

Ebba Koch

# Mughal Architecture

An Outline  
of Its History and Development  
(1526 – 1858)

Prestel

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).<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>2</sup> These patterns appear to have been inspired by Safawid sources (based in turn on Timurid forerunners),<sup>3</sup> 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. 85).

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 (1022/1613, pl. IX). The place was renamed Bihishtabad (“Paradise Town”) to honour its new status as burial-place of the great emperor.<sup>4</sup> The tomb of Akbar stands in the centre of a classical *char bagh*, whose main *khiyabans* 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 *pishtaqs* 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 *khiyabans* of the garden.

The overall concept of the mausoleum, which is placed at the crossing of the two principal *khiyabans*, 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

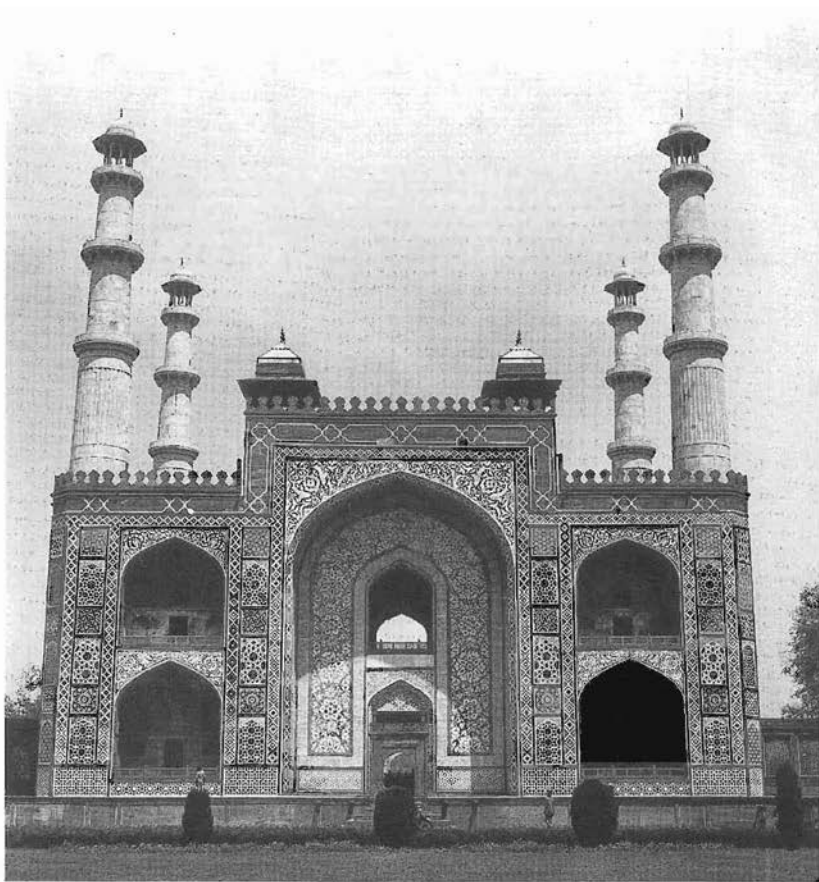
<sup>1</sup> Mundy, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Koch 1983 and 1986a.

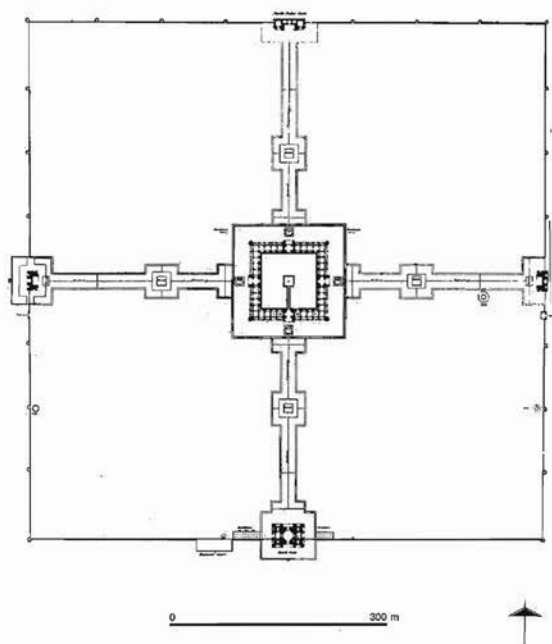
<sup>3</sup> Similar vaults can be found in the small palace at Nayin (sixteenth century), see Luschev-Schmeisser.

<sup>4</sup> Kanbo, i, p. 14; for a description and plans see Smith 1909.

68 Agra, Sikandra,  
tomb of Akbar,  
1022/1613, southern  
gate seen from south.  
(Photo 1978)

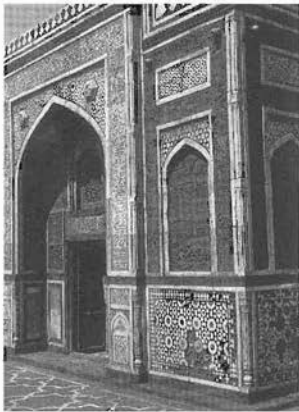


69 Agra, Sikandra,  
tomb of Akbar,  
site-plan.  
(After E. W. Smith)



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 *pishtaqs* (decorated with stone intarsia producing the effect of tile-work) – with the indigenous trabecate 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.<sup>5</sup> 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 *pishtaqs* 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.<sup>6</sup> Further impressive early examples are the Akbari Darwaza and Hahti Pol



70 Delhi,  
Nizamuddin, tomb of  
Atga Khan,  
974/1566–67.  
(Photo 1978)

of the Agra fort (later 1560s; figs. 37, 38). The craft was further developed and refined under Jahangir and Shah Jahan.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> bears a clear family relationship: its two solid receding storeys are crowned by an open-pillared *chhatra* (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.<sup>9</sup> The design appears here in

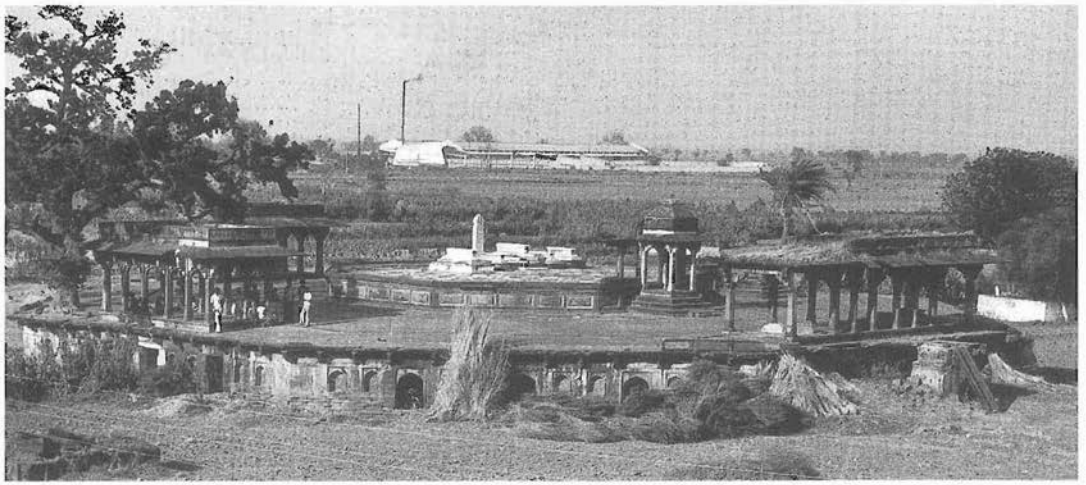
<sup>5</sup> Burton-Page 1991b; Husain, pp. 185 f.

<sup>6</sup> Zafar Hasan 1922, pp. 31 f.

<sup>7</sup> See below, pp. 75, 95.

<sup>8</sup> For dates see Desai 1961, pp. 64–68.

<sup>9</sup> 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 1875, Appendix, pp. i–iv).

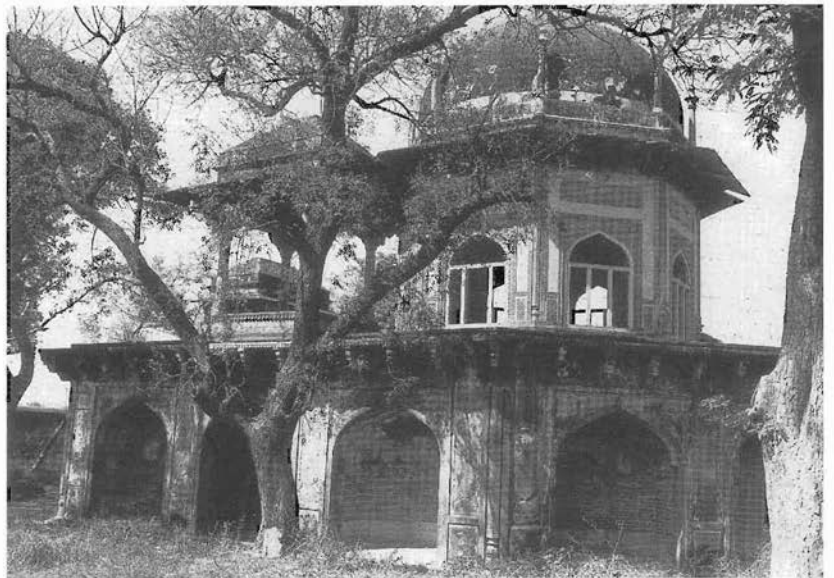


71 Dholpur, tomb of  
Sadiq Khan,  
1005–06/1596–97.  
(Photo 1978)

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<sup>10</sup> 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

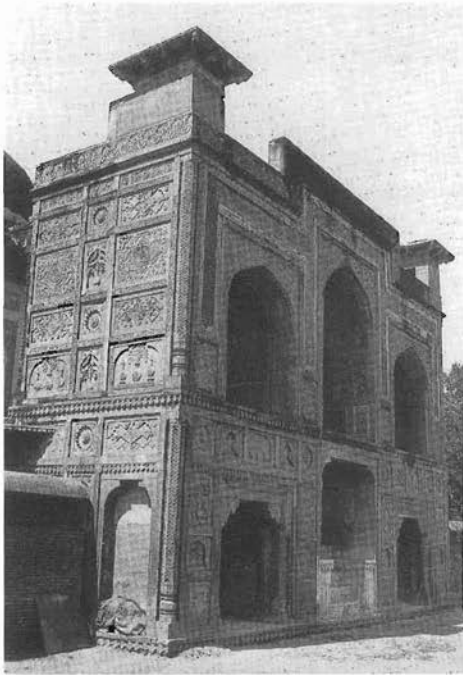
72 Agra, tomb  
attributed to Firuz  
Khan, first third of  
17th century.  
(Photo 1978)



<sup>10</sup> 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 structure set in the centre of the platform is here a domed octagon. The peripheral structures are placed in the cardinal directions. They consist 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.<sup>11</sup>



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

The square version of the platform tomb is represented by the “tomb of Maryam al-Zamani” (d. 1032/1623), Jahangir’s mother, at Sikandra, Agra.<sup>12</sup> 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 Itimad al-Daula, Jahangir’s *wazir* and the father of his favourite and powerful wife, Nur Jahan, at Agra (1036–37/1626–28; 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 Itimad al-Daula’s tomb are arranged according to a ninefold plan.

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

<sup>12</sup> For description, plans and illus. see Sanderson 1910–11, pp. 94–96, pls. 48–50; in the older literature the building is erroneously identified with a *baradari* of Sikander Lodi.

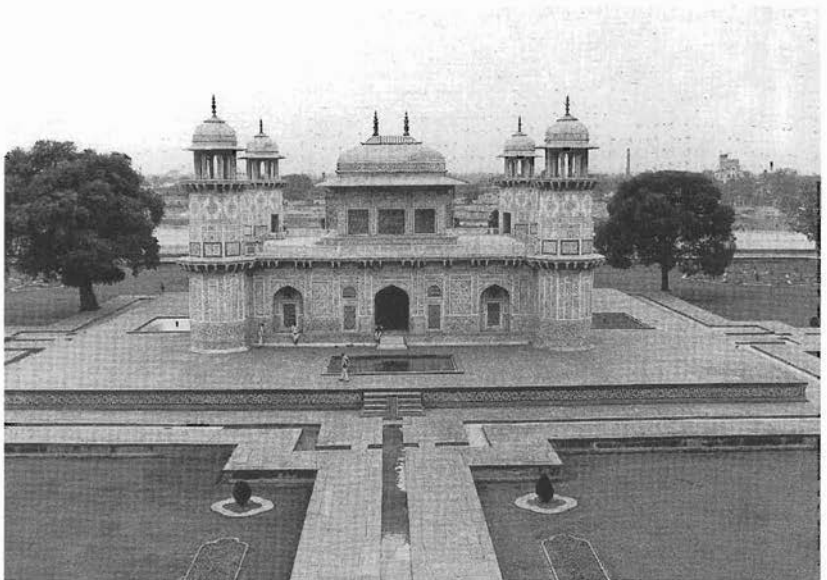


74 Agra, Sikandra, tomb attributed to Maryam al-Zamani, died 1623. (Photo 1978)

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)<sup>13</sup> represents a further step from the earlier simple stone intarsia (used so conspicuously on the *pishtaqs* and gates of Akbar's mausoleum) towards the more refined Italianate *commesso di pietre dure* technique of Shah Jahan's buildings.<sup>14</sup>

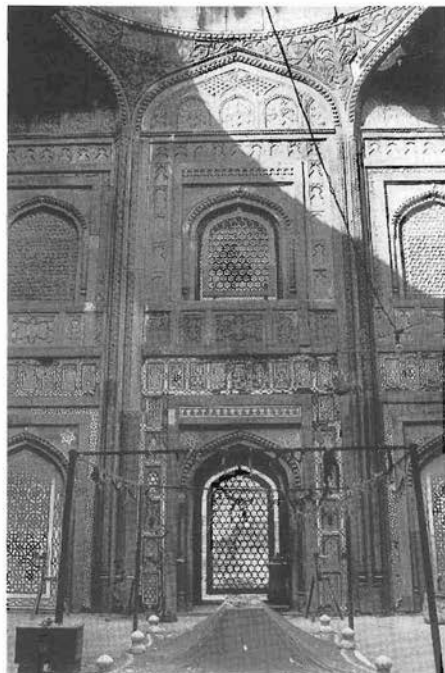
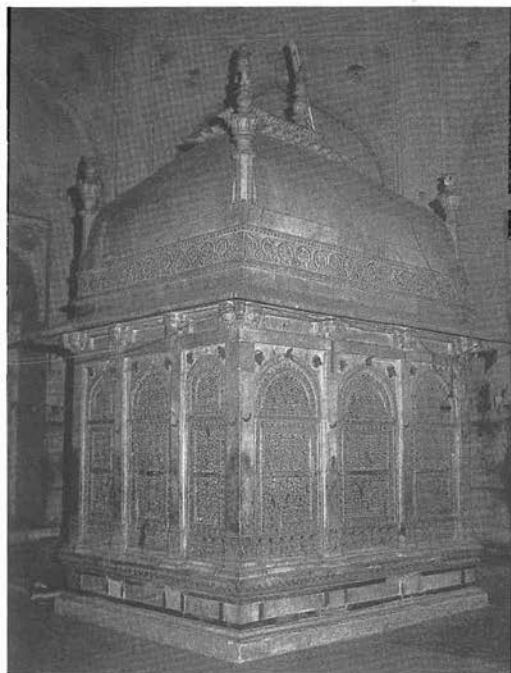
Of the tomb types inherited from the previous period, the Gujarat-derived tomb type with a central domed block and a (lower) ambulatory verandah

75 Agra, tomb of Ftima'd al-Daula, 1036-37/1626-28. (Photo 1979)



<sup>13</sup> Koch 1987b, pp. 39-44.

<sup>14</sup> Smith 1901, 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)<sup>15</sup> the central block is given on the outside the appearance of a two-storey building by two superimposed rows of arched *jali* 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 arch-netting 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.<sup>16</sup> 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 ‘Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan, at Burhanpur and the tomb of Iftikhar 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

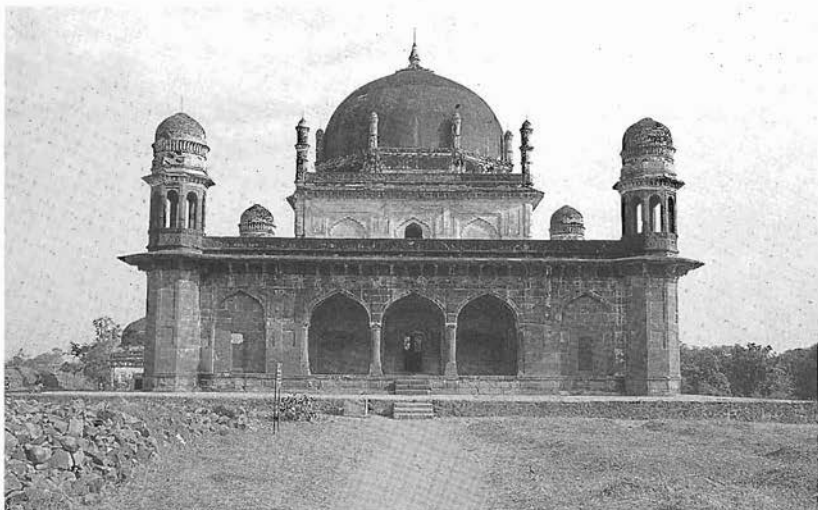
76 Gwalior, tomb of Muhammad Gauth, died 1563, interior catafalque. (Photo 1978)

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

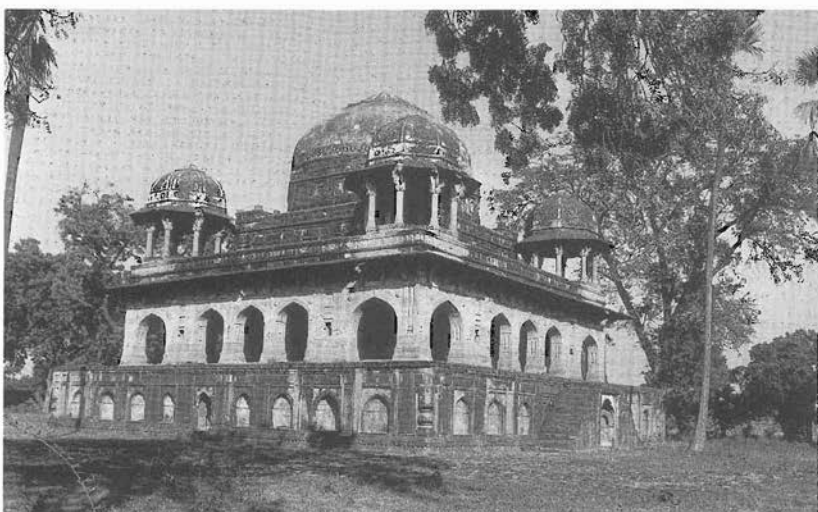
<sup>15</sup> Jahangir, Eng. trans. i, pp. 241, 346.

