History preserved in names: Delhi urban toponyms of Perso-Arabic origin

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Toponyms [from the Greek τόπος (τόπος) ‘place’ and ὄνομα (όνομα) ‘name’] are often treated merely as words, or simple signs on geographical maps of various parts of the Earth. However, it should be remembered that toponyms are also invaluable elements of a region’s heritage, preserving and revealing different aspects of its history and culture, reflecting patterns of settlement, exploration, migration, etc. They are named points of reference in the physical as well as civilisational landscape of various areas.

Place-names are an important source of information regarding the people who have inhabited a given area. Such quality results mainly from the fact that the names attached to localities tend to be extremely durable and usually resist replacement, even when the language spoken in the area is itself replaced. The internal system of toponyms which is unique for every city, when analysed may give first-rate results in understanding various features, e.g. the original area of the city and its growth, the size and variety of its population, the complicated plan of its markets,
habitations, religious centres, educational and cultural institutions, cemeteries etc.

Toponyms are also very important land-marks of cultural and linguistic contacts of different groups of people. In a city such as Delhi, which for centuries had been conquered and inhabited by populaces ethnically and linguistically different, this phenomenon becomes clear with the first glance at the city map. Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Arabic and English words mix freely, creating a unique toponymical net of mutual connections and references.

Words of Perso-Arabic origin (henceforth: PA) started to be used for naming places as soon as the first Muslim conquerors seized the city of Delhi and made it their capital, i.e. in the last decade of the twelfth century. Since then the amount of PA place-names was growing rapidly till the nineteenth century, when Muslim rulers in Delhi were replaced by the British government. They became especially frequent in these parts of the city which were one after another chosen by the Muslim rulers as their capital seats and for this reason were predominately inhabited by Muslims. These were successively: Aibak’s Qutb Minar complex, Tugluqabad and Jahānpānāh – all in southern Delhi. Fīrūz Šāh Koṭlā and Purāṇa Qil’a – on the eastern bank of Yamuna and Šāhjahānābad – in the northern part of the city (present Old Delhi).

All of the Delhi urban PA toponyms can be generally divided and characterised: 1. according to their etymological construction; 2. according to their semantic value.1

1. Etymological typology:
   a) toponyms created of one PA word (also compound word), e.g. Karbalā or Xvābgāh (with a separate category of hybrid compounds built of two etymologically different lexical units, e.g. Salīmgarh);

1 Of course the two typologies presented here do not cover all the possibilities of describing PA toponyms – other important classifications could be made, for example according to their grammatical structure or according to their primary/secondary evaluation.
b) toponyms created of two or more words, of which at least one is PA (the other can be PA, Sanskrit, Hindi or English) – this group might be divided further in two:

b-1) those in which a PA word designates the category of the named object, like masjid or darvāza, e.g. Motī Masjid (H + PA) or Sabz Burj (PA + PA);

b-2) those in which a PA word is a distinctive part of the whole name, e.g. Hauz Xāš (PA + PA), Fīrūz Šāh Koṭlā (PA + H) or Āzād Road (PA + E).

2. Semantic typology:

a) toponyms connected with names:

a-1) of people, e.g. Bāḡ-i Bū Ḥalīma or Humāyūn kā Maqbara;

a-2) of places, e.g. Begampuri Masjid or Lahaurī Darvāza;

b) toponyms created from common nouns, like names of colours (e.g. Nilā Gunbad), precious stones (e.g. Hīrā Mahal), real or wishful attributes of the named object (e.g. Barā Gunbad or Bāḡ-i Ḥayāt Baxš) etc.;

c) toponyms created to commemorate:

c-1) historical events, e.g. Karbalā or Xūnī Darvāza;

c-2) legendary events, e.g. Pīr Ḡayīb or Qadam Šarīf.

A detailed analysis of Delhi PA toponyms should probably require many months of work and a voluminous study. It is also highly possible that some place-names could never be explained. In this article I shall discuss PA names of chosen historical objects, which are Delhi’s most significant land-marks and – due to being often used for creating secondary toponyms, like names of roads, squares, localities etc. – have become pillars of Delhi’s toponymical framework.

These historical places have been divided into several semantic categories: 1. mosques; 2. tombs; 3. shrines; 4. forts; 5. water reservoirs; 6. towers; 7. gates; 8. palaces; 9. gardens; 10. other objects.

1. Mosques. As places of worship for followers of Islam mosques are the most obvious and crucial component of Muslim tradition. The number of Delhi mosques is difficult to estimate
but certainly, there are more than sixty (Maulvi Zafar Hasan enumerates 69, some of them of no name), with a number still being used for everyday namāz (prayers). Mosques are quite often called after their founders’ names but the essential part of every name of a mosque is P (A) masjid, masjad ‘a mosque, temple, place of worship’ [St. 1236].

Auliya Masjid [Mosque of Saints] < P auliyā? (pl. of valīy) ‘friends (of God), saints, prophets, fathers’ [St. 122]. Located in the south-eastern corner of the Ḫauz-i Šamsī, this mosque is considered the most sacred by the Muslims. It is probable that the original structure, now obliterated, was built by Šams ud-Dīn Iltutmiš, c. 1191.

Begampuri Masjid [Begumpur Mosque] < P (T) begam ‘a lady of rank’ [St. 224]; H pur ‘fortified town, castle, city, town; village…’ [Pl. 234]. This magnificent mosque constructed c. 1375 is most probably one of the seven mosques built by Xān-i Jahān, the prime minister (vazīr) of Fīrūz Šāh Tūgluq (r. 1351-88) and named after Begumpur – a historical village situated in South Delhi District.

Čauburjī Masjid [Four-domed Mosque] < H cau- ‘four (used only in comp.)’ [Pl. 331]; P (A) burj ‘a tower...’ [St. 170]. The mosque, built in the fourteenth century by Fīrūz Šāh Tūgluq, derives its name from its architectural features of having ‘four domes’, which it once had.

Fatahpuri Masjid [Fatehpuri’s Mosque]. The mosque was built in 1650 by one of Šāh Jahān’s wives, Fatahpuri Begam (coming from the city of Fatehpur), after which it has taken its name.

