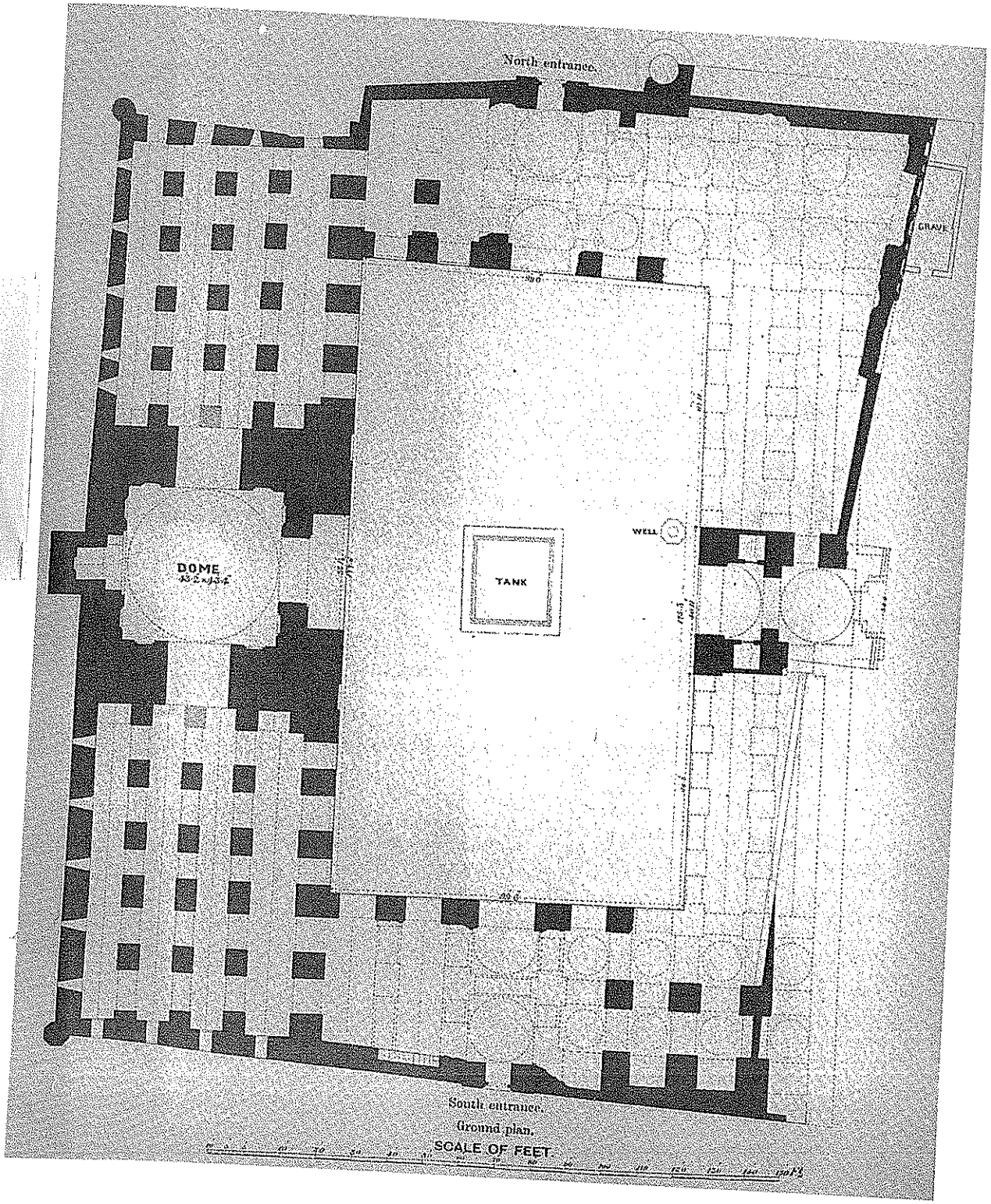
CHAPTER TEN

Persianate Trends in Sultanate Architecture: The Great Mosque of Bada'un[1]

Finbarr Barry Flood

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.[2] 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 madrasas), and in their chronological spread. Despite the survival of numerous foundation inscriptions, and additions to the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Delhi (the Qutbi 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 Tughluqid dynasty over one hundred and twenty years later.[3]

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.[4] 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,[5] it seemed appropriate to offer these preliminary remarks in a volume intended to honour the unusual breadth and depth of his scholarly interests.


North entrance.
GRAVE
WELL
TANK
DOME
South entrance.
Ground plan.
SCALE OF FEET.

As it stands today, the mosque comprises an irregular trapezoid measuring approximately 60 × 85m, 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 3.6m (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).[6] 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).[7]

The interior, by contrast, is articulated by means of arcades framing a central courtyard, which measures approximately 30 × 53m. 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 *iwan*s 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.*)

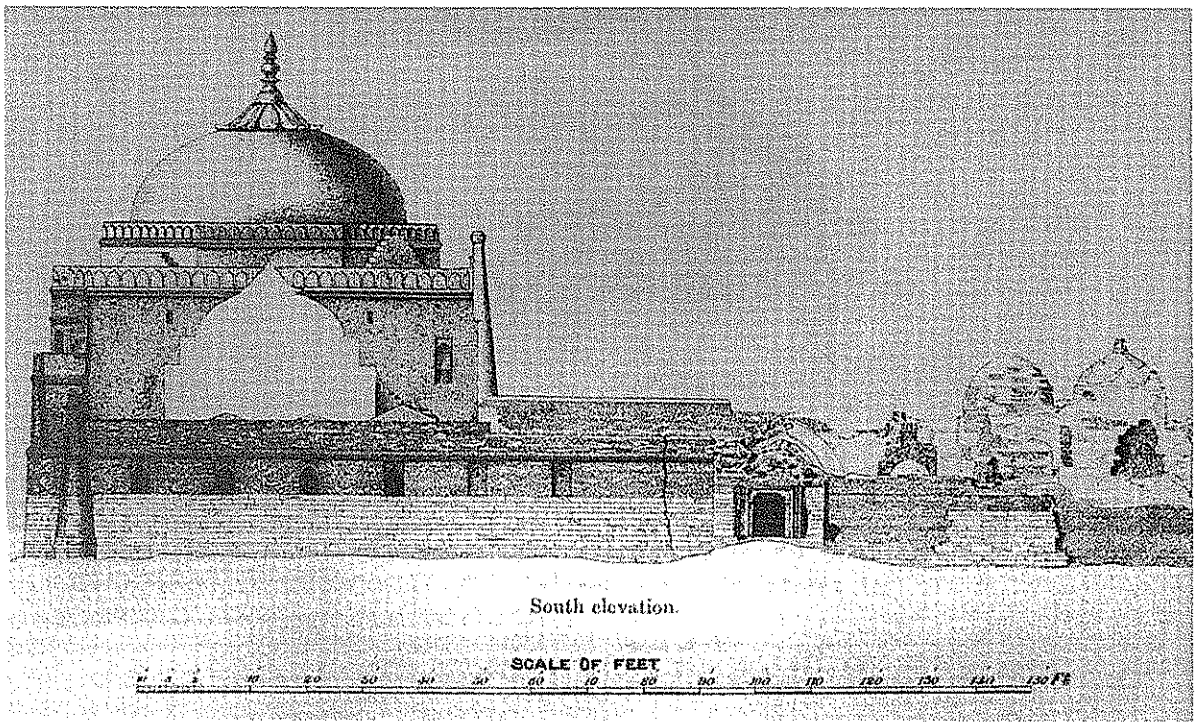


Fig. 10.2 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, southern exterior elevation.*

(After Blakiston, *Jami Masjid.*)

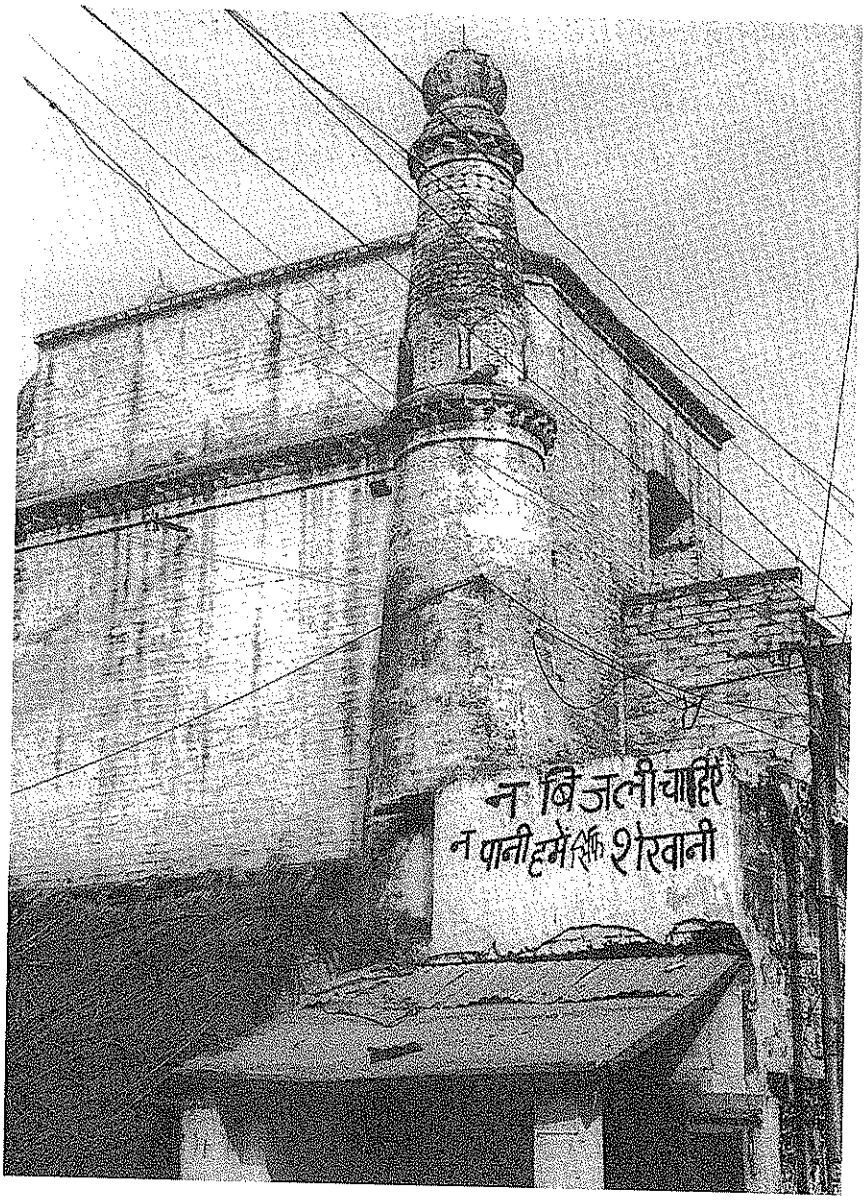


Fig. 10.3 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, exterior bastion at south-eastern corner.*

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

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 × 12.5m, this is comparable in size to the domed chambers in the Saljuq 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

