CHAPTER 6

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6.4 Notes and Reference
6.1 Mogul Gardens

6.1(a) Brief history of the Mogul dynasty

The Great Mogul Empire, or the Indian Timurid, due to the ascription to Timur, has gained fame as the Indian Mogul. This dynasty ruled from 1526 to 1857 A.D in large parts of the Indian subcontinent which includes the present day nations of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and parts of the present Afghanistan (Map 6). But, the Indian Mogul rulers never called themselves anything as such which is an Arabic version of the name of the Mongol tribe. They were from the Central Asian conqueror Timur, and Babur founder of the dynasty, is directly from his bloodline, while from his mother's side reaches to the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan.¹

After the death of Timur, the Ottoman Turks and Jalayer and Qaraqoyunlu Turkmen, seized some of Timur’s territories. Timur’s children managed to keep up-to northern Iran under their rule for a century. But they were often in conflict with each other. Finally Shah Rukh managed to partially resolve conflicts between their relatives and maintained the power and prestige of the country. But after his death, the area under his command was divided into smaller sections and the Safavids added them to their own state.

The Timurid dynasty did not disappear. Babur, descendant of Timur established his reign in India and laid the foundation of the Baburi Dynasty² or the Indian Moguls.

A new age begins with the unification of India under the Great Moguls. The achievements of this dynasty which produced a rare sequence of competent rulers were due to a particular constellation of historical circumstances. These conditions are exemplified by the striking career of Babur, who conquered India for the Moguls. Babur had the great gift of a quick presence of mind. His fate forced him to make incessant use of this gift. The Uzbeks who swept down from Central Asia to Samarkand deprived him of his ancestral kingdom.
With Persian support he could briefly reclaim his patrimony. The Persian connection remained of importance to him and his successors.

Coming from a borderland wedged between the Persian Empire and the horsemen of the north, he was equally impressed with Persian culture and the martial spirit of his northern adversaries. He wrote Persian poems and from the Uzbeks he learnt military strategy and tactics which later were to help him conquer India. The rising power of the Uzbeks compelled him to go east. He left his country and conquered Afghanistan; from there he made several forays into India before he finally embarked on his great campaign which resulted to the Mogul Empire.

His success in India was chiefly determined by his use of firearms and artillery which the Turks had brought to Asia from the West. Babur was a contemporary of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I and of the Safavid ruler of Persia, Shah Ismail. They laid the foundations for the three major gunpowder empires of Asia. The speed of the proliferation of the new strategy based on a mobile field artillery was amazing.³

Babur was a descendant of Timur and he and his children had an important contribution in the expansion of Iranian culture over the Indian subcontinent. Rulers of this dynasty gradually took the entire subcontinent under their command, but after a while parts of South India went out of their control. This dynasty in the mid-seventeenth century and at the time of Shah Jahan was considered to be the largest and richest empire in the world.

The glorious era of the Mongol Empire was spread throughout the world until the middle of the reign of Aurangzeb, and this period is known as the Great Mogul Empire. After him, the power of the empire was greatly reduced and India which was in the course of civilization and progress at the time of Akbar Shah and Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

This empire began to fade with the invasion of Nadir Shah to India in 1739 A.D. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, the dynasty weakened. The Maratha kingdom in the South
with the official religion of Hindu was considered as a new power and dangerous enemy, took possession of the southern region of the Muslim dynasties. In 1857 A.D, after years of fighting, the East India Company eventually could extinct this empire and conquer this land. Bahadur Shah II was the last ruler of the Moguls, who ceded his throne to the English at this year.

The official language of Mogul India was Persian and Iranian culture had a considerable influence on this court which led to the spread of the Persian language and Iranian culture in the Indian subcontinent. However, Islam had penetrated the Indian subcontinent through the Persian mystics, before the rise to power of this dynasty in India, but the impact of the emergence of this dynasty in India, spread and flourished Persian language to such an extent that Persian literature was not only the lifeblood of public spirit, but also this language became the official language of the courtiers. At that time, this approach made the migration of many artists, writers and poets from Iran to India. The Golden Age of Persian literature in India was during Akbar Shah's period. He issued an order to Todarmal, his minister, whereby, Persian was declared as the language of the Empire. Akbar Shah also ordered some important books of the Hindus to be translated from Sanskrit into Persian prose and poetry which added to the richness of Persian literature. In addition to poets, scholars and writers who migrated to India for several centuries, from Indians whether Muslim or Hindus, there are Poets and writers and the great scholar whose works appeared in Persian. The Mogul empire in India was concurrently with Safavid, Afshar, Zand and the Qajar dynasties of Iran, which in turn unwittingly is considered as one of the factors in the strength of the Persian language in India. Because the Safavid kings view toward literature and culture was in such a way that Iranian poets and authors were disappointed of forgiveness and grace of the Safavid kings, so that they had no other choice but to go to the court of the Mogul Indian.
During the Mogul period many Iranians such as artists, scientists, architects and poets migrated to the land of India and had a very important role in art and culture and running the country. For example, Mirza Ghiyasuddin can be pointed who came to India with his family during the reign of Akbar Shah, he worked at the Indian court and shortly progressed and became responsible for important activities. During the reign of Akbar's son, Jahangir, he progressed so well that he could achieve the country's highest administrative official position as being the Chancery and Jahangir married his daughter Mehr Nisa, known as Nur Jahan. Asif Khan, son of Mirza Ghiyas and brother of Mehr Nisa was selected as generalissimo. Empress Nur Jahan had an extraordinary power in the court and many of her family members were engaged in various works in the monarchy.

**Babur (1526 to 1530 A.D)**

Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur, founder of the Mogul dynasty was born in the area of Central Asia's Ferghana in the year 1483 A.D. Babur is the Turkish word meaning tiger. He descends from the Father through five Amir Reaches to Timur and from his mother's side, Qutlugh Nigar Khanum, through fifteen individuals reaches to Genghis Khan. He became the ruler of Ferghana in 1494 A.D, at the age of eleven, after the death of his father Omar Sheikh. He was ruling in Andijan and had problem with his cousin, Sultan Ali Mirza over the ruling of Samarkand.

Mohammad Babur fought for eleven years with the Uzbek and Tatar rulers and turned to Kabul and Kandahar when he felt his weakness and after conquering Khorasan, ruled for 22 years. He reigned in Badakhshan and Afghanistan from 1504 to 1525 A.D and then conquered India.

Babur invaded India with an army of Turkish, Tatar and Afghan troops. In 1526 AD, he defeated Ibrahim Lodi in Delhi, the last king of the Lydian clan who was from the Afghan tribes. He captured Agra and Delhi and northern India, from the Indus up-to Bengal and
founded the Great Mogul Empire in India and this dynasty ruled the Indian subcontinent for about 350 years. The book of the Mongol Khans territory states: Babur then personally and progressively undertook reform. He immediately built a garden in Agra as his first headquarters and in addition built a stepped pond and a bathroom, and added an Islamic style bathroom that was unknown in India.\(^4\)

He ruled for five years in Delhi as the founder of the Great Mongol Empire until the year 1530 A.D when he died in Agra at the age of 49. Total years of the reign of Babur were about 38 years of which five years of it was in India. At first he was buried in a garden called Noorafshan in the city of Jamneh, then at the time of Shah Jahan his bones were transferred to Kabul and he built him a magnificent tomb outside the city.

Zahiruddin Mohammad Babur did an outstanding service and favour to science and literature. We received a complete series of Babur notes that is known as Baburnama in which the biography of his life, conquests and his ruling strategies are written in the Turkish Chagatai language. Later this book was translated into Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan Janan and at the behest of Akbar Shah, a descendant of Babur, which was known as Tuzuk Baburi. Anne Marie said in this regard: Babur was a litterateur and his works were the measure of Turkish poems, Hanafi law, and other significant documents of Turkish Chagatai, and he invented his own script known as Baburi script.\(^5\)(Map 7)

Babur built roads, caravansaries and many gardens in India and Khorasan and served for development and prosperity of these lands. (Image 76)

**Humayun** (1530 to 1540 A.D) the second (1555 to 1556 A.D)

Humayun was the second king of the Mogul emperor of India. He was born in 1508 AD in Kabul (Image 77). He was the son of Babur, founder of the Mogul dynasty and father of the greatest emperor of the dynasty, Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar. He reigned from 1530

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to 1540 in large parts of today's Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India, but then his rule was interrupted for fifteen years (1486 - 1545 A.D) by the Afghan king Sher Shah Suri.

Competition between Humayun and his brother Kamran Mirza, led to weakness in Humayun and soon after Sher Shah and Bahadur Shah attacked Humayun and defeated his army. Humayun was prepared for war in the year 1540 A.D but was defeated again and to save his life, he was forced to cede the throne to Sher Shah and escape to the Sindh. He then came to Iran.

Humayun came to Iran in the year 951 AH and spent some time in Iran and took refuge in the court of Shah Tahmasp I in Tabriz and with the help of Shah Tahmasp retook his throne after fifteen years and ruled again from 1555 to 1556 A.D. Humayun died in 1556 A.D, a few months after his return from the exile and extended asylum in the Safavid court, he suddenly died in a fall from the stairs of his library at Delhi.

The book of territory of the Mogul dynasty states: Humayun found his benefit to seeking asylum from Iran. Little Akbar was given to Humayun's oldest wife and with many problems was brought to Kandahar and Kabul. Humayun and his young wife Hamideh arrived in Iran in 1554 A.D, where Shah Tahmasp accepted them as son of the founder of the Safavid royal dynasty. Humayun and his wife visited some holy sites.6

As mentioned earlier, Tahmasb Shah the first, very respectfully accepts this royal family and during their stay in Iran, Humayun Shah gets highly influenced by the Safavid artistic buildings and architecture that were built all around Iran and becomes fascinated by the Iranian artwork.

Humayun after a year with an army of Iranian riders led by Sultan Murad Mirza, one of Shah Tahmasp sons, returned to India and regained his lost kingdom. After gaining power, he invites a number of Science and Culture leaders from Iran to India.
Due to Humayun's personal interest, the first group of Iranian artists went to Kandahar, Kabul, and from there came to Delhi and Agra.\

In the book Akbarnameh it is written: "... Humayun, after permission from the Shah Tahmasp, from Tabriz, went to Khorasan, in Tabriz the first met Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwaja Abdul Samad. Ali Tabrizi was a painter and a poet as well, and Abdul Samad was a painter and a calligrapher. His father was Minister of Shuja Shah in Shiraz... ". In Patna library, in the margins of a manuscript Akbarnameh, Akbar Shah has written: “my father (Humayun) and I were both under training of Abdul Samad in Kabul.”

During his long stay in Iran, he became more familiar with the customs, traditions and culture and while returning to India brought a large number of Iranian artists and politicians. Therefore the Indian Mogul dynasty that previously had some Iranian roots was more under the influence of the Iranian culture and in this period Iranian culture had a wider influence on Indian subcontinent. It should be noted that, the image of Humayun before Shah Tahmasp Safavi is engraved on the walls of the palace of Chehelsotoon from this period.

At that time, Tabriz was a famous school and leading centre of art that was headed by Master Kamal al-Din Behzad and a group of other artists. In the final meeting and farewell visit that took place in the city of Mianeh, Humayun requested the King of Iran to grant permission to some artists to go to India to promote and teach Iranian art and artists’ collaboration and if possible accelerate this work so that artists could go to India accompanied by Humayun. Shah Tahmasp accepted Humayun's request and issued a travel permit for artists but did not allow some artists such as Mir Seyyed Ali and Abdul Samad Mosavar Shirazi. But in the year 955 AH, without the permission of the king, moved to Kandahar with great difficulty to be closer to the court of Humayun. Until the year 956 AH, when Humayun accepted and invited them to Kabul. Humayun honoured Iranian artists in Kabul and ordered thorough, well-equipped workshops to be given to them and appointed
them to supervise Indian artists. Thus new India-Iranian doctrine was shaped and entered in to India after five years.

Humayun set up a library in India in Delhi old castle grounds, to create exquisite works by Iranian masters in cooperation with Indian artists. Some artists such as Abdul Samad Mosavar Shirin Qalam were highly credited in the Indian court just like ministers and the royal princes and had the right to companionship of the king. Humayun often visited the library and encouraged the artists and by his effort many artists including architects, painters, calligraphers, gilding workers, bookmakers migrated to India and formed part of Iranian art and culture in that country.

One day he suddenly fell from the stairs of the same library and died. Then his son Akbar continued his way to excellence in Iranian art and painting.

Glorious Humayun's Tomb is located in Delhi and is known as one of the Iranian-style gardens built in the subcontinent. This tomb was built within eight years at the behest of his wife, Hamideh Banu Begum who had become familiar with Iranian architecture during her stay in Iran, the tombs are Inspired by Iranian tombs and is designed by Chahar-bagh space and is built by Sayyid Mohammad bin Mirek Ghiyasuddin and his father Mirek Ghiyasuddin from Herat, which at that time was part of Iran.

According to the book Mogul Khan's territory; soon after, the construction of Humayun tomb began in Delhi near the river Yamuna, that after eight years of construction work under the supervision of his oldest widow, ended in 1569 A.D and as Kaleem, poet of Shah Jahan's court has written, it became the centre of the royal dynasty and the holy shrine of Mogul.
**Afghan occupation period** (1540 to 1555 A.D)

Farid Khan, Sher Shah Suri, also known as the Pashtun Sher Khan, was founder of the short-Syrian kingdom in North India and placed his capital in Delhi. He began to rule for five years by defeating Humayun Mogul in 1540 A.D.

At first he was a soldier then at the time of Babur reached the rank of commander and then became governor of Bihar. in 1537, when Humayun, son of Babur, was away from the capital with his army, seized the opportunity and rebelled in the state of West Bengal and established the Suri kingdom.

Nasiruddin Humayun the Mogul Emperor of India, after being defeated by Sher Shah Suri, took asylum in Iran, and was supported by Shah Tahmasp and retook Kandahar with his help. Competition between Humayun and his brother Kamran Mirza, weakened Humayun, and soon after Bahadur Shah and Sher Shah attacked Humayun. Humayun and Sher Shah clashed in Bagzar in 1539 A.D. Humayun was scared and did not want to go to war with his weak army, and preferred to negotiate peace with Sher Shah to assign Bihar and Bengal states to him but suddenly the Afghans attacked Humayun's army from behind. Since Humayun's army was caught, they fled and most of them drowned in the River Ganges, but Humayun survived and Sher Shah became the hero in Afghanistan.

Humayun got ready for war again and met Sher Shah army in Kannauj in the year 1540 A.D and failed again and to save his life, he was forced to leave the throne to his conqueror, but since his brother Kamran, did not let him to his territory, he fled to Sindh and came to Iran from there and took refuge in the court of Shah Tahmasp.

Sher Shah during his five-year rule, from 1540 to 1545 A.D, implemented a variety of civil and military reform and updated a new mailing organizing system in India. He died in 1545 A.D suddenly death and Syrian Aslam Shah succeeded him.
The real name of the Syrian Aslam Shah was Jalal Khan and was the second son of Sher Shah Suri. After the death of Sher Shah and by holding an emergency meeting of the nobility, Jalal Khan because of his greater military capabilities was elected to succeed instead of his older brother Adil Khan. Jalal Khan was crowned in 1545 and chose the title Aslam Shah for himself. Aslam Shah was always scared by his elder brother during his short reign and was worried of his actions. That's why, he was always suspicious of his close people and his army and this led to a brutal purge of his army.

Aslam Shah died in 1554 A.D at age of 22 and his twelve-year-old son succeeded him, but his rule lasted only for a few days. He was murdered by a son of Sher Shah's nephew, Mohammad Mubariz Khan, (after taking power named himself as Mohammad Adil Shah).

Mohammad Adil Shah was the fourth ruler of the Suri dynasty. He was crowned in 1554 A.D. In 1555 A.D, the brother of Mohammad Adil Shah, Ibrahim Shah Suri rebelled in Agra. Adil Shah's army was defeated and lost the throne of Delhi. Suri's weak empire was soon divided into four parts and Delhi and Agra was ruled by Ibrahim Shah Suri and Mohammed Adil Shah's rule remained in Bihar in the vicinity of Agra. Finally, Moguls with the rise of Humayun defeated the Suri dynasty and regained power again.

**Akbar Shah (1556 and 1605 A.D)**

Jalaluddin Mohammad Akbar, the third Mogul emperor of India, known as Akbar the Great, was son of Humayun and Jahangir's father, who reigned between the years 1556 and 1605. He was a benevolent, brave and wise king, and he is always remembered as one of the greatest kings of India, next to Ashoka, as one of the most influential kings of this land.

Akbar's mother was an Iranian woman named Hamida Banu Begum. She married Humayun, the second Mogul King when he had taken refuge in the Safavid court. Although
Akbar was a refuge in Iran during his childhood; he was born in a Rajput castle in Sindh (in present Pakistan).

Jalal al-Din sat on the throne in the age of thirteen after the sudden death of Humayun in 1556 A.D. and nearly half a century ruled on much of the subcontinent. During the early years of his rule, he ran the country's affairs by consulting his mentor, Bayram Khan Turkmen, but from the age of 19, he took the helm alone.

Akbar expanded his territory and the tiny kingdom of the Mogul dynasty from Gujarat to Bengal during his reign. In the first year, Akbar Shah ended the chaos that had prevailed in the kingdom of Punjab. He then attacked the land of the Rajput kings, who had escaped to their impenetrable fortress.

Akbar married a Rajput princess in 1562 A.D. to strengthen the link between Islam and Hinduism but apparently was of no avail, because despite the marriage and conquer of the Rajput fort by Akbar, disagreements with Akbar continued. Akbar and his wife, Queen Judah were blessed with a son after years of childlessness and named him Salim (Nur al-Din Mohammad), who later rebelled against his father but only after his death, by the name of Jahangir, inherited his kingdom.

It should be noted that, while in this period, the religious wars between Catholics and Protestants was raging in Western Europe, and in other Islamic states like the Safavid Empire and the Ottoman Empire, religious intolerance was at its peak, he had established justice in its vast territory and was fair to all his citizens, whether Muslim or Hindu.

Akbar chose Agra as the capital city rather than Delhi and was very effective in developing this city. During his 49-year reign, he expanded the realm of the Mogul Dynasty or Mogul India in size and left the strongest and widest Kingdom after his death that the Indian peninsula had never experienced it throughout its history. Akbar Shah, who has been named as the greatest king of Indian history, the scope of his ruling at the time of death was
stretched from Kandahar city in the west up to the city of Dhaka in East Bengal, in the east and from Srinagar (Kashmir) in the north to the south, to the border of the city of Ahmednagar.

Akbar was concerned since the capture of Kandahar by the Safavid Shah Tahmasp and even did not send a representative to Iran on his death. When Shah Sultan Mohammad known as Khodabande was ruling in Iran and chaos and riots was everywhere, Uzbeks once again occupied Khorasan and were bordered with the reign of Mogul India. Abdullah Khan Uzbek sent an ambassador to the court of Akbar Shah to wage a war against the Safavids with the aim of removing Shiite and opening the way to Mecca but Akbar Shah did not agree with it. However, in the agreement that was made between them, Kandahar and Kabul were taken from Iran and were given to Mogul rulers and Uzbeks occupied Khorasan with no problem from Akbar.

Akbar always had a bright relationship with Persian culture. Literature and art flourished during his reign. He was a scientist and an artist and also known to an architect, artisan, gun maker, engineer, inventor and animal trainer. He collected and compiled many literary works, the most notable one is Akbarnama which is his own biography and was written in Farsi by his minister Abolfazl Allami, and Farsi was the language of the Mogul court in India. Abolfazl was one of the nine Jewels of the Court called as Navaratan. Another book that was compiled by Akbar’s order was the Constitution of Akbar.

According to the book, the territory of Mogul Khans; Akbar sent his best army commander, Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan to Deccan. Khanan Khan Central Headquarters was in the Burhanpur next to the Tapti River, on the northern border of Deccan. Abdul Rahim beautifully renovated the city; ruins of his magnificent library still remain where more than a few calligrapher, Illuminator, bookbinder etc. were employed; In addition to that, all the great and non-famous poets - whether Farsi or Indian - had collaborations. He designed the
city with a nice bath and a large number of gardens and from the mid-16th century the city has been the centre of silk and linen weaving.\textsuperscript{10}

Akbar Shah was tolerant and with his authority during his long reign tried to bring peace and prosperity to the Indian subcontinent. Akbar tried to create an agreement among all different prevailing religions in India. He also invented a new religion in the name of a divine religion, which was a mix of Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism and even Karvaka religions. It is noteworthy that, his rule and his children kingship, is the only Islamic state recorded in history that non-Muslim citizens had equal rights with Muslims without external pressure. This religion actually acted more like a personal opinion and shortly after the death of Akbar, his wife completely disappeared.

Many works are dedicated to Akbar among all Mogul Khans, while fanatic Hindu-Muslim historians hate him and curse him due to his non-real turning away from Islam, but is admired by mystical thinkers and representatives of a broad movement for peace and unity, and is remembered as "the shadow of God on earth" and the greatest rulers of Hindu-Muslim. But this behaviour was in opposite in the case of his great grandson Aurangzeb (1658 - 1707 A.D).\textsuperscript{11} Akbar built several gardens (Map 8), particularly in Delhi\textsuperscript{12}, then in Agra, his new capital\textsuperscript{13}.

Akbar Shah died in the capital of Agra in 1605 A.D. His tomb is located near Agra in a place called Sikandra (Tomb of Akbar the Great) and the building was built with red sandstone and decorated by Rhinestones marble.

**Jahangir** (1605 to 1627 A.D)

Nuruddin Salim Jahangir (1617 -1569 A.D) was heir of his father’s empire, and the fourth king of the Mogul Empire in India. Jahangir Shah was interested in science, art and literature over politics and affairs of the country was practically in the hands of his wife Nur Jahan.
We read in the book of the territory of the Mongol Khans; Akbar put his turban on Salim's head and thus confirmed his role as successor to himself. After enthronement Salim named himself Jahangir, he was the first Mogul ruler not to have an Iranian or Turk root from his mother’s family; he was the son of a Rajput princess.\textsuperscript{14}

Akbar wanted to educate his son in the best way, so from the age of four, sent him to the greatest teachers of the time Abdul Rahim Khan Khanan, to learn Persian, Turkish, Arabic, Urdu, history, mathematics, geography and other sciences. After years of training Salim returned to his father's court and contrary to all expectations, he falls in love and this causes a huge wedge between father and son. Salim, who was Akbar's best wish of life for many years, rebelled against his father. In 1600 A.D, when Akbar left the capital on a campaign, Salim declared himself as King. Akbar quickly returned to power and thought instead of the throne, give him the title of Khosro. Finally, Akbar died after five years and Prince Salim became king after 8 days of his father's death on November 3\textsuperscript{rd}, 1605 AD, and in the name of Jahangir, became the ruler and king of the Mogul dynasty in India and ruled for 22 years.

Jahangir in 1611 A.D married an Iranian woman named Mehrunnisa known as Nur Jahan, the granddaughter of one of the courtiers of the Shah Tahmasp Safavi. Nur Jahan's father, Mirza Ghiyasuddin Shirazi also known as Itimad Al-Dawla was one of the Iranian people who came to India with his family during the reign of Akbar Shah and had important positions at the court of Akbar and Jahangir. His progress during Jahangir’s reign was so well that he reached the highest administrative authority of the country, means the position of Chancery. Empress Nur Jahan and his father due to their important role in the Mogul court had an influence over many Iranians on the court.

While Jahangir was critically ill, his wife Nur Jahan could suppress General Mohabbat Khan's coup, the garrison commander of Delhi and imprisoned all rioters. Jahangir
was diligent in illustrating and writing Persian Immortal books and Gulshan Album (Muraqqa'-e Gulshan) which is a perfect example of Illustrated folios of Indo-Iranian pleasant art, and Jahangir Album (Muraqqa'-e Jahangir) which is an excellent and famous masterpiece of this period and is now kept in the Berlin Museum, are the result of his support of Iranian art.

