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No. 19

THE JAMI MASJID AT BADAUN
AND OTHER BUILDINGS IN THE
UNITED PROVINCES.

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The admirable collection of drawings reproduced in this memoir were prepared nearly thirty years ago under the direction of the late Edmund Smith for the most part by draughtsmen whose names were not recorded on them. Mr. Smith had intended to publish them himself and to that end had prepared notes, which consisted chiefly of rather lengthy descriptions of the buildings illustrated. As these seemed superfluous with such excellent drawings to refer to, the notes have not been printed in extenso, though they have been largely utilized in the accompanying text.

The four monuments to which these drawings relate are all in the United Provinces, Badaun being in the District of that name, Lalitpur and Irich in the Jhansi District, and Kalpi in the Jalalpur District. They are all somewhat off the beaten track and little known, but are none the less of interest to those concerned with the Mediaeval Art of India. All, without exception, are Protected Monuments under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, and the last named is preserved and looked after by the Archaeological Department. I am indebted to Maulvi Ashfaq Ali for his translation of the inscriptions at the Badaun Mosque and to Maulvi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, Munshi in my office, for the translation of the Irich inscription.

As it is many years since any books by Mr. Edmund Smith have appeared and this is likely to be the last publication connected with his name, it may not be inappropriate to mention some of his more important works on Indian Art and Architecture, viz.:—

- The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri, 4 parts.
- The Sharqi Architecture of Jaipur (in conjunction with A. Führer).
- The Tomb of Akbar (Edited by W. H. Nicholls).
- Moghul Colour Decoration of Agra, part I.
- Portfolio of Indian Architectural Drawings, part I.

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AGRA;

The 7th October, 1924.
THE JAMI MASJID AT BADAUN AND OTHER BUILDINGS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

BADAUN.

Jami Masjid.

The city of Badaun is of such antiquity that the date of its foundation cannot be stated with any certainty, but legend has it that it existed during the time of Raja Bharat who was the predecessor, six generations before, of the Kurus and Pandus, the famous heroes of the Mahabharata. It was ruled by Hindu Rajas of various dynasties until the year 1028 A.D. when it became the object of Muhammadan invasions. In that year it was attacked by the renowned Masud Ghazi, the nephew and general of Mahmud Ghaznavi, who died at Bahraich five years later at the early age of 19. In 1186 Qutb-ud-Din Aibak, the slave and able general of Shihab-ud-Din Muhammad Ghor, better known as Muhammad bin Sam, again conquered it and appointed his Lieutenant, Hazabur-ud-din Hasan, governor of the place, but in 1203 the governorship of Badaun was transferred to Shams-ud-din Alamsh, the slave and son-in-law of Qutb-ud-din Aibak, who had already achieved distinction by his valour and bravery and shown no small skill in the art of war. On the death of Qutb-ud-din his adopted son Aram Shah was crowned king, but some of the nobles of his court invited Shams-ud-din to take the reins of government. Accordingly Alamsh set out for Delhi with a large army and having defeated Aram Shah made himself king. During the course of his reign Alamsh received investiture from the Khalifa of Baghdad, the most authoritative recognition that could be accorded him. Shams-ud-din Alamsh was not only a just ruler, a good statesman, and a skilful general, but also evinced a keen interest in architecture. The completion of the Qutb Minar, the extension of the Quwwatul Islam Mosque, the construction of Hauz-i-Shamsi at Delhi and the erection of

1Kasu-t-Tawarikh, pp. 30-37.
2History of India by Elphinstone, p. 375.
three buildings—the Jami Masjid, the Hauzi-Shamsi and the Idgah at Budaun—are some of the many works for which he was responsible. The mosque under notice was built by Altamsh in the year 1223 A. D. (629 A. H.) during the governorship of his son Rukn-ud-din Firoz. It possesses four inscriptions, the first mentioning its erection by Altamsh, the other three referring to repairs of the building. They are as follows:

(1) Inscription on the eastern entrance of the Jami Masjid.

Translation.

