Ebba Koch · Mughal Architecture
To my son Sebastian
La derniere fois que je la vis [the Taj Mahall] fut avec un de nos Marchands François qui ne pouvoit aussi bien que moy se lasser de le regarder; je n'osois luy en dire mon sentiment apprehendant de m’être corrompu le goust &c, me l’être fait à l’Indienne; mais comme il revenoit fraichement de France, je fus bien aise de luy entendre dire qu’il n’avoit jamais rien veu de si auguste ny de si hardy dans l’Europe.

The last time I saw it [the Taj Mahall] was in the company of one of our French merchants, who, like myself, did not tire of looking at it. I did not dare to express my opinion, fearing that my taste might have become corrupted and Indianized; but since he had recently come from France, it was quite a relief for me to hear him say that he had seen nothing in Europe so grandiose and daring.

François Bernier
Voyages (1699)

The volume here submitted to the public requires more than the usual measure of explanation and apology, in particular for treating such a vast subject in so brief a way. But, like my earlier book Shah Jahan and Orpheus, it was an entirely unplanned child.

In spring 1988 I was asked by Professor C. E. Bosworth, one of the editors of the second edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, to do the article on Mughal architecture. When I set to work I realized that what I had to do was practically to write a new outline of Mughal architecture. Recent research in the field, our better knowledge of Timurid architecture (which has now become more accessible through the publications of Golombek and Wilber and O’Kane), and not least my own ten years of fieldwork in India, Iran and central Asia made me feel that I would not do justice to the subject by repeating once more the conventional opinions. In order to explain just the general trends, many gaps had to be closed at least superficially. That meant that the existing knowledge from the published sources had to be combined with new, unpublished material. This was particularly necessary as regards the “Timurid connection” of Mughal architecture and the main trends in the funerary architecture of Jahangir’s reign and in the mosques of Shah Jahan. When I had finished writing it the text had become much longer than originally planned, and only a brief abstract of it was used for the encyclopaedia. After I had tried out the material in a lecture at New Delhi in autumn 1989, friends and colleagues persuaded me to publish it in the form of a book. Their argument was that a ready reference on Mughal architecture was greatly needed, the more so since there has not been any monograph devoted to this subject so far.

The text has been conceived to provide the reader interested in Mughal architecture with concise, up-to-date information about its stylistic develop-
ment and types of building. I also hope that by the presentation of new material the book will broaden our picture of Mughal architecture, and that by fresh analysis it will stimulate further research and discussion. However, I would not claim that the work lives up to the classical standard of constituting "one harmonious whole". The formative phases of Mughal architecture are treated more fully than the later periods, where even the most basic research is still wanting. Often, preference is given to the tracing of stylistic developments over a rigid classification of building types; the index will compensate for that. Notes are kept to a minimum; they usually refer either to contemporary sources or to the most recent secondary literature. A bibliography for further reading is provided at the end of the book.

The transliteration of Persian and Arabic words follows the system of the *Cambridge History of Islam*, with a few exceptions. Thus, I have employed "ay" for the diphthong "ai" and the Arabic forms "th" and "w" for the Persian "ṣ" and "v". Diacritical marks have been confined to the transliteration of technical terms in the glossary and to the citation of contemporary sources in the bibliography. Place-names are rendered in their current form. Names of monuments between quotation marks are those of local tradition not supported by historical evidence. The use of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit-derived architectural terms follows the practice of the Mughal sources; these terms are explained in the glossary. Every Muslim date of the Hijra era is followed by an oblique and the corresponding Christian date converted according to Freeman-Grenville.

My thanks go to Professor C. E. Bosworth for providing the impulse for me to draw together my ideas on Mughal architecture and for his encouraging first reaction to the result. I am particularly indebted to the Archaeological Survey of India for repeated permission granted over the years to survey the Muslim monuments of India. I profited greatly from stimulating discussions with Dr. W. H. Siddiqi and Dr. Z. A. Desai. With gratitude I also acknowledge the assistance I have had from the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, in particular from Dr. Ahmad Nabi Khan, Dr. M. Rafique Mughal and Masood ul-Hasan Khokhar. I also thank Dr. Saiful Rahman Dar, director of the Lahore Museum. My scale drawings of the forts of Agra, Allahabad and Delhi could not have been made without the generous permission of the Indian Army; my special thanks go to General O. P. Malhotra, General Gauri Shankar and General P. N. Kathpalia. All photography not specifically credited to others were taken by myself; all drawings, unless otherwise indicated, were prepared by the architect Richard A. Barraud from measurements taken by him and myself. I am glad to have the occasion to acknowledge here for the first but certainly not for the last time the professional interest, the great care and the good will he has devoted throughout the years to this aspect of my work. I also thank Glen Scaife for his help with the drawings. My findings are based in many instances on Mughal texts and still unpublished manuscripts, the translation of which I could not have carried out without the assistance of Dr. S. M. Yunus Jaffery from Zakir Husain College (formerly Delhi College). I hope that he will be pleased to find in this book a photograph of the historic building in which he works and lives, and where he initiated me into
the Persian language. I am indebted to three colleagues for kindly putting unpublished manuscripts at my disposal: Professor Iqtidar Alam Khan from Aligarh Muslim University (Mughal caravanserais and Mughal buildings of Bayana including a plan of Maryam al-Zamani's ba'oli), Professor Annemarie Schimmel (patronage of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Kahan) and Dr Catherine B. Asher (patronage of Raja Man Singh). Dr Ašok Kumar Das, Yaduendra Sahai and Dr B. M. Jawalia were most helpful during my research in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum in the City Palace of Jaipur. I am further indebted for encouragement, information, stimulating suggestions and help in more practical matters to many friends and colleagues, especially Jürgen Borchhardt, Ikram Chaghtai, Andrew Cooks, Simon Digby, Albertine Gaur, Susan Gole, Narayani Gupta, Jery Losty, George Michell (in particular for his advice in matters of fieldwork), Attilio Petruccioli (for giving me permission to publish one of his plans of Fatehpur Sikri), Brijender, Shashi and Pincha Singh (for hospitality and help in Delhi), Robert Skelton (for hospitality in London), Angela Völker and last but not least Mark Zembowski for his initial encouragement in 1976 to take up the study of Mughal architecture. During a visit to Vienna in December 1988, Partha and Swasti Mitter read an early draft of the manuscript and made very helpful suggestions to improve its linguistic form.

In Austria I am indebted to the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, in particular to Dr Raoul F. Kneucker, for a grant which enabled me to carry out the present work. I also thank Dr Erhard Busek, Minister for Science and Research, for his kind interest and support.

And I am forever beholden to my husband Benno for his willingness at all times to share me with the Mughals.

Vienna, October 1990

E. K.
The architecture of southern Asia owes to the patronage of the Mughals one of its most creative and richest periods. Each of the Muslim dynasties that established themselves in the Indian subcontinent from the end of the twelfth century onwards created its own architectural style, but no other period of Indo-Islamic architecture before the Mughals has bequeathed to us such a wealth of outstanding secular and religious buildings.

But before we concentrate on purely architectural issues it will be helpful to provide the reader new to the subject with a little general information on the Mughals.¹ Those already familiar with the Mughals will perhaps prefer to proceed to the second part of the introduction.

In Arabic and Persian, mughal means “the Mongol” or “Mongolian”, because Babur, the founder of the Indian Mughal dynasty, was descended on his mother’s side from Chingiz Khan. More important for the self-understanding of the Mughals, however, was Babur’s paternal descent from Timur, the great Asian conqueror of the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century. With this Timurid-Mongolian heritage, the Mughals withstood Indianization, at least with regard to physiognomy and language, until about 1600. Up to this time family portraits still show Tartarian features, and Chaghatay Turki was spoken in the family. By and by, through dynastic marriages with Rajput princesses, the Mughals became more Indianized. Also, the family Turki gave way to Persian, which was already the official language of the court, of the administration and, of course, of poetry.

Babur’s impressive progress through life as general and emperor (padshah) was still marked by the Mongolian drive to conquer, in his case however softened by a truly humanistic approach towards life. He began his career as ruler of a small Timurid principality in the central Asian region of Fergana. After his attempt to establish himself as ruler of Samarqand failed, Babur took another cue from his great ancestor Timur — who had invaded Delhi in 801/1398 — and turned his attention southwards to India. He occupied Kabul and from there, in the famous battle of Panipat (932/1526), defeated the Lodi sultan of Delhi, who then ruled over northern India. Initially, Babur was all but pleased with his new conquest: in his rightly famous memoirs, the Babur nama, he criticizes the heat, the dust, the mentality, the art, the architecture and the fruits of Hindustan. He died after only four years of rule in India, and was buried in Kabul.

Babur left to his son and successor Humayun (“the August”) a territory still to be consolidated. The second Mughal almost lost again what had been conquered of Hindustan to his local rival, the Afghan chief of Bihar, Shir Shah Suri. After several devastating defeats, Humayun had to take refuge at the court of Shah Tahmisp I of Persia (r. 1524–76). With his help he reconquered northern India in 1535 but died soon after, in 1556, from a fall on the stairs of his library at Delhi. During Humayun’s absence the highly capable

¹ The introductory remarks on the Mughal dynasty are based on the project-study for an exhibition on “The Mughals and Europe”, planned by Joachim Deppert and myself. A good overview on the Mughals is given by M. G. S. Hodgson; easier reading illustrated with photographs is provided by Gascoigne — the work has also been translated into German.
Shir Shah had laid the basis for the administration and organization of an imperial state, spadework from which the Mughals were to profit. Akbar, the son of Humayun, was enthroned at the age of fourteen and ruled until 1605 (pl. 1). Called rightly “the Great” (akbar), he became the most important ruler of the Mughal dynasty. With the support of highly capable nobles, in particular his friend the liberal thinker and author Abu’l Fazl ‘Allami, Akbar expanded the empire over the greater part of India. He brought Malwa, the Rajput states, Gujarat, Bengal, Kashmir and Khandesh under Mughal rule and secured the northwest frontier by recapturing Kabul and Qandahar. The latter was however to remain a bone of contention between the Mughals and the Safavid rulers of Persia. Akbar provided India with a modernized military, fiscal and commercial system and a well-functioning administration based on officials of a military aristocracy comprising Turks, Afghans, Persians and Hindus. Nobility was not inherited but acquired through military rank (mansab); even the succession to the throne was not regulated by primogeniture. All the land in the hands of the nobility belonged to the crown, and reverted to it after the transfer or the death of the temporary landholders (jagirdars). This regulation had a certain dampening effect on non-imperial architectural patronage. Akbar strove for a reconciliation of his Muslim and Hindu subjects, in particular in the intellectual and religious spheres. He had outstanding works of Sanskrit literature translated into Persian and propagated an enlightened religiosity based on reason. His deep intellectual curiosity about religions in general also led him to invite Jesuit missionaries to the Mughal court. On the diplomatic level Akbar had contacts with the Safawids, Özbekhs (Uzbekhs) and Ottomans, and even planned to send an envoy to the pope and to King Philip II of Spain.

The consolidation under Akbar provided the basis for the flourishing of the Mughal empire during the rule of Akbar’s son Jahangir and his grandson Shah Jahan (pl. 1). Jahangir (“the World-Seizer”, r. 1605–27) continued more or less on the lines of Akbar. In the last phase of his reign the real power was in the hands of his Persian wife Nur Jahan (“Light of the World”) and her family — her father, Ghiyath Beg Tehrani (entitled Ftimad al-Daula), who held as wazir and wakil the highest charges of the empire, and her brother Abu’l Hasan Asaf Khan. Asaf Khan’s daughter, Arjumand Banu Begam, was married to Jahangir’s son Prince Khurram, the later Shah Jahan, and, as Mumtaz Mahall (“the Chosen One of the Palace”), became famous for the mausoleum he built for her.

Shah Jahan (“the World Ruler”, r. 1628–58) was only able to succeed to the throne through the ruthless machinations of Asaf Khan. For the first time other pretenders to the throne were eliminated through murder — the Mughals had lost the moral standards of their first hour. The most prominent victim of Shah Jahan’s ambition was his elder brother Khusrau. The deed was excused by Shah Jahan’s historian Kanbo as a rightful means to secure the succession and to save the country from turmoil. The Mughal empire did indeed experience its phase of greatest prosperity and stability under the rule of Shah Jahan. His ambition to extend Mughal power further north to Balkh and Badakhshan, however, ended in failure. Shah Jahan’s later
reign was already overshadowed by the first signs of decline. After an illness of the emperor, his son Aurangzib usurped power in 1658 and waged a savage war for the succession. The struggle culminated in the public execution under the pretext of heresy of his brother Dara Shukoh ("the Glory of Darius"), the favourite son and designated successor of Shah Jahan. Shah Jahan was imprisoned for the rest of his life in the fort of Agra, his daughter Jahanara ("World-Adornment") keeping him company. Entitled Shah Begam, she had enjoyed the status of the first lady of the realm after the death of her mother, Mumtaz Mahall.

Aurangzib ("Throne-Ornament", r. 1658–1707) was, on the one hand, a capable general: he subjugated the Deccani sultanates in the south and thus brought about the greatest expansion of the Mughal empire. On the other hand, he was a strictly orthodox Muslim and broke with the liberal traditions of his predecessors. This stance, together with a loosening grip on the administration, was not conducive to reconciling the heterogeneous tendencies in the empire.

Under Aurangzib’s weak successors the Mughal empire soon became debilitated. During the whole of the eighteenth century northern India was at the mercy of indigenous and foreign powers. The English extended their sway from Bengal westwards until they occupied Delhi in 1803. The last two Mughal rulers, Shah Akbar II and Bahadur Shah II, were allowed to rule at least nominally until 1858, when the English took the Great Indian Mutiny as a pretext to depose and exile the last Mughal.

From Babur to Aurangzib the Mughal dynasty produced, in uninterrupted succession, six generations of world-ranking rulers. They combine political and military genius with scientific, artistic, even mystical qualifications of the highest order. The Mughals are not only founders of cities (Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan), architects (Shah Jahan), recognized naturalists and horticulturists (Jahangir), polo-players (Akbar, Jahangir) and excellent shots (including Jahangir’s wife Nur Jahan), but also authors of highly readable autobiographies (Babur, Jahangir), letters (Aurangzib) and poems (Babur); they are calligraphers, collectors of art, sponsors of painting and literature, astronomers (Humayun), religious innovators (Akbar) and authors of philosophical treatises and of mystic works (Dara Shukoh, Jahanara). Their objective and broad-minded disposition — at least up to Shah Jahan, who became more orthodox — also marks their attitude towards religion within the framework of Sunni Islam.

Their brilliant abilities qualified the Mughals particularly well to stand as absolute sovereigns at the head of a centralized state and to give some credence to their propagated ideal of kingship, which was shaped on Muslim caliphal, Qur’anic prophetic, ancient Iranian, Hindu, Sufi and even biblical eschatological models. The descendants of Timur — at least Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan — saw themselves as representatives of God on earth who united both spiritual and political authority. They also prided themselves on being second Solomons or perfect replicas of the prophet-king of Qur’anic sanction. From Humayun to Shah Jahan, the Mughals surrounded themselves with the aura of the mythical and ancient historical kings of Iran and India, and claimed that their wise and just rule would bring to the world
of humans and animals a golden age of peace. The Mughals tried earnestly to live up to this image, and architecture, art, poetry, historiography and court life all served to manifest the imperial ideal.

The dominant focus of culture was the court, whose activities were regulated by an etiquette which under Shah Jahan became increasingly more rigid. The court alternated between the metropolises of the empire, Agra, Lahore and Delhi. Delhi eventually became the permanent seat, after Shah Jahan had built a new capital there in 1639–48. The favourite summer residence of the Mughals was at all times the valley of Kashmir.

All in all, the Mughals represent the Indian variant of absolutism, a concept of rulership that determined their patronage of architecture.

II Mughal
Architecture

As a new dynasty which felt a strong need to assert its status and as an elitarian minority ruling over a vast territory of peoples of a different creed and culture, the Mughals were highly aware of the potential of architecture as a means of self-representation. A ruler, according to Mughal political thinking, was best represented by his buildings, and kings should therefore erect great buildings as memorials to their fame. Akbar’s historian Qandahari writes: "A good name for kings is [achieved by means] of lofty buildings . . . that is to say, the standard of the measure of men is assessed by the worth of [their] building and from their high-mindedness is estimated the state of their house."1

And Shah Jahan’s (self-appointed) historian Kanbo legitimates his emperor’s passion for building as a necessity of good rule: "It is evident that an increase in such things [i.e. buildings and external show] creates esteem for the rulers in the eyes [of the people] and augments respect [for the rulers] and [their own] dignity in the [people’s] hearts. In this way the execution of divine injunctions and prohibitions and the enforcement of divine decrees and laws which are the ultimate aim of rulership and kingship are carried out more effectively."2

The logical corollary was to represent the emperor also as the cause of stylistic changes in Mughal architecture. At least up to Aurangzib’s reign, the official Mughal histories take care to convey the impression that the formative phases of Mughal architecture were determined not by individual architects but by the committed patronage and informed judgment of each emperor. In particular, the court historians of Jahangir and Shah Jahan represent the emperor’s taste as the main criterion by which the value of architecture was measured. Unlike Mughal painters, who often signed their works, architects (mimar) are only rarely mentioned. The men who supervised the actual construction are named more often, but the exact nature of their role in the building process is not defined and remains to be established. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, the building is in the first instance associated with its patron. The fact that architectural innovations usually appear first in buildings sponsored by the emperor (or his closest entourage) testifies to the crucial role the imperial patrons played in the evolution of this art. Since the architecture of each reign possesses such a distinct “physiognomy”, it is

2 Kanbo, iii, p. 18; Eng. trans. after Koch 1982b, p. 259.
legitimate to designate it by the name of the ruling emperor. However, this periodization has no sharp dividing lines, and transition from one period to the next is smooth.

From the very beginning the emperor's patronship was echoed by nobles of the court and by Mughal officials in the expanding empire; these had a definite share in shaping the image of Mughal architecture, which thus had an ever broadening base in terms of buildings and patrons.

Mughal architecture created a supremely confident style by synthesizing the most heterogeneous elements: Transoxanian, Timurid, Indian, Persian and European. The supraregional character of Mughal architecture sets it apart from the earlier Islamic architecture of the Indian subcontinent and gives it a universal appeal. At the same time, Mughal architecture was not strictly dogmatic, and remained flexible towards regional conditions and building traditions.

Since the Mughals were direct heirs to the Timurids, the sustaining element of their architecture, especially during the initial phase, was Timurid (in the older literature often considered to be "Persian"). A fact that is not generally recognized is that essential ideas of Timurid architecture, such as the perfect symmetry of plan reflected consistently in the elevations, as well as complex vault patterns, came to fruition much more in Mughal architecture than in Safavid Iran, which was also heir to the same tradition.⁴

⁴ I have used Transoxania for those parts of central Asia described by the Mughals as Ma'warra' al-nahr, "the land which lies beyond the river", roughly the area between Oxus (Amu Darya) and Jaxartes (Syr Darya).
⁵ Pougatchenková, p. 62.
1. Bichitr, dynastic group portrait: Akbar seated between his son Jahangir and his grandson Shah Jahan transfers the Timurid crown to the latter. Before each ruler stands his wazir: from left to right, Itimad al-Daula, Khan-i A'zam, Asaf Khan. From the Minto album, Mughal, 1630–31. Gouache, 29.7 x 20.5 cm. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, MS 7, no. 19. (Photo: R. Skelton)
II Delhi, Qawwat al-Islam Masjid, Ala'i Darwaza, 710/1311. At left part of the Qutb Minar, end of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries.

(Photo 1979)
III Delhi, tomb of Humayun, 1562–71. (Photo 1989)

IV Agra fort, Jahangiri Mahall, later 1560s–1570s, west (landward) facade. (Photo 1986)
V Fatehpur Sikri, Jamī Masjid, c. 1568–78, Buland Darwaza, outer facade. (Photo 1978)

VI Vrindavan, temple of Madan Mohan, built in the style of Fatehpur Sikri. (Photo 1978)
IX  Agra, Sikandra, tomb of Akbar, 1022/1613, seen from one of the minarets of the southern gate. (Photo 1978)

VII  Agra, Sikandra, tomb of Akbar, 1022/1613, vestibule of corridor leading to tomb-chamber. (Photo 1977)

VIII  Lahore fort, Kala Burj, early 17th century, vault painted with angels and birds. (Photo 1980)
X  Ajmer, Chashma-i Nur, completed 1024/1615.
(Photograph 1982)
XI  Shaikhpura near Lahore, hunting-palace,
1607–20, restored 1634–35. (Photo 1979)
XIV  Agra, Taj Mahall complex, tomb attributed to Fatehpuri Begam, 1648–1650. At right, the enclosure wall of the tomb garden, the domes of the mosque, of a pavilion, and of the mausoleum. (Photo 1978)

XII  Delhi, Shahjahanabad, Jamī' Masjid, 1060–66/1650–56. (Photo 1978)

XIII  Agra fort, eastern front. From left to right, the Jahangiri Mahall, the Bangla-i Jahanara, the Aramgah, the Bangla-i Darshan, and the Shah Burj. (Photo 1979)
XV Shalimar gardens of Lahore, 1641–42.
Painting, 12 x 46 cm. Sikh period (1767–1846).
Lahore Museum. (Photo 1982)

XVI Delhi, Red Fort, Diwan-i ‘Amm, Florentine pietre dure panels showing Orpheus playing to the beasts, birds and flowers, with interspersed Mughal work depicting Indian birds (kingfishers and parakeets) on the wall behind the throne-jharoka. (Photo 1981)
XVII  Agra, view of the Taj Mahal seen from the Red Fort across the Jamna, 1641–52/1632–43. (Photo 1980)
XVIII  Aurangabad, tomb of Rabia Daurani, 1071/1660–61. (Photo 1982)

XIX  Aurangabad, tomb of Rabia Daurani, detail of ornamented door. (Photo 1982)

XX  Lahore, Badshahi Masjid, 1084/1673–74. (Photo 1985)

XXI  Delhi, tomb of Safdar Jang, 1167/1753–54. (Photo 1986)
The initial phase of Mughal architecture under Babur is difficult to evaluate because of the discrepancy between his own writing about architecture, which sets high Timurid standards, and the few buildings that have survived. Although he is celebrated as a founder of gardens, it is his mosques in Sambhal (933/1526), Ayodhya and Panipat (both 935/1528–29) that remain as chief monuments from his brief reign. They attempt to do justice to a large scale by borrowing inadequate forms of the decaying Sultanate architecture. The Panipat mosque, however, shows an important innovative feature in the form of Timurid arch-netted transition zones in pseudostructural plaster relief-work applied to the pendentives of the small domes of the lateral bays. This system of intersecting arched ribs weaving the pendentives (or in larger domes the apexes of the squinches and blind wall-arches) of the transition zone into a continous zigzag baseline for the dome (or vault) was to become Mughal standard (figs. 21, 85) (the actual brick or stone construction behind this plaster or sandstone shell was usually corbelled). It was a suppler and more elegant solution than that of north Indian Sultanate architecture, where the transition to the baseline of the dome was effected by corbelled registers of blind arcades and multi-sided bands. This system was still employed for the main dome over the mihrab chamber of the Panipat mosque. For the construction of large domes the Sultanate scheme persisted — alongside the new arch-netting — well into Akbar’s reign (fig. 58); and in non-imperial buildings even into later periods.

Of Babur’s gardens in India, the rock-cut Bagh-i Nilufar (“Lotus-Garden”) at Dholpur (933–35/1527–29) south of Agra is preserved to some extent. Its modest structures are however in somewhat disappointing contrast to what

1 Panipat, Kabuli Bagh Masjid, south wing of the prayer-hall, ruined bay with arch-netted pendentives in pseudostructural plaster relief-work. (Photo 1982)

1 For a recent survey of Babur’s buildings see Crane.

2 For this specific form of Timurid vaulting see most recently O’Kane, pp. 31 ff. et passim; Golombek and Wilber, pp. 107 ff. et passim, with further literature.


one would have expected from Babur’s description in his memoirs, the Babur nama. Only fragments remain of his famous Chahar (Char) Bagh (“Fourfold Garden”) or Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht (“Garden of the Eight Paradises”) at Agra. According to a recently discovered eighteenth-century plan of Agra in the Jaipur Palace Museum, on which it features – inscribed in devanagari script – as “chahar bag patisahi” [chahar bagh padshahi] next to a “chahar bag dusara patisahi” (“second imperial fourfold garden”), the garden was situated on the other side of the river Jamna (Yamuna) adjoining the Mahtab Bagh and almost opposite the later Taj Mahall. It introduced into India the
Timurid-Persian scheme of a walled-in garden subdivided (ideally, but not necessarily, into four quarters) by raised walkways (*khiyaban*) and canals (*nahr*), and became the “foundation-stone” for the development of Mughal Agra as a “riverbank” city with a bandlike succession of walled gardens on both sides of the Jamna. According to Babur’s companion Zayn Khan,6 Babur’s nobles followed his example by building gardens “on the models of Khurasani edifices”.7 Other indispensable amenities of Timurid lifestyle, such as “four royal hot-baths”, were constructed “in the cities of Hindustan” to please the “Khurasanis and Samarqandis” who had come with Babur to India.8

When Babur died in 1530 he was not entombed in India, which shows that the Mughals did not yet feel quite at home in their new territories. Babur’s body was brought to Kabul and buried under a simple marble tombstone in one of the gardens of that city.9

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7 At the time of the Mughals the term Khurasan had a much wider connotation than today, also covering parts of what are now Soviet central Asia and Afghanistan. See O’Kane, pp. 1 ff.
8 See note 6.
9 Bogdanov.
A heterogeneous picture of Mughal architecture prevails during the next period, the two phases of Humayun's reign up to the middle of the sixteenth century. The Timurid strand is represented by almost pure imports such as the mosque at Kachpura, Agra (937/1530–31). But for the missing outer dome, the building shares its main features with the sixteenth-century Namazgah mosque at Qarshi, a town southwest of Samarqand mentioned by
Babur in his memoirs. These features are a central domed chamber preceded by a high pishtaq (portal in form of a monumental arched niche in a rectangular frame), and flanked by lower lateral wings (open on three sides) of four domed bays demarcated by masonry piers. All domes show the characteristic arch-netting in the transition zones.

