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# THE TRAVELLER'S GUIDE TO AGRA

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PAST HISTORY, THE ANTIQUITIES,  
AND THE PRINCIPAL SIGHTS OF AGRA, TOGETHER  
WITH SOME INFORMATION ABOUT AGRA AS IT IS.

BY

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## INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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THE present book has been prepared with a view to render by it every assistance as to reliable information that the traveller to Agra might require. The first part of it deals with the past history of Agra, and although it might seem almost redundant to the educated native of India to whom the facts there related are sufficiently well known, it is hardly so in view of the fact that the travellers to Agra comprise citizens from the remotest parts of the civilised globe, and to the majority of those in whose hands this book might be placed Indian history might not be a familiar study. We have in the other chapters attempted to describe the principal architectural monuments of Agra and of the neighbourhood with all their details and quotations from the most elegant descriptions given of them by eminent writers. We have described Agra as it is, with

an account of the principal features of administrative detail that might be interesting to the new comer. There are many points with reference to the past history of Agra and the architectural and æsthetic value of its ruins, that are yet involved in keen controversy, and with reference to which the opinions of the most eminent authorities radically differ. In all such cases we have given all the views and the reasons by which they are supported, and added such observations as suggested themselves to one, who is no authority on antiquarian matters. The present work has no pretensions of being in any way superior to the other works on the subject, of which all but one are entirely out of print. The only handbook to Agra now available is heavily-priced and as such is out of the reach of those who are not in comparatively affluent circumstances, and it is generally thought that a cheap work on the subject is felt as a want. To the city of Agra which has nurtured the present writer in the prime of his manhood, he is deeply grateful for many reasons, and he would think his labours fairly repaid if this

little book serves in any way to add a fraction, however small, to the widespread fame and popularity that it enjoys among the cities of the civilized world.

SATYA CHANDRA MUKERJI.

AGRA,

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# THE TRAVELLER'S GUIDE TO AGRA.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE PAST HISTORY OF AGRA.

**A**GRA, the imperial city of Akbar the Great and the seat of that wonder and delight of the East, the Taj Mehal, is situated on the Jumna about three hundred miles from the point of its confluence with the Ganges at Allahabad. It is now nothing more than the ordinary capital of an Indian district, but it had a great and historic past. Its history from the year 1501 A. D., when Baber made it the capital of the Mogul Empire, is well known ; but some eminent scholars, who had taken pains to shift all the facts connected with it previous to that period, agree in thinking that Agra had a place in the annals of India from the earliest times. There is a place named Batesar in the district, a place which is now known for one of the largest horse-fairs of India, which is otherwise called Surjapur, and with reference to which the general tradition is that it was founded by Raja Surasena of revered memory. Antiquarian scholars have, after a minute scrutiny, found this tradition to be the correct representation of a historic fact, and many have been the conjectures

about the probable date of Raja Surasena. Colonel Tod identifies him with the grandfather of the sporting shepherd-god of the Hindus, Krishna. General Cunningham thinks that this mythical Surasena was none other than the nephew of the great king Rama of Ayodhya. There are others who are of opinion that this king Surasena gave the name to the Suraseni tribe whose character is described by the Greek historian, Arrian. Mr. Benson conjectures that this Surasena was a prince of the famous lines of the Pandus, and Mr. Carlleyle identifies him with a Pramara king of Malwa who flourished about A. D. 135. But there is no doubt that Surjapur or Batesar was a town of very great antiquity. In its vicinity have been dug out coins which are very ancient. The sculptures and other ruined images which were found in its temples and buildings fully establish its foundation before the Christian era. The researches of scholars in the Archæological branch have discovered in the reservoir, named Burhiya Tal in Tahsil Itmadpur, remains which decidedly prove it to have been a Buddhist structure. In other parts of the district such as Khairagarh and tracts bordering on the deep ravines of the Chambal, there have been found imbedded in the earth cross-legged figures such as those peculiar to the Buddhist monasteries. The most ancient towns in the Agra district mentioned in mythical

history owed allegiance to the powerful kingdom which had Mathura as its capital for a rather long period. The name Agra is explained by three different derivations. The most accepted one is that it had its origin from the Hindu word *agar* meaning salt-pan, a name which was given to it because the soil is brackish and salt used to be made here once by evaporation. Others derive it from the Sanskrit word *agra* ( अग्र ) which means the first of the many groves and little forests where Krishna frolicked with the dairy-maids of Brindaban, the story of which appeals more powerfully than any other chapter of Hindu mythology to the hearts and imaginations of the large majority of those who follow the Hindu faith. Others again deny the fabled antiquity of the city, and assert that when Secunder Lodi was sailing down the Jumna in his royal yacht he asked his steersman to point out a site that was fit for building a great city. There were several mounds of earth all around, a peculiar feature of the valley of the Jumna, ahead of the barge which carried the precious weight of the Afghan emperor. The steersman replied that the one which was ahead of all in view would suit, and he used the word *Agra* ( अग्र ) to express what he meant. Secunder Lodi selected this site and called it Agra. There is however an improbability underlying this story, and it has been justly pointed out that a common

Indian steersman during the age of the Lodis was hardly likely to speak in Sanskrit, which had long ceased to be the spoken language of the country, if, as one school of philologists assert, it was ever a spoken language at all. Other etymologists would make Agra the city of the Agarwala Banias so common in the United Provinces, and some would make it mean the first city, for its root in Sanskrit means prior or first. One erudite scholar has no doubts that the name Agra is intimately connected with that of Aggrames, who is mentioned by Quintus Curtius as the prince of the Parsi in the country of Gangarides.

It is well known that Emperor Jehangir in his autobiography has given a long description of the city of Agra. The Emperor's writings are not worthy of credit in those particulars where the exploits of his dynasty and of himself are narrated, as those portions contain manifest exaggerations, and are distorted almost beyond recognition. But there seems to be no reason to doubt the statement made by the imperial author that long before Akbar or his immediate predecessors built that imposing citadel which is one of the grandest of world's fortresses as far as the scenic effect is concerned, the town was defended by a citadel of great antiquity. The chronicles of the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni, who is a poetaster himself, sings of Agra as

a large and important fortress. Sir Henry Elliot in his well-known book, the *Historians of India*, has quoted an extract from the author who has celebrated Mahmud's exploits, which says that the fortress of Agra stood amidst a patch of desert and with its ramparts and battlements very strong and fortified. Dowson and Elphinstone have brought to bear the resources of their immense energy and vast practical knowledge to the verification of the extract above alluded to, and their labours have established the fact, whose existence is also corroborated by other materials that amidst the bleak ravines of Tahsil Firozabad there stood the rock fortress of Chandawar with a city of immense magnitude surrounding it, founded by Chandpal or Chandrasen, a prince of the Bhaduriya tribe of Rajputs. About the time that the invasions of Mahmud were devastating the richest cities of Hindustan, the Chohan Rajputs were prospering in what is now the Agra district. The confines of the Tahsil of Firozabad are rich with the ruins of immense and massive fortifications which clearly belong to this period both according to internal and external evidence. The local traditions speak of a large immigration of the Rajput races from the various kingdoms of historic Rajstan and many tribes in the Tahsils of Karaoli and Khairagarh still assert their descent from the Chohan and the Sisodia clans of the Rajputs. When in 1193 A. D.

Shihab-ud-din of Ghor hopelessly crushed Prithi Raj of Delhi, the tract of country known as the Agra district was parcelled between the Chohan Chief of Chandawar and the Rathor Chief of Kanauj. In 1196 A. D. when the Mahomedan garrisons were permanently occupying Delhi and Koil ( Aligarh ) that there was fought a decisive battle somewhere in the neighbourhood of Chandawar which crushed Hindu power in these parts and made over the territories to the Mussalman governor of Biana. Mr. Benson was successful in finding out a tradition that the forces of the Raja of Chandawar withstood the attacks of the Mahomedan invader for twelve years, and at last succumbed when the holy man, Shah Shafi, who was the genius of the place, sided with his co-religionists. Curiously enough, this same holy man was said by the same persons to have immigrated from Ispahan in the time of Akbar. But the Rajput chiefs of Chandawar, though compelled to pay tribute to the Moslem sovereigns, remained in a state of semi-independence. They tried to raise the standard of revolt at times when the Afghan chiefs were paralysed by attacks from without or conspiracies from within. It is said that Ala-ud-din Khilji laid a regular siege to Chandawar. When Tamerlane invaded India, it is alleged that the Rajput Chief had a brief period of independence, who tried to extend his influence over the neighbouring territories.

About 1430 A. D. we hear of the Hatkant principality which is located by the most approved authorities within the modern district of Agra. Some of the sovereigns of the Syad dynasty by repeated incursions into this district re-established the authority of the Delhi emperors, but after 1435 A. D. the district asserts its independence for a time. But the Hindu sovereigns who reigned within this district finally disappeared from history when in 1451 A. D. the first sovereign of the Lodi dynasty thoroughly subjugated the Doab, and Agra was made one of the principal cities of the Moslem empire. The first undoubted mention of Agra in the authentic annals of the Moslem empire was in 1492 A. D. when Emperor Sekundar Lodi had to come there to root out the repeated rebellion of the rulers of Dholepur and Gwalior. In *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, quoted in Dowson's Elliot, vol. iv., p. 450, it is stated that Sekundar Lodi generally lived in Agra, and it is even stated that it rose to the proportions of a city during his time, while before that it had been a mere village. In *Tarikh-i-Jehan Lodi*, quoted in the same book, vol. v., p. 99, it is stated that in 1505 there was a violent earthquake at Agra, which did considerable damage. Emperor Sekundar Lodi is said to have brought the Bhadhuriya robbers to bay, and to have died at Agra about the year 1517 or 1518 A. D. He was

undoubtedly the founder of the village of Sekundra now a suburb of Agra, in which the remains of the greatest of the despotic monarchs the world has ever seen mingle with the dust. The red stone building which served afterwards as the final resting-place of Akbar's Portuguese wife, Lady Mariam, is said to have been built originally by Emperor Sekundar Lodi. Sekundar was succeeded by Ibrahim Lodi, and in 1526 A. D. the empire of Hindustan passed to Baber the sixth in descent from Timur, a Pathan chief who advanced towards Hindustan from Cabul and Badakshan. Agra having been the chief seat of the Lodi family was reputed to contain a vast amount of treasure, and Baber swept down the strip of land between Delhi and Agra to seize it. The first of the Mogul emperors fixed on Agra as his permanent residence. It was from Agra that he took all steps to consolidate his rule over Hindustan. It was from Agra that he marched out in 1527 A. D. to meet the flower of Rajput chivalry under Rana Sanga at Biana, where he gained a decisive but a keenly contested victory. It was at Agra that he completed the last part of those memoirs which give expression to many finer feelings of humanity to which it appears his rude Tartar nature was not an absolute stranger. It was at Agra that he died in 1530. He was buried according to his own desire at Cabul in a beautiful spot which he had himself selected.

Rambagh which lies on the left bank of the Jumna is by tradition one of those places where his body rested for a while in the course of its weary journey to Cabul. A keen controversy has long raged over the question as to whether the Agra of Baber was on the same side of the river as the Agra of Akbar or was situated on the opposite side. The latter theory which is supported by Carlleyle and Keene is based on the facts that near the tomb of Itmadowlah, and in the villages of Nunihai, Kachpura, and Raharbagh, there have been found inscriptions and traces of ancient buildings, which undoubtedly show that they belong to the reigns of Baber and Humayun. The fortifications which are yet found on the left bank of the river are ascribed by local tradition to Baber. But it has been asserted on the opposite side that granting that Baber and Humayun had built some edifices and like things on the opposite bank of the river, it did not follow that the capital of the Mogul empire did not stand on the site where it was found by Akbar. "The existence," it is aptly said, "of Southwork and Lambeth does not disprove the simultaneous existence of London and Westminster respectively, and it seems possible to grant the construction of a court suburb on the left bank of the Jumna without asserting the destruction or abandonment of the older capital of the right. If merely abandoned that older capital would have but

little time to become ruined between 1526 and the days of Salim Shah ( 1545-53 ) who built on or near its site." The vicissitudes of the reign of Humayun are well-known. The first part of his reign lasted from 1530 for ten years when he was driven out of India by an enterprising Afghan chief. During this period Agra shared with Delhi the honour of being the first city of the Mogul empire, but the emperor was residing at Agra during the greater part of the peaceful times. Shere Khan, openly bade defiance to the imperial power and after a protracted struggle Humayun was defeated at Chaunsa in 1539 and driven out of Hindustan. Humayun's adventures during the next fifteen years, though a most interesting chapter by itself, form no part of the history of Agra. Shere Shah took possession of Agra and made it the chief seat of his empire. History says that Shere Shah was a great builder himself, and adorned the empire under his charge with buildings both useful and ornamental. The only remains of Agra which are said to have belonged to his reign are the tomb and mosque of Alawal Balawal or Shah Vilayat, in Mohalla Nai-ka-Mandi. The mosque has sunk into the ground till about the middle of its walls. There is a curious story about it which says that a camel driver in the imperial service had quartered his beasts in the mosque notwithstanding the expostulations of the said holy man. Upon

which the building began to sink till it had crushed the unfortunate beasts, and did not stop sinking till the saint had openly prohibited it. Shere Shah was succeeded by his son, Selim Shah, who together with his brother, Adil Shah, went on a visit to Fathepur Sikri to the residence of the pious saint Selim Christi, who had already attained eminence by his miraculous powers and his piety. Emperor Selim Shah founded the city of Selingarh in the vast plains around Delhi, and Mr. Keene believes that it was he who surrounded Agra with a wall and built that fortress which was afterwards replaced by the one built by Akbar. The successor of Selim being a weak and impotent king, Humayun regained his lost empire and reigned for a brief period from 1555 A. D. The *Tarikh-i-Badaiyuni* relates how Agra suffered considerable damages from an explosion during the reign of Emperor Mahomed Shah Adil, an explosion which had its origin in the sudden igniting of a vast mass of gun-powder. Humayun died while suddenly stepping down the polished stairs of a marble building at the time of the morning prayer, and was interred in a well-known mausoleum of Delhi, which is one of the most prominent sights of that place, built in a curious mixture of Mogul and Pathan architecture. The internal condition of Hindustan at the time of the death of Humayun fully proved

that the first two Mogul emperors had a genius for the consolidation of their conquests as for the conquests themselves. Elphinstone has, in his *History of India*, reviewed the condition of the Indian people and the administration of the country with his usual mastery of facts, and he has come to the conclusion that the people were fairly prosperous and contented.

Akbar, the pride and the ornament of the Mogul dynasty, was born at Amarkot in 1542 A. D. when his father had been reduced to the utmost straits and was flying from the pursuit of the successful Afghan chief, Shere Shah. Trained in circumstances of no ordinary difficulty, Akbar who scarcely can be said to have been born in the purple acquired a character cut out of the solid rock. During the first four years of his reign his minister, Byram Khan, was practically the supreme director of affairs. But Akbar's powerful mind galled under the thralldom, and he shook himself free from it in 1560 A. D. not however without the most strenuous exertions. It was in the midst of these struggles to attain freedom from the control of his minister that his mind attained that practical cast which made him a successful ruler at the early age of eighteen. The historical scholar must well know the many brilliant passages in which the career of Akbar at 18 confronting with a manly vigour the many difficulties by which his throne was surrounded has been compared with that of the Young

Pitt who at twenty-four successfully met the bold designs of Napoleon Bonaparte. The first seven years of Akbar's reign was occupied with the various campaigns which he undertook against the numerous enemies of his throne, in many of which his own revolted generals took the most prominent parts against him. He came out singularly successful from all these great trials, and he applied himself to the task of constructing a sound system of administration, establishing a polity on the principles approved of by his enlightened conscience and laying the foundations of what may be called an Indian nationality. Fortunately for the world, a full and systematic account of all of Akbar's measures of internal administration has been preserved by a man of letters who in addition to being able to write in a cultured and flowery Persian style, had full knowledge of what he had written. The cardinal point of Akbar's policy was to reconcile by every means in his power the numerous body of his Hindu fellow-subjects. He cut off all connections with Central Asia, and espoused some Hindu princesses of the highest lineage. He relaxed the bigoted intolerance of his predecessors, and raised his Hindu subjects to a level of perfect equality. He abolished all obnoxious taxes imposed solely on the ground of being unbelievers in the Koran, and strove to check the practices of Suttee and infanticide. The Hindu pil-

grims were allowed to visit their sacred places unmolested, and the Hindu princes and nobles enjoyed in no small a measure the unstinted confidence of the emperor. The grandsons of a generation that had fiercely fought Baber at Biana were appointed by his illustrious grandson to be commanders of Mogul legions and proconsuls of Mogul provinces. The proud house of Oodeypur alone stood aloof from all imperial connections, and it was conquered and sacked by Akbar in 1568. Readers of Colonel Tod's delightful volumes on Rajasthan, would recall the graphic description given by him of the proud resistance made by the then Raja of Chittore. Akbar himself thought the conquest of Chittore to be no mean exploit, and he caused to be placed on one of the gates of the Agra Fort two colossal elephants bearing on their backs the statues of Jai Mal, the Chief of Chittore, and of Fatteh his brother. These statues were removed to Delhi afterwards, and it was there that Bernier saw them in the middle of the seventeenth century. General Cunningham says that Finch did not see these statues at Agra when he visited that city in 1611, and therefore the probable date of their removal to Delhi was before that year. Mr. Keene however quotes a passage from Finch (*apud* Purchas) which says that "beyond the gates to the north and the west there was a second gate over which there were two *Rajahs* in stone." In

1570 Akbar founded the suburban capital of Fatehpur Sikri, the details about which would be given hereafter, and in 1586, after his return from the conquest of Gujrat, he built the fine tomb that enshrines the relics of the famous saint, Selim Christi, the spiritual father of Jehangir. From the time of Akbar the custom of circumcision enjoined upon the faithful by the Koran was discontinued in the imperial family. No Mogul emperor was circumcised after his time, and a tradition almost grew up that mutilation in such a delicate part of the body would be considered a disqualification for the imperial office. When under the rule of the East India Company the privileges of the descendants of Timur had been curtailed within the four corners of the Delhi Palace and to the enjoyment of a royal stipend, the nominal emperor, Bahadur Shah, instigated by the favourite sultana of his old age, Queen Zeenut-Mehal, pleaded before a British Viceroy that his son by the younger wife should be preferred for the purposes of succession to the honours of royalty, because his son by another wife Fakhr-ud din, who was much older in age had been circumcised and thereby rendered unfit for the dignity and emoluments of the great Mogul. This argument attracted the notice of western scholars, and Sir John Kaye, the eminent historian of the Sepoy War, took the trouble to shift it to the bottom. At his request

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, K. C. S. I., of Aligarh contributed a luminous note on the subject which the present writer has been able to peruse with the attention that it deserves. Sir Syed says that all the Mogul emperors up to the time of Humayun had actually been circumcised. His son, Akbar, who was born and bred up amidst circumstances of no common privations, could not be circumcised when the father was in strange lands and with enemies or false friends on all sides. He did not regain the throne of Hindustan till Akbar was fully thirteen, an age when the circumcision ceremony could not be performed. The Hindu connections of the Emperor Akbar and his descendants, made them look upon the circumcision ceremony with disfavour, and it was made a condition of all Hindu marriages that the offspring should not be circumcised. Fukhr-uddin, whose case excited attention a few years previous to the Sepoy War, had been circumcised for physical reasons. Akbar, thus wanting the great external sign of the faith of the prophet, and having a mind at once capacious and enlightened, which could look on all things with perfect freedom from prejudice, was practising religious liberty in an age when the faggots of the Inquisition and the infallible decrees of the Holy See were a not uncommon spectacle in Europe. At an age when Charles V. and Phillip II., the Duke of Alva and the Duke of Parma, were

trying by every means that could suggest themselves to haughty tyrants and with all the assistance that the gold of the newly discovered tracts of America then at their absolute disposal could supply, to put an end to the irrepressible Protestants of that part of Europe which had been saved from the waves of the ocean only by human ingenuity, Akbar was entertaining Beer Bal and Todar Mal near his person and allowing himself to be influenced by the voice of his Hindu subjects in every act of State. His revenue settlement which was due to the wisdom and sagacity of his minister, Todar Mal, has furnished a model in after times to the British rulers, and is based on a correct estimate of the soil, the produce, their average market value, and the limitation of the State demand on the cultivators. Under Akbar's orders all the cultivated area in his domains was correctly measured out, and the State demand was limited to one-third of the produce commuted to a money value on the average market price for the last nineteen years. The food-grains were grown under this system, and the inferior sorts of cereals were raised by the cultivators on rather easy terms. Thus the security of the produce against State exactions and the protection given under the strong arm of law to every man to reap what he sows which are the main pillars of the British administrative system were also the mainstay of Akbar's revenue

policy. Akbar paid his officers in cash and the system of farming out the land revenue which was fraught with so much oppression to the people was almost abolished. The evidence of contemporary European travellers is forthcoming to show that he was frugal in his habits, merciful and justice-loving, and used to dispense justice to his subjects daily from a part of the palace which is still pointed out to the traveller. The *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul Fazal, which had been translated by Professor Blochmann of the Calcutta Madrassa, gives to the European readers a full account of Akbar's administration, his personal character, and the magnificence of his court. We shall deal elsewhere with Akbar's relations to Christianity. His last years were embittered by the rebellion of his sons, and the vigour of his youthful years forsook him amidst domestic trials and difficulties. He died in the faith of Islam, and he almost lost sight in his last moments of that peculiar creed of which he had been the apostle and whose formula was God is great and Akbar is his prophet. The principal buildings of Akbar yet extant are the tomb of Humayun at Delhi, the fort at Agra and the palaces of Fatehpur Sikri, the Akbar's Musjid, the Kali Musjid, founded by Muzaffar Hossain, father of that empress of Shah Jehan who lies buried in the Kandhari garden and the eunuch's Mosque at Loha-ki-mandi (*Musjid Mukhannasan*).

