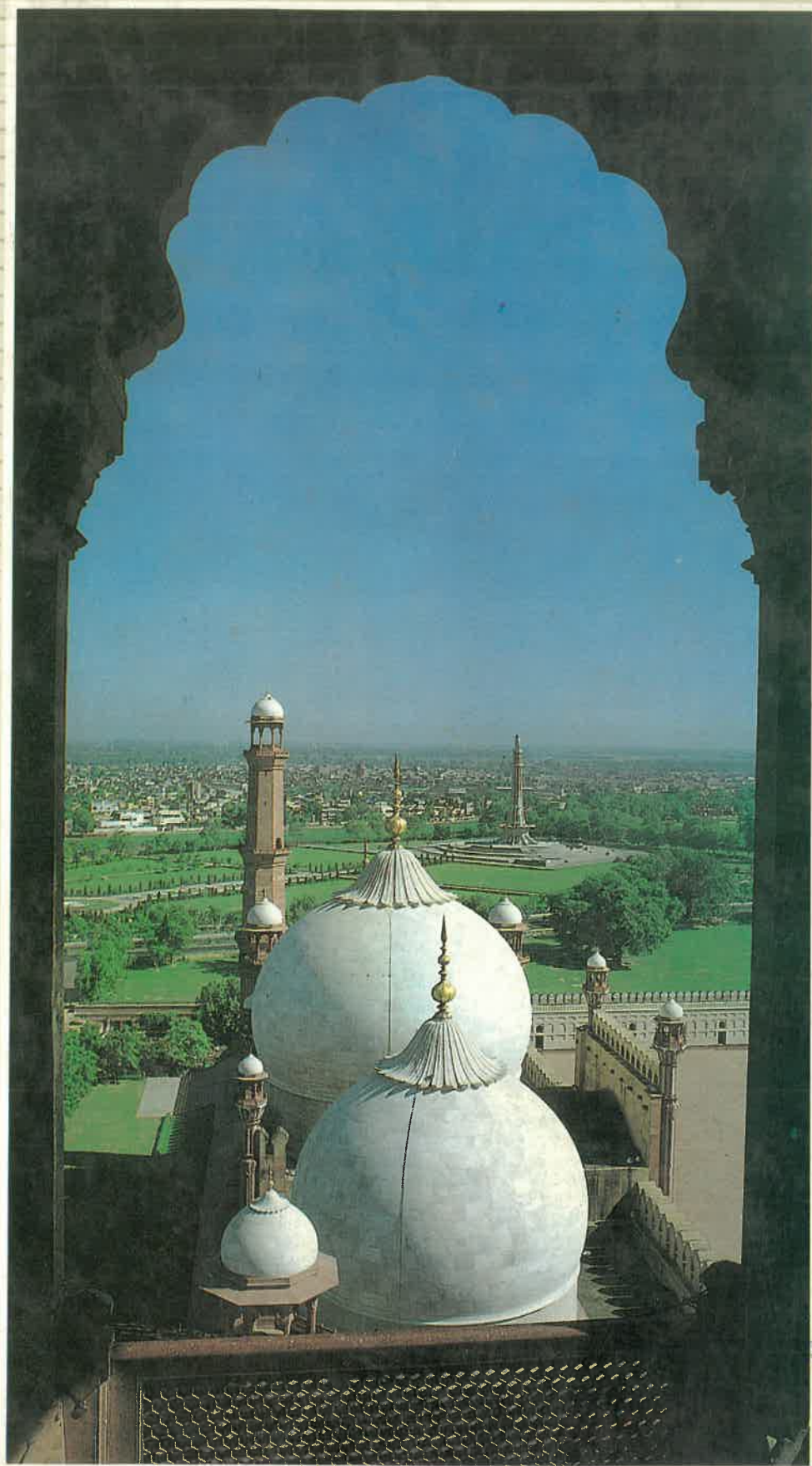
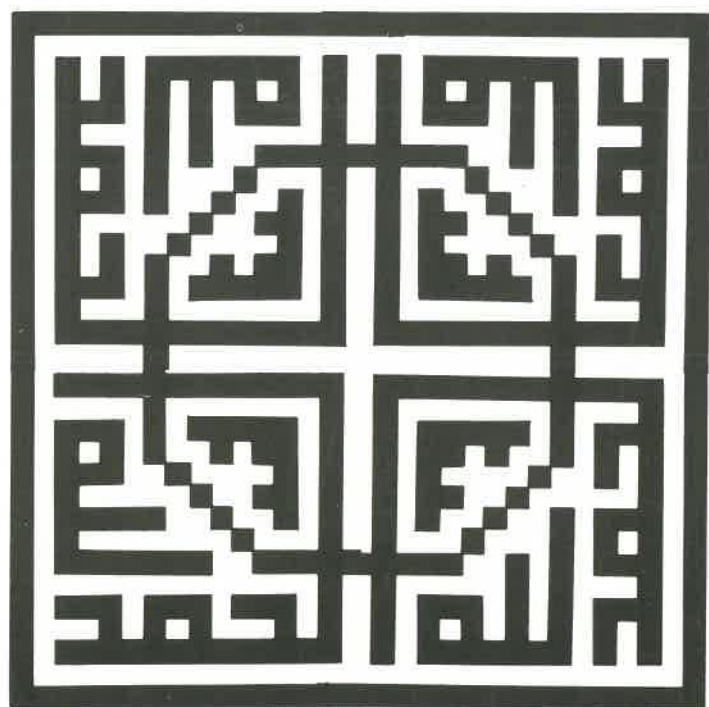


DEVELOPMENT OF MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE IN PAKISTAN



LOK VIRSA
ISLAMABAD - PAKISTAN







Copyright – 1991

Published by Lok Virsa Publishing House,
P.O. Box 1184, Islamabad, Pakistan

Author – Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan

Executive Director: Uxi Mufti

Designed & Produced by: Mazhar-ul-Islam

Printed and bound in Pakistan by

Hafeez Printing Corporation, Gawalmandi, Rawalpindi

ISBN : 969 - 468 - 008 - 5

this book is sold subject to the condition
that it shall not, by way of trade or otherwise,
be lent, re-sold, hired out, or otherwise circulated
without the publisher's consent in any form of
binding or cover other than that in which it is
published and without a similar condition
including this condition being imposed
on the subsequent purchaser

Price **Rs 750**

**Development of
Mosque Architecture
in Pakistan**



DATA ENTRED



Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: Interior of the Dome. (frontispiece)



DEVELOPMENT OF MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE IN PAKISTAN

Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan



**Lok Virsa Publishing House
P.O. Box 1184
ISLAMABAD – PAKISTAN**

To
Hakim Muhammed Sa'id Sahib
in admiration of his keen interest
in the study and preservation of
Islamic Cultural Heritage of Pakistan

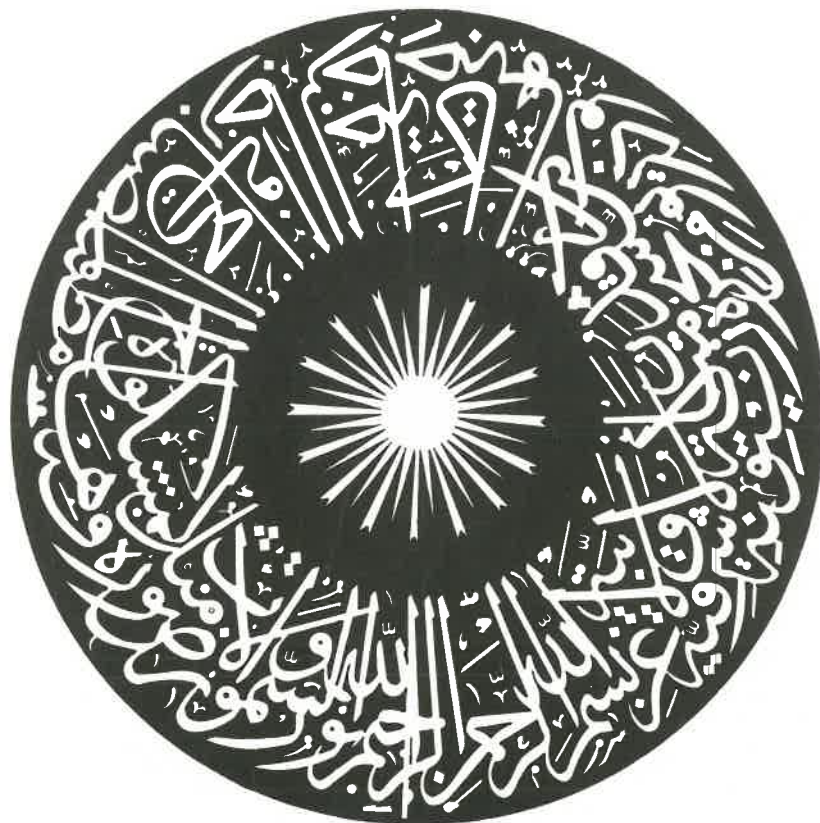


Fig. 1 Lahore Masjid at al Mansurah: a medallion of the Quranic Text.

Contents

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	... xi
List of Illustrations	... xiii
Introduction	... 1
Chapter One The Beginnings	... 17
Chapter Two The Central Asian Contribution	... 27
Chapter Three The Climax : Grand Mosques of the Moghuls	... 55
Chapter Four The Continuity Mosques in Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	... 135
Chapter Five Contemporary Accomplishments	... 147
Chapter Six The Epilogue : Analysis and Conclusion	... 153
Bibliography	... 201
Index	... 205

Preface

This Monograph presents a brief account of the evolution and development of mosque architecture in Pakistan. The story begins with the Arab hypostyle mosque of Deybul and ends up with the most recent creation, the Faisal Mosque at Islamabad. It thus covers a period of more than twelve hundred years. During this long period, the Believers created thousands of mosques in accordance with the expressed dictums of the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Rasulallah (may peace be upon him) evincing religious fervour and enthusiasm. Many of them display the height of perfection in their technical precision and aesthetic accomplishment, and may vie with similar achievements in many parts of the Islamic world.

The maiden attempt provides the first ever coherent description of some two hundred historic mosques augmented with photographic and line-drawing illustrations. The description also includes those mosques which do not exist now, but have been detailed in historical and literary sources, or whose existence is proved through epigraphical evidence. Unfortunately, many of the existing mosques have now lost many of their original features due to indifferent and unmindful extensions, additions and alterations in their structures, and renovation of their surface ornamentation. However, they manifest and testify the climax of the art of building.

The work was undertaken at the instance of Mr. Muhammad Waliullah Khan, whose life long studies of various facets of Islamic architecture has always been a source of great inspiration to me. He not only inspired me to pursue these studies, but also helped me for solving many baffling questions. I am beholden to my wife Saeeda Ahmad and my sons Saeed and Naved who inspired me for their encouragement to pursue these studies. Suffice it to say that without their all abiding interest in these studies, the work would not have seen the light of day.

I am also grateful to Mr. Uxi Mufti, Executive Director of the Institute of Folk Heritage of Pakistan, for including this monograph in his publication programme, and to Mr. Mazharul-Islam, Director of Publications in the Institute, who took personal interest in its production and publication.

Ivy House,
117-Fasieh Road,
Samanabad, Lahore:
September 15, 1986.

AHMAD NABI KHAN

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	<i>Page</i>
1. Masjid u'n-Nabawi: Interior view of the arcaded Aiwan	5
2. The Qutb Minar, Delhi	8
3. ✓ The Quwwat ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi: The Aiwan	9
4. The Buland Darwaza of Akbar Mosque Fathpur Sikri (Agra)	11
5. Mosque of Tahir Khan Nahar, Sitpur (Muzaffargarh): General view	12
6. ✓ Deybul (Banbhore): The fortification	16
7. ✓ Deybul (Banbhore) Mosque: Inscription, dated 109/727	18
8. Deybul (Banbhore) Mosque: Inscription carved in floriated Kufic Characters, dated 294/906	18
9. Deybul (Banbhore). The Mosque: Sehn (Courtyard)	20
10. The Jame Mosque of al-Mansurah: General view	22
11. ✓ The Jame Mosque of al-Mansurah: The Mehrab	22
12. Mausoleum of Khalid Walid, Multan: The Mehrab	27
13. Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat: General view	30
14. Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat: Persian Inscription, dated	32
15. Mosque of Jalal Surkh Bukhari: Persian Inscription on the right of the Mehrab	39
16. Mosque of Jalal Surkh Bukhari: Persian Inscription on the left of the Mehrab	39
17. Mosque within the tomb complex of Jahanian Jahangasht, Uchchh	40
18. Bodhesar Mosque, Nagar Parkar: General view	43
19. Bodhesar Mosque, Nagar Parkar: Interior of the Dome	44

	<i>Page</i>
20. Bodhesar Mosque. Nagar Parkar : The Mehrab	44
21. Bodhesar Mosque. Nagar Parkar : Zone of transition	44
22. Badshahi Mosque, Rohtas Fort : General view	46
23. Delhi, Bara Gumbad Mosque : General view	47
24. Delhi, Bara Gumbad Mosque : Detail of plaster work	48
25. The Akbari Sarai Mosque. Lahore : General view	49
26. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta : General view	55
27. Dabgran Mosque. Thatta : General view	58
28. Dabgran Mosque. Thatta : Interior view of the Aiwan	59
29. Dabgran Mosque. Thatta : The Mehrab	60
30. Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : The Aiwan, General view	65
31. Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : The Aiwan, Interior view	67
32. Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : Interior showing fresco decoration	69
33. Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : Southern gateway showing Persian inscription	70
34. Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : Eastern gateway showing Persian inscription	70
35. The Moti Masjid, Lahore : General view of the Aiwan	71
36. The Moti Masjid, Delhi : Close up view of the nave showing bold carving on marble	72
37. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta : General view of Eastern Aiwan	77
38. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta : Close up view	79
39. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta : Interior of the Dome	79
40. Mosque of Amir Muhammad Khan, Thatta : General view	83
41. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : The entrance vestibule	85

	<i>Page</i>
42. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Inscription in faience mosaics on the panel on the entrance	85
43. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : The Aiwan	87
44. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Persian Inscription in faience mosaics	87
45. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Faience mosaics and brick imitation	88
46. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Faience mosaics and brick imitation	88
47. Shahi Mosque, Chiniot : General view	94
48. Shahi Mosque, Chiniot : Entrance vestibule	95
49. Shahi Mosque, Chiniot : The Aiwan : General view	97
50. Shahi Mosque, Chiniot : Interior view of the Aiwan	97
51. Shahi Mosque, Chiniot : Panels of fresco decorations	98
52. <u>Dai Anga's Mosque</u> , Lahore : General view of the Aiwan	99
53. Palosi Piran Mosque, Peshawar : General view of the Aiwan from south-east	101
54. Mosque of Salih Kanboh, Lahore : General view	103
55. Mosque of Salih Kanboh, Lahore : Panels of fresco ornamentation	104
56. <u>The Badshahi Mosque</u> , Lahore : The corner Minar	106
57. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : General view from the Hazuri Bagh	107
58. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : Interior of the Aiwan showing stucco decoration	109
59. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : Interior of the Aiwan showing stucco ornamentation	109
60. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : Stucco ornamentation on the interior and Dome	109
61. Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar : General view	117
62. Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar : Interior of the Aiwan	118
63. Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar : Panel of fresco decoration	119

	<i>Page</i>
64. Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar: Panel of fresco decoration	119
65. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: Facsimile of the farman	129
66. The Idgah, Multan: General view	135
67. Khudabad Mosque, Khudabad: General view from South-west	136
68. Khudabad Mosque, Khudabad: The Aiwan, a close up view	136
69. Mosque of Abdul Qadir Gilani, Uchchh: General view	138
70. The Begum Shahi Mosque, Lahore: General view of the Aiwan	139
71. The Sunehri Mosque, Lahore: Interior of the Aiwan	141
72. Wooden Mosque, Swat	143
73. Wooden Mosque, Swat	143
74. Wooden Mosque, Gilgit: General view	144
75. Masjid-i-Tuba, Defence Society, Karachi: General view	147
76. Masjid, Bhong (Rahimyar Khan): General view	148
77. Masjid-i-Shuhada, Lahore: General view	150
78. Masjid, Quaid-i-A'zam University Campus, Islamabad: General view	150
79. Masjid al-Behr, Karachi: General view	150
80. The Faisal Mosque, Islamabad: General view	151
81. The Lohari Masjid, Lahore: General view	153
82. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: Stucco ornamentation on the interior and the vault	161
83. Jame Masjid, Sibbi (Balochistan): View from west	163
84. Jame Masjid, Sibbi: Fresco in the interior of the Aiwan	163
85. Masjid Aram Bagh, Karachi: General view of the Aiwan	165
86. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: The Minbar	166
87. Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar: The Suwame	168

	<i>Page</i>
88. Mansurah Mosque, Lahore : A Quranic Inscription	169
89. Shahi Mosque, Depalpur : Interior of the Dome	171
90. Dabgran Mosque, Thatta: Quranic Inscription	173
91. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: The Mehrab	175
92. Wooden Mosque at Utrat (Swat) : Carving on the Eastern Door	177
93. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: A Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq	179
94. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: Urdu Inscription carved in Nasta'liq characters on wood	179
95. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: English Inscription carved on wood	179
96. Jame-e-Farrukh, Thatta: Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq	180
97. Jame-e-Farrukh, Thatta: Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq	180
98. Jame-e-Farrukh, Thatta: Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq	180
99. Jahangir Mosque, Lahore: Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq	181
100. Purani Mosque, Sakkar: A Panel of faience decoration	184
101. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: Panel of faience decoration	186
102. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: Panel of faience decoration	186
103. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: Panel of faience decoration	186
104. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: Panel of faience decoration	186
105. Shobat Khan's Mosque (1330/1911) Shobatpur, Nasirabad (Balochistan): The Squinch	188
106. Shobat Khan's Mosque (1330/1911) Shobatpur, Nasirabad (Balochistan): The Sawame Minaret	190
107. The Idgah, Multan: The Mehrab with Sico painting	193
108. Wooden Mosque at Utrat (Swat): The Minbar	194
109. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta: A Panel of glazed tiles	197

FIGURES

		<i>Page</i>
1.	Lahore Masjid at al-Mansurah : a medallion of the Quranic Text	(viii)
2.	The Ka'ba. A miniature painting of 17th century	1
3.	Map of Pakistan showing centres of Islamic Architecture	2
4.	The Quwwat ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi : The Plan	6
5.	The hypostyle mosque of Deybul : The Plan	17
6.	The Jame Mosque at al-Mansurah : The Plan	23
7.	Map of Sindh and Punjab	28
8.	Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat : Isometric view	33
9.	Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat : The Plan	34
10.	Tughluq Mosque, Depalpur : General Plan	37
11.	Mosque of Jalal Surkh Bukhari, Uchchh : General Plan	38
12.	Mosque of Jahanian Jahangasht, Uchchh : The Plan	41
13.	Niwin Masjid, Lahore : General Plan	50
14.	Map showing the extent of the Moghal empire in 1707	56
15.	Dabgran Mosque, Thatta : General Floor Plan	61
16.	Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : Plan	66
17.	Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : Section	68
18.	Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore : Elevation	68
19.	The Moti Masjid, Lahore : Plan	73
20.	Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta : The Plan	76

	<i>Page</i>
21. Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta : Section	80
22. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : General Plan	86
23. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Elevation	89
24. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Longitudinal Section	90
25. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : North Side Elevation	91
26. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Elevation	92
27. Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore : Section	93
28. Shahi Mosque, Chiniot : Ground Floor Plan	96
29. Mosque of Salih Kanboh, Lahore : Plan	102
30. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : Persian inscription on the facade of the entrance vestibule	107
31. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : The Plan	108
32. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : The Elevation	110
33. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : The Section	111
34. The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore : The Chattaris	113
35. Masjid Shah Chiragh, Lahore : The Plan	154
36. Chiniyan Wali Masjid, Lahore : The Plan	157
37. Badshahi Masjid, Delhi : Isometric view	159
38. A Wooden Mosque in Swat : Medallion	177
39. A Wooden Mosque in Swat : Floral Carving	177

Introduction

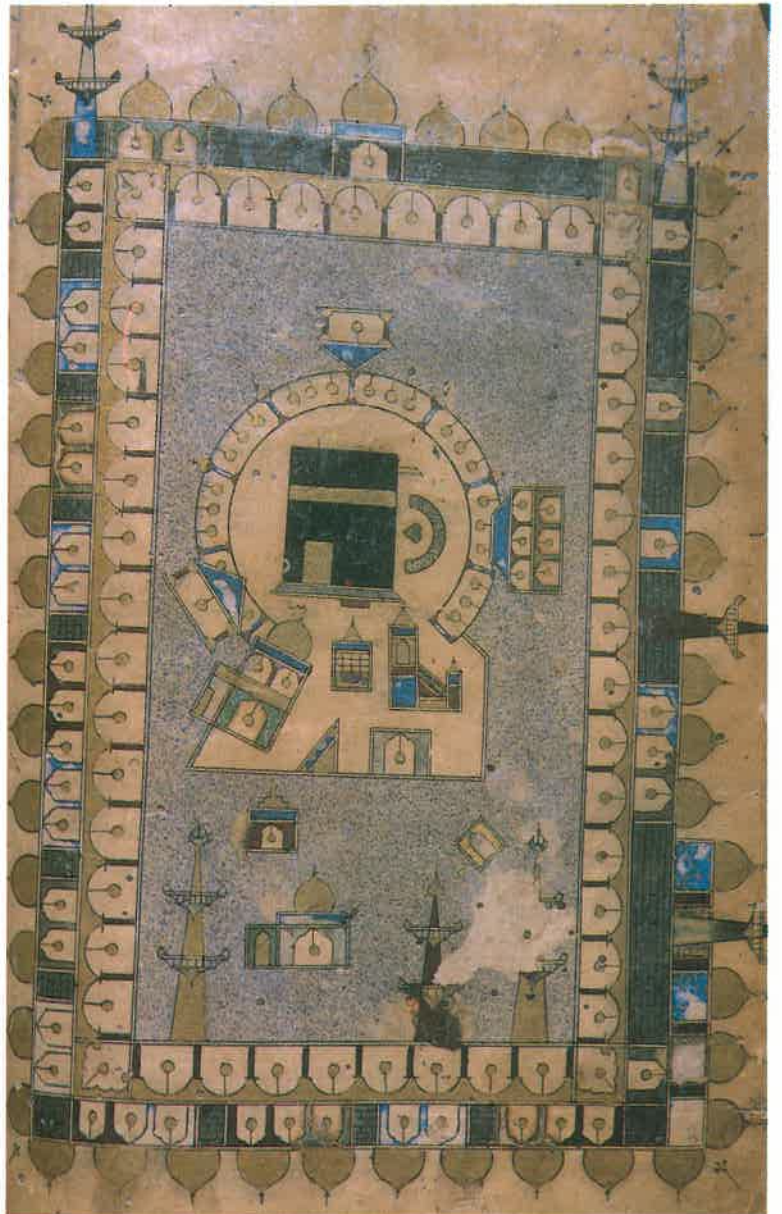


Fig. 2 The Ka'ba. A miniature painting of 17th century.

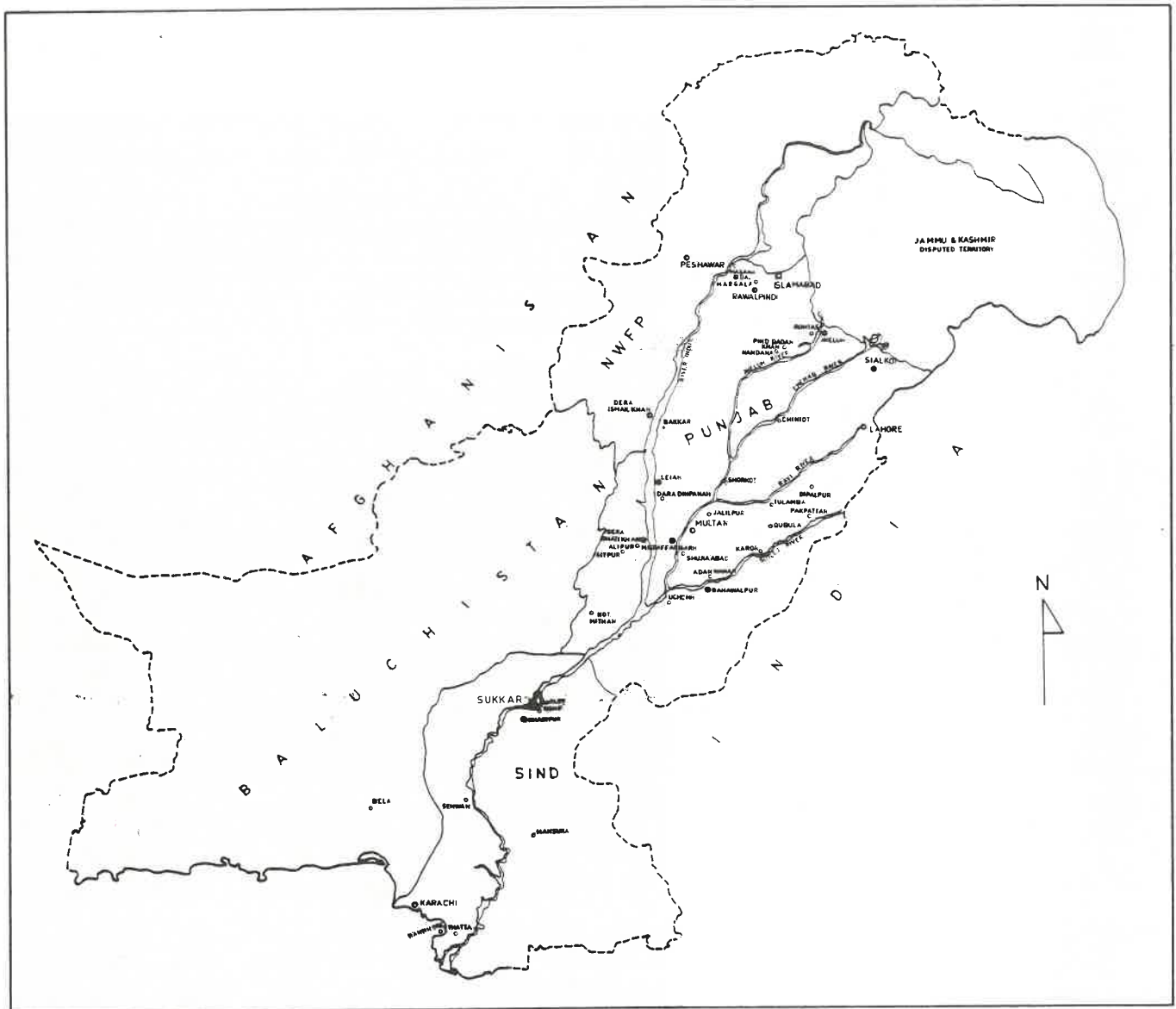


Fig. 3 Map of Pakistan showing centres of Islamic Architecture.

Masjid or mosque¹ has been regarded as pivotal in the formation of Islamic styles of architecture. As is well known, the first ever mosque was created at Quba near Madina by the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) immediately on his arrival there. Prior to that, at Makkah, the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) and his companions offered prayers in solitary and secluded places, or in a house. Later, especially when Umar ibn al-Khattab embraced Islam, the Believers started offering prayers openly, and occasionally beside the Ka'ba. At Madina, the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) purchased a piece of land and laid the foundation of a mosque. It is difficult now to have a precise idea of its architectural formation, though according to the description available, the area, square on plan, was first fenced off by a low wall of *labin* (sun dried bricks) built on a stone foundation with three openings for entrance, one each on east, west and south, while on the north was the *Qibla* towards the Jerusalem aligned parallel to the north wall. The door openings were marked with gate-posts. The *Zullah* (prayer chamber) was roofed with palm-leaves supported with two rows of columns, also made of palm-trunks. Two hutments were added on the south for the residence of the Rasulallah (peace be upon him).² When the direction of the *Qibla* for prayer was moved towards south, another chamber was added to the mosque, but it was less deep having only one row of palm-trunks to support the roof.

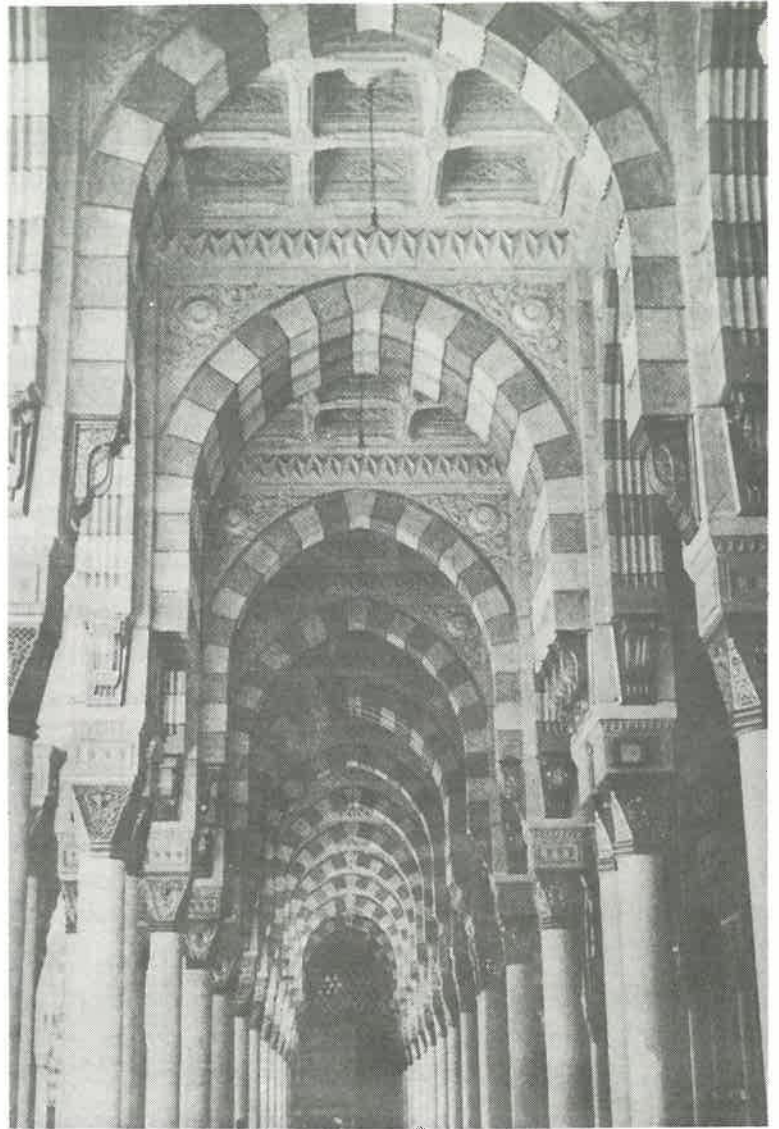
The first mosque so created was a place of congregation for prayers as well as a centre of socio-political and administrative activities of Islamic Ummah. The Rasulallah (peace be upon him) delivered his *Khutba* here, led prayers and discussed religious and many other problems of the Believers. He received here various delegations, ambassadors and people from all walks of life. The non-believers also assembled here to resolve their worldly problems. Indeed, at times the house of prostration and prayers offered a scene of a busy court or a military headquarters of medieval days.³ Austere, simple but functional, this first mosque of Islam had, indeed, no architectural pretensions of the neighbouring Byzantine churches or Sasanian tem-

ples. However, the foundation so laid by the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) had a far-reaching effect on the future mosque architecture.

With the expansion and spread of Islam, the need for mosques became all the more imperative, and within a short span of time, numerous such structures were erected throughout the Arab Peninsula. This was also in accordance with the Quranic injunctions by which erection of the mosque was ordained as a virtuous deed. After the demise of the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) the Caliphs, their military commanders and governors took upon themselves the creation of mosques as a first and foremost act of their administration at all places of Islamic supremacy,⁴ and during the first half of the seventh and the beginning decades of the eighth century, the phenomenon took priority when new cities were founded in conquered lands. The mosques were treated as a focal point in the planning of new cities; Basra, Kufa, al-Fustat, and al-Mansurah received such treatment. When Kufa was founded in 16/638 by Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, the first mosque was created there in the centre of the city. The architectural elements followed the pattern set forth of the first mosque at Madina. The mosque of 'Amr was created at Fustat in 641-42. Some thirty years later, this was rebuilt on a much larger scale when corner-minarets were added to its *Zullah*, a practice introduced for the first time in Islamic architecture. Besides, in some of the conquered cities, older buildings were borrowed or partitioned for the purpose. For instance, after the fall of al-Mada'in in 16/637, the same Arab general, Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas adapted Kisra's *aiwan* for a mosque, while in Damascus, the Church of St. John was partitioned and its eastern half was used as a mosque, by reorienting the basilica to face the south — the side of *Qibla* — instead of the east.⁵

Within the span of half a century the mosque architecture took abnormal and extraordinary importance; not only mosques were created in thousands throughout the areas under the influence of Islam, but also several of the olden ones were renovated and enlarged. The *Masjid al-Nabi* received such a treatment for the first time during the days of the first caliph, Abu Bakr, while caliph 'Umar extended the areas of both the mosques at Makkah and Madina. The third caliph 'Usman is credited to have used hewn stone for the walls which were plastered, while the roof was made of wood.

Pl. 1
Masjid u'n-Nabawi:
Interior view of the arcaded Aiwan.



Similarly, the Kufa mosque was rebuilt with Persian bricks and the pillars were brought from the old and ruined churches of Hira for re-use. Again, during the reign of the Ummayed Caliph Mu'awiya, the mosque was rebuilt by Ziyad, governor of Kufa, who commissioned a Pagan architect for the purpose. This time the pillars were brought from al-Ahwaz which were bounded together by means of lead and iron clamps to gain height. Later, during the caliphate of al-Walid, the mosque was almost rebuilt with the help of Greek masons who introduced elements of Byzantine art of building for the first time in Islamic architecture.⁶

The tradition of erecting the houses of prayers entered the Subcontinent with the arrival and settlement of the Arabs who brought the new religion with them and propagated it among the local people. The beginning was made undoubtedly in the areas of Mukran and Baluchistan. Later, the tradition got an unequivocally clear picture when Muhammad b. Qasim arrived and reduced Sind and parts of the Punjab in 93/711-12. It has been recorded by the near-contemporary chroniclers that the Arab general followed the practice of his predecessors and contemporary Arab generals, and built mosques at almost all the places he subdued. Thus Deybul, Sehwan, Nirun, al-Ror, al-Sikka, Multan and Depalpur, received first ever such houses of prayers.⁷ Unfortunately, none of these mosques have survived the ravages of time and indiscriminate renovation, additions and alterations. Regarding the mosque built by him at Multan, it has been related that it was closed by the Isma'ili Da'i, Jalam b. Shaiban.⁸

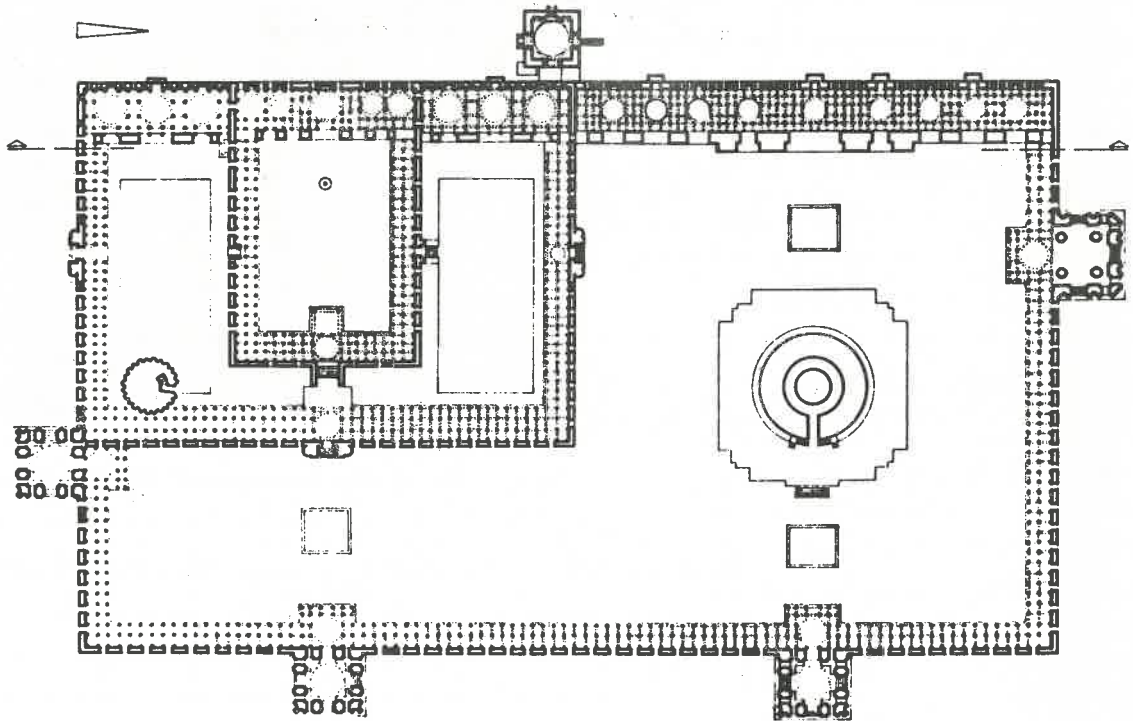
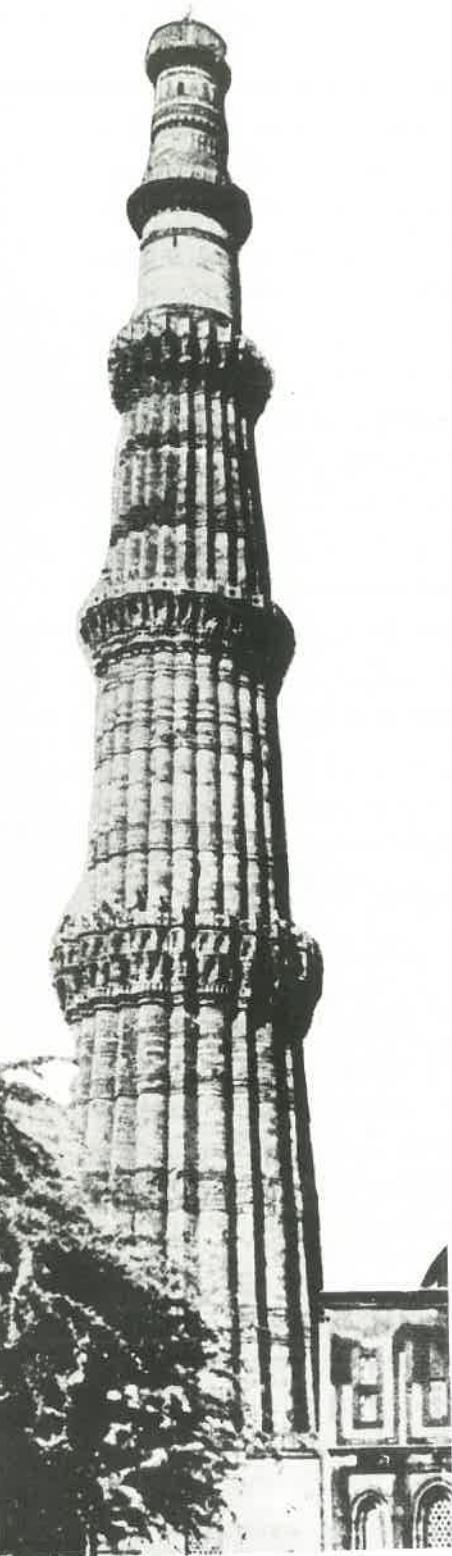


Fig. 4 The Quwwat ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi: The Plan.

Archaeological excavations at Banbhore have, however, revealed remains of an Arab mosque which was, according to the epigraphical evidence, built in 109/727, some fifteen years after the arrival of the Arab general, Muhammad b. Qasim. This has been regarded as the earliest known mosque ever built on the soil of the South Asian Subcontinent.⁹ Significantly, it possesses all the structural elements of its contemporary mosques erected in various other centres of the Caliphate. The remains of yet another hypostyle mosque were found during the archaeological operations at the Arab town of al-Mansurah at Shahdadpur in Sind. The discovery of the two Arab mosques is of singular importance as it provides the basis of the inauguration of the mosque architecture in Pakistan, nay in the whole of the South Asian Subcontinent. The foundation so laid must have been followed by the other Arab governors and rulers, particularly the Habbaris of Sind and the Banu Samahs of Multan. Arab chroniclers like Balazuri, Ibn Khurdadbeh, Ibn Rustah, Ibn Hauqal, Mas'udi, Istakhri, Qazwini, al-Beruni, Muqaddasi, Yaqut Hamavi and Ibn Asir provide copious details of the rule of these Arab dynasts and socio-cultural circumstances prevailing in the important city-centres and towns of Sind and the Punjab. However, no trace or archaeological evidence is available at present to prove the existence of any other such mosque of this period.

The beginning decades of the eleventh century witnessed the military campaigns of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznin who eventually established himself in most of the areas which are now Pakistan. Among the architectural enterprises, references are made to a mosque built by him at the famous Nandana Fort, while yet another at Lahore. The later was named as *Khishti Masjid*, perhaps due to the fact that it had naked brick facing.¹⁰

Recently, the remains of yet another mosque were brought to light in Swat. Epigraphical evidence attributed this mosque to the later days of the Ghaznavid rule,¹¹ similarly, a *Musallah* in the shape of an elaborately carved *Mehrab* in the Mausoleum of Khalid Walid at Kabirwala now in the district of Khanewal near Multan, belonged to this period. Created in the shape of a half-dome in the outer western wall of the Mausoleum, it is the earliest known *Musallah* in the Subcontinent built by Ali Karmakh, the first governor of Multan appointed by Shahab u'd-Din Ghuri.¹²

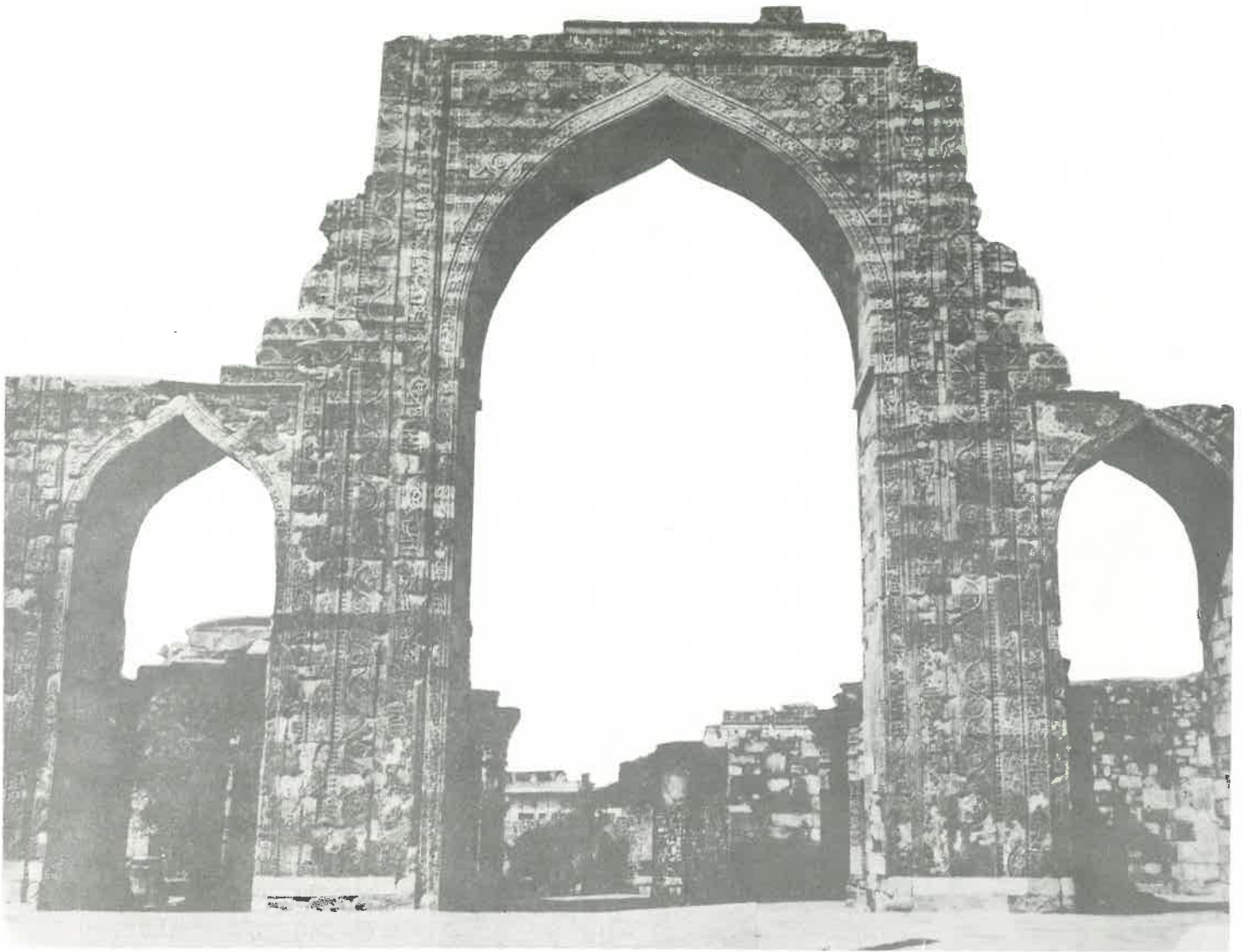


Pl. 2
The Qutb Minar, Delhi.

Save these references and remains, we are not aware of the contribution made by the Ghaznavid dynasts and their compatriots in the field of mosque architecture, until the arrival of Shahab u'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri, who entered the Subcontinent sometimes in the closing decades of the twelfth century to overthrow the already weakling Ghaznavid power and to found the celebrated Turkish Sultanate. It was, however, for his slaves and generals like Qutb u'd-Din Aibek, Nasir u'd-Din Qubacha, Shams u'd-Din Eltutmish and Ikhtiyar u'd-Din to extend and enlarge this early Muslim Sultanate in the Subcontinent. Muhammad bin Sam and Qutb u'd-Din Aibek are credited to have inaugurated a vigorous style of Islamic architecture based on Central Asian art-traditions. The *Quwwat u'l-Islam* Mosque and the *Qutb Minar*, both at old Delhi, are the real embodiment of expediency and improvisation. Shahab u'd-Din Ghuri and his successors must have built several mosques in their realm including the areas which are now Pakistan. But, none of them survive now in their entirety. That the progenitor built a Jame Mosque at Tulamba near Multan is proved by an indirect reference in a later writing.¹³ However, it is significant to note that the Sultan created a *waqf* to finance the recurring expenditure of the mosque and the madrasa attached to it. Although we are not aware of the architectural features of this early Jame Mosque, it is gratifying to discover that the traditions in their ancestral lands were followed for its maintenance.

We have discussed the possible reasons of the complete disappearance and disfigurement of the mosques created by the successors of these Turkish Sultans — the Khaljis, the Tughluqs, the Sayyids, and the Lodis — in the last chapter of this little book. Summarily, both man and nature have been responsible for this great loss. Indeed, we have very few mosques still intact belonging to the 'pre-Moghul' period on the soil of Pakistan. But, the existing evidence reveals in clear and unequivocal terms the salient characteristics and features of the architecture of the period.

The 'pre-Moghul' period came to an end with the decline and fall of the Lodi Sultanate, when Daulat Khan Lodi was defeated at the battle of Panipat on 30 Jamadi u's-Sani 932/12 April 1526, and Zahir u'd-Din Muhammad Babur founded the celebrated Moghul Empire.¹⁴ With the inauguration of the Moghul rule especially with its strengthening under Jalal



Pl. 3
The Quwwat ul-Islam Mosque, Delhi:
The Aiwan.

u'd-Din Muhammad Akbar, political power of the Muslims in the Subcontinent received a new impetus, and the various facets of cultural attainments achieved a dynamic perception. The Moghul rule lasted here for well over three hundred years. During this long period, the length and breadth of the empire was filled with palatial buildings — secular as well as religious — which took the various shapes of Islamic architecture to their climax. Indeed, with the ascension of each Moghul emperor, new heights were gained and new bounds achieved. Akbar, whom history has called 'the Great' gave the 'Buland Darwaza' to his grand mosque at Fathpur Sikri. This was a completely new and grand concept to the mosque architecture of the Subcontinent. The echo of this noble concept was heard later in several other

accomplishments of the period, achieving the climax in Pakistan in the shape of the Alamgiri Mosque at Lahore. It was also during this long regime that the architectural calligraphy was enriched with Nasta'liq script used for inscriptions which adorned several mosques. It has been claimed elsewhere that the credit of this novel experimentation goes to a Sindhi connoisseur and a noble of the Moghul court, Mir Ma'sum Nāmi. Later, during the days of his illustrious son and successor, Jahangir, the brick built mosques received sumptuous treatment of stucco and fresco ornamentation on their surfaces. The best representation of this type of revetment is found in the Maryam Zamani Mosque at Lahore, where the entire interior surface is replete with this mode of decoration.

During the reign of Shahjahan the Magnificent, Islamic architecture in the Subcontinent reached the zenith of perfection and munificence, both for structural advancement as well as for treatment of surface decoration. The reign has indeed been called the golden age of Islamic architecture in India and Pakistan. Although it was almost exclusively the 'age of marble', sumptuous brick buildings were also created. While we have the Moti Masjid in the Lahore Fort in chaste marble erected in the preceding reign but perhaps renovated during the days of Shahjahan, the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta and the Wazir Khan Mosque at Lahore provide an unequivocal proof of the devotion and interest of the patron and the ingenuity and proficiency of the architect and master artist who created these two marvels of Islamic art. During the reign of Aurangzeb, the last great Moghul emperor, who ruled the largest part of the Subcontinent for well over half a century, the mosque architecture of the Moghuls reached the zenith of perfection in the shape of the Great Badshahi Mosque at Lahore. The grandiose achievement is the most remarkable specimen of the series which later served as a popular model. Several houses of prayers were designed and erected in its imitation at several places in Pakistan. Similarly, the Mahabat Khan's Mosque at Peshawar is a significant example of fresco and stucco revetment.

The period of the later Moghuls witnessed new experimentations in designing and construction of mosques in Pakistan. While in many cases elevation to the structure was achieved by means of subterranean chambers or cellular construction, the outer shells of the domes were finished in wood.



Pl. 4
*The Buland Darwaza of Akbar Mosque
 Fathpur Sikri (Agra).*

Sometimes, they were finished with gilded copper facing. The Sunehri Masjid at Lahore is, in this respect, a unique attempt. The brick mosques created at various centres in Sind and Multan during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had the traditional glazed tile revetment. The mosque at Khudabad and the mosque of Wali Muhammad Khan at Multan may be cited as representing this variety.



Pl. 5
*Mosque of Tahir Khan Nahar, Sitpur
 (Muzaffargarh): General view.*

With the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the mosque architecture underwent a phenomenal change, both in form as well as in content. While the traditional design of the Badshahi Mosque was followed in many examples like the Jame Mosque at Wah cantonment, the new experimentation of one minaret mosques, the flat roofed mosques, the rotunda type mosques, the pyramidal tent like mosques, were introduced. Similarly, new designs were created for the minarets of several mosques by the ingenious architect giving new shape, height and dimension to them. The Defence Society Mosque at Karachi and the Masjid-i-Shuhada at Lahore present an entirely new concept of mosque architecture, often contested as unorthodox by architectural historians. The Lohari Masjid at Lahore has one minaret built in R.C.C. frame work and stained in red and white to give the impression of red sandstone and white marble panelling, while the Lal Masjid at Islamabad, has conical shaped minarets introduced in imitation of those of the Turkish Mosques. Indeed, the influence of the Turkish religious architecture started

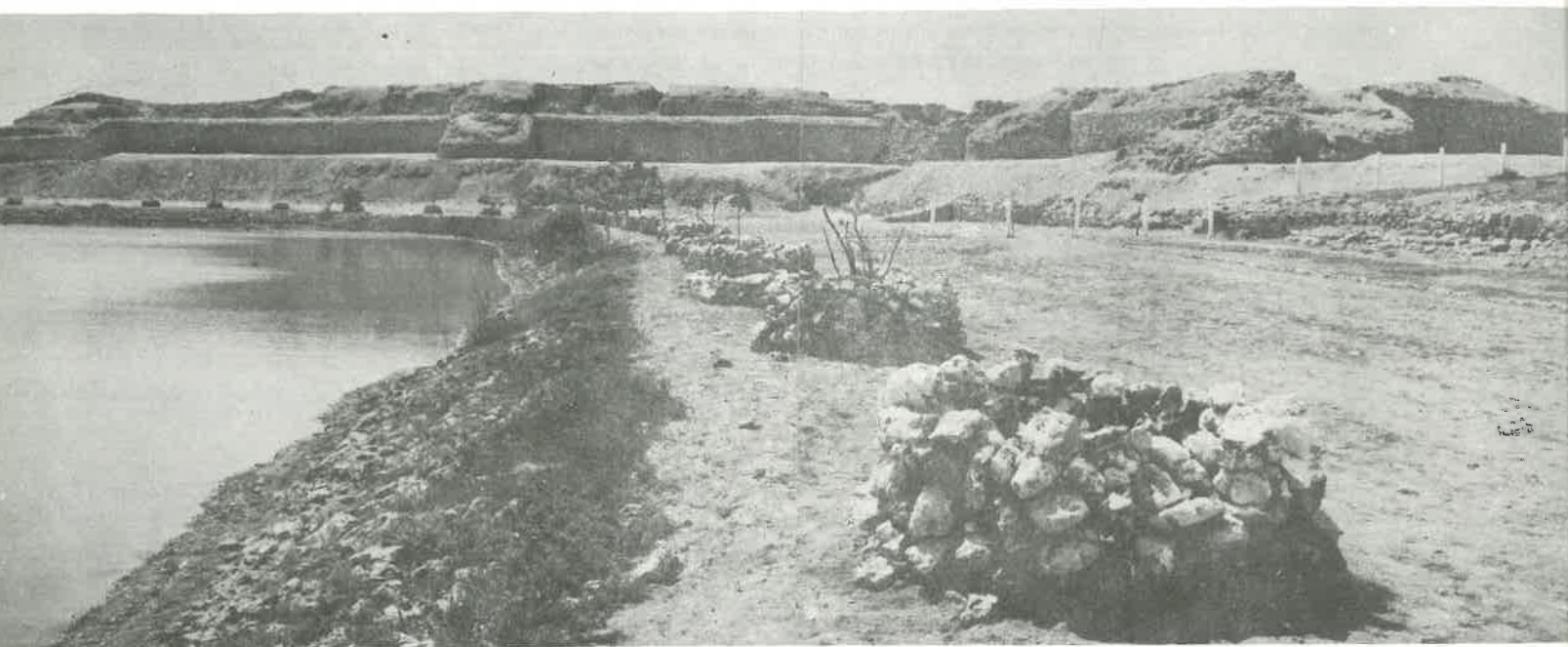
with the designing and execution of the famous Jame Mosque in the Defence Society at Karachi. It appears that the architect was impressed by the architecture of the famous Suleymaniya Masjid at Istanbul (1550-1557). It is significant to note that several Turkish architects were assigned the designing of monumental buildings in Pakistan. The *Minar-i-Pakistan* and Islamic Summit Minar at Lahore, and the Faisal Mosque at Islamabad are the works of these Turkish architects.

In conclusion, the birth, adolescence and the climax of mosque architecture in Pakistan is the story of adoption, adaptation and assimilation of various traits and traditions of the art of building, both local as well as foreign. The story began with the Arabs who introduced the very new structure of the mosque, and ended with the Turks who were responsible for re-shaping it to the so-called 'pyramidal tent' style. In between were the Central Asians, the Mangols, the Iranians and the Imperial Moghuls, who all contributed to its perfection.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. As is well known, 'masjid' has been derived from 'Sajda', and means a place where one performs the act of *sajud* (prostration), an act of prayer and devotion. Similarly, 'Jame' is a congregational mosque or the mosque in which a congregation assembles to perform the Friday prayers. Masjid is a usual term used in Arab countries as well as in Iran, Pakistan, India and Bangla Desh, while in Turkish it is spelt as *mescid*, and *cami* for 'jame'. In fact, in Turkey *mescid* is used for a small mosque, while *cami* is referred to a large congregational mosque. Further, the *cami* having two or more minarets (a royal prerogative) are called *Selatin Cami*. (Vide Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, 24). For the origin of the word and its usages, see *EI*, iii, 315.
2. For a somewhat elaborate account of the structure of these apartments based upon original and later sources, see A. Papadopoulos, *Islam and Muslim Art*, 195 ff.
3. Some details of related events have been quoted in *ibid*, 316 ff.
4. These mosques were generally called *askar* mosques. One of these, the Jame Ibn Tulun in Cairo, has come down in a comparatively better state of preservation. Built in 264-67/876-79 it measures 466 by 383 feet, and its court is 300 square feet. The principal *Aiwan* had originally five rows of pillars but it has now only four as the first one collapsed. The other side *liwans* had two rows which are connected by pointed arches.
5. See *EI*, iii, 320 ff.
6. Papadopoulos dramatizes the situation, though his analysis is precise and thought-provoking. See *op. cit.* 220 ff.
7. Almost all the Arab chroniclers relate this fact with more or less identical details.
8. al-Beruni, i, 116.
9. Cf. M.A. Ghafur, 'Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions from Banbhore' in *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 3 (1966). The date assigned to the construction of the mosque is not very clear, as the stone on which the inscription has been carved is damaged at the point where the date is given. The reading arrived at, therefore, may not be taken as precise. The other inscription giving the date 294/906 is of course intact which may be taken as the date of renovation or re-construction of the mosque.
10. Fakhr Mudabbir, *Adab ul-Harb Wa'sh Shuja'ah* in Sa'id-i-Nafisi (ed.) *Tarikh-i-Baihaqi wa Dar Paimun-i-An*, i, 231.
11. Vide preliminary note on the discovery by Sabistano Tusa, 'Ancient Mosque excavated' in *Dawn Magazine*, Friday 6 June, 1986, 1.

12. Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'Naked Brick Architecture of Early Islamic Period in Pakistan' in *Pak. Archaeology*, No. 23 (1987-88).
13. 'Ain u'd-Din Mahru Multani, *Munsha'at-i-Mahru*, 37 ff.
14. Zahir u'd-Din Muhammad Babur, *Memoirs*, ii, 152 ff.



Pl. 6
Deybul (Banbhore):
The fortification.

Chapter One:

The Beginnings

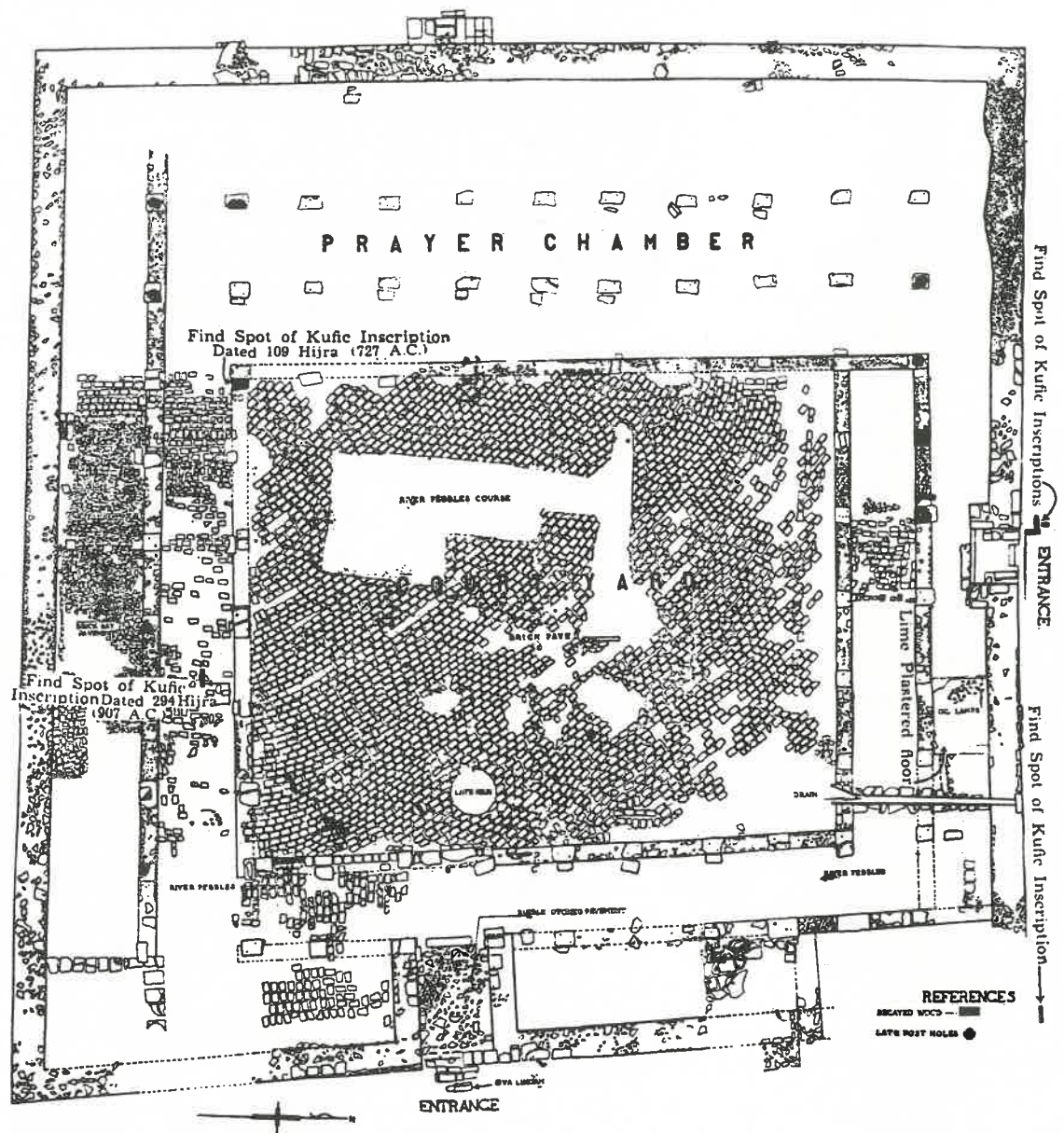
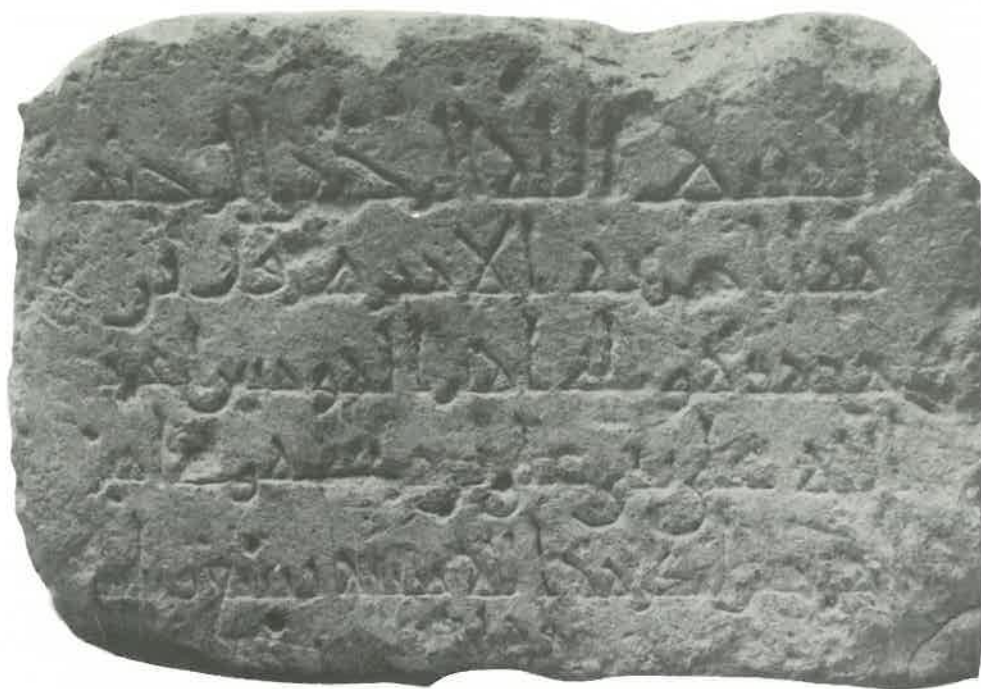


Fig. 5 The hypostyle mosque of Deybul: The Plan.



Pl. 7
Deybul (Banbhore) Mosque:
Inscription, dated 109/727.



Pl. 8
Deybul (Banbhore) Mosque.
Inscription carved in floriated Kufic
Characters, dated 294/906.

The earliest mosque known to have been erected on the soil of Pakistan was at Deybul, the famous sea-port in the neighbourhood of the modern hamlet of Banbhore, some 40 miles north of Karachi.¹ It has been emphasised that about a decade earlier the celebrated Arab general, Muhammad b. Qasim introduced this new type of architecture by erecting mosques at every place of importance which he subdued. Thus Deybul, Alor, Sehwan, Multan, Depalpur and many other cities and towns received the first ever houses of prayer. Unfortunately, however, none of these have survived the ravages of time to show their architectural characteristics though archaeological remains of the mosques unearthed at Deybul as well as al-Mansurah, provide a glimpse of the type of mosque architecture these early Arabs had introduced here.

ARAB MOSQUE AT DEYBUL

Situated almost in the heart of the ancient city of Deybul within the grand acropolis, the grand mosque was built on a somewhat square plan measuring 120 ft. east to west and 122 ft. north to south within a perimeter-wall created with varying thickness from 2½ ft. to 4¾ ft. The structure was built of finely dressed blocks of lime stone set in mud mortar. The





Pl. 9
Deybul (Banbhore).
The Mosque: Sehna (Courtyard).

eastern wall possessed the main entrance marked with square shaped buttresses on either side. On the west was created the three-aisled *Zullah* (prayer chamber), a rectangle measuring 113 ft. in length and 34 ft. in breadth. The flat wooden roof was supported with 33 wood pillars, arranged in three rows and placed on stone bases of carved ornamented surface. The prayer chamber possessed no formal *Mehrab* in the shape of an arched recess sunk into the western wall. Instead, a vertical niche was provided in the wall and a rectangular shaped stone slab with collateral corners was fixed in it for the purpose. The stone was found lying on the floor of the prayer chamber near the western wall during the excavations. The discovery of the stone is very significant though yet to be properly appreciated, which reminds identical practice in vogue elsewhere in Islamic world prior to the introduction of the formal *Mehrab* in the shape of a recessed arched niche.²

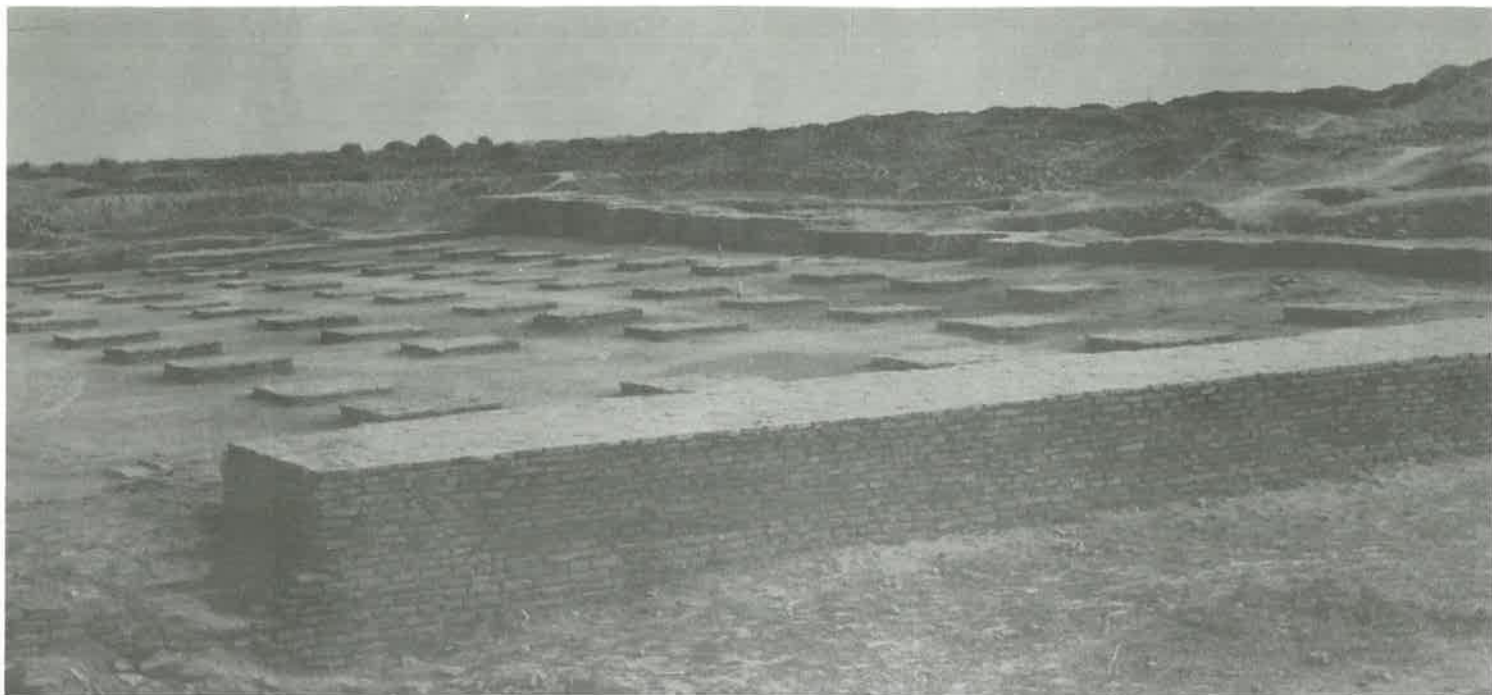
On the north, south and east sides were situated cloisters faced with a colonnade of wooden pillars, again placed on stone bases. The cloisters were

converted, from within, into small apartments, each measuring 11 ft. by 9 ft. (on average). The peripheral cloister along the northern wall was a little narrower than those located along southern and eastern walls. The central open space, a rectangle of 75 ft. from north to south and 58 ft. from east to west, served the purpose of the *Sehn* (courtyard), which was paved with brick-tiles of 14 in. by 10½ in. by 1¾ in. size, laid in somewhat arcuate rows, extending from south-east to north-west direction.