<sup>16</sup> Kuraishi, pp. 61–66.

78 Burhanpur, tomb  
of Shah Nawaz Khan,  
died 1618–19.  
(Photo 1984)



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



80 Delhi, tomb of  
ʿAbd 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)<sup>17</sup> continues to be used. Important examples are the mausoleum of 'Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan at Delhi (d. 1036/1627),<sup>18</sup> 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).<sup>19</sup> The latter has not the usual *pishtaq* in the centre of each side but – like the central



81 Allahabad,  
Khusrau Bagh, tomb  
of Shah Begam (died  
1605). (Photo 1978)



82 Allahabad,  
Khusrau Bagh, tombs  
of Sultan Nithar  
Begam (1034/1624–25)  
and of Sultan  
Khusrau (died 1622).  
(Photo 1978)

<sup>17</sup> See above, p. 72.

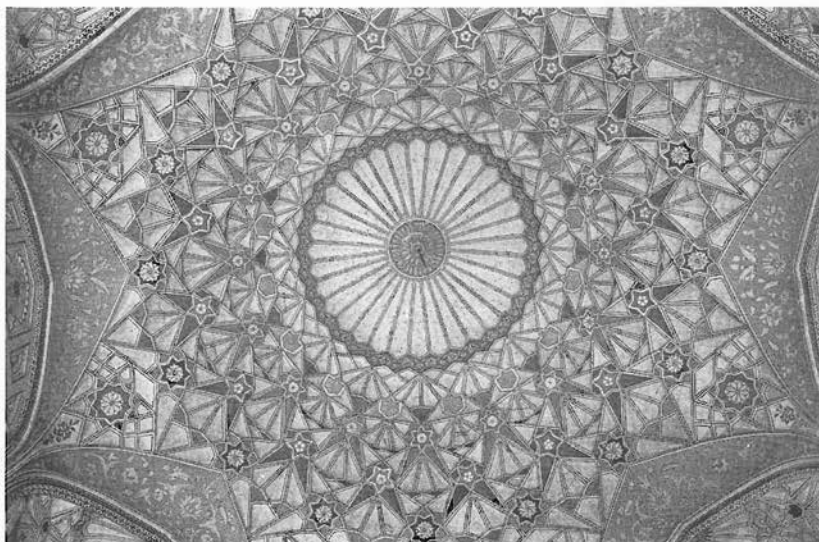
<sup>18</sup> Zafar Hasan  
1915–22, ii, 1919,  
pp. 128 f.

<sup>19</sup> 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*.

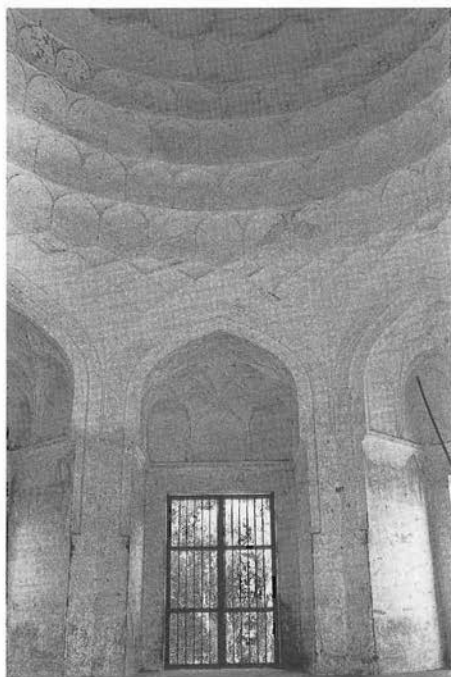
The octagonal tombs present a heterogeneous picture. Among the already discussed octagonal versions of the *takhtgah* or platform tomb may, in the widest sense, also be counted the tomb of “Tambulan Begam”, in the Khusrau Bagh at Allahabad. The ground floor has the shape of an octagonal podium housing a cruciform chamber; the superstructure consists of a single octagonal domed kiosk. The concept almost literally repeats that of the

83 Allahabad,  
Khusrau Bagh, tomb  
of Sultan Nithar  
Begam, interior,  
dome. (Photo 1980)



84 Allahabad,  
Khusrau Bagh, tomb  
of Tambulan Begam,  
first quarter of 17th  
century. (Photo 1978)





85 Allahabad,  
Khusrau Bagh, tomb  
of Tambulan Begam,  
interior of sepulchral  
pavilion. (Photo 1980)

earlier water pavilion at Etmadpur (fig. 29); the analogies between tombs and garden pavilions are here very apparent.<sup>20</sup> 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 (1028/1618) represents a more monumental version of the tomb of Tambulan Begam with its proportions changed in favour of the superstructure and with four *pishtaqs* alternating with four lower blind arches; a *chhajja* emphasizes the changing levels of the façade elements.<sup>21</sup>

The tomb of "the Ustad" (actually that of Muhammad Mu'min Husayn) at Nakodar in the Panjab (1021/1612–13) belongs to the group that continues the irregular octagonal tomb type of Akbar's period.<sup>22</sup>

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 1024/1615). 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 1851; it is now the Panjab Records Office.<sup>23</sup> 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*. Incribed 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

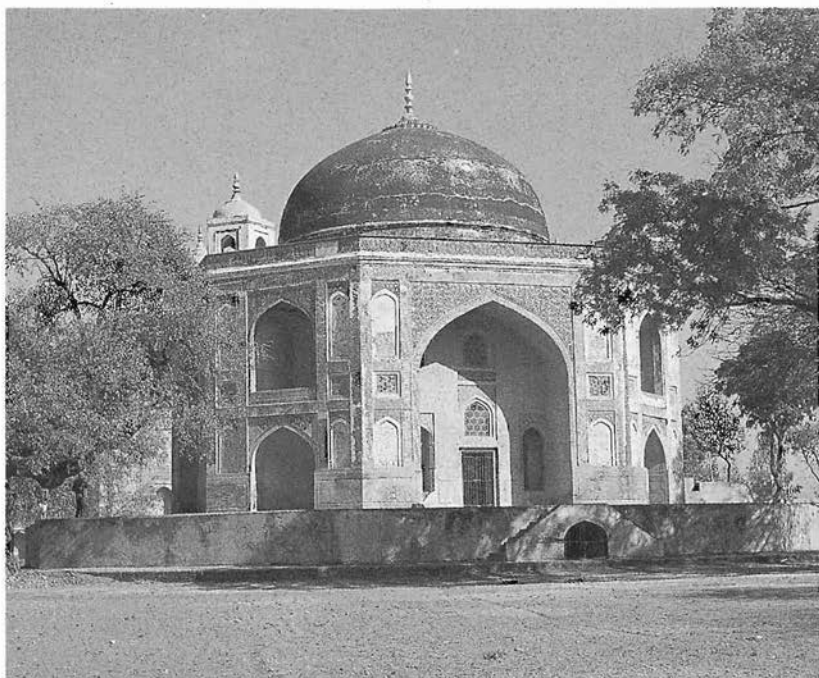
<sup>20</sup> Such parallels appear to have misled Burton-Page (1991a, pp. 127–28) into describing both the water pavilion of I'timad Khan and that of Shah Quli Khan at Narnaul as "fine but anonymous examples" of funerary architecture. The actual tombs of both patrons are separate structures erected in both cases near the shore of the artificial lakes. See our fig. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Illus. in Daniell, Series III, no. 23, as "Mausoleum of Kausim Solemanee"; cf. Führer 1891, p. 259.

<sup>22</sup> Parihar, p. 34 f., pl. xi.

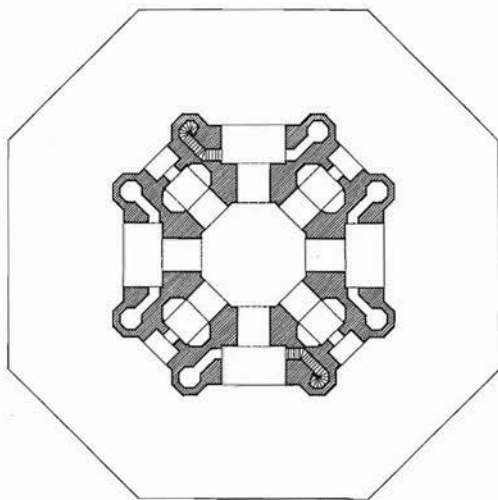
<sup>23</sup> The building has been published with a plan and an elevation but with only a very brief description by A. N. Khan 1980b.

86 *Nakodar, tomb  
of the Ustad,  
1021/1612-13.  
(Photo 1979)*



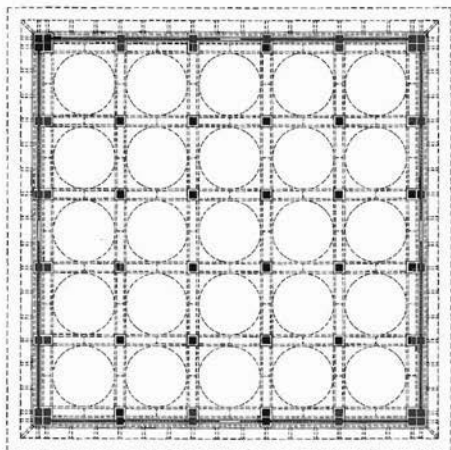
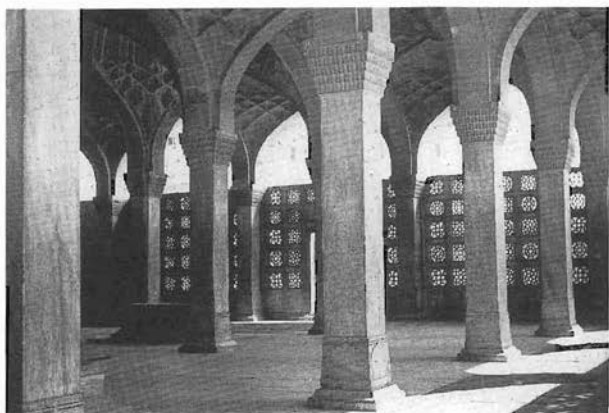
already appeared in the Hada Mahall at Fatepur Sikri (fig. 28), but here the rooms on the x-axis were not connected with the main domed hall. That the tomb of Anarkali is a truly outstanding design can be seen by comparing it with related solutions of Western architecture. It is as if Michelangelo's 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)!

87 *Labore, tomb  
of Anarkali,  
completed  
1024/1615,  
reconstructed  
ground-plan.*



2 0 2 4 6 8 10m





88 Delhi, Nizamuddin, Chaunsath Khamba (tomb of Mirza ‘Aziz Koka, died 1623–4). (Photo 1978)



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 Khamba” at Lucknow;<sup>24</sup> now it appears fully developed, with pillars set in pairs around the periphery, in the white marble mausoleum of Mirza ‘Aziz Koka (d. 1033/1623–24), the “Chaunsath Khamba”, at Nizamuddin, Delhi.<sup>25</sup> 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.

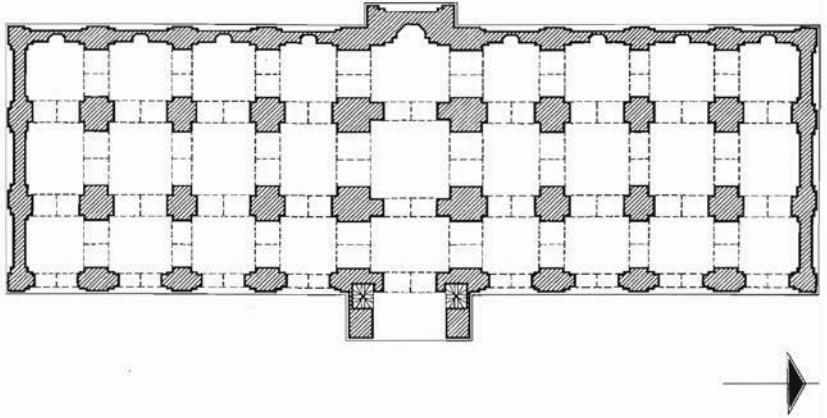
89 Delhi, Nizamuddin, Chaunsath Khamba, ground-plan.

90 Agra, tomb attributed to Salabat Khan, second quarter of 17th century. (Photo 1978)



Similar tendencies also appear in the mosque architecture of the period. The "Patthar 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 ceilings 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.

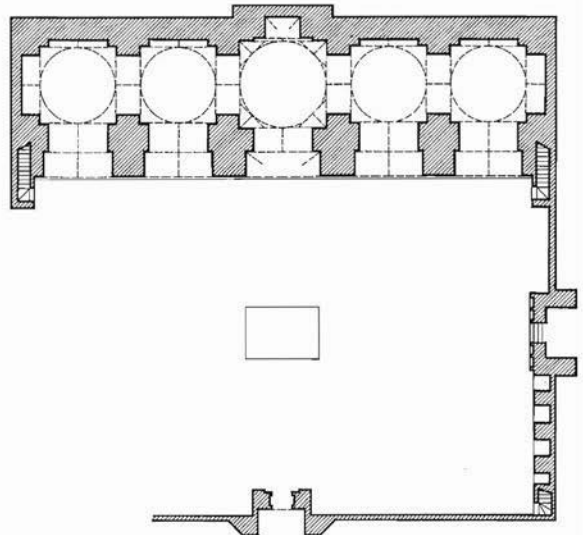
91 Srinagar, Patthar Masjid, c. 1620s, ground-plan.



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).<sup>26</sup> 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.

92 Lahore, Begam Shahi Masjid, 1020–23/1611–14, ground-plan.



<sup>24</sup> Plans and illus. in Sanderson 1912–13.

<sup>25</sup> Zafar Hasan 1922, pp. 34 f.

<sup>26</sup> A. N. Khan 1972.



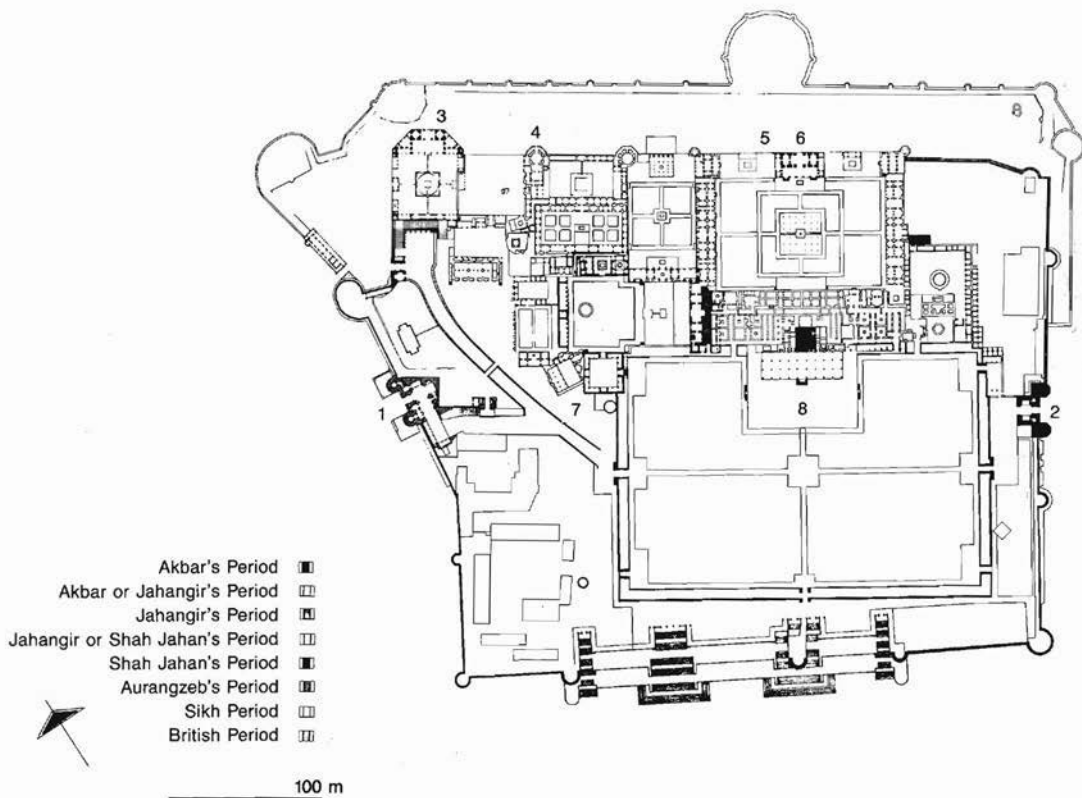
Jahangir's preferred projects were in the domain of palace and garden architecture. Most were however either altered or demolished by his son and successor Shah Jahan, who considered them "old-fashioned and of bad design" (*kubnagi wa bad tarhi*).<sup>27</sup> To the latter belong Jahangir's additions to the palace of Agra.

The best picture of urban Jahangiri palace architecture can be obtained in the fort of Lahore,<sup>28</sup> which Jahangir began to reconstruct after his accession. The final touch was given to the buildings between 1617 and 1620 by Jahangir's architect 'Abd al-Karim Ma'mur 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.<sup>29</sup> Although the palace of Lahore did not escape later alterations, the greater part of the constructions between Akbar's Diwan-i 'Amm 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.

