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PHILLIP B. WAGONER AND JOHN HENRY RICE

FROM DELHI TO THE DECCAN:
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AT WARANGAL-SULTĀNPŪR AND THE BEGINNINGS OF
INDO-ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTHERN INDIA

The city of Warangal in the south Indian state of Andhra Pradesh is best known for its role as the capital of the Kākatiya kingdom (late 12th–early 14th centuries), but in many ways, its subsequent history was of even greater importance for the history of the Deccan and southern India as a whole (fig. 1). The imperial associations of the former Kākatiya capital made Warangal a highly coveted political prize, and as a result, it passed back and forth repeatedly between contending powers in the Telangāna region. Indeed, between the fall of the Kākatiyas and the latter half of the seventeenth century, the old Kākatiya city was occupied by the rulers of as many as six different states: the Sultanate of Delhi (1323–c.1331), the Musunūri chiefs (c. 1331–1368), the Rēcerla Nayakas of Rācakonḍa (1368–1424), the Bahmānī Sultāns of the Deccan (1424–1504), Shitāb Khān of the Bhogi Kula (1504–c. 1529), and the Quṭb Shāhīs of Golconda (1579–1687).¹

The few available accounts of Warangal's architecture have focused primarily on the Kākatiya period, overlooking or misidentifying monuments that were constructed in the subsequent centuries.² In the interest of clarifying the post-Kākatiya history of architecture in Warangal, a program of intensive exploration and documentation was undertaken by the authors in 1999–2000, with the goal of correctly identifying and documenting monuments belonging to the city's later phase.³ A number of findings have emerged from this research, including alterations and improvements to Warangal's

1 Unfortunately, there is no single, connected account of the history of post-Kākatiya Warangal. This chronology has been pieced together on the basis of Jackson 1999, P.R. Rao 1994, Sinha 1964, Ram Mohan Rao 1981, Satyanarayana Sharma 1972, and Sastri 1932. There is considerable disagreement among these authors on the matter of dates; the dates we have given should be taken as approximations.

2 See especially Yazdani 1916, ARADH 1933–34, Rama Rao 1966, Panduranga Rao 1987, Michell 1992, and Dhaky 1996: 504–507 and figs. 1498–1537.

3 This work was supported by a U.S.D.E. Fulbright-Hays Faculty Research Fellowship held by Wagoner in 1999–2000. In addition to the authors, the members of our team included Varalakshmi Bogale, B. Sarath Chandra, Shobha M. Ghante, G.R. Laxminarayan Goud, Madhusudhan S., and Gunjan Srivastava, who helped carry out the architectural documentation. All photographs reproduced here are by J.H. Rice unless otherwise indicated; all drawings have been prepared under the supervision of P.B. Wagoner, who edited and executed the final inked versions and is responsible for the reconstructions. Permission to photograph and produce measured drawings of the centrally protected monuments was kindly granted by Dr. Poonacha, Director of Monuments, Archaeological Survey of India. Our accommodations in Warangal were graciously provided by Mr. L. D. P. Vittal, Senior Conservation Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Hanamkonḍa, and much logistical support was given by his staff. Prof. M. Pandu Ranga Rao (emeritus professor of Civil Engineering, Regional Engineering College, Warangal) generously gave his time and expertise to discuss various aspects of our work with us. The authors would also like to express their thanks to Catherine Asher, Richard Eaton, Carl Ernst, S.V.P. Halakatti, and Cynthia Talbot for their invaluable assistance with bibliographic matters and for taking the time to discuss various aspects of our work and comment on earlier drafts of this essay.

fortifications and gateways, carried out by the Quṭb Shāhīs; a temple reconstructed from Kākatīya-period components, most probably under the patronage of Shitāb Khān; and most importantly, an elaborate architectural complex at the heart of the city, consisting of an audience hall, a congregational mosque, and an open plaza, all of which may confidently be dated to the period of the city's incorporation into the Delhi Sultanate under the Tughluqs (1323–31). In view of the importance of this Tughluq-period architectural complex for our understanding of the history of Sultanate architecture, we focus in this article exclusively on these earliest monuments of Warangal's post-Kākatīya occupation, leaving the monuments of subsequent phases for later treatment in a separate publication.

The Delhi Sultanate's expansion southward into the Deccan had begun as early as 1296, with Garshāsb Mālik, the governor of Kara Mānikpūr, launching an attack on Devagiri and forcing the Yādava king Rāmacandra into submission as a tributary of Delhi. Later that same year, Garshāsb Mālik ascended the throne as Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khalji (1296–1316), and by 1302–3 had attempted to conquer Telāṅgāna by proceeding via Bengal. Although this campaign proved unsuccessful, 'Alā' al-Dīn repeated the attempt six years later, this time sending his subordinate Mālik Nā'ib Kāfūr via Devagiri (1309). After a siege of several months, Mālik Kāfūr succeeded in taking Warangal's inner, stone fort, leading the Kakatiya king Pratāparudra (r. 1289–1323) to surrender and agree to send tribute annually to Delhi (1310). By 1318, Pratāparudra was in arrears on his tribute payment, and 'Alā' al-Dīn's successor Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khalji (1316–1320) sent an army under Khusrau Khān to collect it. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq (r. 1320–1324) acceded to the throne of Delhi, Pratāparudra was again in arrears, leading the Tughluq Sultān to send his son, Ulugh Khān (the future Muhammad b. Tughluq) to attempt to collect the payment (1321–22). Despite a siege of six months, Ulugh Khān did not succeed in taking Warangal, and was forced to retreat after rebellion broke out in his camp. In 1323, however, Ulugh Khān returned to Warangal and this time succeeded in taking the city and capturing Pratāparudra, who was sent to Delhi but died en route. After Pratāparudra's final defeat in 1323, the Kākatīya line was extinguished and Warangal was occupied by Tughluq forces, who renamed the city "Sultānpūr" and elevated it to the status of a provincial capital and mint-town for the Delhi Sultanate. The city appears to have been under the governorship first of Ulugh Khān, until he succeeded Ghiyāth al-Dīn to reign as Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughluq (1324–1351), and then subsequently of Mālik Maqbūl who, as Nāgaya Ganna Vibhudu, had earlier been the commander of Warangal under the Kākatīyas.⁴ Under its brief period of Tughluq governorship, from 1323 until about 1331, Warangal-Sultānpūr remained firmly within the cultural orbit of Delhi.⁵

Architecturally, the central zone of Warangal's fort was greatly transformed by Tughluq building activity. In particular, Tughluq builders carried out three interrelated projects on the site around the Svayambhūśiva temple, which had housed the patron deity of the Kākatīya dynasty. Today, the most readily apparent product of this architectural activity is the Khūsh Mahāl, a strikingly well-preserved audience hall standing some 160 m to the west of the Svayambhūśiva site (fig. 5). Although the

4 Nāgaya Ganna is identified as commander of the Warangal fort (*kāṭaka-pāluḍu*, Avatārika, v. 39) in the introduction to Mārana's Telugu adaptation of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇamu*, a work which was produced under his patronage. See G. V. Subrahmanyam 1984: 8; Arudra 1989: 236–248. The details of his later career under the Tughluqs are given in Shams-i Sirāj 'Afīf's *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī*; see Jackson (1999: 185).

5 This summary is based primarily on Jackson (1999: 201–213).

Khūsh Mahāl has generally been attributed to the patronage of Shitāb Khān, an early 16th-century ruler of Warangal (r.1504–c. 1529), this is solely on the basis of popular tradition as contained in later Telugu *kaītīyats* or local histories. In fact, the stylistic evidence of the building itself clearly indicates an early 14th-century date, and suggests the *diwān-i ‘ām* of Ghiyāth al-Dīn’s palace at Tughluqābād in Delhi as its immediate typological precursor. The second project is represented by the ruins of what was once a monumental congregational mosque (fig. 15), located 160 m east of the Khūsh Mahāl, along the western edge of the Svayambhūśiva site. This mosque, of which only five columns remain standing today, was built almost entirely from spolia taken from the Svayambhūśiva temple, and stands in part on portions of the temple’s basements. The ruined building has not been previously recognized as a mosque, but to the contrary has been erroneously assumed to have formed part of a pillared hall (*āsthāna-māṇḍapa*) belonging to the destroyed Svayambhūśiva temple complex – understandably, since most of the members which are presently visible in the structure originally belonged to buildings from the Svayambhūśiva complex. Both in its use of spolia and in its particular plan, however, it conforms to a well-defined mosque type that is represented in other Sultanate mosques, from the Quwwat al-Islām Masjid in Delhi and the Adhāī-din-kā-Jhomprā Masjid in Ajmer to the Jāmī’ Masjid in Daulatābād. The construction of the audience hall and the mosque were both dependent upon the completion of the third project, which consisted of the selective dismantling of the Svayambhūśiva temple complex that had stood at the heart of the Kākatīya city. Previously, the destruction of the Svayambhūśiva temple complex has proven difficult to date, since contemporary and later historiographic works alike remain totally silent about the event. But since both the Khūsh Mahāl and the mosque incorporate elements taken from the temple, it is now possible to conclusively date its destruction to the period of the city’s Tughluq occupation. Although the temple itself and its most important ritual hall were completely razed in order to undermine the authority of the vanquished dynasty, the four symbolic gateways (*kīrti-torana*) at the four sides of the site were deliberately preserved to mark an open plaza that became a key element in the Tughluqs’ reordering of Warangal’s urban space (fig. 26). When understood as components of the integrated architectural ensemble they properly constitute, the three interlinked projects of Warangal-Sultānpūr – audience hall, mosque, and plaza – provide important new evidence illuminating the nature of early Tughluq architecture in the southern provinces of the Delhi Sultanate. We here present and interpret our data on these monuments, taking each of the three building projects in turn.

THE KHŪSH MAHĀL (FIGS. 2–4)

Today, the most visible relic of Warangal’s Tughluq occupation is the Khūsh Mahāl, a well-preserved audience hall that stands some 160 m to the west of the Svayambhūśiva site (fig. 5). This long, rectangular hall (38 x 17.5 m) stands on a raised terrace and has thick, strongly battered walls (nearly 6 m from outer to inner face at the base), built of mortared rubble masonry encased within finely dressed ashlar blocks. Most of the hall’s arches and vaults are executed in mortared rubble masonry, which would originally have been covered with a fine coating of stucco; the sole exceptions

are the arches of the north facade and of the niche in the northeast segment of the east wall, which are constructed entirely from carefully fitted ashlar voussoirs.

The hall is oriented longitudinally to the north, from which side it is entered through a door at the back of a portal resembling a shallow *aiwān* (fig. 6). This monumental entrance is framed by two consecutively nested arches, each pointed, with a slight horseshoe profile, and set within a projecting rectangular frame; a third arch frames a window above the doorway, and echoes the form of the other two. Along the east and west sides, the sloping walls are relieved by six tall rectangular openings, each with a pointed, horseshoe-profiled vault above the outer portion of the recess (leading to a deep, rectangular clerestorey window), and a second, lower, inner vault below, ending in a doorway with an arched window above its lintel (fig. 8). A similar double-vaulted rectangular opening provides access into the hall from the middle of the southern side, and is flanked by arched recesses on either side, their floors located 1.85 m above the terrace (fig. 7). On the eastern side of the building, the plain expanse of the wall to the north of the vaulted openings is interrupted by a rectangular-framed, arched niche, rising 3.5 m from the level of the molding running along the base of the wall (fig. 8). Along the top of the wall on all sides but the north is a projecting string course of pointed arches carried on brackets; half-domical vaulting in stucco projects from the back surface of the wall to the inner face of each arch, and is ornamented with a small rosette.

Inside, the space is divided into two portions: a main, five-bayed hall, spanned by four lofty transverse arches, with the same pointed, horseshoe profiles seen in the exterior arches; and at the southern end, a slightly narrower additional bay, with a raised floor and spanned at its front and rear by two more transverse arches, the last flush against the southern wall (fig. 9). In the main part of the hall, the four arches spring directly from the walls in between adjacent side entrances, beginning above the door lintels and rising up at the peaks of their soffits to a height of 1.5 m above the tops of the clerestorey windows. In the additional bay at the southern end, the two arches rise to the same point but spring from a higher level than the main arches, thus resulting in a tighter, more constricted profile. Above, each of the six arches supports a partition wall that rises up to the level of the roof of the hall. The bays between these walls are now open to the elements, but would originally have been covered, most likely by a timber roof supported on longitudinal rafters running between the partition walls.

The Khūsh Mahal exhibits a number of noteworthy features relating to water, starting with a sunken, rectangular pool in the main part of the hall. 9.3 by 3 meters long, this pool occupies the center of the second and third bays from the north entrance, and presently extends to a depth of only half a meter due to an accumulation of soil. The mouth of a channel for filling or draining is visible in the western side of the pool, one meter from its north end (fig. 10); this channel extends westward underneath the adjacent flooring and is accessible through a square opening in the floor of the second lateral entrance from the north on the west side of the hall. Although the channel is mostly obstructed from this point, it appears to continue to the west at least a distance of another 3.5 m, where a second square opening – covered with a stone slab – is visible in the pavement of the terrace. It appears that by pouring water into one of these openings, or removing it with buckets, it would have been possible to maintain the proper level of the pool's water without interfering with activity inside the hall itself. Another feature that was possibly water-related is the narrow channel (25 cm wide by 30 cm deep) cut vertically into the stone in the inner face of the hall's northern wall, near its north-western corner (fig. 10).

This channel runs continuously from a point near the original level of the roof (90 cm below the present upper surface) down to the floor, and could conceivably have been used to hold an earthenware pipe supplying water from a storage tank on the roof to feed a fountain in the pool.⁶ Such an interpretation must be regarded as merely tentative, however, since no actual traces of either tank, pipe, or fountain are discernible today. In connection with the Khūsh Mahāl's water features, we may note the remains of a large stone-lined tank (38 m west to east and 60 m north to south) situated approximately 60 m directly to the north of the hall, that may have supplied the water for the audience hall (fig. 29).

On the north-western corner of the building, a series of additions partially obscures the rectangular outlines of the hall's original conception. The first of these, a 1.5 m extension of the walls of the northernmost lateral entrance, appears to have been added as an afterthought after the construction of the building was already underway (fig. 11). Although its fabric is identical to that of the main structure, the two segments have not been structurally integrated, revealing a vertical seam in the masonry. The purpose served by this addition is unclear, as it is incomplete along its western side.⁷ A second addition, in the form of a stairway providing access to the roof, partially encases the first addition on the west, as well as the north-western corner of the entrance facade (fig. 12). Its cruder rubble construction suggests that it was built at a considerable interval after the foundation of the original building.

As has been mentioned above, the Khūsh Mahāl is popularly understood to have been erected by Shīrāz Khān to serve as his audience hall. The general layout and character of the building are indeed consistent with its supposed use as a hall of audience; thus the ruler's throne would have been situated on the raised platform in the southernmost bay, facing the courtiers who would have entered from the north and assembled in the main hall. However, a number of its specific stylistic features are such as to preclude the likelihood of its having been constructed as late as the 16th century, and suggest instead a date in the early 14th century. It should be noted that a Tughluq date for the Khūsh Mahāl has recently been suggested independently by Klaus Rotzer (unpublished), and has been endorsed by George Michell (see Michell and Zebrowski 1999: 26), but without explaining the rationale for this dating. In our view, the Tughluq date is suggested both by the stylistic features of the Khūsh Mahāl and by its typological character.

