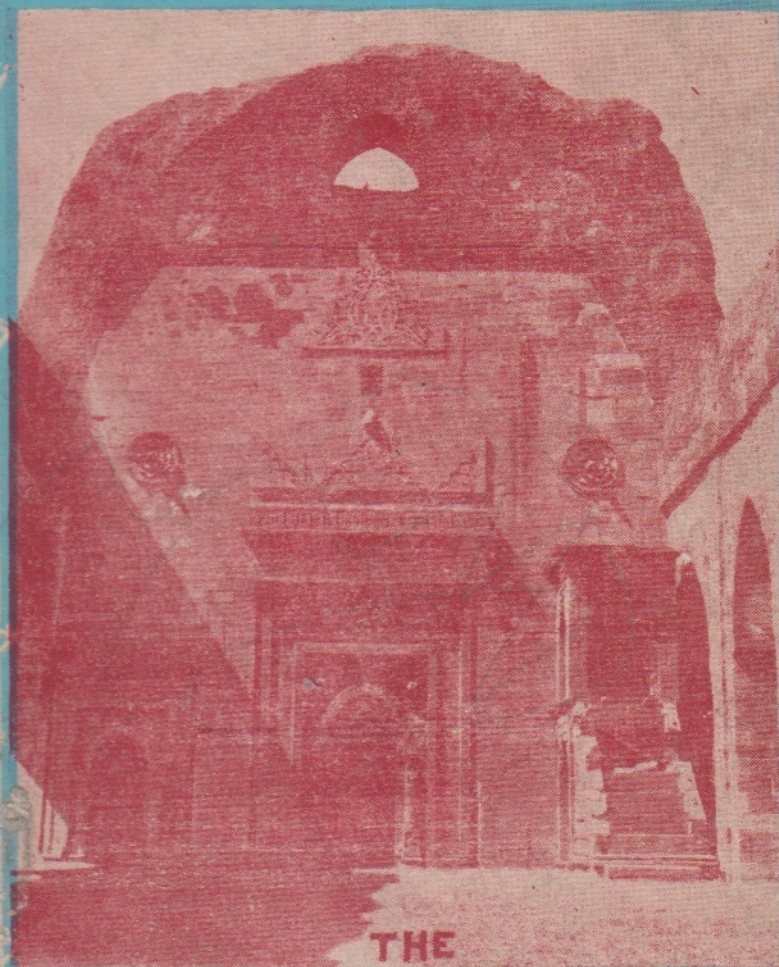


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THE

ADINA MASJID

AT

HAZRAT PANDUA

DR. S. M. HASAN

THE ADINA MASJID

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A.H. 776/A.D. 1374-75

[The largest Mosque ever built in Indo-Pak sub-continent]

A MONOGRAPH

By :

Dr. S. M. HASAN

**THE ADINA MASJID
AT HAZRAT PANDUA
A.H.776/A.D.1374-75
*Dr. S. M. Hasan***

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CONTENTS

Pages

1	Introduction
3	Topography
5	The Mosque
5	The Appellation
7	The Date of Foundation
15	The Lay-Out
16	General Description
16	The Liwan
17	The Vaulted Nave
31	The Central Mihrab
34	Minbar
37	Prayer Halls
38	Northern Hall
40	The Zenana Gallery
54	Square Annexe
59	Library and the Southern Prayer Hall
62	The Southern Riwaq
63	The Northern Riwaq
64	The Eastern Riwaq
64	The Gateways
67	Up keep
69	A Detached Minaret ?

FIGURES AND PLATES

Figures :

1. Site plan of the ancient city of the Hazrat Pandua
2. Hazrat Pandua : the Adina Masjid, ground plan after Beglar
3. Hazrat Pandua : The Adina Masjid, the supposed minaret ; ground plan
4. Plan of great Stupa at Sanchi
5. Barsian near Isfahan : Masjid-i-Jami, attached cylindrical minaret
6. Hazrat Pandua : The Adina Masjid, interlocking designs
7. No. 1. Inscription of the Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, A.D. 776
No. 2. Inscription above the central mihrab
8. A Proto-Bengali Inscription

Plates :

- I. Liwan
- II. Southern prayer hall
- III. Central vaulted hall with traces of blind recessed arches
- IV. Back wall showing foundation stone above
- V. Wall of the vaulted nave showing traces of ribs

- VI. Ctesiphon : The Sasanian Palace, 2nd century A.D
- VII. Central vaulted hall showing mihrab and minbar
- VIII. Northern prayer hall, showing pillars of the Zenana Gallery,
- IX. Fluted columns of the Zenana Gallery
- X. A mihrab in the Zenana Gallery
- XI. A mihrab in the northern prayer hall showing carved brick designs
- XII. A tympanum in the southern prayer hall,
- XIII. Corner tower with flutings and eastern main entrance showing carved brick designs
- XIV. A circular pedestal, supposed to be the base of minaret of the Adina Masjid

ABOUT THE BOOK

The Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua is a monograph on the largest Mosque ever built in the Indo-Pak sub-continent in an ambitious scale by Sultan Sekandar Shah in the years A.D. 1374-84. In many of its distinctive architectural features, like the barrel-vaulted central hall, arched screen with blind recesses on either side in front of the hall, use of ribs in the vault, etc, this splendid monument is experimental in nature for many of these elements were conspicuous by their absence in later buildings. In its graceful proportion, balanced adjustment of its various features and the decorative devices it is a unique monument of Muslim Bengal architecture. It is only second to the Great Samarra Mosque built by the Abbasid Caliph Mutawakkil in the year A.D. 847 in the magnitude of its proportions. Many of its striking features have been derived from Persian Islamic architecture. The motive behind the construction of the Adina Masjid was probably the same as that of Caliph Abdul Malik who built the Dome of the Rock as well as the Masjid-al-Aqsa at Jerusalem, that is, political consideration inspired by deep religious susceptibilities. The Masjid may in this sense be considered as the symbol of Islam in the hitherto non-Muslim (Buddhist-Hindu) region of Bengal and a veritable reminder of early sovereign rule of the Muslims in this part of the world.

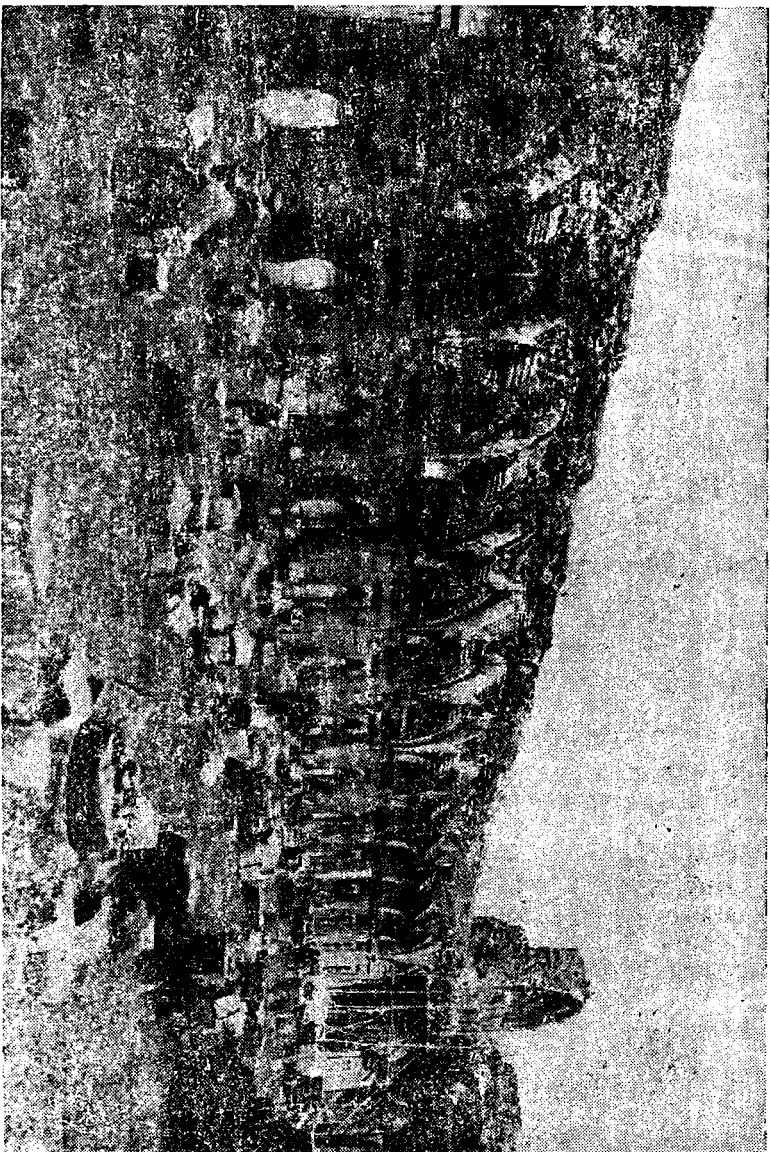
The Adina Masjid is neither a 'barn' nor a 'caravanserai' as many authors suggested. On the contrary, it is one of the most splendid architectural monuments erected in an attempt to perpetuate Islam anywhere in the world. It is a fitting tribute to the building genius of Sultan Sekandar Shah.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The Monograph on the Adina Masjid is the outcome of a thesis entitled "Development of Mosque Architecture with special reference to pre-Mughal Bengal" by Syed Mahmudul Hasan. The original work now belongs to the University of London which awarded Ph.D. to the author. It is now in the Government Press. The study on the monument is based on personal observations by the author and the available literature on the subject and the photographs collected from the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. The work which was completed in 1965 had been considerably revised on the basis of new findings collected during an archaeological study-tour to Iran and Iraq in 1967. Syed Mahmudul Hasan obtained his Master's degree in 1957, specializing in Islamic Art & Archaeology which he taught to the Hons. and post-graduate students of Islamic History & Culture, Dacca University from 1958 to 1961. His publications on Islamic Art and Archaeology include many articles in Pakistani and foreign journals as well as "The Citadel of Gaud", "A Guide to Ancient Monuments of East Pakistan", etc. He is now Professor and Head of the Department of Islamic History & Culture, Dacca Government College, Dacca.



Pl. I. Hazrat Pandua : Adina Masjid : liwan :1474-84 :



Pl. II. Adina Masjid : southern prayer hall

THE ADINA MASJID

AT HAZRAT PANDUA

(A.H. 776/A.D. 1374-75.)

INTRODUCTION

Gaud and Hazrat Pandua, the two magnificent cities of great antiquity during the medieval Muslim rule in Bengal, exist today in the district of Malda, West Bengal, as veritable wreck of their former grandeur. Situated in a comparatively new alluvial plain in *Barind*, watered by the Ganges, the Mahananda and the Purnabhaba, the region around Gaud consists of sandy clays and sand deposited on either side of the river Bhagirathi, which receded three miles from its original bed as recently as the time of Colebrooke (1779-96-7). (Fig. 1.) Geologically Hazrat Pandua belongs to the older alluvial formation which is composed of red clay banks, forming a high undulating surface broken by deep stream beds or nullahs. Throughout the region, the older upland alluvial tracts are known as *Barind*, the lower, more recent alluvium being known as *Bhangar*.

Formerly known as Lakhnauti, as stated by Minhaj-ud-Din Siraj, who visited the city in A.H. 641/A.D. 1243-44, Gaud has been described by Fariay Souza as follows: "Gour, the principal city of Bengal is seated on the banks of the Ganges, three leagues in length, containing one million and two hundred thousand families, and is well fortified. Along the streets which are wide and straight, are rows of trees to shade the people who are so numerous that sometimes they are trod to death."

Like Gaud, Hazrat Pandua, in the district of Malda, which includes the *Barind*, is an ancient city of historic fame, being referred to in the Vedic Literature, and the Epics as well as the Persian chronicles and the accounts of the Chinese travellers. The term Pandua may be said to have derived from Pundra, signifying sugar cane of a particular species, called *Punri Akh* in Bengal, implying that it is a country of sugar-cane. However, it has also been derived from *Pandubis* or waterfowl with which, according to Cunnigham, the place abounds. However, the former interpretation is analogous with that of Gaud, which is presumably derived from *Gu la* or molasses, manufactured from sugar-cane.

Ma Huan writes, concerning the Kingdom of Pang-ko-la (Bengal): "It is a kingdom with walled cities and (in the capital) the king, and officials of all ranks have their residence. It is an extensive country." Considering the fact that he was the

interpreter attached to the Chinese embassy which visited Bengal about 1406 during the reign of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din A'zam Shah (A.H. 795-813/ 1392-1410), his descriptions of the city may reasonably be taken to be those of the then capital of Bengal, Hazrat Pandua. As Bhattasali puts it, "There is little doubt that the Chinese interpreter is speaking of the kingdom of Ghiyas-ud-Din to whom the embassy was sent and who sent one in return."

Hazrat Pandua was made the capital of Bengal by the founder of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, Shams-ud-Din Ilyas Shah in A. H. 743/A. D. 1342, after wresting the sovereignty from the Tughluq Sultans of Delhi. It remained the metropolis until the time of Sultan Mahmud Shah I, the founder of the Restored Ilyas Shahi dynasty (A.H. 841-93/A.D. 1437-87), who transferred it to Gaud.

TOPOGRAPHY

Remarking on the topography of the region of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua, Pemberton says, "The main road from Malda to Dinajpur passes through the south-east part of the Pergunnah. On both sides of the road lie the ruins of Purroa which are very extensive." A long ancient road, paved with wedge-shaped bricks of great solidity traverse the city. It is from 12 to 15 feet wide and passes through the entire length of the city and

was presumably lined with rows of brick houses on its two sides. Striking in both its length and spaciousness, the road which provided a connecting link between Gaud on the south and Devikot in Dinajpur to the north, was presumably built by Ghiyas-ud-Din 'Iwaz (A.H. 610-24/A.D. 1213-27).

Want of exploration has considerably impeded the archaeological study of both the important sites of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua. Hazrat Pandua is situated 11 miles from English Bazar and 20 miles from Gaud in a north-easterly direction. Rennell thought that the metropolitan city of Hazrat Pandua exceeded the enormous area of 24 square miles. Lying along the bank of the Mahananda river, it is narrow in plan and is divided from north to south into almost equal halves by the ancient road. A map based on an aerial survey prepared by Pemberton and revised by Stapleton in 1930 shows the original rampart walls of the city and a passage through them at the north end of the road which is identified with the gate of the fortress (*Gardwar*). The locality known as *Burjpur* on the north of the embankment suggests that a Castle or *Burj*, a fortified stronghold, must have existed somewhere in the area. There was also a gate at the south end of which the remains of the foundations still survive. Encircled by large suburbs towards the east and north for at least 12 miles, the city was beautified with noble edifices. The celebrated Adina Masjid, stands on the right side of the ancient road leading to Devikot from Gaud. (Fig. 2).

THE MOSQUE

Shyam Prasad points out the central situation of the Adina Masjid in the ancient city of Hazrat Pandua. The Bengali Mosque, is, therefore, analogous in its position to the medieval Mosques at Kufa, Basra Fustat and Damascus.

The Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, Bengal, is one of the most ambitious architectural projects ever essayed in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan. Considered to be "one of the wonders of the world by the Bengalis," as Cunningham puts it, this magnificent building represents a marked development in Mosque architecture. Experimental as it is, in many ways, it demonstrates new architectural elements which were afterwards developed and elaborated elsewhere. Indeed, the Adina Masjid ushered in a brilliant era of architecture. Yet all these works are directly founded upon the traditions of Persian Islamic architecture, reworked in pre-Mughal India.

THE APPELLATION

The most revealing fact about the Adina Masjid is its Persian appellation. Wollaston gives three terms when translating the Persian word for Friday, namely, *ruz-e-Jum'a*, روز جمعه; Adina, ادينه; and *yaumu 'l-Jum'a*, يوم الجمعة. The Persian adina is, therefore, equivalent to the Christian Sunday or Jewish Sabbath. However, the employment of the term *Adina* for a congregational mosque is not

unprecedented, for there is an Adina Masjid at Patan, Gujarat. The term is, however, somewhat obscure, and in any case seems to have purely Persian connections. Curiously enough, the builder of this Masjid, Sultan Sikandar Shah, entitled himself as "the great King, the most Learned, the most Just, the most exalted, and Perfect among the Kings of Arabia and Persia." This recalls the lavish terms of the *Prasasti* of the Sanscrit inscriptions. Sultan Ghiyas-ud-Din 'Azam Shah, son of Sultan Sikandar Shah, once sent an incomplete Persian verse to the celebrated poet Hafiz of Persia, who supplied the appropriate missing lines of the distich.