Two anonymous tombs at Delhi fall into the same category of Timurid-derived imports and, on stylistic grounds, can safely be dated to this period. These mausoleums, now known as the “Sabz Burj” (“Green Tower”) and the “Nila Gumbad” (“Blue Dome”), introduce to northern India a late-Timurid formula for octagonal tombs. The common features of the two buildings are their elegant proportions — more pronounced in the Sabz Burj, which reflects late-Timurid ideals with its elongated pishtaqs and a

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1 For a brief description see Carllleye pp. 100 ff.
2 Eng. trans. p. 84; for the Namazgah mosque see Yaralova, p. 322.
3 For a discussion of the date of the latter see Naqvi, p. 13.
4 For illustration see Golombek and Wilber, i, cat. no. 66; ii, fig. 71.
5 Ibidem, i, cat. no. 59; but recently dated to the late sixteenth century by O’Kane, p. 106.
6 See below, p. 48 and fig. 30.
slightly bulbous dome set on a high cylindrical drum housing an inner lower dome – their four-centred arches, their outer facing with tile-work arranged in geometrical patterns and the painted plaster decoration and arch-netting of their vaults. The ground-plan of this tomb type is in the form of an irregular octagon. It contains a central square (cruciform) chamber connected to axial pishtaqs in the outer faces, which alternate with smaller (half-octagonal) niches in the narrower sides. This plan follows a late- and post-Timurid form that had appeared in the shrine of Momo Sharif at Ghazni (c. 1500)⁴ or in the funerary mosque of Abu Nasr Parsa at Balkh⁵ (here only one pishtaq connects with the inner domed chamber). To describe the plan – as Golombek and Wilbur do – as an octagonal version of a cross-in-square plan is to define it in its widest sense. In the Timurid context I would propose reading the plan as an abbreviation of the ninefold plan, also called hasht bibisht. Combined with Mughalized elevations, this plan became a standard formula for small mausoleums and garden pavilions.⁶
The Timurid element was soon to merge with local building traditions, in particular with regard to the facing of buildings and architectural decoration. The main source of inspiration here was the revival of the ornamental sandstone style of the early Delhi Sultanate (pl. II). It had gone out of fashion during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Delhi but continued uninterrupted in provincial centres (Bayana, Kannaui), creating an architectural heritage from which early Mughal and Suri architecture could draw their inspiration. Characteristic of this style is a highly ornate revetment of buildings with red or buff sandstone, inlays of white marble and other coloured stone, wall surfaces covered with flat geometrical ornaments, carved motifs such as budfringed arches (often read as spearheads), lotus rosettes, engaged corner shafts or colonnettes, coffered pilasters, perforated stone screens (jalis), ribbed domes or domes with a lotus pattern, wide chhajja eaves, and monolithic sandstone pillars and stepped ornamental brackets in trabeate constructions. Typical examples are the buildings of the Purana Qila ("Old Fort") at Delhi — the palace-citadel founded in 939/1533 as Dinpanah ("Asylum of the Faith") by Humayun and subsequently altered by Shir Shah Suri and probably also by Akbar — particularly the mosque, which, on the basis of literary evidence, must however be attributed to Shir Shah (early 1540s). The characteristic decorative treatment is applied to a massive single-aisle mosque with five vaulted bays (of which the end bays are narrower) and an outer central dome, a building type rooted in the local Delhi tradition (Moth ki Masjid, c. 911/1505, Jamali Kamali Masjid at Mehrauli, first third of sixteenth century).

The only surviving palace building in the citadel, the two-storey octagonal "Sher Mandal" ("Shir [Shah]'s Pavilion"), represents a Timurid-Safavid pavilion type. The cruciform interior of the upper storey is connected by axial passages to four of the outer eight niches, which are linked in turn so as to form an ambulatory. The inner dome and the arch-netting of the vaults is also of Timurid inspiration. The pattern lining the four half-vaults

7 Koch 1987a, p. 135 f.
8 Ascher 1981; for plans of the citadel and the mosque see Joshi, figs. 1, 2.
9 For a plan see Petruccioli 1988, fig. 237.
10 See below, p. 48.
of the cruciform chamber has a close relative in the curvilinear netted diaper pattern of the half-vaults of the tomb of Qutb al-Din Muhammad Khan (991/1583) at Vadodara (Baroda).\textsuperscript{10} This may serve as an indication for the true date of the Sher Mandal, which — despite its popular name — is usually described as the library of Humayun where he fell to his death. The structure is clad in the local red sandstone and crowned with a chhatris (small domed kiosk), a typical feature of Indian (Sultanate) architecture that was
13  Isfahan, Ali Qapu, 17th century. (Photo 1978)

14  Bukhara, Balyand mosque, first half of the 16th century. pillared timber porch (columns remodelled after the originals). (Photo 1981)
readily adopted by the Mughals. Such confident synthesizing will be more typical of Akbar’s architecture.

None of Humayun’s own palace buildings described by his author Khwandamir seems to have survived. The first preserved Mughal residential building that can be dated is the recently identified pavilion of Muhammad, Humayun’s bakshi, near the tomb of Shaykh Bahlul in the fort of Vijayamandirgarh, Bayana. According to the chronogram of its inscription it was built in 940/1533–34. The small stepped pavilion of red sandstone, which appears rather modest at first glance, is nevertheless a key building of Mughal palace architecture. It evidences two paradigmatic constituent
elements: the flat-roofed post-and-beam construction and, on the main floor, the configuration of a closed central block with a verandah running round it. This connects it not only to a long local tradition of trabeate pillared halls, but also to masonry buildings with post-and-beam (timber) porches in Iran and Transoxania. In Iran the pillared hall was called talar and in Transoxania iwan. The use of the term iwan to designate pillared constructions was adopted by the Mughals, which attests to their interest in the post-and-beam architecture of the land of their ancestors. As a variant of the stepped superimposed trabeate constructions, the Bayana pavilion forms a link between pre-Mughal Indo-Islamic forerunners such as the “Nagina Mahall” (“Jewel Palace”) in the fort of Khimlasa in Madhya Pradesh (probably fifteenth century) and the striking “Panch Mahall” (“Five [storeyed] Palace”) at Fatehpur Sikri of Akbar’s time. Significantly, Akbar’s historian Qandahari seems to refer to the Panch Mahall as “iwan khana”, or “pillared house”.

From Akbar’s period onwards this building type is also adapted to an octagonal plan. It appears as independent pavilion in the one-storey “Qush Khana” (“Falconry”) near the Ajmeri Darwaza at Fatehpur Sikri (probably 1570s). The stepped variant is employed for the upper, residential part of towers in a fortificatory or garden context (“Chalis Sutun” (“Forty-pillared Hall”), Allahabad fort, 1583 [fig. 55]; Shah Jahan’s Shah Burj in the Agra fort, completed 1637 [pl. XIII]).

Koch 1982a, p. 331, n. 4: 1987a, p. 139.
Koch 1987a, pp. 131–33.
p. 151.
Mughal architecture attained its distinctive character during the reign of Akbar, whose syncretistic genius had its impact not only on the political affairs of the Mughal empire but also on the development of the arts. Military conquests were reflected in architecture, a process helped by an influx of craftsmen from the new provinces to the Mughal court. Akbar's architectural activity surpassed even that of the Tughluqs, who had already shown a mania for building. Akbari architecture developed into a dramatic supraregional synthesis characterized by extensive borrowing of features from earlier Timurid, Transoxanian, Indian and Persian styles. Stylistic clashes resulting from the amalgamation of such heterogeneous elements were mollified by the favourite building material, red sandstone, whose unifying hue carried an additional attraction in being the colour reserved for imperial tents.

In the uninhibited interaction of styles, however, there was a certain predilection for particular types of building. The Timurid tradition made itself most felt in vaulted masonry architecture employed for mausoleums, individual palace buildings (pleasure-kiosks), gatehouses (often serving residential purposes), hammams, karwansaras and smaller mosques.

With the first major building enterprise of Akbar's period, the tomb of his father at Delhi, Mughal architecture came into its own (pl. III). The tomb of Humayun is a synthesis of creatively developed Timurid ideas and local traditions, the whole breathing true Mughal splendour in its perfect planning. It is the first of the grand dynastic mausoleums that were to become synonyms of Mughal architecture. Here for the first time the monumental scale is attained that was to be characteristic of imperial projects. It is one
of the few buildings of the period that can be connected with named architects, namely Sayyid Muhammad and his father, Mirak Sayyid Ghiyath. According to a sixteenth-century source traced by Simon Digby, both were architects (and poets!) of distinction, working for Husayn Bayqara in the late-Timurid capital Herat, Babur in India and, during Humayun’s exile, the Özbeg (Uzbek) ruler in Bukhara. After the Mughal restoration, the son returned to India and was entrusted with the construction of Humayun’s tomb between 1550 and 1570/5 and 1571. The role that Humayun’s widow Hajji Begam (d. 1582) played in the construction of the tomb has been overemphasized by past scholarship. According to Abu’l Fazl, the main chronicler of Akbar’s reign, she merely took charge of the maintenance of the mausoleum during the last two years of her life.3

The mausoleum is situated in the centre of the first preserved Mughal garden on a classical char bagh pattern. The khasyabans (paved walkways) that divide the garden into its four parts terminate in gatehouses and subsidiary structures.4 The tomb is clad in red sandstone highlighted with white marble. The slightly bulbous dome is faced entirely with white marble. The studied handling of the two colours puts into relief each element of the elevation, and thus consummates a tradition of the earlier Sultanate architecture of Delhi best represented by Sultan ʿAla’ al-Din Khalji’s ʿAla’i Darwaza (710/1311; pl. II). The intricate ground-plan of the main body of Humayun’s tomb, which stands on a large podium housing 124 vaulted chambers, ingeniously elaborates on a scheme that was to be much used in Mughal architecture, the already mentioned ninefold plan or hasht bihisht.5

1 Turkish dynasty with its seat at Delhi, ruling over large parts of India during the fourteenth century.
3 Abu’l Fazl, Akbar nama, Eng. trans. iii, p. 551.
The Mughals derived this concept from its late (or post-) Timurid versions: the abbreviated form had already appeared in the Sabz Burj and the Nila Gumbad. A fuller form had been employed in the khanaqah of Shaykh Armani in Deh-i Minar southwest of Herat (late fifteenth century)⁶ and in the still more complex khanaqah of Qasim Shaykh at Kermin, northeast of Bukhara (1558–59).⁷


The complete ninefold plan — as it became current in Mughal architecture — consists of a square (or rectangle), sometimes with corners fortified by towers but more often chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon (termed muthamman baghdadi by the Mughals). The layout is divided by four intersecting construction lines into nine parts, comprising a domed chamber in the centre, rectangular open halls in the middle of the sides — in the form either of pishtaqi or of flat-roofed verandahs supported by pillars (the Mughal iwan) — and two-storey vaulted rooms or blocks in the corners, reflected on the facade by superimposed vaulted niches (nashbimān) (figs. 54, 153). In the radially planned versions of this scheme the corner rooms are linked to the main domed chamber by additional diagonal passages (figs. 24, 108). The term hasht bibisht (“eight paradises”) has been interpreted as a reference to the eight rooms surrounding the central chamber.⁸ While in preserved Timurid architecture buildings with such a strictly symmetrical ninefold plan represent the exception rather than the rule, it is the characteristic contribution of Mughal architecture to have adopted and further developed the model in a perfect symmetry faithfully reflected in the elevation.

The plan of Humayun’s tomb is composed of four such irregular octagonal units, which in turn form the corner elements of the main nine-part figure. This clear and yet complex scheme of overlapping points of reference — which uses the typical to produce the outstanding — makes the structure one of the most perfectly planned octagonal buildings in the general history of architecture. The design appears to have been inspired by Humayun’s wooden boat palace, which is known to us only through its description by

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⁴ For an overall plan and description see Naqvi; for the most recent discussion see Lowry, with further literature.
⁶ For a description of this monument see Golombek and Wilber, i, cat. no. 64; O’Kane, cat. no. 34.
⁷ Golombek 1981, pl. 16.
⁸ Jairazbhoy 1958, p. 72.
Khwandamir. The floating structure was made of four two-storey pavilions (chabar taq) on boats so joined together that between each of the four an arched unit (taq) was produced. The eight hasht bibisht units — Khwandamir uses the synonym hasht jannat — formed on octagonal pool between them. The description also fits the tomb in all its main features, with the exception of the inner pool that takes the place of the octagonal domed hall in the centre.

We here encounter a phenomenon that was to become a characteristic feature of Mughal architecture. Ideas of funerary and residential architecture were almost entirely interchangeable. In Akbar’s period the ninefold plan became the ground-plan par excellence. It was used with imaginative variations in residential and funerary architecture. It was particularly popular for individual palace buildings (Akbar’s pavilion in the fort of Ajmer, 978/1570, with a flat ceiling in the central hall9) and pleasure-houses in the context of garden or water architecture (“Todar Mal’s Baradari”, Fatehpur Sikri, 1571–85; the water palace of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul, 999–1001/1590–93).11 The

9 pp. 52 ff.; the Eng. trans., pp. 57 ff., is not quite reliable with regard to architectural terminology.

10 See also below, p. 61.
23 Fatehpur Sikri, Todar Mal's Baradari, between c. 1571 and 1585. (Photo 1984)

24 Fatehpur Sikri, Todar Mal's Baradari, ground-plan.

25 Narnaul, water palace of Shah Quli Khan, standing in what used to be an artificial lake, 999–1001/1590–91. (Photo 1979)

" For the latter, see Yazdani 1907, pp. 641–43; cf. Parihar, pp. 30–31, pl. 48; for a sketch plan see Soundara Rajan, p. 89.
ninefold plan was also employed for mausoleums (tomb of the Hakims at Hasan Abdal in Pakistan, around 1589, on a square plan but with chamfered northwest and southwest corners). The abbreviated version based on an irregular octagon as in the earlier Sabz Burj or Nila Gumbad was preferentially used for tombs, such as the “Afsarwala Gumbad” at Delhi (1560s) or the tomb of Shamshir Khan at Batala in the Panjab (997–98/1588–89), with two-storey niches in all of the outer faces. Even regular octagonal buildings contain allusions to the ninefold plan in the alternating designs and/or vaulting of the niches in the sides of the tomb or of the ambulatory rooms. A particularly well-thought-out example is the “Hada Mahall” near the Ajmeri Darwaza at Fatehpur Sikri (c. 1570s), where a hasht biyisht is inscribed in the regular octagonal plan. A simpler variant is the water palace of Ftimad Khan, now called Burhia ka Tal, at Etmandpur (Ftimadpur) east of Agra (before 1778). Examples of funerary architecture are the tomb of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul (982/1574–75), the tomb of Hajji Muhammad near the ‘Amm-Khass Bagh at Sirhind (1014/1605–06), or the Gujaratized version of Nawwab Qutb al-Din Muhammad Khan’s tomb at Vadodara (Baroda) (991/1583), now known as the Hajira – a vernacular corruption of hazira. The proportions of the latter are broadened to meet the local taste for a rather low and wide building; the outer niches are fitted alternately with typical Gujarati jali screens and pierced by passages so as to provide an ambulatory. The ninefold plan is also found in the hammams of the period (fig. 103).

The exteriors of ninefold-planned buildings, and the variations and abbreviated forms encountered, differ according to their function. As a rule, tombs have an outer dome over the central domed chamber, which in palace

26 Delhi, Afsarwala mosque and tomb, 1560s. (Photo 1980)
buildings and gatehouses is masked by a flat roof. In secular architecture one or more chhatris may be placed on the roof terrace to act as substitutes for domes.

The inner domes may either be masked by a plaster shell showing the now common decorative arch-netting in the transition zone or be faced with sandstone carved in a corresponding manner. More complex vaults appear in the hammams – their decorative stucco shells combine arch-netting with muqarnas elements and geometrical patterns (especially combinations of stars and polygons). Of particular interest is the adaptation of a Khurasanian type of vault, which appears in rooms over a cruciform or square ground-plan. It consists of four large intersecting ribs, which create a central vaulted

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27 Fatehpur Sikri, Hada Mahall, between c. 1571 and 1585. (Photo 1985)

28 Fatehpur Sikri, Hada Mahall, ground-plan.

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7 The inscription of the tomb was identified by Desai 1975b, pp. 70–72.

8 These features may account for the present name of the tomb. The building is briefly noted by Koch 1988a, pp. 170, 176 f.
area, four squinches and four rectangular fields. This multipartite vault form is employed in plaster in the Imperial Hammam of Fatehpur Sikri (1570s). Faced with sandstone it acquires a distinctive local touch in Akbar's khalkwaqab in the fort of Allahabad (1583), and in the tomb of "the Barber" (999/1590–91) in the garden of Humayun's mausoleum. In the temple of Govind Deva at Vrindavan (1590) constructed by Akbar's noble the Kachhwaha Raja Put Man Singh, this vault appears as a brilliant and exciting example of Hindu architecture under Mughal inspiration.

As to the setting, Akbari pleasure-pavilions and tombs were usually placed in gardens which - with the exception of that of Humayun's tomb - have not survived.

Well preserved, however, are several ensembles belonging to the outstanding group of the water palaces. In Mughal architecture the type only appears in a residential context, though an immediate and impressive forerunner -
Shir Shah Suri's mausoleum at Sasaram in Bihar (1545) - belongs to sepulchral architecture. The Mughals may also have looked for inspiration to the water palaces of the Deccan, where the "Hauz Katora" at Elichpur (late fifteenth or sixteenth century)\textsuperscript{22} and the Farah Bagh Palace at Ahmadnagar (1576–83)\textsuperscript{23} survive as important examples. The Akbari water palaces adhere to a uniform plan. The main building is situated in the middle of a (usually) artificial rectangular or square reservoir, and can be reached by means of a bridgeway on arches to which access may be provided through a gatehouse on the shore. Two preserved Akbari palaces of this type that were sponsored by nonimperial patrons at Etimadpur and Narnaul have
34 Delhi, Humayun's tomb area, tomb of 'Isa Khan Niyazi, an official of the Sur rulers, 954/1547-48. See page 101. (Photo 1985)

35 Delhi, Mehrauli, tomb of Adham Khan, died 1562. See page 101. (Photo 1979)
already been mentioned (figs. 29, 25). Another example is the water palace of Raja Man Singh at Bairat, probably built in Jahangir’s reign.24

The Mughals’ love of a lifestyle close to nature could lead to even more unusual choices of architectural setting, reminiscent of the Mannerist gardens of the period in Europe. In 982/1574-75 Shah Budagh Khan, when in charge of Mandu in Malwa, constructed the Nilkanth, a pleasure on the mountainside with a magnificent view of the valley below. The architecture consists solely of a U-shaped court with three large pishtaqis in the centre of each side. The pishtaq of the main axis leads to a grotto-like domed chamber built in the rock over an artificial spring fed from an upper reservoir.25 The individual forms of the Nilkanth adhere to the Timurid-derived Mughal idiom, with some concessions to the local Malwa style.

The Transoxanian-Timurid influence shows itself most extensively in those building types which were also patronized by the nobility and religious circles, i.e. garden houses and small palaces, secular and religious mausoleums, hammams, karwansaras’is, and smaller mosques. The main examples of true Akbari synthesis are the great imperial projects, the fortress-palaces and the large jami’ mosques.

Almost coeval with the construction of Humayun’s tomb was the rebuilding of the old mud-brick fortress of the Lodis at Agra under Qasim Khan (972-980s/1564-1570s; fig. 3/8). The fortification apparently follows the irregular outline of its predecessor. The overall symmetrical planning of imperial residences only became binding in Shah Jahan’s reign.26 In Akbar’s period, regular planning of large-scale residential architecture appears to have been

36 Agra fort, plan.
1 Hathi Pol,
2 Amar Singh Gate and Akbari Darwaza,
3 Courtyard of the Diwan-i-Amm,
4 Jahangiri Mahall,
5 Khass Mahall and Anguri Bagh,
6 Mauchhi Bhawan,
7 Moti Masjid,
8 Bazaar street.

24 See below, pp. 68 f.
26 Andrews 1986b.
reserved for the temporary Mughal camp. At Agra, the gates and other fortificatory elements of earlier Indo-Muslim architecture were brought to an unsurpassed grandiosity and aesthetic refinement not least by the stunning red sandstone veneer, which gave the structure its present name, Red Fort. The magnificent Hathi Pol ("Elephant Gate") in the west was the public entrance. It presents an imposing arcuate facade as showpiece towards the city and a more informal stepped elevation with trabeate elements towards the inside of the fort. This scheme was also used subsequently, a particularly impressive example being the famous Buland Darwaza of the great mosque at Fatehpur Sikri (figs. 60, pl. V).

Only a few structures remain in the Agra fort of the "five hundred buildings in the wonderful designs of Bengal and Gujarat" of which Akbar's
historian Abu’l Fazl speaks. They seem to have been arranged in a band-like succession of courtyards along the riverfront, a scheme that was preserved in Shah Jahan’s thorough reconstruction. This residential axis was met at an angle by the (broken) public axis formed by an open bazaar street leading from the Hathi Pol to the courtyard of public audiences. The most important surviving palace structure of Akbar’s period is the main zanana building, misleadingly called “Jahangiri Mahall” (“Jahangir’s Palace”; figs. 36/4, pl. IV). A typical example of the wide range of Akbari synthesis, it features a (later altered) symmetrical ground-plan echoing Timurid plans on the pattern of Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi’s mausoleum at Turkestan (1394–99) but combines it with the elevation of an open courtyard building. The architectural vocabulary mixes various Transoxanian features, such as the verandah of the east front with its high slender columns — a translation into stone of the timber iwan of vernacular Transoxanian architecture — with courtyard halls styled in the broader Gujarat-Malwa-Rajasthan tradition as it had been passed on to the Mughals by the early-sixteenth-century architecture of Raja Man Singh of Gwalior. The Jahangiri Mahall is faced with finely carved red sandstone. Most of its rooms are not trabeate — as generally assumed — but present a veritable pattern-book of vaulting of the period: stucco domes with geometrical patterns and/or arch-netting, ribbed domes and lotus domes carved in sandstone, pyramidal vaults with a cut top, coved ceilings, etc. In the handling of the facades we notice the same principle as in the Hathi Pol. The building presents carefully accentuated arculate facades towards the outside, while the inner courtyard fronts are styled in a trabeate idiom of regional inspiration. That a trabeate unit also appears as centrepiece of the outer eastern front does not contradict this concept, since the verandah as a literal Transoxanian reference certainly had a special status. The Mughal architects had by now acquired a firm grip on their diverse architectural repertory and handled it with a distinct sense of its symbolical and hierarchical potential.
The rebuilding of the fort of Agra was followed by the construction of the strikingly original Fatehpur Sikri as suburban fortified residence of the court (c. 1571–85). From the stylistic point of view it was Akbar's architectural response to the absorption of Gujarat into the Mughal empire (1572–73). The imperial complex is arranged in an echelon formation on the east-west axis; its irregular layout seems to reflect traditions of Raiput residences. Along this axis three main functional areas can be identified — the courtyard of public audiences or Diwan-i 'Amm, the semiofficial area between the "Diwan-i-Khass" and the "Khwabgah", and the "zamana" with "Jodh Bai's Palace" in its centre. From diverse sources (Gujarat and the Gujarat-Malwa-Rajasthan tradition, the ornamental style of the Delhi Sultanate, Transoxania and Khurasan) the architectural synthesis drew the elements most suitable for a monumental building programme in sandstone, whose affinity with wood favoured the integration of forms derived from timber architecture.

Dominant is the influence of Gujarati Sultanate architecture, which in itself provided a model for a successful synthesis of pre-Islamic Hindu and Jain building traditions. The main organizing principle — trabeate constructions on a grid pattern, extendable to halls or galleries — bears the stamp of Gujarat (cf. Mahmud Begra's palaces at Sarkhej near Ahmadabad, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century). This is also true for the main building type of Fatehpur Sikri, represented most clearly by the white marble tomb of Shaykh Salim Chishti (988/1580–81) in the court of

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32 Of all Mughal architecture, Fatehpur Sikri has attracted the greatest amount of scholarly interest. The standard work is Smith 1894–98; see also Rizvi and Flynn; excellent new plans in Petruccioli 1988. For a recent discussion of the sources of the architecture and the earlier literature see Koch 1987a; for a chronology of the construction see Habib 1987, p. 81; cf. also Andrews 1986b and Burton-Page 1971.