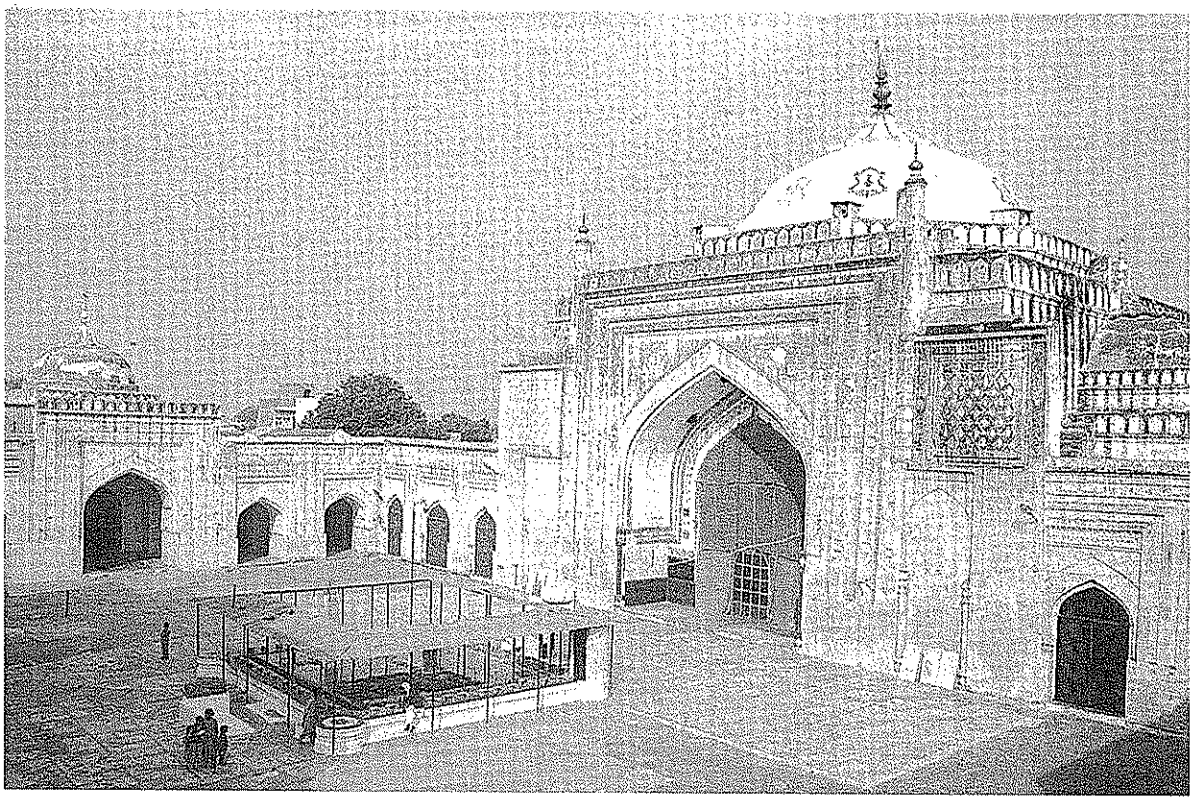


Fig. 10.4 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, qibla* iwan *and southern side of courtyard.*

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

in the Deccan (c. 1322–3).[9] 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).[10] 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.[11] 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 *naskhī* 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 *shahinshāh*, 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 Iltutmish, the 'Royal Retainer' (*al-sulṭānī*), the helper of the Commander of the Faithful, may God perpetuate his kingdom. In the months of the year 620 [AD 1223].[12]

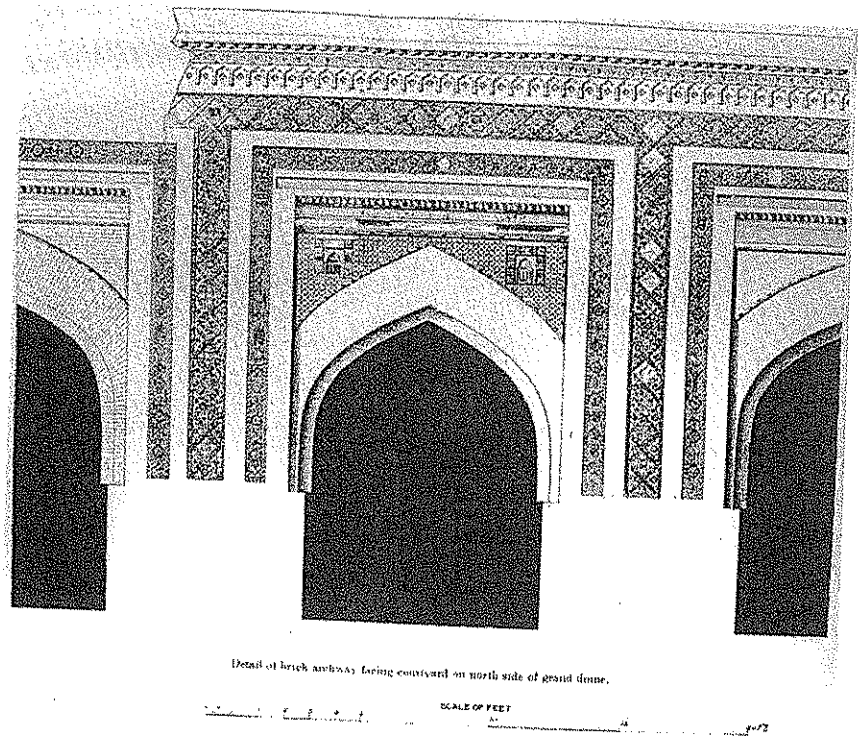


Fig. 10.5 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, detail of western courtyard arcade in 1888.*

(After Blakiston, *Jami Masjid.*)

Although it has generally been overlooked in discussions of sultanate architecture, Iltutmish'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,[13] the number of north Indian civic and religious monuments ascribed to Iltutmish 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 Iltutmish 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.[14] The similar screen in the Ghurid Friday Mosque of Ajmir is datable to the same period (Figure 10.8).[15] To Iltutmish'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.[16] 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.[17] Elsewhere in Delhi, an inscription found in a fort at Sirsa records the fact that Iltutmish renovated the building in the 1230s. Whether contemporary with the renovation or later, the inscription attests Iltutmish's involvement in the construction of

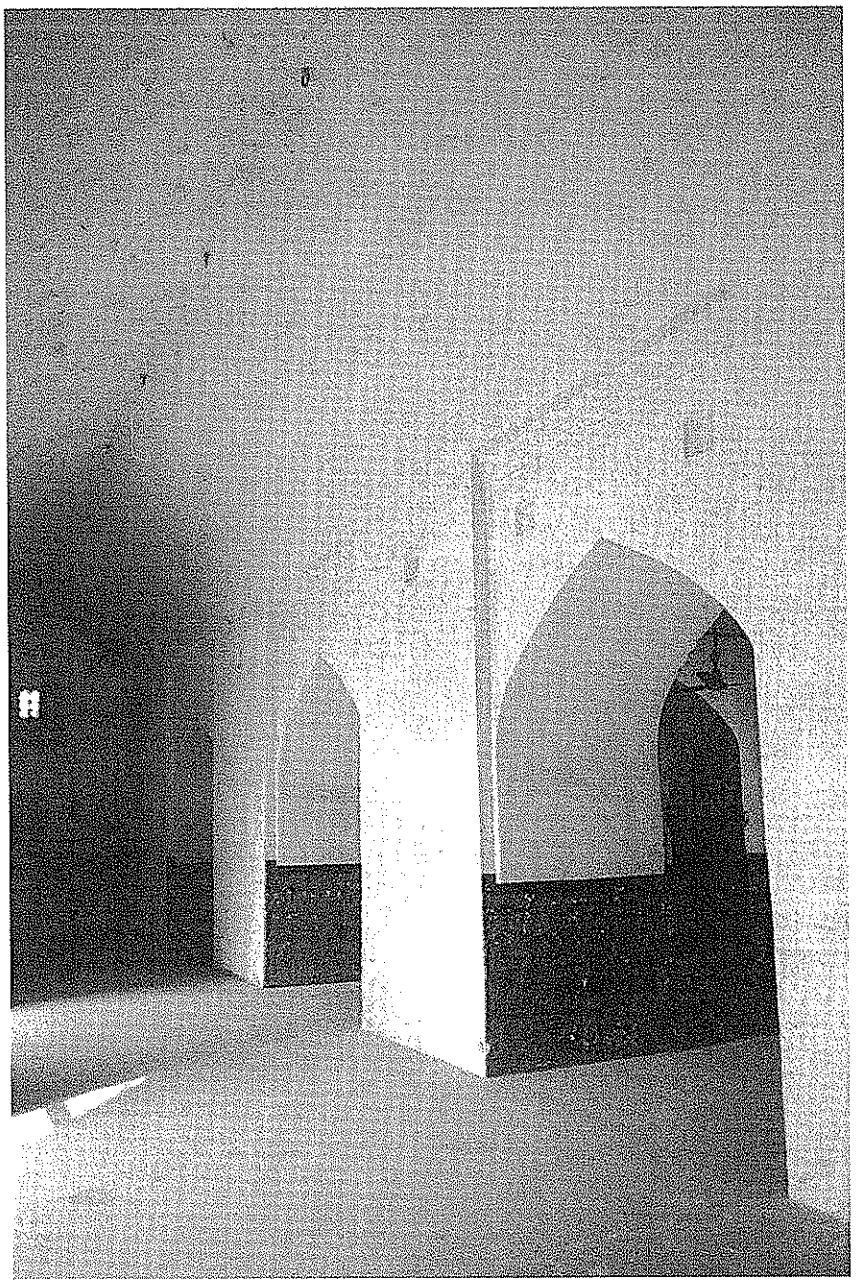


Fig. 10.6 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, vaulting of prayer hall.*

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

civic monuments, which included the monumental water-tank in Delhi known as the Hauz-i Shamsi.[18]

Outside of Delhi, Iltutmish 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 Iltutmish's orders.[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.]

