used for semi-public functions. At the north side is a small two-story pavilion (I), popularly known as the Divan-i Khass ("Private Hall"). Inside the pavilion, a central column with curvilinear brackets supports a circular platform with railings of pierced stone screens [331]. It apparently served as a throne. Screened bridges in the corners connect the platform to a screened walkway encircling the room. At the same level on the exterior is a balcony supported on brackets.

At the south end of the court is a man-sized game board, where Akbar and his courtiers played a game like backgammon, and a small tank (J), known as the Anup Talau, which Akbar had filled with coops in 1579-80 during a period of largesse to the poor and needy. The small building known as the "House of the Turkish Sultana" (K) has exquisite scenes of animals and birds carved in low relief on the interior doors, the scenes derive from Persian book covers [e.g. 87] and are another example of the popularity of the International Timurid style at the Mughal court. At the end of the south side of the Anup Talau is the Khwaabgh (L), Akbar's sleeping-chamber, and further south is yet another court, with a building (M) in the center of the south side called the Dastarkhana (Office).

A five-story pavilion topped by a domed kiosk (N) rises above the west side of the second court. Now known as the Panj Mahal ("Palace of Five [Levels]"), it is the tallest building in the complex. Its balanced pyramidal form overlooks the courtyard to the east, around which the civic structures were positioned, and it marks the transition from the public areas on the north-east to the private apartments on the south-west. These include several large courts and pavilions, whose fanciful names bear no relation to their function in the sixteenth century. Jodha Bai's palace (O), for example, may have served as Akbar's residence, and the long, open structure adjoining it to the south-west (P) may have been the harem. Most of these buildings are trabeate structures, whose severe lines would have been modified by awnings and screens of cloth. Terraces may also have been set up in the court.

Contemporary chroniclers are reticent in describing Akbar's palace at Fatehpur Sikri, and the paucity of historical and epigraphic evidence makes it difficult to put the buildings into context, leading to wild speculations and fanciful theories. Interpretations of the palace's function and identification of the individual units rest on formal analysis of the architecture. The palace precinct was clearly situated to take advantage of the site, and the Panj Mahal (N) towers over the other buildings. In Istanbul the Ottoman sultans inserted their palace and mosque into a preexisting urban matrix (see Chapter 12), whereas at Fatehpur Sikri the contours of the land and the location of the old town and

Salim Chishti's hermitage created the matrix into which the palace was fitted. At Tepakup Palace, there was a clear linear progression from public to private, as the honored guest was led through a series of increasingly secluded courts to reach the sultan. The palace precinct at Fatehpur Sikri was a group of abutting functional areas which were loosely arranged from public to private, from Divan-i Khass (II) to Harem (Q). There was no need to accommodate processions, for the Mughals followed the Persian tradition of protocol, in which the ruler rode out to meet the honored guest. Rather, there was an axis of imperial appearances running north-south through the Divan-i Khass (I), the court with a game board, the projecting bay overlooking the tank known as Anup Talau (J), and the small window projecting from the south façade of the Dastarkhane (M). The window may well be the Jhanka, the canopied throne seen in such other Mughal palaces as the fort at Lahore and well known from contemporary painting [373]. The important nodes at Fatehpur Sikri were the elevated and framed spots where the emperor sat for royal appearance.

Mughal architecture achieved its distinct character during the reign of Akbar, when the intense architectural activity surpassed even the building frenzy that had taken place two centuries earlier under the Tughluqs (see Chapter 11). The expansion of the Mughal empire was reflected in its architecture, as craftsmen emigrated from the new provinces to the Mughal court. Heterogeneous elements from earlier Indian, Central Asian, and Persian styles were unified by the ubiquitous building material, red sandstone, which was not only readily available, easily carved, and attractive but had the added advantage of being of the color reserved for imperial tents. Trabeated construction was the norm for palaces; arcuate forms were less common but used in mosques, tombs, and large entrances. At the same time that the Mughal style was established in northern India, another composite style combining features from Iranian and Indian traditions developed in the Deccan. By the late fifteenth century increasing rivalry between native Deccan Muslims and outsiders had sapped the power of the Bahmanid sultans. The Bahmanid sultans, particularly those of eastern and northern Deccan from Bulqarga since 1347 (see Chapter 11 and ills. 197, 198). They were succeeded by five dynasties, all springing from foreign servants. The successor dynasties were states continuously at war with each other, but they banded together temporarily in 1564 to crush Vijayanagar, the Hindu state to the immediate south, and sack its wealthy capital at Takkara. Their successes attracted the attention of the Mughals, but it was only under Aurangzeb in the 1680s that the Deccan passed definitively under Mughal authority.