"Enter ye herein in peace and security. The great Sultan, the most exalted Shahanshah, the Lord of the necks of the people, Shams-ud-dunya-waddin, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the most just of the kings and Sultans, Abul Muzaiffar Ilutmish-as-Sultan, the ally of the commander of the faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom, in the month of the year six hundred and twenty (1223 A. D.)."

(2) Inscription engraved on a stone slab over the middle of the northern doorway of the Jami Masjid:

Translation.

"This edifice was ordered by his exalted majesty, the shadow of the merciful God, the father of the warrior (in the cause of religion) Muhammad Shah the emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, in the year seven hundred and twenty six (1326 A. D.). Built by Husain, the son of Hasan, Kotwal of the province of Budaun."

Muhammad Shah Tughlaq I, whose name appears in this inscription, seems to have repaired the mosque. His real name was Malik Fakhir-ud-din Juna Khan and he was the son of Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlaq, king of Delhi. He was an accomplished sovereign, generous to excess, and the most experienced general of his day, but his eccentric fury sometimes verged on insanity. He reigned for about 27 years (1325-1351 A. D.) and died of fever at Thatta on the 20th March.

The inscription has been published with a facsimile in the Epigraphia Indo-Musulmonica for the year 1911-12, p. 22, pl. XXIX.
His corpse was brought to Delhi and interred in the mausoleum of his father called Daru-l-Aman (place of safety)².

(3) Inscription on the left side of the inner arch opening in front of the mihrab.

(1) بلغه خال فضیلتی منصرف مسجد نعم بدیع خان کور
(2) بقدر شهیذ نیبیش الله جهتی جوهد اسم با سند زندر
(3) ای روزبه از قدمت خرد را ز جلی گو خالصاً لله اکرم

Translation.

"The building of Qutb-ud-din Khan, the defunct of happy memory was strengthened (repaired) by the order of the lord of the land.

"When at the desire of Shaikh Faizullah Chishti it was finished with great elegance and beauty.

"For its chronogram I told Wisdom to say from his heart, 'Purely for the great God.'"

The second hemistich of the third couplet gives the date 1011 (1602-03 A. D.).

(4) A further inscription is recorded in two lines on a long stone slab let into the wall on the right side of the inner arch opening in front of the mihrab, and reads:

ثر محمد جلال الدین محمد اکبر ثابت فاطمی سالما ۱۰۱۱ ایبزرز ز سازه جهیزی پنا گورد این
محمد فضل الدین خان چشتی مBER جنت خونر کره ایلوبظفر سلطان شاه فاطمی ایبین جلال الدین
کبیر بهائدم نزاب نعیم ایباهیم ولد خان مذری کتاب میری دمایت عبدالمالک نقابی.

Translation.

"During the reign of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, the king, champion of the faith, in the year 1013 one thousand and thirteen Hijri (1604-05 A. D.), this mosque was built by Qutb-ud-din Khan Chishti alias Shaikh Khubu, the koka (foster-brother) of Abul Muzaffar Sultan Salim Shah, champion of the faith, son of Jalal-ud-din Akbar, under the supervision of Nawab Shaikh Ibrahim, son of the aforesaid Khan (i.e., Qutb-ud-din Khan). Written by the Superintendent of the building (named) Abdul Malik Qazi."

In the year 979 A. H. (1571-72 A. D.) a fierce fire broke out in Badaun² and almost destroyed the whole city. The Jami Masjid did not escape its ravages and its dome was seriously injured. In 1013 A. H. (1604-05 A. D.) during the reign of Akbar, Qutb-ud-din Khan alias Shaikh Khubu Koka, who was possibly then governor of the place, undertook the repairs mentioned in the above inscription. He was the grandson (daughter's son) of Shaikh

¹Edale's Biographical Dictionary, p. 273.
³Kanz-ul-Tawarikh, p. 246.
Salim Chishti, the famous saint of Fatehpur Sikri, but his father was a scion of the Shaikhsadas of Badaun. Qutb-ud-din was foster-brother of Jahangir and was his companion when that prince rebelled against his illustrious father, the emperor Akbar. On his accession to the throne, Jahangir bestowed upon him the rank of 5,000 and the governorship of Bengal. When Jahangir heard about the rebellious intentions of Sher Afgan Khan, the Jagirdar of Burdwan and first husband of Nur Jahan, later Jahangir's queen, he sent Qutb-ud-din Khan to bring him to the Court. Qutb-ud-din accordingly went to Burdwan, but there met his death at the hands of Sher Afgan, who also lost his life in the fray. This occurred in 1616 A. H. (1607-1608 A. D.), the second year of Jahangir's accession. Qutb-ud-din's corpse was removed to Fatehpur Sikri where it was buried. It may, however, be remarked that a tomb at Burdwan has also been identified as that of Qutb-ud-din.

