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SUB-IMPERIAL PALACES: POWER AND AUTHORITY IN MUGHAL INDIA

BY CATHERINE B. ASHER

THE MUGHAL EMPIRE (1526–1858) AT ITS HEIGHT WAS one of the largest centralized states that ever existed before modern times, considerably surpassing in wealth its Ottoman and Safavid rivals. Yet only a quarter of its subjects were Muslim, and therefore the Mughal rulers realized that, although they were the highest authority, any successful relationship with their largely Hindu subjects rested on carefully balanced yet constantly fluctuating relationships between the ruler and the nobles responsible for maintaining imperial authority throughout the hinterlands. Vital to the flow of Mughal power as well as the execution of justice were its palaces, both imperial and sub-imperial.¹

Under no other Islamic dynasty do we see such widespread construction of imperial palaces. They were built most extensively under the first five Mughal emperors, that is from 1526 to 1658, the apex of Mughal culture, economy, and stability. But palace construction continued, though not so extensively, to the time of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah II (1837–58), a sufi and poet.² Known by his *lagab*, Zafar, he built his palace, the Zafar Mahal, just south of the walled city of Delhi, called Shahjahanabad since the mid-seventeenth century. It is not on the edge of water, the normal location for a Mughal palace, but at the *dargāh* (shrine) of the Chishti saint Bakhtiyar Kaki.³

For Bahadur Shah, the palace setting was critical, as it had been for his predecessors. Its proximity to Bakhtiyar Kaki's Chishti shrine reflects earlier Mughal tradition. The establishment of Fatehpur Sikri, commenced in 1571 by Akbar (1556–1605) at the khanaqah of another Chishti saint, Shaykh Salim, is well known.⁴ Similarly the lakeside palace of Jahangir (1605–27) and Shah Jahan (1628–58) on the Ana Sagar in Ajmer serves as a royal link with India's premier Chishti *dargāh*, that of Mu'in al-Din, in the town.⁵ In Delhi the Din-Panah of Humayun (1530–40; 1555–56) was adjacent to the Chishti shrine of Nizam al-Din Auliya; it was furthermore on the site of Indraprashtra,⁶ associated with the epic *Mahabharata*, thus linking the Mughals with both religious authority and an ancient pre-Islamic Indian past.

The settings of other Mughal palaces were intended as metaphors of control. The gardens of the first Mughal ruler Babur (1526–30) served as his palaces; they symbolized his ability to hold and mold unruly Hindustan.⁷ It is no surprise, then, that one was located at the site of his victory over the last independent sultan of Delhi.⁸ The fort of the third Mughal, Akbar, in Agra was identified in official chronicles with the "center of Hindustan,"⁹ recalling the Abbasid caliph al-Mansur's conception of Baghdad. The fifth Mughal ruler, Shah Jahan, claiming that the streets of Agra were too narrow for imperial processions, moved the Mughal capital to Delhi,¹⁰ returning it to the seat of Islamic conquest. The Allahabad fort, established by Akbar to protect his eastern hinterlands in 1583,¹¹ was positioned to overlook India's most sacred site, the Tribeni, where the Jumna, Ganges, and the invisible Saraswati rivers meet. Abu al-Fazl, Akbar's confidant and chronicler, calls it the king of shrines¹² for India's Hindu population, the majority of Akbar's subjects. The fort is clearly a statement of Mughal authority over earlier traditions and thus at the same time a link with the past.

Site significance aside, where within these general sites were the major Mughal palaces constructed? Following Timurid precedent, we might expect palaces to be on the outskirts of the cities. For example, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo's description of Timur's palaces in Samarcand clearly indicates that they were away from populated areas.¹³ Yet most Mughal palaces are on the edge of a river or lake and at the same time in the heart of the city.

While in pre-Mughal India palaces were always within fortified citadels, Timurid palaces rarely were.¹⁴ The Mughals adapted this earlier Indian tradition for their administrative palaces, rejecting that of their Timurid ancestors, in part because the palaces' central location demanded a solution to privacy. Fortifications assured this privacy and, in addition, provided protection needed particularly during Akbar's reign, when Mughal territory was undergoing rapid consolidation. Yet imperial palaces continued to be fortified during subsequent reigns, when the

Mughal empire was considerably more stable, aside from occasional internecine struggles for the throne. Shah Jahan's residence in Shahjahanabad, known popularly as the Delhi Red Fort, is but one among many examples of subsequent fortified imperial palaces.¹⁵ Abu al-Fazl, who during Akbar's reign had formulated much of the theoretical basis of Mughal kingship, had noted that the construction of mighty fortresses is for worldly power.¹⁶ Shah Jahan and other Mughal emperors obviously recognized this.

Mughal fortified palaces are designed as a series of walled quadrangular units often with gardens.¹⁷ This follows Timurid precedents where palaces were set in garden compounds.¹⁸ As might be expected in the mature Mughal palace—for example, those of Shah Jahan in the Agra, Delhi, and Lahore forts—movement is from public to increasingly private areas. The palace's compounds and pavilions on the side overlooking water are reserved for the emperor and his family, as for example in the imperial quarters of Shah Jahan, known today as the Khass Mahal, and that of his daughter, Jahanara, both at the Agra fort.¹⁹ Such an arrangement seems to have been established with Akbar's initial structures in the Agra fort.²⁰ The sole exception appears to be at Fatehpur Sikri, where the terrain possibly forced a new and never again repeated configuration.²¹ The placement of imperial structures overlooking water, generally a river, is an arrangement influential in the design of sub-imperial palaces as well.

To what extent does royal ceremony affect the layout of the Mughal palace, the design of its buildings, and even the materials used? Akbar's sense of ceremony was innovative and fluid, suggesting that many rooms had a variety of functions.²² This is in keeping with our understanding of chambers in many Islamic palaces, and in part explains why the magnificently carved so-called Turkish Sultana's palace or even the so-called Diwan-i Khass, both of them at Fatehpur Sikri, are so difficult to place in categories.²³ By Shah Jahan's time, court ceremony had become formal and rigid with certain events transacted in fixed locales and at fixed times.²⁴ Concomitant with this is the generally similar organization of Shah Jahan's palace-forts at Agra, Delhi, and Lahore where there is a high degree of uniformity in the layout and appearance of similar building types. For example, the Chihil Sutun (public audience hall) at each of these palaces has a common plan and elevation; even the materials used are consistent.²⁵

Perhaps what makes Mughal ceremony

different from that of the contemporary Ottomans and Safavids is the formal presentation of the emperor to his subjects and nobles (fig. 1).²⁶ The Mughal ruler was charged with the execution of justice, a concept based on well-established Perso-Islamic traditions, but to this was added the Indian concept of kingship identifying the ruler as a father to his subjects.²⁷ Abu al-Fazl, who developed for Mughal court ceremony the practice of presentation, conflated the Islamic notion that kings should be accessible to their subjects with the Hindu practice of *darshan*, that is, beholding.²⁸ The practice of *darshan* in the royal context derives from a religious concept in which beholding a deity's image imparts auspicious blessing to the beholder. Hindu kingship extended *darshan* to the monarch. Since the Mughals believed themselves semi-divine, the adaptation of *darshan* in their own court ceremony with all its connotations—secular and sacred—was intentional.²⁹ Underscoring the religious aspect of this ritual were devotees, known as *darshaniyya* or *darshani*; they offered prayers for the emperor's health and safety, and many would fast until they had gazed upon the emperor's face.³⁰ The practice of imperial *darshan* to the public was maintained until the reign of Aurangzeb (1658–1707), the most orthodox of all the Mughal rulers. Offended by its Hindu origins, he banned the practice.³¹

We know little about *darshan* as enacted by Hindu rulers before Akbar's time. We do not know where it was performed nor do we have details of the ceremony surrounding it, although we know a great deal about the *darshan* of a deity as represented by an image in the sanctum of a temple (*garba griha*).³² The imperial Mughal practice of *darshan* is, however, well documented by chroniclers—both Mughal writers and foreign travelers—and by material remains at the palace sites. The Mughal rulers presented themselves in two ways. One was a truly public presentation that anyone could attend, that is, through a window, *jharōka-i darshan*, opening to the outside of the palace (fig. 2). The Mughal palace, therefore, had to be in the heart of the city, so the emperor's subjects could attend the ceremony. Illustrations depicting this ritual under Jahangir and Shah Jahan survive, although it is the nobility, not the Hindu masses, who are shown beneath the imperial *jharōka* (fig. 1; see Necipoğlu, fig. 23).³³ The earliest surviving *jharōka-i darshan* is at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 3).³⁴ It consists of an overhanging balcony probably derived from the small projecting windows that abound on earlier Rajput palaces,

although there they appear to be functional, not ritual, features.³⁵ At Fatehpur Sikri the *jharōka* is aligned with Akbar's sleeping chamber and with his private audience hall.³⁶ Because Akbar's personal quarters at Fatehpur Sikri—an architectural extension of himself—are centrally situated between the *jharōka* and his private audience hall, his role as the dispenser of justice is visually underscored.

The second type of *jharōka* was situated in the public audience hall, where most of the nobility was admitted. This type, the one at which the emperor presented himself to nobles, was larger than the *jharōka-i darshan*. The earliest known is Akbar's *jharōka* in his public audience hall at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 4).³⁷ Under Shah Jahan this type of *jharōka* evolves rapidly. The most elaborate is the one in the public audience hall of his Shahjahanabad palace (fig. 5; see Necipoğlu, figs. 21–22 [6], 25).³⁸ This white marble throne was covered with a sloping *bangala* roof or balda-chin supported by four baluster columns; its elements are borrowed from Western regal and religious iconography.³⁹

Other features of imperial palaces also take on iconographic significance. For example, Koch argues that in Shah Jahan's period, the use of the baluster column and *bangala* roof on the *jharōka* in the public audience hall of Shah Jahan's Delhi palace is a highly conscious projection of Solomonic imagery.⁴⁰ In Akbar's time as well, particularly at Fatehpur Sikri, the widespread use of forms and motifs that earlier had been used commonly on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muslim and Hindu structures can be linked with the efforts he was making to encourage a more active role for Indians, especially Indian Muslims, in his administration.⁴¹ These forms do not necessarily carry the same meaning in sub-imperial architecture. For example, in Shah Jahan's reign we do not see the baluster column, an imperial perquisite, in sub-imperial buildings. It is not yet clear whether there was an iconography of formal elements developed on a sub-imperial level.