The mosque had two entrances or portals, one each on the north and the east, while on the west was a small opening in the shape of a window. The main eastern entrance had a flight of three steps, while the entrance on the north was originally 7 ft. wide, which was, later on, reduced to 3½ ft. Archaeological investigations revealed that the mosque underwent at least three phases of repairs, addition and alteration. The earliest structure, bold and solid, was created some time in the 8th century, as is also evident from an Arabic inscription dated 109/727 found lying near the prayer-chamber.³ The date, it might be emphasised, is very near to the conquest of Deybul by the Arabs. Several other inscriptions carved in varying styles of Kufic characters were discovered from the ruins of the mosque. The first inscription perhaps gives the date of the construction of the mosque, while the other provides evidence of its renovation, and is a masterpiece of floriated Kufic style. It is evident that some Arab master artist was commissioned to execute it.⁴ Some literary sources reveal that the mosque was erected out of the material dug out from the ruins of a prison.⁵

JAME' MOSQUE AT AL-MANSURAH

The remains of the *Jame' Mosque* uncovered from the ruins of al-Mansurah, the first ever city founded by the Arabs on the soil of Pakistan⁶, must have been of substantial merit. The mosque was rectangular on plan and measured 150 ft. north-south and 250 ft. east-west, surrounded by 6.5 ft. wide boundary wall. The general plan included the covered main prayer chamber, 150 ft. by 74 ft., and rows of covered chambers on either side of the courtyard which itself measured 100 ft. by 150 ft. The *Mehrab* created within the western wall was semicircular on plan, 5.8 ft. wide and 4.9 ft. deep, pointing towards Ka'ba at 244 Degree. The roof of the main prayer chamber, the *Zullah*, was supported on 4.6 ft. square columns of brick



Pl. 10
The Jame Mosque of al-Mansurah:
General view



Pl. 11
The Jame Mosque of al-Mansurah:
The Mehrab.

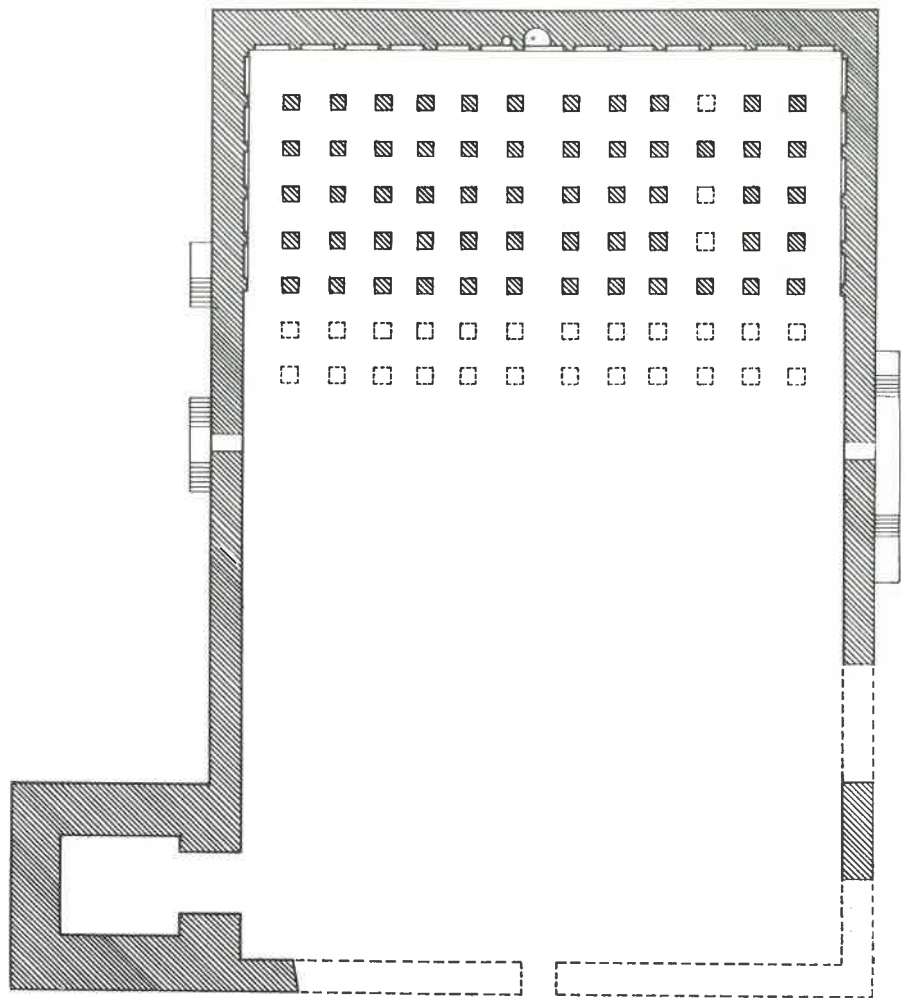


Fig. 6 The Jame Mosque at al-Mansurah: The Plan.

masonry, arranged in 6 regular rows, 7 ft. apart within the row. The columns were placed at a regular distance of 6.9 ft. The main prayer chamber was provided with 3 in. thick teak wood panels upto the dado level, while its floor was paved with 10 in. square bricks. The floor of the *Sehn*, the courtyard, was paved with rectangular bricks, measuring 11 in. by 10½ in. by 2½ in.

It is not possible now to estimate precisely when the mosque was constructed. However, it might plausibly be assumed that it would have been planned alongwith the over all layout of the city of al-Mansurah which is estimated to have been founded between the year 110 and 120/728 and 737 as its integral unit, as was the usual practice in other Arab cities. No

epigraphical record has been found during the excavation of the ruins of mosque to help us dating it, except an incomplete part of an inscription. Stylistically, the carving is much inferior to what we have noticed in some of the inscriptions found from the mosque at Banbhore.

Archaeological evidence has proved that the mosque was repaired thrice during its life time. During the last building phase, it was provided with a *m'azina*, created outside the south eastern corner, in imitation of its contemporaries erected elsewhere in the Islamic cities.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Much has been said and written about the identification of Deybul. The inferences of M.A. Ghafur, especially with regard to Banbhore, have been generally accepted. See his contribution entitled 'Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions from Banbhore', in *Pakistan Archaeology*, 3 (1966).
2. Cf. S. M. Ashfaq, 'Grand Mosque at Debul' in *Pakistan Archaeology*, No. 6 (1969).
3. This Arabic Inscription is incised on a dressed sand stone (Pl. 7) and reads as under:

(i) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
(ii) مَا أَمْرُهُ الْأَمِيرِ مَرْوَانَ (?) بَنَ (iii) مُحَمَّدٍ مَوْلَى أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَعَزَّهُ (vi) اللَّهُ عَلَى
يَدَيَّ عَلَى بَنَ مُوسَى (?) مَوْلَى أَمِيرِ (v) الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَكْرَمَهُ اللَّهُ سَنَةَ تِسْعٍ وَمِائَةٍ (?)

Translation: In the name of Allah, the Benevolent, the Merciful. What Amir Marwan [?] ibn Muhammad Maula Amir ul-Mu'minin, may Allah make him glorious, ordered about its (erection) through the agency of Ali ibn Musa [?] Maula Amir ul-Mu'minin, may Allah make him illustrious, in the year 109.

4. This Arabic Inscription is incised on a dressed sand stone (Pl. 8) and reads as under:

(i) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ (وَحْدَهُ) وَإِنْ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُهُ وَعَبْدُهُ (ii) إِنَّمَا
يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ مِنْ أَمْنٍ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ (الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ)
وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ (أُولَٰئِكَ)
(iii) أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُهْتَدِينَ هَذَا مَا أَمَرَ بِنَصْبِهِ الْأَمِيرُ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ (—فِي ذِي)
الْقَعْدَةِ (?) سَنَةِ أَرْبَعٍ وَتِسْعِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ

Translation: In the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful. There is no God but Allah alone, and verily Muhammad is His Messenger and Servant. He only inhabits Mosques of Allah, who believes in Allah, offers prayers and pays *Zakat* and fears none but Allah; so it may be that there are the followers of right path. This is what Amir Muhammad bin Abdullah [?] has ordered about its erection. [Zu'l Qa'ada?] in the year 294. (294/906).

Vide, F.A. Khan, *Banbhore: A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeological Excavations*, (Karachi: 1969) 29.

The inscription has been carved in exquisite floriated Kufic characters on three pieces of buff colour lime stone, showing real tendrils growing-up from the terminations of the letters ط (ta),

م (mim) and و (waw). There are also floral motifs arranged in the spaces in between ل (lam) and ا (alif). The motifs consist of half-palmette, two-lobbed and three-lobbed leaves.

5. Balazuri, *Futuh u'l-Buldan*, 425.
6. For the identification of the site and the date of the founding of this first Arab city on the soil of Pakistan, see Mumtaz Husain Pathan, *The Arab Kingdom of al-Mansurah*, 65 ff.

Chapter Two:

The Central Asian Contribution



Pl. 12
Mausoleum of Khalid Walid, Multan:
The Mehrab.

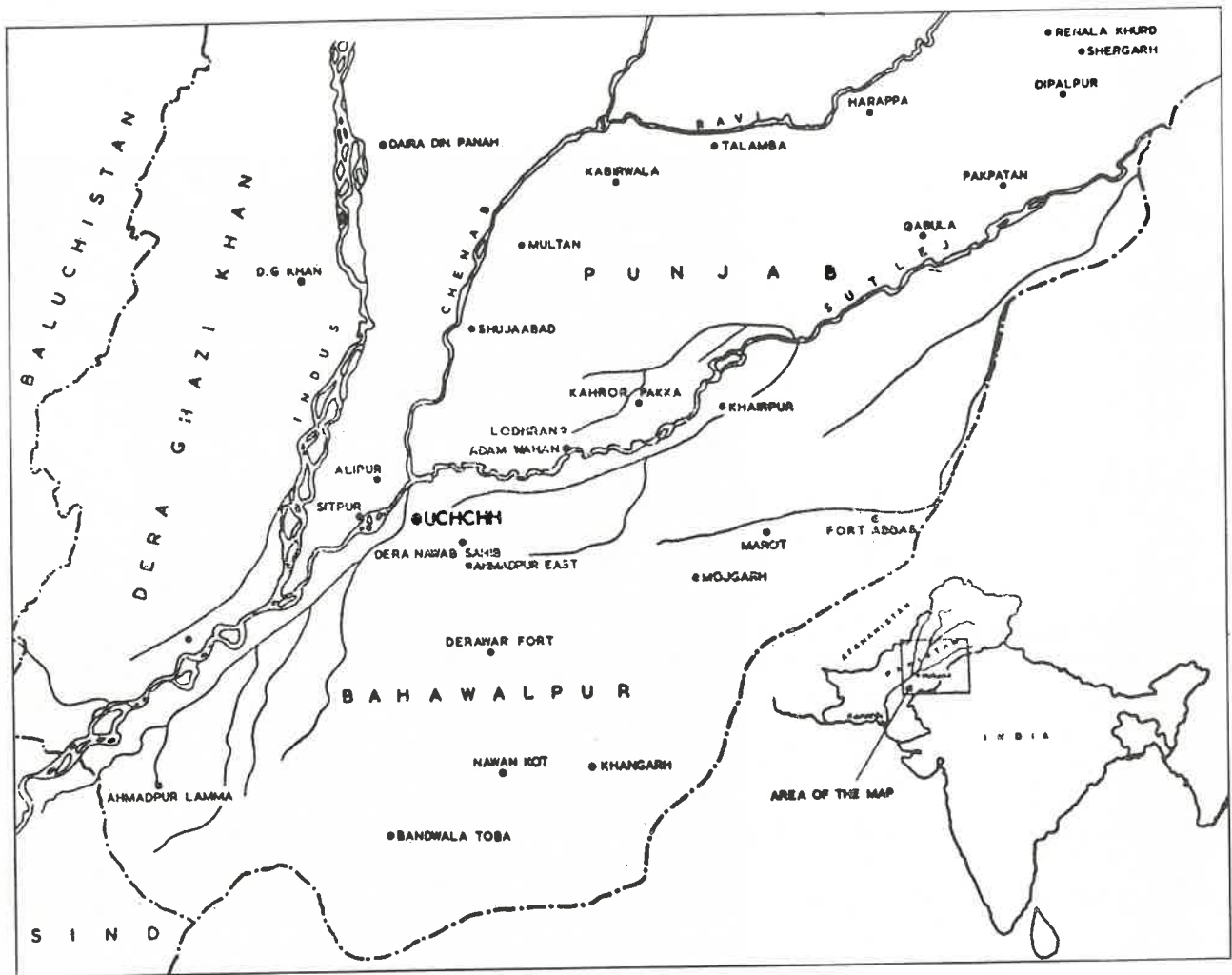
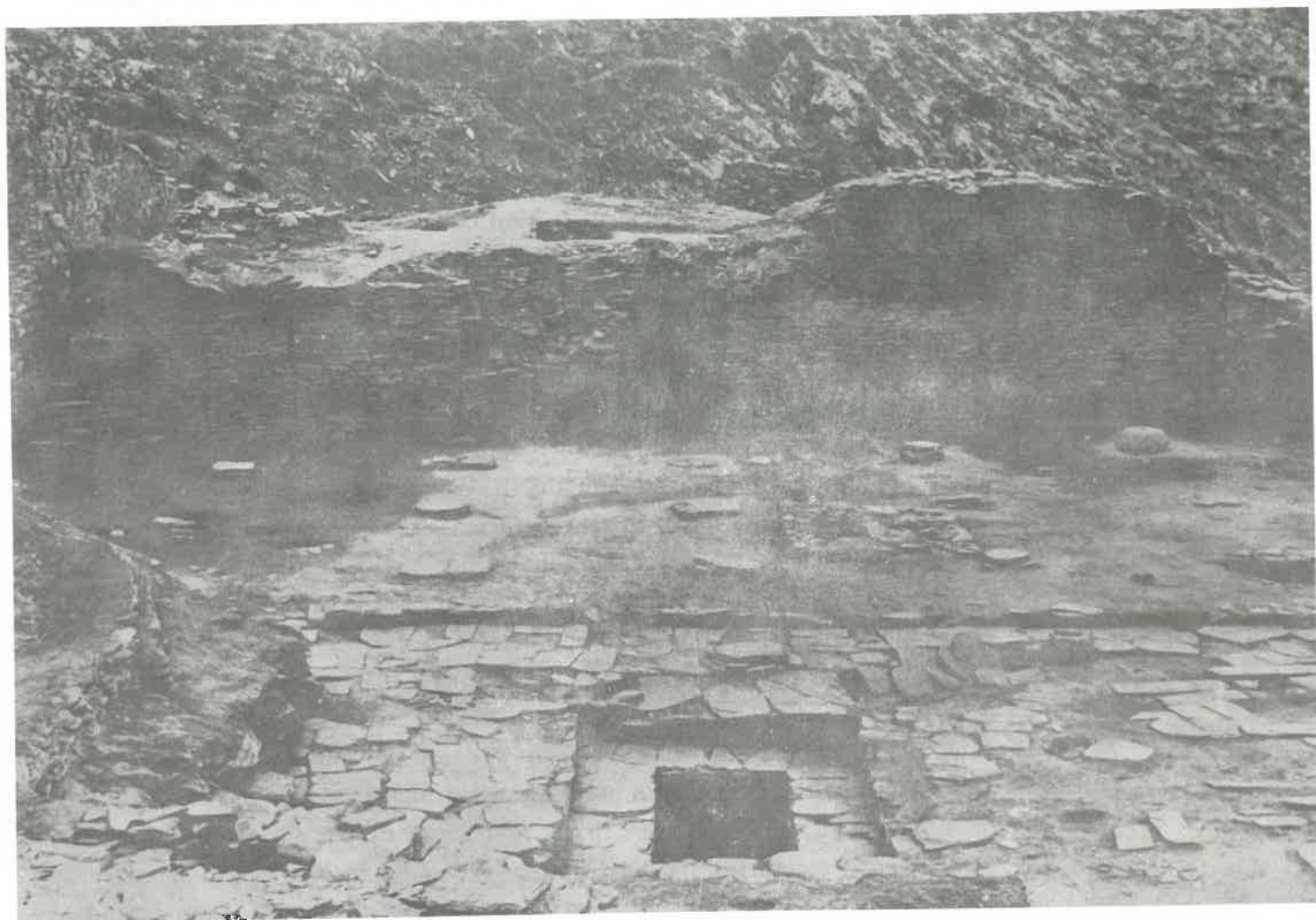


Fig. 7 Map of Sindh and Punjab.

Architectural traditions set forth by these two early Arab mosques must have been followed in designing mosques located in the various parts of Arab possessions. The Arab governors and the Habbari and Banu Munabbah rulers must have constructed several houses of prayers in their dominions. We are told that the Isma'ili Da'i-ruler, Jalam b. Shaiban had closed the earlier Muhammad bin Qasim mosque at Multan, and had put up a new one for use. It may plausibly be assumed that the new Isma'ili mosque was not altogether different to its predecessor as far as its architectural features were concerned, though it might have introduced decorative elements of the Fatimid architecture, especially the wood work.

THE GHAZNAVID MOSQUES

During the later part of the 4th/10th century, a new political power emerged on the north-western borders of the Subcontinent. The energetic Sebuktigin who had occupied the throne of Ghaznin in 366/977, initiated military campaigns against the Kingdom of the local Hindu Shahiyas.¹ The much discussed and debated seventeen invasions of his son, Mahmud, created a real stir in the calm waters of the Indian political ocean. As a result of these military campaigns, Muslim suzerainty was extended and strengthened in almost all the areas which now constitute Pakistan. Sultan Mahmud annexed the Punjab with his fast growing empire, while the later Ghaznavids created their capital at Lahore. As a result of this socio-political change, many resourceful and adventurous people from Central Asia migrated to these new possessions and settled at places like Peshawar, Lahore, Multan, Sirhind, Uchchh, Depalpur etc. They played a rather dominant role in the re-shaping of the local society. Besides Arabic, Persian was introduced which eventually became the *lingua franca* of the region. Many spiritual and religious luminaries, poets, literatures from various religious and cultural centres of Central Asia came to the Ghaznavid court here which soon became the great centre of cultural activities.



Pl. 13
Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat:
General view.

It has been asserted that Mahmud of Ghaznin erected a mosque at Nandana within the fortification. The place is also associated with the celebrated Abu Raihan al-Beruni who stayed here for his scientific studies. Similarly, the Sultan is known to have erected another mosque at Lahore which was called *Khishti Masjid*.² Ravages of time did not leave these mosques intact. But, the very name by which the later mosque was called, suggests that the brick construction must have followed Central Asian traditions, while the little mosque at Nandana has undergone such a complete renovation that nothing of its original fabric survives. The celebrated Usman Ali Hujveri, better known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, is also credited to have erected a mosque at Lahore near his hermitage. The direction of the Ka'ba in the mosque was doubted by certain people. But, the saint miraculously proved it to be correct.³ No trace of the mosque exists now. It can only be surmised that the existing modern mosque adjacent to his tomb is the modified and renovated version of the old erection.

Recently, in the year 1981, evidence of the construction of a mosque by some later Ghaznavid Sultan has come up through the archaeological excavations in Swat by a team of Italian archaeologists. These archaeological operations were based upon some folklores mentioning the circumstances which led to the initiation and spread of Islam in that green valley of Swat, and that on an epigraph which was found earlier by certain local people.⁴

The remains of this Ghaznavid mosque are located on a large stretch beside the mount of Raja Girha. Here on a height of about 100 metres was situated an ancient citadel which was reduced and occupied by Mahmud Ghaznin. Recent archaeological operations have uncovered the remains of a hypostyle mosque built of slabs of schist stone and stone blocks in the style of the so-called Gandhara masonry. It appears that the structures underwent at least two periods of construction. The western wall had a formal Mehrab in the shape of a deep arch-niche. The excavator, Sebisteno Tusa adds, 'The Qibla wall shows that typical mehrab with a square plan characteristic of mosque architecture in the eastern area upto the pre-Seljuk period. This confirms the dating of the complex as the Ghaznavid period, while belonging to the broad category of the hypostyle kind, the mosque shows some very peculiar features. The layout was, at least original-



Pl. 14
Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat:
Persian Inscription, dated

ly, characterised by an entrance on the east side, opposite the Qibla side, though not in line with the Mehrab, and a second entrance on the west.

'The most striking feature [of the mosque] is the very limited dimensions of the courtyard, just a space equivalent to the width of two aisles, practically in the middle of the building. This space is taken up almost entirely by an ablution bath [tank?] (Pl. 13).

'The mosque must have been entirely covered by a flat roof resting on five series of supports running from north to south and eight from east to west. The roof supports, columns or pillars that must have been of wood. They have now disappeared, though their stone bases remain (Fig. 8).

'The division between the actual prayer hall and the rest of the covered area is well defined by the different levels of the two areas, as well as by a different type of flooring: the former area, a step higher, is in beaten earth, and the latter, corresponding in function to the courtyard, is paved with slabs of schist. One could suppose that this second area was originally

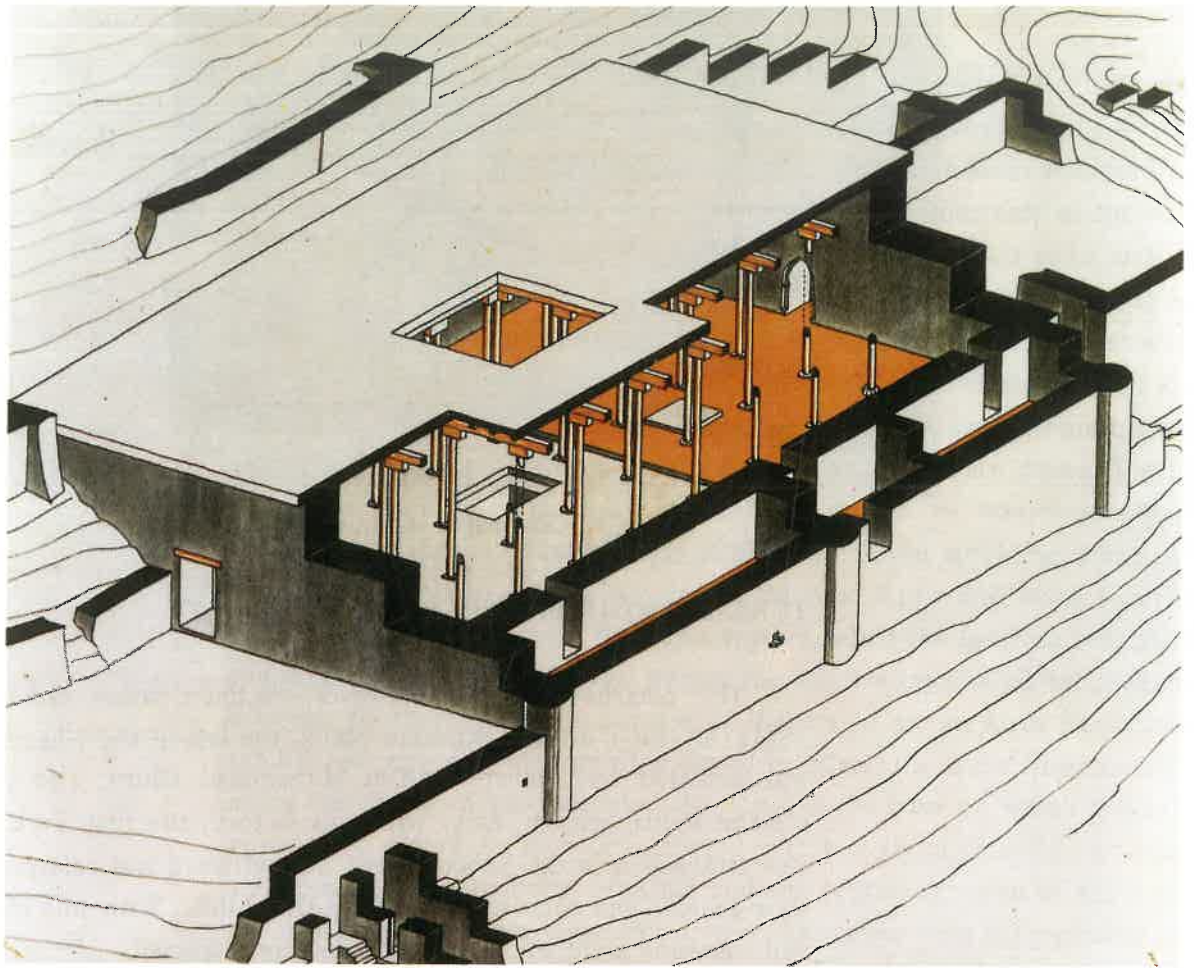


Fig. 8 Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat: Isometric view.

exposed to weather, open to the sky, and only subsequently fully supplied with pillars and a roof, except for the central part where the ablution bath is now placed. This part of the roofing may have been taken because of the extremely bad exposure conditions of the mosque on the shaded side of Raja Girha, particularly for rainy weather of the region during spring and winter time. At the moment, however, we don't have any archaeological proof.

'Other noteworthy features are a *Ziyada* on the northern side, overlooking the valley, containing three oblong *hujras*, one of which has a large window, and the handling of the facade which is articulated with three cylindrical-tower buttresses'.⁵

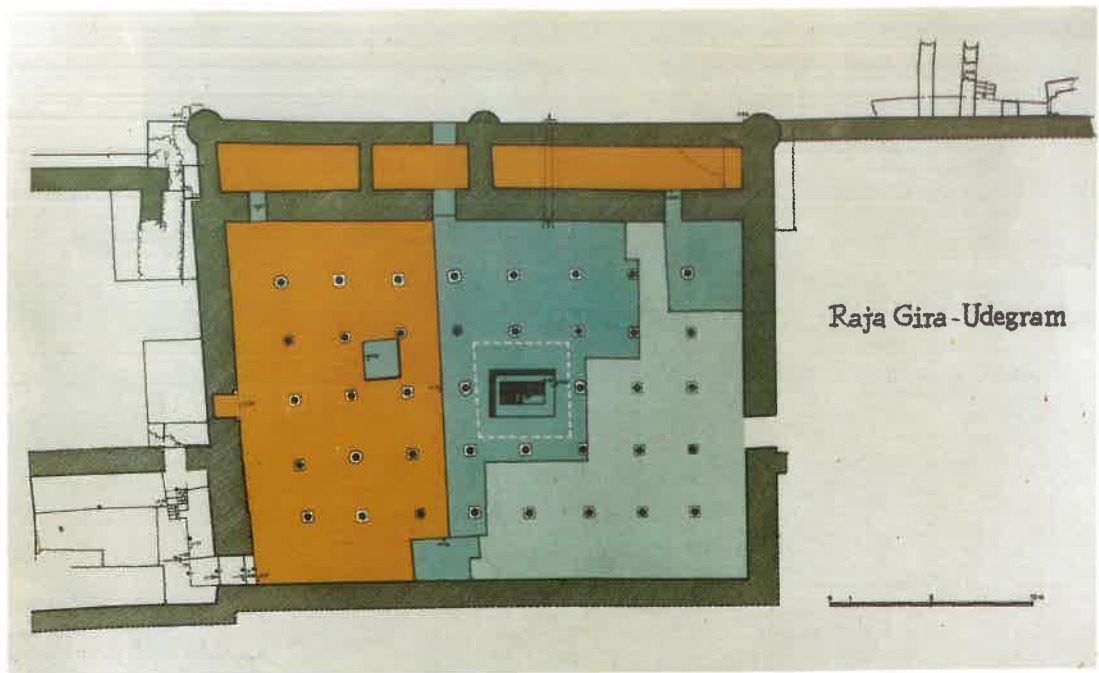


Fig. 9 Ghaznavid Mosque, Swat: The Plan.

TURKISH MOSQUES UNDER THE SULTANATE

The Ghaznavid power, however, declined rather rapidly, when in 581/1186 Taj u'd-Daula Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznavid Sultans, was defeated by Shahab u'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri, also called Mu'izz u'd-Din Muhammad b. Sam. With this victory, the first Turkish Sultanate was established in the Subcontinent, strengthened and enlarged by his able slave-general and successor, Qutb u'd-Din Aibek. With this change, a new and vigorous style of Islamic architecture, especially of the mosque, was inaugurated. In its initial stage, it was basically composed of the building material taken out of the ruins of the earlier buildings, especially the Hindu-Jaina temples. There are copious references in contemporary and near-contemporary chronicles that the early Muslim conquerors of the various parts of the Subcontinent built mosques at every place they subdued. We are told that Shahab u'd-Din Ghuri erected a *Jame Mosque* at Multan for whose maintenance a large Waqf was created.⁶ The celebrated Qutb u'd-Din Aibek built mosques at Lahore, Dehli and Ajmer. While the Lahore mosque is known to us only from literary sources, the other two are still standing, though in ruins. Similarly, an epigraphical evidence indicates construction of a mosque at Pakpatan during the Khalji rule. The inscription recording the building of a mosque has now been fixed on the facade of the Mehrab of its new version.⁷

MUSALLAH MEHRAB OF KHALID WALID, KABIRWALA

The Musallah — Mehrab created as an elaborate arched recess in the centre of the outer wall of the western gallery of the Mausoleum of Khalid Walid, at Kabirwala, is the most outstanding earliest known structure of its kind (Pl. 11). The Mehrab is sunk deep into the thickness of the wall in the shape of a half dome. The entire facing of the Mehrab niche and its interior have been faced with cut-brick panels of different sizes and shapes. Within this double frame which is slightly recessed, are square shaped pillarettes flanking and supporting the main arch, the shafts of which are faced with Quranic verses as well as details of the personage responsible for the erection all executed in cut bricks. The pillarettes are crowned with composite capitals. The lower part has foliation of conventionalized acanthus put within a double series of plain and dentil moulding, while the bases possess Allah and Muhammad in floriated Kufic and floral tendrils put within solid borders on sides and bottom, while the band on top takes the shape of a frieze of lotuses. Above, the capitals are treated with a combination of three cut-brick courses of diapers in recess, lotus leaves and tendrils, all arranged one upon the other. In effect, the triple frieze runs all along the facing of the Mehrab-niche forming the base on which the half dome rests. Above, its interior is reveted with a series of roundels, tendrils, and some of the attributes of Allah and the beginning verses of the Ayat al-Kursi arranged within horizontal friezes. The lower ones are separated by solid brick courses, and the upper by means of friezes of chevrons going right upto the apex. The small squares, within which are placed circles, of foliages or the attributes are created by means of a geometric pattern (Pl. 12).

THE TUGHLUQ MOSQUES

Sometimes in 704/1304, Ghazi Malik, later known to history as Ghiyas u'd-Din Tughluq, was appointed as Muqti of Depalpur as well as Pakpattan by Ala u'd-Din Khalji. These were the days when the menace of the Mongol inroads of these areas was a continued annual affair. Ghazi Malik was assigned the job to thwart this menace which he carried out successfully. Later in 720/1320, he ascended the throne of Dehli to found a new reigning dynasty known as the Tughluq dynasty. Ghiyas u'd-Din Tughluq and his successors

are credited to have introduced an entirely new style of architecture through numerous buildings they built at many places of their Sultanate. It has been characterised as austere, military architecture because of its formidable, fortress like appearance devoid of luxurious ornamentation of the previous regimes.⁸ He was an enthusiastic disciple of the contemporary saint, Shaikh Ala u'd-Din commonly known as Mauj-i-Darya who was his patron saint. Ghiyas u'd-Din is also credited to have erected the tomb of Baba Farid,⁹ while his nephew and successor Muhammad Tughluq built the mausoleum of Shaikh Ala u'd-Din and the mosque within the precinct of the *Khanqah*.¹⁰

Originally the mosque must have been a fabulous construction having an impressive entrance vestibule, as stated elsewhere. However, the present structure is a modified version belonging probably to the days of Moghul suzerainty. The original entrance has disappeared and only the prayer chamber is left along with the open courtyard which is about 3 ft. higher than the general level of the *Khanqah*. The rectangular prayer chamber is divided into three compartments by means of lateral arches. They are crowned with three hemispherical domes. The central dome is bigger and higher than those flanking it. The central compartment has the *Mehrab* in the shape of a deeply recessed arched sunk into the western wall, while the four corners of the *aiwan* have been added with low turrets. The whole brick structure has been lime plastered with recessed panels of different shapes and sizes, while the interior is treated with floral designs in fresco.

In recent times, a verandah with a low roof of G.I. corrugated sheets has been added to the front of the prayer chamber in order to create more shaded space for prayer. The entire mosque has been treated with cement mosaic flooring.

The same Ghiyas u'd-Din Tughluq has been said to have built a mosque at Multan. Ibn Battuta is the lone authority for this assertion who also cites a curious Arabic inscription which once adorned the facade of the mosque.¹¹ The renowned poet and historian, Amir Khusrau also alludes to the mosque. The structure does not exist now.

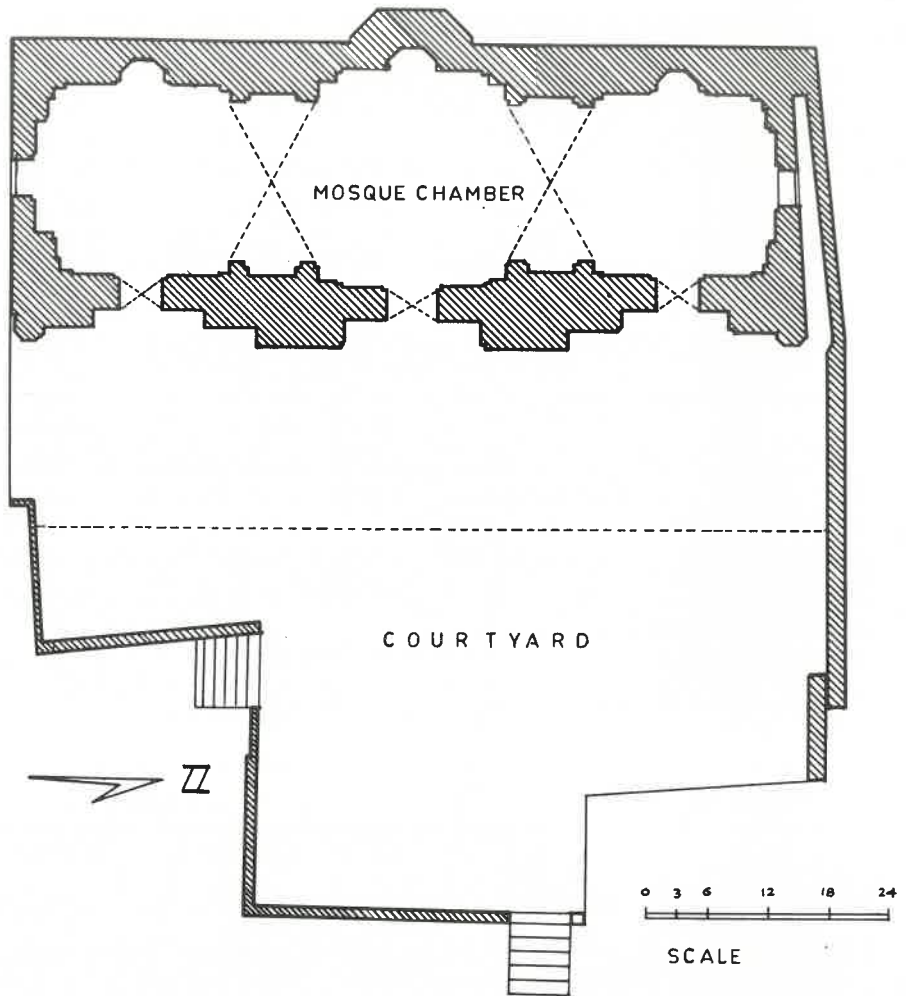


Fig. 10 Tughluq Mosque. Depalpur: General Plan.

FIRUZSHAHI MOSQUE, DEPALPUR

Of much more pretentious and massive grandeur is the mosque created a little later at Depalpur by Firuz Shah Tughluq. It has escaped thorough renovation and remodelling, and therefore, is an important specimen of the mosque architecture of the Tughluq period. The mosque has a grand entrance vestibule on the east, while the spacious three-aisled prayer chamber lies on the west. In the centre is the vast open courtyard surrounded by arched *liwans* on its south and north. The fortress-like building is an embodiment of strength and majesty represented through thick walls, low keel-arched openings, and grand but rather low hemispherical domes. The whole structure is lime-plastered. It was white washed at a later date.^{1 2}

HYPOSTYLE MOSQUES OF UCHCHH

Uchchh, an ancient city of the southern Punjab, has been a celebrated spiritual centre since its birth. While in the pre-Islamic period, it was the coveted abode of Ushas, the celestial goddess of Hindu mythology,¹³ during the medieval period it became the celebrated centre of religious excellence and spiritual guidance under the Suhrawardiya and other *Silsilahs*. Here came and lived Sayyid Jalal Surkh Bukhari, Safi u'd-Din Gazruni, Jamal u'd-Din Qandahari, Jahaniyan Jahangasht, Rajan Qattal, and many others who made it an outstanding religious and spiritual centre to which people flocked with reverence and fervour. After the demise of these saints, splendid funerary memorials were erected over their graves, and mosques were attached to them for use of the devotees.¹⁴

It has been asserted that both the tombs and mosques so erected at the various centres of this ancient city, represented a classical style of architecture having their own distinct features. These brick structures,

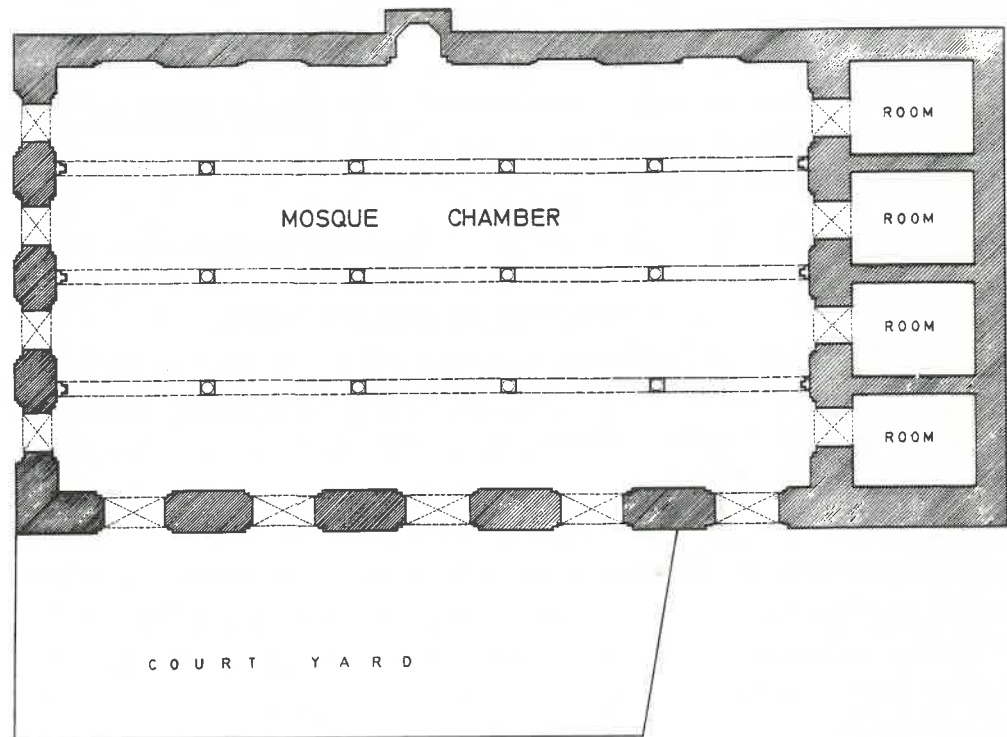


Fig. 11 Mosque of Jalal Surkh Bukhari, Uchchh. General Plan.



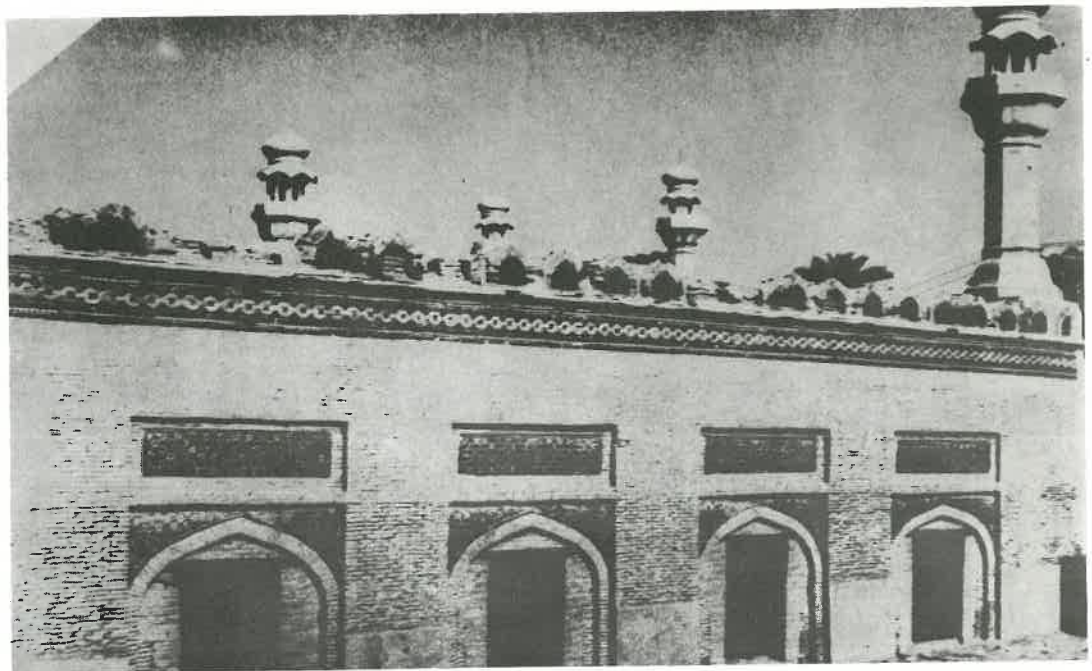
Pl. 15
Mosque of Jalal Surkh Bukhari:
Persian Inscription on the right
of the Mehrab.



Pl. 16
Mosque of Jalal Surkh Bukhari:
Persian Inscription on the left
of the Mehrab.

especially the mosques, are mainly hypostyle with flat roofs, and are ornamented with faience and faience mosaic revetment. The faience work consists of both painted glazed tiles as well as the simulated glazed brick plugs with which numerous geometric patterns have been formulated.¹⁵

The mosque attached to the tomb of Jahaniyan Jahan gasht at Uchchh, has some notable interesting features. It was constructed with a flat roof following the design of the tomb itself. Although no datable epigraph is available on the body of the mosque, stylistically it could be assigned to the early decades of the fourteenth century, and might have been erected simultaneously to the construction of the tomb of the great saint. Luckily, the mosque appears to have escaped thorough renovation, while the tomb was renovated in 1330/1912.¹⁶ The mosque is situated on the north of the tomb. The rectangular prayer chamber has a recessed arched niche in the centre of the western wall to serve the purpose of the *Mehrab*. The arch has been faced with a decorative wooden frame, while its spandrels are filled with brick tiles arranged in chevrons. The spandrels possess full-blown lotuses with twelve well-marked petals and a boss in the centre, all created with glazed tiles. Flanking the *Mehrab* are two rectangular recessed niches faced



Pl. 17
*Mosque within the tomb complex of
Jahaniyan Jahangasht, Uchchh.*

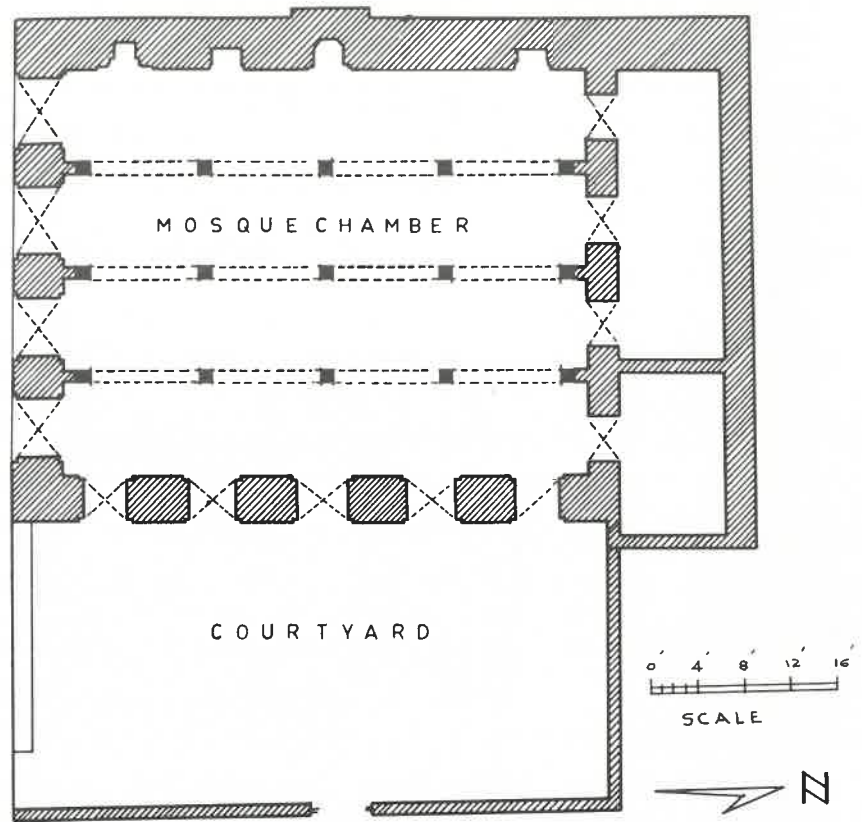


Fig. 12 Mosque of Jahanian Jahangasht, Uchchh: The Plan.

with wooden shutters and a frame, carved in delicate designs in relief. The arrangement of wood panels and brick-tiles in the Mehrab reminds an identical treatment meted out to the more elaborately conceived and constructed Mehrab of the mausoleum of Shaikh 'Ala u'd-Din at Pakpatan. Similarly, the contiguous frieze consisting of a chain or 'circles-in-contacts' adorning the facade below the battlemented parapet is worth noticing. The exceptionally elongated prayer chamber has seven arched openings on the east, marked by arched recesses and filled with glazed tile work. Two minarets surmounted with domed octagonal pavilions adorn the north-east and south-east corners of the prayer chamber.

THAMBAWARO MOSQUE

Here, a reference to the ruins of a mosque made by Henery Cousens is very apt and instructive. The ruins of *Thambawaro Masjid* were lying a few miles north-east of Lahori Bandar and, according to him, represented

the mosque erected by Jalal u'd-Din Khwarazm Shah during his sojourn in 1223. The mosque was created with the spoils of a Hindu temple, probably belonging to the twelfth century.

JAMALI MOSQUE, THATTA

Another mosque belonging to the late 14th century, now in quite a ruinous condition, stands amid the famous metropolis of Thatta in Sind. According to traditions, it was built by the Samma ruler, Jam Tamachi, as a part of the Khanqah of a renowned local saint called Jamali. Built on an oblong plan measuring 64 ft. by 29 ft., the brick mosque has three lanced-shaped arched entrances. The rectangular prayer chamber is divided into three compartments, the central one being bigger.¹⁸

BODHESAR MOSQUE, NAGARPARKAR

Amidst a cluster of undulating low and high hills of granite in the south-western areas of Sind is located the small town of Nagarparkar, at a distance of 120 miles south of Umarkot. The place is celebrated for its three Jaina temples of fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and an ancient fort of about the same period, while about four miles north-west of the town is the area of Bodhesar where stands a lone but conspicuously prominent structure of a domed mosque, entirely built of marble, probably of the spoils of the earlier structures of religious nature.

Oblong on plan, the mosque covers an area of 2,400 sq. ft., 60 ft. long and 40 ft. 7 inches long and 13 ft. 3 inches broad internally. The roof is surmounted with an imposing dome in the centre and four domelets on each corner. The dome and the domelets are constructed of marble in corbelled system. The main dome is crowned with a lotus finial but the spire has fallen. The exterior shell has been plastered in lime. The four smaller corner domelets are hidden behind the battlemented cresting of the parapet. The merlons are also of marble which have been given the shape of a lotus placed within a flat border. The central bay of the *aiwan* (prayer chamber) is distinguished by a series of four marble pillars, each 9 ft. high. The bases of the pillars are square, while the shafts are designed semi-hexagonal, polygonal and cylindrical at top, a derivation of Hindu

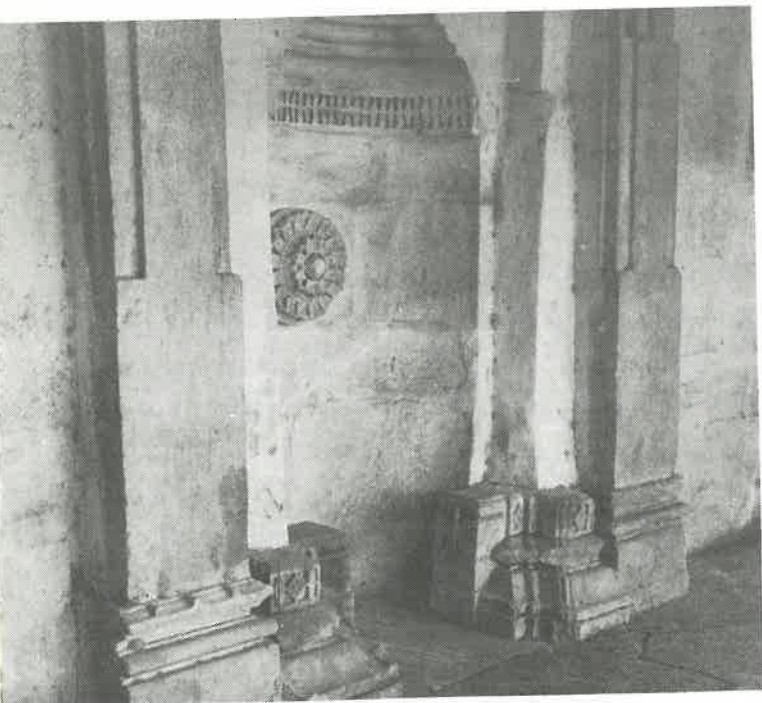
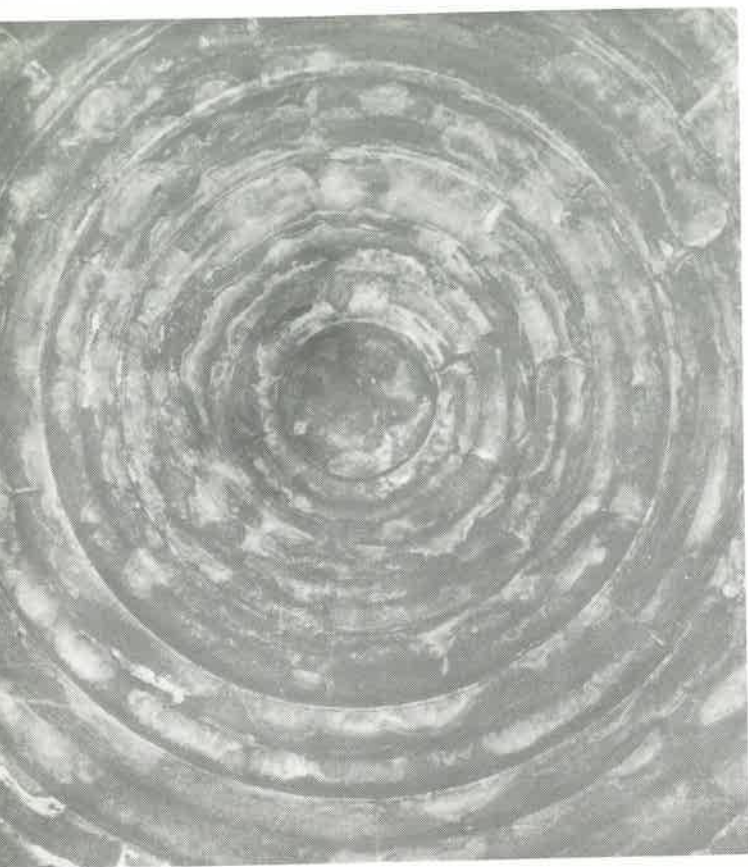


Pl. 18

*Bodhesar Mosque. Nagar Parkar:
General view.*

style of pillars. The distance between the parallel pairs of the pillars is 12 ft. from north to south and 2 ft. 9 inches from east to west. The series of the pillars are meant to hold the round base of the dome. In the centre of the western wall is a deeply recessed and well marked arched frame to serve the purpose of the *mehrab*. A highly ornamented lotus flower carved in high relief decorates the centre of the recess. The fronton of the *aiwan* (prayer chamber) has four columns, thus providing five openings, of which the central and ending ones are wider than those flanking the central one. The pillars are crowned with brackets to support the lintel, while a *Chajja* (pent) is provided above it. In front of this *aiwan* a spacious courtyard is enclosed with a low enclosure, having an opening in the centre of the eastern wall for entrance.

The western wall has two Persian and Arabic inscriptions carved on marble slabs in Naskh and Nasta'liq characters. The Persian inscription records that the mosque was constructed by Malik Safi u'l-Mulk, a courtier



*Pl. 19
Bodhesar Mosque. Nagar Parkar:
Interior of the Dome.*

*Pl. 20
Bodhesar Mosque. Nagar Parkar:
The Mehrab.*

*Pl. 21
Bodhesar Mosque. Nagar Parkar:
Zone of transition.*

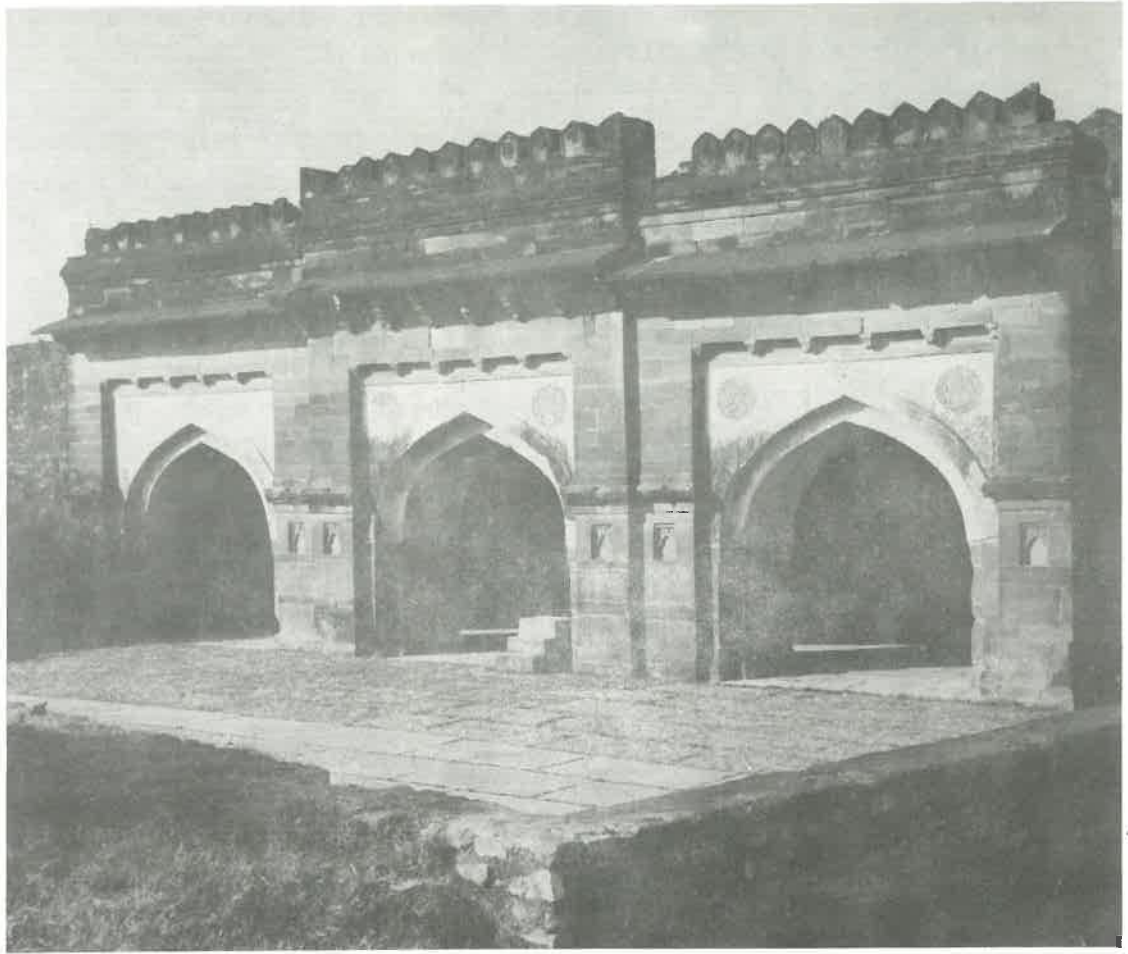
or an officer of high rank in the court of Sultan Muhammad Shah, the ruler of Gujerat in 852/1449. The Arabic inscription contains verse of the Quran (18th verse of *surat al-jin*).

The mosque evidently shows an overall influence of the local Hindu Jaina architecture to the extent that some of the architectural elements might have been brought from some ruined buildings of the Hindu or Jaina temple (Pls. 19, 20, 21).

SHAHI MOSQUE, ROHTAS (JHELUM)

In the neighbourhood of the majestic Kabuli Gateway of the Suri period's fort of Rohtas near Jhelum is located a beautiful tiny mosque generally called the Shahi or Badshahi Masjid. The mosque was originally built for military forces stationed in the fort. Every care has been taken to make it a beautiful specimen of architecture of Suri peirod, according to the style of the other nearby buildings of the fort which are undoubtedly the best of the Suri style of architecture in Pakistan.

The mosque has a prayer chamber and a vast courtyard in front and enclosed by a dwarf wall. The *aiwan* (prayer chamber) is about 62 ft. long and 23 ft. deep internally divided into three bays by means of heavy lateral arches. The central bay has been created in the shape of a square, 12 ft. 4 inches side. The bays are crowned with heavy low domes in the shape of vaults. The front of the *aiwan* has three deeply recessed arched openings distinguished by means of projected frames, the verticular shafts of which have projected moulding in the centre under which is an oblong recessed panel having a trefoil arch with decorative floral designs, carved on the small spandrels. The spandrels of the main arches are lime plastered on which medallions are executed in stucco plaster. These medallions have the *Kalima* carved in Naskh characters within an elaborate floral border. The arched frame is bounded by a stone lintel placed on a series of six simple brackets. Above, a pent (*chhajja*) has been provided by means of stone slabs arranged in slope. A series of brackets support the *chhajja*. A battlemented parapet crowns the fronton of the *Aiwan*, whose merlons are decorated with roundels on which is carved *Allah* in bold relief. A small *minber* of three steps has been provided alongside the central arched



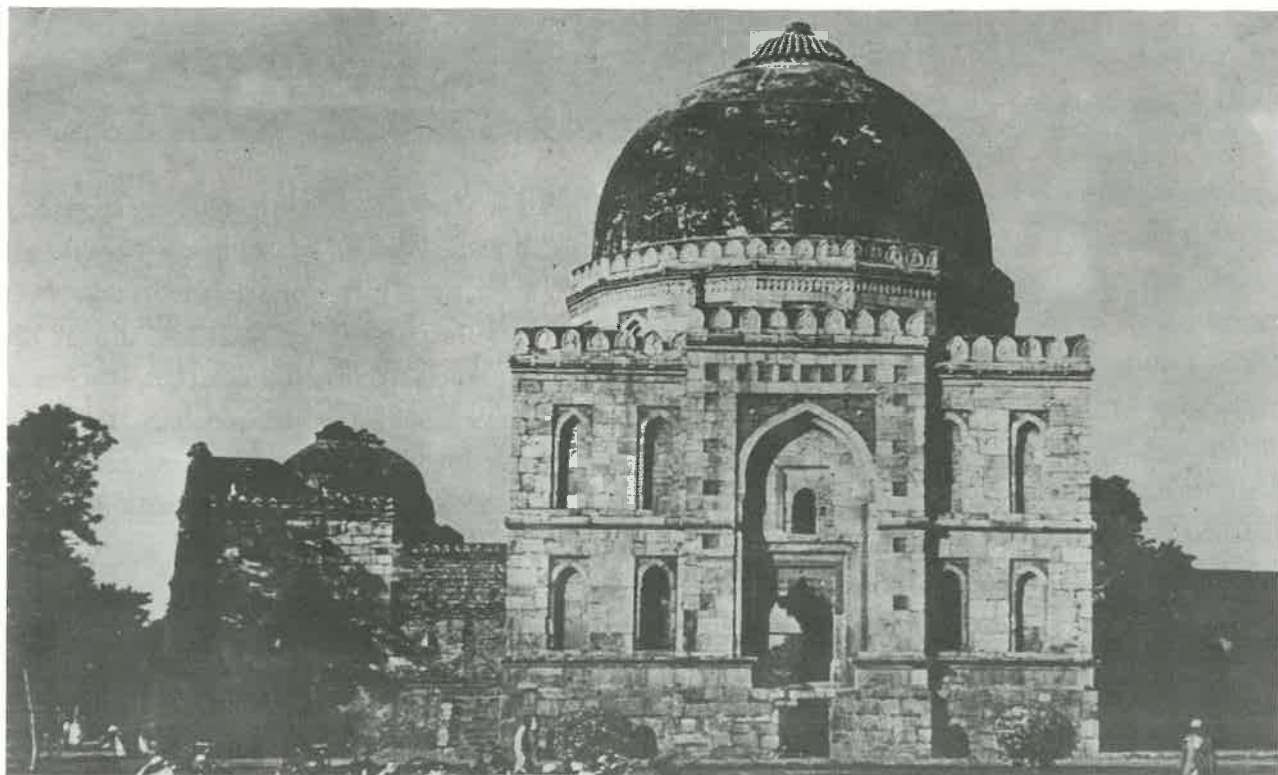
Pl. 22
Badshahi Mosque. Rohtas Fort:
General view.

opening. Internally, the series of the heavy engrailed arches create an effect of arcaded bays. The central bay has the usual arched recess in the western wall for mehrab which measures about 7 ft. in height and 3 ft. 9 inches in width. The narrow arch supported by pillaretes is designed as a rectangular frame. Two sunflowers are carved in higher relief in each of its spandrels. The frame is crowned with a series of marlons on which is carved *Allah*. The other two bays have also been provided recessed arched Mehrabs, but they are less pretentious. On the south and north of the *Aiwan* is created a *hujra* (anti-room). Access to these rooms has been provided from the prayer chamber itself. The whole structure has been created in a local variety of yellow sand stone. The interior was originally lime plastered, most of which is decayed and fallen.

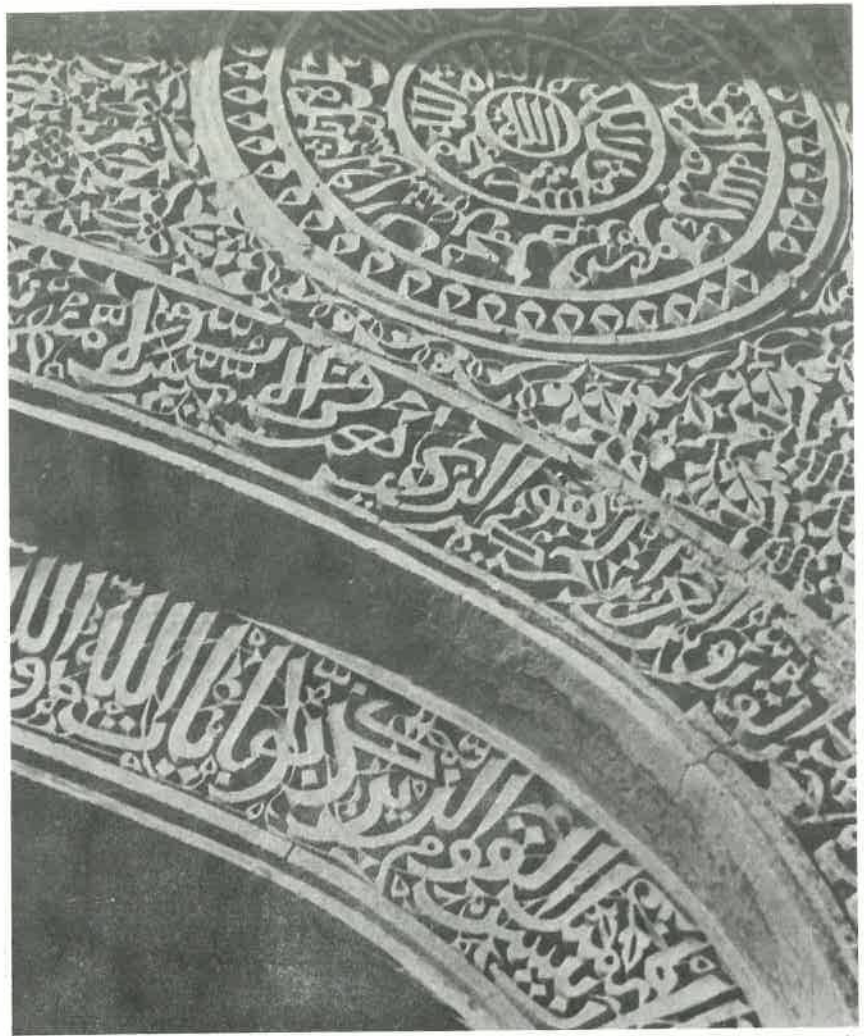
MOSQUES OF SAYYID AND LODI PERIODS

The invasion of Amir Timur Sahibqiran in the closing years of the fourteenth century and the indiscriminate plunder and killing in various cities and towns created havoc in the northern territories of the Subcontinent. The political power was transferred to Khizr Khan who eventually established the Sayyid dynasty in 817/1414 by ascending the throne at Delhi. However, his control over the outlying provinces was nominal. Local chieftains, therefore, controlled the situation until the time the Lodis took over the reigns of government in 855/1451 who, in turn, were ousted by Zahir u'd-Din Muhammad Babur in 932/1526.¹⁹

It has been asserted that during this long period of more than a century, architecture received a real setback and, in the words of Percy Brown, 'no great building undertakings are recorded ... no capital cities were founded, no important palaces, no fortresses or strongholds were created, no mosque of any importance, no colleges and no public buildings of any kind appear to have been produced'.²⁰ However, during the Lodi period two little mosques of an unusual type are said to have been built at Lahore.



Pl. 23
Delhi, Bara Gumbad Mosque:
General view.



Pl. 24
 Delhi, Bara Gumbad Mosque:
 Detail of plaster work.

Both the mosques are called *Niwin Masjid* as they are constructed much below the surrounding ground level. Planned and built on a purely arcuate style, they are identical to each other. The one located in between the Lahori and Shah Alami gates in old Lahore, was built by Zulfiqar Khan, a noble of the Lodi days.²¹ An appreciably spacious erection, it has a prayer chamber of three bays surmounted with low squat domes. The other adjuncts are a bath, a well, and a residence for the Imam. Two deep wells have been dug down for refuse water. A broad staircase leads down to the mosque.

THE AKBARI SARAI MOSQUE

The mosque now located in the *Sarai Akbari* or *Jilau Khana* of Jahangir's Mausoleum at Lahore was originally built during the days of Islam Shah Suri. It was thoroughly renovated and re-modelled at the time of the



Pl. 25

*The Akbari Sarai Mosque. Lahore:
General view.*

construction of the mausoleum. The oblong prayer chamber, built on a high platform in the centre of the western flank of the Sarai has three compartments divided by lateral arches, and crowned with low domes, while the Mehrab in the shape of a recessed arch has been created in the thickness of the western wall. In front, in the centre of the courtyard is a water tank measuring $33\frac{1}{4}$ ft. by $22\frac{1}{2}$ ft. for ablution, augmented with a fountain, obviously a creation of the Moghul period. The facade of the mosque has been treated with panels of red sandstone having delicate inlay in white marble. The decoration also belongs to the early days of Shahjahan created for maintaining symmetry to the main entrance to the mausoleum.

The existing specimens narrated above, provide a positive evidence of the evolution of a particular style of mosque architecture during this early period. The features so evolved were practised rigidly in these buildings to the extent that no traditional mosque could be considered complete without

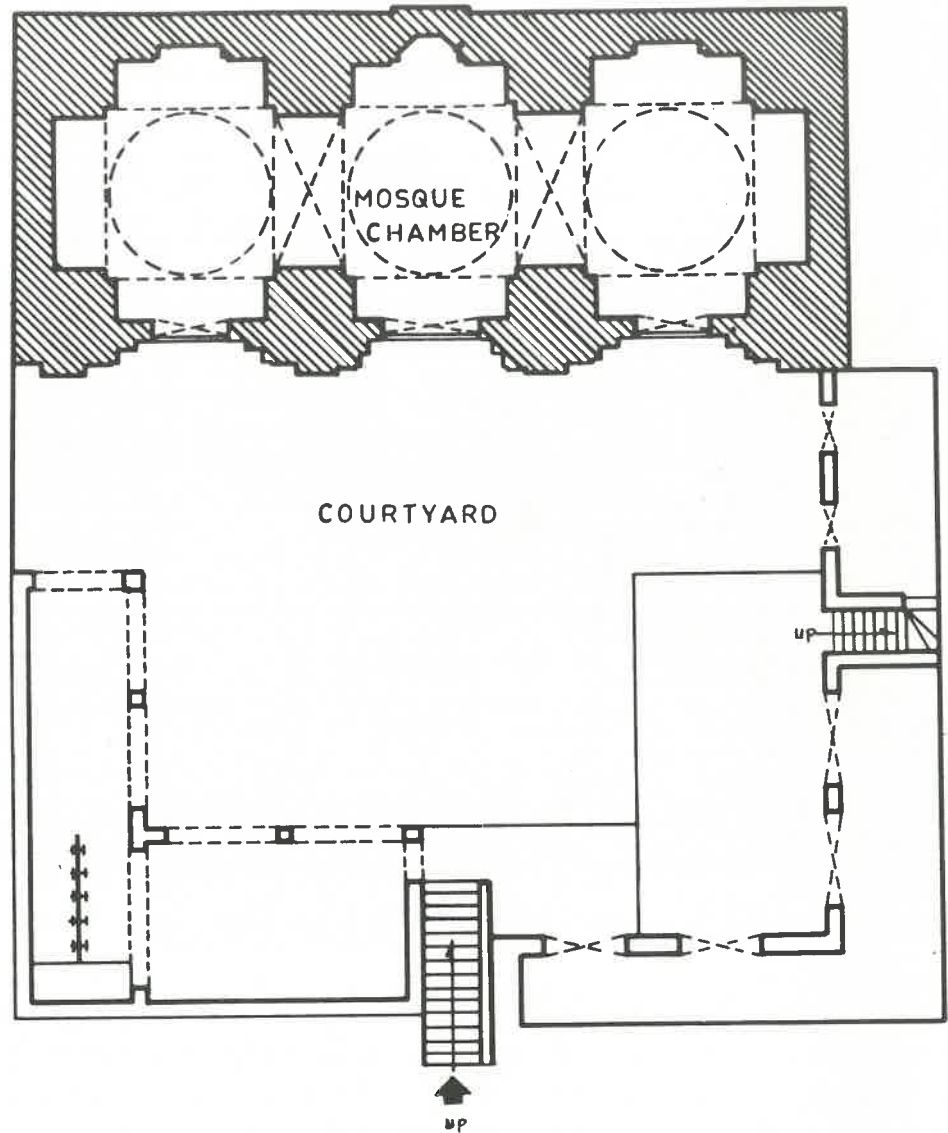


Fig. 13 Niwin Masjid. Lahore: General Plan.

them. The well-defined orientation, and oblong-shaped *aiwan* or prayer chamber with arched openings on the east, a recessed niche (Mehrab) on the west, crowned with hemispherical domes, and divided into three bays or apartments by means of lateral arches, a spacious courtyard, sometimes augmented with an ablution tank, a series of *liwans* or cloisters, on its south and north flanks, were taken as essential structural elements, while the local traditions dictated the mode and technique of surface ornamentation. In Sind, it was faced with faience while in the Punjab lime plaster or naked brick-work was preferred.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For details, see Muhammad Nazim, *Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, 29 ff.
2. *Adab u'l-Harb*, etc., *op. cit.*
3. Cf. Muhammad Abdullah Chaghatai, *Badshahi Masjid*, (Urdu), 3.
4. The inscription is now in possession of Muhammad Nazir Khan, presently Curator of Swat Museum (Pl. 14). It reads as under:

(۱) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 (۲) امر الامير الحاجب ابوالمنصور
 (۳) نوشتگین الجزی ادا م الله توفیته
 (۴) بنا هذا المسجد والبادت [sic] فی شهور
 (۵) سنة اربعین واربعة مائة تقیل الله
 (۶) منه و شکرا سعية

5. Sabistino Tusa, *op. cit.*, see also Muhammad Nazir Khan, 'A Ghaznavid Historical Inscription from Udegram, Swat', in *East and West*, (NS) Vol. 35, Nos. 1-3 (September 1985) p. 153 ff.
6. *Vide*. 'Ai'n u'd-Din Mahru, (ed. Shaikh Abd u'l-Rashid) *Munsha'at-i-Mahru*, 37 ff. The following is the text providing the details of the arrangement of *Waqf* as maintained later during the Tughluq period under Ain u'd-Din Mahru, a governor of Multan:—

کیفیت اوقاف بدین جملہ است:

دفعه ۱ - اوقاف سلاطین ماضیه نور الله مضجعهم - وقف سلطان معزالدين محمد سام غوری دو دیه است [برای] مسجد جامع ملتان و پنج درس از مدرسان و مکرران و متعلمان و ارباب مسجد از مؤذنان و مکبران و مصارف دیگر از [قسم] مصلایا و بوریایا و روشنائی و عمارت مسجد وقف کرده، و این همه خیرات بدین بر بسته است، حسن اهتمام حضرت اعلیٰ در باب عمارت مسجد مذکور بود تا این خدمت بالتماس شیخ الاسلام که متولی این اوقاف است بدو سپرده و فرمان شده بود تا یک کرت وجه

این عمارت از جهت آنکه خرج بسیار آورده از محصول دیوانی دهند، بعد ازان هم از سهام آن دو دیه که برای عمارت مسجد معین است مرتب شود.

