CHAPTER TEN

Persianate Trends in Sultanate Architecture: The Great Mosque of Bada'un

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In recent years much has been done to remedy the neglect of pre-Mughal Islamic architecture in South Asia, which Robert Hillenbrand noted in his analysis of the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Ajmir. Somewhat paradoxically, this burgeoning of research has also served to highlight glaring lacunae in the architectural record, manifest both in the nature of the surviving monuments (mostly religious foundations such as mosques and masjids), and in their chronological spread. Despite the survival of numerous foundation inscriptions, and additions to the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Delhi (the Qutb mosque), no major north Indian congregational mosques survive from the period between the arrival of the Ghurids in the late twelfth century and the accession of the Tughluq dynasty over one hundred and twenty years later.

There is, however, a behemoth among pre-Mughal Indian mosques, which can help fill this gap in the architectural record while elucidating more general principles of Indo-Islamic religious architecture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Descriptions of the Great Mosque of Bada'un in Uttar Pradesh were published by the Archaeological Survey of India in the colonial period, and short notices or passing references (largely dependent on these earlier descriptions) have appeared subsequently, but the building has never been the subject of any detailed analysis. The observations below, based as they are on a brief visit to the site, are somewhat tentative, but offer a preliminary assessment of the mosque's chronology and historical importance. The existing structure preserves fragments of a mosque built on the site by Iltutmish, but is largely a product of the early fourteenth century; the form and decoration of the mosque are strikingly Persianate in their affinities. Given the ability of the mosque to shed new light on both the architectural patronage of Iltutmish (itself an oddly neglected topic) and Persianate trends in fourteenth-century Indo-Islamic architecture, topics on which Robert has published, it seemed appropriate to offer these preliminary remarks in a volume intended to honour the unusual breadth and depth of his scholarly interests.
As it stands today, the mosque comprises an irregular trapezoid measuring approximately 60 x 85 m, broader than it is long (Plate 21; Figure 10.1), with a baked brick superstructure supported on a course of good ashlar masonry, which stands to a height of roughly 3.6 m (Figure 10.2). While half the size of the Adina Mosque at Pandua (1375), the largest mosque of pre-Mughal India, the Bada'un mosque encloses an area almost twice that of the original Qutbi mosque (1192-3 onwards), but comparable to that of Tughluqid congregational mosques such as the mosque at Jahanpanah (c. 1343). The impression produced by the exterior is one of severe monumentality, the principal articulation being achieved by the use of window-openings, the rectangular projection of the mihrab, and narrow tapering corner bastions with horizontal bands of decorative brickwork (Figures 10.2-3).

The interior, by contrast, is articulated by means of arcades framing a central courtyard, which measures approximately 30 x 53 m. At the centre of each side of the court a shallow iwan is incorporated into a pishtaq, a monumental entrance that projects above the level of the surrounding roofs. The largest of these precedes the entrance to the prayer hall on the western side of the court (Figure 10.4). The façades of the iwans and arcades were once richly decorated with floral, geometric and epigraphic ornament, executed in cut brick (and possibly terracotta), some of which was glazed (Figure 10.5). The glazing and most of the details of the ornament are now obscured.

Fig. 10.1 (opposite) Great Mosque of Bada'un, plan. [After Blakiston, Jami Masjid.]

Fig. 10.2 Great Mosque of Bada'un, southern exterior elevation. [After Blakiston, Jami Masjid.]
Fig. 10.3 Great Mosque of Bada’un, exterior bastion at south-eastern corner.

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beneath layers of whitewash, which have accumulated since it was first applied in the nineteenth century.⁸

The prayer hall consists of a rectangular space divided into four bays, which run parallel to the qibla, roofed with pointed barrel vaults supported on massive brick piers (Figure 10.6), and interrupted by a central monumental domed chamber. With an interior span of 12.5 × 12.5 m, this is comparable in size to the domed chambers in the Seljuq mosques of Iran, but larger than any dome found in surviving thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Indian mosques with the sole exception of the recently published Tughluqid mosque at Warangal.
in the Deccan [c. 1322–3]. From what remained of the northern and southern bays of the court in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is clear that this arrangement of barrel-vaulted aisles carried on rectangular piers once continued two bays deep on the lateral sides of the court (Figure 10.1). It seems likely that the same arrangement was followed on the eastern side of the court, although we cannot be certain, since most of what exists there now was rebuilt relatively recently.

The main entrance to the mosque is at the centre of its eastern side, facing the qibla, as was standard in Indian mosques even before the Ghurid conquest. As we will see below, the monumental eastern entrance through which one enters the mosque today is a nineteenth-century replacement for an earlier gateway. In it has been reset the foundation text of the thirteenth-century mosque, two registers of Arabic carved in naskhi script on a sandstone plaque (Figure 10.7), which reads:

Enter it in peace safely [Qur'an 15:46]. The magnificent sultan, the most exalted shahinfah, the Lord of the necks of the people, the sun of the state and religion, the help of Islam and the Muslims, the most just of the kings and sultans, the victorious Litutmish, the ‘Royal Retainer’ (al-sultânî), the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom. In the months of the year 620 [AD 1223].

Fig. 10.4 Great Mosque of Bada’un, qibla iwan and southern side of courtyard.
[Photograph © F. B. Flood.]
Although it has generally been overlooked in discussions of sultanate architecture, Ilutmish's architectural patronage during his long reign (1211–36) was clearly extensive, and not confined to the imperial capital of Delhi. Even ignoring the many foundation inscriptions from structures erected during his reign that do not mention him as patron, the number of north Indian civic and religious monuments ascribed to Ilutmish by epigraphic evidence or the historical sources testify to his role as a prolific patron of monumental architecture. Among the surviving monuments are the Qutb Minar (the second to fourth storeys of which Ilutmish completed), and the iron pillar in the courtyard of the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Delhi, which was set up in this position on his orders probably around 1229, when he also ordered the extension of the monumental screen that Qutb al-Din Aybak had added to the façade of the prayer hall.

The similar screen in the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Ajmir is datable to the same period [Figure 10.8]. To Ilutmish's patronage is also ascribed the tomb of his son, Nasir al-Din Mahmud in Delhi, which housed the Mu'izzi madrasa that he founded. Before his death in 1235, the sultan is also presumed to have initiated work on the magnificent tomb adjacent to the Qutbi mosque that is believed to house his remains. Elsewhere in Delhi, an inscription found in a fort at Sirsa records the fact that Ilutmish renovated the building in the 1230s. Whether contemporary with the renovation or later, the inscription attests Ilutmish's involvement in the construction of
civic monuments, which included the monumental water-tank in Delhi known as the Hauz-i Shamsi.\textsuperscript{18}

Outside of Delhi, Ilutmish is reported to have founded another madrasa in Multan, while a mid-thirteenth-century stone inscription comparable in size to the Bada’un text records the earlier construction of a mosque at Gangarampur in West Bengal on Ilutmish’s orders.\textsuperscript{19} The Mughal emperor Babur (r. 932–7/1526–30) refers to
Fig. 10.7 Great Mosque of Bada’un, detail of Iltutmish’s foundation text above eastern entrance.

