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Toward Alternative Receptions of Ghurid Architecture in North India (Late Twelfth-Early Thirteenth Century CE)†

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It remains uncontested that the *Shansabānis* established a long-term political presence in the northern plains of India during the last decade of the twelfth century. The clan was of Tājik origin, hailing from the mountainous region of Ghūr in western Afghanistan, which provided their toponymous dynastic name of the Ghurids.¹ The family, represented by *Ghiyāth* al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sām (r. at Fīrūzkūh, 1163–1203) and his brother Mu'izz al-Dīn (r. at Ghazna, 1173–1206), superseded the Ghaznavids as leaders of the latter's territories. Following their victories, they found it necessary to re-establish solid control of the former Ghaznavid lands. To this end, the Ghurids undertook the firm annexation of Multan and Uch in the western Punjab in 1175–76, the northwestern region around Peshawar the following year, and Sindh in 1185–86. Finally, in 1186–87, Ghurid forces defeated the last Ghaznavid ruler, *Khusrau* Malik (r. 1160–1186), and began to use Lahore as their seat for politico-military control of the western Punjab.²

Thus the Ghurids were able to turn their full attention to the lands beyond the Indus only toward the end of this reconsolidation process in the 1190s. Due to the intricate network of political, economic, and military control

which enmeshed northern India, it had been at best a ground for plundering raids (*ghazwa*) from the northwest. This is attested by the career of Maḥmūd ibn Sebuktigīn (r. 999–1030), who conducted many raids in the region without establishing long term politico-military control.³ But the Ghurids, having established their presence in the western Punjab, found that the northern Indian “bloc” constituted a barrier effectively curtailing eastward expansion. Toward the end of the twelfth century, then, they carried out campaigns of permanent annexation in the northern Indian plains. After several attempts at wresting parcels of territory from various rulers,⁴ the leader of one of the expeditions into the area, Qutb al-Dīn Āibek, was able to institute Ghurid rulership at Delhi by 1193. In sum, the establishment of Ghurid dominion over northern India was not a sudden, explosive phenomenon. But it did create a palpable historical change: Whereas Ghaznavid forays probably had plunder as their principal aim, Āibek's victories of 1192 at Tarain, and eventually at Delhi,⁵ went beyond *ghazwa*. These victories created another—some would say superior⁶—politico-military contestant for supremacy over northern India.

Fig. 1. Quṭbī Mosque, Delhi. Plan. From J. A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Quṭb, Delhi*, vol. 22 of Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1926), pl. 1.

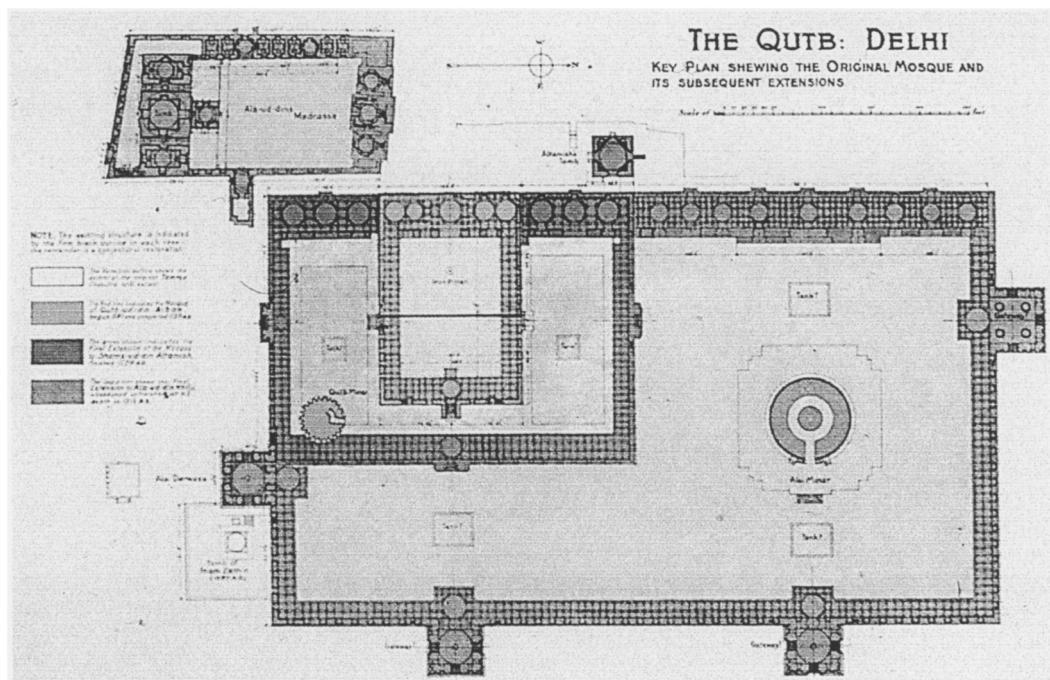




Fig. 3. Shāhi Mosque. Khātū, Rajasthan. From Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XXVIII (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1993), pl. 31a.

Commensurate with this historical change was the volume of construction of monumental and smaller-scale mosques at significant locales throughout the newly annexed lands. As is well known, several buildings survive from this period. The congregational mosque at Delhi, hereafter referred to as the Quṭbī Mosque,⁷ was founded in 1192–93 (Fig. 1), and the congregational mosque at Ajmer (known as the Arḥāi Dīn-kā Jhonprā) was begun in 1198–99 (Fig. 2). These are the largest foundations and command the most scholarly attention. Also surviving are smaller structures that provide invaluable evidence for the study of the architectural history of northern India. The Shāhi Mosque (Fig. 3) is located in the village of Khātū, north-central Rajasthan, and has been dated circa 1203.⁸ The mosque of Kāman (Fig. 4), known as the Chaurāsi Khambhā or “eighty-four-column mosque,” along with that of Bayāna (Fig. 5), known as the Ukhā Mandir, are also in modern Rajasthān. The two last-named buildings have both been dated to circa 1196–1210, coinciding with the tenure of Bahā’ al-Dīn Tughril as the Ghurid *muqtā* of the Bayāna region.⁹ The importance of these buildings is indisputable. They potentially hold clues regarding the use of architectural patronage as a means to cement the Ghurid governors’ political and military presence in the region. They can also throw light on the beginnings of important developments in northern Indian architecture as a whole.¹⁰

It is, then, somewhat surprising that they have received relatively little scholarly attention. Following J. Page’s 1926

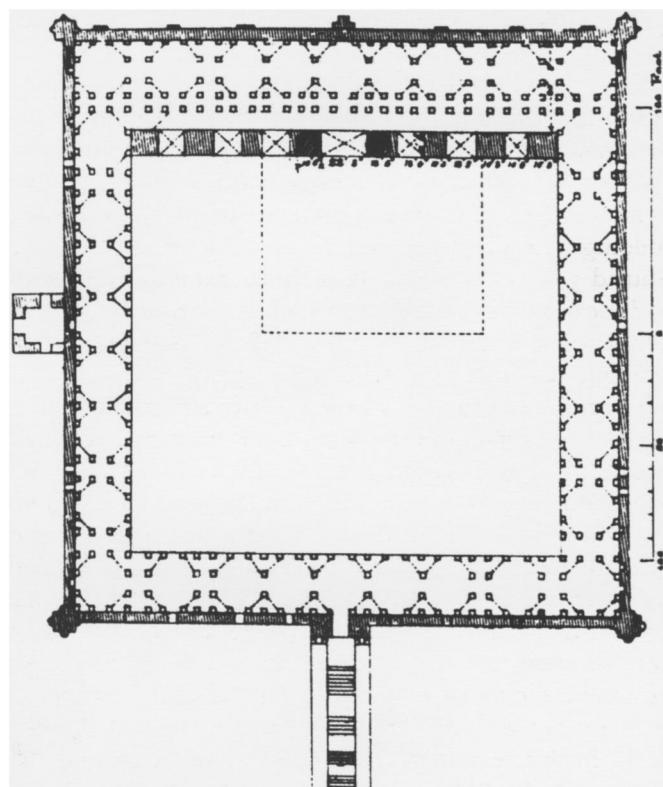


Fig. 2. Ajmer Mosque. Ajmer, Rajasthan. Plan. From Robert Hillenbrand, “Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmir,” *Iran*, vol. 26 (1988), fig. 1.

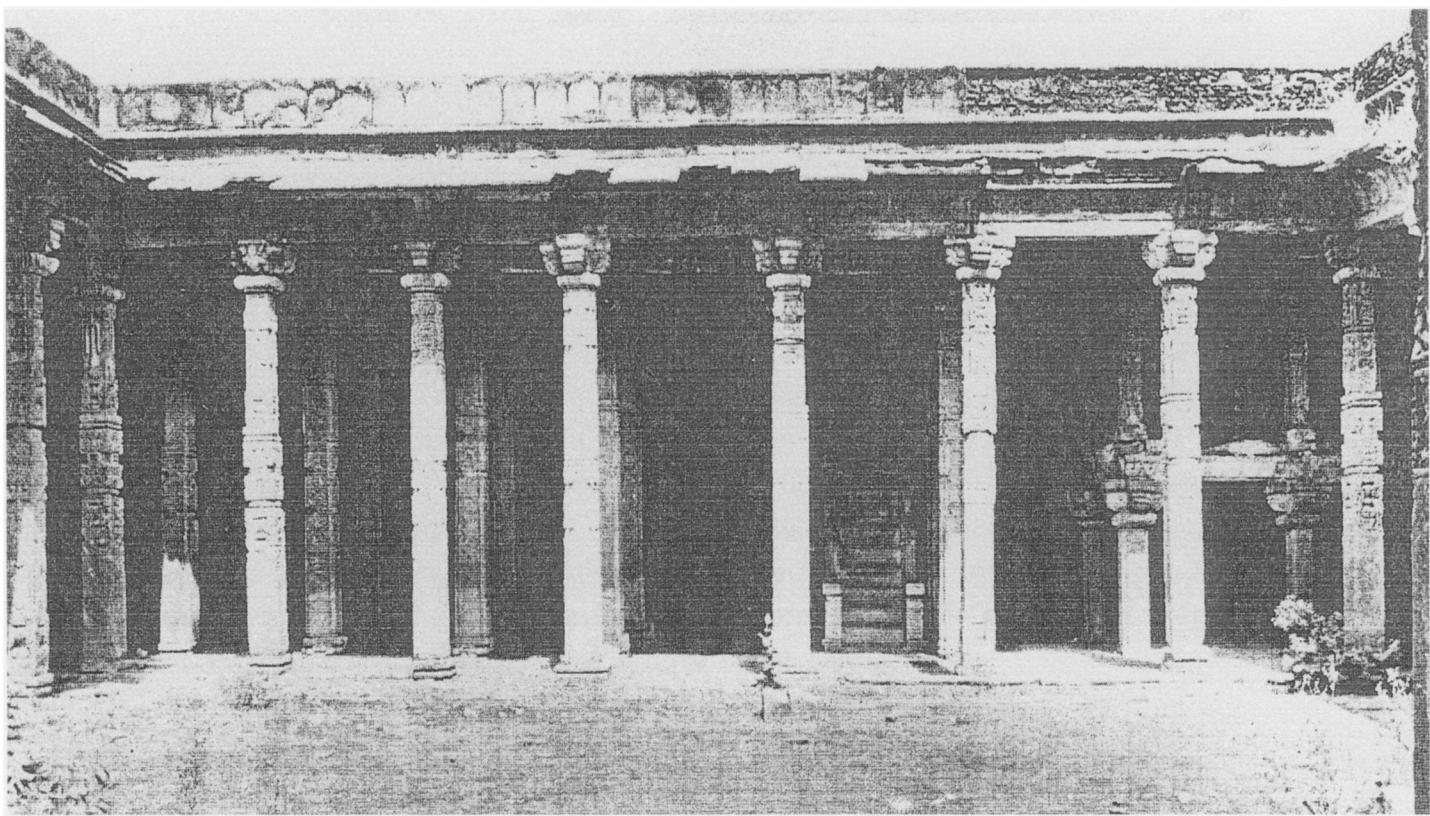


Fig. 4. Kāman Mosque. Kāman, Rajasthan. Prayer area. From Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, "The Architecture of Bahā'Al-Dīn Tughrul in the Region of Bayāna, Rajasthan," *Muqarnas*, vol. IV (1987), fig. 7.

monograph on the Qutbī Mosque,¹¹ the buildings have been treated only in brief publications, without additional concentrated study.¹² The present article is dedicated to a close analysis of some constituent parts of the surviving buildings. Its principal aim is to demonstrate that the Ghurid governors of northern India extensively patronized local building practices, which had originated in the architectural traditions of the recently annexed region. Previous art-historical scholarship has interpreted the architecture as a symbol of the severity and intransigence of Ghurid rulership of the region; it is proposed here that these buildings encapsulated the Ghurids' negotiations with the firmly entrenched local traditions. The buildings are indicative of negotiations on the political, social, and religious levels, which were indispensable if the Ghurid deputies were to gain and retain control of northern India.

