

MEHRDAD SHOKOOHY AND NATALIE H. SHOKOOHY¹

THE ARCHITECTURE OF BAHA AL-DIN TUGHRUL IN THE REGION OF BAYANA, RAJASTHAN

“Malik Baha al-Din Tughrul was a personality of excellent disposition, extremely just, kind to strangers, and adorned with humility,” according to the historian of the court of Delhi, Minhaj-i Siraj.² As Baha al-Din was not, so far as we can see, in favor at court, the historian’s praise is surprisingly effusive. He continues his account as follows:

He was a slave of long standing of the victorious sultan (*sultān-i ghāzī*) Mu‘izz al-Din [Muhammad ibn Sam], who had brought him up and given him a good education. The fortress of Tahangar was in the territory of Bhayana, and was part of the realm of the *rāi*.³ When the sultan conquered it, he gave it to Baha al-Din, who made that territory prosperous. Merchants and men of distinction from different parts of Hindustan and Khurasan joined him, and he gave all of them houses and resources which were to be their own property, and for this reason they settled near him. As he and his army found the fort of Tahangar unsuitable, he built the town of Sultankut in the territory of Bhayana, and there made his abode. From there he sent groups of cavalry toward Galiwar [Gwalior] constantly, because when the victorious sultan [Muhammad ibn Sam] had returned from the foot of the fort of Galiwar he had commanded Baha al-Din to take over that fortress. On this order Baha al-Din Tughrul stationed a troop of his army at the foot of the fort of Galiwar, then at a distance of two leagues he built another fort to house the Muslim cavalry at night, and they attacked the fort every day. They continued in this manner for one year, and when the people of Galiwar were reduced to dire straits they sent emissaries to Sultan Qutb al-Din [Aybak], and surrendered the fort to him. There was a speck of the dust of vexation between Malik Baha al-Din Tughrul and Sultan Qutb al-Din. Malik Baha al-Din Tughrul was extremely benevolent, and in the region of Bhayana numerous beneficial monuments of his have remained. He died and was received into the mercy of the Lord.

Minhaj-i Siraj’s description of Baha al-Din Tughrul is brief, but it makes some significant points. He tells us that Baha al-Din was operating in the region of Bayana under the direct orders of Muhammad ibn Sam, and that he was not only independent from Qutb al-Din Aybak, the sultan’s commander in Delhi, but

was his rival. This means that the surrender of the fort of Gwalior to Qutb al-Din must have taken place after the death of Muhammad ibn Sam, when Qutb al-Din was already the sultan of Delhi, as there is no record of Muhammad ibn Sam’s having interfered in the matter. Minhaj-i Siraj’s use of the title sultan for Qutb al-Din also helps assign a date to the event, as Qutb al-Din bore the royal title for only a little more than four years before he died in 1210-11. The date of Baha al-Din Tughrul’s death is not recorded, but from the *Tabaqāt-i Nāyirī* it appears that he predeceased Qutb al-Din. Baha al-Din’s fiefship of Bayana therefore spanned the period 1195-1210, less than fifteen years.

Minhaj-i Siraj also tells us that several “beneficial monuments” built by Baha al-Din remained in the region of Bayana. The expression he uses indicates that the monuments were of a religious nature, either mosques or the type of prayer wall on open ground called a *namāzghāh*⁴ in the early Sultanate period, but now known in India as an *‘idgāh*, and there are indeed two mosques and a prayer wall datable to this period within the old borders of the province of Bayana. One of the mosques is in the village of Kaman; the other mosque and the prayer wall are in the town of Bayana.

The mosque of Kaman, known locally as the Chaurasi Khamba (the Eighty-four Columns),⁵ dates from the first two decades of the Ghurid conquest. It is a colonnaded building constructed around a central courtyard in an Arab type of plan. Its inscription is of particular importance as it throws light, not only on the origin of the building, but also on some obscure details of the history of the early Sultanate period. The inscription is carved around the rectangular doorway of the main entrance on blocks of sandstone reused from earlier buildings. It is badly damaged and only some parts can be read.⁶ When Cunningham⁷ first reported the building in 1885, the inscription was already in poor condition. He could not read the date, but sug-

gested that the damaged name of the sultan might be Iltutmish. In 1965 the *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*⁸ mentioned the same inscription and gave its date as Ramadan 600 (May-June 1204), but noted that the name of the sultan was lost. In Ramadan 600, however, the ruler of Delhi was still Qutb al-Din Aybak, and he was still the governor of the region under Muhammad ibn Sam, so he would not have referred to himself as sultan. Iltutmish did not come to power until seven years later.

What actually remains of the inscription reads (fig. 1):

... *al-sultān [al]-ʿulīm al-ʿādīl al-aʿzam al-malik al-mulūk al-[tur]k al-ʿarab wa al-ʿajam [?]* ... [*Bahā al-dawlat wa al-djīn [?]* ... *pādīshāh wa al-sultān jahān pahlawān Tuġhrul al-sultānī wa amara bi bināʾ hādihā al-buqʿat al-latīf Iyāz ibn al-amīr Isfandīyār [?] al-sultānī.*
...

The date no longer survives, but Jahan Pahlawan Tuġhrul al-Sultānī—the title *al-sultānī* shows that he was a royal slave—seems to be none other than Baha al-Din Tuġhrul, the governor of Bayana. The surviving part of the sultan's title is similar to the titles used by all the early sultans of India, including Muhammad ibn Sam and Iltutmish.⁹ However, the end of the title, *pādīshāh wa al-sultān jahān pahlawān* before the name of Tuġhrul is especially worthy of attention since it suggests that at the time of the building of the Chaurasi Khamba mosque, Baha al-Din had declared himself an independent sultan. The mosque may therefore date from the short period of his independent rule after the death of Muhammad ibn Sam in 1206. The region of Bayana, which included Kaman, must have been annexed to Delhi when Iltutmish unified the whole of northern India under his empire.

The present town of Bayana is on the site of Sultankut, founded by Baha al-Din Tuġhrul on the western foot of a hill below the fort of Bayana. The fort had been the stronghold and capital of the Yaduvansai Rajputs, who claimed descent from Krishna.¹⁰ The town was later recorded by the early Muslim historians of India under the name Bhayana-Sultankut,¹¹ but subsequently the name Sultankut seems to have been abandoned, as both the fort and the town are referred to by later historians only as Bayana.

Bayana is located to the southeast of the state of Rajasthan, 70 kilometers east of Agra and 160 kilometers south of Delhi. The town was the only important staging post in this part of the route to the

south, and it was important for the sultans of Delhi to keep it under their control. After the death of Baha al-Din, Bayana appears to have been threatened by the local Rajputs, but was retaken by Shams al-Din Iltutmish,¹² and later many of the sultans of Delhi used the fort as their stronghold for campaigns against other states. From the time of Iltutmish until the fall of the Mughal Empire the town remained in the hands of the Muslims, and was part of the Delhi sultanate. Firuz Shah Tuġluq spent some time there,¹³ and a fragmentary inscription mentioning his name has been found in a ruined mosque in the town.¹⁴

Bayana was not, however, always under the control of the Delhi sultans. After the death of Firuz Shah it fell into the hands of a powerful local family who were known as the Auhadis¹⁵ after their ancestor Auhad Khan, an important governor of Bayana. They bore the title of *majlis-i ʿālī* ("of the noble assembly") and held Bayana mostly as independent rulers, but when necessary as tributaries of the Delhi or Sharqi sultans, from about 1378 to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Not until the time of the Lodis, after the defeat of Husain Shah Sharqi, was the Sharqi kingdom annexed to the territory of the Delhi sultans; Bayana then again became part of the Delhi Sultanate.¹⁶ Sikandar Lodi (1488-1518) made Khan-i Khanan Farmuli the new governor of Bayana¹⁷ and built a new town there, which he called Sikandra¹⁸ (not to be confused with the Sikandra near Agra). At the time of Ibrahim Shah, Bayana was the place of residence of one of his high-ranking generals, Haybat Khan. The *Tarikh-i Shāhi*¹⁹ mentions that Haybat Khan was holding court in "a garden in Sikandra near Bayana," and on one occasion he gave a generous offering to one of his court poets, known as Muʾmin of Bayana.

After Sikandar Lodi developed Agra as his new capital, Bayana gradually lost its importance²⁰ until, under Akbar, it was reduced from a state to a district of Agra. According to the *Āʿīn-i Akbarī*,²¹ even at the time of Akbar, Fatehpur Sikri was not regarded as the capital, but only as one of the thirty-three towns of the district of Bayana. When the Mughal Empire broke up, the local Jat rulers made Bayana part of the kingdom of Bharatpur. It seems that only the town was used by the Jats. The fort is now totally deserted.

We know that in the early Sultanate period one of the towns under Bayana was Kaman, since apart from the inscription of Baha al-Din Tuġhrul, another inscription found in a reservoir there²² mentions that it was restored by one Ibrahim Abubakr Nushirwan on the

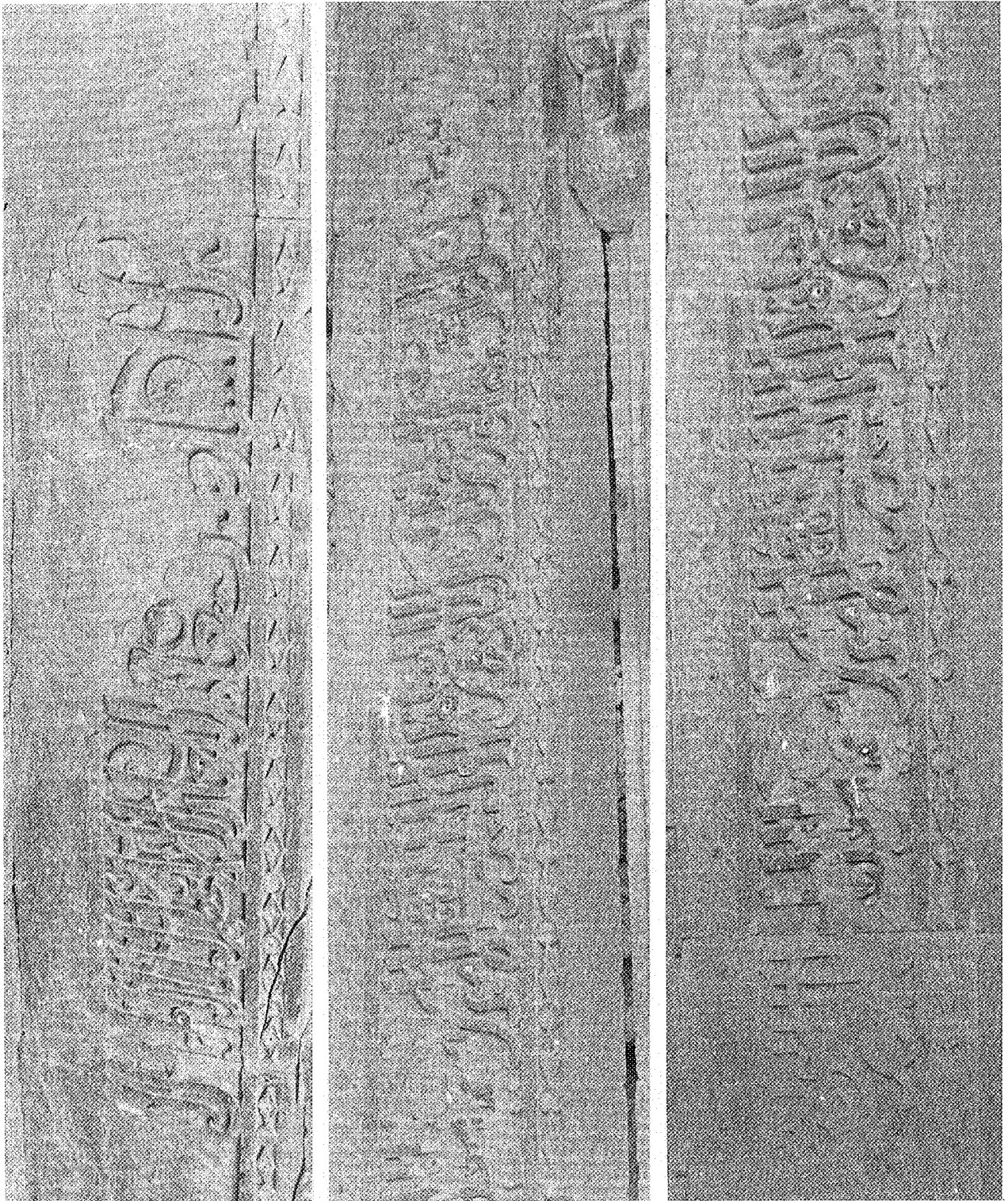


Fig. 1. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. The historical inscription around the entrance.