Beglar traces the origin of the Adina Masjid from pre-Muslim source. He observes that the name itself is reminiscent of Aditya Sena Deva, the supposed progenitor of the Senas of Bengal, otherwise known as Adisur. He writes, "Was it then that his capital was at what is now known as Pandua, but whose ancient name was some derivative of Adisur, of which a reminiscent is preserved in the name of Adina, of the Masjid, which stands, where his capital once stood?" He bases his arguments on the point that if the Adina Masjid occupies the site of a pre-Muslim Hindu temple, the name may be a reminiscent of Adisur, the so-called founder of the hitherto unidentified temple dating from the 7th century A.D.; however, he does not know that there is a mosque at Patan, called Adina,

and that it is a Persian term for Friday. The use of fragments of Hindu or Buddhist architectural works in the Masjid do not prove that the site was pre-Muslim. They may have been brought there. As he himself says, the excavations carried out in two places on the site as deep as 5 feet did not uncover any foundations of an ancient Hindu temple. Incidentally, it may be recalled that Beglar carried out excavations at the Quwwat-al-Islam Mosque at Old Delhi under the supervision of Cunningham and found the foundation of pre-Muslim temples there. He himself admits that this was not so at the Adina Masjid. In his map, Beglar also sketched the circular basement of a supposed Stupa to the west of the Masjid, but failed to uncover and reconstruct any kind of Hindu or Buddhist temple there. It was presumably the foundation of a detached minar, which is discussed afterwards. (Fig. 3)

THE DATE OF FOUNDATION

The date of the foundation of the Adina Masjid is a matter of great controversy. Cunningham saw the foundation stone, bearing the inscription "placed on the outside of the back wall, facing towards the high road." (Pl.4; Fig.7, No.1) Just behind the central mihrab a trefoiled arched window of polished stone is capped by the foundation inscription'

carved in a most elegant style. The road running from Malda to Dinajpur, by passing the Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua must have inspired the builder to place the inscription in the back wall of the Masjid, facing that road.

According to Horn, this interesting specimen of Bengal calligraphy in Arabic single line inscription with the usual flourishes and overlapped lettering measures 58 inches by 11 inches. The inscribed area measures 57 inches by 9 inches.

The epigraphical record is as follows :

امر ببناء العمارة هذا المسجد الجا (مع)
 فى ايا (م) [ال] دولة السلطان السلطان الاعظم الاعلم
 الاعدل الاكرم الكامل [ال] سلاطين العرب و العجم
 الواصل بتنايد الرحمن ابو المهجد سلطان سكندر شاه
 بن الياس شاه السلطان خلد خلافة الى يوم الموعود
 كتبة فى التاريخ رجب سنة ست (و) سبعين و
 سبعمائة *

Translation : "This Jami' Masjid was ordered to be built in the days of the reign of the great Sultan, the wisest, the most perfect of the Sultans of Arabia and Persia, who trusts in the assistance of the Merciful, Abul Mujahid Sikandar Shah, son of Ilyas Shah, the Sultan; may his reign be continued till the Day of Promise (i.e., Resurrection). Written in Rajab in the year seven hundred seventy six." (December-January, 1374-75).

Certain elements in this inscription have led to controversy concerning its date. The inaccurate grammatical construction of the inscription is also apparent. Salim says, "And in this 766 A.H. he (Sikandar Shah) built the Adina Mosque, but before he could finish it, death overtook him, and the mosque remained half-finished."

Besides being inconsistent with the epigraphical record, Salim's statement cannot be relied upon from the historical point of view. Considering A.H. 766 as the date of the beginning of the project, it would seem too long a time for Sikandar Shah who ruled from A.H. 758-92/A.D. 1357-89 to leave the Mosque incomplete. His death in A.H. 792 which is confirmed in both numismatic and epigraphical records, would allow a period of 26 years for the construction of the Adina Masjid, and we know mosques of gigantic size were built in a much shorter period.

Horn observes, "We do not know in which year the Adina Mosque was finished; the Riyaz mentions only that the beginning fell in the year 766 A.H. It is very probable that the actual building required a space of ten years, e.g., the Jami' Masjid at Kotila in Eastern Rajputana was erected within eight years and ten are, therefore, not too much to allow for the erection of that "gigantic barn", as Cunningham calls the Adina Masjid.

Horn, therefore, accepts A.H. 766 given by the Riyaz, as the date of the beginning of the project and suggest A.H. 776 as the date of its completion.

It would, therefore, appear that the mosque was started in the month of Rajab A.H. 766, corresponding to December-January, A.D. 1374, as the inscription states, but it should be noted that this date differs from those given by Salim, Stewart and Hamilton, who prefer A.H. 766, 763 and 704 respectively.

Creighton, who paid due attention to the monuments of Gaud, did not mention the Adina Masjid. But it was described in detail by both Francklin and Shyam Prasad. Prasad's copy of the foundation inscription is identical with that of Francklin which has, however, a few inaccuracies ; there is no **كتبة** after **الموعود** and before **فى التاريخ** ; moreover, he reads **هذه العمارة** as **هذا العمارة**. Depending on eye-copies, both Prasad and Francklin are doubtful of the date of the Adina Masjid : as **(سبعين) وسبعماية** " rendering it as Hijra 707 or 770, corresponding to A.D. 1308 or 1369. Prasad reads the month of Rajab before the year, **ست رجب سنة سبعة وسبعماية**, A.D. 6th Rajab, A.H. 707, corresponding to 1st January, 1308. Blochman re-published this inscription, after intensive study of the rubbing sent him by Cunningham and Heeley. As against Prasad's date of 6th Rajab, A.H. 707, Blochman reads the date as 6th Rajab A.H. 770, corresponding to 14th February, A.D. 1369.

In his edition of the *Khurshid-i-Jahan Numa*, Beveridge writes regarding this date, "I am unable to come to any conclusion. Buchanan had it read to him as 704, and this is no doubt what is on the stone. That is, the Arabic word for the numeral is Sab'a (7) and not Sab'ain (70) as the facsimile in Ravenshaw, p. 70, shows. Ilahi Bakhsh admitted this to me when I saw him at Maldah, but remarked with truth that the date 707 was quite inconsistent with the chronology of Sikandar's reign. There is certainly a six in the inscription, but Blochmann has taken this to refer to the month, and in this he seems supported by the word *fil-tarikh*, which would lead us to find the day, and not merely the month of erection. On the other hand Ghulam Husain must have read the six as relating to the year, for he gives the date as 766. He was obliged to make it 766 in stead of 776, because his idea was that Sikandar died in 769. It may be remarked, too, that 766 is more consistent with Sikandar's not having been able to complete the mosque earlier than 770, for it seems that he reigned up to 792, though his later years were troubled by his sons Ghiyas-ud-din. As the word in the inscription is Sab'a, i.e., 7 and not 70, might it not be that the engraver wrote six, seven and seven hundred, i.e., 776? I suppose it would be a grammatical error to write the date in this way, but then Mr. Blochmann tells us that there are numerous such errors in the Bengal Arabic inscriptions. They often consist, he says, of 'wrong constructions of the Arabic numerals.' He does not say that they mis-spell them."

Horn supports Ilahi Bakhsh's date of A.H. 776. Discarding the alleged readings of A.H. 707 or A.H. 770 he says, "The statement of the date at the end of the inscription is quite ungrammatical, if with Blochmann we read *rajab sitt*, besides the succession of the words should be *sitt rajab*. Grammatical mistakes are very numerous in Bengal inscriptions but the construction of *rajab sitt* instead of *sitt rajab* would be too faulty even for them. I, therefore, prefer to support *va* (and) before *sab'ain* or to read the *va* standing before *sab'miat* twice, a case that occurs not at all infrequently." He, therefore, reads the رجب سنة , ست (و) سبعين وسبعماية Rajab A.H. 776, corresponding to 6 December, A.D. 1374. However, while Horn makes out the date as A.H. 776 by inserting *va* (و) between *sitt* (ست) and *sab'ain* (سبعين), Beveridge rejects it as grammatically unacceptable.

Curiously enough, 'Abid 'Ali gives another version of the reading of the date of the Adina Masjid. He reads *sitt* (ست) twice, once for the month and the other for the year, making 6 Rajab, A.H. 776, corresponding to 14 February, A.D. 1374. His transcription and his translation do not agree. In the translation he mentions 6 Rajab A.H. 770, corresponding to 14 February, A.D. 1369, while his text gives the date رجب سنة , ست (و) سبعين وسبعماية , 6 Rajab, A.H. 776 by reading *sitt* twice as stated above and by supplying *va* (و) between *sab'ain* and *sab'miat*.

Buchanan's date of A.H. 704 is not corroborated by historical and numismatic evidence. The date mentioned by both Francklin and Prasad does not agree with that of Buchanan, nor does the date of construction A.H. 763, given by Stewart. As the early phase of Sikandar Shah's reign was convulsed by the second military expedition of Firuz Shah Tughluq in A.H. 760, it is probable that the ambitious project was not started either in A.H. 763, as stated by Stewart or A.H. 766, as mentioned by Ghulam Husain Salim.

The controversial reading of the date is due to its ungrammatical construction. If the sanat سنة is placed before sitt, ست, the date would be Rajab A.H. 776 ; if after sitt, ست, it would make 6 Rajab A.H. 776. It is, however, customary to place at-tarikh, التاريخ, before the month or the days of the month, whereas the year is preceded by sanat, سنة. The words are placed vertically above one another and they clearly give the date :

فى التاريخ رجب سنة ست (و) سبعة (ين) و سبعمائة

i.e., dated Rajab in the year A.H. 776, corresponding to December-January, A.D. 1374. It is given below as it appears in the facsimile :

و سبعمائة

سبعة

ست

رجب

This reading of the date is strengthened by the insertion of *va* (و) between *sitt* (ست) and *sab'ain* (سبعين), which the engraver must have dropped inadvertently. Dani supports this view, when he says. "The photograph of the inscription clearly shows *ست* after *رجب* , and not before."

Ghulam Husain Salim says, "Some trace of the Mosque (Adina) still exists in the jungles of Panduah, at a distance of one *karoh* from the town. The author of this history has seen it. In truth, it is a beautiful Mosque and an enormous sum must have been expended on its erection." Taking into account the space of time required for such an imposing and awe-inspiring monument as the Adina Masjid and the expenses incurred, it is presumed that the most probable period for such a construction would be between the invasion of Firuz Shah Tughluq in A.H. 760-1/A.D. 1358-59 and the deadly encounter of Sikandar Shah with his rebellious son Ghiyas-ud-Din 'Azam Shah in A.H. 795/A.D. 1392. As Salim reports, Sultan Sikandar Shah breathed his last on the battlefield of Goalpara in the deadly contest with his own son—a parallel example of which is found in the Persian story of Rustam and Sohrab, so picturesquely depicted by Firdousi in his *Shahnama*.

Therefore, if following Horn we allow a period of ten years for the completion of this ambitious project, we may say that the Adina Masjid was probably started in A.H. 776/A.D. 1474-5 and completed in A.H. 786/A.D. 1484-5. In other words, Sikandar Shah

lived only six years after the completion of his gigantic architectural project, itself a landmark of Mosque architecture in Indo-Pak sub-continent.

THE LAY-OUT

It is obvious that the traditional square lay-out of the Prophet's Mosque at Madina, the Mosque of Kufa, the Mosque of Wasit, was not followed in the Adina Masjid although some buildings in Gaud including the Eklakhi Mausoleum (A.H. 818-36/A.D. 1514-32), the Rajbibí Masjid (A.H. 841-92/A.D. 1437-80) and the Lattan Masjid (A.H. 899-925/A.D. 1493-1519) are built on the same plan. The Adina Masjid conforms to the time-honoured rectangular planning demonstrated by the Great Mosque of Damascus, the Mosque of Samarra (Pl. II), the Mosque of Abu Dulaf, and the Mosque of Ibn Tulun, all of which have been referred to earlier.

Marshall attempts to reconstruct the Masjid visually (Fig. 2). He writes, "Imagine an immense open quadrangle, more than twice as long as it was abroad, bounded on its four sides by arched screens, every archway (and there were 88 in all visible from the court) identical with its fellows and every one surmounted by an identical dome, with nothing to relieve the monotony of the whole save a single archway which, rising higher and wider than the rest, fronted the vaulted liwan in the middle of the western side."

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Externally, the Adina Masjid measures a total area of 516 feet north and south and 313 east and west (Pl. I). Internally it is defined by the four great pillared aisles, which surround the inner wide court on all four sides. As Fergusson puts it, "In the centre it contains a courtyard nearly 400 ft. by 154 ft., surrounded on all the sides by a thick wall of brick, divided by eighty-nine similar arched openings, only one of which, that in the centre of the west side facing Mecca, is wider and more dignified than the rest." In point of fact the arched openings around the wide open court-yard which give the impression of a forum or a big caravanserai, according to Cunningham are 94 in all, and are distributed in the following manner : The central lofty liwan arch ; 15 openings on each side of the central liwan arch, 15 on each of the northern and the southern riwaqs ; and 33 in the eastern riwaq. An outline plan with east and west elevations are shown after Beglar in Fig. 5.

THE LIWAN

As shown in the plan (Fig. 2), the liwan of the prayer hall stretched right across the full width of the Mosque, that is right across the central court-yard and the side aisles, (Pl.II). The depth of the liwan is about one fifth of the total depth of the Mosque. It measures, therefore, 516 feet in width and 75 feet 5 inches in depth. As Fergusson points out the liwan consists of two wings, supported on pillars, divided by

an oblong vaulted nave. According to Buchanan, the central vaulted hall measures about 64 feet, from the east to the west, 32 feet from the north to the south, and 62 feet from the floor to the centre of the *liwan* arch.

THE VAULTED NAVE

The central vaulted nave in the centre of the western wall of which is placed the *mihrab*, had a central arched opening, set high in the wall (Fig. 2 ; Pl. III). The easternmost opening of the central hall, the facade of which has been severely damaged, can be reconstructed with reference to the blind arches on either side. It consists of a large central arch on the lines of the surviving arch above the central *mihrab*. As Cunningham states, "Both arch and vault have now fallen down, but the outline of the vaulted roof is distinctly marked against the top of the back wall".

The origin of the impressive *liwan* arch in Indo-Muslim architecture may be conveniently traced to Persian antecedents. Indeed, this *liwan* archway may be compared with the Taq-i-Kisra, at Ctesiphone, which is pre-Muslim. (Pl. VI). The construction of the Taq-i-Kisra, however, differs entirely from any Islamic examples for it is based upon the principle of successive layers of brick, producing a catenary arch.

Creswell has used the term '*Pishtaq*' meaning frontpiece in connection with the screen arch on the

south side of the Court of Honour of Ukhaidir. He writes, "We have here the first example of that ubiquitous feature of later Persian architecture, the Pishtaq or frontpiece." Some of the earliest existing specimens of arched screens masking the central vaulted nave or hall are to be met with in the Takht-i-Sulaiman (A.H. 673/A.D. 1275), the Mausoleum of Pir-i-Bakran (A.H. 703/A.D. 1303) at Linjan near Isfahan, rebuilt in A.H. 710/A.D. 1310 and Masjid-i-Jami' at Astarjan, near Isfahan (A.H. 715/A.D. 1315-16). It also appears in the Madrasa of Ulugh Beg (A.H. 838/A.D. 1434 in Samargand and the Musalla of Gawhar Shad in Mashhad (A.H. 808/A.D. 1405-6).

Notable examples of Indian counterparts of Persian arched screen in front of the central prayer hall are to be found at the Quwwat-al-Islam Mosque in Delhi and the Arhai-din-ka-Jhopra Mosque at Ajmeer. Indeed, as Brown puts it, "In its Indian form it was derived from the arched fronts of the brick-built mosques of the Persians, but these builders of the Caliphate had themselves drawn their inspiration from such structures as those at Ukhaidir and Samarra of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., now crumbling into dusts. In their turn the Arabs borrowed the arched motif from the vaulted palace at Ctesiphon (Pl. VI) the pride of the Sasanian kings of the third century, who again had acquired it from the palace of the Parthians at Hatra-built near Mosul in the second century A.D."

The Persian type of arched screen appears not only in Delhi and Ajmer but also in the buildings of Firuz Shah Tughluq and the monuments of Jaunpur. These served as the prototypes of the lofty arched facade, often referred to as *Maqsura* found in the Jami Masjid at Badaun (A.H. 607-33/A.D. 1211-36) and the Jami Masjid at Cambay (A.H. 725/A.D. 1325) and the Begumpuri Masjid at Delhi (c. A.H. 772/A.D. 1370). The process of integrating the arched screen with the liwan started in the Begumpuri Masjid and was perfected in the 'Atala Devi Masjid and the Jhanjri Masjid at Jaunpur dated A.H. 778-811/A.D. 1376-1408, and A.H. 833/A.D. 1430 respectively.

As Marshall puts it, "The idea of giving increased height and importance to the prayer chamber by throwing an arched screen across its facade had been, as we have already seen, initiated, three centuries before in the Quwwat-ul-Islam Mosque at Delhi, and since then had frequently found favour and been repeated in various forms. It was left, however, for the architect of the Atala Masjid to make of the screen a feature so massive and imposing as to overshadow all else in the quadrangle. This he did by devising the screen in the form of gigantic propylon, uncommonly like the propylons of ancient Egyptian temples, set in front of the central liwan of the prayer chamber and sufficiently lofty (75 feet) to hide from view the great dome behind it. The propylon consisted of two square and battering minarets with an immense arch between, the whole relieved by their tier upon tier of smaller arched recesses on trellised windows."

