CHAPTER IV

TOMBS

The tradition of tomb-construction had not come into existence in India before the Muslims appeared on the scene.¹ In fact, the Indian philosophical concept of life which regards body as a simple abode in which the being dwells temporarily, does not leave any scope for such a tradition.²

Islam, too, does not encourage building of tombs. The Hadith strictly forbids the building of a tomb over a grave with stone, burnt-brick or mortar or to write verses upon it.³ But here, the strong desire to immortalise oneself got the upper hand. And it is to the Muslims that the world owes one of the most splendid traditions of tomb-construction.

The first Muslim tomb erected on the Indian soil is the one popularly known as Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Iltutmish to commemorate his son Masiruddin Muhammad (d. 1231 A.D.). Beginning with this structure, this tradition culminated under the Mughals, in the memorials like the Taj Mahal which occupy a prominent place in the history of world architecture.

During the Mughal period, some fine tombs were erected in the region under study also. Broadly, these tombs can be classified into two categories on the basis of their plan - the square and the octagonal.

In essence, the square tomb comprised a cubic base pierced by arched openings and the whole crowned with a spherical dome.
In the early specimens, the exterior used to be composed of false storeys, having in the middle of each side a rectangular projected frame containing the archway. This form descended from the Iodh tombs. During the time of Akbar, the false storeys of the exterior were replaced by the real ones and the central projecting frame with a deep jyot. It enclosed a square or octagonal room. The simpler form also continued to be erected along with this complex one.

The octagonal form further resolves itself into two types. Of these, the first type is a regular octagon where as the second type is a Baghadi octagon - a square octagonalized by chamfering its angles. In both the cases, each face of a tomb was pierced by one or two storeys of arched recesses which on cardinal sides contained the archways. These archways were sometimes filled with trellis-work, leaving the entrance side. In some tombs, the archway on the western side was closed to form a mihrab, thus bestowing on the mausoleum the sanctity of the mosque. The room enclosed in the octagonal type of tombs could be square or octagonal in shape. The whole was roofed with a dome.

Both the types - the square and the octagonal - underwent changes in details and continued to be used with minor variations. Here follows an account of the Mughal tombs in the region under study, in a roughly chronological order:

**Tombs at Hisar**

In Haryana, the historical city of Hisar has the maximum number of tombs - fifteen in all. Of these, fourteen stand in the form of three groups.

The largest group comprising nine tombs (including the largest
one which has recently been converted into a temple) is situated on the old Hansi road (near Hans Film Cinema). According to Rodgers, the total number of tombs in this group was thirteen.\(^5\) Twelve of them were extant when the present scholar visited the place in 1980. As told by their inscriptions, these tombs were erected for the soldiers who fought and died for Humayun in his Gujarat war against Bahadur Shah, in 1538 A.D.

All the tombs of this group are invariably of the same type, differing in size only (Fig. XX & Plate 30). Most of them stand on raised platforms. Each structure is square in plan. The largest of them (now a temple) measures 13.8 m. square and the smallest one 6.4 m. square. The battering walls, so characteristic of the Tughlaq period, still find use here, although with a low key slope. Each side of the building is pierced by an arched entrance contained in a projected bay. The monotony of the exterior surface is relieved by two or sometimes, three storeys of sunken panels. (Some of the tombs are quite plain having no sunken panels) A coggled brick-course defines the cornice\(^6\) and parapet and also decorates the top of the sunken panels on the exterior. The whole is crowned with a dome resting on an octagonal drum, having its parapet marked with merlons. The exterior surface of the domes of some of the tombs have been given a peculiar treatment. They have raised plaster stripes marking flutes. Only two of the tombs retain parts of their surmounting finials which show an \(\text{empilaka}\) like member. In Mughal buildings, the use of \(\text{empilaka}\) as a crowning member for dome was gradually replaced by a sheath of lotus petals.

Interiorly, each structure constitutes a square room covered...
with a domical ceiling. The transition from the square to the dome is achieved by a corner arch.

In the most of the tombs in the region under study, the graves have been destroyed by treasure-seekers who believed that untold wealth lay hidden under the graves. In this group of tombs at Hisar also the graves are extant only in one of them. Three tombs have crypts also.  

Turquoise and ultramarine blue square tiles provide colour to the three of the tombs. One of these has yellow tiles also. The interior of the five tombs is adorned with stucco patterns. Only one of these has such decoration on the exterior also.

According to Rodgers and P. Horn, three tombs of this group had stucco inscriptions.  

Two of these were extant when the present scholar visited the place in 1980. But now only one of these survives and that too in an obliterated condition. Fortunately, the inscriptions had been photographed during the first visit of the present scholar.

The text of the inscription that survives, as translated by P. Horn runs as follows:

"In the suspicious time and reign of Humayun (the king, etc.) - May God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule, and elevate his condition and dignity! - this building of Waltu Khan..., son of Mir... son of Sultan Malik Beg was finished on the third (?) of the month of Ramzan, 943." (the month began the 13th March, 1537)

Along the right hand side, almost in the same line with the above are the following words: "...20,000 copper tankas (1000 rupees) was completed under the superintendence of Shaikh Munawwar, son of Qasim."

Blochmann considers it possible that the Waltu Khan of this
inscription was the Baltu Khan mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari. But the possibility is ruled out by further information about him in the Ain. He is mentioned as "a grandee of Humayun, who served in the Kabul war and in the battles which led to Humayun's restoration." Baltu Khan who died in the Gujarat campaign could not have served in the battles that led to Humayun's restoration.

The contents of the recently destroyed inscription (Plate 31) have been translated as follows:

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banner of holy strife and war, Tshiruddin Muhammad Humayun, Badshah-ì-Ghazi - May (God) perpetuate his caliphate! this building was completed during the month of Ramzan of the year 944 [the month began the 1st February, 1536]. It was made for the sake of Mir Aqiq Muhammad, son of Mir Shah Ali, and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost was 12,000 copper tankas (600 rupees)."

The translation of the text of the last inscription runs as follows:

"In the propitious time and august reign of the king of India and Khorasan, who raises the banner of holy strife and war, Muhammad Humayun, Badshah-ì-Ghazi - May (God) perpetuate his caliphate! - this building was completed in the month of Rajab - May its dignity be magnified! - of the year 944 [the month began the 4th December, 1537]. And this cupola (was made) for the sake of Tardi Koshe, son of Mir Barantak, the Mughal, and this youth attained martyrdom in the army of Gujarat. The cost was 15,000 copper tankas (750 rupees)."

Blochmann reads the cost of the building in all the three
inscriptions as black tankas. The words *gulsh tanka* were clearly readable in the inscription on the tomb of Mir Asiq Muhammad.

At present, all of the tombs but for the biggest, are being appropriated as cattle-sheds or granaries by the local inhabitants. A group of three tombs is situated in the same city, near Gaushala. Each is known by the common name of *Gumbad* being the vernacular for 'dome'. According to Rodgers, they used to be five in number. The extent three have been erected in the same style. *Kanjar* has been used in one of these for foundations and staircase. Only one of the tombs has sunken panels. None of these bears glassed tiles. One of the tombs has an inscription. P. Horn's translation of the inscription runs thus:

"How beautiful is the dome of the paradise-like mausoleum; its mortar and bricks are like musk and ambergris. From the scent of this garden the brain is perfumed; and a sal sabil (a spring in paradise) flows from its trees. The secretary of the heaven (Mercury) turned round it, when the date was written on the dome: A.H. 973 [began the 8th July, 1567]. A thousand praises are due to Bayazid, by whose order the bricks were placed on the foundation. The writer was Kabir."

Evidently, the tomb was originally situated in a garden. Two other tombs in the same style stand outside the city on the road to Delhi and a solitary tomb stands in the precincts of the Waryana Seed Corporation.

The last one is known as Chiri Gumbad (Plate 32). Its foundations and stairs are made of *kanjar*. It measures 9.0 m. square outside and 5.4 m. square inside. It has two interesting
features. The first is that after converting the square of the room into an octagon by building an arch in each corner, again an arch in each corner converts it into a sixteen-sided figure. The second feature is that the spandrels of the arches on the interior are filled with shallow patterns formed by moulded brick-ends.

Tombs at Mehm (District Rohtak)

At Mehm, there are three tombs known by the common name of Qubbad. None of these bears the name of the person it commemorates. The biggest of these is situated to the southeast of the town, near the baoli of Saidu Kalal (Plate 11). The building measures 8.6 m. square and stands on a square platform of 15.2 m. side. Each wall of the tomb has a rectangular recess covered with a pointed arch, slightly broader at the base. Only the southern recess is pierced by an entrance. The interior of the tomb is 4.8 m. square.

The building rises to a height of 7.5 m. and is crowned with a dome raised on a 1.9 m. high octagonal drum of 2.6 m. side. Stairs in the western wall lead to the roof of the building.

The second tomb stands about one km. off the town, towards Rohtak. It is a 6.4 m. square structure. Only western wall of the tomb has an entrance, 1.5 m. broad. The tomb chamber measures 4.1 m. square and has a recess in each wall. A staircase in the southern wall approaches the roof, covered with a dome, built on a 0.6 m. high octagonal drum of 2.3 m. side.

The parapet of the tomb was 5.0 m. high but due to soil erosion, it now looks half a metre higher from the ground.

The third tomb is situated at a small distance, to the
other side of the road. It resembles the tombs at Hisar. It is a 5.6 m. square building. Each of its walls is pierced by a 1.2 m. broad arch. The interior of the tomb measures 3.7 m. square and is roofed with a dome supported on an octagonal drum. The dome is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding.

All the three tombs are brick structures having slightly sloping, plaster-coated walls, marked with sunken panels.

The graves in all of these have been destroyed.

None of these bears any inscription. Neither do these tombs have any peculiar architectural feature that can help us to date them.

At present, all the three tombs are being used to store dung-cakes or straw.

**Tombs at Gorawar (District Rohtak)**

In all, there are three tombs at Gorawar. Two of these are situated on the periphery of the village.

The first tomb is a square building of 8.0 m. side having slightly (0.2 m.) projected bay on each side (Plate 34 & Fig.XXII). Each projected bay, but for the western one, is pierced by an arch. The outside walls of the building are relieved with sunken panels, one on either side of each bay. The parapet of the tomb is marked by decorative crenelation that also appears on the parapet of the octagonal drum supporting the dome. The dome is surmounted by the usual inverted lotus moulding.

In its pristine condition, there was a minaret, planted at each corner of the building, the stumps of which are extant.

The interior of the tomb measures 4.8 m. square. The western
wall has a mihrab. The mihrab and each of the entrances is
flanked by a 0.5 m. deep recess.

The building is made of brick and kanker, originally
covered with a layer of plaster.

The second tomb stands nearby. Only one corner of its
building is extant, but the surviving portion is enough to
say that it was more attractive in appearance than the tomb
described above. The building was made of kanker-blocks, inlaid
with red sandstone. The two inscriptions that are extant comprise
Quramic verses, hence of no historical significance.

The third tomb stands two km. away from the village, towards
Jnajjar. It is a brick building standing on the foundations of
kanker (Plate 35). It measures 9.8 m. square outside and 5.2 m.
square inside. It has slightly sloping walls. Each face of the
tomb, but for the western one, has a rectangular recess pierced
by an almost flat-headed arch. The western face of the tomb has
a 2.8 m. long bay projected 0.25 m. out of the wall.

One flight of steps (0.7 m. broad) in the northern wall
approaches the roof of the tomb where a low dome covers the
octagonal drum of 2.3 m. side and 1.5 m. height. The peristep of
the tomb rises to a height of 5.4 m.

The walls of the tomb have sunked panels of various shapes.
Originally, the whole building was plastered. Traces of red
colour are also visible on its walls.

None of the tombs at Gura warriors any cenotaph.

Nothing is known about the persons whose mortal remains
were enshrined in these tombs and about the dates of their erection.
The use of flat-headed arch in the last tomb, however, indicates
that it was erected on quite a later than that of the other two.
Tom of Shah Quli Khan at Warnaul (District Mohindernath)

Shah Quli Khan was one of the most trusted nobles of Akbar. His full name was Shah Quli Khan Mahram-i-Baharli. Baharli is the name of the clan of Caraquilu Turks to which Bairam Khan also belonged. Mahram was the title granted to him by Akbar when he castrated himself on having been allowed to the harem of the emperor. In the beginning, he was in the service of Bairam Khan. After his master's death, Quli Khan was appointed the governor of the Punjab in the twentieth year of Akbar's reign. Previously, he had rendered commendable services in the second battle of Panipat. He was the man whose arrow pierced Humayun's eye. He died of dysentery in 1020 A.H. (the year began the 22nd June, 1611). He made Warnaul his home where he built magnificent buildings, including his own tomb. It is situated outside the town.

