

DELHI IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Glenn D. Lowry

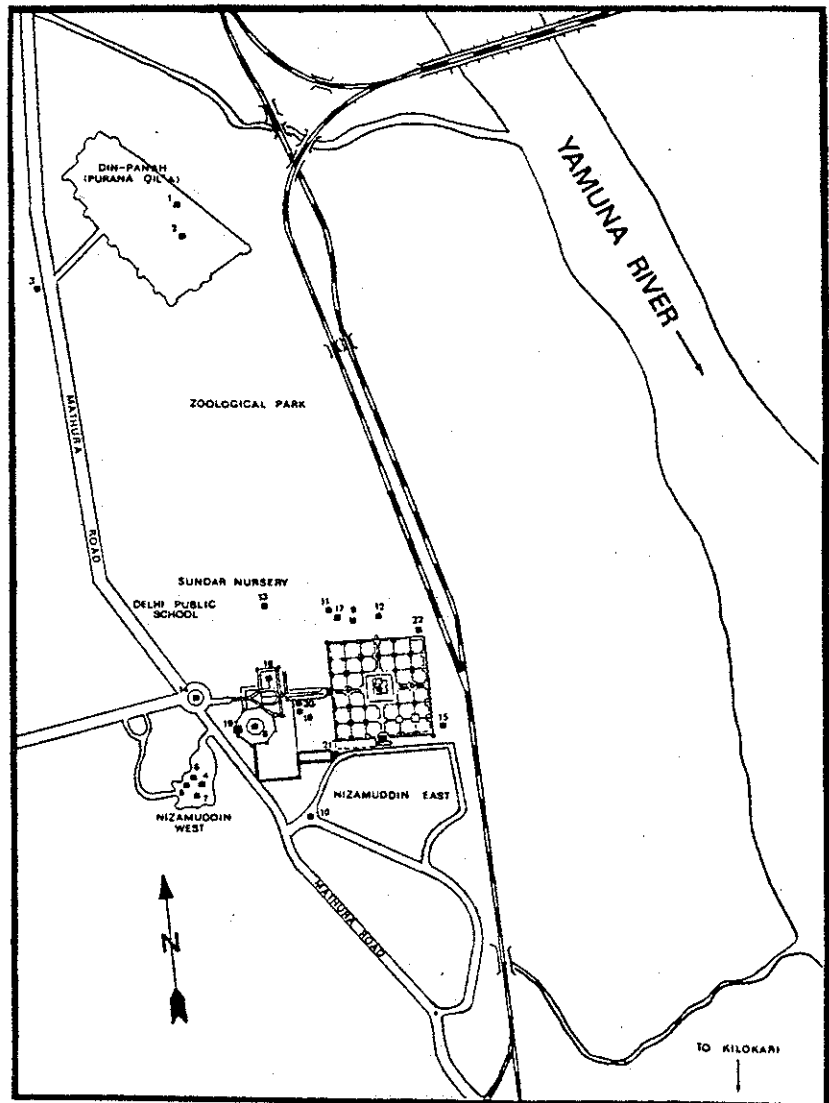
940/1533. While there is little information about which parts of the city were most densely populated at this time it is clear from several contemporary historians that much of Delhi was in ruins by the end of the 16th century³.

In order to gain an understanding of Delhi's urban structure during the 16th century this article will examine the effect a single monument had on redefining one of the city's

main areas. The tomb of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammed Humayun (937/1530-947/1540; 962/1555-963/1556), the second Mughal emperor of India was constructed between 970/1562-3 and 979/1571. It is a massive red sandstone and white marble building set upon a plinth in the middle of a large enclosed garden (fig. 9)⁴.

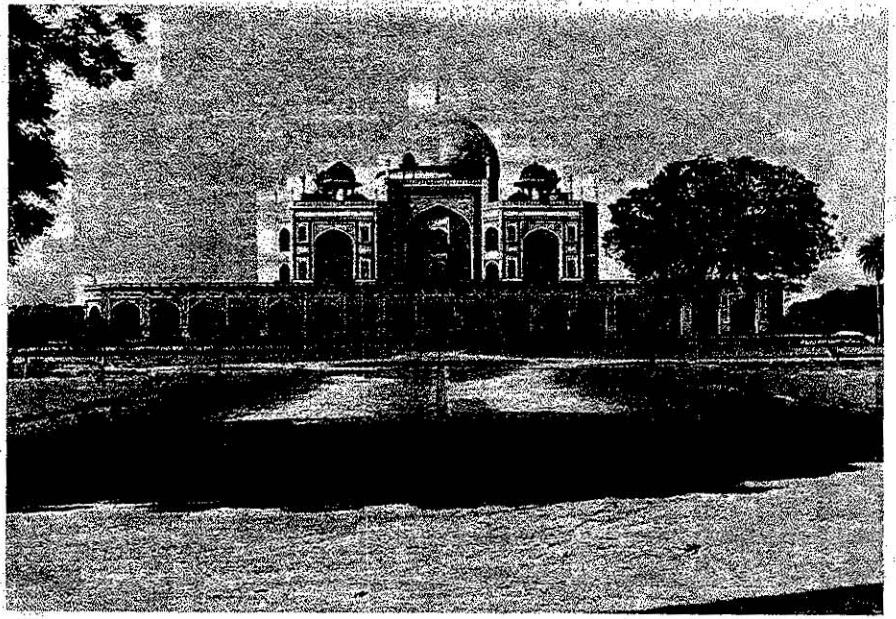
The tomb is situated 1,500 meters to the south of Din-panah (which

Delhi, properly speaking, is not a single city but a series of cities and habitations located along the western bank of the river Jumna¹. During the 16th century the area encompassed by these cities stretched from Tughluqabad in the south to the Kotla of Firuz Shah and beyond in the north². As the urban and administrative centers of Delhi grew and shifted under the various dynasties that ruled the region from 1206 until the advent of the Mughals in the second quarter of the 16th century there was a constant movement first eastward (towards the banks of the river) and then northward. By the middle of the 16th century the urban center of Delhi was located between the Dargah and village of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya (636/1238-725/1325) and the walls of Din-panah founded by Humayun in