Jahangir was a good writer and just like his predecessors such as Babur, wrote a book called Tuzk E Jahangiri which is his own biography. Also revised version of Persian dictionary known as Jahangiri dictionary was introduced to Jahangir by Jamal al-Din Hussein ibn Fakhr al-Din Hassan Injovi Shirazi, known as Azad al-dowla. This book contains only Persian words; each word has an evidence of poem and is the best and most accurate Persian dictionary. Due to extreme cold and illness, Jahangir died in 1627 on the way back from Kashmir and Kabul. He was buried in Shahdara garden on the outskirts of Lahore in Pakistan's Punjab. Shah Jahan became his successor and took to the throne.

**Shah Jahan** (1627 to 1658 A.D)

Shahabuddin Mohammad Shah Jahan (1592 A.D), son of Jahangir and fifth Emperor of Mogul dynasty ruled the Indian subcontinent for 31 years from 1627 to 1658 A.D. Like his grandfather Akbar Shah, he was keen to expand his empire and made it glorious and a great kingdom.

Apparently Jahangir had boundless love for his son Khurram. He called Khurram as Shah Jahan and in 1617 A.D, later became known under this title. Nur Jahan made an arrangement for marriage of Khurram with the daughter of his brother, Asif Khan; Arjomand Banu became Mumtaz Mahal (the most favourite lady of the palace) and the Taj Mahal has been dedicated to her.\(^{15}\)

The love story of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal is very famous. Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal married in 1612 A.D and lived 18 years together and fruit of this marriage
was 14 children that seven of them survived and grew up. Shah Jahan was in deep love with Mumtaz Mahal and used to take her with him on all journeys even campaigns. Almost a year after the reign of Shah Jahan, in one of these trips when Arjmand Banu was pregnant, she was fell into a severe pain and illness. Mumtaz Mahal requested her husband before her death not to marry any woman and to build a mausoleum for her to remain eternal with it. Shah Jahan accepted her both wills with heart and soul and this was how the Taj Mahal was built by Shah Jahan. Interestingly, Shah Jahan is more known for building the Taj Mahal. The building which is known to be among the new seven wonders has more of Iranian influence in its architectural style and has less of Indian style in it. The art of Iranian artists such as Amanat Khan Shirazi and Mohammad Shirazi can be seen in this building and architects and artists of Iran, India and Ottoman have worked in its construction but Shah Jahan is the designer and architecture. The building has held a significant role but Shah Jahan himself had a significant role in the design and architect of the building.

Today many of his commands still remains, which are mostly in Farsi, but his command in Kashmir is very important which is carved on the stone at the mosque in Srinagar, because it is one of his few commands that is in the shape of stone tablet. During his reign, Mogul realms reach to its biggest peak; however, it began to tear apart.

If Jahangir was a connoisseur of the finest paintings and gilding, Shah Jahan was a magnificent monument maker with incredible luxury in his court. He was crazy about construction. Not only did he want to change the structure of cities and fortresses (like Agra and Lahore), his main goal was to build a complete city named after himseklf: Jahangirabad, the new part of the old capital city of Delhi, the Red Fort, the Great Mosque and large houses of nobility.
From this time onwards, Delhi with the Tomb of Humayun and Nizamuddin, which had always has been a religious centre for Muslims in India, became the symbol of Islam in India.\(^{16}\)

Shah Jahan was a lover of Persian art, architecture, literature and poetry. Due to his art loving qualifies and taste and initiatives, many prominent Iranian poets migrated to his court in India. No king in the history of India, like Shah Jahan, has left this much of great work of architecture and art behind. In this regard, it is enough to point to the Taj Mahal a masterpiece and the Mausoleum Asefodoleh - Agra Fort and Red Fort of Delhi and Lahore’s Shalimar Gardens, which all have international fame.

Indo-Iranian art were combined together during his reign and Iranian art became quite common and one of the best combinations of these two civilizations is well seen in the building of the Taj Mahal. In the Shah Jahan era, Goldsmiths and jewellery design flourished so well that a jewelled throne called the Peacock Throne was designed and he sat on it in celebration of Nowruz in 1635 A.D. This throne which was a masterpiece of that time and was elaborated by many historians and poets of that time was later brought to Iran by Nadir Shah as booty.

Shah Jahan had four sons, Dara Shokouh, Murad Bakhsh, Shah Shuja and Aurangzeb. In 1658 A.D he became very sick and a bloody competition started among his children to take over the power. After many clashes Aurangzeb overtook his brothers and laid siege to Agra Fort and imprisoned Shah Jahan who had recovered from his illness, and sat on the throne instead of his father. Aurangzeb won the competition by many intrigues to his brothers and then killed them and completely broke the tradition of tolerance which was established by Akbar Shah. He insisted on the establishment of the Sharia law. Shah Jahan after 8 years under house arrest and illness, and was nursed by his daughter Jahan Ara Begum died in 1666 A.D and was buried in the Taj Mahal next to Arjmand Banu. The tombs
are decorated with marble and next to the right grave in Persian Nastaliq script are engraved: holy shrine of Arjumand Banu Begum, known as Mumtaz, place of death and year...and the other shrine of His Majesty Shah Jahan, nested in paradise, second Sahbqran in the year 1076 Hijri. This style of writing can also be seen in the graves of the Safavid and Qajar periods.

**Aurangzeb** (1658 to 1707 A.D)

Aurangzeb (1618-1707 A.D) was the sixth Mogul emperor of India and ruled between the years of 1658-1707 A.D. He was the third son of Shah Jahan and his Iranian mother, Arjumand Banu known as Mumtaz Mahal. Aurang is a Persian word meaning throne or siege and Aurangzeb means “worthy of the throne”.

In 1653 Aurangzeb chose Aurangabad as the base for his Deccan campaigns. The Qila Arak, his imperial residence, was laid out three years, later on an eminence in the northern part of the city. The walled zone is entered from the south through the Naubat gate, aligned with the earlier Jami mosque. Aurangzeb’s private pavilion has a central chamber roofed with a bangla vault Xanked by small pyramidal vaults. The building stands in the middle of a terraced garden with formal ponds and fountains.¹⁷

Shah Jahan in 1658 A.D became ill and a bloody competition took place for his throne among his children. As the eldest son naturally Dārā Shokuh was his successor but the second brother Shah Shuja in Bengal declared him as his father's successor. Shah Jahan and Dara Shokouh troops fought against Shah Shuja and he was forced to retreat. Immediately the youngest son, Murad Bakhsh with tacit promises to support Aurangzeb, declared himself as king in Gujarat. Aurangzeb in support of Murad Bakhsh galloped from Aurangabad to the north. Shah Jahan officially announced Dārā Shokouh as his successor and entrusted the crown to him but Aurangzeb announced that Dārā has usurped the kingdom and marched towards the capital.
After a series of bloody battles, Aurangzeb cracked down the army of Dara Shokouh. He fled to Delhi and left Shah Jahan in Agra. The old king was besieged by troops of his son Aurangzeb in the Agra Fort. Aurangzeb refused to meet his father and announced his brother Dārā is out of religion. Then, with the promise of valuable gifts, called his brother Murad Bakhsh but instead imprisoned him, and moved to Delhi and sat on the throne, and after the coronation named himself as Alamgir.

After imprisonment of his father and killing his three brothers, Aurangzeb extended Mogul territory to the greatest extent. In fact, the territory was extended so much that he collapsed in the month of March 1707 when he died at the age of 90 and almost half a century of rule. Unlike his ancestors he had no interest in fine art and other luxuries of life but he was more into the revival of Islamic militants.

Aurangzeb, after three years of imprisonment killed Murad Bakhsh. He had heavy fighting with Dārā and finally by infidelity of one of the Dārā Corps, captured him and after a few years of imprisonment and humiliation, as he would still consider him as a competitor for himself, declared him as an apostate and a group of fanatics killed him overnight. Aurangzeb offered the kingdom of Bengal to Shah Shuja. But since Shah Shuja knew his brother promises never honoured, he continued to fight him but failed and fled to Burma and was killed by ruler of that place.

Aurangzeb tried to develop his territory and after nearly 50 years on the throne, eventually died in Ahmednagar, one of the important cities of the Deccan at the time. After him, his second son Mohammad Moazzam with title of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah took the throne. In fact, the glorious era of the Mogul Empire ended with Aurangzeb and somehow he is remembered as the last great king of the Indian Great Mogul Empire.

After Aurangzeb, the course of civilization and progress of the Great Mogul Empire got weak and by the reign of Bahadur Shah the period of Minor Mogul Empire began.
During the reign of Bahadur Shah I, this empire was faced with severe weaknesses and was even accelerated after him.

In the section of the fall of the Moguls, in book in the territory of the Mogul Khans, it is noted that: While there are numerous and beautiful images from the first six rulers of the Mogul Empire and their families, we have limited and less beautiful images of subsequent rulers. On the one hand, quick-change of rulers after the death of Aurangzeb was preventing continuous work of artists, on the other hand face image, unlike the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, was not conceived as a display of power. Very private images show Mohammad Shah Rangila on the throne, addicted to pleasure, that by his order, in his palanquin with eight women in his garden and while he is blind.

There is an image of the last ruler of the Mogul, Bahadur Shah Zafar. Lithe Prince is sitting on a gold throne but the lions carrying the throne are more like dogs of Poodle breed. Thick chains on the necks of the ruler and his sons, cannot express poverty of the country in a different way.

In fact, Aurangzeb announced the collapse of his territory before his death and the incident began when war broke out between the sons of Aurangzeb over the succession.

**Bahadur Shah I** (1707 to 1712 A.D)

Moazzam born in 1643 A.D, the eldest son of Aurangzeb had succeeded to the Delhi throne at the age of 64 as Bahadur Shah. Bahadur Shah I ruled for only five years, which apparently was not satisfactory and the dynasty became too weak. Bahadur Shah died in 1712 A.D and war broke out between his four sons as it was predicted. After a short civil war, selfish and inconsiderate Jahandar succeeded his father.

**Jahandar Shah** (1712 to 1713 A.D)

Jahandar ruled for a very short period and could only register his name among the kings of this dynasty. He also presented himself as a prodigal ruler who was completely
hostage to his mistress. His and his mistress swimming in the Holy pool of lights in Delhi upset people which could be the reason of strangling him after nearly a year of rule.

**Farrukhsiyar Shah** (1713 to 1719 A.D)

He was the second son of Azim-us-Shan, born in 1683, and was ruling over Patna and took the place of Jahandar.

Farrukhsiyar Shah in 1717 A.D granted the free trading rights in Bengal to British East India Company. He was deposed by Amir al-Umara, Sayed Hossein Ali Khan, who had campaigned from Deccan to Delhi, and Rafi Ul-Darajat took his place.

**Rafi Ul-Darajat** (1719 to 1719 A.D)

After the dismissal of Farrukhsiyar, Seyyed Hossein Ali Khan was in search of a new ruler, and accidentally found Rafi Ul-Darajat son of Rafi Ul-Shan in the palace and just to have a ruler appointed to rule. This young twenty-year-old cachectic boy that probably was ill with tuberculosis, died a few months later.

**Rafi al-Dawla** (1719 to 1719 A.D)

Courtiers suggested Rafi al-Dawla, the brother of Rafi Ul-Darajat to succeed him. Rafi al-Dawla known as the second Shah Jahan also had a reign of a few months and died by excessive intake of opium.

**Nikusiyar** (1719 to 1720 A.D)

**Mohammed Ibrahim** (1720 to 1720 A.D)

Nikusiyar and Mohammed Ibrahim both were the kings of this period who ruled only for few months.

**Mohammad Shah** (1719 to 1748 A.D)

Mohammad Shah, who was also known as Roshan Akhtar, he was one of the kings of the irreversible decline of the Mogul Empire. He ascended the throne at the young age of seventeen and ruled for 29 years. He was the son of Khujista Akhtar, the fourth son of
Bahadur Shah I and grandson of Aurangzeb Alamgir, and became the last emperor of the Great Mogul period.

Although the internal and external situation of Mogul territory was unfavourable still it was known as an era when most fabulous wealth was stored. At that time, the same wealth attracted the king of Iran towards this land. Nadir Shah from Iran invaded India, during the reign of this king. In 1739 A.D., when Nader invaded India, because of poor tactics Mohammad Shah simply failed and Nader triumphantly entered Delhi and more than thirty thousand Indian soldiers were killed, after a month in Delhi Nader delivered a sermon in his name. Mohammad Shah requested him for his life. Nader accepted the retreated in exchange of royal treasury keys. Nader brought the Peacock Throne and the famous Jewellery of Kohi Noor to Iran and left the royal diadem on Mohammad Shah's head.

It is noteworthy that Mohammad Shah from India was among the calligraphers and Nastaliq writers and presently there are two pieces of his work at the archaeological museum of Delhi.

Naazir Garden (Bagh e Naazir) is built by Naazir, the head of eunuch house of Mohammad Shah in 1748 A.D. The building is built of red sandstone and located in archaeological site near Jamali Kamali in Mehrauli, Delh. There was a stone wall all around the garden which a large part of it still remains. (Image 78, 79)

Eventually Mohammad Shah died in 1748 A.D and was buried in the tomb garden of Nizamuddin e Uliya.

**Ahmad Shah Bahadur** (1748 to 1754 A.D)

Bahadur Shah was the fifteenth King of the Moguls and Successor to Mohammad Shah. During his rule from 1748 A.D, Ahmad Shah Abdali Afghan Durrani, was regularly attacking India and even usurped the Punjab for some time. Ahmad Shah was blinded in
1754 AD by Qazi al-Din Emad al-Mulk, the grandson of Nizam al-Mulk. He spent remaining years of his life in prison and died of natural causes in 1775 A.D.

**Alamgir II (1754 to 1759 A.D)**

Alamgir II was the son of Jahandar Shah and ascended the throne instead of Ahmad Shah, ruled for nearly five years and was killed by Imad-ul-Mulk. Alamgir's son preferred to flee.

**Shah Jahan III (1759 to 1759 A.D)**

After Alamgir II, for a short time a new King called Shah Jahan II took power in hand, while another group chose the Alamgir's son as the king.

**Shah Alam II (1759 to 1806 A.D)**

After being elected in 1759 A.D, Shah Alam II preferred to continue and remain in exile. In 1761 A.D, with an attack on Ahmed Shah Abdali, he took the administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in 1765 A.D, officially handed them over to the East India Company of Great Britain and in 1803 A.D went under the protection and support of Great Britain.

**Akbar Shah II (1806 to 1837 A.D)**

Out of seventy children of Shah Alam, his son Akbar II was successor to him and there is nothing much about him to report. He also was supported by Great Britain.

**Bahadur Shah II (1837 to 1857 A.D)**

Bahadur Shah II the son of Akbar Shah II, known as Bahadur Shah Zafar was the last king of the Mogul Empire in India. He was also the last Muslim king of India and remembered as defender of Indian independence movement by the Empire of Great Britain. After the Indian rebellion in 1857 A.D, he was dismissed by Great Britain and was exiled with his family in Yangon in Burma which was dominated by Great Britain Empire and stayed there until the end of his life.
Bahadur Shah was very interested in literature and calligraphy and has Ghazal-style poetry in Urdu and Persian. (Table 5)

6.1 (b) History of Gardens in India

To knowing about the gardens of ancient India, we have less archaeological evidence. The earliest information is from the Harappa civilization, around 2500-2000 B.C. Trees were considered important and to protect them they were given religious values. Even at this early period, there was trade and cultural contacts with Central Asia.

The Harappa’s arranged streets on a grid plan and formed courtyard houses. There are a few archaeological evidences of early gardens elsewhere in India but the ancient Hindu sacred books like the Ramayana and the Kama Sutra, give a remarkable detailed account of gardens in Ancient India.

While the medium of recording has changed drastically over the centuries, the earliest records of trees and gardens in India belong either to the oral tradition, or are manifested as engravings on columns, depictions on seals or described in ancient texts such as the Kalpavriksha and the Chaityavriksha, which indicate that the worship of trees was an integral part of the greater Aryan tradition, many trees continuing to be revered as sacred in India.

Around 1200 to 1000 B.C India had a developed art of town planning. Irrigation systems were also developed and were in use. Some information is available about parks and gardens. However, it was not till the time of Lord Buddha, (563 to 483 B.C), that there is sufficient information about the development of parks and gardens. According to historical legend Lord Buddha was born in a park. During that period more emphasis was on woodlands and parks rather than on gardens.

From the point of view of cultural and artistic development, the Mauryan period (322 to 185 B.C) could be considered as one of the 'best periods in the history of India.
Intricately linked to both religion and mythology, trees such as the Asoka (Saraca Asoca) have long been considered sacred by Hindus, Buddhists and Jains alike. Lord Buddha, for example, is believed to have been born under an Ashoka tree in Lumbini whereas Lord Mahavira renounced the world under this tree. Kamadeva (the god of love) has the Asoka tree dedicated to him. The tree even finds mention in the epic Ramayana as the ‘Ashoka Vatika’ (the garden of Ashoka trees) where Hanuman meets Sita to convey Lord Rama’s message that he is on his way to rescue her. Widely considered to be the ‘sorrow less tree’ the Ashoka has over the centuries come to represent transformation to greater enlightenment and fulfilment.

King Ashoka (270-250 B.C) not only loved trees and parks but gave royal orders to plant trees and develop gardens all over his kingdom. As they were Rock Edicts, these instructions are still available to us. Instructions were given regarding the location and composition of parks. Each park was expected to have water pools, creeper arbours and shaded walks. The design was more informal than formal, the emphasis was on shade and the cooling effects of water; and trees, shrubs and creepers were given preference for their fragrance, and their fruits, etc.

Similarly, the banyan or the Indian fig (Ficus benghalensis) and the peepal or Sacred Fig (Ficus religiosa) trees have long represented the Trimurti, according to the Brahma Purana and the Padma Purana, Lord Vishnu, the Preserver in the Hindu trinity of gods, hid himself in a Peepal tree when the demons defeated the gods, which is why the tree is a symbol of Lord Vishnu. The Peepal is the oldest depicted tree in India, its roots considered representative of Brahma, the trunk of Lord Vishnu and the leaves of Lord Shiva. First appearing on a seal in Mohenjodaro, a city of the Indus Valley, it is known in Sanskrit as ‘Ashvattha’, the tree of eternal life. It is also known as the Bodhi or the Tree of Enlightenment for it is under this tree that Buddha is said to have attained enlightenment.
The mention of plants and trees in ancient India is not limited to the realm of religion and mythology. Sumansa, the name given to flowers, translates quite literally to that which pleases the mind a term that reveals the aesthetic sensibilities of the people who lived thousands of years ago in the Indian civilization as well as the central role that nature and gardens played in their lives.

Canonical Jain and Buddhist texts make similar references. For example, in describing the important components of a city, Jain literature refers to pleasure gardens (arama, ujjana) and tanks (vapi) whereas the Buddhist text Lalitavistara offers a description of the pleasure gardens of the kings, Bimbisara and Ashoka. Likewise, the five hundred gardens laid out by Prince Siddhartha (later Buddha, the Enlightened One), around Kapilavastu also find mention in the text.

This period was also witness to very important sociological transition when royal gardens were made accessible to the public for the first time. For example, The Venuvana and Ambvana gardens in the vicinity of Kapilavastu, where Gautama Buddha spent his childhood, and the Jetavanian gardens near Sravasti, the capital city of the Kosala dynasty during Gautama Buddha’s time, were initially royal gardens that were opened to the public. They were later made into retreats for monks of different orders, a prelude to the later development of monastic complexes with gardens integrated in them.

Visiting the monastic university of Nalanda in 630 A.D, the Chinese pilgrim, Hsieun Tasang described the surrounding gardens in these words…. The temple arose into the mists and the sharing halls stood high above the clouds …. Streams of blue water wound through the parks; green lotus flowers sparkled among the blossom of sandal (wood) trees and a mango grove spread outside the enclosure.

Accounts of travellers such as Hsieun Tsang are vivid descriptions of people and their relationship with their land. Megasthenes, the Greek traveller who was sent as an ambassador
to India by Seleucus I of Syria, visited the palace of Chandragupta Maurya and described it as follow….. In the Indian royal parks, tame peacocks are kept and pheasants which are domesticated, there are shady groves and pasture grounds planted with trees … while some trees are native to the soil, others and brought from other parts and with their beauty enhance the charm of the landscape. The relationship of gardens with the perception of beauty, aptly summed up in the words sumansa (that which pleases the mind), is not without its accompanying prescriptive texts, which describe the modes and methods that one should follow when planning a garden. The Kamasutra, for example, states that every house should have a vrakshavatika or a pushpavatika, both terms referring to a garden that accommodates plants and fruit trees as well as herb and medicinal gardens.

Ponds, lakes, canals or tanks were other essential features to be found in these gardens. Apart from providing a relatively cool environment in the otherwise hot and sultry plains, these water bodies were also used for irrigation.18

Another example of the same period is also very interesting. Menander (180-160 B.C) was the Indian-born Greek king. His capital, Sagola (present day Sialkot), had extensive parks and gardens. Many of these gardens and parks had lakes and tanks with shaded walks. From the wall paintings, sculptures, and rock-cut temples and from Sanskrit literature, one can get a fairly accurate idea of garden development from the 1st to the 5th century A.D. Kalidasa and other poets give us detailed information about the gardens.

Kalidasa (Malavikagnimitra Drama) has described a machine which is similar to our present-day water sprayers.

There were water-cooled garden pavilions and bathing tanks. Gardens were watered from the main tank by well laid out water channels. The pools had fountains. The concept of a pleasure garden with use of water was fully developed and utilized. In the literature nearly thirty different types of lily pools have been described.
According to information about the Chola kings (around the 10th and 11th century A.D) in South India their cities were well developed with well planned gardens. The great South-Indian temples, gems of Indian architecture, usually had water tanks in their compounds with gardens attached to them. Invariably, such gardens were called "Nandanvaruun" (heavenly gardens).

Similarly, on the western coast, to the north of the present city of Ahmedabad was Anhilvad, capital of the Solanki Kings of Gujarat (961 A.D). We not only have information about the gardens, the pools and the fountains, but also about what plants were grown at that time: But now the city lies in ruins.

Abū Rayḥān Al-Bīrūnī (Iranian scholar and historian, around 1020 A.D) author of Tarikh Al-Hind" (History of India): and the "Chronology of Ancient Nations" has given us a good description of the development of tanks and reservoirs. He says, "In this, Indians have attained a very high degree of art, so that when our people see them, they wonder at them and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them”.

In general, gardens take many forms, and have a variety of functions. They can serve as spaces of peace and tranquility, a way to cultivate wildlife, or as places to develop agricultural resources. Globally, gardens have inspired, comforted, and sustained people from all walks of life, and since the Garden of Eden many iconic gardens have inspired great artists, poets, musicians, and writers. It can be said, ornamental gardening may be considered as aesthetic expressions of beauty through art and nature, a display of taste or style in civilized life, an expression of an individual's or culture's philosophy, and sometimes as a display of private status or national pride in private and public landscapes. Here we consider the different types of gardens in India;

- Home Garden
- Paradise Garden
The advent of the domestic garden can be traced back to the time of transition, when a society of hunters and food-gatherers changed gradually to a society that had settled permanently in one location. These gardens, generally enclosed by walls to ward off predators, were initially venues solely used to grow plants of medicinal value or to provide vegetables for domestic consumption. Subsequently, the leisured class began developing these gardens with a view to derive not only aesthetic pleasure from them but to also use them as spaces from which they could practice everyday living and entertaining.19

In India, with the subsequent growing affluence of societies, it became fashionable for people to retreat to summer cottages at places of some altitude to ward off the harsh heat of the plains. Generally located at the foothills of the Himalayas, these cottages were first introduced to India by British colonizers.

