and Monuments*, Oxford 1947, p. 35.

5. G. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

The Chaubāra, Bīdar

(Pl. 40.)

This massive manāra stands in the middle of the town where the two principal thoroughfares of Bīdar intersect.

Description. It is round in design and tapers upwards. It rises more than 73 ft. above the ground level, and has a circular base of 180 ft. in circumference and 16 ft. 9 ins. in height. The base has arched niches on all its sides. A flight of steps from the east side leads to the top of the base. The girth of the tower above the base is 114 ft., and a space of 8 ft. 5 ins. has been left all round it, in order to enable visitors to circulate. In the northern side of the tower is a door from which a winding staircase comprising eighty steps leads towards the top. The summit is 53. ft. above the base, and the parapet round it rises 3 ft. 6 ins. still higher. The circumference of the tower below the parapet is 85 ft. 7 ins. The entire manāra is built of black trap masonry laid in lime and strengthened by circular bands at two places in its height. There are four rectangular openings pierced in the walls to let in light and air.

Date and General Observations. The manāra resembles the corner towers of the Bahmanī Idgah at Bīdar, and hence it has been suggested that this was also built by a ruler of the same dynasty—probably by Ahmad Shāh (825-39/1422-36) or one of his immediate successors.¹ The purpose of the manāra is not definitely known. The word *chau* in Hindi as well as in Persian signifies the four directions, while *bāra* in Persian means a fortified place and in Hindi (*bāṛā*) a house. The two words together therefore mean a central building facing in four directions. From the meaning of the words, Yazdānī² has come to the conclusion that the manāra was probably constructed as an observation post.

1. G. Yazdānī, *Bīdar, its History and Monuments*, Oxford 1947, p. 90. The design of these towers was probably inspired by the Tughlaqian corner manāras, such as are to be seen in the Khirkī and Kalāu Masjids (see pl. 34).
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

The Manāras at Hampī (Vijaynagar)

(Pl. 41.)

On the north and south-east sides of the 'Zanana enclosure' at Hampī in the Bellary district of Madras, there are two lofty towers.

Description. They are erected on square bases, over which rise the octagonal shafts which are divided externally into two sections by stepped moulding. The upper sections of the towers are wider than those of the lower, and are again divided into two storeys by two rows of arches, one above the other. The number of arches in the upper row is double that of the lower. In the lower row, only the octagonal faces of the towers are pierced with windows, whereas in the upper row the corners of the octagon are also pierced. Each of the arches on the face of the octagon of the upper row has a projecting balcony on its front, carried by two three-tiered brackets. The towers are canopied by stepped pyramidal cupolas. A flight of steps leads up to the top floor of both the towers.

Repair. The towers were repaired in 1342/1923-29 when they were found in a very decaying condition, being cracked from top to bottom.¹

Date and General Observations. It is not certain if the towers were built by a Hindu Rājā or by a Muslim ruler. The shafts give the appearance of a turret of the Bijapur or Golcondā monuments, but the cupola is entirely Hindu—a unique combination in the architecture of the Deccani Sulṭāns. If these were erected by a Muslim ruler, the date of construction must be after 973/1565 when the combined forces of the Sulṭāns of Deccan defeated the Vijaynagar ruler at Talikota. But the stronger probability is that they were erected by a Hindu Rājā of Vijaynagar, because a Muslim ruler could not possibly have raised a Hindu cupola over the towers at a time when the Deccani Muslim style was at its height. The towers, however, could, no doubt, be utilised by the Muslims after their capture of Hampī.

1. *ARASI*, 1923-24, p. 37.

The towers were probably used by the ladies of the court for watching events outside the high walled enclosure without themselves being seen.¹ In fact a delightful view of the whole panorama of Hampī can be obtained from these structures.

MUGHAL

The Ūbh-Dīwāl, at Nagārī, Rājasthān

(Pl. 42.)

The Ūbh-Dīwāl² or Vertical Lamp stands about a mile north-east of the village of Nagārī, near Chitorgarh in the Udaipur State.

Description It is a pyramidal tower constructed of twenty-one huge square blocks of lime-stone, and is nearly 37 ft. high including the topmost block which has now fallen down. It is about 14 ft. square at the base, and was 2½ ft. square at the top when the fallen block was in position. The structure is solid up to the height of 4 ft. from the bottom, and then hollow for about 20 ft. above that level ; it is again solid up to the top. The floor of the cavity is 4 ft. square. The tower is without foundation³ and has seven small openings for admitting light.

Tod⁴ speaks of a staircase of the tower, and he expressed regret that in consequence of an accident to himself, he was unable to climb the staircase. This staircase possibly was an outer one, and of wooden construction which has now perished.⁵

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ūbh-Dīwāl* is a Mewarī term *Ūbh* in that dialect means 'standing' or 'vertical'. *Dīwāl* is equivalent to Hindi *diwāl* (a lamp), and has been suggested to be derived from the two words *dīp* and *alay* (*JASB*, vol. LVI, part I, p. 76n).

3. *MAI*, No. 4, p. 152.

4. *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, W. Crooke's ed., vol. I & III, Oxford 1920, pp. 379 & 1812 respectively.

5. *JASB*, vol. LVI, part I, p. 76n.

Date. The tower is said to have been erected by Akbar, the Great Mughal Emperor, as a beacon lamp to the whole of his camp when he pitched there to reduce the fort of Chitor in 975/1567.¹ It is said that a huge concave vessel filled with cotton seeds soaked in oil was placed on its summit for burning.²

According to D. R. Bhandarkar,³ the tower originally stood near the *Hātī-baḍa* (an open rectangular enclosure about half a mile east of the village), but was moved to its present site by Akbar's people for using as a beacon light. When first built (c. B.C. 350-250) the tower is supposed to have been a *Garuḍadhvaja* connected with a shrine of the gods Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva which was enclosed by what is now known as *Hātī-baḍa*.⁴

The Hiran Maṅara, Fathpur-Sikrī

(Pl. 43.)

This maṅara stands within the enclosure of Akbar's favourite capital, Fathpur-Sikrī, on its north-west corner.

Description. It is a curious tower, and is built on an almost square platform connected with Jodh Bāi's palace by a covered passage.⁵ The platform measures 72 ft. in length, 71 ft. 10 ins. in breadth and 9 ft. 10 ins. in height. It is approached on the north and east sides by double flights of steps, 3 ft. 9 ins. in width. Originally there was a third flight on the south side of the platform, but this has now fallen. On the west of the platform is a well from which water was once pulled and conducted by a stone channel

1. Tod, vol. I. *op. cit.*, p. 379 ; *JASB*, vol. LVI, part I, p. 76 ; V.A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1917, p. 86 ; *MASI*, No. 4, p. 127.
2. *MASI*, No. 4, p. 27.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 132. Bhandarkar's inference is strengthened by the fact that all the stone layers of the tower once bore holes, which in the case of the larger blocks were to be seen inside also corresponding to the outer ones. The holes were probably intended for lifting up the stones.
4. *MASI*, No. 4, pp. 129 and 132.
5. *APRASC*, *North Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1893*, p. 34.

on arches, still extant, to a reservoir in the middle of the platform with outlets radiated to the corners, and discharged the water through ornamental spouts into square cisterns on the outside. The top of the platform is stone-paved in squares, and rising from the middle of it is a smaller platform, octagonal in shape and measuring 38 ft. in diameter and 3 ft. 10 ins. in height. Above this platform the manāra rises to a height of 66 ft. It is divided into two parts : the lower is octagonal up to a height of 12 ft. 10 ins. and measures 15 ft. 3 ins. in diameter, and the upper is circular for a distance of 27 ft. 9 ins. and tapers towards the top where it is crowned by a balcony carried on stalactite brackets in four tiers. The balcony is enclosed by a perforated stone railing, and is reached from below by an internal spiral staircase of 53 steps. The circular portion of the tower is studded with stone imitations of elephants' tusks, and at regular intervals star-shaped openings are pierced in the masonry, in order to light the staircase. The entrance which is 2 ft. 11 ins. in width faces the east. Above the balcony there is an octagonal lantern, 9 ft. 5 ins. in diameter, and covered by a dome. Its sides are now open, but originally they were enclosed by screens of stone tracery.¹

The manāra is richly decorated. Besides the platforms, which have carved edges, the eight sides of the lower storey are ornamented with raised sandstone panels, alternately arched and oblong. Between the panels, on the corners of the octagon, are placed slender pillars, also of buff sandstone and prettily carved with chevron patterns. The upper part of the storey has a continuous ogee moulding filled with carved arabesque design. The perforations of the balcony railing are executed in geometrical patterns. The dome of the manāra was painted inside with geometrical devices in red and white.²

Repair. The manāra was renovated in 1300-01/1882-83.³

1. *APRASC*, etc. *op. cit.*, 1894, p. 33 ; E.W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, vol III Allahābād 1897, p. 36.

2. E. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

3. H. H. Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments*, 1882-83, p. cxliii,

Date and General Observations The design of the manāra strongly resembles that of the tower in the sacred courtyard around the shrine of Imām Husain at Karbalā, and it has been suggested that the architect had this tower in view when preparing the design.¹ The imitation elephant-tusks on the surface of the manāra, however, make it a curious building, and it is possible that this strange feature was derived from Iran where some *manāras* with animal hooves and horns embedded in them are known to have existed. Such a tower, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh, was of 'al-Hawafīr' built by Shapur b. Ardashīr, and according to Ibn al-Jawzī, was of 'al-Qurun', built by Malik Shāh bin Alp Arslān in 480/1087.²

The purpose of the Hiran Manāra has been variously narrated. According to one tradition,³ Akbar erected it to mark the spot where his favourite elephant *Hārūn* was buried and, in order to symbolise the event, the tradition asserts, he studded the tower with stone imitations of elephant-tusks. The word *Hiran*, it is said, is derived from *Hārūn*. According to another tradition,⁴ the manāra has been named from the circumstance that Akbar enjoyed sport from its summit, shooting the antelopes (Hindi, *Hiran*) which were driven up for the purpose by beaters.

It is possible that the manāra was raised over the grave of Akbar's favourite elephant, for his son Jahāngīr also erected a similar tower over the grave of his favourite antelope, and that the emperor used to enjoy the excitement of the hunt from its top 'in which case the surrounding area must have been a garden where animals were brought, following the Iranian tradition, for the purpose. But the fact that underneath the manāra was a reservoir and that water was discharged from it through ornamental spouts to the cisterns on

1. E. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

2. See Ghāzī Rajab Muḥammad, *The Minaret and its Relationship to the Mosque in Early Islam* (unpublished thesis presented to the University of Edinburgh for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1965), vol. I, p. 119.

3. S. M. Laṭīf, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896, p. 157.

4. *APRASC*, etc. *op. cit.*, 1893, p. 33.; Laṭīf, *op. cit.* p. 157.

the four corners of the large platform, also make it a pleasure tower to sit on and while away an hour, overlooking the lake, the garden and the city. Father Monserrat's 'circus' of Fathpur-Sikri where 'elephants fight, gladiatorial displays take place, and a game is played on horseback, with a wooden ball which is hit by hammers also of wood'¹ was probably near the manāra which, on these occasions, could also be used for viewing animal fights and tournaments. Since the sides of the lantern were enclosed by screens and the tower was connected with the *Haram* or *Zanāna* places by a covered way, it is likely that it was also used by the ladies of the court for witnessing sports and tournaments. Ashraf Hussain² thinks that the word *Haram* is corrupted into *Hiran*. From Monserrat's description it can be presumed that he saw the manāra and that it was built between 977/1569 when the full scale construction of the city was undertaken and 990/1582 when the Father left the city.³

The Manāra at Nimsarāi, West Bengal

(Pl. 44.)

This manāra stands on the west bank of the Mahānandā River, immediately below the junction of the Kālindī River, at Old Malda. The place at which it stands is said to have derived its name from the fact that it is situated exactly half way (*nim*) between Gaur and Pāṇḍua.⁴

Description. The manāra stands on an octagonal platform, each side measuring 18 ft. and containing arched cells. Above the platform it is circular with a base diameter of 18 ft. 9 ins. and a circumference of 58 ft. 9 ins. The upper part of the manāra fell down long ago, but the two lower storeys, which still remain standing, are

1. J. S. Hoyland, *The Commentary of Father Monserrat*, London 1922, p. 30.
2. *A Guide to Fatehpur-Sikri*, Delhi 1937, p. 49.
3. J. S. Hoyland, *op. cit.*, p. ix.
4. Abid 'Ali, *Memoirs of Gaur and Pāṇḍua*, Calcutta 1931, p. 154.

slightly tapering, and about 60 ft. in height. The storeys are marked by a projecting cornice round the shaft at about the middle of the height, over which is a window to let air and light inside. A spiral staircase inside the tower leads up towards the top. The manāra is studded with imitation elephants' tusks in stone, measuring about 2½ ft. long.

Date. The exact date of the manāra is uncertain. But a close similarity of it with Akbar's Hiran Manāra at Fathpūr-Sikrī places it at the end of the 10th/16th century.

Repair. Some parts of the manāra were repaired in 1336-37/1917-18 by the Department of Archaeology.¹

General Observations. The manāra in its features compares favourably with the Hiran Manāra at Fathpūr-Sikrī, and it is probable that it was inspired by the latter tower.

The manāra is said to have been a look-out tower² as it commanded a very extensive view up the Kālindī River, and both up and down the Mahānandā River. It is said that in times of danger or invasion, fires were lighted on its top to give timely notice to the city of Gaur.³ According to another tradition the manāra was a *chirāg-dān* (Lamp-Tower),⁴ and the local people point to the numerous projecting stones in proof of their contention. But all these projecting stones are in the shape of elephants' tusks, and their rounded forms would not readily support little *chirāgs*. It is however, probable that a *chirāg* was placed at night on the top of the tower for the guidance of boatmen, and as such on this account it may rightly be regarded as a *chirāg-dān* or a light house.

1. *ARASI*, EC, 1917-18, p. 19.

2. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 78 ; G. E. Lambourn, *Bengal District Gazetteers, Malda*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 93.

3. J. H. Ravenshaw, *Gaur, its Ruins and Inscriptions*, London 1876, p. 41.

4. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 79.

The Manāra of Mīr Ma'sūm at Sukkur, West Pakistan

(Pl. 45.)

Among the architectural remains at Sukkur the most conspicuous is the tall manāra of Mīr Ma'sūm.¹ Under its shadow rest the remains of Mīr Ma'sūm himself, his father and other members of his family.

Description. It is a brick tower, and tapers towards the top. It rises to a height of about 100 ft. and is 84 ft. in circumference at the base. The structure is externally divided into four sections by decorative bands, and has a domed lantern at the top. The lantern is surrounded with an iron cage, added in recent years by a solicitous municipality.² It is ascended by a spiral staircase inside the manāra.

Date. It was erected in 1003/1594.³

General Observations. The manāra broadly resembles several Turkistan towers of which some of the earliest examples are the Kalyān manāra (521/1127) of Bukhāra and the manāra of Vabkent (593-94/1196-97). Except for the complicated stalactite gallery which forms a conspicuous feature in the Turkistan towers, the manāra of Mīr Ma'sūm bears resemblance to them both in tapering outline and decorative bands and in the disproportionately small pavilion on the top. The Mughal emperors' connection with Central Asia must have been a reason for the imitation of this style.

According to the inscription over the doorway the manāra was built 'in order that the people may say that it is in memory of the former ones'. It also commemorates the name and glory of of Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm.

1. He was an officer of the rank of 1000 in the time of Akbar and Jahāngir and an excellent poet. He is the author of *Tarikh-i-Sind* (T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, London 1894, p. 251).
2. H. Cousens. *The Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929, p. 151.
3. See Appendix 1.

The Hiran Manāra at Sheikhupūrā, West Pakistan
(Pl 46.)

About two and a half miles to the north-east of the railway station of Sheikhupūrā, twenty-four miles to the north-west of Lahore, is a manāra locally known as *Harān Manāra*.¹ It stands on the western side of a huge open cistern with a causeway leading to a three-storeyed octagonal pavilion in its centre.

Description. It is built of brick, and is erected on an octagonal platform with seven steps, each about one foot high. Above the platform, the shaft is at first octagonal, and then round. It tapers upwards, and measures 33 ft. in diameter at the base and 23 ft. at the top. It is now 103 ft. in height without the crowning pavilion which has fallen. The manāra is entered through a doorway on its east side, and is ascended by a spiral staircase of one hundred steps, each one foot high. There are arched windows and rectangular openings on all its sides to admit light and air into the interior.

The manāra was originally covered all over with thick lime plaster, most of which has now fallen. Some slight traces of surface decoration, in red, yellow and green are still visible here and there, particularly round the middle where portions of a raised band with continuous ogee motifs in colour have survived. The tower is dotted on the outer surface with small square holes, one hundred and seventy-six in all. These are placed in lines, and at fairly regular intervals. The octagonal part is further patterned with shallow arched niches.

Around the manāra at a distance of a few feet from the platform are the remains of some structures, apparently symmetrical in plan.

Date. The manāra must have been built during the first two years of the reign of Jahāngīr, i.e. 1014-15/1606-07, for the Emperor in giving an account of his departure from Lahore towards Kabul

1. *Harān Munāra* is the usual Punjābī form of the name 'Hiran Manāra' (Ahmad Rabbānī, *Harān Munāra in Muhammad Shāfi Presentation Volume*, Lahore 1955, p.181n).

in the second year of his reign,¹ writes in his autobiography,² 'On Tuesday, the royal standards alighted at Jahāngīrpūr, which is one of my fixed hunting-places. In this neighbourhood had been erected by my order a *manār* at the head of the grave of an antelope called Mansarāj which was without equal in fights with tame antelopes and in hunting wild ones'. In another place of the autobiography he says, 'After my accession I made it into a pargana and called it Jahāngīrābād³ ... I gave orders that a building to serve as a *dawlat khāna*, a tank and a minaret be built.'

Repair. The manāra was repaired in 1335/1916-17, and again during 1349-54/1930-35, by the Department of Archaeology.⁴

General Observations. The manāra resembles in general features that at Fathpūr-Sikrī. Although it was erected to mark the grave of Jahāngīr's favourite antelope Mansarāj,⁵ it is likely that this was also, like his father's manāra, used as a hunting tower and as a pleasure and observation tower. Sheikhūpūrā was Jahāngīr's *Shikārgāh*, and was distinguished even in later times from other such places on account of its delightfulness and the abundance of

1. The second year began on the 22nd Dhu-l-Qa'dah, 1015/10th March, 1607 (Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. VI, pp. 290 & 302).
2. Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, London 1909, pp. 90-91 : Elliot & Dowson, *HI*, vol. VI, p. 302-03.
3. 'Jahāngīrpūr' and 'Jahāngīrābād' appear to have been simultaneously used for Sheikhūpūrā during the time of Jahāngīr. 'Sheikhūpūrā' is probably an appellation from 'Sheikh-u-Bābā', Jahāngīr's pet name, given by Akbar after the name of his respected saint Shaikh Salim Chishtī.
4. *ARASI*, 1916-17, p. 3: *Ibid.*, 1930-34, part I, p. 18: *Ibid.*, 1934-35, p. 12.
5. On a stone of the manāra, shaped in the form of an antelope, was the following prose composition : In this enchanting place an antelope came into the world-holding (*Jahān-giri*) net of the God-Knowing ruler Nuru-d-dīn Jahāngīr Pādshāh. In the space of one month, having overcome his desert fierceness, he became the head of the special antelopes. (Rogers & Beveridge, *op.cit.*, p. 91). The inscription no longer remains.

game.¹ The ruined buildings around the manāra were possibly a set of small living rooms for the ministerial staff attached to the place² or for the tame antelopes.

The Tomb-Manāras at Rohrī, West Pakistan

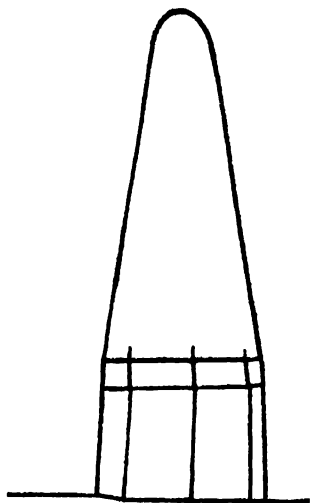


Fig. 10. A Manāra at Rohrī.

On one of the hills of Rohrī is a levelled stone platform³ upon which is a great number of graves. Some of the tomb-stones of the graves have been placed upon high plinths, upon each of the four corners of some of which rises a stumpy manāra. They are octagonal in design, but after a certain height taper towards the top

1. Ahmad Rabbani, *op.cit.*, pp. 189-90.

2. *Ibid*, p.183.

3. The place is known as *Satbahin* (seven sisters) from the tradition that seven virgin sisters shut themselves up here for life under a vow never to look upon the face of a man (*Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, Karachi 1907, p. 507; H. Cousens, *op.cit.*, p.157).

to form a cone. Their upper parts are now mostly broken. Their surfaces are covered with enamelled tiles. The earliest recorded inscription on the platform is 1018/1609, and they run on to 1070/1659 when there is a gap until 1306/1818.¹

The Shikārgāh at Tarchha, Bihar

This manāra was noticed by Sri A. D. P. Singh, and is said to belong to the time of Shujā' (1068/1657-58), son of Emperor Shāh Jahān.² The name 'Shikārgāh' suggests that it was used as a hunting tower.

1. H. Cousens, *op cit.*, p.156.
2. *Indian Archaeology*, 1960-61, p. 57.

CHAPTER IV
THE TURRET
I The Gateway Turret
TUGHLAQ

The Manāras of the Khirkī Masjid, Delhi

These manāras flank the three projecting gateways of the mosque on the east, north and south sides.

Description. These rise a little above the roof parapet. The shafts which taper sharply towards the top are divided into three sections by string mouldings. The lowest section up to the first storey of the mosque is octagonal, the second and top sections are round. The middle section of the north and south gateway manāras are fluted. The plaster which once covered the turrets has now fallen here and there.

Date. The mosque was erected by Khān-i-Jahān Jauna Shāh, son of Khān-i-Jahān Tilanginī, the Wazīr of Firāz Shāh, and is dated 776/1374 or 789/1387.

General Observations. The manāras are evidently copied from those of the Jāmi' Masjid at Badā'un,¹ but their position, flanking a doorway is ingenious and forms a distinctive contribution towards the development of a new style. The manāras flanking the prayer hall portal of the Begampūrī Masjid (789/1387)² are exactly similar to the eastern gateway turrets.

1, See pl. 78.

2. This mosque was also built by Khān-i-Jahān Jauna Shāh.

The Manāras of the Kalān Masjid, Delhi



Fig. 11. A manāra of the Kalān Masjid, Delhi.

These manāras are of the same description as both those of the eastern gateway of the Khirkī Masjid and those of the Begampūrī Masjid with the exception that the lowest section of the present turrets is round instead of octagonal. The mosque was built by the same Jauna Shāh in 789/1387.¹

MĀLWA

The Manāras of the Bādal Mahal Gateway, Chānderī

(Pl. 47)

These manāras are built similarly to those of the Kalān Masjid of Delhi, with the exception that the turrets here are taller and are divided into six sections by string mouldings. The third, fifth

1. *JASB*, 1847, part I, pp. 580-81 ; Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Ludhiana 1876, pp. 151-52.

and sixth sections of the turrets are ornamented with carved paterae. The gateway was erected about 865/1460.¹

GUJARĀT

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Cambay.

(Pl. 48.)

Like the *ma'dhanas* of the great mosque of Ajmīr, these manāras of the great mosque of Cambay are placed over the central archway of the prayer hall of the mosque.

Description. They are very small in dimension, and have been described as 'pointed finials'²

Date. The mosque was built in 725/1325.³

General Observations. The mosque is one of the earliest buildings erected by the Muslims in Gujarāt. As this mosque was erected in the reign of Sulṭān Muhammad bin Tughlaq,⁴ it is probable that the inspiration for raising these turrets came from Ajmīr. Like the central arch of the mosque of Ajmīr, the middle arch of this mosque is also raised higher, but here the place of the Ajmīr *ma'dhanas* is given instead to the turrets. It should be noted that the Tughlaq Sulṭāns did not generally erect *ma'dhanas* for their mosques,⁵ and the calls to prayers were made from the top of the roof of these structures.⁶ Here also staircases were provided for

1. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Bombay 1942, pl. XLII, fig. 2.
2. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarāt*, London 1896, p.25. They are not included in the 'pinnacle turret' group, because they were derived from a different source.
3. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, vol. VIII, Bombay 1897, pp. 313-14 : J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarāt*, *op.cit.*, p.28.
4. The Mosque was erected by one Muhammad al-Būtmārī.
5. The Mangra-i-Zarīn and the mangras of the Khirkī Masjid may be taken as exceptional.
6. J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised ed. vol. II, London 1910, p. 220.

ascending to the roof of the mosque,¹ raising the manāras purely for decorative purposes. The manāras mark the first efforts of the Hindu masons to execute their masters' style, destined to become so characteristic a feature in this region both in the form of turrets and *ma'dhanas*.

The Manāras of the Mosque of Hilāl Khān Qāzī, Dholka
(Pl. 49.)

These manāras are placed similarly to those of the great mosque of Cambay, but are entirely different in design.

Description. They are peculiar towers of $17\frac{1}{2}$ ft. in height, and are divided into two sections by a projecting cornice carried on carved brackets. The upper section is less in diameter than the lower which is 2 ft. 3 ins. Over the upper section is again a projecting cornice on carved brackets, and this is surmounted by a finial. Both the sections of the manāras are fluted, and are divided into further parts by ring-mouldings.

Date. The mosque was erected in 733/1333.²

General Observations. With the exception of the flutings, which may be compared with those of the Quṭb Manāra, or the manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmir, these towers are entirely Hindu in construction and design. They provide good examples of how Indian elements were gradually adapted to the Muslim architecture of the sub-continent.

1. See the plan of the mosque in J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture in Gujarāt*, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII.
2. J. Burgess, & H. Cousens. *op. cit.*, pp. 323-24: J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture in Gujarāt*, *op. cit.*, p. 32. The name of the architect of the mosque was Abdu-l-Karīm Laṭīf.

**The Manāras of the Masjid of Sayyid 'Ālam, Aḥmadābād
(Pl. 50.)**

Flanking the central archway of the prayer hall, these manāras, like the ones described above, stood on the top of the mosque. But, unfortunately they have long since disappeared, and only the bases which act as buttresses exist now.

Description. The bases give the appearance of a stepped square Jaina column, and are profusely ornamented with horizontal and other carvings of Hindu design.

Date. The mosque was built in 815/1412.¹

General Observations. The technique of erection of these turrets was dissimilar to that of others described above. The lines of the turrets, instead of stopping at the roof, are carried to the ground, and this new device, applied a few years later in the erection of *ma'dhanas*, becomes a marked feature of the mosque style in Gujarāt. The feature appears to be an innovation by the architect of the mosque, because it antedates by several years the earliest example of similar towers in Iran ²

The Manāras of the Masjid of Aḥmad Shāh, Aḥmadābād Citadel.

Like the turrets of the mosque of Sayyid 'Ālam these manāras flanked the central archway of the mosque and stood on the top of it. But the upper parts had been so shaken that they threatened to fall, and consequently were taken down at the end of the last century.³

Description. Although measured from the top of the gateway these towers were only 17½ ft. but measured from the ground

1. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmadābād, Part I*, London 1900, p. 22.
2. The manāras of the mosque of Gawhar Shād at Mashhād (821/1418-19) are similarly built (see *SPA*, vol. II, pp. 1124-25).
3. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmadābād, Part I, op. cit.*, p. 17.

their total height was $45\frac{1}{4}$ ft. The lower part up to a height of 28 ft. is built as buttresses on each side of the archway, and projects about 2 ft. 5 ins. from the wall face. This part is decorated with carved mouldings. Above the archway facade the manāras were divided into three sections by round cornices carried on carved brackets. The top section was, in fact, the crown of the manāras, and it was moulded to form a finial.

Date. The mosque was built in 817/1414.¹

General Observations. The manāras have some physical resemblance to those of the mosque of Hilāl Khān Qāzi, but in the technique of erection, they follow the example of the turrets of Sayyad 'Ālam's mosque just described above.

The Manāras of the Mosque of Haibat Khān, Aḥmadābād

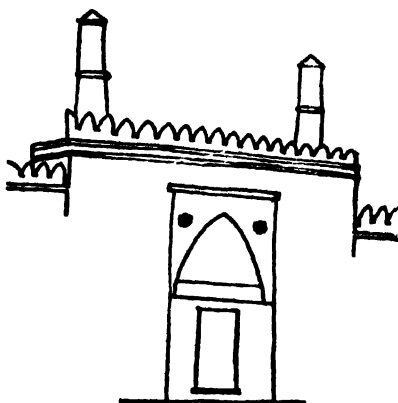


Fig. 12. The manāras of the Masjid of Haibat Khān, Aḥmadābād.

These manāras like those of the great mosque of Cambay, and of the mosque of Hilāl Khān Qāzi at Dholka stand on the top of the main entrance archway to the mosque.

1. *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, p.289; J. Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, London 1876 pp. 4-5; also *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmadābād Part I, op. cit.*, p.17.

Description. They are small round tapering towers, only 6 ft. high. They are generally plain, and the only decoration in them can be seen on the carved ring-moulding which divides them into two sections. The crowning member is conical, and is decorated with horizontal rib-mouldings.