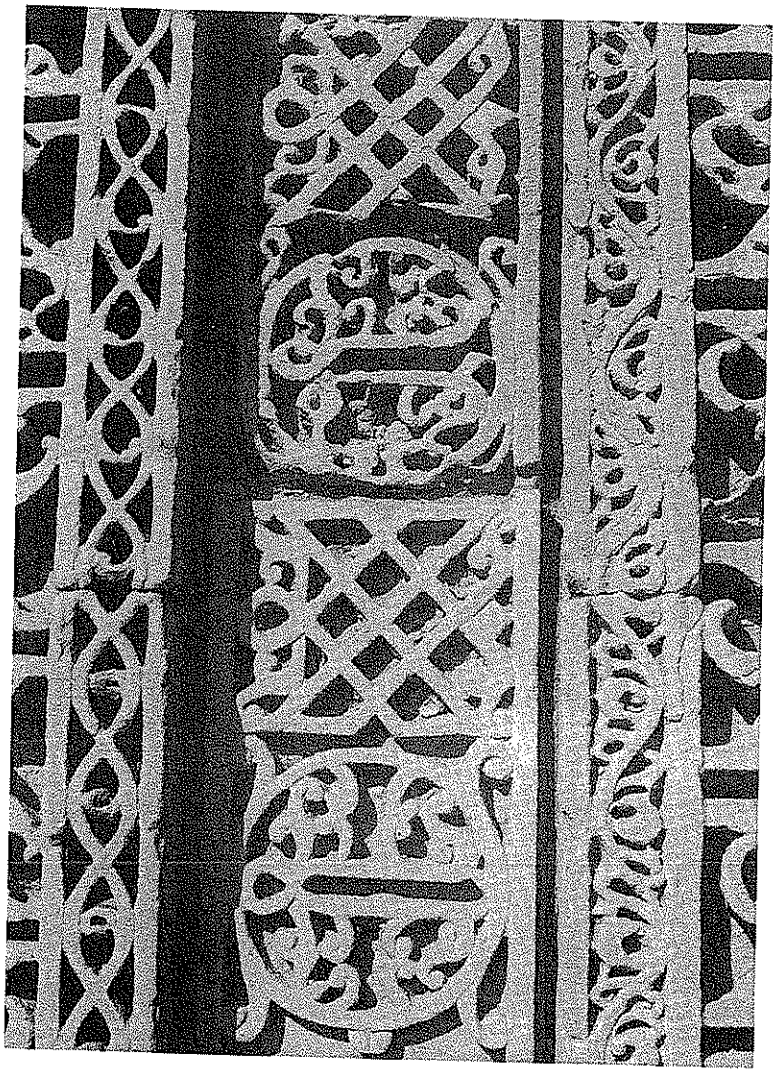


Fig. 10.8 *Ajmir, Ghurid Mosque, detail of Iltutmish's screen.*

[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 *naskhī* inscription which looks to be of early thirteenth-century date in the Gwalior fort museum may have come from the vanished structure.[20] 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.[21] Finally, the style of a stray stone fragment carved with a geometric design, and now incorporated into the outer wall of Nagaur 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 Nagaur.[22]

In Bada'un itself, the congregational mosque may have been the centrepiece of an extensive building programme, for the massive baked brick *'īdgāh* 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 *'īdgāh* was remodelled in the Tughluqid period or later, the provision of such a monument would be consistent with Ghurid and early sultanate practice.[23] 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.[24]

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.[25] The construction of a congregational mosque here by Iltutmish reflects both the importance of the city in its own right

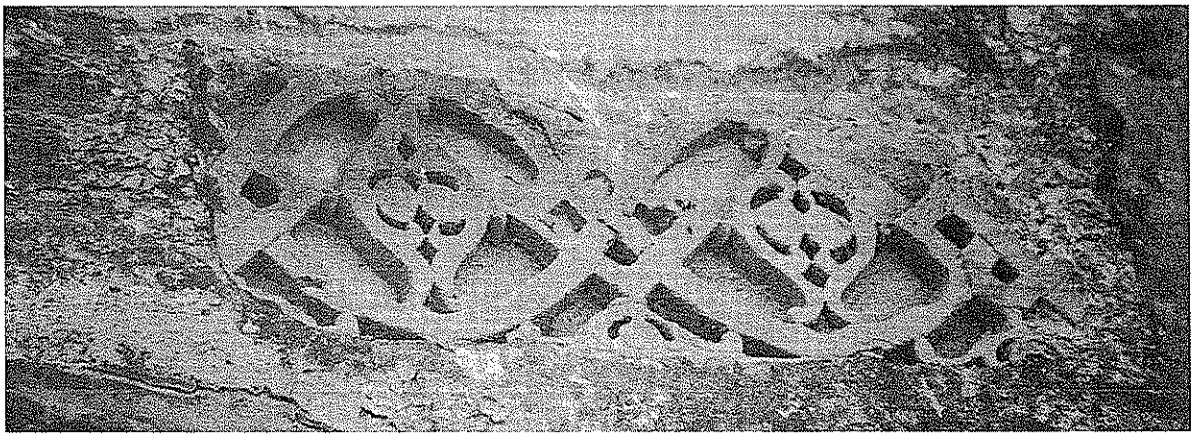


Fig. 10.9 *Nagaur fort, fragmentary stone carving inserted into exterior walls.*

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

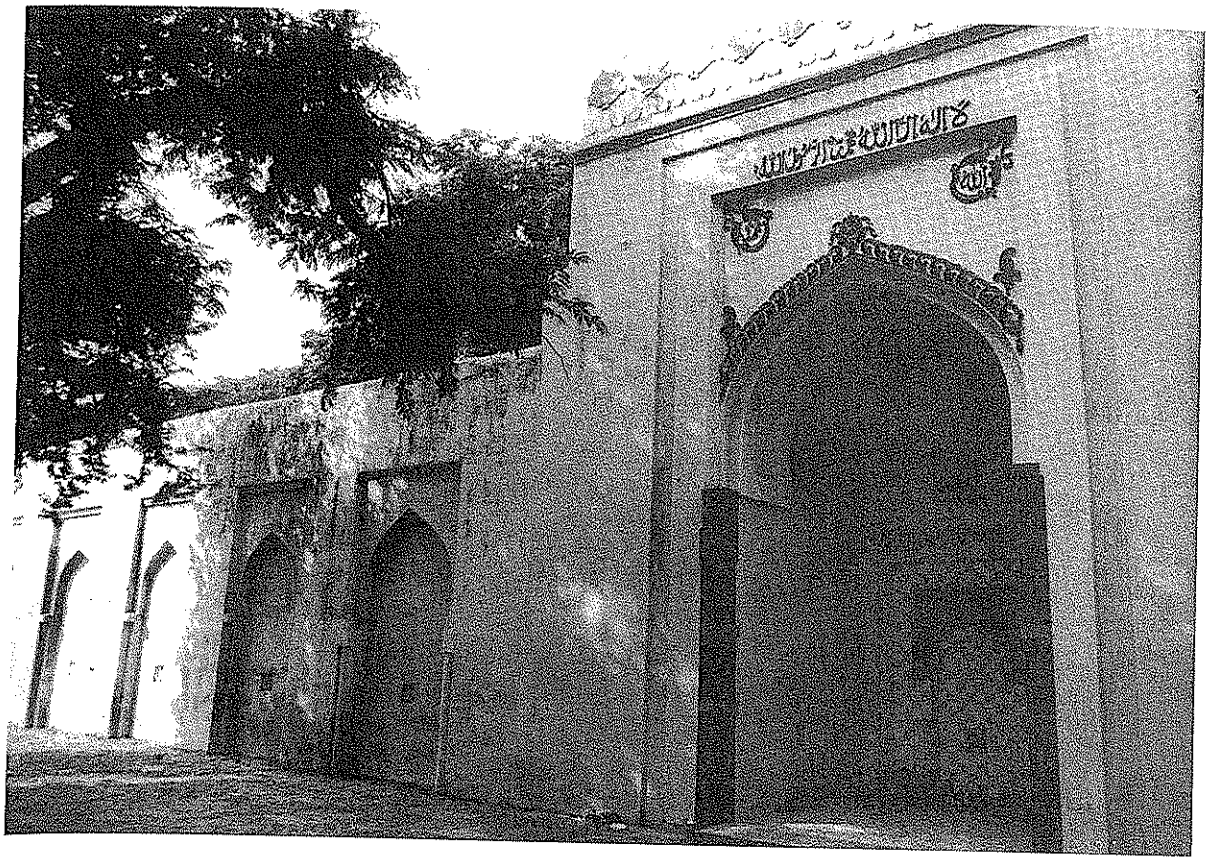


Fig. 10.10 *Bada'un, Shamsī* ʿīdgāh.

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

and its role as a staging post in Iltutmish'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.[26] The value of the *ʿiqta* 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 Rukn al-Din Firuz, Iltutmish's son and successor, during whose governorship the congregational mosque was constructed.[27] 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, Iltutmish was also embellishing the cities with which he was most closely associated during his rise to power.[28]

As we will see shortly, however, in its present incarnation the Great Mosque of Bada'un seems to represent an early Tughluqid rebuilding of Iltutmish's mosque. Even the monumental entrance in which the foundation text of Iltutmish'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).[29] The cusping and lotus spandrel bosses on these panels mirrors the form of some of the minor arches on Iltutmish'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 Iltutmish's mosque.[30] 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 2:238:

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

The style of the *naskhī* and background ornament is sufficiently close to that of Iltutmish's foundation inscription above the eastern entrance to confirm that these are survivals from the thirteenth-century mosque; the obvious relevance of this *āya* 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

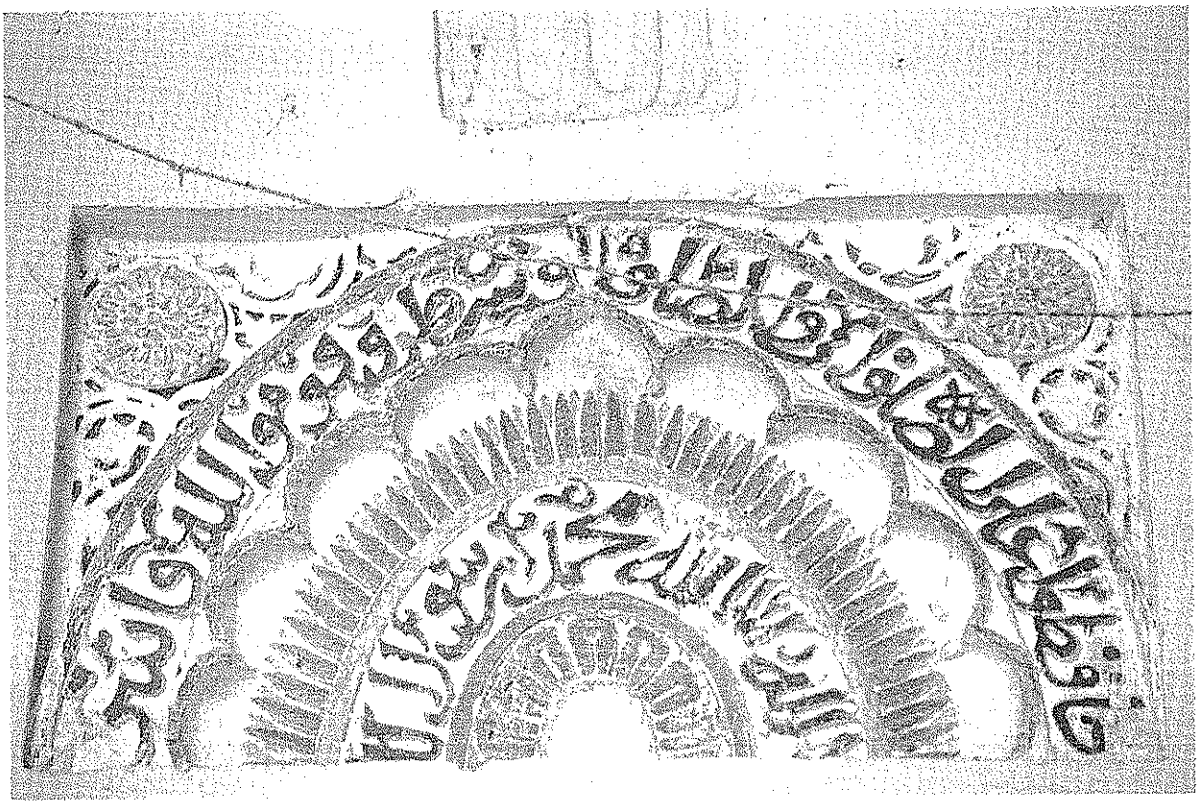


Fig. 10.11 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, stone panel above mihrab.*