Following the Persian type of arched screen, as reworked in Indo-Muslim monuments in general and the Jaunpur mosques in particular, which date from the 15th century A.D., it seems quite probable that the Adina Masjid had a *liwan* arched facade, adorned with blind recesses, supported on either side by rectilinear towers, placed to the right and the left of the central *liwan* arch, with tiers of smaller blind arched recesses. (Pl.IV ; Fig. 2).

The Adina Mosque screen does not imitate the inclination or batter of the Begumpuri Mosque, built by Firuz Shah Tughluq, which became one of the most distinguishing features of Jaunpur architecture. The Adina screen has not the triple-arched entrance to the central vaulted hall, as observed in the Mosque of Damascus, the Begumpuri Masjid at Delhi and the Atala Devi Masjid at Jaunpur.

The most conspicuous feature of the Adina Masjid is, therefore, the central oblong hall or nave, with its great arched opening, leading to the central *mihrab*. The remains of the roofing prove that the nave was vaulted, the contour of the vault being determined by the pointed *liwan* arch. This vault was carried by two flanking massive walls, 14 feet 1 inch in thickness. They are pierced by five pointed arches, springing from four rectangular brick piers, oblong in plan, their wider sides transverse to the nave wall. These rectangular piers are strengthened by central rectangular attached pilasters from the top of which runs a stone stringcourse along each side of the nave.

The pilasters of the nave piers facing the prayer halls on either side form the base for the springing of the arches.

The vault over the nave of the Adina Masjid is probably one of the earliest attempted in Indo-Muslim architecture and as such it undoubtedly demonstrates the skill and ingenuity of the Bengali architects. Whatever may be the source of their inspiration, the brick pointed vault is integrally connected with the towering liwan arch. Beglar asserts that the arch was built without centering. This is unlikely. In any case, these arches are voussoired, the necessary thrust of the vault being carried by five superimposed blind arches, placed directly upon the arches of the piers below. These transverse pointed arches are formed by five courses of small red bricks. Traces of overhanging brick ribs are still extant above the northern wall of the nave, as may be seen in Plate V. Presumably there were 9 such ribs, 5 of which rose like pilasters through the crown of the blind arches and the rest are placed above the stone pilasters between the nave arches. Two horizontal stringcourses of stone intervene above which there is a wide band of incised brick ornamentation.

The bricks of the vault are laid flat, except for those of the superimposed arches, which are placed on edges. From the remains of the ribs, it is evident that the tunnel vault was carried by brick transverse arches. In spite of the ribs and superimposed arches, the vault of the Adina Masjid has long since disappeared.

Beglar suggests that the reasons for the collapse of the vault are the decomposition of wooden wall plates and the destruction of the pilasters which supported the ribs of the vault. The want of proper bonding between the brick work and the stone facing, as well as damp climate, luxurious vegetations and earthquakes all contributed to the destruction of the building. Beglar says that the mortar used was clay with some lime.

Beglar thought it necessary to set out an explanation of the presence of ribbed vaulting in the Adina Masjid. His English is obscure, but his passage is given as being the only description of the Adina Masjid vault hitherto available. He says, "The vault, however, was by no means a plain sheet vaulting ... the vault sheeting was strengthened at frequent intervals by projecting arched ribs of the same shape ; these arched ribs appear to have projected inwards about 8 inches, (there is not sufficient material available to fix, with absolute accuracy the exact number of inches ...). The ribs appear to me to have been of stones, not only because a number of large stones which would suit the ribs, were actually found among the debris on the floor of the vault, and must have fallen from the vault, the sheeting of which was wholly of brick, but because in support of this, the only rational explanation of their presence in the debris of the vault, there is the further circumstance, that the marks still existing on the portion of the vault, the possibility of doubt, that the extrados of these ribs extend beyond the

intrados of the brick sheet vaulting by as much as 4 inches as they have in every instances where they occurred left distinct depressed sharply defined channels and in no single instance is any single portion of these channels interrupted by projecting adhering fragments of brick work, which had the ribs been of bricks would have unavoidably been left in some one or more portions, even if the existing brickwork of the vault, had not shewn that had the ribs been of brick they would have been carefully bonded into the superimposed vault sheeting, and therefore would not, and could not, have left the clear, sharply defined depressed channels, which now exist and were for a long time a puzzle to me."

Beglar's lengthy arguments do not sound very convincing; firstly: since the nave and the *mihrab* wall are faced with stone, it is, indeed far-fetched to assume that all large cut-stones found in the debris formed part of the ribs alone; Secondly: "the sharply defined depressed channels", which, Beglar says, are remains of stone ribs, are in fact the remains of the horizontal stringcourse of ashlar masonry surmounted by two courses of decoration in stone.

The collapse of the vault has rendered the task of determining the method of building almost impossible. Nevertheless some sort of scaffolding and shuttering must have been used for the construction of the vault. Beglar describes the wooden wall plate from which it rose as follows: "Broken and dismantled though it is, enough of the lowest portion of the vault remain to

shew, that it sprang from a rectangular beam about 12×10 inches laid in a channel in the masonry in which it was imbedded. The wood has decayed and disappeared long ago, but the empty channel near the springing (with in places a crumbling woody powder now in it) as well as the hole into which the beam end was inserted in the inner face of the West wall of the nave still exists."

Experimental in conception as well as in execution, the imposing pointed tunnel vault of the oblong nave of the Adina Masjid is one of the earliest surviving examples in Indo-Pak sub-continent. It is indeed, very rare in pre-Mughal architecture, though the Langar ki Masjid at Gulbarga is another example.

Of all the structural devices to cover wide spaces, the vault is perhaps the most ingenious. Employed in Egypt and Mesopotamia as early as the second and third millenium B.C., vaulting was greatly developed by the skilled Persian builders. Reuther says, "The barrel vault must certainly be of Babylonian origin, for as numerous examples found in the excavations show, it was used there from a very early date to cover graves and canals, and it can also be seen in the round arches of the portals of the temples, palaces, town gates." There is little doubt that ribbed pointed vaults were a Persian invention, though in Indo-Pak sub-continent a limitation of scaffolding restricted its use.

It is clear that the vaulted nave of the Adina Masjid has its counterparts in the early Muslim building. Tunnel vaults as well as ribbed vaults are demonstrated by the monuments, cited below :—

<i>Date</i> A.D.	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monument</i>	<i>Type</i>
707-9	Qusayr al-Hallabat	Mosque	Masonry tunnel vault
712-15	Qusayr 'Amra	Audience Hall in the Bath	Cross, tunnel and ribbed masonry vault
725-30	Hamam as-Sarkh	Bath rooms	Cross and tunnel masonry vault
728-29	Qasr al-Hair	Palace and Mosque	Brick tunnel vault
744	Mshatta	Palace	Brick tunnel vault
744	Qasr at-Tuba	Palace	Brick tunnel vault
762-63	Baghdad	The Round City of al-Mansur, Taqat between the inner and main wall	Brick transverse vault
772	Raqqa	The Baghdad Gate	Brick tunnel vault
778	Atsan	Palace	Brick tunnel vault

<i>Date</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monument</i>	<i>Type</i>
789	Ramla	Cistern	Rubble tunnel vault on transverse arches
821-22	Ribat of Susa	Mosque and Palace	Masonry tunnel vault on transverse arches
836	Samarra	Jausaq al-Khaqani	Brick tunnel vault
836-49	Susa	The mosque of Bu Fatata	Masonry tunnel vault
850-51	Susa	The Great Mosque	Masonry tunnel vault
862 Before	Samarra	Qubbat as-Sulaibiya	Masonry tunnel vault
876	Basatin	The Aqueduct	tunnel vault

Persian Examples Earlier Than The Adina Masjid Are :

750-86	Damghan	Tarikh Khana Masjid	Mud brick tunnel vault'elliptical
9th century	Kaj	Mosque	Brick tunnel vault
973-4	Nayin	Mosque	Brick tunnel vault
1150-60	Ardistan	Mosque	Ivan tunnel vault
11th century	Isfahan	Mosque	Ribbed tunnel vault
1121-22	Marv	Tomb of Sanjar	Ribbed tunnel vault
1135-36	Zawara	Mosque	Brick tunnel vault

<i>Date</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monument</i>	<i>Type</i>
1304	Natanz	Mosque	Brick vault
1299-	Linjan near	Mausoleum	Brick ribbed tunnel
1312	Isfahan	of Pir-i-Bakran	vault
1308	Astarjan	Mosque	Stalactite and pointed brick vault, both cross and tunnel
1310-20	Tabriz	Mosque	Tunnel vault
Early 14th century	Baghdad	Khan Ortma	Ribbed tunnel vault
1320	Farumad	Mosque	Vaulted Ivan
1322	Varamin	Mosque	Vaulted Ivan
1324-65	Yazd	Mosque	Vaulted Ivan
1324-65	Kirman	Mosque	Stalactite vaulting in the Portal

Indian examples of the ribbed tunnel vault include the Langar ki-Masjid, dating from the middle of the 14th century and the Jami Masjid of Gulbarga, which is dated A.H. 769/A.D. 1367, which are practically contemporary with the Adina Masjid, and the following three later examples, namely, the Gunmant Masjid at Gaud (A. H. 889/A. D. 1484), the Katra or the caravanserai at Old Malda (A. H. 974/A.D. 1596 and the passage between the Naubat Khana and the Lahore Gate (A. H. 1068/A.D. 1658).

Tracing the origin of the transverse arches of the tunnel vault, Creswell points out to the Nabataean monuments in the Hauran (late A. D. 105), where because of the absence of wood, masonry arcades

formed the chief medium of architectural expression. However, the transition from flat stone roofing on transverse arches to the tunnel vault on a series of evenly placed ribs, is attained in the Parthian Palace of Hatra. (late A. D. 226). The Sasanian Persians are credited with the integration of the barrel catenary vault with the transverse entrance arch as found in Taq-i-Kharkha, founded by Shahpur II (d. A. D. 379), but the catenary arch was not widely used in Islamic architecture, the example of the Tarikh Khana at Damghan being the only exception.

On the other hand, the practice of roofing by parallel vaults, resting on transverse arches which spring from very low pilasters, is demonstrated in the Qusayr al-Hallabat, the Qasr-i-Kharana, Qusayr 'Amra, and Hammam as-Sarkh, listed above. Unlike the parallel vaulting system observed in these Umayyad monuments, the 'Abbasid palace of Ukhaidir marks a definite departure, the creation of a continuous tunnel vault carried on cross arches. Another example of this method also occurs in the Cistern of Ramla.

Among the earliest surviving examples of ribbed tunnel vaults in Islamic architecture in Persia are the Mosque of Isfahan dated in the 11th century and the tomb of Sanjar at Marv (A. D. 1121-22). In the Il-Khanid period, the Ivan of the Mosque at Natanz, the Ivan below the shaking minarets at Garladan, and, also, those in the Madrasa Imami at Isfahan and in the Pir-i-Bakran Mausoleum at Linjan near Isfahan all have ribbed vaulting of the kind observed in the early

Persian monuments. In the development of the Persian type of vaulted Ivan, the Jami' Masjid at Tabriz plays a leading role. It surpasses the Taq-i-Ivan at Ctesiphon (Pl.VI) in dimension, measuring 80 feet in height and 100 feet in span. Upham Pope says : "This is the largest brick vault ever built, exceeding the widest medieval cathedrals in Europe, that of the Cathedral of Gerona, by more than 25 feet (7.6m) and even surpassing the span of the Taq-i-Kisra by 16 feet (4.8m)". The vaulted nave with a central niche and a *mihrab* buttress of the Tabriz mosque resembles the Adina Masjid, which also has its mihrab niche constructed in an external buttress.

In conclusion, it may be said that the tunnel vaulted nave of the Adina Masjid is a striking innovation in Indo-Muslim architecture. It was obviously inspired by early Islamic and Persian antecedents, as discussed above. That the Persian influence was overwhelming not only by the vault, but also by the five blind arches on either side of the nave which have ribs running up to their crown, forming a sort of 'tripod' (Upham Pope), probably modelled after those in the arched squinches of the Tomb of Isma'il the Samanid at Bukhara, as referred to by Upham Pope.

The tunnel vault carried on transverse arches is, of course, a feature of European Christian architecture. Fergusson in describing the Churches of Auvergnay says, "the side aisles are always covered by intersecting vaults, but that of the nave is always a simple tunnel vault

as in the Southern styles, ornamented by occasional transverse ribs, and in the Church at Issoire slightly pointed." Fergusson, writing of the Southern Church of Pontfroide, points out that it has "a plain tunnel-vault unbroken by any intersection throughout the whole length of the nave".

This does not seem to have been attempted in Islamic architecture. However, in the Langar-ki Masjid and the Jami Masjid at Gulbarga, the central nave is roofed by a series of transverse barrel vaults, i. e., the nave is spanned by a series of arches from which spring transverse barrel vaults. This construction is found at the famous Abbey of Tournus in Burgundy. Fergusson writes, "The nave is separated from the aisles by plain cylindrical columns without bases, the capitals of which are joined by circular arches at the height of the vaults of the aisle. From the capitals rise dwarf columns supporting arches thrown across the nave. From one of these arches to the other is thrown a tunnel vault, which thus runs the cross way of the building; being, in fact, a series of arches like those of a bridge extending the whole length of the nave. This is, I believe, the only known instance of this arrangement, and is interesting as contrasting with the longitudinal tunnel vaults so common both in this province and the south". Tournus is usually dated early eleventh century A.D. The Jami' Masjid at Gulbarga (A.H. 768/A.D. 1367) and the Langar-ki-Masjid is approximately the same date.

THE CENTRAL *MIHRAB*

The sumptuously carved central *mihrab* of fine-grained black basalt is a unique example of the stone carvers' art. (Pl. VII) Francklin regards it as "beautifully sculptured in black marble and adorned with a profusion of flowers cut in the marble." The black stone used in the central *mihrab* is a basalt and not marble; it takes a high polish, giving it a superb effect as the central object of the vaulted nave. The *mihrab* niche is framed by a recessed cinquefoil arch. It is enclosed by an elegantly designed trefoil arch supported on two ornate monolithic attached columns. Beglar suggests that the *mihrab* of the Adina Masjid was transferred from a Hindu temple. He says, "Of the Hindu sculpture, the most striking and superb is beyond question the trefoil arch and pillars of the main prayer niche." But there are no grounds for his assertion. The Adina Masjid *mihrab*, forming a single work of art, must be accepted as contemporary with the fabric of the Masjid itself. But it must be admitted that the style is local. As at Old Delhi, the skill of Hindu craftsmen seems to have been enlisted in the carvings of the central *Mihrab*. The main trefoil arch of the *Mihrab* of the Adina Masjid is derived from the *Mihrab* arches below the pulpit of the Mosque of Chhoto Pandua, dated c. A. D. 1300 as well as in the Mosque of 'Umariyya in Mosul and in an earlier example in the Dome of the Rock known as Solomon's *mihrab*.

Particular attention has been drawn to the curiously interesting designs of the archivolt of the niche. The conventional grotesque Lion's head at the crown and the *Kinnara* and *Kinnari* at the haunches, which appear in the lintel of the Vaishnava temple from Gaud, according to many scholars have been transformed into graceful foliage, palmette and sensuous tendrils. The predominant motifs of ornamentation in the central *mihrab* wall are interlocking designs (Fig.6), decorative frieze, lotus medallions and triangular tympana and inscription. (Pl.VII; Fig. 7. No. 2).

In many ways, the concave *mihrab*, semi-circular in outline, of the Adina Masjid corresponds with many earlier niches found in mosques throughout the Islamic world. Its origin has been traced by eminent scholars to the mosque of the Prophet at Madina, rebuilt by 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, the Governor of the Hijaz under Caliph al-Walid I in A. D. 706-7. But strikingly similar examples appear in the following monuments of Islam.