This tomb is one of the most attractive buildings in the region under study (Plate 36). The building stands on a two metre high octagonal platform of 11.5 m. side. The tomb itself is also octagonal in shape, each side measuring 5.2 m. outside and 3.25 m. inside (Fig. XXI). The floor of the tomb, itself 1.2 m. higher than the platform, on which reposes the cenotaph chamber, is deftly marked by a modillion cornice all around the building. Each face of the building has a semi-octagonal recess, pierced with an arch. But for the southern one, all the openings are latticed, providing subdued light to the interior (Plate 37). The rest of the space on each face is divided into panels each filled with geometrical patterns carved in red sandstone.
The parapet of the building which is 8.5 m. above the platform, is decorated with merlons. Each merlon has a carved flower in it. The whole is crowned with a white plastered dome, resting on a 2.6 m. high octagonal drum of 4.0 m. side. The cardinal sides of the drum have one ventilator each, screened with a lattice.

The interior of the tomb is faced with marble. It enshrines six cenotaphs. The soffit of the domical ceiling is adorned with designs painted in red and green. The tomb owes its attractive appearance both to its harmonious proportions and the masterly combination of colours, i.e., the grey of its body, the red of the carved designs and the white of the dome.

The tomb bears two Persian inscriptions. The text of the inscription on the southern face, as translated by G. Vazirani, reads: 25

"The eye of the sky has not seen its match, for in elegance it is unique and single. Its roof is polished like a mirror, and its exterior is transparent like its interior. I said in my mind, 'O God! What would be the chronogram of this building?' Wisdom suddenly, for the date of its completion said, 'The strong and elegant dome', 982 A.H. " (the year began the 23rd April, 1974).

The second inscription is on its northern face and it has been rendered into English as follows: 26

"The exalted Nawab Shah Quli Khan, when he founded this tomb, the guardian of paradise, as it were, opened a door from heaven to this place. Whoever saw the high dome said, 'May mercy be upon the Khan'...."
Evidently, Shah Quli Khan himself built his tomb during his lifetime. It was not anything unusual among the Muslims. In this way, one could ensure a suitable memorial to himself which his descendants might not build after his death. The builder used the building as a place of recreation during his lifetime. After his death, it became the place of rest for his mortal remains.

After one decade and a half, Shah Quli Khan laid out a garden around the tomb and named it 'Arz-i-kauzar'. Of the garden, its gateway, enclosing walls and five walls are extant. The gateway, locally called Tripolia is a fine edifice (Plate 36). An inscription on it, records the date of its erection to be 997 A.H. (the year began the 10th November, 1588).

Like the most of the monuments in the town, it is made of rubble, easily available from the nearby range of the Aravalli hills. Usually the rubble masonry was covered with a thick coat of plaster.

The gateway is a three-storeyed structure having slightly sloping walls. It covers a plinth area of 14.1 m. by 13.4 m. and soars to a height of 13.0 m. The ground floor of the gateway comprises a 4.3 m. broad passage flanked by a 2.2 m. deep semi-octagonal recess and one room in each corner. One long flight of steps on either side of the gateway leads directly to the third storey, consisting of a central room, 4.3 m. square, a deep verandah on each side and one room in each corner. Double stairs built through the thickness of the walls approach the intermediate storey comprising four corner rooms only. On the terrace of the building is a 1.7 m. high octagonal platform
of 2.4 m. side.

Graceful painted designs can still be seen on the interior of the gateway and the third storey room whereas those on the facade have faded away. The motif depicted is a circular medallion and the only colour used is Indian red.

At present, the gateway is being used as a private accommodation although it appears in the list of the monuments declared protected by the Department of Archaeology of the state of Haryana.

**Tomb of Islam Quli Khan at Faraul (District Mohindernath)**

Within the precincts of Shah Quli Khan's former garden Aram-i-keusar stands another tomb of note (Plate 39).

This tomb is a square structure, each side measuring 10.6 m. outside and 6.0 m. inside (Fig. XXXII). The middle portion of each face of the tomb, having a recess, is slightly projected. The recesses are rectangular on two sides and semi-octagonal on the remaining two. On either side of the main recess are two shallow recesses. Each main recess is pierced with an arch. But for on the southern side, each arch is screened with a lattice of red sandstone, similar to those in the nearby tomb of Shah Quli Khan. These lattices filtered the light that fell through them.

The building enshrines three cenotaphs. In each corner of the room is an arch to provide the dome with an octagonal base. One flight of stairs from the northern and the southern sides each approaches the roof of the tomb. The parapet of the building is 7.6 m. high from the floor. At each corner of the parapet rises a 1.9 m. high cylindrical tower terminating in a lotus pinnacle. In the centre rises the dome, on a 2.2 m. high
octagonal drum of 3.3 m. side. The dome is surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding and a finial which is partly broken.

The tomb stands on a 24.2 m. square and 1.7 m. high platform approached by one flight of stairs projected on the eastern side. The platform accommodates the crypt having its entrance on the southern side.

The whole building is made of rubble covered with a thick coat of plaster, worked into stalactites on the soffit of the recesses. The traces of red colour are visible on the parapet and the drum.

According to Abdul Latif who passed through the town in 1603 A.D., the man who lies buried in this tomb is Islam Quli Khan, brother of Shah Quli Khan. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, on the authority of Ain-i-Akbari, relates that he kept 1200 women and was so suspicious that whenever he went to the Imperial court, he put his seal over the strings of their under-garments and that out of annoyance the women at last, poisoned him. But this information in the Ain is related to one Isma'il Quli Khan and not Islam Quli Khan. The present sehgal has not come across any person of the name Islam Quli Khan in the chronicles of the period.

The building though declared protected by the Department of the state of Haryana, is being used for storing dung-cakes.

Tomb of Sheikh Shabgas at Palwal (District Faridabad)

The tomb stands to the north of the town. According to Rodgers, it was situated in a mud fort. But no trace of the fort is extant.

In plan, the tomb is a regular octagon of 4.7 m. side
standing on a platform of the same shape but of 5.2 m. side
(Plate 40). Each cardinal side of the tomb has a rectangular
recess, pierced by a 1.2 m. broad arched entrance and a
ventilator above. Each diagonal side has a semi-octagonal
recess in it. Below the parapet is projected a deep shajja,
supported on carved stone brackets. A slightly stilted dome
is poised on the structure.

The tomb chamber measures 5.2 m. square. Each corner of the
room is bridged with a tall arch, converting the square of the
room into an octagon of alternately large and small arms.
Stalactites have been used to appropriate this shape to the
circular base of the dome.

A flight of stairs in the southern wall approaches the roof
of the tomb.

This tomb is made of brick and rubble, covered with plaster,
polished to mirror brightness. The exterior as well as the
interior was highly embellished with painted geometrical and
arabesque designs. While the decoration on the inner walls retains
its red pigment, only the incised outlines of the patterns
survive on the exterior.

Now the tomb chamber has no grave. The crypt of the tomb
in which actual burial took place, is extant.

The tomb once stood in a walled in square enclosure of 23.5 m.
side. Only a small portion of this enclosing wall is extant.

The tomb is devoid of any inscription. Traditionally, it
is associated with the name of one Sheikh Shahbaz.

One Shahbaz Khan Kambu lived during the reign of Akbar. But he lies buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwaza
Maimuddin Chishti at Ajmer. 36 Another Shahban Khan lived during the reign of Shah Jahan and was killed in 1600 A.H. 37 (the year began the 31st July, 1630). The name of the only person from Palwal, mentioned in medieval chronicles that the present

...has come across was Shahab Khan Turkoman who was executed by Akbar for giving shelter to an insurgent Muhammad Amin Divana, in 974 A.H. 38 (the year began the 19th July, 1666).

It is not known for certain if the men buried in the tomb at Palwal was any one of the persons mentioned above.

In appearance, this tomb is quite similar to the tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul. Hence, it may be roughly contemporaneous with it.

Tomb of Jalaluddin at Thanedar (District Kurukshetra)

The tomb stands on a high platform to the north of the town (Plate 41).

It is a square building measuring 5.7 m. side outside and 5.0 m. inside (Fig. XXIV). The structure is formed by twelve red sandstone pillars, each 0.4 m. square at base. The middle pillars are set 1.9 m. apart and those on the sides only 1.28 m. apart. The pillars support carved brackets and then beams. The brackets carry the eaves running right round the building. One beam is placed diagonally across each corner which makes the square an octagon. Again the same treatment converts it to a sixteen-sided figure which supports the circular rim of the hemi-spherical dome. An inverted lotus moulding and a kalasa finial surmounts the dome.

The interstices between the pillars, but for the entrance are filled with lattices and masonry. The plinth of the tomb
is 0.7 m. high and has its top carved with a frieze of petals.

Under the eaves runs "an Arabic inscription, a quotation, going round the two sides and the back of the tomb.... On the side or front the Tughra Arabic gives place to Nastaliq Persian, highly embellished with scrolls and foliage, but, illegible."39

The bases of all the pillars and the inner side of the lintel have carved decorations. The parapet of the tomb has merlons. Each merlon on the front side has a flower carved in it whereas each of the rest of the three sides has merlons with the word 'Allah' in them.

The tomb enshrines only one grave.

Jalaluddin, the person who lies buried in this tomb was a famous saint in Akbar's time. Badaoni gives an account of his life.40 He was the Khalifa or the deputy of Sheikh Abdul Cuddus Gangoh.41 He died in the year 959 A.H.42 (the year began the 5th February, 1551). Hence the date of erection of this tomb must also have been approximate to this date.

Tomb of Shah Nizam at Narnaul (District Mahinderwars)

The tomb is situated in the locality known as Pir Agha. It forms the nucleus of the Dargah of Shah Nizam, but now it has been appropriated for a residence.

The building measures 9.6 m. square from outside and 6.4 m. square from inside (Plate 42). Each face of the building has an arched recess. But for the western side, each recess is pierced by a rectangular entrance. But only one side is open now, the other two having been bricked up. The western side of the tomb was sealed so as to accommodate a mihrab on the inner side.
On the exterior, the dead surface on either side of each arched recess is relieved with two sunken panels. Decorative crenellations mark the parapet of the tomb. The building is covered with a dome carried on an octagonal drum, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a finial. A peculiar feature of the dome of this tomb and some of the other tombs at Haran is the stepping stones projected on their curved surfaces.

The whole building is plastered. Traces of former painted designs are still visible on the eastern wall, parapet and drum.

The tomb bears no inscription now. But, about the beginning of our century, G. Yandani noticed an inscription on it which he translated as follows: ¹²

"Alas! the leader of the world, the administrator of religion, has passed away whose holy nature was kneaded out of pure light. The exalted Shaikh, as he has an angelic disposition, so when I counted the date of his death, it came out, 'He was an angel' - 997 A.H." (the year began the 10th November, 1588).

Shaikh Nissam, called "Shaikh Nissam-u-Din" by Badaoni was a disciple of Sheikh Khanaan of the Chishti order. ¹⁴ Badaoni gives some details of his life. ¹⁵ The date of his death, as recorded in the said inscription, is corroborated by Badaoni. ¹⁶ Another chronogram "Ab Nissam" or "Ali for Nissam" was written on this occasion. ¹⁷ The words of this chronogram also give the same date, i.e., 997 A.H. ¹⁸

Tomb of Shenaher Khan at Batala (District Gurdaspur)

Situated to the southeast of the town, near Baring College, is the tomb of Shenaher Khan (Plate 43). ¹⁹ Locally, it is
called **Maddara**, an Arabic word for a 'tomb'.

The tomb stands on a raised plinth measuring 39 m. by 34 m. surrounded by a low wall. The wall on the western side has a small mihrab. Each angle of the platform is marked by a circular bastion, covered with a dome. Each bastion accommodates a small room in it. The tomb, planted in the middle of the platform, is approached through a simple gateway projected on the southern side.

The tomb is an octagonal structure with alternating sides measuring 8.3 m. and 6.1 m. length. Each wall has two storereys of recesses on the exterior. The recesses in the smaller sides are semi-octagonal whereas those in the cardinal sides are rectangular in shape, all covered with pointed arches. On either side of the recesses is a vertical row of sunken panels.