[Photograph © F. B. Flood.]
another congregational mosque founded by Iltutmish in the fort of Gwalior. Although no longer extant, the construction of a mosque within the fort follows Ghurid and early sultanate practice witnessed in Delhi, Bada‘un and possibly Khatu in Rajasthan; a fragment of a stone *naskh* inscription which looks to be of early thirteenth-century date in the Gwalior fort museum may have come from the vanished structure. Babur also noted an inscription dated 630/1232–3 bearing the name of Iltutmish associated with a water-tank at Urwah, near Gwalior fort; given the sultan’s reported involvement in the construction of the Hauz-i Shamsi in Delhi, his patronage of such a monument is by no means unlikely. Finally, the style of a stray stone fragment carved with a geometric design, and now incorporated into the outer wall of Nauragh fort in Rajasthan (Figure 10.9) is sufficiently close to that of Iltutmish’s screen in the Friday Mosque of Ajmir (Figure 10.8) to suggest that it may have come from a monument built by Iltutmish at Nauragh.

In Bada‘un itself, the congregational mosque may have been the centrepiece of an extensive building programme, for the massive baked brick *jidgah* of the city (over 90m in length) is traditionally ascribed to Iltutmish’s activities while governor. Although to judge from its present appearance (Figure 10.10), the *jidgah* was remodelled in the Tughluqid period or later, the provision of such a monument would be consistent with Ghurid and early sultanate practice. In addition, several fragmentary inscriptions preserved in later Bada‘uni monuments appear to date from the reign of Iltutmish, among them one recording the erection of a city gate.

Although Bada‘un today is a relatively isolated provincial town, after its conquest in 594/1197 the city was of great strategic and political importance, functioning as an important nexus in the networks of military might, political influence and religious piety that bound together the various provincial capitals of the newly emergent Delhi sultanate. The construction of a congregational mosque here by Iltutmish reflects both the importance of the city in its own right

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Fig. 10.9 Nauragh fort, fragmentary stone carving inserted into exterior walls. [Photograph © F. B. Flood.]
and its role as a staging post in Ilutmish's political ascendancy. It was as governor of Bada'un that he acceded to the sultanate, and here that he later imprisoned his great rival, Taj al-Din Yildiz, after defeating him in 612/1215. The value of the 'iqta of Bada'un as a potential power base for an ambitious governor is reflected later in the conferral of the governorship of the city on Rukan al-Din Firuz, Ilutmish's son and successor, during whose governorship the congregational mosque was constructed. Evidence for the construction of mosques and other monuments in Gwalior and Baran (modern Bulandshahr), cities whose governorships he held prior to his Bada'un appointment, suggest that in exercising his celebrated piety, Ilutmish was also embellishing the cities with which he was most closely associated during his rise to power.

As we will see shortly, however, in its present incarnation the Great Mosque of Bada'un seems to represent an early Tughluqid rebuilding of Ilutmish's mosque. Even the monumental entrance in which the foundation text of Ilutmish's mosque appears today is not the original entrance, but a nineteenth-century replacement for a fourteenth-century gate. Apart from the foundation text (Figure 10.7), and a fragment of an epigraphic frieze later reset in the courtyard façade (Figure 10.18), the best-preserved features of the thirteenth-
century mosque are to be found in the prayer hall, around the mihrab. The surviving fragments include two carved stone panels set high up on the qibla wall, on either side of the mihrab opening (Figure 10.11). The cusping and lotus spandrel bosses on these panels mirrors the form of some of the minor arches on Ilutmish's extension to the Delhi screen, and recur on the decoration of the mihrab below (Figure 10.12), which may [like the flanking stone columns of standard Indic type] also survive from Ilutmish's mosque. The framing epigraphic bands on the qibla panels are inscribed with Qur'anic quotations; the example illustrated here (Figure 10.11) contains the kalima and Qur'an 2:258:

Be wakeful of your service of prayer, and the midmost service, and honour God by standing before Him in devotion.

The style of the naskhi and background ornament is sufficiently close to that of Ilutmish's foundation inscription above the eastern entrance to confirm that these are survivals from the thirteenth-century mosque; the obvious relevance of this aya to a prayer hall suggests that the panels have not moved far from their original context, if at all. It is perhaps fitting that the sole surviving fragments of the thirteenth-century mosque are epigraphic, since one of the

Fig. 10.11 Great Mosque of Bada'un, stone panel above mihrab.
(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)
most striking characteristics of Iltutmish's monuments is their lavish use of monumental epigraphy.33

The importance of these fragments lies in the evidence that they offer for the combination of epigraphy and stylised vegetal ornament found in the Delhi and Ajmir screens, here in a mosque dated six years before the date traditionally ascribed to either. In this respect, the absence of the geometric ornament that characterises the later screens seems significant, suggesting that the decoration of the Bada'un mosque had more in common with the earlier screen of Qutb al-Din Aybak in Delhi (1199) than with the extension ordered by Iltutmish.35 The lotus-flower bursts and spandrel bosses amid
loosely scrolling vegetal ornament are all very much in the Indic idioms of Aybak’s screen, as is the stone medium. At Bada’un, however, both are used to produce a panel with strong structural affinities to the stucco decoration of Iranian mihrabs of the twelfth century.33

Although it has been assumed that many of the carved stones of the Bada’un mosque, as well its structural materials, are spolia taken from temples destroyed in the wake of the Ghurid conquest, spoliation is something of a topos in art historical writing on early Indian mosques, which often reveals more about modern assumptions regarding Islam than the cultural dynamics of medieval South Asia.34 While the nature and likely source of any materials reused in the Bada’un mosque warrant further investigation, study of the Atala Masjid (c. 1360) at nearby Jajnupur has cast serious doubt upon the idea that the mosque was constructed from the remains of a despoiled temple.35 Moreover, carved stone elements similar to those used around the Bada’un mihrab were carved ex novo for Ghurid mosques in Ajmir, and possibly Delhi, probably by masons trained in the north Indian temple tradition.36 The decoration of the Bada’un mosque may similarly have been executed by masons who had previously worked for the Hindu rulers of the city, or by their descendants; the various orthographic peculiarities in the Qur’anic inscription [most obviously redundant alif]s] suggest that those who executed it were not literate in Arabic.37

Despite the survival of these fragments of the thirteenth-century mosque, most of the present fabric seems to reflect a later rebuilding. This affected the monumental gateway on the eastern side of the mosque, into which Iltutmish’s foundation text was set before its demolition in 1888.38 An engraving made before the destruction of the gate shows that it was constructed from baked brick, with ashlar facing, in which broad and narrow courses alternated (Figure 10.13). The pointed arch at the summit of the structure was constructed using a distinctive form of corbeling, in which narrow rectangular stones are laid in sloping horizontal courses to form the arch profile. A similar technique was used in the Buland Darwaza, a monumental gateway at Nagaur in Rajasthan, which has traditionally been dated to the early thirteenth century, largely by comparison with the use of corbeling in Bada’un and in the Ghurid mosques at Delhi and Ajmir.39 Recently, however, it has been convincingly argued that the gate should be re-dated to c. 1333, the date of an inscription that it bears.40 This re-dating highlights the dangers that the persistence of regional idioms poses for any attempt to date sultanate monuments based on an implicit evolutionary scheme in which ‘primitive’ techniques are necessarily replaced by more sophisticated alternatives. It also offers a priori grounds for considering the former entrance to the Bada’un mosque as a fourteenth-century structure in which the earlier foundation text was reset, as it has now been in the modern gate. An Arabic inscription on a stone slab set above the
northern entrance to the mosque (Figure 10.14) confirms that there was a major campaign of renovation at this time:

This building was ordered by his exalted majesty, the shadow of the merciful God, father of the mujahid, Muhammad Shah the sultan, may God perpetuate his kingdom and reign, in the year 726 [1326]. Husayn b. Hasan, kutwal of the province of Bada‘un, built it.\footnote{13

Architecture was directly instrumental in Muhammad b. Tughluq’s accession to power, which followed the death of his father by
the collapse of a newly built wooden kushk, an event that many believed the son to have contrived. The new sultan [r. 725–52/1325–51] continued his father's patronage of monumental architecture (the apogee of which was the tomb of Rukn-i 'Alam at Multan, c. 720/1320), for he was responsible for the construction of several surviving monuments, including the tomb of Shaykh 'Ala' al-Din at Ajudhan [modern Pakpattan], in 737/1336 (Figure 10.15), and a congregational mosque at Jahanpanah [c. 1343] near Delhi.