order of the *malik-i mulūk-i sharq* Nusrat Khan, the governor of the province of Bayana during the reign of Balban, on the first day of Ramadan 669 (15 June 1271).

Today the village of Kaman is in the state of Rajasthan and the district of Bharatpur, 58 kilometers north-northwest of the town of Bharatpur. It is situated between Delhi and Bayana on the ancient route that connected Delhi with the south. Though now only a village, it was once a fortified city and probably one of some importance. Remains of the Gupta period found there²³ indicate that its history goes back to long before the Islamic conquest. At the time of the conquest it appears that the town fell into the hands of the Ghurids when the army marched toward Bayana and Ajmer. Kaman must have remained as part of the province of Bayana until Sikander Lodi developed Agra as his new capital and reduced the size of the district of Bayana by including the eastern part into the province of Agra.

The *Ā'in-i Akbarī*²⁴ records Kaman as a town in the province of Agra during the reign of Akbar and indicates that no fortification existed there at that time, although in fact foundations of a large stone-built fortification wall are still visible. It can be assumed that this fortification wall had disappeared before Akbar's time.

THE CHAURASI KHAMBA MOSQUE

The Chaurasi Khamba mosque is inside the area of the ruined fortification wall, to the west of the village. It is a colonnaded building measuring 36.58 × 24.24 m. built around a central courtyard and constructed on an Arab type of plan (figs. 2-9). The mosque has a mihrab in the center of the western wall, a main entrance to the east, and another smaller entrance at the western corner of the northern wall which leads to the women's gallery, a small balcony in the northwest corner of the

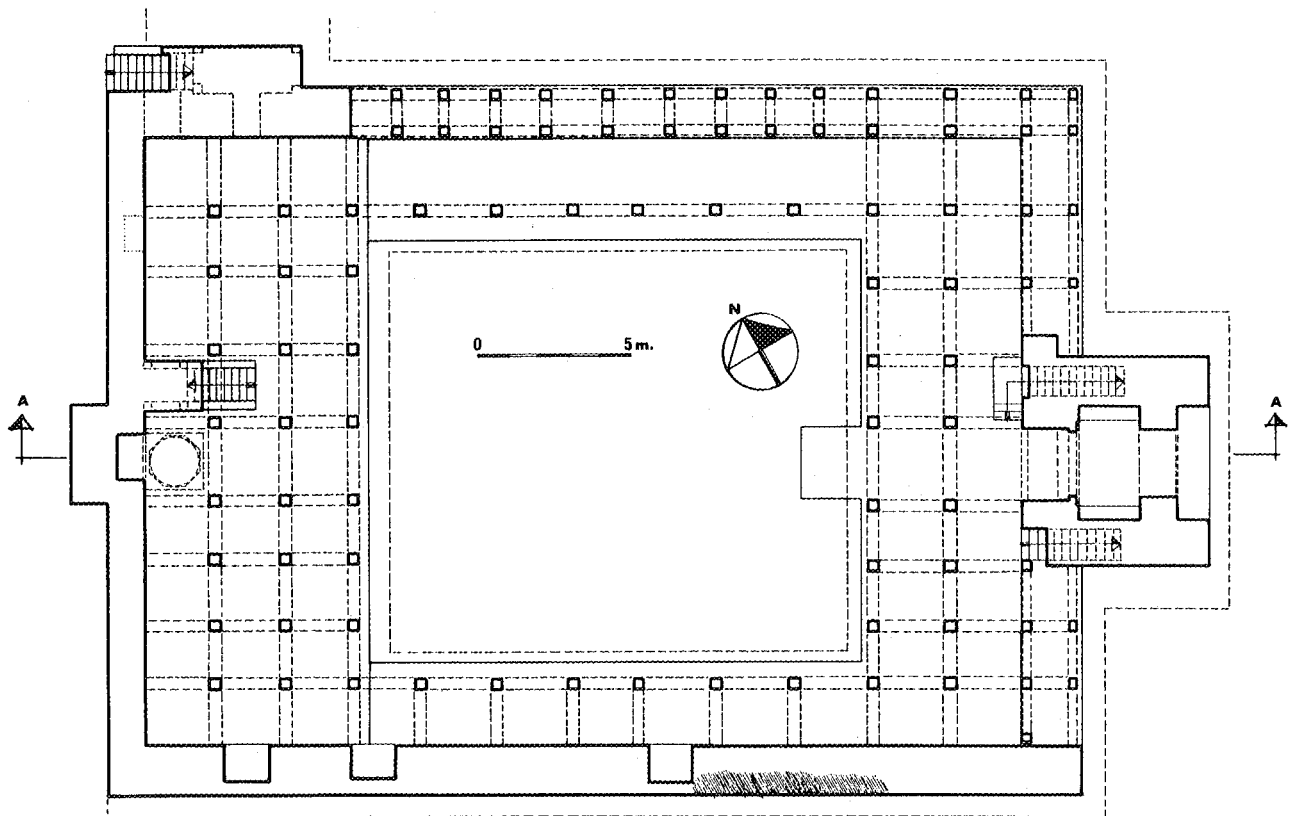


Fig. 2. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. Ground plan.

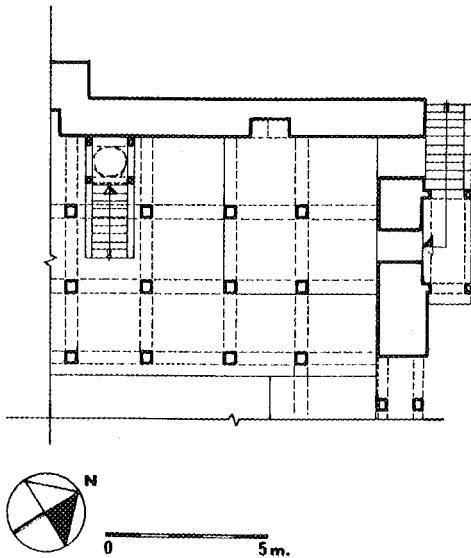


Fig. 3. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. Section A-A.

colonnade. The mosque is built out of reused materials from ancient Indian temples. The stonework is finely carved with garlands, rosettes, pot and foliage motifs, and figurative designs. Some of the last have been defaced, and a number of column shafts are upside down. The colonnade is walled on the southern and on the qibla sides, as well as on the northwest corner of the western wall, which encloses the qibla colonnade and the women's gallery. The walls are built of reused blocks of mixed red and gray sandstone laid in courses. The rest of the northern side and the eastern side are unusual in that they share a raised platform 1.76 m. high with two rows of columns built on it. A reused monolithic column shaft forms each of the columns in

the colonnades. Eave stones, many now missing, have been set in the reconstructed upper part of the walls.

The mosque has twice been restored. In the first restoration parts of the walls and the parapets were repaired with stone rubble set in mortar, and in the second the upper parts of the walls and parts of the parapet were reinforced by brick faced with sandstone. Both restorations were minor, however, and, except for the main entrance gateway (fig. 5), do not affect the original appearance of the mosque.

The gateway is entered from the east, and projects out on the exterior to form a chamber with thick walls and heavy piers. The piers appear to be original, but the upper part of the walls and the roof have been reconstructed. The reconstruction includes the two shallow four-centered arches over the threshold leading to the chamber. The profile of the arches suggests that they must be of the Mughal period. The threshold leads to the chamber, the floor of which is three steps lower than the present ground level (the steps themselves are now broken). On the opposite side of the chamber is the entrance to the mosque; it has kept its original rectangular form. Above the doorway are two reused monolithic slabs carved to form a row of miniature shrines. The stonework around this entrance has been redressed and carved with the inscription already mentioned. In the north and south walls of the gateway are two flights of steps leading from the colonnade of the mosque to the roof of the gateway.

Inside the walls and the raised platform is the main colonnade of the mosque (fig. 6), which consists of one aisle and eight bays on the north and south sides of the courtyard. The columns on the south side do not line up with those of the raised platform, which are more closely spaced and produce eleven bays. The eastern colonnade is two aisles deep and seven bays wide, and that on the qibla side is three aisles deep and seven bays

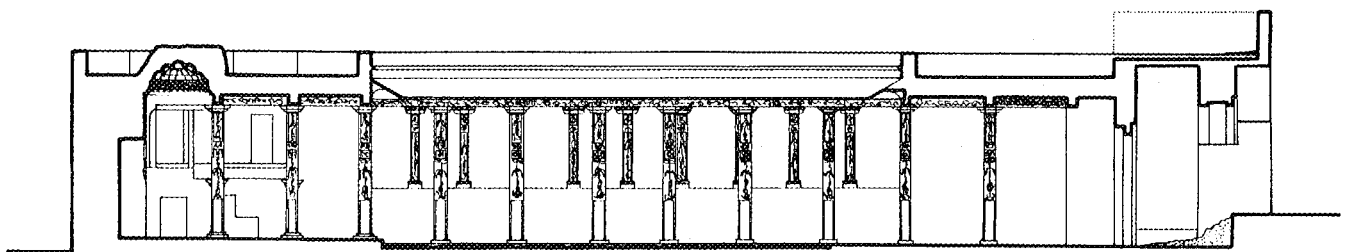


Fig. 4. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. Upper level, plan of the northwest corner showing the minbar and the women's gallery.



Fig. 5. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. View of the eastern elevation showing main entrance gateway.