With flat lands in the plains available for cultivation and a more developed food-chain cycle, domestic gardens began to be used solely for leisure, with people often planting exotic trees and shrubs for sheer pleasure, along with those plants with religious connotations to them.

In urban centres where land was scarce and people often resided in apartments, the home garden re-invented itself into a terrace garden, often concrete, paved or with complementary stone flooring, without any grass, but nonetheless exhibiting the same notions of delight and picturesque as some of their larger counterparts.
Paradise Garden

The word ‘paradise’ in Persian describes ‘a wall around’ and originally referred to a hunting park. The word originated from paradeisoi (pairi meaning ‘around’ and deaza referring to ‘wall’).

The enclosures often contained exotic plants and animals acquired after military campaigns and co-existed with smaller enclosures for royal residences. The word ‘paradise’ came to mean ‘heaven’ when it was adopted by the ancient Greeks and became a symbol of heaven in the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Characteristic of these gardens is the combination of a walled enclosure with plants, birds, fruit trees and geometrical canals. A network of canals served both as a means of supplying water as well as an ornamental feature, the water reflecting the trees nearby. As retreats, secluded and insulated from the outside world, these gardens were often intended to be viewed from first store windows or from garden pavilions and were not conceived as spaces for outdoor living. A result of this was the often structured geometry of such gardens, which ultimately culminated in the development of the Chahar-bagh, the four-fold garden, which ultimately culminated in the development of the Chahar-bagh.

As a quadripartite composition, with water canals segregating the sections, these Paradise gardens have Persian and Mogul antecedents. The Persian explored the idea of the four elements (earth, water, fire and air) in their gardens while the Quran describes the Paradise garden as a garden of eternity (jannat al-khuld) with four rivers – of water, milk, wine and honey. The Mogul developed this notion even further with the numerous gardens that they built across their empire. Curiously, in spite of its nearly 2500 year old history, the geometry of the Paradise garden has changed little.

The idea of a national park or of nature parks dates back to early Egyptian time when plants, trees and animals were believed to reflect the nature of the gods. In its modern
incarnation, the national park or more aptly, nature reserve, is an area where people can observe and engage with untouched nature.

**Temple Gardens**

As places of both congregation and sanctity, the spaces around a temple began to take on greater significance. Whether open to the public or merely a place for the priest to preside over a religious ceremony within a protective wall, the temple garden became a sanctuary for meditation and contemplation. Buddhist temples, for example, often had gardens within the enclosures in deference to Lord Buddha who had meditated in one such park.

There are numerous references to sacred groves and temple gardens in ancient Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil literature.

**Botanic and Zoological Gardens**

Early Chinese emperors, Egyptian pharaohs and Babylonian kings, all kept plants within walled enclosures, making the beginning of botanic gardens. Initially, these gardens were no more than a collection of plants. The modern botanical garden, like modern science, is a construct of the Renaissance, with the Orto Botanico in Padua, Italy, being one of the oldest examples. Initially laid out on the estates’ of either royalty or rich noblemen, botanic gardens were at times combined with zoological gardens in which exotic beasts were kept. In their modern-day incarnation, zoological gardens are now also centres for research and education.

The Indian Botanic Gardens in Howrah (Kolkata) is both the largest and oldest of such gardens in South Asia. Established in 1787 A.D by Lieutenant Colonel Robert Kyd, a British army officer stationed in India, the gardens are spread over 273 acres along the west bank of the Hooghly River. The landscaping, designed initially by Sir George King in 1782, comprises artificial lakes, undulating land, an underground network of irrigation pipes and interconnected moats. With over 12000 trees and shrubs belonging to 1400 different species,
the gardens were first known as East India Company’s Garden or Company Bagan, and later as the Royal Botanical Garden.

Indian mythology and the symbolism associated with trees share an intricate relationship in history. As numerous references in ancient texts and epics show, trees in India are representative of gods, goddesses and their relationships. This is due in part to the medicinal, particularly Ayurvedic and herbal, properties that are to be found in the flowers, leaves, barks and roots of trees.

The species of the trees in themselves are very old, originating from Vedic times and often have multiple meaning and references. They are worshipped and revered in different ways too but have a rich history apart from the more conventional accounts of their origin. Some important trees and plants mentioned in Indian mythological significance and the roles they play in Indian society are:

- **Ashoka tree** is a sacred tree in Hindu religion which is dedicated to Kamadeva, the god of love. According to Buddhist legend, Buddha was born under this tree in Lumbini, while the Jains believe that Lord Mahavaria renounced the world under an Ashoka tree in Vaishali.

- **Banyan tree** is the national tree of India and representative of the three gods, Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. Symbolic of life and fertility, this tree is seldom cut and can grow to a considerable size. The great Banyan tree in the Indian Botanical Garden in Howrah being among the largest tree in the world.

- **Lotus** is the national flower of India and sacred to Buddhists and Hindus alike. In Hindu Mythology, it represents God, rising up in all His beauty from the murkiness around. This flower representative of Lakshmi, the Hindu goddess of fortune and prosperity, the lotus flower symbolizes spiritual enlightenment, divinity, fertility, wealth and knowledge. According to Buddhist legend,
Siddhartha Gautama was born with the ability to walk and wherever he stepped, a lotus flower bloomed. Another legend has it that after attaining enlightenment, Buddha was reluctant to teach dharma and was persuaded only after he saw a lotus stem extending from the bottom of a pond high into the air to embrace sunshine.

- **Neem tree** is a tree in the mahogany family Meliaceae and native to India and is revered by Hindus as a manifestation of the Goddess Durga or Maa Kali.

- **Peepal tree** is worshiped ever from the time of the Indus Valley Civilization (3000-1600 B.C). It was used during the Vedic period to start fires through friction and continues to be used extensively in ayurvedic medicine. Symbolically, the peepal represents Lord Vishno and Lord Krishna to be associated with the peepal. This tree is known by the Buddhists as the Bodhi Tree or Tree of Enlightenment because after 49 days of meditation, Shakyamuni Buddha attained enlightenment.

- **Sandalwood tree** is native to south India, parts of Indonesia and Australia. Vedic texts record that the scent of this tree is believed to have filled the Garden of Paradise. It is used extensively both in sacred ceremonies and to purify temples.

- **Tulsi tree** represents Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu wherever it grows.

- **Bael tree** has thorny branches and trifoliate leaves, their shape signifying Lord Shiva’s three eyes and hence was seldom used as firewood except in the case of sacrificial fires. Among its numerous medicinal values, the bael tree is antiparasitic, anti-pyretic, a digestive and a laxative. The Jains consider the bael tree sacred too. It is said that the twenty-third Tirthankara, Bhagwan Paranathji, attained nirvana, or enlightenment, under the bael tree.
- **Imli tree** is a large deciduous tree native of Africa, it was brought to India so long ago that it is virtually considered to be indigenous and can be found in the warm, frost-free regions of the Indian subcontinent.

- **Eucalyptus tree** is a diverse genus of flowering trees and shrubs in the myrtle family, Myrtaceae. The dried leaves and oil are used to make medicine. Though eucalyptus is used medicinally for many purposes, there isn't enough scientific evidence so far to rate it as effective for any of them. Eucalyptus leaf is used for infections, fever, upset stomach, and to help loosen coughs.

- **Kaim tree** was considered holy and can be seen in depictions of Lord Kirishnain Brindavan; also in Buddhism, this tree was thought to reunite separated lovers.

Firmly it could be said that, the Mogul dynasty in India with few exceptions were among the rulers who had a very high understanding of aesthetic criteria in the world. Over several decades they developed a style that was penetrated in all things created by man, from big cities to the smallest green jade pin to fix the turban. This is an art that very rarely was kept away from nature. All rulers were lovers of flowers and animals and subjects of images and poetic forms seemed important to them, like a flower in a crystal bowl that turns into a mango or green jade cup that becomes a goat.

Information available on gardens during the earlier period of Islamic rule, which is up to the time of Babur, is rather limited. This is largely for two reasons. First, there were very few historians or chroniclers present during this period. Secondly, time has taken its toll in this tropical country and what was left, succeeding kings demolished.

In fact, Mogul garden making art is a fusion of Timurid and Safavid architecture. One of the arts that made significant progress in the Timor period was the art of landscape design. Timor gathered all Asian artists and artisans and brought Islamic art and civilization influenced by Arabs, Persians, Central Asians and even Chinese art, to its own solid form.
which later became famous as Timurid architecture. Name of gardens that were built in the fifteenth century in Samarkand are; Bagh-e Naghshe Jahan, Bagh-e Behesht, Bagh-e Boland, Bagh-e Nau, Bagh-e Chinar, Bagh-e Delgosha, Bagh-e Jahan Nama,...blend of this style of landscaping and Safavid architecture was also affected by entering to India with Indian architecture and gardens and eventually became the Indian Mogul style.

Shortly after Zahir al-Din Mohammad Babur, the first of the Great Moguls, arrival in India in 1526 he ordered buildings to be erected. He was unimpressed with Indian edifices, and disgusted with the lack of the formal gardens to which he was accustomed. Most of his works were therefore, secular, consisting of terraced gardens with pavilions and summer houses, hardly anything of which has survived.20 (Map 9)

Almost concurrently, in the north, Babur defeated Ibrahim Lodhi of the Delhi Sultanate in the battle of Panipat in 1526. Babur died in 1530 but not before constructing some picturesque gardens: Bagh-I Vafa in Kabul (the garden of Fidelity, 1508), the Bagh-e Kilan near Kabul and the Araam Bagh (the Garden of Rest, 1528) and the Zuhara bagh, both in Agra.

Before Babur, four different Islamic dynasties ruled Delhi. A Turkish slave Mohammed Ghory established his kingdom at Delhi, inaugurating the Slave Dynasty, (in 1206 A.D). Kutb-din Ibak (1210 A.D) made an important contribution to architecture during his time. We have very little information about gardens. Some information about the gardens and garden pavilions built during the reign of Queen Razia Begam (1236 A.D) are available. However, her rule was short lived. Perhaps, the king best known for his love of gardens before Babur would be King FirozShah (1351 A.D) Contemporary historians has left a good record of his work.21
We know that in the period before or simultaneously with the Mogul dynasty of India also made so many gardens but it does not fit into this category and we are here only to discuss the Mogul gardens.

The rulers of the Mogul dynasty in India are Muslims and they believed that Heaven and Paradise are represented by a garden, as mentioned in the Quran, is the primary motivating and inspirational force behind Islamic garden design. The following passages from the Quran describe the relationship between those who do well and gardens: ‘for those who believe and do well, God has prepared gardens under which rivers flow, to dwell there forever: that is the Supreme Felicity.

For the righteous are gardens in nearness to their Lord, therein is their Eternal Home. And give glad tidings to those who believe and do righteous good deeds that for them will be gardens under which rivers flow (in Paradise).

For those who fear their Lord, are gardens under which rivers flow (in Paradise); therein are they to dwell (forever), an entertainment from Allah; and that which is with Allah is the best for Al-Abrar (those who are obedient to Allah and follow strictly His Orders).

As a consequence of the Quranic tests and the descriptions of the gardens of Paradise, the message of Islam was spread far and wide. The depictions also served as a constant reminder of the deeds that were expected of a person, and the rewards (Paradise) that they would earn.

The idea of a garden representing a notion of Paradise and a description of rivers (water) finds mention in the Book of Genesis even prior to its Quranic references: And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compassed the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold. And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium and onyx stone. And the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole
land of Ethopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth towards the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.\(^{22}\)

Interestingly, the passage tells us of the source of the water running through the garden before dividing into the four rivers.

The Garden of Eden, as described in the Book of Genesis, is where God placed Adam and Eve after he created them. Instructed to look after the Garden, Adam and Eve were forbidden to eat the fruit of the trees. Convinced by a serpent to disobey God and to eat the fruit from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, Adam and Eve were subsequently punished by God for disobeying Him.

The passage describes water flowing through this garden before it is divided into the rivers to reach the plains and agricultural fields. The source of livelihood thus carried with it both the sins and the virtues of Adam and Eve.

The harnessing of the rivers, as depicted in the painting for cultivation or for the creation of the Paradise gardens, helps to perpetuate the belief in a king’s divine powers, something that was further reiterated through the magical powers of royal ceremonies, and the microcosmic creation of and reconstruction of the universe.

Other ancient references to gardens in the Christian tradition confirm the umbilical link that the ancient religions, Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity or Islam, had with an idealized view of nature and its portrayal as a promised land (Paradise) from where all life stems. For example, in the Song of Solomon IV: “Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire, with spikenard; in Ecclesiastes; ‘I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all king of fruits’; and in Nehemiah II.: ‘And a letter unto Asaph the keeper of the king’s orchard, that he may give me timber to make beams for the gates of the palace which appertained to the house, and for the wall of the city, and for
the house that I shall enter into. And the king granted me, according to the good hand of my God upon me’. 23

Stuart Cary Welch writes in his first book on Mogul art; The Mongol rulers of this social behavior, their talent in combining nature and art and their fine understanding of beauty, at least for 200 years, from Babur to Aurangzeb, turns India into a dream land which was admired from other nations. Mogul means wealth and beauty and in the same way is reflected in Europe.

Mogul architecture is extra rich and most of this architecture is in Tombs next to Fortresses Palaces that architects of Mogul territory have used their utmost in them and they have usually exhibited them in a large garden area. Humayun's Tomb in Delhi and Akbar's tomb in Sikandra are examples of them. But of course, the Taj Mahal is the effect of Visionary Architecture in India that has been built by the order of Shah Jahan for his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal.

Babur's reports of India (on Baburnama which is Zahir al-Din Mohammad Babur biography) is rich in visual details. His words are about gardens and amazing pictures of watering, animals, fruits and flowers. Although Babur was enchanted by the landscape of India, but has described its gardens as chaotic24 ...(In the second volume of Ain-i-Akbari) the garden has not been mentioned in describing of Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad, Oudh, Barar, Ajmir, Delhi, Lahore and Multan cities. In particular, it is surprising that the famous gardens of Lahore and Delhi have been ignored. In describing Agra, Gardens are mentioned as located on the left bank of the Yamuna River. But this is partly because of its proximity to the home of the writer! Briefly mentioned about gardens and groves of Sandal trees in Burhanpur and a garden fence in Gujarat which was made by barbed fig.25

While one of the most detailed descriptions and explanations of the Mogul Gardens can be found in "in the territory of Mogul Khans" by Annemarie Schimmel. It is written: But
almost the most important architectural monuments of the Moguls are planning gardens. When Babur was deployed in Kabul in 1508 A.D., his first job was to create a garden called the Baghe e Vafa (faithful Garden). He renovated the Ulugbek garden near the Istalif Kabul and miniatures of Baburnama shows, how he supervises the gardeners in digging, seeding and planting. He planted plane, orange, lemon, and pomegranate trees and made a small creek of blue marble...But India seemed rugged in Babur's eyes, since he had not seen a good garden, a deficiency which was fundamentally resolved by him and his successors. Apparently the Timurid dynasty was in love with gardens (and possibly Turkic peoples in general). Every time when Timur was giving a house to his new wife, he used to make for her own garden too.

The gardens developed by Babur were usually constructed in a series of terraces of sloping ground, which was the usual Turki and Persian plan. The religious concept of Paradise was predominant in garden planning. Paradise had eight divisions and based on this concept the gardens were divided into eight terraces. However, in some places, the number seven was also chosen to represent the seven planets.

In these terraced pleasure gardens the main pavilion, the climax of the design, was in nearly every case placed either on the topmost terrace from which one could get a wide view, or else on the lowest terrace from where one could enjoy the garden with its background. This system has been commonly used in Kashmir.

But it was not always possible to have a site where terraces were possible. This led to the development of gardens on flat ground. In such gardens the main structure was raised sufficiently high so as to achieve an imposing effect. Secondly, were eight terraces or seven terraces and if it were not possible two water channels were designed to form a cosmic cross.\textsuperscript{26}
Akbar created the first great Mogul gardens in Kashmir in the year 1597; this garden is called the Nasim Garden and is near the Dal Lake. Although the famous Nishat gardens are created by Asif Khan and the Shalimar Gardens of Kashmir which were built by Jahangir, husband of his sister in 1619, the Kashmir was exactly the land of the Mogul’s favorite gardens. Then Lahore’s Shalimar Garden is important, the large installations which represent the ideal Mogul garden architecture: This is a plan that is divided into three sections which resembles a palace organized in three parts: a section for people, a section for nobility and the third section for the family. In order to create such a garden, Iranian architect Ali Mardan Khan was ordered to make a stream with the length of more than 100 miles from the hillside to Lahore. In the third part of Kashmir Shalimar, a beautiful palace is built of black marble.

While the gardens of Kashmir due to their high and low positions can be irrigated by streams with small waterfalls, Shalimar Gardens in Lahore, which was built during Shah Jahan’s time, should be artificially leveled up in order to create stepped waterfalls.

Iranian Chahar-bagh is followed almost in all Mogul Gardens: A large pool or a pond which more or less forms the central point of the garden with four streams that lead to it; Walkways between plots are at a higher level, which overlooks on the flowerbeds on the surface. Paths are artistically paved with bricks and palaces of marble are found in the poetic neighborhood, palaces were beautifully built over the platforms in the middle of the lake or pond. This also was a desired form for Tombs, through which the deceased in the Gardens with underlying streams, would somewhat sooner reach to the happiness of heaven than others.

Sometimes a hut was built between tree branches in the garden; such huts actually were primarily considered for hunting, but they appear in romantic and poetic images as well. Not only were rulers fascinated by gardens, Ladies of the court have built beautiful gardens more than everybody else, and also the nobles and dignitaries participated in building such
gardens. Khanan Khan Abdul Rahim created Fateh Garden in Ahmedabad after his triumph over Gujarat and Burhanpur decorated his residences with gardens that even people were allowed to enter them - a rare behavior!

Construction of Wah gardens near Hasan Abdal, in the old route of Lahore to Srinagar is attributed to Man Singh that its pond and Belvedere have been repaired and restored few years ago. Other beautiful facilities also should not be forgotten: white marble palaces along the Ana Sagar Lake in Ajmer was the popular pilgrimage site for the Mogul empire rulers which was built by Jahangir and his son renovated them in 1636 A.D and during festivals they were beautifully illuminated.

But Kashmir was a desired destination for gardens and Jahangir's visit in 1620 led to planning of several projects for the gardens and of course, all of them were implemented.

One of these interesting garden is Zafarabad garden built by Zafar Khan Khwaja: This very good ruler of Kashmir was married to the nephew of Mumtaz Mahal and ordered to praise his garden in a Persian Masnavi and record Shah Jahan's visit of this garden in some miniatures next to the text. It is noteworthy to know that, Saeb, the Persian poet has lived with him for some time. (Image 80)

Plane trees were beautiful in Kashmir and their beauty was more shining in the fall when the leaves were golden yellow. Jahangir's painters have beautifully painted these stately trees with leaves like hands which resemble human hands, which are reached out to a glass of wine for poets. Pictures shows the abundance of different flowers like Rose, Jasmine, and Champa which is very aromatic and from the same family, which would make all people happy in Kashmir and Lahore, Agra and Delhi. Nadir al-Asr painter of Jahangir's court, has painted more than hundreds of flower images, whether a single image of impressive regal flowers or decorative flowers of album pages that surround the original image. Flowers were always painted realistically and naturally and many poems were written about gardens in the
Mogul court - whether Farsi or Urdu - which certifies the ruler’s and people's fascination for the garden.\(^{27}\)

Many of the poets of the time, especially during Shah Jahan’s period, at least for part of the year would live in Kashmir, the land of favorite gardens of the Mogul rulers.\(^{28}\)

Based on the stories of Mongolian history, at least up to the reign of Aurangzeb, this feeling was passed on that the founder of Mogul architecture in India is the building’s founder and is the deliberate judgment and arbitration of each king and not of an individual architect. Historians of Jahangir and Shah Jahan's court have presented the king’s taste and opinion as the main criterion value of architectural structures.

Unlike the Mogul painters who used to sign their works, architects name was rarely cited, although the names of those who oversaw the process of building construction was mentioned but their exact role in the process of construction is not known. Usually architectural innovations first appeared in the buildings built by the king and his relatives and therefore their important and decisive role in the evolution of architecture is determined.

Mir Hossein is one of the eighteenth century Persian poets of India, who has a Masnavi with all stylistic tricks and tips in it. With the name of Unique Story (Gheseye Binazir) is one of the most interesting and marvellous written poems and because of immense descriptions of gardens, palaces, costumes and a lifestyle of lovers, is also very important in art history.\(^{29}\)

Among all gardens, Mian Khan’s garden and Kamran's Baradari garden complex is referred... Mian Khan garden... which is located on the old road to of Lahore castle to Shalimar Garden. In the nineteenth century maps, the entire corridor is pictured as a string of gardens. Five years ago only one garden was remained. The garden has a black marble palace, mosque, water storage, wall, and terraces and was one of the few green spaces remains in the heart of an area full of high-density residential and commercials. The main
structures of Garden still remained; but with the loosening of restrictions on construction, the garden did not survive against housing projects and private ownership of land, although Lahore civil authorities somewhat support it.³⁰ ... Kamran's Baradari is a series of gardens in the middle of River Ravi. This example demonstrates the special interest of politicians towards territorial heritage of Mogul gardens. It is said this garden is the oldest Mogul garden (Includes garden and water supply facilities and pavilion). In 1988, contrary to existing laws and despite legal complaints of the Department of Archaeology, the entire complex was renovated by order of the governor of Punjab. Kamran's Baradari is the worst example of renovation in the recent history of Lahore.³¹

We can identify three formal versions of Mogul garden architecture. In its ideal form, the Mogul Chahar-bagh consists of a square, divided by cross-axial paved walkways into four equal parts. The centre, which is highly charged symbolically, may be occupied by a building — typically a garden pavilion, but also a tomb — or by a pool. The walkways may contain sunk channels, and at the points where they meet the garden wall, there may be real or false gateways. The quadrants may in turn be subdivided into further squares. The whole composition is enclosed by a wall with towers at its corners. This form becomes the Mogul garden par excellence: with a building in the centre, it finds it’s most monumental and perfectly planned expression as a funerary garden at the great imperial mausoleums of Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir.

The second type is the terrace garden, which the Moguls had developed in Kabul and Kashmir by introducing the Central Asian concept of a garden laid out on a slope into the landscape of those regions. The main buildings are arrayed on ascending terraces along a central axis formed by a channel sunk in a paved walkway which collects water from a spring. The individual terraces may be given the canonical four-part form, as in the imperial gardens of Shalimar in Kashmir, which the future Shah Jahan founded on Jahangir's orders in
1620 A.D, and which as emperor he enlarged in 1634 A.D. They consist of two square Chahar-bagh units on different levels.

The third type is the waterfront garden. As previously mentioned, river is one of the natural sources of water for the gardens. There are number of gardens alongside the Zayanderud River in Isfahan in Iran. The same can be seen alongside Yamuna River in India.

The Taj Mahal expresses this in its grandest form. It is a variant of the Chahar-bagh invented by the Moguls for the specific conditions of the Indo-Gangetic plain. Here the main water source was not lively springs on a mountain slope but a large slow-flowing river, from which the desired running water had to be raised into the garden. The Moguls conceived a garden type to take advantage of this situation: the main building was not placed in the centre as in the classic Chahar-bagh, but was set on an oblong terrace running along the riverfront. Usually the terrace had rooms below the main building opening onto the river, and stairs leading down to a landing. Its two ends were accentuated by towers. The Chahar-bagh component lay on the landward side. In this way the garden was turned toward the river, and the main pavilions enjoyed its cooling effect. The scheme presented a carefully composed front to those who saw the garden from a boat or across the river; and from inside, the buildings provided a backdrop for the garden.