The Bada'un mosque pre-dates all these monuments by several years, providing an important insight into Muhammad b. Tughluq's early architectural patronage. The epigraphic claim to have built the mosque is clearly exaggerated, for, as we have seen, fragments of a thirteenth-century mosque are preserved in the present structure. Moreover, the idea of a courtyard mosque with a prayer hall four bays deep, a central dome preceding the main mihrab and a riwaq two bays deep with lateral entrances is already found in the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Delhi. It is therefore possible [if far from certain] that the present plan was determined by that of the pre-existing mosque. Nevertheless, there are many indications of extensive rebuilding and
remodelling in the early fourteenth century. In addition to the monumental eastern entrance (now disappeared), it is likely that the smaller domed entrances on the southern and northern sides of the mosque (the latter containing Muhammad b. Tughluq's inscription) were built at this time, even if the same basic scheme existed in the thirteenth-century mosque. The squat ovoid profile and inverted lotus finials of the qibla dome and those over the northern and southern entrances (Figures 10.2, 10.4) show sufficiently close affinities with the dome of Shaykh 'Ala' al-Din's tomb at Ajudhan, built by Muhammad b. Tughluq in 1336 (Figure 10.15), to suggest that they preserve the form of the fourteenth-century domes, even if two inscriptions within the main domed chamber indicate that repairs were undertaken in 1011/1602–3 and 1013/1604–5, perhaps as a result of damage inflicted by the disastrous fire that swept through Bada'un in 979/1571–2. Similarly, while the tapering corner
bastions with horizontal bands of brick ornament are quite dissimilar in form to those of Iltutmish's work at Sultan Ghari, they are comparable to those found in other early Tughluqid monuments such as the tomb of Rukn-i Alam at Multan. The slight batter of the exterior walls is also in keeping with early Tughluqid monuments at Multan, Tughluqabad and Warangal, but it is possible that the fortified appearance of the present mosque preserves the basic features of the original thirteenth-century scheme, reworked in the idiom of a century later. Like several Indian mosques built in newly conquered areas [at Hansi, Delhi and possibly Khatu], the Bada'un mosque stands within the ancient fort of the city. This was a pragmatic move, for the reference to peace and safety in Iltutmish's foundation text expresses an optimism not borne out by the events of the century and a half that followed the mosque's construction, which saw local rebellions, Rajput raids and, on more than one occasion, Mongol incursions into the 'iqta of Bada'un. Whether the rebuilding of 1326 was the result of depredations suffered during one of these convulsions, the imposing austerity of the mosque may be less the product of an aesthetic choice than a reflection of the prevailing military and political instability during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Much of the interior arrangement of the mosque also appears to date from Muhammad b. Tughluq's rebuilding of 1326. The exteriors of the courtyard arcades were once richly decorated with vertical and horizontal friezes of ornamental brickwork and crowned by merlons, now best appreciated from nineteenth-century drawings [Figures 10.5, 10.16], since most of the detail has been obscured by cumulative layers of whitewash [Figure 10.17]. The bulk of the decoration is geometric and floral, with some fragments of horizontal epigraphic friezes and occasional occurrences of Allah, ya Allah, and ya Muhammad, similar to those found in earlier Indo-Islamic monuments. Other elements, among them the miniature arcade [Figures 10.5, 10.17], feature in both early Sultanate and Tughluqid architectural decoration; comparison of the arcading and the vegetal motifs crowning the apices of the arcade arches with similar ornament on the Buland Darwaza in Nagaur would support a dating in the early Tughluqid period. Merlons comparable to those of the Bada'un mosque are found in the tomb that Muhammad b. Tughluq built for Shaykh 'Ala' al-Din at Ajudhan, which makes use of similar floral, geometric and epigraphic brickwork [Figure 10.15]. Despite the indications of an early fourteenth-century date, it is possible that fragments from the earlier, thirteenth-century decorative scheme were preserved in the later rebuilding. A section of an epigraphic frieze that shows the same characteristic background ornament as the thirteenth-century foundation text has been incorporated into [or concealed by] the later decorative scheme [Figure 10.18], for example, and may have decorated an earlier arcaded entrance to the prayer hall, such as that found at Ajmir and Delhi. Although it has been suggested that the qibla iwan is a creation of the early seventeenth
century, a brief examination of its decoration casts doubt upon such a late dating, although the two side bays and semi-domes (Figures 10.2, 10.4) may well have been attached in the renovations that followed the fire of 979/1571–2.\textsuperscript{57} The pronounced decorative banding upon the engaged ‘minarets’ of the main iwan (Figure 10.19) is also found on the external corner bastions of the mosque (Figure 10.3).\textsuperscript{58} This treatment of the towers recalls the ‘brick and band’ aesthetic of monuments lying further to the west, a style that reaches its apogee in the roughly contemporary tomb of Rukn-i Alam at Multan, but that also asserts itself elsewhere in the medieval brick architecture of the Indus Valley.\textsuperscript{59}

It need hardly be pointed out that many of the features just described have strong affinities with the architectural traditions of regions to the west of the Gangetic Plain. In fact, it is remarkable how little concession is made to either the standard media of north Indian architecture (whether stone or rubble) or to the post-and-lintel idiom that was employed in Ghurid mosques, and which continued to be used for both small regional mosques and mosques built in recently
conquered areas into the fourteenth century and beyond.60 With its four-iwan plan, arcuated forms and brick vaults, the mosque has much more in common with the medieval mosques of Iran than any extant thirteenth- or fourteenth-century mosque in north or south India. The most obviously Persianate features are the iwans and pishtaqis, both forms long familiar from the Seljuq mosques of Iran.61 Although the iwan concept is already present in the screens added to the Ghurid Friday Mosques of Delhi and Ajmir,62 if [as all the indications are] the existing scheme at Bada’un reflects the work of 1326, then it post-dates the earliest recorded use of the four-iwan plan in Indian secular architecture (in Tughluqabad) by as little as a year.63 Moreover, it represents the earliest surviving use of the four-iwan plan in an Indian mosque, pre-dating by almost two decades the previous claimant for this title, the Friday Mosque at Jahanpanah near Delhi, built around 1343, also by Muhammad b. Tughluq.64 In fact, the Persianate details of the Jahanpanah mosque anticipated in Muhammad’s earlier mosque at Bada’un extend well beyond the use of features such as domes, iwans and pishtaqis, to the monumental eastern entrance (now destroyed), and the presence of non-functional ‘minarets’ on the qibla iwan, a feature first introduced to Indo-Islamic architecture in Ilutmish’s screen in the Ajmir mosque.65

The brick medium, which stands in marked contrast to the post

Fig. 10.17 Great Mosque of Bada’un, detail of western arcade today.