An archway in the southern wall gives access to the interior which is a regular octagon of 3.0 m. side. As on the exterior, each of its walls is also treated with two-storey recessions. A cornice like moulding separates the two storeys.

A flight of steps in the right hand wall of the entrance leads in a 0.75 m. broad intermediate gallery, revolving right round the building. Another stairway reaches the roof of the building. The height of the tomb upto parapet is 10.4 m. A low dome resting on a 1.6 m. high drum roofs the tomb. The surface of the dome is divided by moulded plaster flutes. A sheath of lotus petals crowns the dome.

The interior and exterior of the tomb had been richly adorned with paintings, floral and geometrical designs, **SVG** from the Qur'an and Persian verses. The decoration is
extent on the interior but on the exterior only the traces of
the decoration survive. Along the base of the soffit of the
dome runs a design of swastikas (Plate 44). The soffit is painted
with panels depicting vase & flower motif, trees, plants and
flowers etc. Painted birds can be seen on the façade of the
entrance. The colour palette is limited to deep bluish green
and Indian red.

The interior of the gateway also bears some traces of painted
decorations. The whole of its outer surface had been originally
painted with imitation brickwork in red and white.

Stalactites appear on the soffits of the recesses on the
exterior.

Over the entrance arch of the tomb is fixed an inscription
stone measuring 61 cm. by 38 cm. The raised letters of the
inscription have been carved with great skill. Wahid Mirza has
rendered the text of the inscription into English as follows:51

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.
Praise be to God who made possible the construction of this
tomb and mosque and garden for the sake of Divine pleasure. It
was commenced on the 28th of the month of Safar in the year
997 A.H. (3rd January, 1909) and completed on the 10th of
Ramsan in the year 998 of the migration of the Prophet (3rd
July, 1900) during the caliphate of the Imam of Islam and the
Muslims, Abdul Fath Jalaaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah-i-Ghuri.
The builder thereof (is) one who hopes for the mercy of God,
the Benevolent, the weakest of (His) creatures Shamsah Khan,
son of Dastgir Khan Rajput, living in the patwana... of BARKAT
Manikpur - may God forgive him and cover up his sins! "
The inscription does not say anything about the erection of the tomb. It was, perhaps, erected as a part of the garden so as to serve as a pleasure house during Shamsher Khan's lifetime and later to be converted into a place of burial for him. Hence its erection was not mentioned separately. Therefore, the date mentioned in the inscription may also be taken as the date of construction of the tomb.

Not much is known about Shamsher Khan. In the Gurdaspur District Gazetteer (1883-84), he is mentioned as Akbar's foster-brother, but the source on which the author bases his information is not known. Sajan Rai Bhandari calls him Shamsher Khan Khassasara. According to him, the Khan was a kavari of parchana Batala during the reign of Akbar. The present scholar however, has not been able to trace any reference to him in the chronicles of the period.

A homonymous person was the shiqar of parchana Rohtak. He laid the foundation of a gateway at Khokakot (on the outskirts of Rohtak) in Ramzan, 973 A.H. (the month began the 22nd March, 1566) and about two years later built a tomb over the grave of Pir Shafi Dil at Rohtak.

It still remains a conjecture whether or not they are the same person.

Tomb of Hussain Khan at Bahlolpur (District Ludhiana)

The tomb is situated to the northeast of the village (Plate 45).

On the exterior, it is an octagonal structure of 6.4 m. side having slightly sloping walls (Fig. XXV). Each of its facade is treated with two-storey recessions and both are semi-domed. Alternate recesses open into the building. The upper
storey of the recesses which has a metre broad gallery around it, was approached by a flight of stairs in the southern wall, now crumbled (Fig. XXVI). Another stairway in the northeast side of the second storey leads to the roof, 9.8 m. above ground. A three metre high octagonal drum rises from the roof. Originally, it supported the outer shell of the hemi-spherical double dome which once covered the tomb. The finial surmounting the dome was missing even when Rodgers saw it in 1888-89 A.D.

An opening in each cardinal side leads to the square interior of 7.3 m. side. The walls of the tomb are 4.3 m. thick. Each wall of the interior has been relieved with one large, sunken, engrailed arch further containing sunken panels. The transition from the square of the room to the dome is achieved by an arch in each corner.

The soffits of the squinch arches still bear traces of painted designs in viridian, red and yellow ochre colours which are there also on the rim of the dome. The traces of stucco stalactites can also be seen on the soffits of the corner arches. Wooden beams embedded in the walls to reinforce them, are still to be found in the southern wall.

In its pristine condition, the building was covered with plaster which had come off even before Rodgers' visit. As a result, the tomb offered him a precarious look. At present, the southern wall of the tomb as well as the whole of its dome has crumbled.

Nothing is known about Hussain Khan with whom the tomb is traditionally associated. As per the local tradition, the tomb is believed to have been erected in the time of Akbar. In appearance, it is not far removed from the tomb of Shanusher Khan at Betala. Hence, its attribution to the period of Akbar may
not be much off the mark.

**Tombs at Jhajjar (District Rohtak)**

Outside the town of Jhajjar, on the road to Delhi, is a group of seven tombs or better called graveyards (Fig. XXVII & Plate 46). Three others have already completely crumbled. Together, they represent a unique style.

Each graveyard comprises a rectangular platform, having an octagonal bastion at each corner and approached by a flight of steps. Each of them has a mosque or Idgah towards the western side of the platform. Two of these also have octagonal or cupolas. Five tombs bear inscriptions. But the contents of the most of them are verses from the Qura. Only four inscriptions are historical in nature.

The material used for their construction is invariably what is locally called bighaya kankar. Brick has been used only in tomb number VII. In most of them, red sandstone has been used for decoration, providing a beautiful colour note to the otherwise monotonous grey colour of kankar blocks. Another of their characteristic features is the presence of moulded bosses in spandrels of arches. Most of the tombstones have been upturned and disturbed by treasure-seekers.

The earliest dated monument of the group is the tomb of Miyan Raib (number VI in the plan & Plate 47). The platform of the tomb measures 14.9 m. by 13.0 m. Its gateway bears a finely carved inscription (Plate 48). The text of the inscription has been translated by P. Horn as follows:

"In the time of Shah Akbar, by whose justice came blessing upon the crown of the world... Miyan Raib, son of Piya. The
town full of light, Jhajjar, is the repose of all nobles. In
the year 1002, in the month of Ramazn..." (the month began
the 11th "ay, 1994)

The inner side of the gateway also has some inscribed
medallions bearing ' La Ille...'.

To the western side of the tomb is an Idghah. Each corner
of the mihrab and the Idghah is marked with a minaret. This wall
bears three Quranic inscriptions.

In the midst of the platform is planted a red sandstone
chhatris or cupola. It is octagonal in shape, each side measuring
2.0 m. side. It is supported on eight octagonal pillars bearing
brackets. The dome of the chhatris is surmounted by an inverted
lotus moulding and kalasa finial. Wide eaves encircle the dome.
Under this cupola, there are two richly carved tombstones. The
inscription on one of these contains the kalasa and the words -
Qabr-i-Miyan Raib and around the open middle space runs the
Fatiha. At the base of the stone a Persian sentence has been
engraved which means "Whatsoever came has gone." The second
tombstone bears the name of Ghiasuddin. There is a grave
to the right of the cupola too.

Miyan Raib, one of the persons interred in the tomb also
built a mosque in the town which was completed on the 10th
Zilhajj, 989 (9th January, 1582). The mosque is not extant-
to-date.

The next dated tomb (number III in plan) is generally
referred to as the tomb of Abdus Samad.

The platform of the tomb is approached through a gateway
on the southern side. There stands a cupola of 1.7 m. side just
opposite the gateway. To the west of the cupola is a mosque. Entered through three archways in the eastern wall, the mosque comprises a single room. Its northern and southern sides each has an opening. The sides of the interior are covered with semi-domical ceilings and the central portion, over the mihrab, with a dome. The western wall has five turrets in all, two of which are of smaller size. The corner turrets terminate into lotus flower pinnacles.

The mosque and the ceiling of the gateway are richly decorated. The masonry joints of kankar blocks are marked white. The facade of the mosque is divided into sunken panels filled with red sandstone bearing either an inscription or a carved design. The interior has been plastered and richly painted. The motifs comprise arabesques, floral borders, calligraphic medallions, geometrical designs and vase and flowers. The last motif also appears in carved form on the exterior.

There are five inscriptions above the central arch of the mosque. Only one of these, the central one, is of historical value. It comprises six verses in Persian. F. Horn’s translation of the inscription runs as follows: 66

"In a good career is the faith of Islam in the time of the king Nuraddin (Jahangir) O God! may his justice and equity stand firm and solid a thousand years! This masjid has been built by Ismail Irsh [the correct reading of the word is 'ibs' meaning 'son of'] Raib, who is a student of the faith. I asked the mind the date-year, the guiding mind(said) to me '1020' [began 16th March, 1611]. (I), a hermit, the poor Abd es-Samad, the son of Maken, who belongs to the family of the Abbassides,
to the companions of Muhammad the Arabian, the pious ones in
the high Paradise."

The name of Abdus Samad, son of Makan appears also in the
inscription (not extant ...) on the northwestern arch of a
small burj on the western side of the tank of Shah Kamal Ghazi
in the same town, built by Rai Rayan Rai Durga Mal in 1036 A.H.
(the year began the 12th September, 1626). According to the
Rehtak District Gazetteer, Abdus Samad and his father Makan
lie buried in the Banerwala Mosque. Therefore, most probably,
the person buried in the tomb is Ismail son of Miyan Raib,
the builder of the mosque and not Abdus Samad, son of Makan.
Rodgers names the tomb correctly. Abdus Samad might have
been the composer of the inscriptions.

Next in chronological order is the tomb of Hasan Shahi
(number V in the plan). Its platform measures 12.0 m. by 10.2 m.
The front bastions of the platform are larger in size than those
on the rear corners. A 2.0 m. broad flight of stairs gives
access to the platform through a gateway. Perhaps, it was
originally provided with wooden doors as the hinges for the
same are extant.

The courtyard has four graves.
The western side of the platform is closed by the Idgah
wall. The rear corners are marked with a minaret each. Here
again, the joints of the kemkar blocks are marked white. Some
trees of painted decoration are also visible.
The Idgah wall carries four inscriptions, two over the
mihrab, the other two on the right hand side. The left hand side
has crumbled. It also might have borne two inscriptions. Only
the lower inscription on the mihrab is of an historical value.
P. Maen's translation of the inscription reads as follows: 70

"In the time of Jahangir, the king of the world, this light tomb of Masum Shahid has been made. The date of it for a tomb has been brought by somebody (?) in the year 1035." (the year began the 23rd September, 1625).

Dr. Balqis Raj Anand gives the date 1596-97 A.D. which is not correct. 71

Nothing is known about Nur Shahid.

The eastern most monument is the latest among the dated ones of the group. Its platform measures 26.4 m. by 17.9 m. and rises to a height of 3.7 m. Each corner of the platform is marked with an bastion of 1.6 m. side, covered with a platform projected on brackets. The main platform is approached by a 6.5 m. long and 2.8 m. broad flight of steps on the eastern side. Some graves lie scattered in the courtyard.

A mosque rests on the western side of the platform. It covers a plinth area, measuring 9.6 m. by 5.5 m. The mosque comprises a single chamber measuring 7.8 m. by 3.2 m. It has three entrances on the eastern side and one each on the northern and the southern side. All the five entrances are of the same size. One mihrab is recessed in the western wall. The sides of the chamber are covered with semi-domical ceilings, leaving an almost square portion in the middle, above which rises a dome. On the exterior, the dome stands on an octagonal drum and has been surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding. Each corner of the facade is marked by an octagonal pilaster and each rear corner by an octagonal turret terminating into a minaret.

The facade of the mosque has been decorated with carved
vase and flowers designs. Along the parapet runs the usual flower pattern in relief, having a crimson red painted background. This pattern also encircles the top of the octagonal drum of the dome. Moulded stalactites appear on the soffits of the side semi-domes and the pendentives of the main dome. The masonry joints of the keaker blocks are marked white.