First, the pronounced batter of the ashlar-encased, rubble-masonry walls is immediately reminiscent of Tughluq practice in Dehli and other north Indian sites starting in the early years of the 14th century. Although the use of strongly battered walls had long been prevalent in fortifications, it is only beginning in the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq that battered walls begin to be used widely in non-military contexts, including courtly pavilions (for example, the Jahān-namā in the citadel at Tughluqābād), tombs (the Tomb of Shāh Rukn al-Dīn in Multān; and in Delhi, the tombs of Ghiyāth al-Dīn at Tughluqābād and of Fīroz Tughluq at Hauz Khāṣ) and mosques (most notably, in the Tugh-

6 From the top down to a point 2.1 m above the floor, the channel is completely open to the front, but below this point it runs just behind the surface of the wall. At the base of the wall, the channel opens up again for the last 20 cm to the floor. Although heavily obscured by an accumulation of dirt, the channel appears to continue down some distance below the level of the floor. Presumably the parts of the channel which are presently open would originally have been covered over with plaster.

7 Note, in particular, a small, fragmentary section of the springing of an arch which is preserved near the southern edge of this addition; when intact, the arch would have run east to west.

luqābād, Begumpuri, and Khirkī Masjids in Delhi). The Tughluq batter was transmitted to the Deccan as well, when the region was incorporated into the Sultanate, and can be seen in monuments at Daulatābād (the Jāmi' Masjid) and at Gulbarga under the early Bahmānīs (for example, in the tombs of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahmān Shāh, Muḥammad I, and Muḥammad II, and in the entrance chamber to the Shāh Bāzār mosque). From the beginning of the 15th century, however, battered walls are only rarely used outside the context of fortifications, and vertical or nearly vertical walls henceforth become the norm both in Delhi and in the Deccan. A second stylistic feature that appears to link the Khūsh Maḥal with early 14th-century practice at Dehli is the slight horseshoe profile of the arches. Although horseshoe arches are seen in such Khalji period structures as the 'Alā'-i Darwāza of Delhi's Quwwat al-Islām masjid, and even for a brief period thereafter in several Tughluq architectural contexts, the horseshoe profile yields quickly to the straight-sided profile that remains the norm throughout subsequent Sultanate architecture both in Delhi and in the Deccan under the Bahmānīs.

Ultimately, however, it is the Khūsh Maḥal's typological character that provides the strongest argument for the monument having been erected under Tughluq patronage. Specifically, the Khūsh Maḥal belongs to a clearly defined type of longitudinally focused audience hall, conceptually based on the *aiwāns* of Sasanian and early Islamic architecture in western Asia, that is well-documented in Sultanate contexts up until about the middle of the 15th century. The first attested example of the type is the *aiwān* of the *dīwān-i 'ām* erected for Ghiyāth al-Dīn in the inner fort of Tughluqābād; although this structure is badly ruined, enough of its lower walls survive to give a clear sense of its layout.⁸ Completed in about 1323, this hall lies at the southern end of a large courtyard, which is in turn preceded by a smaller forecourt. Like the Khūsh Maḥal, the Tughluqābād audience hall is longitudinally oriented to the north, and was entered through a lofty arch on the north side. At the southern end of the hall, a raised rectangular throne chamber overlooked the main hall through three arches, and could be accessed from the rear through passageways communicating with the more private zones of the palace lying to the south. The side walls of the main hall are articulated with five blind arches on each side, which may have had doorways in their lower portions (now obscured by fallen rubble) communicating into adjacent chambers arranged along the sides of the *aiwān*. A further arch at each end of the raised throne chamber brings the total number of lateral arches to six on each side, the same number as in the Khūsh Maḥal. Without excavation, it cannot presently be determined whether the hall was covered with a continuous vault in the manner of an Iranian *aiwān*, or with a timber ceiling carried on a series of high transverse arches, as in the Khūsh Maḥal; but given the prevalence of the latter type of roofing in subsequent audience halls, this is more probable.

Other examples of this *aiwān*-like audience hall type are known from Mandu in Malwa, and from Gulbarga and Fīrozābād in the Deccan, all dating from the late 14th or early 15th centuries. All are rectangular in plan, longitudinally oriented to the north, spanned by transverse arches which would have originally carried timber ceilings, and are relieved along the sides by lateral arches.⁹ The Mandu example – the Hīndola Maḥal – was, before the construction of an addition along its northern side, the

8 For the Tughluqābād hall, see Shokoohy and Shokoohy (1994: 532–37 and fig. 8 and plate XII).

9 It should be noted that all of these subsequent halls are free-standing buildings, like the Khūsh Maḥal; only the Tughluqābād audience hall is conceived as a true *aiwān* lacking an exterior.

most like the Khūsh Mahal; it has the same strongly battered walls, the same number of two-levelled lateral openings and transverse arches, and the same narrower bay at the southern end of its hall.¹⁰ The Hinḍola Mahal is generally dated to the end of the 15th century, following a suggestion originally made by Yazdani¹¹; but in view of the building's strongly Tughluq stylistic character, and its closeness in conception to the *dīwān-i ām* at Tughluqābād, it appears more likely that the Hinḍola Mahal is one of Mandu's earliest surviving structures, possibly even dating to the 1330s, immediately after Delhi's annexation of Malwa. The Gulbarga¹² and Fīrozābād¹³ examples differ in certain details from the other halls, but are practically identical to each other. Both have straight instead of battered walls, and are considerably shorter than the other examples, consisting of just three longitudinal bays defined by four transverse arches, including those at the front and the back. Neither hall is well enough preserved to determine the nature of the treatment at its south end. The Fīrozābād hall can confidently be dated to about 1400, the approximate date of the founding of this new city by Fīroz Shāh Bahmānī; the Gulbarga example may date to about the same period or slightly earlier, given the close similarity of the two monuments. Significantly, no further examples of the longitudinally-focused audience hall are known in the Deccan after the 1430s, when the *aiwān*-inspired type of hall yielded its position of dominance to a new variety of audience hall, conceptually more akin to the Iranian *tālār*, and represented by such structures as the *dīwān-i ām* and Takht Mahal at Bidar.¹⁴ While these audience halls invariably continue the northern orientation favored in the earlier, *aiwān*-inspired type, their main feature is now an open-fronted pillared hall, wider than deep, and with its flat ceiling supported by wooden columns instead of arches. This remained the dominant type of audience hall in the Deccan well on into the 16th century.

If we consider the Khūsh Mahal against this broader architectural and historical background, it is difficult to uphold the early 16th-century date conventionally proposed for the structure. To the contrary, its unmistakeable stylistic and typological links with early Tughluq Delhi suggest in the clearest possible terms that it can only have been built within the political and cultural ambit of Warangal's brief Tughluq occupation, namely, between about 1324 and 1331. If this dating is correct, the Khūsh Mahal represents the earliest surviving specimen of courtly architecture to have been built in the Deccan under Sultanate patronage, and, as such, is invested with the greatest historical import-

¹⁰ Note, however, that the floor is not raised here in the Mandu hall. There is, however, a gallery level over the lower arch on the building's southern side, accessible by means of a stairway beginning in the adjacent bay on the west side. This may have been the position from which the ruler appeared when holding audiences.

¹¹ Yazdani's dating was based on his sense that the building's "simplicity and vigour" must result from the architect's "protest" against the more ornate and "weak" style of such mid-14th structures as the Jahāz Mahal or the mosque of Malik Mughīth. Accordingly, he took the Hinḍola Mahal to post-date these structures, and to originate from late in the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khalji (Yazdani 1929: 70–71).

¹² The Gulbarga example is presently encased within the so-called "Bālā Hisār," a massive emplacement for three very large cannons within the fort, to the east and north of the Jāmi' Masjid. Careful examination of the masonry, however, reveals that the hall was originally a free-standing structure and that the emplacement was built later, after it ceased to be used for its original function (perhaps after the transfer of the Bahmānī capital to Bidar?).

¹³ The Fīrozābād example, designated "Feature L" by Michell and Eaton (1991), stands near the center of the town, to the east of the Jāmi' Masjid.

¹⁴ For the two Bidar audience halls, see Yazdani 1947: 62–77 and plates XXIII–XLI.

tance. On the one hand, it is the best-preserved early example of the *aiwān*-inspired audience hall type to have survived anywhere in the territory of the Delhi Sultanate, and accordingly, affords important evidence that helps understand the nature of the less completely preserved examples both at Delhi and in the provinces. On the other hand, it constitutes a previously unrecognized link between architectural practice at Tughluqābād and the earliest Bahmānī buildings at Daulatābād and Gulbarga in the second half of the 14th century.

THE RUINED JĀMI' MASJID OF WARANGAL-SULTĀNPŪR : IDENTIFICATION AND DATING (FIGS. 13 & 14)

Unlike the Khūsh Mahāl, the Jāmi' Masjid at Warangal is neither well-preserved nor easily recognized. All that remains standing of the structure today is five columns and the beams they carry, arranged in an irregular pattern to the southeast of the Svayambhūśiva temple's western *kīrti-torāṇa* (fig. 15). As far as we can determine, this badly ruined structure has not previously been recognized as a mosque, but has been interpreted instead as part of a ruined *maṇḍapa* that once belonged to the Svayambhūśiva temple.¹⁵ This confusion is not surprising, given the mosque's poor state of preservation and the fact that nearly all of its most readily visible members are in fact spolia taken from structures that originally belonged to the Svayambhūśiva complex. If one examines the evidence of the remains with some care, however, the structure's identity as a mosque becomes overwhelmingly apparent.

The remaining structure consists of five columns carrying beams and a small portion of ceiling (figs. 13 and 15). The two southernmost columns (C1 and C2 on fig. 13) stand 4.1 m apart (measured from their centers) on a footing provided by a course of basement mouldings, and are aligned approximately east to west. Column C3 stands 6 m to the north of C2, and is likewise set on a footing of basement mouldings, running parallel to the previous footing (fig. 16). Column C4 stands 4.3 m north of C3, and column C5 4.1 m east of C4. These last two columns, unlike the first three, stand on a flooring of piled up, irregular slabs. The five columns are not uniform, but belong to three different types: one variety, represented by columns C2, C3, and C5, is made from finely polished black dolerite and has the broadest shaft (.8 m square; fig. 17); another, represented among the standing columns only by C4, is made from pink granite and is slightly narrower (60 cm square); while the third, represented by column C1, consists of two superimposed shafts – a lower one of grey granite and an upper, shorter one of black dolerite – and is slenderest in proportions (45 cm square at the base; fig. 18). Although the spacing of these columns appears irregular, all five are in fact placed so as to conform to an orthogonal grid, the west to east axis of which is oriented at 100 degrees.

It is from the positioning of the surviving beams and the forms of the bracket capitals (*potika*) carrying them that one may begin to comprehend the original plan of the ruined structure. Four

¹⁵ Yazdani, for example, reporting on his excavations of the Svayambhūśiva site, calls attention to the fact that the structure's members appear to be reused, but suggests that it was built as a "pavilion" (i.e., a *maṇḍapa* hall), "probably during the chieftainship of Shitāb Khān" in the early 16th century (ARADH 1933–34: 7). More recently, the *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture* notes that "within the temple precinct stands a structure which uses somewhat plain Citrakhana pillars... (Could they be of an *āsthāna-maṇḍapa*?)" See Dhaky 1996: 507, fig. 268, and plate 1536.

orthogonally placed beams span the tops of columns C₁ and C₂, C₂ and C₃, C₃ and C₄, and C₄ and C₅, while a single diagonally placed beam runs from C₃ to C₅. This diagonal beam is carried on arms projecting obliquely from the potikas of these two columns.¹⁶ The fact that column C₂ likewise carries a potika with the unusual oblique arm (fig. 17) – in this case, projecting towards the southeast – suggests that another diagonal beam would have run between this column and an adjacent one to the southeast, which is, however, no longer standing. In fact, if one follows the implications of the spacing and arrangement of the five shafts that still remain in their original positions, it is possible to determine the locations of the missing columns that would have been necessary to complete the structure. This evidence unambiguously suggests that the structure would have consisted originally of a central octagonal bay, defined by eight, large columns of black dolerite (of which only C₂, C₃, and C₅ remain standing); with triangular bay extensions added at the four corners to expand the octagon into a larger square (only that on the north-western corner is still intact, defined by the addition of the pink granite column C₄); and that this central octagon-in-square was then expanded by the addition of a range of circumscribing rectangular bays, five on each side (for which the clearest evidence remains, as we shall see momentarily, on the western side; figs. 13 and 14).

Such an interpretation of the structure's plan is in fact further supported by the evidence of a number of collapsed structural elements lying nearby on the surface of the site (fig. 19). Most of these pieces are concentrated to the west of the standing columns; to the east, the ground is almost completely devoid of any fragments, suggesting that this side of the site has been subjected to more thorough clearing at some point subsequent to the building's collapse. In this connection, we note the existence of a number of fallen columns or their fragments, lying close to the positions in which we would expect them to have originally stood, and of the correct type predicted by our analysis of the arrangement of the standing columns. Thus, lying on the ground 6 m to the south of column C₂, is a broken portion of the shaft of an 80 cm-wide black dolerite column (C₆-s; see plan, fig. 13), its base just 2.5 m from the spot where it would have stood to the southeast of C₂. Lying immediately adjacent to it is the bracket capital with oblique arm (C₆-b) that it would have carried when standing. (These are the only surviving traces of the collapsed columns that defined the central octagonal bay; the remnants of the others would have lain to the east, in the area that has been more thoroughly cleared.) In this same area, lying next to the southern arm of the aforementioned *potika*, is a broken portion of the shaft of a 60 cm-square pink granite column (C₇-s), located 2.5 m from the spot where it would originally have stood, marking the corner of the southwestern triangular bay. Its bracket (C₇-b) – likewise in pink granite, and with the customary four orthogonal arms – also lies nearby (2.3 m north-west of the shaft fragment). Similarly, along the western side, there are a number of fragments from two more doubled columns, identical to column C₁, that would have stood originally to the west of columns C₃ and C₄. Thus, some 5 m to the northwest of column C₄ lies a 45 cm-square grey granite shaft (C₉-gs), which would have stood at position C₉ on the plan; the smaller, black dolerite shaft (C₉-ds) that would have stood atop it lies about 3 m to its south. Moving southward, the remains of the column that would

¹⁶ Unlike ordinary potikas which have four arms all projecting at right angles, the potikas in question have a total of five arms. The first three consecutive arms are at right angles, the fourth makes an oblique angle of 130 degrees with the first arm, and the fifth bisects the angle formed by these two.

have stood at position C8 lie at various intervals along a line running 8 m west of this point. The 45 cm grey granite shaft of this column lies broken in two pieces, the base (C8-gs1) just 1.5 m from its original position, and the upper portion of the shaft (C8-gs2) another 6 m further west. The black dolerite shaft (C8-ds) lies adjacent to the upper portion of the grey shaft and the pink granite bracket capital (C8-b) lies at a point about half a meter west of the original center point of the column. Clearly, a fourth doubled column would have completed this row at the additional point indicated on the plan (to the south of C1), but no traces of this last column remain on the surface at present. Judging from the jointing of the beams surviving in place atop columns C4 and C5, the structure would also have continued to the north at least one bay further, and in all likelihood, due to considerations of symmetry (and given the indication of the southern bracket arm on the collapsed *potika* of column C6), the central octagon-in-square would have been surrounded by five smaller rectangular bays on each side.