وقف خان شهید دو دیه است که بدرس خود و نان مدرس و مکرران و متعلمان وقف کرده، اگر در وقف از روی شرع سخنی باشد اما خرج بدو وجه است که این طوائف در بیت المال استحقاق دارند.

وقف مسجد جامع طلبینه که آن را نیز وقف سلطان معزالدین محمد سام می گویند، یک دیه است و مصارف آن هم برین منوال است.

وقف سلطان شهید که زمینی از سواد در خطه ملتان بر نوازگاه ملتان و بنده کمینه را واجب این بود که وقف سلطان شهید را که مخدوم مخدومان این بنده کمینه و عامه جهانیان است بالاتر نویسد، اما بسبب ترتیب ولی، اوقاف سلاطین قدیم مقدم افتاد.

دفعه ۲ - اوقاف دانشمندان و مشائخ و امراء که دیه ها و زمینها احیا کرده و حصه های ملک معین دارند بتدریج [و] چنانچه رسم و عادات است، حصه دیوانی نیز وقف کرده - در حصه ملک سخنی نیست سخن در حصه دیوانی و دانشمندان و مشائخ مذکور که دعا گوین خاص خداوند عالم اند و فقیر اند - دران وقت که رایات اعلی در ممالک شرقی بر صوب جاج نگر سایه چتر افکنده، ایشان بختات قرآن مشغول بوده اند - اگر حصه دیوانی بوجه صدقه مرحمت شود همه مستحق اند - تلمی حاصل آن اوقاف چیزی سهل است و ملتان هفتصد ساله اسلام دارد - خلق ملتان بانواع حوادث در اطراف افتاده بود و در ملتان هیچ شهری قدیم است گذشته و رفته از سر نو آباد شده - خلقی بطمع ملک وقف قدیم باز می آیند - بنده کمینه را چه مجال و

ادعا که امثال بموقف عرض رساند ، اما چون ملتان کارنامه خدایند عالم است بنا برآن گستاخی نموده و عفو امید داشته -

درین باب هر آنچه فرمان بمرحمت شود بفرمایند تا ملک ملوک الشرق ،

7. Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan, 'The oldest Persian Inscription of Pakistan', in *Proceedings of the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture*, i. 320 ff. Its imperfect reading is as under :

ز فضل خداوند هر دو جهان	بر آرنده گنبد آسمان
سعدت بتوفیق	
مبارک شه قطب دنیا و دین	که چون قطب ثابت با علی المکان
کشاده در خیر از بهر	
بنا کرد چون قبه نیلگون	درو بدر تابنده گشته عیان
بتائید یزدان شده باد خیر	
نظر داشته بر کرم ایزدی	عمارت بفرمود بهتر ازان
ز هجرت نبی از بفتصد و بیستم (؟)	

The inscription as recorded in the article has been deciphered incompletely, rather erroneously. This is neither the oldest inscription as, claimed, nor is *in situ*, as it has been re-used at present on the facade of the Mehrab, which is very unusual. In fact, the inscription has been broken from the left and its various hemistiches carved on the portion of the inscription no longer exist now.

8. Cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, 20 ff.
9. Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'Tomb of Baba Farid Ganji-Shakar at Pakpatan', in *Jour. Pakistan Hist. Society*, 140 ff. For the text of the inscriptions see *infra*.
10. *Idem*, 'The mausoleum of Shaikh Ala u'd-Din at Pakpatan: A significant example of the so-called Tughluq Architecture, in *East and West* (N.S.) vol. 24 No. 3-4 (1967).
11. Ibn Battuta iii, 202. According to him Ghazi Malik fixed an inscription on the facade of this mosque. No trace of the inscription or the Jame Masjid is available now. However, the mosque was seen by the Moorish traveller. Amir Khusrau, *Tughluq Nama*. 63, also attests the existence of this mosque. Ibn Battuta gives the text of the inscription:

اَنِّی قَاتَلْتُ التَّاتَرِ سَعًا وَعِشْرِينَ مَرَّةً فَهَزَمْتُهُمْ فَهَيِّنْتُ سَمِیْتُ بِالْمَلِكِ الْغَازِیِ

"I have encountered the Tatars on seventy-nine occasions, and defeated them; hence I am called Malik al-Ghazi."

However, it seems rather odd for the governor of Depalpur to erect a mosque at Multan over which he had no control, and that the governor of that place, Mughlatti, had no cordial relations with Malik al-Ghazi. For details see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, 63 ff. and fn 92 p. 76.

12. Unfortunately, this mosque has also been thoroughly renovated during the recent years.
13. Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, 74 fn.
14. *Ibid*, 52 ff.
15. *Ibid*.
16. It seems that some renovation work was carried out to this mosque at the time of the repairs to the adjoining tomb, which has an inscription painted on glazed tiles and fixed on the facade of the tomb. For the text of the inscription see *Idem*, p. 6 b.
17. Henry Cousens, *op. cit.*
18. *Ibid*.
19. For a consolidated account of these events, see *CHI*, iii. 195 ff.
20. Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, 28.
21. S.M. Latif, *Lahore, etc.*, 225.

Chapter Three:

**The Climax:
Grand Mosques of the Moghuls**



*Pl. 26
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
General view.*

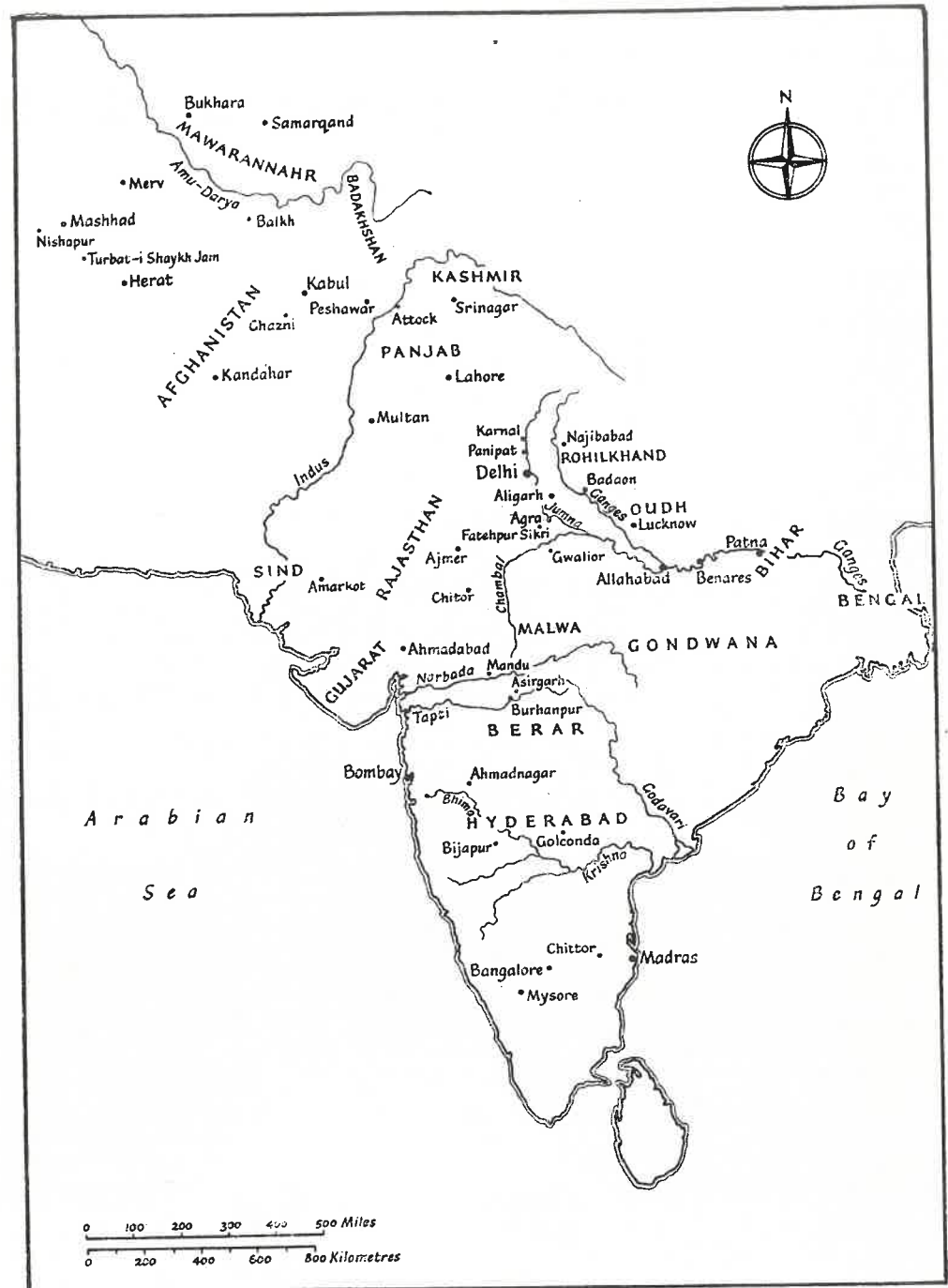
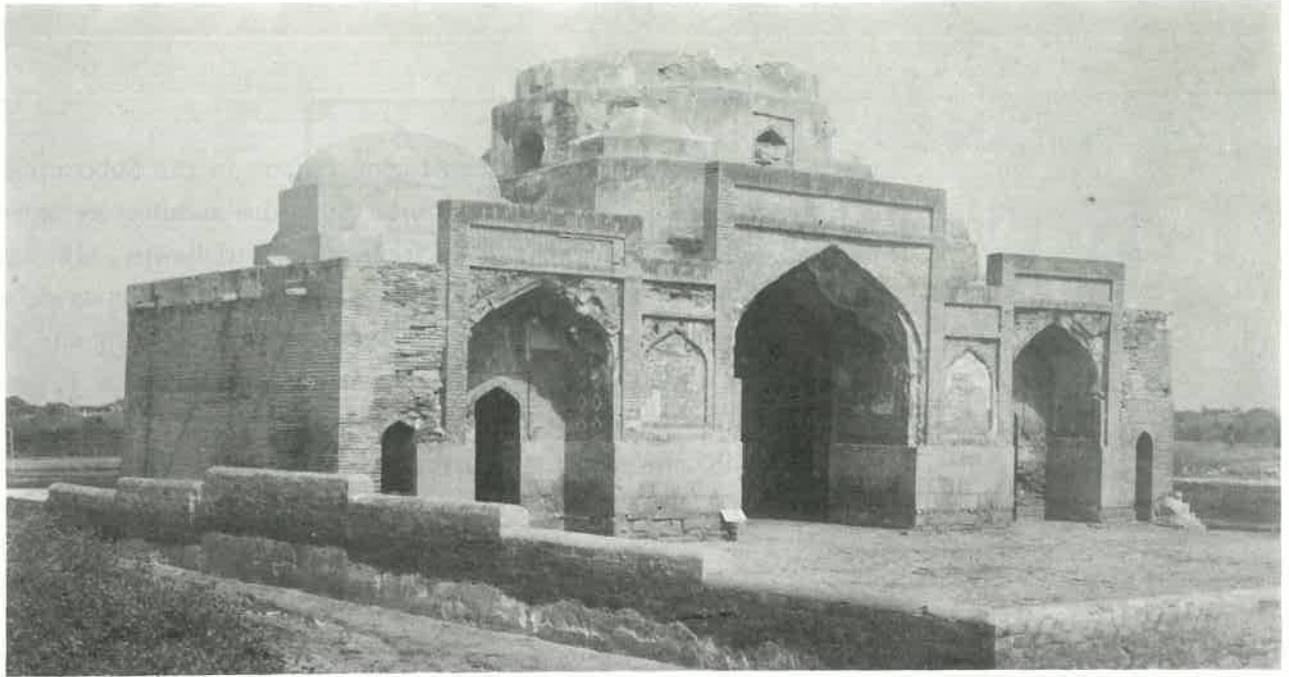


Fig. 14 Map showing the extent of the Moghal empire in 1707.

With the inauguration of the Moghul Empire in the Subcontinent in the early decades of the sixteenth century, mosque architecture received a new dimension, a new height of perfection and enrichment. Although the earlier examples betray a kind of continuation of the previous style, but the mature phase has a personality of its own, a happy blending and natural assimilation of Iranian and local traditions of art and crafts. It has been reported by the contemporary as well as later historians that Babur and Humayun built mosques at the places of their political influence. However, no mosque of this period is known to exist in the areas which are now Pakistan.

THE DABGARAN MOSQUE, THATTA

Of the earlier days when the Moghul sway was yet to extend to Sind, the historic city of Thatta got a gorgeously decorated mosque named *Dabgaran Masjid*¹ built in 997/1588 by a local chieftain Khusrau Charkas, a descendant of Changez Khan who lived during the days of the Tarkhan rule.² The brick structure, now in a badly ruined condition, has an oblong prayer chamber, divided into three compartments with three arched entrances on the east and crowned with squat domes. The interior faience and mosaic faience revetment indicates a definite and unmistakable evidence of pure and perfect influence of the Iranian art-traditions, while the carved stone facing of the *Mehrab* is a masterpiece of the art practised locally. The Dabgaran Mosque at its prime served as the main congregational place of the city of Thatta. It possessed characteristic features of the architecture and architectural decoration used in the historic buildings at Thatta and Makli Hill. Unfortunately, most of the grandeur of it has gone now. The entrance gateway and the cloisters which must have been grand and impressive, have fallen and disappeared. The most outstanding feature of its decoration is the faience and faience-mosaics with which the interior of the prayer chamber is replete. Similarly, the exquisitely carved stone *Mehrab* is the most beautiful specimen of the art of stone carving.



Pl. 27
Dabgran Mosque. Thatta:
General view.

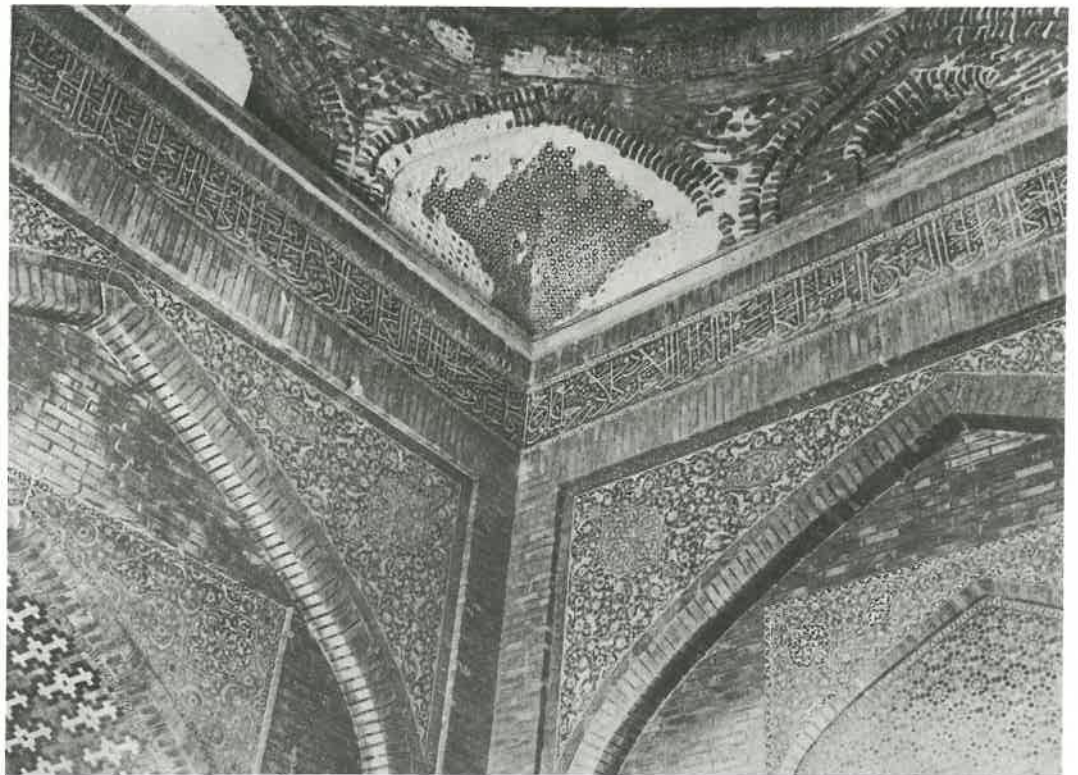
The courtyard of the mosque, a rectangle measuring 96 ft. 7 in. in length and 61 in. in width, and the prayer chamber are now enclosed with a modern brick-wall with a five feet broad opening in the centre on the east for entrance. The courtyard has lost its original brick pavement, while the surrounding area, especially towards the east, outside the boundary wall, is filled with jungle growth.

The one aisle-prayer chamber is to a great extent intact; it is an oblong structure measuring, internally 82 ft. 11 in. from south to north and 38 ft. 4½ in. from east to west. It has three compartments divided by two heavy engaged arches supported by means of jambs and surmounted by domes, placed on high octagonal drums, the recesses of which possess the projected exterior of the squinches. The springing lines of the three square-shaped compartments have been converted into octagons with the help of squinches in order to have the zone of transition for placing the bases of the drums. The west of each compartment has a *Mehrab* in the shape of an arched niche, the central one, being the grandest.

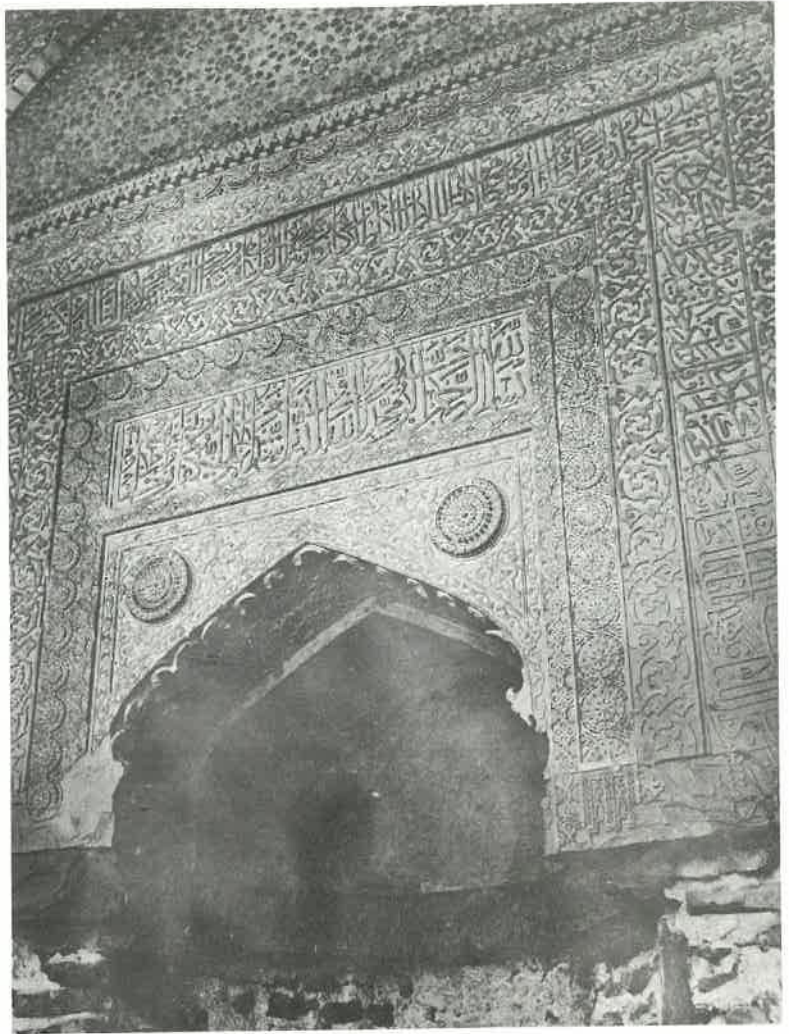
The front openings of the prayer chamber, three in number, possess

four-centred arches, the central one facing the nave, being the largest and the highest. Originally, it had a low facade of parapet, now fallen and disappeared. The two side openings still retain the projected horizontal frames. The exterior surface was originally treated with thick lime plaster having decorative panels in low recess. The two piers on either side of the central opening leading the nave had glazed tiles. Much of this surface decoration is decayed and fallen, leaving the patches of brick masonry bare. At the extreme end of each corner is an arched opening for the stair-case leading to the prayer chamber.

Inside the prayer chamber main features of interest are the high and deep arched niches set in the centre of the three compartments to mark the formal Mehrabs. The main Mehrab in the central compartment has a special treatment of elaborate decoration. It is a big panel of yellow sandstone, surmounted with another arch panel of glazed tile-mosaics. The individuality of the stone panel has been emphasised by the use of yellow sandstone which adds advantageously and soberly to the light and shade of the poly-



Pl. 28
Dabgran Mosque. Thatta:
Interior view of the Aiwan.



Pl. 29
Dabgran Mosque, Thatta:
The Mehrab.

chrome faience revetment. The whole surface is divided into several horizontal and vertical panels on which are carved floral motifs. The two broad main panels, one horizontal and the other vertical, run upward and possess Quranic verses. The horizontal panel has the date 997 in numbers.³ On either side of these panels are running other panels of intricate floral tracery, created in high relief. The floral decoration consists of inter-twined scrolls and bands of full-blown multi-petalled lotuses, carved in high relief and placed one upon the other with tendrils arranged in between the lotuses. Similarly, the central space of spandrels has been decorated with full blown multi-petalled lotuses charged in high relief while the remaining space is filled with scrolls and dentils.

The arched recess sunk 3 ft. 9 in. deep into the wall also possesses intricate decorative motifs. The surface has been arranged in five long vertical panels each having beautifully carved medallions placed under an ornamental arch which is, in turn, crowned with an arrow-head motif. The top and bottom of the medallions possess full blown lotuses, carved in high relief. The blank space on either side of the arch, is filled again with small lotuses. The inner border of the panel is decorated with tracery of intricate design, while the exterior has a row of sun-flowers placed within a chain of lozenges. The interior of the arch and the space at the back has been filled with intertwined tendrils. The piers of the arched niches are provided with decorative pilaretttes. On either side of the Mehrab are two small arched openings, 2 ft. 4 in. wide, penetrating through the wall to provide light and air to the interior.

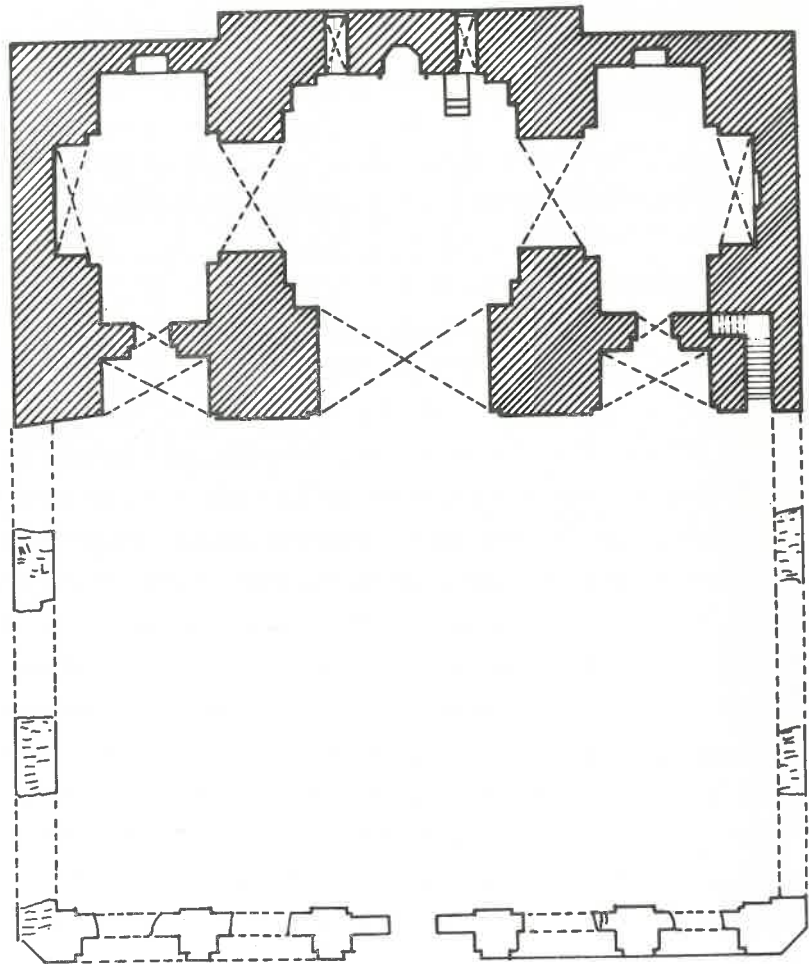


Fig. 15 Dabgran Mosque. Thatta: General Floor Plan.

The two side compartments of the prayer chamber also possess Mehrabs in the shape of arched niches for the sake of symmetry. They are, however, less ornamental and do not possess stone facing. The niches possess five vertical panels for decoration. The interior of the prayer chamber is covered with faience decoration arranged in panels of various shapes and sizes, adopting different techniques at different places.

The central compartment possesses some beautiful tile decoration applied on square tiles to cover the soffits of the four grand arched openings. The main motifs used here are the two big and two small medallions placed at the corners and near the apex. The remaining space is filled with scrolls of tendrils and flowers. The decorative scheme has been repeated on all the bigger or smaller soffits in other compartments.

Besides, the side compartments have two more decorative schemes in glazed tiles. They are applied on the inner space of the Mehrab. The surface has been divided into two horizontal bands. The lower one possesses square tiles on which are designed a series of lozenges placed one upon the other, while the upper panel covering the area near the apex is decorated with tile-mosaics representing a somewhat honeycombed pattern.⁴

MOSQUES OF AKBAR'S REIGN

Akbar, the great emperor who has been credited for expanding and strengthening the Moghul Empire, ascended the throne in 1556. In his young age, he was a devout and zealous Muslim, not only offering prayers regularly, but also visiting mosques as a savant, cleaning the mosque himself and even announcing the *Azan*. However, as time passed by and his ideas were transformed to the so-called *Din-i-Ilahi*, he lost interest in purely religious duties. The indefatigable builder of cities, forts and gateways, seems to have built very few mosques, though he is said to have built *Ibadat Khanas* at Lahore and Agra for deliberations and discourses on religious subjects. It is recorded that the buildings contained big halls.⁵ His nobles, courtiers and relations, however, constructed several mosques at many places of the empire.

At Lahore, a small massive mosque is situated in Lohari gate, which has

been attributed to the days of Akbar, and is said to have been erected by Sayyid Najaf Ali Khan, a petty officer of Lahore. The brick built mosque is faced with thick lime plaster. The oblong prayer chamber has three compartments surmounted with low domes.

The valley of Sind, however, has an exceptional characteristic where several mosques were erected during this period. Here the personality of Mir Ma'sum, a Sindhi noble in the court of Akbar, stands out prominently. An erudite historian, calligraphist, poet and builder, besides a distinguished administrator, Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Nami Bhakkari was responsible for building several mosques at many places and cities particularly at Bhakkar, Sakkhar, Alor, etc. As usual with brick buildings of Sind, these structures are embellished with faience and stone-carving. Almost all inscriptions fixed on the various parts of these erections and recording their pertinent details are the work of the builder himself or, in some cases, of his son, Mir Buzurq.

A mosque was built probably by Mir Ma'sum in the island of Bhakkar in the neighbourhood of the tomb of a saintly personage locally called Zinda Pir. Now in a ruinous condition, the brick construction was faced with enamelled tiles. It was, according to a Persian inscription, built in 1011/1602. The three domed *aiwan*, an open courtyard, and an entrance vestibule are the usual architectural elements of this mosque erected during the last years of the reign of the Moghul emperor Akbar.

At Rohri in Sind, a Jame Masjid was built in 992/1584 by a local petty military officer, Fath Khan. The massive three-domed mosque was a brick construction faced with enamelled tiles according to the established building traditions of the area. Likewise, Mir Ma'sum built a Idgah there in 1002/1593. It has, however, lost its original character due to subsequent repairs and alterations. Similarly, Cousens records the remains of an old mosque situated outside the town to the south-west, and just below the Railway Station. It was, as is evident from the ruins, a very large mosque with a spacious courtyard. The brick building was faced with tile work.⁶

According to a statement made by Mulla Abd u'l-Qadir Badauni, Akbar built a *Suffah* (Masjid) in the Lahore Fort.⁷ It does not exist now. A ruined mosque located in the neighbourhood of the Baoli at Jandiyala Sher Khan in

Shaikhupura district, could be assigned to the period on the analogy of the datable *baoli* which was built during the days of Akbar.⁸ The dilapidated oblong prayer chamber of the mosque is divided into three bays by means of lateral arches which are crowned with three low squat domes. As usual, the *Mehrab* has been provided in the central bay by means of a deeply recessed arch, the back of which is projected in the shape of a solid oblong panel. In plan and elevation, the mosque presents the transitional phase between the Lodi and Moghul styles.

THE MARYAM ZAMANI MOSQUE, LAHORE

Jahangir (1605–27) was not a very enthusiastic builder, though a few mosques of his days exist in Pakistan. Of particular interest is the mosque erected at Lahore under the patronage of his mother and is known as *Maryam Zamani*⁹ or *Begum Shahi Masjid* located in front of the so-called *Masti* or *Masjidi* gate of the Lahore Fort across the road. This brick structure is celebrated for two very important features: the double-domes with which the prayer chamber is crowned, and the exquisite fresco painting of the interior surface.

The mosque covers an area of land measuring 135 ft. 6 in. by 127 ft. 6 in. It is constructed of brick masonry and rendered with plaster, and is a massive structure representing a transitional phase of architecture between the Lodi and the Moghul periods. It has two entrances through deeply recessed arched-gateways on its north and east sides. A flight of four steps in each gateway leads downward to the main courtyard, measuring 123 ft. by 83 ft. The courtyard was originally enclosed by *liwans* cloisters consisting of rows of cells on its north and south, some portion of which still exists. On the east, along the gate, is a 17 ft. wide platform on which stands an enclosure consisting of an octagonal domed tomb and some other modern graves.

In the centre of the courtyard is a tank for ablutions measuring 31 ft. 5 in. by 26 ft. 3 in., now much repaired. A modern roof of re-inforced cement concrete (R.C.C.), supported by two rows of round pillars, covers the tank partially on its four sides. The courtyard must have been paved with brick tiles in usual Moghul fashion, but it has now been completely

re-laid in modern brick. At the north-west and the south-west corners, beside the prayer chamber, are located the old stair-cases leading to the roof. Similarly, on the north-eastern and south-eastern corners were stair-cases leading to the roof of the cells. Only their traces are left now.



Pl. 30

*Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore:
The Aiwan, General view.*

The prayer chamber of the mosque, however, is of special interest. Architecturally, it is an oblong structure measuring internally 130 ft. 6 in. from south to north and 34 ft. from east to west. It has five compartments divided by heavy engaged arches supported by massive jambs and surmounted by high domes. The central double dome is the highest, placed on a high and round neck (11 ft. 1 in.). The double dome consists of two shells, the outer (3 ft. 6 in. thick) and the inner shell is of stucco. A wooden framing connects the two shells for re-inforcement. The outer shell has a small arched opening on the west.

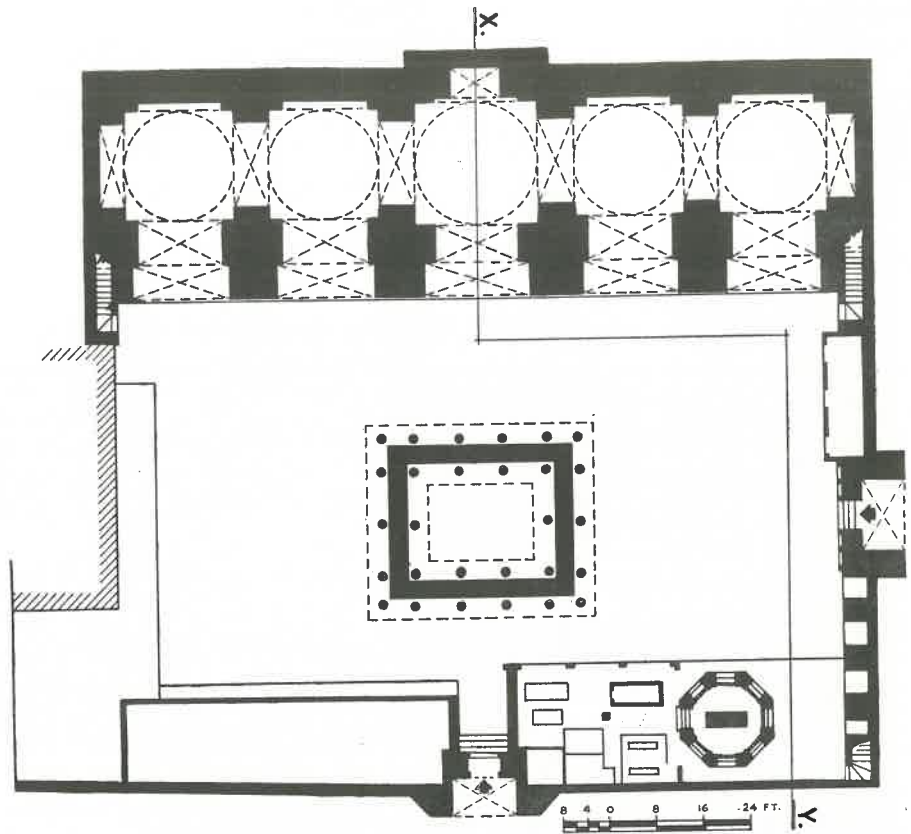
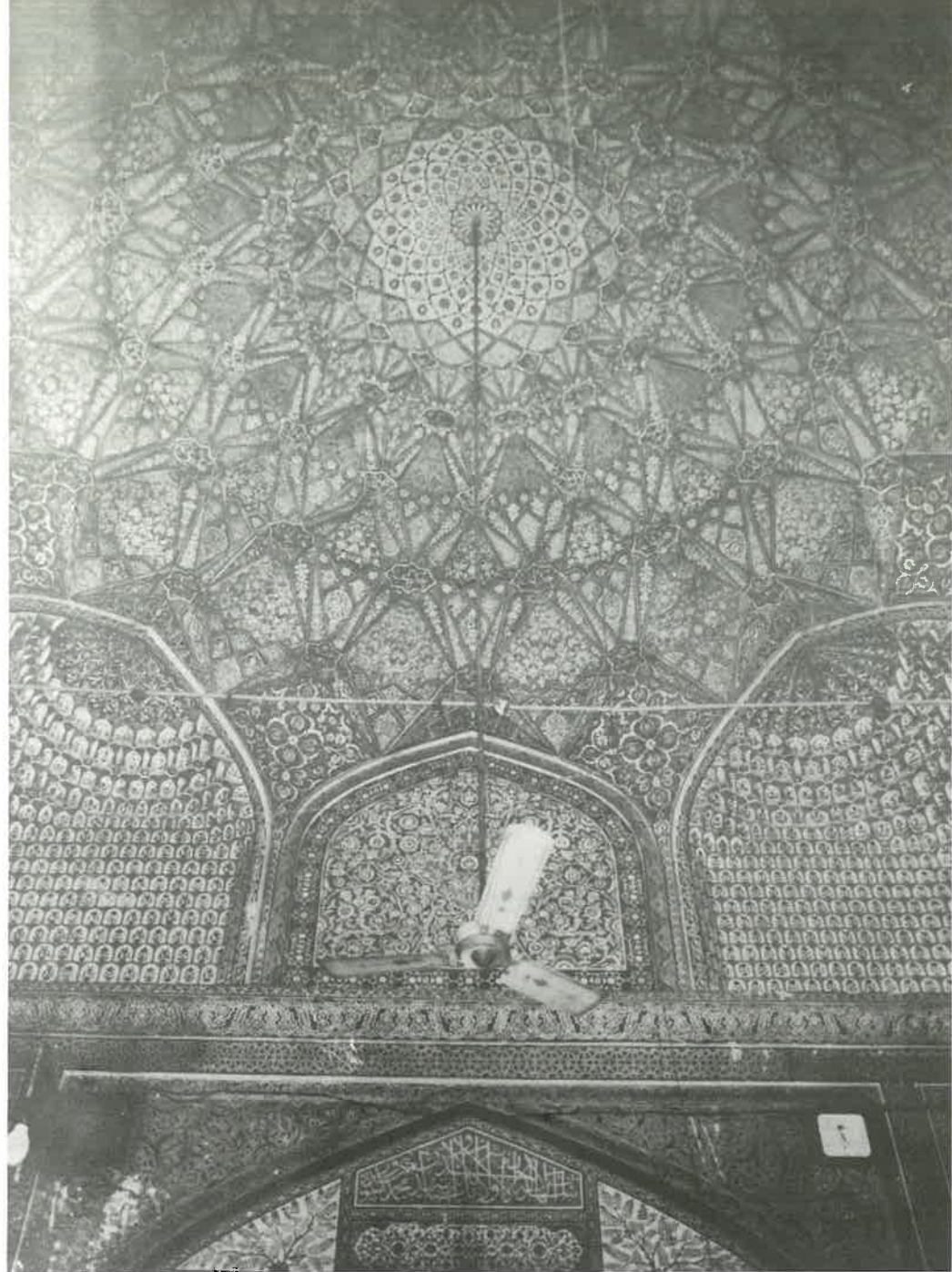


Fig. 16 Maryam Zamani Mosque. Lahore: Plan.

The front openings of the chambers, five in number, possess four-centred arches, the central one being the highest and the biggest with a high parapet and a projected frame. The whole outer surface of the front has been treated with thick lime plaster creating decorative arched-panels in recess. Inside the prayer chamber, there is a series of high and deep arched-recesses set in all the five compartments on the west. The central niche, the *Mehrab*, has an engrailed arch, treated specially with profuse stucco ornamentation, both geometric, floral and inscriptional. The half-domed niche of the central arched-opening and the *Mehrab* has been filled with low stalactites. The remaining four compartments have the same engrailed-arch treatment, though comparatively smaller and less decorative.

At the four corners of the prayer chamber are placed small square-shaped pavilions (6 ft. 10 in.) with four arched-openings surmounted with cupolas placed on octagonal drums. Originally, the cupolas were crowned with low crestings and finials like the five bigger domes over the main prayer chamber. These have now considerably decayed.



Pl. 31

*Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore:
The Aiwan, Interior view.*

The mosque, however, stands out uniquely for its fresco decoration with which the whole of the interior surface of the prayer chamber is replete. The paintings have been rightly as un-rivalled in Pakistan, and perhaps in India, for their delicacy and live variety.

The fresco paintings at the mosque of Maryam Zamani are also significant for their perfect technique and variety of subject. Never in the history



Fig. 17 Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore: Section.

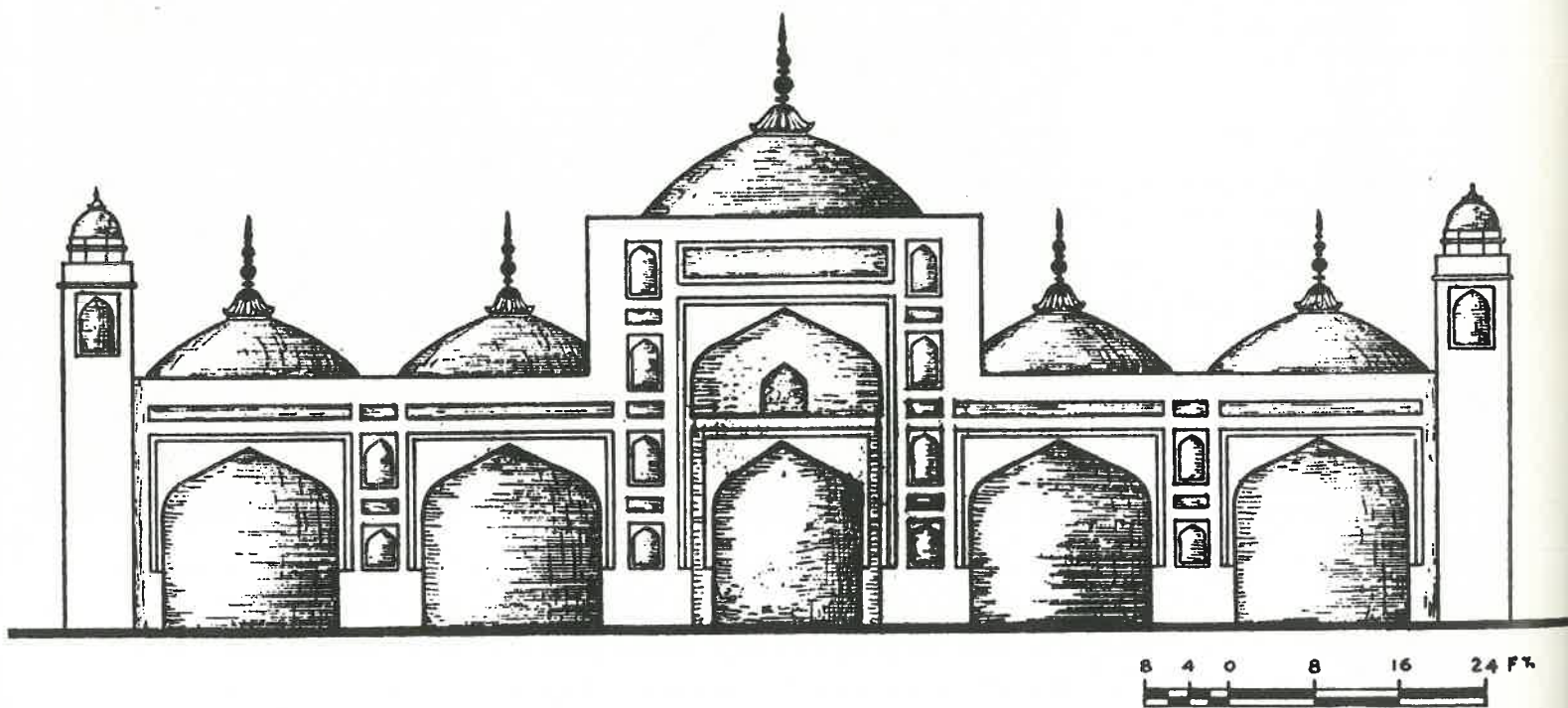


Fig. 18 Maryam Zamani Mosque. Lahore: Elevation.

Pl. 32

*Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore:
Interior showing fresco decoration.*



of the architecture of the early Moghul period do we find such an extensive and exclusive use of this type of decoration. The endless variety of geometric, floral and inscriptional designs spread over the interior surface in a subtle colour scheme is a characteristic not seen elsewhere. The surface has been divided into various panels of different shapes and dimensions according to the space available and all the soffits, niches, squinches, arches, interior of domes, apex etc. are covered with these paintings. The squinches have been provided with low stalactites painted with small flower twigs, while the adjoining areas are divided into arched-panels which have bold interwoven floral patterns. Some of the borders of the panels have geometric schemes of decoration. The patterns have been mainly created by carving slightly incised lines in white. The interior of the dome has similarly been divided into honeycombed geometric patterns, filled with delicate floral tracery. The small space in between is filled elegantly with stars which bear some of the attributes of Allah, done in Naskh characters. The superb combination of colours is also noteworthy. Almost all shades of green, ochre red, blue, yellow, black etc., have been used for the purpose without giving the whole scheme an obtrusive effect.



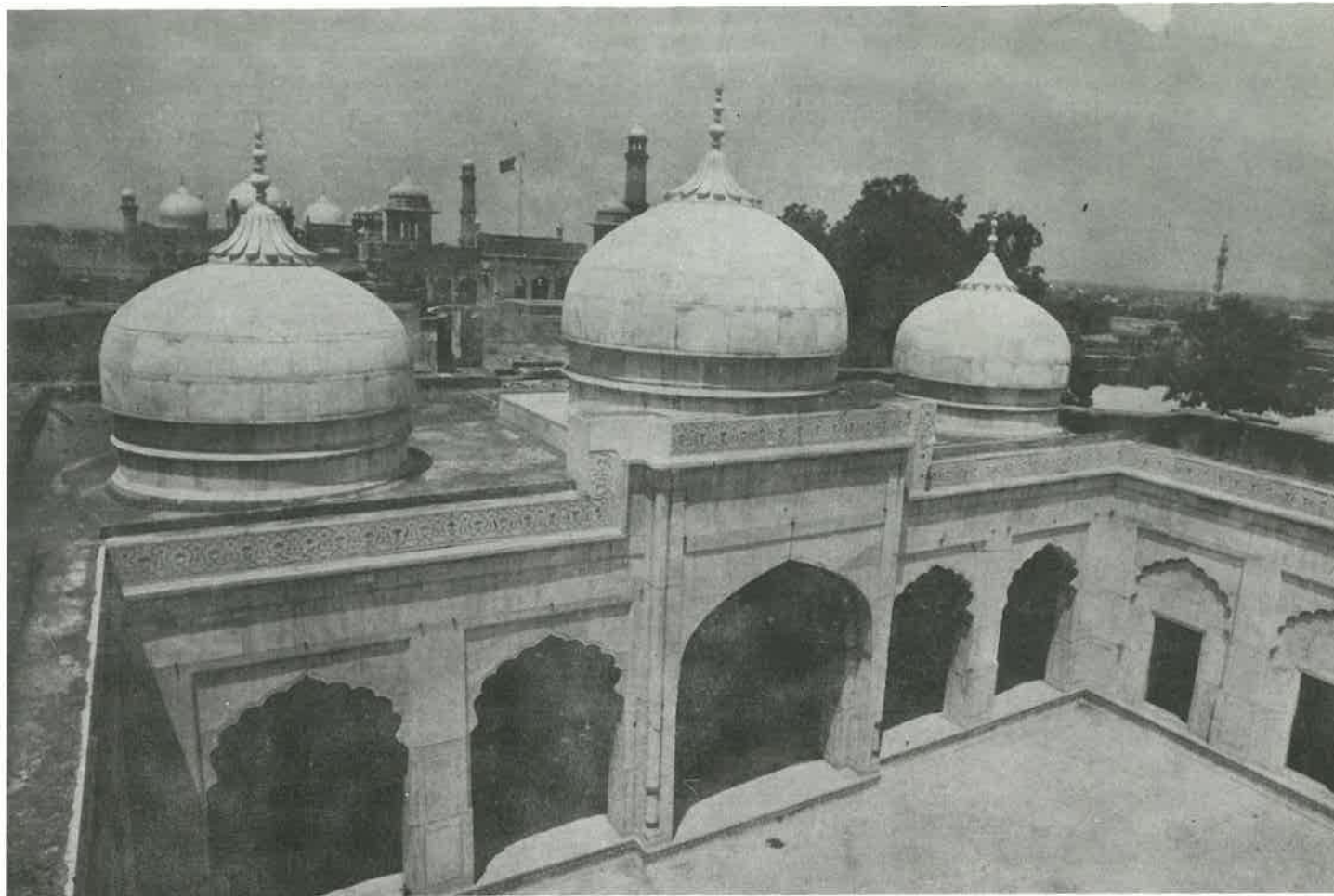
Pl. 33
Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore:
Southern gateway showing
Persian inscription.



Pl. 34
Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore:
Eastern gateway showing
Persian inscription.

The mosque possesses several inscriptions, both Quranic and non-Quranic, executed exclusively in plaster in high and bold relief, a characteristic which is met with first here in the historic monuments of the Moghul period at Lahore. Among the non-Quranic inscriptions, the two executed over the arches of the two entrance-gates and the one executed on the high facade of the prayer chamber are important as they record the name of the founder and the date of the completion of the mosque. The inscriptions on the entrance-gates are in Nast'aliq characters and that on the facade of prayer chamber in Naskh-Suls.¹⁰

Among the Quranic inscriptions, the most prominent is on the Mehrab of the mosque. The *tughra* gives the usual *Ayat al-Kursi*, while at the crown of the arched-niche is the *Kalima*. Similarly, all the facades of the niches in other compartments have been decorated with inscriptions of verses from the Quran. There is only one saying of the Rasulullah (peace be upon him) painted on the facade of the second left arch.

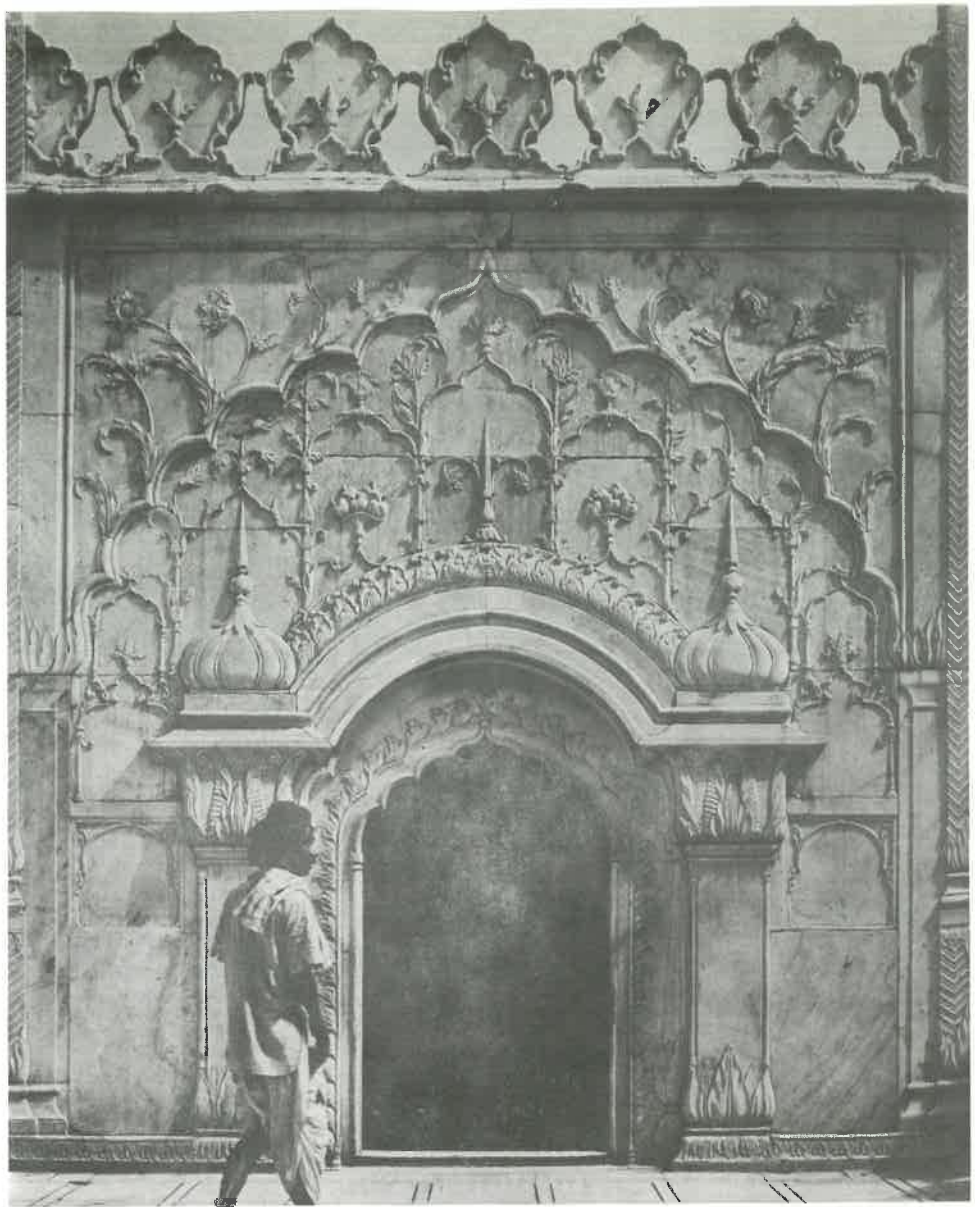


Pl. 35

*The Moti Masjid, Lahore:
General view of the Aiwan.*

THE MOTI MASJID, LAHORE

Yet another specimen created during time of Jahangir and modified by the architects of Shahjahan (1627–57) is the *Moti Masjid* (Pearl Mosque) created within the complex of Jahangiri palaces of the Lahore Fort. The mosque is so-called because of its entire fabric made of chaste white marble. This is for the first time in the history of mosque architecture in Pakistan that marble has been used so extensively. The serene bulbous domes with pronounced cavettoes and well-proportioned multi-foiled arches, embellished sparingly with inlay make this dainty monument a class by itself, a beginning to the refined climax met with in the gorgeous Badshahi Mosque, also at Lahore.



Pl. 36
The Moti Masjid, Delhi:
 Close up view of the nave showing
 bold carving on marble.

The Moti Masjid lies at the back of and adjacent to the *Maktab Khana*, and stands on a raised plinth, 6 ft. 9 in. high, and is reached by a flight of eleven steps through an unpretentious portico at its north-east corner. The courtyard, measuring 55 ft. 9 in. by 32 ft. 2 in., is paved with marble slabs and is enclosed on the west by the prayer chamber, on the north and on east by compartments of irregular shapes and on the south by a wall. The prayer chamber stands on a plinth, 1 ft. 2 in. high, and is marked by a carved decorative string-course which runs round the whole courtyard. Measuring 54 ft. 10 in. by 25 ft. 6 in., the prayer chamber consists of two aisles, each of which is broken by five cusped archways and is divided into five compart-

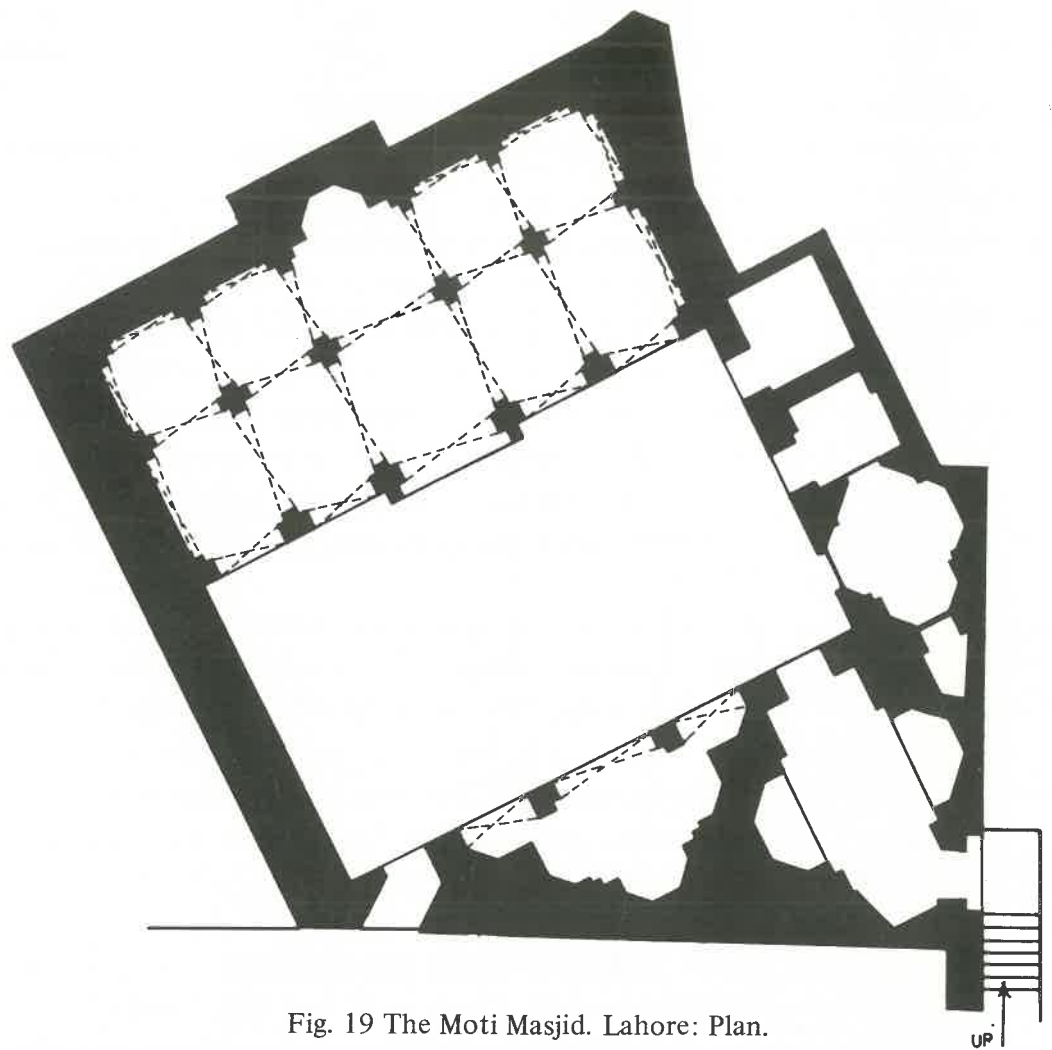


Fig. 19 The Moti Masjid. Lahore: Plan.

ments by similar arched openings. Three compartments of the front aisle, the central one and those at its extreme ends are covered by domes, while the remaining compartments of both the aisles have vaulting. The central compartment of the rear aisle contains a *Mehrab* deeply recessed in the back wall within the outlines of a cusped arch, and adjacent to it on the north stands the *mimbar* (pulpit) of marble. In each of the other compartments of that aisle, the *Mehrab* is indicated by only the outlines of a cusped arch, which, however, contains a niche, 3 ft. by 2 ft. 8 in. at a height of 3 ft. 10 in. from the floor level. This feature is repeated in the side walls of both the aisles.

The floor of the prayer chamber is paved with marble slabs having *musallahs* marked by means of black marble line, while the dado is defined by a double line of black and yellow marble lines. On the east there is only

one compartment of irregular shape with three arched openings, of which the central one is plain and the remaining two are cusped. The eastern compartment is faced with marble and is flanked on either side by a rectangular doorway set within the outlines of cusped-arch. The doorway to the north communicates to the portico, while that to the south is an entrance to the stair-case, ascending at the back of the eastern compartment to the roof. The wall on the south, which is faced with marble, bears the outlines of three cusped arches corresponding to the similar arches which enclose the door openings of the northern compartments. The parapet bears pietradura decoration having the inlay of semi-precious stones in marble.¹¹

The bulbous double domes are veneered with marble and have lotus crestings, which seem to have been crowned by metallic finials, now disappeared. The central dome, which is bigger in size, stands on a raised platform, 18 ft. 4 in. by 17 ft. 7 in. and 1 ft. 8 in. high, which springs from a circular drum 4 ft. high and is ornamented with a band of moulding. The other two domes do not have such platforms and the drum of each of them is only 3 ft. 3 in. high.

'IDGAH-I-JAHANGIRI, LAHORE

Jahangir is credited to have added a magnificent mosque and, along with it, a madrasa at Lahore. Though the complex does not exist now, details recorded by Chishti account for its grandeur which was seen by him a hundred years ago,¹² while Latif laments its destruction at the time of the extension of the Railway Station of Lahore by the ruthless British engineers who used its bricks for laying the railway line.¹³ According to the description of the above chronicler, the prayer chamber was, as usual, crowned with three domes constructed in bricks and plastered with lime. The central majestic dome was bigger and higher than those flanking it. The chamber also had octagonal minarets crowned with cupolas, at each of the four corners. The arcade on the east consisted of eight inter-connected rooms, while on the south and north were grand entrance vestibules. They were double storeyed structures with stair-cases leading to the upper storey. The main entrance vestibule was provided in the centre of the eastern arcade in the shape of a high and spacious hall, augmented with square-shaped

minarets crowned with cupolas. The prayer chamber had three bays or compartments, on the west of which were provided with elaborate *Mehrab*s in the shape of big arched recess. The mosque was reached from three sides by means of an impressive stair-case consisting of thirty steps. The top storey was octagonal, having eight openings and a balcony provided with screened projection, creating sufficient space for accommodation for quite a large number of people. The interior was embellished with various panels of glazed lime plaster having floral designs created in fresco painting.

The grand mosque was designed and constructed by Khwaja Ayaz, the royal architect under the orders of the emperor at a cost of twenty lacs of rupees.¹⁴ A shopping centre and a market was created on its south, north and west, and the income from it was reserved to defray the maintenance charges of the mosque. The market was a double storeyed structure called '*Tripoliya*', meaning three sided. Every unit of this shopping centre had as many as 270 shops, while on the second storey were created residences. At that time the monthly income from the shops amounted to Rs. 2,500.

Unlike the mosque, of which Chishti has left such a detailed description, we do not know much of the architecture of its essential adjunct, the *Madrassa*, which must have equally been pretentious. We are told that at the instance of Nurjahan, Maulvi 'Inayat Husain was appointed the Principal of this *madrassa* with nearly 50 other teachers who taught various branches of knowledge, while Hafiz Habibullah was the *Imam* of the mosque and Sayyid Maqbul Husain managed the *Waqf* related to the mosque and the *madrassa*. The arrangement continued with its full effect and vigour during the Moghul period. It was disturbed during the Sikh regime. The mosque and *madrassa* were abandoned and appropriated, while the British administration razed the coveted buildings to the ground in order to clear the area to have the railway godowns constructed on the vacant land and used its bricks as ballast for laying the railway line.

MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE UNDER SHAHJAHAN

The fabulous, dainty and majestic mosques created during the days of Shahjahan, bring the traditional mosque architecture to its climax and perfection. Happily, more than a dozen of the mosques of this period exist

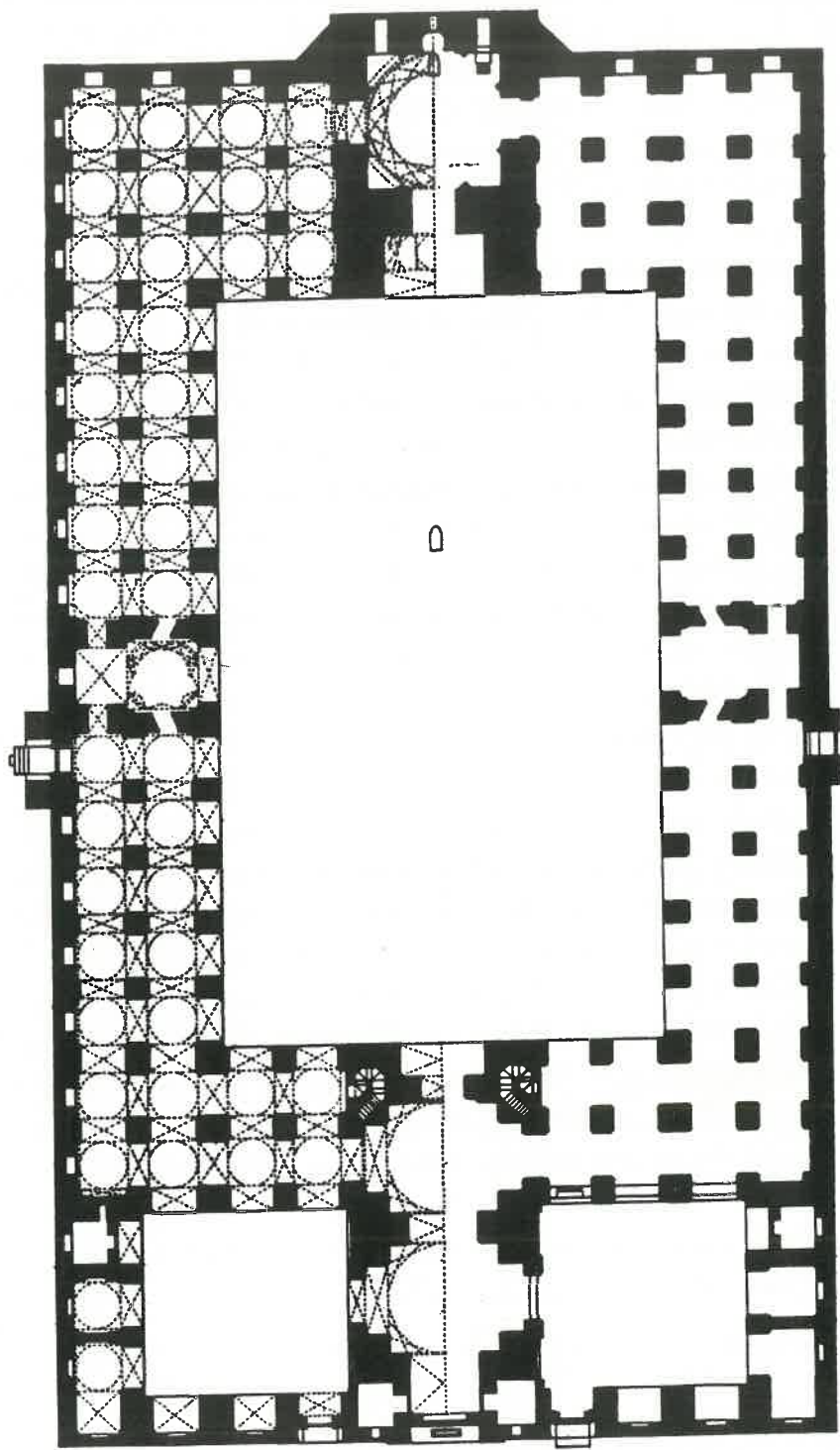
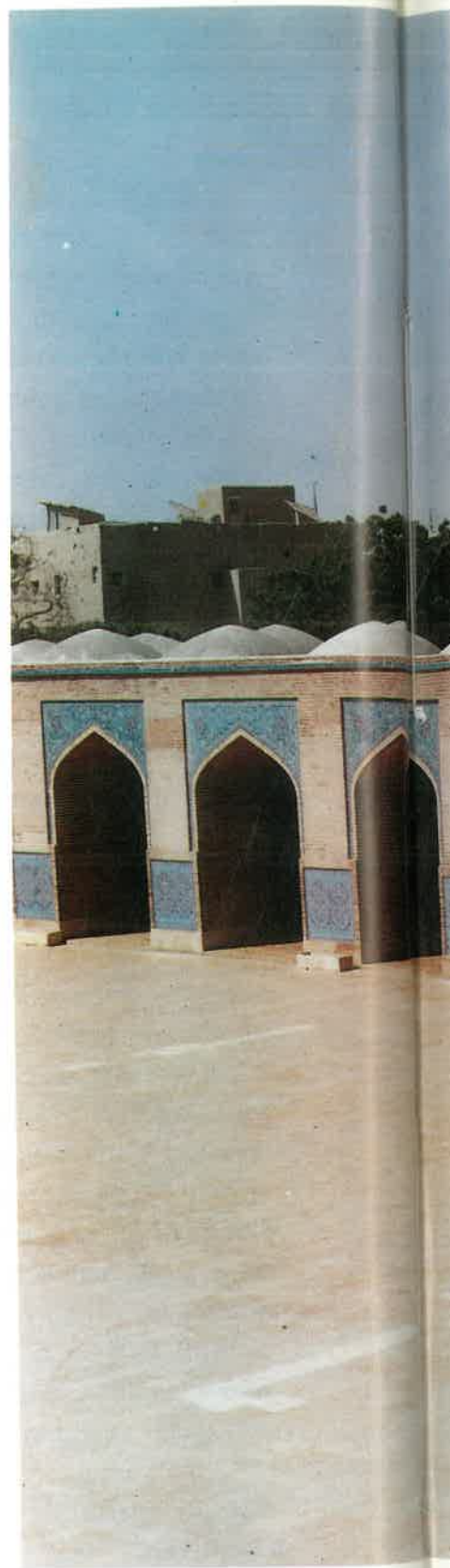
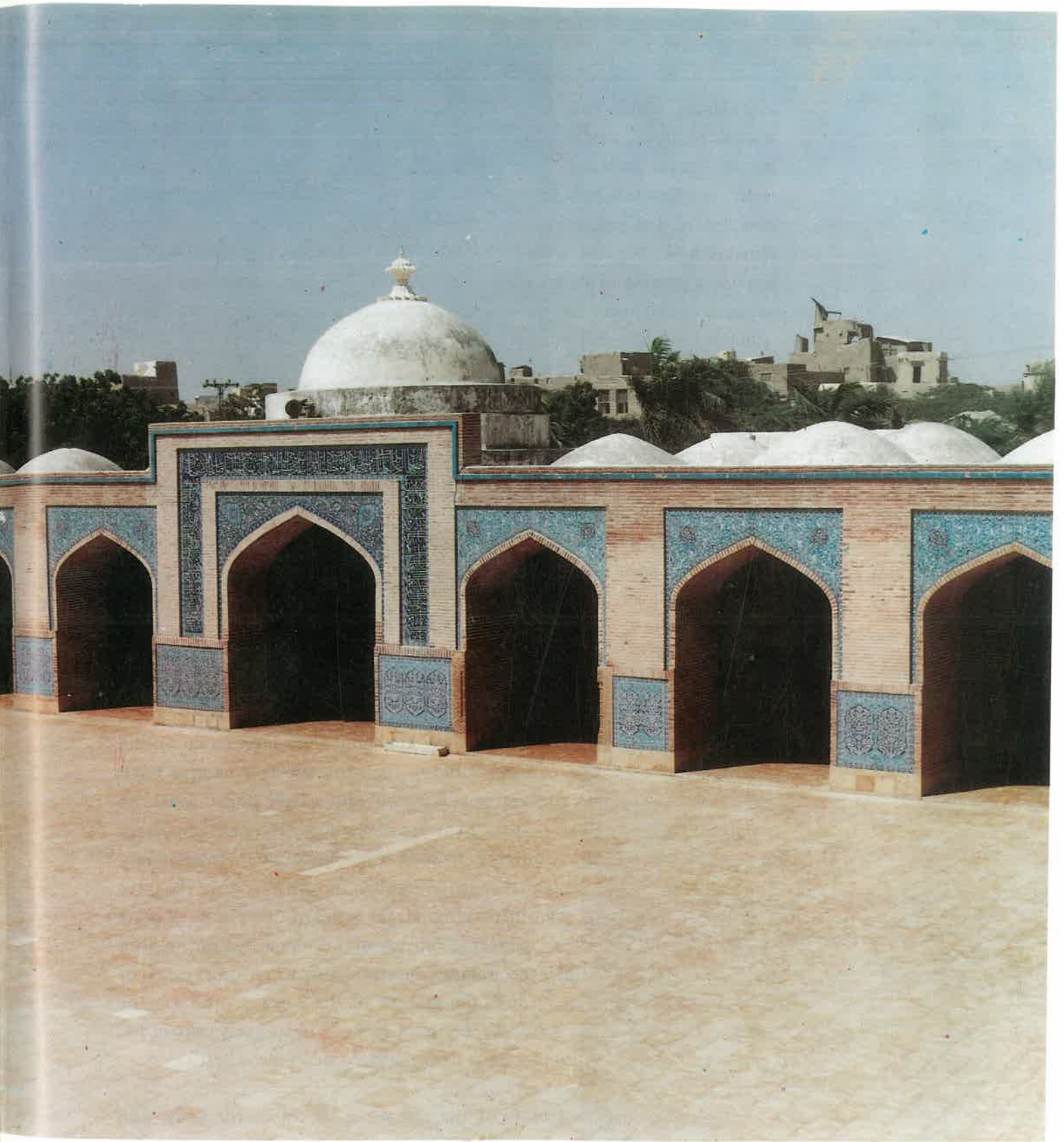


Fig. 20 Shahjahan Mosque. Thatta The Plan.