33 See most recently Koch 1988a.
From a careful reading of Jahangir's Tazuk it becomes plausible that the whole building, including the marble facing thought to be of later date, belongs to Akbar's period; see Koch 1988a, p. 170 and n. 2.


the Jama Masjid (fig. 45/9). It is modelled closely on the Gujarati tomb par excellence, which consists of an inner (domed) chamber surrounded by a concentric ambulatory verandah of four straight walks, the outside of which is often closed off with latticed marble or sandstone screens (cf. tomb of Shah 'Alam at Ahmadabad, 938/1531–32). Even before Fatehpur Sikri, this tomb type had entered Mughal architecture on a grand scale with the mausoleum of Shaykh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwalior (d. 970/1563). A simpler version is the "Nadan Mahall" at Lucknow.15

This constructional form also influenced a type of Mughal pavilion with a central block raised above its surrounding verandah (covered by a lean-to roof). The vault of the inner chamber (typical for Fatehpur Sikri is the ribbed
coved ceiling, a convenient vaulting for rectangular halls) was — as usual in secular structures — concealed on the outside by a flat roof. This design — which in a residential context had already announced itself in the main storey of the Bayana pavilion (fig. 12) — was reserved for buildings intended for the emperor. Thus it was employed for the audience pavilion in the Diwan-i "Amm (fig. 41) and for the Khwabgah. By inference "Tan Sen's Baradari" (fig. 42/i) can also be identified as a structure for imperial use, probably a gazebo, since it presented a beautiful view over the (now dried out) lake of Fatehpur Sikri. A related type is that of the "Daftar Khana" ("Record Office", most likely the pavilion from whose jharoka-window the emperor showed himself to his subjects), where the closed masonry block and the verandah of paired pillars embracing it on three sides are of the same height.
46 Gwadir, tomb of Shykh Muhammad Ghaus, died 1561.
(Photograph 1978)

47 Fatehpur Sikri, Tan Sen's Baradari, 1570s, ground-plan.

48 Fatehpur Sikri, Tan Sen's Baradari, pillar of ambulatory verandah. (Photograph 1985)

49 Fatehpur Sikri, Tan Sen's Baradari, interior with ribbed vaulted ceiling.
(Photograph 1978)
This juxtaposition of a closed chamber with a pillared porch continued to be influential for Mughal pavilions of later years.

Gujarati influence also makes itself felt in the architectural vocabulary and decor of the palaces of Fatehpur Sikri, in particular in Jodh Ba’i’s Palace, the main zanana building (fig. 40/7). As a courtyard house on a symmetrical (here four-iwan) plan it relates to the Jahangiri Mahall in the Agra fort (fig. 36/4). The much discussed and variously interpreted pillar in the Diwan-i-Khass has a giant circular capital composed of two superimposed tiers of serpentine brackets. The design is inspired by Gujarati models, the closest surviving parallels being the surrounding balconies of the minarets of mosques at Ahmadabad (mosque of Sidi Bashir, later fifteenth century).36

The utilitarian buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are also influenced by Gujarat. This is true both of water architecture, such as the step-wells (ba’olis) and the underground reservoir (birka) of the Jami’ Masjid, and of other public works. The triple-arched gate (sih taq) of the crossing (char su) of the bazaar of Fatehpur Sikri (begun 984/1576–77; fig. 40/2) is freely based on the Tin Darwaza at Ahmadabad (first half of fifteenth century).

The construction of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri coincides with the foundation of numerous Akbari fortresses all over the rapidly expanding empire, the most important being at Jaunpur (973/1566), Ajmer (978/1570), Lahore (before 1580), Attock or Atak Banaras on the Indus (989/1581), and Allahabad (991/1583). The construction of Fort Nagar Nagar on the Hari Parbat hill at Srinagar, Kashmir, was commenced according to the inscription on its main gate in 1006/1597–98 and brought to completion by Jahangir.

According to Qandahari,37 the city (shahr) of Lahore (which must have included the fort) was completed before 1580. The reconstruction of the Lahore fort by Jahangir and Shah Jahan left little of Akbar’s buildings.38 Certainly from Akbar’s reign are the Masti or Masjidi Darwaza (fig. 93/2) and

37 p. 42.
38 Andrews 1986a.
39 Reuther, pl. 26; cf. Petruccioli, 1988, 252 E.
the (ruined) structures to its northwest, which include a small subterranean octagonal *hanmam*. The fortified quadrangle of Akbar’s palace at Ajmer (978/1572) is notable for the symmetry of its plan.29 As also demonstrated by the Jahangiri Mahall of the Agra palace and Jodh Ba’i’s Palace at Fatehpur Sikri, such symmetrical layouts were in Akbari palace architecture used in particular for *zamana* courtyard buildings. The wings of the Ajmer fort are formed by single rows of vaulted chambers, which enclose an already mentioned pavilion on an elongated ninefold plan with pillared verandas (fig. 22). With the latter feature in particular, the pavilion anticipates the Safawid Hasht Bihisht at Isfahan.
The *zanana* enclosure (now walled in by later military structures) in the fort of Allahabad (991/1583) is modelled on the pattern of the Ajmer fort. Its central pavillon, the splendid “Rani ki Mahall” (“Palace of the Queens”), was, according to Abu‘l Fazl, Akbar’s *khilwatgah-i khass* — his private retiring-room. The Rani ki Mahall enriches the imperial pavillon type of Fatehpur Sikri by the superb pillaring of the surrounding verandah, and by the replacement of the inner rectangular hall by a block on a ninefold plan. The two main pavillon types of the period are thus fused into a convincing whole. The vault over the central hall is the first transformation into sandstone of the Khurasanian vault type rendered in stucco in the Imperial Hamam at Fatehpur Sikri. The “Chalis Sutun” (“Forty-pillared Hall”), a residential tower forming part of the riverside fortifications of the Allahabad fort, is only preserved in a print by the Daniells published in their *Oriental Scenery* (1795–1808). It adapted the stepped trabeate pavillon type to an octagonal plan.\(^4^1\)


\(^{40}\) *Akbar nama*, Pers. text iii, p. 415.

\(^{41}\) See also above, p. 42.
Mosques

The mosques of Akbar’s period show the same variety of styles as characterize funerary and residential architecture.\textsuperscript{42} The earliest phase continues local traditions while embellishing them with Timurid ideas. The “Khayr al-Manazil” (“Best of Houses”) at Delhi, one of the first mosques of the reign, was built by Akbar’s wetnurse Maham Anga opposite the Purana Qil\textsuperscript{a} in 969/1561–62.\textsuperscript{43} It combines the single-aisle, five-bay Delhi type of Shir Shah’s mosque with a courtyard enclosed by three double-storey wings borrowed from Timurid madrasas of the two-\textit{iwan} plan.\textsuperscript{44} But for the sandstone-faced \textit{pishtaq} of the eastern gate, the inventiveness of the design of the Khayr al-Manazil is weakened by its execution in the retrospective Lodi idiom.

\textsuperscript{42} Andrews 1991b.

\textsuperscript{43} Zafar Hasan 1915–22, ii, 1919, pp. 51–53.

\textsuperscript{44} Cf. \textit{madrasa} of Muhammad Sultan, Samarqand, c. 1400; reconstructed plan in Golombek and Wilber, ii, fig. 27.
The single-aisle, three-bay mosque of the Delhi Sultanate is adapted by the Mughals and continues to be used as “quarter mosque” (mosque of Shaykh Abd al-Nabi, 983/1575–76, combined with a courtyard) or as funerary mosque in tomb complexes (“Afsarwala” mosque, 1560–67; fig. 26).

One of the first mosques sponsored by Akbar himself is entirely in the Timurid idiom. It is the mosque in the Dargah of Shaykh Mu'in al-Din Chishti at Ajmer. The evidence suggests that it is one of those buildings commissioned by the emperor on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the shrine in Sha'ban 977/January 1570. The type of a courtyard mosque with arced wings composed of single rows of vaulted bays and a deeper prayer-hall in the west, featuring in the centre the massive block of a large domed

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41 Zafar Hasan 1921.
46 Naqvi, p. 16; for examples at Lahore see Chaghtai 1976.
47 Abu'l Fazl, Akbar nama, Eng. trans. ii, pp. 310–11; see also Sarda, p. 87; and Currie, p. 101.
chamber preceded by a high pishtaq, had already appeared in the Tughluq architecture of Delhi (Begampuri mosque, c. 1343). In Timurid architecture similar schemes (usually with deeper courtyard wings) were used repeatedly. With the Ajmer mosque, it is as if the prayer-hall of the Humayuni Kachpura mosque at Agra (figs. 4, 5) were enclosed by the courtyard wings of the Begampuri mosque (styled in the Timurid-inspired Kachpura idiom and with only one gate in the eastern wing). The Ajmer prayer-hall is however given a more imposing pishtaq, which precedes a high narrow-domed mihrab chamber. The court is formed by arcades of domed-covered bays corresponding in height and shape to the bays of the low aisles of the prayer-hall (the inner north and south arcades are a modern addition). The original architectural decoration is obscured by a heavy layer of whitewash.

Akbar’s Jami’ Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri (c. 1576–85/1568–78) is the first of the “giant open mosques now typical of Mughal cities” (fig. 40/8). Like the imperial residences, this imperial jami’ is a showpiece of the great Akbari synthesis. The wings of the great courtyard mosque consist in the north, east and south of hujras (small closet-like rooms) and flat-roofed, pillared galleries. The east and south wings are pierced by monumental gates. On the qibla side is a deeper prayer-hall. The immediate source for the design is Indian Sultanate architecture. The plan of a trabeate prayer-hall in which are embedded three domed chambers, the central one preceded by a pishtaq, has close relatives in the Atala mosque at Jaunpur (1376–1408) and the mosques of Gujarat. The latter also provided the models for the supports of the prayer-hall and their irregular spacing and for the articulation of the arched screens facing the galleries of the courtyard wings. The somewhat
retrospective character of the scheme is relieved by the red sandstone and by the pishtaqs in the recent Delhi fashion, which reach new, staggering proportions in the Buland Darwaza ("Lofty Gate"; pl. V). Its total height above ground of c. 54 m surpasses even the famous iwans of Akbar’s megalomaniac ancestor Timur in Shahr-i Sabz and Samarkand.

A masterpiece of Mughal engineering is Muni’im Khan’s bridge at Jaunpur (976/1569). From the early 1570s particular emphasis was given to public works along the highways, such as wells, reservoirs and karwansarais, a programme based on the “spadework” of Shir Shah Suri. The imperial
pilgrimage road from Agra to Ajmer was lined at regular intervals with stations for imperial use,\textsuperscript{19} and small minars functioning not only as milestones but also as hunting-memorials of the emperor, since they were originally studded with the horns of animals he shot. They represent a smaller form of the Akbari hunting-towers that were set up in imitation of Iranian models based on an ancient tradition,\textsuperscript{34} e.g. the "Hiran Minar" at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 42/13), the "Chor Minar" at Delhi or the "Nim Sara'i Minar" at Malda in eastern Bengal (today Bangladesh).\textsuperscript{35}

The typical plan of the Mughal karwansara\textsuperscript{1} (usually termed sara\textsuperscript{i}) that emerges at this time (Sara\textsuperscript{i} Chhata north of Mathura, Sara\textsuperscript{i} Chhaparghat

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\textsuperscript{19} E. Kaempfer, "Kallam Minar (Turris Cornuta)" at Isfahan, Safavid period. From Amoncitatum Exoticarum, 1712. Engraving. (Photo School of African and Oriental Studies, London)

\textsuperscript{34} Fatehpur Sikri, Hiran Minar, 1570s. (Photo 1979)

\textsuperscript{35} Uttar Pradesh, Sara\textsuperscript{i} Chhaparghat, south of Kanauj, reign of Akbar, ground-plan. (Courtesy of I.A. Khan)
south of Kannauj and southwest of Kanpur) did not vary much in later periods. The plan is uniform in principle. It consists of a square or rectangular compound formed by wings of unconnected tiny closet-like rooms (hujra) with a narrow porch (the Mughal iwan), a scheme that was also used in the wings of mosques functioning as madrasas (Khayr al-Manazil at Delhi, Jami Masjid of Fatehpur Sikri). In the centre of those wings that have no gates is a block of larger rooms for the use of higher-ranking persons. The corners are fortified with towers, which may contain larger apartments, hamams, or storerooms. If the sara'i has not one but two gates, these face each other and are often connected by a bazaar street. The outer fronts of the gates are — as showpieces of the sara'i — given special architectural attention. A small mosque and one or two wells complete the building programme.

As to stables, there is very little surviving evidence. The courtyard enclosure traditionally known as the “Taksal” (“Mint”) at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 40/3) appears to have been a stable according to the evidence provided by recent excavations. The building has four wings with a single doorway in the southeast side. The wings consist of two rectangular concentric rows of domed bays demarcated by arches on cruciform piers (half-piers on the outer wall). The inner piers are pierced by a narrow ambulatory corridor, a feature that speaks for the stable interpretation, since it would allow grooms easy access to each bay (or box). Such four-wing complexes were thus a staple design of Mughal architecture, which could be used — with minor adjustments — for quite diverse purposes.

The bazaars consist of open streets lined by wings made of the same elements as the karwansara’s, namely hujras and porches; they may have a crossing with four gates called chawri (Agra fort, fig. 36/8; Fatehpur Sikri, fig. 40/2). Father Monserrate, the chronicler of the first Jesuit mission to the court of Akbar (1580–83), mentions a bazaar in the citadel of Lahore with a high pitched timber roof.

The hamams of the period are best represented by those of Fatehpur Sikri; they constitute what is probably the largest surviving concentration of hamams dating from a single period and in a single place in all of Islamic architecture. We know from Shah Jahan’s authors that a Mughal hamam was to have three functional units, a rakh khan (dressing-room), a sard khana (cold room) and a garam khana (hot room). Not mentioned are the latrines that were provided in all hamams. There was no architectural norm for the shape and arrangement of these individual units. They could be anything from a single chamber to a group of interconnecting rooms.

The Kachhwaha Rajput Man Singh was an enthusiastic patron of architecture; his buildings combine Rajput traditions with the Mughal style. During his governorship of Bengal (1594–1627) he, a Hindu, even sponsored a large mosque at Rajmahall (Akbarnagar). Man Singh’s palaces at Rohtasgarh in Bihar (late sixteenth century)6 and Amber near Jaipur reflect imperial Mughal palaces. The zanana courtyard of the Rohtas palace follows the scheme employed at Ajmer and Allahabad of narrow residential wings sur-

Subimperial patronage
requirements of Hindu religious architecture. Outstanding here is the vault over the crossing of Man Singh's temple of Govind Deva (begun in 1590), a giant sandstone version of the Khurasanian vault type based on four intersecting arches. That the most daring vault construction of north Indian architecture of the sixteenth century should appear in a temple sheds a significant light on the architectural open-mindedness of the period.

In the following periods, too, the Kachhwaha Rajputs continued to be the closest followers of the Mughal imperial style in their building enterprises in Amber and Jaipur.
After the phase of architectural syncretism under Akbar, there follows with Jahangir’s reign a period of transition, reflection and experimentation which — despite its importance for the future development of Mughal architecture — has not yet received due acknowledgement. Selected ideas of the previous periods are now adopted in formal extravaganzas that had a negligible echo or developed into highly influential models.

Typical of the period are highly decorated surfaces of buildings (exterior and interior). The walls are often deeply panelled by a framework of bands. Architectural decoration is characterized by a plethora of materials: the familiar sandstone carving (which attains a new refinement), white marble, stone intarsia, painted stucco, and tile-work. The favourite motif of wall decoration, regardless of the technique, is the chini khana (“china room”). It consists of small blind or real niches, usually of a multi-lobed constricted shape, which contain bottles and/or flower-vases. This motif may also appear in dense configurations covering the whole surface of a wall (fig. 100). Figurative representations are also popular, in particular wall-paintings “drawne from Europe prints (of which they make accompt heere)” (pl. VIII).¹

New solutions are tried out in the vaults. Characteristic are intricately patterned stucco vaults that fuse (or replace) the earlier arch-netting with a new pseudostructural network system developed from points (often stars) arranged in concentric circles.² These patterns appear to have been inspired by Safawid sources (based in turn on Timurid forerunners),³ which became influential in this period. Typical of Jahangiri vaults is that the network generates fan-like formations of lozenge-shaped muqarnas (fig. 83). Another specific technique of lining domes — almost exclusive to Jahangir’s period — is that of oversailing concentric tiers of small arched muqarnas (fig. 83).

Several of the above features already appear in Jahangir’s first building enterprise after his accession, the now traditional construction of his father’s mausoleum at Sikandra, a suburb of Agra (1622/1613, pl. IX). The place was renamed Bihishtbad (“Paradise Town”) to honour its new status as burial place of the great emperor.⁴ The tomb of Akbar stands in the centre of a classical char bagh, whose main khwiyabans terminate in one real and three blind gates. The latter are derived from the Akbari type with an arcuate outer and a stepped inner front. The intention of the prototype is here however inverted, as the pishtaqed fronts face inwards. This must not necessarily be seen as mannerist wilfulness, but rather as a successful scenographic device; as it were, the voids of the pishtaqs absorb the khwiyabans of the garden.

The overall concept of the mausoleum, which is placed at the crossing of the two principal khwiyabans, is at the same time retrospective and unorthodox — a congenial response of sepulchral architecture to the great architectural synthesis of the mosque and palace projects of the late emperor.

Tombs
1 Mundy, p. 215.
3 Similar vaults can be found in the small palace at Nayin (sixteenth century), see Lusche-Schmeisser.
4 Kanbo, i, p. 14; for a description and plans see Smith 1909.
68 Agra, Sikandra, tomb of Akbar, 1522/1613, southern gate seen from south. (Photo 1978)

69 Agra, Sikandra, tomb of Akbar, site-plan. (After E.W. Smith)
The tomb combines the Timurid-inspired vaulted masonry trend — represented by the podium (containing domed bays and a vestibule with painted plaster decoration [pl. VII]) and its high pishtaq (decorated with stone intarsia producing the effect of tile-work) — with the indigenous trabeate sandstone mode represented by the receding storeys of pillared galleries. The scheme once again demonstrates the close relationship between residential and sepulchral architecture in that it brings the stepped pavilion type of the previous periods on to the grand scale of imperial tombs — and, at the same time, to a dead end. Future trends announce themselves in the hierarchical use of white marble for the topmost open storey of the mausoleum and in the minarets topping the southern gatehouse. We here encounter the first use of multiple minarets in Mughal architecture, to become a distinctive feature in the period of Shah Jahan. Another noteworthy aspect of the southern gate is its particularly rich stone intarsia-work echoing — together with that of the blind gates — the decoration of the pishtaq of the tomb.

Stone intarsia had already established itself under Akbar as an important branch of Mughal architectural decoration. The tomb of Atga Khan (974/1566–67) at Nizamuddin, Delhi, had been a particularly remarkable instance of Timurid tile mosaic patterns being transposed into stone intarsia. Further impressive early examples are the Akbari Darwaza and Hahti Pol of the Agra fort (later 1560s; figs. 37, 38). The craft was further developed and refined under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

The design of Akbar’s mausoleum had no direct influence, through the contemporary tomb of Shah Begam (d. 1605), the mother of Jahangir’s ill-fated son Khusrau, in the Khusrau Bagh at Allahabad bears a clear family relationship: its two solid receding storeys are crowned by an open-pillared chhatri (fig. 81).

The principle of setting a group of lighter superstructures on a massive podium (takhtgah) with vaulted bays or rooms continues to be a definite trend in the sepulchral architecture of Jahangir’s period. The concept had already announced itself towards the end of Akbar’s reign in the tomb of Sadiq Muhammad Khan Herati at Dholpur (1005–06/1596–97), built in a garden near his house and sara’i, now in ruins. The design appears here in

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1 Burton-Page 1991b; Husain, pp. 189 ff.
2 Zafar Hasan 1922, pp. 31 ff.
3 See below, pp. 75, 95.
4 For dates see Desai 1964, pp. 64–68.
5 Shah Nawaz Khan, Eng. trans. ii, p. 662. Today the tomb is almost unknown, despite having been published with a plan, drawings and a reading of its inscription as early as in the Transactions of the Archaeological Society of Agra (January to June 1873, Appendix, pp. i–iv).
its most basic form, namely that of a funerary platform, of regular octagonal shape. The superstructures are limited to a second smaller octagonal platform in the centre, surrounded by a (fragmentarily surviving) latticed screen with a small gate-kiosk, and pillared kiosks on the periphery. The sepulchral form of an open platform surrounded by a screen was perhaps chosen out of an orthodox conviction on the part of the patron to circumvent the Prophet’s apocryphal condemnation of funerary structures. This consideration might indeed have led to the creation of the Mughal takhtgah tomb. The original intention was, however, at times again contradicted by a domed structure placed on the platform.

Further remarkable features of the tomb of Sadiq Khan are the fine craftsmanship of the remains of the screen and the paving of the surface of the central podium with white marble and black and variegated yellow stone in

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Golombek (1969, pp. 100–124) discusses this tomb type in the Timurid context and describes it as a hazira.
a geometrical pattern; the stone and colour combinations herald a typical
trend of future Mughal stone intarsia.

The octagonal form of the platform tomb was taken up again and further
evolved in the tomb of Firuz Khan on the Gwalior Road at Agra. The struc-
ture set in the centre of the platform is here a domed octagon. The periph-
peripheral structures are placed in the cardinal directions. They consists in
the west of a miniature mosque and in the east of a gate construction raised
from the ground floor level; it has a steep stairway leading up to the platform
(Mughal architects usually treated stairs as a necessary evil). The gate has an
elaborate facing of carved sandstone showing characteristic Jahangiri motifs,
ornamental cartouches along with blind niches containing not only vessels
but also birds in relief-work.

The square version of the platform tomb is represented by the “tomb of
Maryam al-Zamani” (d. 1632/1623), Jahangir’s mother, at Sikandra, Agra. 12 It
has superstructures in the form of octagonal chhatris above the corners and
oblong ones above the centres of the sides.

The scheme finds its most elegant expression in the tomb of Itímád al-
Daula, Jahangir’s wazir and the father of his favourite and powerful wife,
Nur Jahan, at Agra (1636–37/1626–28; fig. 3/4). The superstructures here take
the form of round turret-like kiosks at the corners and a square pavilion with
a canopied dome in the centre. The peculiar shape of the domed roof is
derived from wooden canopies over the tombs of Sufi shaykhs, which had
already been transposed into white marble in the catafalque of the
mausoleum of Shaykh Muhammad Ghauth at Gwalior. The rooms of the
ground-floor podium of Itímád al-Daula’s tomb are arranged according to a
ninefold plan.

73 Agra, tomb of
Firuz Khan, gate.
(Photograph 1978)

11 Nath (1976a,
pp. 120–128) dates the
tomb in the early
reign of Shah Jahan,
while conceding that
it is stylistically in-
dept to Jahangiri
architecture.

12 For description,
plans and illus., see
Sanderson 1910–11,
pp. 94–96, pls.
48–50; in the older
literature the build-
ing is erroneously
identified with a
baradari of Sikander
Lodi.
Several features of the tomb anticipate characteristic trends of the architecture of Shah Jahan: the vaults of the central chamber and of the corner rooms in a network pattern developed from points arranged in concentric circles; the coved ceilings of the verandahs and of the upper pavilion; the cladding of the entire outside of the building with white marble inlaid with different-coloured stones. The latter technique (which has Indo-Islamic forerunners in Gujarat)\textsuperscript{13} represents a further step from the earlier simple stone intarsia (used so conspicuously on the pishtaq and gates of Akbar’s mausoleum) towards the more refined Italianate commesso di pietre dure technique of Shah Jahan’s buildings.\textsuperscript{14}

Of the tomb types inherited from the previous period, the Gujarat-derived tomb type with a central domed block and a (lower) ambulatory verandah

\textsuperscript{13} Koch 1987b, pp. 39–44.

\textsuperscript{14} Smith 1921, pp. 18–20. See also below, p. 95.
remains in fashion (tomb of Baha’ al-Din near the Tehra Darwaza at Fatehpur Sikri, 1019/1610–11). The verandahs are often accentuated with allusions to the prevailing ninefold plan by a division of the ceilings and/or the spacing of the supports. In the tomb of Shaykh Pir at Meerut (probably 1022/1613) the central block is given on the outside the appearance of a two-storey building by two superimposed rows of arched jalied openings. The verandah that surrounded the “ground floor” is almost completely destroyed. The building is remarkable for the high craftsmanship employed in the ornamentation of its red sandstone facing with carved motifs, jali screens and intarsia with white marble. Some of the motifs are used with great licence, such as the flower-vases in relief that appear instead of archnetting on the pendentives of the dome. Unorthodox as this motif may seem, it was taken up by Shahjahani architects, for instance in the mosque of Fatehpuri Begam near the Taj Mahall at Agra, or in the imperial baldachin of marble projecting from the south wing of the Machchhi Bhawan in the Agra palace (completed 1637; fig. 123).

Also within this group is the tomb of Makhdum Shah Daulat at Maner (1025/1616) west of Patna in Bihar. It is conceived along the lines of the tomb of Muhammad Gauth at Gwalior, but true to the fashion of the period it is placed — together with a gate and a mosque — on a podium with corner towers. The tomb of Iraj Shah Nawaz (d. 1028/1618—19), son of the great commander ʿAbd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan, at Burhanpur and the tomb of Itikhbar Khan (d. 1021/1612–13) at Chunar near Varanasi (Benares) represent the massive arcuate version of this tomb type. The surrounding gallery of the latter shows unique tunnel-vaults of a horseshoe-arch profile; since this

76 Gwalior, tomb of Muhammad Gauth, died 1565, interior catafalque. (Photo 1978)

77 Meerut, tomb of Shaykh Pir, probably 1613, interior. (Photo 1978)

12 Kuraishi, pp. 61–66.
78 Burhanpur, tomb of Shah Nawaz Khan, died 1618–19. (Photo 1984)

79 Chunni, tomb attributed to Ifikhar Khan Turkman, died 1612–13. (Photo 1979)

80 Delhi, tomb of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, died 1627. (Photo 1978)
unusual feature bears a close resemblance to *chaitya* arches it may represent an appreciation of the ancient Buddhist remains in the area.