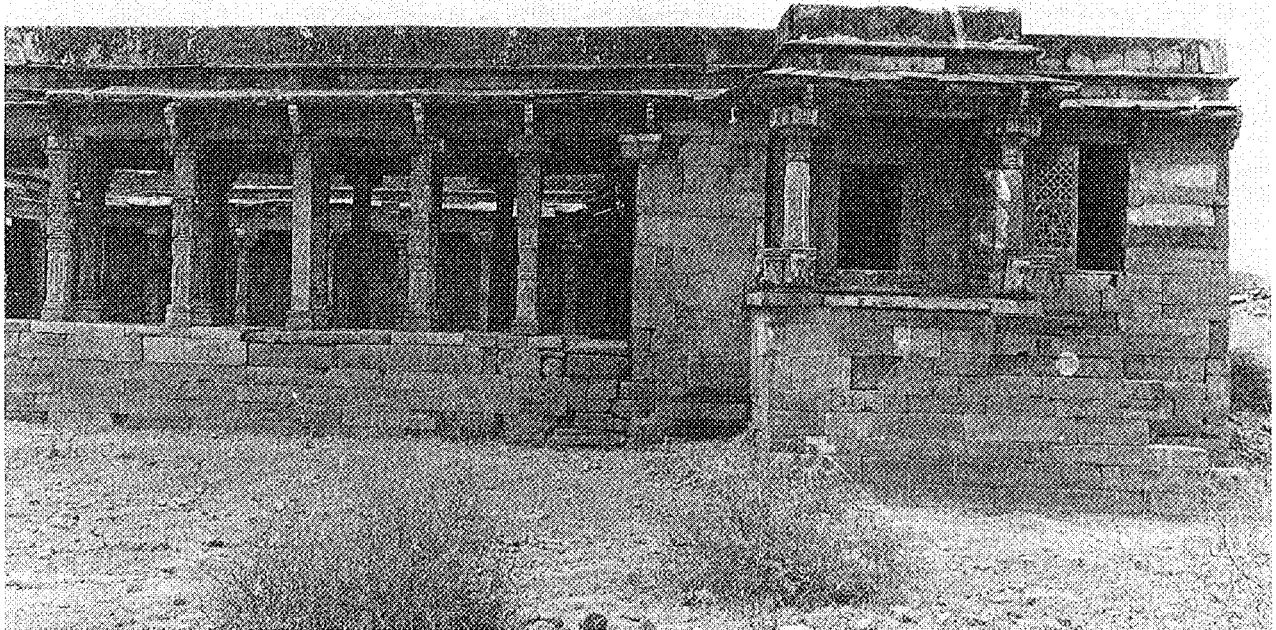


Fig. 6. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. Exterior view of western end.

wide (fig. 7). As in the mosque of Quwwat al-Islam in Delhi,²⁵ the columns are each formed out of two reused monolithic column shafts placed one on top of the other to give the required height. The interior of the southern wall has three rectangular niches.

The main mihrab (fig. 8) set in the center of the qibla wall is rectangular in plan and projects behind the back wall. It has a slightly ogee two-centered arch framed by an inscription bearing Qur'an 68.1-5. The inside of the arch is carved with a border decorated with a pierced scroll motif, which is now badly damaged, supported by vase-shaped capitals that originally rested on pilasters, which are now lost. The spandrels of the arch are inscribed with the Muslim profession of faith. One of the four slabs of stone used for the back wall of the mihrab has been replaced by later brickwork restorations. The stones are carved to represent an arch with pilasters and a carved border, imitating the design of the real arch. The carved decoration of the mihrab was all executed specifically for it. The same designs appear on the mihrab of the mosque in Bayana.

To the right of the mihrab is a stone minbar (fig. 9). It has a flight of steps leading to a platform, with a passage underneath. The blocks of stone chosen come from a former temple, but the way in which they have been set—in three registers standing alternately in recess and relief between four longer horizontal

slabs—appears to be an imitation of the wooden minbars common in Iran during this period, such as that of the mosque of Na'in.²⁶ The back wall of the platform has an arch-shaped backrest, and over the platform is a carved stone canopy made out of a carefully reassembled Indian dome with a lotus motif on the underside. No balustrade remains. The reused stones of the minbar are so like those of the mosque as to suggest that both were salvaged from the same temples, and therefore that both were built at the same time. The minbar is the only existing example dating from the early Islamic period in India—no trace of any minbar survives in the mosque of Quwwat al-Islam at Delhi or in the mosque of Arhai din ka jhonpra at Ajmer.²⁷ Since a minbar is one of the liturgical requirements of a mosque, all early mosques must have had one. The unique minbar of the Chaurasi Khamba therefore gives us some idea of what the early minbars must have looked like. Originating from the wooden minbars of Iran, they were executed in India in stone and perhaps in other materials.

In the northwestern corner of the qibla colonnade is a women's gallery (figs. 3 and 7), supported on four columns and originally screened from the general gaze by pierced stonework screens known in India as *jālī*. The stone screen is now lost, but slots in the lintels around the gallery show how it was fixed there. The

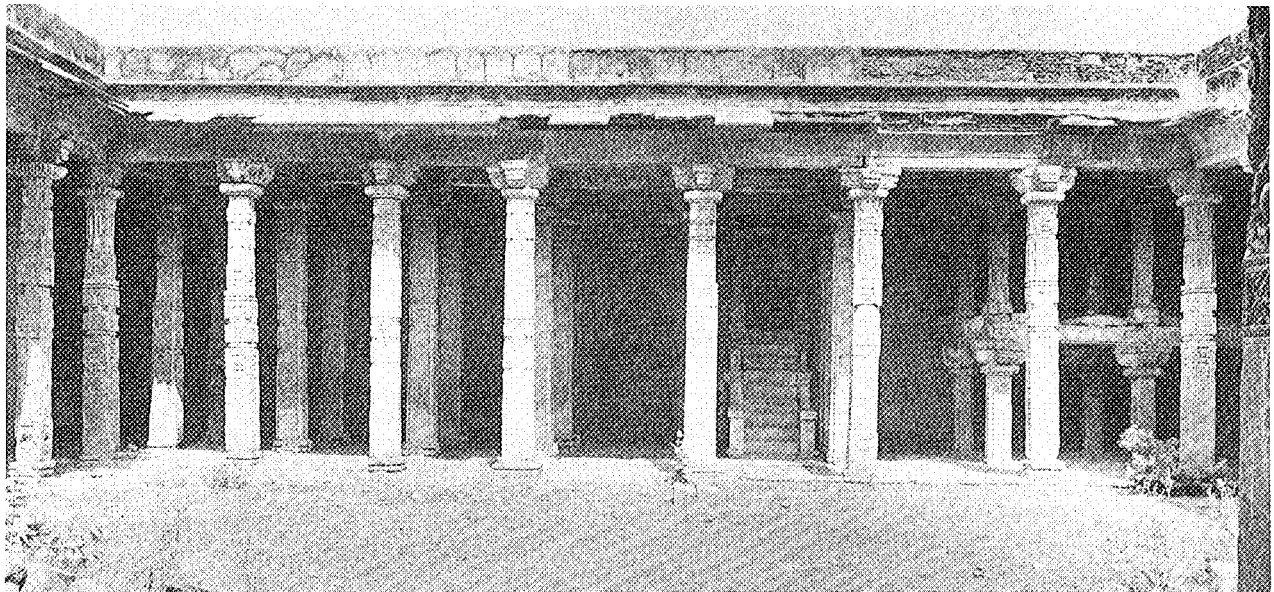


Fig. 7. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. View of the qibla colonnade from the courtyard, showing women's gallery.

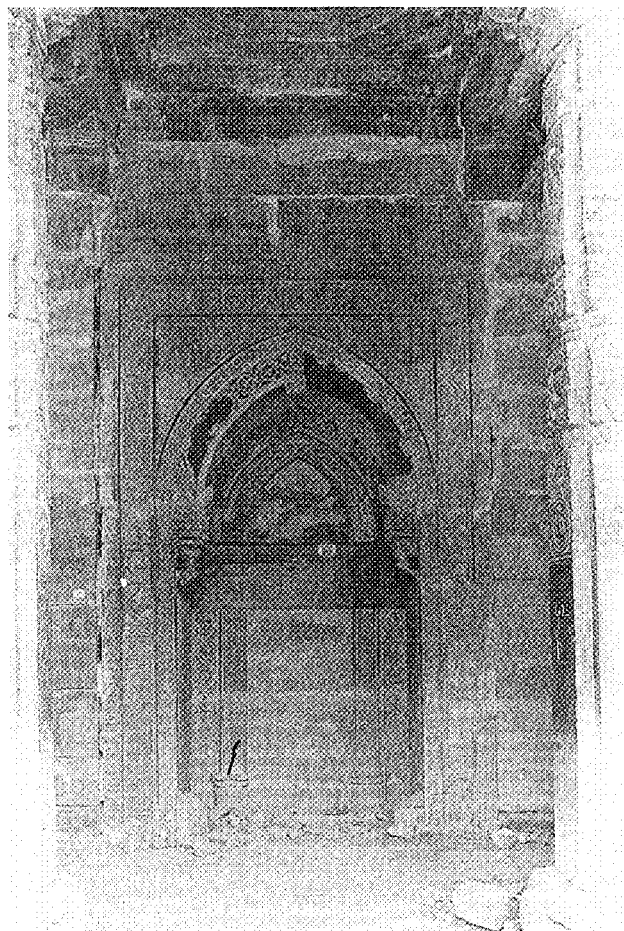


Fig. 8. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. The mihrab.

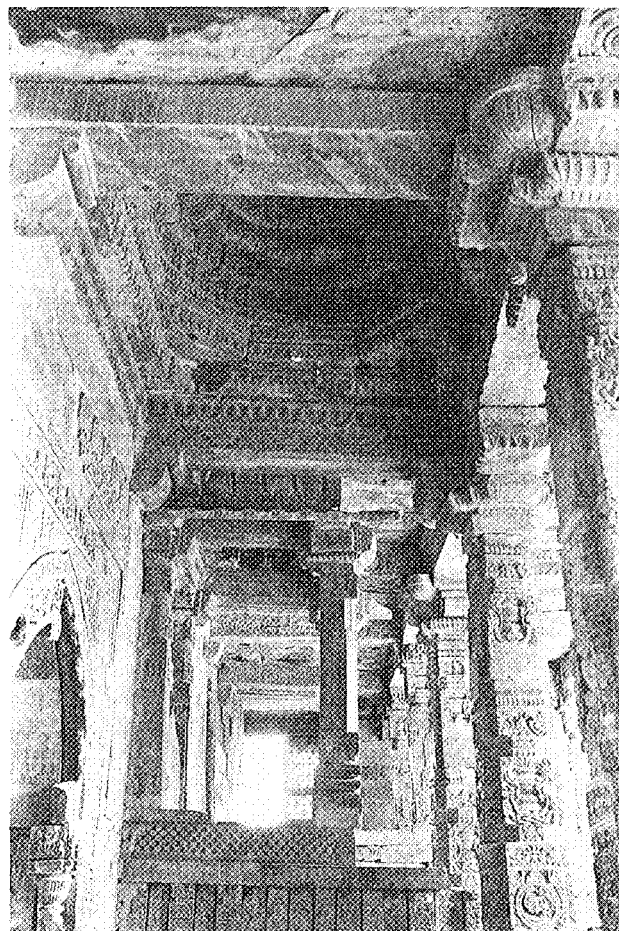


Fig. 9. Kaman, Chaurasi Khamba Masjid. The qibla colonnade, showing the minbar and its canopy.

women's gallery has its own small undecorated mihrab. The gallery is entered from the outside (fig. 6) by a flight of steps in the western corner; the landing at the top has a pierced stonework screen and a flat roof supported by columns and lintels. Two of these columns rest on bases made from reused capitals; their carved decoration includes elephants' heads.