Date. No inscription remains in the mosque to give the date. Burgess¹ thought that it was built at the same time as the mosque of Aḥmad Shāh in the citadel, i.e. about 817/1414.

General Observations. The conical top, which is derived from local Jaina architecture, makes its first appearance in these turrets, and is destined to become later a characteristic feature of the *ma'dhanas* of Gujarāt mosques. Except for the top, the manāras resemble the Tughlaqian gateway turrets described above.

The Manāras of Miyān Khān Chishtī's Mosque, Aḥmadābād (Pl. 51.)

These two manāras flank the main arched entrance to the mosque, and stand above it.

Description. They are stepped square up to the height of the mosque-facade, but above become round. The round section is divided into two parts by a projecting cornice carried on carved brackets. The entire height of the manāras is profusely 'carved. They are crowned by stilted domes.

Date. The mosque is said to have been built in 870/1465 by Malik Maqṣūd Wazīr for one of the famous Chishtī family of holy men.²

General Observations. The manāras are elegant, and their dimensions give the impression that they are *ma'dhanas* rather than turrets. As the stairs of the mosque are not built within the towers,

1. *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmadābād, part I, op. cit.*, p. 20.

2. J. Burgess, *Muhammadian Architecture of Aḥmadābād, part I, op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

but are in the thickness of the wall behind, these *manāras* could not be used by the *mu'adhdhans*, who appear to have called the Faithful to prayer from the roof. The domical top of the *manāras* is indeed unique in the Gujarāt style, and was probably imitated later on in the *ma'dhanas* of Burhānpūr.

DECCAN

The *Manāras* of the Ikhlas Khān's Masjid, Bijāpur (Pl. 52.)

These *manāras* stand over the piers of the central archway of the mosque. One of them was found broken during the archaeological survey made at the beginning of this century.

Description. They stand above the mosque facade with shafts about equal to the height of the mosque, and are divided into three main sections by horizontal mouldings. The bottom section forming the base is square in design, but the main shaft in the middle is octagonal. The octagonal section is further divided into three parts by ring-mouldings. Above the octagonal section the *manāras* are round for a little way up, and then are surmounted by bulbous cupolas. From the octagonal section, the *manāras* taper upwards.

Date. The mosque was built at the end of the 10th/16th century.¹

General Observations. It is likely that the arrangement of the *manāras* was influenced by the gateway *manāras* noticed above. Their design, however, is in keeping with the local style. The *manāras* of Ibrāhīm's old Jāmi' Masjid (end of the 10th/16th century) is built in the same fashion.

1. 'H. Cousens, *Bijapur and its Architectural Remains*, Bombay 1916, p. 49. Ikhlas Khān, whose name is associated with this mosque, was a noble at the court of Ibrāhīm II.

MUGHAL

The Manāras of the Jamālī Masjid, Delhi

(Pl. 53.)

These manāras flank the portal of the mosque.

Description. They are round narrow towers and rise about the same height as the portal itself. The entire height is divided into four sections by carved ring-mouldings, and all the sections are patterned with angular and round flutings.

Date. The mosque was erected in 935/1528 by Jamālī¹ during the reign of Bābur.

General Observations. The manāras are important, because they mark the beginning of a style which became almost an inevitable feature in the later Mughal architecture. They appear to have been inspired by the Tughlaqian gateway turrets, but were adapted in their present design to suit the new Iranian type of portals. The flutings of the manāras are a probable derivation from those of the Quṭb Manāra or of the manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmīr.

SŪR

The Manāras of the Qila-i-Kuhna Masjid, Delhi

These manāras are mere imitations of those of the Jamālī Masjid except that the lowest storey of the present manāras is built of marble and is octagonal in design, and that they are surmounted by a stumpy head. The mosque was erected in 948/1541.¹

1. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 171. His name was Shaikh Fazl-i-lah *alias* Jalāl Khān, but better known by his *nom de plume* of Jamālī. He was a traveller and a man of great literary fame.

MUGHAL

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Fathpur-Sikri

(Pl. 54.)

Like the manāras of the Jamali or the Qila'-i-Kuhna Masjid these manāras also flank the entrance portal of the mosque.

Description. They are divided into six sections by ring-mouldings. The lowest, third and fifth sections are polygonal while the second and fourth are round and fluted. The topmost part is round and a little tapering, and surmounted by a lotus finial. Except the lowest section which is plain, all other polygonal parts are ornamented with a carved chevron pattern.

Date. The mosque was erected in 979/1571.¹

General Observations. The manāras were imitated in the Guland Darwāzas, erected a few years later. The four turrets, in two pairs, on the outer sides of the abutments of the Darwāza, are divided into eight sections² instead of six, and the second and seventh sections are fluted. For variety's sake plain flat bands of buff-coloured stone have been introduced here and there.

The Manāras of the Mausoleum Of Akbar, Sikandara

These two polygonal manāras flanking the portal of the tomb are divided into six sections by horizontal ring-mouldings, and are decorated with marble inlay of chevron design in all the five lower sections. The topmost part which is ornamented with vertical stripes of marble inlay has a moulded anulet at its neck and is surmounted by a small cupola which rests on a cluster of sculptured petals. The petals together form a pot-design with crenellated

1. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

1. E. W. Smith, *The Mughal Architecture of Fathpur-Sikri*, vol. IV, Allahābad 1898, pp. 4 & 15.

2. This is due to the greater height of the turrets.

rim. The manāras mark the high watermark of the gateway turrets, and were later on almost exactly reproduced in the portals of the tomb of Itimadu-d-daula or of the Tāj Mahal. Akbar's mausoleum was completed by Jahāngīr in 1022/1613-14.¹

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Agra

(Pl. 55.)

Although these two manāras flanking the portal of this mosque follow the same polygonal design of their predecessors, their crowning member sets forth a new style hitherto associated only with large towers. This style consists in transforming the simple cupola into the cap of an open pavilion at the top of the turret. The pavilion became an almost inevitable feature of the later gateway turrets of this period. The mosque was erected in 1058/1648.²

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Delhi

The chief features of these two portal manāras are that they are round and fluted, and that they are surmounted, like the ones just described, by open pavilions. The flutings are a special characteristic – in fact a reversion to the early Mughal and Surī style and are to be seen in many subsequent turrets. The flutings of the gateway manāras of the Bādshāhī Masjid at Lahore (1085/1674) or of the Zinatu-l-Masjid (1122/1710) and the mausoleum of Safdar Jang (c. 1164/1750) in Delhi can be regarded as mere copies of the present turrets. The Jāmi' Masjid was erected during the years 1060-66/1650-55.³

1. E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, Allahabad*, 1909, pp. 32-35.
2. S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896 pp. 186-88.
3. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Atharu-s-Sanadid*, Part III, Delhi A. H. 1293, p. 7.

II. THE FRONT CORNER TURRET

MAMLUK

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Ajmīr

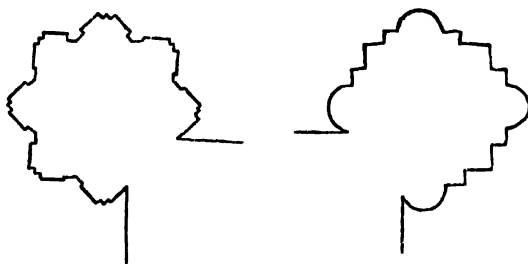


Fig. 13-14 The plan of the manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Ajmīr.

Besides the gateway *ma'dhanas* already described, the north-east and south-east corners of the great mosque are provided with manāras.

Description. These two manāras are different in design. Whereas the south-east manāra is stepped square with a round fluting on each of the square faces, the north-east one is square in its general plan with re-entrant angles in the corners and between them. The middle angles take the place of the flutings of the former tower, and by themselves, form the re-entrant angles of a small square, placed obliquely with the large square. The manāras were originally tall, but 'unhappily time and ages of neglect combined have brushed away more than two-thirds of the graceful minaret on the north-east, and quite half of its fellow on the south-east.'¹ When Garrick² measured them in this condition, the north-east tower stood 24 ft. 1 ins. and the south-east 34 ft. 7 ins. They measure 14 ft. 9 ins. in girth at the base.

The existing portions are decorated, at intervals, with raised bands ornamented with carved patterns, lozenges and diapers.

Date. The mosque was built in 596/1200.³

1. *ASIR* vol. . XXIII, p.36.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *ASIR*, vol. II, p. 261; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 15.

General Observations. Although in general design the surviving portions of the manāra resemble Hindu pillars, variations have been effected in them by providing round flutings in the one and a sort of double re-entrant angle in the other, so that they may be favourably compared with the flutings of the Quṭb Manāra. Hence some writers have regarded them as Muslim in design.¹

The manāras are the earliest extant examples of corner turrets in a mosque in India.

GUJARĀT

The Manāras Of Darwish 'Alī's or Ojā Bibī's Masjid,² Aḥmadābād

These manāras stand on the corners of the front facade of the little mosque.

Description. They are slender and tapering and are 30 ft. in height, divided into three sections by projecting cornices carried on carved brackets. The bottom section is stepped square and the upper two sections are octagonal, both being profusely carved with horizontal and other minute mouldings. The manāras are capped by a conical top which is decorated with horizontal mouldings and crowned by a finial.

Date. The mosque was erected in 910/1504.³

General Observations. The manāras represent some of the earliest examples of corner turrets in the mosque architecture of Gujarāt. Hitherto turrets were placed to flank the central archways of mosques but now a beginning was made to shift them to

1. J. Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised ed., vol. II, London 1910, p. 212.
2. It is not exactly known who was Darwish 'Alī or Ojā Bibī. In the inscription it is called the Masjid of Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāh bin Muḥammad Shāh (J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 294).
3. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

the front corners of the buildings. Some of the finest front corner turrets in Gujarāt were built a few years later. The manāras were possibly inspired by such *ma'dhanas* as are to be seen on the corners of the Sayyid 'Uthmān's mosque.

The Manāras of Ibrāhīm Sayyid's Masjid, Aḥmadābād.

These manāras stand similarly to those just described.

Description. They are 23 ft in height, and are divided into three sections by projecting cornices supported on brackets. The lower section is stepped square, the middle is octagonal, and the upper is round. The manāras are decorated all through with horizontal mouldings and other details of ornamentation usual with the style of Gujarāt.

Date and General Observations. The manāras resemble those of Darwīsh 'Alī's mosque, but the tapering here is more rapid from the second section, and the third section is round. The date of erection was probably about the same time.

The Manāras of Bawā 'Alī Shah's¹ and Gumtī Masjids,² Aḥmadābād (Pl. 56.)

These manāras on the front corners of the respective mosques are almost identical with those of Ibrāhīm Sayyid's Masjid. Insignificant differences can be noticed in the details of carving, and in the cup-shaped crowning member of the manāras of the Gumtī Masjid. The mosques were probably erected about the same time as Ibrāhīm Sayyid's mosque, i.e. c.910/1504.

- 1. The mosque of Bawā 'Alī Shah stands on the south of the little village of Paldi Kochrab, across the river from Aḥmadābād.
- 2. The Gumtī mosque is at Isānpur, a village about three miles south of the city.

**The Manāras Of Rānī Siparī's Masjid,¹ Aḥmadābād
(Pl.57.)**

Like the turrets described above, these manāras also stand on the corners of the front facade of the mosque.

Description. They are slender and tall towers. The whole length of the manāras is divided into four sections by projecting cornices supported on brackets. The bottom section is stepped square, the second section is octagonal, and the upper two are round. From the second section the manāras taper towards the top. The top is capped by a conical member which is decorated with horizontal mouldings and crowned by a finial. All the sections of the manāras are profusely carved with ring-mouldings and other details of ornamentation common in Gujarāt towers. The mouldings of the upper two sections are, however, plain and thinly spread.

Date. The mosque was erected in 920/1514.²

General Observations. The manāras are exquisite in design, and are probably the most graceful in Gujarāt. They are a class by themselves, and have imitations in the manāras of Shāh Khṛb Sayid's masjid (945/1538)³ and in those of Mariam Bibī's Masjid,⁴ both at Aḥmadābād.

1. Rānī Siparī, sometimes also called Rānī Sarābāi, was the wife of Sulṭān Maḥmud Begara (see the inscription over the central *Miḥrab* of the mosque in J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 290)
2. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
3. This mosque was built in the reign of Maḥmud Shāh III by a noble man, Nau Khān, who had the title of Farhatu-l-Mulk, in honour of Shāh Khub Sayyid Muḥammad Chishti, the saint (J. Burgess, *Muḥammadan Architecture of Aḥmadābād, part I, op. cit.*, p. 82.)
4. The mosque is undated, but was erected about the same time as the two others.

The Manāras of Fath Masjid, Aḥmadābād
(Pl. 52.)

These manāras, like the others described above, are on the front corners of the mosque.

Description. They are slender turrets of 25 ft. in height and are divided into three sections by carved projecting cornices. The first section is stepped square, the second section is octagonal and the third section is round. All the sections are plain and the decorations are confined in the few ring-mouldings which in the case of the lower section are continuous with the string-courses of the end walls. The top is capped by the usual conical member decorated with horizontal mouldings.

Date and General Observations. There is no inscription in the mosque to ascertain its date. The plainness of the mosque and the manāras, however, suggests that it was built some time about the middle of the 10th/16th century.

The Manāras of Alif Khān's Masjid, Aḥmadābād.

These manāras are the front extremities of the mosque. Up to the level of the roof, they are stepped square with numerous horizontal and other minute mouldings. Above that they are round and slightly tapering, and are divided into three sections by two plain ring-mouldings. These three upper sections are absolutely plain, and are surmounted by a conical top with stepped mouldings. The mosque was built in 961/1553-54.¹

The Manāras of The Gumādā Masjid, Patan
(Pl. 59.)

These manāras stand on the extreme ends of the front facade of the mosque.

Description. They are of two sections, the lower consisting of stone is stepped square in plan, and the upper consisting of brick

1. J. Burgess & H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 298; J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Aḥmadābād, part I op. cit.*, p. 43.

is octagonal in design. The upper part of the octagon is pierced with four elongated archways. The top of the manāras is surmounted by a cupola which is crowned with a finial.

The lower section of the manāras is ornamented with horizontal mouldings, and arched panels filled with carved filigree ornament. The upper section has simple string bands.

Date and General Observations. The lower section of the manāras is in the usual style of Gujarāt and probably dates earlier than the upper part which was probably rebuilt some time in the middle of the 11th/17th century. The cupolas of the manāras are bulbous, and indicate Mughal influence.

The Manāras of Nawāb Sardār Khān's Masjid, Aḥmadābād (Pl. 60)

These manāras stand on the front extremities of the mosque.

Description. They are built of brick and taper slightly. They are divided into four sections. The lower three sections are octagonal, but the topmost section is round. Between the first and the second sections is a projecting cornice carried on carved brackets, while between the other sections are projecting galleries, also supported on brackets. The manāras are surmounted by cupolas crowned with finials.

The decoration of the manāras is to be seen in the string mouldings at intervals, in the engrailed arch-motifs on some facets, and in the petals at the base and top of the domes.

Date. Although there is no inscription in the mosque, it is known that Nawāb Sardār Khān had been in Aḥmadābād between 1070-74/1659-1663. It is probable, therefore, that the mosque was built during this period of time.

General Observations. The manāras are interesting because they combine the local style with Mughal influences. The shafts, the mouldings and the galleries are local, while the engrailed arch-motifs and the domes are Mughal. The brick manāras both of

the mosque of Nawāb Shujāt Khān and of the Hidayat Bakhsh Masjid,¹ also at Aḥmadābād, are built in the same style. Both of them were built about the end of the 11th/17th century.

DECCAN

The Manāras of the Kālī Masjid, Bīdar

(Pl. 61.)

These manāras flank the front facade of the mosque. They are incomplete. Their upper parts were either never built or have been destroyed at a later time.

Description. They are octagonal in form rising from large stone pedestals which comprise a series of bands arranged one above the other but each decreasing in girth compared with the one below it. Their total height is 38 ft. 2 ins. at present, and the girth of the octagonal shafts is 10 ft. Below the roof level the shafts are divided into three sections by ring-mouldings, and above into two by a projecting cornice. In between is another projecting cornice on carved brackets, and it divides the entire shafts into two broad sections.

Date. The mosque bears no inscription giving an exact date, but from the style of its architecture it may be assigned to the early Barīdī period, that is, the first half of the 10th/16th century.²

General Observations. The manāras are important, because they may be regarded as the forerunners in shape of the future turrets of Bijāpūr.

The Manāras of the Masjid of 'Alī Barīd's Tomb, Bīdar

(Pl. 62)

These manāras are on the frontal corners of the mosque. They are slender in form, and built to imitate the manāras of

1. The fact that the mosque was also used as a madrasa refers to its name, *Hidayat Bakhsh*, which means 'imparting guidance' or teaching.
2. G. Yazdānī, *Bīdar, its History and Monuments*. Oxford 1947, p. 197.

the madrasa of Mahmūd Gāwān.¹ The lower part of the towers is, however, octagonal, and not round like that of the manāras of the madrasa. The mosque was probably erected at the same time as the tomb which, according to an inscription, was completed in 984/1576-77.²

The Manāras of the Masjid Near the Tomb of
Makhdūm Qādirī, Bīdar
(Pl. 63.)

These two manāras at the front corners of the mosque resemble in construction those of the Kālī Masjid but differ widely in ornamentation. The plaster cover is profusely moulded to produce various patterns, and the florid design of the balconies brings the turrets close to those of the Golcondā monuments.³ The mosque was probaly built in the middle of the 11th/17th century.⁴

The Manāras of the 'Idgāh, Bijāpur
(Pl. 64.)

These manāras stand as buttresses at the ends of the 'Idgāh wall. They are round in design, and taper towards the top. At the top is a room which is domed over, and to which access is had by a staircase through the wall in continuation of the pulpit steps. A triple-aisled window hangs on corbels at the back of each room. The manāras appear to have been influenced by Bahmānī towers. The 'Idgāh was erected in 945/1538.⁵

1. See Pl. 31.

2. *EIM*, 1927-8, pp. 29-30: G. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57.

3. See Pls. 71-72.

4. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

5. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

The Manāras of 'Ālī Shahīd Pīr's Masjid, Bijāpur
(Pl. 65.)

These manāras flank the front facade of the mosque.

Description. They may broadly be divided into two parts ; the lower up to the height of the roof is octagonal, and the upper above the roof is first square, and then octagonal and round. The cupolas which crown them are almost round, and are placed on lotus-petal motifs.

Date. Sayyid 'Ālī Shahīd, after whom the mosque is called, was one of Bijāpur's saints in the time of Sulṭān 'Ālī I (965-88/ 1558-1580). The Sulṭān is said to have constructed the mosque to the saint's memory.¹

General Observations. The manāras represent some of the earliest examples of the graceful turrets of Bijāpur.

The Manāras of the Haidariyyah Masjid, Bijāpur
(Pl. 66.)

These manāras are placed similarly to those of 'Ālī Shahīd Pīr's mosque. They, however, differ in shape. The lower part of the present turrets is square instead of octagonal, and their upper part is round instead of a variety of three designs. The mosque was built in 991/1583.²

The Manāras of the Rangīn Masjid, Bijāpur

Like those described above, those manāras occupy the front corners of the mosque and stand above them.

Description. They are octagonal in design, and are divided into seven sections by ring-mouldings. The lower four sections rising up to the level of the mosque-roof are plain, but the upper three

1, *Ibid.*, p. 63.

2. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

are decorated with stucco ornament. The round cupolas of the manāras are placed on sculptured petals, and are crowned by finials at the top.

Originally there were four pinnacle turrets over the mosque. Two of them were above the rear corners and two over the *miḥrāb*. They were probably built in imitation of the upper part of the front manāras.

Date. The mosque resembles in plan and design the 'Alī Shāhid Pīr's Masjid and Haidariyyah Masjid, and was probably built about the same time, i.e. towards the end of the 10th/16th century.

General Observations. The mosque represents one of the earliest examples of a building in Bijāpur where front corner and pinnacle turrets were combined to produce a more decorative effect for the top. The style became popular not only in Bijāpur but also in Golcondā.

The Manāras of Mālīka Jahān Begam's Masjid, Bijāpur
(Pl. 67)

Those manāras are also on the front corners of the mosque.

Description. They are octagonal throughout, and their entire height is divided into four sections by projecting cornices. The cornices above the level of the roof hold sculptured petals. The bulbous cupolas over the top of the manāras are also decorated with sculptured petals at the base, and were once crowned by metal finials and crescents.¹

Over the two rear corners of the mosque are two pinnacle turrets. These are built in imitation of the upper part of the manāras, but in smaller dimension.

Date. There is no inscription in the mosque, but its building is attributed to Ibrāhīm II who is said to have built it about 995/1586 in honour of his wife Mālīka Jahān.²

General Observations. The manāras are very graceful, and mark the height of their development in the turret-style of Bijāpur.

1. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

2. *Ibid.*

They were copied in many subsequent buildings, and were particularly adopted as the standard type during the reigns of Ibrāhīm II and his immediate successors. Some of the important buildings erected during this period with such manāras are the mosque of Ibrāhīm Rauza (988-1037/1580-1627)¹ and Miḥṭār Mahal (c.1030/1620) at Bijāpūr, the Shāhpūr mosques² and the mosque of Afzal Khān³ at Gulbarga.

**The Manāras of the Kālī Masjid at Lakshmeswar, Bijāpūr
(Pl. 68.)**

These manāras are of the same description as those we have already noticed in Mālīka Jahān Begam's mosque. But here there is an innovation. They have curious stone chains hanging from projecting cornices for decorative effect. These chains are cut of single slabs of stone, having all their links, in some cases double or in pairs, free and flexible.⁴ They generally had a globular pendant at the end, carved as a perforated hollow ball with a smaller ball inside.⁵ Before these were damaged by swinging to the winds of centuries, and by being further mutilated by the hand of man, 'the little building must have looked like a creation in silver filigree work rather than a substantial fabric in stone.'⁶ The mosque was probably erected at the end of the 10th/16th or the beginning of the 11th/17th century.

1. An interesting feature of the manāras of this mosque is to be noticed in the cluster of miniature turrets which encircles them at the level of the roof parapet.
2. Shāhpūr is a suburb of Bijāpūr. The dates of the mosques are not known; architecturally they have been placed after the mosque of Mālīka Jahān Begam.
3. Afzal Khān was the wazīr and general under Muhammad Shāh and 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II.
4. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*

The Manāras of The Miḥṭār Mahal Masjid, Bijāpur
(Pl. 69.)

These manāras occupy the front corners of the mosque and rise above its facade.

Description. The entire height of the towers is divided into four sections by projecting cornices. The two lower sections are octagonal, the third and fourth are round. The two lower cornices hold a balustrade of octagonal design, while the third contains a cluster of lotus petals. The top is marked by a simple ring-moulding and it is surmounted by a finial with a crowning *triśūl* motif.

Date The mosque was probably erected at about the same time as the Miḥṭār Mahal. i.e. c. 1030/1620.

General Observations. The manāras are unlike any others in Bijāpur and may have been derived from the design of Hindu columns.

The Manāras of the 'Idgāh at Koilkondā, Hyderābād
(Pl. 70)

These manāras are built similarly to those of the 'Idgāh at Bijāpur. There is, however, an interesting difference between them. The rooms on the top of the towers of the present 'Idgāh are wider in circumference than the shafts themselves, and give the impression of lanterns, so commonly used in the Quṭb Shāhī style. The 'Idgāh was probably erected by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh soon after his accession in 957/1550.¹

The Manāras of the Shaikhpet Masjid, Golkondā
(Pl. 71.)

These manāras stand on the front corners of the mosque and rise about double the height of the mosque-facade.

Description. They are octagonal in design, and are divided into three sections by two lanterns one in line with the roof-parapet, and the other a few feet above. Both the space enclosed by the

1. *ARHAD*, 1928-29, pp. 1-2.

lanterns and the topmost part of the towers are, however, round. The manāras are capped by bulbous cupolas which rest on two tiers of sculptured petals raised on three thick ring-mouldings. Originally the cupolas were crowned by finials.

There are traces of enamelled work on the manāras. The pieces of tiles generally measure $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 2 ins., and show a variety of colours consisting of blue, green and yellow.¹ They appear to have been arranged with great taste.

Over the corners of the mosque are two pinnacle turrets. These are built in imitation of the upper part of the manāras, but in smaller dimension. Over the front parapet, in line with the battlements, are two more: but these are very small, and prominence is given only to the tops which are similar to others.

Date. The mosque was erected in 1043/1633-34.²

General Observations. The manāras strongly resemble the towers of the Chār Manāra (Pls. 81-82.) and represent the typical Golcondā style. The manāras of the mosque (Pl. 72.) near the Golcondā tombs are the most beautiful examples of this type of turrets.

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid at Biloli, Nanded (Pl. 73.)

These manāras occupy the front corners of the mosque, and rise more than double the height of the mosque-facade.

Description. They are octagonal in design, and are divided into two sections by a pair of ring-mouldings below the eave-cornices of the facade. Above the cornice, the shafts are divided into four sections by three lanterns. The towers are surmounted by fluted cupolas which rest on sculptured petals, and are crowned by finials. The manāras are decorated by stone chains which hang from a cornice at their neck.

1. *ARHAD*, 1936-39, p. 3.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *EIM*, 1935-36, pp. 21-22.

Over the roof, in line with the front parapet, are four pinnacle turrets. These are built in imitation of the upper part of the manāras, but are much smaller in dimension.

Date. The mosque was erected in 1055/1645.¹

General Observations. The manāras may be regarded as blending the styles of Golcondā and Bijāpūr. The hanging stone chains show the influence of the Kālī Masjid of Lakshmeswar.²

MUGHAL

The Manāras of the Fathpūrī Masjid, Delhi

These manāras stand at the front corners of the mosque.

Description. They are tapering turrets of octagonal design, and rise at a considerable height above the mosque. The entire height of the shafts is divided into thirteen sections by ring-mouldings. All the sections are plain. The manāras are surmounted by a kiosk carried on eight slender pillars.

Date. The mosque was erected in 1060/1650 by Fathpūrī Begam, one of the wives of Emperor Shāh Jahān.³

General Observations. The manāras represent one of the several examples of this style in Delhi during the Mughal period, and certainly one of the earliest to be erected in this fashion. Other examples of this period in Delhi are to be seen in the Masjid-i-Akbarābādī (1060/1650)⁴ and in the Zinatu-l-Masjid (1122/1700) built by Zinatu-n-Nisa Begam, the daughter of Emperor Aurangzīb. The *ma'dhanas* of the Jāmi' Masjid of Delhi (1060-66/1650-55) are also built in this fashion.

1. *ARHAD*, 1917-28, p. 5.

2. See Pl. 69.

3. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

4. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *op. cit.*, Part III, p.19.

III THE REAR CORNER TURRET

LODI

The *Manāras* of the Barā Gumbad Masjid, Delhi

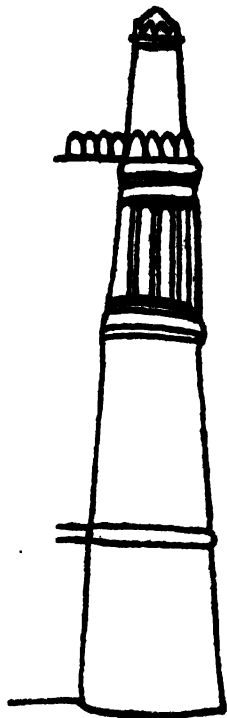


Fig. 15. The *Manāra* of the Barā Gumbad Masjid, Delhi

They are four in number, of which two stand at the rear corners of the building and two at the angles of the projection behind the *mihrāb*. They are built in the same Tughlaqian gateway turret design.¹ The two turrets at the back of the *mihrāb* are more slender than those at the ends, and produce a pleasant effect for the facade.

1. These turrets are divided into four sections by horizontal mouldings. Their third section is patterned by flutings.

The mosque was erected in 900/1494.¹ The turrets of the Moth-Kī-Masjid (c.911/1505), also in Delhi, are built in similar fashion.²

JAUNPŪR

The Manāras of the Atalā Masjid, Jaunpūr

(Pl. 74.)

There are eight manāras at the rear wall of the mosque : two are at the extreme corners of the building, and six are at the angles of the three rectangular projections corresponding to each of the principal compartments of the interior.

Description. These manāras are also built in imitation of the Tughlaqian gateway turrets. The manāras at the extreme corners and those at the back of the principal *miḥrāb* are larger in dimension than the others. The larger turrets are round throughout, but the lower parts of the smaller turrets are octagonal in design.

Date. The mosque was built in 811/1408.³

General Observations. The resemblance of the manāras to those of the Khirkī, Begampuri and Kalān Masjids of Delhi may be explained by the fact that the Atalā Masjid was caused to be erected on the foundations prepared by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq some thirty years before. Thus, once these manāras had been built at the back facade of the mosque and were considered beautiful, they were copied unhesitatingly in the next Jaunpūr mosques—the Lāl Darwāza Masjid (c. 854/1450) and the Jāmi' Masjid (c. 883/1478). Both the Lāl Darwāza and the Jāmi' Masjids have four turrets each : two at the extreme rear corners and two at the angles of the projection behind the *miḥrāb*. All are round in design.

1. CHI, vol. III, p. 595 ; M. Hurliman, *Delhi, Agra, Fatehpūr-Sikrī*, London 1965, p. 133.
2. These turrets are divided into six sections by horizontal mouldings. Their fourth section is fluted.
3. A Fuhrer & E. W. Smith, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpur*, Calcutta 1889, pp. 33 & 40.