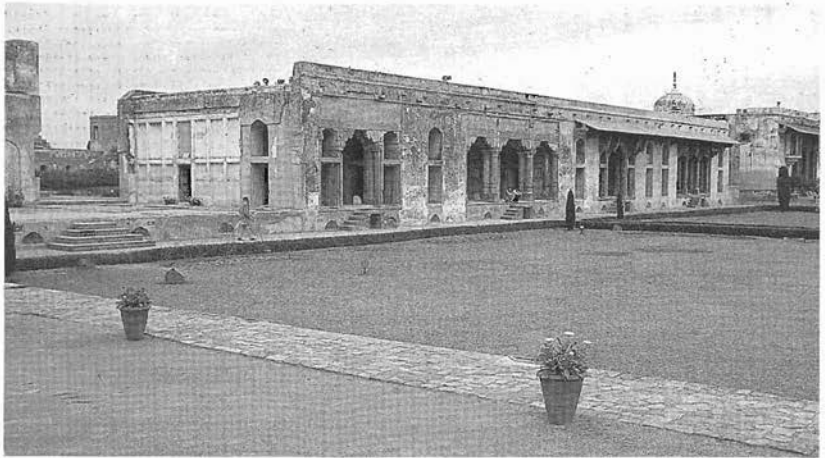
"Jahangir's Quadrangle", the main *zanana* courtyard, combines the local brick architecture with quotations from the imperial style of Agra and Fatehpur Sikri in the form of trabeate sandstone verandahs. The *chhajja* of the courtyard wings is supported by composite zoomorphic brackets in the shape of elephants, felines and peacocks. Such unorthodox features were now

## Palaces

93 Lahore fort, plan. (After the recent plan of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Western Pakistan Circle, Lahore, but with the Shah Burj complex remeasured and with some different attributions of building phases)  
 1 'Alamgiri Darwaza, 2 Masti Darwaza, 3 Shah Burj, 4 Kala Burj, 5 Shah Jahan's marble building, 6 Jahangir's Quadrangle, 7 Moti Masjid, 8 Courtyard of Diwan-i 'Amm.



94 Lahore fort,  
Jahangir's  
Quadrangle,  
completed 1620, west  
wing. (Photo 1979)



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).<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

At Delhi, Jahangir ordered the construction of palace buildings in the small fort of Salimgarh,<sup>32</sup> 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 Shaikhupura near Lahore (1015–30/1607–20; 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> 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 Aurangzib – 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 1024/1615

<sup>27</sup> Lahori, i/2, p. 51, et passim

<sup>28</sup> Andrews 1986a.

<sup>29</sup> Jahangir, i, pp. 363 f., 368, 375 f.

<sup>30</sup> Koch 1983.

<sup>31</sup> Vogel

<sup>32</sup> Jahangir, ii, 109.

<sup>33</sup> A. N. Khan 1980a.

<sup>34</sup> Rabbani

(pl. X).<sup>35</sup> 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”,<sup>36</sup> 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,<sup>37</sup> 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 (*hauz*), branch canals (*jadwal, juy*) and pavilions and platforms (*nashiman*) sited along the watercourse.<sup>38</sup>

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,<sup>39</sup> about one-third were created or refashioned during Jahangir's reign. This is particularly true of the river bank north of I'timad 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).<sup>40</sup>

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

Gardens

<sup>35</sup> Sarda, pp. 104–07.

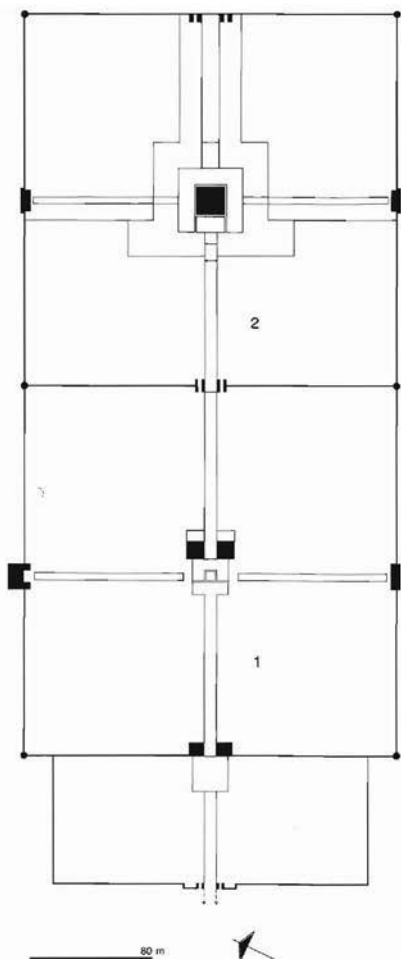
<sup>36</sup> p. 121.

<sup>37</sup> Jahangir, ii, pp. 142, 150 f., 173 f.

<sup>38</sup> Crowe et al.; Bazmee Ansari 1960.

<sup>39</sup> *Jahangir's India*, pp. 2 ff.

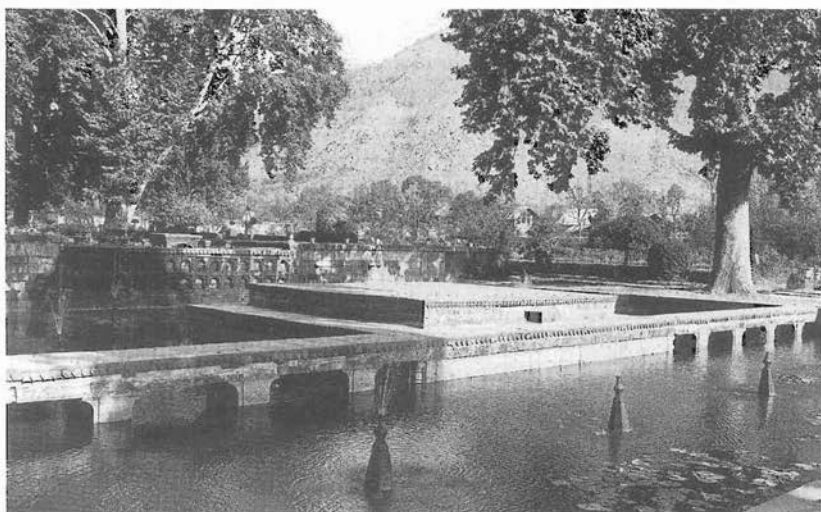
<sup>40</sup> Koch 1986a.

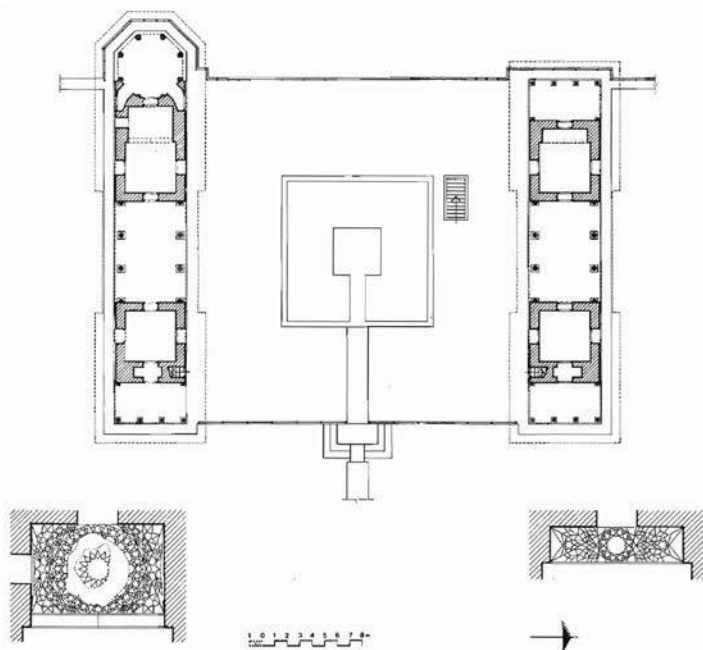


95 Kashmir,  
Shalimar gardens,  
founded 1620, site-  
plan.

1 Bagh-i Farah  
Bakhsh, 2 Bagh-i Fayz  
Bakhsh.

96 Kashmir,  
Shalimar gardens,  
Farah Bakhsh,  
platform in the  
central pool connected  
to the banks by two  
bridgeways.  
(Photo 1981)



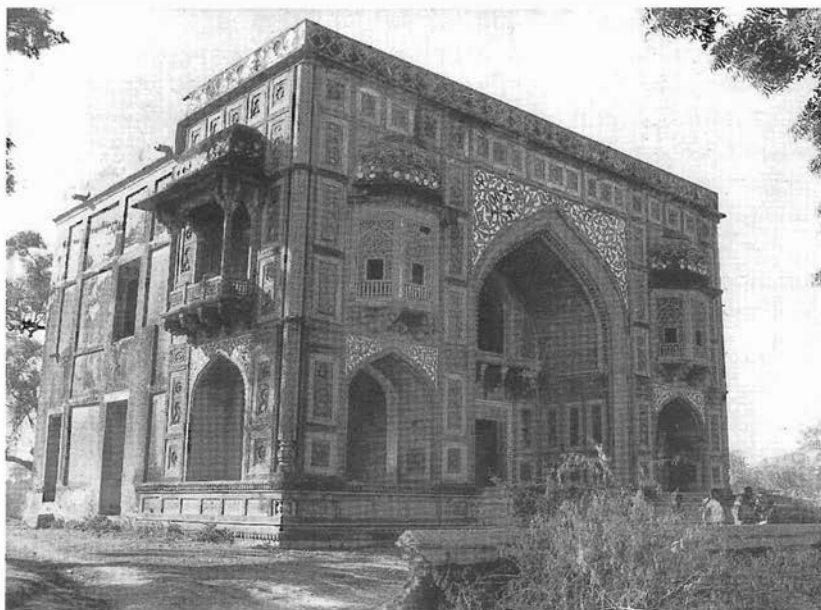


97 Agra, Ram Bagh  
(Bagh-i Nur Afshan),  
completed 1621, plan  
of the riverside  
terrace and its two  
pavilions.

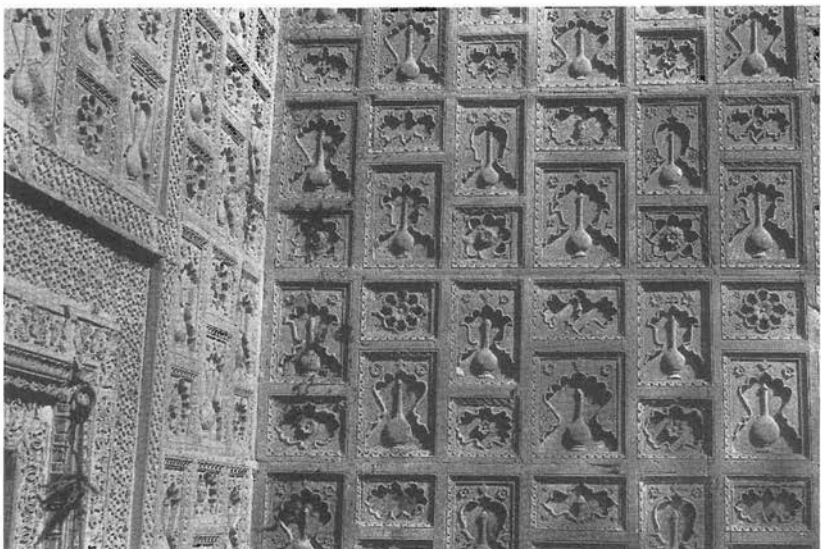


98 Agra, Ram Bagh  
(Bagh-i Nur Afshan),  
riverside terrace,  
northern pavilion.  
(Photo 1982)

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 (*hujras*) 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.



99 Agra, Sikandra, Kanch Mahall, first quarter of 17th century. (Photo 1977)



100 Agra, Sikandra, Suraj Bhan ka Bagh, first quarter of 17th century, chini khana decoration of gate-pavilion. (Photo 1978)

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 *basht 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.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> For plans and illus. see Smith 1901, chs. 4, 5.

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.<sup>42</sup> In 1620 Jahangir ordered the construction of small stations (*ladbis*) along the route over the Pir Panjal pass into Kashmir.<sup>43</sup>

A number of *karwansara'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.<sup>44</sup>



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 seene, . . . a very costly and curious peece of worke".<sup>45</sup> 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.<sup>46</sup> 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

<sup>42</sup> Jahangir, ii, p. 100.

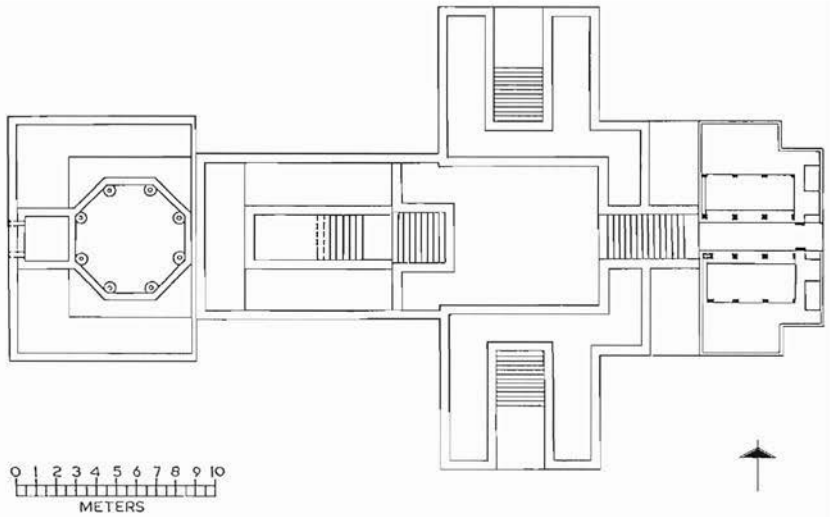
<sup>43</sup> Jahangir, ii, p. 178.

<sup>44</sup> Begley 1983, pp. 168–70.

<sup>45</sup> p. 101; see also Jahangir, ii, p. 64. I thank Iqtidar Alam Khan for kindly providing me with a plan of the so far unpublished building

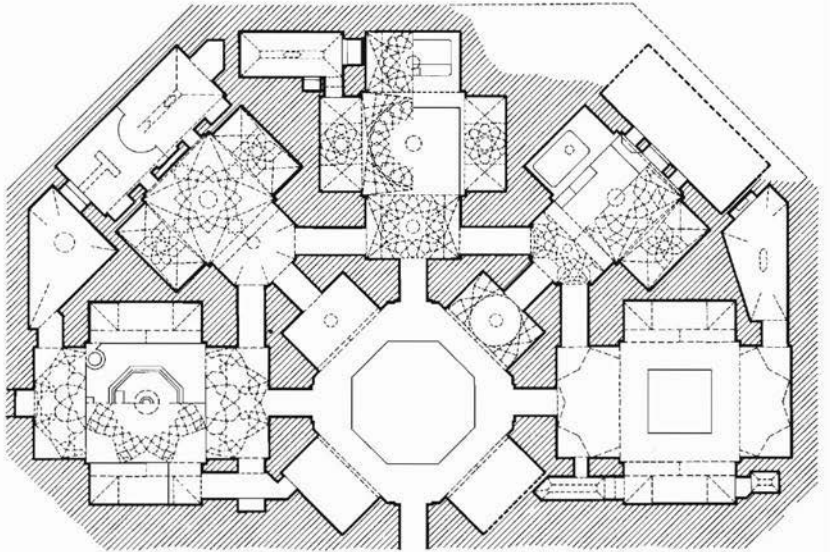
<sup>46</sup> Jain-Neubauer

102 Bayana,  
Brahambad, ba'oli of  
Maryam al-Zamani,  
plan. (Courtesy  
I. A. Khan)



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'l 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 (*khas-o-camm*) – a rare gesture of civic spirit for the times.<sup>47</sup> Other works of urban architecture sponsored by the Khan-i Khanan during

103 Burhanpur,  
public hammam  
sponsored by 'Abd  
al-Rahim Khan-i  
Khanan,  
1016/1607–08,  
ground-plan.



<sup>47</sup> Nahawandi, ii, pp. 598 ff.; for the later history of the waterworks see *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ix: *Bomjur to Central India*, p. 105.

his long tenure of Burhanpur were a *sara'i* (1027/1617–18) and a public *hammam* (1016/1607–08) near the fort. The *hammam* is noteworthy for its carefully thought-out plan and its elaborate vaults. Today the building has the plan of a truncated *muthamman 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 *hammams*;<sup>48</sup> new is that they are now organized according to a strictly geometrical scheme. The concept of the Burhanpur *hammam* 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 <sup>c</sup>Ali, known as Gurg-i Khurasan.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup> For plans see Petruccioli 1988, fig. 131.

<sup>49</sup> Nahawandi, ii, p. 601; 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 Jahangir'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 "Shahjahani 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).<sup>1</sup> First in particularly distinguished buildings, later in a more general context, the Shahjahani column was often given a vegetal capital and/or base (figs. 137, 149). From about the early 1630s it was combined with a multi-cusped arch, another characteristic feature of the period (figs. 112, 122, 125).

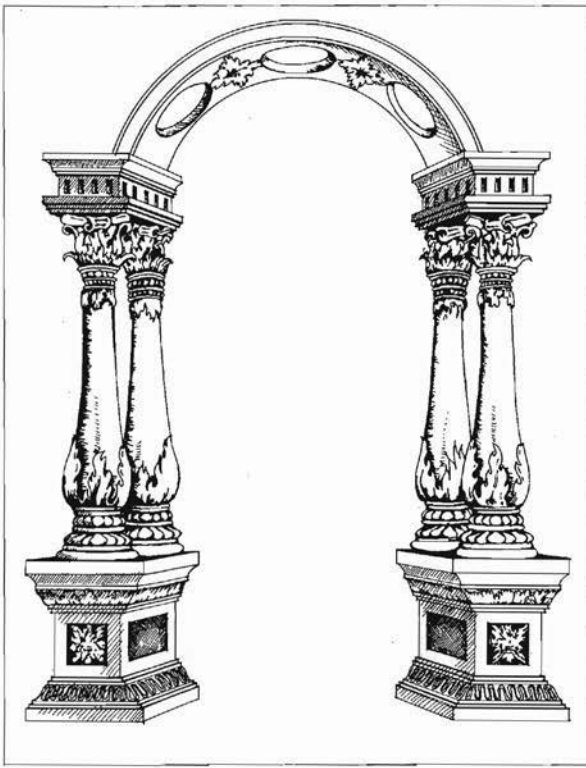
The standardization of architecture also extended to the patterns of the vaults. Of the various experiments with decorative plaster vaults that were made in Jahangiri architecture, the network developed from points in concentric tiers was used almost exclusively. It gradually acquired the shape of a thin reticulated whorl pattern (*hammad* 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 Shahjahani 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" (*sarw-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

<sup>1</sup> Koch 1982a, pp. 337 f.



104 Baldachin supported by baluster columns. From a title page by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1531. Woodcut. (Based on A. F. Butsch, *Handbook of Renaissance Ornament*, 1878–80)

105 Eastern India, architectural frame supported by baluster columns standing on pots with overhanging leaves, 11th–12th centuries. London. British Museum, Bridge Collection, 1872, 7–1.48. (Photo 1979)

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 *iwan* (fig. 14) 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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

Eastern India also provided the models for the curved-up roof or vault, another characteristic element of the new Shahjahani vocabulary. Shah Jahan's authors term it *bangla* or *bangala* in allusion to its derivation from vernacular prototypes of Bengal (figs. 121, 133, 136).