<i>Date</i> A.D.	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monument</i>
706-7	Madina	Mosque of the Prophet, rebuilt by 'Umar II
705-15	Damascus	Walid's Jami Mosque. "The <i>mihrab</i> of the Companion of the Prophet"
705-15	'Umm al-Walid	Mosque built during the reign of Walid I

<i>Date</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monument</i>
705-15	Khan al-Zabib	Mosque built during the reign of Walid I
705-15	Palace of Khirbat al-Minya	Mosque built during the reign of Walid I
707-9	Qusayr al-Hallabat	Mosque
715-16	Jerusalem	Mosque of Aqsa, reconstructed by Walid I
717-20	Ramla	<i>mihrab</i> called Jami' al-Abyad
724-43	Khirbat al-Majfar	Mosque of Hisham
728-29	Qasr al-Hair	Mosque
743-44	Mshatta	Apsidal recesses which are not really <i>mihrabs</i>
743-44	Qasr al-Tuba	Shapeless niches which according to Creswell may have been intended for <i>mihrabs</i>
744-45	Harran	Mosque
762-3-7	Baghdad	Mosque of al-Mansur, the Khassaki <i>mihrab</i>
772-4	Qairawan	Mosque
838-41	Susa	Mosque
849-59	Samarra	Palace of Balkuwara
850-1	Susa	Great Mosque
876-79	Cairo	Ibn Tulun's Mosque
970-2	Cairo	Mosque of al-Azhar
1085	Cairo	<i>Mihrab</i> of Zawiyat al-Juyushi

As against these long series of concave *mihrabs*, flat rectangular *mihrabs* did dominate the early

mosques of Persia, such as those at the Tarikh Khana at Damghan, the Jami' Masjid at Nayin and the Masjid-i-Sang at Darab, etc. However, concave mihrabs do exist in Persia, for instance the superbly executed stucco *mihrab* of the Masjid-i-Jami' at Riza' iya (A.D. 1277) which is formed by a trefoil arch set in an immense rectangular frame and ornamented with rich stucco encrustation. Other examples of the semi-circular *mihrab* are to be seen in the Masjid-i-Jami of 'Ali Shah at Tabriz (A.D. - 1310-20), the Gunbad-i-Alayivan at Hamadan (A.D. 1315), the Jami' Masjid at Varamin and the Masjid-i-Jami' at Marand.

It may not be out of place to mention that flat rectangular *mihrabs* occur in a number of early Indian mosques, namely the *Quwwat-al-Islam* Mosque at Delhi, the Tomb of Iltutmish at Delhi, the "Jama' at Khana at the Dargah of Nizamuddin Aulia, the tomb of Sultan Ghari as well as the Jaunpur mosques. The earliest notable examples of a concave semi-circular *mihrab* in Indo-Pakistan mosques is in the *Arhai din-ka Jhompra* at Ajmer. It is also found at the Mosque of Jafar Khan Ghazi at Tribeni and the Chhoto Pandua Mosque in Hughli.

MINBAR

Beglar's description of the pulpit (*minbar*) (Pl.VII) is somewhat obscure: "of the other portions, obviously designed for stone, the most prominent and important,

as well as graceful object, is the pulpit; the proportions of its parts are too slender to be suited for brick work, it bears little internal or external stress and strain, has stood fairly well, and but for the falling in of the vault, whose fall destroyed the roof and the handrail, and injured some other parts, it might have stood a thing of beauty, for an indefinite period."

It is a double-storied structure, placed against the western wall, north of the central *mihrab*. The lower part has two arched openings on either side ornamented with a fringe of spear-heads which are repeated on the upper part. This is supported by four square piers, carrying pointed arches on three sides: the fourth which is attached to the western wall is filled by a flat richly carved *mihrab* with the hanging chain and lamp motif, which is common in Indo-Islamic architecture. The design in the *mihrab* has exactly the same kind of workmanship as the central *mihrab*.

So far as the remains of the pendentives and the roof slabs allow us to hazard a reconstruction, it may be reasonably assumed that the pulpit was roofed over by a hemispherical cupola, probably resembling those of the prayer halls. Its destruction was probably caused by the fall of the vault.

The existence of octagonal sockets with elongated grooves in the two front pillars can be explained only by the fact that the staircase had balustrades, which

have disappeared. This view gains further support by the discovery of small tenons on either side in the steps of the staircase. Obviously, these fitted into corresponding mortices in the balustrades. The pulpit staircase is built of large slabs of black basalt, placed one upon the other.

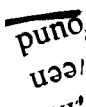
The discovery of an odd fragment of Hindu sculpture found built into the steps of the staircase has led many scholars to ascribe a pre-Muslim origin to the Adina Masjid. As Cunningham puts it, "The steps leading up to the pulpit have fallen down, and, on turning over one of the steps I found a line of Hindu sculpture of very fine and bold execution. This stone is 4 feet in length and apparently formed part of a frieze. The main ornament is a line of circular panels $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, formed by continuous intersecting lotus stalks. There are five complete panels, and two half-panels which have been cut through. These two contain portions of an elephant and a rhinoceros. In the complete panels are (1) cow and a calf (2) human figures broken ; (3) a goose ; (4) a man and woman ; and a crocodile ; (5) two elephants. The carving is deep and the whole has been polished." This sculpture is still visible. It is, therefore, clear that the exigencies of the circumstances led to the utilization of some Hindu materials available on the site. Nevertheless, such mutilated fragments hardly testify to the fact that the Adina Masjid was built on the ruins of an ancient Indian temple.

It is interesting to note that in construction as well as in its balustrades and canopied platform, the Adina pulpit corresponds unmistakably with the *minbar* of the Masjid of Chhoto Pandua in the District of Hughli (c. A. D. 1300). A later example of the similar type of *minbar* is also found in the Jami' Masjid at Mandu (A.D. 1440).

The spearhead fringe in the soffit of the arches of the pulpit is reminiscent of the similar ornamental device in other early Indo-Muslim monuments. This device is prominent in the '*Ala' i Darwaza* at Delhi and the *Jama' at Khana* 'Masjid at Nizamuddin's Dargah at Delhi as well as in the Jaunpur mosques, the Ukha Masjid at Bayana and the Jami' Masjid at Mandu. It also occurs in the window panels of the Lattan Masjid, in the entrance gate of the tomb of 'Ala ul Haq' and in the Chhoto Sona Masjid, all situated at Gaud.

The risers of the stairs are carved with distinctive geometrical and floral patterns, recalling those in the pulpit of the Jami' Masjid at Ahmadabad. The common motifs represented in these two pulpits are balustrades containing rosettes and quatrefoil designs. When the Adina pulpit was intact, it must have been both elegant and decorative. In any case, it hardly calls for Buchanan's remark that it is "a small ill-nceived stair."

YER HALLS

 To the north and the south of the central vaulted and communicating with it by five arches, there

are the arcaded prayer halls. (Pl. I) They are divided by four longitudinal rows of stone pillars into five broad aisles. Each row consists of 19 pointed brick arches carried on 18 stone pillars. All the pillars, excepting those supporting the zenana gallery to be described later, are slender and well-proportioned.

Facing the courtyard, there are 14 rectangular brick piers on each side of the nave, carrying 15 two-centred pointed arches of 8 feet span. The lower portions of these are cased with ashlar masonry and form an impressive facade. The order of the voussoired arches of the *liwan* facade recall similar features in Islamic monuments in Iraq and Persia, such as the blind arches of the Baghdad Gate at Raqqa, the eastern gate of the Palace at Ukhaider and the Jausaq al-Khaqani, known as Bab al-'Ammā at Samarra. The Masjid-i-Jami' at Varamin provides one of the most interesting Persian examples of this feature. Its Indian counterparts are to be seen in the 'Ala'i Darwaza, both in the entrance archway as well as in the receding arches of the squinch, in the Mosque at Cambay, and in the Tomb of Firuz Shah Tughlaq at Delhi.

NORTHERN HALL

The western wall of the northern prayer hall is pierced by the openings on either side of the zena gallery, which reduce the number of niches between the pilaster of the back walls from the 16 in the southern prayer hall to 14. These postern gateways are built out of elements of Hindu door frames

and, therefore are unusual features, rarely found in Indian mosques. It is hard to believe that they were provided for the use of the general worshippers. Probably they were for the use of the attendants, palanquin-bearers and entourage of the King and his Ladies, who entered the Mosque through the adjoining Ladies' vestibule.

The niches below the pilasters of the western wall of the two prayer halls are filled by concave semi-circular *mihirabs*. (Pl. XI) These are all of identical workmanship, and must be contemporary. However, there is one exception which differs from all the others. Here the trefoil arch corresponds generally with that of the central *mihirabs*. The arch itself has a superimposed ribbed roof, recalling Hindu architecture. The face of the trefoil is decorated with a lotus and diamond band, the pilasters on either side having *kumbha* bases and looped garlands on their shafts. All these details are different from the rest of the decorative motifs in the Adina Masjid. But there are no grounds for the suggestion that the work is Hindu or that it is built up of fragments of a destroyed Hindu temple. The space between the pilasters of this *mihirab* and the stone-face of the brick wall is filled with fragmentary remains of Hindu sculpture.

* The tympana-like fillings of the pointed arches over the *mihirabs* in the northern prayer halls are exquisitely carved in brick displaying a variety of designs and bonding.

There are five trellis windows in the northern and southern ends of the prayer halls, corresponding with the arcading of the colonnades. There must have been trellises, though the work has been entirely destroyed. Perforated windows are found in the 'Ala'i Darwaza but the use of trellis or pierced screens was not common until the 14th century A.D., when it appears to have been carried to a great extent as proved by the Adina Masjid screens.

Ilahi Bakhsh says that there is a masonry tomb in the prayer hall near the pulpit; this is, however, a interpolation.

THE ZENANA GALLERY

The predominant feature of the northern prayer chamber is the Zenana Gallery. (Pl. IX). This is a structure of great architectural importance. In the monumental effect of its design, the solidity of its proportions, boldness of execution and refined elegance of workmanship, it surpasses most mosques. According to Westmacott, the Adina Masjid gallery is unique, but this is not so. Zenana Galleries are found in Indo-Islamic architecture, but they do not occur in Persia or Arabia. They are therefore, eventually Indo-Islamic in origin.

Francklin describes it as follows, although his placing of the gallery in the southern prayer hall is inaccurate: "In the south (north) west aisle is a raised platform of stone, 80 feet in length by 40 feet in breadth and 12 feet high; not only is the terrace of stone but

the beams and arches are likewise of mafsys (massive stone); underneath the beams are roses carved with much taste. This Terrace which was entered by a door from east-wards (westwards) was peculiarly appropriated as a place of devotion by the King, his nobility who set apart from the multitude below in the body of the mosque”.

The stone floor of the Zenana Gallery is supported by 21 massive piers of fine-grained black basalt. (Pl. VIII). The piers are squat and ponderous unlike the 10 fluted columns of the gallery. Raising the gallery 8 feet from the paved floor of the northern prayer hall, these pillars have cruciform impost blocks, like those in the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque at Delhi. Unlike the slender circular shafts of the pillars in the outer parts of the Mosque which are hollow and filled in with rubble, these heavy pillars seem to be solid. When the patience and the skill spent on the work are considered, these squat pillars are of considerable grace and elegance, and therefore, hardly call for Beglar's remarks as to their “slipshod style.” Earlier examples of such ponderous pillars are to be seen at the Mosque of Zafar Khan at Tribeni as well as the Gunmant Masjid at Gaud, the former being earlier than the Adina Masjid, the latter later.

The Zenana Gallery is divided into 6 bays, running at right angles to the *qibla* wall, supported by 5 rows of slender fluted pillars of a remarkable design. (Pl. X) Fluting as an ornamental device is found in the

Minar at Chhoto Pandua (c.A.D. 1300), in the corner towers of the Adina Masjid, the Gumti gate (A.D. 1512) and the Lattan Masjid (A.H. 1493-1519).

Considering the prevalence of purdah in Medieval Bengali society, it is presumed that the Zenana Gallery was enclosed by a perforated screen or '*iali*'. The original lattice screen of the Zenana Gallery must have been removed by vandals. Beglar writes; "The fact of my having actually found pieces of fish scale and quatrefoil pattern stone lattice work, in the debris just under the edges of the platform, goes to prove, even, if no other traces of their use existed (and they do exist) that lattice screen certainly of the fish scale, and quatrefoil patterns, were used".

It is interesting to note in this connection that 'Abid 'Ali found a perforated screen and a pair of curiously carved pillars, in the *Dargah* of Shah Jalal at Hazrat Pandua, a little south of the Adina Masjid. He says, "in the shrine of Shah Jalal at Pandua several stone slabs can be seen in the cornice of the *Chilla Khana* and at the entrance to the shrine. These were probably brought from the *Badshah-ka-Takht*. (The Zenana Gallery of the Adina Masjid). There were railings on three sides of the *Takht* but no traces of them have been found. It is said that these railings originally belonged to a Buddhist temple." But this is impossible. If the *Dargah* lattices ever belonged to the Adina Masjid, as 'Abid 'Ali thinks, it is clear that they are the handiworks of Hindu artisans

working under the supervision of a Muslim architectural overseer. Beglar admits that the screen in question conforms to the idea of a "*jali*" as used by Muslims in many mosques in Indo-Pak sub-continent. The zenana gallery is a common feature and perforated screens are indispensable for it as can be seen at Delhi, Jaunpur, Ahmadabad, Mandu and elsewhere. The existence of a lattice screen may be established by the fact that sockets at the base of the imposts placed over the outer rows of stumpy pillars are still visible.

The zenana gallery communicates with the zenana chamber, as an adjacent square building outside the mosque proper immediately to the west of the gallery, by two gateways, pierced in the thickness of the western *qibla* wall. (Pl. IX). To the south and the north of these gateways there are also two door frames in the western wall which open out to the interior of the mosque as already mentioned. Beglar pointed out that the door frames of all these four doorways are built up of fragments from some other buildings. He identifies the work as being Hindu but admits that he does not know any local source from their fragments. The work is more or less of the same kind as that to be seen in the postern gate. In all these doorways various Indian motifs attract undivided attention. These include pot and foliage, pilasters, door guardians and the intertwined *nagas* on the lintel. The utilization of non-Muslim material in the Adina Masjid as well as in later Mosques in Gaud and Hazrat Pandua is supported by two

fragments in the British Museum. They are cut in basalt and the first shows finely cut Muslim diaper work on one side and the figure of Buddha on the other. Another fragment has the image of probably the goddess Usha on the other. The work indicates that these fragments came from Gaud or Hazrat Pandua.

The existing tomb and mosque of Zafar Khan Ghazi at Tribeni is another example of contemporary Hindu fragments being utilized in Muslim structure. The entrance gateway to the *Minar* at Chhoto Pandua as well as that of the Eklakhi Mausoleum at Hazrat Pandua provide parallels for zenana gateways. The floor of the zenana gallery with its worn basalt paving slabs is supported by the squat pillars of the prayer hall below. These support bays roofed by a corbelled construction of plain slabs placed across the corners of the bays. At earlier mosques, such as the Quwwat al-Islam, internal domes constructed in this way were removed from Hindu temples. Here the old Indian method is still utilized with fresh material. Beglar's description is as usual somewhat obscure but he enters the measurements implicated which give some idea of the scale of the work.

Much of these finely conceived and constructed floor has been destroyed and the basalt slab used carried away. In 1902-3 the Archaeological Survey of India restored the platform with wooden planks. Although much of the zenana gallery has been

ruined, it is comparatively the best preserved part of the Mosque today. This is due to the supporting ponderous stone pillars, carrying the heavy weight of the superstructure above. The pointed brick arches springing from the fluted tapering columns of the zenana gallery as well as from heavy impost blocks, resting on those stumpy pillars.

The zenana gallery is carried by brick arches springing from the heavy impost blocks of its fluted columns. These arches carry 18 brick hemispherical domes, covering the 18 bays of the gallery. The transition from the square to the circular base of these domes is achieved by stalactite pendentives of brick. It is interesting that the construction should be used to the exclusion of arched squinches though small bricks are used and these are richly carved. It is true that carved brick work of 5th century Gupta origin is to be found in India but the carved brick work of the Bengal mosques derive indirectly from the work at the Tomb of Isma'il the Samanid at Bukhara.

In discussing the origin of the squinch and the pendentive in early Muslim architecture, Creswell notes that the latter is earlier than the former, which is a Sasanian feature preserved in the Umayyad monuments. He adds that the pendentive is a Byzantine feature developed in the Christian Syrian Churches. Triangular spherical pendentives appear in the Qusayr 'Amra and Hammam al-Sarkh.

In the Islamic Persian monuments both the squinch and the pendentive are used. In Indo-Islamic architecture the earliest known examples of the squinch are to be found in the Tomb of Iltutmish, the Ala'i Darwaza and the Jama' at Khana Masjid at Delhi, as well as later in the 'Atala Devi Mosque at Jaunpur.

The characteristic brick pendentives found in the Adina Masjid are copied at the Tantipara Masjid, the Lattan Masjid, the Chhoto Sona Masjid and the Bara Sona Masjid. They are, therefore, typical of the work of the whole region.

On the west *qibla* wall of the zenana gallery four *mihrab* slabs appear filling the spaces. To the south of the entrance doors one of these *mihrahs* to one side of the doors is flat and the carving with which it is embellished is of the same kind as that of the doorways. It would, therefore, seem that this *mihrab* may have been derived from an earlier building. If this is so, there can be no doubt that it was a Muslim building for the cusped arched frame enclosing a finely cut chain and bell motif also bears in Tughra character *Kalima Shahadat* inscribed on a stone measuring 8" X 7".