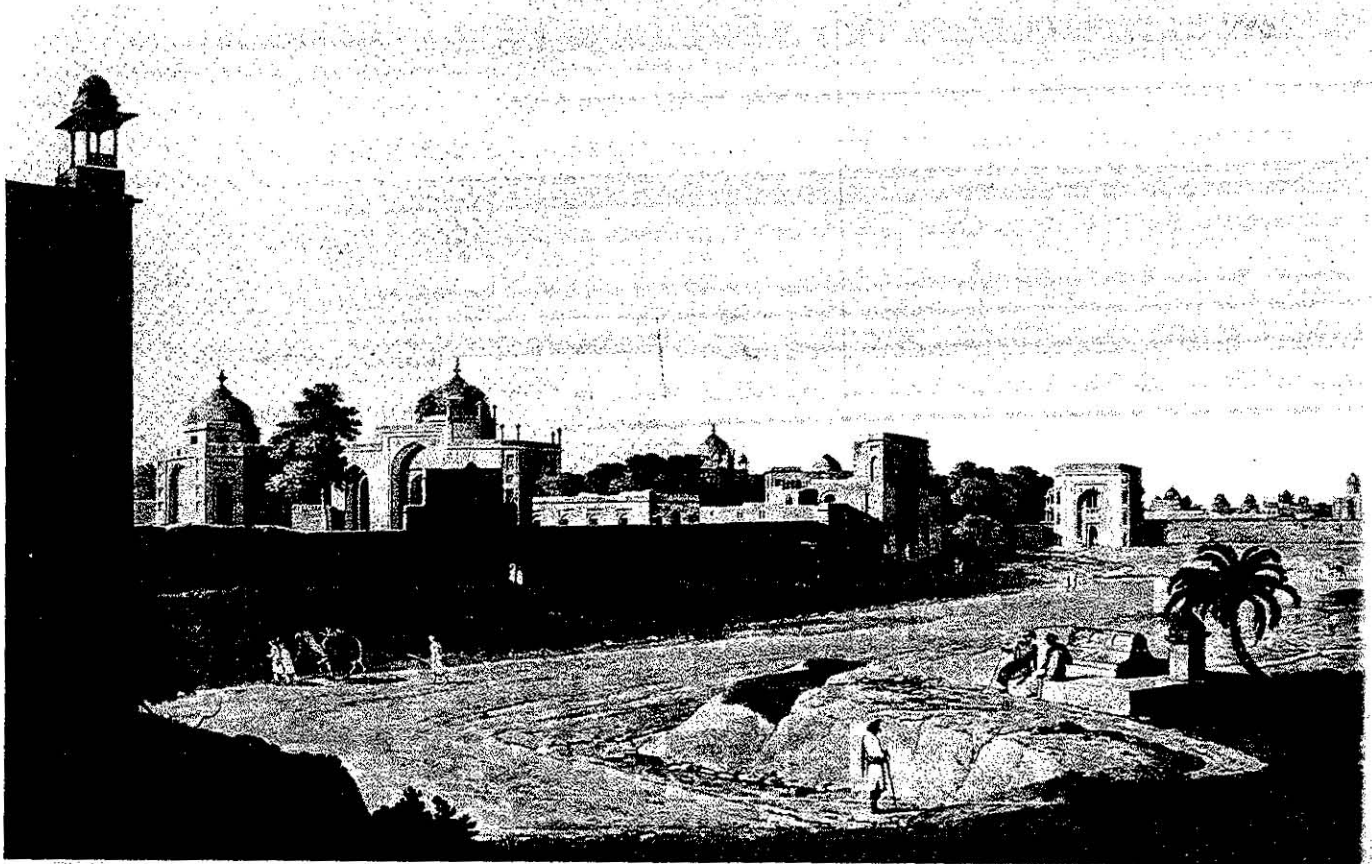


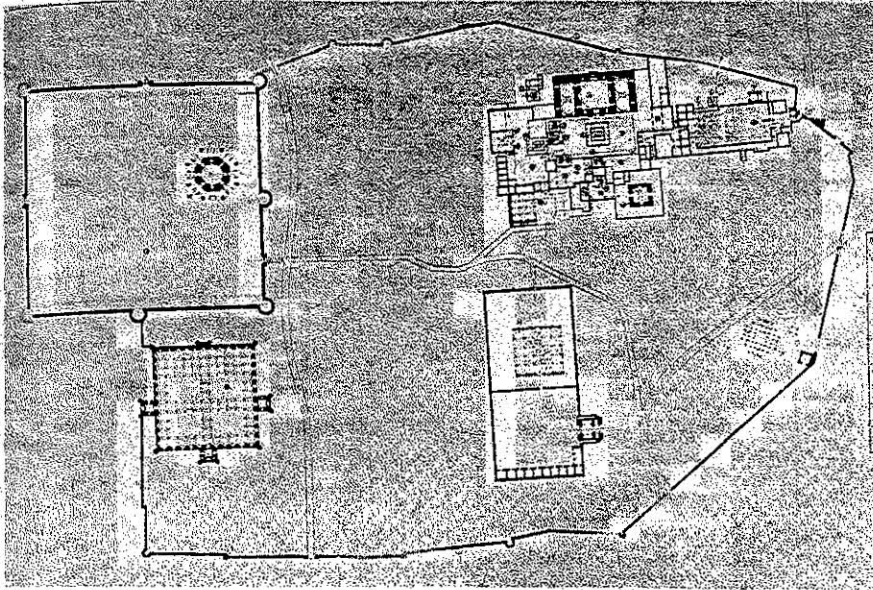
Sketch map, of the site. (Fig. 8).

was built by Humayun) and 650 meters to the west of the Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. A road, known today as the Mathura road, links these areas to one another. During the 16th century this road formed part of the route from Agra to Lahore and was one of the main avenues of the city⁵. To the east of the mausoleum flows the Jumna. At the time of the monument's construction the river ran within meters of the sepulchre's walls. During the early 20th century, however, the river was diverted eastward leaving a large barren area now used by the Northern Railway of India⁶. 1,900 meters southeast of the tomb is the remains of the 13th century town of Kilokari built by Mu'izz-ud-Din Kaiqubad. Many of the medieval



*Humayun's tomb. Southern facade. (Fig. 9).
"View at Delhi near the mausoleum of Humaioon", From Oriental Scenery by Thomas and William Daniell. (Fig. 10).*