The cube-shaped Delhi type of tomb (which in Akbar’s period was represented for instance by the tomb of Atga Khan, 974/1566–67, at Nizamuddin, Delhi)\(^7\) continues to be used. Important examples are the mausoleum of ‘Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Kahan at Delhi (d. 1036/1627),\(^8\) which incorporates a not fully developed ninefold plan, and those in the Khusrau Bagh at Allahabad: the tomb of Sultan Nithar Begam, sister of Khusrau (1034/1624–25), and the tomb of Khusrau (d. 1031/1622).\(^9\) The latter has not the usual *pishtaq* in the centre of each side but — like the central

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\(^7\) See above, p. 72.

\(^8\) Zafar Hasan 1915–22, ii, 1919, pp. 128 f.

\(^9\) See above, p. 72.
block of Shaykh Pir's tomb — superimposed niches all around that create the impression of two storeys. All Allahabad tombs have excellent stucco vaults patterned with network, developed from stars arranged in concentric circles with clusters of lozenge-shaped muqarnas.

The octagonal tombs present a heterogeneous picture. Among the already discussed octagonal versions of the takhtgah or platform tomb may, in the widest sense, also be counted the tomb of "Tambulan Begam", in the Khusrau Bagh at Allahabad. The ground floor has the shape of an octagonal podium housing a cruciform chamber; the superstructure consists of a single octagonal domed kiosk. The concept almost literally repeats that of the
earlier water pavilion at Etimadpur (fig. 29); the analogies between tombs and garden pavilions are here very apparent. The inner dome of the tomb of Tambulan Begam rests like a baldachin on eight arches rising from floor level. The dome is of interest because above the arch-netted zone it is lined with oversailing tiers of arched (flattened) muqarnas, a form peculiar to Jahangiri architecture.

The tomb of Muhammad Wasit in the Dargah of Shah Qasim Sulaymani at Chunar (1628/1618) represents a more monumental version of the tomb of Tambulan Begam with its proportions changed in favour of the superstructure and with four pishtaqis alternating with four lower blind arches; a chhajja emphasizes the changing levels of the façade elements.

The tomb of “the Ustad” (actually that of Muhammad Mu’min Husayn) at Nakodar in the Panjab (1621/1612–13) belongs to the group that continues the irregular octagonal tomb type of Akbar’s period.

The most outstanding and ingeniously planned octagonal building, not only of Jahangir’s period but next to Humayun’s tomb in the whole history of Mughal architecture, is the mausoleum of “Anarkali” at Lahore (completed 1624/1619). So far the building has mainly attracted attention for being the sepulchre of a beloved of Jahangir. This scholarly neglect may be due to the fact that the tomb – which originally stood in large, architecturally planned gardens – was considerably modified in being adapted for use as a Christian church in 1831; it is now the Panjab Records Office. The building has the outer shape of an irregular octagon, with octagonal towers at its points that project as half-octagons topped by octagonal chhatris. Inscribed in the figure is a radial ninefold plan with two patterns of cross axes (+ and x). A similar configuration of rooms inscribed in an octagon had such parallels appear to have misled Burton-Page (1991a, pp. 127–28) into describing both the water pavilion of Itimad Khan and that of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul as “fine but anonymous examples” of funerary architecture. The actual tombs of both patrons are separate structures erected in both cases near the shore of the artificial lakes. See our fig. 29.

Illus. in Daniell, Series III, no. 23, as “Mausoleum of Kausim Solemanee”; cf. Führer 1891, p. 239.

Parihar, p. 34 f., pl. xi.

The building has been published with a plan and an elevation but with only a very brief description by A. N. Khan 1980b.
already appeared in the Hada Mahall at Fatepur Sikri (fig. 28), but here the rooms on the x-axis were not connected with the main domed hall. That the tomb of Anarkali is a truly outstanding design can be seen by comparing it with related solutions of Western architecture. It is as if Michelangelo’s last design for San Giovanni de’ Fiorentini in Rome (1559) had been fitted into the outline of Frederick II’s Castel del Monte in Apulia (c. 1240)!
A new type of mausoleum in Jahangir’s period is that of the flat-roofed arched hypostyle hall composed of domed bays demarcated by pillars or piers arranged in a grid pattern. The scheme had announced itself already in the single-aisle pillared hall of the “Solah Kamba” at Lucknow; now it appears fully developed, with pillars set in pairs around the periphery, in the white marble mausoleum of Mirza ʿAziz Koka (d. 1033/1623–24), the “Chaunsath Khamba”, at Nizamuddin, Delhi. The white marble jalis that close it off to the outside point to Gujarat as the most likely source of inspiration for such halls. The design was repeated in red sandstone without jalis in the tomb of “Salabat Khan” between Sikandra and Agra.
Similar tendencies also appear in the mosque architecture of the period. The “Pattihar Masjid” (“Stone Mosque”) at Srinagar (1620s?), sponsored according to tradition by Jahangir’s wife Nur Jahan, has three aisles parallel to the qibla wall, each consisting of nine bays demarcated by massive cruciform piers and coved cellings or vaults with the intricate patterns characteristic of the period. Such arched halls on a grid pattern foreshadow a definite trend of the mosque and palace architecture of Shah Jahan.

The compact masonry mosque of the Delhi tradition embellished with Timurid and Safawid components is best represented by another mosque of female patronage, that of Jahangir’s mother Maryam al-Zamani at Lahore (1020–23/1611–14). The prayer-hall of the Begam Shahi Mosque, as it is commonly called, is a single-aisle five-bay structure with an elaborate painted decoration. Its inner central dome reveals one of the first dated occurrences of a network developed from points arranged in concentric circles.

The courtly mosque architecture of Jahangir’s period thus bears the stamp of female patronage; the emperor himself did not sponsor any major mosque projects.

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25 Zafar Hasan 1922, pp. 34 f.
26 A. N. Khan 1972.
Jahangir’s preferred projects were in the domain of palace and garden architecture. Most were however either altered or demolished by his son and successor Shah Jahan, who considered them “old-fashioned and of bad design” (kuhnagi wa bad tahrīhī). To the latter belong Jahangir’s additions to the palace of Agra.

The best picture of urban Jahangiri palace architecture can be obtained in the fort of Lahore, which Jahangir began to reconstruct after his accession. The final touch was given to the buildings between 1617 and 1620 by Jahangir’s architect ʿAbd al-Karim Maʿmūr Khan. He had recommended himself for this task by his successful adaptation of the palaces of the Malwa sultans at Mandu for the stay of the court in 1617. Although the palace of Lahore did not escape later alterations, the greater part of the constructions between Akbar’s Diwan-i ʿAmm courtyard and the riverfront date from Jahangir’s reign. They consist of narrow wings (laid around open courtyards) constructed according to the local fashion in brick, and plastered and painted with various designs in the typical colours of the period: white, light green, dark red and ochre.

“Jahangir’s Quadrangle”, the main zanana courtyard, combines the local brick architecture with quotations from the imperial style of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in the form of trabeate sandstone verandahs. The cbbajja of the courtyard wings is supported by composite zoomorphic brackets in the shape of elephants, felines and peacocks. Such unorthodox features were now
considered tolerable not only in the informal atmosphere of the zanana, but also in less private areas, where they appear in the form of figurative wall-paintings. The vault of the “Kala Burj”, a residential tower, preserves wall-paintings characteristic of the extravagant Jahangiri taste: a Solomonic programme of birds and angels, including putti after European models (pl. VIII). Related subjects appear in an unusually exposed position on the outer walls of the riverside and west fronts of the fort: the multi-panelled surface contains court scenes, animal-fights and mythical figures in tile mosaic.

At Delhi, Jahangir ordered the construction of palace buildings in the small fort of Salimgarh, which was now renamed Nurgarh. These buildings (completed in 1619, no longer extant) accommodated the court when it passed through Delhi until Shah Jahan's completion of the new fortress-palace of Shahjahanabad (opposite the Salimgarh) in 1648 (figs. 127, 129).

Besides these additions to the palaces in the Mughal metropolises, Jahangir also built several country houses and hunting-lodges. The most outstanding is Shaikhpura near Lahore (1615–20; pl. XI), a classical octagonal water pavilion of the design of the Sher Mandal (fig. 11) in a large artificial tank, the corners of which are accentuated by small kiosks. The main pavilion is linked by a bridgeway on arches to a gatehouse on the western bank. The highly picturesque ensemble thus repeats all the elements of the earlier Akbari water palaces, albeit on a grander scale. A new feature is the hunting-tower that stands not far away, on the axis of the bridgeway. To judge from holes in its surface, it was originally decorated with trophies in the tradition of Akbar's hunting-memorials. It is significant that the earliest surviving hunting-palaces of the Mughals date from Jahangir's time (Akbar's Nagarchin is not preserved, or has not yet been identified). From the abundant references in his memoirs, the Tuzuk, Jahangir appears to have been the most enthusiastic hunter among the first six Mughal emperors, who all - including Aurangzeb - attached great importance to the sport.

Another of Jahangir's country houses in a highly picturesque setting was the Chashma-i Nur in the hills west of Ajmer, completed in 1624/1615.

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27 Lahori, i/2, p. 51, et passim.
29 Jahangir, i, pp. 363 ff., 368, 375 f.
30 Koch 1983.
31 Vogel.
32 Jahangir, ii, 109.
33 A. N. Khan 1980a.
34 Rabbani.
Here particular attention was given to relating the architecture to the hilly site and to the spectacular water-lift, an (unfinished) stepped structure said to have been built by Rao Maldeva of Marwar in 1535 to conduct water upwards. The chief relic of Jahangir’s complex is a high masonry pishtaq – standing in a defile between two hillsides – with a basin at its foot. The pishtaq provides access to a grotto in the mountainside, the concept being reminiscent of the Nilkanth at Mandu. In 1616 Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador to the court of Jahangir, described the Chashma (also known as Hafiz Jamal) as “a place of much melancholy delight”, thus anticipating the sentiments of many a later English traveller to India in search of the picturesque.

The emperor’s main interest was here directed to the development of Kashmir as summer residence of the court. One of Jahangir’s first projects after his accession was the laying out of a garden around the source of the Jehlam (Behat) at Vernag. His visit in 1620 sparked off a whole wave of garden projects, among them the Nur Afza in the fort of Hari Parbat, Achabal (altered by Shah Jahan’s daughter Jahanara between 1634 and 1640), and the lower garden, the Farah Bakhsh (“Joy-Imparting”) of the famous Shalimar. The construction of the latter was put in the hands of Prince Khurram, the latter Shah Jahan, who had by this time proven his talent for architecture.

The central feature of the Mughal garden at Kashmir is a spring, whose waters are collected in a canal (nahr) that forms the main axis of the garden. The layout takes advantage of the sloping hillside site for terraces (martaba), ponds (buz), branch canals (jadwal, juy) and pavilions and platforms (nashiman) sited along the watercourse.

Other members of the imperial family and grandees of the court also laid out numerous gardens. After the death of their owners these reverted to the crown; the emperor either kept them for himself or bestowed them on members of his family and the nobility. The same garden would thus pass through a chain of successive owners, which led to repeated remodelling and renaming.

The same applies to the gardens of Agra, at least those which were not converted by their owners into tomb gardens to prevent them falling into the emperor’s hands. Agra’s development as a city of riverside gardens seems to have been given special attention in this period. Of the thirty-three gardens listed with their names by Pelsaert in 1626, about one-third were created or refashioned during Jahangir’s reign. This is particularly true of the river bank north of Itimad al-Daula’s tomb, which boasts one of the best-preserved residential gardens not only of Agra but, next to the Farah Bakhsh, of Jahangir’s period altogether. It is the “Ram Bagh”, by a twentieth century tradition associated with Babur, but now re-identified as Nur Jahan’s Bagh-i-Nur Afshan, completed in 1621 (fig. 3/1).

By this time the (residential) riverside garden of Agra had acquired its typical form: the main architectural accent was shifted from the centre of the garden towards the riverfront, where the main buildings were arranged on

33 Sarda, pp. 104–07.
36 p. 121.
37 Jahangir, ii, pp. 142, 150 f., 173 f.
38 Crowe et al.; Bazmee Ansari 1960.
39 Jahangir’s India, pp. 2 ff.
40 Koch 1986a.
95 Kashmir, Shalimar gardens, founded 1629, site-plan.
1 Bagh-i Farah Bakhs, 2 Bagh-i Fuz Roay Bakhs.

96 Kashmir, Shalimar gardens, Farah Bakhs, platform in the central pool connected to the banks by two bridges ways. (Photo 1981)
a terrace. Thus they not only profited from the climate but also presented a carefully composed riverside view framed by the corner towers of the enclosure wall. In the Ram Bagh two oblong pavilions formed by open verandahs (the Mughal iwans) alternating with closed rooms (bujras) flank a pool on the riverside terrace. The scheme ingeniously transposes the concept of palatial zanana enclosures (fig. 94) into the lighter forms of freestanding garden architecture. The trabeate elements of the verandahs - multifaceted columns and capitals (probably painted originally with muqarnas) and beams supported by voluted brackets, covered with white polished stucco (chuna) - anticipate early Shahjahani practice (pavilions at Ajmer (fig.
115); Shah Burj, Agra fort). However, they have a retrospective architectural decoration that echoes that of Lahore: peacock brackets, wall-paintings (partly after European models) and elaborate stucco vaults painted with birds and angels in the manner of the Kala Burj (pl. VIII).

Otherwise, the standard type for garden pavilions and villas remains the cube-shaped pavilion erected on variations of the hasht bihisht plan. A particularly elegant and well-preserved example with a delicate sandstone facing is the “Kanch Mahall” at Sikandra, Agra. Similar in style is the gatehouse of the “Suraj Bhan ka Bagh”, also at Sikandra. It has a particularly elaborate chini khana decoration.\(^{41}\)
The public works of Jahangir included the planting of trees along the highways from Agra to Attock and to Bengal, and the setting of monumental kos minars (milestones in the form of small towers) and wells along the road from Agra to Lahore. In 1620 Jahangir ordered the construction of small stations (ladbis) along the route over the Pir Panjal pass into Kashmir.

A number of karwan saar’is were built during his reign. Nur Jahan’s Sara’i Nur Mahall in the Panjab (1028–30/1618–20) has an entrance-gate faced with sandstone, and carved – true to the fashion of the period – with animal, human and mythical figures similar to those appearing in tile-work on the outer wall of the Lahore fort.

101 Sara’i Nur Mahall, 1028–30/1618–20, western gate, outer facade. (Photo 1979)

The other great female patron of architecture of this period, Jahangir’s mother Maryam al-Zamani, also sponsored a remarkable public work, a ba’oli (step-well) near the old idgah at Brahambad, Bayana. A marble inscription on its gate dates it in the seventh year of Jahangir’s reign (1612); it was thus built at the same time as Maryam al-Zamani’s mosque at Lahore. The ba’oli was considered by the English traveller Mundy to be “the best of this Kinde that I have yett scene, ... a very costly and curious pece of worke”. The scheme consists of a gate, four flights of stairs leading down to the water-level, and a well-shaft at the farther end of the main axis, all constructed in the local red sandstone. The step-well was a type of water architecture that had been brought to its richest development in Gujarat. Typical for the Mughal treatment of the ba’oli is the clear and rational approach concentrating on the main components of the architecture; nonfunctional elements are reduced to a minimum.

The architectural patronage of the great nobleman and general ‘Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan, who — if we are to believe his eulogists — “turned Hindustan into Iran”, includes important works of civic architecture at Burhanpur. The town had become the headquarters of the Mughals after the

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42 Jahangir, ii, p. 100.
43 Jahangir, ii, p. 178.
45 p. 105; see also Jahangir, ii, p. 64. I thank Iqtidar Alam Khan for kindly providing me with a plan of the so far unpublished building.
46 Jain-Neubauer
conquest of Khandesh, a region in west-central India, in 1601. Unique in India are the still existing qanat works, an extensive irrigation system of underground waterpipes of Iranian inspiration (1024/1615). They served to bring water from the foothills of the Satpura range to the town and to the Khan-i Khanan's now lost La'il Bagh. These artfully planned and cultivated gardens with a large artificial lotus-pond in their middle became the great attraction of Burhanpur, all the more so as the Khan-i Khanan threw them open to the public (khass-o-samm) — a rare gesture of civic spirit for the times.\footnote{Nahawandi, ii, pp. 998 ff.; for the later history of the waterworks see The Imperial Gazetteer of India, ix: Bombay to Central India, p. 105.} Other works of urban architecture sponsored by the Khan-i Khanan during
his long tenure of Burhanpur were a sara’i (1027/1617–18) and a public hammaam (1016/1607–08) near the fort. The hammaam is noteworthy for its carefully thought-out plan and its elaborate vaults. Today the building has the plan of a truncated muthammam baghdadi; its ruined state does not allow us to determine whether this shape was intended or whether part of the building has disappeared. The full figure is based on the radial ninefold plan with two patterns of cross-axes (+ and x); the concept is close to the tomb of Anarkali at Lahore (fig. 87). The scheme is enriched by cruciform room compositions replacing the earlier simpler chambers, and by corridors linking the inner niches or arms of the cruciform units. They generate a square ambulatory around the central octagonal unit. Comparable configurations of rooms had already appeared in Akbari hammaams; new is that they are now organized according to a strictly geometrical scheme. The concept of the Burhanpur hammaam is highlighted by the sophisticated plaster lining of the vaults; their different netted designs might almost be a pattern-book of Jahangiri vaulting. The supervisor, or perhaps even the architect, of this remarkable building was Muhammad ‘Ali, known as Gurg-i Khurisan.\(^4^9\)

\(^4^8\) For plans see Petruccioli 1988, fig. 131.
\(^4^9\) Nahawandi, ii, p. 621; Naik, pp. 216–19.
Under Shah Jahan, Mughal architecture took on a new aesthetic and entered its classical phase. The architectural ideals of the period were symmetry and uniformity of shapes, governed by hierarchical accents.

The symmetrical planning of both individual buildings and large complexes became even more binding than in the previous periods. Compositions of bilateral symmetry on both sides of a central axis (qarina) were now given preference over centralized schemes.

Uniformity was achieved by the reduction of the architectural vocabulary to a few forms. The multi-faceted column with a muqarnas (or multi-faceted) capital and a cusped-arch base (base in the shape of an inverted cushion capital, whose four flat faces are outlined like a cusped arch) emerged as the chief columnar form. Although it had made its first appearance in Akbari architecture (Tan Sen's Baradari, fig. 48, Qush Khana, fig. 17, both Fatehpur Sikri) and was also used occasionally in Jahanargir's period (Ram Bagh, or Bagh-i Nur Afshan, fig. 98), its widespread and consistent use in Shah Jahan's architecture entirely justifies the designation “Shahjahanani column”. In early Shahjahani architecture it was combined with one type of voluted bracket supporting architraves (pavilions at Ajmer, fig. 115; Shah Burj, Agra fort).\footnote{Koch 1982a, pp. 337 f.}

First in particularly distinguished buildings, later in a more general context, the Shahjahanani column was often given a vegetal capital and/or base (figs. 137, 149). From about the early 1650s it was combined with a multi-cusped arch, another characteristic feature of the period (figs. 112, 122, 125).

The standardization of architecture also extended to the patterns of the vaults. Of the various experiments with decorative plaster vaults that were made in Jahanargir architecture, the network developed from points in concentric tiers was used almost exclusively. It gradually acquired the shape of a thin reticulated whorl pattern (hammam of the Red Fort of Delhi, fig. 132). Shah Jahan's authors now provide us with an architectural term for this type of work, namely qalib kari (mould-work); this indicates that the original plaster version of this type of vault was produced by means of moulds. The pattern was also applied in carved relief to the sandstone or marble facing of vaults (inner dome of the Taj Mahall).

The other main vault form of Shahjahanani architecture was the coved ceiling (often with reticulated cavettos), which was particularly suitable for covering the now preferred rectangular halls (fig. 124).

Hierarchical and symbolical accents were set by means of an entirely new architectural vocabulary. Three-dimensionally modelled and decorated with revolutionary naturalistic plant motifs, it was destined to become archetypical for Indian architecture of the future. Its main elements were the "cypress-bodied" (sarte-andam) baluster column, the semicircular arch, and the curved roof (vault) or cornice (bangla).

The baluster column helps particularly well to show that these new forms owed their origin to a reawakened interest in synthesizing fresh sources. Before Shah Jahan, Mughal architects had already turned their attention to
baluster-shaped columnar forms but, in the end, had refrained from fully accepting the characteristic bulb-shape. The elongated wooden baluster columns of the Transoxanian ʿewan (fig. 124) had inspired a stone column of Akbari architecture, which appears for instance in the east verandah of the Jahangiri Mahall in the Agra fort (fig. 39) or in the Rani ki Mahall of the Allahabad fort (fig. 53). The characteristic bulb at the bottom of the Transoxanian model was however omitted here, and a formally related pot-like element inserted instead in the lower part of the shaft.2 The adaptation of the Transoxanian examples shows a first awareness of this particular columnar form. The actual shape of Shah Jahan’s baluster column with its naturalistic acanthus decoration — taking the third dimension fully into account — was however derived from European sources, most likely prints of the Dürer circle, brought to the court by the Jesuits (Compare fig. 104 with figs. 122, 133). The characteristic combination of the column with an additional pot-like element at its foot — a purna ghata motif — was in turn inspired by a further source, namely the baluster columns of the Buddhist and Hindu architecture of eastern India (Compare fig. 105 with fig. 123). Since Akbar’s days it had been an acknowledged region of influence for Mughal architecture.3 Eastern India also provided the models for the curved-up roof or vault, another characteristic element of the new Shahjahanī vocabulary. Shah Jahan’s authors term it bangla or bangula in allusion to its derivation from vernacular prototypes of Bengal (figs. 121, 133, 136).

2 See above, pp. 40, 42, 55; and for this and the following see Koch 1982b.
3 See Abu’l Fazl’s remarks quoted above, p. 34.
4 Koch 1982b and 1988b.
5 Skelton.
6 Fol. 18r.
7 Koch 1988b, p. 3.
8 Wulff, pp. 92–97.
The baluster column, the semicircular arch and the *bangla* were — as symbols of rulership — at first strictly reserved for the architecture for formal appearances of the emperor (*jharokhas*, baldachins, loggias). They were expressed in white marble, which, together with very fine, highly polished white stucco from Gujarat (*chuna*), now became the favourite veneer of imperial buildings.

In a wider architectural context, other features quickly asserted themselves, in particular naturalistic flowery plant motifs derived from European herbal, which became the chief dado ornament of Shahjahani architecture. On the whole, the use of plant motifs marked a reversion of architectural decoration from the figurative extravaganzas of the previous reign to artistic modes sanctioned by Islamic law, which became a matter of greater concern for Shah Jahan. At the same time, the flower and plant forms underlined the poets’ assertion that the emperor’s buildings were a paradise on earth, surpassing even the Qur’anic, mythical and natural models. The flowery motifs were executed in painting, (fig. 118) in sensuously carved relief-work in marble or stucco (*munabbat kari*, fig. 111), or in *parchin kari* (figs. 157, 110); the latter term describes the *commesso di pietre dure* technique, i.e. composite inlays of hard (= precious) stones.

This highly specialized technique of Florentine origin was soon mastered to such perfection by the lapidaries of Shah Jahan that the emperor’s Persian historian Qazwini⁷ (and after him many a modern author involved in the “*pietra dura controversy*”) considered it “a craft peculiar to the stonecutters of India” (*san'at makhbūs-i sangtarāshān-i Hindustān*), while comparing it favourably to *khatam bandi*, the Iranian technique of inlays in wood.⁸ The Mughal artisans were able to attain this high standard in the *commesso* technique because they were already skilled in the closely related, simpler stone intarsia technique.⁹ The painterly effects that could be obtained with *commesso di pietre dure* made it possible to replace the earlier conventional stone intarsia patterns with the now favoured naturalistic motifs. The intention is made clear by the verses of Shah Jahan’s court poet Abu Talib Kalim:

> "They have inlaid stone flowers in marble,  
> Which surpass reality in colour if not in fragrance."¹⁰

Another innovation in interior decoration was the mosaic of mirror-pieces set in *chuna* (*ayina kari*, fig. 137).

The predilection for curvilinear forms also determined the profile of domes, which became increasingly more bulbous, possibly under the influence of Deccani architecture.¹¹

A noteworthy new feature in religious and sepulchral architecture are multiple minarets. The practice, which was probably inspired by Ottoman examples, had announced itself with the quadruple minarets set on the gate of Akbar’s tomb at Sikandra (fig. 68). From the formal point of view, multiple minarets were highly suitable for setting accents as compositional elements. From the semantic point of view, the frequent use of minarets as a symbol of Islam may be seen as an expression of Shah Jahan’s more orthodox attitude towards religion.¹² Shahjahani minarets usually have a
cylindrical or octagonal shaft surrounded by one or more balconies and topped by a chhatri (figs. 106, 140, pls. XII, XVII).