Jamālī Kamālī Masjid [Mosque and Tomb of Jamali] < P jamālī ‘amiable, lovable’ [St. 370]; P (A) kamāl ‘being complete, entire, perfect; perfection, excellence; completion, conclusion; integrity; punctuality’ [St. 1047]. The name of the place comes from the two marble graves located there, one of which is that of Jamālī, which was nom de plume of Šaix Ḥāmid bin Faẓlullāh Kanbo (d. 1536), a traveller and an eminent poet, known to have served the court of Sikandar Lodī (r. 1489-1517). Who Kamālī was remains a mystery.
Jāmī Masjid [Congregational Mosque] < P (A) jāmīc ‘who or what collects, (...) cathedral mosque, where the xuṭba is repeated on Fridays’ [St. 351]. One of the largest mosques in India, built by Šāh Jahān in 1650, sometimes called Masjid-i Jahān Numā [World-reflecting Mosque] < P jahān, jihān ‘the world; an age; worldly possessions...’ [St. 380]; P -namā, -numā ‘(in comp.) showing, pointing out; an index’ [St. 1425].

Khīrkī Masjid [Mosque of Windows] < H khir’kū ‘a private or back-door; postern-gate, wicket, sally-port; a window, casement...’ [Pl. 876]. It is located in the settlement of Jahānpanāh, the fourth city of Delhi and was founded by Mohammad bin Tuğluq (r. 1325-51). The mosque’s name comes from the perforated windows (khir’kū-s), that decorate the upper floors.

Maxdūm Sabzvarī Masjid [Mosque of Priest of Sabzvar] < P (A) maxdūm ‘a lord, master; the son of the house, the young gentleman, the heir; a Muhammadan priest; an abbot’ [St. 1195]; P sabzvar ‘name of a country in Persian Irāk; also of a town there’ [St. 648]. Built in the fifteenth century, during the Timūr invasion of India. Nothing is known of the ṣūfī saint buried there.

Moṭh kī Masjid [Lentil Mosque] < H moth ‘a kind of vetch, or pulse, Phaseolus aconitifolius’ [Pl. 1086]. This mosque was built during the rule of Sikandar Lodī and has a legend attached to its origin. It is believed that one day Sikandar Lodī saw a grain of moth lying in the Jāmīe mosque which he held up and handed over to his wise and sagacious vazīr. The vazīr thought that as the grain had had the honour of being touched by the emperor, he should so arrange as to give it everlasting fame. He planted the seed and gradually, year after year, the seed multiplied so much, that it brought the vazīr a large sum of money, enough to build an imposing mosque, which thereafter was known as Moṭh kī Masjid.

Motī Masjid [Pearl Mosque] < H motī ‘a pearl’ [Pl. 1086]. It was built in the Lāl Qilā complex by Aurangzeb in 1659-70 and was used by the emperor as his personal chapel. Motī Masjid derives its name from the pearl white colour of the mosque. Apart from this, a pearl (like other gemstones) designates an apparent preciousness of the religious structure. Therefore, nam-
ing mosques after generic names of precious stones was quite a popular practise in Mughal times.

**Pahārī Vālī Masjid** [Mosque on the Hillock] < H *pahārī* ‘a small hill, a hillock’ [Pl. 282]. As indicated in its name, the mosque (of the late Mughal period) stands on a piece of hilly ground.

**Qil'ā-i Kuhna Masjid** [Mosque of the Old Fort] < P (A) *qalˤa*, *qilˤa* ‘a castle, fort (especially on the top of a mountain)…’ [St. 984]; P *kuhna* ‘old, ancient…’ [St. 1067] is a grand mosque constructed by Šer Šāh in 1541 within the Delhi Purānā Qil'ā [Old Fort] complex (the Persian and less used name of which is Qil'ā-i Kuhna).

**Quvvat ul-Islām Masjid** [Might of Islam Mosque] < P (A) *quvvat* ‘being strong, powerful; excelling in strength; power, force, vigour, strength, firmness; virtue, faculty, quality; authority’ [St. 993]; P (A) *islām* ‘yielding obedience to the will of God, resigning oneself to the divine disposal; (...) Islamism, Muhammadism; orthodoxy’ [St. 59]. The oldest extant mosque in India; its construction was started in 1193 by Qūṭb ud-Dīn Aibak, the founder of the Mamlūk dynasty and completed in 1197. It is also called **Masjid-i Ādīna** [Friday Mosque] < P *ādīna* ‘Friday’ [St. 30] or **Dilli Masjid-i Jāmi** [Delhi Congregational Mosque] < P (A) *jāmi* ‘who or what collects, (...) cathedral mosque, where the *ṣuṭba* is repeated on Fridays’ [St. 351].

**Sunahri Masjid** [Golden Mosque] < H *sunah'rā* ‘of gold, golden; gilded; gold-coloured’ [Pl. 689]. In Delhi there are two mosques of this name. One is located outside the south-western corner of the Lāl Qil'ā, and was built by Navāb Qudsī Begam in 1751. The other, situated near the Kotvālī in Šāhjahānābād, was built by a noble Raušan ud-Daula Žafar Xān in 1721. The domes of both the mosques were originally covered with copper gilt plates, from which they derive their names.

**Zīnāt-ul Masjid ‘urf Ghaṭā Maṣjid** [Mosque of Zinat, known as Cloud Mosque] < P (A) *‘urf* ‘being known, public, notorious; known…’ [St. 844]; H *ghaṭā* ‘gathering of the clouds; mass of clouds, dense black clouds (on the horizon); cloudiness’ [Pl. 930]. Built at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Zīnāt un-Nisā’ Begam, the daughter of Emperor Aurangzeb, after
whom the mosque has its name (cf. P (A) ḥāzār ‘ornament, decoration, dress, beauty, elegance’ [St. 635]). The popular name of the sanctuary is Ghạṭā Masjid [Cloud Mosque], because it was painted white with black stripes. This name may also come from its two extremely high (cloud-touching) minarets, which are the main features of this beautiful structure.