The two successors of the Bahmanids that last the longest were the Adil Shahis (1440-1680), descended from Yusuf 'Adil Khan, a Turk who served as governor of Bijapur for the Bahmanids, and the Qutb Shahs (1512-1687), descended from a Qaraqoyunlu Turkmen commander who served as governor of Telengana, the easternmost domain of the Bahmanids. Both dynasties were Shi'ite and maintained close ties with the Safavids in Iran. Both states were great centers for the patronage of literature, painting, and architecture. The 'Adil Shahis ruled from Bijapur, which preserves more significant buildings than any other city in India except Delhi, and the fifth ruler, Ibrahim II (r. 1579-1627), was probably the most brilliant patron in the Deccan (for his portrait, see 373). The local style of architecture there is the most harmonious of all the Deccani styles, both structurally and esthetically, and is illustrated in the tomb of Ibrahim's son, Muhammad (r. 1627-56; see ill. 350).

The Qutb Shahis ruled first from Golconda, but their distinctive style of architecture can better be seen at Hyderabad, which was planned in 1590-1 by the fifth Qutb Shahi ruler, Muhammad Quli (r. 1580-1612), as a suburb of the Golconda fort. Travelers and historians describe its gardens, bazars, and palaces, but the most impressive monument to survive is the Char Minar [344], the triumphal archway in the center of the city. In position and function, it recalls the Tin Darwaas built nearly one hundred and seventy years earlier at Ahmadabad [202], but the Hyderabad gate is considerably larger: the ground storey measures thirty meters square, each of the four great ogee arches oriented to the cardinal points has a 10.8-meter span, and the four lofty minarets at the corners rise 52.8 meters above the ground. The ascending stories of the minarets are marked by arced balconies, a feature characteristic of Qutb Shahi architecture, and the minarets are crowned by round kiosks with ogive domes foliated at the base, like those built by the 'Adil Shahis in Bijapur [356]. The gateway is dignified yet spirited: the upper structure displays a careful inventiveness and the minarets add appropriate verticality.

In the Mughal domains the thrust of architectural activity shifted under Akbar's son and successor Jahangir (r. 1605-27) from public projects to work of a more private nature, such as hunting palaces, formal gardens, and ornamental retreats, of which little has survived. The first quarter of the
seventeenth century was a period of transition and experimentation, in which buildings are distinguished by highly decorated surfaces in a variety of materials, ranging from the familiar sandstone to white marble, stone intarsia, painted stucco, and tile. The most important work carried out at the beginning of Jahangir’s reign was the construction of his father’s tomb [345] at Sikandra, eight kilometers north-west of Agra. The site had been developed under Sikandar Lodi (r. 1489–1517), after whom it was named, and Akbar selected it for a garden named Bhishmatal (“Abode of Paradise”), but the actual construction of the tomb seems to have begun only after the emperor’s death on 16 October 1605. Inscriptions on the gateway indicate that the complex was finished by 1613, eight years after Jahangir’s accession.

Like Humayun’s tomb at Delhi, Akbar’s tomb at Sikandra is set in a vast garden (765 meters square) enclosed by a high wall and divided by water channels. The red sandstone gateway on the south side is crowned by four white marble minarets and boldly decorated in white, gray, and black marble, set in panels with geometric designs and large-scale floral arabesques which resemble the patterns on textiles. The numerous Persian verses in the frame around the arch compare the tomb and its garden to Paradise and were designed by ‘Abd al-Haqq Shirazi, who was later awarded the title Amnat Khan (“Trustworthy Noble”) and was responsible for many of the inscriptions on the Taj Mahal. Akbar’s tomb sits on a massive plastered and painted podium (104 meters square; 9.14 meters high) with arcades and projecting portals on the four sides. The sandstone portals, set within rectangular frames following the classical Iranian form of the pilasters, are inlaid with marble.