*SUR***The Manāras of the Qilā'-i-Kuhna Masjid, Delhi**

These two manāras at the exterior angles of the *miḥrāb* projection are similar in design to those noticed above. They are divided into four sections, of which the bottom section is octagonal and the others round. The mosque was erected in 948/1541.

*MUGHAL***The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Fathpur Sikri**

Those two manāras are also built at the exterior angles of the central *miḥrāb* projection, and are polygonal in design throughout. They were built to imitate the gateway manāras of the Masjid (979/1571).

IV THE CORNER TURRET

MAMLUK

The Manāras of the Sulṭān Ghari, Delhi

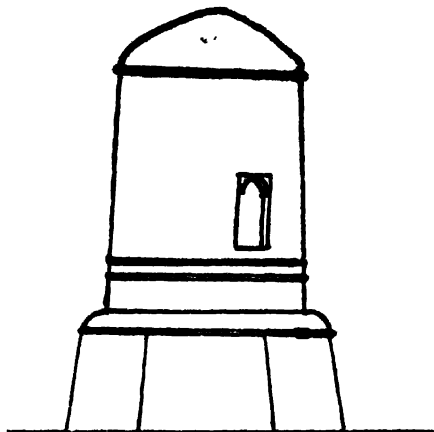


Fig. 16. A Manāra of the Sulṭān Ghari, Delhi

These manāras stand on all four corners of the tomb of Prince Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, locally known as Sulṭān Ghari (Cave King).¹

Description. They stand on octagonal rubble plinths, and are of red sandstone ashlar masonry. The shafts are round in design and slightly taper towards the top which consists of a corbelled pyramidal dome. A plain string moulding embraces the towers on the springing line of the dome and at the bottom.

Date. The tomb was erected in 629/1231.²

General Observations. The manāras appear to be the earliest examples of towers at the corners of a tomb in Indo-Muslim archi-

1. The name 'Sulṭān Ghari' makes its first appearance in 1263/1846 in the *Atharu-s-Sanādāt* of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. Sayyid Ahmad quotes no authority, but gives the name to the tomb possibly by reason of the vaulted crypt (*ghar*) in which Prince Nāsiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd is buried (*Ancient India*, No. 3, p. 5).

2. *Ibid.*

ture.¹ They subsequently inspired the Tughlaqian architects to imitate turrets of similar design for some of their monuments,

The Manāras of Balban's Masjid at Jalālī, 'Aligarh
(Pl. 75.)

These manāras stand on all four corners of the mosque.

Description. They are built of brick and plaster, and are square in design tapering slightly towards the top. The two front shafts rise slightly above the level of the top of the domes, but the two on the rear corners only rise slightly above the roof parapet of the mosque. All the manāras are surmounted by domes crowned with gilt finials.

Date. The mosque was erected in 665/1266-67.²

General Observations. The mosque underwent subsequent repairs at least four times—twice in the Mughal period and twice in modern times,³ with the consequence that the mosque now gives a late Mughal or modern appearance. The manāras, however, appear to have formed part of the original building⁴, for when Carlleyle⁵ visited the monuments at about 1299/1875 he saw numerous ruined tombs and small mosques at Jalālī 'in the *old pathān* style' with 'pillar-like shafts or small minarets, attached to the corners of them'.

The shape of the manāras is significant, because in them we have some of the earliest known examples in Indo-Muslim architecture of *manāras*.

1. Parts of the towers were probably 're-erected' by Sulṭān Firuz Shāh Tughluq (Elliot and Dowson, *HI, Firuz Shah*, Calcutta 1953, p. 129 ; *CHI*, vol. III, p. 580).
2. *ARASI*, 1914-15, pp. 151-154.
3. *Ibid.*
4. The domes of the manāras are apparently Mughal.
5. *ASIR*, vol. XII, pp. 13-14.

TUGHLAQ

The Manāras of the tomb of Rukn-i-'Ālam, Multān
(Pl. 76.)

These manāras are attached to all the eight corners of the first storey of the octagonal tomb. The upper storey is without towers.

Description. They are of brick material, and are above 50 ft. in height. Built in a round shape they taper towards the top, and rise a little above the parapet of the first storey. They end in bulbous domes with finials at the top.

The manāras and the walls of the tomb are decorated by bands of carved wood being sunk into the body at appropriate intervals.

Date. It is recorded that the tomb was erected by the order of Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq during the years 720/1320—725/1324.¹

General Observations. The manāras form a prominent architectural feature of the tomb, and inaugurated a style which was imitated even during the time of Akbar. The turrets of the tombs of Mai Jawindī and Hazrat Bahawāl Halīm at Uch (8th/14th century) are built similarly to the present manāras. The turrets of the Sawī Masjid at Multān (10th/16th century) and those of the tomb of Adham Khān in Delhi (969/1561) are also built in similar fashion.

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Badaun
(Pl. 77.)

The manāras stand at the four corners of the building, and rise a little above the mosque wall.

Description. They are constructed of sandstone blocks up to more than half of their height, but above are built of bricks. The towers which taper towards the top are octagonal at the base and round above. All the manāras are richly ornamented in their upper

1. P. Brown, *op. cit.* p. 31.

parts with glazed tiles forming patterns of geometric tracery, and are crowned with fluted onion-shaped domes.

The manāras were copied in miniature at the corners of the rectangular projection behind the *mihrāb*. These small towers rise from the middle of the projection, and are built of brick and plaster.

Date and General Observations. Although the mosque was originally erected in 650/1223¹ by Shamsu-d-din Iltutmish, there is little except its general form that can now be ascribed to the time of the Sulṭān. The manāras are evidently part of a restoration effected in 727/1326 during the reign of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq² and were probably inspired in their design by the corner turrets of the tomb of Rukn-i-‘Ālam at Multān erected only a few years before. Their domes, however, appear to be modern.³ The miniature towers at the back of the *mihrāb* were probably also built during the time of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq.

The Manāras of the Kalān Masjid, Delhi

These manāras stand at the four corners of the mosque. They are round and tapering in design, and bear a resemblance to the turrets of the Sulṭān Ghari.⁴ They also resemble the manāras of the Khirkī Masjid,⁵ erected by the same Khān-i-Jahān Jauna Shāh who erected the present mosque in 789-1387.

LODI

The Manāras of the Chaurāsī Gumbaz, Kālpī

There are four manāras in all, and they stand at the corners of the mausoleum. They are similar in design to the rear corner

1. *ASIR*, vol. XI, p. 5 ; *MASI*, No. 19, p. 2.

2. *CHI*, vol. III, p. 624.

3. *MASI*, No. 19, p. 5.

4. See Fig. 16.

5. See Pl. 34.

turrets of the Barā Gumbad Masjid or the Moth-kī-Masjid with the exception that the present manāras are octagonal throughout. Their upper part is decorated with carved panels containing arched niches and other geometrical and floral devices. They are crowned with fluted domes with finials at the top. The mausoleum is known to have been erected by 'Lodī Shāh Bādshāh'.¹

BENGAL

The Manāras of the Adina Masjid, Hazrat Pāndua

(Pl. 78.)

These manāras at the four corners of the mosque are now standing in a much dilapidated condition.

Description. They are contained within the corners of the mosque, and their base starts a few feet above the ground. The base is pot-shaped and is profusely ornamented with mouldings. Above the base the shafts are round, and are divided into two sections by a horizontal string course which continues through the wall. The lower part of each of these sections is decorated with flutings. The towers rise no higher than the level of the cornice of the mosque.

Date. The mosque was erected in 776/1375.²

General Observations. The manāras appear to be the first example in a Muslim monument in Bengal of decorative corner towers. It is not exactly certain if the arrangement and design of these turrets are the result of the local architect's independent thought, or are derived from the towers of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ajmīr. The mosque in its general plan and decorative detail, indeed, bears some resemblance to that mosque. The manāras were later on imitated in the Gumtī Gate (A.H. 918/1512) and the Lattan Masjid (early 9th/15th century) at Gaur.

1. *MA SI* No. 19, p. 6. He does not seem to have been correctly identified.
2. Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. IV, Rājshāhī 1960, pp. 35-38 ; A. H. Dānī, *Muslim Architecture in Bengal*, Dacca 1968, p. 55.

The Manāras of the Eklākhī Mausoleum, Hazrat Pāndua

These manāras are attached to the four corners of the building. Their upper parts are ruined now.

Description. They are octagonal in design and their entire height is divided into several sections by horizontal mouldings. The narrow spaces between two mouldings are decorated with various designs, while the wide ones are ornamented with engrailed arched niches from the top of which hangs Hindu chain and bell motif. The middle moulding which is thicker than the rest runs round the building. The towers do not appear to have extended beyond the parapet wall, but it is likely that they were crowned by cupolas.

Date. The mosque was probably erected between 816/1413 and 831/1427.¹

General Observations. The idea of such corner manāras was probably derived from the style of the Delhi Sultanate, but unlike the corner towers of the Mamlūk or Tughlaq monuments, the shafts here are octagonal and do not taper at all. The manāras exercised a great influence not only on several subsequent buildings at Gaur, the later and more important capital of the Sulṭāns of Bengal, but also on many local buildings. The towers, for instance, of the Cham-katti Masjid (880/1475), the Darasbārī Masjid (884/1479), the Tānti-pārā Masjid (885/1480), the Bara Sonā Masjid (932/1526), the Gunpant Masjid (early 10th/16th century) of Gaur, and Bābā Adam's Masjid at Rāmpāl (888/1483), the Bāghā Masjid (930/1523), and the Kushumbā Masjid (966/1558) Rājshāhī are only a few of the many surviving examples of such turrets.

The Manāras of the Dakhil Darwāza, Gaur.

(Pl. 79.)

These maṣāras were built at the four corners of the Darwāza and are much ruined now. Only one of them survives today about its original height.

1. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 88.

Description. The latter is round in design and is divided into five sections by terracotta bands of fretted design. All the sections are patterned with regular vertical sunk panels which contain engrailed arch-motifs from the top of which hang chain and bell design. The tower tapers a little towards the top.

Date. The Dakhil Darwāza is said to have been built by Barbāk Shāh (865-79/1450-74).

General Observations. Except for the decorative detail which shows local influence, the manāras appear to have been designed in imitation of the corner-towers of the Kalān Masjid of Delhi.¹

The Manāras of the Qadam Rasūl, Gaur

The plan and shape of these manāras on the four corners of the building are similar to those of the turrets of the Eklākhi Mausoleum. But unlike the Eklākhi turrets the present manāras end in a tapering pinnacle which rises several feet high above the building. The pinnacles were originally crowned by small cupolas resting on sculptured petals, and were ornamented by the neck with a pair of ring-mouldings. The building was erected in 937/1531.² The turret of the Jahaniyān Masjid which was built four years later were modelled after these towers of the Qadam Rasūl.

The Manāras of the Tomb of Hajī Khwāja Shāhbāz, Dacca.

These manāras are built at the four corners of the building.

Description. Like the turrets of the Eklākhi Mausoleum and other buildings, they are octagonal in design and are divided into several sections by horizontal mouldings. The number of mouldings are, however, less in the present manāras and they look more plain in appearance. Instead of the squat dome of the Sultanate

1. See Fig. 11.

2. *ASIR*, vol. XV, p. 55.

period, the manāras here are surmounted by kiosks consisting of a cupola and an eave-cornice carried by eight slender columns.

The facets of the shafts are panelled and these panels are ornamented with engrailed arch-motifs.

Date. The tomb was erected in 1089/1679.¹

General Observations. The manāras are a blending of the local and the imperial style of the Mughals. In the divided octagonal design, they show local influence, but in the cupola and in the simple engrailed arch-motifs the manāras exhibit Mughal derivation.² The towers represent a style commonly used at this time in the Mughal provincial capital. Some of the subsequent important buildings with such turrets are the Lālbāgh Masjid (1090/1679), Allākuri Masjid (c. 1091/1680), the tomb of Bībī Parī (1095/1684), and Kartalāb Khān's Masjid (c. 1112/1700).

GUJARĀT

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Chāmpānīr.

These four manāras stand on the four corners of the prayer hall, and are miniature copies of the *ma'dhanas* of the mosque.³ *Manāras* on four corners appear to be exceptional in Gujarāt.

DECCAN

The Manāras of the Tomb of Ibrāhīm Rauza, Bijāpur.

These manāras occupy the four corners of the square tomb and are designed similarly to those of the Malika Jahān Begam's mosque. The only notable variation is to be noticed in the balustrade

1. Munshī Rahmān 'Alī, *Tawārīkh-i-Dhaka*, 1910, p.255 ; A. H. Dani, *op. cit.*, p.199.
2. It appears that the engrailed arch-motifs were originally borrowed by the Mughals from Bengal. The Mughals however discarded the Hindu chain and bell design of the Bengal motifs.
3. See Pl. 21.

manāras which encircle the towers at the level of the roof parapet. This kind of balustrade appears to be a special feature of the reign of Ibrāhīm II. The tomb is one of the few examples of monuments in Bijāpūr with attached turrets on all the four corners. It was erected about 1037/1627-28.¹

The Manāras of the Gol Gumbaz, Bijāpūr

(Pl. 80.)

These manāras are also on the four corners of the tomb, and are built in proportion to the gigantic structure.

Description. They are octagonal in design and are divided into seven storeys by projecting balconies carried on moulded brackets. The octagonal storeys are pierced in each of their faces by pointed arches placed in rectangular panels. Narrow staircases wind up through the corners of the building where the towers join it, and passages lead out from them on to each of the pigeon-holed storeys. The manāras are surmounted by eight pinnacle turrets on the corners and are crowned by a bulbous dome with sculptured lotus petals at the base. The finial of the dome is in the form of a spike.

Date. The date of the death of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh whose tomb is this Gol Gumbaz is recorded over the main doorway as 1067/1656.²

General Observations. The manāras are copied in the tomb of Jahān Begam, the wife of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, at Ainapūr, and are imitated in a lesser scale in the Tāj Baurī in the west end of the city. It is not improbable that all the three buildings were planned by the same architect whose name, unfortunately, is not known.

1. This date is inscribed in the tomb, and records the year of the Sultān's death (H Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 75)
2. *Ibid.* p. 104

The Chār Manāra, Hyderābād
(Pls. 81-82)

Among the monuments of Hyderābād, the stately Chār Manāra is indeed the most interesting. It has four towers on its four corners. Hence its name 'Chār Manāra' (Four Towers).

Description. The building is a square monument of 100 ft. a side. Its ground storey consists of four spreading archways one in each side and each of 36 ft. span. The corner manāras are each 186 ft. in height, but to minimise their height to the observer, the architect has erected a double screen of arched openings on the top of the roof between them. These manāras are decagonal in plan, and are divided into four sections by arched lanterns profusely ornamented with mouldings. Each of the manāras is ascended by an interior spiral staircase and is surmounted by a proportionate bulbous dome. Like the lanterns, at the base of the dome is a ring of sculptured petals.

Date. The Chār Manāra was erected in 1000/1593.¹

Restoration. During Khwāja Bahādur Dil Khān's governorship of Golcondā the southwest manāra was struck by lightning and destroyed.² It was reconstructed at a cost of Rs. 60,000 from a sum left by a rich merchant who died during Khwāja Bahādur Dil Khān's time.³ The building which showed signs of decay was thoroughly renovated about the year 1298/1880.⁴

General Observations. The Chār Manāra is one of the earliest surviving monuments of the Quṭb Shāhī period at Hyderābād. It has exercised a great influence on the subsequent architectural style of the Quṭb Shāhī Sultāns. The lanterns of the towers of the building which later on became so characteristic of Golcondā monuments appear to have been derived from Iran, where examples of

1. *JHAS*, 1917. p. 30.

2. *Ibid.* Khwāja Bahādur Dil Khān was appointed as governor of Golcondā after its conquest by Aurangzīb.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

manāra-lanterns pre-dating this monument are still to be seen in the Jāmi' Masjid of Isfahān¹ and the mosque of Gawhar Shād at Mashhād (808/1405-06).

The building appears to have been constructed as a gateway in front of the beautiful piazza on which the lofty portals of the royal palaces opened.² The vivid account of Thevenot,³ who saw the buildings of Hyderābād in their full glory in 1078/1667, confirms the above hypothesis. He writes that the king's palace extended to the four towers where it terminated in a lofty pavilion wherein the king sat and used to give audience to the people. The Chār Manāra on such occasions apparently served the purpose of an audience hall. The traveller further writes that in the top storey of the Chār Manāra there was a water reservoir from where pipes were laid to the highest apartments of the palace. In the upper storey of the building, flanking the manāras, there are apartments, said to have been originally used by professors and students.⁵

The Manāras of the Toli Masjid, Hyderābād

(Pl. 83.)

These manāras occupy the four corners of the mosque, and stand about double the height of the mosque facade. They are built in similar design to that of the Shaikhpēt Masjid,⁴ but are more profusely decorated with stucco ornamentation at the upper part. The rear manāras are much smaller in dimension than those at the front. Like the Shaikhpēt Masjid, this mosque also contains five miniature turrets in line with the front parapet. The Toli Masjid was erected in 1082/1671.⁷

1. *JHAS*, 1917, p. 30

2. The manāras of the prayer hall iwān are dated 9th/15th century.

3. *ARHAD*, 1918-19, p. 3.

4. Quoted in *JHAS*, 1917, pp. 39-40.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 30; *ARHAD*, 1918-19, p. 3.

6. See Pl. 71.

7. *ARHAD*, 1916-17, p. 3.

The Manāras of the Tomb of Abdullah Quṭb Shāh, Golconda.

These manāras are built at the corners of the first and second storeys of the square tomb. They are similar in design to that of the Toli Masjid except that the upper part of the present manāras has one lantern instead of two. Over the sides of the upper storey there are sixteen pinnacle turrets, the arrangement being four on each side. They are in line with the merlons of the parapet. According to an inscription in the tomb, Abdu-l-lah Quṭb Shāh died in 1083/1672.¹

MUGHAL

The Manāras of the southern gateway of Akbar's Tomb, Sekandara (Pl. 84.)

These four manāras surmount the beautiful gateway at each corner. Rising, as they do, considerably above the roof of the building, these towers may be seen for miles around. .

Description. They are circular in design, and diminish in diameter from the base to the summit. They are constructed of red sandstone material, but are veneered on the outside with white marble. Their entire height is divided into four storeys by projecting balconies. The first storey is again divided into two decorative tiers. The lower tier or base is divided into panels while the second tier has two bands of plain ashlar at the top and bottom, and the space between them is ornamented with flutings. Crowning the second tier is the first balcony which rests on dentils. The second and the third storeys are perfectly plain but the separating balcony is carried on massive moulded brackets. Over the topmost balcony which also rests on moulded brackets is the fourth storey consisting of the open pavilion. The pavilion has eight slender pillars carrying

1. *EIM*, 1907-08, p. 26.

an octagonal eave-cornice and a cupola. The manāras are reached from the ground by means of winding staircases built into the sides of a domed hall in the centre of the gateway.

Date. The gateway was erected in 1022/1613-4.¹

Restoration and Repair. The third and fourth storeys of the manāras are modern, and were restored in harmony with the lower storeys in 1323/1905 by order of Lord Curzon.² It is not definitely known when they fell, but the general belief is that they were destroyed by the Jats when they sacked Agra in 1178/1764.³ In 1197/1782-83, the towers were seen as broken by Hughes, an artist.⁴ In the restoration no difficulty was experienced, because 'the indications given by the surviving remains themselves and the practically unchangeable laws which governed the construction of Mughal buildings in Jahāngīr's reign left no room for doubt as to what the original had been'.⁵ In 1234/1815 and 1240/1824 repairs were done to the tomb,⁶ but it is not known exactly what was done. In 1299/1881 'the cores and staircases' of the towers were made 'thoroughly sound', and the courses were clamped together with galvanised iron clamps.⁷

General Observations. The manāras are very graceful, and may be regarded as the forerunners of the Tāj Mahal turrets. Previously a manāra of this type had not appeared in the architecture of northern India, but it emerges here, surprisingly, not as an experiment but as a fully developed and aesthetically appropriate form. It is not certain if the idea of such gateway turrets was inspired by the towers of the Chār Manāra, erected only a few years earlier at Hyderābād. In outline and design, however, they certainly differ from the turrets of that Decāni building, and show greater similitude to the Mongol and Timurid manāras of Iran.

1. E. W. Smith, *Akbar's Tomb*, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-35.

2. *ARASI*, 1905-6, p. 29; E. W. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 19n.

3. S. M. Laṭīf, *Agra, historical and descriptive*, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

4. *ARASI*, 1905-6, p. 28.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

The Manāras of the Tomb of Itimadu-d-daulah, Agra
(Pl. 85.)

These manāras stand at the four corners of the building. They are faced with marble, and are octagonal in their lower storey. This storey rises up to the top of the building where it is encircled by a cornice on carved brackets. Above the octagonal storey, the towers are circular, and rise to a considerable height above the mausoleum until they spread out into a graceful balcony supported by carved brackets and surmounted by a cupola resting on eight pillars. The balcony is reached by a sandstone staircase inside the towers.

Both the octagonal and circular storeys of the manāras are inlaid with rare coloured stones representing various kinds of flowers, cypress trees, vases and other motifs of decoration in arabesque. By their delicacy of design and combination of artistic merit these inlay works (some of which are recognised as *pietra dura*) produce a great beauty of the manāras. The tomb was erected in 1038/16281.¹

The Manāras of the Tomb of Jahāngīr at Shāhdārā, Lahore
(Pl. 86.)

These four manāras stand at the corners of the building. They are ~~the~~ most prominent feature of the tomb, and a full view of the surrounding country may be obtained from their summits.

Description. They are octagonal in design, and rise to a height of nearly 100 ft. above the ground level. The entire height is divided into five storeys by projecting balconies carried on carved brackets. The shafts are inlaid throughout with zigzag bands of variegated marble and magnificent blocks of yellow stone, and are surmounted by a marble pavilion. A spiral staircase inside the manāras leads to the various galleries and the platform of the pavilion.

1. S. M. Latif, *Agra, historical and descriptive*, op. cit., p. 184 ; H. G. Keene, *A hand book for visitors to Agra*, Calcutta 1809, p. 37.

Date. The tomb was completed about 1047/1637.¹

Repair. The manāras were repaired by the Department of Archaeology in 1323-24/1905-6²

General Observations. In the imperial architecture of the Meghals, the manāras represent the beginning a new tower design. They appear to have been derived from such Central Asian towers as are to be seen in the tomb of Bibi Khānum at Samarqand. Instead of the Timurid preference for coloured tiles, the builder used here coloured marble in the ornamentation of the red sandstone manāras; and this harmonising with the decorative effect of the body of the structure, speaks of their elegant beauty. The style continued during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and was imitated in an austere form by his son Aurangzib.

The Manāras of the Tāj Mahal, Agra.

(Pl. 87)

These famous manāras stand at the corners of the square terrace of the mausoleum.

Description. They are made of pure white marble, and are round in design. The base, however, is polygonal. They are 133 ft. in height and taper slightly towards the top. The entire height of the towers is divided into three storeys excluding the crowning pavilion. At the top of each storey is a circular gallery which rests on carved brackets. The pavilion consists of a cupola with an eave-cornice as a collar, and is supported on eight slender pillars. A spiral staircase inside the manāras leads towards the top.

Date. The Tāj Mahal was erected during the years 1041-53/1631-48.³

1. Jahāngir died in 1037/ 1627, and according to Muḥammad Ṣāleḥ, the author of *Shah Jahan Namah*, Shāh Jahān built the monument at a cost of one million rupees, and it took ten years to finish (S. M. Latif, *Lahore*, Lahore p. 107)
2. *ARASI*, 1905—6. P. 1.
3. S. M. Latif, *Agra*, *historical and descriptive*, op. cit., pp. 105& 115.

General Observations. The manāras are of exquisite proportions, and provide the tomb with its chief architectural claim to beauty. How bare and incomplete appear the tombs of Humāyūn (980/1572) and Abdu-r-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān ¹ compared to this mausoleum. The tombs of Humāyūn and Khān Khānān may however be regarded as the forerunners of the Tāj Mahal.

The Manāras of the Fathpūrī Masjid, Agra

(Pl. 88.)

These manāras are attached to the four corners of the prayer hall of the mosque.

Description. They are octagonal in design, and rise a little above the parapet of the mosque. The entire height of the towers is divided into four sections—the lower three composing the shaft and the fourth forming the pavilion. Of the dividing members, the first and topmost ones are open galleries, while the middle one is an eave-cornice which runs round the entire building. The most significant characteristic of the manāras is the panel-decoration which consists of a series of rectangular panels in each facet. The panels contain arched niches of engrailed design.

Date. The mosque was built by Fathpūrī Begam, one of the wives of Emperor Shāh Jahān.²

General Observations. The manāras closely resemble the *ma'dhanas* of the mosque of Wazīr Khān at Lahore (1044/1634-5), and represent a type of turrets commonly noticed in the contemporary and subsequent Mughal mosques and tombs. Some notable examples of monuments with such towers are the Jāmi' Masjid at Agra (1058/1648), the Motī Masjid in Agra Fort (1065/1654), the mosque and the Jama't Khāna near the Tāj Mahal, the Bādshāhī Masjid at Lahore (1084/1673-74), and the mausoleum of Safdar Jang in

1. He died in 1036/1626.

2. *ARASI*, 1902-3, p. 70.

Delhi (c. 1164/1750), The turrets of these monuments occasionally differ in minute ornamental detail.

The Manāras of the Bibī-Ka-Maqbara,¹ Aurangābād

(Pl. 89.)

As with the turrets of the Tāj Mahal, these manāras are placed at the corners of the building.

Description. They are built of white marble and are octagonal in design. They taper towards the top, and aside from the pavilion at the top are divided into two storeys. The storeys are marked by a circular gallery in the middle of the elevation. Each storey is again divided into two sections by a ring-moulding. The pavilion, as is usual with other Mughal pavilions, consists of eight slender pillars carrying a cupola with an eave-cornice forming a collar. The cupola is crowned by a lotus finial. A spiral staircase inside the manāras leads towards the top.

Date. The mausoleum was erected in 1089/1678.²

General Observations. The tomb is one of the last notable architectural creations of the Mughals, but is certainly the one which set in motion the decline of the Mughal building art. It is said that the monument was intended to rival the Tāj Mahal, as indeed, the general plan with its manāras is laid out on lines similar to Shāh Jahān's masterpiece at Agra. But a comparison between their features with particular reference to the manāras will show what a retrogression from the architectural ideals of the Tāj the present structure represents. The manāras here are disproportionate to the structure, and more solid than they ought to have been. In size and magnitude they would have been harmonious only with a structure far larger than this which is little more than half the size of the Tāj Mahal.

1. This is the tomb of Rabia 'Durrānī, wife of Emperor Aurangzīb.

2. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

V THE PINNACLE TURRET

PUNJĀB

The Manāras of the Tomb of Shāh Bahāu-I-Huq, Multān (Pl. 90.)

These manāras are built over the four corners of the ground storey, and over the eight corners of the octagonal clerestory holding the dome. There are, besides, two more manāras over the corners of the rectangular frame of the doorway, thus making a total of fourteen in all.

Description. The manāras are octagonal, and are crowned by onion-shaped cupolas.

Date. The tomb was erected about c. 661/1262.¹

General Observations. If these manāras are the original, then they are the earliest example of their kind in the sub-continent. The tomb was, however, battered about by the British in 1266/1849,² and the manāras, as they stand at present, may have been restored.³

TUGHLAQ

The Manāras of the Unidentified Tombs At Huuz-i-Khās, Delhi (Pl. 91.)

These manāras were built over the corners of the octagonal tombs. At least one tomb also had manāras over its drum holding the dome. Only a few of them survive today. The surviving manāras are round and are capped by a cupola springing from a moulded cornice. The shafts of the manāras over the corners of the buildings are fluted. The tombs were probably built during the latter half of the 8th/14th century.

1. This is the date of Shah Bahau-I-Huq's death.

2. *EIM*, 1927-28, p. 9n.

3. The cupolas appear to be modern.

SAYYID

The Manāras of the Tomb of Mubārak Shāh Sayyid, Delhi

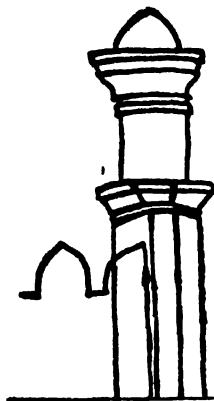


Fig. 17. The Manāras of the Tomb of Mubārak Shāh Sayyid, Delhi

These manāras are twentyfour in number, and are built over the octagonal drum of the dome¹ in line with the parapet. They are so arranged that each tower over the corners of the drum alternates with two others over each of the eight sides.

Description. They rise about double the height of the battlemented parapet, and are divided into two sections by a projecting cornice in the middle. The lower section is octagonal, but the upper section is round. Above the upper section is again a projecting cornice, and it is capped by a round cupola.

Date. The tomb was built about 838/1434.²

General Observations. The design of these manāras was followed in the tombs of Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid (c. 849/1443) and Sekandar Lodi (c. 923/1517). The pinnacle turrets of the tomb of 'Isā Khān (954/1547) also in Delhi, were built in similar manner.

1. The building also is octagonal in design.

2. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

*LODI***The Manāras of the Shish Gumbad, Delhi**

These manāras are twelve in number and are built over the roof of the tomb in line with the merlons of the parapet. Four of them are built over the four corners and two over each of the sides of the square building. They are simple octagonal in design, and are decorated with a projecting cornice forming a collar. Over the cornice is a conical top. The manāras represent the type followed in other square tombs of the Lodī period. The tomb was probably built towards the end of the 9th/15th century.