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

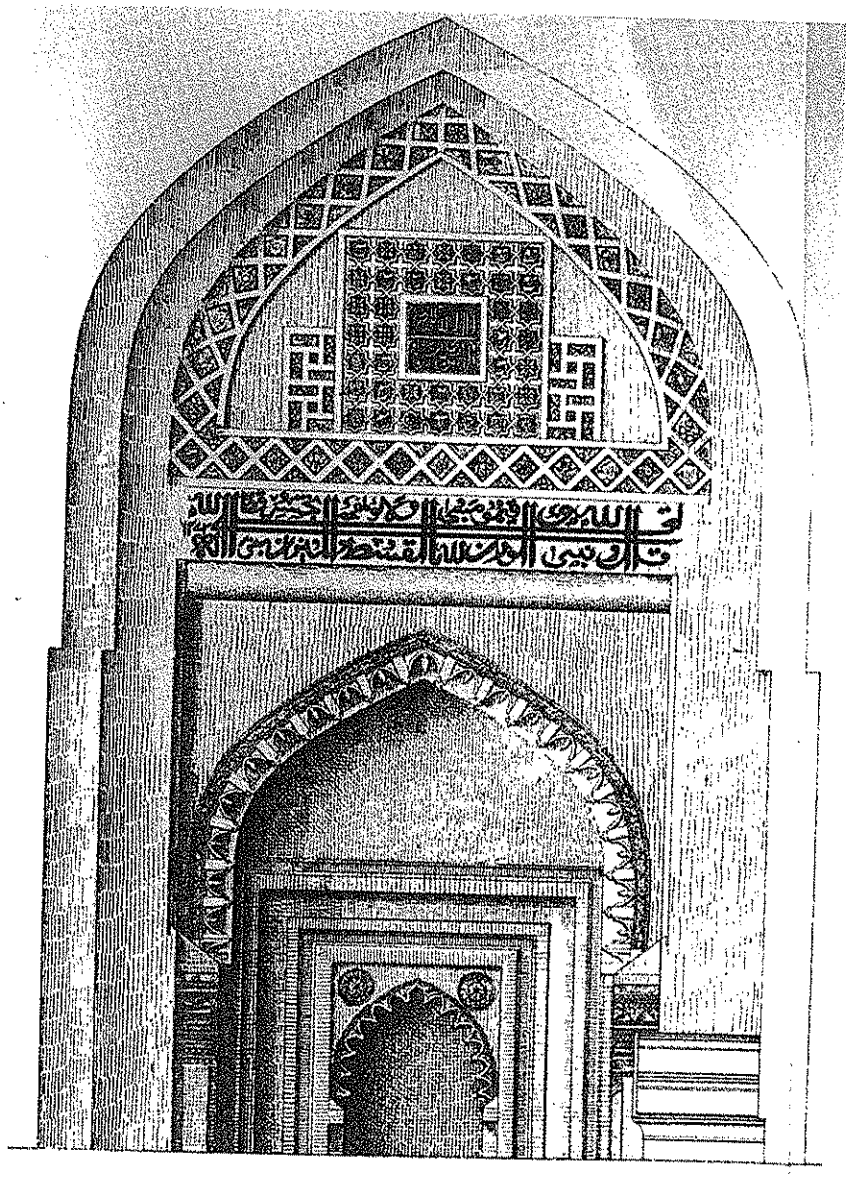


Fig. 10.12 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, general view of mihrab.*

(After Blakiston, *Jami Masjid.*)

most striking characteristics of Iltutmish's monuments is their lavish use of monumental epigraphy.[31]

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.[32] The lotus-flower bursts and spandrel bosses amid

loosely scrolling vegetal ornament are all very much in the Indic idiom 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 Jaunpur 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 corbelling, 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 corbelling 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

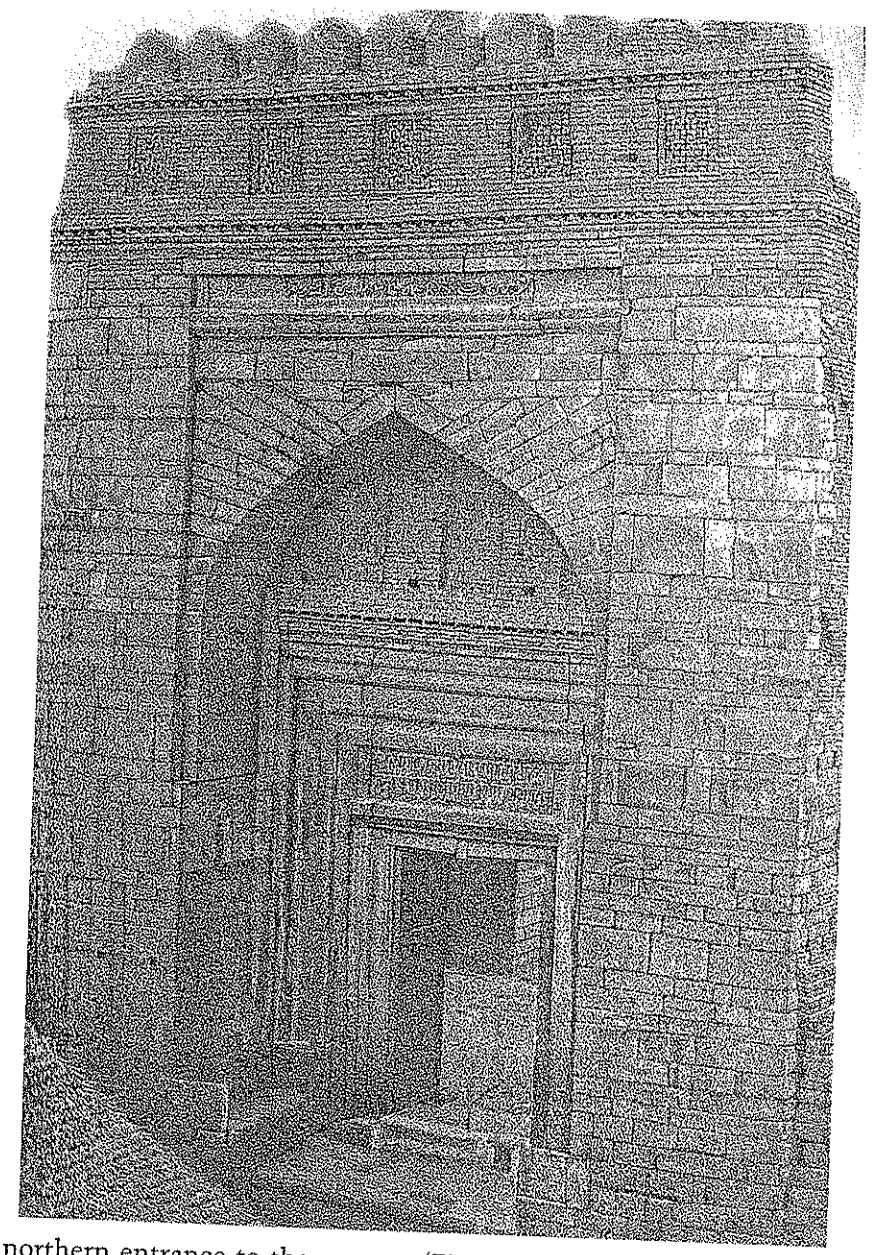


Fig. 10.13 Great Mosque of Bada'un, eastern gate, now destroyed.

(After Cunningham, *Report.*)

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 *mujāhid*, 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.[41]

Architecture was directly instrumental in Muhammad b. Tughluq's accession to power, which followed the death of his father by

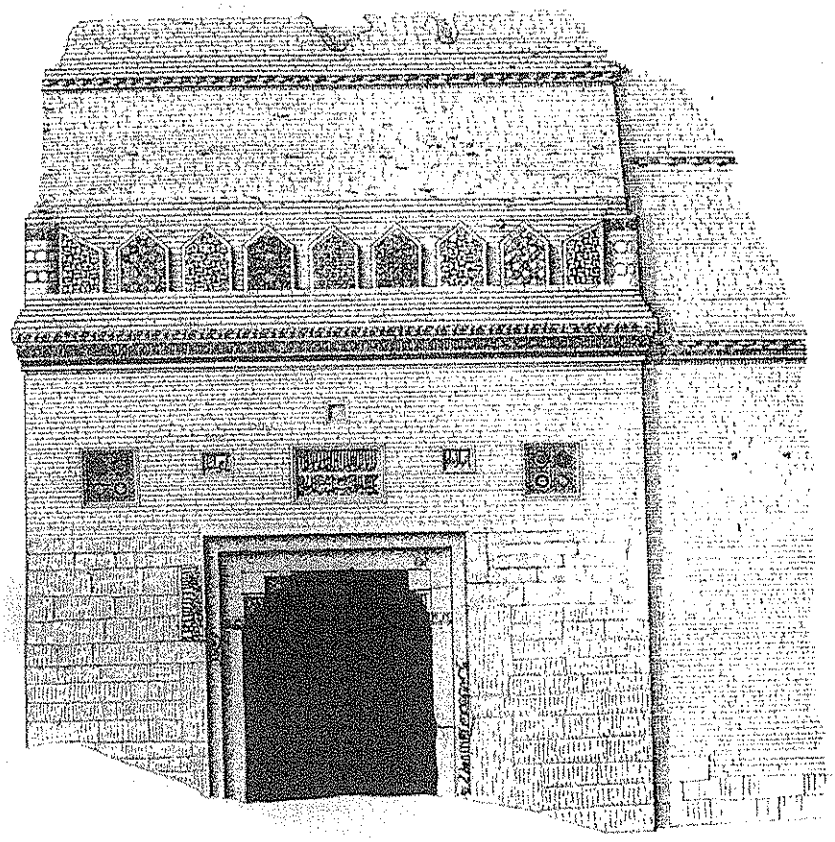


Fig. 10.14 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, exterior of northern gate showing inscription of Muhammad b. Tughluq.*

(After Blakiston, *Jami Masjid.*)

the collapse of a newly built wooden *kushk*, an event that many believed the son to have contrived.[42] 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.[43]

The Bada'un mosque pre-dates all these monuments by several years, providing an important insight into Muhammad b. Tughluq's early architectural patronage.[44] 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.[45] Nevertheless, there are many indications of extensive rebuilding and