Although the Hindu influence on Islamic architecture has always been strong, it was perhaps most prominent during Akbar’s times. The Anguri Bagh at Agra, the Amber garden at Jaipur and Lake Palace garden at Udaipur are classical examples of this influence. Another product of this influence was the development of moon-light gardens as against sun-lit Islamic garden.

The riverfront scheme emerged as the favourite formula for the residential gardens of Agra. After having been idealized and monumentalized in the Taj Mahal, however, it became an imperial prerogative, and at Shah Jahan's new city, Shahjahanabad, at Dena (1639-48), it
was almost exclusively used for the gardens and courtyards of the emperor's riverfront palace, the Red Fort, and the residences of the emperor's son Dara Shikoh and a few selected nobles. The majority of the nobles, and even Princess Jahanaca, had to build their gardens and houses inland. While we are informed in detail about the architectural fumes of Mogul gardens, the sources tell us less about what was planted and where. Gardens were expected to be not only beautiful but also useful; they were planted with decorative and sweet-smelling arm flowers and bushes, and also with fruit trees. The fruit harvest from the Taj Mahal garden continued from Mogul times into the British period\textsuperscript{32}.

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In the 16\textsuperscript{th} and early 17\textsuperscript{th} century the favourite Mogul form for pavilions and also for mausoleums, which were seen as a funerary form of garden pavilion, was a centrally planned building known in Persian as hasht bihisht, eight Paradises. Later in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, in the time of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, centralized plans were gradually given up for residential pavilions and replaced by structures consisting of large halls flanked by side rooms, but the hasht bihisht continued to be used for tombs. It appears most grandly in the Taj Mahal.

The hasht bihisht design consists typically of a square or rectangle, with corners sometimes marked by towers but also sometimes chamfered so as to form an irregular octagon; termed musamman Baghdadi by the Moguls (the significance of this term, Baghdadi octagon, has not been established). The hasht bihisht is divided by four intersecting construction lines into nine parts, comprising a domed chamber in the centre, rectangular open forehalls in the middle of the four sides, and two-storeyed, often vaulted, rooms at the corners. These eight forehalls and rooms surrounding the hall in the centre are the eight Paradises - the hasht bihisht. The central chamber is connected to the forehalls in a cross-
axial pattern (+). In the radially planned versions of this scheme a diagonal cross-axis (×) is introduced through additional passages linking the corner rooms to the main domed chamber. In the Mogul hasht bihisht each element of the plan is reflected in the elevation. The axial forehalls are expressed by large vaulted niches or by pillared verandahs, called by the Moguls iwan -a distinctive use of the term, denoting a pillared construction of any dimension and plan, not, as usual in Islamic architecture, a monumental niche or a palace hall. The corner rooms are expressed by superimposed niches. The domed central chamber is signalled in tombs by an outer dome and in garden pavilions and gate buildings, by a flat roof, which may be topped by one or more chhatris (pillared and domed kiosks).

The use of the term hasht bihisht for a building on the nine fold plan is attested in the case of the palace of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkoman rulers at Tabriz, built by Uzun Hasan (1457-78 A.D) or his son Yakub (1478-91 A.D) in the middle of a large garden: an anonymous Italian merchant traveller calls the structure Astibisti, and describes it as divided into eight parts, which are subdivided into four rooms and four anterooms, each room having the anteroom towards the entrance, and the rest of the palace is a fine circular dome.

In the Islamic tradition Paradise has at least seven levels, often eight, and heaven has nine vaults. The celebrated Spanish mystic philosopher Ibn Arabi, in his al-Futuhat al-Makkiyya, or Meccan Revelations (1231 A.D), described Paradise as consisting of three gardens of which the third is subdivided into eight gardens with eight doors. Muslims viewed the number eight as a symbol of Paradise; eight-sided plans were favourites for funerary structures.

Only traces remain of Babur's first garden, the Chahar-bagh or Bagh-i Hasht Bihish, which was situated almost opposite the Taj Mahal. Babur's choice of the riverfront site introduced a new type of urban planning in Hindustan, and it was also to have a decisive impact on the design of the Mogul gardens of the Plains. It led to the creation of the
riverfront garden as a module of the riverfront city, a Chahar-bagh with the main buildings on a terrace overlooking the river. The development of Agra as a riverfront city was taken up again by Akbar. (Image 81)

Abu’l Fazl, Akbar’s Historian, lists thirty-three gardens with their names - about a third , of them created or remodelled during Jahangir's reign.

The earliest surviving Mogul riverfront garden that can be securely identified and dated belongs to Jahangir's time. Now known as the Ram Bagh, it was built, or rebuilt, by the emperor's wife Nur Jahan as the Nur Afshan garden in 1621 A.D. The garden follows the waterfront design in an informal arrangement: instead of a single solid terrace extending along the entire riverfront, as in the later Shahjahani examples, there are terraced parts which contain subterranean rooms and support the main pavilions.

The tomb garden of Itimad-ud-Daula also dates from this period. Here a classic Chahar-bagh layout was employed, with the Hasht Bihisht pavilion for the tomb in the centre. This was the plan of all Mogul funerary gardens in a riverfront context until the Taj Mahal.

That the centrally planned Chahar-bagh was still used, as well as the additive Chahar-bagh plus terrace, for residential gardens along the riverbank, at least up to Shah Jahan's time, can be gathered from Peter Mundy of the East India Company. A reliable eyewitness, who was at Agra in 1632-33 A.D, he writes that the better sort of gardens had an enclosing wall with, at the corners, four towers with domes and galleries, between one and four gates, and long walks lined by cypresses leading commonly ... towards the middle . . . where is the chief house of pleasure and Tancke . . . This square Garden is again divided into other lesser squares, and that into other like beds and plots.

Shah Jahan, after his accession, changed the name of Agra which had no sense and meaning to Akbarabad, the city of Akbar, in honour of his grandfather. His historians
describe it as one of the great cities of the world, as the new Mogul seat of the caliphate, surpassing the old Baghdad of the Abbasid caliphs in size, beautiful buildings, and cosmopolitan population. Every rarity of the world could be found in its bazaars, and it was a haven for nobles, learned men, artisans and craftsmen. The river with its pure water formed the main artery of the city, which had a circumference of about 40 km. On the right (west) bank were the fort, the mansions of the princes, and the residences of the nobles. Inland were the houses of the majority of the population, which in contrast to those of the elite were several storey’s high. On the left bank were the magnificent imperial gardens with delightful buildings set among trees and flowers, and also a few non-imperial residences.

In Shah Jahan's reign the garden with buildings on a riverfront terrace became the more widely used residential form. The artist of the earliest known map of Agra, made in the 1720s for the Maharaja of Jaipur, considered it so characteristic of the urban landscape of Mogul Agra that he even showed centrally planned Chahar-baghs in this way, such as the tomb garden of Itimad-ud-Daula. The impression that Agra made on contemporaries is put in flowery words by Shah Jahan's historian Mohammad Salih Kanbo: “On either side of that sea full of pleasantness (the Yamuna), buildings and gardens of paradisiacal space are placed together in such a handsome close way that from the charming entertainment of each of them the sight of the beholder gathers the flowers of bounty of the month of Urdi Bihisht (spring). Because of the riverfront buildings and the flower gardens in front (on the landward side), it appears that garden is linked to garden and garden plot to garden plot, (and thus) the desire to stroll in the garden of Paradise is completely erased from the page of memory . . . In particular, the spacious buildings and wonderful pavilions of the princes of exalted origin and other famous amirs ... give a display of the garden of Rizwan [the gate-keeper of Paradise] and the palaces of the garden of Paradise.”
Agra began to decline when in 1648 Shah Jahan moved his court to Shahjahanabad at Delhi, which took over the title Dar al-Khilafa, `Seat of the Caliphate': Agra was left as `Abode of the Caliphate’.

Today only a few gardens of Mogul Agra remain. Most stand isolated from each other, and have lost their original urban context. Apart from a few exceptions they are largely ruined: depending on their situation, they are used for cultivation or built in and over by later structures of the encroaching city. With the help of Mogul and European records and a map in the Jaipur Palace Museum, however, it is possible to reconstruct the original scheme, to visualize the individual gardens, and to populate them with their owners.

A map of Agra prepared by the British administration in 1868-69 A.D shows the progressive disintegration of the riverfront scheme. The outlines of most of the gardens are indicated, but only five are now designated as such. On the left bank are `Chini's Raoza' (the tomb garden of Afzal Khan, or Chini-ka Raoza,), laggannath's Bagh (the garden of Khwaja Mohammad Zakarya or of Wazir Khan), and Itmad Dowla Sarai (the tomb garden of Ictimad-ud-Daula).

On the right bank are Jatni's Bagh and Hakimji's Bagh (the garden of Hakim Kazim Ali). In 1871-72 A.D the Archaeological Survey of India report contained an account of Agra (minus the Taj Mahal) by the archaeologist A. C. L. Carlleyle. The first monograph on Agra was published by Sayyid Mohammad Latif in 1892; it also contains references to the riverfront gardens. Contemporary comments on the gardens can also be found in the notes and reports of foreigners. They include Sir Thomas Roe, James I's envoy at the Mogul court from 1615 to 1619; Francisco Pelsaert, with the Dutch East India Company at Agra from 1621 to 1627; the Flemish geographer Joannes De Laet, who was for some time a Director of the Dutch East India Company and published his compilation of accounts of Mogul India in 1631; and Peter Mundy, an agent of the English East India Company in Agra in 1632-33. A
later account accompanied by images of some of the gardens is the Notebook of Florentia, Lady Sale, who described the sights of Agra in 1832-33 and included drawings by Indian artists. The first photographic record is that of Dr John Murray in the early 1850s.

The left bank of the Yamuna, opposite the city, preserves the character of the original garden character of Mogul Agra to a greater extent than the right bank. This is where Babur and his followers founded their first gardens. The stretch between the gardens of Shah Nawaz Khan and of Itimad-ud-Daula can still show some surviving Mogul gardens, as well as commercial nurseries. The following stretch, after the bend of the river, is occupied by agricultural fields, up to the Mahtab Bagh, opposite the Taj Mahal; at the edge of the river and within the planted areas remains of the old Mogul gardens can be traced. The Mogul chronicles only describe imperial gardens of note. The gardens and mansions of the princes and the nobility are merely mentioned in passing, on the occasion of an imperial visit, a wedding, when a property changed hands, or when a new building had been completed. An exception is the garden of Shah Jahan's daughter Jahanara, which is eulogistically described by Kalim.

- **Bagh-i Shah Nawaz Khan** (garden of Shah Nawaz Khan)

  Mirza Badic-uz-Zaman, with the title Shah Nawaz Khan Safavi, was a high-ranking noble in Shah Jahan's service and a relative of the shahs of Iran. He was closely connected to the imperial family: one of his daughters was married to Shah Jahan's son Aurangzeb in 1637, and fifteen years later another of his daughters was married to the emperor's youngest son, Murad Bakhsh. The wedding of Aurangzeb took place here, in Shah Nawaz Khan's garden palace; Shah Jahan came to the ceremony by boat from the fort across the river. The site of the garden is now wasteland and no trace of the original remains.\(^{33}\)

- **Buland Bagh** (High Garden)
The garden is attributed by tradition to Buland Khan, or Sarbuland Khan, an otherwise unknown Khwajasara or eunuch of Jahangir. It serves today as a nursery and is largely ruined, but it retains a high tower known as Battis Khamba. This is unusual in being set in the middle of the riverfront, where one would expect the main garden pavilion. A similar tower appears in a river view which probably shows Agra, in the background of a late 17th-century painting. As the main garden building, the Battis Khamba was given a distinctive, elaborate four-storeyed form, of an experimental type characteristic of the architecture of Jahangir. The large pavilion tower was flanked by smaller towers at either end of the garden's river frontage, of which only the southern one remains.34

- **Bagh-i Nur Afshan** (Light-Scattering Garden), now Ram Bagh, previously also Aram Bagh

This garden features as Bagh-i Nur Afshan35 on the Jaipur map in most of the 19th-century descriptions of Agra. It is now known as Ram Bagh. The component `Nur' (light) is typical of foundations of Jahangir and his queen; it eludes, as he tells us in his autobiography, to his honorific title Nur-ud-Din and to the title he gave his wife, Nur Jahan. Jahangir says that the garden belonged to Nur Jahan and that it was used by the imperial family. He mentions several visits to it: it was here, in early March 1621, he waited of the auspicious hour designated by the astrologers for his victorious entry into the Agra fort after his conquest of the fort of Kangra, and where, later in the month, Nur Jahan arranged the celebrations of the Persian New Year (Nauruz). The pavilions can be identified as the settings of two paintings of the 1620s.

The architecture clearly dates from Jahangir's time and testifies to the patronage of Nur Jahan as an outstanding garden builder (her other creation at Agra is the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula, where her parents are buried). The Nur Afshan garden is the earliest surviving Mogul garden of Agra, and it may have been laid out on the foundations of an even older
garden, built by Babur. It displays the earliest example of a scheme focused on the water, with a terraced area lining the river and a garden on the landward side, although the configuration does not yet have the strictly planned symmetrical form of the later Shahjahanis. No detailed documentation has ever been published on it. Sketch plans of the general layout go back to a British map of 1923-24 indicating its planting with fruit trees. I prepared a plan of its pavilions in 1986. In the middle of the landward side is the main gate, which was rebuilt in the British period. From this a central walkway leads towards the terraced area at the riverfront. The walkway is accented by platforms, which, where fully preserved. The third platform from the gate marks the beginning of the riverfront area, which is also signalled by two towers in the enclosing wall. This part is quite complex, because the uneven terrain is here levelled out by a rectangular system of intersecting walkways of brick masonry.

The walkways contain water channels, and at the points of intersection there are square platforms.

The garden buildings consist of two narrow rectangular pavilions set end-on to the river, forming an open court with a sunken pool between them. Below is a large tahkhana or underground chamber for the hot summer months; its vaults show traces of a net pattern (qalib kari), a form characteristic of Jahangir's architecture, and, in a less deeply moulded form, also of Shah Jahan's. To the north is another platform, below which is a much larger tahkhana. Among the rooms here is a hammam or baths, composed of the usual three units: disrobing chamber, hot room, and cold room; other rooms include a large hall with pools and a waterfall, covered by a bangla vault—a rectangular vault with downdrawn corners derived from Bengali roofs. Where the decoration of the vaults is preserved, it shows patterns similar to those in the southern tahkhana.
The emperor and his wife, the builder of the garden, were thus celebrated as a second Solomon and a second Queen of Sheba. While the Solomon of the Qur'an was a role model for all Muslim rulers, the Moguls created distinctive Solomonic settings in their architecture and art.

The Nur Afshan garden was one of the sites taken over by the British after the conquest of Agra in 1803. When Lord Hastings, Governor-General of Bengal, visited the city in 1815, the garden was 'in the possession of Government': he mentions that it was 'put to national use by raising a quantity of forest or fruit trees (mostly oranges), which are delivered gratis to any of the landowners who apply for them'. He comments that the channels sunk in the grid of raised walkways were in working order and distributed water raised from the Yamuna by means of Persian wheels to the different parts of the garden. The original garden area has not been reconstructed.36

- **Bagh-i Jahanara** (garden of Jahanara), later Zahara, Zehra, or Zahra Bagh

The garden was not founded by a daughter of Babur, as is generally assumed, but by Mumtaz Mahal, the Lady of the Taj: we are told this by Kalim, Shah Jahan's poet, who gave it special space in his eulogistic poem on the city in his Diwan. It is the only architectural foundation that can be connected to her patronage." After her death in 1631 it passed on to her daughter Jahanara, and, in the course of time, the name Bagh-i Jahanara or Jahanara Bagh, still in use in the 19th century, was changed by popular pronunciation to Zahara, Zehra, or Zahra Bagh. Jahanara turned her inheritance into the most splendid garden palace of Agra, if we are to believe Kalim.37 Several of his verses provide information about the original architecture, the planting, and the founder. Kalim also praises the 'hundred flowerbeds', the plants and the trees of the garden. Persian poetics have their own conventions, so one does not know for certain whether these flowers really grew in the garden or whether Kalim speaks of some ideal poetic vegetation.
The garden was not restricted to the imperial family: Shah Jahan also used it to receive his court, and foreign dignitaries. In May 1638 he entertained the Iranian ambassador Yadgar Beg here, taking a walk with him and in the evening ordering illuminations and fireworks on the bank of the Yamuna below the pavilion. Prince Aurangzeb visited his sister Jahanara in her garden in 1652 when he stopped at Agra to inspect the condition of the Taj Mahal.

The garden of Jahanara or Zahara Bagh is not protected by the Archaeological Survey of India, so its Mogul substance is increasingly built over and obliterated by unregulated construction. The garden area is used as a nursery, into which huts and humble residential structures are encroaching. Some of its northern part has also been destroyed by the bridge of the bypass of National Highway No.2, which cuts between it and the Nur Afshan garden/Ram Bagh. What survives is part of the north-western corner tower and the northern wall of the garden, with a hammam, and the south-western corner tower.

The English traveller Fanny Parks in 1835 knew the garden as `Syud (Sayyid) Bagh', and considered that with its red sandstone pavilion at the riverfront it was much finer than the Ram Bagh (Nur Afshan garden).³⁸

- **Rauza of Afzal Khan** (tomb garden of Afzal Khan), known as Chini-ka Rauza (Chinese Tomb)

Mulla Shukrullah as-Shirazi, given the title Afzal Khan Allami as-Shirazi³⁹, was an Iranian noble who had come in 1608 from his native Shiraz to the Mogul court. He served under Jahangir, and under Shah Jahan he held the office of finance minister. He was also a poet, astronomer and mathematician, and highly esteemed by Shah Jahan for his good character. He died in 1639 at the age of seventy at Lahore, and his body was brought to Agra to be buried in the tomb he is said to have built during his lifetime. His brother, Abd-ul-Haqq, who had come with him to India and there was given the title Amanat Khan, created
the calligraphic inscriptions of the Taj Mahal, and probably also those on Afzal Khan's tomb, of which only fragments remain. The tomb of Afzal Khan has lost its original garden setting. The northern riverfront tower survives, but its chhatri is missing.

- **Bagh-i Khwaja Mohammad Zakarya** or Bagh-i Wazir Khan (garden of Khwaja Mohammad Zakarya or of Wazir Khan)

The Jaipur map lists the garden as that of Khwaja Zakarya, and Raja Ram gives it as that of Khwaja Mohammad Zakarya, a noble of Jahangir. Sil Chand and Carleylle, however, attribute the garden south of the Chini-ka Rauza to Hakim Alim-ud-Din, with the title Wazir Khan (a title held successively by several different Mogul nobles), who was a physician and distinguished noble of Shah Jahan. He was Wazir in 1627-28 at the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, governor of Agra in 1628-31, then appointed governor of the Panjab in 1631-32, a post he held for an unusual length of time, until, in 1640-41, he was reappointed governor of Agra. He died in 1641.

Wazir Khan was held in high esteem by Shah Jahan, who chose him, together with Prince Shah Shuja and one of the empress's ladies-in-waiting, to accompany the body of Mumtaz Mahal from Burhanpur to Agra. His great mosque and hammam at Lahore are famous.

In the garden of Wazir Khan Sil Chand mentions buildings of three and four storeys, a tahkhana or underground chamber, and a jilauk liana or forecourt, and lauds their symmetry. Carleylle describes it as having a pavilion overlooking the river and, in the middle of the landward garden, a large octagonal platform beneath which was a tahkhana. On the 1868-69 map of Agra the garden appears under the name Jaggannath's Bagh, and has a circular feature in the centre. The area has now been built over by a residential colony.

The surviving buildings, though ruined, are still the best-preserved riverfront ensemble of a non-imperial garden of Shah Jahan's time. The symmetrical arrangement is
typical, with a pavilion in the centre of the riverfront, set above a tahkhana, and flanked by two towers at the ends of the terrace. These towers are faced with red sandstone, and the ruined pavilion in the centre has sandstone arcades on the river and garden sides. The stylistic features of the architecture, such as the rectangular pillars of the arcade, point to the middle of Shah Jahan's reign or later, possibly the 1640s. It is thus likely that the garden buildings owe their present form to Wazir Khan.

- **Bagh-i Sultan Parwiz** (garden of Sultan Parwiz)

  Prince Parwiz, also called Sultan Parwiz, was the son of Jahangir and thus Shah Jahan's brother; his daughter, Nadira Banu Begam, was married to Shah Jahan's eldest son, Dara Shikoh. Pelsaert in 1626 lists this garden in his description of riverfront Agra, and we learn that in 1621 Jahangir resided for a time in the garden of Sultan Perwez on the upper bank of the river. He died in 1626 at Burhanpur, of which he was governor. His body was brought to Agra and buried in the garden he had built. His family were ordered to present themselves at court and were allowed to continue to reside in the garden: Shah Jahan's official historian, Lahauri, mentions the residence of Prince Parwiz when he says that as part of the engagement ceremony of Dara Shikoh and Nadira Banu (in November 1632) presents were sent along the riverfront to the widowed mother of the bride.

  The garden is now covered partly by nurseries and partly by the residential colony of Moti Bagh. A modern shrine of a Muslim saint, the Dargah of Dada Pir, has been built on it and with the remains of the riverfront terrace. The main surviving building of the Mogul garden is a tomb structure, locally known as Parwiz Khan-ka Maqbara, 'the tomb of Parwiz Khan, which is situated between the river and the Aligarh Road, to the west of the police station. The garden or haveli of Sultan Parwiz is mentioned in the early 19th-century records but not in later descriptions of the city.

- **Maqbara of Itimad-ud-Daula** (tomb garden of Itimad-ud-Daula)
Itimad-ud-Daulah is the title of Mirza Ghiyas Beg Tehran (Ghiyas Beg Tehran), Persian Amir Exile, and prime minister of Jahangir and was a pillar of the empire because he was the highest official of the empire. The mausoleum was built between 1622 and 1628 by Nur Jahan for her parents and it has the form of a classic Chahar-bagh, with the tomb structure at the centre where the walkways cross. A complete description of the Itimad-ud-Daulah will be listed in the next section.

- **Bagh-i Musawi Khan Sadr** (garden of Musawi Khan Sadr)

Musawi Khan served Jahangir and later Shah Jahan, who confirmed him as sadr (in charge of revenue and cash grants and appointment of judges) in 1636-37. Shah Nawaz Khan, the chronicler of the Mogul nobility (not to be confused with the owner of the garden, writes about him that though he was not highly educated, he had through regular association with learned men, picked up the essential etiquette for meetings, and could carry on a high-flown conversation. He died in 1644. The site of the garden is now occupied by the Moti Bagh residential colony.

The garden of Musawi Khan Sadr was followed by a series of imperial gardens, which lined the bend of the Yamuna and then following a straight stretch up to the Mahtab Bagh, which also belonged to the emperor. Today the area has been built over up to the Iron Bridge by the modern residential colony of Moti Bagh, named after one of the lost gardens, while the remainder is used for cultivation. Only a few traces of the gardens remain in the fields, such as pieces of riverfront walls or wells. The most prominent surviving element of Mogul garden architecture is a large baoli or step-well called Gyarah Sidhi, situated in the bend of the river opposite the fort, built in red sandstone in the style of the 16th century.

