

SYMBOL AND FUNCTION IN THE ARCHITECTURE
AND MAUSOLEUM OF HUMAYUN PADSHAH

by

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ABSTRACT

In A.D. 1530 the Mughal Padshah Humayun inherited his father Babur's newly-won kingdom in Afghanistan and northern India. During the following nine years Humayun was occupied in a continuous struggle to retain power against rival claims from external foes and members of his own dynasty. In order to silence this opposition Humayun enacted a series of governmental and social reforms, all of which were designed both to raise the personal prestige of the emperor and to legitimize the dynasty's claims to rule over northern India. In accordance with his own faith in the cosmological sciences of astronomy and astrology, Humayun chose to model his socio-political institutions allegorically on the heavenly spheres and the natural elements. By so doing Humayun hoped to align his kingdom with the natural and proper order of the cosmos. At the centre of this micro-cosmic universe sat the emperor, the nucleus around which revolved Humayun's world. In order to re-enforce the new social order and to give it outward expression Humayun engaged himself in a vigorous building campaign in the cities of Agra and Delhi. While none of Humayun's architectural projects have survived, descriptions of the buildings can be found in contemporary Mughal histories and in the accounts of European travellers. Some of these architectural projects, which were iconographically related to the cosmologically-oriented governmental reforms, functioned as ideal settings for the elaborate court ritual Humayun developed; other buildings served to

house the lavish festivals and celebrations that Humayun's aunt Khanzada Begam organized in honour of the emperor and the dynasty. The first chapter of this thesis is devoted to a detailed analysis of Humayun's socio-political reforms and the architectural setting that he provided for them. Both the social reforms and the architectural commissions are examined in their historical context, to which end a short biography of Humayun is included.

In spite of the inflated opinion Humayun held of himself, his inability to govern and his lack of military leadership qualities led to a serious defeat at the hands of the Afghan Sher Shah and the temporary expulsion of the dynasty from India. In the second chapter of the thesis Humayun's monumental mausoleum in Delhi is investigated and analysed in terms of its patronage, architectural symbolism and social function. It is my conviction that the imposing tomb was commissioned and paid for by Humayun's son and successor Akbar in order to honour Humayun, erase some of the tarnish of his unfortunate reign and, by extension, legitimize Akbar's own position as hereditary heir to the kingdom. The great tomb gave glory in death when there was none in life. As well, the monument's cosmological symbolism ensured that the dead emperor would wait for the final call lying at the centre of the four quarters of the universe in a paradisiacal garden. As in the first chapter, my conclusions regarding the function and symbolism of Humayun's tomb are weighed against their historical environment. For this reason a short biography of the first decade of Akbar's reign is included. Similarly, the mausoleum's special

eight-part form, known as "hasht behisht," is analysed in light of
the historical development and symbolism of the hasht behisht form
in Turkish and Iranian Islamic architecture.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS	vii
LIST OF PLATES	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENT	ix
DEDICATION	x
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter	
1. HUMAYUN'S KINGSHIP AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL SETTING .	5
Humayun's Youth	5
Humayun's First Ten Years on the Throne: An Historical Summary	11
15 Administrative Reforms and Architectural Inventions	15
Exile and Reconquest	28
2. HUMAYUN'S TOMB	33
Introduction	33
34 Analysis of the Tomb and its Environs	34
50 Interpretive Investigation of the Tomb Complex.	50
Patronage	50
Historical Background	52
Choice of Site	57
Symbolic Associations	60
The Eight-Part Plan and its Architectural Precedents	60

	Page
Throne Symbolism and the Timuri Cemetery at Gazar Gah	70
Indo-Muslim Saintly Tomb Tradition and the "Perfect Man"	73
Conclusion	75
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE	78
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO	93
MAPS AND PLANS	108
PLATES	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY	121
GLOSSARY	129

LIST OF MAPS AND PLANS

	Page
1. India Under the Mughals	108
2. Delhi	109
3. Plan of Humayun's Tomb and Environs	110

10

LIST OF PLATES

	Page
1. Humayun's Tomb with South Gateway (Archaeological Survey of India)	111
2. Humayun's Tomb: South Gateway Inner Facade	112
3. Humayun's Tomb: West Gateway	113
4. Humayun's Tomb: West Gateway from Garden Path	114
5. Humayun's Tomb: West Gateway Inner Facade	115
6. Humayun's Tomb: North Pavilion	116
7. Humayun's Tomb: East Pavilion(far left)	117
8. Humayun's Tomb: General View from South showing Stonework	118
9. Humayun's Tomb: Cenotaph	119
10. Humayun's Tomb: Mihrab	120

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my wife Roz.

Introduction

Of the first six Mughal padshahs who ruled over northern India and the Deccan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Humayun is without question the least known and the most under-rated. His father Babur was an adventurous, dynamic leader whose conquests led to the founding of a mighty empire. His son Akbar's name is still synonymous with religious toleration and enlightened rule. Between these two luminaries Humayun's military incompetence and inability to govern stand out all the more clearly. His importance for not a few historians of Mughal history is as a bridge between the dynasty's founder and its most famous son. Yet there is another side to Humayun that is all too rarely explored, for it was Humayun, and not Babur or any of the other earlier Timuri princes who initiated the changes in the Indo-Muslim concept of kingship that raised the status of the monarchy from a temporal office to one in which the chasm between mankind and the divine was spanned. To achieve this Humayun embarked upon a sweeping campaign of social and bureaucratic reform in which the institutions of the state and the convictions upon which those institutions rested were redefined in terms that would ensure the central and indispensable position of the emperor. It is these social changes and the architectural metaphors that re-enforced them that will be examined in this thesis.

The thesis is composed of two chapters. The first chapter is subdivided into four sections, each of which deals with a different aspect of Humayun's life. The first section serves to outline briefly

the formative years of Humayun's youth and to analyse the sources of his legitimacy. The following two sections deal with the ten years from 1530 to 1540 during which Humayun occupied the throne of Hindustan in northern India. In section two the transitory conquests in Malwa, Bengal and Gujarat and the drawn out campaigns against the Suri Afghans are related against a backdrop of intradynasty feuding and fraternal insubordination. In the third section of chapter one a detailed analysis of Humayun's social reforms and architectural projects is given. This is followed by a necessarily speculative explanation of Humayun's choice of symbol and imagery. With the exception of one inconsequential mosque there are no physical remains from the time of Humayun and so I have had to rely almost exclusively on written descriptions handed down by the authors of official biographies and private memoirs. In all cases the information received has been carefully weighed against the prejudice of its source. The final section of the first chapter offers a brief summary of the fifteen years that Humayun spent in exile from India, at first wandering aimlessly about Khurasan and Persia and later reconsolidating his forces in Afghanistan. By the year 1555 Humayun had silenced all internal opposition and had reconquered his old empire in northern India.

The second chapter of this thesis is devoted to a detailed study of the monumental tomb Humayun's son Akbar erected for his father. This chapter is divided into two main sections preceded by a brief introduction. An analysis of the mausoleum, its subsidiary buildings and the general environs is given in the first section. The second section of chapter two is an in-depth examination of the

patronage, social function and symbolism of the tomb. This section has been subdivided into four subsections and a conclusion. In the first subsection the patronage of the tomb is discussed. The second subsection is devoted to an examination of the historical background. The choice of site is dealt with in the third subsection. The fourth subsection includes a detailed tripartite analysis of the symbolic associations of the mausoleum. In the first part the symbolism of the eight-part "hasht behisht" architectural style is discussed in light of its architectural precedents in the Islamic world. Also discussed in this first part is the formal four-part "char bagh" garden. The question of throne symbolism at Humayun's tomb is examined in the second part of subsection four and in the final part the tradition of the Indo-Muslim saintly tomb is analysed in light of the mediaeval Muslim tradition of the "Perfect Man." The possibility of Humayun's involvement in the designing of his mausoleum is noted in the conclusion.

In the interest of clarity and simplicity for the non-Muslim reader I have translated all dates from the Islamic calendar into their equivalents in the Gregorian calendar and have dispensed with all diacritical marks except the Perso-Arabic "ezefe" which has been rendered as an "i." All architectural terms and proper names have been rendered in their common forms so as to avoid any possible confusion for either the general or the scholarly reader. I have used the term "Timuri" to describe the Central Asian descendants of Timur-i-lang, including Babur, before the year 1526. After that year I have used both the terms "Timuri" and "Mughal" to describe the ruling dynasty of northern India. The former term is the more accurate

but the latter is the more common. They have been used interchangeably in the interest of variety.

Chapter 1

Humayun's Kingship and its Architectural Setting

Humayun's Youth

On the night of March 6, 1508 Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun, future emperor of northern India and Afghanistan was born to Maham Begam, third wife of Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Mirza, the princely ruler of the kingdom of Kabul. Humayun's father Babur (1483-1530) was an adventurous Timuri prince with a long and exceptionally distinguished pedigree. He traced his paternal line back to Timur-i-lang (1336-1405), the mighty and ruthless Central Asian conqueror, while his mother's ancestry was said to have originated in the equally ferocious "world conquering" thirteenth century Mongol Gengiz Khan (reigned 1206-1227). Just two years before Humayun's birth Babur's highly refined cousin Sultan Husayn Mirza Baiqara passed away leaving his kingdom of Herat vulnerable to the invading armies of Babur's Transoxian enemy Shaibani Khan Uzbek who captured Herat in 1507. Despite the Uzbeks' early withdrawal from Afghanistan--they left within a year of their arrival--the efficacy of Husayn Baiqara's line had been permanently broken and Babur emerged the sole puissant Timuri leader in all of Central Asia. To announce his new-found primacy the ambitious Timuri prince renounced the title "Mirza" (prince) and adopted the title "Padshah" (emperor) in its place. By this assertion Babur laid claim to the leadership of all the Timuri and Chaghatai-Mongol peoples who were united through his illustrious

double pedigree. The birth of a legitimate heir in 1508 effectively re-enforced the padshah's claim by providing his heterogeneous followers with a dynastic line around whom they could rally and through whom their positions would be ensured should Babur suddenly die or be killed. This new sense of legitimacy also dispelled the claims of Babur's only Timuri rival, the feeble Abdul Razzaq whose father Ulugh Beg Mirza had ruled the kingdom of Kabul prior to 1504.¹

The first we hear of Humayun is in 1512 when the young prince was residing at the Safavi court of the Persian Shah Ismael. In order to combat the ever-threatening Uzbeks Babur arranged an alliance between himself and the Safavi Shah in exchange for a public proclamation of the Shia creed. The Timuri's followers, however, would not accept the renunciation of Sunni Islam and Babur was forced to withdraw his military support during the crucial Battle of Ghazdawan. Because of this last-minute desertion the Persian army suffered a complete rout. The treachery of the father was cruelly impressed upon the four-year-old Humayun back at the Persian court.²

While the twelve-year-old Humayun was assigned his first political office, the governorship of the province of Badakhshan in northeastern Afghanistan, in 1520, it was not until five years later that the personality and most typical character traits of the prince became apparent.³ In December of 1525 Humayun was ordered to join his father at the Garden of Fidelity in Kabul where the final preparations were being made for the conquest of northern India. For reasons unknown the prince arrived at the capital about three weeks late and was severely reproached for holding up the whole campaign.

Fortunately for Humayun his first real military encounter was a complete success. On the twenty-sixth of February, 1526 he defeated an advance party of Afghans led by Hamid Khan at Hissar-Firoza, a town about one hundred miles northwest of Delhi, and was duly rewarded with money, lands and the city of Hissar itself.⁴ Two months later, on the twenty-first of April, 1526 the Lodi Afghans were defeated by Babur at the Battle of Panipat. Their monarch, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was killed and their empire irretrievably lost. The Timuri padshah went on to capture the city of Delhi, traditional capital and spiritual centre of the Delhi Sultanate, while his son Humayun pushed south along the Jumna River taking the administrative capital at Agra and the important towns of Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Kalpi. In gratitude for his chivalrous treatment of the Rajput family of the deceased Raja Vikramjit of Gwalior Humayun was presented with an enormous diamond, now believed to have been the famous Koh-i-Nur. Humayun offered the stone to his father but Babur generously bade Humayun keep it.⁵

After the conquest of northern India Humayun left Hindustan for his jagir in Badakhshan where an Uzbeki invasion seemed imminent. En route the impetuous young commander "betook himself to Dihli [Delhi], where he broke open the treasury and stole its contents." Again the full wrath of the padshah came down upon his son. Even at this early date, writes Annette Beveridge, "there was enough . . . known of Humayun's character to awaken doubt of his fitness to rule, and to need all his father's great affection to veil and forgive."⁶

In the following year, 1528, a son was born to Humayun and his wife Haji Begam. The boy, who was named al-Aman, was not destined to live even one year.⁷ In response to the happy news Babur sent to Humayun a long letter offering his advice regarding the deportment of a princely warrior and outlining his most cherished aspirations for Humayun and his three brothers. The tone of the letter, however, was anything but congenial. After offering his congratulations and criticizing Humayun's choice of the name al-Aman Babur writes (in response to Humayun's letter): "You certainly do not excell in letter-writing; you fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show off your acquirements. For the future," he caustically adds, "write unaffectedly, clearly, and in plain words, which will give less trouble to writer and readers."⁸ It seems that Humayun had earlier written to Babur complaining about the remoteness of Badakhshan. The prince, like his father, was a sophisticated lover of cities and high aristocratic culture. But, unlike Babur, Humayun shied away from the rigours of isolation and frontier warfare. Babur reminded his son that "No bondage equals that of sovereignty; retirement [from one's duties] matches not with rule," adding the words of the Persian poet Nizami:⁹

He grips the world who hastenes;
 Empire yokes not with delay;
 All else confronting marriage stops,
 Save only sovereignty.

Babur goes on to discuss and advise Humayun on his future relations with his three younger brothers, a subject of considerable irony in light of the fraternal conflicts that were to plague and finally destroy the second generation of Mughals who ruled over Hindustan.

"Live well with thy brother [Kamran]," Babur writes. "Elders [in age or in rank] must bear the burden. I have the hope that thou, for thy part, wilt keep on good terms with him; he, who has grown up an active and excellent youth, should not fail, for his part, in loyal duty to thee." The padshah enjoined Humayun to call his brothers and the other nobles of the realm into council twice each day and to heed their advice. Babur assured Humayun that he and not Kamran was to enjoy the highest status by reminding him that "the rule has always been that when thou [Humayun] hadst six parts Kamran had five; this having been constant, make no change." In order that there should be no misunderstanding Babur sent a similar letter to Kamran and a third to the noble Khwaja Kalan.¹⁰

The year 1528 ended with Humayun again disappointing his father Babur. The Shaibani Uzbeks had suffered a serious defeat against the Safavi Persians at the town of Jam in September of that year. Hoping to take advantage of his enemy's weakness Babur quickly sent Humayun across the Oxus to capture the coveted city of Samarkand. Humayun was unable to capture the town and so once again the prize of Timur's ancient capital slipped from Babur's hands.¹¹

In the spring of the following year Humayun received alarming news of his father's failing health. Without waiting for permission Humayun recklessly left his post in Badakhshan and rushed to Agra, which he entered unannounced on the twenty-seventh of June. As a result of the desertion the kingdom of Badakhshan was invaded by Said Khan, the ruler of Kashgar whose forces could only be turned back

by the Timuri noble Mirza Sulaiman. Again the exasperated padshah vented his fury upon the imprudent young prince.¹² Humayun removed himself to "the idle enjoyment of his jagir" at Sambhal where in a few months he was stricken by a violent illness that almost cost him his life--though it most certainly salvaged his political future. The crisis put Humayun's rash behaviour out of Babur's mind and forced the padshah to take drastic measures to ensure his son's speedy recovery. The Muslim saint Mir Abu Baqa advised Babur to offer to Allah the most precious gift that he could find, such as the enormous Koh-i-Nur diamond. Babur, however, could think of but one gift worthy of his son's life and that was his own which he offered to God in Humayun's stead. "Maham," he explained to his wife, "although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humayun. I crave that this cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and I desire the kingdom for him, and not for the others, because he has not his equal in distinction." Thrice the padshah circled Humayun's sick-bed and within a few short months (so the legend goes) Humayun had fully recovered and Babur was dead.¹³

Humayun's First Ten Years on the Throne: An Historical Summary

The second major period of Humayun's life covers the years 1530 to 1540 during which he reigned as padshah over the Indian empire bequeathed him by his father Babur. The empire that Humayun inherited was in fact no more than a loosely joined and administratively unconsolidated mass of land stretching from the Himalayas in the north to the state of Malwa in the south and from the Oxus (Amu Darya) River in the west to Bihar in the east. The cities of Kandahar and Kabul in eastern Afghanistan and parts of the western Punjab were assigned by Humayun to his brother Kamran who was to rule them in the padshah's name. Jagirs (governorships) in Sambhal and Alwar were given to the brothers Askari and Hindal respectively.¹⁴ The years in Hindustan are characterized by the contrast between Humayun's pompous, highly mannered court on the one hand and the interminable series of political blunders, fraternal conflicts and military defeats that eventually led to the eviction of the Timuris from northern India on the other. ? Humayun appears to have enjoyed the cooperation of his brothers Askari and Hindal during the early years of his reign but he was never able to control the ambitions of his spirited brother Kamran. In 1531, while the padshah was occupied in the area around Chunar fighting the ascending Suri Afghans, Kamran forcibly enlarged his territories by capturing the city of Lahore. Instead of dealing harshly with Kamran, Humayun legalized his brother's claim to Lahore and added the towns of Hissar and Multan to Kamran's holdings.¹⁵ The consequences of Humayun's generosity were soon to prove disastrous.

A major campaign was mounted in 1535 against the kingdom of Gujarat whose ruler Bahadur Shah (1526-1536) had four years earlier annexed the adjacent kingdom of Malwa. Since that time Bahadur had unceasingly antagonized the Timuri padshah by financing Afghan military campaigns against the Mughals, forming mutual aggression pacts with the Suris of Bihar, harbouring Humayun's enemies and by campaigning widely throughout Rajasthan. The Mughal armies drove south into Malwa where they captured and brutally pillaged the city of Mandu. From Malwa Humayun moved west to the Gujarati capital at Champanir which had been left defenseless by the fleeing Bahadur Shah.¹⁶ Rather than follow the military conquest with administrative consolidation Humayun chose to settle into a period of luxuriation, enjoying the rich spoils that the Ahmad Shahi dynasty had accumulated during almost a century and a half of rule in Gujarat. Humayun never even arranged for the collection of taxes—despite the fact that the cautious citizens of the kingdom offered to send the government's due to the exiled Bahadur Shah! Shortly after the conquest Bahadur Shah collected an army of about fifty thousand soldiers and began to march from Diu to his old capital. Humayun met and destroyed the Gujarati army near the town of Mahmudabad. From there Humayun marched into the city of Ahmadabad where he installed his brother Askari as governor. Other Timuri officers were placed in charge of the important towns of Gujarat while Humayun went off in pursuit of Bahadur Shah. Ignoring the warnings of his advisors over the growing power of Sher Khan Sur in eastern India Humayun returned to the city of Mandu in Malwa where he fell into a state of "chronic lethargy and opiated

idleness." ¹⁷ Askari could not hold the territory of Gujarat and was soon expelled by the Ahmad Shahi armies. He parted for Agra, evidently in the hope of taking power there but was intercepted and pardoned by Humayun en route. The two returned to Agra to deal with internal problems there. "Gujarat and Malwa were as easily and as rapidly lost as they had been conquered." ¹⁸

The period between 1537 and 1540 was spent by Humayun maneuvering and campaigning in northern India against the forces of Sher Khan Sur. A summary description of the events of these three years will serve to illustrate the difference between Humayun's impulsive, injudicious policies and those of Sher Khan Sur, whose brilliance in military calculation and fine economy of movement resulted in a complete victory for his vastly smaller army. In July of 1537 Humayun left Agra for the Suri stronghold of Chunar which he successfully captured in March of the following year. From Chunar Humayun moved--perhaps purposefully drawn by Sher Khan--east towards Bengal which he captured in April of 1538. Humayun renamed the war-torn, devastated capital at Gaur "Jannatabad," the "Abode of Paradise" where he "fell [according to precedent] a victim to his chronic lethargy and dreamed at opium-eater's paradise while his enemy was working his ruin." ¹⁹ At the same time Sher Khan was establishing his control over the whole of northern India between Bengal and Kanauj, the latter city only one hundred miles east of the Mughal capital at Agra. The Mughal nobility stationed at the capital were becoming increasingly exasperated with their monarch's irresponsible behaviour (It is said that after his first month in Jannatabad Humayun shut himself up in the palace and

was never seen at all!) and a plot was hatched to replace Humayun with his youngest brother Hindal, at the time only nineteen years old. Kamran, no doubt for reasons of his own, foiled the coup by forcing Hindal back to his jagir at Alwar. Kamran refused, however, to send any help to his brother Humayun who was virtually trapped in Bengal. In March of 1539 Humayun finally moved out of Bengal. His army was marching en route to Agra when they were confronted, in June of the same year, by the forces of Sher Khan Sur at the town of Chausa. The Mughal army was totally destroyed on the twenty-sixth of the month, the padshah and his brother Askari barely escaping with their lives.²⁰ Sher Khan hurried east to Bengal where he crowned himself king while Humayun returned to Agra where he vainly tried to rally his brothers around the common cause. The two armies met again on the seventeenth of May, 1540 at the town of Bilgram on the Ganges River. Forty thousand Mughal soldiers fled before only ten thousand Afghans with virtually no opposition shown. This effortless victory marks the beginning of Suri rule in Hindustan and Bengal and the beginning of the flight and exile of Humayun and his followers.²¹

Administrative Reforms and Architectural Inventions

Humayun's claim to legitimacy was based upon the belief that his father Babur had specifically nominated him to succeed to the position of padshah. While perhaps a desirable means to maintaining the status quo, the concept of primogeniture had never been unquestioningly accepted by the descendants of the house of Timur. The padshah's supremacy was almost immediately challenged by his brother Kamran and soon after by Askari and Hindal as well. The period following the expulsion, which will be dealt with later, saw Humayun virtually powerless at a time when Kamran and Askari enjoyed the cooperation of most of the nobility. The unwavering support that the Timuri nobility and soldiers showed Babur was based upon his people's faith in his leadership abilities; the relationship was symbiotic, for Babur's guidance was one of the precious assets of the group. Humayun's ability to govern had been brought into question before his father's death, and there is even good reason to believe that Babur himself had misgivings about passing power over to his sybaritic son. In order to emphasize his legitimacy and raise his prestige Humayun chose to restructure and redefine the institutions of his government and his court.