Pl. 37
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
General view of Eastern Aiwan.

in Pakistan, either built by the emperor himself or by his courtiers and nobles. We have just described the pearl mosque, redesigned and completed by this 'royal architect'. The other mosque which was erected under his order was the fabulous little mosque erected as a Zanana mosque in the complex of the palace called *Shah Burj* in the Fort. Little of its beauty remains now, but the traces of costly stone ornamentation on the floor provide a glimpse of its grandiose treatment. In Pakistan, Lahore can claim to be favoured most for the creation of at least ten such religious edifices which his courtiers and other nobles constructed.

THE SHAHJAHAN MOSQUE, THATTA

The Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta was built in 1054/1644 at the order of the Emperor as a memorial to his visit to the place during his princelyhood. It is a grand manifestation of the borrowing and assimilation of the Persian art of building especially of the faience and faience-mosaic revetment. The complex is a great quadrangle having a prayer chamber on the west, a corresponding chamber of similar dimensions on the east, long cloisters on the north and south, leaving out a rectangular courtyard measuring 164 ft. by 97 ft. The whole building covers an area of 305 ft. by 170 ft. It was completed in 1057/1647, and the eastern part and the gateway was added in 1068/1658-59. The total cost on the project is related to have been six lacs of rupees met by the imperial treasury. The edifice has been raised on the plinth of yellow stone of local variety. The structure is a massive brick construction. The prayer chamber is crowned with a large dome, while the entrance passage has two domes of smaller dimensions. The most important feature of the mosque, however, is its roof composed of no less than ninety three domes, three of which are much larger than the others, crown the main prayer chamber, while the others surmount the series of the cells of cloisters and the eastern hall. The perfect geometry of the domes conforms to a definite device with which the architect has been able to create a system of echoes which travels all through the interior of the mosque and takes the recitation of the *Imam* from the principal *Mehrab* to its every part in the same equal volume. This is a unique device introduced in the mosque.

The other unique feature of the mosque is its colour tile work with which the interior is revetted. The infinite variety of combinations of design



Pl. 38
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
Close up view.



Pl. 39
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
Interior of the Dome.

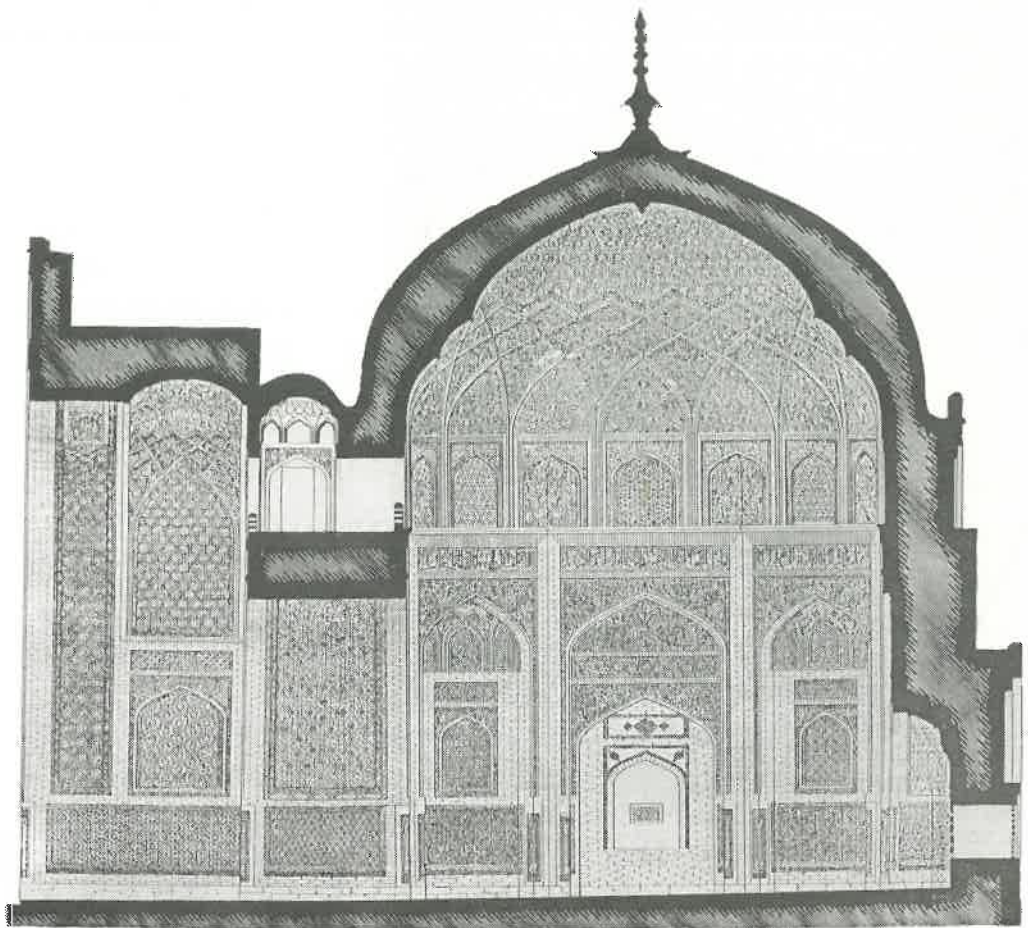


Fig. 21 Shahjahan Mosque. Thatta Section.

created in tile mosaics is a manifestation of ingenuity and proficiency of the artists involved in the job. The mosaic revetment on the interior of the main dome when seen from below gives the effect of pure blue sky with the twinkling stars. The spandrels of the main arches are also revetted with tilery have floral designs, created on square tiles and then put together to complete the pattern. The vaulting is embellished with stalactites. In short, as exclaimed by Mortimer Wheeler 'though somewhat poor in quality than the Dabgir (Dabgaran) mosque' the building presents the most complete surviving display of Persian tile work executed on the soil of Pakistan.¹⁵

The mosque was, according to the epigraphical evidence available at site, completed in 1057/1647. However, the floor was paved with stone later in 1068/1657.¹⁶ It has received quite a few spells of repairs. First, during the

reign of Aurangzeb, it was repaired thoroughly in 1104/1692, and again in 1227/1812 by a local chieftain, Murad Ali Khan Talpur. Similarly, during the British period, in 1855 and 1894, some repairs were carried out. After the establishment of Pakistan, during the seventies, thorough renovation of the mosque was actually overhauled, though on original pattern. The area in front of the main entrance was cleared of the debris and converted into a somewhat *char bagh* having water channels augmented with fountains, walkways and grassy plots. On either side of the walkways, rows of cypress trees have been planted. A triple arched entrance to the garden has been provided to the front garden.

KHIZRI MOSQUE, THATTA

Located inside the Shahi Bazar of the city of Thatta, it was built by Nawwab Abd u'l-Razzaq Muzaffar Khan in 1022/1613, according to an inscription fixed over the Mehrib. Built in fine red brick and decorated with glazed tiles of the usual Sindhian patterns, the edifice is in typically Moghul style having a rectangular *aiwan* created on the west of a vast enclosed courtyard. A domed vestibule, square on plan, has been provided in the south-east corner for entrance. The *aiwan* has been divided into three compartments or bays by means of lateral arches. The square central bay is bigger than those flanking it, and is converted into an octagon by means of a series of pendentives. The second zone of transition, again created by means of a series of pendentives, converts the octagon into sixteen sided to receive the round base of the dome. The pendentives are treated with stalactites. Externally, the first takes the shape of a drum and the second is the base of the dome. The Mehrib has been provided in the thickness of the western wall of the central bay in the shape of a semi-octagonal frame surmounted with half-dome and augmented with stalactites. Here on the side of the Mehrib three air-shoots have been provided to allow fresh air and light. Nook-shafts of yellow jandoti stone support the arches. The Mehrib also has an inscription at its facade giving the date of the construction of the mosque and the name of the builder. The comparatively smaller bays flanking the central bay have been treated with comparatively less ornamentation. The fronton of the *aiwan* on the east consists of three arched-openings marking the eastern entrances of the three compartments, the central one bigger and higher. The

high facade actually conceals the three domes behind which crown the prayer chamber.

The mosque has been repaired and renovated several times. However, there is ample to show its original structure as well as surface decoration in the shape of glazed tiles, stalactisation and stone carving.

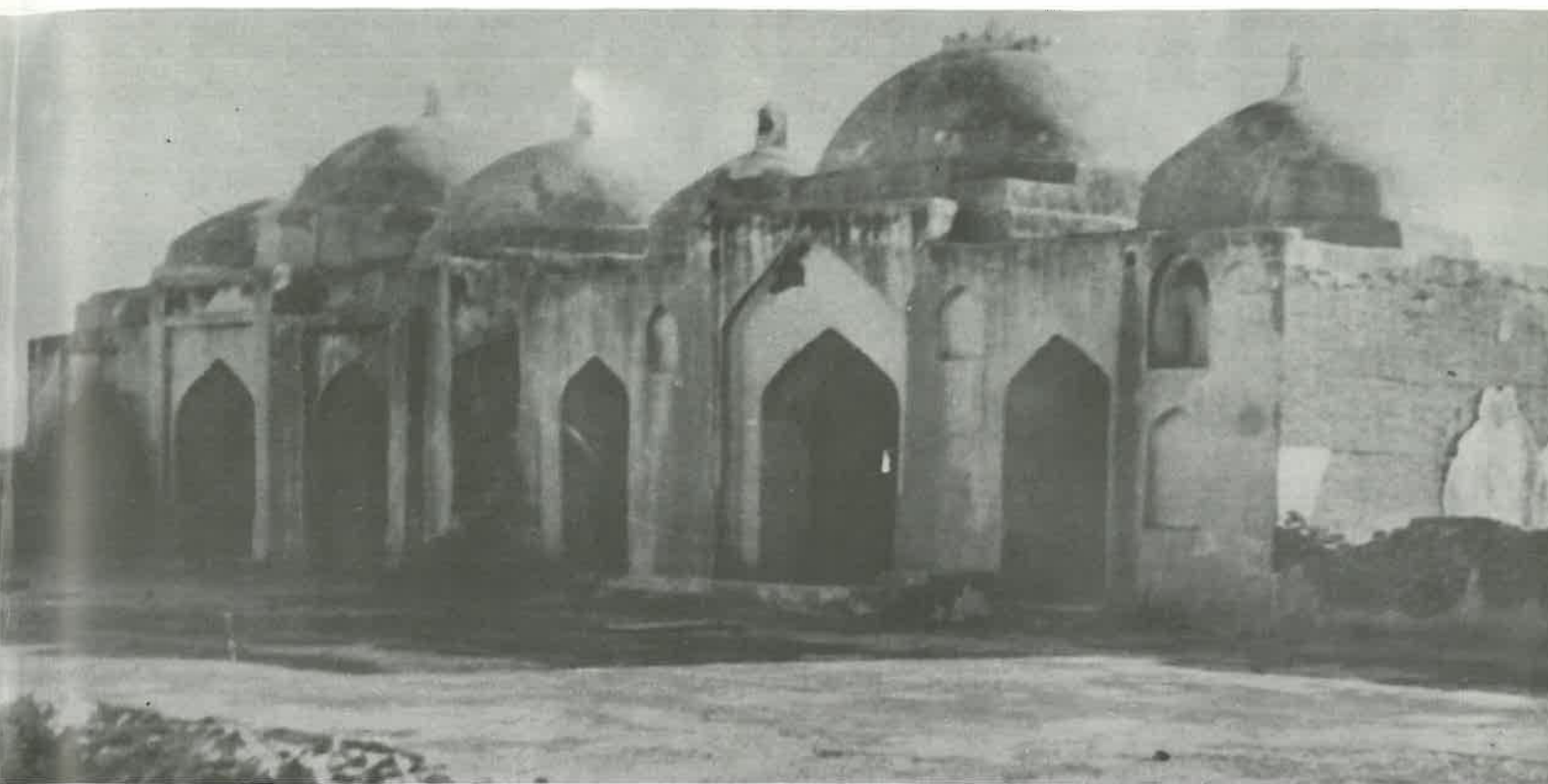
AMIR MUHAMMAD KHAN'S MOSQUE, THATTA

The Mosque, square on plan measuring 23 ft. 6 in. side externally and 16 ft. 3 in. internally with slightly tapering walls, is a brick building bedecked with panels of faience revetment of different shapes, sizes and designs. It is located in the olden quarters of the city in Muhalla Bha'i Khan in the centre of Chauk Abd u'l-Ghani, and provides a rather unusual instance of mosque architecture in Sind. According to an epigraphical evidence *in situ*, the structure was created in 1039/1629 by a local chieftain Nawwab Amir Muhammad Khan. The exterior is finished with cut and rubbed brick facing, having a double dentil frieze running at top to mark the parapet. The eastern side has, however, been treated with several recessed panels. The central panel in the shape of an arched rectangle accommodates the entrance marked by a carved stone door jamb, and a lintal. On the sides and atop the arched opening runs a frieze also created in recess. The square edifice is crowned with a hemispherical dome placed on high drum which is veneered with friezes of glazed tiles, while the dome is lime plastered.

The interior of the *aiwan* is more elaborately decorated with cut-brick facing and faience panels and linings. The red-brick courses have alternating courses of blue glazed tiles. While other panels have been created according to the available space, filled with blooming flower-plants, fruit vases, *guldastas* etc., all created in painted glaze. The four corner-squines turn the top of the square compartment into an octagon. The inner shell of the dome has herring-bone design while the apex is ornamented with a rosette.

MUHAMMAD BIN QASIM MOSQUE AT PIR PATTHO

A significant specimen of the mosque architecture of the seventeenth



Pl. 40
 Mosque of Amir Muhammad Khan,
 Thatta: General view.

century in Sind is the elaborate edifice named after the celebrated Arab general Muhammad b. Qasim. It is in fact a combination of two mosques, built in a vast rectangular courtyard measuring 180 ft. by 162 ft. The originally built mosque is located on the west, while that on the south seems to have been added at a later date. The plan of the mosque, particularly that of the *aiwan*, is almost identical to the other contemporary mosques of the area. The rectangular *aiwan* has usual three bays created by means of the lateral arches. The central bay is bigger than those flanking it. The facade of the *aiwan* has arched-openings on the east arranged within rectangular frames. The bays are crowned with domes placed on octagonal drums. The zone of transition in the bays of the earlier mosque has been created by means of squinches, while those of the later mosque is of pendentives. The Mehrabs of the mosques have projections at the back marked by a rectangular solid frame. The whole structure is lime-plastered.

However, the unusual feature of the mosque is the *ma zinah* created in

the north-eastern corner of the courtyard in the shape of a round tapering tower built of brick and lime-plastered. Internally, the *ma'zinah* has been provided with two storeys. The lower storey has an arched opening along with which a stair-case leads to the entrance, and then to the second storey, which also has an arched-opening, below which was originally a balcony supported on wooden brackets, some of which are still intact though in decayed condition. The *ma'zinah* is crowned with a conical canopy having a simple finial. The overall height of the tower is 50 ft. with a 72 ft. circumference at the base.

WAZIR KHAN'S MOSQUE, LAHORE

Yet another masterpiece of mosque architecture of Shahjahan's period is the celebrated *Masjid Wazir Khan*. It is situated in the heart of the old city. It was built by Hakim IImuddin Ansari, commonly known as Wazir Khan, a viceroy of the Punjab under Shahjahan.¹⁷ Besides being a physician and administrator, he had a refined taste in architecture and, under his supervision, were erected some of the marvels of Moghul architecture of Pakistan. He adorned the city of Lahore with a number of mosques, public baths and inns, palaces and pavilions. Among these, the grand mosque is the most beautiful and majestic, admired profusely by art critics and archaeologists like Fergusson, Kipling, Henry Cole, Marshall, Brown and Wheeler, who speak highly of its decoration of tile mosaics and fresco painting.¹⁸

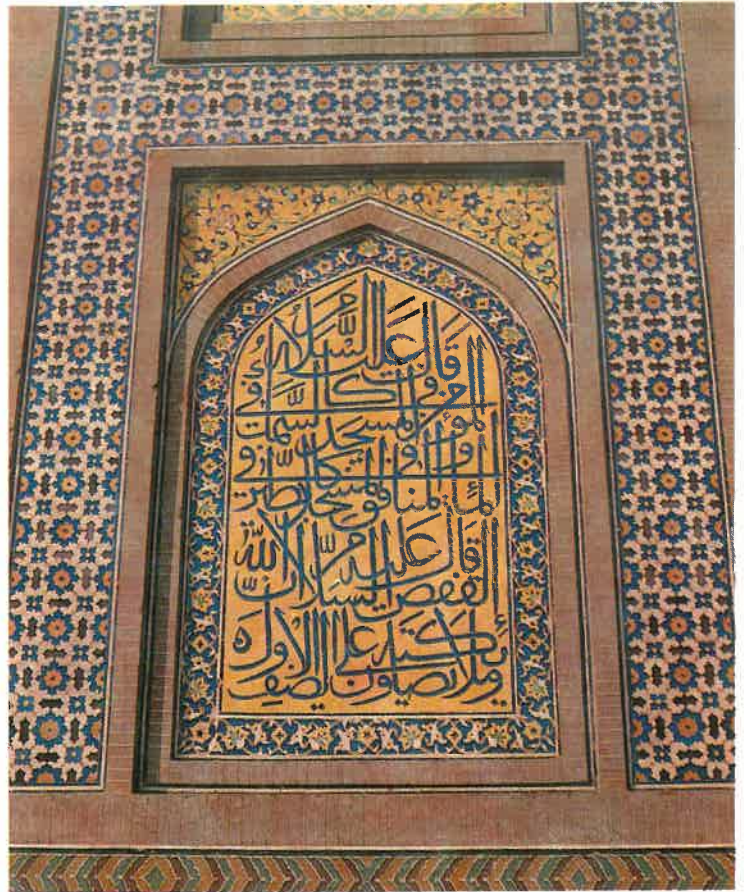
Built in 1044/1634, the grand mosque stands upon a raised platform approached by a flight of six steps paved with red sandstone. Oblong on plan, it covers an area of land measuring 280 ft. by 160 ft., and consists of an imposing gateway crowned with a dome and clad with colourful tile mosaics, an open spacious courtyard, a prayer chamber of five compartments, each having a dome, four octagonal minarets, two double storied flat pavilions, each in the centre of the blind arcades on the north and south of the courtyard, and a row of small rooms or apartments on all the three sides.

The main gateway, which is in fact a splendid vestibule, is a remarkable architectural feature of the mosque. Architecturally, it is a two-storied square chamber crowned with four square pavilions at each corner and a large bulbous dome in the centre decorated with lotus cresting and a pinnacle.



Pl. 41

Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
The entrance vestibule.



Pl. 42

Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
Inscription in faience mosaics on the
panel on the entrance.

The square-pavilions are placed on a raised platform and their *chhatri*, consisting of a spire and a high dome, rests on a row of columns, four on each side. The two bracketed oriels flank the outer face of the vestibule. Inside, there are galleries and small rooms divided by open doors on each storey. The whole outer surface is divided into various panels for the purpose of decoration. The facade is decorated with Arabic and Persian inscriptions done in tile mosaics. The main inscription gives the *Kalima* and the date of the construction of the mosque. The interior of the gateway has been treated with finely executed fresco paintings and brick imitation.¹⁹

The spacious open courtyard is paved with finely dressed bricks laid on edge forming geometric patterns of various shapes and designs. The upper part of the courtyard is divided into three equal parts by means of a herring-bone pattern running all along the four sides, while in the centre a combination of four overlapping octagons and eight pointed stars with black stone

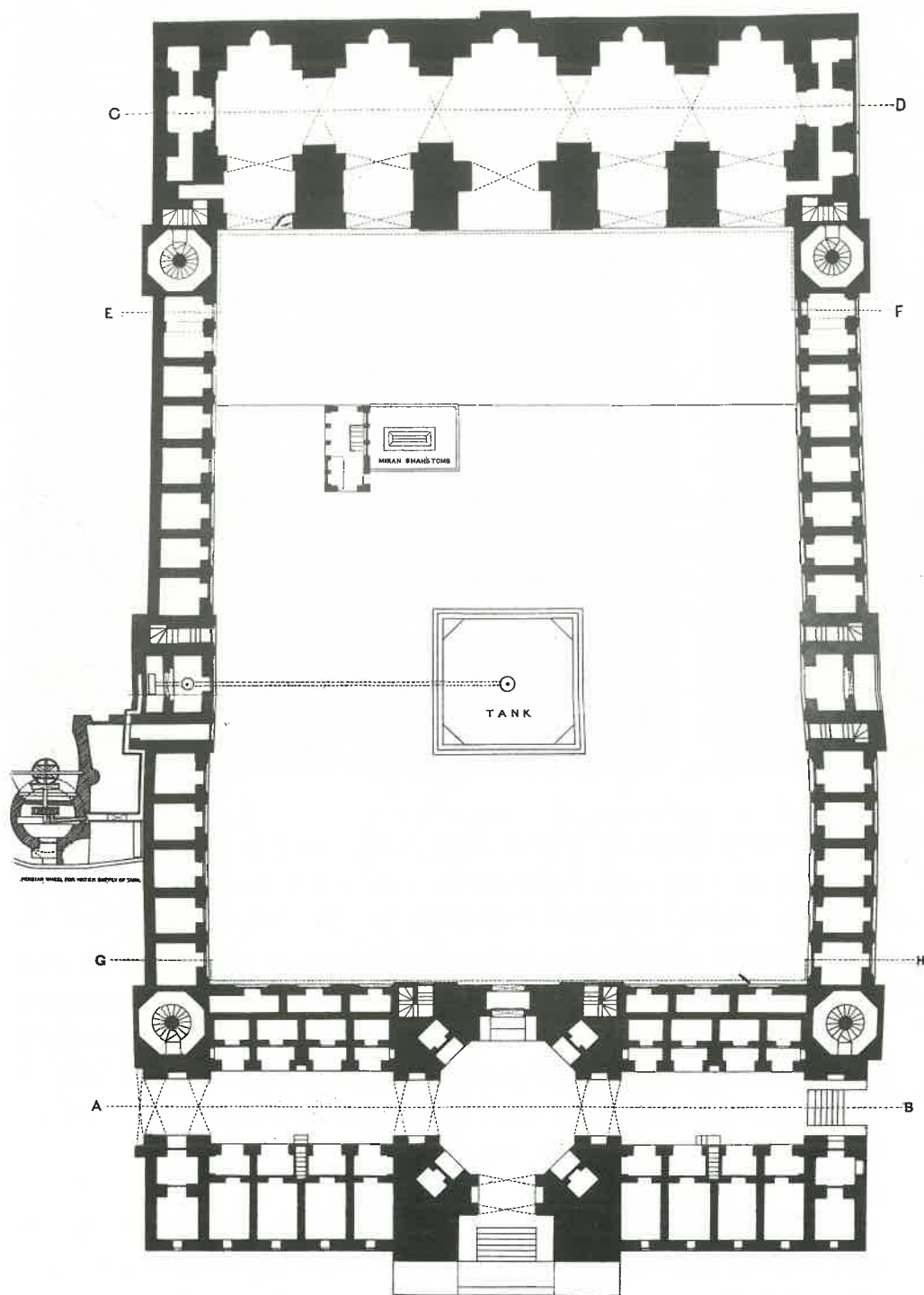
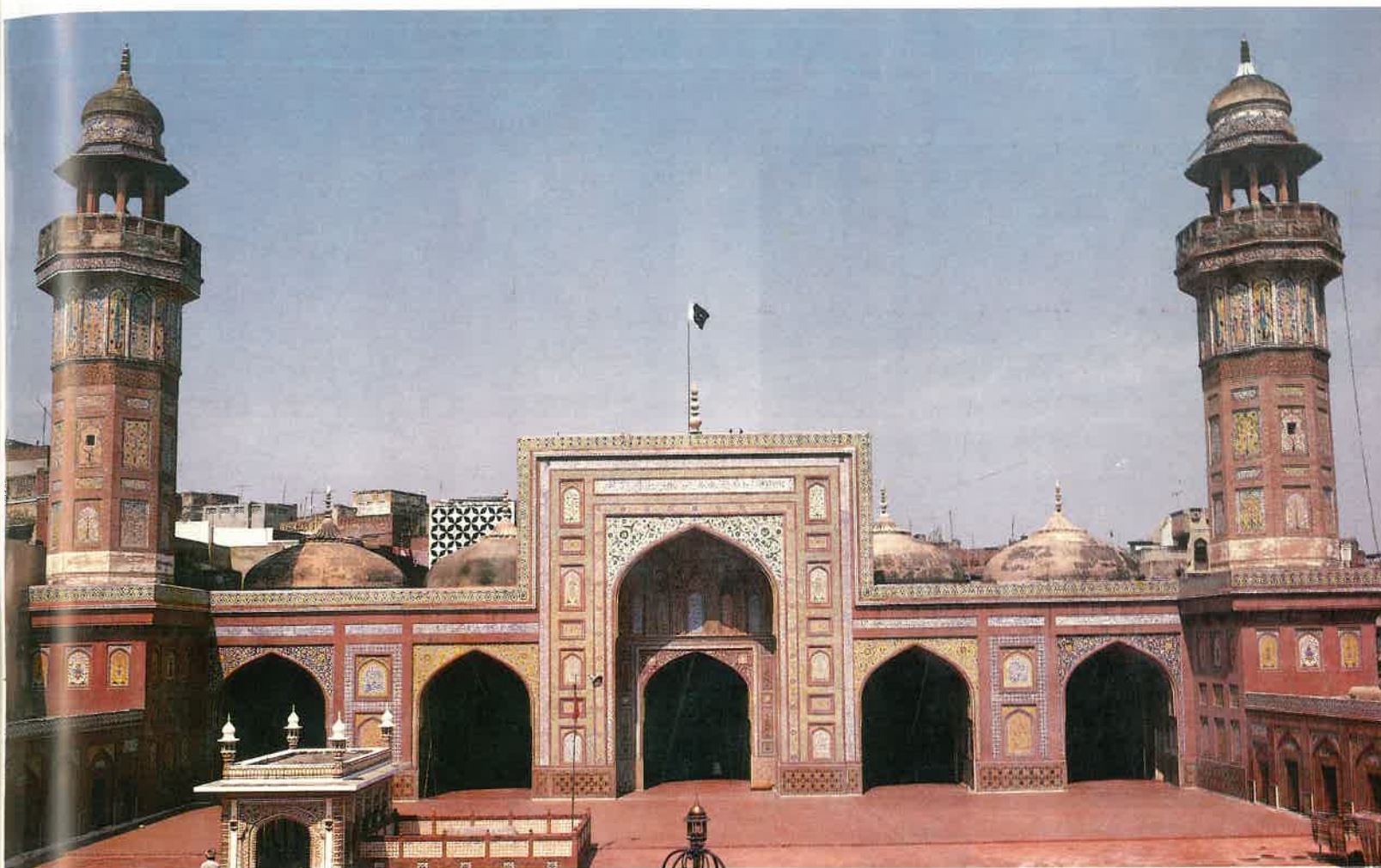


Fig. 22 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: General Plan.



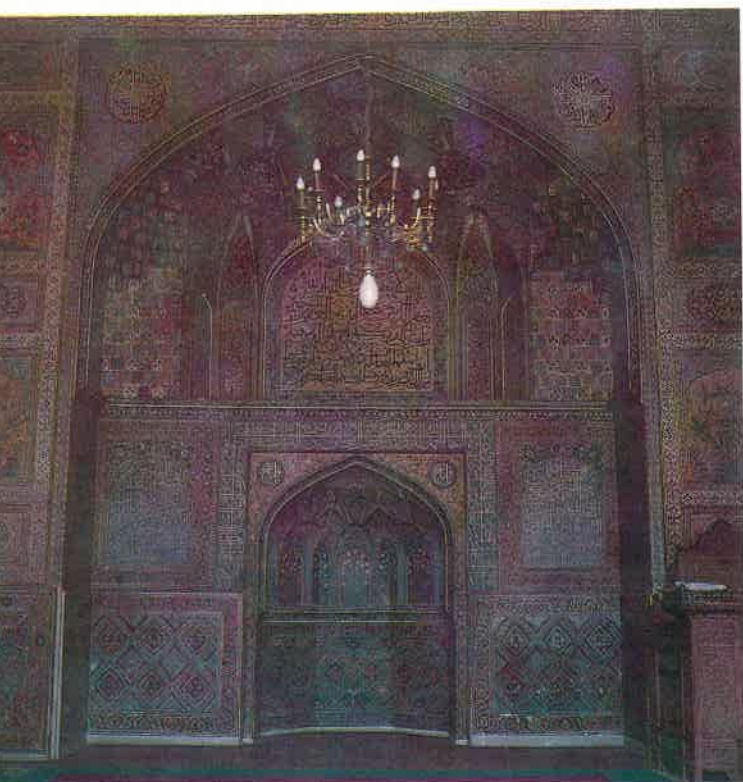
Pl. 43

Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
The Aiwan.

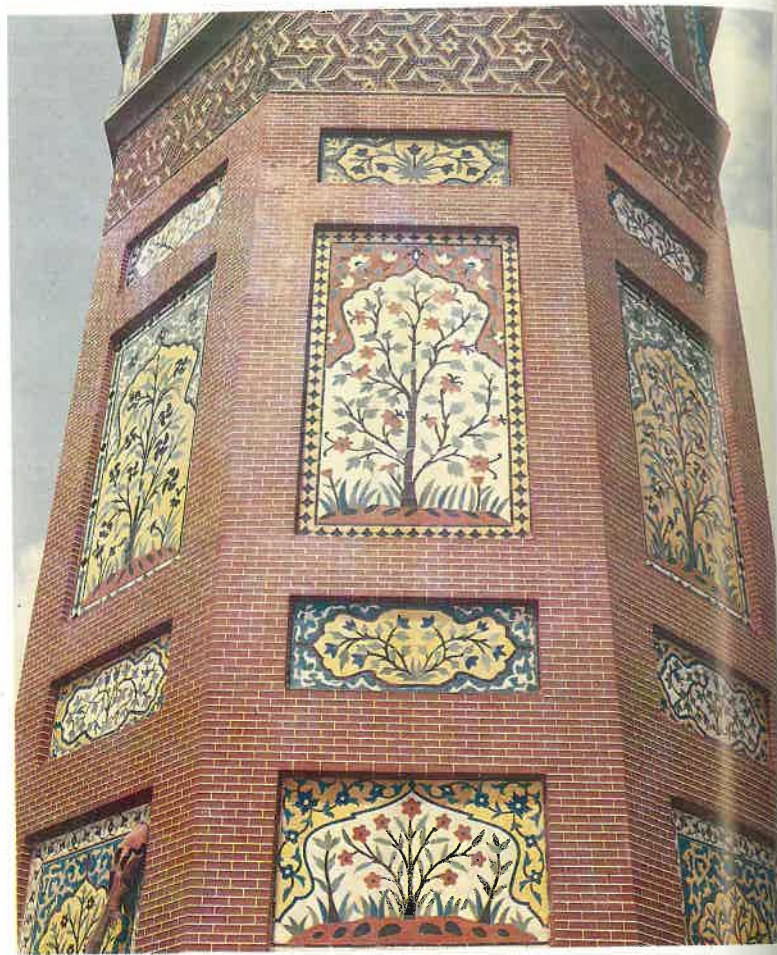
Pl. 44

Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
Persian Inscription in faience mosaics.





Pl. 45
Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
Faience mosaics and brick imitation.



Pl. 46
Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
Faience mosaic and brick imitation.

lines has been used. On the east, south and north of the courtyard is a row of 34 apartments. Each apartment has a two-leafed door set in a slightly recessed pointed arch. A square double-storied pavilion has been built in the centre of the northern and southern row. The pavilions have two spacious rooms, one on the ground and the other on the first floor. Access to the ground floor of the the pavilion is through a large arched opening flanked by two other doors. A flight of steps from the lower floor of the pavilions leads to the upper storey and gives access to the roof of the compartment. As usual, the interior of these apartments has been decorated with fresco paintings, while the outer has decoration in tile mosaics.

The prayer chamber, a quadrangle on plan, has one aisle divided into

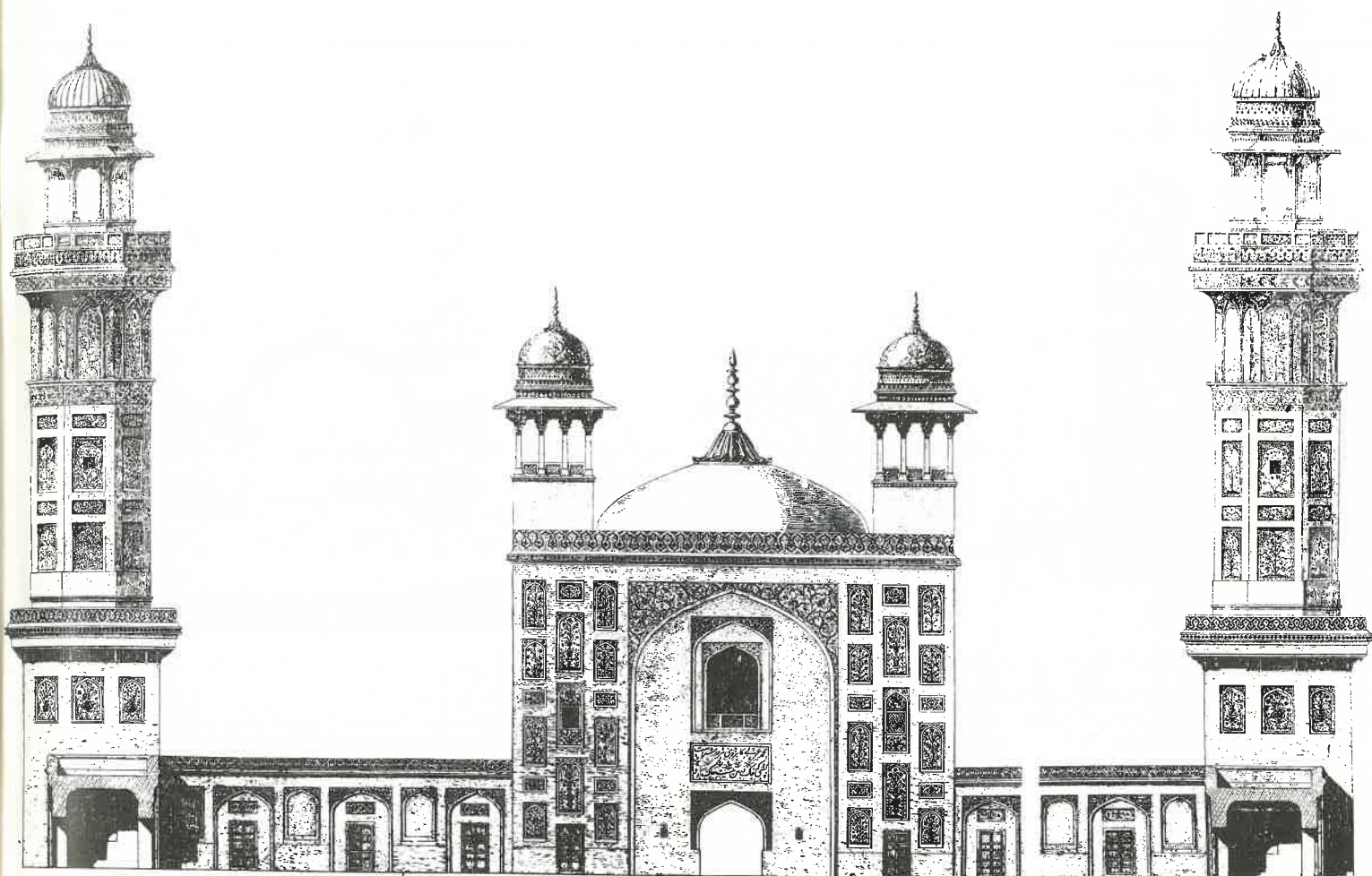


Fig. 23 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: Elevation.

five bays corresponding to five arched openings in front. The central arch is bigger and higher than those on either side. The central compartment, which is comparatively bigger than others, contains a *Mehrab*, deeply recessed in the back wall, while in other compartments, it is indicated by an outline of a series of cusped arches. The chamber has also two smaller rooms on its northern and southern sides and a gallery opening into the spiral stair-case leading to the roof. The roof of each compartment is crowned with a square-based, turnip-shaped dome, of which the central one is larger and higher than the others.

The most important feature of the structure, however, is the profuse decoration with which its interior and exterior is replete. The facade

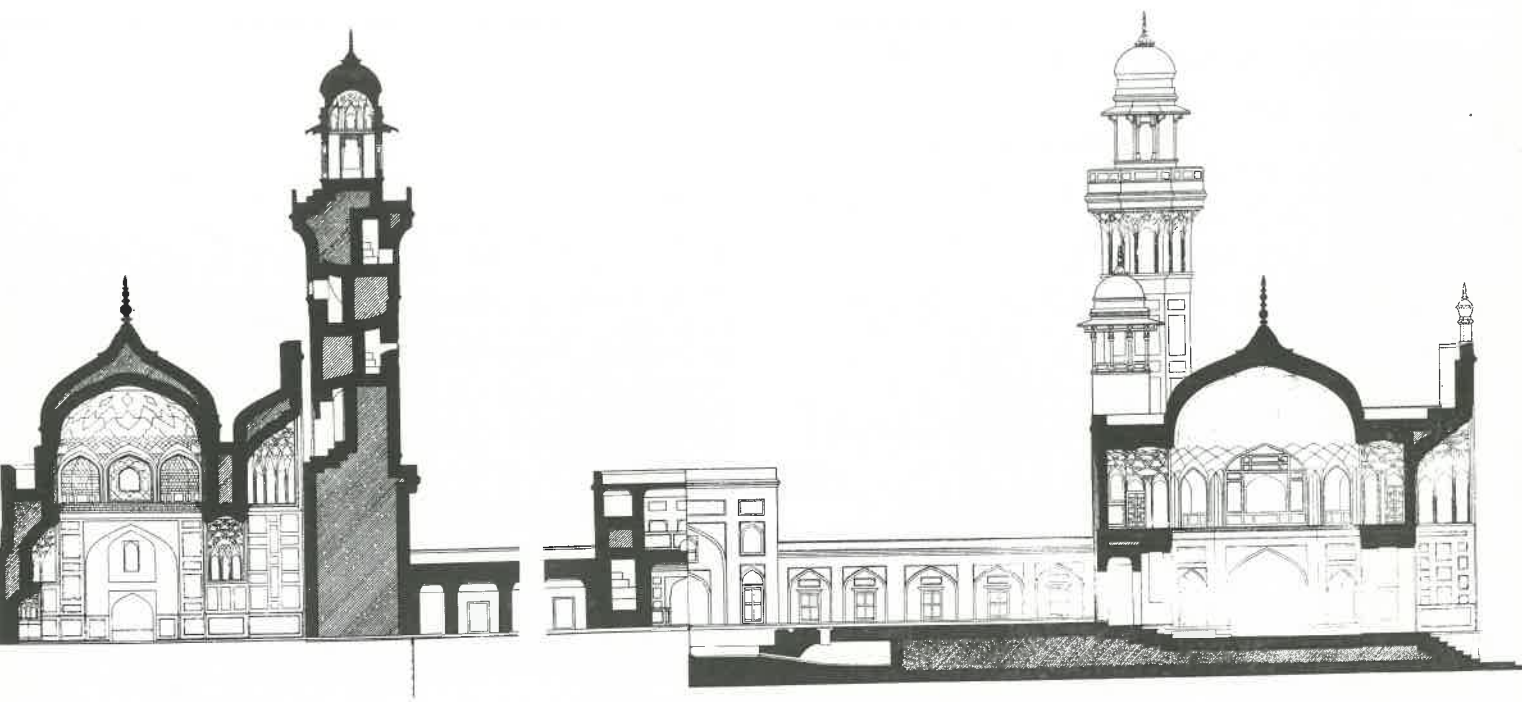


Fig. 24 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: Longitudinal Section.

prayer chamber stands on a raised platform and is ornamented with a band of mouldings. The double domes consist of two inner and outer shells with a void between them. The architectural device of creating a double-dome with the help of two shells is a remarkable achievement of the building art to raise the height of the dome in order to make it more prominent and imposing.

The majestic minarets standing at each corner of the prayer chamber and the eastern cloister of the grand mosque are indeed the most imposing part of the structure. About 100 ft. high and octagonal on plan, they stand on square platforms with a projecting top placed on ornamental brackets and parapets decorated with glazed tiles. They can be divided into three distinct parts: the base, the shaft and the pavilion. The octagonal shaft gives the structure a degree of lightness. The pavilions, crowned with a kiosk, is an octagonal structure with projected railings all around made of beautiful terracotta *jalis* and carved shafts and mouldings. The kiosk has a cupola crowned with a metallic pinnacle and is supported by five long shafts. All the minarets are hollow from inside, with a spiral of steps leading to their

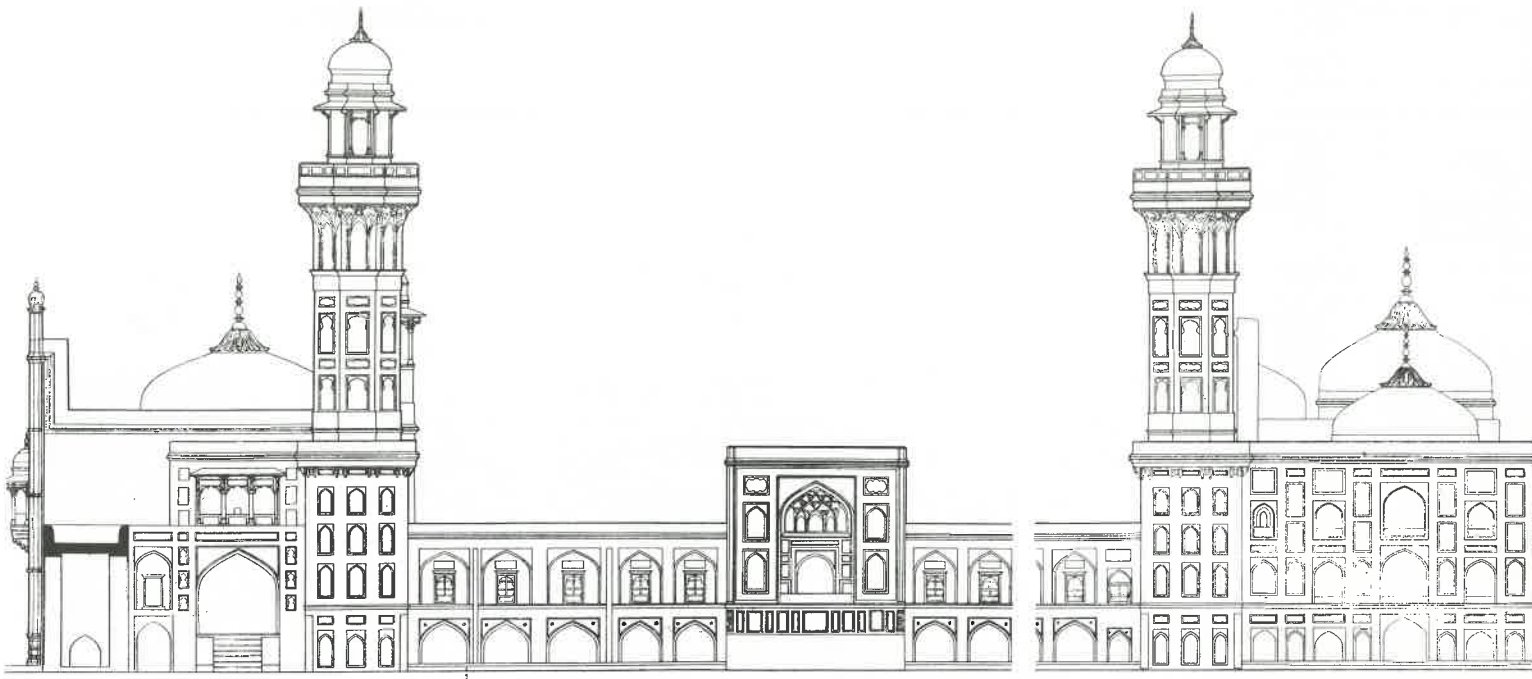


Fig. 25 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: North Side Elevation.

tops. The surface of these minarets has been divided into several vertical and horizontal panels for the purpose of tile and cut brick decoration.

The resourceful patron created a *waqf* for the maintenance and recurring expenditure of the mosque.²⁰ The text of this *waqf* deed recorded by S.M. Latif is an interesting document providing details of the *waqf* relating to the management of the mosque, and its attached property which included twenty shops and the apartments, attached houses, wells, sarai, hammam, etc. It also specifies the conditions according to which the shops were to be occupied by various traders who were obliged to deal in the business of Islamic books; the binders; the miniaturists; the calligraphists and the shopkeepers dealing in the stationery and the like items. A madrasa was established in the mosque for which two teachers were appointed. The *waqf* deed specifies the emoluments of these teachers, the *Imam* and the *Mu'azzin* for the mosque. The management was controlled by the patron himself, and after his death it was envisaged that the duties were to be passed on to his son and then to his male successor. The *waqf* deed was executed on the 1st Ramazan 1051/12th April 1641 and was signed by eminent personages of the days. It was attested by Qazi Yusuf the *Qazi u'l-Quzzat* of Shahjahan. The others whose seal-impressions appeared on the deed were also important

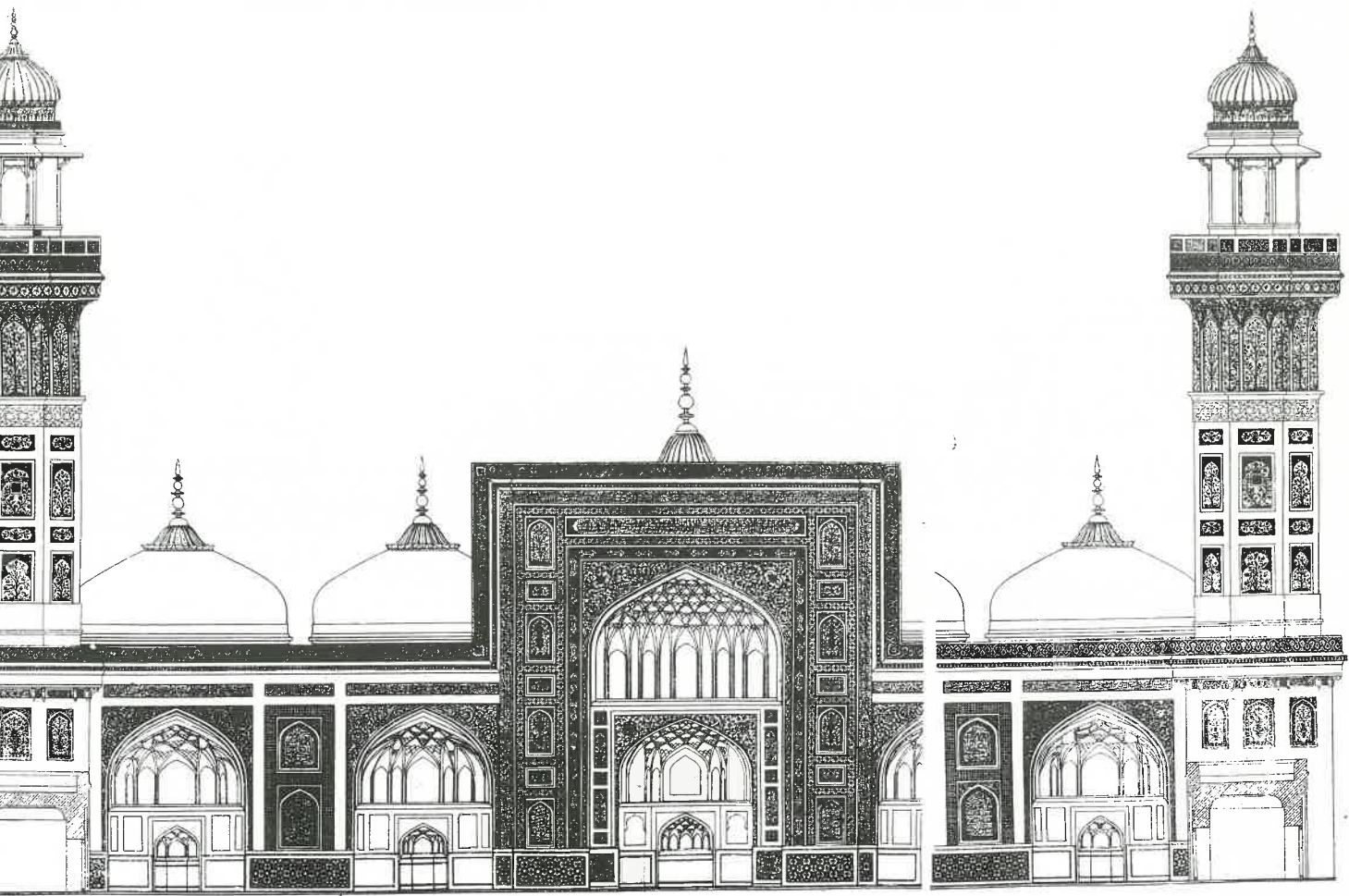


Fig. 26 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: Elevation.

courtiers and senior officers of Shahjahan's court. They are Musavi Khan, *Sadr u'l-Sudur* and Maulana Muhammad Fazil son of Maulana Muhammad Shah.²¹

The arrangement so made by Nawwab Wazir Khan continued, throughout the period and, as recorded by near-contemporary chroniclers, the mosque turned into a great centre of literary and cultural activities.²²

On the front of the mosque was created an open courtyard then called *Chauk Wazir Khan*. It was an enclosed area having a high perimeter wall and domed entrance vestibules on the north-east and the north-west. The north-

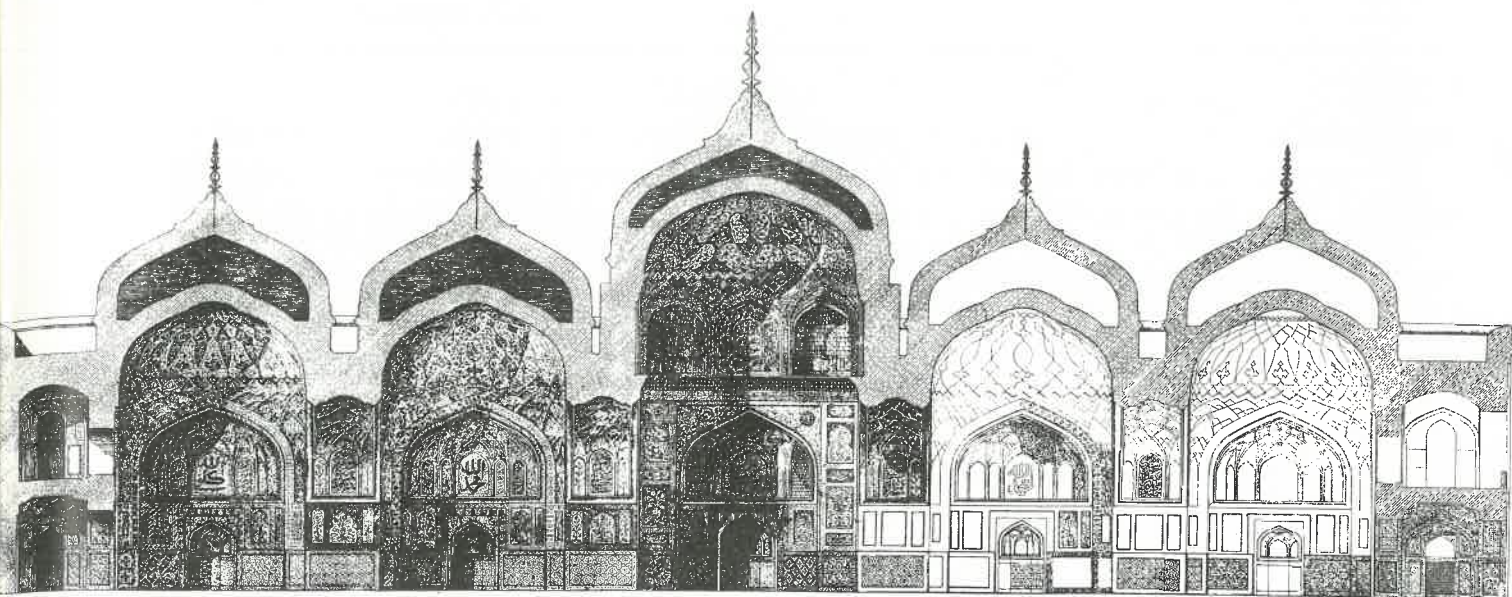


Fig. 27 Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore: Section.

eastern gateway still exists though in a dilapidated condition. During the hey-days, this area served as a popular centre of cultural activities of the people of the city. Here cultural meetings, social gatherings and *musha'irahs* were held, and business contracts were executed. Caravans came and landed here from far off places to transact business or to renew their social contacts.²³ Indeed, the mosque was a popular rendezvous of the local as well as those coming from far off places, who gathered together here for exchange of views, recital of their poetical works, for scholarly discourses, and regular religious education was imparted here in the courtyard and the *Hujrahs* of the mosque. The arrangement so made by the *waqfi* continued during the long period of the Moghul rule. During the holocaust of the Sikhs, numerous encroachments of various kinds spoiled the area; several houses and shops were constructed by creating narrow lanes and crooked spaces here and there. The condition became worse after the establishment of Pakistan. To-day, the area is filled with vendors and semi-permanent shops. The area is the biggest shopping centre of the old city.

There are at least three more mosques in Lahore, the construction of which is attributed to the great Nawwab Wazir Khan. The little mosque now standing in the Taxali Gate, was in fact a part of the complex of his palaces which he built for his residence. The mosque was reserved for the harem.

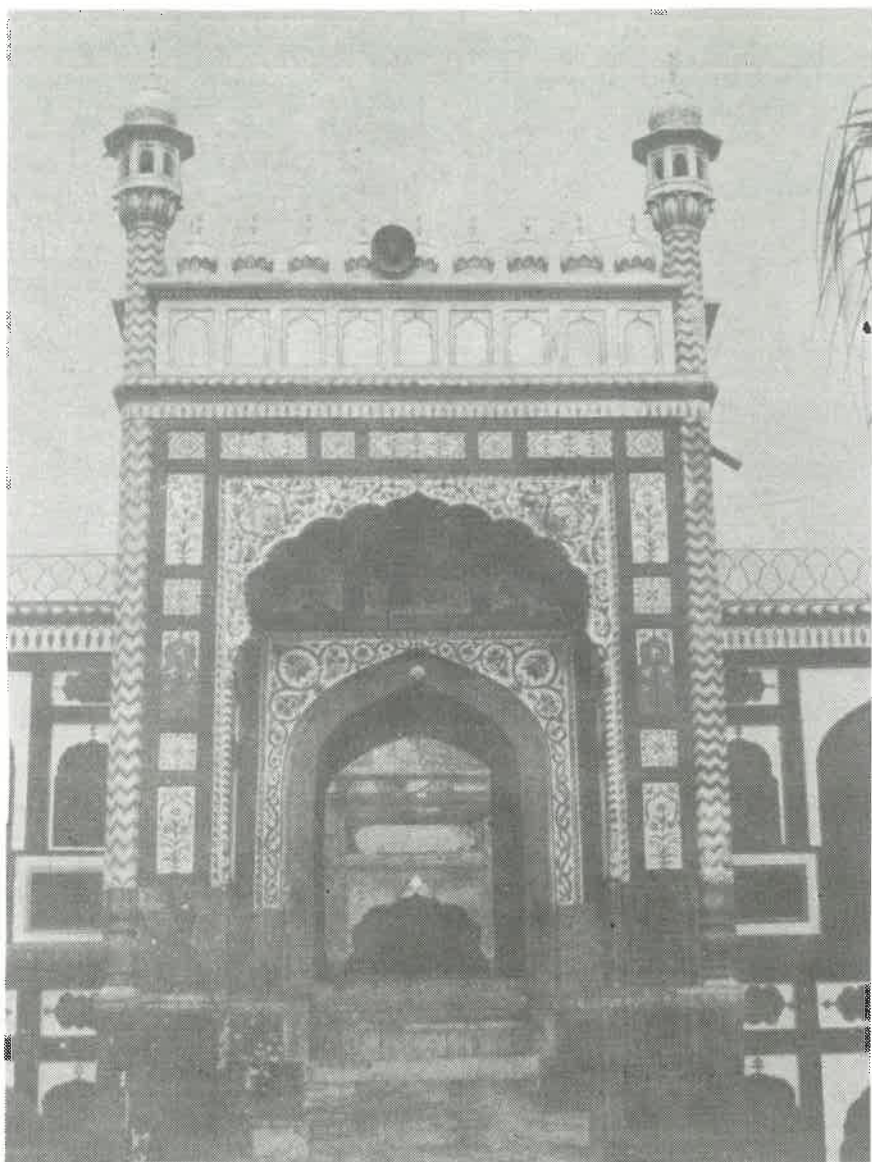


Pl. 47
Shahi Mosque, Chiniot:
General view.

THE SHAHI MOSQUE, CHINIOT

Yet another mosque situated in the heart of the ancient city of Chiniot (district Jhang) is attributed to the same patron of art, Hakim Ilm u'd-Din Wazir Khan.²⁵ This grand mosque covers a rectangular area of land measuring 108 ft. 6 in. from east to west and 97 ft. 9½ in. from north to south. The projection of the steps and the entrance vestibule on the east measures 20 ft. by 12 ft., and that on the north 22 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. 6 in. The mosque is built on a raised plinth level, 15 ft. 6 in. high. Underneath the basement on the east, south and north are created several rooms, now occupied by the local administration of the Auqaf, and some of them have been converted into shops. On the east is the grand entrance vestibule approached by a flight of steps. A rectangle on plan, it measures 20 ft. by 12 ft. and has been designed in bold projection. The central projection has the main arched entrance crowning with a half dome created in deep recess within a rectangular frame. Several decorative panels of various shapes and designs cover the surface. Flanking the entrance arch are the two corner-pilasters crowned with projected pavilions, while the parapet is finished in elaborate crenellation. The side oblique projections, likewise, have two arched recesses put one upon the other.

Entering this elaborate vestibule is a vast enclosed courtyard almost square on plan measuring 71 ft. 2 in. by 70 ft. 5 in. In the centre is provided an ablution tank which is also a square measuring 18 ft. 8 in. side internally.



Pl. 48
Shahi Mosque, Chiniot:
Entrance vestibule.

On the west of this courtyard is the *aiwan* measuring 97 ft. 9 in. from north to south and 31 ft. 2½ in. from east to west, with anti-rooms created on the north and south. The *aiwan* has been divided into bays by means of rows of free-standing octagonal pillars made of a variety of local stone. One row of columns is now built up in the eastern facade. A row of seven pilasters decorates the western or Qibla wall which has three Mehrab niches. The central Mehrab niche measures 5 ft. by 2 ft. 10 in. while those in the side bays are narrow measuring 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 4 in. on the north of the main

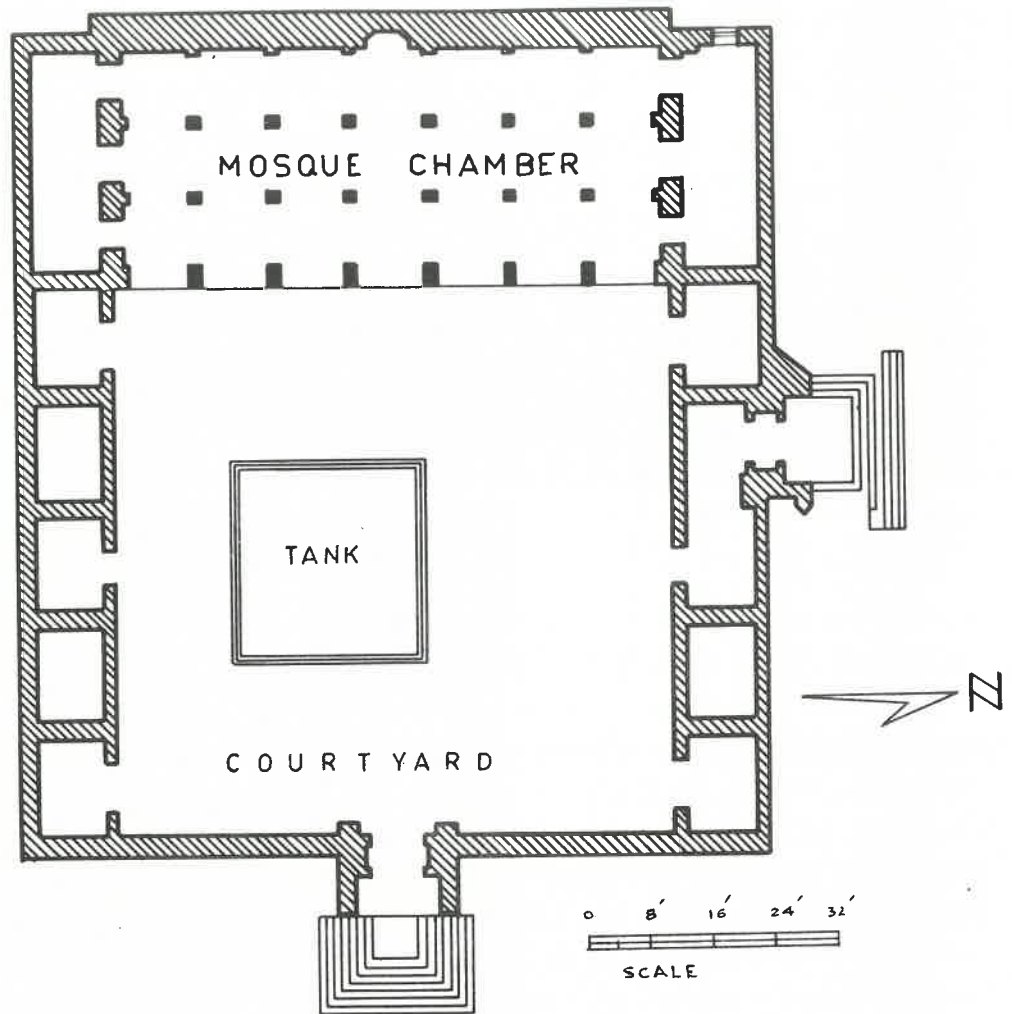
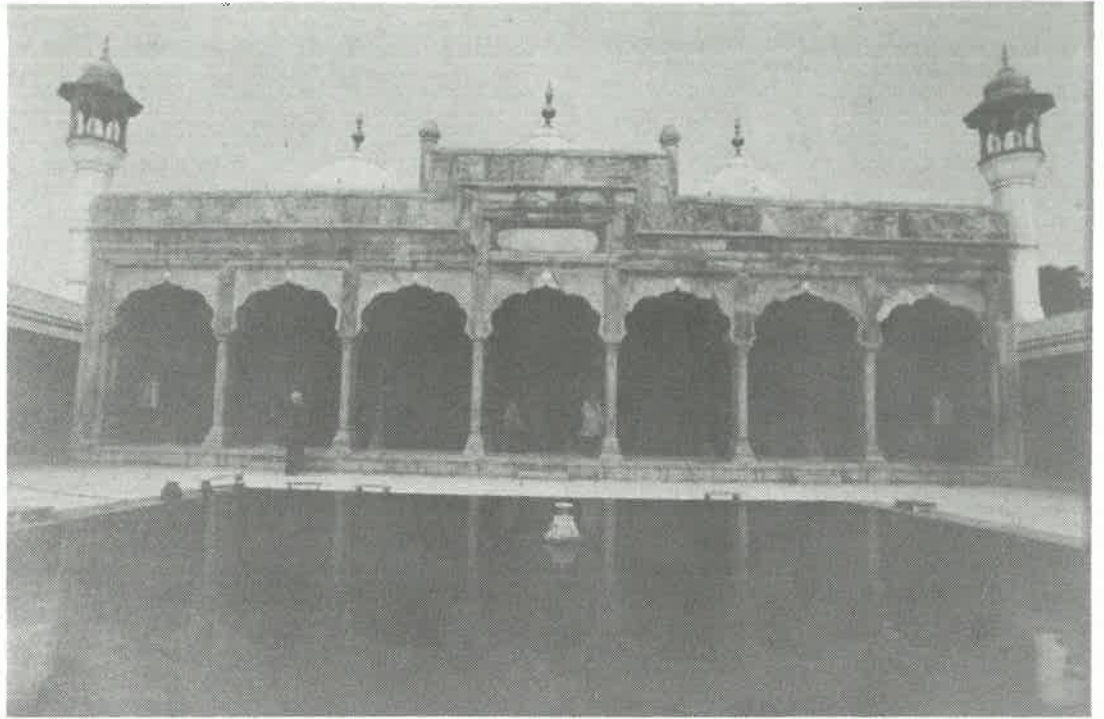


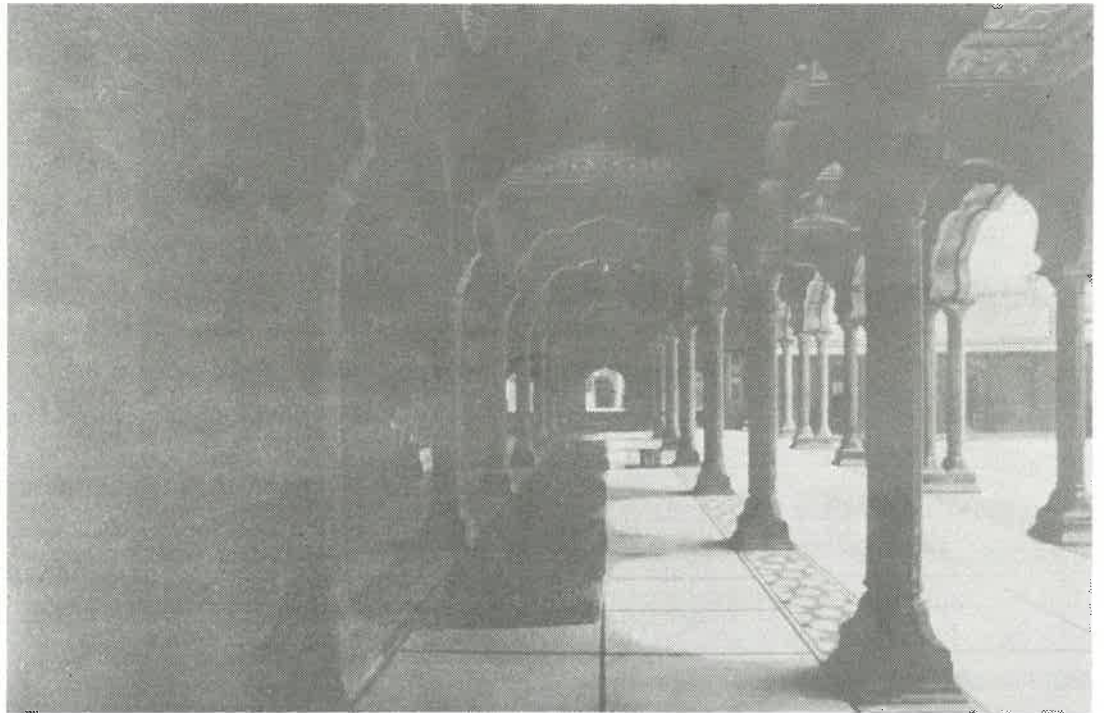
Fig. 28 Shahi Mosque Chiniot: Ground Floor Plan.

Mehrab is placed a marble pulpit, perhaps a later addition, while on the east of the *aiwan* are seven arched openings, the alternate ones were subsequently bricked up leaving out only a smaller rectangular opening, fitted with wooden frames and leaves. The brick work has been lime plastered and treated with fresco decoration. The *aiwan* is 1 ft. 6 in. higher than the level of the courtyard and is approached by steps provided in front of the alternate opening.

The special feature of the prayer chamber is its columnar construction system for which the mosque stands out as a unique specimen of the mosque architecture of Pakistan. The octagonal columns are 8 ft. 7½ in. high placed



Pl. 49
Shahi Mosque, Chiniot:
The Aiwan: General view.



Pl. 50
Shahi Mosque, Chiniot:
Interior view of the Aiwan.