The tomb (52 meters square) is a pyramidal arrangement of three tiers of red sandstone pavilions with domed pavilions (chhatis) at the corners. A vestibule, exquisitely decorated with painted plaster in a Persianate mode [346], gives access to a descending ramp to the plain domed tomb chamber at the heart of the structure. On the top is an open court containing the emperor’s marble cenotaph surrounded by pierced marble screens; the white color of the marble contrasts sharply with the red sandstone used elsewhere. The play of light and shadow over the increasingly delicate superstructure contrasts with the powerful massing of the basement. The structure is a marked departure from the conventional domed tomb, such as that made for Humayun [331] almost a half-century earlier. With its receding stories of pillared galleries, Akbar’s tomb belongs to the indigenous tradition of trabeate construction used for palaces, while the podium, with its vaulted bays, vestibule decorated with painted plaster, and high portals whose stone intarsia reproduces the effect of tile, maintains the Timurid tradition of vaulted masonry.
The emphasis on exquisite finish and colorful decoration seen on the gateway at Sikandra is further developed at a small tomb on the east bank of the Yamuna opposite Agra [347]. It houses the remains of Jahangir's minister of finance, Mirza Ghiyath Beg, usually known by his title I'timad al-Daula (“Pillar of the State”). His daughter, Mihir al-Nisa (“Star of Women”), who became Jahangir's wife Nurjahan (“Light of the World”), directed construction of the tomb during the six years after her father's death in 1622. The tomb stands in a quadruplicate garden. The enclosure walls, a palisade on the Yamuna, and the podium are made of the traditional red sandstone inlaid with colored marble, but the tomb itself is the first structure in India in which white marble replaces red sandstone as the ground for polychrome pietra dura inlay. The structure, measuring twenty-one meters on a side, contains a central tomb chamber surrounded by square and rectangular rooms decorated with carved and painted plaster in the Persianate style. Broad octagonal towers, like minarets, mark the corners, and a small pavilion or upper story rises above the roof. Three arched openings on each side provide shadows which contrast with the gleaming surface, and the cornice and eaves mark strong horizontal lines.

The modest, jewel-like building is remarkable for its delicate but exuberant decoration and warm tonality. The traditional technique of inlay has changed: pietra dura, marble intarsia of various colors, has been replaced by pietra dura, in which hard and rare stones such as lapis, onyx, Jasper, topaz, cornelian, agate, and Jasper were embedded in the marble. Traditional geometric designs and arabesques are combined with representational motifs of wine cups, vases with flowers, and cypress trees, visual allusions to the descriptions of Paradise in the Koran. The intricate inlay in yellow, brown, gray, and black, contrasting with the smooth white marble, prefigures the later phase of white marble garnished with gold and precious stones that marks the most sumptuous buildings erected under later Mughal patronage.

**ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE LATER MUGHALS (1618–1858) AND THEIR CONTEMPORARIES**

Mughal architecture achieved its classical moment under Jahangir's son and successor Shahjahan (r. 1628–58), who was also the most prolific patron of the Mughal emperors. During his reign centralized planning gave way to bilateral symmetry, and the repertory of forms became more standardized and limited. The lobate or cusped arch, for example, was ubiquitous, and white marble or fine stucco replaced red sandstone as the preferred facing material. These materials were highly polished and exquisitely finished with relief carving and colored inlay. As in the Ottoman empire, uniformity of style was achieved through the institution of a court bureau of architects who worked closely under the supervision of the emperor.

In the seven years following Jahangir's death in 1627, Shahjahan had a tomb built for his father at Shadara, outside of Lahore. The city was an important crossroads for caravans from Delhi, Multan, Kashmir, and Kabul, and visitors praised the handsome appearance of its mosques, bazaars, palaces, gardens, and mansions, few of which remain today. Following the Mughal model, Jahangir's tomb is set in a quadruplicate garden, which had been laid out during his lifetime. On the east the enclosure (500 meters square) is bounded by the Ravi river; to the west is a large forecourt with a mosque. As at Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, the garden is divided into sixteen squares and the tomb is set on a large podium (85 meters square). Unlike its predecessors, the tomb is a single story, with towering minarets at the corners [348]. The cenotaph on the top, which has been removed, was once surrounded by carved stone screens and was left open, as at Akbar's tomb at Sikandra [345]. In keeping with the style of the period, the red sandstone surface is decorated with white marble set in the shape of wine vessels and flower vases.