The mosque is roofed by stone slabs resting on lintels, but the northern gallery has no cross lintels. In front of the mihrab is another small corbeled dome, reassembled and retaining its original carvings. There are eave stones around the inside of the colonnade, but like those of the exterior of the mosque they are set in rubble and brick and are a later addition. Most of another addition—a parapet formed of rubble and brick and faced with stone carved to represent a row of arches in the form of battlements—is now missing.

The Chaurasi Khamba is the only extant early Sultanate mosque which has retained all its original features. Situated in a provincial town it was built on a fairly modest scale and was not lavishly embellished. Although it lacks the decorative screen wall and minaret found in the Quwwat al-Islam and Arhai din ka jhonpra, its intact colonnade in Arab plan, its elaborately decorated mihrab, and its unique minbar nevertheless combine to provide an excellent example of a mosque of the period.

THE MOSQUE OF UKHA MANDIR

The two other buildings which appear to be associated with Baha al-Din Tughrul, in the town of Bayana where he was governor are a mosque converted

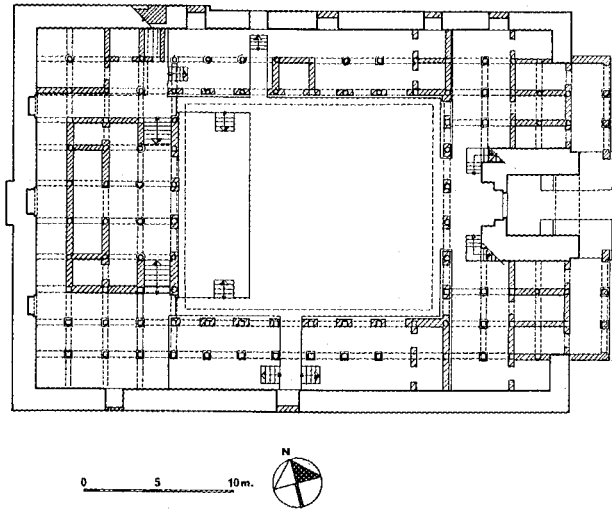


Fig. 10. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. Plan of the building showing its present condition. The shaded areas show later additions at the time of its conversion to a temple.

to a temple and known as the Ukha Mandir, and a prayer wall (*sidgāh*), built outside the town.

The Ukha Mandir²⁸ (figs. 10-21), a large mosque situated to the west of the town, is part of a complex which includes an extension dating from 1320 known as the Ukha Masjid (figs. 22-24), and an unfinished minar dated 926 (1519-20) and known as the Ukha Minar (fig. 25).

The original part of the mosque of Ukha Mandir has an Arab type of plan and is constructed of sandstone blocks and materials reused from earlier temples. It is a colonnaded building, measuring 37 × 17 m.; originally it was walled on its north, south, and west sides and left open on the east, where there is a monumental entrance gateway (fig. 16). In the north-western corner of the colonnade is a women's gallery (fig. 17) in the form of a balcony with its own separate entrance. There is also a small doorway to the mosque in the northern wall and windows in both the northern and western walls. The northern doorway and most of the windows are now blocked. There are three mihrabs in the main part of the mosque and a fourth in the women's gallery. The conversion of the mosque to a temple (fig. 10) appears to have taken place more than two centuries ago and has superficially altered the appearance of the building. Parts of the colonnade have been walled up, and the eastern side is no longer open, but has a roofed portico. Platforms have been built

under the north, south, and qibla colonnades, and between the columns facing onto the courtyard a series of lobed arches have been inserted (fig. 18). However, these later additions have not disturbed the original structure, most of which is still visible.

The main gateway (fig. 16) has kept all its original features. Like the rest of the mosque, it is built of red-sandstone blocks. It has a corbeled arch built in the same manner as those of the screen walls in the mosques of Ajmer and Delhi—a form used only in the early years of the Sultanate period. Under the arch the gateway is divided into two tiers: the lower tier is a roofed passage leading to the entrance doorway; the upper tier has a window with a pierced stonework screen, and in front of it a balcony which corresponds to the level of the roof of the mosque. The flat roof of the passage is supported by two stone lintels standing on corbeled brackets, and a chamber has been built on the roof of the passage and behind the window of the

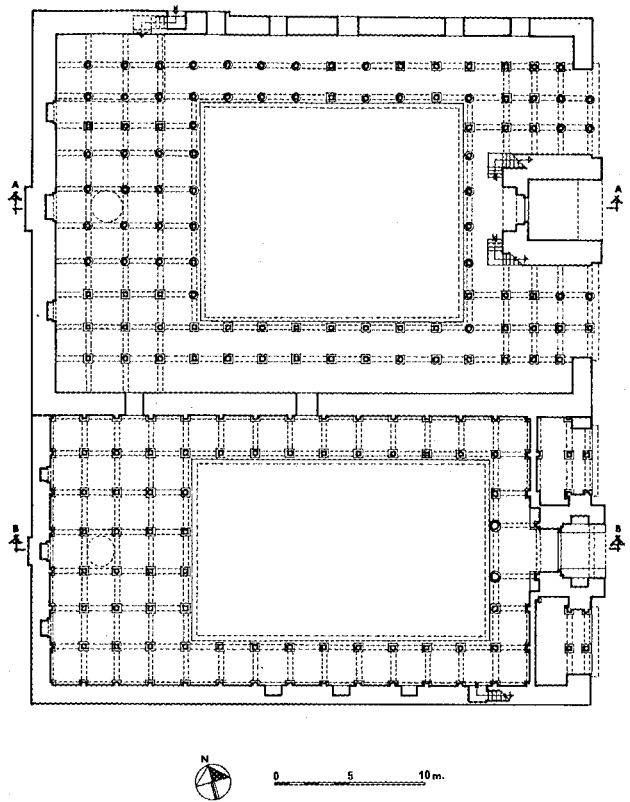


Fig. 11. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir and the Ukha Masjid. Ground plan, original condition.

upper tier. This chamber is a later construction, however, probably built at the time of the conversion of the mosque to the temple, and perhaps replacing an earlier chamber with a view through the surviving window. Above the doorway to the mosque the remnants of an almost obliterated two-line inscription can be seen but not read. It must have been defaced sometime before 1871 when Carlleyle first visited the building, as he makes no mention of it.

As in the *Quwwat al-Islam* and the *Chaurasi Khamba*, so in the mosque of *Ukha Mandir* each of the columns of the colonnade are formed of two reused monolithic column shafts placed one on top of the other (fig. 19). The roof is made from slabs of stone resting on lintels supported by brackets, with one small corbeled dome, reconstructed from an earlier building, in front of the central mihrab.

The central mihrab (fig. 20) is rectangular in plan, and projects from the back wall. It has a two-centered arch carved out of a large slab of stone and a pierced scroll motif very similar to that of the mihrab of the *Chaurasi Khamba*. This mihrab also had carved engaged columns, now broken, below the impost of the arch, and again as in the *Chaurasi Khamba* the back wall has carved decorative pilasters and a border carved with a scroll motif. The inscription of the central mihrab, like that of the entrance, has been defaced, but the fine decorative carving remains. The two smaller mihrabs (fig. 21) on either side of the central one are also rectangular in plan, but do not project from the outside. They are elaborately carved and have roundels on the spandrels and in the wall behind, but no pierced decoration. There is now no minbar to be seen, and no

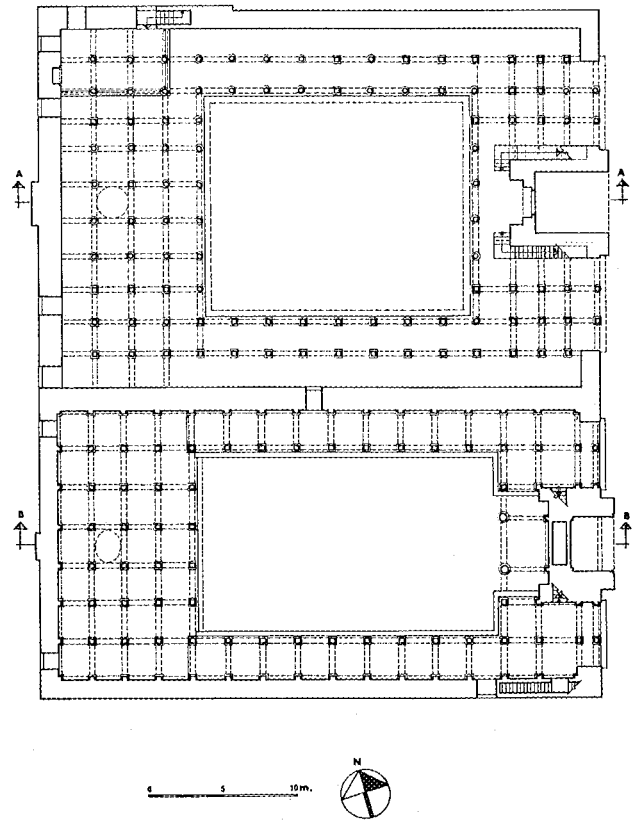


Fig. 12. Bayana, the mosque of *Ukha Mandir* and the *Ukha Masjid*. Upper level plan, original condition.

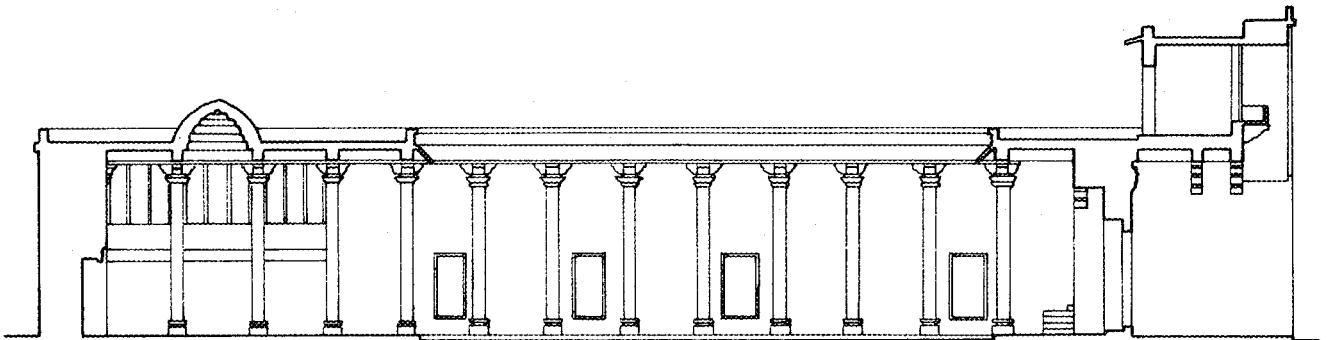


Fig. 13. Bayana, the mosque of *Ukha Mandir*. Section A-A.