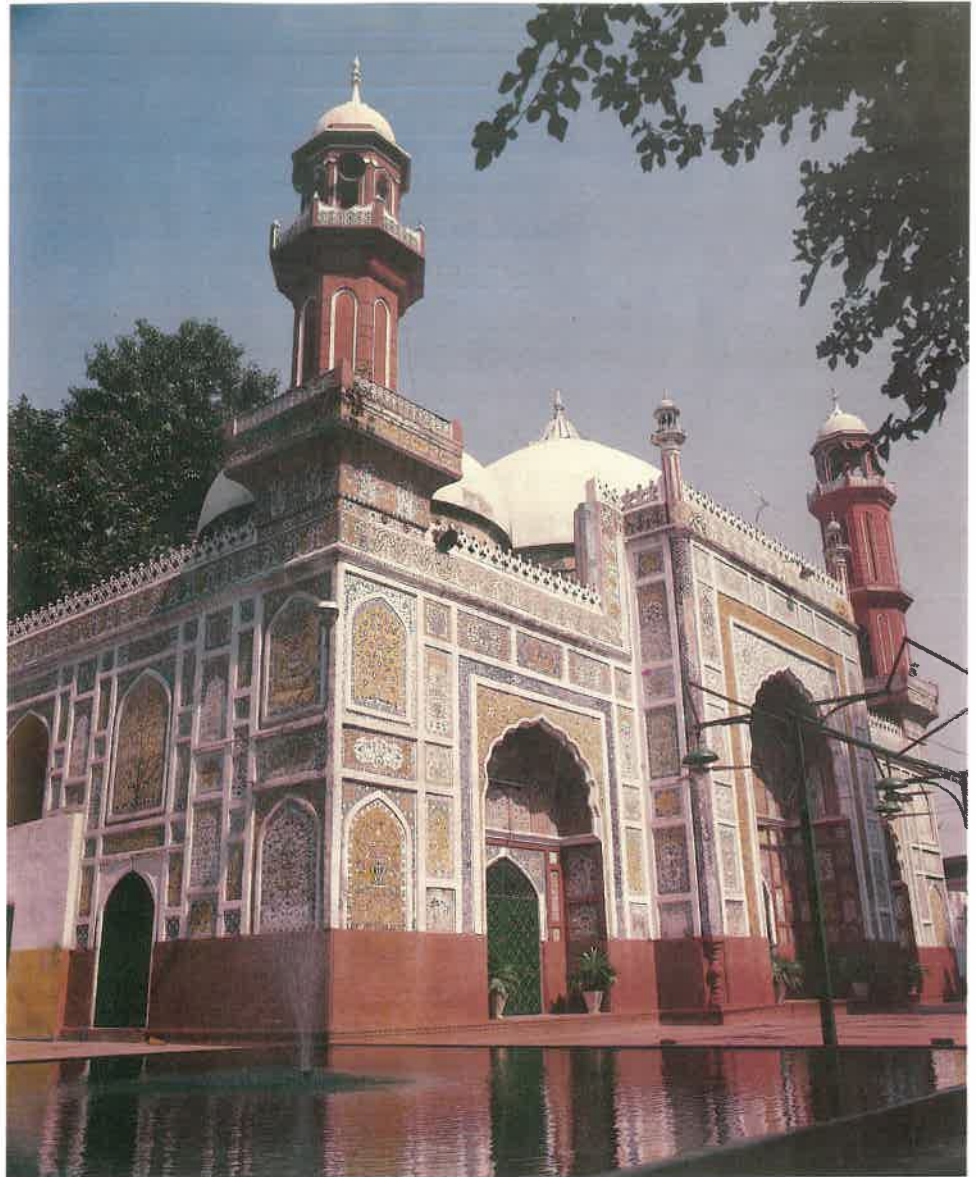


Pl. 51
Shahi Mosque, Chiniot:
Panels of fresco decorations.

on bases and crowned with simple but graceful capitals. They are devoid of carved surfaces. However, they are chiselled finely and have pronounced mouldings. The columns carry cusped arches, the apex of which is 12 ft. 9 in. high from the floor-level. The spandrels of the arches are in stone above which is a *Qalamdani* ceiling 15 ft. 3 in. high from the floor level. The interior of the *aiwan* including the vaulted roof has been treated with fresco painting. The arrangement of the various panels and the designing of the floral patterns are typical of the Moghul period's decoration.

A series of five *hujras* has been provided on the south and the north of the courtyard. All these rooms are of equal size, measuring 9 ft. 4 in. in width and 12 ft. 4 in. to 13 ft. 4 in. in length. The series of the *hujras* also extends towards the east, flanking the entrance vestibule.

No inscription is fixed on any part of the mosque to provide evidence of the name of the builder and date of its construction.



Pl. 52
Dai Anga's Mosque, Lahore:
General view of the Aiwan.

DAI ANGA'S MOSQUE, LAHORE

The grand edifice was created in 1045/1635 by a wet-nurse of the emperor Shahjahan. It has been related that at her old age the wet-nurse got this beautiful mosque built on the eve of her contemplated journey to Makkah for pilgrimage. The building occupies a high place amongst the fairly numerous contemporary examples at Lahore which possess mosaic *Kashi* work, and is the only known specimen where mosaic faience has been used for the interior as well. The prayer chamber, oblong on plan, has been

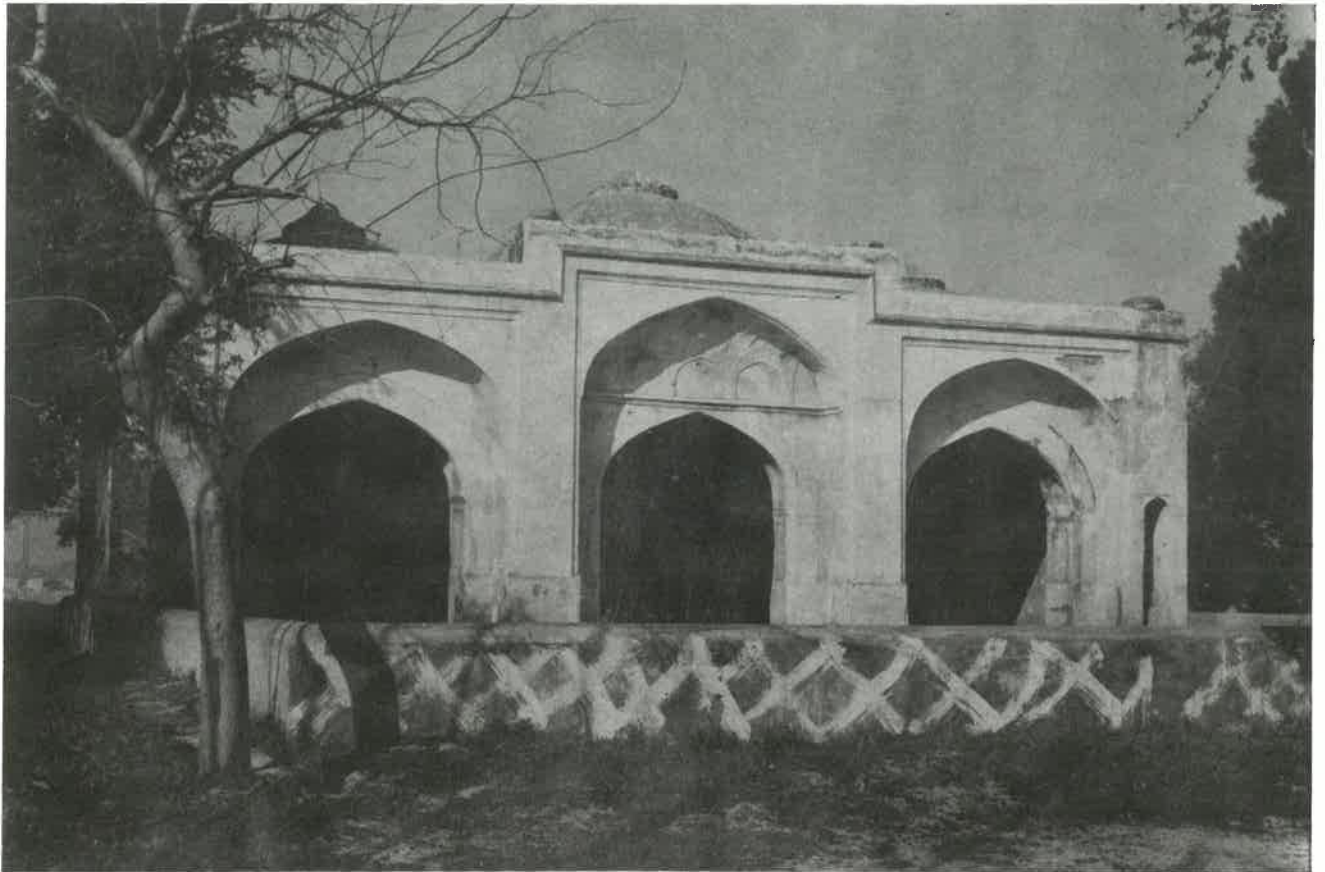
divided into three compartments by means of lateral arches. The central bay or compartment is larger than the others and has been treated exceptionally richly for decoration. The usual arched recess sunk deeply into the western wall serves the purpose of the *Mehrab*. It is crowned, like its flanking counter-parts, with a high double dome placed on squinches composed of eight small arched panels. However, the side bays, less pretentious for decoration, have double domes resting on pendentives. The central compartment has a pronounced projection created by means of an engrailed arch and a half dome, embellished with tiled panels. The projected frame is marked with slender pilasters on either corner, while at the two eastern corners of the prayer chamber are square minarets surmounted with coved platform, on which once rested the kiosk. The exterior surface of the projection as well as the flanking compartments have been divided into numerous decorative panels of various shapes, sizes and designs, and filled with floriated patterns created by means of mosaic *Kashi*. The dominant colours used for the tilery here as well as in the interior panels are blue, orange and yellow. The domes are plastered, but possess pronounced cavettos, reminding of similar treatment at the *Moti Masjid* of Lahore Fort.

The mosque suffered from vandalism during the days of the Sikh ruler, Ranjit Singh (1779–1839) who used it as a military magazine. Later, it was given over to Mr. Henry Cope, an editor of the *Old Lahore Chronicle Newspaper and Press* for his residence, who in turn sold it to the Punjab-Dehli Railway Company for Rs. 12,000. An office of the Traffic Manager, Punjab Northern Railway Station was then created here. In 1903, it was restored to the Muslims in much dilapidated condition. Since then, enthusiastic local people have repaired it frequently, destroying and obliterating its original features almost completely.²⁶

MOSQUE OF MAI LADO, LAHORE

Yet another wet-nurse of Emperor Shahjahan, Mai Lado, built a mosque, now in the neighbourhood of the Mayo Hospital on the old Chamberlain Road of Lahore.²⁷ No date of its construction is recorded. A solid brick construction, its prayer chamber is divided into three compartments by means of lateral arches, having one pronounced bulbous dome crowning

the central bay. The exterior and interior surface is lime plastered with recessed panels. Originally, there was a well in the south-eastern corner of the courtyard, but it was filled up through encroachments during the Sikh period when the mosque was used for profane purpose.²⁸



Pl. 53

*Palosi Piran Mosque, Peshawar:
General view of the Aiwan
from south-east.*

PALOSI PIRAN MOSQUE, PESHAWAR

Yet another mosque of little consequence belonging to this period is located in Palosi Piran at Peshawar adjacent to the tomb of a saint, created in the traditional style with an oblong prayer chamber. The main entrance, the four walls and other essential adjuncts have collapsed but repaired, while the prayer chamber has been whitewashed. Originally, it had been faced with recessed panels of various sizes and shapes created in lime-surkhi plaster. The mosque represents the style developed during the Moghul period at the provincial seat.

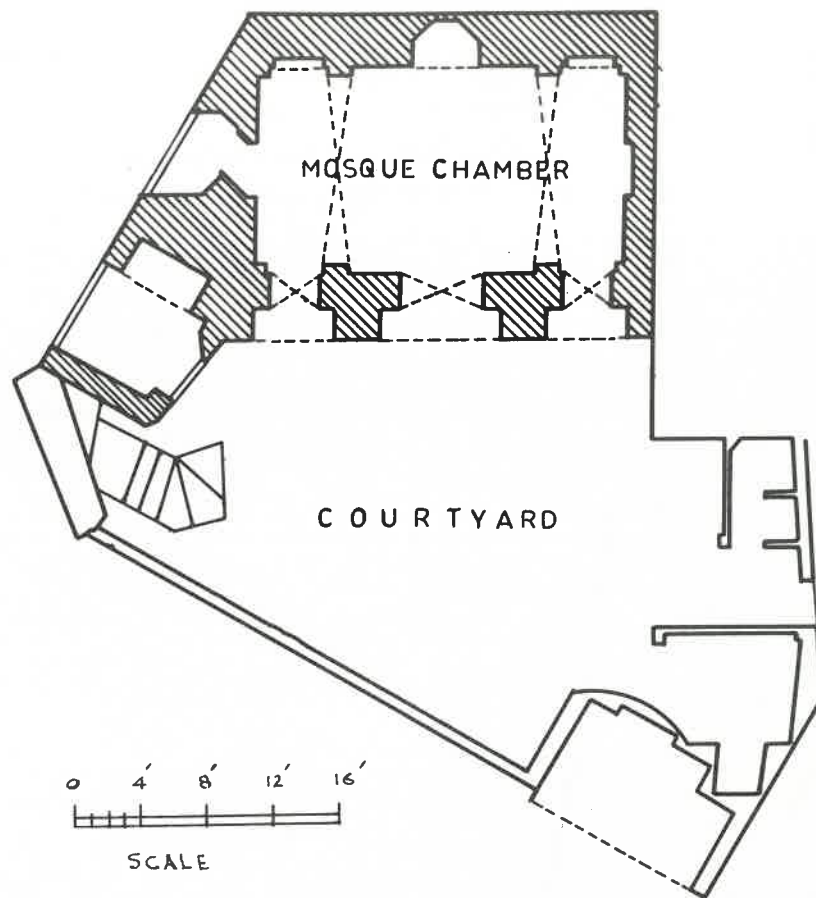


Fig. 29 Mosque of Salih Kanboh, Lahore: Plan.

MOSQUE OF MUHAMMAD SALIH KANBOH, LAHORE

Inside the city gate, named *Mochi Darwaza*, is located a tiny picturesque mosque built in 1079/1668 by Muhammad Salih Kanboh, a court chronicler of Shahjahan, and the author of *'Amal-i-Salih*, a historical account of the same Moghul emperor.²⁹ Now depleted of its past colourful glory, the small structure is built on a high platform in imitation of the Wazir Khan's Mosque, having a cellular construction, now used for stores and shops. The original gateway erected in the shape of a formal vestibule ornamented in glazed tile mosaics has been lost to later modification, while a small opening has been provided in the south-east corner. The original gateway was perhaps in the shape of a small vestibule approached through a flight of steps. The vestibule had an arched opening, the facade of which was decorated with panels of faience mosaics, all created in azure blue on yellow background.



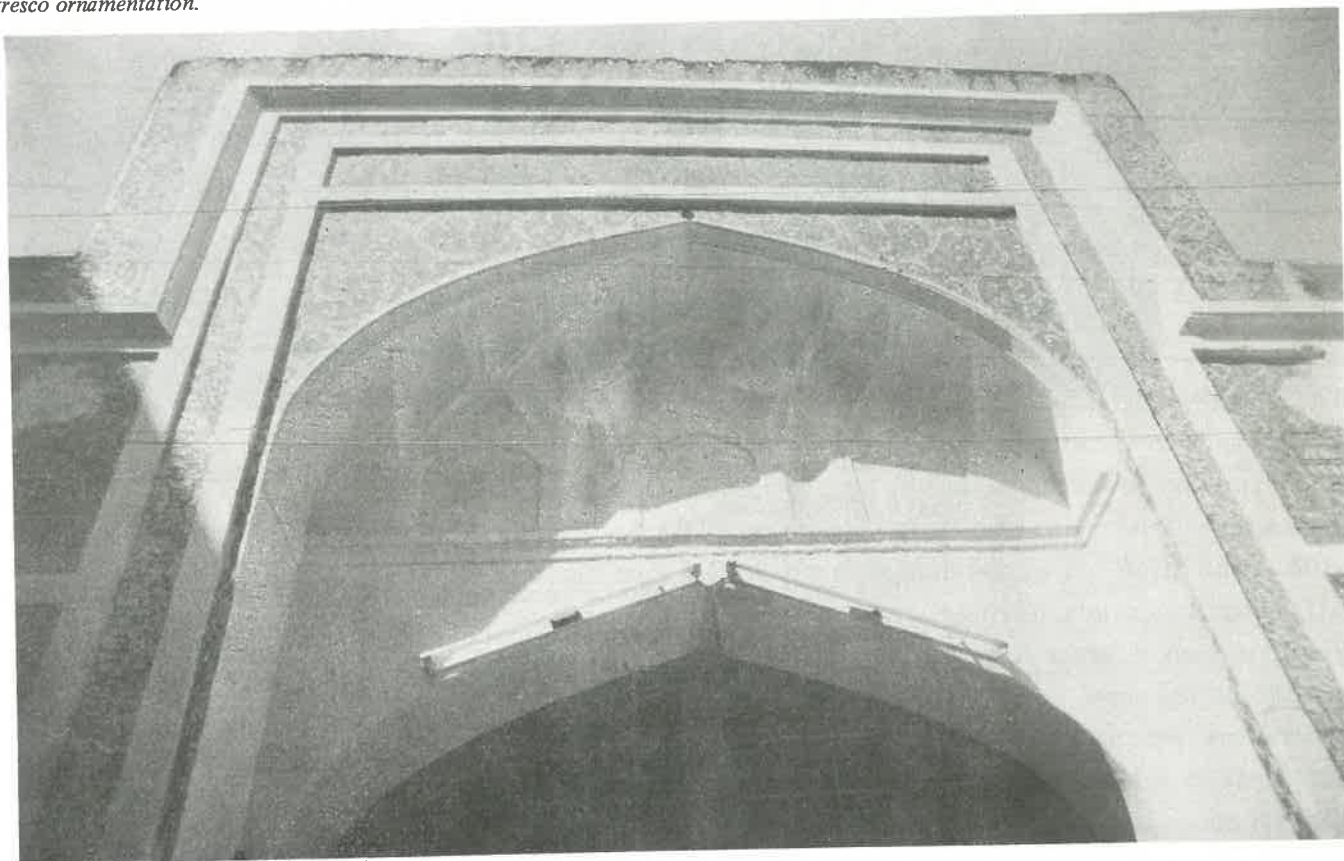
Pl. 54
Mosque Salih Kanboh, Lahore:
General view.

On the other side of the arched openings were placed oriel windows put upon a brick bracket.

The small prayer chamber, rectangular on plan, is of chief interest for its architecture as well as architectural embellishment. Erected on a slightly raised platform distinguished by means of a marble *dasa*, it has, as usual, three bays distinguished by archways. The central oblong compartment is bigger than those flanking it and is roofed by a vault. The *Mehrab* is in the shape of deeply recessed four centred arch ornamented with multi-cusping. The heavy engrailed arches support the bays. The three openings of the chamber are marked by multi-cusped arches, the central one being bigger

than those flanking it, and is roofed by a vault. The *Mehrab* is in the shape of deeply recessed four centred arch ornamented with multi-cusping. The heavy engrailed arches support the bays. The three openings of the chamber are marked by multi-cusped arches, the central one being bigger than those flanking it. Like the mosque of Wazir Khan this small mosque has been ornamented with fresco painting internally and with tile mosaics externally. The whole surface, both within and without, has been divided into various panels of different sizes and shapes for the purpose of creating floral designs or epigraphical patterns, executed both in fresco as well as in faience mosaics. The courtyard of the mosque had brick on edge pavement. In the southern corner was a platform and a small cell having a flat brick vault, while on the north, adjacent to the prayer chamber, is a small house probably to be used as a residence of the Imam. In the low perimeter wall on the north yet another door opening has been provided, perhaps at a later date. In the north-eastern corner was provided a well with a *sabil*.

Pl. 55
Mosque of Salih Kanboh, Lahore:
Panels of fresco ornamentation.



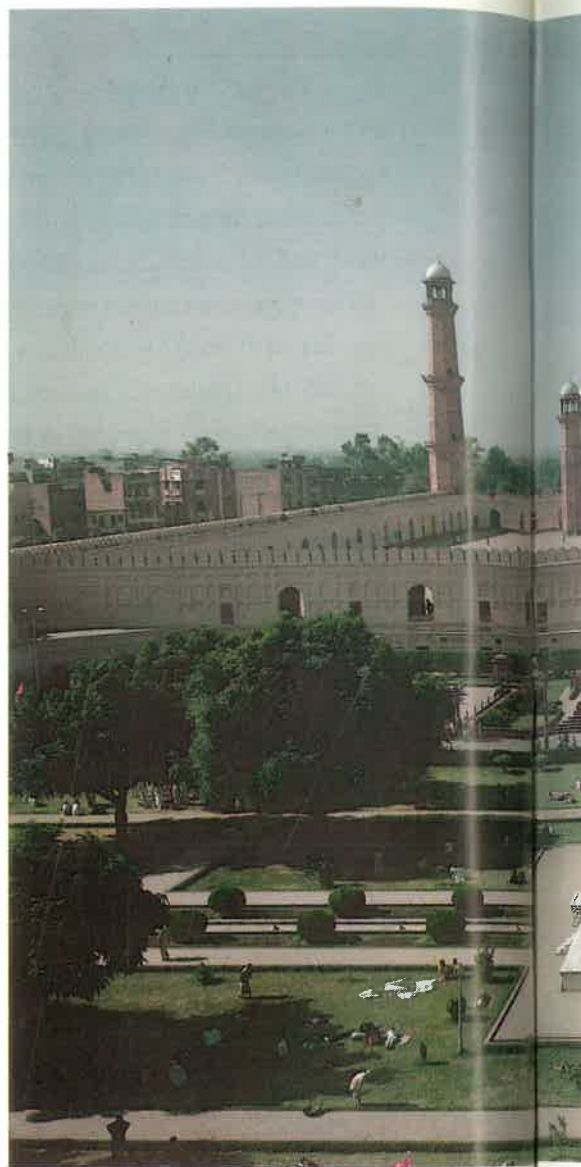
The resourceful builder of the mosque set up a management for its maintenance. He appointed an Imam, Hafiz Abdu'l Rahim Qureshi who was succeeded by his son Hafiz Bhalla, then his son Hafiz Muhammad Bakhsh, then his son Hafiz Rahim Bakhsh and others. The mosque received some repairs during the reign of Sher Singh, son and successor of Ranjit Singh.

It has been stated that the residence of Muhammad Salih Kanboh was in front of the mosque which must have been a fabulous construction. It was in existence until the last decades of the last century, as attested by Nur Ahmad Chishti. Later on, it was occupied by a Hindu trader.³⁰ It has now disappeared.

THE BADSHAHI MOSQUE, LAHORE

Among the few mosques created by the emperor the most famous and the most outstanding is the *Badshahi Masjid* (Imperial Mosque) at Lahore. Created in 1084/1674, it has been rated as one of the biggest houses of prayer throughout the Islamic world, serving as a model for mosque architecture in Pakistan till to-day.³¹

The grand mosque is situated on an eminence, a hundred feet above the surrounding area opposite the majestic Alamgiri Gate of the Lahore Fort. The gateway is approached through a grand stair-case of twenty-two steps possessing the three sides of the platform, 65 ft. by 35 ft., against the portal, is a remarkable spacious building consisting of three storeys and having several pavilions, rooms and corridors. The central archway is crowned with half dome and is augmented with an engrailed arch. The surface has been ornamented with panels of various sizes and shapes created in red sandstone lined with marble. The facade within the upper frame possesses an intricate cartouche of white marble and has a Persian inscription recording details of the construction of the mosque.³² Above the frame is a cavetto moulding on which rests the cresting and, above it, a series of arched openings crowned with a row of eleven cupolas of white marble. Two octagonal slender pilasters rest on lotus base and rise up as high as the crenellation. They are also surmounted with cupolas of white marble. All the panels of the facing are marked in recess with flat borders in relief, and have floral or geometric



Pl. 56
The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
The corner Minar.



Pl. 57
The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
General view from the Hazuri Bagh.



Fig. 30 The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: Persian inscription on the facade of the entrance vestibule.

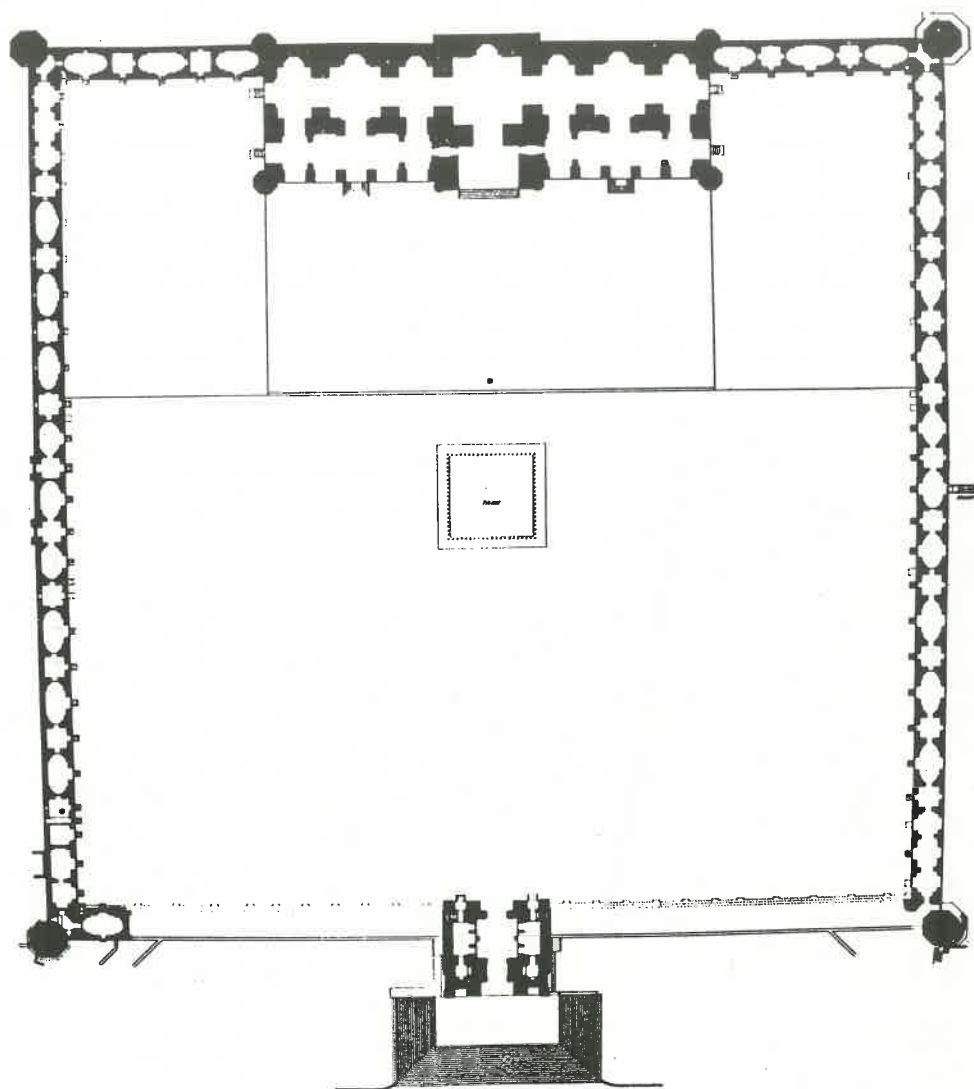


Fig. 31 The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: The Plan.

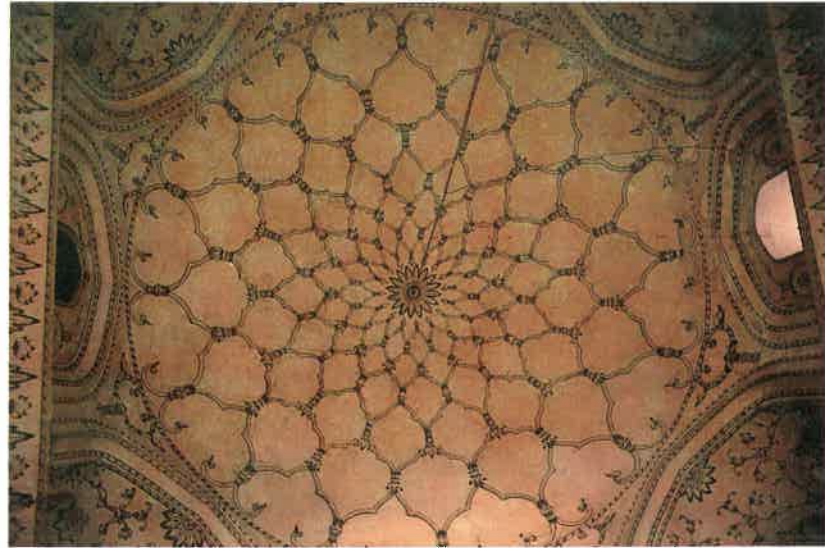
designs carved in relief. The multifoiled engrailed arch created in red stone has a line of white marble following the cusping, while the spandrels possess boldly carved full-blown lotuses in relief, again in marble. The lining on the half-dome consists of oblong arched panels of fresco painting created within flat borders. Flanking the projected archway are oblong panels representing the arched openings placed one upon the other. Similar treatment has been followed on the back of the vestibule, while the sides on the south and the north are treated with shallow panelling of red sandstone. The four corners of the vestibule have square pilasters placed on boldly carved lotus petals, and crowned with cupolas.



Pl. 58
*The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
 Interior of the Aiwan showing
 stucco decoration.*



Pl. 59
*The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
 Interior of the Aiwan showing
 stucco ornamentation.*



Pl. 60
*The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
 Stucco ornamentation on the
 interior and Dome.*

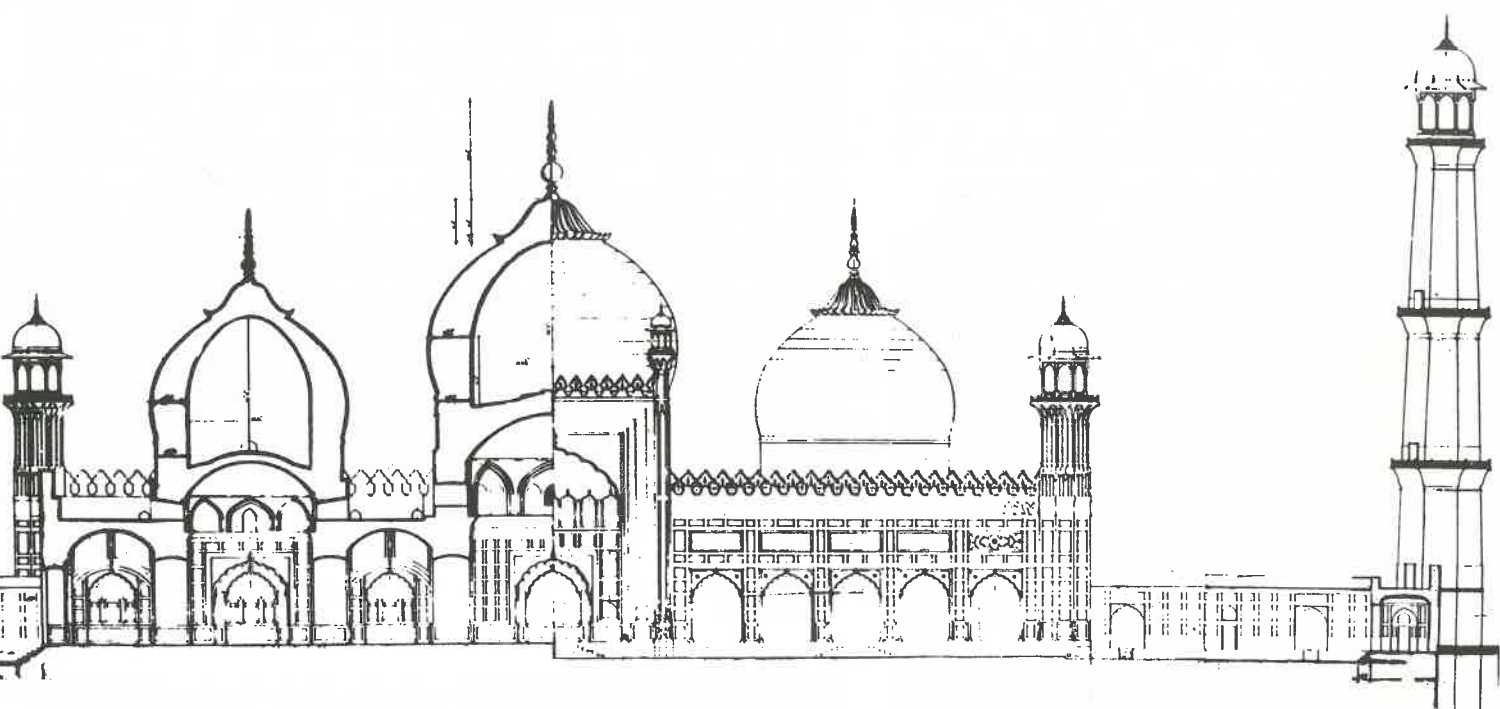


Fig. 32 The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: The Elevation.

The entrance vestibule opens into a vast square-shaped courtyard, measuring 528 ft. 9 in. side, with a square-shaped tank of 50 ft. side for ablution in its centre. It rises about 1½ ft. from the level of the floor, and is about 3 ft. deep. The courtyard had originally brick on edge pavement in the shape of arched rectangles (*musallahs*) marked by black terracotta borders. The arrangement has now been replaced with red stone slabs. The vast courtyard has been divided into two parts: the part on the east is about 6 in. lower to serve for funeral prayer as well. The raised western part, 275 ft. long in front of the prayer chamber, has been given a further height of 6 in. in the shape of a terrace.

The east, south and north of the courtyard have been provided cloisters in the shape of a long row of cells built about 20 ft. high on a 3 ft. high plinth with battlemented parapets. They are 13 ft. wide internally. Regular arched openings have been provided to these cells. The arched openings are approached by flights of steps. The exterior has been lime plastered having recessed panels. They are now being treated with red stone facing.

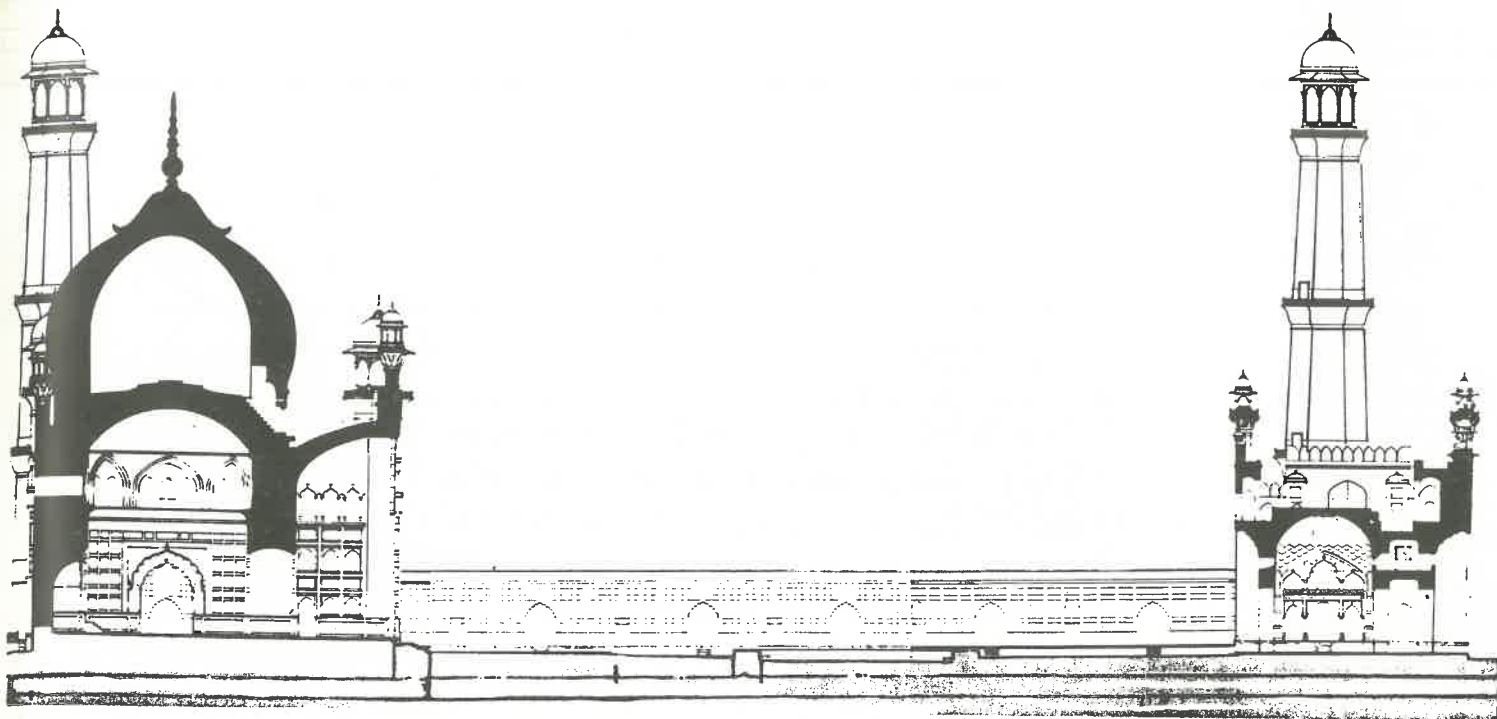


Fig. 33 The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: The Section.

On the west of the courtyard against the western wall is situated the grand and spacious prayer chamber placed on a 5 ft. high podium in the centre of the courtyard. On plan, an oblong measuring 275 ft. 8 in. by 120 ft. 7 in., the prayer chamber has been divided into seven compartments. The central one is bigger than those flanking it and is treated elaborately for surface decoration. The compartments have been separated by means of lateral engrailed arches placed on very heavy jams. There are as many as eleven arched openings on the front, the central one being the biggest and the highest. The projected frame has elaborate floral decoration in bold relief inlay of white marble on red sandstone background. Structurally, it is an oblong frame, about 80 ft. high and 55 ft. wide crowned with a half dome. Two octagonal turrets having coved platforms and domed pavilions are erected at the two corners. Each turret is placed on a double base of a series of acanthus leaves arranged within a moulding. In the centre above the arch is fixed a marble panel on which is inlaid the *Kalima* in Naskh characters in black marble.

The five arched openings on the flanking sides of the main opening have almost identical decorative arrangement on red sandstone. The rectangular

frame of each opening has a multifoiled arch of white marble lining, slender pilasters, eight petal and a boss in the centre, all in high relief. Above is a series of broad friezes.

Internally, the two aisled *Aiwan* has arcaded compartments with vaulted roofing and the domes. The northern and southern sides also have openings leading to the arcaded chambers. The central compartment has the *Mehrab* in the shape of an arched recess in the western wall. Along side, a marble staircase has been provided to serve the purpose of the pulpit. The *Aiwan* is crowned with three bulbous double domes. The central dome is higher than the two flanking it. They are faced with milky white marble slabs, arranged in regular courses. The domes are placed on a zone of transition created by means of corner squinches, while the vaulted bays in between rest on pendentives. The domes are created with proportionate curvature. The four corners of the *Aiwan* are provided with turrets. Octagonal on plan, they are faced with panelled red stone, surmounted with a coved platform which carries a pavilion, while the four corners of the courtyard also possess octagonal minarets, 176 ft. 4 in. high, excluding the pavilion and cupolas, with an outer circumference of 67 ft. In order to obtain symmetry and harmony in general appearance and environment, the over all scheme of surface revetment corresponds to the other minarets and turrets of the mosque. The minarets have three storeys approached through a flight of steps created within the minarets up to the top.

While almost the whole of exterior of this grand mosque has been treated with red sandstone on which bold marble inlay has been created, the interior has been enriched with stucco ornamentation of various colours. The interior of the entrance vestibule has also been treated with decoration in various colours. The designs are particularly interesting on the facade, interior of the dome and the spandrel of the arches. The interior of the central compartment of the *Aiwan* has white marble facing on the arches of the four sides on which rosettes and stylized acanthus leaves have been created.

THE INAUGURATION

The mosque so constructed was inaugurated by the emperor on 12 Rabi u'l -Awwal 1084/27 June 1673 on the occasion of the '*Id-Milad u'n-*

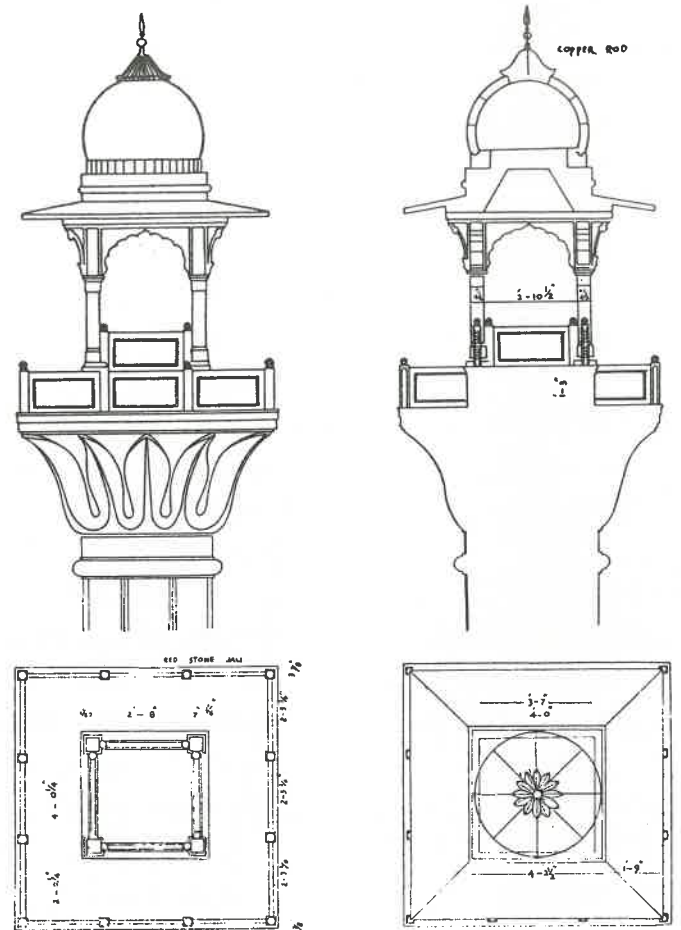


Fig. 34 The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore: The Chattaris.

Nabi. It has been recorded that prior to his departure from Dehli for Lahore, the Emperor sent Rahmat Khan, a senior officer of his court, to make arrangement for imperial visit on this auspicious occasion. Again, the same year, on his return from Hasanabdal, he stayed at the Faiz Bakhsh (Shalamar) and probably came to the Badshahi Mosque for the 'Id u'z-Zuha prayers.³³

VANDALISM, REPAIRS AND RESTORATION

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1118/1707, law and order situation in Lahore became precarious. The Sikhs created havoc with the life and property of the Muslim population of the city. Under these circumstances, the houses of prayers fell prey to these depredations. In 1176/1762, the

Sikhs virtually took over Lahore and parcelled it out into three divisions. They were Lehna Singh, Gujar Singh and Sobha Singh whom history calls the triumvirate Sikh Lords. It was during their rule that the Badshahi Mosuqe was converted into a gun powder magazine. During the long rule of Ranjit Singh, the mosque continued to be used for profane purpose. The Sikh ruler also held his darbar in it and, later, converted it into a powder magazine and a stable. William Moorcroft who visited the Sikh court, records that the mosque 'was turned into a place of exercise for the Sipahi infantry'.³⁴ Such an unnatural and callous use brought a knell of damage and destruction to the various parts of the mosque; its floors were damaged and in the courtyards were grown jungle trees. No Muslim was allowed to enter the mosque for the purpose of offering his prayer there. In 1840 a severe earthquake jolted various parts of the mosque, and the marble domelets of the corner-turrets were shaken, and collapsed. A year later, in January, 1841, Sher Singh, reputed son and successor of the deceased Ranjit Singh, used these domeless turrets for placing his matchlocks to bombard the fort. The turrets were again used for the same purpose by Hira Singh, yet another Sikh contender.

On February 20, 1846, the British army occupied Lahore and, the troops under Henry Lawrence and other officials entered the Huzuri Bagh to occupy the Badshahi Mosque where a cantonment was created. For the purpose of accommodating the personnel, long verandahs were added to the front of the southern and northern *dalans* and windows were improvised at the back, while administrative offices were put up in the *baradari* of Huzuri Bagh. The arrangement continued and, in 1850, we find that the mosque was being used as a powder magazine ordnance store and a silk worms establishment. It has been related that Lt. Glover, an officiating Garrison Engineer, removed some red stone facing and sold it to defray expenses of its repairs. This action was resented by the Muslim population. It was stated that a total sum of rupees one thousand seven hundred and sixty, six annas and four pies were spent on the repair of the facing. This amount also included Rs. 560 realized by the sale of the red stone. To meet the balance, the remaining quantity of the dismantled stone was also to be auctioned. This seems to be the first ever repair of the mosque undertaken by its occupiers, though not in the interest of the mosque itself, but for the

sake of creating comfortable accommodation for the British troops.³⁵ However, the bold enterprise could not meet with British administration's approval, and it was ordered that the left over slabs of red sandstone should not be auctioned. Subsequently, the British army carried out some repairs on the mosque, especially in 1853. Three years later on 11 June 1856, the Badshahi Mosque was restored to the Muslims who were allowed to use it for prayers after the lapse of about a century. The charge of the mosque was made over by Major-General John Clark, then officiating Commissioner of Lahore, to two notable citizens of Lahore, Hakim Sayyid Wali Shah and Sayyid Buzurg who were appointed the custodians of the mosque and a committee of nineteen elite of Lahore was constituted to look after the management of the mosque.³⁶

The mosque so restored to the Muslims was in a very bad state of repairs indeed. The unorthodox use by the Sikhs and the callous additions and alteration by the British ruined its structure and structural decorations. Immediately on its taking over, therefore, the Muslims paid their attention to its proper repair. It has been recorded that in a period of about ten years, the 'native gentlemen of Lahore' collected a sum of Rs. 2313 for its repair, but the sum fell far short of the amount required for the purpose. For the purpose, therefore, the Government was approached, but the request was declined. On this, in 1868, one Muhammad Barkat Ali Khan, a Tehsildar of Lahore, took the decision of levying a nominal tax on grains for the repair of the mosque. However, the action was resented by the poor peasants and the tax was withdrawn. The enthusiastic Tehsildar then invited some influential Muslims of the city and formed a society called Anjuman-i-Islamia in 1869. This Society managed the affairs of the mosque. By this time the mosque became the chief Idgah of the city and a *Khatib* and an *Imam* were appointed. The *Khatib* and *Imam* were Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Bugwi (d. 1318/1900) and Hafiz Waliullah. The Society cleared the old well located in the south-eastern corner for the smooth supply of water. A new wooden door was provided to the main entrance vestibule in 1876 on the eve of the expected visit of the Prince of Wales.

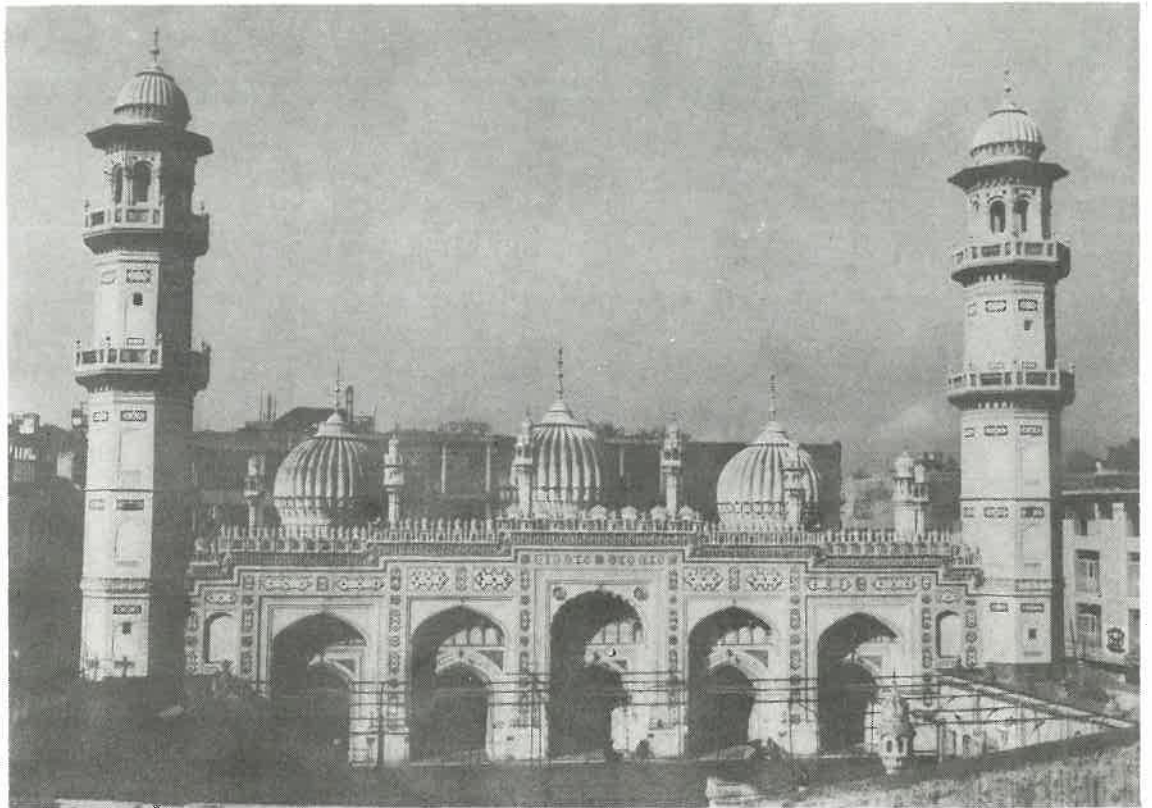
The case was further pursued by the Anjuman and in 1873 a special fund was created jointly by the Punjab Government, the Local Municipal

Committee and the District Board of Lahore. A sum of Rs. 31000 was collected and spent for the repairs under the supervision of Leslie Clark, Municipal Engineer of Lahore. Details of these repairs are not forthcoming except that the brick surface at places was lime plastered in place of decayed and worn out slabs of red sandstone. On 8 March 1913, the mosque was visited by the Begum of Bhopal and noticed its deteriorating condition. She donated Rs. 6000 for the restoration of the floor which was relaid with brick on edge in the shape of the *Musallahs* bordered with black terracotta border.³⁷ The job was undertaken under the supervision and in collaboration with the Archaeological Survey of India, who declared it protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, in 1925. In 1935, a delegation headed by Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal, then Chairman of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, approached Sir H. W. Emerson, then Governor of the Punjab, with a request to help in the repairs of the mosque. However, the governor showed his inability to provide any financial help.

In 1938, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, then Chief Minister of the Punjab, levied a cess of 2 paisas per rupee on the land revenue to be collected from the Muslim agriculturists. This step gave a boost to the source of income to be used for the repairs and maintenance of the mosque. In addition to that, the Government of India contributed a sum of rupees 3 lacs and the Government of Nizam of Hyderabad 2 lacs, besides an annual grant of rupees 3,000 from the Nizam of Hyderabad and of Rs. 400 from the Bhopal State. A Badshahi Mosque Authority was created for the purpose of undertaking complete renovation of the mosque. It was proposed that the work should be undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India, but its Hindu Director General, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, refused to agree with the proposal, and the work was entrusted to the Central Public Works Department. The restoration work was initiated in 1939 which continued until August 1947 when the responsibility was transferred to the Punjab and (for a time) to the West Pakistan Public Works Department upto 1960. A total sum of Rs. 48,91,800 was spent on the project.³⁸

However, the work has continued ever since as a continuous process befitting to the grand National Living Monument which has now become a pride specimen of Islamic architecture in Pakistan. In 1961 the management

of the mosque and its maintenance was taken over by the Auqaf Department of the Government of the Punjab, who created a regular official organization for the purpose. Besides the general works of renovation particularly special illumination of the entire mosque, both interior as well as the exterior, the work of red stone veneering of the exterior of the northern *dalan* was undertaken in 1982 which is still in progress.³⁹



Pl. 61
Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar:
General view.

MAHABAT KHAN'S MOSQUE, PESHAWAR

Of the later days of Aurangzeb, another mosque worth noting is located at Peshawar. Named after its supposed builder, *Mahabat Khan's Mosque* is the biggest mosque of the city.⁴⁰ It is not known when the mosque was created as no epigraphical or literary evidence is available to indicate the fact. Mahabat Khan, however, acted as a governor of the place twice, once during the days of Shahjahan and then during the reign of Aurangzeb. Standing on an eminence, the brick mosque is a rectangle of 185 ft. by 163



ft. and is approached through three raised entrances, one each on the east, south and north. The central open courtyard surrounded by a row of cells on the south and north, and the *aiwan* on the west which is surmounted with three fluted or ribbed domes. On its south-east and north-east corners are placed two minarets with a projected balcony in almost the centre and surmounted by a domed pavilion which rests on a coved platform supported by a series of brackets. The platform is augmented by a railing with screened balustrades. The minarets have been created in three stories and a flight of narrow steps has been provided within its body. Besides, a series of low minarets are created at the suitable place along the parapet, especially at the top of the projected frame of the central arched opening of the *aiwan*. Five arched gateways have been provided to the east of the *aiwan* as opening to its five compartments. The arched openings are surmounted with half domes and engrailed arches. The facing of the chamber has decorative arched panels



Pl. 63
Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar:
Panel of fresco decoration.



Pl. 64
Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar:
Panel of fresco decoration.

divided by means of flat borders. The scheme consists of a flat border running on the sides and top of the recessed arch. The battle-mented parapet is crowned with a series of merlons. The three fluted domes have cavettos at the level of drums and gilded finials.

Internally, the well-devised pendentives have been erected to create the zone of transition which holds the round base of the dome, while the alternate compartments have flat vaultings. The arches dividing the compartments rest on high piers, while each compartment has a deep recessed arch created in the thickness of the western wall to serve the purpose of the *Mehrab*. But, the main central compartment has a much deeper arch for the main *Mehrab*. Almost entire interior surface is filled with panels of various sizes, shapes and designs to decorate them with mural paintings. The ornamentation has been redone during the early days of the present century, most probably according to the original scheme.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Mir Ali Sher Qane (ed. Husam u'd-Din Rashidi) *Makli Nama*, 214 (notes).
2. Nawwab Khusrau Khan Charkas was a great administrator and patron of arts and letters. His contribution to the political and administrative situation during the period of the Tarkhan rule in Sind, especially when the Moghul suzerainty was established there, has been extraordinary. For a detailed account of his life and achievements, see *ibid.* 195 (notes).
3. The facade of the Mehrab and the stone frieze running the sides and the top of the frame have been embellished with carved stone panels having the Quranic inscriptions. The other friezes crowning the top of the square central compartment also have Quranic inscriptions painted in white enamel on blue background (Pl. 27, 28).
4. It appears that the builder of the mosque had made arrangement for its administration and maintenance as well. Contemporary and near-contemporary accounts, however, do not provide details of the *waqf* which might have been created, except that he had appointed a celebrated religious luminary of the period, Sayyid Abu'l Makarim to serve as the *Khatib* and caretaker of the mosque. The personage belonged to a celebrated religious family of Sayyid Ahmad bin Muhammad Abid Mashhadi. For years, he continued to serve the mosque, and died in 1065/1654. The arrangement, however, continued with this family for long. We are informed that Makhdum Muhammad Hashim (d. 1174) regularly gave sermons in the morning of every Friday, which was continued by his son Makhdum Abdu'l Latif and, after him, by his son Makhdum Muhammad Ibrahim. This reference gives an evidence that the mosque continued as an important house of prayer until late 19th century. See *ibid.* 215-216.
5. 'Abd u'l-Baqi Nahawandi (*Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, i, 834) provides details of such a building, its nature, location and function. The *Ibadat Khana* was constructed in 982/1575 at the back of the *Daulat Khana* in the Lahore Fort. Says he.

''در ماه ذی قعدة الحرام سنه اثنین و ثانی و تسعمائة موافق سال بیستم الهی امر عالی نفاذ پیوست که معماران بنر پیشه و بنیانان دقیق اندیشه در جنب دولت خاتنه عالی کاشانته صوفیان و نشیمن بصفا بسازند که بغیر طائفه مساوات رفیع الدراجات و علماء و مشائخ دیگری درانجا نباشد - معماران سبک دست بحکم جهان مطاع نشیمن طرح انداخته مشتمل بر چهار ایوان و درایام معدود باتهام رسانیدند و بعد اتهام آن مقام خجسته فرجام حضرت خاقان گردون غلام درشبهای جمعه و لیالی متبرک در آن نشیمن قدس و کاشانه انس اوقات میمون ساعات را به صحبت ارباب سعادت باحیای شب معروف داشته تاطلوع نیراعظم دران منزل بسر می بروند و چنین مقرر فرموده بودند که در ایوان غربی سادات رضوی ، و در جنوبی علماء ارباب دانش و در شمالی مشایخ و ارباب حال بعد اختلاط و امتزاج نیشند - و جمعی از امراء و مقربان درگاه که ارتباط باریاب فقل واصحاب وجد داشتند در ایوان شرقی نیشند و حضرت خاقان بر چهار مجلس را از افاضل انعام عام بهره مند می گردانیدند -''

6. Henry Cousen, *op. cit.* 157.
7. Abdu'l Qadir Bada'uni, *Muntakhab u't-Tawarikh*, ii, 166.
8. According to a Persian inscription once fixed on the facade of the *Baoli* in the neighbourhood of the mosque, it was erected in 976/1508. It may be assumed that the mosque would have also been erected simultaneously as its necessary adjunct.
9. For a bibliographical sketch of the personage and related problems of her name and titles, see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Maryam Zamani Mosque*, Lahore, 3 ff.
10. The following is the detail of the inscriptions on the mosque:

- (a) Persian inscription within arched panel fixed on the eastern gateway.

مسجد بیگم شاہی
 بمطابق ۱۰۲۰
 شاہ عالمگیر نور الدین محمد بادشاہ
 باد یار درجہان روشن چو نور مہر و ماہ

Begam Shahi Mosque 1020.

May the conqueror of the world, Emperor Nur u'd-Din Muhammad, shine in the world like the Sun and Moon, O Allah.

- (b) Persian inscription executed over the central arched-panel fixed on the northern gateway.

اللہ اکبر
 منت ایزد را کہ آخر گشت کار ازا ابتدی ہم بتوفیق خدا و حکم صاحب مسندی
 حضرت مریم زمانی بانشی هذا المكان کز عنایات الہی ساختہ جای ہدی
 از پئی تاریخ ختم این بنای چون بہشت فکر می کردم کہ آخر یافتہم خوش مسجدی

Allah is the Greatest:

- (i) Allah is to be thanked through whose grace under the auspices of Her Majesty this building was completed.
- (ii) The founder of this edifice, the place of salvation, is the Queen Maryam Zamani.
- (iii) For the date of the completion of this edifice, which resembles Paradise, I was thinking when at last I found it in the words, what a fine mosque! (1020).

The chronogram “خوش مسجدی” (what a fine mosque!) in the second hemistich of the third line, records the date of the completion of the edifice.

- (c) The inscription on the facade of the prayer chamber executed in stucco in bold relief and painted in red, records Quranic verse and the name of the emperor Jahangir:

«ان اول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مبركا وهدى للعلمين» نورالدين محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی

- (d) Among the Quranic inscriptions, the most prominent is executed on the *Mehrab* of the mosque. The *tughra* gives the usual *Ayat al-Kursi*, while at the crown of the arched niche is the *Kalima*. Similarly, all the facades of the niches in other compartments have been decorated with inscriptions of verses from the Qur'an. There is only one saying of the Rasulullah (may peace be upon him) painted on the facade of the second left arch.

11. Cf. Zafar Hasan, 'Moti Masjid, Lahore Fort', in *Proceedings of the Annual Conference of Pakistan Historical Society* (1951-52, 53) 15 ff.
12. Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*.
13. S. M. Latif, *Lahore etc.*
14. Various epigraphs *in situ* relate the story of the completion of the mosque and subsequent addition and alteration.
15. R. E. M. Wheeler, *Five Thousand Years of Pakistan*, 69.
16. Some of the more important inscriptions on the mosque are as under:

- (a) Carved in bold Naskh in low relief and fixed on the facade of the eastern *Aiwan*, it contains verses 27–29 of Surah xiviii. The text has been arranged within a floral borders. The specimen is the work of Sayyid 'Ali b. Sayyid Abdu'l Quddus, and was executed in 1104/1692. The inscription reads:

لقد صدق الله رسوله الرويا مغفرتاً و اجراً عظيماً
كتبه سيد علي بن عبدالقدوس ١١٠٣

- (b) Carved in elegant bold Nasta'liq characters on buff sandstone, the Persian couplet gives the chronogram of the construction of a part of the mosque in 1057/1647. The signed inscription gives the name of the calligraphist, 'Abdu'l Ghafur':

چون ز صاحب قران شاهجهان یافت ترتیب مسجد اعلی
هاتفم گفت سال اتنامش گشت زیبا چو مسجد اقصی ١٠٥٧
مشقه عبدالغفور

- (c) Carved in bold Nasta'liq on buff sandstone and fixed on the facade of the entrance vestibule:

ندیده چشم فلک مسجدی بدین خوبی که آمدند ملایک برای دیدن فیض
بجستم از خرد و عقل سال تعمیرش بدید، کرد اشارت که هست معدن فیض

- (d) Carved in bold Nasta'liq on buff sandstone. The Persian couplet fixed on the facade of eastern *aiwan* recording the year of its construction:

بادشاه	زمانه	شاه	جهان	جامع	تته	دلکشا	پرداخت
مرتفع	جامعی	که	گنبد او	سایه	برقبة	سها	پرداخت
خاصه	بهر	خدای،	ظل خدا	خانه	رحمت	خدا	پرداخت
خوش	جامع	بحکم	شاه جهان	زبدۀ	آل	مصطفی	پرداخت
رضوی	انتساب	میر	جلال	که	وزارت	ازو	پرداخت

گشت	فرشی	که	سنگ آن	زصفا	رشک	جام	جهان	نہا	پر	داخت
سال	تعمیر	آن	دبیر	خرد	فرش	مطبوع	و	دلکشا	پر	داخت

The inscriptions of the Shahjahan's Mosque are of special interest as they provide epigraphical evidence of various stages of its construction, renovation and repairs of various periods. Further, almost all these bear the names of the calligraphers and dates which make them all the more important, rather unique in the history of epigraphy of Pakistan.

For the details of several other Quranic and historical inscriptions carved on stone or painted on glazed tiles and fixed on pertinent spaces of the mosque, see Husam u'd-Din Rashidi; 'The Geography of the City of Thatta' (Sindhi) in *Mehran*, vol. 21, No. 2 (July, August, September, 1972) 97 ff., and *ibid*, vol. 21, No. 4 (October, November, December, 1972) 123 ff.

17. For a brief life sketch and his administrative assignments etc., based on Persian sources, see Abdullah Qureshi, 'Shabab-i-Lahore', in *Nuqush* (Lahore Number) 323 ff.
18. Sir Henry Cole Says: 'The Mosque of Wazir Khan is a magnificent specimen of the tile decoration. It is itself a perfect grammar of coloured ornament, and is one of the most valuable monuments in Lahore. It furnishes nearly as much subject matter for the student of decorative art as the Alhambra itself, and a volume rivalling Owen Jones's work could be produced'. Similarly, Percy Brown remarks: 'In the mosque of Wazir Khan this [tile mosaic] style is represented in its most extensive and colourful mood, for it is a building which is one of the most distinctive features of the Punjab capital'. Sir Mortimer, while discussing the salient features of the mosque, calls it a building of outstanding distinction, not merely in Lahore but in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent. J. L. Kipling says: 'This beautiful building is in itself a school of designing'.
19. Some of the more important inscriptions executed in tile-mosaics are as under:
 - (i) On the facade of the main entrance vestibule on the east in the central panel in Nasta'liq characters:

افضل الذكر لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 درعهد ابر المظفر صاحب قرآن ثانی شاه جهان بادشاه غازی اتمام یافت
 - (ii) On the panel on the north in the same style:

بانی بیت الله ثانی فدوی با خلاص مرید خاص الخاص قدیم الخدمت وزیر خان

این خانه که هست، چون فلک مظهر فیض دارد چو حریم کعبه سردر سر فیض
بر چهره اہل قبلہ این در بمراد تاحشر کشاده باد بمچون در فیض
سال تاریخ بنای مسجد عالی مقام از فرد جستم بگفتا سجده گاہ اہل فضل ۱۰۳۳
تاریخ ابن بنای چو پرسیدم از خرد گفتا بگو کہ بانی مسجد وزیر خان ۱۰۳۳

- (iv) On the right arched panel below the oriel window within a broad double decorative border divided into various friezes, square panels and spandrels all filled with tile mosaic floral and vegetal designs.

دبقان درد و بحشر ای بیک سرشت در مزرعه جهان ہر آن چیز کہ کشت
درباب عمل بنای خیری بگذار کافر ہمہ راہست اندیں درہ بہشت

- (v) On the left arched panel below the oriel window:

محمد عربی کا بروی ہر دوسرا ست ،
کسی کو خاک درش نیست خاک بر سراو

The inscriptions executed in tile mosaic and fresco on the exterior and interior of the *aiwan* of the mosque are mainly Quranic.

20. Urdu version of the inscription carved in Nasta'liq characters is as under :

یہ منبر جناب معلی الالقب لارڈ کرزن آف کڈلسٹن وائسرائے و گورنر جنرل بہادر کشور ہند نے اہنے
لاہور کے پہلے ملاحظہ کی یادگار میں جو انہوں نے اپریل ۱۸۹۹ء میں کیا، مسجد وزیر خان کو
عطا فرمایا

21. The following is the text of the *waqf* deed :

الحمد لله الذي وفق عباده ألا عزاز الباقيات الصالحات والصلوة والسلام على رسوله محمد الذي رغبته البرايا في اتفاق
الطيبات وعلى إله وأصحابه معدون الخيرات ومنافع الحسنات مادام الارض والسموات - أما بعد این ذکر است در بیان آنکہ
وقف کرد و تصدق نمود نیازمند درگاہ صمدی مسمی حکیم علم الدین المخاطب بہ وزیر خان بن شیخ عبداللطیف بن شیخ حسام
الدین انصاری از خالص املاک و اطیب اموال خود فی حال الصحة و کمال العقل و نفاذ جمیع تصرفاتہ طائعہا مکی مسجد
جامع بجمیع توابع و مرافق سیر عتبہ آن و برای دوام این بقعہ شریفہ وقف کرد مصالح مسجد مذکور خود تام دکانین دو رستہ
معه بالا خانہا و کثرا و سرائے کلان و حمام و دو چاہ چرخ و چند قطعہ زمین متفرقہ کہ ہر یک ازین امکنہ مذکورہ معلومہ
الحدود ظاہر علامات است واقع اندرون سلطنت لاہور وقفا صحیحاً لازماً نبتہ تیلہ لا بیاع ولا یؤہب ولا یرهن ولا یمہر ولا یورث
ولا یملک بوجہ من الوجوہ و سبب من الاسباب الی ان یرث الله الارضی و هو خیر الوارثین و جعل اخر الوقف علی الفقراء المسلمین -
و شرط کرد این وقف مذکور کہ داروغگی و تصرف در اوقاف مذکور در عزل و نصب خدمہ مسجد وغیرہ و تقسیم و تعین
مصارف و ازدیا اد آن و عطاء و حرمان ازان نشست و برخاست اہل کرایہ کاکین بدست خود واقف مذکور بالاستقلال مادام
حیاء باشد و بعد ازو بدست ولد صلبی محمد سعید خان بعد او بہ میرزا محمد انور و بعد او بارشد ذکور اولاد او اولاد اولاد
اوبطننا بعد بطن و نسل بعد نسل الی ما توالد ووتنا سلوا و اگر احدی از اولاد نباشد بہ یکی از ذکور اقارب او کذلک - و شرط

کرد نیز امام خطیب مسجد مذکور یک کس باشد اقرء و اعلم احکام الصلوة و موذن عالم وفات و نیز شرط کرد که بیست قطعه کاکین بیرون دروازه شرقی و بالا خانه های آنها محض برائے نشستن صحافان کتب اسلامیہ ہی کرایہ باشد علی سبیل الدوام۔ و نیز شرط کرد کہ در مسجد مذکور برای تعلیم علوم دینیہ و مدرس باشند۔ سبیل اهل خدمات از محصول عملہ اوقاف مذکورہ آنکہ امام و خطیب را یومیہ از یکروپیہ تا ده روپیہ و موذن را چہار آنہ یومیہ یک مدرس را یک روپیہ و ہر کہ از اولاد واقف متصرف وقف مذکور باشد در ہر ماہ ششم حصہ از محصول کرایہ اوقاف گیرد و ہر کسی اقربا باشد نہم حصہ گیرد کذلک و ما بقیہ از خرچ عمارت و اهل خدمہ و مصالح ضروریہ دیگر کالمشرف و الوقاد و الفراش یصرف علی المستحقین فی المسجد و عندالتعینین یصرف علی الخدمہ کماہو الحکم فی المذہب الخنفی کل ذلک قد شرط الواقف فمن بدلہ بعد ما سمعہ فانہ اثمہ علی الذین یبدلونہ فقد حکم ہلزم الوقف المذكور و شرط القاضی النافذ لاحکام الذی زین ہذالوثیقہ۔

بختمة المبارک

تحریر فی غرہ رمضان المبارک الواقع فی سنہ ۱۰۵۱ھ

TRANSLATION:

“Praise be to God who enabled his servants to honour religious edifices, and benedictions and salutations to Muhammad, His Prophet, who persuaded people to spend money on charitable objects, and to his descendants and companions the mine of virtues and the source of good, so long as there is duration to earth and skies.”

Be it known that this is a writing to declare that I, the humble slave of the threshold of God, Hakim Ilm-u'd-Din, alias Wazir Khan, son of Sheikh Abd u'l Latif, son of Shaikh Hisam u'd-Din, Ansari, have, while in full possession of my health and senses, and the enjoyment of my property, and all the privileges pertaining thereto, out of property exclusively owned and best earned by me, dedicated to pious uses the Chief Mosque, situated in the Lahore city, with all its lawful accessories and appendages;

And that in order to give permanency to this sacred Institution, I have endowed for its expenses all the shops situated on both sides of the road, together with the upper storeys, habitable quarters, the large serai, bath, two wells worked with Persian wheels and several miscellaneous plots of ground, each of these properties just mentioned having known boundaries and manifest marks.

The legacy is valid, binding certain, and imperative; it is not subject to sale, mortgage or dower; it is un-inheritable and is under no circumstance or cause to become the property of any one until the day when God shall assume heritage of all lands, for He is the best of the inheritors; and this is my final endowment to poor Musalmans.

And the conditions in regard to the legacy before mentioned are these: The control and charge of the endowments, the dismissal and appointment of the servants of the mosque, the disbursement and the apportionment of expenses, the increases therein and investments and divestments relating thereto, the location and ejectment of the tenants of the shop, will permanently for life be in the hands of the testator himself. After him the power shall rest with one of his lineal descendants, and Muhammad Sa'id Khan, after whom it shall rest with Mirza Muhammad Anwar; after him with the ablest of his male descendants and the descendants of that descendant, progeny after progeny, and generation after generation; so long as their off-spring shall

last. Should none be left of his male descendants, then the power shall rest with his nearest of kin, in the order already mentioned.

Further, it is provided that there shall be one *Imam* and preacher to the mosque, thoroughly skilled in the art of reading, and familiar with the rules of prayer, and one *Mu'azzin* (public crier to prayers) who must be fully conversant with the death ceremonies.

Further, it is laid down that twenty shops outside the eastern gateway, together with their upper storeys, shall be for the exclusive use of the book-binders and book-sellers of the books of Islam, free of rent in perpetuity.

Further, it is covenanted that there shall be two teachers for the said mosque for the purpose of giving instruction in theology.

The following are the provisions regarding the remuneration of the establishment attached to the endowment. The *Imam* and preacher to receive from one rupee to ten rupees per diem; the public crier to prayers four annas a day; each teacher one rupee.

Any one of the descendants of the testator incharge of the legacy aforesaid, shall receive each month one-sixth of the income of the endowed property; and any one of his near relations who may be incharge shall receive a ninth share of the same and the share shall decrease according to the remoteness of consanguinity.