2. Tombs. Delhi, often called “a city of graves and mosques”, is full of scattered tombs of emperors and saints, whose names appear in almost all toponyms of this class. The essential part of a name of a tomb is usually one of the following designations of this semantic category: P (A) maqbara ‘a burying-ground, burial-place, sepulchre, graveyard’ [St. 1290] – the word most often used to design a tomb, usually when we think of a room or small covered building (maybe a pavilion) which contains the grave; P (A) maẓār ‘visiting; a place of visitation; a shrine, sepulchre, tomb, grave; visitation, a visit’ [St. 1221] – usually it means the particular building (maybe a pillared pavilion only) of the dargāḥ (shrine) containing the grave of a saint; it has religious rather than architectural significance; P (A) qabr ‘burying; a grave, tomb, sepulchre, mausoleum, monument in honour of the dead’ [St. 951] – a term usually applied to a grave with or without a tombstone over it; P gunbād ‘an arch, vault, cupola, dome, tower; an arched gateway; a triumphal arch...’ [St. 1098] – although the word itself does not have a meaning of a ‘tomb’, it is often used in this sense, being applied to the domed tomb structures. P (A) turbat ‘earth, ground; a grave; a tomb; a mausoleum’ [St. 292] – might be used instead of qabr.

Atga Xān kā Maqbara [Tomb of Atgah Khan]. Šams ud-Dīn Muḥammad Atga Xān was a general and a prime minister (vaqīl) in the Akbar’s court. Killed by Adham Xān in 1562.²

Barā Gunbad [Big Dome] < H barā ‘large, great, big, vast, immense, huge’ [Pl. 151]. Barā Gunbad (built in 1490), located in Lodi Gardens, is a square domed tomb of an unknown but

probably important person from the Lodí period, grouped together with the Friday mosque of Sikandar Lodí (Barã Gunbad Masjid) and a mihmān-xāna (guesthouse for pilgrims).

İsā Xān kā Maqbara [Isa Khan’s Tomb]. İsā Xān Nyāzī, an Afghan noble who served Şer Şāh Sūrī and then his son Islām Şāh Sūrī, is buried in this tomb, built during his lifetime in 1547-8.

Gāzī ud-Dīn kā Maqbara [Ghaziuddin’s Tomb]. This is a mausoleum built for himself by Gāzī ud-Dīn Xān (died in mid-1700), a nobleman and a general during the reign of Aurangzeb and his successors, and the father of the first Nizām of Hyderbad.

Gīyāṣ ud-Dīn Tuğluq kā Maqbara [Tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq]. This is a tomb and mausoleum of Gīyāṣ ud-Dīn Tuğluq (r. 1321-5), the founder of the Tuğluq dynasty in India, which he built for himself.

Humāyūn kā Maqbara [Humayun’s Tomb] has taken its name from the Mughal Emperor Naṣīr ud-Dīn Muhammad Humāyūn, and was built for him by his wife Ḥāmīda Bānū Begam in 1565-72.

Iltutmiš kā Maqbara [Iltutmish’s Tomb]. This tomb was built in the Quṭb Mīnār complex by Šams ud-Dīn Iltutmīš himself, in 1235.

Imām Zāmīn kā Maqbara [Tomb of Imam Zamin]. Muḥammad ʿAlī of Mašhad, known also as Imām Zāmīn, was a Muslim saint from Turkestan who came to Delhi during the reign of Sikandar Lodī. He built this mausoleum in his life time and was buried there after his death in 1539. His name could be translated as ‘the protecting Imām’ or ‘one’s guardian saint’ (< P imām ‘...a head, chief, leader, especially in religious matters, antistes or reader in a mosque; prelate, patriarch, priest; a khalif...’ [St. 97], zāmin ‘a surety, sponsor, security, bondsman, bail...’ [St. 798]; cf. Pl. 80).

Lāl Baṅgla [Red Bungalow] < P lāl ‘a ruby; red’ [St. 1112]; H (< E) baṅgḷā ‘a thatched house, a bungalow...’ [Pl. 172]. It is the name of an extentive enclosure, containing two small graves, supposedly being the resting place of Lāl Kunvār,
the mother of Šāh ʿĀlam II (after whom the place is called), and her daughter Begam Jān.

**Mazār-e Ǧalīb** [Ghalib’s Grave]. It is also called **Mirzā Ǧalīb kā Maqbara** [Mirza Ghalib’s Tomb] and is a resting place of Mirzā Asadullāh Xān Ġalīb (1797-1869) – a great poet of Delhi, who wrote in Urdu and Persian.

**Mubārak Šāh kā Maqbara** [Tomb of Mubarak Shah]. This tomb is considered to be one of the finest examples of octagonal Sayyid tombs. Built around 1434, after the death of Mubarak Šāh Sayyid, the second ruler of the Sayyid dynasty.

**Mubārak Xān kā Gunbad** [Mubarak Khan’s Dome]. It is the tomb of Muḥammad Šāh (d. 1445/6), the third king of Sayyid dynasty and the nephew and successor of Mubarak Šāh Sayyid.

**Nilā Gunbad** [Blue Dome] < H nilā ‘dark blue; blue; livid’ [Pl. 1168]. The monument (built in 1624-5), locally known as Nilā Gunbad, due to the blue coloured dome, contains the remains of Fahīm Xān, the attendant of ʿAbd ur-Rahīm Xānānān, who lived during the reign of Jahāngīr.

**Paik kā Maqbara** [Tomb of a Messenger] < P paik ‘a running footman; a carrier, messenger; a guard; a watchman; a footman, lacquey…’ [St. 268]. It is a Lodi period octagonal monument of the fifteenth century. Nothing is known about Paik but the word literary means ‘a messenger’.

**Qabr-e Şafdarjang** [Şafdarjang’s Tomb]. This splendid mausoleum was built in 1753-4 for Mirzā Muqīm ʿAbūlmanṣūr Xān, given a title of Şafdarjang, the viceroy of Avadh during the reign of Mughal emperor Muḥammad Šāh, by his son Navvāb Šujā ud-Daula.

**Sikandar Lodi kā Maqbara** (Sikandar Lodi’s Tomb). The tomb of Sikandar Lodi, second ruler of the Afghan Lodi dynasty, supposedly was built by his son and successor Ibrāhīm in the year of Sikandar’s death.

**Šāh ʿĀlam kā Maqbara** [Tomb of Shah Alam]. Šāh ʿĀlam was a saint who lived during the reign of Fīrūz Šāh Tuğluq, but nothing is known of him.