Whether the tomb at Sikandra was built by Akbar or by his son is a question that has elicited a vast mass of discussion. There is one school of writers who think that the present tombs of the Mahomedan sovereigns were made to serve as pleasure gardens and were used as such during the lifetime of the builders, and that after death, instructions were issued for their interment in those places so that the place became invested with a sombre interest. Following this theory it is said that Akbar himself built the edifice at Secundra and the present writer has been able to trace a tradition in the village of Secundra to the same effect. Another school of writers however place the tomb at Secundra amidst the architectural achievements of Jehangir.

Jehangir, the son of Akbar by a Rajput princess, had alienated the feelings of his father by his unruly conduct, and it was expected that the emperor would make either Prince Khasru or Prince Sultan Kharrum, afterwards known as Shah Jehan, his heir. But as he drew near his end, the old Emperor was reconciled to Jehangir who succeeded in the natural course of things. Jehangir established a capital in the north, at Lahore, and it was there that he lived towards the close of his reign, but his earlier years had been spent at Agra. An authentic account of Jehangir's court can be obtained from the descriptions given by Sir Thomas Roe who came

to that Court as the accredited ambassador of King James I. Sir Thomas Roe says that the emperor though not utterly devoid of good qualities, was very fond of hard drinking and a debauchee. The questions that the emperor put with the greatest earnestness in a private interview related to the wines that could be had in England, the amount usually drunk there by every individual, how they were made, and as to whether the best of them could be made in India. From the time that Jehangir married the celebrated Nur Jehan she had the chief control of the counsels of the empire, her father and afterwards her brother being the Prime Ministers. When the father of Nur Jehan better known by his after title of Nawab Itimad-uddowlah, died in Agra, the empress intended to build a solid silver mausoleum over his remains, but was only dissuaded by the argument that silver was likely to excite the cupidity of robbers and that marble would be more beautiful and lasting. Sir Thomas Roe says that the administration of the empire had considerably declined from the regularity that obtained under Akbar. The English ambassador expresses himself perfectly bewildered with the size and splendour of Agra then the chief city of the great Mogul. Jehangir tells us in his autobiography that Agra was a great city during his reign, four *kos* in breadth and ten in circumference, on the right bank of the Jumna

and about two *kos* in breadth and three in circumference on the Doab bank. There were public and private buildings of great size and beauty in almost every street, and the population was so dense and the streets so crowded that even in ordinary times the citizens found no little difficulty in passing each other. A fabulous amount of wealth was said to circulate among the citizens in the course of every day, and it was said that the number of horses sold in the city each day during eight dry months of the year came up to about six thousand of the Arab breed from Kabul. Calbanke writing to Sir Thomas Smith in the beginning of the seventeenth century speaks of Agra as a great and populous city entirely built of stone with a great deal of merchandize, and the whole city was even more imposing than the London of the age. Finch's remarks about the splendours of the nobles, in that they never allowed the garments of their concubines having been once worn ever to be put up again but ordered them to be buried into the earth until they decayed, have been often quoted. European travellers say too that there were many noblemen who kept in regular employ so many as a thousand *masalchis* (torch-bearers). The European travellers who have described the reign of Jehangir, were Hawkins, Roe, Finch, Terry and Coryat whose accounts all agree in saying that Agra was a most magnificent city, worthy to be the capital

of the great Mogul. The buildings of Agra which were built during the reign of Jehangir, are the *Hamman* of Ali Verdi Khan in the Chipitola section of the town ( built, as the inscription on it says, in 1621 ), a mosque at the entrance of the Shahganj road, the mosque of Muatmid Khan in the Kashmiri Bazar, the stone palace about half the distance between Fort and the Taj occupied by Islam Khan Rumi. Near Rambagh there is a tower and garden called after Bulund Khan, the chief eunuch of Jehangir's palace. About a dozen Europeans who visited India during Jehangir's reign lie buried in the Protestant cemetery of Agra, while some Catholics rest in the quarter of the city specially appropriated to their use. In 1628 not without some intrigues, Prince Khurram was proclaimed emperor under the title of Emperor Shah Jehan. During the early part of his reign there was the rebellion of Khan Jehan Lodi, which compelled the emperor to take the field in person in the Deccan. The rebellion was quelled in 1632 when the emperor returned to Agra. It was during this campaign in the Deccan in which the emperor was accompanied by his favourite sultana Mamtaz-i-Mahal that she died in being delivered of her eighth child. Her body was embalmed and carried back to Agra, and Shah Jehan prepared for its reception the immaculate Taj Mehal which is by universal consent the most splendid tomb in the world. We

shall describe it at length later on, but it might be mentioned here that the inscription over the front gateways gives 1648 as the year when it was completed. Facing the Taj, on the opposite bank of the river, are to be found the remains of a garden called by some Mahtab Khan's garden and by others as the edifice which had been designed by Shah Jehan for the reception of his own mortal remains, to be connected with the tomb of his queen by a splendid bridge. There are to be found yet the remains of the foundations of some large building sought to be erected on the spot. The local tradition is that it was the appointed place for Shah Jehan's tomb, and it is such an old one that Tavernier notices it so far back as 1666. In 1639 the chaste and beautiful palace of Shah Jehan at Delhi was completed, and in that year the capital was removed to New Delhi, otherwise called Shahjehanabad. Shah Jehan added some parts to the Agra Fort which would be noticed in detail hereafter, and of which the most important are the Shish Mahal, the Nagina Mosque, and the well-known Moti Masjid. The Jami Masjid to the north-west of the Agra Fort was finished in 1649, and the Idgah Mosque near the village of Namner belong to this reign. The Motibagh and the Chini-ka-roza also date from this reign. Firoz Khan's tomb, three miles

south of Agra on the Gwalior road, is a building of interest. Shah Jehan was attacked with a serious illness in 1657, and there was a regular scramble for empire among his four sons. Dara, the eldest, was at Delhi and Raja Jaswant Singh commanded his forces. Aurangzeb, the third son, was a crafty and energetic man, and he succeeded in routing Dara's forces and gaining the upper hand in the struggle. He placed his father in honorable confinement at Agra and had all his brothers made short work with. Mr. Keene is of opinion that the last cruel scenes of Dara's life were enacted at Agra, but Monstuart Elphinstone places them at Delhi. There is still on the bank of the Jumna, some little distance north of Agra Fort, a Chhatri known as that of Raja Jaswant Singh, and tradition says that it marks the spot where the remains of that Raja were consigned to flames. The fact seems however improbable in view of the well known historical fact that Raja Jaswant Singh died while commanding his forces at Cabul. Of the other buildings in Aurangzeb's reign we might mention the Hall of Public Audience within the Agra Fort whose date is given as 1684 and one Screen contributed to the Taj Mehal. Agra was now rapidly declining, and the head quarters of the Mogul empire had been transferred permanently

to Delhi. We all know how during the latter part of Aurangzeb's reign, the Maharattas began to give trouble in the south. It is less commonly known that in the neighbourhood of Agra there was a Jat rebellion which at one time rose to such proportions that it was necessary to organize a large well-equipped force against them, commanded by a prince of the blood. Elphinstone speaks (book XI., chap. 4,) of an autograph letter of the emperor which deals with the repression of the Jat revolts in the neighbourhood. Aurangzeb died in 1707, and the Agra district took an important place in the struggle for empire that ensued among his sons. Mukhtyar Khan, the governor of Agra, who was partizan and father-in-law of Azam, was defeated and thrown into prison by Moazzam. There was a drawn fight between Azam and Moazzam at Jajau in the Khairagarh tehsil which resulted in the victory of Moazzam, a victory commemorated by a mosque and hostel at Jajau which might still be seen. It was in this struggle that we first hear of the Jat chief, Churaman, who fought by the side of Moazzam. The Agra district was also the scene of the fierce battle between Jehandar Shah and his nephew, Furrokh Shere, in 1713, in which the forces of the reigning emperor were overthrown and the imperial sway passed into the hands of the conqueror. The site

of the battle is said to have been Kuchbiheri, a place which has been identified with Bichpuri. Furrokh Shere, having attempted to overthrow the authority of the Sayads, his principal supporters, was murdered in 1719 A. D., and at his death the Agra garrison revolted under the leadership of one Mitra Sen. The Sayads, having set up another puppet king, came down to Agra to suppress the rebellion, and the garrison surrendered to Hussain who gave up the city of Agra to spoliation, and seized a considerable amount of valuables that were among its most precious possessions. To this invasion is attributed the loss of that famous tiara of pearls which was used to be placed, by order of emperor Shah Jehan, over the tomb of the lady of the Taj on the anniversaries of her marriage and on the nights of every Friday, the sacred day of the week according to Moslem estimation. During the reign of Mahomed Shah the city was honored with a visit from the emperor who organized from this place in 1721 the expedition against Sayad Abdullah. The Mogal empire crumbled into pieces after the death of Mahomed Shah, and Agra became only the residence of a viceroy from that period. Saadut Ali Khan, the founder of Nawabs of Lucknow, was appointed the first viceroy of Agra. The Mogal empire had left in Agra some of those grand edifices which would serve to recall to the

minds of the most distant generations the statesmanship of Akbar and the munificence of Shah Jehan. A comparison has often been instituted between these great monarchs, and Akbar has been said to resemble his great contemporary, Queen Elizabeth ; and for Shah Jehan a parallel has been found in that Roman emperor Severus the story of whose magnificence has been given to the world in the immortal pages of Gibbon. After a careful scrutiny of the statements of contemporary Mahomedan historians, Elphinstone is of opinion that the reign of Shah Jehan was the most flourishing period of Mogal history, and his unparalleled magnificence seems to have brought no severe strain on him financially. Trustworthy accounts state that at his death Shah Jehan left a vast accumulation of bullion, coin and jewels of every description. From the palmy days of Agra we have now to lead the reader through a long story of internal struggles to the days when Agra finally surrendered to the arms of the British. Saadut Ali fought vigorously against the Jat invaders and the numerous robbers who invaded the district and succeeded in holding them in check for some time. On being promoted to the viceroyalty of Oudh, he appointed Rai Nilkanth Nagar as viceroy in his place who however was unable to cope with the difficulties of the situation. He was superseded by

Jai Singh Sewai of Jaypur who had some sharp encounters with the Jats under their leader, Churaman. The first attempted Maharatta invasion of Agra was in 1725, when they made Agra the base of their operations against Gwalior. In 1736 A. D. their chief, Baji Rao, openly commenced operations against this district and seized several portions of it. The domains of the Raja of Bhadawar in Tahsil Panahat were appropriated by them, and the Maharatta general, Mulhar Rao Holkar, took hold of Batesar. On hearing this news Saadut Ali advanced from Oudh and completely defeated Baji Rao. But the check received by the Maharattas was a merely temporary one, and Baji Rao succeeded in making his way to Delhi. The nominal governor of the Deccan in these days was Nizam-ul-mulk, the ancestor of the long and proud line of the Nizams of the Deccan, who was too deeply involved in the struggles against the rising power of the Maharattas in the South. Taking advantage of his continued absence from Agra and of the distractions to the empire from the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Jat chief who then ruled at Bharatpur, Suraj Mal, nephew of Churaman, annexed the greater part of the Agra district between 1738 and 1754. Nadir Shah besieged Agra in 1757 and Ahmed Shah Durrani 'took Delhi, sacked Mathura, and overran Bharatpur.' There was a sharp

encounter at Agra between the Durrani chief and the governor Fazal Khan, in which the trying summer heat of the city did more service than the arms of her soldiers, the soldiers from the cool uplands of Afghanistan retiring from the burning winds of Agra. In 1761 the Jat chief, Suraj Mal, annexed the Agra city to his dominions and was confirmed according to the authority of Major Thorn in the possession of all the territories that he had annexed as the price of his neutrality in the third battle of Panipat between Ahmed Shah Durrani and Sadaseo Rao Bhow. Mr. Keene gives 1764 as the date of the Jat capture of the city of Agra. It was during this capture of the city that tradition ascribes the shooting away of the minarets on the gate of the Sikandra, the removal of the armour and books of Akbar from that historic building, and the melting down of the massive silver doors of the Taj which are said to have cost considerably over a lac. The year 1765 saw the Raja of Bhadawar driven out from tahsil Panahat, and the entire portion of sub-divisions forming the modern district in the possession of the Jat conquerors. Jawahir Singh, the successor of Suraj Mal, took his seat on the black throne of Jehangir, a fact which is said to have caused a long fissure in the middle of the stone. Dow gives a description of Agra at this period dwelling specially on the incompetency of Jawahir as a ruler. The Maharattas

cast a longing eye on Agra about 1770 A. D. and the imperial minister, Najaf Khan, on obtaining recognition from Delhi as the rightful possessor of all that he would be able to seize, marched in full force against the Jats and the Maharattas in 1773. He succeeded in expelling both, and the Jat possession of Agra terminated. Authorities differ as to the exact date of this termination. Mr. Growse would think that the Jats were in uninterrupted possession till 1774 A. D. Mr. Keene however considers it more probable that they were excluded from it temporarily by the Maharattas, and finally expelled in 1774. Najaf Khan lived in Agra as emperor from 1774 to 1779 when he left for Delhi where he died in 1782. Najaf had appointed Mahomed Beg as the governor of Agra and during the confusion that ensued on the death of the former he was the virtual ruler of Agra. The Maharatta chief, Madhaji Scindia, who had been summoned to aid the feeble emperor at Delhi entered the district of Agra in 1784, and proceeded to annex it to the Gwalior dominions. The Raja of Bhadawar and the Jadon chief of Kotla made their peace as best they could, and Scindia succeeded in getting an imperial *firman* conferring on him these territories in perpetual grant as their rightful owner. Rayaji Patel was appointed to govern Agra on behalf of the Gwalior Chief. Ismail Beg, a dashing soldier, aided by Gholam Kadir, son

of the Nawab of Najibabad in Bijnor, laid siege to Agra in 1787, and a fierce battle ensued between Scindia's French general, De Boigne, and the Musulman invaders in which the latter were victorious. In the year 1794, Madhaji Scindia was succeeded by his nephew, Daulat Rao Scindia, in whose employ were the French general Perron and the Dutch generals John and George Hessian. The European generals were then usually believed to be creatures of Napoleon the Great, and Agra surrendered to their arms in 1799, and was placed under European charge. John Hessian, who died in 1802, lies buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery.

Agra remained as an integral part of the dominions of Scindia until it was surrendered to the British after Lake's victories at Delhi and Laswari. The Maharatta rule has left but little behind it at Agra that might recall it to future generations. It is alleged by some that the Maharattas were instrumental in changing the name of "Arambagh" (garden of rest) to Rambagh, but it has been pointed out on the other hand, that there are gardens bearing the name of Rambagh in cities far to the north of Agra which were always under Mahomedan influence and domination. The conflict that ensued between Scindia and the English was a mere conflict for supremacy in Upper India. The

two principal objects to which the attention of General Gerrard, afterwards Viscount Lake, was directed by the Governor-General the Marquis of Wellesley, were "the destruction of the power of the French party established on the banks of the Jumna under Monsieur Perron and the extension of the British frontier in the possession of Agra, Delhi, and a chain of posts on the right bank of the Jumna, for the protection of its navigation." Major Thorn, the historian of the war, has given a graphic account of all the incidents connected with this war, which it is not necessary to incorporate here. There was a siege of Agra ( October 10-18 ) by Brigadier-General Clarke and Colonel M'Culloch and the British battery opened fire with deadly effect on the besieged. The garrison sued for terms, but Lake would give them no other terms than that they might march out unmolested only with their clothes, on leaving all property, public and private, behind them. The garrison would not accept these terms, and held out to the last. The fort capitulated and passed into the possession of the British. The breaches that had been made in Shah Jehan's beautiful screens by Lake's showers of grape and canister are still pointed out by native guides, but it appears to have been an undoubted historical fact that Lake's bombardment was on the side of the Taj and that these injuries which were undoubtedly made by cannon balls

were inflicted during some earlier struggle of which the memory has died out. Mr. Wright, who visited Agra in 1800 A. D., notices their existence. Mr. Keene adds that Lake's troops entered by the Amar Singh gate, and had nothing to do with the north side of the Fort. The English soldiers gave up the fort to booty, and among the prizes that were recovered were 164 pieces of heavy artillery and among them that great brass gun which had acquired reputation in history as the great gun of Agra. It was made of brass and splendidly gilt, and was commonly believed to have been made of the precious metals. It seemed to be a precious possession, and was eagerly sought for at a price of a lakh of rupees by those who wanted to keep it as their own property, but the Governor-General wanted to send it as a present to His Majesty King George III. of England, and it was embarked in a country boat for the above purpose. The boat sank into the Jumna, and no mention is made by history or tradition as to whether its precious freight was attempted to be rescued. The district of Agra passed under British control by the treaty of Suraj Anjan Gaon, dated December 30th, 1803, by which the pergunas Karahra, Sarendhi, Jagner, Malpura, Khairagarh, Kiroali, Fathepur-Sikri, Iradatnagar, Shamsabad, Lohamundi, and Narsing, were ceded in perpetuity to the Hon'ble the East India Company. The

treaty under notice describes them to be under the governorship of the brothers Hessian : their revenue from customs and the mint amounted to Rs. 82,500, their land revenue amounted to Rs. 8,67,462. Thus the treaty mentions all the existing sub-divisions of Agra with the exception of the tahsil of Bah-Panahat, which was held at the time by the Bhaduriya Raja, an adherent of the Hon'ble John Company. The oldest inhabitants of Agra in the last generation used to mention that there occurred a violent earthquake in the year 1803, and there was a violent storm at Kiraoli on the 3rd June, 1804. On the 5th June, 1804, Agra formed the base of operations against the army of Holkar. Lord Lake visited Agra and led his army up-country from that place on the 1st October, first to Delhi, and then to pursue the defeated foe over many districts. One account ascribes to Lord Lake the unpardonable act of vandalism in shooting away the minars of Akbar's tomb, but this does not seem to be well-founded as the Royal Academician Hughes, who visited Agra about the year 1782, has left behind him a record of his travels, which says unmistakably that the minarets had disappeared prior to that period.

The history of Agra from the year 1805 when it had ceased to be the scene of hostilities to the year 1857 when the province of which Agra was

the central place was swept by a calamity unprecedented in the annals of the empire, is a history of peace and progress full of the records of those measures that re-established order, and re-introduced the blessings of civilization. The district of Agra attained its present size by the addition of the tahsil of Bah-Panahat from Etawah in 1805, and was placed under a Collector. The head-quarters of the Government for the ceded and conquered provinces were at Furruckabad where was established a Board of Commissioners to which the collectorate of Agra was subordinate. In 1808 the Commissioners sitting at Furruckabad recommended the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces with Agra as the chief town. The recommendation was not carried into effect until it was strongly supported by the Finance Commission that sat in 1829. The renewed Charter of the East India Company in 1833 gave the opportunity for the creation of the first Lieutenant-Governorship in India, that of Agra. The record from 1805 to 1833 is diversified by the records of famines and scarcities in 1813-14, 1819, 1825-6 and by the gradual demolition of the beautiful palace of Shish Mahal by the Marquis of Hastings and by Lord William Bentinck who dug out the precious marble and had them sent either to England or disposed of by public auction. We shall

not detail here the measures adopted by the Revenue administrators, in respect of that most important element of Indian administration—the land. Sir John Kaye has devoted a splendid chapter in the first volume of his *History of the Sepoy War* to demonstrate the changes that were introduced, changes that were foreign to the habits and customs of the people and the spirit in which they were received. The district of Agra like most other Indian districts of note furnishes most interesting themes for study, but we would not touch upon those which do not immediately concern the traveller. The first Lieutenant-Governor of Agra was Charles Metcalfe, that noble Lord who has earned for himself a lasting place in the affections of the Indian people by conferring upon them almost unsolicited the inestimable privilege of a free press. No sooner had Sir Charles Metcalfe come to Agra to take charge of the satrapy than he was called upon to act as provisional Governor-General during the interregnum caused by the departure of Lord William Bentinck. On Lord Auckland's arrival, Charles Metcalfe reverted to the Lieutenant-Governorship of Agra, the city that remained the capital of the North-West for a period of thirty-two years. Readers of the delightful letters of Lord Auckland's sister which have won for themselves a deserved popularity would remember that many of these letters were

written from Agra, they being written during that period when Lord Auckland was at Agra to take measures against a famine of unprecedented virulence. This was in the year 1838, when the whole of the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab were afflicted with a famine of such magnitude that it carried off many millions as its victims. It was in that year that the Christian missionaries established the Secundra Orphanage to take charge of the many orphan children who were abandoned by their parents in the extremes of hunger. It was in that year too that the Cautley Ganges Canal took its rise as a famine relief work from that delightful sacred place, Hurdwar, to spread plenty and fertility in many a thirsty region. During the next reign, that of Lord Ellenborough, Agra was rather prominently mentioned in the Houses of Parliament as the repository of what the Governor-General called the Somnath gates. Those having an acquaintance with political literature would be able to associate the mention of the Somnath gates with the celebrated speeches of Lord Macaulay and other first-rate orators on the subject. The proclamation in which Lord Ellenborough pompously declared that the Somnath Gates had been triumphantly brought back to the classic land of India, was alleged to have been couched in the language of the Jacobins of the French Revolution and provoked

indignation from one corner of India to the other. It seemed to have paved the way for his ultimate recall. We shall have our say about the gates themselves later on, when we come to speak of the palaces in the fort where they are to be found.