The mosque bears five inscriptions, four of which exhibit Quranic verses. The lower inscription over the central arch of the facade gives the date of erection of the mosque and the name of its builder. P. Horn has translated the text of the inscription as follows: 72

"By the grace and favour of the aid of the settler of the world, this high place has been arranged and constructed. Kalal Khan has built this high mosque in the time of Shahjahan, the refuge of men. It was in the year 1039 [began the 21st August 1629], God - may he be honoured and exalted! - keeps it in safety and security." But according to Cunningham, the year 1039 A.H. began the 11th August, 1629. 74

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand gives its date as "1009 Hijri or 1600 A.D." which is not correct. 75

Little is known about Kalal Khan, the builder of the mosque. Most probably, he lies interred in one of the graves in the courtyard of the mosque.

The remaining three tombs are dateless.

Of these, the tomb number II is the largest of the group. The tomb proper is an octagonal building of 5.1 m. side and rises to a height of 7.7 m. 76 Each cardinal side of the building has a 1.9 m. deep rectangular recess covered with a semi-dome.
Each recess but for the western one, is pierced by an arched entrance and a ventilator above. All the three entrances are provided with stone hinges which once held the doors. The recesses in the diagonal sides are merely 0.6 m. deep.

The interior of the tomb measures 6.4 m. square. The western wall of the room accommodates a mihrab. One arch in each of its corners converts it into an octagon which supports the circular rim of the dome. One flight of stairs in the southern wall approaches the roof of the tomb where a 1.8 m. high octagonal drum of 1.6 m. side supports the semi-spherical dome. The roof has water spouts to throw away rain water.

Unlike the other monuments of the group, red sandstone has not been used in this tomb. But it has traces of rich decoration painted in viridian, yellow ochre and Indian red colours on the mihrab, squinches, soffit of the dome and spandrels. The painted decoration comprises arabesque and geometrical designs. The painting is of the incised type in which first a layer of colour was laid and the design traced over it; then according to the need of the design some parts of the coloured layer were scrapped off. Stalactites appear on the soffits of the corner arches and below the rim of the dome. Besides the decoration cited above, the interior walls have some sunken panels also which contain decorative suspended arches.

Close to the tomb stands an octagonal shahra of 1.9 m. side. It is made of octagonal grey stone pillars having quadruple brackets.

The tomb and the shahra sit on a platform measuring 36.0 m. by 24.6 m., accessible by a three metre broad flight of steps.
The western side of the platform has a wall provided with recesses. The larger and deeper central recess forms the mihrab.

It remains to ascertain who lies buried in the tomb as it has neither any inscription nor is it traditionally associated with the name of any person. But one thing is certain that it was erected before the tomb of Ismail (number III in the plan) because all the tombs of the group have their entrances on the eastern side but the said tomb is entered from the southern side as its eastern side had already been blocked by the tomb just described. Therefore, the upper limit of its date of erection seems to be 1030 A.H. (the year began the 16th March, 1611).

The tomb number IV is quite similar to the tomb number V. Its Idgah wall was complete when the present scholar visited the place in 1980 A.D. but the southern portion crumbled later on. There was one inscription over each arch, four of which are still extant. The Ayat from the Quran form the content of these inscriptions. Some of the red sandstone panels are carved with the niche and flower motifs. It appears that, in its pristine condition, each corner of the Idgah terminated into a minaret just like in the tomb of Hasan Shahid.

The tomb number VII resembles the tomb numbers IV and V. But brick has also been used in this tomb and the whole of its body was originally plastered. The only form of decoration here is designed sunken panels. Its northern portion has crumbled. Two graves occupy the courtyard. It bears no inscription either Quranic or historical.

Nothing is known about the persons mentioned in the inscriptions on these tombs. They appear to have been personages of some local importance.
All the tombs are now overgrown with rank vegetation. Most of the graves have been dug out over and over again by the treasure-seekers. The people of the town defecate in these monuments.

**Tomb of Jamil Beg at Kalanpur (District Gardaonur)**

The tomb stands about one kilometre to the northwest of the town. It was in a precarious condition even when Rodgers saw it, about a hundred years ago. He reports that the tomb "has been so injured by neglect and by vandalism that its four side walls and the dome are cracked and full of holes."77 He suggests "the tomb should certainly be repaired, it would be impossible to restore it except at great cost."78 It seems that nobody paid any heed to Rodgers' suggestion. Now it is a wreck. All that survives of this once a monumental building, is the parts of its walls with precarious cracks (Plate 49).

The tomb stands on a high square platform of 27.5 m. side but at present, only its western side survives. The tomb used to be a square building with slightly sloping walls, measuring 12.5 m. square outside and 6.4 m. square inside. Each of its four sides was pierced by a recessed doorway with a pointed arch which was covered with a second loftier arch. There was a ventilator above each arch. Wooden beams were inserted in the walls during construction, especially above arched openings, as is visible in some parts. In the corners of the building, there are the remains of the method by which the circular rim of the dome was supported at the place where it crossed the angles of the square hall that it roofed. Each corner of the hall was spanned with an arch converting the square shape to an octagon which supported a double dome.79 The inner shell of the double dome was only "three thin bricks thick" and was "beautifully
The ribs of the groins were not all there even during the last century and consequently, a part of the inner dome had crumbled. The outer shell of the dome stood on a drum, a small section of which is still extant. The dome was surrounded with four minarets, one at each corner of the tomb, still extant on the southwest corner.

The floor of the tomb and the tombstone of Jamil Beg were made of sang-i-abri, a special kind of stone. Nearby, there was a small tomb made of the same stone. The tomb of the father of Jamil Beg was to the east.

This brick building was plastered and polished to imitate marble. Inside and outside, the walls are panelled into niches of various shapes. Some of them also have cusped arches. These panels were embellished with quite rich decorations painted in brick red, chocolate and blue colours. The decorative scheme exhibits a number of geometrical and arabesque designs. A geometrical design formed with swastika motif is particularly pleasing. Painted medallions appear in spandrels and on the soffits of the semi-domes. A vase and flowers motif is also visible on the southern wall. All painted decorations are of the incised type.

The soffits of the squinches are loaded with adroitly composed stelactites, moulded in stucco. In its pristine condition, some Persian stanzas, beautifully executed in raised stucco letters ran on the interior walls of the tomb. Two of them are extant on the eastern wall. According to Rodgers, these lines express the grief of a father at the death of his son.

Nothing is known about Jamil Beg. Rodgers records a local tradition which says "he was fighting against the hill Rajahs
(of Harpur or Kangra), and was killed in the skirts of the
mountains, but that his headless trunk came on fighting to
Kalmar where it entered the earth." This tradition, however,
does not help fix the chronology of the tomb. The style of the
building indicates that the date of construction falls within
the period of Akbar.

**Tomb of Haji Muhammad at Sirhind (District Patiala)**

The tomb is situated just outside the Aam Qas Bagh at
Sirhind. The building is octagonal, standing on a platform of
the same shape (Fig. XXVIII & Plate 50). It has sloping walls.
Each face of the building is 4.4 m. long having a large recess,
1.3 m. deep, on cardinal sides and a 0.6 m. deep recess on the
others. The recess in the southern wall is pierced with an
arched entrance, giving access to the 6.6 m. square interior.
It has a recess in each wall and a beautifully carved cenotaph
in the middle of the chamber.

The building is mounted with a single dome, carried on an
octagonal drum and surmounted by an inverted lotus moulding. The
walls of the building are relieved with sunken panels and alcoves.

The top of the cenotaph has a Persian inscription of seven
lines. Its last line records the date of the death of Haji Muhammad in the form of a chronogram - "Bahlisht shud" 
(May paradise be his!). According to the Ahjad system, the
chronogram gives the date 1014 A.H. (the year began the 9th May,
1603).

Nothing is known about Haji Muhammad, the man interred in the
tomb.
Tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahloolpur (District Ludhiana)

To the north of the tomb of Hussain Khan, on the south bank of the Buddha Nala (a small off-shoot of the Sutlej) stands the tomb of Bahadur Khan (Plate 51). He is believed to be the son of Hussain Khan. It is better preserved than the tomb nearby.

Standing on an octagonal platform of 6.8 m. side, the tomb is itself an octagon of 5.5 m. sides alternating with 0.2 m. smaller sides (Fig. XXIX). Its slightly sloping walls rise to a height of 7.3 m. from the platform.

Each face of the tomb has one large arched recess which on cardinal sides has a 1.5 m. broad archway and a ventilator above it. Three of its entrances have been bricked up. The interior is a regular octagon of 3.1 m. side. It enshrines three graves. The tomb has a crypt also in which the actual burials took place.

A staircase in the southwestern wall leads to the roof where it is covered with an incongruous structure. The building is covered with a single dome without a drum. The intermediate gallery of the tomb nearby is also missing here as it is a single-storeyed structure.

The interior of the tomb is plastered. Perhaps, the exterior was also plastered but no vestige is extant thereof.

The ground in the vicinity of the tomb is strewn with graves.

The building bears neither any inscription nor has it any specific architectural or decorative feature to help fix its chronology. It is unknown who Bahadur Khan was. He and one Bahlool Khan are believed to have founded the town of Bahloolpur (now merely a small village) during the reign of Akbar. According to the Ludhiana District Gazetteer, their descendants owned land in the area and resided in the village until the opening of our century.
Tomb at Sultanpur Lodi (District Kepurthala)

The tomb stands outside the town, across the rivulet Kali-Veni (Plate 52). It is badly cracked. These days, it is being restored by the Department of Archaeology, Punjab.

The building is an irregular octagon of four large sides alternated with four small sides, measuring 11.2 m. and 5.8 m. respectively. Each cardinal side of the tomb has a large rectangular recess, covered with a pointed arch. There is a vertical row of sunken panels on either side of the recesses. Each arched recess contains two openings, one above the other. The lower forms the entrance and the upper a ventilator. Each small side of the tomb has two storeys of semi-octagonal recesses.

The upper recesses along with their joining galleries form the middle storey of the tomb, approached by four flights of stairs. But thereafter, only one staircase reaches the top of the building where it is roofed by an incongruous structure, detracting from the symmetry of the tomb (like the tomb of Bahadur Khan at Bahloolpur).

The alternate sides of the interior of the tomb measure 3.6 m. and 3.4 m. respectively. Here also, each wall has two storeys of recesses. The upper storey recesses are also open, hence providing ample light to the interior. The whole building is covered with a low single dome, without a drum.

The tomb has no grave at present.

Previously, the building was covered with plaster polished to mirror brightness. The use of jute as a binder in the ghunam layers can be seen on the soffits of the middle-storey recesses. The soffits of the lower-storey recesses on the exterior and
those of the entrance arches on the inner side bear stalactites.

The tomb bears no inscription, neither has it been associated with the name of any person. In plan and elevation, it bears close resemblance to the tomb of Shamsger Khan at Batala. Hence, on a general analogy, the erection of this tomb can also be placed in the later half of the sixteenth century.

**Tomb of Ustad at Nakodar (District Jalandhar)**

There are two fine Mughal tombs, situated close together, at Nakodar. They are popularly known — the first as that of the Ustad or the teacher and the other that of his Shagird or the pupil.

The ground plan of the tomb of Ustad is an octagon of four large and four small sides (Fig. XXX & Plate 53). Each large side measures 9.8 m. and the small one 6.4 m. These sides enclose a square room of 9.0 m. side. Each large face of the tomb has a rectangular recess, pierced by a doorway and two ventilators. The eastern and the western doorways and all the ventilators are screened with trellis-work, composed of small units of lattices. The northern doorway was, perhaps, also screened in the same manner. Each small side of the tomb has two recesses, the lower one is semi-octagonal and the upper one rectangular. Two flights of steps (each 0.8 m. broad) on the northern and the southern sides each, communicate with the upper recesses. But only one staircase reaches the roof of the tomb where it opens under a pentagonal structure. There are three more such structures, instead of seven.

The tomb is crowned with a dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a pinnacle.

At present, there is no sarcophagus in the tomb. But in November, 1938, Cunningham noticed two very elegant and highly polished sarcophagi of sienna-coloured marble, inlaid with white
The tomb stands on a 1.6 m. high octagonal platform of 14.6 m. and 11.2 m. alternate sides. This platform, paved with octagonal bricks, is approached by a double flight of steps on the northern and the southern sides. This platform accommodates the crypt of the tomb where there are the true sarcophagi. The entrance to the crypt is in the southern side, from under the staircase. The sides of the platform are plain.

The most significant feature of the tomb is its decoration. The spandrels of arches, middle panels, parapet and corner structures are encrusted with glazed tiles of yellow, blue and green colours. All the patterns are geometrical, composed of star and octagon shapes. The joints of the glazed tiles are separated by thin raised ridges of plaster. It was a characteristic of the glazed tile work of the early seventeenth century.

