

MUGHAL PALACE GARDENS FROM BABUR TO SHAH JAHAN (1526–1648)

Recent research has shed new light on the context, function, and meaning of the early Mughal garden. James Wescoat persuasively argues that Babur (ruled in India 1526–30) built his gardens in India outside the citadels or fortress palaces of pre-Mughal rulers in deliberate opposition to them, as symbols of the appropriation of land and “royal emblems of territorial control.”¹ For Catherine Asher the gardens of Babur “had a significance beyond mere territorial conquest and the introduction of a new ordered aesthetic”; she shows that they also had funerary-dynastic and religious associations and, in the last analysis, were conceived as “a visual metaphor for Babur’s ability to control and order the arid Indian plains and ultimately its population.”² Since Wescoat and Asher agree that the new Mughal gardens took the place of fortresses as centers of royal power and that, for Babur, they had little to do with the sophisticated paradise symbolism for which later Mughal gardens became famous,³ we may well ask how the opposition between garden and citadel was eventually resolved. In the grand synthesis of Shah Jahan’s fortress palaces, the fusion of palace and garden became — as we know from Amir Khusraw’s all too often quoted verses⁴ — a metaphor of paradise here on earth, the ideal dwelling of the Mughal ruler. How did the garden make its way into the palace? What form did it take there?⁵ And did assuming the symbolism of paradise necessarily exclude a political message?

First of all, we have to state that at Agra, where the story of the Mughal palace garden began in 1526, relations between fort and garden were not entirely antagonistic. True, the new gardens laid out by Babur and his followers were on the other side of the river Jamna, opposite the fort of the vanquished Lodi sultans which had been taken over by Babur (fig. 1). But even before Babur built his new *chahār bāgh* (or *chār bāgh*)⁶ named Hasht Bihisht on the bank of the river⁷ he had ordered the construction of an elaborate step-well complex which provided water for a garden *inside* the fort.⁸ However, we learn nothing more about this garden or any other palace garden of the early Mughal period. Accord-

ing to Khwandamir, Humayun (r. 1530–43; 1555–56) planned to build for his new residence called Dinpanah (begun in 1533) at Delhi (the present Purana Qila), a palace of seven stories which was to be surrounded by gardens and orchards, but we do not know how much of this project was carried out.⁹ When Humayun returned to Delhi after being ousted by the rulers of the Sur dynasty, he used the small fortress of Salimgarh as a suburban retreat and place of recreation. Salimgarh had been constructed by the Surs as an island in the Jamna (1545–54), and, after Humayun’s reign until the construction of Shahjahanabad (1639–48) the Mughals used it as their residence whenever they came to Delhi (fig. 17).¹⁰ We do not know whether it had gardens.

In an urban context attention to the development of gardens appears to have been directed primarily to

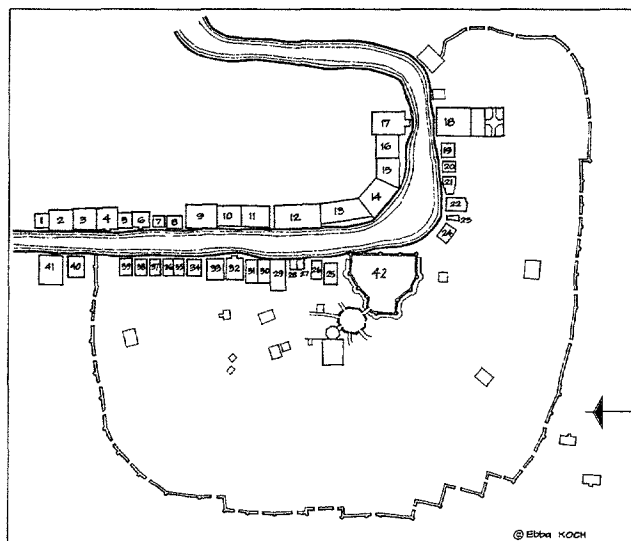


Fig. 1. Line drawing of a map of Agra inscribed in *devanāgarī* script. Early 18th century. Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, cat. no. 126: 3. Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan), 4. Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara), 9. Tomb of Iʿtimad al-Dawla, 15. Second Chahar Bagh Padshahi, 16. Chahar Bagh Padshahi (Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht?), 17. Mahtab Bagh, 18. Taj Mahal, 42. Red Fort. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)

areas outside the fortress-palaces. The riverfront-garden scheme of Agra seems to have been adopted to a certain extent in the new residential quarters of the Mughals at Lahore, and, in Akbar's time (r. 1556–1605), also at Delhi.¹¹

More importance, however, was given to the development of Mughal Agra as a riverbank city, because in 1558 Akbar had moved the imperial headquarters from Delhi to Agra and it had again become the main capital of the Mughal Empire.¹² From contemporary descriptions it is evident that Akbar's Agra already looked very much like it does in the early-eighteenth-century map in the Jaipur City Palace Museum (fig. 1).¹³ The Mughal city consisted of bands of gardens lining both banks of the river Jamna. Akbar's fort, constructed beginning in 1564, was positioned in this urban scheme like a garden (fig. 1/42).¹⁴ But there is still no mention of gardens inside the Mughal palace. Akbar's historian Qandahari, who is

the one who tells us most about Akbar's building projects, mentions no gardens in his description of the new Agra fort, but remarks on its excellent architectural features of red stone and the paved surface of its grounds,¹⁵ which the architectural evidence bears out. The two complexes of the Agra palace that date from Akbar's time, the *zanāna* courtyards named today Akbari Mahal¹⁶ and, rather misleadingly, Jahangiri Mahal, are built not around gardens but around paved courtyards. The riverside courtyard of the Jahangiri Mahal, however, contains a few elements of water architecture (fig. 2).¹⁷ In praising the fortress palace of Agra, Qandahari resorts only once to a paradise-garden metaphor¹⁸ and otherwise uses architectural imagery; he describes the fort as a large city (*miṣr-i jāmi'*) and a bazaar of elegance and beauty.¹⁹

Qandahari describes the architectural qualities of the palace of Fatehpur Sikri in similar terms.²⁰ Though in

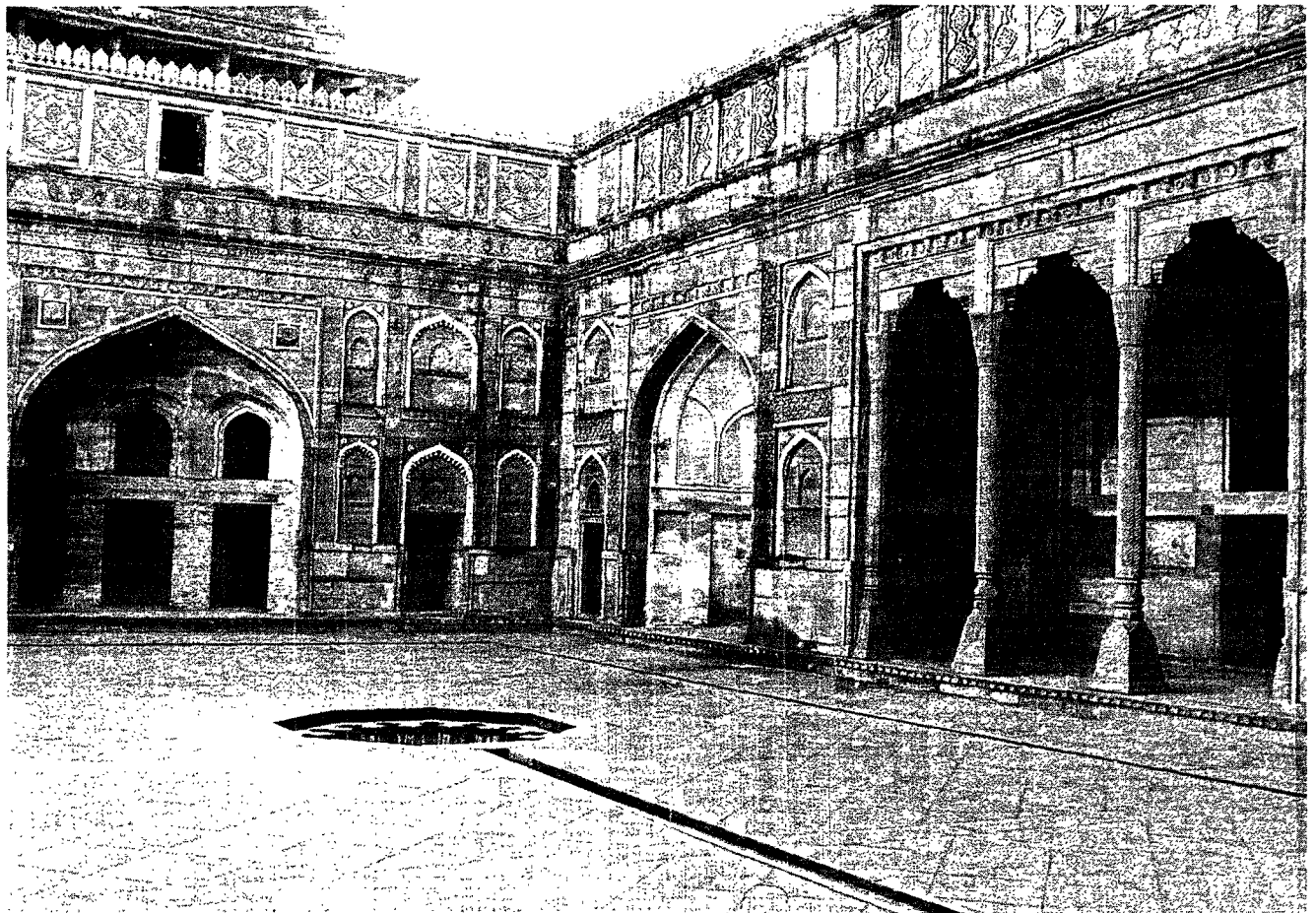


Fig. 2. Agra fort. Jahangiri Mahal, 1564–1570's. East (riverside) court with ornamental pool and water channel leading to the northern arched niche (1983)

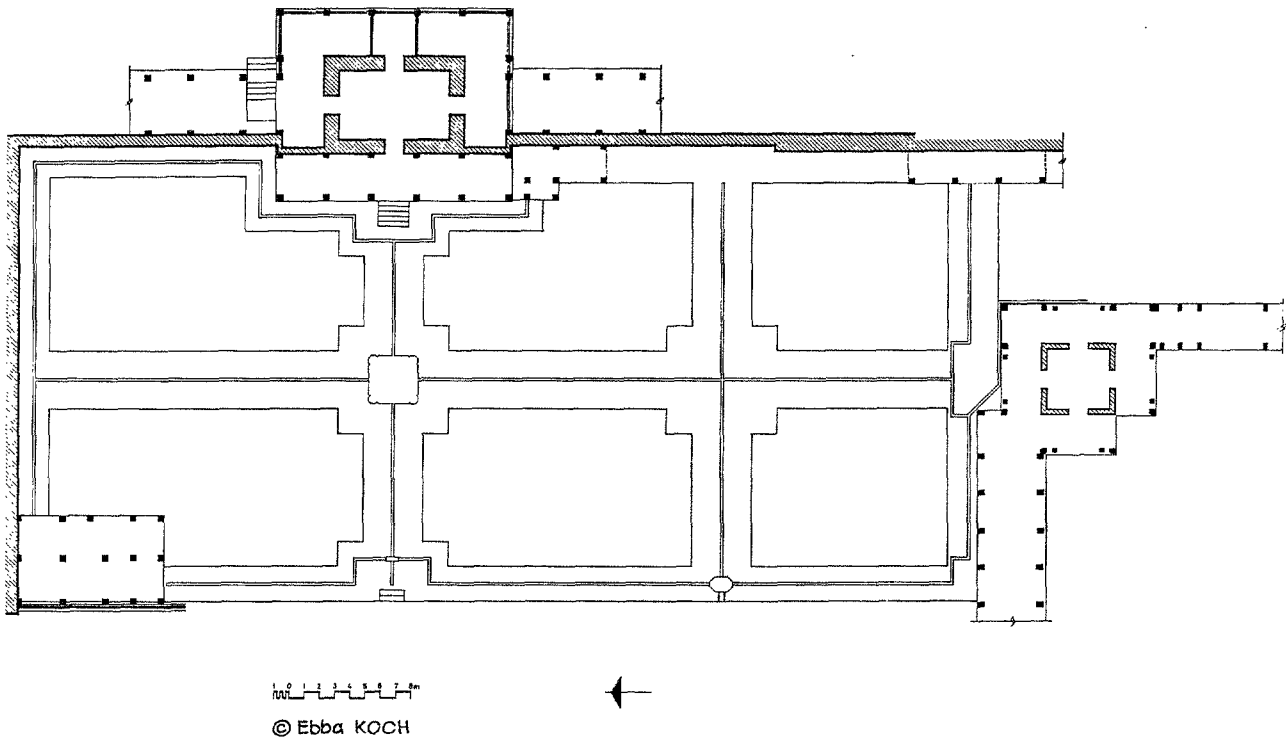


Fig. 3. Fatehpur Sikri. *Chār bāgh* west of the Diwan-i ʿAmm pavilion. Plan. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)



Fig. 4. Fatehpur Sikri, ca. 1571–85. *Chār bāgh* west of the Diwan-i ʿAmm pavilion seen from southwest (1993).

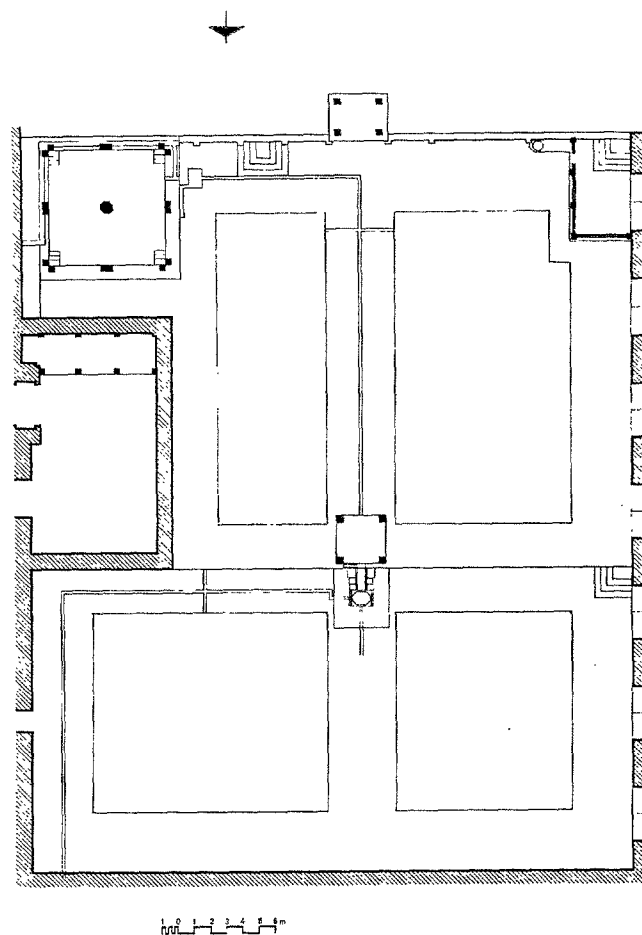


Fig. 5. Fatehpur Sikri. Terraced *zanāna* garden north of Jodh Ba'i's palace. Plan. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)



Fig. 6. Fatehpur Sikri, ca. 1571–85. Terraced *zanāna* garden north of Jodh Ba'i's palace seen from northwest in ca. 1907 before excavation of lower terrace level. (Photo: Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, ASN[A] 1956)

this case he does compare it favorably to paradise, it is not to paradise as a garden; rather the imagery he uses is architectural.²¹ Clearly, the palace was not even metaphorically conceived as a garden. This emphasis on construction determines the actual shape of the palace at Fatehpur Sikri. Most of its courtyards are, or were, paved, including those which obviously served recreational purposes, such as the courtyard of the Anup Talā'o.²² The two gardens in the palace compound which date — at least in their basic design — from the Mughal period are so much integrated into the palace architecture that they have received almost no attention in the literature on Mughal gardens, despite their significance as the first preserved Mughal palace gardens.²³ The first of them is an oblong *chār bāgh*, measuring about 65m × 30.6m; it lies immediately behind and to the west of the emperor's pavilion in the Diwan-i 'Amm (court of public audiences). In its present form the garden is divided by three intersecting *khiyābāns* (paved walkways) into six *chamans* (plots) of unequal size which in turn are surrounded by a paved walkway (figs. 3, 4).²⁴

The second preserved palace garden at Fatehpur Sikri is a *zanāna* garden, called Mariam's Garden by Smith. It is tucked away in the female quarters to the north of Jodh Ba'i's Palace, the main *zanāna* building (figs. 5, 6).²⁵ The plan consists of two terraced levels (*martaba*); the upper one measuring about 27 × 28.4m, the lower one about 37 × 19m. Smith described the upper level of the garden in the early 1890's as "contrary to our notion of a garden this was stone paved throughout."²⁶ Through the middle of the garden runs a narrow water channel along which are placed two *chhatris* (pillared kiosks). A covered cistern (*hawz*) (Mariam's Bath) in the southeast corner provides the water supply for the channels. The two palace gardens represent two major Mughal garden types — the *chār bāgh* and the terraced garden — in a highly architecturalized form.