In publications to date, studies of the surviving mosques have assumed that the Ghurid agenda was irreconcilable with the Indic social, religious, and architectural traditions, aiming only to integrate India into the larger Islamic world. In this vein, these studies have centered around distinguishing the "Hindu" and "Islamic" architectural elements as categorical markers of the differences between these larger communities. In architectural terms, arcuate construction has been associated with imported Islamic

building practices, just as trabeation has been considered exclusive to the ambit of temple architecture.¹³ Some scholars have adduced the incompatibility of Islamic monotheism and iconoclasm with the image-based Indic traditions¹⁴ to underscore this separation. Others, less strident in their conclusions, have proposed a temporary period of cultural confluence following the Ghurid establishment in north India.¹⁵ Still others have conceded that the local temple-building tradition contributed to the early Ghurid mosque type, though the sources for liturgically central elements such as the *mihrāb* were clearly to be found in the Islamic lands to the west.¹⁶

These studies, so various in their conclusions, share a single body of evidence. The use of *spolia* in the buildings' construction has figured prominently in virtually all the studies. The medieval practice of using spoliated fragments together with newly carved elements has been taken as evidence of the adamant and subjugating nature of Ghurid annexation, the reuse of older fragments being interpreted as tantamount to desecration and to monumentalizing the defeat of Indic worship and spiritual practices.¹⁷ In sum, the buildings have been subsumed into the now antiquated historical view that this conquering politico-military machine from the northwest meant to replace the indigenous traditions, doing so in the architectural realm by

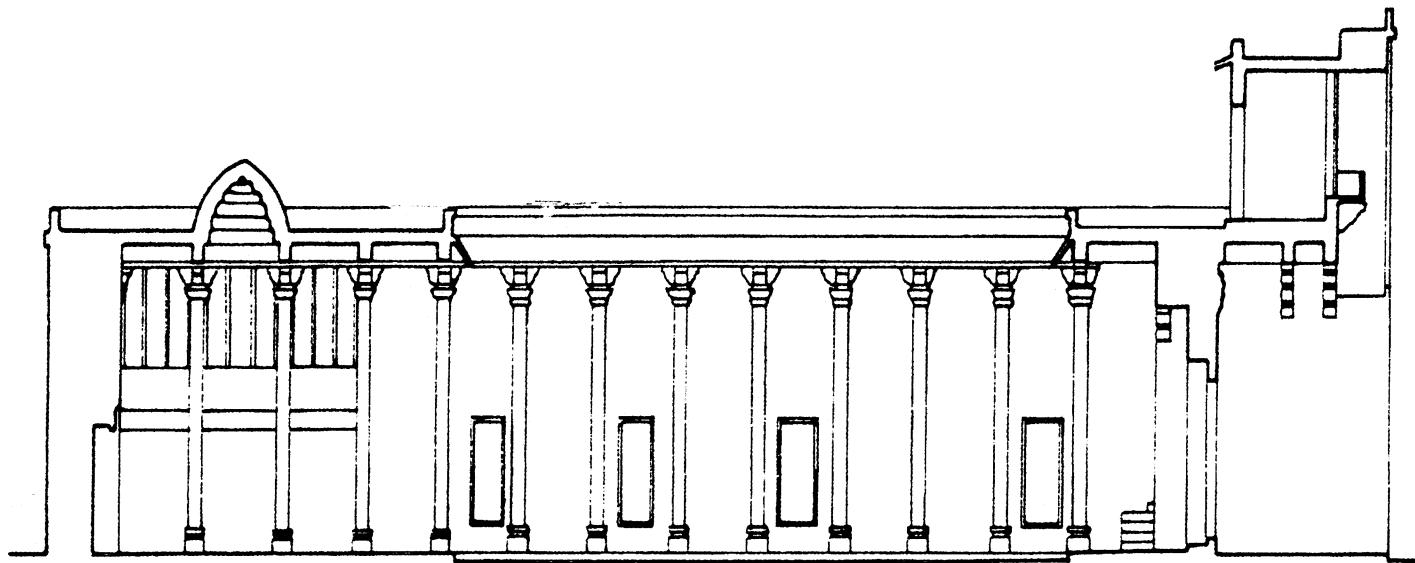


Fig. 5. Ukhā Mandir. Bayāna, Rajasthan. Elevation. From Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, 1987, fig. 13.

means of desecration and destruction of temples and reuse of the resulting fragments in new buildings.

The comparatively meager treatment in scholarship of the important architectural foundations from the period of Ghurid incursion may be attributable to the outdated interpretation of *historical* events that has informed scholarship on art and architectural history: The Ghurids in northern India were supposedly uncompromising in their aim of imposing Islam as the sole socio-religious system in the region.¹⁸ This historical reading of the period has been hegemonic in art-historical scholarship, to be corroborated rather than questioned with new studies. Thus the architectural patronage could offer little new evidence, and monographic treatment of these buildings has appeared until now to be unwarranted.

Naturally, scholarship proceeds in discrete steps; past conclusions are the necessary foundations for further work. Due to the importance of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as a watershed in medieval Indian history—paradoxically, a watershed obscured as much as illuminated by modern historiography¹⁹—these centuries have not yet exhausted the curiosity of scholars. Several new studies in the fields of history and textual and epigraphical analysis have been conducted during the last decade. These more recent studies have examined the basic premises from which previous scholarship departed, in an attempt to define clearly the operative frameworks and to re-evaluate their fruitfulness in scholarly endeavor. These works were of course not available to scholars during the initial flurry of publications on Ghurid architecture in the 1970s through early '90s. The advances in other disciplines toward a multifaceted understanding of Ghurid ascendance

in northern India should be incorporated into art-historical scholarship. They can contribute to an equally multifaceted understanding of the buildings and their reception by the historical communities living in their midst.

Among the fundamental concepts re-examined in recent years are the reasons motivating the Ghurids' temporary occupations and more permanent conquests of cities and territories in north India. As noted above, much art-historical scholarship has operated under the assumption that the Ghurid campaigns were dedicated to the establishment of Islam as the dominant socio-religious system in the annexed territories. The foundations of this premise were laid on the seemingly solid bedrock of epigraphic and textual evidence, and therefore have remained largely unquestioned.²⁰ Indeed, the strength of this assigned historical motive is also attributable to its currency beyond the art-historical sphere,²¹ and to its longevity in scholarship.

More recent rereadings of texts and inscriptions, as well as the use of evidence from historical sociology, have thrown a modifying light on this explanation for Ghurid activity in the plains of northern India. It is well known that the dwellers of the mountainous region of Ghur were persistent in their "pagan" spiritual affiliations and not of long Muslim pedigree. In fact, it was only during the mid-eleventh century that these communities, dispersed throughout the area and forming only loose agricultural and pastoral settlements, began to convert to Islam. In large part they seemed to continue within spiritual belief systems which had already been in place for centuries. These systems were probably locally developed, since the geographical isolation of the region permitted little input

from the surrounding strongholds of Buddhism.²² Even by the time Firūzkūh was founded by Qutb al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 1149) as the stronghold commanding the fealty of most of the region's settlements, conversion to Islam was far from complete. The isolation of the settlements from each other, and from contiguous areas such as Kābul and Ghazna, render it likely that, despite the ascendancy of a Muslim chieftain at Firūzkūh, much of the population exhibited a "persistence...[in] paganism long after the surrounding territories had become Muslim."²³

Although by the twelfth century, Islam's socio-religious dominance in Ghūr was recent and incomplete, its imposition on the defeated infidel could still have been a priority for the Ghurid forces. Indeed, the initial zeal of a newly rooted creed could have made *jihād* the inspiration for campaigns of territorial annexation. The evidence to date, however, does not support this. Practices consistent with an agenda of Islamization have not appeared in the historical record.

Conversion to Islam among the general population was by no means overwhelming in the regions taken by the Ghurid deputies,²⁴ and the number of Muslims increased only gradually over the next few centuries.²⁵ Moreover, some of this increase has been documented in regions not under Ghurid control, regions remaining within the purview of local dynasties which had been in power well before the Ghurid incursions. Such was the case along the western coastal areas of Gujarat, which continued to be part of the dominions of the Caulukyā dynasty ruling there since the mid-tenth century.²⁶ Furthermore, the occupied regions were not always governed by Muslim officials, even in the environs of Delhi and modern Haryānā, which constituted the first territories taken by Qutb al-Dīn Āibek's forces.²⁷ Thus, despite the textual and inscriptional proclamations that the conquered areas were incorporated into Dār al-Islām, it remains unclear what this meant in practical terms. From the historical record, it would seem that the measures taken by the Ghurids in northern India were negotiations with, rather than eradication of, the local traditions and infrastructure.

These negotiations were surely facilitated by the inner workings of the Ghurid state, and by the method of deploying governors, entrusted with a certain autonomy, within the annexed regions. The Ghurid sultans themselves remained installed at Firūzkūh and Ghazna while their military envoys effected the annexations, either by treaty or by force.²⁸ It was the military commanders who usually remained in place as governors. In the scholarship to date it has been assumed that Qutb al-Dīn Āibek was the principal if not the only deputy of the Ghurids in northern India. Perhaps this assumption has been based on his takeover of Delhi and its surroundings, scene of the first enduring Ghurid victory in the region and, not accidentally, the location of the first of the Ghurids' ambitious

architectural endeavors, the Quṭbī Mosque.

But textual and epigraphical evidence has revealed other territorial governors who were dispatched by the Ghurid rulers. Noteworthy military leaders such as 'Izz al-Dīn of Nagaur, Nāṣir al-Dīn Aytemür of Uch, Muḥammad ibn Bakhtiyār of Bengal,²⁹ as well as 'Alī ibn Kārmākh of the Multān region,³⁰ were in rank and discretionary powers probably comparable to Qutb al-Dīn Āibek at Delhi. It is more certain that Bahā' al-Dīn Tughril of Bayāna was indeed a rival rather than a subordinate of Āibek.³¹ According to the available evidence, the territorial governors were part of the prevalent *iqtā'* system, wherein they had ruling prerogatives over the territories they conquered, though the *khuṭba* (the weekly Friday sermon) and coinage continued in the name of the Ghurid sultans.³² Given this centrifugal system of territorial control, the notion of a seamlessly unified dynasty, with a monolithic agenda of imposing Islam on the vanquished, is further thrown into doubt.

Although the Islamizing intentions of the Ghurids may be in doubt, it is well known that established Muslim communities existed in northern India already since the eighth century.³³ The responses of these communities to Ghurid state-building practices must be considered. The identities to which non-modern groups adhered in collective ideology, as well as the affiliations they espoused in social praxis, are not easily discernible. It has been rightly questioned, in the field of socio-historical research, whether the categories of "Muslim" and "Hindu" were the primary defining characteristics of the groups affiliated with these religious systems.³⁴ Recent examination of the epigraphical evidence from medieval northern India, including donatory and commemorative inscriptions, has indicated that these labels fail to capture the pliancy of non-modern perceptions. Individuals as well as communities of the medieval period had multiple and simultaneous affiliations, which may appear incompatible according to inflexible modern definitions.³⁵

In the end, there is little material evidence indicating that Islamization was the ultimate goal of the Ghurid incursions into northern India. In fact, texts are the only body of evidence favoring the currency of the concepts of Dār al-Islām and Dār al-Harb (lands under and not under Islamic government, respectively) during the medieval period. Other social practices give substantial indication that "Islamic" and "non-Islamic" did not constitute a sharp distinction, but rather a fluid spectrum. For example, the integration of Islamic rule into Indic historical narratives has been evidenced in the inscriptions surviving from medieval northern India.³⁶ In turn, the reciprocal adoption of Indic ceremonial and protocol by the new Muslim élites in the region has also been documented.³⁷ If Islam had been definable as monolithically as modern scholarship assumes it to have been, surely these working accom-

modations would have been greatly reduced, or even impossible.

Admittedly, the perception of an Other community in local terms, and the Other's efforts to communicate in an indigenous ceremonial language, should not lead us to conclude the existence of cultural syncretism.³⁸ A more inclusive and accurate History requires intellectual frameworks which successfully evoke the multiple identities possessed by historical groups and their individual members, without negating the validity of one affiliation because of another.³⁹ Evidence from the architectural record can contribute to a writing of History which does justice to the spiritual beliefs and practices of non-modern societies, without projecting modern preoccupations with religion onto peoples who simply followed their *dharma* or *dīn* as best they could.

From the summary above, it is clear that recent studies in other disciplines investigating the period of Ghurid establishment in India have offered significant shifts in frameworks, shifts which should be incorporated into the study of architecture. It is perhaps necessary to state explicitly what these advances can bring to bear on the study of north Indian Ghurid architecture.

First among these shifts is the modification of the idea that the overriding purpose of the Ghurids' northern Indian incursions was the propagation of Islam. Despite the proclamation of this purpose in texts and inscriptions, the Ghurid deputies did not force conversion to Islam in the lands they occupied. Of course, worship remained a ritual and spiritual necessity for the new rulers and for those among the population who were coreligionists. Mosques and other institutions serving Muslim communities had been founded before,⁴⁰ and would continue to be founded wherever Muslims became a critical mass. Qutb al-Dīn Āibek's foundation of the Qutbī Mosque, or Bahā' al-Dīn Tughrīl's construction of the mosques at Kāman and Bayāna, then, were not exclusively proclamations of Islam. These new overlords were also utilizing an effective and practical architectural language to signal a change in political control, and providing a necessary place for worship.

Additionally, the structure of Ghurid rule was not centrally determined. The various military officials dispatched by the sultans, having brought territories into the vast *iqtā'* system, ruled these territories largely on their own with limited accountability to the Ghurid "over-kings" at Firūzkūh and Ghazna. To annex the desired territories, these deputed officials fought against, and also negotiated with, northern Indian dynasts and traditions, both during initial takeovers and in subsequent efforts at retaining their gains. This productively fragmented nature of Ghurid rule opens up a new avenue to understanding their architectural patronage: the buildings constructed within the Ghurid governors' realms did not necessarily subscribe to

a centralized architectural program dictated by the "central" Ghurid lands. As we shall see below, it was more the case that the buildings, while serving their intended purposes, were constructed according to the building practices then current in northern India.

Lastly, the buildings' affiliations were as multivalent as the identities of the communities they served. As discussed above, groups and individuals had multiple, simultaneous belongings in ideology as well as in practice. Naturally, the buildings analyzed below were constructed specifically to serve these communities and their members. Until now, the buildings have been analyzed strictly within the confines of their Islamic identities, though they were constructed by local stoneworkers and perceived by people of multiple affiliations. These architectural foundations, then, also possessed multiple belongings and significances, according to the varying identities of viewers and worshippers. Neither in its physical and conceptual elements nor in its receptions by different people can the architecture be assigned exclusively to one category or community. The buildings' other belongings must also be explored in order to gain as thorough an understanding of them as possible.

The surviving mosques of Ghurid patronage in northern India have an important characteristic in common: two types of material appear in their construction, namely, *spolia* from previous buildings, and newly carved stone elements hewn specifically for the mosques. The *spolia* is often easily distinguishable from the newer materials by the presence of effaced iconic imagery (Fig. 6). Perhaps due to the consistent use of spoliated materials, scholarship has focused on them and interpreted their use as propagandistic statements. The newly carved materials, also significant in construction, have not yet received due attention.⁴¹ Because the buildings of Ghurid patronage in northern India have been analyzed until now exclusively within the ambit of Islamic architecture, Islamic significances have been assigned to architectural elements, largely disregarding other possibilities. A partial perception runs the extreme risk of being an inaccurate one. Since the newer elements also formed part of the architectural fabric of the mosques, an equal consideration of them is also necessary.