Text : لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Translation : "There is no God but God : Muhammad is his Prophet"

The remaining 3 *mihrahs* differ entirely in design, being concave and not flat, the spandrels of their cusped arches being filled by two projecting rosette medallions. They, also, bear the hanging bell-and-chain motifs and a long inscription.

The inscription in the *mihrab* to the south of the flat *mihrab* runs as follows :

قال الله تعالى عز من قائل وجل من متكلم - اعوذ
 بالله من الشيطان الرجيم - ان الله هو السميع العليم -
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم - الذين امنوا وهاجروا و
 جاهدوا فى سبيل الله باموالهم وانفسهم اعظم درجة
 عند الله و اولئك هم الفائزون - يبشروهم ربهم بوحمة
 منه ورضواناً و جنت لهم فيها نعيم مقيم خالدين فيها
 ابدأ ان الله عنده اجر عظيم *

Translation : "Allah the Great, Greater than any Sayer and nobler than any speaker, said : Seek refuge with Allah from the cursed Satan. Surely Allah is the one who hears most and knows best. In the name of Allah, the Clement, the Merciful. They who have believed and fled from their homes, and stricken with their substance and with their persons on the path of Allah, are of the highest rank with Allah : and these are they who shall enjoy felicity. Their Lord, by His Mercy and pleasure assures Paradise to them; therein they will abide in plenty for ever and in perpetuity. Verily with Allah is great recompense."

Round the rectangular frame of the zenana niche or *mihrab* to the south of the previous niche runs a broad rectangular frieze, measuring 160 inches by 15 inches. It contains a beautiful inscription in fine carving, intertwined with spiral tendrils. It runs as follows :

Text :

لقد صدق الله رسوله الرؤيا بالحق لتدخلن المسجد الحرام انشاء الله امنين مخلصين رؤوسكم ومقصرين لا تخافون فعلم ما لم تعلموا فجعل من دون ذلك فتحاً قريباً - هو الذى ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهرة على الدين كله وكفى بالله شهيداً - محمد رسول الله و الذين معه اشداء على الكفار رحماء بينهم تراهم ركعاً سجداً يبتغون فضلاً من الله ورضواناً *

Translation ; “Now hath Allah in truth verified unto his Apostle the vision wherein He said, “Ye surely enter the sacred Mosque (of Mecca) if Allah please, in full security, having your heads shaved, and your hair cut : ye shall not bear, for Allah knoweth that which ye know not, and He hath appointed for you, besides this, a speedy Victory”. It is He who hath sent His Apostle with “the Guidance” and religion of truth; that He may exalt the same above every religion : and Allah is a sufficient witness hereof. Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah; and those who are with him are most vehement against unbelievers

but full of tenderness among themselves. Thou mayest see them blowing down, prostrating themselves, imploring favours from Allah and His good pleasure." (Pl. X)

The inscription cut skilfully in elegant Naskh, set in spiral floral background contains the verses from the Qur'an, namely Sura XLVIII, Verses 27, 28 29. In the middle of the rectangular frame, beneath the broad horizontal frieze runs another short inscription taken from the Qur'anic verse 56 of the Sura (Chapter) XXXIII. It runs as follows :

Text : ان الله وملئكته يصلون على النبي
يا ايها الذين امنوا صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما *

Translation : "Verily Allah and His angels bless the Prophet. Bless ye him. O Believers, and salute him with salutations of peace."

To the south of the third *mihrab* in the zenana gallery, there exists another *mihrab*. Unlike the flat *mihrab* described earlier it is a semi-circular niche with cinquefoil arch, forming an alcove. An intricate device of chiselling displays the rich texture to the surface, often mistaken for glazed tile work. Undoubtedly the surface of the concave *mihrab* and its frame is polished smooth. Both the first and the second *mihrabs* are alike in various ornamental motifs. Like the other two concave *mihrabs* in the zenana gallery, *mihrab* No. I also contains verses of the Qur'an, exquisitely carved in black basalt. Horn says, "The intervals between the single letters

and the words are always copiously ornamented with floral arabesques." Ravenshaw has incorporated this inscription but unfortunately reproduced it in reverse, creating confusion. The verse forming the inscription taken from the *Ayat al Kursi* or the Throne Verse of the Qur'an (being Sura II, Verses 256,257) is similar to the first few lines of the epigraphical record over the gate of the enclosure of 'Alaul Haqq's tomb. It runs as follows :

الله لا اله الا هو الحى القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا
 نوم له ما فى السموت وما فى الارض من ذا الذى
 يشفع عنده الا باذنه يعلم ما بين ايديهم وما خلفهم
 ولا يحيطون بشي من علمه الا بما شاء - وسع كرسيه
 السموات والارض ولا يوده حفظهما وهو العلى
 العظيم *

Translation : "Allah ! There is no god but He ! the Living, the Self-subsisting, neither slumber seizeth Him nor sleep ; His is whatsoever is in the Heavens and whatsoever is in the Earth ! who is he that can intercede with Him but by His own permission ? He knoweth what is present with his creatures, and what is yet to befall them ; ye nought of His knowledge do they comprehend save what He willeth. His Throne reacheth over the Heavens and the Earth, and the upholding of both burdeneth Him not ; and He is the High, the Great."

Prasad has described the raised platform in the northern prayer hall in the Adina Masjid as "*Takhtgah-i-sang-i-Nimazgah-i-Badshahan wa shahzadgan*", or

“stone platform of the place of worship by kings and princes.” The term *Badshah-ka-Takht*, used by many historians, is quite inappropriate, as it was primarily meant for the ladies of the *Harem*. Beglar is quite logical in denying this term and describing it as the Ladies Gallery. The existence of such a secluded platform distinct from the congregation halls, is, however, proved by similar zenana galleries in the Tantipara Masjid, the Gunmant Masjid, the Chhoto Sona Masjid and the Bara Sona Masjid, all of which are situated at Gaud. Moreover, as Beglar points out, the “close proximity of a covered and screened privy” to the adjoining Zenana Chamber as well as the existence of a sloping stone ramp in the open vestibule to the north of the chamber indicate that they are all meant for use of the Harem ladies. Therefore, as Marshall puts it, “it was primarily built for the zenana but which is now generally called *Badshah-ka-Takht*.” Fergusson regards it as the King’s Throne or Royal Gallery. Nizamuddin Ahmed states, “Khizr Khan Turk had married the daughter of Mahmud Shah III Bengali and was behaving in his “sitting”. B. Dey, the translator of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizamuddin, explains the “sitting” after *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* as the *Toki* or the upper place. The *Toki* is referred to in the large raised platform in the Adina Masjid, where the Sultan and his entourage sat and prayed. Therefore, the raised platform, primarily meant for the purdah-observing ladies of the Royal Household, came to be also used by the King who naturally

wanted segregation for probable political reasons from the congregation below in the body of the mosque. It, however, neither accomodated the *mullah*, as Saraswati thinks, nor the nobility, as stated by Francklin.

The concept of isolation in congregation practised by the Caliphs and his Governors of early Islam may be traced to the *maqsura* probably introduced by Muawiyah. But before it emerged, there was a type of square mosque with adjoining *Dar al-Imara*, placed back to back against the *qibla* wall, which persisted for more than two centuries. Remarkable examples of the combination between the secular and the religious buildings are to be found not only in the earliest mosques of Islam at Madina, but also, at Kufa, Basra, Fustat, Wasit, Baghdad, Samarra, Ibn Tulun, and Qairawan, etc.

Curiously enough, the zenana gallery is conspicuous by its absence in Persian Islamic architecture, presumably because Shi'ism did not descriminate between the sexes in places of public worship. Nevertheless, the ancient practice did not become obsolete as it was revived in Spain on the one hand and India on the other.

The earliest surviving examples of the zenana gallery are to be seen on raised platforms to the north of the central *mihrab* in many Indo-Pakistan mosques. As Marshall puts it, "In the mosque of Shah Alam at Timurpur, there occurs the earliest Gallery in the rear corner of the prayer chamber, which henceforth

was to become the orthodox position for these galleries." Against Marshall's contention it may be pointed out that the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque at Delhi had four entresol galleries at the four corners of the Mosque, presumably meant for the ladies of the court.

A few striking examples of the zenana gallery are to be seen in the following mosques of India.

<i>Date</i> A.D.	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monuments</i>
1192	Delhi	Quwwat al-Islam Mosque
1325	Cambay	The Jami' Masjid
1333	Dholka	Mosque of Hilal Khan Kazi
1361	Dholka	The Tanka Masjid
1405	Dhar	The Lat Masjid
1408	Jaunpur	The Atala Devi Mosque
1411	Ahmedabad	Ahmad Shah's Mosque
1440	Mandu	The Jami' Masjid
1453	Sarkhej	Mosque of Darya Khan
1480	Gaud	The Tantipara Mosque
16th cent	Bijapur	The Mosque of Afzal Khan

<i>Date</i>	<i>Provenance</i>	<i>Monnments</i>
1493-1519	Gaud	The Chhoto Sona Masjid
1523	Bagha, Rajshahi	The Mosque
1525-26	Gaud	The Bara Sona Masjid
1558	Kusumbha, Rajshahi	The Mosque

Therefore, it is no wonder that the Adina Masjid which in boldness of conception and richness of decoration has surpassed all the earlier mosques of India, maintains a link in many architectural features, the zenana gallery being an example.

The institution of the zenana gallery in a mosque reflects the social atmosphere of Medieval Bengal. It is a brilliant testimony to the tolerance and catholicity of the Muslim rulers towards the fair sex. As Bloch puts it, "I may mention in passing that the peculiar custom among the Muhammadans of Bengal, of allowing there wives and daughters to attend Divine Service in the Mosque, is interesting also, in so far as it affords to us an illustration of the great respect shown by them towards the weaker sex."

SQUARE ANNEXE

A curiously interesting feature of the Adina Masjid is the square structure, adjoining the outer wall of the qibla on the northern side of the central *mihrab*. It communicates with the zenana gallery by lintelled doorways, formed by Hindu door jambs, as stated earlier.

According to Beglar it measures externally 54 feet by 48 feet, whereas 'Abid Ali' notes that this roofless annexe is 42 feet square. It stands on a very high plinth, raising the floor to the level of the Ladies' gallery. The plinth is built of random rubble work with conventionalised Buddhist railing ornament resembling those in the dadoes of the *qibla* wall of the mosque.

The square annexe with walls 6 feet 8 inches thick was probably roofed over by domes, as the remains of four square stone bases of pillars, two in two rows, supporting the domes on arches, as well as the pilasters in the *qibla* wall, are still visible. These pillars are circular in shape, from which spring transverse and longitudinal arches. These arches carry 9 domes probably by the similar brick stalactite pendentives observed inside the mosque. In other words, the space inside the annexe is divided into 9 small squares, each surmounted by a small hemispherical dome, similar to those in the mosque proper.

According to Cunningham, the three openings on the northern and the southern sides were originally trellis windows, as the floor of the tomb is on the same level as the zenana galley in the mosque. The central lintelled doorway in the northern wall of the Annexe provides an entrance to another adjoining chamber or platform, presumably

of the same size, as attested by Buchanan. Beglar regards the platform to the north of the Annexe as an open vestibule, with a sloping stone ramp suitable for allowing *Dulis* and *Palkis*, carrying ladies of the Harem to the Annexe and finally to the Ladies' gallery.

The lack of evidence, historical as well as architectural, leaves the identification of the Annexe an open question. Although contemporary authors, namely Francklin and Prasad, have not said anything on this point, Buchanan considers this Annexe to be the Tomb of the builder, Sikandar Shah. He writes "the grave is in the centre, and is without ornament. It is composed of brick and covered with an arch." Both Ravenshaw and Westmacott believe that Sikandar Shah intended part of the great Adina Masjid to form a final resting place for himself. Fergusson likewise maintains that the royal builder wanted himself to be buried within the precincts or the immediate neighbourhood of the Masjid. Ilahi Bakhsh measures the sarcophagus 9 cubits long NS and $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad, thereby indicating it as a Mausoleum. He is, however, supported by Cunningham.

'Abid' Ali relates the local tradition about the nature of the Annexe. He says, ".....Sekandar was buried in this chamber after his defeat and death, but unfortunately the ten-domed roof fell in, and much debris collected over the tomb. When this was ultimately removed, the remains of the King's

tomb was cleared away by the coolies along with the rubbish and thrown into the adjoining tank."

Architecturally speaking the square multi-domed building at the rear of the western wall at the Adina Masjid recalls the cubical chambers in the tomb of Zafar Khan at Tribeni. Tombs adjoining mosques appear in Egypt, Persia and India. The origin of this custom may be traced to the original mosque of the Prophet at Madina, where he was subsequently buried.

According to historians, Sultan Sikandar Shah received fatal injuries in the field of battle against his own rebellious son Ghiyas-ud-din A'zam Shah and died at Goalpara. N. B. Roy, following Blochman has identified Goalpara with that in the vicinity of Hazrat Pandua. According to them, it is situated a mile or so north of the old southern gate of Pandua and about 3 miles south west of the Adina Masjid. This, is however, corroborated by Ravenshaw who placed it in his map on the west of the Dinajpur road, leading from Malda to Dinajpur between the Eklakhi Tomb and the Adina Masjid.

Referring to Buchanan, Stapleton says that Goalpara alias Fuldangi, Raniganj, or Ranigarh is situated on the Tangan river, 8 miles south west of Bamangola and that there is a fortified bridge-head at the crossing of the river by an old road. According to an informant, it is 3 miles east of Ranigarh.

Contrary to the above noted views, Westmacott maintains that the body of Sikandar Shah was brought when he fell in arms against his rebellious son on the field of Chatra, 12 miles to the east of Malda. About its identification, Stapleton observes, "There is no river called Chatters in the vicinity, but the name Satra or Chattera mentioned by Buchanan Hamilton as the site of the battle is still found in the Chatra bil which lies immediately to the north of the bridge-head." Chatra is, therefore, sometimes identified with Goalpara.

The character of the Annexe is, therefore, to be determined by the identification of the site Goalpara where Sultan Sikandar Shah breathed his last. Salim says, "Shortly after, in order to wrest the Kingdom, he (Ghiyasu-d-din 'Azam Shah) marched with a large army from Sunargaon, and encamped at Sunargadhi. From the other side, the father also with a powerful army advanced. On the next day, in the battle-field of Goalpara, both sides marshalling their forces prepared to fight."

According to Salam, Sunargadhi must have been close to Sunargaon. About the identification of Goalpara, Wise says, " In 1367, Ghiyasuddin, son of the reigning monarch, rebelled and fled to Sunargaon, there he collected an army and marched against his father. The two armies met at Goalpara, near Ja'farganj in the Dhaka district, and nearly opposite the junction of the Ganges and Jabuna.

The father was carried off the field mortally wounded. Eight years ago (1794), his tomb was still pointed out in the neighbourhood. "He further states that on the west of Ja'farganj, where the Jabuna flows at the present time, stood a village called Goariah, where a Dargah of Sikandar Shah and a Langar Khana, or hospital, erected by Jahangir, are said to have existed. Rennel in his map of the District of Dacca has shown Goalpara as a little dwindled village. These circumstantial evidence tend to prove that Sikandar Shah could not have been buried in the Annexe of the Adina Masjid.

While exploring the site, Beglar and Marshall did not come across any sarcophagus, mentioned by Ilahi Bakhsh, or any exposed vault in which the body of Sikandar was deposited as stated by Cunningham. In point of fact, at a little distance towards the west of the Annexe, remains of a hole are still visible, which may either form a subterranean tunnel, reaching the burial coffin, as at the Tomb of Iltutmish or just a treasure hunters' dig. Of the two, the latter is probable as the Archaeological Survey reports of the Eastern Circle are silent about such shafts.

LIBRARY AND THE SOUTHERN PRAYER HALL

There was a Library in the Adina Masjid, which can only be placed in the building in question. The southern prayer hall is divided into 5 aisles like the northern hall by 4 stone colonnades, running at right

angles. Each of these colonnades has 17 slender cylindrical columns, resting on thick square base with dog-tooth mouldings. They were probably capped by a square abacus. The roof-supporting columns, which must have been graceful, rivalling those of the northern prayer hall, have long since disappeared. (Pl. II) Formed by neatly chipped slabs, they are hollow drums, filled with random rubble work. These slender, almost rickety columns were too weakly built to resist the thrust exerted by the arches carrying the dome. Consequently, unlike the northern prayer hall which received added strength from the squat pillars of the ladies gallery, nothing strikingly graceful remains to reconstruct the southern prayer hall. The Archaeological Survey of India erected a supporting curtain wall in this hall.

The 17 columns carry 18 shapely pointed brick arches, which abut from the pilasters attached to the southern end wall. From these columns also spring 17 tiers of vertical arcades, each tier having 5 brick arches. They abut from rectangular piers, facing the courtyard and are joined with the pilasters of the qibla wall.

These tall pointed arches carry small hemispherical domes skilfully adjusted with those of the northern prayer hall and surrounding cloisters. Like the three end arches of the northern prayer hall, the southern prayer hall has similar arches, directly

communicated with the southern *riwaq* cloisters. The domes are without drums and spring over a small square area, the transition being provided by stalactite brick pendentives.

