CITY OF AGRA UNDER THE MUGHALS FROM 1526-1707

ABSTRACT

THESIS

SUBMITTED FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

IN

HISTORY

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ALIGARH (INDIA)

2006

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ABSTRACT

Agra, a historically important town situated on the banks of the river Yamuna, reached the zenith of its importance when it was the capital of the Mughal Empire, during the 16th and 17th centuries. It now completes a popular tourist triangle spanning Delhi and Jaipur. Agra is situated 200 km south of Delhi, and is easily accessible by road, air as well as the Indian Railways.

Situated in the heart of Agra is 'Taj'. The former President of U.S.A once remarked, "There are two kinds of people in the world. Those who have seen the Taj Mahal and love it and those who have not seen the Taj and love it." And those words ring true for Taj Mahal lovers, the world over. Sitting in the presence of the Taj Mahal is a magical experience. Watching the sun rise over the Taj Mahal is like watching the genesis of a miracle. Seeing the sun disappear behind its large dome is the perfect way to end a special day. Sitting silently in the courtyard of the Taj, or in one of its large halls you can't help but experience a strong feeling of wonder. And then you understand the hallowed ground it occupies amongst the seven other wonders of the world.

Looking back in time and sifting through the annals of history, the importance of Agra could never be undermined. When Mughals came to India, Delhi was the most important town of that period. The Delhi sultans had ruled from their and also learnt its importance. Agra was in the limelight for the first time in medieval history when Sikandar Lodhi, the ruler of Delhi, decided to shift his capital from Delhi to Agra in the 16th century, with the aim of conquering Doab. Under his successor Ibrahim Lodi, Agra continued to be the capital. Babur the first Mughal Emperor captured Agra and made it his capital. Later, Agra witnessed large-scale developmental work and it was at its zenith during the rule of Akbar and Shah Jahan.

This thesis of 'City of Agra under the Mughals from 1526-1707' tries to cover every aspect of Agra under the Mughals. We find that Agra developed into a huge canvas depicting the glorious days of Mughal rule in India. It tuned into one of the most important cities in the northern part of ancient India. The Mughals lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858 AD. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to rule India. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties.

Even though the Mughal Empire existed 300-500 years ago, its influence still exists in current day India. The social aspects of the Mughal Empire and India today especially relate including family life, religion art, music, and literature, education. Regions of Mughal authority lasted longer than the empire itself. Even the British used Mughal titles and engaged in rituals of respect for the Mughal emperor until 1802. This resilient authority came from the fact that regions had changed fundamentally as political territories under Mughal supremacy. The process of change combined elements drawn from many sources. Most importantly, however, an elite imperial society imbued with Indo-Persian culture had emerged in all the Mughal regions.

Chapter I deals with the historical origin of Agra. It has a rich historical back-ground, which is amply evident from its vibrant Culture, Art and Religious philosophies that have enriched mankind and shaped human thought over centuries. The foundation of the imperial capital can be traced in the epic age. Agra is an old city and it is said that its name was derived from Agrabana, a forest that finds mention in the epic Mahabharata.

The Mughal Dynasty is a line of Muslim emperors who reigned in India from 1526 to 1858. Babur, the first Mughal emperor, was a descendant of the Turkish conqueror Timur on his father's side and of the Mongol (in Persian, Mughal) conqueror Genghis Khan on his mother's side. He invaded India from Afghanistan and founded the Mughal Empire on the ruins of the Delhi Sultanate.

Despite their illustrious ancestors, the Mughals began humbly. When the great Mughal conqueror, Babur, came to power in AD 1483, he ruled over a very small kingdom in Turkestan. With the smallest of armies, he managed to conquer first Afghanistan and then the Delhi Sultanate and this led to the foundation of the Mughal rule in India.

Faced with overwhelming odds, he fought the decisive battle of Panipat in AD 1526 against Ibrahim Lodhi with an army of only twelve thousand men. But, popularly called Babur the Tiger, he overcame his enemies with a new technology; firearms. For this reason, Western historians have dubbed the Mughal Empire, the first gunpowder empire.