We tend to associate Akbar's palaces with red sandstone and Shah Jahan's with white marble. This represents much more than a simple change of taste in the years between these two monarchs. At the time of Akbar, with the exception of his private audience hall in the Agra fort, white marble was reserved for saints' tombs, for example those of Mu'in al-Din Chishti in Ajmer and Shaykh Salim Chishti (1580–81) at Fatehpur Sikri (fig. 6).⁴² Following Akbar's reign, marble is

increasingly found on the tombs of the royal family. For example, it forms the top floor of Akbar's tomb in Sikandra, dated 1612–14, but by 1626–27 when the queen Nur Jahan constructed her parents' tomb in Agra, better known as the tomb of I'timad al-Daula, most of the façade is inlaid marble.⁴³ Then starting in Jahangir's reign marble increasingly is used for palaces.⁴⁴ But where it is predominantly used has strict limits even in Shah Jahan's reign. White marble is the medium of his thrones and structures along the waterfront reserved for imperial use such as his private audience halls (Daulat Khana-i Khass) in the Delhi and Agra forts. But marble is not used for the Chihil Sutun (public audience hall), the area where the nobility stood to view the emperor enthroned in his marble *jharōka*. There the columns are sandstone, albeit faced with burnished plaster resembling marble. Similarly on Shah Jahan's public mosques marble is restricted to trim or to the qibla wall, but it is the sole fabric only of mosques reserved for imperial use or associated with the Chishti.⁴⁵ Thus marble in Mughal palaces helps blur the lines between ruler and the divine.

By contrast to the imperial palace, we have considerably less information on the sub-imperial palace, that is, the dwellings of *subadārs* (governors), jagirdars (landholders), and zamindars (petty chieftains). Although the residences of *subadārs* were erected in every province, the best preserved are in eastern India. These palaces range from Akbar's time through the early eighteenth century, the period when most imperial palaces were constructed. Three Akbar-period palaces survive in various degrees of completeness. Two of them were palaces of Mun'im Khan, one at Jaunpur about sixty kilometers north of Varanasi, the other at Chunar, about twenty-five kilometers west of Varanasi.

Jaunpur earlier had been a leading intellectual center in northern India during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries under the Sharqi dynasty and the site of an impressive fortress. The Mughals, aware of the importance of maintaining high visibility in eastern India, gave Jaunpur prime military importance until the Bihar Gangetic valley fell to the Mughals later in Akbar's reign. In 1567 Akbar gave Jaunpur as his jagir to his vakil, Mun'im Khan Khan-i Khanan.⁴⁶ His tenure in Jaunpur and the extensive surrounding territory, including Chunar, lasted until his death in 1575.

Mun'im Khan, in response to an earlier imperial order, built a great deal in Jaunpur, including

his famed bridge, and encouraged others to build there as well.⁴⁷ The evidence, however, is primarily written since virtually nothing remains of his palace in the fort except a large hammam (fig. 7) and a pavilion known as the Hawalat.⁴⁸ The palace was destroyed after the uprising of 1857 out of exaggerated concern for the safety of British civilians.⁴⁹ In addition to the extant hammam and Hawalat, we know about a now-demolished pavilion that once formed part of Mun'im Khan's Jaunpur palace. It was described and drawn by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European travelers.⁵⁰

The palace is located in the fort at the center of the city, adhering to the placement of imperial Mughal palaces. The fortified walls were modified only slightly and a local-style gate was added on the east.⁵¹ The walls surrounding the imperial palaces, however, have been completely rebuilt. For example, in 1565, only two years before Mun'im Khan became the jagirdar of Jaunpur, Akbar had reconstructed the Agra fort with uniformly bonded Sikri sandstone.⁵² This medium for the walls of fortified palaces was to become an imperial trademark in the Delhi Doab, as seen, for example, in Akbar's Allahabad fort (1583) and Shah Jahan's Delhi fort inaugurated in 1648.

Although the fort walls maintained a local character, Mun'im Khan's palace pavilion and hammam follow imperial taste. The pavilion is situated on the fort's pinnacle and commanded a sweeping view of the river.⁵³ Hodges's eighteenth-century lithograph (fig. 8) indicates that the Jaunpur pavilion was visible from below, a symbol of Mughal presence in lieu of a former Sharqi one. Although nothing remains of the rest of the palace, its location, overlooking the river, suggests that it was intended for the governor's use.

The hammam dominating the fort's interior may give clues to the palace's ceremonial function. Even though no free-standing pavilion remains, the bath's sheer size, close to that of some at Fatehpur Sikri,⁵⁴ indicates that it was a focal feature of the fort. Indeed it is larger than the nearby fourteenth-century mosque which it purportedly served. It is, moreover, the earliest hammam known in eastern India. Its interior vaulting (fig. 9) and exterior form reveal a close relation to the surviving Mughal hammams at Fatehpur Sikri which must have been built about the same time. The Jaunpur hammam's appearance in the easternmost hinterlands early in Akbar's reign indicates a rapid spread of technology and imperial taste, here echoed in a sub-imperial palace setting.

The bath's prominent position and size suggest that the hammam served as a council chamber. Babur had used gardens and their baths to counter the heat and aridity of the Indian plains; ultimately they served as a metaphor for his ability to rule.⁵⁵ Can we by extension interpret the presence of this disproportionately large hammam, at the time of its construction a sign of technological innovation, as a symbol of Mughal authority in this easternmost hinterland? Bolstering this suggestion is Mun'im Khan's bridge at the fort's base, considered even two centuries after its construction by both Mughal and British writers as one of the great achievements of the empire.⁵⁶ We might argue that in lieu of particular formal elements or materials to create an iconography of power, here Mun'im Khan has used technology as the voice of authority.

Mun'im Khan's Chunar residence appears to have had much in common with the one he built at Jaunpur.⁵⁷ He built a bath there, though it cannot be examined today because this part of the fort is in a military zone.⁵⁸ We might, however, speculate that he built it for the same reason he built one at Jaunpur. Similarly he built a pavilion overlooking the Ganges. Adhering strongly to an early Mughal idiom, its riverfront façade consists of a pillared veranda, recalling both Central Asian buildings and those Mughal structures inspired by Central Asian prototypes.⁵⁹

We have no record indicating who used this sub-imperial structure or even, in fact, its precise function. Nor do we know if it properly can be considered a palace. Yet its prominent presence, visible from a considerable distance by a traveler on the Ganges below, suggests that it played a role similar to Mun'im Khan's larger Jaunpur palace.⁶⁰ This pavilion appears to be the main part of a once larger complex. It probably served as the *qā'adār*'s house, that is the house of Mun'im Khan's Chunar agent. Likely, however, it was recognized as representing the authority of Mun'im Khan Khan-i Khanan, Akbar's *vakil*, even though he was absent from Chunar most of the time. This image would seem appropriate for a site associated earlier with a serious Mughal loss.⁶¹

The best preserved and most impressive sub-imperial palace in all India is in the Rohtas fort (Rohtasgarh) situated in Bihar's Kaimar Hills.⁶² In 1587–88 Raja Man Singh was appointed Akbar's governor of Bihar, and there inside the fort he built the enormous palace; it was completed on March 15, 1597, that is several years after Man Singh left Bihar to become the governor of Bengal.⁶³ Constructing a palace of any sort, to say

nothing of a palace so enormous, in an area he no longer governed is remarkable. It is all the more remarkable since Man Singh's income-yielding lands had been shifted as well.⁶⁴ However, his investment in the palace may explain why Akbar and later Jahangir allowed Man Singh to hold Rohtas for twenty years, when most jagirs were shifted after about two years.

Man Singh, like Mun'im Khan, was a high-ranking noble under Akbar. A Hindu raja, Man Singh was related to the Mughals through marriage and enjoyed a close personal relationship with the emperor. Man Singh had been raised in the imperial court, and Akbar called him *farzand* (son). Upon the death of Man Singh's father in 1589, Akbar passed to him his father's title and control over his ancestral lands (*watan jāgīr*) of Amber in western India. His personal and official status allowed him to play a dual role—one as Mughal *mansabdār* (military officer) and *subadār* (governor), the other as a Hindu raja, that is, a prince in his own right.

Like Jaunpur and the imperial models, the Rohtas palace was situated in the most heavily populated portion of the fort.⁶⁵ Its central location, its size (198 x 182 meters), and the monumental scale of its structures constituted an impressive statement of Mughal authority. Of this there is no doubt, especially when the sophistication of this palace is compared to the rudimentary dwelling of the local chieftain, Puran Mal, considered the area's finest zamindari estate.⁶⁶ It consisted only of exterior walls and had no interior pavilions. Raja Man Singh had subdued the recalcitrant Puran Mal and others in eastern India who claimed that Rohtas was originally their home.⁶⁷ Upon coming to court, these zamindars, now loyal to the Mughals, would see the palace in the context of local lore. For Man Singh had placed the palace so that, when approaching it from the main ascent, the viewer first passed two temples.⁶⁸ The higher one reputedly was dedicated to the hill's tutelary deity, Rohitaśva. At its base is a temple built by Raja Man Singh and said to be dedicated to Hariśchandra, a mythical king whose qualities embodied truth and integrity. By building the monumental palace, the raja further associated himself with the legendary Hariśchandra, for he was said to have had a magic palace that could grant all its owner's wishes. Thus just as Islamic rulers evoke the glory of Solomon in their palaces,⁶⁹ so too Raja Man Singh manipulated local tradition to strengthen the aura of power associated with this palace and Man Singh himself. By doing this, we might argue

that Man Singh transcends the normative role of a Mughal governor. Like Akbar, when he chose the site of the Allahabad fort, Man Singh played upon the locale's age-old tradition.