Much simpler in design and execution than the northern prayer hall, the southern prayer hall is entered from the courtyard by 15 pointed arches. They spring from thick rectangular piers, like those in the northern chamber. These arches are relieved gracefully with recession, excepting the two on either side of the *liwan* buttress. The substantial piers are placed east and west, built of random rubble work, faced with stone slabs for added strength. The most distinguishing feature in the facade of the *liwan* is the curious brick cornice with curved roof top. Nothing remains to show that there was ever an ornamental parapet above the *liwan* facade. Probably the existence of parapet above the characteristic curved Bengali roof would seem quite incongruous in style, as demonstrated by the classical examples of Bengali curvilinear cornice in the Eklakhi tomb at Hazrat Pandua, in the Lattan Masjid, in the Mosque near Hemtabad, Dinajpur.

There are five windows with lattice screens, each placed at the end of the five aisles of the southern prayer hall. They correspond with those placed at the end of the aisles of the northern prayer hall.

In its utter ruin, the most redeeming features of the southern prayer hall are undisputedly the

tastefully carved brick tympana along with the elegantly carved black basalt *mihrabs*. (Pl. XII) These 18 semi-circular concave *mihrabs* are framed within neatly chiselled cinquefoil arches. They spring from the graceful and slender columns. These columns have elegantly moulded bases, octagonal shafts with hanging chain and bell motifs and cruciform capitals. The medallion is in the form of a lotus which seems to shoot up from its root, placed at the spring-line. In design and execution, they recall the niches in the northern prayer hall.

THE SOUTHERN RIWAQ

The southern *riwaq* is placed between the southern prayer hall and eastern *riwaq* linked by three communicating arched openings. They spring from rectangular piers, resembling those of the *liwan* facade. Beglar in his tentatively reliable plan has shown, contrary to those of Buchanan, Ravenshaw and Cunningham, that the southern wing has its separate entity, like that of the northern *riwaq*. It is divided into 8 aisles by 2 rows of colonnades, each carrying 14 slender columns, not unlike those of the southern prayer hall. From these columns spring 15 pointed arches running from the eastern *riwaqs* to the southern prayer hall.

The southern *riwaq* is roofed over by 45 small hemispherical domes, carried on arches. The transition from the square base to the circle of the dome

is provided by stalactite pendentives, which correspond unmistakably with those in the northern *riwaqs*.

Presumably the curtain wall of the southern *riwaq* was pierced by 15 lattice windows, traces which have long since disappeared, corresponding to those in the northern *riwaqs*.

THE NORTHERN RIWAQ

The northern *riwaq*, placed between the northern prayer hall and the eastern *riwaq*, like the southern *riwaq*, provides a covered entrance to the *liwan* for the worshippers. In elevation, alignment, internal arrangement and technical details, it is a replica of the southern *riwaq*. It is communicated to the northern prayer hall and the eastern *riwaq* by three brick pointed arches, springing from rectangular brick piers faced with stones.

The northern *riwaq* is divided by 2 rows of arcades into 3 longitudinal aisles. Each colonnade carries 15 pointed brick arches, springing from 14 slender stone columns. These columns are not monolithic, their hollow drums being filled with random rubble work. The *riwaq* is roofed over by 45 small hemispherical domes and entered from the courtyard by 15 arched openings. They spring from oblong brick piers, placed north and south like those of the southern *riwaqs*. The transverse arches abut from pilasters attached to oblong piers. This peculiar arrangement was repeated throughout in the piers facing the courtyard from the *liwan* as well as the *riwaqs*.

Probably there were 15 lattice windows at each end of the 15 transverse rows of arches in the enclosure wall of the northern *riwaq*, as in the southern *riwaq*.

THE EASTERN RIWAQ

The eastern *riwaq*, placed between the northern *riwaq* and the southern *riwaq*, closely resembles the *liwan* in layout and internal arrangement. It measures 516 feet by 38 feet and maintains symmetrical elevation with those of the side *riwaqs*. Less ornate and more austere, at least as it stands today, than the *liwan*, the eastern *riwaq* is divided into 3 transverse aisles by 2 rows of arcaded colonnades. It runs parallel with the *liwan*. Each colonnade carries 39 arches, pointed in contour, springing from slender stone pillars of the same type as observed in the *riwaqs* and *liwan*.

The *riwaq* is divided into 117 (39 X 3) small squares, each roofed over by a small hemispherical dome. The transition is attained by the usual stalactite pendentives.

The facade of the eastern *riwaq* must have been of pleasing proportions, each longitudinal arcade directly corresponding with that of the *liwan*. It is entered from the courtyard by 33 arched openings, the corner ones being smaller than the rest.

THE GATEWAYS

Although Ravenshaw does not show any gateway

in his plan, Buchanan marks it in his plan. Cunningham gives importance to the three arched openings at the south-east corner of the eastern *riwaq*. He writes, "The most remarkable feature about this great Masjid is the total absence of any entrance gateways". He considers the eastern central entrance as "only a simple doorway or passage through the walls, unmarked by any projecting wings or raising battlements". Plate XIII, however, shows remains of only one entrance gateway to the north-east corner of the Masjid, the side openings obviously being filled with screens, now completely disappeared.

Arguing for the public character of the south-west entrance, Cunningham says that from these archways which are left open, people could enter at once into the southern and the eastern *riwaqs* from the outside. Each of these three arches, adorned with a gate, open towards the tank which was probably used for the purpose of physical purification. The possibility of such an inference is rendered more probable by the absence of any fountain in the courtyard. But it is presumed that such a carefully planned mosque as the Adina had a *qubbat* or domed fountain in the courtyard.

In spite of its timid and undignified entrance, unlike the impressive porches of the Tughlaq buildings, the eastern central archway shows a clear alignment with the central *mihrab* in the *liwan* of the Adina Masjid. Although small and insignificant,

the eastern gateway which is wider than the south-west entrance manifests an organic planning of Mosque, as observed in the Mosque of Damascus, the Mosque of Cordova, the Mosque of Abu Dulaf as well as the Quwwat al-Islam Mosque at Delhi and the Arhai-din-ka-Jhopra at Ajmer, the Jami' Masjid at Mandu and the Khirki Masjid. Cunningham himself points out the incongruous appearance of the side entrances, "as this arrangement utterly spoils the symmetry of the building, it was probably an afterthought, when the single small door in the middle of the east side was found utterly insufficient".

Due to the lack of informations about the upkeep, reconstruction, additions and alterations of the Adina Masjid, it is extremely difficult to say whether the side entrances were part and parcel of the building or an afterthought. Scrutinising the building materials used, the style of ornamentation and the skilful disposition in relation to elevation, it may be assumed that they were added in the later part of the reign of Sultan Sikandar Shah. To cope with the ever-increasing congregation the triple archway at the south-west corner of the eastern *riwaq* was added.

The enclosure wall of the eastern *riwaq* is richly adorned with 33 delicately carved lattice windows, each with cusped relieving arches, hanging chain and bell. There are also 3 trellis windows at each end of the aisles towards the north and the south.

Cunningham observes, "The exterior of the Masjid is very plain, the slight mouldings and weakly marked niches being lost sight of in the great length of the wall. The front wall of the Masjid also is plain, all the architects' strength having been reserved for the inner side of the back wall, which is highly decorated. The patterns, however, are much too small and too shallow for the great extent of the wall over which they are spread." Nevertheless, the monotony of the bare wall is relieved by geometrical panelling and surface encrustations.

UPKEEP

Beglar has elaborately discussed the system of drainage in the Adina Masjid. He writes, "it will have been seen that the architect... had so far designed the building not only with great success in an aesthetic point of view, but had kept clearly in view the materials available to hand, so as to utilize them to the utmost.... no less clearly has he displayed his foresight and capacity in providing for the efficient drainage of the great building he was erecting."

The existence of a well-planned system of drainage is an imperious necessity for a building in a country like Bengal where average rainfall is very heavy. It is proved by the sloping floor level of the Adina Masjid. This is to be observed from the

eastern *riwaq* at the Gargoyle. The slope is detected by Beglar after careful examination of the pillars, niches, the springlines of arches and the positions of the cornices of the eastern *riwaq* which is much higher and taller than those of the *liwan*. Such variations have accrued due to the fact that the floor of the eastern *riwaq* at its lowest point is much lower as much as 5 feet, than the floor of the great central vaulted nave.

Along the foot of the line of arches all round the inner courtyard, there was a shallow, 6 inches deep, terraced catch-water of *pakka* or beaten concrete. It carries all the stray water from the *riwaqs* and the courtyard, and had a final outlet into a covered stone-lintelled underground channel. The channel finally passes under and across the eastern *riwaq* discharging the accumulated water from the Gargoyle into a brick stepped channel and eventually into the tank situated to the east of the mosque.

‘Abid ‘Ali says, “a drainage hole in the east wall is closed by a stone crocodile with large head and trunk, the mouth of which served to carry off the rain water from the compound.” Ravenshaw published a curious sculptured figure in black hornblende, as he puts it, “bearing somewhat the appearance of a Hindu god.” Later R.D. Banerjee republished this piece as a *makara gargoyle*. In sculpturesque quality and the

material contents, the Pandua gargoyle bears an unmistakable resemblance to the makara-gargoyle from Patna published by Banerjee.

A DETACHED MINARET ?

The real character as well as the distinguished features of the Adina Masjid have yet to be determined. In the present state of its crumbling ruins, the edifice of great magnitude, which was regarded according to Cunningham, as "wonder of the world" by the Bengalis, is situated at Hazrat Pandua. It is, however, well-nigh impossible to say whether this magnificent mosque occupies the site of any Hindu or Buddhist temple. A group of scholars failed to see in the impressive Adina Masjid anything more than a mere assemblage of Hindu or Buddhist fragments, arranged skilfully to adhere to a mosque plan. Ilahi Bakhsh started the controversy when he wrote, "It is worth observing that in front of the chaukath (lintel) of the Adina Masjid, there was a broken and polished idol, and that there were other idols lying about. So it appears that, in fact, this mosque was originally an idol-temple". (Pl.VII) Beglar steps up this controversy by saying, "the Adina Masjid occupies the site, of a once famous, or at least a most important, and highly ornamented, pre-Muhammadan shrine;" he depends for his arguments on a Sanscrit inscription, discovered in the building which bears the name of Indranath. Saraswati seems to have carried the thesis too far when he

writes, "an examination of the stones used in the construction of the Adina Masjid (one of them bearing a Sanscrit inscription recording merely a name, Indranath, in character of the 9th century) and those lying about in heaps all around, reveals the fact, which no careful observer can deny, that most of them came from temples that once stood in the vicinity." Beglar even went so far as to pin-point "the sanctum of the temple, judging from the remnants of heavy pedestals of statues, now built into the pulpit, and the superb canopied trefoils, now doing duty as prayer niches, stood where the main prayer niche now stands; nothing would probably so tickle the fancy of a bigot, as the power of placing the sanctum of his orthodox cult, (in this case the main prayer niche -mihrab) on the spot, where hated infidel had his sanctum". A fragmentary proto-Bengali inscription is, however, referred to by Beglar. (Fig.8)

The existence of a foundation of a Hindu temple in the Adina Masjid is as far-fetched as to consider the circular pedestal to the west of the *qibla* wall as remains of a Buddhist stupa. The discover of the "round base of some solid building" by Beglar on the west side of the Mosque appears to provide a clue for determining the real character of this peculiar relic, that is, whether it was the remains of a destroyed Buddhist stupa or the base of a detached minaret. (Fig.3). The following points may be taken into account in this respect :

(a) that the Adina Masjid lying along the trunk road from Gaud to Dinajpur, as attested by Pemberton, proves that the existence of a minaret on the western side of the mosque, adjacent to the road is not at all far-fetched. Pemberton writes, "The main road from Malda to Dinajpur passes through the south-eastern part of this Pergunnah. On both sides of the road lie the ruins of Purroa which are very extensive."

(b) that the alignment of the Gaud-Dinajpur road (Fig. 2) with the remnants of the western boundary wall of a supposed temple is so perfect as to merit no further comment. The parallel existence of the wall and the road must have influenced the builder to erect some structure, the remains of which are to be seen in the circular base. (Pl-XIV)

(c) that the existence of old boundary walls in the site presupposes the existence of a temple or a stupa, the character of which is to be determined by close archaeological excavation and scrutiny.

(d) that the existence of an entrance in the western boundary wall and that of a circular base in between this wall and the postern gate of the Masjid throws some light of the importance of this structure, whether a stupa or a minaret.

Westmacott contends, "the space of ground occupied by the site of the Adina Mosque cannot, I conceive, be less than 1600 square feet, though the deep and thick jungle with which it is surrounded renders it difficult precisely to ascertain its exact dimension. On the whole it must be confessed that in point of grandeur and apparent durability it presented to the admiring spectators a view superior to most of the buildings to be seen in Asia. " It is not therefore, improbable that some device of calling the worshippers to prayer must have been sought at in the magnificent mosque of Adina.

The dimension of the 'round base' is not mentioned by Beglar who propounded the theme that it was the base of a Buddhist stupa. Presumably it was 3 to 4 feet, which would be too small a base for any Stupa, compared with those of Barhut and Sanchi. (Fig. 4) Ilahi Bakhsh and Saraswati who are so keen to maintain that the Adina Masjid was built out of the spoils of Hindu temples, have not mentioned anything about the existence of a stupa. The ground plans drawn by Buchanan, Ravenshaw and Cunningham (with the exception of Beglar) do not indicate the existence of any Stupa to the west of the *qibla* wall of the Mosque. It is true that fragments of Hindu architecture and sculpture were utilized in the construction of the Adina Masjid, but it would be wrong to maintain that

the Mosque was raised on the plinth of pre-Muslim buildings, as no tangible relics were discovered by test diggings.

The axis between the entrance of the western boundary wall and the postern gate of the *qibla* wall with the circular base in the centre indicates that a minaret, if at all, detached from the western wall of the mosque must have been erected close to the Gaud-Dinajpur trunk road. The examples of cylindrical tapering minarets of Mesopotamia, Persia and Central Asia and even Turkey are not far to seek. Some of the detached minarets are in the following mosques.

A.D.	Provenance	Monuments	Description
847	Samarra,Iraq	The Mosque of Mutawakkil	opposite <i>qibla</i> wall
861	Samarra,Iraq	Mosque of Abu Dulf	opposite <i>qibla</i> wall
876-7	Cairo	Mosque of Ibn Tulun	opposite <i>qibla</i> wall
Early XI	Damghan, Iran	Tarikh Khana Mosque	North-east of mosque
1058	Damghan, Iran	Tarikh Khana Mosque	North-east of Mosque
1108-9	Near Balkh	Minaret of Dowlatabad	
1110	Saveh	Masjid-i-Jami'	
1111	Sabzavar	Minaret	

1121	Near Ispahan	Char Minaret -
1117-49	Ghazni	Ghazni Minaret
1127	Bukhara	Minaret of Kalayan Mosque
1153	Jam	Minaret
-1203		
XI-XII	Isfahan	Minaret of Sareban
XI-XII	Sangbast	Minaret
XII	Gulpaygan	Minaret
1206	Delhi	The Quwwat al-Islam Mosque, South-east corner in the courtyard
1295-1315	Delhi	Alauddin's unfinished Minaret
XIV	Biana	"Koel Minar" in the Jami' Masjid . North-east of mosque
1435	Daulatabad	Chand Minar

Though minaret is conspicuous by its absence in the mosques of Gaud and Hazrat Pandua prior to the Firuza Minar at Gaud, built in 1488-90, it undoubtedly appears in the Chhoto Pandua Minar, dated 14th century. On the other hand the Nima Serai tower, dated late 16th century at Old Malda recalls the Hiran Minar built by Emperor Akbar in Fathpur Sikri. The question now remains to be answered why the Bengali architect refrained from erecting *minars*, either attached or detached, to their mosques between the 14th and the 16th centuries, although innumerable precedents were found in Persia, Central Asia, Afghanistan and Indo-Pak sub-continent, as stated above. There

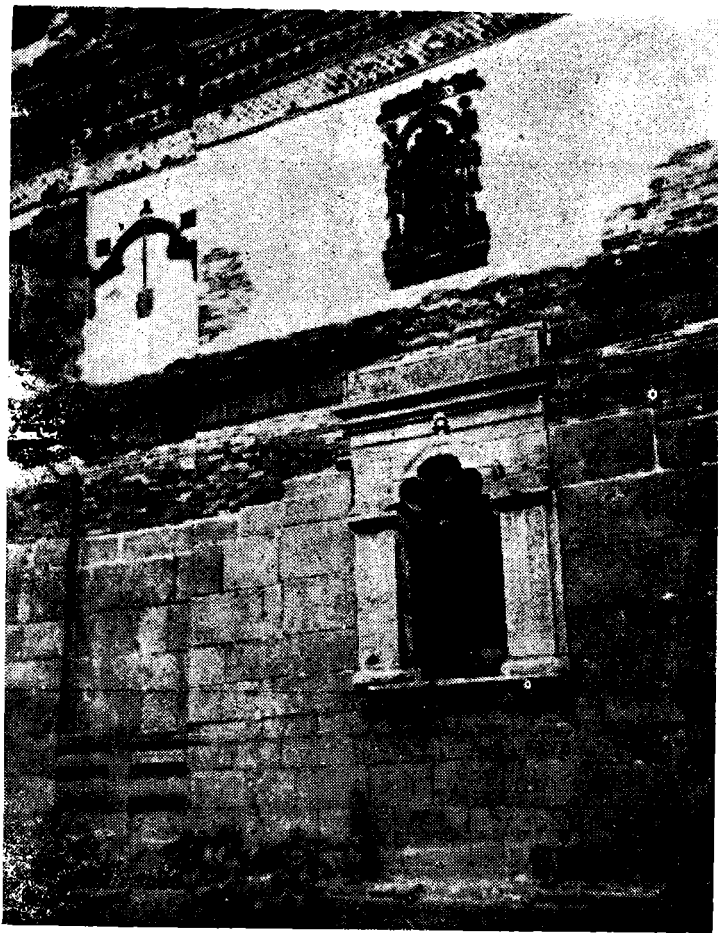
is a reference to the construction of a mosque and minaret by Hussain Shah in an inscription dated A.H. 918/A.D. 1512, which was found fixed over the main entrance to the shrine of Shaikh Ataullah at Devikot, Dinajpur. Nevertheless, the construction of minaret in pre-Mughal Bengal mosques is less favoured as proved by the use of *chabutra* or stone platform in the Great Golden (Bara Sona) Mosque at Gaud, which is meant for calling '*azan*.