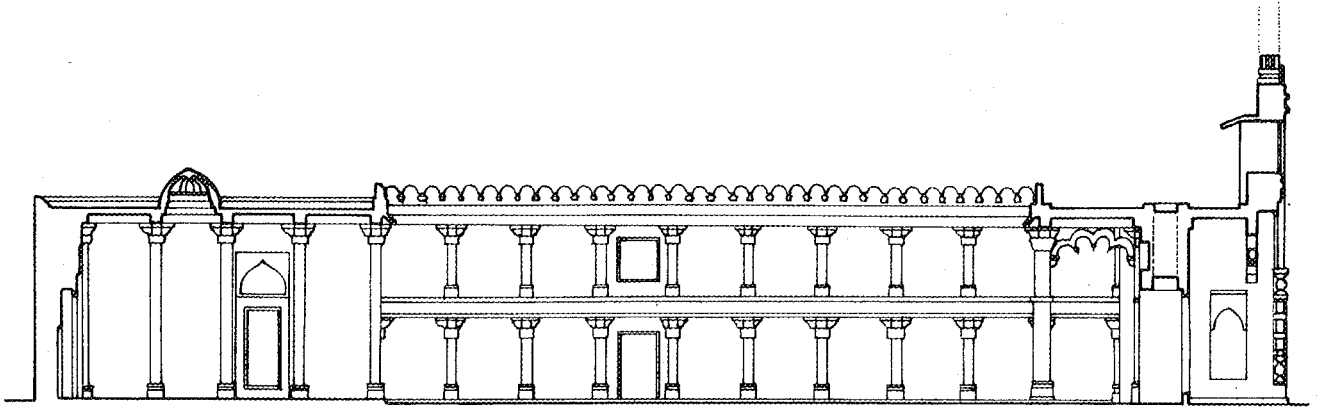


Fig. 14. Bayana, the Ukha Masjid Section B-B.

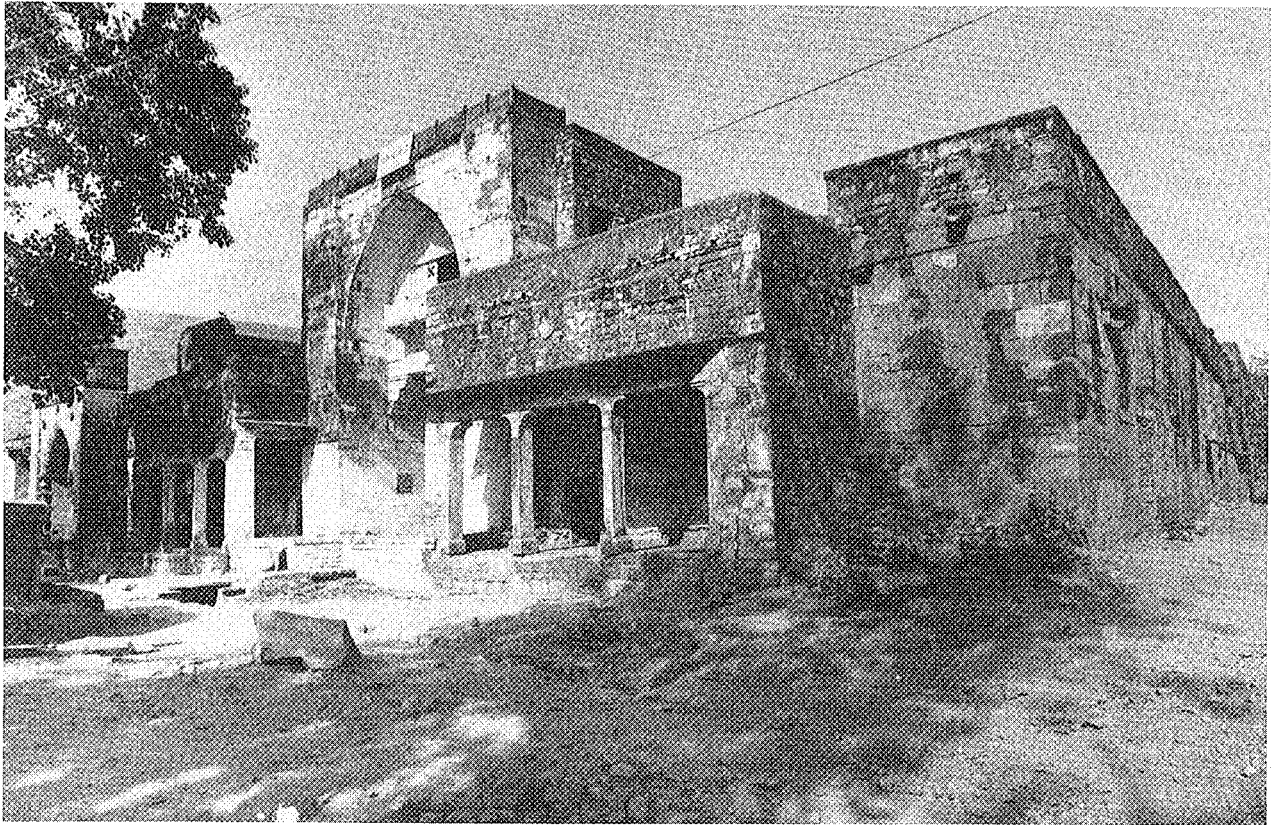


Fig. 15. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir and the Ukha Masjid. Exterior view from the northeast.

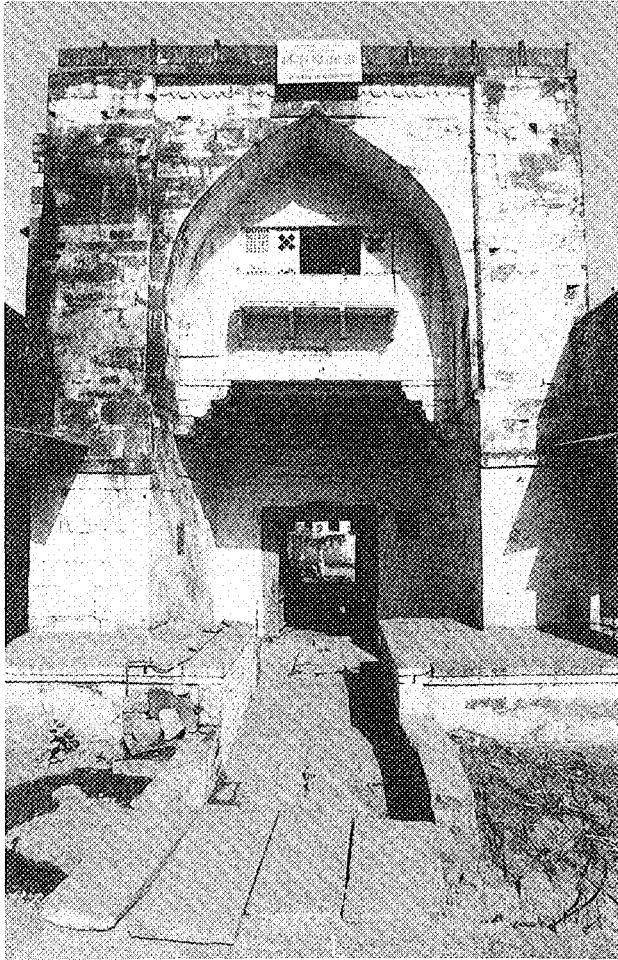


Fig. 16. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. Entrance portal.

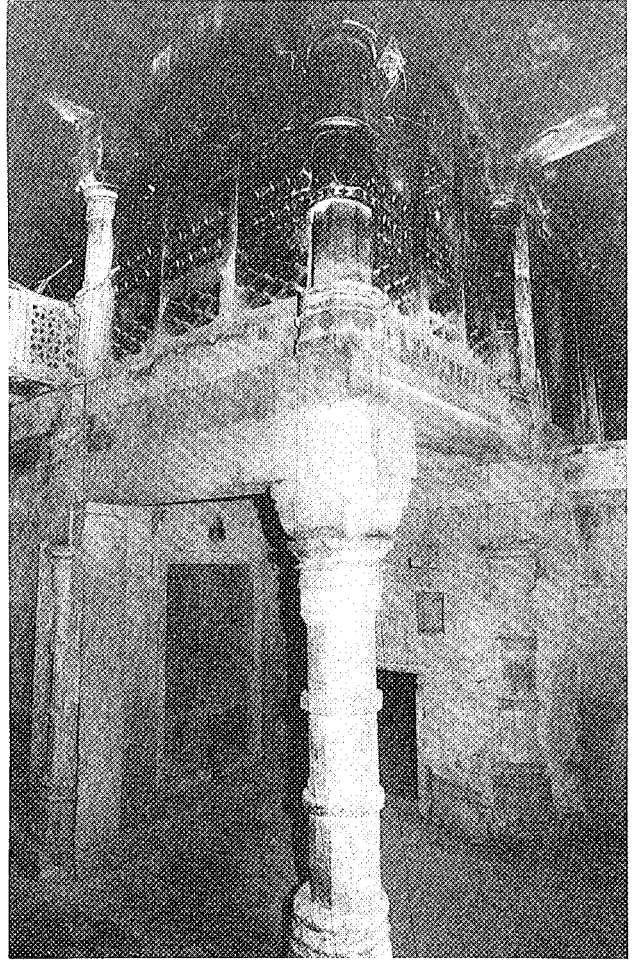


Fig. 17. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. The women's gallery.

indication whether the one that once must have existed was constructed of stone or of wood.

The women's gallery (fig. 17) in the northeast corner of the qibla colonnade is built on slabs of stone resting on lintels supported by columns and brackets. Column shafts standing on the platform support the roof, and the balcony is screened from the mosque by pierced stonework; similar screens were used to let in light from the outside through two windows, now blocked. The original entrance to this gallery was from the outside via a flight of stone steps built into the north wall. This entrance has been blocked, and access to the gallery is now from steps inside the mosque, through a new opening in the screen. These reconstructions again seem to be part of the conversion, but the secluded area, with its own mihrab, is otherwise in its original state.

The exact date of the construction of the mosque of Ukha Mandir is not known: no dated inscription or other source providing a date has survived. Its extension, known as the Ukha Masjid, is dated 720 (1320-21); since the original building must be earlier, it was presumably built sometime in the thirteenth century. The construction of the gateway of the Ukha Mandir is similar to that of the screen walls at Ajmer and Delhi. The similarity of the mihrab to that of Kaman is another indication of an early date. This suggests that the building must have been constructed at the time of Baha al-Din Tughrul who may have built it as the *jāmi' masjid* for his new town of Sultankut.