Raja Man Singh's Rohtas palace is a rich topic, but here I will focus on just three features that help frame problems relating to the sub-imperial palaces. These are layout and function, *jharōka*, and inscriptions.

Rohtas's location made the usual water setting for imperial palaces impossible; compensation was achieved through the use of multistoried pavilions that provided a river view. The tallest is a four-storied structure (fig. 10) that contains the private audience hall in the second floor below.⁷⁰ Its top floor, consisting of two pillared *chhatris*, provides a panoramic view that includes the Rohitaśva temple in the distance and the majestic river below. This palace was aligned with a temple, just as some imperial Mughal palaces—for example, Humayun's Din-Panah and Akbar's Fatehpur Sikri—were associated with shrines. The vista from the Rohtas palace's highest point, accessible only through the private audience hall, is comparable to the view from the emperor's quarters in imperial palaces.

Rohtas palace like Fatehpur Sikri and other palaces is divided into administrative and domestic units (fig. 11), but unlike both imperial Mughal or Rajput models, it has only one main entrance. Many entrances, however, pierce the massive fortified walls surrounding the palace complex.⁷¹ The palace's entrance (fig. 12), known as the Hathiya Pol or Elephant Gate, is flanked by carved elephants, a traditional emblem of Indian kingship, recalling major entrances to Fatehpur Sikri and other Mughal forts.⁷²

Included in the administrative unit are the fine free-standing pavilions known as the Baradari (fig. 13) and the Phul Mahal. They are immediately visible upon entering the Hathiya Pol; this proximity to the entrance suggests a more public than private function. These multistoried free-standing pavilions probably served no single purpose, but met a variety of needs, as did pavilions generally at contemporary imperial palaces.⁷³

The most private part of the palace (marked "W" on the plan) is the zone furthest from the entrance (fig. 11). Its traditional attribution as a zenana (female quarters) is probably accurate, since it closely resembles surviving Mughal zenanas as well as parts of Man Singh's own palace in Amber, also considered a zenana.⁷⁴ Within the zenana courtyard is a large free-standing structure known as the Shish Mahal. Linked by a

narrow passage to the private audience hall, this pavilion probably served as the raja's own quarters, possibly a link with older Rajput tradition. The ground floor, however, follows a traditional Mughal palace type; that is, it has a large central vaulted chamber surrounded by eight smaller rooms. The entire zenana may seem disproportionately large, but one major purpose of this palace must have been the protection of women residents when the raja was away.

Two of the palace's key features are sufficiently different from the imperial model in scale and design to suggest a fundamental departure. These are the hammam and the private audience hall. The hammam, unlike that in Mun'im Khan's Jaunpur palace or imperial ones, is a small undistinguished structure in a distant courtyard that has no link with the residential units. This seems to reflect the patron's taste, for hammams were a Mughal not a Rajput feature. There are none at Raja Man Singh's palace at Amber.⁷⁵ None were needed since that palace symbolized his role as raja, not as Mughal agent.

More significant is the area that is almost certainly a private audience hall (fig. 14). Its design suggests that this palace reflects more than Mughal interests. The interior is carved stone, as opposed to all the other pavilions, which have stucco interiors. The privileged use of stone in this chamber recalls the exclusive use of marble for saints' shrines and the imperial throne by the contemporary Mughal emperor Akbar. While the carved brackets and the vaulting of the semi-domes at the end generally recall Akbar-period architecture, the rest of this hall is much less Mughal in feeling than the other major structures at Rohtas, for example, the Shish Mahal or the Baradari.⁷⁶ In part this is a result of the low ceilings and the enclosed feeling given by the heavy brackets and piers.

The central bay on the west wall of the private audience hall almost certainly served as a throne niche, its S-shaped brackets framing the seated governor (fig. 15). Although we do not know what the throne niche at earlier Hindu palaces looked like, these curved stone brackets recall parts of the palace of Man Singh Tomar, which the Hindu raja of Gwalior built about 1500.⁷⁷ The private audience hall is the most elaborate part of the Rohtas palace complex. Its use of stone, its heaviness, and the enclosed appearance of the throne chamber located at the back of the hall together recall the porch (*mandapa*) leading to a temple's sanctum (*garbha griha*) where the deity

is enshrined—perhaps intentionally since Man Singh was a Hindu ruler (fig. 16).

The ceremonial character of the palace is further evident in the enormous quadrangle measuring 168 x 54 meters that fronts the palace proper. Although traditionally called a saray, this quadrangle is a Daulat Khana-i Khass o 'Amm (public audience hall) similar to the one at Fatehpur Sikri that contains the emperor's *jharōka*. At Rohtas in the center of the quadrangle's east wall are projecting oriel windows (fig. 17). While such windows belong to the tradition of Hindu Rajput architecture—for example, those at the fifteenth-century palace of Chitor⁷⁸—their central position on the wall, just above a raised plinth, suggests that this is the Rohtas palace's *jharōka*.⁷⁹ This location, behind the private audience hall, follows Abu al-Fazl's description of a *jharōka*, which he says "opens into the state hall for the transaction of business."⁸⁰ The identification of this quadrangle with a Daulat Khana-i Khass o 'Amm and its size raise questions about the role governors were allowed to play in the Mughal hinterlands. If the *jharōka* is the focal point of Mughal ceremony in the imperial palace—a ceremony that distinguishes this house from other Islamic ones—we must consider how this ceremony and the *jharōka* needed to carry it out is reflected in the sub-imperial palace.

We might start by asking if Man Singh's palace included a *jharōka* because this was a perquisite of a *subadār* or because he was a raja in his own right and the practice of *darshan* was part of an older Hindu tradition of kingship. When I first identified the palace's forecourt and projecting windows as a public viewing court, I assumed that such windows were a traditional part of the sub-imperial palace. Increasingly I wonder, however, how common the *jharōka* in sub-imperial palaces really was. The material remains are few,⁸¹ and I have only found four Mughal texts that mention sub-imperial use of the *jharōka*: Jahangir's *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Mirza Nathan's *Bahāristān-i-Ghaybī*, Shaykh Farid Bhakkari's *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, and the *Ma'āthir*. Farid Bhakkari, a seventeenth-century biographer of Mughal amirs, refers to Jagan Nath Kachhwaha, one of Man Singh's uncles, who built royal buildings and a *jharōka-i darshan* in Purmandal, his long-term landholding not far from modern Jammu.⁸² Jagan Nath was a loyal retainer of Akbar, having served him in the Punjab, Ajmer, and even as overseer of roads, yet he held no independent governorship.⁸³ It thus seems likely that it is Jagan

Nath's status as a Rajput prince, possibly even more specifically a Kachhwaha prince, not so much his status as a Mughal amir, that justifies his use of the *jharōka*. Underscoring this idea is a surviving *jharōka* at Man Singh's mansion, the Man Mandir, overlooking the Ganges in Varanasi.⁸⁴ This was one of his private homes, built for religious purposes to be near to the city's esteemed Viṣvanath temple. The presence of a *jharōka* here must have been related to his role as a Rajput prince related to the Mughal imperial family.

A second contemporary to mention sub-imperial use of the *jharōka* is the emperor Jahangir. In 1611, Jahangir complained that amirs on the borders were behaving as if they were rulers, and to discourage it he banned a number of practices considered imperial prerogatives.⁸⁵ Prohibited first was the use of the *jharōka*, followed by bans on the salutation of amirs by officers, prostration before amirs, and holding elephant fights, among other things. Jahangir did not identify these amirs in the hinterlands by name, but he probably counted Man Singh among them. Somewhat earlier he had complained about the raja's arrogant refusal to leave Rohtas, even though he had been summoned to court six or seven times. Lacking Akbar's admiration for the raja, yet realizing his power, Jahangir referred to him as "one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this state."⁸⁶

Despite Jahangir's order two independent sources report that Islam Khan, the governor of Bengal, introduced the practice of *jharōka*. One is a Mughal biographer writing long after Islam Khan's death; he wrote, "He carried the customs of high office (*tūzuk-i amārat*) to such a high pitch that he used the *jharōka* for exhibiting himself to the high and low . . . which . . . [is] . . . fitting only for kings."⁸⁷ This is confirmed by a rare eyewitness account of an officer, Mirza Nathan, who served under Islam Khan.⁸⁸ Mirza Nathan recounts that Islam Khan erected a *jharōka* consisting of a small pavilion resting on a "platform higher than the height of two men."⁸⁹ He notes that paying homage to the governor Islam Khan became mandatory, and when some of his officers refused they were imprisoned; however, there was no imperial intervention, and Jahangir continued to praise Islam Khan as one of his most successful officers.⁹⁰

Two points emerge from this: One is that Jahangir enforced his ban on the use of the *jharōka* selectively; the other is that Hindu Rajput princes appear to have been more readily permitted use

of the *jharōka* than other nobles, Hindu or Muslim, since it was part of their tradition. Moreover, the princes cited are all Kachhwahas, the first Rajput family to give their daughters in marriage to the Mughal emperors and to enter into close relations with them.⁹¹

The size of the Rohtas palace, the presence of a *jharōka* and other areas likely to be used for audiences, and the association with local lore suggest that to Man Singh the palace meant more than a governor's residence. This is bolstered by inscriptions showing that Man Singh recognized his dual role as Mughal governor and Hindu raja. On a large stone slab at the palace entrance gate are two inscriptions, one in Persian and one in Sanskrit. The one in Persian is elegantly rendered in a cursive nastaliq with a sinuous floral design, recalling the 1591–92 inscription on the Buland Darwaza at Fatehpur Sikri.⁹² The use of such exquisite calligraphy is unusual in the eastern Mughal hinterlands, which suggests that the inscription was intended to be noticed and read.⁹³ Its text implies that Raja Man Singh built the palace as a servant of Akbar, for it addresses the emperor extensively and makes only a brief reference to Man Singh, the actual patron. But in the Sanskrit portion, longer in text but with cramped letters on a smaller slab, Raja Man Singh asserts his own authority as head of the Kachhwaha house, and there Akbar's name is omitted altogether. Instead, Man Singh is mentioned twice, not using his Mughal title, raja, but rather identifying himself as "king of kings, overlord."⁹⁴

The use of an inflated title on a palace intended to serve both the governor's needs and those of the state underscores the dual nature of the relationship between the raja and Mughal emperor. Under the Mughal state system, serving the emperor included defending one's own religion, honor, and even patrimony if necessary.⁹⁵ Thus evoking a title that symbolized Rajput ideals and aspirations did not conflict with Man Singh's role as Akbar's governor, for both were vital to the successful functioning of the Mughal empire.