As a basis for his reforms Humayun looked back to an incident of his youth that he believed to have been a divinely inspired omen. According to most accounts Humayun received the omen during a period in which he was governing the city of Kabul in his father's absence. The prince arranged for three of his officers to go out

into the country and ask the name of the first man each one happened to meet. (Some say these were purely chance encounters.) The name of the first man asked was Murad, the Arabic word for "desire." The second man's name was Daulat, the word for "dominion," and the third man's name was Saadat, which can be translated as either "good fortune" or "success." Humayun was overjoyed on hearing these omens of success, and when he finally took power in 1530 he divided the most important people of his court into three classes, each one named after one of the three men from Kabul.²² The first class was named the Ahl-i-Daulat, the People of Dominion. This class was composed of the ruling classes of the Mughal state: the nobility, the government ministers, the padshah's relatives, the army officers and the warriors. According to the traditions of mediaeval Muslim political theory this class would be called the "People of the Sword." The second group of courtiers was given the title Ahl-i-Saadat, the People of Success. These were the intellectuals and the religious men whose ranks included upper-class civilians, experts in Muslim religious law (sharia), scientists, and the virtuous and religious ulama. Their counterpart in earlier Muslim society was the group known as the "People of the Pen." Finally there were the People of Desire, the Ahl-i-Murad, whose ranks included musicians, artists, architects, beautiful young men and other elegant, pleasure-loving people.²³ To accommodate each of the groups Humayun divided his week into four parts. On Saturdays and Thursdays he held discussions with the scientists and the men of religion; on Sundays and Tuesdays the padshah and his state officers discussed administrative and

military matters; and on Mondays and Wednesdays Humayun enjoyed the company of the elegant young people at festive parties. On Fridays, the Muslim holy day on which the faithful congregate in the presence of Allah, all of the court assembled before their emperor.²⁴ For each of these classes Humayun commissioned a golden arrow which he then presented to the leader of the group. Tenure of the golden arrow was conditional upon the leader's ability to ensure the proper conduct of his group. Should the leader in any way displease the padshah, the golden arrow was to be reassigned to a worthier man.²⁵

The royal household was further divided into twelve groups to correspond to the twelve signs of the zodiac. The twelve groups were the padshah; his brothers, relatives and sultans in government employ; the religious and the righteous, sayyids and mushaikhhs (members of the ulama); the great nobles of the realm; courtiers and some royal attendants; attendants in general; the harem and well-behaved women; young maid-servants; treasurers and stewards; soldiers; menial servants; and lowly employees such as doorguards and camel drivers. Unlike the first tripartite grouping these twelve subsections represented a comprehensive sampling of members from every social class at court. Each of these classes was further subdivided into three parts, possibly in accordance with a similar subdivision of the twelve signs of the zodiac into thirty-six decans. Arrows of diminishing qualities of gold were made, and one was given to each of the twelve classes according to its relative status.²⁶

Four additional administrative departments were formed, and each was named after one of the four elements. The first department

was named Atashi or "fire" and was charged with all things related to the weapons of war. A second department was called Hawaii, "wind" and was made responsible for matters in the kitchens, the royal wardrobe and the stables. Architectural and agricultural projects were relegated to the department of earth, Khaki, and all public water-works such as irrigation systems and canals were assigned to the department of water which was given the title Abi.²⁷

In order to proclaim the new social order and re-enforce the convictions upon which it had been founded Humayun embarked on a vigorous building campaign from which emerged a physical setting to accommodate and to complement the institutions of the state. One of Humayun's largest projects was a great tent (khargah) which he had divided into twelve halls of audience, each one corresponding to a sign of the zodiac after which it was named. The furnishings and paintings that decorated the tent as well as the costumes of the servants who waited upon the padshah and the nobility were decorated with the emblematic symbols of the seven planets. In addition the costumes of the servants were colour-coded to the planet that ruled that particular day. Lattice-work openings were cut into the tent so that at night the stars could be seen shining through them. A second tent which had no windows enveloped the first one, a symbol of the heaven of heavens which is without light. This second tent must certainly have been a fly-sheet of a sort that did not fully cover the lattice windows of the inner one.²⁸

Another of the padshah's inventions was a large round carpet upon which were painted or woven nine circles, each representing one

of the nine heavenly spheres. The spheres shown were the crystalline sphere which was coloured white, an unidentified sphere (perhaps the sky) coloured blue, Saturn which was black, a sandal-brown Jupiter, a ruby-red Mars, a golden Sun, Venus which was bright green, an iris-blue Mercury and a white Moon. Beyond the planets were the regions of fire and air and beyond them those of earth and water. The inhabited portions of the earth were divided into seven parts to indicate the seven habitable climes. Members of the court were assigned to the different spheres according to their ranks, the ulama and the Indian officers taking their places upon the planets Jupiter and Saturn respectively while Humayun took his position upon the Throne of the Khilafat (Caliphate) on the solar disc. Once all the courtiers were seated on the carpet a game was played in which dice inscribed with humorous postures were rolled and the participants were required to take up the poses, "increasing [the] mirth" of all present. It has been estimated that as many as fourteen hundred people took part in this ritual.²⁹

Humayun also commissioned works of mobile architecture, one of which was a three story wooden palace so expertly fashioned that when it was assembled it was impossible to know that the structure was not a single unit. The palace was brightly painted and decorated with colourful curtains made of Khitani, Turkish and European cloths. On the top of the building was placed a gold dome which glistened in the sun.³⁰ Khwandamir and Abul Fazl both describe a floating pavilion though neither historian appears to have been well-acquainted with the structure. The pavilion was composed of four flat barges

upon which were raised two storied chambers. The four barges were joined to one another by diagonally placed arched platforms so that an octagonal reservoir was formed in the centre of the building. While it has not been established whether similar two story structures were built over the arched platforms Sir Sayyid Ahmad, in his book Asrar us Sanadid writes that "from the connection of these four rooms the eight heavens were formed." The tradition and symbolism of the palatial eight-part "hasht behisht" style of building will be studied below.³¹

Two other river pavilions were commissioned by the padshah, one a floating bazar and the other a floating garden. Neither barge has ever been adequately described, but the two may have been used in the coronation and the wedding festivities described below. Humayun's reasons for commissioning works of mobile architecture are not easily fathomed since both his Timuri ancestors and his Mughal successors lived much of their lives in tents and brought the arts of tent construction, decoration and placement to great heights. Perhaps the wooden palace and the river barges indicate a reaction by Humayun against the tribal, migratory nature of his father Babur's nomadic state.³²

On the nineteenth of December, 1531, just under a year after Humayun succeeded his father to the throne, Babur's influential sister Khanzada Begam organized a festive coronation ceremony for the new king. An elaborate banquet, known as the "Mystic Feast" was held in which the community's institutions and values--as determined and envisioned by the padshah Humayun--were publically celebrated in a suitably complementary architectural setting. This group of

pavilions erected on the banks of the Jumna River near Agra, was collectively known as the Imarat (or Khanah)-i-Tilism, the "Mystic House." 33

The Imarat-i-Tilism consisted of three two story pavilions and a garden with smaller pavilions and courtyards around it. The feast itself was held on the ground floor of a spacious octagonal building which faced to the south. This banquet hall was richly adorned with gold embroidered hangings and about forty long ropes of pearls, each of which hung from the ceiling and had at its end two glass baubles. A jewelled throne was set up for the emperor and his queen. In the centre of the pavilion was a courtyard with an octagonal pool in it. An octagonal platform had been constructed at the centre of the pool upon which were dallying young men and women, maidens, musicians and reciters, all seated on fine Persian carpets. Facing north was a smaller octagonal structure in which were placed dishes of pan (betel-nut leaf condiment), water vessels, various utensils, jewelled drinking goblets and a gilded divan. There was a pond inside this pavilion as well. The ground floor of the rectangular building to the west was set up as an audience hall and the area to the east was occupied by the garden. 34

The upper story of each of these pavilions was fitted with a room representing one of the three recently formed social classes. In the Khanah-i-Daulat, the "House of Dominion," were placed the nine symbols of the military: a jewelled scimitar, a broad dagger, a quiver, a gold-embroidered overmantle, a curved dagger and four unspecified weapons known collectively as armour. A second chamber

upstairs was known as the Khanah-i-Saadat. In this "House of Good Fortune" were arranged various books, gilded pen-cases, splendid portfolios and lavishly illustrated picture books, the symbols of the ulama and the intellectuals of the realm. The third second story chamber was reserved for the class of pleasure people. In the Khanah-i-Murad were a gilded bedstead, a sandal-wood coffer and many pillows. At the front of this room coverlets and gold brocade tablecloths were laid and upon them were served different fruits and beverages.³⁵

All the courtiers, the mirzas (princes) and the begams (high-born women) were asked to bring gifts of coins to the feast. These coins were then sorted and piled onto large trays. To the nobleman Hindu Beg who seems to have been the arrow-holder of the Ahl-i-Daulat Humayun gave two trays of Shahrukhs and one of Ashrafs which he was instructed to distribute to the People of Dominion. Mirzas, chiefs, vazirs and even common soldiers were generously rewarded with handfuls of money. Mulla Muhammad Farghari was given the same to distribute to the People of Good Fortune, the theologians, ascetics, "greybeards," dervishes and the indigent. The last three trays were destined for the People of Desire. Humayun himself passed out the coins to the women of the harem, the senior members of the court and to those who were present at the coronation banquet and festivities. Then, at the secret command of the padshah's wife Haji Begam, a tap was turned on and water came gushing out of a pipe filling the octagonal tank and soaking the elegant young people who were sitting on the centre platform. Everyone present was much amused by the surprise, and when the young courtiers waded out they

were handsomely rewarded with heaps of money and dry clothing. Each was given a pellet of anise to prevent chill, and those who wanted a bit of the intoxicant majun. Afterwards twelve thousand robes of honour were presented to members of the nobility.³⁶ In addition to the Imarat-i-Tilism there were constructed a women's bazar and several decorated boats. One of the boats consisted of an upper room and a garden below while another is described as having been formed of eight barges so that "there were eight pieces." "In short," writes Humayun's sister and biographer Gul-Badan Begam, "everyone was astonished and amazed who beheld what gift of contrivance the great God had bestowed on the blessed mind of his Majesty."³⁷

Like virtually every Muslim ruler in northern India since the Muizzi conquest at the end of the twelfth century Humayun was deeply concerned with establishing justice throughout his domain and equally concerned with making the public aware that he was. The maintenance of justice was, above all else, the cornerstone of a Muslim monarch's legitimacy to rule. The Quran makes no provision for government in the Muslim state except that the Muslim holy law, the Sharia, must be strictly maintained.³⁸ To proclaim his concern for public justice Humayun erected a "Drum of Justice" outside his palace. Should any citizen feel that he had been unduly deprived of his legal rights, especially in cases of governmental corruption, the drum was to be beaten a specific number of times according to the nature of the case. The padshah acted as the final court of appeals and as a last refuge for his persecuted subjects. In short the emperor was justice incarnate.³⁹

Humayun's most important foundation in the city of Delhi was the suburb known as Dinpannah. Dinpannah was founded in 1533 as a refuge and gathering place for the religious and learned men of his empire. The historian Khwandamir writes that it was Humayun's intention to "found near the capital of Delhi a large city, the ramparts of which from their loftiness might open the tongue of reproach and scorn at Khawarnak and Sawir, the palaces of Bahram, and that the keeper of its bastions might claim equality with Saturn." A seven story palace was planned for the centre of a large garden, and at an astrologically prescribed hour those invited to the founding ceremony assembled at the site, about three kos for Delhi on the Jumna River, to lay the first stones. By the time Khwandamir had written his history (1533) the walls, bastions, ramparts and gateways were nearly finished. Unfortunately nothing remains of Humayun's Dinpannah. The foundation was destroyed by his Suri rival Sher Shah who, it is believed, built upon the same site the fort known as the Purana Qila.⁴⁰

The only extant building known to have been constructed during Humayun's reign is a dilapidated rectangular mosque in the city of Kachpura across the Jumna River from Agra. The mosque, really only a qibla wall, is five bays wide and two bays deep with five arches on the eastern facade which mark the aisles inside. The central arch forms a tall iwan which was once decorated with tiles and plaster carving. At the back of the mosque is a concave mihrab with a dome placed before it. The eight smaller bays were once covered with domes but these have all collapsed. There are two Persian inscriptions on the building which identify the patron, Zain

of Khaf and date its construction to the year 1530, the year of Humayun's coronation. One of the inscriptions praises the young emperor as "the King of the domain of faith . . . the basis of whose worth is the vortex of the revolving heavens."⁴¹ The five bay qibla mosque was quite common during the period immediately preceding the Mughal conquest of Hindustan and Zain of Khaf's example shows neither originality nor high quality workmanship; rather the building has been described as "crude and confused . . . [marking] the primitive stage when the Mughal art had not even made a modest beginning and the prevalent norms and standards provided the sole criterion."

While the Kachpura mosque contains none of the cosmological references that are typically associated with Humayunid architecture (excepting the Persian inscription) it must be stressed that the structure was not a royal foundation. Zain of Khaf was an old literary friend of the late emperor Babur, and the inscription was probably carved both as an honour to the father's son and to ensure continued support from the dynasty.⁴²

With the exception of Timur-i-lang's grandson Ulugh Beg, who governed the imperial city of Samarkand during the first half of the fifteenth century, no Timuri ruler showed as much interest or credence in the cosmological sciences of astronomy and astrology as did the emperor Humayun. Later Mughal rulers continued to be dominated by the court astrologers, but the nature of the field appears to have shifted from the scientific to the superstitious.⁴³ The padshah Humayun is credited with the invention of a new type of astrolabe which bears his name, the "asturlab-i-Humayuni." During his reign

Humayun commissioned several globes of the earth with the oceans and the seven habitable regions marked on them.⁴⁴

After the Mughal reconquest of Hindustan in 1555 Humayun began to plan for the construction of an observatory. Before his accidental death in 1556 he had collected many of the necessary instruments for the project including compasses and astrolabes and, according to Abul Fazl, had "fixed in his mind a few sites as well." The project was discontinued after Humayun's death.⁴⁵ In the light of Humayun's preoccupation with cosmological matters it is not surprising that he chose to found his social institutions upon astronomical and astrological criteria and that he was the first Muslim ruler to "set the fashion in India for planning royal buildings with implicit [and explicit] astrological significance."⁴⁶ Humayun looked to the orderly workings of the natural heavens rather than to the paradisiacal domain of Allah for a model for his earthly paradise. By arranging his social institutions in accordance with the divinely ordained inner logic of the four elements and the planetary spheres Humayun ensured that his empire would also fit into the divine order of the universe. By shifting the emphasis away from the paradisiacal realm (which Humayun's ancestor Timur had chosen as a model for--and by extension as a justification for--his social organization) and towards an idealized vision of the natural order Humayun lessened the political power of the religious establishment and raised the status and prestige of the "rational" scientists in accordance with his personal convictions. This should not be seen as a denial of the central importance of Allah; rather it is a shifting of emphasis

from one source of authority to another. The rational scientists were elevated to the position of interpreters of the divine will, and their new status was proclaimed by their inclusion in the Ahl-i-Saadat beside the members of the religious establishment, the traditional guardians of esoteric knowledge.⁴⁷ These changes served Humayun's interests admirably well, for the padshah became the focal point of the new order both as its supreme interpreter--he is said to have been extremely knowledgeable in the cosmological sciences--and as a sort of bridge between the sublunary and the celestial spheres.⁴⁸ Humayun's court revolved around him in the manner symbolized in the ritualistic carpet game where the padshah took the central position upon the sun disc, seated upon the throne of the Caliph of God. Seen in this light all of Humayun's architectural commissions served as visual metaphors of the new social order and all re-enforced his central position in it. By defining the institutions of his court in so grandiloquent a manner Humayun raised his prestige at a time when his status and legitimacy were under constant attack from his brothers, from ambitious Mughal nobles and from the recently ousted Afghan ruling classes who were rallying around the Suri Sher Khan, a powerful Bihari aristocrat whose claims to legitimacy could be supported by almost one hundred years of Afghan rule in northern India. (Humayun, however, tended to ignore sound day-to-day administration and an active concern for the military protection of his empire, resting his claims to legitimacy almost solely upon the theatrical trappings of his elegant court. It is not without reason that his empire collapsed around him in 1540.⁴⁹

Exile and Reconquest

By the time of the defeat at Bilgram the prestige of the padshah Humayun had so eroded that he could neither expect nor enjoy any cooperation from either Kamran or Askari, both of whom were naturally more concerned with their own political futures than with that of their hapless brother. Kamran was particularly anxious to be recognized by Sher Shah as the legitimate ruler of the Timuri holdings in Afghanistan and in the Punjab, though the Suri monarch himself claimed the Punjabi lands as his own.⁵⁰ After months of fruitless discussion in Lahore Humayun and his brothers left the city in search of new homes. Humayun and his followers were to go south to Multan while Kamran and his adherents were headed for the city of Kabul. The two caravans met at a mountain pass where the two roads divided, and neither brother would allow the other to pass first. Kamran was worried lest Humayun race ahead to Kabul and take the kingdom that Kamran believed to be rightfully his. Finally an agreement was reached, and the great caravan divided itself into two parts, one going south and the other going west. "Each commander and many a man must have made or confirmed his choice between the brothers" Humayun or Kamran and Askari.⁵¹ This begins a period of bitter fraternal conflict and internecine warfare that was to plague the Mughal people until the death of Kamran and the reconquest of Hindustan fifteen years later. Within three years Kamran had taken full control of Kabul, Ghazni, Khutlan, Badakhshan and Kandahar in eastern Afghanistan. Many of the women and children of the royal harem

including Humayun's infant son Akbar were being kept in the city of Kandahar. Askari and his followers were allied to Kamran, and Humayun's youngest brother Hindal was being held prisoner in Kabul. Humayun was unable to approach Kamran's territories because of Askari's hostile troops and so was forced to begin a period of homeless wandering in Khurasan and Persia.⁵²

In January of 1544, after about three and a half years in Sind, the padshah entered the easternmost provinces of the Safavi Shah Tahmasp's Persian empire. Thirty-two years earlier Tahmasp's father Ismael had enjoyed a position of superiority over Babur, and it was with sardonic pleasure that the ruling shah was given the opportunity to play host to another Timuri refugee. The entire period that Humayun spent at the Safavi court was one of constant, if sometimes subtle humiliation which the shah expressed by shows of self-aggrandizement and outright threats of violence. To his credit, Humayun made every attempt to retain his dignity without endangering his own life or the lives of his followers.⁵³ It was not until August of 1544 that Humayun finally met with Tahmasp at the Persian court. To mark the occasion Humayun was greeted with an ostentatious, pompous display designed more to magnify the importance of the shah than to honour the royal guest.⁵⁴ A ceremony was held at the court in which Humayun and Tahmasp were both seated upon a single cushion, and the shah placed a red cap, called a "taj" upon Humayun's head. Humayun glossed over the more obvious insinuations of this ritual and instead expressed his pride in wearing so prestigious a cap.⁵⁵

The Shah's most contemptible act was to force Humayun and

his band of followers to renounce their Sunni Islam and sign papers professing their acceptance of the tenets of Shiism. For Humayun, whose religious beliefs were quite eclectic, the enormity of the shah's actions lay not so much in their religious implications as in the fact that Humayun was publicly humiliated in front of his few remaining loyal followers. Tahmasp's threats against the lives of the Timuris convinced Humayun to comply.⁵⁶

Despite his threats and lightly veiled insults the shah finally agreed to lend Humayun the use of fourteen thousand Persian soldiers who were to help the Timuri padshah recapture the cities of Kandahar and Kabul on condition that the former be turned over to the Safavis. In November of 1545 Humayun succeeded in taking Kandahar from his brother Kamran whose troops deserted without giving battle. The city was given to the Persians who then refused any further aid for Humayun. At the same time many of the padshah's old followers began to flock back to their leader. With their help Humayun turned against the Persians and expelled them from Kandahar. From Kandahar Humayun turned his attention to Kabul which was also captured without a struggle. Within a year Kamran had returned to Kabul and recaptured the fort. A bitter, ruthless contest for the city ensued in which Kamran, in order to silence his brother's guns, placed the four-year-old Akbar on the battlement of the fort in direct line of the fire. By 1548 Humayun emerged victorious. Rather than deal forcefully with Kamran the padshah naively attempted to effect a reconciliation. The Afghani empire was divided into several districts one of which was assigned to each of the brothers. The Transoxian

jagir of Kulab was given to Kamran, but the arrangement quickly fell apart as he refused to accept so minor a post.⁵⁷ In 1550 Kamran retook the city of Kabul and asked of the senior ladies at court permission to declare his total independence. Evidently permission was refused, for there is no record of the khutba ever having been read in Kamran's name.⁵⁸ Humayun was at this time struggling both against his rebellious brother and against the inertia of his weary troops. "Oh ye blockheads," he complained, "when Shah Ismael of Persia [Tahmasp's father] threw his handkerchief down a precipice, twelve thousand of his followers immediately precipitated themselves after it, and were dashed to pieces: you have allowed me, your king, to pass the river alone, and not a single soldier followed me; what good can I expect from such troops?"⁵⁹ These words must have stirred Humayun's men for before the end of the year 1550 Kamran was again evicted from the city of Kabul. The fraternal conflicts did not end, however, until the year 1553. In this year a battle was fought between the brothers in which the loyal Hindal, Humayun's youngest brother, was killed. Exasperated with their leader, Humayun's nobles demanded the death of the traitorous Kamran. Brotherly love, Humayun was told, had no place in the governing of a nation, especially when that love had caused untold suffering to so many people. The padshah's followers were for the most part loyal men who had shown great patience in the face of Humayun's inept leadership and bad luck. They could not be expected to put the interests of a sworn enemy before their own. With great sadness Humayun finally agreed to the blinding of Kamran who was then sent away to Mecca.⁶⁰

With Kamran out of the way and with the Suris of India in a state of near anarchy after the death of Sher Shah's son Islam Shah in November of 1554 the time was ripe for Humayun and his able general Bairam Khan to move eastwards from Afghanistan to Hindustan. Battles were won at Dipalpur, Machiwara, Sirhind and finally outside the city of Delhi which was victoriously entered on the twenty-third of July, 1555. Hindustan was again in Mughal hands.⁶¹ Humayun, however, was not destined to enjoy the fruits of his long struggle for empire. On the twenty-fourth of January, 1556, while kneeling to the call of the muezzin, Humayun fell down the steep stairwell of the Sher Mandal, tumbling "out of life as he had tumbled through it."⁶²

Chapter 2

Humayun's Tomb

Introduction

In about the year 1563, ~~construction began on Humayun's~~ tomb, ~~the oldest extant major Timuri monument in India.~~¹ The mausoleum is situated at the centre of a large enclosed garden beside the old course of the Jumna River southeast of modern New Delhi. The tomb visually dominates the city around it, especially the area of the Suri citadel Purana Qila to the north and the important village and religious complex of the fourteenth-century Muslim saint Nizamuddin Auliya immediately to the west. Its "great dome," in the words of C. M. Villiers Stuart, makes Humayun's tomb "the most conspicuous building in all the plains around Delhi."² Despite the fact that Humayun's tomb is the first great architectural statement of the young Mughal dynasty the building has never been adequately described or studied.³ This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part is an analysis of the mausoleum, the large formal garden and the affiliated buildings that make up the complex. In the second part of the chapter the tomb's patronage, social function and religious and astrological symbolism is investigated in light of the historical background and architectural precedents. In the first chapter of the thesis I examined the nature of Humayun's kingship and the artistic and architectural devices that he used to establish and shape his royal image. In this second chapter Humayun's posthumous image will

be explored and it will be seen what role, if any, the mausoleum played in creating that image. Like many public monuments Humayun's tomb appears to function with several levels of meaning. By approaching the mausoleum from various different angles, always within its own historical context, I hope to offer as complete an understanding of this very complex monument as is presently possible.⁴

Analysis of the Tomb and its Environs

Humayun's tomb sits at the centre of a large walled enclosure. The grey quartzite walls are approximately 347.5 metres long and, on the north, west and south sides, 5.80 metres high. The walls serve to separate the highly organized and carefully landscaped space inside the enclosure from the outside world. Most of the east wall is only about one and a half metres high and so would have furnished the sixteenth-century visitor with a pleasant view of the Jumna River. A small section of the east wall at the south corner is 5.80 metres high so as to form an effective barrier between Humayun's tomb and the Nila Gumbad about 45.72 metres to the east. The Nila Gumbad is an anonymous octagonal tomb approximately contemporary with Humayun's tomb.⁵ There is a long addition on the exterior facade of the south wall that is 32 metres deep and 146.3 metres long. This structure, which is situated to the west of the central gateway, has a low-roofed verandah and twenty-five arched entrances. It is not known for certain what the original function of this building was but it may have been used as a residence for the tomb attendants. On the east

side of the south gateway are the much dilapidated remains of what may have been a similar addition.⁶ Each of the four sides of the enclosure is punctuated by a gateway or pavilion at its centre. There is a monumental gateway on the south side that almost certainly served as the principal entrance into the compound.⁷ This gate, which sits upon a five-stepped podium, is about sixteen metres high. It is built of local grey quartzite with red sandstone and white marble inlay that handsomely distinguishes it from the surrounding wall. The gateway is composed of a cubic central structure and arcaded flanking arms which visually draw the spectator in through the centre of the archway into the enclosure interior. The central structure has a tall archway flanked by two stories of niche windows on its exterior facade. The interior of the gateway is divided into a central octagonal chamber with three smaller rooms on either side. The southeast and southwest rooms connect with the central chamber through diagonal passageways. Passages also join the central chamber to the east and west rooms. The small rooms in the northeast and northwest corners can only be entered from the east and west rooms respectively. A series of chambers runs straight through the gateway into the tomb complex. The interior facade of the portal is similar to the exterior facade and in both cases the central archways are divided into an upper story which is a window and a lower story which is the doorway. There are two small octagonal minarets with lotus tops on the flat roof of the building.⁸

The tomb compound is approached from the west by a long garden path the western end of which is known as Buhalima's Garden.⁹

The tomb of the Suri noble Isa Khan is situated just to the southwest of Buhalima's Garden. It predates Humayun's tomb by about fifteen years.¹⁰ The garden pathway passes by the northern gate of the Arab Sarai and by the Afsarwala Mosque and ends at the western portal of Humayun's tomb.¹¹ The western gateway is at present the principal entrance into the tomb compound. This portal is two-storied and sits upon a podium five steps high. It is just under fifteen metres tall. The exterior facade of the gateway consists of a central section and two flanking arms. There is a tall arched niche in the centre panel while the flanking arms are decorated with two levels of deep niches. Because of the angles at which the side arms meet the central section of the gate (approximately 135°) the "funnel" effect at this entrance is very dramatic. There are two domed chattris on the roof of the building, one at each of the western corners. The visual impact of this gateway is heightened by the dome of Humayun's tomb which appears to sit directly upon the western gateway when it is viewed from the far end of the garden pathway.¹² The interior of the building is divided into a large, square central chamber seven metres a side and four smaller rooms to the north and south of the central room. The interior facade of the gateway is composed of a tall central niche flanked by two stories of smaller arches. Three vertically placed niches are cut into each of the interior chamfered angles. Like the monumental gateway on the south side of the complex this structure is built mainly of grey quartzite with colour and definition added by the inlaying of red sandstone and white marble. The spandrels of the central archways of both gateways are decorated

with inlaid six-pointed stars.¹³ Before discussing the pavilions on the east and north walls it should be noted that while both portals visually draw one into the compound they do not impose themselves upon the interior space. Rather their flat inner facades form an effective barrier against the outside world.¹⁴

At the centre of the north wall is a square structure on a platform 2.13 metres high. Inside the building there is an octagonal tank which measures 1.60 metres across. The tank inside this undecorated building is fed by the circular well just north of the enclosure wall. The water flows out of the tank pavilion south into another uncovered octagonal tank where the channel divides into three streams which in turn divide and subdivide to water the whole garden.¹⁵ There is a rectangular pavilion at the centre of the eastern wall of the compound. On its inner facade there are three doorways of equal height and on the side that faces the river there is a verandah. Stylistic details in the arch cusping and on the columns suggest a later date for this building. It is probably a seventeenth century addition.¹⁶ Considering the strict symmetry of the tomb and garden complex it seems likely that the original plan would have included some sort of structure on its eastern side. There are no historical records to indicate what it might have been.¹⁷

It is not clear what the function of each of the monumental gateways originally was. John D. Hoag and R. Nath have both suggested that the western gateway was designed to be the principal entrance into the tomb compound.¹⁸ This choice can be supported by the long landscaped passageway that leads to the western gateway.