DECCAN

**The Manāras of the Tomb of 'Alāu-d-dīn Hasān
Bahmān Shāh, Gulbarga
(Pl. 92.)**

These manāras stand over the four corners of the building.

Description. They rise about double the height of the merlons of the parapets, and are round and fluted in design. Each shaft is capped by a cupola similar to the dome of the tomb itself. Between the round flutings and the cap are several ring-mouldings, the top one of which is sculptured to make a lotus-petal motif.

Date. The date of the tomb is not definitely known. 'Alāu-d-dīn Hasān Bahmān Shāh ruled 748-60/1347-58.

General Observations. The manāras are significant, because they mark the beginning of a style so commonly used in Gulbarga. The turrets of the anonymous tomb near this building, those of the Shāh Bazar Masjid, the tomb of Mujāhid Shāh (776-79/1375-78), the tomb of Firūz Shāh (800-25/1397-1422), the mosque of Qalandar Khān or Langar-kī-Masjid are all built in the same style. The tomb of 'Alāu-d-dīn Hasān, with its battering walls, battlemented

parapets and the flat-shaped dome, shows remarkably the influence of Tughlaqian tombs, and it is probable that the pinnacle-turrets of this tomb were also derived from the same source.

The Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Gulbarga

(Pl. 93.)

There are a large number of manāras over this magnificent mosque. As well as four above the four corners of the building, there are also four on the four corners of the clerestory below the dome, and several others on different points above the sides. The manāras are unusual in design: several of them look like balusters, while others are built in the form of finials consisting of two globular elements joined by narrow shafts. The originality of the design of the manāras, and, in fact, of the entire mosque, is due to the genius of the architect, named Rafī, a native of Qazwin in northern Iran. Percy Brown¹ aptly says that Rafī 'evolved the scheme of this mosque from his inner consciousness'. The mosque was built in 769/1367.²

The Manāras of the Gumbad Darwāza, Bidar Fort.

These manāras are built over the corners of the gateway, and are similar in design to those of the tomb of 'Alāu-d-din Hasān Bahmān Shāh. The gateway was probably built by the Bahmānī Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh when he laid the foundations of the fort in 833/1429.³

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 69

2. *EIM*, 1907-08, pp. 1-2.

3. G. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 34

The Manāras of the Sharza Darwāza, Bīdar Fort

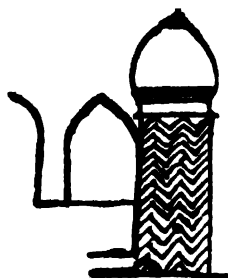


Fig. 18. The Manāra of the Sharza Darwāza, Bīdar Fort

These two manāras are built over the front corners of the gateway, and are similar in design to those of the Gumbad Darwāza except that they are not fluted, and instead, are emblazoned with tile work of chevron design. The gateway was erected in 909/1503 during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmānī.¹

The Manāras of the Māndū Darwāza, Bīdar Fort

These manāras are also built over the front corners of the gateway, but are designed in imitation of the Bijāpur pinnacle-turret. The gateway was built by the Mughal governor Mukhtar Khān al-Husainī in 1094/1683.²

The Manāras of the Takht-i-Kirmānī,³ Bīdar

These two manāras are built over the front corners of the building.

Description. They rise about double the height of the merlons of the parapet, and are square in design. They are lavishly

1. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

2. *EIM*, 1927-28, p. 24 ; G. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.

3. This is a gateway, originally connected with some apartments occupied by Hazrat Khalīlu-l-lah and his descendants who migrated to Bīdar

adorned with niches on all four sides and are crowned with a cupola which springs from sculptured lotus petals.

Date. The building was probably erected during the reign of the Bahmanī Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh (825-39/1422-35).¹

General Observations. The design of the manāras appears to be an innovation by the Bahmanī architects. Some fine specimens of this form of the pinnacle-turrets may be noticed over the royal tombs of this dynasty at Ashṭūr.² The design continued under the Barīd Shāhī dynasty at Bidar, and some of the representative examples of this period are to be seen in the pinnacle-turrets of the tomb of Khān Jahān Barīd (early 10th/16th century).³

The Manāras of the Jāmi Masjid, Parenda Fort

These manāras are built over the four corners of the mosque, and in pairs over its three gateways. The eastern gateway manāras are the largest of all, and those over the northern and southern gateways are the smallest. The manāras are round and are built in the fluted style of the Bahmanīs. The larger manāras are divided into three sections by two ring-mouldings, and do not appear to have had domes. The mosque probably was built by a Nizām Shāhī governor sometime in the middle of the 10th/16th century.⁴

from Kirmān at the invitation of Aḥmad Shāh in 834/1431. The building is now called the Takht-i-Kirmān (Throne of Kirmān) on account of its containing a couch associated with the saint Khalīlu-l-Jah (G. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 100).

1. *Ibid.*
2. Ashṭūr is some two miles to the east of Bīdar city.
3. G. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 167. Khān Jahān Barīd was the son of Qāsim Barīd, the founder of the Barīd Shāhī dynasty.
4. *EIM*, 1921-22, pp. 6-7 ; *ARHAD*, 1921-24, p. 20.

The Manāras of the Ibrāhimpūr Mosque, Bijāpūr

These manāras are built over the four corners of the building. During the archaeological survey made at the beginning of this century, the two manāras over the front corners were found broken.

Description. They are octagonal in form, and rise about double the height of the merlons of parapets over the roof. Level with the top of the parapets the manāras are ornamented by a ring-moulding. There is another ring-moulding below the globular cupola which rests on sculptured lotus petals.

Date. The mosque is said to have been built by Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (941-65/1534-58).¹

General Observations. The manāras represent some of the earliest surviving examples of pinnacle-turrets in Bijāpūr. Later pinnacle-turrets, such as are to be seen in the Jāmi Masjid (985/1576), the Anand Mahal (998/1589), the Jalamandir (end of the 10th/16th century) or Mustafa Khān's mosque (second quarter of the 11th/17th century) are all built in the same octagonal style.

The Manāras of the Mosque of 'Ainu-l-Mulk, Bijāpūr

Over each of the front corners of the mosque is a cluster of four manāras. In addition there are two over the front piers making thus ten in all.

Description. They are similar in appearance to the pinnacle-turrets of the Ibrāhimpūr mosque, except that they are round in design instead of being octagonal.

Date. The builder of the mosque, 'Ainu-l-Mulk Kanani, was one of the nobles of Ibrāhīm I. He was killed in 964/1556.² The mosque, therefore, was probably built before this date.

1. H. Cousens. *op. cit.*, p. 24
2. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

General Observations. The clustered manāras over the corners are important, because they formed the basis of the miniature turrets built around the large manāras of later dates. These clusters of miniature turrets generally found over the horizontal moulding of large manāras at roof level are an important ornamental feature, particularly of the monuments of Ibrāhīm II's reign.

The Manāras of Afzal Khān's Tomb, Bijāpur

(Pl. 94.)

These manāras are eight in all, and are built over the four corners of the first storey, and over the corners of the square clerestory below the dome. Like the turrets of 'Ainu-l-Mulk's mosque, these manāras are round in design, but are more solid looking than the former. They are ornamented with ring-mouldings only at the collar. Originally the shafts were patterned with chevron designs. The manāras resemble the pinnacle-turrets of the Sharza Darwāza of Bīdar Fort more than any turret of a similar kind in Bijāpur. The tomb is dated c. 1064/1653.¹

The Manāras of the Tomb of Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh, Golconda.

These manāras are built over the corners of the upper balcony. The balcony, like the tomb itself, is octagonal in plan, and, hence, there are eight manāras in all.

Description. They are octagonal in design, and are capped by a spherical cupola which rests on sculptured lotus petals. The petals rise from ring-mouldings which decorate the shaft at the neck.

Date. The date of the mosque is not definitely known. Jamshīd Quṭb Shāh reigned from 950-57/1543-50.

1. H. Cousens, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

General Observations. The manāras are more or less similar in design to the pinnacle-turrets of contemporary Bijāpūr monuments. In fact the buildings of the two sultanates have much in common, and it is probably only in the exceptional florid character of the Golcondā monuments that a difference may be noticed in their styles. The four manāras over the corners of the square tomb of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh (c. 1020/1612) are built in the same design of the present manāras except that the facets of their shafts are panelled with geometric star patterns (Pl. 95).

.SŪR

The Manāras of the Qilā'-I-Kuhna Masjid, Delhi (Pl. 96)

These manāras are built over the two front corners of the rectangular mosque, and over the octagonal drum of its dome. They are all round in design, and crowned by a projecting cornice with a low cupola at the top. The mosque was built by Sher Shāh Sūr in 948/1544.

MUGHAL

The Manāras of the Tomb of Humāyūn, Delhi

These manāras are built over the angles of the building.

Description. They are made of marble and are octagonal in design. The shafts are slender and are crowned by cupolas which rest on clusters of sculptured petals. Finials crown these cupolas. The manāras are ornamented with a ring-moulding at their neck.

Date The tomb was built during the years 972-80/1564-72¹.

1. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 92 ; M. Hurliman, *op. cit.*, p. 135. According to some the tomb was completed in 973/1565 or 977/1569. (Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 203)

General Observations. The manāras are elegant, and have certainly enhanced the beauty of the structure. They serve as model for the subsequent Mughal pinnacle-turrets.

The Manāras of the Şaheli Burjs near the Tāj Mahal, Agra
(Pl. 97)

There are twentyfour manāras over each of these four octagonal buildings. The arrangement of these turrets is as follows : one over each of the angles of the buildings, and two over each of the sides.

Description. They are of similar design to those of Humāyūn's tomb except that they taper a little towards the top.

Date. The buildings were probably erected about the same time as the Tāj Mahal, i. e., between 1041/1631 and 1057/1648.

General Observations. The manāras may be regarded as marking the climax of the pinnacle-turret in Indo-Muslim architecture. Further elaboration in their design was unnecessary, and in fact when this was carried out in subsequent turrets, they suffered in their aesthetic quality.

The Manāras of the Motī Masjid, Delhi
(Pl. 98)

These manāras are built over the piers of the front facade of the prayer hall.

Description. They are made of marble, and rise on square bases. The shafts are round and tapering in shape, and ornamented with flutings. They are surmounted by open kiosk which rise from inverted bell motifs.

Date. The mosque was built in 1070/1659.¹

General Observations. The kiosks are disproportionate to the height and circumference of the manāras, and in fact have damaged much of their simple beauty. Nevertheless, these manāras represent a style commonly used in Mughal buildings from the second half of the 11th/17th century.

1. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

APPENDIX I

MANĀRA INSCRIPTIONS

MAMLŪK

The Inscriptions of the Quṭb Manāra,¹ Delhi.

First Storey

1. On the right-hand side of the main entrance. *Nāgarī*.²

समत् १२५६

Translation. Sam (v) at 1256 (596/1199).

2. On the left-hand jamb of the main entrance door. *Nāgarī*.³

समत् १२५६

Translation. Sam(v)at 1256 (596/1199).

3. On the lowest band. *Arabic*.⁴

الامير الاسفهسالار الاجل الكبير

Translation. 'The Amīr, the commander of the army, the glorious, the great.'

4. The 2nd band. *Arabic*.⁵

1. Only the inscriptions of historical significance are recorded.
2. *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 39.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Ludhianā 1876, p. 58 ; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 16 ; *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 30. Most of the band consists of Quranic inscriptions of which only Sūra XI, verse 8, and Sūra XIII, verse 1 are legible.
5. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 59 ; *EIM*, 1911-12, pp. 16-17 ; *MA SI*, No. 22, pp. 30-31.

..... رقاب الامم مولى ملوك العرب و العجم اعد السلاطين فى العالم
معز الدنيا و الدين الملوك و السلاطين باسط العدل و الاحسان
..... ظل الله فى الخافقين الراعى لعباد الله العاصى لبلاد الله القايم
..... السما المنصور على الاعداء -

..... جلال الامة الباهرة فلك المعالي سلطان البر و البحر
محرز ممالك الدنيا و مظهر كلمة الله هي العليا اسكندر الثانى ابو المظفر
محمد بن سام خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و تعالى الله الذي لا اله الا هو عالم
الغيب و الشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم -

Translation. '... necks of the people, master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the most just of the sulṭāns in the world, Mu'izu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn...the kings and sulṭāns, the propagator of justice and kindness...the shadow of God in east and west, the shepherd of the servants of God, the defender of the country of God...The firm...sky, victorious against the enemies...the glory of the magnificent nation, the sky of merits. the sulṭān of land and sea, the guard of the kingdoms of the world, the proclaimer of the word of God, which is the highest, and the second Alexander, (named) Abu-l-Muzaffar Muḥammad bin Sām, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule. And Allah is high, besides whom there is no God, who knows what is hidden and what is revealed. He is compassionate and merciful...'

5. The 3rd band. Qur'an, Sūra XLVII, verses 1-6.

6. The 4th band. Arabic.¹

السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم مولى ملوك العرب
العجم سلطان السلاطين فى العالم غياث الدنيا و الدين معزالاسلام و
المسلمين محى العدل فى العالمين علا الدولة القاهرة الامة
الزهرة شهاب السما بالخلافه باسط الاحسان و الرفاه فى الثقلين ظل الله فى

1. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 59 ; *EIM*, 1911-12, pp. 17-18 ; *MASI*, No. 22, p. 31.

الخافقين العاصي لبلاد الله الراعى لعباد الله محرز ممالك الدنيا و مظهر
 كلمه الله هي العليا ابو بن سام قسيم امير المؤمنين انا لله
 برهانه -

Translation. 'The greatest sulṭān, the most exalted emperor, the lord (*mālik*) of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the sulṭān of the sulṭānts of the world, Ghiyāsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, who rendered Islam and the Muslims powerful, the reviver of justice in the worlds, the grandeur of the victorious government...of the magnificent, the bright meteor of the sky of the Khilāfat, the propagator of kindness and mercy amongst created beings, the shadow of God in east and west, the defender of the countries of God, the shepherd of the servants of God, the guard of the kingdoms of the world, and the proclaimer of the word of God, which is the highest, Abū...bin Sām, an ally of Amīru-l-Muminīn (the Prince of the faithful), may God illumine his proofs.'

7. The 5th band. Qur'an, Sūra LIX, verses 22 and 23, and attributes of God.

8. The 6th band. Qur'an, Sūra II, verses 255-60.

9. On the left-hand jamb of the 5th slit window up stairway.
*Nāgarī.*¹

मलिकदीन की कीर्तिस्तम्भ
 स्वस्ति । भवतु ?
 मलकदीन
 मलकदीन

Translation. 'This pillar of fame of Malikdīna. May it be for well being', Malakadīna. Malakadīna.'

10. On the entrance doorway. *Persian*.¹

قال النبي صل الله عليه وسلم من بنا مسجدا لله تعالى بنى الله له في الجنة بيتا مثله - عمارت مناره مبارك حضرت سلطان السلاطين شمس الدنيا والدين مرحوم مغفور طاب ثره و جعل الجنة مثواه شكست شده بود مناره مذکور در عهد دولت سلطان الاعظم و المعظم المكرم سكندر شاه بن بهلول شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و عالی امره و شانه عمل خانزاده فتح خان بن مسند علی خواصخان و در زبندی و مرتبها بالامرمت کرد [ه] مرتب کنایند الغره من ماه ربیع الاخر سنه تسع و تسعمایه -

Translation. 'The Prophet, on whom be God's blessing and peace said : "He who builds a mosque for God, God will build for him a similar house in paradise." The fabric of the minār of his majesty the king of kings Shamsu-d-dunya wa-d-din, who has received God's pardon and forgiveness, (the deceased) may his grave be purified, and may paradise be his resting place, was injured. In the reign of the great, the illustrious and exalted king, (named) Sekandar Shāh, the son of Bahlūl Shāh Sulṭān, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, and exalt his power and prestige, and under the superintendence of Khānzādah Fath Khān, the son of Masnad-i-'Alī Khawāṣ Khān...The cracks were filled in and the upper stories were repaired on the first day of Rabia'II in the year 909 (23rd September, A.D. 1503).'

11. On the right-hand jamb of the 5th slit window up stairway. *Nāgarī*.²

चुला जालौ लमाई
समत् १८३२
चनोलाल ता ० - - -

1. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60 ; *EIM*, 1919-20, pp. 4-5; *MASI*, No. 22, pp. 31-32.
2. *MASI*, No. 22, p. 40.

Translation. 'Chūnīlāla fixed this screen in Sam(v)at 1832. Chūnīlāla dated...'

12. Immediately to the right of the doorway. *Persian*¹

..... این مناره فضل ابو المعالی بودند -

Translation. '...of this manāra was Fazl Abu-l-Ma'ālī.'

Second Storey.

1. Over the doorway. *Arabic*.²

امر باتمام هذه العمارة الملك المويد من السماء شمس الحق و الدين
ايلتتمش القطبي نصير امير المومنين -

Translation. 'The completion of this building was commanded by the king, who is helped from the heavens, (named) Shamsu-l-Haq wa-d-din Iltutmishu-l-Quṭbī, the helper of the Prince of the faithful.'

2. The lower band. *Arabic*.³

السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه المعظم مالک رقاب الاسم مفخر ملوک العرب
و العجم ظل الله في العالم شمس الدنيا و الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين
تاج الملوك و السلاطين في العالمين علا الدولة القاهرة و جلال
الملة الزاهرة المويد من السماء المظفر على الاعداء شهاب سما الاخلاق
ناشر العدل و الرافة محرز ممالك الدنيا و مظهر كلمة الله أعليا ابو المظفر
ايلتتمش السلطاني ناصر امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره
و شانه -

1. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 60; *EIM*, 1911-12, p.19; *MA SI*, No. 22, p.32.
2. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Atharu-s-Sanādīd*, Delhi A.H. 1293, p.55; E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871, p. 79; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p.60; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 26; *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 32.
3. E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Carr Stephen, *op.cit.*, pp. 60-61; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 26; *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 32.

Translation. 'The most exalted sulṭān, the great emperor, the lord of the necks of the people, the pride of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the shadow of God in the world, Shamsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the crown of kings and sulṭāns,...in the world, the grandeur of the victorious government, the majesty of the shining religion, helped from the heavens, victorious over his enemies, the bright meteor of the sky of the Khilāfat, the propagator of justice and kindness, the guard of the kingdoms of the world and the proclaimer of the word of High God, (named) Abu-l-Muzaffar Iltutmishu-s-Sulṭānī, the helper of the prince of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule and increase his power and rank.'

3. The upper band. Qur'an, Sura XIV, verses 29-30; and Sura LXII, verses 9-10.

4. On the right-hand abutment of the door. *Nāgarī*.¹

समत् १५६० वरषे (वें)
चैत्र सदि २, लीषी-
ते विसनु [कैठे] न

Translation. 'Written by Vishnu Kanṭh on the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year Sam(v)at 1560.'

Third Storey.

1. Over the doorway. *Arabic*.²

1. *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 40.

2. Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 27 ; *MA SI*, No. 22. p. 33.

السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم فاخر ملوک العرب
و المعجم المويد من السماء المظفر على الاعداء سلطان ارض الله حافظ بلاد
الله ناصر عباد الله محرز ممالك الدنيا مظهر كلمة الله العليا جلال الدولة
القاهرة نظام الملّة الزاهرة شمس الدنيا و الدين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين
ظل الله فى العالم التاج الامم و الخلافة ما به العدل و الرافعة سلطان
السلاطين الدولة و الملّة ايلتتمش السلطان يمين خليفه الله ناصر امير
المومنين -

Translation. 'The great sulṭān, the most exalted emperor, the lord (*malik*) of the necks of the people who vie with the kings of Arabia and Persia, helped from the heavens, victorious over his enemies, this sulṭān of the earth of God, the protector of the lands of God, the helper of the servants of God, the preserver of the kingdoms of the world, the proclaimer of the word of the High God, the splendour of the victorious rule, the administration of the refulgent religion, (named) Shamsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God in the world, the crown of the sovereignty and the people, the source of justice and mercy, the king of the kings of the empire and religion, the right hand of the Khalīfa of God, the helper of the prince of the faithful.'

2. On one side of the door. *Arabic*.¹

تمت هذه العمارة فى نوبت العبد المذنب محمد امير كوه -

Translation. 'This building was completed under the superintendence of the slave, the sinner (named) Muḥammad Amīr Koh.'

3. The lower band. *Arabic*.²

1. Sayyid Ahmad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 55; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 62; *MASI*, No. 22, p. 33.

2. Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 61; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 27; *MASI*, No. 22, pp. 32-33.

السلطان المعظم شاهنشاه الاعظم مالک رقاب الاسم مولى ملوک العرب
 المعجم سلطان السلاطين فى العالم حافظ بلاد الله ناصر خليفة الله
 الاسلام و المسلمين غياث الملوك و السلاطين العامى لبلاد الله الراعى
 لعباد الله يمين الخلافة باسط العدل و الرافة ابو المظفر ايلتمش
 السلطانى نصير امير المومنين خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و [اعلى] امره و شانه -

Translation. 'The great sulṭān, the most exalted emperor, the lord (*malik*) of the necks of the people, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, the king of kings in the world, the protector of the lands of God the helper...Khalīfa of God...of Islam and the Muslims, the help of the kings and sulṭāns, the defender of the lands of God, the shepherd of the servants of God, the right hand of the Khilafat, and the promulgator of justice and kindness, (named) Abu-l-Muzaffar Iltutmishu-s-Sulṭānī, the helper of the prince of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and increase his power and rank.'

4. On the face of the 8th angle on the left-hand side of the door. *Nāgari*.¹

समत् १५ ६६ लिषीतं सिष सगत्रा-
 सुदीरापुत्र -

Translation. Engraved in the year Sam(v)at 1599 (by)-the mason (named) Sisa, son of Hirā.

5. On the left-hand abutment of the door. *Nāgarī*.²

६ माघ समत् १६ १७

Translation. On the 6th Māgha of the year Sam(v)at 1617.

1. *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 41.

2. *Ibid*.

6. On the face of the 8th angle on the right-hand side of the door. *Nāgarī*.¹

समत् १८३५
सन १८७८
मोहन लाल मिश्रतरी भाद्र ५

Translation. Sam(v)at 1935, A. D. 1878. The mason Mohana-lāla on the 5th of the bright fortnight of Bhādra.

Fourth Storey

1. The inscription band. *Arabic*.²

امر بهذه العمارة في ايام الدولة- السلطان الاعظم شاهنشاه المعظم مالک
رقاب الامم مولی ملوک الترك والعرب والعجم شمس الدنيا و الدين معز
الاسلام و المسلمين ذوالامن و الامان وارث ملک سليمان ابوالمظفر ايلتتمش
السلطان ناصر امير المومنين -

Translation. '(The erection of) this building was ordered during the reign of the most exalted sulṭān, the great emperor, the lord of necks of the people, the master of the kings of Turkistan, Arabia and Persia, Shāmsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, who renders Islam and the Muslims powerful, who affords security and protection, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, (named) Abu-l-Muzaffar Iltutmishu-s-Sulṭān, the helper of the prince of the faithful.'

1. *MA SI*, No. 22, p. 41.

2. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 55 ; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 62 ; *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 28 ; *MA SI*, No. 22, pp. 33-34.

2. On the left-hand abutment of the door. *Nāgarī*.¹

श्री सुलत्रान अलावदी वि-
जयस्तम्भ

Translation. The pillar of victory of Sulṭān Alāvadī (i. e. 'Alāu-d-dīn).

3. On the right-hand side of the door, 8th course. *Nāgarī*.²

मुहम्मद सुलत्रान को राजि भादव मासि बीज-
पडि सातमिदिने घटिका २५ जणकमात्राः
सवन १३८२ वर्षे

Translation. 'In the reign of Muhammad Sulṭān on the 7th day of the (month) Bhāḍava in the year Samvat 1382 (727/1326) in the 25th *ghari* in the Janaka-mātra, the monument was struck by lightning.'

4. On the right-hand abutment of the door. *Nāgarī*.³

ओं समयत् १३८६ वर्षे चैत्रशुदि ११ बुध-
दिने श्रीसुलत्रान मुहम्मद शहि को कीरति

Translation. 'Om. On Wednesday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the year Sam(v)at 1389, the work of fame of the illustrious Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh (Tughlaq).'

1. *MAI*, No. 22, p. 41.

2. *Ibid*, p. 42.

3. *Ibid*.

5. On the right-hand side of the door, 4th course. *Nāgarī*.¹

नाना माल्हा लोला

Translation. Nānā, Salhā, Lolā.

6. On the right-hand side of the door, 8th course. *Nāgarī*.²

समत् १४२५ वर्षे फाल्गुण वदि १५ गरुदिने-
फेरोज शहि के राजि बीजु पडी वारुडि
उसरायो
सूत्र नाना माल्हा लोला लखमण ---- समत् १४२५ वर्षे

Translation. Lightning fell on the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the year Sam(v)at 1425 (771/1369) during the reign of Firuz Shāh. The (monument) was (then) repaired in the year Sam(v)at 1425. The architects were Nānā Salhā, Lolā and Lashmaṇa.

६. Fifth Storey.

1. On the doorway. *Persian*.³

درین مناره شهر سنه سبعین و سعمایه یافت برق خلل راه یافته بود
بتوفیق ربانی برگزیده عنایت مجانی فیروز سلطانی این مقام را باحتیاط تمام
عمارت کرد خالق بیپنوں این مقام را از جمیع افات مصون دارد -

1. *MAJI*, No. 22, p. 42

2. *Ibid.*

3. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 55; E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 283; Carr Stephen, *op. cit.*, p. 63; *MAJI*, No. 22, p. 34.

Translation. 'The minār *manāra* was injured by lightning in (the month of) the year 770 (A.D. 1369). By the divine grace Firūz Sulṭān, who is exalted by the favour of the Most Holy built this portion of the edifice (*muqām*) with care. May the inscrutable creator preserve it from all calamities.'

2. On the left-hand marble abutment of the door. *Nāgarī*.¹

ओं स्वस्ति श्री सुरित्राण फेरोजशा-
हि विजयराजे (जे) सम्बत् १४२६ वरि-
षे फाल्गुण सुदि ५ शुक्रदिने म-
नारो जीर्णोद्धार कृत श्री विश्व-
कर्म प्र (प्रा) सादे रचितः धारि
चाहू उदेवपालसुतदो (दो) हित्र
सूत्रे [पातः प्रतिष्ठा निपाति
त उदै राज ६२]

Translation. 'Om, In the auspicious reign of the illustrious Firūz Shāh Sulṭān on Friday the 5th of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the year Samvat 1426, the restoration of the minār was carried out in the palace or temple of Viśvakarman. The architect was the maternal grandson of the son of Chahaḍadevapāla ; the measuring cord was drawn and the foundation laid. Height, 92 yards.'

3. On the left-hand abutment, immediately below the above one. *Nāgarī*.²

1. *MAI*, No. 22, p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*

गज २६
उदै गज १३१
(मु) वित्तं गज १३४ ॥ शिल्पो
सूत्र नाना माल्टा दासक-
म धरमु वानानि व...

Translation. 'Yards 26. (Height) 131 yards. 134 yards. The designers were the architects Nānā [and] Salhā and the carpenter Dharmu Vānāni.'

4. On the marble soffit of arch over the doorway. *Nāgarī*.¹

संवत् १५६०
[भाद्र] सुदि ८, १५६०
..... केसा.....

Translation. 'On the 8th day of the bright fortnight of Bhādra in the year Samvat 1560.'

The Inscriptions of the Manāras of the Jāmi' Masjid, Ajmīr

- I. On two pieces of stone originally belonging to the southern manāra. *Arabic*.²

[الا] هم ملوك العجم شمس الدنيا و [لدين] كهف الاسلام و
المسلمين ظل الله في العالم -

Translation. 'Of the nations...of the kings...of the Persians, Shamsu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn . cavern of Islam and the Muslims, the shadow of God in the world.'

1. *MAJI*, No. 22, p. 43.

2. *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 29.

2. On the lower belt of the northern manāra. *Arabic*.¹

سلطان سلاطين الشرق ابو المظفر ايلتتمش السلطاني ناصر امير المؤمنين
 خلد الله [له] ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى فى الخافقين له (؟) [شاه] نه -

Translation. 'The sulṭān of the sulṭāns of the east Abū'l Muzaffar Iltutmish-as-Sulṭānī; the helper of the prince of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingship and rule, and raise for him (?) his rank in east and west.'

The Inscription of the Manāra at Koil, 'Aligarh

Arabic.

١ هذه العمارة فى عهد مملكة السلطان الاعظم مالک رقاب الامم ناصر
 الدنيا و الدين سلطان السلاطين -
 ٢ ذى الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملک سليمان صاحب الخاتم فى ملک
 العالم ابى المظفر محمود بن السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه -
 ٣ الملك العالم الكبير اعظم تغلقخان بها الحق و الدين ملک ملوکه
 الشرق والصين بلبن الشمس فى ايام ايلته دام معاليه فى العاشر من رجب
 سنه اثنى وخسين و ستمائة -

Translation. 'This building (was erected) during the reign of the great sulṭān, the master of the necks of nations, Nāsiru-d-dunyā wad-d-īn, the sulṭān of the sulṭāns, the protector of the Faithful, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, the lord of the seal in the empire of the world, Abu-l-Muzaffar Maḥmūd b. as-Sulṭān (may God perpetuate his kingdom and authority), by order of the malik of the world (or the learned malik), the great, exalted and blessed Khān, Bahāu-l-Haqq wad-d-īn, the malik of the maliks

1. *ASIR*, vol. II, p. 261 ; E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 80. *EIM*, 1911-12, p. 29.