After Akbar's reign sub-imperial palaces continued to be built throughout the empire, but few survive. We will look at two in Bengal and one in western India. The earliest of these palaces is the Shahi Bagh built by Prince Shah Jahan as his residence when he was governor of Gujarat.⁹⁶ It was constructed between 1616 and 1623, during Jahangir's reign. The second is Prince Shah Shuja's palace in Rajmahal constructed when he was Shah Jahan's governor of Bengal from about

1639 to 1659.⁹⁷ The third is the Lal Bagh in Dhaka built under several governors, but mainly Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah, between about 1678 and 1684.⁹⁸ Each of these palaces was built by a Mughal prince who also served as governor. Three aspects of these palaces that relate to earlier sub-imperial and contemporary imperial models sum up the continuities and changes in sub-imperial palaces after Akbar's time: enclosure walls, layout, and the role of a *jharōka*.

In contrast to the Akbar-period models, Jaunpur, Chunar, and Rohtas, later sub-imperial palaces were no longer built within fortified enclosures, probably a result of an imperial prohibition. None was built to withstand a siege, although one was walled (Rajmahal), another was surrounded by a ditch filled with water (Shahi Bagh), and a third even appears fortified (Lal Bagh).⁹⁹ Yet these palaces were constructed at a time when the Mughal emperors were building their own fortified palaces. For example, shortly before these palaces were constructed, Aurangzeb had ordered an additional fortified wall built around the Agra fort, and earlier Shah Jahan had built his Shahjahanabad citadel with fortified red sandstone walls.¹⁰⁰

Sub-imperial palaces continue to consist of pavilions placed within *chahār-bāgh* enclosures. The variety of ceremonial activities carried on in them is shown by the grounds that survive and by descriptions and plans made by Europeans who visited them in Mughal times. Prince Shah Jahan's Shahi Bagh, probably built to counter his dislike for dry, dusty Ahmadabad, consisted of a series of pavilions in a terraced *chahār-bāgh* setting.¹⁰¹ The buildings comprising the zenana were on the riverbank; the governor's residence (fig. 18) was centrally situated. Today it is used as a museum. It consists of two stories above ground, with the basement serving as the *ta khāna*, a refuge from the summer heat, where octagonal chambers were graced with pools and streams. The ground floor consists of a central chamber around which are eight smaller rooms, a type popular since at least Akbar's time, and exemplified by Wazir Khan's mansion in Lahore.¹⁰² There is no indication, either textual or material, that the palace had an audience hall or *jharōka*.

There were, however, a *jharōka* and an audience hall at Prince Shah Shuja's Rajmahal palace (fig. 19), according to travelers' reports.¹⁰³ The north façade of the palace's only extant pavilion closely resembles Shah Jahan's imperial *jharōka* at Agra (fig. 2), a resemblance that appears to be

no accident; it reflects the ambitions of Shah Jahan's eldest son. As far as we can tell, no other sub-imperial palace of this time had a *jharōka*.

There is an apparent explanation for the *jharōka* here as well as for others in eastern India. Shah Shuja's desire to succeed Shah Jahan is well known; he was among the first of Shah Jahan's sons to proclaim himself emperor when his father's final illness was reported in 1657.¹⁰⁴ Bengal was considered the most difficult province to govern, thus explaining why it was from time to time the refuge of rebel princes; the rebel prince Shah Jahan had made Rajmahal his headquarters.¹⁰⁵ To secure his position further he captured much of Bihar, but it was possession of Rohtas that gave him the security he most needed.¹⁰⁶ Earlier in remote Rohtas, Raja Man Singh had built his own elaborate palace and *jharōka*. Could such construction have happened closer to the Mughal heartland, in the Delhi Doab?

Perhaps we can get an answer by considering one of the last sub-imperial palaces, the Lal Bagh in Dhaka, reputedly begun by Prince Muhammad A'zam Shah in 1678 and completed under Shaysta Khan Amir al-Umara, one of the great nobles of Aurangzeb's court.¹⁰⁷ None of its residential quarters survive, and we have no textual accounts describing their appearance; however, a tomb, mosque, and audience hall (fig. 20) remain intact.¹⁰⁸ The audience hall is a two-storied rectangular structure; the triple-arched central bay of both the east and west façades is surmounted by a curved *bangala* roof. Although larger, it resembles in overall appearance the *jharōka* at Rajmahal. But it is even closer in appearance to Shah Jahan's own public viewing window (*jharōka*) at his Lal Mahal at Bari and the one at the Agra fort (fig. 2).¹⁰⁹ This suggests that the Lal Bagh pavilion was used as an audience hall and its windows as a *jharōka*. This seems all the more significant since about a decade before the palace was begun Aurangzeb himself had abandoned the use of the *jharōka-i darshan* (presentation to the public).¹¹⁰ In other words, at the Dhaka Lal Bagh, the public audience hall has been given the appearance of the now-banned imperial *jharōka-i darshan*. While the Lal Bagh palace's *jharōka* was intended for a somewhat more limited audience,¹¹¹ the very fact that in Bengal the audience hall has a *jharōka*, even if not one that overlooks the fort's exterior, suggests that in this easternmost province forms elsewhere prohibited, here, as in previous eras, continued to be built and used.

Notes

1. This paper is not intended as a comprehensive survey of Mughal palaces. Rather, it seeks to address such aspects as setting, fortifications, ceremony, and building material. Imperial palaces are discussed only insofar as they set the stage for sub-imperial ones. Under the term sub-imperial palaces I include those intended for governors (*subadars*), landholders (*jagirdars*), and chieftains (*zamindars*).
2. The palace is briefly mentioned in Y. D. Sharma, *Delhi and Its Neighbourhood*, 2nd ed. (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1974), 63. A longer notice (in Japanese) is in Matsuo Ara, *Dargahs in Medieval India* (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 1977), 154–55.
3. For its location at the *dargāh*, see Ara, *Dargahs in Medieval India*, 97, fig. 7. The palace is marked Q' 6 on the plan.
4. The founding of Fatehpur Sikri is mentioned in a number of contemporary sources; these references are compiled in Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry, eds., *Fatehpur-Sikri: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge, Mass.: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1985), 27–40.
5. See Har Bilas Sarda, *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer: Scottish Mission Industries Co., 1911), map facing p. 33, for the placement of the palace and *dargāh*. The surviving pavilions appear to be Shah Jahan's.
6. Alexander Cunningham, ed., *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 23 vols. (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1871–87), 1:134–36.
7. Catherine B. Asher, *The Architecture of Mughal India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 23–24. See also Zain Khan, *Tabaqāt-i Bāburī*, trans. Sayed Hasan Askari (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1982), 7, and Zahīrū d-Dīn Muhammad Bābur, *Bābur Nāma*, trans. Annette Beveridge (1922; reprt. ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1970), 532.
8. This is the Kabuli Bagh in Panipat; today only the mosque survives. See Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 25–28, and Howard Crane, "The Patronage of Zāhir al-Dīn Bābur and the Origins of Mughal Architecture," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 1 (1987): 102–3.
9. Abū al-Faḍl ‘Allāmī, *Akbar Nāma*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols. (hereafter *Akbar Nāma*) (1907–39; reprt. ed., Delhi: Rare Books, 1972–77), 2:372.
10. The emperor complained about the narrow streets of Agra as early as 1637. See ‘Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nāma*, trans. A. R. Fuller, ed. W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 205–6. The city and palace of Shahjahanabad were begun two years later, in 1639, and inaugurated in 1648; ‘Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nāma*, 406–8.
11. *Akbar Nāma*, 3:616.
12. Abū al-Faḍl ‘Allāmī, *Āṣīn-i Akbarī*, 3 vols; vol. 1 trans. H. Blochmann and ed. S. L. Groomer; vols. 2 and 3 trans. H. S. Jarrett (hereafter *Āṣīn-i Akbarī*) (1871; 1948–49; reprt. eds., Delhi: Aadiesh Book Depot, 1965, and New Delhi: Orient Books, 1968), 2:169.
13. Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 1:174–76; also see O'Kane's paper in this volume.
14. Bernard O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan* (Costa Mesa, Calif.: Mazda Publishers and Undena Publications, 1987), 13–15.
15. Gordon Sanderson, "Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1911–12* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1915), 3, is a good summary of several original sources. See also Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *‘Amal-i Ṣāliḥ*, 3 vols. (Lahore: Majlis Tarqi Adab, 1967), 3:22–26.
16. See *Āṣīn-i Akbarī*, 1:232. Abu al-Faḍl's ideas are not original; for example, see Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, trans. H. Darke as *Book of Government or Rules for Kings* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960), 10.
17. See, for example, the schematic drawings of the Delhi fort in Pratapaditya Pal et al., eds., *Romance of the Taj Mahal* (London: Thames and Hudson and Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1989), figs. 72, 252, and, in this volume, Necipoğlu, figs. 21–22.
18. See Golombek and Wilber, *Timurid Architecture*, 1:174–80, and O'Kane, *Timurid Architecture in Khurasan*, 11–13.
19. Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and Development (1526–1858)* (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1991), pl. XIII and fig. 36.

