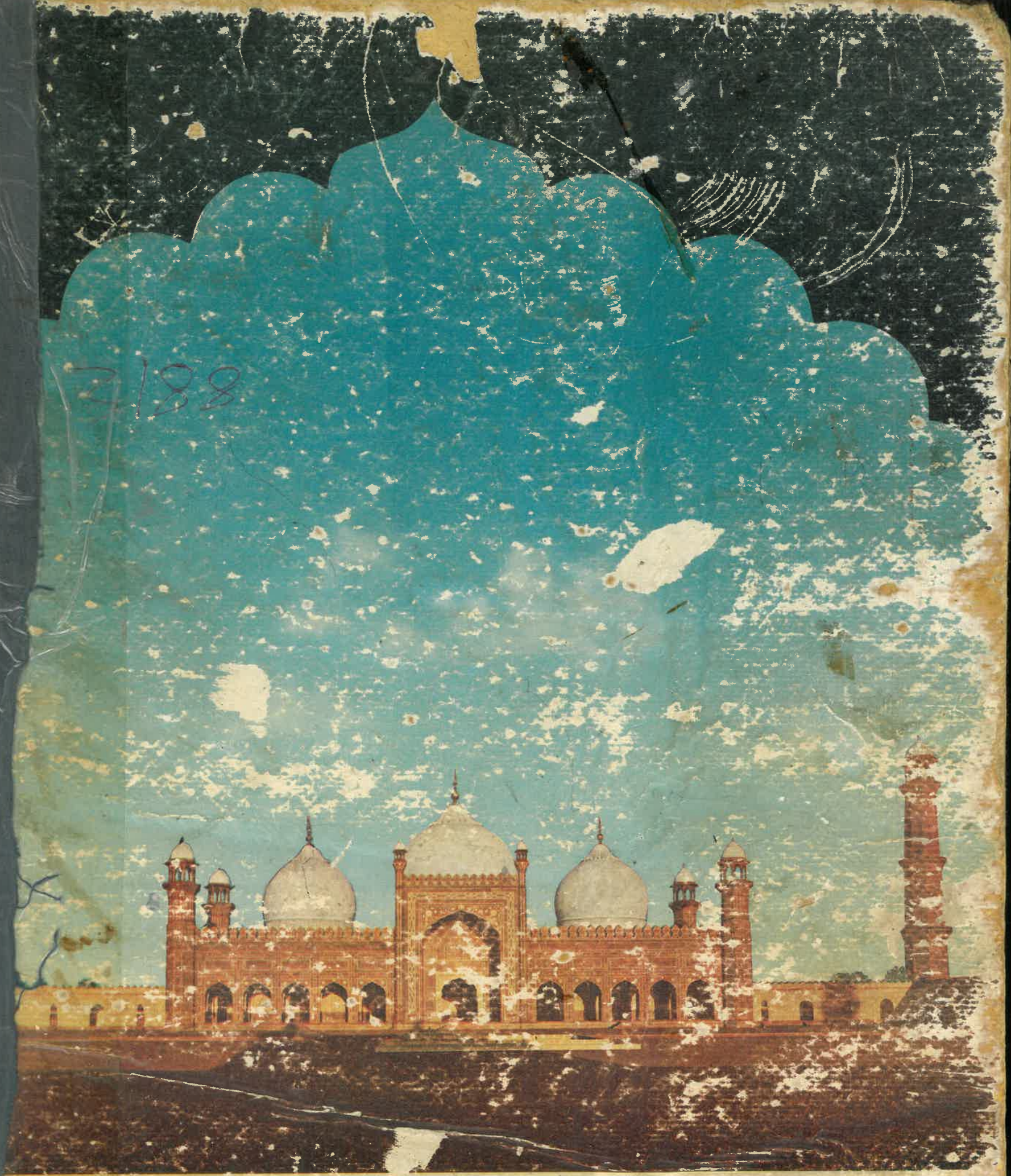




THE
DARGAHI MASJID
HISTORY AND ARCHITECTURE

BY

CH. G. TALUKDER

THE BADSHAHI MASJID

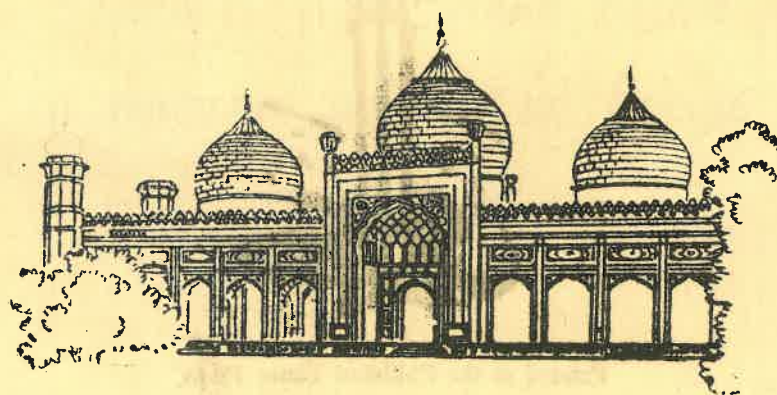
(Built by Aurangzeb in 1084/1674)

HISTORY & ARCHITECTURE

WITH 26 PLATES OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND SOME FIGURES IN THE TEXT

by

Dr M. Abdullah Chaghatai



In 1840

KITAB KHANA-I-NAURAS

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1972



وَأَنِ اسْتَغِ لِلَّهِ فَإِنَّكَ إِكْرَامٌ لِلَّهِ

القرآن : سورة الجinn : ١٨

“And the *Mosques*—places of worship—are only for Allah, so pray not unto anyone along with Allah”.

(*Quran* : Sura Jinn 72-18).

PREFACE

The main purpose of this monograph is obvious. It is an honest attempt to present the history and architecture of the Badshahi Masjid built at Lahore in 1084/1674 by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, who is wrongly maligned for not having any taste for art and architecture, although he built this, the largest and greatest, work of art among the world's mosques that are in use. Unfortunately, the mosque has never received adequate attention either from the historian or from the art expert and thus it is very little known outside Pakistan.

It is a pity that no contemporaneous record gives us any information about the mosque that would throw some light on it, except the one inscription on the facade of its main gateway which tells us that it was built under the management of Aurangzeb's foster-brother. This is one of the reasons why various baseless notions about the mosque exist today. We have done our best to collect here some useful information which we have tried to base on authentic sources. Particularly in the domain of architecture, the mosque stands on a culminating point, which is discussed at length. The architectural ornamentation applied here is of vital importance which has been a tedious job for the author.

In Central Europe the period extending from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century is called baroque, when architectural ornamentation of a florid, bold and lavish character was much in vogue. It was during this period that Emperors Shah Jahan (1069/1659) in India and Louis XIV (1715) in Europe built such wonders of architecture as the Taj Mahal at Agra (1057/1647) and the Palace of Versailles (1680) in Paris, respectively. Aurangzeb (1118-1707), the son and successor of Shah Jahan, could not but have imbibed the currents of art then prevailing in the atmosphere, and, although he is charged with a puritanical attitude towards the fine arts, it was after all he, who built the Lahore mosque.

Circumstantial evidence shows that the Badshahi mosque has always been neglected. After the Sikhs occupied Lahore (1750) it even lost its main function as a place of worship for the Muslims. On the contrary, it was used as a military base of the Sikhs, and it suffered much at their relentless hands. It is a cause for great satisfaction that a good deal of the original records of this period are preserved in the West Pakistan Civil Secretariat Record Office which have been made available to me through the kindness of Mian Sa'adullah, Keeper of Records, who also very kindly allowed me to photograph some of the relevant papers which have been reproduced here with his kind permission. This material has greatly helped me to write about the mosque at that period.

I understand that the drawings showing the Sectional Elevation and Side: latitudinal and longitudinal : of the mosque, reproduced here (plate 21, a, b) have never before been made. These were made by my son Abdul Ahad, a qualified practising architect, who deserves my warmest thanks. For help in securing photographs of the mosque, I am indebted to my youngest son Abdul Khaliq and Mr Nazar-i-Alam. Professor Peter Mac-Carthy and Tahir Mirza gave final shape to the English text for the press and thus deserve my sincere thanks.

Lahore is my home, where my family of artists, artisans and art experts have lived for centuries. My father and great-grandfather contributed a good deal to the city's architectural beauties. I was employed in Bombay (Deccan College, Poona) when partition took place in 1947, and shortly afterwards I returned to Lahore. I felt a keen desire to write something about some of Lahore's historical monuments on a comparative basis, and show our public that really great masterpieces of art existed here that are either little known or not fully appreciated. When I learnt that the Government was anxious to have an authentic monograph on the Badshahi Mosque, I offered my services on 23 March 1950. Opportunities were granted me to discuss my plan with the Home Secretaries and the Minister of Education of West Pakistan. As a result, the question of my writing a monograph on the Mosque was settled by Mr M.H. Sufi, Home Secretary, on 13 March 1957 and he very kindly entrusted me with the task of writing it according to the approved synopsis. But immediately after, I had to go to the U.S.A. and Europe. This afforded me an opportunity, on my way back, to visit the Near and Middle East and perform my Hajj at Meccâ, and also pay visits to Madina and Quds which I undertook entirely for the sake of this monograph, so that I might be able to study the mosques there and make a comparative study of the Badshahi Mosque's place among the world's greatest mosques. I also revisited Delhi, Agra and Ajmer for this purpose. In the course of this work, I have consulted many friends interested in the subject and sought their advice, for which I am most grateful; and it is very difficult for me to express my gratitude to them individually. But I should not omit to express my deep indebtedness to the late Khwaja Muhammad Umar, P.C.S., Under Secretary, Home Department, who was in charge of the repairs of the Mosque. I shall always appreciate his unstinting help.

Whatever shortcomings this monograph may have, they must obviously be attributed to the author. But the reader is requested to keep in view the limitations which invariably accompany the lonely researcher. It is to be hoped, however, that the reader will find some material in this monograph with which he is not already familiar. If this account of the Badshahi Mosque gives an insight to the reader regarding this great achievement of Muslim architecture, and also causes him to respect it as a masterpiece of art, as a great fountain of Islamic culture, it will be an ample reward for the labours of the author.

Muhammad Abdullah Chaghatai

15-F, Gulberg

LAHORE 30 Sept. 1959

P.S.—The Repairing Authority of the Badshahi Mosque handed over the management of the mosque to the Auqaf Department, Government of Pakistan, in 1960. This monograph on the mosque is published by the kind permission of the Auqaf Department. The Research Society of Pakistan, University of the Punjab, helped the author in its publication.

17 Oct. 1970

M.A.C.



CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE ...	v—vi
CONTENTS ...	vii—viii
INTRODUCTION ...	1
(a) Mosque Construction ...	1
(b) Mosques previously built at Lahore ...	2
II—THE BUILDER ...	7
(a) Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir 7	11
(b) Inauguration of the Badshahi Masjid 9	12
(c) Royal Order for Construction 10	12
III—DESCRIPTION : ARCHITECTURE	15
(a) Building Material ... 15	20
(b) Gateway ... 16	20
(c) Flooring Arrangement ... 17	20
(d) Dalans ... 18	21
(e) Water Supply ... 19	21
(f) Parapet ... 19	21
(g) Arches ... 19	23
IV—DECORATION ...	24
(a) Stone Carving ... 24	28
(b) Inlaid on Stone in Flat 24	28
V—BADSHAHI MASJID ASAN 'ID-GAH	30
VI—COMPARISON AND CONTRAST ...	31
VII—CONCLUSION ...	34
VIII—MOSQUE THROUGH THE AGES	35
(a) Sikh Occupation ... 35	41
(b) Ranjit Singh ... 36	43
(c) British Occupation ... 37	44
(d) Period of British Rule ... 38	46
(e) Restoration to Musulmans in 1856	39
APPENDIX Repairing Authority's Report ...	48
BIBLIOGRAPHY ...	49
INDEX ...	50—52

ILLUSTRATIONS

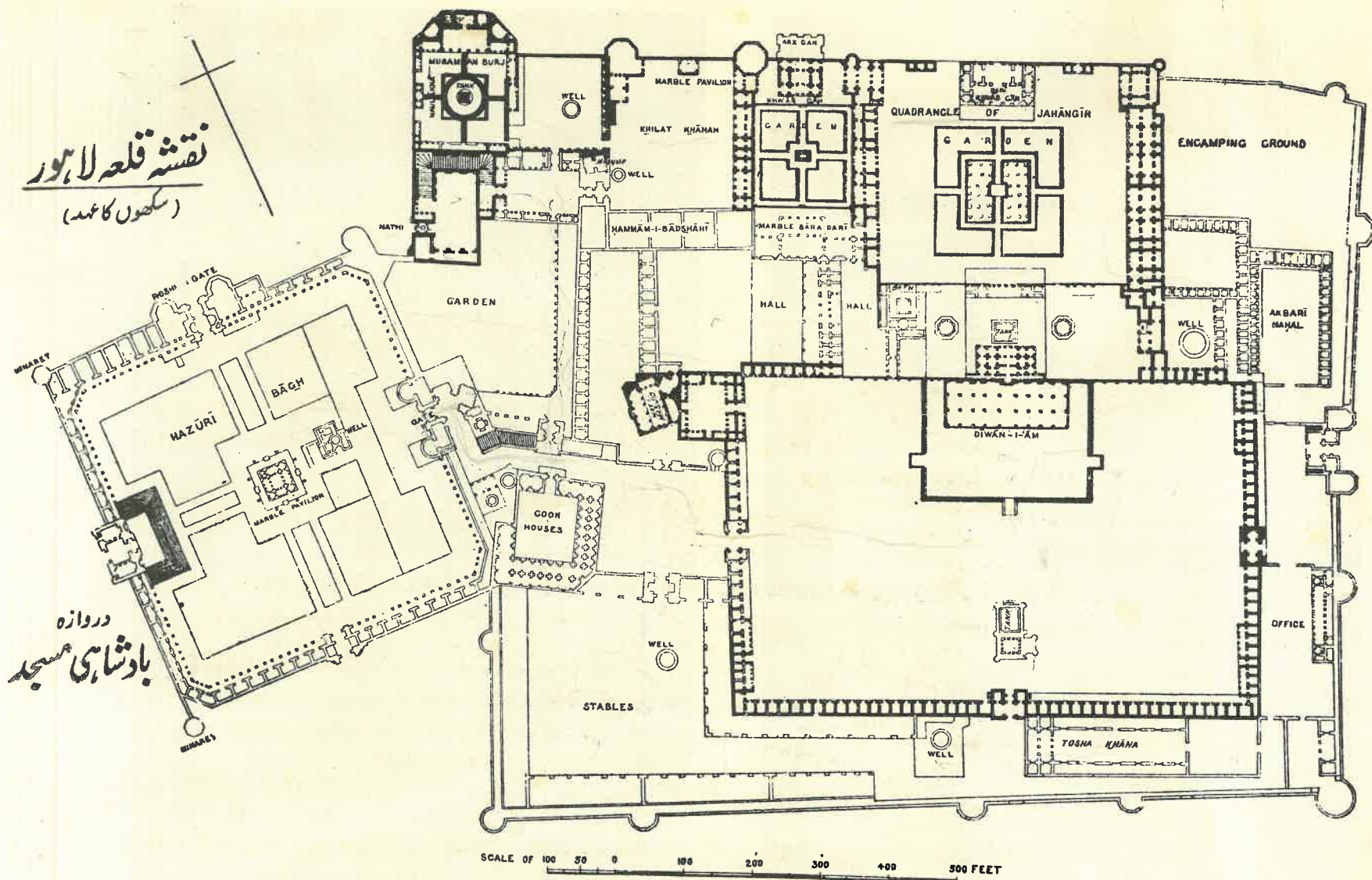
- PLATE 1.—(a) Plan of Lahore Fort and Hazuri Bagh
 (b) Plan of the Mosque
 By the courtesy of Pakistan Government Archaeological Department
- PLATE 2.—Mosque's Location :—
 (a) Southern Gate of the Hazuri Bagh
 (b) Tube Well (Old Well of the Mosque)
 (c) Old Gateway on the Ferry to Approach the Mosque
 (d) Drainage (Northern Wall).
- PLATE 3.—(a) Main Entrance to the Mosque : front view
 (b) Detail : Inscription on the Arch of the Entrance
 By the courtesy of 'Central Studio', The Mall, Lahore.
- PLATE 4. Interior of the Entrance.
- PLATE 5. (a) Full View of the Facade—Ivan—Praying Chamber
 (b) Back View of the Entrance
- PLATE 6. Ablution Arrangement within the Eastern Wing or Corridor
- PLATE 7. Arrangement of Prayer Rows within the Mosque
- PLATE 8. 'Id Prayer within the Mosque
- PLATE 9. Lahore City's View from the Mosque
- PLATE 10. Mihrab Chamber with Minbar
- PLATE 11. Peshani (Fronton's) General View
- PLATE 12. Fronton's Interior
- PLATE 13. Decorative Frieze on the Soffit of the Fronton,
- PLATE 14. Detail of the Decorative Frieze
- PLATE 15. Stone Carving : from the Facade Wall of the Praying Chamber
- PLATE 16. Central Dome's Interior : Showing Decorative arrangement.

- PLATE 17. Mural Decoration : from the inside of the walls of the Praying Chamber : four different details.
- PLATE 18. Decoration in Acanthus pattern : Marble carving from the lintel of the Mihrab and Arches of the central part
- PLATE 19. (a) View of the Entrance of the Mosque through the Dalans
(b) Architectural Set-up of the Domes
- PLATE 20. (a) Close-up of the Praying Chamber
(b) Back View of the Mosque.
- PLATE 21. (a-b) Mosque's Sectional Elevation and Side (Longitudinal and latitudinal).
- PLATE 22. Four Views of the Mosque and its Environments : made by some foreign artist at Lahore on the spot in 1854 :—
(a) Northern side of the mosque, showing the Ravi then flowing along with the Mosque and there was a ferry. A gateway of this ferry existed there.
(b) Southern side of the mosque, spreading from west towards east, showing bastions. (Although the present situation is different from that old one.)
(c) Showing a vast maidan on the north which was then used as a race-course. The Governor of Lahore is shown driving towards the race course. In 1904 this maidan was named as the Minto Park. When Pakistan came into being in 1947, it was known as the Iqbal Park and now it is known as the Yadgar-i-Pakistan or Pakistan Memorial.
(d) Entrance of the mosque in its dilapidated condition along with a pavilion in front of the gateway which does not exist today.
- PLATE 23. (a) Mosque's condition in 1856 when it was restored to Musulmans for prayer.
(b) The ruinious condition of the mosque's praying chamber in 1939 when a regular arrangement for its repairs was made.
- PLATE 24. Mosque during the British period : Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India gave a large lamp in 1900 which is reproduced here and it was fixed up in the courtyard of the mosque just near the tank. The name of the Viceroy is engraved on it. The other illustration of the mosque when it was declared as a protected monument (1924).
- PLATE 26.—The plans of :
(a) Juma' Masjid of Delhi built by Shahjahan—1650
(b) The plan of the Agra mosque, known as the Masjid of Jahan Ara
(c) The plan of the 'Id-Gah of Agra built by Shahjahan. Its area matches that of the Badshahi Masjid.
- PLATE 25. Three urdu documents regarding the Restoration of the mosque by the British Government in 1856 to the Musulmans, for prayer within the mosque :—
(a) The mosque was handed over to Hakim Sayyid Wali Shah and Hakim Sayyid Buzurg Shah on 18th April 1856, who represented the Musulmans of the Panjab.
(b) The finalisation of the restoration of the mosque to the Musulmans.
(c) A *Mahzar Nama* from 70 prominent Musulmans of the Panjab with their signatures, showing their gratefulness to the British Government for the grant of the mosque for the purpose of prayer.

Illustrations in the text

1. Facsimile of the Royal Farman, page 10
2. Inscription on the Entrance of the Mosque, showing that it was built in 1084/1674 under the supervision of Fidai Khan Koka, who was then the Governor of Lahore, page 12.
3. Portrait of Fidai Khan Koka, (British Museum, Add. 8801, London,) page 14
4. Mihrab of the Jami'al-Khaski, Umayyad period (89/707), Baghdad Museum, (Creswell—Z. M. Hasan) page 29.
5. Drawings of the Turrets of the Entrance of the Mosque, showing the scientific method of repairs. They have been replaced in the course of repairs. Page 47.

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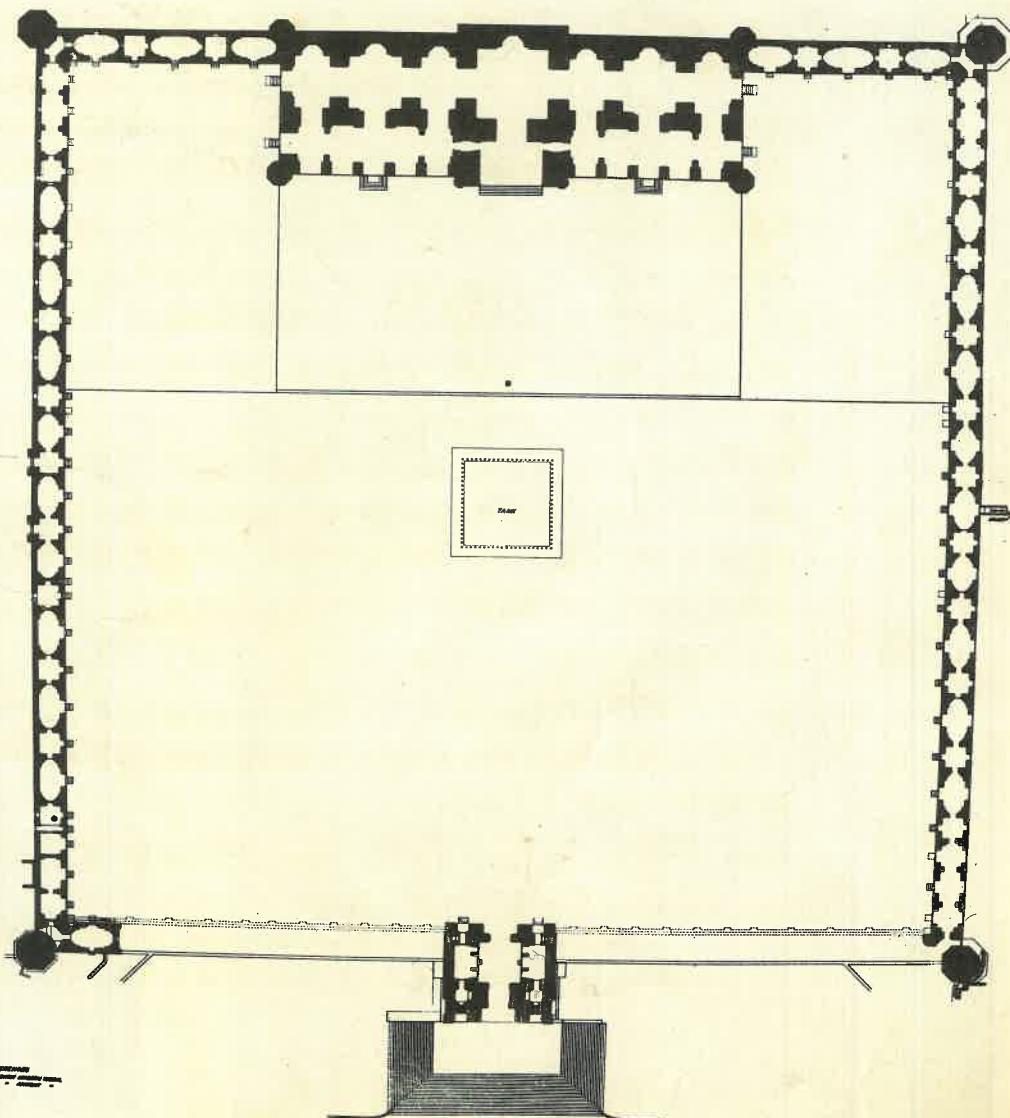


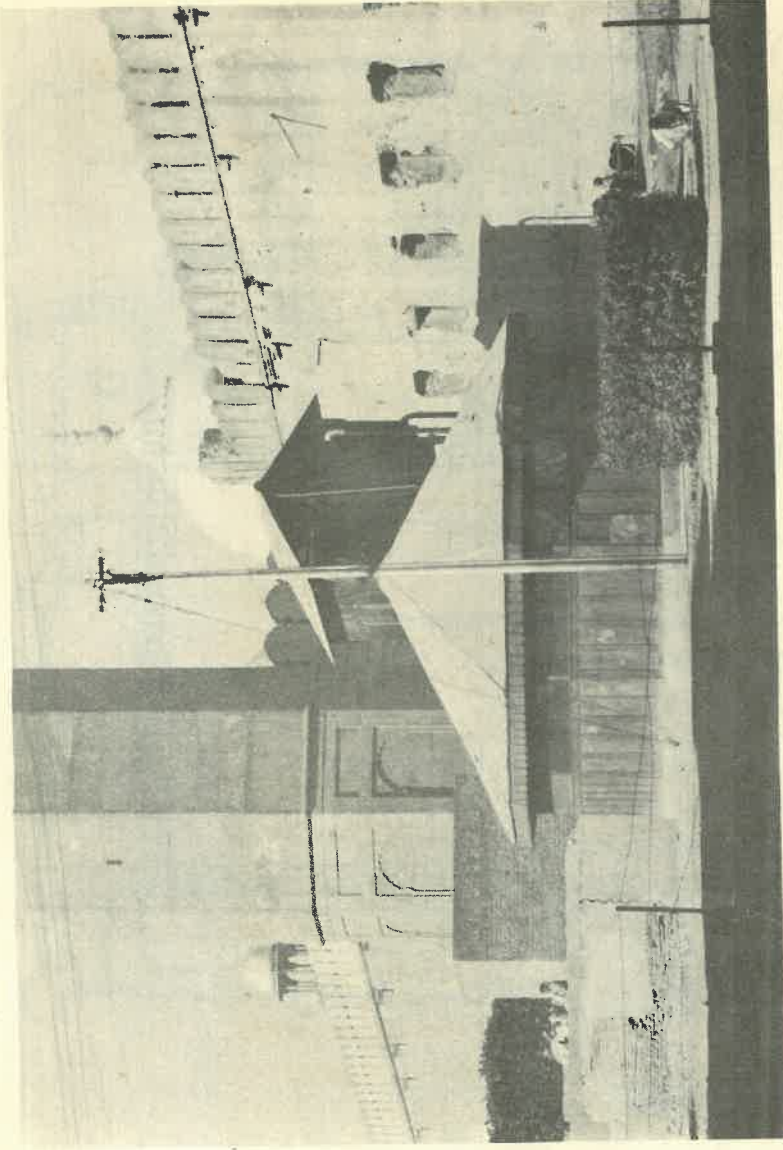
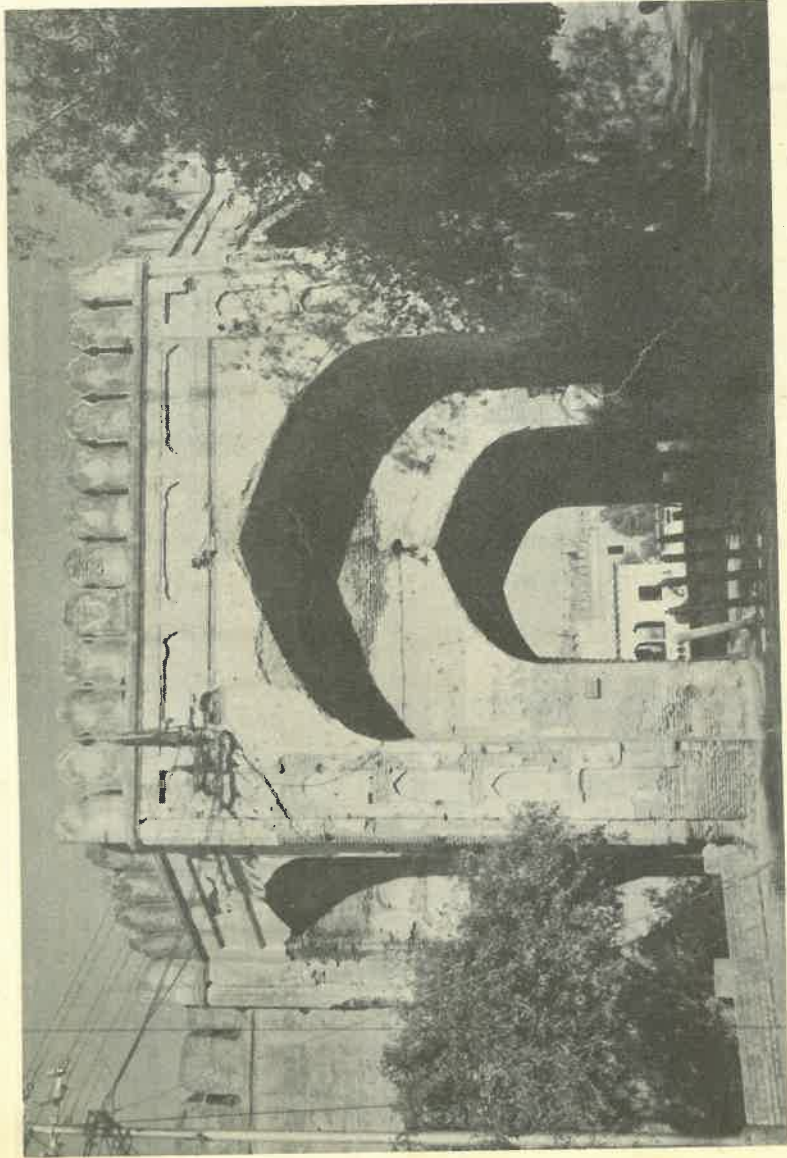
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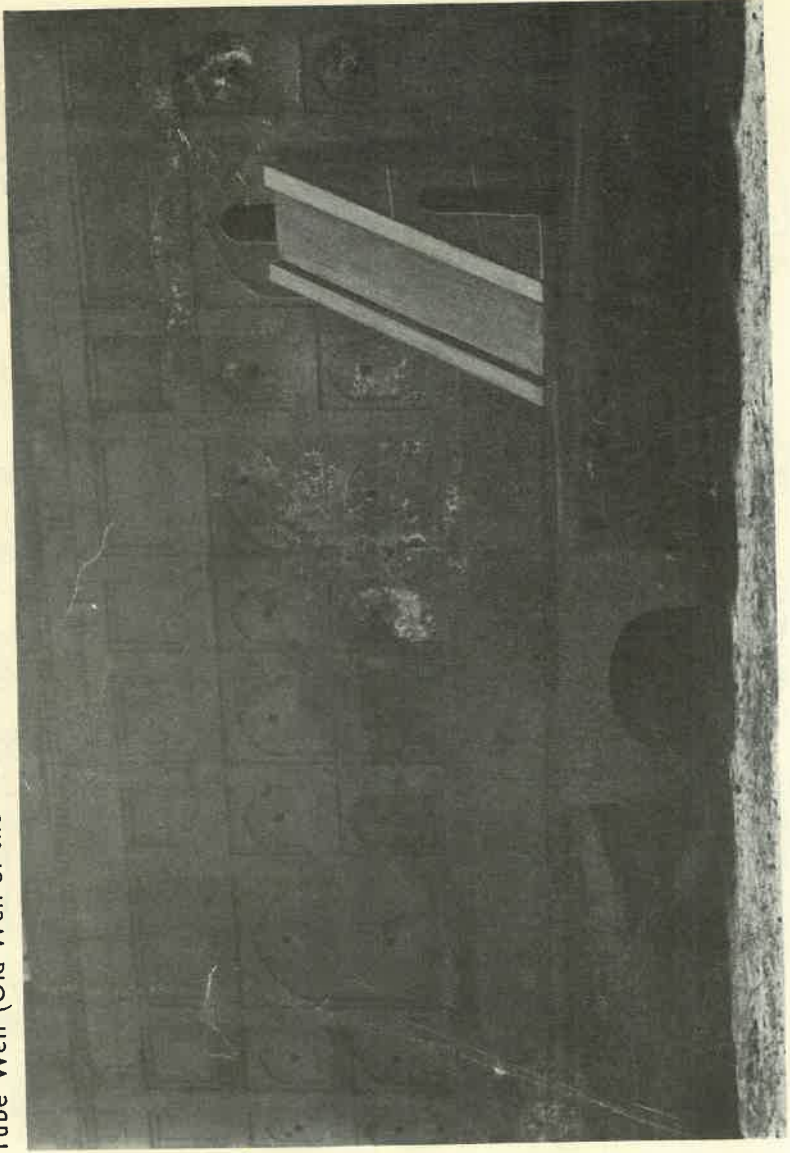
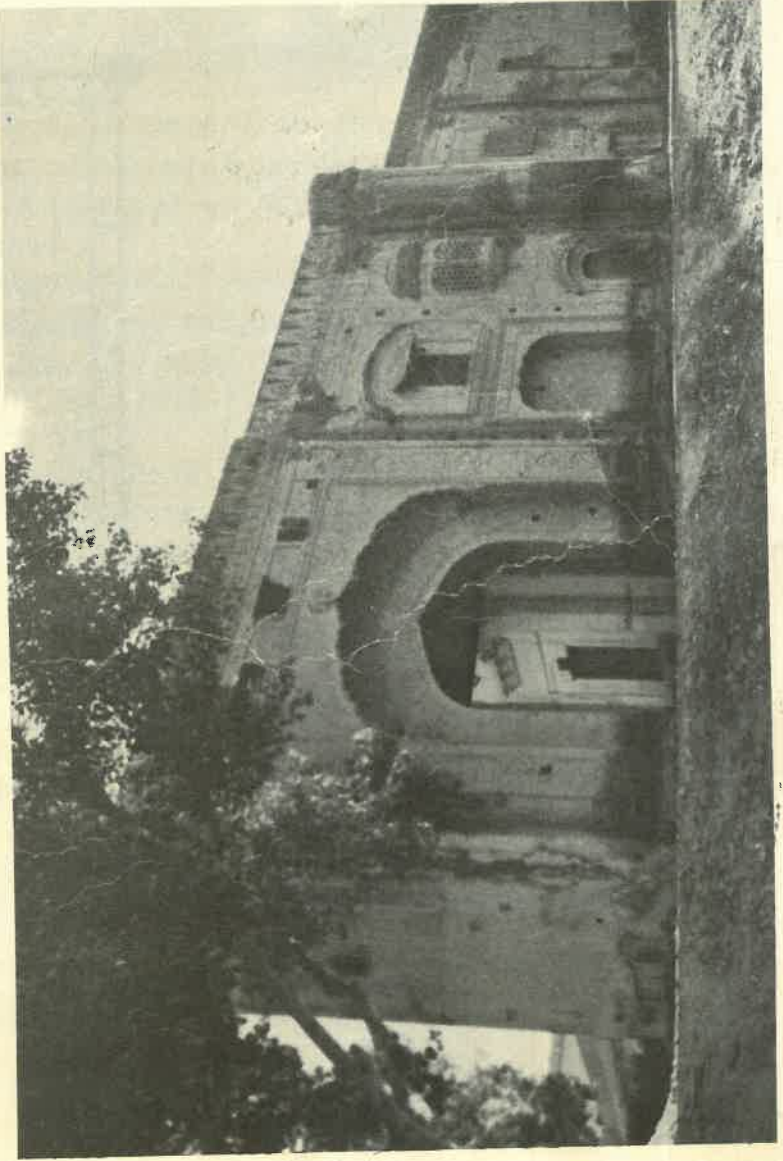
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I. a. Plan: Lahore Fort and Hazuri Bagh, in front of the Mosque (East); b. Plan of the Mosque





2. Mosque's Location : a. Southern Gate of Hazuri Bagh, approach to the Mosque from the City ; b. Tube Well (Old Well of the



Mosque) ; c. Old Gateway on the Ferry to approach the Mosque (North) ; d. Drainage (Northern Wall).

Part I

INTRODUCTION

Mosque construction. The Prophet said: "The whole universe has been made a mosque for me."¹ جعلت لي الارض مسجدا

In the light of this most important Tradition of the Prophet, one can pray wherever one finds it possible and wherever circumstances permit one. The Prophet had started building his own residential quarters including a mosque at Madina just after his arrival there. After the Prophet's time, by the end of the first century of Islam, when the Umayyad regime at Damascus was at its climax, nothing of the Prophet's residential quarters was left at Madina except his own grave. But the mosque went on developing into a grand structure. The observance of the principles of worship, which the architect follows, always remained the chief guide for the builder in adopting the design suitable for the occasion, and this ultimately became common practice among mosque-builders the world over. Accordingly, we see that every mosque, when it assumed the quadrangular shape of a complete building, customarily included four distinguishing features, namely, an *Ivan* (praying chamber) with a *Mihrab* (niche) to indicate the direction towards the Ka'bah at Mecca, a *Minbar* (pulpit) to deliver the *Khutba* (sermon), a *Mi'zana*, (minaret) for calling to prayer, and arrangements for *Wuzu* (ablution.)²

This is the basic architectural scheme of the mosque design, which varies only according to the material available and the situation where it is to be constructed, producing various designs but always with the four features as the pivot.

The total number of mosques so far built anywhere cannot possibly be estimated precisely. Though many of them are today considered to be great masterpieces in the domain of world architecture, each of them is different from the other, because they have been built in different circumstances. Islam does not bind the builder to any particular design and size, with the exception of the general features noted above. The Mosque of Aurangzeb in Lahore (1084/1674) reflects the highest development of mosque architecture in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent.

It is fortunate that the two earliest specimens of Muslim architecture extant in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent are both of them mosques: one is the Quwwat-ul-Islam, built at Delhi in 587/1191, and the other the Jamia' Masjid, built at Ajmer in 595/1198.³ These clearly indicate that the Musulmans always had their own designs for their buildings, and established a distinct style of architecture which was quite new in India. Both these mosques have screen walls with arcuated porticos on their facades which give a sense of dignity when seen from a distance. It has undoubtedly had a most important influence on the design of subsequent monuments. The very next Muslim monuments in date were those built during the Tughluq regime. Here a distinct advance in treatment is

1. The Tradition of the Prophet quoted from the Abu Dawud Tirmizi and Darimi, is reported with a slight variation in the *Mishkatal-Masabih*, Lahore, H. 1324, pp. 70-71.

2. *Wafa al-Wafa Bi Akhbar Daru'l-Mustafa* of Samhudi (d. 911 H) 1955 Cairo.

3. M. Abdulla Chaghatai, *Le Tadj Mahal d'Agra*, Bruxelles, 1938, pp. 8-12.

noticeable, the central arch having become a more coherent part of the whole design. At Jaunpur it appears as the principal feature, known technically as "Fronton,"⁴ of all the remarkable mosques for which that town is famous.

Later on, the *Buland Darwazah*—high gateway—of Akbar's mosque in Fathpur Sikri gave it great prominence, and it became a special feature, rarely expressed before, of the subsequent royal monuments of the Mughal Emperors. The main praying chamber of this mosque, with very fine porticos, the central one much higher on its facade, gives it a most imposing atmosphere. The central higher part is generally described as the *Dargah*. In the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore, the gateway and *dargah* greatly excel similar architectural features of other mosques in point of proportion and elegance. This is easily realised when comparing the Lahore mosque with the two Imperial mosques built during Shah Jahan's reign at Agra and Delhi, which comparison is often made, the latter sometimes being considered as prototypes of the former. (Plate 26).

Mosques previously built at Lahore. The history of Lahore mosques actually begins from the day when the city was captured by Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah in 410/1019.⁵ This Muslim conquest practically founded the beginning of Muslim rule in the North. Mahmud immediately built a mosque which was constructed of bricks, for which reason it was called locally as the *Khishti Masjid*. He also built a minaret in the Lahore Fort to commemorate his victory over Northern India, and a congregational mosque or Juma'h Masjid.⁶ These early constructions by Sultan Mahmud do not exist today but may be regarded as the beginning of the Indo-Muslim architecture.