- **Bagh Padshahi** (Imperial Garden) not preserved.\(^{41}\)

- **Moti Bagh Padshahi** (Imperial Pearl Garden)
This garden is not preserved. An imperial garden named Moti Mahal (Pearl Palace) on the other side of the river is mentioned by Pelsaert in 1626. Peter Mundy in 1632-33 calls it ‘Mootee ca baag’ and says that it was built by Nooremohor (Nur Mahal) that is Nur Jahan. A painting in the Windsor Castle Padshahnama of a famous elephant fight in 1633 shows part of the riverbank before the bend with a white building on a platform, which could represent the Moti Bagh. In form and style the pavilion resembles those of the Nur Afshan garden/Ram Bagh. The painter may have taken them as a model, or the Moti Bagh buildings may indeed have been similar, reflecting the personal taste of Nur Jahan.

- **Bagh Padshahi** (Imperial Garden) not preserved

- **Lal Bagh Padshahi** (Red Imperial Garden) not preserved

- **Second Chahar-bagh Padshahi** (Imperial Chahar-bagh) not preserved

- **Chahar-bagh Padshahi** (Imperial Chahar-bagh) or Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht (Garden of the Eight Paradises) not preserved

This garden was first called Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht, the Garden of the Eight Paradises, but eventually became known as Chahar-bagh (the Jaipur map adds ‘Padshahi’ imperial). It was a milestone in the development of the Mogul garden, because it was created by Babur in 1526 after he had vanquished the Lodi sultans of Delhi and established Mogul rule. Babur claimed that here he introduced Central Asian ideas of regularly planned gardens with intersecting walkways into Hindustan. It also marked the beginning of Mogul Agra as a riverfront city.

- **Bagh-i Mahtab Padshahi** (Imperial Moonlight Garden), later Mahtab Bagh (Moonlight Garden)

Bagh-i Mahtab Padshahi was built by Shah Jahan. It is of the same width as the garden of the Taj Mahal, and situated exactly opposite it, facts that gave rise to the
speculation that the emperor intended to build his own tomb here, as a counter-image in black marble of the mausoleum of his wife, linked to it by a bridge over the river. This story was reported by the French traveller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, who was at Agra in 1640-41 and 1665, and has remained alive ever since. Excavations carried out by the Archaeological Survey of India in the 1990s, however, found no evidence to substantiate that assumption. The garden historian Elizabeth Moynihan has suggested that the Mahtab Bagh was conceived as a place from which to view the Taj Mahal, of which the reflection would have been captured by a large pool in the centre of the now ruined riverfront terrace. The garden is only partly preserved because it is prone to flooding during the monsoon season. Prince Aurangzeb, after a visit to the city in 1652 to inspect the Taj Mahal, reported to Shah Jahan that the Bagh-i Mahtab was completely inundated, and therefore has lost its charm, but soon it will regain its verdancy. The octagonal pool and the pavilions around it are in splendid condition. Today the Mahtab Bagh has been planted with trees to provide a green background for the Taj Mahal.

The Mahtab Bagh scarcely features in the late 19th- and early 20th-century reports. Sil Chand repeats the story of the planned second mausoleum, like everyone else, and says that in his time (1825-26) there was only one small building in the garden and the rest was greenery and various trees. Florentia Sale's Notebook of 1832-33 contains what purports to be an illustration of its riverfront, but this differs from the surviving architecture and from the elevation of the river frontage on the plan in the Taj Museum.

- Haveli of Khan-I Dauran

Khwaja Sabir, given first the title Nasiri Khan and then the title Khan-I Douran Bahadur Nuarat Jang, at Shah Jahan`s court. As one of the emperor’s great commanders, he distinguished himself in the celebrated and played a decisive role in the taking of the celebrated fortree of Daulatabad in 1633. Khan-I Douran was also instrumental in subduing
the rebellion of the Bundela rajas in 1636. He was a great builder and raised a number of structures at Burhanpur, where he resided as governor of the Deccan. His son constructed a mosque for him at Gwalior. He was however feared and hated for his cruelty and was killed in 1645 by a Brahmin boy from Kashmir. Khan-I Douran’s residence on the riverbank is referred to as a havali. Sil Chand, writing in 1825-26, considered it originally, with its central riverfront pavilion and the arcaded openings of the rooms in the basement can be had from topographical drawings and photographs.

- **Haveli of Agah Khan**

Agah Khan was a eunuch (khwajasara) in the service of Mumtaz Mahal. He held the post of faujdar (commandant in charge of law and order) of Agra until 1652 and then of its suburbs and also the post of mutawali (trusteeship) of the Taj Mahal. In 1652 he supervised the construction of a hunting palace for Shah Jahan at Samugarh near Agra. He died in 1657, and this garden immediately to the east of the Taj Mahal held the haveli of Agah Khan is indicated by the Jaipur map. The building appears in two Company drawings in the Taj Museum. A view in Florentia Sale's Notebook of 1832-33 also shows it, but she refers to it as 'Doulah Khan's Palace'. The remains of this garden are still visible next to those of the Haveli of Khan-i Dauran in the foreground of the earliest photographic views of the Taj, beginning with those of John Murray of the 1850s. In 1860 the Shri Daoji Maharaj Mandir (temple) was established here, and the site is now called Dassehra Ghat. If the level of the water allows it, one can take a boat across the river to the Mahtab Bagh.

- **Rauza of Shah Jahan** (tomb garden of Shah Jahan, Taj Mahal)

With its central building placed on a raised terrace, its flanking towers, and its Chahar-bagh, the Taj Mahal expresses the riverfront garden in its most monumental and ideal form. To the west are its waterworks, with a large aqueduct that brought water from the
Yamuna into the garden. A complete description of the Taj Mahal will be listed in the next section.

- **Bagh-i Khan-i Alam** (garden of Khan-i Alam)

  Immediately to the west of the waterworks of the Taj Mahal is the garden of Khan-i Alama-Turani

  (Central Asian) noble, who received his title from Jahangir in 1609 with riverfront buildings and parts of garden preserved but ruined. Two years later he was sent as ambassador to the court of Shah Abbas of Iran, with a retinue of eight hundred men, several large Gujarati bullocks, and ten elephants with gold and silver trappings, which greatly impressed the Iranians. Khan-i Alam also served Shah Jahan early in his reign. But in 1632 he retired because of old age and his addiction to opium, and spent the remainder of his days in tranquility and comfort at Agra, presumably in his garden near the Taj Mahal.47

  The design followed the standard scheme, with the main building on a terrace, overlooking the river on one side and the garden on the other. The garden has an extension to the east, towards the Taj Mahal: here the riverfront terrace houses a large tahkhana, of which two rooms are preserved, one of them a spacious hall with a curved ceiling in the manner of a monumental bangla vault, similar to the one in the northern tahkhana in the Nur Afshan garden/Ram Bagh. Like several of the gardens of Agra, this was later used as a burial place for its owner.

  Early views of the riverfront building and the terrace can be found in Company drawings in the Taj Museum and among the illustrations in the Notebook of Florentia Sale of 1832-33. The garden of Khan-i Alam is now used as a nursery by the Horticultural Department of the Archaeological Survey of India.

- **Haveli of Asalat Khan**
Asalat Khan was the title of Mir Abdul Hadi, the descendant of a noble from Yazd in Iran. He distinguished himself in Shah Jahan's campaigns in the Deccan and served from 1644 to 1647 as Mir Bakhshi (in charge of mansabs and intelligence). He then took part in the emperor's unsuccessful Balkh and Badakhshan campaign, and died at an early age in the winter of 1647 at Balkh, from a cold caught while taking a bath in the open. Shah Jahan regretted his death and said he would have had a bright future. Only part of the riverfront wall of Asalat Khan's garden is preserved, with fragments of two projecting towers. A depiction of the riverfront terrace with openings in the center can be made out in one of the early 19th-century drawings in the Taj Museum. This has been replaced by a temple dedicated to Shiva, the Kala Bhairon Mandir, built into the terrace. To the west is the Shamshan Ghat, where the dead are burned and their ashes put into the river. Beyond the burning ghat, inland, is the Dargah of Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din Bukhari.

- **Haveli of Mahabat Khan**

Mahabat Khan was one of the most powerful nobles of Jahangir and of Shah Jahan in the early years of his rule. His father had migrated from Shiraz to Kabul. He himself, then still called Zamana Beg, entered the service of Akbar's son Salim as ahadi (cavalry trooper). After Jahangir's accession in 1605 he received the title Mahabat Khan and held the governorships of the Deccan, Kabul and Bengal. When Prince Khurram rebelled against his father in 1622, Mahabat Khan was entrusted with the task of quelling the rebellion. In 1625-26 he was made wakil (chief minister) at the highest possible rank for a noble. Soon after, he held Jahangir prisoner for a while because he feared an intrigue by his greatest antagonist, the powerful Asaf Khan, brother of Nur Jahan. After Jahangir's death Mahabat Khan became reconciled with Shah Jahan, who appointed him governor of Ajmer, the Deccan and Delhi, and in 1628 made him commander in chief: khan-i khanan sipahsalar. In 1632 he was sent again as governor to the Deccan, where in 1633 he conquered the fort of Daulatabad with
Khan-i Dauran. Mahabat Khan did not favor the Iranians (despite his own origin) or the Turanis, but chose his troops largely from indigenous Rajputs. He was skilled in astronomy and astrology; in his old age he became a Shia and used to wear the name of the imams engraved on costly jewels round his neck. When he died in 1634 his sons were allowed to keep his movable property, all but the elephants, which had been his special favorites, and which he used to feed with lotus-rice and Persian melons: the emperor wanted these for himself. In December 1652 when Prince Aurangzeb was at Agra on his way to take charge of the Deccan, he did not stay in his own riverfront residence but took up quarters in the mansion in the garden of Mahabat Khan. He visited his sister Jahanara in her garden and she returned his visit. During his stay he wrote to his father about necessary repairs to the Taj Mahal and the Mahtab Bagh. The garden residence of Mahabat Khan is mentioned in the 1620s by Pelsaert, and features in most of the 19th century descriptions of Agra.

- **Haveli of Hoshdar Khan**

  The noble who held this garden was most likely Hoshdar Khan Mir Hoshdar, son of Multafat Khan. He entered court service late in Shah Jahan's reign, and since he had always sided with Aurangzeb, he rose fast after the latter's accession. He became governor of Delhi, then of Agra (1664), and two years later he was also made faujdar (commandant in charge of law and order) of the adjoining territory. Aurangzeb approved of his good service and religious principles and kept him as governor of Agra until 1672, when he was transferred to Burhanpur where he died a year later. He was considered the best shot of his day and for a time instructed Aurangzeb's son Mohammad Aczam in that art. He must have built the garden during his tenure at Agra.

- **Haveli of Azam Khan**

  Azam Khan was one of the titles of Mir Mohammad Baqir (the other was Iradat Khan). He came from Iran to the Mogul court in Jahangir's reign and became close to
Asaf Khan, the emperor's brother-in-law. At the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, at the request of Asaf Khan, he was made mir bakhshi (in charge of mansabs and intelligence) and diwan-i kul (finance minister), thus one of the foremost administrators. Aczam Khan became governor of the Deccan in 1629-30 and took the fort of Dharur in the emperor's Deccan campaign (1631). After that he became successively governor of Bengal (1632-33), Gujarat (1637) and Bihar (1646-47). He died in 1649 in Jaunpur, the place of his last appointment, which he had preferred to Kashmir because he felt he would not be able to stand the cold of that region. It was said that he had excellent qualities but that he was overly strict in financial matters. The background of a painting of an elephant fight in the Windsor Castle Padshahnama shows the Yamuna where it makes its great bend; here, on the right bank, is a white building which might be the Haveli of Azam Khan. The building also seems to feature in a view of the riverfront drawn by the English artist Thomas Daniell from the Haveli of Islam Khan in 1789 and its remains seem to be shown on the right side in an-early 19th-century Company drawing in the Taj Museum.

- **Haveli of Mogul Khan**

This was probably the residence of Mogul Khan, whose father, Zain Khan Koka, descended from a family of Herat and was a foster-brother of Akbar. He served under Jahangir and, at the beginning of Shah Jahan's reign, became commandant of Kabul. During the Deccan campaigns he was attached to Khan-i Dauran and took part in the conquest of the fortress of Udgir, of which he was made commandant and became governor of Thatha. He fell into disfavor, however, for failing to assist Dara Shikoh in his Qandahar campaign; he was demoted.

- **Haveli of Islam Khan (not preserved)**

- **Agra fort**
The main accents of the riverfront landscape of Agra are the Taj Mahal and the great fort of the emperors. Like the mausoleum, it assumed the position of a garden in the urban scheme, and in their layouts its palace garden and main courts followed the riverfront garden design. The fort is here discussed under that aspect.

To the east of the ramp are two compact courtyard complexes of Akbar’s time, and the Jahangiri Mahal and the Akbari Mahal, it seems Shah Jahan did not alter them because they were meant for the use of lesser imperial women. But between 1628 and 1637 he reconstructed the courtyard of the Diwan-i Amm, the heart of the palace and the two courtyards between it and the river what are now called Allguri Bagh (Grape Garden) to the south, and Machelihi Rhavan to the north. All three courtyards are organized in a similar way and follow the scheme of the riverfront gardens. Three of their sides are formed by narrow wings of one or two storeys, while on the east side, nearest to the river, are pavilions which served for the main ceremonial functions of the court and the personal use of Shah Jahan and the women of his household.

The courtyard now called Anguri Bagh is referred to by Lahauri simply as bagh, and in his time it was the only garden in the main palace complex. Its design is that of the classic riverfront garden. The garden has the form of a rectangular Chahar-bagh divided by marble walkways which meet in the center at a marble pool. The quadrants have unique bed-dividers forming cartouches, which, when planted with flowers, look like a carpet. The garden is enclosed, and this is specific to its palace context, by two-storeyed wings formed of a modular sequence of open pillared verandahs and small enclosed rooms. This bait configuration is typical of the wings of Mogul residential courtyards. It appears in the Khawasspuras of the Taj Mahal, and also inspired the pavilions of Nur Jahan in the Nur Afshan garden/Ram Bagh.

- **Haveli of Dara shikoh** (not preserved)
- **Haveli of Khan-I Jahan Lodi** (not preserved)
- **Haveli of Hafiz Khidmatgar** (not preserved)
- **Haveli of Asaf Khan** (not preserved)
- **Complex of Aurangzeb with Mubarak Manzil** (partly preserved)
- **Haveli of Sasat Khan**, Haveli of Shayista Khan (not preserved)
- **Haveli of Jafar Khan** (not preserved)
- **Rauza of Sasat Khan**, tomb garden of Shayista Khan (not preserved)
- **Haveli of Wazir Khan**

Hakim Alim-ud-Din, with the title Wazir Khan, was wazir (finance minister) under Shah Jahan. It is likely that he also had a garden on the left bank of the Yamuna. A drawing dateable to the 18th century shows the Haveli of Wazir Khan immediately opposite the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula. The situation opposite the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula corresponds to that of a large building where the Yamuna Kinara Road bends westward: now known as Sheron Wali Kothi, or Library of Dara Shikoh, this incorporates a Mogul structure of which an arcade with Shahjahani columns and multi-cusped arches is still visible from the road on the side facing the river.

- **Haveli of Muqim Khan** (not preserved)
- **Haveli of Khalil Khan** (not preserved)
- **Bagh-i Rai Shiv Das** (garden of Rai Shiv Das)

The presence of the garden of Rai Shiv Das enables us to date the Jaipur map. Rai Shiv Das, or Rai Shivadasa, was a close associate of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, and acted as deputy governor after the latter had been appointed governor of the province of Agra in 1722. In the later 18th century the garden became one of the popular recreational spots along the Yamuna: the poet Nazir Akbarabadi describes the garden of Shivdas as a place
where people gathered to eat sweets, dance and swim. The garden was still planted with fruit trees in 1825-26, and traces of it existed in 1891.

- **Bagh-i Hakim Kazim Ali** (garden of Hakim Kazim Ali)

  The identity of the garden owner has not been established. Nazir Akbarabadi mentions the Bagh-i Hakim (garden of the doctor) together with the garden of Shivdas as a popular recreation place for the people of Agra. Sil Chand reports that in his time, in 1825-26, the garden of Hakim Kazim Ali Khan was taken over by a Briton named Joras, son of Colonel John Sahib, but it was still referred to as Hakimji-ka-Bagh in the later 19th century, and is one of the few riverfront sites that still feature as such, and with their original name, on the Agra map of 1868-69.

- **Rauza of Jafar Khan** (tomb garden of Jacfar Khan)

  Jafar Khan was married to Farzana Begam, the sister of Mumtaz Mahal, and was thus the brother-in-law of Shah Jahan. The Venetian traveller Niccolao Manucci reported that after the death of Mumtaz, Shah Jahan sought the company of her sister so intensely that it gave rise to rumors in the bazaars. In addition to his close ties to the imperial family, Jaefar Khan distinguished himself by devoted service. He held the positions of governor of the Panjab (1646-47), mir bakhshi, in charge of mansabs and of intelligence (1647-48), and governor of Delhi (1649-50), Multan (1650), and Bihar (1650-51). He is often depicted in the Windsor Castle Padshahnama. When Aurangzeb won the battle of Samugarh in 1658 Jafar Khan went over to him, and made him governor of Malwa. He was one of the few nobles privileged to build a riverfront house in Delhi. Jacfar Khan died in 1670 in Delhi after a long and severe illness, and Aurangzeb sent two of the imperial princes to present condolences personally to Farzana Begam and her sons. Three buildings are connected with Jacfar Khan on the right bank of the Yamuna: his haueli, which is not preserved, his tomb, and a mosque, now called Lal Masjid, which still stands on the northern side of the bypass of the National
Highway No. 2 before it reaches the Yamuna bridge, next to a tomb known as that of Mir Jumla.

The tomb garden of Jacfar Khan is situated on the riverbank immediately north of the highway bridge, opposite the Nur Afshan garden/Ram Bagh; the Jaipur map shows it too far north. The tomb stands on a platform, in the centre of what was a large square walled garden with towers at each corner. Parts of the garden wall and corner towers remain, although they are encroached upon by new structures. There is a fine view of the tomb itself in Florentia Sale's Notebook of 1832-33, inscribed 'Tomb of Nawau Jaffer Khan' and Jaffer Khan's Roza', which shows it more or less as it is today. It is a square, flat-roofed building with towers, now ruined, at its corners, and a verandah in the centre of each side that communicates with an ambulatory surrounding an inner hall: thus it revives, in the idiom of the later 17th century, a tomb type which was popular in Jahangir's period. Each verandah has five multi-cusped arches supported by rectangular pillars topped by a flame-like arrangement of acanthus leaves — a motif that first appeared in the palace of Shah Jahan in the Red Fort of Delhi (completed in 1648) and became popular in later Mogul architecture. The garden was the scene of great activity during the Triveni festival in the rainy season, when Muslims and Hindus gathered there to swim.

- **Chhatri of Jaswant Singh**, memorial pavilion of Jaswant Singh (well preserved)

### 6.2 The Indian Garden in Mogul Period and its characteristics

Moguls in India were aware of architecture ability as a means to show off and self-expression for a new dynasty or government. A king on the basis of his political thinking, was introducing himself in the best possible way by making the buildings, and so the king should build large structures to earn a reputation and be remembered.

Kandahari, a historian of Akbar, wrote: "good name is for the kings is to build magnificent buildings ...It must be said that, the measure of individuals is determined and
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recognized by the value of the buildings built by them and their generosity and ambition status is measured by their residences. "And Kanebo, historian of Shah Jahan, legitimizes the King's passion for building as necessity for a good government: "It is clear that the increase of such icons (buildings and monuments) brings credibility and prestige to the rulers and increases their dignity and respect in the hearts of the people, thereby enjoining good and forbidding wrong and implementation of laws and commandments of God which is the ultimate goal of the dominion, is done more effectively."

Architectural style of the Mogul period was more international, more successful and more widely affecting the other styles among all different architectural styles that were formed under the rule of Muslims in India. Mogul architectural style was developed for more longer time than other styles which continued into the twentieth century. In studying Mogul architecture, two major phases of Akbar and Shah Jahan’s periods are prominent in formation of this style. Shah Jahan period architecture had a significant effect on the architecture of the Aurangzeb's period. However, this influence can be seen in all Indian architecture in subsequent periods. It can be said that the Mogul architecture somehow reached to its fullest extent during Shah Jahan’s period. Detailed monitoring of architecture on bigger spaces in this era has caused more attention towards planning and urban design and finally caused the founding of Shah Jahan Abad and led to organizing and regulating parts of the urban landscape in Agra. Babur inherited the legacy from the history of nomads which was intensified due to military life. In fact he used to prefer to live in the garden other than the limited places inside the palace. During his life in Kabul he would spend only a few months in the Palace in the cold winter, and just like the ancient traditions of Central Asia, he relocated to the gardens with the coming of spring.

In the Baburnama, garden is mentioned with the words Garden, Chahar-bagh, Croft and Bostan Saraa. In fact, there is no serious difference in the meaning of these few words.
Too often words of Bagh and the Chahar-bagh are used interchangeably, with this difference that unregulated fruit orchards are also called Bagh, but when Chahar-bagh word is used it means a garden that is orderly designed and planned by man.\textsuperscript{51} Gardens have been so important to Babur that he used to often choose them for a temporary stay when he was free of wars and battles. Most of military ceremonies and rituals, celebrations, events and even his private life was happening in gardens and palaces within them. Even when Babur ascended the throne in India, he used to stay in gardens on short trips.

Indian Mogul architecture was created by a combination of heterogeneous elements of Mawarannahr, Timurid, Hindu, Persian and European architecture which made a great and rich style. Comprehensive Characteristics of Mogul architecture have distinguished it from other Islamic architectural styles belonging to earlier periods in the Indian subcontinent, and has given it a global attraction. Indian Mogul garden architecture was under direct influence of Timurid and Iran's Safavid architecture and the role of Iranian Gardens is quite visible in the garden of this period in India.

During the Mogul period which coincided to the period of Safavid in Iran, when the Persian Garden entered India, it showcased a specific and different style by emphasizing on the Aboriginal art. As it is clear, Garden and Iranian reconstruction have gone under certain transformations in India which can be seen in the physical and spatial structure of these gardens. In addition, other variables were effective to make these changes which include influence of internal, Aboriginal factors on external factors.

In the early Mogul period in India the garden was an important component of regional and topological geography but this role was gradually lost at the end of that period, and in the second half of the tenth / sixteenth century, and the relationship between garden and land was changed.\textsuperscript{52}
As mentioned, the history of the Mogul garden begins with Babur, who informs us in his autobiography about his attempts to introduce the Persian-Timurid garden tradition of his native Central Asia into Hindustan. Babur refers to his first garden at Agra, laid out in 1526, as a Chahar-bagh, like some of his earlier gardens in what is now Afghanistan. In its strictest interpretation, the much-discussed term Chahar-bagh, or its abbreviated form Char-bagh, designates a cross-axial four-part garden, chahar in Persian meaning `four' and bagh 'garden'. Babur, however, uses the term in its widest sense, for large architecturally planned gardens with intersecting raised paved walkways, platforms and pools. David Stronach traces the cross-axial Chahar-bagh concept back to the 6th century BC, to the palace of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae in Iran, the first monumental capital of the Achaemenid Empire.

The four-part garden was adopted by Islamic patrons. It appeared in the 8th century in the Umayyad palaces at Rusafa in Syria and was brought from there to Spain, and it was realized in the 9th century on a grand scale by the `Abbasid caliphs at Samarra. The cross-axial garden appeared in South Asia long before the Moguls: the large royal gardens of Sigiriya in northern Sri Lanka, laid out in the 5th century A.D, contain well defined cross-axial units.

After Babur the Moguls did not use the term Chahar-bagh very much; in Shahjahani sources it is employed metaphorically, for the earth or the terrestrial, as in 'the Chahar-bagh of the world. A garden was usually just called bagh. Still, the Moguls built the grandest and most consistently planned Chahar-baghs in the entire history of garden architecture.