What, then, is the evidence suggesting that this ruined structure was part of a mosque rather than of a temple *mandapa*? If we limit ourselves for the moment solely to the testimony of the columns and their placement, three points stand in the way of identifying the structure as part of a Kākatiya-period temple. In the first place, we may note that several of the columns have been erected on top of segments of moulded basement (*adhiṣṭhāna*) which serve as their footings, and that the mouldings of these basements would have been totally obscured by flooring that ran across their tops when the structure was intact; indeed, this flooring is still largely in place in the two northernmost bays that survive.¹⁷ This obscuring of carved moldings which were originally meant to be exposed clearly indicates not only that the pillared structure in question was built after the structures which provided the borrowed footings, but also, that its construction involved the dismantling of these earlier structures. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that there is a 5-degree discrepancy between the orientation of the basement (running west to east at 95 degrees) and that of the columns (at 100 degrees). Second, we note that in the case of the standing column C1 and the analogously formed but collapsed columns C8 and C9, the requisite height is achieved by the superimposition of two column shafts – a practice that is not once attested in the documented temple architecture of this region in the Kākatiya and preceding periods. Third, we likewise note that the plan of the hall – with its octagonal bay inscribed within a square – is not known in any of the documented buildings of the Telāṅgāna region in the Kākatiya or earlier periods.¹⁸

These anomalies begin to make sense, however, when we note that all the columns still standing in the structure have had their figural sculptural ornaments carefully chiselled off, leaving behind a

¹⁷ The southern of these two basements represents the northern boundary of the *adhiṣṭhāna* of a Kākatiya period *mandapa*, segments of which also survive on its western and eastern sides. The mouldings on the northern face of the portion now serving as a footing indicate that this would have represented the outside perimeter of the building. The second basement runs parallel to the first at a distance 5.5 m to the north. This second basement appears to have carried a shallow colonnade defining the southern edge of an avenue leading into the Svayambhūśiva temple complex from the west; when complete, it would probably have been some 3 m deep, leaving a 2-meter space between its outer edge and the northern edge of the adjacent *mandapa* basement.

¹⁸ Although the octagon-in-square plan is attested in a few recorded examples in the temple architecture of the neighboring Kuntala region in northern Karnataka – see, for example, the Tārakeśvara temple at Hānagal (EITA I/3: fig. 150) and the Jain Temple (Kamala Basadi) at Belgaum (EITA I/3: fig. 159) – it appears to have been unknown in the Telāṅgāna style of temple architecture. Here, *mandapas* are generally composed either of nine rectilinear bays, arranged in a regular 3 by 3 grid, or particularly in the case of *āsthāna-mandapas*, of 25 bays arranged five on each side.

relatively smooth but unpolished surface that stands out in contrast to the highly polished areas surrounding these zones (fig. 17). This observation holds equally true for the fallen columns that belonged to this structure, as well as for the beams and ceiling slabs that were used in it, but not for any of the hundreds of other fragments from the Svayambhūśiva temple that lie strewn about the surface of the site. This selective effacement of the figural sculptures can best be explained if we posit that the recut columns and other members were being prepared for re-use as spolia in a mosque, in which context the appearance of figural imagery would have been inappropriate. Such a supposition also makes sense of the building's establishment on the foundations of an earlier Hindu religious edifice, of the combination of column shafts according to a new architectural logic, and of the use of a plan type – the octagon-in-square – which was previously unknown within the local architectural tradition. In fact, as we shall see below, all of these features are characteristic attributes of a clearly defined mosque type that is well known in the architecture of the Sultanate period, and which we will refer to as the "conquest mosque" on account of its historical association with the expansion of the Sultanate's frontier. We shall consider in a moment how the Warangal mosque conforms to the typology of the "conquest mosque," but first let us review two further bodies of evidence, which on the one hand confirm the building's identification as a mosque, and on the other, suggest the probability of an early 14th-century date.

The first body of evidence consists of four architectural fragments lying on the ground to the west and slightly north of column C1, which appear to have framed a *mīhrāb* niche in the center of the mosque's *qibla* wall. The three fragments that lie closest to column C1 – N1, N2, and N3 – are all of a type that mark the projecting angle of a wall, such as occurs at the edge of a doorway or niche, and are divided up into successively receding bands, the innermost of which is carved in the form of a pilaster (fig. 20). Two of these fragments (N1 and N2) fit neatly together, and clearly represent two broken portions of the same block. Both have two narrow rectangular bands, and a third band carved in the form of a pilaster with identical pot-like forms as base and capital, an octagonal shaft, and a projecting cubical central section containing a carved diamond-faced solid. The third fragment, N3 – which unfortunately lies face down and is accordingly difficult to see in its entirety – is similar, but has a concave, curving surface interposed between the first and second rectangular bands, and its pilaster exhibits slightly smaller proportions. The fourth fragment, N4, which lies some distance further to the west of the other four, consists of a single rectangular block with a raised rectilinear moulding along two edges, and a gently curving concave surface receding back from these two edges. Although it is not clear how N3 might have related to the other fragments (or whether it might have come from a different context altogether), it is clear that fragments N1, N2, and N4 would have formed part of the framing of a *mīhrāb* niche, which when intact would have consisted of an arch carried on pilasters (N1 and N2) contained within a larger rectangular frame (N4; fig. 21). Significantly, not only is the resulting form in general conformity with the morphology of *mīhrāb* niches as documented in the Sultanate period, but just as importantly, the location of the fragments just to the west of the central western bay – that is, in a position that would have fallen at the center of the *qibla* wall – is also consistent with their interpretation as coming from a *mīhrāb*.

The second body of evidence consists of six fragmentary pieces of a stone *minbar* or pulpit, which would have stood against the *qibla* wall in the bay immediately north of the *mīhrāb* bay. More than anything else, it is the evidence of this unmistakeable piece of liturgical furniture that places the building's

identification as a mosque beyond dispute. The two largest pieces from this broken minbar lie along the northern edge of the floor slabs of this bay, the first standing upright in nearly its original position (P₁; fig. 22), and the second lying collapsed at a point just behind the first, having fallen toward the south (P₂). The measurements and decoration of the two pieces are such as to indicate that they were originally joined together (fig. 23). Their profile describes a broad triangle, moving upward from the front and truncated at the top; their outer (northern) faces are carved with raised rectilinear bands arranged in a step-wise fashion, presumably echoing the arrangement of the steps inside (no longer preserved), and a frieze at the bottom with the outlines of merlons in alternating upward and downward orientation. At the rear of the second piece, where the *minbar* reaches its highest point, the side is pierced by an arched opening, of which only the forward (eastern) half is preserved. Significantly, the opening is framed by two receding arches of slight horseshoe profile, as in the Khūsh Mahāl, and the outer arch stands on a pilaster that is practically identical with those from the above-described *mīrāb* fragments. In the spandrel above the arch, a lotiform solar rosette or *shamsa* is carved in relief. The two next largest pieces of the *minbar* (P₃ and P₄) are the analogous blocks from the southern side which, however, are less visible as they have fallen face down to the south and are largely obscured by ceiling slabs which have fallen on top of them. Two other smaller fragments appear to have been broken off from one or both of the forward pieces; one, which can be fitted into the reconstructed northern side, lies on the floor slab between the two sides (P₅), and the other lies some distance to the west, close to the *mīrāb* pieces (P₆).

These *mīrāb* and *minbar* fragments also provide important testimony with regard to the date of the mosque's founding. The slightly horseshoe-profiled arches of the *minbar*, as well as the forms of the corner pilasters used in both *minbar* and *mīrāb*, suggest that the mosque was most probably founded during the period of Warangal's Tughluq occupation. As we have already seen in the case of the Khūsh Mahāl, the horseshoe profiled arch is a feature found in Khilji and early Tughluq structures, but rarely thereafter; similarly, the octagonal pilaster with pot base and capital, and with medial cubical sections with diamonds, is a stylistic feature which points clearly and unambiguously toward Delhi in the 14th century. This general type of pilaster, which was introduced to the Deccan from northern India as a result of the conquests of the Sultanate, was to become a common feature in Bahmānī architecture during the 14th and 15th centuries, but the particular proportions and forms of the pilasters found in the Warangal mosque are much closer to those seen in 14th-century Delhi than they are to any other recorded Deccani examples.¹⁹ Since it is unlikely that a congregational mosque would have been built at the center of Warangal at any time other than when the city was under Muslim occupation, we may narrow down the rather broad 14th-century periodization suggested by the style of the *minbar* and *mīrāb* fragments, and specify more precisely a date within the period 1323–1331, that is, during the city's Tughluq occupation.

¹⁹ While the pilasters from Warangal are comparatively taller and more slender – like those of such buildings in Delhi as the 'Alā-i Darwāza of the Quwwat al-Islām masjid, and the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq – those at 14th and 15th century Deccani sites, from Gulbarga and Fīrozābād to Bidar, tend to heavier, broader proportions. Similarly, the diamond shapes cut within the medial cubes of the Warangal pilasters have 14th century parallels in Delhi and other north Indian sites, but are not attested in any other Deccani context.

THE WARANGAL JĀMI' MASJID AS A "CONQUEST MOSQUE"

We have suggested above that certain features of the ruined Warangal mosque – in particular, its establishment on the foundations of an earlier Hindu religious edifice, its extensive use of spolia, its stacking of columns, and its use of the octagon-in-square plan – serve to identify the structure with what we have termed the “conquest mosque” type. The occurrence of this type is restricted to very specific historical circumstances, and is found only at sites along the expanding frontier of the Delhi Sultanate. The two best-known and earliest examples of the type were constructed in the context of the first expansion of the Ghūrid frontier from the far northwest into the Indo-Gangetic plain, and effectively mark the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate: these are the Quwwat al-Islām Masjid founded by Qutb al-Dīn Aibeg in Delhi in 1192, and the Arhai-din-ka Jhompra mosque founded in Ajmer in 1199, possibly by the same patron. In both cases, the construction of the monument is linked to the subjection of a local dynasty, and the incorporation of its territory into that of the Sultanate. Thus, the Quwwat al-Islām was built following the battle of Tarā'īn in 1192, in which Govindarāja, the Tomara ruler of Delhi was killed, and his son installed as a vassal paying tribute to the Ghūrid Sultān Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām.²⁰ Similarly, the Aḍhāī-din-kā-Jhomprā in Ajmer was built in 1199, shortly after Pṛthvīrāj, the Cauhān ruler of Ajmer had been executed and his throne conferred on his son, who likewise rendered tribute to the Ghūrid Sultān.²¹ Several mosques erected in the late 12th and early 13th centuries at sites in Rājasthān and the western Gangetic heartland – including the Shāhī Masjid at Khatū (end of the 12th century), the Ukha Mandir at Bayāna (c. 1195–1210), the Chaurāsī Khambā mosque in Kāman (1204), and the Jāmi' Masjid at Badāūn – offer additional examples of the type that are linked with further conquests and expansion of the Sultanate's heartland at the expense of local Hindu rulers.²² By mid-century, however, the frontier had become more or less stabilized, and no new examples of the type are in evidence. It is not until a new wave of expansion was unleashed toward the south by the Khaljis and the Tughluqs that the conquest mosque type is again pressed into service – most notably, in the Jāmi' Masjid of Daulatābād (1318)²³ and in the Warangal mosque (c. 1323–24) under consideration here. At Daulatābād, the Jāmi' Masjid was built in the aftermath of Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Khalji's suppression of a rebellion by several would-be successors to the recently exterminated Yādava line, at the same time that the Sultān renamed the town (then still known as Deogir) as Qutbābād in his own honor.²⁴ Similarly in Warangal, the mosque appears to have been constructed at the behest of Ulugh Khān as a means of marking the final defeat of Pratāparudra and the incorporation of the Kākatīya city into the command structure of the Sultanate.

²⁰ Jackson 1999: 10.

²¹ Jackson 1999: 10, and Hillenbrand 1988: 105–107.

²² See Z.A. Desai (1971: 28) and Shokoohy and Shokoohy (1993: 107–110) for the Khatū mosque; Cunningham (1885: 56 and 71–74) and Shokoohy and Shokoohy (1987: 117–27) for the mosques at Kāman and at Bayāna; and Blakiston (1926) for the Badāūn mosque. The Kāman and Bayāna mosques do not feature the octagon-in-square plan, but otherwise conform to the type in their use of spolia and doubled stacking of column shafts.

²³ For the Daulatābād mosque, see Burton-Page 1986: 20–25.

²⁴ Jackson, Delhi Sultanate, pp. 202–203.

Although they manifest distinct stylistic features according to their place and date of foundation, these mosques all share in common a number of features that together permit us to recognize and define the conquest mosque type in formal terms. In the first place, these mosques are all built on the sites of dismantled temples and employ recut columns and other spolia taken from the destroyed monument. Thus an inscription on the eastern gate of the Quwwat al-Islām masjid, contemporaneous with its construction in 1192, records that the mosque was built with spolia taken from twenty-seven different temples; these spolia include columns, bracket capitals, ceiling panels, and other decorative members, and the mosque can be seen to be founded on the plinth of one of the destroyed temples.²⁵ In the case of the Ajmer mosque, although there are no contemporary epigraphs or written records mentioning the destruction of temples, the mosque as originally founded consists almost entirely of spolia, and a later tradition holds that it was built on the site of a demolished Jain temple.²⁶ Similarly, in the case of Daulatābād's Jāmi' Masjid, there is no written record of the destruction of temples, but many of the columns of the mosque's prayer hall and of the colonnades surrounding its courtyard have clearly been removed from a temple structure and recut, and additional spolia – including bracket capitals, pieces of moulded wall, and ceiling slabs – have been incorporated into the flooring of the prayer hall. In the same way, we have seen that Warangal's mosque appropriates as footings the basements from at least two destroyed structures in the Svayambhūśiva complex, and that most of its structural members – from columns and beams to ceiling and floor slabs – have been taken as spolia from these structures. Since, as we shall see in the last section, the Svayambhūśiva temple had housed the tutelary divinity of the Kākatīyas, the Tughluqs' destruction of this temple and reuse of its spolia would appear to have constituted primarily a politically symbolic act, designed to undermine the authority of the vanquished dynasty. It is tempting to speculate that similar political motives may likewise have been uppermost in the case of each of the other conquest mosques discussed here, but this must remain a matter of conjecture in the absence of more detailed contextual information for each of these other cases.

The use of spolia, however, is by no means the only formal characteristic of the conquest mosque type, nor even the most significant.²⁷ Far more striking is the consistency in planning exhibited by the most imposing of these mosques, such that the octagon-in-square bay arrangement figures prominently in a majority of instances of the type regardless of the date and place of their foundation. The central bay of the prayer hall typically takes the form of a large octagon, covered by a corbelled dome rising from beams carried on columns, with triangular bay extensions at the four corners (carrying flat ceilings) serving to circumscribe the octagon within a larger square and thus to effect a smooth tran-

²⁵ See Page 1926: 29.

²⁶ See Hillenbrand 1988: 108.

²⁷ Many mosques, such as the Karīm al-Dīn Mosque in Bījapūr (1320), or the so-called Shāhī Masjid in Rajahmundry (1324) employ spolia from Hindu temples, but yet do not conform to the conquest mosque type. The case of the Rajahmundry mosque is particularly instructive, given that it is also a Tughluq foundation contemporary with the Warangal mosque. The prayer hall of the Rajahmundry mosque consists of 21 square bays – 3 deep by 7 across – with ceilings carried on spoliated *citrakhaṇḍa* class columns. There are no domes, corbelled or otherwise, and no octagonal bays or stacked columns. The foundation inscription (Yazdani 1924) records that the mosque was established in 1324 under the patronage of Sālār 'Ulwī, who identifies himself as a subordinate of Ulugh Khān's.

sition between the octagonal disposition of the central bay and the orthogonal layout of the surrounding aisles.²⁸ In some cases, this central bay is flanked by additional octagon-in-square bays to north and south; in others, it remains the only such bay, and the remaining area of the prayer hall takes the form of orthogonally arranged aisles. Thus, in Quṭb al-Dīn Aibeg's original foundation of the Quwwat al-Islām masjid, the prayer hall consisted of a total of five domed bays, each consisting of an octagon-in-square with a corbelled dome carried on the beams defining the octagon.²⁹ At Ajmer, in the Aḍhāi-din-kā-Jhomprā, the prayer hall as preserved today consists of five octagon-in-square bays, but originally appears to have extended further on both north and south, possibly through the provision of two more octagon-in-square bays on each side (as in Cunningham's conjectural restoration).³⁰ The Khatū mosque also featured five octagon-in-square bays with corbelled domes. The Jāmi' Masjid at Daulatābād departs from these earlier monuments in that it has only a single octagon-in-square bay, located immediately before its *mibrāb*; but the primacy of this spatial unit is underscored by the fact that the rhythm and dimensions of the bays in the rest of the prayer hall are determined by the irregular proportions of the central bay's intercolumniation.³¹ In the case of the Warangal mosque, there is no surviving evidence to indicate the form taken by the rest of the prayer hall to the north and south of the central octagon-in-square unit; arrangements of either the Daulatābād type or the Delhi/Ajmer/Khatū type are equally conceivable.