At Lahore, the direction of the Ka'bah is not true west. It is some 10°, 10° South of West. The Badshahi Masjid's *mihrab* faces the Ka'bah and not the West. The direction of Lahore towards the Ka'bah was settled by the great saint Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh (d.c. 480/1087) himself when he constructed a mosque at Lahore on the site of his *Khanqah*.⁷

From 1019, Lahore continuously remained a part of the Indo-Muslim Empire until the Sikhs, then under the leadership of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, occupied it in 1799, and eventually handed it over to the British in 1849. Fortunately, after nearly a century, Lahore has once again become, since 1947, one of the Muslim centres of the Republic of Pakistan.

Our main task is to describe in detail the mosque built by the Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, the largest and most magnificent mosque in the world. It is, however, certain that a brief account of the chief mosques previously built in Lahore under different regimes will undoubtedly help us to study the development of Islamic architecture, because our mosques have contributed much in this respect. Though many have been lost to the ravages of time, we see that Lahore still has a greater variety of mosque designs as compared to many other towns in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. We will confine our account mostly to those mosques of Lahore which are historically connected with the State, as we are going to describe the Mosque of an Emperor.

In the absence now of any mosques of the Ghaznavid period in Lahore, we can undoubtedly presume that they were built on the model of those mosques which had already been built in Ghaznah, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and other places as described by

4. A Fuhrer, *The Architecture of Jaunpur*, ed. by J. Burgess, Calcutta, 1889, pp. 3, 29-40.

5. Dr. M. Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931, pp. 88, 99, 195.

6. *Kitab Adab al-Harb Wa Shuja'at* (Extract), Suppl. *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, 1938, pp. 38, 55.

7. *The Pakistan Times*: "Direction of Mosques" by Kh. Dil Muhammad 28 Nov. 60, Dr. A. Chaghatai, April 60, Zulifqar K. Malik 6 April 60 and M. N. Bhatti 9 April 60.

Fergusson in his *History of Eastern Architecture*.⁸ 'Utbi, the contemporary historian of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah, mentions in his *Tarikh-i-Yamini* that the mosque built at Ghaznah by the Sultan was on the model of the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus.⁹ It is authoritatively related that Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh had constructed a mosque in Lahore at the place where now exists his shrine, whose *qiblah* (direction towards *Ka'bah*) was doubted by his associates, but was miraculously proved to be correct. The late Professor Shaikh Abdul Hamid once checked this fact mathematically. The story gives us a clue to the existence of a mosque in Lahore.¹⁰ Even to this day the site of the *mihrab* of this old mosque is preserved by a marble slab in the floor of the present mosque at the *dargah*. Many other superb monuments were built in Lahore in subsequent times. Unfortunately, there is no mention in our history of any mosque built here in the pre-Mughal period. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* mentions, however, that when Sultan Mubarak Shah (825/1421) came to Lahore he found the city in a desolate condition and he renovated in it 1421.¹¹ In the vicinity of Chah Miran, just north of the village of Khwaja Said, where today we find one 'Id-gah or a *Musallah* in a ruinous condition.¹² This *mihrab*, having a half-domed shape and being in pure masonry is covered with a thick layer of plaster. It is constructed on a squinch system. It is of considerable importance. After this we find two mosques of the Lodhi period, one between the Shah A'lami and Lohari Gate area and the other inside the Yakki Gate near the Police Station.¹³ They are locally called *nivin* (low) masjids, because they are below ground level. They are identical in their architectural settings, and of pure masonry work built on a pure arcuate system. Their domes are elliptical. The shrine of Sayyid Abdur-Razzaq, known locally in Lahore as *Nila Gumbad*, was built in 953/1546: its dome of blue tiles reveals that it belongs to the same period, for the shape of the domes of this period in other towns resemble it. However, the mosque of this shrine met with some changes subsequently. This was in the period of the Suris, and in Lahore the mosque within the *jilau khanah* or caravanserai of Jahangir's tomb at Shahdara existed, according to the *Tarikh-i-Dawudi*, during the reign of Islam Shah Suri.¹⁴ The architecture of this mosque, traditionally of the later Pathan period, may be called a transitional stage between the Suris and the Mughals. After it, in chronological order, we have the *Unchi Masjid* of Bhati Gate bazaar which was built in the early years of Akbar's reign, as shown by inscriptions on the niches,¹⁵ and the arches and domes of which are sufficient proof of the fact. The shrine of Shaikh Ishaq Mahzang, on Temple Road, built in 980/1572 shows a marked improvement in the use of the dome and the *mihrab*.¹⁶

8. J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, Vol. I, p. 193.

9. Al-'Utbi, *Tarikh-i-Yamini* (Arabic), Lahore, 1300 H. p. 316.

10. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore : Its History, Architectural Remains and Antiquities*, Lahore, 1892, p. 179.

11. *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* (Bibi. Ind.). Calcutta 1931, p. 198.

12. Dr. M. Abdullah Chaghatai, "Lahore's Six Hundred Year Old Idgah," *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 31 July 1953.

13. Latif, op. cit., pp. 102, 225.

14. Chaghatai, "Shahdara Mosque," *Pakistan Times*, 17 March 1958 : *Tarikh-i-Dawidi* MS.

15. Chaghatai, "Inscriptions From a Lahore Mosque" (Urdu), *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, 1937

16 1939. Latif, op. cit., pp. 42, 197.

Thus, till that time no congregational mosque existed in Lahore that could be said to have been built by the Government ; if any was built, it has been lost to us. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni has mentioned in his *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* that one *suffah*-(mosque) was built here by Akbar in the Fort and Hakim Misri had composed a quatrain in its praise.¹⁷ It does not now exist. However, Jahangir built a congregational mosque in Lahore in 1023/1614, it was named after his mother Maryam Zamani, as its inscriptions tell us. It is to this day called locally the Begum Shahi Masjid.¹⁸ It is situated just within the Masti Gate and on the eastern gate of the Fort. An inscription on a red-stone slab, which is preserved on the staircase of the Kharasian mosque within Lohari Mandi, shows that a superb mosque was built during the reign of Jahangir, in 1015/1606 by Sadr-i-Jahan.¹⁹ Similarly, the Moti Masjid of Lahore Fort, which is built entirely of marble, may be called the Royal Mosque. It presents a novel design, having a *maktab* (school) within it. But during Shah Jahan's reign, Nawab Wazir Khan on his appointment, as Governor of Lahore, felt the need to construct a larger congregational mosque which would also serve as a university. He carried out his plan in 1044/1634 by erecting a grand mosque on the shrine of Sayyid Ishaq Gazruni, Miran Badshah (d. 786/1384). This was the first mosque ever built in Lahore whose walls were covered with Persian tiles, such as we find in Isfahan or elsewhere. For this reason Chandar Bhan Brahman called this mosque the *Buq'ah-i-Khurasan*,²⁰ the monastery of Khurasan. It was undoubtedly a cultural centre for the learned. It has all the apartments and departments needed in those days for an academic institution. Wazir Khan also built other mosques—situated within Delhi Gate, Taxali Gate and Shah 'Alami Gate. During Shah Jahan's reign several mosques were built, including that of Khwajah Maqbul²¹ locally known as Dai Angah (1060/1650) just adjoining the Railway Station, and that of Muhammad Salih Kamboh, a historian of his time,²² inside Mochi Gate. The main architectural features of these mosques are their domes, walls decorated in lustered tiles and manifoiled arches. One of these Lahore mosques, because of this peculiarity, is called Chinianwali Masjid. which was built by Sarfaraz Khan, in Muhallah Chabuk Sawaran. It is worthy of notice.

Location of the Mosque. The Badshahi Masjid of Aurangzeb, built in 1084/1674, should be regarded as the climax of mosque construction in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

To enter the mosque through its main eastern entrance, one has to approach a vast quadrangle either from its southern or northern passage (plate 1 a). This quadrangle is today known as the *Hazuri Bagh*²³—garden of reception—with a marble *baradari* (pavilion) in its centre which was founded by Maharaja Ranjit Singh (d. 1839). This enclosure was constructed as a forecourt or *Jilau Khanah* to the mosque, and, at the same time, as a link between the mosque and the royal palaces. According to the court diarist of Maha-

17. Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, (Bibl Ind.), Calcutta, 1866, Vol. III, p. 166.

18. Latif, op. cit., p. 131.

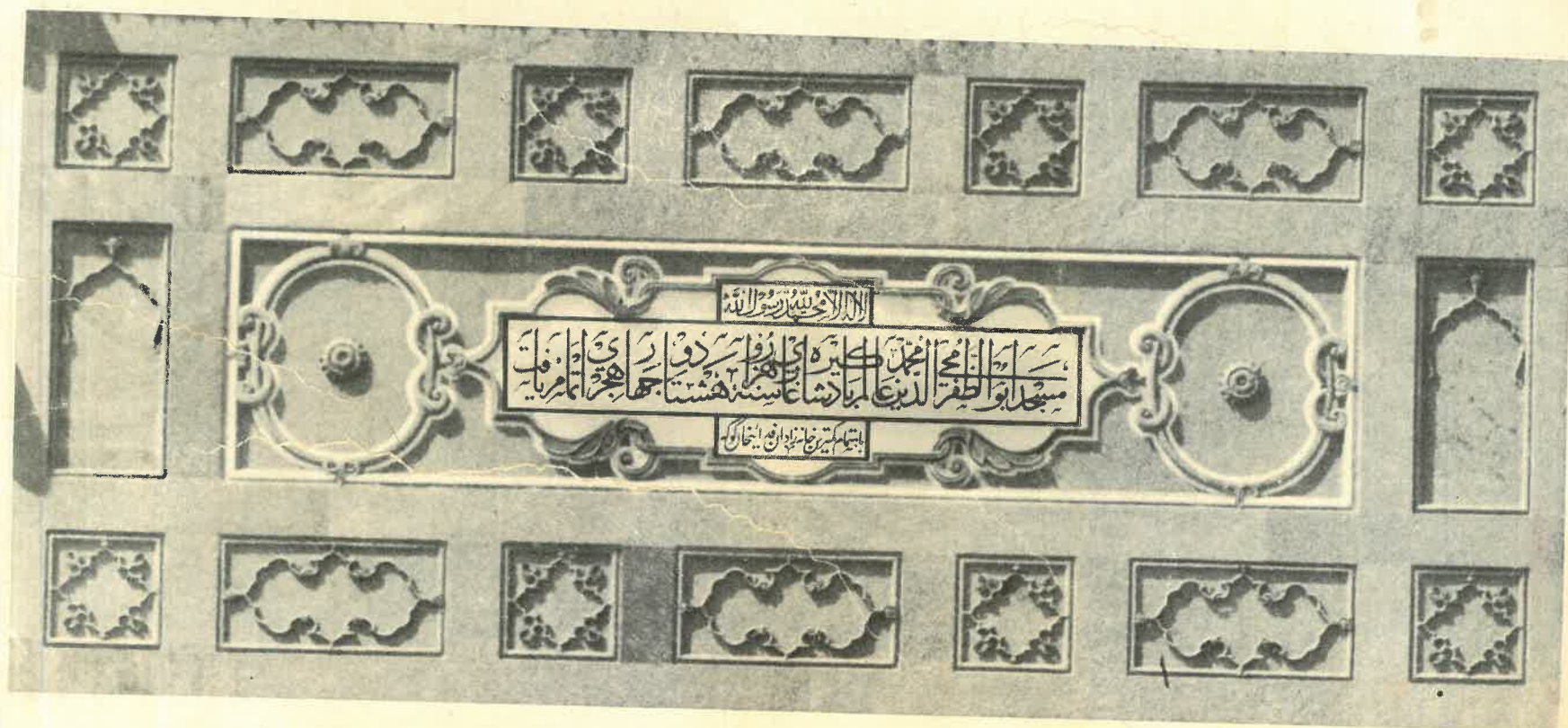
19. M.A. Chaghatai, Some un-identified Monuments at Lahore, *Pakistan Times*, Lahore 11 Feb, 1971

20. Latif pp. 214-21. *Chahar Chaman* of Chandar Bhan [Brahman. Persian MS. University of the Punjab Library, Lahore.

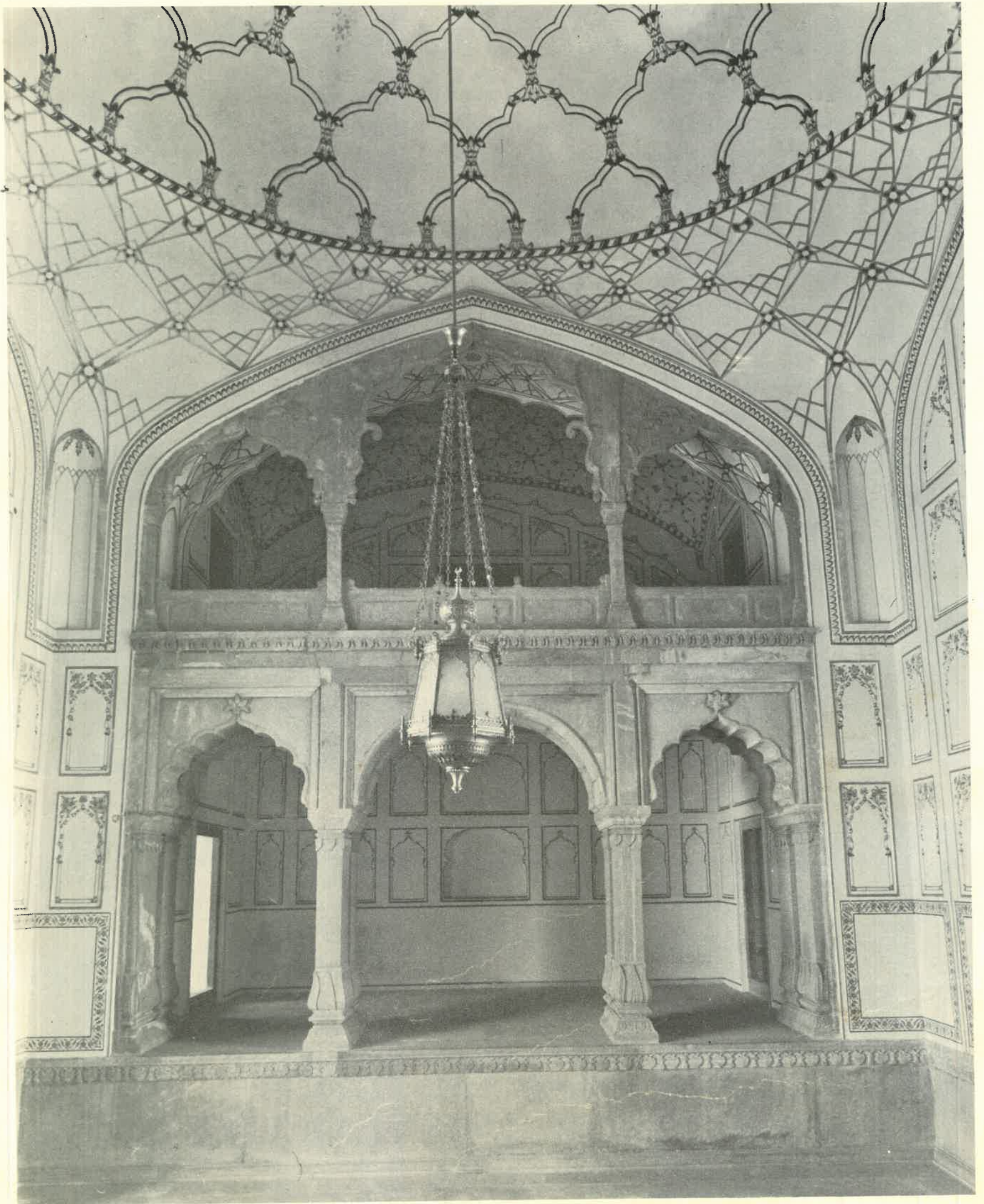
21. M.A. Chaghatai, "Maathir-Lahore : Inscriptions of Lahore Mosques," *Himayat-i-Islam Weekly*, Lahore, May 1928.

22. Chaghatai, "The Mosque of Muhammad Salih Kamboh and His Tomb, *Pakistan Times*, Lahore, 2 Dec. 1956 ; Latif op. cit pp. 208, 223.

23. Latif op. cit p. 117 ; Sohan Lal Suri the Court Diarist of Ranjit Singh, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Lahore, 1889, Vol. II, p. 271 ; Kanhya Lal, *Tarikh-i-Lahore* (Urdu), Lahore, 1884, p. 347.



3. a. Main Entrance of the Mosque (front view); b. Detail :
Inscription on the arch of the entrance, showing : the Mosque
was built under the superintendence of Fidai Khan Kokah (1674).



4. Interior View of the Entrance

raja Ranjit Singh, before the construction of this *baradari*, the site was called *Chabutarah-i-Badshahi Masjid*—platform of the Royal Mosque. Sayyid Muhammad Latif mention this enclosure as Aurangzeb Serai, but he also asserts that in the subsequent period it was used as an *Abdar Khanah* for keeping refreshments for the use of the Emperors and the Royal household. In the time of Ranjit Singh, it came to be called the *Gulab Khanah* or rose-water house.²⁴

As the mosque is built on a considerable eminence, one has to mount a magnificent flight of twenty-two large steps, paved with a beautifully variegated stone known as Abri. The main gateway of the mosque (plates 1a, 3a). faces the Akbari Gate of the Lahore Fort. In reality, according to the general topography of Lahore, the mosque is situated just inside the Rushnai Gate, one of the eleven gates of Lahore, which existed here by this very name even before Shah Jahan's reign, as mentioned by such men as Chandar Bhan Brahman in his *Chahar Chaman*.²⁵ But today the original Rushnai Gate has been abandoned, the Sikh community having put up a wall in front of Shah Jahan's gate of the fort along the road, starting from the northern wall of the Hczuri Bagh to the shrine of Guru Arjan Dev or Dera Sahib. The old map of the Fort, with its adjoining parts of the Sikh period, does not contain this wall. (plate 1a) Even up to recent times the original Rushnai Gate was used as a public passage like the other gates of Lahore. In olden times, main function of this gate was to afford entry to members of the Royal family and diplomats intending to enter the Fort or Lahore city by boat, as the river Ravi then flowed past the northern walls of the Fort. Aurangzeb during the course of his stay at Lahore once camped in the Shalimar Gardens and came by boat to the Badshahi Mosque for prayers.²⁶ On the northern side of the mosque is the original drainage system, which was so made as to drain out used water into the river, which was the only possible method, since the level on the south and west is very high and water could not get access to those sides (plate 2 d). Besides, even to this day, an early archway is still *in situ* on the north-eastern corner of this area which appears to have been built on the ferry as a check post. Nur Ahmad Chishti has mentioned in his *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti* that there were shops at this very spot which means that this was a regular ferry passage²⁷ (plate 2c).

It must be admitted that our historians do not throw light on the contemporary topography of Lahore such as would give us some idea of the background of the site of the mosque. A large number of palaces, mausoleums, gardens and mosques were built at Lahore before the erection of this mosque in 1084/1674 by Aurangzeb, many of which do not exist today, and so it is not possible for us to locate their exact sites. History tells us that Yamin-ud-Dawlah Asaf Khan, the father of Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shah Jahan, had built at Lahore a splendid palace known as *Khanah-i-Asaf*.²⁸ When Asaf Khan died in 1051/1641, his palace was bequeathed by Shah Jahan to his eldest son, Dara Shukoh.²⁹ This does not exist today and it is not possible to trace its exact location. Although the quarter to the

24. Sohn Lal Suri, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 356.; Latif, pp. 117-119

25. Chander Bham, op. cit.,

26. Muhammad Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Maathir-i-Alamgiri* (Urdu Trans.), Hyderabad Deccan, 1932, p. 104.

27. Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*, Lahore, 1324 H. p. 503.

28. M.A. Chaghatai, "A Family of Great Mughal Architects," *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Deccan, August 1937

29. Muhammad Salih Kambho, *Amal Salih—Court History of Shahjahan's Reign*, (Bibl. Ind.), Calcutta, 1925, Vol. II, pp. 348-9

west behind the shrine of Ali Hujwiri, Data Ganj Bakhsh, is called Shishmahal, and the Landa Bazar, which was also called *Nakhas*, horse market, is known to have contained the palace of Dara Shukoh, no trace of these palaces remains.³⁰ However, the Italian doctor Niccolao Manucci, who stayed in India during Aurangzeb's reign, states: "By this time the memory of Dara was so obliterated that no one spoke any longer of him, when an order was sent to demolish the famous palace of that prince at Lahore. On the site of the palace a great mosque was to be erected and it took ten years to finish this work of devotion. Upon it was spent the sum that Aurangzeb had sent to Mecca, which the Sharif would not receive because Shah Jahan was living, as I have already mentioned more than once. Thus was he enabled to fulfil the vow he had made of an offering on behalf of Muhammad."³¹ These words of Manucci corroborate to some extent the fact that Fidai Khan had had some correspondence regarding grants to the Sharif of Mecca which we have discussed in the account of Fidai Khan,³² and provide external evidence that Aurangzeb had actually built a mosque at Lahore. But it is to be regretted that Manucci's account does not give any description of the exact location of the mosque.

To the south there was an open space to serve either as a stand for public conveyances or for the staff of the Royal retinue to stand on ceremonial occasions. This open space remained until 1930, but very recently it has been occupied by new houses as a regular quarter named *Shahi Muhallah* (royal quarter, because of its nearness to the *Badshahi Masjid*).

There were also several other ancient monuments on the southern side, such as the old Tehsil; the Taxali Gate mosque; Nawab Wazir Khan's Masjid and Hamams; the Sabz Gumbad ascribed to a Bukhari Sayyid, named Badr-ud-Din Shah Alam, of Shah Jahan's time; the mosque of Shah Jahan's reign adjoining the Madrasa Nu'maniyah, etc. There were also several palaces of the courtiers of the Mughal period which in the later period were occupied by Sikh nobles, for instance, the *haveli* (mansion) of Raja Dhayan Singh; Barud Khana; and the Tosha Khana³³.

All this helps us to show that this side of Lahore was full of public life and this was one of the reasons why it was carefully selected as the site for the largest mosque of all (plate 9).

The mosque occupied indeed a unique but altogether appropriate situation amidst the Royal palaces so that it would give an imperial and dignified view essential for such monuments, and at the same time would ensure that there was no congestion on ceremonial occasions. Moreover, its closeness to the river Ravi made sure that it conformed to the tradition of the Royal monuments already built in Agra and Delhi. Care was taken to see that it provided, on the southern side, an easy approach to the public as well as sufficient open space for the Royal retinue.

30. Latif, op. cit., pp. 64, 92, 96, 126.

31. Niccolao Mannucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, trans. by W. Irvine, London, 1907, Vol. II, pp. 120, 345.

32. *Vide infra*.

33. Latif, *Lahore*, pp. 228, 87, 233.

Part II

THE BUILDER

Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, the Builder of the Mosque. The inscription over the main gateway of the mosque tells us that it belonged to "The Victorious and Valiant Emperor Muhy-ud-Din Muhammad Alamgir Aurangzeb, the third son of Emperor Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj Mahal, Agra, which, owing to its all-round architectural greatness, is unanimously regarded as one of the Seven Wonders of the World" (plate 3 b).

The reign of Shah Jahan had attained the highest climax in architecture in Indo-Muslim history. Aurangzeb could not have remained divorced from the architectural traditions and trends prevailing in the country. However, as soon as he succeeded his father in 1069-1659, he became involved in a sorry political struggle with his brothers. Even afterwards the political situation presents a sorry picture, and there is, in general, no sign of the State as such encouraging the arts. But if we study the history of the period carefully, we come to the conclusion that the Emperor himself was not personally devoid of a sense of appreciation of the fine arts. On the occasion of his accession to the throne, all the traditional Royal festivities to celebrate the coronation were fully observed.¹ Immediately after, he ordered the construction of a mosque for his personal use in the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad—Delhi—which was completed very quickly.² The mosque was built wholly of white marble to conform to the pattern of other beautiful buildings within the Fort. The act of building the mosque undoubtedly shows Aurangzeb's religious bent, but the taste shown in building the mosque so as to harmonise it with its surroundings is also clearly evident. Aurangzeb's interest in architecture and his ability to appreciate its technical niceties is also obvious from the letter he wrote to his father, reporting on his visit to the newly-built Taj Mahal, Agra, the mausoleum of his mother. He says : "I was conducted round the sacred mausoleum on Friday and attended the blessings of the visit, which were highly consoling. The apartments of this auspiciously founded tomb are well kept and are in the condition they were in when completed by your Majesty. But during the abnormally heavy rains, the northern side of the dome of the sacred tomb leaks from two places; so do all the four balconies, the verandahs of the second storey, the four small cupolas and the roof of the central dome. The domes of the *Jama'at Khanah* also leak. They have been duly repaired. The expert architects advise reinforcement of the floor of the roof and the second storey with proper material, and the addition of a layer of half a yard of masonry to rectify the defect in the small cupolas, balconies and verandahs. But as to the central dome of the Taj, they honestly confess that they are helpless. These buildings have met with an evil eye and if your Majesty would divert attention to them it would be much better."³

1. M.A. Chaghatai, (*Fine Arts During Aurangzeb's Reign Alamgir*) : *Fanun ba Ahd-i-Aurangzeb* (Urdu), Lahore, 1958, pp. 16-20.

2. M. Saqi Musta'id Khan, *Maathir-i-Aalmgiri*, (Urdu Trans.), Hyderabad Deccan, 1932. pp. 19-20

3. Sayyid Najib Ashraf, *Ed.*, *Ruqa'at-i-Alamgiri*, A'zamgarh, Vol. I pp. 78-9.

When Shah Jahan died in 1076/1666 in Agra Fort, Aurangzeb buried him with all royal rites and honour in the Taj Mahal beside the late Queen, Mumtaz Mahal. A separate sarcophagus of marble for the grave of the Emperor was made both in the crypt and on the ground floor with variegated precious stones in the same style and *pietra dura* technique as the Queen's grave.⁴ Today these sarcophagi of both Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan appear as if they were made by the same artist, although that of Shah Jahan was made about thirty years after that of Mumtaz Mahal's. And a very keen eye can see that the grave of Mumtaz Mahal, for whom this monument was exclusively built, is exactly in the centre. All this is not without the implication that Aurangzeb was quite aware of the importance of keeping up the traditions and high standards of art established by his father. When his own wife, Rabia' Daurani Dilras Banu Begum, the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, son of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan and the mother of Prince Muhammad A'zam and Princess Zeb-un-Nissa, died at Aurangabad, Deccan, in 1067/1657, Aurangzeb wished to construct a mausoleum over her similar to that of his mother at Agra. He commanded his son to make suitable arrangements for the building of such a tomb, and it was constructed there on the model of the Taj Mahal, under the superintendence of Daroghah Haibat Rai, by the architect 'Ataullah in 1071/1661, these names being preserved there on a brass plate on the gateway of the mausoleum.⁵ From a distance it looks an exact replica of the Taj, with similar minarets, a central bulbous dome with four cupolas and pinnacles round it. But closer observation will reveal that the standard of art in general had declined during Aurangzeb's reign. However, much of this was undoubtedly due to the political atmosphere around him. In fact, there was a regular department of miniature painting, but it was utilised mostly to draw portraits of various courtiers (of Prince Muhammad Sultan, for instance, who was kept in the fort of Gwalior⁶) and thus art was made to serve political purposes. Even then, some notable portraits were produced, and it can be confidently asserted that the portrait of Aurangzeb's Prime Minister, Nawab Asad Khan, preserved in the India Office Library, can be regarded as the best specimen of portrait painting ever made at the Mughal court. The portrait gives some notion of the kind of colour effects which the artists of the Mughal court had perfected. The Nawab, leaning on his stick and posing in profile, exhibits the fashion of the court dress of the nobles of his rank, with dagger, hanging sword and belt. The mode of the turban is also typically Mughal.⁷ This masterpiece is sufficient proof of the high standard of workmanship that existed during Aurangzeb's reign. The Emperor himself is regarded as being averse to the art of painting, but he never forbade the practice of painting, and the portrait painters were still busy. Bernier writes on the arts of his reign in 1073/1663⁸: "Workshop is occupied by skilful artists who would be vainly sought for in Dehli, which has very little to boast in that respect. This is not owing to any inability in the people to cultivate the arts, for there are ingenious men in every part of the Indies. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instructions from a master. I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of *Ekbar*, painted on a shield by a celebrated

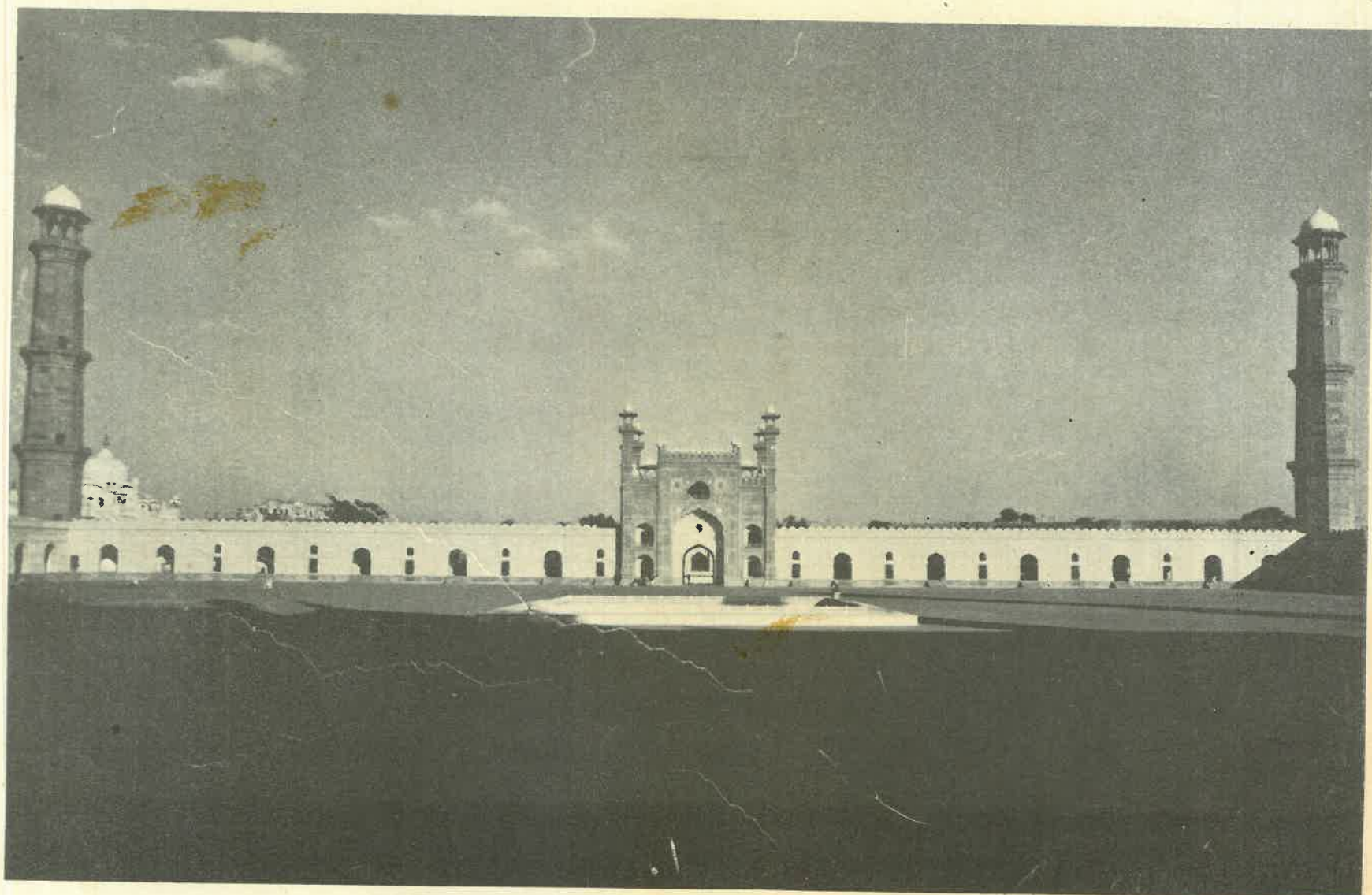
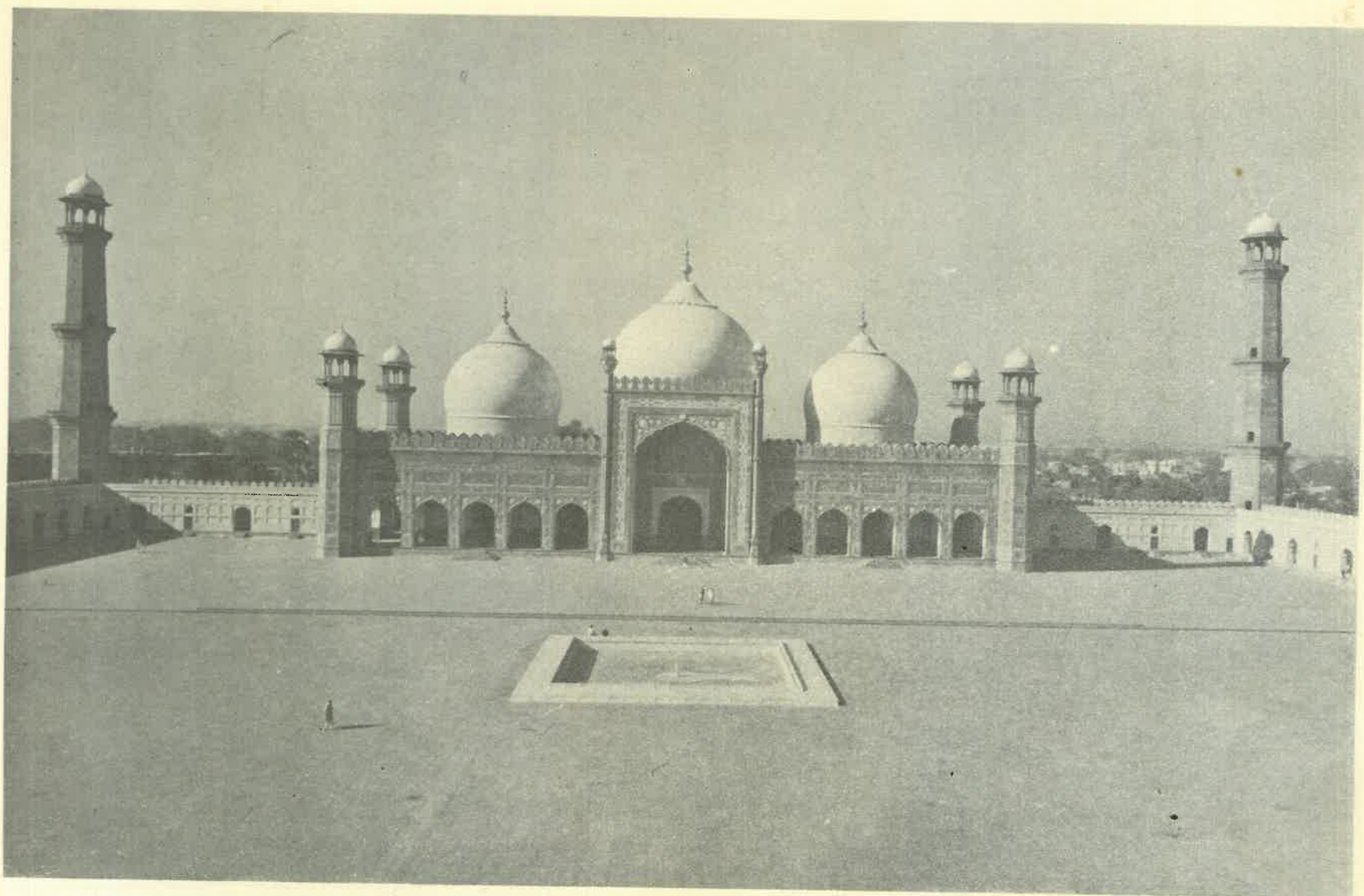
4. M. A. Chaghatai, op. cit. p. 22.

5. *Gazetteer of Aurangabad*, Bombay, 1884, pp. 596-8; Chaghatai, op. cit., pp. 36-7

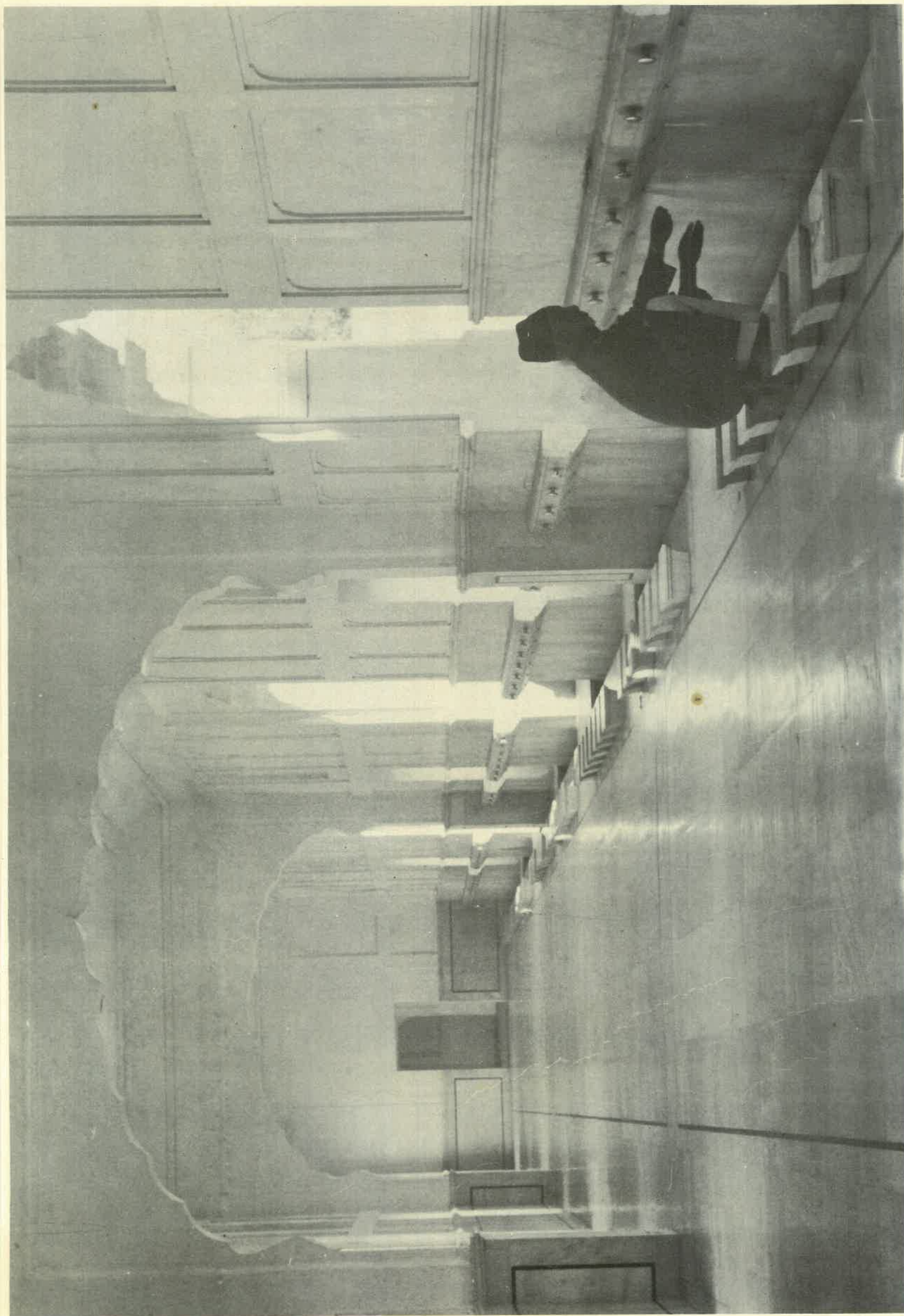
6. Chaghatai, op. cit., pp. 59-9, op. cit. pp. 56-59.