The planning of imperial building projects was done by the collective efforts of a court bureau of architects working under the emperor's close supervision — as Prince Khurram he had already shown himself to be "exceedingly fond of laying out gardens and founding buildings". While the credit for these buildings, even for their overall concept, had to go to Shah Jahan as the supreme architect, his historians mention several of the men responsible for the actual realization. An outstanding figure in Shah Jahan's early reign was Mir 'Abd al-Karim, who had already literally made himself a name as Jahangir's leading architect. The most famous of the constructions he supervised — together with the noble Makramat Khan — was the Taj Mahall. Makramat Khan was later — when governor of Delhi — also employed as the final chief overseer of the construction of the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad, the emperor's palace-fortress in his new capital at Delhi. The only architects of Shah Jahan to whom the conventional term for this profession (mi̇dar) was applied were Ustad Ahmad Lahori and Ustad Hamid, who laid the foundations of the palace-fortress of Shahjahanabad. Ustad Ahmad is also reported to have been connected with the building of the Taj Mahall.

Most of Shah Jahan's building projects were financed from the imperial purse. Recent research has shown that his building activities were by no means so great a burden on the treasury as some critics liked to make out.

Where the emperor led the way, the court was bound to follow. The members of the imperial family and the great nobles of the court were in turn expected to respond to Shah Jahan's taste for architecture. Not only were they employed in imperial projects (Asaf Khan, 'Ali Mardan Khan), but they were also encouraged and, at times, even ordered to sponsor buildings. Since often such structures would also be used by the emperor, they had to conform to his ideas. The emperor's daughter Jahanara fully shared her father's passion for building, thus culminating the Mughal tradition of female patronage of architecture that had been well represented by Jahangir's mother, Maryam al-Zamani, and his wife Nur Jahan. Not only the sponsoring but also the designing of buildings appears to have become a regular fashion at court, even affecting men of religion. Jahanara and the emperor's favourite son, Dara Shukoh, started a small architectural workshop at Kashmir under the guidance of their spiritual teacher, the Sufi mystic Mulla Shah Badakhshi.

That Shah Jahan's reign was an era of great architectural awareness is also reflected in the contemporary sources. From no other Mughal period do we possess such detailed comments on architecture. By inference and analogy, these also shed light on Mughal architectural phenomena of earlier or later periods that are not explained in the literature. Shahjahani texts also provide the broadest basis for the understanding of Mughal architectural terminology.

11 Kanbo, i, p. 108.
14 Lutf Allah Muhandis, Dīwan, Eng. trans. in Chaghtai 1937, pp. 202 f.; see also Begley 1982; and Qaisar, pp. 8 ff.
11 Moosvi
16 See below, p. 117.
17 Kanbo, i, pp. 11 f.
Following the usual custom, Shah Jahan, after his accession, built the tomb of his father at Lahore in one of the gardens on the far side of the river Ravi (1637-47/1628-38). In Jahangir's tomb the classical char bagh layout was combined with a chauk-i jilau khana (ceremonial forecourt or square), which also contained a mosque. The peculiar shape of the mausoleum was dictated by Jahangir's wish to be buried under the open sky, like his ancestor Babur; consequently a tombstone (marqad) was set on a platform (chabutra), which in turn was placed on a monumental podium (takhtgah) with corner minarets. The scheme is clearly indebted to the tradition of the platform tombs of the previous reign, for which Shah Jahan's authors provide us in
retrospect with the technical term takhtgah (tomb). The podium is faced with sandstone (from Fatehpur) inlaid with stone; the tombstone (not preserved) showed one of the first instances of true commesso di pietre dure, representing naturalistic flowers inlaid in marble. An idea of it can be obtained from the tombstone in the lower tomb-chamber.¹⁸

The design of Jahangir’s tomb was repeated only once, on about half the scale and without corner minarets, in the tomb of Nur Jahan (d. 1655/1645), built by Jahangir’s widow herself nearby.¹⁹

The sepulchral architecture of Shah Jahan, and indeed of the Mughals, culminates in the famous mausoleum of Shah Jahan’s favourite wife Arjumand Banu Begam at Agra (1615–55; pl. XVII).²⁰ The tomb derived its name from her title Muntaz Mahall, distorted by popular etymology to Taj Mahall. Comparable to some extent to Ottoman schemes, the tomb garden forms part of a larger, carefully planned complex; it is preceded on its southern side by a chauf-i jilau khana — a feature that had already been introduced in Jahangir’s tomb. The jilau khana square is framed on both sides by smaller residential courts for the tomb attendants (khawaspuras), bazaar streets and subsidiary tomb enclosures. Further south followed a complex divided by two intersecting bazaar streets (char su bazar) into four (karwansara’is; stil further south was a square (chaufk) with another bazaar and two more sara’is. The surrounding area had by the time of the completion of the tomb developed into a regular township named Muntazabad, now known as Tajganj. The income of the bazaars and the karwansara’is —

¹⁸ Thompson.
²⁰ For a recent bibliography see Pal et al.; and Begley and Desai.
109  

Taj Mahall, section.

Together with that of thirty villages from the district of Agra — was devoted by imperial command to the upkeep of the mausoleum. 22

In its layout, the garden is a typical Agra riverside garden on a monumental scale, with a raised terrace (on which are placed the main buildings) combined with a lower char bagh. At about the same time, Shah Jahan's architects realized a comparable scheme in the residential courtyard of the Anguri Bagh in the Agra fort (figs. 36/5, 121); thus, the plan of the Taj garden represents just another — albeit grander — instance of interchangeable ideas in the funerary and secular architecture of the Mughals. That a typical plan of Mughal residential architecture was used as a setting for the tomb indicates that it was meant to represent an earthly replica of one of the houses of the heavenly Paradise, rather than — as has recently been speculated — an embodiment of complex concepts of Islamic cosmology. 23

True to the architectural ideal of the period, the whole scheme is founded on strict bilateral symmetry with emphasis on the features on the central axis: the grandiose group of the tomb (rauza) and its four minarets flanked by a mosque and an assembly-hall (mishman khana) set the main accent. Radial symmetry is observed in the gatehouse and the tomb proper, both of which follow the ninefold plan. That of the tomb is inscribed in a muthamman baghldadi and is derived from the earlier radially planned variants of the model (tomb of Humayun, fig. 19, Todar Mal's Baradari, fig. 24; tomb of Anarkali, fig. 87). The plan of the Taj Mahall uses particularly those elements — including the square ambulatory around the central octagon introduced in the Burhanpur hammam (fig. 103), — that lend themselves to perfect balance of composition. Some of the earlier solutions

21 Not on J.A. Hodgson's plan because only surviving in fragments, but appearing on eighteenth-century plans, see Pal et al., fig. 41; for a reconstructed plan see Begley and Desai, fig. 17.

22 Lahori, ii, pp. 322–30; Kanbo, ii, pp. 315–20; for new trans. and illus. see Begley and Desai, pp. 65 ff.

(tomb of Humayun, tomb of Anarkali) may be more creative and original — that of the Taj Mahall is certainly the most harmonious.

The elevation of the tomb — composed of pishtaqs flanked by double-storey niches — brings the cubical tomb of the Delhi type enhanced by Deccani features (bulbous profile of the dome) to a formal apotheosis of unparalleled elegance and harmony. The balanced proportions are highlighted by the sophisticated facing of the brick structure: the white marble inlaid with pietre dure reacts to atmospheric changes and enhances the mystical and mythical aura of the building.

The question whether a European architect was responsible for the design of the mausoleum much occupied Western scholars of an earlier day, who preferred to ascribe the unique qualities of the Taj to European rather than Asian genius. Since the mausoleum is entirely within the stream of Mughal architecture, the possible involvement of a European architect appears to be of rather secondary importance. If the Italian goldsmith Geronimo Veroneo was indeed consulted in the planning, it was only as one of a larger team directed by Shah Jahan. Tangible evidence for European in-
fluence on the Taj Mahall is confined to the architectural decoration, to the exquisite *pietre dure* inlay and the sensuously carved flowers and vases of the dados (*izara*). All the subsidiary structures of the Taj complex are faced with red sandstone; special features, such as domes, may be clad in white marble. The lesser tombs have the form of single-storey regular octagons surrounded either by pillared verandahs or by eight *pishtaq* of equal size (pl. XIV). Both versions are surmounted by pronounced bulbous domes.

The pillared version appears in the tombs of Satti al-Nisa Khanum (d. 1536/1647, now generally identified as that in the southwest corner of the *jilau khana*), of "Sirhind Begam" (in the southeast corner of the *jilau khana*), and in an unidentified tomb outside the east wall of the Taj complex. This tomb type is of particular interest as it suddenly revives an earlier form that had been the most distinct sepulchral type of Delhi Sultanate architecture. The prototype, displaying the chunky articulation of the Tugluq style, was the tomb of Khan-i Jahan Maqbul Tilangan in Nizamuddin (c. 1368), which had several epigons in Sayyid, Lodi and Suri architecture (fig. 34). After being used once in early Mughal architecture for the tomb of Adham Khan at Mehrauli (d. 969/1562, fig. 35), the type fell into disuse in sepulchral architecture. It emerged, however, transformed into a light trabeate form (in which a *chhatri* may replace the funerary dome), in residential architecture, in which context some examples have already been noted, namely the Qush Khana (without topping *chhatri* or dome) at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 17), the topmost storey of the Chalis Sutun of the Allahabad fort (fig. 35), and the Shah Burj in the Agra fort (completed 1637, fig. XIII). With the subsidiary tombs of the Taj complex the type reappears in sepulchral architecture, still with the delicate articulation of the verandah. Each of the faces has three arcades with c cusped arches and Shahjahani columns. This tomb form was not used again in Mughal architecture.
A massive version of the subsidiary tombs, showing in each of its eight faces a pishtaq with a deep arched niche, is represented by the tomb of “Fatehpuri Begam” outside the western wall of the chauk-i jilau khana (fig. XIV). This form also appears in other sepulchral buildings of the period. Particularly close is the tomb of Asaf Khan (d. 1631/1641) at Lahore; the tomb of ‘Ali Mardan Khan (c. 1650), also at Lahore, has a different dome, shaped on models of earlier Mughal architecture (tomb of Humayun) – both tombs have been stripped of their original veneer.27 Also a regular octagon, but with a less bold elevation, is the marble-faced tomb of “Shaykh Chilli” at Thanesar north of Panipat and Karnal.28 The surrounding chhajjas topping the main body of the structure and its rather shallow niches bring the concept close to that of the earlier tomb of Firoz Khan at Agra, dating from Jahangir’s period (fig. 72). The overall concept also conforms to the tradition of the Jahangiri platform tombs, here integrated into a large, four-winged complex.

The Gujarat-derived tomb with an inner domed chamber and a surrounding square verandah – which is structurally closely related to the pillared version of the octagonal tomb – served as a pattern for the reconstruction of the rauza of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Auliya, the famous Chishti saint of Delhi. The work was sponsored by Khalil Allah Khan, governor of Delhi, in 1663/1652–53, and consists of a marble verandah of multi-lobed arches and baluster columns built in four straight walks around the old tomb-chamber. Above it rises a pronounced bulbous dome.29 The construction illustrates very clearly how conventional Mughal building types were reinterpreted by means of the new organic vocabulary.

Among the square tombs of the period may be mentioned the “Chini ka Rauza” on the east bank of the Jamna at Agra. On the Jaipur plan it is inscribed as Rauza of Afzal Khan (actually spelled “Rauja Afjal Khā”, fig. 3/3), which confirms the local tradition attributing this tomb to ‘Allami Afzal Khan Shirazi (d. 1048/1639), diwan-i kul (minister in charge of imperial finance) of Shah Jahan.30 The tomb derives its popular name from its severely damaged and now heavily restored outer facing with tile mosaic in the Lahore style, a truly exotic element in the sepulchral architecture of Agra. The structure is raised on a classical square hasht bisht plan with

27 M. W. U. Khan, pp. 57, 63.
28 Parihar, pp. 35 f., pl. 36.
30 Shah Nawaz Khan, i, 149–53.
31 Smith 1901, pp. 3–17, pls. 7–57.
32 M. W. U. Khan, p. 67.
33 For the date see Koch 1982a, p. 337, n. 18.
pishtaqs in the centre of each elevation. It has elaborate painted vaults;\textsuperscript{31} the main dome is lined with concentric tiers of arched muqarnas, a retrospective feature still indebted to the experimental vaults of Jahangir’s period.

A less successful specimen of a square tomb on a ninefold plan is the tomb of Da‘i Anga, Shah Jahan’s wetnurse (d. 1082/1671–72), at Lahore.\textsuperscript{32} It is faced with plaster and tile mosaic, which at Lahore is of course a conventional feature. The low and wide proportions of the main body of the building and the chhatris over each corner rather give it the appearance of a Jahangiri takhtgah tomb, on which the massive central dome seems an aberration.

Another keynote of Shah Jahan’s architectural patronage was palace and garden architecture. He had the palace in the fort of Agra reconstructed, made changes to the fort of Lahore and built a fortress-palace in his newly founded city at Delhi, appropriately named Shahjahanabad.

Shah Jahan also commissioned several pleasure houses. In 1046/1636 he completed the group of white marble pavilions on the bank of the Ana Sagar lake at Ajmer that had been begun “in a fresh style” under Jahangir.\textsuperscript{33} The pavilions vary the theme of the flat-roofed hypostyle hall in an almost entirely trabeate idiom consisting of Shahjahani columns supporting voluted brackets, architraves and a flat roof set off by an ornamental parapet. The whole architecture breathes the pure classical spirit for which Shahjahani buildings became celebrated. However, the fact that the complex was partly constructed by Jahangir shows – like the topmost storey of Akbar’s tomb, the Agra buildings of Nur Jahan (Bagh-i Nur Afshan, tomb of I’timad al-Daula) or the Chaunsath Khamba at Nizamuddin, Delhi – that the basis for this new marble style was laid firmly in the previous reign.

Shah Jahan’s building programme also included several hunting-palaces, which have largely been ignored in the literature. Outstanding are his large
complexes at Bari and Rup Bas, built entirely in red sandstone (completed 1646/1637). Contrary to the great urban palaces, they are almost completely preserved, and thus show the full scheme of a Shahjahani palace, from the halls and pavilions for the court ceremonial to the retainers' quarters and sanitary installations. Another of his hunting-palaces, now almost entirely destroyed, was that of Palam (actually in the village Hashtsal) near Delhi (completed 1634). Its most outstanding surviving feature is a hunting-tower, popularly known as Hashtsal Minar, built in emulation of the practice of

115 Ajmer, pavilions built by Jahangir and Shah Jahan on the bank of the Ana Sagar lake, completed 1636, elevations.

116 Ajmer, Ana Sagar, pavilion 4, landward facade. (Photo 1985)

38 Koch 1991a.
Akbar and Jahangir. It is not decorated with hunting-trophies like its forerunners but — an interesting instance of revivallist architecture — its surface copies that of the lowest storey of the famous Qutb Minar at Delhi, which was built between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century as a visible sign of the establishment of Muslim rule in northern India (pl. II).
The Red Fort of Agra presents us with the first official palace architecture of Shah Jahan. The nucleus of his reconstruction (1637–46/1628–37) consists of a complex of three courts. The east wing of the great courtyard with the hall of public audiences forms the western portion of two smaller courts, both facing the river Jamna, the “Anguri Bagh” (“Grape-Garden”) and the “Machchhi Bhawan” (“Fish-House”) (pl. XIII, fig. 36). All three courtyards are organized in a similar way and follow the scheme of the riverside garden of Agra: three of their sides are formed by narrow wings of one or two storeys; on the fourth, the eastern side, arranged on terraces, are the individual structures for the main ceremonial functions of the court and for the personal use of the emperor and his daughter Jahanara. This courtyard pattern — dictated by a preference for riverside sites — was to remain the chief compositional element of the palace architecture of Shah Jahan. In the Anguri Bagh the riverside buildings („Khass Mahall”) consist of the emperor’s sleeping-pavilion (Aramgah) flanked to the north by the pavilion where he appeared to his subjects (Bangla-i Darshan), which is followed by the Shah Burj (“Royal Tower”), used for private counselling. To the south of the Aramgah is the Bangla of Jahanara, which formed part of her apartments in the adjoining part of the south wing of the court. The three courtyard wings contain residential quarters for the women. In the Machchhi Bhawan the buildings on the riverside terrace consist of the hall of private audiences (Daulat Khana-i Khass, earlier termed ghusl khana, popularly call-
ed Diwan-i Khass) and, opposite, the Hammam, stripped by the English in the nineteenth century of its marble porch and of its revetments and paving.\(^{36}\) Below, on the ground floor, were vaulted rooms housing the treasury. The courtyard wings contained offices behind arcaded galleries. Projecting from the centre of the southern wing is a baldachined marble seat for the emperor; its baluster columns and semicircular arches with rich naturalistic plant decoration are in studied contrast to the repeated monotony of the Shahjahaní columns and multi-lobed arches of the surrounding arcades.\(^{37}\)

The main individual pavilions, the Aramgah and Diwan-i Khass, elaborate and expand on the favourite Mughal pavilion theme of the combination of an inner hall (now termed *tanabi khana* or *tambi khana*) with a pillared porch or verandah (the Mughal *iwan*). The execution is enhanced by the marble facing. New in the palatial building programme is the great hall of public audiences, the Daulat Khana-i Khass-\(^{0,5}\)Amm, or Chihil Sutun

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\(^{36}\) Koch 1982a.

\(^{37}\) Koch 1982b.
("Forty-pillared Hall"), popularly known as the Diwan-i Āmm. The flat-roofed hypostyle construction is erected on a grid pattern. Its bays are demarcated by coved ceilings set off by cusped arches and large Shahjahani columns, paired on the outer sides. The design is evolved from forerunners in the funerary and mosque architecture of Jahangir’s reign. The overall concept, in particular the deployment of paired pillars around the periphery, closely relates the audience-hall to the Chaunsath Khamba at Nizamuddin,
"Forty" is used in the sense of "many"; the hall actually has forty-eight freestanding columns and twelve half-columns.

38 For an additional discussion of the individual buildings and for literature see Andrews 1986b.


which is however square and has no fixed orientation (fig. 89). The Agra Diwan-i 'Amm, on the other hand, has an oblong shape that generates three aisles along the longer side and nine naves along the shorter side. This plan has its closest parallel in the Patthar Masjid at Srinagar, which is however built in a more massive idiom with cruciform piers instead of columns (fig. 91). Both buildings have a wider nave in the centre indicating the direction in which the hall should be read. In the case of the mosque it leads to the mibrab, in the case of the audience-hall to the emperor's place of appearance, described with the Sanskrit term jharoka. Such parallels were by no means accidental: Shah Jahan's eulogists extol the emperor as the qibla and mibrab - the direction of prayer - of his subjects. The Mughal emperor's aspiration to unite both spiritual and political authority could not be given a more explicit architectural expression. The reference is reinforced by a mosque integrated in the centre of the western wing of the courtyard - exactly opposite the audience hall (fig. 36/3). The audience-hall of Agra served as a model for those in the palaces of Lahore and Shahjahanabad.

The ideas of Agra were pressed into a rigid formal scheme in the Red Fort of Delhi, the fortress-palace (qila) of Shahjahanabad (1548–58/1639–48). Since it was a new foundation, the Shahjahani ideal of bilateral symmetry could be realized almost unimpeded by earlier structures. The plan has the form of a giant oblong muthamman baghdadi. After I was permitted in 1984 to measure the entire enclosure wall it was possible for the first time to
reconstruct the modular plan.\textsuperscript{41} It was based on the unit of the Shahjahani yard, called gaz or zira, of 0.81–0.82 m. The two longer sides of the muthamman baghdadi measure c. 666 m, the two shorter sides c. 328 m, and the chamfering of the four corners c. 116 m. Hence it is evident that the plan was generated by means of a grid of squares, each square with a side of 82 m, or a hundred gaz. The longer sides of the grid thus consisted of ten squares (= 820 m), the shorter sides of six squares (= 492 m), of which eight squares were used for the longer sides of the muthamman, four squares for the shorter sides, and the diagonal of one square for each of the four corner chamfers. In the execution, however, practical concerns outweighed the ideals of perfect geometrical planning, and the figure was extended in the northeast by a wedge to accommodate the small fort of Salimgarh (Jahangir’s Nurgarh) within the lines of defence.

127 Delhi, Shahjahanabad, Red Fort, 1048–58/1639–48, ground-plan of its present state.
1 Delhi Darwaza, 2 Lahori Darwaza with covered bazaar, 3 Naqqar Khana, 4 Hall of Diwan-i ‘Amm, 5 Rang Mahall, 6 Moti Mahall, 7 Aramgah, 8 Diwan-i Khass, 9 Hammam, 10 Shah Burj, 11 Sawan, 12 Bhadon, 13 Zafar Mahall, 14 Moti Masjid, 15 Salimgarh.

128 Delhi, Red Fort, construction-scheme.
The pavilions and halls for the emperor and the zanana were threaded along a canal, the Nahr-i Bihisht ("River of Paradise"), along the riverfront. This semi-official and private axis was met at a right-angle by the public axis: the great courtyard of public audiences, preceded by the Jilau Khana, into which abuts a covered bazaar providing through the Lahor Gate at its western end the main access to the palace. Through the centre of the Jilau Khana, parallel to the riverfront, was laid another axis, along which were set the imperial stables and an open bazaar street. It was entered through the second main gate, the Delhi Darwaza.

Today, only the enclosure wall and the principal buildings remain divorced from their original context. Their architecture is evolved from that of the pavilions and halls of the Agra fort. As at Agra, contemporary descriptions inform us in detail about the designation and function of the main buildings (fig. 127). The Naqar Khan ("Drum-House") provided access to the courtyard of khass-o-amm. Sited on the same axis is the hall of the Daulat Khana-i Khass-o-amm, or Chihil Sutun, closely modelled on its earlier counterpart at Agra. Its central wider nave leads to the emperor's throne-jharoka in the form of a marble bangla supported by four baluster columns set before an arched niche in the back wall of the hall. The niche is decorated with Florentine pietre dure panels and corresponding Mughal work, showing – besides plant and flower motifs – birds and also small lions at the foot of the wall – the only place in the whole palace where animated beings are depicted. This infringement of the Islamic ban on depictions (unusual for Shah Jahan, particularly in the public sphere) was justified by the conception of the whole composition as a copy of the throne of Solomon, the Qur'anic prophet-king and ideal ruler in Islamic thinking. The symbolism was reinforced by a panel inserted in the top of the wall of the throne-niche, showing Orpheus playing to the beasts (pl. XVI). The decontextualized Florentine image was meant to symbolize the ideal rule of Shah Jahan, whose justice – like that of Solomon or Kayumarth, the first mythical king of Iran – would make the lion lie down with the lamb and, in the human world, free
the oppressed from their oppressors.\textsuperscript{42} Such associations are characteristic for the selection and reception of European art at the Mughal court.

Further on, still on the same axis as the Diwan-i Amm hall and overlooking the river, is the Imtiyaz or Rang Mahall ("Palace of Distinction" or "Colourful Palace"), which was the main zanana building. The Moti Mahall ("Pearl Mansion") to its south, now the Fort Museum, also belongs to the zanana. North of the Rang Mahall are the buildings of the emperor (the Aramgah) and the less official court buildings (the Daulat Khana-i Khass or Diwan-i Khass, the Hammam and the Shah Burj). Also preserved are two pavilions in the palace gardens, popularly named "Bhadon" and "Sawan".

\textsuperscript{42} Discussed in detail by Koch 1988b.
after the Hindi months of the rainy season. They have the shape of simple halls, whose multi-lobed arches are supported by baluster columns. This shows that the new three-dimensional organic style was by now employed in a wider context. One pavilion is the mirror image of the other — a perfect example of the formal ideal qarina.

The public east-west axis of the fortress-palace is extended via the Lahori Gate into the city by the Chandni Chauk, a bazaar street abutting in the Fatehpuri Masjid. The main north-south axis is continued via the Delhi Gate by the Fayz Bazaar. These, together with the construction of the Jami' Masjid opposite the fort (pl. XII), were the main planning accents, the town being built by infill. The members of Shah Jahan’s family and his nobles
were encouraged (also by financial assistance) to build their havelis (courtyard houses) in the new city. Outstanding here was the complex of Jahanara in the Chandni Chauk, consisting of a sana'i, a hammam and her garden Sahibabad.\(^{43}\)

Shah Jahan's additions to the fort of Lahore are confined to the reconstruction of individual buildings in the years between 1628 and 1634, and in 1645.\(^{44}\) In 1628 he ordered the building of the great hall of the Diwan-i 'Amm (now greatly altered) on the pattern of that of Agra.\(^{45}\) At the same time, he also rebuilt the Shah Burj, which had been begun under Jahangir (fig. 93/8 and 3). The work was completed by 'Abd al-Karim under the superintendence of Wazir Khan in 1641/1631–32. The Shah Burj of Lahore has not the form of a tower like its counterparts at Agra and Delhi but that of the three-sided block projecting from the north front of the fort. This

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45 Sanderson 1909–10, who also publishes a ground-plan of the hall (fig. 1).

46 Lahori, ii, p. 414.
block forms the northern wing of a large courtyard, which occupies the northwestern corner of the palace. While the outer fronts still conform to the decorative facing of Jahangir, in the interior we find typical Shahjahanı innovations: the halls are decorated with the new mirror mosaic (ayina kari). In the west wing of the court is a pavilion with the new bangla shape. Today called “Naulakha”, it conforms to the four-sided chauchala type of bangla.