However, it may be presumed that as Adina Masjid was a unique architectural experiment of its kind, never to be repeated again in pre-Mughal or Mughal Bengal architecture, the construction of a detached minaret by the order of Sultan Sikandar Shah to facilitate calling the Muslims to prayer from far places from a spot close to the Gaud-Dinajpur road is not at all improbable. There are examples of minarets, such as the minaret of the mosque of Barsian (Fig. 5) attached to the rear wall of the mosque just behind the central mihrab. Therefore, the circular base which Beglar mistook as the remains of a Buddhist stupa could have been also the foundation of a detached minaret. The immensity, grandeur and sanctity of the Adina Masjid was so great that it is quite fitting to conclude with the observations of Buchanan Hamilton "it (Adina) was the most celebrated place of pilgrimage in Bengal and very few people of the district of Dinajpur ever think of going

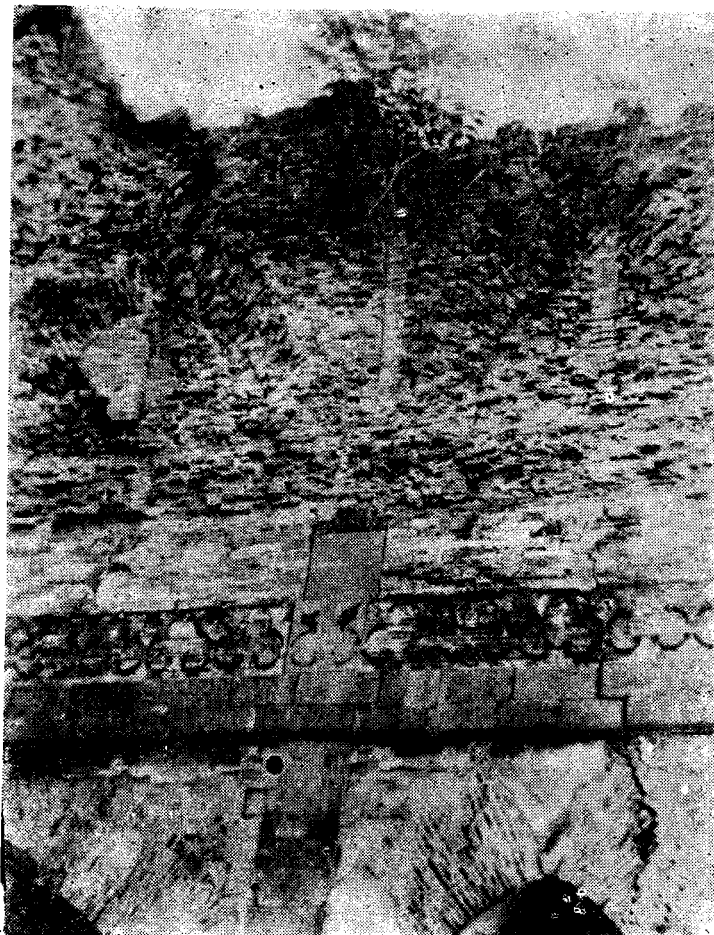
to Mecca but content themselves with Peruya (Pandua). Even to this day there is a saying "First is Medina, then is Adina." The largest mosque ever built in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was undoubtedly the Adina Masjid which along with the shrines of Hazrat Shah Jalal and Hazrat Nur Qutb Alam make Hazrat Pandua a veritable place of pilgrimage as well as the most picturesque of the ancient historical sites in Bengal.



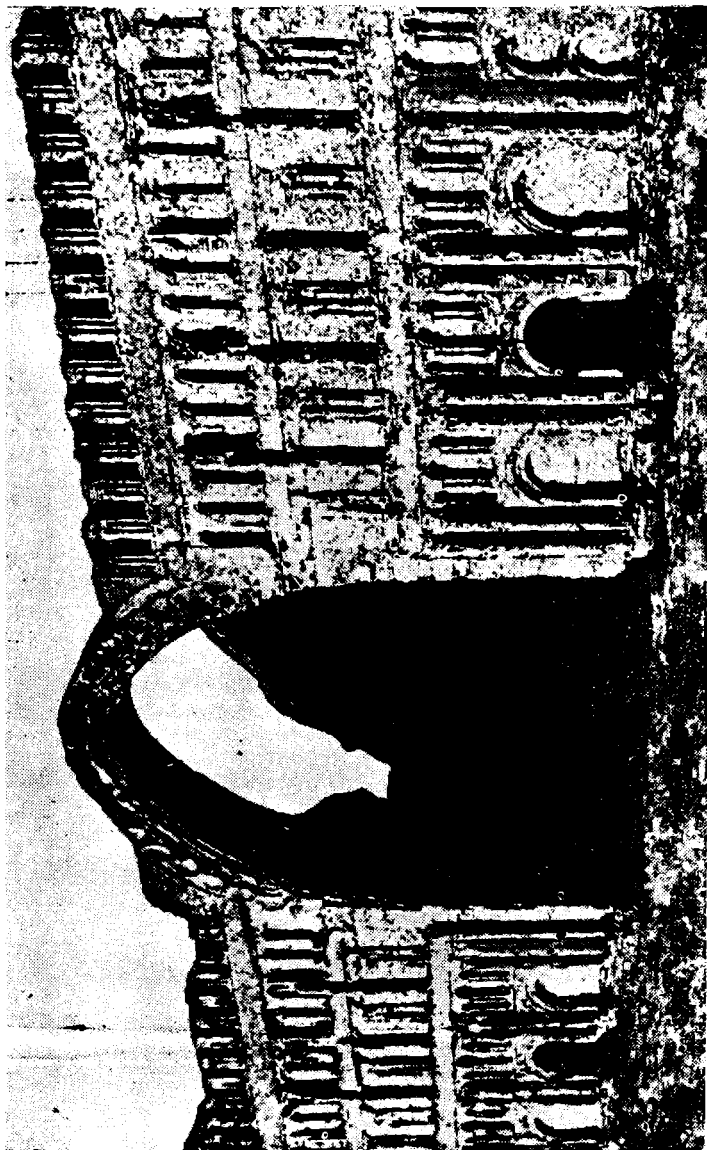
Pl. III. Adina Masjid : Central vaulted hall with
.traces of blind recessed arches



Pl. IV. Back wall showing foundation stone above



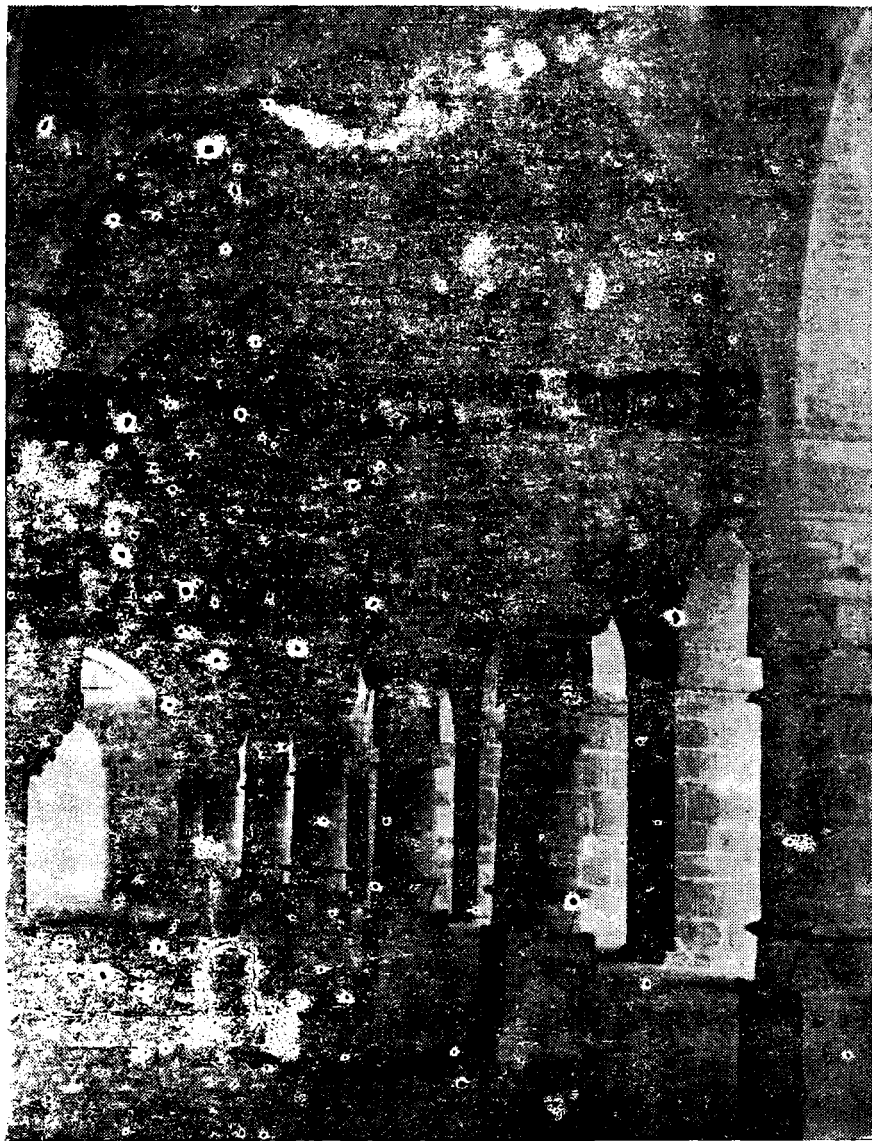
Pl. V. Wall of the vaulted nave showing traces of ribs



Pl. VI. Ctesiphon : The Sasanian Palace, 2nd century A.D.



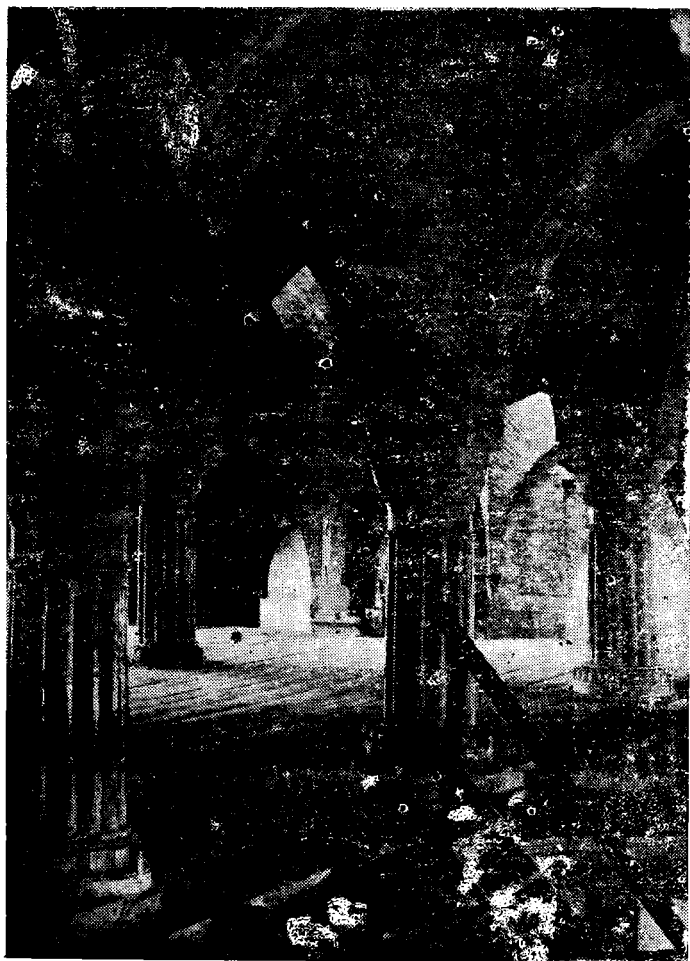
Pl. VII. Central vaulted hall showing mihrab and minbar



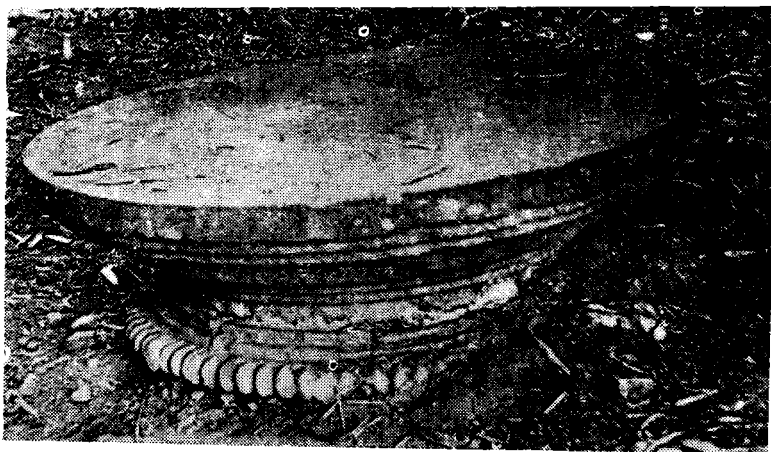
Pl. VIII. Northern prayer hall, showing pillars of the Zevana Gallery.