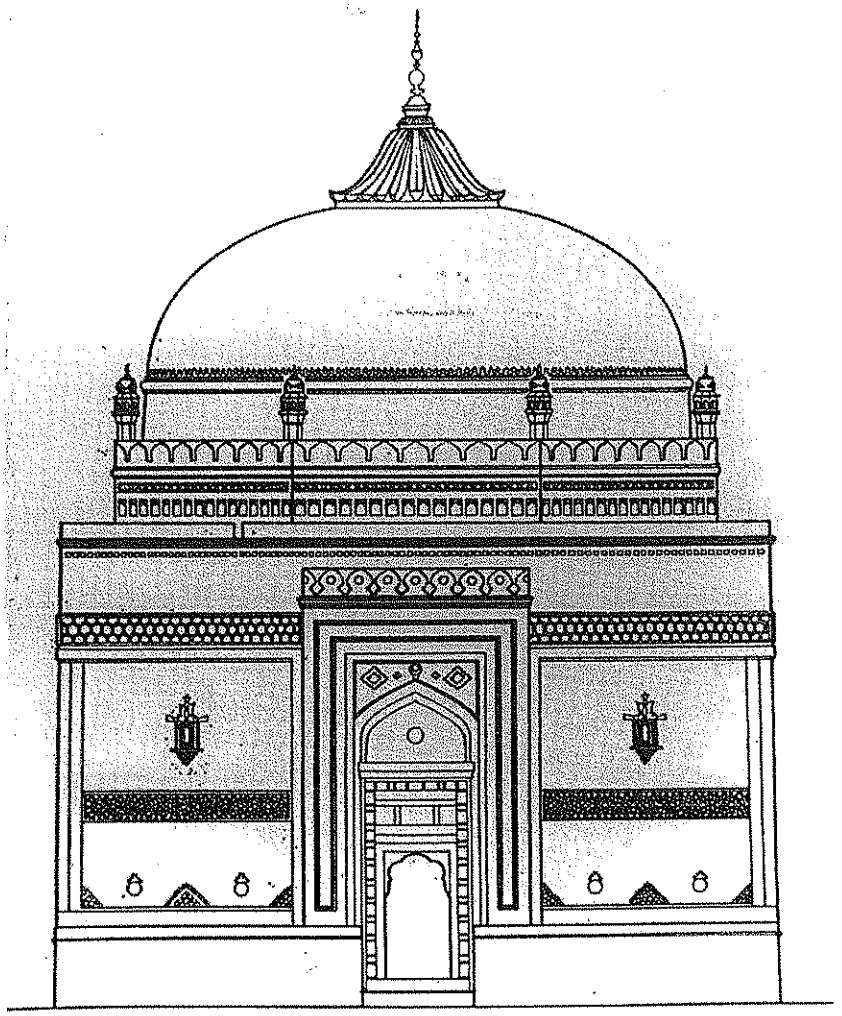


Fig. 10.15 Pakpattan, Tomb of Shaykh 'Ala' al-Din.

(After Nabi Khan, 'Pākpatan'.)

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.[46] 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,[47] 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.[48] Similarly, while the tapering corner

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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 ʿAlam at Multan.[49] The slight batter of the exterior walls is also in keeping with early Tughlughid 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.[50] 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 *ʿiqta* of Bada'un.[51] 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).[52] The bulk of the decoration is geometric and floral, with some fragments of horizontal epigraphic friezes and occasional occurrences of *Allāh, yā Allā'*, and *yā Muḥammad*, similar to those found in earlier Indo-Islamic monuments.[53] 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.[54] 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).[55] 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.[56] Although it has been suggested that the qibla *iwan* is a creation of the early seventeenth

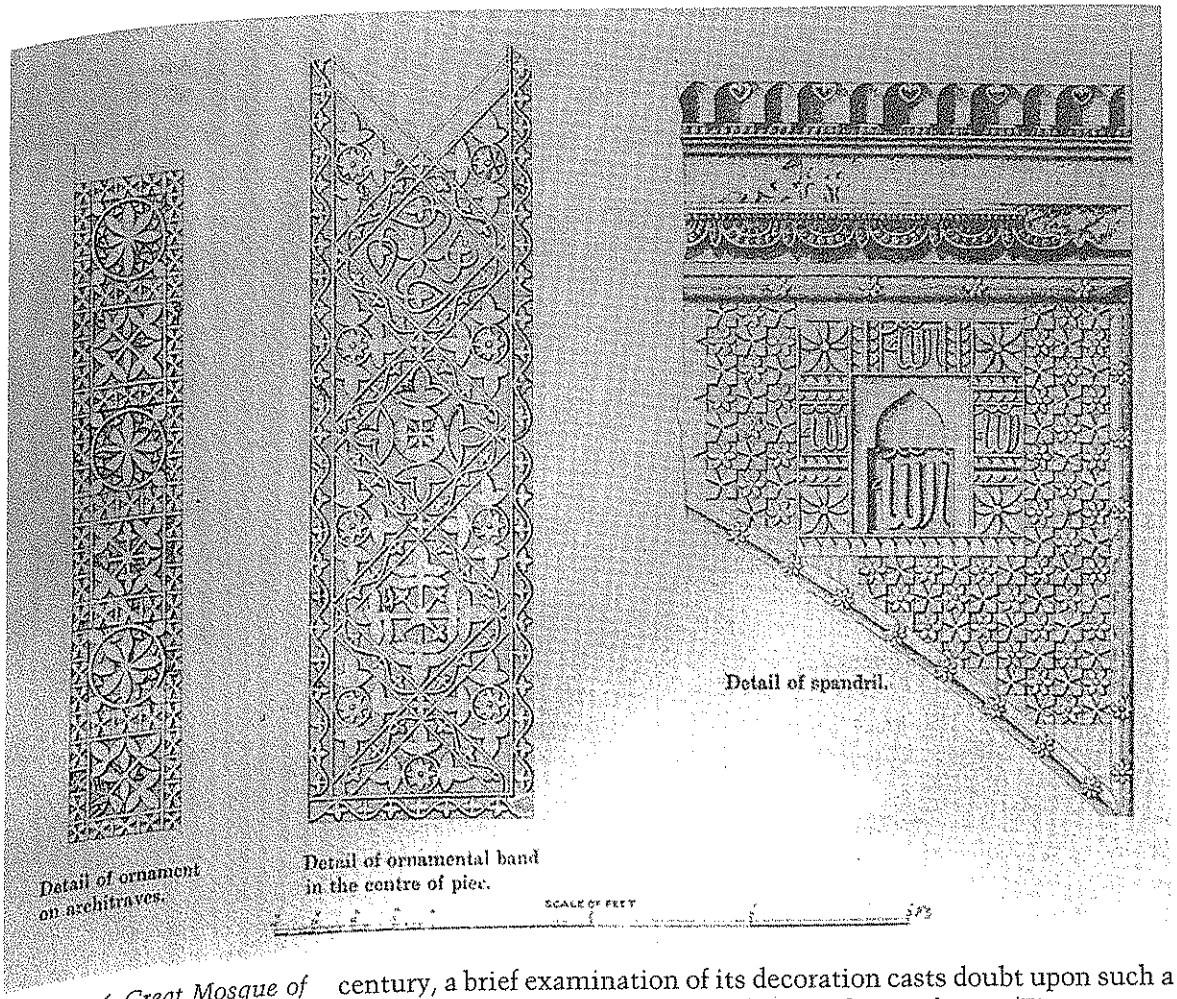

Fig. 10.16 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, detail of ornament on courtyard arcade.*

(After Blakiston, *Jami Masjid.*)

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.[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).[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.[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

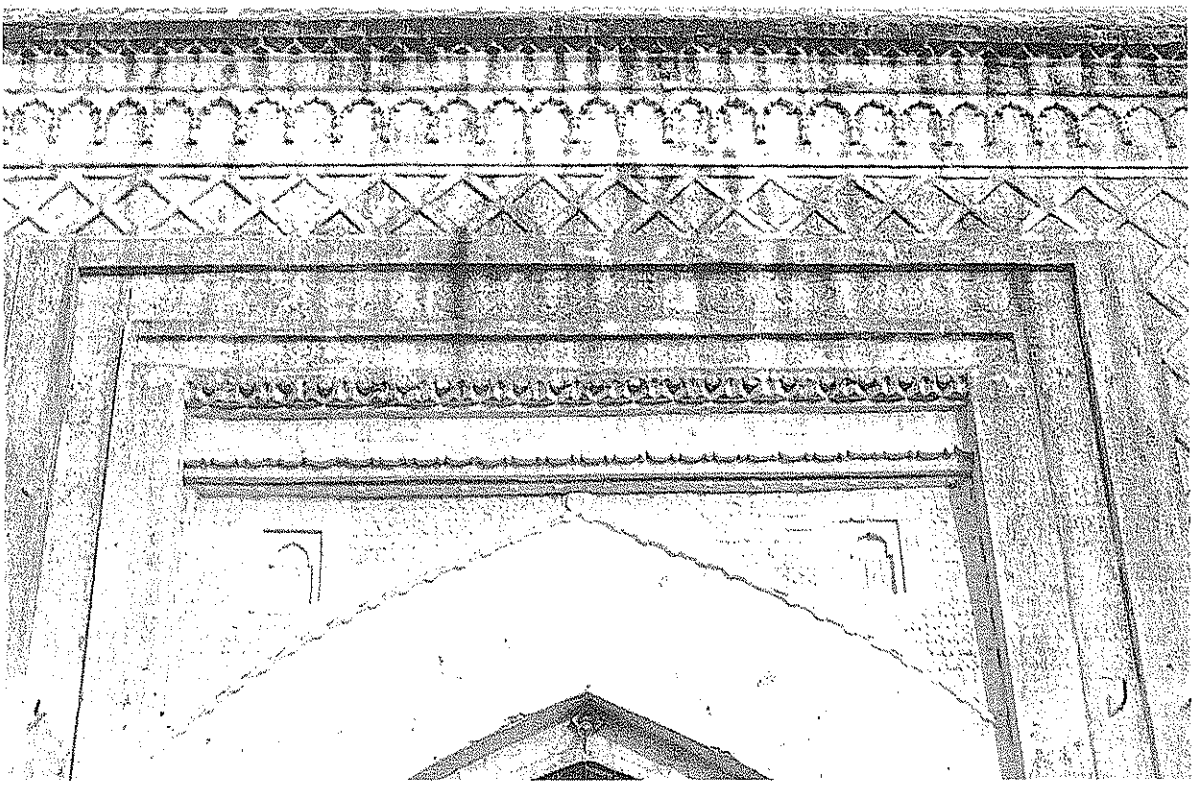

Fig. 10.17 *Great Mosque of Bada'un, detail of western arcade today.*

[Photograph © F. B. Flood.]