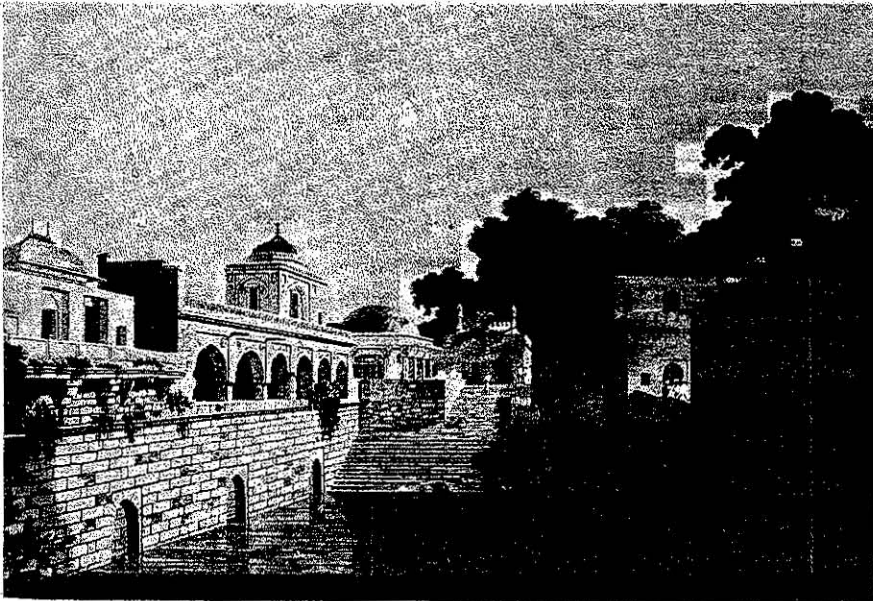
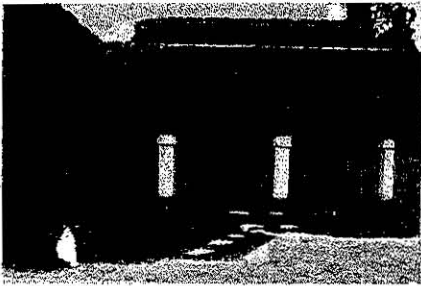




The complex of Nizam-ud-din dargah. (Fig. 11).

Chilla khana of Nizam-ud-din Auliya. (Fig. 12).

The baoli of Nizam-ud-din dargah from *Oriental Scenery*. (Fig. 13).



buildings in this area related geographically and architecturally to Humayun's sepulchre. The most important of these will be described below, first individually in relationship to the tomb in order to show how the mausoleum's construction effected the development of this area.

Din-panah

In Sha'ban 939 according to Khwandamir, a 16th century historian, Humayun decided to build a new city near Delhi which was to be called Din-panah⁷. A year later in Muharram 940 (August, 1533) construction began on the city. By end of that year Khwandamir was able to write "At this time, the latter part of Shawwal (May, 1534), the walls, bastions, ramparts and the gates of the city of Din-panah are nearly finished; and great and small, the Tajiks and Turks, all expect that the great and lofty buildings of this large city will soon be completed"⁸. Later historians mention the use of the city but they do not indicate whether it was ever completed. All that remains today are the walls, the north, south and west gates, a mosque known as the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid and a pavilion popularly called the Sher Mandal.

The walls of the city are nearly 2 kilometers in length and form an irregular rectangle with a short side to the north and a long one to the south (see map). The three gateways are all built of red sandstone, double storied, and surmounted by small chhatris or kiosks. The north and south gates however, differ from the western one in their proportions and decoration. They are both narrow and tall with small inset panels of decoration in their upper corners. The west gate, which

opens into the Mathura Road, (fig. 14), now the main entrance to the city, is shorter and wider than the other two and has two six pointed stars in the corners of the spandrels above its entrance-way instead of ornamental panels⁹.

The Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid (fig. 16), in the center of the city has 5 bays and is built of rubble faced with red sandstone, grey stone and white marble. A dome crowns the central bay of the mosque while double-storied octagonal corner towers flank the building's rear. Less than 100 meters to the south of this mosque is the pavilion. It is a two-storied octagonal structure. Like the mosque it is built of rubble masonry faced with red sandstone and white marble inlays.

These remains have often been attributed to Sher Shah (947/1540-952/1545) on the assumption that he destroyed Din-panah after he forced Humayun to flee India. The basis for this argument is a series of passages from 16th century Sher Shah's buildings in Delhi come from the *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi* of Abbas Khan¹⁰ and the *Tarikh-i Da'udi* of Abdulla¹¹. The *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi* states that:

The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jumna, and Sher Shah destroyed and rebuilt it by the bank of the Jumna, and ordered two forts to be built in that city ... and in the governor's fort he built a jama' masjid of stone, in the ornamentation of which much gold, lapislazuli and other precious articles were expended¹².

Abdulla adds that:

After the conquest of Multan by Haibat Khan Sher Shah went from (Agra) to Delhi in the year 947 (1540); and actuated by unworthy feelings he destroyed the fort of

Alau-d-din, which stood in Siri, conspicuous for its strength and loftiness, and built on the bank of the Jumna, between Firozabad and Kili Kari, in the village of Indrapat, a new city, about two or three kilometers distant from the old one ... He also laid the foundations of a magnificent masjid, which was very quickly completed. The name of the fort he called "Sher-garh", and the walls of it were of great breadth and height; but on account of the shortness of his reign he did not live to complete it. Within the fort was a small palace, also left incomplete, which he called "Sher-mandal"¹³.

Asher and others have posited that these passages allow the Purana Qil'a to be equated with Sher-garh¹⁴. Yet there is no evidence to link the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid with Sher Shah's mosque nor the pavilion at the Purana Qil'a (which is not only complete but shows no signs of having been built in more than one campaign) with the Sher-mandal. Moreover there is nothing in either of these descriptions of Sher Shah's monuments that suggests that the ruler actually destroyed Din-panah as implied by the theories associating Sher-garh with the Purana Qil'a¹⁵. Indeed both Abu'l Fazl and Badaoni state explicitly that:

When he (Sher Shah) arrived at old Delhi which was founded by Sultan Ala-ud-Din, he destroyed that also, and established between the fortress of Din-panah, which Muhammed Humayun Padshah constructed, and Firozabad, an extensive city¹⁶.

Antony Monserrate, who visited Delhi during the early 1580, also records the existence of Din-panah. He writes that "Delinum is noteworthy for its public buildings, its remarkable fort built by Emaumus,

its wall and a number of mosques"¹⁷.

That the Purana Qil'a is indeed Din-panah is confirmed both by 16th and 17th century European descriptions of Delhi and by its architecture. Although neither Monserrate nor Finch discuss any of the buildings of Din-panah they both mention that it was located close to Humayun's tomb. Furthermore Abu'l Fazl writes that "He came out on the roof of the library which had been recently fitted up, and gave the people who were assembled at the chief mosque the blessing of performing homage"¹⁸, indicating that the two were next to each other, as are the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid and the octagonal pavilion.