[Photograph © F. B. Flood.]
and lintel or rubble and mortar espoused in other early Tughluqid monuments outside the Indus Valley, also suggests an attempt to transplant a form of architecture associated with regions to the west of the Gangetic Plain, although it is conceivable that the use of brick was once more common in northern India than the surviving evidence indicates.\textsuperscript{68} The use of ashlar masonry (or at least facing – this remains to be investigated) in conjunction with brick vaulting is admittedly unusual in an Iranian context [despite the frequent use of stone footings for brick monuments], but occasionally occurs earlier in Central Asian monuments and is found in some later Tughluqid monuments in India.\textsuperscript{67} The Ghurid monuments of South Asia [brick in the Indus Valley, and stone in north India] demonstrate the willingness of early Muslim patrons to conform to regional practice, and it is possible that the combination of brick and stone seen at Bada’un represents the survival of pre-conquest building traditions.\textsuperscript{68}

What is not in doubt is that the use of glazing on elements of the brick decoration, which would originally have heightened the lavish effect of the façades [Figure 10.5], is another significant indicator of an affinity with the architectural traditions of the Iranian world. These elements are now obscured by whitewash, but Cunningham reported the use of blue glaze for minor elements of the decoration, including epigraphic ornament; although the hue is not stated, it seems likely
that this was light blue or turquoise, which is ubiquitous in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century monuments of Iran. Cunningham conjectured that a similar use of glazed elements was made in the 'idgah of Bada‘un, a monument traditionally ascribed to the early patronage of Ilutmish, but there is little evidence to support this. That only one colour is mentioned in Bada‘un points to a
conservative use of this expensive technique, which recalls the restricted use made on Iranian monuments of a century or two earlier. Such ornament was evidently not a standard element of early Tughluqid architectural decoration, even in areas with a strong tradition of brick architecture, for despite the sophisticated use of a broad palette of glazed ornament in the tomb of Rukn-i Alam in Multan [c. 1325], glazing is absent from the tomb built by Muhammad b. Tughluq at Ajudhan [1336]. So far as we can tell, the nature and extent of glazed decoration in Muhammad b. Tughluq's Bada'un mosque was similar to that found over twenty years later in his Jahanpanah mosque [c. 1343], where 'small, inset blue-glazed tiles' were set into the façades of the courtyard. Despite the conservative palette, the appearance of the technique in Bada'un provides a terminus a quo [if not a terminus ante quem] for the use of the technique almost twenty years before the Jahanpanah mosque, which has been claimed as the earliest use of the technique in Indo-Islamic architecture. Other monuments, such as the Tidgah of Ripari at Hansi in the Panjab [dated 711/1311-12], which has a 'band of blue tiles' running across its multiple mihrabs, suggest that glazed elements were in vogue in north Indian architecture even earlier.

Of the four characteristic decorative features of eastern Islamic architecture conspicuous by their absence from the earliest Indian monuments built after the Ghurid conquest — geometric ornament, glazed brick, terracotta and stucco — the first of these makes its first appearance by 1229, in the screens added to the Ghurid mosques at Ajmir [Figure 10.8] and Delhi. Although the earliest surviving evidence for the use of decorative stucco is in the ruins of Tughluqabad [c. 1320-5], it seems likely that this inexpensive and highly effective decorative medium was used earlier, and that the Indian climate has conspired to efface the evidence. The same may be true of glazed ornament, although the dominance of a stone medium in most areas of northern India may have inhibited the use of the technique, even if it was later adapted for restricted use in stone and rubble monuments like the Jahanpanah mosque. On the basis of the surviving evidence we suggest that glazed decoration was already used in Indian monuments by the Khalji period, but that its use was expanded in early Tughluqid monuments.

Although many of the basic details of the Bada'un mosque anticipate the Persianate style of Muhammad b. Tughluq's Jahanpanah mosque, the plan and superstructure of the prayer hall in Bada'un differ dramatically from those of surviving Tughluqid monuments. The former consist of what is [for sultanate India, at least] a highly idiosyncratic arrangement, with four bays running parallel to the qibla, covered with pointed barrel vaults supported on massive rectangular piers [Figure 10.6]; the same format was originally also used in the riwaqs of the courtyard [Figure 10.1]. The profile of the vaulted superstructure is similar to that of the pointed arches that open at intervals along the lateral walls of the long vaulted bays, to
permit movement between them. While the arch profiles point towards a date in the fourteenth century, all the surviving Tugluqid mosques rely not on vaulting, but on the repetition of small domed units to span the prayer hall and riwaqs, as do the earliest mosques of Bengal. The use of barrel vaults in the secular architecture of Tugluqabad points to other possibilities, but these were confined to relatively minor contexts and evidently not considered suitable for spanning large areas. The adaptation of this type of vaulting for the prayer hall of the Bada’un mosque anticipates the more monumental (if more localised) use made of pointed brick barrel vaulting in the qibla iwan of the Adina Mosque at Pandua (1375), the largest mosque of pre-Mughal India.

The unusual form of the prayer hall of the Bada’un mosque, like much else about the monument, suggests affinities not with any surviving Indian mosques, but with the architecture of the Indus Valley or regions further to the west. A comparable use of vaulted brick corridors is made, for example, in a Ghurid monument at Kabirwala near Multan, datable to the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, and referred to as a mosque [masjid] in its foundation inscription, despite its current usage as a funerary monument. The vaulting of the Panjabi monument has now collapsed, but the Great Mosque of Herat, begun in the early thirteenth century using some of the gold sent to the Ghurids from India, preserves areas of brick vaulting carried on massive brick piers, producing an effect comparable to that of the Bada’un haram. Even closer parallels are offered by a number of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Iranian mosques, in which barrel-vaulted aisles flank a central domed chamber.

The striking contrast in conception and elevation between the Bada’un mosque and its Tugluqid predecessors and successors seem to reflect an exceptional openness towards Iranian architectural forms in fourteenth-century Bada’un. While we know too little about early Tugluqid architecture to place easily the apparent idiosyncrasies of the Bada’un mosque in any wider Indian context, it is clear that the Tugluqid period was one of innovative and inventive experimentation in the field of architecture. A recent assessment of Tugluqabad, the city built by Muhammad b. Tughluq’s father, notes how its architecture is ‘closer in spirit to that of Central Asia and Iran, and indeed the rest of the Islamic world than to what is to be found elsewhere in the subcontinent’. Even before the upheavals of the thirteenth century, there is epigraphic evidence for the involvement of individuals of Iranian origin in the construction of Indian mosques. The human correlates of the Persianate trends witnessed in Tugluqabad, Bada’un and later in Jahanpanah are presumably to be sought in the waves of artisans, refugees and scholars who migrated eastwards in the wake of the Mongol invasion and the repeated incursions into north India that followed in its wake.
Writing in the fourteenth century, Isami evokes the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Delhi during the sultanate of Iltutmish, when

... many workmen (kāsiēān) from the land of Khurasan, many painters from the country of China, many ulama of the Bukhara stock and many a devotee and men of piety came from different regions. Craftsmen of every kind and every country as well as beauties from every race and city, many assayers, jewellers and pearl-sellers, philosophers and physicians of the Greek school and learned men from every land – all gathered in the blessed city like moths that gather round the candle light. Delhi became the Ka'ba of the seven continents (haft īqīlīm).