Cunningham noticed the same peculiarity in the glazed tile work of Jahangir's palace at Lahore. The other example of this type of work can be seen on the gateways of the sarai at Derahal.

The tile work is supplemented with paintings executed in dark green and Indian red colours. The lower panels have the vase and flowers motif and the upper panels that of a flowering plant or a tree. Animate motifs also appear in two of the upper panels. In one of these, there is a monkey sitting in a date tree and in the other a serpent girdling the trunk of a tree.

A circular design in yellow ochre, viridian, dark green and Indian red is painted on the soffit of the dome.

The soffits of the squinches and the upper arches bear moulded stalactites and the soffits of the corner recesses on the exterior
have painted stalactites.

The remaining surface on the exterior, surrounding the glassed-tiled and painted panels was decorated with imitation brickwork in red and white, the traces of which are still in existence.

The interior of the tomb has a marble-like coating of plaster. The border of the long inscription in white against a dark green background, running right round the walls on the interior, proclaims the divine message.

An inscription on the exterior tells us that it is the "Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, Muhammad Munin, Huseni, A.H. 1021591 (the year began the 23rd February, 1612.)

In Blochmann's translation of the Alp-i-Akhbar, one Muhammad Munin is referred to as a tambura player.92 And the further information has been furnished in a footnote that according to Megir-i-Rehimi "Muhammad Munin, alias Hafizak, a tambura-player" was one of the musicians in the service of Khan Khanan.93

The tomb of Ustad, along with the tomb of Shagird was originally placed in a garden now destroyed. One gateway and a structure in the garden is still in existence. General Cunningham noticed some trees in the garden during his visit in 1879 A.D.94 These trees were extant when the present scholar visited the tomb in 1979 A.D.

In his Memoirs, Jahangir refers to a grant of Rs 20,000, made by his father Akbar, for building an embankment and a waterfall at Nakoder.95 Jahangir himself ordered Muns-ul-Mulk, the jagirdar of Nakoder, to erect a building and to lay out a garden on one side of this embankment.96 Most probably, the reference is to the garden mentioned above.
Tomb at Murdian (District Jhurtaar)

The tomb stands to the west of the village (Plate 54).

The building is an octagon of four large and four small sides, measuring 6.2 m. and 3.1 m. respectively (Fig. XXXI). Each cardinal side of the building has a recess, covered with a pointed arch. Contained in each recess is one, almost flat-headed archway. All archways, but for the northern one, have been bricked up. There is a ventilator, filled with simple jali-work above each of the entrances. Each diagonal side of the tomb has two storeys of semi-octagonal recesses. On either side of the recesses in each face, is a vertical row of sunken panels.

Two flights of stairs from its northern and the southern sides each, communicate with the upper storey corner recesses. But only one of these staircases reaches the roof of the building where it is covered with a pavilion, as is seen in the tomb at Sultanpur Lodhi. The parapet of the building is 7.5 m. high.

From the roof of the tomb rises a two metre high drum, supporting the outer shell of the double dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding, a finial.

The interior of the tomb is a square of 5.6 m. side. Its walls have semi-octagonal recesses, one on each side of each entrance. Each corner of the room has an arch which supports the domical ceiling of the room.

The whole of the building bore a very fine cover of plaster. Some portions still have marble-like finish. In sections which are partially peeled off, the plaster shows three layers: the lowermost coarse and textured with chisel-like marks, the second a little finer and the finest one at the top.
Stalactites appear on the soffits of the arched recesses on the interior and the exterior. They form a pattern of prisms developing into stars. Traces of some painted decorations, executed in Indian red, dark green and yellow ocher are visible on the drum and the pavilion covering the staircase on the roof. The floor of the recess on the southern side is paved with painted glazed tiles. But the work is of quite a later date.

There is no grave inside the tomb, at present. But a marble tombstone lies outside the tomb. Perhaps, this tombstone, originally covered the grave inside the tomb.

The tomb bears no inscription to tell the date of its erection but tradition says that it was built for Nurdin who is said to have erected a sarai at this palace and given his name to the village. 97

The present scholar came across a reference to Nurdin and his son in the Mehan-Kosh. 98 It records that the fifth Sikh Guru Arjun Dev purchased the land of the villages Palasoor and Khara for 157,000 and got a tank dug there in 1590 A.D. Six years later, in 1596 A.D., the Guru founded the town of Tarn Taran there. Bricks were prepared for making the tank parag and for erecting a Gurudwara. But Amiruddin, son of Nurdin, took away the bricks by force and appropriated them to build a sarai and his residence etc. According to this source, the builder of the sarai was not Nurdin, but his son Amiruddin. Probabey, he also built the tomb either for his father or for himself.

Stylistically, the tomb approximates the tomb of the Ustad at Nakodar and the undated tomb at Sultanpur Lodi. The former tomb was erected in 1612 A.D. The tomb at Nurdin can also be dated roughly about the same period.
Tomb of Ustad at Sirhind (District Patiala)

The tomb is situated about two kilometre west of the railway station, Fatehgarh Sahib (Plate 55).99

The structure occupies the middle of a brick platform, 39.3 m. square and 2.5 m. high. Besides adding to the effect of the edifice, this platform accommodates the crypt enshrining the real graves.

The tomb itself measures 23.8 m. square and soars to an imposing height of 21.0 m. above platform. In plan, the structure comprises a central room, 8.5 m. square, faced on all the four sides with a 7.0 m. broad and 5.2 m. deep porch (Fig. XXXII). Each corner of the tomb has a double storeyed room, 3.9 m. square. These corner rooms and porches open into one another forming a type of circumambulatory around the central room. It was, perhaps, intended for the same purpose as the ritual of circumambulation was not uncommon among the Muslims.

Two flights of stairs in the southern porch lead to the rooms on the upper storey (Fig. XXXIII). Each flight serves two rooms. Again, two flights of stairs, thence, communicate to the roof of the tomb.

All the four facades of the tomb are substantially alike in elevation. Each facade is dominated by a 9.0 m. high, semi-domed iwan. The iwan is relieved on either side by two storeys of similar but smaller recesses. Each corner of the tomb is adorned with a cupola. The one on the northeast corner crumbled long ago. Although, these cupolas give a certain lightness to the structure, their size is far too small. Sitting on a slightly sloping circular drum, the large central dome is 13.2 m. in diameter. It terminates not in a pinnacle but in a chhatris -
an appropriate and elegant summit to the whole edifice. The present scholar has come across this type of finial for a dome in two other tombs - the tomb of Mubarak Sayyid (c. 1434 A.D.) and the tomb of Poți (c. 1506 A.D.), both in Delhi. M. Goetz mentions a similar finial on the tomb of Fateh Jang at Alwar (1567 A.D.) also. 108

The surviving traces show that, in its pristine condition, the whole building was plastered. The drum and the dome show the same still but the plaster has completely come off from the walls of the tomb.

The central room enshrines four graves, more or less damaged. The tomb bears no inscription.

Cunningham places its construction in the fifteenth century 109 and Goetz in the beginning years of the Mughal rule in India, under Babur. 110 But the well-developed double dome and semi-domed arch of the tomb do not allow it to be placed before the tomb of Humayun (1565 A.D.) because in this tomb at Delhi, double dome appeared in a ripe form for the first time in India. 111

General Cunningham visited Sirhind in 1863-64 A.D. At that time, a tradition attributed the tomb of Ustad to some Sayyid Khan Pathan. 112 There are several references in medieval chronicles to one Said Khan Chaghtai who lived during the reigns of Akbar and that of Jahangir. From 1576 to 1585 A.D., he served as the governor of Punjab. 113 The date of his death is not known. In the contemporary chronicles, however, the last reference to his being alive appeared in May, 1612 in the Manuscript of emperor Jahangir. 114 After Said Khan's death, he was buried in "the garden at Sirhind." 115 Most probably, one and the same
person is the Sayyid Khan Pathan of the lore and Said Khan of
his story. His son Beglar Khan (original name Sasauliah) served
under Shah Jahan and died in 1630 A.D.108 His body was interred
at Sirhind in his father's tomb.109 It implies that the tomb of
his father Said Khan, already existed at Sirhind. Therefore,
the tomb of Usted or that of Said Khan, seems to have been
built during the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Tomb of Shahird at Sirhind (District Patiala)
This tomb stands quite near the tomb of Usted (Plate 36).110
It is quite similar to the preceding tomb in plan as well
as in elevation (Fig. XXXIV). But it shows a definite refinement
of proportions than the tomb of Usted. The tomb covers a slightly
smaller area as it measures 21.5 m. square outside. Formerly,
it stood on a 44.0 m. by 43.7 m. and 3.15 m. high platform, the
sides and corners of which have partially crumbled. Here, the
square corner cupolas are larger in size, each measuring 4.26 m.
square. But they are in better proportion with the central dome
than those in the tomb of Usted. The domes of the cupolas are
also double. Above all hangs a double dome, rising above an
octagonal drum. Each side of this drum is pierced by an arched
recess, the alternate sides having entrances leading into the
dome. The finial that once surmounted the dome is missing at
present.

Instead of two flights of stairs as are seen in the tomb
of Usted, there are four in this one, one leading from each
porch (Fig. XXXV). Each flight serves one upper room wherefrom
one more flight of steps approaches the top of the tomb.

The interior of the tomb bears traces of painted decorations.
Mostly geometrical in design, these decorations were executed in a palette in which viridian and Indian red dominated. But the most interesting and informative are the painted panels in the porches. These paintings are badly obliterated. The plastered semi-domed soffits of the porches are carved in low relief in the form of shallow patterns.

The tomb bears no inscription. Coetz assigns it to the early years of the Mughal rule in India, under Babur or Humayun. But a clear evidence about the date of its construction is provided by its decoration. The paintings in the porches depict cypress and flowering trees. The flowering tree motif does not appear in Mughal painting or architecture until the year 1619 A.D. For is the cypress motif depicted in the architectural decoration before Jahangir's reign. The trees in the paintings on the tomb under study, are shown complete to the mounds of earth out of which they spring. The motif appears in bas-relief on the dados of the Taj Mahal (1632-54 A.D.) and executed in glazed tiles on the Chini-ka-Rauza, Agra (1639 A.D.). It is also carved on the dados of buildings surrounding the Taj and later in other buildings erected by Shah Jahan in the forts at Agra and Delhi. Hence, the paintings on the tomb of Shagird were executed either contemporaneously or after the completion of the above buildings. And if the decoration of the tomb of Shagird is contemporaneous with the erection of the building as it most probably is, this tomb was built during the reign of Shah Jahan or later.

**Tomb of Jawal Khan at Roopar**

The tomb is situated to the west of the town (Plate 37).
The building elevated on a square platform of 11.0 m. side, is square both from outside and inside. Its slightly sloping walls rise to a height of 10.3 m. On the exterior, each side measures 19.6 m. The greater part of each facade is occupied by a 7.2 m. broad and 5.1 m. deep semi-domed recess. The side walls of each recess are pierced with one entrance each, giving access to a corner room. These recesses and the corner rooms form a kind of circumambulatory around the tomb chamber. One archway in the facing wall of each recess opens into the central room, measuring 7.6 m. square. The room is lighted by one ventilator on each side. There is no tombstone in the chamber at present though its place has been marked out.

Two flights of steps from the eastern side approach the middle story, comprising four corner rooms and a gallery joining them. From this floor, two flights of steps from the western side reach the roof of the tomb.

The building is covered with a double dome. The outer shell of the dome rises on an octagonal drum of 5.0 m. side and having slightly sloping walls. The lower shell of the dome, 13.1 m. high from the floor, is broken in the centre. It is appropriated to the square base by erecting an arch in each corner of the room below.

The tomb was richly decorated. The soffits of the recesses bore moulded stalactites, outlined in white against a chocolate field, traces of which are extant. The under-surface of the dome is elegantly decorated with eight painted medallions. The soffits of the corner arches also painted designs. Flowering plants, vase and flowers and flying birds are the main motifs. The colours
used are deep green and Indian red.

An old well is also extent near the tomb.

The tomb has no inscription. The name of one Jamal Khan is traditionally associated with it. It is not known who he was. But for the absence of the corner pavilions or parapet, the tomb under study bears close resemblance to the so-called tombs of Ustad and Shagird at Sirhind. Hence, it may also be contemporaneous with them.

The lower walls of the tomb are crumbling fast. Three of its entrances have been walled up. Some trees have taken root in the crevices of the dome which would tear it into pieces within years. Half of the building is now used to store fodder for animals and dung-cakes and in the other half local people ease themselves.