And whatever shall remain after defraying the expenses of building, the servants of the mosque and other necessary expenses; shall be spent in maintaining guests, providing for the carrier of fire wood (for baths), and the chamberlain and other rightful persons attached to the mosque.

And in appointing the servants of the mosque, the Law of the Hanafi sect shall be taken as a guide.

And the rules above detailed have been framed by the testator himself. Any one who attempts to make a change in them after he has once heard them, shall be deemed a transgressor. This legacy has a binding force; and whatever I have herein written is attested as binding by the *Qazi* of the time, who has put his sacred seal on it in confirmation of the same.

“Written on the first date of the holy Ramazan, in 1051 (1611 A.D.) of the sacred Hijri era”.

22. The above text does not include these details, which have been recorded by Abdullah Qureshi, *op. cit.* 552 ff. He also cites the *saja* of Wazir Khan's seal whose impression reads:

زلف شاه جهان بادشاه بنده نواز
وزیر خان به جهان جاو دان بود ممتاز

23. Chandar Bhan Brahman's statement cited by the above writer is apt to quote here in *extenso*:

کتاب بی شمار از عربی و فارسی و دیگر نسخه های معتبر از تواریخ و مثنوی و دواوین متقدمین و نوشته جات خوش نویسان روزگار و سائیز آمدت و ادوات مشق او بر قسم و برجس بغرض خرید و فروخت می آید - چو آزادی مکتب نشانیان مخصوص

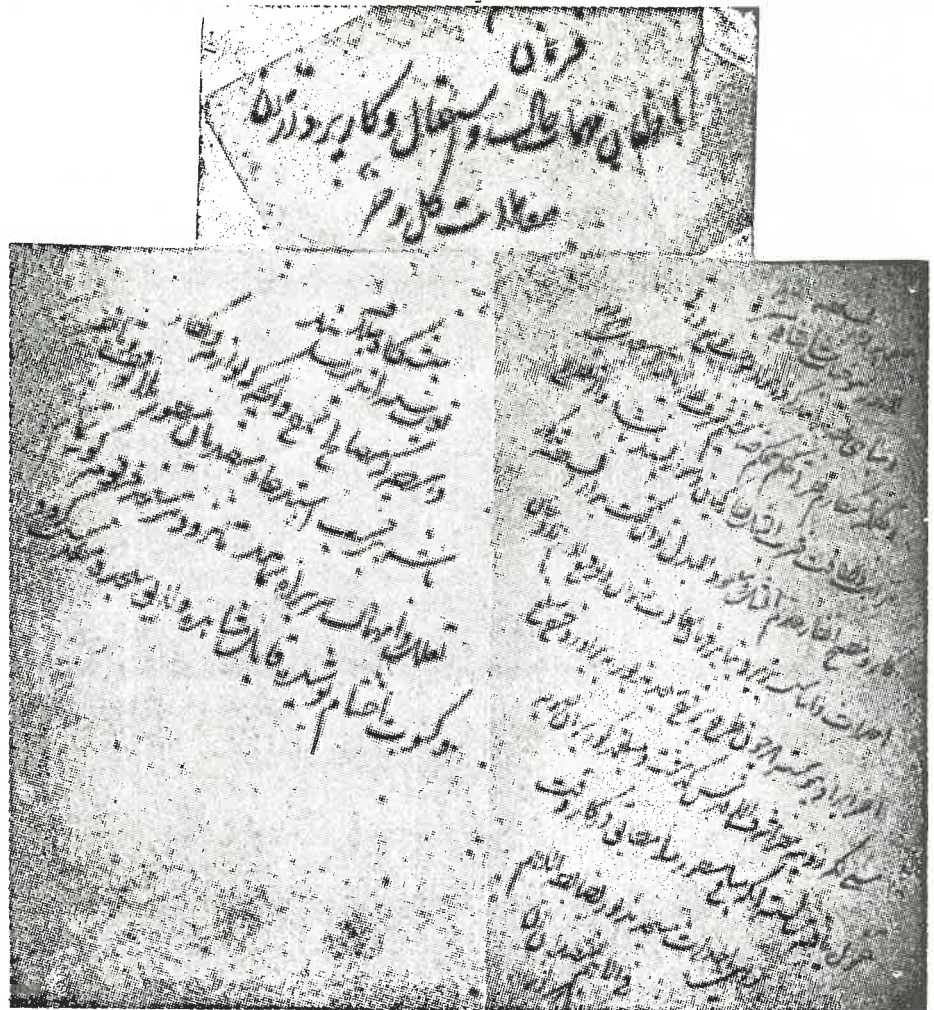
این روز (جمعه) است - از هر کوچه و بر کوئی جوانان نورسیده بیاض در دست و گل بر سر بمقتضای عهد شباب خرامان خرامان به سیر بازار کتاب می آیند (چهار چمن قلمی ورق ۴۰)

24. An integral part of this mosque as well as of the Sarai was the *Hammam* located on the east of the *chauk* beyond the entrance gateway of the complex, now popularly known as Chitta Gate. A single storey imposing edifice covering an area of about 1110 sft., consists of two blocks - northern and southern - separated by means of a passage. The northern block is an octagonal room crowned with a low dome placed on an octagonal drum. Each side of the drum has a rectangular opening, while the apex of the dome has also been kept open for allowing light and air. A bathing pool has been provided in the centre of the hall. Four arched entrances have been provided in alternate sides, while the other sides possess arched recesses. A series of three rooms have been provided on the South and North of the main octagonal room. The passage in between the two main blocks created in the shape of a long corridor and is divided into rooms of various dimensions. Similarly, the other block has a series of rooms connected with arched entrances and corridors. The *Hammam* is indeed a big complex having all the comforts and amenities of bathing according to those days standards.
25. The mosque is commonly attributed to Sa'du'llah Khan, an influential noble and a Prime Minister of Shahjahan. However, for a discussion on the point see A. S. Bazmi Ansari, 'Ahwal-u-Asar-i-Allami Sa'du'llah Khan. (Urdu) in *Jour. Res. Soci. Pakistan*, vol. xii, No. 3 (July, 1975) 89 ff. who attempts to attribute the construction of the mosque to Wazir Khan.
26. Cf. S. M. Latif, *op. cit.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. The original structure of this mosque has been completely changed through thoughtless additions, alterations and renovation. It is only the brick core of the *Aiwan* which is left intact, though treated with cement plaster, both externally as well as internally.
29. For a bibliographical account of this noble see '*Amal-i-Saleh*'.
30. Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*.
31. According to the inference of Abdullah Chaghtai (*The Badshahi Masjid. History and Architecture, ii*) based on a *farman* issued by the Emperor Aurangzeb, the mosque was constructed at a cost of 30 lakh of rupees. The *farman*, as copied by the above author, runs as follows:

ناظران مهیات حال و استقبال و کار پردازان معاملات کل و جزو صوبه دارالسلطنه لاهور بتوجهات شهنشاهی متبشره و میاهی بوده بدانند که درینولا بموجب توسیع ذاتی و تکمله مکارم فطرتی حکم محکم قضا شسیم شرف نفاد یافته که مسجدی که در نزاهت و لطافت ضرب المثل نظار گیان دشوار پسند باشد و از مطرح کار و مطمع انتظار عذیم المثل و مفقود البذل توان گفت ، بدارالسلطنه مذکور احداث و اساس پذیرد - بنا بر فرمان سعادت عنوان و توقیع لازم الاذعان بعز ایراد پیوسته که چون طرح برخرج مسجد مزبور به بر آورد خرج مبلغ سی لک روپیه بنظر اشرف الاقدس گذشته و مبلغ مذکور بر آن صوبه تنخواه یافته شائسته آنکه مبلغ مسطور را مطابق درکار وقت برای احداث مسجد مزبور بضابطه الاهم فی الاهم بمتصدیان ان که پیشگاه خلافت تعیین شده اند رسانند و هرچه که مصالح خرج و آنچه که لوازمه بکار باشد بر حسب استدعای متصدیان مسطور بلاتوق و تاخیر و تعطیل پوشیده قابل مشاهده ولاتق سجده مقدس گردد -

“Let the present and future Administrative Officers, the Superior Officials and their subordinates of the Imperial Capital of the Province of Lahore, proudly receiving the glad tidings of Imperial favours, know that recently His Imperial Majesty the King has been pleased, by Virtue of his personal magnanimity and perfection of moral excellence, to issue orders, hereby, firm like Fate, that a Mosque, such as would become proverbial in its exhilarating and purifying appeal, among spectators of good taste, and may be acclaimed as unprecedented and unparalleled, both in its architectural design and its visible aspects, be founded and built in the said Imperial Capital. On the basis of the auspicious Royal command and sovereign orders, it has also been ordained that as the implementation of the pleasing design of the proposed mosque, the most exalted and pious, as approved by His Majesty, has been estimated to cost thirty lakhs of rupees, and that the said amount has been allocated out of the revenues of the Province, it is desired that the said amount for the construction of the mosque be disbursed according to the requirements of the job from time to time, through those incharge of the construction, as appointed by the Imperial Court, and that whatever is necessary in regard to the categories of expenditure and related requirements should be arranged for according to the demands made by the said officers incharge of the task, without any delay, procrastination, daliance or excuse, so that the proposed mosque may assume its final shape and form of completion, thus becoming visitable and fit for offering holy prayers, as soon as possible’.

The *Farman* conforms, to a great extent, to the style and diction of the official correspondence of the Secretariat of the Imperial Mughals, especially to the period of the later Mughals. However, its genuineness could very well be doubted on the ground that the facsimile reproduced by the author is not only defective but is also incomplete. The text of the *Farman* is in three different hands, especially the title, and the text which is apparently transcribed on two pages. The catch word at the tail of the first page is *که از*, while the beginning word of the second page is *پیش گاه خلافت*, which is apparently the continuation of some other page. The handwriting of the three pages so pieced together also varies and do not tally with each other. Again, the so-called royal *Farman* comes to an end rather abruptly; it does not give, as usual, the date and place of the issue. The reference to the manuscript copy of the compilation said to have been in possession of the author, too, is faulty, rather doubtful and does not conform to the general practice of serious research. It does not give the title of the compilation, nor the name of its author or compiler, nor the *actual* number of the *folios* the manuscript consisted. Similarly, the date or at least the period of its transcription, the beginning and ending lines of the manuscript as to whether it was the only copy in his possession, or there were copies available in the collections of other national or international libraries or museums. All these facts make the reproduction doubtful, rather fictitious. It apparently looks that the author did not perhaps possess the full length manuscript. At best, he might have had some stray *folios* of some compilation having disjointed text which he tried to piece together to produce the above text. The text and the conclusions drawn by him are, therefore, untenable and unreliable. Further, the author maintains that the *Farman* was issued to ‘Khalil Khan, the Governor of Lahore’, which is again incorrect as the epigraphical evidence proves beyond doubt that the mosque was constructed under the superintendence of Fidai Khan Koka who was then governor of Lahore. It is pertinent to note here that Khalilullah Khan who served as governor of the Punjab (and not Khalil Khan as mentioned by Dr. Chaghtai) died a natural death on 2nd Rajab 1072/21st February 1662, long before the commencement of the construction of the Badshahi Mosque (Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgirnama*, 661-62; Musta‘id Khan, *Ma‘asir-i-Alamgiri*, 38). Again the statement of the author ‘before the construction of the Badshahi Mosque no other



Pl. 65
The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
Facsimile of the farman.

mosque had been built at Lahore by the state for public', is historically unfounded because we know that the Queen Mother of Jahangir built the Begum Shahi Mosque, while Jahangir himself erected the Idgah-i-Jahangiri, and Shahjahan renovated completely the mosque, in the *Akbari Sarai* in the forecourt of Jahangir's mausoleum. Therefore, several important imperial mosques existed at Lahore before the erection of the Badshahi Mosque.

32. The ornate cartouche carved on the chaste white marble in Naskh and Nasta'liq characters records that the mosque was constructed under the superintendence of Fidai Khan Koka who at this time, served as a governor of Lahore. According to the statement of Shah Nawaz Khan (*Ma'asir u'l-Umara* iii, 247 ff) his real name was Muzaffar Husain, and he was the elder brother of Khan Jahan Kokaltash. He entered the imperial service under Shahjahan as the *Darogha* of the Court of Justice. Later, he was promoted and sent to the court of Adil Shah of Bijapur as an Ambassador. In the thirty-first regnal year of Shahjahan, he was awarded the title of Fidai Khan. He joined the camp of Aurangzeb during the war of succession which was fought

between the four sons of Shahjahan. In 1062/1671 (thirteenth regnal year of Aurangzeb) Fidai Khan was appointed governor of Lahore, and served in that capacity until 1086/1676. Between these years the Badshahi Mosque was constructed under his supervision, as recorded in the inscription, which says:

۱۔ لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
 ۲۔ مسجد ابوظفر محی الدین محمد عالمگیر بادشاہ غازی سنہ ہزار و ہشتاد و چہار ہجری اتہام یافت۔
 ۳۔ باہتمام کمترین خانہ زاد فدائیکان کوکہ

- (i) There is no god but Allah and Muhammad (peace be upon him) is his Rasul (Messenger).
 - (ii) The Mosque of the victorious and valiant Emperor Muhy u'd-Din Muhammad Alamgir was constructed and completed in 1084/1674.
 - (iii) Under the superintendence of the humble servant of the imperial household, Fidai Khan Koka (foster brother). (Fig. 30).
33. Cf. Musta'id Khan (Muhammad Saqi) *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri*, 89 ff. Abdullah Chaghtai's assertion that the 'Id prayers were led by Maulana Abdullah son of Mulla Abd u'l-Hakim Sialkoti is only presumptuous as no contemporary or near-contemporary historian has mentioned this fact.
 34. William Moorcraft, *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab*, i, 91 ff.
 35. Record of these details is available in the old files of the archives of the Punjab Civil Secretariat. Rs. 560 is quite a big sum judging from those days standards, and the quantity of stone thus removed must have substantially been large. Although we are not specifically told of the actual spot from where the stone veneering was removed, yet modern restorers maintain that the sport must have been the front of these *Dalans*.
 36. For details based on the archival record, see Abdullah Chaghtai, *The Badshahi Masjid*, 39 ff; Inamullah Khan, *Badshahi Masjid, Lahore*, 26 ff.
 37. *Ibid*, 46. His statement that the border was of black stone is incorrect.
 38. Inamullah Khan, *op. cit.*, The magnitude of the restoration work carried out could be realized from the following details of the state of preservation of the mosque at the time of undertaking the repair:—
 - (i) The red sandstone facing of the four high corner minars was all loose and at places even missing and there were no marble cupolas. Many stones of their winding stair-cases were also decayed. The marble cupolas of the corner minarets of the main prayer chamber and some of its guldastas were also missing.
 - (ii) The marble facing of the three domes was loose and decayed and allowed percolation of water.

- (iii) The brick floor of the vast courtyard was broken, decayed and missing in patches.
- (iv) The entire enclosure wall on its exterior has lost its plaster which in itself was a later repair done in place of the original red sandstone facing.
- (v) The red sandstone facing of the entrance gate on its west-north and south facades was missing and that on east was decayed and loose.
- (vi) The marble cupolas of the corner square minarets of the entrance gate were missing and these minarets specially those on west were out of plumb. There were no guldastas on its west front.
- (vii) The row of dalans on the east was altogether missing and the basement hujras were also in a ruinous condition.
- (viii) The plaster on the exterior and interior of surrounding *dalans* was badly decayed and disfigured.
- (ix) The terraced roof of the main prayer chamber and surrounding *dalans* was decayed and leaked. The red sandstone covering of its east, north and south facades was decayed in patches and the red sandstone soffit of its graceful high central vault badly affected by damp and therefore disfigured and decomposed.
- (x) The central tank was deprived of its original decorations and was shabbily finished in cement.
- (xi) Most of the wooden doors were missing.
- (xii) The precincts on the west were totally neglected and those on south, north and east were not properly maintained.
- (xiii) The frescoes of the vaults of the main gate and some of the main prayer chamber had faded and affected by damp.
- (xiv) The three sided flight of steps leading to the entrance gate and the red sandstone floor of the platform were all decayed and broken at places.
- (xv) There was no permanent arrangement of water supply of the mosque of its own. Either the Public Health or the Archaeological Department supplied the required quantity of water from their respective Tube-wells.
- (xvi) There was only a purely temporary arrangement of electric supply and that too in the main prayer chamber. There were no fans and only a temporary arrangement of loud-speakers existed.

The Central Public Works Department, Government of India started the repairs in 1930 and continued to carry it out till the creation of Pakistan in 1947. This agency did the repairs and restoration of following parts of the mosque:—

- (a) Main prayer chamber including repairs to the three main domes, all its three facades but excluding its flooring, provision of light, fans and loud-speakers and repairs to the central vault which works were carried out by the West Pakistan Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads, during the period from 1958–60 A.D.
- (b) Thorough repairs to the four corner minars including their red sandstone facing.
- (c) Paving the vast courtyard with red sandstone slabs.
- (d) Plaster on the exterior of the enclosure wall all-round except on the east.

After the Independence the work was inherited by Pakistan Public Works Department and they continued to carry out the same from 14th October 1947 to 1951 and did the following items of repairs:—

- (i) Plaster of the interior of the dalans on west, south and north.
- (ii) Laid partly the red sandstone flooring in the dalans in (i) above.

The Punjab Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads and its successor West Pakistan Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads were incharge of repairs from 1951 to date. They did the rest of the work which consists of the following items:—

- (i) Thorough repairs to the three sided flight of steps and the Entrance Gate on the east. The entrance gateway had the red sandstone facing only on the east facade and the rest was in plaster. The facing on the east was also decayed, hence the red sandstone veneer was restored on all its four sides.
- (ii) The entire layout of the holy relics room in the first floor of main entrance gate. The entire decayed plaster of the interior is replaced by the fine glazed plaster; the floor paved with marble: wall niched show-cases with plate glass shelves and concealed lights provided for exhibiting the relics and the rooms furnished with tasteful Pakistan-made carpets. Electric light and fans are also provided.
- (iii) Thorough repairs to the basement hujras in east including plaster in the interior and exterior, roof, flooring and wooden doors.
- (iv) Reconstruction of the row of dalans on east which was demolished by the British in 1856 A.D. and converting the same into men's ablution chamber with glazed interior plaster, marble floor dado and seats, taps, concealed electric fittings and arrangement for drinking water complete in all respects.
- (v) Provision of ladies ablution chamber, cloak room, complete with light and fans in the southern row of dalans. Flush sanitary closets are also provided therein.
- (vi) Sanitary fittings for gents — New flush sanitary fittings have been provided for gents outside the mosque but close to its north-east corner.

- (vii) Replastering of inner facade of dalans on north, south, east and west.
- (viii) Completion of the floor of dalans on north, south and east remaining work.
- (ix) Marble and sang-e-abri flooring of the entire main prayer chamber.
- (x) Renovation of Central tank including marble platform, the marble jali railing and the marble fountain.
- (xi) Provision of complete light and sound arrangement with concealed wiring together with specially made pedestal fans and loud-speakers, the former provided only in the main prayer chamber.
- (xii) Flood lighting arrangement of the mosque.
- (xiii) Thorough repairs of the precincts on north, south, east and west.
- (xiv) Provision of tube-well, overhead tank and all internal water-supply in the mosque.
- (xv) Provision of disposal of sewerage and sullage.

Out of the entire sum of Rs. 48,91,880/- incurred on repairs, and restoration of the mosque, the Central Public Works Department, Government of India, and Pakistan Public Works Department, Government of Pakistan, spent Rs. 16,60,614/- during the period from 1939–1951. The balance of expenditure of Rs. 32,31,266/- was incurred by the Punjab Public Works Department, Buildings and Roads (during the period) from 1951 to 1960 A.D.

MATERIALS used in repairs, from 1939 to 1960. The following materials were used in the repairs. The place from where they were obtained are also mentioned:—

- (1) Red Sandstone — This was entirely imported from Bansi Paharpur, India.
- (2) Marble — All marble was imported from Makrana, Rajputana, India except the marble used in the Central tank and partly in the new ablution chambers in the eastern row of dalans which was obtained from Sawabi, in Mardan district.
- (3) Abri — This was procured from the quarry near village Kawan, District Campbellpur about 5 miles south-west of Lawrencepur Railway Station, North-Western Railway.
- (4) Country Bricks — These were locally manufactured.
- (5) Cement — From Dandot and Wah Cement Factory.
- (6) Kankar Lime — From Kasur, District Lahore.

Below are detailed the approximate quantities of materials used and the rates at which they have been purchased:—

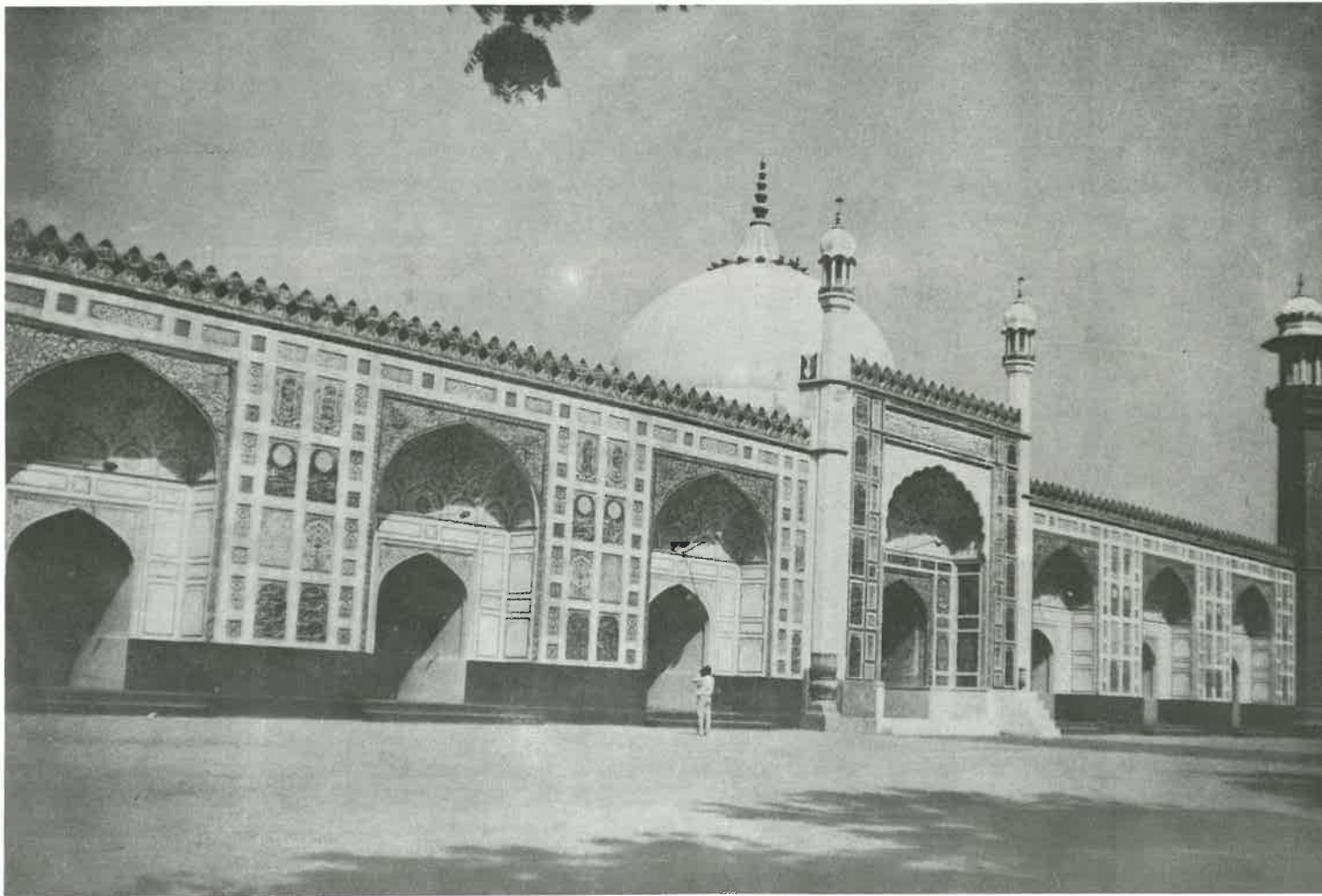
S. No.	Name of Material	Approximate Quantity	Cost per unit
			Rs.
1.	Marble	18,000 cft.	50 cft.
2.	Red sandstone	90,000 cft.	16 cft.
3.	Abri Stone	2,400 cft.	30 cft.
4.	Brick Tiles	5,80,000 Nos.	60 per %
5.	Cement	8,000 bags	6 bags
6.	Gold for gilding	200 tolas	110 tolas
7.	Bricks	60,000 Nos.	45 per %
8.	Copper	60 mds.	

39. The work was planned by Mr. Waliullah Khan, and is now being executed under the direction of the author of this monograph.

40. A.H. Dani, *Peshawar*.

Chapter Four:

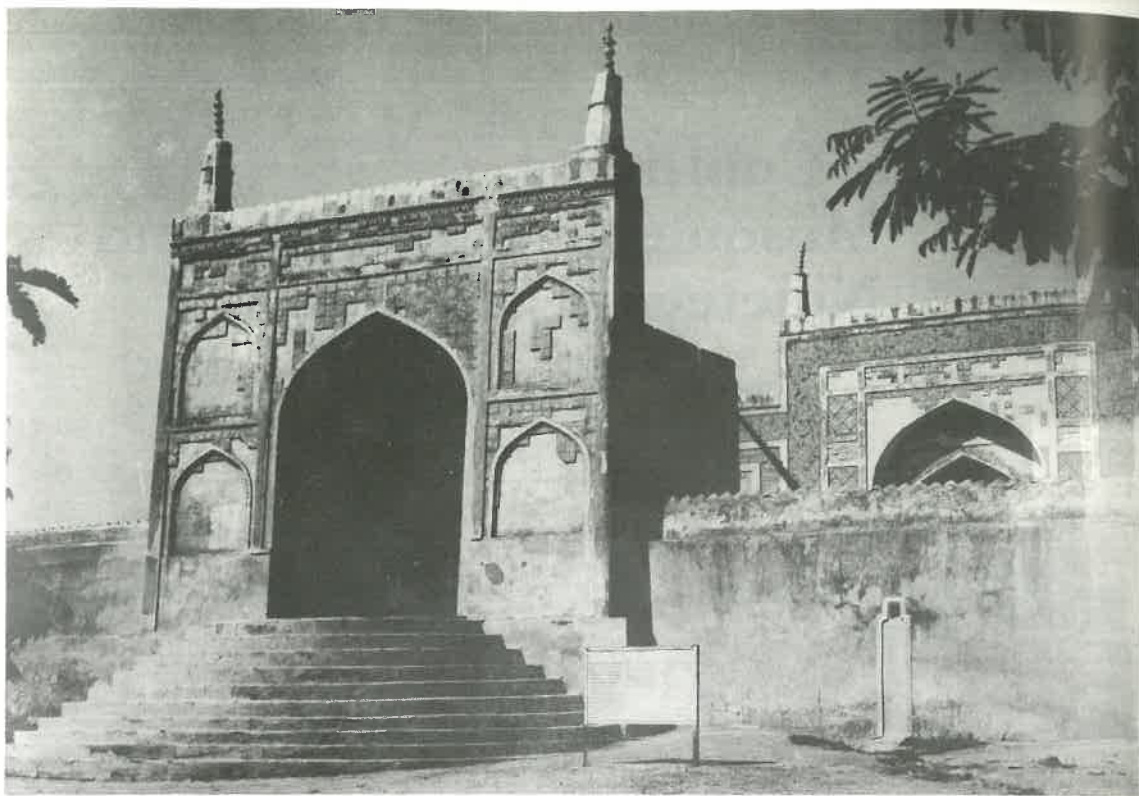
**The Continuity:
Mosques in Eighteenth and
Nineteenth Centuries**



Pl. 66
The Idgah, Multan:
General view.

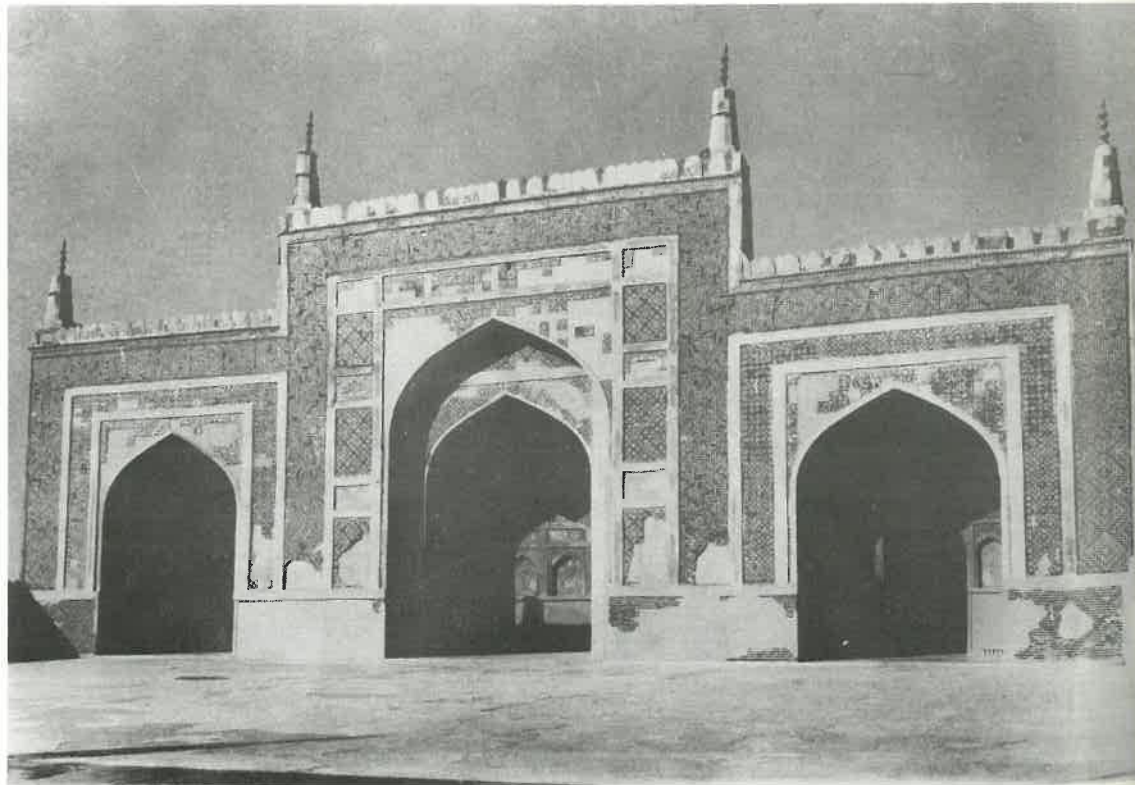
Pl. 67

*Khudabad Mosque, Khudabad:
General view from south-west.*



Pl. 68

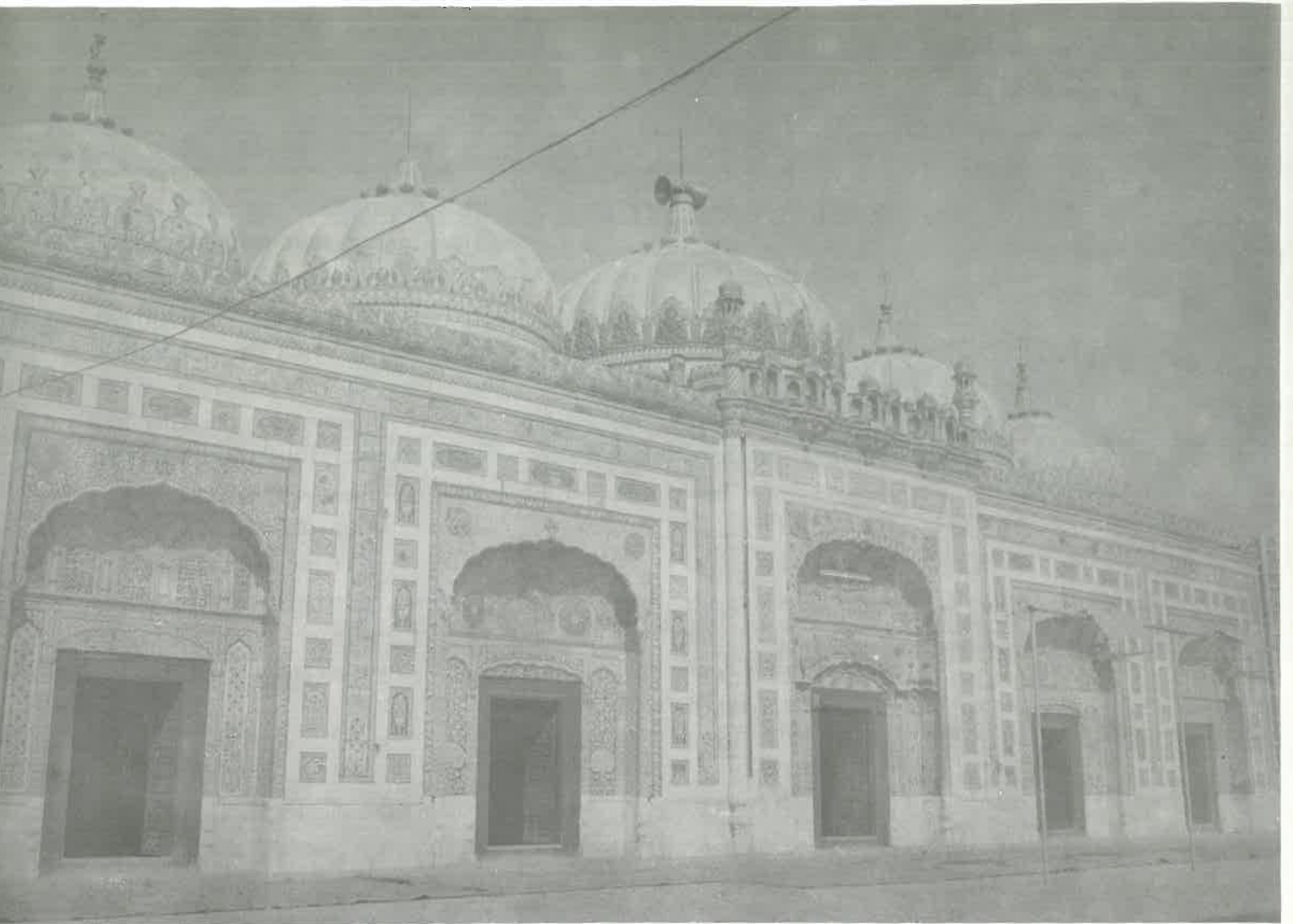
*Khudabad Mosque, Khudabad:
The Aiwan, a close-up view.*



The later Moghul reign in the Subcontinent which encompasses a century and a half, witnessed a gradual decline of socio-political as well as cultural traditions here. In the areas which are Pakistan now, the political sway of the Moghul rulers was at the lowest ebb, filling up the vacuum by several local ambitious chieftains.¹ During the period of chaos and turmoil, very few building enterprises were undertaken to match the architectural marvels of the early days of peace and prosperity. However, it is evident that enthusiasm for erecting new mosques and enlarging upon the older ones did not altogether diminish, and we find resourceful Musalmans throughout the Subcontinent taking upon themselves the religious obligation. Among these were also petty rulers and their resourceful officers who erected mosques and 'Idgahs at various centres of their influence. Again, ravages of time and man's own efforts to change them for better, left very few of them intact. However, the land of Pakistan still possesses some remarkable specimens of this religious architecture located at various places.

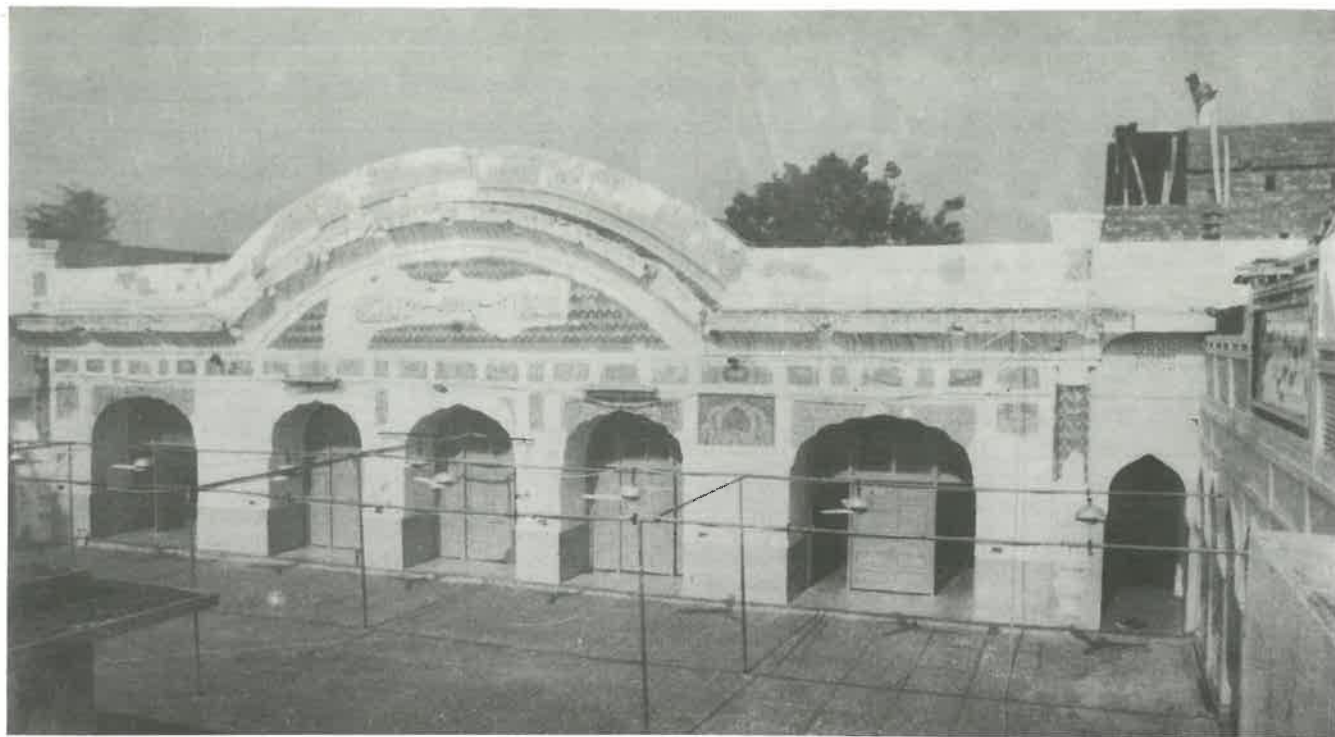
THE KHUDABAD MOSQUE

In Sind, local rulers erected several mosques in traditional plan and style. One of these, the great *Jami' Mosque of Khudabad* is a significant example. Standing amid the ruins of the old town and a quarter of a mile from the Railway Station, the brick structure is square on plan, built rather unusually, as one compact unit consisting of the *aiwan* and the courtyard. The facade, a continuous and compact whole, has been opened on the east in three arched openings, represented through deeply recessed arches and half domes. The frame work on the exterior consists of double framed panels running on the side and atop the archway. The central panel is bigger and rises higher than those flanking it. The well proportioned and bold engrailed arches of the three openings coupled with the archways within the thickness of the walls is a unique experimentation of the architect and mason responsible for its designing and construction. The low octagonal corner turrets placed on the south and north corners as well as on the



Pl. 69
 Mosque of Abdul Qadir Gilani:
 Uchchh: General view.

corners of the upraised facade of the central archway add to its serene grandeur corresponding to the facade and the courtyard. The two-aisled *aiwan* has three bays opened to the east by means of identical archway. The *Mehrab* has been provided in the western wall of the central compartment by means of a bold and deep arched recess. All the three bays of the *aiwan* are crowned with bulbous domes. The expensive brick structure has been treated with a series of oblong panels on the exterior walling, separated by means of flat borders. Within it are created arched panels in recess treated with lime *surkhi* glazed plaster.



Pl. 70

*The Begum Shahi Mosque, Lahore:
General view of the Aiwan.*

THE BEGUM SHAHI MOSQUE, LAHORE

Yet another mosque, worth noticing having rather unique characteristics was created at Lahore during the middle of 18th century. Popularly known as *Begum Shahi Mosque*, it was created by Begum Jan, wife of Nawwab Zakariya Khan, a governor of Lahore during the period of Moghul emperor Muhammad Shah. The original surviving part of the mosque is its prayer chamber having five arched openings. It is an oblong structure measuring 70 ft. 8 in. by 41 ft. 6 in. and having two long bays, divided by means of wide arches into four inter-communicating compartments, two side rooms and a central chamber. The ceiling of these compartments is created by means of vaultings, the facade of the central compartment has been given the shape of a concave curvilinear with a rib in the centre. The three arched openings on the north and south sides, now blocked, opened into the courtyard. Of the surface ornamentation, the revetment consisting square glazed tiles of yellow colour is prominent. The facade of the *aiwan* has inscriptions in glazed tiles having the *Kalima* and an Arabic verse.²

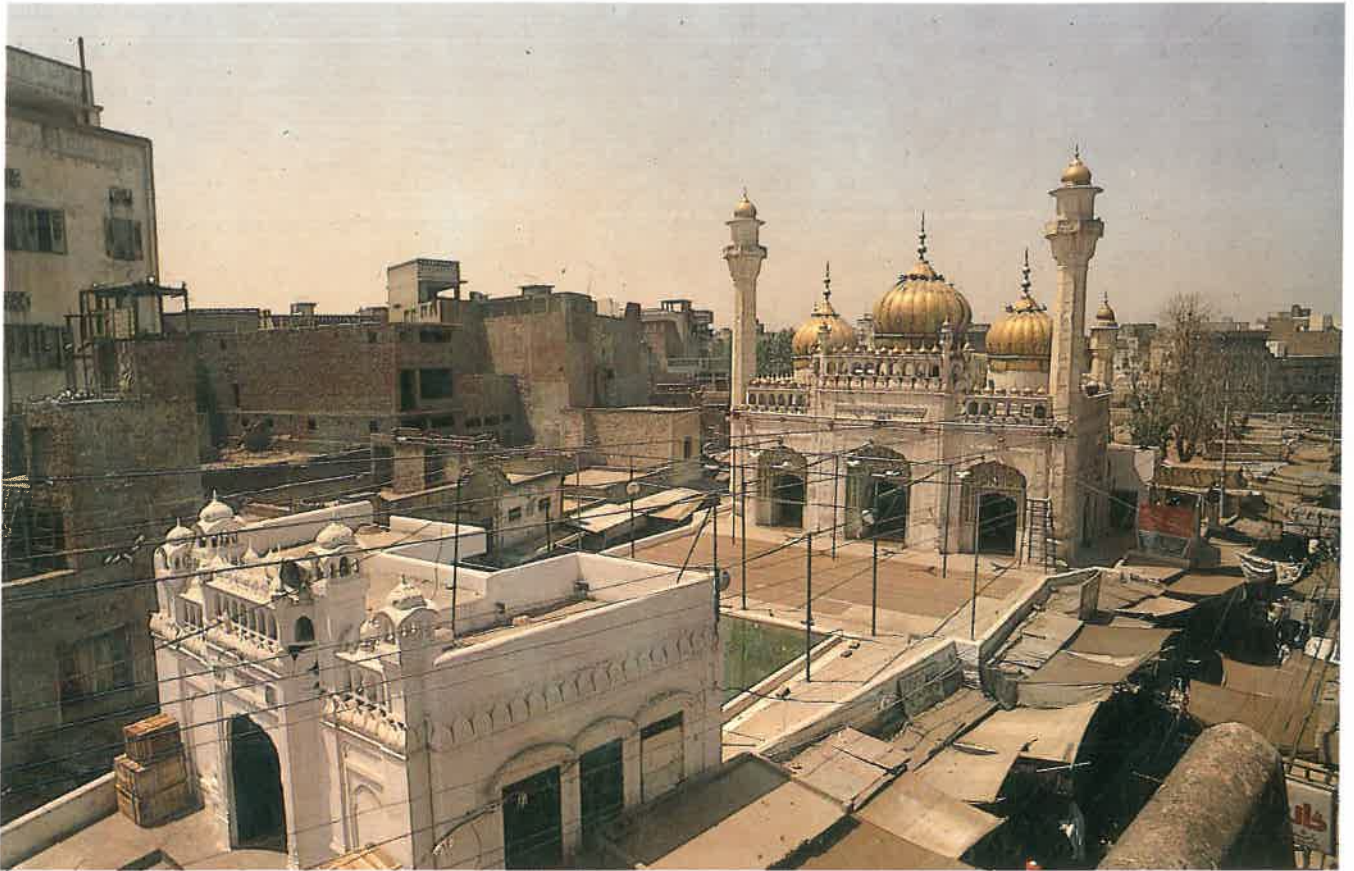
MOSQUES AND THE 'IDGAH AT MULTAN

Among the various cities of Pakistan, Multan had several mosques renowned for their architecture and architectural embellishment. The well-known and still existing mosques, though renovated thoroughly, are *Masjid Phul Hattan Wali* (1714), *Masjid Wali Muhammad Khan* (1757), *Masjid of Baqirabad* and the *Idgah*. The spacious *Idgah* having a prayer chamber measuring 250 ft. by 50 ft., was built by Nawwab Abdu's-Samad Khan, a governor during the reign of the Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah. The prayer chamber has three high arched openings surmounted by three hemispherical domes. The exterior surface has been embellished profusely with tilery in blue, light blue and white. The central archway, slightly projecting, has a frame running on the side and atop which, besides having Quranic verses, records the date and name of the donor, all executed in glazed tiles.³ The zone of transition has been created in the three square bays with the help of corner squinches in order to place the base of the dome. In front of the prayer chamber is a vast courtyard enclosed by means of a low wall and an entrance vestibule. The *Idgah* was used for prayers throughout the Saddozai rule in Multan. Later, it was thrown to profane use. It was here in the prayer chamber that the corpses of Lieut. William Anderson and Patric Agnew were kept during the days of Mul Raj's rebellion. Much of the surface decoration of the edifice has been renovated during the recent past.

THE SUNEHRI MASJID, LAHORE

The founder of the mosque was Bhikari Khan surnamed Raushan u'd-Daula *Rustam-i-Jung*, a courtier and deputy governor of Lahore during the reign of Moghul Emperor Muhammad Shah. According to the epigraphical evidence provided on the facade of the prayer chamber, the mosque was built in 1163/1749.⁴

Built on a raised vaulted platform about 11 ft. above the surrounding level, the structure covers a rectangular area measuring 102 ft. 6 in. by 45 ft. The basement is composed of narrow and deep cells all round. A flight of sixteen steps has been provided against a small entrance gate on the east. An open courtyard measuring 65 ft. 4 in. by 43 ft. 8 in. with an ablution



Pl. 71

*The Sunehri Mosque, Lahore:
Interior of the Aiwan.*

tank, 25 ft. 3 in. by 24 ft. 3 in. has been provided in front of the prayer chamber measuring 40 ft. by 16 ft. 4 in. The north-east and the south-east corners of the prayer chamber are added minarets which rise 46 ft. 9 in. crowned with blind pavilions. The eastern facade of the prayer chamber including the corner minarets are lime plastered having panels of various sizes which originally had fresco decoration.

The prayer chamber is divided into three compartments by four-centred cusped arches carried on 2 ft. 9 in. thick jambs. The central bay, measuring 16 ft. 4 in. by 15 ft., is bigger than those on the ends which measure 16 ft. 4 in. by 9 ft. 6 in. In the centre of the western wall is the *Mehrab*, and to balance it, similar niches in each of the two side bays have been provided. Three pointed arched openings are provided in the eastern facade. The entire interior is decorated with fresco work. However, much of it has been

repainted later showing cheap imitation of flower dishes and *guldastas*. The roof of the mosque carries three double bulbous domes with high neck at the springing level of which there is a row of pseudo-acanthus leaves. The domes are crowned with pinnacles. These domes are finished with gilding of gold leaf. The core of the dome is of masonry over which a casing of wood has been applied. Over this wooden casing copper plates have been fixed.

OTHER HISTORIC MOSQUES AT LAHORE

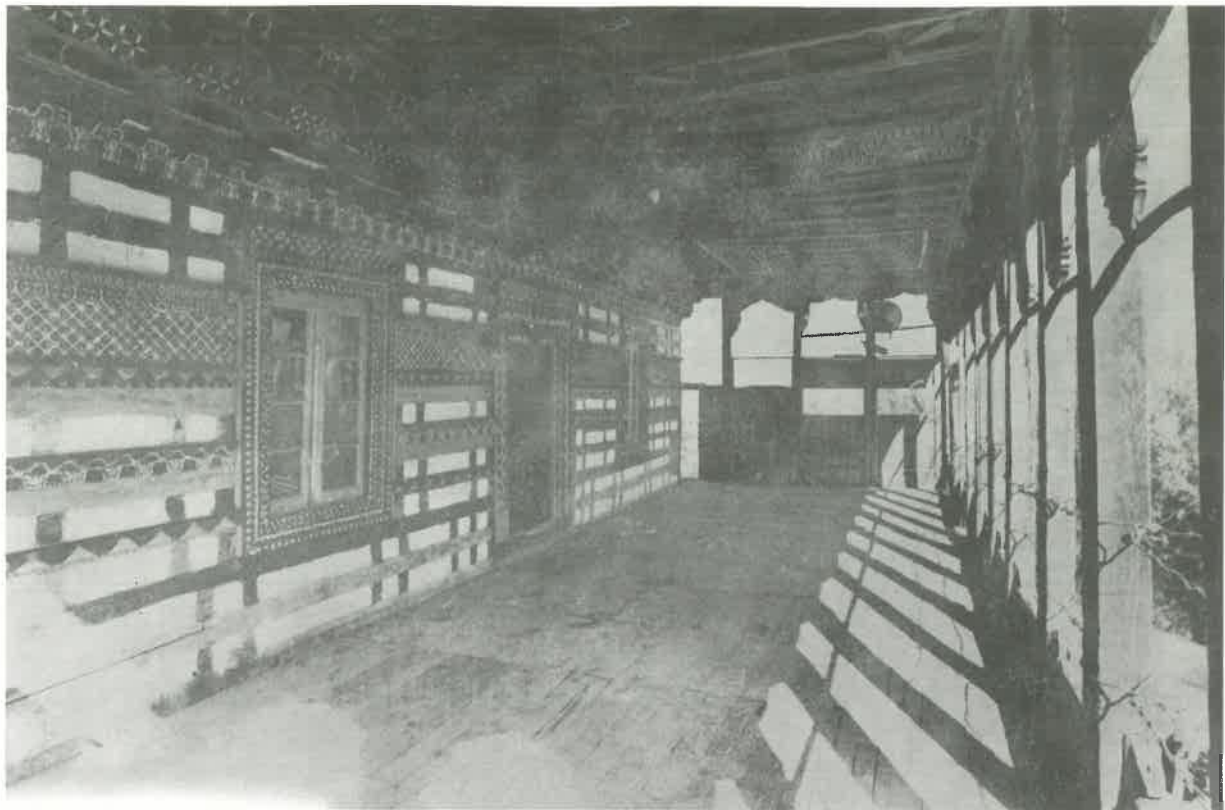
Among the other historic mosques at Lahore mention may be made of *Masjid Moran*⁵ (1224/1809), *Masjid Bokan Khan*⁶ (1257/1841), *Masjid Nawwab Imamu'd-Din Khan*⁷ (1266/1849), *Masjid Mirza Muhammad*⁸ (1279/1879) etc. These mosques were largely prototypes of the earlier specimens varying, of course, in details and dimensions. The traditional rectangular *aiwan* with three or five bays surmounted with domes, an entrance vestibule, an open courtyard often, augmented with ablution tank in the centre, minarets or turrets crowned with pavilions are common features of these mosques.

SQUARE MOSQUES OF SOUTHERN PUNJAB

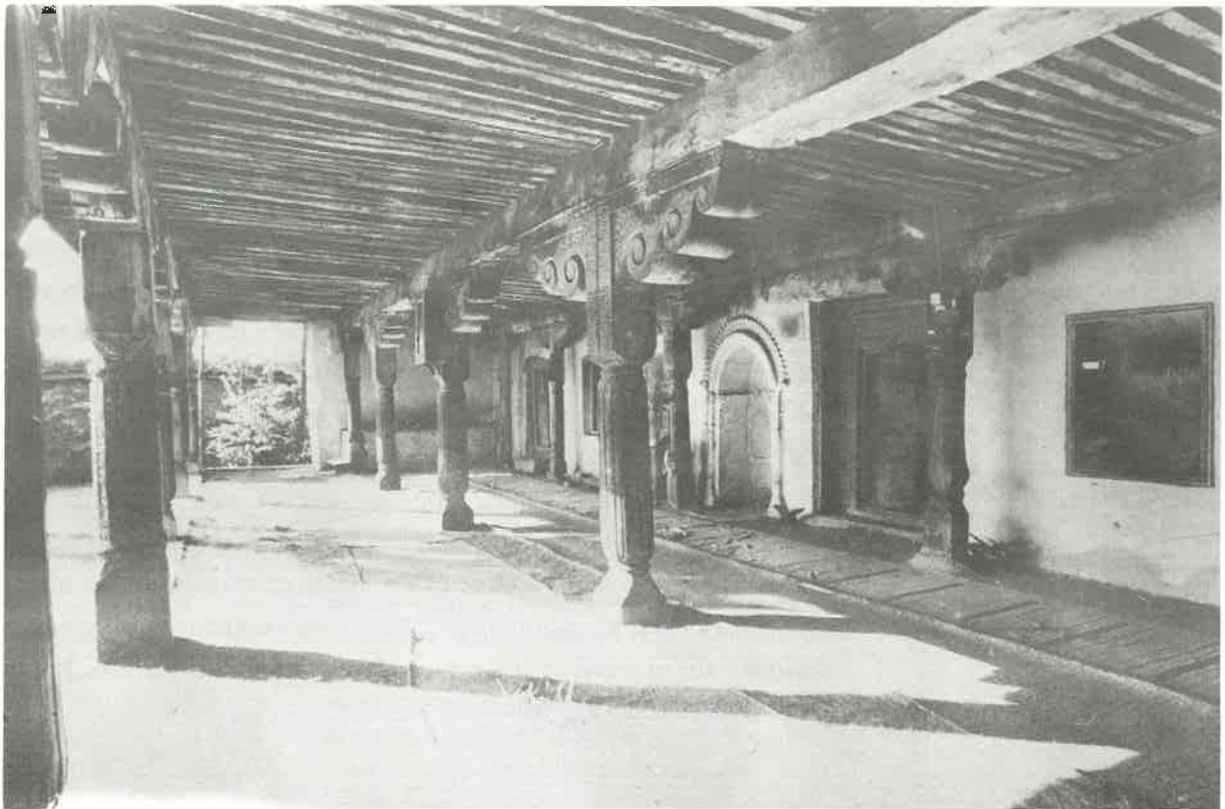
Yet another style of mosque architecture discernible through the specimens created at various places in areas of Bahawalpur and further south, during the last century and in the early decades of the present century, is square on plan consisting of a relatively small prayer chamber and a courtyard. The prayer chamber is crowned with one dome. These simple brick structures are faced with mud or lime plaster, often white washed. The variety, though not necessarily unique, concerning this late period, is important as it represents the local choice or even preference in these areas.

WOODEN MOSQUES OF SWAT

During the 18th and 19th centuries, a distinct style of mosque architecture was developed in the North especially in Swat and Kohistan areas of



Pl. 72
Wooden Mosque, Swat.



Pl. 73
Wooden Mosque, Swat.



Pl. 74
Wooden Mosque, Gilgit:
General view.

Pakistan. Here, nature has provided wood in abundance for the purpose, and therefore wooden mosques were erected in great number, variety and dimension. On plan, these mosques are almost square, having a prayer chamber with a closed verandah. The inner chamber is treated as prayer hall, while that in front is meant for summer use. The halls have flat roofs supported by two series of wooden pillars, arranged parallel to the west wall. The inner prayer chamber has no window or ventilator, while provision is made of a fire place in a corner of the chamber in the shape of a big pit in which fuel wood is put for burning. Outside, in a corner, provision for ablution has been made. The pillars supporting the roof are augmented with capitals in the shape of volute brackets. The surface of pillars also possesses carved designs. In some cases, the walls are made of stones and wooden beams, but often they are of wood only. The best surviving specimens of wooden mosques are noticed at important civic centres of Swat like Kalam, Bahrain, Jaba, Durushkhela and Khwazakhela.⁹

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For details of these historical events see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, 145 ff.

2. The curious inscription runs as follows:

عجلوا بالصلاة قبل الموت عجلوا بالتوبة قبل القوت

3. The Persian inscription painted on the glazed tiles in fine Nasta'liq characters runs as follows.

بتوفیقت سبحانی و تائیدات اربانی بيمين غیب حق طویت نواب معلی الالقب سیف الدوله عبدالصمد
خان بہادر دلیر جنگ احراری این عید گاہ عالی در سنہ یک ہزار یک صد و چہل و ہشت ہجری
باتمام رسید

4. A curious inscription carved on a marble slab reads:

یا بھیکہ مسجد قلبی و انت فیہ مقیم۔

5. Moran, a gay girl was a concubine of Ranjit Singh. She exercised authority and much influence on the Sikh ruler to the extent that he issued his coins having her name inscribed on them. During her hey-day, she got the mosque constructed. The facade of the entrance gateway had the following Persian verses (*ruba'i*) inscribed on a marble slab. The last hemistich is a chronogram giving the date of the construction of the mosque:

بفضل ایزد دارای افلاک چو موران مسجدی آراست برخاک
بتاریخ بنایش گفت هاتف شدہ تعمیر اللہ مسجد پاک
۱۲۳۲ھ

6. This grand mosque was constructed by Bokan Khan, Superintendent of stable of Ranjit Singh in the Dahl Mohalla in Mochi Gate in place of an older mosque. The main entrance on the north had a marble slab fixed on the facade on which was inscribed:

چون ز بوکن خان والا منزلت شد بنا ان منزل ذی الاحترام
بہر تاریخش زہاتف شد ندا کعبہ ثانی بناشد این مقام
۱۲۹۷ھ

The mosque was provided an exceptionally vast courtyard, a row of cells on the south, baths, a well etc. The *aiwan* (prayer chamber) had three arched openings. The facade of the transept had the *Kalimah* inscribed on the marble slab, while the whole brick structure was laid in lime mortar and lime-plastered. Here a madrasa was also established. Yet another significant event associated with this mosque was that here on 24 September, 1884, in its vast open courtyard, the Muslims of Lahore assembled and founded the famous *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*.

7. Nawwab Imam u'd-Din Khan son and successor of Shaikh Ghulam Mohy u'd-Din, was the governor of Kashmir under Ranjit Singh and remained incharge of the affairs until the time the

British occupied Lahore and sold Kashmir to Gulab Sing. The Nawwab built the mosque in the locality then called Muhalla Chaila ka Hammam. The mosque was built on an elevated platform and was approached through a flight of steps. The brick-tiled paved courtyard was quite spacious, on the north of which was one bay deep cloister, while on the west was the main *aiwan* having three compartments crowned with bulbous domes. The three arched openings on the east marked the fronton of the prayer chamber which was augmented with two high minarets, one at each corner. The facade of the central arched-opening had a marble slab having the *Kalima* and, below it, the following Persian verses (*rubai*), the fourth hemistich of which is the chronogram giving the date of the construction:

امام الدین خان نواب ذی جاہ عمارت کرد مسجد حسب دل خواہ
جو تاریخش بجستم ہاتف غیب بگفتا فی الحقیقت کعبتہ اللہ
۱۳۶۶

Besides, the mosque possesses a few more inscriptions. The interior of the central dome has the following verses:

زہی نواب عالی شان کہ از تائید ربّانی
موافق شد پئی تعمیر مسجد از خدا دانی
چو مسجد قبلہ گاہ عارفان و معبد نیکان
مقام فیض ربّانی مکان لطف سبحانی
بنام ایزد ازین تعمیر تسخیر دو عالم کرد
خریدہ دولت باقی و عقبی از زرفانی
سر اعداد فگندہ گفت ہاتف سال تعمیرش
بدنیا از امام السّٰدین بنا شد کعبۂ ثانی
۱۲۶۶ھ

8. Built to replace an older mosque in 1279/1879 by a petty officer in Ranjit Singh's administration, Mirza Muhammad *alias*, Mirza Mota, it was an elevated construction having two-storeys. The lower storey had some shops. The *aiwan* had flat roof, but corner minarets were provided at the four corners. The entrance gate had a marble slab on which was carved:

چونکہ از میرزا محمد مسجدی شد بنا و خوب باتدبیر شد
ہاتف شمسائی تاریخ گفت ای چہ احسن مسجدی تعمیر شد

The interior was finished in sico painting having floral designs. There were several Persian verses painted at appropriate places.

9. This unique ensemble of mosques has not so far been scientifically studied and published, though the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan undertook a survey of these specimens long ago. The task of their proper study and publication is yet to be completed.

Chapter Five:

Contemporary Accomplishments



Pl. 75

*Masjid-i-Tuba, Defence Society, Karachi:
General view.*

Chapter Five:

Contemporary Accomplishments



Pl. 75

*Masjid-i-Tuba, Defence Society, Karachi:
General view.*

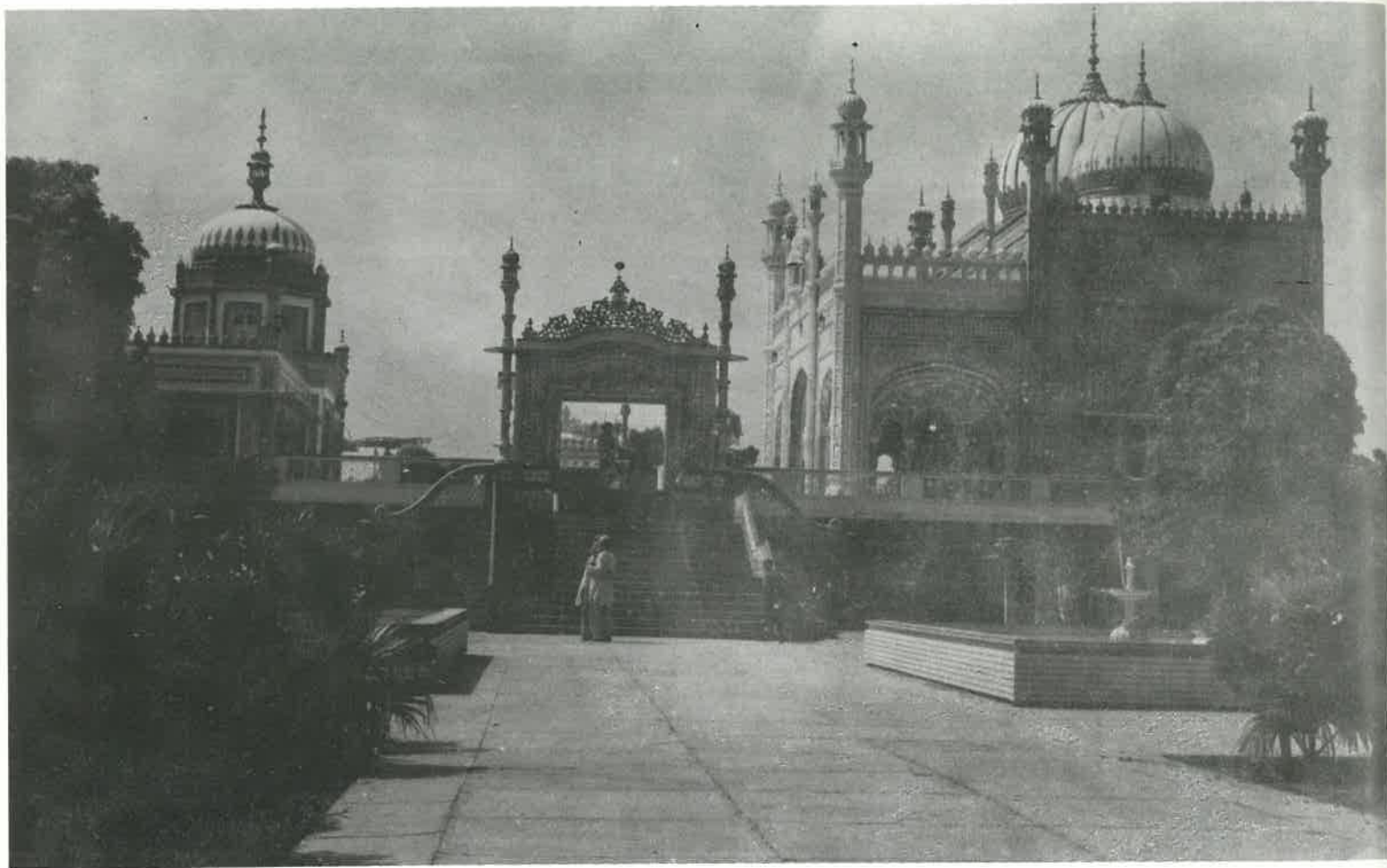
Chapter Five:

Contemporary Accomplishments



Pl. 75

*Masjid-i-Tuba, Defence Society, Karachi:
General view.*

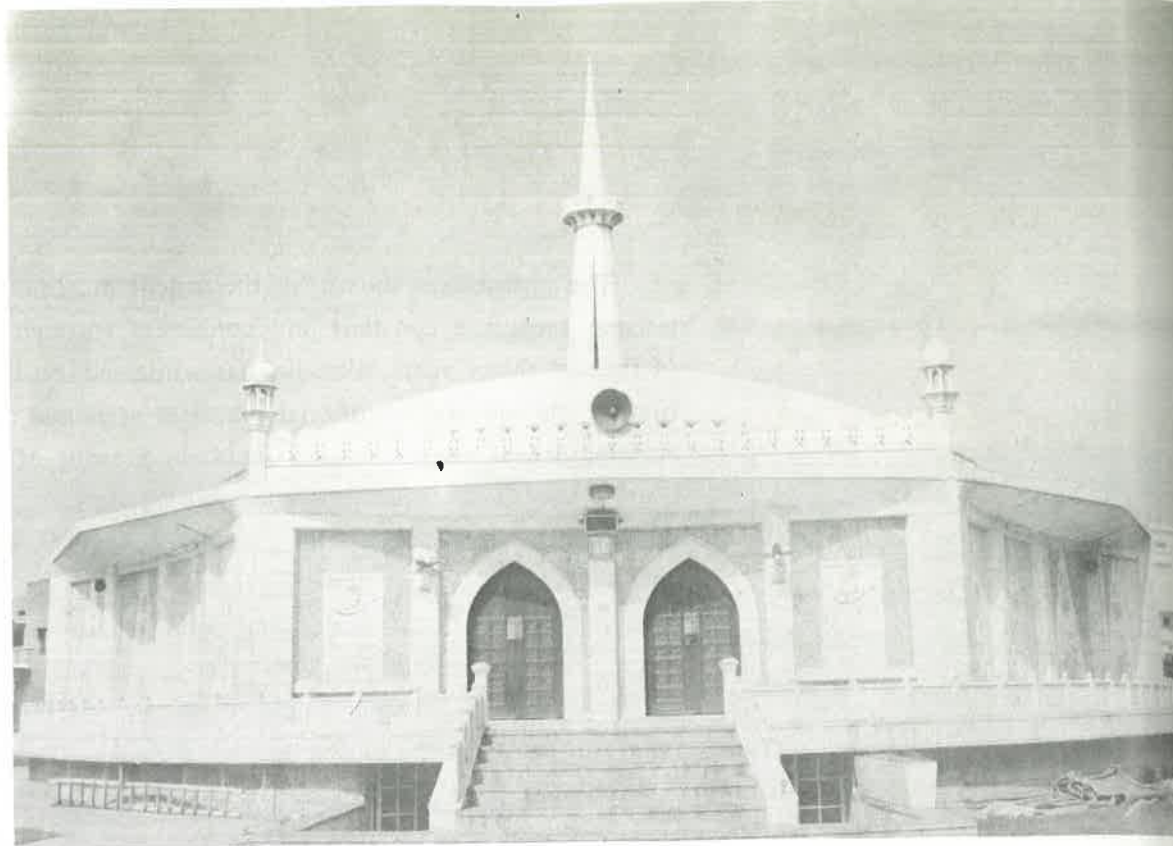


Pl. 76
Masjid, Bhong (Rahimyar Khan):
General view.

The enthusiasm shown by the ardent Muslims for building houses of prayers remained constant and consistent through all times. The period of the last thirty years, likewise, has witnessed, on the one hand, continuation of the old and traditional practices perfected and perpetuated by the architecture of the celebrated Badshahi Mosque of Lahore, while, on the other hand, new practices, styles and types were introduced and experimented. The new concept is based on inventions and techniques of new construction materials. Among the mosques erected in the traditional style after the establishment of Pakistan, mention may be made of the mosque of *Aram Bagh* at Karachi, the *Jame Mosque* at Bhun, *Lohari Masjid* at Lahore and *Jame Masjid* at Wah. The specimen erected at Bhun is a bold experimentation created under the patronage of a well-to-do devoted and ardent family. The remarkable aspect of this mosque is the imitation and adaptation of several modes and techniques of surface decorations like the glass mosaic work, the tilery, the carving and intartia in stone, the glazed plaster etc. The process of its enlarging and finishing is still continuing. The *Lohari Masjid* at Lahore is a bold attempt raised on a vast platform, some twenty feet high and a majestic corner tower, the exterior is faced with cement plaster finished in red to create an imitation of red sandstone. The *Jame Mosque* at Wah is, like-wise, a crude attempt of imitating the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore. The vast mosque is again faced with cement plaster stained in red. The three domes with which the spacious prayer chamber is crowned are shaped rather disproportionately and are imbalanced.

Among the mosques constructed with new techniques and designs in the recent past, the *round mosque* of the Defence Housing Society at Karachi, the *Masjid-i-Shuhada* at Lahore, in fact a miniature prototype of the preceding, the *Quaid-i-A'zam University Campus Mosque* at Islamabad, and the *Faisal Mosque*, again at Islamabad, are among the most significant examples of the style. The round mosques are in the shape of a rotunda having entrance openings and vestibules. The west side has an improvised arched niche cut deep into the wall with a decorative stone panel of Quranic verses carved in relief. The element serves the purpose of the *Mehrab*.