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 *iwan*s and *pishtaq*s, 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, *iwan*s and *pishtaq*s, 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 Iltutmish's screen in the Ajmir mosque.[65]

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

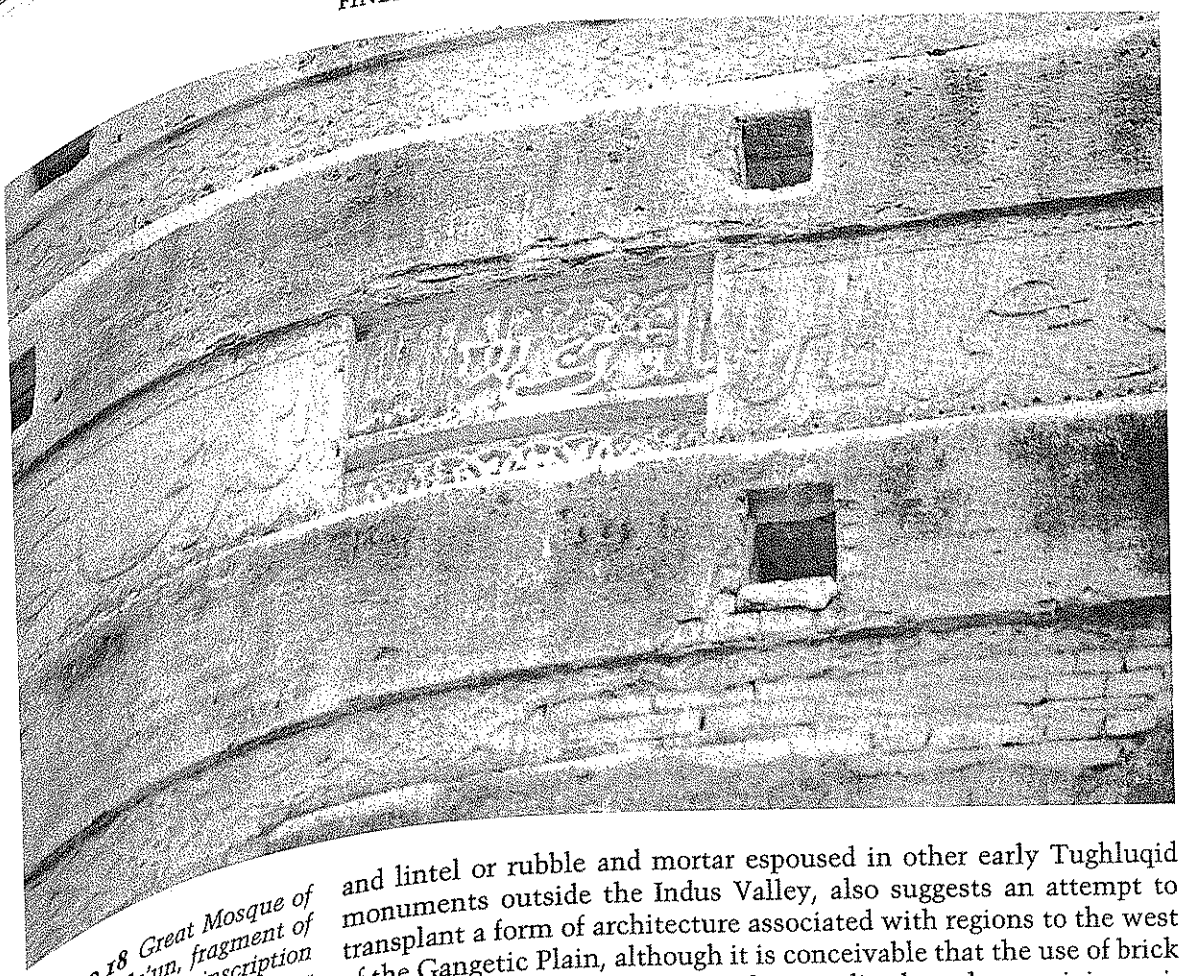

Fig. 10.18 Great Mosque of Bada'un, fragment of 13th-century inscription integrated into later epigraphic frieze on courtyard arcade. (Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

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.[66] 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.[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.[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

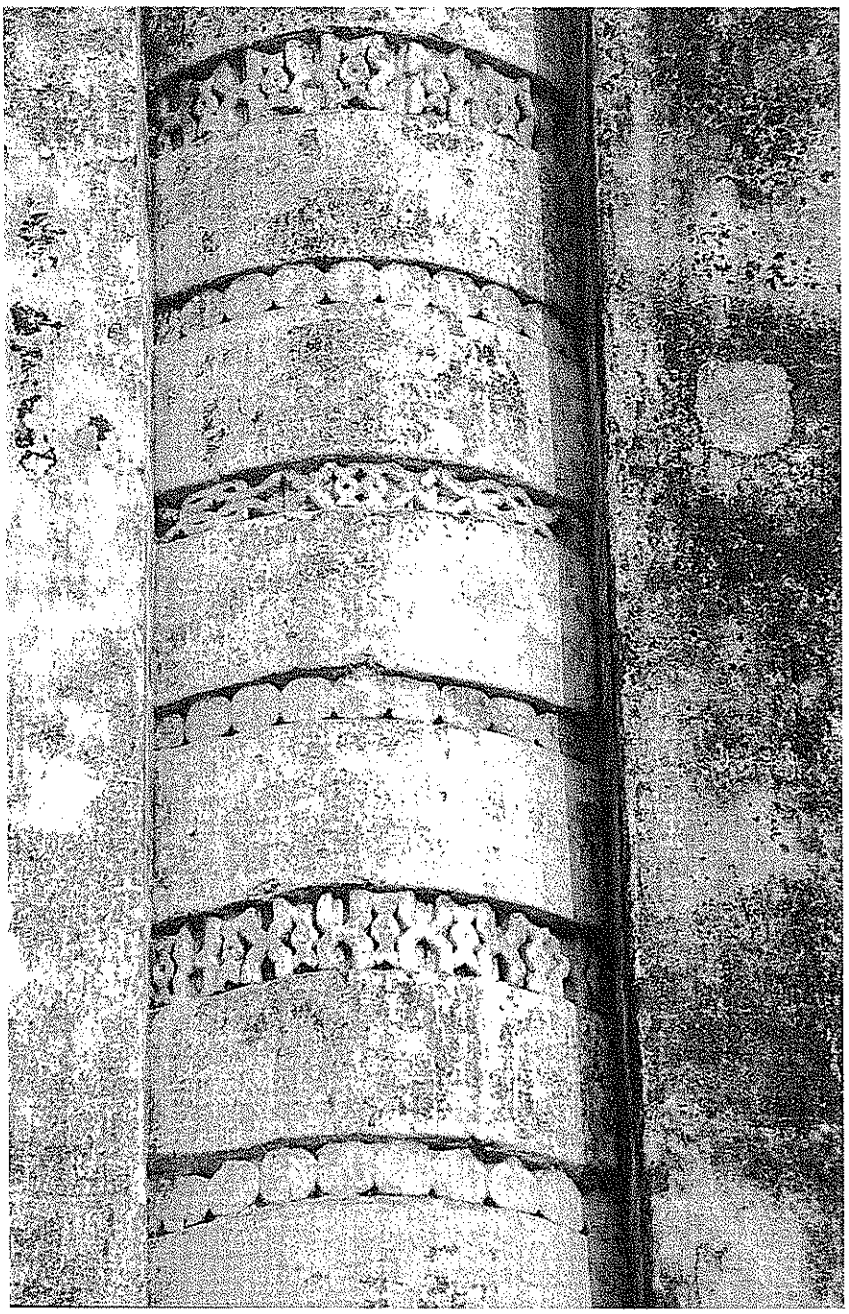

Fig. 10.19 Great Mosque of Bada'un, detail of 'minaret' on qibla iwan

(Photograph © F. B. Flood.)

that this was light blue or turquoise, which is ubiquitous in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century monuments of Iran.[69] Cunningham conjectured that a similar use of glazed elements was made in the *'īdgāh* of Bada'un, a monument traditionally ascribed to the early patronage of Iltutmish, but there is little evidence to support this.[70]

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.[71] 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).[72] 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.[73] Despite the conservative palette, the appearance of the technique in Bada'un provides a *terminus a quem* (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 *'īdgāh* 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.[74]

Of the four characteristic decorative features of eastern Iranian 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.[75] 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.[76] 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.[77]

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 *riwaq*s of the courtyard (Figure 10.1).[78] 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 Tughluqid mosques rely not on vaulting, but on the repetition of small domed units to span the prayer hall and *riwaq*s, as do the earliest mosques of Bengal.[79] The use of barrel vaults in the secular architecture of Tughluqabad points to other possibilities, but these were confined to relatively minor contexts and evidently not considered suitable for spanning large areas.[80] 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.[81]

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.[82] 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.[83] 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*.[84] 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.[85]

The striking contrast in conception and elevation between the Bada'un mosque and its Tughluqid 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 Tughluqid architecture to place easily the apparent idiosyncrasies of the Bada'un mosque in any wider Indian context, it is clear that the Tughluqid period was one of innovative and inventive experimentation in the field of architecture.[86] A recent assessment of Tughluqabad, 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'.[87] 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.[88] The human correlates of the Persianate trends witnessed in Tughluqabad, 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 (*kāsibān*) from the land of Khurasan, many painters from the country of China, many uluma 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 iqlīm*).'[89]

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.[90]

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.[91] 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.[92] 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 (*tartar*) armies.[93] 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.[94] 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.[95] 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.[96] 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.[97] As a major political and religious centre, Bada'un would have made an attractive refuge, the occasional Mongol raid notwithstanding.[98] Equally, the abundance of craftsmen, diplomats, merchants, *mujāḥids*, 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.[99] 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.[100]

Whether the product of migrant Iranian craftsmen or a Persianate 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*, *pishtaqs*, ovoid domes, tapering bastions and glazed ornament, were to enjoy a longer history in the subcontinent, not least in the Sharqi monuments of Jaunpur.[101]

Given what Robert has characterised as Iltutmish's 'attempt to transplant the Saljuq architectural style to northern India',[102] Muhammad b. Tughluq's activities at Bada'un may have been intended to build upon Iltutmish's legacy, both literally and figuratively. The renovation of Iltutmish'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 Kol), 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.[103] 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.[104] 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.[105] 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.[106]

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. (Wolseley Haig), 'The Bābur-Nāma in English', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1924), 272; Annette S. Beveridge, '"Badaun" or "Badāyūn"?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925), 517; Wolseley Haig, '"Badaun" or "Badāyūn"?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925), 715–16; C. A. Storey, 'Budāon, Badāūn, or Badāyūn?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), 103–4; T. Grahame Bailey, 'Badāyú and Badāú', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), 104; E. Denison Ross, 'Badā'ūn or Badāyūn?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1926), 105.
2. Robert Hillenbrand, 'Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmīr', *Iran* 26 (1988), 105. The relevant publications are referred to in the notes below.
3. Although a number of small stone mosques of the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries survive at Khatu, Ladnun and Nagaur in Rajasthan: Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, 28 (London, 1993), 29–30, 111–13, 116–17. The fragmentary congregational mosque at Tughluqabad (c. 1320–25), south of modern Delhi, is the earliest urban mosque of the Tughluqids so far known: Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie M. Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad: The Earliest Surviving Town of the Delhi Sultanate', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 57/3 (1994), 544–9. See also the Mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi at Tribeni in West Bengal, dated 1298: Perween Hasan, 'Temple Niches and Miḥrābs in Bengal', in *Islam and Indian Regions*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola and Stephanie Zingel-Avé Lallemant (Stuttgart, 1993), 90, drawing 1. There is apparently a small Khalji mosque at Deogir dated (or datable to?) 718/1318: Anthony Welch and Howard Crane, 'The Tughluqs: Master Builders of the Delhi Sultanate', *Muqarnas* 1 (1983), 128.
4. Alexander Cunningham, *Report of Tours in the Gangetic Provinces from Badaon to Bihar in 1875–76 and 1877–78*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. 10 (Calcutta, 1888), 4–8; A. Führer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Allahabad, 1891), 20–1; Muhammad Fadl-i Akram, *Āthār-i Badāyūn* (Bada'un, 1919), 74–80; Anon., 'The Shamsi Musjid of Badaun', *The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society* 3 (1926), 132–38; Wolseley Haig, 'The Monuments of Muslim India', *Cambridge History of India*, vol. 3: Turks and Afghans, ed. Wolseley Haig (Cambridge, 1928), 624–5; J. F. Blakiston, *The Jami Masjid at Badaun and Other Buildings in the United Provinces*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 19 (Calcutta, 1926), 1–5; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: The Islamic Period* (Bombay, 1944), 14; Tsukinowa Tokifusa, 'The Influence of Seljuq Architecture on the Earliest Mosques of the Delhi Sultanate Period in India', *Acta Asiatica* 43 (1982), 51–4; K. V. Soundara Rajan, *Islam Builds in India* (Delhi, 1983), 20–1, pls 29–30.
5. Robert Hillenbrand, 'Ajmīr;' Hillenbrand, 'Turco-Iranian Elements in the Medieval Architecture of Pakistan: The Case of the Tomb of Rukn-i ʿAlam 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

here, see M. Abdullah Chaghtai, 'What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture', *Islamic Culture* 8 (1931), 55–65; Arthur Upham Pope, 'Some Interrelations between Persian and Indian Architecture', *Indian Art and Letters* 9 (1935), 101–25; M. Abdullah Chaghtai, 'Indian links with Central Asia in Architecture', *Indian Art and Letters* 11 (1937), 85–94; Klaus Fisher, 'Interrelations of Islamic Architecture in Afghanistan', *Marg* 24/1 (1970), 47–56.