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 40, 42, 55; and for this and the following see Koch 1982b.

<sup>3</sup> See Abu'l Fazl's remarks quoted above, p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Koch 1982b and 1988b.

<sup>5</sup> Skelton.

<sup>6</sup> Fol. 18<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Koch 1988b, n. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Wulff, pp. 92–97.

<sup>9</sup> Koch 1988b, n. 24; 1987b, pp. 39–44.



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 (*jharokas*, baldachins, loggias).<sup>4</sup> 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 herbals, which became the chief dado ornament of Shahjahani architecture.<sup>5</sup> 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. 107, 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 Qazwini<sup>6</sup> (and after him many a modern author involved in the "pietra dura controversy")<sup>7</sup> considered it "a craft peculiar to the stonemasons of India" (*ṣanʿat makhṣūṣ-i sangtarāshān-i Hindūstān*), while comparing it favourably to *khātam bandī*, the Iranian technique of inlays in wood.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup> 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."<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

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.<sup>12</sup> Shahjahani minarets usually have a

<sup>10</sup> Eng. trans. in Begley and Desai, p. 83.

<sup>11</sup> Andrews 1985, p. 88.

<sup>12</sup> Burton-Page 1991b; Husain, pp. 100 f., 103 f., 187–89, et passim; Bloom, pp. 175 ff.

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”.<sup>13</sup> 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 <sup>c</sup>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 (*mi<sup>c</sup>mar*) 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.<sup>14</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

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, <sup>c</sup>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.<sup>16</sup>

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.

<sup>13</sup> Kanbo, i, p. 108.

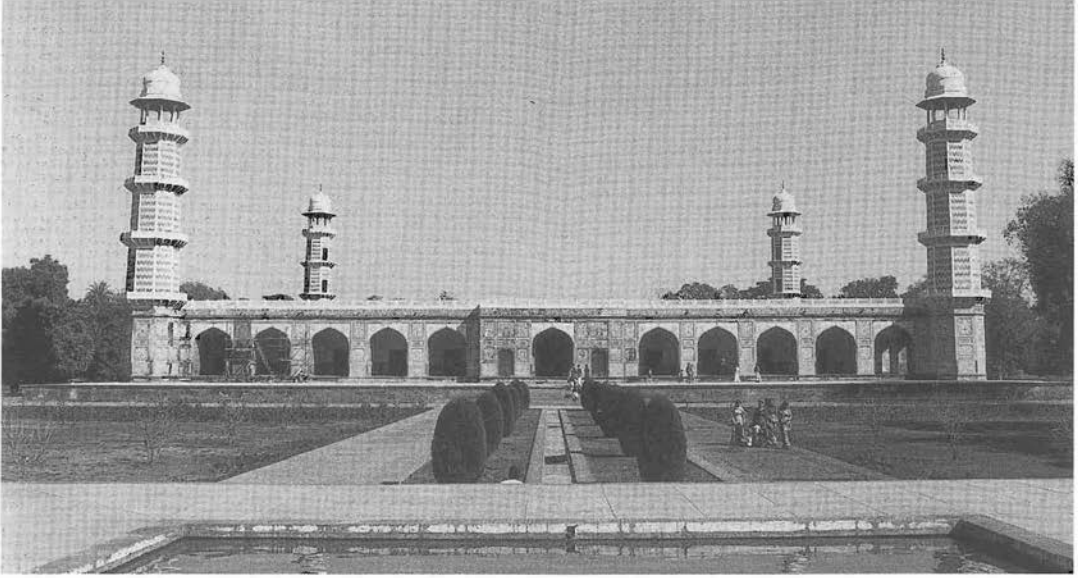
<sup>14</sup> Lutf Allah Muhandis, *Diwan*, Eng. trans. in Chaghtai 1937, pp. 202 f.; see also Begley 1982; and Qaisar, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Moosvi

<sup>16</sup> See below, p. 117.

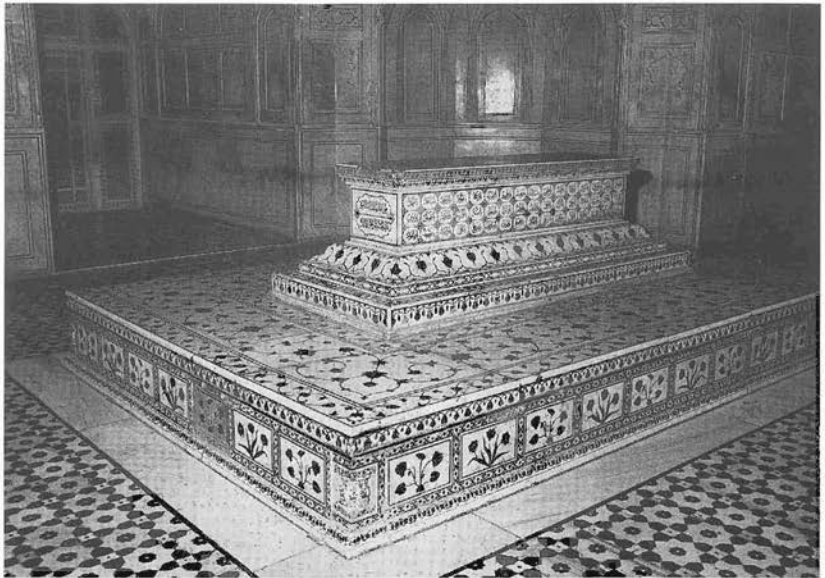
<sup>17</sup> Kanbo, i, pp. 11 f.

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 (1037–47/1628–38). In Jahangir's tomb the classical *char bagh* layout was combined with a *chawk-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.<sup>17</sup> 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



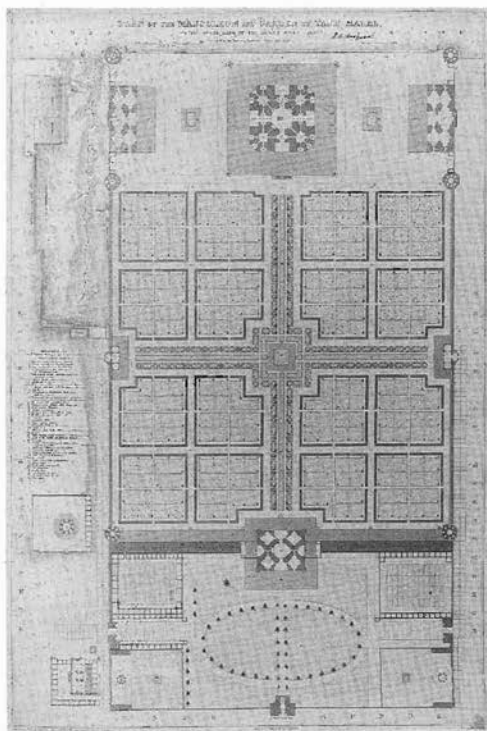
106 Lahore,  
Shahdara, tomb of  
Jahangir, 1628–38.  
(Photo 1979)

107 Lahore,  
Shahdara, tomb of  
Jahangir, tombstone  
in the sepulchral  
chamber in the  
monumental  
platform. (Photo 1979)



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.<sup>18</sup>

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. 1055/1645), built by Jahangir's widow herself nearby.<sup>19</sup>



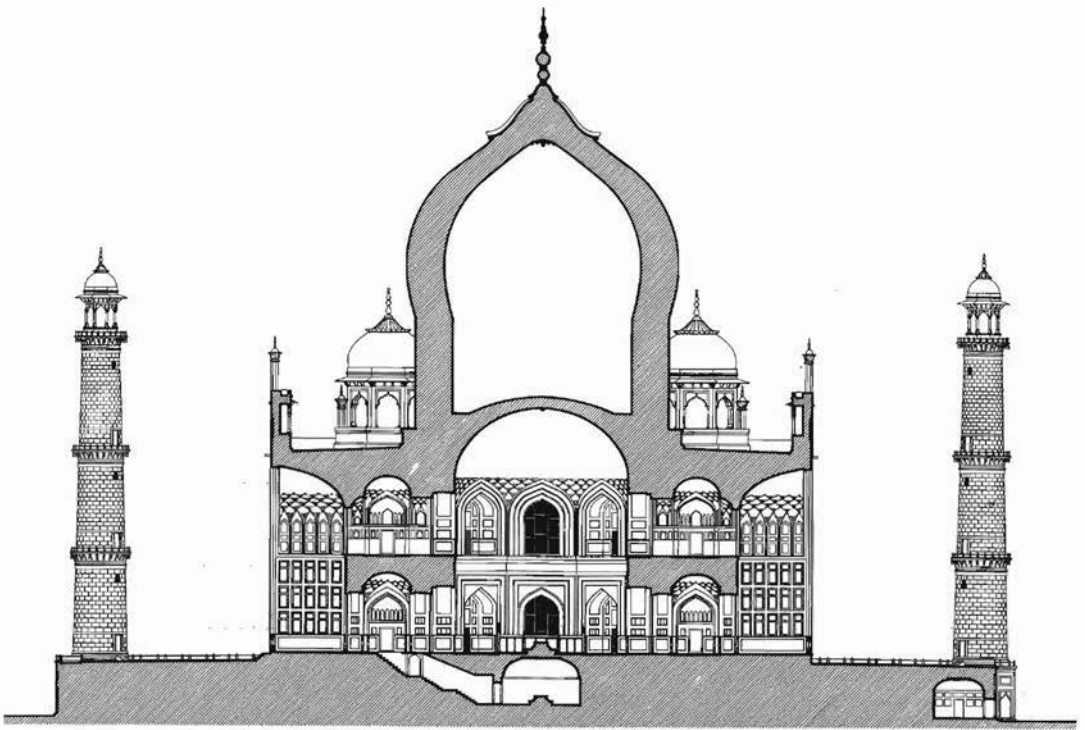
108 Site-plan of the tomb garden of the Taj Mahall and the forecourt with its flanking subsidiary structures, by Col. J. A. Hodgson, 1828. (Photo British Library [India Office Library and Records], London).

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 (1041–52/1632–43; pl. XVII).<sup>20</sup> The tomb derived its name from her title Mumtaz 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 *chawk-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 (*khawasspuras*), bazaar streets and subsidiary tomb enclosures. Further south<sup>21</sup> followed a complex divided by two intersecting bazaar streets (*char su bazar*) into four (*karwan*)*sara'is*; still further south was a square (*chawk*) 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 Mumtazabad, now known as Tajganj. The income of the bazaars and the *karwansara'is* –

<sup>18</sup> Thompson.

<sup>19</sup> M. W. U. Khan, pp. 58–60.

<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup>

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.<sup>23</sup>

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 (*mihman 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 baghdadi* 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

<sup>22</sup> 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.

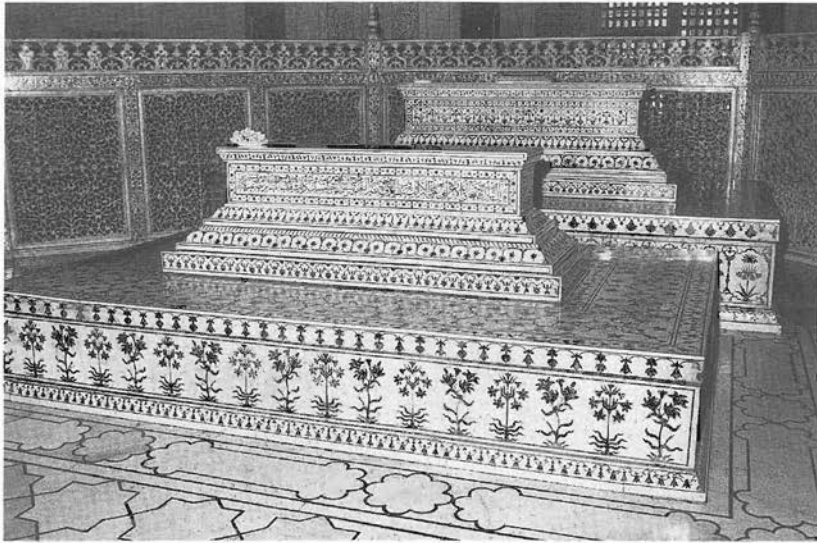
<sup>23</sup> Lahori, ii, pp. 322–30; Kanbo, ii, pp. 315–20; for new trans. and illus. see Begley and Desai, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Begley 1979.

(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.<sup>24</sup> 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-

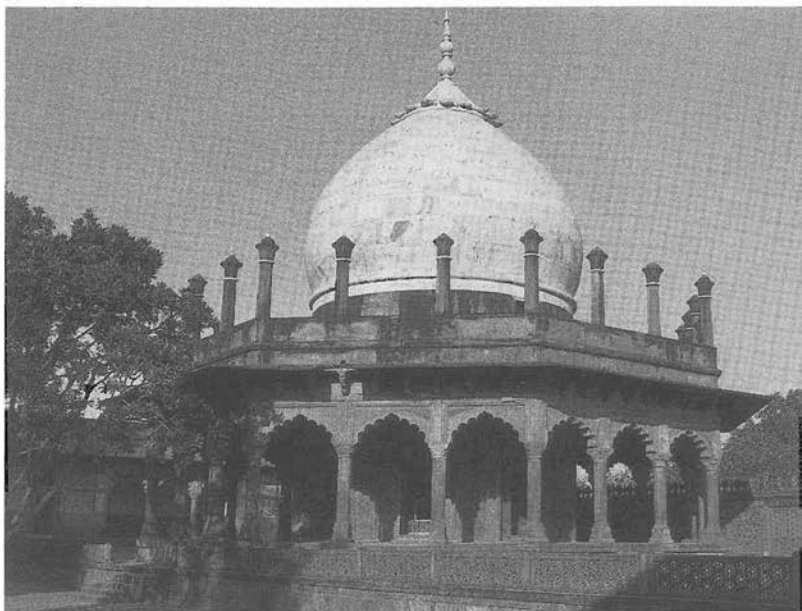


110 Taj Mahall, tombstone of Mumtaz Mahall inscribed with the date of her death (1041/1631); behind, tombstone of Shah Jahan, added in 1076/1666. (Photo 1981)



111 Taj Mahall, dado with flowery plants from one of the outer niches. (Photo 1978)

112 Agra, Taj Mahall complex, subsidiary tomb in southeast corner of forecourt, attributed to Sirhindi Begam, probably 1640s. (Photo 1978)



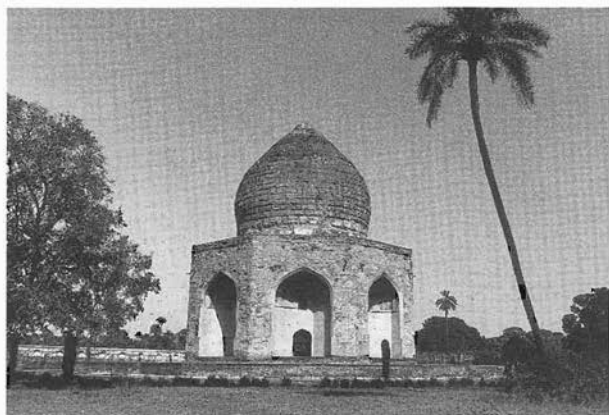
fluence on the Taj Mahall is confined to the architectural decoration, to the exquisite *pietre dure* inlay and the sensuously carved flowers and vases of the dados (*izara*). All the subsidiary structures of the Taj complex are faced with red sandstone; special features, such as domes, may be clad in white marble. The lesser tombs have the form of single-storey regular octagons surrounded either by pillared verandahs or by eight *pishtaqs* 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. 1056/1647, now generally identified as that in the southwest corner of the *jilau khana*), of "Sirhindi 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 Tughluq style, was the tomb of Khan-i Jahan Maqbul Tilangani in Nizamuddin (c. 1368),<sup>25</sup> 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),<sup>26</sup> 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. 55), 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 cusped arches and Shahjahanī columns. This tomb form was not used again in Mughal architecture.

<sup>24</sup> Havell 1903; Hosten. For a recent discussion of this approach see Metcalf, pp. 46–48.

<sup>25</sup> Welch and Crane, fig. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Zafar Hasan 1915–22, iii, 1920, p. 82.



113 Lahore, tomb of  
Asaf Khan, died 1641.  
(Photo 1979)

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 *chawk-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. 1051/1641) 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.<sup>27</sup> 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.<sup>28</sup> 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 Firuz 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 1063/1652–53, 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.<sup>29</sup> 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.<sup>30</sup> 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 bihisht* plan with

<sup>27</sup> M. W. U. Khan, pp. 57, 63.

<sup>28</sup> Parihar, pp. 35 f., pl. 36.

<sup>29</sup> Zafar Hasan 1922, p. 13.

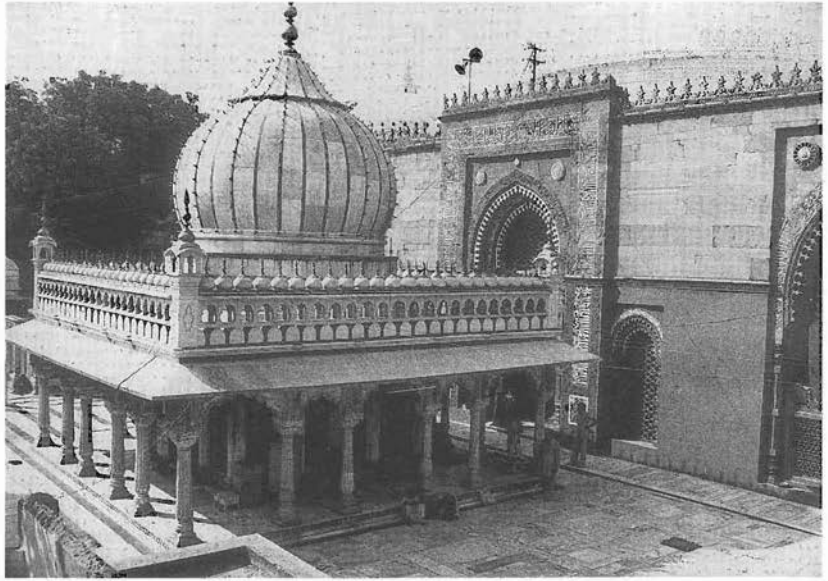
<sup>30</sup> Shah Nawaz Khan, i, 149–53.

<sup>31</sup> Smith 1901, pp. 3–17, pls. 7–57.

<sup>32</sup> M. W. U. Khan, p. 67.

<sup>33</sup> For the date see Koch 1982a, p. 337, n. 18.