Sweeping changes occurred in the content and significance of the events related to gardens during the first decade of the reign of Akbar (1556-1566). At the beginning of the reign of Akbar Shah, Babur was called by the title of "Hazrat Giti Setani Ferdosmakani" and Humayun as "Hazrat Jahan Bani Janet Ashyani".
Gulbadan Begum, Akbar Shah's aunt, narrated an apocryphal story stating that Babur wanted to have privacy in a garden in Agra. Humayun was betrayed and he was often on the run in the garden. These old stories link the garden with paradise, a place of privacy, shelter, and burial space.

The primary function of Akbar Shah represents a multiplicity in the garden. In childhood, when his father was in exile, and desperately trying to regain supporters and his kingdom, he was living in the garden along with his female relatives. One of his biographers writes: "His feet being chained but with friends is much better than to be with enemies but in the garden". Most rebels were camping in the garden and Akbar Shah used to stay in garden when he was chasing them.... He clearly was enjoying exploring gardens that was built by others and he ordered to build a garden after passing a profound spiritual experience in hunting in Punjab.... The coronation of Akbar Shah in 1556 A.D, his reign began in a garden in Punjab - Royal ceremony that perfectly matches the Mogul tradition. Coronation is described with detailed metaphors and similes about gardening. also Babur’s reflection can be seen in the descriptive which is been said about coastal promenade gardens in Agra in 1557 A.D and has introduced them as enchanting gardens on both sides of the river.

In the book "Gardens of Mogul India and Geographical Sciences of Past and Present" the various uses of the garden in the early sixteenth A.D has been discussed during the Moguls in India that includes:

1. A position to dominate a land (for example, army camps or military siege)
2. A place for events depending heavily on land (for example, a place to celebrate the conquest of a wide area, pleasure of a famous view, or a shelter after failure)
3. Mark or territorial entity (eg, home of the Timurid, cities of Timurid, and newly conquered lands of Timurid)
4. Node in the network or territorial system (ie, network or system in which new gardens will help to identify and support geo-political activity)

5. Spatial metaphor for flourishing land (such as coastal promenade gardens in Agra and Landscaped land of Kashmir)\(^5^3\)

In the second half of the sixteenth A.D century, during the Mogul state formation and the relationships among them, landscape design and the geopolitical scene was changed. Although the garden was still important as a building... but in general, garden importance in daily land construction was diminishing. The expanding role of gardens as a place of burial, which was started with Humayun's Tomb, indicates how in royal daily activities, increasing the symbolic importance of garden was attached with reduction of its functional significance. For example, there is no description of the garden in any of the pilgrimages of Akbar Shah in the Humayun's tomb.\(^5^4\)

Massive Tomb - garden of Humayun is a sign of discontinuity in the old design of Mogul gardens in India. This garden, among other things, was the initiator of moving away from building an active land which was stemmed from garden camps. ...Tomb - gardens had ritual importance; but perhaps their glory still had an important place in the consciousness of the Mogul dynasty.

Akbar Shah after returning from Mandu, "He ordered to build bracing buildings and refreshing gardens in Nagarchin near Agra." This way, gardens became a refined element within the large city areas.

The second phase of Garden History coincides with the extent of territorial insight of Akbar Shah during the course of administrative reform in 1570 that he based the complex territorial and military system reform which later was described in the geography section of Ain-i-Akbari. The path of formation of a government was matched with a decrease in garden activities. No events in connection with the garden are mentioned in six of the last ten years
of reform period. Other problem was that the Royal power and geographical science replaced the older tradition of landscape design and garden descriptions, these changes indicate the beginning of a return to tradition, Timurid, in which gardens were built around and within booming urban centres that had fortifications.

Bada'uni (Abdul-Qadir Muluk Shah Bada'uni, well-known historian and translator of the sixth century A.D, coinciding with the reign of Akbar Shah in India) in criticizing the orders of Babur in making of minarets that were decorated with antlers and other country features, wrote: "I wish, instead, he would Od to build gardens and caravansary!"...

Events of Kashmir and mountainous areas of North West India and Afghanistan marked the third and final stage of gardens in the history of the reign of Akbar Shah. Initially Akbar Shah was impressed during his visits to Babur's garden around Kabul in 1580 AD, especially by his tomb-garden and by making few gardens tried to compete with his grandfather, after the conquest of the beautiful state of Kashmir and by creating "his own garden", he achieved a decisive progress in Mogul garden design in 1589 A.D. Next Mogul aristocrats built numerous gardens in Kashmir and in an attempt which was mostly a local success than regional, brought Kashmiri style to the field. Kashmir became the centre of the Mogul garden design and remained in the same position.

Islamic gardens could be divided into three types:

1. Gardens developed around a mausoleum. The model for subsequent tomb gardens, the concept for the layout in the Chahar-bagh style was initiated by Humayun’s widow, Haji Begum in Humayun’s Tomb, Delhi (1565-72 A.D). This relationship between building and garden was to reappear decades later in the tomb of Itimad-ud Daula in Agra (1626-28 A.D) and then again at the Taj Mahal, also in Agra (1632-43 A.D). Ruggles attributes this to the development of a new dynastic tomb type. Among mausoleum gardens also we have: Akbar’s Tomb, Sikandra near Agra (1605 A.D), Jahangir’s Tomb, Shahadra, Lahore (1627 A.D) and Mausoleum for Rabi a Darauni.
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The Tomb-gardens of the Indian Mogul period are the most magnificent examples in Lahore, Delhi, Agra and Kashmir gardens that somehow are an architectural landmark of Iranian tradition garden design in funerary architecture in India.

2. Gardens developed as pleasure gardens; among pleasure gardens, the important gardens are the Nasim Bagh by Akbar, Shalimar Achabal, Vernag and Nishat, built during the time of Jahangir. Then during Shahjahan's time, we have the Chasma Shahi in Kashmir, Shalimar at Delhi and also at Lahore and the gardens of the Red Fort at Delhi. The Pinjore Gardens near present-day Chandigarh are perhaps the only important gardens of Aurangzeb’s period.

3. Court yard gardens; among court-yard gardens, we have the Anguri bagh, Agra fort, the Garden of the Amber Fort and Udaipur Lake Palace.

In palace gardens such as those in Srinagar, a visitor can, for a moment, assume a ‘position of primacy’ by occupying that privileged position and gazing down the central vista. The terraces unfold successively below the gardens, and the view from the pavilion displays a formal composition of the gardens that is at once linear and hierarchical. Today, the visitor can view the garden from where the emperor would have, and from there see the stepped terraces and the strong axiality.

The formal geometry of the garden, its axiality, and the ordering of the spaces instill a sense of empowerment in the viewer, acting as a reminder that it was the sole preserve of the emperor.

In a tomb garden, on the contrary, the position of primacy is not coveted at all. It is the space of the dead and, while in a palace garden the axis and the spatial disposition contribute towards emphasizing the institution of royalty. Here a barrier screen, or hizar, makes the sarcophagus the object of the gaze as one looks at it rather than from it. The role of the garden with the tomb within it, is thus a commemoration of the dead and establishes historical lineage.
Mogul tombs almost always placed a cenotaph with a crypt lying directly below on it, thus excluding the possibility of anyone ever standing at the point of axial intersection. Symbolically, the occupant, ‘cannot be displaced; he is, again, both present in (body) and absent (in death) even more so than in the garden pavilion because the temporal frame of the tomb is eternity. The garden is about sovereignty, and the mausoleum is about dynasty. When the mausoleum is implanted in the garden, as it is at Humayun’s Tomb, sovereignty and dynasty are combined in a teleological statement that the king is the king as he always has been and always will be.

The simple plan which was followed in the plains could have been influenced by Hindu mythology. The Hindus considered Mount Meru as the centre of the world, while from the four cardinal points holy springs the life giving springs used to flow, on the central mount stood the tree of knowledge and a temple. In the Islamic concept, which had a strong ideology of a Paradise, the mausoleum replaced the temple.

The gardens in the plains, and particularly around the mausoleum, follow a very simple plan. Where possible, the king used to develop the garden himself, and after his death a mausoleum used to be built in the garden. And also we can identify three formal versions of Mogul garden architecture. In its ideal form the Mogul Chahar-bagh consists of a square, divided by cross-axial paved walkways into four equal parts. The centre, which is highly charged symbolically, may be occupied by a building — typically a garden pavilion, but also a tomb — or by a pool. The walkways may contain sunk channels, and, at the points where they meet the garden wall, there may be real or false gateways. The quadrants may in turn be subdivided into further squares. The whole composition is enclosed by a wall with towers at its corners. This form becomes the Mogul garden par excellence: with a building in the centre, it finds its most monumental and perfectly planned expression as a funerary garden at the great imperial mausoleums of Humayun, Akbar and Jahangir.
The second type is the terrace garden, which the Moguls had developed in Kabul and Kashmir by introducing the Central Asian concept of a garden laid out on a slope into the landscape of those regions. The main buildings are arrayed on ascending terraces along a central axis formed by a channel sunk in a paved walkway which collects water from a spring. The individual terraces may be given the canonical four-part form, as in the imperial gardens of Shalimar in Kashmir, which the future Shah Jahan founded on Jahangir's orders in 1620, and which as emperor he enlarged in 1634. They consist of two square Chahar-bagh units on different levels.

The third type is the waterfront garden. The Taj Mahal expresses this in its grandest form. It is a variant of the Chahar-bagh invented by the Moguls for the specific conditions of the Indo-Gangetic plain. Here the main water source was not lively springs on a mountain slope but a large slow-flowing river, from which the desired running water had to be raised into the garden. The Moguls conceived a garden type to take advantage of this situation: the main building was not placed in the centre as in the classic Chahar-bagh, but was set on an oblong terrace running along the riverfront. Usually the terrace had rooms below the main building opening onto the river, and stairs leading down to a landing. Its two ends were accentuated by towers. The Chahar-bagh component lay on the landward side. In this way the garden was turned toward the river, and the main pavilions enjoyed its cooling effect. The scheme presented a carefully composed front to those who saw the garden from a boat or across the river; and from inside, the buildings provided a backdrop for the garden.

The riverfront scheme emerged as the favourite formula for the residential gardens of Agra. After having been idealized and monumentalized in the Taj Mahal, however, it became an imperial prerogative, and at Shah Jahan's new city, Shahjahanabad, at Dena (1639-48 A.D), it was almost exclusively used for the gardens and courtyards of the emperor's riverfront palace, the Red Fort, and the residences of the emperor's son Dara Shikoh and a
few selected nobles. The majority of the nobles, and even Princess Jahanaca, had to build their gardens and houses inland. While we are informed in detail about the architectural fumes of the Mogul gardens, the sources tell us less about what was planted and where. Gardens were expected to be not only beautiful but also useful; they were planted with decorative and sweet-smelling arm flowers and bushes, and also with fruit trees. The fruit harvest from the Taj Mahal garden continued from Mogul times into the British period.

Generally, India's Mogul garden construction ideas can be included in the followings:

- Mogul gardens are originated from Persian and Timurid Gardens.
- Has linear structure along a straight line and focusing on two axis.
- Abiding the hierarchy and central or axial symmetry in design.
- The important role of water in the garden in different shapes of pond, fountains and streams as the main element.
- Enclosed within walls with flange edge and towers at the corners.
- Use of Chahar-bagh design from Babur period.
- Using a variety of irrigation systems such as wells, lakes and streams.
- Placement of a large pond at the confluence of the axes with belvedere in the middle of it.
- Using the cube, octagon and rectangle shape in plan of tomb or pavilion in the garden or pool.
- Connection of outer and inner spaces by water.
- The use of white marble with a backdrop of red stone.
- Creating distinct forms and shading by vegetation cover.
- Considering religious and holy aspects in selection of plant type.
- Using flowers to emphasize the axis of the garden.
• Using productive and shading plants with important medicinal and therapeutic properties.

But among the main elements of the Mogul gardens of India, Chahar-bagh, waterways, (water channels) and irrigation system that creates a formal geometric grid with Chahar-bagh had the capability of unlimited expansion. Water is perhaps even more important than the soil in a Mogul garden. Water mobility capabilities, corrects and modifies different spatial relationships between different parts of the garden and while emphasizes on the plan but reduces its rigidity. Soil is static and water is in movement, but in the garden their relationship becomes mutual coexistence.

Cypress trees are the most certain feature of the garden; they were a characteristic lining of Mogul garden walkways. Mundy depicts them in his sketch of the garden of Akbar's tomb, and they are also seen in the earliest drawings and photographs of the Taj garden, from the end of the 18th to the mid-19th century. The poet Nazir Akbaradi, who lived at Agra from the mid-18th century, describes what he saw in the garden in an Urdu poem on the Taj Mahal: The straight cypresses and bushes of white musk roses stand symmetrically. The turtledoves pour sugar by their cooing. All of the garden's flowerbeds are full of raibel, sewati roses, carnations, poppies, flowers, and nasrin and nastaran roses. Nastaran roses had been planted by Babur in the Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht, thus it is quite likely that they also grew from the beginning in the Taj garden. Fruit trees were observed in the garden by travellers at the end of the 18th and 19th century; Thomas Twining, for instance, saw 'thousands of orange trees' there in 1794, and another visitor noted an abundance of grapes. The large plan in the Taj Museum identifies in Persian script in the subdivisions of the garden fruits including pineapple or pomegranate, banana, orange, pomelo, lemon and apple.

The cypress appears in Persian poetry as a popular simile for the slender elegant stature of the beloved; it is often related to a watercourse, like the canals which divide the
Chahar-bagh. The rose (gul) was the preferred flower of Persian culture, to the extent that gul also meant 'flower' as such. Sufi mystics regarded it as a manifestation of divine glory, and as a symbol of the initiated soul of the mystic; for the poets, it represented the face of the beloved, and the classic pairing of rose and nightingale was a metaphor for worldly as well as mystical love.

Lala\(^56\) which mentions in classical Persian and Turkish poetry and can be seen in decoration of the Mogul monuments, is basically any wild flower with red petals and a black at the center of the blossom, so it could refer to copse, anemone or tulip. Its use to mean tulip is not consistent until the 18th century. In India, lala was widely used to mean poppy. In Persian and Turkish poetry the red flower with a black mark in the center symbolizes the suffering heart and death. The marigold was and still is a popular garden flower in India, used for decoration and garlands.

The general characteristics of a Mogul garden as identified by C.M Villiers Stuart in her book, Gardens of the Great Moguls can be broadly summarized as being derivatives of the great garden traditions of Persia and Turkistan and invariably being either square or rectangular in shape. They were further divided into smaller subdivisions or parterres that were filled with fruit trees and flowers. In fact, gardeners were brought from Persia to tend these gardens and many exotic plants and flowers were grown successfully.

Larger trees defined the main axis of the garden, stretching along the perimeter walls. The gardens, in keeping with the Islamic notion of a Paradise garden, were almost always enclosed by high walls pierced by imposing gates, with some of the larger gardens featuring gates on all four sides.

Water played a very important role in the layout of these gardens, both for its use in irrigation as well as for its cooling effect during the hot summer months. Typically, water would run down a trim stone or a brick-edged canal, falling from one level to another in
smooth cascades or rushing down as furious white foam over carved water chutes’. The water from these canals would then flow into a large tank, sometimes decorated with fountains.

The garden around Humayun’s tomb is perhaps the oldest garden of the Mogul period to have preserved most of its original design. It is here we find that water was passed over small chutes with designs giving different patterns.

Up to the time of Akbar, the water channels were somewhat narrow, with broad pavements adjoining them. Water fans, or water sheets, and fountains were not fully developed. But it was for Jahangir to utilize water fully as had been done in the gardens of Kashmir.

The water was taken through narrow or wide channels according to the design. The channels were generally shallow and were filled up to the brim. From the main channels, small channels were developed to water the garden. At suitable places, small tanks were constructed from which the water was distributed. These tanks or basins were carved in various shapes. Waterfalls and water chutes were developed. Water rushing over the carved chute was either thrown up in ripples or broken pearls or formed a sheet of water. There were water jets of various types.

The pavilions intended for both leisure and relaxation were usually placed in the centre of the largest of these pools and served as a retreat from the sun. In addition, the larger gardens had canals running along their lengths, terminating in baradaris (buildings or rooms with twelve doors). Typically, a large masonry platform was built under a tree and served as the venue for entertainment, where the emperor and his courtiers would listen to musical recitals and poetry.

In his memoirs written in his native Turki, Emperor Babur describes at length the Bagh-e Vafa (the Garden of Fidelity): Opposite the fort of Adinahpur, to the south, on a
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rising ground, I formed a Chahar-bagh in the year 1508 (Image 82). It is called Bagh-e Vafa (Image 83). It overlooks the river, which flows between the fort and the palace. In the year in which I defeated Behar Khan conquered Lohore and Dibalpur, I brought plants and planted them here. They grew and thrived. The year before I had also planted sugarcane in it, which thrived remarkably well? I sent some of them to Badakhshan and Bokhara. It is on an elevated site and enjoys running water and the climate in the winter season is temperate. In the garden there is a small hillock, from which a stream of water sufficient to drive a mill, incessantly flows into the garden below. The four-fold plot of the garden is situated on this eminence. On the southwest part of this garden is a reservoir of water twenty feet square, which is wholly planted with orange trees; there are likewise pomegranates. All around the piece of water the ground is covered with clover. This spot is the very eye of the beauty of the garden. At the time the oranges become yellow, the prospect is delightful. Indeed the garden is charmingly laid out. To the south of this garden lies the Koh-e Sefid (the White Mountain of Nangenhar). There is no road by which one can pass it on horseback.

A court painting by the portrait painter of the Mogul court, Bishandas, shows Babur along with his architect laying out a Chahar-bagh garden. Interestingly, all the components that came to characterize Mogul gardens are represented here. An essentially square garden, surrounded by high walls with fruit trees along the perimeter, a four-fold subdivision with individual parterres delineated by waster channels (representing the four rivers of life) and culminating in a tank or hauz are all portrayed in the painting. Workers are shown using a measuring tape to ensure exactitude in the laying out of the garden.

An innate love of nature coupled with an essentially nomadic lifestyle would have made Babur, acclimatized to a rough life in the Hindu Kush mountains, very much at home in gardens such as this. A series of tents erected in such a space would quite conceivably be the emperor’s ideas of home. The topmost terrace also known as the zenana was the reserve
of women, who could see the gardens below from the privacy of their quarters. While subsequent building projects replaced cloth (tents) as the dominant building material with sandstone and marble, Mogul architecture continued to retain the pavilion and tent-like style. Donald Wilber described transferring the Iranian Chahar-bagh elements to India by Babur as follows: "However, Babur could introduce some special signs of the Northern gardens to India impose them. Chahar-bagh design, using flowing water, formality and symmetry in garden design was among the things that Babur made common in India. These details remained in India for centuries and irrigated gardens where water consumption was high in them were common in all parts of northern India."\(^{57}\)

In fact, Iranian Chahar-bagh was used as a model for the implementation of garden plans during the period of Mogul India. Babur laid a plan for construction of Bagh e Wafa (Wafa garden) in 1508... Babur called it Chahar-bagh, about which he writes: "there is a small hill in the garden from which the creek water flows, and it is so powerful that it can operate a mill, and this water constantly flows in the garden. Chahar-bagh design created a garden at the entrance of the garden ..."\(^{58}\) This garden style has been adopted for tomb-gardens and recreational-gardens. Most of the Mogul period gardens are tomb-gardens. Usually, tomb is located at the end of the garden that shows the garden owner had been buried in it.

Several late Mogul tombs are planned as garden complexes. The mausoleum of Pir Ismail, Aurangzeb’s tutor, stands outside the Delhi gate on the north side of Aurangabad. The Xat-roofed building has corner chhatris with cuted domes; doorways at the ends of the arcaded façades lead into the octagonal chamber. The complex is entered on the south side through a gate with triple arches and roof-top pavilions. A similarly planned complex tomb is the Lal Bagh at Khuldabad. This dilapidated funerary monument was laid out by Khan Jahan, Aurangzeb’s foster brother. It comprises of octagonal tomb in the middle of a Chahar-bagh
garden. Another funerary garden is located on a hill slope east of Daulatabad. Its surrounding walls have corner chhatris with cuted domes and an entrance gate on the west side. Square plots surround the central dais with graves.\(^{59}\)

After the battle of Panipat in 1526, Babur visited Agra with a view to establish a garden in the Persian tradition that he was familiar with. Unfortunately for him, the beautiful sites to be found either in the hills of Kabul or in Samarkand were absent in the dusty plains of Agra. An astute planter, he noted that the Hindu population had largely lost interest in the art of garden design. Their gardens, according to him, were now essentially a grove of trees surrounding a tank that was used as water catchment area. What struck Babur immediately was the importance of artificial means of irrigation for his gardens. He lamented: ‘One of the great defects of Hindustan is its lack of flowing water …. Water by means of wheels should be made to flow wherever I might settle down …. Grounds should be laid in an orderly and symmetrical way’.

Describing his angst at the time and subsequent course of action, he wrote: Shortly after coming to Agra, I passed the Jumna (Yamuna) with this object in view, and examined the country, to pitch upon a fit spot for a garden. The whole was so ugly and detestable, that I re-passed the river quite repulsed and disgusted.

In consequence of the want of beauty and the disagreeable aspect of the country, I gave up my intention of making a Chahar-bagh; but as no better situation presented itself near Agra. I was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot. First of all I began to sink the large well which supplies the baths with water; I next fell to work on the piece of ground on which are the ambi (Indian tamarind trees), and the octagonal tank and its enclosure, and afterwards the tank and talar , or garden hall audience , that are in front of the stone palace. I next finished the garden of the private apartments, and the apartments themselves, after which I completed the baths. In this way, going on, without neatness and
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order, in the Hindu fashion, I, however, produced edifices and gardens which possessed considerable regularity. In every corner I planted suitable gardens; in every garden I sowed roses and narcissus regularly, and in beds corresponding to each other. We were annoyed with three things in Hindustan: one was the heat, another it’s strong winds, the third its dust. Baths were the means of removing all three inconveniences. In the bath we could not be affected by the winds. During the hot winds, the cold can there be rendered so intense, that a person often feels as if quite powerless from it. The room of the bath, in which is the tub or cistern, finished wholly of stone. The water-run is of white stone: all the rest of it, its floor and roof, is of red sandstone, which is the stone of Biana. Khalifeh, Sheikh Zin, Yunis Ali and several others, who procured situations on the banks of the river, made regular and elegant gardens and tanks, and constructed wheels after the fashion of Lahore and Dibalpur, by means of which they procured a supply of water. The men of hind, who had never before seen places formed on such a plan, or laid out with so much elegance, gave the name Kabul to the side of the Jumna on which theses palaces were built.\textsuperscript{60}

In Islamic culture heaven is described as a beautiful garden, Gardens with beautiful colours, aroma, are like heaven, so pleasant that creates a positive attitude towards death. During that period, such gardens were created out of cities like in Agra and Delhi, while in Lahore (which is now part of Pakistan) they were along the coast line. In Kashmir, Shalimar Garden which is one of the residential-administrative gardens remained intact.

At the beginning Moguls used developed architecture of the Timurid and Safavid Iran, but at the same time allowed this architecture to be combined with traditions and local construction conditions in the creative process. The main methods of design in the first period, at the time of Babur and Humayun, was influenced by Transoxiana and the great Khorasan from one side, and from the revival of the tradition of decorating stone in Delhi from the other side.
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Among the Babur's garden in India, part of the rock gardens of lotus in Delpour in southern Agra remains. According to the eighteenth-century map of Agra which has recently been discovered in Palace Museum in Jaipur, and was written in Diwani script writing on it, which has been mentioned as king's Chahar-bagh.