In Jahangir's time (r. 1605–27) palace gardens were still not a prominent type in Mughal garden architecture. The only palace garden which the emperor himself mentions in his autobiography is the one laid out by his father Akbar in the citadel of the Hari Parbat at Srinagar. Jahangir refers to it as *bāghcha-i dawlat khāna* (small garden of the palace).²⁷ As a memorial to his father, Jahangir took care to renovate the garden when he came to Srinagar in the spring of 1620.²⁸ He also connected it to his own patronage by renaming it Nur Afza (Light-increaser).²⁹ Jahangir's additions to the garden were executed by Mu'tamid Khan and consisted of a *suffa-i 'ālī* (high terrace?),³⁰ 32 *dir'a*³¹ square with three

divisions (*qit'ā*). He also had the garden building(s?) (*'imārāt*) decorated with figural paintings, a practice typical of all of his palaces; the building was subsequently called *khāna-i taṣwīrī* (picture gallery).³² Scholars have assumed that the Bagh-i Nur Afza and its buildings did not survive,³³ but there is evidence, so far ignored, to suggest that the garden was situated in the topmost enclosure of the citadel, in the southwestern part of which a ruined pavilion still stands with traces of a painted wall decoration that date clearly from Jahangir's time (fig. 7).³⁴ It could be the building described by the emperor as part of his restoration scheme. Jahangir also mentions cherry trees in the garden and says that to his great delight in the spring of 1620 four of them bore fruit. "Although they sent them by runners from Kabul as well, yet to pick them oneself from one's home garden gave additional sweetness."³⁵

The Nur Afza garden seems to have acquired dynastic significance for the Mughals, for it was also a favorite of Jahangir's successor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). His historians describe it thus: "[The first] of all the imperial gardens (*busātīn-i bādshāhī*) [in Kashmir] is the garden (*bāgh*) of the exalted *dawlat khāna* which is known as Nūr Afzā. And with regard to the increase of its fruit bearing, it is without equal. In the reign of Hazrat Janat Makānī [Jahangir] there were only a few cherry trees in Kashmir [meaning those in the Nur Afza?]. In this period of expanding prosperity [i.e., the reign of Shah Jahan], when growth and increase have come again into the world, they are plentiful."³⁶ When Shah Jahan arrived at Srinagar in April 1640 and was disappointed because storms and heavy rains had destroyed the blossoms of all the almond trees in the valley which he had expected to see, he was compensated by an iris plant (*bōta-i sūsani*) in the *bāghcha-i dawlat khāna* (Nur Afza). On it Shah Jahan counted 212 flowers, opened and still in bud.³⁷

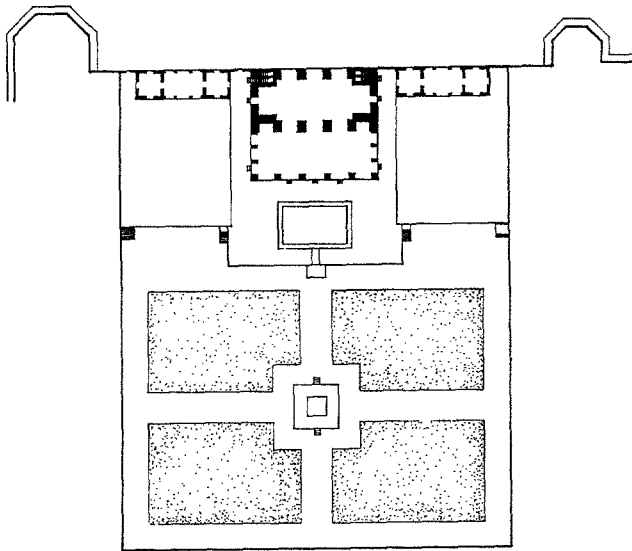
No more is known about the gardens developed by Jahangir in palaces. Other gardens mentioned in a palace context were situated below and outside them. One of these, called Bahr Ara (Ocean adorning) had two terraces right below the *jharoka-i darshan* (imperial viewing window)³⁸ of the *dawlat khāna* of the Hari Parbat on the shores of (or in?) the Dal Lake at Srinagar.³⁹ The English merchant William Finch, who saw the Lahore fort in 1611, mentions a garden between the fort and the river, below one of the pavilions on its northern façade; he means here perhaps the *bangla* (small pavilion with curved roof) in the courtyard which is today called Jahangir's Quadrangle (figs. 11, 12, 13).⁴⁰ The palace at

the Agra fort (fig. 1/42) also had a garden on the river front below the Jharoka-i Darshan in which in 1616 Jahangir had put up life-size marble statues of the rana of Mewar and his son Karan.⁴¹ This must be the same garden Finch had described a few years earlier (1610–11) as a "curious garden" from where Jahangir boarded the boat that took him to another garden on the opposite side of the river.⁴² This seems to indicate that the garden serving the great urban fortress palace was still outside its walls on the riverfront and that the emphasis was still on riverfront gardens. None of these gardens is preserved.

At Agra, however, two gardens from Jahangir's time survive that were founded by imperial women. This is the Ram Bagh, built — or rebuilt — by Jahangir's wife Nur Jahan as Bagh-i Nur Afshan in 1621,⁴³ and the Zahrara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara), laid out by Mumtaz Mahal probably in the late 1620's and remodeled later by her daughter Jahanara (fig. 1/3 and 4).⁴⁴ Both gardens conform to a scheme which eventually became typical of the riverfront garden of Agra and which — and this is important in our context — was to be very influential in the future development of the Mughal palace garden. In this garden plan the main buildings were not placed in the center of the garden as in the classical Mughal *chār bāgh*, but were arranged on terraces lining the riverbank. The riverfront buildings were framed by the corner towers of the enclosure wall of the garden. On the landward side of the terrace was a *chār bāgh*. This shift towards the riverfront provided the main garden pavilions with the climatic advantages of running water and a carefully composed front to those who saw it from a boat or across the river. From inside, the buildings presented an equally satisfying backdrop for the garden.⁴⁵



Fig. 7. Srinagar, Hari Parbat. Topmost enclosure. View from ruined Jahangiri pavilion into garden (1986).



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In Shah Jahan's reign (r. 1628–58) the waterfront garden was given its canonical form as a perfectly symmetrical composition and became the main garden pattern of the period. The actual form of the component parts could, however, be changed without disturbing the organization. At Agra, the pattern was used not only for residential gardens, but also, in a monumental version, in the funerary garden of the Taj Mahal.⁴⁶ It is in this particular form that the garden now makes its entry into the palace. The Taj complex and the fort were placed in the overall scheme of the riverbank city-like gardens (fig. 1/18 and 42); consequently they adopted the predominant garden form of this urban scheme.

The garden type appears in a perfectly symmetrical form in the so-called Anguri Bagh, the only garden within the imperial palace complex of the Agra fort. It

Fig. 8. Agra fort. Anguri Bagh and Khass Mahal. Plan. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)

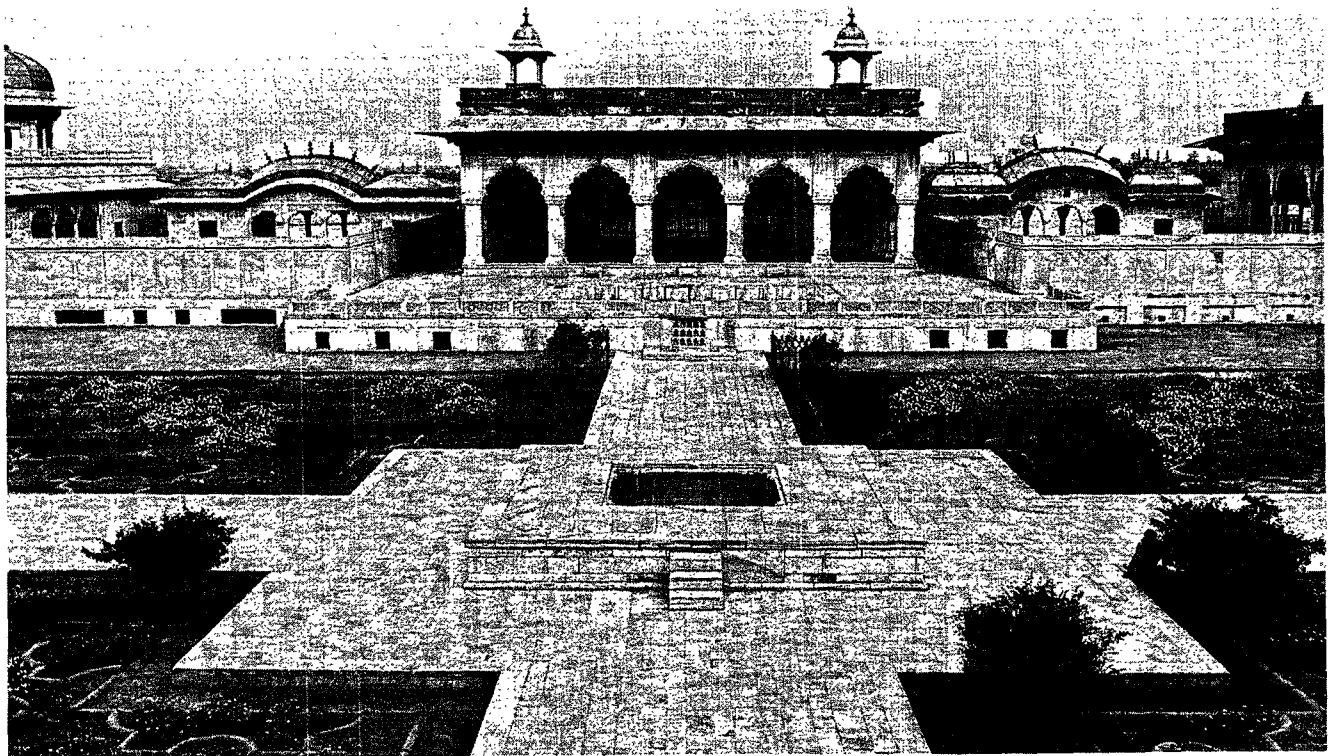


Fig. 9. Agra fort. Anguri Bagh and Khass Mahal consisting of Shah Jahan's Khwabgah flanked on the left by the Bangla-i Darshan and on the right by the Bangla-i Jahanara. Completed in 1637 (1979).

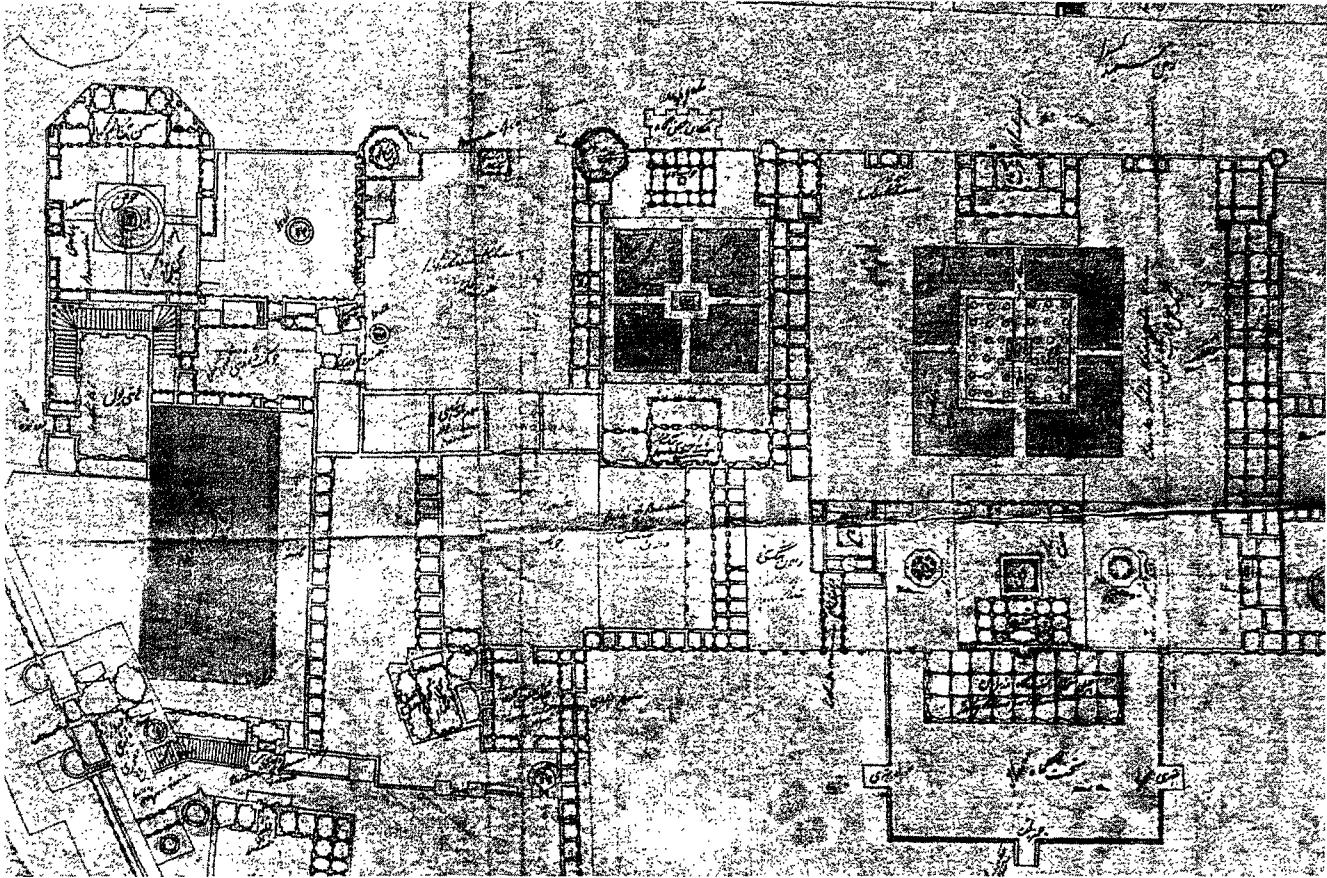


Fig. 10. Map of the Lahore fort dated 1894. Detail showing from left to right along the river front the Shah Burj (Samman Burj, Shish Mahal), two paved courtyards, the garden of the Diwan-i Khass, and Jahangir's Quadrangle. Lahore, Lahore Fort, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan.

was rebuilt "in a new manner" (*naw ā'in*)⁴⁷ as the main *zanāna* complex by Shah Jahan in the early 1630's and is reported as having been completed in January 1637 (figs. 8, 9).⁴⁸ As in the Taj garden, a group of three buildings today known as the Khwāb Mahal stands on the river-side terrace. The Khwābgah, or sleeping pavilion of the emperor, in the center is flanked on the left (when seen from the interior) or northern side by a pavilion with a curved roof, the Bangla-i Darshan, where the emperor appeared at sunrise before his subjects. On the right (southern) side is its mirror image, the *bangla* of his daughter Jahanara, called Begam Sahib, who had become the first lady at court after the death of her mother Mumtaz Mahal. The Bangla-i Jahanara had no ceremonial function and seems to have been put up solely to balance the composition, to conform to *qarīna* (two equal features arranged symmetrically on both sides of a central axis), the architectural ideal of the pe-

riod. The group of buildings on the terrace is combined with a lower *chār bāgh*, oblong in shape (about 64 × 53.63 m), with a marble pool where its pathways cross.