In 1643/1644 Shah Jahan ordered further alterations to the palace of Lahore, which affected the Ghusl Khana (Daulat Khana-i Khass) and the Khwabgah. The last of Shah Jahan’s additions to the fort of Lahore took place in 1655/1645 and consisted of a “building entirely of marble overlooking the river”. The description matches the marble hall today described as Shah Jahan’s Diwan-i Khass (fig. 93/3).
Among Shah Jahan’s important garden constructions is an addition to the Shalimar gardens near Srinagar in Kashmir in the form of another char bagh named Fayz Bakhsh (“Bounty-bestowing”) (1043/1634) to the northeast of the earlier Farah Bakhsh (fig. 95/2). Its central feature is a pavilion in the local dark grey stone standing in a pool with fountains.47

Shah Jahan’s main garden foundation was the Bagh-i Fayz Bakhsh wa Farah Bakhsh, or Shalimar gardens, at Lahore (1551–52/1641–42; pl. XV), inspired by its namesake at Kashmir (and later imitated by its namesake at Delhi). The earlier Kashmir scheme of two terraced char baghs enthralled on a central waterway is enriched at Lahore by a rectangular terrace inserted between them. The water-supply was provided by a canal, the construction of which was organized by the Persian noble ‘Ali Mardan Khan, who had defected to the Mughal court in 1638.48 His knowledge of architecture and engineering made him a welcome addition to Shah Jahan’s architectural council.

Of particular interest among the numerous, now largely lost nonimperial gardens are the Nishat Bagh and the “Peri Mahall” in Kashmir. The Nishat Bagh (“Garden of Gladness”) situated on the bank of the Dal lake was founded by another gentleman-architect of the period, the great noble Yamin al-Daula Asaf Khan, Shah Jahan’s father-in-law. He was not only a noted patron of architecture but also himself “well versed in the subtleties of this craft (san‘at).”49 In this capacity he was employed in the planning and realization of imperial building enterprises. In Asaf Khan’s Nishat Bagh the Mughal garden of Kashmir is given an unprecedented monumental scale by extending it to twelve terraces. The court authors of Shah Jahan are full of its praise and go so far as to rate it next to the emperor’s own Shalimar Garden.

The Peri Mahall (“Fairies’ Palace”) is based on a comparable design, but its seven stepped terraces are higher and more compact. The fronts of the terraces are faced with single- or double-storey arcades projecting forward in the centre; the corners of the lower terraces are fortified by octagonal towers.

47 For sketch plans and illus. of this and the following see Crowe et al.
48 ‘Inayat Khan, pp. 262, 277, 298.
49 Lahori, i/1, p. 224.
50 Muhammad Bakhtawar Khan, ii, p. 410.
51 ‘Inayat Khan, p. 458.
The scheme is more architecturalized than any other Kashmir garden and, in the manner of a “hanging garden”, substructure and plantation contribute equally to the composition. The foundation of the Peri Mahall is associated by tradition with Shah Jahan’s son Dara Shukoh and his spiritual guide Mulla Shah Badakhshi, or Akhun Mulla Shah. It appears to belong to those “lofty buildings, spirit-increasing dwellings and heart-attracting recreation places” which the saint designed and constructed with the support of the prince and his sister Jahanara. These architectural creations also include a mosque and its subsidiary buildings (completed 1061/1651) as well as a hammam (1059/1649–50) on the Hari Parbat hill at Srinagar, all constructed in the local dark grey stone.

At Agra, the most notable garden of Shah Jahan’s reign was the Bagh-i Jahanara, now known by its corrupted name Zahara Bagh (fig. 3/2). It is situated south of the Bagh-i Nur Afshan or Ram Bagh and, although largely destroyed, presents enough evidence to show that it conformed to the tradition of the riverside gardens of Agra. Parts of the riverside terrace and one of its framing towers (the southern) are still visible today. The garden is of particular historical interest because it was not founded by Babur or one of his daughters, as generally assumed, but by Shah Jahan’s wife Mumtaz Mahall. It is the only architectural project known to have been sponsored by her. After her death it passed to her daughter Jahanara, who had it renovated and – if we are to believe the contemporary eulogists – turned it into the most splendid garden of Agra.

Shah Jahan’s enormous building programme also encompassed a considerable number of mosques – his was in fact the golden age of Mughal mosque construction. Shah Jahan, who liked to be seen as a renewer (mujaddid) of Islam, commissioned or initiated the construction of more mosques than any other Mughal ruler before him. In the mosque architecture of this period we can discern two main types, which had already become distinct in Jahangiri architecture. The first, with massive pishtaqed prayer-halls surmounted by either three or five domes, is used most conspicuously for the great city mosques, the jami masjids; it may also be equipped with multiple
minarets. The second, lighter type is based on the additive grid system of vaulted bays, and may appear without pishtaq and outer domes; it has no minarets. This form was preferred for smaller mosques with a special imperial connotation.

The series of great city mosques is initiated by that of Wazir Khan at Lahore,\(^{33}\) of local brick and tile construction, and that of Jahanara at Agra in red sandstone highlighted with white marble. Like the great Tughluq mosques in Delhi or the Jamī Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri, they are elevated above their surroundings on a podium. The great courtyard is enclosed by narrow wings.
In the mosque of Wazir Khan (1044/1634–35), the wings consist of unconnected hajras interrupted by three axial gateways. New are the four minarets in the corners of the court. The prayer-hall (accentuated by a high pishtaq) rises above the level of the courtyard wings and follows the pattern of the one-aisle, five-bay type of Delhi mosque (which at Lahore had earlier found fine expression in the mosque of Maryam al-Zamani, fig. 92). Unusual is the elongated rectangle of the courtyard and the additional bazaar forecourt at its eastern end.

The latter two features are taken up again in Shah Jahan's brick and tile Jami Masjid at Thatta (1054–68/1644–57). This is otherwise closer to the second type of Shahjahani mosque, since it conforms to the older form of the grid plan as it had been formulated in the Akbari Masjid at Ajmer. The courtyard wings of the Thatta mosque are enriched by a further surrounding aisle.

The Jami Masjid of Agra (completed 1058/1648), sponsored by Jahanara, enlarges the plan of the Wazir Khan mosque by doubling the bays of the wings of the prayer-hall. This brings about a deepening of the central iwan. The courtyard wings are here formed by continuous arcades interrupted by axial gates.

The scheme is slightly altered in the Jami Masjid of Shahjahanabad (1060–66/1650–56; pl. XII), proclaimed as Shah Jahan's counterpart of Akbar's Jami Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri, though in fact derived from Jahanara's Agra mosque. The three-bay wings flanking the central domed

\[\text{142 Delhi, } \text{Shahjahanabad, Jami } \text{Masjid, ground-plan.}\]

\[\text{15 Chaghatai 1975.}\]
\[\text{14 Dani 1982, pp. 190–97.}\]
\[\text{16 Plan in Chaghatai 1972, fig. 26b.}\]
\[\text{17 Koch 1987a, p. 122, and n. 3.}\]
chamber of the prayer-hall are here preceded by two continuous galleries separated by the transverse block of the central *pishtaqaq*. The front corners of the prayer-hall are accentuated by two high minarets crowned in the typical Mughal fashion by domed *chhatris*.

The type of the massive vaulted prayer-hall continues to appear in smaller mosques, too, often without *sabna*, such as district mosques in the cities (Da'i Anga at Lahore 1045/1635)\(^5\)\(^7\) and funerary mosques; the mosque flanking the Taj Mahall is an abbreviated version of the *Jami*\(^c\) *Masjid* in Agra.

The other main trend of Shahjahani mosques is represented by halls based on the additive system of bays. The bays may have flat or coved ceilings, domes, or even *bangla* vaults. This form, which – as we have seen – relates closely to that of the Diwan-i ‘Amm halls, is preferentially used for smaller marble mosques that express a personal religious commitment of the emperor. Shah Jahan’s mosque at Ajmer in the Dargah of Shaykh Mu'in al-Din Chishti was founded in 1628, just before his accession, in fulfilment of

\(^5\) Illus. in M. W. U. Khan, p. 45.
a vow, and completed in 1046/1636. It translates the type of the Patthar Masjid of Srinagar (fig. 91) into a lighter idiom of slender marble pillars, and changes the plan to two aisles of eleven equal bays parallel to the qibla wall; all the bays have flat ceilings. New are the two end chambers closing off the shorter sides.

This design culminates in the prayer-hall of the “Moti Masjid” (“Pearl Mosque”) in the Agra fort (1057–63/1647–53), integrated in a podium mosque of the jamīʿ type with a courtyard surrounded by continuous arcaded galleries pierced by three axial gates. The prayer-hall has three aisles parallel to the
qibla wall, each one of seven bays. All the bays have coved ceilings, with the exception of three domed bays in the central aisle, to which correspond three outer domes. The end rooms of the Ajmer mosque are here joined to a single transversal hall, described as tanabi khana in the contemporary texts. Neither the Ajmer mosque nor the Moti Masjid has a central accent in the form of a pishtag.

An abbreviated and miniaturized version of the Ajmer mosque is the “Mina Masjid” (“Gem Mosque”) of the Agra palace (completed in 1637), the emperor’s private chapel, which has only one aisle of three arcades. Slightly larger and provided with a central feature are two other palace mosques of Shah Jahan. The “Nagina Masjid” (“Jewel Mosque”), completed in 1637, also in the Agra palace, has two aisles of three bays parallel to the qibla wall. The
two central bays are oblong and covered by bangla vaults, the first time this
motif appears in Mughal mosque architecture; the new feature is reflected on
the facade by a curved-up bangla cornice. The "Moti Masjid" in the Lahore
fort has two aisles of five bays and a slightly raised central pishtaq (fig. 93/7).

A kind of crossbreed between the two main types of Shahjahanani mosque
architecture is found in the prayer-hall of the small mosque of "Fatehpuri
Begam" outside of the western wall of the Taj Mahall complex opposite the
tomb of Fatehpuri Begam (fig. 108), probably built by (or for) the same
patroness as its larger namesake, the Fatehpuri Masjid at Shahjahanabad
(1660/1659). Both have pillared prayer-halls in a particularly delicate idiom of
multi-lobed arcades and columns. In front of the mibrāh, the prayer-halls are
transversed by a massive masonry block consisting of a domed chamber
preceded by a pronounced pishtaq.

Only scant remains survive of the great metropolitan bazaars, hammams and
sara'is of Agra and Shahjahanabad described by the historians of Shah Jahan.
Many of these works were conceived in the context of urban planning,
which now became a matter of greater concern. A lost bazaar on the plan
of a large muthamman baghdadi was founded in 1637 at Agra as an organizing
link between the Red Fort and the new Jāmi' Masjid of Jahanara, which was
also projected at this time (fig. 3/9). The space enclosed by the bazaar
wings was to serve as a jilau khana for the court; the absence of such an
assembly-square was now, in a time of greater awareness for ceremony, being
criticized as one of the severe shortcomings of the Agra palace. The whole
project reflects the preoccupation with urban planning at the time when the
concept of Shahjahanabad was beginning to take shape.

In a comparable way, a sequence of bazaars and karwansaras'is is used in
the Taj Mahall as an articulating element (fig. 108).
The bazaar in the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad leads in its extension to one of the two principal streets of the city. The building, now called “Chhatta Chauk”, is well preserved and still fulfills its purpose. The design of a long vaulted bazaar (bazar-i musaqqaf) composed of transverse units set off by pointed transverse arches (figs. 127/2, 130, 131) is unique in India, and stems from Safavid prototypes. Its immediate model, with open char sus in the shape of mutahhman baghdadis, was the no longer extant bazaar at Peshawar constructed by ʿAli Mardan Khan. Shah Jahan saw and liked it during his Balkh and Badakhshan campaign in 1646. He had its design (tarb) sent to Makramat Khan, then chief overseer of the construction of the palace of Shahjahanabad, to be copied.\(^9\)

Nonimperial foundations include the saraʿi of Amanat Khan (the calligrapher of the Taj Mahall, 1550-1640-41), built next to his tomb, south of Amritsar. It has two gates with remains of good tile mosaic.\(^6\) The “palace” of ʿAzam Khan at Ahmadabad (1547/1637-38)\(^6\) was, according to its inscription, not only a saraʿi but also a qaysariyya (market); the gate apparently served as a residence for its founder.

The main water-works of Shah Jahan’s reign are the canal constructed by ʿAli Mardan Khan at Lahore\(^6\) and the reactivation of the old canal of Firuz Shah Tughluq, which ran from Khizrabad to Safidun. Under Shah Jahan it was repaired and extended to Shahjahanabad to serve as the main water supply for his new palace and capital.\(^6\)

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\(^9\) Kanbo, ii, p. 391.
\(^6\) Begley 1983, pp. 173-78.
\(^6\) Burgess, ii, pp. 58-60, pl. 38.
\(^6\) See above, p. 116.
Aurangzib (1668–1118/1658–1707)
and Later Mughal Architecture

The success of the architecture created under Shah Jahan may be appreciated from the fact that it affected not only the buildings of his immediate successor Aurangzib but, in the long run, the whole of Indian architecture. Measured against the architectural patronage of his father, that of Aurangzib and his successors has been somewhat underrated and, consequently, very little studied. Aurangzib, however, embarked on a considerable number of architectural enterprises. True to the emperor’s orthodox religious convictions, his main interest was directed towards religious architecture and public works.

Neither Aurangzib nor any other of the later Mughals sponsored any major urban palace construction. Aurangzib and his successors did, however, add to the palace-fortresses of Shah Jahan. In 1669–72/1659–62 Aurangzib had the Agra fort surrounded by an additional fortified wall, termed shir hajji (figs. 36, 37), undoubtedly to secure the imprisonment of his dethroned father. He also built the Alamgiri Gate of the fort of Lahore (fig. 93/1).

An interesting, so far unpublished garden foundation ascribed to Aurangzib is sited southeast of Fatehabad, southeast of Agra. He is said to have built it after the victory over his brothers in 1659. The garden has the shape of a walled enclosure with towers topped by chhatris at its corners. In the centre of the north wall is a gatehouse, to which corresponds an oblong pavilion in the south wall. In the middle of the garden stands a large rectangular pavilion built of brick and red sandstone. It consists of open arched aisles set between two closed transversal blocks, each one of three rooms. The pavilion is indebted to ideas of Shahjahani palace architecture; a close parallel is the Rang Mahall in the Red Fort of Delhi (fig. 127/3).
One of the main garden foundations of Aurangzib’s reign is that of his foster-brother Muzaffar Husayn, entitled Fida’i Khan Koka, at Pinjaur near Chandigarh. It is of the terraced type in the Mughal tradition of Kashmir.⁢

The most important garden palace of Aurangzib’s successors was the Qudsiyya Bagh at Delhi, built for the mother of the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah in the 1750s, of which only fragments remain.⁴

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⁢ Crowe et al., pp. 185–87.
⁴ Goetz 1952.
Under the last Mughals the area around the dargah of the Chishti saint Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki, known as Qutb Sahib, at Mehrauli, Delhi, became the unofficial seat of the emperor. A large ruined palace complex near the dargah, the “Zafar Mahall”, is said to have been founded by Akbar Shah II (r. 1866–73) and to have been rebuilt by Shah Bahadur II Zafar (r. 1837–58). Its monumental gateway, which bears the date 1264/1847–48, once again revives the time-honoured tradition of facing buildings with red sandstone and white marble at a time when plaster and stucco had become the most widely used material for the rendering of buildings. Other members of the imperial family and the nobility built their havells, gardens and other secular structures in the same area, much of them having been destroyed or absorbed by later structures. Shah Bahadur II Zafar also constructed a Zafar Mahall in the Red Fort of Delhi in the middle of the pool, which originally formed the centre, of Shah Jahan’s fourfold Hayat Bakhsh garden (fig. 127/13). It is a hasht-bibisht-inspired pavilion of red sandstone with flat rounded arches and attenuated baluster columns, typical forms of later Mughal architecture and its derivates.7

The highlight of the sepulchral architecture of Aurangzeb is the mausoleum he built for his wife Rabia Daurani at Aurangabad (1071/1660–61; pl. XVIII). It is a smaller, free copy of the Taj Mahal, not as unsuccessful as usually claimed.8 Noteworthy is the architectural decoration, in particular the perforated marble screen around the tombstone, the elaborate vaults in qalib kari and the wall decoration with munabbat kari in polished chuna. The patterns continue to feature Shahjahani motifs, but begin to show a certain stiffness. Of high artistic quality is the door in the podium of the tomb, which is covered by munabbat kari in embossed brass-sheets showing naturalistic flowery plants surrounded by arabesques (pl. XIX). Similar work appears at about the same time on the gates of the small marble mosque that Aurangzeb added to the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad. The door of Rabia Daurani’s tomb bears an inscription giving the date of completion and the name of the architect of the building. It was ‘Ata’ Allah, a son of Shah Jahan’s architect Ustad Ahmad, who had been especially attached to Aurangzeb’s arch-enemy, his brother Dara Shukoh.9 It appears that Aurangzeb had to or did not mind to fall back on the architects of the previous reign. The tomb of Rabia Daurani was to be the last monumental mausoleum of the Mughal dynasty.

Aurangzeb’s sister Roshanara (d. 1082/1671) is entombed in her garden at Delhi in a flat-roofed hasht bibisht pavilion with verandas of baluster columns and multi-lobed arches. It seems that an already existing garden house was converted into a tomb.10 Otherwise, the Mughal imperial family reverted with their burials to the example set by the founder of the dynasty, Babur. Neither Jahanara nor Aurangzeb allowed any construction over their respective resting-places in Nizamuddin, Delhi (1092/1681)11 and Khuldabad near Aurangabad. The later Mughals were buried in the Dargah of Qutb Sahib at Merauli,12 in the Dargah of Nizamuddin13 or in the tomb of Humayun.14
The nobility, however, continued to erect sepulchral structures. Still in the classical Mughal spirit is the complex known locally as the Maqbara of ʿAbd Allah Khan at Ajmer (1114–27/1702–13). It comprises a gate, a mosque and the tombs of ʿAbd Allah Khan and his wife, all built of white marble. The tomb of ʿAbd Allah Khan’s wife (now cut off by the Beawar Road) is an open tomb enclosure with excellent jali screens. The tomb of ʿAbd Allah Khan was added by his son Sayyid Husayn ʿAli Khan Barha, one of the two Sayyid brothers who held the real power during the reign of the Mughal emperor Farrukh-Siyar (r. 1712–19). It represents a square baradari variant of the hypostyle sepulchral hall with an additional inner domed hall over the tombstone. The multi-lobed arches rest on paired Shahjahan columns, the corners are formed by piers with four half-columns. The style is restrained and retrospective – an unmistakable tribute to Jahangir’s and Shah Jahan’s marble halls on the bank of the Ana Sagar in the same town (figs. 115, 116).

15 Tirmizi, pp. 57–61.
16 See also Andrews 1991b.
17 Chaghtai 1972.
The tomb of La'l Khan at Varanasi (Benares) (1182/1768–69) demonstrates the longlivedness of the Mughal adaptation of the cube-shaped tomb of the Delhi tradition. The design had been introduced into the area with the tomb of Sultan Nithar Begam at Allahabad (fig. 82) which is given here an equally ornate decoration evolved from seventeenth-century Mughal patterns.

By far the most impressive building of Aurangzib’s reign is the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore (1084/1673–74), the last of the series of the great Mughal jamī’ mosques in red sandstone (pl. XX). Deviating from the customary local facing with tile-work, it particularly echoes the Jami’ Masjid of Shahjahanabad, but succeeds in conveying a more serene impression by its vast proportions and the quiet juxtaposition of red sandstone with the white marble of its domes and the subtle intarsia decoration. The interior boasts an elaborate decoration of painted plaster relief-work.

The exquisite “Moti Masjid” — Aurangzib’s afterthought to the Delhi palace (completed in 1074/1665) — copies Shah Jahan’s Nagina Masjid in the Agra fort (fig. 148) almost literally. A new addition is the exuberant floral
decor in marble relief-work, which develops the trend begun under Shah Jahan towards the florid style of later Mughal architecture. The sensuous treatment of the mosque stands in strange contradiction of the unworldly taste professed by its patron — an indication that stylistic developments had begun to become independent from the direct involvement of the Mughal emperor.

Other important foundations of Aurangzeb are his mosques at Mathura (1071/1660–61), Benares (1087–88/1676–77) and Lucknow.

The last of the small Mughal mosques faced with white marble is the little-known “Moti Masjid” (1709) near the Ajmeri Gate of the Dargah of Qutb Sahib at Mehrauli,16 said to have been sponsored by the Mughal emperor Shah ʿAlam I Bahadur Shah I (r. 1707–12). It departs from the Shahjahani...
Constitution formulated for these marble mosques as pillared halls composed of bays on a grid pattern, and conforms to the other main Mughal mosque type, that of a compact one-aisle prayer-hall, here formed of five bays with a pishtaq in the centre.

The madrasa and mosque of Ghazi al-Din Khan (d. 1122/1710) at Delhi transposes the scheme of the Khayr al-Manazil of Akbar's reign (figs. 56, 57) into the idiom of the period. Remarkable is the open tomb enclosure of the founder to the south of the mosque, with its floral decor and jalis carved of sandstone. The building, which became famous in the nineteenth century as Delhi College, still fulfils its purpose as a Muslim educational institution.

In the first years of his reign Aurangzeb enlarged the Mughal network of roadside accommodation by constructing sara'is equipped with bazaars, mosques, hammams and wells, in particular along the roads from Aurangabad to Agra and from Lahore to Kabul. He also ordered the repair of older sara'is and bridges as well as the renovation and furnishing of mosques in disrepair. The latter works were financed from the emperor's private purse (sarkar-i khassa sharifa).

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18 Zafar Hasan 1915-22, iii, p. 32.
20 Muhammad Kazim, ii, pp. 1084 f.
From the late seventeenth century onwards an architectural style developed in India which although derived from Mughal architecture became more and more independent of the Mughal court. The new influential patrons were provincial rulers who proclaimed their defiance of the Mughals by copying their lifestyle and architecture. Typical of this style is a florid ornamental mode with a preference for bulbous shapes, and an increasing use of stucco. The chief elements of this later Mughal fashion were derived from the architectural vocabulary developed in Shah Jahan’s reign: columns, pillars, engaged corners shafts and guldastas, all given the characteristic tapering baluster shape with vegetal capital and base (an amazing career for a Dürer column!); multi-lobed arches; bulbous domes; and bangla roofs, cornices and vaults, all with sumptuous leaf decoration. These elements were however applied to new architectural contexts, mingled with local styles and used on all types of buildings, minor architecture as well as palaces, fortificatory architecture, mosques, tombs and temples (compare fig. 159 with figs. 134, 135, and fig. 160 with pl. XIII and fig. 121).1

With regard to building types, Shah Jahan’s rooms decorated with mirror mosaic (ayina kari) produced particularly numerous offspring; as sbish mahalls they were employed to give Mughal splendour to the palace of every petty ruler.

By and by the Mughalizing fashion conquered the whole of India. It particularly bloomed under the patronage of the Rajput courts and of the nawwabs of Awadh at Faizabad and Lucknow.2

Characteristically, the most outstanding and best preserved example of the late Mughal style at Delhi is the mausoleum of Safdar Jang (1677–1754; pl. XXI), the second nawwab of Awadh. It is the last great mausoleum in the classical Mughal tradition of a ninefold plan set on a podium in the centre of a four-parterre char bagh.3

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1 Burton-Page 1965a, 1971.
2 Tandon, pp. 66–75.
In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the influence of the Mughal style extended from the wooden architecture of the Himalayan valleys (Kathmandu, Kulu) to Mysore and Bangalore in Karnataka, and from the Sikh architecture in the Panjab (compare fig. 136 with figs. 151, 153) to Murshidabad and Dacca. Under British patronage the Mughal fashion became a constituent element of the so-called Indo-Saracenic style — the approved idiom of representative buildings. As a typically Indian style it found its way to England in the Indian revivals. The country house Sezincote in Gloucestershire (begun c. 1806), the Royal Pavillon and the Royal Stables at Brighton (1803–32) are the most notable examples.
Of all the architectural styles created under the patronage of the various Muslim dynasties of India, that of the Mughals was the most universal, the most successful and the most widely influential. The Mughal style shows the longest continuous development, its after-effects extending well into the twentieth century. In reviewing the whole of Mughal architecture we can discern two main formative phases, that of Akbar and that of Shah Jahan.

In the beginning, the Mughals relied strongly on their already highly developed Timurid architectural heritage, but at the same time they let it enter into a creative dialogue with local building traditions and conditions. The principal trends in the first phase under Babur and Humayun were, on the one hand, imports from Transoxania and broader Khurasan and, on the other hand, the revived ornamental sandstone tradition of the Delhi Sultanate. The two trends were successfully merged in the great architectural synthesis under Akbar, together with other Indian sources that now became equally if not more important. This is particularly true of the architecture of Gujarat and the broader Gujarat-Malwa-Rajasthan tradition.

The first climax of Mughal architecture under Akbar was characterized by a building activity on the grandest scale, not only in the metropolises Agra, Delhi and Lahore, but all over the rapidly expanding empire. The great fortified palace-complexes and the suburban residence Fatehpur Sikri show irregular layouts. That more serious attempts at regular urban planning were not made can be explained by the still strong nomadic heritage of the Mughals, which was not conducive to the foundation of cities. Strict geometrical planning was reserved for the ephemeral architecture of the Mughal camp and for self-contained architectural units such as funerary and residential gardens, zanana enclosures, mosques, bazaars and karwansaras. For individual buildings, sepulchral or residential, centralized plans were preferred. Next to the favourite Timurid-derived ninefold plan and its variations, the regular or irregular octagon, the Gujarat-derived plan of a central block, square or rectangular, with an angular ambulatory verandah emerged as the most widely employed model of the period. The cube-shaped domed tomb and the massive one-aisle mosque composed of three or five vaulted bays preserved the Delhi tradition. All plans are thus based on squares, rectangles or octagons. Such plans may also be combined with elevations derived from different sources. On the whole, the logic of the plans is reflected consistently by the elevations.