The octagon-in-square arrangement of the conquest mosque type represents neither an innovation on the part of the Sultanate's architects, nor the importation of a design feature from elsewhere in the Islamic world. To the contrary, it must be understood as the natural appropriation of a form of planning that had been long-established in local, pre-Islamic Indian architectural practice. Particularly in the temple architecture of central and western India, the octagon-in-square arrangement had frequently been used to provide a large, domed space at the center of a *mandapa* hall.³² Given that the architects who constructed the first "conquest mosques" – such as those at Delhi and Ajmer – were local Indian recruits familiar with this style of building, and given that many of the spolia themselves may have been taken from octagon-in-square planned *mandapas*, it was only natural that the octagon-

²⁸ The octagon-in-square arrangement occurs in the Quwwat al-Islām, the Aḍhāi-din-kā-Jhomprā, the Shāhī Masjid at Khatū, the Daulatābād mosque, and the Warangal mosque. At Bayāna and Kāman, the mosques lack octagon-in-square bays, but feature corbelled domes in the bay immediately preceding the *mibrāb*.

²⁹ The four western-most columns of each octagon-in-square bay are engaged in the *qibla* wall, but there is an additional line of columns defining an extra row of square and rectangular bays on the eastern side; the central bay is surrounded on its north and south sides by two rows of peripheral, square and rectangular bays; the flanking octagon-in-square bays on each side are paired together so that the two adjacent bays share a single row of columns. In the two expansions of the mosque's prayer hall, undertaken by Iltutmish in 1229–30, and by 'Alā' al-Din Khalji in 1311, the octagon-in-square bay system continues to be used, although with slight variations in the disposition of the peripheral bays linking the central units. See J. A. Page (1926: plate II).

³⁰ See Hillenbrand (1988: fig.1).

³¹ Thus, there are rows of wider, rectangular bays running north, south, and east from the wider sides of the octagon, flanked in each case by rows of narrower, rectangular bays running off from its corners; the only regular square bays in the structure are those arranged in two rows on the east between these axial extensions.

³² See, for example, the attached *rāṅga-mandapa* of the Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādeva temple at Sūnak (Huntington 1985: figs. 20.42–43), or the detached *sabbā-mandapa* of the Sun temple at Modhera (Huntington 1985: figs. 20.44–48).

in-square system should have been perpetuated in these mosques.³³ What is new is not the structural system or the octagon-in-square as the basic modulus of planning, but the way in which these units were arranged in novel combinations to create the space of the prayer hall. In this connection, we should also note that the stacking of columns seen in the Delhi and Ajmer mosques, and indeed, in other specimens of the conquest mosque type, is not in itself an unprecedented or uniquely “Islamic” architectural feature. To the contrary, the stacking of multiple column shafts was an established practice in pre-Islamic temple architecture in western and central India, particularly in the architecture of *mandapas*.

As for the historical implications of the conquest mosque type and its appearance at Warangal in the early 14th century – and for that matter, at Daulatābād at the same time – two points seem particularly worthy of comment. The first point has to do with the significance of two decidedly different styles of mosque architecture co-existing at the same chronological moment, albeit in distinctly different historical contexts. In their use of spolia and employment of the octagon-in-square plan, the 14th-century Warangal and Daulatābād mosques conform to a style that is usually held to represent the earliest stages of mosque architecture in India, during the late 12th and early 13th centuries. The persistence of this type on into the second quarter of the 14th century – at a time when mainstream mosque architecture in Delhi had moved on to a new style based on a structural vocabulary of piers and arches supporting rubble-masonry domes³⁴ – serves as a reminder that style is by no means subject to a simple, unilinear chronological determinism, but is instead a product of the specific social context in which it occurs. Clearly, the social purposes served by a 14th-century mosque in Delhi would have differed decisively from those served by a mosque erected contemporaneously in a distant southern city which had only just been incorporated into the Sultanate. In this respect, the “conquest mosque” type as defined in Delhi at the end of the 12th century – when Delhi was itself still at the Sultanate’s frontier – provided a far more relevant conceptual model than anything built in the imperial Delhi of the 14th century could have done. Accordingly, the older type of “conquest mosque” enjoyed a second brief efflorescence as the frontier once again began advancing in the 14th century.

The second point relates to the expanded range of meanings that would probably have been carried by the forms of the “conquest mosque” in the early 14th century. By the time the mosques at Daulatābād and Warangal were founded, the forms of the conquest mosque would certainly have been invested with a new range of associations in addition to those they had borne when originally defined, thanks to the force of over a century of subsequent cultural historical development at Delhi. Particularly important in this regard is the fact that the Quwwat al-Islām masjid – the earliest of the first

33 In fact, it should be pointed out that the first documented appearance of the octagon-in-square plan in Indian Islamic architecture is not in the context of a mosque, but of a tomb – the Shrine of Ibrāhīm (1160) at Bhadreśvar – and that the building appears to have been constructed *de novo*, rather than through the use of spolia. See Shokoohy and Shokoohy 1988: 14–18.

34 All the major mosques built in Delhi during the 14th century, from Ghiyāth al-Dīn’s Congregational mosque at Tughluqābād (c. 1322–3) to Muḥammad b. Tughluq’s Begumpuri Masjid (c. 1343) and the Khiṛkī Masjid (c. 1352–54) of the reign of Fīroz Tughluq, exhibit a structural vocabulary revolving around the use of heavy piers and arches to support rubble-masonry domes. For the Tughluqābād mosque, see Shokoohy and Shokoohy (1994: 544–49); for the Begumpuri and Khiṛkī mosques, see Welch and Crane (1983: 130–39).



Fig. 1 Map of India, showing places mentioned in text.