We pass on next to the stirring scenes of the Mutiny. We need not advert at any length to the causes immediate and remote of that portentous crisis. Suffice it to say that the immediate cause was a false alarm that the sepoys of the Bengal army entertained with reference to their religious faith. It was commonly believed that the new cartridges that had been supplied to the sepoys contained materials that would pollute both the Hindus and the Mussulmans, and as these were ordered to be used by biting off the end, their suspicions in this respect were all the more confirmed. The Bengal sepoy had been true to his salt during a century of British rule. He had followed his masters through every part of the country, and planted British flag in the most remote regions. He had given proofs of courage and endurance of no common order. He had subscribed liberally out of his slender earnings for the relief of the sufferings of his European comrade in arms. He had been docile and submissive, a lamb at home and a lion in the field. He had, it is true, been prone to some occasional aberrations,

but he had confidence in his officers and had always been amenable to reason. But about the end of 1856 there occurred several circumstances which for a time shook his faith in British integrity. The long series of annexations that signalized the administration of the Marquis of Dalhousie, the measures for the assessment of the land revenue which for a time swept away the landed aristocracy of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, the intrigues of designing men, who harboured the most treasonable intentions against the Company's government, produced a mass of discontent of which the European rulers of the country could hardly perceive the magnitude. Some outward disaffection which had been shown by some sepoy regiments was crushed out by timely vigour, but it is now believed by the best authorities that there was a widespread conspiracy among the various branches of the Bengal army, that Sunday the 31st May would be the day for a general rising throughout Upper India, and the hour to be selected would be that when the European residents would be engaged in church service. A peculiar circumstance precipitated the outbreak at Meerut. It happened that General Hewitt, the officer commanding the division, had sentenced 85 of the bravest troopers to be imprisoned rigorously for the period of ten years for refusing to carry out his mandates with reference to what they thought to be

polluted cartridges. In a solemn parade, these 85 soldiers, many of whom had been noted for their gallantry in many a hard-fought field, were stripped of their uniforms and condemned as common felons. The scene took place amidst the muster of the large European force of the station, and with the heavy artillery in view of the parade-ground ready to avenge, then and there, the slightest manifestations of an insubordinate spirit. The native sepoy calmly witnessed the disgrace of their comrades and returned to their quarters in a sullen mood. It happened that many of the native sepoy of Meerut were taunted by the syren voice of female inspiration with being cowards who could not move a finger to avenge the disgrace of their brothers in arms, who were described as having been martyrs to their religious scruples. The 10th May saw the outburst of the long pent-up fury of the Meerut troopers. The hour selected for the outbreak was that when the Europeans were attending church service, and soon the thatches of many bungalows in the Meerut cantonments were lighting up the evening sky with the lurid glare of incendiary fire and the European officers and residents with their families were being despatched to a swift end. Many have been the stories of the heroic sufferings of brave English men and women on that eventful night. But the strangest thing at Meerut was the

fatal inaction of the large body of the European force. The mutineers, having let loose the scum of the bazaars and the freebooters of the neighbouring robber tribes on that devoted city, took the road to Delhi, and reached there the next day to proclaim the rule of the representative of the dynasty of the great Mogul, who was still enjoying the last vestiges of royal prerogative and emoluments within the confines of his old palace. Half a century before Colonel Gillespie with a couple of galloper guns and a handful of soldiers had crushed out the Vellore mutiny, and if the old general and young officers of the Meerut force had taken the same prompt action, it is probable that the crisis would have been averted. But the European military element in the Meerut cantonments was engaged only in keeping order within the cantonment boundary, and did not think about the fates of other stations or of the large political questions involved in their conduct. The Agra Presidency in 1857 comprized the district of Delhi, and from Meerut which was one of its subordinate collectorates the news was flashed to Agra, that there had been a mutiny at that station. It was from Agra that the news of this great crisis was communicated to Lord Canning who received it with the utmost composure, and at once proceeded to concert measures for the safety of the empire. The ruling Lieutenant-

Governor of Agra, writes Sir John Kaye, the eminent historian of the Sepoy revolt, "was John Russell Colvin, an officer who stood high in public estimation as one of the ablest civilians of the country, but was held to be, though clever, a rather unsound and erratic statesman. He was conscientious, painstaking, courteous, and amiable, but he wanted that iron firmness, that rare self-confidence, which enables a man to impress his will upon others." The Commissioner of Agra was Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Harvey, the Magistrate-Collector was the Hon'ble Robert Drummond. Among other leading civil officers present at head-quarters were Mr. E. A. Reade (C.B.), (Sir) then Mr. H. B. Harrington, Mr. C. Raikes (C.S.I.) the author of the notes of the revolt, and William Muir who afterwards rose to be an accomplished scholar of European reputation, and the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces. As Sir John Kaye writes, "Never perhaps was the Bengal Civil Service great as it is history represented on one spot by men of greater energy and intelligence." To Agra as the head-quarters of the N.-W. P. Government was brought tidings of disaster from one station after another. The authorities at Agra heard the same tragedy of indiscriminate slaughter of the Europeans, the breaking open of the jail, the plunder of the treasury, and heroic sufferings and more heroic

escapes by Englishmen and delicate English ladies with children in their arms. Mr. Colvin wrote imploringly for the aid of the European soldiers, for the protection of the small colonies of Englishmen in the remote stations of Upper India; and Lord Canning, who had been placed in a very critical position by the withdrawal of the European troops from India in large numbers just before the days of the mutiny, could not respond to these appeals. When from Cawnpur and Farrukhabad arrived these doleful tidings, which form one of the darkest pages of the history of the mutiny, Colonel Riddell, Captain D'oyley, Colonel Hugh Fraser, C.B., Captain Norman Macleod, and the General commanding the division, Brigadier-General Polwhele, were summoned to have a consultation with the civil officers on the then situation at the Government House, and it was determined that all the Christian families should be removed into the Fort. Colvin tried to restore confidence in the native troops by a spirited speech on May 15th, and despatched Commissioner Harvey to request military aid from the neighbouring native chiefs—Gwalior, Dholpur, Jeypur, and Bhartpur. All the native chiefs promptly responded to the call, and Maharaja Scindia acting under the inspiration of his able minister, Sir Dinker Rao, showed his conspicuous loyalty to the British Government by detaching even his own body-guard.

A volunteer corps was raised at Agra in which every European and many Eurasian residents of Agra enlisted. The news of the mutiny at Aligarh was brought in by Lady Outram who was stopping at that station with her son while her brave husband was commanding the expedition to the Persian Gulf. The native troops at Mainpuri also cast off their allegiance, and it was now thought necessary to provision the Agra Fort for a period of six months, and to garrison it with 3,000 Europeans and 1,500 natives. In connection with the victualling of the Fort Sir John Kaye and Colonel Malleson prominently mention the services of Joti Prasad Khatri, a grand army contractor, who left behind him a large landed estate destined unfortunately shortly after his death to pass into other hands. Mr. Raikes selected some buildings that might serve conveniently to check the advance of the mutineers, and Mr. Drummond converted the city police into a defensive force. On the 25th May, Colvin issued a proclamation to the native army, which was not approved of by Viscount Canning who immediately superseded it with his own draft which ran as follows :—

“Every soldier of a regiment which although it had deserted its post has not committed outrages will receive a free pardon and permission to proceed to his home if he immediately delivers up

his arms to the civil or military authority, and if no heinous crime is shown to have been perpetrated by him personally. This offer of free and unconditional pardon must not be extended to those regiments which have killed or wounded their officers or other persons, or which have been concerned in the cruel outrages. The men of such regiments must submit themselves unconditionally to this justice and authority of the Government of India. Any proclamation offering pardon to soldiers, engaged in the late disturbances, which may have been issued by local authorities previously to this promulgation, will therefore cease to have effect. But all persons who may have availed themselves of the offer made in such proclamations shall enjoy the benefit thereof."

The main difference between the proclamations of Mr. Colvin and Lord Canning was that while the former only exempted individuals from punishment the latter exempted whole regiments known to be concerned in such outrages from pardon. The Lieutenant-Governor received on the 30th May the news of the mutiny at Muttra, and on the morning of the 31st measures were concerted to disarm the native regiments at Agra. When the British Infantry and the British Artillery had been placed in position, the native sepoy were ordered to pile arms. They found that with a moment of hesitation

or doubt there would come upon them the deadly fire of the musketry and the artillery, and they instantly obeyed. The arms were laid down in a pile, the uniforms were taken away, and the 44th and 67th regiments of native infantry which had done good service in all parts of the empire were effaced from the Bengal Army List. But as the hot month of June drew near to its end the tidings of disaster thickened from all sides. The mutiny at Neemuch on the 3rd of June was followed by the outbreak of Jhansi on the 6th, of Nowgong on the 10th, of Gwalior on the 14th, and Indore on the 1st, and as the cheering news of succours from Calcutta did not arrive till some months after, the Lieutenant-Governor was reduced to the utmost straits to find the necessary means to withstand this great outburst. There was no doubt that the thought of taking Delhi, which measure would have broken the neck of the revolt, was uppermost in the minds of the Lieutenant Governor, and though his anxieties in this respect were shared by that noble band of workers in the Panjab who had acted with such conspicuous tact and judgment in England's supreme hour of need, Colvin never failed to recognize that it was on him as the chief ruler of Delhi that the primary responsibility lay. The Lieutenant-Governor, as Sir John Kaye remarks, "bore up bravely though the silent approaches of death were already casting their dark

shadows over him." It was time now that active measures should be taken for the defense of the Agra district itself. Bodies of foot and horse were posted at Jagner, Khairagarh, Shamsabad, to keep order in the district, and the landholders who used to keep an armed force as retainers were induced to join the regular force on the event of an armed resistance by either the mutineers marching into this district or the lawless characters making any disturbances. The mutineers who had revolted in Gwalior could not come to Agra owing to the impetuous torrents of the Chambal intervening between Agra and Gwalior, but those who had raised up the standard of revolt at Neemuch, marched into Agra. Early in July the mutineers who came in from Nasirabad and Neemuch made preparations to attack the garrison of the Agra Fort. They advanced by way of Fatehpur Sikri, and the scouts who had been sent to reconnoitre the position of the enemy came back and reported that they had pitched their camp within a distance of 15 miles from Agra. Some 600 men were made to come towards Shahganj, a suburb of the city at some distance from Agra, and one Saif-ul-lah made himself prominent by taking an active part in these struggles. The 4th of July saw the mutiny of the Kota contingent. On the 5th news was received that the Neemuch mutineers were advancing towards Shahganj, and

Brigadier Polwhele moved out to attack their camp. The rebel troops are estimated by Colonel Malleson at 4,000 infantry, 1,500 cavalry and 11 guns. At about 2 P.M. both sides opened their artillery fire, and the rebel guns being placed in very advantageous positions took the British force at a disadvantage, and inflicted mortal wounds on several of them. Meanwhile by some mismanagement, the British guns had become unserviceable, and were more of the nature of impediments than anything else. The infantry regiment (the 3rd Europeans) was ordered to charge, and by all accounts they succeeded in occupying the village against immense odds. But they could not long hold their own against the vast mass of the advancing mutineers, who were all posted on positions of vantage. The European cavalry whose ranks had been swelled by a large contingent of volunteers were keeping up a sharp struggle around the disabled guns which the rebel cavalry was attempting to capture. Those responsible for the safety of the European force found that a great mistake had been committed in attempting to assume the offensive, and a general retreat was resolved upon. The retreat was harrassed by the now victorious mutineers to some distance, but they did not follow up their success by a general attack on the fort, and took the road to Delhi that very night. The city *budmashes* taking advantage of the general

anarchy that followed the defeat of the European force attempted to create some disturbance, and many European houses and public offices were burnt and destroyed. About twenty five European lives were lost, and the confusion in the city was extreme. Within the Fort there were about 6,000 people. They were a heterogenous mass, and Mr. Raikes thus writes of them;—"There were unwilling delegates from many parts of Europe and America. Nuns from the banks of the Garonne and the Loire, priests from Sicily and Rome, missionaries from Ohio and Basle, mixed with the rope-dancers from Paris and pedlars from America. Besides these we had Calcutta Babus and Parsi merchants." On the 6th the chief native police officer proclaimed the rule of the Delhi emperor. The low Hindus and Musulmans kept up an indiscriminate plunder of all Christian property. The confusion in the city continued till the 8th when Munshi Raja Ram, the Tahsildar of Khandauli, informed Mr. Harington \* that the mutineers had departed and the local *budmashes* were keeping up a lively scene. The European officers came out of the fort and were at their appointed places. The city police aided by

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\* I have been able to collect a detailed account of this portion of the history of the mutiny of Agra from Munshi Raja Ram's son, Munshi Jagan Prashad, the leader on the civil side of the Agra bar and the Vice-chairman of the Agra Municipality.

the co-operation of the chief native residents was soon able under the supervision of Mr. Phillips to restore order, but it was only by armed expeditions from Agra that peace could be restored throughout the district. Kiraoli and Fatehpur Sikri returned to the reign of peace and order on the 29th and 30th July. Itimadpur and Firozabad were pacified on August 10th by a company of volunteers under the Joint-Magistrate Mr. Lowe. A band of mutineers from Central India threatened Agra for a time, but Maharaja Scindia managed to keep them engaged till September when they were rendered harmless. The Lieutenant-Governor who had been ailing for a long time succumbed on September 9th, and was buried in the Fort in front of the Dewani-Am. Colvin's measures had excited great dissatisfaction among those who were immediately around him, but taken on the whole there is no doubt that the voice of history would confirm the verdict of Sir John Kaye that he died in harness "a true Christian hero, of whom the nation must ever be proud." Some fugitives from the fortress of Delhi after the fall of that place advanced towards Agra, and after a drawn fight (October 10th) of about an hour and a half in which the British force was commanded by Colonel Greathed, the mutineers were utterly routed, and they precipitately fled. By the end of October when the detachment

under Cotton had finally dislodged the rebel fugitives from Fatehpur Sikri, peace was completely re-established in this district. Desperate characters however occasionally made depredations till Sir Hugh Rose in June, 1858, cleared Central India of all rebels, and adequately punished those who had been found acting disloyally during the late disturbances. The year 1861 witnessed a famine in the district, the sufferings from which were mitigated by the timely assistance rendered by the Government and by private charity. In 1867 there was an industrial exhibition held at Agra of the manufactures and natural products of the surrounding area which was very largely visited.

In 1868 the head-quarters of the N.-W. P. Government was removed to Allahabad, and the High Court after lingering on there for another year commenced its sittings at Allahabad on the 5th May, 1869. Agra dwindled down to the position of a mere provincial town, and its prosperity gradually declined. Since the mutiny too Agra has been the scene of several events that have found a record in the pages of history. It was at Agra that Lord Canning met the loyal chiefs of Gwalior and Jeypur, and after spirited addresses to them in his elegant English and majestic voice, announced to them those rewards for their adherence to the British cause in the hour

of its trial that had been bestowed by the grateful sovereign of a grateful nation. It was at Agra that Lord Elgin held the last durbar of his administration giving to the nobility and gentry of Agra and the surrounding country an eagerly sought for opportunity to display their shawls and brocades, and it was from Agra that he set out on that journey to the lovely valleys of the Himalayan regions from which alas ! he was not destined to return. It was at Agra that Lord Lawrence invited in 1866 the privileged classes to meet him in durbar, and, for the first time for a Viceroy of India, addressed them in the native tongue recalling to their mind those hours when British rule was in its trial, when the noble band of officers of whom he was the acknowledged chief fought gloriously in their country's cause, and asked their attention towards those works of peace, progress, and enlightenment which constituted the chief glory of British administration. The Duke of Edinburgh visited the city in 1870, and received a most loyal and enthusiastic reception from the people of Agra and its neighbourhood. In the year 1873 the Supreme Legislative Council had a sitting at Agra to pass the rent and revenue laws which had been shaped after passing through the controversy of years, and which to the official mind settled satisfactorily the tangled and many-sided questions

between the tenant and the landlord, and between the latter and the State. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was a visitor to Agra in 1876, and Agra could give him such a reception that it taxed the best abilities of the host of special correspondents who accompanied the illustrious guest, adequately to describe it. There were present in Akbar's historical hall the great chiefs of Hindustan, the representatives of the rank, the wealth and the intellect of a large area around to bow in solemn obescience to the representative of the noblest and widest empire the world has ever seen, who in the natural order of things would be our future ruler. I have in the second part of my book, *Indian History of Our Own Times*, discussed at length the scenic and the political significance of the visit of His Royal Highness, and I do not think it proper to reproduce those remarks in a book like this. But the endless festivities that marked his Royal Highness' stay, the brilliant illuminations, the Civil Service Ball organized by Sir John Strachey, which is said to have been the best given in honor of the occasion anywhere in India, the solemn public ceremonials impressed the inhabitants of Agra and the numerous visitors who graced it with their presence, with a sense of the depth of British prowess, and a feeling of admiration for the culture and the civilization of the west. When Lord Lytton

proclaimed Her Gracious Majesty as the Empress of Hindustan on the 1st January, 1877, his Lordship gave Delhi the place of honor as the place most associated in the minds and imaginations of the people with the idea of universal sovereignty. In 1877-78, the famine made its appearance in this district, and although those disastrous years have since been followed by many prosperous seasons, their effect on the agricultural classes has not been wholly obliterated. In 1882 during the regime of Lord Ripon and at the instance of Sir Alfred Lyall, the Agra Government College was made over to a board of trustees for private management as a practical realization of that policy dimly foreseen by that noble-minded statesman, Lord Halifax, in the days of the educational charter of 1854, when he declared that it would be the proudest day of British rule in India, when the cultured classes among the ruled would come forward and take charge of the important duty of high education. It was in reply to the municipal address of welcome at Agra that Lord Dufferin spoke those well-turned sentences which first told the Indian public that they were to expect an income-tax at no distant date. Lord Lansdowne visited Agra in 1890, and held a durbar of the Commissionerships of Meerut, Rohilkhand and Agra at the splendid tents put up for the purpose at the grand Parade on

November 24th, and opened the water-works on December 3. The city of Agra which had been notorious for its brackish water from times of old was provided from the beginning of 1891 with a costly system of water-works which has made draughts of pure water, an easily procurable luxury in every part of the city.

We shall come to speak of the condition of Agra as it is in another part of this book, but every one would be filled with reflections of the vanity and instability of human affairs as he sees the streets and palaces of Agra, once the scene of great and imposing state ceremonials, now devoted to the ordinary occupations and frivolities of life. I have often heard cultured travellers standing at the gate of the Taj, muttering to themselves while their whole being was rapt up with admiration at the first sight of that scene of beauty that lay unfolded before them, that it seemed to them a place almost 'too hoary to enter.' I have fallen in with other travellers, who while treading the palaces in the fort, have conjured up those associations in their minds that almost transported them to the age of Akbar. Persons coming to Agra, with this veneration for the past, would not be delighted to see the places, consecrated by the panorama of great and noble historic deeds, assigned to perform duties of the commonest order. But in the economy of

the administration of British India Agra is nothing more than a district town ; its size, proportions and manifold activities have come down to its present requirements, and continued life in this city does not come above the average of that monotonous mufasil life in India which has been so often and so vividly described by many gifted Anglo-Indian writers. Agra has become of late years a large railway centre, and its commercial prosperity seems to be reviving.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE PRINCIPAL SIGHTS OF AGRA.

#### THE TAJ MAHAL.

No edifice of the civilized world has been oftener or more elegantly described than the Taj Mahal of Agra. Antiquarians, familiar with the architectural monuments of the four quarters of the globe, and art critics, saturated with the principles of the Italian school, equally place it among the wonders of the world, and are lavish in their admiration from all standpoints. It has received visits for many years past from the representatives of wealth, culture, and intellect of every country on the face of the earth, and although human tastes always differ, and the critical spirit is too visible in the modern age, the Taj Mahal has been noticed with enthusiastic admiration by all. Even those who had attempted to point out any defects, have done so in the utmost good spirit, and with preparatory remarks about the imperfections of humanity which ought to be overlooked in such a structure as the Taj. The Taj Mahal is the highest work of art of the Saracenic style. This style of architecture which owes its origin and conception

to the followers of the Arabian Prophet, has left many monuments of the past age both in Asia and Europe. In the extreme west of the Islamic domains, it is found exemplified in many a relic of the past in the cities of mediæval Spain. In Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia, and in the Khanates and principalities of Central Asia, this style is amply illustrated. Ruskin has through many delightful volumes treated architecture as one of the fine arts, and attempted to show how the feelings of the mind are expressively given vent to in beautiful structures. Many have been the discussions about the mental conception which sought to find for itself a fitting expression in a mausoleum so beautiful as the Taj Mahal. In describing the Taj Mahal it is indeed difficult to make the proper selections from the many admirable descriptions in hand. Civilian writers, like Sir John Strachey and Sir R. Temple, trained always to write solemn official paragraph in the plainest English, have described it in polished and trenchant sentences. Accomplished men of letters like Bishop Heber and Sir Edwin Arnold, who see the world with a gifted eye and who are endowed with high powers of imagination, have enriched their descriptions of it by utmost richness of language, wealth of conception, and plenitude of images. And practical and erudite scholars like Fergusson and Cunningham, have seen and written about it with a critical

eye, tracing how it originated, and how it was completed, and fixing its value as a historic relic and an architectural monument.