Before his death in AD 1530, he had almost conquered the entire India and laid the foundation of a dynasty, which was to change the course of history. He was succeeded by his son, Humayun, but he failed to keep one of the largest empires in the world intact. He had to live most of his life in exile and had to face several rebellions. When he died in AD 1556, he had lost nearly two-third of his kingdom. The task of finishing the reconquest fell to his son and successor, Akbar, whose name means in Arabic, 'The Great.'

Muslim, Indian, and Western historians all see Akbar as the greatest ruler of Indian history. There was not a single field in which he did not show his excellence. By the time he died in 1605, his Empire was greater than that of Babur and included almost all of northern India. The Mansabdari System was the back bone of his administration. A large part of Akbar's administrative efforts were in winning over Hindu populations and this he did successfully.

Akbar was succeeded by, Jahangir, who ruled the empire from AD 1605 to AD 1628. The period of Jahangir's tenure as Emperor is considered the richest period of Mughal culture. Jahangir's successor, Shah Jahan ruled from AD 1628 to AD 1658. One

of his major innovations was moving the capital from Agra to Delhi and he was also one of the greatest builders of Mughal Dynasty. Shah Jahan was succeeded by Aurangzeb in AD 1658 and ruled for a long period up to AD 1707. Mughal Empire expanded to its greatest limits under his tenure but his orthodoxy brought the downfall of the empire. He insisted that the Shariah become the law of the land. Individual states, especially those ruled by Hindu kings, rebelled against the new policies, but the most serious opposition came from two groups: the Marathas and the Sikhs.

After the death of Aurangzeb in AD 1707, the empire was divided and formed into many independent and semi-independent states. In AD 1739, Nadir Shah of Iran attacked Delhi, and this was followed by the attack of Ahmad Shah Abdali and soon the fragility of the power of the Mughals led to the declaration of independence by the vassal states.

In spite of all these, the Mughals ruled the country till 1857 mostly as puppet governments of the East India Company, which was making its presence felt in the country. The end of Mughal rule in India came when the soldiers who led the rebellion of 1857 marched to Delhi and announced the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah II, as the ruler of India. The rebellion was soon crushed and Bahadur Shah Zafar was deported to Myanmar by the East India Company. Thus putting and end to a dynasty, which rewrote the history of a nation.

This chapter gives detail account of these rulers and from 1556 upto 1707, Mughals rule expanded to cover nearly all of the present India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. However from Akbar to Aurangzeb, the Mughals rule had moved from one pole to another in its policies of religious tolerance and relations with its subordinate rulers. Akbar had consolidated the Mughal rule and expanded it through diplomacy, warfare, matrimonial alliance, and a tolerant religious policy. The Mughal Empire continued to expand under his successors Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. From Aurangzeb's time a decline set in. Aurangzeb had ruled over the largest expanse of the

Mughals till date. After his death, the Mughal rule declined, and many regional kingdoms came up.

Regarding the administration the Mughal kingdom of Agra, though founded in 1526, first grew to imperial dimensions under Akbar. Babur's four years in India were spent in fighting and consolidating his gains. Babur's description of the country, as he found it, and his account of every class of people, clearly gives an idea of the condition in which the Mughals entered the country and the material with which they had to deal. Babur had no time for any reconstruction. Humayun got no chance to make a start in that direction. The old system continued under them. The defeat and expulsion of Humayun and his reconquest of the country emphasized the ephemeral character of the dynasties and further brought to light the result of lack of unity among the ruling section. The changes began to be introduced by Akbar and therefore the death of his father Humayun (1556) has been chosen as the starting date for the study of Mughal administration.

From the evidence we have it appears that the administration of Agra was organized on the same pattern as the other subas of the empire, with this difference, that when the emperor was at Agra, no separate governor functioned in the suba. Also the qila'dar of the Agra fort was appointed only during the absence of the emperor. In this chapter our effort is directed towards describing the administrative structure of Agra on the basis, as far as possible, of specific evidence on and about it at the possible cost of reception of much that is well known in respect of Agra's administration in general. There is yet some benefit to be obtained from establishing that the pattern followed in Agra was the same as elsewhere.