The Taj Mahal [349, 350], the tomb Shahjahan built in memory of his favorite wife Mumtaz Mahal, is more famous than the one he built for his father; indeed this structure is probably the best-known building in all Islamic architecture and one of the most memorable works of man. The distinctive profile of this building, like those of the Pyramids, the Eiffel Tower, or the Tower of Pisa, has become an icon for the country in which it stands. Work on the tomb began soon after Mumtaz Mahal's unexpected
death in 1631, and the building was completed by 1647. Three architects were involved, but Ahmad Lahori (from Lahore) apparently dominated. 'Abd al-Karim Ma'mur Khan and Malikat Khan. Following the standard arrangement, the tomb is set in a large quadrangular garden (308 by 354 meters), but unlike earlier examples, it stands at the center but at the north end along the riverbank, balanced by a large gateway on the south [349]. The tomb and the platform on which it is set are of polished white marble [350], a crystalline and translucent material that presents an intense contrast to the opaque red sandstone used for the outlying structures and the two buildings flanking the tomb, a guesthouse on the east and a mosque on the west. In plan and massing, the tomb refines the model provided by Humayun's tomb at Delhi [356]. The great bulbous tomb is set on a higher drum, the small pavilions at the corners are pulled in close to the drum, the octagonal rooms at the corners are more logically connected, and four tall minarets frame the building. This carefully balanced image, reflected in the water channel dividing the garden, is enhanced by the superb polish and detailed carving of the marbles.

Unlike the tomb for Fitna al-Dawla [347], the Taj Mahal has only restrained pietra dura decoration in the form of slender arabesques and extensive inscriptions. Most of the texts are short chapters from the Koran emphasizing eschatological themes, particularly the Day of Judgment, and it has been suggested that the epigraphic program, which was designed by Mian Khan, was meant to drive home the message implicit in the building's form and location, that the tomb was an allegorical representation of the Throne of God above the gardens of Paradise on the Day of Judgment. On both interior and exterior of the tomb, there is a continuous dado showing flowering plants in low relief [351]; the same motif is repeated in pietra dura on the two cenotaphs for Shah Jahan and his wife and in red sandstone on the surrounding structures. The motif of the flowering plant was taken from engravings in European herbals and first appeared in Mughal art in a manuscript made for Jahangir ca. 1615; from the period of Shah Jahan the motif became ubiquitous in all the arts produced for the Mughals.55

Shah Jahan was also an active patron of palaces and mosques. Upon his accession, he ordered the fort at Agra renovated. The work, which was completed by 1635, included three major courts: a public space for audience (Divan-i-Khas wa 'Am), an area for treasures and private audience, known today as the Madhbi Bhawan, and a residential court, known today as the Garden of Grapes (Anguri Bagh). The first court is close to the entrance, while the latter two courts, used by the emperor and his entourage, overlook the river. The congregational mosque within the fort, known today as the Moti ('Pearl') Mosque from the translucent white marble used on the interior, was not completed until 1635, after Shah Jahan had moved the capital to Delhi. The mosque comprises a rectangular prayer hall (49 by 17 meters) divided by cruciform piers into three aisles of seven bays supported on cusped arches and surmounted by three bulbous domes. A larger version of the mosque built at Agra in 1638–7 by the Moti Mosque at Agra uses an additive system of vaulted bays, the type of plan favored for smaller mosques built under imperial patronage.

The single-aisled plan that had been used already for Shish Shah's mosque in Delhi [334] was preferred for large, urban congregational mosques, which have immense courtyards with narrow prayer halls fronted by pavilions and surmounted by three or five domes. The Mosque of Vazir Khan at Lahore [352, 353], built by the court physician, Hakim 'Ali of Chiniot in 1634–5, is but one example of this group.56 The paved rectangular court (51 by 39 meters) has four octagonal minarets in the corners and is surrounded on three sides by single-aisled arcades and on the fourth, or qibla, side by a triple-domed prayer hall with a monumental portal. The main entrance on the west is enlarged to house the domed octagonal chamber of a bazaar street. The mosque is constructed of brick, glazed tile, and stucco, and these traditional building materials of the Punjab set it apart from other Mughal mosques in northern India. The congregational mosque at Agra, for example, was built of red sandstone, with white marble used sparingly for calligraphic bands. Completed in 1648, under the patronage of the emperor's daughter Jahanara, the mosque has a similar but enlarged plan, where the bays of the wings of the prayer hall are doubled. Similarly, the congregational mosque built between 1650 and 1656 by the emperor at his new capital in Delhi, Shahjahanabad, is faced with red sandstone. There the prayer hall is flanked by slender minarets.
the throne is decorated with panels of black marble inlaid with colored stones in vegetal and floral patterns. The small panel behind and above the throne depicts Orpheus Playing his Lyre and is apparently of Florentine origin. Further to the east in the fort, overlooking the river is a row of residential and administrative chambers arranged along a water channel. Most are flat-roofed, single-storied pavilions, built of marble or brick masonry covered with polished white plaster. They have small edicules at the corners of the roofs, and the façades consist of a row of cusped arches of equal size, supported by piers or pilasters and protected by a broad eave. The most sumptuous are the women's quarters, originally known as the Imitaz Mahal but now called the Rang Mahal (“Painted Palace”), and the Divan-i Khans (“Private Audience Hall”) [334]. These are decorated with paintings, pietra-dura inlay in gold and precious stones, and sumptuously carved marble.