Besides being one of the most ancient, the Jami Masjid ranks as one of the largest mosques in India. It will be seen from the plan (plate I) that the edifice measures about 280 feet across from north to south at its widest end, and 226 feet from the outer face of the western wall to the front of the eastern gate. The courtyard was originally surrounded by cloisters but these, to a very great extent, have disappeared, or rather new ones have been constructed and it is difficult now to say exactly what form they took. From the few traces remaining on the west, however, it may be assumed that they were divided by brick piers into two aisles in depth and were roofed by brick barrel-vaults except at the north and south corners which were covered by domes. On the plan (plate I) has been shown by dotted lines what is imagined to have been the original arrangement of the building. Up to a height of some 12 feet the mosque is constructed almost entirely of sandstone blocks, plundered from more ancient Hindu temples, and above, excepting later additions such as the dome which was restored at the end of Akbar's reign, the structure is of brick. The building is particularly remarkable for its massiveness. The main body of the mosque on the west, which measures 75' deep by 257' in length, is divided into the three portions. The central one measures 43'3'' square and on either side of it is a long vaulted chamber divided longitudinally into 5 bays by huge piers, 6 to 8 feet square and from nine to ten feet apart composed of kankar, stone and brick. The large central dome as it now stands is carried on walls 17 feet in thickness. In order to support it the square central chamber is brought to an octagon by throwing arches across the corners and the octagon thus formed merges almost imperceptibly into the circle of the inner flat dome. The mihrab is square on plan and of simple design but is now highly decorated with various designs in paint. On either side of it is a dwarf pillar probably taken from some Hindu building and shortened to suit its present position. The small mihrab at the back of the west wall also seems to be dwarfed. It is possible that the interior floor has been raised a foot or more since this feature was constructed. The central propylon of the façade of the Masjid proper was built in the latter part of Akbar's reign by

Shaikh Khubu, foster-brother of Jahangir, and now takes the place of the former one which, to judge from the arcading on either side, must have been exceedingly fine. Unfortunately much of the original brick carving has been covered with plaster. Could this be removed some fine specimens of brick ornament might be revealed. The surface of the interior walls was originally covered with raised plaster decorations, but save in a few places the whole interior has been replastered and the old decoration consequently is no longer visible. Examples of the internal decoration are given in plates V, VI, VII, VIII and IX. A few traces of glazed tile work still remain on the outside of the western cloisters. The tapering bastions at the four exterior corners which are still extant are a very interesting feature.

Unfortunately the 19th and 20th century restorer and improver have been at work on this once exceedingly fine mosque, and have done much to destroy its original appearance. The eastern gateway illustrated in Cunningham's report Vol. XI, was deemed unsafe and pulled down before measured drawings of it could be made. The imposing effect of the dome towering above the Masjid and adjacent buildings as seen from a distance has been marred by the addition of two half domes on either side of the grand dome. New dalans constructed of modern-sized bricks were also built 25 years ago, apparently soon after Mr. Smith's drawings were executed, and much damage has been done to the ancient work by these 'improvements.' In point of fact what with plastering, restoration and rebuilding there is now very little of the original building visible. Faulty construction and material have of course done much to bring the building into disrepair and necessitate restoration not only during the last century but as far back as Akbar's reign. At the time of its erection the proper arch construction was not understood and arches and domes were formed by corbelling out each course of stone and omitting the key stones and for this reason alone considerable portions must have collapsed.