The administrative divisions of the Mughal were based on political as well as economical conditions. The country was broadly divided into Mughal India proper and subordinate states, enjoying varying degrees of independence. The provinces varied greatly in status according to their extent and resources or military and strategic importance. A comparison of their revenue also helps us in forming estimate of the grade

of the provinces. Then they were senior and junior grades within the major class of provinces. Lastly, the strategic position of a province determined its status and importance.

Akbar's central government consisted of four departments, each presided over by a minister: the prime minister (wakil); finance minister (dewan, or wazir); paymaster general (mir bakhshi); and the chief justice and religious official combined (sadr us-sudur). They were appointed, promoted, or dismissed by the emperor, and their duties were well defined.

The Empire was divided into 15 provinces—Allahabad, Agra, Ayodhya (Avadh), Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Malka, Qhandesh, Berar, and Ahmadnagar. Kashmir and Qandahar were districts of the province of Kabul. Sindh, then known as Thatta, was a district in the province of Multan. Orissa formed a part of Bengal. The provinces were not of uniform area or income. There were in each province a governor, a dewan (revenue and finance officer), a bakhshi (military commander), a sadr (religious administrator), and qazi (judge) and agents who supplied information to the central government. Separation of powers among the various officials (in particular, between the governor and the dewan) was a significant operating principle in imperial administration.

The provinces were divided into districts (sarkars). Each district had a fowjdar (a military officer whose duties roughly corresponded to those of a collector); a qazi; a kot-wal, who looked after sanitation, police, and administration; a bitikchi (head clerk); and a khazanedar (treasurer).

Every town of consequence had a kotwal. The village communities conducted their affairs through pañcayats (councils) and were more or less autonomous units.

Unlike many of the earlier invaders, the Mughals were relatively more conscious of being in a foreign land, and in 'Babur Nama' Babur spoke very deliberately

of the need for conducting a secular policy in a country that was predominantly non-Islamic. In this respect, the Mughals were much more aware of the need to gain legitimacy and to win political allies in an alien land.

The economic position of peasants and artisans did not improve because the administration failed to produce any lasting change in the existing social structure. There was no incentive for the revenue officials, whose concerns primarily were personal or familial gain, to generate resources independent of dominant Hindu zamindars and village leaders, whose self-interest and local dominance prevented them from handing over the full amount of revenue to the imperial treasury. In their ever-greater dependence on land revenue, the Mughals unwittingly nurtured forces that eventually led to the break-up of their empire.

When Babur invaded India to establish his kingdom his army consisted of tribes and clans that followed him from Kabul, some joined him later, after the Battle of Panipat, he awarded the leaders of these tribes and clans in accordance to their performance in the battle and many of them who had joined Babur for the booty, chose to return to their homes.

In this respect, the Mughals were very much in the tradition of the nomadic warrior clans that periodically swooped down from the grasslands and deserts of Central Asia and either plundered and raided the settled agricultural civilizations or succeeded in conquering them. Not only India, but China, Eastern Europe, and the fertile crescents of the Middle East also experienced such attacks and invasions. Since the nomadic hunter clans lacked agricultural territories that could be tapped for their surplus, the only means to wealth in such parts of the globe were raids on settled civilizations or looting or taxation of trade caravans. Trading in slaves was another source of income. Seasoned and practised in the art of warfare, the nomadic warrior clans often prevailed with considerable ease over the armies of the settled civilizations who were usually taken by surprise and were inexperienced at handling the unconventional (and terrorist-like) tactics of the invaders

Babur and Humayun ruled over territory that was not too far flung, after the tribes and the clans that had joined Babur for booty returned after the Battle of Panipat, their place was taken by foreign adventurers, Uzbeks, Persians, Arabs, Turks etc who thronged to the court with contingents of troops. Since the Mughals were foreigners there were no hereditary nobles related to the rulers or ancient families to depend upon, the court consisted of adventurers from different nations, the ruler raised them to dignity or degraded them; up to the early rule of Akbar the Mughal armies consisted of contingents commanded by these adventurers.