**Šiš Gunbad** [Glazed Dome] < P šīša ‘a glass, bottle, flask, phial, cup, caraff, decanter; glass; a looking-glass; a cupping-glass…’ [St. 775] (cf. H šīš- ‘glass’ [McG. 952]). This is a typi-
cal Lodi-period tomb, but none of the many people buried in it have been identified. The exterior of the structure is ornamented with blue glazed tiles in two shades, which gave the tomb its name.

Turbat-e Najaf Xān [Tomb of Najaf Khan]. Najaf Xān (d. 1782) was a Persian noble in the court of Mughal emperor Šāh Ėlīām II. For his admiral deeds the king made him Amīru ʿl-umarā with the title of Zūlīfīkār ud-Daula.

Xān-i Xānān kā Maqbara [Tomb of Khan-i Khanan]. Ėabd ur-Rahīm Xān, also given a title of Xān-i Xānān (d. 1626-7), was the son of Akbar’s prime minister Bairām Xān and an influential person in the courts of Akbar and Jahāngīr. He was also a known poet, the author of popular Urdu couplets, which he wrote under the pen name Rahīm.

3. Shrines. Shrines, usually built over the grave of a revered religious figure (often a šūfī saint), are typical manifestations of South Indian Muslim culture. They are most often called dargāh-s, as many believe that these shrines are portals through which the deceased saint’s intercession and blessing can be invoked (< P dargāh ‘the king’s court; a port, portal, gate, door; the lower threshold; a court before a palace or great house; a large bench or place for reclining upon; a mosque’ [St. 513] > H dar’gāh ‘portal, door; threshold; a royal court, a palace; a mosque; shrine or tomb (of some reputed saint, which is the object of worship and pilgrimage)’ [Pl. 513]). Dargāh-s are often associated with meeting rooms and hostels, known as xānqah 4 < P xānagāh (xāngāh), xānagah (xāngah) ‘a monastery for Sōfīs or Darwīshes; a convent, chapel; a hospice’ [Pl. 443], and also usually include a mosque, schools (madrasa-s), residences for teachers or caretakers, hospitals, and other buildings for community purposes. Another term for a shrine is nazrīyat or nagariyat, meaning verbatim ‘a place of devotion; a place of offering’ < P (A) nazr ‘vowing; devoting, presenting, dedicating to God; frightening, alarming,

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3 Amīru ʿl-umarā ‘prince of princes’, ‘chief of the nobles’ – a title given by Eastern princes to their prime ministers (cf. St. 102).
4 Cf. khānḵāh ‘a šūfī residential establishment; monastery’ [McG. 235]; xānqāh ‘convent, monastery, shrine’ [STCD 282].
warning, inspiring dread of an enemy; a vow, promise made to God; a gift, anything offered or dedicated; a present or offering from an inferior to a superior’ [St. 1394] + -īyat, which is an Arabic suffix of abstract substantives. A specific category of holy places, very common in India, attributed to various saints and held sacred by the general public, are so called ṭillagāh-s, usually secluded and lonely places where the Muslim saints indulge in prayer and meditation. The term comes from P ṭilla, ṭila ‘a quadragesimal fast, the forty days of Lent, during which the religious fraternities of the East shut themselves up in their cells, or remain at home’ [St. 398] + P gāh ‘...place (always in composition)’ [St. 1074].

Toponyms denoting shrines, similarly to those naming tombs, usually comprise the name of a particular saint.

**Bhūre Šāh kī Dargāh** [Shrine of Bhoore Shah] < H bhūrā ‘brown; auburn (hair)’ [Pl. 195] (cf. ‘light brown, brownish; greyish...’ [McG. 772]); P šāh ‘a king (...); a title assumed by fakīrs’ [St. 726]. XVāja Sadr ud-Dīn Šāh, who lived during the Jahāngīr’s reign and is buried here, got his nickname because of his fair (H bhūrā) complexion.5

**Čilla Nizām ud-Dīn** [Nizamuddin’s Residence]. The residence of thirteenth-century ṣūfī saint Hazrat XVāja Nizām ud-Dīn Auliyā, which is said to be the site where he used to fast and meditate (čilla), resembling the architecture of Fīrūz Šāh Tuğluq. Called also Čillagāh-e Šarīf [Saint’s Residence] < P šarīf ‘noble, eminent, holy; illustrious; a descendant of Muhammad...’ [St. 743], by the disciples of the Chishti order in Delhi it is still regarded as one of the most sacred places in North India.

**Čirāg-i Dihli kī Dargāh** [Shrine of ‘Lamp of Delhi’] < P čirāg ‘a lamp; light...’ [St. 389]; dihli – a Persianized form of H dillī, which is the name of the city of Delhi [cf. St. 549]. The shrine entombs Šāix Nāsir ud-Dīn Mahmūd (d. 1356), also known as ‘Raušan Čirāg-i Dihli’ (‘Illuminated Lamp of Delhi’), a famous Chishtiyya sūfī of Delhi.

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Naṣrīyat-e Pir ʿĀṣiq Allah [Pir Ashiq Allah’s Shrine] was built in 1317 by Sultan Qūṭb ud-Dīn Mūbarak Šāh Xaljī for a renowned Chishtiyya saint ʿŠams ud-Dīn ʿĀṣiq Allah. Apart from his tomb in the dargāh there is a hill on which the ċillagāḥ of Bābā Farīd, twelfth-century ʿūlūmī preacher and saint of the same Chishti order, is situated. It is a place of meditation for many ʿūlūmī mystics and saints.

Niẓām ud-Dīn kī Dargāh [Nizamuddin’s Shrine] is the mausoleum of Ḥaẓrat Xvāja Niẓām ud-Dīn Auliyyā, the world-famous Muslim ʿūlūmī mystic and saint of the Chishti order. The village that during the centuries sprang up around the shrine is also named after the saint (Niẓāmuddin).

Qūṭb ud-Dīn Baxtiyār Kākī kī Dargāh [Shrine of Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki]. Khwāja Baxtiyār Kākī (d. 1235) was a renowned Muslim ʿūlūmī mystic, saint and scholar of the Chishti order. His shrine is the oldest dargāh in Delhi.