We find a similar concept in Jahangir's Quadrangle in the Lahore fort. It too is a *zanāna* courtyard enclosed by residential wings dating, as all evidence suggests, from Jahangir's time (figs. 10–13).⁴⁹ The Mughal sources tell us nothing about the garden; it could have been added to the court in Shah Jahan's reign because no palace garden is mentioned there in Jahangir's time and we know that Shah Jahan reconstructed the Khwābgah in the center of the terrace in 1634.⁵⁰ The *bangla* to the east of the Khwābgah certainly dates from Jahangir's reign,⁵¹ and — as evident from nineteenth-century drawings and paintings — had its mirror image on the other (western) side of the Khwābgah; this was perhaps added for the sake of *qarīna* when Shah Jahan had the Khwābgah reconstructed.⁵² All in all, the Lahore complex

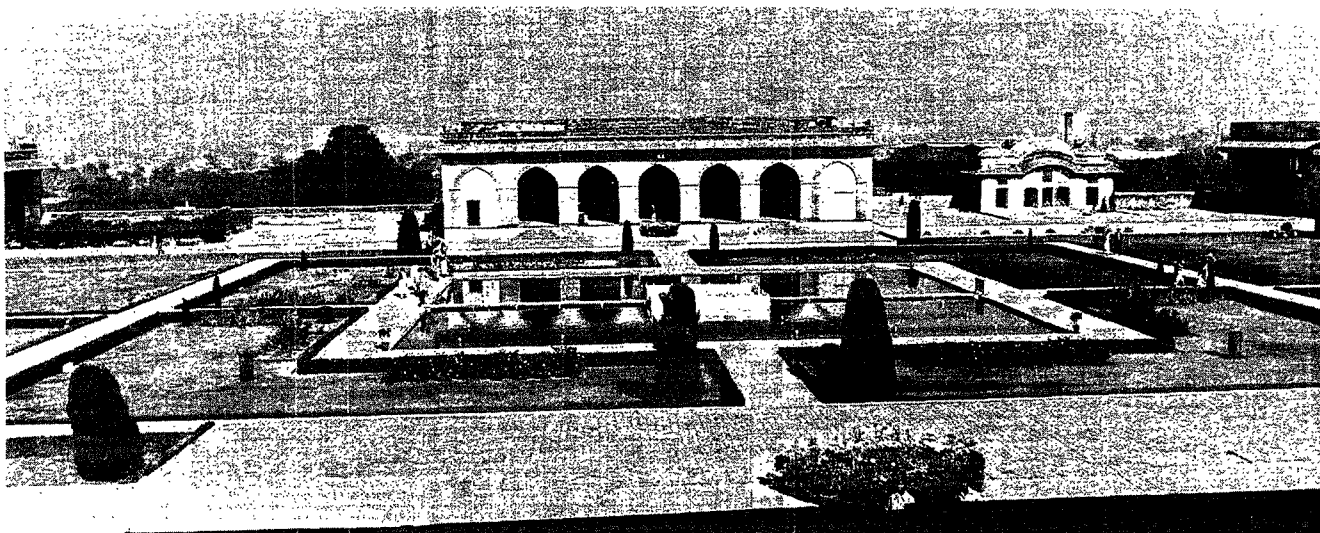
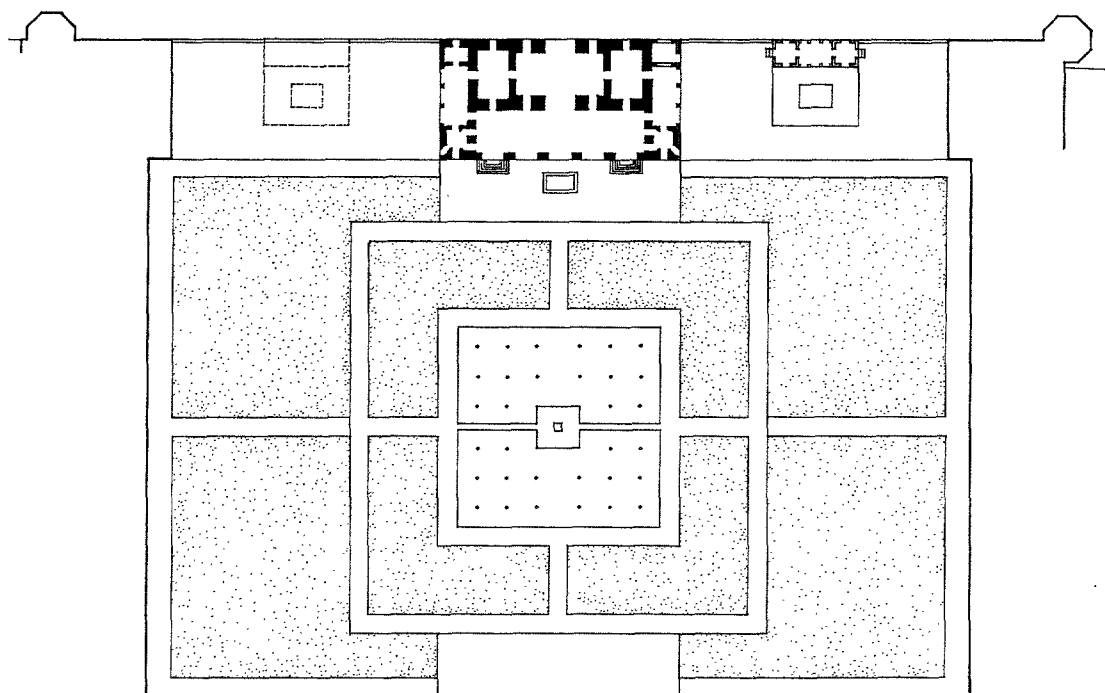


Fig. 11. Lahore fort. Jahangir's Quadrangle with Shah Jahan's Khwabgah constructed in 1634 on its river front terrace with a *bangla* on the right. Both altered (1980).



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Fig. 12. Lahore fort. Jahangir's Quadrangle. Plan. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)

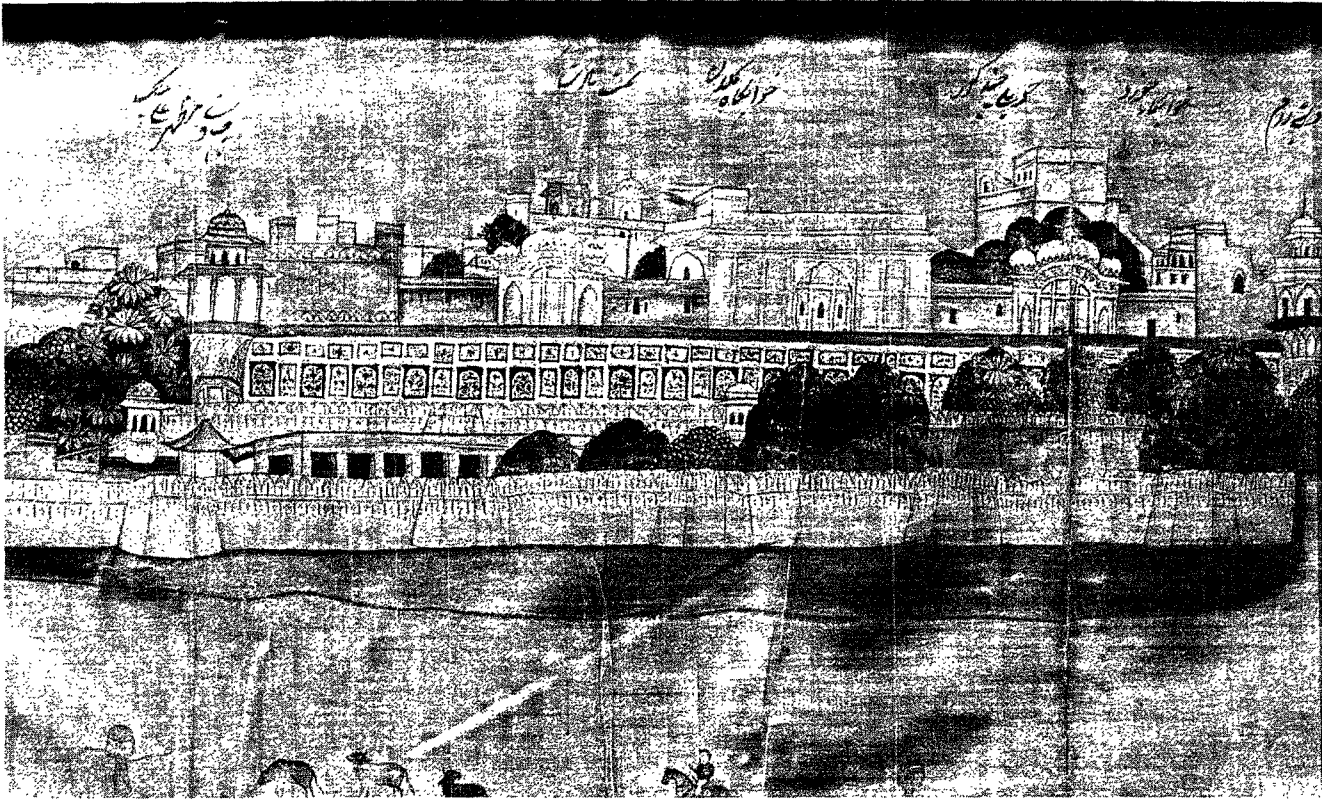


Fig. 13. Riverfront view of the Lahore fort. Detail of the eastern part with Shah Jahan's Khwabgah flanked on both sides by *bangla* pavilions. 19th century. Lahore, Lahore Museum.

shows an organization similar to the Anguri Bagh at Agra, but it has different proportions. The garden courtyard is bigger (ca. 118 × 78m) and its present terrace is only ca. 17.5m deep.⁵³ Both the Anguri Bagh and the garden in Jahangir's Quadrangle were *zanāna* gardens: the one in Agra boasted in the Bangla-i Darshan one of the most important ceremonial buildings of the palace; the ceremonial function of the *banglas* in the Lahore fort is not so clear (compare figs. 8, 9 with figs. 11, 12).

The garden in Jahangir's Quadrangle is not the only garden in the Lahore fort; in the courtyard to its west is a garden which conforms to the same pattern, but we do not know when it was built (fig. 10). Perhaps it dates from the time of the construction of the marble hall, the so-called Diwan-i Khass on its riverfront terrace. This was added to the Lahore fort in 1645, that is, later in the reign of Shah Jahan.⁵⁴ The complex of the Shah Burj (Shish Mahal), which occupies the northwest corner of the fort and was completed under Shah Jahan in 1631–32 as one of his earliest additions to the Lahore

palace,⁵⁵ shows the same scheme in an entirely architecturalized version (fig. 10).⁵⁶ As indicated by its name it is used here for a building type with an exclusively imperial connotation. The Shah Burj (Royal Tower) was used for the private council meetings that were part of the daily routine of the emperor. It was accessible only to the imperial princes, the vizier, and a few important courtiers who had the emperor's special confidence.⁵⁷ The group of three freestanding terrace buildings is here compressed into a massive polygonal block (fig. 14). The tripartite configuration is, however, quoted on the courtyard façade where the higher central hall and the ground floor verandahs of the flanking wings are highlighted with a white marble veneer. The *chār bāgh* element is represented by the marble courtyard which is divided into four parts by water channels (fig. 15). The design successfully combines the paved *zanāna* courtyards of Akbar's time with the riverfront garden pattern. The garden clearly had begun to make its impact on the palace.

The ideas found in Lahore and Agra reached their

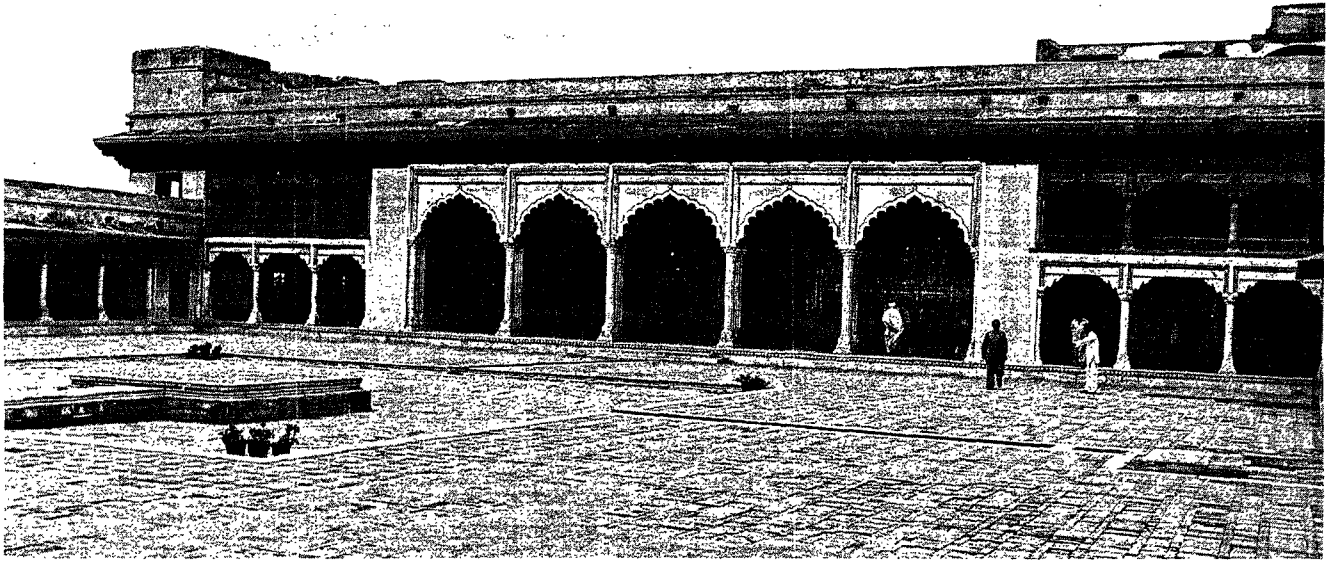


Fig. 14. Lahore fort. Shah Burj (Shish Mahal). Completed 1631–32. Courtyard front of the riverside wing (1979).