This garden is located on the other side of the Yamuna River and is adjacent to the Mahtab garden (Moonlight Garden) and is almost opposite the Taj Mahal. This garden in India represents Iranian-Timurid design and is an enclosed garden that by paths (road) and streams of water has been divided into four parts.

Increasing attention to planning and urban design and reform of architecture of gardens and palaces, during Shah Jahan’s period, led to the founding of Shah Jahan Abad and organizing parts of the urban landscape in Agra.

Shah Jahan Nama or good deed, is written in three volumes by Mohammad Saleh Kamboh Lahori, one of the famous Indian historians and prose writers, of the seventh century A.D. In first volumes, as Excellent Shrine is written: "At the time of the accession of the coronation of the fifth king of the world (Shah Jahan), construction of the mansion started. The building is as tall as the seven heavens. June Sea or Yamuna River is flowing toward the north. The mansion is so strong and firm that stone and lime were mixed to repair it. The mansion's additives were repaired by marble and standing proud and dignified like an angel. Bright dome of the shrine is placed within the Mansion and repaired by marble from inside and outside. All tombs are skilfully painted from inside and outside. This mansion is a wonderful example of labour and industry, the Chinese and European Motifs are nothing compared to this mansion. Skilled artists have inlaid the Quranic verses with sincerity and courtesy inside and outside of the building. Stone walls around Rowze Monaware are decorated with motifs. Fountains spray light from Yamuna water. There is a raised platform in the garden and there is a creek and a pond around it and water shines like a bright light in
it. The gate of this great mansion is tall and decorated and adorned by motifs. Twelve years and fifty lakhs rupees have been spent in the construction of this edifice."\textsuperscript{61}

Based on available evidence, the pavilion of leisure belonging to Akbar and the tomb were usually placed in the garden which only a limited number of them have left.

The impact of Timurid - Transoxiana architecture in a variety of structures built and kept by the Lords and nobles and religious spheres is broader and more visible. Buildings like residential gardens and small palaces, religious and non-religious shrines, baths, caravanserais and small mosques and the great empire designs, Castle - governmental palaces and big Jama Mosques are examples of the main combinations of Akbar period architecture.\textsuperscript{62}

After a period of integration of architectural elements at the time of Akbar, it was Jahangir's reign that was a period of transition, with reactions and experiences that despite its importance for the future development of Mogul architecture, it was not yet accepted. Selected ideas from previous eras were exaggerated and had unimportant reflection or became high-impact examples.

Jahangir's high interest, son of Akbar, toward green space, led to the development of Kashmir as the summer residence of the royal court. One of the first Jahangir initiatives after his return to power was to design a garden around Jhelum in Verinag. His visit in 1620 creates a wave of garden projects including: No-Afza Garden in Hari Parbat Castle, Achabal, and Farahbakhsh garden in Shalimar.

Spring is the main characteristic of the Mogul gardens in Kashmir, where water accumulates in the stream, and the stream forms the main axis of the garden. The design elements such as: steep plains for terracing, ponds, canals, pavilion and galleries are placed along the water channel.
Other members of the royal family and court Lords also erected many gardens. These gardens were owned by the king after the death of their owners. He used to keep them for himself or grant them to his family members or Lords of the country. In this way a garden would be owned by the number of owners over the course of time that each of them would change the name or design of the garden.

There are still traces of the aqueduct in India which is an underground irrigation system inspired by Iranians. The aqueduct delivers water from the slopes of Satpura to the city and Khan gardens. These gardens have artistic tree planting designs and a large artificial lotus in the middle of the pond which has become one of the most attractive spots in Burhanpur. Khan Khanan also opened these gardens to the public.

Some gardens have symmetrical layout with repeated decorative elements and tall limiting walls, some others are formed more freely next to a fountain or a meandering stream, plants and open landscape. Places, forms, uses and meanings associated with the Mogul gardens, were widely varied and some of these differences can be explained by changing their spatial context.

Expanded role of gardens as places for tombs, which was started by Humayun's Tomb, show how upgraded symbolic notion was doubled by the unwavering concept of performance in day-to-day activities of the empire. Gardens that once had helped Babur to adapt to foreign lands, found a special role in growing land of the Moguls.63

Mogul gardens were damaged during the colonial era. Recreational gardens were destroyed due to cross of the railway line. Tomb gardens became church, resorts, cache, office, and symbol of the empire. Gardens in the margins of cities, regardless of the existing landscape, were seized to build canals, factories and barracks. India archaeological studies on issues related to garden design were often replaced by the administration of the government and individual preferences of the archaeological authorities.
According to these backgrounds, a new study of Mogul gardens was expanded in the first decades of the twentieth century...\(^{64}\)

In the late Mogul period (1707-1857 A.D) no separate books existed about the garden. The nobles and army commanders built some Mogul-style gardens. Although, there are many brief references to the garden in history and biographical works, in terms of fusion of garden and geographical experience, these references cannot be compared to the level of texts and designs of the early sixteenth A.D century.\(^{65}\)

### 6.3 Selected Indian Gardens for study

As mentioned, the history of the Mogul garden begins with Babur, who informs us in his autobiography about his attempts to introduce the Persian-Timurid garden tradition of his native Central Asia into India.

The concept of paradise as a garden is one of mankind’s oldest ideals. The image of a place of perfect eternal peace and plenty can probably help make a difficult temporal existence meaningful and its transitory nature acceptable. The paradise promised in the Quran consists of several terraces of gardens, each more splendid than the last.

Babur refers to his first garden at Agra, laid out in 1526, as a Chahar-bagh, like some of his earlier gardens in what is now Afghanistan. In its strictest interpretation, the much-discussed term Chahar-bagh, or its abbreviated form char-bagh, designates a cross Axial four-part garden, chahar in Persian meaning 'four' and bagh, 'garden'.

The degree of sophistication of architectural heritage in the Persian garden in the best examples of Chahar-bagh pattern should be seen in the famous Taj Mahal monument.\(^{66}\) Babur, however, uses the term in its widest sense, for large architecturally planned gardens with intersecting raised paved walkways, platforms and pools. David Stronach traces the cross Axial Chahar-bagh concept back to the 6\(^{th}\) century B.C, to the palace of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae in Iran, the first monumental capital of the Achaemenid Empire.
The four-part garden was adopted by Islamic patrons. It appeared in the 8th century in the Umayyad palaces at Rusafa in Syria and was brought from there to Spain, and it was realized in the 9th century on a grand scale by the Abbasid Caliphs at Samarra. The cross-axial garden appeared in South Asia long before the Moguls: the large royal gardens of Sigiriya in northern Sri Lanka, laid out in the 5th century A.D, contain well defined cross-axial units.

On his death, Babur was first buried at a garden in Agra and later, in accordance with is expressed wish, was interred in a garden in Kabul with a simple marble cenotaph covering his body.

Babur introduced into India the Timurid Persian scheme of a walled in garden, subdivided into four quarters by raised walkways and canals. Art historian Ebba Koch writes that such a garden became the foundation stone for the development of Mogul Agra as a riverbank city with a succession of walled gardens on both sides of the Yamuna.

Of Babur’s gardens in India the rock-cut Bagh-e Nilufar (Lotus garden) at Dholpur (1526-29) is preserved to some extent. Its modest structures are far less than what one would expect from the emperor’s descriptions in his memoirs, “Baburnama”. Of his Chahar-bagh or Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht (Garden of the Eight Paradises) in Aga nothing much remains. According to a recently discovered 18th century plan of Agra at the Jaipur Palace Museum, the garden was situated on the other side of the Yamuna adjoining the Mahtab garden and almost opposite the later Taj Mahal.

After Babur the Moguls did not use the term Chahar-bagh very much; in Shahjahani sources it is employed metaphorically, for the earth or the terrestrial, as in the Chahar-bagh of the world. A garden was usually just called bagh. Still, the Moguls built the grandest and most consistently planned Chahar-baghs in the entire history of garden architecture.
The grand dynastic mausoleum is a paradigm of the imperial architecture of the Moguls. Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan built monumental tombs for their fathers, and Shah Jahan in addition raised one for his wife. A great mausoleum was seen as the best memorial to the deceased. Jahangir says in his autobiography: A thousand blessings on a son who has made such a tomb for his father, "That there may remain a memorial to him upon earth." The mausoleum was also the favourite building type of the Muslim nobility, for whom erecting a tomb could be a way of establishing ownership of land. With their interest in funerary architecture the Moguls continued and developed a tradition established by the earlier sultans’ of India. No other region of the world brought forth over the centuries so many monumental mausoleums.

The tradition of laying out new gardens continued even after the decline of Mogul rule even by their successors such as the Sikhs before the arrival of the British colonizers in the nineteen century.

Here is the explanation and description of the number of Mogul Gardens that clearly represent the shape and main characteristics of Persian garden.

6.3 (a) Taj Mahal

Shah Jahan's architecture is closely linked to his form of governance. He conceived the Taj Mahal (in Persian means crown of palaces) as the most magnificent building of all ages, and as the quintessential mausoleum for his deceased queen, represented not in a haphazard deployment of style but with careful consideration of specific Mogul forms developed over the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries. (Image 84)

Its overall plan followed, on a much larger scale, the distinctive pattern of the riverfront gardens of Agra. For the tomb itself, the grandest and from a group of Muslim point of view, most daring, variant of a Mogul mausoleum, was chosen: the monumental domed structure, which had been used only once before for an imperial burial, in the tomb of
Humayun at Delhi (1562-71). The best builders and craftsmen of the empire were recruited and the finest materials employed. The white marble had to be carted from quarries hundreds of kilometres from Agra, and never before had so much of this precious and prestigious stone been used on an Indian building. Despite the effort and the logistics that went into the planning and realization of this grand structure, no direct information is given about its architects, or about the details of its construction. It was understood that Shah Jahan was the conceptual force behind the venture: whoever architects were employed were merely agents who realized his designs.

The progress of the construction, which went on over a period of twelve years, has to be pieced together from descriptions of the celebrations on the anniversaries of Mumtaz's death, held in different parts of the tomb complex. The completed building was worthy to be recorded, not the way in which it was achieved.

The political role assigned to the arts, and the emperor's function as the supreme administrator of his court-led state, meant that Shah Jahan sought to assert a close control over his artists as over his court and administration. Mogul art was regulated as never before or hereafter.

All Shah Jahan's historians agree in saying that he made the personal overseeing of his artists a fixed part of his daily routine, thus acting—with typical perfectionism — as his own artistic director. Architecture was the imperial representational medium par excellence: as the most prestigious and useful art, it could represent the ruler and his state in the eyes of a wider public, and provide an everlasting memorial to his fame. Shah Jahan had a personal interest in architecture, and in his endeavour to explore and refine it as an imperial statement he employed a whole team of architects and advisers with whom he himself developed his building projects and established principles of construction.67
According to historians and scholars, the Taj Mahal was built by the Iranian architects: Ustad (master) Ahmad Lahauri who was in charge of the construction and the principal designer and his brother Hamid and Amant khan Shirazi and Essa khan Shirazi.

Unlike his painters, who were allowed to sign their works and to include their self-portraits, Shah Jahan's architects are only mentioned at random, and not a single portrait of a Mogul architect is known. The supervisors of Shah Jahan's building projects are named more often, but the exact nature of their role in the process is not defined and remains to be established. Only one of the artists who worked at the Taj Mahal is known by name: the calligrapher Abd-ul-Haqq from Shiraz, given the title Amanat Khan, who designed the formal Quranic inscriptions, on the mausoleum. Because of the high esteem in which the art of writing (as the medium of God's own word) was held in the Islamic world, he could sign his creations. The dates he inserted into his inscriptions greatly help to establish the history of construction.

What is recorded is that the planning of Shah Jahan's buildings was carried out by a team of architects who worked under his close supervision. He held daily meetings with them, and, Lahauri says, made 'appropriate alterations to whatever the skilful architects designed after many thoughts, and asked competent questions'. The emperor's historians claim that most of the buildings were designed by his 'precious self'. The credit for his buildings, even for their overall concept, had to go to Shah Jahan as the supreme architect. Similarly, the work of the artists of Shah Tahmasp of Iran was subsumed in the expertise of their patron, who appeared as the ultimate arbitrator and source of cultural production.

Two architects are, however, mentioned in connection with the Taj Mahal. One is Ustad Ahmad Lahauri - from Lahore, as his name tells us, like the historian Lahauri. He laid the foundations of the Red Fort at Delhi (1639-48), and was credited by his son, Lutfullah Muhandis - though not in the official chronicles - with building the Taj Mahal. The other is Mir Abd-ul Karim, who had been the favourite architect of Jahangir. Lahauri mentions him
as supervisor of the construction of the Taj Mahal, together with the administrator Makramat khan, who later supervised the building of the Red Fort at Delhi.\textsuperscript{68}

The Taj Mahal tomb is the centrepiece of a 17 hectare complex, and is set in a chahar-bagh bounded on three sides by a crenellated wall\textsuperscript{69}. The garden is the heart of the Taj Mahal complex: it is to the buildings what the soul is to the body and the lamp to an assembly (as the main inscription on Shah Jahan's palace at Delhi put it several years later). Its symbolic function is announced in the name which the historians Lahauri and Kanbo give it, bagh-e firdaus-ain, Paradise-like garden, the perfect setting of Mumtaz's paradisiacal house. It was intended as a replica of the Quranic gardens beneath which rivers flow. The connection between architecture and nature which generally characterizes the Mogul garden is epitomized at the Taj Mahal in an ideal form. The architectural nature of the design means that the 17\textsuperscript{th} century plan is well preserved. The planting, however, is uncertain, since it does not feature in contemporary descriptions.

According to Begley; several elements of the Taj Mahal can be recognized as Persian traditions. One element is the Chahar-bagh, the four quartered garden that is placed in front of the Taj Mahal (Image 85, 86). The layout of the Taj Mahal complex and the apocalyptic imagery running through the Koranic inscriptions strongly suggest that the monument was conceived as a vast allegory of the Day of Resurrection, when the dead shall arise and proceed to the place of Judgment beneath the Divine Throne.\textsuperscript{70} The architects of this monument took this one step further with the addition of not only the garden but of many inscriptions of those Quranic Paradise verses which decorate the mausoleum. Other Persian elements include the half and double domes, the irregular octagonal plan, and grand apses and alcoves. Despite these many extraordinary Persian contributions, the overall structure is said to be Mogul Indian and originated from the Akbari style, which first developed during Akbar's rule.
Strict planning determines the organization of the garden component of the riverfront scheme, the cross-axial Chahar-bagh (Image 87). The large square is divided by two main walkways into four quadrants; each quadrant is in turn subdivided by narrower cross-axial walkways, so that sixteen sub-quadrants are formed; and the garden as a whole is surrounded by a walkway which connects with all the sub-walkways. The main walkways consist of several elements. In their centre runs a shallow canal containing a line of fountains. This is framed by strips of sandstone paving and by ornamental borders with a geometrical pattern of alternating regular and oblong stars. These in turn are framed by wider strips of sandstone paving arranged entirely in a geometrical design, as Lahauri tells us. Such geometrical patterning had been characteristic of early Mogul architectural decoration; in the Taj Mahal, when floral designs became the nobler form of ornament, it was demoted and used for floors and for jails. At the crossing of the walkways in the centre of the garden is a raised platform of white marble with an ornamental pool containing five fountains. Kanbo claimed eulogistically that it held the water of the celestial Kausar, the Prophet's river in Paradise, which fills the pool at which believers quench their thirst on arrival. He also lauds the 'novel design' of the pool its lobed and volute corners. The pattern reflects the increasing preference in Shahjahanii architecture for curved and organic forms. The four marble benches around the tank were put up in 1907-8 on the order of Lord Curzon.

The four main walkways are identical, but they are differentiated through their context. The north-south walkway connects the principal buildings, the great gate and the mausoleum, and represents the dominant axis of the complex to which the cross-axial plan of the Chahar-bagh is subordinated. The perceptive Bernier noticed its role in the qarina symmetry, writing that it divides nearly the whole of the garden into two equal parts. This walkway also provides the perfect viewpoint: only along its axis do the mausoleum and its flanking buildings present a balanced composition.
The east-west walkway has a subsidiary function. It links the two pavilions which project from the centre of the garden wall on each side in mirror symmetry, and widens out in front of them to integrate two platforms paved with a different geometrical pattern. The enclosing wall is lined by a peripheral walkway and articulated by large pointed arches which support a narrow elevated walk running in front of ornamental crenulations. These elements of fortification architecture give the garden wall substance and a character of display.

At the place where the subsidiary walkway of the south-western quadrant meets the garden wall, a drinking fountain of a design in accord with its surrounding was put up in 1909-10 by the British government for the use of soldiers and other visitors to the mausoleum. It is not in use today.

In the north-western quadrant, near the north-west corner, is an enclosure supposed to mark the site where Mumtaz Mahal was first buried, before her body was moved to its final resting place, inside the white platform of the mausoleum.

The garden was supplied with water from the Yamuna through an aqueduct: this brought water up to the middle of the west wall, whence it was distributed through earthenware pipes. The fountain system of the central tank consisted of copper vessels connected through copper pipes with the main supply pipe. According to Colonel Rowlatt, who undertook their first repair in 1867, the earthenware pipes were embedded in solid masonry 1.8 m underground. (Image 88, 89)

The original planting is the least known aspect of the garden. The present lawns, flowers and trees, maintained by the Horticultural Branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, go back to reconstructive efforts of the British which were intensified under Curzon. He reported to the Legislative Council at Calcutta in 1904 that 'Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj Mahal has been scrupulously repaired, and the discovery of old plans has
enabled us to restore the water-channels and flower-beds of the garden more exactly to their original state. An ongoing concern since then has been to keep the cypresses lining the walkways small, and to confine trees to certain areas, so as not to obstruct the view of the mausoleum. In our present state of knowledge, we can only guess at the Mogul planting to a certain extent. Lahauri and Kanbo describe all the architectural features of the garden, but mention only various kinds of fruit-bearing trees and rare aromatic herbs. Shah Jahan's poet Qudsi eulogizes its sweet-smelling roses of abundant bloom! European observers in the 17th century say not much more.

François Bernier (French physician and traveller) speaks only of garden walks covered with trees and many parterres full of flowers. The possible organization of planting is suggested by contemporary miniatures: in a manuscript dated 1663 a garden in Kashmir is shown with Chahar-bagh plots structured by ornamental dividers, into which are set cypresses, plane trees, poplars and almond trees; in between grow flowers such as irises and tulips (Drawing 12). The cypresses of the Taj Mahal garden were arranged more formally, lining the walkways in straight rows. (Image 90, 91)

In the early 20th century it was believed that some of the oldest trees in the garden dated from the Mogul period. Mohammad Moin-ud-Din, who wrote a pioneering History of the Taj Mahal in 1905, claimed that a cotton tree in circumference near the eastern wall was then 425 years old. A number of old trees have been numbered and labelled with their Latin and Hindi names by the Archaeological Survey of India. Most common is the Indian medlar tree, also called bullet wood which Kalim mentions as growing in Jahanara's garden, in the course of a description that gives us an idea of what grew in an imperial Agra garden in Shah Jahan's time. Another important source is the English observer Peter Mundy, who described a typical grand Agra garden that he saw in 1633. Its walkways were lined with cypress trees, and the squares of the subdivisions were planted with little groves of trees, as Apple trees,
Orange Trees, Mulberries trees. Mango trees, coconut trees, Fig trees, plantain trees, this latter in ranks, as are the Cypress trees. (Drawing 13)

The roses, marigolds and poppies mentioned by Mundy were Mogul favourites and are often depicted in paintings; they are also among the flowers which, according to Kalim, grew in Jahanara’s garden. We can assume that they were among the original flowers in the Taj Mahal garden, though it is also possible that different plants were grown in a funerary garden. From the account of a visit of Iranian envoys in 1621, poppy grew in the garden of Akbar’s tomb at Sikandri. (Plan 21)

6.3 (b) Humayun’s Tomb

Humayun, the second Mogul Emperor, ascended the throne of Delhi after the death of his father, Babur, in 1530 and died in 1556. The elegant Humayun’s Tomb (Image 92) located on the western bank of the river Yamuna at Delhi and was a response to Timur's tomb at Samarcian, and at the same time to the tombs of the Delhi sultans, which had reached their apogee with the tomb of Humayun's rival Sher Shah Sur at Sasaram (1545).

Compared to other Mogul kings, he had a special place regarding Iranian culture and art. Humayun is an Iranian name, and according to historical evidences, Humayun's mother and wife was Iranian. Humayun took refuge in the court of Shah Tahmasp Safavi in Iran, which led him to become familiar with the art and culture of Iran. He visited various monuments while he was in Iran (fifteen years) and that led him to be familiar with characteristics of traditional Iranian architecture including the construction of a Persian garden in Chahar-bagh-style and tomb gardens. (Image 93)

The massive tomb garden of Humayun is a sign of discontinuity in the traditional design of the Mogul gardens in India. This garden, among other issues was a sign of moving away from building a vibrant land that was originated from camp gardens.... sometimes
tomb-gardens had religious importance; but perhaps their glory has still an important place in the consciousness of the Mogul dynasty.\textsuperscript{72}

Humayun’s tomb gains enormously in effect not only by the vast plinth but by the vaster garden in which it is set a great square, subdivided into squares and squares again by paths, lower beds, and parterres. It marks immediately the advent of a new style in India, and is of great importance as the immediate Indian prototype for other monumental mausoleum. \textsuperscript{73}

Humayun returned in 1555 with a borrowed Persian army and recovered his lost dominion and re-established the Mogul Empire. He did not survive his return and died in 1556, after a fall on the steps of his library in Sher Mandal, a monument inside what is today called Purana Qila.

Humayun was buried in Purana Qila, but, according to some scholars, the emperor’s remains were removed from there to a temporary tomb in Sir Hind when Hemu advanced upon Delhi in 1556 and the Moguls had to vacate the city. He was reburied in the Sher Mandal again when Akbar defeated Hemu, and was moved to the mausoleum erected between 1562 and 1571 by his widow, Haji Begum, also known as Bega Begum.

As mentioned, the construction of Humayun's tomb has been attributed to his wife and it seems that the Architectural characteristics of the Soltanieh Dome (Tomb of Sultan Mohammad Khodabandeh or Aljayto Ilkhans Mogul king in Iran in the 13\textsuperscript{th} century A.D) as was one of the buildings visited by Humayun and his wife has been effective and influential in the architecture of Humayun's Tomb. Design of this building is attributed to an Iranian architect named Mirak (Mohammad Ben-Meir Ghiyasuddin) from Herat (then part of Iran).

The architect gave Humayun's tomb a facing of red stone and white marble which defines each structural element of the elevation. The highly symbolic colour dualism was derived from earlier Indian practices and was to become a characteristic feature of imperial
Mogul architecture. With Humayun's tomb the Mogul set an example of successful art in Delhi, the old capital of the sultans. The monumentality and imperial splendour of the domed mausoleum ignored other concerns.

From the very beginning Humayun's tomb became a place of dynastic cult and was treated like the tomb of a saint. The emperors paid it a poise visitation whenever they came to Delhi and performed a ritual circumambulation. There could be no greater contrast to the simple tomb of Babur, the founder of the dynasty.

A symmetrical plan, a garden setting and a bulbous double dome on an elongated drum are the main features of Humayun’s Tomb. Each of these had strong Timurid and Persian associations for the Mogul, who gloried in their dynastic descent from Timur. (Drawing 14)

As one of the first important buildings the Mogul erected in India, Humayun’s Tomb introduced purely Persian features to the subcontinent, but it also drew several elements from the land it was built in. The red sandstone and white marble, for instance, was a common feature of 14th century architecture of the Delhi Sultanate.