Finally, neither the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid nor the pavilion resemble any of the buildings of Sher Shah¹⁹. Both, however, are characteristic of early Mughal architecture. The rectangular plan of the mosque, for instance, with its five bays, inset colonettes and octagonal corner towers is almost identical to the mosque of Jamali-Kamali begun during the reign of Babur (fig. 16). The double-storied pavilion, on the other hand, with its octagonal plan, rectangular panels of decoration and large chhatri, closely resembles a number of palaces described by Khwandamir²⁰ and Guldabam Begam²¹ in their accounts of Humayun's architecture. Unfortunately none of these have survived. But similar structures, such as the double-storied palace surmounted by a chhatri in "Mihrafruz Prepares for the Wedding Feast of Rustam", from *Hamza-nama* (1562-77)¹² are often depicted in early Mughal manuscripts indicating the Mughals' awareness and use of the type.

The village and Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya

The village and Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya form the second major group of monumental remains in this area. The saint's white marble shrine is located in the north-west corner of the village which is enclosed by a rubble wall now in desrepair. Access to the complex is from either the north-west, or the east, through a series of vaulted passage-ways that date in part from the third quarter of the 14th century²³.

The early history of the Dargah is somewhat vague: the saint is reputed to have dug a baoli to the north of his tomb, constructed the red sandstone Jama'at Khana (several meters to the west of his tomb) and started work on a number of other buildings²⁴. Except for the remnants of the north-western passage-way the baoli (which is impossible to date) and the Jama'at Khana (which has been extensively altered) none of the 13th or early 14th century structures are now extant.

During the late 14th and 15th centuries the shrine as it now stands began to acquire a precise physical context. Both the *Futuh-at-i Firuz Shahi* and the *Thamarat-ul-Quds* record that Firuz Shah (752/1351-790-88) erected several monuments adjacent to the Jama'at Khana as well as remodelling Nizam-ud-Din's tomb and building a covered passage-way around the eastern side of the baoli²⁵. The octagonal tomb of Khan-i Jahan Tilangani (110 meters to the south of Nizam-ud-Din's tomb) and the Kalan masjid (120 meters to the south-east of Nizam-ud-Din's tomb) constructed by Khan-i Jahan's son, Junan Shah Maqbul both date from this period²⁶. Firuz Shah's successors

also added a number of monuments to the complex but most of these no longer exist.

The Mughals continued the tradition of building at the Dargah. Under Babur and Humayun screens were put up in a number of places (the precise locations of which are now impossible to identify)²⁷ and an edifice was constructed by Mahdi Khwaja over the grave of Amir Khusrau (651/1253-725/1325)²⁸. One of Nizam-ud-Din's foremost disciples. During Humayun's reign several repairs and additions were undertaken at the tomb including the removal of the mausoleum's dome in 938/1531-2 and the placing of a marble tombstone over the grave²⁹. Thirty one years later, in 969/1561-2 Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, Akbar's governor of Delhi, replaced the dome and built sandstone screen around the structure³⁰. The tomb as it appears now, however, is the result of later restorations carried out in the 17th and 19th centuries³¹.

During the late 16th and 17th centuries Nizam-ud-Din's tomb and the Jama'at Khana were also extensively worked on. An inscription at the head of the saint's grave states that in 970/1562-3 Faridun Khan built a tomb over the site³². In 980/1571-2 Akbar ordered the cleaning and the reparation of the Jama'at Khana which was in poor condition³⁰. Akbar also ordered the construction of more screens around the Dargah. Later emperors either rebuilt or altered many of these 16th century additions. Nizam-ud-Din's tomb in particular seems to have been the subject of constant changes as each ruler sought to impose his own mark on the form of the Dargah.

Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the

Thamarat-ul-Quds and other texts³⁴, a number of people were buried in and around the Dargah. Unfortunately we no longer know the names of most of these persons. But the graves of Mirza Muqim (967/1559-60) and Abu'l Fazail (968/1561-2) as well as the red sandstone and white marble tomb of Atgah Khan (974/1566-7) and the tombs of Mirza Aziz Kokaltash (1033/1623-4), Jahanara (1023/1614-1092-81), Shah Jahan's eldest daughter, Muhammad Shah (1131r./1719-1161/48), and Mirza Jahan-gir (d. 1236/1821), the eldest son of Alamgir II, clearly indicate the extent of the shrine's popularity under the Mughals.

Although the tomb of Nizam-ud-Din and the monuments next to it are obviously the focal point of the saint's cult there are other structures outside of the Dargah and village, that are associated with the saint. The most important of these is a small triple-bayed building with a verandah just to the east of the north-eastern corner of the enclosure walls of Humayun's tomb. The building, now in disrepair, is devoid of ornamentation and inscriptions. It has, however, been identified as Nizam-ud-Din's spiritual retreat on the basis of a passage from the *Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar* which states that the saint's chilla khana was by the side of the river near Humayun's tomb³⁵. While it is impossible to be certain of this identification (due to our inability to date precisely the structure) what is important is that by the middle of the 16th century a specific spiritual context had been given to the area immediately to the east of Humayun's tomb.

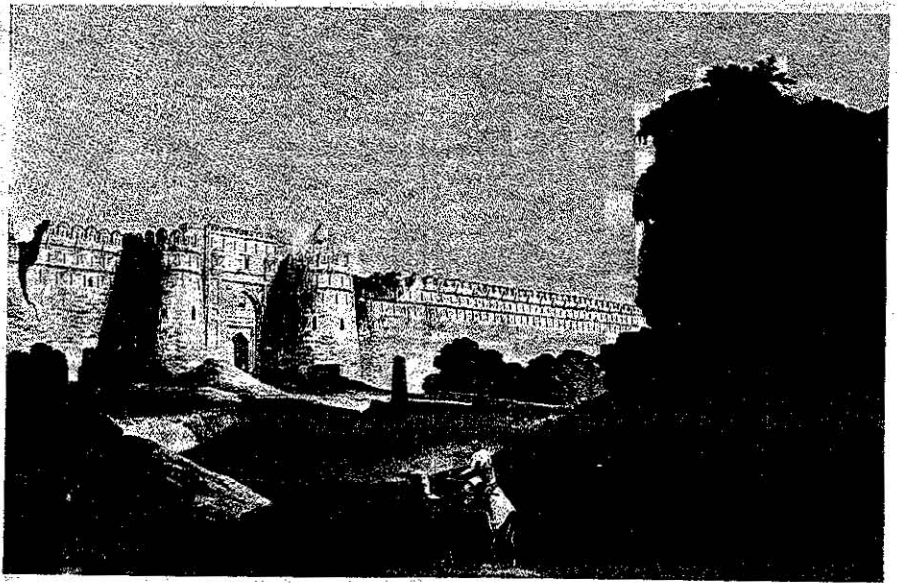
Delhi Public School Compound, Sunder Bagh Nursery, Bharat Scouts and Guides and Adjacent Areas.