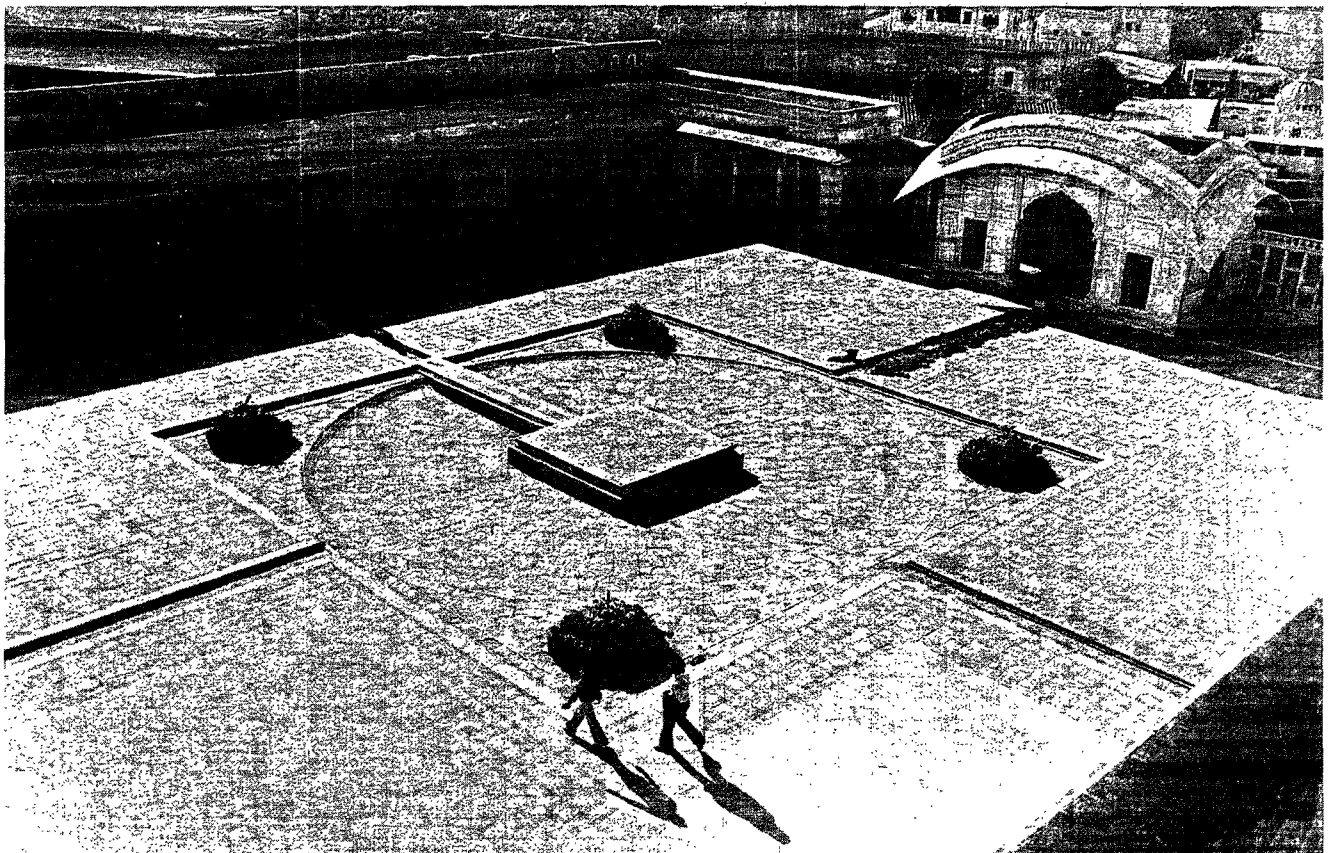


Fig. 15. Lahore fort. Shah Burj courtyard seen from the roof of the riverfront building (1980).

apotheosis of form and meaning in the fortress palace of Shah Jahan's new city of Shahjahanabad, built in the area of Delhi between 1639 and 1648.⁵⁸ Now the whole palace was conceived as a garden, and the sources inform us in detail about it. The plan of the fortress palace, today called the Red Fort, is based on giant *muthamman baghdādi*,⁵⁹ which here takes the form of a rectangle with chamfered corners. The pavilions and halls for the emperor and the *zanāna* stand on terraces (*kursi*) threaded along a canal that runs along the river bank (figs. 16, 17, 18). "In front of each Iram-like⁶⁰ pavilion (*nashiman*)," says Kanbo, "is a garden (*bāghcha*)⁶¹ of perfect freshness and pleasantness, so that this [whole] paradisaical ground [i.e. the palace] from one end to the other because of its lush vegetation has outshone [lit. drawn a veil over] the green sky, and its sight is presented to the eyes of the beholder as the highest paradise."⁶² In the organization of each individual complex, we clearly recognize the formula of the waterfront garden which in the palace of Shahjahanabad was used as a modular unit for the planning of the whole riverfront. Moreover, the garden as a basic planning component for the Mughal riverfront city was here claimed by the palace.⁶³

The waterfront of the palace thus appears like an individualized section of one of the banks of the river in Agra (compare fig. 1 with fig. 16). The main canal of the palace of Shahjahanabad, the Nahr-i Bihisht flowed "like the water of life"⁶⁴ through the band formed by the riverfront terraces and enthreaded all riverfront buildings. Its branches served the individual gardens. At the same time the riverfront terrace provided the terrace component (*kursi*) for each garden unit (*bāghcha*). The historians of Shah Jahan⁶⁵ name four riverfront gardens (fig. 16). The Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh was the northernmost (250 *gaz* [including its terrace which was 26 *gaz* wide⁶⁶] × 225 *gaz*, (fig. 16/A); in the center was the Imtiyaz or Rang Mahal, the main *zanāna* building, with its garden described as *bāghcha* (117 × 115 *gaz*) (fig. 16/E); then came the pavilion of Jahanara (*nashiman-i Begam Sahib*) with its *bāghcha* (67 × 67 *gaz*) which had an octagonal *hawz* in its center (fig. 16/F), and at the southern end of the river front "was the *bāghcha* between the *nashiman-i Begam Shāhib* and the southern tower (*burj*)" which measured 80 × 60 *gaz* (fig. 16/G). Further we learn about "another garden (*bāgh*) full of fruit trees"⁶⁷ immediately to the west of the Hayat Bakhsh (later called Mahtabi garden, though it does not appear under this name in the texts) which measured 164 × 115 *gaz* (fig. 16/B). It had a building of red stone called Lal Mahal in

its center which tells us that the centrally planned garden continued to be used in the interior of the palace.⁶⁸ There was a small garden (*bāgh*) (30 × 16 *gaz*) to its north (fig. 16/C) and another garden (*bustān*) called Bagh-i Angur (Grape Garden) (170 × 130 *gaz*) covering the area to the north of this garden group (fig. 16/D). Thus the gardens considered worth mentioning in the official description of the palace covered a great part of its area; according to the earliest preserved maps dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were several more gardens, in particular in the *zanāna* quarters, which Shah Jahan's historians do not mention (fig. 17).⁶⁹

The largest and most outstanding of the palace gardens was the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh which occupies the northeast corner of the palace complex (fig. 21). At 250 × 225 *gaz* it was of unprecedented size for a Mughal palace garden and represented a great innovation, not in its form but in how its formal aspects were used to express the symbolic position of the garden in the palace. The garden is not fully preserved, but the missing elements can be reconstructed (fig. 20)⁷⁰ from the descriptions of Warith and Kanbo,⁷¹ combined with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century plans and views (figs. 17, 18, 19).⁷² As mentioned earlier, the garden consisted of a waterfront terrace (26 *gaz* deep) and a vast square *chār bāgh* (225 × 225 *gaz*) with a large *hawz* in its center and water courses through its four principal intersecting *khiyābāns*. Today only the two eastern garden quadrants survive. Originally there were three buildings on the terrace, a larger structure in the middle flanked by pavilions with *bangla* roofs. That means that the garden was modeled on the *zanāna* gardens of Agra and Lahore (compare fig. 20 with figs. 8 and 12). Of the characteristic tripartite riverfront group only one structure remains today, namely the northern *bangla* built adjoining the Shah Burj (figs. 19, 20).⁷³ The structure and its lost companion piece are not readily recognizable as the characteristic *bangla* component of the group because they are planned on a larger scale and arranged differently than their forerunners at Agra and Lahore, with their longer sides towards the central pavilion and their shorter sides towards the river (compare figs. 19–20 with figs. 8, 9 and 11, 12).⁷⁴ The surviving northern *bangla* was also brought so close to the Shah Burj that it is no longer a free-standing pavilion but actually acts as a vestibule for the tower. Like everyone else, I earlier assumed it to be the "hall of the Shah Burj" (fig. 22).⁷⁵ But even in its new context the *bangla* pavilion retains the characteristic configuration of an

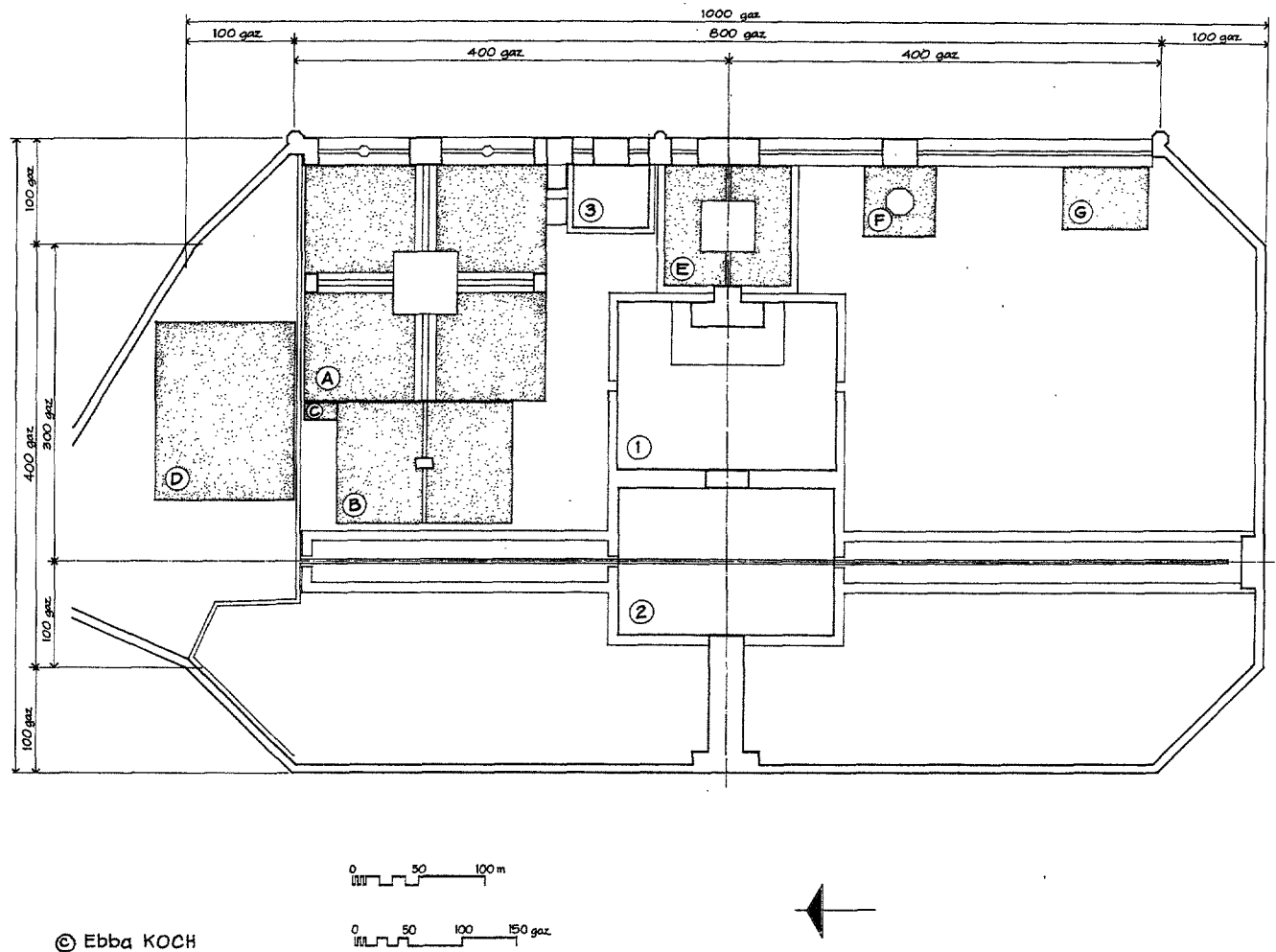


Fig. 16. Red Fort of Delhi. Completed 1648. Plan showing gardens described in contemporary texts. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)

open hall with a curved roof, flanked by two *hujras* (small closed rooms) to which was added a portico with large baluster columns and another *bangla* vault inside (represented on the façade by a curved-up cornice). That means that the pavilion has two parallel *bangla* vaults inside. The roof group on the outside preserves the main elements of the original *bangla* pavilion, that is, the single upturned oblong roof, flanked by two pyramidal roofs with curved profiles (compare fig. 22 with figs. 9 and 11); these roof elements are in this case, however, more loosely grouped.

The layout of the Hayat Bakhsh thus represents a more elaborate and much larger version of the Anguri Bagh of Agra and of Jahangir's Quadrangle at Lahore. The Agra group of terrace buildings, the Khass Mahal,

contained not only the Khwabgah but also one of the most highly charged symbolic forms of Shahjahani architecture, namely the Bangla-i Darshan, the pavilion on the façade of the palace where the emperor showed himself to the general public (fig. 9). In the Hayat Bakhsh garden, however, the pavilion in the center of the terrace had no particular function, and neither of the flanking *banglas* served the emperor as *jharōka-i darshan* (the Jharoka-i Darshan was moved to the half-*burj* projecting from the east front of the Khwabgah to the south of the Diwan-i Khass, the hall of private audiences; fig. 18). By amalgamating the northern *bangla* with the Shah Burj (which earlier at Agra had been at some distance from it), however, the terrace group, and with it the whole garden, was associated with a building type

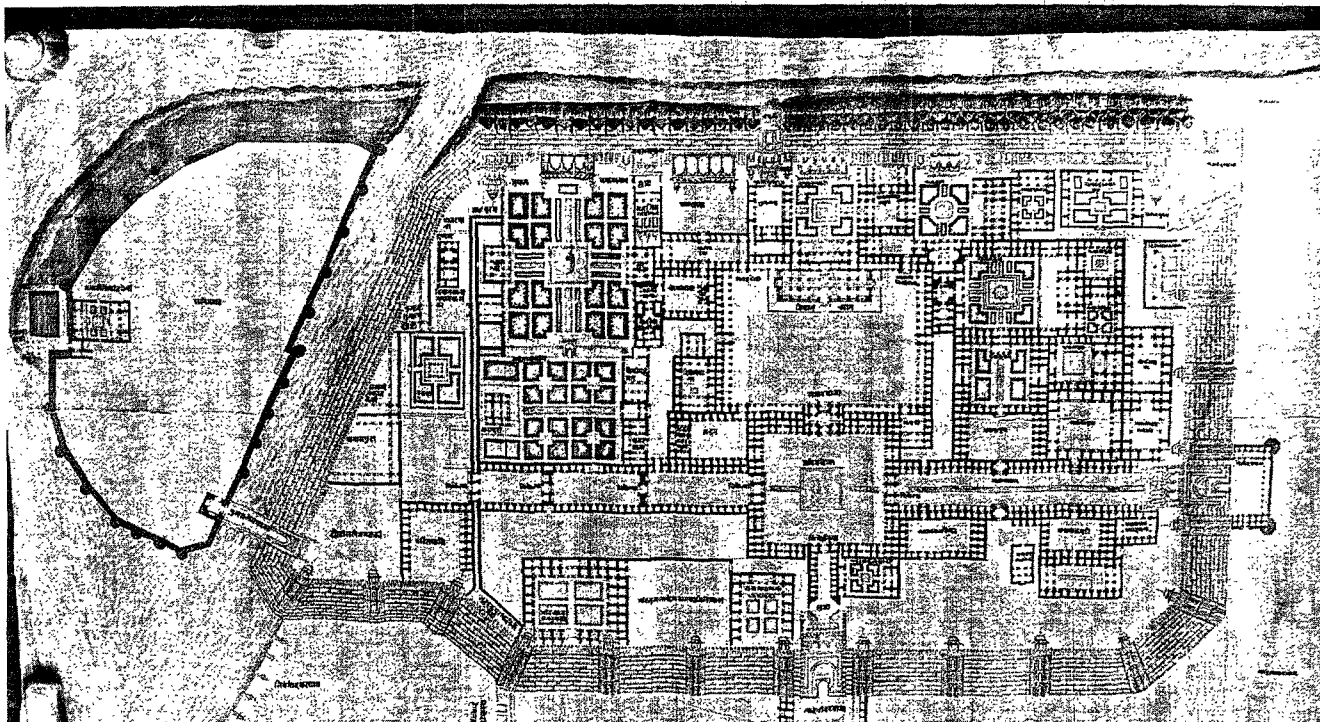


Fig. 17. Red Fort of Delhi and Salimgarh. Plan inscribed in *devanāgarī* script. 18th century. Watercolor on paper, 65×143 cm. Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, cat. no. 122.