This west-east axis continues through the compound and ends at the riverside pavilion, a quite "logical" termination if judged by strictly formal criteria. Because it could not be approached by land the east side of the enclosure could reasonably have been viewed as the "back" of the garden. On the other hand S. A. A. Naqvi believes that the ~~southern gateway was originally the main entrance into the complex.~~¹⁹

I am inclined to agree with this choice for several reasons. The gateway on the south is the taller of the two by almost one metre. In overall mass it is the more imposing, especially because of the great flanking arms which spread out on either side. Secondly it should be noted that the main axis of a char bagh "four-part garden" such as that at Humayun's tomb seems to have been from north to south, with the irrigation water flowing from the north of the garden down to the south.²⁰ Another important factor is that the main entrance into the mausoleum itself is through the southern iwan which is differentiated from the other iwans by a wall across its front which forms a special entrance chamber known as a mian saray.²¹ Finally it should be noted that in three later Mughal monumental mausolea, the tombs of Akbar, Itimad al-Daulah and the Taj Mahal the principal entrance into the gardens or the mausoleum is on the south side. These examples cannot prove that the same was true at the earlier tomb of Humayun but they do indicate a pattern in four buildings that are otherwise quite distinctive.²²

The arcaded platform upon which the mausoleum sits is 6.70 metres high and just over 91.4 metres across. There are seventy-two arched niches around the platform, including the four cut into

the chamfered corners and the four stairwell entrances. The platform is in turn seated upon a podium 1.22 metres high.²³ The mausoleum is constructed mainly of red sandstone brought to Delhi from the Tantpur quarries in Agra province about two hundred and ninety kilometres away. Most of the architectural forms of the building are outlined with a delicately mottled white marble which is also used to fill some of the rectangular panels above the arches. The marble was brought from the Rajasthani marble quarry at Makrana, about three hundred and fifty kilometres from Delhi.²⁴ Light brown sandstone and a dark steel-grey stone are used in some of the spandrels to add colour. The grey stone is also used to outline some of the arches and to form the six-pointed stars in some of the spandrels. The short lotus-capped minarets that mark each of the angles of the roof and the elegant, slightly bulbous dome are faced with white marble.²⁵

The marble and sandstone surface decoration at Humayun's tomb links the building to the architectural traditions of the Khalji and Tughluq Delhi Sultans. The surface decoration of Timuri architecture in Persia and Central Asia was characterized by the use of coloured tile. The later Sultanate dynasties, the Sayyids and the Lodis, were influenced in this regard by the Timuris and they too used coloured tiles and paint to decorate the surfaces of their buildings. The Suris, however, appear to have patronized two different styles of architecture. The mausolea in Sasaram are the culmination of the Sayyid-Lodi imperial tomb tradition, both in their octagonal ground plans and in their use of colour decoration. The lofty gateway at the Purana Qila, on the other hand, was built in the red sandstone

and white marble that typifies early Akbari architecture like Humayun's tomb in Delhi and the Jahangiri Mahal in Agra. In the words of Catherine B. Asher, "the Delhi architect [of Sher Shah] was a designer who looked ahead to the Mughal style, while the Sasaram architect looked back to the past, to the old Lodi style."²⁶

Because none of the architectural projects that Humayun commissioned are extant it is impossible to say whether the Suris initiated the new style or were influenced by early Mughal architecture.

Red sandstone and white marble had been the traditional building materials in northern India and Rajasthan since the time that the Hindu Rajputs dominated those areas in the tenth century A.D.²⁷ The despotic Sultan Alauddin Khalji (reigned 1296-1316) was a great patron of architecture who commissioned several enormous additions to the Quwwat al-Islam mosque in south Delhi in the early years of the fourteenth century. Among the additions which are still extant is the monumental Alai Darwaza portal which was built in 1311. This building is characterized by its use of white marble surface ornament on a ground of red sandstone. The white marble is used to outline the architectural forms while blue schist and black marble are sparingly used to add colour and variety to the surface. The whole structure is covered in epigraphy and arabesques. The dome of the gateway is black but a smaller dome atop it is covered with white stone. It is not known whether the black dome was originally faced or painted.²⁸ The Alai Darwaza appears to have served as a source of inspiration for subsequent Indo-Muslim buildings like the tomb of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty, who ruled

the Sultanate from 1320-1325. This tomb, which was built in Delhi in 1325 in a small citadel joined to the suburb of Tughluqabad by a causeway, has a surface style that closely resembles that of Humayun's tomb. The smooth, uninscribed walls of Ghiyasuddin Tughluq's tomb are faced with red sandstone and ornamented with white marble. The result is a structure with clean lines and a sense of balanced, controlled dynamism. It is crowned by a white marble dome.²⁹ This same clarity of architectural form is seen at Humayun's tomb which, like the Tughluq building, is virtually uninscribed.³⁰ All three structures, the Alai Darwaza and the tombs of Ghiyasuddin and Humayun show a striking kinship to one another. The debt that Humayun's tomb owes to the earlier imperial monuments should be apparent to any observer of Indo-Muslim architecture. The question of why a Timuri dynasty chose to imitate some aspects of the earlier Sultanate style instead of the colourful Persian-Timuri style that was already "Indianized" by the Sayyids and the Lodis remains a mystery. One might suppose that Akbar wished to outdo the architecture of Sher Shah "on its own terms" in the sandstone and marble style, but the lacuna in our knowledge of early Mughal architecture from the reigns of Babur and Humayun renders all such speculation pointless.

Humayun's tomb is essentially a square building but the chamfered angles and the deeply recessed iwans on the north, east and west facades have the effect of visually breaking the structure into its five main components--four attached octagonal towers and an octagonal central chamber. This type of structure is known by the Persian name "hasht behisht." The term, which translates literally

as "eight paradises" is used to signify the eight chambers that surround the central room. In the case of Humayun's tomb there are four towers and four deep iwans, one of which is closed by a stone wall to form an octagonal antechamber. The hasht behisht plan is sometimes described as a cross-inscribed square.³¹ The tomb is about forty-seven and a half metres square and just over forty-two and a half metres high at the top of the double dome. The exterior springing of the dome is ornamented with a uniquely Islamic motif known as muqarnas, a type of scalloped stonework that resembles natural stalactites. Muqarnas had been used in the zones of transition in the interiors of the Bara Gumbad (c. 1495) and the later Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque of Sher Shah Sur (c. 1545) but had not been used on the exterior of a Muslim building in northern India since the construction of the Qutb Minar in the early years of the thirteenth century.³² After its use on the exterior of Humayun's tomb muqarnas became a regular feature of Mughal architecture.

The cenotaph chamber is entered through the central iwan on the south side of the mausoleum. This iwan, unlike the other three, has been closed off by a two storied stone tympanum so as to create an octagonal antechamber inside. John D. Hoag has suggested that this antechamber is a formal perpetuation of a type of chamber found in earlier Islamic mausolea. This chamber is known as a mian saray. The mian saray was the room in which the family of the deceased gathered before descending into the actual burial chamber below. In Humayun's tomb there is no stairway down to the crypt from the mian saray. Access to the emperor's grave is through a long horizontal

passageway that runs at ground level from an opening in the platform just east of the southern stairway to directly beneath the marble cenotaph at the centre of the tomb above. "The room near the entrance [i.e. at ground level] perhaps served as the actual mian saray as there is no evidence of any direct connection between the crypt and the upper "mian saray"."³³ This upper antechamber is connected to the southeast and southwest corner chambers and to the central cenotaph chamber. Diagonal passageways connect it to the east and west iwans which are both in turn connected by similar diagonal passages to the iwan on the north. This makes it possible to circumambulate the tomb without having to go outside.³⁴

Humayun's cenotaph, according to Carr Stephen, is 183 centimetres long and 61 centimetres wide. It is carved of a single block of white marble.³⁵ The stone, which is uninscribed, sits upon a short, geometrically decorated dias. The cenotaph room is three stories high. The second story is a gallery and the third a clerestory. The clerestory windows are filled with delicately carved stone screens. The walls of this chamber are white except for the spandrels which are filled with sandstone panels. The interior of the dome is also white but according to Carr Stephen it was once decorated with gilding and enamel paint. A tassel of gold lace once hung from the centre of the dome but "the Jats fired at [it] with their matchlocks, and succeeded in destroying [it]; the marks of the bullets may yet be seen on some places."³⁶ A short description of the cenotaph chamber is recorded in Mohammad Azhar Ansari's book European Travellers under the Mughals. The English merchant and

traveller William Finch, who visited Humayun's tomb in the early part of the seventeenth century wrote that the cenotaph room was spread with rich carpets and the tombstone itself "was covered with a pure white sheet, a rich semaine over head, and in front a certain bookes on small tressels, by which stands his [Humayun's] sword, tucke (turbon [sic]) and shoes." 37

Diagonal passageways lead from the cenotaph chamber to smaller octagonal chambers at the centres of the four towers. These corner chambers contain the cenotaphs of various men and women associated with Humayun or the Mughal dynasty who were deemed worthy of burial within the mausoleum proper. There are two gravestones in the southwest corner chamber said to be those of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah (reigned 1707-1712) and his wife. The woman's stone is inscribed on three sides in embossed Naskh script with the Quranic Throne Verse (2:255) and the phrase "In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful." On the top of the stone are inscribed the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses of surah al-Rahman (55:26-27) which proclaims that "everyone that is thereon [the earth] will pass away; There remaineth but the Countenance of thy Lord of Might and Glory." 38

There are three stones in the southeast corner chamber, all of which are said to mark the graves of Humayun's daughters. The stone on the east is inscribed on three sides with the Throne Verse and is dated 1580/1. The top of the stone is inscribed in Naskh letters with the first Muslim Creed and two verses from surah al-Rahman (55:26-27). The other two stones are inscribed with the same

Quranic verses. The stone in the centre is undated while the one to the west of it bears the date 1592/3.³⁹ The northeast corner chamber bears two marble cenotaphs which are believed to mark the graves of Humayun's wife and her sister. Maulvi Husain names Hamida Banu Begam as the wife but he adds that she was commonly called "nawwab Haji Begam" thereby confusing the older wife Haji Begam with Akbar's mother Hamida Banu Begam. The occupant of the grave must surely be Haji Begam who was the official patroness of the mausoleum and spent the latter part of her life living on the site.⁴⁰ The sister's cenotaph, which is to the east, is inscribed with the Throne Verse and dated 1582. The wife's stone is not dated but is decorated with the same Quranic verse.⁴¹ There are three cenotaphs in the northwest corner chamber but it is not known for whom they were erected. Maulvi Husain does not even mention them.

There are many other gravemarkers on the platform outside the mausoleum. Several of these have inscriptions and most are believed to mark the graves of members and followers of the Mughal dynasty who lie buried below. A marble stone on the stone-paved terrace to the northwest of the main building is dedicated to Roshan Koka's son Muhammad Sultan. Roshan Koka was one of the few followers of Humayun who stayed with the emperor during the exile from India between 1540 and 1555. Muhammad Sultan's stone is dated 1570/1.⁴² To the south of Muhammad Sultan's stone is another cenotaph said to mark the remains of Prince Dara Shikoh (?-1659), the eldest son of the Emperor Shah Jahan (1592-1666). In his collection of epigraphic remains in Delhi Province Maulvi Husain makes a strong argument against

this traditional attribution. The stone is dedicated to a martyr. It is inscribed in Naskh letters on its west side with two verses from surah al-Baqarah (2:154-155). "And call not those who are slain in the way of Allah 'dead.'/ Nay, they are living only ye perceive not." The east side of the stone is inscribed with two verses from surah Al-i Imran (3:168-169) which read as follows:

Those who, while they sat home, said of their brethren (who were fighting for the cause of Allah): If they had been guided by us they would not have been slain. Say (unto them, O Muhammad): Then avert death from yourselves if ye are truthful. Think not of those, who are slain in the way of Allah, as dead. Nay, they are living. With their Lord they have provision.

The two Quranic verses from the surah al-Rahman (55:26-27) that decorate the top of the stone are related to death but not to martyrdom. It is highly unlikely that the Padshah Aurangzeb, who reigned from 1658 to 1707, would have allowed the honourable title "Ghazi" which means martyr to grace the grave of his brother Dara Shikoh since it was Aurangzeb himself who was responsible to Dara Shikoh's murder. It is possible that this stone marks the remains of another less important Timuri prince.⁴³

There are seventeen other gravestones on the northwest side of the platform. Some of these are inscribed with short religious phrases but none of them has been identified. A solitary red sandstone gravemarker is found on the eastern side of the platform. It is inscribed with the name Sangi Begam and is dated 1767. Sangi Begam was the daughter of the Emperor Muhammad Almagir II who ruled from 1754 to 1759.⁴⁴ There are reputed to be approximately one hundred and fifty additional graves below the platform which can be

reached through the arched niches on the platform sides. The presence of these graves indeed makes Humayun's tomb a "graveyard of the house of Timur."⁴⁵

The platform facades are inlaid with the white marble outlines of perfect and "rectangularized" octagonal stars and the parapet along the edge of the roof is decorated with a simple pattern formed by the alternation of white marble and red sandstone that gives the illusion of crenellation. Octagonal chattris rise above the four towers and square ones mark the outside corners of each iwan. The only "iconographic" ornament found on the exterior of the tomb is the six-pointed star. These stars, which are alternately known as "satkonas" or "stars of Solomon" are inlaid into most of the spandrels on all four facades. The insides of the stars on the central iwans are filled with embossed lotuses. The six-pointed star motif, which had been used in Islam as early as Umayyad times (661-750) and in Islamic India at the city of Tughluqabad (c. 1320-25) re-entered the vocabulary of Indo-Muslim architectural ornament around 1528 at the Jamali-Kamali Mosque in south Delhi. The Suri ruler Sher Shah used the motif on two of his buildings in Delhi, the Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque and the Sher Mandal, both of which were constructed between the years 1530 and 1545. The six-pointed star was first used by the Mughals at Humayun's tomb. In his study of Mughal architectural decoration R. Nath states that the satkona was an auspicious symbol valued for its ability to ward off evil. For this reason, according to Nath, it was used by Akbar on his shield. This symbolism may also account for the use of satkonas on the gateways of the Delhi Fort, the Agra

Fort and the Suri citadel Purana Qila. Its use by Sher Shah serves to underline the debt Mughal architecture owes to the Suri emperor and his dynasty.⁴⁶

The garden that surrounds Humayun's tomb is divided into four large squares by causeways that are about twelve and a half metres wide. They lead from the centre of each wall to the mausoleum. The garden is in turn divided by narrower stone water channels into thirty-six squares, the four in the middle being occupied by the tomb. Pools of varying sizes and shapes are formed at the crossings of the water channels and where the water level drops there are scalloped sandstone chutes carved into the channels so that the water gently ripples down.⁴⁷ There are two important secondary structures within the enclosed garden. One is an unidentified mausoleum popularly known as the "Barber's Tomb." This tomb, which contains the graves of a man and a woman, is dated by an inscription on the woman's tombstone to the year 1590/1. The woman's stone is inscribed on three sides with two verses from the surah al-Rahman (55:26-27) and the Throne Verse (2:255) while the man's stone is inscribed with the first Muslim Creed, the Throne Verse and the word "O Opener" which is written on the top. The tomb is built in the square "gumbad" style which was commonly used during the Sultanate period, though this tomb is proportionately narrower than the earlier models. It is built of red and grey sandstones and is covered with a double dome. There are chattris at each corner of the roof which are inlaid with coloured tiles. There have not as yet been any serious attempts made to identify the occupants of the tomb.⁴⁸

The second important structure within the compound is a very small mosque known as the Nila Masjid. This building, which can be found on the general plan of the site at the second water channel from the west on the inner side of the south wall, belongs to the early Mughal period. It is inscribed at the mihrab (prayer niche) with medallions bearing the words "O Guardian" and discs inscribed with the Muslim Creed. The phrase "O Allah, forgive me (my sins) and have mercy on me and unite me with (Thee), the Most Exalted Friend" is also used. This sentence was the last prayer uttered by the dying Prophet Muhammad. It is not known whom this small mosque was intended to serve, but it seems most likely to me that if the southwest addition was indeed a residence for the tomb attendants this mosque would have served their needs. There is no larger mosque associated with Humayun's tomb.⁴⁹

Interpretative Investigation of the Tomb Complex

Patronage

Bega "Haji" Begam Begchik Mughal, Humayun's first wife, is generally believed to have been the patroness of Humayun's tomb, although several scholars have either assigned the honour to Hamida Banu Begam, Humayun's younger wife, or confused the two women altogether by taking the two for the same woman.⁵⁰ This confusion can be explained as the result of the intimate relationship Haji Begam enjoyed with young Akbar. Akbar himself once told his biographer and close friend Abul Fazl (1551-1602) that "the kindness and affection which she [Haji Begam] showed me . . . and my love for her are beyond expression. Every one who did not know the real fact thought that she was my own mother."⁵¹ There is very little known about Haji Begam. She was a first cousin of Humayun's and bore him two children; a son called Al-Aman (b.1528) who died in infancy and a daughter called Afifa who was born in 1531 and died eight years later after her father's defeat at the Battle of Chausa in 1539. Haji Begam was with her husband during his idleness at the Jannatabad "Abode of Paradise" in Bengal and was captured at the Battle of Chausa by Sher Khan Sur. She was returned to Humayun unharmed. It is not known for certain whether she was with Humayun in Sind. She was not with him in Persia-- Hamida Banu Begam was--but she did stay at the Mughal court in Kabul from 1545 until 1557. By the time she and the other women of the royal family were brought back to India Humayun was dead from his

fatal fall down the staircase of the Sher Mandal.⁵²

Haji Begam made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1564/5 and returned to India three years later. Sometime before going she is believed to have arranged for the construction of her husband's tomb.⁵³

Unfortunately none of the many modern scholars who has assigned the patronage of the tomb to Haji Begam have indicated the primary source upon which their claim was based. It is most likely that the attribution has been based on the fact that Haji was the chief attendant of the tomb from the time she returned to India from the Hijaz until her death in 1581. This long association with the mausoleum supports the hypothesis that it is Haji Begam, and not Hamida Banu Begam, who is buried in the northeast tower.⁵⁴

While conjugal devotion may well explain Haji Begam's thirteen-year service at her husband's tomb, there is no solid evidence that she was the actual patron responsible for the construction of so large, so public ("the most conspicuous building in all the plains around Delhi") and so costly a monument. Information regarding the cost of Humayun's tomb is sketchy and probably of questionable accuracy. Carr Stephen, who relies heavily on the research of Syed Ahmed Khan, claims that the tomb complex cost approximately fifteen lakhs of Rupees to build.⁵⁵ According to A. L. Srivastava the five hundred buildings at the Agra Fort took more than three thousand masons and eight thousand labourers between five and fifteen years to construct at a total cost of about thirty-five lakhs of Rupees. The Agra Fort was begun at about the same time as Humayun's tomb.⁵⁶ That Humayun's tomb should have taken as much as eight years to

complete at a cost of almost half that of the whole Agra Fort seems to be pure fancy but none the less, it must be stressed that the tomb was a major architectural project, and we can assume that its social and political significance outweighed its basic function as a funerary monument to a rather lack-luster and sometime fugitive king. While no primary sources are cited in his study, Carr Stephen is probably correct in stating that the cost of Humayun's tomb was carried by Akbar himself. That Akbar chose to finance, or at the very least approved of the construction of a monumental dynastic tomb complex in close proximity to Sher Shah's Purana Qila and the religious complex of Nizamuddin Auliya implies that a conscious and deliberate political statement had been made.⁵⁷ Akbar's reasons for erecting a dynastic monument in c. 1563 can be explained in the light of his personal and political development during the first years of the decade.

Historical Background

Like his father Humayun, Akbar was brought up to be a ruler of men. He received his first office at the age of about nine (1550/1) when he was given the village of Charkh, southeast of Kabul, to govern. Soon after this he was appointed governor of Ghazni, replacing Humayun's youngest brother Hindal who had recently been killed in battle against the rebellious Kamran. At about the same time Akbar was married to one of Hindal's daughters. According to A. L. Srivastava "it was decided that the entire establishment of Hindal, including his servants, should now belong to Akbar, so that he might get an

opportunity of acquiring experience of administration and of managing of men and affairs." ⁵⁸ During the following two years Akbar accompanied Humayun and studied at first hand the skills of warfare. When Humayun entered victoriously into Delhi in 1555 he assigned to Akbar the district of Hissar, a strategically situated Punjabi jagir which was considered to be the hereditary estate of the Mughal crown prince. ⁵⁹ In the same year Akbar was assigned the explicit task of making the route from Kabul to Delhi safe so that the women of the royal harem could be transferred back to Delhi. The powerful and influential Persian noble Bairam Khan was appointed Akbar's guardian, a post of considerable importance. In 1556 Humayun was accidentally killed and Akbar ascended the throne. During the first four years of his reign the Mughal court was dominated by Bairam Khan. The empire that Akbar inherited was actually no more than a narrow strip of land that followed closely the route from Kandahar up to Kabul and then across the Punjab and down the Jumna River as far south as Agra. ⁶⁰ Bairam Khan's armies secured the territory for Akbar who was by no means the only claimant to the Delhi throne. Several Suri princes and the Hindu general Himu also coveted the imperial throne. Kabul was governed by Munim Khan and Akbar's half-brother Muhammad Hakim Mirza. The former disliked Bairam Khan and "was not well disposed towards the new regime." The Indian provinces of Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa and Gondwana were all independent. ⁶¹

Himu was defeated at the second Battle of Panipat in 1556. After Himu's death the young emperor and Bairam Khan began to consolidate their control over the city of Delhi and its environs.

At the same time Bairam Khan was busy consolidating his control over Akbar. In 1557/8 the regent married into the royal family, taking Babur's granddaughter Salima Begam as his wife.⁶² Important cultural patterns were formed during the "regency" period. Bairam Khan, like many of Humayun's Persian nobles, was a Shia. Humayun, as was seen in the first chapter of this thesis, was moderately eclectic in his religious beliefs and certainly sympathetic to Shiism. Akbar's early regnal years were characterized by a strong Persian presence at court and by a religious eclecticism that resulted from the attendance of liberal religious thinkers at court. One such liberal was Akbar's tutor Abdul Latif, who was appointed to the post by Bairam Khan. Abdul Latif was a Persian Sunni but Abul Fazl, in order to stress the man's liberality, wrote that in Shia Persia the tutor was called a Sunni while in Sunni Hindustan he was called a Shia. According to the biographer Abdul Latif was in reality on the path to universal understanding and toleration.⁶³ Akbar's poet-laureate during the early part of his reign was Ghazali, a liberal sufi who came to the Mughal court via the Deccan after having suffered persecution in Persia. On the insistence of Bairam Khan another Shia, Shaikh Gadai was appointed Sadr-us-Sudur (Head of the religious establishment) of the empire.⁶⁴ Persian culture dominated every facet of life at court.