The Taj is approached from the city of Agra by a road which passes for the most part on the banks of the Jumna and which was opened out among the ruins of the villas and garden-houses of old days as a part of the famine operations of 1838. From the cantonments it is approached by a road which is very wide in some of its parts and called the Taj Road. On the way to the Taj from the city the visitor would observe heaps of earth and decaying bricks which tell the eloquent story of their being formerly the sites of stately edifices. Many of these have been dug out to their foundations, and the materials used for modern public buildings. The Taj is situated on a bend of the river Jumna, and looks much nearer to the city side than it is. It had been built during 18 years from 1630 to 1648. It was meant to be the final resting place of his favorite sultana Mumtaz-i-Mahal by Emperor Shah Jehan. This empress had as her maiden name Arjumand Banu Begum. She was the daughter of Asaf Khan for some time prime minister to Jehangir and Shah Jehan. This Asaf Khan was the brother of the celebrated empress Nur Jehan, and owed his rise to the influence of his sister. Asaf Khan's father was held in great respect by

his imperial son-in-law, and he was raised to the prime ministership soon after the celebrated marriage with Nur Jehan. Asaf Khan succeeded his father on the latter's death. His daughter, the lady of the Taj, was married to Shah Jehan about the year 1615, and the marriage seems to have been a most happy one. She showed her high-souled devotion to her husband during the days when he was struggling for the throne against numerous odds. She bore her husband seven children and died at Burhanpur in the Deccan on the occasion of the eighth childbirth. Shah Jehan was at the time conducting a campaign in person against Khan Jehan Lodi, and Mumtaz-i-Mahal had accompanied her husband thither. The memoirs of Shah Jehan tell us how uncontrollable was his grief on the loss of his beloved wife, and how he resolved at once to perpetuate her memory by a mausoleum that would be at once the most artistic and the most enduring. The inscriptions on the various parts of the building show that it was commenced in the year 1630, the year in which the empress died. The body of the empress was brought embalmed to Agra, and laid in a place close by the mosque on the west of the Taj Mahal till the magnificent mausoleum was ready to give it a fitting reception.

It has been said by a scholar of high authority that the design and the estimates of the Taj were

prepared by a Venetian, named Geronimo Verroneo. A Spanish monk, Father Manrique, who visited India about the year 1641, makes the same statement, and adds that the first estimate was for three crores of rupees. The main work was left to Moslem architects and supervised by a Byzantine Turk. The French artist, Austin de Bordeaux, who was in Shah Jehan's service, and to whom scholars ascribe the best decorations of the Peacock Throne and the New Palace at Delhi, is said to be the author of that exquisite inlaid work in marble which is to be seen here in the highest perfection. The marbles of which the Taj is built throughout were brought from the most distant parts of the empire, and in those days when the difficulties of carriage were at least a hundred times as great as they are now, this part of the business occupied a very long time which according to one account is stated to have been so much as seventeen years. But the substructure seems to have been commenced in right earnest at once, and the inscriptions give precisely the dates of the completion of the different parts of the building. Those familiar with Arabic characters would be able to find out that the western side of the Taj was completed in A. H. 1046, corresponding with 1637 of the Christian era. The entrance gives A. H. 1048 as the date of its completion ( A. D. 1639 ), and the outer

gateway would give the year 1648. The mosque on the western side necessitated another similar building on the eastern side, and with that perfect love of symmetry characteristic of the Islamic nature, another such adjunct was added, which was once the resting place of travellers and holy men. The inscriptions are all in Arabic characters and are taken mostly from the rigid sentences of the Koran. Those who have been able to understand the Arabic inscriptions record it as their opinion that they are most appropriate and suggest mournful reflections about the vanity of earthly life and the eternal bliss of the life beyond the grave. The inscriptions are very artistically arranged, and it requires an effort of the mind to understand that they are letters and not mere decorations. The best thing about them is that the size of the letters has been so carefully chosen that those on the greatest height appear to be equal in shape and size to those on a level with the eye of traveller, and this is considered to be an artistic perfection of no common order. The inscriptions on the front gateway are also in Arabic, and it is said that they end with a feeling invitation to all those who are pure in heart to enter the garden of the Paradise. The inscriptions on the tomb of the lady of the Taj give her maiden name, the name that she assumed on her becoming

empress, dates of her marriage and death, and many epithets of praise such as are to be copiously found in the florid style of the Persian writers.\* Shah Jehan is described on his tomb by every high-sounding title that has the meaning of just, magnificent, and besides one peculiar epithet *Sahib-i-Quiran*. This last word means that he was born at a time when there was a conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Venus. The same epithet was one of the proudest belongings of that rude Tartar chief whose invasions struck terror equally in the fertile valleys of Hindustan and the high uplands of Central Asia, Timur the Lame or Tamerlane. Birth on such an auspicious moment was thought to bring in good fortune with it. The word *Quiran* in the most accepted dictionaries mean proximity or near-

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\* On the tomb of Mumtaz-i-Mahal is the following inscription :—Markad-i-Munawwar-i Arjumand Banu Begum Mukhatab ba Mumtaz-i-Mahal taufiyat san 1040 (the splendid resting-place of Arjumand Banu Begum, entitled Mumtaz-i-Mahal, who died 1040 Hijri).

On the tomb of Shah Jehan the following words are written :—Markhad-i-Mutahhar-i-Ali-i-Hazrat-i-firdous- Ashyani-e-sahib-kiran-i-sani Shah Jehan badshahtaba sirruhut (the sacred and most sublime sepulchre of His Majesty, whose dwelling is in paradise, second of the lords of his dynasty, born in an auspicious and felicitous moment, Shah Jehan King. May his grave be ever fragrant ! 1076 Hijri).

ness, and is applied to mean the conjunction of stars in heaven. The outer-gate and the two similar structures on each side of the Taj are built of red sandstone. This material seems to have been quarried in this district itself and brought from the hills near Fatehpur Sikri which is one of the most extreme prolongations of the Vindhian range. The white marble is found in India in the celebrated quarries of Jeypur and the well-known marble rocks of Jubbulpore through which the Nurbadda cuts her way, thereby producing a scene of wild beauty, that charms the visitor. The white marbles of the Taj seem to have been brought mostly from the Jeypur quarries. These are within the boundaries of the Native State of Jeypur, which was always a very friendly State to the Mogul sovereigns and nearer to the place where they were required. Those who have visited the palaces and cenotaphs of Jeypur will be able to find that the materials employed in the handsomest buildings there are exactly the same as those to be found here. The various stones which have been employed in the inlay work of the Taj are agates, cornelians, sapphires and other costly things brought either from distant parts of India or from Afghanistan, Persia, and other countries. The work is extant yet which gives the details of the expenses of the Taj buildings. The figures as they

have been ascertained by Western scholars say that Rs. 98,55,426 came as contributions for this purpose from the numerous feudatory Rajahs and Nawabs. The cost to the imperial treasury which was unusually full during Shah Jehan's reign, amounted to Rs. 86,09,760. The silver gates of the Taj which had been taken away and melted down as booty by the Jats, had cost Rs. 1,27,000, and it is said that these had 1,100 nails affixed to them each having a head made of a *Sonut* rupee. In a number of the *Calcutta Review* Captain Anderson gives a full estimate of the probable cost, and thinks that the cost was Rs. 4,11,48,826.

The name of the chief architect of the Taj as given in the native annals is Effendi. The cost of each particular necessary for the construction of the buildings is given in copious detail. It is hardly necessary to state here the economic truth, that money has no intrinsic value of its own, that everything depends on its purchasing power, and as we have no sufficient data about this point, the bare statement of the figures would convey but little idea to the modern mind about the outlay incurred. The wages that were paid to the workmen employed are estimated at so much as thirty lakhs, and there is no doubt that this amount was paid either in cash or in allowances of grain. The labour that was employed in building the Taj,

was what is known as forced labour, and no person had the choice or option to decline the service required of him or the terms offered however inadequate they might seem in his own judgment. The number of workmen is computed at twenty thousand, and they had to labour for eighteen consecutive years before this marble mountain raised its head sublime in the air. The workmen used to get every evening a stated allowance of corn and other necessaries of life, but the allowance sanctioned by the emperor was considerably cut short by the officials supervising the construction, and the labourers were ill-fed and ill provided for. They were housed in the suburb of Tajganj, and as they were not at all cared for, pestilence and famine made short work of a great many among them. The mortality that is alleged to have prevailed among them appears to have been somewhat dreadful, and as it is doubtful whether they ever got any money allowances, they were always in a state of chronic distress.

We need not follow learned scholars at any length into the discussion as to whether the Taj Mahal was the product of foreign brains or the unassisted conception of oriental artists and architects. One theory would place it among the conceptions of the Italian artist, Manrique. But it is pointed out by scholars of the highest authority that the Taj is

anything but Italian in conception and execution. It is a product, pure and simple, of the Saracenic style of architecture, and it is entirely in accordance with the Eastern ideas of the sublime and the beautiful. The white muslin robe bedecked with jewels was considered to be the proper imperial garb of the great Mogul, and a structure of the purest white colour seems to be in accordance with the most finished ideas of oriental beauty. The Taj, it is evident, has been modelled on the Tomb of Humayon at Delhi, and the design is just the same, with evident improvements. A square garden with gates or appearance of the same on all sides, a terrace in the middle, and a garden-house at one end of it, appear and re-appear in all the existing mausoleums. There is no doubt that this was the groundwork of the Taj too, with evident improvements. As we proceed, however, with the eye of the architectural scholar, to classify and criticise the different productions of the Pathan and the Mogul art, we find, as we come to later dates chronologically, that many manifest improvements had been introduced on the earlier designs and methods of execution. The inlaid work of the Taj and the flowers and petals that are to be found on all sides on the surface of the marble evince a most delicate touch, and show that a new element had been introduced in the execution. The inlaid work, the marble

screens, and the flowers, the buds, the leaves, the petals, and the lotus stems to be found in the Taj, are almost without a rival in the whole of the civilized world, not excepting that land of taste and culture, that favoured home of art, the land of classic Rome. There is no doubt, however, that Shah Jehan's artists drew for their model, the Florentine work known as *Pietra Dura*. There was a foreign artist by name Austin de Bordeaux in Shah Jehan's service, who seems to have had a complete knowledge of the Italian art of the period and the work of inlaying was modelled upon that to be found in the Medicean Chapel of Florence. The work of inlaying with stones and gems is found in the highest perfection in the Taj, and is altogether of a different cast from that employed in earlier or later buildings. The tomb of Iti-mad-ud-dowlah at Agra shows some work of another sort, but there is wanting in that the touch of genius, which makes the work of the Taj so nearly akin to perfection. Austin de Bordeaux is fixed upon by those scholars who have carefully studied the subject as the person to whom is due the artistic decorations of the Taj on the surface of the white marble. His name is mentioned both by Bernier and Tavernier, and to his genius the palace built by his master in New Delhi, owes the principal part of the artistic beauty which has charmed the intellect and captivated the taste of

many a succeeding age. Austin died at Delhi, and it is said that he was so favourite a servant of his Imperial master, that his portrait in inlaid work could be seen behind Shah Jehan's throne in the palace in Delhi for many years till it was sacked and despoiled by Nadir Shah. The whole of the Taj produces a wonderful effect, that is equally sublime and beautiful, as a view of it is obtained from the outer gate whence it can be best seen in one view.

As to the effect produced on the cultured mind by the Taj, and the points of beauty noticeable in this marvellous structure, we would leave the reader to peruse below the eloquent and elegant words of many of its best critics, which should be reproduced in full, one after another.

Sir William Wilson Hunter thus describes it :— ✓

(1.) The Taj Mahal with its beautiful domes ' a dream of marble ' rises on the river bank. It is reached from the Fort by the Strand Road, made in the famine of 1838, and adorned with stone ghats by native gentlemen. The Taj was erected as a mausoleum for the remains of Arjumand Banu Begum, wife of Emperor Shah Jehan and known as Mumtazi Mahal or exalted one of the palace. She died in 1629, and this building was set on foot soon after her death, though not completed till 1648. The materials are white marble from Jaipur and red sandstone from Fatehpur Sikri. The complexity

of its design and the delicate intricacy of the workmanship baffle description. The mausoleum stands on a raised marble platform at each of whose corners rises a tall and slender minaret of graceful proportions and exquisite beauty. Beyond the platform stretch the two wings, one of which is itself a mosque of great architectural merit. In the centre of the whole design the mausoleum occupies a square of 186 feet with the angles deeply truncated so as to form an unequal octagon. The main feature in this central pile is the great dome, which swells upward to nearly two-thirds of a sphere and tapers at its extremity into a pointed spire crowned by a crescent. Beneath it an enclosure of marble trellis-work surrounds the tombs of the princess and of her husband, the Emperor. Each corner of the mausoleum is covered by a similar though much smaller dome erected on a pediment pierced with graceful Saracenic arches. Light is admitted into the interior through a double screen of pierced marble, which tempers the glare of an Indian sky while its whiteness prevents the mellow effect from degenerating into gloom. The internal decorations consist of inlaid work in precious stones such as agate, jasper, with which every squandril or salient point in the architecture is richly fretted. Brown and violet marble is also freely employed in wreaths, scrolls, and lintels to relieve the monotony of white wall.

In regard to color and design, the interior of the Taj may rank first in the world for purely decorative workmanship; while the perfect symmetry of its exterior, once seen can never be forgotten, nor the ærial grace of its domes, rising like marble bubbles into the clear sky. The Taj represents the most highly elaborated stage of ornamentation reached by the Indo-Mahomedan builders, the stage in which the architect ends and the jeweller begins. In its magnificent gateway the diagonal ornamentation at the corners, which satisfied the designers of the gateways of Itimad-ud-doulah and Sikandra mausoleums is superseded by fine marble cables, in bold twists, strong and handsome. The triangular insertions of white marble and large flowers have in like manner given place to fine inlaid work. Firm perpendicular lines in black marble with well proportioned panels of the same material are effectively used in the interior of the gateway. On its top the Hindu brackets and monolithic architraves of Sikandra are replaced by Moorish carped arches, usually single blocks of red sandstone, in the Kiosks and pavilions which adorn the roof. From the pillared pavilions magnificent view is obtained in the Taj gardens below, with the noble Jumna river at their farther end, and the city and Fort of Agra in the distance. From this beautiful and splendid gateway one passes up a straight alley shaded by ever green trees cooled

by a broad shallow piece of water running along the middle of the path, to the Taj itself. The Taj is entirely of marble and gems. The red sandstone of the other Mahomedan buildings has disappeared or rather the red sandstone where used to form the thickness of the walls, is in the Taj itself overlaid completely with white marble, and the white marble is itself inlaid with precious stones arranged in lovely patterns of flowers. A feeling of purity impresses itself on the eye and the mind from the absence of the coarser material which forms so invariable a material in Agra architecture. The lower walls and panels are covered with tulips, oleanders, and full blown lilies, in flat carving on the white marble; and although the inlaid work of flowers done in gems, is very brilliant when looked at closely there is on the whole but little colour, and the all prevailing sentiment is one of whiteness, silence, and calm. The whiteness is broken only by the fine colour of the inlaid gems, by lines in black marbles, and by delicately written inscriptions also in black from the Koran. Under the dome of the vast mausoleum a high and beautiful screen of open tracery in white marble rises round the two tombs, or rather cenotaphs of the emperor and his princess; and in this marvel of marble, the carving has advanced from the old geometrical patterns to a trellis-work of flowers and foliage, handled with great freedom

and spirit. The two cenotaphs in the centre of the exquisite enclosure have no carving except the plain *Kalamdan* or oblong pen-box on the tomb of Emperor Shah Jehan. But both cenotaphs are inlaid with flowers made of costly gems, and with the ever graceful oleander scroll.”

2. Bayard Taylor, after describing the details about the Taj, goes on to say, “On both sides the palm, the banyan, and the feathery bamboo mingle their foliage ; the song of birds meets your ears, and the odour of roses and lemon flowers sweetens the air. Down such a vista and over such a fore-ground rises the Taj. There is no mystery, no sense of partial failure about the Taj. A thing of perfect beauty and of absolute finish, in every detail it might pass for the work of genii who knew naught of the weaknesses and ills with which mankind are beset. It is not a great national temple erected by a free and united people ; it owes its creation to the whim of an absolute ruler who was free to squander the resources of the State in commemorating his personal sorrows or his vanity.”

3. A distinguished Russian artist, quoted by Mr. Keene, says, that the Taj is a lovely woman, abuse her as you please, but the moment you come into her presence, you submit to its fascination. On this Mr. Keene remarks, “Admitting that there is something slight and effeminate in the general

design which cannot be altogether obliterated or atoned for by beauty of decoration, the simile seems just, and it calls to mind the familiar couplet in *the Rape of the Lock* —

‘ If to her share some female errors fall  
Look in her face and you’ll forget them all.’ ”

4. Mr. James Fergusson, D. C. L., F. R. S., M. R. A. S., one of the highest living authorities on Indian and Eastern Architecture, gives a description of the Taj, every word of which is valuable. He says, “It is a pleasure to turn from this destroyed and desecrated palace to the Taj Mahal, which ever more perhaps than the palace ( at Delhi ) was always the *chef-d’oeuvre* of Shah Jehan’s reign. It too has been fortunate in attracting the notice of the English who have paid sedulous attention to it for sometime past and keep it now with its gardens in a perfect state of substantial repair. No building in India has been so often drawn and photographed as this or more frequently described, but with all this it is almost impossible to convey an idea of it to those who have not seen it, not only because of its extreme delicacy and beauty of material employed in its construction, but from the complexity of its design. If the Taj were only the tomb itself it might be described ; but the platform on which it stands with its tall minarets is a work of art itself. Beyond this are the two wings one of which

is a mosque which anywhere else would be considered an important building. This group of buildings forms one side of a garden 880 feet square, and beyond this again an outer court of the same width, but only half the depth. This is entered by three gateways of its own, and contains in the centre of its inner wall the great gateway of the garden Court, a worthy pendent to the Taj itself. Beautiful as it is in itself the Taj would lose half its charm if it stood alone. It is the combination of so many beauties, and the perfect manner in which each is subordinated to the other, that makes up a whole which the world cannot match and which never fails to impress even those who are most indifferent to the effects produced by architectural objects in general. The plan and section (referring to two wood cuts) explain sufficiently the general arrangement and structural peculiarities of the tomb or principal building in the group. The raised platform on which it stands is 18 ft. high, faced with white marble, and exactly 313 ft. square. At each corner of this terrace stands a minaret 133 ft. in height and of the most exquisite proportions more beautiful perhaps than any other in India. In the centre of this marble platform stands the mausoleum, a square of 186 ft. with the corners cut off to the extent of 33 ft. 9 in. The centre of this is occupied by the principal dome 38 ft. in diameter and 80 ft.

in height, under which is an enclosure formed by a screen of trellis-work of white marble a *chef d'œuvre* of elegance in Indian Art. Within this stand the tombs—that of Mumtaz-i- Mahal in the centre, and that of Shah Jehan on one side. These however as is usual in Indian sepulchres are not the true tombs, the bodies rest in a vault, level with the surface of the ground beneath plainer tombstones, placed exactly underneath those in the hall above.

In every angle of the building is a small domical apartment, of two storeys in height, 26 ft. 8 in. in diameter, and these are connected as shown in the plan by various passages and halls. The light in the central apartment is admitted only through double screens of white marble trellis-work of the most exquisite design one on the outer and one on the inner face of the walls. In our climate this would produce nearly complete darkness ; but in India and in a building wholly composed of white marble this was required to temper the glare that otherwise would have been intolerable. As it is, no words can express the chastened beauty of that central chamber, seen in the soft gloom of the subdued light that reaches it through the distant and half-closed openings that surround it. When used as a Bara Durrie or pleasure palace, it must always have been the coolest and loveliest of garden retreats, and now that it is sacred to the dead it is the most

graceful and the most impressive of the sepulchres of the world. The building too is an exquisite example of that system of inlaying with precious stones which became the great characteristic of the style of the Moguls after the death of Akbar. All the squandrils of the Taj, all the angles and more important architectural details, are heightened by being inlaid with precious stones, such as agates, blood-stones, jaspers, and the like. These are combined in wreaths, scrolls, and frets as exquisite in design as beautiful in colour ; and relieved by the pure white marble in which they are inlaid, they form the most beautiful and precious style of ornament ever adopted in architecture ; though of course not to be compared with the intellectual beauty of Greek ornament it certainly stands first among the purely decorative forms of architectural design. This mode of ornamentation is lavishly bestowed on the tombs themselves and the screens that surround them, though sparingly introduced on the mosque that forms one wing of the Taj or on the fountains and surrounding buildings. The judgment indeed with which this style of ornament is apportioned to the various parts is almost as remarkable as the ornament itself, and conveys a high idea of the taste and skill of the Indian architects of that age. The long row of cypresses which line the marble paths that intersect the garden at right angles, are

now of venerable age ; and backed up by a mass of evergreen foliage lend a charm to the whole which the founder and his children could have hardly realized. Each of the main avenues among these trees has a canal along its centre, studded with marble fountains, and each vista leads to some beautiful architectural object with the Jumna in front and this garden with its fountains and gateways behind. With its own purity of material and grace of form, the Taj may challenge comparison with any creation of the same sort in the world. Its beauty may not be of the highest class, but in its class it is unsurpassed.

5. Bernier after giving all the details omits to mention the screen which according to the unanimous testimony of modern scholars was added by Aurangzeb after he had laid the body of his father by the side of Empress Mumtaz-i-Mahal. He thus describes the effect that the Taj produced on him. "I had reason to say that the tomb of the Taj Mahal is something worthy to be admired. For my part I do not yet well know whether I am not somewhat infected still with Indianism, but I must needs say that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the world rather than those unshapen masses of the Egyptian Pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing without but pieces of great

stones ranged in the form of steps one after another, and within but very little art and invention."

6. Tavernier thus alludes to the Taj, "I have seen the commencement and the completion of this great work, which employed twenty-thousand men daily for twenty-two years, a fact from which some idea of its excessive costliness may be formed. The scaffolding is held to have cost more than the building, for not having enough wood they had to make it of brick as also the centerings of the vaults. Shah Jehan began to make his own sepulchre on the other side of the river, but his war with his son interrupted the design, and Aurangzeb, the present ruler, has not cared to carry it out." The tradition is that Shah Jehan's tomb was to have been built on the opposite side of the river, and the two were to be connected by a magnificent bridge.