Shahjahab, like his father, was a notable patron of gardens. Jahangir had developed Kashmir as a summer residence for the court: one of his first acts as emperor was to found a garden around the natural spring at Vernag south of Srinagar, and his visit there in 1620–21 initiated a flurry of garden construction. He ordered his son, Prince Khurram (later Shahjahan), to dam the stream around Shalimar on Lake Dal at Srinagar, the site, known as Farah Bahksh (“Joy Giving”), became the lower garden of Shahjahan’s famed Shalimar Gardens. In 1634 Shahjahan added another quadrangle garden, named Farah Bahksh (“Bounty Giving”), to the north-east. The Mughal gardens in Kashmir are said to have numbered (an apocryphal) 777 in the time of Jahangir. Most have a central pavilion, the superb one at the Farah Bahksh built of the local black stone, is a square whose water is collected in a canal forming the main axis of the garden. Terraces, ponds, branch canals, and pavilions are set along the waterway to take advantage of the sloping sites. The gardens contain nearly one hundred species of plants, including evergreens, scrupines and other trees, roses, violets, sunflowers, corkscombs, and several varieties of jasmine. They are not only enchanting places of repose but also yielded a substantial revenue in roses and musk mallow. In the eyes of contemporary French travelers, they were the equal of Versailles.

Shahjahan’s biggest garden foundation was the Bagh-i Fayd Bahksh wa Farah Bahksh, now known as the Shalimar Garden, at Lahore [335], completed in 1642. Inspired by its namesake in Kashmir, it is distinguished by its size and scale. Water was supplied by a canal linking the Ravi river to the city; it had been dug under ‘Ali Mardan Khan, an Iranian nobleman and engineer who had defected to the Mughal court in 1618. The earlier scheme of two quadrangle gardens set along a central waterway was expanded by the insertion of a third terrace in the middle. The terrace contains a stupendous tank, more than sixty meters wide, which sparkles with jets from more than one hundred fountains. Cascades, nearly five meters high, link the units, and the visitor enters at the lowest terrace to progress, as in Mughal palaces, through successively private zones.

During Shahjahan’s reign the Mughals penetrated deeper into the Deccan, and their successful campaign in 1656 forced the ‘Adl Shahis to acknowledge Mughal suzerainty.

Shahjahan then returned north to concentrate his attentions on his new capital at Shahjahanabad, and the young prince Awrangzib was appointed viceroy and commander-in-chief of Mughal forces in the Deccan. During the next two decades, the ‘Adl Shahis at Biapur enjoyed peace, and the dynasty’s prosperity in the mid-seventeenth century is exemplified by the tomb for Muhammad ‘Adl Shah [336]. Known as the Gud Gumbad, it is the largest building constructed by the ‘Adl Shahs and is striking for its formal simplicity. A gigantic hemispherical dome (diameter 43.5 meters) rests on an almost cubical mass (47.4 meters square) with a staged octagonal turret at each corner. The dome is supported internally by arches set in intersecting squares. The floor area covered (1663 square meters) exceeds that of the Pantheon in Rome and at the time of its construction was the largest space in the world covered by a single dome. Such an elephantine construction was made possible in part by the exceptional tenacity of local masons, used to hold together first rubble-and-plaster and then masonry of local stone, a very brittle trap. The main decoration on the exterior of the tomb is the great cornice (3.5 meters wide) supported by four courses of brackets and the ring of lotus petals at the base of the dome. Decoration apparently stopped at the patron’s death in 1656, for the platering is incomplete.

Awrangzib spent most of his reign (1658–1707) at war in the Deccan, and although Delhi remained the seat of Mughal administration in northern India, few buildings were constructed there. Shortly after his accession, the emperor ordered a small mosque added to the fort. It is known today as the Moti (Pearl) Mosque, after the white marble used. The building follows the traditional form of small mosque and is a virtual copy of the Nagina Mosque that Shahjahan had built in the fort at Agra. Its decoration, however, is innovative, for the plain surfaces favored for religious buildings constructed under Shahjahan have been replaced by exuberant floral decor carved in relief [337]. Vases with stems of