Although several publications have noted that the craftspeople building these mosques were trained in the local architectural traditions,⁴² their agency and intention in, as well as their reception of, the final products have thus far been omitted from architectural history. Textual and epigraphical sources would appear to provide the perfect documentation of the intentions of the conquerors and their reception by the conquered. These sources, however, have recently been deconstructed as the exclusive vehicles of political and economic élites, or even of the individuals who composed them.⁴³ Reliance on them can at best elu-



Fig. 6. Quṭbī Mosque. *Spolia* in qibla area.

cide the views of these minorities, leaving the other circles of the society in historiographical darkness.

The intentions and receptions of the craftspeople went virtually unrecorded in written form, and yet their part in these buildings was indispensable. It is largely from these architectural remains that their responses to the new circumstances of creation must be gauged. After all, the worshippers were not alone in their direct engagement with the buildings. These in a sense “belonged to” their creators as well. By factoring their undeniable presence into analyses of the fruits of their labors, we gain a better understanding of the multivalent significances of architectural production.⁴⁴

The iconographic and other decorative vocabulary employed in northern Indian temple architecture was not fundamentally different from that of residential or civic buildings. This vocabulary has been categorized as primarily “religious” because most of the surviving architectural remains of medieval India belonged to buildings dedicated to some type of worship. Due to their significance for entire communities, these were generally the structures longest used, preserved, and protected. Residential and civic structures were more likely to deteriorate and be

replaced. Compounding this evidential bias are the modern and post-modern proclivities to consider the spiritual separate from the material, the divine from the mundane. These proclivities are now being historicized, and it is becoming increasingly clear that current perceptions do not necessarily coincide with those of non-modern communities.⁴⁵

It has long been accepted that the morphemes of the Indic architectural language were abstracted from residential buildings. In essence, the Indian temple—whether a magnificent multistoried monument or a humble single-room shrine—was morphologically and ritually derived from the householder’s abode, the everyday urban or rural domicile.⁴⁶ Thus, the association between temple and home theoretically constituted an unobstructed path, the divine unquestionably imbuing daily existence. Indeed, we cannot know to what extent, if at all, the two were distinguished in the non-modern world.

If fluidity between the spiritual and the mundane informed the reception of Indic architecture during the medieval period, it is likely that neither the craftspeople trained in the north Indian building tradition nor their



Fig. 7. Rāṇī Vāv. Pātan, Gujarat. Entrance descent.

new Ghurid patrons associated local architectural elements and ornamental motifs *exclusively* with the Indic “religious” sphere. These elements and motifs were, after all, to be found on virtually all types of buildings, including step-wells and fortifications (Figs. 7, 8). Actual temples were clearly signified with elements such as the *sikhara*, or curvilinear spire. Unconstrained to an exclusively religious significance, north Indian architectural vocabulary could be utilized in buildings dedicated to Islamic ritual practices with less reservation than one might assume.

Among the building components which have received the most scholarly attention are the simulated arched façades at the Quṭbī and Ajmer mosques (Figs. 9–11). Only these two larger foundations have such façades; they are lacking in the smaller mosques at Khātū, Kāman, and Bayāna (Figs. 3–5). No text or inscription mentions the reasons for this disparity; only educated suggestions can be offered. Perhaps the most plausible of these is shortage of time and funds.



Fig. 8. Fort. Chittor, Rajasthan. *Valānakā*.

The simulated arcuate construction and the ornamental programs of the Quṭbī and Ajmer façades have been interpreted in scholarship as giving the buildings a more pronounced Islamic character, by shielding the most sacred area of the building from the “contaminated” fragments of idol temples in the surrounding aisles (*rūwāq*).⁴⁷ Façades on so monumental a scale did indeed constitute an architectural element without precedent in the Indic building tradition. They were more abundant particularly in the architecture of the Seljūks of Iran,⁴⁸ which seems to bolster the interpretation that an element long present in Islamized lands to the west was consciously imported and imposed on the Indic architectural landscape. As motive, this interpretation adduces the attempt to conceal, if not eradicate, local building traditions, and by association also the social and religious institutions forming the fabric of Indic society as a whole.

Scholarship acknowledges, however, that craftspeople trained within the local building practices were employed

Fig. 9. Quṭbī Mosque.
First façade.



to create these arched façades (discussed below). Although the arched façade was indeed a new idea introduced to the architectural repertory of twelfth-century north India, its execution was perforce within local technical and iconographic parameters. Interpretations of these façades as symbols of the supremacy of Islam have been standard in scholarship. But the agency and intention of the makers of the façades merit attention as well.

The craftspeople were given the task of creating a large, arched front with a decorated surface. The construction method here was the same one commonly employed in the elaborate concentric ceilings of temple architecture: instead of voussoirs leading to a keystone at the center of the arches' apices, the arches were corbelled (Fig. 12). Although an inscription from the Ajmer mosque names a certain Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad Jālū (or *Khālū* [?]) al-Harawī as the supervisor of the project,⁴⁹ the physical evidence of the façades themselves suggests that the craftspeople were left to their own skills and devices for the actual construction.

On the surfaces of the façades the existing pool of skills and iconography was adapted to new purposes. The Quṭbī façade, being the earliest of all, afforded the surface on which forms and techniques were tried out, then modified or omitted in the later façades of Iletmīsh's extensions and the Ajmer mosque. A series of parallel vertical bands compose Āibek's façade of the Quṭbī Mosque (Figs. 9, 13). The outermost bands closest to the simulated arch bear historical inscriptions listing, among other things, the date of the façade.⁵⁰ Floral elements intertwine with the inscriptions and render them virtually illegible. The remaining central bands are replete with floral and vegetal motifs, including

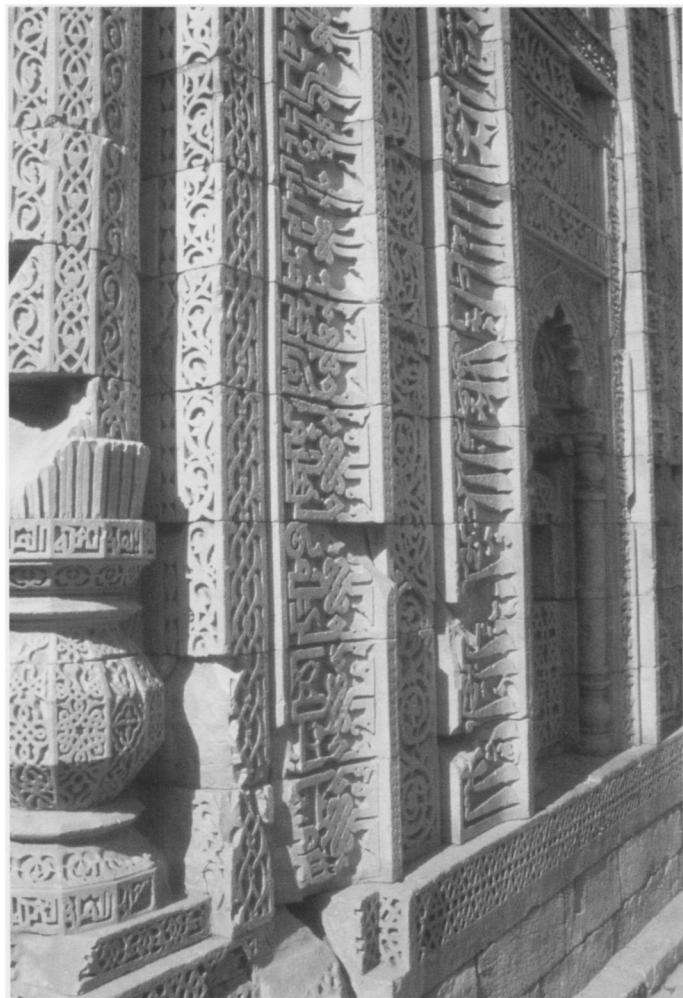


Fig. 10. Quṭbī Mosque. Iletmīsh's façade.



Fig. 11. Ajmer Mosque.
Arched façade.

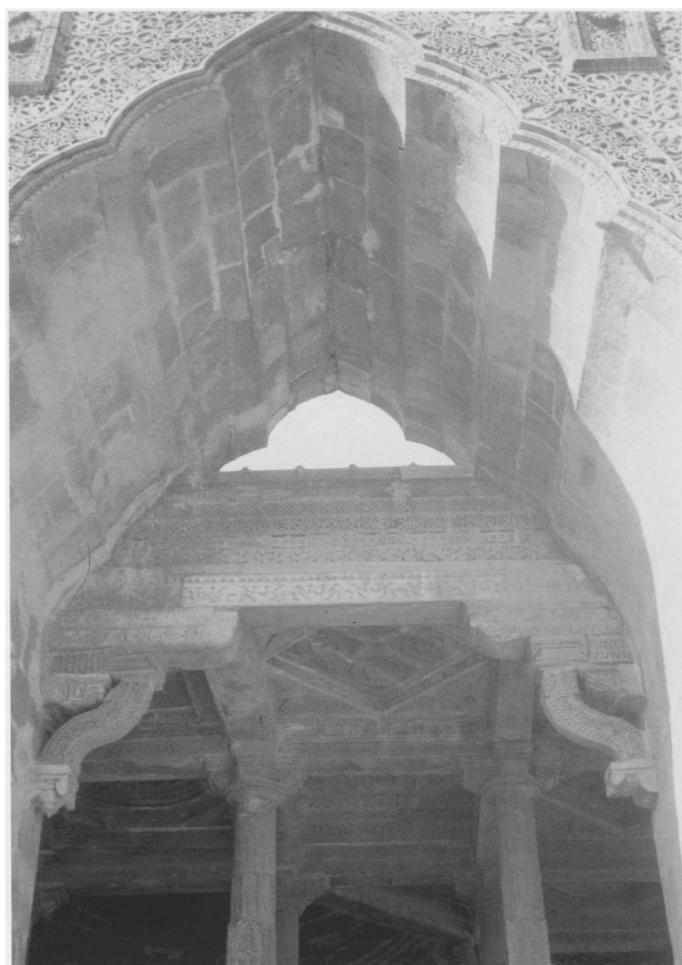


Fig. 12. Ajmer Mosque. Semi-corbelled arch apex.

a meandering vine, flowers and closed buds, and effervescent interpretations of floral medallions. I propose that these motifs are firmly entrenched both iconographically and compositionally in the repertory of the Water Cosmology, from which the Indic carving tradition had drawn for centuries.⁵¹

A brief comparison with the entrance of the late tenth-to early eleventh-century Bahu Temple, one of two large-scale temples at the Sās-Bahu Complex at Nāgdā, Rajasthan, will illustrate the point (Fig. 15). Temple architecture of the early eleventh-century Maru-Gurjara tradition had effloresced to an iconically exuberant stage, so that the iconographic programs of these buildings often obscured the architecturally salient elements.⁵² The sanctum entrance of the eleventh-century Someśvara Temple (Fig. 16) at Kirādu (Rajasthan), for example, teems with figural niches which completely obfuscate its essential structure. Despite the tendency of medieval temples toward iconographic richness,⁵³ a more restrained and sparse architectural idiom survived.⁵⁴ The Sās-Bahu Complex of Nāgdā is an example of this survival, which also contributed to the development of architectural iconography during the subsequent two centuries.

The Bahu Temple's sanctum entrance comprises only the essential, simply carved vertical and horizontal elements. Three foliated bands form the jambs and continue on as the lintels above. They originate in base niches housing the river goddesses, which had become a standard iconographic element of doorframes by the medieval period. The widest, outermost band contains effervescent foliage documentable since the fifth and sixth centuries in

Fig. 13. Quṭbī Mosque.
Detail of first façade.



the architectural iconography of the Gupta realms. Filling the middle band is a series of lotus leaves (S: *padmapatra*), another common architectural motif. The innermost band contains a meandering vine (S: *kalpavalli*), with tightly closed lotus buds gracing its inward curves and circles.

Iconographic and compositional parallels with the Quṭbī façade are inescapable, of course with an allowance for the difference in scale. The most salient point conveyed by these parallels, however, is that the stoneworkers employed to make the Quṭbī façade looked to the pool of iconographic ideas from which they had drawn for generations. Although they were working on an architectural element whose scale had no precedent in their experience, they rose to the challenge with conceptual tools that were well used and familiar from smaller entrances to temple sancta and to stone residential and civic structures (Fig. 17). Presumably, imagery on the Quṭbī façade was proscribed; so they restricted themselves to aniconic elements of the Water Cosmology, which had been part of Indic architectural vocabulary since the earliest documentable buildings and ornamental programs.