In addition to the monuments of Din-panah and the Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya there are a number of other buildings in this area that are of importance. Most of these are located in a large tract of land just to the north of Humayun's tomb now occupied by the Delhi Public School, Sunder Bagh Nursery and the Bharat Scouts and Guides. Bishop Heber, who passed through this part of Delhi in 1824, remarked that even then there was:

From the gate of Agra to Humayun's tomb a very awful scene of desolation, ruins after ruins, tombs after tombs, fragments of brick work, freestone granite and marble scattered everywhere over a soil naturally rocky and barren, without cultivation, except in one or two small spots, and without a single tree³⁶.

The extent of this desolation is clearly visible in T. Boys' print *Ruins South Side of Old Delhi* (fig. 18). In the foreground are three gravestones chipped and badly kept. Behind them is an endless vista of tombs and decaying buildings. Although many of these are now destroyed, a few of them, such as the square Lakkawala Gumbad and the octagonal Sabz Burj, are identifiable.

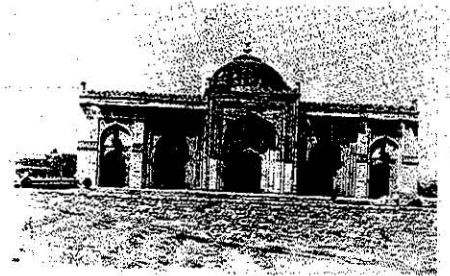
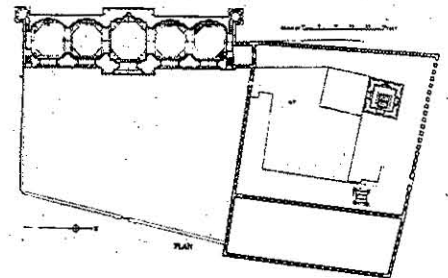
The majority of monuments in this area are the tombs though there are also three mosques (two of which are attached to tombs), a large courtyard with two gates and the remains of an extensive series of walls (see map). The tombs range in date from the first half of the 16th century to the second quarter of the 17th century. Three of them are dated: the octagonal tomb of Isa Khan



The wester gate of Din-panah from Oriental Scenery. (Fig. 14).

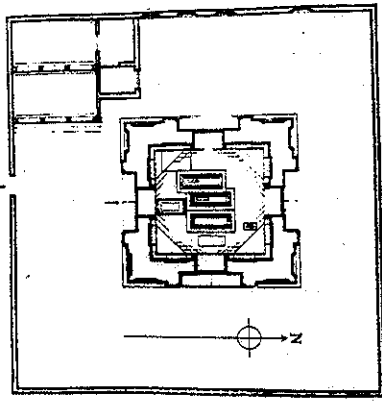
(300 meters to the west of Humayun's tomb) with its verandah and relatively low flat dome was built in 1574; the rectangular tomb of Mirza Muzaffar Husain known as the Bara Batashewala Mahal, (200 meters to the north-east of Humayun's tomb), was constructed in 1603; and the massive square red sandstone and white marble mausoleum of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan (450 meters to the south-west of Humayun's tomb) was completed shortly after Abdur Rahim's death in 1035/1626-7.

Three tombs, the Lakkawala Gumbad, Sundarwala Mahal (fig. 22), and an unidentified tomb near the Delhi Public School (fig. 24) can be attributed to the second quarter of the 16th century on the basis of their ornamentation and structure. They are all located several hundred meters to the north of Humayun's tomb and are small square rubble structures that rest on low plinths. Each is surmounted by a dome that



Din-panah. Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid. (Fig. 15).

Tomb and mosque of Jamali Kamali. (Fig. 16).



PLAN

SCALE OF 10 0 10 20 30 FEET

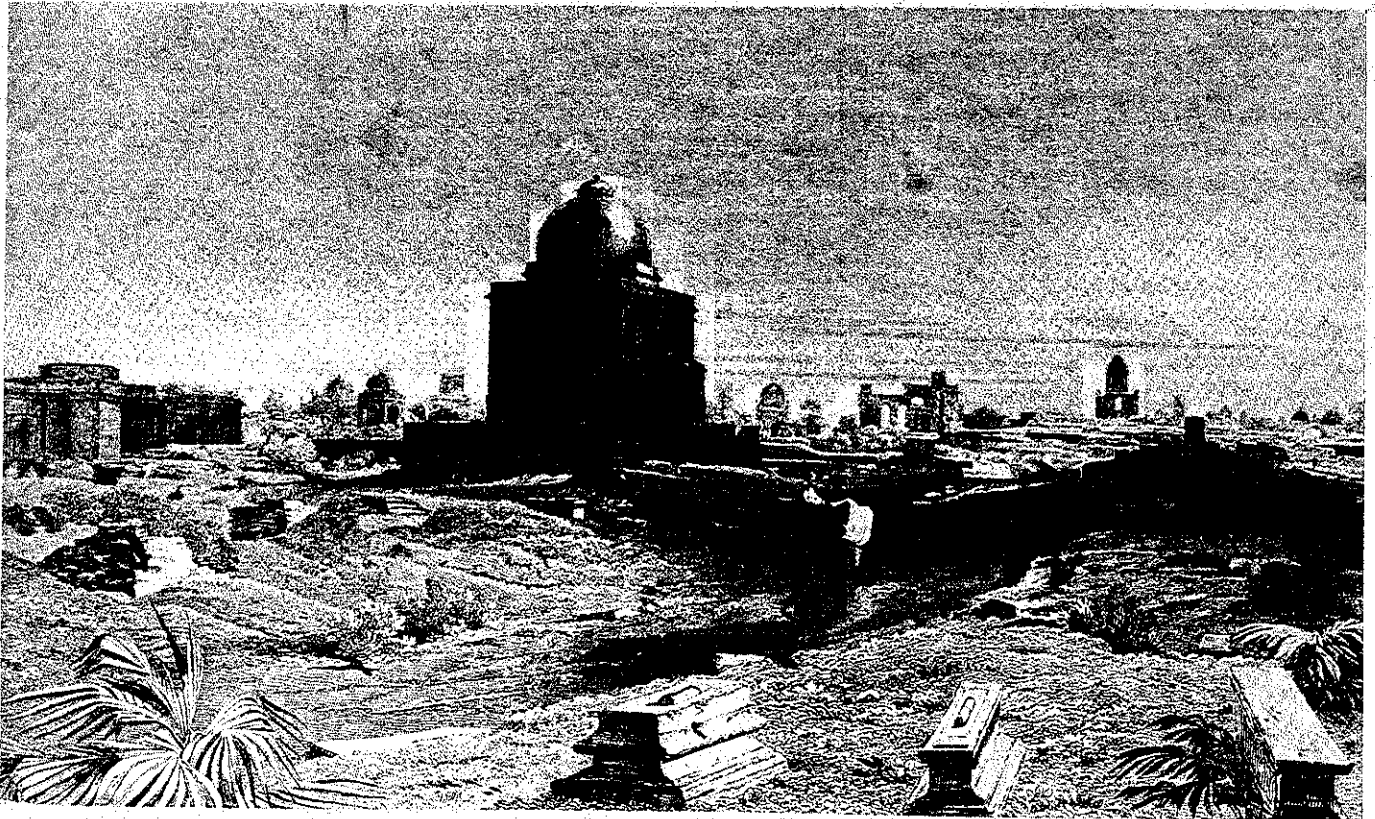
Atgah Khan's tomb at Nizam-ud-din. (Fig. 17).