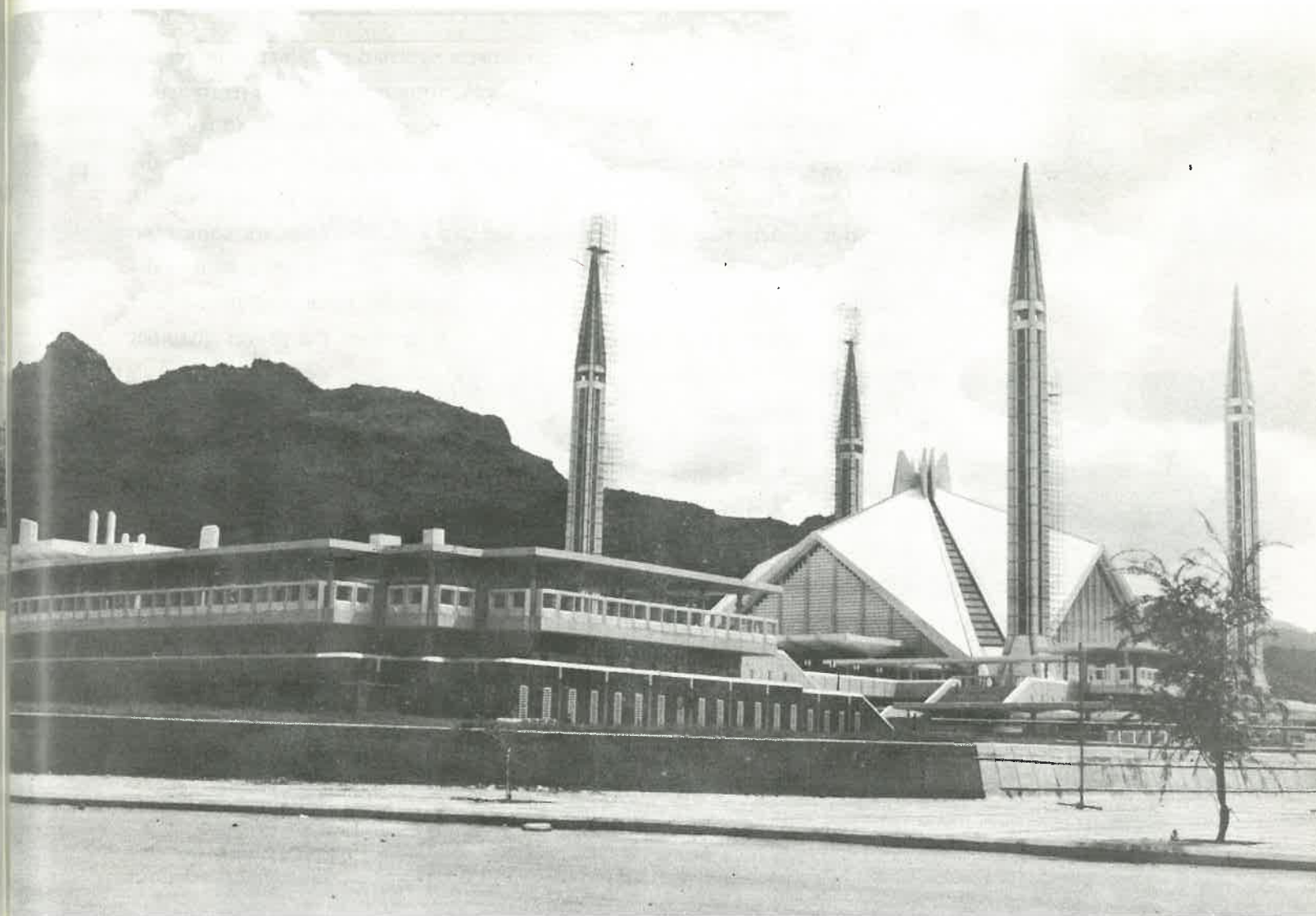
Pl. 77
Masjid-i-Shuhada, Lahore:
General view.



Pl. 78
Masjid, Quaid-i-A'zam University
Campus, Islamabad: General view.



Pl. 79
Masjid al-Behr, Karachi:
General view.



Pl. 80

*The Faisal Mosque, Islamabad:
General view.*

THE FAISAL MOSQUE, ISLAMABAD

The Faisal Mosque of Islamabad was planned as a part of the new capital of Pakistan, eventually becoming the biggest house of prayer in the Islamic world. Work on its planning and construction began in 1978 after the design of a Turkish architect M. Vedat Dalokay. The mosque is located on a high terraced land on the exit of Islamabad Highway and on the foot of Margalla Hills. According to the explanation of the architect, the geometry selected for the *masjid* has the triangle as its basic element and merges with the natural background which resembles the form of a pyramidal tent.

The prayer chamber is a concrete square pyramid of 288 ft. side, on the four corners of which are placed four solid foundation blocks from which spring the main supporting structure of 4 ladder type reinforced concrete girders rising towards the centre at an inclination of about 360 ft. from the floor level. The cap also forms part of the ceiling of the prayer chamber. The four girders rise further beyond the cap and their ends are connected at an elevation of about 160 ft. from the floor level. The main roof is designed as a hollow box type which hangs from the main girders and four hinge-line beams forming a canopy. The four sides of the prayer chamber are of triangular shape.

For the surface ornamentation, Turkish ceramic tiles, colour scripture tiles, stained glass, and colour crystal glass have been selected, while aqua gold leaf covering will be applied on ceiling, and marble and transparent glass covers the *Mehrab* and *Minber*. A crystal glass spherical chandelier of 29 meter in diameter is suspended from grid ceiling. The entire mosque is illuminated with fluorescent and mercury vapour and sodium light fittings including flood lights, and is equipped with proper public address system. Two lifts are installed in North and South-East minarets.

Chapter Six:

**The Epilogue:
Analysis and Conclusion**



Pl. 81
The Lohari Masjid, Lahore:
General view.

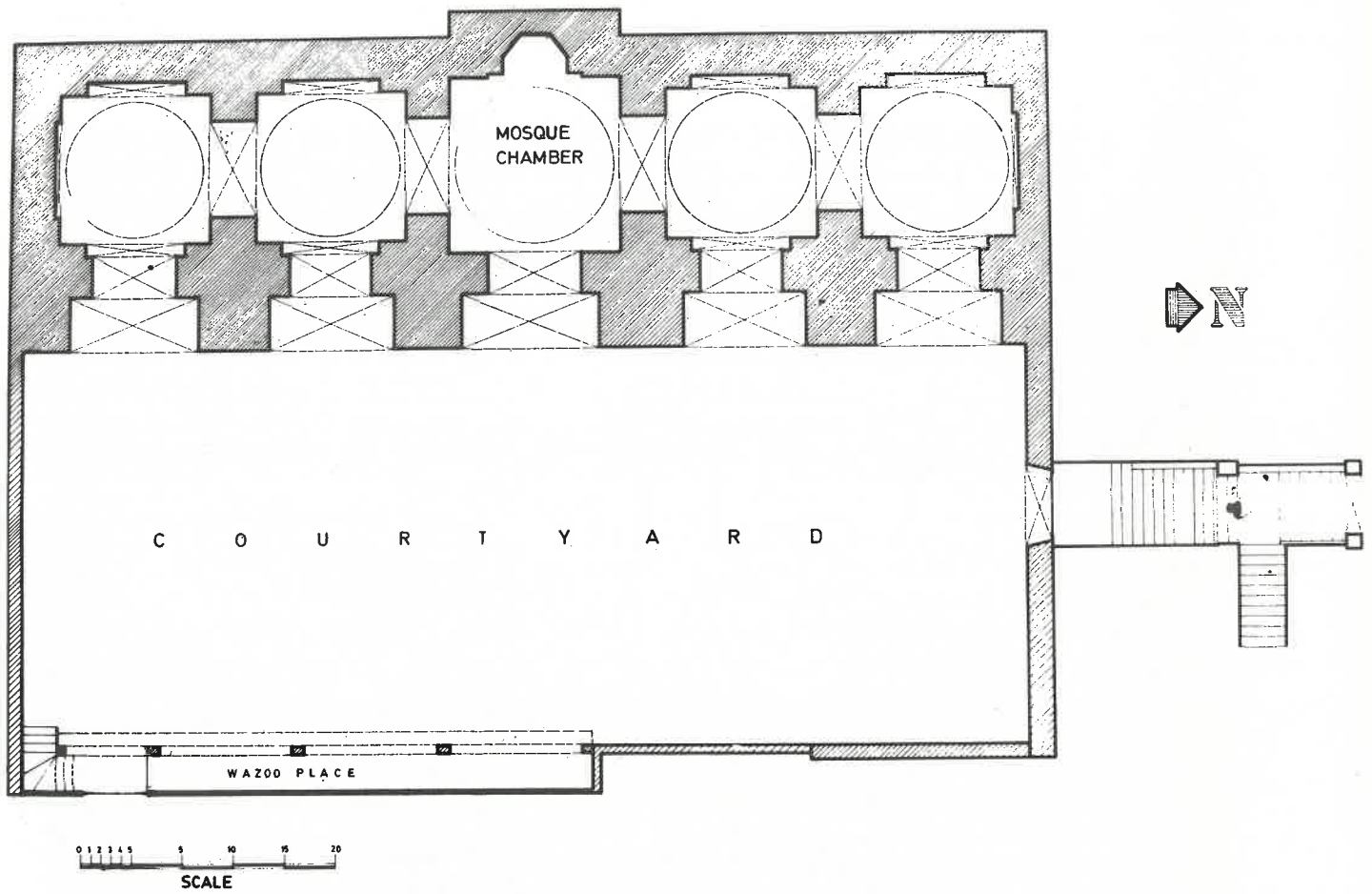


Fig. 35 Masjid Shah Chiragh, Lahore: The Plan.

The foregoing pages survey briefly the mosque architecture of Pakistan through its more conspicuous specimens erected here during the last twelve hundred years. It is, however, unfortunate that not many of the specimens of the earlier periods, especially of the medieval period, exist now though it is a plausible assumption that many more mosques were erected at many places to cater to the need of the Believers. These specimens, in effect, fell prey to man's own vandalism both during the periods of war as well as in spells of peace. During the periods of thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of the areas of today's Pakistan were subjected to frequent Mongol invasions. It is evident that the mosques also fell prey to these invasions.¹ The process went on during the peaceful days as well when these houses of prayers were subjected to indiscriminate additions, alterations as well as renovation according to the taste and resources of the people who cared little to keep their original features and characteristics intact.

The mosque architecture was, as explained earlier, inaugurated by the Arabs and developed subsequently by the Central Asian Turks, Khaljis, the Tughluqs, Sayyids and the Lodis. It was given a more refined and sumptuous manifestation by the aristocratic Moghuls. While the flat roofed hypostyle structures of the Arabs were inspired by their counterparts at the other important centres of the Caliphate, the robust but majestic specimens of the Turks, Khaljis, the Tughluqs and their successors were the adaptations of the Central Asian mosques with low-squat domes crowning their prayer chambers, and vast open courtyards. Similarly, the mosques erected during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the patronage of the Moghul emperors and their nobility were the adaptation and assimilation of local as well as Iranian art traditions. Indeed, they turned to be the most exquisite blending of these two traditions, having a rectangular prayer chamber crowned with bulbous single or double domes and augmented with expensive multifoiled arches, Mehrabs, transepts, tall minarets with fabulously designed cupolas, a series of cloisters and, above all, well defined and elaborate vestibules, often built on a high podium with a flight of steps to give it

a grand elevation. Likewise, the personality of the later and the modern mosque architecture was both dynamic as well as sumptuous. While some of them took inspiration from the older traditions, the more conspicuous ones provided a spirited deviation from the past, even changing the plan as well as the elevation. The grand Defence Society Mosque at Karachi and the majestic Faisal Mosque at Islamabad are the two most extra-ordinary manifestations of this vigorous trend.

THE PLAN

The earliest known mosques in Pakistan, or for that matter, in the whole of the South Asian Subcontinent, especially those at Deybul and at al-Mansura were, as archaeological evidence shows, were built on square plan having a rectangular *Zullah* (prayer chamber) on the west, a vast open courtyard in front and a series of cloisters on the south and north of the courtyard. The adoption of square plan goes back to the very early days of Islam. According to Balazuri, it was mainly based on the square plan of the mosque of the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) which has ever since served as a model for the mosque throughout the world of Islam. In the South Asian Subcontinent the mosques have been built on square plan and have, as a general rule, a rectangular *Zullah* (prayer chamber), an open courtyard (*Sehn*) in front and porticos or a series of cloisters on its north and south. The possible justification of the adoption of square plan with special reference to the Ka'ba and the articulation of various components has been recently attempted by Papadopoulo who says: 'Without making too much out of the various meanings of the square, we must nevertheless stress the marked emphasis on geometrical form and, above all, on a form of great significance, that of the Ka'ba, which was to be much imitated. Admittedly, the values of Nes-Pythagorian Grosticism, of alchemy, and of hermetic arithmology, like the famous magic squares that were to enjoy such fortune in the Muslim mentality, did not yet exist in the time of the Prophet (peace be upon him), but in subsequent centuries they came to be amalgamated with the purely geometrical and — thanks to the Ka'ba — already sacred notion of the square.'²

However, the square plan soon gave way to a more flexible and convenient rectangular. The change took place with the beginning new political

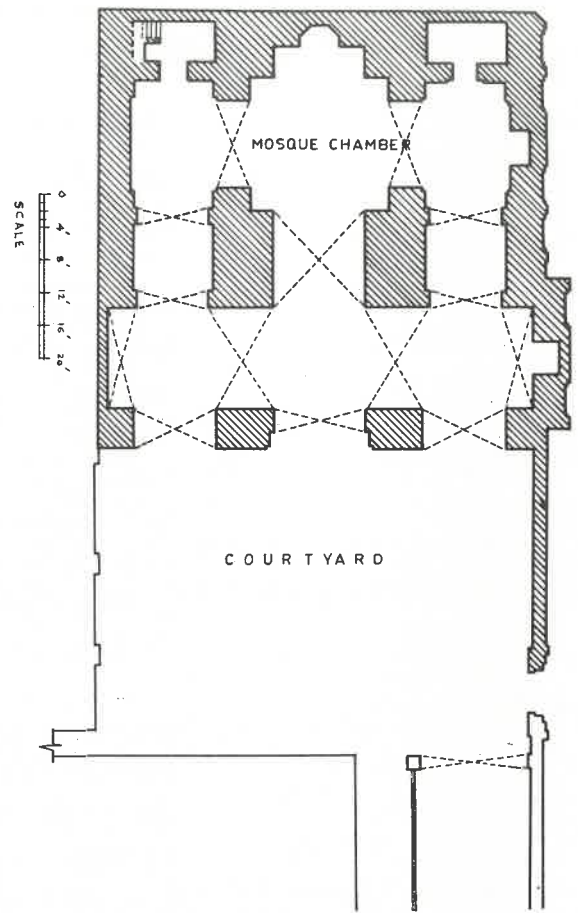


Fig. 36 Chiniyan Wali Masjid, Lahore: The Plan.

circumstances when the Central Asian Turks took over reigns of the government in the north-western parts of the Subcontinent in the closing decades of the twelfth century. Although, as said earlier, we have lost almost all the mosques built during the reign of the early Turkish Sultanate, there are certain textual references which provide evidence that these Sultans constructed several mosques in the areas which are now included in Pakistan. Architectural details of these are not, however, known to us now. The first of these structures which has come down to us, though in a much repaired and renovated form, stands in the olden quarters of the spiritual city of Pakpattan. According to the epigraphical evidence, which has survived though not *in situ* as claimed, the mosque was created during the Khalji rule.³ This little mosque has been entirely built anew, but perhaps on its original

plan. Yet another mosque on rectangular plan was built at Depalpur by Firuz Tughluq.

It may be emphasised here that the elaborate rectangular plan was adopted in imitation of their counterparts in Central Asia and Iran taking, in turn, inspiration from Byzantine art-traditions. The plan became favourite all the more during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the imperial Moghuls and their resourceful elite built numerous such structures throughout their empire. However, it would be wrong to assume that all the mosques erected during this period had preferred rectangular plan, as in fact both the plans — square as well as rectangular — remained favourite throughout the Subcontinent and throughout the periods. For instance, the first Ghaznavid mosque reported to have been excavated in the valley of Swat had been erected on a rectangular plan. In effect, this could be taken as the first ever mosque erected on the soil of Pakistan on a rectangular plan. Similarly, we find the first Turkish mosque, the *Quwwat ul-Islam*, at old Dehli (c. 1197), the Jame Mosque at Ahmadabad, Gujrat (1423), the Jame Mosque at Depalpur (c. 1358), the Moth-ki-Masjid at Dehli (1505), the Maryam Zamani Mosque at Lahore (1614), the Jame Masjid at Dehli (1655–58), the Moti Masjid at Lahore Fort (1645), the Friday Mosque at Gulberga (1367), the Wazir Khan Mosque at Lahore (1634), to name only a few, are designed on rectangular plan, while some other historically important mosques like the Khirki Mosque at Dehli (c. 1575), the Jame Mosque at Fathpur Sikri (1571), the Atala Mosque at Jaunpur (1408), the Friday Mosque at Srinagar (1398), and the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore (1674) are built on square plan.

In some cases, contemporary architect has chosen circular or semi-circular plan as well for his new mosques. The mosque in the Defence Society in Karachi and the Masjid-i-Shuhada at Lahore, for instance, have been built on semi-circular plan. This was a bold deviation of the universally accepted traditional square or rectangular plan, often criticised as unorthodox by some architectural historians. But, by and large the rectangular plan has almost always been universally used for the mosques built throughout the periods and throughout the various parts of Pakistan.

THE ZULLAH OR AIWAN (PRAYER CHAMBER)

The most important architectural element of the mosque both from the religious as well as architectural points of view is the *Zullah* or the *Aiwan* (prayer chamber). Starting with the simple but elegant hypostyle, it reached its climax in the imposing arcaded *aiwan* crowned with domes and augmented with minarets and crenellations. It has been argued that the hypostyle *Zullah* has been originally inspired from the Apadana of the Persepolis and the hypostyle chambers of Egypt.⁴ Whatever the origin and influence, the hypostyle *Zullahs* in the shape of flat-roofed porticos have been very much favoured not only in its initial stage but at later times as well. It has been adopted as a matter of preference in several instances at many places in Pakistan, leaving aside the examples which were mainly adaptations of the earlier buildings — the Hindu temples. The hypostyle *Zullahs* are frequently met with, for instance, at the historic ancient cities of Multan and Uchchh, especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The mosques attached to the hypostyle tombs of Jalal u'd-Din Bukhari and Jahanian Jahangasht have the *Zullahs* with flat roof. Here the flat roof has been supported by a series of wooden posts arranged in several

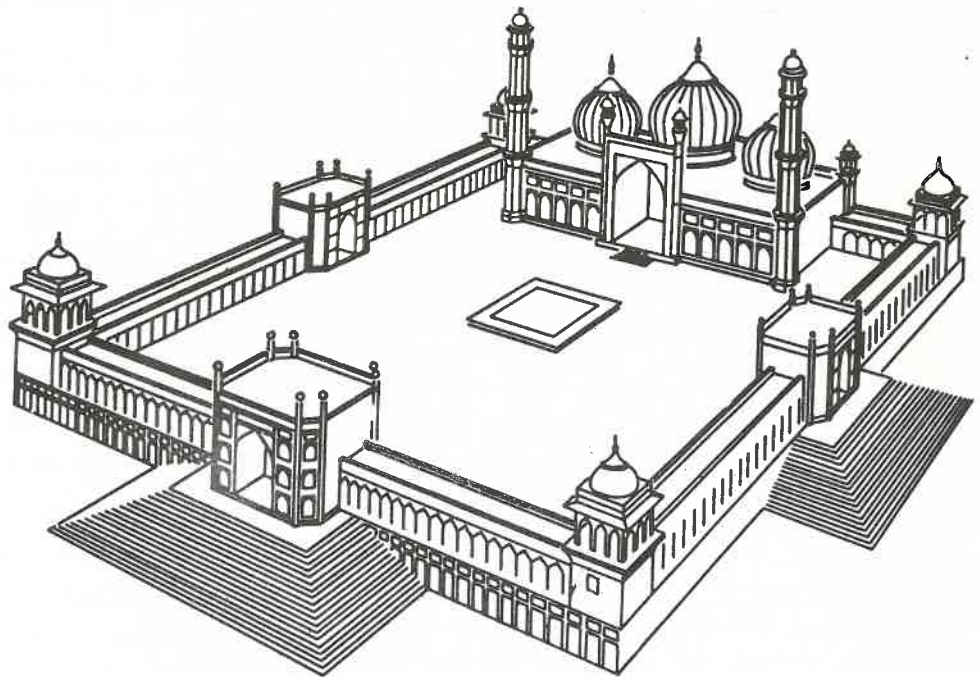


Fig. 37 Badshahi Masjid, Delhi: Isometric view.

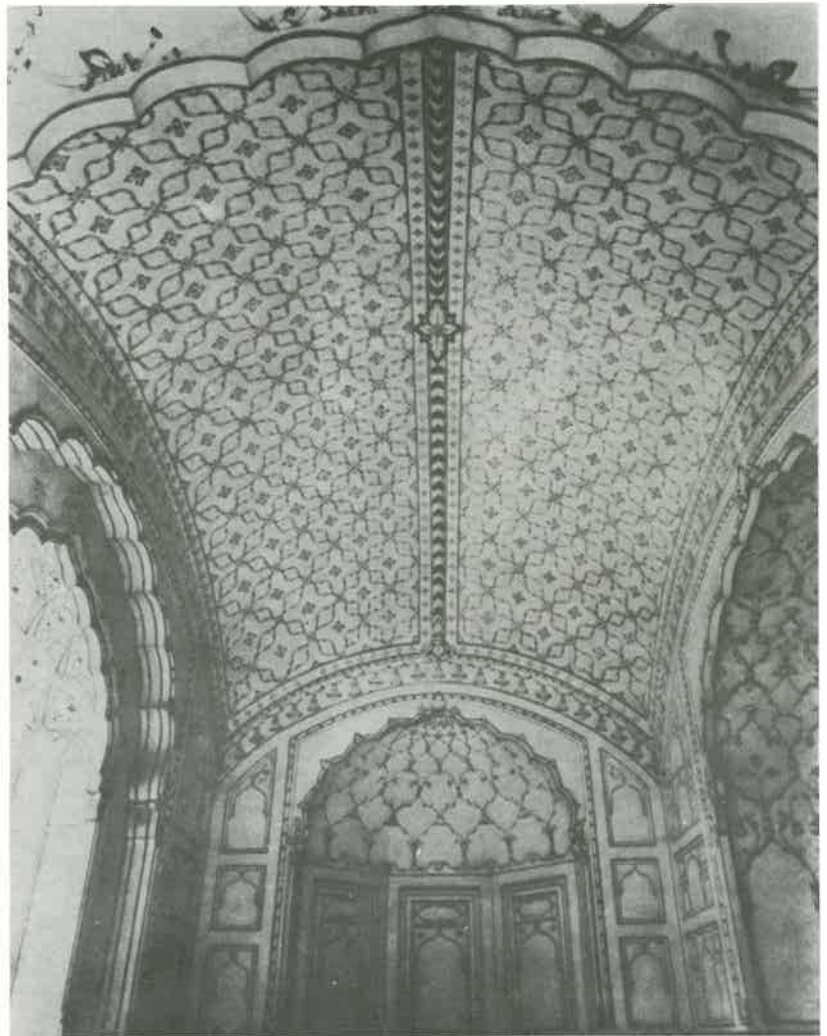
regular rows. The wooden posts, in effect, take the shape of a formal column consisting of the base, the shaft and the capital, on which the entablatures are placed to hold the wooden frames of the roof which itself is composed of wooden planks and brick tiles. These wooden elements are tastefully painted with a variety of floral designs in red and yellow colours.

However, we are not aware of the nature and formation of the pillars arranged in rows to support the roofs of the *Zullahs* of the Arab mosques at Banbhore and al-Mansurah. The details made available through archaeological operations have been given elsewhere. However, it is interesting to emphasise that the teak (?) wood columns in the Banbhore mosque were placed on carved bases of stone,⁵ while the dado of the brick walls in case of al-Mansurah was faced with panelled (or framed ?) teak wood.⁶ The rest of the wall must have been plastered in lime. At Banbhore, archaeological evidence shows that the mosque had undergone reconstruction or at best thorough repairs at least four times during the period of its existence. Significantly, the structure of the earliest period was much better construction, erected with well-dressed blocks of yellowish Jandoti stone, while the reconstruction and repairs of the latter periods were flimsy, course and rough, indicating periods of economic despondency and political instability.

Paucity of architectural evidence does not permit us to estimate the period when the more elaborate *aiwan* (prayer chamber) was introduced to replace the earlier version generally known as *Zullah*. One of the earliest known such specimens on the soil of Pakistan belongs to the Tughluq Sultan Firuz Shah who is said to have erected a Jame Mosque at Depalpur. The two-aisled *aiwan*, the prayer chamber, is an impressively robust and massive structure divided into five bays, each crowning with a low squat dome and having a keel-arched opening. This is a brick structure plastered entirely in lime, both externally as well as internally. Here we find an elaborate but simple *Mehrab* in the shape of a deeply recessed arch in the central compartment. The specimen may, in no way, be regarded as a novel attempt as it reveals all possible elements of mature planning and efficient handling of constructional problems like the arches, the division of bays or compartments, the creation of zone of transition to place the round base of the dome. Significantly, it derives all its structural elements from its counter-

parts in the shape of funerary memorials of the period, especially the use of the wooden beams to hold the base of the squinch arch, the method adopted almost universally in this period.⁷

Yet another feature which appears in this mosque is the use of heavy engrailed arches and the jambs which divide the rectangular *aiwan* into compartments or bays, a practice followed almost universally even upto this day, with a variety of three, five or even seven compartments arranged into one or two aisles. The central transept has been treated specially both for its structure as well as its surface decoration. In the mosques erected during



Pl. 82
The Badshahi Mosque, Lahore:
Stucco ornamentation on the
interior and the vault.

the Moghul period, this feature reached perfection in so far as its precision and visual elegance was concerned. The bays or compartments contained lighter engrailed arches with multifoiled cusping. Yet another innovation was the use of pendentives in place of squinches. The feature was favoured during the Moghul period, used side by side the older practice of corner-squinches. The most prominent use of this feature is noticed in the Badshahi Mosque where brick vaulting has also been introduced to roof the oblong bays flanking the central compartment.

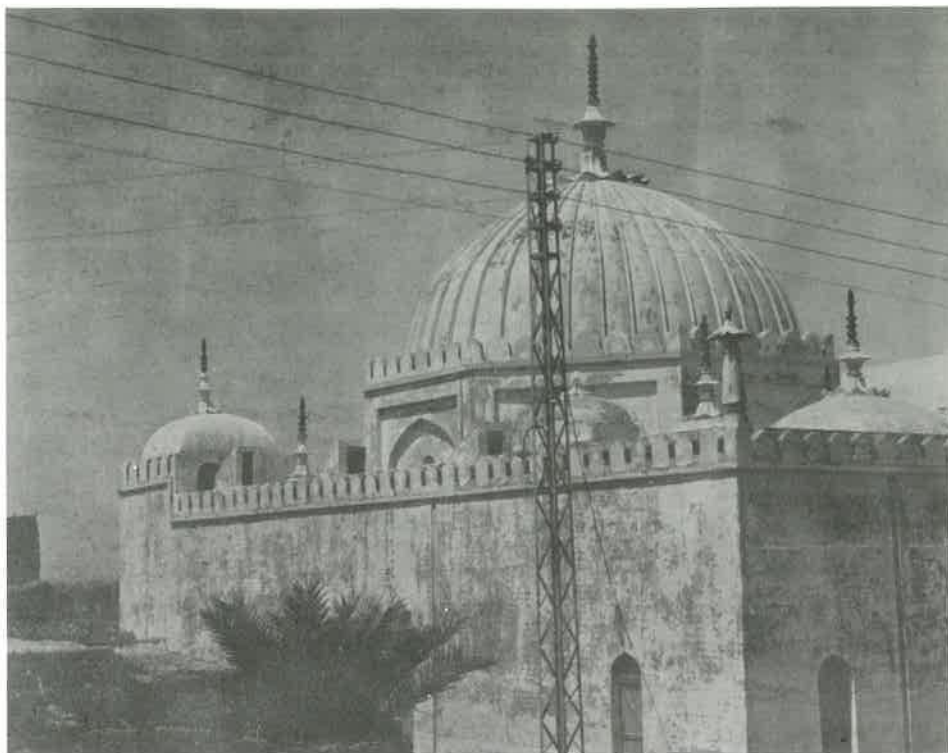
THE MEHRAB

Correct and precise orientation to the direction of the Ka'ba to which the Believer has to face at the time of prayers, has been provided in the mosque through the Mehrab, traditionally a deeply recessed arch created mainly in the western wall of the central compartment of the prayer chamber, the *Zullah* or the *Aiwan*. The feature has its own story for its evolution and development. As has been mentioned elsewhere, the earliest known mosque in Pakistan, the remains of which have been excavated at Banbhore (Deybul), possessed no arched niche for the Mehrab in the western wall to indicate the direction of the Ka'ba, as at that time this particular feature was yet to be introduced in this shape, and the requirement was met with a collateral stone slab fixed in the centre of the western wall. However, by the time of the construction of the second earliest mosque at al-Mansurah, the Arab architect had adopted the concave arch created in the central compartment of the *Zullah* to be used as Mehrab. Since then the feature has been used universally in the mosques throughout the world of Islam. Indeed, no proper mosque could be conceived complete without the provision of this type of Mehrab, and while almost all the features of the mosque and even its plan have underwent phenomenal changes, alterations, additions and modifications, the Mehrab in the shape of a recessed arch has throughout remained unchanged and unmodified. We are told that the introduction of this feature was first made by 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l Aziz when he rebuilt the mosque of Madina under the order of the Caliph al-Walid sometime in 715, and it has been argued that the feature was derived from the Christian church and had a coptic origin. It was the first appearance of the Mehrab arch in Islam.⁸

Pl. 83

Jame Masjid Sibbi (Balochistan):

View from west.



Pl. 84

Jame Masjid, Sibbi:

Fresco in the interior of the Aiwan.

We have mentioned elsewhere the *Musallah-i-Nizamiya* pointing out that the *Musallah* might be taken as the earliest manifestation of the type. This free standing Mehrab arch is created in brick and is faced entirely with white marble on which are carved long verses of the Qur'an in bold Suls characters. The style reminds us identical designing and over all scheme of the *Quwwat ul-Islam* and *Arha'i din ka Jhonpra*. While we will revert to the details of these inscriptions shortly, it is particularly significant that this is for the first time in the history of the development of Mehrab that such an elaborate decorative scheme has been adopted for the purpose.

That the Mehrab should have immense possibilities for its development — both for its structure as well as surface decoration — is manifest from the fact that from the concave or semi-circular it developed into four centred full-fledged arch often crowned with a half-dome, and embellished with multifoiled cusping created sometime in brick core and sometime in brick or stone fabrication only as decorative scheme, often augmented with panels and friezes running on sides and atop and having Quranic verses. Likewise, the interior, the sides, the spandrels and the soffits have decorative revetment. It was a common practice noticed particularly in the numerous specimens created during the long period of the Moghul suzerainty. The first known such specimen of the ornate Mehrab is found in the Dabgaran Mosque at Thatta. The mosque though not directly the work of any of the Moghul sovereigns or their nobles, has a Mehrab in the usual shape of an arched recess revetted with panelled yellow sandstone and having carved lace work of floral, geometric and epigraphical decoration.

It is evidently clear that the architect-mason utilized his skill to the maximum and the patron provided resources and facilities to these masters in order to create masterpieces of the Mehrab. Some of the superb specimens still existing could be cited like those at the Mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore, the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta, the Wazir Khan's Mosque at Lahore, the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore and the Mahabat Khan's Mosque at Peshawar. While the Mehrabs of the Maryam Zamani Mosque, the Wazir Khan's Mosque and Mahabat Khan's Mosque have been treated with exquisite fresco painting, that of the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta has faience and faience mosaic revetment of the first order, the Mehrab of



Pl. 85

*Masjid Aram Bagh, Karachi:
General view of the Aiwan.*

the Badshahi Mosque, though comparatively shallow and less pretentious, has been veneered with white marble having a frieze of an acanthus foliage running on the border of the frame. These decorative schemes are the most significant manifestation of the adaptation and assimilation of the local and foreign techniques, motifs and designs.

Likewise, the compartments flanking the central aisle were often provided with comparatively smaller and shallower arched niches indicating the Mehrabs in these compartments. Again, the practice was more common in the Mosque erected during the Moghul period, and the mosques enumerated above possess this feature as a matter of rule. However, the treatment of the surface decoration as well the size of these arched niches was on a low scale.



Pl. 86
Wazir Khan's Mosque, Lahore:
The Minbar.

THE MINBAR (PULPIT)

To the right of the Mehrab a stepped platform is provided for the convenience of the Imam who delivers the *Khutba* to the audience at the time of the congregational prayers. Generally called Minbar (Pulpit), it reminds the earlier tradition when the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) used to deliver the *Khutba* while standing beside a trunk of a date tree sunk in the floor near the central place where was, later on, created the Mehrab. Yet another reference testifies that the Rasulallah (peace be upon him) created a minbar in 7/628 on which he used to sit and preach the Believers.

It had two steps and a seat. Papadopoulo explains its origin, shape, nature and, above all, its usage: 'For official audience, at which it was desirable to receive tribal chiefs or foreign notables with some ceremony and pomp, Muhammad (peace be upon him) probably took his place in the larger, covered part of the *Qibla*, seated in an arm-chair doing duty as a throne, and perhaps holding a javelin as insignia of chiefdom the arm-chair raised a few steps above the floor in which the prophet (peace be upon him) sat The minbar was unquestionably a throne in its origin, symbol of the head of the community, and this is in fact its role in the ceremonial of the *Khutba* (sermon) in the mosque'.⁹

However, the interpretation of the architectural element and its paraphernalia specially the use of javelin put forward by this art-historian seems to be rather speculative. Whatever its use and far-fetched interpretation, fabulously grand minbars were later erected as an essential adjunct to the mosque throughout the Islamic world. Like those at the Kairovan Mosque (9th century), Great Mosque, Algiers (1017), Qutubiyya Mosque, Marakish (1125-30), Mosque of Ibn Tulun, Cairo (1296), etc. In South Asia, and particularly in the areas which are now Pakistan, the Minbar could not get that importance and popularity, though it invariably formed an essential adjunct to the *Mehrab* and was placed at its right end. Structurally, it was a brick platform having three or four steps in front, sometimes faced with marble slabs and sometimes lime plastered, and occasionally made of wood in which case it took a separate entity, again placed in the right corner of the *Mehrab*. On this stepped platform, the Imam sits or stands to deliver the *Khutba* following the tradition of the Rasulallah (peace be upon him). We notice the presence of the minbar almost universally in each and every mosque, but the presence is unobtrusive and is not like those grand size specimens found in the mosques of Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Even the biggest historic mosques in Pakistan like the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta and the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore have simple stepped platforms to be used as minbar. An interesting rather unique specimen is the wooden minbar of the Wazir Khan's Mosque which, incidently, has nothing to do with the original scheme of the mosque, but was, as explained elsewhere, added much later. Such wooden specimens but less pretentious are found in several other smaller mosques located in various parts of the Punjab and Sind.

The elaborate marble minbar of the modern Faisal Mosque at Islamabad, is, however, an extraordinarily bold attempt, taking its inspiration from the Arab mosques. This is indeed the first ever experimentation of its kind on the soil of Pakistan. Created entirely in marble, it takes the shape of a high but narrow encased stair-case.

THE *SUWAME'* OR *MA'ZANA* (MANARA – MINARET)

The original concept of the *Suwame'* or *Ma'zana* goes with the idea of announcing the *Azan*¹⁰ from a place high enough so that the Believers could hear the voice of the *Mu'azzin* and proceed to the mosque for congregational prayers. In the beginning, however, no such high place like the *Suwame* or *Ma'zana* was available with the Masjid al-Nabi. The Rasulallah (peace be upon him), therefore, instructed Bilal to ascend the roof of the highest house in the neighbourhood and give the call (*Azan*) for prayers. This improvised arrangement was later on replaced with a full-fledged *Suwame'* or *Ma'zana* which finally took the shape of a high minaret, and the first ever *Suwame'* or *Ma'zana* was erected at the mosque of 'Amr at Fustat in Egypt at the time of its reconstruction in 54/673. Since then the feature has been the most favoured of the mosque architecture, and almost every mosque erected throughout the world of Islam possesses it, though in many cases it did not serve the original purpose.¹¹

In Pakistan and for that matter in South-Asia, the earliest manifestation of the *Ma'zana* is that found at the mosque of al-Mansura, in the shape of a square minaret, in effect an adaptation of an earlier tower-like stupa of the Buddhist period. The next extant specimen, in order of chronology, is the noblest and the most stupendous *Qutb Minar* (1192) attached to the *Quwwat ul-Islam* Mosque at Delhi. It was not until the inauguration of the Moghul architecture that the tradition took its real stride. In the beginning they were low and dwarf minarets placed at the two front corners of the *aiwan* as decorative elements. Such earlier specimens are noticed in the mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore. Square on plan, they are plain brick structures crowned with cupolas. Similar decorative minarets are used to augment the corners of the *aiwan* of the Shahi Masjid at Chiniot. They are, however, of stone of a local variety which is quite erroneously called *Sang-e-*

Pl. 87

Mahabat Khan's Mosque, Peshawar:
The *Suwame*.



Larzan. These minarets are only symbolic and have nothing to do with the real *Ma'zana*, or *Suware*, as intended in the earlier days. Similarly, the majestic minarets of the Badshahi Mosque and the Wazir Khan's Mosque are the finest representation of this conspicuous feature of mosque architecture, while those of the former are veneered with stone, the later are in brick and faced with mosaic tiles. Indeed, the tall and majestic minarets of these two mosques have achieved a classical position. The mosque of Mahabat Khan at Peshawar, the Sunehri Mosque at Lahore, the Lohari Mosque at Lahore, the Jame Mosque at Wah, the Aram Bagh Mosque at Karachi, to name only a few, have been provided with minarets of a variety of plan, shape and materials. A study of these towers provide a definite base of their origin and development, starting with the improvised *ma'zana* of al-Mansura Mosque, and ending with the multifoiled tall and majestic minaret of Faisal Mosque at Islamabad and the conical shaped minarets of the Data Darbar Mosque at Lahore. The story covering a span of fifteen hundred years is both fascinating as well as instructive, revealing the resourcefulness of the master-artist and the patronage of the enthusiastic patron. Evidently, it passed through several stages of development, showing the influences of local and foreign elements. They later included Central Asian, Iranian and Turkish traditions. Nevertheless they have their own distinguished personality.



Pl. 88

*Mansurah Mosque, Lahore:
A Quranic Inscription.*

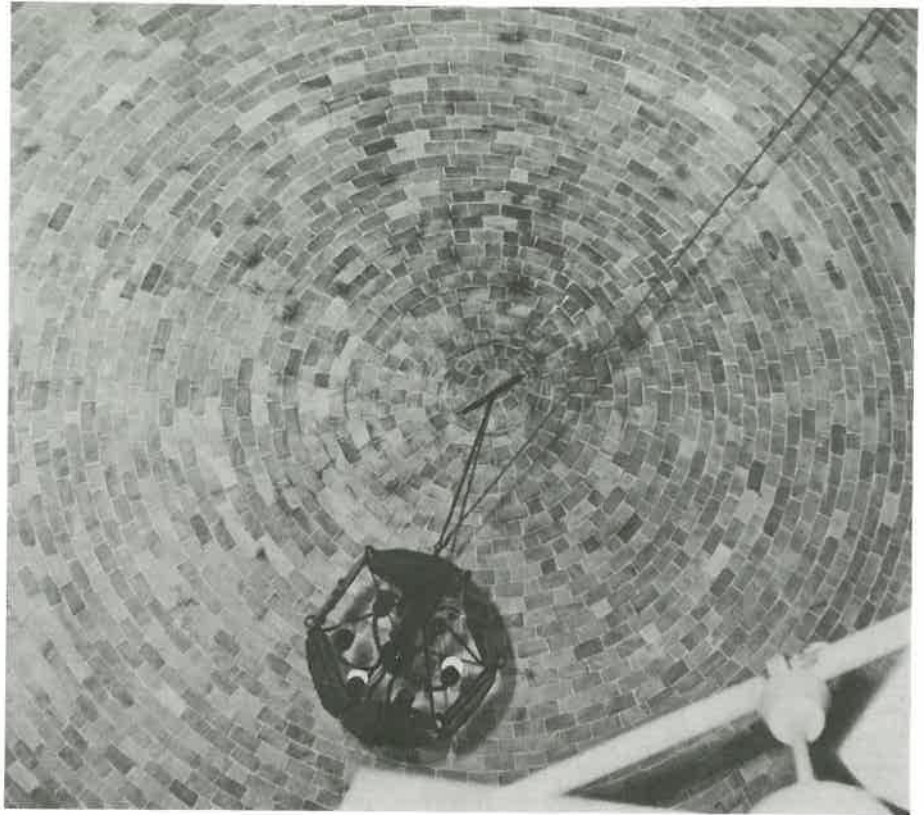
THE DOME

The early Arab and the Ghaznavid hypostyle mosques had, as archaeological evidence proves, flat roofs, and were not crowned with domes. However, the introduction of the architectural traditions of Central Asia brought a change and the prayer chambers and other important units of the mosque

were roofed with domes, domelets and vaults. Although we do not possess evidence to prove it precisely, it may be assumed that the significant change might have been brought by the resourceful Turk generals who ruled various parts of what is now Pakistan. As detailed elsewhere, according to some historical sources, Muiz u'd-Din Muhammad b. Sam built a mosque at Multan at a nearby place called Tulamba, followed by yet another mosque built by Sultan Mubarak Shah Khalji at Pakpatan in 720/1320. According to the epigraphical evidence the mosque had a dome faced with blue tiles. The original structure does not exist now as a new mosque has been erected against the original western wall. The original Persian inscription giving pertinent details has been refixed on the new *Mehrab*. This epigraphical evidence is of prime importance as, according to the present state of our knowledge, this is the first known dome erected on the prayer chamber of a mosque in Pakistan, and that it was revetted with blue glazed tiles. Yet more significant aspect of this epigraphical evidence is that the *aiwan* had only one *qubba* (dome), signifying that it would evidently have been erected on square plan. This unique example was followed by other mosques erected during the Tughluq period, of which one exists at Pakpatan and the other at Depalpur. These mosques have rectangular *aiwans* crowned with three hemispherical domes constructed in brick and plastered in lime. The finial is of terracotta, plastered and washed in lime. The practice continued during the Moghul period as well. Indeed, it became a universal practice that the *aiwan* must, as a rule be crowned with domes, three or even five according to the number of the bays underneath. In some cases, especially during the Moghul period, the dome was constructed in two shells, generally therefore called the 'double dome', in order to give it prominence through extraordinary height. We have several such examples of the period where the double dome has been used. The earliest known such specimen is found in the Moghul period's mosque at Lahore commonly known as Begum Shahi Masjid or Maryam Zamani Mosque, whose *aiwan* possesses as many as three domes, crowning its three bays, the central one being the double dome.

The imperial mosques like the Moti Masjid in the Lahore Fort and the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore, are distinguished with the facing of their domes in chaste white Makrana marble. The domes of the Moti Masjid are designed in bulbous shape having a well marked cavetto, while those of the Badshahi

Pl. 89
Shahi Mosque, Depalpur:
Interior of the Dome.



Mosque are double domes They are placed on a square platform to give them prominence and respectable height.

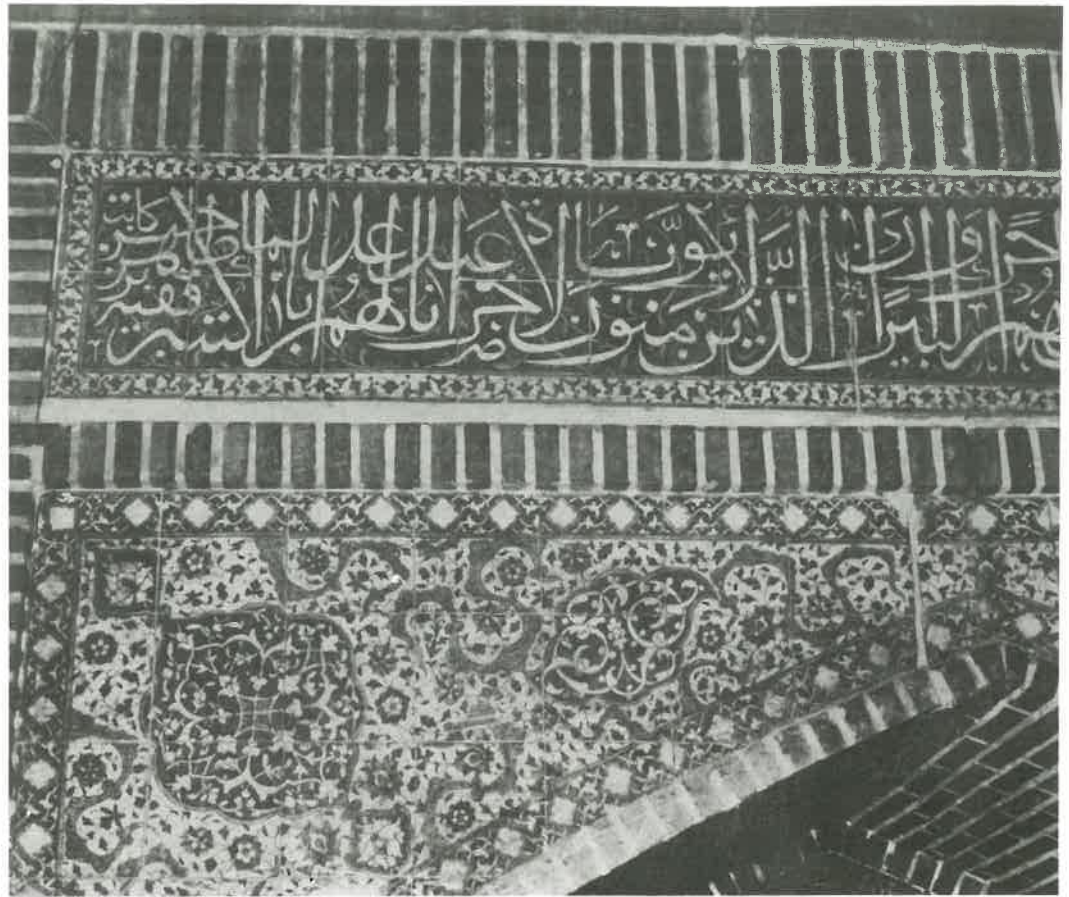
The design and arrangement of the domes at the Badshahi Mosque of Lahore served as a model for numerous mosques erected later in many cities and towns of Pakistan. We possess several such mosques especially the Jame Mosque erected some thirty years ago at Wah Cantonment. The architect-mason has tried to shape and arrange, in letter and spirit, almost all the important elements of the mosque specially its *aiwan* and the three domes with which it is crowned. However, the curvature of the domes is rather faulty while their height seems to be out of proportion. Further, to keep the construction cost low, instead of veneering it with the slabs of white marble, they are cement plastered and painted in white. Similarly, the Aram Bagh Masjid at Karachi has identical shape and arrangement of the three domes over the *aiwan*. Majority of these domical constructions have been placed on a zone of transition created by means of corner-squiches, or rarely, corner-

pendentives. The oblong shaped *aiwans* of these mosques have been divided into square compartments or bays, and the top of bay has been given the shape of an octagon or even sixteen-sided on which the round base of the dome is placed.

The brick shells of the domes of the Sunehri Masjid at Lahore have wooden encasing in the shape of ribs which, in turn, are covered with gilded copper sheets. The golden ribbed domes of this mosque are unique in the sense that no other mosque in Pakistan has ever been treated with this medium. Besides, in some cases, the exterior has been painted green, or faced with green tiles. The mosque attached to the tomb of Shah Muhammad Ghaus at Lahore has the domes revetted recently with green glazed tiles. Similarly, the round mosque at the Defence Society at Karachi and the Masjid-i-Shuhada at Lahore have an avoid roofing of quite a big span, in fact covering the whole of the round *aiwan*. Yet another experimentation is the tent-like pyramidal roofing introduced in the newly constructed Faisal Mosque at Islamabad. These experimentations are in fact the pride of R.C.C. work which has allowed covering of such a vast span.

THE LIWAN (CLOISTERS)

The mosques have often been provided with a *liwan* on the south and north of the courtyard to create additional covered space. We notice that this provision has been created especially in bigger mosques since the very beginning, and the earliest mosque at Banbhore had this provision, perhaps in imitation of the living quarters of the Rasuḷallah (peace be upon him) in the Masjid al-Nabi. Since then the *liwan* has been taken as a necessary adjunct, though for various purposes. The bigger mosques of the Moghul period, the mosque of Wazir Khan and the Badshahi Mosque, have the *liwan* in the shape of an arcaded verandah or a series of independent cubicles arranged in a line on the south, north and on the east flanking the entrance vestibule. Each cubicle has been provided with a door opening in front and a window opening at the back. The *liwan* of the Badshahi Mosque is designed in the shape of an arcaded verandah, consisting of eighty interconnected rooms and having arched openings in front as well as at the back. And engrailed arch is provided in between the cubicles roofed with brick



Pl. 90

*Dabgran Mosque, Thatta:
Quranic Inscription.*

vaulting. The interior of the *liwans* has been lime plastered and treated with *ghalibkari*, while the exterior has been faced with panels of faience mosaics and brick imitation in case of the mosque of Wazir Khan, while the exterior of the Badshahi Mosque has the panelled veneering of red stone. In the later case, the parapet has also been faced with red stone giving it the shape of carlinelation.

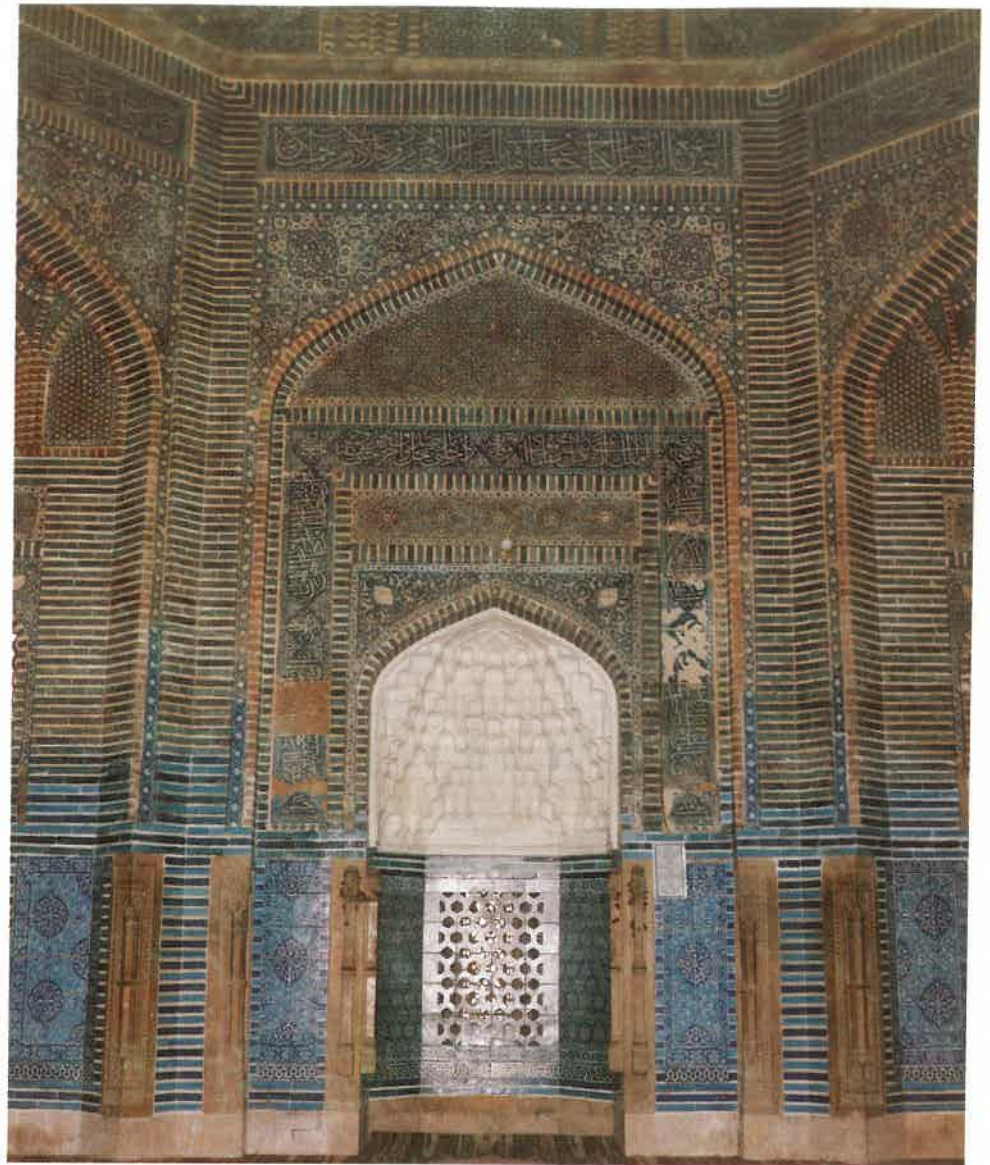
THE ENTRANCE VESTIBULE

It has been customary to give a grand treatment to the entrance of the mosque. There were three door-openings to the Arab mosque at Banbhore (Deybul). The main entrance on the east had a flight of three steps, and its facade was augmented with inscribed stone slabs recording pertinent details of its construction. The mosques of the medieval periods had a vestibule

with arched openings on the east and west and roofed with a low dome. The best example of these earlier entrance-vestibules is the *Ala'i Darwaza* added to the *Quwwat ul-Islam* of Dehli in 1310 by Ala u'd-Din Khalji. Of the extant specimens created during the Tughluq and the later periods in the areas which now constitute Pakistan, none have retained its original shape. The great Jame Mosque created by Muhammad bin Tughluq at Pakpatan within the precinct of the Faridi Khanqah, must have possessed a grand gateway, as is evident from the epigraphs found recently and are assumed to have once adorned its facade.¹² Yet another mosque attributed to Firuz Shah Tughluq located at Depalpur has an imposing gateway representing the characteristics of the period. The extant structures of the mosques belonging to the Lodi and Suri periods do not have elaborate vestibules for entrance. In fact, it was not until the advent of the Moghul rule that the mosques in Pakistan started having this august paraphernalia. We have already alluded to the two entrance gateways of the mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore, which may be regarded as the first known appearance of such a regular vestibule destined to be developed into grand vestibule like that of the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, and adapted in later examples. It may be reiterated here that the Moghul tradition of grand and elevated vestibules of mosques, augmented with flights of steps, goes back to the early period of Moghul suzerainty when Akbar erected the *Buland Darwaza* of the great mosque at Fathpur Sikri in 1601-02. This was followed in later examples especially the Shahjahan Mosque at Dehli and the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore. The other mosques built during the Moghul period like the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta and Wazir Khan's Mosque at Lahore have also imposing entrance vestibules.

ORNAMENTATION AND DECORATION

The mosque as the prime manifestation of Islamic architecture has been treated with various modes and techniques of ornamentation, and the master-craftsman has used his talent and ingenuity to decorate the entire surface with epigraphs, floral designs and geometric patterns and motifs created in stone terracotta, faience or faience mosaic, fresco, stucco, or simple painting. In Pakistani mosques the story of such an ornamentation begins with stone carving, and its earliest manifestation, according to the



Pl. 91
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
The Mehrab.

available archaeological evidence, is found at the Banbhore mosque, where the carved stone bases were used to support the wooden shafts of the pillars. It may be argued that these stone bases having lotus designs in relief were re-used here. However, this is the earliest known use of a floral design in a mosque, most probably introduced by a local craftsman. The lotus motif, it may be reiterated, has been very popular rather sacred in the Hindu-Jaina or Buddhist art since the very early days, and it was from there that it found its way into the Islamic art and became a favourite art form. Unfortunately, not much of the architectural evidence of this type has been

found from the digging operations carried out to uncover the remains of the mosque. We do not know how and in what manner the shafts of the wooden pillars were carved, whether they were square or octagonal; whether they were crowned with capitals, and if so, in what shape and design. It might plausibly be assumed that the capitals of the wooden pillars had decorative patterns of the Buddhist prototypes of Sind. Similarly, the interior of the *Zullah* of the al-Mansura Mosque was, according to archaeological evidence, faced with wooden panels upto the dado level. Here, too, the flat roof rested on a row of wooden pillars, though their shape and ornamentation is not known now.

USE OF WOOD

Wood also played a significant role in the construction of hypostyle mosques of the medieval periods, several specimens of which still exist at Uchchh, Muzaffargarh, Multan, and the comparatively modern mosques in northern areas of Swat. The wooden roof of the mosques built along with the tombs of Jalal u'd-Din Surkh Bukhari, his grandson Jahaniyan Jahangasht and the younger brother of the later, Rajan Qattal, rest on a series of pillars arranged in two or three or even four rows. The pillars hold the rafters and purlins, while the tie-beams rest on posts and brackets. This wooden framing is invariably painted in gray, red, yellow and blue colours creating mostly foliages of various kinds, and they precisely get the sheen and bright effect of lacquer painting. Likewise, the round, square or even octagonal shafts of the pillars have carving of medallions created with minute details. The mosque erected within the complex of the tomb of Jahaniyan Jahangasht has wooden screens fixed with the celestial windows. The perforated lattice of geometric patterning of square or oblong pieces of wood cut and carved specially with the required incised lines, is locally called *jali*. The panels of these lattices are put in the openings to provide controlled light and air in the interior. The use of such device has been very popular in the brick architecture throughout Sind and the Punjab.

The wooden mosques of Swat have carvings of geometric and volute patterning. These carvings are a class by themselves. The wooden facing of the Mehrabs, the pillars their capitals and architraves are all carved with



Fig. 38 A Wooden Mosque in Swat: Medallion.

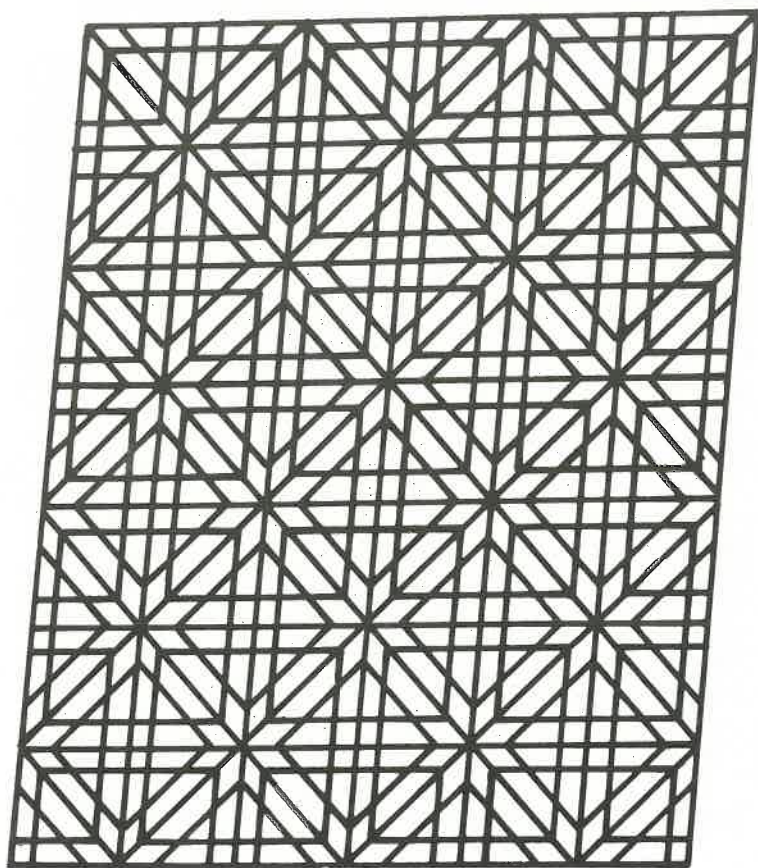


Fig. 39 A Wooden Mosque in Swat: Floral Carving.



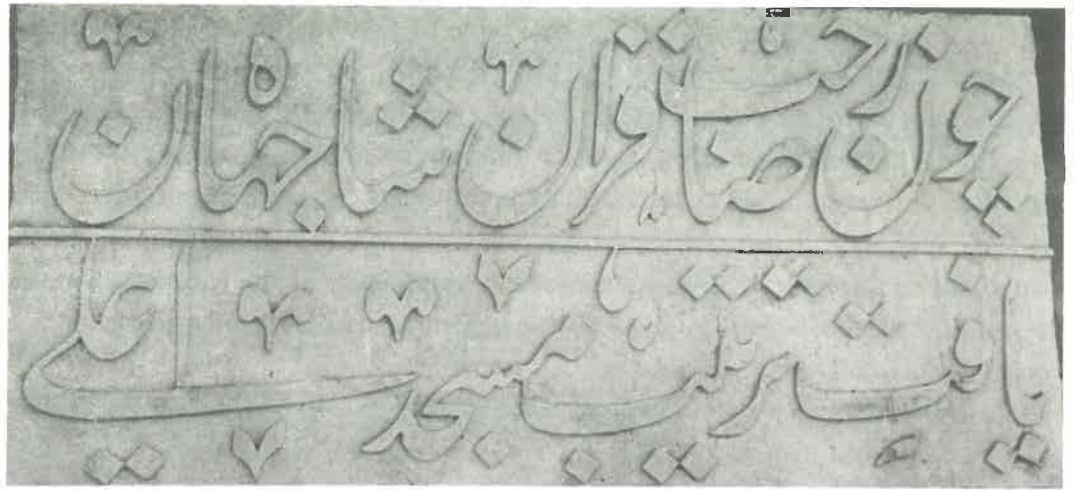
Pl. 92
Wooden Mosque at Utrat (Swat):
Carving on the Eastern Door.

such designs. Though of somewhat rough treatment displaying the workmanship of local talented master craftsmen, they present the local taste and resources and have their own personality. The best representation of these crafts could be seen in the mosques at Kalam and Utrot. The wooden pillars have been created in octagonal shape and are crowned with voluted capitals and brackets. The other shafts have vines and floral carvings. It is significant to note that few epigraphs have been found carved on these wooden elements.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

The mosques have, as a rule, been adorned with inscriptions providing pertinent historical information about the chronology of the building, the name of the builder and, in some cases, those responsible for its planning and construction. Besides, these sacred structures have been decorated with numerous epigraphs of selected verses of the Qur'an, traditions of the Rasulallah (may peace be upon him) and other semi-religious quotations and formulae. The feature has received prime importance and is indeed one of the most favourite media of surface decoration.

These inscriptions are created in almost all the forms of styles of calligraphy — Kufic (angular, floriated as well as foliated) Naskh, Suls, Tughra, Nasta'liq and many other allied scripts. They are executed on stone, in stucco and terracotta, in fresco and on faience and mosaic. The most exquisite specimens are, however, those carved on stone. The earliest known such epigraphs are the thirteen inscriptions excavated from the ruins of the mosque at Banbhore.¹³ One of these is carved in floriated Kufic and records the date of the reconstruction of mosque, the name of the builder and other pertinent details. The inscription, a masterpiece of epigraphic art, is undoubtedly the work of a master artist hailed from some important cultural centres of the Umayyid Caliphate, who was brought in and commissioned for the purpose. The date mentioned in the epigraph corresponds to 727, and the epigraph is certainly one of the earliest specimens of the art of monumental calligraphy of the Islamic world. The example was followed later in the Arab mosque at al-Mansura though not in that elaborate and sumptuous way, as found on an incomplete inscription carved on stone in



Pl. 93
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
A Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq.



Pl. 94
Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore:
Urdu Inscription carved in Nasta'liq
characters on wood.



Pl. 95
Wazir Khan Mosque, Lahore:
English Inscription carved on wood.

angular Kufic characters. This specimen was uncovered from the ruins of the mosque.

The tradition of adorning the facades of the mosques with inscribed slabs has since been almost universal. We normally notice the inscriptions on the celebrated Qutb and the *Quwwat ul-Islam* at Dehli, the *Arha'i din ka Jhonpra* at Ajmer, where long verses of the Qur'an have been inscribed in Suls-Naskh characters in exquisite manner, following the traditions of Central Asian art of monumental calligraphy. In Pakistan, we have a rare specimen of identical nature at the Khanqah complex of Baba Farid u'd-Din Ganji-Shakar at Pakpatan. Here has been erected a *Musallah* in the shape of

Pl. 96
Jame e-Farrukh, Thatta:
Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq.



Pl. 97
Jame e-Farrukh, Thatta:
Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq.



Pl. 98
Jame e-Farrukh, Thatta:
Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq.



a Mehrib-arch commemorating the place where Nizam u'd-Din Auliya, one of the great disciples of the saint, used to offer his prayers. It has been designed as an independent brick-arch, the inner face of which is finished in a trefoil arch on which long verses of the Qur'an have been carved. The calligraphist, imbued with the Central Asian art-traditions, has followed the style of calligraphy of the *Quwwat ul-Islam*, though in a comparatively smaller scale.¹⁴ While two more examples, also at Pakpatan, are from the two mosques, one created in 720/1320 during the reign of Mubarak Khalji,¹⁵ and the other probably of the rule of Muhammad b. Tughluq. Both the examples are in Suls-Naskh characters representing the style of the period, and manifesting clearly the gradual development of decorative calligraphy used for the embellishment of mosque architecture. Unfortunately, not many mosques of the period have survived in their original form, and their epigraphical decoration has also been entirely changed during their repairs and renovation. However, it is evidently certain that the Naskh and Suls styles were almost universally employed to design Quranic inscriptions used in the mosques.

Here we may also refer to a very significant epigraph recording the construction of a Jame Mosque named Jame' Farrukh at Thatta, by Mir Farrukh Arghun in 936/1532. The Persian inscription is perhaps the earliest known specimen in Pakistan carved in Nasta'liq characters.¹⁶

The exquisite epigraphs created in stucco on the facade and the Mehrib of the mosque built by Sher Shah Suri in the Rohtas Fort are a class by themselves which represent yet another phase of the evolution of the art of



Pl. 99
Jahangiri Mosque, Lahore:
Persian Inscription in Nasta'liq.

monumental calligraphy. Again, they are the earliest known in this medium in Pakistan, the influence of which is noticeable in the stucco inscriptions of the mosque of Maryam Zamani at Lahore.¹⁷

With the advent of the Moghul empire in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, the styles and media of epigraphical embellishment took new strides. Alongside the Sub-Naskh, the more elegant Nasta'liq and Tughra were also used for the purpose, and besides the stone and stucco, fresco, and tile and tile-mosaics were also applied. We do not possess any mosque of the days of Babur and Humayun in Pakistan, nor do many of the Akbar's period exist now in their original form. However, a stray inscription exists at Multan recording the construction of a mosque by one of the nobles of Akbar, Muhammad Qasim Amir ul-Bahr who also acted as governor of Multan.¹⁷ This is now fixed on the facade of the *aiwan* of a mosque built at a later date, probably on the spot of the earlier mosque. The inscription is carved in Naskh characters on a slab of buff sandstone in three lines separated by a thick flat border in between the lines, and is a fine specimen of architectural calligraphy.¹⁸ The style though not entirely new in this context, is peculiar in as much as the conservancy of space and the filling up the blank space in between the text with elongated verticals and pronounced roundels. Yet another inscription executed in Naskh characters records the construction of a mosque by Akbar in Lahore. The mosque has lost its original features during subsequent periods, even the inscription is now untraceable.¹⁹

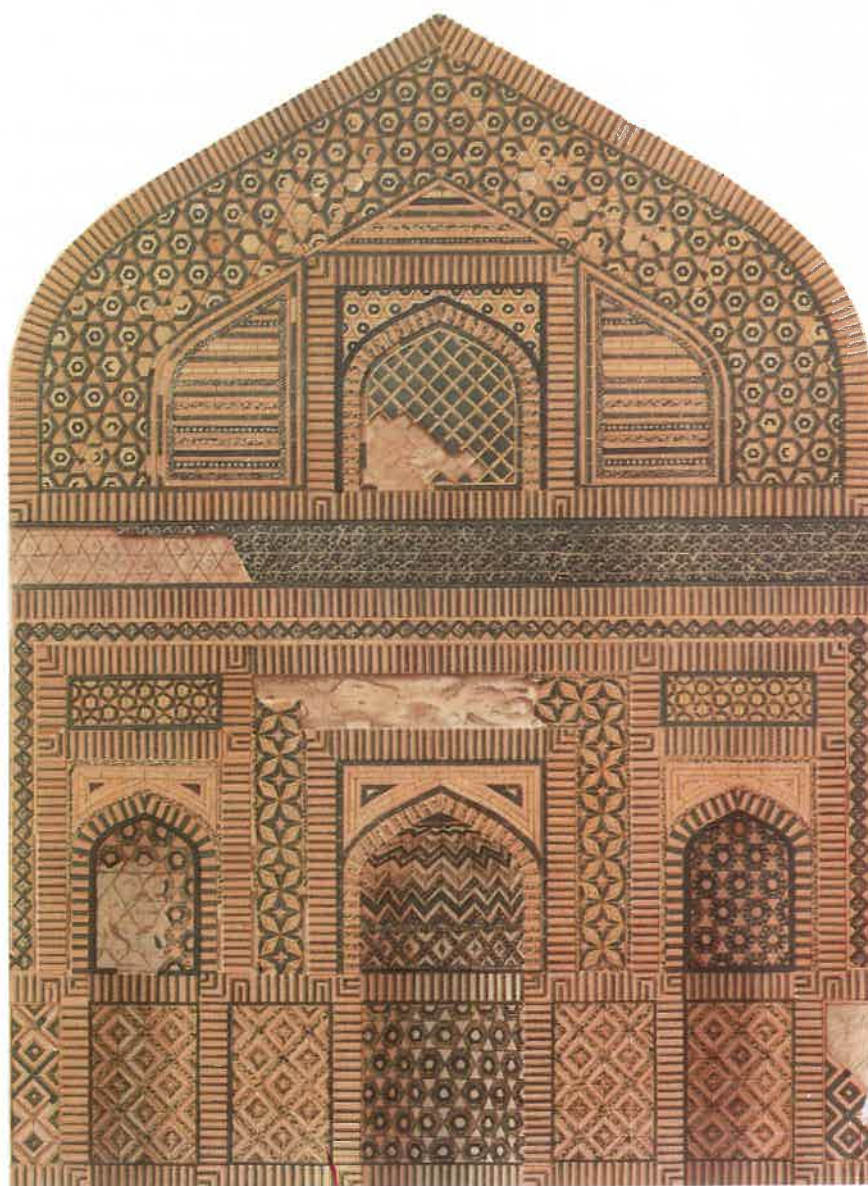
The next, in order of chronology, are the inscriptions carved on buff jandoti stone slabs and fixed over the Mehrib arch of the Dabgaran Mosque at Thatta. Executed under the patronage of a local chieftain by some local talented calligraphist and master stone-carver, the specimens indeed display the height of the Islamic art of monumental calligraphy in Sind.

The inscriptions carved in stucco and fixed on the facade of the two entrance gateways, the facade of the *aiwan* and the Mehrib-arch of Maryam Zamani Masjid at Lahore are both interesting as well as instructive. They are the earliest known stucco epigraphs of the Moghul period. As said earlier, the two on the gateways are in Nasta'liq, while those on the facade of the *aiwan* and the mehrib are in Naskh-Suls, executed in bold relief. The

elaborate use of epigraphs in this mosque makes it a rather unique example. Here for the first time, Persian verses are composed to record the name of the Queen Mother, and that of the emperor with date of its construction. The master-artist has calligraphed them with precision and the master-mason created it by means of chaste white stucco, the white frieze of epigraphs runs along the two sides and atop the Mehrab-arch. The simple but sophisticated treatment gives prominence as well as elegance to these epigraphs.