20. For example, the Akbar-period Jahangiri Mahal, probably used by the highest-ranking palace women, overlooks the river and is next to the Khass Mahal. The Khass Mahal is Shah Jahan's, but it probably replaced a structure of similar function.
21. For plans of the Fatehpur Sikri buildings, see Brand and Lowry, *Sourcebook*, 327–29. Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 56, however, suggests the layout reflects Rajput traditions.
22. Ebba Koch, "Architectural Forms," in *Fatehpur-Sikri*, ed. Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1987), 142.
23. For illustrations, see Brand and Lowry, *Fatehpur-Sikri*, vi, x–xi, 3, 30–31, 88, 156.
24. Koch, "Architectural Forms," 142. For a summary of the emperor's daily activities, see B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1962), 237–44.
25. See Oscar Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhäuser* (Berlin: Leonhard Preiss, 1925), pls. 40, 51, 60, 63, 74.
26. For the Ottomans, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Architectural History Foundation and MIT Press, 1991), 15–22. For the Safavids, see Roger Savory, *Iran under the Safavids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 103, 179, where, for example, Shah 'Abbas clearly mixed with the public, but did not engage in regular formal presentation as the Mughals did. Eskandar Monshi, *History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, 2 vols., trans. R. M. Savory (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1979), 1:529, extols 'Abbas's lack of ceremony.
27. While a paternalistic aspect of kingship is found elsewhere in the Islamic world, much more public was the traditional Indian monarch who assumed a role known as *mā-bāp*, i.e., mother and father to his subjects. It is this aspect that is adapted by Abu al-Fazl and differentiates Mughal concepts from other Islamic ones.
28. For a traditional Islamic view of the need for a ruler's accessibility, see Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, 14. Hindu kingship and *darshan* are examined by Ronald Inden, "Ritual, Authority and Cyclic Time in Hindu Kingship," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, ed. J. F. Richards (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin, 1978), 54. *Darshan* in Akbar's court is explained in *Āṣīn-i Akbarī*, 1:165. Among the most useful European observations of *darshan* at the later Mughal court are Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615–19*, ed. W. Foster (London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1926), 84–86, 270, 276, 282, 325, and Edward Terry in Samuel Purchas, ed., *Hakluytus Postumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 20 vols. (Glasgow: James McLehose and Sons, 1905–07), 9:47–48. Throughout this paper *darshan* will be transliterated as a Persian, not Sanskrit, word to avoid using two systems. Also see Gülrü Necipoğlu's paper in this volume for a discussion of *darshan* in the Mughal court.
29. Elsewhere I have noted that the Mughal rulers believe themselves semi-divine and an emanation of divine light. See Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 40. Although this topic needs more attention, it appears that during Akbar's reign *darshan* was only loosely associated with a conception of the ruler as an emanation of divine light. For example, Abu al-Fazl in his *Āṣīn-i Akbarī*, 1:165, only states that Akbar appeared at the *jharōka-darshan* after his morning prayers, while under Jahangir and Shah Jahan timing of *darshan* is associated quite clearly with the rising sun. See, for example, Terry, *Hakluytus Postumus*, 9:47–48, and above n. 28. Akbar's use of light imagery was directed largely at an exclusive core of elite nobles, members of the *Din-i Ilahi*, a discipleship order in which the emperor was likened to a *pīr* (master) and his nobles to *murīds* (students), not at the larger public for whom light imagery was intended subsequently. Although the masses were not fully aware of an ideology associating *darshan* with light imagery, they would understand Akbar's divine status. See J. F. Richards, "The Formulation of Imperial Authority under Akbar and Jahangir," in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, 267–68. I am also grateful to John Richards for his personal communication stressing that the association of *darshan* with light symbolism was by no means fully developed during Akbar's reign.
30. *Āṣīn-i Akbarī*, 1:217; al-Badāonī, *Muntakhabu-t-Tawāīkh*, 3 vols., trans. G. S. A. Ranking, W. H. Lowe, and W. Haig (1884–1925; repr. ed., Patna: Academic Press, 1973), 2:405. Muḥammad Ḥāshim Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, trans. S. Moinul Haq, *Khāfi Khan's History of 'Alamgir* (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1975), 215–16; Roe, *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, 276.
31. Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, 216, indicates that it was against the shari'a and thus unlawful.
32. For a description of *darshan* at a Hindu temple during the seventeenth century in Mughal India, see Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 2 vols., trans. and ed. V. Ball (London: Humphrey Milford and Oxford University Press, 1925), 2:183–

- 84; Diana L. Eck, *Darśan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*, 2nd ed. rev. (Chambersburg, Penna: Anima Books, 1985), 3–4, explains *darshan* in modern terms. Her explanation parallels Tavernier's experience.
33. For a Jahangir-period illustration, see Stuart Cary Welch, *India: Art and Culture, 1300–1900* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art and Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1985), 186; fig. 1 in this paper is a Shah Jahan-period example.
34. Koch, "Architectural Forms," 125–26, 130; Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 62.
35. For an illustration, see G. H. R. Tillotson, *The Rajput Palaces: The Development of an Architectural Style, 1450–1750* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 49.
36. Koch, "Architectural Forms," 125.
37. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 59–60.
38. Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of Shah Jahan's Throne in the Hall of Public Audience at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1988), 12–16, discusses Shah Jahan's *jharōkas* in the public audience halls of his Agra and Delhi palaces.
39. Ebba Koch, "The Baluster Column—A European Motif in Mughal Architecture and Its Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 (1982): 251–62.
40. Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, 23–28.
41. Iqtidar Alam Khan, "The Nobility under Akbar and the Development of his Religious Policy, 1560–80," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1–2 (1968): 31–33, and Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 67.
42. For a Mughal-period account of the marble pavilion at Akbar's Agra fort private audience hall, see Nur Bakhsh, "The Agra Fort and Its Buildings," *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1903–04* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1906), 180. There is also a possibility that the marble *jharōka* in the Lahore fort's public audience hall is Akbar's, although it may date to Jahangir's reign. For it, see Ebba Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, pl. 6. There may be some question about the Akbar-period appearance of Muṣīn al-Dīn's tomb since it was often re-embellished. But paintings from the *Akbar Nāma* illustrating Akbar paying homage to the saint show that the tomb was white, almost surely white marble. See Geeti Sen,
- Paintings from the Akbar Nāma* (Varanasi: Lustre Press, 1984), pl. 9. This likelihood is underscored by William Finch in Samuel Purchas, 4:61, who notes around 1611 that the paving surrounding the tomb was marble. The *jālīs* at the tomb of Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn Auliya Chishti in Delhi, added in 1562–63, are also marble. See Zafar Hasan, *A Guide to Nizamu-d Din, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* 10 (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1921), 11–12.
43. For illustrations, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pl. IX and p. 75; see also Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 109, 131.
44. Although none of Jahangir's marble palaces survive, one is cited by ‘Abd al-Hamīd Lāhaurī, *The Bādshāh Nāma*, 3 vols., ed. K. D. Ahmad and A. Rahim (1865–68; reprt. ed., Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1983), 1:224. For a painting showing Jahangir's white marble *jharōka* in the Agra fort, see Necipoğlu, fig. 23.
45. One exception may be the Agra fort Jāmi‘ Mosque known as the Moti Mosque. While Kanbū, *‘Amal-i Sālih*, 3:133, terms it a Jāmi‘ Mosque, it could only have had restricted use since it was inside the fort. Moreover, the mosque was completed in 1653, long after the court's shift from Agra to Shahjahanabad.
46. For a summary of Muṇīm Khan's career, see Şamsām ud-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān and ‘Abdul Ḥayy, *Ma‘āthir-ul-Umarā*, 2 vols., trans. H. Beveridge (hereafter *Ma‘āthir*) (1941; reprt. ed., Patna: Janaki Prakashan, 1979), 2:283–92. For the significance of the title *Khān-i Khānān* and the role of the vakil, see Athar Ali, *Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility, 1574–1658* (Delhi: Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University and Oxford University Press, 1985), xxiv, xxvi.
47. See Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 86–88, and A. Führer, *The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur* (1889; reprt. ed., Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1971), 17–20. For other construction during Muṇīm Khan's tenure of Jaunpur, see *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1963–64, sec. D, nos. 352–56, and *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1970–71, sec. D, nos. 157–59.
48. The Hawalat is a square-plan chamber, about 8 meters on a side, surmounted by a very low dome. It is entered on the north by a large iwan; its south façade consists of a projecting balcony that overlooks the terrain below. Its height and location suggest that it was a pleasure pavilion, but the possibility that it may have been a ceremonial