The impact of this influx of artisans upon the art and architecture of the sultanate is evident in the screens erected by Iltutmish at Ajmir and Delhi, in which geometric ornament, hitherto absent from the decorative repertoire of Indo-Islamic architecture, makes a sudden appearance.

As the political and cultural crisis caused by the eruption of the Mongols into the dār al-Islām intensified during the thirteenth century, culminating in the sack of Baghdad and the effective end of the caliphate in 1258, the Delhi sultanate itself came under repeated attack from Mongol armies and their Chaghatai successors. In 1305 a Mongol force raided as far as Bada‘un and Awadh, a pattern repeated in 1327, during the Indian expedition of the Chaghatai ruler Tarmashirin. In the political chaos that followed the defeat of Tarmashirin, a new influx of refugees from Transoxiana sought refuge in India. It is tempting to see the increasing size of Indian congregational mosques from the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries as at least partly related to this influx of (mostly Muslim) refugees from eastern Iran and Central Asia.

The Indus Valley was particularly badly affected by these raids, as is clear from Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq’s inscription in the congregational mosque of Multan, which recorded the sultan’s victories over no less than twenty-nine Mongol (īftar) armies. The Tughluqids had something of a special relationship with the Indus Valley, Ghiyath al-Din having risen to power as governor of Dipalpur, and both this sultan and his successor son were frequent visitors to the shrines at Ajudhan, one of which was built by Muhammad b. Tughluq. The affinities between the ‘brick and band’ aesthetic that characterised the fourteenth-century rebuilding of the Bada‘un mosque and the well-developed brick traditions of the Indus Valley have been noted above. It is therefore possible that the strongly Persianate forms of the Bada‘un mosque were not the result of an influx of Iranian artisans, but were mediated by craftsmen migrating eastwards from the Indus Valley in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, possibly with the blessing or sponsorship of the Tughluqid sultans. Even in the absence of such an imprimatur, the continued instability in the Indus
Valley into the early fourteenth century created conditions ripe for the eastward migration of refugees, some of whom may have earlier come from Iran. As a major political and religious centre, Bada’un would have made an attractive refuge, the occasional Mongol raid notwithstanding. Equally, the abundance of craftsmen, diplomats, merchants, mujāhidīs, soldiers and scholars from Khurasan, Transoxiana and regions further to the west in India during the first few decades of the fourteenth century is well attested. Some of these immigrants were evidently engaged in architectural activity, even if their precise relationship with the Indian (largely Hindu) masons who built and subsequently repaired many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Islamic monuments is far from clear.

Whether the product of migrant Iranian craftsmen or a Persian architectural tradition mediated via the Indus Valley, the Iranian affinities of the Bada’un mosque are many and pronounced, and point to the late Khalji or early Tughluqid periods as being pivotal in the dissemination of Persianate forms and decorative techniques in Indo-Islamic architecture. Some of these, such as the vaulted corridors, seem to hark back to an older tradition and were apparently not developed in subsequent monuments. Others, however, such as its iwans, pishtaqīs, ovoid domes, tapering bastions and glazed ornament, were to enjoy a longer history in the subcontinent, not least in the Sharqi monuments of Jaunpur.

Given what Robert has characterised as Itutmish’s ‘attempt to transplant the Saljuq architectural style to northern India’, Muhammad b. Tughluq’s activities at Bada’un may have been intended to build upon Itutmish’s legacy, both literally and figuratively. The renovation of Itutmish’s Bada’un mosque demonstrates an interest in earlier Indo-Islamic monuments that may not have been confined to that city. The Akhbār al-Jamāl, an eighteenth-century history of Aligarh (medieval Koll), reports a chain of events that, although unverifiable, mirrors the scenario to which the epigraphic evidence from nearby Bada’un attests. According to this text, the congregational mosque built after the conquest of the city ‘having decayed,’ Muhammad Tughluq constructed in its site a huge mosque with seven openings, in 733/1329, the date given in an inscription seen by the author of the text, but now lost. The restoration of these early sultanate mosques may have been necessitated by damage inflicted during the regional political upheavals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Equally, Muhammad b. Tughluq’s interest in restoring early sultanate monuments anticipates the architectural activities of Firuz Shah Tughluq half a century later and may, like the latter, have been intended to associate the sultan with the perceived glories of the Ghurid and Shamsid past. In either case, the architectural legacy of Muhammad b. Tughluq was the most enduring aspect of a reign that, through a combination of strategic miscalculation and military misadventure, resulted in the loss of Bengal and all of the territories of the Delhi sultanate south of the Vindhyas.
Notes

1. Much ink has been spilled on the correct transliteration of this city's name. I have followed the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, but for the controversy see W. H. [Wolsey Haig], 'The Bábûr-Nâma in English', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1924], 272; Annette S. Beveridge, 'Badan' or 'Bâdâyûn'?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1925], 517; Wolsey Haig, 'Badan' or 'Bâdâyûn'?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1925], 715–16; C. A. Storey, 'Budân, Badân, or Badâyûn?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1926], 103–4; T. Graham Bailey, 'Bâdâyûn and Badân', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1926], 104; E. Denison Ross, 'Bâdân or Badâyûn?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1926], 105.

2. Robert Hillenbrand, 'Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmir', *Iran* 26 [1988], 105. The relevant publications are referred to in the notes below.


5. Robert Hillenbrand, 'Ajmir', Hillenbrand, 'Turco-Iranian Elements in the Medieval Architecture of Pakistan: The Case of the Tomb of Rukn-i Alam at Multan', *Muqarnas* 9 [1992], 148–74. For other publications dealing with the architectural relationship between Iran and India, albeit at earlier and later periods than those with which I am concerned.


10. The northern and southern riwaks were ruined by the end of the nineteenth century, and restored in 1887–8: ibid.; Blakiston, Jami Masjid, 4.

11. See, for example, the twelfth-century mosques at Bhadreshvar in Gujarat; Mehrdad Shokoohy, Bhadreshvar: The Oldest Islamic Monuments in India [Leyden, 1988], 21, 25, figs. 14, 26.


mandā baṣā in the Delhi mosque could refer to his completion of the Qub Minar. However, since it occurs within a discussion of Firuz Shah's relocation of pre-Islamic pillars [also referred to as maṇāras], it seems more likely to refer to the iron pillar that stands in the courtyard of the mosque: Shams Siraj 'Afi, Tazikh-i Firuz Shahi [Calcutta, 1888], 376; Elliot and Dowson, History of India, vol. 3, 353; Finbarr B. Flood, 'Pillars and Palimpsests: Translating the Past in Sultanate Delhi', RES 43 (2003), 95-116.


Yazdani, 'Turk Sultanās', 21-2, pl. VIIIa; Begley, Islamic Calligraphy, no. 8; K. A. Nizami, Royalty in Medieval India [New Delhi, 1997], 128.

Annette Susannah Beveridge, The Bābur-nāma in English [London, 1923], 2:610; Michael D. Willis, 'An Eighth Century Miḥrāb in Gwalior', Artibus Asiae 46 (1985), 244, pl. 9. On stylistic grounds, I would date the inscription a decade or so later than Willis. For the construction of early Indian mosques within forts, see n. 50 below. The text of another inscription, commemorating Ilutmish’s recapture of the Gwalior fort in 630/1232, has been preserved in the work of the poet Taj al-Din: John Briggs, History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India (1839, reprinted, New Delhi, 1981), 1:119; Iqbal Husain, The Early Persian Poets of India [A.H. 421-679] [Patna, 1937], 154-5.