Šāh-i Mardān kī Dargāh [Shrine of Shahi Mardan] < P šāh ‘a king, sovereign, emperor, monarch, prince’ [St. 726]; mardān (pl. of mard) ‘heroes, warriors’ [St. 1212]. This shrine derives its name from Šāh-i Mardān [King of Heroes], which is a title of ʿAlī (cf. P shāh-i mardān ‘king of valour, Ali’ [St. 726]). The name has been given to the enclosure of Qadam Šarīf, a structure which is believed to contain a footprint of ʿAlī.

Xanqaṭ-i Šāh Gūlām ʿAlī [Convent of Shah Ghulam ʿAlī]. The whole enclosure contains a mosque, a house, a Tasbih Xāna (< P tasbih-xāna ‘a chapel, oratory’ [St. 300]), a few apartments and four graves – among them there is that of Šāh Gūlām ʿAlī, a well known thirteenth-century ʿūlūmī saint of Naqshbandi order.

4. Forts. Impressive Delhi forts stand as silent sentinels to the former glory of the mighty emperors who have ruled the city. Although some of them are now forgotten and partly ruined, once they marked the dawn of a new capital, portraying the desire of establishing a new kingdom. The names of the forts often refer to the names of their builders as well as contain a word denoting ‘fort’, being an exponent of this category. For this purpose one of the following is used: P qalē, qilē ‘a fort (esp. one on a mountain or an eminence), a fortress, castle, citadel, fortifi-
History preserved in names

A small fortress, &c.; a place where the property of a temple is kept, and its affairs are managed’ [Pl. 859] or H garh ‘a fort; citadel; castle’ [Pl. 909].

‘Adilabād Qīl‘a [Adilabad Fort] < P (A) cādil ‘…one who gives partners to God, an idol-worshipper; just, equitable…’ [St. 829]; P ābād ‘a city, building, habitation…’ [St. 3]. This small fort, known also as Mohammadābād [City of Mohammad], was built by Mohammad bin Tuğluq on the hills to the south of Tuğluqābād.

Firūz Šāh Kotlā [Fortress of Firoz Shah]. Called also Firūzābād [City of Firoz], this fortress was built by Firūz Šāh Tuğluq in 1354 as the fifth city of Delhi and inherited the name after its constructor.

Lāl Qīl‘a [Red Fort] < P lāl ‘a ruby; red…’ [St. 1112], called also Lāl Ḥavelī < P ḥavelī ‘a house, dwelling, habitation; the districts attached to, and in the vicinity of, the capital of a province; government lands’ [St. 434] or Qīl‘a-i Šāh Jahān [Shah Jahan’s Fort]. The Delhi Fort, built by Šāh Jahān in 1639-48, served as both a palace and a fortification for the Emperor. The fort is faced externally with red sandstone – hence its name.

Murādābād Pahārī Qīl‘a [Muradabad Hill Fort] < H pahārī ‘a small hill a hillock’ [Pl. 282]. The fort was constructed in 1624 by Rustam Xān, the governor of Sambhal, and named Rustam Nagar < H nagar ‘a city, town’ [Pl. 1151]. Later it was re-named Murūdābād after the name of Šāh Jahān’s son Murād Baxš (cf. P ābād ‘a city, building, habitation…’ [St. 3]).

Purāṇa Qīl‘a [Old Fort] < H purāṇa ‘belonging to ancient or olden times, ancient, old, aged, primeval’ [Pl. 236], known also under the Persian form of its name Qīl‘a-i Kuhna < P kuhanā ‘old, ancient…’ [St. 1067]. It was the citadel of the city of Dīnpanāh [Asylum of the Faith] < P dīn-panāh ‘support or prop of religion; a sovereign, defender of the faith’ [St. 554]. Its construction was started c. 1530 by Humāyūn and continued by Šer Šāh Sūrī in 1540 after he defeated Humāyūn. Šer Šāh renamed
the fort as Šergarh [Sher’s Fort] (or Tiger’s Fort, as his name Šer in Persian means ‘a lion; a tiger’ [cf. St. 772]).

Salīmgarh [Salim’s Fort]. The fort was built by Islām Šāh Sūrī, also known as Salīm Šāh (after whom the fort is named), son and successor of Šer Šāh Sūrī, in 1546. It was constructed on an island of the river Yamunā. By the time of Salīm Šāh’s death only the walls were completed, then the construction was abandoned. Later it was also called Nūrgarh [Fort of Noor], when Nūr ud-Dīn Jahāngīr built a bridge in front of its gateway (cf. P nūr ‘light, rays of light’ [St. 1432]).

Tuğluqābād [Tughlaq’s Fort]. The fort situated on a hillock is a huge (stretching across 6.5 km), but dilapidated construction, built by Ğiyās ud-Dīn Tuğluq, the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty. The construction began in 1321 and was completed in two years, but the fort was abandoned soon after its founder’s death in 1325.

5. Water reservoirs. The large water tanks or reservoirs, built to supply water to the inhabitants of the city, are known as hauz-es < P (A) hauz ‘a large reservoir of water, basin of a fountain, pond, tank, vat, cistern’ [St. 434].

Hauz-i ‘Alā’i [Ala’s Tank]. It is a large tank, excavated by ‘Alā’ ud-Dīn Xaljī (r. 1296-1316) in Siri, the second city of medieval India, and named after him. In the fourteenth century it was renamed Hauz Xāṣ by Firūz Šāh Tuğluq.

Hauz-i Šamsī [Shams’s Tank] is a water storage reservoir built in 1230 by Šams ud-Dīn Iltutmiš, the third ruler of the Sultanate of Delhi and named after him. As the legend narrates, a location for the reservoir was revealed to Iltutmiš by the Prophet Muḥammad in a dream. When the Sultan inspected the site the day after his dream, he reported to have found a hoof print of Muḥammad’s horse. He then erected a pavilion to mark the sacred location and excavated a large tank around the pavilion to harvest rain water.

Hauz Xāṣ [Royal Tank]. P (A) xāṣ, xāṣ ‘...choice, select, excellent, noble’ [St. 439]. In the fourteenth century Firūz Šāh Tuğluq re-excavated the old silted Hauz-i ‘Alā’ī and raised several buildings on its banks. Since then, the tank and surrounding
area is known as Ḥauẓ Xāṣ, which can be translated as ‘Royal Tank’.