6. The Qutbi mosque in Delhi measures 66 × 44m, the Jahanpanah mosque 90 × 94m, and the Adina Mosque at Pandua 155 × 87m: J. A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb: Delhi*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 22 (Calcutta, 1926), 8; Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqs', 130, fig. 1; Y. Crowe, 'Reflections on the Adina Mosque at Pandua', in *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, ed. George Michell (Paris, 1984), 157.
7. Blakiston, *Jami Masjid*, pls II–III, X–XIb.
8. Anon., 'Shamsi Musjid', 135.
9. Phillip B. Wagoner and John Henry Rice, 'From Delhi to the Deccan: Newly Discovered Tughluq Monuments at Warangal-Sultanpur and the Beginnings of Indo-Islamic Architecture in Southern India', *Artibus Asiae* 61/1 (2001), 107.
10. The northern and southern *riwaq*s 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, *Bhadrešvar: The Oldest Islamic Monuments in India* (Leyden, 1988), 21, 25, figs. 14, 26.
12. W. E. Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Villa Park, 1985), 28–9, no. 3. see also J. Horovitz, 'Inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām, Quṭbuddin Aibeg, and Iltutmish', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911–12), 22; Blakiston, *Jami Masjid*: 2; Other published versions of this inscription include erroneous interpolations: H. Blochmann, 'Notes on Arabic and Persian Inscriptions', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (41, 1872), 112; Anon., 'Shamsi Musjid', 132. On the correct transliteration of this sultan's name, see Simon Digby, 'Iletmish or Iltutmish? A Reconsideration of the Name of the Delhi Sultan', *Iran* 8 (1970), 57–64.
13. Horovitz, 'Inscriptions', 21–3, 25; Maulvi Muhammad Shu'aib, 'Inscriptions from Palwal', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1911–12), 3, pl. XXI; G. Yazdani, 'Inscriptions of the Turk Sulṭāns of Delhi – Mu'izzu-d-dîn Bahrām, 'Alā'u-d-dîn Mas'ūd, Nāṣiru-d-dîn Maḥmūd, Ghiyāth-u-d-dîn Balban, and Mu'izzu-d-dîn Kaiqubad', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (1913–14), 14–15; Anon., *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*, 2nd edn (Calcutta, 1926), 3; M. Abdulla Chaghtai, 'An Unpublished Inscription of the Time of Sultan Iltutmish – Showing the Construction of a Reservoir at Khatu (Marwar)', *Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, December 1935* (Bangalore, 1937), 632–35; Z. A. Desai, 'The Mamluk Sultans of Delhi', *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1966), 6–7, 16–17, pl. IVa.
14. Horovitz, 'Inscriptions', 26–8; Begley, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 30–1, no. 5; Shah Muhammad Shafiqullah, 'Calligraphic Ornamentation of the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque: An Observation on the Calligraphy of the Screens of Qutb al-Din and Iltutmish', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* 39 (1994), 62–7. 'Afif's reference to Iltutmish erecting a

manāra buzurg in the Delhi mosque could refer to his completion of the Qutb Minar. However, since it occurs within a discussion of Firuz Shah's relocation of pre-Islamic pillars (also referred to as *manāras*), it seems more likely to refer to the iron pillar that stands in the courtyard of the mosque: Shams Siraj ʿAfif, *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi* (Calcutta, 1888), 316; 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.

15. Horovitz, 'Inscriptions', 29–30, 33; Tokifusa, 'Seljuq Architecture', 51; Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. Part IV: Persian Inscriptions Down to the Early Safavid Period*, vol. XLIX, India: State of Rajasthan, Rajasthan I (London, 1986), 13–14; Hillenbrand, 'Ajmīr', 108, pls IIa, VIIb–IXa. Unfortunately the year of the date on the screen inscription is missing.

16. Horovitz, 'Inscriptions', 23–4; S. A. A. Naqvi, 'Sulṭān Ghārī, Delhi', *Ancient India* 3 (1947), 4–10; Anthony Welch, 'Qur'ān and Tomb: The Religious Epigraphy of Two Early Sultanate Tombs in Delhi', in *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, ed. Frederick M. Asher and G. S. Gai (New Delhi, 1985), 258–61; Anthony Welch, 'A Medieval Center of Learning in India: The Hauz Khas Madrasa in Delhi', *Muqarnas* 13 (1996), 175 and n. 32. The madrasa in the tomb of Nasir al-Din Mahmud should not be confused with the Nasiri Madrasa built later by Balban (r. 664–8/1266–87): Munibar Rahman, 'Madrasa', *EI* 2, vol. 5, 1135. An earlier Muʿizzi Madrasa in Bada'un is ascribed to the activities of Qutb al-Din Aybak (r. 602–7/1206–10): H. R. Nevill, *Badaun a Gazetteer*, vol. XV of the District Gazetteers of the United Provinces, Agra, and Oudh (Allahabad, 1907), 133; Anon., 'Shamsi Musjid', 136.

17. Welch, 'Qur'ān and Tomb', 261–6.

18. J. G. Delmerick, 'Inscriptions from Abúhar and Sirsá', *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 10 (1874), 72; K. A. Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History* (Aligarh, 1956), 37–8; H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Battuta A.D. 1325–1354*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1971), 624; N. B. Roy, 'The Victories of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq', *Islamic Culture* 15 (1941), 459; Agha Mahdi Husain, *Futuhu's Salatin* (London, 1977), 2:227.

19. Yazdani, 'Turk Sulṭāns', 21–2, pl. VIIIa; Begley, *Islamic Calligraphy*, no. 8; K. A. Nizami, *Royalty in Medieval India* (New Delhi, 1997), 128.

20. Annette Susannah Beveridge, *The Bābūr-nāma in English* (London, 1922), 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 Iltutmish'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* (1829, reprinted, New Delhi, 1981), 1:119; Iqbal Husain, *The Early Persian Poets of India [A.H. 421–679]* (Patna, 1937), 154–5.

21. Beveridge, *Bābūr-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.

22. The existence of this fragment and its stylistic relation to the Ajmir mosque has been noted by Willis, 'Gwalior', 245, n. 39.

23. Any inscriptions have now disappeared beneath accumulated layers of

whitewash, and the monument is attributed to Iltutmish largely on the grounds that it is referred to as the Shamsī *ʿīdgāh*: Cunningham, *Report*, 4; Mohammad Mokhlesur Rahman, 'A Note on Shamsī ʿIdgāh of Badā'un (1202–9); some Observations on its Glazed Decoration', *Hamdard Islamicus* 10/3 (1987), 85–7. For a section and plan, see Rajan, *Islam Builds*, 68–9, fig. 32, pl. 20. For other early Indian *ʿīdgāh*s, see J. Burton-Page, 'Namāzgāh', *EI* 2, 947; Z. A. Desai, 'The Jalor Idgah Inscription of Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah Khalji', *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (1972), 12–19; Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie M. Shokoohy, 'The Architecture of Baha al-Din Tughrul in the Region of Bayana, Rajasthan', *Muqarnas* 4 (1987), 130–2, figs 36–7.

24. Desai, 'Mamluk Sultans', 14–15, 17–18, pls IIIc 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 Hauz-i Shamsi may, like its Delhi counterpart, have come into being as part of Iltutmish's building activities in Bada'un: Haig, 'Monuments', 624.
25. Wink, *Al-Hind*, 2:220–4. The Bada'un gate of Delhi was the principal entrance to the city, and a key locus for royal ceremonial: Gibb, *Travels*, 3:621. For the many mosques and *dargah*s of Bada'un, and its flourishing spiritual community in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, 18, and Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, *Fawa'id al-Fu'ad: Spiritual and Literary Discourses of Shaikh Nizamuddin Awliya* (New Delhi, 1996), *passim*.
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.
27. Blakiston, *Jami Masjid*, 2; Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge, 1999), 40.
28. For Iltutmish's political trajectory, see Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, 26; Ansari, 'Iltutmish', 1155. On the piety of Iltutmish see Ansari; Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture* (Allahabad, 1966), 13–40; Rekha Joshi, *Sultan Iltutmish* (Delhi, 1979), *passim*. For the Gwalior mosque, see n. 20 above. The evidence for Iltutmish's role as architectural patron at Baran is more circumspect: in addition to a fragmentary inscription bearing the titles of Iltutmish, Barani refers to the existence of a *masjid-i jami*ʿ at Baran in the thirteenth century: Desai, 'Mamluk Sultans', 15–16, pl. IIIb; Kishori Saran Lal, *History of the Khaljis AD 1290–1320* (London, 1969), 59. On medieval Baran see F. S. Growse, 'Bulandshahr Antiquities', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 48 (1879), 270–5; Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, 4–6; Wink, *Al-Hind*, 2:224–5.
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 Builds in India*, pl. 30d.
30. Page, *Historical Memoir*, pl. 3b.
31. Welch, 'Qur'ān and Tomb', esp. 261–7.
32. Page, *Historical Memoir*, 9–10, pls 2 and 3a.
33. At Mashhad-i Misriyan in Turkmenistan, or Ribat-i Sharaf in Khurasan, for example: Pope, 'Interrelations', 117; Ernst Cohn-Wiener, 'A Turanic Monument of the Twelfth Century AD', *Ars Islamica* 6/1 (1939), 90, fig. 10; André Godard, '<u>K</u>horāsān', *Āth<u>ā</u>r-é Īrān* 4 (1949), 45, fig. 36.

