Building material also plays an important role in monumentality. The Mughals primarily used red sandstone in their construction of monuments in the beginning, and the extensive use of white marble became popular during the reign of Shah Jahan. The wealth and power of the empire was reflected in the building materials, techniques including the use of marble and decorative inlays provide a monumental feeling about the permanence of the architecture, and similarly a permanence of the empire.

The organization of space is the final feature physical feature of Mughal architecture that helps to explain monumentality and the expression of power in architecture. Architecture can influence how people interact with each other through the social ordering of space. This influence can be minimal by encouraging mingling or informal interaction through organization of open space. At the other extreme, architecture can serve to restrict movement of individuals and their ability to interact with others and effectively dominate individuals. The built environment can be structured to either encourage or discourage social interactions, and this organization of space has an enormous effect on the kind and amount of power that is held in a given structure. The difference in the spatial organization of private and public space varies greatly. Privacy is a process of exclusion, where we try to be alone or get away from others and these ideas are incorporated into the design of buildings by creating solitude.

Islamic architecture, particularly in the Mughal style, holds power not only in its forms but also in its wide scope of uses, so in order to illustrate the function

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of monumentality in Mughal architecture, it is essential to understand
monumentality in a collection of structures with a breadth of uses. For this reason,
Humayun’s Tomb, the Jama Masjid in Delhi and Delhi’s Red Fort have been
chosen for case studies in understanding monumentality in Mughal architecture.
Humayun’s Tomb is extremely private in use while the Jama Masjid is a totally
public structure. The Red Fort provides an interesting collection of both private
and public spaces, and is an excellent structure through which to understand the
difference in monumentality of public versus private structures.
Section 4

Monumentality in Mughal Architecture

The concept of monumentality in architecture is a relatively recent phenomenon in India, and this lack of monuments is very different from other ancient cultures like Mesopotamia, Egypt, or Greece, where kings built magnificent examples of monuments in an effort to transcend time. Conceptually, tombs did not exist in India prior to the arrival of the Muslims, since philosophically there was no need to monumentalize.\textsuperscript{66} The expression of power in architecture evolves over the course of Islamic rule, and according to Oleg Grabar, \textit{“Islamic power architecture} begins primarily with military and defensive architecture, continues with certain kinds of urban developments and official palaces, and ends with the more elusive category of symbolic expressions of power.”\textsuperscript{67}

Humayun’s Tomb

The tomb of Humayun marks the real architectural beginning of the Mughal style, distinguished by an outstanding refinement of spatial symmetry and a classic attention to detailing.\textsuperscript{68} Supervised by Humayun’s senior widow Haji Begum, construction of the mausoleum was completed in 1571 after eight or nine years of work. The Iranian architect Mirak Mirza Ghiyas, who was trained in the Timurid tradition, was responsible for the tomb’s design that came to be

\textsuperscript{66} Tapan Chakravarti, interview held during Academic Advisor Meeting 1, New Delhi, India, November 25, 2009.
\textsuperscript{67} Oleg Grabar \textit{Architecture of the Islamic World} (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984) 27.
\textsuperscript{68} Thapar 2004, 85.
influential in the design of Mughal mausoleum through the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{69} This tomb is of particular cultural significance as it was the first garden-tomb on the Indian subcontinent and inspired several major architectural innovations, culminating in the construction of the Taj Mahal.

Situated just south of the Din-Panah citadel and in close proximity to the esteemed dargah of Nizam al-Din, the mausoleum is surrounded by a formal garden and even today dominates its surroundings. The tomb is centrally situated in a char bagh, a formalized and geometrically planned garden divided into four sections by two intersecting streams and associated with paradisiacal imagery.\textsuperscript{70} A high rubble wall encloses the garden. The tomb rests on a huge square platform made of red sandstone, with the façade containing a row of arched niches ornamented with white marble. Sitting on this elevated plinth, the tomb is square in plan measuring 45 meters on each side. The mausoleum is crowned with a white marble bulbous dome and flanking chattris. Each façade, faced with red sandstone and trimmed with white marble, is nearly identical and meets at chamfered corners. Humayun’s Tomb is an outstanding landmark in the development of the Mughal architectural style. In spirit and in structure Humayun’s tomb stands as an example of the synthesis of two of the great building traditions of Asia, the Persian and the India.\textsuperscript{71}

\textit{Size and Visibility}

Humayun’s tomb is the first example of a monumental structure from the Mughal period, and its immense size is the first suggestion of the mausoleum’s

\textsuperscript{69} Asher 1992, 44.
\textsuperscript{70} Asher 1992, 45.
\textsuperscript{71} Brown 1998, 90.
use of monumentality. While monumentality is about more than just size, the enormity of this structure is a feature that had not been employed in architecture in Delhi up to this point. The monument’s imposing edifice reminds us of power and direct us to imagine the power held by Mughal Empire.