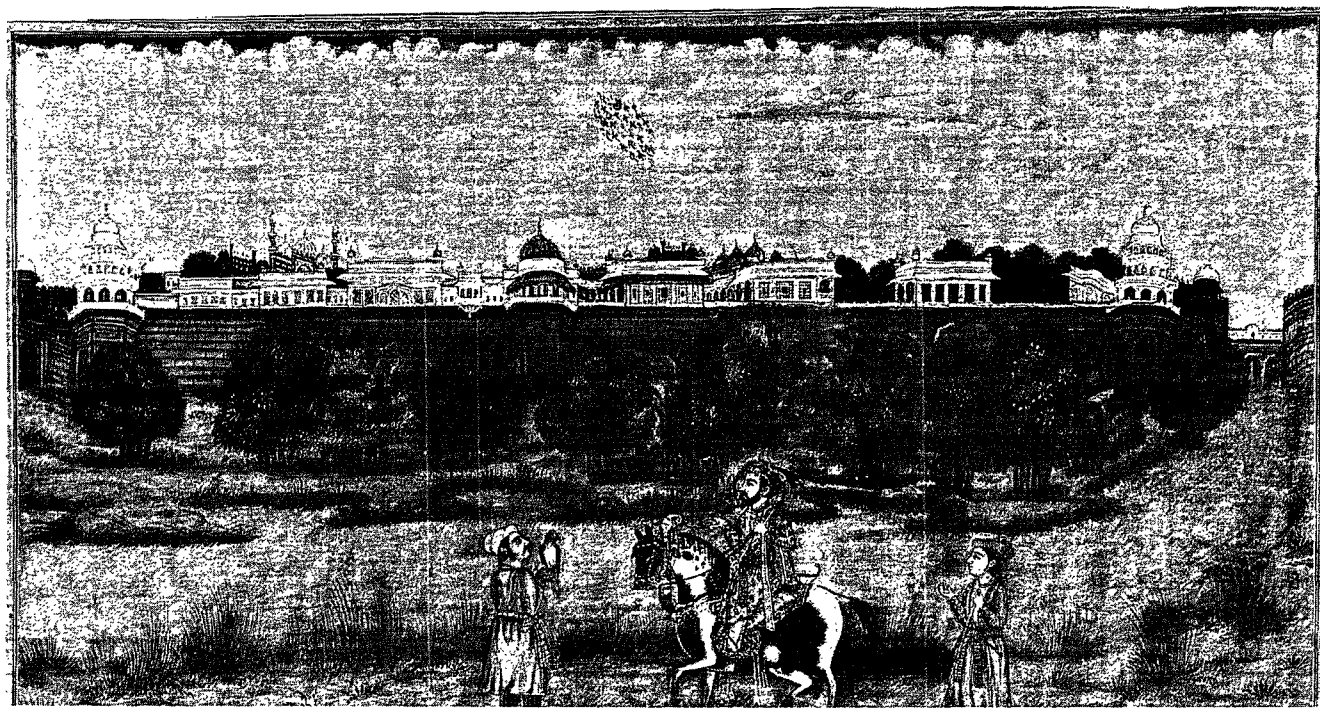


Fig. 18. Riverfront view of the Red Fort of Delhi with Shah Jahan on horseback in the foreground. Illustration from a 19th-century copy of M. Salih Kanbo, *Amal-i Šālih*. London, BL, Oriental and India Office Collections, Add. 20735, fol. 371. (Photo: courtesy British Library, Oriental and India Office Collection).

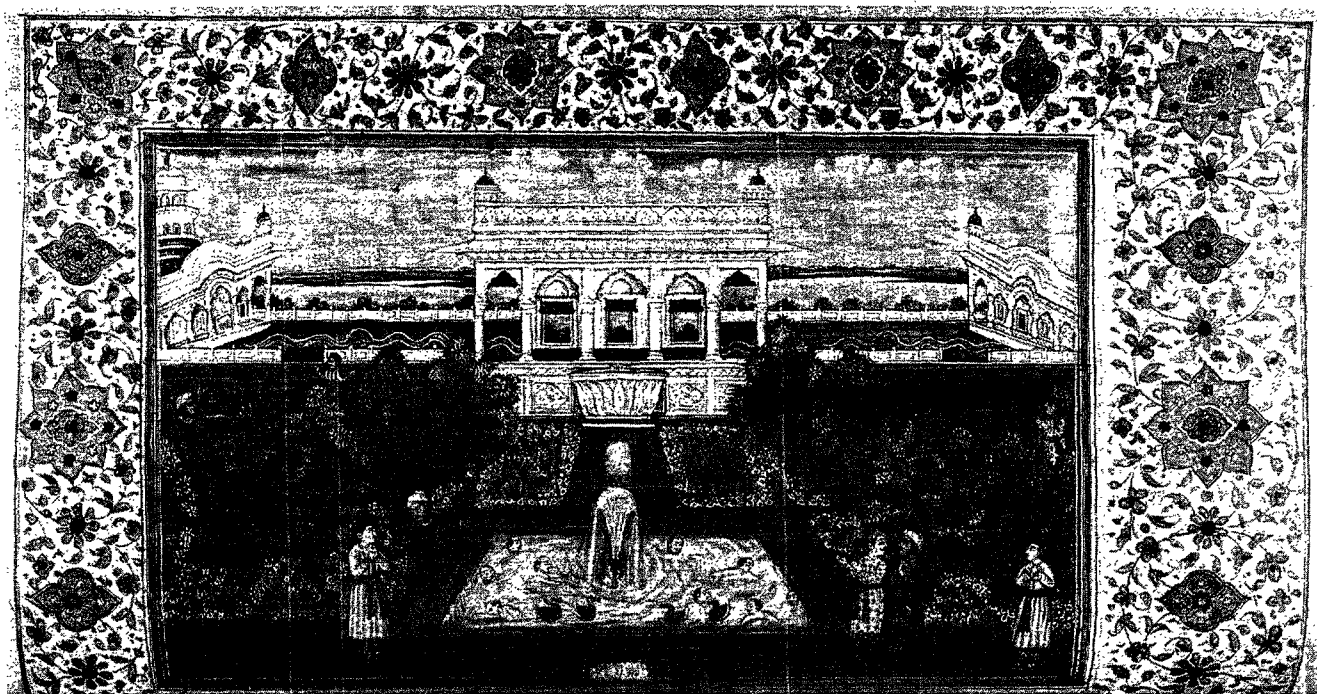


Fig. 19. View of the Hayat Bakhsh. Illustration from a 19th-century copy of M. Salih Kanbo, *ʿAmal-i Šālih*. London, BL, Oriental and India Office Collections, Add. 2157, fol. 732a. (Photo: courtesy British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections)

exclusively imperial in connotation. This means that, while the design of the Anguri Bagh of Agra and of Jahangir's Quadrangle of Lahore was borrowed for the Hayat Bakhsh, it was separated from its *zanāna* context. The principal garden of the palace was transferred into a more official area and distinguished as an imperial site.

To keep the configuration of imperial buildings (*khwābgāh* flanked by *banglas*) for the *kursī* of the Hayat Bakhsh, while delegating the functions of these buildings to other, less conspicuous structures, was not the only way to emphasize the importance of the garden in the palace and relate it in a special way to the emperor. Another was the use of baluster columns, or as the Mughals called them, *sarw-andām sutūn* (cypress-bodied columns), in its pavilions. Like the *bangla*, these columnar forms had thus far been reserved for the palatial architecture of the highest ceremonial order, namely the marble *jharōkas* and baldachins in which the emperor appeared before his subjects.⁷⁶ The two *banglas* of the Hayat Bakhsh boasted grand arcades of splendid "cypress-shaped" baluster columns decorated with naturalistic plant elements carved in marble (fig. 22). This naturalism was characteristic of the new organic imperial vocabulary of Shah Jahan. Baluster columns with

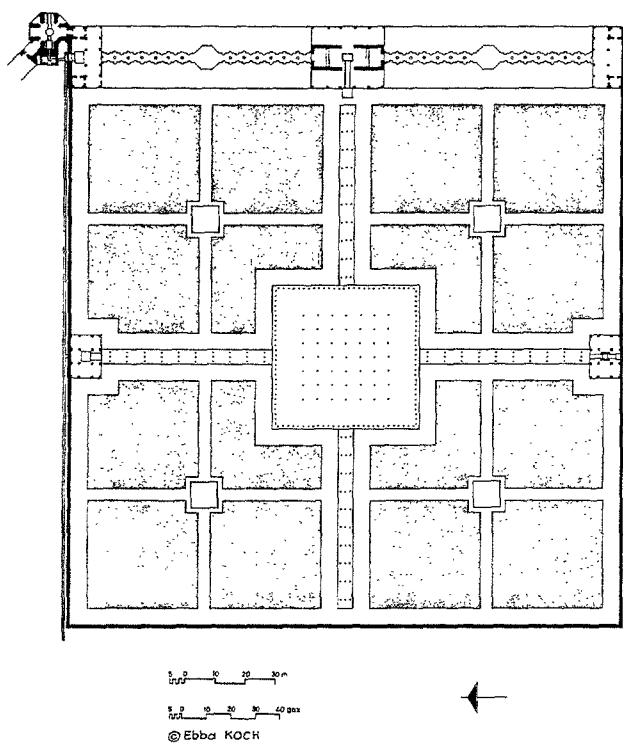


Fig. 20. Delhi, Red Fort. Reconstructed plan of the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)

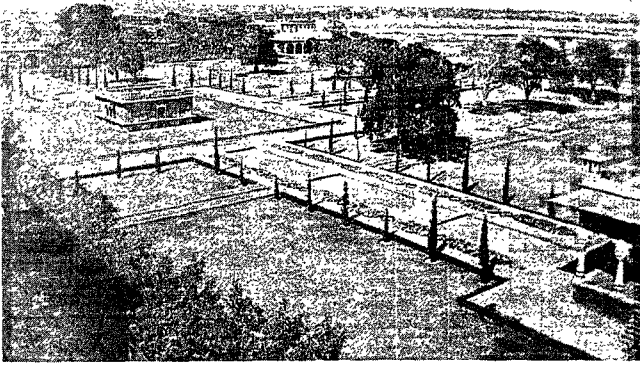


Fig. 21. Delhi, Red Fort. View on the Hayat Bakhsh from the barracks to its southwest, taken in 1918–19 after its restoration. (Photo: courtesy Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, ASN[A] 3864)

plant decoration and *bangla* vaults also appear in the two other remaining garden pavilions (today called Sawan and Bhadon) at the ends of the north-south *khī-yābān* of the garden (figs. 21, 23).

Banglas and baluster columns, architectural forms of

the highest hierarchical and symbolical order — thus far used exclusively to frame the emperor's appearance — were now used in the emperor's palace garden as well. Moreover, the imperial forms of *banglas* and baluster columns were amalgamated in the pavilions of the garden, a fusion that occurs in the palace only once more, significantly in the emperor's throne *jharōka* in the Dawlat Khana-i Khass-u-^cAmm (Diwan-i ^cAmm or Hall of Public Audiences).⁷⁷ The attachment of the garden to the Shah Burj and the exclusive use of the imperial vocabulary and its new meaningful fusions demonstrated that the palace garden had become the Great Moghul's own immediate expression.

In addition to columns "shaped like cypresses," each garden building had its own water channels and sunken *hawz*, and its walls and ceilings were decorated with flowers and plants rendered in the most sophisticated techniques that Mughal architectural decoration of the time had to offer. They were inlaid in hard stones (*pietre dure* or *parchīn kāri*),⁷⁸ carved in marble relief, gilded and painted. Similar flower and plant decorations were actually applied (in a wider context) to all buildings of the palace (fig. 24). Shah Jahan's chroniclers Kanbo and Warith never tire of drawing attention to them.⁷⁹

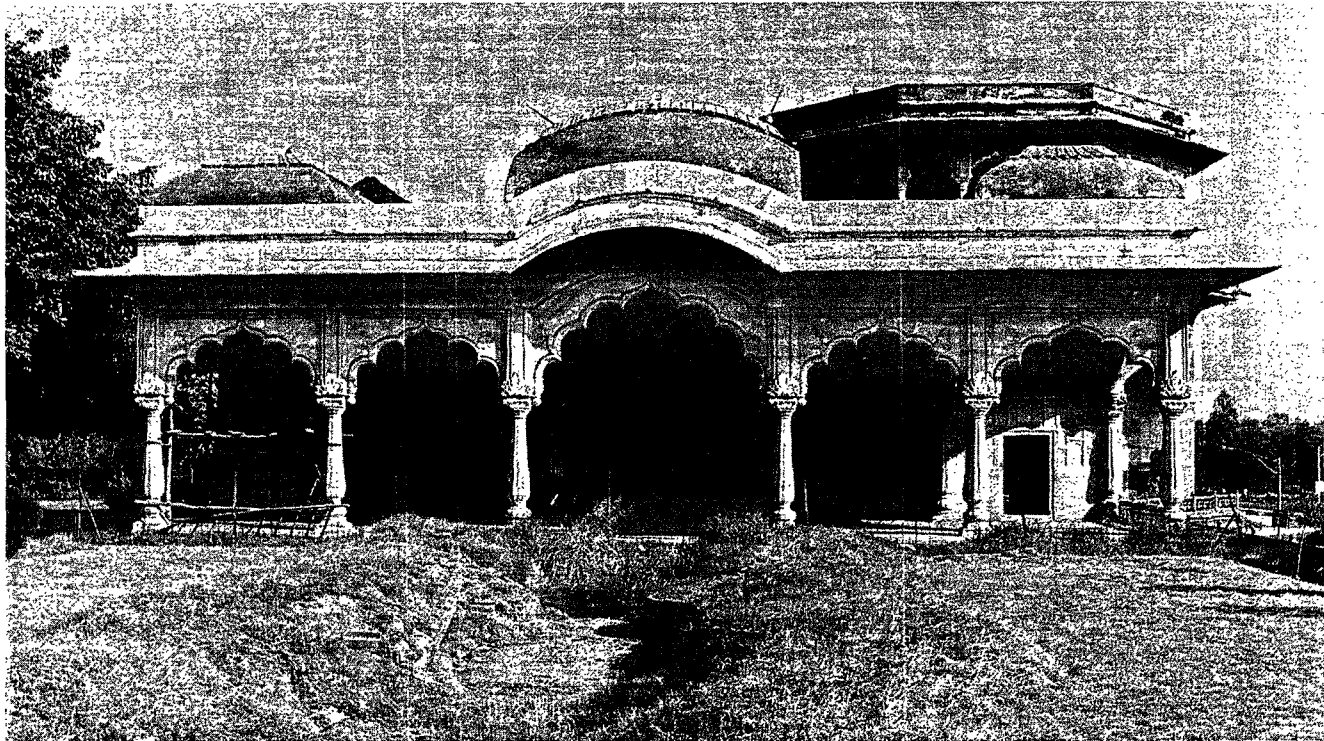


Fig. 22. Delhi, Red Fort. Northern *bangla* of the Hayat Bakhsh next to the Shah Burj, completed 1648, from south (1979).