34. Cunningham, *Report*, 1, 4; Führer, *Monumental Antiquities*, 20; Blakiston, *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, 'Badâun Stone Inscription of Lakhanapala', *Indian Antiquary* 1 (1892), 61–6. Cunningham's *modus operandi* in this regard is, however, all too clear from his remarks on Iltutmish's vanished mosque at Gwalior: '. . . 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 Altamsh [*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.
35. Fritz Lehmann, 'The Name and Origin of the Aṭāla Masjid, Jaunpur', *Islamic Culture* 52/1 (1978), 19–27. For a discussion of this problematic topic, see Alka Patel, 'Islamic Architecture of Western India (mid-12th–14th Century)', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Harvard University, 2000, 229–37; Finbarr B. Flood, *Incorporating India: Culture, Conquest, and Colonialism in Islamicate South Asia* (forthcoming), ch. 4.
36. Michael Meister, 'The "Two-and-a-Half-Day" Mosque', *Oriental Art* 18/1 (1972), 57–63.
37. Nizami, *Royalty*, 158. For similar orthographic oddities in Arabic inscriptions on Ghurid monuments, see Finbarr B. Flood, 'Ghūrid Architecture in the Indus Valley: The Tomb of Shaykh Sādan Shahīd', *Ars Orientalis* 30 (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.
39. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 14; J. Burton-Page, 'Dihlī Sultanate, Art', *EI* 2, 274.
40. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, 34–6, figs 11–12, pls 7–8.
41. Blakiston, *Jami Masjid*, 2, pl. V. On Muhammad b. Tughluq's use of the *kunya Abū'l-mujāhid*, see Gibb, *Travels*, 3:657.
42. Gibb, *Travels*, 3:654–5.
43. Agha Mahdi Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (London, 1938), 118–19; Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqs', 130, fig.1.
44. An inscription from the *dargah* 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 *'Īdgāh*) were also built or rebuilt during the third decade of the fourteenth century: J. Horovitz, 'A List of Published Mohamedan 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 Šaiḫ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn at Pākpatan (Punjāb): A Significant Example of the Ṭuglug 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 Farīd', 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 737/1330, 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, 'Turco-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 Firuz Shah Tughluq, the original appearance of the thirteenth-century bastions was evidently preserved: Naqvi, 'Sulṭān Ghārī', 6. However, the presence of such bastions here, and in Ghurid monuments such as the *masjid* of ʿAli b. Karmakh in the Panjab (see n. 83 below), and the Ghurid Friday Mosque at Ajmir (Hillenbrand, 'Ajmīr', 114, pl. XIIb), leaves open the possibility that corner bastions were also used in Iltutmish's Bada'un mosque.
50. Page, *Historical Memoir*, 29; Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie H. Shokoohy, *Hisar-i Firuza, Sultanate and Early Mughal Architecture in the District of Hisar, India* (London, 1988), 87–90; Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, 107.
51. Although conquered in 594/1197, like other north Indian fortified cities (Gwalior and Ranthambor 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 Katahriya 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-Din Khalji came with a large force to quell a rebellion in the city: H. M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India by its Own Historians* (Delhi, repr. 1990), 3:105–6; A. S. Bazmee Ansari, 'Badāʾūn', *EI* 2, 855; Mohibbul Hasan, 'Maḥmūd I', *EI* 2, 48; Wink, *Al-Hind*, 2:223–4; Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, 136–8. 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.
53. Flood, 'Ghūrid Architecture', 141.

54. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, 35, pl. 8a. Miniature arcades were also carved on the column erected later by Firuz Shah Tughluq at Hisar: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Hisar-i Firuza*, 33.
55. Nabi Khan, 'Pākpatan', 317–18, figs 8–11.
56. Some of the vertical geometric ornament on the main *iwan* is comparable to the decoration of Iltutmish's screen at Ajmir, 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 and decoration of the main *iwan* await further investigation.
58. Ibid., pl. IX.
59. Holly Edwards, 'The Genesis of Islamic Architecture in the Indus Valley', unpublished D.Phil. thesis, New York University, 1990, 259–60.
60. See, for example, the Warangal mosque or the mosque of Makhdum Hussain at Nagaur: Wagoner and Rice, 'From Delhi to the Deccan'; Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, 29, fig. 8.
61. For brick vaults and domes in Iranian mosque architecture from the twelfth century onwards, see Oleg Grabar, 'The Visual Arts', *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), 629–36; Sheila S. Blair, 'Islamic Art, II, 5(i)(b). Architecture: Iran c. 1050–c. 1250', *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), 16:161–3. On the *iwan*, see Oleg Grabar, 'Īwān', *EI* 2, 287–9; Grabar, 'Ayvān', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, 153–5. The Iranian or Central Asian affinities of the Bada'un mosque have been noted elsewhere: Anon., 'Shamsi Musjid', 130; Tokifusa, 'Seljuq Architecture', 54–60.
62. Tokifusa, 'Seljuq Architecture', 57, 59.
63. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tuqhluqabad', 534. It has been pointed out, quite correctly, that the *pishtaq* and *iwan* first seen in Delhi and Ajmir 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 Tuqhluqs', 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 Iltutmish'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, 'Ajmīr', 111, 113, pl. VIb. Numerous examples may be found in the Ilkhanid architecture of Iran, at Abarquh, and Natanz, for example: Donald Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran: The Ilkhānid 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 Sipihr of Amir Khusraw* (Oxford, 1950), xxi; Julia Gonnella, 'Indian Subcontinent VIII,

5(i) Pottery, (ii) Tiles', *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), 15:686. As Michael Willis notes, 'we must remember . . . that brick and stone traditions had points of contact' and were mutually influential: Michael D. Willis, 'A Brick Temple of the Ninth Century', *Artibus Asiae* 52 (1992), 30.

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 Jabaliyya at Kirman and the Development of the Domed Octagon in Iran', in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Marsden Jones*, ed. Thabit Abdullah et al. (Cairo, 1997), 4. For later Indian examples, see the Lātkī Masjid of Firuz Shah Tughluq 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 Rājasthān', *Arts Asiatiques* 11 (1965), 56, fig. 13. For regional trends in Tughluqid 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 Faïence in Islamic Architecture in Iran', *Ars Islamica* (6, 1939), 28–9; Bernard O'Kane, 'Islamic Art II, 9(ii), Architectural Decoration: Tiles, (b) Eastern Islamic Lands', *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), 16:248.
70. Cunningham, *Reports*, 4. Although Rahman ('Shamsī 'Idgāh') 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', *Muqarnas* 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 Iranische 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 faïence', 30–8; Douglas Pickett, *Early Persian Tilework: The Medieval Flowering of Kāshī* (London, 1997), 21–33.
72. Hillenbrand, 'Turco-Iranian Elements', 166; Nabi Khan, 'Pākpatan', 320.
73. Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqids,' 130.
74. Mehrdad Shokoohy, 'Indian Subcontinent III, 6(ii)(b): 11th–16th-century Indo-Islamic Architecture: North', in *The Dictionary of Art* (New York, 1996), 15:340. This monument does not appear in the author's various publications on Hansi.
75. A full discussion of these screens will appear in Chapter 6 of my

forthcoming book, *Incorporating India*, but see Shafiqullah, '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, 'Shamsī 'Idgāh'; 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.
78. Blakiston, *Jami Masjid*, pl. XId.
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 Makhdum Husain in Nagaur, dated 720/1320, although the arch profile here is quite different: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, 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).
80. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 527, 530, 532, pl. VIa-b.
81. Catherine B. Asher, 'Inventory of Monuments', in *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, ed. George Michell (Paris, 1984), 110.
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 Willis, 'Brick Temple', 30, pl. 10.
83. Holly Edwards, 'The Ribāṭ of 'Alī b. Karmākh', *Iran* 29 (1991), 85, fig. 1, pl. VIIIc.
84. Derek Hill, *Islamic Architecture and its Decoration, AD 800–1500: A Photographic Survey* (London, 1964), pl. 130. A good plan of the mosque can be found in Rüdi Stuckert, 'Der Bauberstande der Masjid-al-Jami [*sic*] in Herat 1942/43', *Afghanistan Journal* 7 (1980), fig. A. For the suggestion that much of the vaulting dates from the Ghurid period, see Hillenbrand, 'Architecture of the Ghaznavids and Ghurids', 134; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Eastern Iranian Architecture: Apropos of the Ghūrid Parts of the Great Mosque of Herat', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33 (1970), 324.
85. See, for example, the Masjid-i Jami of Varamin, or a series of mosques (c. 1325) at Dashti, Eziran 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 Tughluqid 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 Tughluq Sultans of Delhi', *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 315.
87. Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 539.
88. See, for example, Abū Bakr al-Haravī, 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 Kabuli *nisba* active in Bihar in 1265, see Yazdani, 'Turk Sulṭāns', 23–5. The architect of Muhammad b. Tughluq's mosque at Jahanpanah was another Iranian: Welch, 'Architectural Patronage and the Past', 315. Note, however, that *nisba*s 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*, 216, n. 88. See also the suggested links between the octagonal tomb of Nasir al-Din Mahmud, Iltutmish'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.

89. Simon Digby, 'The Literary Evidence for Painting in the Delhi Sultanate', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Benares* 1 (1967), 52. See also Husain, *Futuhu's Salatin*, 2:227.
90. As Catherine Asher notes, 'the motifs on Iltutmish's screen relate closely to those seen on Ghurid structures, for example the Shah-i Mashhad in Gharǧistan, 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.
92. Peter Jackson, 'The Mongols and the Delhi Sultanate in the Reign of Muḥammad Tughluq (1325–1351)', *Central Asiatic Journal* 19 (1975), esp. 127–9, 150–1.
93. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Paris, 1919), 3:202.
94. Eaton, 'Political and Religious Authority', 338–9.
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: Shokoohy 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, 'Pākpatan', 318, and Mehrdad Shokoohy and Natalie M. Shokoohy, 'The Tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn at Tughluqabad – Pisé Architecture of Afghanistan 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 ʿAlam at Multan remain to be satisfactorily explained, but Holly Edwards has pointed to the undated tombs at Lal Muhra Sharif near Dera Ismaʿil 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 glazed 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 Kleinasien* (Tübingen, 1976), 78–88; Meinecke, 'Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: Eine Werkstäte aus Tabrīz 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.

98. 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'un and Ajudhan, both of which benefited from Muhammad b. Tughluq's architectural patronage, he appears to be confusing the Ajudhani 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, 'Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', *EI* 2, 68.
99. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, 'Sultan Muḥammad 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 *mujāhids* 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 setting 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 (*rūmī*) origins: Shokoohy and Shokoohy, 'Tughluqabad', 518. See, however, n. 88 above.
101. Among the features that recur in the Jaunpur 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 Jaunpur*, Archaeological Survey of India Reports, vol. 11 (Calcutta, 1889): pls XII–XIII, XLV, LIX.
102. Hillenbrand, 'Ajmīr', 115.
103. A. Halim, 'Kol Inscription of Sultān Altamash', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Letters* 15/1 (1949), 3. Unfortunately, the *Akhbār al-Jamāl* has not been available to me, but the 'seven openings' recall the façade of the Bada'un 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,

'Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West', *Papers of the British School at Rome* 60 (1992), 140–9.

105. Welch and Crane, 'Tughluqs', 126–7, 154; Welch, 'Architectural Patronage and the Past', 316. See also the epigraphic similarities between the coins of Iltutmish 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.
106. Husain, *Rise and Fall*, 141–91; Peter Jackson, 'Tughlukids', EI 2, 591; Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, 162–6.

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