7. Laurence Binyon. *The Court Painters of the Great Moguls* pt. XXX

8. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, by Constable, London, 1914, pp. 254-6.



5. a. Full View of the Facade, Western Wing, showing the *Ewan*-Praying Chamber; b. Back View of the Eastern Wing, Showing newly built *Dalans*-Corridors.



6. Ablution Arrangement within the Eastern Wing.

artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The *Indian* painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions, and in the expression of the face ; but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art. Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are condemned, treated with harshness and inadequately remunerated for their labours. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate.—The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the King or of some powerful *Omrah* (noble), and who work exclusively for their patron.”

The conquest of the Deccan by Aurangzeb and his continued stay there for twenty-six years introduced the Mughal style of painting in that area. Aristocratic and formal, Mughal art later turned democratic⁹ because of the lack of official patronage.

In short, while there is no doubt that because of the political atmosphere in the country during Aurangzeb's reign, and the absence of State patronage, the fine arts declined, the Emperor himself was a lover of art and could appreciate it.

Inauguration of the Badshahi Masjid. It is a pity that we have no historical clue giving us any information about the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore, with the exception of the inscription on the gateway and one *farman*, which we will discuss separately. During the year 1084/1674, when, according to the inscription, the mosque was built, Aurangzeb left Delhi for Lahore. But just before his departure from Delhi, he had specially deputed Rahmat Khan, one of his nobles, to go ahead with suitable arrangements for the celebration of the Prophet's Day at Lahore¹⁰ in the month of Rabi' I. I presume this was celebrated in the newly built mosque at Lahore and we can take it as the inauguration of the new mosque.¹¹ The Emperor then marched towards Hasanabdal, which he reached on 2 Rabi II, from where he conducted the campaign of Kabul. The Emperor left Hasanabdal for Lahore on 15 Shawwal 1086/1676 and reached there on 15 Dhu'l-Qa'dah where he settled in the Bagh-i-Faiz Bakhsh—Shalimar.¹² The author of the *Maathir-i-Alamgiri* mentions that on 19 Dhu'l Hijjah, the Royal retinue at Lahore was returning from the Masjid-i-Jami' and the Emperor was about to alight from the boat to enter the *Takht Rawan* when a person, a disciple of Guru Tegh Singh, threw two bricks at the Emperor. One of these bricks fell on the *Takht Rawan*. The culprit was arrested and handed over to the custody of the Kotwal.¹³ From circumstantial evidence, it appears as if the Emperor had celebrated his 'Id-ul-Azha at Lahore and most probably the prayers were held in the newly-built Masjid-i-Jami' though this is not clearly mentioned by the historian.¹⁴ One can presume that the 'Id prayers were led by Maulana Abdullah, son of Mulla Abdul Hakim of Sialkot, because he was the only religious savant at that time who could have performed this duty. Mulla Abdullah son of Abdul Hakim lived at Sialkot, where he died in 1094/1684.¹⁵

9. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting*, Calcutta, 1947, p. 99.

10. *Maathir*, p. 89.

11. *Vide infra*.

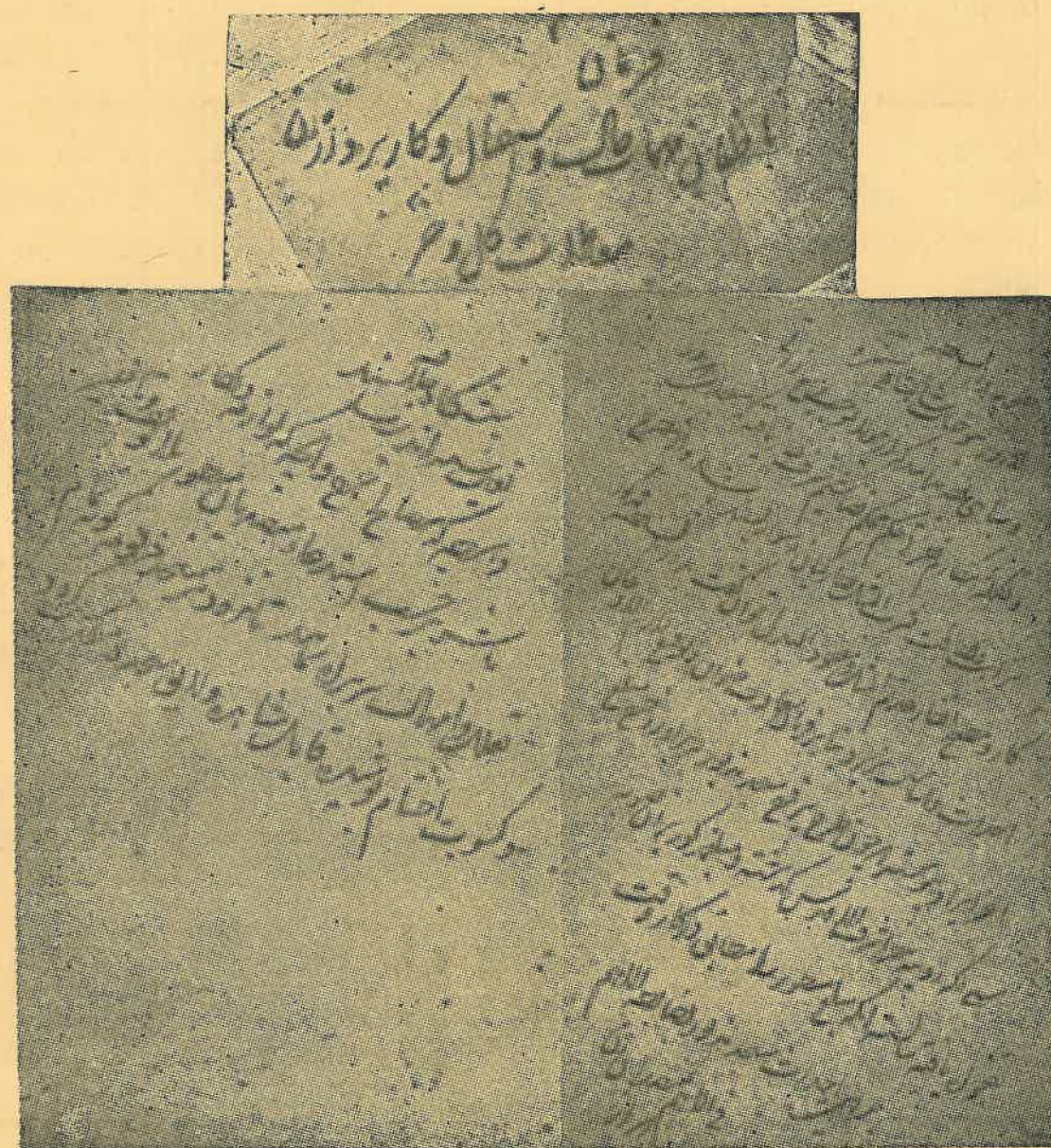
12. *Maathir*, pp. 100-101.

13. *Ibid.* p. 104.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.* p. 162.

Royal Orders for the Construction of the Mosque. I have a Persian MS. which contains a collection of copies, in the official style of writing, of some historical documents of the Mughal period. These cover about fifty pages dealing with a variety of topics. Two of them appear to be copies of Royal *farmans*. One is addressed to Khalil Khan, the Governor of Lahore, about the administration of Lahore and the other is about the erection of a new mosque at Lahore which definitely refers to the present Badshahi Masjid. Before the construction of the Badshahi Masjid, no other mosque had been built at Lahore by the State for public, so it can be presumed with certainty that the *farman* concerned refers to this mosque. Moreover, the inscription on the mosque's main entrance shows that Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir built his own mosque. The *farman* reproduced here tells us that estimates up to a sum of Rs. 30 lakh were sanctioned. The document runs as follows :



فرمان

”ناظران مهمات حال و استقبال و کار پردازان معاملات مل و جزو

صوبه دارالسلطنه: لاهور بتوجهات شهنشاهی متبشره و مباهی بوده بدانند که درینولا بموجب توسیع ذاتی و تکمله مکارم فطرتی حکم محکم قضا شیم شرف نفاد یافته که مسجدی که در نزاهت و لطافت ضرب المثل نظار گیان دشوار پسند باشد و از مطرح کار و مطمع انظار عذیم المثل و مقنود البدل توان گفت بدارالسلطنه مذکور احداث و اساس پذیرد بنا بر فرمان سعادت عنوان و توفیق لازم الاذعان بعز ایراد پیوسته که چون طرح پرخرج 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 در کار وقت برای احداث مسجد مزبور بضابطه الایم فی الایم بمتصدیان ان که از پیشگاه خلافت تعیین شده اند رسانند و هرچه که مصالح خرج و آنچه که لوازمه و بکار باشد بر حسب استدعای متصدیان مسطور بلا توقف و تاخیر و تعلل و امهال سربراه نماینده تازود تر مسجد مرقومه گونه اتمام و کسوت اختتام پوشیده قابل مشاهده و لائق سجده مقدس گردد.“

Translation. “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 in charge 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 in charge of the task, without any delay, procrastination, dalliance 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.”

Inscription. Unlike other imperial monuments, this grand mosque possesses only two epigraphs. One of them, the *Kalimah* or the Muslim confession of faith, is on the inner central arch of the facade of the prayer chamber. It is inscribed on a square white marble slab. The letters are inlaid with black marble by *pietra-dura* technique. The other inscription, which contains historical information, is on the face of the main eastern entrance of the mosque so that every visitor to the mosque may immediately observe it. (plates, 3 b, 11)

It is within a horizontal rectangular panel having a white marble slab, which is very artistically set in decorative pattern. The letters are arranged in three lines with black marble inlaid on the white surface. The first line is as usual the *Kalimah* in *Naskh* characters: the main central line in bold ornamental *Naskh* style of calligraphy contains the name of the Emperor as the owner of the mosque, and the date of its completion. The last line in perfect *Nasta'liq*, Persian style of writing, bears the name of the superintendent who supervised the construction. The language of these two lines is Persian.

The Text of the Inscription



Translation

- (1) There is no god except Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger.
- (2) The mosque of the victorious and valiant king Muhy-ud-Din Muhammad Alamgir is constructed and completed in 1084Hijri/(1674 AD).
- (3) Under the superintendence of the humblest servant of the royal household, Fidai Khan Koka, foster-brother.

In other words, the mosque of Emperor Abu Zafar Muhy-ud-Din Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir¹⁶ was built in 1084/1674 by his foster-brother, Fidai Khan Koka.

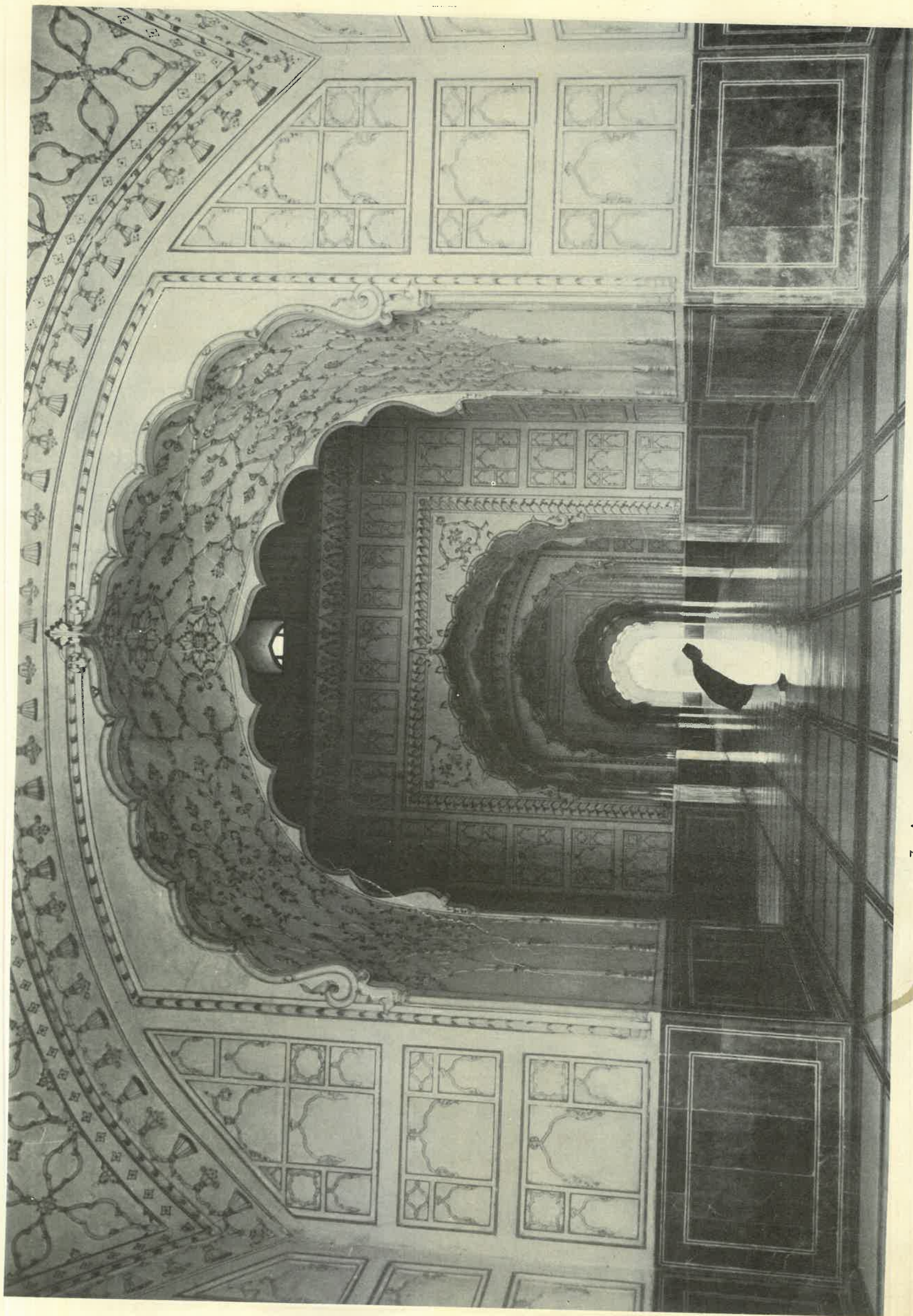
Fidai Khan Koka. Fidai Khan Koka was a person of considerable importance and was appointed as Governor of Lahore.

Shah Jahan's court historians mention that Fidai Khan's original name was Muzaffar Husain¹⁷ and that he was the elder brother of Khan Jahan Kokaltash. He distinguished himself during his long years of service at the court of Shah Jahan by his rectitude and trustworthiness. He had started his career as a *darogha* of the Court of Justice and was afterwards sent as ambassador to the court of Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur. He occupied posts in the *Tuzuk* department and held the rank of *Bakhshi* of the *Ahdis*. At one time he was a *mansabdar* of Kabul, *darogha* of artillery, superintendent of elephants and of mace-bearers. During the thirty-first year of the reign of Shah Jahan he was given the title of Fidai Khan.¹⁸ But soon after, during the struggle for the throne among the sons of Shah Jahan, he naturally took an active part against Dara Shukoh and his family owing to his foster relationship with Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb eventually emerged victori-

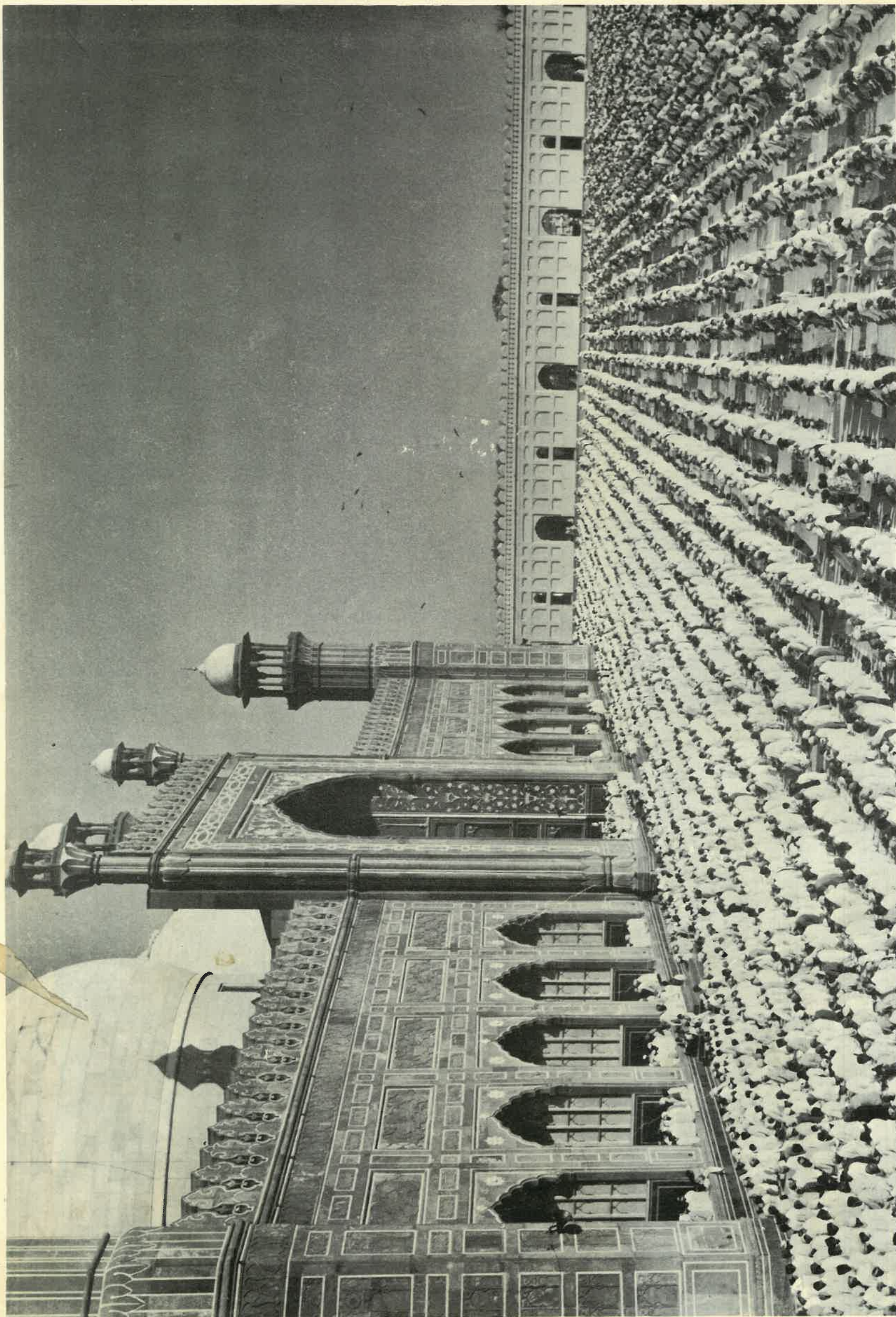
16. The Emperor's name was Aurengzeb. but after his formal coronation in 1069/1658 he added "*Alamgir*" which is read here.

17. *Amal Salih*, Vol. III, pp. 344

18. Ibid *Maathir ul-Umara*, Persian (Bibl Ind) 1896 vol. opt. 247-52



7. Arrangement of Prayer Rows within the Ewaan.



8. I'd's Prayer within the Mosque.

ous, so Fidai Khan continued in his service. Bernier has mentioned that when Aurangzeb fell seriously ill in 1072/1662 and the people had begun to despair of his recovery, some of the nobles were intriguing to bring back the deposed Shah Jahan to the throne, but Fidai Khan favoured the young Prince Sultan Akbar, Aurangzeb's son, who was also supported by Rushanara, Aurangzeb's sister.¹⁹

During the early years of his reign, Aurangzeb had to check the advance of the Afghans of the Niazi tribe²⁰ who had crossed the Indus. Fidai Khan was in charge of the artillery on the banks of the Chenab river. He took possession of the Royal Thanah. He was afterwards made a Foujdar of Gorakhpur with promotion in rank. He came to Court in the thirteenth year of Aurangzeb's reign (1082/1671) and was made Subedar of Lahore with a rank of one thousand one hundred cavalry, which he held very creditably till 1086/1676.²¹ Between these years the Badshahi Masjid was built under his supervision, as the inscription on its gateway records.²²

During his time in Lahore as Subedar, Fidai Khan not only constructed the Shahi Masjid, he also built his own mansion, which for a long time served as a residence for subsequent subedars of Lahore. This *haveli* or mansion existed at the site of the shrine of Hazrat Shah Muhammad Ghauth.²³ It was one of the most spacious and magnificent palaces of Lahore.

Major Allard, a French military officer in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was entrusted with the duty of demolishing every old house or building within Lahore.²⁴ The work of clearing the debris was undertaken in earnest and many buildings were destroyed. The shrine of Hazrat Shah Muhammad Ghauth was also levelled to the ground, although the Muslims of Lahore felt the greatest anxiety about this. No heed was paid to their earnest appeals to the Sikh Court. In this way many superb monuments were destroyed during the Sikh regime, and the *haveli* of Fidai Khan Koka was also lost to us. But because Fidai Khan's *haveli* was located within the area between the Delhi and Akbari Gates, this part of Lahore, as the historians of Lahore unanimously mention, was called the *Muhallah* (quarter) of Fidai Khan, where today the shrine of Hazrat Shah Muhammad Ghouth is situated.²⁵

Some letters in an anonymous collection of manuscripts dating from Aurangzeb's reign appear to be addressed by Fidai Khan to various contemporary nobles, but particularly those addressed to the Sharif, the custodian of Mecca, are of some historical importance to us.²⁶ The letters relate to the practice during the Mughal period of sending an annual sum of money to the Sharif of Mecca and Madina. Aurangzeb's first offer was refused on the plea that his father, Shah Jahan, was then alive. When the offer was repeated, the Grand Sharif sent envoys to find out if Aurangzeb would consent to renew the

19. Bernier op. cit., p. 124.

20. Ibid.; Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1928, Vol. III, pp. 102-3.

21. Ibid.

22. Latif, op. cit. p. 169.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.; Kanhya Lal, op. cit. pp. 251-3; *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, November 1942, p. 80.

26. The MS. bearing many historical documents which are the copies of old records in the form of a private collection by one Munshi Begonath Rai, who was in the service of Fidai Khan, is beautifully scribed in *nasta'liq* style. It belongs to Mr Khalil-ur-Rahman Daudi, a resident of Lahore, who very kindly allowed me to study it.

offering that he had sent before. We understand that to meet these grants, grants of land were administered in India whose sale proceeds were despatched to Mecca for the maintenance of the residents of Mecca and Madina. Presents were also sent to the Sharif of Mecca. The purpose of the letters written by Fidai Khan Koka was to discuss the principles of these grants, for which he was perhaps deputed by the State.²⁷

A group picture of Shah Jahan's Darbar (court) is preserved in the British Museum Lahore. It consists of forty-four portraits of Shah Jahan's courtiers grouped around him; the twenty-ninth is Fidai Khan's. Dr Laurence Binyon has described the picture in his work *Court Painters of the Grand Mughals*.²⁸ This contemporary portrait of the builder of the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore is reproduced here.

Architects. It is true that there is no mention of this mosque or of its architect in contemporary histories; the only definite information is the inscription on the entrance of the mosque itself and the *farman* described earlier. It is, however, obvious that some one must have played the role of chief architect, and thousands of artisans must have been employed to create this superb piece of Muslim architecture. I am of the opinion that they were true artists who had faith and devotion in their calling and wanted no publicity. Oscar Wilde has well said of them:



Fidai Khan Koka

"The artist is the creator of beautiful things;
To reveal art and conceal the artist is art's aim."

In the case of the architects of the period, we have already noted that when Aurangzeb's wife Dilras Banu Begum Rabia' Daurani, mausoleum was erected at Aurangabad on the model of the Taj in 1072/1662, the services of an architect named Ataullah were acquired, who is presumed to have been the son of Ustad Ahmad.²⁹ History records that Nadir-u'l-Asr Ustad Ahmad of Lahore was a great architect of Shah Jahan's reign, and the Red Fort and the Jamia' Masjid of Delhi were built under his guidance.³⁰ He had also constructed at Lahore the Khanah-i-Asaf for the Nawab Asaf Khan Yamin-u'd-Dawlah.³¹ Ahmad was a native of Lahore and he had three sons, Ataullah Rushdi, Lutfullah Muhandis and Nurullah. Lutfullah, the second son, has given a short account of this family in his poetry. He was a pupil of his elder brother Ataullah, who was also a great mathematician. The author of the *Maathir-i-Alamgiri*, in the course of describing the events of the twenty-ninth year of the reign (1097/1687), mentions that one Kalyan's father named Hira was a well-known *mi'mar* or architect.³² But there is, admittedly, no definite information that would enable us to name a particular man as the architect of the Badshahi Mosque.

27. *Maathir*, op. cit. p. 94; Jadu Nath Sarkar, op. cit., vol. III pp. 233-42 ;

28. Laurence Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Great Mughals* with an Introd. by Sir Thomas W. Arnold, Oxford, 1921, pl. XX, No. 29, p. 79. British Museum, London. Add. 18801.

29. *Vide supra*.

30. *Amal Salih*, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 28.

31. *Vide supra*.

32. *Maathir*, op. cit. p. 189.

Part III

DESCRIPTION: ARCHITECTURE

Building Material. A casual observation of this grand religious edifice would immediately cause the visitor to conclude that red stone has been used as the chief material in its construction, because externally the whole building is covered with red-stone slabs, which were imported from quarries in the Fathpur Sikri range in the Agra district. In reality, beneath these red-stone slabs, there is brick masonry, which is the real mainstay of the huge building. These red-stone slabs are in some cases systematically adorned with decorative panels having conventional motifs in relief and in some cases pieces of white and black marble are inlaid on red slabs. These inlaid pieces arranged in the *pietra-dura* technique have both flat and embossed devices, but the latter particularly have been used here. These ornamental innovations undoubtedly relieve the monotony of the general effect of red stone and give a delightful appearance to the whole monument. The three bulbous domes over the prayer chamber, and the tops of the cupolas of the minarets and pinnacles, are covered with white-marble slabs, which were brought from the well-known quarry of Makrana in the Jodhpur state of Rajputana. The dado of the interior of the mosque and the flight of steps of the main entrance are made of variegated Abri stone, which was most probably imported from near Gwalior, since writers on the Taj Mahal generally assert that this variety of stone was found within that area. Unfortunately repairs made recently have replaced the Abri stone of the steps with ordinary red stone which neither technically nor traditionally suits such imperial monuments. The walls of the mosque's prayer chamber are internally covered with a thick layer of lime plaster, which is very artistically polished in white and contains a special scheme of decorative patterns, as described under "Decoration".

The kiln-baked bricks, generally called *Shah Jahani* bricks, were locally manufactured and the best quality lime was also made locally, both materials being generally considered crucial for scientifically constructed masonry before stone began to be used. As with all other imperial buildings, no timber has been used here. It is a pity that no historical record of materials used is available from any contemporary source.

It is widely alleged that Dara Shukoh (d. 1070/1659), the eldest brother of Aurangzeb, had collected building material for the construction of a spacious mausoleum over the remains of Hazrat Mian Mir Sahib, his spiritual guide, but could not accomplish his design because he met with his death at the hands of his younger brother Aurangzeb, who on ascending the throne confiscated the materials and used them to build the mosque bearing his name.¹ I believe this allegation against Aurangzeb is without foundation: those who make it do not study history. This mosque was built in 1084/1676 under the superintendence of Fidai Khan Koka, when he was holding the office of Subedar. Now, Mian Mir died in 1045/1635. This would mean that the mosque was built thirty-nine years after his death. But in the meantime Dara Shukoh himself composed a comprehensive biography

1. Sayed Muhammad Latif, *Lahore : Its History, Architectord Remains and Andigistes*, p. 115.

of the saint in 1052/1642 under the title of *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*.² It contains no suggestion that Dara Shukoh had intended to build a grand mausoleum over the remains of Mian Mir Sahib or that material has been collected for this purpose. Moreover, he need not have waited for about twenty-five years, since he could easily have achieved his object. Mufti Aliyy-ud-Din mentions in his *Ibrah Namah* that the *Khanqah* (tomb) of Hazrat Mian Mir was most artistically built of white marble by Aurangzeb Alamgir.³ The fact is that Dara Shukoh intended his wife Nadirah Begum's body to be interred at Lahore within the precincts of the shrine of the saint because that was her wish. Dara Shukoh fulfilled his wife's wish in his last days.⁴ An imposing two-storeyed tomb having a water tank around it was built on the grave and Aurangzeb never objected to it. Dara had despatched his wife's body to Lahore from Sind under the care of the eunuch Khwajah Maqbul. The tomb exists even to this day, although in a ruinous condition. Aurangzeb himself had great regard for the saint, and as Emperor he would not have experienced any difficulty in obtaining more building material. It has been noted above, on the authority of '*Ibrat Namah*', that Aurangzeb built the shrine of Mian Mir at Lahore of white marble. Therefore, I do not find any justification for believing that Aurangzeb had confiscated the building material left by Dara Shukoh for the construction of the mausoleum of Mian Mir Sahib.

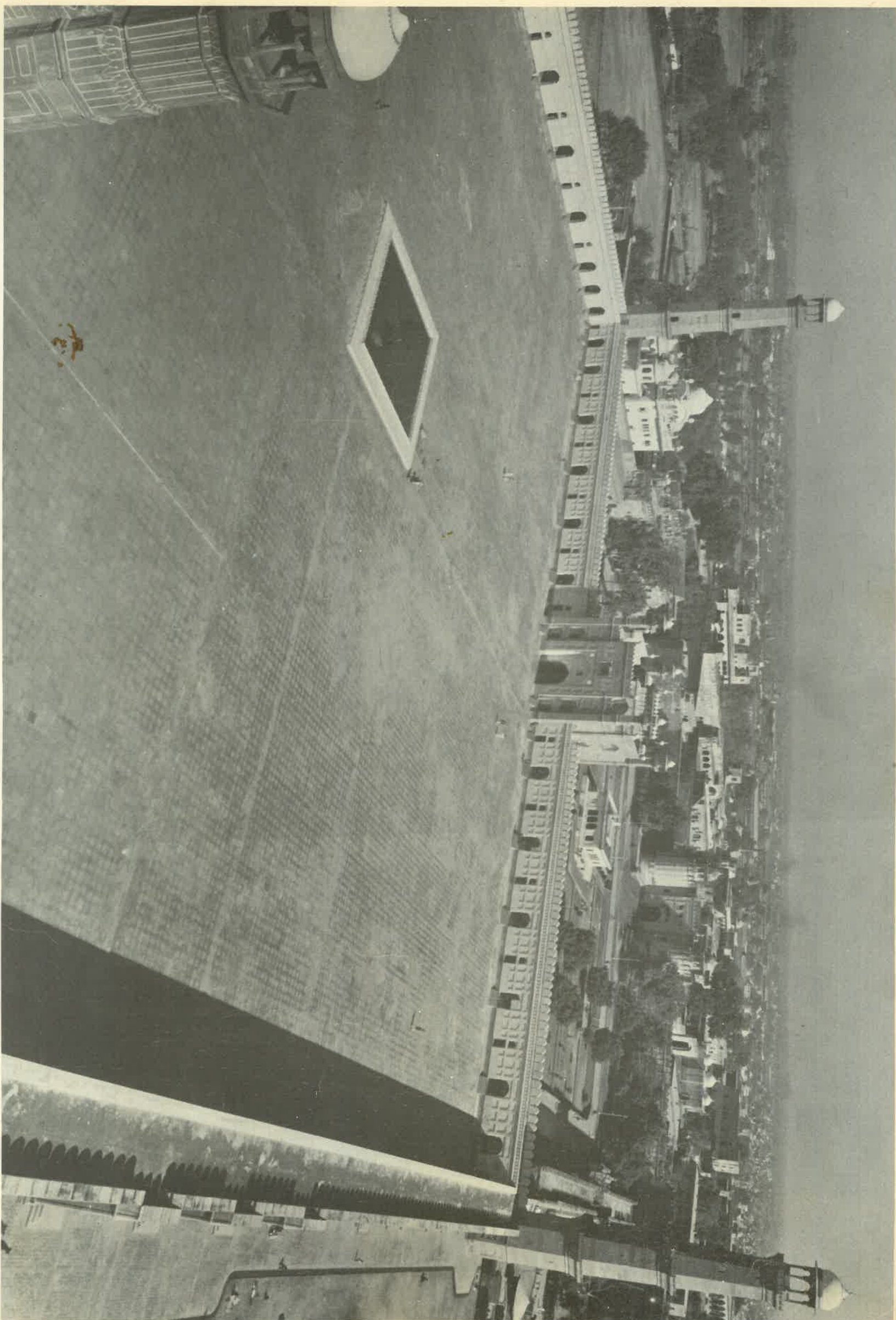
Gateway. The general plan of the mosque shows that, originally, only one main gateway on the east was constructed (plates 1 b, 3 a). The present exit on the south through the *dalans* (corridors) appears to have been used as an emergency way out. This main eastern gateway is a most imposing structure having a half-domed double portal. It stands on a high terrace with its own height of seventy-seven feet, which is approached by a twenty-foot high flight of twenty-one steps, so that this entire composition of the gateway, which is about one hundred feet above ground level, would be plainly visible and would appear majestic and in keeping with the Imperial atmosphere, in front of the Fort gate of Akbar's reign. There is no doubt that of all the architectural productions of the Mughals, their gateways were the most successful achievements. This one really looks extremely imposing when one observes it for the first time on entering the Hazuri Bagh.

The whole square building may be resolved into its twofold function: one, its majestic dignity as the approach to a Royal mosque, and the second, the use of this double-storeyed building as residential quarters for the *Imam*, scholars, and other (plate 4). Its front and rear elevations are almost identical (plates 3a, 5b). The crowning central part of the eastern facade is a handsome perforated parapet, which is studded with a regular line of small cupolas. Just below this line there are two rows, one above the other, of pigeon-holes in regular order according to the number of the cupolas. This is a scheme of architectural embellishment, and at the same time the whole composition to the right and left of this most imposing facade, holds two pinnacles with cupolas over them which lend added aesthetic appeal. Then, between two rows of small panels, there is a long horizontal rectangle that contains the historical inscription of the mosque, bearing the name of the Emperor Aurangzeb as the builder of the mosque, the date 1084/1674 and the name of Fidai Khan Koka who superintended its construction. This whole rectangle is

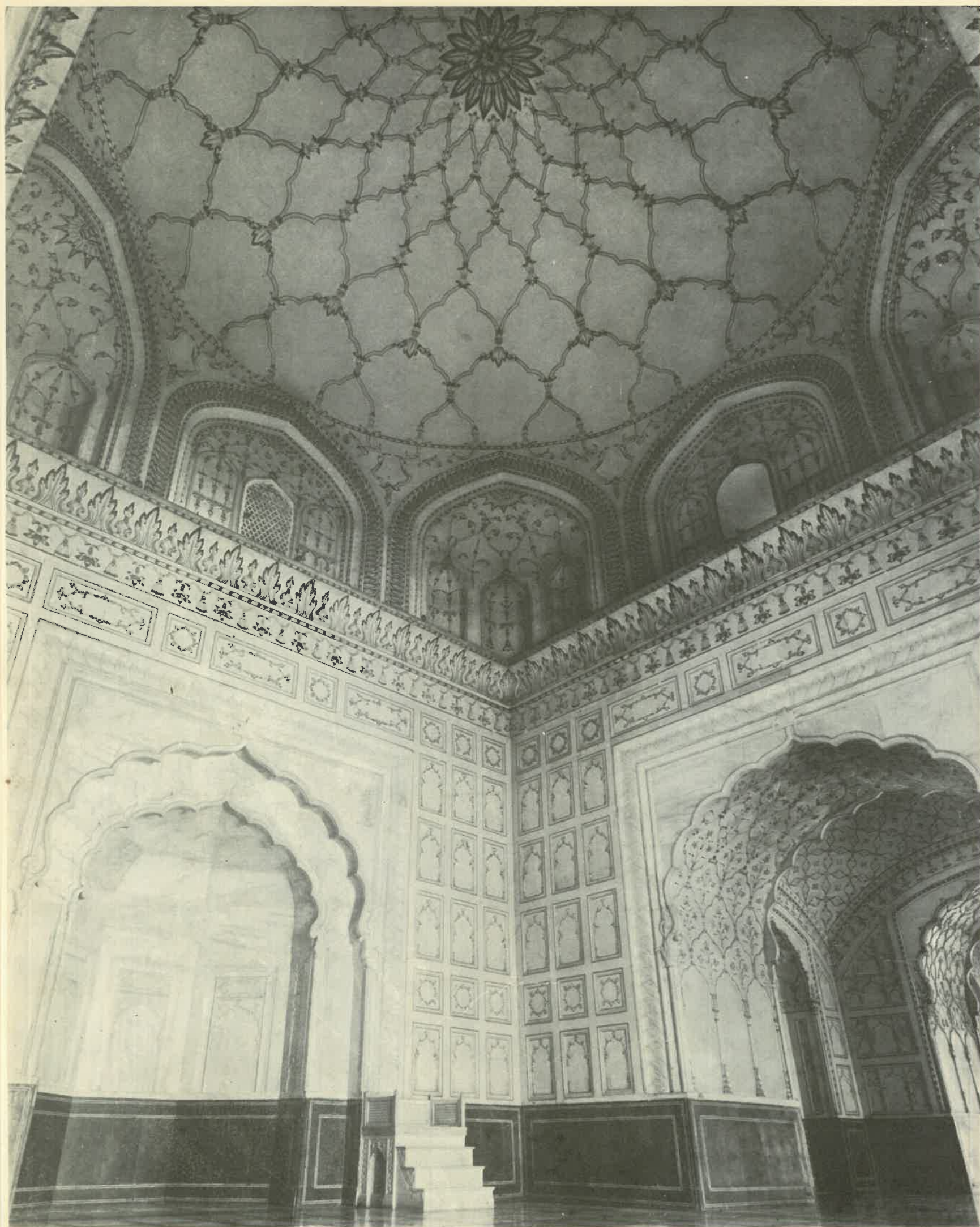
2. *Sakinat-u'l-Auliya*, in Persian MSS. are available in various libraries, but so far its Urdu translation is available in the market and is generally used as a reference which was published at Lahore.

3. '*Ibrat Namah*', MS. of Mufti Aliyy'-ud-Din Lahori, Indian Office Library, Persian MS. 3241, the 504.

4. Latif, op. cit. p. 177. Latif has mentioned this mausoleum of Nadirah Begam as the *Baradari* because it consists of two storeys.



9. Lahore City's View from the Mosque.



10. Mihrab Chamber with Minbar

very artistically designed on a white-marble slab in *pietra-dura* technique. (pl. 3 b). The spandrels of the multifoil pointed central arch bear marble *Shamsahs* (sun-flowers) which are fixed there in an embossed form. The concave surface of the arch carries stalactite-type mural decoration in various colours. On the tops of the four corners of this gateway small turrets with suitable cupolas acting like sentinel guards break the skyline. There are porticos beside the central scheme which serve as windows to admit light and air to the rooms of both the ground and upper floors of the gateway. There are also double-storeyed verandahs attached to these rooms, facing the main passage through the gateway on both its wings. These must have served as sitting-rooms or class-rooms, and they adjoin other independent rooms meant for living purposes. The upper-floor plan reveals the arrangement of the staircase, and here can be seen the great skill of the architect who designed this gateway as an independent building with so many functions in view.⁵ On the top floor we find a hemispherical dome covering the main central part of the gateway which does not exceed the height of the parapets of the gateway and is thus not visible to the visitor from a distance. But this feature of the construction, planned for the strength of the whole, has greatly influenced the overall design.