- jharōka* should be considered. Since its function is unclear, I am excluding it from discussion here. I am grateful to Jeffery McKibben for examining this structure for me.
49. For the bath, see Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 88–89. Although Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, 21, does not specifically cite the hammam inside the fort as Mun‘im Khan’s, stylistic considerations date it to this period. Other authors (for example, Mohammad Fasih-ud-Din, *The Sharqi Monuments of Jaunpur* [Allahabad: Empire Press, 1922], 18) uncritically assume the hammam dates to the Sharqi period.
50. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 11:120–21, decried the senseless destruction of the pavilion known as the Chihil Sutun. William Hodges, *Travels in India during the Years, 1780–83*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed by the Author, 1793), 148, states that the fort’s interior had a large number of buildings, while his *Select Views in India, 1780–83*, 2 vols. (London: Printed by the Author, 1787), 2:33, illustrates this pavilion overlooking the river below. The now-demolished pavilion is generally assumed to date to the Sharqi period; however, Markham Kittoe’s 1838 drawing indicates strong Akbar-period features. For an illustration, see John Burton-Page, “Djawnpur,” *EP*, vol. 2, pl. VIII, between pp. 498 and 499.
51. Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, 24.
52. Akbar *Nāma*, 2:372.
53. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, 9:120, indicates that the pavilion crowned the highest part of the fort overlooking the bridge below. Führer, *Sharqi Architecture*, 25, states it was on the southwest corner. Hodges, *Select Views*, 2:33, illustrates this pavilion overlooking the river below. George Annesley Mountnorris, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the Years 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1806*, 3 vols. (London: William Miller, 1809), 1:123, 125, also indicates that the palace’s pavilions commanded a similar view.
54. For the Fatehpur Sikri baths, see Attilio Petruccioli, *Fatehpur Sikri: La Citta’ del sole e delle acque* (Rome: Carucci Editore, 1988), 103–6, and Edmund W. Smith, *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. 18 in 4 parts (Allahabad: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1894–98), pt. 3, pls. LXXII–LXXV. Although none of the baths at Fatehpur Sikri is dated, at least those intended for imperial use must have been constructed about 1572 when work on the city commenced. We must assume that they resemble no-longer-extant ones at the Agra fort and other Mughal palaces. The earliest surviving bath at Babur’s garden in Dholpur is considerably less sophisticated than any Akbar-period one; see Elizabeth B. Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persian and Mughal India* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 107, and Elizabeth B. Moynihan, “The Lotus Garden Palace of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur,” *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 141–42, figs. 23a, b, c, 24, 25.
55. See above n. 7.
56. See *Ma’āthir*, 2:291–92, for Mughal appreciation, and Charles Stewart, *History of Bengal: From the First Mohammedan Invasion until the Virtual Conquest of That Country by the English, A.D. 1757* (London: Black, Parry and Co., 1813), 162, gives testimony to the architect’s skill. Even when the bridge was completely submerged by violent currents in 1773 it suffered no damage.
57. See al-Badāoni, 2:104, for the extent of Mun‘im Khan’s jagir that included the pivotal fort of Chunār. He held these lands until his death in 1575. In Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 89, I note that in 1573–74, a gate was added to the Chunār fort; its inscriptions bear the name of Muhammad Sharif Khan, presumably the fort’s *qal‘adār* under Mun‘im Khan. Hodges, *Select Views*, 1:3, illustrates the palace, albeit from a distance.
58. D. L. Drake-Brockman, *Mirzapur: A Gazetteer*, vol. 27 of *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh* (Allahabad: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1911), 308, credits Sher Shah with its construction, but he built no hammams.
59. Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 40.
60. Hodges, *Select Views*, 1:3.
61. Earlier, Humayun had taken Chunār from Sher Shah, but the considerable time he spent capturing the fort in fact ultimately cost him his empire.
62. The fort and palace are described by Muhammed Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. 51 (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1931), 146–83. Extensive photographic coverage is in Catherine B. Asher, *Islamic Monuments of Eastern India and Bangladesh*, ed. S. L. Huntington (Leiden: Inter Documentation Co. on behalf of the American Committee for South Asian Art, 1991), Rohtas District 6:37–10:13.
63. I have dealt with Man Singh’s Rohtas palace as well

as his career in "The Architecture of Raja Man Singh: A Study of Sub-Imperial Patronage," in *The Powers of Art: Patronage in Indian Culture*, ed. Barbara Stoler Miller (New Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 183–201. Here I have recalculated the completion date according to the Gregorian calendar. Qeyammuddin Ahmad, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bihar* (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1973), 176, misprints the common-era date as 1591, although it is clear from the previous page and his discussion of the chronogram he intends 1596–97.

64. *Akbar Nāma*, 3:999.
65. Nearby are a number of structures that date to Akbar's reign but before Man Singh's tenure of the fort, suggesting that this was the fort's most heavily inhabited area in the early Mughal period. A plan of the fort is in Kuraishī, *Ancient Monuments*, facing p. 150.
66. See Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, *Journal of Francis Buchanan Kept during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–11*, ed. C. E. A. W. Oldham (Patna: Superintendent of Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1930), 189, for a description. Today only exterior walls remain.
67. See Kuraishī, *Ancient Monuments*, 147, and D. R. Patil, *Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1963), 487–88.
68. For these temples, see Asher, "Architecture of Raja Man Singh," 188–89, Kuraishī, *Ancient Monuments*, 169–72, and Patil, *Antiquarian Remains*, 498–500.
69. For example, see Oleg Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 2nd ed. rev. (Sebastopol, Calif.: Solipsist Press, 1992), 100–101, 119–23.
70. Traditionally this has been called the Darbar Hall. Its location in relation to the rest of the palace, the materials used, and its layout all support the accuracy of this identification.
71. For numerous entrances at an Akbar-period Mughal fort, see Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 53. For an accurate plan of Amber, see B. L. Dham, *A Memoir on the Temple of Jagatshiromani at Amber* (Jaipur: Chirangi Lal Sharma, 1977), pl. XI. Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 86, argues that the area today called a zenana at the Amber fort was originally an isolated pavilion, but I think that it originally was part of an enclosed complex. If it had been isolated then it would have been unprotected. The palace is not separated by walls from the city below.
72. For the Hathiya Pol at Fatehpur Sikri, see Petruccioli, *Fatehpur Sikri*, 49.
73. Koch, "Architectural Forms," 142.
74. Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 69. Tillotson, *Rajput Architecture*, 86, argues that the Amber zenana was not intended as a dwelling only for women. Perhaps focus on gender-based architecture needs reconsideration. For illustrations of the Rohtas zenana, see Asher, *Islamic Monuments*, Rohtas District 9:49–10:13.
75. The hammam at Amber, situated in the garden below the palace, is a seventeenth-century structure, probably the product of Mirza Jai Singh's patronage.
76. For illustrations, see Asher, *Islamic Monuments*, Rohtas District 8:01–8:08, 9:01–9:16, 9:38–9:41.
77. See Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 60, fig. 72.
78. Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 49.
79. The appearance here of two projecting windows in lieu of a single one or even the more symmetrical triple-window arrangement may be dictated by the location of the throne niche in the private audience hall on the opposite wall.
80. *Ā'i-n-i Akbarī*, 1:165.
81. The problem of the *jharōka* in the sub-imperial palace needs much more careful examination. For example, as I indicated in n. 48, it remains unclear whether the Hawalat in the Jaunpur fort is a ceremonial *jharōka* or a pleasure pavilion. Indeed, it is possible that this ambiguity was intentional, allowing the officer to perform a ceremony that strictly speaking was the prerogative of kings, whether Mughal or Hindu.
82. Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-Khwānīn*, ed. S. M. Haq, 3 vols. (Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society, 1969–74), 2:366. For the location of Purmandel, see Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire* (Delhi and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 9 and map 4A. According to the *Akbar Nāma*, 3:546, Jagan Nath held his jagir in the Punjab by the 1580s. The *Ma'āthir*, 1:724, claims he received it earlier in Akbar's twenty-third year. He possibly continued to hold it until his death in the third year of Jahangir's reign.
83. See *Akbar Nāma*, 3:546, 779, 825, for his career in the Punjab, and 3:1178 for his rank of 5,000. Muḥammad Nūr al-Dīn Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. A. Rogers, ed. H. Beveridge, 2 vols.

- (1909–14; reprt. ed., Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1968), 1:16, reports that when he acceded to the throne, he presented Jagan Nath a robe and jeweled sword. In spite of the esteem in which he was held, his status as a jagirdar would not seem sufficient to allow him to practice presentation at the *jharōka*.
84. For recent illustrations, see Pierre-Daniel Couté and Jean-Michel Léger, *Bénarès* (Paris: Editions Creaphis, 1989), 10, and Tillotson, *Rajput Palaces*, 115.
85. Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, 1:205.
86. Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, 1:138.
87. *Ma'āthir*, 1:693.
88. Mirza Nathan, *Bahāristān-i Ghaybī*, trans. M. I. Borah, 2 vols. (Gauhati: Government of Assam, Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute, 1936), 1:119.
89. Nathan, *Bahāristān-i Ghaybī*, 1:119.
90. See Jahāngīr, *Tūzuk*, 1:208–9, 247, 257.
91. *Akbar Nāma*, 2:243–44.
92. See Wayne Begley, *Monumental Islamic Calligraphy from India* (Villa Park, Ill.: Islamic Foundation, 1985), 89.
93. The only other example in eastern India are inscriptions dated 1573–74 at the Chunar fort. There are no published plates of these inscriptions.
94. It reads, “*Śrī mahārājādhirāja mahārāja Śrī Mānsi[hna]*,” Kuraishī, *Ancient Monuments*, 168. This and the following paragraph are drawn from Asher, “Architecture of Raja Man Singh,” 191.
95. Richards, “Formulation of Imperial Authority,” 275, and Norman P. Ziegler, “Some Notes on Rajput Loyalties during the Mughal Period,” in *Kingship and Authority in South Asia*, 215–40.
96. Sources for this palace include ‘Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Ahmādī*, trans. M. F. Lokhandwala (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1965), 170; James Burgess, *The Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, pt. 2, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. 33 (London: Bernard Quaritch, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co, William Griggs & Sons, 1905), 57–58, pl. LIII; Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 134–36, includes a plan. Also see John Burton-Page, “Mosques and Tombs,” in George Michell and Snehal Shah, *Ahmadabad* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1988), 108, 111.
97. Today in Santal Parganas District, Bihar, Rajmahal is historically part of Bengal and served as its capital under Raja Man Singh (1594–1607) and Shah Shuja'. Secondary sources include Catherine B. Asher, “Inventory of Key Monuments,” in *The Islamic Heritage of Bengal*, ed. George Michell (Paris: Unesco, 1984), 126; Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 242–44; Kuraishī, *Ancient Monuments*, 216–17.
98. Recent secondary sources include Syed M. Ashfaque, *Lalbagh Fort* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, Government of Pakistan, 1970), 1–18; Asher, “Inventory,” 58.
99. In addition to the sources cited above for the walls around the Rajmahal palace, see Nicolaus de Graaff, *Reisen van Nicolaus de Graaff Gedaan naar alle gewesten des Werelds Beginnende 1639 tot 1687*, ed. J. C. M. Warnsinck (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1930), 110–11, pl. 4; John Marshall, *John Marshall in India*, ed. by S. Ahmad Khan (London: Oxford University Press and Humphrey Milford, 1927), 70, 90, 116; Montgomery Martin, *The History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India*, 3 vols. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1838), 2:71–76. Although Martin claims authorship, the text is the diary of Francis Buchanan-Hamilton.
100. For Shah Jahan's walls, see n. 14. For Aurangzeb's walls, see Sāqī Mustād Khān, *Maāsir-i 'Ālamgīrī* (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society, 1947), 15.
101. ‘Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Ahmādī*, 170. See Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture of Ahmadabad*, 57–58, for the best description. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 136, provides a plan.
102. Reuther, *Indische Paläste*, 171, gives a plan and illustration of this Shah Jahan-period mansion.
103. Although they do not agree on the location, see De Graaff, *Reisen de Nicolaus de Graaff*, 110–11, pl. 4, and Martin, *Eastern India*, 2:73.
104. Sāqī Mustād Khān, *Maāsir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, 1.
105. See Khondkar Mahbubul Karim, *Provinces of Bihar and Bengal under Shahjahan* (Dacca: Asiatic