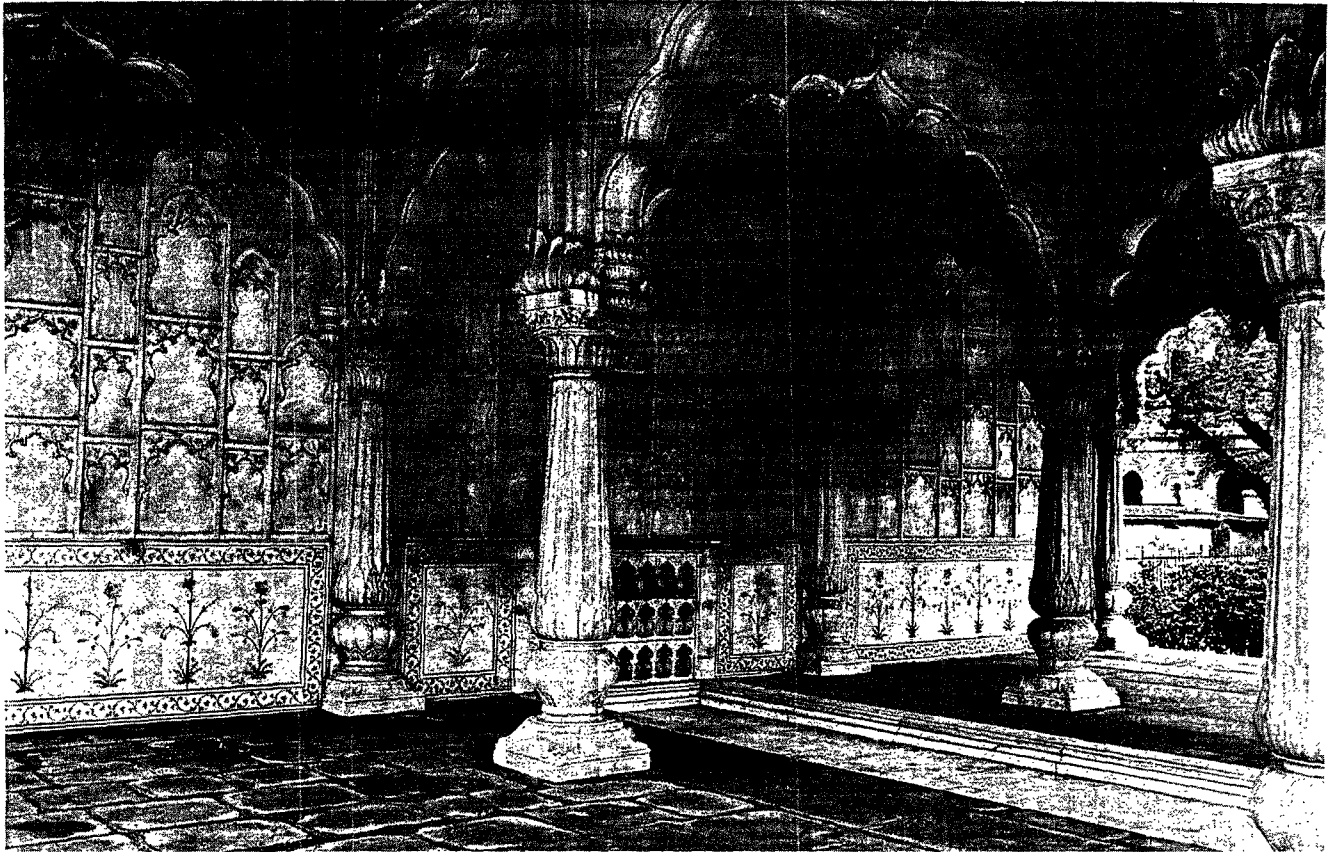


Fig. 23. Delhi, Red Fort. Garden pavilion called Bhadon at the southern end of the north-south walkway of the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh (1978).

The greatest praise, however, is showered on the floral decoration of a building in the Hayat Bakhsh, the now lost pavilion in the center of the riverfront terrace: "And on the surface of the ceilings and the lower walls of this paradise-like building the painters (*muṣawwirān*) and [other] artists (*naqqāshān*) . . . have created . . . different kinds of odiferous plants and flowers and various kinds of designs and pictures so colorful and pleasing that . . . the artisan Spring (*ṣanʿatgar-i bahār*)⁸⁰ itself is pierced by the thorns [of envy]."⁸¹ These pictures turned the walls into "virtual flower gardens" (*dar u dīwār-ash az taṣwīr gulzār*), so that one could sit (with one's back towards the garden) and look inside to the best garden view, namely that of its artificial blooms.⁸²

In short, the buildings of the palace, in particular those of the Hayat Bakhsh, were conceived as artificial gardens with plant-like columns, water channels, *hawẓs*, and flowerbeds on their walls. The main inscription of the palace tells us that "the Hayat Bakhsh is to the build-

ings what the soul is to the body",⁸³ thus we realize that the main function of the palace garden, aside from its recreational value, was a symbolic one. The Hayat Bakhsh as a metaphor of the entire palace epitomized its concept as a garden. The whole arrangement — and this is obvious from Amir Khusraw's celebrated verses⁸⁴ and from all the other panegyrics written by Shah Jahan's poets and writers after the palace was completed — was to turn the palace into paradise, not merely one of well-ordered nature like Babur's gardens, or an architectural one, like Akbar's palaces, but into a new garden paradise that was to surpass all imaginable models. Shah Jahan's palace was a terrestrial image of Jannat under which rivers are running,⁸⁵ even surpassing its Qurʾānic prototype.⁸⁶ As a new Iram and as a new Khwarnaq, it also eclipsed the fabled palaces of Muslim mythology.⁸⁷ Shah Jahan's paradisaical palace, symbolized by the Hayat Bakhsh with its intermingling of real plants and naturalistic, artfully rendered vegetation also

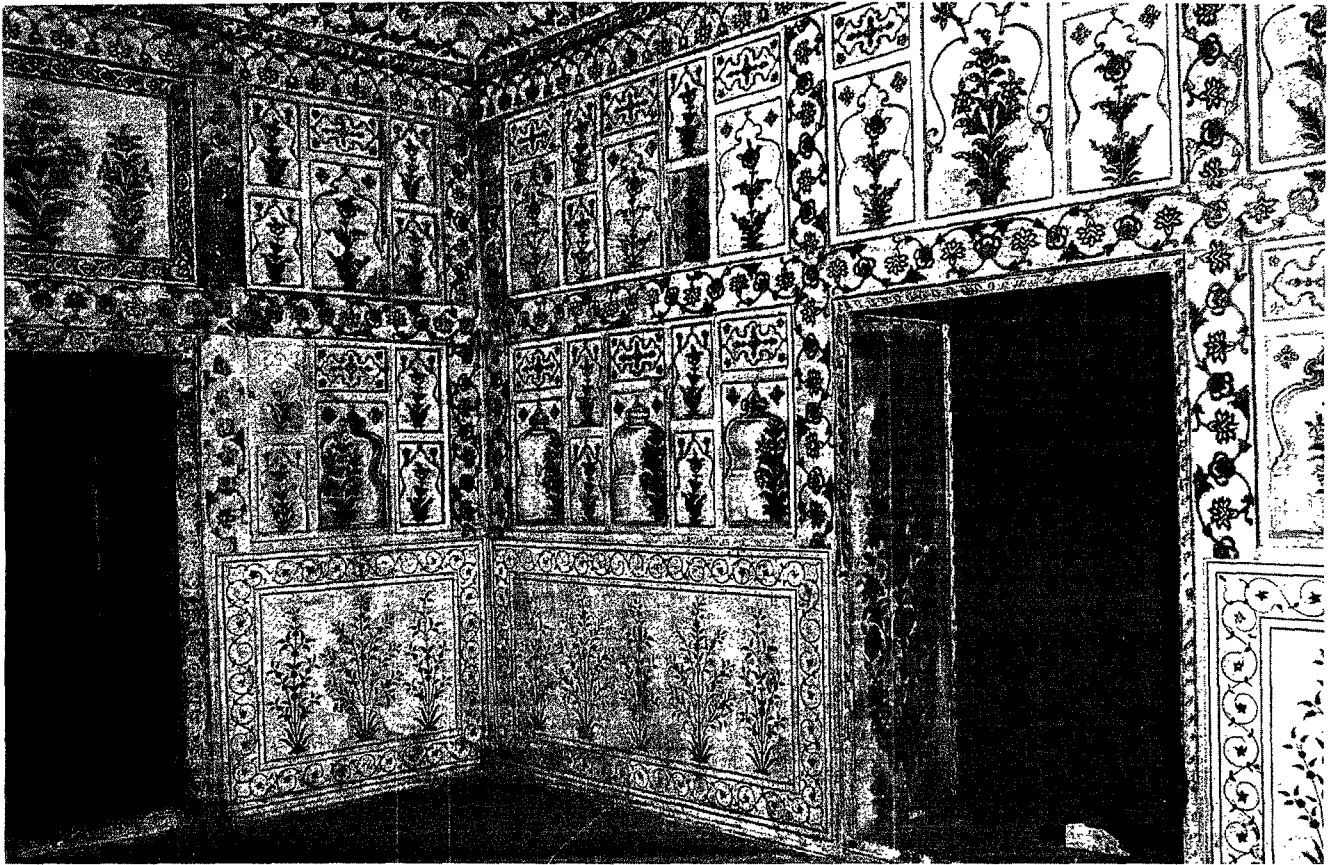


Fig. 24. Delhi, Red Fort. Khwabgah. Interior with floral decorations.

threw all natural gardens into the shade; even Spring had to confess that it could not achieve anything like it.⁸⁸ The new three-dimensional naturalism of the organic plant forms gave the concept of the garden the highest level of reality, and marble and precious stones gave it permanency.⁸⁹ Style itself had become meaning.⁹⁰

We have finally come to the last question we set out to answer, namely whether this consistent realization of the palace as a paradisaical garden had any political meaning. The Hayat Bakhsh garden, representing the essence of the palace, was related by all conceivable means to the emperor, including a connection to the Shah Burj pavilion and its exclusive imperial vocabulary; the eternal spring that reigned in the Hayat Bakhsh was also associated with the emperor. The court poets and writers tell us that Shah Jahan was the "spring of the flower garden of justice and generosity,"⁹¹ the renewer, the *mujjadid* under whose just rule "Hindustan has gradually become the rose garden of the earth and his reign which is the cradle of prosperity has become the spring

season of the age in which the days and nights are young."⁹² Considering all this, one can only conclude that Shah Jahan's ever-blooming palace gardens had a definite political significance: they were intended as an image of his reign and empire, as garden paradises of the ideal king whose good government — so it was claimed — had brought about a new golden age of unending spring. Not only could the emperor say of his palace, but every subject *should* say of the kingdom, "If there is a paradise on earth, it is this."⁹³

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NOTES

Author's note: My ideas about the Mughal palace garden were first summarized in "The Char Bagh Conquers the Citadel: An Outline of the Development of the Mughal Palace Garden," *The Mughal Garden: Interpretation, Conservation and Implications*, ed. M. Hussain, A. Rehman, and J.L. Wescoat Jr. (Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi, 1996), pp. 55–60. My investigations into the Mughal palace garden form a part of a project initiated in 1976 to survey the entire palace architecture of Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). I wish to thank the Archaeological Survey of India, the Indian Army, and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, for permission to carry out this survey, and the Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung, Austria, the Jubiläumsfonds der österreichischen Nationalbank, and the Bundesministerium für Wissenschaft und Forschung, Austria, for their support of the project. Architect Richard A. Barraud has prepared the scale drawings, several of which are published here for the first time, from measurements which we took together in the course of many field sessions in India. I also thank Dr. S.M. Yunus Jaffery for his assistance in the reading and translation of the Mughal texts.

1. James L. Wescoat, Jr., "Picturing an Early Mughal Garden," *Asian Art* 11, 4 (Fall, 1989): 59–79, in particular p. 76; idem, "Landscapes of Conquest and Transformation: Lessons from the Earliest Mughal Gardens in India, 1526–30," *Landscape Journal* 10 (1991): 105–14; idem, "Gardens versus Citadels: The Territorial Context of Early Mughal Gardens," *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture 13, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington, D.C., 1992), pp. 331–58.
2. Catherine B. Asher, "Babur and the Timurid *Chār Bāgh*: Use and Meaning," in *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies= Environmental Design* 1991, no. 1–2, p. 53; eadem, *Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 37.
3. On the latter point, see Wescoat, "Picturing an Early Mughal Garden," pp. 75, 77; idem, "Landscapes of Conquest and Transformation," p. 105; idem, "Garden versus Citadels," p. 335; Asher, "Babur and the Timurid *Chār Bāgh*," p. 47.
4. "Agar firāwās bar rū-yi zamīn ast, hamīn ast u hamīn ast u hamīn ast" (If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this, it is this). Inscribed in gilded letters below the cavetto of the ceiling of Shah Jahan's Diwan-i Khass, or hall of private audiences, in the Red Fort of Delhi, completed in 1648.
5. There is as yet no special study of the Mughal palace garden. It is treated in general works, of which the most useful is still Sylvia Crowe, Sheila Haywood, Susan Jellicoe, and Gordon Patterson, *The Gardens of Mughal India* (London, 1972), although it still should be consulted with caution. Within the context of this paper, I can only attempt a brief assessment of the development of the Mughal palace garden; I plan to deal with it in greater detail in my further work on the palaces of Shah Jahan.
6. For the problem of the Mughal *chār bāgh*, see most recently Ebba Koch, "The Mughal Waterfront Garden," *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, *Muqarnas Supplements*, vol. 7 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), pp. 140–60.
7. The primordial Agra *chār bāgh* mentioned by Babur and the Hasht Bihisht were one and the same garden. See Zayn Khān, *Ṭabaqāt-i Bāburī*, trans. S.H. Askari, annot. B.P. Ambastha (Delhi, 1982), p. 157. Cf. Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar nāma*, Pers. text ed. Āghā Ahmad 'Alī and 'Abd al-Rahīm, 3 vols. (Calcutta, 1873–86), 1: 105; trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (1902–39; 2nd rpt. Delhi, 1979), 1: 258; Muḥammad Amīn or Amīnā-yi Qazvīnī, *Bādshāh nāma*, British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections (henceforth abbreviated to BL), Pers. ms. Or. 173, fol. 26a (Pers. pagination); Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō, *'Amal-i Ṣāliḥ or Shāh Jahān nāma*, rev. Pers. text ed. Wahid Qurayshī, based on the Calcutta ed. of 1912–46 by Ghulam Yazdānī, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Lahore, 1967–72), 1:19. The location of the garden can be derived from a map of Agra in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, cat. no. 26, which probably dates from the early 18th century and is thus the earliest map of Agra so far known. Its *devanāgarī* inscriptions designate the two gardens adjoining the Mahtab Bagh to the west as "Chahar Bagh Padshahi" and "Second Chahar Bagh Padshahi" (our fig. 1/15 and 16); see also n. 13 below.
8. Babur tells us that "in any empty space inside the fort, which was between Ibrahim's residence and the ramparts, I ordered a large chambered-well (*wān*) to be made." We learn that this well was actually a whole building complex consisting of a large three-storied stepwell, a smaller well, "fitted with a wheel, by means of which water is carried along the ramparts to the high-garden" (*bāghcha-i bālā*), a stone building (?), and a mosque. See Zahir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, *Bābur nāma*, trans. A.S. Beveridge (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1970), pp. 532–33. See also the very useful new trilingual edition and trans. by Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr., published in 1993 by the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, 3 vols., 3: 644–45. None of these constructions is preserved. From Babur's description, it is not quite clear whether he founded the garden (*bāghcha*) as is assumed by Asher (*Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 22), or whether he developed an already existing garden left by the Lodis. Zayn Khān (*Ṭabaqāt-i Bāburī*, pp. 161–63) seems to confound this well with the one built in the Hasht Bihisht garden. It could, however, also be an error in the manuscript copy.
9. "Wa dar darūn-i ān balda qashrī mabni bar haft ṭabaqa pardākhta āyad. Wa dar aṭrāfi ān bāghāt u basātīn badā'i' ā'in irtifā' yābad"; Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāndamīr, *Qānūn-i Humāyūnī*, Pers. text, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusayn (Calcutta, 1940), p. 84; trans. Baini Prashad (Calcutta, 1940), p. 60. See also James L. Wescoat, Jr., "Gardens of Invention and Exile: The Precarious Context of Mughal Garden Design during the Reign of Humayun (1530–1556)," *Journal of Garden History* 10, 1 (1990): 106–16, in particular p. 109. That the fortress palace contained gardens, at least after Humayun retook it from the Surs in 1555, can be conjectured from a remark of the Jesuit Father Monserrate who described the Mughal Empire in the early 1580's. Monserrate says that Humayun fell to his death from the roof of his palace hall into a garden (*hortus*). See Father Anthony Monserrate S.J., *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, or The First Jesuit Mission to Akbar*, Latin text, ed. Rev. H. Hostens, S.J., in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 3/9 (1914): 561; Eng. trans. J.S. Hoyland and annotated by S.N. Banerjee, *Commentary of Father Monserrate* (London, 1922), p. 34.
10. See Ebba Koch, "Shah Jahan's Visits to Delhi prior to 1648: New Evidence of Ritual Movement in Urban Mughal India," *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies= Environmental Design*, 1991, no. 1–2, pp. 18–29; and, for the discussion of the topic in a wider context: eadem, "The Delhi of the Mughals prior to