In spite of his dominating regent, Akbar began as early as 1557 to free himself from outside control. Though still under Bairam Khan's tutelage in India Akbar wrote, according to Thomas W. Arnold, to the Ottoman Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent (reigned 1520-1566) to remind the Turk that while indeed there was a Caliph (probably

used here to signify the secular head of a community of Muslim faithful) in Istanbul there was now also one in Hind and Sind.⁶⁵ In 1560, at the instigation of his influential nurse Maham Anaga, Akbar finally rid himself of Bairam Khan. This, however, proved to be no more than a change of regents for the young monarch. The nurse became de facto prime minister in Bairam Khan's place.⁶⁶ By the end of the following year Akbar began to assert his independence in earnest by taking an interest in the affairs of his subjects. He also began to establish his reputation as a fearless hero by killing a ferocious tiger and by riding across a pontoon bridge astride a wild elephant named Hawai. In the same year he several times came into conflict with the noble Adham Khan, whose mother Maham Anaga was obliged to extricate her arrogant and tactless son. Akbar's reputation as the monarch of all Indians was founded at about the same time by a marital alliance with the powerful Rajput clan of Amber. This was the first of several such alliances with the Hindu military families of Rajasthan. The marriage was voluntary on both sides and resulted in the clan's loyalty and devotion to the Mughal padshah while at the same time ensuring for Akbar their much needed military support. In the words of the historian Vincent A. Smith the alliance "offered a proof manifest to all the world that Akbar had decided to be the Padshah of his whole people--Hindus as well as Mohammadans."⁶⁷ In 1562 Akbar instituted the first of the many social and legal reforms that have endeared him to nineteenth and twentieth century liberal historians. He prohibited the enslavement and forced conversion of prisoners-of-war (hitherto a common, ulama-sanctioned practice), and

repealed the religious restrictions on receiving government employment. The Hindu pilgrimage tax was remitted in 1563 on the grounds that a person should be free to worship in truth or in folly as they wish, and in the following year Akbar abolished the collection of the jizya, the special tax on non-Muslims.⁶⁸

The "Petticoat Government" of Maham Anaga came to an end in 1562 when Atka Khan, the official prime minister and a political rival of the nurse's, was murdered by Maham Anaga's son Adham Khan. On Akbar's command the assassin was thrown to his death from the palace balcony. Maham Anaga died of grief about a month later. Akbar built a large tomb for the woman and her son in 1564, at about the same time that Humayun's tomb was being built. The tomb of Adham Khan is often described as marking the end of the Delhi Sultanate style. It is an octagonal, central-domed structure similar to the imperial mausolea of the Sayyids, Lodis and Suris in Delhi and Sasaram. It is tempting to see an implicit political statement in Akbar's choice of the old imperial style for the tomb of his political opponent and the dominating (though truly loved) nurse. Adham Khan's mausoleum is situated in the southern suburb of Delhi, close to the Quwwat-al-Islam Mosque but far from the Mughal city. Akbar built Atka Khan's square tomb at the important Nizamuddin complex, close to the site of Humayun's tomb.⁶⁹

After Maham Anaga's death Akbar took full control of his state. In addition to the liberal reforms noted above he concentrated his energy in setting the imperial finances in order and in expanding the empire. Bhatha, the Gakkhar country between the Indus and the

Byas Rivers, and the city-state of Jodhpur were taken by conquest in 1563 and incorporated into the empire as vassal states. In the following year the wealthy province of Gondwana was annexed after a valiant defence mounted by the female ruler of the state, Rani Durgawati.⁷⁰ By 1563/4 Akbar had "come of age" and his early architectural projects, his father's tomb and the new imperial capital at Agra can be seen as public and deliberate expressions of this fact. In the words of Marshall G. S. Hodgson, "at the same time as the general reorganization of the administration, Akbar almost necessarily attended to the basis of legitimation for his power." In the dynastic state the ruler's right to rule rested upon his noble lineage. It was to Humayun and the Timuri line that Akbar looked to establish his own legitimacy. Hence the building of Humayun's tomb, with room in the crypt for over one hundred and fifty of the dynasty's worthies, almost eight years after that emperor's accidental death.⁷¹

Choice of Site

An important factor in the building of Humayun's tomb was the choice of site. Akbar, like his father Humayun and his grandfather Babur, chose the city of Agra to be his capital and administrative headquarters. Agra had been the capital of Muslim-ruled northern India since the time of Sikandar Lodi (reigned 1489-1517) who moved his headquarters down the Jumna from Delhi in 1504 so as to be closer to his military campaign against the Rajputs of Gwalior. Agra also seems to have been the military (and possibly the administrative)

headquarters of the Suri dynasty. "The fact that he [Sher Shah] returned to Agra after every campaign shows that Agra, and not Delhi was his headquarters."⁷² Delhi, however, remained the spiritual centre of the Muslim empire in northern India after the Sultanate court had withdrawn to Agra. It was at Delhi that most of the rulers were proclaimed, and it was in Delhi that most of them were interred. The symbolic importance of the city is underlined by Bahlul Lodi's decision to coin no money nor to read the khutba (declaration of sovereignty read at the Friday sermon in the congregational mosques) until Delhi had been captured from the Sayyids.⁷³ Babur does not appear to have added any architectural monument to the city but Humayun's intention to construct the suburb of Dinpannah as a "refuge" centre for the learned and religious Muslims of his empire has been noted in the first chapter of this thesis. It is not known how much of Dinpannah had been completed before 1539 when the Mughal were temporarily expelled from India, but all of the work done there was obliterated by Sher Shah who, significantly, chose that exact site for the Purana Qila, his Delhi headquarters.⁷⁴

Humayun apparently sensed the special "funerary" significance of Delhi. He became increasingly interested in the subject of death towards the end of his life, and it is said that he felt like meeting his maker every time he saw Delhi and all of its tombs.⁷⁵ There were royal tombs there dating from the time of Iltutmish (died 1236) until that of Ibrahim Lodi who died in 1526. These royal monuments stood as silent witnesses to the existence and the legitimacy (if not "de jure" than at least "de facto") of those

monarchs and their dynasties. Akbar was the first Mughal ruler to be born in India and to be a part of India and not Central Asia. He looked to the independent Indian states for conquests, rather than to the Central Asian lands that had attracted his ambitious grandfather Babur. During the early years of Akbar's reign Delhi continued to be the preferred place of burial and a monument that proclaimed a dynasty's possession of, and presence in Delhi, like Humayun's tomb, was a symbolic cornerstone of that dynasty's Indian empire.⁷⁶

Humayun's tomb stands at the old site of the town of Kilkhri where the palace of Sultan Kaiqubad (reigned 1287-90) had stood.⁷⁷ It is not known whether any of the palace was still standing in the middle of the sixteenth century. According to the plan of Humayun's tomb in S. A. A. Naqvi's guidebook there was a small pre-existing grave at the site, which is now east of the mausoleum and close to the platform. It is unfortunate that the grave's occupant is unknown since his identity might help to explain why Humayun's tomb was built exactly where it is. At present it is difficult to explain why so carefully landscaped a monument as Humayun's tomb should contain one pre-existing, "chance" element. Perhaps the most important factor in the location of the tomb is its proximity to the shrine complex of the Muslim saint Nizamuddin Auliya who died in 1325. Nizamuddin Auliya was, and still is, greatly revered in Delhi by Muslims and Hindus alike. Although his views were often opposed by the more orthodox members of the ulama (Muslim religious establishment) the saint was famous in his own time for his piety and his liberality. Since Nizamuddin Auliya had advised his friend, the poet Amir Khusrav,

to write his verses in Hindi rather than in Persian it is possible that in Akbar's time the saint was held to be a symbol of Muslim belonging in India. Whatever his reasons, Akbar held the Chishtiyya saint in great respect. He built Atka Khan's tomb at the complex in 1564 and sometime later he enlarged the saint's own tomb. The very house in which Nizamuddin is believed to have lived is seen incorporated into the northeast corner of the enclosure wall.⁷⁸

Symbolic Associations

1. The Eight-Part Plan and its Architectural Precedents

The influence of Persian and Timuri architecture can be seen in the structure of Humayun's tomb and in its complex arrangement of chambers and antechambers. It is this unusual arrangement of forms that separates Humayun's tomb from any of its Sultanate predecessors and, as I shall try to show, gives the building its empyreal symbolism. To do this it is necessary to trace the roots of the *hasht behisht* "eight Paradises" style in Islamic architecture and see whether any particular functions or symbolic connotations are associated with its use.

The basic layout of Humayun's tomb is the cross-inscribed square, or alternately the central domed chamber surrounded by eight smaller rooms. While this hasht behisht plan is only first seen in Muslim India at Humayun's tomb, its use in Islamic architecture goes back to the second century of the Islamic era (eighth century A.D.). Its pre-Islamic roots stretch back at least as far as late Roman

times (c.A.D. 100-200) where the eight-part plan is found in the Roman tomb at Kasr an-Nuweijis in eastern Palestine. According to Jairazbouy, who has published an excellent study of the hasht behisht style in European and Asian architecture, the plan was adopted at Kasr un-Nuweijis and at other second century sites because it "satisfied the inborn desire for clarity, symmetry and dominance in all things visible to the human eye. Man himself, the Quran says (xcv. 4), has been created 'in the best of symmetry'."⁷⁹ While a sense of order does indeed result from the use of this balanced style, it is impossible to know whether clarity and order were the original reasons for its use. In the early centuries of Islam the eight-part plan acquired connotations of royalty and authority that probably account for its popularity in later Islamic structures like Humayun's tomb. The plan was first used in Islam as a palace style. As early as 750-55 Abu Muslim, a powerful Persian general, had built for himself a palace known as the Dar al-Imara in the Central Asian city of Merv. The palace was composed of four barrel-vaulted arms that converged from the four cardinal points upon a domed throne room. The outside ends of these arms opened onto courtyards and the whole edifice might have been surrounded by a wall. Whether there was a wall or not, the effect of the set-up is unmistakable; "Abu Muslim, the powerful Persian general who became a legend in later times, sat in regal dignity at the intersection of the four quarters, even claiming, it is said, to be an incarnation of God."⁸⁰ Several palaces, such as the Balkuwara Palace of 849-59, were constructed by the Abbasids in the hasht behisht style. These buildings were all

surrounded by outer walls.⁸¹ Palaces in the hasht behisht style were also built both immediately preceding and immediately following those in India. In 1455 the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror (1451-81) constructed in Istanbul the Chinili Koshk. This palace, which was the first one built in the city since its capture from the Christians in 1453, was in the eight-part plan.⁸²

For the purposes of this paper the two most important buildings constructed in the hasht behisht style are the palace at Tabriz built in the third quarter of the fifteenth century for Uzun Hasan, the leader of the White Sheep Turcmen, and the tomb of Babur's uncle Ulugh Beg who ruled the small kingdom of Kabul from 1469 until 1501.⁸³ Uzun Hasan ruled in the area of northwest Iran and built his palace outside of his capital at Tabriz. The palace was seen and described by an Italian merchant who was travelling in that area during the first decade of the sixteenth century. The building was of the hasht behisht style (the Italian transliterates the term "astibisti") with the central audience hall lit only by the light that filtered in from the surrounding rooms. The whole structure was raised upon a terrace and there were doorways on each side. "Inside the palace, on the ceiling of the great hall [i.e. the audience hall], are represented in gold, silver and ultramarine all the battles fought in Persia long ago . . ."⁸⁴ There is another description of Uzun Hasan's palace in a Persian manuscript that dates the building to 1486. The author of the Persian manuscript likens the palace to a "turquoise throne . . . [that stands] in the centre of the Sahibabad garden . . ."⁸⁵ This is the first instance that I have come across

of an eight-part building raised upon a platform in the centre of a garden. According to John E. Woods "the Ishratabad [Sahibabad] Gardens and the Hasht Bihisht Palace [were] considered one of the wonders of Persia by contemporary European travellers."⁸⁶ The palace was destroyed by the Ottoman Turks in 1548 but since Humayun had visited Tabriz about four years earlier it is quite possible that he had seen Uzun Hasan's palace.⁸⁷

The tomb of Ulugh Beg is in the town of Ghazni, which lies southwest of Kabul on the Kabul-Kandahar road. Abdu Razzaq, Ulugh Beg's son and successor, is also buried in the tomb. When Babur's grandfather Abu Said divided his kingdom between his sons, Babur's father Umar Sheikh received the small kingdom of Ferghana, and Ulugh Beg inherited the kingdom of Kabul and Ghazni. Ulugh Beg ruled these cities from 1469 until his death in 1501. His son Abdu Razzaq inherited the kingdom on the death of his father but lost it to the Shaibani Uzbeks before the end of 1502. The loss of Kabul to the Uzbeks gave Babur a noble excuse to win it back for the Timuris in 1504. Babur then made the hapless Abdu Razzaq a trusted officer in his army, but four years later the cousin tried unsuccessfully to take back his old domain. Consequently, he fell from Babur's good graces. In 1513/4 Abdu Razzaq died and was interred in his father's mausoleum at Ghazni.⁸⁸

It is not known exactly when the tomb was built, but John D. Hoag suggests a date of about 1500/1 as most likely. Work on the building would certainly have been terminated after the defeat of 1502.⁸⁹ The tomb is constructed of bricks and sits upon a square

plinth about 122 centimetres high. There are stairs at the centre of each side of the plinth that lead up to the main structure. The building consists of a square, dome-covered central chamber surrounded by four antechambers with polygonal apses at both of their ends. There are four smaller rooms in the corners of the building and towers outside each of these four small rooms. All of the rooms are covered with domes but the corner rooms' are not so high as the antechambers'. The south (actually southeast) antechamber is singled out, like the mian saray of Humayun's tomb, and connects with the two flanking corner rooms and the central hall. The corner chambers on the north side of the building are accessible through passages leading from the "east" and "west" antechambers. Both of the corner rooms on the qibla (Mecca) side have mihrabs. There is a well-built crypt below the tomb that extends the entire length and breadth of the building. It has been suggested that the four battered corner towers might originally have been intended to be extended into tall minarets. There are no stairs in the towers, but there are staircases up to the roof which might have continued up the minarets. The interior walls of the tomb are covered with a mixture of earth and straw-coghel and are reinforced with wood in some places. "One alabaster panel exists as a wainscot within the door-jamb of the west corner room. If more of this was ever installed there is now no trace of it." There is no decoration on the exterior of the mausoleum.⁹⁰

The formal similarities between Ulugh Beg's tomb and Humayun's tomb are obvious, as a comparison of their ground plans clearly shows, but there are also certain features that indicate a similarity

in the tombs' social function. Because of the sudden extinction of Ulugh Beg's "dynasty" it is possible either that his tomb was never finished or that it was not built exactly to the original specifications. "It seems possible that Ulugh Beg's architect had envisioned a structure of great complexity and monumentality in keeping with the Timurid tradition of Samarkand and, later, Herat. However, before the work began, the scale had been reduced without discarding the intricate plan." The large crypt seems to imply that Ulugh Beg had intended a dynastic mausoleum with room to accommodate later generations of the line.⁹¹ It was not until the reign of Akbar that the dream of a monumental dynastic tomb to serve the later Timuri family could be realized--or justified.

It should be evident from the few examples given above that the hasht behisht form had acquired, by the time of its use at Humayun's tomb, certain connotations of royalty and political authority. Humayun himself used the form for the floating barge that he designed for the Jumna River. The floating "palace" was constructed by joining four barges together with arched platforms. "From the connection of these four rooms the eight heavens were formed."⁹² It is possible that the designer of Humayun's tomb chose the plan because of these royal and authoritarian connotations.

Recent research on architectural symbolism in Islamic India provides a new interpretation of the hasht behisht palace-tomb style and the char bagh "four-part garden" style such as one sees at Humayun's tomb and at the Taj Mahal in Agra. The importance of the garden in Islamic, and especially Persian art is undisputed. In the

arid world that most Muslims inhabit the watered garden, with its cooling streams and leafy shade trees offers a pleasant refuge from the enervating heat of the towns and cities. In Persia the enclosed garden had early acquired special significance, so that by the time the Mughals had conquered India the garden was considered to be an earthly counterpart of the heavenly paradise. In the words of Arthur Upham Pope, "every garden was a Paradise. The Persian garden was Eden eternal."⁹³ As early as the eleventh century Farrukhi, a poet at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni wrote of "a garden like Paradise, and before it a heavenly palace . . . They are a garden and a palace safe from the hands of fate and time . . ."⁹⁴ Royal gardens were laid out by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, but it was in the time of Timur-i-Lang (1335-1404) that the four-part garden with an elevated palace at its centre became a common architectural form of the ruling class. These palace-garden complexes which were built by the rulers and the princes of the realm were known by the Persian name "char bagh" because of the four large plots created by the intersection of four streams or irrigation canals.⁹⁵ The celestial imagery that the Ghaznavid poet used to describe the garden is not simply a line of poetic fancy. The Persian and Mughal char baghs receive their inspiration and their paradisiacal symbolism from the Biblical and Quranic accounts of the Garden of Eden and the gardens of Paradise "which those who keep their duty (to Allah) are promised: Therein are rivers of water unpolluted, and rivers of milk whereof the flavour changeth not, and rivers of wine delicious to the drinkers, and rivers of clear-run honey . . ."⁹⁶ While the char bagh had

originally been associated with palaces and pleasure pavilions it was equally "appropriate in gardens built around a central tomb; for the four watercourses would then run under the mausoleum so as to produce a real paradisiacal garden beneath which rivers flow, and the deceased prince would foretaste heavenly bliss already in his tomb before the general resurrection and final judgment." ⁹⁷

The watered garden in general and the formal char bagh in particular were introduced into India by Babur after his Mughal armies had overthrown the Lodi dynasty in 1526. Babur was shocked to find that Indian architectural science was devoid of running water and quickly rectified the problem by commissioning several formal gardens in and around the city of Agra. We know of at least one garden in the Mughal capital that was of the four-part plan, the Ram Bagh "Garden of Rest." ⁹⁸ Formal gardens like the Ram Bagh rapidly became a kind of symbol, or identifying feature by which the Mughals were known to the Indian public. Babur noted in his memoirs that the natives of Agra called the royal quarters of the city "Kabul" on account of the foreign style of landscaping seen there. Babur's ancestor Timur is known to have allowed the public to enjoy the royal gardens of Samarkand when the ruler was absent, but it is not known whether the gardens of the first Mughal Padshahs were ever opened to the Indian public. ⁹⁹ In either case an important but probably unintentional function of the formal garden was to mark an area or a monument as Mughal, and thereby reaffirm the presence of the newly arrived Central Asian dynasty and reconfirm the ruling family's ties to their Timuri roots.

The ground plan of Humayun's tomb indicates that the

mausoleum is a microcosm of the whole complex, and that the three most important elements at the site, the tomb, the garden and the principal south portal are all numerically keyed to the numbers eight and nine. There are eight squares of garden surrounding the central mausoleum, eight chambers and iwans surrounding the cenotaph chamber and eight square rooms surrounding the central chamber of the south gateway. Both the cenotaph chamber and the central room in the gateway are octagonal, a shape that had been long associated with royal and noble burials in Muslim India. The octagonal tomb style is first seen in India at the fourteenth-century mausoleum of the Tughluqi noble Khan-i-Jahan Tilangani in Delhi, and subsequently at the royal mausolea of the Sayyids, Lodis and Suris and at the tombs of the sixteenth-century nobles Isa Khan and Adham Khan. All of these monuments are in the city of Delhi except the tombs of the Suris.¹⁰⁰ Octagonal tomb towers were common throughout the period of Seljuq rule in Persia but the model for the octagonal domed tomb itself is generally believed to go back to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which was built in 691 by Abd al-Malik to commemorate the site of Ibrahim's (Abraham's) near-sacrifice of his son Ismail. Sometime later the legend of Muhammad's mystical journey to Paradise came to be associated with the same site.¹⁰¹ The style gained importance during the period of Mongol domination in Persia and Central Asia; octagonal tombs are found in Maragha, where the Mongol ruler Hulagu is buried, in Sultaniyya where Uljaitu (reigned 1304-1317) is interred and in Samarkand where the Gur-i-Mir, the stately rib-domed mausoleum of Timur-i-Lang, stands.¹⁰² The appeal of the

octagonal tomb, in which a worthy prince or noble lay awaiting the call of God on the Day of Resurrection, may have been based upon the associations of heavenly ascension in the Dome of the Rock, but there is also reason to believe that the number eight had paradisiacal connotations of its own. While Jairazbouy notes that the seven mansions of Paradise plus Paradise itself equal eight, Annemarie Schimmel, in an article in The Islamic Garden goes so far as to say that "the octagonal pavilions erected in some of the Mughal gardens are similitudes of the cool pavilions described in Sura Fifty-five . . . [and] certainly connected with this idea of the paradisiacal number eight as is the idea of laying out gardens in eight or--to surpass even Paradise--in nine terraces, connected by water courses."¹⁰³

An unidentified court historian from the time of either Jahangir (1605-27) or Shah Jahan (1628-58) wrote that the Imtiyaz, a harem building at the Delhi Fort, surpassed even "the eightsided heaven."¹⁰⁴

A possible illustration of the "eight-sided heaven (or Paradise)" can be found in a Timuri manuscript written and lavishly illustrated around the year 1436 in Herat. The manuscript, which is called a *Miraj-nama*, describes Muhammad's nocturnal ascension to the Throne of God. One illustration shows the first female saints of Islam standing in an octagonal space, perhaps an interior, in Paradise.¹⁰⁵ The long tradition of octagonal burial monuments in Iran and India and the paradisiacal connotations of the octagon and the number eight may explain the numerical patterning at the tomb complex of Humayun and the choice of an octagon for the central cenotaph chamber.

2. Throne Symbolism and the Timuri Cemetery at Gazar Gah

The most serious challenge to the theory that identifies the eight garden squares that surround Humayun's tomb with the eight gardens of Paradise is the elevated mausoleum itself, for such a hypothesis would be untenable should the various elements of the complex not fit together into a unified and co-ordinated thematic programme. This problem is currently being examined by Wayne E. Begley whose conclusions regarding the Taj Mahal can tentatively be applied to Humayun's tomb as well. The mausoleum in the centre of the formal garden represents, according to Begley, an allegorical model of the divine Throne of God which, like Humayun's tomb, is elevated above the surrounding gardens of Paradise. While the representation of this holiest of celestial structures is contrary to Orthodox Muslim law, the divine Throne has been illustrated and described by less orthodox, mystically minded Muslim theologians. The Brethren of Purity (Ikhwan al-Safa) who lived in the Iraqi town of Basra in the tenth century described the ninth heavenly sphere as the Throne of God.¹⁰⁶ Paradisiacal imagery can also be found at Akbar's tomb in Sikandra, which was completed in 1613 by Akbar's son and successor Jahangir. "The thrust of the entire inscriptional program [of Akbar's tomb]," writes Begley, "is to compare the tomb and its garden to the celestial Paradise, of which they are symbolic replicas--the gateway a replica of the gateway of Paradise, the gardens replicas of the celestial gardens, and the tomb itself, in effect, a symbolic replica of the divine model of architectural perfection, the Throne of God."¹⁰⁷

To this description of Paradise can be added the celestial body of water known as al-Kawthar, from which flow the four rivers of Paradise. At Humayun's tomb this pool would be represented by the octagonal pool just south of the tank-house at the centre of the north wall. From this basin the irrigation canals divide into four streams to water the whole garden.¹⁰⁸

The problem of celestial symbolism at Humayun's tomb is compounded by the fact that there is no documentary evidence to support the "divine Throne" theory. The problem can, however, be elucidated by making a comparison between the Mughal tomb and an earlier Timuri dynastic cemetery at the shrine of Khvajah Abd Allah Ansari in western Afghanistan. The revered saint died in 1089 but his shrine was built by the Timuris in 1425.¹⁰⁹ While there are virtually no formal similarities in the two monuments, there are important parallels in function and symbolism which, at Gazar Gah, can be understood and explained by historical and epigraphic evidence. In the year 1477/8 Husayn Baiqara, the ruler of the house of Timur, built a platform at the shrine of Khvajah Ansari. On this platform are the cenotaphs of Husayn Baiqara's father, his two uncles and his two brothers. There are several unidentified stones on the platform and at least one of these indicates by "its quality and style [that] it was intended for the tomb of Timurid royalty."¹¹⁰ Husayn Baiqara came to power in Khurasan in 1469 after a period of internecine strife within the Timuri dynasty. His father Mansur, according to Golombek, had not only been politically insignificant but probably impoverished as well. "As if to manifest in symbol this rejuvenation of the line,

Sultan Husayn assembled the tombs of his father, uncle and brothers on a curious platform in the courtyard of the Shrine at Gazar Gah,"¹¹¹

One inscription on the platform reads: "This remarkable constructed platform (suffah)--which (in being composed) of the very choicest and purest (material), of the utmost elegance and beauty, is the Narrator of the delight of the Heavenly Gardens and the Recounter of the ornament of the spectacle of Paradise, resplendent and dazzling with the Heavenly Lights of Divine Grace . . ."¹¹²

The platform is also referred to as a "takht" (throne), but in describing the social function of the Gazar Gah platform Golombek implicitly suggests a less esoteric, more mundane explanation for the word "throne" than "Throne of God" that could equally be applied to the tomb of Humayun in Delhi. None of the men buried on the platform at Gazar Gah had been rulers or men of public life. "It was only through the merit of their descendant Sultan Husayn that this privilege and place of honour was accorded them. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that it was to the advantage of Sultan Husayn to place his progenitors literally on a 'raised platform' for in so doing he elevated himself and restored the dignity which they had lost."¹¹³ Akbar too had to erase the tarnish of his father's political blunders and military inadequacies in order to reinstate the dignity--and perhaps the legitimacy--of his line. In both cases the term "throne" (if it can be applied to Humayun's tomb at all) might primarily imply royal legitimacy of an earthly kind and only coincidentally allude to a greater sort of "kingship."¹¹⁴

3. Indo-Muslim Sainly Tomb Tradition and the "Perfect Man"

There is one facet of Humayun's tomb that has not yet been investigated. The padshah's mausoleum has been examined in the light of other royal tombs and palaces in India and in Islamic Asia, but there also existed in Islamic India a long and important tradition of saintly tombs and tomb complexes. These monuments have their own unique symbolism and social function that appear to have been incorporated into Humayun's tomb as a means of raising the emperor's prestige. During their lifetimes the Muslim Sufi pirs (holy men and sect leaders) were revered men whose influence sometimes extended beyond the Muslim community.¹¹⁵ The status and importance of these men did not usually dissipate after their deaths. On the contrary, it has been shown that the importance of a saint was often raised after his death through the institution of his tomb. These graves became the objects of veneration so intense as to border on worship. S. A. A. Rizvi, in his history of Muslim revivalist movements in northern India, has written that "naturally the tomb was supposed to be a greater source of inspiration to the credulous believer than the Pir himself."¹¹⁶ One of the most important social functions of these saintly tombs was their role in the conversion of Hindus to the Islamic faith. "Simple Hindus" writes Rizvi, "usually did not discriminate between the spiritual power of the idols they worshipped and the tomb of Muslim sufis." When the worshipper's prayers were answered his faith increased, as did the popularity of the shrine. The families of these Hindus would then be forced to either join the

new converts or accept the disintegration of their families through mutual ostracism. The result appears to have been a proliferation of conversions supervised by the keepers of the tombs.¹¹⁷

A specific type of ritual evolved at the sufis' tombs. A fifteenth century traveller is reported to have found the people who lived in and around the tomb of Khvajah Muinuddin Chishti (died in Ajmir, 1236) worshipping the tomb by giving offerings and by prostration, but this type of worship was anathema to the saints themselves. Nizamuddin Auliya's successor Shaikh Nasruddin Chiragh of Delhi opposed the veneration of saintly graves but did not object to the rite of circumambulation.¹¹⁸ The circumambulation of revered tombs had become common practice by the end of the fifteenth century. In his memoirs Babur several times mentions circling the tombs of Muslim holy men and the grave of his father.¹¹⁹ The wide platform and the internal arrangement of passageways makes the circumambulation of Humayun's tomb possible both inside and outside the main building.