Since the actual manufacture of the first Quṭbī façade tied it with north Indian architecture, it seems unlikely that it was meant to shield the *qibla* (the direction of Mekka) from "Hindu influence."⁵⁵ Considering the façade's architectural function in conjunction with its technical execution, it would seem that in conception it was a monumental doorway, inviting the worshipper into the holiest part of the sacred precinct, and doing so in the iconographic language which had been the conceptual building material of north Indian architecture in general. What is more, the direct equation of spoliated material in

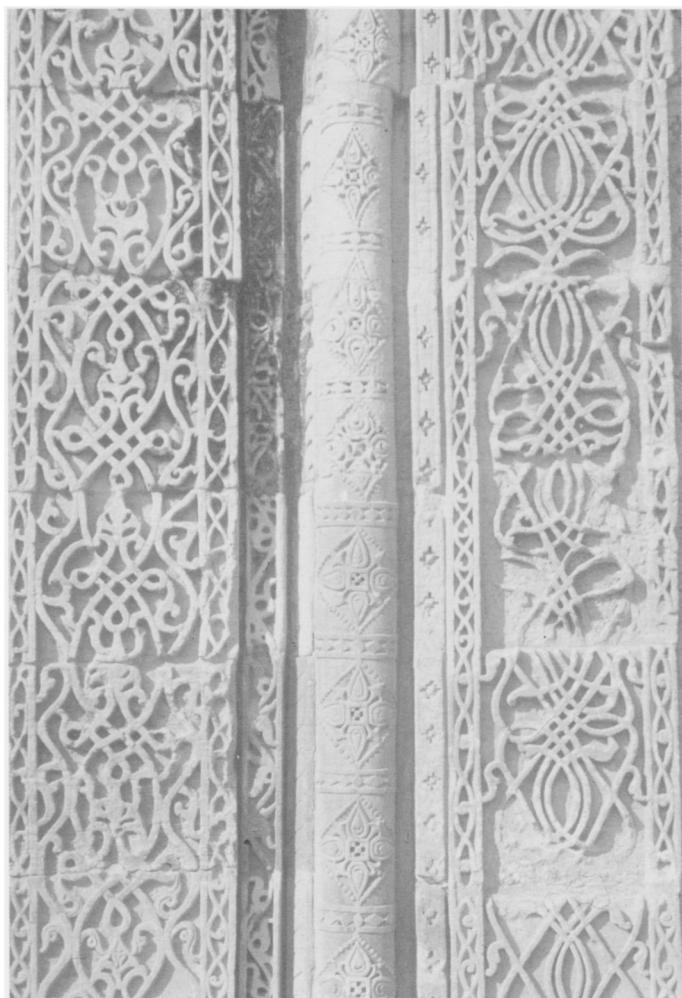


Fig. 14. Ajmer Mosque. Detail of façade.



Fig. 15. Bahu Temple. Nāgdā, Rajasthan. Entrance into sanctum.

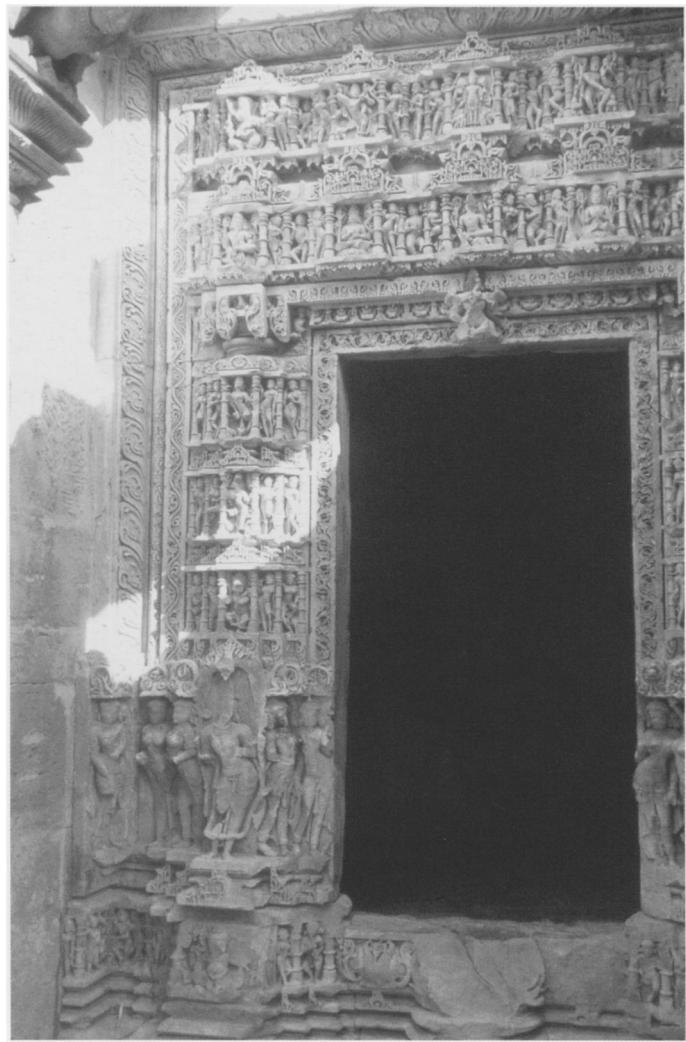


Fig. 16. Someśvara Temple. Kirādū, Rajasthan. Entrance into sanctum.

the *qibla* with “Hindu influence” is also questionable, since these elements were not necessarily traceable to a specifically Hindu, i.e., specifically religious, sphere.

The façades commissioned by Iletmīsh at the Quṭbī and Ajmer mosques must not be forgotten (Figs. 10, 11, 14). It is evident that the workmanship on these two later fronts is geometric and abstract, noticeably differing from the first Quṭbī façade. Iletmīsh’s later Quṭbī and Ajmer façades have a character not unlike certain panels of the minaret of Jām (last quarter of the twelfth c.) (Fig. 18). Based on this likeness, it is possible that different craftspeople were employed: Instead of the stoneworkers trained in northern Indian carving practices, perhaps others, working in the eastern Iranian traditions, were the makers of these later façades. Indeed, the motifs of these later façades and their execution seem to be based in the carving of brick, which was the primary construction material west of the Indus. The angularity of the geometric and calligraphic ele-

ments, found in the brick revetments and façades of eastern Iranian and Afghani buildings, is here maintained despite its carving in stone.

The execution of Iletmīsh’s façades is indeed at variance with the earlier Quṭbī façade by Āibek. At the Quṭbī Mosque at least, Iletmīsh’s façade fronted his extension of the original prayer area, and was essentially the continuation of the earlier façade by Āibek. Since Āibek’s façade had been in place for over twenty years by the time of Iletmīsh’s commission, it is quite possible that the latter was also perceived in a similar, inclusive vein. Since the Ajmer mosque, however, did not have a façade before Iletmīsh’s donation, it is difficult to establish whether it was perceived in the same light as the Quṭbī examples.

Analysis of these façades would be incomplete without an examination of their epigraphical components. Richard Ettinghausen and others convincingly proposed that these inscriptional bands probably served symbolic rather than



Fig. 17. Gwalior fort, Gwalior, Madhya Pradesh. Entrance.

literal purposes.⁵⁶ More recently, it has been suggested that “contextual literacy” mediated the differences between the symbolic and literal reception of these inscriptional friezes. In other words, among imperfectly literate medieval viewers, some would have had enough contextual background, through Qur’ān memorization and the other rigors of a *madrasa* education, to get the gist of an inscription, including dates and names.⁵⁷ For those wholly ignorant, the presence of Qur’ānic and other such calligraphy served to indicate that the structure supporting it was relevant to Muslims. In sum, whether the epigraphy could be read and understood, or only recognized, it served to mark a building as pertinent, though not necessarily limited, to the Muslim community of the area.⁵⁸

Beyond the mere presence of Arabic-Persian calligraphy, the precise positioning of the inscriptional friezes on the



Fig. 18. Minaret of Jām. Firūzkūh, Afghanistan. From André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le Minaret de Djam*, vol. XVI of *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1959), pl. 5.

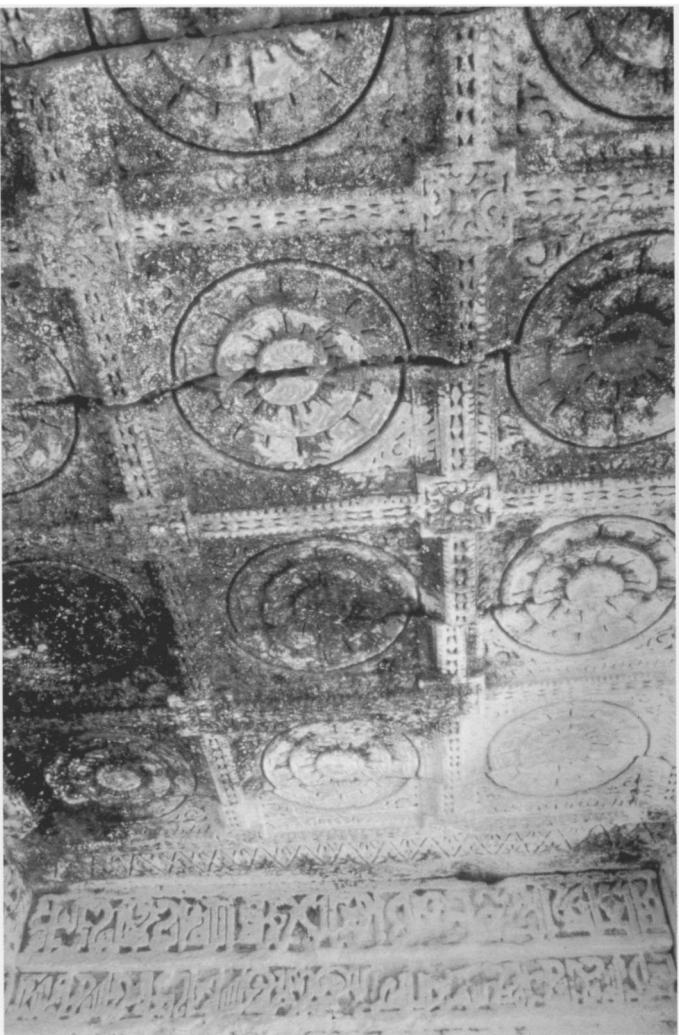


Fig. 19. Tomb of Ibrāhīm. Bhadresvar, Gujarat. Ceiling in vestibule.

Qutbī and Ajmer façades could have also been important in their reception. The inscriptions are in vertical bands, and entwined with vegetal and geometric ornament. The height of the façades and the density of the ornamentation, together with the minimal literacy among the general population, make it unlikely that these inscriptions were often read for their content. What, then, might have guided their placement? As seen above in the analysis of the floral motifs of the first Quṭbī façade, the aniconic vegetal-floral bands of ornament had a strong resonance with the auspiciousness of the Water Cosmology. Inscriptional bands, identically placed in buildings of Islamic worship, could have conveyed a symbolism analogous to the meandering, wish-fulfilling vines, lotus flowers and leaves. This associative function is borne out in other examples (Fig. 19), where inscriptional bands at the springing of corbelled ceilings were parallel to the aniconic friezes at the same locations in north Indian temples (Fig. 20).

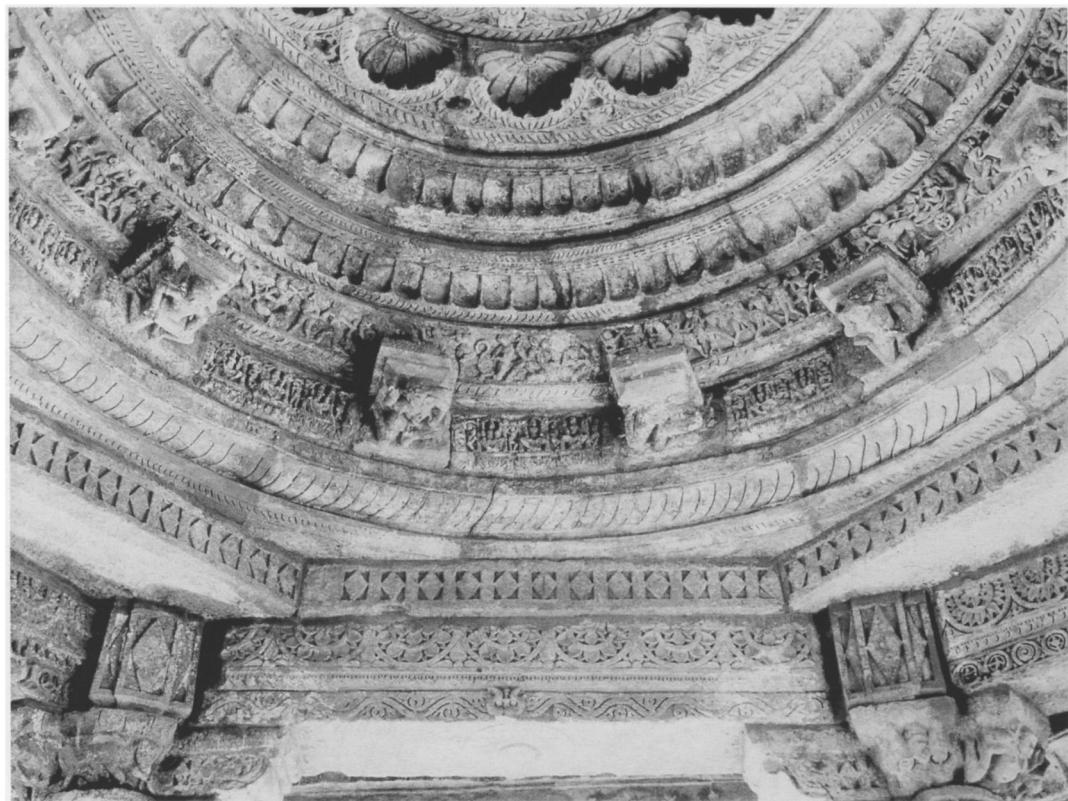
Although the Quṭbī and Ajmer façades have been cited as architectural agents in the cultural imposition of Islam on Indic society, their constitutive parts were more ambiguous in intention and possibly in reception as well. The Quṭbī façade established a precedent by being of local manufacture, its technique and iconography revealing its conceptualization within a north Indian architectural context. Nonetheless, this is not to refute the distinctive character of these arched façades. Despite their origins in local practices, it is apparent that the challenge of a new architectural form and the demands of a nonfigural iconography contributed to the creative expansion of a building tradition that, according to some scholars, had become rote and monotonous by the twelfth century.⁵⁹ In sum, just as the mutually exclusive categories of “Hindu” and “Muslim” have been insufficient for the description of communities, the buildings and their components also defy such neat classification.