2. E. Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 269 ; *JASB*, vol. XLII, p. 248 ; *Gazetteer*, *NWP*, vol. II, Allahābād 1875, p. 486 ; *EIM*, 1913-14, p. 22.

of the east and China, Balban ash-Shamsī, during the days of his lordship (may his high qualities endure), on the 10th of Rajab 652 A.H. (1254 A.D.).'

KHALJĪ

The Inscription of the Manāra at Sulṭānpūr, West Khāndesh

*Persian.*¹

- ۱ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بنا کرد این منار ملک سید محمد مبارک هذ
سلطانپوری -
- ۲ در عهد سلطان قطب الدین بن محمد شاه سلطان بتاریخ یازدهم ماه
ربیع الاول -
- ۳هر که بانی را بدعا ایمان یاد کرد [د] -

Translation. 'In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate. This manāra was built by Malik Sayyid Muḥammad Mubārak 'Azz of Sulṭānpūr, during the reign of sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn, son of Muḥammad Shāh, the sulṭān, on the 11th of Rabi' I... whoever offers prayers for (the soundness of) the faith of builder.'

TUGHLAQ

The Inscription of the Manāra in front of the Masjid of Ibrāhīm Nāib Bārbak, Jaunpūr

*Arabic.*²

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم الآخر و
قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من بنى مسجد لله تعالى اعطاه الله بكل

1, *EIM*, 1935-36, p. 48.

2. *PASB*, 1875, p. 15; A. Führer & E. Smith, *The Sharqī Architecture of Jaunpūr*, Calcutta 1889, pp. 26-27.

شهر سلطان سلاطين عالم عادل بادل شهر بار اعظم مالک رقاب إلام مولی
ملوک العرب والعجم مظهر کلمة الله العلیا المتمسک بالعروة الوثقی الناظر
لدين الله إلحافظ لبلاد الله الحامی لعبد الله ذو الامن و الامان لاهل الايمان
وارث ملک سليمان ابوالمظفر فیروز شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانہ
ویزمان ملک ملوک الشرق والصین سلطان البلاطين ناصر الغزوة الموحدين
عمدت الامام عدة الايام سیهکش زمان ... الخ اعظم ابراهيم نایب باربک
سلطان یدیسم الله معاليه بشرف کار فرمائی این عالی مقام مشرف گشت این
ملک نیکوسیرت صافی اعتقاد باتمام این بناء خیر جهدتام فرمود بماء ذوالقعدة
معظم و بسال هجري نبوي صلی الله علیه و سلم ثمان و سبعین و سبعما یة -

Translation. 'In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. Surely he will build the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day. And the Prophet (blessings upon him) says, "He who builds a mosque for God will receive from God every gift"... (In the reign of) the king of the kings of the world, the just, the generous, and great ruler, the lord of the necks of nations, the master of the kings of Arabia and Persia, who professes the exalted creed and seizes the firm handle, who watches over God's faith, protects God's lands, and defends God's servants, who gives the faithful peace and security, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon... Abu-l-Muzaffar Firāz Shāh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and in the time of the malik of maliks of the east and of China, the king of kings, the helper of the warring monotheists, the excellent Imām, the hope of the age, the general of the present time... the great Ulugh Ibrāhim Nāib Bārbak, the king—may God continue to him his high position; this building received the distinction of being erected, and this prince, whose walk of life is good and whose faith is pure, exerted himself to the utmost to finish this religious edifice. In the exalted month of Dhūl Qa'dah and in the year 778 of the *Hijra* of the Prophet, upon whom rest God's blessings.'

LODĪ

The Inscription of the Ukhā Manāra, Bayāna

*Persian*¹.

در زمان دولت داراي دوران اوان
 داور جمشيد عصر و خسروي رستم هخشان
 آنکه از رائی میزش دوي عالم راضياست
 وآنکه از خلق لطيفش هشت خوشبو صميران
 شاه ابراهيم بن اسکندر بهلول شاه
 کش سزد ترنهانی ازخاقان دهم نوشيروان
 می شود اجرأ خيرى حسبه الله زان
 باد راضى حق تعالى باد خيرش جاودان
 او بنا کرده مناره ازبى اعلا صوت
 از براي گفتن بانگ نماز هر زمان
 بد بامر امر مامور ظل الله دهر
 مسند على نظام خان مجاهد خان بدان
 در شمر رسته و عشرين زنهصد بد فزون
 بالقين از هجرت چيغامبر آخر زمان
 چون نبشتن چند بينی بحرآن تاريخ نغز
 حامد مسکين زبانش شد روان زين سان ازان
 بانور طبع کرده است بوالعجب اين ترجمه
 پور قارون گشت مسکين بنگر اي شاه جمان *

*Translation.*² 'In the reign of the ruler of the world (&c., &c.,) Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of Sikandar Bahlāl Shāh (&c., &c.) this Minār was built for the purpose of calling the faithful to prayer. It was finished by His Highness Nizām Khān, the son of Mujāhid Khān, by order of the Shadow of God (the sulṭān) in the year of the Hijra 926.'

1. *ASIR*, vol. XX, pp. 73-74.

2. This fulsome set of verses is not worth translating at length.

BENGAL

The Inscription of The Firqz Manāra, Gaur

*Arabic.*¹

... المويد الدنيا والدين المجاهد فى سبيل الله خليفة الرحمان السلطان
بالحجة والبرهان سيف الدين و الدنيا ...

Translation. ...the upholder of the state and the religion, the fighter for the cause of God, the Khalīfa of the Lord, the sultān by reason and deed, Saifu-d-dīn wa-d-dunyā....

The Inscription of The Manāra at Devikot, West Bengal

*Arabic and Persian.*²

۱ بنی هذا المسجد و المنارة خانم معظم رکن خان علاء الدین السرهتی
شراپدار غیر محلی و زیر شهر مشهور -
۲ مظفرآباد و سرلشکر و کتوال بک اعلیٰ شهر مشهور فیروزآباد
و منصف دیوان کتوالی شهر مذکور فی عهد علاء الدین -
۳ و الدین ابوالمظفر حسین شاه سلطان الحسینی پیش در شیخ
الشاخی شیخ عطا هرکه این خیر مذکورین را تاره دارد خدای
۴ تعالیٰ اورا تاره دارد نزدیک شیخ مقبول گردد سنه ثمان
عشر و تسعمایه

Translation. 'This mosque and the minaret (manāra) in front of the door of the Shaikhul-Mashā'ikh Shaikh 'Ata, were built by the exalted Khān, Rukn Khān 'Alāu-d-dīn as-Sarhatī, the cup-bearer outside the palace, the wazīr of the well-known city of Muzaffarābād, the commander of the army, and the chief officer of police of the renowned city of Fīruzābād, the judge of the criminal court of the same city, during the reign of 'Alāu-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn Abul-Muzaffar Husain Shāh Sultān al-Husaini, whoever keeps up the said endowments, the Most High God will cherish him, and he will endear himself to the Shaikh. 918 H.'

1. *JASP*, vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 63.

2. *JASB*, vol. XLI, part I, p. 106; *EIM*, 1929-30, p.12; Shamsu-d-dīn Ahmed, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. IV, Rājshāhi 1960, pp. 189-91.

JAUNPUR

The Inscriptions of the Manāra at

Vijaymandargarh, Bayāna

1. On the tympanum of the doorway arch. *Arabic*.¹

بنا هذا المناره في عهد السلطان القايم العادل ناصر الدنيا والدين ظل
الله في العالمين محمد شاه خلد الله ملكه مسند عالي اعظم همايون داود خان
ابن خان المرحوم المغفور محمد خان طاب ثراه جعل و الجنة ماواه -

Translation. 'This Minār (*manāra*) built during the reign of the sulṭān, the upright, the just, Nasiru-d-dunyā wa-d-dīn, the most mighty and just sulṭān, the shadow of God on the whole creation, Muḥammad Shāh, may God prolong his reign, by His Highness Masnad 'Alī, the most auspicious Dāūd Khān, son of the late lord the blessed Muḥammad Khān; may God have mercy on him, and give him a place in paradise.'

2. On the doorway lintel. *Arabic*.²

اثار بناي هذا المناره المبارك المسند العالي و المحي المعالي اعظم
همايون داود خان بن مسند عالي محمد خان بن مسند عالي اوحده خان بن
مسند عالي معين خان صديقي المعروف بلا وحدي خلد الله ملكه في سنة احدى
وستين و ثمانماية -

Translation. 'This holy Minār, (*manāra*) was ordered to be built by His Highness, the bestower of life and of rank, the most auspicious Dāūd Khān, son of His Highness Muḥammad Khān, son of His Highness Auhad Khān, son of His Highness Mu'īn Khān Ṣiddīqī, commonly known as Auhadī.'

3. On the right jamb of the doorway. *Persian*.³

خداي عزوجل بران بنده رحمت كناده نيت دعا گوئي مسلمانان معمار
اين مناره منوره فاتحه بخواند ادره عماره هذا المنارة المبارك العبد
الضعيف الذئيق الراجي الى رحمة الله تعالى مفيد خان غفراني -

1. *ASIR*, vol. XX, pp. 84-85.

2. *ASIR*, vol. XX, p. 85.

3. *Ibid.*

Translation. 'May God bestow his blessing on that man who offers his prayers for the soul of the architect of this beautiful Minār (*manāra*) which has been built for the calling to prayer of Musalmans. The builder of this holy Minār was the weak and insignificant slave of God, the hopeful of His mercy, Mufīd Khān. May God forgive him.'

DECCAN

The Inscription of the Chānd Manāra, Daulatābād

*Persian.*¹

بودست یکی بزرگ شاهی	بر مسند سلطنت ماهی
بس محتشم و غیور و دانا	کس را چه مجال لا و لا
در معرض که درس گوید	جمشید سخن بترس گوید
احمد شاه بجمینست نامش	چه جای جم و چه جامش
دارد پسری که در فلک نیست	در خطه پیدر شک نیست
سلطان علاء الدین ا نامش	شیرین تر از انگبین کلامش
بودست مگر یکی ملازم	شه ستاده دائم
لفظ چو شکر دو چشم پر نور	بسته کمری چونی ستاده از دور
سلطان که بر او منگاه کردی	صد نوع دعاء شاه کردی
روزی مگرش بسوی خود خواند	لطفش بنمود و نیز بستاند
گفتا که بحان و دل خود ماز توشادیم	و این دولت آباد ترا تحفه بدادیم
یارب که بدین دولت آباد نمائی	تا روز قیامت بدل شادمانی
بنده بس بزرگ و روحانی	یعنی پرویز عبد سلطانی
فرمان شده حکم او مرتب	در روز روان شود و در شب
چون سکه لعل او نمودند	ماهی و مراتبش فرمودند
موی سر او شانه کردند	در حال و را دوانه کردند
آمد بد یا دولت آباد	مجموع برادران شدند شاد
بنیاد بنای او سه سال است	زین حرف چو بگذری و بال است

1. *EIM*, 1907-08, pp. 21-22.

تاریخ منار دولت آباد در هشت صد و چل و نه شد آباد
این عمارت چو دسته گل شد ز امر پرویز بن قرنفل شد

Translation. 'There was a great king seated on the royal throne like the moon in the sky, powerful he was, high-minded and wise ; none was bold enough to dispute his commands. In the place where instruction was given Jamshid himself repeated the words, "Fear him ." His name was Aḥmad Shāh Bahmānī ; what room was there (before him) for Jamshid and his cup ? A son he has who is not in the sky ; he dwells beyond all doubt in the province of Bīdar. Sulṭān 'Alā'u-d-dīn is his name, whose words are sweeter than honey. There was also, may be, a servant standing ever in the king's presence, his words were like sugar ; he had two brilliant eyes, his waist, slender as a reed, was girded, and he stood afar off. When the Sulṭān's glance fell on him he called down a hundred blessings on the king. One day the king called this servant to him, was gracious to him, and praised him ; he said, "I delight in thee with my heart and soul, and I bestow Daulatābād on thee as a choice gift. I pray the Lord that thou mayst remain in Daulatābād with a joyful heart till the day of resurrection." The slave was a great and holy man—Parwīz, the slave of the king. A *farmān* was drawn up in accordance with the king's order, which runs by night no less than by day. When this was sealed with a ruby-coloured seal the ensign of the fish was bestowed on the slave, and they combed his hair and immediately allowed him to set forth. He came to the district of Daulatābād and all his brethren rejoiced ; they laid the foundation of a building in the midst of the dead. Its construction occupied three years—to say more would be vexatious. As for the date of the erection of the column of Daulatābād, it was completed in A. H. 849 (A. D. 1445). The building was like a nosegay of roses and was built by the order of Parwīz, the son of Qaranful.'

The inscription of the Manāra in Galna Fort,¹ Nāsik

‘God be honoured. A minaret was erected on the fort of Kāland (Gālna) during the time of the venerable Pahlād Khān. Written by the hand of Syed Ismā‘il bin Syed Munna Hussain, a servant...of the Prophet of God.’

MUGHAL

The inscription of the Iron Manāra at Dhār

Persian²

در زمانیکه اعلیٰ حضرت خاقانی ظل سبحانی شان مظهر حق شاه اکبر تعالی
 شانہ الله اکبر عازم دکن بود بتاریخ هشتم اسفندار مذ سنہ ۱۰۵۸ هجری درین مقام نزول احلال فرمودند عمل داود کنده
 کار [خره] محمد [معصوم] نامی بکری *

Translation. During the time when His Exalted Majesty, the Khāqān, the shadow of God, the glory of the manifestation of the Almighty, the King Akbar, whose rank is exalted, Allahu Akbar was on his way to the Deccan, he alighted here with great pomp on the 8th Isfandār Mudh,³ in the 44th year of his accession, corresponding to 1008 Hijra (15th Feb. A. D. 1600). This is the work of Dāūd, the sculptor, (the text has been) composed by Muḥammad Ma‘sum Nāmī Bakrī.’

The Inscription of the Manāra of Mir Mā‘ṣūm at Sukkur,⁴ West Pakistan

‘This minaret was built in the time of the emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh Ghāzī. Muḥammad Mā‘ṣūm, who is

1. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. XVI, Nāsik. Bombay 1883, p. 437n. The text was not available to the writer.
2. *JBBRAS*, vol. XXI, p. 348 ; *EIM*, 1909-10, p. 13.
3. *Isfandār Mudh* is the name of the 12th Persian month of the solar year, when the sun enters Pisces (February).
4. The text was not available to the writer.

full moon of the high heaven, who is (still) famous in the world for his good name, erected this lofty minaret, an account whereof. The blue heaven raised its head (or it raised its head to the blue heaven). From the 'Arash, the angels said about the date of its erection "That it is a famous Jahān Nūma overlooking the whole world."¹

Mir Mā'sūm. who is highly dignified,
 Whose devotions are more holy than the law itself,
 Built this minaret in order that the people may say
 That it is in memory of the former ones
 [or, it is verily a monument for future generations]
 The old heaven said in response to its date,
 "that it is a leg (or, support) of the great 'Arash."²
 The composer of these verse is Sayyid Mīr Buzurg bin
 Mir Muḥammad Mā'sūm.'

1. These words indicate the date 1003/1594. (H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind* Calcutta 1929, p. 151 n).
2. These words also indicate the date 1003/1594. (H. Cousens, *The Antiquities of Sind*, *op. cit* , p. 151 n).

APPENDIX II

DYNASTIC CHRONOLOGY

THE GHAZNAVIDS

1. Sabuktigīn	366/976
2. Ismā'il, son of (1)	387/997
3. Maḥmūd, son of (1)	388/998
4. Muḥammad, son of (3)	421/1030
5. Mas'ūd, son of (3)	421/1030
6. Maudūd, son of (5)	432/1040
7. Mas'ūd II, son of (6)	440/1048
8. Bahāu-d-dīn 'Alī, son of (5)	440/1048
9. Abdu-r-Rashīd, son of (3)	444/1052
10. Tughril (usurper)	444/1052
11. Farrukhzād, son of (5)	444/1053
12. Ibrāhīm, son of (5)	451/1059
13. Mas'ūd III, son of (12)	492/1099
14. Sherzād, son of (13)	508/1114
15. Arslān Shāh, son of (13)	509/1115
16. Bahrām Shāh, son of (13)	512/1118

1. The Chronology has been prepared mainly on the basis of prof. C.H. Philips' (Editor) *Hand book of Oriental History*, London 1958.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 17. Khusrau Shāh, son of (16) | 547/1152 |
| 18. Khusrau Malik, son of (17) | 555-82/1160 87 |

THE GHURIDS

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Quṭbu-d-dīn | — |
| 2. Saifu-d-dīn Sūrī | 543/1148 |
| 3. Alāu-d-dīn Hussain (the Jahansuz) | 544/1149 |
| 4. Saifu-d-dīn Muḥammad | 556/1161 |
| 5. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Muḥammad | 558/1163 |
| 6. Mu'izu-d-dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī, brother
of (5) | 569/1174 |

*THE IMPERIAL SULTĀNS OF DELHI**i) The Mamluks*

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, slave of Mu'izu-d-dīn
Muḥammad Ghūrī | 602/1206 |
| 2. Arām (adopted son) | 607/1210 |
| 3. Shamsu-d-dīn Iltutmish, slave of (1) | 607/1211 |
| 4. Ruknu-d-dīn Firuz Shāh, son of (3) | 633/1236 |
| 5. Raziyyatu-d-dīn, daughter of (3) | 634/1236 |
| 6. Mu'izu-d-dīn Bahrām, son of (3) | 637/1240 |
| 7. 'Alāu-d-dīn Masūd, son of (4) | 639/1242 |

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 8. Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd, son of (3) | 644/1246 |
| 9. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Balban, father-in-law
of (8) | 664/1266 |
| 10. Mu'izu-d-dīn Kaiqubād, grandson
of (9) | 686-89/1287-90 |

ii) *The Khaljis*

- | | |
|--|----------|
| 1. Jalālu-d-dīd Firūz Shāh | 689/1290 |
| 2. Ruknu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, son of (1) | 695/1296 |
| 3. 'Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh,
nephew of (1) | 695/1296 |
| 4. Shihābu-d-dīn 'Umar, son of (3) | 715/1316 |
| 5. Quṭbu-d-dīn Mubārak, son of (3) | 716/1316 |
| 6. Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khusrau, slave of (5) | 720/1320 |

iii) *The Tughlaqs*

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq Shāh, slave
of Balban | 720/1320 |
| 2. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq, son of (1) | 725/1325 |
| 3. Firāz Shāh III, nephew of (1) | 752/1351 |
| 4. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Tughlaq II, grandson
of (3) | 790/1388 |
| 5. Abū Bakr, grandson of (3) | 791/1389 |
| 6. Nāṣiru-d-dīn, Muḥammad Shāh,
son of (3) | 792/1390 |
| 7. 'Alāu-d-dīn Sikandar, son of (6) | 795/1394 |

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| 8. Nusrat Shāh, grandson of (3) | 795/1394 |
| 9. Maḥmūd Shāh, son of (6) | 795-816/1394-1413 |

iv) *The Sayyids*

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Khizr Khān | 817/1414 |
| 2. Mu'izu-d-dīn Mubārak, son of (1) | 824/1421 |
| 3. Muḥammad Shāh, grandson of (1) | 838/1434 |
| 4. 'Alāu-d-dīn 'Ālam Shāh, son of (3) | 849/1445 |

v) *The Lodis*

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Bahlūl Lodī | 855/1451 |
| 2. Sekandar Lodī | 894/1489 |
| 3. Ibrāhīm Lodī | 923-32/1517-26 |

THE PROVINCIAL DYNASTIES

BENGAL

i) *The Sulṭāns of Eastern Bengal*

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. Fakhr-u-d-dīn Mubārak Shāh | 739/1338 |
| 2. Ikhtiyāru-d-dīn Ghāzī Shāh, son of (1) | 751-54/1350-53 |

ii) *The Sulṭāns of Western
Bengal and all Bengal
The Ilyas Shahis*

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās Shāh | 740/1339 |
| 2. Sikandar Shāh, son of (1) | 761/1359 |

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 3. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn 'Azam Shāh,
son of (2) | 792/1389 |
| 4. Saifu-d-dīn Hamza Shāh, son
of (3) | 813/1410 |
| 5. Shihābu-d-dīn Bāyazīd, son
of (4) | 815/1412 |
| 6. 'Alāu-d-dīn Firūz, son of (5) | 817-18/1414-15 |

The House of Ganesa

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Rājā Ganesa | 818/1415 |
| 2. Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh,
son of (1) | 818/1415 |
| 3. Shamsu-d-dīn Aḥmad Shāh,
son of (2) | 835-39/1431-35 |

The Ilyās Shāhis

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 7. Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh | 841/1437 |
| 8. Ruknu-d-dīn Bārbak Shāh,
son of (7) | 864/1459 |
| 9. Shamsu-d-dīn Yūsuf Shāh,
son of (8) | 879/1474 |
| 10. Jalālu-d-dīn Fath Shāh
son of (9) | 886-93/1481-87 |

Abyssinian Rule

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Saifu-d-dīn Firūz Shāh | 893/1487 |
| 2. Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh II | 896/1490 |

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------|
| 3. Shamsu-d-dīn Muzaffar Shāh | 897-99/1491-93 |
|-------------------------------|----------------|

The Husain Shāhis

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. 'Alāu-d-dīn Husain Shāh | 899/1493 |
| 2. Nāsiru-d-dīn Nusrat Shāh,
son of (1) | 926/1519 |
| 3. 'Alāu-d-dīn Firūz Shāh,
son of (2) | 939/1532 |
| 4. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn Maḥmūd Shāh,
son of (1) | 940-46/1533-38 |

MĀLWA

i) *The Ghūris*

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|
| 1. Dilāwar Khān Ghūrī | 793/1390 |
| 2. Hūshang Shāh, son of (1) | 808/1405 |
| 3. Muḥammad, son of (2) | 838/1435 |
| 4. Mas'ūd, son of (3) | 839/1436 |

ii) *The Khaljīs*

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Maḥmūd I Khaljī | 839/1436 |
| 2. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, son of (1) | 873/1469 |
| 3. Nāṣiru-d-dīn, son of (2) | 905/1500 |
| 4. Maḥmūd II, son of (3) | 916-37/1510-31 |

THE SULTĀNS OF GUJARĀT

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------|
| 1. Muzaffar I | 810/1407 |
| 2. Aḥmad I, grandson of (1) | 814/1411 |

3. Muḥammad Karīm, son of (2)	846/1442
4. Quṭbu-d-dīn Aḥmad, son of (3)	855/1451
5. Dāūd, son of (2)	862/1458
6. Maḥmūd I Begarha, son of (3)	862/1458
7. Muzaffar II, son of (6)	917/1511
8. Sikandar, son of (7)	932/1526
9. Maḥmūd II, son of (7)	932/1526
10. Bahādur, son of (7)	932/1526
11. Mīrān Muḥammad, grandson of (7)	943/1537
12. Maḥmūd III, grandson of (7)	943/1537
13. Aḥmad II	961/1554
14. Muzaffar III, son of (12)	970-80/1562-72

THE FARŪQI SULTĀNS OF KHĀNDESH

1. Malik Rāja	772/1370
2. Malik Nāṣir, son of (1)	801/1399
3. ‘Ādil Khān I, son of (2)	840/1437
4. Mubārak Khān, son of (3)	844/1441
5. ‘Ādil Khān II, son of (4)	861/1457
6. Dāūd Khān, son of (4)	907/1501
7. Ghaznī Khān, son of (6)	914/1508
8. Hasan Khān, son of (4)	914/1508

9. 'Ādil Khān III	914/1509
10. Mirān Muḥammad, son of (9)	926/1520
11. Aḥmad Shāh, son of (10)	943/1537
12. Mirān Mubārak II, son of (9)	943/1537
13. Mirān Muḥammad II, son of (12)	974/1566
14. Hasan Shāh, son of (13)	984/1576
15. 'Ādil Khān IV, son of (12)	985/1578
16. Bahādur Shāh, son of (15)	1006-09/1597-1601

THE SHARQI SULTANS JAUNPUR

1. Malik Sarwar, Khawāja Jahān	796/1394
2. Mubārak Shāh, adopted son of (1))	802/1399
3. Shamsu-d-dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh, adopted son of (1)	805/1402
4. Maḥmūd Shāh, son of (3)	840/1436
5. Muḥammad Shāh, son of (4)	862/1458
6. Husain Shāh, son of (4)	862-81/1458-77

DECCAN

i) The Bahmanīs

1. 'Alāu-d-dīn Hasān Bahmān Shāh	748/1347
2. Muḥammad I, son of (1)	759/1358
3. 'Alāu-d-dīn Mujāhid, son of (2)	776/1375
4. Dāūd, grandson of (1)	779/1378
5. Muḥammad II, grandson of (1)	780/1378
6. Ghiyāsu-d-dīn, son of (5)	799/1397

7. Shamsu-d-dīn, son of (5)	799/1397
8. Fīrūz, grandson of (1)	800/1397
9. Aḥmad I, grandson of (1)	825/1422
10. 'Alāu-d-dīn Aḥmad II, son of (9)	839/1436
11. Humāyūn, son of (10)	862/1458
12. Nizām, son of (11)	865/1461
13. Muḥammad III, son of (11)	867/1463
14. Maḥmūd, son of (13)	887/1482
15. Aḥmad III, son of (14)	924/1518
16. 'Alāu-d-dīn, son of (14)	927/1521
17. Walīu l-lāh, son of (14)	928/1522
18. Kalīmu-l-lāh, son of (14)	931-34/1525-27

ii) *The 'Imād Shāhis of Berār*

1. Fathu-l-lāh 'Imād Shāh	895/1490
2. 'Alāu-d-dīn 'Imād Shāh, son of (1)	910/1504
3. Daryā 'Imād Shāh, son of (2)	957/1529
4. Burhān 'Imād Shāh, son of (3)	970/1562
5. Tufāl Khān (usurper)	976-82/1568-74

iii) *The Nizām Shāhis of Aḥmadnagar*

1. Aḥmad Nizām Shāh	895/1490
2. Burhān Shāh I, son of (1)	915/1509

3. Husain Shāh I, son of (2)	960/1553
4. Murtazā Shāh I, son of (3)	973/1565
5. Husain Shāh II, son of (4)	995/1586
6. Ismā'il Shāh, grandson of (3)	997/1589
7. Burhān Shāh II, son of (3)	999/1591
8. Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of (7)	1002/1595
9. Bahādur Shāh, son of (8)	1004/1596
10. Aḥmad II	1004/1596
11. Murtazā Shāh II, grandson of (2)	1012/1603
12. Husain Shāh III	1040-43/1630-33

iv) *The Barīd Shāhīs of Bidar*

1. Amīr Qāsim Barīd	894/1487
2. Amīr 'Alī Barīd, son of (1)	910/1504
3. 'Alī Barīd Shāh, son of (2)	949/1542
4. Ibrāhīm Barīd Shāh, son of (3)	987/1579
5. Qāsim Barīd Shāh II, son of (4)	994/1586
6. Amīr Barīd Shāh	999/1589
7. Mīrzā 'Alī Barīd Shāh, brother of (6)	1010/1601
8. 'Alī Barīd Shāh II	1018-28/1609-19

v) *The 'Ādil Shāhīs of Bijāpur*

1. Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh	895/1490
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2. Ismā'il Shāh, son of (1)	916/1510
3. Mallu Shāh, son of (2)	941/1534
4. Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of (2)	941/1534
5. 'Alī Shāh I, son of (4)	965/1558
6. Ibrāhīm Shāh II, nephew of (5)	988/1580
7. Muḥammad Shāh, son of (6)	1037/1627
8. 'Alī Shāh II, son of (7)	1068/1657
9. Sikandar Shāh, son of (8)	1083-97/1672-86

vi) *The Quṭb Shāhis of Golocondā*

1. Sultān Qulī Quṭb Shāh	918/1512
2. Jamshīd Shāh, son of (1)	950/1543
3. Subhān Shāh, son of (2)	957/1550
4. Ibrāhīm Shāh, son of (1)	957/1550
5. Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, son of (4)	988/1580
6. Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, nephew of (5)	1020/1612
7. Abdu-l-lah Shāh, son of (6)	1035/1626
8. Abu-l-Hasan Quṭb Shāh, son-in- law of (7)	1083-98/1672-87

THE SURS

1. Sher Shāh	945/1538-39
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2. Islām Shāh, son of (1)	952/1545
3. Mubāriz Khān Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh, nephew of (1)	961/1554
4. Ibrāhīm Shāh, cousin of (1)	962/1555
5. Aḥmad Khān Sikandar Shāh, cousin of (1)	962/1555

THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

1. Zāhiru-d-dīn Muḥammad Bābur	932/1526
2. Muḥammad Humāyūn, son of (1)	937/1530
3. Jalālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar, son of (2)	963/1556
4. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngir, son of (3)	1014/1605
5. Dāvar Bakhsh, grandson of (4)	1037/1627
6. Shihābu-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Jahān, son of (4)	1037/1628
7. Murād Baksh, son of (6)	1068/1657
8. Shāh Shujā, son of (6)	1068/1657
9. Muhiu-d-dīn Muḥammad Aurangzīb ‘Ālamgīr, son of (6)	1068/1658
10. ‘Azam Shāh, son of (9)	1118/1707
11. Kām Bakhsh, son of (9)	1119/1707
12. Mu‘azzam Shāh ‘Ālam I, Bahādur Shāh I, son of (9)	1119/1707