- Shahjahanabad as Reflected in the Patterns of Imperial Visits," *Art and Culture: Felicitation Volume in Honour of Professor S. Nurul Hasan*, ed. Ahsan Jan Qaisar and Som Prakash Verma (Jaipur, 1993), in particular pp. 7–12.
11. For this and the following, see Koch, "Mughal Waterfront Garden" (see n. 6 above).
 12. Abu'l Fazl, *Akbar nāma*, vol. 2, Persian text, pp. 76–77; trans., pp. 117–18. For the further development of the riverfront garden scheme beginning at the end of the year 1560, see *ibid.*, Persian text, pp. 122–23, trans., pp. 187–88.
 13. Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, no. 126. The map, on cloth measuring 294×272 cm, inscribed in *devanāgarī* is so far the best document available on Mughal Agra. It was first published by Chandramani Singh, "Early 18th-Century Painted City Maps on Cloth," in *Facets of Indian Art*, ed. R. Skelton et al. (London, 1986), pp. 185–92, figs. 7, 8; and, with a color illustration, by Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: From the Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 200–1. I am grateful to the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum for the permission to photograph and publish the map and to Dr. B.M. Jawalia, Keeper of Manuscripts for assisting me in its reading.
 14. Useful general information on the Agra fort is in M. Ashraf Husain, *An Historical Guide to the Agra Fort Based on Contemporary Records* (Delhi, 1937). For a recent brief assessment and a plan based on new measurements, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich, 1991), pp. 53–55.
 15. Muḥammad ʿĀrif Qandahārī, *Tāʾrīkh-i Akbarī*, Pers. text, ed. S. Muʿin al-Dīn Nadwī, Azhar ʿAlī Dihlawī, and Imtiyāz ʿAlī ʿArshī (Rampur, 1382/1962), p. 144–49; trans. in *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook*, ed. Michael Brand and G.D. Lowry (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), pp. 290–95; cf. the somewhat loose translation by Tasneem Ahmad, *Tāʾrīkh-i Akbarī: An Annotated Translation with Introduction* (Delhi, 1993), pp. 180–84.
 16. R. Froude Tucker, "The Akbari Mahall in Agra Fort," in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report* (henceforth cited as *ASIR*) 1907–8, pp. 8–22; for the paved courtyard, see p. 12.
 17. A *ḥawz* (pool) with a lobed in-and-out pattern is sunk in the center of the U-shaped paved courtyard; it is linked by a narrow channel to a miniature pool, also lobed but in the shape of a bowl, in front of the arched niche of the northern wing of the courtyard. The plan referred to in note 14 is much reduced, but the pool and the channel can be made out below no. 4. See also William G. Klingelhofer, "The Jahangiri Mahal of the Agra Fort: Expression and Experience in Early Mughal Architecture," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 153–69, figs. 3, 14, 19; he does not, however, discuss these features. Below this "garden court" is a *tah khāna* (underground room) with another pool.
 18. "A fort of red stone was built on the bank of the Jamna, which like the palaces of abundant joy and the palaces of sublime paradise, obtained the order of status 'Gardens beneath which rivers flow'": Qandahārī, *Tāʾrīkh-i Akbarī*, Pers. text, p. 145–46; trans. Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, p. 292. The translation of Tasneem Ahmad (p. 181) gives only a shortened version.
 19. Qandahārī, Persian text, p. 147; trans. in Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, pp. 293. Similarly Montserrat (*Commentarius*, Latin text., pp. 561–62, trans. p. 34) compared the Agra fort to a great city which contained, in addition to the palace buildings, also "the mansions of his [Akbar's] nobles, the magazines, the treasury, the arsenal, the stable of the cavalry, and the shops and huts of drug-sellers, barbers, and all manner of common workmen." He does not mention any gardens.
 20. He mentions no palace gardens but says that *basātīn* and *bāghāt* were to be constructed at the periphery and center of the city; see Persian text, p. 150; trans. Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, p. 35. Montserrat (*Commentarius*, Latin text, pp. 560–61; trans., pp. 30–31) does not refer to any gardens in his description of Fatehpur Sikri, mentioning only the artificial lake at its north (now dried up) as the main recreational area.
 21. For Qandahārī the vaults of the palace of Fatehpur Sikri surpass the "*īwān-i hasht jannat* (palace [hall] of the eight paradises)" and on account of its upper stories it appears like paradise "on the brink of the precipice." Qandahārī, Persian text, pp. 151–52; trans. in Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, pp. 36–37. Qandahārī compares the palace also with the Kaʿba where Muhammad took up residence, text, p. 153; trans., p. 38.
 22. For plans and illustration, see Attilio Petruccioli, *Fathpur Sikri: la città del sole e delle acque* (Rome, 1988), pp. 126–33.
 23. For brief references to the gardens, see the seminal work on Fatehpur Sikri by Edmund W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, 4 vols. (1894–98; rpt. Delhi, 1985), 1: 28–29, pl. ci; 3: 45; S.A.A. Rizvi and Vincent J.A. Flynn, *Fathpur Sikri* (Bombay, 1975), pp. 41, 57. Scholars have perhaps refrained from discussing these gardens because it is not quite certain to what extent their present shape is the result of restorations by the Archaeological Survey of India which may have overemphasized the plantation components (see nn. 24, 26 below). Several areas of the palace such as the courts to the north and to the west of the Panch Mahal indicated on Smith's plan A in vol. 3 as a "quadrangle" have been planted since then.
 24. I have assumed in my analysis and in the newly prepared plan published here for the first time as fig. 3 that the restoration of the garden conformed largely to its original design. It is, however, possible that, as in the *zanāna* garden discussed below, more of its area was originally paved. Smith refers to the garden as belonging to "the house of the Turkish Sultana." The names under which the buildings of Fatehpur Sikri are generally known are largely derived, not from historical evidence, but from local traditions credulously introduced into the literature by Smith (*Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*). He refers to "the Turkish Sultana's Garden" briefly in vol. 3., on p. 45, without describing it. His plan on plate A indicates the area of the garden but none of its internal organization. It is possible that not much of the organization of the garden was visible by Smith's time. Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *A Guide to Fatehpur Sikri* (Delhi, 1937), p. 21, refers to it as "an open space which once formed a garden." Since all the plans of Fatehpur Sikri published subsequently were derived from Smith, they do not feature details of the garden either. See, for instance, Rizvi and Flynn, *Fathpur-Sikri*, plan opposite p. 23, where the garden is inscribed as Daulat Khana Garden (palace garden); cf. p. 41. The drawings of Attilio Petruccioli in *Fathpur Sikri*, which are based on new measurements, show the inner organization of the garden only on some of the plans of the palace (pp. 60, 128, 142) with several of its extant features omitted. He does not discuss the gardens.
 25. Smith, *Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, 1: 28–29, pl. ci (photograph), vol. 3, pl. B (plan). Rizvi and Flynn (*Fathpur Sikri*, p. 57, plan opposite p. 45) describe it as a "zenana garden". In these publications the garden features only on overall plans of larger areas of the palace; see also Petruccioli, plans on pp.

- 126, 128, 129, 142. Our fig. 5 presents the first detailed plan of the garden.
26. *Architecture of Fathpur Sikri*, 1: 28.
 27. Jahangir, *Tūzūk* (now called the *Jahāngīr nāma*) (henceforth cited as Jahangir), Pers. text., ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khān (Aligarh, 1864), p. 299; trans. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, 2 vols in one (1909–14; rpt. Delhi, 1968), 2: 145.
 28. Jahangir, Pers. text, p. 302; trans., 2: 150–51. Cf. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 124.
 29. It was a common practice of Jahangir and his favorite wife Nur Jahan to name or rename gardens, palaces, or caravanserais constructed or reconstructed by them with compound names containing the element "Nur" (light) of their *taqabs*, Nur al-Din and Nur Jahan; see Jahangir, 1: 269 ff.; 2: 75–76, 151 ff., 192, 226.
 30. It is not quite clear what Jahangir meant by *suffa*; it is not a term used by Shah Jahan's historians and poets, who are our prime source for Mughal architectural terminology. According to Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber (*The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* [Princeton N.J., 1988], pp. 73–74, 470), it refers in the Timurid context to an iwan (arched niche), or platform. On this point, see also Koch, "Delhi of the Mughals," p. 18, n. 62. In Shahjahani architectural terminology, a garden terrace would be a *martaba* and a platform a *chabūtra* or *kursī*.
 31. The assessment of the length of the Mughal *gaz* or *zirā* (spelled *dir*^a by Jahangir) is a thorny problem over which much ink has been spilled. For the most recent assessment, see Peter Alford Andrews, "Misaha: 2. Muslim India" in *EI*, 2nd ed., 7: 138–40, with further literature. One of the reasons why it has been so difficult to come to definite conclusions seems to be that modern scholars base their efforts at reconstruction on the assumption that the *gaz* was used with great precision, whereas in fact craftsmen appear to have been more generous. The two *gaz* lengths most commonly used in the imperial architecture of the Mughals were 83.36 cm or 32.82 inches, and, in the period of Shah Jahan, 81–82 cm, ideally 81.28 cm, or 32 inches. The platform in the garden was thus probably either ca. 26.67 m or 26 m square; see also n. 66 below.
 32. Jahangir, text, pp. 302, 308, trans. 2: 150–51, 161–62.
 33. See e.g., Attilio Petruccioli, "Gardens and Religious Topography in Kashmir," *Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies = Environmental Design*, 1991, no. 1, pp. 66, 73 n. 4; he publishes a plan (undated? 18th century?) of Srinagar in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, cat. no. 120, which includes a free view of the Hari Parbat and its buildings.
 34. The traces of painted floral motifs and scrolls are mainly preserved on the lower part of the walls of the interior of the central room of the building. Above the dado remain a few wall niches arranged in several registers. Those in the register just above the dado zone have a shouldered arched profile; the upper registers include niches with multilobed arched profiles. This form of wall decoration was common in Jahangir's time. Before I discovered the traces of the paintings in March 1986 I had also assumed that Jahangir's garden and its building did not survive. See Ebba Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels: Recently Discovered Wallpaintings under European Influence in the Fort of Lahore," *India and the West*, Proceedings of a seminar dedicated to the memory of Hermann Goetz, *South Asian Studies* 15, ed. Joachim Deppert (Delhi, 1983), p. 192, n. 63.
 35. Jahangir, text, pp. 306–7; trans. 2: 159.
 36. My translation of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawri, *Bādshāh nāma*, Pers. text, ed. Kabīr al-Dīn Aḥmad and 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Calcutta, 1866–72) [henceforth quoted as Lāhawri], vol. 1, 2, p. 26 (the last sentence reflects the imperial propaganda discussed at the end of this article). The other historians of Shah Jahan's reign make similar statements: "Another garden is the Nūr Afzā of the exalted *dawlat khāna* which on account of the purity of its view and its beautiful appearance has hardly an equal on the face of the earth. . . . This object of the beautiful sight [of the emperor] received earlier and greater attention by the Lord of the seven regions, than all the other aims of his generosity." My translation of Jalāl al-Dīn Ṭabāṭaba'ī, *Pādshāh nāma*, BL, Pers. ms. Or. 1676, fol. 94a; see also Kanbō, 'Amal-i Šāhīh, 2: 30.
 37. Lāhawri, 2: 191–92. The previous day Shah Jahan had feasted his eyes on a red rosebush (*bōta-i gul-i surkh*) in the Farah Bakhsh garden of the Shalimar gardens on which there were counted no less than 4,500 flowers and buds! Cf. 'Ināyat Khān, *Shāh Jahān Nāma*, trans. A.R. Fuller, rev. and ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai (New Delhi, 1990), p. 268.
 38. For the Mughal adoption of the Indian practice of *gharōha-i darshan*, see most recently Catherine B. Asher, "Sub-Imperial Palaces: Power and Authority in Mughal India," and Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," both in Gülrü Necipoğlu, ed., *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces*, special issue of *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), in particular pp. 282–83, 314–16.
 39. Lāhawri, vol. 1, 2, pp. 26–27.
 40. It is difficult to bring Finch's description of the Lahore fort in line with the existing buildings, because the alterations made afterwards by Jahangir himself, by Shah Jahan, and by later builders have changed its architecture since Finch saw it. It is, however, quite possible that he is referring to Jahangir's Quadrangle when he speaks of "another moholl [female palace], . . . contrived into sixteen severall great lodgings [in the courtyard wings?]. . . . In the midst stands a goodly gallery for the King to sit in [not preserved; was this Jahangir's Khwabgah replaced with that built by Shah Jahan in the middle of the riverfront, as discussed below?]. . . . Before this gallery [towards the river?] is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windows amongst the waters side; at the end [what might refer to the eastern part of the waterfront] a fair marble jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the river; beneath it a garden of pleasure"; "William Finch 1608–11," in *Early Travels in India: 1583–1619*, ed. William Foster (1921; rpt. New Delhi, 1985), p. 164. Finch's "jounter" seems to be a corruption of *chhatrī* (small kiosk) (see *ibid.*, p. 158, n. 2); "convexed over-head" refers to domes; what he means here is perhaps a *bangla*, a distinct type of Mughal imperial pavilion with the characteristic curved roof derived from a vernacular Bengali form. In Mughal architectural terminology the term *bangla* is applied to the roof or vault with the characteristic shape, as well as to a pavilion with a *bangla* roof. The role these *bangla* pavilions played in the context of palace gardens is discussed below. See also Ebba Koch, "The Baluster Column — A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 254. If Finch's use of the term "jounter" did indeed refer to a *bangla* pavilion, it would mean that the *bangla* of Jahangir's Quadrangle dates from Jahangir's reign and that thus it appears earlier in permanent form in the Mughal palace than is generally believed. So far it

had been assumed that the *bangla* pavilion was used in tent form in Jahangiri palaces and that it was replaced in Shah Jahan's reign by its stone version. For the tent form, see the miniature of Jahangir in the Jharoka in the collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (most recently reproduced by Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze," p. 339, fig. 23. Recently Ilay Cooper ("Sikhs, Saints and Shadows of Angels: Some Mughal Murals in Buildings along the North Wall of Lahore Fort," *South Asian Studies* 9 [1993]: 20–28) has also suggested that (at least the main body of) the *bangla* pavilion (informed by the local guides, he calls it Sedari) of Jahangir's Quadrangle should be dated into Jahangir's time, on account of its wall paintings which — typically in Jahangiri palace decoration — copy Christian subjects.