Plausible hypotheses about the reception of early Ghurid architecture in northern India require a consideration of minarets. The minaret as the symbol par excellence of the political, military, and religious ascendancy of Islam has been accepted in the scholarship on Islamic architectural history in India as well as in other regions. According to this interpretation, the minaret itself became so thoroughly associated with Islam and Islamicate culture, that eventually the tower alone came to evoke the presence of Islamic rule, with or without an adjacent mosque. The Quṭb Minār and Ajmer’s addorsed minarets (Figs. 21, 22) have not been excepted from this interpretation.⁶⁰

These conclusions regarding the Qutbī and Ajmer minarets have ignored some aspects of their construction. These additional aspects broaden the reception of these major complexes. Like the arched façades, minarets were built for only a few Ghurid foundations. The Quṭb Minār was a single tower, but at Ajmer there were at least four towers possibly serving as minarets: Two slender minarets were originally at the corners of the raised central portion of the arched façade, but only the bottommost portions of these survive (Fig. 23). More intact towers are addorsed at the corners of the complex’s perimeter wall. The Shāhi, Kāman, and Bayāna mosques, on the other hand, all lack independent or addorsed towers. Unless excavation or other evidence indicates otherwise, it is safe to conclude that these smaller foundations did not have minarets.

Given the scholarly attention lavished on minarets, one might well expect them to grace virtually all mosque foundations. Moreover, in areas such as northern India, where Islamic government was still being consolidated at the end of the twelfth century, minarets would have been architectural insignia of Islamic ascendancy. As with the arched façades, however, minarets may have been dispensed with on smaller buildings erected on tighter bud-

Fig. 20. Galateśvara Temple. Sānel, Gujarat. *Mandapa* ceiling detail. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi.



ets. Mosques were constructed first and foremost as places for the Muslims to fulfill their obligations of worship; only funds remaining after this basic necessity was met might be used to add minarets. Such surpluses had been available at Delhi and Ajmer, but not elsewhere. The discrepancy between scholarly emphasis on certain architectural elements and their sporadic occurrence should lead us to re-evaluate economic forces as determinants in construction. Certainly, economics must have often exerted a mitigating effect on the ideological expressions of Islam.

The Qutb Minār was not begun until several years after the foundation of the Quṭbī Mosque in 1192–93. The inscriptions on each of its four stories indicate that only the first was completed by the end of Quṭb al-Dīn Āibek's official governorship (r. 1206–1211) of the Delhi *iqtā'*, the second through fourth stories being constructed during Iltmīsh's term of office (r. 1211–1236). At Ajmer, it is unclear when the perimeter wall of the complex and its corner buttresses were constructed. Not being strictly necessary to the full ritual function of the building, it is possible that the wall and towers were added at a later date to emphasize the ruler's piety and increase his political prominence.

Analysis of the epigraphic programs of standing minarets in the northern and northwestern areas of the subcontinent has fostered their interpretation as towers of victory. The towers of Mas'ūd III (r. 1098–1115) and Bahrām Shāh (r. 1117–1149) at Ghazna, along with the

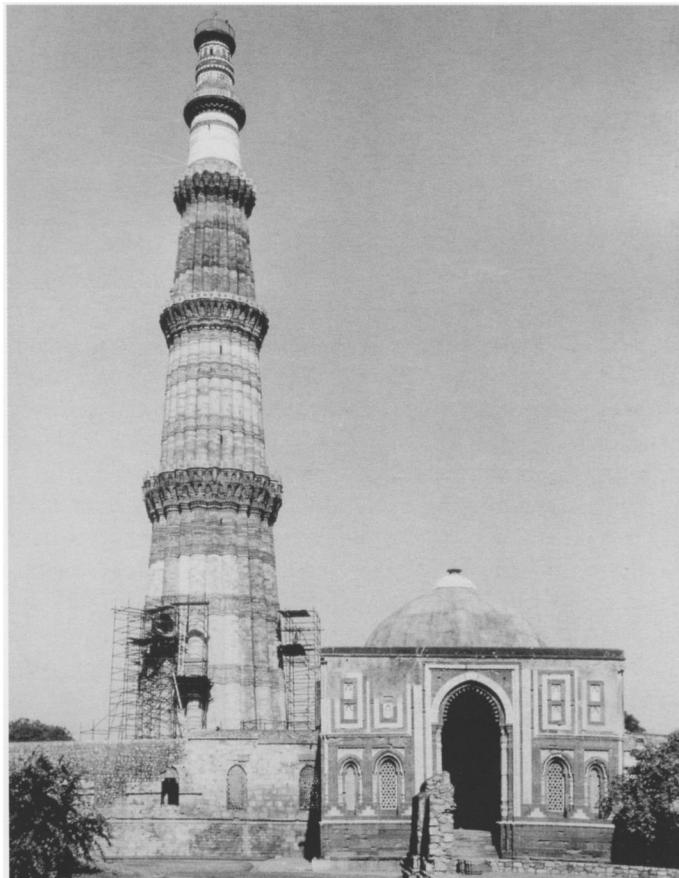


Fig. 21. Quṭbī Complex. Quṭb Minār.

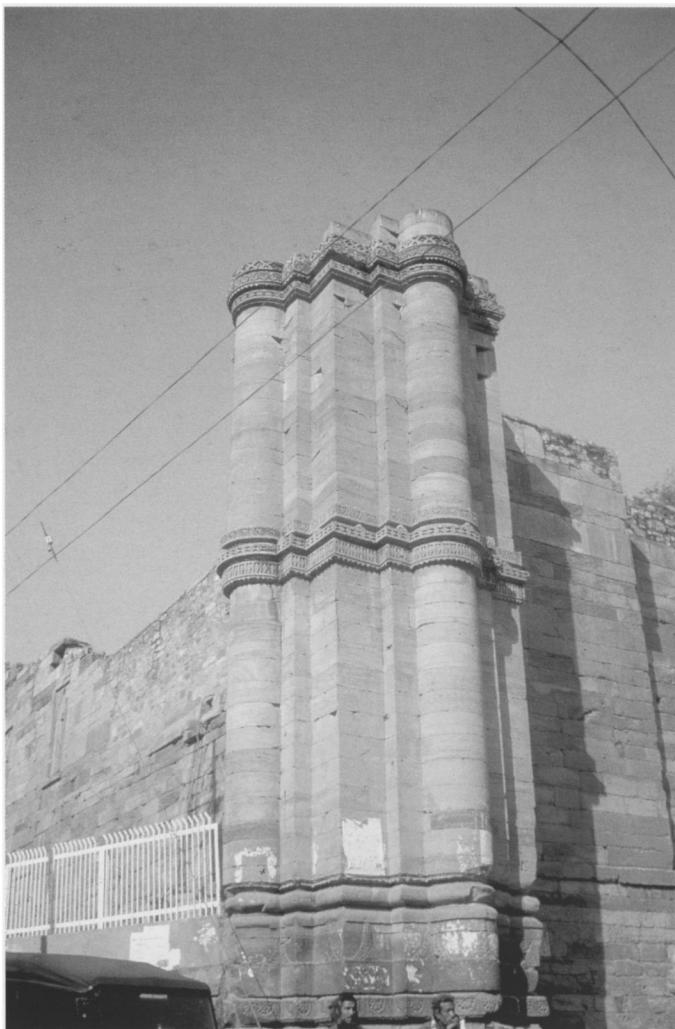


Fig. 22. Ajmer Mosque. Addorsed corner minaret.

minaret of Jām (Fīrūzkūh) (Fig. 18) and the Quṭb Minār, have all been referred to as “tour[s] de victoire” and “tour[s] de gloire.”⁶¹ Admittedly, not all scholars interpret the towers of Mas‘ūd III and Bahrām Shāh as commemorating military victory, characterizing them rather as proclamations of piety by the later Ghaznavid sultans, whose power was in serious decline by the early twelfth century.⁶² In any case, in northern India in particular the minaret probably had precedents and receptions besides victory monuments. The Quṭb Minār and Ajmer’s addorsed towers, the only surviving Ghurid minarets, allow us to explore other probabilities.

The formal prototypes of the Quṭb Minār and Ajmer minarets are generally thought to have been the Ghaznavid towers of Mas‘ūd III and Bahrām Shāh, and the minaret of Jām.⁶³ Most probably, Āibek and subsequent rulers such as Iletmīsh wanted a tower at Delhi that conformed to the well-established typology of such structures

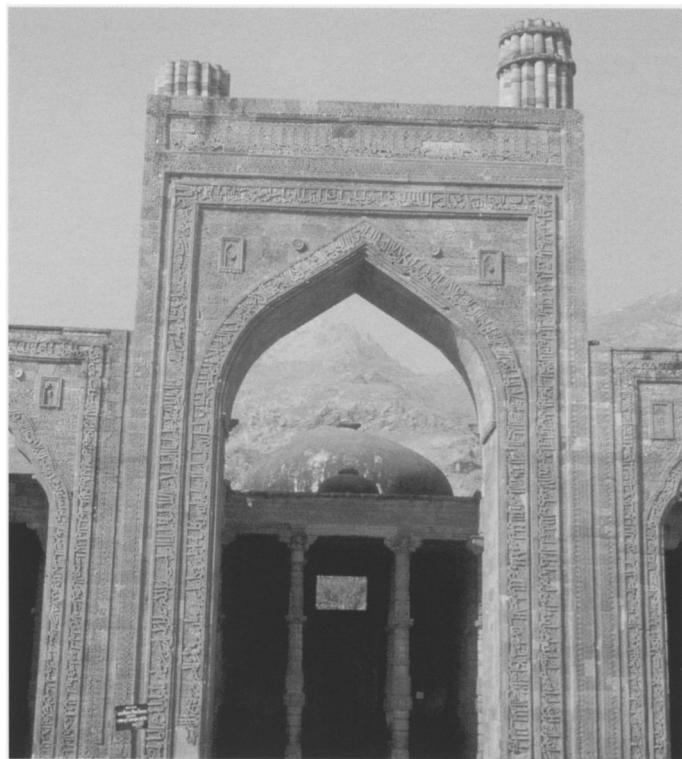


Fig. 23. Ajmer Mosque. Remnant of façade minarets.

in their natal lands. As with the façades, however, it was local stoneworkers who were the builders of the minarets. Hypothetically, the local workers were provided with images of the Ghazna and Fīrūzkūh towers, and on the basis of these, proceeded with the task as best they could.

Two Nāgari inscriptions on the first story of the Quṭb Minār read “Saniyat 1256,” or 1199 CE. Since the inscriptions consist solely of the date, it is unclear whether they were carved by local craftsmen or by others.⁶⁴ Circumstantial evidence favors the former, since Quṭb al-Dīn Āibek and other Ghurid governors probably did not bring stoneworkers trained in eastern Iranian carving techniques along with them on their northern Indian campaigns. The first Quṭbī façade, as well as newly carved columns and other components in the mosque’s *nīwāq* and *līwān* areas (discussed below), both reflect local building practices. Not until Iletmīsh’s extensions and façades of the thirteenth century did east Iranian stoneworking techniques appear in northern India. Though its form and decoration were unprecedented, it would seem that local builders constructed the cylindrical, multistoried tower and carved its ornament.

The Ajmer minarets were likely also the products of local labor. Notwithstanding comparisons with minarets in Iran,⁶⁵ the Ajmer towers were conceived within north Indian building traditions. These corner turrets are semi-

stellate in plan, with alternating angular and semicircular flanges (Fig. 22). In contrast to the ornate surface decoration of the Quṭb Minār, the Ajmer minarets are largely plain, sparsely punctuated with horizontal bands (Fig. 24). These bands contain decorative motifs such as the jewel (S: *ratna*) and half-lotus (S: *ardhapadma*) bands, which were abundant in the iconography of the Water Cosmology. Their style and execution are firmly within the local modes. In addition, the same moldings formed the base of the external elevation of north Indian buildings (Figs. 25 and 26). Except for the tell-tale Indic stonework, the Quṭb Minār had strong formal connections with its western predecessors, particularly the minarets of Ghazna and Jām.⁶⁶ But the Ajmer minarets, made a few years later, seem to have been literally embraced by the Indic architectural tradition and even marked as such with recognizable signs.

For a complete understanding of the reception of these towers, the agency, intentions, and framework of reference of the actual builders must be explored. There are Indic architectural forms which could have provided a connecting bridge between familiar local forms and techniques and the structure and ornament of minarets. The ideas for the minarets, as communicated by the Ghurid deputies to the local craftsmen, would have come from Firūzkūh and Ghazna. But for the conceptualization of the *form* and its construction, the stoneworkers had to refer to something within their own architectural vocabulary. The surviving Bhumijā temples in the region might well have provided this reference. Their sancta have the same stellate configuration as the Ajmer corner towers. Other buildings not appearing in the architectural record may also have provided a formal analogy.