There is another possible interpretation of Humayun's tomb based upon the Muslim mystical doctrine of the "Perfect Man." The concept of an apotheosized sufi saint, based mainly on the monistic and pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-Arabi (died 1240), became popular in northern India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with mystically inclined groups like the Mawdavis and the Rausanais. The Perfect Man was thought to be a kind of manifestation of the divine, a "meeting ground" of God and Man.¹²⁰ One of the attributes of the Perfect Man was his possession of mystical knowledge, enabling him to make complex legal decisions without actually having studied Muslim

jurisprudence. Akbar claimed this right in 1579 when he was declared the Mujtahid of his age, and it is not surprising to read that Abul Fazl called Akbar a Perfect Man.¹²¹ In his comprehensive biography of Akbar, Srivastava notes that Humayun is also referred to as a Perfect Man at least once in the Akbarnama.¹²² According to sufi doctrine the Perfect Man held the office of Khalifah of God. Humayun, it should be recalled, assumed the symbolic trappings of this office when he took his seat upon the throne of the Khalifah on the sun-disc of the great round carpet.¹²³

With the exception of the small Nila Masjid along the south enclosure wall, there is no mosque associated with Humayun's tomb. The direction of the holy city of Mecca is indicated by a carved window screen which is shaped in the traditional pointed-arch style of mosque mihrabs. While so subtly marked as to easily go unnoticed, one cannot interpret this as a minification of the presence of Islam. Rather, the window-mihrab, through which streams of light enter the interior of the cenotaph chamber, might better be seen as the means by which the mystical presence of Allah is revealed. "Verily," the Quran tells us, "There hath come to you/ A convincing proof/ From your Lord;/ For We have sent unto you/ A light (that is) manifest."¹²⁴

Conclusion

There are two related questions which have yet to be posed: Who was the architect of Humayun's tomb, and who, if anyone, was responsible for choosing and working out the monument's complex

thematic programme?¹²⁵ There is virtually nothing known about the architect of the tomb except his name. The orthodox Muslim historian al-Badaouni recorded in his biography of Akbar that it took a certain Mirak Mirza Ghiyas eight or nine years to complete the "paradise-like" tomb.¹²⁶ Most modern scholars believe that the architect was Persian, but there does not appear to be any written evidence to substantiate this claim except the Persian style of the tomb itself.¹²⁷ The "benefits" that Akbar would have accrued from his father's tomb have been discussed above, but it is difficult to believe that the young, uneducated ruler could possibly have designed the complex iconographic programme himself.¹²⁸ The style and the cosmological orientation of the tomb do, however, follow very closely the aesthetics of Humayun. Humayun was devoted to Persian culture. This culture, which dominated young Akbar's court, was introduced and fostered by Humayun who brought nobles, soldiers, painters and probably craftsmen back with him to Hindustan after the fifteen year exile in Persia and Afghanistan.¹²⁹ In his own architectural projects Humayun concentrated on raising his prestige by commissioning works of art and architecture with cosmic and mystical symbolism that re-enforced the idea of the padshah as cosmocrator around whom the universe revolved. This cosmic and paradisiacal symbolism may have been known to the architect; it would certainly have been known to Humayun's wife Haji Begam, who would naturally have been anxious to perpetuate her husband's memory in such lofty and fitting terms.¹³⁰ Thus Humayun, whose posthumous title was "Jahanbani jannat-ashiyani" (Guardian of the world whose nest is in Paradise), would rest until the final calling at a point

"equidistant from the four quarters [of the world] of which he was the guardian, and in the centre of the eight stages of Paradise!"¹³¹

Notes to Chapter One

1. From the time of Gengiz Khan the Mongol Khaqans were pre-eminent ("Padshah") in their relations with the other Central Asian tribal groups, including in theory the princes of the line of Timur-i-lang. Timur himself officially acknowledged a Mongol overlord and called himself by the titles Amir and Sultan. According to Muhammad Abdul Ghani, Timur only adopted the title Padshah when he had made conquests outside of his native Transoxiana. The title was used to signify the conquests of India, Syria and Persia. Babur's Timuri grandfather Sultan Abu Said Mirza, however, asserted his de facto supremacy over Babur's maternal grandfather, the Chaghatai-Mongol Yunas. The conflict was resolved in the person of Babur who was a direct descendant of both powerful lines. By taking the title Padshah it is assumed that Babur was asserting his overlordship on all of the Timuri and Chaghatai-Mongol peoples.

Babur's claims did not go unchallenged. He spent most of his life contesting other Timuri princes and the Uzbek Shaibani Khan (who also claimed to be a descendant of Gengiz Khan) for possession of Timur's capital at Samarkand. The city changed hands several times but Babur was never able to hold it for long. In 1503 he turned his attention southeastward, first to Kabul and later to Hindustan. The events of Babur's life up to the conquest of India are summarized in R. C. Majumdar, ed., The Mughul Empire (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1974), pp. 25-29. For references to the Timuri-Mongol rivalry and the use of the titles Padshah and Mirza see Muhammad Abdul Ghani, A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court (Allahabad: Indian Press, 1929), I, Book 1, 40-41, Babur, The Babur-nama in English, trans. A. S. Beveridge (1922; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971), I, 344n. 2 and Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 25.

A detailed description of Sultan Husayn Mirza Baiqara and his court at Herat, at which flourished such luminaries as the poet Maulana Abdur-Rahman Jami and the painter Bihzad can be found in The Babur-nama in English, I, 256-293. A discussion of the short-lived dynasty of Ulugh Beg Mirza of Kabul follows below in chapter two.

2. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 28.
3. Gul-Badan Begam, The History of Humayun, trans. A. S. Beveridge (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1972), pp. 5, 92.
4. Ibid., pp. 4, 6, and Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 33.

5. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 35 and Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 14. A speculative history of the Koh-i-Nur diamond can be found in Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 105n. 2 and 173n. 1. References for further reading on the diamond are given in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 44n. 14.
6. Michael Prawdin, The Builders of the Mogul Empire (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 66. The quote is from Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 14.
7. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 14. Haji Begam was the chief attendant at Humayun's tomb and is believed to have been its patroness. This issue is discussed more fully in chapter two.
8. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 14-15. The complete letter is reproduced in The Babur-nama in English, II, 624-25.
9. The Babur-nama in English, II, 625, 625n. 7. The poem is from Nizami's Khusrau u Shirin. Nizami flourished in the twelfth century and died in the year 1203.
10. The Babur-nama in English, II, 625-26, 626n. 1 and 627.
11. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 28-29.
12. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 23 and Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 38-39. There is some question about the exact month.
13. By differing accounts Babur died on the twenty-sixth or the thirtieth of December, 1530. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 104-105 and Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 39 and 39n. 20. There is a plate in Gul-Badan opposite page 104 that shows the padshah looking over his bed-ridden son.
The story of Babur's sacrifice may well be apocryphal but the reasons for its preservation by later Mughal rulers are not difficult to discern. It has already been mentioned that Babur had lost much faith in Humayun's ability to govern. Babur's prime minister Mir Khalifa held a very low opinion of Humayun and tried to place Babur's brother-in-law Mahdi Khvaja on the throne during the padshah's illness, only to withdraw his support for Khanzada Begam's husband at the last minute. Because legitimacy in the class-structured state depended upon one's birth and the status of one's father it was in the interest of Akbar and his successors to insist that only Humayun had legal claim to the throne--a distortion of history they were able to maintain by a virtual monopoly in the field of patronage of historians. Never-the-less the account of these events in Nizamuddin Ahmad's Tabaqat-i-Akbari (summarized here by Annette Beveridge) helps to clarify

the issue: "A few of the many points involved in Nizam-ud-din's story find fitting entry here. Babur must have been long conscious of the fact that he was not so strong as before he faced the Indian climate; he did not send for Humayun; he wished him to leave when he came unasked; he had 'Askari in the full dignity of a commander near him; as he lay dying, he was fretfully anxious for Hindal's coming, [though we are never told why]; he and Khalifa were friends of many years testing, both knew the faults of Humayun; if Khalifa had planned to set the latter aside, it is likely that the thought was not altogether absent from the mind of Babur; it is not credible that Khalifa should have regarded a supersession as practicable, if he had no acquaintance with the Emperor's doubts as to Humayun, and without knowing that these were shared by others than his master and himself for the nomination would be made by Babur and to his chiefs." To this it must be added that there were no fixed laws of succession amongst the Timuris. Every prince of the blood and not a few outsiders would have entertained ambitions for the throne. Ability was certainly an important factor in a person's right to rule, especially in light of the fact that the empire Babur had established was disorderly and poorly administered, his "occupation of India unrooted, military and the sport of war." In the words of R. C. Majumdar, "his indolent son [Humayun] was hardly the pilot to steer the ship of State on such a stormy voyage." Annette Beveridge suggests that the supersession may only have applied to the lands in India and that Humayun would then have been left with the territories of Central Asia--those being the real homeland in Babur's eyes. At any rate, in the final hour Babur did nominate Humayun as his successor though special accommodations were made for each of the three brothers. References for the above can be found in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 39, 45 and 524 and in Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 25-27.

14. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 46. A map of Babur's empire can be found in Joseph E. Schwartzberg, ed., A Historical Atlas of South Asia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 44, Plate VI.A.1, Map B.
15. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 46 and Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 29.
16. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 46-49. Bahadur Shah adopted a "scorched earth" policy on his retreat.
17. Ibid., pp. 49, 51.

18. Ibid., p. 50. The events of the Gujarati campaign are summarized in Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 131-33 where she claims that members of Askari's following went to Humayun to warn him of Askari's plans to take Agra.
19. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 53 and Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 134 and 134n. 1.

20. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 52-54, Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 29-30, 134 and 134n. 2, and Jouher, The Tezkereh Al Vakiat, trans. Charles Stewart (1832; rpt, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), p. 20.

It was at this tragic battle that the faithful watercarrier Nizam (or possibly Sambhal) saved Humayun from drowning in the river. To show his gratitude Humayun placed the servant upon the throne for either two hours or two full days. (Ghani ascribes to the former, A. S. Beveridge to the latter.) During his short reign Nizam was allowed to make appointments and to grant requests--though we cannot say whether or not his decrees were binding. Humayun's gesture of thanks was strongly objected to by Kamran who told his brother that a material gift would have been more fitting. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 140 and Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 101.

21. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 32 and Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 904.

22. Khondamir [Khwandamir], "Humayun-nama" in The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians, H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, eds. (Calcutta: Susil Gupta, 1953), Vol. 12, 86-87, William Erskine, A History of India under Humayun (1854; rpt. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 531-32 and Abu-l-Fazl, The Akbar Nama, trans. H. Beveridge (1897-1910; rpt. Delhi: Rare Books, 1972), I, 642-43.

Contrary to the opinion of any other writer on Mughal history Ghani places the omen of the three men in the year 1555, just before the reconquest of Hindustan. According to Ghani Humayun heard the auspicious omen and decided on its basis to immediately set forth for India. In this Ghani must certainly be mistaken. Khwandamir, who reports the incident, wrote his biography in 1533, just a year before he died. (He was born in Herat in 1475 and died in Gwalior.) The omen--or the myth of the omen--must therefore have been known early in Humayun's reign for all of his administrative reforms and most of his architectural projects described below date from his first three years in power. Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 192. An account of Humayun's faith in omens and auguries is given in Ghani, I, Bk. 2, 189-192.

23. Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, p. 88 and Abu-l-Fazl, The Akbar Nama, I, 644. The traditional Muslim social groupings are defined and described in Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), pp. 297ff and in Ibn Khaldun, The Muqaddimah, trans. F. Rosenthal (Princeton: Bollingen Series, 1967), p. 189. The third group, the People of Desire, have no formal equivalent in pre-sixteenth century Muslim society. I have been informed orally by Anthony Welch that the rise of a similar class of leisured young dandies in contemporary Persia can be shown by their increasingly frequent portrayal in miniature painting.
- It is interesting to note that the scientists are given equal place in the Ahl-i-Saadat beside the members of the Muslim ulama, the traditional fount of revealed wisdom in the Islamic state.
24. Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, pp. 89-90. The choice of days particular to each group was based upon astrological criteria. The allegorical nature of the Friday assembly is too obvious to need further elaboration.
25. Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, p. 91. H. Beveridge, on page 644n. 2 of Abu-l-Fazl, The Akbar Nama, I, notes that the word for arrow, "sahm," is also the word for "division."
26. Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, p. 91. Abul Fazl includes no women in his list of the twelve classes. In their stead are a group called clanheads and one called distinguished young volunteers. If Khwandamir's list is correct it is possible that Abul Fazl's reflects a change in society's attitude towards women half a century later. Unfortunately Khwandamir does not elaborate on the thirty-six subdivisions. A note on decans can be found in Joseph Schacht and G. E. Bosworth, eds., The Legacy of Islam, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 441.
27. Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, p. 91. The name of the weapons department may indicate the importance of gun-powder weapons in Humayun's army.
- It is evident from the administrative and social ordering that Humayun inherited the ideal of a class-structured state from his Timuri ancestors. In such a state every person was born into, or occasionally was assigned to a general station in life-- a social class--out of which he could not venture. (This, of course, was the ideal situation. A certain social mobility was always present.) The individual's duty in such a society was to do that which fate had decreed by birth rather than to strive for upward mobility. It was the monarch's duty to oversee the system and ensure that order was maintained. Timur's pir (spiritual advisor, "guru") is reported to have told the great conqueror that "the different offices in the earthly empire are

symbols of those in the empire of the creator; in which there are labourers, and agents, and deputies, and chamberlains; and they are all busied and occupied in their own proper departments, and they seek not to over-leap the bounds allotted them; . . ."

S. A. Yazdi, Political and Military Institutes of Tamerlane, trans. Major Davy (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1972) pp. 72-73. See also A. K. S. Lambton, "Quis custodiet custodes? Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government," Studia Islamica, V (1956), 146-47 where it is related that in the year 1494/5 Husayn Vaiz Kashifi wrote for Husayn Baiqara that the dignity of kings equals that of prophets and that society was to be divided into sections of military, bureaucratic, mercantile, agricultural and artisan interests. According to Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), II, 432, Timur sternly opposed any opposition to the class-structured state, especially from egalitarian-minded Shias.

Humayun's restructuring of society may have been influenced in its form by the writings of the famous Sufi philosopher Ibn al-Arabi (died 1240) whose writings "shaped the structural and intellectual course of Indian Sufism during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries . . ." Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969), pp. 145-46. Ibn al-Arabi had a vision of the invisible hierarchy that ruled the universe. This hierarchy consisted of a Supreme Pole (Qutb, a term often used to describe a great Sufi leader around whom all else revolves), the two Imams, the four pillars that govern the cardinal points, the seven substitutes (abdal) that reign over the seven climes, the twelve chiefs (nuqaba) dominating the twelve signs of the zodiac and the eight nobles (nujaba) corresponding to the heavenly spheres. Astrological and cosmological criteria are the basis of this vision which, like Humayun's starts with a single being at the centre and grows out like a widening circle. Humayun's "universe" included the four pillars of the natural world--earth, water, air, and fire--and the twelve signs of the zodiac. The symbolism of the number eight, important for an understanding of Humayun's eight-part architecture and for his monumental tomb, are discussed in the second chapter. See Seyyid Hossein Nasr, Three Muslim Sages (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 95.

A shield said to have belonged to Humayun's son Akbar (though possibly a nineteenth century work) has an iconographic programme that would seem to illustrate Humayun's social institutions. At the centre of the shield is a sun disc with a human face etched into it. (Sun symbolism was very common to the Mughal emperors.) Around the sun is a wide concentric circle with four raised, decorated bosses in it as well as a six-pointed star with writing in its centre. (A note on six-pointed stars--called the "Shield of Solomon" or "Seal of Solomon"--follows below, chapter two.) A circular, arabeque-inscribed band follows and outside of it are inscribed the

twelve signs of the zodiac. The last, outer-most band is decorated with rich foliation. The problems of the shield's provenance and date of origin make any additional speculation pointless. Bamber Gascoigne, The Great Moghuls (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971), p. 71.

28.

Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 30, 33. Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, 649, 649n. 3. It has been suggested that the origins of this sort of building can be traced back at least as far as the planetaria built by the Sassanid Persian ruler Khusrau II (591-628) and by some of the Roman Emperors in which cases the purpose of the structure was to show the ruler as cosmocrator around whom the universe revolves and without whose presence the order of the universe would fall apart. R. A. Jairazbouy, "The Taj Mahal in the Context of East and West: A Study in the Comparative Method," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 24 (1961), 80-81.

29.

Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, 649-650, 650n. 1. Unfortunately I have been able to find the placement for only two of the social groups and so have not been able to determine whether all of the twelve groups took part in the ritual. Not only is it hard to believe that the camel drivers took part but also that the women (if indeed Khwandamir's list is correct) took part in putting themselves into immodest postures. By taking his seat upon the Throne of the Khilafat Humayun adopted the posture of successor of the Prophet Muhammad--political and spiritual guide of his community and interpreter of the will of God, though he never went as far as his son Akbar did when Akbar formally claimed the final judgment in religious disputes. It is said that members of Humayun's court called their emperor "The Shadow of God on Earth," a title also used in the earlier Sultanate period. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Akbar the Great: Evolution of Administration, 2nd ed. (Agra: Shiva Lal Agrawala, 1973), Vol. 2, 10. For examples of the use of sun imagery in descriptions of Humayun see Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, pp. 84, 85, 86, etc.

It has been suggested that the model for the carpet was a round carpet in the audience hall of the palace at Tabriz. Humayun's carpet, however, predates his sojourn in Persia and his visit to Tabriz. The Tabriz palace is discussed in the second chapter. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal in the Context of East and West, p. 80.

30.

Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, 648, Muhammad Azhar Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors (Allahabad: Shanti Prakashan, 1974), p. 41. Note the recurrence of the solar imagery in the golden dome which announces this structure as belonging to Humayun.

31. A discussion of the hasht behisht style is included in chapter two. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal in the Context of East and West, pp. 175-77, 178-79. Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, 648. Both Khwandamir's and Abul Fazl's descriptions of the floating palace are quite confused.

32. See Muhammad Azhar Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors, chapter 14 for a lengthy discussion of Mughal tent architecture.

33. Gul-Badan, History of Humayun, pp. 114n. 1, 118n. 1, 118, 121, and 127. Gul-Badan mentions a wedding feast held at the same palace six years later for Hindal who had already been long married by that time. The wedding feast was also given by Khanzada Begam who treated Hindal's bride Sultanam Begam as if the girl was her own daughter. See also Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors, p. 39.

The word "tilism" is related to the English word "talisman," the former probably derived from astrological phraseology. See references in the Oxford English Dictionary (1971 Edition).

34. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 118, 123ff and Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors, p. 40. The description of the Mystic Palace in Gul-Badan is rather vague and disjointed. I have attempted to piece the information together as best possible. The princess includes in her description full lists of all the guests invited as well as the seating arrangements. It has been assumed that the audience hall was rectangular as it alone is not described as octagonal. We cannot say whether the structures were built of wood or were elaborate canvas pavilions nor can we assume that they were permanent, (although they were used/re-erected for Hindal's wedding feast six years later).

35. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 124, 124n. 2.

36. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 124-26. Shahrukhs and Ashrafs were forms of coinage, the former having been established by Humayun's Timuri ancestor Shah Rukh ibn Timur. The distribution of money to the common soldiers and to the indigent of the city is worth noting. It would appear to have been intended as an expression of the padshah's concern for the welfare of all of his subjects and not just of his royal courtiers, whose gifts were in fact just redistributed amongst themselves.

The intoxicant majun was eaten regularly by Humayun's father Babur. It was probably a form of hashish, certainly not an opiate. Opiates were known specifically by different names, though they and majun were sometimes eaten together in a combination known as faluniyah. Ansari, who unaccountably places the soaking of the young courtiers at Hindal's wedding, notes that everyone who took the drug was quite jolly thereafter. Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors, pp. 32, 33.

37. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 126.

38. The ideal of justice and public security runs throughout the earlier (c.1192-1526) Delhi Sultanate period. The Sultanate rulers, especially the Muizzi Balban (1266-1286), were greatly influenced by the political writings of Nizam al-Mulk (died 1092), a theorist who lived at the Seljuq courts of Alp Arslan and Malikshah. His ideas, as outlined in the Siyasat-nama were introduced into India by Fakr-i-Mudabbir in a book called Adab-ul-Mulk which was written between 1246 and 1266. According to Nizam al-Mulk the object of temporal rule "was to fill the earth with justice." Justice, and not right religion, was the basis of Nizam al-Mulk's theory. "Kingship," he states, "remains with the unbeliever but not with injustice." In fact throughout the early and mediaeval periods of Islam in Persia the origins and justification of the state were never pondered. "It was, and its function was to guarantee the maintenance of pure Islam, the application of its law, the shari'a, and the defence of orthodoxy against heresy." A. K. S. Lambton, "Justice in the Medieval Persian Theory of Kingship," Studia Islamica, 17 (1962), 104, 106, 92. The show of justice, if nothing else, assured the monarch of a degree of popular support. Sultans were known to roam the countryside hearing appeals from the great and the small. The tradition is, of course, quite universal and is still today as strong a force as ever in Islamic and non-Islamic countries. (The tradition runs from the Biblical Solomon the lawgiver through the Ottoman Suleiman the Lawgiver to the present-day Ayyatollah Khomeini.) References for the above can be found in Muhammad Aziz Ahmad, Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1949; rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books reprint, 1972), p. 261, Aziz Ahmad, "Trends in the Political Thought of Medieval Muslim India," Studia Islamica, 17 (1962), 121-23, S. M. Ikram, Muslim Civilization in India, ed. Ainslie T. Embree (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), pp. 86ff and Abdul Halim, History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1971), pp. 52, 131, 214 and 223-24 where the Lodi department of justice is briefly described.

39. Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, 651. The roots of the Drum of Justice go back at least as far as the Sassanid Persian monarch Nushirvan. Humayun's grandson Jahangir raised his own prestige by setting up a similar device outside his palace in Agra. This was a golden chain from which the people could hang their petitions. The chain reached from Jahangir's balcony to a pole outside the Agra Fort. There is no indication as to whether either the Drum of Justice or the Chain of Justice actually contributed to the maintenance of justice. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 546.

40. Khondamir, Humayun-Nama, pp. 93-94. Majumdar believes that the suburb was never completed. Very little of the Suri Purana Qila remains. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 742-43.

41. R. Nath, History of Sultanate Architecture (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1978), p. 112. It is interesting to note that even as early as 1530 astronomical metaphors were used in descriptions of young Humayun. I have not come across any such allusions as regards Humayun's father Babur.

42. R. Nath also dates the Qila-i-Kuhna Mosque and the Sher Mandal (both believed to have been built by Sher Shah Sur) to Humayun's reign. He offers no explanation, but refers the reader to a forthcoming volume on Mughal architecture. Nath, History of Sultanate Architecture, pp. 112-113. The quote is from Nath, page 113. For the Kachpura mosque see also A. Fuhrer, The Monumental Antiquities in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Archaeological Survey of India, New Series Vol. 12 (Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1969), p. 55. Note that Fuhrer's Christian calendar date of the mosque is twenty years late, though the Arabic calendar date is correct.

Humayun is also credited with the invention of several minor allegorical trifles such as a cap with a rim folded in such a way as to form two Arabic "7's" (written "V"). The numerical value of the number seventy-seven is found in the word "izz." Thus the cap was called the taj-i-izzat, the "cap of honour." It was worn by members of the nobility and by the padshah. Humayun's cap was of a solid colour, his courtiers' were multicoloured. Abu-l-Fazl, Akbar Nama, I, 649.

43. Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 29-30. Timur brought to his capital at Samarkand some scholars of astrology, such as Maulana Ahmad who is reputed to have made astrological predictions for the following two hundred years. Timur, however, preferred to make divinations with the Quran (by placing a pin through several pages) and had little faith in the astrological sciences. V. V. Barthold, "Ulugh Beg," Four Studies on the History of Central Asia, trans. V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), p. 23-24. References for the role of astrology in the courts of the later Mughal rulers can be found in Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors, pp. 179-180 and Mohammad Azhar Ansari, European Travellers under the Mughals (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1975), p. 79 where the testimony of the English traveller Edward Terry, who visited India from 1616 to 1619, is given.

It was not until the reign of the eighteenth century Amber Rajput Maharaja Jai Singh II that the astrological and astronomical sciences were again seriously revived. Jai Singh's enormous observatories, called "jantar mantars" can be visited today in the cities of Jaipur and Delhi.

44. Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, p. 54 and Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 29.
45. Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 33. On page 60 of the same book Ghani mentions a poem (qasida) by a favourite poet of Humayun's, Maulana Qasim Kahi, in which the instruments for the observatory are listed. It is not known whether the observatory instruments were small in size or if they were megalithic structures like those in Jaipur. The observatory of Timur's grandson Ulugh Beg ceased to function after the prince's death but the one remaining instrument at the Samarkand site, illustrated in V. Voronina, Architectural Monuments of Middle Asia (Leningrad: Aurora Publishers, 1969), photograph 79, is an enormous quadrant that Humayun must certainly have known about. Babur describes Ulugh Beg's observatory as a three story building while Abdal Razzaq, the unlucky prince who lost his kingdom at Kabul to Babur, mentions "pictures [probably murals] of the nine heavens, the nine heavenly spheres, with degrees, minutes, seconds, and tenths of seconds, the skies of rotation (aflak-i-tadavir), the seven planets, the fixed stars, the terrestrial globe divided into climates, with mountains, seas, deserts, etc." There was also a thirteenth century observatory in Maraghah (Iran) which was originally built for Nasiruddin Tus but was intended to be restored by Shah Tahmasp in 1542, just two years before Humayun visited Tabriz, just north of the site. (It is not known whether the observatory was ever fully operative as planned.) Humayun's interest in observatories, it should be stressed, preceded his visit to Persia. V. V. Barthold, Ulugh Beg, pp. 132, 133, 133n. 8 and 134.
46. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal in the Context of East and West, p. 81.
47. It is important to stress the fact that Humayun's faith in astrology and the cosmological sciences did in no way counter his liberal, but unquestionable religious belief. Indeed, according to Nasr "the doctrine of the unicity of Nature which is based upon that unity and which thus relies on the essence and spirit of the form of Revelation in Islam, is, therefore, the ultimate aim of all the sciences of Nature and the degree to which a science succeeds in expressing this unicity the criterion by which the success and validity of that science are judged." Seyyid Hossein Nasr, An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 5.
- The circumstances of Humayun's death illustrate the balance between astrology and religious faith: He died because of a fall he suffered on the Sher Mandal. He was on top of the steep tower consulting with his astrologers when he heard the call to prayer. He knelt, slipped and tumbled down the stairwell.

Humayun's interest in the sciences may also explain his apparent belief in the power of the deceased Imam Reza, eighth Imam (spiritual leader chosen by heredity from the house of Ali, the Prophet Muhammad's brother-in-law) of the Shia community. Humayun visited the important shrine of the Imam in Mashad in 1543/4 when he entered the territory of the Safavi ruler Shah Tahmasp. Although the tomb was locked--with entry was forbidden to any non-Shia (i.e. Sunni)--Humayun appealed to the mercy of the Imam and the chain miraculously split apart. The padshah entered the tomb and circumambulated it several times. He visited the tomb a second time in 1545 just before he reconquered Afghanistan. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, pp. 60, 60n. 2 and 75. Humayun's devotion can perhaps be ascribed to the fact that "the discussions of Imam Rida [Reza], the eighth imam, with Mamun [Caliph at Baghdad from 813-833] made the intellectual sciences (al-ulum al-aqliyah) once and for all legitimate in the world of Shiism." Mamun was actively interested in the sciences and in philosophy. He supported a large library and scientific studies based on Greek texts. It is even said that Aristotle once visited Mamun in a dream. Bernard Lewis, ed., Islam and the Arab World: Faith, People, Culture (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 181. A discussion of Humayun's religious convictions follows below.

48.

A discussion of the Muslim "Perfect Man" who was a bridge between man and God follows below in chapter two.

49.

By comparison Sher Shah Sur's absolute government was based upon more pragmatic criteria. Sher Shah also divided his time into four parts, one each for the administration of public justice, army concerns, religious observances and rest and recreation, but his system lacks any cosmic pretensions. Sher Shah's son Islam Shah, on the other hand, more closely approaches Humayun, if not in choice of imagery then at least in Islam Shah's use of symbol and ritual to re-enforce his concept of absolute power. On Fridays, the Muslim Sabbath, the most important nobles of the empire, those who commanded from five thousand to thirty thousand soldiers were instructed to erect lofty tents in the centres of which they were to place a chair (i.e. throne). Each noble placed a pair of the king's slippers and a quiver upon the chair to symbolize Islam Shah's presence and then bowed down in obeisance to the emperor. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, Some Aspects of Afghan Despotism in India (Aligarh: Three Men Publication, 1969), p. 85. W. Erskine, A History of India under Humayun (1854; rpt. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 475, quotes a certain Abdal Kader who witnessed such a ceremony. According to Abdal Kader's testimony there were eight balls (hesht sargeh) which figured in the ritual. The symbolism of the balls, possibly paradises or heavenly spheres, is not known. For a description of the political institutions of Sher Shah as described above see Erskine, A History of India under Humayun, pp. 441-42.

50. When Kamran heard that the Timuri leaders were to meet with Shah Shah he insisted that he be seated upon the royal carpet beside Humayun since he too was a legitimate ruler of Kabul and Kandahar and therefore superior to the other brothers. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 145, 145n. 1.
51. Ibid., pp. 33-34, 147, 147n. 1 and Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat p. 27. Majumdar sides with Kamran, noting that all contemporary accounts of the fraternal conflicts of the Mughal brothers were written from the point of view of the line in power, i.e. Humayun's successors. If Babur had divided his empire between his sons and had given Kamran the Afghanistan territories this would indeed be so, but I have found no evidence to prove that this was ever implied by the granting of a jagir in Afghanistan to Kamran. Certainly Babur never intended there to be any power-sharing at the very top. In his memoirs Babur comments on the duel accession of Sultan Husain Mirza Baiqara's two sons with the words "Partnership in rule is a thing unheard of; against it stand Shaikh Sadi's [poet, 1184-1291 who wrote in Persian] words in the Gulistan: 'Ten darwishes sleep under a blanket; two kings find no room in a clime'." The Baburnama in English, I, 293. See also Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 62, 62n. 27a.
52. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, p. 52, Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 58 and Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 168n. 5. Humayun's pathetic situation is illustrated by his retreat from the forces of the Rajput Raja Maldeo of Jodhpur in 1542. The padshah was unable to secure a horse for his young bride Hamida Begam and was forced to give her his own while he rode upon a camel. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 154-55 and 155n. 1. Other examples of the loss of prestige and the lack of respect that Humayun suffered during the exile abound. When the thirty-four year old padshah proposed a marriage for himself and the young girl named Hamida Begam both Hindal and the girl objected. Hamida told Humayun that she wanted a man "whose collar my hand can touch, and not one whose skirt it does not reach," making an allusion to the great difference in age between the two. Hindal, however, was embarrassed as the girl's father Shaikh Ali Akbar was Hindal's spiritual guide. "This looks like a side-glance," writes Annette Beveridge, "at the wasted fortunes of royalty, No kingdom! No revenue! Whence the dowry?" The padshah promised to pay the girl's father a dowry but Beveridge suggests that there was no money and that the promise was nothing but a "ladies' romance." The marriage did take place and in 1542 Hamida Begam gave birth to Akbar, future padshah of India. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 150, 150n. 1, 151, and 151n. 1.

53. While Majumdar interprets the Persian period as one of almost constant humiliation (an opinion with which I am inclined to agree) many of the Mughal court historians saw it in very different terms. Gul-Badan, whose history of her brother's reign was written at Akbar's request to serve as source material for Abul Fazl's monumental biography of Akbar and the historian Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, whose family had been closely associated with Babur and Humayun and who himself was Akbar's chief of the military both tend to ignore or gloss over the incidents that would darken the reputation of Humayun by showing his subservience to Tahmasp. Jouher, however, is a more honest observer and offers several examples of the Shah's cruel behaviour. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 59, Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, pp. 168-69 and 169n. 2. A critical bibliography of the various Mughal historians is included in Sukumar Ray, Humayun in Persia (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1948), pp. 88ff. Ray's book is the best available account of the year that Humayun spent in Persia.
54. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 59.
55. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, pp. 64-65. The red royal cap may have been a symbol of Shiism, related to the Kizilbash, "redheads" who were Turkish Shia followers of the Safavis distinguished by their red headgear. Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), III, 23.
56. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, pp. 65-66, Ray, Humayun in Persia, pp. 34-36. The question of Humayun's personal religious convictions is of great interest though quite difficult to solve. Humayun always showed great reverence for the Shia faith and for the ancestors of the Safavi line who were Shia shaikhs. It is possible to interpret his attitude to one of convenience in his quest for Persian military aid. Aziz Ahmad, in Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 26 accepts this point of view, pointing to the similar situation of Babur at the court of Tahmasp's father Ismael in the second decade of the sixteenth century. Babur's Shiism was no more than a means to an end and he turned his back on the Safavis as soon as the opportunity presented itself. Humayun's Shiism may well have been an expression of his liberal, eclectic religious beliefs. In a poem (ghazal) written by Humayun (date unknown) the padshah says:
- We are from our hearts slaves to the sons of 'Ali,
We are ever happy in the memory of 'Ali;
Since the mystic's secret is revealed through 'Ali
We always recalled the memory of 'Ali.

The poem, according to Abul Fazl, was kept in the Imperial library at the court of Akbar. Regardless of when it was composed it is unlikely that Humayun or his son would have preserved it had it been written under duress to insult the author. Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, pp. 10n. 1 and 15. When Humayun left Tahmasp he visited the shrine of Shaikh Safavi and Shah Ismael in Ardabil. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, p. 75. Humayun's closest companion, Bairam Khan, was a Shia. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 109.

57. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 59-60. Humayun took more than just soldiers with him when he left Persia. He also brought to Afghanistan and later to India the painters Abdus Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali, both from Shiraz. It is probable that other artists and craftsmen found employment with his in Kabul. These artists established the Indo-Persian school of miniature painting, the foundation of the Mughal style from the time of Akbar to the nineteenth century. For an analysis of Persian-Indian cultural interaction see Firoze Cowasji Davar, Iran and India Through the Ages (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), pp. 164ff.
- The first capture of Kabul marked the reunion of Humayun and Akbar after two years separation. The incident of Kamran's exposing young Akbar is related in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 60-61 and in Vincent A. Smith, Akbar the Great Mogul, 2nd ed. (Delhi: S. Chand, 1962), p. 18. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, pp. 86-87 claims that Kamran only threatened to expose the boy.
58. Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 47.
59. Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, p. 94.
60. For Hindal's loyalty and good nature see Gul-Badan, The History of Humayun, p. 197. The events of his death are related in the same book on pages 198-200. The blinding of Kamran is described in Jouher, Tezkereh Al Vakiat, pp. 104-107.
61. A map of the empire that Humayun bequeathed his son can be found in A Historical Atlas of South Asia, Joseph E. Schwartzberg ed., p. 44, plate VI.A.1, map e.
62. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 63-64. The quote, recorded on page 64 of The Mughul Empire, is from Stanely Lane-Poole's history of the Mughal emperors.

Notes to Chapter Two

1. The date of completion of Humayun's tomb varies. al-Badaouni dates its completion to 1570/1 and writes that it took eight or nine years to build. al-Badaouni, Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh, ed. and trans. W. H. Lowe, rev. Brahmadeva Prasad Ambashthya (Patna: Academica Asiatica, 1973), II, 132.
2. C. M. Villiers Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1913), p. 96. See also S. A. A. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb and Adjacent Buildings (Delhi: Manager of Publications, Archaeological Survey of India, 1947), p. 3.
3. The only monograph on Humayun's tomb is the small, but informative guide Humayun's Tomb and Adjacent Buildings. Naqvi concentrates on details of construction, especially types of materials and dimensions. A fine plan of the complex and environs is included with his book. The tomb is mentioned in most surveys of Indo-Islamic architecture, but usually in terms of its influence on the Taj Mahal. References to the tomb and its garden can be found in S. Crowe, S. Haywood, S. Jellicoe and G. Patterson, The Gardens of Mughal India: A History and Guide (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), R. Nath, The Immortal Taj Mahal: The Evolution of the Tomb in Mughal Architecture (Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons, 1972) and in Carr Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi (1876; rpt. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1967).
4. The most recent research being done on Mughal tombs that has come to my attention is by Wayne E. Begley of the University of Iowa. His ideas will be discussed below.
5. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 13. The date of the Nila Gumbad is not known for certain, but Naqvi believes the tomb to be contemporary with, or perhaps to pre-date, Humayun's tomb. He bases his opinion on the fact that the doorway through the wall around Humayun's tomb to the Nila Gumbad is original, indicating "that the Gumbad already existed before, or was simultaneously designed with, the enclosure wall." The measurements are from Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 8 and the plan.
6. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 7.
7. Ibid., p. 7. My reasons for accepting Naqvi's view are outlined below.
8. Ibid., pp. 6-7, plan. See my plates 1 and 2.

9. Ibid., p. 20. The only information that I have been able to find on the woman Buhalima is her name. Naqvi believes that the enclosure walls and the gateway of her garden to be early Mughal. Her tomb is just north of the pathway.
10. Ibid., p. 21.
11. The Arab Sarai is believed to have been commissioned by Humayun's wife Haji Begam, the same woman who is held to be the patroness of Humayun's tomb. The function of the Arab Sarai is not known for certain, but it has been suggested that it served as the living quarters for the workmen who built Humayun's tomb. See R. C. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1974), p. 750 and Gul-Badan Begam The History of Humayun, trans. Annette S. Beveridge (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1972), p. 74. For a short description of the Arab Sarai and the Afsarwala Mosque see Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, pp. 16-18.
12. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 7, plan. See my plates 3 and 4.
13. The symbolism of the six-pointed star will be discussed below.
14. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 7, plan. See my plate 5.
15. Ibid., p. 8, plan. See my plate 6. A note on the direction of water-flow in Mughal gardens is included below.
16. Ibid., p. 8, plan. See my plate 7. The east-wall pavilion is called, on the plan, a Baradari (fraternal place?) but there is no indication as to why it is given this name. In the text Naqvi calls it a pavilion.
17. This pavilion, situated on the river-side of the tomb complex, might have been used by the royal family when visits were made to the tomb to mark the anniversary of Humayun's death, etc. Muslim princes who built their own tombs sometimes included a pleasure pavilion in the garden to be enjoyed by the family until the death of the prince, at which time the tomb complex was usually turned over to the care of religious attendants. This, of course, could not have been the case at Humayun's tomb as he was already dead eight years when construction began on his mausoleum. Celebrations at the Taj Mahal were frequently held and it is probable that such events were also held at Humayun's tomb. See S. Crowe, et al., The Gardens of Mughal India, p. 42.
18. John D. Hoag, "The Tomb of Ulugh Beg and Abdu Razzaq at Ghazni: A Model for the Taj Mahal," Journal of The Society of Architectural Historians, 27, No.4 (December 1968), 421 and R. Nath, The Immortal Taj Mahal, p. 24.

19. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 7.
20. The north to south flow of garden water is implied in a manuscript dealing with landscape architecture written in Herat in 1515. Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, eds., The Islamic Garden, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, No. 4 (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1976), p. 83.
21. The significance of the mian saray will be discussed below.
22. For Akbar's tomb see Percy Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, 4th ed. (Bombay: Taraporevala, 1964), p. 99. For the Taj Mahal see Andreas Volwahsen, Living Architecture: Islamic Indian, trans. Ann E. Keep (London: MacDonal, 1970), p. 97. The main gate into the garden at Itimad al-Daulah's tomb is on the east, but the door into the mausoleum cenotaph chamber is on the south. A. C. L. Carlleyle, "Agra," Archaeological Survey of India: Report for the Year 1871-72, Vol. 4 (1872; rpt. Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1966), p. 138.
23. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 9.
24. Ibid., p. 6, p. 6n. 2. See my plate 8.
25. The dome and the minarets are constructed of bricks. The dome is a double-dome, consisting of an inner and an outer shell, thus allowing for a monumental exterior visage and a well-proportioned interior. See E. B. Havell, Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the First Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day (London: John Murray, 1913), p. 158.
26. Catherine B. Asher, "The Mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri," Artibus Asiae, 39 (1977), 298. On pages 294 to 295 Asher notes that the Suri tombs, like most of the architecture of the Sayyids, Lodis and Sultans of Gaur, Bengal, were originally decorated with paint and coloured tiles. Sayyid and Lodi architecture are discussed in the chapter on Sultanate architecture in R. C. Majumdar, The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960), and in R. Nath, History of Sultanate Architecture (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1978). Photographs of the tomb of Sher Shah, the gateway of the Purana Qila and the Jahangiri Mahal can be found in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, plates 1, 2 and 14 respectively.

27. See, for example, the colour plates in Hugo Munsterberg, Art of India and Southeast Asia (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970), pp. 95-96 and Gustave Le Bon, The World of Indian Civilization, trans. David Macrae (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1974), pp. 120-121. On page 121 Le Bon notes that the temples of Mount Abu are constructed entirely of marble. Red or yellow sandstone were otherwise the normal building materials in northern India.
28. Umbeto Scerrato, Monuments of Civilization: Islam (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1976), p. 136, Kishori Saran Lal, History of the Khaljis: A.D. 1290-1320 (London: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 327, and P. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, pp. 17-18 and plate IX, figs. 1 and 2.
29. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, pp. 20-21 and plate XI, fig. 1.
30. Maulvi Muhammad Ashraf Husain, A Record of All the Quranic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the Delhi Province, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 47 (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1936), p. 15. The only epigraph on Humayun's tomb proper is the Muslim Creed, which is inscribed at the top of the pinnacle. All of the other inscriptions at the site were added later, with the installation of the cenotaphs in the corner chambers and on the platform.
31. The development and symbolism of the hasht behisht style and the octagonal mian saray will be discussed below.
32. J. A. Page, An Historical Memoir on the Qutub: Delhi, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 22 (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publications Branch, 1926), plate 17 and R. Nath, The Immortal Taj Mahal, pp. 68-69.
33. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 10. The quote is from Hoag, The Tomb of Ulugh Beg, p. 241. An additional note of the mian saray in Islamic architecture can be found in G. A. Pugachenkova, "Ishrat-Khaneh and Ak-Saray, Two Timurid Mausoleums in Samarkand," Ars Orientalis, 5 (1963), pp. 183ff. It is important to note that according to Muslim religious law a person must be buried below ground. In the seventeenth century, in India, the prescribed depth of a person's grave was "the height of a man's chest." Della Valle, quoted in P. N. Chopra, Life and Letters Under the Mughals (New Delhi: Ashajanak Publications, 1976), p. 219n. 365.
34. A note on the practice of circumambulating graves is given below.

35. Carr Stephen, Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi, p. 206. See my plate 9.
36. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 10 and Volwahsen, Living Architecture, p. 59. The quote is from Stephen, Archaeology, p. 206.
37. Mohammad Azhar Ansari, European Travellers under the Mughals: 1580-1627 (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1975), p. 40.
38. M. M. A. Husain, A Record, p. 16.
39. Ibid., p. 16.
40. The identities of these two women were confused even in Akbar's own lifetime. An explanatory note is included in the section on patronage.
41. M. M. A. Husain, A Record, p. 16.
42. Ibid., p. 16.
43. Ibid., pp. 16-17.
44. Ibid., p. 17. R.C. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 949.
45. M. M. A. Husain, A Record, p. 15 and Carr Stephen, Archaeology, p. 203.
46. R. Nath, History of Decorative Art in Mughal Architecture (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), pp. 31-46, especially pp. 31 and 44 with the accompanying plates. The use of six-pointed stars in the city of Tughluqabad was pointed out to me orally by S. Anthony Welch.
47. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 9, plan. S. Crowe, et al., The Gardens of Mughal India, photographs on pages 64 and 72.
48. Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, p. 12 and M. M. A. Husain, A Record, p. 17. The tradition of square-based "Gumbad" tombs is discussed in P. Brown, Indian Architecture; Islamic Period, p. 27f.
49. M. M. A. Husain, A Record, pp. 17-18. Mosques or mihrabs are found in most Sultanate and Mughal tombs. The body of the deceased was placed in the grave so that the head pointed to the north and the feet to the south. The face was turned to face the qibla (Mecca, which in India is to the west) so that on the judgement day it might arise facing the holy city. In Humayun's tomb the qibla was indicated in a unique manner. The windows on the west side of the tomb are shaped like mihrabs and filled with stone-carved screens. For Muslim burial practices see P. N. Chopra,

Life and Letters, p. 190. An additional note on these window-mihrabs is included below.

50. M. M. A. Husain, A Record, p. 15 and Martin Hurlimann, Delhi Agra Fatehpur Sikri, trans. Jean Carroll and Isobel Hatton (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 20. Both of these scholars have named Hamida Banu Begam as patroness of the tomb. Carr Stephen, Archaeology, pp. 202-3 calls Haji Akbar's mother.
51. Quoted in Muhammad Azhar Ansari, Social Life of the Mughal Emperors (Allahabad: Shanti Prakashan, 1974), p. 76. See also Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Akbar the Great: Political History 1542-1605, I (Agra: Shiva Lal Agrawala, 1972), ii.
52. A short biography of Haji Begam is included in Beveridge's translation of Gul-Badan Begam, The History of Humayun, pp. 218-20. Beveridge has also included several cross-references to primary sources in translation where Haji Begam is mentioned. See also R. C. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 52f.
53. Srivastava writes that Haji Begam was "given leave" to go to Mecca after making the arrangements for her husband's tomb, but I have come across no other reference to this effect. Srivastava, Akbar, I, 89. See also Gul-Badan Begam, The History of Humayun, p. 220 and Vincent A. Smith, Akbar: The Great Mogul, 2nd ed., rev. (N.D.; rpt. New Delhi: S. Chand, 1962), p. 54.
54. Hoag, The Tomb of Ulugh Beg, p. 241, Gul-Badan Begam, The History of Humayun, p. 220, al-Badaouni, Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh, II, 308 and Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Akbar the Great, I, 271. Srivastava gives the date of Haji Begam's death as 1582.
55. Carr Stephen, Archaeology, pp. 202-3 and M. M. A. Husain, A Record, p. 15.
56. Srivastava, Akbar, I, 89-90, 90n. 14.
57. al-Badaouni, Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh, II, 135 records that the tomb took between eight and nine years to construct.
58. Srivastava, Akbar, I, 13. The conflict between Humayun and his brothers, especially Kamran, has been discussed in chapter one of this thesis.
59. Srivastava, Akbar, I, 14-15.
60. Joseph E. Schwatzberg, ed., A Historical Atlas of South Asia (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978) p. 44, map e.