Pl. X. A mihrab in the Zenana Gallery



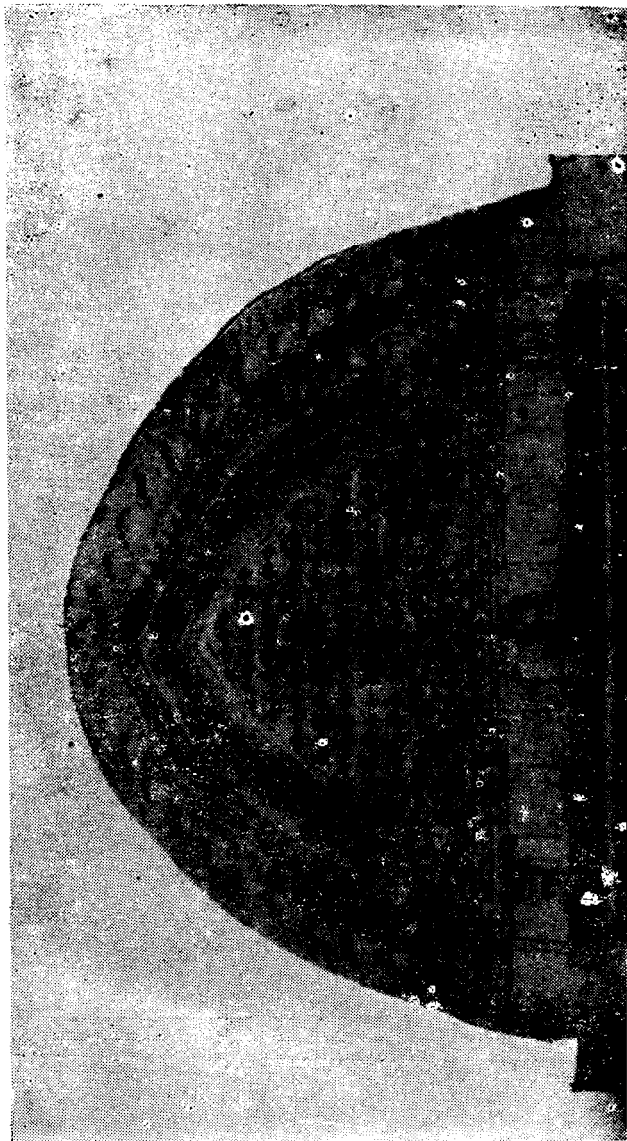
Pl. IX. Fluted columns of the Zenana Gallery



Pl. XIII A circular pedestal, supposed to be the base of minaret (?) of the Adina Masjid



Pl. XI. A mihrab in the northern prayer hall
showing carved brick designs



Pl. XII. A tympanum in the southern prayer hall, showing carved brick designs



Pl. XIV. Adina Masjid, corner tower with flutings
and eastern main entrance

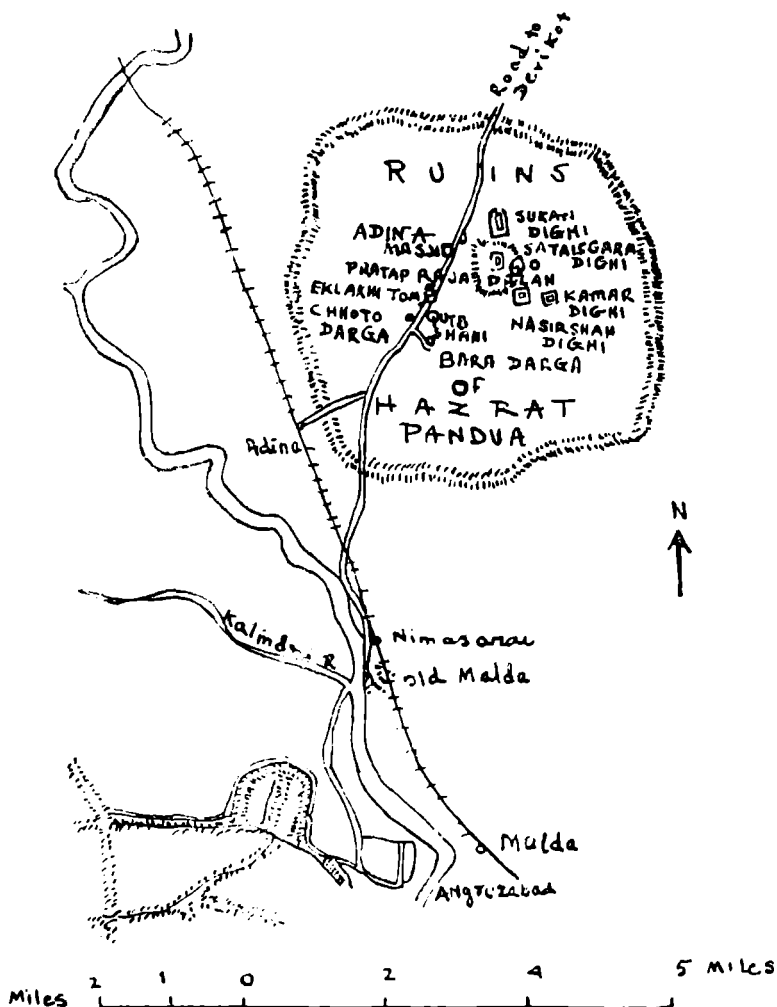
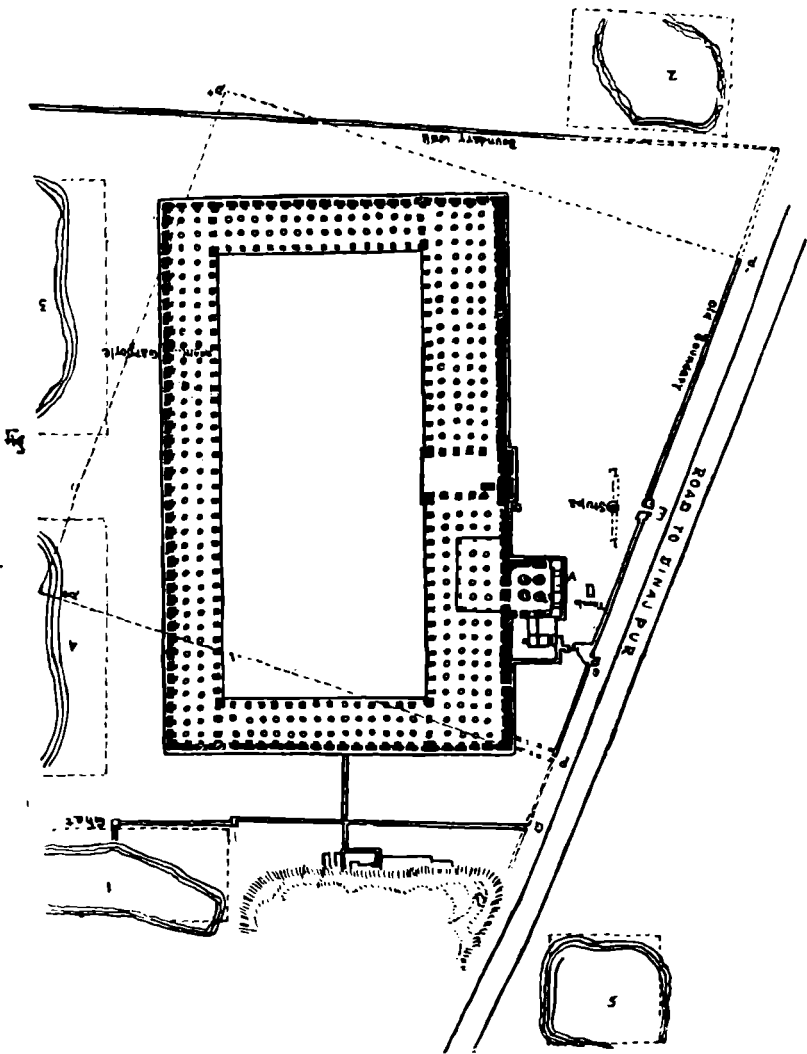


Fig. 1. Site plan of the ancient city of Hazrat Pandua.

Fig. 2. Hazrat Pandua : The Adina Masjid, ground plan after Beglar



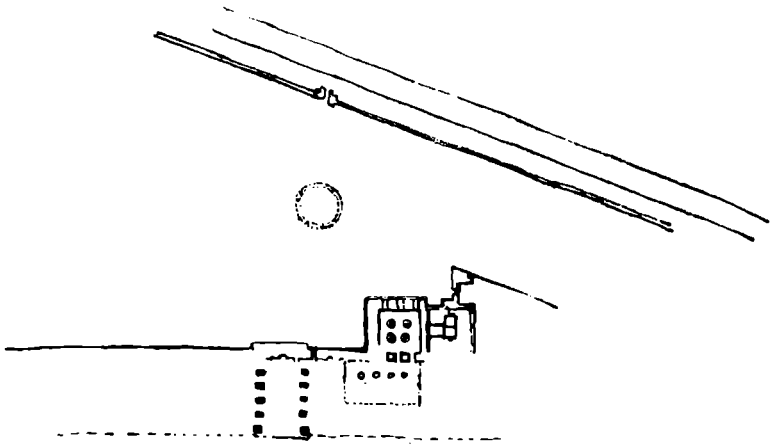


Fig. 3. Hazrat Pandua : The Adina Masjid ; the supposed minar, ground plan.

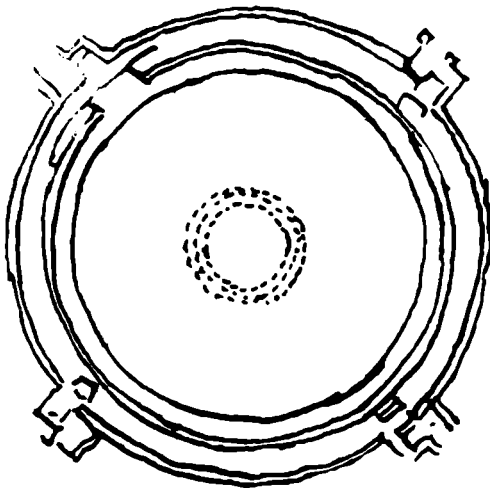


Fig. 4. Plan of great Stupa at Sanchi.

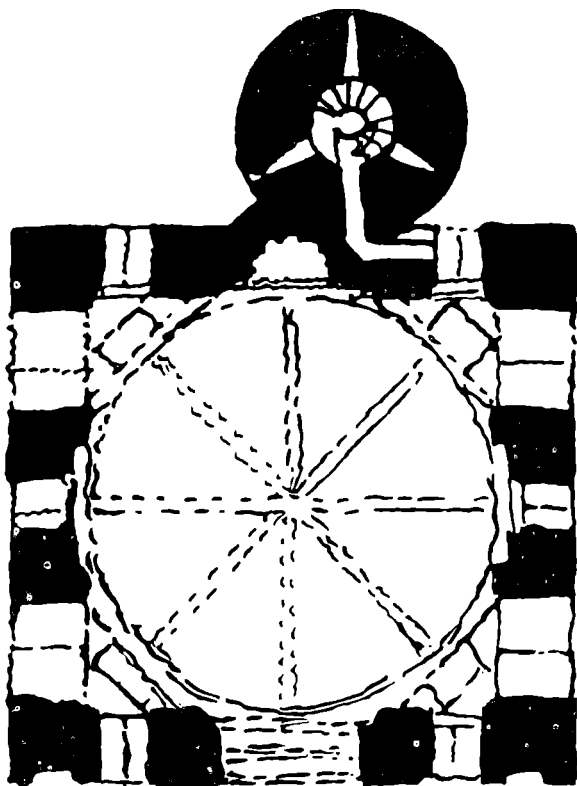


Fig. 5. Barsian, near Isfahan : Masjid-i-Jami,
attached cylindrical minaret.

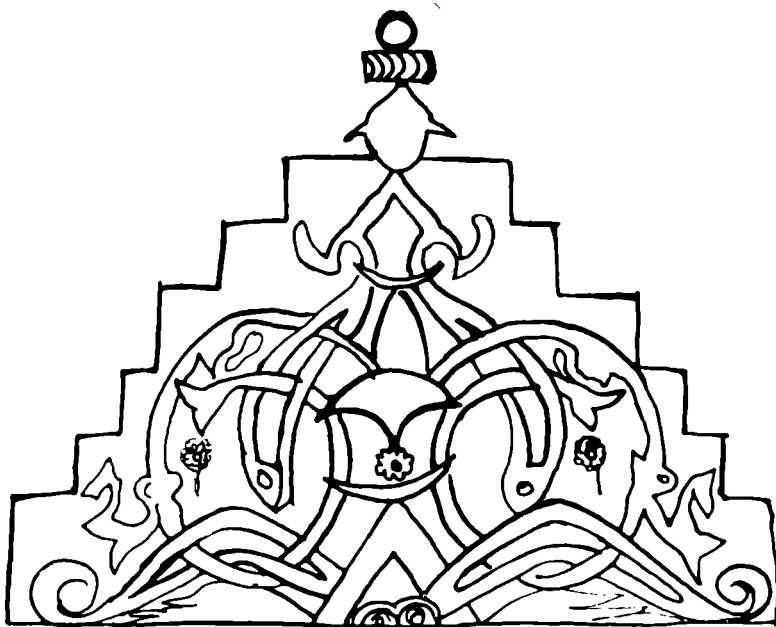


Fig. 6. Hazrat Pandua : The Adina Masjid,
interlocking designs.

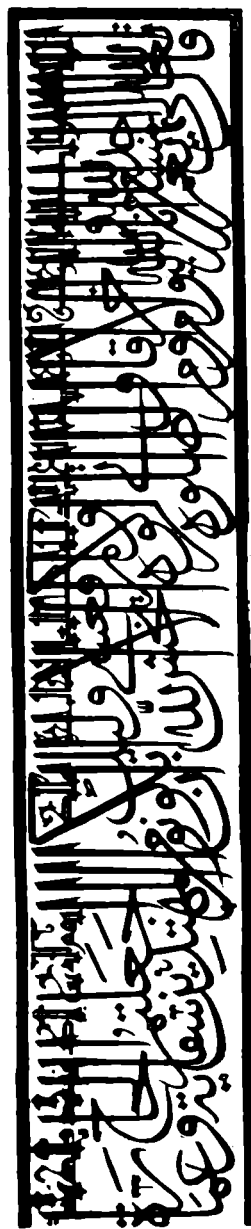


Fig. 7. No. 1. Inscription of the Adina Masjid at Hazrat Pandua, A.H.776.
No. 2. Inscription above the central mihrab.

fact, which no careful observer can deny, that most of them came from temples that once stood in the vicinity". Beglar also maintains that the Adina Masjid occupies the site, of once famous, or at least a most important, and highly ornamented pre-Muslim shrine.

It is, however, evident that the Muslim architects never felt any scruple to utilize the readily available building materials due to the exegesis of circumstances, as demonstrated by fragments of Hindu and Buddhist sculptures inside the stairs of the pulpit, in the mihrab on the northern side of the *liwan*. But I am afraid, it would be too sweeping to maintain that the Adina Mosque was built out of an existing pre-Muslim shrine, which was dismantled by the muslims for the purpose. The general lay-out, architectural symmetry in close conformity with those of other Muslim monuments elsewhere, Arabic inscriptions attesting the construction of the Mosque by Sekandar Shah in the year A.H. 776, excavation wells dug in the courtyard of the Mosque, etc, hardly forge the theme that Adina Masjid was built on a pre-Muslim site.

Beglar in his monograph on the Adina Masjid gave the facsimile of an inscription he found in the ruins of the Adina Masjid. This proto-Bengali inscription (Fig. 8) has been deciphered by my friend Dr. B.N. Mukherjee of Calcutta as follows.

(iii)

TEXT

First line IIsameto (or a)

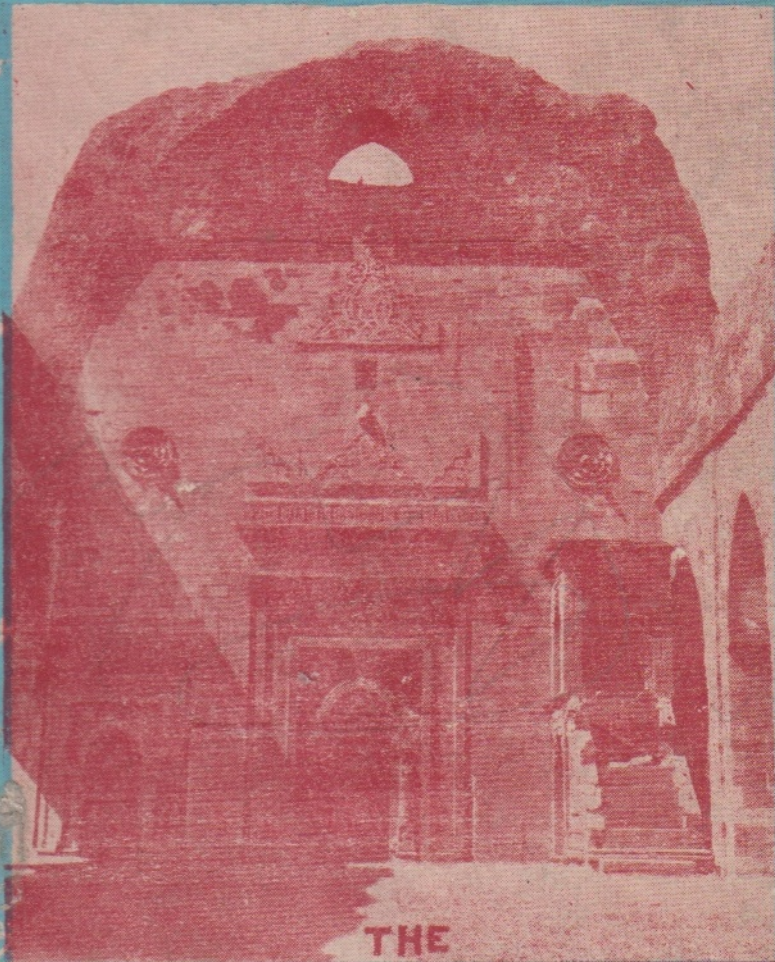
Brahnbhan I Kinathaya (or du or ha or hu)

Second line : Kidavi asheratam I Kincha

Third line : pnalla Manasah II

Since the inscription is fragmentary, no full translation is possible. However, this proto-Bengali inscription whose character is dated from the 14th or the 15th century A. D. is in incorrect Sanskrit, very much influenced by the local dialect. It appears that the inscription is an invocation to and praise for God Brahma. This inscription, though utilized like many other architectural fragments of Hindu workmanship cannot justify the fact from structural standpoint that the Adina Masjid was previously a Hindu shrine.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَشْكُرَهُ لَوْلَا رَحْمَتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْنَا لَكُنَّا مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لِنَشْكُرَهُ لَوْلَا رَحْمَتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْنَا لَكُنَّا مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ



THE

ADINA MASJID

AT

HAZRAT PANDUA

DR. S. M. HASAN