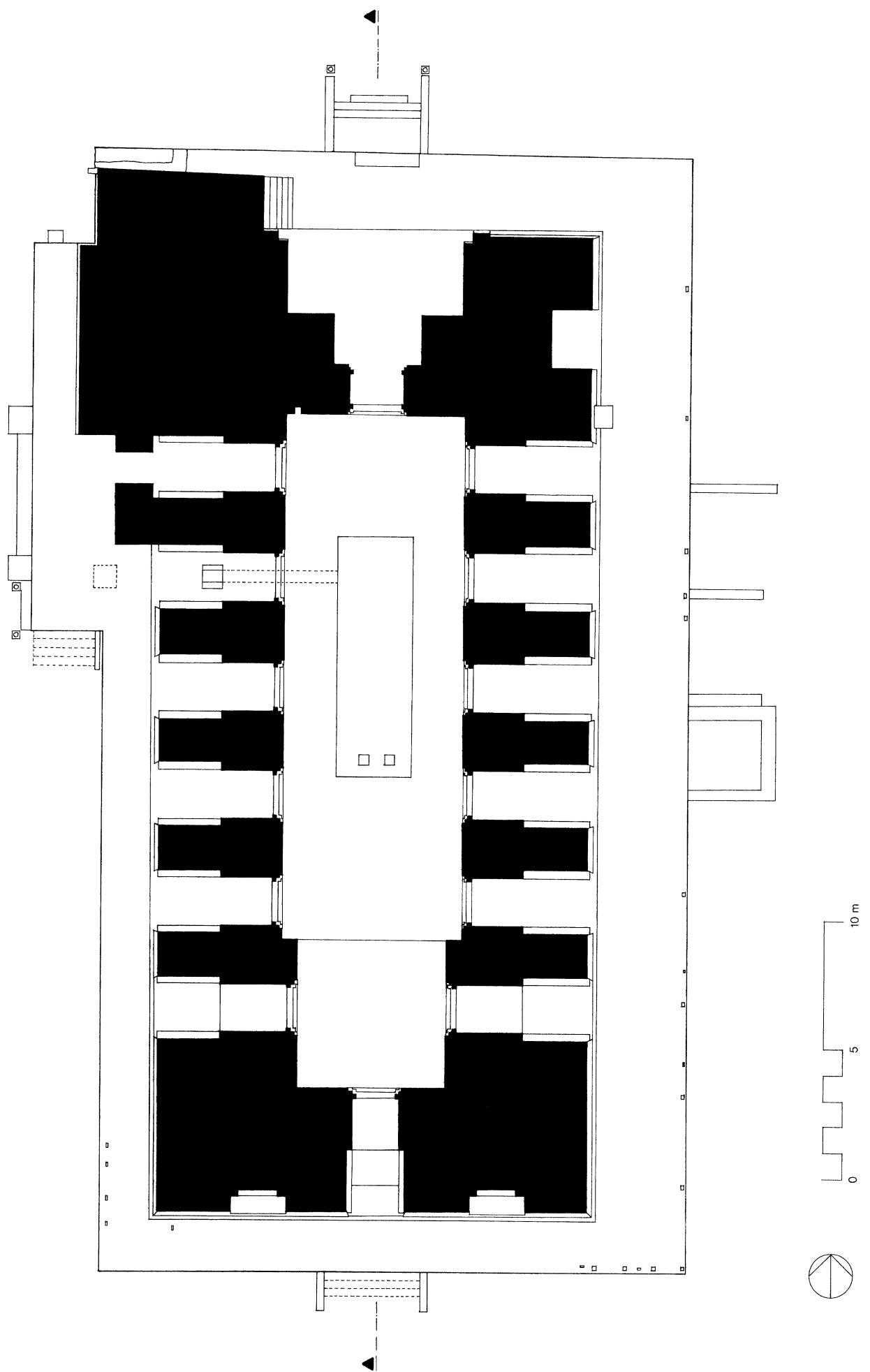


Fig. 2 Khūsh Mahāl, Warangal, plan

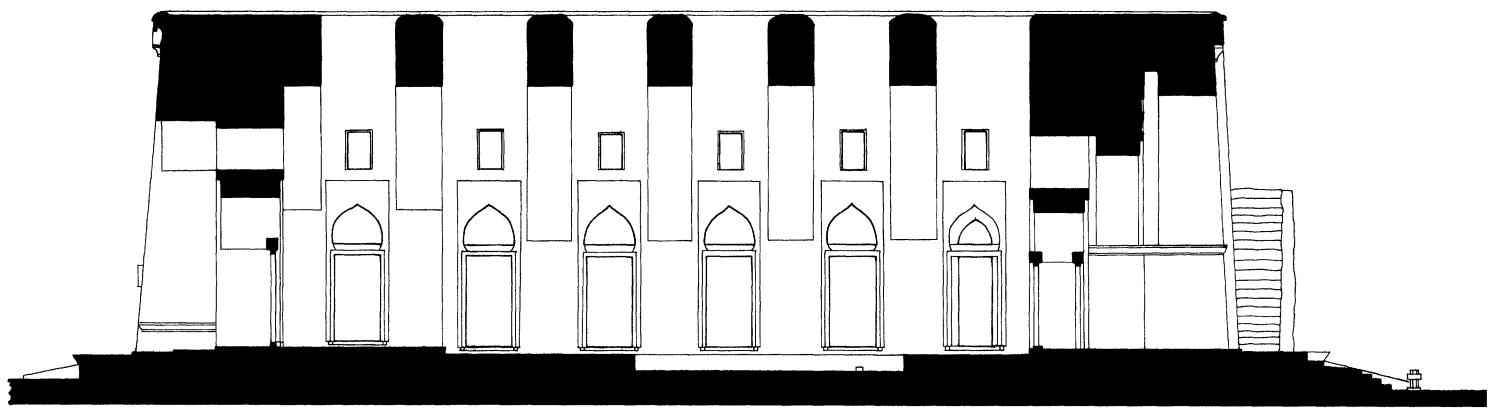


Fig. 3 Khūsh Mahāl, section

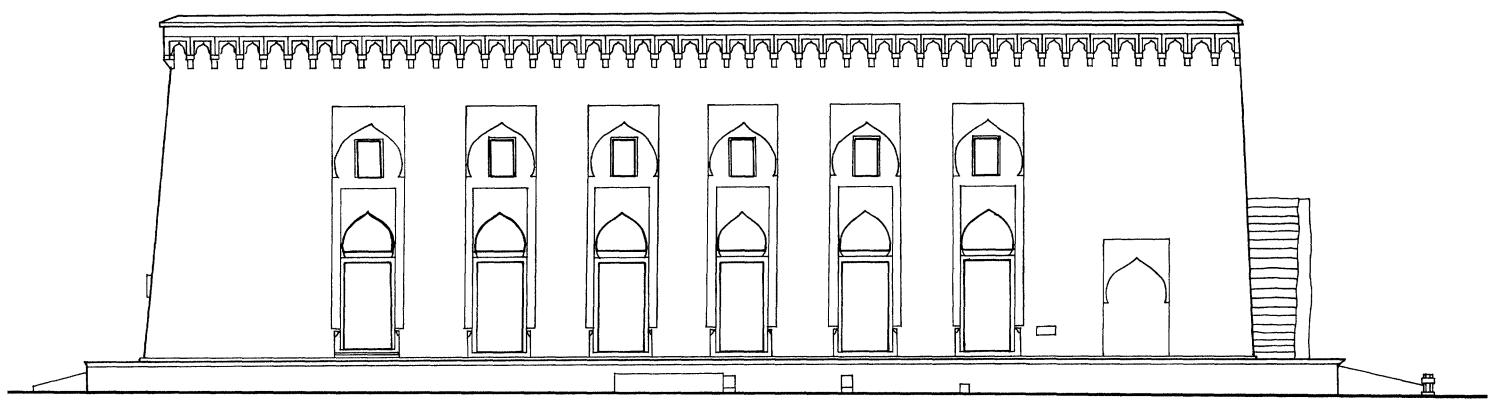


Fig. 4 Khūsh Mahāl, elevation



Fig. 5 Khūsh Maḥal, view from northeast

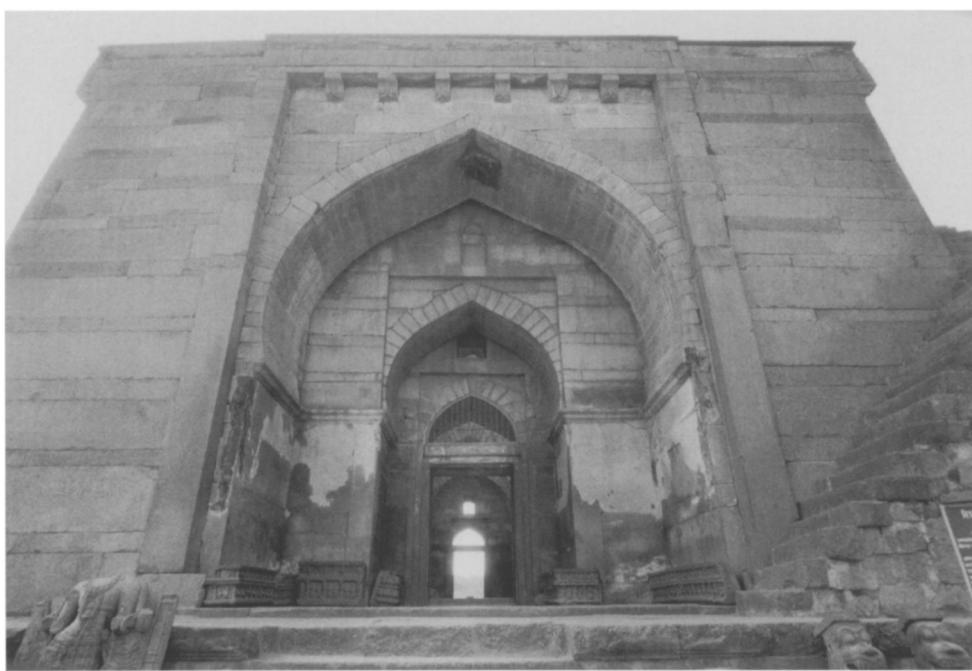


Fig. 6 Khūsh Maḥal, main entrance, north facade

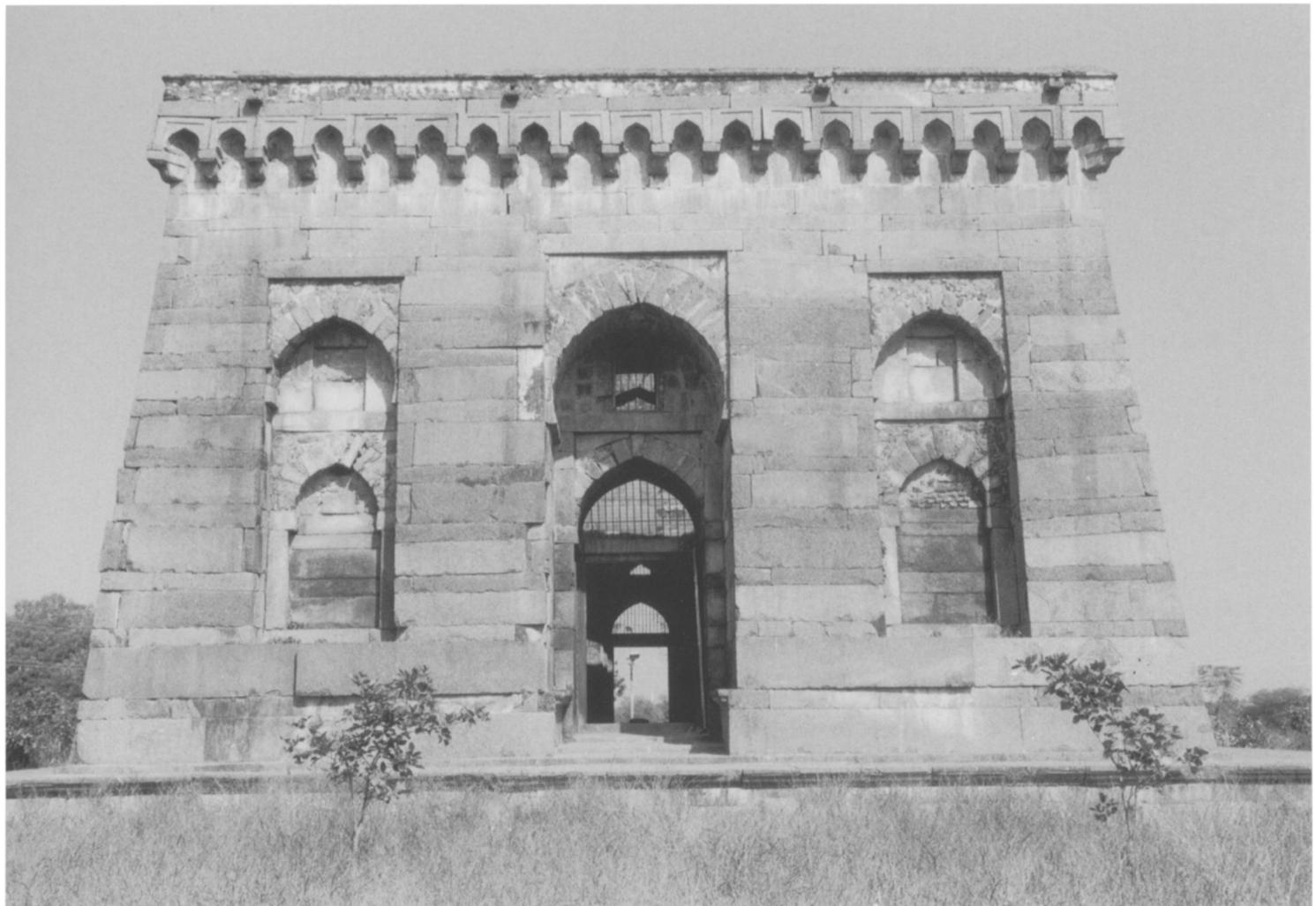


Fig. 7 Khūsh Maḥal, south facade



Fig. 8 Khūsh Maḥal, eastern exterior, showing side openings and arched niche in northern segment

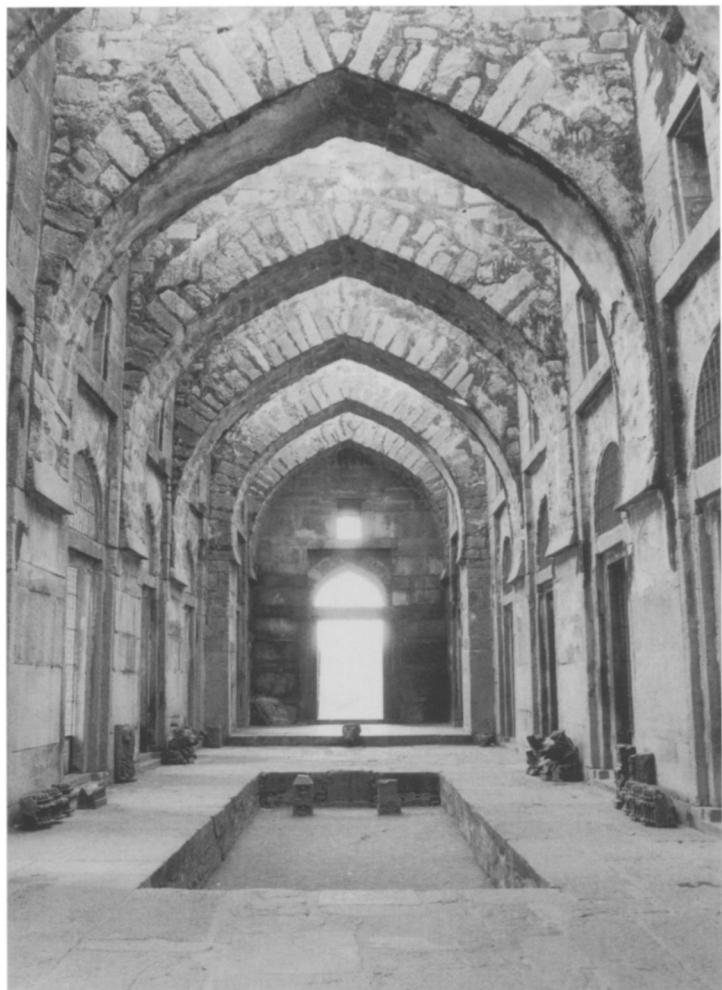


Fig. 9 Khush Mahal, interior, looking south



Fig. 10 Khush Mahal, interior, looking toward northwestern corner, showing pool, drain, and vertical channel

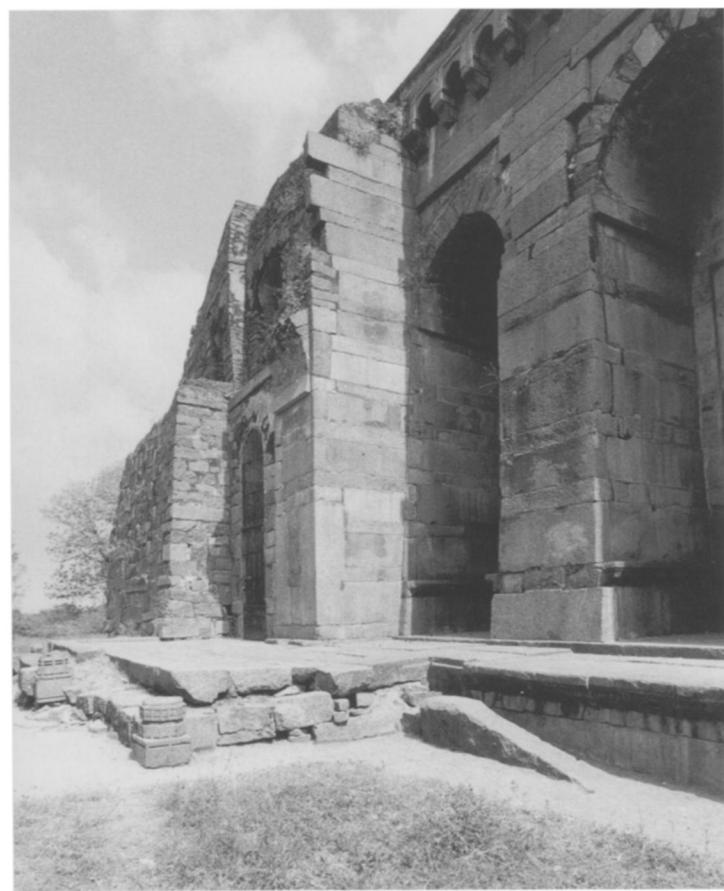


Fig. 11 Khush Mahal, exterior, west side, showing first addition at northwestern corner

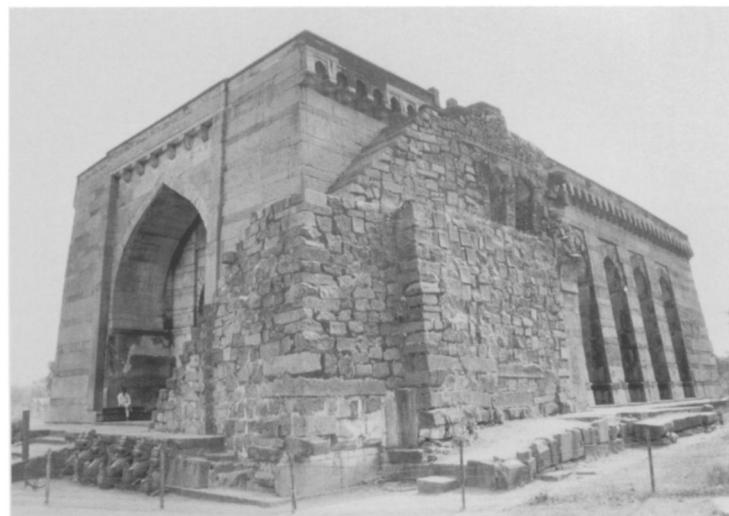


Fig. 12 Khush Mahal, exterior from northwest, showing second addition at northwestern corner, with steps to roof

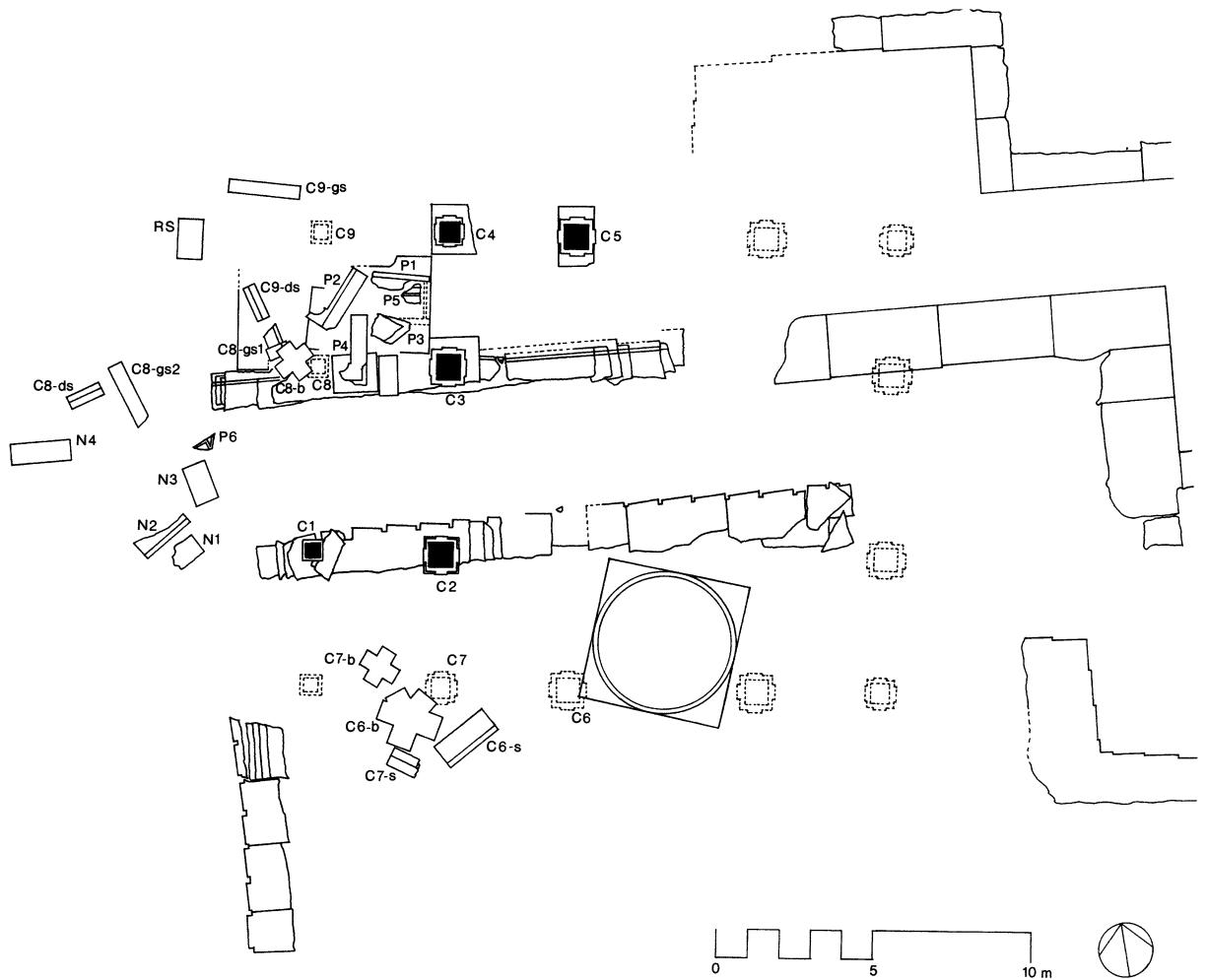


Fig. 13 Jāmi' Masjid, Warangal, plan of major surface remains.