By the twelfth/thirteenth centuries Bhumijā temples had become large and magnificent. Multiple halls (S: *māṇḍapa*), often laden with intricate iconographic programs, led up to the sancta. Nearly contemporaneous with the Quṭb Minār, the Undeśvara Temple at Bijoliyān (Rajasthān), of the early to mid-twelfth century (Fig. 27) exemplifies the temples' stellate or semistellate plan. In keeping with the tendencies of medieval temple architecture, the halls addorsed to the sanctum were prominent enough that only the *sikhara* indicated the sanctum's location.⁶⁷

Not only in modern scholarship but also in medieval inscriptions, the Quṭb Minār has been referred to as a "pillar of victory". These medieval references do not occur in the Persian epigraphs. Rather, two Nāgari inscriptions on the tower call it a *kirttistambha* (column or pillar of glory) and a *jayastambha* (pillar of victory).⁶⁸ Islamicists have utilized inscriptions in both languages to support the conclusion that minarets commemorated the victory of Islam. These Nāgari references have been incorporated into this interpretation as supposedly indicating that the



Fig. 24. Ajmer Mosque. Corner minaret. Detail of mid-level moldings.

stoneworkers who built the minarets interpreted them likewise.⁶⁹

The concept of the *kirttistambha* or *jayastambha*, however, already existed in the Indic building tradition. The *kirttistambha* at Chittor (Rajasthan) (Fig. 28), the earliest surviving example of such a tower, has been dated circa 1300, but architectural treatises suggest that such victory towers had been built from at least the seventh century, and that they had been patronized among all three of the principal Indic religions (Jainism, Buddhism, and Brahmanical Hinduism).⁷⁰

Formally, the Chittor *kirttistambha* has little in common with the Quṭb Minār. It is not a tapering cylindrical shaft with circular and angular flanges, but rather a series of vertically stacked, closed temple halls (S: *gudhamāṇḍapa*) endowed with the recognizable characteristics of this architectural form: the aperture for light, the slightly projecting seat backs below, and the typical decorative ele-

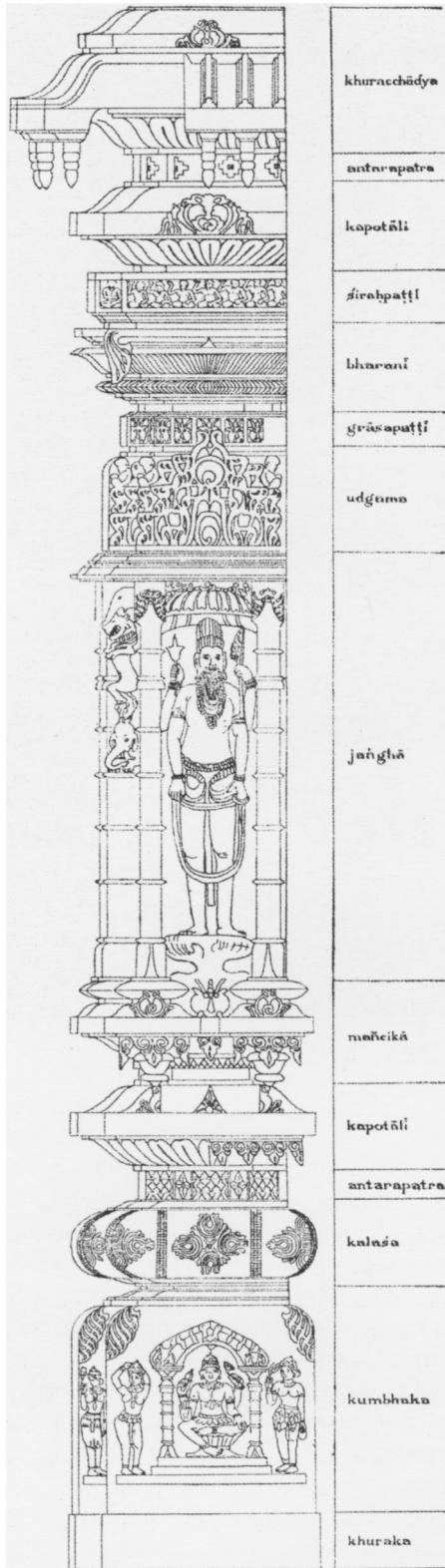


Fig. 25. Maru-Gurjara *mandorla*. From M. A. Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra (Varanasi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), fig. j.



Fig. 26. Ajmer Mosque. Corner minaret. Detail with base moldings.

ments such as the railing motif. Conceptually, nevertheless, the Chittor tower was one of the set of structures to which *kirttistambha* and *jayastambha* referred. Columns of victory were already known to the builders of the Quṭb Minār, unencumbered by the connotations of a dominating foreign politico-religious culture. In the inscriptions on the Qutb Minār, the craftspeople may well have alluded to these structures from their own tradition. *Kirttistambha* no doubt referred to the glory of a victory, but not necessarily to the irreversible victory of Islam.⁷¹ The victory symbolized in the *kirttistambha* at Chittorgarh was the triumph of the Jina over the earthly, material realm as he ascended to heaven. This tower and others of its kind, then, seem to have been built as proclamations of spiritual rather than politico-military victory.⁷²

By integrating the reception of the craftsperson into the multivalent receptions of the monumental, newly carved



Fig. 27. Undeśvara temple. Bijoliyān, Rajasthan. Bhumijā śikhara.

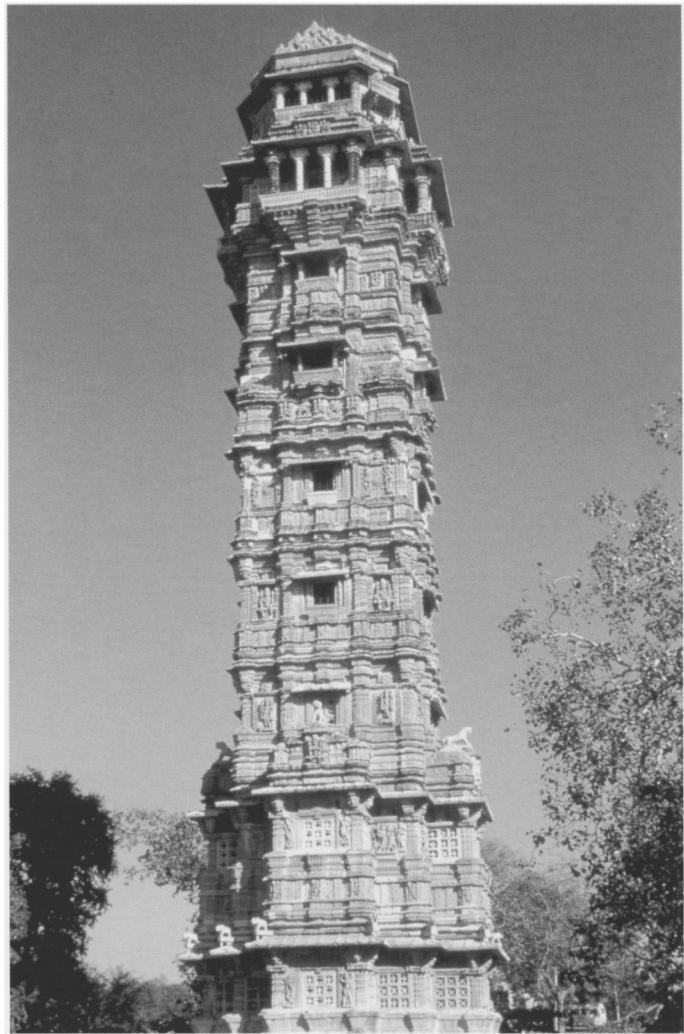


Fig. 28. Kirttistambha. Chittor, Rajasthan.

architectural elements in these mosques, I hope to make the modern understanding of them more complete. This integration lends additional resonances to these built forms and their iconographic programs, which seem substantially to shift our understanding of what this architecture "said," and to whom, at the time of its construction. Indeed, the possibilities that emerge in answer to these questions are notably at variance with the meanings ascribed by previous scholarship to the material remains from this critical period of Ghurid state formation in northern India. After this shift in perception regarding the newer elements, the question of reused materials still remains.

As mentioned above, previous studies have interpreted the use of older fragments in these Ghurid constructions as a silent declaration of Ghurid politico-military and religious supremacy to their newly subject populations. This

interpretation is based on the assumption that the older materials were perceived as desecrated by their incorporation in new constructions. Furthermore, the repeated, even formulaic declarations of textual sources and epigraphic programs that temples had been willfully dismantled in order to use their fragments in new buildings, has made this interpretive stance seem to be the only one tenable. As was the case with the newly fashioned portions of the buildings, however, the role of the craftspeople and their receptions of spoliation are integral parts of this architectural practice as well, but they have not been explored before.

The combination of old and new materials in construction appears to be unique to the period of Ghurid annexation of parts of northern India. This uniqueness could be interpreted as underscoring the proclamations of the supremacy of Islam. Such an interpretation, however,



Fig. 29. Palace of Rājā Mān Singh, Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh). Reused pilasters in the Hāthi Pol.

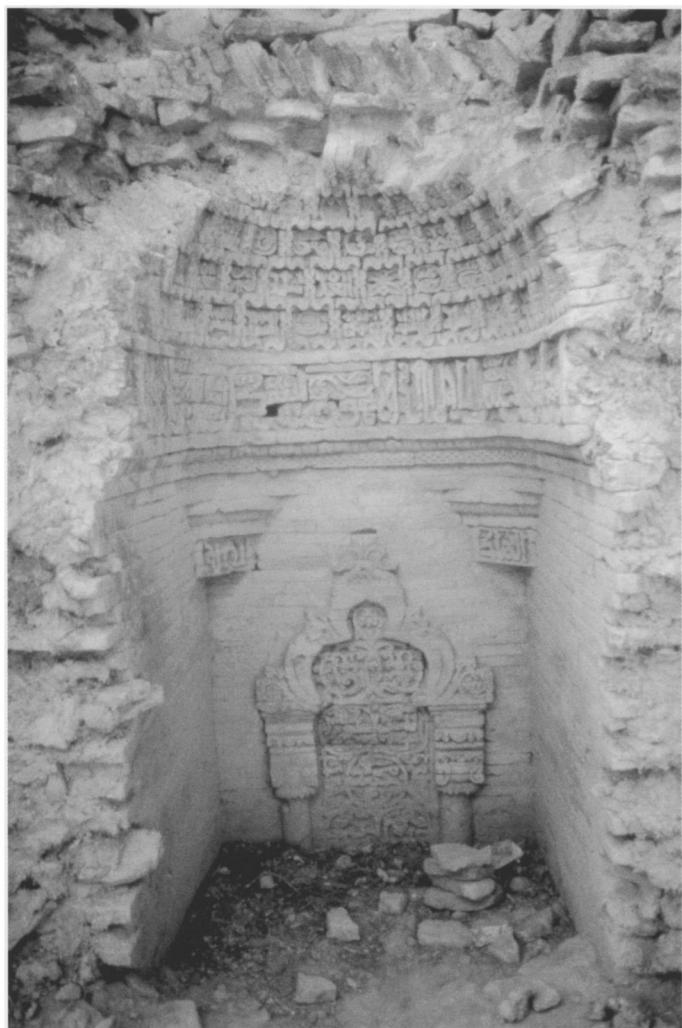


Fig. 30. Ribāṭ of 'Ali ibn Kārmākh. Near Kabirwala, Multan district, West Punjab (Pakistan). Mihrāb.

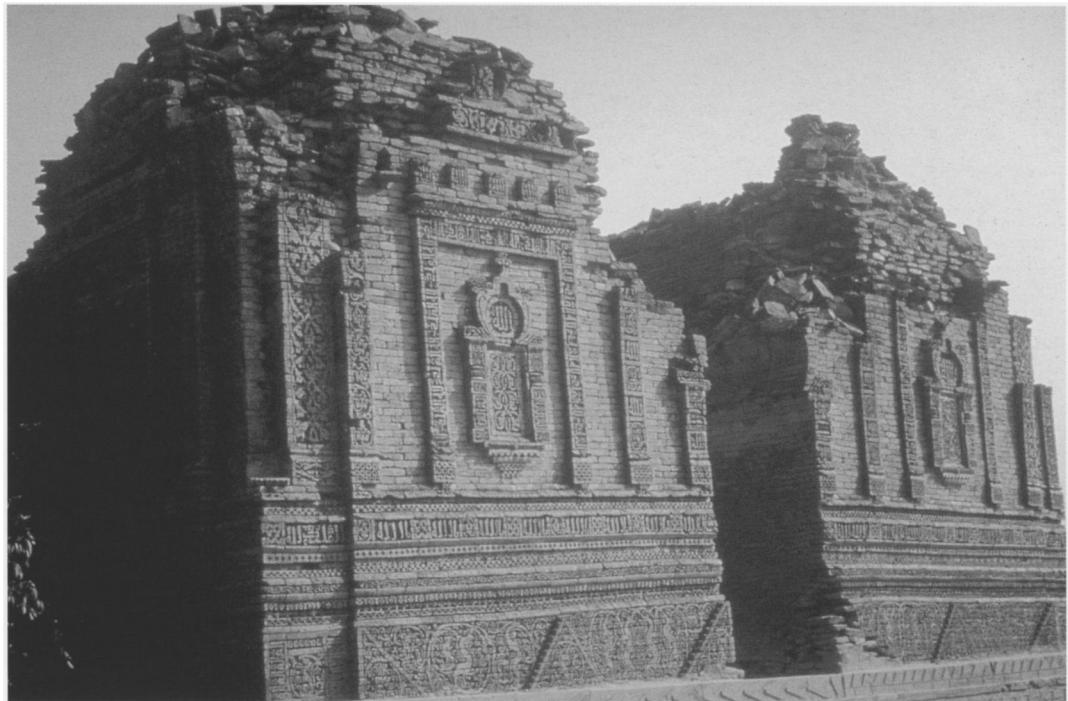
might have more to do with the definition and application of the term '*spolia*', than with the material evidence itself. For it is evidenced that the salvage and reuse of older fragments was practiced in India since at least the first centuries of the Common Era, as seen in the double-sided carving of stone *āyāgapatī*/s and stupa drum slabs from Amarāvati in the south, and Mathurā in the north.⁷³ Moreover, the recycling might cross religious boundaries. The drum slabs of a deserted Buddhist stupa, for example, could have been reused on a later Jaina stupa.⁷⁴ This pragmatic practice continued into later periods, as seen in the reused eighth- or ninth-century pilasters at the Hāthi Pol of Rājā Mān Singh's palace, Gwalior (late fifteenth century) (Fig. 29).⁷⁵

Plausibly, recycling of building materials was more common in temple architecture than has been documented so far. The reuse of fragments was not necessarily unique to

Ghurid buildings of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In fact, it was probably part of the architectural praxis of medieval north India in general. If such were the case, it is quite possible that *spolia* in Ghurid mosques were not exclusively seen as propagandistic statements.

Spoliation was not unique in the architectural history of north India, but it was a noteworthy practice within the Ghurid territories. This becomes evident upon comparison of northern Indian Ghurid buildings with other Ghurid architecture farther west. The structures known as the Ribāṭ of 'Ali ibn Kārmākh near Kabirwala (Fig. 30), and the Tomb of Sadan Shahīd near Muzzafargarh (Fig. 31), both in the vicinity of Multan, were constructed during the period of Ghurid reconsolidation of the western Punjabi territories throughout the last quarter of the twelfth century. The circumstances of these buildings' construction, then, were comparable to those of the surviving

Fig. 31. Tomb of Sadan Shahid.
Muzzafargarh, Multan district,
West Punjab (Pakistan). Exterior.



late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century mosques in northern India. Analyses of the tombs have concluded that, although they were constructed with local elements manufactured by craftspeople trained in the stone- and brick-working practices of the region, older materials were not utilized.⁷⁶ In this important respect, they provide a contrast to the surviving Ghurid buildings east of the Indus.