7. A writer, who does not give his name, describes the Taj in the following choice sentences. "The æthereal beauty which undoubtedly characterizes the group as a whole is entirely due to material and to colour. The materials and colours are thoroughly adapted to the climate, and would lose their effect in another atmosphere, or if backed by dull leaden skies. To my mind the Taj is utterly unsuited for illumination. To crowd the silent gardens with gaping chattering crowds, to deck the great doorway and the mosque with rows of light

till they resemble gin-palaces, to fling lime-light upon the delicate masonry of the mausoleum, seems to me an act of vandalism. Such things befit a crystal palace where the whole surroundings are rococo, flimsy, artificial, and theatrical, but they are out of keeping with a building in which the dead rest, and in which the stern simplicity of art is the predominant feature." \*

The drawing of the topmost spire of the Taj in front of the northern end of the *Jawub* or false mosque to the east of the Taj, is an interesting thing. It represents the gilded spike with a crescent at the top crowning the central dome of the Taj to a height of 30 ft. Another interesting phenomenon is the power of resounding sounds of the central dome of the Taj. There are many passages in many a literature which celebrate this particular power of echoing. It is to be enjoyed by sending up single sounds and watching how they seem to roll overhead for some time and then gradually fade away by degrees. The reverberation of single and distinct sounds or a single note carried on for some time is so clear and emphatic that it is a distinctly enjoyable phenomenon. It seems to float in the air, and becoming tangibly less and less in gradually

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\* The visitor with leisure at his disposal is recommended to read the beautiful descriptions of the Taj in prose and verse by Bishop Heber and Sir Edwin Arnold, which are really charming but too long to be quoted here.

fading undulations, appears to be swallowed up in the blue vault of heaven.

The sight of the Taj by moonlight is charming. In moon-lit nights, the whole building is seen from a distance sparkling in the clear rays, all the curves appearing beautifully, and the vegetation casting soft shadows all around. The Indian sky is often without a cloud, and in clear nights the blue vista of the horizon affords the most delightful of canopies overhead as well as the most effective of backgrounds, and the unpleasant glare of the Indian sun being removed from the scene, the visitor enjoys the prospect lying before him with all his heart. The Taj, it has often been said, could be seen aright like Melrose by the pale moonlight, and the surrounding calm is unbroken by any thing but the whistling breezes. The interior of the Taj could not be seen to advantage in the moonlight, and rare have been the occasions when the interior of the central dome had been lit up with the splendour of a full moon. The last occasion on which I saw it done was the occasion of the visit of the late lamented H. R. H. the Duke of Clarence to Agra. The outer decoration on the marble walls of the Taj appear almost transparent under the slanting rays of the moon, and the pavement below, when looked at from the terrace of the Taj, has all the appearance of a carpet. There is a genius of the place which fully

envelopes the visitor as he lightly treads within it under the bright moon—a genius which can be as inadequately described as it is visibly felt. The well-known saying about the Taj, that it is too sacred to the touch and that it only wants a glass-dome to shelter it from the winds of heaven, and to render it perfect, is never more fully realized than when one looks on the lovely panorama of beauty *with the clear moon at its meridian height.*

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## THE FORT.

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The Fort at Agra is the central object of the city and a most imposing object in itself. It was founded in its present form by Akbar, though both the interior and the exterior underwent considerable modifications, and received several accessions in the reign of his son and grandson. Its appearance from the opposite bank of the river, the view of massive sandstone walls crowned by gilded marble domes, is a most picturesque one, and charms the traveller as he enters the city on the eastern side. It has been described almost as often as the Taj, and many an imaginative writer has attempted to describe in graphic and elegant language the life that the Emperor of Hindustan led within this massive structure. Travellers from the far west declare that they have seen few things equal to the Fort at Agra in massive grandeur or solemnity and beauty of appearance. The Fort at Delhi has little of its antique sublimity left. Entering the walls of the Fort at Delhi one is disappointed to find the exceedingly modern and ordinary structures which house the British soldier. There is only one corner of it that contains the relics of the magnificent Mogul

Emperor who founded New Delhi. The Fort at Agra has not undergone the same vicissitudes as the one at Delhi during the days of the Mutiny. At Delhi, the Fort was the centre and rallying point of the revolt of the mutinous troops all over Hindustan. Since the eventful morning of the 11th May, 1857, when the Meerut mutineers demanded and got the entrance into the Fort, it had been the highest ambition of the disappointed troops in all the great military centres of Hindustan, to march with all the money in the British treasuries to that imperial residence, which still held a great place in the imagination of the multitude, and to rally with their heart's blood around the flag of the crescent set up from the far-famed ramparts. It took several months' strenuous fight for the British to reconquer that citadel and in the first heat of re-occupying it, the military authorities lost their heads and despoiled within a few hours those priceless gems of architecture which would have instructed and delighted many an unborn generation. But at Agra, the Fort, although it has been modernized in several particulars, is yet to all intents and purposes the same as the one which Aurangzeb saw when he proceeded towards the Deccan to set up the flag of the Mogul on the palaces of Bijapur and Golconda. The Jats had despoiled it in some particulars, and two British Viceroy's had caused a considerable

quantity of marble to be dug up and sold by public auction or sent to England. But a very different spirit pervaded the head quarters of the Government of India afterwards. Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, saw these buildings with admiration. The British Government not only determined to preserve what was left, but attempted to restore many of these edifices at considerable cost. The impression generally prevails even among many cultured travellers that by the process of attempted restoration, the buildings have been substantially altered, but this does not seem to have been the case. I have had the advantage of consulting many of the local members of the Committee that was appointed to consider this subject ; and I have carefully ascertained the condition of the buildings before the repairs were undertaken. All that was done was to strike out all modern additions and bring the buildings to their former condition, with only the necessary repairs and patch-works. There is however nothing in the Agra Fort that can compete with the chastened beauty of the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi which is truly the paradise on earth, as its poetic inscription seems to proclaim.

The Fort at Agra was built by Akbar after his final abandonment of Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar built his metropolis at Fatehpur Sikri, and the magni-

ificent ruins there which still meet the traveller's eye manifest to posterity how far he had proceeded in this direction. The place however, with its brackish water, did not prove very healthy and the superiority of Agra as a town on a river which in that age was one of the broad highways of commerce was soon demonstrated. The Fort at Agra was founded originally by Shere Shah, and considerably improved upon by Selim Shah Sur. This mud building Akbar took as the foundation of his new palace-fortress and with sandstone quarried from the hills at Fatehpur Sikri, he built the massive red building where he used to reside with his court and imperial surroundings. The outer walls are nearly a mile and half in circumference, of red sandstone with beehive crenellations. They are surmounted by towers and bastions, and used to have a deep moat around them. There were two surrounding walls, and antiquarians say that the outer one was a later addition by Shah Jehan. There used to be a building known as Tirpolia or the three-gated building between the Delhi Gate of the Fort and the Jahanara Masjid where markets used to be held. But this building was swept away in 1875 for strategic reasons and nothing now intervenes between the new railway station and the Delhi Gate of the fort. There used to be two other entrances besides the Delhi Gate to this fort. One is that which is still known as Amar

Singh Gate and which was named after a Rajput chief who was cut up in the durbar of Shah Jehan in 1644. The other one is the disused water-gate to the east side of the Fort. Those familiar with the engineering branch of the modern military science say that the walls of the Fort are not really of such strength as they seem. The red sandstone is a mere veneer over banks of mud and rubble. Modern artillery however has made but very slow impression on mud and sandstone walls. The student of the History of India of the present century would call to mind as in point, the mud walls of the Fort at Bharatpur which defied the heaviest siege-train that Lord Combermere could bring against them for many months and the stone-walls of Delhi which, the British veterans could not dare to storm even with heavy guns at their disposal, at a time when the speedy possession of that imperial city was being urged upon them by the highest political authorities as a thing of the greatest moment in England's supreme hour of need and notwithstanding the praiseworthy and self-sacrificing spirit of the younger ensigns and pioneers who offered to lead the operations at all risks. It was only by mining operations when portions of the walls had been blown away that the turning-point of the siege came, and with such experiences of the past, the remarks about the strength of the walls of the Agra

Fort and their capacity to resist grape-shot and 24-pounders seem to be rather lightly made.

The Delhi Gate of the Fort is a massive structure, reached by a drawbridge over the moat and we then go up a sloping ascent paved with stone-slabs which terminate in the inner gateway known as *Hathi Pol* or Elephant Gate flanked by red sandstone towers of an octagonal shape with inlaid designs in white marble. Between the two towers are two circular domes, which surmount the entrance to the gateway. The inner gateway, tradition has it, was erected in commemoration of Akbar's victory at Chittore, over two Rajput chiefs who offered him a stubborn resistance. This gate is defended by a portcullis and a drawbridge and was erected to suit strategic purposes, as well as for ornamental use. The inscription over it is now too indistinct to be deciphered, but scholars guess that it must have had the same import as the one on the gate of Fatehpur Sikri and was in commemoration of the success of Akbar in the Chittore campaign. There is another inscription on this gateway which proclaims the fact and gives the date of Jehangir's accession. Over these gates were once placed those elephant statues which represented the Chittore heroes Jaimal and Fatha and portions of which in ruins might yet be seen in Delhi. The two statues are described by all who saw them at the time to be

fine works of art. Passing through it, the traveller would be disappointed to walk through a road newly opened out and alongside of some modern barracks and arsenals. These are of no interest to detain the traveller, and he might pass on at once to the *Moti Musjid* or the Pearl Mosque. The three domes, rising high up in the sky, which he would see from a distance considerably above the ramparts, would indicate the spot where this far-famed place of worship is to be found.

The following passages taken from an eminent writer comprize probably one of the best descriptions of the celebrated Pearl Mosque. "Though neither so magnificent nor so richly ornamented as some of his other buildings, the *Moti Musjid* or Pearl Mosque which Shah Jehan erected in the Fort of Agra is one of the purest and most elegant buildings of its class to be found anywhere. It is not large, measuring only 187 ft. by 234 ft. over all externally, and though raised on a lofty stylobate, which ought to give it dignity, it makes no pretensions to architectural effect on the outside; but the moment you enter by the eastern gateway the effect of its court-yard is surpassingly beautiful. The whole is of white marble, and the forms all graceful and elegant. The only ornament introduced which is not strictly architectural is an inscription in black marble inlaid in the frieze of the mosque itself. The

court-yard is nearly a square, 154 ft. by 158 ft. On three sides it is surrounded by a low colonnade, 10 ft. 10 in. deep ; but on the west by the mosque itself, 159 ft. by 56 ft. internally. It opens on the court by seven arches of great beauty, and is surmounted by three domes of bulbous form that became universal about this time. Any woodcuts cannot do it justice, it must be seen to be appreciated ; but I hardly know anywhere of a building so perfectly pure and elegant or one that forms such a wonderful contrast with the buildings of Akbar in the same palace."

The inscription over the front of the Moti Musjid shows that it was built by Shah Jehan in A. H. 1063. Though not so large as the Jumma Musjid of Delhi, nor adorned with tall minars, it possesses more elegance and purity of effect than the great mosque at Shah Jehan's imperial capital. Standing in its court-yard one looks on nothing but white marble slabs on all sides and the blue sky overhead, and Sir Richard Temple truly remarks that no place is more fitted to inspire men with deeper religious culture than this spotless mosque. It is much larger than the mosque of the same name attached to the palace at Delhi. It is entirely without decoration, and is situated on a lofty platform raised by a long flight of steps. European artists and travellers have found in the Doric simplicity of its style

its crowning ornament, and if the cathedral at Rome or the cathedral at St. Paul's inspire spiritual sentiments, much more is this building calculated to do the same. It has been pronounced by many to be the purest object yet dedicated by the vanity of man to the worship of the Almighty Being above. It has 24 Saracenic arches with beautiful curves, and points of their intersection present a beautiful sight. The two side-chambers and the main block were used as a hospital during the mutiny. There is a sun-dial and a beautiful tank to get water from in the court-yard, and there are staircases on both sides, joining it to the private apartments of the palace. From its top, beside the domes, a fine view can be obtained of the country around.

From the Moti Musjid the traveller passes on to the Diwan-i-Am, or the Public Audience Hall, a building completed in its present form by Aurangzeb. The date of its completion is given as 1094 A. H. being the 27th year of the reign of Alimgir. It had undergone considerable modifications under the direction of the English Government, but it has been brought to its pristine condition, as far as possible, during the Lieutenant-Governorship of Sir John Strachey. Its dimensions are 192 ft. by 64 ft. and there are pillars and colonnades to support the roof above. It was here that the emperor appeared to the public surrounded by courtiers paying him due respects.

and here all business of a public nature was transacted. The emperor's seat was on the raised platform overlooking the hall on all sides of which were walls inlaid with mosaics and precious stones. Just below it is a slab of marble on which, as traditions says, Akbar used to take his stand while dispensing justice. The court-yard in front of the Diwan-i-Am which has small cells and cloisters on three of its sides and which will be found stored with guns, shots and shells of all descriptions was the tilt-yard of Akbar's palace where his guards paraded, richly caparisoned horses and elephants stood ready for the emperor, and numerous entertaining scenes were exhibited before the Sovereign. There was an iron railing, now no longer to be seen, separating this hall from the court-yard below, and only persons of rank and distinction were admitted inside the railings. This court-yard, whence issued the most splendid processions during the reign of Akbar and his immediate successors, is now a fine lawn, where the guns wrested from the mutineers, are yet to be seen and where is the tomb of John Russell Colvin, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces, during the time of the Mutiny who died within this fort, (September 9th, 1859). This tomb has been built in a truly oriental fashion with fine polished marble slabs and pillars, and is in keeping with the surroundings of the place. It has

no inscriptions, but it would recall to posterity the memory of faithful service rendered in England's supreme hour of need. It has been remarked that the Diwan-i-Am is much smaller than what would have been suited to the dignity of the emperor of Hindustan, and that it sinks into insignificance when compared with Westminster Hall or the halls of Public Audience at any one of the great European capitals. There are grated passages to the right and left of the emperor's throne whence the ladies of the palace could view the proceedings of the court and the tilt-yard. The durbar that was held in this hall in honor of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, where many of the ruling chiefs and noblemen of India paid homage to their future emperor, is described to be an exceptionally brilliant affair, for a full and detailed description of which the reader is referred to George Wheeler's book on the tour of His Royal Highness.

The door to the back of the emperor's throne admitted him to the Macchi Bhawan. It is a courtyard to which the water of the Jumna was admitted by artificial passages, and where fishes used to be stored for the pleasure of the emperor that he and his courtiers might indulge in the amusement of angling. The Macchi Bhawan has chambers which served for use as office rooms on two of its sides, and on the north-west corner it leads to a small mosque and set of chambers. It was

here that Shah Jehan was placed in honourable durance by his son, and the chamber is still pointed out where he used to reside and whence he conversed with his sympathisers below. This mosque is the smaller Pearl Mosque, and is built just after the fashion of the one in Delhi. It has three arches and is built entirely of white marble without any decorations, and is a most pleasing edifice. The walls in front of this smaller mosque shows a large opening where warm water was stored for the ablutions necessary before prayer, and a door opens out to a beautiful balcony, with a court-yard and side chambers of red sandstone which was the market for the ladies of the zenana where the precious and fancy articles used in the imperial seraglio were exhibited, bought, and sold. This little Moti Mosque was added by Aurangzeb, and though very pretty is very small, being 60 ft. square in all. Travellers have often expressed wonder at the fact that while Akbar should have built a splendid mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, he should have built none at Agra, both the Moti Musjid and its smaller counterpart being undoubtedly later additions.

The palace at Agra, as it is seen now, retains very little of the original as built by Akbar, the greater part of it being undoubtedly later additions by Jehangir and Shah Jehan. Passing the sandstone pavement on the southern side of the Machhi

Bhawan, the traveller would come on a broad terrace with the Diwan-i-Khas on the southern side of it and two historic thrones on the eastern and western sides almost near the middle. On this terrace the emperor used to take his seat to enjoy the river air, to see the royal yachts gliding past in the Jumna immediately below, and to watch the fights of animals in the lawn on which it looked. There is a tradition that the fissure caused in the black throne was a miraculous event, the stone breaking as it could not suffer that Jawahir Singh, son of Suraj Mall, the Jat Conqueror of Agra, should take his seat on it as Emperor of Hindustan. There are red stains in the throne, and this is said to have been caused by blood issuing out of it when Lord Ellenborough took his seat on it as Emperor of Hindustan. The presence of the red marks is due to mineral substances, and can be otherwise accounted for by mineralogists. There are two inscriptions on this black throne, one mentioning the fact of Jehangir's reconciliation with his father the Emperor Akbar, and the other the fact of his ascending the throne of his father in 1605 A. D. The throne is said to have been brought by Prince Selim from Alahabad when he came to Agra to be reconciled with his father after his open rebellion of many years.

The Diwan-i-Khas or the place where the emperor used to consult with his ministers, is much

inferior to the building of the same name at Delhi, and consists of two halls. Its entire length is 64 ft. 9 in. and breadth 34 ft. The roof is placed 22 ft. higher than the floor. It is very elaborately decorated, and Tavernier tells us that it was Shah Jehan's intention to put in this building a trellis of rubies and emeralds to resemble green grapes and those beginning to turn red, but the design proved to be too costly, and the inlaid work was carried on to a small extent. This building is entirely of white marble. Its marble flooring had been dug out by the Jat invaders. It is said too that its ceiling was to have been covered with a silver sheet. It was from this place that Emperor Akbar elaborated those administrative measures which have struck posterity with admiration and which have been chronicled with such strict fidelity to details, by his friend Abul Fazal. This was the central chamber, where converged the news of Hindustan and whence issued mandates to be obeyed in all quarters of the empire. It is a tasteful building, beautiful in itself, though it is usually considered inferior to the chaste, the elegant, and the magnificent Diwan-i-Khas of Delhi.

Passing southward from the Diwan-i-Khas one comes to the *Pachisi* Board where chess and other oriental games used to be played by the ladies of the imperial household. It is surmounted by the *Summon Burj*, or the *Jasmine Tower*, and surrounded

on two of its sides by beautiful screens in which the marks of cannon balls are evident. The Jasmine Tower was the appointed boudoir of the principal Begum. It was here that she sat surrounded by maids-of-honor, and amused herself while looking on the bend of the river immediately below. The tower is composed of carved and inlaid marble, with a fountain beautifully laid out, and is an ideal of what a bower of repose for a lady of the highest rank should be in an eastern country. It was restored by order of Lord Northbrook, and it appears now as it used to do in Mogul times.

Near the Summon Burj is the disused water-gate yet to be seen, and we pass on next to the Khas Mehal which forms the eastern surrounding of the *Anguri Bagh*. The Khas Mahal is a chamber of pure white marble, approached by marble steps, and surrounded by marble walls of various thickness. It was the sleeping room of the emperor. From its windows Akbar used to view the splendid sight of the Eastern sunrise. One can obtain a fine side-view of the Taj from the same place. Its ceilings were adorned with gold paintings. They were almost exactly of the same description as those that adorn the walls and ceilings of the Dewan-i-Khas at Delhi, a style which seems to have found peculiar favour with Shah Jehan. A small specimen of this painting had been restored during the visit of His Royal

Highness the Prince of Wales, and although it had been done hardly over two square feet the cost is said to have been nearly Rs. 5,000. The Khas Mehal is strictly in the private apartments of the palace, and is said to have been the drawing and sitting room of the emperor's most favourite lady of the harem. To the front of the Khas Mahal stretches the *Anguri Bagh* with its delicious creepers and shades, its fountains, its ever-perfumed breezes, and its evergreen shrubs. The student of the literature of the time of the Mogul emperors must be familiar with this name which is associated with some of the most charming and romantic of those tales which ever lulled a baby to sleep in Hindustan. The *Anguri Bagh* was surrounded by three sets of chambers on three of its sides, all appropriated to the use of the ladies of the zenana. It was to these chambers that the Christian population of Agra flocked during the troubles of 1857. The chambers here are said to stand exactly as they were built by Akbar, and had undergone only slight modifications at the hands of Shah Jehan to suit the new surroundings called into being under his orders. The additions to the palace at Agra by Shah Jehan in white marble has been thus described by an elegant writer. "The substructures of the palace are of red sandstone, but nearly the whole of its corridors, chambers, and pavilions, are of white marble, wrought with the

most exquisite elaboration of ornament. The pavilions overhanging the river are inlaid within and without in the rich style of Florentine mosaic. They are precious caskets of marble glittering all over with jasper, agate, Cornelian bloodstone, lapislazuli, and topped with golden domes. Balustrades of marble, wrought in open patterns of such rich design that they resemble fringes of lace when seen from below, extend along the edge of the battlements. The Junna washes the walls seventy feet below, and from the balconies, attached to the zenana or women's apartments, there are beautiful views of the gardens and palm groves on the opposite bank and that wonder of India, the Taj, shining like a palace of ivory and crystal, about a mile down the stream."