We should not forget that the site on which a monument is to be constructed is always a great consideration with the architect. In the case of this mosque specially, the high mound on which it was to be built made it possible for him to put up only one gateway to the east, because it was not feasible to erect a similar gateway on the south and north as well, as is evident from the high level of the ground to the south and the river bed to the north. The first congregational Mughal mosque of Akbar at Fathpur Sikri (979/1571) was likewise able to have one prominent gateway on its south side, thanks to its position on a hillock. At Agra and Delhi, however, the Juma' Mosques have main gateways on three sides because the architects had the room to erect them. These mosques undoubtedly owe much of their grandeur to this symmetry. (plate 26a, b)

However, the eastern gateway of this Lahore mosque is most successful and surpasses all other such porch-like constructions attached to Imperial monuments. The feature was introduced here from Persia and the Mughal architects then added to the effect by applying more elaborate embellishments.

Flooring Arrangement. After climbing a flight of twenty-one steps, the visitor reaches a flat terrace right in front of the main gateway of the mosque. The terrace is paved with red-stone slabs and measures 65' x 35'. After passing through the gateway, which is a double half-domed portal, one then enters the courtyard, the floor of which including that of the gateway is 7½" higher than that of the terrace.

The present floor of red-stone, quasi-square slabs is the recent work of the Renovating Committee, which has replaced the original floor of ordinary small-size pucca bricks that divided it into regular rectangles in the shape of *musallahs* (prayer mats) whose borders were of hard black stone, so that the rows of people offering prayers might be neatly arranged in straight lines (plates 7, 8). This old system of flooring was more scientific and stable than the present one, because if any defect develops in the present floor, the whole slab will have to be either replaced or reshuffled.

5. A small pamphlet (Urdu) was published at Lahore some years ago. It deals with the descriptions of the holy relics deposited in the upper storey of the gateway of the Badshahi Mosque which we are not dealing here. It also bears a short account of the activities of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, regarding Mosque's repairs.

gives a completely harmonious effect, and this is an important basic characteristic of Muslim architecture.

Prayer Chamber. On the western side towards the Qiblah—Mecca direction—stands the prayer chamber which may aptly be called the main body of the mosque (plates 5 a, 20 a). It consists of the *mihrab*, within the centre of the back wall, like the heart in the body, for without it the building as a whole would be quite incomplete. Externally it measures 275 ft. $\times$ 120' while the enclosing walls are 51 ft. high. Muslim writers have generally called it *Ivan* or *Ewaan* (the prayer chamber) or *al-Ivan*, which is sometimes expressed by European writers, after eliminating the first letter 'a', as *livan*. This prayer chamber, following the tradition of the Imperial mosques of the Mughals at Agra and Delhi, consists of two oblong, arcaded chambers, as the plans reproduced here show (plate 26 a, b). The three crowning domes stand above the larger western chamber, having vaulted bays between them and the smaller chamber facing the courtyard has a flat vaulted roofing arrangement, being divided into a scheme of bays and ante-chambers similar to the larger chamber (plates 1 b, 20 a). The floor of this prayer chamber has a plinth about 5 ft. high which is approached by flights of steps in the porticos. The facade of the prayer chamber towards the east, having the central fronton, holds five porticos having multifoil pointed arches of equal size on the right and left. The middle ones on each side afford entrance to its interior by a flight of steps (plate 5 b). The northern and southern ends of the *Ivan* contain the openings of the arcaded chambers (plates 7, 20a).

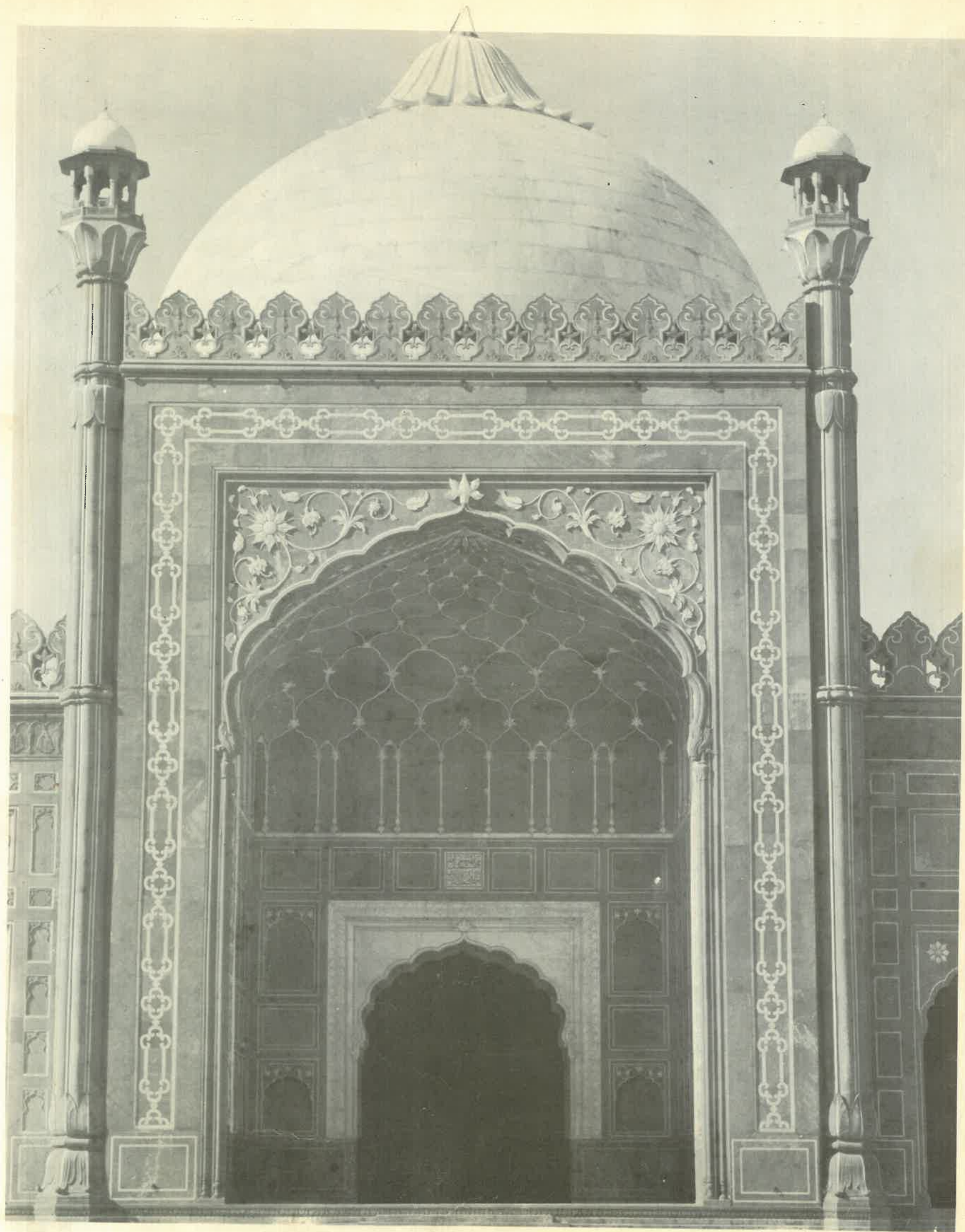
Mihrab. A careful study of the development of mosque in Islam as a worshipping place will reveal that it entirely depends upon the back wall of its quadrangle, facing the Ka'bah. This back wall serving as the *Sutra-tul-Musalli*—the screen of one who prays—contains the *mihrab* in its centre where the *Imam*—leader stands to lead the congregation. It was introduced in the Mosque of the Prophet at Madina in 89/708. Owing to the importance of the *mihrab* in a mosque, it is sometimes called the soul of the mosque.

Similarly, the Badshahi Masjid contains one *mihrab* in the centre of its back wall (plates 1 b, 10). This central square portion of the *Ivan* of the mosque is covered with decorative marble slabs and the central bulbous double dome stands on the portion which is based on squinch system of arches.

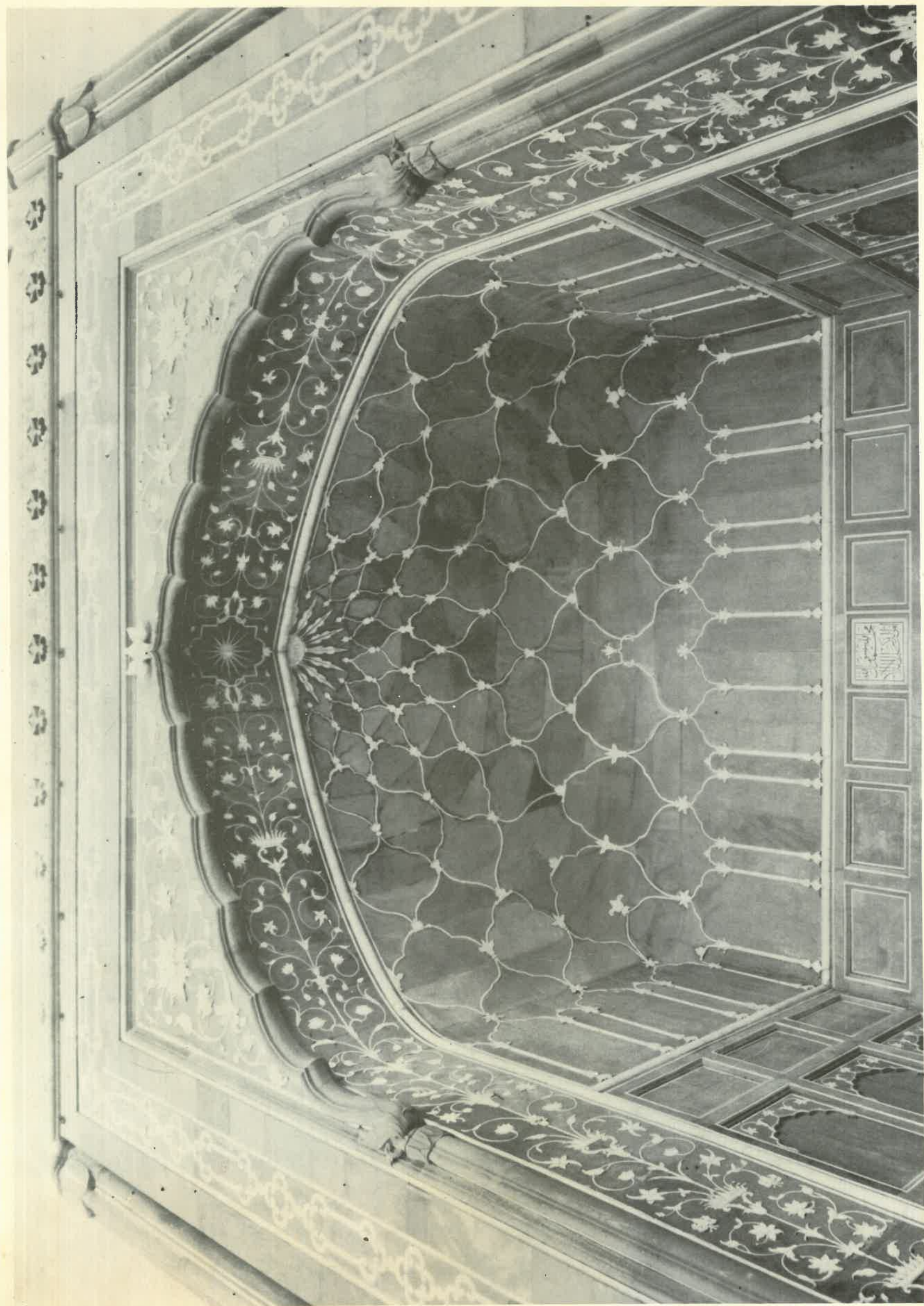
Minbar. The present *minbar* or pulpit of white marble has recently been renovated, when an electric plant had to be installed beneath it (plate 10). I believe the original *minbar* was either removed or destroyed by the Sikhs when they occupied the mosque for their military operations. For the last half century and more, I have had in mind an other marble *minbar* at a place next to the central *mihrab* of the mosque. This is also not the original one, being the donation of some generous person. Its design is almost identical with the one we are considering. My personal opinion about it is that its decoration must have harmonised with the general scheme of decoration of the mosque. It has four steps, although following the *minbar* of the Prophet's mosque at Madina, the adoption of three steps would have been the right course as is the case with the *minbar* of the Jamia Masjid, Delhi. *Minbars* having more than three steps have been made and exist, but they are rare.

The history of the *minbar* in Islam is most interesting: it is the only furniture of the mosque which is sometimes found as an independent item and is sometimes fixed to the walls next to the *mihrab*.⁷ But in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, they have mostly

7. Jamil-ur-Rahman, "Minber wa Asa," *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, August 1939.



II. *Peshani* (Fronton)'s General View.



12. Fronton's Interior.

been built in masonry as an integral part of congregational mosques. However, from very early times, wooden *minbars* have been the practice in the Middle and Near East. I have seen the finest specimens in museums in Cairo, Baghdad, at the South Kensington Museum in London, and at some American museums, proving that the Musulmans were the best carpenters in the world and great experts in woodwork. The oldest dated specimen of a wooden *minbar* belongs to the fourth century of Islam. The best masonry *minbars* are in the subcontinent and the earliest in date is of the early Tughluq period. In certain cases they are so large and prominent that *maqsuras* (cells) within these *mihrabs* have been provided in which the ruler or monarch could pray and be safe from any danger. The adoption of the *maqsura* in the mosque, just near the *mihrab*, takes its origin from the time of Hazrat Uthman, the third Khalifah. There is a tradition of the Prophet that the "minbar should be adopted because our grandfather Ibrahim had adopted it."

Turrets of the Prayer Chamber. On the four corners of the prayer chamber there are four turrets. In their general appearance they resemble the main minarets of the mosque (plates 5 a, 20 a). They have pavilions on their upper ends which are covered with marble cupolas. The difference between them and the minarets is only that the turrets are straight and do not extend beyond the domes in height. Their cornices and other parts are most artistically ornamented with decorative motifs in an inlaid marble outline device on the red surface.

Fronton of the Prayer Chamber. The central fronton of the prayer chamber is the most prominent feature of the mosque, which is sometimes called *dargah* by some writers (plate 11). The height of the fronton up to the very edge of the parapet is about 80 ft. from the floor of the courtyard and is 55 ft. wide, excluding the turrets. This central prominent part of the facade of the prayer chamber has many remarkable features, including the following—central arch with marvellously decorated spandrels on its right and left ends; slender turrets with white cupolas; a special decoration in a *pietra-dura* embossed device which is found on the soffit and concave of the central arch; and, above all this, the fronton distinguished by its perforated parapet of crockets (plates 12, 13, 14).

Domes. The most conspicuous features of the mosque are its three crowning bulbous domes on the top of the rear chamber of the prayer hall (plates 19 a, 20 b). The central dome is larger and much higher than the other two to the right and left. They are covered with regular layers of marble slabs and are most artistically and scientifically erected on a squinch system. The vaulted bays between these domes rest on pendentives. The adjoining smaller chamber of the hall, having a flat, vaulted roofing arrangement, also falls within the whole arcuated set-up of these domes. They have very beautiful golden finials on their tops which can be seen from a great distance shining in the sun. They stand on foliated marble bases.

In reality, the domes are composed of inner and outer shells of masonry with distinct spaces or voids of $30' \times 32\frac{1}{2}'$ and $39\frac{1}{2}' \times 43\frac{1}{2}'$ respectively, between the domes (plate 21). They are known as double domes. The reason for this structural procedure became necessary because of the inclination to raise the height of the dome and afford an easy swelling in shape, so that the domes would present a loftier and more majestic appearance. By building two domes in one, in the form of an inner and outer shell separated by a void, the proportions of both the exterior, and particularly the interior,

were much improved (plate 16). This innovation of the double dome has also helped acoustics by controlling and transmitting the sound of the sermon rising from the *mihrab* beneath the central dome in such a way as to avoid an echo, such as one gets in the *Gol Gunbad* (round dome) (1071/1660) of Bijapur, Deccan, which is the largest single dome in the world and is famous for its echoes. But undoubtedly the crowning glory of the elevation of the prayer chamber of this mosque lies in the bulbous shape and volume of these domes which, supported by lofty drums of 21 ft. and 32 ft. respectively, resemble clouds reclining upon an airy throne, (plate 21).

Since the dome has become a symbolic feature in Islamic architecture all over the world, we consider it essential to trace here a brief history of its adoption in Indo-Pakistan buildings, so that we may be able to study its gradual development into a double bulbous dome such as we find here.

In India the Musulmans first used coverings for their earliest monuments which were based on a corbelled system such as we find in some of the early non-Islamic monuments. The best example of this can be seen in the existing part of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque at Delhi (589/1193)⁸. But soon after, when Ala-u'd-Din Khalji (694-715/1295-1315) added a gateway to the Quwwat-ul-Islam in 709/1309, and also built the *Jama'at Khanah*—meeting place—within the precincts of the sanctuary of Nizam-u'd-Din Auliya, he adopted shallow domes springing from arches and vaults beneath the roof and covering it almost entirely which were based on pendentive and squinch system.⁹ We see that the dome during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries gradually attained a semi-spherical shape; and from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, when the Mughals were gaining ascendancy in this country (934/1527), dome construction took on a more elegant form and became a prominent feature. This was principally due to the influx of experts who came here with the invaders from Central Asia and Persia. They enriched the subcontinent with many superb buildings, all of which obviously bear many affinities with the monuments of Central Asia and Persia.

The bulbous double dome first prominently appears in the mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi (972/1564), which was built by his widow Hamidah Banu Begum, who had acquired the services of the Persian architects Mirak Mirza Ghiyath and Ustad Khuda Quli.¹⁰ This mausoleum is full of Persian and Turkish architectural embellishments which had seldom been used before. We should not omit to mention that the double dome had already appeared in the tomb of Shihabu'd-Din Taj Khan (dated 907/1501 by an inscription) known as *Bivi ka Gumbad*—the dome of the pious lady—within the vicinity of Hauz-i-Khas, Delhi.¹¹ The bulbous double dome reached its culmination in the Taj Mahal at Agra (1057/1647), the mausoleum of Humayun being regarded as its prototype, though Professor Creswell, a great authority on Muslim architecture, considers that the Taj was based on the mausoleum of Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan (1037/1627), which exists near Humayun's tomb.¹²

At Lahore, the earliest extant double dome is that of Sayyid Abdur Razzaq (953/1546), known as the *Nila Gunbad*—blue dome—covered with blue glazed tiles which is slightly bulbous in its construction. This feature in course of time appeared in many

8. Percy Brown, op. cit.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, Ludhiana, 1876, p. 202; Badayuni op. cit. vol. II, p. 132.

11. *Athar uth-Thaniyid* by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Cawnpur, 1904, p. 41 and Insc. No. 24.

12. Creswell, "The History and Evolution of the Dome in Persia," *Indian Antiquary* 1915, p. 157.

monuments of the city and culminated finally in these crowning bulbous domes of the Badshahi Masjid, which excel in their beauty and shape all previous ones.

Minarets. One remarkable architectural feature in Muslim monuments is the minaret, whose origin in Islam can be traced to the need for the *muezzin* for a high enough place to call the faithful to prayer, but later it began to be adopted more for architectural beauty than to serve as a tower for the *aza'n*¹³ (plate 5). That is the reason why the minaret has found a place in Islamic buildings even other than mosques. Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah was the first Muslim monarch to erect minarets in Ghaznah and elsewhere as victory towers. These exist to this day, and have served as prototypes for subsequent buildings of the sort.¹⁴ During the Mughal period, particularly, many splendid mausoleums were built with minarets on their four corners where the main motive was symmetry and beauty. Today, the minarets of the Taj at Agra, of Jahangir's tomb, at Lahore, of the gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra Agra, and of the gateway of Jahan Ara's gardens at Lahore decorated with coloured glazed tiles are well known for their refinement and harmonious composition.

The use of the minaret in imperial Mughal mosques made a departure from the medieval period. The design of their base generally remained octagonal. We have two mosques in mind, one at Agra, known as the mosque of Jahan Ara, and the other at Delhi, the Jami' Masjid built by Shah Jahan himself, which we compare with the Badshahi Masjid of Lahore. (plate 26 a,b,) The former was built about four years earlier than the latter. It has four minarets around the central dome of the prayer chamber. While the Jami' Masjid at Delhi has only two minarets on the ends of the facade of the prayer chamber, which are much larger than those at Agra. The Lahore mosque of Aurangzeb has four minarets at each corner of the mosque's courtyard. (plate 1 b) And in the case of the Delhi masjid, instead of minarets on the corners, there are pavilions.

The minarets of the Badshahi Masjid have three storeys which stand on a solid plinth about 20 ft. high, which some people would also include as an independent storey. They are octagonal in plan. The height of each minaret is $143\frac{1}{2}$ ft. excluding the top pavilions with their cupolas as well as their plinths. The original pavilions were lost in the earthquake of 1840 and they have been restored quite recently. Access to the summit is gained by a flight of narrow steps of red stone in the interior, and from the top an interesting view of the surrounding town is obtained (plate 9). Although simple in their design and plain in their tall, tapering appearance, the minarets are conspicuous for their size and solidity and cannot fail to impress the observer. But it must be said that they are entirely proportionate to the size of the mosque and have been placed at the four corners of the quadrangle after careful consideration by the architect.

13. Creswell, op. cit.

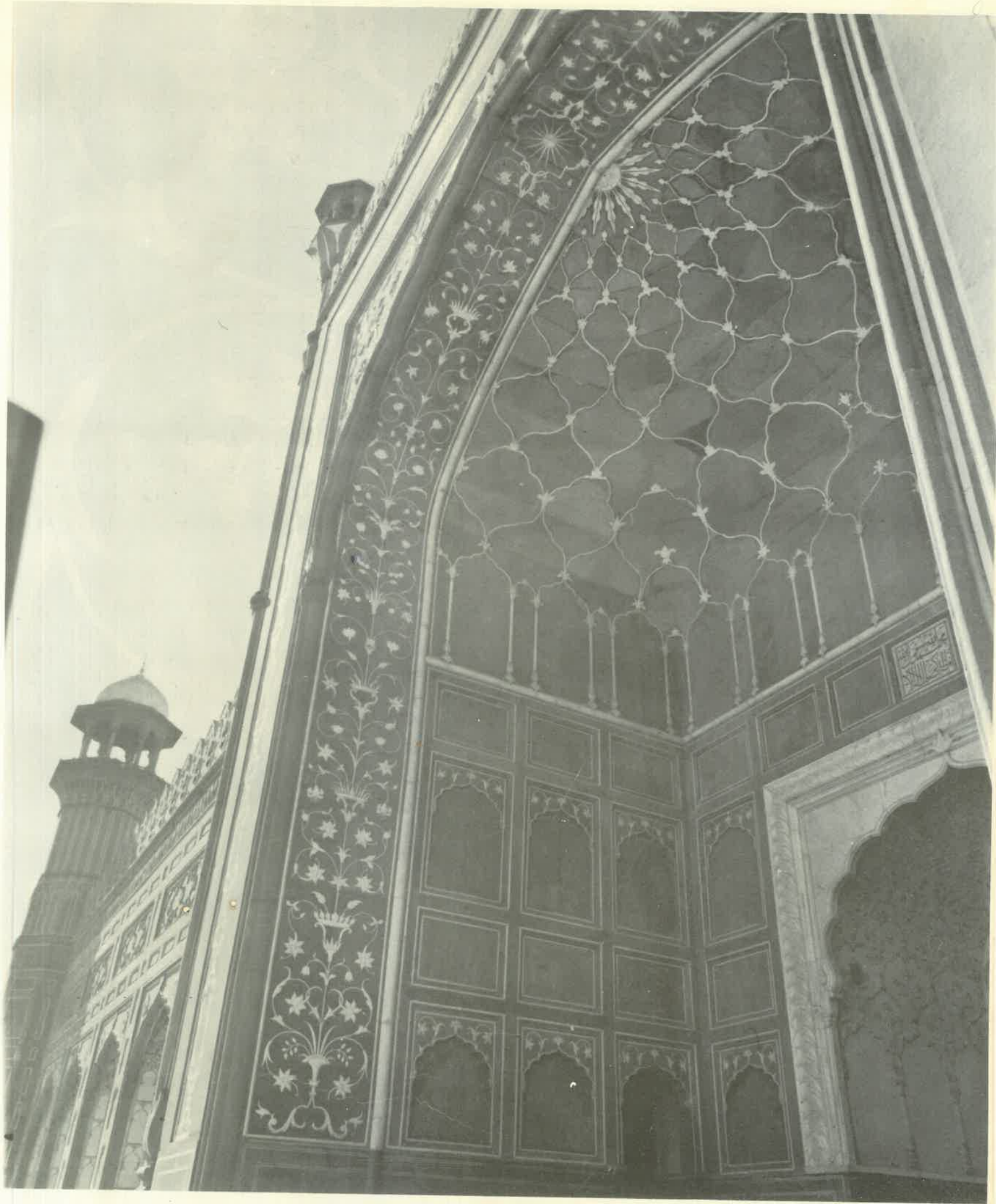
14. Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 191-3.

Part IV

DECORATION

Though Islam has generally condemned decoration in mosques, in certain cases and within certain limits, it has been tolerated, provided it does not interfere with prayers. The history of ornamenting the walls of mosques, with conventional decorative motifs, actually begins from the Umayyad period. In 72/691, Khalifah Abdul Malik bin Marwan built the *Qubbat-us-Sakhra* (Dome of the Rock) in Jerusalem, then his son Walid rebuilt the mosque of the Prophet at Madina in 88/705 and afterwards built the congregational mosque at Damascus. The walls of all these early religious monuments were decorated with blocks of glass and mosaics in precious stones which are mostly of Byzantine origin. The principal aim before these Umayyad Khalifahs may have been to bring the standard of religious architecture up to that of the extant Christian churches. Thus, ornament became the soul of Islamic art, and each period of Islamic art developed its own characteristic style of ornamentation according to the local environment. Mosque-builders ultimately made it a practice to decorate them, and every decorative motif used on conventional principle which could be used in design was employed in perfect harmony for ornamentation. Nature inspired the Muslim artist, but he conventionalised Nature in imitating it. Ornamentation was applied to the walls and ceilings in stucco and plaster; glazed tiles and stones of various kinds were also used. The different types of ornament take their origin mainly from the Egyptians or the Greeks, such as the water lily, lotus, palm, honeysuckle, rosette and acanthus. But it was the Muslim artist who really used these motifs in perfect harmony and symmetrical order, and that is why experts have unanimously called the designs *Arabesque*. Indeed, the art of decoration has played such a dominant part in Islamic architecture that it must really be included under the heading Architecture. These introductory remarks must suffice before an attempt is made to describe the ornamentation of the Badshahi Masjid, in which it will be seen that the palmette and the acanthus are the largest and most conspicuous of all the motifs. The various decorative devices and ornamental embellishments relieve the monotony of the flat red stone on the exterior and the white surface in the interior. Climatic conditions are also kept in view, thus providing extra protection to its structure from external deterioration. The walls of the mosque, both internally and externally, have the following varieties of decoration :

- (1) Stone-carving in relief both in marble and red stone (plate 15).
- (2) Decorative motifs cut out of white marble and inlaid on red stone in flat surface (plate 3 b).
- (3) Decorative motifs cut out of white marble and inlaid on the red-stone surface in a low relief or embossed device (plates 13, 14).
- (4) Mural decoration of floral arabesque schemes of natural colours in conventional patterns on white plaster surfaces of walls, vaults and sta'actite patterns (plate 17 a, b, c, d)



13. Decorative Frieze on the Soffit of the Fronton.



14. Detail of the Decorative Frieze (white marble inlaid on red stone).

The decorative aspect of the architectural characteristics of the mosque is of vital importance, because the whole beauty of composition in Muslim architecture largely depends on special types of ornamentation.

Moreover, particularly in the case of decorative motifs such as those mentioned above, the question of foreign influences sometimes arises, because affinities between the style of decoration in this mosque and in that of some European monuments may possibly be found, and this may also attract the visitor's attention.

(1) *Stone-carving.* The central square chamber of the *Ivan*, including the *mihrab* of the mosque up to the height of the cornice serving as the base of the central dome's squinch system, is supported by a square of multifoil pointed arches. It is built entirely of the best quality of white marble and it is generally called the *dargah* or sanctuary of the mosque, though it has also been described as the heart of the mosque, because it consists of the *mihrab*, where the *Imam* (leader) stands, facing towards the western *Qiblah* direction, to lead the congregation. He also delivers his *Khutbah* (sermon) from the pulpit (plate 10). The concave of the midway cornice of this square just below the squinches has an ornamental frieze, which is full of carved acanthus leaf motifs employed in a regular alternating order of a smaller and larger leaf (plates 10, 16). Just below this ornamental frieze's head, there is another carved frieze of hanging rosette motifs which matches the arrangement of the acanthus. This unusual and most charming feature of the frieze design in marble-carving has a decidedly local influence. The upward points of the leaves and downward hanging ends of the rosettes are most effective.¹

This general scheme of marble frieze-carving with the acanthus-like patterns as decorative motifs invites comparison with some of the earliest Greek and Roman frieze designs, in which the leaf and dart motifs are used. The acanthus, a spiny herbaceous plant, has achieved classical character in ornamental foliage and has been widely employed as an architectural decoration by different peoples for the ornamentation of friezes, cornices, medallions and various other features. Grecian architects first employed it in decorating their Corinthian capitals. Indeed, the use of the acanthus became so popular that today it can be found as an architectural ornament in nearly every country. The earliest specimen in Muslim architecture is on the oldest building of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, which resembles the cornice of the Siphnian at Delphi. The Badshahi Masjid, which comes thousands of years after those earliest specimens, has the same tradition of acanthus frieze ornamentation with a predominant local element, unaffected by Greek and Roman influences. Moreover, the acanthus found here as a frieze has adopted a distinctly Islamic flavour. (plate 10)

The rest of the surface of the wall is covered with marble slabs which are divided into a scheme of small square or rectangular decorative panels in low relief, thus harmonising with the whole scheme of this square part of the *Ivan*. The same acanthus leaves, in a more local style, are also carved on the convexo-concave border of the framework of these

1. To study the use of the acanthus on comparative basis in architectural ornamentation on conventional lines, I have consulted a large number of publications and many standard drawings of this type of decoration. But in the course of my writing on this very important point I fortunately came across one publication: : *Guide for Drawing the Acanthus and Every Description of Ornamental* by I. Page, London, 1843, which undoubtedly solved this problem. And besides it I also consulted botanists like Dr. Ahmad Ali Qureshi, Government College, Lahore, and Mr Asad Ali Anvery of Pakistan Forest Service.

arches. Some of them are found on the foils of these arches, as if springing up from them. The artist has been most successful here in creating a light and harmonious artistic atmosphere, avoiding any sort of over-congestion such as might distract the faithful at their rituals. This whole scheme of decoration gives additional grace and splendour. However, it requires a keen eye to appreciate its beauty, because it was not an easy job for the artist to decorate this huge building that was meant purely for a religious purpose, since Islam forbids the representation of any animate object. (plate 18)

The same harmonising scheme of ornamentation, on a lime-plaster surface, rises above the squinches and from there it spreads over the interior of the dome in stalactite patterns.

(2) *Inlaid on Stone in flat.* The walls of the mosque are externally covered with red-stone slabs which have been very carefully panelled in low-relief carving of decorative rectangular motifs in regular composition and rhythm (plate 15). In some cases, these decorative panels are artistically arranged with flat inlaid margins in strips of white marble, which undoubtedly enhance the general beauty of this relief ornamentation on the surface of the red stone. But a further advance has been made in inlaying the characters of the inscriptions on the white marble after cutting them out of a block of hard stone (plate 3 b).

(3) *Inlaid on Stone in Relief.* The third variety of decorative motifs, which are generally defined as 'arabesques', are cut out of white marble and inlaid on the red-stone surface in low relief, i.e., embossed. They are found on the mosque's prayer chamber and on the soffit of the arch of the fronton which, just on its inside edge, forms a continuous scroll of ornaments. This decorative scroll with its *pietra dura* technique and decorative motifs in an embossed device is hardly found anywhere else in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The very rare Islamic ornamentation occurring here, however, possibly suggests that it might be a foreign importation to fill up the soffit of the fronton, which would show a European influence (plates 12, 13, 14). But our researches trace an almost similar type of decorative scroll, having the acanthus leaves in carving as decorative motifs, in the centre of the marble *mihrab*² of the Jami' al-Khaski, (Fig. p. 29) which is at present preserved in the Baghdad National Museum, and in the decoration around the *mihrab* of the Jami' of Cordova, Spain. Experts have unanimously ascribed the former to the Umayyad period. Khalifah al-Mansur (d. 158/774) had brought it to Baghdad from Syria for his own mosque. However, a similar decorative motif can also be traced in the *Mshatta*, some objects of marble preserved in the Islamic Museum, Cairo, and in the mosque at Qairawan. Obviously, it had become a practice among the Musalmans to ornament mosque arches with such decorative patterns, although the same motifs sometimes appear in geometrical traceries too. So this adoption in Indo-Pakistan architecture, particularly its revival in the soffit with this type of arabesque motif in the mosque of Aurangzeb at Lahore, is neither a foreign importation nor a foreign influence on this mosque. In short, we have seen that the Musulmans independently used such scrolls with similar designs of decoration at a very early stage. It is, therefore, possible that we may also trace the application of these decorative scrolls during the medieval or renaissance period when such Islamic innovations imperceptibly spread into Europe and were used freely in the embellishment of buildings. Similar scrolls as decorative borders are found in the Renaissance paintings of the Italian Bernardino Pinturicchio (1454-1513) in the

2. Dr. Zaky M. Hasan, *Atlas of Moslem Decorative Arts*, Baghdad, 1956, 260.

Capitular Library of Siena, depicting the career of Aeneas Sylvas Piccolomini, who was the Pope's nephew. All the ten murals of Pinturicchio are full of oriental atmosphere: the draperies and features of some of the figures are an imitation of the Turkish life of those days. According to Vasari, a contemporary writer: "It is indeed true that the sketches and cartoons for all these scenes were by Raphael of Urbino, who was then his companion and fellow pupil under Piero, whose style Raphael had thoroughly mastered."³ John Addington Symonds, a great authority on Italian history and culture and the art of the Renaissance period, says: "His wall-paintings in the Library of the Cathedral at Siena are so well preserved that we need not seek elsewhere for a better specimen of the most highly prized decoration of the first years of the sixteenth century."⁴ But another authority asserts that in the charming medley of form and colour presented by the wall decoration of these houses we may clearly see the development of Giotto's Italian Gothic ornamentation still mixed with some of the older Romanesque forms that Torriti loved to use, while Saracenic influences are not absent. The same has been asserted by Gustave Soulier in his *Les Influences Orientales Dans la Peinture Toscane*.⁵ Some writers on these decorative devices which spread in a repeated scroll form assert that they are representations of the Tree of Life (plate 13).

This shows that the artist of the Italian Renaissance had a great impact on Muslim Powers, especially on the Turks, but they also adopted many Islamic devices in their works. But the scroll-type decoration in vertical form is very rare in Indo-Muslim edifices, and where it does occur, it looks strange and rather foreign, as in the Badshahi Masjid. But as far as decorative motifs are concerned, they are undoubtedly arabesque-Islamic.⁶

The Badshahi Masjid scroll emerges from the palmette of a Greco-Roman decorative pedestal in quite a natural form, although the speciality of the characteristic Musalman symmetry is strictly observed, and this is the original form of the flexible and infinitely varied system of Islamic design, so skilfully interwoven with, and so subtly adopted to, its purpose that the supremacy of Islamic art has been recognised and perpetuated in the word "arabesque". It is divided into a regular decorative scheme of links, every link assuming an independent position resting on a decorative pedestal. The pattern extends over a large space in an oblong scroll. It is a true Islamic scroll, making free use of the palmette. It looks as if it was intended for a bead, though vegetables, flowers, leaves and fruits are seen creeping into a system which forbade the representation of any living thing. The markings are not midribs and veins, but seem especially designed to contradict the impression of natural foliage. At the same time, the law of growth is carefully observed, every leaf grows from a stalk, every stalk from a stem, which can be traced back to its root, however, elaborate its windings and interlacing. In this way there is developed a singularly easy and rhythmic manner of filling any given space with interlaced and confluent forms suited to the calligraphic character of Islamic design. It gives the artist satisfaction that his work is free from any sin while at the same time providing spiritual and aesthetic pleasure. He exercises his craftsmanship with infinite patience and achieves his artistic

3. Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptures and Architects*, London, 1927, vol. II, pp. 114-8.

4. John Addington Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1905, Part : Fine Arts, pp. 220-1.

5. Gustave Soulier *Les Influences Orientales dans la Peinture Toscane*, Paris, 1924, pp. 171-2, 193, 207-10, 291-2, 325, 330.

He has very carefully and very critically discussed the work of the Italian artist Pinturicchio in detail and come to the conclusion that there was great influence on his work of the Persian carpets, geometric designs and other details.

6. *Life's Picture History of Western Man*, New York, 1951, pp. 75-8;

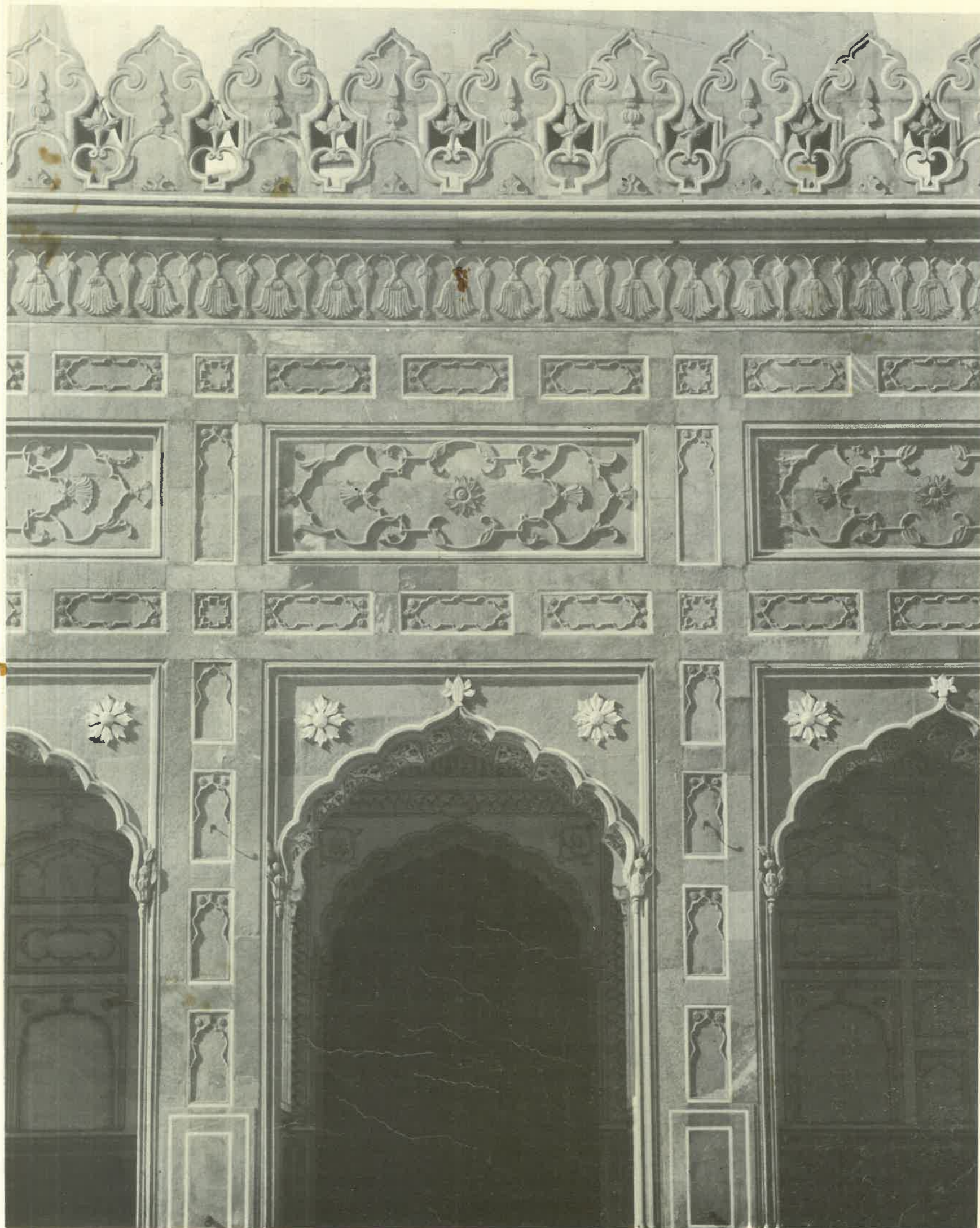
purpose by filling endless spaces with beautiful, systematic and appropriate decorative motifs.