61. R. C. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 104ff. V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 23, 25-26. The quote is from Srivastava, Akbar, I, 18. A short biography of Himu is given in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 97-101.
62. V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 28-29 and Srivastava, Akbar, I, 24, 27 and 32.
63. Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign (New Delhi: Munshiram Manorharlal, 1975), pp. 52-53 and V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 30-31.
64. V. A. Smith, Akbar, p. 31. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 108.
65. Thomas W. Arnold, The Caliphate (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), pp. 159-60.
66. V. A. Smith, Akbar, pp. 32-34. For a detailed analysis of the "Petticoat Government" see Srivastava, Akbar, I, chapter 3. Akbar married Salima Begam, Bairam Khan's widow, thus symbolically taking over the Persian general's role even at the domestic level. See V. A. Smith, Akbar, p. 30.
67. The quote is from Smith, Akbar, p. 43. For the rest of the paragraph see Srivastava, Akbar, I, 50, 52-53, 55 and 59, and Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent ('S-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1962), pp. 138-9.
68. Smith, Akbar, pp. 43 and 47, and Srivastava, Akbar, I, 59-60, 69, 74-75. The jizya had a checkered history in Sultanate India (1192-1555). It was both a source of income and a means of degrading the Hindu population in a manner prescribed by Muslim law. The Suri Sultans collected the tax during their short reign. See Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 185.
69. See Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, pp. 26-27 for an analysis of the octagonal tombs of the Sayyid and Lodi monarchs and Catherine B. Asher, The Mausoleum of Sher Shah Suri, for a comprehensive study of the Suri monuments at Sasaram. For Adham Khan's tomb see Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 751 and plate 8 and Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, pp. 26 and 29. Atka Khan's tomb is mentioned in Brown, p. 91.
70. Smith, Akbar, pp. 45-46 and Srivastava, Akbar, I, 69-71, 79ff. and 84.

71.

The quote is from Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: The Gunpowder Empires and Modern Times (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), III, 65. A note on the Agra Fort is given in Srivastava, Akbar, I, 86. Akbar also commissioned lavishly illustrated manuscripts of Timurid histories and biographies of his father, grandfather Babur and other ancestors. Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 811. Muhammad Abdul Ghani, in his survey of Persian literature at the courts of the first three Mughal emperors, mentions an epic poem dedicated to the memory of the late padshah Humayun. The author of the work, whose identity is not known, was a poet at either Humayun's or at Akbar's court. In either case the poem was written to praise and to elevate the prestige of the dead monarch, who is always referred to by his posthumous title "jannat ash-yani" and to stress, on young Akbar's behalf, the unquestionable legitimacy of the new padshah. The poem is modeled in style after Firdausi's eleventh century Persian national epic, the Shahnama. This appears to have been the first time a poem was written at the Mughal court in which a ruler was compared to the lofty, mythical characters in the Shahnama. Humayun's battles and conquests are related in the same fashion as were those of the ancient Persian kings in Firdausi's epic. One section of this poem is of particular interest as it relates Humayun's knowledge of astrology and his prophecy of Akbar's future greatness. A genealogy of the Timurid dynasty is included in the poem. Thus, like Humayun's tomb, the epic serves to elevate the late ruler's prestige and consequently that of Akbar as well. The poet goes as far as to declare that Akbar's destiny to rule the Mughal lands was preordained in heaven itself. It is most unfortunate that the circumstances of the writing of this poem have as yet not been established and so therefore, as in the case of the tomb, Akbar's patronage (and by extension his motives) may be surmised but cannot be taken for granted. Muhammad Abdul Ghani, A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court: Babur to Akbar (Allahabad: Indian Press, 1929), I, Bk. 2, 109-111.

72.

The quote is from R. Nath, History of Sultanate Architecture, p. 89. Abul Fazl writes "In the year 939 [1532/3], when His Majesty [Humayun] went from Firuzabad-i-Dihli [Delhi] to Agra, the capital . . ." Abu-l-Fazl, The Akbar Nama, trans. H. Beveridge (1907; rpt. Delhi: Rare Books, 1972), I, 648. For the question of the Mughal capital see also Hurlimann, Delhi, pp. 16 and 20. For the Gwalior campaigns of Sikandar Lodi see Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, The Sultanate of Delhi (Agra: Shiva Lal Agrawala, 1966), p. 243 and R. C. Majumdar, ed., The Delhi Sultanate (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960), p. 145.

73.

Hurlimann, Delhi, p. 16. All three Lodi Sultans are buried in Delhi. See also Srivastava, Sultanate, p. 245 and Abdul

- Halim, History of the Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra (Delhi: Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, 1974), p. 11.
74. For the Suri Purana Qila see Hurlimann, Delhi, p. 19 and Gavin Hambly, Cities of Mughal India (New York: Putnam's Sons, 1968), p. 39. Virtually nothing is known about Humayun's Dinpannah. See Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 742-43 and Hurlimann, Delhi, p. 20. A note on Dinpannah is included in the first chapter of this thesis.
75. Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Bk. 2, 186. In his younger years Humayun was known to have opposed even the mention of death at his court.
76. Ibid., II, Bk. 3, 11. Akbar's conquests are outlined in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 115-33. Babur, on the other hand, is known to have disliked Hindustan. When he died his body was transferred to Kabul according to his wishes. His observations of Hindustan are recorded in his memoirs, The Babur-nama in English, trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge (1922; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1971), II, 518-20. See also Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 40-41.
77. Muhammad Aziz, Political History and Institutions of the Early Turkish Empire of Delhi (1949; rpt. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint, 1972), pp. 297n. 1, 298.
78. A discussion of the saint Nizamuddin Auliya and his tomb complex is given in Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Mediaeval Indian Culture (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), 1962), pp. 36ff., 41, Hurlimann, Delhi, p. 134n. 29, Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India (Agra: Agra University, 1965), pp. 20ff., Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam: The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), II, 423, and Murray T. Titus, The Religious Quest of India: Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 121.
79. R. A. Jairazbouy, "The Taj Mahal in the Context of East and West: A Study in the Comparative Method," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 24 (1961), 60, fig. 5e. The quote is from the same article, page 63. The article traces the development of the eight-part plan in Eastern and Western architecture from Classical times. I have relied heavily on Jairazbouy's study.
80. Ibid., p. 68, 68n. 67. The description of the palace is taken from the writings of a certain Istakhri, about whom Jairazbouy adds no biographical information. It was Hashim al-Mukanna, a pupil of Abu Muslim, who relates his master's claim

to divinity. Jairazbouy notes that Sargon of Akkad was the first ruler known to claim kingship over the "four Quarters."

81. Ibid., p. 68.
82. Ibid., p. 77, fig. 6f. The eight-part plan had been used once before by the Ottoman Turks in the mosque of Murad I in Bursa which was built in 1365.
83. MacDougall and Ettinghausen, The Islamic Garden, p. 78, Hoag, The Tomb of Ulugh Beg, pp. 234,236.
84. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal, pp. 75-76. See Also Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, A Survey of Persian Art, (1938-39; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1964-65), III, 1195.
85. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal, p. 76.
86. John E. Woods, The Aqqyunlu; Clan, Confederation, Empire: A Study in 15th/9th Century Turko-Iranian Politics (Minneapolis Biblioteca Islamica, 1976), p. 150.
87. Jouher, The Tezkereh Al Vakiat, trans. Charles Stewart (1832; rpt. New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1969), p. 75.
88. Hoag, The Tomb of Ulugh Beg, pp. 234-35.
89. Ibid., p. 236.
90. There is no documentary or structural evidence to support the theory of the extended minarets. Much of the plinth is modern. Hoag, The Tomb of Ulugh Beg, p. 235-36.
91. Ibid., p. 236.
92. Quoted in Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal, pp. 79-80. The floating barge has been discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.
93. Pope and Ackerman, Survey, III, 1445.
94. MacDougall and Ettinghausen, The Islamic Garden, p. 149. For a note on Farrukhi see Firoze Cowasji Davar, Iran and India Through the Ages (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962), p. 148.

95. MacDougall and Ettinghausen, The Islamic Garden, pp. 77-78, 80-81 and Pope and Ackerman, Survey, III, 1429, where it is noted that the Sassanids, who ruled Persia from the third to the seventh century, built their gardens according to the same plan and placed the palace in the garden's centre.
96. Quran surah Muhammad, 47: 15, surah al-Kahf, 18: 31, and surah al-Hajj, 22: 23. See also Crowe, et al., The Gardens of Mughal India, pp. 16-17 and Genesis 2: 10.
97. Annemarie Schimmel in MacDougall and Ettinghausen, The Islamic Garden, p. 18.
98. For Timurid use of the char bagh style of garden architecture, with special reference to Babur's Ram Bagh see Babur-nama, I, 216 and II, 531, 544 and 584, Crowe, et al., The Gardens of the Mughals, p. 42, Ansari, Social Life, p. 37 and Michael Prawdın, The Builders of the Mogul Empire (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 62. There are two illustrations of Paradise in Wayne E. Begley, "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of its Symbolic Meaning," Art Bulletin, (March, 1979), p. 14, figs. 12 and 13. One of these illustrations, from an unpublished manuscript of eighteenth century Persia (Bodleian Ms Pers. d.29, fol. 21r) shows the four rivers of Paradise crossing. The other illustration, from a Qajar Persian Shia divination album of the nineteenth century, shows the Prophet Muhammad sitting beside the celestial tank. The Qajar album is presently in Amsterdam.
99. Prawdın, Builders, p. 62 and V. V. Barthold, Four Studies on the History of Central Asia: Ulugh Beg, trans. V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), II, 41.
100. Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, pp. 25, 26-27. For Isa Khan's tomb see Naqvi, Humayun's Tomb, pp. 21-24. Another tomb in the same style is the Chmni Khan which was built in 1550. See Nath, Sultanate Architecture, p. 87. The earliest known octagonal interior burial chamber in India is the Sultan Ghari tomb in Delhi. It is the tomb of Abul-Fateh Muhammad, son of the Sultan Iltutmish, who ruled over Hindustan from 1210 to 1236. Gordon Risley Hearn, The Seven Cities of Delhi (London: W. Thacker, 1906), p. 101.
101. John D. Hoag, Islamic Architecture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977), p. 304. Several octagonal tomb towers are mentioned in Pope and Ackerman, Survey, III, 1023-25, such as the Gunbad-i-Ali in Abarquh (1056), the tower at Shahrıstan, southeast of Isfahan (late twelfth century?) and the tomb tower on the Chalus Road (fifteenth century). Oleg Grabar's views on the meaning of the Dome of the Rock can be found in both

- Scerrato, Islam, p. 20-21 and the chapter on the monument in Oleg Grabar, The Formation of Islamic Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
102. Nath, Sultanate Architecture, p. 85, and Scerrato, Islam, pp. 91 and 101 for photographs of the Gur-i-Mir and the tomb in Sultaniyya. Arthur Pope notes that the Gur-i-Mir was originally an eight-sided building but the monument's shape was altered by Timur's grandson Ulugh Beg who added a facade between the two minarets. Pope and Ackerman, Survey, III, 1133.
103. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal, p. 82n. 163 and Crowe, et al., The Islamic Garden, p. 21.
104. Quoted in Ansari, Social Life, p. 66.
105. Miraj Nameh: Le Voyage Miraculeux du Prophete, presented by Marie-Rose Seguy (Paris: Draeger Editeur, 1977), plate 43. This manuscript was written in Timurid Herat, in Turkish, and is now in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris (Mss Supplement turc 190).
106. Begley, The Myth of the Taj Mahal, p. 16. For the Brethren of Purity see Reuben Levy, The Social Structure of Islam (Cambridge: University Press, 1962), p. 478. Ralph Pinder-Wilson, in an article in MacDougall and Ettinghausen, The Islamic Garden, p. 84 notes that the platform of the tomb was called a "kursi," the same term used to describe the base of the Heavenly Throne.
107. Wayne E. Begley, Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy on the Taj Mahal (University of Iowa: Unpublished Paper, N.D.), p. 21.
108. Ibid., note 65.
109. Lisa Golombek, The Timurid Shrine at Gazar Gah, Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 15 (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum), p. 10.
110. Ibid., p. 29, illustration 38.
111. Ibid., pp. 84-85.
112. Ibid., p. 85.
113. Ibid., p. 85.

114. While the cosmic symbolism of Humayun's tomb appears to be substantiated by the conclusions of Begley's analysis of the Taj Mahal, I am inclined to believe that the emphasis of the iconographic programme of Humayun's tomb, like that of the earlier Timurid shrine at Gazar Gah, leans towards the more "mundane" form of kingship. This estimate does in no way refute the conclusions of Begley, who emphasizes in his paper that the cosmic and divine symbolism at the Taj Mahal and at the earlier tomb of Akbar in Sikandra is strictly allegorical and certainly not a veiled challenge to the tenets of orthodox Islam. It is simply that the functional similarities of Humayun's tomb and those at Gazar Gah are of more importance than the stylistic similarities of Humayun's tomb and the Taj Mahal. Shah Jahan's reasons for building the Taj Mahal were very different from those of Akbar for building Humayun's tomb. In 1631, when the foundations of the Taj Mahal were laid, the legitimacy of the emperor Shah Jahan, as well as that of the Mughal dynasty, were virtually unquestioned. The prestige of the Mughal padshah had risen far above even Humayun's greatest expectations. In such a case a loftier allegory is to be expected. In 1563, on the other hand, a much more fundamental problem was at hand: to restate the dynasty's legitimacy and to emphasize Akbar's right to succeed his father and rule independently of any regent. That this message might be given in terms that Humayun would have been in sympathy with is not difficult to accept, but any overt reference to the Throne of God at Humayun's tomb must await further proof.
115. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, II, 222. For the interaction of sufi saints and Hindu yogis see Rizvi, Religious, pp. 22ff.
116. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist, p. 7 and Rizvi, Religious, p. 19n.1.
117. Rizvi, Religious, p. 62. There have, to my knowledge, been no studies made on the approximate number of conversions made by this method.
118. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist, p. 22.
119. Babur-nama, I, 54-55, 407, Hurlimann, Delhi, p. 7 and Hoag, Islamic Architecture, p. 304 where Hoag writes: "If the ambulatories [of octagonal tombs] had a function, they may have sheltered persons who wished to circumambulate the tombs as a ritual. Circumambulation is common in Islam as a gesture of respect ever since the practice began at the Kaaba. The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, not unlike the Indian structures, was certainly used in this fashion. The Emperor Babur records in his diary that he performed such circumambulations, usually seven times clockwise, around the tombs of certain venerated holy men.

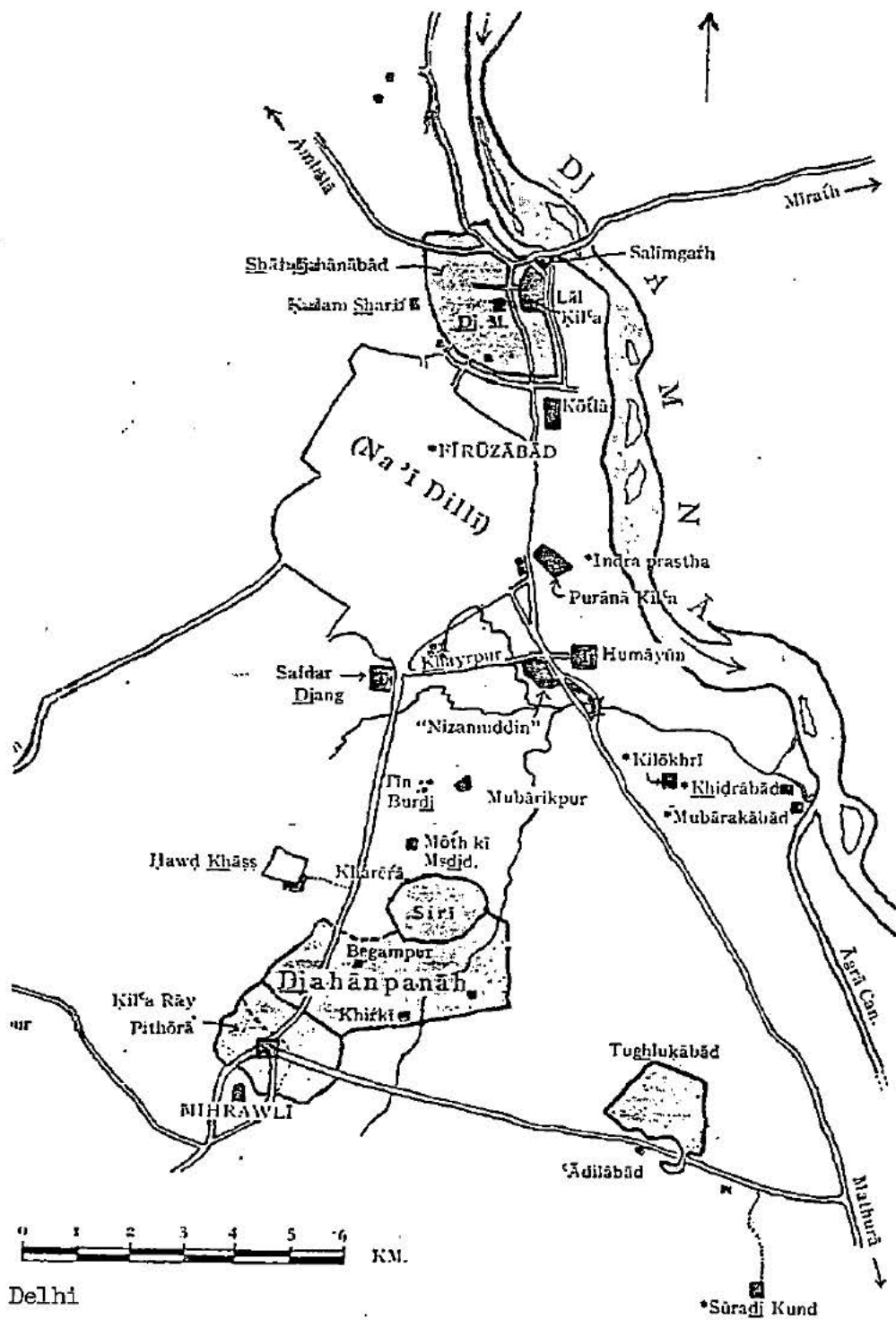
Can it be possible that the families of the deceased within the privacy of the enclosures came to practice such a rite even though their ancestors may not have been particularly holy?"

120. Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist, pp. 31, 33, 34 and 34n.1.
Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, II, 227.
121. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam, II, 228-29, Rizvi, Muslim Revivalist, p. 34n. 1, and Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 135, 136 and 158.
122. Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Akbar the Great: Evolution of Administration, II (Agra: Shiva Lal Agrawala, 1973), p. 10. Khwandamir, Humayun's court historian, called the padshah "His Majesty the shadow of God" and, according to Srivastava, represents Humayun as a "personification of the spiritual and temporal sovereignty."
123. Begley, The Myth of the Taj Mahal, p. 31. The carpet is described in the first chapter of this thesis.
124. Quran surah an-Nisa 4: 174. See my plate 10.
125. Admittedly this question implicitly accepts the fact that such a programme does exist. In the absence of any concrete documentary evidence my conclusions are necessarily tentative.
126. al-Badaouni, Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh, II, 135.
127. Volwahren, Living Architecture: Islamic Indian, p. 53 for example, or Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, p. 750.
128. Akbar's patronage during this period (1563-1572) shows a very eclectic nature. During these years were built, besides Humayun's tomb, the Agra Fort, the tomb of Adham Khan and the tomb of Atka Khan. Each structure is stylistically unique. There are certain similarities in the Delhi Gate of the Agra Fort and the facades of Humayun's tomb. Both are composed of an inset tall archway (or iwan) flanked by attached octagonal towers. The towers are capped with chattris, and the spandrels of the central arch of the gateway are decorated with six-pointed stars. A study of these formal similarities would certainly be worthwhile, should additional primary documentation on early Akbari architecture come to light. A photograph of the Delhi Gate at the Agra Fort is reproduced in Brown, Indian Architecture: Islamic Period, plate LXV, figs. 1 (interior facade) and 2 (exterior facade). None of the other buildings is characterized by such hard-edged, clearly defined decorative and structural lines as is Humayun's tomb.

129. Ghani, A History of Persian Language, I, Book 2, p. 5. The two painters brought to India from Persia by Humayun were Mir Sayyid Ali and Abdus-Samad. An account of the early years of Mughal painting is given in Majumdar, The Mughul Empire, pp. 807ff.
130. An interesting hypothesis is put forward by John D. Hoag in The Tomb of Ulugh Beg, p. 241 and in his survey Islamic Architecture, p. 366. Babur mentions in his memoirs a mason (or builder) named Mirek Mir Ghiyas (i.e. of Ghiyas) who worked for him in 1529 at the construction sites in Agra and Dhulpur. It is possible that this man is the same person, or the son of the architect of Humayun's tomb, Mirak Mirza Ghiyas. Several of Humayun's early architectural projects, such as the floating (hasht behisht?) barge, the Mystic House and the zodiacal tent were commissioned before 1533, or just four years after Babur's diary entry. In 1533 Humayun laid out the plans for Dinpannah, which was situated just north of the tomb site. It seems quite possible that the two elements had been planned as a unified complex, even if the tomb itself could not be constructed until the reign of Akbar some twenty years later. The iconographic programme of the tomb is remarkably in keeping with Humayun's own architectural projects which, possibly, Mirak Mirza Ghiyas would have been familiar with.
131. Jairazbouy, The Taj Mahal, p. 82. The information in the last part of this chapter is neatly summed up by John D. Hoag who writes: "Broad corridors link the mian saray with the three iwans, allowing circumambulation. Humayun was destined to receive honors [sic] due a saint [but see below], and the belief in divine kingship adopted by the later Moghuls was not far off. In fact, the form of hasht behisht, implying that the deceased now dwelled in Paradise, reinforces this conclusion." Hoag, Islamic Architecture, p. 366.
- Humayun, however, was also fitted with a rather different sort of posthumous character. "A curious case of syncretistic demonology is Hawwa, the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit Humma, a malignant spirit who, in the sixteenth century, came to be identified with the soul of the Mughal emperor Humayun." Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969), p. 50.



