



Imaging Spirituality: An Ethnographic Study of Surface Decoration in Maryam Zamani Mosque

Sadia Pasha Kamran*

* Sr. Professor, Institute for Global & Historical Studies, Government College University, Lahore & Director Ruman Art Initiatives, Lahore, Pakistan. sadiapashakamran@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Submitted 17.07.2023

Accepted 26.11.2023

Published 31.12.2023

Volume No. 10

Issue No. II

ISSN (Online) 2414-8512

ISSN (Print) 2311-293X

DOI:

Keywords: Mosque
Interiors, Mughal
Aesthetics, Building
Ornamentation, Fresco
Painting, Iconography,
Aniconism, Arabesque

ABSTRACT

The study, while looking at the historical as well as cultural significance of mosque interiors in the Islamic world examines the surface decoration in Maryam Zamani Mosque. It also focuses on several socio-political underpinnings that define Mughal and Islamic aesthetic thrusts in Pre-Modern India. It addresses some well-established figments about the status of representational iconography in Islamic Art and compares the concept of aniconism in various indigenous traditions. 'Non-figural' as a scheme of ornamentation mediate the divine presence for the believers but it also effectively stimulates the senses towards the unconfined realities that spiritually elevates the viewer who may be the followers of other systems of faith. In its broader scope, it is a study of change of decorative features of religious buildings in Medieval India from figurative to abstract, from earthly to spiritual or from ordinary to ideal with an inclination towards both; the production and reception of these creative practices. In addition to the conventional historiographic methods of research, ethnographic approach is employed to achieve the paradigm of socially-engaged art history for the global audience.



Introduction

Mosque: Role, Functionality and Architecture

Mosque, *Masjid* in Arabic, is a place of worship. It was also, initially, conceived as a community center, an educational institution, a business hub, an embassy and a guest house (William, Muir, 622). With the expansion of Islam outside of Arabia, the mosque became the symbol of the Islamic state itself. It became a norm to build a mosque as the first thing to establish the rule of Allah in a region. As Islamic states became more affluent and got institutionalized, the mosque remained the center of all social life, channeling the religious, political as well as cultural facets of Muslim communities. The architecture or the interior of a mosque is not defined in religious doctrine. Principally, it can be any place where the believers of the faith could congregate behind an imam to pray and prostrate.

Diversity and Appropriation in Mosque Architecture

The candid conviction and the secular attributions brought in the diversity of design in mosque architecture depending upon the established local traditions devised mainly by societal norms and climate. As a result, not only the site and structural design but the material was also appropriated in many cases. One example in this instance is the Great Mosque of Damascus. The site has been used as a place of worship since ancient times. It served as the temple of the Aramaean god of thunderstorm and rain (1st Millennium BC) before it got attributed to the Roman god Jupiter (64 BCE). Later a basilica dedicated to John the Baptist was built at the same place. When the Muslims conquered Damascus (634 CE) a mosque was

constructed on the site. Similar adaptation and acclimatization happened in the case of the Quwwat-ul Islam Mosque Delhi when to commemorate the victory of Muhammad Ghori, his commander Qutbudin Aibak initiated the construction of the mosque (1193 CE). The site chosen for the project was known as an old Jain temple while columns are said to be borrowed from other temples as well (Archaeological Survey of India, 2002).

These commemorative mosques served on several levels. They were constructed to give a new identity to the locality, to serve the new Muslim community, to seek Allah's blessings and most of all to create awe and obedience in non-believers while proving the devotion of its patron. What happens if the community is overtly invested in achieving the ideals of spirituality, enlightenment, nirvana, emancipation of soul and highest bliss through the creative practices? How a society does devoted to the notion of 'peace for all' experience the impeccable ornamentation within the mosque? Are the questions that need to be explored?

Literature Review

Available scholarship on mosque architecture of India in general and Maryam Zamani mosque in particular is documentative in nature. The very little theoretical investigations, mostly written under the title of Islamic or Mughal architecture focus on structural engineering and aim to analyze the architectural convictions from the religious perspective and cross-culturation between Persia and India. With reference to the surface decoration, the existing scholarship traces the evolution of Islamic geometric patterns and classifies them on the basis of time, scale and regionalism. Such approaches provide dialectic answers to a wide range of philosophical and architectural questions, such as when or where a particular pattern was extensively used. What it fails to address is the reception of these patterns and scheme of adornment and the impact of such ornamentation on the viewer's psyche and behaviour and of the community specially if it comprises of the people belonging to diverse faiths.