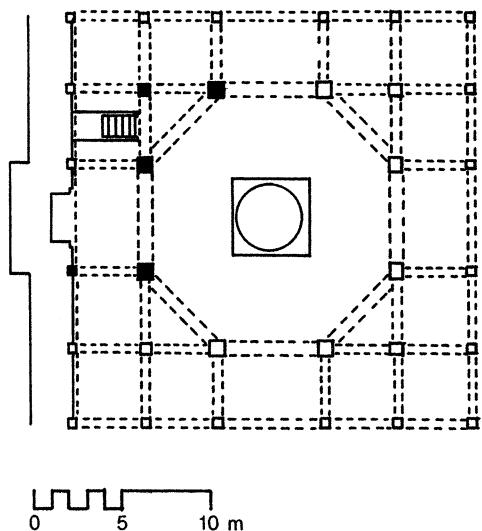


Fig. 14 Jāmi' Masjid, Warangal, reconstruction of central *mihrāb* bay unit



Fig. 15 Jāmi' Masjid, view of standing pillars from southeast



Fig. 16 Jāmi' Masjid, from northeast, showing temple basements (*adhiṣṭhāna*) reused as footings for columns



Fig. 19 Jāmi' Masjid, collapsed structure to west of standing columns



Fig. 17 Jāmi' Masjid, column C2 from southeast, showing defacement of figural sculpture panels and five-armed bracket

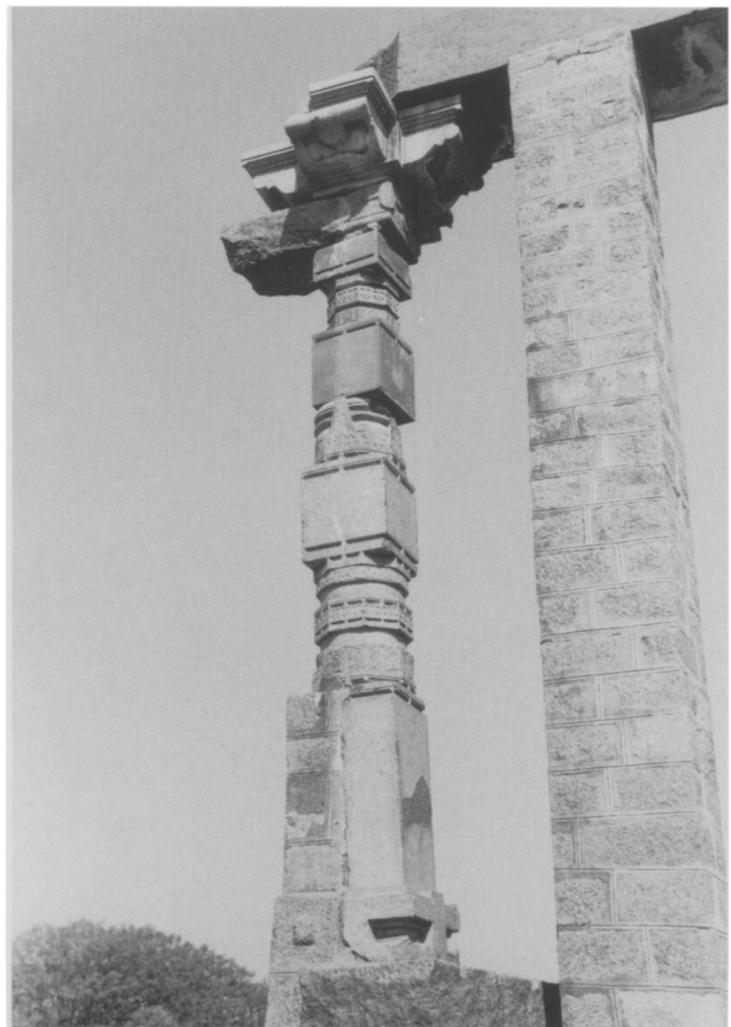


Fig. 18 Jāmi' Masjid, column C1 from south, showing stacking of reused pillar shafts



Fig. 20 Jāmi' Masjid, fragment of *mihrāb* niche (N₂) lying on ground

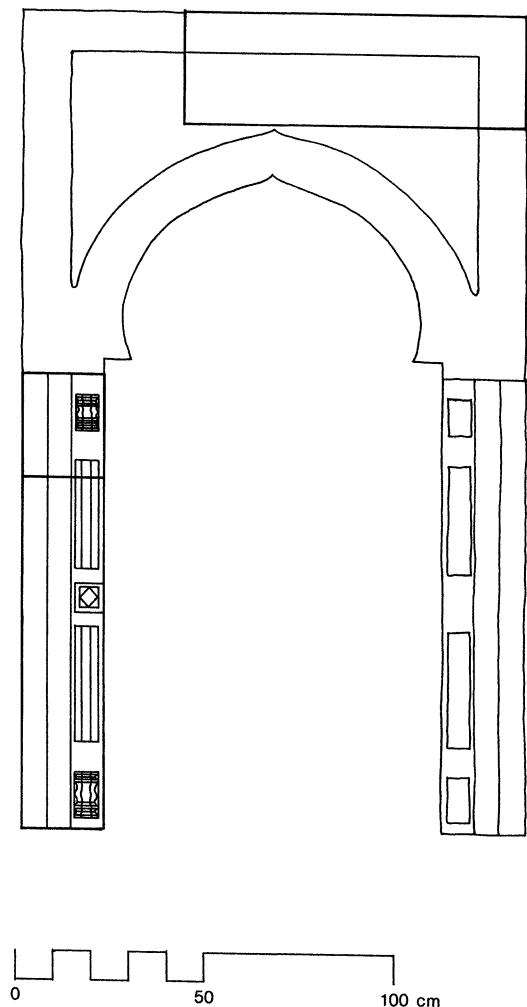


Fig. 21 Jāmi' Masjid, reconstruction of *mihrāb* niche from fragments N₁, N₂, and N₄



Fig. 22 Jāmi' Masjid, fragment of *minbar* pulpit (P₁)

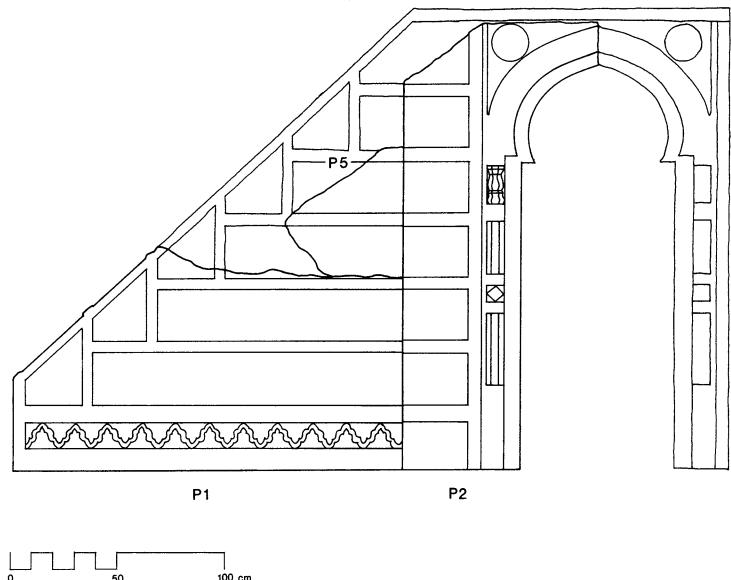


Fig. 23 Jāmi' Masjid, reconstruction of *minbar* pulpit from fragments P₁, P₂, and P₅

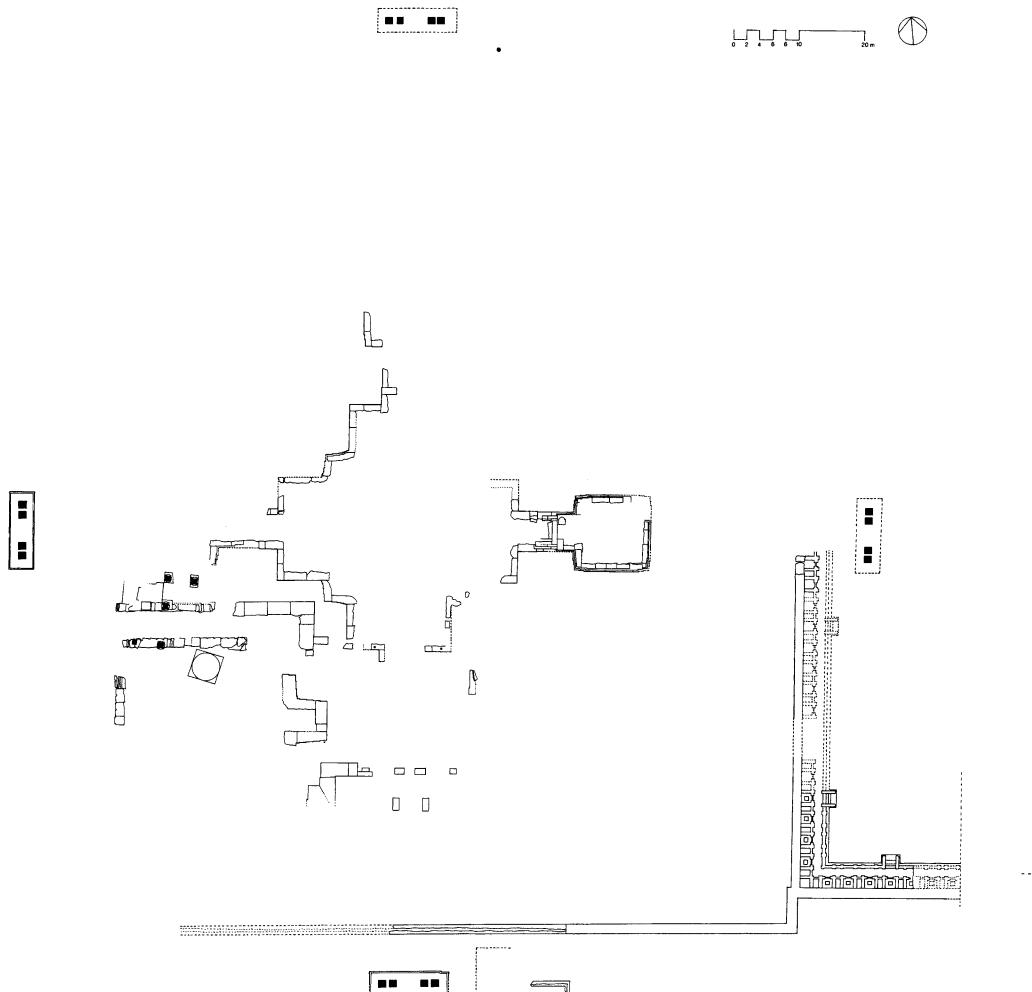


Fig. 24 Warangal, Svayambhuśiva temple, site plan showing locations of *kīrti-toranas* and preserved segments of *prākāra* wall, exposed portions of foundations of main temple (at center) and *āsthāna-mandapa* (southwestern sector), and floors of “liṅga-pīṭha” shrine complex (to east)



Fig. 25 Svayambhuśiva site, general view of demolished temple from the south-west



Fig. 26 Svayambhūśiva site, southern *kīrti-torana* framing view of northern *torana*

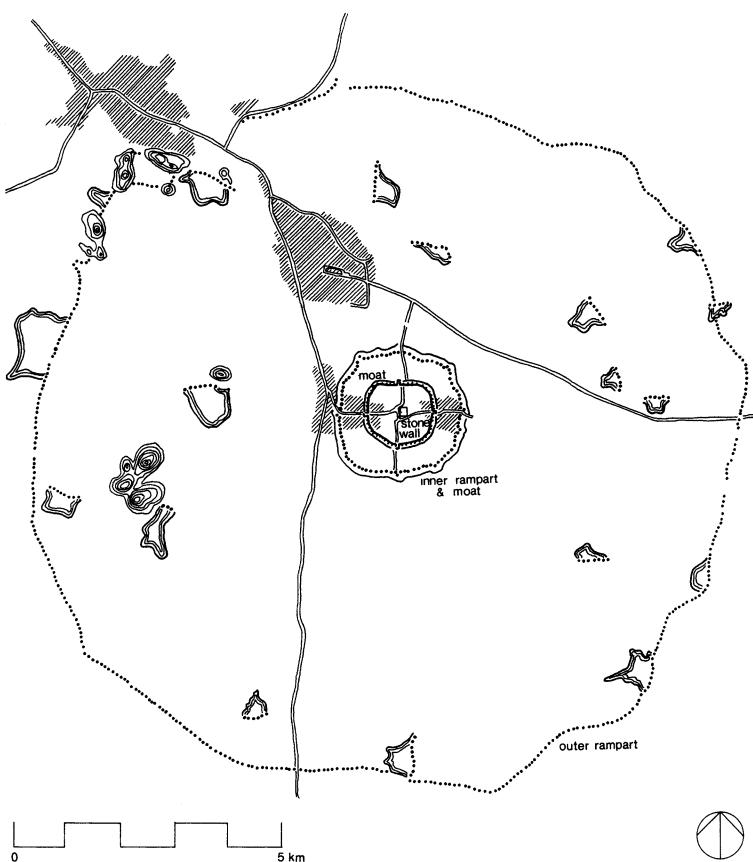


Fig. 27 Warangal, map of Kākatiya city showing fortifications, main roads, and Svayambhūśiva temple site (after Michell 1992, fig. 1)



Fig. 28 Svayambhūśiva temple, upper portion of *caturmukha-linga* originally enshrined in sanctum, presently kept under a tree in the courtyard of the adjacent Śambhuni-guḍi

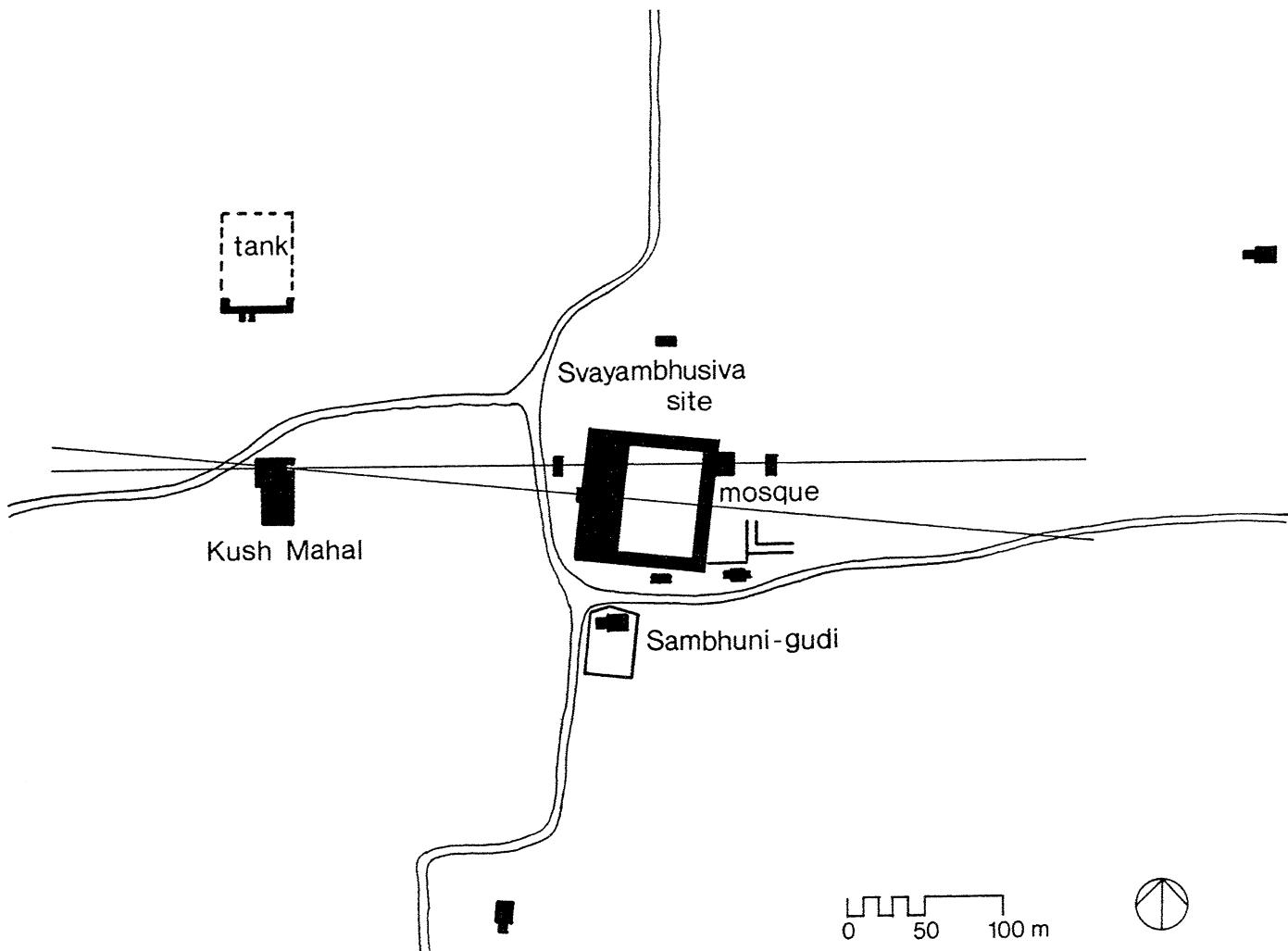


Fig. 29 Warangal/Sultānpūr, site map of Tughluq architectural complex showing relationships between Khūsh Maḥal, Jāmi' Masjid, and *kīrti-toranas* of Svayambhūśiva site



Fig. 30 Svayambhūśiva site, view through eastern and western *kīrti-toranas* showing alignment with arched niche in north-eastern segment of Khūsh Maḥal's eastern wall
(photograph courtesy of George Michell)

wave of “conquest mosques” – had been singled out by subsequent generations of Sultans as the object of continuous patronage and expansion, converting what had been just one of many conquest mosques under Quṭb al-Dīn Aibeg into the primary imperial mosque of the capital. That Quṭb al-Dīn’s successor, Iltutmish, should have undertaken additions in 1229–30, nearly tripling the size of the mosque, is not surprising in view of his personal relationship with the building’s founder. But, when ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khalji followed suit with another expansion nearly a century later in 1311 – more than doubling the size of the mosque as extended by Iltutmish – we are provided with striking confirmation of the continuing pre-eminence of this imperial mosque. Furthermore, and this is a matter of particular significance for the subsequent history of the “conquest mosque” type, both Iltutmish’s initial addition and the vast expansion undertaken by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khalji had continued to follow the octagon-in-square bay arrangement of the mosque’s original foundation. Given that the recently renovated Quwwat al-Islām constituted not only the largest and most up-to-date manifestation of the conquest mosque type, but was also Delhi’s pre-eminent imperial mosque, it is difficult to see how any subsequent building featuring the octagon-in-square bay system could fail to evoke the image of this most important monument of the capital. In this sense, then, the 14th-century mosques of Daulatābād and Warangal were not just monuments to the further expansion of the Sultanate’s frontier. In addition – as provincial replications of the metropolitan Quwwat al-Islām masjid – they were imperial monuments that were distinctly emblematic of Delhi’s authority.