**Tomb of Alam Khan at Bahloolpur (District Ludhiana)**

The tomb stands to the southeast of the village (Plate28). It is in a first rate condition. To a large extent, it resembles the tomb of Hussain Khan in the same village.

The building is a regular octagon of 6.4 m. side and rises to a height of 9.08 m. upto parapet. Each face of the octagon is treated with two-storey recessions, the rectangular ones on the cardinal sides and semi-octagonal on the others. There is a vertical row of sunken panels on either side of the recesses. The interior of the tomb measures 7.4 m. square. It is entered through one arch on each side which pierce the rectangular recesses on the exterior. Two ventilators on each side provide it with ample light. The walls of the interior are relieved with sunken panels. The corners of the square chamber are cut
Two graves are enshrined in the tomb.

The intermediate gallery of the tomb of Hussain Khan, absent in the tomb of Bahdur Khan, reappears here and is approached by two flights of stairs in the northern and the southern walls. Again two flights of steps communicate with the roof of the tomb where each is covered with a small structure. Here rises a 2.3 m. high, sixteen-sided drum of 1.8 m. side having slightly tapering walls. Above this drum, rises the outer shell of the double dome which crowns the tomb. The space in-between the two shells of the dome can be entered through four apertures in the drum. Contrary to Rodgers' statement, there is enough space between the two shells of the dome. The curve of the outer shell is semi-circular. It is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding, the upper part of which is partially broken.

In its pristine condition, the building was covered with a layer of plaster, both inside and outside. Traces of painted decoration are still visible on the parapet of the tomb, the top of the drum and the top of the structures covering the staircases. The colours are limited to green and Indian red.

Traditionally, the tomb is believed to have been built during the reign of Shah Jahan and Alavul Khan is referred to as one of the Subahs of Deccan. The present scholar, however, did not come across any reference to the person of the name in medieval chronicles. Alavul Khan might have been a descendant of the other Khans of the village.
Tomb of Muqarrab Khan at Purnia (District Kurnool)

The tomb is situated in the Dargah of Bu Ali Galander, in the heart of the town (Plate 59).

The burial chamber, containing five graves, is in the form of a rectangular pillared pavilion, measuring 8.8 m. by 6.6 m. outside and 6.8 m. by 4.6 m. inside (Fig. XXXVI). The interstices between the pillars but for one forming the entrance, are filled with beautiful screens in graceful geometrical tracery. The light pouring in is softened by these grilles. This chamber is surrounded with a 3.0 m. broad verandah, supported on pillars, carrying heavy brackets. Each pillar used in this tomb measures 0.5 m. square at the base.

The tomb chamber is covered with a rectangular dome, surmounted with a sheath of lotus petals and three finials. This shape of dome had already appeared in the tomb of Imed-ud-Daula at Agra, built by his daughter Nur Jahan between 1622 and 1626 A.D. Within the region under study, the present scholar came across three more examples of the domes of this shape, namely - the so-called tomb of Sheikh Chilli's wife at Thanesar (to be described later) and two small mosques near Tasroo (District Faridabad). The ceiling of the verandah is domical in corners but flat in the other parts. Stalactites are carved on the domical sections of the ceiling.

A wide esave rotates on all sides of the tomb.

An inscription on the tomb reads: 120

"Madaqra wazir-i-Jahangir Nawab Muqarrab Khan Kaîranavī.
1053 H./1643 A.H."

Translation: "The tomb of wazir-i-Jahangir Nawab Muqarrab Khan Kaîranavī. 1053 A.H." (the year began the 12th March, 1643)
**Milhile-ul-Umara** supplies a detailed account of Muqarrab Khan. 121 A summary of the account follows:

His real name was Sheikh Hasam or Hassa. He was the son of Hakim Sheikh Faniy. 122 Both the father and the son were renowned surgeons. They succeeded in curing a bad wound of Akbar which the emperor had received from a buck at a deer fight, on 28th July, 1596. 123

Sheik Hasam rose to great honours under Jahangir. He received the title of Muqarrab Khan and was made a commander of 5000 and governor of Gujarat. However, he could not perform his work satisfactorily and was called back. In the 13th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed the governor of Bihar and three years later, the governor of the province of Agra. In the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, on account of old age, he was pensioned off and given the pargana of Kirana (now in U.P.), his birthplace as jagir. He died at the age of ninety. As he was the custodian of the tomb of Bu Ali at Panipat, he made his tomb there.

At Kirana, he built many edifices, and laid out a beautiful walled garden with an immense tank. For this garden, he obtained excellent fruit trees from all parts of India. Kirana mangoes have since been famous in Delhi.

His son, Risqullah Khan was also a physician and surgeon. According to an inscription on the tomb of Bu Ali Galander, he erected the portico of the tomb in 1071 A.H. (the year began the 27th August, 1660). 124

His adopted son named Sadrullah alias Masiha-i-Kiransavi was a poet. He composed an epic in Persian based on the story of Ramayana.
Tomb of Sheikh Chilli at Thanasser (District Kurukshetra)

This tomb is one of the most striking monuments in north India. It stands picturesquely to the west of the north end of the main bazar of the town. The tomb can be seen from afar by reason of its height (Plate 60). On this site there is said to have been a temple of Siva which was raised to the ground by the Muhammadans. 125

The white marble building of the tomb stands on an octagonal platform, each side measuring 10.3 m. This platform was once surrounded with post and trellis work. 126 This work was 52 cm. high and the posts which supported it were 66 cm. high and 12.7 cm. square. 127 This platform is situated in the midst of an enclosure measuring 53.0 m. square which was once paved with white marble. 128 This enclosure rises 12.5 m. above the level of the plain. Its walls are inbuilt with twelve cupolas, each of which was originally decorated with glazed tiles. But much of the tile work has come off. The traces of blue, purple and green tiles are still to be found on some of these.

The tomb itself is octagonal, each side being 5.4 m. on the exterior and 3.5 m. on the interior. Each face of the tomb has a rectangular recess covered with a cusped arch and adorned with two marble screens (Plate 61). Ornamental battlements rise above the projected eaves. The whole is crowned with a pear-shaped dome, resting on a circular neck and surrounded by eight elegant pinnacles, one at each angle. The soffit of the dome is decorated with painted designs.

Two graves occupy the interior but they are not the true sarcophagi; these can be seen in a vault below the tomb.
Harmonious proportions combined with fine workmanship characterise the building.

In the western wall of the enclosure is another structure, said to be the tomb of Sheikh Chilli's wife. It also stands on a marble platform and is covered with an elongated dome of the same material, like that of the tomb of Muarrab Khan at Panipat. Below the parapet, there are deep caves. The tomb measures 9.2 m. by 6.7 m. outside and 6.7 m. by 4.1 m. inside. Two graves occupy the interior.

The exterior sandstone walls of the tomb are divided into panels, each having a simple design in it carved in bas-relief. The vase and flowers is the main motif (Plate 62).

It is not known for certain who Sheikh Chilli was. Chilli is a title conferred upon one who frequently performs chillas, i.e., a forty days' penance without eating or drinking anything. There is dissension regarding his real name. Some call him Abdur Rahim, some Abdul Karim and others Abdul Razzak. He is believed to have been born at Bannur, a small town in the district of Patiala. A book entitled 'Lives of the Valia' or Muhammedan saints is attributed to his pen. David Ross refers to him as "the author of some of the most popular moral tales, allegories and ballads."

There is no inscription on the tomb, but on the basis of its pear-shaped dome and flowered marble lattice, Cunningham ascribes it to the days of Dara Shikoh to whom Sheikh Chilli is said to have been a spiritual adviser, about 1650 A.D. An inscription on the gateway of the complex tells us that Captain Larkin, Deputy Commissioner, got it repaired in 1271 A.H. or 1854 A.D.
The main tomb was turned into a Gurdwara by some Sikhs. But the British rulers reinstated the tombstones in it. It was in ruins when William Barr saw it in 1839 A.D. Still he inferred that in its pristine condition "it was deficient neither in beauty nor elegance." Later on, it was restored by the department of the Archaeological Survey of India.

**Tomb of Shagird at Nakodar (District Jalandhar)**

Close to the tomb of Ustad at Nakodar, is the tomb popularly known as that of Shagird (Plate 63).

This tomb reverses the plan of the former as it is square from outside and octagonal from inside. The building measures 16.2 m. square having an octagonal turret at each corner. Each of its four faces has a semi-octagonal recess, covered with a pointed arch and pierced by a doorway. But for the southern side, the other three doorways are filled with terracotta lattices.

The interior of the tomb is an octagon of 4.2 m. side. The diagonal sides of the octagon have recesses to provide larger space in the room which enshrines six sarcophagi. The one made of chocolate-coloured marble, inlaid with white marble inscriptions is very beautiful.

A pear-shaped dome, in vogue during the period of Shah Jahan and later, springing from a cylindrical neck, roofs the building. It is surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding and a finial. The central dome is surrounded with four cupolas, each surmounting a corner turret. Only one flight of steps, to the right hand side of the entrance approaches the roof of the tomb where it opens under the southeast corner cupola.
The tomb rests in the midst of a 32.5 m. square and 2.4 m. high platform, panelled on all sides with recesses. On each side a double flight of steps, built in the platform, gives access to the tomb.

The chief glory of the tomb is its lavish glazed tile decoration. Here, *horror vacui* seems to have found adequate vent. The facades of the tomb are divided into panels, framed with simulated brickwork. A mosaic executed in yellow, green, dark blue, purple and white tiles, exhibiting a vase and flowers fills each long panel (Plate 64). The panels on the turrets have yellow background whereas the others have white. Floral arabesques coil over the spandrels. Small panels are filled with geometrical patterns or mosaics depicting plates of fruits.

The space inbetween the panels is adorned with diaper patterns. The battlements, corner cupolas, base and upper portion of the dome also bear traces of glazed tiles.

The interior of the tomb is covered with very fine plaster. Arches and panels have red painted borders. A long Qur'anic inscription, in white against a dark green background, runs below the parapet of the room. The soffit of the dome is adorned with a medallion painted in green and Indian red colours.

An inscription on the northern facade of the tomb gives the date of its building and the name of the person for whom it was built. Its text has been translated as follows: 139

"Tomb of the most contemptible of the worshippers of God, the humble slave, Haji Jamal, 1067 A.H." (the year began the 10th October, 1656).

The present scholar could not trace any other information about Haji Jamal.
There is another inscription on the southern facade. It reads: "Korkhana Muhammad... 1320 Hijri chinigar, Jalandhar Shehar." The text can be translated as follows: "The factory of Muhammad... 1320 A.H. glazed tile makers, Jalandhar city." The year mentioned in the inscription began the 10th April, 1902. Obviously, the said factory at Jalandhar supplied tiles for the repair of the tomb. The later tiles are multi-coloured whereas in original decoration, a separate piece of tile was used for each colour.

Adjoining the eastern wall of the tomb, on the platform is an ugly framework surrounding a grave.

**Tomb at Sarai Amanat Khan (District Amritsar)**

The tomb stands to the south of the village, across the road (Plate 65).

The building covers an area measuring 13.3 m. by 12.5 m. (Fig. XXXVII). The mortuary room, occupied by three graves, is a 3.9 m. square, having a 0.95 m. deep recess on its eastern and western side. This room has a square chamber of 2.1 m. side at each corner (the one in the northwest corner measures only 2.1 m. by 1.6 m. as the northern wall has a flight of steps approaching the roof) and oblong porches measuring 5.8 m. by 2.6 m. on the northern and the southern sides and 5.8 m. by 2.2 m. on the remaining sides. All the corner chambers and porches are inter-connected, forming a circumambulatory. The entrance to the building is through five archways on each side, three opening in the porches and one in each corner room.

A dome emerging from a circular drum of slightly sloping walls covers the nucleus of the tomb but the porches and corner chambers had almost flat ceilings which have crumbled. A concave moulding separates the dome from the drum. At each corner of the
building was planted a circular minaret, still extant on the southwest corner. A deep chhajja carried on corbelled brackets runs round the building.

The walls of the building are relieved with sunken panels having coloured borders. The traces of painted flowers are still visible on the minaret and the drum of the dome.

The tomb is elevated on a platform having a tank measuring 3.9 m. by 2.3 m. on the northern side. There is a small well to the east of the tomb.

The tomb has no inscription.