Yet another inscription carved on a marble slab is now fixed in a mosque located in the olden city quarters of Lahore called *Muhalla Khara-sian*. This belongs to a mosque created by Mir Sadr Jahan, a noble of the days of Jahangir, and records that the mosque was erected in 1015/1606. Carved in chaste Nasta'liq, the inscription was calligraphed for the stone mason by a renowned calligraphist of the period, Abdu'llah al-Husaini. There are three Persian verses arranged in three lines separated by means of flat lines, all crowned with a broad frieze of floral design, in the centre of which is a cartouche bearing الله اكبر while the second hemistich of the third verse is a chronogram giving the date.²⁰ The style and flow of writing and the diction of the verses remind of the identical treatment found in other Persian inscriptions of the days of Jahangir, particularly that fixed on the facade of his own *Daulat Khana-i-Jahangiri* in the fort of Lahore.²¹

This was indeed the age of Nasta'liq imbued with all-abiding influence of the Timurid and Safavid art-traditions of Iran. We find that almost all the historic inscriptions and many Quranic verses are calligraphed and carved in this style. Precisely, it took its initiation and, later on, popularity in the days of Akbar. One of his important nobles and administrators, Mir Ma'sum Nami composed verses and inscribed them on stone in exquisite Nasta'liq to record various historical events. Hundreds of these inscriptions are known to exist throughout the Subcontinent and even in far-off places of Afghanistan, Central Asia and Iran. Several mosques located in various parts of Pakistan and India are adorned with these inscriptions. The famous *Buland Darwaza* of the Fathpur Sikri mosque has an inscription by Mir Ma'sum. It consists of a Persian verse and Arabic prose executed in Nasta'liq characters. Carved in 1010/1602, it represents one of the best specimens of



Pl. 100
Purani Mosque, Sakkar:
A Panel of faience decoration.

the architectural calligraphy in this style.²² The influence was so predominant that even the *Kalima*, the *Bismillah*, the sayings of the Rasulallah (*Ahadis*) and the ninety-nine attributes of Allah and his Rasul (peace be upon him) were transcribed and carved in Nasta'liq. The tradition was followed by his son Mir Buzurg as well to whom many such inscriptions are attributed.²³

Later, many other master-calligraphists adopted the style. During the days of Jahangir and Shahjahan innumerable such inscriptions were carved and used for various buildings. The Shahjahan Mosque of Thatta is a big repository of such inscriptions, which may be rated as masterpieces of bold architectural calligraphy. Here we also find names of the calligraphists carved on these stone pieces. The bold Nasta'liq characters of a Persian couplet giving the chronogram of the construction of the mosque are neatly and boldly drawn within an interlaced floral frieze which runs on top and the bottom of the verses. Similarly, the bold lettered inscriptions, the exquisite work of renowned Abdu'l Ghafur, has double or tripled lobbed motifs and other arabesques to ornament the blank space in between the text which is created in high relief.²⁴

Yet another Persian inscription carved in chaste Nasta'liq characters, now refixed on the facade of the Mehrab of a small mosque in the Kanari Bazar of Lahore, records the construction of a mosque by a certain Khwaja Musta'id who was a noble in Shahjahan's court. The identity of this personality is not certain now, nor does the mosque exist. The last hemistich of the verses gives the chronogram recording the date of the construction of the mosque.²⁵

However, during the subsequent periods, the whole sale preference to Nasta'liq gave way to the Naskh or Suls or even Tughra. But, the tradition was not altogether forgotten as a few such specimens are known to exist at places. We know that for several epigraphs on some tombs and individual graves in southern Sind, Nasta'liq was used. The specimens of the days of Aurangzeb and of the later Moghuls reveal that while Naskh or Suls was preferred for such inscriptions, Nasta'liq was also chosen, especially for recording historical information. The historic Badshahi Mosque at Lahore, for instance has two inscriptions, both carved in Naskh within a thick flat border. Here the historical information has been recorded in Nasta'liq characters.²⁶ The lettering has been carved in and filled with black marble (*Sang-i-Musa*). The specimen is important as it is the earliest existing specimen of its kind used in a mosque. Later, the technique was used extensively. The inscriptions found in the Sunehri Masjid and Masjid Khwaja Ayaz, both built during the last century, as well as those of the present century, and



Pl. 101
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
Panel of Faience decoration.



Pl. 102
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
Panel of Faience decoration.



Pl. 103
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
Panel of Faience decoration.



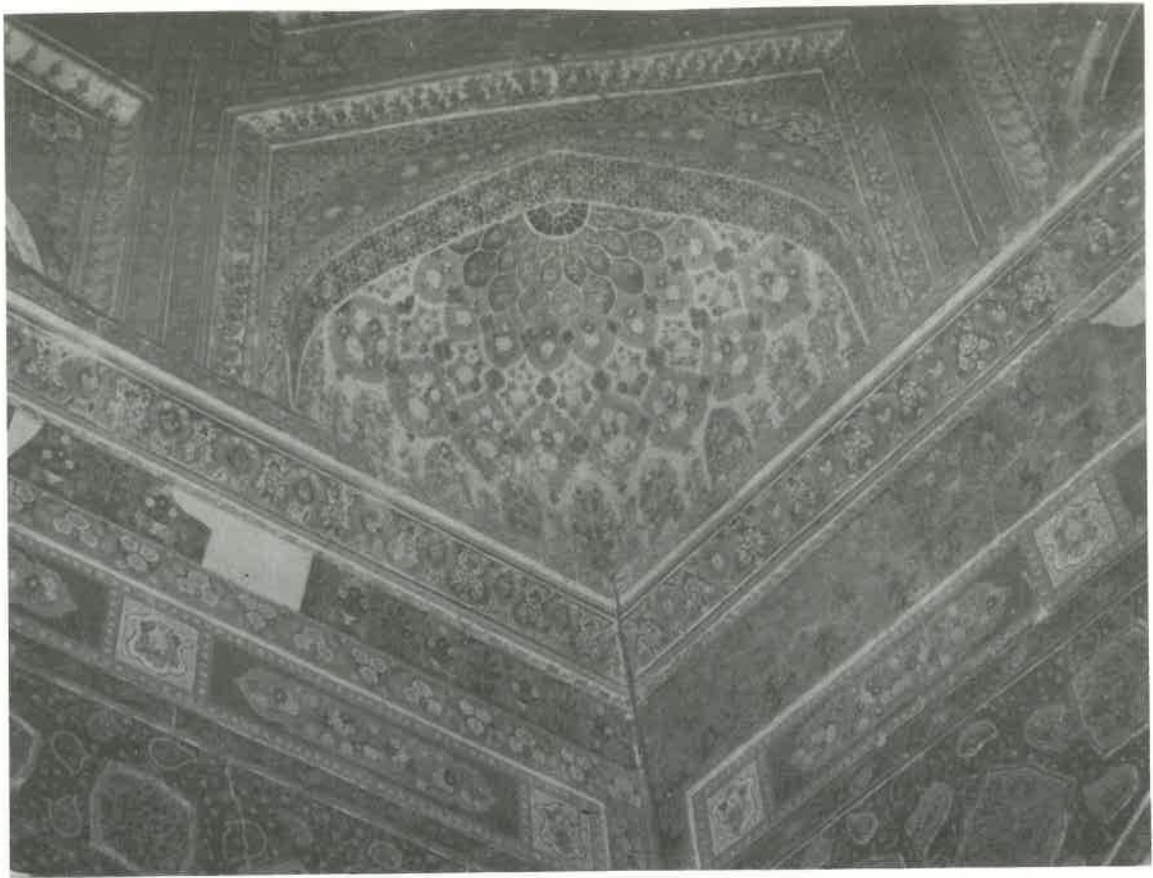
Pl. 104
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
Panel of Faience decoration.

those created after the establishment of Pakistan, have been augmented with stone carved inscriptions in the same technique. The Jame Masjid at Bhun, the Jame Masjid at Wah, the Lohari Masjid at Lahore, the Masjid-i-Shuhada at Lahore, and lastly the Faisal Mosque at Islamabad have inscriptions carved in bold letters on white marble. Indeed, white marble has been the most favourite stone for the purpose of carving inscriptions throughout the periods.

FAIENCE AND FAIENCE MOSAIC REVETMENT

Among the various devices employed to decorate the exterior and, sometimes, the interior of mosques, especially those built in brick, faience and faience mosaic have been very popular, and the mosques of Sind and the Punjab have been commonly known for such revetment. Although the device must have been known and employed on the mosques erected during the pre-Moghul period, the existing evidence does not prove its popularity. Later, during the Moghul period, it was very extensively used in the mosques erected at various centres in Sind and the Punjab. One of the earliest known existing mosques celebrated for such revetment is the Dabgaran mosque at Thatta. Here both the exterior and interior surface are treated with panels of glazed tiles in various shapes and sizes. They have been created by adopting the following three techniques:

- I. Square brick tiles having floral designs in blue and white glaze. These tiles are fixed to obtain a full and continuous pattern of decoration. The joints of the tiles are laid together in such a way that there is hardly anything visible on the surface.
- II. Glazed-surface bricks are arranged to obtain geometric patterns like squares, lozenges, crosses, grids, triangles, etc. Sometimes, thin brick-tiles having different glazed colours are put together as alternate courses, thus creating straight and continuous lines of different colours, mostly red and blue. Yet another device of similar nature is to have the bricks and glazed edges in white or blue. When arranged, the glazed line of bricks imitates the line of mortar in between the two courses of bricks.



Pl. 105
*Shobat Khan's Mosque (1330/1911),
 Shobatpur, Nasirabad (Balochistan):
 The Squinch.*

- III. Specially cut and glazed small pieces of terracotta tiles are arranged together to create intricate floral or inscriptional patterns. This device is called 'mosaics' and is effectively though sparingly used to cover the surface of squinches, and along the broad band on the drum as well as the stone panels of the central Mehrib.

Besides the floral and geometric patterns and designs executed according to the above techniques, some panels and friezes possess long Quranic verses exquisitely painted in white with azure or Persian blue background. These are mainly in Naskh or Suls characters. Again, this is for the first time that we meet such long verses of the Qur'an selected and executed in this device to ornament the Dabgaran mosque.

The tradition so set was followed almost universally for the brick buildings especially in various cities and towns of Sind and the Punjab like Thatta, Hyderabad, Hala, Multan, Sitpur, Muzaffargarh, Uchchh, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Isma'il Khan. It may be emphasized here that the faience revetment so applied consisted of terracotta enamelled tiles, mostly square, on which various designs and motifs were painted. The colours so

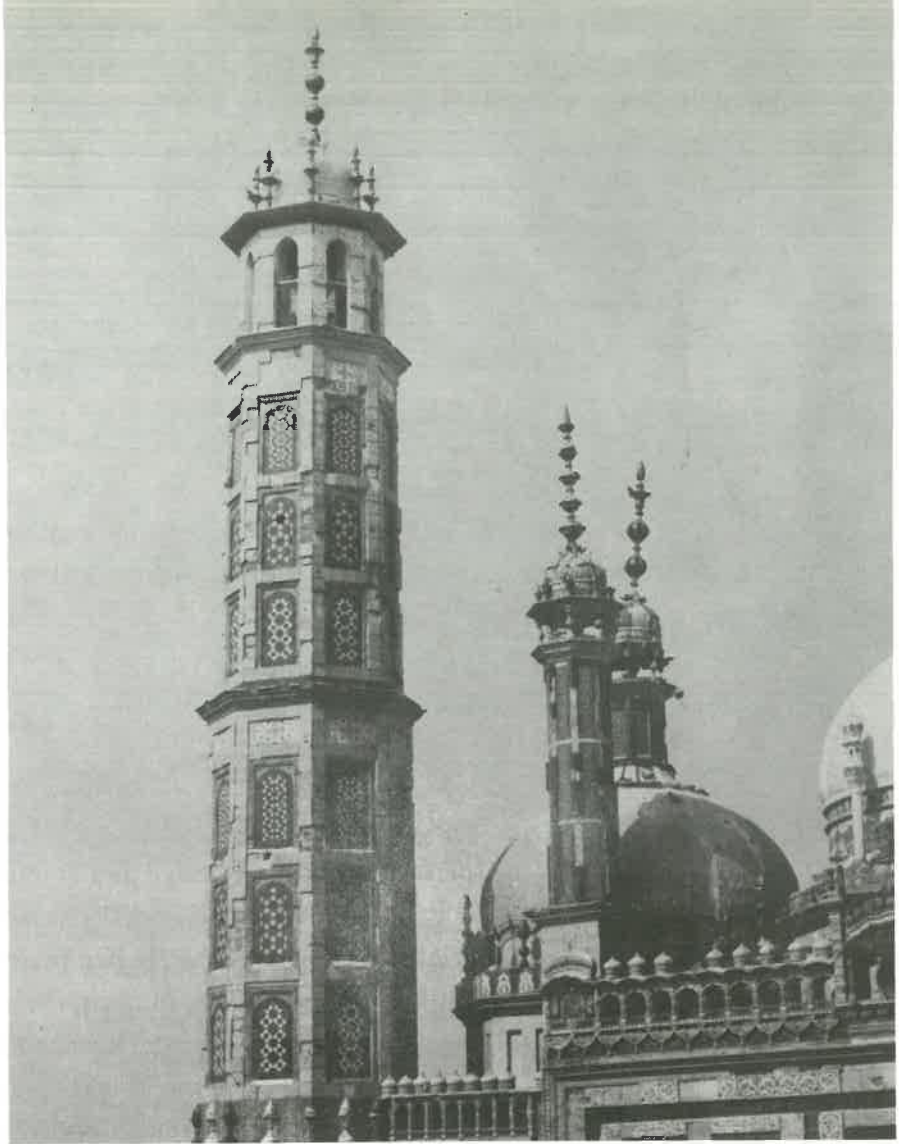
used were a combination of blue, Persian blue, white, and, sometimes, a light shade of green. This technique and colour scheme is the hall-mark of the faience work applied on the vast surfaces of the mosques created at the above mentioned places. At Uchchh, Sitpur, Kot Mithan, Jalalpur Pirwala and a few other places, another variety of mosaics has been used. It is, in effect, a combination of simulated brick plugs which have been put together to create a never ending variety of diapers and other geometric patterns. The mosque attached to the tomb of Jalal Bukhari at Uchchh, mosque of Tahir Khan Nahar at Sitpur, the mosque at Makhdum Rashid near Multan, and the mosque at the complex of Khwaja Farid at Kot Mithan (D. G. Khan) present a good variety of such 'mosaic' patterning of faience revetment. Most of these specimens were created during the early decades of the present century.

With the introduction of the new style of Islamic architecture under the patronage of the Imperial Moghuls, this decorative medium achieved technical perfection, both in design and colour. It may be reiterated here that the faience of the pre-Moghul period received influence from Central Asian Art traditions, while during the Moghul period the device was inspired from Iran, basically from the brick monuments belonging to 16th and 17th centuries at places like Khurasan, Tehran, Mashhad etc. In Pakistan, we have two most conspicuous mosques of the Mughal period where this device has been used as a major decorative medium. Both of these surviving specimens are the creation of the days of Shahjahan.

At the Shahjahan Mosque at Thatta faience has been applied very extensively. It is composed of terracotta brick tiles of various sizes and shapes having enamel painting. The design is completed by putting several such tiles together. Sometimes, diapers are also created by putting together several simulated brick plugs. The infinite variety of designs and motifs — geometric, floral and epigraphical — is noticed here. Besides, long panels and friezes have been created at more appropriate places on which long verses of the Qur'an have been painted in enamel. The long panel on the sides and atop the Mehrab arches as well as the long and broad frieze running at the point of the zone of transition have such treatment. These epigraphs have been created in Naskh characters in white with blue or Persian blue ground.

Pl. 106

*Shobat Khan's Mosque (1330/1911),
Shobatpur, Nasirabad (Balochistan):
The Suwame Minaret.*



The text is augmented with floral motifs, sometimes with a variety of arabesques. The treatment thus meted out presents a perfect adaptation of the art of Iranian origin, and it is the reason that the mosque has been exclaimed as 'Persian'.

The other mosque which stands out most conspicuously for the exuberance of faience mosaic revetment is the Masjid Wazir Khan at Lahore, also created during the days of Shahjahan. The surface decoration of this mosque in the shape of tile-mosaics and fresco may rightly and justifiably be claimed as the finest ever produced in the history of Islamic architecture in the whole of the Subcontinent. Several art and architectural historians have praised its perfection in design and colour.

The entire surface of the exterior of the mosque has been tastefully divided into many panels and friezes designed according to the availability of space. The exterior of the vestibule has been filled with delicate faience mosaic work consisting of colourful intertwined vines and foliages, while the rest of the surface is divided into various panels by means of a flat border and filled with tile mosaics of various floral designs. Here, besides the two projecting and bold oriel windows flanking the arched entrance, four oblong panels have been arranged, two each on the tops of these oriels. They are filled with Persian verses created in chaste Nasta'liq characters in faience mosaics. They record the name of the builder, period and date of the construction in a chronogram. The long frieze crowning the entrance arch has of the *Kalima* in the same medium. The octagonal pilasters created each corner of the vestibule are also faced with faience mosaic work in chevrons of blue and yellow colours.

The facade of the *aiwan*, the transverse corridor of the double-roomed apartments, and the domed minarets have likewise been faced with panels of similar faience mosaic work. Here most of the panels have been created within flat borders of brick imitation and fitted with floral, geometrical as well as epigraphical ornamentation. The Quranic verses are created in Naskh, while Persian verses and historical details are in Nasta'liq.

The tradition so created in this masterpiece, was followed in letter and spirit in several brick mosques, especially those erected at Lahore like the mosque of Muhammad Salih Kanboh and the Chinian wali Masjid.

FRESCO AND SICO PAINTING

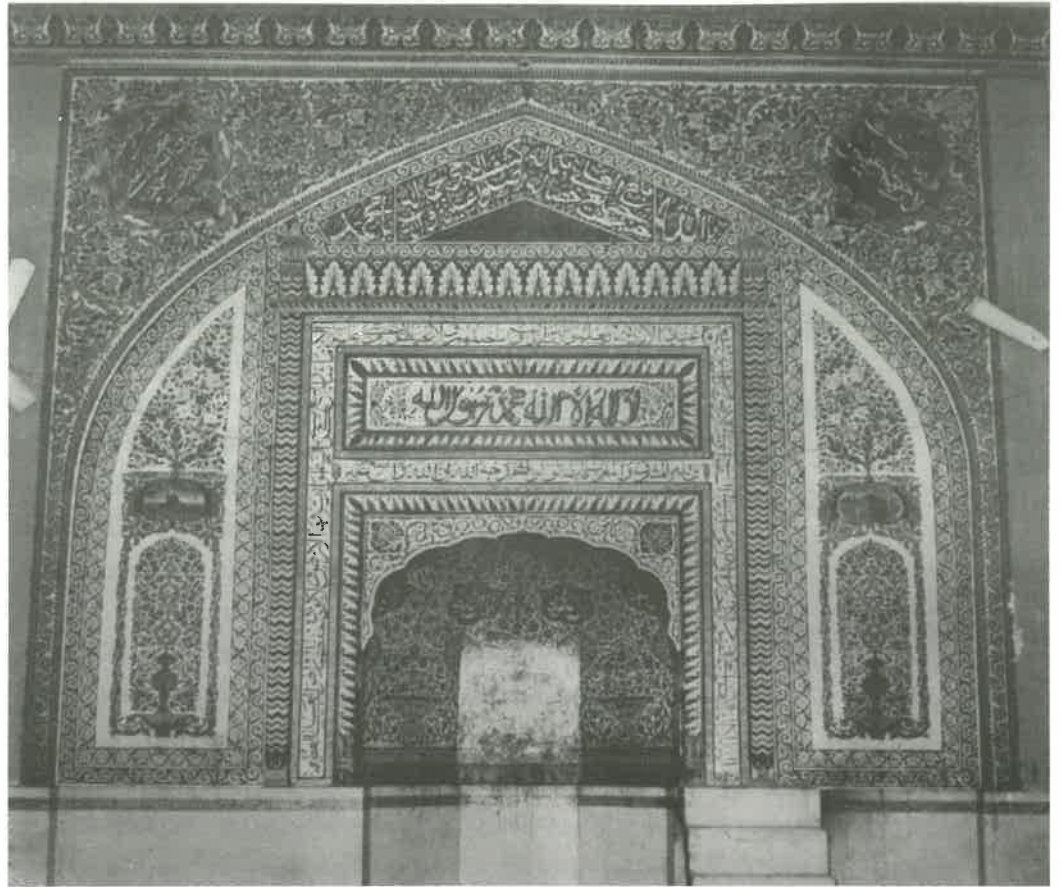
Like faience and faience mosaic revetment, fresco painting has also been a very favourite medium of surface ornamentation with which interior of these houses of prayers has been adorned. The use of this medium, it may be reiterated, has a history of its own in this Subcontinent going back to the early centuries of the Christian era. The early examples at the Jogimara caves in Mirzapur district in India, and those more celebrated at Ajanta and Bagh take us deep into antiquity. The tradition has since continued and, during the Moghul rule, we find it applied extensively. The fabulous build-

ings erected by Akbar and his successors at Agra, Lahore, Fathpur Sikri and Dehli, possess some exquisite examples of this type of decoration.

The fresco painting at the mosque of Maryam Zamani are the first of its kind, and provide evidence for its earliest known use in the mosques of Pakistan. Never in the history of the architecture of the early Moghul period do we find such an extensive and exclusive use of this type of decoration. The endless variety of geometric, floral and inscriptional designs spread over the interior surface in a subtle colour scheme is a characteristic not seen elsewhere. The surface has been divided into various panels of different shapes and dimensions according to the space available, and all the soffits, niches, squinches, arches, interior of domes, apex etc., are covered with these paintings. The squinches have been provided with low stalactites painted with small flower twigs, while the adjoining areas are divided into arched-panels which have bold interwoven floral patterns. Some of the borders of the panels have geometric schemes of decoration, created by carving slightly incised lines in white. The interior of the dome has similarly been divided into honeycombed geometric patterns filled with delicate floral tracery. The small space in between is filled elegantly with stars which bear some of the attributes of Allah done in Naskh characters. The superb combination of colours is also noteworthy; almost all shades of green, ochre red, blue, yellow and black have been used for the purpose without giving the whole scheme an obtrusive effect.

The experience and proficiency achieved in this enterprise of Jahangir's early period was used extensively later on in several other buildings. The mosque of Wazir Khan at Lahore is the most conspicuous example of this type of ornamentation. We have provided its details elsewhere. However, Fred Andrew's analysis is worth quoting here in *extenso* :

'The internal decoration is extremely rich and elaborate and is executed in fresco on an exquisitely fine *chunam* surface. The painting demanding first attention is that covering the internal walls and cupolas of the sanctuary. Round the lower part of all these walls runs a dado, four feet in height, of arabesque design usually surrounded at each change of surface level by a gracefully flowing floral border and narrow bands of plain colour. Mono-



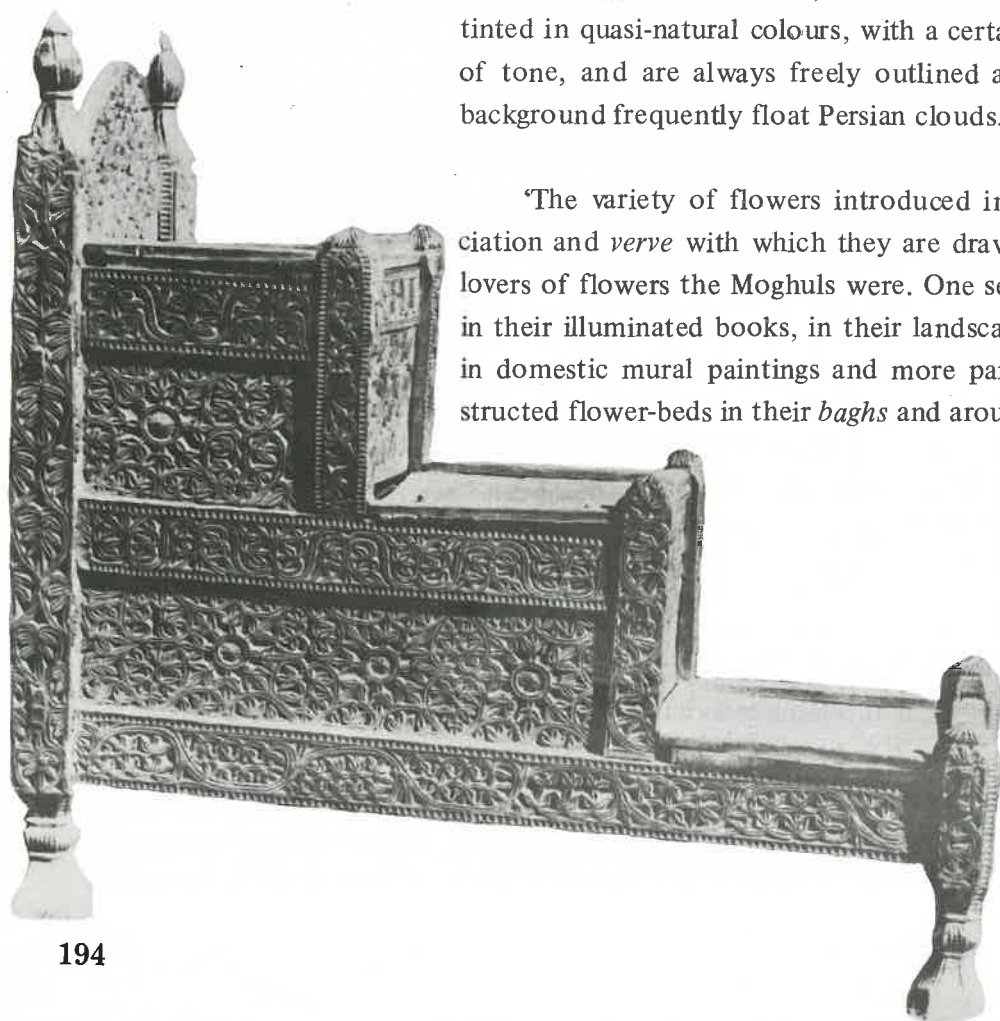
Pl. 107
The Idgah, Multan:
The Mehrab with Sico painting.

tony is avoided by frequent variation in the arabesque patterns, and while all are characterised by grace and admirable discretion, one portion is particularly fine. The field is deep ochre ("old gold") which a bold strapping superposed in rich red, relieved at each edge by a white line, which is again divided from the field by a fine black line. At certain points where the strapping interlaces, it passes through cartouches of pale neutral blue relieved by white and black lines in the same manner as is the strapping. Simple leaves and flowers trail gracefully along the straps; and garlands on the blue cartouches encircle the intersections, passing over and under. The deep yellow field appearing as beautifully shaped panels beneath the plane of the strap work, bears pink naturalistic iris plants, and conventional rose-like flowers with leaves. The floral border is in naturalistic colours on a deep purple-brown ground, and is divided from the filling by narrow bands of pink and green, with white lines between. Many of the white lines in borders

and strapping and drawn in graffito, and so are saved from any possibility of crudeness.

'Above the dado, the walls are divided into rectangular panels, alternately horizontal and vertical, the vertical one having the cusped Persian Mehrab shape painted within them, and those which are horizontal having both ends similarly shaped. The spandrels so formed are usually in deep colouring — dark red or blue or other rich ground, with conventional flowing patterns of flowers and leaves in naturalistic tints. The field of the upright panels usually bears a finely drawn, gracefully growing flower, or group of flowers (remarkably like the full-page illustrations in the old folio Italian Herbals) issuing from conventionally indicated grassy ground or from a very Chinese martoban or vase. Wherever the *martoban* is used, it is treated as though copied from blue and white pottery, and is generally standing in a kind of *chilmachi* or bowl, with a thin stem. The leaves and flowers are tinted in quasi-natural colours, with a certain amount of shading and variety of tone, and are always freely outlined and "fibred" with black. On the background frequently float Persian clouds.

'The variety of flowers introduced into these designs, and the appreciation and *verve* with which they are drawn is remarkable, and shows what lovers of flowers the Moghuls were. One sees this, too, constantly expressed in their illuminated books, in their landscape and garden subjects occurring in domestic mural paintings and more particularly in the elaborately constructed flower-beds in their *baghs* and around their tombs.



Pl. 108
Wooden Mosque at Utrat (Swat):
The Minbar.

'The horizontal panels are always treated more conventionally and give a pleasing contrast to the others. The spandrels over the alcove and arches in the central chambers are filled with conventional scroll-work having for a centre a *suraj mukhi* or sun flower.

'Above the rectangular panelling in the central chamber and just beneath the pendentive cornice is a long quotation in Persian running in two lines round the four walls. The cornice is richly coloured and so are the pointed arches and panels above. The gulab kari is exquisitely decorated, and by the selection of groups and bands of the small concave facets, for combined treatment, constructive masses are slightly emphasized and possible incoherence (with which Rosengarten would appear to charge this feature) avoided.

'The cupolas are divided into gracefully designed panels, in which the balance of rich and delicate colouring is most admirably preserved, and the applicability or fitness of the enrichment never ignored. The effect of the decoration of the cupolas and walls in the soft warm glow of the light reflected from the sun-lit pavement without is very beautiful, strongly suggesting tapestry. The pavement within the sanctuary was probably covered with an extremely hard, deep, maroon-coloured cement, and in the early part of the day, when the sun strikes under the arches, this would have lent an added richness to the colour within; but, as the heat of the day increases, the reflection draws gradually away, permitting cooler tones to soothe the heated bodies of those who seek shade and peace within the sacred precincts. To an artistic temperament there is a wonderful fascination in watching the great shadows, towards evening, quenching the flowing sunlight as they glide over the quadrangle. The cool band projected by the tall south-west minar, stretches out over the pavement and meeting the circumscribing wall, bends up and presently over it, to be broken into fantastic shapes as it makes its way across the endless expanse of terraced house-tops of the city. When the broad shadow of the sanctuary facade, steadily pursuing but ever losing ground, steeps the base of the opposite minar in purple grey, the kashi jewels high above glint in the ruddy light of the sinking sun like the scintillations of a glorious opal. Then as the mournful cry to prayers swells out throbbing over the seething bazaars, and good

Muhammadans begin to enter barefooted at the low archway, one feels that it is only where the sun is most fearsome that its potency can provide such a background, and that the most picturesque human conceptions can find such fitting concrete expression.

‘To many who have visited this Mosque it has been a cause of surprise that there should be, here and there, such a strong Chinese character associated with the otherwise Persian style of the decoration. When we consider that this work was probably executed by craftsmen from Persia, or at least under direct Persian influence, and that for many years Persian potters had found it profitable to execute forgeries of Chinese porecelain – even to the inscriptions and potters’ marks – for export to Europe where it found a ready sale as genuine, it is not difficult to realize that elements of Chinese design were almost bound to occur, and more particularly in such details as flower vases’.²⁷

Besides floral, geometrical and other motifs, the mosque bears inscriptions of Quranic verses, traditions of the Rasulallah (may peace be upon him) and other sayings executed in fresco. The frieze just above the zone of transition of the central bay is created in stucco and bears the *Surat al-Taghabun* in exquisite Suls with the name of the calligraphist at the end of the text which is deciphered as Husain. At many other appropriate places panels and friezes bear verses of the Qur’an, sayings of the Rasulallah (may peace be upon him), religious and moral formulae. The bold letters in relief in *chunam* are left white while the flat surface in between is coloured suitably, sometimes having floral motifs to fill up the blank space.

Several renowned calligraphists like Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Sharif, Muhammad Yusuf Kashmiri, and Mulla Husain, have contributed to the writing and designing these inscriptions whether in faience or in fresco.

The tradition so set up by these two grandiose Moghul mosques was followed rather universally. The Mahabat Khan’s Mosque at Peshawar, the Chinianwali Masjid and Masjid Salih Kanboh, both at Lahore, and many others of the series still retain such ornamentation, while those created during the early decades of the present century have been mainly decorated



in a simpler technique called *Sico* where the elaborate methods of real fresco were not followed. The technique used in the mosques at Multan, Uchchh, Muzaffargarh and elsewhere was just colour painting on *chunams* glazed plaster. This is generally called 'Multani painting'.

CONCLUSION

This is a general survey of the mosques and their architectural features and characteristics evolved and developed in the areas of Pakistan. The characteristics of the mosque and its inherent differences with Jaina or Hindu temple and Buddhist stupa has been well observed and commented upon by several architectural historians. Percy Brown, for instance, says. 'Compared with the clarity of the mosque, the temple is an abode of mystery; the courts of the former are open to light and air, with many doorways inviting publicity, the latter encloses "a phantasma of massive darkness", having sombre passages leading to dim cells, jealously guarded and remote. The mosque has no need of a central shrine, it is sufficient for the devotee to turn in the direction of Makkah, but the focal point of the temple is a sacred chamber often deep within the labyrinth of its endless corridors. Architecturally the mosque is wholly visible and intelligible, while the temple is not infrequently introspective, complex, and indeterminate. The representation of natural forms is prohibited by Islamic usage, whereas the walls of the temples pulsate with imagery, and their interiors are the dwelling places of the gods; decorative lettering attained its highest form in the sculptured texts on the Moslem places of worship, but on the temples inscriptional art is rare, the Hindus conveying their meaning by iconography and carved figure compositions. By means of a multitude of these figured forms, the Hindus gave to the temple an effect vivid and colourful, but all of it in the natural tint and texture of the stone; conversely, the Mohammadans broke up their wall surfaces in patterns of different coloured marble, and also applied schemes of painted plaster and brilliantly glazed tiles.'²⁸

Pl. 109
Shahjahan Mosque, Thatta:
A Panel of glazed tiles.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. For a detailed discussion on the subject see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*.
2. A. Papadopoulo, *Islam and Muslim Art*, 219.
3. M. Ishtiaq Khan, *op. cit.*, 53. fn. 7.
4. The point has been debated by several art historians. For a similar reference, see Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, 25.
5. F. A. Khan, *Bhanbore*.
6. Yaqut Hamavi, *Mu'jam u'l-Buldan*, vol. viii, 177. Maqdasi's assertion that the great mosque was built of stones, bricks, and marble, (*Ahsan u't-Ta'asim*, 479) does not corroborate with the archaeological evidence uncovered in the recent past.
7. For details see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *Multan: History and Architecture*, 174 ff.
8. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 44.
9. A. Papadopoulo, *op. cit.* 216. The salutation within brackets is added by the author.
10. For the details of the introduction of *Azan* and its composition, see Th. W. Tuynboll, 'Adhan' in *EI* i, 187 ff.
11. R. A. Kern, 'Masjid' in *ibid*, iii (old ed.) 333 ff.
12. Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Tomb of Baba Farid Ganj-i-Shakar at Pakpattan, in *JPHS*, vol. xxvii pt. ii (April 1979) 140 ff.

Detail of the relevant inscriptions:

Inscription I: The text, a verse from the Qur'an carved in Suls-Naskh characters in three lines within a flat border and round pilasters at either end, reads:

Line 1. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والذي

Line 2. اطمع ان يغفر لي خطيئتي يوم الدين

Line 3. رب حب لي حكماً والحقني بالصالحين

Inscription II: Apparently of identical size and shape, it has two lines carved in the same characters within flat border. The lines have been separated from each other with a flat horizontal line. It reads:

Line 1. الهی سعادتہا دوجہانی

Line 2. بانی خیر را کرامت کن بحرمت النبی و عترۃ

Inscription III: Again identical in shape and size, it has two lines of the text carved in similar style and reads:

Line 1. الهی در بقیہ عمر بانی خیر

Line 2. [فضل] کن بحرمت النبی و آلہ

13. For the details of the thirteen inscriptions recovered from Banbhore (Deybul) See M.A. Ghafur, *op. cit.*

14. The following is the text of the Quranic verses:

Line 1. کلما دخل علیہا زکریا المحراب وجد عندها

Line 2. رزقا - قال یا مریم انی لک هذا - قالت هو من

Line 3. عندالله - ان الله یرزق من یشاء بغير حساب

15. See *fn.* 3 above.

16. The inscriptions have been neatly carved on three big stones in cartouches arranged within elaborate border consisting of arabesques and undulating floral scrolls and the interspaces of the cartouches are filled in with arabesques. The central cartouche are filled in with arabesques. (Pls. 96-98).

The central cartouche of inscription II has 'الله علی رسول' in floriated Kufic. The following is the text of the Persian inscriptions.

(a) Inscription I:

بدورشاه عادل آن حسن خلق حسین آئین
کہ آمد خنگ گر دون باوجود سرکسی رامش

(b) Inscription II:

بنای مسجد جامع شد از دریا دلی واقع
کہ داد عالمی راشاد و خرم فیض انعامش

(c) Inscription III:

بگرمائی قیامت کہ پناه او نخواهدشد
پناه فرخ از بھر چه شد تاریخ اتہامش

The chronogram 'پناه فرخ' gives the date of the construction of the mosque, which is 938/1532.

See Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'Sehwan: History and Monuments' in *JPHS*. vol. x pt. iv (October 1962) 312, M.A. Ghafur, 'Inscription of Shah Hasan Arghun', in *JASP*. 1962, 277 ff.

17. For the text of the inscription see Ahmad Nabi Khan, *op. cit.* 336 ff.
18. The inscription carved in Naskh-Suls, has been recorded by M. Abdullah Chaghtai, *Masjid Wazir Khan*, (Urdu) 25. The date of the construction of the mosque is 970/1562.
19. See *Supra*.
20. The text of the inscription is as follows (Pl. 99).

کریمی سیدی صد جهانی ملجاء عالم که در عهد جهانگیری شده این بقعه را بنای
خلیل آسا بتوفیق خدا اندر عجم کرده بنای خانه دین بهر ترویج مسلمانی
چوشان کعبه دارد مسجد او بهر تاریخش مکن عییم اگر گویم بناشد کعبه ثانی

21. Cf. J. Ph. Vogel, 'Historical notes on the Lahore Fort' in *JPHS*. The inscriptions are yet to be examined properly for the purpose of their style.
22. Cf. Husam u'd-Din Rashidi, *Amin u'l-Mulk Nawwab Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Bhakkari*, 495 ff. The author has collected and collated as many inscriptions as possible from various published and unpublished sources. The monochrome plates covering the inscriptions are not, unfortunately, upto the mark.
23. *Ibid.* Yet another inscription adorning the mosque of Abdullah Shah Sahabi at Makli carved in Nasta'liq has been recorded by Rashidi (*Makli Nama* 798 pl. 37). It is dated 1093/1682 and reads as under:

سر افراز شد احمد از مصطفی بنا کرد مسجد بنام خدا
بغیر از عبادت نباشد درو بود قبه اش پر ز نور و ضیا
خدایش سر خداداد [؟] عزو قبول که تا هست دوران بپاند بجا
زهی فیض مسجد که از یک دعا شود حاجت مستمندان روا
بتاریخ بقدیم ماه صفر ختم بالخیر والظفر ۱۰۹۳

24. For the text of the more important inscriptions see, Husam u'd-Din Rashidi, 'The Geography of the City of Thatta' in *Mehran* (Sindhi) vols. 3 and 4 (1972).
25. The following is the text of the inscription:

بنای مسجد عالی بدور شاه جهان زکمترین غلامان بادشاه جهان
نمود بهر خدا از خلوص نیت خود که این نشان زمن تا ابد بود بجهان
چو نیت است که توفیق حق رفیقش باد رفیق باد بر او کردگار هر دو جهان
زمن تو نام ازان خواجه مستعد بشنو خدای دوست چو او نیست دیگری بجهان
خداش خبر دهد ای حکیم همچو کسی کجا است آنکه گنه گار حق رغبت جان
ز پیر عقل چو تاریخ خواستم گفتا به بین که مسجد آن مستعد شد بجهان

26. See *fn. Supra*.
27. Fred H. Andrews, 'Wazir Khan's Mosque Lahore' in *Jour. Indian Art and Industry*, vol. x No. 83 (July 1903) 27 ff.
28. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (The Islamic Period).

Bibliography

- Abbot, N. *Rise of the North Arabic Script*, Chicago, 1939.
- Agaoglu, Mehmed, 'The Fath Mosque at Constantinople' in *The Art Bulletin*, New Yourk, vol. 12 (1930).
- 'Ali Sher Qane' Thathavi (ed. Husam u'd-Din Rashidi) *Makli Nama*, Hyderabad, 1962.
- Ashfaq, S.M., 'The Grand Mosque at Banbhore' in *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 6 (1969).
- Begley, W.E., *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India*, (Catalogue of a Photographic Exhibition, with an Introduction by Z.A. Desai), Illionios, 1985.
- Bendrey, V.S., *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions, with Special reference to the Inscriptions published in the Epigraphia Indo-Moslimica* (1907–1938) (together with summaries of inscriptions chronologically arranged), Bombay, 1944.
- Bell, E., *Early Architecture in Western Asia*, London, 1921.
- Betley, Claud, *The Design Development of Indian Architecture*.
- Bourgoin, J., *les Arts Arabs*, Paris, 1873.
- Brand, Michael, Lowry Glonn D., (ed.) *Fatehpur Sikiri: A Source Book*, Cambridge Mass, 1985
- Briggs, M.S., *Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, 1931.
- Brown P., *Indian Architecture, the Islamic Period*, Bombay, 1942.
- 'Monuments of the Mughal Period', in *CHI*. iv, Cambridge, 1937.
- 'Early Indo-Islamic Art and its relation to the Art of the Seljuks and of Iran' in *Indo-Iranica*, vol. ii, No. 2 (1947).
- Bukhari, Yusuf Kamal, 'The Mosque Architecture of the Sultans of Dehli', in *ibid*, vi, (1951).
- 'The Mosque Architecture of the Mughals' in *ibid*, vol. ix, No. 2, (1756).
- Chaghtai, M.A., 'What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture', in *Islamic Culture*, viii (1934).

- 'Indian Links with Central Asia in Architecture' in *Indian Art and Letters*, xi (1937).
- 'Tarikh-i-Masajid-i-'Alam' (Urdu), Lahore 1976'.
- 'The Badshahi Masjid, History and Architecture, Lahore, 1972.
- Cousen, H., *Antiquities of Sind*, Calcutta, 1929.
- 'Portfolio of Illustrations of Sind Tiles', London, 1906.
- Charles, M.A., 'Hagia Sophia and the Great Imperial Mosques', in *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 12 (1930).
- Creswell, K.A.C., *Early Muslim Architecture*, vols I and II, Oxford, 1932-40.
- 'A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture', Harmonds-worth, 1958.
- 'Indian Domes of Persian Architecture', in *Asiatic Review*, v, 1914.
- 'The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia, in *Indian Antiquary*, 1915.
- 'The Origin of the Persian Double Dome', *Burlington Magazine*, Nov.-Dec., 1913.
- Cunningham, A., 'Report of Archaeological Survey of India', vol. v, Calcutta, 1875.
- David, Wade, *Patterns in Islamic Art*, London, 1976.
- Diez E., 'Manara', and 'Mehrab', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, iii.
- Dimand M.A., *A Hand Book of Mohammadan Decorative Art*, New York, 1958.
- Dunn, W., 'The Principles of Dome Construction' in *Arch. Review*, viii, (1908).
- Dani, A.H., *Thatta: Islamic Architecture*, Islama bad, 1980.
- Fergusson, J., *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. 2, London, 1910.
- Furnival, W.J., *Leadless Decorative Tiles, Faience and Mosaics etc.*, Straf-fordshire 1904.
- Gabriel, Albert, *Les Mosques de Constantiople*, Syria, 1926.
- Godard, Andre, *The Art of Iran*, London, 1965.
- 'Athar-i-Iran', Paris 1936-39.
- Goodwin, G., *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971.
- Gottheil, R. J. H., 'The Origin and the History of the Minaret' in *Jour. American Oriental Society*, xxx pl. ii, 1910.
- Grabar, Oleg, 'The Islamic Dome', in *Jour. of the Society of Archaeology*.

- *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven and London, 1977.
- Ghafur, M.A., Fourteen Kufic Inscriptions of Banbhore, the site of Deybul' in *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 3 (1966).
- *Calligraphers from Thatta*, Karachi, n.d. (1968).
- 'A Persian Inscription of Shah Hasan Arghun', *Jour. Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, vol. 7, No. 2 (1962).
- Grohmann, Adolf, The Origin and Early Development of Floriated Kufic' in *Ars Orientali*, vol. ii, (1957).
- Hearn, G.R. *The Seven Cities of Delhi*, London, 1906.
- Hill Derek, Grabar, O., *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration*, (A.D. 800-1500), Chicago, 1964.
- Inamullah Khan, *The Badshahi Masjid, Lahore*, Lahore (n.d.).
- Khan, A.N., *Multan: History and Architecture*, Islamabad, 1983.
- *Uchchh: History and Architecture*, Islamabad, 1980.
- '*Iran and Pakistan: The Story of a Cultural Relationship*', Karachi, 1971.
- *Islamic Architecture of Pakistan: An Analytical Exposition*, vol. I (Arab and Central Asian Contribution), Karachi.
- 'Sehwan - History and Monuments', in *Jour. Pakistan Historical Society*.
- *Maryam Zamani Mosque, Lahore*, Karachi, 1971.
- Kuhnel, E., *Islamic Art and Architecture*, (trs. by Katherine Watson) London, 1966.
- Kuran, Aptullah, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago, 1968.
- Lane, A., *Early Islamic Pottery*, 4th Ed., London, 1957.
- Lorey, E. De., *The Mosaics of the Mosque of the Umayyads at Damascus*, Paris 1931.
- Munshi, R.N., *The History of the Qutb Minar, Delhi*, Bombay, 1911.
- Nath, R., *Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture*, Bombay, 1970.
- Papadopoulos, A., *Islam and Muslim Art*, London, 1980.
- Pope, A.U. and Ackerman, P., *A Survey of Persian Art*, (2nd Ed.) 14 vols. London and New York, 1964-65, 1967.
- Rice, David Talbot, *Islamic Art*, Praeger, 1965.
- Rice, Tamara Talbot, *The Seljiks* London, 1961.

- Richmond, E.T., *The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, A Description of its Structure and Decoration*, Oxford, 1924.
- Rivoira, G.T., *Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1928.
- Sanderson, Gordon, *Archaeological Works at the Qutab, Delhi*, (ASI, Annual Report 1912-13).
- Scerrato, Umberto, *Monuments of Civilization: Islam*, New York, 1976.
- Seherr-Thoss, Sonia P., Seherr — Thoss, Hans C., *Design and Color in Islamic Architecture*, Washington, 1968.
- Serjeant, R.B., 'Mihrab' in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1959.
- Smith V.A., *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, (2nd Ed.) rev. by K. De. B. Codrington, Oxford, 1930.
- Stern H., lès Origines de L'architecture de la mosque'e Omayyade, in *Indus* xxviii 1951.
- and Hourani, A., (eds.) *The Islamic City*, Oxford, 1970.
- Unsal, B., *Turkish Islamic Architecture*, London, 1959.
- Vogt-Gokrul, Ulya, *Living Architecture: Ottoman*, London, 1966.
- *Less Mosques Turques*, Zurich, 1953.
- Volwahren, Andrews *Living Architecture: Islamic Indian*, London, 1970.
- Waliullah Khan, M., *Lahore: History and Important Monuments*, Karachi, 1962.
- Wilber, Donald N., *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, the Ilkhanid Period*, Princeton, 1955.
- — 'The Development of Mosaic Faience in Islamic Architecture in Iran', in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1959).
- Yetkin, S.K., 'Evolution of Architectural Form in Turkish Mosuques, 1300—1700', in *Studia Islamica*, X-XIII (1959).
- Zain u'd-Din Naji, *Atlas of Arabic Calligraphy*, Iraq, 1968.
- Zafar Hasan, 'Specimens of Calligraphy in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology' (*Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India* No. 29) Calcutta, 1926.
- 'Moti Masjid, Lahore Fort', in *Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of Pakistan Historical Society*.

Index

A

Abdullah Chaghatai, Muhammad, 51, 127, 128, 130, 200
 Abdullah al-Husaini, 183
 Abdullah Qureshi, 123, 126
 Abdullah Shah Sahabi, 200
 Abd u'l-Baqi Nahawandi, 120
 Abdu'l Gafur, 122, 185
 Abdu'l Latif, Makhdum, 120
 Abdu'l Makarim, Sayyid, 120
 Abdu'l Qadir Gilani's Mosque, 138
 Abdu'l Rahim Qureshi, Hafiz, 105
 Abd u'l Rashid, Shaikh, 51
 Abd u'l Razzaq Muzaffar Khan, 81
 Abu Bakr, 4
 Abdu's Samad Khan, Nawab, 140
 Adil Shah, 129
 Afghanistan, 183
 Agnew, Patric, 140
 Agra, 62, 192
 Ahmadabad, 158
 al-Ahwaz, 5
 'Ain u'd Din Mahru Multani, 15, 51
 Awan, 4, 5, 14, 36, 43-45, 59, 65, 67, 71, 77, 81, 83, 95, 97, 99, 101, 112, 118, 127, 136, 138, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146, 159-162, 164, 170-172, 182, 191
 Ajanta, 191
 Ajmer, 34, 180
 Akbar, See Jalal u'd-Din
 Akbari Sarai, 129
 Ala'i Darwaza, 174
 Alamgiri Gate, 105
 Alamgiri Mosque, 10
 Alamgir, Muhy u'd-Din Muhammad, 130
 Ala u'd-Din Khalji, 35, 174
 Ala u'd-Din, Shaikh, 36, 41, 53
 Algiers, 167
 Alhamara, 123
 Ali Karmakh, 7
 Ali Sher Qane, Mir, 120
 Alor, 19
 Amal-i-Salih, 102
 Amir Muhammad Khan, 82
 Amir Muhammad Khan's Mosque, 82, 83
 Anderson, William, 140
 Andrews, Fred H., 192, 200
 Anjuman-i-Hamayyat-i-Islam, 145
 Arabic, 29
 Arambagh, 149
 Arambagh Mosque, 165, 169, 171
 Arha-i-din ka Jhonpra, 164, 180
 Ashfaq, S. M., 25
 Askar, 14
 Aurangzeb, 10, 81, 113, 117, 127, 129, 185
 Ayat al-Kursi, 70, 122
 Ayaz, Khwaja, 75
 Azan, 62, 168

B

Baba Farid, See Farid Ganj-i-Shakar
 Babur, see Zahir u'd-Din
 Badauni, Mulla Abd u'l-Qadir, 63, 121
 Badshahi Mosque, 10, 12, 45, 46, 71, 105-108, 110, 111, 113-116, 128-130, 149, 158, 159, 161-165, 167, 169-174, 185
 Bagh, 191
 Bahawalpur, 142
 Bahrain, 144
 Balazuri, 7, 26, 156
 Balochistan, 6, 163, 188, 190
 Banbhore, 7, 14, 16, 18-20, 24, 25, 160, 162, 173, 178, 199
 Banbhore Mosque, 175
 Bangla Desh, 14
 Banu Munabah, 29
 Banu Samahs, 7
 Baoli, 63, 64, 121
 Baqirabad Masjid, 140
 Baradari, 114
 Bara Gumbad Mosque, 47, 48
 Barkat Ali Khan, Muhammad, 115
 Basilica, 4
 Basra, 4
 Bazmi Ansari, A.S., 127
 Begum Jan, 139
 Begum Shahi Masjid, 64, 129, 139, 170
 al-Beruni, Abu Raihan, 7, 14, 31
 Bhakkar, 63
 Bhikari Khan, 140
 Bhong, 149
 Bhong Masjid, 148
 Bhopal State, 116
 Bijapur, 129
 Bilal, 168
 Bodhesar, 42
 Bodhesar Mosque, 43, 44
 Boka Khan, 145
 Boka Khan Masjid, 142
 Brown, Percy, 47, 53, 54, 84, 123, 197, 200
 Buland Darwaza, 9, 11, 174, 183
 Buzurg, Mir, 184
 Buzurg, Sayyid, 115
 Byzantine, 3, 5

C

Cairo, 14, 167
 Central Asia, 29, 158, 169, 183
 Changeez Khan, 57
 Chamberlain Road, 100
 Chandar Bhan Brahman, 126
 Chank Abd u'l Ghani, 82
 Char Bagh, 81
 Chhajja, 43, 45
 Chinianwali Masjid, 191, 196

Chiniot, 94-98, 168
 Chittagat, 127
 Clark, John, 115
 Clark Leslie, 116
 Cloister, 172
 Cole, Henry, 84, 100, 123
 Cousens, Henery, 41, 54, 63, 121
 Creswell, K.A.C., 198

D

Dabgir, 80
 Dabgran Mosque, 57-61, 164, 173, 182, 187, 188
 Dahli Mohalla, 145
 Dai Anga's Mosque, 99
 Dalan, 114, 117, 130, 131
 Dalokay, M. Vedat, 151
 Dani, A.H., 134
 Data Darbar Mosque, 169
 Daulat Khana, 120, 183
 Daulat Khan Lodi, 8
 Delhi, 6, 8, 9, 34, 35, 47, 48, 72, 158, 159, 168, 174, 180, 192
 Depalpur, 6, 19, 29, 35, 37, 54, 158, 160, 170, 171, 174
 Dera Ghazi Khan, 188, 189
 Dera Isma'il Khan, 188
 Deybul, 6, 16-21, 25, 156, 162, 173, 199
 Dikshit, K.N., 116
 Din-i-Ilahi, 62
 Durushkhela, 144

E

Egypt, 167, 168
 Emerson, H.W., 116

F

Faisal Mosque, 13, 149, 151, 156, 168, 169, 172, 187
 Faiz Bakhash, 113
 Faridi Khanqah, 174
 Farid u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar, 36, 53, 180
 Farrukh Arghun, Mir, 181
 Fath Khan, 63
 Fathpur Sikri, 9, 11, 174, 183, 192
 Fergusson, 84
 Feruzshahi Mosque, 37
 Feruz Shah Tughluq, 37, 158, 160, 174
 Fidai Khan Koka, 128-130
 Fort, 78
 Friday, 120
 al-Fustat, 4, 168

G

Gandhara, 31
 Ghafur, M.A., 14, 25, 199
 Ghalibkari, 173
 Ghazi Malik, 35, 53
 Ghaznavid, 31, 34
 Ghaznavid Mosque, 29-32
 Ghaznin, 29, 31
 Ghiyas u'd-Din Tughluq, 35, 36
 Ghulam Mohy u'd-Din, Shaikh, 145
 Ghulam Muhammad Bugwi, Maulana, 115
 Gilgit, 144
 Glover, Lt., 114
 Greek, 5
 Gujar Singh, 114
 Gujerat, 45
 Gujrat, 158
 Gulab Singh, 146
 Gulberga, 146
 Guldastas, 142

H

Habbaris, 7, 29
 Habibullah, Hafiz, 75
 Hala, 188
 Hammam, 127
 Hasanabdal, 113
 Hasam u'd-Din Rashidi, 120, 123, 200
 Hindu Shahiyas, 229
 Hira, Singh, 5, 114
 Hujra, 33, 45, 93, 98
 Humayun, 57
 Huzuri Bagh, 114
 Hyderabad, 188
 Hypostyle, 38, 40

I

Ibadat Khana, 62, 120
 Ibn Asir, 7
 Ibn Battuta, 36, 53
 Ibn Hauqal, 7
 Ibn Khurdadbeh, 7
 Ibn Rustah, 7
 Ibn Tulun Mosque, 14, 167
 Idgah, 63, 135, 140, 193
 Idgah-i-Jahangiri, 74
 Ikhtiyar u'd-Din, 8
 Iltumuddin Ansari, Hakim, 84
 Ilm u'd-Din Wazir Khan, Hakim, 94
 Imam, 75, 78, 91
 Imam u'd-Din Khan, Nawab, 145
 Imam u'd-Din Khan, Nawab Masjid, 142
 Inamullah Khan, 130
 Inayat Husain, Maulvi, 75
 India, 14, 131, 183, 191

Iran, 14, 183
Iraq, 167
Islamabad, 12, 13, 149, 150, 156, 168, 169, 172, 187
Islam Shah Suri, 48
Istakhri, 7
Istanbul, 13

J

Jahangir, 10, 48, 71, 129, 183, 185, 192
Jahangir Mosque, 181
Jahaniyan Jahangasht, 38, 40, 159, 176
Jahaniyan Jahangasht Mosque, 41
Jalalpur Pirwala, 189
Jalal Surkh Bukhari, Sayyid, 38, 39, 176
Jalal u'd-Din Bukhari, 159, 189
Jalal u'd-Din Khwarazm Shah, 42
Jalal u'd-Din Muhammad Akbar, 9, 62-64, 174, 182, 183, 192
Jalam b. Shaiban, 6, 29
Jamali, 42
Jamal u'd-Din Qandahari, 38
Jame-e-Farrukh, 180, 181
Jame Masjid Bhun, 187
Jame Masjid Delhi, 168
Jame Mosque Fathpur Sikri, 158
Jame Masjid Wah, 187
Jame Mosque, 12, 13, 21-23, 34, 149, 158, 169, 171, 174
Jam Tamachi, 42
Jandiyala Sher Khan, 63
Jerusalem, 3
Jhelum, 45
Jilan Khana, 48
Joba, 144
Jogimara, 191
Jone, Owen, 123

K

Ka'ba, 3, 31, 156
Kabirwala, 7, 35
Kairovan Mosque, 167
Kalam, 144, 178
Kamari Bazar, 185
Karachi, 12, 13, 19, 147, 149, 150, 156, 158, 164, 169, 171, 172
Kashmir, 145, 146
Kazim, Muhammad, 128
Kern, R. A., 198
Khalid Walid, 7
Khalid Wali (Mausoleum) 27, 35
Khalil Khan, 128
Khaljis, 8, 39
Khanewal, 7
Khan, Ahmad Nabi, 15, 51, 53, 54, 121, 145, 198-200
Khan, F.A., 25, 198

Khan, Muhammad Ishtiaq, 53, 198
Khanqah, 36, 42
Khan, Waliullah, 134
Khatib, 120
Khirkhi Mosque, 158
Khishui Masjid, 31
Khirr Khan, 47
Khudabad, 11, 136, 137
Khudabad Mosque, 136, 137
Khurasan, 189
Khusrau, Amir, 36, 53
Khusrau Khan Charkas Nawab, 57, 120
Khusrau Malik, 34
Khwaja Farid, 189
Khwaja Musta'id, 185
Khwazakhela, 144
Kipling, J.L., 84, 123
Kohistan, 142
Kokaltash, Khan Jahan, 129
Kot Mithan, 189
Kufa, 4, 5
Kufic 178, 180
Kuran, Aptullah, 14, 198

L

Labin, 3
Lahore, 7, 10-13, 29, 31, 34, 47, 48, 50, 62-71, 73, 74, 84-86, 88-93, 99, 100, 102-108, 110, 111, 113-116, 121, 123, 128-130, 139-142, 145, 146, 149, 150, 153, 154, 157, 158, 161, 164, 166-172, 174, 179, 181-183, 185, 187, 190-192, 196, 200
Lahore (Fort), 10, 63, 64, 71, 100, 105, 120, 158, 170
Lahori Bandar, 41
Lal Masjid, 12
Latif, S.M., 91, 122, 127
Lawrence, Henry, 114
Lehna Singh, 114
Lingua franca, 29
Liwans, 14, 37, 50, 64, 172
Lodis, 8, 47
Lohari Gate, 62
Lohari Masjid, 12, 149, 153, 169, 187

M

al-Mada'in, 4
Madina, 3, 4, 162
Madrasa, 75, 91
Mahabat Khan, 117
Mahabat Khan Mosque, 10, 117, 119, 164, 168, 169, 196
Mahmud Ghaznin, Sultan, 7, 29, 31
Mai Lado, 100
Makkah, 3, 4, 99, 197
Makhdum Rashid, 189

Makli Hill, 57, 200
 Makrana, 170
 Maktab Khana, 72
 Malik al Ghazi, 53, 54
 Manora, 168
 al-Mansurah, 4, 7, 19, 21-23, 26, 156, 160, 162, 168, 178
 Mansura Mosque, 169, 176
 Maqbool Husain, Sayyid, 75
 Marakish, 167
 Margalla Hills, 151
 Marshall, Sir John, 84
 Maryam Zamani, 64, 67, 174, 192
 Maryam Zamani Mosque, 10, 64-70, 121, 158, 164, 168, 170, 182
 Mashhad, 189
 Masjid al-Behr, 150
 Masjid Gate, 64
 Masjid Khwaja Ayaz, 185
 Masjid al-Nabi, 4, 5, 168, 172
 Masjid-i-Shuhada, 12, 149, 150, 158, 172
 Masjid-i-Tuba, 147
 Masti, 64
 Mas'udi, 7
 Mauj-i-Darya, 36
 Maulana Abdullah S/o Mullah Abdu'l Hakim Sialkoti, 130
 Mayo Hospital, 100
 Ma'zina, 24, 83, 168, 169
 Mehrab, 7, 20-22, 27, 31, 32, 34-36, 39-41, 46, 49, 57-62, 64, 66, 73, 75, 78, 81, 89, 95, 96, 100, 103, 104, 112, 118, 120, 122, 138, 141, 149, 152, 155, 160, 162, 164-167, 170, 175, 176, 181-183, 185, 188, 189, 193, 194
 Minaret, 190
 Minar-i-Pakistan, 13
 Minbar, 73, 152, 166, 167, 194
 Mir Ma'sum Nami, 10, 63, 183
 Mirza Mota, 146
 Mirza Muhammad Alias, 146
 Mirza Muhammad Masjid, 142
 Mirzapur, 191
 Mochi Darwaza, 102, 145
 Moorcraft, William, 114, 130
 Moti Masjid, 10, 71-73, 100, 158, 170
 Moran, 145
 Moran Masjid, 142
 Mu'awaiya, 5
 Mu'azzin, 91
 Mubarak Shah Khalji, 170, 181
 Mughlati, 54
 Muhalla Bhai Khan, 82
 Muhammad Ali, 196
 Muhammad Bakhsh, Hafiz, 105
 Muhammad b. Qasim, 6, 7, 19, 29, 83
 Muhammad bin Qasim Mosque, 82
 Muhammad bin Sam, see Mu'izz u'd-Din
 Muhammad bin Tughluq, 36, 174, 181
 Muhammad Fazil, Maulana, 92
 Muhammad Hashim, Makhdum, 120

Muhammad Ibrahim, Makhdum, 120
 Muahmmad Iqbal, Allama, 116
 Muhammad Qasim, Amir ul-Bahr, 182
 Muhammad Shah, 45
 Muhammad Shah, 140
 Muhammad Shah, Maulana, 92
 Muhammad Sharif, 196
 Muhammad Yusuf Kashmiri, 196
 Mu'izz u'd-Din Muhammad b. Sam, 8, 34, 170
 Mukran, 6
 Mul Raj, 140
 Multan, 6-8, 11, 19, 27, 29, 36, 51, 135, 140, 159, 170, 176, 182, 188, 189, 193, 197
 Mumtaz Husain Pathan, 26
 Muqaddasi, 7
 Murad Ali Khan Talpur, 81
 Musallah, 7, 73, 110, 116, 180
 Musallah Kharasian, 183
 Musallah-Mehrab, 35
 Musallah-i-Nizamiya, 164
 Musavi Khan, 92
 Musha'irahs, 93
 Musta'id Khan, 128, 130
 Muzaffar Husain, 129
 Muzaffargarh, 12, 176, 188, 197

N

Nagarparkar, 42-44
 Najaf Ali Khan, Sayyid, 63
 Nandana, 7, 31
 Naskh, 43, 45, 69, 111, 122, 129, 178, 181, 182, 185, 188, 189, 191, 192
 Naskh-suls, 70, 182
 Nasirabad, 188, 190
 Nasir u'd-Din Qubacha, 8
 Nasta'liq, 10, 43, 70, 122-124, 129, 178-185, 191, 200
 Nazim, Muhammad, 51
 Nazir Khan, Muhammad, 51
 Nirum, 6
 Niwin Masjid, 48, 50
 Nizam of Hyderabad, 116
 Nizam u'd-Din Auliya, 181
 Nur Ahmad Chishti, 105, 122, 127
 Nurjahan, 75

P

Pakistan, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 19, 21, 26, 29, 45, 57, 64, 78, 80, 81, 84, 90, 105, 123, 127, 131, 137, 140, 144, 146, 149, 151, 155, 156, 158-160, 162, 167, 168, 170-172, 174, 180-182, 185, 187, 189, 192, 197
 Pakpatan, 34, 35, 41, 53, 157, 170, 174, 180, 181
 Palosi Piran Mosque, 101
 Panipat, 8
 Papadopoulo, 156, 167, 198
 Pearl Mosque, 71

Pent, 45
 Persian, 29
 Peshawar, 10, 29, 101, 117, 119, 164, 168, 169, 196
 Phul Hattan Wali Masjid, 140
 Pir Patho, 82
 Prince of Wales, 115
 Punjab, 6, 7, 28, 29, 38, 84, 116, 117, 123, 128, 130, 167, 176, 187, 188
 Purani Mosque, 184

Q

Qalamdani, 98
 Qazi u'l Quzzat, 91
 Qazi Yusuf, 91
 Qazwini, 7
 Qibla, 3, 4, 31, 167
 Quaid-e-Azam University Campus Mosque, 149, 150
 Quba, 3
 Qutubiyya Mosque, 167
 Qutab Minar, 8, 168
 Qutb u'd-Din Aibek, 8, 34
 Quwwat, 6
 Quwwat u'l-Islam, 8, 158, 164, 174, 180, 181
 Quwwat u'l-Islam Mosque, 9, 168

R

Rahim Bakhsh, Haifz, 105
 Rahimyar Khan, 148
 Rahmat Khan, 113
 Raja Girha, 31, 33
 Rajan Qattal, 38, 176
 Ranjit Singh, 105, 114, 145, 146
 Rasulallah (Peace be upon him), 3, 4, 70, 156, 166-168, 172, 178, 184, 196
 Raushan u'd-Daula, 140
 Rohri, 63
 Rohtas, 45
 Rohtas Fort, 46, 181
 al-Ror, 6
 Round Mosque, 149
 Rustam-i-Jang, 140
 Sabistano Tusa, 14, 31, 51

S

Sa'd b. Abi Waqqas, 4
 Sadr Jahan, Mir, 183
 Sadr u'l-Sudur, 92
 Sa'dullah Khan, 127
 Safi u'd-Din Gazruni, 38
 Safi u'l Mulk, Malik, 43
 Sahibqiran, 47
 Saja, 126
 Sa'id-i-Nafisi, 14
 Sakhar, 63, 184

Salih Kanboh Mosque, 102-104, 196
 Salih Kanboh Muhammad, 102, 105, 191
 Sang-i-Mosa, 185
 Sarai, 49, 91, 127
 Sarai Akbari, 48
 Sasanian, 3
 Sayyids, 8
 Sayyid Ahmad bin Muhammad Abid Mashhadi, 120
 Sayyid Ali b. Sayyid Abdul Qaddus, 122
 Sayyid Dynasty, 47
 Sayyid Wali Shah, Hakim, 115
 Sebuktigin, 29
 Sehn, 20, 21, 23, 156
 Sehwan, 6, 19
 Seljuk, 31
 Shah Alami, 48
 Shah Burj, 98
 Shahab u'd-Din Muhammad Ghuri, 7, 8, 34
 Shah Chiragh Masjid, 154
 Shahdadpur, 7
 Shahi Bazar, 81
 Shahi Mosque, 94-98, 168, 171
 Shahjahan, 10, 71, 75, 91, 99, 100, 102, 117, 127, 129, 185, 189
 Shahjahan Mosque, 10, 76-80, 84, 123, 164, 167, 174, 175, 179, 185, 189
 Shah Muhammad Ghaus, 172
 Shah Nawaz Khan, 129
 Shaikupura, 64
 Shalamar, 113
 Shams u'd-Din Eltumish, 8
 Sher Shah Suri, 181
 Sher Singh, 105, 114
 Shobat Khan's Mosque, 188, 190
 Shobat Pur, 188, 190
 Sibi, 163
 Sikandar Hayat Khan, 116
 al-Sikka, 6
 Silsilahs, 38
 Sindh, 6, 7, 11, 28, 42, 57, 63, 82, 83, 167, 176, 182, 185, 187, 188
 Sirhind, 29
 Sitpur, 12, 188, 189
 Sobha Singh, 144
 Srinagar, 158
 Suffah Masjid, 63
 Suhrawardiya, 38
 Suliymaniya Masjid, 13
 Suls, 178, 181, 185, 188
 Suls-Naskh, 180-182, 198
 Sunehri Masjid, 11, 140, 141, 169, 172, 185
 Suwame, 168, 169, 190
 Swat, 7, 30-32, 51, 142-144, 176, 177, 194
 Syria, 167

T

Tahir Khan Nahar, 12, 189

Tarkhan, 57, 120
 Taxali Gate, 93
 Tehran, 189
 Tehsildar, 115
 Thambawaro Masjid, 41
 Thatta, 10, 42, 57-61, 76-83, 123, 164, 167, 173-175, 179-182, 185, 187-189, 200
 Timur, Amir, 47
 Tughluqs, 8
 Tughluq Mosque, 37
 Tughra, 122, 178, 182, 185
 Tulamba, 8
 Turkey, 14

U

Uchchh, 29, 38, 40, 41, 138, 159, 176, 188, 189, 197
 Udegram, 51
 Umarkot, 42
 Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, 162
 Umar ibn al-Khattab, 3, 4
 Usman, 4
 Usman Ali Hujveri, 31
 Utrat, 177, 178, 194

V

Vogel, J. Ph, 200

W

Wali Muhammad Khan, 11
 al-Walid, 162
 Wah, 12, 149, 169, 171
 Wali Muahmmad Khan Masjid, 140
 Waliullah, Hafiz, 115
 Waqf, 75, 91, 93, 120, 124
 Wazir Khan, 84, 93, 104, 126, 127
 Wazir Khan Mosque, 10, 84-86, 88-93, 102, 123, 158, 164, 166, 167, 169, 172-174, 179, 190, 192
 Wazir Khan, Nawab, 92
 Wheeler, R.E. Mortimer, 80, 84, 122, 123
 Wooden Mosque, 143, 144, 177, 194

Y

Yaqut Hamavi, 7, 198

Z

Zafar Hasan, 122
 Zahir u'd-Din Muhammad Babur, 8, 15, 47, 57
 Zakariya Khan, Nawab, 139
 Zanana Mosque, 78
 Zinda Pir, 63
 Ziyad, 5
 Ziyada, 33
 Zone of transition, 58, 160, 171, 189
 Zulfiqar Khan, 48
 Zullah, 3, 4, 20, 21, 156, 159, 168, 176



This Monograph presents a brief account of the evolution and development of mosque architecture in Pakistan. The story begins with the Arab hypostyle mosque of Deybul and ends up with the most recent creation, the Faisal Mosque at Islamabad. It thus covers a period of more than twelve hundred years.

The maiden attempt provides the first ever coherent description of some two hundred historic mosques augmented with photographs and line-drawing illustrations. The description also includes those mosques which do not exist now, but have been detailed in historical and literary sources, or whose existence is proved through epigraphical evidence.

ISBN 969-468-008-5

CAD LIBRARY P.U. LHR