is supported by an elaborate system of squinching. Extensive floral and geometric designs in stucco decorate the insides of the buildings.

To the west and east of Humayun's tomb are three octagonal mausoleums of similar design. Each rests on a low plinth and is crowned by a dome supported by a high cylindrical drum. The Sabz Burj (550 meters to the west of Humayun's tomb) and the Nili Gumbad (fig. 21), (65 meters to the south-east of Humayun's tomb) were both originally covered with coloured tiles (from which their names derive). The Afsarwala Gumbad (100 meters to the west-south-west of Humayun's tomb), like the other two, is built of rubble (fig. 20). Its exterior, however, is faced with red sandstone and white marble. It dif-

fers from the other two, as well, in its use of small inset colonettes to punctuate the exterior corners of the building. A tentative date for these tombs in the third quarter of the 16th century is suggested both by their formal resemblance to late Timurid tombs and a gravestone in the Afsarwala Gumbad dated 974/1566-7.

Two low rectangular tombs built of rubble that closely resemble the Bara Bateshewala Mahal are the Sundarwala burj (300 meters to the north of Humayun's tomb), and an unidentified tomb in the so called garden of Bu-Halima (250 meters to the west of Humayun's tomb) are essentially identical in plan. Both are composed of a central mortuary chamber surrounded by a series of interconnecting cells. Based on the



Ruins south side of Old Delhi by T. Boys. (Fig. 18).

Bara Bateshewala Mahal's date of 1603 an early 17th century date for the other two is appropriate.

The three mosques in this area all date to the third quarter of the 16th century. The Khair-ul-Manazil (fig. 19) is the most important of the three. It is located 150 meters to the west of Din-panah (1,500 meters to the north of Humayun's tomb). The mosque is a large rubble structure entered from the east through a red sandstone gateway inlaid with a white marble border. In plan the mosque is similar to the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid with five arched bays, a central dome and octagonal corner towers in the rear. However, unlike the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid the Khair-ul-Manazil was decorated with tiles rather than inlaid stones. To the north and south of the prayer chamber are double-storied cloisters that served, according to the *Abkar-nama*, as the cells of a madrasa³⁷. An inscription over the central arch of the mosque records that it was built by Maham Anga (Akbar's wet nurse and mother of Adham Khan) under the supervision of Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad Khan in 969/1561-2³⁸.

The other mosques are attached to the tombs of Isa Khan and the Afsarwala Gumbad. The mosque at Isa Khan's tomb is built into the outer wall surrounding the mausoleum. It is a small triple-bayed structure with a large central dome flanked by two chhatris and is made of rubble faced with red sandstone and grey stone. The mosque at the Afsarwala Gumbad, also triple-bayed in plan, is considerably larger. It stands on the same plinth as the tomb and is a couple of meters to its north.

Like the mosque at Isa Khan's tomb it has a large central dome. But instead of chhatris over the ou-

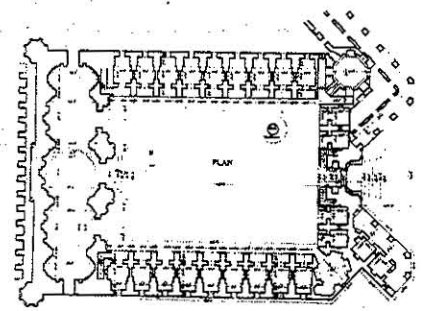
ter bays there are two small domes. Although the Afsarwala Mosque is now in poor condition it is clear that its rubble core was originally faced with plaster painted red and white. Adjacent to the mosque (but not on the plinth) is a rectangular hall now in great disrepair.

160 meters to the south of Humayun's tomb — between the eastern most portion of a series of ruined walls and the western wall of the enclosure around Humayun's tomb — is a courtyard with a gate in its eastern and western walls. The eastern gate (which is the best preserved part of the complex) is built of rubble covered with stucco painted red and white. Both its interior and exterior are extensively ornamented with painted and incised stucco designs. An inscription over the entrance to the gate contains the name Mihr Banu Qadimi Jahangir suggesting that this gate was constructed during Jahangir's reign (1605-27).

The western gate to the courtyard is now almost entirely destroyed. All that remains is the rubble fragments of a large arched entrance and what appear to be corner apartments.

The courtyard, which measures 120 by 40 meters, is composed of a series of vaulted cells each containing an inner and an outer room. In the center of the southern wall are the remains of a small baoli and hammam.