As noted above, the same decoration also occurs on the spandrels of the main central arch of the fronton which symmetrically depicts natural arabesque motifs with the *Shamsa* (sun-flower) in the centre (plate 11). This practice of decorating arch spandrels became a special feature of Muslim architecture, and, we understand, also influenced Europe to a great extent. The Persians also gave special attention to this architectural embellishment: sometimes they added geometrical traceries in stucco work to give the effect of a latticed curtain on the arch of a door or window. The earliest specimen before us is that of the tomb of Ismail Samanid at Bukhara (295/907) which denotes a square within a square in opposite directions.⁷ In some cases the same appears as an hexagonal or octagonal star. The use of the sun-flower, carved out of white marble and inlaid on a red-stone surface, was very common with the Mughals: we must remember that the sun-flower was popular among Persian writers and poets who often used it as a metaphor to describe an elegant movement. The spandrels of the arches of the mosque of Aurangzeb have other conventional decorative motifs in symmetrical order, but they are basically connected with the central sun-flower. The tendrils springing out of the central flower as branches are stemmed with budding flowers, leaves, etc. In fact, the whole scheme moves round the central flower.

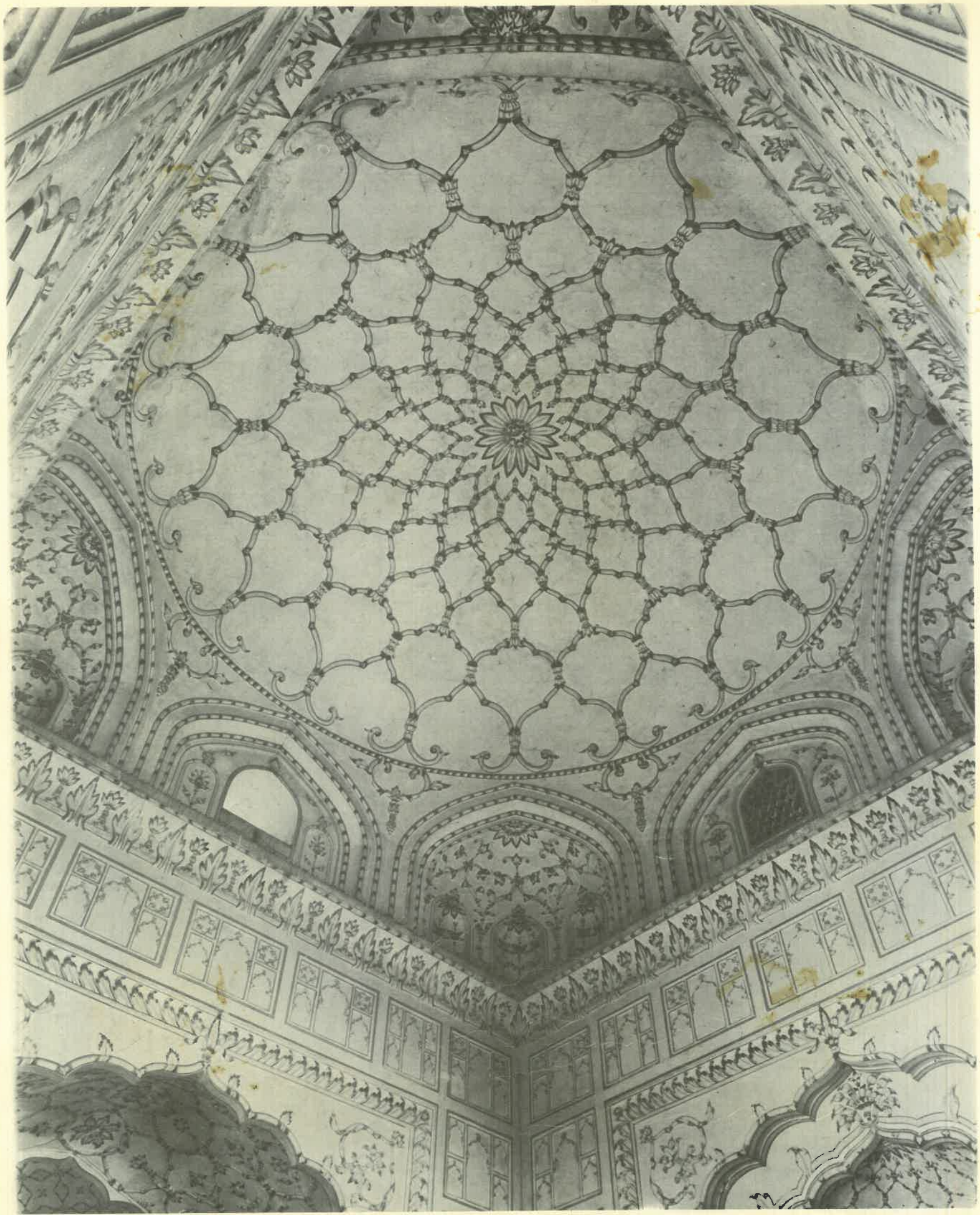
(4) *Mural decoration.* Mural decoration, in distemper of variegated colours, is generally spread over the white surface of the thick layer of lime-plaster in small recesses in the main gateway's facade, the interior of its dome, the spandrels of the arches, and of the main prayer chamber, which during summer also scientifically prevents excessive heat from affecting the main building. I think that the present plaster work is not original, having been restored most probably at the time of the general repairs which were undertaken after the mosque's restoration to the Musulmans in 1856. Some of the floral designs have not been carefully handled. However, the mural decoration, on the spandrels of the arches, within the stalactite pattern and on the concaves of the cornices, is a very pleasant feature. It will be noticed that the palmette design has been conventionally repeated and interwoven in its natural form along with the flowers and other motifs. The ceilings, vaults and cornices of the prayer chamber have a scheme of decorative repeat, using a low relief device in stucco, which may be called the *Islimi Khatai* or *Band-i-Rumi*-Turkish Chain. Thus the whole space is covered very rhythmically (plate 17 showing four phases).

Much of this pattern decoration looks like stencilling, which might be accounted for by the flat character of the design. The painted decoration was not, however, stencilled, but was applied to the surface of the plaster by the method known as "pouncing", by means of picked holes made in the original tracing or drawing, and the pattern work of the embossed repeat is afterwards done on the stucco with a brush. That this was the method used is proved by the slight variation in the drawings of the patterns and by the characteristic freedom in the execution which brush-work alone can give and also by the absence of the effect due to "ties" of the stencil plate. In the pure mural decoration of the interior of the main gateway, the oft-recurring rosettes and diaper may have been stencilled as an early and preliminary method of placing them in position, but if so, they were after-

7. Ernst Cohn-Wiener, *Turau*, Berlin, 1930, pl. 1.



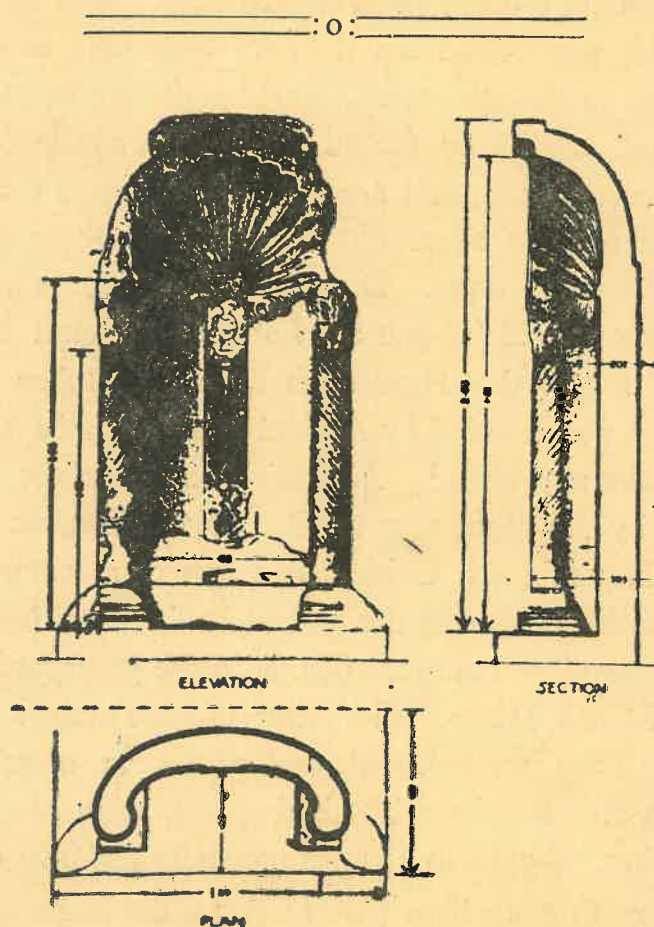
15. Stone Carving (from the facade : wall of the praying chamber).



16. Central Dome's Interior

wards finished with the brush, by hand, as they have none of the appearance of patterns produced by stencil printing.

This concludes the brief account of some devices of decoration used in this mosque, called "arabesque" by foreign scholars, and originally applied to geometrical design where endless variety is obtained by joining together lines which never form a right angle at their junction, and sometimes by turning them into a conventional design. A careful observation of these decorative devices will reveal their artistic merit to the visitor.



MIHRAB OF THE JAMI 'AL-KHASKI' Umayyad Period (A.H. 89/AD 707)
BAGHDAD MUSEUM (Creswell—Z.M. Hasan)



Part V

THE BADSHAHI MASJID AS AN 'ID-GAH

The vast area of the open courtyard of this mosque excluding the prayer chamber, cover 3,64,500 sq. ft., which is broadly speaking a *maidan*. One can see that this mosque, the largest in the world, was built from the very beginning as dual-purpose structure, namely, to serve both as an 'Id-gah and as a congregational mosque. 'Id-gahs all over the world are well arranged, walled or fenced areas with a *mihrab* or some sort of niche in the Qiblah wall towards Mecca, and are hardly any bigger than this mosque.¹

We have references to some old 'Id-gahs in Lahore which existed before the construction of the Badshahi Mosque. Dara Shukoh mentions in the account of Hazrat Mian Mir that there was an old 'Id-gah at Lahore.² Anand Ram Mukhlis has also mentioned in his *Badai' Waqai* that Hayatullah Khan had taken shelter in the rooms of a certain 'Id-gah when he was invaded by Ahmad Shah Abdali's forces under Nasir Khan because he did not have any tents.³ According to historians of Lahore, an 'Id-gah was built in the city by Jahangir, near the Railway Station, on the right of the railway leading to Amritsar. Nur Ahmad Chishti has given a complete description of this 'Id-gah, which was demolished during the second half of the last century.⁴ Two old 'Id-gahs are even now found at Lahore. One is in the graveyard of Miani Sahib and the other in the vicinity of Chah Miran. The latter appears architecturally to belong to the pre-Mughal period.⁵ They are deserted, and not even many local people know what they are. When the Badshahi Masjid began to serve also as an 'Id-gah, after its restoration in 1856, other 'Id-gahs in Lahore naturally fell into disuse.

It is interesting to note here that at Agra, the largest extant Imperial mosque near the Agra Fort, which measures 271 ft. by 208 ft. was built by Shah Jahan in the name of his eldest daughter Jahanara in 1057/1647 (plates 26 a, b, c). But Shah Jahan had soon felt that Agra, being the cosmopolitan centre of the Mughal Empire, would require a separate and larger 'Id-gah, which he built there. It measures 570 ft. × 530 ft. almost the size of this mosque of Aurangzeb in Lahore, which might indeed have been adopted from Agra.⁶ Similarly at Delhi, Shah Jahan founded the Juma' Masjid in 1060/1650 near the Red Fort of Delhi which is a 325-ft. square.⁷ In view of the growing population of Delhi, another 'Id-gah was built in the Paharganj area which could hold as many persons as the Agra mosque.

In Lahore, in view of the presence of the Badshahi Mosque, no larger mosque nor a separate 'Id-gah has ever been planned, although 'Id prayers are held not only in the Badshahi Masjid, but in mosques all over the city.

1. *Amal Salih*, Vol. II, p. 355.

2. *Sakinat-ul-Aulya*, pp. 100-11.

3. *Badai' Waqai* by Anad Ram Mukhlis, extract *vide Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Nov. 1949.

4. *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*, p. 639.

5. *Vide supra*, page. 3.

6. *Archaeological Report* (Old Series), Vol IV, pp. 156-7, pl. XIV.

7. *Athar uth-Thanadid*, p.-64.

Part VI

A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

As a general rule, it can be said safely that no mosque is or has been an exact replica of any other mosque either of the same or an earlier period, although, being religious buildings, they are fundamentally one and the same everywhere. This generalisation traces its origin to the mosque of the Prophet himself, which, as a quadrangular set-up developed into its present position out of his own mosque and dwellings. It has its architectural origins in the shape of a *mihrab*, prayer chamber, courtyards, corridors, minarets, portals, etc., which are today considered essential features of a mosque. The same essential features one sees in the Badshahi Masjid though, of course, none of the corresponding measurements are identical. The mosque of Walid at Damascus and the Aqsa Mosque at Jerusalem, which are considered among the earliest masterpieces of Muslim architecture, are principally identical with the Lahore mosque. In Iraq, the Abbasid Khalifahs founded their new capital at Baghdad (145/762), but the great mosque of Khalifah al-Mutawakkil (232/846) at Samarra forms an immense rectangle with bastioned walls of burnt brick measuring about 784' × 512' internally, and its area is, therefore, nearly 45,500 sq. yards. It was the largest mosque in the world, but it is in ruins today. Only its enclosing walls have been preserved, the roof and the supports on which it rested having disappeared. Its only minaret known as *Malwiyyah* (spiral) stands 89 ft. apart from the north wall and exactly on its middle axis. Its base measures nearly 108 ft. square, and its height is exactly 164 ft. Compared with this largest mosque at Samarra, the Quwwat-ul-Islam Masjid of Delhi, the earliest and largest existing mosque in the Indo-Pakistan continent of the pre-Mughal period, which is also in ruins, has an area of 17,000 sq. yards. Its minaret, known as the *Qutb Minar*, about 238 ft. high, stands apart on the south-eastern corner at a distance of about 100 ft. from the main eastern entrance to the courtyard. If 'Ala-u'd-Din Khalji's scheme for its extension had been fully carried out, the mosque could surely have claimed to be the largest in the world. Since this was not done, the Badshahi Mosque, measuring 575' × 560' externally, giving an area of 35,777 sq. yards, may be regarded as the largest in the world still in perfect condition.

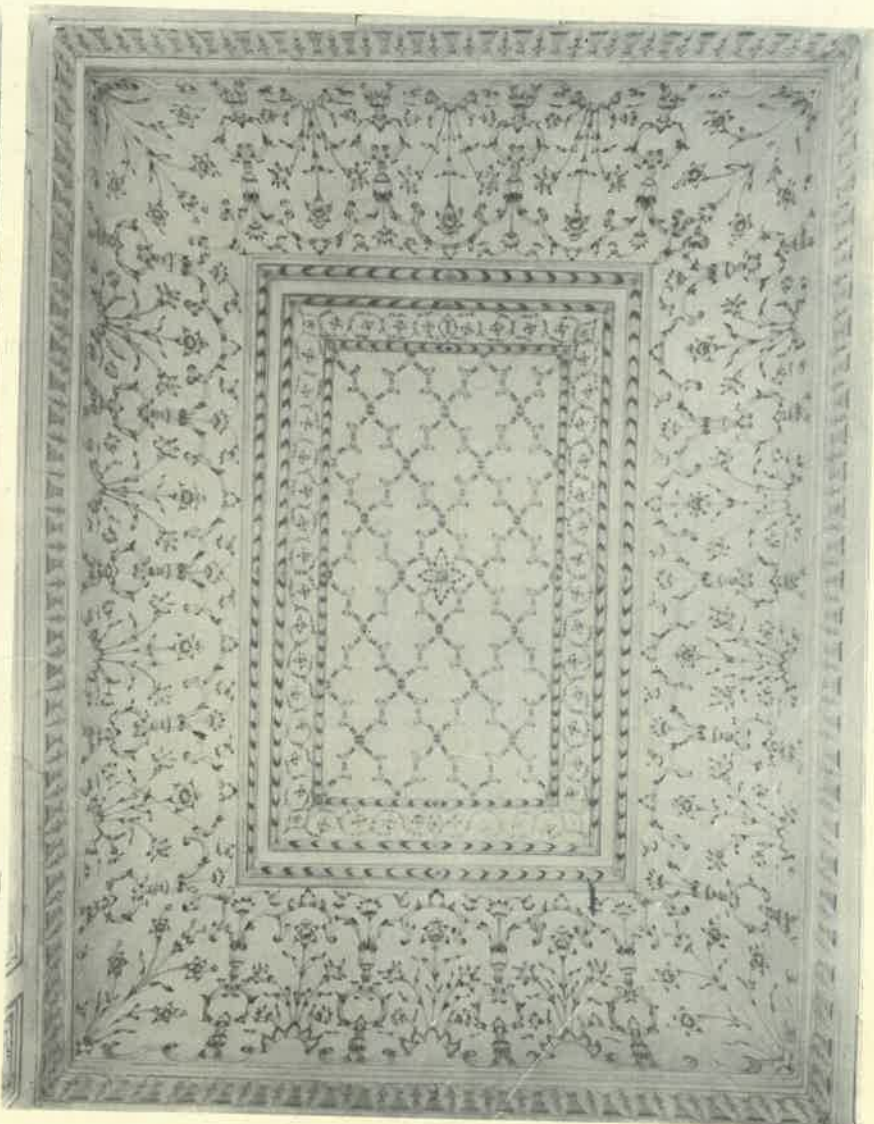
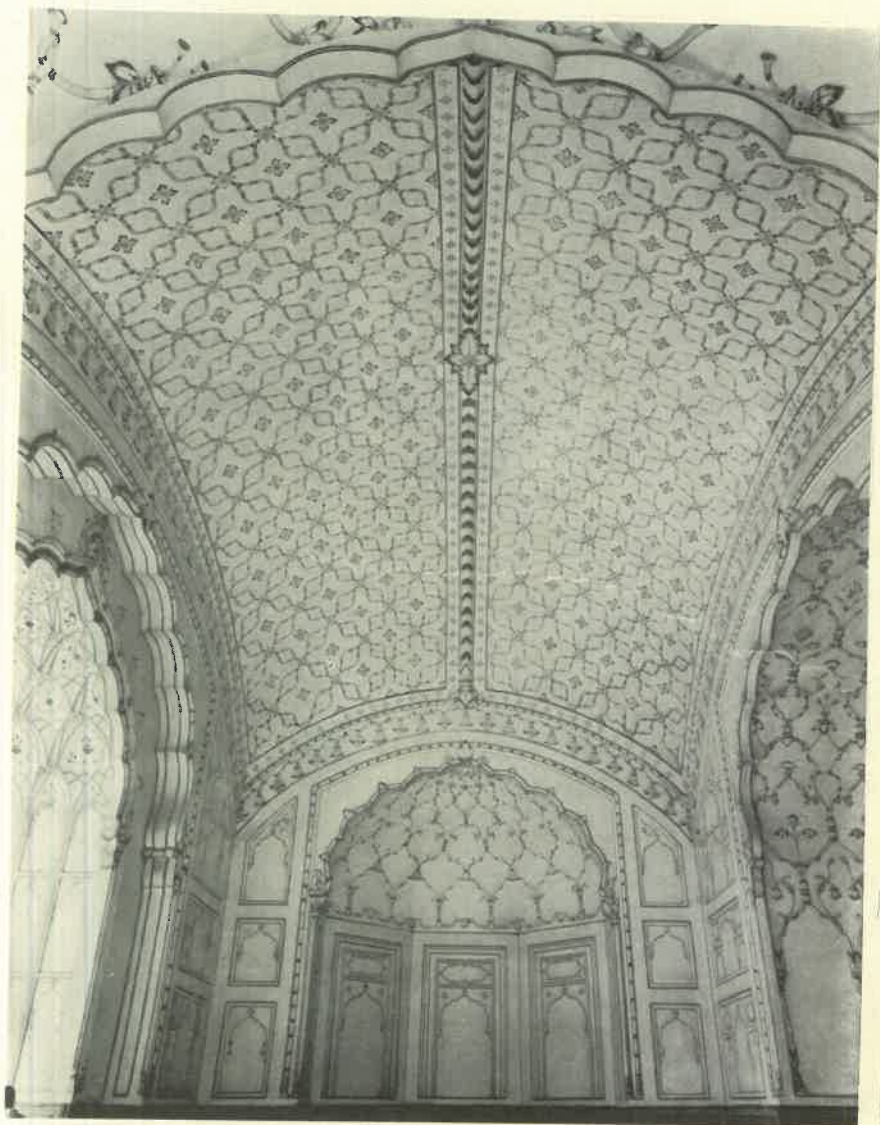
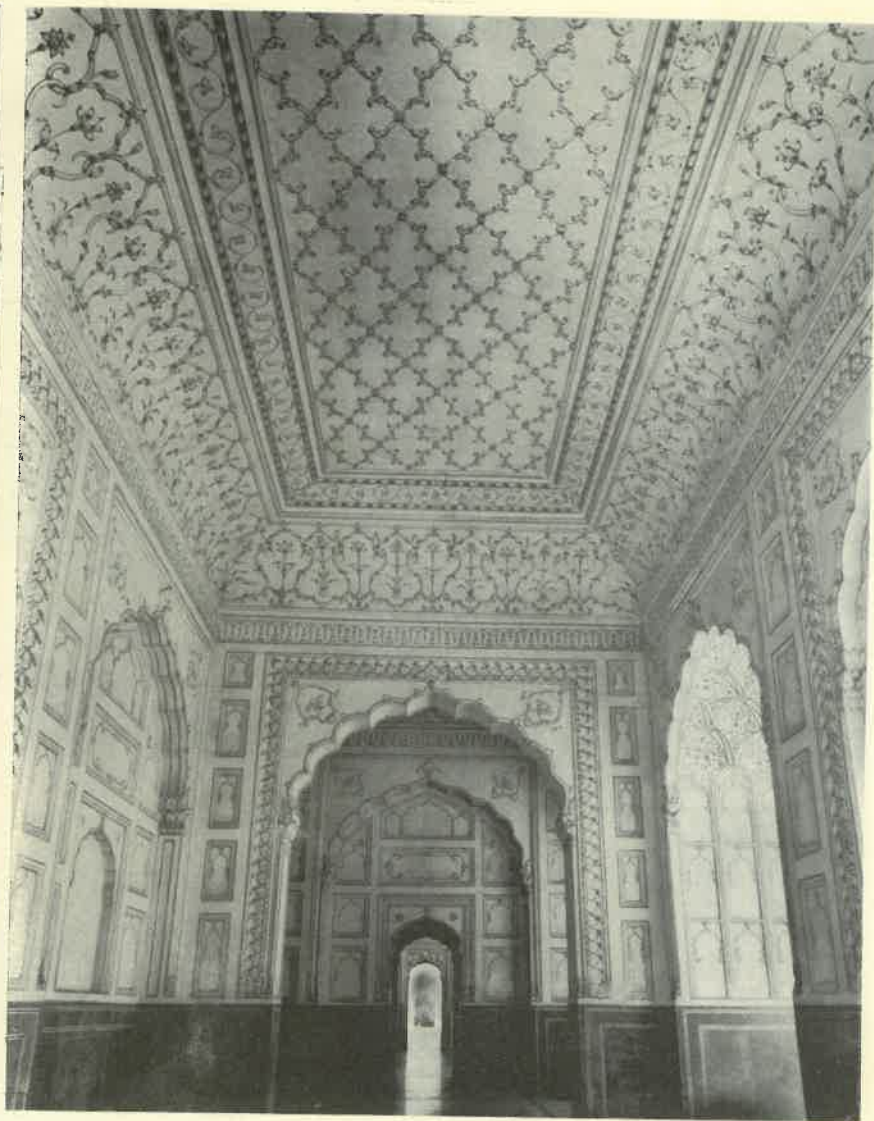
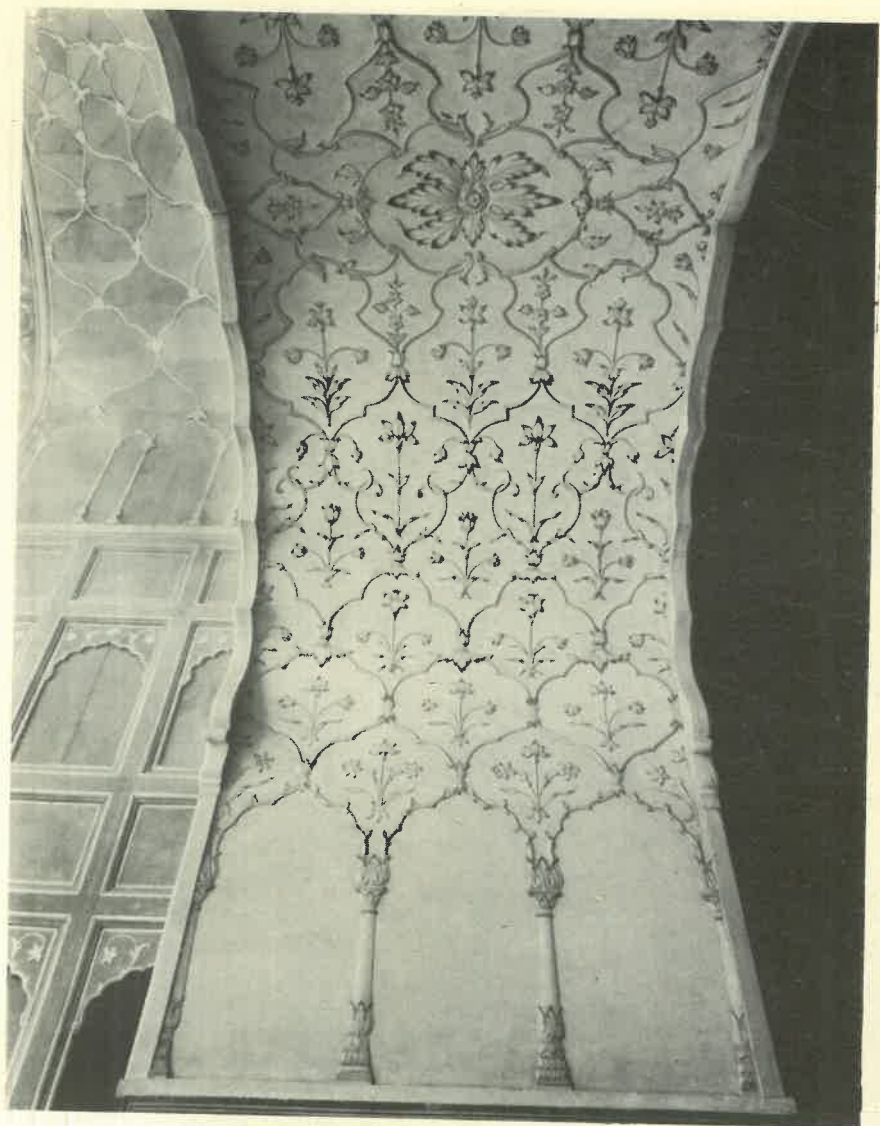
If we go a little beyond the actual function of the mosque, we shall see that from the very beginning it has also played a great role as a centre of social and cultural activity, which consideration gradually came to be allowed for in its design. In this respect Egypt particularly took the lead, where the mosque out of necessity also began to serve as a university. The following mosques, among many others, are worthy of note: Ibn Tulun (878/1573), Jami' Azhar (361/971) and Sultan Hasan (757/1356). The last, especially, is well known for its peculiarity of the cruciform plan designed to serve as four independent chambers for imparting instruction in four different schools of thought. Similarly, in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, the tendency of having a *madrassa* has always been kept in view in designing mosques. Our history records the names of various such mosque *madrassas*; in the Lahore mosque, classes used to be held in the *dalans* and in rooms within the gateway.

During the pre-Mughal period, many superb mosques were built, which traditionally tried to follow the design of the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque of Delhi. In Gujarat and Bengal, the large Imperial mosques obtained sanction for women's galleries in their praying halls; these were set up half way along, with independent exits in the side walls.

In the Deccan, the Juma' Masjid of Gulbarga is a unique phenomenon because this mosque without any courtyard covers a domed hall ($216' \times 170'$) with sixty-three small domes and a large one over the *mihrab* area. It was built in 1367 for Sultan Muhammad Shah Bahmani by architect Rafi' b. Shams b. Mansur al-Qazwini. It is the only example in Indo-Pakistan with this peculiarity, as generally an open court in front of the praying hall or *ivan* of the mosque has always been a prominent feature. This domed area of the Gulbarga mosque, without a courtyard, is almost as large as that of the *ivan* of the Badshahi Masjid, and in front of it there is a vast open courtyard which has undoubtedly given great distinction to the whole mosque.

The Mughals under Babur conquered India in 932/1526. But until Akbar came to the throne (963/1555), their cultural activities were interrupted by the Surirule (952-962/1545-1555). The most perfect of Sher Shah's buildings is the mosque in the Purana Qala' at Delhi, consisting of a single hall with five openings in front through pointed arches. The *pietra dura* technique of ornamentation here must be considered unique, and it certainly influenced later Mughal monuments. The inlaid decorative patterns in white marble on a red surface of the Lahore mosque can be seen to have their origin in Sher Shah's mosques, though in Lahore there is the special innovation of keeping the inlaid patterns or motifs in embossed or relief style.

The first Imperial Mughal mosque, built on a rock by Akbar in 983/1575, is at Fathpur Sikri. This mosque is famous for its *Buland Darwaza* (high gateway) on the south side, which is considered a landmark in the history of architecture. A glance at the plan of this mosque shows that its prayer chamber measures $288' \times 66'$. Its facade, being in a straight line with the *dalans* on its right and left, extends towards the west. But in the case of the Lahore mosque, the main entrance is on the east, with the *ivan*, in a straight line on its back with the *dalans*, occupying the courtyard. The courtyard of Fathpur Sikri mosque, measuring $360' \times 430'$, contains two imposing independent mausoleums, that of Shaikh Salim Chishti in white marble and that of Nawab Islam Khan in red stone. Jahangir (d. 1037/1627) built one mosque at Lahore (1022/1613) in honour of his mother Maryam Zamani which is much smaller than that of Wazir Khan (1044/1634). There are five shallow domes on its *ivan* and four small towers on four corners. Shah-Jahan, the most illustrious builder, gave a great impetus to architectural development. The Moti Masjid he built wholly of white marble, likewise the Royal chapel in the Agra Fort. Immediately after that, he built the Imperial public congregational mosque in 1057/1647 at Agra in the name of his daughter Jahanara, the Begam Sahib, which was considered the second largest mosque built of red stone in the Mughal capital after that of Fathpur Sikri, built by Akbar. Its courtyard internally measures $235\frac{3}{4}' \times 208\frac{3}{4}'$. Its *ivan* length-wise expands over the whole breadth (271 ft.) of the mosque, and is about 100 ft. wide, with two arcaded chambers of equal width which is very rare. Three bulbous domes stand above the rear chamber, and there are four polygonal towers on its four corners. The central dome, larger and higher than the others, has four delicate minarets around it. But many years before this mosque of Agra was finalised, Shah Jahan had founded his new capital at Delhi in 1048/1638, and since then the Red Fort and



17. Mural Decoration, from the inside of the walls of the praying chamber (four different details).



18. Decoration: *Acanthus Pattern*-Marble carving: a. from the Mihrab; b. from the arches of the centre.

the other buildings had been built. No Imperial public mosque had been built; however, and one was needed badly for the new capital, Shahjahabad. It was thus that the Juma' Masjid was laid out in 1060/1650. It is raised on a lofty 30 ft. terrace, and its three gateways, combined with four-angle pavilions like towers and frontispiece and three bulbous double domes of the mosque itself, make up a design where all the parts are pleasantly combined with one another. The prayer hall of this mosque is 201 ft. in length by 120 ft. and is flanked by two minarets 130 ft. high on its front ends, formed in alternate vertical stripes of red stone and white marble and crowned by light marble pavilions. The courtyard of this mosque measures 335' $\times$ 280' (plate 26a)

It would be apparent that, after one thousand years, the mosque reached its final stage of development during the Mughal reign and became standardised in design. The two mosques just described of Shah Jahan's reign, built in red stone at Agra and Delhi simultaneously, appear to be the prototype of the Lahore mosque. The dimensions of all three mosques are different, and the spaces devoted to architectural origins are not identical in any way. The internal arrangement of the Agra Mosque, having equal-side chambers, has been improved upon by the Delhi Mosque. But the architect of the Lahore Mosque, keeping in view *ivans* of both the mosques, has undoubtedly created a much better and more artistic plan of the *ivan*. The study of the vestibule (33 $\times$ 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ ') of the *ivan* at Lahore will help to understand this point, which consists of two exists in the rear corners affording passage towards the right and left of the smaller front chambers (plate 1 b).

In the case of minarets, we have noted above that, to serve in principle as a *Mi'zana* to the mosque, only one was attached to the Great Mosque at Samarra. This was also the case with the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque in Delhi. This innovation received little attention in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent till the end of the sixteenth century. But from the beginning of the seventeenth century, particularly during the reign of Shah Jahan, the minaret began to get attention as an ornamental part of the building. Minarets began to appear on mausoleums, and other buildings, such as the tomb of Jahangir (1037/1627) in Lahore and of Mumtaz Mahal—the Taj Mahal (1057/1647) in Agra, both of which have four minarets at each corner. Four white minarets were, however, applied to the gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (1021/1612). But Jahan Ara excelled everyone by using four octagonal turrets on the corners of the gateway of her gardens at Lahore known for this very reason as *Chauburji*. The four minarets of the Agra Mosque round its central dome and the two imposing minarets on the front ends of the *ivan* of the Delhi mosque show that the minarets had ceased to function as *Mi'zanas* but were an ornamental element. The Lahore mosque follows the decorative pattern where the minarets are concerned. The Lahore mosque in this respect too excels all its predecessors, because the architect here applied four minarets on the corners, thus enriching the grandeur and beauty of the mosque.

Similarly, in the case of the domes of these mosques, it will be noticed that the Mughal architects, through the experience and experiment of the ages, ultimately considered three bulbous double domes crowning the *ivans* of the mosques to be most suitable for giving the mosque an imposing and artistic appearance, which was done in the Agra and Delhi mosques of Shah Jahan and the same in Lahore. But those in Lahore are the most perfect, and are the largest ones to be wholly covered with marble slabs.

To sum up, we can confidently assert that the Badshahi Masjid, Lahore, is the most superb mosque in the world—with its vastness and its simplicity; its four tapering minarets on the corners; the three balbous domes crowning the *ivan*; the parapet all round with crockets and turrets on the walls; the floor with its various levels; the situation on a high mound with at one time the river bed on the north and with ground level on the south corresponding to its courtyard; with its one main gateway, a two-storeyed independent building on the east facing a quadrangle of gardens with a *baradari*, a marble pavilion, in the centre with two main public gates in the quadrangle of the gardens on the north and south, leading to the lofty main gateway; and with above all the fronton of the praying chamber in the centre of its facade with the loftiest multifoiled pointed arch and its soffit having a unique decorative frieze.

CONCLUSION

We have seen through the study of the Badshahi Masjid that the mosque in Islam as a place of worship is quite different from other religious places of worship. The function of the design of the mosque follows the principles of Islamic worship, although it depends upon the situation and the size of the tract of land upon which it is constructed, and generally consists of *sahn* (courtyard), *ivan* (prayer hall), *mihrab* (niche), *mi'zana* (minaret), *minbar* (pulpit), etc. They have finally been standardised as architectural characteristics in this largest of the world's mosques at present in use, and have played the role of a standard prototype for almost all subsequent mosques built in West Pakistan. In Lahore especially, all later mosques are replicas of the Badshahi Mosque, such as the Sonehri Masjid, Gumti Bazar Masjid and the Sufi Masjid, etc.

Some people, without studying the history of architecture, claim that the mosque in Islam has been influenced by Christian or other non-Islamic architecture. This cannot be accepted because we have seen that in India the oldest extant Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque at Delhi (1193) has an arcuated *mihrab* and porticos, etc., although the pre-Muslim trabeated lintels are still intact. This shows that the Muslims introduced these features and fundamentals which did not exist before. Moreover, they were competent to adjust the pre-existing monuments according to their taste and need. But as far as the Christian Church is concerned, it began to develop into what we know today from the tenth century of the Christian era, and by that time basilica-type buildings served as churches. Draper has well remarked, "Churches decorated from the temples: It is for this and such as this that the Popes must be held responsible. Superb Corinthian columns had been chiseled into images of the saints. Magnificent Egyptian obelisks had been dishonoured by papal inscriptions. The Septizonium of Severus had been demolished to furnish materials for the building of St. Peter's; the bronze roof of the Pantheon had been melted into columns to ornament the apostles tomb".¹ The mosque, on the other hand, had developed in the very first century of Islam, being founded by the Prophet himself.

In the course of our discussion of the decorative side of the Badshahi Mosque, we have emphasised that careful study and minute observation will lead us to the conclusion that though some motifs might possibly have been inspired by certain foreign ones, in reality they have been employed here exclusively as arabesques in symmetrical form, the Muslim point of view being quite different from that of other religions.

1. John William. Draper *History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science*, New York, 1875, p. 258.

Part VII

THE MOSQUE THROUGH THE AGES

The Later Mughals. The history of this mosque of Aurangzeb, the largest congregational mosque ever built at Lahore, in reality includes the history of the town in which it stands. We deal here very briefly with the vicissitudes through which it has passed. We are fortunate in that it still stands before us today in a complete and renovated form through the efforts of the faithful, who believe that the builder having built the mosque in the name of Almighty God, like the nest of a *Qata-a* bird, will be rewarded by God with a house in Paradise.

With the death of the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1118/1707, the brilliant period of the history of Lahore may be said to end. It was no longer the residence of the Emperor and members of the Imperial family, no longer used as a rendezvous for Royal visits to Kashmir and Kabul which contributed so much to its splendour. The viceroys of the Punjab assumed a position of semi-independence, and the Sikhs, unhampered in their actions, began to assume independence and disturb the peace of the country. It is, however, presumed that during Aurangzeb's own reign this mosque must have been well kept, although the hostile attitude of the Sikhs at Lahore towards the Musulmans had already been shown.¹ The days of Guru Tegh Bahadur and of his son Guru Govind Singh, who were contemporaries of Aurangzeb, are particularly worthy of notice.