An important aspect of the Mughal rule was the creation of a military-bureaucratic system named the Mansabdari system. Though the system itself underwent various transformations depending on the circumstances, the characteristic feature was a single hierarchy that took within its fold both the military and the civilian bureaucracy. This way, the empire was primarily a police state.

Akbar, organised the 'mansabdari' system in the 19th year of his rule. The system classified the functionaries of the kingdom as fighters, 'ashab-u's-saif', (masters of the sword); clerks 'ashab-u'l-qalam' (masters of the pen); theologians, 'ashab-u'l-amamah'. The 'mansab' denoted a rank of office, it had its obligations, precedence and grade of pay; it was for life but it was not hereditary, heirs could not demand continuity of office.

Military mansabdars were required to maintain troops according to the mansab including beasts of burden, elephants, camels, mules, carts etc, they maintained horses for their troopers and a prescribed number in their own stables.

Military command was at the will of the emperor, Akbar held that anyone could be a military commander and often appointed commanders who had no military knowledge or experience.

With a corrupt system of accounting and inspection very few mansabdars kept their units up to strength. When a mansabdar was ordered to take part in an

expedition, he was required to parade his unit outside the palace and the emperor inspected it from a window in the palace.

Cavalry made up the bulk of the Mughal army; they enjoyed the prestige of warriors. Individual troopers took great care to keep themselves fit, they exercised, engaged each other in mock fights, practised horsemanship, they were personally brave and trained themselves for person to person combat, but were unwilling to endanger their mounts because their salary depended on these; there was no training for units to act collectively.

Infantry was despised as drudges, they were considered little more than watchmen to guard the baggage, labourers, porters etc. The infantry consisted of matchlock men and archers, in the ratio of one matchlock man to four archers because of the greater rate of fire of the archers since both weapons had about the same effective range; there was no infantry training, no discipline and very little reliance was placed on them.

Several aspects of their policy illustrate the importance of their military campaigns. Capitals were frequently moved to centres more suited to the conduct of specific military campaigns. Alliances with Rajput rulers were sought based on their ability to contribute to the Mughal war efforts. Investments were made in upgrading the weapons of war and ensuring that Mughal military technology maintained it's edge. Every Mughal prince was groomed in the battle arts not only through early training but through hands-on experience in real battles. So entrenched was the culture of war that it pit brother against brother in battles of succession.

This concentration on war efforts emerges quite vividly from court chronicles and surviving correspondence between Shahjahan and the young Aurangzeb where almost nothing else is discussed but the progress of the latest war effort. War scenes and gory depictions of battles were also common themes in the miniatures commissioned during the reign of Akbar.

The militarist character of the Mughals was not entirely unexpected since had they not been seeped in the tradition of warfare, they would have never attempted to

conquer Northern India and extend their control over the rest of the Indian subcontinent in the first place.

Many features of the Mughal administrative system were adopted by Great Britain in ruling India, but the most lasting achievements of the Mughals were in the field of architecture, painting and music. Architecture, reached the pinnacle of its glory under the Mughals. Although Babur's stay in India was brief, and he was preoccupied with the conquest of the country, he found time to summon from Constantinople pupils of the great Ottoman architect Sinan, to whom he entrusted the construction of mosques and other buildings. Time has dealt harshly with buildings constructed in his reign and that of Humayun, and only four minor ones have survived. These buildings exhibit no trace of local influence and are distinctly foreign.

Akbar's most ambitious project was his new capital and the numerous buildings at Fathpur Sikri, the seat of the imperial court from 1569 to 1584. Some of the buildings there are dominated by the Hindu style of architecture, reflecting the emperor's regard for the Hindu tradition. But Persian influences were equally strong in his day, as can be seen in the magnificent tomb for Humayun built early in 1569 at Delhi. Akbar's eftorts were not confined to tombs, mosques, and palaces, but included fortresses, villas, towers, sarais, schools, and reservoirs or tanks. He built two major fortresses at Agra and Lahore. The Lahore fort, which was built on the banks of the Ravi, at about the same time as that at Agra, was planned and constructed on practically the same grand scale. The buildings within the Lahore fort were greatly altered by Shah Jahan and later by the Sikhs, but much remains in the original form. A striking feature of the fort is the carved decoration, representing living things. This may indicate merely the predominance of Hindu craftsmen, and a lax overseer, but more likely it can be ascribed to Akbar's own predilections.