- Society of Bangladesh, 1974), 16–29, for the rebel prince Shah Jahan's tenure of Rajmahal, officially known as Akbarnagar.
106. Karim, *Provinces of Bihar and Bengal*, 27.
107. Ashfaque, *Lalbagh Fort*, 5; See *Ma'āthir*, 2:825–36, for Shaysta Khan's career.
108. See above n. 97.
109. For Bari, see Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, 205–6, and Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, 104–5. The *jharōka* overlooks both the palace's interior courtyard and its exterior, so it could serve as a *jharōka-i darshan* and a private viewing window.
110. Khāfi Khān, *Mutakhab al-Lubāb*, 216.
111. Although not stated, it is likely that William Hedges's audience with Shaysta Khan took place in this chamber. In *The Diary of William Hedges, Esq.*, ed. R. Barlow and Henry Yule, 3 vols. (New York: Burk Franklin, 1887), 1:43, he describes the nawab sitting, "under a large canopy of State made of crimson velvet richly embroidered with gold and silver, and deep gold and silver fringes, supported by 4 bamboo poles plated over with gold."

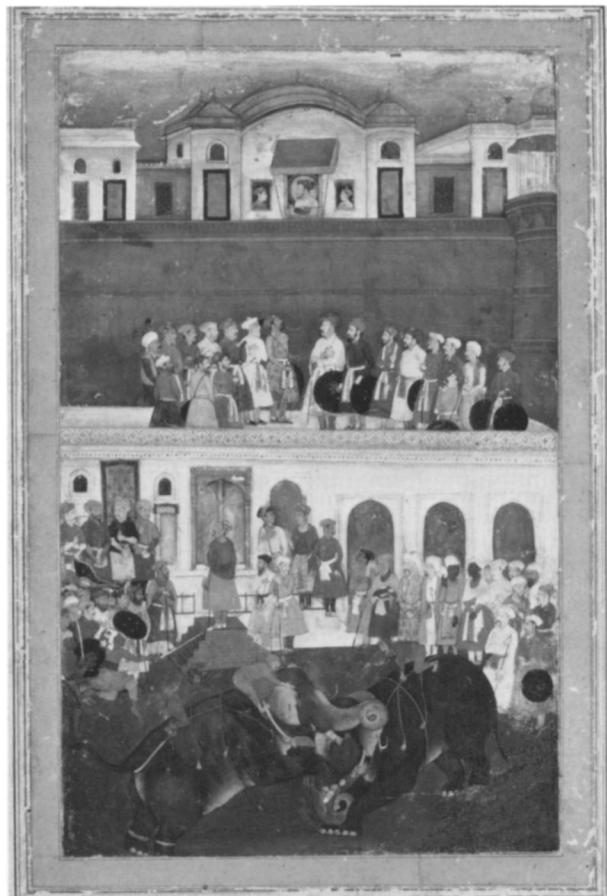


FIG. 1. "Shah Jahan at the Agra fort's *jharōka-i darshan*," ca. 1650. 33 x 20.3 cm. D. A. J. Latchford Collection, Bangkok.



FIG. 2. India. Agra fort. Exterior with Shah Jahan's *jharōka-i darshan*.

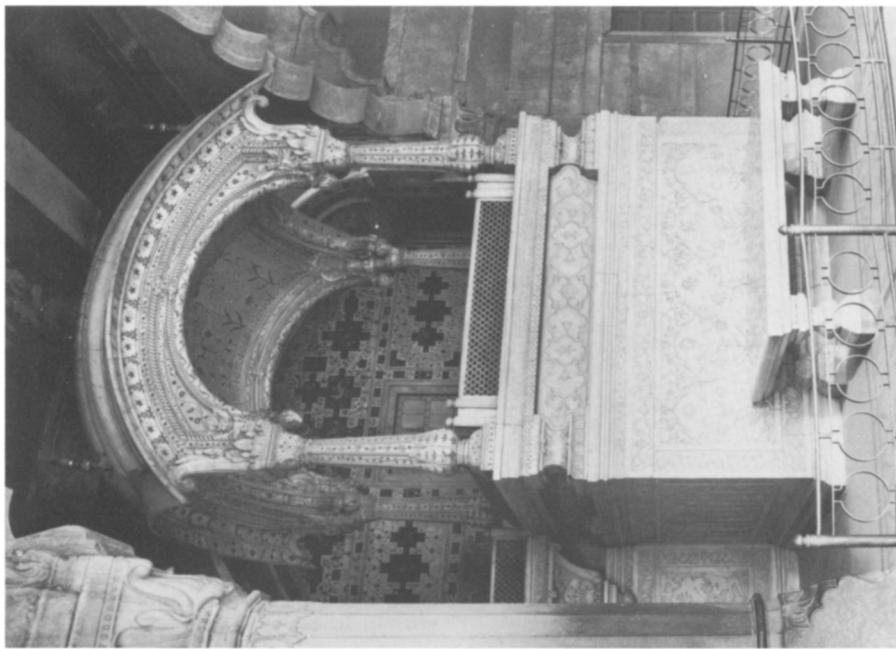


FIG. 3. India. Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar's *jharōka* in his *jharōka* darshan.
Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art and Archaeology.



FIG. 4. India. Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar's *jharōka* in his public audience hall.
Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art and Archaeology.

FIG. 5. India. Shahjahanabad (Delhi). Shah Jahan's *jharōka* in his public audience hall (Daulat Khanai Khass o 'Amm).
Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art and Archaeology.

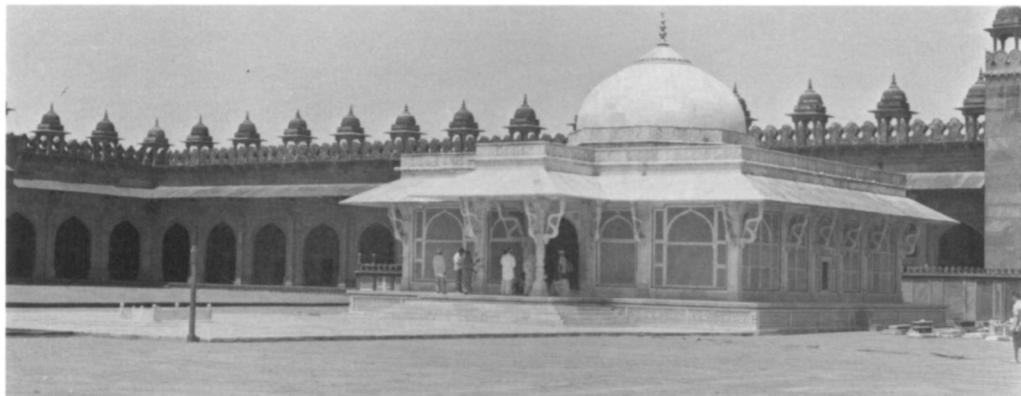


FIG. 6. India. Fatehpur Sikri. Shaykh Salim Chishti's tomb.



FIG. 7. India. Jaunpur fort. Hammam.

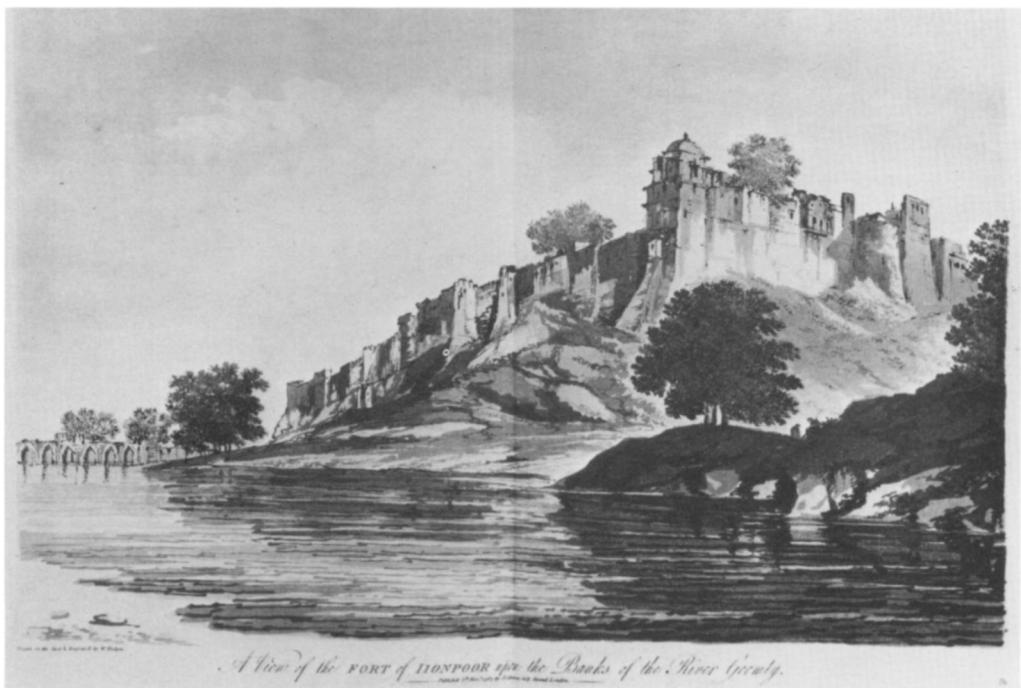


FIG. 8. William Hodges's lithograph of the Jaunpur fort showing the Chihil Sutun. From William Hodges, *Select Views in India, 1780–83*, 2 vols. (London: Printed by the Author, 1787), 2:33.