Research Methodology: The Ethnographic Approach

Here and elsewhere, I plead that religion is but just one feature that determines the art and architecture of an era and area. In case of South Asia, with its legacy of intellectual diversity and acceptance of thought, historiographic, anthropologic or archeologic approach doesn't fully grasp the aesthetic conventions. Hence, the ethnographic approach is required to develop an understanding of culture and mindset of its people to determine how the objects, a mosque in this case was perceived by the larger publics. Maryam Zamani mosque was not just a place of worship for the Muslims but it served as an identity feature of the locality regardless of their religion and faith. Such qualitative approach shall support our argument of mosque interiors manifesting spirituality and recognizing cosmic and divine in nature as ideas that are larger than human life, race, ethnicity or religion.

Aesthetics in Mosque Architecture

To demonstrate the most imperative Islamic ideology of *Tawhid*, to establish the oneness of Allah and to abstain from the previously institutionalized polytheism and its forms of animism and idolatry, it was essential to avoid any physical or human manifestation of God that might unintentionally inculcate the idea of *Shirk* in the heart of the newly converted society. In its teachings, the seventh century 'Islamic Arab' stressed the impermanence of worldly life, moderation in social affairs and betterment of the common man as compared to the one monarch's desire for eternity, a show of power or hegemony over his subject. Another important factor was the nomadic, pastoral lifestyle of these people which is confirmed by the absence of any archaeological witness regarding grand architectural sites. Thus, the religious and the social fervor both negated the urge to construct monumental architecture in the newly established Islamic state. Once the religion got recognized in regions with ascertained indigenous traditions of secular and religious architecture i.e. areas under the artistic influence of Rome, Greece and Persia, the monumental mosques as well as palaces were constructed.

Following these indigenous customs in form and spirit, the new architectural emblems of Islam exemplified its teachings while opting for a distinct and non-figurative scheme of design after the teachings of the Quran about the God Almighty that says "...Nothing is like Him" (44:11) that is in His existence, He is unrelated and incongruent to any imaginable shape and form while confirming his abstract unknown physical features. Quran further lays the foundation of architectural order when it says "Have they not then observed the sky above them, how we have constructed it and beautified it, and how there are no rifts therein?" (50:6) and "God it is who has created seven heavens, and of the earth the like thereof" (65:12). Scholars, like Al-Ghazali, interpret such verses which bear the ideas of cosmology and metaphysics and elaborate the process of creation of this universe, as aesthetic standards or principles on creativity exemplified by God Almighty which need to be embraced by the artists and the designers during creative endeavors. Such encounter between cosmology and architecture is sanctified and holy. Similarly, forms that

embody cosmological ideas invoke the sacredness. It is why Ghazali says that if “you reflect in your mind upon this world you will find it like a built house equipped with everything one needs. The sky is raised as a roof, the ground is stretched out as a carpet, the stars are hung like lamps, and the substances are stored as treasures...” (Akkach 2005, 149)

To develop a distinct iconography, one that suits the teachings of Islam - condemning idolatry and representing the One who is un-attributable with any known form and shape, architects and Muslim patrons consented to pick calligraphy and arabesque; intersecting geometric modules often laid with vegetal motifs that form a reticular pattern as elements of architectural ornamentation thus abandoning the main contradictory element, the figurative images. Such ideals were set to be followed over the centuries in vast areas including Persia, Africa and Europe. Innovations and experimentations were done to enhance the chosen components; calligraphy, geometric patterns and vegetal motifs to add to the beauty and grandeur of the buildings constructed in the Islamic lands.

Diversity in Religious Architecture of India

India’s contribution to developing a culture of knowledge, intellect and reasoning since the Axial Age has been acknowledged (Mark. W. Muesee, 2013). It is the land that has seen the transformation of humanity under almost all major religious streams. These religions have left everlasting impressions on the local culture, art and architecture which is thus more diverse and complicated than it appears. Similar complexities can be observed in characterizing what is ‘Islamic’ in art or architecture. Rituals and rites can be amended right away with the introduction of a new religious thought but abandoning previously gained knowledge, technical skills or crafts is not possible. However, these skills can be applied to create a new and distinct identity peculiar to the new religion.