The extension, the Ukha Masjid,²⁹ is attached to the south side of the original mosque. It was once connected to its colonnade through a doorway, but this is

now blocked. The extension is also a colonnaded building on an Arab plan (figs. 10-12). Its general layout follows that of the Ukha Mandir, but the extension is narrower, measuring only 19 × 37 m. The eastern elevation of the building (fig. 22), although different in its detail, corresponds broadly with that of the Ukha Mandir, and consists of a monumental gateway flanked by open colonnades. The gateway consists of an arch leading to a doorway into the colonnade, and is ornamented with two small turrets (fig. 23), only the bases of which remain. They are stellate in plan, imitating on a smaller scale the form of the Qutb Minar, and are similar to the turrets of the screen wall

of Arhai din ka jhonpra. Inside the mosque and in front of the entrance (fig. 23) are two columns larger in size than the rest, which support reused carved serpentine brackets that still retain their figurative decoration.

Above the doorway of the entrance is an inscription. It was defaced during the disturbances of 1947, but had earlier been recorded.³⁰ According to that record, the inscription said that the extension was built by Kafur al-Sultani, the governor of the town, in the year 720 (1320-21), during the reign of the Khalji Sultan Mubarak Shah.

Like the Ukha Mandir, the Ukha Masjid has a colonnade built of reused materials, but the column shafts

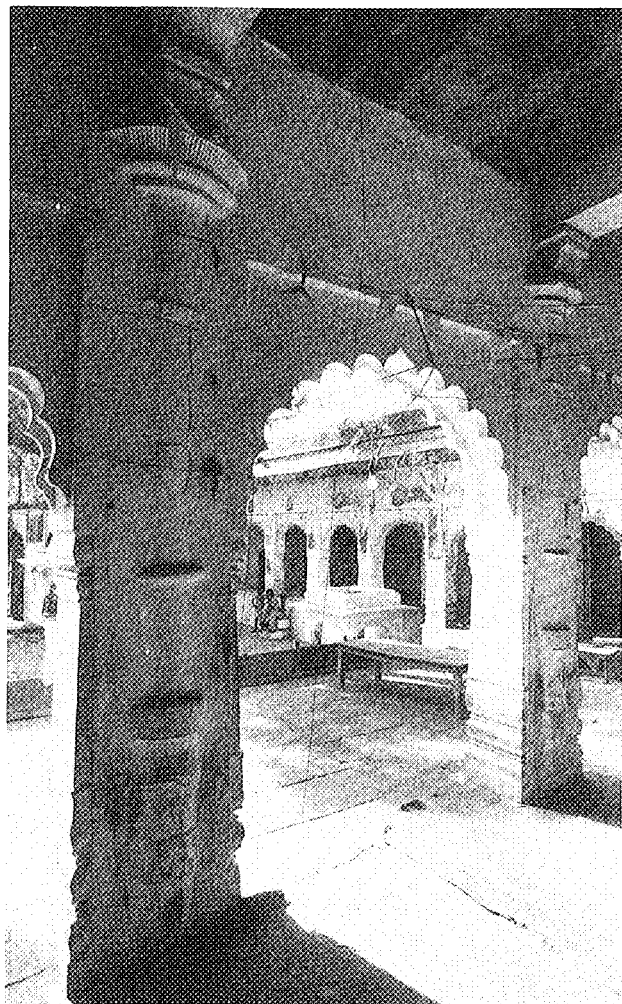


Fig. 18. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. View from the qibla colonnade to the central courtyard showing later additional arches and platforms.

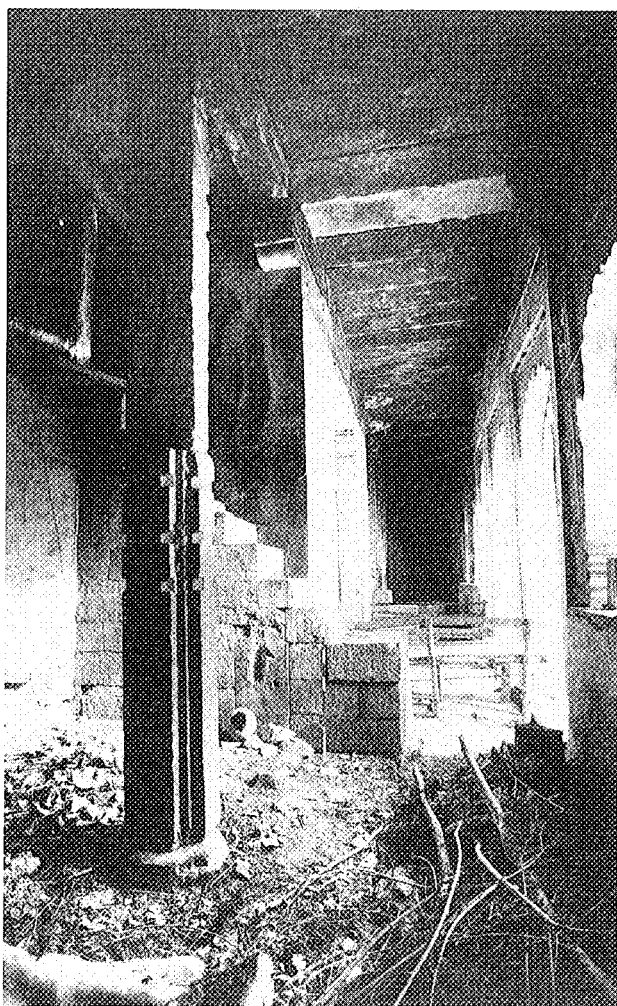


Fig. 19. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. Interior view of the eastern colonnade showing the steps leading to the roof from either side of the entrance gateway.



Fig. 20. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. The central mihrab.

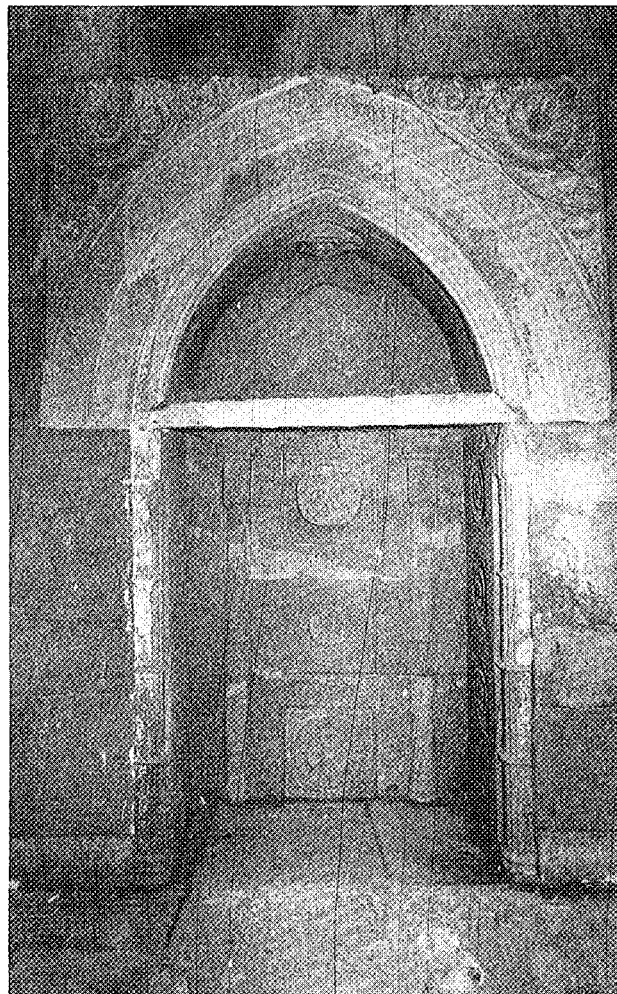


Fig. 21. Bayana, the mosque of Ukha Mandir. The mihrab to the north of the central mihrab.

of the qibla colonnade (fig. 24), used one on top of the other to support the high ceiling, have been re-dressed. The north, south, and east colonnades have an upper level, which was probably used as a women's gallery. The mosque also features some more advanced methods of construction which were in common use during the early fourteenth century. These include the four-centered true arch of the gateway, and the small dome in the roof in front of the central mihrab (fig. 14). The latter is set in a position similar to that in the Ukha Mandir, but rather than being corbeled, it is a true ribbed dome, a type unknown in India in the early Islamic period.

The central mihrab projects from the back wall; it has a finely carved lobed arch shaped out of large blocks of stone, and it also once had an inscription, but it is now defaced and illegible. The two smaller mihrabs on either side of the central one have true arches, slightly ogee and two-centered. When the extension was built the wall of the original building was opened to make a connection between them. An arched window with a pierced-stonework screen was placed between the two qibla colonnades. Both the door and the window line up with the colonnade of the extension.

The Ukha Minar³¹ (fig. 25) is a separate circular minaret 9.5 m. to the northeast of the mosque. Accord-



Fig. 22. Bayana, the Ukha Masjid. View of the eastern elevation.

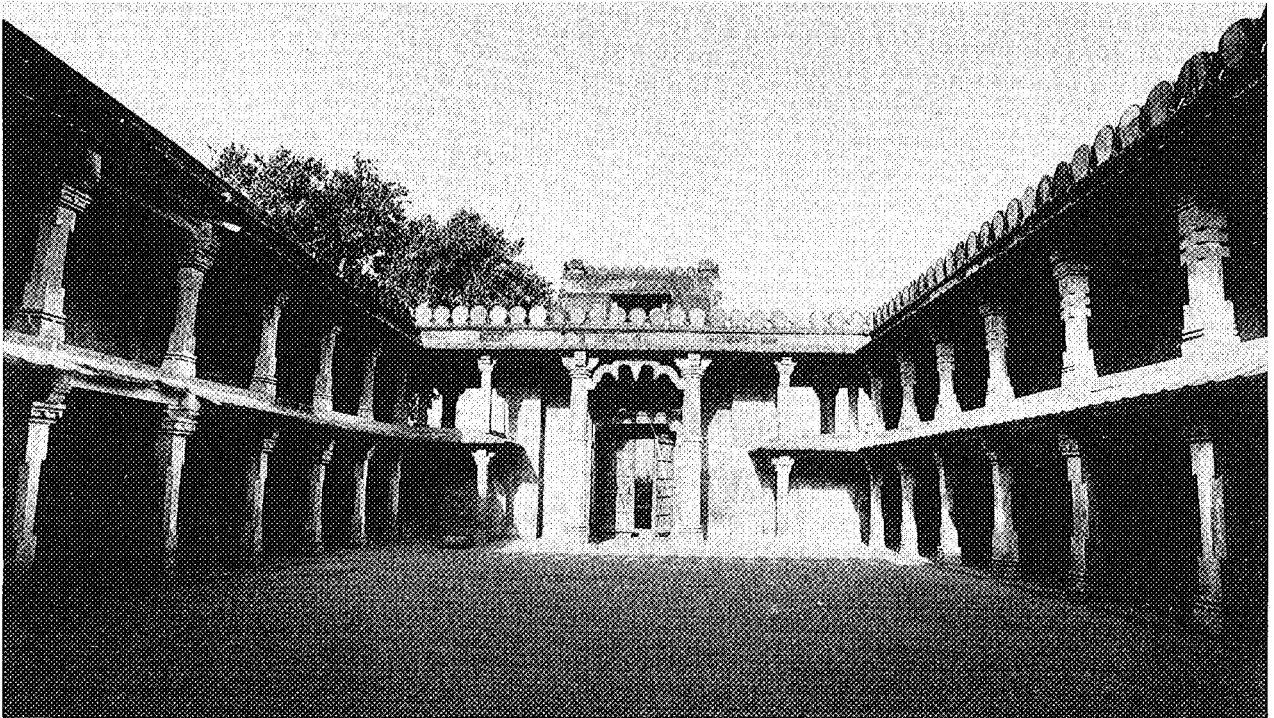


Fig. 23. Bayana, the Ukha Masjid. View from the courtyard looking toward the east.