Humayun’s tomb is private in use, and is not a structure intended to be experienced by the general public. Set within the enormous char bagh, Humayun’s tomb is an example of a structure built for a select sect audience: the emperor and his royal family, courtly nobles and God. Visibility of the monument plays an important role, while only a few people were granted access to the monument, it is likely that the public experienced a sense of awe when they were able to glimpse the enormous structure over the vegetation of the garden. In particular, the grand volume of the dome was significant as it was the most easily visible feature of the architecture for those unable to approach the tomb itself. This partial visibility of the tomb reminded the public of the superiority of the Mughals, by projecting a sense of superiority and exclusivity, which are fundamental in the use of monumentality and projection of power. Humayun’s tomb is the first example of the monumental scale that would characterize subsequent Mughal architecture, and the unprecedented scale and grandeur of the monument are aspects that were to define the Mughal architectural style.

Building Materials

The monumentality of Humayun’s tomb also relies on the buildings unique combination of red sandstone and white marble. Not a little of the artistic result is due to the materials employed, the red sandstone and white marble of
which the mausoleum is composed are blended admirably, and although some of
the white outlining is taut and even rigid such emphatic treatment conveys to the
entire conception an impression of austere dignity not out of place in a structure
of this order. Detailed ornamentation in three colors of stone adds to the richness
of the surfaces.

Organization of Space

The plan of the mausoleum uses a nine-fold foundation plan and set a
standard for subsequent Mughal buildings. The plan of the main building is
intricate, featuring a central area surrounded by eight smaller rooms, with alc-
coves and corners. Each of the main chambers has in turn eight smaller chambers
radiating from it. With 124 vaulted chambers in all, this symmetrical ground plan
long remained an ideal for Mughal buildings, just as the location of Humayun’s
grave at the far end of the garden is typical for most monuments from the
following decades.\textsuperscript{72} Such a spatial arrangement is based on geometric principles
first applied in Timurid architecture and the tomb’s adherence to geometric
principles and the complexity of its internal organization bear a clear imprint of
Timurid tradition.\textsuperscript{73} These factors together with the finished amassment of the
various parts, each one elegant in itself but rendered more so by the propriety of
its position, are responsible for the superb effect of this monument.

\textsuperscript{72} Annemarie Schimmel and Burzine K. Waghmar, \textit{The Empire of the Great Mughals: History, Art

\textsuperscript{73} Asher 1992, 46.
Jama Masjid, Delhi

The Jama Masjid in Delhi stands in stark opposite to Humayun’s tomb in its purpose as a structure of extremely public use. The Jama Masjid of Shahjahanabad is located inside the city a short distance from the Red Fort. Built by the emperor Shah Jahan, this mosque is one of the largest mosques in India. Its foundation was laid on 6 October 1650, and at the time of its construction, this mosque was the largest in the entire subcontinent. Steep, high stairs lead to the Jama Masjid and the prayer chamber is marked by multiple entrance arches. Three bulbous marble domes crown the mosque and towering minarets flank the south and northeast ends. The mosque is faced with red sandstone and extensive white marble trim. Unlike Humayun’s tomb, the Jama Masjid is visually and physically accessible to the public. 74

Size and Visibility

Shah Jahan’s Delhi mosque is situated on top of a rocky ridge, rendering it visible from a great distance. It is massive in size, and even today it is surpassed in size only by Aurangzeb’s Jama mosque in Lahore. 75 Locating the mosque on elevated ground, effectively utilizing the opportunity afforded by this imposing site feature, which overrode any overwhelming preoccupation with symmetry. 76

Building Materials

Shah Jahan’s Jama Masjid is built primarily of red sandstone and is topped with white and black marble domes with the topmost parts covered in gold. This

74 Aee Appendix C, Images of the Jama Masjid.
use of expensive building materials on the highest points of the structure symbolize a dedication to the Islamic faith and project a sense of power that is held by the religion. During the reign of Shah Jahan extensive use of marble became popular but the marble surfaces of religious buildings, especially mosques, remained considerably more austere, suggesting a division between secular and sacred arts not seen previously. Structures intended for public uses that were built under Shah Jahan typically used less expensive building materials and were simpler in ornamentation. This holds true for the Jama Masjid, which is faced primarily with red sandstone, but even this wholly public structure is profusely inlaid with white marble.77

Organization of Space

Generating enormous crowds of its own, Shah Jahan intentionally built the city’s principle mosque, the Jama Masjid, separate from the courts located in the Red Fort.78 This is different from the architectural relationships between the fort and the mosque in previous Mughal capitals, such as in Agra, and is significant because the plaza of the mosque, the bazaar, and the royal forecourts were distinctly separated.79 This division accentuated Shah Jahan’s intentional breakup of spaces intended for public versus private use. Shah Jahan intended the mosque to be a place open to his entire population, and while Shah Jahan performed his prayers here, others did as well. The pillars then possibly serve as a reference to

77 Asker 1992, 250.
78 Mukherji 2003, 89.
79 Mukherji 2003, 89.
the emperor, proclaimed in the mosque’s inscription as the “strengthener of the pillars of state...[and] the promulgator of...faith.”