The rational approach also marks the handling of the architectural decor. Wall decorations are systematized by means of a symmetrical framework, which usually underlines, or at least does not contradict, the tectonics of the building. At the same time, the architectural vocabulary and decoration exhibit a dazzling variety, with the most daring and uninhibited combinations. The unifying material red sandstone mitigates such stylistic clashes very successfully. A closer look reveals a hierarchical or symbolical usage of certain
forms. This also applies to the use of colour, white marble being employed to set accents on the prevailing red sandstone.

The main vault types were domes with Timurid arch-netted transition zones, and ribbed domes and ribbed coved ceilings in sandstone taken from the local sandstone styles. At the same time, more complex vaults made their appearance, faced either with decorative stucco shells or with sandstone. Of special interest here is the Khurasan-inspired vault formed by four large ribs crossing each other. The _hammams_ as configurations of vaulted units lent themselves particularly well to innovatory work.

In brief, Akbar’s architecture can be characterized as a highly dynamic phase which, by syncretizing diverse ingredients, established the basis for all future Mughal architecture.

Under Jahangir followed a more introverted phase of revision, reflection and adaptation. The main concern was to test and further develop selected Akbari solutions rather than to explore new foreign sources. Iranian (Safavid) influence did, however, gain in importance. At times, the architectural designers did not shrink from new solutions, experiments, and even daring extravaganzas.

Sepulchral and residential architecture received particular attention. The tomb types of the previous period were further developed and rendered more complex. The ninefold plan or allusions to it may be integrated into all tomb types, in the substructure of the podium tomb with light superstructures, in the tomb with a central block and ambulatory verandah, and in the cube-shaped tomb. The most typical tomb form of the period is the podium (takhtgab) tomb.

Two characteristic Mughal garden forms emerged in this period, the riverside orientated Agra plan and the hillside terraced garden of Kashmir with a central waterway as its main axis. Both plans were to become very influential.

One of the main concerns of the period was the prolific ornamentation of wall surfaces and vaults. A noteworthy feature here is the figurative wall-painting after European models. Local traditions manage to hold their own, as demonstrated by Jahangiri brick architecture faced with tile mosaic at Lahore and in the Panjab.

Vaults now show densely patterned painted stucco shells, in many variations of which the net vault developed from points arranged in concentric tiers was to have a lasting influence. The ribbed coved ceiling of Akbari architecture was transformed into a smooth plastered form equally important for the future.

In this period, broadly speaking, the spadework was done for the following second acme of Mughal architecture under Shah Jahan. Particularly in the last decade of Jahangir’s reign a simplified trabeate vocabulary, the increasing use of white marble as facing and for architectural elements and a more sophisticated form of marble intarsia herald the style of Shah Jahan.

Under Shah Jahan Mughal architecture reached maturity and its second climax. The determinant concern was a strict systematization of architecture to conform to the now prevailing ideal of classical equilibrium governed by hierarchical accents. The intensive building activity comprised all domains
of architecture. Besides a large number of new foundations, practically all the earlier imperial palace and garden architecture was altered or rebuilt by Shah Jahan. The strict architectural control of even larger spaces became a major concern of the period. The trend resulted in an increased interest in urban planning, which led to the foundation of Shahjahanabad and to the regularization of parts of the cityscape of Agra. The favoured planning principle was that of placing bilateral symmetrical features on either side of a central axis, which was accentuated by a unique feature. Consistent axial planning was now also employed for the large imperial palaces and for the great sepulchral complex of the Taj Mahall. Plans and elevations of individual buildings were generally developed from earlier Mughal designs; the ninefold plan reaches its apogee in the Taj Mahall. Mosques, too, were evolved from earlier types, which were now formally more clearly differentiated according to their function.

However, we also meet with new and foreign types of building such as the great bazaar of the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad, which ultimately goes back to Safawid sources.

The repertory of forms handed down by the architecture of Jahangir was further reduced to a few tried and tested forms, such as the reticulated vault developed from points in concentric circles and the smooth coved ceiling; noteworthy in particular is the concentration on one main columnar form, on one type of bracket and on one type of arch, although their proportions and details may vary. On the other hand, we witness the development of an entirely new vocabulary of architectural forms: curvilinear and — under the inspiration of European models — three-dimensionally modelled, it was to have a lasting influence on Indian architecture. Decoration is more elegant than ever before, thanks to the now favoured use and sophisticated treatment of white marble or highly polished white stucco as facing for imperial buildings. The surfaces may be worked with subtle relief, painting, mirror mosaic and highly refined intarsia in precious pietre dure.

With Aurangzeb began a process in Mughal architecture which eventually led to its general acceptance as an all-Indian style, not just the expression of a ruling elite. Instrumental for this “Mughalization” of Indian architecture was Shah Jahan’s new curvilinear and florid vocabulary, which lent itself well to realization in cheaper, more easily workable materials such as brick rendered with plaster or stucco. Its characteristic forms, the bulbous dome, the bangla, multi-lobed arches and baluster-shaped supports, were well suited to giving buildings of any plan, elevation or function the desired Mughal touch, which has up to the present day been associated with imperial splendour and courtly extravagance.
The meaning of vernacular terms has, where possible, been derived from Mughal sources of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sanskrit-derived terms which were adopted by the Mughals are transliterated according to their spelling by Mughal authors.

ārāmgāh “Place of rest”, bedchamber or sleeping-pavilion of the Mughal emperor. Also called khwābgāh.

āyīna bandī, āyīna kāri Mosaic of mirror-pieces set in chūna.

bāgh Garden.

bakhshī High-ranking Mughal official in charge of military administration and intelligence.

baluster column See sarw-andām sutūn.

bangla, bangala Curved-up roof or vault derived from the Bengali hut, hence the name. There are two types of bangla, the do-chala with a pronounced oblong plan and eaves curved on the longer sides, and the char-chala or chau-chala with eaves curved on both axes. The term was also applied to pavilions with a bangla roof. From the later seventeenth century the term was applied in an even more general way to residential buildings and eventually gave rise to the English word bungalow.

bā'oli Underground step-well.

bāradārī “Twelve-doored”, rectangular or square pavilion with a tripartite arcade or colonnade on each of its sides; more generally, a summerhouse.

birka Reservoir, cistern.

burj Tower, usually in a fortificatory context.

chabūtra Raised platform.

chahār bāgh or chār bāgh Walled-in garden divided into several compartments. In its canonical Mughal form it has a square plan subdivided into four quarters by paved walkways (khiyābān) and canals (nahr).

chahār tāq “Four arches”, domed structure with four axial arched entrances.

chaitiya The horseshoe-arched entrance of the Indian Buddhist temple, usually hewn out of a hillside; miniature forms of the motif also appear as architectural decoration.

chār bāgh See chahār bāgh.

chār sū Bazaar crossing. An open square with four arched doorways or gates at the intersection of two bazaar streets or inserted in a single bazaar street; also applied to a bazaar with a chār sū crossing.
chatr See chhatrī.
chauk Open court, square.
chauk-i jilau khāna. See jilau khāna.
chhajja Sloping or horizontal projection from the top of a wall supported by brackets, to protect from rain or sun.
chhattrī Small (domed) kiosk, usually an open pillared construction; also, a baldachin.
chihil suttun “Forty-pillared hall”, “forty” being used in the sense of “numerous”. See also daulat khāna-i khāss-o-cāmm.
chini khāna “China room”, applied to small wall-niches in which were placed bottles, vases and the like; the motif also appears in relief or inlay work. See also ṭaqcha.
chūna, chūnam Highly polished stucco made of powdered marble or shells or of a calciferous white stone quarried in Gujarat that Shah Jahan’s writers call sang-i māḥtābī, sang-i Lbānī (Pinḥālī?) or chūna-i Pātīyālī. Warith (folf. 387v) describes it as “very white and soft. It can be polished to such a degree that it reflects all things opposite to it like a mirror. In the past this type of plaster coating (qalīr) was peculiar to [the buildings of] Gujarat. In this ... reign, which is very active in promoting the arts, it was brought from there in the form of stone by the exalted order [of Shah Jahan] ... and in due course became common. Most of the imperial buildings have been decorated with marble and mirrorwork (āyina kārī) and all the other [buildings] have been embellished with polished sang-i Lbānī.”
comnesso di pietre dure The literal translation of this Italian term for Florentine mosaic is “placing together of hard stones”; it refers to a highly specialized form of stone intarsia. Thin slices of stones of extreme hardness (e.g. jasper, chalcedony, agate) are fitted together and fastened in the hollowed-out depressions of the (marble) ground so that the colours and natural marking of the stone form the desired image. Ideally, after the composition of stone pieces has been polished, the joints are not visible in the final design.
coved ceiling Ceiling joined to the wall by a large concave moulding.
coved vault Domical vault whose top is cut with a plane parallel to the floor.
dado The finishing of the lower part of an interior wall from floor to about waist height. Termed īzāra by the Mughals.
daftar khāna Office, record-chamber.
dargāh In India, a place or complex where the shrine of a Muslim (Sufi) saint is situated. The Mughals used the term to designate the imperial court.
darwāza Gate, gatehouse, door.
daulat khāna-i khāṣṣ Hall of private audiences. The term was introduced by Shah Jahan. Earlier, this type of ceremonial building had been called ghul khāna.

daulat khāna-i khāṣṣ-o-šāmm Hall of public audiences. Since it is a pillared hypostyle construction it is also called ḫwān-i khāṣṣ-o-šāmm or chihil sütun.

diwan Term of various applications, for which see diwān-i šāmm, diwān-i khāṣṣ, wazīr. Also used for the collected works of a poet.

diwān-i šāmm Hall of public audiences.

diwān-i khāṣṣ Hall of private audiences.

gaz The Mughal linear yard. Also called zirāf The prevailing gaz for architecture was the Gaz-i llābi introduced under Akbar. Its length was 0.81–0.82 m (See Habib 1963, appendix A).

guldasta “Bunch of flowers”, ornamental pinnacle usually terminating in a flower motif, hence the name.

gumbad, gunbad Dome, also used for domed mausoleums.

ḥammām Bath, bath-house; usually consists of a group of rooms for the various stages of the bathing procedure. A Mughal ḥammām has three main units, the rakht kan (dressing-room), the sard khāna (cold room) and the garam khāna (hot room).

hasht bihisht “Eight paradises”. Building on a ninefold plane. A square or rectangle, often with chamfered corners so as to form an irregular octagon, is divided by four intersecting construction lines into nine parts: a central domed chamber, rectangular open halls in the middle of the sides (in the form of either a pishtāq or a Mughal iwān) and double-storey vaulted corner rooms (blocks). There is no hard evidence that this term, which has been coined for Timurid architecture, was actually current in Mughal India.

haweli Building complex for residential use with one or more open courts, often multi-storeyed. The term is used to designate nonimperial residences.

ḥauẓ Pool, tank.

ḥażīra Tomb platform surrounded by a balustraded or latticed screen (Golombek 1969, pp. 100–24).

ḥujra Cell, small room.

 gidgah Open-air place of prayer for Islamic festivals; structure erected there.

 iwān A term of various applications, for which see Grabar. Art historians and archaeologists use it to refer to a single vaulted hall walled on three sides and opening directly to the outside on the fourth. For its Mughal use see Mughal iwān.

izāra See dado.
jāli Perforated stone screen with ornamental design.

jamiʿ masjid Congregational mosque, Friday mosque.

jharōka Architectural frame for official appearances of the Mughal emperor; its conventional shape is that of an overhanging oriel window supported by brackets.

jilau khāna Assembly-place (square) for the retinue of the emperor in front of a palace, a mausoleum or a mosque.

karwānsarāʾi Caravanserai, inn for travellers and merchants and their beasts of burden. Usually a four-sided enclosure with fortified corners and one or two gates; the courtyard may contain a mosque, wells and bazaar streets.

khalwatgāh Retiring-room, private apartment.

khāna Room, house.

khānaqāh Residence for Sufis.

khawāʾspūra Quarters for attendants.

khiyābān Paved (raised) walkway, avenue.

khwābgāh “House of dreams”, sleeping-pavilion of the Mughal emperor. Also called ārāṅgāh.

kōs Measure of length equal to about two English miles.

madrasa College of religious education.

maḥall Palace, palace pavilion, apartment, hall; in Mughal India more often applied to the palace quarters of women.

maqṣdal Pavilion, house.

maqbara Burial-palace, graveyard, sepulchre.

marqad Tombstone.

martaba Level, terrace.

masjid Mosque.

mihmān khāna “Guest-house”, assembly-hall.

miḥrāb Arched niche in qibla wall of a mosque.

miʿmār Architect.

minār (Freestanding) tower.

Mughal īwān Has a special meaning in Mughal architectural terminology, namely a pillared construction of any dimensions and plan. The Mughals derived the term from its Transoxanian use, where it designated the central Asian version of the loggia or verandah with a roof supported by slender wooden columns.

muhandis Geometrician, engineer.

munabbat kāri Relief-work.
muqarnas Concave element in vaults, usually arched, but other forms are also possible. In a dwarf form it may also be used in other architectural contexts, e.g. for capitals of columns.

muthamman baghdādi “Baghdadian octagon”, favourite Mughal plan configuration in the shape of a square or rectangle with corners chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon.

nahr Canal; the main canal of a garden (its branch canals may be designated jadwal or jīy).

nakhsha Plan of a building.

namā zgāh Space for celebration of the major religious festivals.

naqqār khāna, naubat khāna “Drum-house”, structure for the court orchestra which accompanied the ceremonial proceedings of the court.

nashīman Pavilion, seat. See also shāh nashīn.

naubat khāna See naqqār khāna.

parchīn kārī Stone intarsia; also refers to commesso di pietre dure.

pietra dura, pietre dure See commesso di pietre dure.

pishtāq High portal, “facade-gateway” (Grabar), usually associated with the īwān. In its ripe Mughal form it consists of a monumental arched niche (usually covered by a half-dome) enclosed by a rectangular frame in the shape of an inverted U. Its longer vertical sides are accentuated by engaged polygonal shafts terminating above the parapet in freestanding ornamental pinnacles or guldastas.

pūrṇa ghaṭa Auspicious symbol in Hindu and Buddhist architecture in the form of a pot with overflowing foliage.

qālib kārī “Mould-work”, decorative network applied to facing of vaults or cavettos of coved ceilings. The term indicates that in its original plaster form the pattern was applied by means of (wooden?) moulds.

qanāt Subterranean tunnel drawing water from mountain sources by gravity; it has vertical shafts linking it at intervals with the surface.

qarīna Counter-image. Favourite compositional scheme of Shah Jahan’s period consisting of two equal features arranged symmetrically on both sides of a central axis.

qayṣāriyya In Safawid Iran a large system of public buildings with covered galleries around an open court. It may contain shops, workshops and also dwellings. The term is also applied to karwānsarā’īs.

qibla Direction of Mecca.

qīlī Castle, fortress, citadel.

raużā Mausoleum.
șāhn  Courtyard.
sarā’i  See karwānsara’i
sarw-ândām  sutūn  “Cypress-bodied column”, baluster column. Column with a tapering shaft forming a bulb at its foot.
Shāhjahanī  column  Column with a multi-faceted shaft, a multi-faceted or muqarnas capital and a base in the form of an inverted cushion capital, whose four flat faces are given a cusped-arch outline that may recall a stylized flower.
shāh  nashīn  “Royal seat”, an arched niche with a half-dome or an alcove of similar shape. Also called  nashīman.
shīr  hajjī  Outer fortified wall surrounding a fortress. Kazim (i, p. 424) refers to it as “faṣīl, which in the language of the common people is called  shīr  hajjī”.
shīsh  mahāll  Room decorated with mirror mosaic (āyīna  kāri).
şūfī  Islamic mystic.
takhtgāh  Platform, podium.
tālār  Term of various applications. In Safawid Iran a hypostyle wooden hall with tall columns preceding the vaulted masonry part of a building. Corresponds to the  Mughal  īwān.
ṭambī  khāna,  ṭanābī  khāna  Hall or room usually of oblong plan in the interior of a building.
ṭāq  Arch.
ṭaqcha  Clusters of small decorative wall-niches.
ṭarḥ  Design, ground-plan, layout.
verandah  Porch or balcony with a roof supported by pillars extending on the outside of a building; a feature of the  Mughal  īwān.
wakīl  The highest minister at the Mughal court, but not in charge of a department.
wazīr  Minister in charge of imperial finance and revenue collection. Also called  diwān.
zanāna  Female quarters.
I. Mughal sources

The important position that architecture held in Mughal culture and society is only inadequately reflected in contemporary writing. No special works devoted to architecture have come to light so far, with the exception of the late-seventeenth-century household manual *Bayāz-i Khushbūʾi* (Pers. MS., IOLR Ethis 2784), which contains a section on buildings and gardens. Information has to be distilled from epigraphy, from historiography (architectural descriptions) and from poetry (versified descriptions, eulogies on buildings, and chronogrammes). Much of this material is difficult to obtain as it exists only in manuscript form.

Up to Shah Jahan’s reign, Mughal comments on architecture tend to be sparse, vague and unsystematic. An exception is Humayun’s author Khwandonmir. His descriptions of Humayun’s buildings cannot however be verified because they deal with ephemeral architecture and no longer extant buildings. Translations of texts from Akbar’s period that deal with architecture have been collected by Brand and Lowry (1985); of particular interest here are the translations from Qandaharī. The best source on Jahangiri architecture is Jahangir himself in his memoirs, *Tāzuk*. Information about the architectural patronage of ʿAbd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan can be extracted from Nahawandi. Naik also includes discussions of the buildings of the Khan-i Khanan based on contemporary sources.

It was only in Shah Jahan’s period that literature was expected faithfully to reflect the building activities of the emperor and to some extent also of the court. This led to architectural descriptions with a consistent terminology, fairly reliable measurements, and occasional observations about style. These descriptions form part of the official histories and may also be incorporated in versified eulogies of buildings. The contemporary texts relating to the Taj Mahall have recently been compiled and translated by Begley and Desai.

From Aurangzīb’s period onwards the Mughal chronicles are again less explicit about architecture. In the eleventh year of his reign Aurangzib abolished official historiography, the main platform for writing on architecture, supposedly because the sycophantic style of the court historians was not in keeping with his image of a pious ruler. The *Dīwān* of Lutf Allāh Muhandis contains information about a family of architects who worked
under Shah Jahan and Aurangzib (partly trans. by Chaghtai, 1937). An important eighteenth-century source containing information about Mughal architecture from Babur’s reign onwards is Shah Nawaz Khan.


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II. European sources

From the reign of Akbar onwards the Mughal court was visited by European travellers. Their observations are an indispensable source of information about Mughal architecture. They were able to record their impressions freely, without being subject to the restrictions imposed on the official Mughal historians. However, since as Europeans they had no access to as many important buildings, their descriptions are often based not on first-hand knowledge but on hearsay or on texts of other authors.


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Abd al-Karim, Ma’mur Khan, Mir 84, 96, 114
Abd al-Rahim, Khan-i Khanan 90, 143; his tomb at Delhi 78, 82; his buildings at Burhanpur 90–92
Abu’l Fazl, Allami, Shaykhk 11, 44, 53, 62, 94
n. 3
Abu Tahir Kalim, poet 95, 117 n. 52
Achabal 86
Agra 13, 33, 34, 67, 86, 90, 99, 123, 136
— bazaar, octagonal 123, 3/9; Chahar Bagh 33, 3/3; Chini ka Rauza (tomb of Aziz Khan) 102, 2/3; Jam’i Masjid 102, 116, 119–120, 123, 3/10; Kanch Mahall at Sikandra 89, 99; Mahtab Bagh 33, 3/6; mosque of Fatehpuri Begam 76, 123; mosque of Humayun at Kachpura 35–36, 65, 4, 8; Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Naur Afshan) 86, 88–89, 103, 4/4, 97, 98; Red Fort see Agra fort; Suraj Bhan ka Bagh at Sikandra, gatehouse 89, 100; Taj Mahall 7, 11, 12, 37, 95, 95, 96, 98–101, 120, 123, 124, 127, 135, 143; XII, XVII, 3/7, 108–111; tomb of Akbar at Sikandra 70–72, 95, 103, VII, IX, 68, 69; tomb of Fatehpuri Begam 102, XII; tomb of Firuz Khan 74, 102, 72, 73; tomb of Ittimad al-Daula 74–75, 103, 3/4, 75; tomb of Maryam al-Zamani at Sikandra 74, 75; tomb of Salabat Khan 82, 90; tomb of Sirhindhi Begam 101, 112; Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara) 117, 3/2
Agra fort 12, 53–55, 84, 103, 106–9, 111, 123; fortified by Aurangzib 123; XIII, 3/8, 36
— Akbari Darwaza 37; Amar Singh Gate 37; Anguri Bagh 99, 106, 121; Aramgah (Khwabgah) 106, 107, XIII, 121; Bangla-i Darshan 106, XIII, 121; Bangla-i Jahanara 106, 121; bazaar street 55, 68; Diwan-i ‘Amm 55, 106, 107–9, 111, 125, 126; Diwan-i Khass 106, 107, 122, 124; Hamim- mans 106; Hathipol 54, 55, 78; Hajangiri Mahall 54, 60, 61, 94, XIV, 39, 39; Khass Mahall 106, 121; Muchchhi Bhawan 76, 106, 122, 123; Mina Masjid 122, 147; Moti Masjid 122–24, 145, 146; mosque of Diwan-i ‘Amm court 109, 36/3; Nagina Masjid 122, 129, 148; Shah Burj 42, 93, 101, 106, 114, XIII
Ahmadabad, mosque of Sidi Bashir, minarets 60, 51; palace of As’am Khan 124; palaces of Mahmud Begu Hat Sarkhej 36; Tin Darwaza 60; tomb of Shah ‘Alam 37, 45
Ahmad Shah, emperor 126
Ajmer 67, Chashma-i Nur 85–86, XI; Dargah of Shakesh Mu’in al-Din Chisti 64; fort of Akbar 60, 61, 62, 68, its central pavilion 46, 61, 22; mosque of Akbar in the Dargah 64–65, 119, 19; mosque of Shah Jahan in the Dargah 120–21, 122, 143, 144; Maqbara of ‘Abd Allah Khan 127–28, 134; pavilions on shore of Ana Sagar lake 93, 103, 128, 115, 116
Akbar, Jalal al-Din, 11, 12, 13, 38, 43, 64, 68, I architecture 32, 42–69, 70, 72, 78, 80, 81, 92, 93, 94, 103, 134, 135, 143
— Ali Mardan Khan, his bazaar at Peshawar 124; his canal at Lahore 116, 124; his tomb at Lahore 102, 113
Allahabad, fort 60, 62; Chalis Sutun 42, 62, 101, 53; Rani ki Mahall 50, 62, 68, 94, 53, 54; Khusrav Bagh, tombs 72, 78–80, 129, 81–83
Amanat Khan, his tomb and sara’i near Amritsar 124
Amber 68, 69 aramgah, see khwabgah arches, bud-fringed 38, II; chaitya 78; four centred 37; intersecting 49, 69, 72, 73; multilobed (cused) 93, 101, 102, 108, 113, 123, 127, 132, 136, 137; semi-circular 93, 95, 107, 122, 133; rounded, flat 127, transverse 124, 130, 131 arched-netting of transition zones 32, 36, 37, 38, 49, 55, 70, 76, 80, 135, VII, 1, 2, 8, 9, 19, 21, 24, 28, 67, 85, 155 architects 12, 13, 14, 44, 84, 92, 94, 96, 100, 116, 117, 127, 143 architecture, as instrument of rulership 13; description of, 143
Asaf Khan, Abu’l Hasan, Yamin al-Daula 11, b; as supervisor of building projects 96, 116; his Nishat Bagh in Kashmir 116; his tomb at Lahore 102, 113
Atga Khan, Shams al-Din Muhammad, As’am Khan 11; his tomb at Delhi 72, 78, 70
Attock 60, 90
Aurangabad 113; tomb of Rabi’a Darun (Bibi ka Maqbara) 127, XVII, XIX
Aurangzib, Muhyi-al Din, ‘Alamgir 1, 11, 12, 13, 125, 127, 143–144; architecture 125–131, 136
Awadh, n zawabs of 132 ayina kari (mirror mosaic) 95, 115, 132, 136, 137, 138
Ayodhya, Babur’s mosque 32
Babur, Zahir al-Din 10, 12, 32, 33, 34, 36, 44, 86, 117, 134, 144; his burial emulated 97, 127 Babur nama 10, 33, 36 Badakhshan 11, 124 Bairat, palace 58, 68–69 Balkh 11, 124; funerary mosque of Abu Nasr Parsa 37, 10 baluster columns 94, 127, 132, 136; Eastern Indian 94, 105; of European engravings 94, 104; Shahjahan 93, 94, 95, 102, 107, 111, 113, 137, 142, 123, 135; Transoxianian 94, 14 bangla 93, 94, 95, 106, 111, 115, 132, 136, 137, XIII, 121, 133, 136; cornice 123, 148, 158; vault 120, 122 ba‘oli 60, 90, 137, 102 Bari, Lal Mahall 104, 117–19 Baroda see Vadodara Batala, tomb of Shamshir Khan 48 Bayana 38; ba‘oli of Maryam al-Zamani 90, 102; pavilion of Muhammad 41–42, 58; 12; tomb of Shakesh Bahuli 41 bazaars 55, 60, 68, 98, 111, 113, 119, 123, 124, 131, 134, 136, 52, 130, 131 Benares see Varanasi Bengal 11, 68, 90; influence 54, 94
camp, Mughal, regular layout of 53–54, 134
Canals 86, 91, 111, 116, 124
Caravanserai see karawan-sara’i, sara’i
Chahar (char) bagh 33–34, 44, 70, 97, 99, 116, 122, 137, 163, 69, 95, 108
Chhavija 38, 80, 84, 102, 128
Chharparghat, Mughal sara’i 67, 65
Chhata, Mughal sara’i 66
chattri 39–41, 49, 80, 96, 101, 123, 125, 127
Chihil Sutun see Diwan-i ‘Amm
chini khana (wall decoration) 70, 89, 139, 100
chuna 88, 95, 127, 138
Chunar, tomb of Itikhab Khan 76, 79; tomb of Muhammad Wasit 85
Colour 43, 44, 84, 101, 135
Columns 88, 109, 123, 136; Shahjahani 93, 101, 127, 128, 142. See also Baluster
(commesio di) pierre dure (parchin kari) 95, 98, 100, 101, 111, 136, 138, XVII, 107, 110
Court (courtyard), as focus of planning 55, 60, 63, 64–65, 84, 118–19, 121, 131, 134, 17, 19, 147, 146; as element of planning 55, 84, 98, 106, 111, 36, 93, 108, 129
Coved ceilings (vaults) 55, 57–58, 75, 83, 93, 108, 120, 121, 135, 136, 49, 124, 126, 146
Dacca 133
Damiel, Thomas and William 62, 80 n. 21, 33
Dara Shukoh, prince 12; as patron of architecture 96, 117, 127
dargah 54, 80, 120, 116, 130, 138
Debi Minar, khanaqah of Shaykh Sadr al-Din Armini 43, 20
Delhi 10, 12, 13, 38, 66, 85, 96, 102, 103, 116, 118, 129;
- Afsarwala Gumbad 48, 26; Afsarwala mosque 64, 26; ‘Ala’i Darwaza of Qawwat al-Islam mosque 44, 11; Begampuri mosque 65; Chandni Chauk 113; its Sahib-bad complex 114; Chaussath Kamba, at Nizamuddin 82, 103, 108, 88, 89; Chor Minar 67; Dargah of Nizam al-Din Aulia (Nizamuddin) 127, tomb 102, 144;
Dargah of Qutb Sahib, at Mehrauli 127, 130; Fatehpuri Masjid, at Shahjahanabad 113, 123; Fayz Bazaar 113; Hashtsal Miran 104–5, 120; Jamali Kamali mosque, at Mehrauli 38; Jamî Masjid, of Shahjahanabad 113, 119–20, 129, XII, 142; Khayr al-Manzil 63, 68, 131, 16, 77, 48; madrasa of Ghazi al-Din Khan (Zakir Husain College) 8, 131, 157; Mehrauli, as suburban seat of last Mughal emperors 127; mosque of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabi 64; Moth ki Masjid 38; Moti Masjid at Mehrauli 130–31; Nila Gumbad 36–37, 9; Purana Qila 58, 123; mosque 38, 63;
Sher Mandal 38–39; 11; Qudsiayya Bagh 126; Qutb Minar 103; II; Red Fort, of Shahjahanabad see: Delhi Red Fort; Sabz Burj 36–37, 7, 8; Salimgarh (Nurgarh) 85, 112, 127–7, 129; tomb of Adham Khan, at Meherauli 101, 35; tomb of Atga Khan, in Nizamuddin 73, 78, 70; tomb of the Barber, in Humayun’s tomb garden 50, 33; tomb of Humayun 43–46, 50, 50, 100, 102, 127, III, 18, 19, 21; tomb of ‘Isa Khan 101, 34; tomb of Khan-i-Khanan 78, 80; tomb of Roshanara 127, 135; tomb of Safdar Jang 123, 124; tomb of Tilangani, in Nizamuddin 101; Zafar Mahall at Mehrauli 127
Delhi, Red Fort 93, 96, 103, 109–13, 114, 125, 127–133; geometrical planning of 113, 128; bazaars 113, 123–24, 126, 130, 131; Moti Masjid 127, 129–39, 138; Zafar Mahall 127, 131, 132
Delhi Sultanate architecture 44; ornamental style of early 38, 36; decaying style of late 32; most distinct tomb type of 101
Dholpur, Bagh-i Nilufar (Kamal Bagh) 32–33; tomb, house and sara’i of Sadiq Khan 72–73, 71
Diwan-i ‘Amm 35, 56, 107–9, 111, 114, 139, 141, 121, 126
Diwan-i Khass 60, 106, 107, 112, 115, 139, 50, 122, 124
domes, substituted by chhatris in residential buildings 49, 25, 27, 66, 101; interior lined with patterned plaster shells 49, 55, 80, 83, 135, VII, VIII, 2, 83; ribbed 55, 135;
with Sultanate styled transition zones 32, 58
Dürer, circle, engraved column of inspires Shahjahani baluster column 94, 132
English (British), the, as colonial power 12; take down Mughal buildings 107, 141; favour Indo-Saracenic style 133
Etimadpur (Ftimadpur), water palace of Ftimad Khan 48, 79–80, 29
European, architect supposed to have planned the Taj Mahal 100; engravings, copied 70, 85, 89, 135, VIII; influence on vocabulary and style of Mughal architecture 14, 94, 132, 136; on Mughal architectural decoration 95, 101
Faizabad 132, tomb of Bahu Begam 161
Farrukh-Siyar 128
Fatehabad, garden 125
Fatehpur Sikri 66–60
- baoli 60; bazaar, char su 60, 68; iturka, under Jam’i Masjid, 60; Buland Darwaza, of Jam’i Masjid 54, 66, 70; Dafar Khan 58; Diwan-i ‘Amm 56, 58, 41; Diwan-i Khass 56, 50, 60; Hada Mahall 48, 27, 28; Hammam, imperial 50, 32; Hiran Minar 67, 64; Jam’i Masjid 61–66, 68, 119, 60; Jodh Bai’s palace 56, 60, 66; Khwabgah 56, 58; Panch Mahall 42, 66; Qush Khan 42, 93, 101, 17; Taksa 68; Tan Sen’s Baradari 38, 93, 47, 48, 49; Todar Mal’s Baradari 46, 23, 24; tomb of Baha’ al-Din 76; tomb of Shaykh Salim Chishti 56–57, 44; Turkish Sultan’s House 42
Ferghana 10
figurative representations
70, 74, 84–85, 89, 90, 111, VII, XVI
Florentine Pietre dure panels 111–12, XVI
flower and plant motifs, naturalistic 95; in wall painting 118; in parchemin kari (compresso di pietre dure) 95, 98, 101, 111, XVI, 107, 110, 112, 113; in relief work 95, 101, 111, 124, 133; in embossed brass sheets 127, XIX
fortifications 53–54, 125, 132