Beveridge, Bābur-Nāma, 611. For royal patronage of hydraulic projects at a slightly later date, see Anthony Welch, 'Hydraulic Architecture in Medieval India: The Tughluqs', Environmental Design 2 (1985), 74-81. The existence of this fragment and its stylistic relation to the Ajmir mosque has been noted by Willis, 'Gwalior', 245, n. 39.

Any inscriptions have now disappeared beneath accumulated layers of

24. Desai, ‘Mamluk Sultans’, 14-15, 17-18, pls IIc and IVb; Begley, *Islamic Calligraphy*, No. 4; André Wink, *Al-Hind, the Making of the Indo-Islamic World* (New Delhi, 1999), 2.221. A water-tank called the Haussi Shamsi may, like its Delhi counterpart, have come into being as part of Iltutmish’s building activities in Bada’un: Haig, ‘Monuments’, 634.


26. A. S. Bazmee Ansari, *‘Iltutmish*, EI 2, 1155. Even after his accession to the sultanate, Iltutmish had occasion to visit the city, a Sanskrit inscription mentions his presence in Bada’un early in 1227: Pushpa Prasad, *Sanskrit Inscriptions of Delhi Sultanate, 1191–1526* (Delhi, 1990), 80.


29. Although only one panel is shown here, the mihrab and its surrounding decoration is illustrated elsewhere: Blakiston, *Jami Masjid*, pls V and VIII; Rajan, *Islam Buildis in India*, pl. 30d.


33. At Mashhad-i Misriyan in Turkmenistan, or Ribat-i Sharaf in Khurasan, for example: Pope, ‘Interrelations’, 117; Ernst Cohn-Wiener, ‘A Turanian Monument of the Twelfth Century AD’, *Ars Islamica* 6/1 (1939), 90, fig. 10; André Godard, ‘Khorasan’, *Ābhar-e Iran* 4 (1949), 45, fig. 36. 

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34. Cunningham, Report, i, 4; Führer, Monumental Antiquities, 20; Blackiston, Jami Masjid, 4; Anon., ‘Shamsi Musjid’, 136–7. In addition to reporting a tradition that Hindu icons are buried beneath the minbar of the mosque, Cunningham even identifies the temple from which the material originated, on what grounds is far from obvious, although an inscription later reused in a gate of Bada’un fort mentions the construction of a Shiva temple at Vodamayuta [Bada’un] in the twelfth century: F. Kielhorn, ‘Bada’un Stone Inscription of Lakhanapala’, Indian Antiquary 1 (1893), 61–6. Cunningham’s modus operandi in this regard is, however, all too clear from his remarks on llutmush’s vanished mosque at Cwalior. ‘... as the erection of a mosque by a Muhammadan conqueror always implies the destruction of a Hindu temple, I infer that the neighbouring temple of the sun must have been pulled down by Almash [sic], partly as an easy means of acquiring religious merit, and partly as a cheap means of obtaining ready-cut stones for the construction of his mosque’: Alexander Cunningham, Four Reports Made During the Years 1862–63–64–65, ASI Reports, vol. 2 (repr. Varanasi, 1972), 354.


37. Nizami, Royalty, 158. For similar orthographic oddities in Arabic inscriptions on Ghurid monuments, see Finbarr B. Flood, ‘Ghurid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sa’dan Shahid’, Ars Orientalis 39 (2001), 141. Despite the picture of cultural rupture frequently conjured in writing on the Ghurid conquest of north India, it is noteworthy that the mint of Bada’un continued to operate without interruption after the conquest of 1197: John S. Deyell, Living without Silver: The Monetary History of Early Medieval North India (New Delhi, 1999), 198.

38. Cunningham, Report of Tours, 6, pl. 3; Führer, Monumental Antiquities, 20.


40. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, Nagaur, 34–6, figs 11–12, pls 7–8.


44. An inscription from the darzah of Miranji at Bada’un, dated 728/1327–8, two years after the rebuilding of the congregational mosque, suggests that other monuments in the city (including perhaps the ’idgah) were also built or rebuilt during the third decade of the fourteenth century: J. Horovitz, ‘A List of Published Mohamadan inscriptions of India’, Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (1909–10), 63, no. 356; Welch and Crane, ‘Tughluqs’, 124, n. 13.

45. For a good schematic plan of the Delhi mosque, see Catherine B. Asher, Architecture of Mughal India, The New Cambridge History of India 1/4 (Cambridge, 1992), 3, pl. 1.
46. This is likely even if the southern entrance was later remodelled in the Mughal period, as Rajan suggests: Islam Builds, 71.

47. Ahmad Nabi Khan, 'The Mausoleum of Sai'ib 'Ala' al-Din at Pālpātan [Punjāb]: A Significant Example of the Tūlug Style of Architecture', East & West N. S. 24 (1974), 318, figs. 2–3, 20–1. For the date of the monument, see Richard M. Eaton, 'The Political and Religious Authority of the Shrine of Bābā Farid', in Moral Conduct and Authority: The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam, ed. Barbara Daly Metcalf (Berkeley, 1984), 339. In his publication on the tomb, Khan, 'Mausoleum', 313, gives the foundation date as 737/1335, referring to an inscription that is neither cited nor discussed in the article.

48. Blakiston, Jami Masjid, 3. On this I disagree with most previous discussions of the mosque from Cunningham onwards, which have attributed the dome in its entirety to the early seventeenth-century renovation. Rajan (Islam Builds, 70) dates the central dome to 'the late Khilji stage', on what grounds is unclear. It has been pointed out elsewhere that 'the dome is exactly of the same material as used in the lower portion of the walls': Anon., 'Shamsi Musjid', 134. For the fire of 979/1571-2, see ibid., 133, n. 2.

49. Hillenbrand, 'Turko-Iranian Elements', 156–7, figs 9–13. The heavy, cylindrical corner bastions in the Sultan Ghari tomb in Delhi, which is traditionally ascribed to the patronage of Iltutmish, are of quite different form. While these were affected by the renovations undertaken by Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq, the original appearance of the thirteenth-century bastions was evidently preserved: Naqvi, 'Sultān Ghār', 6. However, the presence of such bastions here, and in Ghurid monuments such as the masjid of 'Ali b. Karmakh in the Punjab (see n. 83 below), and the Ghurid Friday Mosque at Ajmīr (Hillenbrand, 'Ajmīr', 114, pl. XIIb), leaves open the possibility that corner bastions were also used in Iltutmish's Bada'un mosque.


51. Although conquered in 594/1197, like other north Indian fortified cities [Gwalior and Ranthambhōr for example], Bada'un periodically relapsed into Rajput hands after the Ghurid conquest. In fact, the surrounding area remained politically volatile until well into the fourteenth century. In 645/1247–8 Bada'un is said to have been back in the control of the local Katararya Rajput chiefs, at whose hands the city suffered damage around 665/1266–7. The assassination of its governor by one of these chiefs, around 779/1377–8, led to a concerted effort on the part of the Delhi sultans to put an end to the disturbances in the area. In addition, the city was the site of a number of rebellions against the central authority of Delhi. In 691/1291, for example, 'Ala' al-Dīn Khaljī came with a large force to quell a rebellion in the city: H. M. Elliott and John Dowson, The History of India by its Own Historians [Delhi, repr. 1996], 5:105–6; A. S. Bazmee Ansari, 'Bada'un', EI 2, 85; 55; Mohibbul Hasan, 'Mahmūd V', EI 2, 43; Wink, Al-Hind, 2:223–4; Jackson, Delhi Sultanate, 156–8. For Mongol incursions as far as Bada'un, see n. 92 below.