Traditionally, Amanat Khan, the builder of the nearby sarai and baoli is believed to have been interred in the tomb. But if the Amanat Khan was the man whose real name was Muinuddin Ahmed (died 1664 A.D.), son of Mirak Hussain, then he can not be the man buried in the tomb. Because, according to the Maathir-ul-Umara, his body was buried in the Dargah of Shah Nur Hamani at Aurangabad. His son Mir Hussain was also honoured with the title of Amanat Khan. He died in 1111 A.H. (the year began the 19th June, 1699) and lies interred at Surat, near the city wall. Therefore, either none of the Amanat Khans was the builder of the sarai or the person buried in the tomb is somebody else.

The high drum and the shape of the dome indicate a date of its erection not earlier than the later half of the seventeenth century.

Tomb of Allah Yar Khan at Illahba (District Gwason)

Hidden in a wild growth of acacia trees, the tomb of Allah Yar Khan stands on a podium, near a large tank (Plate 66). The building measures a square of 12.5 m. side. The arrangement of the rooms in the tomb is quite similar to that of the tomb at
Sarai Amnat Khan. But each corner of this building is reinforced by an octagonal turret, surmounted with a cupola as seen in the tomb of Shagird at Nakoda. The cupola on the north-western turret has crumbled.

Each facade of the tomb is pierced by five arches, all opening into a 2.0 m. broad verandah forming a circumambulatory. The central portions of the verandah are covered with wagon-vault ceilings. From this verandah, one archway from each side, opens into the burial chamber, measuring 5.0 m. square. Originally, but for the southern arch, the rest three were filled with simple jali-work, the traces of which are still to be found there. The walls of the room are provided with alcoves.

In this tomb, four types of arches have been used for openings i.e., pointed, cusped, circular and almost flat-headed.

The building is crowned with a bulbous dome.

It has no stairs leading to the roof.

The building is made of slate-rubble, easily available from Aravali range nearby. The thick coat of plaster that once covered the coarse rubble walls, has come off, exposing the crude skeleton beneath it. But for some shallow stalactites on the soffits of the central arches of each facade and some sunken panels, the building has no other decoration. No grave is extant in the tomb.

The tomb bears no inscription. According to Rodgers, the tomb was built in the memory of Allah Yar Khan, Mansabdar. In the Nastik-ul-Umara, two mansabdars of the name are mentioned. The first Allah Yar Khan was the son of one Iftikhar Khan Turkman. He served during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
and died in Bengal in the beginning of 1060 A.H. 147 (the year began the 25th December, 1649).

The second Allah Yar Khan was a servant of Aurangzeb since the days of his princehood. 148 He distinguished himself in Aurangzeb's first battle against Dara Shikoh. 149 In the fifth year of Aurangzeb's reign, he was appointed the daroga of ghulamkhanas or the private audience room and was given a flag. 150 He died in 1073 A.H. 151 (the year began the 6th August, 1662).

The person interred in the tomb at Illabas might have been one of the said Khans.

**Tomb of Fateh Ali Shah at Nurmahal (District Jalandhar)**

The tomb is situated to the north of the sarai (Plate 67).

It is a 4.3 m. square building having slightly sloping walls. Each face of the building was pierced with a 1.2 m. broad arch, contained in a wider recess. Three of the arches have been bricked up now and the entrance is only through the southern wall.

Inside, the tomb measures 3.2 m. square. At present, it has no grave. One arch thrown across each corner converts the square of the room into an octagon which supports the circular rim of the near-shaped dome. The dome is crowned with an inverted lotus moulding. Each corner of the tomb was originally engaged to a minaret, one of which is still in existence.

At present, the tomb is known by the name of Sahib Teli ka Maqbara, evidently a corruption of Shah Fateh Ali ka Maqbara. It is not known who Shah Fateh Ali was.

The tomb does not bear any inscription. Rodgers gives the date of its erection as 1071 A.H. 152 (the year began the 27th August, 1660). The basis of his dating is not known.
Tomb of Sayyid Chirag at Palva (District Faridabad)

The tomb stands in the heart of the town (Plate 68).

It is a square structure of 6.2 m. side, standing on a high platform. Each side of the tomb has an arched recess whose contours are carved in a continuous cork-screw pattern. Each recess contains a rectangular opening. But for the southern entrance, the other three were screened with stone-lattices, carved with a design of hexagons. The northern and the western archways still retain their lattices.

Each corner of the tomb is marked by a minaret, the one on the northeast corner is not extant now. The walls of the tomb are 1.1 m. thick. The interior of the tomb, measuring 4.0 m. square, enshrines only one grave. The real grave, however, is in the crypt below.

The building is covered with a slightly bulbous dome, surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. The finial is not extant.

The whole building is clad in a veneer of red sandstone. The walls are divided into sunken panels, having some simple carvings depicting a vine-jar containing petals.

A Persian inscription, in nastaliq characters, is carved above the entrance. It appears that the work on the tomb was stopped abruptly as the inscription and some of the carvings are incomplete. Also the dome could not be fully covered with red sandstone. Most probably, the work stopped at the death of its builder. The inscription recording the date of erection of the tomb in the form of a chronogram as well as numerals reads: 153

* Sayyid Chirag, the inhabitant of Medinah, none appeared
who was like him among the possessors of the secret, when I asked the wisdom for its date, it said, ' The mausoleum became the redresser of grief.' Date 28th Dhu'l Hijjah, year 1072." (3rd August, 1662).

A tradition, recorded by J.D. Beglar states that "the tomb was built by the fagir during his lifetime, with stones obtained by begging one out of each cart-load that passed that way from the quarries to Delhi, when Shah Jahan's citadel and the buildings of the Delhi Shahjahanabad were in course of construction."154 But the building of Shahjahanabad was already completed by 1648 A.D. If the above tradition had been true, the saint had fourteen years to complete his tomb, time enough for the erection of such a small building. But the incomplete work of the tomb poses a question mark to the truth of the above statement.

Tomb of Seif Khan at Bahadurgarh (District Patiala)

To the south of the fort at Bahadurgarh is a graveyard, enclosed by a wall. Within this enclosure, there are three tombs besides a large number of graves.

The most important of the three tombs is that of Nawab Seif Khan, a nobleman of the reign of Aurangzeb and the founder of the nearby fort and mosque (Plate 69). He was the second son of Tarbist Khan, a bakshhi of Shah Jahan's reign.155 Seif Khan had a long but chequered career of royal service. At different times, he was appointed the governor of Kashmir, Delhi, Multan, Bihar and Allahabad.156 Besides being an administrator, he was also very skilful in music and melody and composed a treatise named 'Rag Darpan'.157 He died in 1095 A.H. (the year began
the 10th December, 1683) in Allahabad but he was buried at Bahadurgah, then known as Seifabad.

The tomb is elevated on a 16.8 m. square and 2.0 m. high platform with sides relieved with decorative panels of cusped arches. A flight of steps on the eastern side gives access to the tomb. It measures 6.5 m. by 5.8 m. from outside and 4.1 m. by 3.7 m. from inside. The entrance is through the southern side. The building is covered with a double dome, raised on pendentives. Each corner of the building is marked with a kiosk. Built in the platform of the tomb is the actual burial vault, comprising a chamber, measuring 4.1 m. by 2.9 m., approached through a 1.6 m. broad and 6.3 m. long passage on the southern side. Whereas the tomb enshrines one grave, the sarcophagus in the crypt is not extant now.

The whole decoration of the tomb appears to be of a later date.

The nearby tomb is said to be that of the son of Seif Khan. It measures 5.6 m. square from outside and 3.6 m. square from inside. The original entrance to the tomb used to be in its southern wall but it is now entered through the eastern wall. Only one grave occupies the interior. The domical vault of the tomb is raised on pendentives. The soffit of the dome bears some traces of painted decoration. On the exterior, the building is covered by a pear-shaped dome, resting on an octagonal drum and surmounted with an inverted lotus moulding. Each corner of the tomb is marked by a minaret.

Not far away is the so-called tomb of the wives of Seif Khan. It is 7.1 m. square outside and 4.5 m. square inside. Its walls
are 1.3 m. thick. Each face of the building has a 2.2 m. broad and 0.6 m. deep recess. The original entrance was on the southern side but now it is in the western wall. The building is covered with a low vault. It appears to be incomplete as there is no dome on the exterior.

**Tomb of Daud Khan at Bahloolpur (District Ludhiana)**

The tomb stands to the north of that of Alawal Khan (Plate 70). Its walls and dome have developed wide cracks. At present, it is being used for the storage of farm produce by a local peasant.

Whereas all the other tombs at the village are octagonal, this tomb is square in shape. Each of its sides measures 8.8 m. from outside and 5.0 m. inside. The walls of the tomb are 1.8 m. thick. Each wall has a 4.0 m. broad and one metre deep recess, covered by a cusped arch. An almost flat-headed arch pierces each recess. But for the northern entrance, all others have been bricked up. On either side of each arch are some sunken panels.

The building is covered with a square dome, surmounted by an elongated, inverted lotus moulding. The corners of the building and sides of the arches are softened with pilasters. A miniature replica of the tomb is planted at each corner of the building. Just below the parapet, eaves encircle the tomb. It is slightly curved in the middle on each side - a feature which appeared during the reign of Shah Jahan and continued thereafter.

The whole building is covered with plaster. Some traces of a painted design are still visible on the soffit of the dome. The pot and flowers motif, painted in red, can be seen on the exterior of the building.

The tombstone has been removed from the tomb.

The building has no inscription. Traditionally, Daud Khan is said to have been a naqqal during Shah Jahan's period.
Nothing else is known about this person. But as judged from the wide span and almost flat curve of the arches, the tomb seems to have come up about the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the next one.

**Tomb of Daula Khan at Mehs (District Rohtak)**

The tomb stands on a mound, earlier known as the Gerhi of Afghans, on the road to Hansi. The building is in a ruinous condition and is being used for storing dung-cakes.

It is a brick structure raised on kankar foundations. Each facade of the tomb is 8.8 m. long and is pierced by three cusped arches. The building comprises a tomb chamber, 3.6 m. square, surrounded with a 1.3 m. broad, barrel-vaulted verandah. The room is covered with a pear-shaped dome, supported on a circular drum. A square kiosk is planted at each corner of the building.

An inscription stone, measuring 81 cm. by 31 cm. is fixed over the central arch on the eastern facade (Plate 71). The text comprises four lines, the English translation of which runs thus: 161

"In the name etc. There is no God etc. The slave of the court of the Merciful, Daula Khan, Muhammadi Murid of Gilan—I knew that the four friends (the khalifas) are over this wholly perishable world—found grace in his lifetime to erect the burial place with the favour of the Lord, during the reign of Aurangzeb Badshah, the shadow of God. On the 14th of the month Ramzan, the blessed A.H. 1114. Through the effort of the architect Ustad Abu zalad Tayyib."

The date mentioned in the inscription corresponds to 21st
January, 1709. But the style of the building does not appear to be that old. Most probably, the original building which bore the inscription vanished and the present structure was erected at its place, at quite a later date and the inscription stone fixed therein.

Tomb at Morinda (District Roper)

Strangely enough, even the existence of this tomb has not hitherto been mentioned in any published work, including Rodgers' Revised List. . .

The tomb is situated near the railway line (Plate 72). It stands on a platform which was originally 2.0 m. high. But the erosion of land around it has laid bare 1.5 m. of its foundation also, making it 3.5 m. high. Only the upper two metre well of the platform is plastered. The original steps to the platform also start from a height of 1.5 m. The rest of the steps are quite modern.

The tomb is a 13.4 m. square in plan but its angles have been so chamfered as to give it an octagonal configuration and reducing the sides to a length of 9.2 m. (Fig. XXXVIII). Each diagonal side measures 3.2 m. Each of the four large faces is recessed by a 5.9 m. broad and 0.9 m. deep arch. A 1.7 m. broad arch and a ventilator above, pierce each of the four recesses. But for the western one, all other entrances have been bricked up now.

The interior of the tomb is a square of 8.2 m. side. Again, the angles are chamfered (each small side measures 0.9 m.). Two flights of steps in the northeast corner approach the roof of the building. But these steps start from a very high level
without having any access from the floor of the tomb.

The walls of the tomb soar to a height of 9.2 m. above its platform. There is no kiosk or minaret at any angle. In the centre rises an octagonal drum of 4.0 m. side from which emerges a low dome. The sides of the drum are pierced to form ventilators.

At present, the building has no tombstone. Perhaps, it has a crypt built in the plinth. It is indicated by a now bricked up entrance arch in the southern wall of the platform.

The building bears no decoration except some sunk panels on diagonal faces.