From the absence of older elements in the western Punjab, it might be concluded that their presence in the north Indian mosques indeed signified the supremacy of Islam. After all, the Ghaznavids had controlled the western Punjab since the mid- to late eleventh century, thereby infusing the area with Islamizing tendencies for a century by the time of Ghurid ascendancy. Thus, there would have been no need for the propagandistic use of spoliated materials in the buildings constructed by the Ghurid governors in that region, as there was east of the Indus. This is a compelling argument in favor of *spolia* being a proclamation of the supremacy of Islam, but other considerations must be borne in mind.

The underlying structure of the Ghurid state was a centrifugal one, with the territorial governors possessing a notable degree of autonomy. The varying methods of construction throughout the loosely cohering Ghurid realms support the notion that the deputies adapted to their particular circumstances. Local manufacture, with seemingly no reuse, was the construction method most appropriate to the western Punjab, perhaps due to the paucity of recyclable material there. In the eastern territories, reusable

building materials seem to have been more abundant. *Spolia* could have come not only from desecrated temples, but also from derelict buildings. Indeed, Persian epigraphic evidence supports this hypothesis.⁷⁷ Although *spolia* might have proclaimed Islam *a posteriori*, other intentions might have dictated its use.

Spoliation is not evidenced in earlier architecture dedicated to Islamic worship in northern India. The buildings at Bhadresvar in Kach (northwestern Gujarat), epigraphically dated to the mid-1100s, predate Ghurid foundations by half a century.⁷⁸ Commercial interests motivated the settlement of this community, probably from North Africa or the Yemen. Architectural analysis has concluded that the Muslims of Bhadresvar patronized local craftspeople trained in western Indian architectural practices for new constructions that did not incorporate older materials.⁷⁹

It has been argued that the Muslims of Kachch were “men of peaceful pursuits,”⁸⁰ not needing to make a statement of domination through spoliation. In this light, construction with *spolia* appears to fit the Ghurid agenda of imposing a new political system on northern India. But the motives of the Ghurid campaigns were not completely dissimilar to those of the Bhadresvar settlers. Although the Ghurid incursions were at times sudden and violent, they were directed toward a comparable end: the enduring and unhindered presence of a group in its adopted or annexed territories. Surely, the achievement of this long-term goal would have been thwarted by the repeated desecration of buildings housing social and religious institutions important to north Indian populaces.



Fig. 32. Ajmer Mosque. Interior of prayer area.

Bearing these observations in mind, Richard Eaton⁸¹ has proposed other explanations for the use of older materials in Ghurid buildings. After reconsidering the textual and archaeological evidence, Eaton suggested that Ghurid spoliation was in reality selective, that Ghurid forces might have desecrated only temples housing the dynastic deity (*rāshtra devatā*) of the previous dynasty. Thereby the past dynastic presence was eradicated from the area, leaving it open for Ghurid appropriation without mass destruction. This selective desecration was coupled with the patronage of prominent Sufi orders. As a whole, these tandem destructive and constructive practices constituted an encompassing policy of state building and consolidation.⁸² Although the implied uniformity of these methods does not accord with the centrifugal power structure underpinning the Ghurid state, the interpretation provides a welcome alternative to previous, oversimplified analyses of spoliation.

But the architectural remains themselves do not provide conclusive proof of a program of temple spoliation, whether undiscriminating or selective. Distinguishing religious and nonreligious iconography in northern Indian architecture is (as discussed above) a dubious and often unproductive endeavor. The fluidity of the spiritual and secular realms was evident in the architecture and its ornament. Builders drew from a pool of iconography, both iconic and aniconic, in order to complete their creations and render them auspicious. Iconic niches on exterior walls, columns with vase-and-foliage capitals, and decorative bands of lotus flowers and leaves—among the plethora of possible motifs—were all used on temple as well as on residential and civic architecture. Fragments with these motifs in the Ghurid buildings, then, did not necessarily come from “religious” buildings, in which case *spolia* did not exclusively evoke desecration of north Indian traditions. These fragments could have also been, quite practically, salvaged raw material that was useable in new construction.

The intent behind columns composed of stacked, spoliated segments in the interior of the Ajmer mosque, for example (Fig. 32), was not necessarily to emphasize the triumph of Islam.⁸³ If we examine other surviving north Indian architecture (Fig. 33), we see that segmented columns had long been an architectural expedient. Standing temples give evidence that column shafts were composed additively, in order to achieve the desired elevation while maintaining the canonically prescribed proportions of diameter to height within each section of the shaft.⁸⁴ Of course, in the Viṣṇu Temple at Kirādu, Rajasthan (Fig. 33), the segmented columns were newly carved. But a similar principle was also applied to reused elements: where tall shafts were not already available, and new ones not practical possibly for economic reasons, the stacking of already existing columns was the solution. Iconic imagery would be effaced (Fig. 6) in order to render the material suitable for use in a building of Islamic worship. With segmented columns in temple construction as the pre-existing model, the stacking of columns could have been adopted as a measure of expediency in mosques as well.

Stylistically and technically, it seems that the builders of these twelfth-century constructions were not too far removed from their forebears, who had produced the materials for construction of temples. In a historical irony, some of these very products eventually came to constitute the building material of mosques. The late twelfth-century craftsmen did not—as far as is discernible—imitate the older materials *verbatim*. Rather, we saw that proscriptions against figural imagery were incorporated, and that stylistic development did not seem to be forcibly curtailed to avoid consistency with older materials.⁸⁵

Fig. 33. Viṣṇu Temple, Kirādu, Rajasthan. *Rangabhūmikā*.



Modern scholars analyzing the architectural past possess a perspective unavailable to past viewers. Stylistic and iconographic alterations, so emphasized in scholarship, were likely not as apparent to late twelfth-century viewers as they are to those of the early twenty-first century. Modern scholars' distinction between new and reused materials, and their conclusion that *spolia* was a sign of desecration, necessarily separates the reused material from its newly carved counterparts, and from the integrated whole of the building.⁸⁶ This does not necessarily convey the intentions and agendas of medieval viewers. In fact, the secondary contexts of these fragments in the late twelfth-century mosques are valid in and of themselves, so that the spoliated materials merit treatment as integral parts of their new environments.

Recent years have seen noteworthy shifts in the analytical frameworks of various disciplines investigating pre-colonial Indian history. The methods underlying the examination of historical interactions between religious communities in the subcontinent, and the seminal definition of “religious belonging” itself, have been brought into question. Scholars have increasingly emphasized the differences between the non-modern gaze and its modern counterpart, amounting to a debate of methodologies. Some scholars have continued to hold that these modern methodologies have their beginnings in non-modern his-

torical patterns, and are therefore not going against the grain of the historical record. According to this point of view, the religious conflagrations of the colonial period—providing the bases for twentieth-century nationalistic movements—surely had their origins in Hindu-Muslim antagonisms of old.⁸⁷

Other scholars, however, have emphasized that the methodologies for investigating the non-modern past have been engendered by modern times and recent socio-political events. The classificatory epistemological frameworks of the Colonial program soon segregated the Hindu (i.e., Indic) and Islamic religions. Possibly, there were political motivations behind this division as well. Overall, religious distinctions were considered by the British administrators of India to be the most apparent characteristics of larger, fundamental differences between the broader communities. According to this body of scholarship, then, this divisive framework has been subsequently projected onto the past, so that Hindu-Muslim strife during the medieval period can be readily found in the historical record if one starts from the premise that it did indeed exist.⁸⁸

The period of Ghurid establishment in northern India falls squarely within the arena of debate between these scholarly frameworks. At the beginning of this article, the brief historiographical examination of studies on Ghurid architectural patronage east of the Indus revealed that several underlying concepts in the studies have undergone much-needed review in related disciplines. Thus, the Islamic convictions of the Ghurid forces themselves, as

well as the establishment of the social and political system of Islam as their primary agenda in northern India, were both questioned in light of more recent sociological and other historical analyses. Consequently, the prior interpretations of architectural activity, operating with these and other assumptions, also required re-examination. Most

importantly, however, the alternative understanding of Ghurid architectural patronage in northern India presented here means to engage with the current debates in related fields, so that the surviving evidence can continue to provide stimulation and additional information to future scholars.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>EI</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
<i>EIAPS</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indica, Arabic and Persian Supplement</i>
<i>Epi. Indo-Mos.</i>	<i>Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland</i>

Notes

Unless otherwise noted, all photographs are by the author.

† This article is based on parts of chaps. 2, 3, and 4 of my doctoral dissertation, titled *Islamic Architecture of Western India (mid-twelfth through 14th centuries): Continuities and Interpretations* (Harvard, 2000). Some of the conclusions have benefitted from reflection, and are different from those in the thesis. The groundwork for this publication was laid during fieldwork between 1997 and 2000, which was funded by the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University.

1. C. E. Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghūr," *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. 6, no. 2 (1961), pp. 116–33; and "Ghūr," *EP* (1965).

2. See Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1999), pp. 7–9, 10.

3. During the apogee of Ghaznavid dominion in the early to mid-eleventh century, and indeed continuing until the end of the twelfth century, northern India was under the rulership of local dynasts: The Caulukyās (c. 995–1304) of western India were based at Anahillavāda-pāṭṭana (modern Pāṭan); the Cāhamāṇas of modern Rajasthan (end tenth c.–1193), with feudatories in Delhi and its environs, were centered at Śākambhari (Rajasthan); the Gahāḍavālas (late eleventh–twelfth c.) were at Kanauj; and the Candelās (ca. 1000–1308) of Jejakabhukti were based at Kalinjār (central India). In addition to these major ruling houses, minor rulers and feudatories also held sway in various pockets of the northern plains. See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1973); also Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 9.

4. Among earlier Ghurid incursions was the campaign of 1178 in Caulukyā territory, in which the Ghurid forces suffered a defeat near Mount Abu (Gujarāt–Rajasthān border). Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 8, 10; André Wink, *The Slave Kings and the Islamic Conquest, Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries*, vol. II of *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 140–41.

5. Quṭb al-Dīn Āibek did not directly occupy Delhi after the victory at Tarain in 1192. Although Prithvirāja Cauhān had been captured, he was subsequently reinstated at Ajmer as a tributary prince to the Ghurid sultans. He was executed soon afterward for an allegedly treacherous act, and his son was granted tributary rulership at Ajmer. Prithvirāja's own subordinate, Govindarāja of Delhi, was killed in a second battle at Tarain. Nonetheless, Govindarāja's son was given Delhi, again as a tributary to the central Ghurid power. It was only in 1193 that Delhi came to be governed directly by Āibek, as a reprisal against Govindarāja's son, who supposedly planned to betray his Ghurid overlords. See Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 10, 12.

6. See esp. Wink, *Slave Kings*, p. 94 n. 68, pp. 102–10.

7. Although this mosque is referred to as the *masjid-i jāmī* in its foundation inscription (J. Horovitz, "The Inscriptions of Muhammad Ibn Sām, Qutbuddin Aibeg and Iltutmish," in *Epi.Indo-Mos.* [1911–12], pp. 12–34), it was superseded by another, larger congregation mosque begun by the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān (r. 1628–1658) in 1650 and finished in 1656. Currently it is this mosque which is known as the Jami Masjid of Delhi. To avoid confusion, the Ghurid-period building is referred to as the Quṭbī Mosque in the text. Complicating matters further is the popular appellation of the Ghurid building as the Quwwat al-Islām ('Might of Islam'). The Quṭbī Mosque was christened Quwwat al-Islām no earlier than the mid-nineteenth century, by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in his Urdu work *Āthār al-Ṣanādīd* ([1854, ed. Khaliq Anjum, 1990], vol. I, p. 79). He was an instigator of Muslim separatism during the incipient *Swarāj* movement, and apparently renamed this mosque "Might of Islam" for discernible political purposes. According to the recent editor of the *Āthār* (vol. I, p. 378 n. 3), "Some scholars [ba'azī hazrāt] believe that Quṭb al-Dīn named the city [of Delhi] 'Quwwat al-Islām', [and] afterward this became the mosque's name"

(my translation). Indeed, it appears that Sayyid Ahmad Khan was the first to suggest that the Quṭbī Mosque was originally called the Quwwat al-Islām, and despite the non-verifiability of this assertion, the name continues in use today. I am grateful to Dr. Richard Eaton for pointing out this reference.

8. An inscription in the village identifies a mosque in Khāṭū as having been built in 599/1203. But this inscription was not found *in situ*. The sole epigraph known to belong to the building is the Qur'ānic inscription around the *mīhrāb*. After a comparative analysis of this epigraphic program with that of the Ajmer mosque, it was concluded that the Shāhī mosque was indeed of the late twelfth–early thirteenth century. See Mehrdad Shokoohy, *Rajasthan I, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, vol. XLIX (London: Lund Humphries, 1986), pp. 55–56; and M. and N. Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, vol. XXVIII (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1993), pp. 107–10.

9. See Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, "The Architecture of Bahā' Al-Dīn Tughrul in the Region of Bayāna, Rajasthan," *Muqarnas*, vol. IV (1987), pp. 114–32. Apparently Bayāna was well managed and flourishing as the *iqta'* of Bahā' al-Dīn Tughrul (Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 98).

10. The analysis of mosques, tombs, and temples as part of the larger Indic architectural tradition—rather than a religious tradition—involves an important methodological shift in the study of Indic architectural history. Patel, *Islamic Architecture of Western India*, esp. pp. 9–15, 26–37, 115–59.

11. J.A. Page, *An Historical Memoir on the Qutb, Delhi*, vol. 22 of Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1926).

12. This lacuna will soon be remedied by Finbarr B. Flood, who treats the Ghurid architecture of northern India in a monograph to be published in the near future.

13. Robert Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmīr," *Iran*, vol. 26 (1988), p. 113. Studies of the sixth- through tenth-century Salt Range temples have subsequently made this association untenable, though this evidence is still to find its way into the scholarship on Islamic architecture in India. See Michael Meister, "Temples Along the Indus," *Expedition*, vol. 38, no. 3 (1996), pp. 41–54.

14. Anthony Welch, "Architectural Patronage and the Past: The Tughluq Sultans of Delhi," *Muqarnas*, vol. X (1993), p. 313.