When Islam reached India, in terms of an expansion of the Islamic empire around the 8th Century CE, the indigenous religious architecture essentially involved figural ornamentations. The earliest examples of this figural imagery which relied on the human body were spread all around the region. From the gateways of Buddhist Stupas e.g. 3rd Century BCE Sanchi stupa or the 2nd Century BCE walls of Ajanta caves to the great many Hindu temples in the South dating back to the 6th Century CE onwards. In Buddhist thought, Buddha incarnated in several social roles of a common man, justifying the human representations. Hindu gods and goddesses with supernatural and celestial attributions were also personified as men and women. It is interesting to note that both Buddhism and Hinduism, at some early stage, adopted the idea of aniconism. Hence the division between Theravada and Mahayana Buddhist cults, earlier used symbols like empty throne, Bodhi tree or foot print to represent Buddha while the later adopted the human figure. Similarly, Hinduism used symbols like Shiva *linga* and *shaligrama* to represent their gods while Lakshmi, Vishnu, Hanuman and many others were iconic in their visual representation and at times no specific attribution distinguished the humans from these divine beings. In several cases these gods and goddesses often live like husband and wife, have children and fight wars like common warriors or knights or play around with *gopis* in a carefree manner.

Mughal Architecture in the Making

Zahir-ud Din Babar the first Mughal Emperor of India laid the foundation of a mosque as he defeated Ibrahim Lodhi at Panipat in 1526. The mosque was named after his wife Kabuli Begum and the architectural scheme was heavily embedded in the Turko-Persian tradition with the amalgamation of Indian fluency and skill of which Babur was not much convinced (Brown 1942, 92). To materialize his vision of enhancing the Indian landscape with splendid buildings, and a reminiscence of his ancestral land, he even tried to engage the pupils of the great Ottoman, Mimar Sinan. This aptitude of the emperor is authenticated in visual arts too. *Babur supervising the laying of the garden of Fidelity*, a folio from Baburnama, 1550’s, painted by Bishandas, in V&A Museum, London, while showing the emperor's involvement in architectural projects illustrates the famous Persian *chahar bagh* style, quadrilateral garden envisioning the gardens of paradise. The mosques, mausoleums and other buildings were usually constructed within a complex comprising of garden or madrassah.



Fig. 1 Babur Supervising the Laying of the garden of Fidelity, A folio from Baburnama, 1550's Bishandas, V & A Museum, London.

The significant architectural features of this first Mughal-mosque and many others built after that, remain more or less unchanged. It included a prayer hall on the qibla side, covered with at least one large dome or with smaller ones on the sides, a courtyard with a water body for ablution and to accommodate a large number of devout and colonnaded chambers alongside the remaining walls. These have been the essential features of mosque architecture in India for the past many centuries. However, the distinguishing feature of major Mughal mosques as compared to the simpler and sparse architectural units built by Muslim rulers of India before them is undoubtedly their lavish interiors mellifluous with surface decoration and ornamentation of all kinds. This ornamentation and embellishment can be witnessed in all buildings and monuments; secular as well as religious and speak immensely of not only the craftsmanship of its builder, the wealth and riches of its patron, his aesthetic concerns but of his socio- political sensibility too. Wealth and resources were uncountable in Mughal India. Undoubtedly, it is the time when India experienced one of the most affluent trances of its history both materially as well as intellectually (Gunjan Verma, 2021).

Comparing Iconic with Aniconic in Indian Architecture

Islamic art is aniconic. It exemplifies the oneness of Allah who cannot be visually represented in any known form. In its most inclusive explanation, art is aniconic when the image shows us that what is perceived is more important than what is present. In such instances, the obvious only prompts towards something that is hidden, usually larger than life or incomprehensible to the common intellect or senses and in religious inferences the Absolute Reality. Islamic art is derived from such ideologies which remained fundamental to all times and places. The enduring quest for the one supreme power is indeed the essence of all types of intellectual sprees. It is this quality that lends uniformity to all Islamic art especially the ornamentation while the medium, size, or function of the object could vary.