**LALITPUR.**

**The Basa.**

In an out-of-the-way part of the town of Lalitpur stands a small building known as the Basa, meaning a place to live or stay in. It is now empty. Measuring only 18' 7½" by 18' 9½", it is constructed entirely of old carefully wrought Hindu materials taken from different temples which existed in or around the town. From the arrangement of the columns it is possible that the structure originally formed part of a Hindu shrine. The building bears an inscription in Nagari characters, containing the name of Firoz Shah Tughlaq and the date samvat 1415 or 1358 A. D. The statement is made in the Gazetteer of the Jhansi District that the building is said to have been used as an octroi office by the Muhammadan rulers. It is also therein called 'Bansa' meaning sandstone. No further information regarding this structure can be found.

The building is illustrated in plates XII to XV which it would be superfluous to describe further.

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Chaurasi Gumbaz (Eighty-four domes).

Kalpi is a place of considerable historical interest and has had a chequered history. The ancient city stands on a steep cliff overlooking the river Jumna. On the western side of the town is a collection of five maqbaras or Mausoleums and some smaller tombs, chief among which is the great enclosure called Chaurasi Gumbaz. It contains several tombs, the two most important being beneath the large dome in the centre. The mausoleum is reputed to be that of "Lodi Shah Badshah" and some even assign it to Sikandar Lodi, but this must certainly be incorrect, as Sikandar's body was interred at Delhi. The origin of its name is also doubtful. The building itself never contained eighty-four domes. Counting the domes at the corners, those in the middle of each façade and that in the centre, the total number is only nine; and if the intervening spaces between the domes (vide plan, plate XVI) are also added, only 32 more would be obtained. Mr. Smith, however, has drawn attention to the fact that all round the building cloisters once existed, portions of which including the four domed gateways are still intact, and that these cloisters were divided into 80 compartments with groined roofs. To these he adds the four corner domes of the main building and obtains the number 84. There seems to me to be yet another solution. As one faces the cloisters either from inside or outside from each of the four cardinal points, one can count 21 bays, making a total of 84. Or again there are 84 openings in the ground floor of the tomb itself.

The building stands on a slightly raised plinth, is square in plan (plate XVI) and situated in the centre of a large quadrangle formerly surrounded by dalmans or cloisters. It is in a somewhat dilapidated condition owing to defective construction and materials. The walls are built of red sand-stone rubble closely packed with blocks of konkar set in lime mortar. On the exterior they are faced with stucco with the exception of the chhajjas or drippstones and corbels, which are of stone, and are beautifully ornamented with decorative panelling as are also the corner bastions, but much of the beauty of detail is marred owing to the decay of the material. At each corner is a typical tapering bastion of the Lodi period with a domed chhatri. In the centre of each side are square chhatri with sloping roofs.

The cloisters which are groin-vaulted, are rather low and squat, but this may be due partly to the present ground having silted up. The monument taken as a mass is imposing and must have appeared most impressive when the large dome covering the central apartment was intact. Portions of the ornamentation in and around the building are of considerable beauty as will be clear from the specimens reproduced in plates XVIII, XIX and XX. In design one façade is like another, except that the detail is slightly varied in places. The western front is illustrated in plate XVII and a larger detail of the north-

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1 Vide Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI, pp. 131-2, Cunningham.
2 Probably Mahmud Shah Lodi, who was sent by Firuz Shah Tughlaq to quell a rebellion in Bundelkhand and defeated Raja Lakhariya in 781 A.H. (1380 A.D.), vide Tuhfa-i-Kalpi, pp. 18-21.
west corner bastion, which is more ornate than the other, in plate XVIII. The main feature of the design is or was the central dome, which has unfortunately succumbed to the ravages of time. In size it was about equal to that of the Atala Masjid at Jaumpur\(^1\), but in point of design cannot compare with it or either of the other fine mosques in that town. The interior is illustrated in plate XXI.

**IRICH.**

**Jami Masjid.**

The town of Irich, situated some 40 miles north of Jhansi, stands high up on the right bank of the Betwa river and commands a fine view. The city was once of considerable importance, as is evidenced by the numerous remains of mosques, tombs and temples. Of the architectural remains left, the chief is the Jami Masjid, which stands to the west of the town within the walls of the ancient fort. The date of its construction seems to be uncertain, though to judge from its style of architecture it may be assigned with fair accuracy to the period of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. An inscription on the mosque gives the date of its erection as 815 A. H. or 1412 A. D. and states that it was built by Qazi Zia-ud-din (otherwise unknown to history) during the reign of Mahmud Shah Tughlaq of Delhi.