In the centre of the garden, the mausoleum itself rises from a wide and lofty platform about 6.5 meters high, which in turn stand upon a podium just over a meter high. Each side of the high terrace is pierced by 17 arches, while the corners of the structure are chamfered, giving the monument a pleasing depth. At each corner, an oblique arch cuts the angle. The central arch on each side opens on to an ascending staircase. To the east of the southern stair a horizontal passage leads to the actual tomb below the monument. The remaining arches open into cells, most of which contain subsequent and subsidiary tombs. Inside, the octagonal tomb chamber rises through two storeys and is surrounded by smaller octagonal chambers at the diagonal points. These chambers also house a number of other tombstones, making Humayun’s mausoleum almost a family one.
This building is located in the middle of a square garden. The constructed area of the garden is also divided into nine smaller sections, similar to Persian Chahar-bagh pattern. The created garden was probably referring implicitly to the Garden of Eden which can be seen in the figure of Hasht Behesht garden. It seems that the first glorious tomb was in this period which was set with the "Hast Behesht" (Eight Paradises) design and with Chahar-bagh pattern in Delhi. (Image 94, 95)

The garden is perhaps the oldest garden of the Mogul period to have preserved most of its original design, on a classical Chahar-bagh pattern and Humayun's tomb was set in the center of the large Chahar-bagh, and the combination of tomb and formal garden established the prototype for the funerary garden of the Moguls Under the influence of the Persian garden. (Image 96)

The paved walkways that divide the garden into four parts terminate in gatehouse and subsidiary structures.

With the tomb as its centrepiece, the garden enclosed occupies 30 acres. Enclosed within a 6 meter high arcaded wall on three sides, it is divided into quarters by causeways 14 meters wide. The causeways are provided with stone edging, with a narrow water channel flowing along the center.

Each of the quadrants is further divided into eight plot with minor causeways, are marked by rectangular or octagonal pools, that are occasionally foliated. Water entered the garden from the north pavilion, and also from the western side. Terracotta pipes fed the fountains and drained away excess water. (Drawing 14)

Up to the time of Akbar, the water channels were somewhat narrow, with broad pavements adjoining them. Waterfalls or water sheets and fountains were not fully developed. But it was for Jahangir to utilize water fully as had been done in the gardens of Kashmir.
The water was taken through narrow or wide channels according to the design. The channels were generally shallow and were filled up to the brim. From the main channels, small channels were developed to water the garden. At suitable places, small tanks were constructed from which the water was distributed. These tanks or basins were carved in various shapes. Waterfalls and water-shuts were developed. Water rushing over the carved chute was either thrown up in ripples or broken pearls or formed a sheet of water. There were water jets of various types. 76 (Plan 22)

6.3 (c) The Shalimar Garden

The Mogul Dynasty brought the tradition of creating formal gardens with canals of running water, tanks, fountains and pavilions to South Asia from Central Asia in the beginning of sixteen century that was entirely different in expression than the gardens of earlier period. (Image 97)

A number of gardens were laid soon after the first Mogul Emperor, Babur established the Mogul dynasty in the South Asian Sub-continent in 1526 that lasted for more than two centuries. Among the four capital cities of the Moguls, Lahore remained a city of special importance to many Mogul rulers because of its moderate climate and location between Kabul and Delhi. Therefore, the Mogul rulers selected the city of Lahore, for laying out gardens. All of them thus, contributed to making it the most beautiful city of gardens in the sub-continent. Lahore was literally a “City of Gardens” in South and Central Asia. There were more than fifty gardens of the Mogul period in Lahore. (Image 98)

The very best and largest of all the gardens in Lahore is the World Heritage monument of the Shalimar Garden. It was built under the patronage of the Mogul builder-king Shah Jahan in 1642 outside the city of Lahore. It is the most beautiful and elaborate garden ever created by the Moguls and also unique for being the largest in size created during the period of Shah Jahan as compared to those in Srinagar (Kashmir) and Delhi. Adjacent to
the Shalimar garden were three other gardens in an open space around which have disappeared since long.

The Project Management under the auspices of Khalil Ullah Khan, a noble of Shah Jahan's court, Ali Mardan Khan and Mulla Alaul Maulk Tuni (Iranian architects) in collaboration was performed.

Iranian architect Ali Mardan Khan (during Shah Jahan period) was inspired by the gardens of Kashmir and constructed Shalimar Gardens in Lahore for which he has create a water channels for a distance of over 100 miles from mountain to the city.\(^{77}\)

This garden is located on the outskirts of northeast Lahore and has three wide terraces connected to central water axis and hundreds of fountains.... The garden's fame and its walls had protected it through years. Shalimar Garden is registered in the World Heritage List and is also affiliated to the international heritage protection networks, as well as national and local networks. (Image 99)

Despite having this level of importance, Shalimar Garden has been continually engaged in large-scale incidents that have a long range and fundamental implications. Maintenance of the garden coincides with official visits of influential people that disturbs Shalimar's local recreational use and puts it in the national and international spotlight. Public investment is limited and daily use of the garden is growing. The work which used to be carried out by hundreds of gardeners at the time of Shah Jahan, today is done by only fifteen gardeners. There is no proportionality of Garden protection, urban planning, and environmental management.\(^{78}\)

The rectangular terrace located between them, in the Lahore garden has given more complexity to the space. This garden is the heritage of Iranian traditional architecture in India. The plan designed by Sheikh Bahai in the beautiful Fin garden, became a main model for the Lahore Shalimar Gardens.\(^{79}\)
This garden is sorted on three levels, from south to north, that each of them has four to five meters level difference, which are as follows: The upper terrace: refreshing Terrace which means pleasure with 105 fountains. The middle terrace: gracious Terrace which means good sense, generosity and forgiveness with 152 fountains. Low terraces: life terraces means life, living with 153 fountains.

In total, the garden has 410 fountains, this fountain, cools the environment during the summer heat. In addition, the Shalimar Gardens have five waterfalls including the Marble Falls.

The Shalimar Bagh, measuring 540 meters by 244 meters, is large and imposing, set as it is against the backdrop of the Pir Panjal Mountains. A spring feeds water to a central canal, bisecting the garden along its length and forming the primary axis.

The site was converted into a Mogul garden in 1620 with Jehangir asking his son Shah Jahan to dam a nearby stream. In 1634, the garden was then further enlarged to reach the foothills of the mountains. The Moguls referred to these gardens as bagh-I Faiz Baksh and Farah Baksh. The lowest terrace was pubic garden. The middle garden, Farah Baksh (Bestower of Pleasure) features a pavilion (Image 100), Diwan-i-Am (Hall of Public Audience) and the Diwan-i- Khas (Hall of Private Audiences) are there and the upper garden or Bagh-I Faiz Baksh (Bestower of Plenty) was meant for private use (Image 101). With carved water chutes and niches for evening illumination, fountains further embellish the gardens .(Plan 23)

Buildings built in the garden include: Belvedere, Naqare khaneh and its related buildings, royal baths, bedrooms, verandas and luxurious halls of Lords, tomb, sleeping spaces for the wife of the Emperor (harem), Summer halls, public and private Court, regular or special halls for official meetings, two Gateway (Image 102) and its minarets at the corners. (Plan 24, 25)
6.3 (d) Pinjore Gardens

Pinjore Gardens also known as Yadavindra Gardens is a Mogul Gardens style which located in Pinjore, Panchkula district in the Indian state of Haryana.

The garden was created in the 17th century by architect Nawab Fidai Khan during the early reign of his foster brother Aurangzeb. The garden has been laid in seven terraces, with the main gate of the garden opening into the highest first terrace, which has a palace built in Rajasthani–Mogul style (Image 103). It is called the Shish Mahal (palace of glass), which is adjoined by a romantic Hawa Mahal (airy Palace). The second terrace with arched doorways has the Rang Mahal (painted palace). The third terrace has cypress trees and flowerbeds leading to dense groves of fruit trees (Image 104). The next terrace has the Jal Mahal (palace of water) with a square fountain bed and a platform to relax (Image 105). Fountains and tree groves are provided in the next terrace. The lowermost terrace has an open-air theatre, which is designed as a disc-like structure. (Image 106)

C.M. Villiers-Stuart, who resided in the gardens for a time, included a description in her book on "Gardens of the Great Moguls" (1913). 80

Pinjore Gardens and the temple complex laid in an open-air museum, set up by Haryana State Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, are integrated through well-laid-out and well-drained pathways to remove any water logging. The whole complex has been beautifully illuminated. (Image 107)

In recent times, it has been renamed as Yadavindra Garden in the memory of Maharaja Yadavindra Singh former of the princely state of Patiala. (Plan 26)

6.3 (e) Other Mogul Garden

6.3 (e1) The Tomb of Akbar the Great

Akbar (1542 - 1605) son of the Humayun, also known as Akbar the Great was one of the greatest rulers of the Mogul Dynasty in India. The tomb of him in the suburbs of Agra, at
Sikandra (then called Bihishtabad, or Abode of Paradise), was built by his son Jahangir and completed in 1612-13 (Image 108). It is even larger than Humayun's tomb, though of an entirely different shape, for which there is no precedent in Islamic funerary architecture: it consists of receding tiers of pillared sandstone galleries in the style of Indian post-and-lintel constructions. The feature it shares with Humayun's tomb, besides the studied use of red sandstone and white marble, is the vaulted masonry platform with surrounding vaulted bays on which it stands: this is here enriched with Timurid elements such as the tall centrally placed arched niches in rectangular frames and a vestibule with painted stucco decoration. However, despite its monumentality the mausoleum clearly aims at orthodox correctness. It has no dome, and the topmost storey consists of an open courtyard of white marble, enclosed with galleries. The beautifully carved cenotaph in the centre is placed under the open sky, as it lawfully should be, like Babur's tomb at Kabul. The entire structure below the cenotaph features as its plinth. The actual grave, marked by another cenotaph, is, as in all major Mogul mausoleums, set within the platform and can be reached from the vestibule through a corridor.

According to James L. Wescoat: ... Akbar Shah after returning from Mendu: "He said that to build bracing buildings and refreshing gardens in there (in Nagarchin near Agra).” This way of garden became a decorating element within the wide range of urban space.

Events of Kashmir and mountainous areas of North West India and Afghanistan marked the third and final stage of garden in the history of the reign of Akbar Shah. Initially Akbar Shah was impressed during his visits of Babur's garden around Kabul in 1580 A.D, especially by his tomb-garden and by making few gardens tried to compete with his grandfather, after the conquest of the beautiful state of Kashmir and by creating "his own garden", he achieved a decisive progress in Mogul garden design in 1589 A.D. Next Mogul aristocrats built
numerous gardens in Kashmir and in an attempt which was mostly a local success than regional, brought Kashmiri style to the field. Kashmir became the centre of the Mogul garden design and remained in the same position.\textsuperscript{81}

Emperor Akbar’s Tomb at Sikandra and its adjoining gardens were, in contrast, not based on Islamic precedents alone but were an amalgamation of outside influences. Throughout his life and reign, Akbar was a secular leader, abolishing jizya, the tax on non-Muslims, and establishing the Din-i-Ilahi, a new faith, a synthesis of religions that drew on the teachings of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. However, Sikandra is one of the important Mogul architectural masterpieces which was built on 119 acres of grounds in Sikandra, Agra.

While the gardens surrounding the tomb are modelled on those around Humayun’s Tomb in Delhi, the resting place of Akbar manifests a different architectural style. Sikandra outside Agra stands in the center of classical Chahar-bagh (Image 109) whose main walkways terminate in one real and three blind gates. The south gate is the largest, with four white marble minarets which are similar to those of the Taj Mahal. (Image 110, 111, 112)

The tomb is located in a classical Chahar-bagh and is surrounded by a walled enclosure 105 meter square. The tomb has three storied red sandstone minarets displaying wondrous inlay work of marble on the four corners of the building. (Drawing 16)

Aligned more closely to buildings that follow a traditional palace typology, the mausoleum in Agra, with its five storeys and upper-level courtyard does not have a stylistic allegiance to Humayun’s domed tomb but does share common features, as Catherine Asher points out, with other contemporary works such as the tomb of Shah Begum and the earlier multi-storeyed tomb of Muhammand Ghaus in Gwalior, with its chhatris. (Plan 27)

6.3 (e2) The Tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah
Itimad-ud-Daulah is the title of Mirza Ghiyas Beg Tehrani (Ghiyas Beg Tehrani\textsuperscript{82}), Persian Amir Exile, and prime minister of Jahangir and was a pillar of the empire because he was the highest official of the empire. Mirza Ghiyas Beg was also the father of Nur Jahan, Iranian wife of Jahangir and grandfather of Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of the emperor Shah Jahan, responsible for the construction of the Taj Mahal.

He died in 1622 of a broken heart, a few months after the death of his wife when he accompanied the emperor on his way to Kashmir. Jahangir presented Nur Jahan with all the property of her father, and she buried him in his garden on the upper bank of the river.

The mausoleum was built between 1622 and 1628 by Nur Jahan for her parents. The Mausoleum of Itimad-ud-daula and his wife Asmat Begum situated on the eastern bank of the river Yamuna about a mile to the north-east of Agra Fort, and sited in the centre of a lovely Chahar-bagh pattern garden, 146.30 meters by 137.16 meters which is a virtual gem in architecture. (Image 113)

The tomb that Nur Jahan built reflects her elegant taste, for her many talents included a pronounced interest in architecture. She built also many gardens at Agra and in Kashmir and caravanserais in the Panjab, and she also supervised the construction of Jahangir’s tomb and built her own tomb, both in Lahore. Like most of the funerary, as opposed to pleasure, gardens of Agra, that of Itimad-ud-Daula does not follow the riverfront design: instead it has the form of a classic Chahar-bagh, with the tomb structure at the centre where the walkways cross. (Image 114)

The garden is in cruciform shape, crisscrossed by water courses and walkways. The mausoleum itself covers about twenty-three meters square, and is built on a base about fifty meters square and about one meter high. On each corner are hexagonal towers, about thirteen meters tall.
Chapter 6

Mogul Gardens

It is considered an improvement on Jahangir’s tomb at Lahore, because though on a lesser scale the designer succeeded in combining the various elements so remarkably proportioned as to produce an extraordinarily beautiful and well balanced edifice. It contains a central vaulted structure with a rectilinear ground floor, with lovely stunted octagonal minarets at its angles. A double storeyed affair, the upper chamber is much smaller than the one below. (Image 115)

The tomb pavilion in the centre is an elaborate version of a form that became popular in Jahangir's period: the platform tomb, in which the low body of the building or platform supports individual structures. The ninefold plan of the platform has the simplicity of a magic square, enriched with towers at the four corners. In the central chamber are the ochre-coloured cenotaphs of Itimad-ud-Daula and his wife, under an ornamental vault displaying network. The interior is, characteristically for the period, richly painted with a variety of designs.\(^{83}\) (Image 116, 117)

Red flowers had a connotation of suffering and death in Persian and Turkish literature, and appear also inside the Taj Mahal.

Tomb of Itimad al-Dawla was the first monument of the Mogul period, which is fully made of marble with very beautiful and sophisticated decoration which is matured and completed in the Taj Mahal building, that is why it is often referred as a draft of the Taj Mahal and it is also known as Baby Taj. Of course there is no evidence that proves this building is a draft of the Taj Mahal and researchers and architects based on the type of building and decoration in both buildings and smaller scale of tomb of Itimad al-Dawla compared to the Taj Mahal and maturity of work in Taj Mahal have made this conclusion. (Image 118)

In addition, the tomb is known as a jewellery box, because it seems that the marble tomb of Itimad al-Dawla shines like a beautiful jewel box in Chahar-bagh. After making the
body of the building, the mausoleum was completed in two phases, first phase by the use of red sandstone and white marble facades and the second phase is by using marble and inlay of ornaments in the building. Both Indian and Islamic art and architecture can be seen in the building. Use of arched entrances and octagonal towers to show the influence of Iranian architecture and the absence of a dome and the presence of a closed kiosk at the top of the building and the use of canopies, show the influence of Indian architecture in it. (Plan 28)

6.3 (e3) The Nishat Bagh, Kashmir

Nishat Bagh, the Garden of Gladness, is not located too far from the Shalimar Gardens in Srinagar. It is the second largest Mogul garden in the Kashmir Valley and it designed and built by Asef Khan, Shah Jahan’s prime minister and his father-in-law. (Image 119)

The garden is spread across twelve terraces that ascend the mountainside (Plan 29). The garden, unlike those at Shalimar is not royal pleasure gardens, but residential garden, intended to be accessed directly from the Dal Lake. In the garden planted flowers as varied as roses, lilies and geraniums and trees such as platanus, cypresses and variety of fruit-bearing ones.

Nishat Bagh was the pride of Asef Khan. While the zenana is enclosed by an eighteen-foot-high wall that runs along the width of the garden, stone and marble statues mark the numerous fountains and waterfalls that dot the terrace. The baradari so characteristic of gardens of this type is on the third terrace. Measuring fifty-nine feet long and forty-eight feet wide, it is flanked by wooden latticed windows. Its harmonious integration with the mountain slopes and its numerous terraces, water bodies and trees made this a much coveted garden, so much so that it is believed that Shah Jahan, on not being offered it by the prime minister ordered its supply of water to be cut off. After some time, the garden was deserted. Asif Khan was uninterested in the sequence of events. When he was
resting under the shade of a tree in the garden, in one of the terraces, his servant was bold enough to turn on the water supply source from the Shalimar garden. Then Asif Khan heard the sound of water and the fountains in action he immediately ordered closure of water supply as he feared the worst reaction from Shah Jahan for this wanton act of disobedience. When, Shah Jahan heard about this incident at the garden, he was not disturbed or annoyed by the disobedience of his orders. However, he appreciated the servant for loyal service to his master and then ordered full restoration rights for the supply of water to the garden to Asif Khan, his Prime Minister.

The layout of Nishat Bagh was based on the basic conceptual model of the Persian gardens. The plan, instead of being central with four branches in a square pattern as in the case of Chahar-bagh, was changed to an axial stream flow design to fit the hill condition with water source originating at the top of the hill end which to cause in planning a rectangular layout rather than a square layout. A rectangular layout with east-west length of 548 meters and width of 338 meters was adopted. (Image 120)

Perhaps the most famous of terraced gardens will be the Nishat Bagh in Kashmir which has 12 terraces, rising higher and higher and reaching the mountain. The stream tears down these terraces in cascades enlivening each terrace by its movement. An important feature of the Nishat Bagh is the stone and marble thrones. Generally one such throne is placed at the head of every water fall. The Nishat Bagh also has a tower at either end, surveying the whole landscape. (Image 121)

The central canal, which runs through the garden from the top end, is 4 meters wide and has a water depth of 20 centimeters. Water flows down in a cascade from the top to the first terrace at the road level. The water flow from one terrace to the next is over stepped by stone ramps that provide the sparkle to the flow. At all the terraces fountains with pools are
provided, along the water channel. At channel crossings, benches are provided for people to sit and enjoy the beauty of the garden and the cascading flows and fountain jets. (Image 122)

The twelve terraces of Nishat Bagh are:

1. The terrace is a water collection chamber that is also linked to the side flow from the garden.
2. The terrace is accessed through a gate. This terrace has five fountains that is supplied water from the third terrace, from where it flowed to the lowest terrace. The second terrace is considered the most impressive in view of the twenty three niches provided in the arched recess just behind the cascade.
3. The terrace has a different design. The water chute has five arched open niches in the front and similar niches on the sides. A pavilion, a two-storied structure has since been dismantled. Stairways on either side of the channel lead to this terrace, which has a square chamber with five fountains.
4. The terrace has two levels, namely, a water channel and a square pool. Stairways with seven steps lead to the fifth terrace.
5. The terrace, where a stone bench is provided across the channel to enjoy the scenic beauty. This also has a square chamber with five fountains.
6. The terrace is at two levels with five fountains and distinctive paving pattern.
7. The terrace, where the same pattern continues.
8. The terrace is only a water channel or chute.
9. The terrace is at the end of two stairways, there is an octagonal bench. The pool in this terrace has nine fountains.
10. The terrace, stairways are along the side retaining walls where only the water chute with fountains is provided.
11. The terrace, engraved paths lead to an impressive eleventh terrace, which has twenty five fountains in a pool. Up from this dramatic terrace is the last one.
12. The terrace or Zenana chamber is covered in the front by 5.5 meters high wall with a façade of blind arches. Only one arch in this blind facade provides an opening to this terrace. (Plan 30)

6.3 (e4) Safdarjung's Tomb

Mirza Abul Qasim Mansoor Khan, known as Safdarjung, was an able and intelligent administrator at the time of Mohammad Shah, and during the years after Mohammad Shah, was in full control of the Mogul Empire’s government. He served as Minister of India during Ahmad Shah Bahadur’s time. Finally, political court dismissed him from his position in 1753 for various reasons, including ambitions, and two years later at the age 46 was killed in Sultanpur near Faizabad. After the death of Safdarjung, his son Nawab Shujaud Daula took permission from the king to build a mausoleum for his father (Image 123). The building’s architect and designer was Abyssinian and compared to other Mogul architects, most of whom were Iranian, had lesser facilities and low-quality materials on hand. (Image 124)

According to the researchers, the tomb of Safdarjung is the latest example of tomb-garden built in the Mogul period (Image 125). In fact, the tomb of Safdarjung is a great set that include; Entrance gate, Shrine, Garden, Tower, four summer residence with multiple rooms, a mosque with three domes and a library. (Drawing 17)

The main entrance gate building to the shrine is of two floors and has beautiful and magnificent decorations. By passing through this gate, a comprehensive view of the garden and the tomb is in front of the viewer (Image 126). The main facade of the building was built of Taj Mahal style which of course lacks symmetry as the vertical axis and this has caused an imbalance apparent in the tomb. The other reasons could be that the dome is too narrow and tall. Four minarets at four corners of the tomb and affixed to the building and are the main part of it that has made this facade different compared with other examples of Mogul tombs.
It is noteworthy that the materials used in the building, type of the used red rocks, mismatch and lack of harmony of the dome with other parts of the building and the quality of the decorations indicate the decline of the Mogul Empire and thus it is not comparable to the tomb of the Taj Mahal and Humayun. One reason could be depleted treasury of Mohammad Shah, after being defeated in the Battle of Karnal, where the money and treasury was taken away as booty from Iran by Nader Shah Afshar.

Safdarjung Mausoleum is located in a large square garden which is surrounded by a wall with a length of 280 meters. The square garden is divided into smaller squares in which paths and water channels can be seen (Drawing 18). The garden of this tomb is a Mogul garden which was originally built on the style of Iranian Chahar-bagh gardens and it can be said that, this is a small sample of Humayun's Tomb garden (Drawing 19). One of the water channels is stretched towards the entrance gate and the other one is driven towards the three pavilions within the garden. (Image 127)

The mausoleum has four key features which are: The Chahar-bagh garden plan with the tomb at the centre, a nine fold floor plan, a five part facade and a large podium with a hidden stairway. (Plan 31)
6.4 Notes and Reference


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7. Ibid, p. 25


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15. Ibid, p. 46

16. Ibid, p. 50


22. Genesis 2:10-14, KJV


25. Ibid


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29. Ibid, p. 309
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40. Underground chamber
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53. Ibid pp. 89-90

54. Ibid, p. 90

55. Ibid, pp. 96-97

344
56. In India lala denotes tulips as well as the red poppy.


65. Ibid, p. 94


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Mughal in India, Journal of subcontinent studies of University of Sistan and Baluchestan, Sixth year, Issue 21, Winter 2012, p. 154

80. Online text: Gardens of the Great Mughals by C.M. Villiers Stuart


83. Koch, Ebba, Mughal Architecture: An Outline of Its History and development(1526 - 1858), Munich, 199, pp.72 - 75

84. In India and Iran, zenana is the part of a house for the seclusion of women.

85. Baradari is a building or pavilion with 12 doors designed to allow free flow of air.