This scheme of ornamentation in mosque interiors is timeless and uniform. To those with faith and understanding such a scheme opens up a whole new arena. In the form of calligraphy, it glorifies the words of God. In regions where the Arabic text is inherently spoken and comprehended or in places where it was only the script of the Quran it created a sacred aura likewise. Practicing Arabic calligraphy was considered devotional in all Islamic cultures. Special attention was given to developing and exploiting the inherent possibilities of the script to use it as an instructional as well as an ornamental form of decoration.

Imaging Spirituality - Abstraction and Infinity

Geometric Patterns

The repetitive geometric patterns speak of God's eternity and inestimable attributions and are contemplative. In religious thought repetition is indicative of remembrance or *Zikr*, an important devotional act to gain spiritual enlightenment, to obtain peace and tranquillity which transports the *Zakir* to a state of other-worldliness in pursuit of union and annihilation with God. While displaying eternity these geometric patterns endure the characteristics of a phenomenon without a beginning or an end. In their abstract form, the patterns represent the purity of relationships that exist beneath the visual surface of this world. The search for divinity or the quest of establishing the link with the Creator, for which a believer would come to a mosque and worship, is not linear. It is not backward nor forward but inwards.

Islam preaches the idea that God created man in His reflection and breathed His spirit into this creation thus to approach the Creator, one may look inward. The regular shapes placed inside the circular form of the dome in its many impressions endorse this inward journey. Vegetal motifs are the reminiscence of the gardens of heaven, the ultimate desired destination of the believer.

Arabesque

Next in line is the question of the two-dimensional quality of arabesque. The answer is straightforward and that is to deprive the senses of the ease of viewing in three-dimensional forms. Every known object, person or form is normally conceived in terms of height, width and breadth. In art, generally and in surface decoration especially illusion is the only vehicle to achieve such a resemblance and when spirituality is to be imaged false impressions and delusions are to be avoided forcing the senses to experience fewer but concrete ideas and principles. Together, employed in a mosque these decorative elements are the manifestation of divine presence and while transcending the earthly existence they transpire to elevate the onlooker into an otherworldly realm providing a chance to visualize Heaven. Thus, the stimulus to the brain communicates spirituality, the presence of a divine being while no perceptible image of the divine is required nor a precise nature of its presence is determined. Theoretically, it works in two ways. Firstly, the idea which is abstract and non-physical, becomes more valuable than the actual form thus the friction is between vision and perception. Vision, here refers to the sense of sight, the ability to see something while perception is the conscious understanding of what is being seen which may be determined by culture, religion, politics even economy. Secondly, it proposes that Islamic art has been employing the ideals of Conceptual Art which was theorized in the West only a couple of decades ago and is much

appreciated and embraced in contemporary practice. This proves the timeless quality of Islamic thought and practice in art. Mughals with an obsession to replicate the Persian glory in art and architecture followed these established aesthetic concerns. Men of learning and skill traveled to India to avail the opportunity to work for the most prospective patrons of the time.

Maryam Zamani or Begum Shahi Mosque

History and Physical Features

While Emperor Babur and his son Emperor Humayun did not get a proper chance ‘to transform Indian landscape with Persian Architecture’, the ambitious Akbar the Great employed these Persian masters as superintendents of the projects while hundreds of Indians were hired to work under their supervision. The fusion of Persian aesthetics with Indian tradition, craftsmanship and material resulted in the epitome of art and architecture. While the world commends the Taj Mahal as the ‘jewel of Mughal architecture’ there are several projects that mark significance as the development of Mughal style in architecture. Maryam Zamani or Begum Shahi Mosque as it is also called, is one of them. Built during Emperor Jahangir’s reign, in the name of her mother, it reflects the Mughal policy of cultural co- existence. Maryam Zamani, Mary of the Time, was Emperor Akbar’s Rajput wife whose conversion to Islam is often debated. The building was supervised by her brother who essentially was a practicing Hindu. Thus, the mosque embodies the cultural as well as political spirit of its time along with the religious aspect of Islam and its theological features. The political whim of early Mughals, the intellectual diversity of the time, ‘peace for all’ and the supremacy of an Islamic state are established. It is believed that Mughal architecture is the product of innovative genius that borrowed from Indian, Timurid and even European sources. Mughal architecture made extensive use of indigenous motifs along with the standard Islamic forms. However, this amalgamation can be traced back to earlier Indo-Islamic dynasties (Asher 2001, 1).