Red Fort in Delhi

Built under the enlightened patronage of the Mughal dynasty and the emperor Shah Jahan, the Red Fort in Delhi exercised enormous influence as the royal residence within the new capital city of Shahjahanabad. This was the only palace complex under the enlightened patronage of the powerful Mughal dynasty to be conceived and built as a complete entity along with its supporting city. As the Mughal royal residence and the political headquarters from 1648 until the end of the empire, the Red Fort is the quintessence of monumentality as it reminds us of the Mughals and directs us to imagine the power that belonged to their empire. Not only did it symbolize the seat of power for the Mughal rulers, but also for the British empire in India until they constructed new buildings to house their administrative offices in the Lutyen’s Delhi.

Size and Visibility

When viewing the Red Fort from a distance, its immense size is overwhelming. Its intimidating wall and gates are visible from a great distance, and inevitably assert a sense of awe onto onlookers. The Fort’s red sandstone walls, which measure more than 3 km in circumference, enclose nearly 125 acres of land. The walls of the fort functioned as high and impenetrable barriers and

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80 Quote of an inscription found on Delhi’s Jama Masjid, this inscription and others can be found in translation and have been considered in terms of their religious and political significance by Wayne E. Begley in “The Symbolic Role of Calligraphy on Three Imperial Mosques.”

81 Brown 1964, 88.
were a visual way to differentiate public versus private space. A tangible sense of power is generated from the walls and gates of the Fort by the strength and character of their architectural forms.

The sheer size of the fort is awe-inspiring even today, but upon entering the fort, size and visibility greatly depend on a structure’s the unique usage. The most public of places within the fort, the Public Audience’s Hall is large in size and without walls or vegetation restricting its view, the structure maintains a high level of visibility. In distinction, the most private of structures within the fort is the Moti Masjid, or Pearl Mosque, which was constructed by Aurangzeb as his private chapel for his use alone. A high wall that restricts the view of the exquisitely ornate mosque surrounds this small, private structure made entirely of white marble. The Pearl Mosque and the Hall of Public Audiences also show the differentiation in building materials between public and private structures within the Red Fort.

Building Materials

The Red Fort includes a range of building materials, but red sandstone is primarily used, especially for the most public of structures like the great walls surrounding the fort and the massive gates. The difference in building materials between public and private spaces is overwhelmingly obvious within the Red Fort, particularly when looking at the Public Audiences Hall, known today as the diwan-i-am, in comparison to the Private Audience Hall or the diwan-i-khas. In this public audience, appointments were made, reports from various departments were received, dispatches from provincial governors were presented and replied
to, and on Wednesdays the business of the court was devoted to matters of justice.\footnote{Gascoigne 2002, 180.} The Public Audience Hall is constructed almost entirely of red sandstone, with the only marble in the structure found in the form of the emperor’s marble throne.

In contrast to the formal proclamations of the Public Audience Hall, the diwan-i-khas was an exclusive place where the emperor and his senior advisors would debate and argue out important matters of the state. Foreign ambassadors and important visitors were received here and listened to in detail. The Private Audience Hall is constructed entirely with marble and embellished with gilt and floral sprays rendered in inlaid jewels. The use of striking and expensive white marble for private and intimate spaces was common throughout Mughal architecture. While Shah Jahan used both sandstone and marble in his construction of monuments, he almost exclusively used marble for his most private secular structures, which were also often elaborately carved or inlaid with multi-colored precious stones. Both white marble and red sandstone are materials that project power; white marble projects power since it is symbolic of luxury and wealth while red sandstone represents permanence and strength.

**Organization of Space**

The Red Fort includes both private and public spaces, and is an excellent example of how the plan of a space can order social interactions by effectively dominating and controlling power. Buildings not only serve a functional purpose, but also as Gieryn explains, the buildings express a “set of symbolic oppositions
and hierarchies that order the societal divisions.”