(Inscription original in Arabic characters.)

(1) در حامیون نبوت نرمانده کشرف[سنار][(stan)]
(2) ل اجنه‌گری که پر عز اسم از نام
(3) پاد آباد ایام اثر ملک کمیلی داش شاه
(4) کز مراد میزالت بد جوش [هم زرائی ران]
(5) هم پنی درست و هم مسلمت [را پاسال]
(6) بنا های میلت که در عالم کم [نادیدی [پس
(7) کریم یومش دنیا تنگی فارق[ز]الدابی که او
(8) شد بنا از عروسی حق در همراه جهار از رجب
(9) از براسه نظام ایین تو از مبارک بودن بیهی
(10) این عمارت باد پایی را نکده‌یا یا کر

**Translation.**

(1) "In the auspicious reign of the Commander and Conqueror of kingdoms (named) Mahmud (who is) the shadow of God, Sultan of the faith (and) [King of the World].

(2) That conqueror of the world, who for the glorification of Islam draws (his) victorious sword out of the scabbard every year [in India].

(3) O God, may the king live in this world for ever, fortunate like Alexander and [bless] like Solomon.

(4) Junaid Khan, the master of the (assigned) tracts of Iraq and the leader of the forces, who in (his) dignified position was the heavens.

(5) Who is also the brother, the centre (or pivot) of the kingdom, the Vazir to the king, and the asylum of felicity and [guardian of the] dominions,

(6) Built anew this sacred building with domes, the like of which [none has seen] in the world.

(7) Qazi Zia-ud-din who is the efficient wazir (deputy) to the Khan of the country, ordered its erection.

(8) And by the help of God it was built on Friday the 4th of Rajab in the 815th year of [the Hijrat of the best of the time] (i.e., the Prophet).

(9) For composing these pearl-like verses behold the slave Mubarak dived into.

(10) O God, may this building by Thy kindness to its founder ever be....

The date of the inscription being partly obliterated admits of another reading as well. It can be read as “haf sad yazdah” or 711 A.H., which Mr. Beglar seems to have done, as he says (p. 33 of Vol. VII of the Archæological Survey of India Reports) that a date of 900 years back is claimed for the inscription. But the following reasons lead me to think otherwise and to agree with the reading of Dr. Führer that the words are “hisad panzah” or 815 A.H.

The inscription gives the name of Sultan Mahmud who “for the glorification of Islam draws his victorious sword every year (in India)”. The description suggests Mahmud of Ghazni who invaded India 12 times, or according to some 17 times, and called his expeditions ‘holy wars against the infidels.’ He, however, died in 421 A.H. (1030 A.D.) and so the assumption that he is referred to may be discarded.

Again, Alaeddin Khalji who reigned from 695 A.H. to 715 A.H. (1295-1315 A.D.) was never called Mahmud but Muhammad Shah I, so he cannot be the monarch referred to in this inscription.

In fact there was no ruling prince named Mahmud in any part of India in the year 711 A.H.

In support of the reading herein given it may be stated that Junaid Khan, the governor of Irich, whose name appears in the 4th line of the inscription, flourished in the beginning of the 9th century A.H. in the time of Mahmud Shāh Tughlaq II whose second rule dates from 808 to 815 A.H. Although the description is not applicable to this monarch verbatim, it may be remarked

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1 Junaid Khan and his family held the Government of Irich for several generations until 848 A.H. (1445 A.D.) when his son Mubarak Khan was renounced by Sultan Mahmud Sharji, who was then at war with Sultan Mahmud Khalji of Malwa (Briggs’ Feud-is, Vol. IV p. 212).

2 If the missing words رضویه تیمیه have been correctly supplied, the hemistich may be translated as follows:—regarding whose dignified position (it is enough to say that) the (unmanageable horse of the) heavens was also under his thighs.
that for this reason his identity need not be doubted when we remember that exaggeration in Persian poetry has always been considered permissible.