We have noted earlier how in 1086, on the 19 Shaban, some bricks were thrown at Aurangzeb and how in consequence Guru Tegh Singh was executed by imperial orders. This judicial execution has been attributed by historians to various political motives. But it helped the deceased's successor and son, Guru Govind Singh, to induce the whole Sikh community to adopt a generally hostile attitude towards Islam. It was soon reported to the Emperor that the Sikhs had caused a good deal of disturbance around Lahore.

The Emperor Shah 'Alam, Aurangzeb's successor, was a follower of the Shi'ah sect. During his stay in Lahore, he introduced the word *Wasi* ('وصى') 'heir'—with the name of 'Ali, the fourth Khalifah in succession after the Prophet Muhammad.² This innovation raised a storm of opposition among the Sunnis, and as the Shi'ah preacher was about to use the offensive expression in the pulpit in the Badshahi Mosque, he was cut to pieces by the Sunni congregation. The King, fearing a general rising, ordered that the *Khutbah* in the Juma' Masjid should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb. Shah 'Alam died in Lahore on the 28 February 1712. One of Lahore's gateways, the Shaha' Almi Gate, is known after his name. Great confusion prevailed in the city on the death of the Emperor. A struggle for succession between Shah 'Alam's sons resulted in the accession of Farrukh Siyyar to the throne in 1125/1713. During the commotion which followed the death of Bahadur Shah, the Sikhs emerged from their mountain retreats. Nawab Abd-us-Samad³ Khan, Diler Jang, an able person, was made viceroy of the Punjab

1. *Vide supra*, p. 9.

2. Latif, Lahore: History Architechral Remains and Antiquities, pp. 70-71 Khafi Khan, *Muntakhab al-Lubad* (Urdu Trans.) Karachi, 1963. Vol. IV, pp. 129-30,

3. *Maathir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, pp. 358, 603-4 ; Latif, op. cit., p. 72.



and defeated the Sikhs at Gurdaspur. Banda, a follower of Guru Govind Singh, along with other Sikhs who rose in rebellion, were put to death. Abd-us-Samad Khan was succeeded by his son Zakriyya Khan who ruled from 1717 to 1738. This interval of twenty-one years is considered a period of peace for the Punjab. It can be assumed that the mosque was till then used by the Musalmans for religious purposes.

Sikh Occupation. In 1150/1738, Nadir Shah, the King of Iran,⁴ raided the Punjab by crossing the Indus. Nawab Zakriyya Khan sued for peace and Nadir Shah made his way to Delhi. In the meanwhile the Sikhs created great disorder until Ahmad Shah Abdali, the successor of Nadir Shah, later master of the Punjab, crossed the Indus in 1160/1748, and Mir Mannu, under the title of Mu'in-ul-Mulk, became his viceroy at Lahore and Multan. But the Afghans were defeated in 1171/1758 near Lahore by Adinah Beg, who died soon after without any heir but not before he had given fresh impetus to the Sikhs. Jassa Singh, a carpenter, became a chief of confederation. He proclaimed *Khalsa* to be a State and to possess an army.

But Ahmad Shah again arrived in Lahore in 1176/1762 and the Sikhs retired to the south of the Sutlej. They are variously reported to have lost from 25,000 to 30,000 men and the rout is still familiarly known as the *Ghuloo Ghara* or great disaster.⁵ When Ahmad Shah left India, the Sikhs again rushed into the city from their mountain retreats. They made themselves masters of Lahore and ejected the Hindu Governor, Kabli Mal, appointed by Ahmad Shah. This was the period when the mosque began to be used for military purposes by the Sikhs.

At this turning point, Lahore was parcelled out by the Sikh captors into three divisions which were held by Gujar Singh, Lahna Singh and Sobha Singh, called the triumvirate Sikhs lords of Lahore. Ahmad Shah made his final descent in 1181/1767 and forced the Sikh confederacy to retire from Lahore, but was later obliged to adopt a policy of conciliation, and Lahna Singh, the Bhangi chief, was formally allowed by him to retain possession of the city of Lahore, which meant the occupation of Lahore Fort with a large garrison; and as the Badshahi Masjid is situated within musket range of the citadel, it came to be occupied as a strategic point along with the Fort about 1184/1770.⁶

Ranjit Singh's Reign. The invasions of Shah Zaman, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali and his successor to the throne of Kabul, over the Punjab in 1209/1794 and 1213/1798 made a formal grant of the chiefship of Lahore to Ranjit Singh, who held it from 1214/1799 to 1241/1839, as his capital. Maharaja Ranjit Singh's forty-year long rule over the Punjab was marked by stability, but the weakness of his successors and dissensions among the Sikhs brought Sikh rule to a final close in March 1849, when the British occupied Lahore.⁷

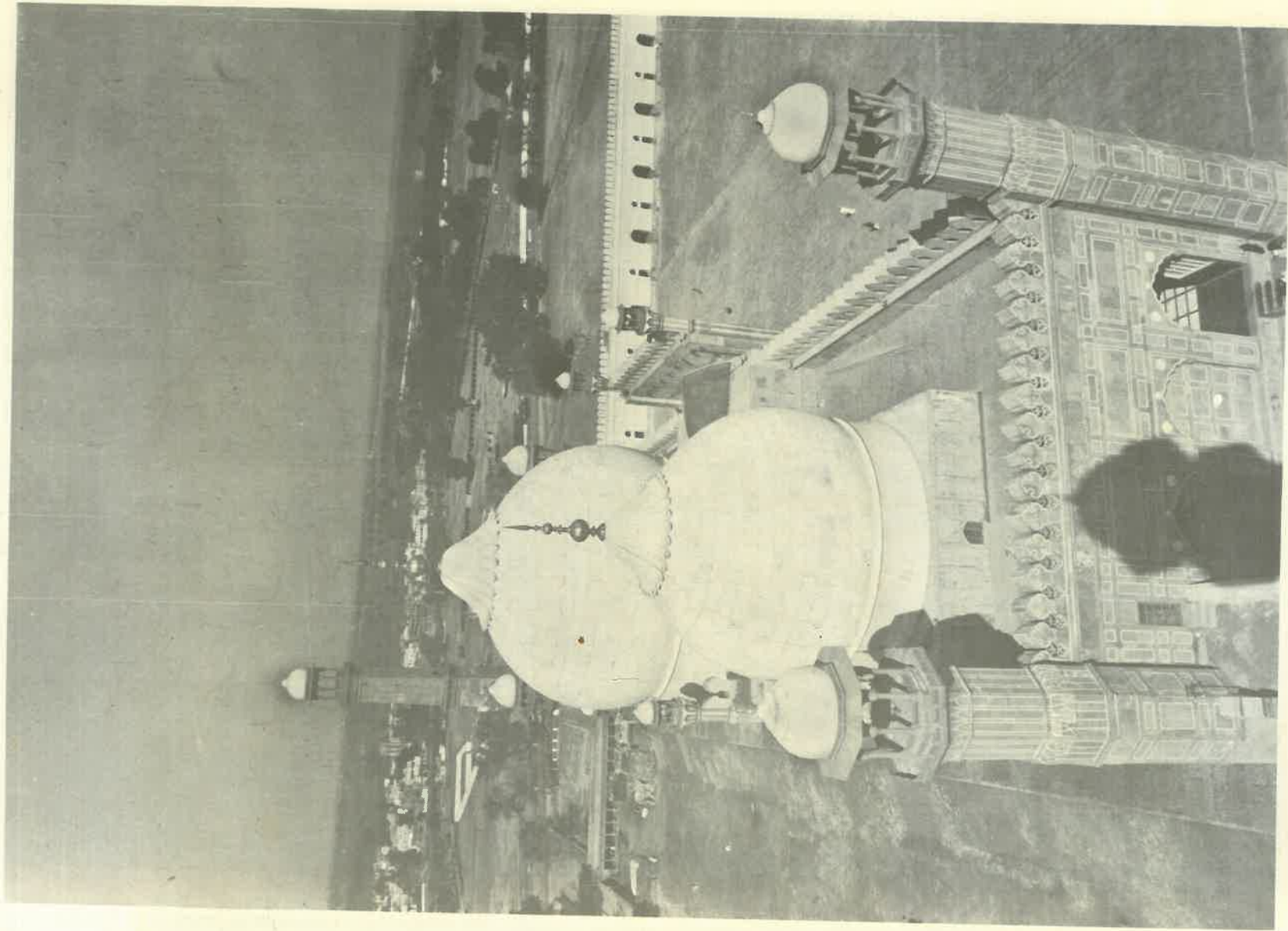
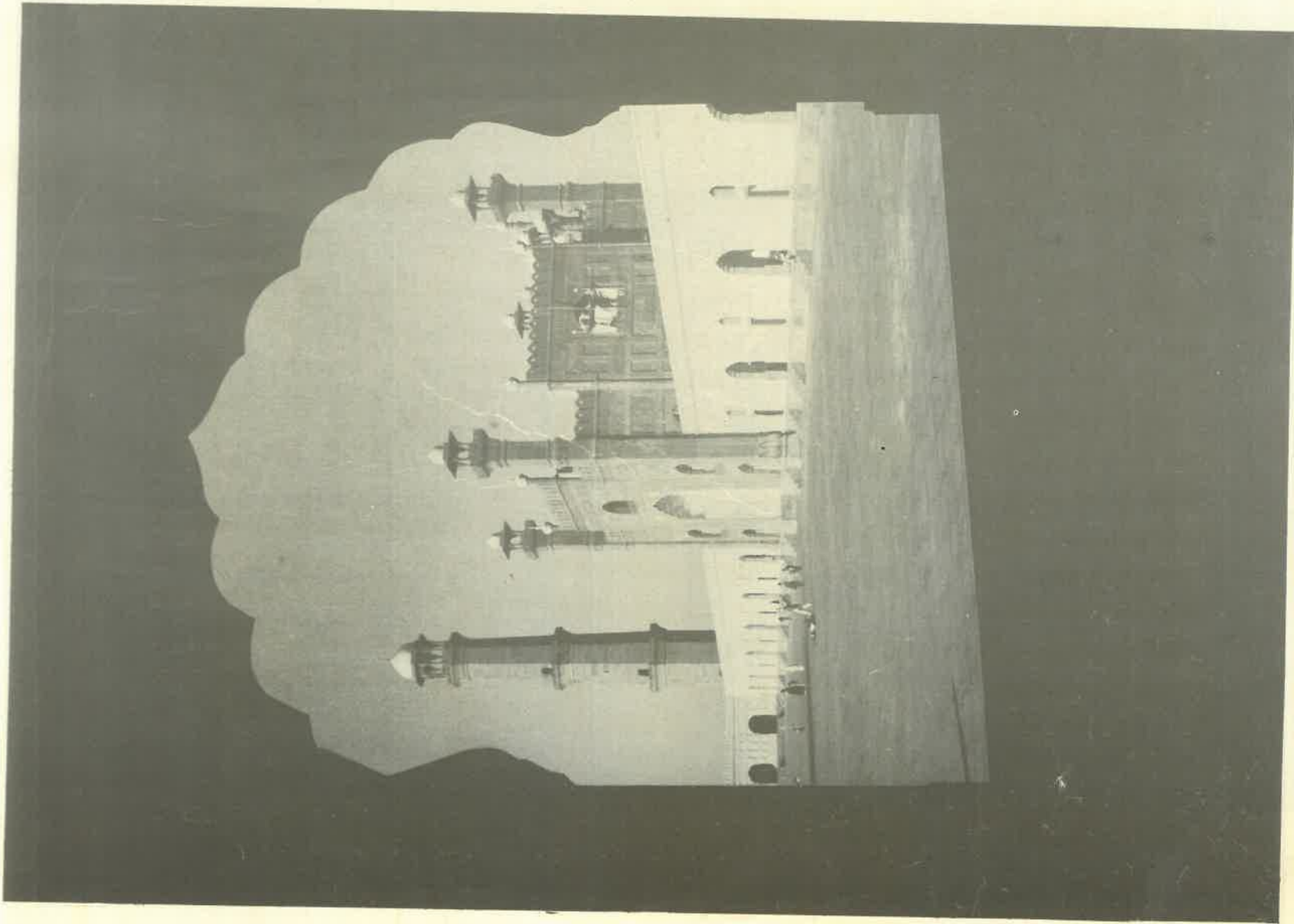
It is clear that in this period of great turmoil, dominated by non-Islamic elements, the Badshahi Masjid was closed to Musulmans and was used as a cantonment. Sohan Lal Suri mentions in his *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh*, the court history of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, that the court of the Maharaja was held in the mosque, and that it was later turned into a powder storehouse as well as a horse stable. Fortunately we have the account of William

4. Sayyid Muhammad Latif, *History of the Panjab*, Lahore, 1889, p. 194.

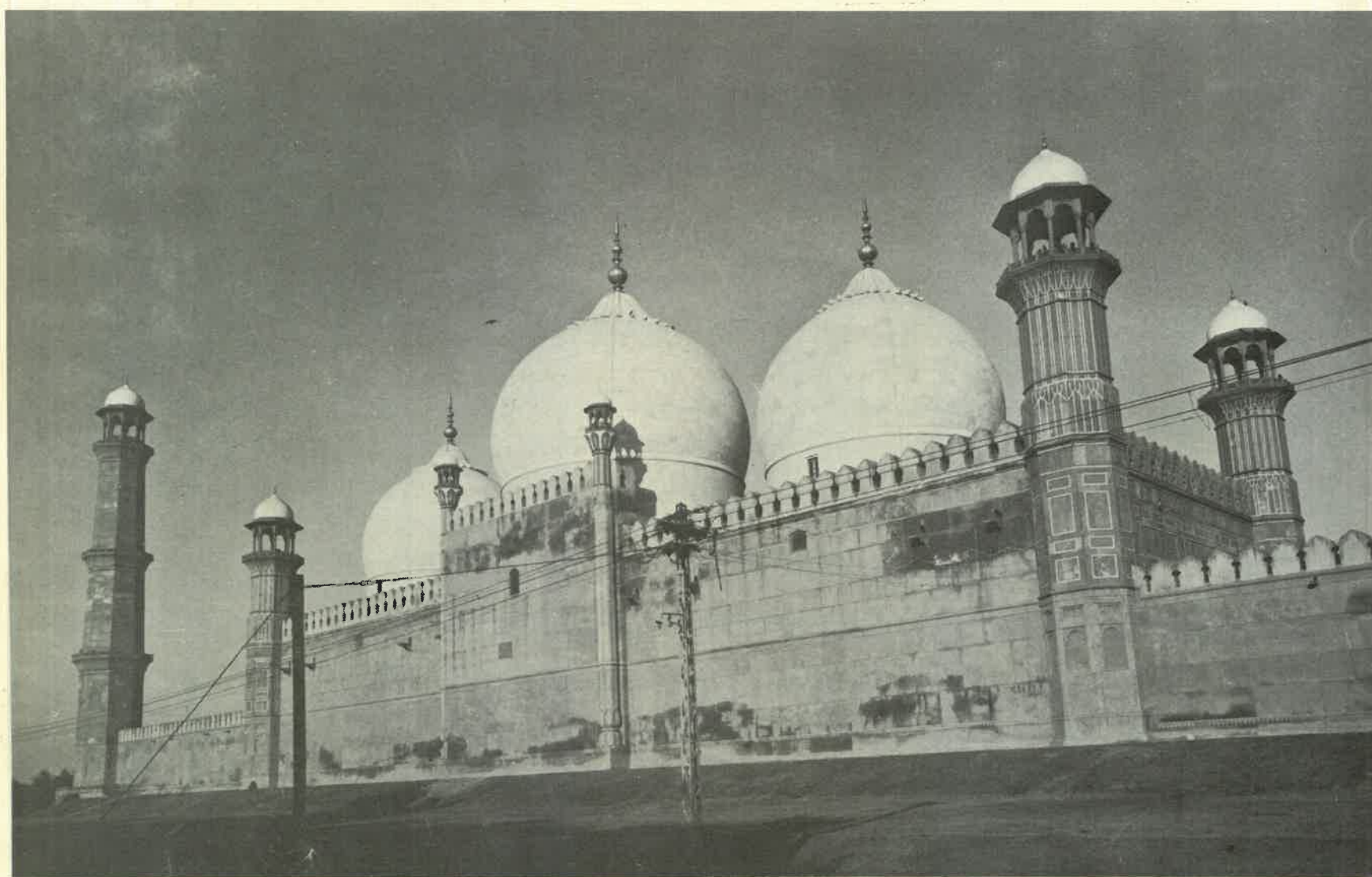
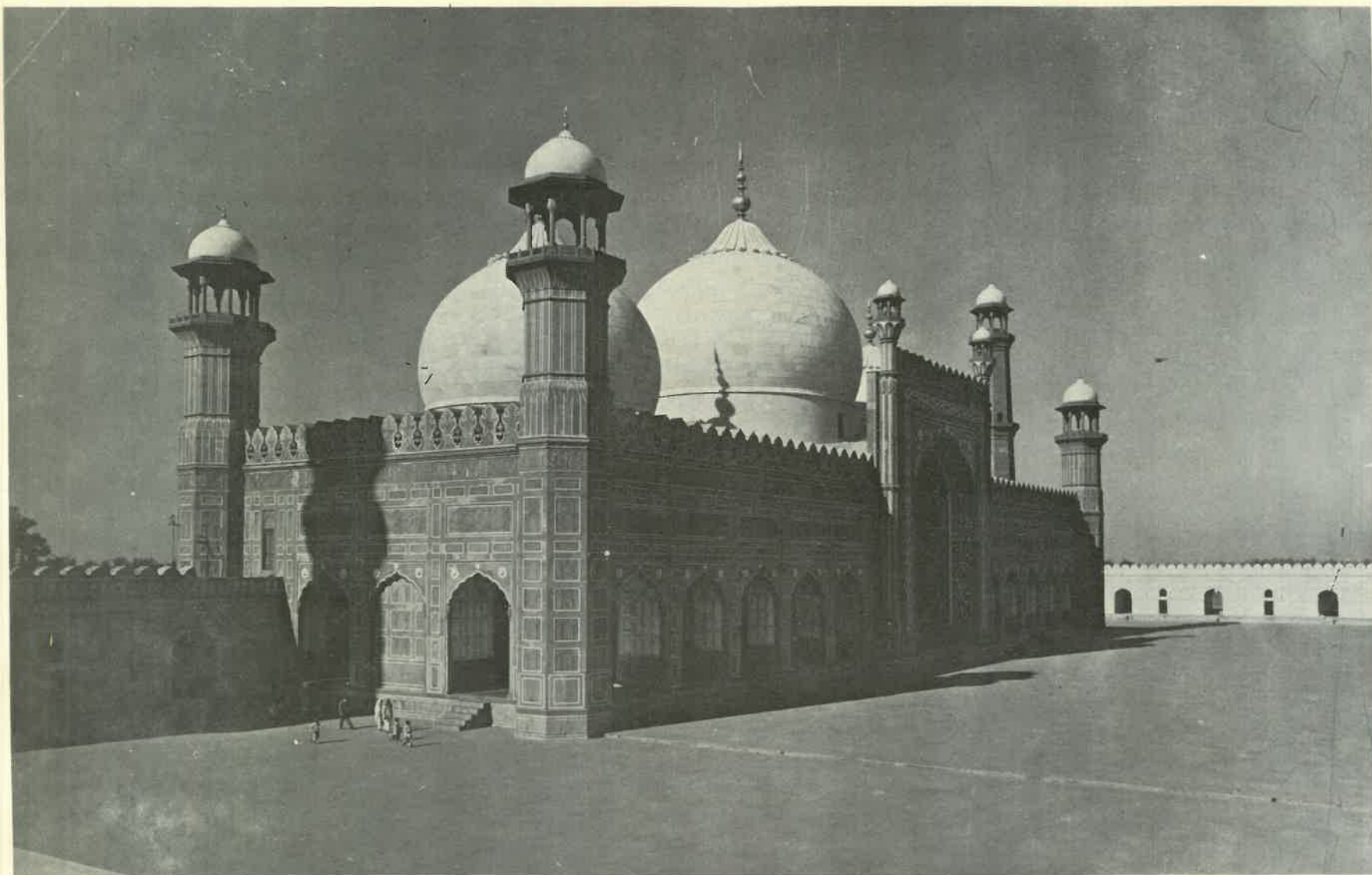
5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, pp. 286-7, 300.

7. There is a marble slab put up on the wall of the *khwabgah* in the Shishmahal of the Lahore Fort which denotes this fact. It was fixed there by the British just after taking over the possession of Lahore.



19. a. Entrance: through the Dalans. b. Domes Architectural Set-up:



20. a. Praying Chamber (Close view); b. Back view of the Mosque on the West.

Moorcroft, a traveller who came to the Maharaja's court in 1820 and who has furnished us with a full description of those days. Concerning the mosque, he says that "having passed through one of the western gates of the Fort, we crossed the garden in which stands the Jamia' Masjid or principal mosque. The great square and buildings of the principal mosque have been turned into a place of exercise for the sipahi infantry."⁸

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839, his body was cremated in Lahore at the very spot where today his *Samadh* (tomb) stands, and his ashes were later buried there. A *Samadh*—musoleium—was built upon them adjoining the north-eastern corner of the mosque. This *Samadh* in its general architectural appearance looks like a Muslim monument, because it has a similar bulbous dome, coupolas, turrets and other details. It has really marred the symmetrical harmony of the Hauzri Bagh quadrangle. A new comer to Lahore immediately takes this tomb for a Muslim building, but it brings discredit on its builders for spoiling the artistic harmony of the whole quadrangle.

Even after Ranjit Singh's death, no Musulman was allowed to enter the mosque for prayers. The Sikhs removed stone slabs from various parts. The turrets were destroyed and the floors of the prayer chamber and of the courtyard were dismantled. It is related that the minarets lost one storey surmounted with cupolas when they were shaken by an earthquake in 1840. It was upon these towers that Sher Singh, the second son of Ranjit Singh, during his celebrated siege of the citadel, in January 1841, posted his match-lock men who with their fiery weapons spread destruction in the ranks of Ranjit Singh. The bombardment resulted in the defeat of Rani Chand Kaur, widow of Kharak Singh, and the coronation of Sher Singh. When Hira Singh, the son of Dhyan Singh, besieged *Sindhianwalia*, after the murder of Sher Singh and Dhyan Singh, he placed *Zamburas* or light gunſ, generally used in mountain warfare in Kashmir, on the tops of the minars of the mosque, which overlook the Fort. Hira Singh, as we know, triumphed and became vizier in his father's place.

On the Eve of British Occupation. When the fighting at Sabraon ended in the defeat of the Sikhs, Sir Henry Harding made a peaceful entry into Lahore on 20 February 1846.⁹ Maharaja Daleep Singh, a child of eight, was conducted to the residence in the Lahore Fort with all Royal pomp and show. No troops were posted within the precincts of the palace, but only at the gate of the citadel. British troops with Henry Lawrence and other officials entered the Badshahi Masjid and took formal possession of the Badshahi Masjid and the Hazuri Bagh. For the convenience of these British troops windows in the *dalans* of the mosque and some new verandahs or barracks were made there. The troops were posted at the gateway on the south side of the mosque, at the Rushnai gateway, north of the *Samadh* of Ranjit Singh, and at the gate of the Fort facing the mosque. Within the Huzuri Bagh, the whole management was administered by holding office in the *Baradari*. It was then proposed that a wall between the gateway of the Fort of Lahore and the *Asthan* (place of the goddess), be set up so that the citadel itself would remain separate. On the following day, Sir Henry Lawrence and other British officers entered the Fort of Lahore, and very carefully observed all the apartments of the Fort including the ditch, octagonal tower, etc., and ordered that plan of the Fort and its adjoining parts be drawn up, which we have to

8. Moor Croft, William, *Travels in the Himalyan Provinces of Hendestan and the Pnnjpb.* 2 vols. 1841 vol I pp. 90, 104

9. H.H. Dodwell, Ed., *The Cambridge History of India*, by 1929, Vol. V. pp. 551-2.

this day (plate 1 a). Its careful study will lead us to the conclusion that the Sikhs made unauthorised encroachments, some of them in the very recent past.¹⁰

The Period of British Occupation. The fate of the Punjab, owing to the total incompetence of the Sikhs, could not long remain in suspense after the victory of the British at Gujrat. The British Government of India acted throughout with the utmost forbearance and moderation in their relations with the Sikh *Darbar*. A British *Darbar* was held at Lahore on 29 March 1849, at which the Governor-General proclaimed the annexation of the Punjab.¹¹ The young Maharaja Daleep Singh was placed under the tutelage of Dr Sir John Lagan of the Bengal Army and sent to the North-West Provinces and afterwards to England, with his mother, the Maharani Chand Kaur or Jindan.¹²

There is evidence to show that the British were inclined from the very beginning to allow all mosques and shrines to remain, as a matter of course, in the possession of their owners and to be used for the purpose for which they were built.¹³

The records of the British period preserved in the (Punjab) Pakistan Civil Secretariat at Lahore do not reveal any deed originally granted to the Sikhs' ancestors, so their claim cannot be established, but even presuming that some endowment did exist for the purpose of maintenance, it must have lapsed under the Sikh Government. In 1850, it was still occupied by the British as a Powder Magazine Ordnance Store, and Silk-worms Establishment. Lt. Glover, officiating Garrison Engineer, removed some of the loose stones in the facing and repaired the front.¹⁴ In order to defray the expenses in part, he sold some of the stones. John Lawrence, then a member of the Board of Administration for the forces of the Punjab, took exception to this and the Muslims of the city were also much annoyed. Lt. Glover was, therefore, asked to suspend this sale. Lawrence also spoke to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, on the subject and the garrison engineer was asked what sum had been incurred by him in repairing the facing. The latter, in his letter dated 21 March 1850, stated that the expenditure had amounted to Company's Rs. 1760/6/4 and the sum realised by the sale of stone was Rs. 560 only, thus leaving a balance of Rs. 1200/6/4 to be defrayed by the Government in case the remaining slabs of stone were not be sold.¹⁵ This was incidentally the cause of Circular No. 5 dated 24 April 1851, "expressive of the desire of the most noble Governor-General to preserve or restore any work of former dynasties, curious or beautiful in architecture, or to which traditional interest attaches". Major MacGregor, then Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, reported that there were several mosques in the city which were more or less dilapidated. "I am sure," he wrote to Mr Robert Montgomery, "that you will concur with me in thinking an effort should be made to preserve to Lahore such beautiful works, splendid even in their decay," and specially regretted the use of the Badshahi Mosque as a magazine¹⁶

10. Ibid. ; *Umda tut-Tawarikh* Lahore, 1889, Vol. V, p. 1. mentions all these details. A map of Lahore Fort was immediately made which is reproduced here as (plate 1 a)

11. *Vide supra*, F.N. 7.

12. Ibid.

13. West Pakistan Civil Secretariat Record, 1852, [part General Proceedings, 21 August, No. 123. Restoration : Respective Shrines of Hindus and Musalmans.

14. *Vide* File H. p. 3.

15. *Vide* Letter dated 21 March 1850 ; Letter No. 159 dated 20 March 1850 ; and file D. page 12.

16. Letter No. 298 dated 20 June 1851.

In May 1853, Captain Blaker, officiating Engineer, Anarkali, requested Mr Montgomery in a semi-official letter to repair the archway leading to the Badshahi Mosque.¹⁷ He also reminded him that Mr Montgomery had previously directed Lt Fagan to repair the towers, when slabs of stone had fallen from them on the officers' quarters. This was again brought to the notice of Mr John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, who went over the place and directed Lt Fagan, Superintendent of Civil Buildings, Lahore, to pull down a portion of the Gateway adjoining the Hazuri Bagh and prepare an estimate for its repairs. This estimate was accordingly submitted and a sum of Rs. 218 was sanctioned by the Governor-General for this purpose. The Honourable Court of Directors inquired whether the Badshahi Masjid was then used for religious purposes, as they surmised, and a reply was sent that it was still used as a magazine and had not been restored to the Muslims for devotional purposes¹⁸ (plates 22, 23 a, b).

Restoration to the Musulmans in 1856. By January 1856, the new Powder Magazine and other buildings required for the location of the Lahore Depots within the walls of the citadel proper were completed and the Chief Commissioner suggested to Major-General, Gown, commanding the Lahore Division that the strength of the garrison might conveniently be reduced from an entire Regiment to a Wing of Native Infantry and a Company of European Artillery. In this Major-General Gown concurred and, by the end of that month, the Ordnance Depot was removed to the new buildings within the walls of the Fort. Mr Robert Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner, then inquired from Major or Major-General Gown whether he had any objection to the mosque, when vacated, being given up to the Muhammedans of Lahore with a view to being reconsecrated for the purpose of their religion. If it be so given, the conditions mentioned in 1850 by Sir Charles Napier would be of course enforced to the effect that the building is "within the citadel, and he may deny access to it, whenever he may think necessary". A reply was received that the military authorities had no objection to giving up the mosque to the civil authorities under the conditions specified above.¹⁹

Major John Clark, officiating Commissioner of Lahore Division, was accordingly informed²⁰ that "this edifice being no longer required for military purposes, the Chief Commissioner requests that you will place yourself in communication with the Officer Commanding at Lahore, with a view to the building and precincts being placed at the disposal of the Muhammendans for reconsecration and for the uses of their religion. The leading Muslims of Lahore should be assembled and informed that they are at liberty to take possession of the place, provided that they do so in a quiet and orderly manner, and that they conform to the precautions imposed by the authorities. Having executed these instructions, you will be good enough to issue a *sanad* or patent to the party who assumes religious charge, embodying the precautionary conditions to be observed" (plate 25). In accordance with these instructions, Major Clark directed Mr Briton, Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, to favour him with a list of the most respectable and influential Muslims of the

17. *Vide* File J, p. 7.

18. *Vide* Letter No. 584 dated 28 May 1853 ; File J, p. 10 ; letter No. 4456 dated 1 October, 1853 from Mr Seaton Karr, Under Secretary to the Government of India ; File F. p. 1 and File K pp. 1-5.

19. *Vide* File S, pp. 1-2.

20. *Vide* Letter No. 848 dated 18 April 1856.

city to whom he would propose to make over the mosque and who would be recognised as its custodians.²¹ The latter submitted twenty-one names and replied as follows : "It would appear from enquiries that a quasi agreement was given by Major MacGregor, when Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, that Hakeems Wali Shah and Buzurg Shah should receive charge of the mosque when Government should determine to restore it to the Muhammedans. I hardly know if this promise could be deemed to constitute a right on the part of these Sayeds to the exclusive guardianship of the mosque and the accompanying privileges. It is doubtless advisable, and perhaps necessary, that some trustworthy persons should be placed in direct possession as responsible guardians of the building and I am not aware that there are any claimants possessing greater right to the office than these two men, but I would strongly recommend that certain members of the principal Muhammedan noblemen gentry be called upon to act as trustees for the proper management of the building and to control such occasional ceremonies, etc., that may be considered according to the rules of their faith."²²

The charge of the mosque was accordingly made over by Major Clark at 5.30 a.m. on 11 June 1856, at the residence of the Deputy Commissioner to Sayed Hakim Wali Shah and Sayed Buzurg Shah, who were appointed custodians of the Badshahi Mosque, and the other nineteen gentlemen formed themselves into a Committee for supervising repairs or alterations therein. (plate 25)²³ The *sanad*, in the following terms, was granted by the Commissioner to the two Sayed custodians

"To the noble and great, Hakeems Sayed Wali Shah and Sayed Buzurg Shah, Raies of Lahore, may be said. In accordance with the orders of His Excellency the Governor-General of India and in pursuance of letter No. 1854 dated the 18th April, 1856, from the Chief Commissioner, Lahore, the Badshahi or Juma' Masjid, situated inside the Fort, Lahore City, is entrusted to you for worship. (plate 25). You shall be the custodians of the said mosque and it shall be obligatory and essential for you to obey the orders of the Commanding Officer of the Fort regarding the management of the Fort and the Hazuri Bagh in which this mosque is situated. And it should be borne in mind that the mosque will always remain under the orders of the Commanding Officer of the Fort, whenever the said Officer may deem it necessary, he may stop the people from going in and coming out of the mosque, and you shall maintain the respect and honour of the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Samadh, situated near the mosque, in the same way as is generally essential for the places of worship of Hindus and Muhammedans and the tombs of emperors and great men. Therefore, this sanad for the custodianship of the mosque is granted to you²⁴."

In July 1856, seventy Muslim gentlemen residing in Lahore expressed their thanks to the Government for the gracious act of restoration of the mosque to public worship. In this address the following words will be interesting to note in connection with the parties to whom endowments were ever made : "Whereas from the time of the preceding Kings, the Badshahi Mosque situated in the citadel of Lahore had been used for worship by the Muhammedans and in Royal mandate the ancestors of Sayed Buzurg Shah, son of Kazi Ghulam Shah, were custodians and priests of the mosque, in consequence of the religious

21. *Vide* File S. p. 1, Mr. Clark's Letter No. 197 dated 29 April 1856.

22. *Vide* Letter No. 373 dated 24 May 1856.

23. *Vide* File L. p. 1.

24. *Vide* File L. p. 3.

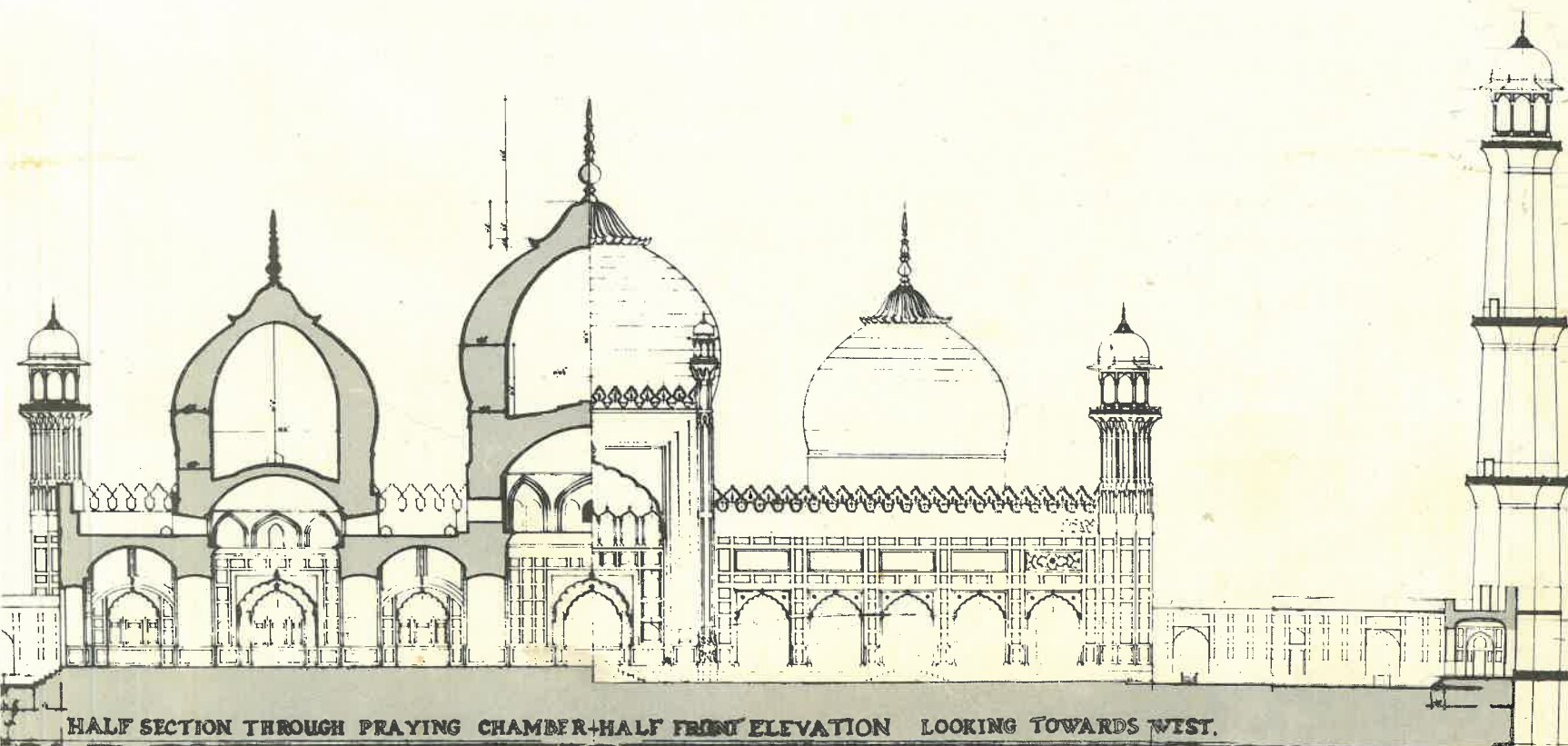
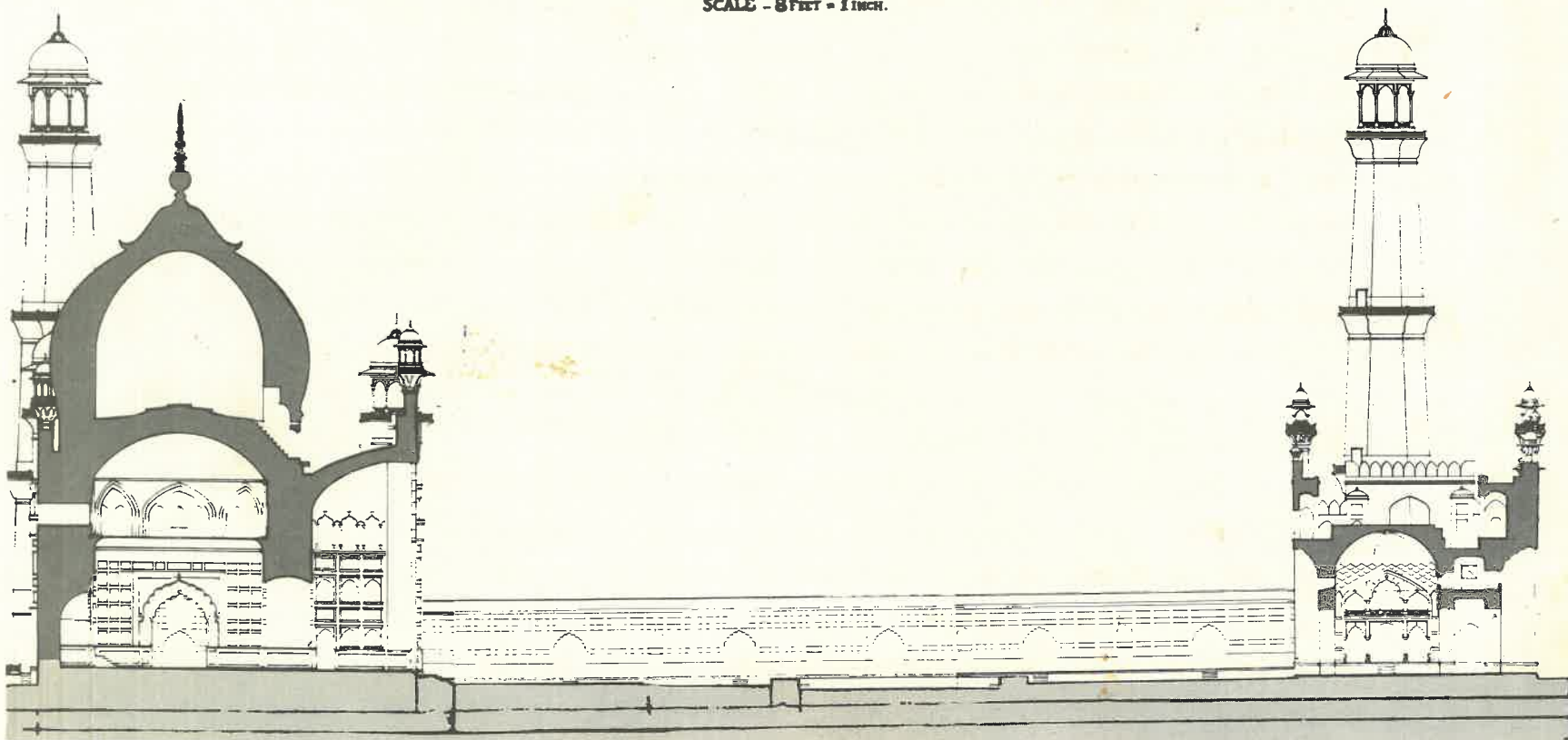
SECTION THROUGH PRAYING CHAMBER - COURT YARD - MAIN GATE