Surface Decoration in Maryam Zamani Mosque

The entire mosque is heavily decorated with calligraphic inscriptions, geometric patterns and floral motifs. The medium of decoration is fresco painting well-established and most popular way of surface decoration in the region. The exact chronology of fresco painting in Lahore and its surroundings is not clear but archaeological evidence of fresco painting or somewhat similar to the said technique links it back to Gandhara (Mehmood 1980, 529). The practice of painting murals in fresco was kept alive through centuries and written records confirm it being employed in some buildings from the Ghaznavid, and Slave Dynasty between 11th- 13th centuries CE (R.P. Srivasta. Punjab Painting). It was revived as a popular medium of artistic expression on the same lines of classical antiquity none other than the Mughals.

Emperor Akbar’s palace at Fatehpur Sikri housed impactful wall paintings that were part of a larger interior as recorded by the French travellers. Emperor Jahangir’s mature aesthetic sense and keen eye helped institutionalize the art of painting in India during the 17th century. In his reign the decorative motifs in fresco art formed an organized unit as compositions were well thought out and the motifs were wielded effectively. The motifs were rendered in a subtle calligraphic line which imparted pleasure because of its surety in character and continuity in flow. Along with this, the subdued but harmonious color scheme helped to balance the composition and it appeared that certain set principles had been established. All these helped to evolve the art of fresco to attain maturity and form of its character. (Mehmud, 1980)

Joined with the sanctity of a mosque and the distinct characteristics of Islamic aesthetic principles, the fully developed art of Fresco painting embellished the Mariam Zamani mosque. Here, it appeared as the chief building craft and the main technique employed to decorate the walls, arches, domes, interior, and exterior exquisitely. This arrangement of ornamentation set the precedent for many other mosques built later by the Mughals in the vicinity e.g. Wazir Khan Mosque and Badshahi Mosque. This style is said to be “refined but controlled, fettered and orthodox”. It is “tranquil and has the precision of a cut jewel” (Mehmood 1980, 536). Such precision and accuracy are achieved through the mathematical placing of the motifs. The mathematical calculations emphasized symmetry and balance which is carried forward through repetition and movement. The resultant beauty can only be understood and appreciated if each facet is examined as a part of an overall scheme aesthetically, culturally and in the case of the Mughals, politically.

The specific geometric shapes correlated with vegetal motifs creeping along the edges break the monotony of the structural forms (Fig 2). Thus, weaving the three distinct yet corresponding visual planes - the actual building structure, and the geometric shapes which are further layered with vegetal motifs or calligraphic inscriptions in one intuitive design. The direction and implied speed of vertical, diagonal and curved lines cast a spell onto the receptive viewer who visits the place and helps him to transform from a physical to a metaphysical state yearning to unite with his Creator who Himself is abstract in form and idea. The modality of repetition is central to such ornamentation. These repeated cycles transport one to a meditative state and when the scale is as lofty as the interior of an entire building structure- the dome, the

walls, the arches, the niches and the façade, one is fully immersed in it experiencing spirituality and witnessing the presence of the Divine.



Fig 2. View of the long prayer hall showing flower twigs, interwoven floral tracery on the niches that flow in and out of the domes breaking monotony of the solid structure engulfing the viewer into a spiritual stance.