India under the Mughals



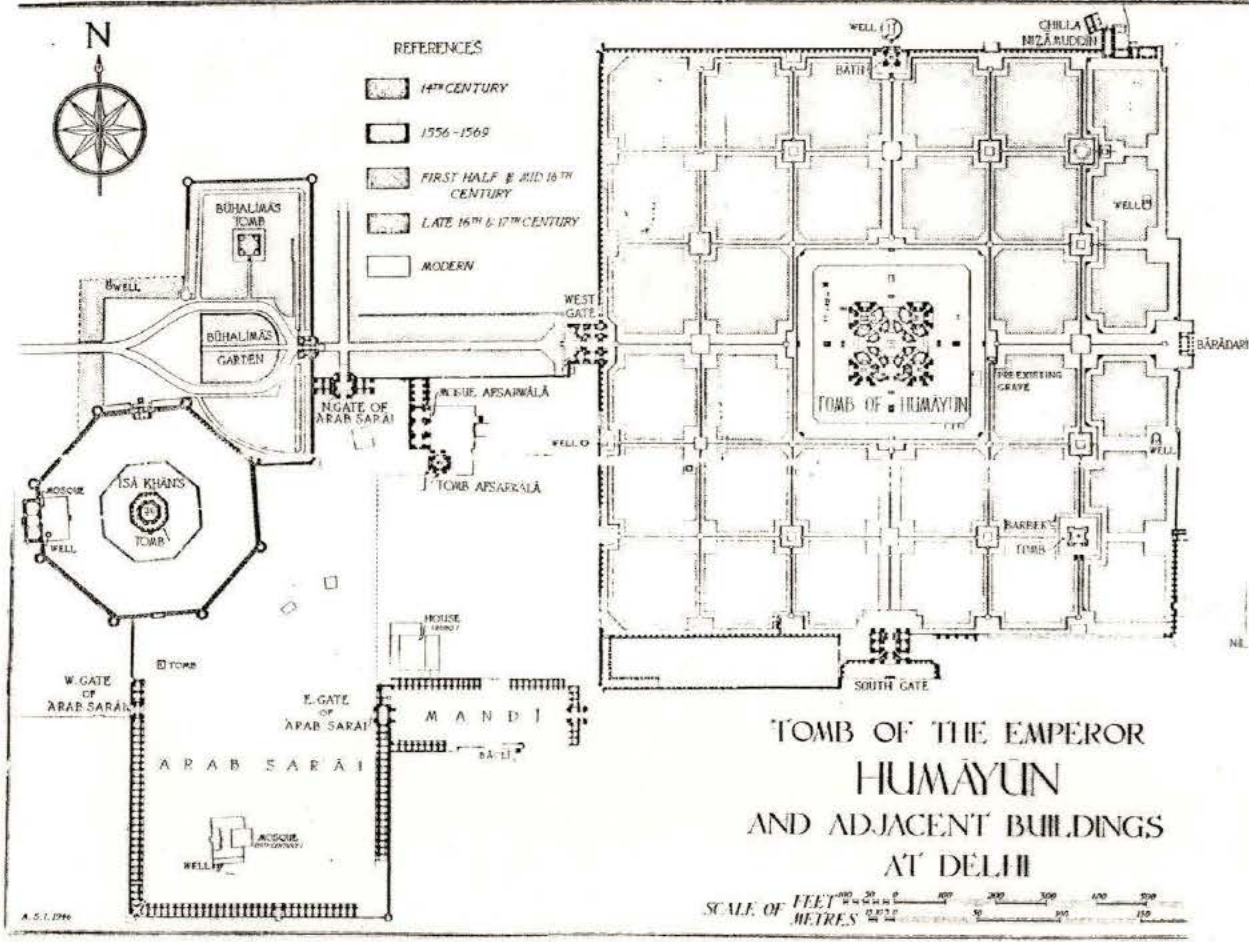
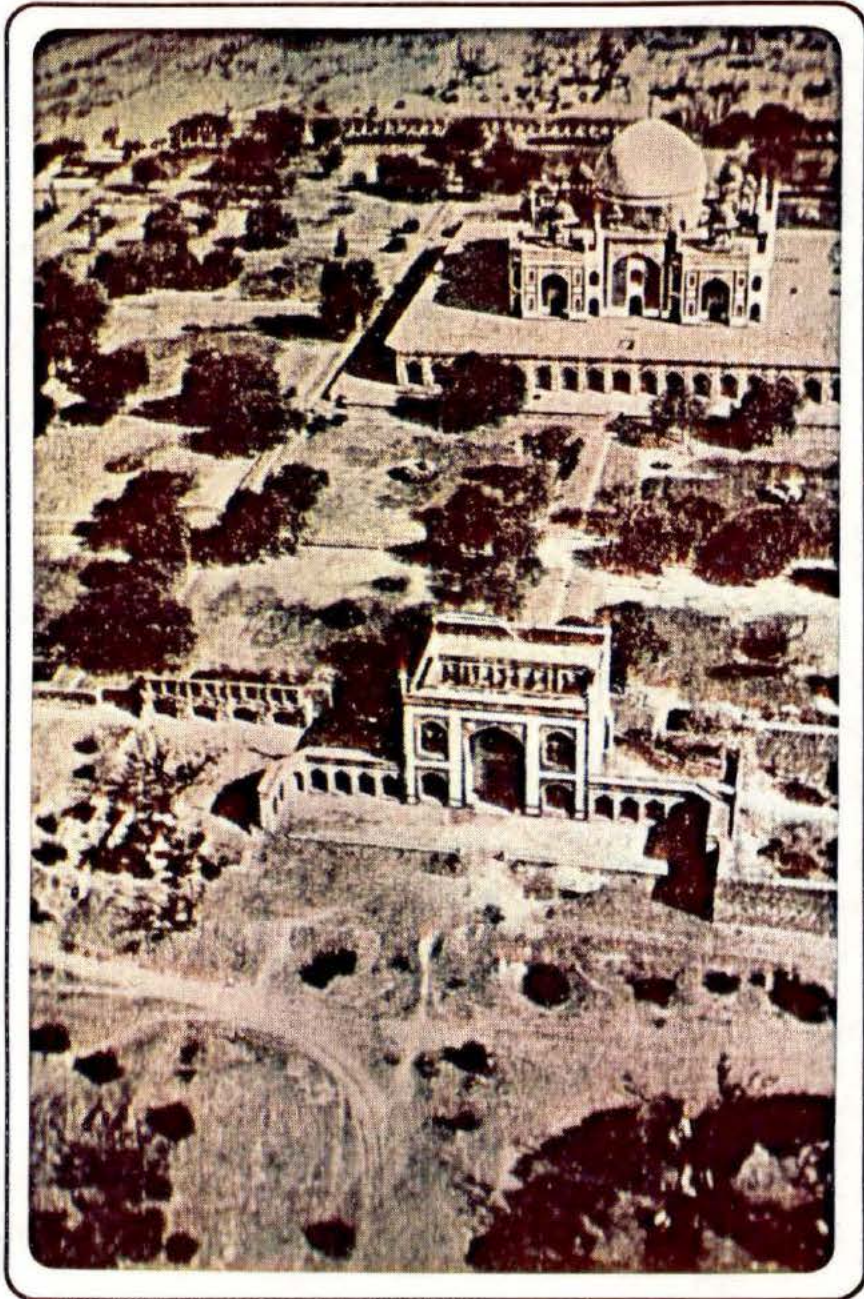


Plate 1



Humayun's Tomb with South Gateway

Humayun's Tomb: South Gateway Inner Facade



Plate 2

Humayun's Tomb: West Gateway

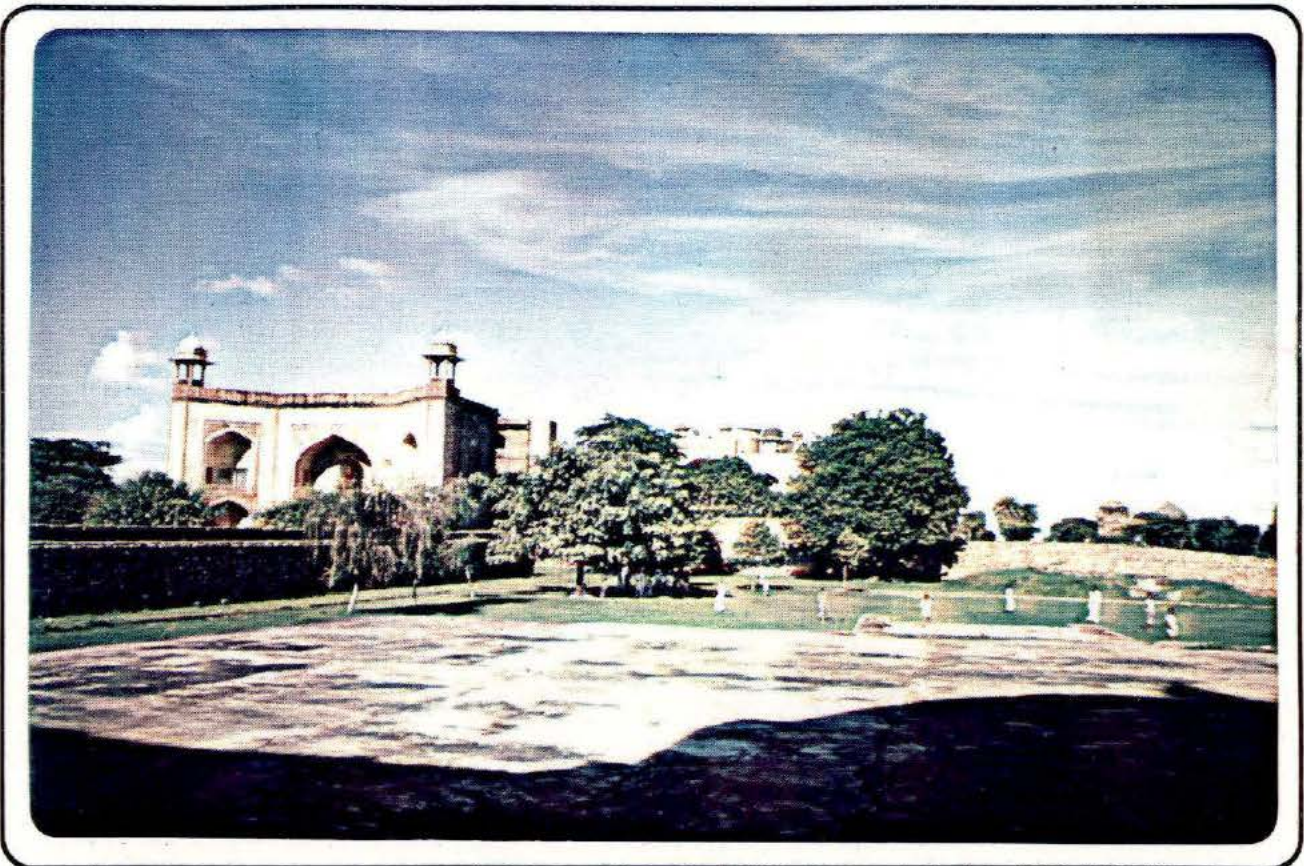


Plate 3

Humayun's Tomb: West Gateway from Garden Path



Plate 4

Humayun's Tomb: West Gateway Inner Facade

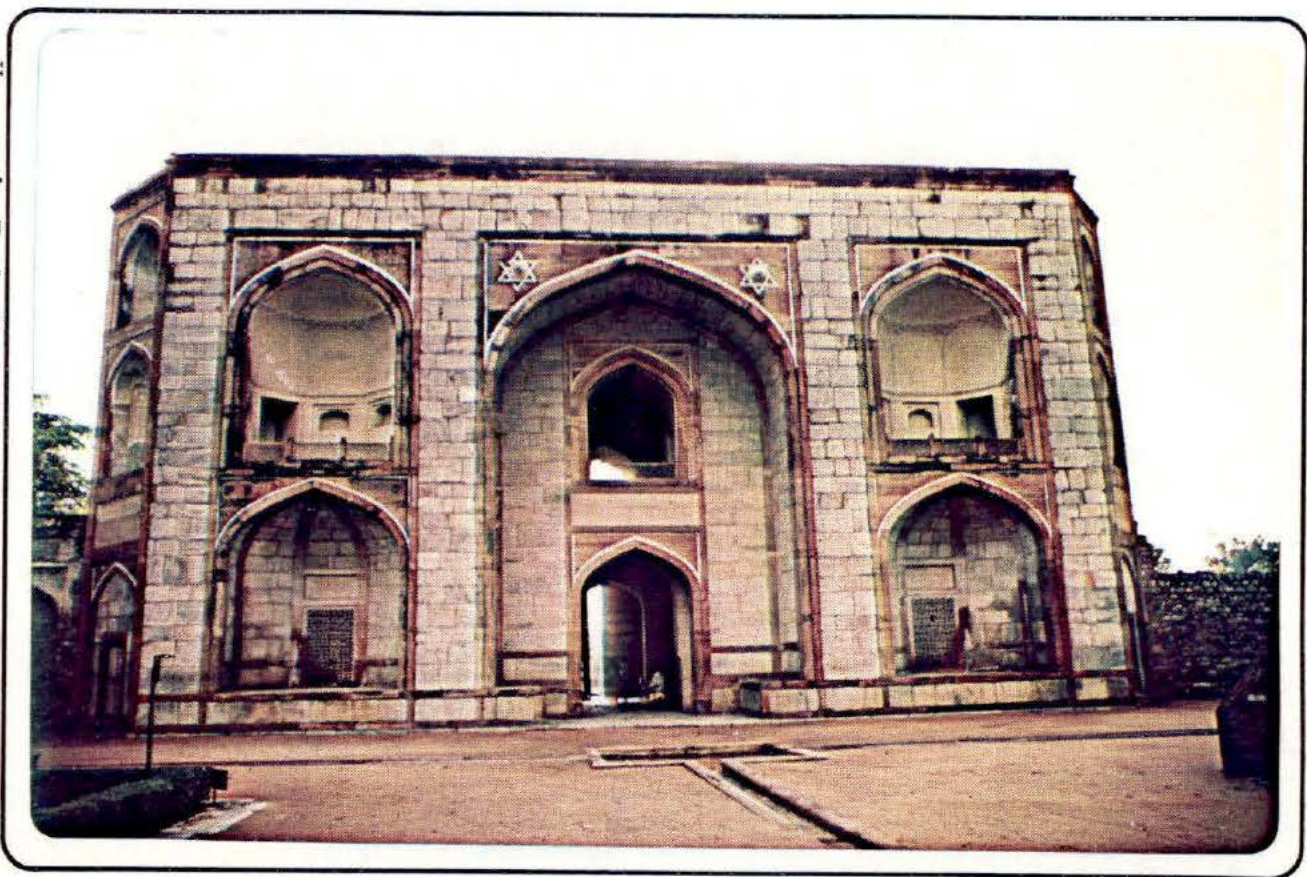


Plate 5

Humayun's Tomb: North Pavilion



Plate 6

Humayun's Tomb: East Pavillion (far left)

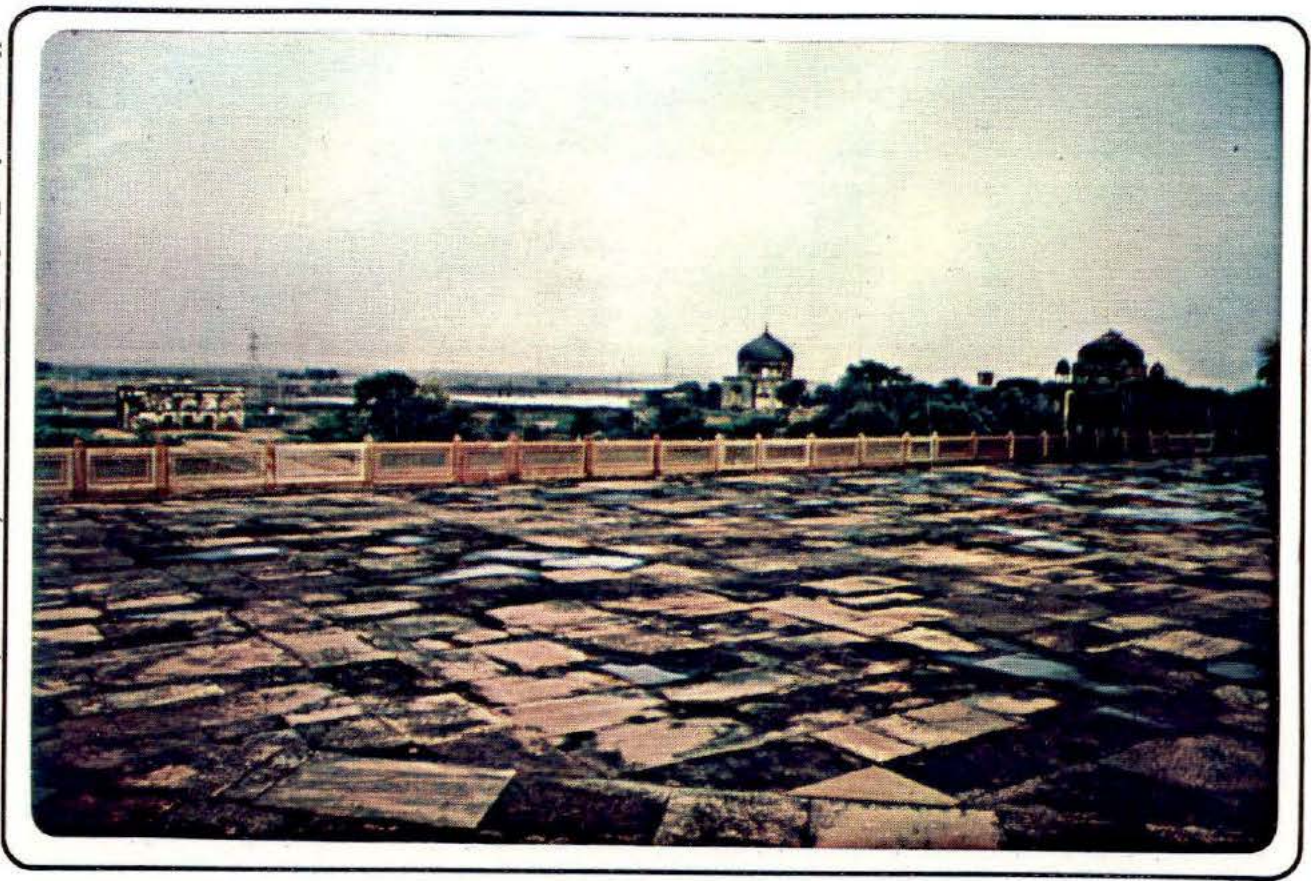
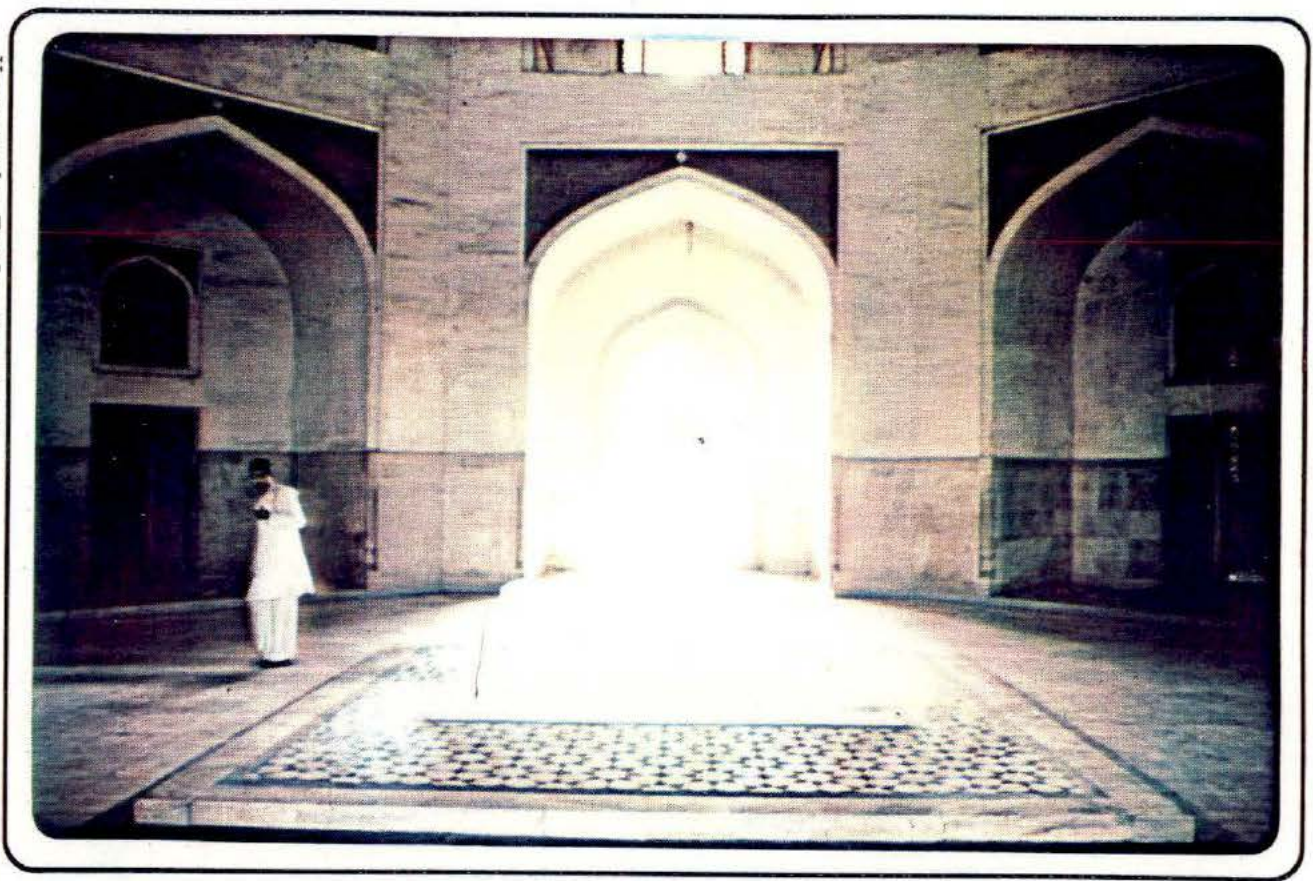


Plate 7



Humayun's Tomb: General View From South showing
Stonework

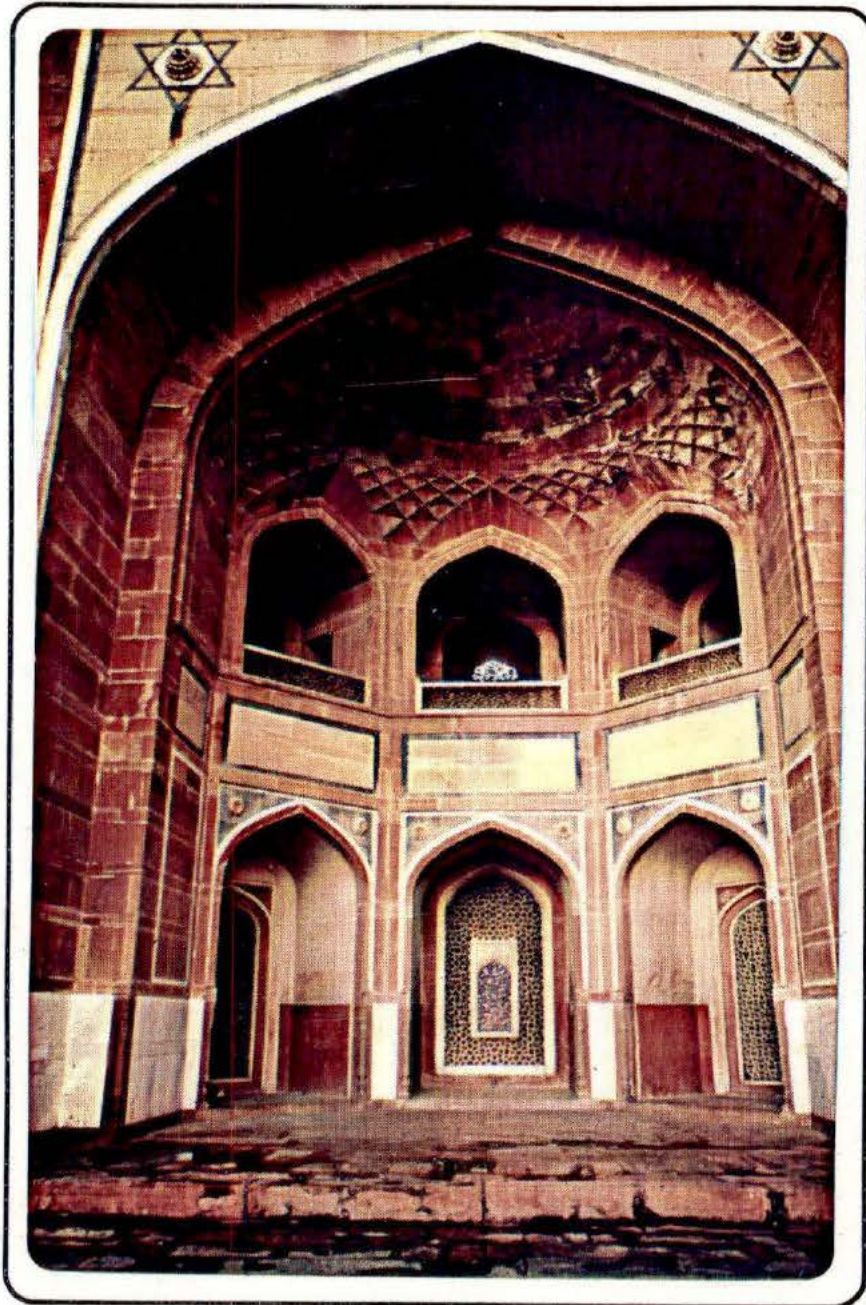
Plate 8



Humayun's Tomb: Genotaph

Plate 9

Plate 10



Humayun's Tomb: Mihrab

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GLOSSARY

- bagh: garden
- begam: title applied to high-born women
- char bagh: four-part garden
- chattri: small domed pavilion, roof pavilion
- darwaza: portal
- gumbad: literally a dome, tomb
- hasht behisht: literally "eight paradises," a building type in which eight chambers are arranged around a central chamber
- imarat-i-tilism: "mystic house"
- iwan: tall, recessed archway
- jagir: governorship
- jizya: special tax on non-Muslims
- khargah: tent
- khutba: declaration of sovereignty read in Friday sermon in Jami mosque
- mian saray: tomb chamber in which family assemble before descending into crypt
- mihrab: wall niche indicating direction of prayer
- minaret: tower, sometimes used to issue call to prayer
- muqarnas: honey-comb-like architectural decoration used to fill arches
- pir: sufi sect leader
- qibla: direction of prayer, faces towards Mecca
- Quran: Muslim religious scripture
- sarai: hostel, living quarters
- satkona: six-pointed star
- Shiism: sect of Islam, prevalent in Iran

suffah: platform

Sunnism: sect of Islam, prevalent throughout Islamic world except Iran

Surah: chapter of the Quran

taj: crown

takht: throne

ulama: religious establishment

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