gardens as element of urban planning 33–34, 3 gates (gatehouses) 43, 44, 49, 51, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 89, 90, 99, 125, 127, 13, 68, 73; of bazaars 60, 68, 111, 112, 131; for
tificatory 54, 111, 113, 17, 38, 131; of karanvarsara is 68, 90, 124, 121; of mosques 44, 63, 66, 66, 119, 121, II, V, 60
gazebos 42–43, 53, 58
Ghazni, shrine of Momo Sharifian 37
ghesht khana 106, 115; see also Diwan-i Khass
Gowardhan, chhatris of Raja Baladeva Singh of Bahrainpur, 139
Gujarat 11, 36, 90; influence of 48, 134; on Agra fort 54; on Fatehpur Sikri 66, 60; on Mughal tomb intarsia 75; on Mughal tomb types 75, 82, 102; type of polished stucco 95, 138 see also chhatis
Gujarat-Malwa-Rajasthan, architectural tradition 35, 56, 134
golden 132, 139
Gwalior, influence of 35; tomb of Muhammad Ghauth 57, 74, 46, 76
hamam (bath) 34, 43, 50, 61, 68, 92, 93, 99, 135; 32, 103, 118, 132; functional units of 68, 139
Hasan Abdal, tomb of the Hakims 48
hasti bhishite (ninefold plan) 43, 44, 45–48, 62, 74, 76, 78, 80–81, 89, 92, 99, 100, 102, 103, 127, 132, 134, 135, 136, 139, 19, 20, 24, 54, 87, 105, 128, 153; fused with design of inner block and ambulatory verandah 62, 76, 135, 14; octagonal variants 44–46, 48, 80–81, 99–100, 19, 28, 87; abbreviated forms of 37, 45, 48, 8, 9, 10, 30
hazira 48, 73 n. 10, 139
Herat 44, 45
hierarchical use of forms 48–49, 51, 93, 95, 134–135
Hindu architecture under Mughal inspiration 50, 69, 67; influencing Mughal architecture 94, 105
Humayun, Nasir al-Din 10, 11, 12, 39, 41, 44, architecture 35–42, 65, 134, 143
hunting palaces 85, 103–105, XI, 117–120; see also minars
Husayn Bayqara 44
hypostyle halls, in funerary architecture 82, 128, 89, 90, 154; in mosque architecture 120–21, 130, 143, 144, 145, 146; in palace architecture 103, 108–109, 122, 115, 116, 125, 126, 134, 135
Indo-Islamic architecture, pre-Mughal 14, 32, 38, 42, 44, 46, 60, 101, 105, II, 13, 34, 43, 51
Indo-Saracenic style, so-called 133
inlay work see intarsia
intarsia, stone 38, 44, 70, 72, 73, 75, 76, 95, 129, 135, 68, 70; see also commesso di pietre dure; wood 95
Iran 42, 90, 111; see also Persia
Iranian, architecture 67, 91; intarsia in wood see intarsia
Isfahan, 'Ali Qapu 13, Hasht Behisht 61
Putmad al-Daula, Ghiyath Beg Tahirani 11, his tomb at Agra 74–75, 75
irwah, conventional use of term 66, 139; Mughal 42, 45, 68, 107, 140, 142; Transoxanian (timber) 42, 94, 140, 144, transposed into stone 55, 94, 39
Jahanara, Shah Begam 12, 126; patronage 96; her garden at Agra 117; rebuilds Achabal Bagh at Kashmir 86; sponsors buildings at Kashmir 117, at Shahjahanabad 114; sponsors Jamali
Masjid of Agra 119
Jahangir, Nur al-Din 12, 13, 17; architecture 70–92, 105, 128; his buildings criticised and demolished 84; his memoirs, the Tazkira
Jabangiri 76 n. 15, 85
ns. 29, 32; 86 n. 37; 90
ns. 42, 43, 143
Jaipur 68, 69; Hawa Mahal 160
jali 38, 48, 57, 73, 76, 82, 128, 130, 140
Jamna (Yamuna) 33, 34
Jaunpur, Atala mosque 65; bridge of Mumri Khan 66, 67; fort 60
Jesuit missionaries 11; transmit artistic ideas 94
Jharoka 58, 95, 109, 111, 140, 131
Jhelum (Behar), garden Vernag built at its springing 86
jilau khana (chauk-i) 97, 98, 101, 112, 113, 123, 140
Kabul 10, 11, 34
Kachchhwa Raiput 50, 68–69
Kaempfer, Engelbert 63
Karbo, Muhammad Salih, author 11, 13
Kannauj 68
(karwan)jana' 43, 53, 66, 67–68, 72, 90, 92, 98, 114, 123, 124, 131, 134, 140, 65, 101
Kashmir 11, 13, 86, 90, 96, 116, 117; type of Mughal garden 86, 116–17, 126,
khanaqah 45, 140, 20, 43
Khandesh 11, 91
khizam sanjhi see tarsia, wood
khwarasparua 98, 140
Khlmla, Nagina Mahall 42, 15
khizafjan 34, 44, 70, 140, 69
Khulabad, tomb of Aurangzeb 127
Khurasan 34 n. 7, influence 16, 134; architects 44, 92; first Mughal gardens built on models of 34; vault type of, adapted by Mughals 49–50, 62, 135, 32–33, by Hindu temple architecture 52, 69, 67
Khurram, prince, the later Shah Jahan 11; his interest in architecture 86, 96; entrusted with imperial building projects 86
Khusrav, Sultan 11; his tomb at Allahabad 78, 82
kwa'inagah (arazmangah) 36, 58, 106, 117, 112, 140, 121
Khwandamir author 41, 46, 143
kings, mythical and historical of Iran and India as models for Mughal emperors 12, 111
Lahore 13, 60, 90, 124, 131, 134, 135; regional style of 102, 103, 118, 135
monuments: Baolshahi Masjid 129, XX
—fort see Lahore fort; mosque of Dahi Anga 120; mosque of Maryam al-Zamani 83, 90, 92; mosque of Wazir Khan 118, 119, 140; Shalimar gardens 116, XV; tomb of 'Ali Mardan Khan 102; tomb of Anarkali (now Panjab Records Office) 80–81, 92, 87; tomb of Asaf Khan 102, 113; tomb
of Da’i Anga 123; tomb of Jahangir, at Shahdara 97–98, 106, 107; tomb of Nur Jahan, at Shahdara 98
Lahore fort 60–61, 84–85, 103, 115, 91
— Alamgiri Darwaza 125; Diwan-i ‘Amm 109; Jahangir’s Quadrangle 84, 94; Kala Burj 85, 89, VIII; Masti or Masji Darwaza 60; Moti Masjid 123; Naulakha pavilion 115, 116; Shah Burj 114–15, 137; Shah Jahan’s marble building 115; walls, north and west front 83, 92, 115
latrines 68, 104, 119
Lodi (dynasty) 102, 53; architecture 101
Lucknow, Nawabi architecture 132; mosque of Aurangzib 136; Nadan Mahall 37; Sola Khamba 82
Lutf Allah Muhandis 143
madrasa 63, 68, 131, 140, 141, 56–58, 157
Makramat Khan, Mulla Murshid Shirazi, supervises construction of Taj Mahal 96; of Red Fort of Delhi 96, 124
Malda, Nirm Sarai Minar 67
Malwa 11, 53, 55, 56, 134
Mandu, Niilkanth 53; palaces of Malwa sultans restored and used by Jahangir 84
Maner, tomb of Makhudum Shah Daulat 76
marble, white, as high-light 44, 90, 101, 118, 127, 129, 135; for architectural members and as facing of buildings 16, 57, 64, 74, 78, 79, 83, 92, 93, 95, 102, 103, 107, 111, 115, 128, 129, 130, 136, 138, see also intarsia, stone and commesso di pietre dure
Maryam al-Zamani as patroness of architecture 90, 96; her ba’oli at Bayana 90, 102; her mosque at Lahore 83, 90, 119, 92; her supposed tomb at Sikandra, Agra 74, 74
Mathura, mosque of Aurangzib 135
mausoleums, as most typical theme of Mughal architecture 43; prohibition against 73 types: baradar 127–28, 124; hydropsty hall 82, 88, 89, 91; octagonal 36–37, 39, 48, 72–73, 79–81, 101, 102, 134, XIV, 7–10, 26, 29 (background) 30, 31, 34, 35, 51, 72, 84, 86, 87, 112, 113; platform (podium, takhtgah) 72–77, 97, 103, 137, 73, 76, 106; with stepped superstructures 72, IX, 81; cubeshaped, domed 78–79, 100, 102, 128–29, 134, 135, 70, 82, 82; square with central domed block and ambulatory verandah 66–77, 75–78, 102, 134, 45, 46, 47, 78, 79, 114; square with chamfered corners = irregular octagonal, hence see mutthaman baghdi, see also baqibehsit (ninefold plan)
Meerut, tomb of Shaykh Pir 76, 79, 77
mihrabs 31, 65, 109, 123, 140 minar (minaret), funerary 72, 97, 99, XVII, XVIII, 68, 126, 109, as hunting memorial 67, 87, 65, 64; as hunting tower 67, 87, 104–05, 120; kos minar 67, 90, 62; of mosques 60, 118, 119, XII, 51, 140; multiple 72, 95–96, 99, 119, 120, XII, XVII, XVIII, 68, 106, 109, 140
Mirak Sayyid Ghishath, poet and architect 44 module, Shahjahan gaz used as 110, 128
mosaic, of mirror pieces, see ayina kari; of cut tile 37, 72, 102, 103 see also commesso di pietre dure
mosques massive type 31–36, 38, 43, 63, 64, 83, 117–20, 131, 134, 5, 5, 5, 57, 92, 140, 141, 142; grid pattern type 83, 118, 120–22, 91, 143–46; fusion of both types 123, 149
Muhammad Ali, Gurg-i Khurasan 92
Mulla Shah Dadkhushi, Akhun Mulla Shah, designs buildings at Kashmir 96, 117
Mumtaz Mahall, title of Arjumand Banu Begam 11, 12; her garden at Agra 117; Shah Jahan builds Taj Mahal as her mausoleum 11, 98–101
Mundy, Peter 90
muqarnas 49, 141; arched 70, 80, 103, 83; on capitals of columns (pillars) 88, 93, 14, 39, 48, 53, 83, 98; lozenge-shaped 70, 79, 83
Murshidabad 133
Mutiny, Great Indian 12; brings about demolition of Mughal buildings 141, 158
Nakoda, tomb of the Ust ad 80, 86
Narona, tomb of Shah Quli Khan 48; water palace of Shah Quli Khan 46, 69, 80 n. 20, 25; nature, Mughals’ love of a life style close to 53 ninefold plan see baqibehsit
Nishat Bagh, Kashmir 116
Nur Jahan, 11, 72; as patroness of architecture 96; her garden at Agra 84–89, 97, 98; her mosque at Srinagar 83, 97; her sara’i in the Punjab 95, 102; her tomb at Lahore 98
octagons 36, 37, 38, 42, 45, 46, 48, 61, 62, 72, 74, 79, 80, 81, 85, 92, 96, 99, 101, 102, 106, 134, XI, XIV, 7–11, 17, 19, 26–30, 31, 34, 35, 37, 72, 84–87, 103, 112, 113 see also mutthaman baghdi, mausoleums organic, three dimensionally modelled architectural vocabulary 93, 94, 95, 102, 107, 113, 132, 136, 144, 122, 123, 135, 134, 135, 139; see also baluster columns ornamental sandstone styles 38, 53, 56
Orpheus as symbol of Shah Jahan 111, XVII
Ottoman architecture 95, 98
Ozbegs (Uzbeks) 11, 44
painting, wall 136; figurative 70, 89; with European motifs 70, 85, 89, 136, VII; with flower motifs 95, 118, 155
Palam, hunting palace 104–5, 120
Panipat, battle of 52; Kabuli Bagh Masjih 32; I paradise, symbolism of 45; in funerary architecture 99; in palace architecture 95
patronage, architectural, imperial 13–14, 32, 43, 64, 83, 84, 96, 123, 131; of imperial women 44, 83, 86, 90, 96, 113–14, 117, 119, 126; of nobles 14, 34, 51, 53, 86, 92–93, 96, 113–14, 116, 124, 127; of princes 96, 113–14, 117; of Raisut vasals 68–69; of men of religion 13, 96, 117 pavilions see hangla, baqibehsit, hydropsty halls, and octagons pendenties 32, 76, VII, 1, 77, 123 see also arch-netting
Persia 10, 11, see also Iran Persian, architecture, its influence 14, 34, 43 see also Safavid architecture; language 10, 11 Persians 11, 95, 116
Peshawar 124
Philipp II of Spain 11
pietre dure; see commesso di pietre dure
Pinjar, Mughal garden 126
Pir Panjal pass 90
pishwas 36, 37, 41, 53, 53, 63, 65, 66, 72, 78, 85, 86, 100, 101, 102, 117, 178, 119, 122, 123, 131, 141
pleasances (gazebos) 41-42, 53, 58, 12
plans, Mughal, based on simple geometrical figures 134; centralized 93, 134, see also char bagh, habit habitation, octagons; four-sided, staple design for various purposes 68, see also court (courtyard); grid 96, 82, 85, 109, 118, 122-22; see also muthaman baghdadi
planning, additive 55, 56, 97, 98, 116; axial 55, 86, 98, 110-14, 116; bilateral symmetrical 93, 99, 109, 136; see also qarina; regular of large complexes 53-54, 93, 98-99, 109-11; by means of grid of squares 110, 128; regular confined to self contained units 61, 134; urban 34, 113, 123, 134, 136, 3
plaster (stucco), see also chuna and vaults; painted 37, 84, 118, 155; relief 95, 127, 129; mirror mosaic, set in, see ayana kari
purna ghata 94, 105, 123, 141
qalib kari 93, 127, 141; see also vault, lined with decorative shells of plaster
qanat works 91, 141
Qandahar 11
Qandahari, Muhammad 'Ali, author 13, 42, 143
qarina (counter-image) 93, 113, 141
Qarshi, Namazgah mosque 35-36, 6
Qasim Khan, Mir Bahr 53
qibla 65, 83, 121, 122, 140, 141
Raja Man Singh, Kachhwaha, his mosque at Rajmahal 68; his palaces at Amber 68, 69; at Beirut 53, 68-69, 66;
at Rohtasgarh, Bihar 68; his temple at Vindavan 50, 69, 67
Rajputs 12, 50, 51, 56, 68, 69
Roe, Sir Thomas 86
Rohtasgarh, Bihar, palace of Raja Man Singh 68-69
Rup Bas, Lal Mahall 104
Sadiq Muhammad Khan Herati, his buildings at Dholpur 72-73, 71
Safawid, architecture 14, 38; influence of 70, 83, 124, 135
Safawids II
Samarqand 10, 35, 63 n. 44, 66
Sambhal, mosque of Babur 32
sandstone, red, favourite building material of Akbari architecture 43, 55; its affinity with wood 56; highlighted with white marble, see marble
Sanskrit 11, 109, 137
sana'i see karwansara's
Saras, tomb of Shir Shah Suri 51
Sayyid Muhammad 44 screens, latticed see jalis
Sezincote 133
Shah Akbar II 12, 127
Shah 'Alam I, Bahadur Shah 1130
Shah Bahadur II, Zafar 12, 127
Shah Buri 41, 106, 114
Shah Jahan, Shahb al-Din 11, 12, 13, 68, 84, 86, 13; as architect 96; architecture 42, 53, 60, 72, 75, 76, 85, 88, 93-124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 134, 135-38, 138, 142, 143-44
Shahjahanabad 96, 103, 109, 113-14, 123, 136; see also Delhi
Shah Quli Khan, his buildings at Narnaul 46, 48, 69, 25
Shah Tahmasp I 10
Shaihkupura, hunting palace at 85, XI
Shalimar gardens, of Kashmir 86, 116, 95, 96, 115; of Lahore 116, 117
shab haji 125, 142
Shir Shah Suri 10, 11; his mosque at Delhi 38; his tomb at Sasaram 51
Sirhind, tomb of Haji Muhammad 48, 50
Solomon 12, 111
Srinagar, fort on Hari Parbat 65, 86; mosque of Akhnun Mulla Shah 117; hammam of Dar Shahkoh 117; Nur Afza garden 86; Pattahar Masjid 83, 109, 91 stabiles 68, 111
stairs 74
stepwell see hababi stucco, polished see chuna, Sunni Islam, practised by Mughals 12
supervisors of architectural constructions 13, 33, 92, 96, 114, 116
Suri architecture 38, 51, 101
symbolism, mosque 109; paradise 45, 91, 99
symmetry see planning synthesis, architectural 14; Akbari 43, 53, 56, 65, 70, 134; Shahjahan 93
sultan 41, 142, 13
tambhi (tambhi) khana 107, 122, 142
temples 30, 69, 132, 172, 67
terminalogy, architectural 96, 143
Thanesar, tomb of Shyakh Chilli 102
Thatta, mosque of Shah Jahan 119
tile, mosaic 37, 72, 83, 90, 102, 103, 129
timber architecture 42, 55, 96, 94, 13, 43, 43
Timur 10, 12, 66
Timurid, architecture, influence of 14, 35-38, 43-45, 53, 63, 65, 83; standards 12; lifestyle 34; - Mongolian heritage of Mughals 10; plan figures 36, 37, 55, 63, 134, 6, 10, 20; tile mosaic 37, 72; vaulting 32, 70, 72, 135, 2
tombs 34, 72-73, 127, 131, 132; see also mausoleums tomb stones, ornate 98, 107, 110
trabeate construction 42, 36, 88, 103, 117
Transoxania 14 n. 4, influence 43, 55, 56, 94; tara 41, 94, 140; baluster columns 94
Tughluq (dynasty) 43; architecture 65, 101, 118
Turkestan, tomb of Khwaja Ahmad Yasawi 55
Ustad Ahmad Lahori, architect 96, 143-44
Ustad Hamid, architect 96
Vadodara (Baroda), tomb of Qubt al-Din Khán 48, 71 and frontispiece Varanasi (Benares), mosque of Aurangzib 130; tomb of Lal Khan, 128-29, 115
vaults, lined with decorative shells of plaster 49, 75, 85, 89, 92, 93, 127, 135, 136, VII, VIII, 83, 81, 103; with (sand)stone 83, 95; with marble 93
Khurasan type of see Khurasan; see also coved ceilings, domes, vernacular architecture, influence on palace architecture 94
Vernag, Mughal garden 86
Verroneo, Geronimo 100
Vindavan temple of Govind Deva 50, 69, 67; of Madan Mohan, VII water, architecture 60, 86, 92; palaces 46, 50-53; XI, 25, 29; works 86, 91, 116, 124, X
Wazir Khan, his mosque at Lahore 118, 149, 140; supervises rebuilding of Lahore Shah Burj 114
welfare, concern of Mughal patrons for public 91, 125, 131
women, as patrons of architecture see patronage wood 56, 133, 142; see also inscrissa and timber architecture
zanan 55, 66, 60, 61, 62, 68, 84, 85, 88, 106, 111, 112, 134, 142
Zayn Khan, author 34