PROBLEMS RELATING TO THE SIZE AND FATE OF THE WARANGAL MOSQUE

Two further features of the Warangal mosque that demand attention are its exceptionally large scale and its ruined condition. The overall dimensions of the mosque are impossible to determine, since only portions of its central bay remain, and the overall dimensions would have been a function of the total number and layout of lateral bays in the prayer hall, as well as of the depth of its preceding courtyard – neither of which can be determined on the basis of evidence presently available.³⁵ However, it is possible to compare the scale of the Warangal mosque with those of other Sultanate structures, using the modulus of bay size as a point of comparison. Doing so, we find that the *mibrāb* bay of the Warangal mosque – at 15 meters (49.2 feet) – is nearly twice as large as that of the next largest conquest mosque – the Daulatābād Jāmi’ Masjid, at 8 meters (25.84 feet), and is approximately 2.2 times larger than the *mibrāb* bays of the Quwwat al-Islām and Ajmer mosques (both 6.9 meters or 22.3 feet). Indeed, it appears that the Warangal mosque would have been larger in scale – defined in terms of the width of the building’s largest domed bay – than any other domed structure which had been built in South Asia up to the point of its foundation. This holds true equally for conquest-type mosques, mosques

³⁵ The reconstruction of the mosque’s overall layout presented in fig. 29 assumes one more additional octagon-in-square bay unit on each side of the central bay, north and south, and pillared aisles surrounding an open courtyard to the east. Had there been more than a single additional octagon-in-square bay one each side, the mosque would have been too large to fit within the area of the central plaza marked by the *kīrti-toranas*.

built with domes supported on piers (such as the Jāmi' Masjids of Tughluqābād [c. 1322–23] and Badāūn [founded 1223 but present structure apparently dating to 1326]), and tombs with domes supported on solid walls (such as the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, c. 1325) (see table).

Given the unusually large scale of the Warangal mosque, and given the almost total lack of structural remains from any part of the building other than the *mibrāb* bay area,³⁶ one wonders if in fact the mosque might never have been completed due to structural failure. In view of the immense size of the main bay, with what would have been a massive corbelled dome carried on eight 6-meter-long beams supported only at their two ends, it is conceivable that the dome could have collapsed under its own weight before the rest of the structure could be built. Such a scenario would account both for the ruined state of the mosque and for the apparent absence of structural members elsewhere than in the area of this central bay. However, since a *minbar* was clearly in evidence, the hypothesis of structural failure would entail that this piece of liturgical furniture would have been put into place even while the mosque was still under construction. If it could be determined that there are indeed documented instances of mosques being furnished before their completion, and more importantly, if calculation of the estimated load carried by the central bay should prove greater than the tensile strength of the elongated dolerite beams, then the hypothesis of collapse might credibly account for the present state of the mosque.

On the other hand, there are other possible ways of accounting for the ruined and apparently incomplete state of the Warangal mosque. In particular, it is conceivable that the mosque was subjected to desecration and dismantlement – like the temple before it – when Warangal was retaken by an Indic ruler. The most likely occasion for such dismantlement would have been upon Kāpaya Nāyaka's wresting of Warangal from the Tughluqs in the early 1330s, although a second possible occasion would have been provided by Shitāb Khān's declaration of independence from the Bahmānis in the opening years of the 16th century. In either case, destruction of the mosque would have been conceived as a politically symbolic act, designed to undermine the authority of the ruling Sultān in whose name the *khutba* was read from within the mosque. The vestiges of one bay might conceivably have been left standing as a visible token of the building's destruction, and the other members broken up and carted off for re-use in other building projects.³⁷

³⁶ The single exception is provided by several ceiling slabs (effaced) to the east of the central bay, just south and east of the easternmost *nandi-mandapa* platform.

³⁷ In particular, we note the presence of numerous fragments of granite and dolerite structural members which have been reused in the fortifications and in other utilitarian buildings within the Warangal fort. These may have come either directly from temples, or indirectly via the mosque.

TABLE:
COMPARATIVE SCALES OF SULTANATE PERIOD STRUCTURES

Building	Date	Width of dome bay	
Quwwat al-Islām Masjid, Delhi	1192	6.9 m	(22.3 ft.)
Aḍhāī-din-kā-Jhomprā, Ajmer	1199	6.9 m	(22.3 ft.)
Shāhī Masjid, Khatū	End of 12th century	5.5 m	(17.8 ft.)
Jāmi' Masjid, Daulatābād	1318	8 m	(25.8 ft.)
Jāmi' Masjid, Tughluqābād	1322–23	12 m	(39.36 ft.)
Jāmi' Masjid, Warangal	1323–24	15 m	(49.2 ft.)
Tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq	1325	11 m	(36 ft.)
Jāmi' Masjid, Badāūn	1326 (renovation)	13.2 m	(43.2 ft.)

THE SVAYAMBHŪŚIVA TEMPLE SITE
AND ITS FOUR KĪRTI-TORĀNAS (FIG. 24)

The third major building project undertaken by the Tughluqs at Warangal is, in a sense, not a building project at all, but rather a program of selective demolition, undertaken in preparation for constructing the two edifices discussed above. (See appendix for the dating of this demolition.) This involved the complete dismantling of the Svayambhūśiva temple and several other adjunct structures, including what appears to have been one of the temple's main ritual halls (fig. 25). While these buildings were thoroughly dismantled, however, the four *kīrti-torānas* or symbolic gateways standing at the four sides of the site were carefully preserved (fig. 26). These *torānas* stand just outside the enclosure wall of the ruined temple, at varying distances from the central point of the complex as represented by the crossing of their axes. The northern *torāna* lies farthest from this point (81 m) and the western lies closest (at 60 m), while the southern and eastern are almost at the same distance, at 71 and 74 m respectively. Each *torāna* consists of two paired columns supporting a straight architrave with projecting ends; the cantilevered ends are supported by double-curved struts attached to the shafts of the outer columns. The fact that the *torānas* sit on high basements without any steps, as well as the fact

38 This point was recognized by Yazdani when he first excavated the site, but struck him as anomalous and confusing. "...one thing that is greatly puzzling is that the enclosure wall is in no way connected with the gateways. The gateways are quite apart from the enclosure wall and a distance of 16 feet separates the gateways from the walls. Evidently the enclosure wall blocks the passage of the gateway in each case" (ARADH 1933–34: 7, n. 3).

that the *prākāra* wall ran continuously behind them, makes it clear that these gateways were intended as symbolic markers and did not serve as actual functional entrances into the temple complex.³⁸

Apart from the five columns of the ruined mosque, the four *kīrti-toranas* are the only structures within the area of the Svayambhūśiva site that still remain standing today.³⁹ The continued presence of these imposing structures naturally raises questions of intention: why should the Tughluqs have spared these *toranas*, and what purposes might they have served in the reconfigured city?

The dismantling of the Svayambhūśiva temple itself is easily enough understood in terms of well-documented patterns of temple desecration. As Richard Eaton has recently demonstrated on the basis of an impressive array of statistical evidence, temples were rarely desecrated in medieval India for purely religious reasons. To the contrary, the clear spatial and temporal correlation between acts of temple desecration and the expansion of Turkic power in the subcontinent suggests instead that desecration served an agenda which was primarily political in nature. In particular, Eaton suggests that such acts of desecration were most often directed against temples that housed the tutelary deities of defeated Hindu rulers, and that the act of desecration was designed to undermine one of the key sources of the vanquished ruler's authority, by violating the icon of the deity in whose name the Hindu king ruled.⁴⁰ The destruction of the Warangal temple is in perfect accordance with this pattern. On the one hand, the historical context in which the act occurred was that of the final and decisive subjugation of the Kākatīya kingdom, following four earlier attempts that had proven unsuccessful in the long term. On the other hand, it is clear from textual evidence that Svayambhūśiva, "the self-born Śiva," was not just any randomly chosen form of Śiva, but was in fact no less than the family deity of the Kākatīyas, who was explicitly understood to be the protector of their kingdom. The *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣāṇa*, for example, a Sanskrit text on poetics written in the early 14th century by Pratāparudra's court poet Vidyānātha, refers to "the god Svayambhū, family deity of the Kākatīyas, divinity who brings sanctity to the town of Ekaśilā (=Warangal), and looks after the destiny of the inhabited world."⁴¹ Similarly, in a post-Kākatīya inscription from Warangal dated to 1504, Svayambhūśiva is remembered as "the wish-fulfilling gem for the protection of the Kākatīya family," suggesting not only his protective functions, but also – by referring to him as a "wish-fulfilling gem" – that he was conceived as the

39 As for the numerous sculpted structural fragments which stand defining a rectangular courtyard just north of the southern *torana*, it should be pointed out that these were set up here only recently, by the Archaeological Survey of India, to serve as an outdoor sculpture gallery.

40 Eaton 2000.

41 Vidyānātha, *Pratāparudra-yaśobhūṣāṇa*, chapter 3, the example play "Pratāparudra-Kalyāṇa" I, 5 and passim. See Filliozat 1963: 86ff. for translation.

42 IAP Warangal #III, v. 36. This economic interpretation of the deity's importance is further elaborated upon in Ekāmranātha's *Pratāparudra-Caritramu*, a Telugu historiographic narrative written about the middle of the 16th century. This narrative accounts for the construction of Warangal by appealing to the miraculous appearance of the Svayambhūśiva liṅga and the Kākatīya king's desire to capitalize on its alchemical powers of transmuting iron into gold. Thus, when the deity manifested itself from the ground some two leagues southeast of the earlier Kākatīya capital at Hanamkoṇḍa, the Kākatīya king constructed a new capital around the manifest deity. By bringing a certain weight of iron everyday and touching it to the liṅga, the iron was transformed into gold, which the king then had distributed to the brahmins (*Pratāparudra Caritramu* pp. 23–24; for text, see Ramachandra Rao 1984).

source of the family's economic prosperity as well.⁴² Clearly, in singling out the Svayambhūśiva temple, Ulugh Khān or his subordinates were striking at a target that occupied a central place in the symbolic political universe of the Kākatīya state. By not only desecrating the temple, but even going so far as to recast its dismantled pieces into a conquest type mosque and an audience hall, the victorious Ulugh Khān seized upon a potent means of announcing the defeat of the Kākatīyas and the arrival and triumph of the new political order represented by the Sultanate.

But why should the *kīrti-torāṇas* have been spared from the general destruction of the rest of the Svayambhūśiva site? We may dismiss immediately any explanation which hinges upon the *torāṇas*' presumed lack of figural sculpture, since such an argument makes sense only if we assume that the destruction of the temple itself was religiously motivated, and as we have just seen, the destruction of the temple is better accounted for as a political act. Moreover, even if one presumes an allegedly Islamic iconoclasm to account for the particular patterning of the demolition, the fact remains that the *torāṇas* do contain some figural sculpture, and some other parts of the structure that had less figural sculpture than the *torāṇas* were demolished nonetheless. Clearly, an appeal to the iconoclastic argument will not help us in understanding the preservation of these gateways.

A more compelling explanation may be found, we would suggest, in the cosmic symbolism of Warangal's urban form, and in the part played by the four *torāṇas* within that larger plan.⁴³ The temple complex of Svayambhūśiva marked the conceptual center of the city of Warangal, which was laid out beyond it in a circular form defined by three concentric lines of fortifications (fig. 27). An inner stone wall preceded by a moat protected the central zone of the city, measuring a little over 1 km in diameter. This was surrounded by a second rampart – of earth – preceded by a moat, a little over 2.5 km in diameter, which was in turn contained within a second rampart of earth measuring approximately 13 km across. Four gateways were provided in each of these walls – one at each of the four cardinal directions – and axial roads led inward from each gate to intersect at the city center, just southwest of the Svayambhūśiva site. Although nothing of the temple is left standing apart from its four *torāṇas*, it is possible to deduce, from the outlines of foundations, the positions of the *kīrti-torāṇas*, and the overall nature of the fragmentary structural remains that cover the site, that the temple's form would have been that of a centrally planned *sarvatobhadra* shrine (fig. 24).⁴⁴ The sanctum of the temple, instead of being off center at the end of a longitudinally focused axis as in most Hindu temples, would have stood at the very center of the complex, precisely at the point of intersection of the east-west and north-south axes connecting the *torāṇas*. Each of the shrine's four walls would have been pierced by a doorway, opening out toward a projecting porch and providing access across a causeway to one of the temple's four *nandi-māṇḍapas*, each housing a stone image of Śiva's bull facing back in toward the deity in the central shrine. The image of Svayambhūśiva would have been not an ordinary

43 This paragraph and the following have been adapted with only minor changes from Wagoner's essay, "A Dense Epitome of the World": The Image of Warangal in the Krīḍābhīrāmamu," which will appear as an afterword to Velcheru Narayana Rao and David Shulman, tr., *A Lover's Guide to Warangal: The Krīḍābhīrāmamu of Vallabharāja* (forthcoming).

44 Detailed arguments supporting this reconstruction will be published separately.

abstract Śiva-liṅga, but a “Four-faced Liṅga” (*catur-mukha-liṅga*; fig. 28), with one face of Śiva carved in high relief on each side of the shaft so as to gaze out from the shrine through the doorways, past the *nandi-māṇḍapas* and through the *torāṇas* to the four quarters of the kingdom which he protected.⁴⁵ Albeit on a smaller scale and in a square as opposed to a circular format, the form of this temple complex thus reiterated the larger concentric and axial form of the city as a whole. Although the temple of the Kākatiyas’ protective deity was slightly displaced from the city’s actual geometric center, the close congruence in plan between temple and city suggests that the temple of Svayambhūśiva was at least perceived as the city’s conceptual center. Indeed, this supposition is corroborated by a statement in the 16th-century Telugu historiographic text *Pratāparudra Caritramu*, which recounts that when Svayambhūśiva manifested himself from the ground as “a golden liṅga full of light” (*jyōtirmayambagu suvarṇa-liṅgambu*), the Kākatiya king “constructed a city one *yōjana* in extent around it, so that the god stood at its center” (*ad-dēvunḍu madhya-pradēśambuna nūndunaṭluga golici yōjana vistārāmbuga purambu gattandalaci... orugallu paṭṭanam̄bu gattiri*).⁴⁶

Through these main features, the plan of Kākatiya Warangal effectively took the form of a cosmogram, replicating the structure of the world as understood in traditional Indic cosmography.⁴⁷ First, the alternating sequence of walls and moats surrounding the city’s central area of towered temples and palaces assimilated it to the layout of the central continent of Jambūdvīpa surrounded by its annular continents and oceans. Although these are supposed to be seven in number, visual representations are often limited to Jambūdvīpa and the two innermost ring-continents, which are understood to be the only ones that are inhabited. Second, the four axial roads leading from the city center to the

45 There is in fact a finely carved *catur-mukha-liṅga* which has been removed from its original place of foundation and is presently lying with other pieces of sculpture in the Śambhuni-guḍi, just southwest of the ruined temple. In all likelihood, this was the original primary cult icon worshipped in the Svayambhūśiva temple, and was moved here in the early 16th century by Shitāb Khān, an Islamicized Hindu ruler who was then ruling Warangal, and whose inscription in the forehall of the Śambhuni-guḍi refers to his having “acquired immense wealth by worshipping, daily, at Ekaśilāpura, the god Svayambhūśiva, who was the wish-fulfilling gem for the protection of the Kākati family” (IAP Warangal #III, v. 36; dated 1509). Although the two preceding verses in Shitāb Khān’s inscription record his reinstallation of two other Kākatiya-period deities that had been uprooted from their temples by the Turushkas, the present verse conspicuously fails to mention the performance of such a re-establishment in the case of Svayambhūśiva. The Svayambhūśiva temple was apparently too badly damaged after its desecration to permit the image to be reinstalled in its original location, and accordingly, Shitāb Khān must have instead moved it to its present location (and significantly, the location of his inscription) in the Śambhuni-guḍi. In this connection, we may note the shaft of this liṅga is broken into two pieces, and that the lower portion still lies on the ground near the center of the Svayambhūśiva site.