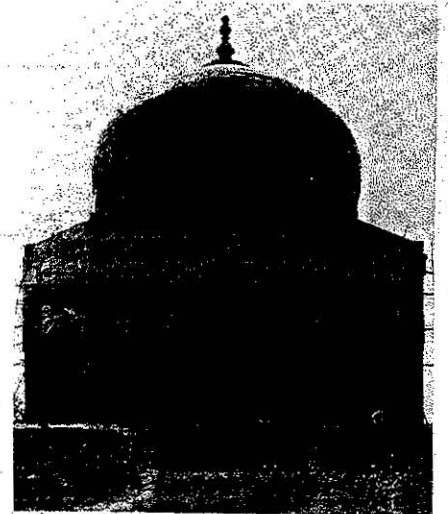
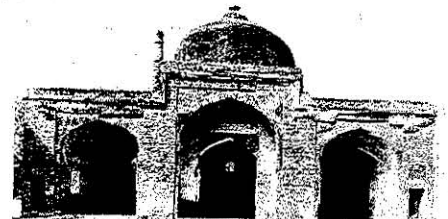
It has been argued that this area was part of a mandi, or market, built by Mihr Banu in 1612 and that walls to the north and west of it are the remnants of a complex known as the Arab-Sarai constructed by Haji Begam in 1560³⁹. Unfortunately there are no contemporary references either to the creation of a market by Mihr Banu, who is other-



Khair-ul-Manazil mosque. (Fig. 19).

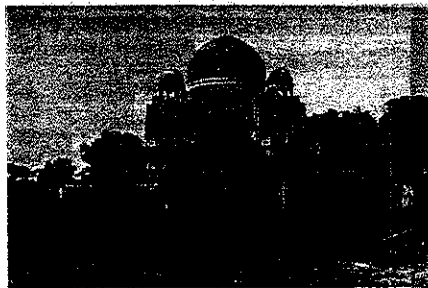
Afsarwala mosque. (Fig. 20).

Nili Gumbad. (Fig. 21).

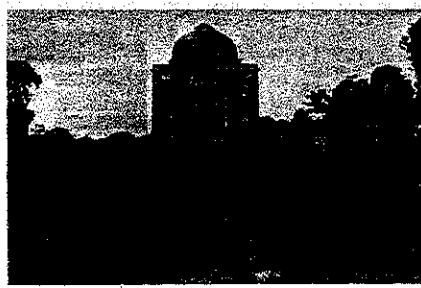




Sundarwala mahal. (Fig. 22).



Tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan-i-khanan. (Fig. 23).



Unidentified tomb near the Delhi public school. (Fig. 24).

wise unknown, nor to the building of a hostel by Haji Begam in the vicinity of Humayun's tomb. Although this does not preclude the existence of these structures — indeed, the eastern gate's inscription clearly indicates that it was constructed during Jahangir's reign — it makes it almost impossible to identify them with the extant remains.

Kilokari

Approximately 1,700 meters to the south of this enclosure is the Mathura road. The city was built by Mu'izz-ud-Din Kaiqubad (686/1287-689/1290) during the first years of his reign. According to Barani after Kaiqubad abandoned his predecessor's citadel he built:

... a splendid palace, and laid out a beautiful garden at Kilu-ghari on the banks of the Jumna. Thither he retired with nobles and attendants of his court, and when it was seen that he was resolved upon residing there, the nobles and officers also built palaces and dwellings, and taking up their abode there Kilu-ghari became a populous place (and the resort of all of the votaries and ministrants of pleasure). Night and day the Sultan gave himself up to dissipation and enjoyment⁴⁰.

Kaiqubad died, however, shortly

after construction began on his new town. The project, though, was completed by his successor Firuz Shah Khalji who also ordered the creation of bazaars and gardens there⁴¹. But for reasons that are not clear people were reluctant to move there⁴². Thus even though Kilokari was the seat of imperial activity under Firuz Shah it never seems to have become firmly established as a major political or economical center. By the first decades of the 14th century the city had been abandoned for Siri (now known as Malaviyanagar) to the south-west.

Several conclusions can be drawn from this description of the area between Din-panah and Kilokari. The first is that during the first half of the 16th century it is unlike that there were any major buildings between the two primary axes of this space: the Dargah and village of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya and the fortress of Din-panah. There were, of course scattered structures in this area. To the immediate north and east of the Dargah, for instance, were a number of 16th century tombs and mosques (as might be expected near a holy site). These included the Sabz Burj, Nili Gumbad and the tomb of Isa khan as well as the Afsarwala and Lakkarwala Gumbads and the Khair-ul-Manzil.

The construction of Humayun's tomb immediately to the east of Nizam-ud-Din's Dargah and to the south of Din-panah had a profound impact on this area. By selecting an essentially undeveloped site close to these two important locations the architect and patron of Humayun's mausoleum guaranteed its prominence within the development of 16th century Delhi. Moreover they consciously set tomb in relationship to these areas and their rich associations. Din-panah, for example, was not only the Mughal's first major architectural endeavour in India but its massive walls — visible from Humayun's sepulchre and the banks of the Jumna — charged the entire area with dynastic overtones. For the "Assylum of the Faith" quickly became for the Mughal's both a symbol of their conquest of India and a formidable statement announcing the empire's claim to be the sole protectors of the religious in India.

The Dargah, village and chilla khana of Nizam-ud Din Auliya — one of the most important Muslim shrines of India — on the other hand was the center of intense spiritual associations. Although the early archeology and activities of the complex are not clear there is no doubt that by the first half of the 16th century it was a major reli-

gious site. This is reflected both by the number of buildings that were either repaired or altered during Babur, Humayun's and Akbar's reign and by the numerous burials that took place at the Dargah at this time.

On one level the decision to build Humayun's tomb near the Dargah of Nizam-ud-Din can be simply explained as a function of the saint's growing popularity. The Mughals' devotion to Nizam-ud-Din, however, must also be seen in relation to the saint's renown for having reconciled his interests in yoga and Hinduism with his strict belief in the Prophetic Sunna⁴³. Humayun and Akbar in particular must have been attracted by Nizam-ud-Din's attempts to understand Hinduism. For each in his own way sought to explore the interaction of Hindu and Muslim mystical traditions: Humayun through his contact with the Shattaris and similar religious orders⁴⁴, Akbar through his conversations with yogis and debates at the 'Ibadat Khana⁴⁵.

Humayun's tomb, however, did not simply become part of this important historical setting, it redefined it. By virtue of its size (over 150 feet tall and equally wide) and the enormity of its garden (1,150 feet square) the building established a visual reference that shifted the focus of this area away from the pre-existing monuments and centered it on the mausoleum. The Sabz Burj and Nili Gumbad, for instance, despite their proximity to the tomb are both completely overshadowed by it. The same is true for the many other relatively small rubble-built structures that are in the area surrounding the mausoleum. Moreover because of the tomb's strategic location near the Mathura road any movement either to or from Nizam-

ud-Din's shrine or Din-panah must take the structure into account. Thus the tomb becomes the central element in the urban landscape of this area linking all of the monuments around it to one another visually as well as socially and culturally.