LOOKING TOWARDS NORTH

BADSHAHI MOSQUE, LAHORE

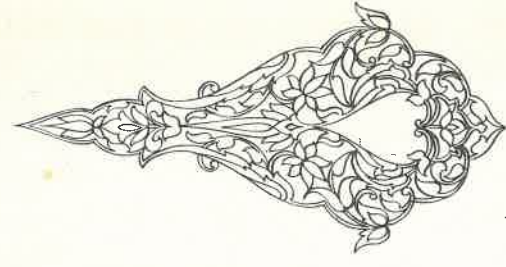
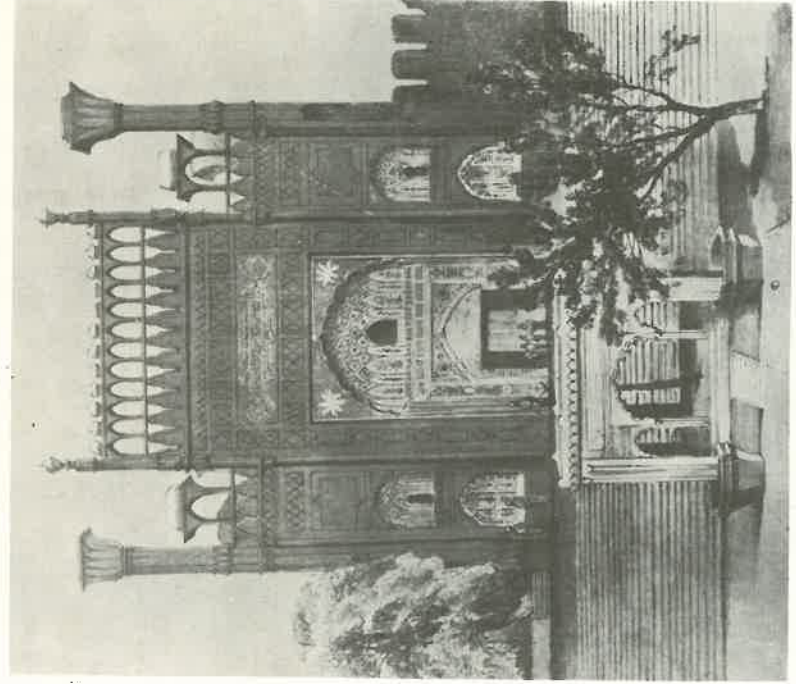
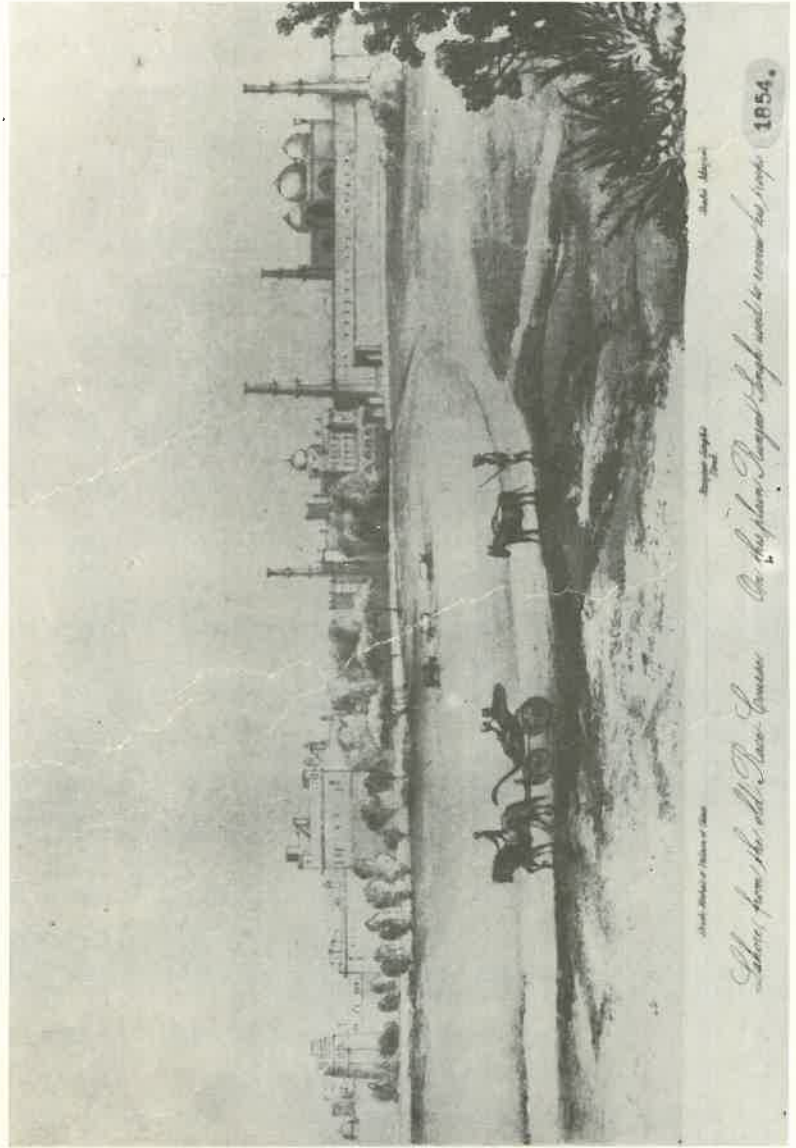
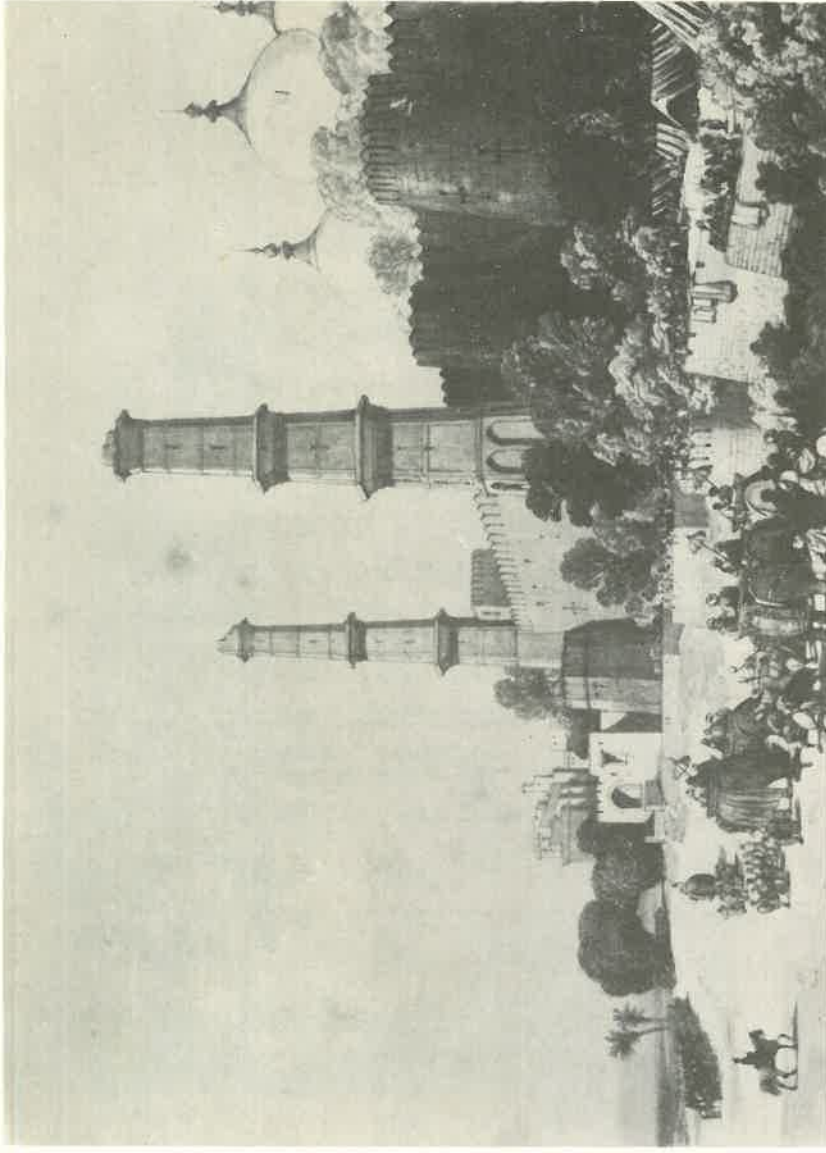
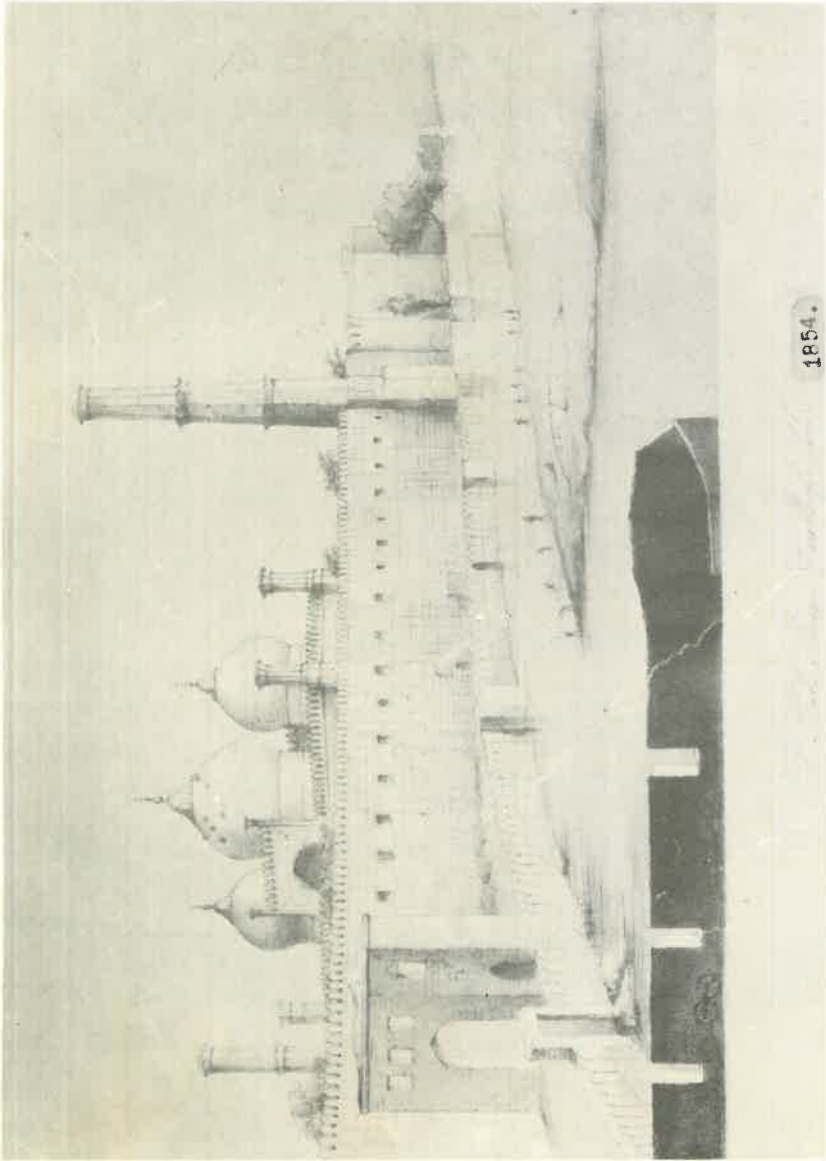
BUILT BY AURANGZEB IN AH 1084/AD 1674

SCALE - 8 FEET = 1 INCH.



HALF SECTION THROUGH PRAYING CHAMBER+HALF FRONT ELEVATION LOOKING TOWARDS WEST.

21. Sectional Elevation and Side (Longitudinal and Latitudinal Views).



22. Four Old Views of the Mosque and its environments, made by some foreign artist in 1854 at Lahore.

prejudice of the Sikh Nation which is opposed to the tolerant wisdom of Sovereigns and the laudable practice of Kings, the offering of worship and prayer had become suspended and had altogether ceased for some time (plate 25).

"At present under the happy auspices of the Government of the East India Company, the mosque in question has been restored for purpose of worship, which circumstance is calculated to increase the prosperity of the Government, and Sayed Buzurg Shah has been appointed custodian and priest of the mosque."²⁵

The mosque thenceforward was considered to be within civil jurisdiction. In April 1857, Sir John Lawrence²⁶ addressed the Quartermaster-General of the Army, regretting that entrances to the mosque were blocked up, leaving the Hazuri Bagh gates as the only entrance to it. "The restoration of the Badshahi Masjid to the Musulman inhabitants of Lahore, after they had been deprived of it for a century during which no Mulla or Muezzin's call to prayer was suffered to be heard by the then all-powerful Sikhs, was an act of grace on the part of Supreme Government, which was much prized and thought of by them, but any limitation or restriction of their means of access to the Masjid such as the blocking up of the entrance in question, will, in their estimation, rob the act of all its grace and probably hinder them from frequenting the place at their hours of prayer, especially at night, when they must be stopped and challenged by the sentries at the Hazuri Bagh gates.

"In the view of Government the restoration of the Masjid would thus be rendered futile, but I am desired to submit for His Excellency's favourable consideration that no such restrictions to the means of ingress and egress are in any way necessary to empower the Commanding Officer in the citadel to deny access to the Masjid.

"This power he would of course only exercise on an occasion of danger or tumult, and he would have ample means of enforcing obedience to his orders by firing into the Masjid square, every part of which, as if it were a Ball Court, is perfectly open to and commanded by the heavy guns of the Fort, and is even within range of musketry.

"Under these circumstances Sir John Lawrence would beg to urge that, save in the event of any extraordinary occurrence in the city, of which timely notice would always be given by the Civil authorities to the Officer Commanding in the fort, no restriction whatever should be placed upon the access of the people to the Masjid and he would further beg to advocate that guards at the gates of the Hazuri Bagh should be discontinued, as it is not strictly within the line of defence, that is within the limits of the citadel proper, but the sentry, I am to add, might with advantage be posted from the guard at the citadel gate, for the protection of the marble Bara Daree, in the Hazuri Bagh. Pending an expression of the wishes of His Excellency the Commander in Chief, Major-General Gown has been solicited to cause the further blocking up the entrances to Masjid to be suspended."

Repairs by the British. Mr C.U. Aitchison, the Deputy Commissioner of Lahore in 1865, wrote to the Commissioner for the Government to take up its repairs :²⁷

"I have the honour to bring to your kind notice the dilapidated condition of the Badshahi or Juma' Masjid in the Hazuri Bagh, Lahore. By the orders of Government No. 848 dated 18th April, 1856, the mosque was placed at the disposal of the Mohammedans

25. *Vide* File N. pp. 5-6.

26. *Vide* Letter No. 1178 dated 2 April 1857.

27. *Vide* Letter 786 dated 5 December 1965.

of Lahore for re-consecration and for the use of their religion. The Mohammedans, however, appear not to have availed themselves of the permission given to worship at the mosque. No arrangement was made with them at the time for the repairs of the building. There are no lands or Jagirs or pensions allotted to anyone on condition of keeping the mosque in repair. There are no special funds from which the cost of repairs can be defrayed and if the Mohammedan population will not make use of the mosque for their worship, it is hopeless to expect that they will contribute a fund from which it can be kept in repair out of regard for the historical or antiquarian interest attaching to the building. It is the policy of Government to withdraw as much as possible from all direct connection with the religious edifices of the natives of the country and Act XX of 1863 makes it illegal for officers of Government to be concerned in their management or their repair and preservation. But by Section 23 of the Act a special exception is made in respect to buildings remarkable for their antiquity or for their historical or architectural value. The Badshahi Masjid seems to fall within the scope of this exception. Where there are no endowments or funds to manage, it is useless to appoint trustees or committees of management.

“The repairs of the building should, in my opinion, be undertaken by the Government and I believe there is an order, although I am unable to lay my hands on it, by which the Department of Public Works is specially charged with the duty of preserving such edifices. I would suggest that, with the sanction of Government, an officer of the Department of Public Works be deputed to examine the mosque and report what is required to clean it and put it thoroughly in repair.”

He was in reply directed to ascertain whether the Muhammadan inhabitants of Lahore were in any way disposed to provide the necessary funds for the preservation of the mosque. To this Mr Aitchison replied in his letter No. 27 dated 16 January 1866, that a contribution of Rs. 2313 towards the repairs of the mosque had been promised by native gentlemen in Lahore. Mr Farrington, Commissioner of Lahore, wrote to the Secretary to the Punjab Government, Mr Thornton²⁸ : “The edifice is so vast and so long a period has elapsed that the outlay now required is more than can be met by those immediately concerned. The structure is one of considerable beauty and architectural interest and as such would come under charge of the Department of Public Works under Chapter III, Clause 3 of the Code, but as the building has been made over for devotional purposes it becomes a question whether it comes within the limits of the arrangement above quoted, and any assistance from Government might possibly lead to misconception and be quoted hereafter as a precedent.” The latter was directed by Sir Donald Macleod, the Lieut.-Governor, to state that “if the Mohammedan community resolves on making use of this mosque, which will involve the necessity of keeping it in repair, then Government will withdraw from a matter which will then rest entirely with the parties interested. But if otherwise, then Government will doubtless have such external repairs executed as may be necessary to prevent the building from becoming a ruin. It is stated in your second paragraph that the sum of Rs. 2,313/- has been subscribed by the native gentlemen of Lahore for repairs. By subscribing thus they intend to appropriate the building. This should now be ascertained, and if the reply be in the negative, you should place yourself in communica-

28. *Vide* File S, p. 8.

tion with the Public Works Department, which will probably be able to dispose of the matter." Mr Aitchison after making the necessary inquiries mentioned in the last paragraph replied that "it is the work and intention of the Mohammedan residents of Lahore to avail themselves of the orders of Government of 18th April, 1866, that they have in fact now done so, and that prayers are read daily in the Badshahi Masjid. They represent, however, that the funds they have been able to collect are not sufficient to do more than keep the mosque clean, provide water for the fountain and meet the most ordinary repairs, and that they are unable to provide the sum required to keep the mosque in proper preservation. They expect Government to help so far as to pay the repairs necessary to prevent the mosque from becoming a ruin." The Lt.-Governor, however, closed this question with the remarks that "as the Badshahi Mosque has been brought into use, no further orders appear to be at present called for as the occupants will doubtless be able to keep so substantial a building in tolerable order and take care at least that it does not become disintegrated by trees taking root in the masonry, or such like courses."²⁹

In June 1868, the Punjab Government received a petition from the poorer residents of the city of Lahore and the inhabitants of the villages in the district, complaining of the imposition of a tax levied on grain, etc., for the purpose of keeping the Badshahi Masjid in repair. It appears that one Muhammad Barkat Ali Khan, Tehsildar of Lahore, endeavoured to make some permanent arrangement for the maintenance of the mosque and to create a fund or endowment for its support by having a portion of the Shamlat land of Muhammadan villages recorded in the settlement papers as set apart with the consent of the Zamindars as an endowment for the mosque. From the time of Sir Richard Temple to 1864, so long as the Muslims had not inhabited the mosque, repairs were annually made by the Government. After 1864, the Lieutenant-Governor ordered that the Muhammadans should make arrangements to meet the expenses. After several meetings a certain sum of money was collected, the greater portion of which was expended on making repairs and purchasing matting and other necessary articles, and the Masjid was also fixed as an 'Id-gah.³⁰ These funds, however, were soon exhausted, and as some scholars were also receiving their Arabic education within the mosque precincts, the monthly expenditure increased by about Rs. 100 a month.³¹ But as the method of the Tehsildar in establishing a sort of permanent endowment for the repairs of the Badshahi Masjid was not thought to be entirely voluntary, the Tehsildar was prohibited by the Government from inviting further contributions³²

Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore. Faced with this situation, the Tehsildar Barkat Ali, sought joint efforts among the Musulmans of Lahore, and the Anjuman-i-Islamia was born in 1869, consisting of a number of influential Musulmans and with Barkat Ali as General Secretary.

He collected subscriptions from the public and then obtained some endowments in its name. Some other mosques like the Sonehri, Gumti and Taxali Gate mosques were also taken under its control by the Anjuman. At the Badshahi Masjid, Barkat Ali arranged for a proper water supply by restoring the old well outside the south-eastern corner and clearing the debris from the tank in the courtyard. (This was the period when Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Bugwi (d. 1318/1900) and Hafiz Waliullah were

29. *Vide* Letter No. 27 dated 16. January 1866 ; No. 39 dated 2nd. February 1866.

30. *Vide Infra*

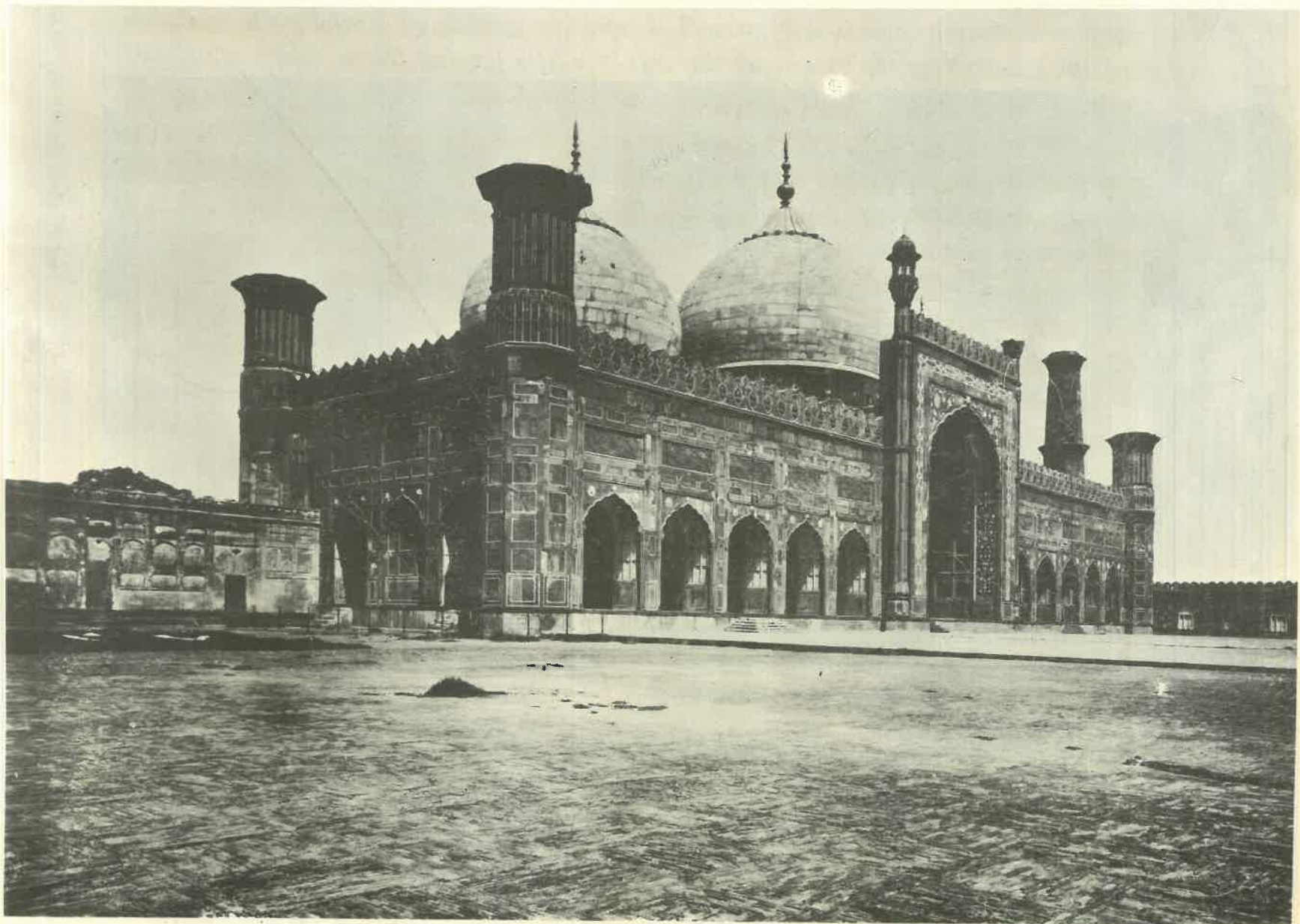
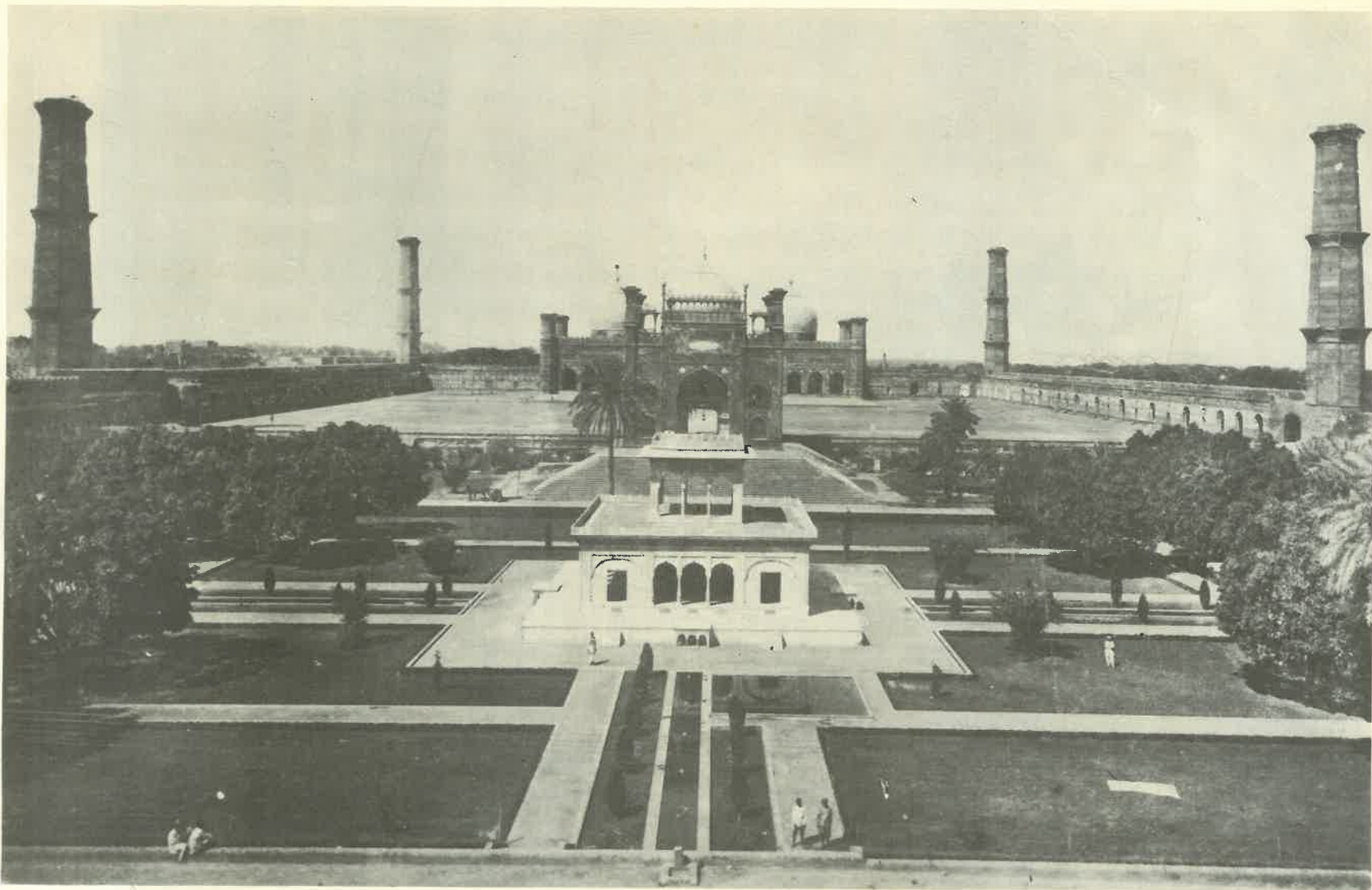
31. *Vide Infra*

32. *Vide* Letter No. 452 dated 14. August 1868 ; File S. pp. 12-13.

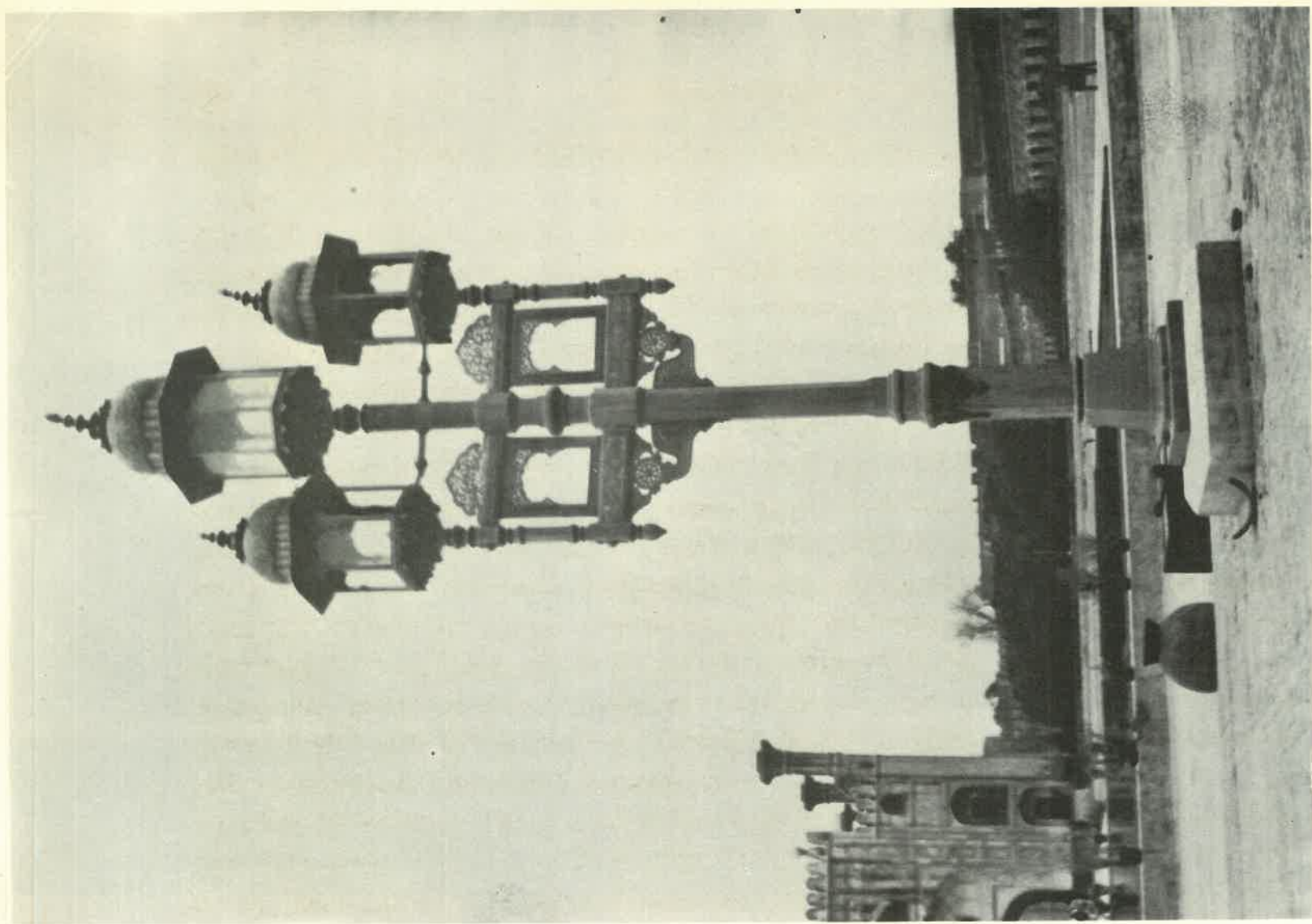
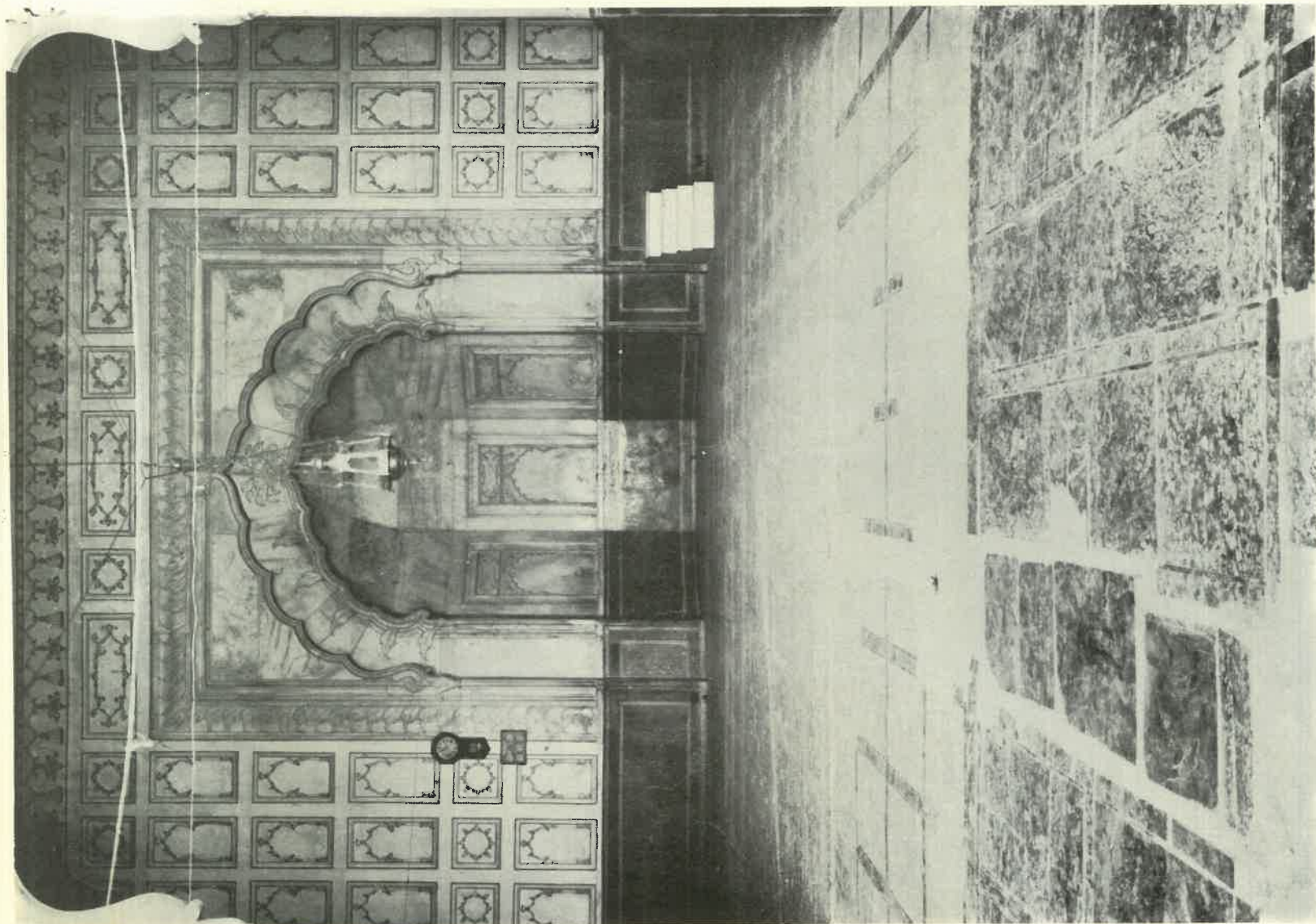
appointed *Imam* and *Muezzin*, respectively, to conduct the daily prayers.) It also became possible to set up a *maktab* (school) on indigenous lines to impart religious instruction to Muslim children. The public of Lahore was persuaded to attend congregations for 'Id prayers at the mosque, and the citizens of Lahore were persuaded to contribute a small sum of four annas to the mosque fund at every *Nikah* (marriage) ceremony. A large sum thus became available within a short time, which enabled the Anjuman to make many other innovations in the mosque, which soon became the centre of religious activities. In 1876, the 'Id congregation was attended by about six thousand persons. The new wooden doors of the main eastern entrance of the mosque were made in 1876, when a visit by the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, was expected.³³

Joint Repairs. But the mosque itself was still in a ruinous condition. Its floor in particular needed attention. Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan Qizalbash, Barkat Ali Khan, Nawab Abdul Majid Khan and others took up the cause of its repairs. They formed a deputation to meet the then Deputy Commissioner of Lahore, Capt. Nisbett. Sir Henry Davies, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab (1872-6), paid a visit to the mosque and was convinced that it most urgently required attention. The question of repairs was again taken up by the Government of Lahore. "With reference to the circular of the Government of India, No. 9 dated 13th February, 1873, sanctioning a more liberal expenditure on buildings of historical interest, I have lately had to take a number of travellers from England over these places and have been struck by the universal expression of regret at their neglected condition. I believe that the Deputy Commissioner and myself are the officials really responsible for these buildings, but as you are aware, the judicial work of our offices is so great that we have naturally feared to commence the long correspondence which generally results from moving in such matters. But this question of the condition of the front wall of the mosque seems to me so simple that I think that I may ask for orders to the Department of Public Works to have it put in order without delay. The wall has been pulled down to give free play for the guns of the Fort, but the ruins and debris have been left and make this beautiful mosque look more ruinous than it really is, though it is of course in a very neglected condition. I trust, therefore, that I may ask for a simple order to have these debris cleared away and the place put in order and not made to look like a ruin. I will endeavour then to find time to take up the question of the condition of the mosque itself and also other places around." The Commissioner of Lahore allotted a sum of Rs. 3000 from the Revenue Fund and a Juma' Masjid Restoration Fund was accordingly instituted in the same year. The Municipal Committee and District Board of Lahore also promised to donate large sums for this purpose. The Punjab Government further contributed a sum of Rs. 5000 on the condition that the Muslims would donate double that sum. A sum of Rs. 20,000 was subscribed by the public, including some prominent non-Muslims. Worthy of note among the latter were Raja Harbans Singh of Sheikhpura, who donated the largest amount, and others were Pandit Moti Lal, Pandit Badri Nath, Munshi Harsukh Rai, and Lala Nihal Chand. This brought the total sum to Rs. 31,000. The preparation of the estimates for thoroughly repairing the mosque was entrusted to Mr Leslie Clark, Municipal Engineer of Lahore. Although it was estimated that the renovation and repairs would cost about

33. *Vide supra* F.N. 67 ; this pamphlet was in reality published under the name of Khan Bashir Ali Khan, the son of Khan Bahadur Barkat Ali.



23. Mosque's Condition at the time of its Restoration, a and b. Views



24. Mosque During the British Period (1900-1924).

Rs. 1,16,637/13/5, work was taken in hand and successfully completed after a number of years³⁴.

In some places, red lime-plaster was applied, instead of red stone, to match the general effect. Rai Bahadur Lal Kanhya Lal, who was also an Executive Engineer during the early British period at Lahore, writing as an eye-witness in 1884, remarks that "if our benevolent Government would have had kindly once again averted its attention and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Barkat Ali Khan would have been determined to undertake the work of this mosque's repairs, it would have been immediately completed." The mosque from then onwards was in the charge of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore.