114 Delhi,  
Nizamuddin, tomb of  
Shaykh Nizam al-Din  
Auliya, reconstructed  
1063/1652–53.  
(Photo 1981)



*pishtaqs* in the centre of each elevation. It has elaborate painted vaults;<sup>31</sup> the main dome is lined with concentric tiers of arched *muqarnas*, a retrospective feature still indebted to the experimental vaults of Jahangir's period.

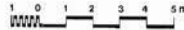
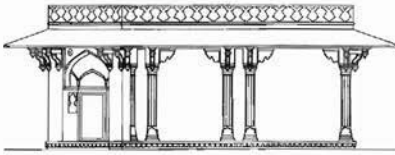
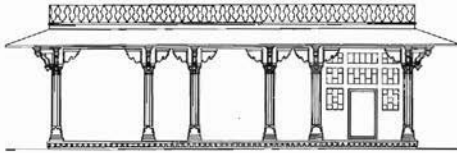
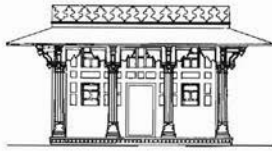
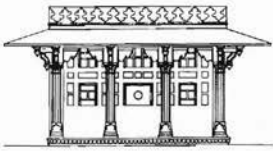
A less successful specimen of a square tomb on a ninefold plan is the tomb of Da'i Anga, Shah Jahan's wetnurse (d. 1082/1671–72), at Lahore.<sup>32</sup> It is faced with plaster and tile mosaic, which at Lahore is of course a conventional feature. The low and wide proportions of the main body of the 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.

## Palaces

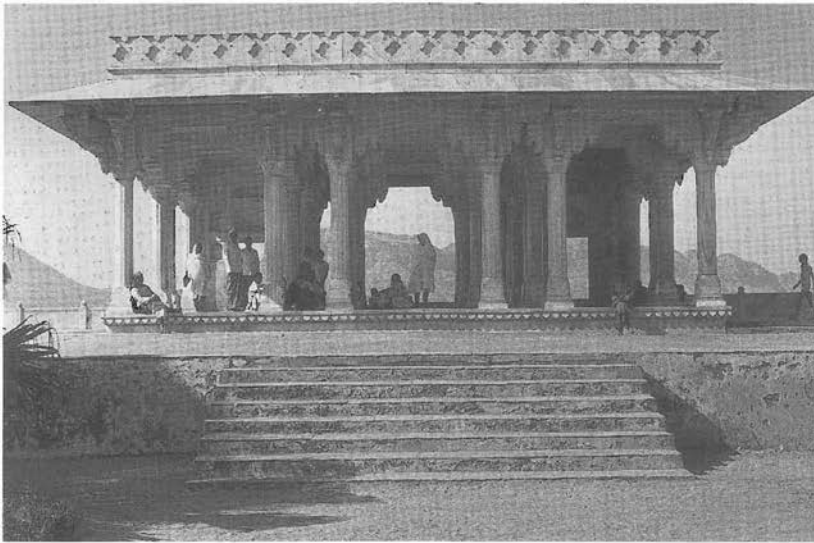
Another keynote of Shah Jahan's architectural patronage was palace and garden architecture. He had the palace in the fort of Agra reconstructed, made changes to the fort of Lahore and built a fortress-palace in his newly founded city at Delhi, appropriately named Shahjahanabad.

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.<sup>33</sup> 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



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)

complexes at Bari and Rup Bas, built entirely in red sandstone (completed 1046/1637). 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.<sup>34</sup> 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

<sup>34</sup> Koch, *The Hunting Palaces of Shah Jahan*, forthcoming.

<sup>35</sup> Koch 1991a.

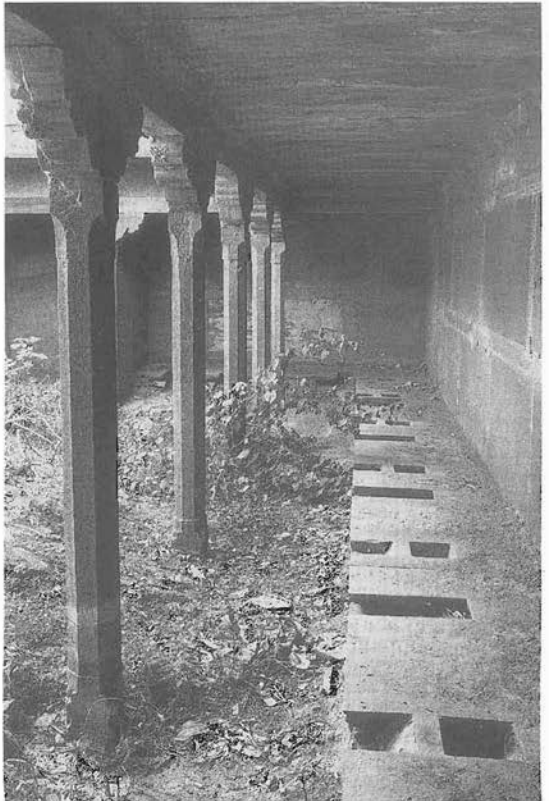
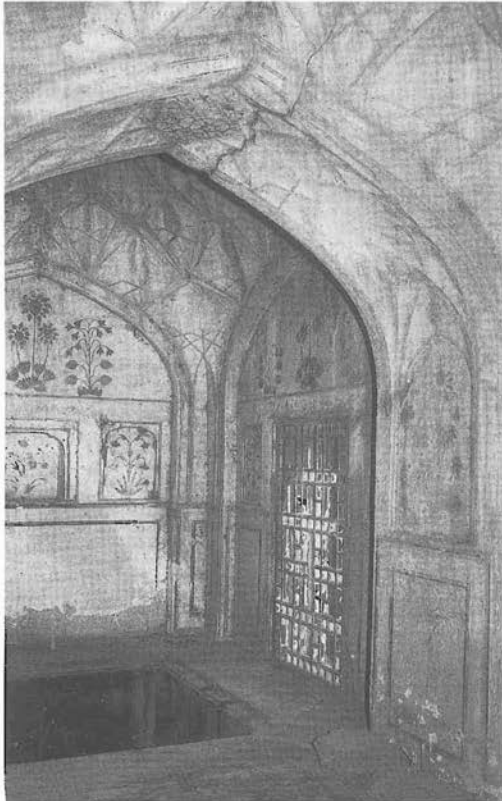
117 Bari, Lal Mahall, main complex, completed 1637. Lake front. (Photo 1982)



118 Bari, Lal Mahall, main complex, hammam of the emperor with wall-paintings. (Photo 1978)

119 Bari, Lal Mahall, main complex, latrines of the female quarters. (Photo 1982)

Akbar and Jahangir. It is not decorated with hunting-trophies like its forerunners but — an interesting instance of revivalist 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).<sup>35</sup>

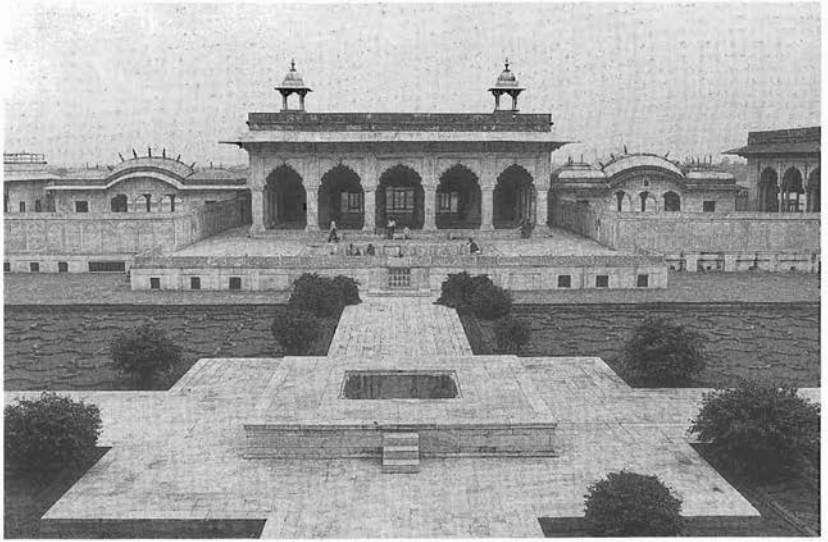




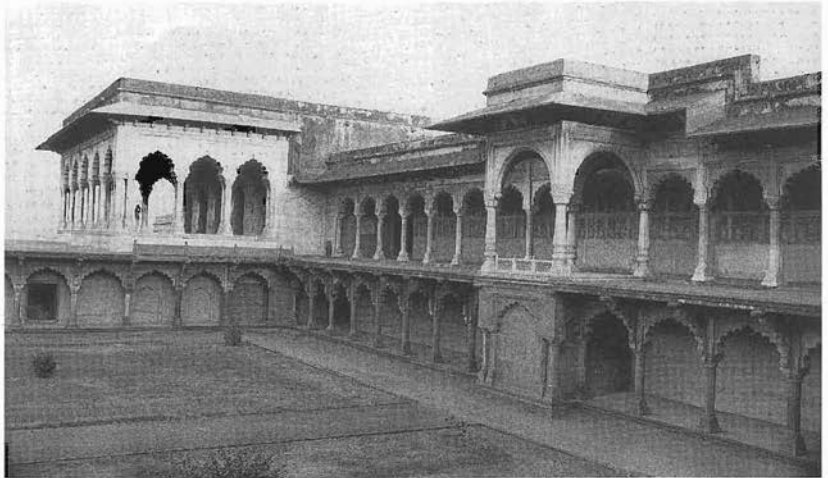
The Red Fort of Agra presents us with the first official palace architecture of Shah Jahan. The nucleus of his reconstruction (1037–46/1628–37) consists of a complex of three courts. The east wing of the great courtyard with the hall of public audiences forms the western portion of two smaller courts, 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 („Khas 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 Khas, earlier termed *ghusl khana*, popularly call-

Fortress-palaces

121 Agra fort,  
 Anguri Bagh and the  
 Khass Mahall,  
 consisting of the  
 Aramgah flanked on  
 the left by the  
 Bangla-i Darshan and  
 on the right by the  
 Bangla-i Jahanara;  
 completed 1637.  
 (Photo 1979)



122 Agra fort,  
 Diwan-i Khass and  
 south wing of the  
 Machchhi Bhawan  
 with imperial  
 baldachin projecting  
 from the centre,  
 completed 1637.  
 (Photo 1979)

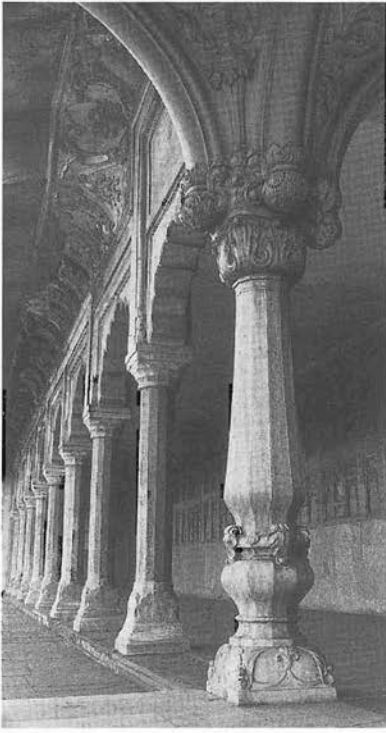


ed Diwan-i Khass) and, opposite, the Hammam, stripped by the English in the nineteenth century of its marble porch and of its revetments and paving.<sup>36</sup> Below, on the ground floor, were vaulted rooms housing the treasury. The courtyard wings contained offices behind arcaded galleries. Projecting 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 Shahjahani columns and multi-lobed arches of the surrounding arcades.<sup>37</sup>

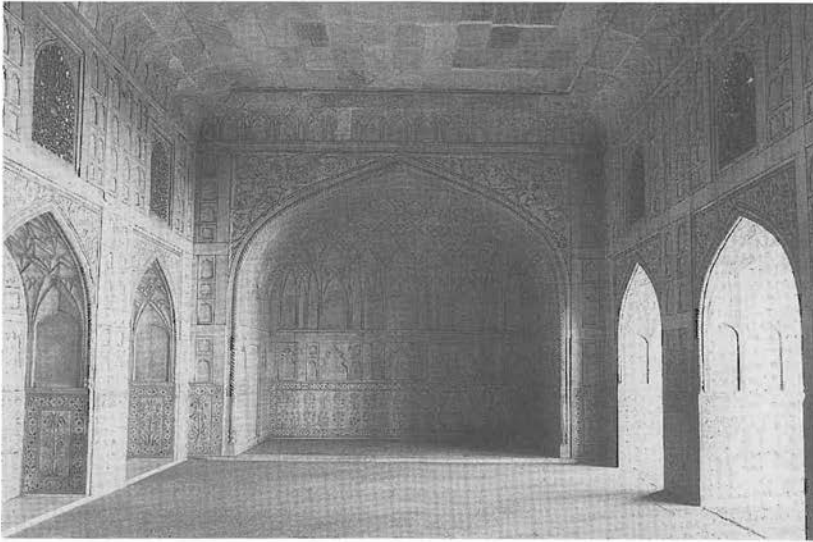
The main individual pavilions, the Aramgah and Diwan-i Khass, elaborate and expand on the favourite Mughal pavilion theme of the combination of an inner hall (now termed *tanabi khana* or *tambi khana*) with a pillared porch or verandah (the Mughal *iwān*). The execution is enhanced by the marble facing.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

<sup>36</sup> Koch 1982a.

<sup>37</sup> Koch 1982b.

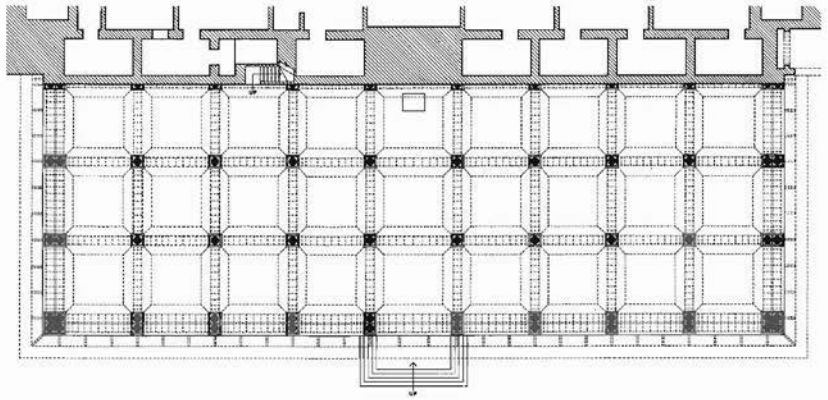
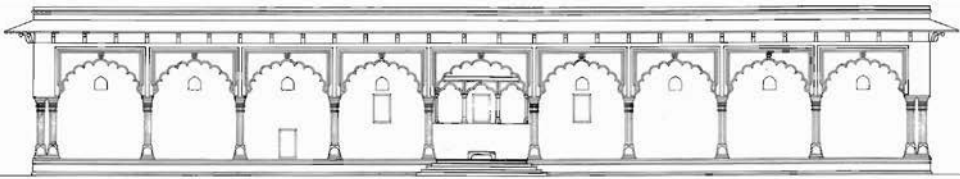


123 *Agra fort, south wing of Machchhi Bhawan, baluster column of the imperial baldachin. (Photo 1979)*



124 *Agra fort, Diwan-i Khass, inner hall. (Photo 1979)*

(“Forty-pillared Hall”),<sup>38</sup> popularly known as the Diwan-i ‘Amm. 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,



125 Agra fort,  
Divwan-i 'Amm hall,  
elevation.

126 Agra fort,  
Divwan-i 'Amm hall,  
plan.

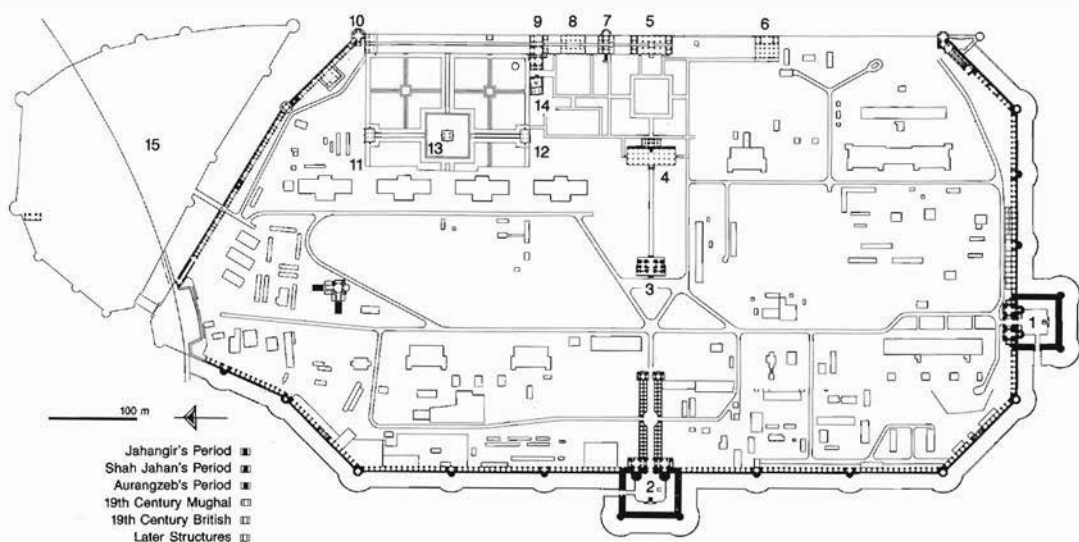
which is however square and has no fixed orientation (fig. 89). The Agra Divwan-i 'Amm, on the other hand, has an oblong shape that generates three aisles along the longer side and nine naves along the shorter side. This plan has its closest parallel in the Patthar Masjid at Srinagar, which is however 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 *mihrab*, 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 *mihrab* – 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).<sup>39</sup> 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 (1048–58/1639–48).<sup>40</sup> 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

<sup>38</sup> "Forty" is used in the sense of "many"; the hall actually has forty-eight freestanding columns and twelve half-columns.

<sup>39</sup> For an additional discussion of the individual buildings and for literature see Andrews 1986b.