52. Blakiston, Jami Masjid, pls. VI–VII, IX. Although published in 1926, the drawings in Blakiston's report are dated 1888.

54. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, Nager, 35, pl. 8a. Miniature arcades were also carved on the column erected later by Firuz Shah Tughluq at Hisar: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, Hisar-i Firuz, 33.


56. Some of the vertical geometric ornament on the main iwan is comparable to the decoration of Ilutmish’s screen at Ajmîr, but this may attest little more than a conservative repertoire among the fourteenth-century artisans.

57. Blakiston, Jami Masjid, 4–5. The potential reuse of earlier decorative brickwork may, however, complicate the question. The inscriptions of the main iwan await further investigation.

58. Ibid., pl. IX.


60. See, for example, the Warangal mosque or the mosque of Makhudm Hussain at Nager: Wagoner and Rice, ‘From Delhi to the Deccan’; Shokoohy and Shokoohy, Nager, 29, fig. 8.


63. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, ‘Tughluqabad’, 334. It has been pointed out, quite correctly, that the pishtaq and iwan first seen in Delhi and Ajmîr may have been a standard part of Indo-Islamic mosque architecture by the fourteenth century, and only genetically related to Iranian models: Patel, Islamic Architecture of Western India, 258–9. However, the cumulative weight of Persianate elements at Bada’un indicates a more immediate relationship.

64. Welch and Crane, ‘The Tughluqs’, 130, fig. 1. The original form of the earlier congregational mosque at Warangal [c. 1323] is not clear, since only the mihrab bay survives: Wagoner and Rice, ‘From Delhi to the Deccan’, 91–2, fig. 14. If the present scheme faithfully reflects the basic details of Ilutmish’s mosque, as Tokifusa seems to believe, then this would clearly locate the beginnings of the four-iwan plan in India much earlier: ‘Seljuq Architecture’, 52–4. The issue requires further investigation.

65. Hillenbrand, ‘Ajmîr’, 111, 113, pl. Vlb. Numerous examples may be found in the Ilkhanid architecture of Iran, at Abarquh, and Nattanz, for example: Donald Wilber, The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Ilkhânid Period (Princeton, 1955), 148, nos. 39, 73–4. However, the immediate inspiration for this non-functional feature should probably be sought in the Ghurid architecture of Afghanistan. See the suggestion that the remains of a diminutive minaret formerly found on one side of the entrance iwan of the Masjid-i Jami of Herat dated from the Ghurid period: Hillenbrand, ‘Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids’, 157.

66. See, for example, Mohammad Wahid Mirza, The Nuh Siphr of Amir Khusrav (Oxford, 1950), xxi; Julia Gonnella, ‘Indian Subcontinent VIII,
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67. The eleventh-century Shaburgan-Ata mausoleum near Karakul in Uzbekistan has a brick superstructure borne on ashlar walls: Bernard O'Kane, 'The Gunbad-i Jabillyya at Kirman and the Development of the Domed Octagon in Iran', in Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Mursden Jones, ed. Thabit Abdullah et al. (Cairo, 1997). For later Indian examples, see the Lâkîî Masjid of Firuz Shah Tughlugh at Hisar in the Panjab: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, Hisar-i Firuza, 33. While baked brick was the norm in Iran, occasionally monuments, such as the fourteenth-century shrine of Pir-i Bakran near Isfahan, were built from rubble masonry: Wilber, Architecture of Islamic Iran, 52.

68. For a similar combination of brick superstructure and stone substructure in earlier north Indian temple architecture, see R. C. Agrawala, 'Unpublished Temples of Rajasthán', Arts Asiatiques 11 (1965), 56, fig. 13. For regional trends in Tughlughid architecture, see Patel, Architecture of Western India, 255–9, 268–73.

69. 'The glaze has lost nearly all of its colour, but still preserves its lustre. It looks very like a piece of old blue silk cloth that has faded in colour, but still possesses its shiny surface': Cunningham, Reports, 7–8. A few traces of glazed ornament were still visible in the courtyard in the 1920s: Blakiston, Jami Masjid, 5. On the use of turquoise glaze, see Donald N. Wilber, 'The Development of Mosaic Faience in Islamic Architecture in Iran', Ars Islamica 6, 1939, 28–9; Bernard O'Kane, 'Islamic Art II, 9[iii], Architectural Decoration: Tiles, [b] Eastern Islamic Lands', The Dictionary of Art (New York, 1996), 16:248.

70. Cunningham, Reports, 4. Although Rahman [‘Shamsî Idgah’] takes Cunningham’s conjecture as fact, it awaits confirmation by removal of the whitewash now obscuring the details of the monument.

71. A three-colour palette is first represented in the madrasa at Zuzan in Khurasan (1218), but was not standard at this period: Sheila S. Blair, 'The Madrasa at Zuzan: Islamic Architecture in Eastern Iran on the Eve of the Mongol Invasions', Magarasas 3 (1985), 86–8. Of the five developmental steps in the use of glazed tilework in Iran noted by Robert Hillenbrand, the first two [its use for inscriptions and as tiny insets] are present in the decoration of the Bada’un mosque: Robert Hillenbrand, 'The Use of Glazed Tilework in Iranian Islamic Architecture', Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iransche Kunst und Archäologie, München 7–10 September 1976 (Berlin, 1979), 545. For surveys of the use of glazing in pre-Mongol Iranian architecture, see Wilber, ‘Mosaic faience’, 30–8; Douglas Pickett, Early Persian Tilework: The Medieval Flowering of Kâshî (London, 1997), 21–33.


73. Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqids,' 130.


75. A full discussion of these screens will appear in Chapter 6 of my

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forthcoming book, *Incorporating India*, but see Shafiullah, 'Calligraphic Ornamentation'.

76. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 535, pl. Xa. For the use of stucco in the Ghaznavid and Ghurid monuments of Afghanistan, see Hillenbrand, 'Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids', 199–201. The shift from carved stone to stucco and painting in the decoration of Indo-Islamic monuments between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is a phenomenon that merits further investigation.

77. The names and descriptions of some of the palaces of sultanate Delhi hint at colouristic effects possibly achieved through the use of glazed tiles: Rahman, 'Shamsi 'Idgah', Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 518. For a discussion of the use of glazed elements in later Indo-Islamic monuments, see Tanvir Hasan, 'Ceramics of Sultanate India', *South Asian Studies* 11 (1995), 83–106.


79. For thirteenth- and fourteenth-century mosques, see notes 3 and 6 above. The arch profiles are comparable to those of the Khirki mosque in Delhi, c. 1352–54: Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqs', pl. 8. The slight upturn of the arch apex is found in other monuments of the early fourteenth century, such as the Mosque of Makhdoom Husain in Nagraur, dated 1320/1320, although the arch profile here is quite different: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Nagraur*, pl. 6a. The likelihood that the vaulting dated from the 1326 rebuilding was first noted by Haig ('Monuments', 624), and later reiterated by Percy Brown (Indian *Architecture*, 14).


82. Although brick vaulting is found at least one pre-conquest temple at Gwalior, this is datable to the ninth century, with no evidence for the continued use of such forms into the later medieval period: Michael Wilks, 'Brick Temple', 30, pl. 10.