46 C.V. Ramachandra Rao 1984: 23. An annotated translation and study of this text is currently under preparation by Cynthia Talbot and Phillip B. Wagoner.

47 The cosmic significance of Warangal’s plan was first suggested by Michell (1992), who stressed the formal similarities between the city’s layout and the abstract cosmogrammatic forms of *māṇḍalas* and *yantras*. While these similarities are clearly of importance, we would suggest that the actual Puranic cosmographic conceptions discussed here may have been of more immediate relevance to Warangal’s planners. For a translation of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*’s cosmographic section, see Dimmitt and Van Buitenen (1978: 52–55). For painted illustrations from the (closely related) Jain tradition, see Caillat and Kumar (1981), especially nos. 43 & 74. For further evidence that the Puranic cosmography sketched here was current in 14th century Telaṅgāna, see the Vilasa grant of Prōlaya Nāyaka (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. 32: 239–268).

48 According to the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, these four rivers – Sītā, Alakanandā, Sucakṣus, and Bhadrā – all have their source in the celestial Gaṅgā that falls to earth at the center of Jambūdvīpa and circles the base of Meru.

cardinal gateways recall the four rivers that flow from Mt. Meru at the center of Jambūdvīpa through the four regions around its flanks and then enter the salt sea (*kṣāra-* or *lavanya-samudra*).⁴⁸ Finally, the Svayambhūśiva temple complex at the city's center is analogous to Mount Meru rising at the center of Jambūdvīpa, both in terms of its formal attributes (given its central location and the mountain-like superstructure it would have carried), and in functional terms, in that Meru too is supposed to have borne at its central peak a palace-temple enshrining the lord of the gods. All these features of Warangal's plan would have served as a tangible expression of the Kākatiyas' imperial aspirations as rulers who would "unite the entire earth under the single umbrella of their dominion" (*sarva-sarvamsahan ēkacchatrambuga pālincu*).⁴⁹ Through the geometry of its main morphological features, the city would have replicated the structural features of the larger cosmos over which the Kākatiyas aspired to rule. The city would thus have become a *yantra* or symbolic tool for the expression of their imperium: by exercising their dominion within this microcosmic realm, the city's rulers could hope to ritually dominate the larger world whose form it reflected.

All of this, evidently, was not lost on the Tughluq conquerors of Warangal. In particular, the city's cosmogrammatic nature could hardly have escaped the notice of Ulugh Khān, who, as Peter Jackson has observed, was "notoriously interested in Hindu practices."⁵⁰ We would in fact suggest that the purposeful retention of the four *kīrti-torāṇas* represented an effective compromise between two competing interests on the part of Ulugh Khān and his associates as conquerors of Warangal. On the one hand, there was the necessity of eliminating the temple that had been the most visible symbol of Kākatiya authority, and using its spolia to build a conquest mosque and audience hall as monuments to the victory of their new regime. But on the other hand, there was the equally strong attraction of preserving the symbolically charged layout of this central node in the city's plan. If a way could be found to retain the potent geometry of the Svayambhūśiva temple, even while demolishing the temple itself, then the central site might be appropriated by the Tughluqs to project the image of cosmic dominion for them as it had for the Kākatiyas. The obvious solution, of course, was to preserve the *kīrti-torāṇas*, which had determined the plan of the temple and linked the deity spatially with the surrounding space of the city and kingdom, yet had remained outside the temple compound itself. If the Tughluqs wished to invest in the imperial symbolism inherent in the city's cosmogrammatic plan, all that remained was to site their new buildings in such a way that they either occupied or related to the newly opened space within the four *torāṇas*.⁵¹

This approach to siting is most obvious in the case of the mosque, which was placed in the south-western quadrant of the space between the *torāṇas*, straddling the ruins of the Svayambhūśiva temple and its primary ritual hall (fig. 29). Although the mosque's prayer hall may seem greatly displaced

49 This is the formulation of the brahmin soothsayers when they read the horoscope of the newborn Mādhava Varman, the legendary founder of the Kākatiya dynasty according to Ekāmranātha's *Pratāparudra Caritramu* and related texts (see Ramachandra Rao 1984: 9).

50 Jackson (1999: 287).

51 This interpretation has in fact been anticipated by Michell, who remarked in the context of his analysis of Warangal's plan that "despite their obvious fragility, the portals were not destroyed, thereby suggesting that the precinct of the Shiva temple may have been intended for reuse. Its central location would, of course, have been an ideal site for a Jami mosque" (Michell 1992: note 14).

toward the western side of this area, we must remember that together with the open courtyard which would have preceded it, the mosque as a whole would probably have extended eastward to a point some 70 to 90 meters east of the prayer hall's *qibla* wall. The lower estimate of this distance would have put the mosque's eastern boundary at a point well beyond the center of the demolished temple, and in the case of the larger figure, at a point right at the beginning of the causeway to the eastern *nandi-mandapa*. Still, we may wonder why the planners did not avail themselves of the opportunity to align the mosque in some way with one of the axes connecting the *toranas*. Granted that the five-degree rotation of the mosque's east-west axis beyond that of the *toranas* may have been dictated by a concern for *qibla* alignment, one wonders why the mosque could not yet have been placed so that its central *mibrāb* bay would lie centered upon this axis. But as we shall see in a moment, this slight southward displacement of the mosque's center may very well have been dictated in turn by the placement of the Khūsh Maḥal.

Given the Khūsh Mahal's position some 160 meters to the west of the plaza defined by the *toranas*, it may not be as immediately apparent that the siting of the Tughluq audience hall was also determined by a concern for linking it with this potent symbolic space (fig. 29). Yet if one stands to the east of the Svayambhūśiva site and looks westward through the eastern and western *toranas*, one cannot help but notice that the single, irregular niche near the northern end of the Khūsh Maḥal's east wall appears in view, almost perfectly framed within the two portals (fig. 30). Although this alignment would not have been as readily visible when the northern bays of the mosque sanctuary were standing, the fact remains that the placement of the Khūsh Maḥal was determined by a concern for having it lie on the east-west axis of the central plaza, and that a special niche was provided in the outer wall of the building to mark its point of intersection with this axis. The importance of this niche is further underscored by virtue of the fact that the *qibla* axis of the mosque – drawn through the center of the *mibrāb* – also intersects with this niche. Although the exact function of this niche is uncertain, one possibility is that it might have provided a visual focus at the western end of a pathway linking mosque and audience hall through the western *torana*. Such a pathway would have provided a restricted route through which the governor could move between audience hall and mosque on the occasion of the Friday noon prayer, when it was his duty to deliver the *khutba*-address from the *minbar*. Presumably, it was through such a concern for providing the ruler with direct and private access from his place of residence to the sanctuary of the congregational mosque, that palaces in the Islamic world were so often situated directly behind or close to the *qibla* wall of the main mosque. We note that this arrangement obtains in at least three other closely related Deccani capitals – at Daulatābād and Fīrozābād in the 14th century, and at Bidar in the 15th – and that in all three cases, limited evidence still remains to indicate the existence of such a pathway. At both Daulatābād and Fīrozābād, this evidence consists of a doorway opening up in the *qibla* wall, a short distance to the north of the *mibrāb*, so as to provide access to the mosque at a point close to the *minbar*; at Bidar, later alterations to the Solah Khambha mosque have made it difficult to determine where this private entrance was originally located, but the provision of two small exits from the southern chambers of the *dīwān-i ‘ām* – which lies a short distance to the northwest of the mosque – confirms that such a passageway was in all likelihood provided.

If such a connecting pathway likewise existed at Warangal, then not only would it help explain the unusual niche in the wall of the Khūsh Mahāl and its alignment with the western *torāṇa*, but it would also account for the slight southern displacement of the central bay of the mosque. Had the *mīhrāb* bay been placed on axis with the *torāṇas*, the passageway would have issued into the mosque through a doorway in the *mīhrāb* itself, violating the sanctity of this most important space within the mosque. On the other hand, by displacing the mosque's central bay slightly to the south, the pathway running from the Khūsh Mahāl through the western *torāṇa* would have entered the *qibla* wall at a point in the next bay north of the *mīhrāb* bay, exactly as in the cases documented at Daulatābād and Fīrozābād.

Ultimately, this analysis suggests that the three monuments created by the Tughluqs at Warangal – audience hall, mosque, and central plaza – were in fact three integral components of a single urban ensemble, and that this ensemble derived its coherence – and its symbolic potency – from its continuing emphasis on the four *kīrti-torāṇas* and their imperial implications. In assessing the significance of the Tughluq's retention of the four *kīrti-torāṇas*, we must remember that by the time of the Svayambhūśiva temple's destruction, there had already been some thirteen years of interaction between the representatives of the Sultanate and the local ruling class of Warangal, and that a new, bicultural elite was in the process of formation. In short, there would have been ample opportunities for the *amīrs* and commanders of the Sultanate's forces to experience and comprehend the workings of local Indic discourses and symbols of power – just as the local elites had been learning the utility of adopting Islamicate political symbols and practices. Clearly, the successful incorporation of the Deccan would involve accommodation and adjustments on both sides. If it is understandable that Pratāparudra in his final years should have accepted a robe of honor (*khil'at*) and parasol (*chatr*) presented by the Sultān in Delhi, as 'Iṣāmi reports, then we should not be surprised to find Ulugh Khān interested in capitalizing on the political implications of Kākatīya Warangal's plan.

If the analysis we have offered in these pages is correct, we have in the Tughluq monuments of Warangal-Sultānpūr an important new body of evidence that sheds invaluable light on the history of architecture under the Delhi Sultanate. On the one hand, these buildings are among the earliest surviving Indo-Islamic monuments in the Deccan, and as such, they offer invaluable testimony illuminating the spread of Islamic building types and styles into the region. In this capacity, the buildings suggest that Warangal in the 14th century was every bit as important a cultural center as Daulatābād. On the other hand, the clarity of the archaeological record and the abundance of contemporary historical sources – both Islamic and indigenous – together afford an exceptionally detailed picture of the cultural processes involved in Warangal's architectural transformation into Sultānpūr. As such, further attention to this important site is likely not only to yield more detailed information about Warangal under the Sultanate, but also, to deepen our understanding of cultural change at other centers within the Sultanate's north Indian heartland.

APPENDIX:
ON THE DATE OF THE DESTRUCTION
OF THE SVAYAMBHUSIVA TEMPLE

Although there is no reference to the destruction of any temple at Warangal in any of the relevant Persian historical texts, the demolition of the Svayambhūśiva temple may be securely dated to the beginning of Warangal's Tughluq occupation simply on the basis of material evidence. Since the Tughluq-built Khūsh Maḥal and Mosque both contain spolia which may be demonstrated to have come from various structures within the Svayambhūśiva complex, it is obvious that the temple must have been dismantled before the construction of these two edifices, and not later, during either the Bahmānī or Qutb Shāhī occupations of the city, as has sometimes been suggested.

As for the mosque, the extensive use of spolia from the Svayambhūśiva complex is immediately apparent. As we have seen, all of the columns used in this structure are recarved spolia taken from structures within the Svayambhūśiva complex. More specifically, the pink granite columns defining the corners of the octagon-in-square bay were taken from the Svayambhūśiva temple itself, which lay just to the north-east of the ruined mosque structure. Careful examination of the ruined fragments scattered around this portion of the site reveals a concentration of comparable pink granite column shafts in varying states of preservation; the mosque columns are identical to these in terms of morphology, proportions, and decorative carving. Similarly, the large black dolerite columns marking the octagon have almost certainly been taken from a monumental *āsthāna-mandapa* which was centered just to the south of the site occupied by the mosque. In fact, the two southernmost columns of the mosque stand on part of the plinth of this same structure. (While the stacked columns that were engaged within the *qibla* wall are likewise spolia, it has not been possible to determine their specific source or sources.) In addition to these columns, other spolia may also be confidently traced back to one or the other of these two primary structures of the complex. Pink granite components which come from the temple proper include, in addition to the pink column shafts, two *potika* brackets (one *in situ* atop column C4; one lying on the ground [C7-b]), two beams (one lying on the ground in the *mibrāb* bay; the other lying under the *mibrāb* fragments just to the west), and one subplinth from the pedestal of a Nandi image (serving as a base for column C4). Other black dolerite components which were almost certainly taken from the *āsthāna-mandapa* include an assortment of beams (both intact and collapsed), triangular and square ceiling slabs, and a *rāṅgasilā* floor slab – the massive 4.4 m square stone slab with a raised circular portion, lying 7.5 m southeast of column C2. This *rāṅgasilā* would originally have been situated in the central bay of the *āsthāna-mandapa*; its present location suggests that it would have been reused in the center of the floor of the mosque's octagonal bay, centered under the dome.

In the Khūsh Maḥal, the use of spolia from the Svayambhūśiva complex is just as extensive, although not as immediately apparent. Here, there are occasional broken fragments of temple components occurring in the mortared rubble arches of the side walls and of the interior transverse arches, but these are inevitably of grey granite and are not definitely traceable to the Svayambhūśiva temple. There is a slightly greater admixture of spolia – this time including some black dolerite fragments that are certainly from the Svayambhūśiva site – occurring in the uppermost portion of the interior wall, and also in the extension walls over the transverse arches, but this zone is clearly not contemporaneous with the original structure.

rary with the building's founding and almost certainly dates from a restoration carried out by the Qutb Shāhīs in the early 17th century. It is only when we look closely at the masonry of the Khūsh Mahal's exterior walls that we begin to realize the full extent of this building's indebtedness to the Svayambhūśiva complex. Given that the Khūsh Mahal's ashlar blocks closely resemble those of the wall that enclosed the Svayambhūśiva compound – both in terms of their material and the range of dimensions they exhibit – and given that excavations along the southern line of this wall have revealed entire sections that have vanished without trace, it appears likely that the ashlar blocks used in the Khūsh Mahal had their source in the dismantled portion of the Svayambhūśiva enclosure wall. All that would have been necessary was for the builders to dismantle the wall and transport the blocks a short distance to the Khūsh Mahal building site, where they would have been trimmed along the edges to produce the required batter. Significantly, we may note that in the southern segment of the wall that has been excavated, it is only the western portion – the side closest to the Khūsh Mahal – that has been dismantled and removed.

Most probably, the temple would have been dismantled during the initial phases of Warangal's occupation by the Tughluqs, shortly after Pratāparudra's final defeat in 1323.

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