6. Towers. A minaret, from which five times each day the voice of the muʿazzin calls thousands of followers to fulfil their religious duty, is the necessary component of every mosque, and as such – one of the most essential symbols of Islam. However, it rarely happens that minarets possess their individual names. Still, in Muslim times towers were quite frequently built, either as parts of fortifications or as separate constructions. There are two terms denoting ‘tower’ which appear in toponyms of this category: P mīnār ‘a tower, turret, steeple, spire, minaret; an obelisk’ [St. 1364] and P (A) burj ‘a tower…’ [St. 170]

‘Ala”-i Mīnār [Ala’s Tower] < P (A) ʿalā’ ‘being superior to, above…’ [St. 860]. The unfinished tower in the Qutb Mīnār complex is named after its founder, Sultan ʿAla” ud-Dīn Xaljī who had started the construction of the tower twice the size of Qutb Mīnār. It could not be completed because of the sultan’s death.

Asad Burj [Lion’s Tower] < P (A) asad ‘a lion…’ [St. 57]. Asad Burj is a part of the Lāl Qil”a fortification wall located in the south-eastern corner of the fort. It was damaged during the Uprising of 1857.

Čor Mīnār [Tower of Thieves] < H cor ‘a thief, a robber, a pilferer…’ [Pl. 450]. Built in the times of ʿAla” ud-Dīn Xaljī, this tower has circular holes on the outside and it is believed that they might have been used for displaying severed heads of thieves, as a deterrent to robbers – which gave the tower its name.

Kos Mīnār [Milestone Tower] < H kos ‘a measure of length equal to approximately two English miles (but varying in different parts of India), a league; a mile-stone’ [Pl. 862]. The Kos Mīnār-s, which are several in Delhi and numerous along the main routes of northern India, were the milestones erected by the Mughal emperors between 1556 and 1707. They measure over 30 ft and the inspiration to build them was probably derived by the Mughals from Šer Šāh.

Muṣamman Burj [Octagonal Tower] < P (A) muṣamman ‘octangular, eight-sided, eight-fold; an octagon’ [St. 1173]. This
octagon is one of the structures of Lāl Qilā, known also as Burj-i Tila [Golden Tower] < P tila ‘drawn gold…’ [St. 322], because its walls, built of white marble, as well as its cupola have been covered with gilded copper. This structure was used as jharokhā or ‘showing place’ (< H jharokhā ‘loop-hole, eyelet-hole, lattice, window, casement, skylight…’ [Pl. 403]), wherein the emperor appeared daily to his subjects.

Quṭb Minār [Tower of Qutb]. This tallest brick minaret in the world (72.5 m) was constructed c. 1200 under the orders of India’s first Muslim ruler Quṭb ud-Dīn Aibak, after whom it has been named. The topmost storey of the minaret was completed in 1386 by Fīrūz Šāh Tūgluq.

Sabz Burj [Green Dome] < P sabz ‘green…’ [St. 647]. The name of this late sixteenth century octagonal tomb comes from the green tiles which originally covered it. During restoration in the 1980s the construction was re-tiled by the Archaeological Survey of India in a vivid blue colour and, for this reason, it is also known as Nilī Chatri < H nīlā ‘dark blue; blue; livid’ [Pl. 1168]; H chatrī ‘... a small ornamental pavilion generally built over a place of interment, or a cenotaph in honour of a Hindū chief, or a fāqīr’ [Pl. 458]. It is not known who built this monument or whose tomb it is.

Sohan Burj [Brilliant Tower] < H sohan ‘beautiful, handsome, graceful, pleasing, charming…’ [Pl. 703]. Probably built at the turn of the fifteenth century, the building does not resemble a tower at all. It could have been used as an assembly hall or a school (madrasa). It looks very much like a mosque, but is facing the wrong direction to be one.

Šāh Burj [King’s Tower] < P šāh ‘a king…’ [St. 726]. It is an octagonal, three-storey building in the Lāl Qilā complex, a pavilion rather than a typical tower. In this building Šāh Jahān held secret meetings with princes and leading nobles.

7. Gates. Delhi for centuries was famous for its gates, although from the fifty two mentioned by William Finch⁶ in his

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⁶ William Finch was an agent of the East India Company who travelled in India in the years 1608-11. Cf. R. Nath, *India as Seen by William*
description of the city, only 13 still exist and can be identified. A usual practice was to call them according to the name of a place of destination they were facing. A regular element of the name of each gate is P darvāza ‘a door; a gate... ’ [St. 514].

‘Ala‘i Darvāza [Ala’s Gate] < P (A) ‘alā‘ ‘being superior to, above... ’ [St. 860]. It is the main gateway from the southern side of the Quvvat ul-Islām Mosque, built by Sultan ‘Alā‘ ud-Dīn Xalījī in 1311 and named after him.

Dilī Darvāza [Delhi Gate] known also as Alexandra Gate (named so after Queen Alexandra of Denmark), in the south wall of the Lāl Qilā‘a, acquired its name as it faces the sites of the older cities of Delhi.

Lahaurī Darvāza [Lahore Gate]. Also known as Victoria Gate (named so after Queen Victoria), it is the most important and the most frequently used gate of Lāl Qilā‘a, in the centre of the West wall of the fort. The gate is named so because it faces towards the city of Lahaur.

Xūnī Darvāza [Bloodstained Gateway] < P xūnī ‘bloody; a murderer’ [St. 489]. Built by Šer Šāh Sūrī in sixteenth century, it was one of the gates of his city Šergarh, then called Kābulī Darvāza, as it opened on the road to Kabul. Because of the predominant use of red stone it was also called Lāl Darvāza < P lāl ‘a ruby; red... ’ [St. 1112]. Its present name the gate acquired after the Uprising of 1857 since it was here that Captain W. Hodson shot two remaining sons of the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Šāh Zafar, imprisoned after the siege of Delhi by British soldiers. Local legend has it that during the rainy season blood drips from the ceiling (most probably it is rainwater that becomes slightly reddish after contact with the rusted iron joints of the gateways’ ceiling).

8. Palaces. This category comprises residences of various kind, belonging usually to a royal personage or to a high dignitary, often large and splendid, used either for living or for entertainment, known generally as mahal-s < P mahall, mahāl ‘de-
ascending, lighting off a journey, staying, dwelling; place of abode; a building, house, mansion; a palace; a place, post, dignity, degree of honour, high station’ [St. 1189].