41. Jahangir (Pers. text, pp. 162–63) refers to the garden as "*bāgh pā'īn-i jharōka-i darshan*"; cf. trans. 1: 332. By putting up statues there — a rather striking gesture for a Muslim ruler — Jahangir celebrated his triumph over the rana of Mewar whose stone image was in permanent attendance before the emperor below the Jharoka-i Darshan, for all to see. It seems that Jahangir was inspired here by Akbar who, according to Monserrate (*Commentary*, text. p. 562, trans. p. 35), had put up at a gate of the Agra fort life-size statues of vanquished Rajput chiefs on elephants.
42. "From this court is his privy passage into a curious garden, and to his bargé, by which he often passeth the river to an other garden opposite" (Finch in *Early Travels*, p. 185). The garden "at the foot of the Jharoka-i Darshan (*chaman pāy-i jharōka-i darshan*)" is still mentioned by Shah Jahan's historian Lāhawri in 1637 (vol. 1, 2, pp. 238–39).
43. Ebba Koch, "Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan) at Agra," in *Facets of Indian Art*, ed. R. Skelton et al. (London, 1986), pp. 51–65; a detailed plan of the terrace with the buildings is on p. 52.
44. Ebba Koch, "The Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara) at Agra," *Environmental Design*, 1986, no. 2, pp. 30–37; for a sketch plan, see p. 36. In the seventeenth-century Mughal context, to bequeath a large formal garden to one's children was an imperial prerogative, exceptionally extended only to a member of the imperial family and the nobility. The Muslim nobles in particular were subjected to significant limits in their rights to own heritable property, bequeath property to their heirs, or endow *awqaf*. Gardens generally reverted to the crown unless their owners had converted them into tomb gardens.
45. I come back here in this context to some points I discussed in "The Mughal Waterfront Garden" (see above n. 6), which includes several examples of plans.
46. Koch, "Waterfront Garden," includes a detailed discussion of how the waterfront formula was employed for the planning of the entire Taj complex.
47. That means for a palace garden; Kanbō, *Bahār-i sukhan*, BL, Pers. ms, Or. 178, fol. 256a.
48. Lāhawri, vol. 1, 2, pp. 240–41, trans. Nur Bakhsh, "The Agra Fort and Its Buildings," pp. 180–81. For the situation of the garden within the palace context, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, fig. 36/5. I examined the area of the Anguri Bagh thoroughly, but without excavating there is no way to ascertain whether "the new manner" of the Anguri Bagh was indeed new or followed an already existing layout from an earlier construction phase of the Agra fort. The Akbari Mahal, an earlier *zanāna* complex (see n. 16 above), had anticipated the water-front scheme to a certain extent in the form of a courtyard building with a deeper wing on the river side. Similarly, the courtyard of the so-called Machchhi Bhawan has a deeper wing on the river side; we do not know if there was a garden before Shah Jahan reconstructed it. In Shah Jahan's time the Machchhi Bhawan was referred to as the *sahn* (court) of the Dawlat Khana-i Khass (hall of private audiences) and then it certainly had no garden, as many, such as Crowe et alii claim (*The Gardens of Mughal India*, pp. 162–64). The emperor would view his hunting animals such as his hounds, hawks, and cheetahs in this court, and watch his horses working out; see Lāhawri, vol. 1, 1, p. 149, trans. Nur Bakhsh, "The Agra Fort and Its Buildings," in *ASIAR*, 1903–4, p. 191.
49. See also the discussion in n. 40 above.
50. Kanbō, *Amal-i Sālīh*, 2: 6–7. For trans. see Nur Bakhsh, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings," in *ASIAR*, 1902–3, pp. 223–24, where the date is calculated inexactly to 1633. Kanbō does not say where the Khwabagh was situated, but since Jahangir's Quadrangle is conceptually identical to the Anguri Bagh, which was built around the same time, it is safe to assume that the building in the center of its terrace was the Khwabagh, built anew by Shah Jahan. It was altered in later times, but preserves some of its original Shahjahani interior decoration. Our reading is supported by the fact that the building is also identified as "Khwabagh" or "Big Khwabagh" on nineteenth-century representations of the Lahore fort (figs. 10, 13), for which see also n. 53 below. For a new overall plan of the fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, fig. 93.
51. See n. 40 above.
52. For further illustrations, see F.S. Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views of the 19th Century* (Ahmedabad, 1991), pl. on p. 25, pls. 13, 15.
53. The plantings in the garden today differ from those in its representation on the nineteenth-century plan kept in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Lahore Fort, reproduced on our fig. 10 on which the planted beds (*chamans*) are confined to the four that form a square around the central tank. The plan is dated 1894, but is based on an older drawing showing the fort buildings in the time of Ranjit Singh. The 1894 plan was published by Major Henry Hardy Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments. India: Buildings in the Punjab* (Sarai at Nur Mahal; plan of Lahore Fort, Shalimar Bagh) (1884); its Persian and Urdu inscriptions inform us about the use of the palace in the time of the Sikhs (1767–1846). For the British reconstruction of the garden, see the report of H. Hargreaves in *ASIAR*, 1925–26, p. 18, pls. iii c and d. The planting of Jahangir's Quadrangle today extends also into the fields on both sides of the central *chār bāgh* so that the planted area now conforms to the oblong shape of the courtyard (compare our figs. 10 and 12); the outline of the square *chār bāgh* is indicated by the *khiyābān* surrounding the *chamans* around the central pool. The *chār bāgh* in a rectangular court perhaps represents the attempt of 1634 to enrich the already existing residential courtyard of Jahangir's time (see n. 40 above) with a garden.
54. Lāhawri, 2: 414. Cf. Nur Bakhsh, "Lahore Fort," p. 224, where the date is inexactly calculated to 1644. On the 1894 plan the building is inscribed as Khwabagh, indicating its use in the Sikh period.
55. Lāhawri, 1, 1, p. 223; Nur Bakhsh, "Lahore Fort," pp. 221–23;

- for a plan, see pl. xxxiii. The 1894 plan designates the complex as "Samman (= Muthamman) Burj," which means "octagonal tower," a reference to its northern wing projecting as a half-octagon from the outer fort wall.
56. For a detailed new plan of the Shah Burj, see James L. Westcoat, "L'acqua nei giardini islamici: religione, rappresentazione e realtà," *Il Giardino islamico: architettura, natura, paesaggio*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Milan, 1994), p. 122.
 57. Lāhawri, vol. 1, 1, pp. 150–51, 153; trans. Nur Bakhsh, "Agra Fort," pp. 191–93; cf. Koch, "Baluster Column," p. 259.
 58. Reliable general information on the Red Fort of Delhi based on contemporary texts is provided by Gordon Sanderson, *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort* (1914; rpt. Delhi, 1937). For recent treatments, see Peter Andrews, "Mahall," *EI*, 2nd ed., 5: 1219–20; Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 109–13, with a new plan showing its present state; and Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, pp. 192–200.
 59. The *muthamman baghdādī* ("Baghdadian octagon") was a favorite Mughal plan in the shape of a square or rectangle with corners chamfered to form an irregular octagon. Its attraction seems to have been that it could be read both as an octagon and as a square. See Ebba Koch, "Muthamman," *EI*, 2nd ed., 7: 795–96.
 60. The reference is to the legendary Iram at Aden built by King Shaddad ibn 'Ad as a terrestrial paradise. See W. Montgomery Watt, "Iram," *EI*, 2nd ed., 3: 1270; John Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image: Themes in Literature and the Visual Arts* (Columbia, S.C., 1993), pp. 167–68. It was a favorite of Persian authors for eulogistic comparisons.
 61. Literally "small garden." The term is here obviously used for a garden as a component of the waterfront-garden formula.
 62. Kanbō, *'Amal-i Šālih*, 3: 26; a typical example of Kanbō's labored style; he is, however, an indispensable source for the historian in search of meaning.
 63. For a detailed discussion, see Koch, "Waterfront Garden."
 64. Kanbō, *'Amal-i Šālih*, 3: 26.
 65. The best description is provided by the official historian of Shah Jahan's later reign, Muḥammad Wārith. *Bādshāh nāma*, BL, Pers. ms., Add. 6556, fols. 386a ff. I have used the unpublished transcript prepared by S.M. Yunus Jaffery (pp. 36 ff.). Dr. Jaffery's transcript served also as the basis for the forthcoming edition of the *Bādshāh nāma* of Wārith by Wayne Begley and Z.A. Desai. Kanbō's description (*'Amal-i Šālih*, 3: 22–36) contains less factual information and more panegyric, helpful for establishing contemporary interpretations.
 66. For the length of the Shahjahani *gaz* used for architecture, see n. 31 above. In the Shahjahani texts the term *gaz* is used interchangeably with *zirā'*; for simplicity's sake I have used the term *gaz* throughout. Wārith and Kanbō both say that the garden was 250 × 225 *gaz*; since the actual measurement of the garden is 182.85 × 183.11m, which according to Mughal standards of accuracy in built architecture equals 225 × 225 *gaz* (182.88 × 182.88m, when the *gaz* is taken to be 81.28cm), it becomes clear that the longer measurement of the texts is the east-west measurement and that it is meant to include the depth of the terrace. This should in fact give us a figure of 251 *gaz* since the terrace is 26 *gaz* (21.13m) deep.
 67. "Bāghī dīgar . . . ba ashjār-i athmār" (Wārith, fol. 389a, Jaffery transcript, p. 45).
 68. "Dar wasa'at-i in bāgh 'imārati-st az sang-i surkh . . ." (Wārith, fol. 389a, Jaffery transcript, p. 45). The India Office Library map (see n. 69 below) and the plan of the Delhi fort in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, 137 × 64cm (cat. no. 122) (our fig. 17) which is dated by Gole (*Indian Maps and Plans*, p. 176) to about the middle of the eighteenth century, however, show this garden laid out according to the waterfront-garden formula with the building on its terrace to the north of a four-part garden. The garden was perhaps reconstructed at a later date.
 69. On my plan reproduced as fig. 16, I have only indicated the gardens mentioned by Shah Jahan's historians. The large India Office Library map of Delhi (BL, India Office Records X, 1659) shows many more gardens; so does the plan in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur (cat. no. 122) (fig. 17). The India Office map has now been fully (and attractively) published in *Shahjahanabad — Old Delhi: Tradition and Colonial Change*, ed. Eckhart Ehlers und Thomas Krafft, *Erkundliches Wissen* 111 (Stuttgart, 1993). The map served also as a base for the drawings of Attilio Petruccioli published with A. Terranova in "Modelli culturali nell' impianto e nelle trasformazioni di Old Delhi," *Storia della città*, 31–32 (1984): 123–44.
 70. For a plan of the present state of the Red Fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, fig. 127. I am now working on a detailed reconstruction of the Bagh-i Hayat Bakhsh of which I present here the preliminary results.
 71. See n. 65 above.
 72. See also nn. 68, 69. The view of the Hayat Bakhsh garden in a 19th-century manuscript copy of Kanbō, *'Amal-i Šālih*, BL, Pers. ms. Or. 2157, fol. 732a (our fig. 19) has been wrongly identified by N. Titley as the Diwan-i Khass, the hall of private audiences of the Shahjahanabad palace (*Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum*) cat. no. 282, 13, p. 128.
 73. Gordon Sanderson, "The Shah Burj, Delhi Fort," *ASIAR*, 1909–10, pp. 25–32, describes the pavilion and its restoration which included a reconstruction of the central *ābshār* (waterfall). He interprets the pavilion as being part of the Shah Burj.
 74. The artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries who depicted the riverfront were uneasy with this shift of axis: they showed the longer side of the northern *bangla* next to the Shah Burj with its characteristic curved roof turned at an awkward angle towards the riverfront (figs. 18, 19).
 75. Koch, "Baluster Column," pp. 252, 259; I was followed here by Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, p. 196. The no-longer-extant southern *bangla* was aligned to the imperial hammam on the opposite side of the central building.
 76. I am here developing thoughts first expressed in "The Baluster Column," where I also define the term and the shape of the column.
 77. Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi*, (Graz, 1988), in particular pp. 13–14, pl. 1, 2, 4, figs. 2 and 2a.
 78. For the introduction of the Italian *pietre dure* technique into Mughal court art and its creative adaption as *parchin kari*, see Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, in particular p. 39, n. 24; and eadem, "Pietre Dure and Other Artistic Contacts between the Court of the Mughals and That of the Medici," *A Mirror of Princes: The Mughals and the Medici*, ed. D. Jones (Bombay, 1987) pp. 29–56.
 79. This represents the culmination of a trend in Shahjahani

- architectural decoration which was also conceived as an orthodox reaction against the figural taste of Shah Jahan's father Jahangir. On this point, see Koch, "Jahangir and the Angels" (cited above, n. 34), in particular p. 186.
80. I.e., Spring is an inferior artisan when compared to the painters and artists of the emperor.
 81. Wārith, fol. 388b, Jaffery, transcript, p. 43.
 82. Kanbō, *ʿAmal-i Šālih*, p. 31. Kanbo quotes here, without acknowledgment, from Kalim's eulogy on the building in the garden of Jahanara at Agra, see Koch, "The Zahara Bagh," n. 44 above, p. 34.
 83. "*Bāgh-i Hayāt Bakhsh ka dar manāzil chūn ruh dar badan ast.*" The inscription is found on the southern and northern arches of the Khwabgah; for its full translation, see Sanderson, *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens*, pp. 36–37. The inscription is also quoted by Wārith, fol. 390a, Jaffery transcript p. 47.
 84. See n. 4 above.
 85. See Kanbō, *ʿAmal-i Šālih*, 3: 29 et passim.
 86. Kanbō, *ʿAmal-i Šālih*, 3: 28.
 87. See Kanbō, *ʿAmal-i Šālih*, 3: 28; Wārith, fol. 389a, Jaffery, transcript, p. 44. For a discussion of Iram and Khwarnaq in Islamic literary tradition, see Renard, *Islam and the Heroic Image*, n. 60 above and pp. 174–75.
 88. See Wārith, n. 81 above.
 89. This means until the end of the second millennium. The halls of the Shah Burj are now visited every day by thousands of uneducated and unsupervised tourists who disfigure the marble by writings on it with felt pens and similar undelible utensils.
 90. Cf. Koch "Baluster Column," p. 258.
 91. "*Bahār-i gulstān ʿadl u karam.*" Hājī Muḥammad Jān Qudsī, *Zafar nāma-i Shāh Jahān*, BL, Pers. ms, Ethé 1552, fol. 129a.
 92. Kanbō, *ʿAmal-i Šālih*, 3: 24. On this point, see also Annemarie Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam," *Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture* 4, ed. Elisabeth B. Mac Dougall and R.E. Ettinghausen (Washington, D.C., 1976), p. 20.
 93. On the architectural level this imperial propaganda was realized to an astonishing degree. The use of plant vocabulary as a symbol of rulership, at first a prerogative only of the Mughal emperor, was later adopted by the regional courts of the successor states of the Mughal Empire and eventually became the most widely used idiom in all types of Indian architecture (Koch, "Baluster Column," p. 262; and eadem, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 132–33).