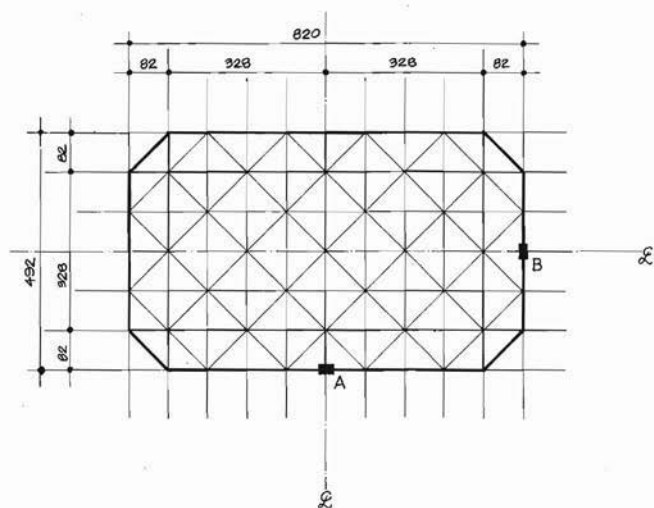
<sup>40</sup> 'Inayat Khan, Eng. trans. pp. 406 f.; Sanderson 1914; Andrews 1986b; for a pre-Mutiny plan see Petruccioli 1985; for a pre-Mutiny panorama by the Delhi artist Mazhar Ali Khan see Pal et al., fig. 252.



reconstruct the modular plan.<sup>41</sup> It was based on the unit of the Shahjahani yard, called *gaz* or *zira*<sup>42</sup>, of 0.81–0.82 m. The two longer sides of the *muthamman baghdadi* measure c. 656 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.*

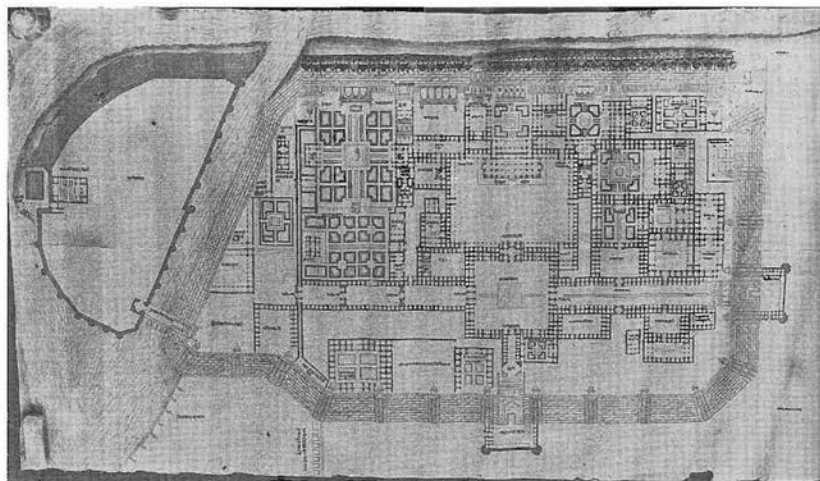
- 1 *Delhi Darwaza,*
- 2 *Lahori Darwaza with covered bazaar,*
- 3 *Naqqar Khana,*
- 4 *Hall of Diwan-i 'Amm,*
- 5 *Rang Mahall,*
- 6 *Moti Mahall,*
- 7 *Aramgah,*
- 8 *Diwan-i Khass,*
- 9 *Hammam,*
- 10 *Shah Burj,*
- 11 *Sarwan,*
- 12 *Bhadon,*
- 13 *Zafar Mahall,*
- 14 *Moti Masjid,*
- 15 *Salimgarh.*



128 *Delhi, Red Fort, construction-scheme.*

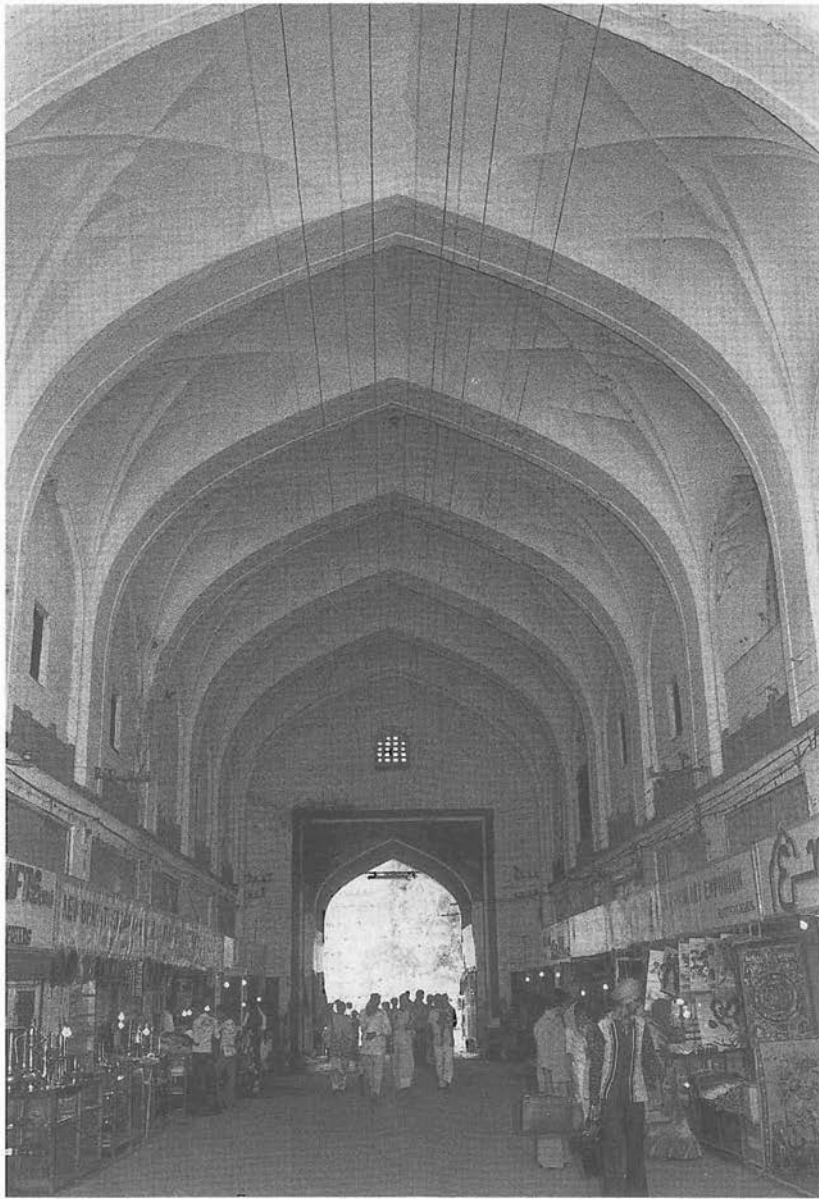
The pavilions and halls for the emperor and the *zanana* were threaded along a canal, the Nahr-i Bihisht ("River of Paradise"), along the riverfront. This semiofficial and private axis was met at a right-angle by the public axis: the great courtyard of public audiences, preceded by the Jilau Khana, into which abuts a covered bazaar providing through the Lahori 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.

129 Plan of the Red Fort of Delhi inscribed in devanagari script, 18th century. Watercolour on paper, 65 x 143 cm. Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Cat. no. 122. (Photo 1985)



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 Naqqar Khan ("Drum-House") provided access to the courtyard of *khas-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

<sup>41</sup> The reconstruction has been worked out by Richard A. Barraud.

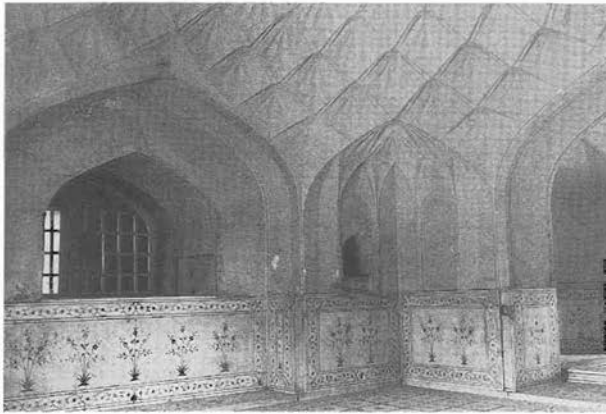
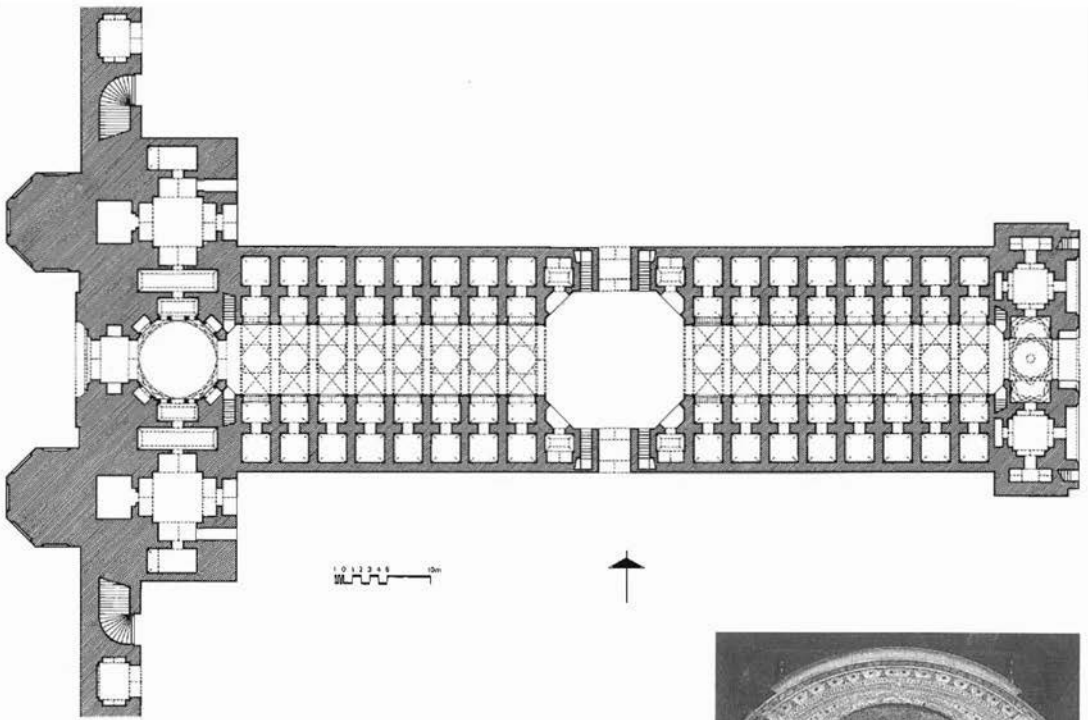


130 *Delhi, Red Fort,*  
*covered bazaar.*  
*(Photo 1980)*

the oppressed from their oppressors.<sup>42</sup> 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"

<sup>42</sup> Discussed in detail by Koch 1988b.



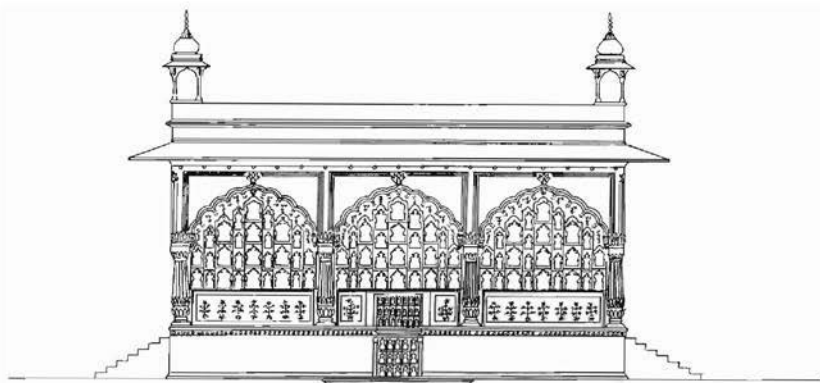
131 Delhi, Red Fort,  
covered bazaar,  
ground-plan.

132 Delhi, Red Fort,  
Hammam, interior.  
(Photo 1979)

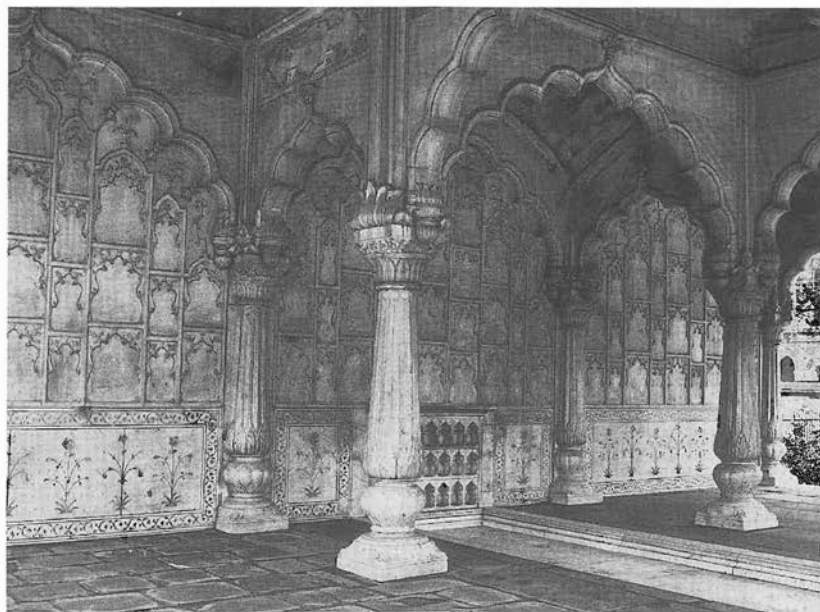
133 Delhi, Red Fort,  
Diwan-i 'Amm,  
throne-jharoka.  
(Photo 1979)

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<sup>c</sup> 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



134 Delhi, Red Fort, Bhadon, elevation. (After Archaeological Survey of India)



135 Delhi, Red Fort, Bhadon pavilion. (Photo 1978)

were encouraged (also by financial assistance) to build their *hawelis* (courtyard houses) in the new city. Outstanding here was the complex of Jahanara in the Chandni Chauk, consisting of a *sara'i*, a *hammam* and her garden Sahibabad.<sup>43</sup>

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.<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup> 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 1041/1631–32. 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

<sup>43</sup> Kanbo, iii, pp. 37 ff.; Blake, pp. 158 ff.; Petruccioli and Terranova 1985; Burton-Page 1965a.

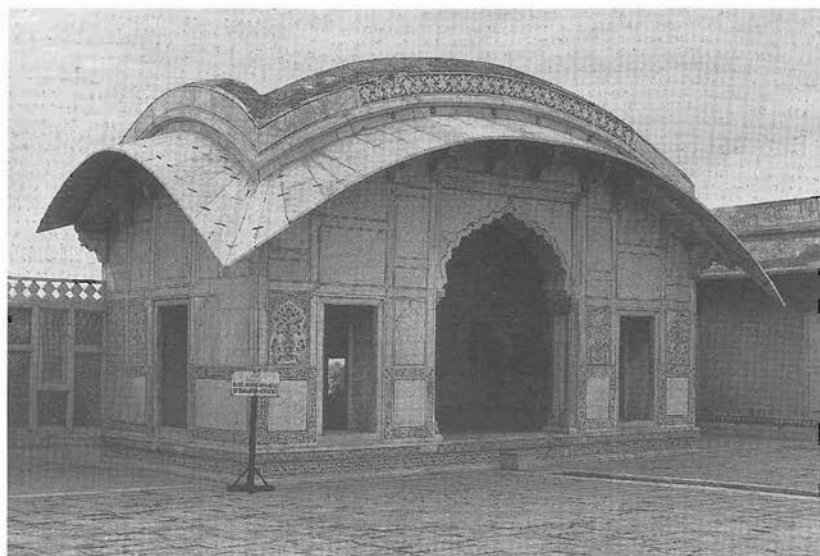
<sup>44</sup> Nur Bakhsh 1902–03; Andrews 1986a

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

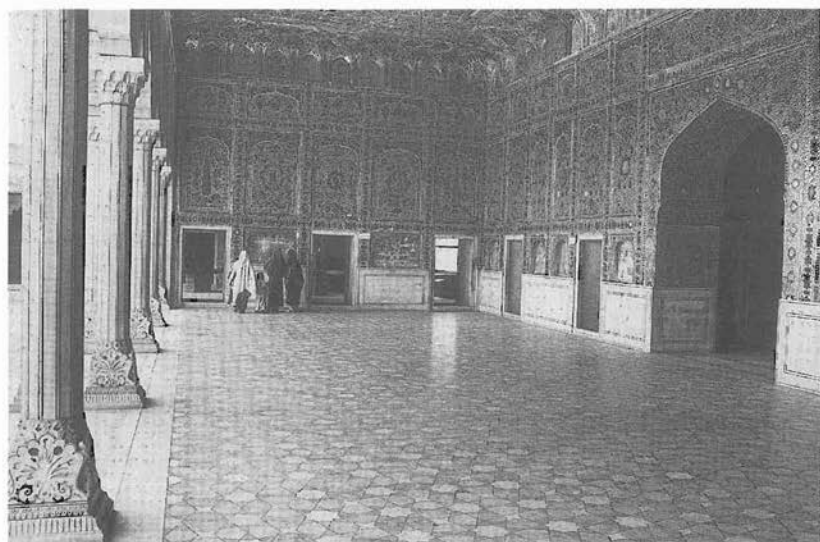
<sup>46</sup> Lahori, ii, p. 414.

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 Shahjahani 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 1043/1634 Shah Jahan ordered further alterations to the palace of Lahore, which affected the Ghul Khana (Daulat Khana-i Khass) and the Khwabgah. The last of Shah Jahan's additions to the fort of Lahore took place in 1055/1645 and consisted of a "building entirely of marble overlooking the river".<sup>46</sup> The description matches the marble hall today described as Shah Jahan's Diwan-i Khass (fig. 93/5).