A report of the activities of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, is before me, which deals with the work of the Anjuman in the years 1887-8. It is a most important and interesting document. It tells us that there was a *maktab* where the Quran was regularly taught to the children and where they were also given religious instruction. The main aim before the Anjuman was to preserve the mosque as a living centre of Muslim religion and culture where, besides the daily prayers, they would also attend Friday and Id congregations. There were celebrations of the Miraj-un-Nabi and Bara Wafat of the Prophet. It is related that the management of the mosque had been under the control of this Anjuman for a long time. The list of its members shows that they included many important personages from all over the Punjab—with the Hon. Sir Nawab Haji Nawazish Ali Khan as Life President. His Excellency Lord Dufferin, Viceroy of India, paid a visit to the mosque in 1887. He took keen interest in the work of the *Maktab* and delighted the students by talking to them in Persian. He listened to recitations from the Quran, which earned his approbation. This was the year of Queen Victoria's Jubilee which was duly celebrated at Lahore, and on this occasion food was served to the poor inside the mosque. Maulvi Ghulam Muhammad Bugavi, who was the Imam of the mosque and conducted the prayers, was also an honorary member of the Anjuman.

The report shows that a sum of Rs. 238/10 was spent on cleaning the domes of the mosque and that some endowments existed in the name of the mosque in Bahawalpur also. The sale proceeds for the minaret and some other apartments were also collected for the mosque³⁵.

The Archaeological Department of India, though instituted much earlier, was regularised under the Ancient Preservation Act of 1904 by the Government of Lord Curzon, who himself took a very keen interest in ancient monuments. By this Act, the Government took over extensive powers to safeguard monuments in private possession, and much has since been done by the conclusion of agreements with their owners, or by purchase, to ensure the proper repair and maintenance of many valuable fabrics. The provisions of the Act do not, however, apply to buildings used for religious observances. On the other hand, where finances have proved insufficient for their upkeep, the Government has frequently rendered assistance on condition that repairs were carried out on

34. Vide Letter No. 976 dated 1 May 1876 ; File S, pp. 14, 22.

35. During the years 1887-1888 one general meeting of the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, took place at Lahore. Its proceedings were also published just after that in a pamphlet form which is fortunately before me as my own copy. It contains very important information regarding the management of the Badshahi Mosque and other mosques under their management. There were 177 members of the Anjuman all over the Punjab as well as 16 members of the executive committee who held some offices.

lines approved by the Archaeological Department, and in other cases it has helped the trustees with expert advice and guidance. The Hazuri Bagh in front of the Fort was reconstructed in 1912 in accordance with its ancient plan, and the gateway of the Badshahi Masjid close by, of which the parapets, turrets and finials were in a precarious state, was repaired and saved from collapse.³⁶ During Lord Curzon's tour of the Punjab in 1899, he devoted special time to examining ancient monuments, to which he referred in his memorable speech before the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in February 1900.

He said : "When I was in Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little *Moti Masjid* or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jahangir exactly three hundred years ago, still used for the profane purpose for which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, namely, as a Government treasury. The arches were built up with brick work and, below, the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen. Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Mohammaden predecessors, and half a century of British occupation with its universal pint-pot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to recover the main building of the Mughal palace from these two insatiable enemies."³⁷

Lord Curzon also had the eastern end of the southern wall of the quadrangle of the Huduri Bagh removed as it was touching the rampart of the Lahore Fort. He donated special lamps to the mosque. The largest one of them was once set up in the court yard of the mosque (plate 24).

Her Highness the Begam of Bhopal visited the mosque on 8 March 1913, and after observing the deteriorating condition of the floor, she donated a sum of Rs. 6000 for the preparation of the *Musallas* (praying carpets) of the floors. The Anjuman-i-Islamia started this work in collaboration with the Archaeological Department. Each *musalla*, measuring '5×2.9' bordered with dark black stone and a work of small-size kiln-baked bricks, cost about Rs. 15. The purpose behind renovating the floor by dividing it into *musallas* was to make it possible for donors to give according to their financial resources. It was reported on 1 April 1918, that only about 250 *musallas* had been renovated out of a total of 2400.³⁸

A Protected Monument. After this, there is nothing on record worthy of note in connection with the repairs of the mosque, except that it was temporarily closed in May 1919, by Colonel Johnson in the Martial Law days due to some objectionable meetings having taken place inside it on the

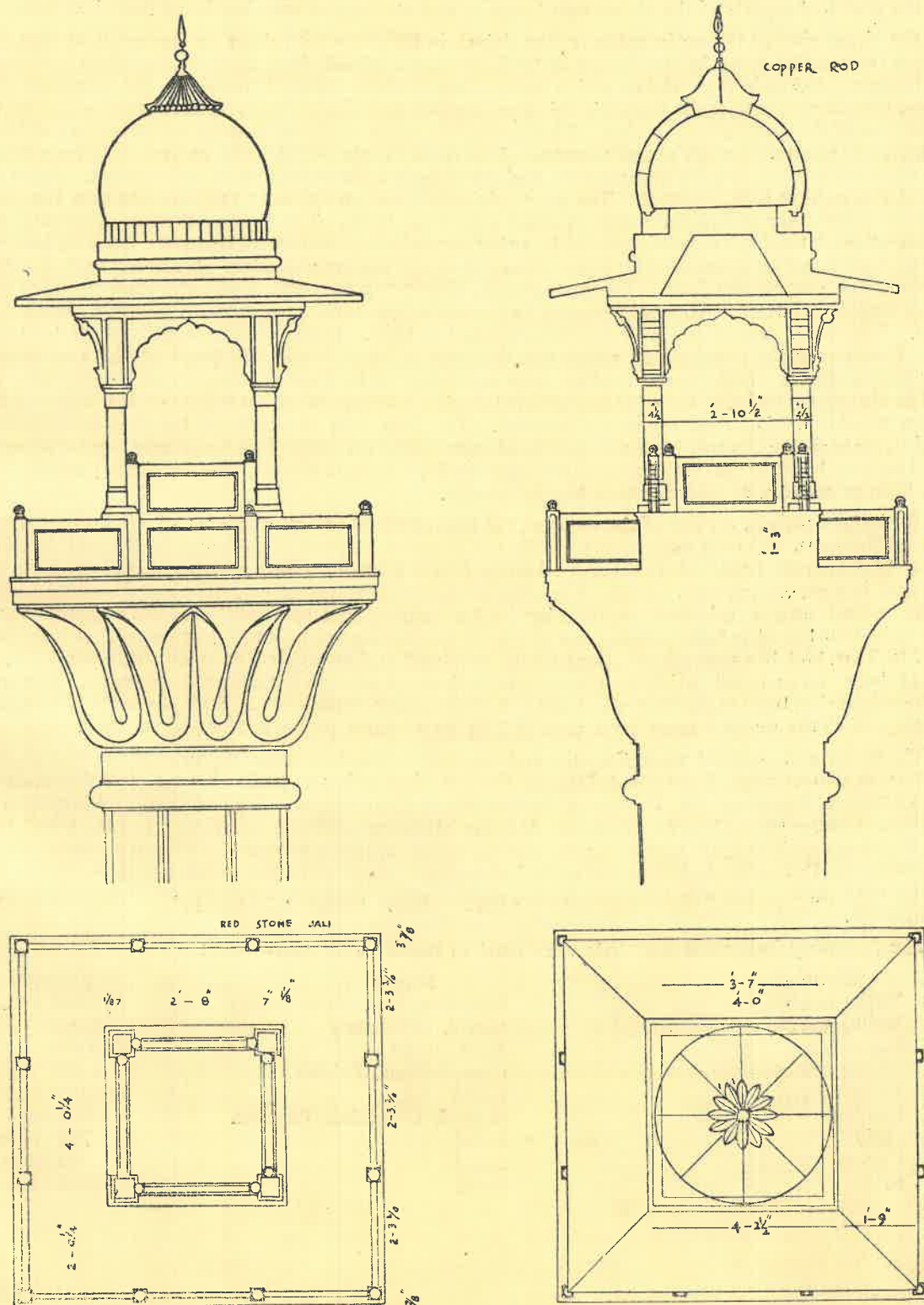
36. *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Part I, 1912-13.

37. Extract from the speech of Lord Curzon, delivered before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in February, 1900 ; *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. It must be noted here for general information that on the occasion of his visit to the mosque Lord Curzon gave a large Lamp to the Mosque as a gift. It was very artistically designed having three lamps arranged on cast-iron pedestal, which till recent times stood in the centre of the courtyard of the mosque just near the water tank. The name of Lord Curzon was engraved on it with date 1900. (plate 24) There were also other two lamps like chandeliers which are still in use (plate 4). I understand that these all are the best specimens of the brass repousee work which were made in the Mayo School of Art under the supervision of Bhai Ram Singh.

38. *Vide supra*

occasion of the agitation against the promulgation of the Rowlatt Act. A fresh appeal for funds for necessary repairs was made by the Anjuman when Khan Saadat Ali Khan, grandson of Barkat Ali, was its Secretary. The Government was also approached for help at the same time. But it was only in 1925 that the Archaeological Department included the Badshahi Masjid and Wazir Khan's Mosque in the list of protected monuments. An expert architect-archaeologist was deputed to prepare the necessary drawings. The archaeological report of 1929-30 shows four drawings of a design for new *Chatris* proposed to be erected on the minars of the Badshahi Mosque.³⁹

Renovation started in earnest in 1939, and was systematically organised on a land revenue basis by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the then Premier of the Punjab.⁴⁰



The measured drawings of the *Burji*-turret of the gateway which is restored (plate 3)

39. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. XIII, 1912-13; Vol. XXV, 1925-26, pp. 19, 195; Vol. XXIX 1929-30, p. 241.

40. *West Pakistan Repairing Authority Report*; it may serve as an Appendix to this work.

APPENDIX

Repairs and Renovation. The following is a resume, of a detailed report of Repairs at the Badshahi Masjid submitted by the Chief Engineer, West Pakistan, Buildings and Roads Department.

The major repairs were started in the year 1939 by the Central Public Works Department, Government of India. They remained in charge of the work until Partition in 1947. The work was then taken over by the Pakistan P.W.D. who carried out repairs till 1951, when the Badshahi Masjid Authority handed over the work to the P.W.D., Buildings and Roads Branch. They worked up to 14 October, 1955, and from then until the present (1960), the repairs and renovation were finally completed under the responsibility of the West Pakistan P.W.D., Buildings and Roads Branch. The Archaeological Department co-operated from 1939 until completion.

In the course of twenty-one years the whole mosque has been thoroughly repaired and wherever necessary renovated. The main features of repairs are (1) The Entrance Gate and steps on the east of the mosque; (2) Reconstruction of the row of *dalans* on either side of gateway; (3) Men's and ladies' ablution chambers in the *dalans*; (4) The main prayer hall including three domes; (5) Four minarets at the four corners; (6) Red stoneflooring of the vast courtyard; (7) Plaster and inside flooring of the *dalans* on the north and south; (8) Provision of latrines on the north-east; (9) Central tank; (10) Improvements to the lay-out of precincts and lawns; (11) Provision of tube-well, overland reservoir and internal water-supply; (12) Provision of lightning conductors to the four minarets; (13) Provision of electric and sound arrangements, etc; (14) Provision of staff quarters; (15) Erection of the new marble *Minbar* (pulpit).

The approximate cost of repairs and restoration of certain parts came to rupees forty-nine lacs (49 lacs). Some of the principal aspects of the above noted repairs and restoration may briefly be described here.

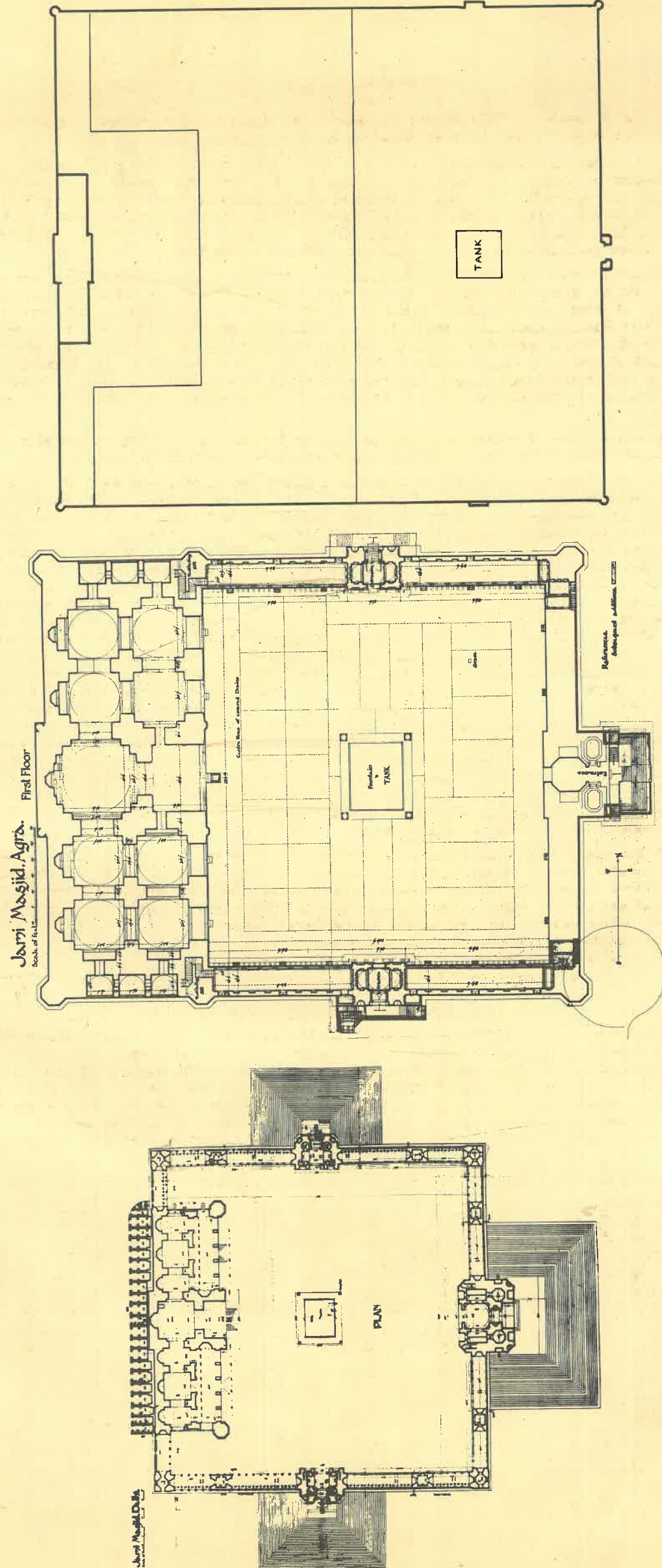
On either side of the main gateway, the *dalans*, in harmony with those on the north and south of the courtyard, which were pulled down by the British in 1856, have been rebuilt. New ablution chambers have been constructed over the basement *hujras* in these *dalans* which never existed before. Similarly some of the openings of the southern *dalans* have been closed in to make women's ablution chamber and cloak rooms. There are also four water closets put in the thickness of the wall in the chamber. This part of the southern *dalans* and the entire western *dalans* south of the praying hall, are reserved for the use of women. The front facade of the main gateway has been wholly renovated with-red stone slabs built in panelling patterns and carvings strictly according to the original. Some of the missing turrets and kiosks have been replaced. The door originally fixed on the main entrance has now been replaced with a teak wood panelled door of Mughal design studded with brass bolts. The floor of the vast courtyard, which was formerly made of small bricks, has been replaced by red-stone slabs laid on cement concrete. Steel sockets have been provided in the floor to act as a base for the poles of the *shamianas* whenever needed. Hydrants have also been put up at suitable places for washing the floor. The central tank, after being duly renovated, has been provided all round with a railing of marble *jali* work. The main praying hall—*evan*—has been completely renovated, both internally and externally. The work began in 1939 and was finished in 1958. Even the marble slabs of the domes have been re-shuffled. The floor of the praying hall, which was formerly of small bricks like those of the courtyard, has been replaced by marble slabs in the form of *musallahs* lined and bordered by black marble, which was specially imported from India. The abri stone, dado, of the *evan* has been repaired. The cupolas of the turrets on the four corners of the *evan* which were missing, has been harmoniously restored. The four lofty minarets on the four corners of the mosque, rising 176 ft. from the courtyard, have not only been completely renovated, but, also, their top pavilions with cupolas, which had suffered badly in the earthquake of 1840 and the Sikh struggle of 1846, have been newly added. These minarets have also been provided with teak doors of Mughal design.

With the thorough repairs of the mosque, the improvement of the precincts which were in a most neglected condition on the south and west have been properly put in order. Specially the lawns on the east, including the tombs of Allama Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938) and Sikandar Hayat Khan (d. 1943) on either side of the main gateway, have been arranged in a proper parterre system. The original source of water supply, the old well on the south-east corner, which was turned into a tube-well in 1932 by the Archaeological Department, has been carefully overhauled. A telescope tube-well has also been installed in a triangular plot on the south side of the mosque. A boundary wall 360 ft. long and 7 ft. 7 ins. high has constructed all round the tube-well and reservoir for their protection. A new marble *minbar* has been constructed adjoining the main *mihrab* of the mosque for delivering sermons. The space below the base of the *minbar* has been made as a store cell for loudspeaker equipment. Staff quarters for the *Khatib* and other employees of the mosque have been provided in an evacuee property near the mosque.

The major architectural work of repairs and renovation was done under the guidance of Nawab Zain Yar Jang, architect, Nizam Government, Hyderabad, Deccan, from the beginning to 1947, after which it was undertaken by the late Habib Somji, architect of the Provincial Public Work Department. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Suleyman, Chief Engineer, Central Public Works, and Khan Bahadur Muhammad Inamullah Khan, L.S.B., Chief Engineer, West Pakistan, Building and Roads Department, were directly connected with the work for seven and nine years, respectively. Mian Amir-ud-Din, President, Anjuman-i-Islamia, Lahore, throughout remained in touch with the work. Skilled workmen familiar with stone work, who were not easily available in the country, were imported from Agra and Makrana in Rajputana, India.

The following important materials were used in repairs and renovation :

Materials	Source	Quantity
(1) White marble	Makrana, Rajputana (India)	15,000 c.ft.
(2) White marble	Swabi, (Pakistan)	3,000 "
(3) Red stone	Agra, India	90,000 "
(4) Variegated stone	Campbellpur, Pakistan	2,400 "
(5) Brick tiles	Local	5,80,000 "
(6) Cement	Wah & Daudkhel, Pakistan	8,000 bags
(7) Gold	Local	200 tolas
(8) Copper	Local	60 Mds
(9) Bricks	Local	5,00,000 Nos.



26. Plans : a. Delhi Jumia Mosque. b. Agra Mosque. c. Agra Eidgah.

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GENERAL INDEX

A.

Abdar Khana, 5.
 Abdul Ahad, pr.
 Abdul Hamid Shaikh, 3.
 Abdul Khaliq, pr.
 Abdul Hakim, Maulana, 9.
 Abdullah, Maulana, 9.
 Abdul Majid Khan, 44.
 Abdul Qadir Badayuni, Mulla 4.
 Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, 8, 22.
 Abdur Razzaq, Sayyid, 3, 22.
 Abdus Samad Khan, Diler Jang. 35, 36.
 Abri, (stone), 15.
 Abu Daud, 1.
 Abu Zafar, 12.
 Adil Shah Sultan, 12.
 Adina Beg, 36.
 Agra. 2, 6, 7, 15, 17, 23, 33.
 Ahmad Shah Abdali, 30, 36.
 Ahmad, Ustad, 14.
 Aitchison, Mr. C. U. 40, 41, 42, 43.
 Ajmer, 1.
 Akbar, 2, 3, 4, 16, 17, 23, 33.
 Akbari Gate, 5, 13.
 Alaud Din Khalji, 22, 31.
 Ali, 35.
 Aliyyud Din, Mufti, 16.
 Allard, Major, 13.
 Amal Salih, 5, 7, 12, 30.
 American, 21.
 Amiru'd-Din, Mian 48.
 Anand Ram Mukhlis, 30.
 Anarkali, 39.
 Anjuman-i-Islamia, 17, 43, 45.
 Asad Ali Anwary, 25.
 Asad Khan, 8.
 Asiatic Society, Bengal 46.
 Asthan, 37.
 Ataullah, 8.
 Athar-uth-Thanadid, 30, 39.
 Auqaf, vi.
 Aurangabad, 8.
 Azamgarh, 7.

B.

Babur, 32.
 Badae Waqae, 30.
 Badri Nath, Pt. 44.
 Badsahi Masjid.
 Baghdad, 21, 26, 29, 31.
 Bahadur Shah, 35.
 Bahamani Sultan, 31.
 Blaker, Captain, 39.
 Band Rumi, 28.
 Banda, 36.
 Barkat Ali Khan, M. 43, 44, 45.
 Baradari, 34.
 Barud Khana, 6.
 Bashir Ali Khan, 44.
 Begam Shahi Masjid, 4.
 Begunath, 13.
 Berlin, 28.
 Bernier, F. 8.
 Bhangi, 36.
 Bhati Gate, 3.
 Bhatti, M. A. 2.
 Bhopal Begam. 46
 Bijapur, 12, 22.
 Bivi ka Gunbad, 22.
 Bombay, 8.
 Brahman, Chandar Bhan 4, 5.
 British Museum, 14.
 British Rule, 18.
 Briton, Mr. 39.
 Brown, Percy, 9.
 Bruxelles, 1.

Bukhara, 28.
 Bukhari Sayyid. 6.
 Buland Darwaza, 2, 32.
 Burgess, James, 2.
 Buzurg Shah, Hakim, 40.

C.

Cairo, 21.
 Calcutta, 3, 5, 9.
 Cambridge, 2, 37.
 Capitular Library, 27.
 Cathedral, 27.
 Cawnpur, 22.
 Central Asia 19, 21.
 Chabuk Sawaran, 4.
 Chaghatai, M. Abdullah, 2, 4, 7, 8.
 Chah Miran, 3, 30.
 Chand Kaur Jindan, 38.
 Char Chaman, 4, 5.
 Chauburji, 33.
 Chenab, River, 13.
 Chinianwali Masjid, 4.
 Clark, Major John. 39, 40.
 Clark, Leisle. 44.
 Corinthian, 25, 34.
 Constable, 8.
 Creswell, K. A. C. 17, 19, 23.
 Curzon, Lord, 45, 46.

D.

Dai Angah, 4.
 Dara Shukoh, 5, 12, 15, 16, 30.
 Daleep Singh, Maharaja, 37, 38.
 Dalhousie, Lord, 38.
 Damascus, 1.
 Dargah 2.
 Dorimi, 1.
 Data Ganj Bakhsh, 2, 3, 6.
 Davis, Sir Henry, 44.
 Deccan, 8, 9, 22.
 Delhi, 1, 17, 6, 8, 9, 23, 25, 31, 32, 33.
 Delhi Gate, 4, 13.
 Dera Sahib, 5.
 Dhyan Singh, 37.
 Dilras Banu Begam, 8, 14.
 Dodwell, H. H., 37.
 Draper, John William. 34.
 Duffrin, Lord, 45.

E.

East India Company, 41.
 Edward, King vii, 44.
 Egypt, 2.
 Egyptians, 24, 34.
 Ekbar, 8.
 Ernst Cohn Wiener, 28.
 Europe, pr.

F.

Fagan, Lt. 39.
 Farrington, 42.
 Fathpur Sikri, 2, 15, 17, 32.
 Fergusson, 23.
 Fidai Khan Koka, 6, 12, 13, 14, 15.

G.

Ghaznah, 2, 23.
 Ghaznavide, 2.
 Ghulam Muhammad Bugwi, 43, 45.
 Ghuloo Ghara, 36.
 Giotto, 27.

Glover, Lt. 38.
 Gol Gunbad, 22.
 Gorakhpur, 13.
 Gothic, 27.
 Gown, Major G. 39.
 Grecian, 25.
 Greeks, 24, 25.
 Gujar Singh, 36.
 Gujrat, 38.
 Gulab Khana, 5.
 Gulbarga, 32.
 Gumti Bazar Masjid, 34, 43.
 Gurdaspur, 36.
 Guru Arjan Dev, 5.
 Guru Govind Singh, 35.
 Guru Tegh Bahadur, 35.
 Gwalior, 8, 15.

H.

Habib Somji, 48.
 Haibat Rai, 8.
 Hakim Misri, 4.
 Hamida Banu Begam, 22.
 Harbans Singh Raja, 44.
 Harding, Lord, 37.
 Harsukh, Rai, 44.
 Hasan Abdal, 9.
 Hasan, Z. M. 29.
 Hayatullah Khan, 30.
 Hazuri Bagh, 4, 37.
 Heathcote, H. S. 19.
 Hira Singh, 14, 37.
 Hyderabad Dn., 7.

I.

Ibn Tulun, 31.
 Ibrat Namah, 16.
 Inamullah Khan, M. 48.
 Indian Antiquary, 22.
 India Office Library, 8, 16.
 Indo-Muslim, 7.
 Indus, 13, 36.
 Iran, 36.
 Ishaq Gazruni, 3, 4.
 Islamic Culture, 5.
 Islam Khan, 32, 33.
 Islam Shah Suri, 3.
 Islimi Khatai, 8.
 Ismail Samanid, 28.
 Irvine, William. 6.

J.

Jadu Nath Sarkar, Sir, 13.
 Jahan Ara, 23, 30, 32, 33.
 Jami' Azhar, 31.
 Jahangir, 4, 23, 30, 32.
 Jami al-Khaski, 26, 29.
 Jami' ur-Rahman, 20.
 Jama't Khana, 7.
 Jaunpur, 2.
 Jerusalem, 31.
 Jilau Khana, 4.
 Jodhpur, 15.
 Johnson, Col. 46.

K.

Ka'ba, 1, 2.
 Kabul, 9, 12, 36.
 Kalyan, 14.
 Kamboh, Mohd. Salih, 4, 5.
 Kanhya Lal, R. B., 4, 13, 31, 45.
 Karachi, 35.
 Kashmir, 35.
 Khafi Khan, 35.
 Khalil Khan, 10.
 Khalil ur Rahman Daudi, 13.
 Khalsa, 36.
 Khana-i-Asaf, 5, 14.

Khan Jahan, Kokaltash, 12.
 Kharak Singh, 37.
 Kharasian Masjid, 4.
 Khishti Masjid, 2.
 Khuda Quli, Ustad, 22.
 Khurasan, 4, 8.
 Khutbah, 1, 25.
 Khwaja Maqbul, 4, 16.
 Khwaja Said, 3.
 Kokal Tash, 12.

L.

Logan, Sir John, 38.
 Lahore, pr. 1-20.
 Landa Bazar, 6.
 Latif, Sayed Muhammad, 3, 14, 5.
 Laurence Binyon, 8, 14.
 Lahna Singh, 36.
 Lawrence, Sir Henry 37.
 Lawrence, Sir John, 38, 39 41.
 Lohari Gate, 4.
 Louis xiv. pr.
 London, 6, 21.
 Ludhiana, 22.
 I utfullah, 22.

M.

Maathir-i-Alamgiri, 5, 9.
 Maathir ul-Umara
 MacGregor, 38, 40.
 Macleod, Sir Donald, 42.
 Madina, pr. 1, 13, 14, 20.
 Mahmud Sultan, 2, 3, 23.
 Makrana, 15.
 Malwiyya, 31.
 Mansur, Khalifah, 26.
 Manucci, Nicholai, 6.
 Maryam Zamani, 4, 32.
 Mayo School of Art, 46.
 Mecca, pr. 6, 13, 14, 20.
 Mesopotamia, 2.
 Miani Sahib, 30.
 Mian Mir, 15, 30.
 Mian Sa'dullah, pr.
 Mihrab, 1, 20.
 Minbar, 1, 20.
 Miran Badshah, 4.
 Mir Mannu, 36.
 Mirak Mirza Ghiyath, 22.
 Mishkat al-Masabih, 1.
 Mi'zanah, 1, 33.
 Mochi Gate, 4.
 Moin al-Mulk, 36.
 Montgomery, R. 38, 39.
 Moor Croft, William. 36, 37.
 Moti Lal, Pandit, 44.
 Moti Masjid, 32, 46.
 Mshatta, 26.
 Mubarak Shah, Sultan, 3.
 Mughal, 2, 3, 6, 28.
 Muhammad, Prophet, 12.
 Muhammad Azam, 8.
 Muhammad Iqbal, Allama, 18, 48.
 Muhammad Saqi, 5.
 Muhammad Salih Kamboh, 4.
 Muhammad Sultan, 8.
 Muhammad Umar, Khwaja, pr.
 Multan, 36.
 Muntakhab al-Lubab, 35.
 Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh, 4.
 Mutawakkil, Khalifa, 31.
 Mumtaz Mahal, 5, 8.
 Musulmans.
 Muzaffar Husain, 12.

N.

Nadira Begam, 16.
 Nadir Shah, 36.
 Najib Ashraf Nadawi, 7.

Nakhas, 6.
 Napier, Charles. 39.
 Naskh, 12.
 Nasta'liq, 12.
 Nazim, Muhammad, 2.
 Nazar-i-Alam, pr.
 New York, 27, 34.
 Niazi, 13.
 Nihal Chand, Lala, 44.
 Nila Gunbad, 3, 22.
 Nisbett, Capt. 44.
 Numaniyyah, Madrasa. 6.
 Nur Ahmad Chishti, 5, 30.

O.

Oriental College Magazine, 3, 20.
 Oscar Wilde, 14.
 Oxford, 14.

P.

Page, Mr. I. 19.
 Pakistan, pr. 2.
 Pantheon, 34.
 Paris, pr.
 Pelican Series, 19.
 Persia, 17.
 Persians, 10, 28.
 Peter MaciCarthy, pr.
 Piccilomin, S. 27.
 Piere, 27.
 Pinturichio, B., 26, 27.
 Pope, 34.
 Punjab, 36.
 Purana Qala, 33.

Q.

Qa'a, 35.
 Qibla, 20, 25.
 Qizlbash, Nawazish Ali, 44, 45.
 Quds, pr.
 Quwwatul Islam, 22, 31, 32, 33, 34.

R.

Rabia Daurani, 8, 14.
 Rafi b. Shams b. Mansur, Qazwini, 32.
 Rahmat Khan, 9.
 Rajputana, 15.
 Ram Singh, Bhai, 46.
 Rani Chand Kaur, 37.
 Ranjit Singh, 2, 4, 5, 36, 37, 40, 46.
 Raphael, 27.
 Renaissance, 26, 27.
 Research Society, pr.
 Ravi, R. 5, 6.
 Romans, 25.
 Rowlatt Act, 47.
 Rushan A'a.
 Rushanai Gate, 5.

S.

Saadat Ali Khan, 47.
 Sabraun, 37.
 Sakina tul-Auliya, 16, 30.
 Samadh, 36, 37.
 Samarra, 31, 33.
 Sambudi, 1.
 Saqi Musta'id Khan, 7, 8.
 Sarfaraz Khan, 4.
 Seaton, Karr, 39.
 Septizonium, 34.
 Severus, 34.
 Shah Alam, 35.
 Shah Alami Gate, 3, 4.
 Shahjahan, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 14, 32, 33.
 Shahjahanabad, 7, 33.
 Shah Muhammad Ghauth, 13, 14.
 Shah Nawaz Khan, 8.
 Shalimar Gardens, 5, 9.
 Shahi Muhalla, 6.
 Shah Zaman, 36.
 Shaikh Ishaq Mahzang, 3.
 Shaikh Salim Chishti, 32.
 Shamlat, 43.
 Shamsa, 17, 28.



Sharif Mecca, 6, 13, 14.
 St. Peter, 34.
 Sher Singh, 37.
 Sher Shah, 32.
 Shihab ud-Din Taj Khan, 32.
 Shish Mahal, 36.
 Sikandra, 23, 33.
 Sikandar Hayat Khan, 47, 48.
 Sikh, 2, 5, 13, 35, 37, 40.
 Sindh, 16.
 Sindhianwalia, 37.
 Siena, 27.
 Siphniniun, 25.
 Sobah Singh, 36.
 Sohan Lal Suri, 4, 5, 36.
 Sonehri Masjid, 34, 43.
 Soulier, Gustav, 27.
 Statham, H. J., 19.
 Stephen, Carr, 22.
 Storia Do Mogar, 6.
 Sufi, Mr. M. H. pr.
 Sufi Masjid, 34.
 Suleyman, Muhammad, 48.
 Sultan Hasan Mosque, 31.
 Sutlej, 36.
 Suris, 3.
 Sutra tul-Musalli, 20.
 Symond, J. A., 22.

T.

Tahqiqat-i-Chishti, 5, 30.
 Tahir Mirza, pr.
 Taj Mahal, 7, 8, 23.
 Takht Rawan, 9.
 Tarikh-i-Daudi, 3.
 Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi, 3.
 Tarikh-i-Yamini, 3.
 Taxali Gate, 4, 6, 43.
 Temple, Richard, 43.
 Temple Road, 3.
 Thornton, 42.
 Tirmizi, 1.
 Tosha Khana, 6.
 Tughluq, 1, 21.
 Turks, 27.
 Tuzuk, 12.

U.

University of the Punjab, pr.
 Umayyad, 1, 29.
 Umda tut-Tawarikh, 4, 36, 38.
 Unchi Masjid, 3.
 Utbi, Historian, 3.
 Uthman, Hazrat, 21.

V.

Vasari, G. 27.
 Versailles, pr.

W.

Wafa al-Wafa, 1.
 Wali Shah, S. H., 40.
 Walid, 31.
 Waliullah, Hafiz, 43.
 Wasi, 35.
 Wazir Khan, 4, 6, 32, 47.
 Wuzu, 1.

Y.

Yakki Gate, 3.
 Yamin ud-Dawla, 5.

Z.

Zakariyya Khan, 36.
 Zain Yar Jang, 48.
 Zaki M. Hasan, 26.
 Zamindars, 43.
 Zeb un-Nissa, 8.
 Zulfiqar Khan Malik, 2.

By the same Author

- ۲۹- پنجاب میں مصوری کی ایک تصانیف - (انگریزی)
۳۰- وقائع سیالکوٹ - محمد مقیم بن رحمتہ اللہ - ۱۰۰۰ (اصل فارسی متن) (۸/۲۳ × ۱۸)
۳۱- اسلامی مصوری - دوسری ترمیم شدہ اشاعت (۸/۲۳ × ۱۲) زیر طباعت
۳۲- اسلامی دوزخ گری - (۸/۲۴ × ۱۲) مصور
۳۳- نمائش اسلامی ثقافت - ۱۹۵۸ - (۸/۲۰ × ۱۶) مصور (انگریزی)
۳۴- احمد معمار لاہوری اور اس کا خاندان
۳۵- علامہ اقبال اور سید سلیمان ندوی - لاہور کی علمی مجالس
۳۶- مائتات ناصری: (فارسی) طبقات متعلقہ
۳۷- سید سلیمان ندوی اور ان کے چند خطوط (۸/۲۰ × ۲۰)
۳۸- مشہور بن حسن فیضی - م تصاویر - (۸/۲۳ × ۱۰)
۳۹- محمد بن تغلق سلطان - (انگریزی) ترجمہ از درر الکاتب - حافظ
۴۰- محمد بن تغلق سلطان - (فارسی) ترجمہ از درر الکاتب - حافظ
۴۱- واقعات عالم گیری - عاقل خان رازی (۸/۲۱ × ۱۰) فارسی متن (نیا انڈیشن زیر اشاعت)
۴۲- تاریخ منظوم سلاطین ہند - ۱۲۰۰
۴۳- قدیم مساجد ہند و پاکستان اور ان کا فن تعمیر - (۸/۲۰ × ۲۰) (انگریزی)
۴۴- فن تعمیر (اردو) - سید محمد حسین - تحت لکھنا گیا
۴۵- فیروز شاہی (فارسی متن و تصاویر) - ۱۸ × ۱۲
۴۶- پاکستان میں مصوری فی داسان و M. nature—Painting from Pakistan
۴۷- مہم سٹیل کی یادگار (شالامار باغ) - (۸/۲۳ × ۱۰)
۴۸- اسلامی فن تعمیر ہند و پاک پر ایران و توران کا اثر مع دو صفحات تصاویر - (۸/۲۴ × ۲۰)
۴۹- قرآن کریم میں آثار و تعمین کا
۵۰- قلعہ لاہور کی تختہ و تاریخ مع
۵۱- آثار کی حیرت منگ تصویر
۵۲- اسلام آباد کی تاریخ
۵۳- Some views of the History of Muslim Architecture
۵۴- آئینہ لاہور (اقتصادی) زیر طباعت - (تاریخ لاہور)
۵۵- تمدن ہند میں دکن کا حصہ، مطبعہ ۱۹۵۶
۵۶- مساجد سمرقند - اسلامی فن تعمیر میں ہندوستان کے وسط ایشیا سے تعلقات (انگریزی) The Mosques of Samarqand—Indian links with Central Asia in Architecture
۵۷- رزم نامہ (بھارت) کا مصور نسخہ (انگریزی) The Illustrated Edition of the Rām Nam
۵۸- ڈکشنری - مصورین ممالک اسلامیہ (انگریزی) Dictionary of Muslim Painters from Islamic Lands (in preparation)
۵۹- کمال الدین بھڑاد مصور - اردو و انگریزی
۶۰- Lahore during the Mediaeval Period (in Press)
۶۱- Lustre Tiles from Samarra in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1933
۶۲- Muslim Monuments of Ahmadabad Through their Inscriptions, with several plates, 1940.
۶۳- Nagour a Forgotten Kingdom, 1942.

- ۱- مسجد لاہور - (۸/۲۲) (انگریزی) The Badshahi Masjid: History and Architecture
۲- قریباً ۷۵ بڑے سائز - ۲۶ صفحات - ۱۸ × ۲۳ (اردو) تصاویر - ۵۲
۳- تاریخ، فن تعمیر، خطبہ - ۲۰ × ۳۰ (ایک سو سے زائد صفحات تصاویر ۶۵ صفحات پلیٹ)
۴- Le Taj Mahal d'Agra (French) Bruxelles. (۸/۲۰ × ۳۰) ۱۸۴
۵- اردو اشاعت
۶- عہد سلاطین ہند - قبل عہد مغلیہ - (انگریزی) The Sultanate Period (۲۰ × ۳۰)
۷- شکر گنج، درگاہ پاک پٹی - (۸/۲۶ × ۲۰) تصاویر
۸- Pakpattan and Bahi Faridkot
۹- موجود قدیم تاریخی تصانیف - (انگریزی) The Gild of the Sultanate
۱۰- Muslim Architecture of the Sultanate
۱۱- حضرت بلالؓ - (۸/۲۶ × ۲۰) دو پلیٹ تصاویر
۱۲- ۱۹۰۰ء کی عہد
۱۳- مختصر تاریخ (۸/۲۶ × ۲۰) ۶۱ صفحات
۱۴- عہد احمد اور شہزادہ عالم گور (۸/۲۴ × ۱۲)
۱۵- کا ذکر مصوری - ۳۰ صفحات
۱۶- مہروران - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - کتابدار ۵۹۲
۱۷- ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خطاطان و نقاشان
۱۸- ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - فن خط و تذکرہ
۱۹- ویرہ
۲۰- خطوط - مصنف - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۲۱- خطاطان - کتابدار
۲۲- باب - مصنف - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۲۳- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۲۴- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۲۵- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۲۶- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۲۷- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
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۹۹- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط
۱۰۰- علی قلی - ۱۲۰۰ء کی عہد - خط

(Complete list can be had on request)