13.	‘Azīmu-sh-Shān son of (12)	1124/1712
14.	Mu‘izu-d-dīn Jahāndar Shāh, son of (12)	1124/1712
15.	Muḥammad Farrukhsiyar, son of (12)	1124/1713
16.	Rafī‘u-d-Darajāt, grandson of (12)	1131/1719
17.	Rafī‘u-d-Daulah, Shāh Jahān II, grandson of (12)	1131/1719
18.	Muḥammad Shāh, grandson of (12)	1131/1719
19.	Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, grandson of (12)	1132/1720
20.	Aḥmad Shāh, son of (18)	1161/1748
21.	‘Azīzu-d-dīn ‘Ālamgīr II, son of (14)	1167/1754
22.	Shāh Jahān III, great grandson of (9)	1173/1759
23.	Shāh ‘Ālam II, son of (21)	1173/1759
24.	Bīdār Bakht, son of (20)	1202/1788
25.	Akbar Shāh II, son of (23)	1221/1806
26.	Bahādur Shāh II, son of (25)	1253-76/1837-58

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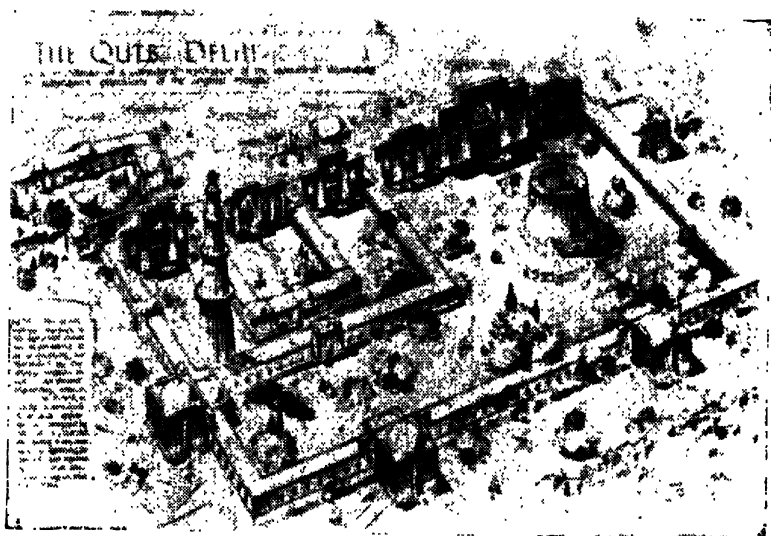
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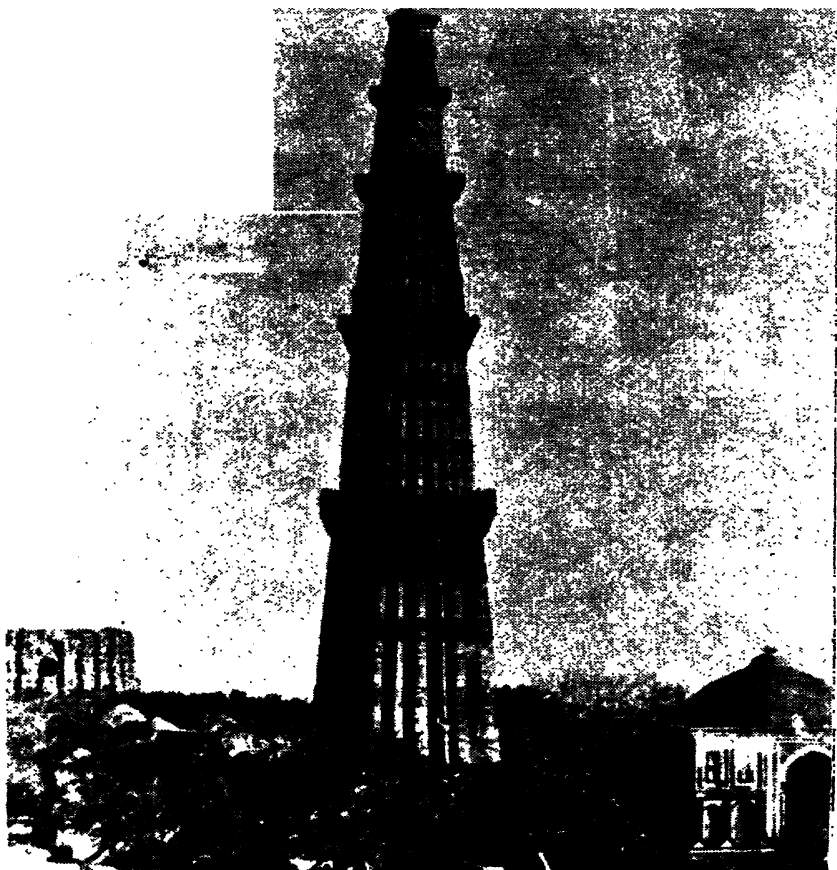
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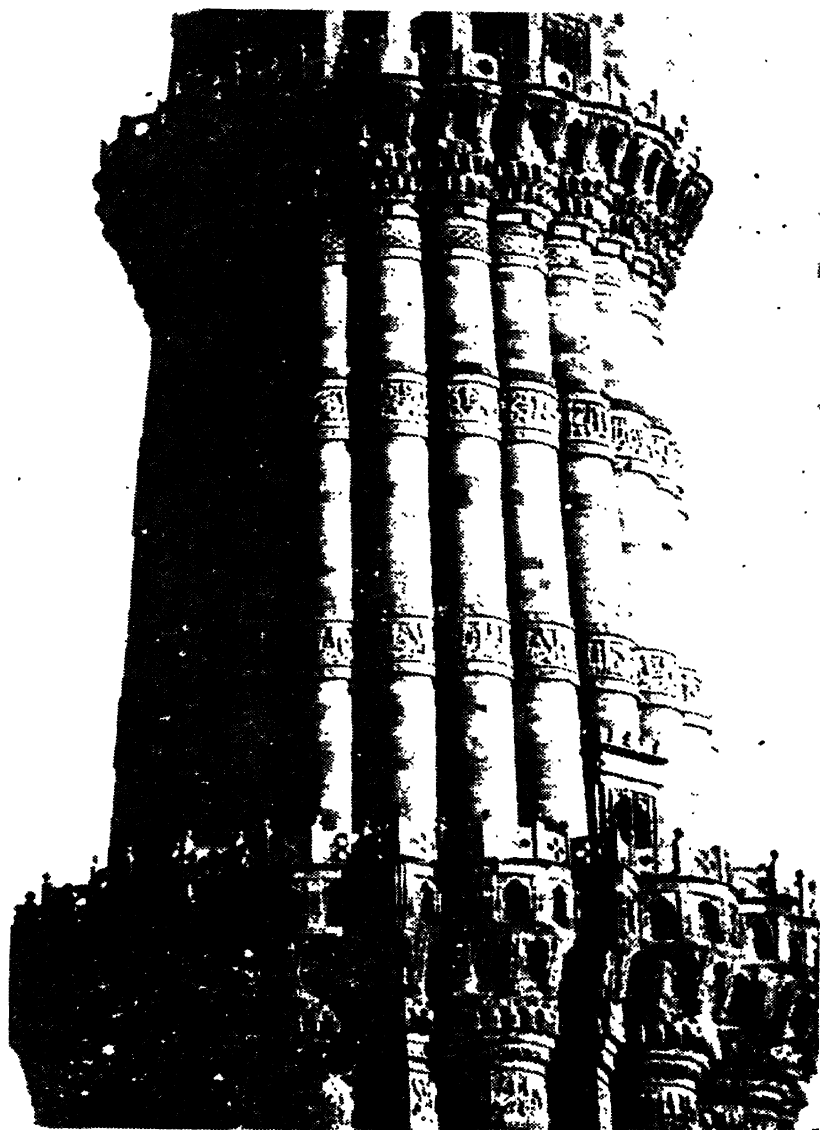
1. The Quṭb Masjid, Delhi. Conjectural Restoration

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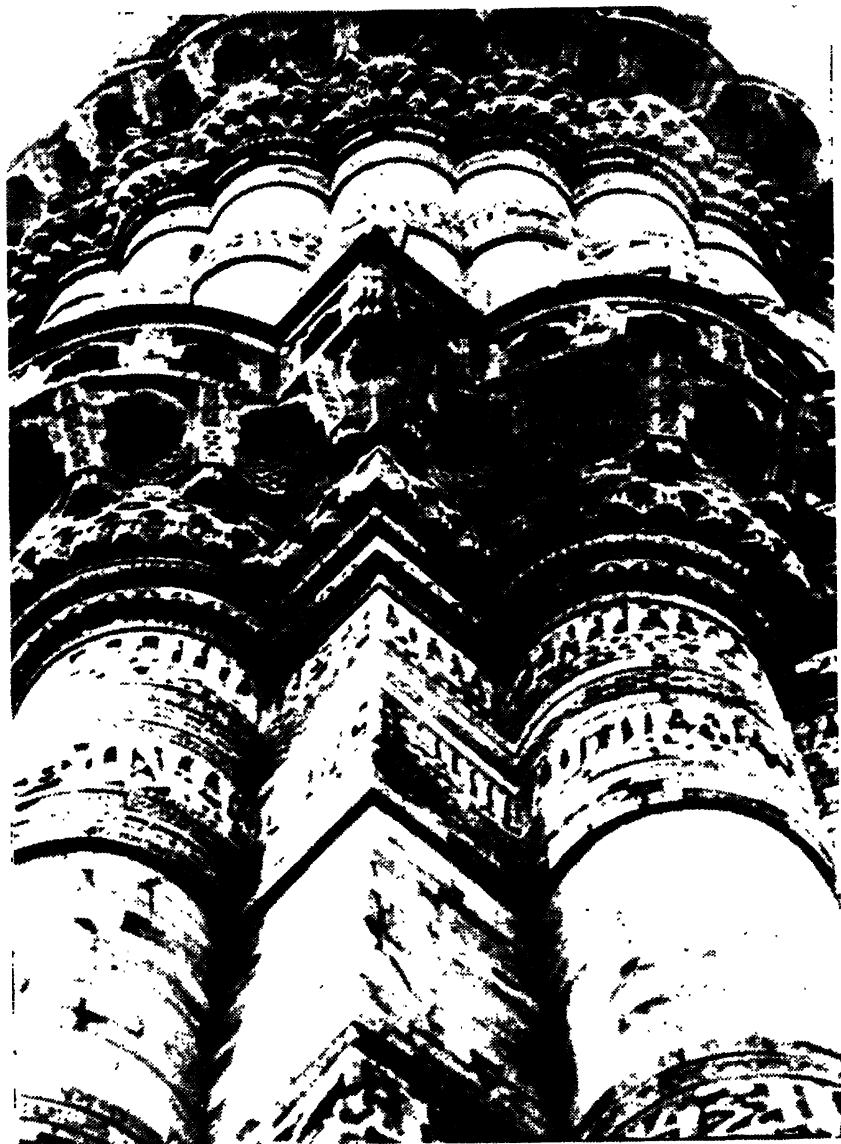
2. The Qutb Manāra, with 'Alāi Manāra on left, Delhi

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3. The Qutb Manāra, second story Detail

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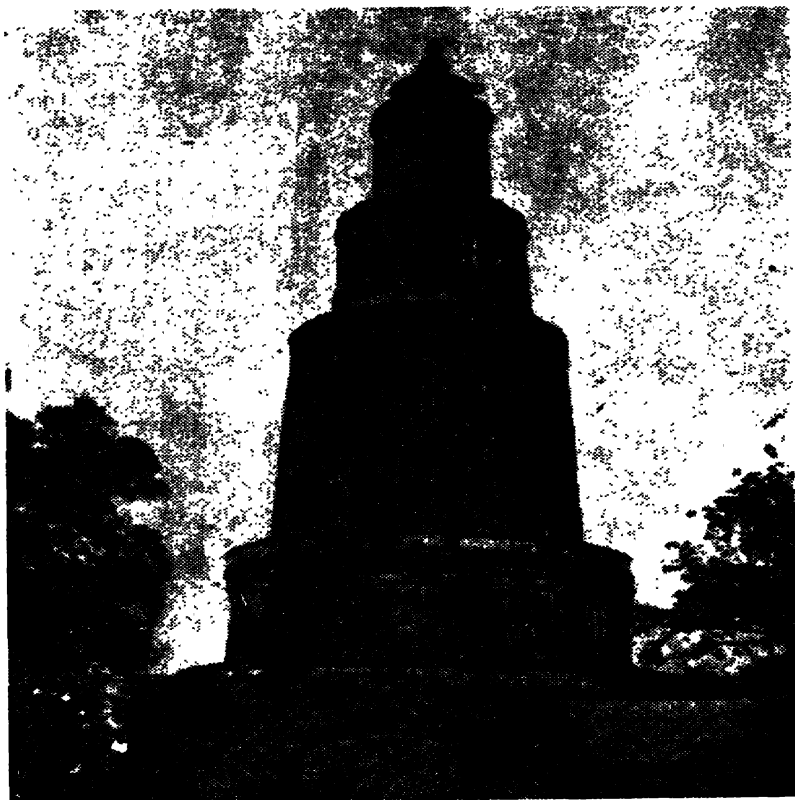
4. The Qutb Manāra, Stalactite brackets, Detail

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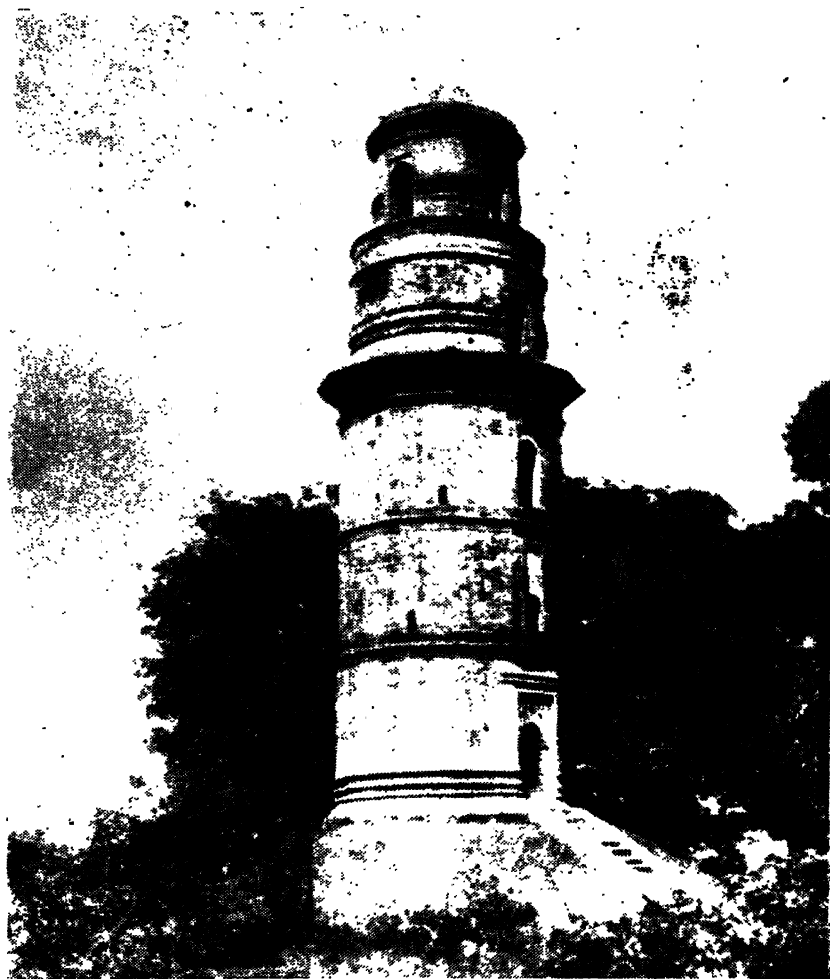
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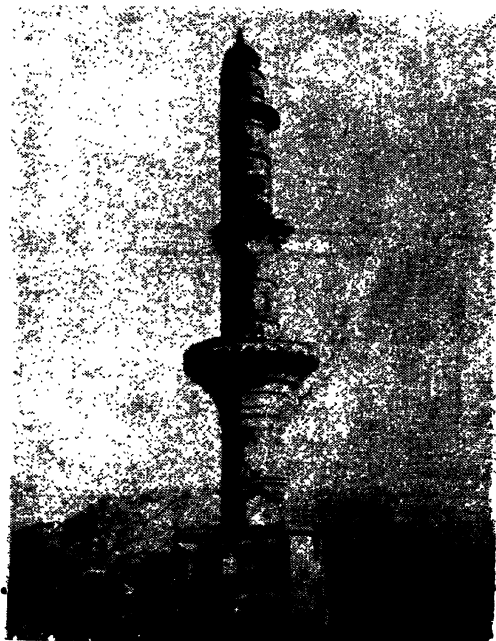
6. The Manāra at Chhota Pāndua, Hugly



7. The Firūz Manāra, Gaur

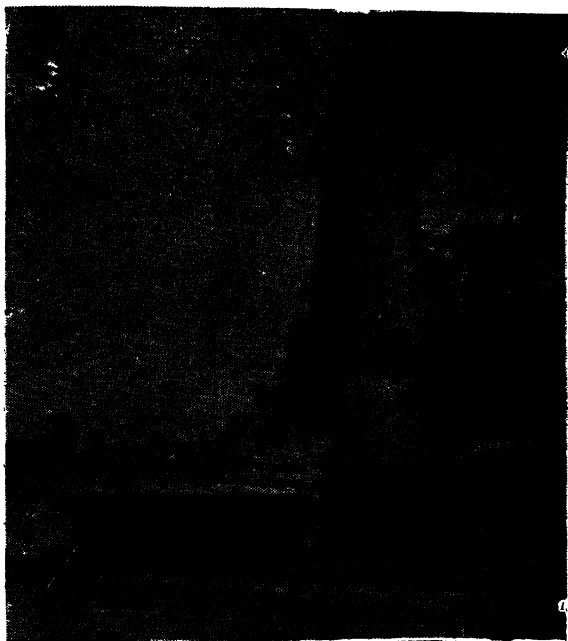


8. The Manāra of
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9. The Chānd
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10. The EK Manāra^s
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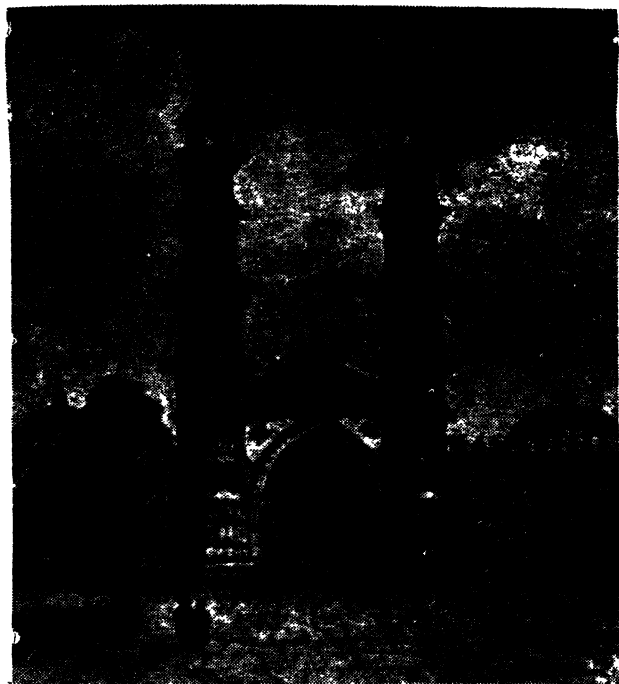
11. The Gateway
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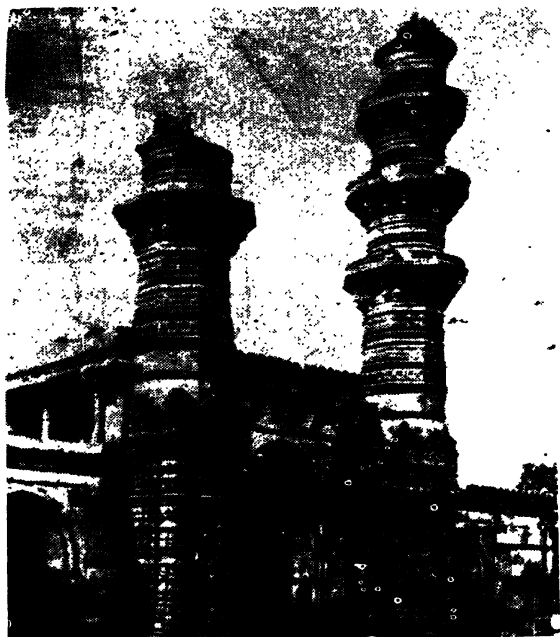
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13. The
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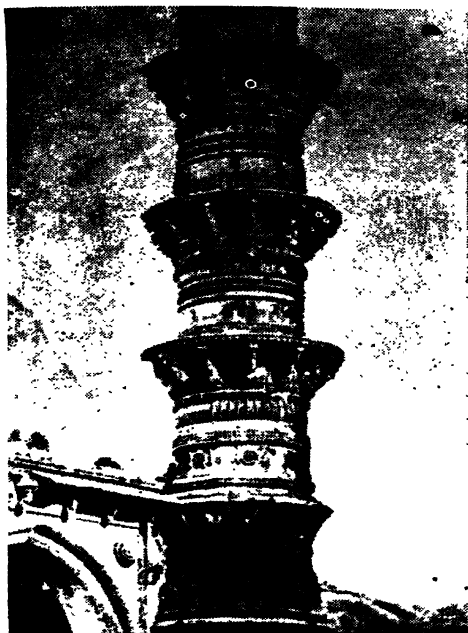
14. The manāras of Mālīk 'Alam's Masjid, Aḥmadābād



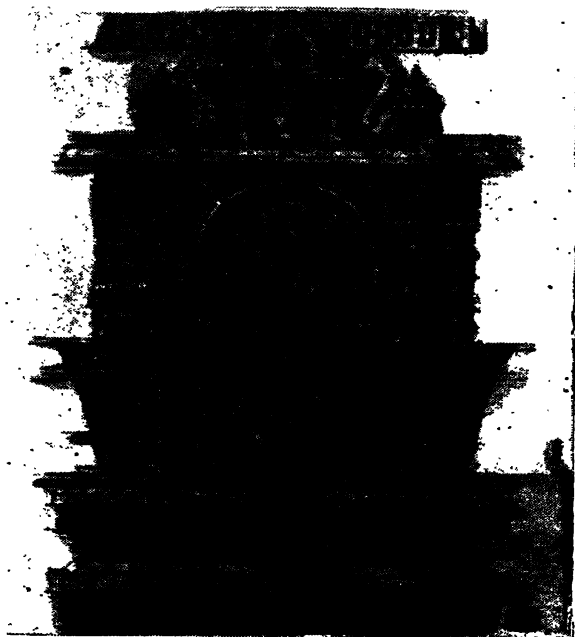
15. The manāras of the
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16. The manāras of
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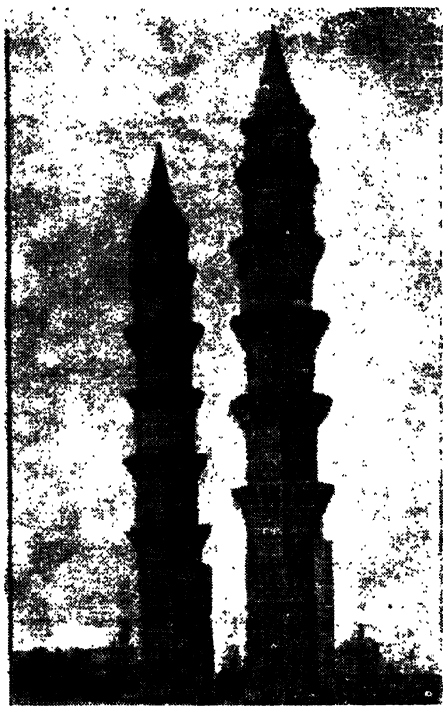
17. The north manāra of
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18. Niche decoration
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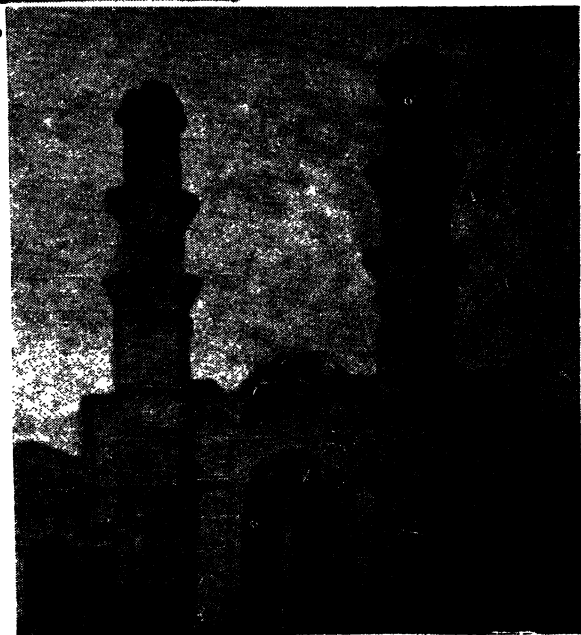
19. The South manāra of Bāi Harir's Masjid, old photos



20. The manāras at the Railway Station, Aḥmadābād

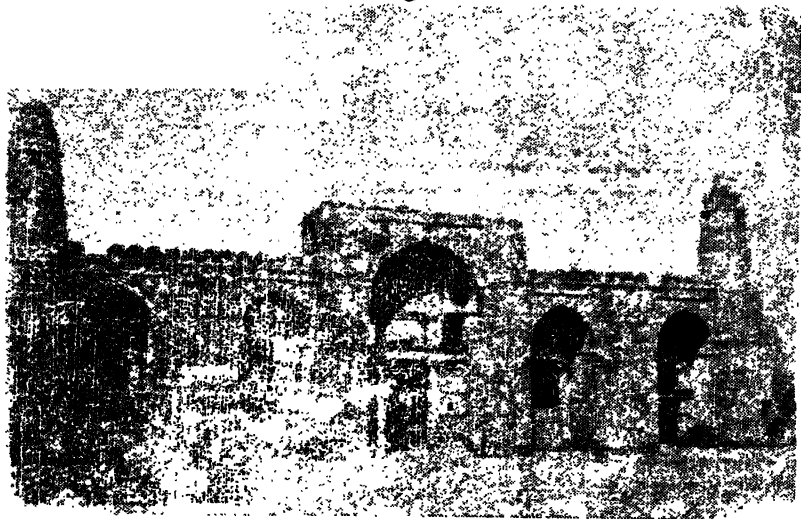
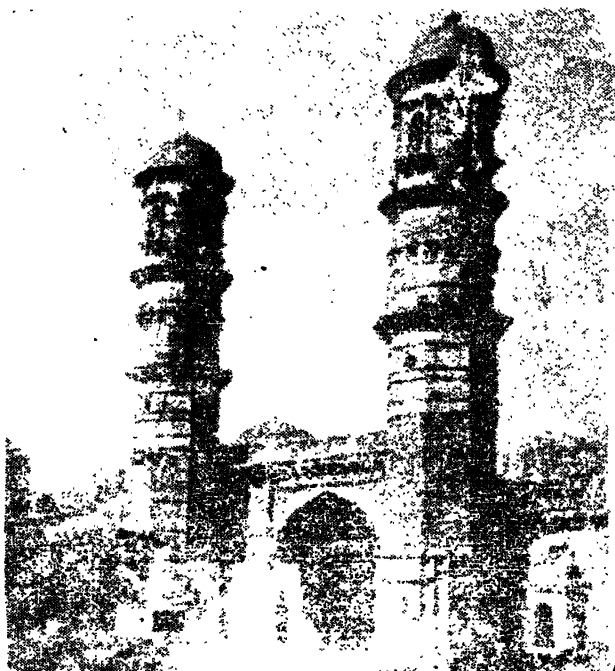