**Bhulī Bhaṭiyārī kā Maḥal** [Palace of Bu-ʿAli Bhatti]. It is one of the four hunting palaces (ṣikārgāh) built by Firūz Šāh Tuğluq. According to popular belief, its name comes from a man named Bū-ʿAlī Bhaṭṭī, who is said to have occupied the building long ago. The name has gone through many variations over the years, hence its present corrupted form. The other explanation of the name might be according to the word-for-word translation: ‘Palace of Fair Woman Innkeeper’ < H bhūrā ‘brown; auburn (hair)’ [Pl. 195] (cf. ‘light brown, brownish; greyish...’ [McG. 772]); bhāṭiyārī, bhāṭhiyārī ‘woman who carries on the business of an inn-keeper; wife of a bhaṭhiyārā’ [Pl. 183]. The mysterious innkeeper might have been a particular favourite of Firūz Šāh Tuğluq.

**Hīrā Maḥal** [Diamond Palace] < H hīrā ‘diamond; adamant’ [Pl. 1244]. A small marble pavilion in the Lāl Qilā complex, built by Bahādur Šāh II who used to sit there and watch the river.

**Jahāz Maḥal** [Ship Palace] < P (A) jahāz ‘... a ship ...’ [St. 380]. Built during the Lodi dynasty period (1452-1526) probably as a pleasure resort or an inn (sarāy) for pilgrims. It is called ‘Ship Palace’ because, located on the banks of Ḥauz-i Šamsī, it appears as if it was floating on the surface of the lake.

**Kūśk-i Šikārgāh** [Hunting Palace] < P kūšk ‘a palace, villa; a castle, citadel’ [St. 1062]; P šikār ‘prey, game; the chase, hunting...’ [St. 751]; P gāh ‘...place (always in composition)...’ [St. 1074]. It is another hunting lodge built by Firūz Šāh Tuğluq. The other name of the place is Kūśk-i Jahān Numā [World-reflecting Palace] < P jahān, jihān ‘the world; an age; worldly possessions...’ [St. 380]; P -namā, -numā ‘(in comp.) showing,

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7 Such explanation of this name has been given by Sayyid Ahmad Xān in Āsār us-ṣanādīd, cf. R. Nath, Monument of Delhi. Historical Study, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi: Ambika Publications, 1979, p. 38.
pointing out; an index’ [St. 1425]. The palace was probably so named because of the astronomical observatory built in it.

**Lāl Mahāl [Red Palace]** < P lāl ‘a ruby; red...’ [St. 1112]. Presumably it is the other name for the **Kušk-i Lāl** (< P kūšk ‘a palace, villa; a castle, citadel’ [St. 1062]), a palace built by Gīyāṣ ud-Dīn Balban before he ascended the throne. It is built of red sandstone which gave the palace its name. In the fourteenth century the famous Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa stayed here during his visit to Delhi.

**Mumtāz Maḥal [Palace of the Eminent]** < P mumtāz ‘chosen, distinguished, select, choice; eminent, excellent, illustrious; separate, distinct’ [St. 1313]. It is the former harem of the Lāl Qil‘a. According to popular belief, this palace was built by Śāh Jahān for his wife Aqumand Bānū Begam, also famously known as Mumtāz Mahal.

**Pīr Ġāyib [Vanished Saint]** < P pīr ‘an old man; a founder or chief of any religious body or sect’ [St. 264]; P gā‘īb ‘absent, latent, concealed, invisible...’ [St. 880]. Supposedly it was originally a part of Kušk-i Šikārgāh, built by Frūz Śāh Tuğluq in the fourteenth century. There are various interpretations whether it was used as a hunting lodge, or as an astronomical observatory. According to tradition, one of the rooms of the building was a ċillagāh or the worshipping place of a saint, who suddenly and mysteriously disappeared. There is a cenotaph constructed in his memory and the whole building is known after him as Pīr Ġāyib.

**Rang Maḥal [Palace of Colours]** < P rang ‘colour, hue’ [St. 588]. The building is known also as **Imtiyāz Maḥal [Palace of Distinction]** < P (A) imtiyāz ‘separation, distinction, discrimination’ [St. 98]. The building, located within the Lāl Qil‘a complex, was the largest of the apartments of the imperial seraglio.

**Xās Maḥal [Private Palace]** < P (A) xās, xāš ‘... private, for private use, personal, own, proper...’ [St. 439]. Known also under the name **Choṭā Rang Maḥal [Lesser Palace of Colours]** < H chojā ‘little, small; less, lesser...’ [Pl. 466]; P rang ‘colour, hue’ [St. 588], was a part of the Lāl Qil‘a zanāna (women’s apartments) and the residential palace of the chief ladies of the harem.
Zafar Maḥal [Palace of Zafar]. It stands in the centre of Bāg-i Hayāt Baxš, a garden in the Lāl Qilā complex and is named after the *nom de plume* of Bahādur Šāh II, by whom it was built in about 1842 (cf. P (A) ẓafar ‘accomplishing, succeeding in one’s wishes, overcoming, conquering; victory, triumph...’ [St. 825]).

9. Gardens. The construction of gardens since Babur’s rule (1526-30) was one of the preferred imperial activities, becoming uncommonly popular during the times of the Mughal Empire. Some of them are kept well preserved and can still be admired in Delhi, although a traditional Persian word bāg ‘a garden; a vineyard...’ [St. 148] in their names is more and more often replaced by the English word ‘garden’.

Bāg-i Bū Ḥalīma [Garden of Bu Halima]. Not much is known about Bū Ḥalīma and the origin of the garden locally named after the lady. Architecturally the enclosure-walls and the gateway of the garden by its style could be datable to the early Mughal period (sixteenth century). There is a dilapidated structure in the garden, containing a grave said to be of Bū Ḥalīma.

Bāg-i Ḥayāt Baxš [Life-giving Garden] < P (A) ḥayāt ‘life; life-time’ [St. 434]; baxš (in comp., as part. of baxšīdan) ‘a giver, donor; a distributor, or divider; a pardoner’ [St. 159]. The garden within the Lāl Qilā complex, once a beautiful retreat and a favourite resting-place of the fort’s inhabitants.