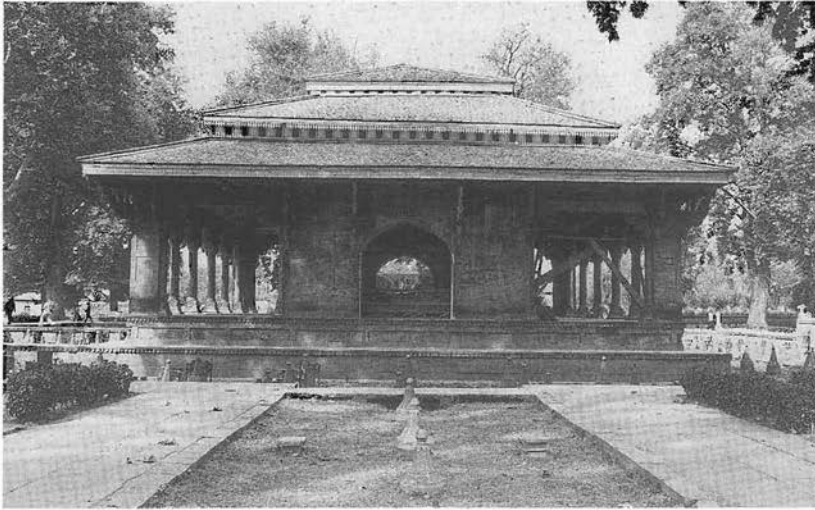


136 Lahore fort,  
Naulakha pavilion,  
completed 1631–32.  
(Photo 1979)



137 Lahore fort,  
Shah Burj, completed  
1041/1631–32, main  
hall decorated with  
*ayina kari*.  
(Photo 1979)

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.<sup>47</sup>



138 Kashmir,  
Shalimar gardens,  
pavilion in centre of  
Bagh-i Fayz Bakhsh,  
1634. (Photo 1981)

Shah Jahan's main garden foundation was the Bagh-i Fayz Bakhsh wa Farah Bakhsh, or Shalimar gardens, at Lahore (1051–52/1641–42; 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* entreaded 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.<sup>48</sup> 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 (*sar'at*)".<sup>49</sup> 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.

<sup>47</sup> For sketch plans and illus. of this and the following see Crowe et al.

<sup>48</sup> 'Inayat Khan, pp. 262, 277, 298.

<sup>49</sup> Lahori, i/1, p. 224.

<sup>50</sup> Muhammad Bakhtawar Khan, ii, p. 410.

<sup>51</sup> 'Inayat Khan, p. 458.

<sup>52</sup> Abu Talib Kalim, *Dirwan*, pp. 346–51; partly trans. Koch 1986b.

139 Kashmir, Peri Mahall, second quarter of 17th century. (Photo 1981)



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 Akhnun 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.<sup>50</sup> These architectural creations also include a mosque and its subsidiary buildings (completed 1061/1651),<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup>

## Mosques

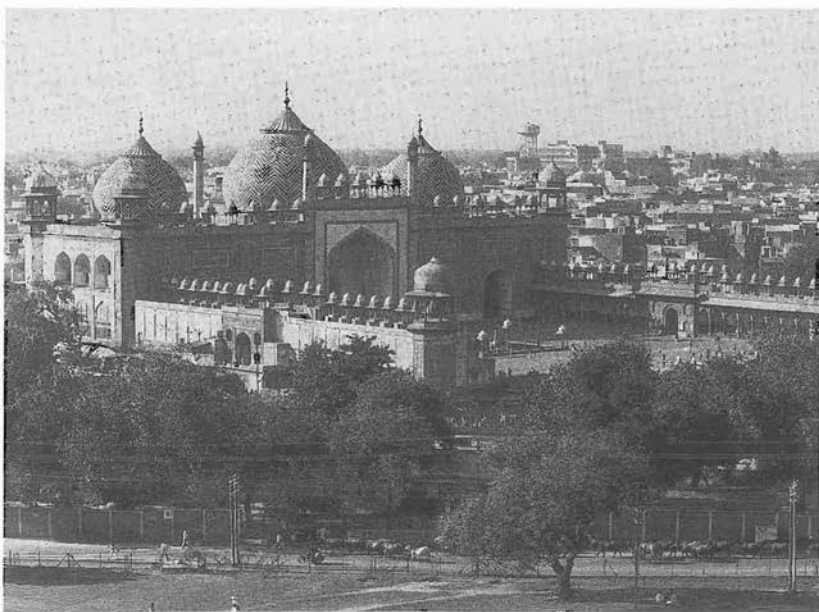
Shah Jahan’s enormous building programme also encompassed a considerable number of mosques – his was in fact the golden age of Mughal mosque construction. Shah Jahan, who liked to be seen as a renewer (*mujaddid*) of Islam, commissioned or initiated the construction of more mosques than any other Mughal 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<sup>c</sup> masjids*; it may also be equipped with multiple



140 Lahore, mosque  
of Wazir Khan,  
1044/1634-35.  
(Photo 1978)

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,<sup>55</sup> 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 Jami<sup>c</sup> Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri, they are elevated above their surroundings on a podium. The great courtyard is enclosed by narrow wings.



141 Agra, Jami<sup>c</sup>  
Masjid, 1058/1648,  
seen from the Hathi  
Pol of the fort; the  
eastern courtyard  
wing was demolished  
by the British during  
the Indian Mutiny in  
1857. (Photo 1979)

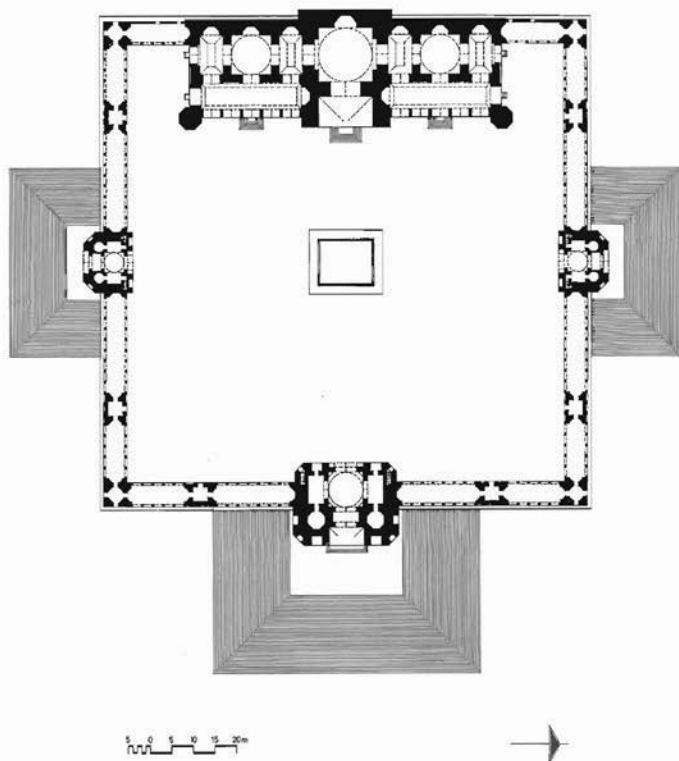
In the mosque of Wazir Khan (1044/1634–35), the wings consist of unconnected *hujras* interrupted by three axial gateways. New are the four minarets in the corners of the court. The prayer-hall (accentuated by a high *pishtaq*) rises above the level of the courtyard wings and follows the pattern of the 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<sup>c</sup> Masjid at Thatta (1054–68/1644–57).<sup>54</sup> 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<sup>c</sup> Masjid of Agra (completed 1058/1648),<sup>55</sup> 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<sup>c</sup> Masjid of Shahjahanabad (1060–66/1650–56; pl. XII), proclaimed as Shah Jahan's counterpart of Akbar's Jami<sup>c</sup> Masjid at Fatehpur Sikri,<sup>56</sup> though in fact derived from Jahanara's Agra mosque. The three-bay wings flanking the central domed

142 Delhi,  
Shahjahanabad, Jami<sup>c</sup>  
Masjid, ground-plan.

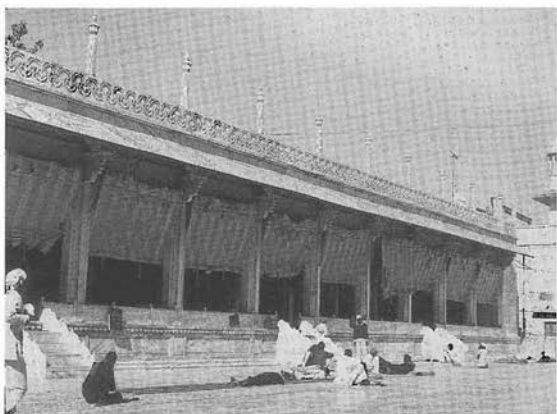


<sup>53</sup> Chaghatai 1975.

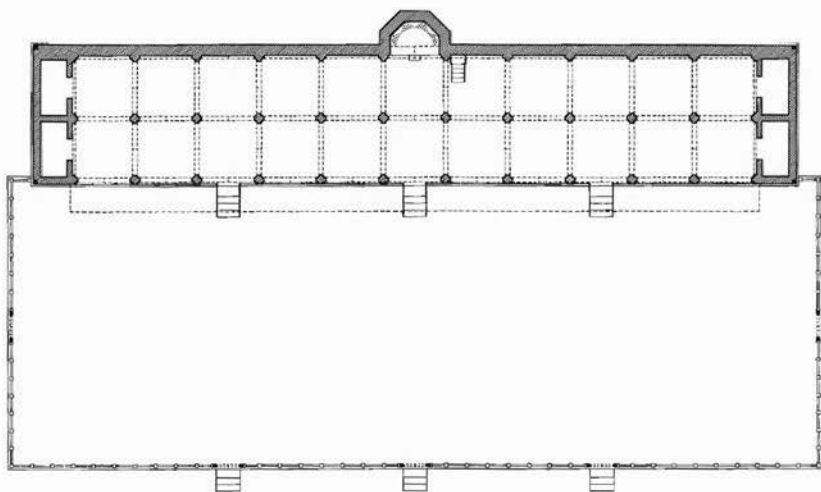
<sup>54</sup> Dani 1982,  
pp. 190–97.

<sup>55</sup> Plan in  
Chaghatai 1972, fig.  
26b.

<sup>56</sup> Koch 1987a,  
p. 122, and n. 3.



143 Ajmer, Dargah  
of Shaykh Mu'in  
al-Din Chishti,  
mosque of Shah  
Jahan, completed  
1046/1636.  
(Photo 1978)



144 Ajmer, Dargah,  
mosque of Shah  
Jahan, ground-plan.

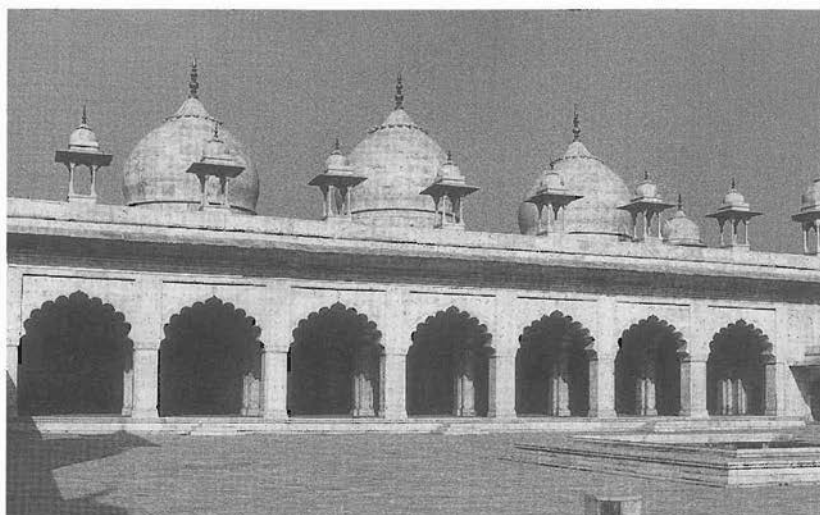
chamber of the prayer-hall are here preceded by two continuous galleries separated by the transverse block of the central *pishtaq*. The front corners of the prayer-hall are accentuated by two high minarets crowned in the typical Mughal fashion by domed *chhatris*.

The type of the massive vaulted prayer-hall continues to appear in smaller mosques, too, often without *sahn*, such as district mosques in the cities (Da'i Anga at Lahore 1045/1635)<sup>57</sup> and funerary mosques; the mosque flanking the Taj Mahall is an abbreviated version of the Jami<sup>c</sup> Masjid in Agra.

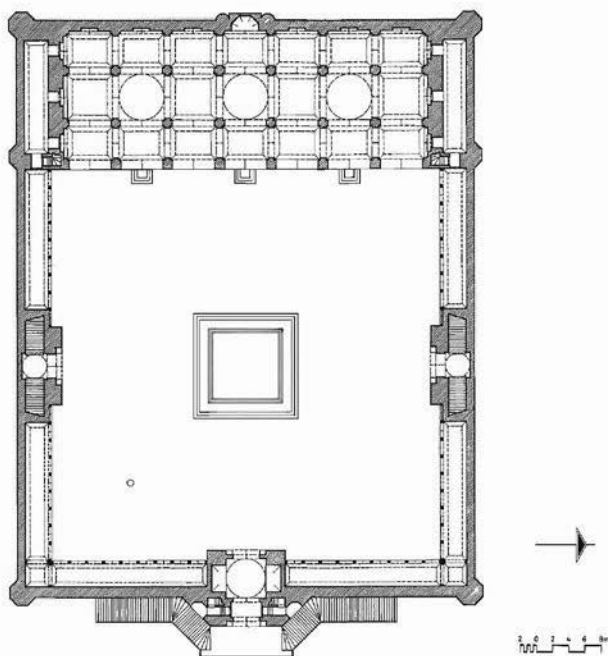
The other main trend of Shahjahani mosques is represented by halls based on the additive system of bays. The bays may have flat or covered ceilings, domes, or even *bangla* vaults. This form, which — as we have seen — relates closely to that of the Diwan-i <sup>c</sup>Amm halls, is preferentially used 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

<sup>57</sup> Illus. in M. W. U. Khan, p. 45.

145 Agra fort, Moti Masjid,  
1057-63/1647-53,  
prayer-hall, front.  
(Photo 1982)



146 Agra fort, Moti Masjid, ground-plan.

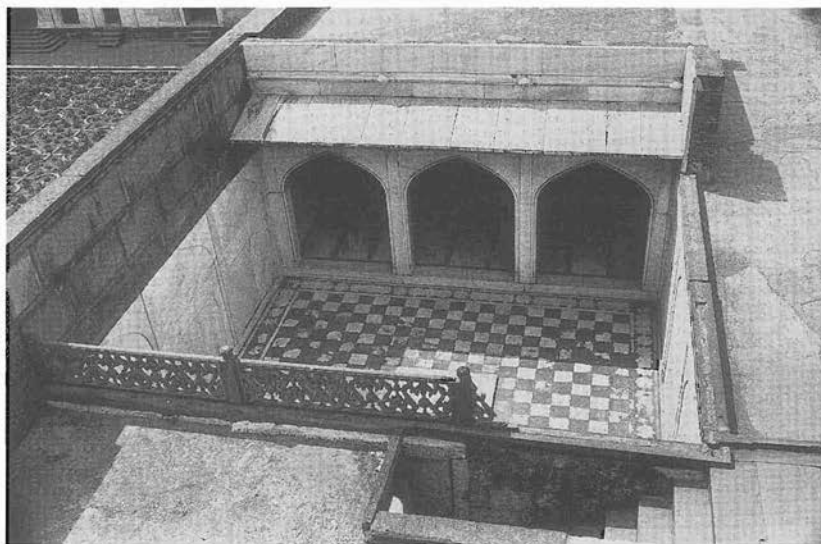


a vow, and completed in 1046/1636. It translates the type of the Patthar Masjid of Srinagar (fig. 91) into a lighter idiom of slender marble pillars, and changes the plan to two aisles of eleven equal bays parallel to the *qibla* wall; all the bays have flat ceilings. New are the two end chambers closing 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 *jami*<sup>c</sup> 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 *pishtaq*.

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

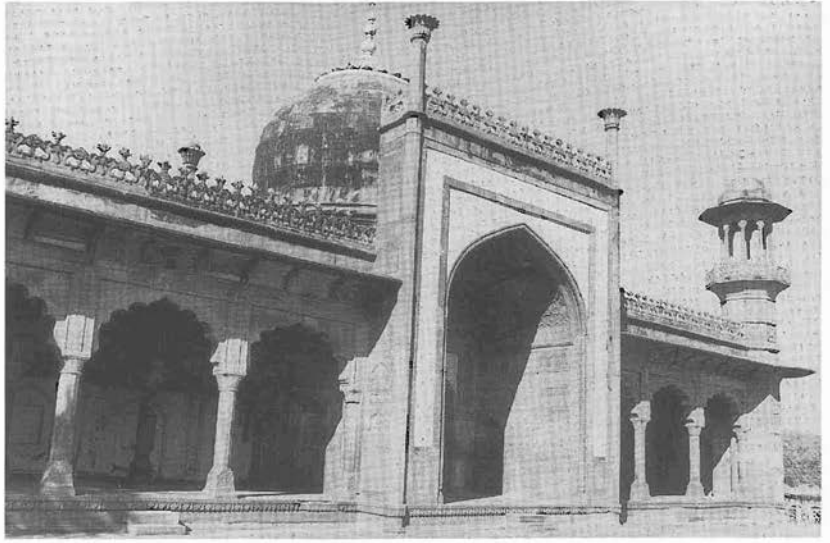


147 Agra fort, Mina Masjid (Shah Jahan's private chapel), 1630s. (Photo 1983)



148 Agra fort, Nagina Masjid, 1630s. (Photo 1978)

149 Agra, Taj Mahall complex, mosque attributed to Fatehpuri Begam, 1640s–1650s. (Photo 1977)



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 Shahjahani 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 (1060/1650). Both have pillared prayer-halls in a particularly delicate idiom of multi-lobed arcades and columns. In front of the *mibrab*, the prayer-halls are transversed by a massive masonry block consisting of a domed chamber preceded by a pronounced *pishtaq*.

#### Public buildings

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 Jami<sup>c</sup> Masjid of Jahanara, which was also projected at this time (fig. 3/9).<sup>58</sup> 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 *karwansara'is* is used in the Taj Mahall as an articulating element (fig. 108).

<sup>58</sup> Lahori, i/2, pp. 251 f.; 'Inayat Khan, pp. 205 f.

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 fulfils 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 Safawid prototypes. Its immediate model, with open *char sus* in the shape of *muthamman baghdadis*, was the no longer extant bazaar at Peshawar constructed by <sup>c</sup>Ali Mardan Khan. Shah Jahan saw and liked it during his Balkh and Badakhshan campaign in 1646. He had its design (*tarh*) sent to Makramat Khan, then chief overseer of the construction of the palace of Shahjahanabad, to be copied.<sup>59</sup>

Nonimperial foundations include the *sara'i* of Amanat Khan (the calligrapher of the Taj Mahall, 1050/1640-41), built next to his tomb, south of Amritsar. It has two gates with remains of good tile mosaic.<sup>60</sup> The "palace" of A<sup>c</sup>zam Khan at Ahmadabad (1047/1637-38)<sup>61</sup> was, according to its inscription, not only a *sara'i* 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 <sup>c</sup>Ali Mardan Khan at Lahore<sup>62</sup> 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.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Kanbo, ii, p. 391.