21. The manāras of the
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Chāmpānir



22. The manāras
of the Nagīna
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Chāmpānir

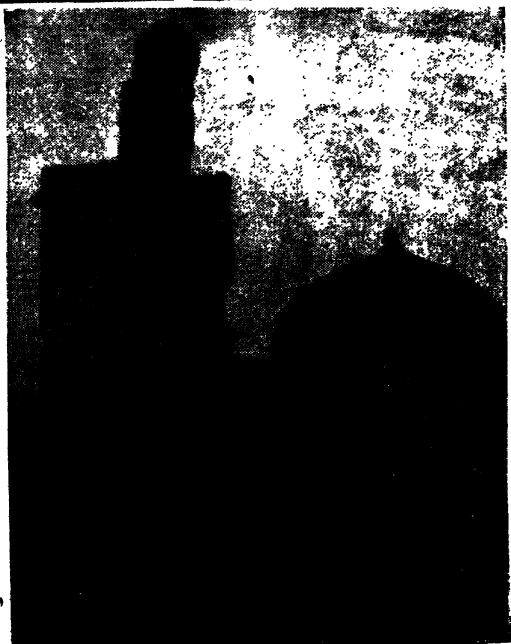
23. The manāra
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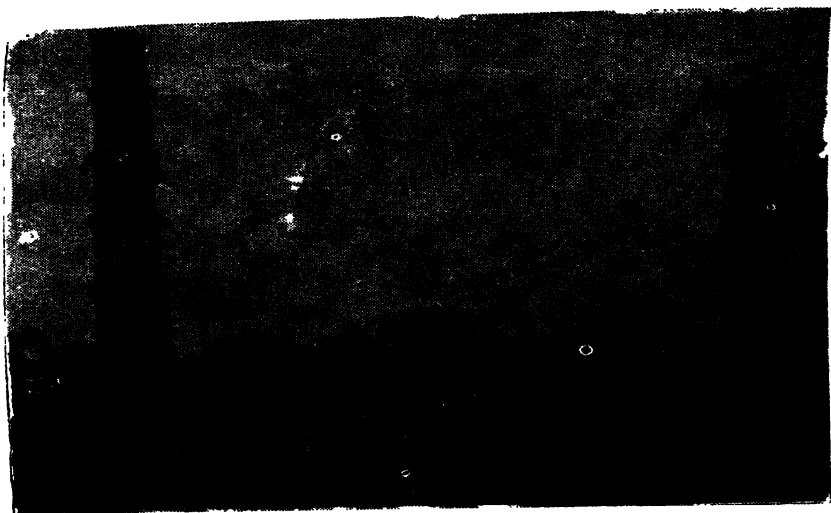
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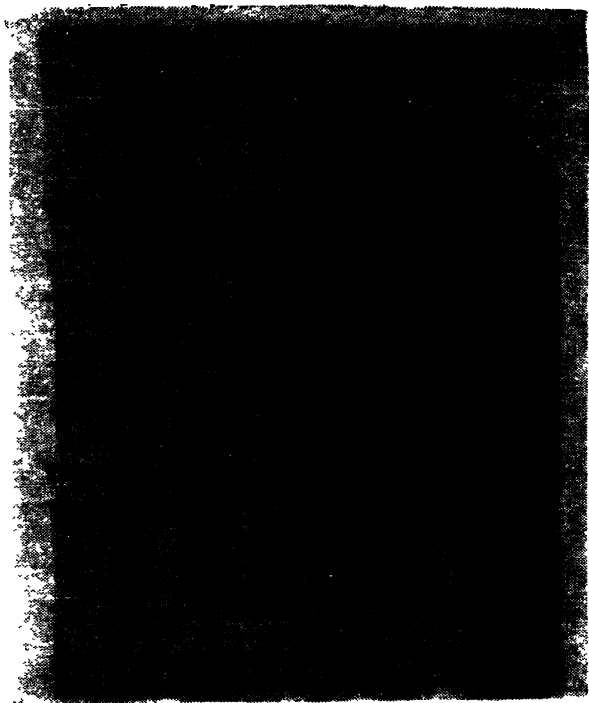
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27. Sayyid 'Uṭhmān's Masjid at Uṭhmānpur, Gujarāt



28 The
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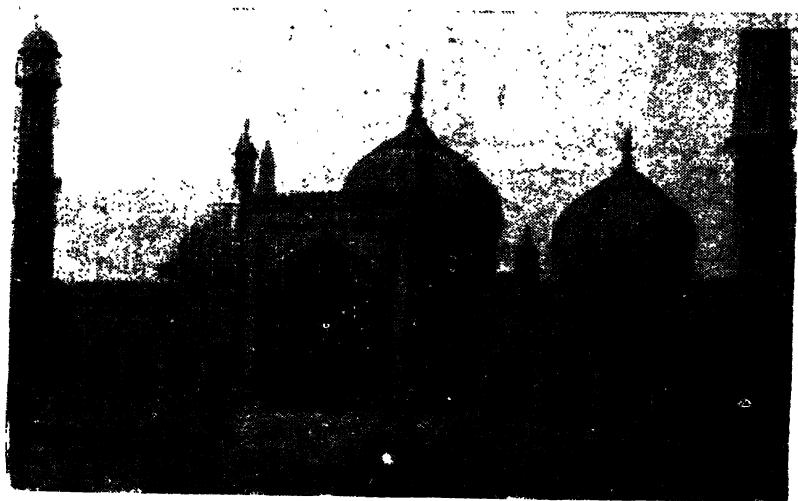
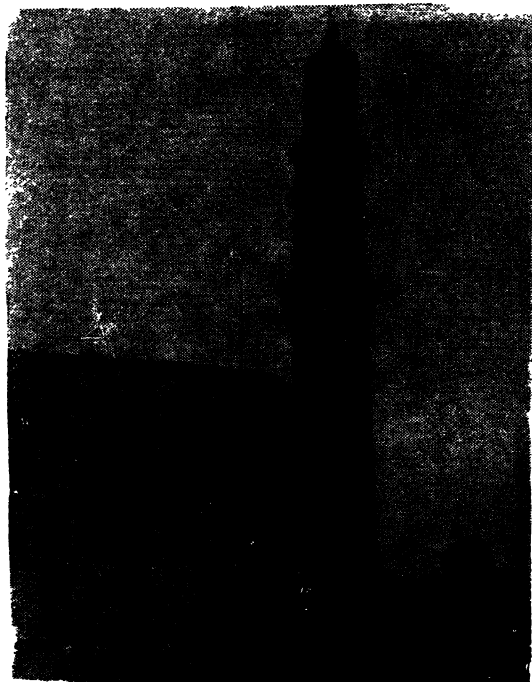


29 .Niche decoration
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30. The Jamī' Masjid, Asīrgarh

31. A manāra
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32. The Prayer hall of the Jāmi' Masjid, Delhi

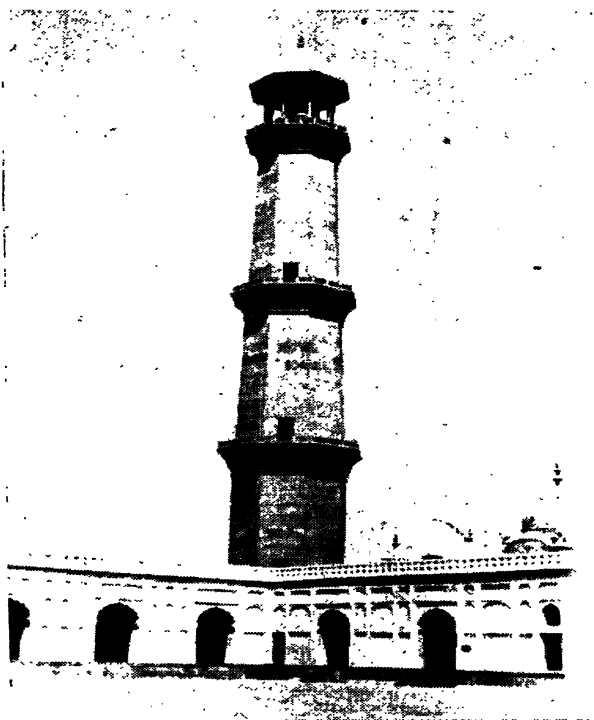


33. A Manāra of the Jāmi' masjid, Delhi

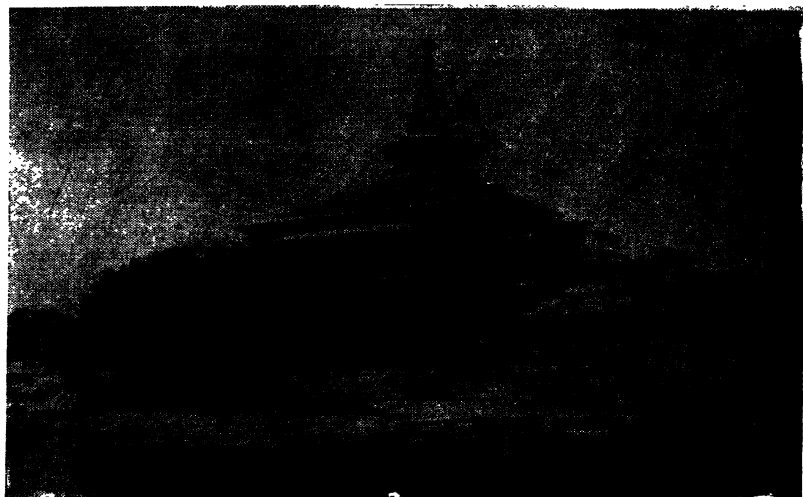
**34. The Khirkī
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**35. The SE Manāra of
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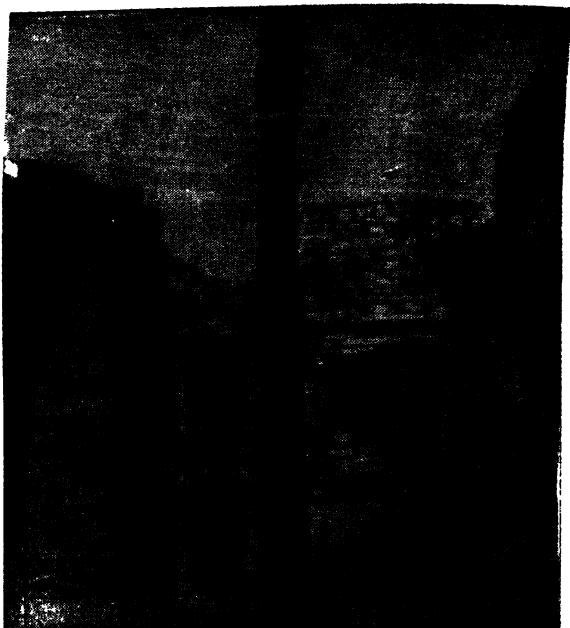


36. The SE
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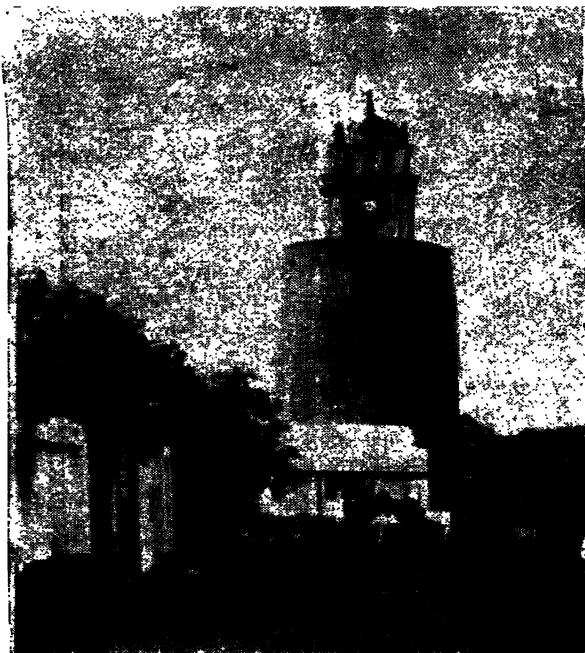


37. The Masjid of Shih Hamad, Srinagar

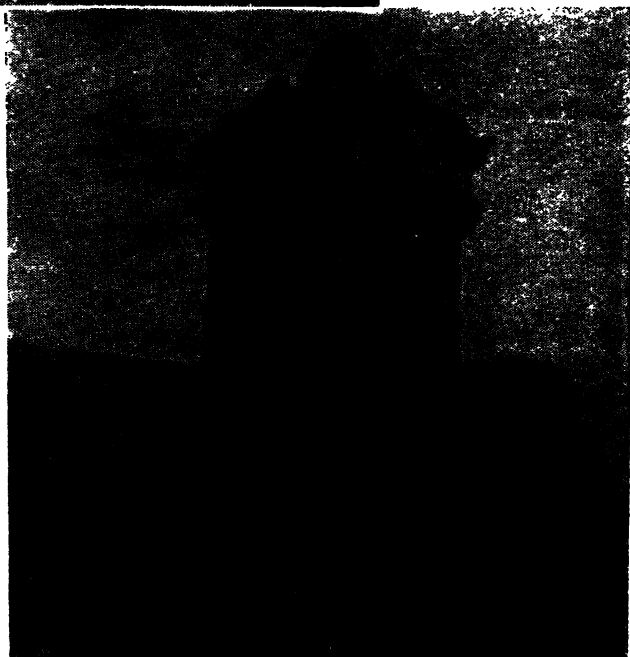
38. The Iron
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39. The Chor
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40. The Chaubāra,
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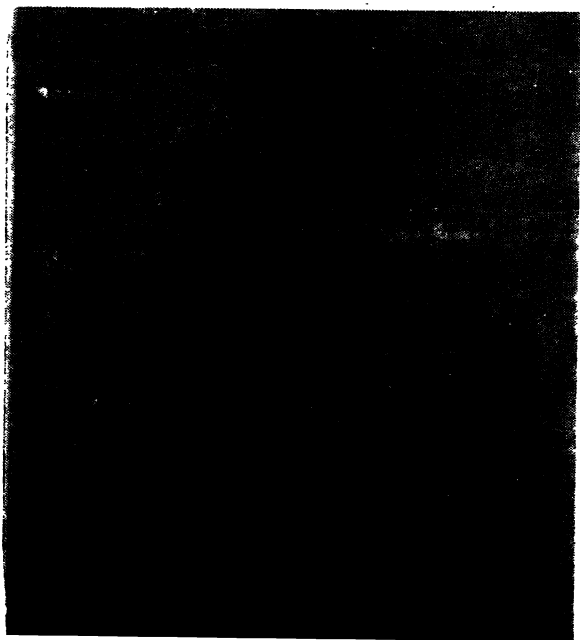


41 A manāra
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42. The Ūbh-
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43. The Hiran
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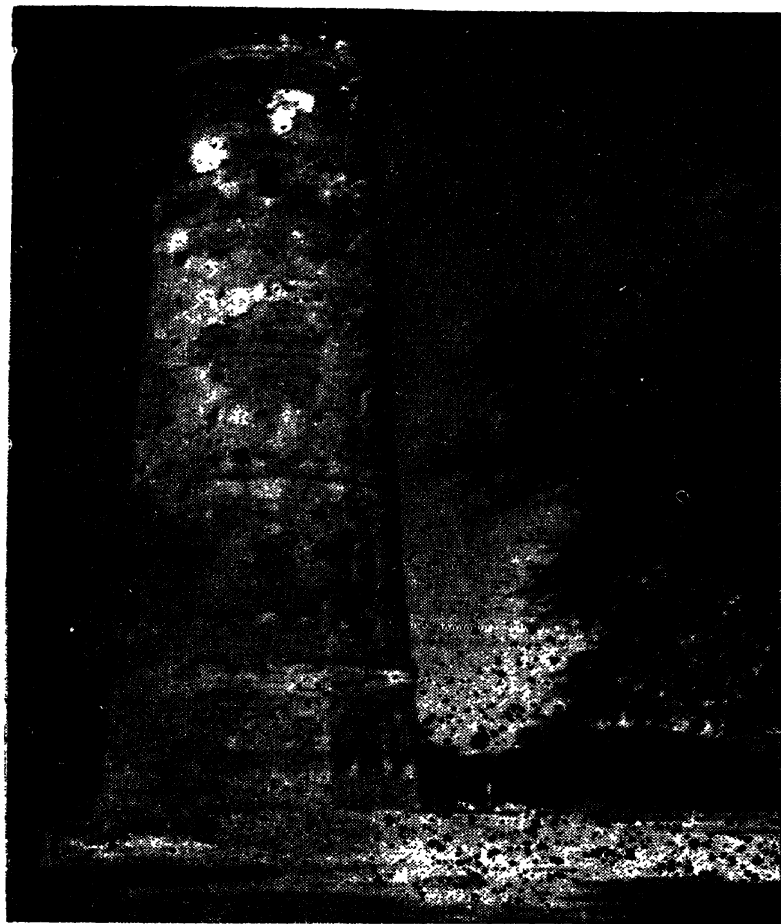


44. The manāra
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45. The manāra of
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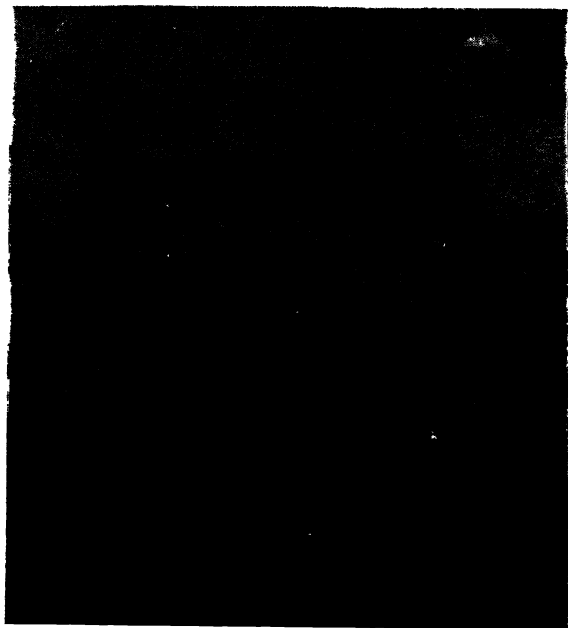
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46. The Hiran Manāra, Sheikhūpūra

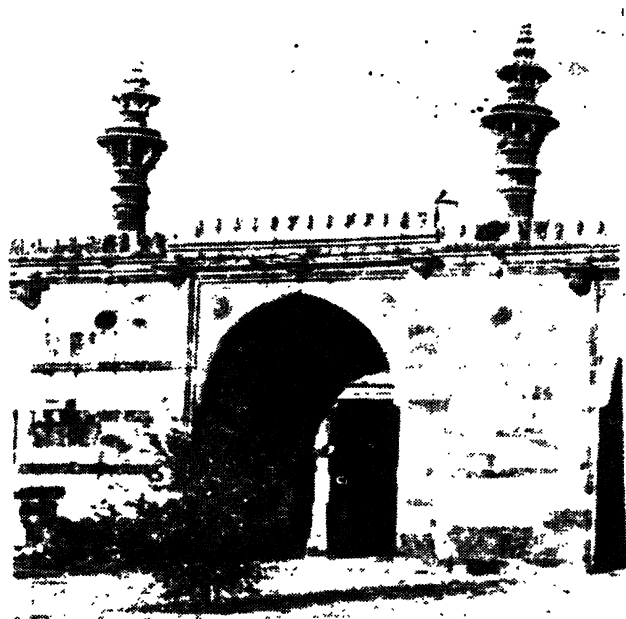


47. The manāras of
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Gateway, Chānderī

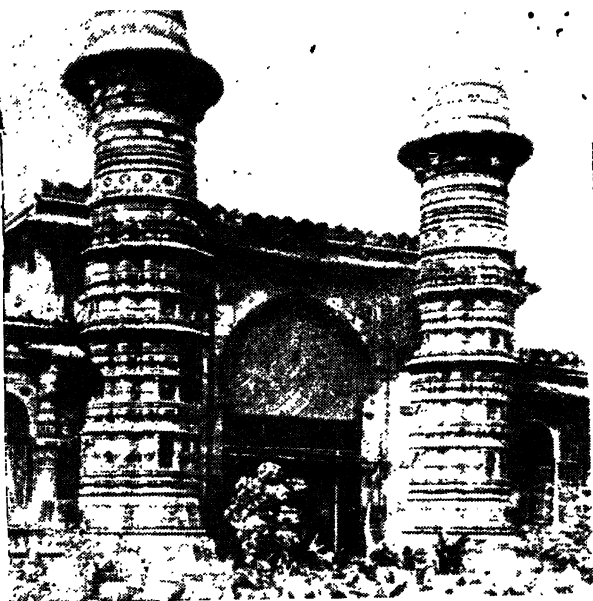


48. The gateway of
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49. The
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50. The manāras of the Masjid of Sayyid ʿĀlam, Aḥmadābād



51. The manāras
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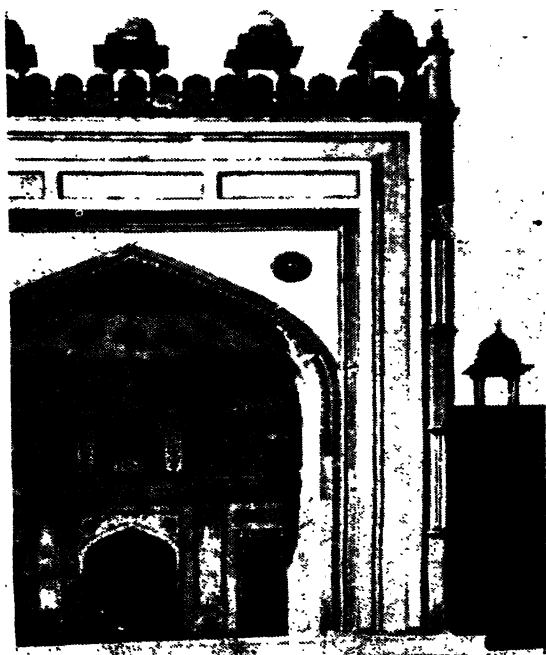


52. The manāras of
the Masjid of
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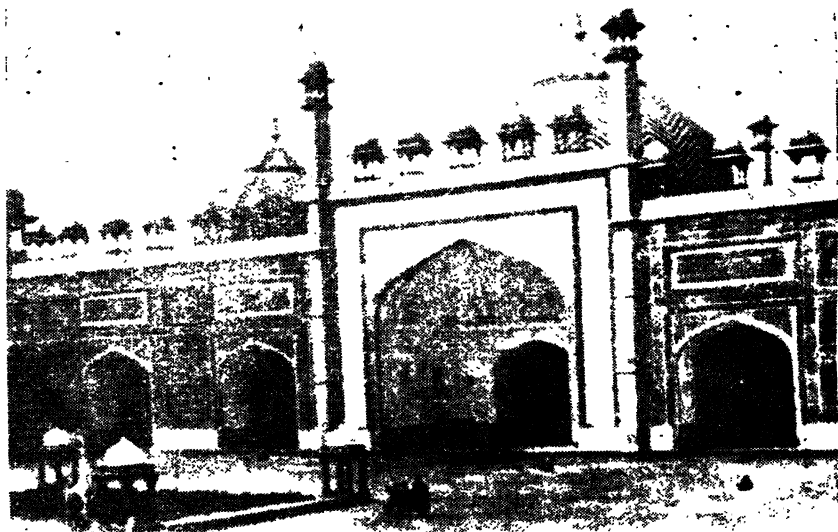
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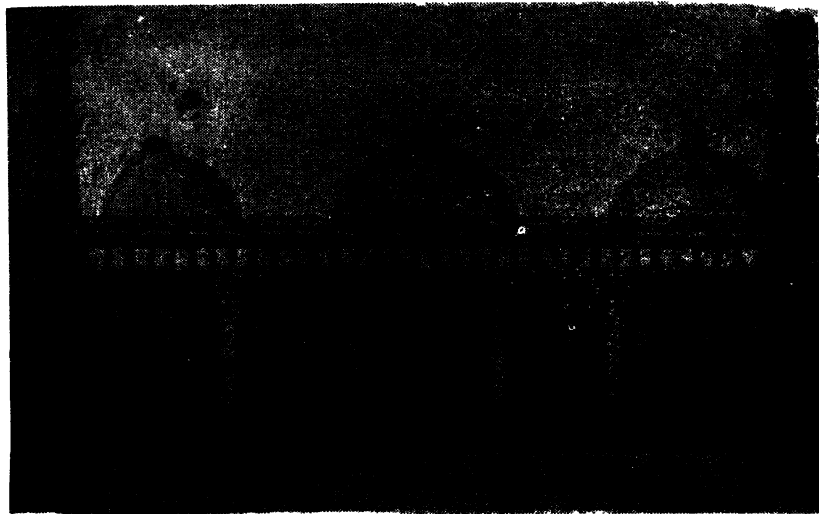
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58. A manāra of
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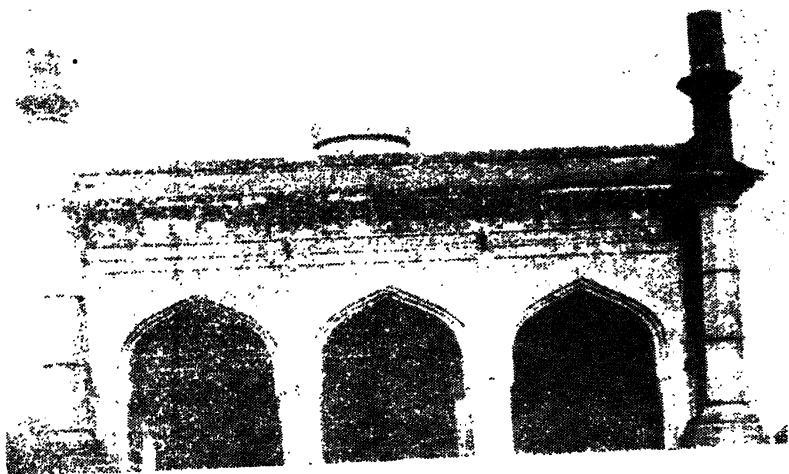


59. A manāra of
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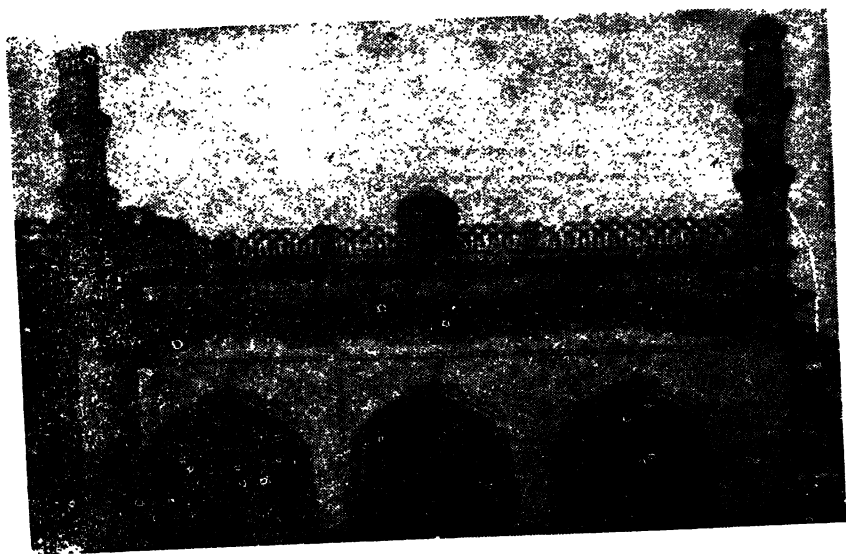


60. The Masjid of
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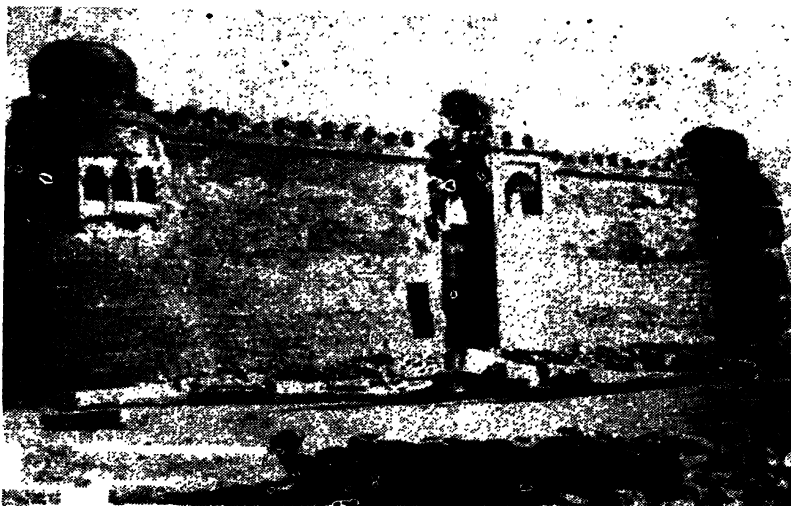
61. The Kālī Masjid, Bīdar



62. The Masjid of 'Ali Barid's tomb, Bīdar



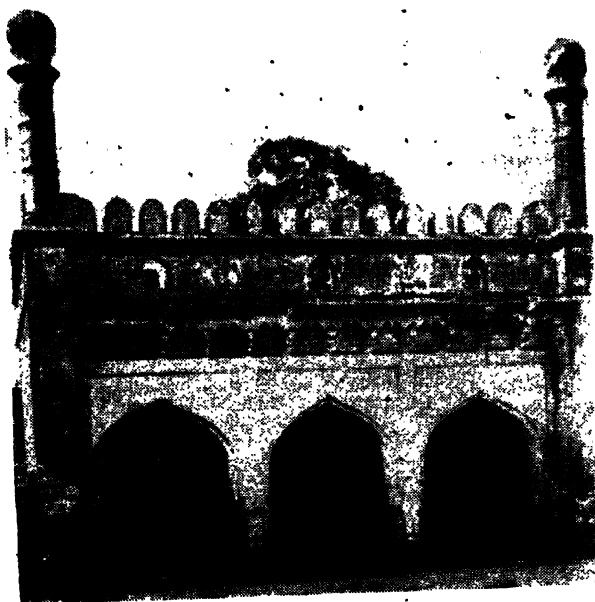
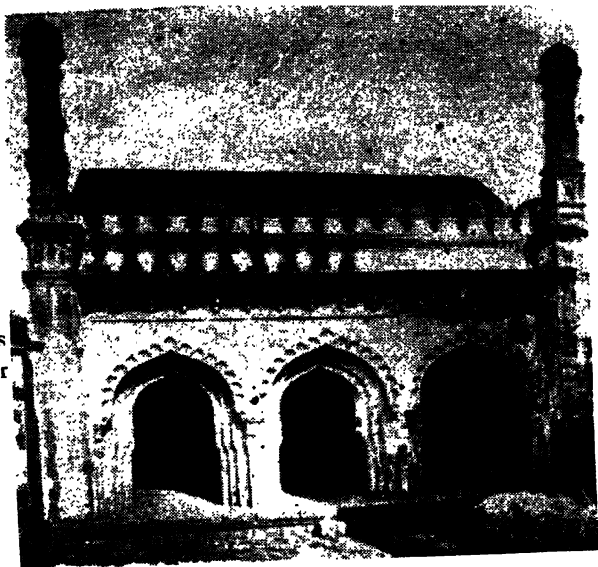
63. The Masjid near the tomb of Makhdum Qādirī, Bidar