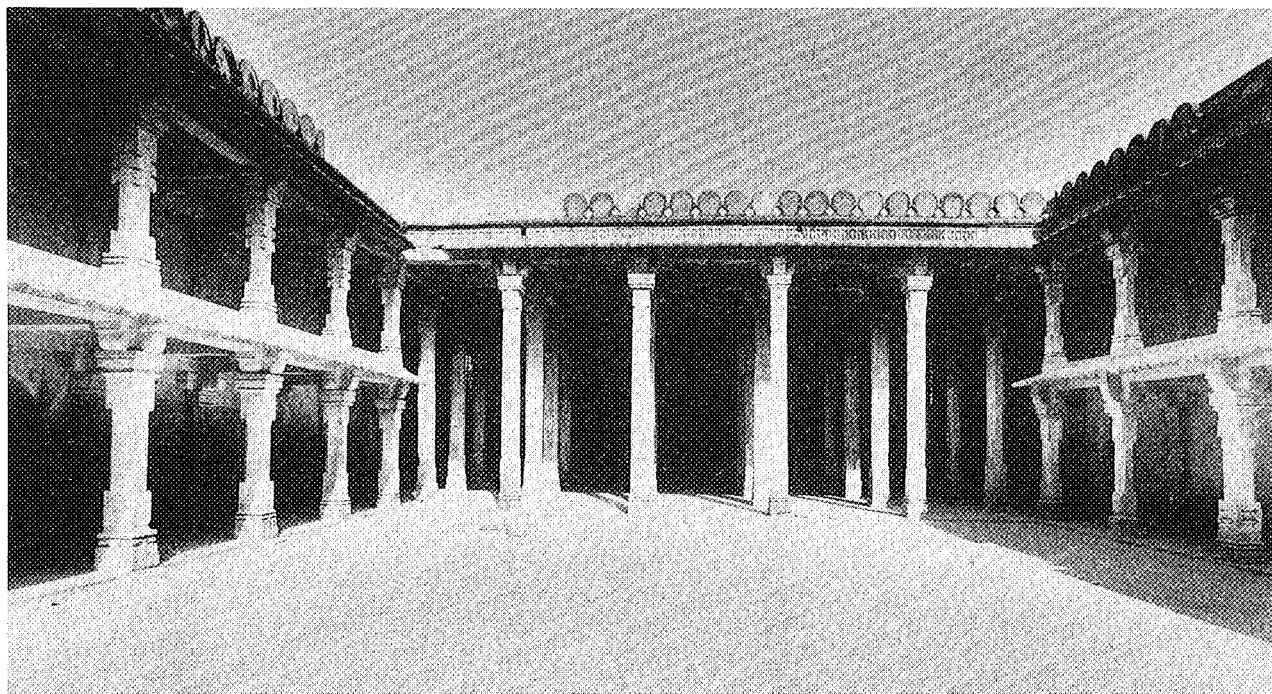


Fig. 24. Bayana, the Ukha Masjid. View from the courtyard looking toward the west (qibla).

ing to an inscription above its entrance,³² it was constructed during the reign of Ibrahim Shah Lodi in 926 (1519-20 by Nizam Khan ibn Mujahid Khan, the governor at that time. It is circular in plan, and stands on an octagonal foundation. The entrance faces southeast and leads to a spiral staircase which was to reach to the top of the minaret. The minaret was, however, only built up to the base of the first balcony, and must have been left unfinished when Babur attacked the region.

THE ʿIDGAH

The ʿidgah (figs. 26-27), a prayer wall about 60 m. long built of reused blocks of sandstone laid in courses, is located one kilometer northwest of the town. It has a central mihrab flanked by four smaller niches on either side, with a tower at each end of the wall and a large platform in front. Prayer walls of this kind, suitable for large open-air gatherings, are common in India. They remain a normal feature of any town with a Muslim community, and new ones continue to be built even today. The word *ʿidgāh* means "a place for festivals," and one of their functions is to provide a place of assembly where all the Muslims of a whole town can gather together.

How the custom of using a prayer wall as a mosque originated is not clearly known, but prayer walls appeared in India as early as the beginning of the Islamic conquest, and ʿidgahs bearing inscriptions dating back to the time of Iltutmish existed in India until recent times.³³ No such walls existed in Khurasan or elsewhere in the Islamic world before the fourteenth century, but the remains of a mosque uncovered at the camp (*lashkargāh*) of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmud and his son Masʿud in Lashkari Bazar³⁴ near Bust in Afghanistan may provide some information on Indian ʿidgahs. This mosque consisted of an arcade with a central iwan at the qibla side of large open space, and was apparently used by the Ghaznavid army encamped there. It does not appear to have had any entrance or enclosure wall, but only a qibla wall under the arcade, with a mihrab in the center. In large assemblies the sultan and the commanders of the army presumably stood in the shaded space under the arcade and its iwan, with the rest of the army gathered behind them in the open. The Ghurids may have adapted the idea when they came to India. In any town they conquered they could quickly build a prayer wall in an open field to use for religious observances involving the whole army.

place of assembly where all the Muslims of a whole town can gather together.

The ʿidgah of Bayana consists of a central mihrab set in a square recess which projects behind the back of the wall, flanked by four smaller niches on either side and two round towers, one at either end of the wall. The recess of the central mihrab is in the form of a square chamber roofed by a corbeled dome. A flat mihrab is carved on the qibla wall to represent a lobed arch in a larger two-centered arch, with roundels in the spandrels and under the arch. A border of floriated serpentine decoration closely resembles the pattern carved on the part of the screen wall of the Quwwa al-Islam built by Qutb al-Din Aybak. The stones are reused materials from earlier temples, but the surface has been re-dressed and the decoration carved specifically for this building. In front of the mihrab is a corbeled arch

standing on two round columns taken from an older building.

Eight niches, four on each side of the mihrab, are all of the same form and have corbeled arches built in the same way as the central mihrab. In this case, however, they are carved to represent the form of a lobed arch within a four-centered arch. The lobes follow the horizontal lines of the stonework, producing an effect very different from the lobed arches executed in brickwork and imitated in stonework that are found in early Indo-Islamic buildings (including the central mihrab of this one). The niches are now surmounted by battlements in the form of pointed arches, which also function as weights to hold the blocks of corbeled stone of the niches in place. These battlements may be a later

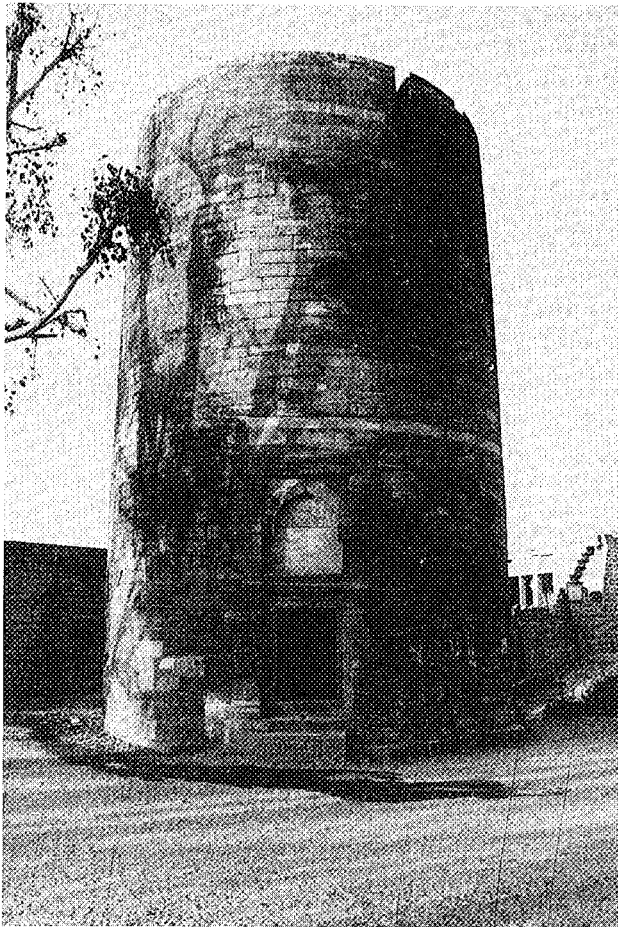


Fig. 25. Bayana, the Ukha Minar. Southern view.

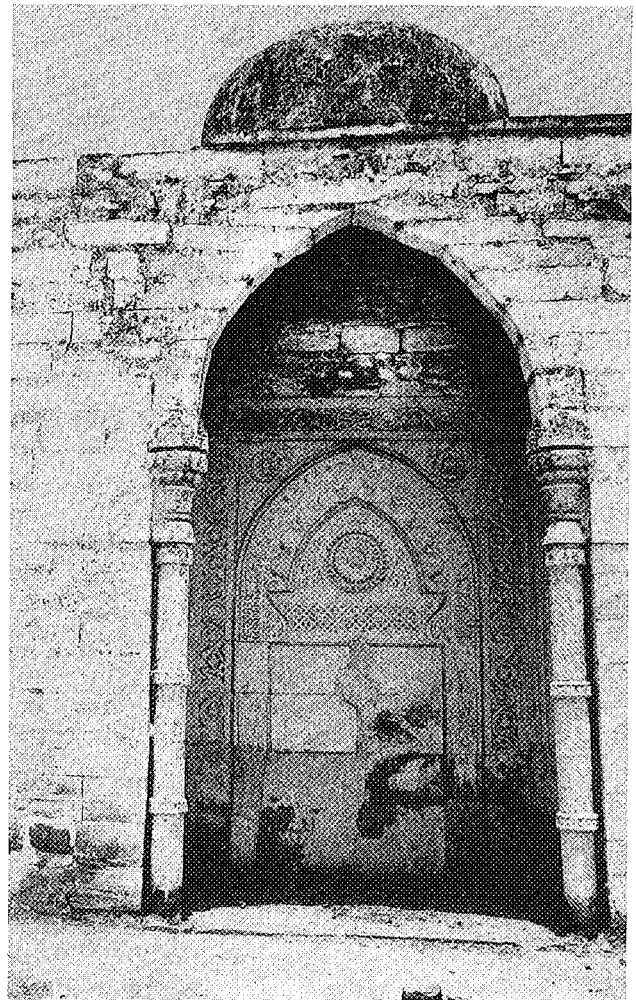


Fig. 26. Bayana, the ʿidgah. Central mihrab.