<sup>60</sup> Begley 1983, pp. 173-78.

<sup>61</sup> Burgess, ii, pp. 58-60, pl. 58.

<sup>62</sup> See above, p. 116.

<sup>63</sup> <sup>c</sup>Inayat Khan, p. 407; Burton-Page 1965a, p. 265.; Gole 1988, p. 25.

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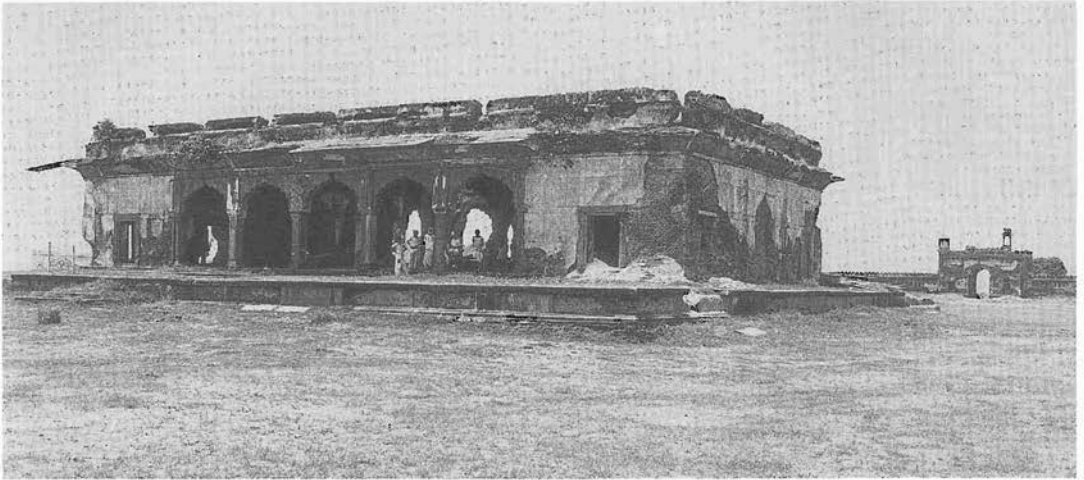
Aurangzib (1068–1118/1658–1707)  
and Later Mughal Architecture

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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.

Palaces and  
gardens

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 1069–72/1659–62 Aurangzib had the Agra fort surrounded by an additional fortified wall, termed *shir hajji* (figs. 36, 37),<sup>1</sup> undoubtedly to secure the imprisonment of his dethroned father. He also built the <sup>c</sup>Alamgiri Gate of the fort of Lahore (fig. 93/1).



150 Fatehabad near  
Agra, garden  
attributed to  
Aurangzib, central  
pavilion. (Photo 1984)

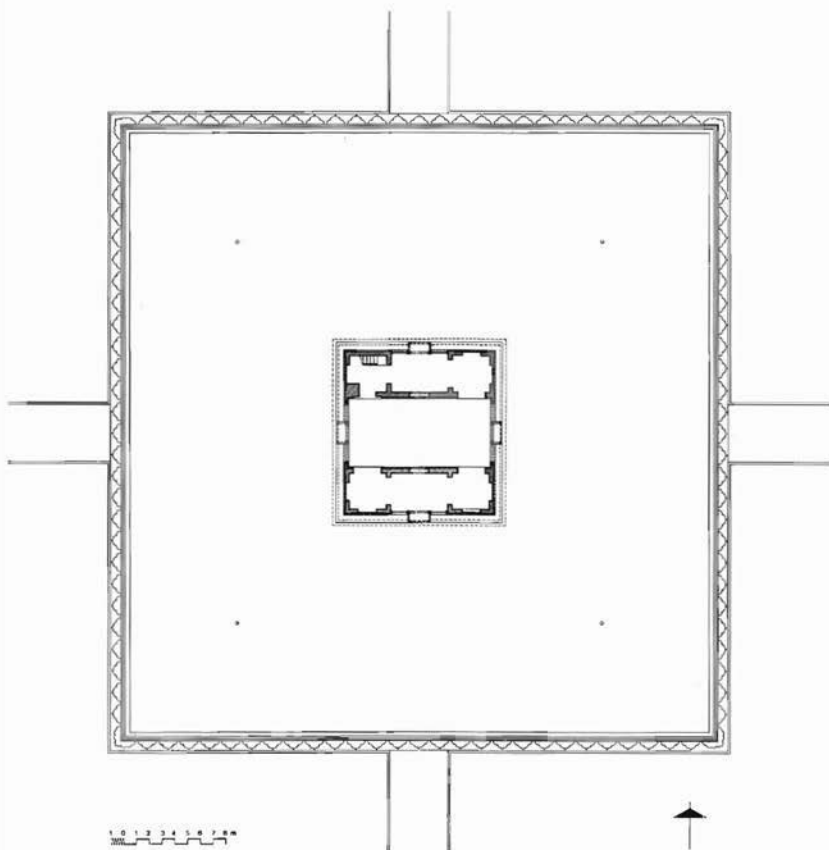
<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Kazim, i, pp. 423–25; Ashraf Husain 1937a, p. 3, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The garden is mentioned by Führer 1891, p. 70.

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 arcaded 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. 127/5).



151 Delhi, Red Fort, Zafar Mahall, second third of 19th century and, background right, the Sawan pavilion, completed 1648. (Photo 1981)



152 Delhi, Red Fort, Zafar Mahall, ground-plan.

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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Crowe et al., pp. 185-87.

<sup>4</sup> 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. 1806–37) 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.<sup>5</sup> Other members of the imperial family and the nobility built their *hawelis*, gardens and other secular structures in the same area, much of them having been destroyed or absorbed by later structures.<sup>6</sup> 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 derivatives.<sup>7</sup>

## Tombs

The highlight of the sepulchral architecture of Aurangzib is the mausoleum he built for his wife Rabi‘a Daurani at Aurangabad (1071/1660–61; pl. XVIII). It is a smaller, free copy of the Taj Mahall, not as unsuccessful as usually claimed.<sup>8</sup> 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 Aurangzib added to the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad. The door of Rabi‘a 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 Aurangzib’s arch-enemy, his brother Dara Shukoh.<sup>9</sup> It appears that Aurangzib had to or did not mind to fall back on the architects of the previous reign. The tomb of Rabi‘a Daurani was to be the last monumental mausoleum of the Mughal dynasty.

Aurangzib’s sister Roshanara (d. 1082/1671) is entombed in her garden at Delhi in a flat-roofed *hasht bibisht* pavilion with verandahs of baluster columns and multi-lobed arches. It seems that an already existing garden house was converted into a tomb.<sup>10</sup> Otherwise, the Mughal imperial family reverted with their burials to the example set by the founder of the dynasty, Babur. Neither Jahanara nor Aurangzib allowed any construction over their respective resting-places in Nizamuddin, Delhi (1092/1681)<sup>11</sup> and Khuldabad near Aurangabad. The later Mughals were buried in the Dargah of Qutb Sahib at Merauli,<sup>12</sup> in the Dargah of Nizamuddin<sup>13</sup> or in the tomb of Humayun.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Zafar Hasan 1915–22, iii, p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> Thakur.

<sup>7</sup> Crowe et al., p. 159.

<sup>8</sup> Desai 1974, pp. 313–14, pl. 49.

<sup>9</sup> Chaghatai 1937, p. 206.

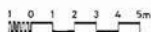
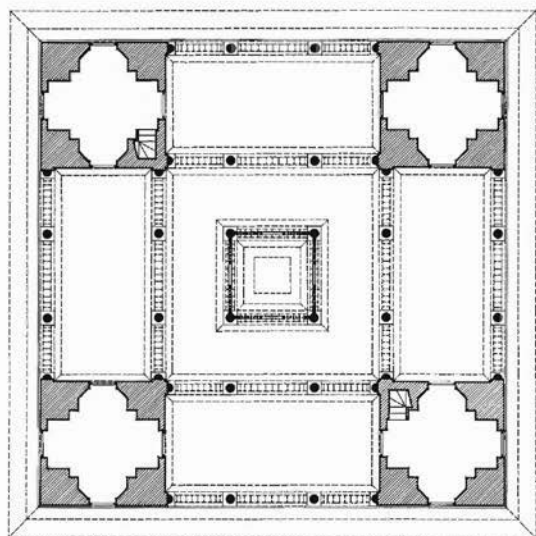
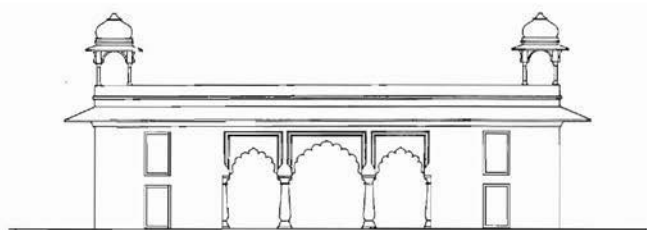
<sup>10</sup> Zafar Hasan 1915–22, ii, pp. 266–67.

<sup>11</sup> Zafar Hasan 1922, pp. 16–18.

<sup>12</sup> Zafar Hasan 1915–22, iii, pp. 32 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Zafar Hasan 1922, pp. 18 f.

<sup>14</sup> Naqvi, p. 6.



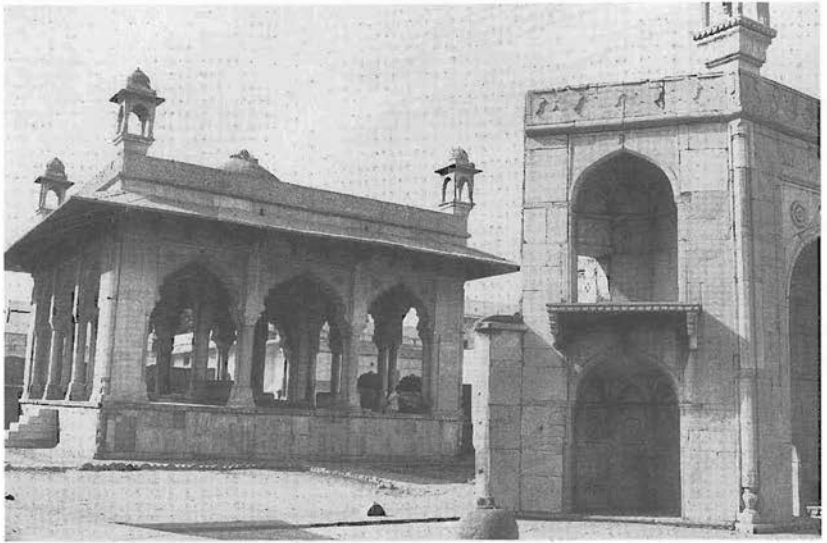
The nobility, however, continued to erect sepulchral structures. Still in the classical Mughal spirit is the complex known locally as the Maqbara of °Abd Allah Khan at Ajmer (1114–27/1702–15).<sup>15</sup> It comprises a gate, a mosque and the tombs of °Abd Allah Khan and his wife, all built of white marble. The tomb of °Abd Allah Khan's wife (now cut off by the Beawar Road) is an open tomb enclosure with excellent *jali* screens. The tomb of °Abd Allah Khan was added by his son Sayyid Husayn °Ali 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 Shahjahani 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).

<sup>15</sup> Tirmizi, pp. 57–61.

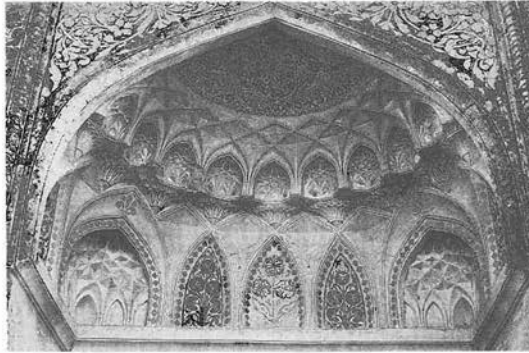
<sup>16</sup> See also Andrews 1991b.

<sup>17</sup> Chaghtai 1972.

154 Ajmer, Maqbara  
of Abd Allah Khan,  
1114–27/1702–15.  
(Photo 1979)



155 Varanasi  
(Benares), tomb of  
La'li Khan, half-vault.  
(Photo 1981)

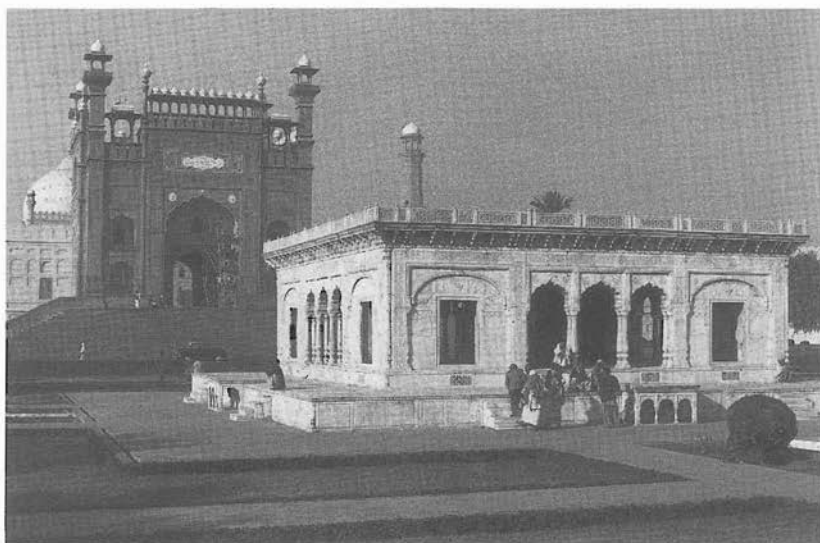


The tomb of La'li Khan at Varanasi (Benares) (1182/1768–69) demonstrates the longlivedness of the Mughal adaptation of the cube-shaped tomb of the Delhi tradition. The design had been introduced into the area with the tomb of Sultan Nithar Begam at Allahabad (fig. 82) which is given here an equally ornate decoration evolved from seventeenth-century Mughal patterns.

#### Mosques<sup>16</sup>

By far the most impressive building of Aurangzib's reign is the Badshahi Masjid at Lahore (1084/1673–74),<sup>17</sup> the last of the series of the great Mughal *jami*<sup>c</sup> mosques in red sandstone (pl. XX). Deviating from the customary local facing with tile-work, it particularly echoes the Jami<sup>c</sup> Masjid of Shah-jahanabad, 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 1074/1663) – copies Shah Jahan's Nagina Masjid in the Agra fort (fig. 148) almost literally. A new addition is the exuberant floral



156 Lahore, Hazuri Bagh Baradari, built by Ranjit Singh in 1818; behind, the gate of Aurangzib's Badshahi Masjid. (Photo 1980)

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 Aurangzib 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,<sup>18</sup> said to have been sponsored by the Mughal emperor Shah ‘Alam I Bahadur Shah I (r. 1707–12). It departs from the Shahjahani

157 Delhi, madrasa, mosque and tomb of Ghazi al-Din Khan, early 18th century. (Photo 1981)



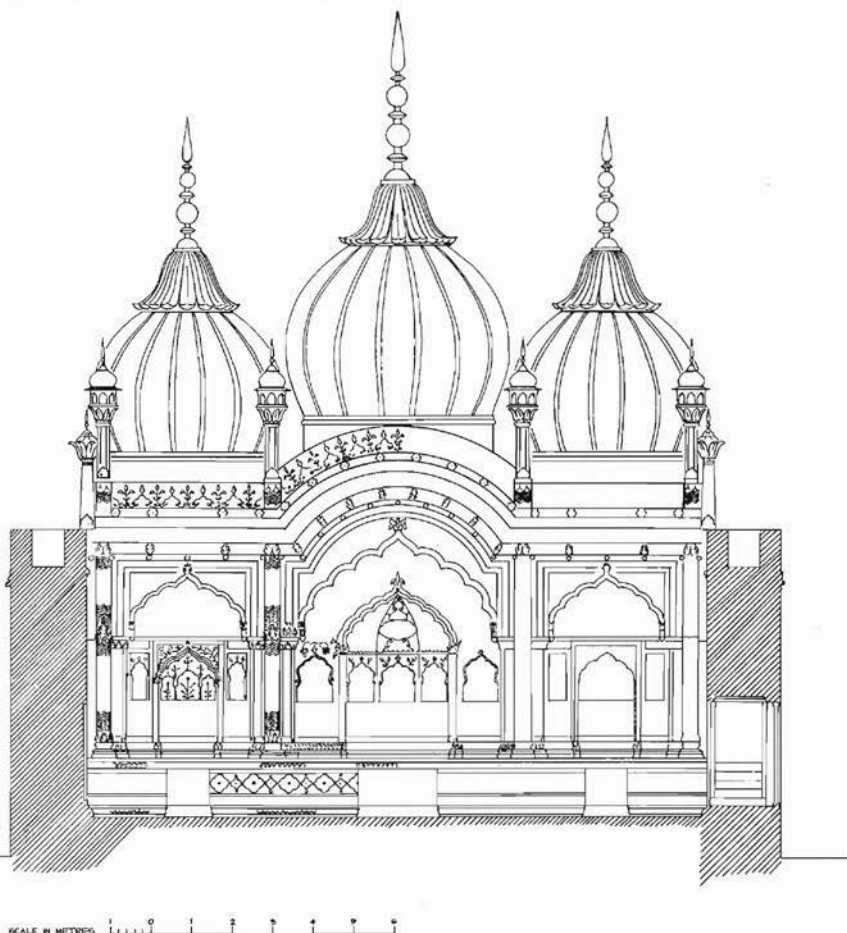
convention formulated for these marble mosques as pillared halls composed of bays on a grid pattern, and conforms to the other main Mughal mosque type, that of a compact one-aisle prayer-hall, here formed of five bays with a *pishtaq* in the centre.

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.<sup>19</sup> The building, which became famous in the nineteenth century as Delhi College, still fulfils its purpose as a Muslim educational institution.

## Public works

In the first years of his reign Aurangzib 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 refurnishing of mosques in disrepair. The latter works were financed from the emperor's private purse (*sarkar-i khassa sharifa*).<sup>20</sup>

158 Delhi, Red Fort, Moti Masjid, 1663, elevation; the domes were rebuilt after the mutiny of 1857–58. (After Archaeological Survey of India)



<sup>18</sup> Zafar Hasan 1915–22, iii, p. 32.

<sup>19</sup> Zafar Hasan 1915–22, ii, pp. 1–3.

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Kazim, ii, pp. 1084 f.