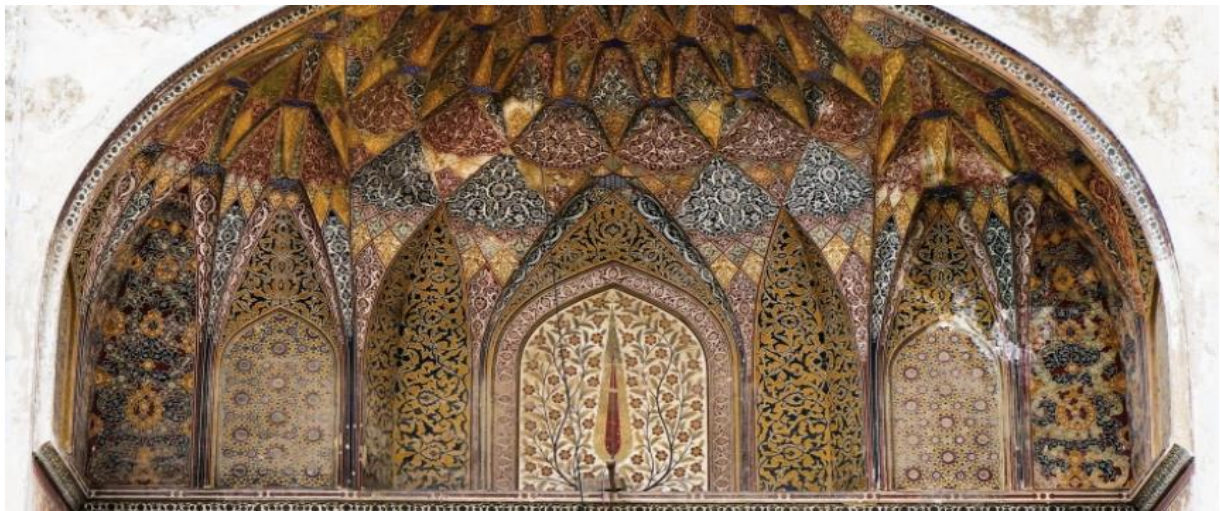


Fig 3. Facade of the Prayer-hall (Detail) Fresco painting adorning the soffit of the arch exhibiting cypress tree and other floral motifs

‘Loosing oneself’ in the contemplation of the works of art facilitates such a journey so do the carefully chosen icons and motifs. For example, the evergreen cypress tree is (Fig 3) known for signifying eternity. Arabs called it the *Shajarat-al-Hayya* or Tree of Life. To the Persians, it held religious significance as a symbol of *Ahur Mazda*- the creator and highest deity of Zoroastrianism. In other instances, namely Persian romantic poetry and book illustrations it stands for peace, stability, strength, goodness even the longing of the lovers (Dehkordi, 2017). In the case of Mariam Zamani mosque, it can be translated as all above mainly adding onto the devoted idea of ornamentation to portray eternity and the love and longing for God Himself. The popular mystic Islam in the Subcontinent propagated ideas like spiritual unification with the Creator and was later referred to as *Ishq e- Haqiqi* in Urdu poetic and literary traditions.

Other floral motifs that can be identified in the scheme of ornamentation here, include date palm trees, shrubs and typical cut flower arrangements in a vase. The anatomy of the flowers can be identified as narcissus and red lily (Fig 3). The flowers in the borders fall into the overtly stylized flower category that is designed to keep attributes of many flowers resisting a single botanical classification. This is the time when

fascinated by the flora and fauna of Kashmir, Emperor Jahangir summoned Ustad Mansur, a master painter of the royal atelier asking him to document them. Ustad Mansur was able to capture the true form and color of many novel species. However, the motifs in Maryam Zamani and other mosques of the era display a more naturalistic approach instead of representational. The painters here masterfully evolve the motifs to justify the given space and the pattern. The borders, *hashiyas*, are the innovative reminiscence of Indo-Persian book paintings.