To the north of the *Anguri Bagh* a small passage leads to the *Shish Mahal* or palace of glass which was the emperor's bath. Those who have experiences of the Hammams of Delhi will be able easily to appreciate what was the oriental idea of a luxurious bath. The bath of Shah Jehan at Delhi is of the purest white marble with the mosaic work of the Taj from chamber to chamber. But the bath at Agra is a curious structure in itself. It has two chambers with large square cavities in the middle of each of them where the emperor used to take his bath. One of these chambers contained tepid water and the other cold water. The walls are inlaid with

thousands of small pieces of glass reflecting like mirrors, with silvery interlinings, and disposed after a most picturesque and intricate design. On the northern end of the wall are to be found places where lamps used to be lit, and there is no doubt that the chambers, known as the *Shish Mahal* with its thousands of mirrors all over the wall and the ceiling, can be seen to the best advantage when the building is lighted up from within, and the lights are reflected by the transparent substances all around. The Mahomedan historian tells us how here the emperors used to disport themselves in the water and the marble floors with their favourite sultanas. The floor of these chambers were paved with marble flags which had been unfortunately dug out when a different spirit from the present prevailed with reference to the monuments of ancient art at the head quarters of the British Government. Between the Khas Mahal and the Jehangiri Mahal to be just mentioned there is a beautiful river-side pavilion which had a gilded dome very attractive to the sight. Before the room in which the Archæological Society had its museum, is approached, the visitor would see within a railed enclosure two high and heavy gates reputed as the Somnath gates. The gates are not of sandal wood as they are thought to be, but the frame-work is of Himalayan cedar, and it has some Cufic inscriptions. These are the gates which Lord

Ellenborough caused to be brought from Cabul with General Pollock's force, and set up with such pomp and splendour as the "restored gates of Somnath." The speeches of many noble members, of the House of Lords and the stirring sentences of Lord Macanlay on the subject deal not with the gates themselves but with the proclamation with which they were set up and the policy of their being brought to India and spoken about with such a flourish of trumpets. Mr. Fergusson thinks that the gates were those of Mahmud's tomb at Ghazni, and is one of the many imitations made in Cabul and Ghazni of the far-famed gates of the Hindu temple and never closer to Somnath than they are now. The discussion with reference to those gates had gone on for many years, and the highest authorities have come to the conclusion that they are bare imitations with considerable modifications of the original. The gates when carefully examined by microscope have revealed the secret that they are of deodar pine and when sketched by artists have been found to contain ornaments of a Mahomedan origin. Lord Canning who had considerable tastes for antiquarian researches had caused a thorough investigation to be made into the subject, and he seems to be the first Viceroy who showed his scepticism of the subject, notwithstanding the recital and assumption of the fact in Lord Ellenborough's proclamation. It was thought strange that while

these gates were replete with Mahomedan ornaments not a single figure of the 33 millions of Hindu gods should appear there, and the conclusion was arrived at, that after the original gates of Somnath which had been placed over the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni had been destroyed by fire, a new pair was made with Mahomedan ornaments when the tomb was repaired and replenished. The horse-shoes nailed over the old portals should be noted, and there is no doubt that these gates give evidence of a great age, that several panels had been smashed and rude repairs had been sought to be made by scraps of wood and iron. The gates were noticed to be in the Diwan-i-Am by travellers up to 1860.

To the south of the *Anguri Bagh* is the Jehangiri Mahal a building bearing the name of Akbar's son and successor. This is a two storied building of red-sandstone inlaid with straight lines of white marble, and having two courts, the larger of which is 70 ft. square. The Hindu brackets, the lotus flowers, the pairs of birds under them, the richly-carved pillars, of a shape and decoration unique in Saracenic edifices would all tend to show that much was borrowed from the fine efforts in architectural art, made in Jeypur and the other neighbouring cities of Rajputana in the construction of this particular mahal. On the roof of this building are a number of cisterns in which the water

of the Jamna used to be stored and a number of copper pipes by means of which they used to be distributed to the different parts of the palace. There are two pavilions of massive style and elaborate carving on the top of the roof of this building, one of which has been modernized for use and the other is yet perfect. The chambers in the Jehangiri Mahal are most exquisitely and elaborately carved, and are singularly elegant in all their details. As one sees them after some centuries, they appear to have a sort of subdued and softened beauty that should be highly appreciated. This particular part of the palace presents a very beautiful appearance when looked at from the grassy lawn just outside it and seems to be built in the finest Indo-Saracenic style. There are some chambers which are peculiarly constructed and which were used for the play of hide-and-seek. The stairs just to the south of the Khas Mahal lead to many subterranean chambers and buildings which extend over a considerable distance and terminate in the Baoli or well-house at the south-east angle in the Fort. Large buildings in the east have always underground chambers that remain delightfully cool even when the heat is at its greatest and the fiercest winds of summer might be raging at their highest. It was in these chambers that the emperor and courtiers spent the hottest part of the day up to the evening hour when they might

conveniently come out. The well-house is now used as a military cell. Just beyond the Jehangiri Mahal is a paved way which leads to the Amar Singh Gate, an elegant structure which would have looked very fine indeed when it used to be covered, as it once was, with glazed tiles of bright enamel.

I have described in the first chapter the vicissitudes of the Agra Fort, its glories under Akbar and Jehangir, its reverses of fortune during the succeeding reigns, and its history under British rule. I need not repeat my remarks again in this place. Taken all in all, it is one of the most imposing and interesting of the edifices of the civilized globe, and amply repays a visit.

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## SECUNDRA.

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Secundra is the name of a village, five miles away from Agra, on the road that leads from it to Delhi and Lahore, and contains the tomb of Akbar. It is, by the accounts most common of its foundation, named after Secunder Lodi, the second emperor of the Lodi dynasty, but one Yankee author has confidently asserted that it takes its name from Alexander the Great who is known in Eastern literature by the name of Secunder. The American writer acknowledges that by the most authenticated accounts, Alexander fought Porus on the banks of the Hydaspes, and never came eastward of the Panjab plains, but he thinks that his name had always been a great one in the imagination of the East, and it was not an unusual circumstance to find his name in its corrupted form connected with eastern towns and villages. The road to Secundra leads through rich fields, the site of one of the most populous parts of the imperial city. The Delhi Gate of the city might be seen just on the left of the traveller as he proceeds to Secundra, and is a massive structure of red sand-stone still in a well preserved state. The way from beyond the Delhi Gate has

interesting structures on both sides, which would be detailed hereafter. As we near Secundra we find a horse-statue, and a walled enclosure, and a building in sand-stone in good preservation, dating from the reign of Jehangir. The *Secundra* contains the tomb of Akbar, is situated in a walled garden, and is an imposing and interesting edifice. It has been thus described by a critic who could fully appreciate its architectural and artistic beauty. "Perhaps, however, the most characteristic of Akbar's buildings is the tomb he commenced to erect for himself at Secundra near Agra, which is quite unlike any other tomb built in India either before or since, and of a design borrowed, as I believe, from a Hindu or more correctly Buddhist model. It stands in an extensive garden (of ninety acres) still kept up, approached by one noble gateway. In the centre of this garden on a raised platform stands the tomb itself of a pyramidal form. The lower storey measures 320 ft. each way exclusive of angle towers. It is 30 ft. in height, and pierced by ten great arches on each face and with a larger entrance adorned with a mosaic of marble in the centre. On this terrace stands another far more ornate, measuring 186 ft. on each side and 14 ft. 9 in. in height. A third and fourth of similar design and respectively 15 ft. 2 in. and 14 ft. 6 in. high stand on this, all these being of red sand-stone. Within and above the last is a

white marble enclosure 157 ft. each way or externally just half the length of the lowest terrace, its outer wall entirely composed of marble trellis-work of the most beautiful patterns. Inside it is surrounded by a colonnade or cloister of the same material, in the centre of which on a raised platform is the tombstone of the founder, a splendid piece of the most beautiful arabasque tracery. This however is not the true burial place ; but the mortal remains of this great king repose under a far plainer tomb-stone in a vaulted chamber in the pavement, 35 ft. square, exactly under the simulated tomb that adorns the summit of the mausoleum. At first sight it might appear that the design of this curious and exceptional tomb was a caprice of the monarch who built it, or an importation from abroad. My impression on the contrary is, that it is a direct imitation of some such building as the old Buddhist viharas which may have existed applied to other purposes in Akbar's time. Turning back, for instance, to the great Rath of Mahavellipore it will be seen that the number and proportion of the storeys is the same. The pavilions that adorn the upper storey of Akbar's tomb appear distinct reminiscences of the cells that stand on the edge of each platform of the rock-cut example. If the tomb had been crowned by a domical chamber over the tombstone the likeness would have been so great, that no one could mistake it,

and my conviction is that such a chamber was part of the original design. No such royal tomb remains exposed to the air in any Indian mausoleum ; and the raised platform in the centre of the upper cloister, 38 ft. square, looks so like its foundation, that I cannot help believing it was intended for that purpose. As the monument now stands the pyramid has a truncated and unmeasuring aspect. The total height of the building now is a little more than 100 ft. to the top of the angle pavilions : and a central dome 30 or 40 ft. higher, which is the proportion that the base gives, seems just what is wanted to make this tomb so beautiful in outline and in proportion as it is in detail. Had it been so completed it certainly would have ranked next to the Taj among Indian mausolea."

The inscription on the Secundra says that it was finished in the reign of Akbar's son and successor. The autobiography of Jehangir states, in A. D. 1608, he inspected personally some portions of the work, and was so dissatisfied with them that he had them re-constructed at a cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees. The gate to the Secundra had four lofty minarets which had been wanting after some little height for many years past. It is said by one account, that some British soldiers of Lord Lake's camp ascended them while entirely drunk and died from falling from them, and the British general

caused cannon-balls to be fired at them and portions of them to be shot away. We have narrated elsewhere the reason why the other account of the Jat conquerors of Agra having shot them away is the more probable as an European visitor of undoubted veracity found them to be in this spoilt state long before Lake's time. It appears that both Finch and Hawkins saw this building before it was finally finished. Finch says that after ten years' work the work remained in an unfinished state, and Hawkins says that although three thousand labourers had worked at it for fourteen years, the anticipations were that another such period would be necessary before the completion of the work.

The most beautiful part of the building is certainly the white marble enclosure with perforated screens on the highest story. From its lattice windows a beautiful view can be obtained of the country around, and the domes of the Taj are seen in the distance. This view is a very fine one, especially towards the verdant fields and groves on the river-side. The height of this enclosure is 74 ft. from the ground, and it is covered with Persian inscriptions taken from a poem that Abul Fazl, the minister of Akbar, had composed in honour of his late master. The two important words of Akbar's creed *Allah-ho-Akbar* and *Jilal Jallali-hoo* together with ninety-nine different appellations of the Almighty are to be found

in these inscriptions. The discussion as to whether the upper enclosure was meant to have the blue vault of heaven as its canopy or whether it was intended to have a dome of considerable size and elegance over it, has not yet been settled. One theory is that a dome with splendid ceiling was to have rested on the top of this marble enclosure, and there seem to be traces of the foundations of such a structure. The main gateway has some inscriptions on it. These praise the Emperor Jehangir who built this tomb, and give A. D. 1614 as the date when it was finally completed. The name of the engraver, Abdul Huq, a native of Shiraz, is also given in many places. Besides the main gateway there are three other gateways, one of which (that to the west) with its paintings has been newly repaired, and is a nice thing to look at from a distance. The real tomb is in a vaulted chamber in the first floor, with a hall 38 ft. square, whose walls were covered over with paintings in gold a small specimen of which has been recently restored. On both sides of the main hall there are smaller chambers which contain the tombs of his relatives. The tomb of Akbar is a very plain one, and is almost sublime in its simplicity. The chamber in which it is situated admits but little light, and it has to be seen with a light to be distinctly visible. Tradition has it that by the side of this tomb the books, the arms, and the raiment of

the emperor were placed. But these had been filched by the Jats in the last century and carried off to Bharatpur, and it is quite possible that a diligent search by an able antiquary would still be able to trace out some relics of them. The second and the third storeys present large terraces and chambers all of red sandstone with pavilions on light arches and nicely-painted surroundings. Anybody examining these minute decorations and ornaments yet extant with nice scrutiny would be able to judge of their splendours in former days. The uppermost story is built after a highly-intricate and complicated design, and the marble screens are of varied figures and exquisite workmanship. It was here that Bayard Taylor called up the images of the Alcazar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada and said to himself that the work of the Moguls appeared to him like a magnificent dream.

Here is another elegant description of the mausoleum of Akbar. "The tomb of Akbar stands in the midst of a large walled garden, which has a lofty gateway of red sandstone in the centre of each of its sides. From these four gateways which are upwards of seventy feet high, four grand causeways of hewn stone converge to the central platform on which the mausoleum stands. The intermediate spaces are filled with orange, mangoes, banana, palm, and peepal trees. In the centre of the causeways

are immense tanks and fountains. The platform of white stone which terminates these magnificent approaches is about four hundred feet square. The mausoleum which is a square measures more than three hundred feet of a side and rises in five terraces, in a pyramidal form to the height of one hundred feet. Around each of the terraces runs an arched gallery surmounted by rows of cupolas resting on circles of small pillars. The material of the edifice is red sandstone except the upper story which is of white marble. A long descending passage leads from the main entrance to a vaulted hall in the centre of the structure; light is admitted through a few small openings in the dome barely sufficient to show you a plain tomb in the form of a sacrophagus with a wreath of fresh flowers on it. Beneath it is the dust of Akbar, one of the greatest men who ever wielded a sceptre, the fourth descendant in a direct line from Tamerlane. In him culminated the wisdom, the power, and the glory of that illustrious line”.

A little further down on the Muttra Road is the red sandstone building which is known as the palace of Mariam Begum, Akbar's Portuguese wife. Though it is an undoubted fact that the Jesuit fathers had great influence in Akbar's court, many modern scholars think the fact of Akbar's having an European wife extremely doubtful, and suggest that the name

handed down by tradition refers to Jehangir's mother, daughter of Raja Buhara Mul of Jeypur who was better known by her title *Marium Zamani* or the Mary of the period, who is stated to have died in Agra in A. H. 1032. It is generally believed that these buildings were the country-houses of the Lodi dynasty, and Akbar merely improved upon the original. They have been very much modernised, and are used for the purposes of an orphanage that had its foundation in the number of orphan children left by the great famine of 1838, and which is still in a flourishing condition. Many a poor boy and girl, left helpless and destitute on the world in early years, had been brought up and taught the useful arts by kind-hearted missionaries, and thus enabled to live useful and respectable lives. The Protestant Church stands close by, and as most of the orphans have embraced the religion of Christ, it looks almost as an isolated Christian village in the midst of a heathen population \*

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\* The traveller would be interested to see in this orphanage a curious creature, in the shape of a man, now about forty years old. It is said that he was left an orphan in a dense jungle, and was bred up by a she-wolf who suckled him till his fifteenth year. He was rescued by some robber tribes, and is said to have acquired the exact habits of the animal that had brought him up. He can not speak yet, and although his habits have considerably changed by contact with men for 25 years, he can yet indicate by signs his former mode of life. He is an interesting phenomenon, and is the modern counterpart to the story of Romulus and Remus of Roman history.

ITIMAD-UD-DOWLAH, RAM BAGH, AND OTHER  
TOMBS ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE RIVER.

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The tomb of Itimad-ud-dowlah is reached by crossing the pontoon bridge and going a little to the left. It is situated in a square garden which is well kept up to the present day. The approach to the main buildings is by a gate of red sandstone, tastefully ornamented, and up a paved causeway. This building enshrines the relics of Ghias Beg, better known by his later title of Nawab Itimad-ud-dowlah, the father of Asaf Khan and Nur Jehan, and the grandfather of the lady of the Taj. He came out to India with his son and daughter to seek his fortunes, and presented himself before Akbar as an adventurer. The passion of Jehangir for his daughter who was an occasional visitor to the emperor's harem, was discovered early, and emperor Akbar to get her out of his son's way married her to a young nobleman of high blood, and sent them away with political powers to a distant part of Bengal. But Jehangir, no sooner had he succeeded to the throne, contrived to have her husband murdered and to have her brought to Agra. She at first rejected the overtures of the emperor, but she was won over after a time, and was installed as the chief empress of the

sovereign. She was not only the entire mistress of the seraglio, but her voice was also paramount in State matters. Her father and afterwards her brother were raised to the prime ministership of the realm, and Nur Jehan's counsel was sought in all affairs of State. Nawab Itimad-ud-dowlah died at Kangra, while proceeding to Cashmere in 1621-2. His body was embalmed and brought to Agra by his imperial daughter, and she at first proposed to build over his remains a tomb and mausoleum of solid silver highly polished to glitter in the sun, but she was dissuaded from doing so by the argument that the sacred edifice if built of silver would be profaned by robber hands who would carry away the precious metal. She then chose marble as a less costly and less portable material. The character of Ghias Beg is given in full in Jehangir's autobiography. It is said that he had great love of poetry, had some capacity for composing poetry himself, imitating the old classics, that he was genial in humour, punctual in habits, and always found to be doing some thing useful. Jehangir places it too among his merits that he very much liked bribes and illicit gains, and freely and without reserve asked for them. The tomb of Itimad-ud-dowlah is probably the first building in order of time where the influence of the Italian artists has been distinctly traced. The Indian artists had forms, details, and patterns of their own, and under

the influence of the artists from Florence changed their materials. In no building of the reign of Akbar was the art of inlaying with mosaics ever employed, but it forms the chief characteristic of all of Shah Jehan's buildings, and the smaller and more refined materials came gradually more and more into use. The tomb of Itimad-ud-dowlah represents the transition stage between the two styles, and as one of the first it is certainly one of the least successful specimens of its class. The patterns do not quite fit in the places where they are put, and the spaces are not always those best fitted for this style of decoration. Altogether I cannot help fancying that the Italians had more to do with this building than was at all desirable, and they are to blame for its want of grace. But on the other hand, the beautiful tracery of the pierced marble slabs of its windows which resemble Selim Christi's tomb at Fatehpur Sikri, the beauty of its white marble walls, and the rich colour of its decorations make up so beautiful a whole that it is only on comparing it with the works of Shah Jehan that we are justified in finding fault." The sandstone terrace of the main building is 149 ft. square, and is 3·4 ft. high from the ground. The principal chamber is surrounded by other smaller chambers containing the tombs of other members of the same family. The central chamber is a parallelogram, the floor consisting of marble inlaid

with other sorts of stones in an arabesque manner. This hall measures 22 ft. 3 in. on each side, and contains inscriptions in Togra characters from the Koran and other holy books. There is a pavilion on the first floor, reached by sandstone staircases. The pavilion is of white marble richly worked in, and is topped by an oblong dome which has two light pinnacles. The cenotaphs in the second story contain no inscriptions and are boldly carved out of beautiful stone. The upper terrace is 69 ft. square. On four corners of the building in the second story there stand four small minars, which are easy of ascent and from which one sees a beautiful view of the river-front of the Agra city and enjoys very pleasant breezes at all hours.

The tomb of Itimad-ud-Dowlah has been often compared with Nur Jehan's other building at Lahore which contains the tombs of her husband and herself. These buildings too standing in extensive gardens has noble and richly decorated gateways, and marble and red sandstone are used in lavishly ornamenting the buildings. Jehangir fell early a victim to strong drink, dying in 1627. The Empress Nur Jehan lived for some years after her husband, enjoying an annual stipend of two lacs and devoting herself to artistic and religious culture.

From Itimad-ud-Dowlah a short drive to the north along a metalled road would lead the visitor

to Rambagh, which has been repeatedly mentioned in Mogul history. Whether it is a corruption of *Arambag*, or whether the name was given after the favourite hero of the Hindus by the Maharatta conquerors we are unable to say. Baber is said to have spent his leisure hours here, and it appears to have been the scene of many imperial picnics of his successors. It was the favorite garden of Empress Nur Jehan, and it came to be styled as the garden of Nur Afshan. It was in those days, as it is now, an orchard and a pleasure garden, and the terrace on the river front is said to have contained several respectable edifices all of which now seem to have been destroyed. There are some subterranean chambers yet to be seen looking out on the river and two sandstone structures of some size which have been modernised and improvised into Dak bungalows. The other buildings seem to have perished during the Maharatta conquest of Agra. Rambagh as it is, though often visited by travellers, is scarcely a thing of interest. The garden is still well-kept, and it is considered by the wealthier European residents of Agra as a delicious retreat in summer. It serves for many of the English residents of Agra the same purposes as the Barrackpur Park to those of the great city of Calcutta. Many a newly married couple spend their honey-moon here, and many a young damsel looks on the world within its walls for the

first time, in her new state. But the visitor to Ram-bagh will find the place invested with an antique and an historic interest, when he would recall the picture of Baber and his successors standing on the self same spot and joining in open-air revels, merriments, and games with their courtiers or with the chief ladies of the zenana and merging in picnics and drinks the anxious cares of a large and turbulent empire. Of the ancient buildings and sites across the Jumna, we should mention some. We shall take them in order.

1. Bulund Bagh, a garden belonging to Bulund Khan, an eunuch of Jehangir's. A massive pile of masonry with seven wells and a tower supported on thirty-two pillars can be seen here.

2. Lahara Bagh, also called Sayad-ka-Bagh, lies between Rambagh and Chini-ka-roza. It is named after Zahara, a daughter of Baber's. It has a wall built on the river, and the remains of a river-side palace can yet be traced. Mr. Carlleyle says that this building of the transition period between the Pathan and the early Mogul style.

3. The Chini-ka-roza so called from the beautiful porcelain to be found in that building. It is a rectangular building nearly eighty feet square, surmounted by a central dome. The principal chamber was an octagon, surrounded by four ante-chambers, and the outer wall had a coating of enamel

very much resembling china which was beautifully colored and decorated. The building bears no inscription, but is traditionally ascribed to a poet named Afzal Khan who coming originally from Shiraz had succeeded in winning high favours at the imperial court, and was accountant to Shah Jehan. He died at Lahore in 1639. The dome is of the transitional period, and differs from the bulbous domes of the Taj and the Moti Masjid.

4. Moti Bagh and Moti Masjid just opposite the tomb of Itimad-ud-Dowlah, modernized since a long time said to have been founded by Shah Jehan.

5. Nawabganj, a walled enclosure, said to have been built by Nawab Salat Khan in the reign of Shah Jehan, with high walls and towers now used as a residence.

6. Humayon's Mosque in the village of Kachpura whose inscription says that the date of its completion was 1530 A. D.

7. Chahar Bagh and garden palace of Baber entirely in ruins, situated to the east of the Kachpura village.

8. Mahtab Bagh, the garden whose foundations still remain opposite to the Taj, the site where Shah Jehan intended to build his own tomb. The eastern ornamental tower is nearly perfect yet, and the foundations to the western tower, can yet be traced for a distance of 320 yards.