85. See, for example, the Masjid-i Jami of Varamin, or a series of mosques (c. 1323) at Dastgh, Ezizan and Kaj near Isfahan, that consist of a central domed chamber with flanking vaulted corridors: Wilber, *Islamic Architecture*, 56–9, nos 69–71; Grabar, 'Visual Arts', 629, fig. 1.

86. Anthony Welch notes of Tughluq eclecticism: 'Under royal patronage so many building types were tried that any attempt at postulating a clear stylistic evolution is elusive: 'Architectural Patronage and the Past: The Tughlaq Sultans of Delhi', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 315.

87. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 539.

88. See, for example, Abu Bakr al-Harawi, whose involvement in the construction of the Ajmir mosque suggests a Herati connection.
Horovitz, 'Inscriptions', 15-16; Blair, 'Zuzan', 86. For an architect with a Kabul nisba active in Bihar in 1263, see Yezdani, 'Turk Sultans', 33-5. The architect of Muhammad b. Tughluq's mosque at Jahangarwar was another Iranian: Welch, 'Architectural Patronage and the Past', 315. Note, however, that nisbas were carried beyond the first generation, so that an Iranian nisba occurring in India in the fourteenth century is not necessarily indicative of an individual who had migrated from Iran: Patel, Islamic Architecture, 316, n. 88. See also the suggested links between the octagonal tomb of Nasir al-Din Mahmud, Jirneshwar's son, and a number of similar burial mounds excavated at Kandahar: Maurizio Taddei, 'A Note on the Barrow Cemetery at Kandahar', South Asian Archaeology 1 (1977), 909-16.


90. As Catherine Asher notes, 'the motifs on Ututmish's screen relate closely to those seen on Ghurid structures, for example the Shah-i-Mashhad in Charqistan, north Afghanistan': Mughal India, 4. While agreeing with Willis ['Gwalior', 245] that the screen shows the impact of 'strongly Persian idioms', I disagree that it shows the rejection of 'the rich decorative repertoire of temple architecture'. See also n. 75 above.

91. For a detailed discussion of these raids, see Lal, History of the Khaljis, passim; Jackson, Delhi Sultanate, 105-22, 219-32, esp. 231-5 for the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluq.


95. See n. 59 above.

96. Although none of the congregational mosques of the period have survived in the Indus Valley, they were undoubtedly of brick. Unfortunately, we know too little about how builders' guilds were organised in sultanate India to know if the same craftsmen were capable of translating their skills between brick and stone, even if some monuments of the period, such as the Buland Darwaza, seem to represent an attempt to replicate brick or stucco ornament in stone: Shokooey and Shokoohy, Nagaur, 35, pl. 8a. See, however, the suggestion that those who worked on the Ajudhan tomb had earlier worked for Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq at Tughluqabad: Nabi Khan, 'Pakpatan', 318, and Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie M. Shokoohy, 'The Tomb of Ghiyath al-Din at Tughlaqabad – Pishe Architecture of Afghanian Translated into Stone in Delhi', in Cairo to Kabul: Afghan and Islamic Studies Presented to Ralph Pinder-Wilson, ed. Warwick Ball and Leonard Harrow (London, 2002), 216.

97. Eaton, 'Political and religious authority', 335. The origins of the virtuosity seen in the glazed decoration of the Rukn-i'Alam at Multan remain to be satisfactorily explained, but Holly Edwards has pointed to the undated tombs at Lal Muhr Sharif near Derawar in the Isma'il Khan as possible precursors, and made the interesting suggestion that the tombs represent a collaboration between local craftsmen trained in a brick medium that had been pushed to its limits, and craftsmen fleeing the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, who carried with them the
technological know-how to further embellish the local medium: Edwards, *Genesis of Islamic Art*, 250–4. Tanvir Hasan offered the complementary idea that experiments with the technique of glazing were used to supplement a highly developed indigenous brick tradition: 'Ceramics', 86, 97–8, 102–3. The migration of Iranian craftsmen is connected with the development of glaze decoration during the late twelfth to fourteenth centuries in several other parts of the Islamic world: Umberto Scerrato, 'Islamic Glazed Tiles with Moulded Decoration from Ghazna', *East & West* new series 13 (1962), 267; Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasiien* (Tübingen, 1976), 78–88; Meinecke, 'Die mamülischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: Eine Werkstätte aus Tabriz in Kairo (1330–1350)', *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–7), 85–144; Pickett, *Early Persian Tilework*, 37–8; Lisa Golombek, 'Timurid Potters Abroad', *Oriente Moderno* 76/2 (1996), 577–86.

88. Bada’un attracted a cosmopolitan array of refugees from many parts of Iran, and regions further west: Nizami, *Royalty*, 101. Although Ibn Battuta’s ascription of the nisba al-Bada’uni to Ajudhan’s Shaykh ‘Ala’ al-Din might suggest a particular link between Bada’uni and Ajudhan, both of which benefited from Muhammad b. Tughluq’s architectural patronage, he appears to be confusing the Ajudhan shaykh with Delhi’s celebrated saint, Nizam al-Din Awliyya al-Bada’uni: Gibb, *Travels*, 3:614, 653; Eaton, 'Political and Religious Authority', 340; K. A. Nizami, 'Nizam al-Din Awliya', *EI* 2, 68.

99. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, 'Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq’s Foreign Policy: A Reappraisal', *Islamic Culture* 62/4 (1988), 18; Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, 233–4. Unique testimony to the migration of Iranian mujāhidīn to India in the early fourteenth century is provided by a lustre plaque dated 711/1312 that records a dream in which Imam ‘Ali gives his imprimatur to those settling out for India to fight jihad there: Oliver Watson, *Persian Lustre Ware* (London, 1985), 146, fig. 124.

100. The architect of Tughluqabad was apparently a nobleman of Anatolian (rāmi) origins: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 518. See, however, n. 88 above.

101. Among the features that recur in the Jaipur monuments are the fortified exterior appearance, the squat ovoid domes with inverted lotus finials, tapering corner bastions with horizontal bands of ornament and cusped arches: A. Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaipur*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. 11 (Calcutta, 1889): pls XII–XIII, XLV, LXI.


103. A. Halim, 'Kol Inscription of Sultan Altamash', *Journal of the Astatic Society of Bengal Letters* 15/1 (1949), 3. Unfortunately, the Akhbar al-jamāl has not been available to me, but the 'seven openings' recall the façade of the Bada’uni mosque, or the screens added to the prayer halls of Ghurid mosques at Ajmir and Delhi. Although the text specifies that the earlier mosque was built by Qutb al-Din Aybak, epigraphic evidence suggests that it should instead be attributed to the patronage of Iltutmish: Desai, 'Mamluk Sultans', 8–11.

104. See n. 51 above. This was the case with Sultan Ghari, the tomb of Iltutmish's son in Delhi: Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqs', 154. The notion of decay in the lost Aligarh inscription may have cloaked destruction or damage by other means, as was sometimes the case in Roman rebuilding inscriptions: Edmund Thomas and Christian Witschel,
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'Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1993), 140–9.

105. Welch and Crane, 'Tughluq', 126–7, 154; Welch, 'Architectural Patronage and the Past', 316. See also the epigraphic similarities between the coins of Ilutmish and Muhammad b. Tughluq: Husain, *Rise and Fall*, 233–4; M. B. Roy, 'Transfer of Capital from Delhi to Daulatabad', *Journal of Indian History* 20 (1941), 167.

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