The tomb bears no inscription. It is associated neither with any name nor with any tradition. The style of the building also does not help fix its chronology.

An old man is inhabiting it at present.
FOOTNOTES


4. According to Alexander Cunningham, a Rajdagi octagon is constructed as follows:

"Each side of the square is divided into four, and the points being joined, the enclosed area is divided into sixteen squares of which the four middle ones form the interior of the building. Then a diagonal drawn across each of the corners squares forms the shorter side of the octagon, while each longer face is left equal to the one half of the side of the square." (Report of a Tour in the Punjab in 1878-79, Vol. XIV, Varanasi, Rep. 1976, p. 44.)


6. A crypt is an underground mortuary chamber. It was customary among the Muslims to build the real graves in a crypt whereas those in the tomb above were duplicate ones.


16. *Kumar* is a nodular limestone, a calcareous concrete consisting of carbonate of lime of irregular shaped pieces. It
is generally dug out of the soil. It is very hard and has great binding properties. (David Ross, *The Land of Five Rivers and Singh*, Patiala, Rep. 1970, p. 103.)

The author also describes the following method by which the formation of Kanker may be constantly maintained:

"After digging and exhausting a deposit of the substance, the land is levelled and again cultivated. After an interval of time has elapsed, the same land will again yield kanker. The explanation given is as follows. The well water contains carbonates of soda, and as the water containing carbonates of lime percolates the alluvial soil (which contains sulphate of lime), the reaction of carbonates of soda, sulphate of lime, and clay, upon each other, results in the formation of kanker, while the sulphuric acid has attached itself to the soda, forming the efflorescence of sulphate of soda." (Ibid.)


According to M.N. Deshpande, the date in the inscription is 974 A.H. (the year began the 19th July, 1566) and the name of the person, Abul Qasim, was of Yazd. ([*Indian Archaeology*](171-72)), New Delhi, 1975, p. 62.

This inscription has also been translated by H. Blochmann (*loc. cit.*).


22. Ibid. & Shah Nawaz Khan, *loc. cit.*


Shah Quli Khan is also credited with building a paoli at Fatehpur Sikri. (S.A.A. Rizvi & V.J.A. Flynn, *Fatehpur-Sikri*, Bombay, 1975, p. 120.)


26. Ibid.


Dr. Anand has not mentioned the source of his information. Most probably, it is the [Safarnameh of Abdul Latif Abbasi](1606 A.D.) who travelled through the region in 1606 A.D. (N.D. Ahuja, "Abdal Latif al Abbasi and his Safarnama", *Proceedings of the Punjab History Conference*, Eighth Session, Patiala, n.d., p. 74.)
28. A few insignificant outliers of the Aravalli system traverse the districts of Faridabad, Gurgaon and Hissar. In the area lying in proximity to the hills, stone rubble was used as building material.


30. Ahuja, loc. cit.


33. Rodgers, op. cit., p. 84.

34. A medieval traveller Palsaret describes the method by which the plaster coating of a building was polished to resemble marble. In his own words: "They use unsalted lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking glass." (Jahangir's India, tr. H. Moreland, & P. Geyl, Delhi, Rep. 1972, p. 67.)


36. Ibid., p. 738.

37. Ibid., p. 731.


41. Ibid., p. 5.

42. Ibid., p. 6.


44. Al-Badami, op. cit., p. 44.

45. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

46. Ibid., p. 45.
47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. The tomb was declared protected by the Government of India vide notification number 11908 dated 15.4.1920. List of Protected Monuments accepted by the Government of India (corrected unto September, 1920), Simla, 1928, pp. 2-3.

In order to ensure proper protection and maintenance, agreements were made with the owners of the tomb during the year 1927-28. H. Hargreaves, Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India (1927-28), Calcutta, 1931, p. 191.

50. According to Dr. J.S. Grewal, "Outside, at the top of the arches, there were about half a dozen inscriptions in Persian. The clearest of these is a quatrains, probably, in imitation of Umar Khayyam. The sentiment it embodies is very close to the sentiment of Umar Khayyam in some of his quatrains:

"Dauran keh dil-i-tu shad-o-ghasmak kunadd
"As takhtah-i-umr nagsh-i-tu nasak kunadd
"Wush hash keh tinat tura dest-i-gase
"As khak aishat 'aghbat khak kunadd"

"Indeed, time makes you happy or sorrowful until your life is rubbed off the board of existence. Be happy now that you have the boon of life; for the long arm of fate is always there to remind you that from dust you came and unto dust you will return!"


In the same article, Dr. Grewal has made an interesting study of the graffiti on the tomb also. These were inscribed on the walls by some visitors to the tomb. "A few of these are in Devanagari script but the rest are all in Persian.... Most of them bear dates, besides the names and places of the persons who wrote them. The earliest of these dated graffiti comes from the reign of Akbar himself and... taken together, they cover the reigns of Jehangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb and his successors. In fact the practice survived into the Sikh period and continued into the British.

..."

"The graffiti... taken together, reveal that this monument to his benevolent piety became a focus of the feelings and sentiments of a considerable number of people.... Some of them have expressed their choicest sentiments in language borrowed from great poets; a few have given vent to their personal or sectarian differences..." (Ibid., pp. 59 & 61.)


52. Gurdaaspur District Gazetteer (1883-84), Lahore, 1884, p.96.
Khwaja Sarai was "a title for the administrative officer of the hered who maintained its accounts, supplied the stores, fixed duties of the servants but who did not go inside it." (R. Nath, Some Aspects of Mughal Architecture, New Delhi, 1976, p. 120.)

54. Bhandari, loc. cit.

55. The present scholar has gone through the indexes of the Akbar nama, Ain-i-Akbari, Funtakhatut Tavarikh & History of India as told by its own Historians etc.

56. Now the inscription is, perhaps, in the Lahore Museum. The translation of its text, carved in Persian as well as Hindi script, runs as follows:
"In the days of the empire of the slave (of God), His Majesty Jalaluddin Akbar, Badshah-i-Ghazi - May God perpetuate his kingdom for ever (and) his highness in Paradise! - Abu Shemshar Khan, the viceroy of kayana Rohtak, has laid the foundation of this gateway. In the blessed month Ramzan, anno 973 it has been finished." (P. Horn, op. cit., p. 154.)

57. Neither the tomb nor the tombstone bearing the inscription is traceable now. The translation of the complete inscription reads as follows:
"Shemshar Khan has made with the favour of God the vault over the tomb of Pir Safi-Dil 'A...975 H. is the year." (the year begun the 8th July, 1567). (Ibid., p. 146.)


59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 133.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. The complete inscription which measured 48 cm by 36 cm., was translated as follows:
"I testify that there is no God etc. The edifice of this mosque has been built by Miyar Raih, son of Piyars on the tenth of the month of Zilhajj, in the year 969. His commander (was) Miyar Daud." (Ibid., p. 133.)

66. Ibid., pp. 133-34.

67. Ibid., p. 135.
P. Horn gives the following translation of its contents:
"In the time of the king Nuruddin, the tank which has scarcely its like, became a sign of Rai Rayan Rai Durga Mal, for the benefit of the happiness of the people of the world. I asked the mind the date year, the mind spoke to me 'Know it inفيلو'. (I) the poor hermit Abd as Samad, the son of Hakan, who is a master of knowledge. The year was 1036."

68. Rohtak District Gazetteer (1910), Lahore, 1911, p. 45.
69. Rodgers, Revised List..., op. cit., p. 78.
70. P. Horn, op. cit., p. 134.
72. P. Horn, op. cit., pp. 135-36.
73. Rodgers' reading of the name as Kalan Khan is not correct. (Revised List..., op. cit., p. 79.)
75. Anand, loc. cit.
76. Rodgers wrongly describes it as a square building. (Revised List..., op. cit., p. 79.)
77. Ibid., p. 34.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
87. Ludhiana District Gazetteer, loc. cit.
88. Both the tombs were declared protected by the Government of India vide notification number 4687, dated 19th February, 1919.
List of Protected Monuments.... op. cit.... pp. 4-5.


90. Ibid., p. 60.

91. Ibid.

92. Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 682.

93. Ibid.


96. Ibid., p. 136.

97. Only a mosque and a portion of the western gateway of the sarae is extant.


99. It has been declared protected by the Government of Punjab.


109. Ibid.

110. It has been declared protected by the government of Punjab.


113. R. Skelton, "A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art", *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. Pralapaditya Pal, Leiden, 1972, p. 130. The author adds that in about 1618 A.D., Sir Thomas Roe or someone like him had presented Pierre Vallet’s *Herbal* to Jahangir. Two years later, the emperor went to Kashmir and immediately fell victim to flower mania. Thereupon the emperor ordered Mansur to copy flowers in the valley on the lines of the *Herbal* illustrations and that he furthermore immediately inaugurated a new motif in the decorative arts based on Mansur’s work. ([Ibid.], p. 152.)


117. Of the tombs at Behlolpur only this tomb has been declared protected by the Government of Punjab.

118. Rodgers, *Report*. . . . *op. cit.*, p. 37. The present scholar entered the space for himself. Two persons can easily stand one above the other in this space.


122. Ibid., p. 616. But Abul Faal gives the name as Sheikh Bina. ([Ain-i-Akbari, *op. cit.*], p. 613.)


124. The translation of the complete inscription reads as follows:

"This tomb is the place where the light of God’s glory and perfection appears, like Jesus, it gave life to the dead. Muqarrab Khan, the Pilar of his age, had a son Riquullah Khan. When Bu Ali (the saint of Panipat) recognised this Bu Ali (i.e., this great doctor), he (Riquullah), thus honoured, became the Aristotle of his age. He then ordered the erection
of this paradise-like portico, below which each pillar is made of
touchstone. I put the thought to the touch, in order to discover
the year of the building. When I beheld the God of alchemy, and
the year of its erection appeared in the value of the letters,
'the noble Rizquillah Khan' 1071 A.H." (the year began the
27th August, 1660.). H. Blochmann, "On Inscriptions from
Sompet ( and Panipat)", Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of
Bengal (1873), Calcutta, 1873, p. 97.


127. Ibtd.

128. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report,
op. cit., p. 223.

129. Both of these names are given by Rodgers (Report...
op. cit., p. 10.)
The authors of Saip-i-Punjab give the name as Abdul Karim
and add that he was a vasir of Abar who later renounced the
world and performed a chilla at Thanesar. Punjab di Saip,(Punjabi),

According to Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, his name was Abdul

B.K. Muster, on the authority of Tajkat-i-Julfa, relates
that Sheikh Chilli was an Iranian saint who came to India during
the reign of Shah Jahan to meet Hajrat Qutub Jalauddin at
Thanesar. But the Sheikh died here. On the advice of Jalauddin,
Sheikh Chilli was also interred in this tomb which the emperor
built for him. (Rasikheta, Delhi, 1978, p. 82). But this
story appears incredible as Jalauddin had already died in
1669 A.H., during the reign of Akbar. (Bedauni, op. cit., Vol. III,
p. 6.) Moreover, Jalauddin lies interred in a separate tomb

130. This last name is given by Cunningham only. (Archaeological
Survey of India Report, op. cit., p. 223.)


132 Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, loc.
cit.

133. David Ross, loc. cit.

134. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Report, loc.
cit.

135. Ibtd. & David Ross, op. cit., p. 241. & Punjab di Saip,
op. cit., p. 318.

According to Cunningham, some Sikhs carried off portions
of its marble to Kaithal. The present scholar visited both
the main Gurudwaras at Kaithal. No old lattice is traceable now.


138. It was declared protected by the government of India vide notification number 13762 dated 21.5.1919. (List of Protected Monuments..., op. cit., pp. 8-9.)


141. Ibid., p. 230.

142. Ibid., p. 231.

143. J. Ph. Vogel is of the view that higher the neck of the dome, later its date of construction. (*Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort*, Calcutta, 1920, p. 8).

144. Rodgers, *Revised List...*, op. cit., p. 82.


146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., p. 211.

148. Ibid., p. 212.

149. Ibid.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid.

152. Rodgers, *Revised List..., op. cit.*, p. 32.


156. Ibid., pp. 683-86.


158. Ibid.
159. When the Patiala chief Karam Singh remodelled the fort in 1774 A.D., he rechristened it as Bahadurgarh, out of his deep devotion to the ninth Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur. (Nabha, op. cit., p. 827 & Punjab Notes & Queries, Vol.I, No. 11, August, 1984, p. 129.)

160. Rodgers, Revised List..., op. cit., p. 48.