9. Achanak Bagh, situated a mile east of Kachpura. The entrance gate to it is in ruins, and some chambers opening on a terrace on the river are said to have been built in the time of Baber, and it seems to have taken its name from that of a princess of the times.

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## THE JAMI MASJID.

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On the north-west of the Fort is the Jami Masjid, built by Shah Jehan's daughter, Jahanara, which took five years to complete. This daughter of Shah Jehan was nicknamed Masjid Begum, and it was she who made herself responsible for the whole cost of construction that amounted to five lakhs of Rupees. It was first called the Jahanara Masjid, but its name was subsequently changed to Jami Masjid or the great mosque of the city. The following is a good description of it. "The mosque is built of red sand-stone, and consists of a large court placed on a platform raised 11 ft. above the ground on the east side. The mosque proper is to the west of the court; it is a large building 130 ft. long by 100 ft. broad, supported by two rows of arches and five openings or archways to the front, one principal and two interior on each side. Four octagonal domed cupolas stand one at each corner of the roof, a row of smaller square cupolas adorns the front, and four slender shafts or minarets rise from the four corners of the roof of the central compartment, which is more elevated than the rest. The roof is surmounted towards the rear by three large domes of somewhat peculiar shape, full bottomed, which have been

compared to balloons reversed, and of a remarkable pattern, the courses of masonry being zig-zag and alternately of sand-stone in wide bands and narrow lines of white marble." The eastern gateway and the cloisters on the east side which were very imposing, were destroyed during the mutiny that they might not serve as a shelter for rebel troops to fire on the fort which lay in the front.

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## MISCELLANEOUS BUILDINGS IN THE CITY AND THE SUBURBS.

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We shall notice briefly the other interesting and ancient buildings in the city and its immediate neighbourhood. They are as given below :—

1. Some old palaces near the Taj, named the *Tiliyar-ka-Bagicha*, the water-side palace with a bastion and tower known as Lal Diwar, the Haveli of Nawab Khan Dauran Khan, Wazir Azam, Ahmad Bakhari's Dargah, and a small mosque near the south-east enclosure of the Taj.

2. The tomb known as Rauza Diwanji's in the village of Basai, and the large walled enclosure known as the garden of Mahbat Khan between the Taj and the Cantonments.

3. The Takht Pahalwan and the Rauza Firoz Khan on the Gwalior Road just opposite the third mile-stone. The former is the name of a village that grew round the tomb of a wrestler of imperial times. There is to be found here a large slab of stone eight feet square which formerly formed part of the mausoleum. Firoz Khan's tomb is a square edifice of red sand-stone with four doors on large arches, and at the corners are two four-domed cupolas. The tomb is said to be that of the chief eunuch

of Akbar's palace who built Firozabad, and who gives his name also to Tal Firoz Khan, a large masonry tank which lies near the mausoleum. The interior of the main building and the portal to the east are elaborately carved and ornamented in Hindu style.

4 Makhni-ka-gumbaz consists of a central chamber like a Hindu temple with two side chambers. It is said to be a part of Dehra Bagh which was built by Baber's daughter. The bagh is now mere open ground, the site is yet pointed out, and there are the ruins of many wells all over it.

5 Jodh Bai Mahal near Khwaja-ka-Serai now completely in ruins. It was a building 80 ft. square, and is said to have enshrined the remains of Jodh Bai.

6. The Idgah is a mile off on the Khairagarh road, being a mosque at the head of a great walled enclosure 570 ft. by 530 ft. There are six arches, the central one being very lofty. It was built, it is said, in forty days, and dates from Shah Jehan's time.

7. Hammam Allah Verdi Khan in Chhipitola, to which the entrance is by a fine archway, with elaborate carvings and inscription that tells us that it was built by Allah Verdi Khan in 1620 A. D. There are two sets of chambers which were used as caravanserais, and the arrangements for the bathrooms were admirably calculated to preserve the

requisite temperature and to give a pleasant bath in hot and cold water according to the requirements of the climate.

8. The Dargah and Mosque of Shah Ala-ud-din Mujrub, son of Saiyid Suleiman of Madina in Mohalla Nai-ka-Mandi whose dimensions are 46 ft. by 19 ft. and the tradition about which has been given in narrating the history of Agra in Akbar's time. The inscription on it says that it was built in A. H. 953.

9. The Akbari Masjid, near the Kinari Bazar, 84 ft. by 20 ft.

10. Kali or Kalan Masjid, or the great mosque, built by Muzaffar Hossain, grandson of Ismail Shah Safi, King of Persia, built of brick and plaster, with five compartments. The domes are black with age, the bricks used are large and flat.

11. Muatmid Khan's Mosque of red sand-stone, 53 ft. by 20 ft. with some exquisite carving.

12. The Eunuch's Mosque said to have been built by Akbar in honor of an eunuch named Yatim who had succeeded by prayers in bringing down rain from heaven when all other means had failed and who refused to take any reward for the same act.

13. Bagh Rai Sheo Das, a Munsabdar of the reign of Mahomed Shah, the garden named after Hakim Karim Ali Khan, and Rouza Jafar Khan named after a munsabdar of 5,000, a building in the shape of a rectangle on a lofty platform with flat roofs.

14. Chhatri Raja Jaswant Singh, a good view of which can be obtained from Rambagh on the opposite side of the river, with walls beautifully carved and having figures of vases and flowers.

15. Mahal Raja Bhoj near the temple of Mahadeo Walkeshwar, named after a Raja who cannot be identified.

16. Bagh Ladli Begum near the temple of Sitla with a lofty gateway to the south, and false gateways on other sides, enclosing a Hindu pavilion of modern date. Ladli Begum was sister of Abul Fazl, and Faizi, wife of Islam Khan.

17. Kandhari Bagh, present town residence of H. H. the Maharajah of Bharatpur, containing the tomb of the daughter of Muzaffar Hossain, grandson of Ismail Shah, king of Persia, and queen of Shah Jehan.

18. Sadik Khan's tomb, in the fields north of the Sikandra road containing the tomb of Akbar's spiritual guide.

19. Tomb of Salabat Khan, supported on 64 pillars in six rows each way, identified with the tomb of Shah Jehan's paymaster Salabat Khan said to have been killed by Amar Singh Rahtor.

20. The Serai of Itibar Khan Khwaja, four miles from Agra on the Secundra Road. It was once an open Baradari now walled up.

21. Guru ka Tal, a tank about 180 yards

square, fed by the waters of a canal.

These ancient buildings are now managed by a committee of local Mahomedan gentlemen, the larger ones being entrusted to a board, five in number, constituted under Regulation XIX. of 1810. In 1809 and 1814 repairs were undertaken on a large scale. In 1855, at the instance of Colonel Sleeman, the tomb of Itimad-ud-dowlah was repaired. Since 1876, the Archæological Department is in charge of these famous monuments of ancient art and history, and a considerable sum has been spent upon them.

The Catholic Mission and the Catholic College are said to be of very great antiquity. Akbar's toleration gave the Portuguese fathers a fair footing and a pension also was given to them. Several fathers of the Mission were in high favour in the imperial court, and several members of the royal family were instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. The Jesuits entertained great hopes of the progress of Christianity in the time of king '*Jehanquaire*' and two of his nephews embraced the Christian religion. The grant from the imperial treasury to the Christian Mission was stopped by Shah Jehan, and since that time there were no hopes of the religion of Christ except perhaps what was entertained by that familiarity which Father Buzz had with Dara.

## FATEHPUR SIKRI.

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Fatehpur Sikri lies 23 miles west-south-west of Agra, and 10 miles south-west of Kiraoli. It is connected with Achnera, the nearest railway station, by a road 11 miles long. From Agra the traveller goes to Fatehpur Sikri by a road which meets the Drummond Road just opposite to what is known as the Baker Garden. It passes through Shahganj where was fought one of the most disastrous actions during the early days of the mutiny of 1857, and the details of which have been given at some length in relating the history of the period. Just on the road are to be found some interesting relics of the past, such as Mujdi-ka-Gumbuz, containing the tomb of Mirza Hindal, son of Akbar and of the chief queen of that emperor, Sultan Roquia, the gardens of Begum Sumroo and the tomb of Jodh Bai, the Hindu wife of Jehangir, all of which had been alluded to above. The road after crossing the Rajputana Malwa State line, goes on through a level part of the country where nothing meets the eye of the traveller but green fields on both sides. The road goes through exactly the same line as the old imperial road, and crosses on its way some old imperial irrigation works

which are now in a state of disuse, and which are crossed by bridges of very old date. At the 23rd mile-stone Fatehpur Sikri is reached, and the site of the old ruins on the top of a sand-stone hill becomes distinctly visible. The site of Fatehpur Sikri has thus been described by Dr. Planck. He says,—“The site might be described as an oblong, measuring a mile in length and three-fourths of a mile in width. Its northern margin is bounded by a wide sandstone ridge, from one to two hundred feet in height, its remainder is bounded on all sides by a battlemented stone wall 20 ft. high, pierced by 10 or 12 gateways. The wall with its towers stands up bravely, but ruinous parts threaten a speedy downfall. The buildings of the court which now remain, occupy the ridge with Selim Chisti's tomb in the place of honor at the highest point, but evidences are not wanting to show that formerly the wide, fairly level expanse enclosed by the wall was laid out in gardens containing pleasant garden-houses of which only traces remain. The modern town of Fatehpur Sikri occupies the western end only of this large enclosure, on the level below the ridge, and partly on the ridge, where the houses rise up to meet the great flight of steps leading to Selim Chisti's tomb which overshadows the town. It is a stone-built town, for stone is the cheapest material of the place, but the houses are not worthy of

the material, being as a rule low and mean-looking.”

Fatehpur Sikri is now a municipal town and the head-quarters of the Karaoli Tahsil. It is now noted for the manufacture of rude millstones and a few coarse carpets, but for fifteen years it was the capital of the Mogul empire. It seems to have been abandoned after 1586, and certainly no building exists here later than that date. The modern buildings are few and insignificant. Sweet water can be obtained here only from two old wells known as the Ikram Bagh and Hakim's well.

Abul Fazl, writing in 1596, mentions Fatehpur Sikri as one of the principal places of the empire with a large and extensive trade. The author of the *Ain-i-Akbari* is lavish in his praises of the perfection to which the stone-masons' craft had been carried by the artizans of Fatehpur Sikri, and he says that the place was further noted for hair-weaving and silk-spinning. The traveller as he paces through the solitary chambers of what had once been the royal palace, and admires the massive and delicate beauties to be found there, would not be disposed to consider these praises unmerited. Fatehpur Sikri ceased to be the capital of the empire in 1586, and from that date its trade and importance began rapidly to decline. Finch seems to have been in Fatehpur Sikri in the early part of the reign of Jehangir, and says that this beautiful city which had been built

and ruined in fifty years, was then in a very deserted state, and that Akbar had been driven away from it by the badness of the water. The mosque at Fatehpur Sikri is according to him one of the best in the East. The description given by De Lact is also one of the oldest available of this place. He says,—“The walls remain to this day, but the city is entirely destroyed ; its houses tumbled down, and the soil turned into fields and gardens, so that when you are in the midst of the city you would think yourself in the country rather than in a town. The distance from one gate of the city to the other is three English miles, but it is very dangerous to attempt this journey by night.” Again, “the royal palace is adorned with many costly edifices, and above it is a mosque more splendid than any other in the whole East.” The ascent to this mosque is by twenty-five or thirty steps, at the top of which is a lofty and most beautiful gate, visible from a great distance. Within is a broad area paved with flags of stone and surrounded on all sides by magazines with lofty columns of solid rock and immense ceilings, near the gate is seen a splendid monument wherein is buried a certain holy Mahomedan, of the sect of those called Kalendars, who is said to have constructed this mosque at his own expense. Coming from the Agra direction, the traveller passes first a series of vaulted chambers which is commonly

known as the mint. No coin of any description had up to this time been excavated here, and thus western scholars though bowing to tradition seem to doubt the fact stated above.

When Akbar was returning to Agra after the suppression of the revolt of the Uzbek nobles, he was accompanied by his Rajput wife, a princess of the Amber family and daughter of Raja Bhura Mull or Bihari Mull of Jeypur. The empress had twins who died at Fatehpur Sikri, and the holy man succeeded in consoling the royal mother with his ministrations in the hour of her sorrow. The saint then persuaded the emperor and the empress to take up their residence at that place, and the air proving to be good and wholesome, Akbar selected the spot for his own residence, and began his edifices. The city remained the capital of the Mogul empire for fifteen years from 1571 to 1586, and all the important buildings contain inscriptions which show that they were built in the course of these years. The great mosque bears the date 1571, and the white marble tomb the date 1581. The most erudite historians say that when Akbar began to build on the ridge the only village existing there was Sikri, that he caused another town to be founded in its neighbourhood, and named it Fatehpur after the conquest of Gujrat, and this view derives support from a well-known passage of the great Mahomedan

historian Firishta, (*vide* Brigg's Translation, II. 234). Another conjecture is that the village of Sikri was the camping place of Emperor Baber when he fought the battle of Biana with Rana Sanga, and he changed the name of the village Sikri to Fatehpur in honor of his great victory there. Another legend locally connected with Fatehpur Sikri has been thus narrated by an eminent local antiquary. "Such was the celebrity of the air joined, we are assured, to the hermit's spiritual exertions, that a son was born to them during their stay, and endowed by the grateful parents with the name Selim. This name the prince continued to bear for the next five and thirty years, till raised to the throne in 1605 as the Emperor Jehangir." The legend mentioned in the account of the Agra Fort to the effect that its foundation was owing to persuasions on the part of Selim Chisti, must be taken with one correction. Akbar's head-quarters were at Agra when the Fatehpur palace was begun, and the commencement of the fort at Agra dates three years earlier. Legend explains these events in its usual marvellous fashion. At the time of the royal visit the hermit, it is said, had a baby son, aged six months, who seeing his father buried, one day, in deep reflection after a visit from Akbar, suddenly broke silence by asking why he sent away the conqueror of the world in despair. Accustomed to portents, the holy man

calmly answered that all the emperor's children were fated to die in infancy unless some one gave a child of his own to die instead. 'By your reverence's permission,' rejoined the courteous but forward infant, 'I will die that his majesty may no longer want an heir.' Then, without giving his father time to forbid the sacrifice, the wondrous child at once expired. Nine months later the prince came into the world. If it were worth while to look for the truth in this story it might be found that the prince was a child substituted by a faqir for a royal infant that was still-born. When the fort and palace at Agra were completed Akbar did not wholly abandon Fatehpur Sikri, but it was a sort of country residence, the 23 miles between the two places standing no inconveinent impediment to one to whom riding was a pleasure and who on one occasion rode 220 miles between Ajmere and Agra in two successive days. "Sikri then was probably his Windsor, Agra his London." The gateways are respectively named Delhi, Lal Agra, Surajpol, Chandanpol, Tehira and Ajmere.

The great northern gateway, called the Buland Darwaza, the "lofty gateway" is 130 feet high above the breast of the ridge. It is reached by a long flight of steps, and is exceedingly noble and imposing in appearance. Its sublime height and massive beauty dwarfs the surrounding buildings.

It was not a part of the original design, but it is meant to be a triumphal arch added many years afterwards. The inscription stands out prominently in the sandstone walls to the left of the traveller as he enters. The inscription has been translated by many authorities of which the following is the one generally given. "His Majesty King of Kings, heaven of the court, shadow of God, Jalal-ud-din Mahmud Khan the emperor. He conquered the kingdom of the south, and Dan Des which was formerly called Khan Des in the Divine year 46th (*e. g.*, of his succession) corresponding to the Hijri year 1010. Having reached Fatehpur he proceeded to Agra." There are many fine expressions, in which the emperor and his many virtues are extolled to the skies. The passages which inculcate humility of spirit in man follow immediately after, and some of them are truly beautiful. They are, "Said Jesus, on Whom be peace, the world is a bridge, pass over it, but build no house there; he who hopeth for an hour, may hope for an eternity; the world is but an hour, spend it in devotion; the rest is unseen." Again, "He that standeth up to pray and his heart is not in his duty, the same exalted not himself, remaining far from God. Thy best possession is what thou hast given in alms; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next." "Know that the world is a glass where the favour

has come and is gone, take as thine own nothing more than what thou lookest upon." The inscriptions give us a fine insight into the character of Akbar, for they must have been put there under his sanction and approval. Some passages show his religious culture and the humility of the spirit of man in the presence of our Almighty Father. Akbar died four years after the date of the latest of these inscriptions.

Entering by this gate one comes upon a vast paved court-yard, 433 feet by 366 feet, to the west of which is the finest of Akbar's mosques. The inner court of the mosque is paved with white marble. There are graceful pillars richly-carved, and the walls and surroundings are ornamented with rich and delicate tints disposed in the shape of geometrical figures. There is a tradition that this mosque has been built in exact imitation of the one at Mecca, but this is not borne out by facts. I have taken pains to compare this one with a sketch of the great Mahomedan cathedral in the holiest of Islamic cities, and the two do not agree except in three particulars. It was here that Akbar preached his peculiar religion and appeared in public as the apostle of his faith. This religion was composed of all the great principles and teachings from all the great religions of the world that were approved of by his enlightened mind. There it was that he stood

one day to deliver a solemn sermon which was to have been an exposition of his faith, but he lost his presence of mind so far as to be unable to go on further than recite two couples of verses which meant that it was under the guidance of his conscience and the inspiration of the Father above that he regulated his conduct in the kingly office. Just behind the mosque are some interesting things. There is the tomb of the infant whose tale has been given above, and who is said to have died to save the children of Akbar. By matter-of-fact critics it is said that the infant buried here was a still-born child of Akbar, for whom a child was substituted by the saint, the child who afterwards came to be known as Prince Selim. Almost next to this is a door which leads to the cave where the saint originally lived, with a small mosque hard by, that is said to have been built for his use by pious stone-cutters of the neighbourhood. This mosque has some curious decorations in the brackets. The saint was highly esteemed for his piety, and he used to have pupils from far and near, to sit at his feet. The place is still pointed out where he used to teach his pupils. The life that he is said to have lived within a narrow cave has a romantic interest in these days. The great court-yard, when reached back, will show the traveller to the left the tomb of Selim Chisti and the mausoleum of Islam Khan. The

tomb of the saint is an exquisite piece of structure that can be compared with the best productions of Mogul Art. The sepulchre is entirely of white marble with the finest polish. The windows have screens elaborately carved, and so delicate is the workmanship that they have been said to resemble lace-work on finest silk. The tracery is disposed to make several geometrical figures of pleasing shape, and there is on all sides of the main building a sloping cornice of some width, of white marble and made to stand on brackets of variegated shape and design, in which true art gives place to false artificiality. Entering within the tomb one finds the inside of the walls carved by large slabs of sandstone, and some paintings which will strike the visitor as recently done up. This was under the order of Mr. Mansell who was magistrate and collector of Agra about 1836. The old paintings which had almost disappeared are said to have been done up in such a manner as to be out of keeping with the venerable surroundings of the place. The resting place of the saint is indicated by pavings having a coating of the finest mother-o-pearl, that though venerable with age has the same pleasing effect as if done up only yesterday, and which appears particularly fine when seen by the dim light that is all that the arrangements of the chamber permit it to admit. Mr. Beale fixes the 13th February, 1572,

as the date of the saint's death, and the inscription on the inner wall of the tomb shows that it was completed in 1581. The tomb that is immediately beyond is that of Islam Khan who is said to have been a grandson of the saint and who was Governor of Bengal during the reign of Jehangir. On the northern side are the tombs of women, and just opposite the southern gateway there is a handsome arch which is worth noting.

Beyond the great court of the Dargah, there lie to the north the houses of Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi. They were the principal followers of Akbar in the matter of his religious views which went by the name of *Tauhid-i-Ilahi*, and who being accomplished men of letters could transcribe for posterity its principal tenets. These buildings are now utilized as boys' schools; and where the homely teacher now sets his lessons to innocent village-boys, there were once the drawing-rooms and zenanas of the imperial courtiers. To the east of these buildings again, are the quarters which go by the name of Jodh Bai ka Mahal, but which were, according to the most approved authority, appropriated to the use of Sultana Roquia, who was cousin and chief wife of emperor Akbar. Jodh Bai is erroneously described as the wife of Akbar and mother of Jehangir. From a critical examination of the literature and history of the period it appears however that

Jodh Bai was the wife of Jehangir, his mother being entitled Mariam-uz-Zamani, daughter of Raja Bihari Mal and sister of Raja Bhagwan Das. Professor Blochmann says, after a thorough scrutiny that the accepted tradition that Akbar had four wives, is not borne out by the evidence available. His theory is that Akbar had seven wives, the chief of whom was Sultana Roquia. The set of appartments pointed out as Jodh Bai ka Mahal, were probably the apartments assigned for the use of the Hindu princess who was wife of Akbar. These flank on the north and south a rectangular court 177 ft. by 157 feet, and consist of two-storied and three-storied buildings which have a sloping roof of blue enamel. On the other two sides are galleries which preserve the symmetry. The carvings are Hindu in design, and it is said that some fragments that were found here undoubtedly belonged to a Hindu temple. Entering this Mahal on the east by a lofty gate, one goes direct north through an arched passage with pierced screens on both sides supporting a circular canopy to the hill-side where once existed wide and well-paved terraces for enjoying the evening air. Beyond the palace just decribed there is a paved court, and on raised platforms on all sides of this court there are the houses known as Birbal's house, the Christian lady's house, the Khas Mahal, and other interesting structures to be noted below. The house known as Birbal's

house is styled by several high authorities as that of his daughter. It is a sandstone building, beautifully carved in Hindu style. It is in the shape of a square with two stories, and the four upper chambers are said to have been occupied by Birbal's daughter. The materials employed in this building are massive and heavy, and at the same time the workmanship is exquisitely delicate and beautiful. The carvings produce a pleasing effect in their minute finish on the visitor. The roofs which are entirely of stone have been placed on the walls by means of long projecting cornices and skilful arrangement of arches. The domes that crown the chambers in the upper storey, each of which is 15 feet square, have been obtained by joining by a round piece sixteen large sloping slabs. Though this building and the two to be next described are small in size, it is impossible to say how anything could be done better within the same dimensions and with the same materials, and the though every minute portion is carved there is no artificial or unnatural air about them.