The massive Lahore gate, constructed of red sandstone, is a focal point of the fort and serves as important symbol of division between space intended for public versus private. The gate allows entry into the royal forecourts and into increasingly more private space, also marking the “beginning of the processional journey into the presence of the emperor.” Such architectural elements had both a spatial and symbolic importance in the Islamic religion, as is evident from the following extract from Laleh Bakhtiyar:

“Through initiation, one enters a gateway and sets out across a bridge. The gateway, in architecture, expresses movement through defined space. The implied sense of passage that the gateway brings is a necessary first step of the journey.

The bridge symbolizes the human being as a mediator between heaven and earth, as container of both human and divine nature; and it relates to the role of mankind as the vice-regent of God on earth, responsible for preserving nature, and as the servant of god, acting at His will.”

The Red Fort has stood as an architectural symbol of power in Delhi since its construction under Shah Jahan. The British Empire occupied the fort after the first war of independence in 1858 and held it under their control until India achieved independence in August of 1947 when the Indian army took over the Fort as a military garrison. In 2003 the army turned it over to the Ministry of Tourism and

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84 Mukherji 2003, 90.
85 Laleh Bakhtiyar, Sufi: Expressions of the Mystic Quest. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975) 43.
Culture to facilitate restoration work. The Red Fort in Delhi is a fort complex constructed by Shah Jahan in the walled city of old Delhi and it served as the Mughals capital city until the end of the empire in 1857. The Fort is an excellent example of monumentality and provides insight into the Mughals differentiation of public versus private space. The Red Fort still stands as a powerful symbol of India’s sovereignty, and the Prime Minister of India raises the flag of India on the ramparts of the Lahori Gate of the fort complex every year on the 15th of August, India’s Independence Day.

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36 Plaque at the Red Fort.
Conclusion

Mughal structures were constructed to express values of security, trust and reliability and accomplish this with techniques such as the use of marble or grand spaces that provide a monumental feeling that the fort, and symbolically the Empire, will not disappear. Architecture played an essential role in the Mughals' ability to control and assert power over their empire. Humayun’s Tomb and the Jama Masjid and Red Fort in Delhi offer excellent examples of structures that exemplify power through their specific architectural forms. Foucault’s writings on the theory of power offer insight into the specific ways in which architecture functions and aids in the defining of monumentality. Delhi has a rich and vibrant collection of architectural monuments and as a city holds a distinct power in its geography and history. Mughal architecture continues to remain a symbol of power within the city, and in studying the stunning architectural monuments of its period we are able to paint a picture of the vivacious and prolific Mughal Empire.
Recommendations for Further Study

This paper has attempted to go beyond merely a survey of Mughal architecture and provide insight into the specific function of architecture as a way to project power. Both Mughal architecture and the theory of power in architecture are vast subjects with an enormous range of future possibilities. Given the constraints of this particular project, the monuments studied were restricted to Delhi, but with more time and resources there is much more to be learned in investigating this projection of power in additional Mughal structures throughout India and Pakistan. Additionally, the understanding of monumentality is subjective and the term is one that has not been concretely defined.

Understanding the history of a place is essential in the understanding of monumentality in the architecture of a particular people or place and while this paper has looked to India’s history in helping to define the term, a greater examination of history would be extremely beneficial. In addition to investigating monumentality further, a greater reading of power theory could provide additional insights into the function of architecture. This paper has hardly scratched the surface on this topic, but it is the necessary starting point for my research and I intend to elaborate on and use for my undergraduate honors thesis.
Appendix A: Delhi Timeline

State established: 736 AD
Dynasties:
  Tomaras-Chahuns: 736 – 1192 AD

Delhi Sultanate:
  Slave Dynasty: 1205 – 1290 AD
  Khilji Dynasty: 1290 – 1321 AD
  Tughlaqs: 1321 – 1414 AD
  Sayyids: 1414 – 1444 AD
  Lodis: 1451 – 1526 AD

  Mughals: 1526 – 1857 AD
    Sur Dynasty: 1540 – 1555 AD
    British: 1857 – 1947 AD

Independence: 1947
Appendix B: Genealogy of the Great Mughals 1526 – 1707

Babur
1483-1530
r. 1526-1530

Kamran
Humayun
1508-1556
r. 1530-1556

Ashari
Hindal

Akbar
Hakim
1542-1605
r. 1556-1605

Murad
Jahangir
1569-1627
r. 1605-1627

Daniyal

Khusrau
Parwiz
Shah Jahan
1592-1666
r. 1627-1658

Shahriyab

Dara Shukoh
Shah Shuja
Aurangzeb
1618-1707
r. 1658-1707

Murad Bakhsh

r. = reigned
Appendix C: Case Study Images

Humayun's Tomb, Delhi

Interior, Humayun's Tomb, Delhi

Humayun's Tomb, Delhi