Again it is quite probable that Mahmud Khan, the governor of Kalpi and Mahoba, who after declaring his independence proclaimed himself king at the disruption of the Pathan empire after the invasion of Timur in 801 A.H. or 1398 A.D. (vide Chronicles of the Pathan Kings p. 315) might have been alluded to in this inscription; for near by stands the tomb of Shaikh Yusuf Buddha Irachi which contains an inscription bearing Mahmud Khan's name. The date on it has been much injured but we learn from Ala Yar Khan, author of the Azkar-i-Abrar, (p. 141) that Shaikh Yusuf died in 834 A.H., about the same date, that is to say, as has been assigned in the inscription to the erection of the Jami mosque.

Considerable pains have been taken by Mr. Beglar to show that the date of the erection of the building is not as stated in the inscription but that it was built during the Mughal period. Mr. Edmund Smith was of opinion that the mosque was constructed during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658-1707) and Führer thinks that it was repaired and the enormous caps added to the domes during that reign. I am inclined to concur with the latter supposition, but there is no question but that the main fabric of the building was erected in the Tughlaq period and I see no reason why the inscription should not belong to the building. With the exception of the tops of the domes there is nothing in the style of the construction to point to the mosque being of the Mughal period.

The building is now rather dilapidated and illkept and, although attempts have been made to repair it, such bad workmanship and bad material have been put into the work that they may be described as practically useless. Stone has been freely used in the construction of the mosque but it is chiefly built of brick. The cloisters with their groined roofs are entirely of brick. The drawings (plates XXII to XXV) adequately explain the architectural details, which need not be enlarged upon except to remark that the principal mihrab (plate XXV) is a particularly good piece of work, the design being Muhammadan but the detail purely Hindu.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{یہ شمس برسف مالیک خمال} & \text{کہ درگیش سعادت شاہان جہاں} \\
\text{سی وار محدود خلی فی اہم} & \text{بنا ر ان تیر ر خلی ال}
\end{align*}
\]

Translation.

For Shaikh Yusuf of angelic disposition, at whose threshold kings rub their foreheads, The generous Mahmud Khan, commander of the army, with the help and grace of God, founded. So matchless and magnificent a dome, that the high firmament is a fitting cap for it.

\*Dr. Führer in his Monumental Antiquities, page 114 states, "In the citadel at Kurnah is the tomb of one Mahmud Shah Ghati; it was built during the Bundela ascendency between Samrat 1650-1700 (1593-1643) during the reign of Shah Jahan. This Mahmud Shah is the reputed builder of the Masjid at Irich in the Jhaut Dist.-set." It is not clear from what source Dr. Führer obtained this information which seems to be based merely on some tradition.

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BADAUN—JAMI MASJID.

Detail of north angle east exterior elevation.

Elevation of west interior façade.
Detail of northern gateway.

Mihrah under great dome.

Elevation

Section

PLAN

SCALE OF FEET

1/160

Elevation

Section

PLAN
BADAUN—JAMI MASJID.

Detail of brick carving over north gateway.

Detail of brick ornament in archway facing courtyard on north side of grand dome.

Detail of ornament on architrave.

Detail of ornamental band in the centre of pier.

Detail of spandril.
(a) East facade of prayer chamber.

(b) View from South-West.
BADAUN—JAMI MASJID.

(a) View of court-yard from south-east.

(b) Wall at back of mihrab.

(c) View of south-west corner from court-yard.

(d) Interior view looking south.

Photo-engraved at the Office of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1897.
LALITPUR—BASA.

Plans and elevations of columns.
PLATE XV.

(a) FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

(b) FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

Photo-engraved by the Office of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1898.
KALPI—CHAURASI GUMBAZ.

Detail of panel and string moulding beneath the principal dome.

Elevation.

Section.

Elevation.  SCALE OF FEET

Section.

Detail of one of the upper panels on North facade.
KALPI—CHAURASI GUMBAZ.

(a) INTERIOR.

(b) GENERAL VIEW, FROM SOUTH-EAST.
Detail of one of the small domes at South-West angle of Mausoleum.
IRICH—JAMI MASJID.

(a) THE MIHRAB.

(b) INTERIOR VIEW.

(c) EAST FACADE.

Plate XXV.