Bāg-i Raušanārā [Roshanara’s Garden]. This is one of the biggest gardens of Delhi, laid in 1650 by Raušanārā Begam, the youngest daughter of Šāh Jahān and named after her. Her tomb (Qabr-e Raušanārā), in which the princess was buried in 1671, is situated in the centre of the garden.

10. Other objects. This class comprises a range of toponyms which cannot be grouped under any of the above described categories, but are still commonly known and used for constructing secondary place-names.

Dīvān-i Ĕām [Hall of Public Audiences] < P (A) daivān, dī-వන ‘a royal court...’ [St. 555]; P (A) ēāmm ‘...the vulgar, com-
mon people, commons, commonalty’ [St. 832]; cf. P dīvān-i ʿām ‘a public hall of audience’ [St. 555]. It is an elegant arched hall in the Lāl Qilā complex, where the emperor used to hear complaints or disputes of his people and meet dignitaries and foreign emissaries.

Divān-i Xāṣ [Hall of Private Audiences] < P (A) daivān, dīvān ‘a royal court...’ [St. 555]; P [A] xāṣ, xāṣ ‘particular, peculiar, special, distinct; private, for private use, personal, own, proper; choice, select, excellent, noble’ [St. 439]; cf. dīvān-i xāṣ ‘a privy-council chamber’ [St. 555]. It is a luxurious pavilion of white marble, a part of the Lāl Qilā complex, where the emperor used to meet the highest and mightiest persons such as ministers and army chiefs as well as the most eminent and noble among the citizens.

Ḥammām [Baths] < P (A) hammām ‘a hot bath; a Turkish bath; a bagnio’ [St. 430]. The Lāl Qilā royal baths complex is divided into three parts separated by corridors. One of the rooms, where the garments were removed, was called ʿAqab-i Ḥammām (< P (A) ʿaqab ‘hinder part, rear’ [St. 857]). The central chamber, entirely built of carved and inlaid marble, was known as Śāh-Niśin [Seat of the Emperor] < P šāh ‘a king...’ [St. 726]; niśin (in comp.) ‘sitting, sitting down or along with...’ [St. 1405]. The third apartment fixed with heating appliances was used for hot or vapour baths.

Ḥaveli Mirzā Ġalīb [Mirza Ghalib’s House] < P havīlī ‘a house, dwelling, habitation...’ [St. 434]. In this mansion the great Delhi poet Mirzā Asadullāh Xān Ġalīb spent the last phase of his life, from 1860 to 1869.

Karbala [Karbala]. The Karbala is a large enclosure of Mughal times, surrounded by a wall built of rubble and containing a large number of graves. The name of the enclosure comes from Karbala, a place in Iraq where Imām Ḥusain (son of ʿAlī), his followers and family members became martyrs in the hands of the army of the infamous Caliph Yazīd I [cf. St. 1021]. The places where the taʿziya-s (namely the replicas or copies of the grave or tomb of Imām Ḥusain) are buried as a part of mourning observances are also called karbalā-s.
Nahr-i Bihišt [Stream of Paradise] < P (A) nahr ‘... a river, stream, flowing canal’ [St. 1438]; P bihišt ‘paradise; heaven’ [St. 211]. It is a canal constructed inside the Lāl Qil’a, passing from the Śāh Burj through the Ḥammām, Dīvān-i Xās, Xvābgāh and Rang Mahal.

Naqqār Xāna or Naubat Xāna [Drum House] < P naqāra ‘a kettle-drum’ [St. 1418] (cf. naqār-xāna ‘a band of music’ [St. 1417]) or P (A) naubat, nauba ‘... drums beating at the gate of a great man at certain intervals...’ [St. 1431] (cf. naubat-xāna ‘a watch-tower; a guard-house; the music-gallery’ [St. 1431]). It served as a main entrance to the court of Dīvān-i Ām. The name of the gate refers to the musician’s gallery on the top of it, from which music was performed five times a day. It is known also under the popular name Hāthīyān Pol [Elephant Gate] < H hāthīyām, pl. of hāthī ‘an elephant’ [Pl. 1215]; H pol, paul ‘gate, door’ [Pl. 281], it was at this point that all save Princes of royal blood dismounted from their elephants before entering further into the fort complex.8

Qadam Šarīf [Sacred Footprint] < P (A) qadam ‘a foot; a footprint, track, trace’ [St. 958]; šarīf ‘noble, eminent, holy’ [St. 743]. The structure (built in 1759-60) contains a footprint believed to be of ʿAlī and is held to be very sacred by the Shia community. It is a part of Śāh-i Mardān kī Dargāh.

Xvābgāh [Bedroom Suite] < P xvābgāh ‘a bed, couch; a chamber, dormitory’ [St. 479]. Xvābgāh is a part of another structure inside the Lāl Qil’a, called Tasbīḥ Xāna (< P tasbīḥ-xāna ‘a chapel, oratory’ [St. 300]), namely the emperor’s private apartments. The other part of this building was known as Baithak (< H baithak ‘place where people meet to sit and converse, assembly-room, forum; reception-room’ [Pl. 206]) or Toṣa Xāna (< P toṣa-xāna ‘wardrobe; store-room’ [St. 336]) and served as the king’s sitting room.

Concluding remarks

Almost half of the discussed toponyms (42 out of 90) have been created on the basis of personal names of people connected somehow with particular places. This tendency is observed predominantly in the names of burial places: almost all toponyms referring to graves and all referring to shrines (the most important element of which are graves of revered religious figures) comprise the name of a person laid there to rest (see the table below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic category of toponyms</th>
<th>Total number of described toponyms</th>
<th>Toponyms created on the basis of personal names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mosques</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrines</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forts</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water reservoirs</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaces</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardens</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other objects</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, such constructions as towers, gates or palaces are rarely named after persons. Toponyms denoting them most often expose real or wishful attributes of the named object.

The 90 place-names, presented and discussed above, and connected with important Delhi historical objects are frequently employed for creating secondary toponyms, such as the names of roads (e.g.: Safdarjang Lane, Safdarjang Road, Gali Sheesh Mahal, Karbala Road, Purana Qila Road, Chauburja Marg, etc.) or names of localities, villages and apartments (e.g. Safdarjang En-
clave, Qutab Vihar, Qutab Enclave, Hauz Khas Appartments, Hauz Khas Enclave, etc.). In the process of creating secondary toponyms the increasing role of English lexical elements is also worth noting.

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