The house pointed out as having belonged to Akbar's Christian wife, was in reality the portion of the palace which contained the apartments of Jehangir's mother, Mariam-uz-Zamani. The western scholars regard the tradition of Akbar's having a Christian wife as a mere myth, and they disbelieve it altogether

on the ground that no mention of a fact so singular and unusual should have been made in that comprehensive book about Akbar, the *Ain-i-Akbari* by Abul-Fazl. The house is in a good condition, yet except in some parts where figures beautifully carved represented scenes from Ferdousi's *Shah nama*. This particular part of the palace was so well gilt and painted all over with golden leafs that it was called the Sunehri Makan or the golden house. The representation of the Anunciation on a tablet and of scenes from Hindu mythology on many of the panels have now faded away beyond recognition. This wife of Akbar has found her last resting-place in the tomb near Secundra which is called the Rauza Mariam.

The Khas Mahal is a paved court-yard having on its southern side the chambers under the Khwab-gah. On the west side of this court-yard is what is known as the girls' school, and on the eastern side are the apartments known as those of Akbar's Turkish Begum. Western scholars doubt this fact too, and they account for the tradition by saying that there is a certain Begum known as Tamboli Begum buried in the Khusru Bagh at Allahabad, which name becoming corrupted into that of Stamboli Begum meant the lady from Constantinople, and gave rise to the tradition. The decorations that adorn this building are highly imaginative. On

different sides of the buildings are different picturesque scenes from nature and art represented. There the lovely forest scenery with the birds of the Himalayan regions and the fierce beasts of the jungle alternate with the willows and dragons of China, the palm trees of Arabia, and luscious creepers bearing grapes, vines, and other fruit trees of Hindustan. On the pillars outside are to be found floriated traceries giving images of luxuriant trees and flowers reposing with a quite natural air. \*

The house that goes by the name of Birbal, one of the foremost of Akbar's Hindu grandees, whose wit and wisdom delighted the emperor, has at its back a large stable. The stone mangers to take the gram from, and the stone rings to fasten the ropes to, are yet in existence. Northwest of the Khas Mahal is a small mosque probably set apart for the ladies of the zenana, and a set of chambers which served as a hospital. The Panch Mahal which is a most curious structure is to the east of it. It is a series of platforms, each lower one being larger in size than the one above it, and supported by rows of pillars. The pillars are fifty-four in number, in the lowermost storey and

\* Two of the inscriptions on the Khas Mahal have been translated as follows:—'The Janiter of Paradise may see his face in thy chamber-floor.' 'The dust of thy court is collyrium for the eyes of the heavenly Hoor.'

they grow less and less in number till in the uppermost storey the number is only four. All the pillars are carved from top to bottom, and represent all varieties of objects. The carvings are in such handsome and delicate lines that they look nice in photographs, and they have been often drawn and photographed. The stairs are rather steep, and one has to ascend to the topmost storey by means of zigzag steps that grow less and less in width as the height is greater and greater. The first floor has thirty-five columns, the next fifteen, and the next eight. Each of these pillars represent an interesting scene. At one place a man is plucking a fruit from a tree, at another two elephants standing in front of each other have joined their trunks. The Panch Mahal is said to have been the place where the maid servants and royal children had their quarters temporarily, and where the emperor used to enjoy the cool evening air and see the country around in nights. The Panch Mahal has attracted the special attention of the Archæological Department, and since the time of Lord Mayo, it has been repaired at an enormous cost, and tracery restored as far as possible. North-east of the Panch Mahal is the *Pachisi* Board which resembles the one of the Agra fort, the only difference being that while the Agra one is entirely of marble, the one at Fatehpur Sikri is of red sandstone. To the north again of this building,

are the buildings known as Ankh Michauli and the Dewan-i-Khas. The former building is said to be the hide-and-seek playing house of the emperor, but on a careful examination of the surroundings would seem to be either a treasury or a valuable record office. There are places for sentries all round, and stone-doors which were closed up with heavy padlocks clearly show that they were appropriated to better purposes than what is generally ascribed to them by tradition. Its immediate proximity to the Dewani-Khas also suggests the idea, that it was in some way connected with the Privy Council chamber. There is a strong room in the centre with two other rooms with verandahs on the north and south sides of it. There is a pavilion near it overloaded with the peculiarities of Jain architecture which sheltered a Hindu teacher of Akbar. The ornamentation is exactly of the style of the temples of Mount Abu and Ahmedabad. The traceries and the carvings are after the Buddhist sculptures, and many have been the discussions as to what particular Buddhist structure influenced the builders of Akbar's reign. The Hindu teacher of Akbar used to instruct him during the evening hours in the dogmas of the faith and to enter into controversy with the teachers of other faiths.

The Dewani-Khas is a building of peculiar and curious construction. It is a very lofty building

altogether open from floor to roof. There is a pillar in the centre, having four causeways projecting from the central point and going down to each of the corners. Mr. Fergusson describes it as a square building with a throne consisting of an enormous flower-like bracket, supported on a richly-carved pillar, a peristylar building called his office, very similar to the one he erected at Allahabad. The structure known as Dewani-Khas used to seat the emperor in the middle and four ministers in each of the causeways, between whose conflicting counsels the emperor used to hold the balance. Professor Max Muller mentions this curious edifice as the scene of the religious controversies of Akbar's court every evening. There is a beautiful side gallery in this building, and this seems to have been the place named as Ibadat Khana by some writers as no other edifice within the fortified walls answers at all to the description given of it.

From the Dewani-Khas the way lies to the Diwan-i-Am through a long colonade. The Hall of Public Audience is a small hall with a wide verandah. Just below is a court-yard paved with sandstone flags 360 ft. by 180 ft. and on all sides of this court-yard are small chambers and cloisters which used to accommodate the suitors who came there to present petitions and file complaints. This court of justice is partly in the open air, and the supreme

court of judicature admitted the public to its proceedings. People flocked there in large numbers to see the emperor dispensing justice, and the frank and open way of Akbar, his ability and impartiality in deciding causes, won the confidence and commanded the admiration of his subjects.

Leaving the grand enclosure of the palace walls, the traveller has to go to some distance to the higher parts of the rock for some other objects of interest. There was a large lake in Akbar's time, now dried up, which lay to the north of the hills and which was closed in by a huge embankment on one side and a range of hills on the other. Thus was formed a large sheet of water about six miles in length by two in breadth which used to supply the palace apartments on the ridge and the city below with its gardens and dwelling-houses with plenty of water. There were water works by means of which this water was brought to one place and distributed all over. The water was raised from the lake by a clever arrangement of wheels, brought into a series of reservoirs, and then distributed by means of conduit pipes to the different parts of the palace.

There is a gateway in Fatehpur Sikri known as Hathi Pol, which is translated as Elephant gate and which has a sublime beauty of its own in the massiveness of its construction. The arch is 20 ft. from the ground, and is formed by the trunks of two

elephants joined together, the elephants being of very large size, and placed one on each side of the gateway. The heads of the elephants had been removed by Aurungzeb as he thought this particular ornament to be peculiarly Hindu. The Hathi Pol was considered by Akbar's courtiers to be a fitting entrance for the palaces of a sublime monarch like Akbar. The Sungin Burj which is in the vicinity of this gateway, is said to be a splendid bastion which is the remnant of some fortifications said to have been commenced on a grand scale by Akbar, but discontinued after a while as his spiritual teacher Selim Chisti disapproved of them.

The Hathi Pol overlooks the Hiran Minar, which means literally a tower for shooting antelopes. It is about 70 ft. high, and its sides are studded with imitations of elephant's tusks. Akbar used to enjoy in a little sport from the top of this tower, and the game were driven from all parts of country and kept in enclosures here to be shot down by the imperial musket. Akbar's fame as a hunter is high with posterity, and he indulged in sport not only in this effeminate way, but his favourite minister records how he could hunt down tigers and wild boars with spears and fire-arms, undergoing many weary journeys on horse-back for the purpose.

Between the Sanginburj and the Hiran Minar is the Kashmir serai, a large caravan serai, where

resorted merchants from the most distant parts of the empire and from the farthest ends of the civilized globe. Here were exhibited for the emperor and his nobles all articles for use and luxury then known to civilized nations.

The following extracts from Fergusson would conclude our description of Fatehpur Sikri. "It is however at Fatehpur Sikri that Akbar must be judged of as a builder. During the whole of his reign it was his favourite residence. He apparently was the first to occupy the spot and apparently the last, at least to build there ; no single building being identified as having been erected by any of his successors. Akbar seems to have had no settled plan when he commenced building there." "The richest, the most beautiful, as well as the most characteristic of all his buildings here are three small pavilions said to have been erected to please and accommodate his three favourite sultanas. They are small, but it is impossible to conceive any thing so picturesque in outline or any building carved and ornamented to such an extent without the smallest approach to being overdone or in bad taste." Again, "It was left however for the Saracenic architects to get over the difficulty of giving due size and dignity to the portals of buildings. They placed their portals—one or three or five of very moderate dimensions—at the back of semi-dome. This last feature thus became

the porch or portico, and its dimensions became those of the portal wholly irrespective of the size of the opening. No one, for instance looking at this gateway, can mistake that it is a doorway only which are provided at its base. The semi-dome is the modulus of the design and its scale that by which the imagination measures its magnificence." He thus sums up. "Taking it altogether this palace at Fatehpur Sikri is a romance in stone such as few, very few, are to be found anywhere; and it is a reflex of the mind of the great man who built it more distinct than can easily be obtained from any other source."

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## AGRA AS IT IS.

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The modern district of Agra lies between lat.  $26^{\circ} 44' 30''$  and  $27^{\circ} 24' N$  and between long.  $77^{\circ} 28'$  and  $78^{\circ} 53' 45'' E$ . Its area is 1,850 square miles, and it forms a district of the Agra Division. On the north of it lies Muttra and Etah, on the east Mainpuri and Etawah, on the south the territories of Dholpur and Gwalior, and on the east the state of Bharatpur. The greater portion of this district lies on the right bank of the Jumna, and the smaller portion on the left bank. The Chambal forms the southern boundary to some distance, and the Utangan passes through the heart of the portion outside the Doab. The soil on the banks of the Jumna up to some distance is intersected by deep ravines, and one finds that this precipitous tract is almost entirely bare of vegetation. The greater part of the district however is a rich plateau almost level, and under ordinary circumstances produces rich crops. The branches of the Ganges Canal water the portion in the Doab and the Agra canal is utilized for the same purposes in the northern pergunahs. The sandstone hills to be found near Fatehpur Sikri and on the south-eastern borders of the district

are offshoots from the Vindhyan range which traverses the whole of Central India. The crops usually raised in this district are the usual *kharif* and *rabi* crops, or the autumn and spring harvests. The first is sown after the heavy monsoon rains usually at the end of June, and is ready for harvesting by October. This crop consists of the inferior food-grains and cereals. The second is sown usually in November and reaped in April, and consist of the more valuable crops, such as wheat, barley, oats, and other things. The same soil is sometimes, but rarely, used for both the crops. The Indian husbandman understands the principle of rotation of crops and practises it sometimes, but oftentimes he thinks that a single crop in the year would best conduce to the soil being kept in the highest state of efficiency. Besides these principal crops a fair share of the cultivated land is set apart to produce tobacco, indigo, sugarcane, numerous kinds of vegetables, and the opium plant. There are in this district 202,485 acres of land which are so barren and has such physical conditions that they cannot be cultivated. The total area under cultivation is about 800,000 acres as against 200,000 acres set apart for grazing purposes or not otherwise cultivated though capable of cultivation. The agricultural population is about 60 per cent. of the whole, and the cultivation of cotton and of the superior kinds of cereals is continually

on the increase. There has been a rise in the wages and the prices of food-grains during the last quarter of a century, the rise being about twenty-five per cent. The cultivation in this district depends mostly on natural rainfall, and there is felt severe distress in seasons of draught. In 1783, 1813, 1819, 1838, 1861, 1868, and 1878 the population suffered much by severe scarcity, and the Government relief measures were intended not only for the suffering people of this district, but also for the numerous fugitives from the neighbouring Native states who poured into it in search of employment. The prices in these famine years rose to 13 or 14 seers of inferior cereals to the rupee, and pressed very hard on the labouring population. The tenants in most cases possess the rights of occupancy, and are content to follow their humble lot in obscurity. The trade of the city of Agra is greatly facilitated by the means of communication which link the several important cities of Upper India. The East Indian Line passes through it with three stations at Firozabad, Tundla, and Barhan, and a branch from Tundla to Agra which comes up to the Delhi Gate of Akbar's fort over a bridge that belongs to the Rajputana Malwa Railway. The Rajputana line now worked by the B. B. and C. I. Railway Company connects Agra with Bharatpur, Ulwar, Jeypur, Ajmere, Marwar, Mount Abu, Palampur, Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat, Broach,

and Bombay by the main line, and with Indore, Udeypur, Neemuch and Nasirabad by branches. The metre gauge line branching off from Achnera connects Agra with Muttra and with the Cawnpur-Achnera Railway through Kasganj and Farrackabad to Cawnpur. The Indian Midland Railway, in which has been incorporated the Scindia State Railway, connects Agra with Dholpur, Gwalior, Jhansi, Bhopal, and at Itarsi with the great system of the G. I. P. Railway. The good metalled roads on all sides connect it with Muttra, Aligarh, Cawnpur, Fatehpur Sikri, Gwalior, Karauli and Bharatpur. Beside the ordinary cattle markets in some considerable villages in the district, there is held annually a large horse-fair at Batesar which brings together, it is said, about two lacs of human beings. The city of Agra is a large grain and cotton mart, and there are many cotton screws in the city and two in the district. The sugar of Rohilkand, the cotton of the Rajputana plains, and the wheat of the surrounding districts find a ready market here. The especial manufactures of Agra are beautiful hookka pipes, gold lace of all descriptions, native shoes, inlaid work in marble, and carpets. There are workmen who produce the highest species of work in marble, and this finely-wrought inlaid work is very largely appreciated by the European visitors. The best carpets are those obtainable from the Central Jail. The marble-work

and the carpets of Agra have been awarded the highest prizes in all the great exhibitions of the world, and are pronounced to be almost unrivalled by critics of standing in Europe. Sandstone is imported in large quantities from Fatehpur Sikri, and, after being hewn in Agra, are sent down the river by boats.

The principal institutions of the modern city are the civil, criminal, and revenue courts, Thomason Hospital with the Lady Dufferin's Institution attached to it, the Agra College, the Roman Catholic College and Convent, central prison, the barrack in the Public Works Department style for the troops, the churches of the numerous Protestant Non-conformist sects, and the beautiful hall built in Greek style in memory of Lord Metcalfe, which serves to the European population as a place for balls, amusements, and social re-unions. Agra is the head quarters of a civil and sessions judge who has jurisdiction also in Muttra. The courts of the Judge and Subordinate Judge of Agra are held in the same building in which the High Court used to hold its sittings after its establishment in 1866 to the transfer of the Court in 1869. The buildings which then served for the district courts are now appropriated for the use of the Court of Small Causes and the Munsif's Court. There is an intelligent and well-educated bar practising in the civil courts, consisting

of barristers, pleaders of European extraction, vakils of the High Court, and the ordinary quota of District courts men. The principal members of the bar have their chambers in a set of rooms which formerly served for the offices of the Board of Revenue when the seat of Government was at Agra, but which are now no longer required for the purpose. The district of Agra is considered to be a heavy sessions district, and some of the trials held in it have been very interesting. The central prison is a set of well-ventilated cells, surrounded by walls about a mile and a half in circumference. It has an average population of over two thousand prisoners a day and lifers from other districts are brought here before being sent over to the Andamans. It has an interesting carpet manufactory which can be seen by the permission of the officer in charge, and carpets woven here adorn the floors not only of palatial residences in India, but also the magnificent residences of many of the principal noblemen and princes of Europe. The Catholic College and Orphanage is on the back of the central prison. It is an interesting establishment containing the college and girls' schools in large and commodious buildings with a cathedral and an episcopal see attached. It is entirely under the supervision of Jesuit fathers and nuns, and teaches useful occupations, and opens up interesting careers to many young boys and girls. There is a

tradition that this establishment is one of considerable antiquity, having been founded by Akbar. Attached to it is a cemetery where the visitor will find some very interesting mausoleums, the principal of them being the tombs of the French officers of the Maharatta service, of Walter Reinhardt, and the Dyce-Sombre family which had a considerable name in the history of local litigation. The Agra College is a one storied building on a high plinth with a passage in the middle, and sets of rooms on either side of it. Attached to the main building are two wings, built almost in the same style, one used as a science laboratory, and the other as a gallery to hold large classes and for lectures on law. The school buildings are immediately behind the college, almost just finished. These owe their origin to local effort and local munificence. The college has a set of boarding houses attached to it, the finest of which is the one built for the small community of the Bhargavas by Munshi Nawal Kishore, C. I. E., and Lala Girdhari Lal, a gentleman of the bar with considerable public spirit. The college is presided over by a veteran educationist whose services are lent by the Government, and who is assisted by two junior European professors and three Masters of Arts of the University of Calcutta, and produces excellent results from year to year. Its committee consists of some gentlemen of considerable local

standing and personal experience, and its success has been complimented upon by such high authorities as the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor. The St. John's College is a missionary institution which trains up native youths and the boys drafted from the Secundra Orphanage. The Victoria College owes its existence to the public spirit of the late Hon'ble Pandit Ajudhia Nath, a native of this city, who made his fortune at the Allahabad High Court bar, and his brother, Pandit Jagannath. There is also another Middle English School in the very heart of the city, which is owned and very successfully managed by Rai Bahadur Munshi Sheo Narain, Secretary to the local municipality. The medical establishments are many in this district. The climate of Agra is extremely hot in summer, and as cold as many large European cities in winter. Its temperature varies from  $40^{\circ}$  in January to  $115^{\circ}$  in June, but though owing to its proximity to many sandy deserts it is very hot in summer, it is considered to be a very healthy place all through the year. Life in the winter is delightful here, and in the summer all activities are confined to the mornings and evenings which are often pleasantly cool. But during the mid-day when the golden orb of heaven is at its meridian height, and for some hours late when its slanting rays are equally trying, all activities are hushed, every means for artificially

cooling the temperature of the rooms is resorted to, and there is a feeling of listlessness and langour on all its residents, and the calm repose of the streets is hardly broken by the appearance of a single human being. There are some beautiful passages in *Hero and Nymph* by the Shakespeare of India the Sanskrit poet Kalidas, and they beautifully describe the life in an Indian city under the hottest rays of the eastern sun. There are six charitable dispensaries in this district, *viz.*, four at Agra, one at Fatehpur Sikri, and one at Firozabad. There is a leper asylum and poor house too in Agra city. There is a medical school attached to the Thomason Hospital, where pupils are taught to a standard of efficiency by some picked officers of the government subordinate medical service, men who had their training either in Calcutta or Lahore. The telegraph office at Agra is a very large one, and employs over a hundred signallers. Eight main lines of telegraph connect it with Aligarh, Bharatpur, Cawnpur, Dholpur, Muttra, and three principal lines of railways. The commercial quarter of Agra is known as Belanganj. There are many Seths and sowcars carrying on business with large Indian cities, and the visitor would find ample evidences of its activity in the trade of cotton, grain, salt, stones, and wool. The new water works which supply the city with perpetual draughts of fresh water are to the

north of Belanganj and are well worth a visit. There are two massive engines and very interesting tanks, exhibiting all the stages of the filtering process. The principal hotels are the Lauries' Hotel, the Northbrook Hotel, and the United Service Hotel. The last two have been newly opened, and the former was opened many years ago by Messrs. Laurie and Staten, and is very largely resorted to by visitors. I have heard from many respectable European travellers that the hotels, the Dak Bungalow, and the Club at Agra are up to the mark of the most respectable establishments in the East, while they are more comfortable and considerably cheaper than the hotels of Cairo. Agra is visited very largely by travellers from Europe and America and from all parts of India. Those from Lower Bengal mostly stop during their stay here with the Bengali residents who are noted for their hospitality to their countrymen at all times. The residents of Agra who have some historic importance are the Raja of Benares, descended from the historic Chait Singh of Warren Hasting's time, Sir Raja Dinker Rao, K.C.S.I., who was prime minister at Gwalior at the time of the mutiny, and was nominated a member of the Supreme Council. He has a house and some property here, and stops either here or at Allahabad. The family of Rao Jyotiprasad Khetri of Barara, a grand commissariat contractor, whose

name is prominently mentioned in Kaye's and Malleson's *Sepoy War*, and several retired officers who did good service during the times of the mutiny. The City of Agra is still the second city in the North-Western Provinces (not including Lucknow in Oudh) in size and importance. It is 841 miles by rail from Calcutta, 139 miles from Delhi, 277 miles from Allahabad, and about a 1,000 miles from Bombay. The representatives of the chief hotels meet the traveller at the railway station. The population of Agra, including the suburbs of Shahganj and Tajganj, comes up to 1,66,000 souls. The ordinary administrative staff consists of four covenanted officers, five uncovenanted officers of the Civil Service, and the usual staff of medical, fiscal and constabulary establishments.

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