64. The 'Idgāh, Bijāpur

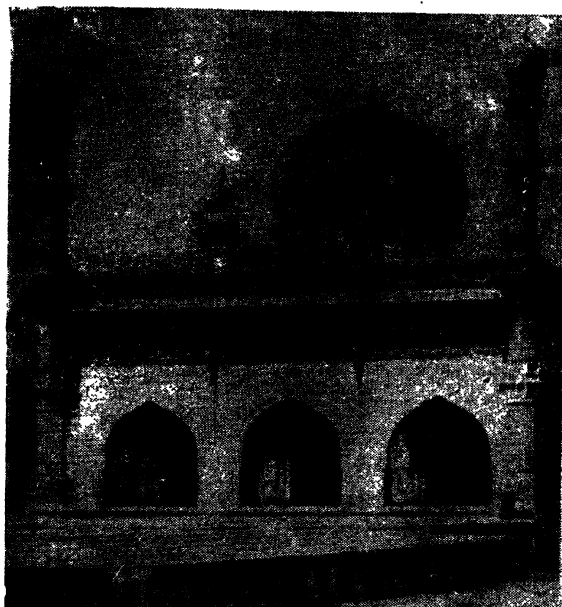
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65. 'Alī Shahīd Pīr's
Masjid, Bijāpur

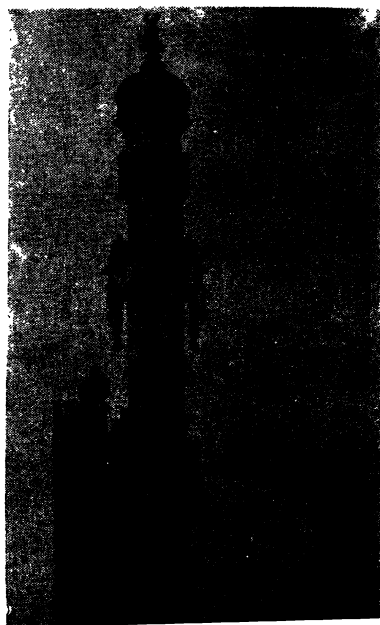


66. The Haida-
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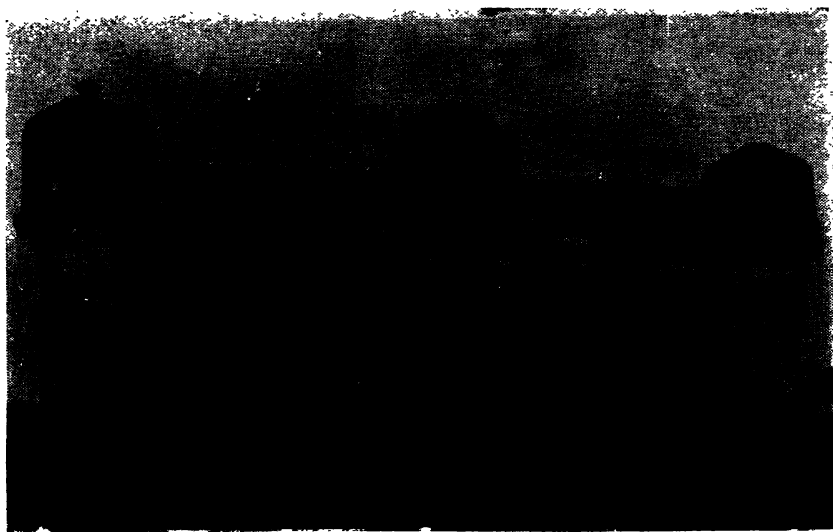
67. Malika Jahān
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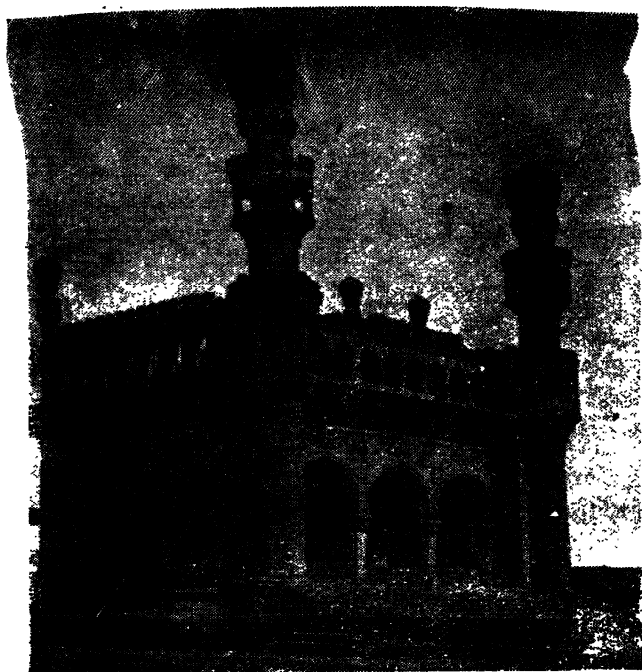
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69. The Mihtar Mahal Masjid, Bijapur



70. The Idgah at Koilkonda, Hyderabad

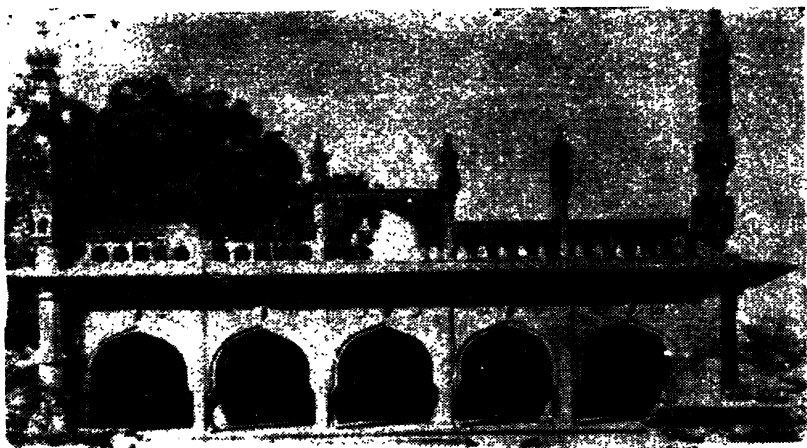


71. The Shaikh-
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Golconda

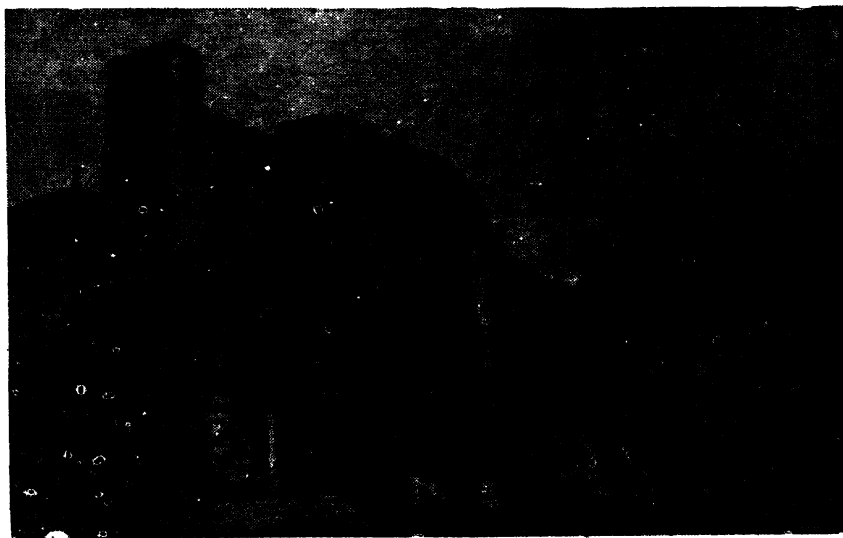
72. A mināra of the
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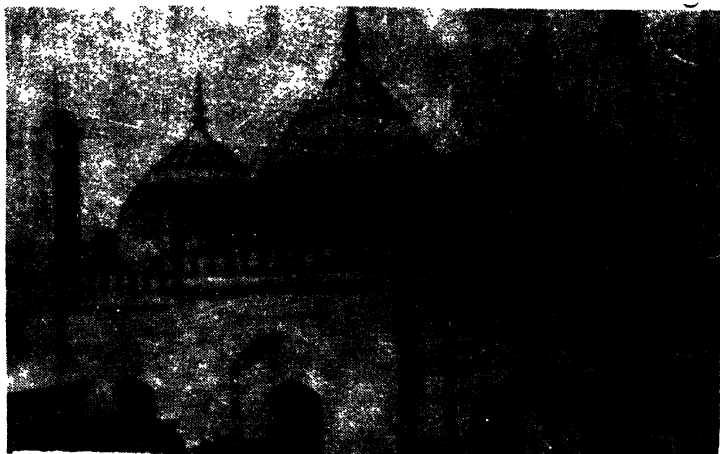


73. The Jāmi' Masjid at Bioltī, Nanded



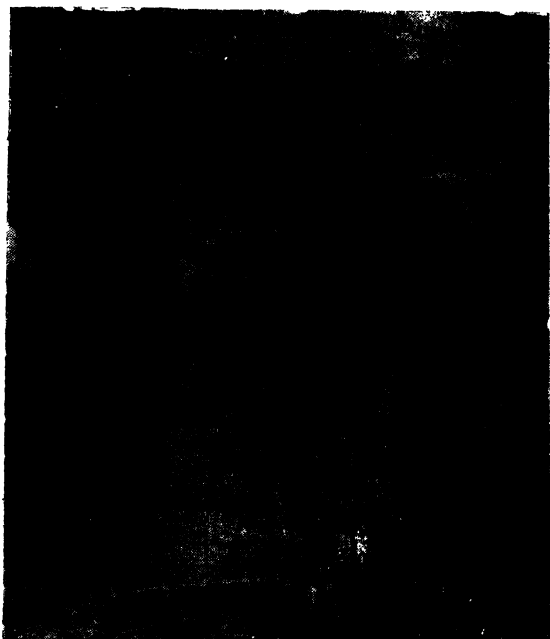
74. The rear facade of the Ātalā Masjid, Jaunpur

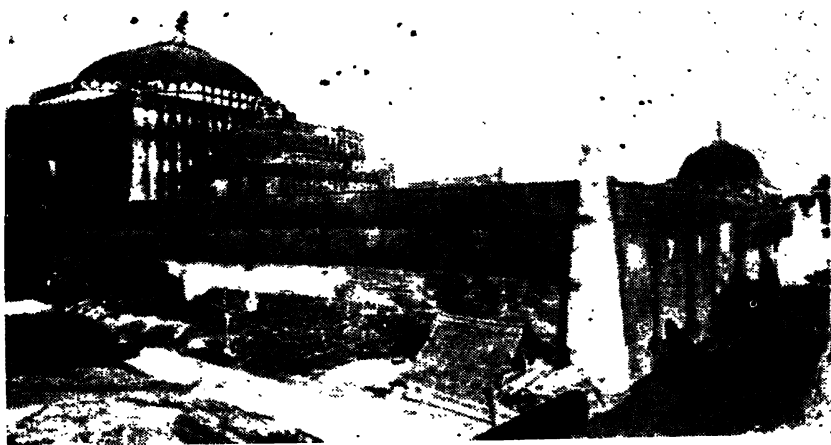
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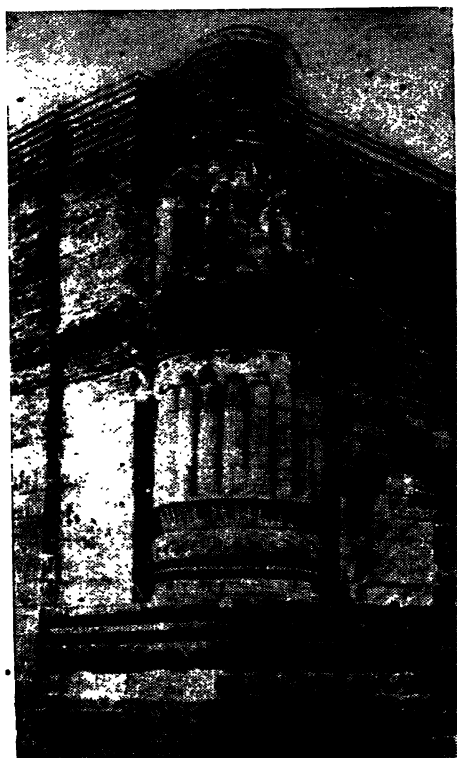
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76. The tomb
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77. A manāra of the Jāmi' Masjid, Badāun

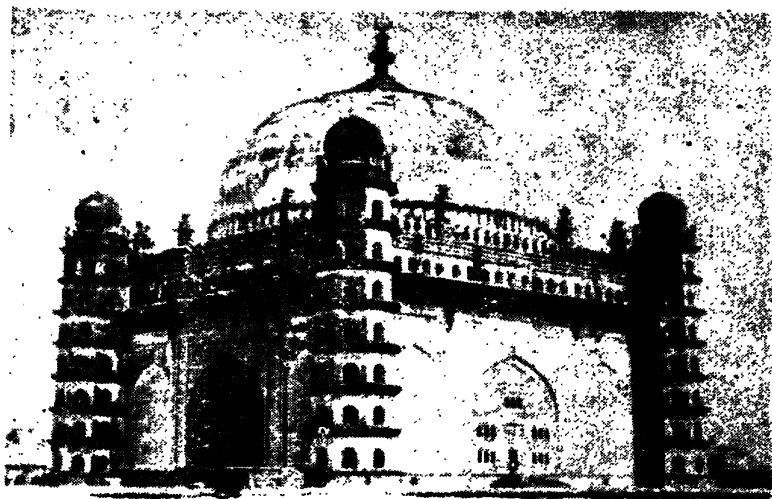


78. A manāra of the
Adina Masjid, Hazrat
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79. The Dakhil
Darwāza, Gaur



80. The Gol Gumbaz, Bijāpur



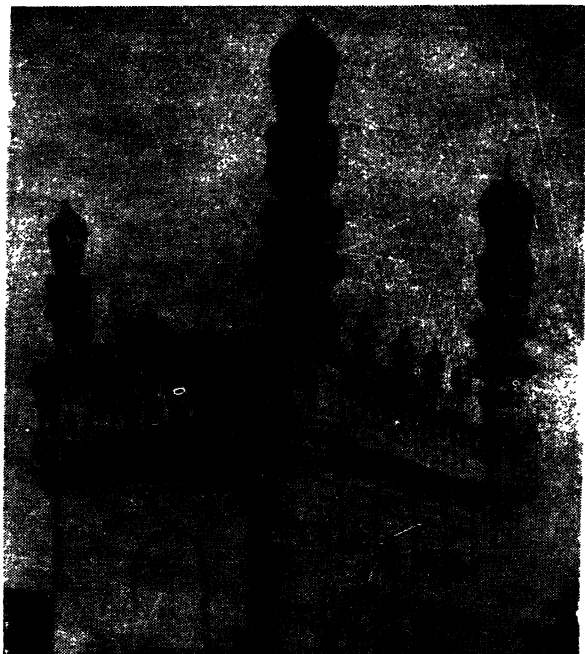
81. The Char manāra, Hyderābād



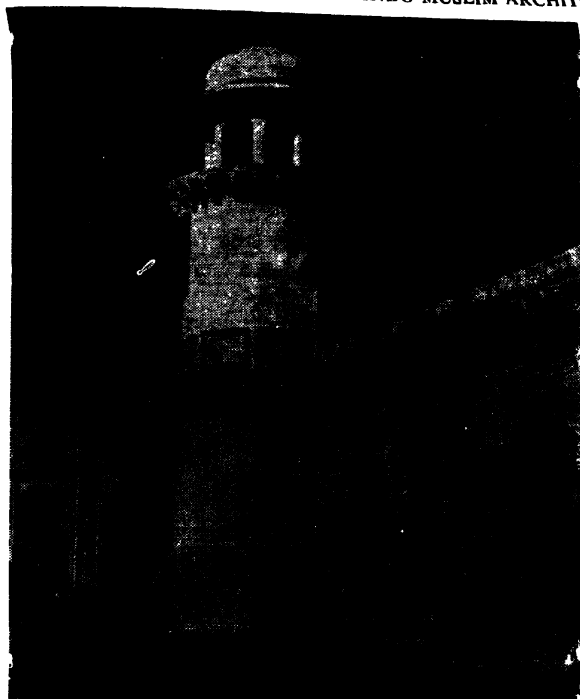
82, A manāra of the Chār Manāra, Detail

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83. The Toli
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84. The Southern Gateway of Akbar's tomb, Sekandara

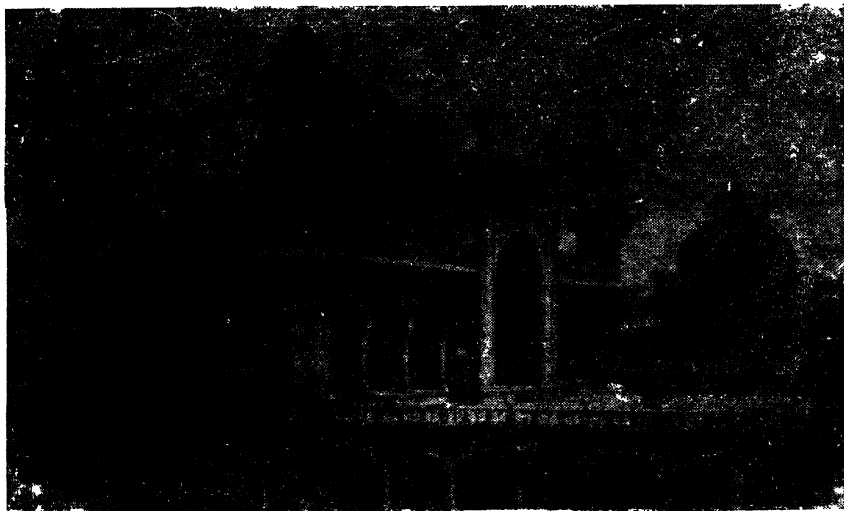


85. A Manāra of the
tomb of Itimadu-d-
daula, Agra

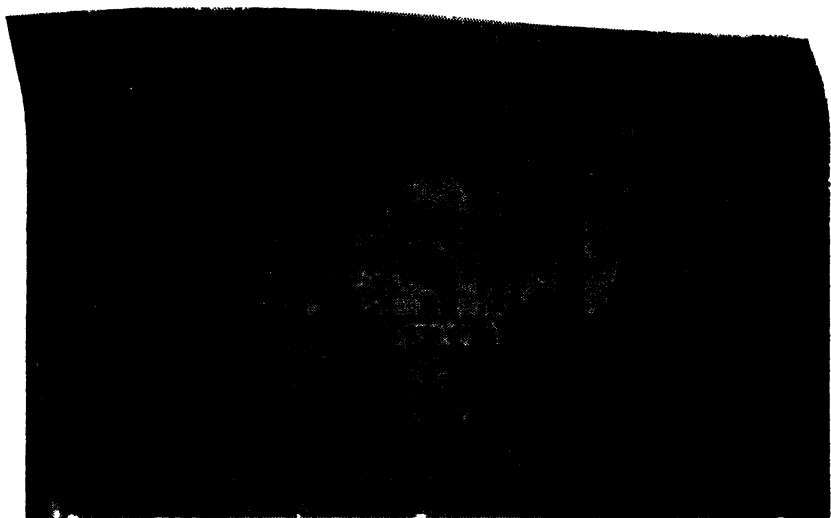


86. The tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara, Lahore.

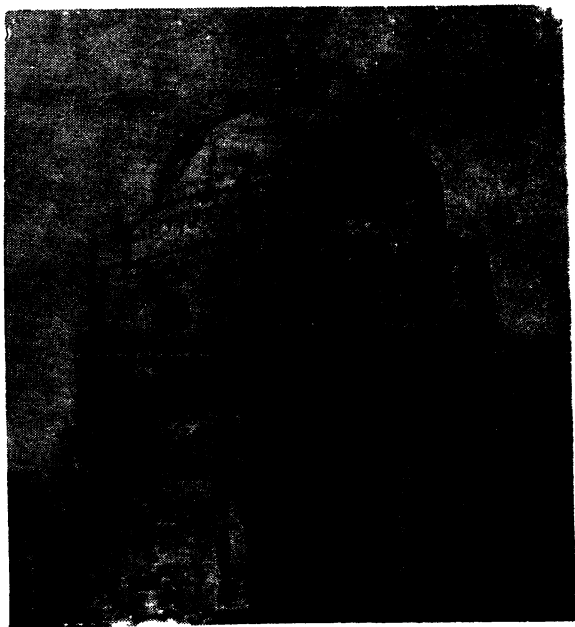
87. The SW manāra
of the TajMahal



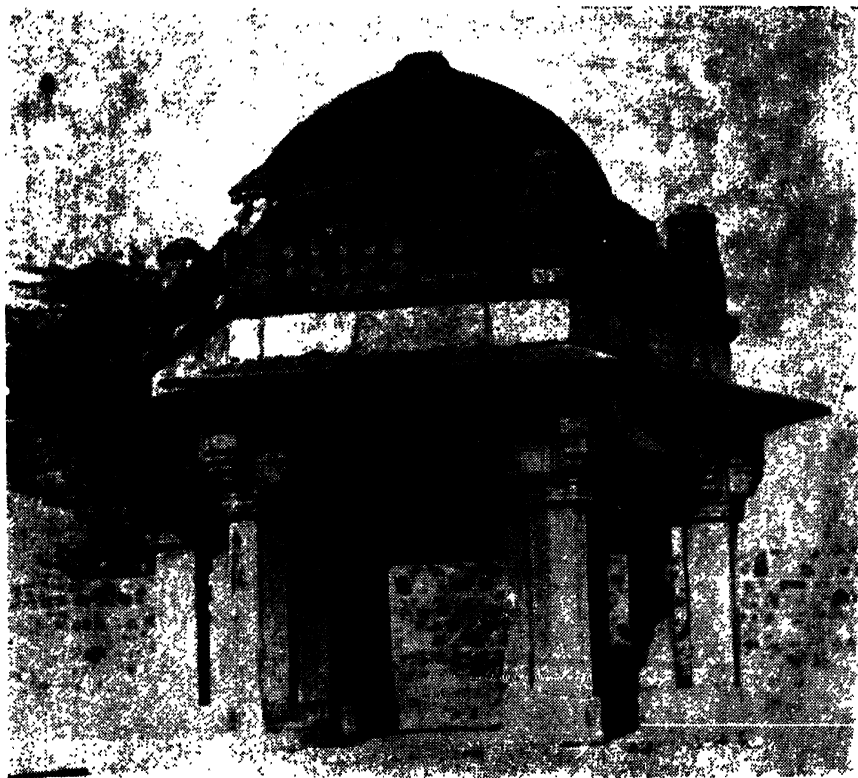
88. The Fathpūrī Masjid, Agra



89. Bibi-ka-Maqbara, Aurangābād

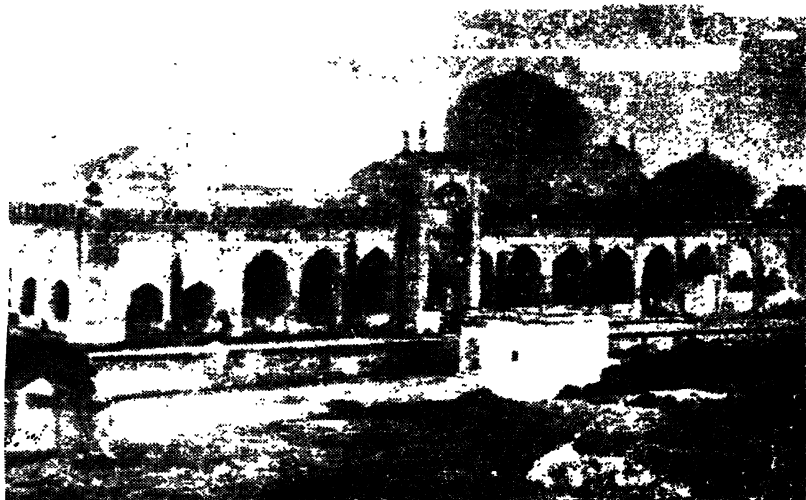


90. The tomb of
Shah Bahāu-l-
Huq, Multān



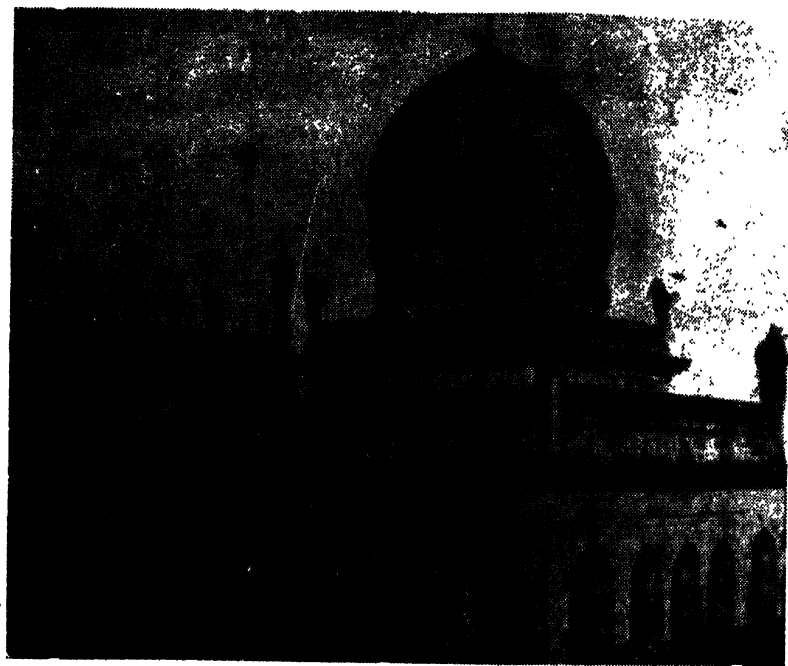
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92. The tomb
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Shah
Gulbarga



93. The Jāmi' Masjid, Gulbarga

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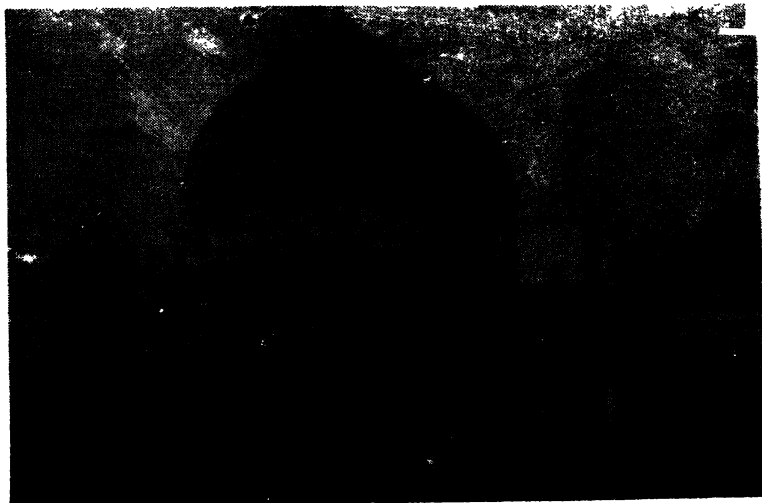
94. Afzal Khān's tomb, Bijāpur



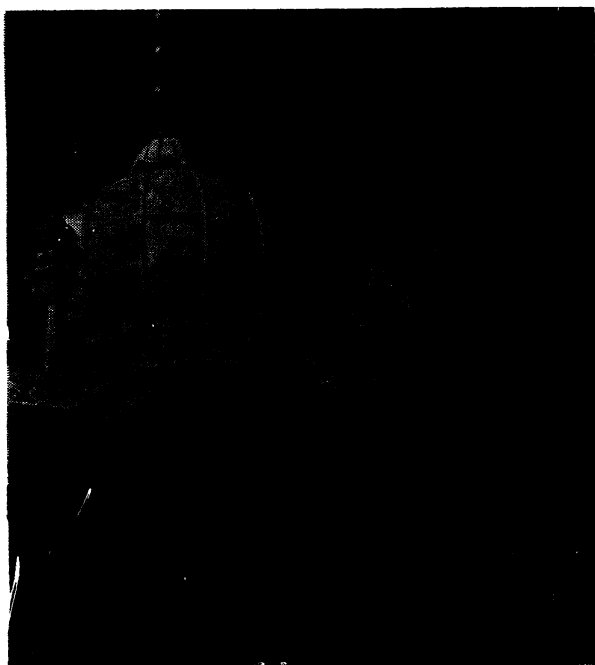
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96. A manāra over the Qila'-i-Kuhna Masjid, Delhi



97. A Sāhelī Burj near the Tāj Mahal, Agra



98. The
manāras
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