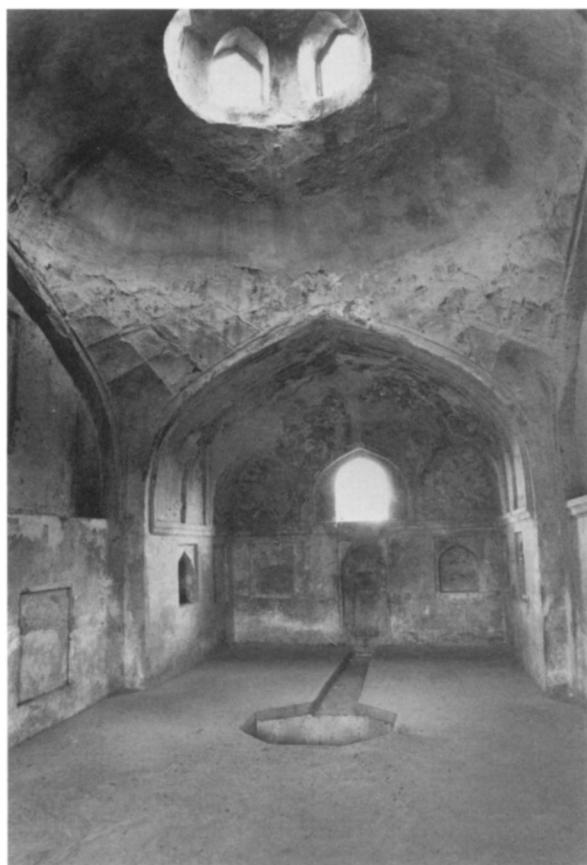


FIG. 9. India. Jaunpur fort. Hammam, interior.



FIG. 10. India. Rohtasgarh palace. Four-storied palace pavilion containing Raja Man Singh's private audience hall.

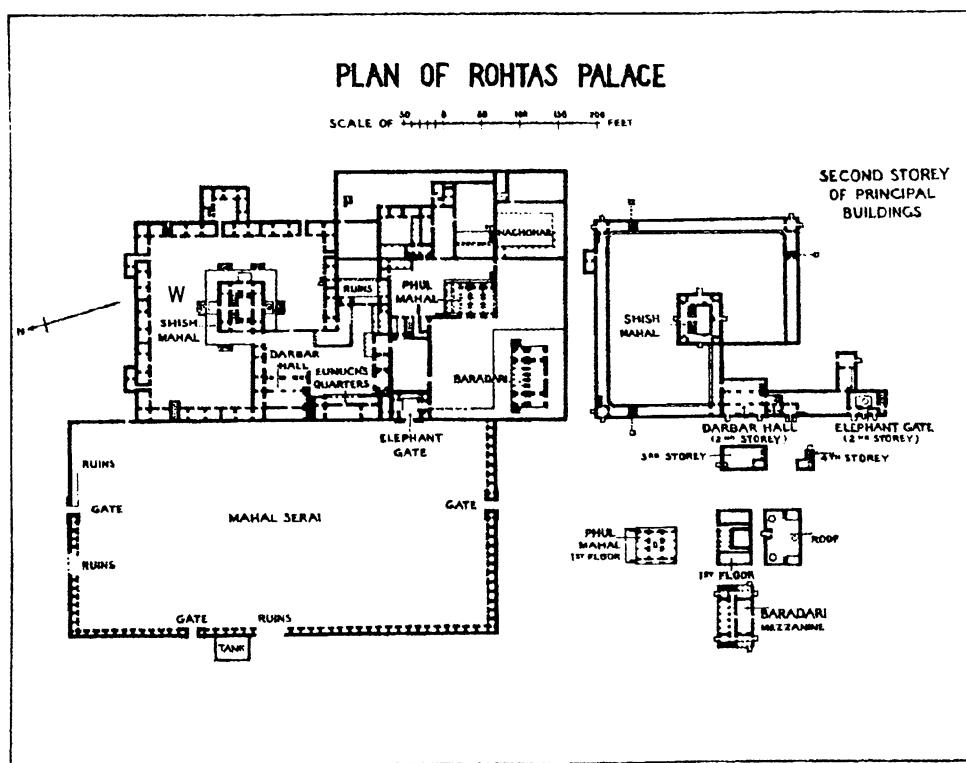


FIG. 11. India.
Rohtasgarh. Palace
plan. From
Muhammad Hamid
Kuraishi, *List of
Ancient Monuments*,
Archaeological Survey
of India, New
Imperial Series, 51
(Calcutta:
Government of India
Central Publication
Branch, 1931),
facing p. 155.

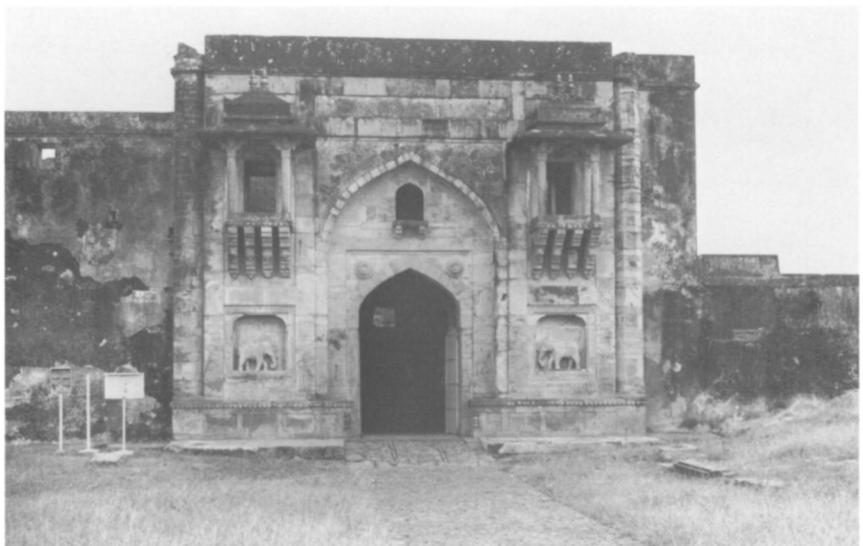


FIG. 12. India. Rohtasgarh palace.
Hathiya Pol or Elephant Gate.



FIG. 13. India. Rohtasgarh palace.
Baradari.



FIG. 14. India. Rohtasgarh palace.
Entrance to private audience hall.



FIG. 15. India. Rohtasgarh palace. Raja Man Singh's throne niche in his private audience hall.

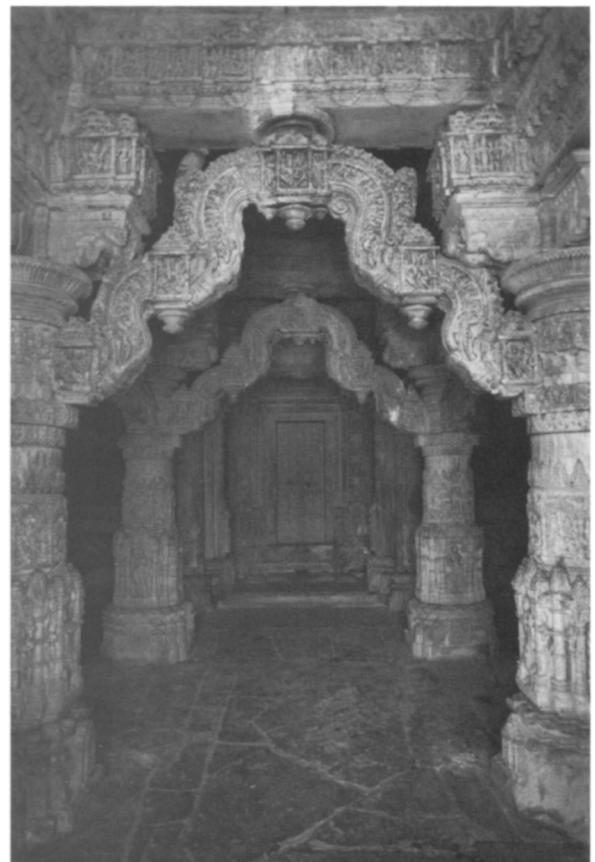


FIG. 16. India. Nagda (Udaipur District, Rajasthan). Sas Bahu temple, ca. 1000. Porch (*mandapa*).



FIG. 17. India. Rohtasgarh palace. Raja Man Singh's *jharōka* in his public audience hall.



FIG. 18. India. Ahmadabad. Prince Shah Jahan's Shahi Bagh (with 19th-century additions).
Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art and Archaeology.



FIG. 19. India. Rajmahal palace. Shah Shuja's *jharōka*.



FIG. 20. Bangladesh. Dhaka. Lal Bagh. Audience hall and *jharōka*.