15. Michael Meister, "The 'Two-and-a-Half-Day' Mosque," *Oriental Art*, vol. 18, no. 1 (1972), p. 57. Some scholars have attempted to incorporate the two interpretations, though ultimately Islam's supposed intolerance of the indigenous traditions has come to the fore. For example, see R. Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 105.

16. M. and N. Shokoohy, *Nagaur*, esp. p. 110.

17. Welch, "Architectural Patronage," p. 311. See also Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 109.

18. See esp. Welch, "Architectural Patronage," p. 312–13.

19. Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden. Mysticism, History, and Politics at a South Asian Sufi Center* (Albany: State Univ. of New York Pr., 1992), esp. pp. 18–22.

20. For example, the well-known inscription on the eastern gateway of the Quṭbī Mosque claims that materials from twenty-seven temples were used in the mosque's construction. This epigraph has usually been accepted as a statement that the temples were willfully destroyed by Āibek's forces so that the mosque could be built of *spolia* (Horovitz, "Inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sām," pp. 13–14; Page, *Historical Memoir on the Qutb*, p. 29; see also Anthony Welch, "Qur'ān and Tomb: The Religious Epigraphs of Two Early Sultanate Tombs in Delhi," in *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art*, ed. Frederick M. Asher and G. S. Gai (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1985), pp. 257–67. Cf. Patel, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 100–115, for another analysis of the inscription.

21. According to Marshall Hodgson, "The motive power of the later Ghaznavi state and of its heirs, the Ghuris, was of course the idea that

the continuing Indian wars of conquest, or even rule over Indian provinces, constituted a jihad, holy war against the Hindu infidels; and the Muslim soldiers were ghazis, religious heroes in such a war." See Marshall G.S. Hodgson, *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods*, vol. 2 of *The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Pr., 1961), p. 42.

22. Bosworth, "Early Islamic History of Ghūr," pp. 118–21, 127; and "Ghurids," EI².

23. Bosworth, "Early Islamic History of Ghūr," pp. 120–22.

24. Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 15.

25. See K. S. Lal, *Growth of the Muslim Population in Medieval India (A.D. 1000–1800)* (New Delhi: Research Publications, 1973).

26. Due to the strong commercial attractiveness of the Gujarat coast, Muslim communities had settled there since at least the early to mid-twelfth century. Mehrdad and Natalie Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar, the Oldest Islamic Monuments in India*, vol. 2 of *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988). Newcomers from the far reaches of the Indian Ocean trade network, including the Arabian peninsula and Egypt, continued to immigrate to Gujarati shores through at least the thirteenth century. For example, see S. D. Goitein, "From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Speculum*, vol. 29 (1954), pp. 181–97.

27. It seems that "the Ghurid Sultan's position was that of an overking presiding over a number of tributary princes, the *rais* and *rāqas*..." (Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 19).

28. Not all north Indian strongholds were taken by military action; some capitulated, or entered into a treaty with the Ghurid forces. They city of Gwalior, for example, was surrendered to Āibek in 1200 by its ruler. Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 20.

29. Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 27–28.

30. See Holly Edwards, "The Ribāt of 'Alī B. Kārmākh," *Iran*, vol. 29 (1991), pp. 85–94.

31. M. and N. Shokoohy, "Architecture of Bahā' Al-Dīn Tughrul," p. 114.

32. Peter Jackson, "The Mamluk Institution in Early Muslim India," *JRAS* (1990), pp. 340–58;

Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 28.

33. Michael D. Willis, "An Eighth Century Mihrab in Gwalior," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XLVI, no. 3 (1985), pp. 227–46.

34. See esp. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other? Sanskrit Sources and the Muslims* (New Delhi: Manohar, 1998).

35. S.C. Misra, "Indigenisation and Islamization in Muslim Society in India," in *India and Contemporary Islam*, ed. S.T. Lokhandwala (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1971), pp. 366–71.

36. See Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other?* pp. 48–59, for analyses of inscriptions integrating Muslim rulers into Indic cosmic genealogies.

37. Peter Hardy, "The Growth of Authority over a Conquered Political Elite: The Early Delhi Sultanate as a Possible Case Study," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J. F. Richards (Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978), pp. 192–214; Wink, *Slave Dynasties*, pp. 104–5.

38. For salutary caution against integrating "'irreconcilable' religions" and their community practices into a new "syncretic culture," see David Gilmartin and Bruce B. Lawrence, "Introduction," *Beyond Turk and Hindu* (Gainesville: Univ. Pr. of Florida, 2000), esp. p. 3.

39. The recent work by Chattopadhyaya, *Representing the Other?*, is an admirable beginning in that direction.

40. See Willis, "Eighth Century Mihrab" for Muslim communities in the region of Gwalior; and M. and N. Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar* for mid-twelfth century Islamic foundations in Gujarat.

41. As mentioned above, Meister ("Two-and-a-Half-Day Mosque") analyzed the newly carved components in the Ajmer mosque. His conclusion, however, that there was a temporary syncretism has been criti-

icized not only here but in other studies as well (cf. Gilmartin and Lawrence, *Beyond Turk and Hindu*). Also, this analysis was not extended to other Ghurid buildings.

42. For example, see Meister, "Two-and-a-Half-Day Mosque," p. 57; Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 108; Welch, "Architectural Patronage" (1993), pp. 313–14.

43. The scholarly literature on the contextualization and analysis of medieval texts is abundant. E.g., see Peter Hardy, "The *Oratio Recta* of Barani's *Tārikh-i Firuz Shahī* — Fact or Fiction?" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. 20 (1957), pp. 315–21; Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India: Studies in Indo-Muslim Historical Writing* (London: Luzac, 1960); Aziz Ahmad, "Epic and Counter-Epic in Medieval India," *JAOS*, vol. 83, no. 4 (1963), pp. 470–76; Jackson, *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 286–89, 291–95.

44. For exploration of the agency of craftspeople in effecting architectural change, I am indebted to a recent monograph by Ajay Sinha, *Imagining Architects: Creativity in the Religious Monuments of India* (Newark, Del.: Univ. of Delaware Press, 2000), esp. pp. 21–22, 25–28.

45. See Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion* (Delhi: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1999).

46. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Indian Architectural Terms," *JAOS*, vol. 48, no. 3 (1928), pp. 250–75; Coomaraswamy, *Essays in Early Indian Architecture*, ed. Michael W. Meister (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1992).

47. Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 112; also Welch, "Architectural Patronage," p. 312. The covered prayer area (*līwān*), however, is also constructed of reused materials.

48. Among several publications, see esp. Tsukinowa Tokifusa, "The Influence of Seljuq Architecture on the Earliest Mosques of the Delhi Sultanate," *Acta Asiatica*, vol. 43 (1982), pp. 37–60.

49. ...fi taūlīyya Abū [sic] Bakr Khālū/Jālū al-Harawī...See Horovitz, "Inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sām," pp. 15–16.

50. On the left pillar of the western arch of the Quṭbī façade is an inscription bearing the date 594AH (1199 CE), which is thought to be the date of the façade itself. It is noteworthy that Qur'ānic inscriptions are not to be found on these arched façades, but seemingly only over the outer entrances to the precinct as a whole. See Horovitz, "Inscriptions of Muhammad ibn Sām," nos. I, III, V (pp. 13, 14, 15); Page, *Historical Memoir on the Qutb*, pp. 29–30.

51. The Water Cosmology was fundamental to virtually all of the ancient creation myths of prehistoric cultures. As explained by A. Coomaraswamy (*Yakṣas*, Part II [Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Publication No. 3059, 1931], pp. 15, 16). Indeed, the bloom-laden meandering vine is a prominent motif in the surviving evidence at least from the mid-first century BCE, if not earlier, as seen upon one of the railing uprights at Sanchi Stupa I.

52. For the Maru-Gurjara style, see M. A. Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Maru-Gurjara Temple Architecture," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra (Varanasi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), pp. 114–65.

53. Dhaky, "Genesis and Development."

54. See Patel, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 115–59 for a discussion of this architectural strain as a source for surviving mid-twelfth-century Islamic buildings, particularly in western India.

55. Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 112.

56. See Richard Ettinghausen, "Arabic Epigraphy: Communication or Symbolic Affirmation," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History, Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, ed. D. Koumjian (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1974), esp. p. 307. After marshalling extensive evidence, this author first suggested that "[w]hether or not [the inscription] is readable by the general public is of little significance...Such inscriptions were to be seen, but rarely, if ever, to be read. The lettering is the message, rather than its content."

57. See Irene A. Bierman, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley-Los Angeles: Univ. of California Pr., 1998), esp. pp. 26–27.

58. See A. Patel, "Communities in Collaboration: Interpreting the Somanātha-Verāval Inscription of 1264 CE," in *Ancient India and Its Wider World*, ed. Carla Sinopoli and Grant Parker (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Pr., forthcoming).
59. M. A. Dhaky, "The Chronology of the Solaṇki Temples of Gujarat," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, vol. 3 (1961), esp. pp. 45–62.
60. The virtually definitive work on minarets is Jonathan M. Bloom's *Minaret: Symbol of Islam*, vol. VII of Oxford Studies in Islamic Art (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr. for the Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, 1989), esp. pp. 172–74. See also Ebba Koch, "The Copies of the Quṭb Minār," *Iran*, vol. 29 (1991), esp. p. 95.
61. See André Maricq and Gaston Wiet, *Le Minaret de Djam*, vol. XVI of *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1959), p. 65; and Ralph Pinder-Wilson, "The Minaret of Mas'ūd III at Ghazni," in *Studies in Islamic Art*, ed. R. Pinder-Wilson (London: The Pindar Press, 1985), pp. 91–92.
62. Bloom, *Minaret*, pp. 170–72.
63. Bloom, *Minaret*, pp. 170–72; Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," esp. p. 114.
64. See Page, *Historical Memoir on the Quṭb*, nos. 2, 3; and M. C. Joshi, "Some Nāgari Inscriptions on the Quṭb Minār," in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Medieval Inscriptions*, ed. K. A. Nizami (Aligarh: Centre of Advanced Study, Aligarh Muslim University, 1970), pp. 24–26.
65. Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 114.
66. Maricq and Wiet, *Minaret de Djam*, p. 66.
67. See Krishna Deva, "Bhumijā Temples," in *Studies in Indian Temple Architecture*, ed. Pramod Chandra (Varanasi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975), pp. 90–113. This mode of temple building was concentrated in southern Rajasthan, Malwa, and Maharashtra.
68. Page, *Historical Memoir on the Quṭb*, nos. 7, 20. The statement that "[i]nscriptions in Arabic, Nāgari, and Persian complete the *decoration*" (Bloom, *Minaret*, p. 172; my emphasis) must be clarified here. The Nāgari inscriptions of the Quṭb Minār were not part of the architectural program of the minaret; they were probably records of repairs.
69. See esp. Pinder-Wilson, "The Minaret of Mas'ūd III," p. 100; Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 109.
70. See R. Nath, *Jaina Kirttisambha of Chittorgarh* (Jaipur: Historical Research Documentation Programme, 1994), pp. 18–20.
71. Pinder-Wilson, "Minaret of Mas'ud III," p. 100.
72. Nath, *Jaina Kirttisambha*, pp. 9–13.
73. See Sonya Rhie Quintanilla, "Āyāgapatīas: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 60, no. 1 (2000), pp. 79–137. For clear examples of reuse, see Figs. 25, 37 (cf. p. 83 n. 15, p. 122).
74. Quintanilla, "Āyāgapatīas," fig. 20, for the ambiguity of iconography which would allow for this cross-sectarian reuse.
75. Discussed by Willis, "Eighth Century Mihrab," p. 228.
76. Ahmad Nabi Khan, "Two Musallah-Mehrabs of Thirteenth-Fourteenth Centuries at Kabirwala and Pakpatan," *Pakistan Archaeology*, vol. 24 (1984), pp. 239–45; Holly Edwards, "Ribāṭ of 'Alī b. Kārmākh"; Taj Ali, "Tomb of Shaikh Sadan Shahid, Its Decoration," *Ancient Pakistan*, vol. 8 (1993), pp. 133–38.
77. An inscription referring to the construction of the congregational mosque of Chittor, Rajasthan, states, "He constructed a Friday mosque. There was a temple lying in ruins." Although no date is mentioned, paleographical analysis of the inscription suggests that it belongs to the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī (r. 1296–1316). See Z. A. Desai, "Inscriptions of 'Alā al-Din Khaljī from Chitoragadh," *EI* 1959–1960, pp. 72–73.
78. Z. A. Desai, "Kufi Epitaphs from Bhadreśwar," *EIAPS* (1965), pp. 1–2; and Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*.
79. Shokoohy, *Bhadreśvar*.
80. Desai, "Kufi Epitaphs from Bhadreśwar," p. 2.
81. Richard M. Eaton, "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," in *Beyond Turk and Hindu: Shaping Indo-Muslim Identity in Pre-Modern India*, ed. David Gilmartin and Bruce Lawrence (Gainesville, Fla.: Univ. of Florida Pr., 2000), pp. 246–81.
82. Eaton, "Temple Desecration."
83. Hillenbrand, "Political Symbolism," p. 109.
84. Patel, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 136–37.
85. See Patel, *Islamic Architecture*, esp. pp. 233–36.
86. See Dale Kinney, "Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting Spolia," in *The Art of Interpreting*, ed. Susan C. Scott (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1995), p. 56. This interpretive method, originally devised for the analysis of *spolia* in Roman and medieval European buildings, is here applied to Islamic buildings in northern India.
87. See for example, C. A. Bayly, "The Pre-History of Communalism? Religious Conflict in India, 1700–1860," in *The Origins of Nationality in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1998), pp. 210–37.
88. See esp. Ashis Nandy, "An Anti-Secularist Manifesto," *Seminar*, vol. 314 (1985), pp. 14–24; Gyanendra Pandey, "Encounters and Calamities": The History of a North Indian *Qasba* in the Nineteenth Century," in *Selected Subaltern Studies*, ed. Ranajit Guha and Gyatri Chakravarty Spivak (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1988), pp. 89–128; Pandey, "The Colonial Construction of 'Communalism': British Writings on Banaras in the Nineteenth Century," in *Subaltern Studies VI*, ed. Ranajit Guha (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1989), pp. 132–68; and Pandey, *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1990).