The impact of Humayun's tomb on this area, though, was not limited only to its effect on pre-existing structures. The monument also had an impact on subsequent construction. The complex to the south of the tomb (with its gate and inscription to Mihr Banu Qadimi), for example, clearly responds to the physical presence of the mausoleum. Both its layout and its location can only be understood in relationship to the tomb. Although 19th and 20th century construction has erased many of the other buildings that must have developed around Humayun's sepulchre we know from 18th century chronicles that the area was well populated⁴⁶. In a similar way the tomb of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan (fig. 23) is inconceivable without the presence of Humayun's sepulchre. Not only does it share the later's basic plan and design but it is built of exactly the same materials suggesting that the architect of the mausoleum was responding to the proximity of Humayun's tomb.

Although many factors obviously effected the development of 16th century Delhi none had more of an impact on defining the crucial area of the city that has been examined here than the construction of Humayun's mausoleum. For Humayun's tomb altered the pre-existing relationship of all the buildings in the area to one another and subordinated those relationships to its presence. Its impact can still be felt today as its white dome towers

above the surrounding landscape much as it must have done in the 16th century.

NOTES

1. This article is adapted in part from my dissertation, *The Tomb of Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Humayun*, Harvard, 1982. Arabic and Persian words and names are properly transliterated the first time each one appears. Thereafter they are Anglicized. Dates whenever possible are given in the Julian calendar. However, since it is often necessary, in order to give a precise date, to use the hijira calendar I have done so where appropriate. After the hijira date the Julian equivalent is given.
2. For an excellent discussion of the major monuments and structures of 14th century Delhi see A. Welch and H. Crane, "The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate", *Muqarnas* I (1983) 123-167.
3. See, for instance, Abu'l Fazl Allami, *Ain-i Akbari* vol. 2, tr. into English by H.S. Jarrett and revised by J.N. Sarkar (1948; rpt. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1977) p. 284.
4. The architect of the tomb was Mirza Mirak Ghiyas who appears to have been of Persian or Central Asian origin. For discussions of Mirak Ghiyas see L. Golombek, "From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal", *Essays in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, pp. 48-49, and W. Begley, "Mirak Mirza Ghiyas", forthcoming.
5. The present road, of course, does not follow exactly the original route.
6. See sketch map.
7. *Qanun-i Humayuni*, tr. into English by B. Prashad (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1940), p. 61.
8. *ibid.*, p. 62.
9. For inscriptions, now no longer visible, that were on the North and South gates see M.A. Husain, "Record of all the Quranic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the Delhi province", in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1921) pp. 9-10.

10. Vol. I ed S.M. Imamuddin (Dacca, 1964). Vol. II ed. and tr. by S.M. Imamuddin (Dacca, 1964). Excerpts in Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, (1867-77; rpt. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1964), vol. IV, pp. 301-434.
11. Partial tr. Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol. IV, pp. 434-513.
12. *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 419.
13. *ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 477.
14. C.B. Asher, "The Qal'a-i Kuhna Mosque: A Visual Symbol of Royal Aspirations", *Chhavi, Golden Jubilee Volume II* (1981), pp. 212-217; Brown, *Indian Architecture Islamic Period*, p. 86; Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. II, p. 286; Z.A. Desai, *Indo-Islamic Architecture* (New Delhi, 1970) p. 45. For a somewhat different interpretation of the construction of the Purana Qil'a based on the notion that the city was started by Humayun, worked on by Sher Shah during the emperor's exile and completed by him upon his return to India see: P. Andrews, "The Architecture and Gardens of Islamic India", *The Arts of India*, ed. by B. Gray (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981) p. 106.
15. Asher, "The Qal'a-i Kuhna Mosque: A Visual Symbol of royal Aspirations", pp. 212-3.
16. Abdul Qadir Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. 1 tr. into English by G.S.A. Ranking (1898; rpt. Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat, 1973) p. 472 and Abu'l Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, vol. II, p. 284.
17. *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*, tr. into English by J.S. Hoyland and S.N. Banerjee (Oxford University press, 1922) p. 96.
18. *Akbar-nama*, tr. into English by H. Beveridge (1897-1921; rpt. New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1979), Vol. I, p. 656.
19. For example the tombs of Hasan Khan and Sher Shah at Sasaram both of which are built of grey stone and show no trace of the elaborate inlaid stone work of the Qal'a-i Kuhna masjid or the tomb of Ibrahim Shah at Narnaul which, though it uses inlaid stones, is far more restrained than the buildings at the citadel in Delhi.
20. *Qanun-i Humayuni*, p. 46.
21. *Humayun-nama*, pp. 123-6.
22. Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S. 1519-1883. Reproduced in R.H. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India* (London: World of Islam Festival Publishing Company, 1976), pl. 7.
23. M.Z. Hasan, "A Guide to Nizam-ud-Din", *Memoirs of the Archeological Survey of India*, vol. 10 (1922), p. 7.
24. *ibid.*, pp. 3-10
25. *ibid.*, pp. 7, 10, 11, 14.
26. *ibid.*, p. 36.
27. *ibid.*, pp. 10, 22, 31.
28. *ibid.*, pp. 22-27.
29. *ibid.*, p. 22.
30. *ibid.*, p. 25.
31. *ibid.*, p. 26.
32. *ibid.*, p. 11.
33. *ibid.*, p. 15.
34. *ibid.*, pp. 20-36.
35. Bayazid Biyat, *Tarikh-i Humayun wa Akbar*, ed. persian Text by M. Hidayat Hosain (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society and Bengal, 1941), p. 234.
36. *Bishop Heber in Northern India: Selections from Heber's Journal*, ed. by M.A. Laird (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), p. 227.
37. Vol. 2, p. 313. (English translation).
38. Husain, *Record of all the Quranic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the province of Delhi*, p. 10.
39. Seyyed Ahmed Khan, *Athar-us-Sanadid*, tr. by R. Nath, as *The Monuments of Delhi* (New Delhi: Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1979), p. 5.
40. Zia-ud-Din Barani, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*; partial tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as Told by its Own Historians*, vol. 3, p. 126.
41. *ibid.*, pp. 135-136.
42. *ibid.*, p. 136.
43. S.A.A. Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1978), p. 143. Also, Rizvi, *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India* (Agra: Agra University, 1965) p. 20.
44. Badaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, vol. III, p. 8.
45. Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar-nama*, vol. III, p. 365.
46. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals* (1905; rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1971) vol. 1, p. 394.