Conclusion

Maryam Zamani mosque is a perfect example of the 'First Artistic Movement' as it introduces abstract and non-constructible geometric patterns in the already augmented field of surface decoration in Mughal India. A variety of interlaced geometric patterns populate the decoration on walls, dadoes and niches of mihrab. At first glance, this interlacing and coloring result in a six or eight-pointed star that is repeated on the interior of the side domes, giving the design a cosmological realm to be viewed within the scope of the viewer's spectrum. However, these geometric patterns are constructed as a result of a simple yet intricate method. It is simple because of use of the most easily formed shape hexagon as basic unit. It is intricate as more complicated polygons and stars are created. The 10-point geometrical pattern employed frequently in Maryam Zamani mosque had been in use since the 11th century. 10 number is significant as it is linked to the Tetractys symbol and is double of a pentagon- a shape with sacred properties. Further investigations led the construction of polygons based on the principles of geometry set in the early 9th Century by Khwarizmi who is said to be utilizing Greek and Sanskrit knowledge in the field. Since this time polygons were constructed by using two tools; the compass and straight edge. In this way all geometric patterns can be devised by subdividing the circles and the circle grids are developed. The circle and its center are considered as an emblem of One God. Followers of this doctrine would identify the usage of such the circular grids, orbiting around one dot as a center, as a means of uniting with the Creator (Fig 4). This emblem of unity, may incur the illusion of movement reinforcing the idea of continuity and infinity. This connection and perpetuity are also emphasized by the chevron or the 'water wave' pattern, encircling the drums of the dome. The monotony of the packed patterned surface is broken with the oval and amulet-like shapes suspended on the inner side of the side domes simulating the impressions of a galaxy. In any case, the intention is to enhance the upward linearity infusing spirituality. Thus, the ethnographic approach that considers the psychological and behavioral impressions onto the people who adopted or consumed geometric patterns and arabesque as ornamentation informs the importance and relevance of such patterns and overall scheme of ornamentation. Maryam Zamani mosque is the center of attention and a symbol of the state and not only a place of worship for the Muslims but a pride for its Hindu patron, Jodha Bai whose conversion to Islam is debated (E.B.Findly 1988, 229 & Harking Back 2020) as well as the supervisor, artists and other crafts persons involved in the construction and adornment of the mosque. It is also an emblem of spirituality for the entire community that inhabited the area since the time of its construction.



Fig 4. Inner side of the dome of the prayer hall. Motifs initiating and culminating from the center or dot.

References

- Akkach, S. (2005). *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas*. New York: State University of New York Press, 149.
- Asher, C.E.B. (1992). *Architecture of Mughal India*. UK: Cambridge University Press, 1.
- Back, Harking. (22 March 2020). *Mystery of the Rajput Empress Mariam Zamani*. *Dawn.com*.
- Brown, Percy. (1942). *Indian Architecture: The Islamic Period*. India: Taraporevala Sons, 92. Critchlow, K. (1976). *Islamic Patterns: An Analytical and Cosmological Approach*. New York: Schocken Books
- Clévenot, D. & DegeorAge, G. (2000). *Ornament and Decoration in Islamic Architecture*. UK: Thames & Hudson, 46.
- Dehkordi, Saba Alebrahim. (2017). *Studying the Role and Symbolic Meanings of Cypress Tree (Sarv) in Miniatures of "Tahmasbi Shahnameh"*. *Bagh-Nazr*. Vol.13/No.45
- Findly, Ellison Banks (April–June 1988). "[The Capture of Maryam-uz-Zamānī's Ship: Mughal Women and European Traders](#)". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. Society. 108 (2): 227–238. doi:10.2307/603650. JSTOR 603650.
- Mahmood, Shaukat. (1981). *Islamic Architecture in Pakistan to 1707*. University of Edinburgh.
- Mehmood, Muhammad Khalid. (1980). *Fresco Painting During the Mughal and Sikh Periods in the Province of the Punjab, Pakistan*, PhD Thesis, University of the Punjab, 529. <https://thesis.asianindexing.com/thesis.php>
- Milette, Gaifman. (2017). *Aniconism: definitions, examples and comparative perspectives*. *Religion*. 47:3, 335-352, DOI: 10.1080/0048721X.2017.1342987
- Muir, William. (1878). *The life of Mahomet from original sources* 2nd abridged one- volume ed. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 624.
- Muesee, M. W. (2013). *The Age of the Sages: The Axial Age in Asia and the Near East*. 1517 Media. 48-54. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt22nm7nh>.
- Turner, H.R. (1997). *Science in Medieval Islam: An Illustrated Introduction*. USA: University of Texas, 59.
- Seyyed, Nasr Hossein. (1987). *Islamic Art and Spirituality*. New York: State University of New York Press, 201.
- Verma, Gunjan. (1st Dec, 2021). *Richest People in Human History*. The Times of India. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/life-style/spotlight/web-stories/these-are-the-richest-people-in-the-human-history/photostory/88028017.cms>.
- Yahya Abdullah & Muhammad Rashid Bin Embi (2013). *Evolution of Islamic Geometry Pattern*. *Frontiers of Architectural Research* 2, 243.