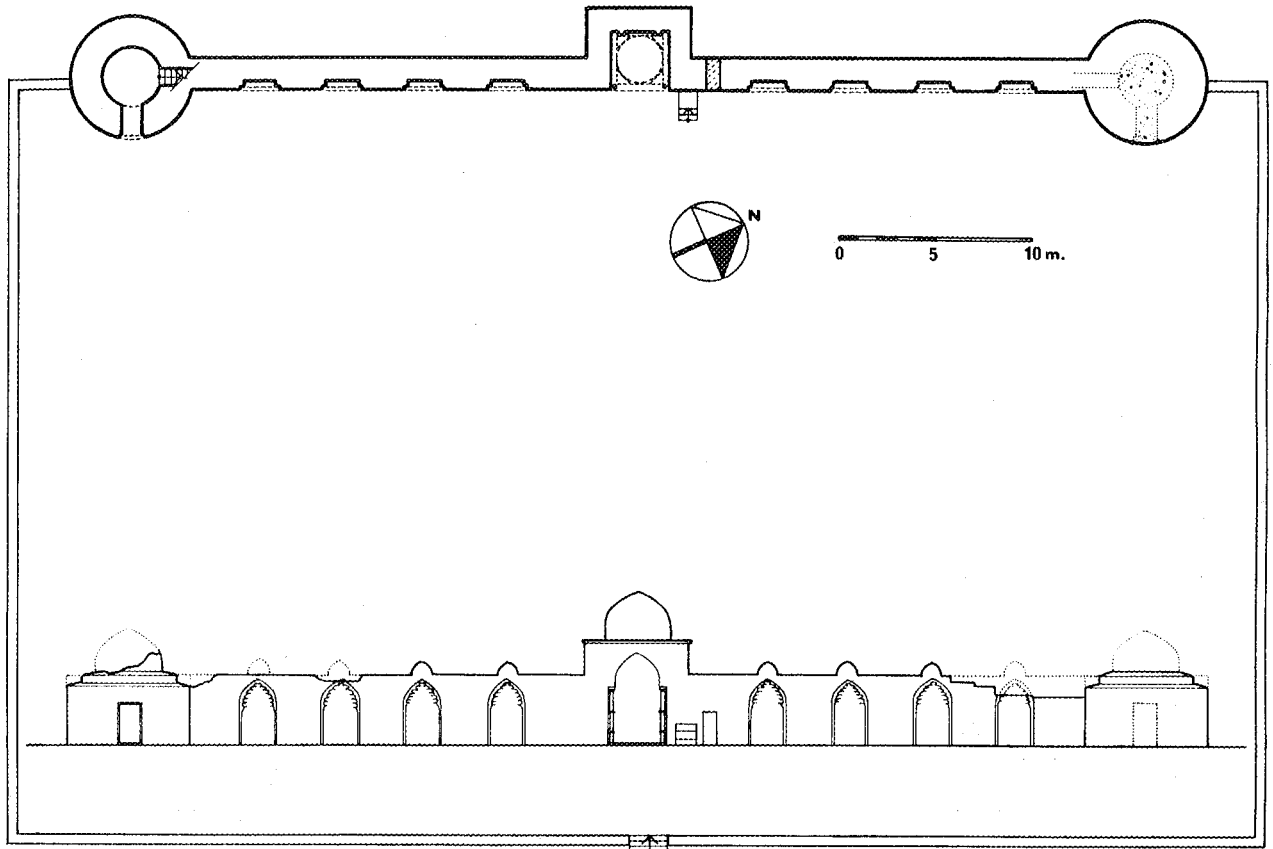


Fig. 27. Bayana, the Sidgah. Plan and elevation.

addition, as it appears that some upper courses of the wall have been restored. The present minbar is not the original one; it has been improvised out of three blocks of stone placed to the right of the central mihrab. Traces of an earlier minbar can still be seen beside it on the wall.

The round towers at each end of the wall serve not only visually to balance the building, but also to strengthen the structure. Inside they each have a round chamber with a door to the east. The chamber of the northern tower is now filled with stone and its door blocked, apparently to make the tower more rigid, but the southern chamber is still accessible. At the northern side of this chamber is a flight of steps leading to the top of the wall, which may have been used by the *mu'adhin*, or caller to prayer. Both towers were originally roofed with corbeled domes, but they have long since disappeared. On their base ring other domes were later built, but these too have collapsed.

The Sidgah of Bayana has the characteristics of an early Indo-Islamic building, including a corbeled dome and corbeled arches. As true arches and domes were built in Bayana as early as 1320, we can assume that this building predates that time, for craftsmen would be unlikely to have abandoned a new and successfully used technique for a less advanced one when constructing a sizable building. The Sidgah (which thus far seems completely to have escaped the attention of scholars) must therefore date from the time when Bayana was under the control of Baha al-Din Tughrul, and perhaps from the earliest stage of the construction of Sultankut. If so, the Sidgah would be one of the first of the buildings mentioned by Minhaj-i Siraj to have been constructed by Baha al-Din in Bayana, and the earliest example of its kind still standing. The combination of a larger arch for the central mihrab and smaller niches on either side in the Sidgah of Bayana is reminiscent of the form of an arcade with a central iwan. The effect

it produced must have been to the Ghurid taste, for it also appears in the screen walls added to the Quwwat al-Islam in Delhi and to Arhai din ka jhonpra in Ajmer.

London, England

NOTES

1. This article has resulted from a project initiated by the authors in 1977 to survey the unreported monuments of the Sultanate period in northwest India. The authors wish to thank the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, the Twenty-seven Foundation, the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, and the Spalding Trusts for their support of the project.
2. Abū 'Umār Minhāj al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Sirāj al-Dīn al-Jawzjānī, known as Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (Calcutta, 1864), pp. 144-46; see also H. G. Raverty's notes on Baha al-Din Tughrul in his translation of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* (London, 1881), vol. 2, pp. 554-57; and Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, *Tārīkh-i Firishata*, vol. 1 (Lucknow, 1864), p. 59.
3. The Persian form of the Sanskrit word *rao*, the title of the Indian kings.
4. The word appears in the inscriptions of early prayer walls such as that of Jhalor dated 718 (1318-19), see *Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement* (henceforth cited as *EIAPS*), 1972, pp. 12-19.
5. For earlier reports on Kaman and its mosque, see Bhagwanlal Indrajī Pandit, "Inscription from Kama or Kamavana," *The Indian Antiquary* 10 (1881): 34-36; A. Cunningham, "Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882-83," *Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Cunningham Series* 20 (1885) (henceforth cited as *ASIR* 20): 54-60; R. D. Banerji, *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919, pp. 64-65, pls. 22, 27. Cunningham and Banerji record the name of the mosque as Chawsath Khamba (the Sixty-four Columns), but other sources give Chaurasi Khamba, the name used locally.
6. Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Islamic Inscriptions of Rajasthan* 1 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum), pt. 4, vol. 49 (London, 1986), pp. 50-53.
7. *ASIR* 20:54-60.
8. *Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy*, 1965-66, no. D 320; also see Z. A. Desai, *Published Muslim Inscriptions of Rajasthan* (Jaipur, 1971), p. 96, no. 303.
9. J. Horovitz, "The Inscriptions of Muḥammad ibn Sām, Qutbuddin Aibeg and Ilutmish," *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1911-12, pp. 15-34.
10. A. C. L. Carlisle, "Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1871-72 and 1872-73," *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* 6 (1878) (henceforth cited as *ASIR* 6): 54.
11. Minhāj-i Sirāj, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, p. 296.
12. Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, *Tārīkh-i Firishata* (Lucknow, 1864), vol. 1, p. 66.
13. Shams-i Sirāj 'Affī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1890), p. 185.
14. *EIAPS*, 1967, pp. 24-25.
15. The historians of the court of Delhi only refer to the Auhadis when they were directly involved in the affairs of the Delhi sultans. See Yahyā ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Sihrindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1931), pp. 169-73, 185-87, 202-15, 237-42; 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Mulūk Shāh al-Badāunī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh* 1 (Calcutta, 1868); 272-74, 282-316. For modern studies on the history and inscriptions of the Auhadis, see Cunningham, *ASIR* 20: 61-67; A. Halim, "Some Minor Dynasties of Northern India during the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of Indian History* 26,3 (December 1949): 223-33; Shokoohy, *Rajasthan* 1: 15-16.
16. Aḥmad Yādīgār, *Tārīkh-i Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 36-37.
17. Muḥammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, *Tārīkh-i Firishata*, 1:180.
18. Sikandra of Bayana is located three miles east of the town and on the plain to the southeast of the fort. See map of Dholpur Region, no. NG 43-8, published by the U.S. Army map service, Washington, D.C., 1968.
19. Aḥmad Yādīgār, *Tārīkh-i Shāhī* (Calcutta, 1936), pp. 109-10.
20. Abū'l-Faḥl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, ed. H. Blochmann, vol. 1 (Calcutta, 1877), p. 441.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
22. G. Yazdani, "Inscription of Sultan Balban from Bayana, Bharatpur State," *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1937-38, p. 5.
23. R. D. Banerji, *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, 1919, pp. 64-65.
24. Abū'l-Faḥl 'Allāmī, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, 1: 357, 455.
25. A full survey in J. A. Page, "An Historical Memoir on the Qutb, Delhi," *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 22 (1926). See also Maulavi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, "Record of All the Quranic and Non-historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the Delhi Province," *ibid.*, 47 (1936): 96-118.
26. Arthur Upham Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1964-65), vol. 8, p. 265.
27. Surveys in A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* 2 (1871): 259-63; 23 (1887): 34-38; James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (London, 1876), pp. 510-13; revised ed. by J. Burgess, vol. 2 (London, 1910): 210-11.
28. For previous reports, see Carlisle, *ASIR* 6 (1878): 50-51, pls. 4-6; Cunningham, *ASIR* 20: 71; John Marshall, "The Monuments of Muslim India," *Cambridge History of India*, ed. Wolseley Haig, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1928), p. 622.
29. Cunningham, *ASIR* 20: 71-72; unusual for Cunningham, his plan (pl. 13) is incorrect. It shows an additional row of columns forming a second aisle open to the outside on the north, where in fact there is a single aisle closed by the party wall with the Ukha Mandir. His description of the building reflects the incorrect drawing. The drawing shows only one of the three mihrabs.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
31. *ASIR* 6: 51; *ibid.*, 20: 73-74.
32. *Ibid.*; Shokoohy, *Rajasthan*, 1: 21-22.
33. Horovitz, "Inscriptions of Muḥammad b. Sām (cited above, n. 9), p. 28. Horovitz reports an 'idgah in Hansi built on the order of Abu al-Fath Mahmud ibn Ilutmish when he was the governor of the region. Mahmud died during the lifetime of his father and was buried in Delhi in the tomb now known as Sultan Ghari. The 'idgah of Hansi was damaged at the time of Partition, when all the Muslims left the area. Over the years its stones were used for building new structures, and by 1981 when we surveyed the Sultanate remains in Hansi, only a foundation trench about 1.50 m. deep remained where the last blocks had been unearthed. From the trench the general layout of a free-standing wall with a central mihrab and a tower at each end could be established.
34. Daniel Schlumberger, *Lashkari Bazar*, vol. 1A (Paris, 1978), pp. 67-69, pls. 23, 93-96.