Akbar's death in 1605 was followed by a pause in building activities of the Mughals. Jahangir, was less interested in architecture than in painting and gardens. Akbar's tomb at Sikandar and some other buildings were constructed during his reign, but

Jahangir's greatest contribution was in laying out the large formal gardens which adorn many cities of Kashmir and the Punjab. The Mughal garden is a regular arrangement of squares, usually in the form of terraces placed on a slope (for easy distribution of water), with pavilions at the centre. Artificial pools with numerous fountains form an important part of the plan, and the flagged causeways are shadowed by avenues of trees. Babur and Akbar had made a beginning in this direction, but during Jahangir's reign a number of lovely gardens came into existence, such as the Shalamar Bagh and the Nishat in Kashmir. Jahangir's beautiful mausoleum at Shahdara near Lahore was probably planned by the emperor himself, but it was completed in the next reign, by his widow Nur Jahan. It suffered serious damage in the reign of Ranjit Singh, when the marble pavilion in front of the building, which offered a central point of interest, was removed. It cannot be fairly judged after the spoliation by the Sikhs, and in any case it lacks many noble features of the Taj Mahal, but even now it is a beautiful building, decorated by inlaid marbles, glazed tiles, and painted patterns. Not far from Jahangir's resting place Nur Jahan lies buried in a very unpretentious tomb.

Shah Jahan was the greatest builder amongst the Mughals. One secret of his success was the liberal use of marble. He replaced many sandstone structures of his predecessors in the forts of Agra and Lahore and other places with marble palaces. This change in the material itself facilitated a corresponding change in architectural treatment. Rectangular forms gave way to curved lines, and the art of the marble cutter gave a new grace and lightness to the decoration. The style of Shah Jahan's principal edifices is basically Persian, but is distinguished by the lavish use of white marble, minute and tasteful decoration—particularly the open-work tracery which ornaments the finest buildings, giving them their distinctive elegance. Among the more famous of his buildings are the Pearl Mosque and the Taj Mahal at Agra, the Red Fort and Jama Masjid at Delhi, palaces and gardens at Lahore, a beautiful mosque at Thatta in Sind, a fort, palace, and mosque at Kabul, royal buildings in Kashmir, and many edifices at Ajmer and Ahmadabad.

Aurangzeb was not a great builder, but among buildings of merit erected in his reign is the great Badshahi Mosque of Lahore, completed in 1674. Its construction was supervised by Fidai Khan Kuka, Master of Ordnance, whose engineering skill and experience enabled him to design and erect a building of great size and stability. It is one of the largest mosques in the subcontinent, if not in the world. There is a great dignity in its broad quadrangle leading up to the facade of the sanctuary. Its ornamentation is boldly conceived, but perhaps representing Aurangzeb's puritanical taste, this is sparingly introduced. For this reason the building suffers in comparison with the Great Mosque at Delhi.

After Shah Jahan Mughal architecture declined even at the capital, although some interesting buildings were erected from time to time. Shah Jahan spent incalculable wealth on his preoccupations: a life of ease, pageantry and pleasure, expeditions to expand his dominion and the creation of his celebrated edifices. Unlike the buildings of Akbar which show such eclectic delight in diversity, Shah Jahan's constructions demonstrate cool confidence in a new order.

In his structures, the Hindu and Islamic traditions are not simply mixed but synthesized in a resolved form – the balance of inlaid ornamentation and unadorned spaces; the cusped arch, neither Islamic nor Hindu; the simplified columns and brackets created without the rich carvings; the kiosks with Islamic domes – typical of the nobility, grace and genius that characterize the constructions of Shah Jahan.

The importance of Agra and Mughal architecture could never be ignored as Agra was once the capital of the Mughal Empire and even today it seems to linger in the past. Not surprising, for the Mughal emperors with their passion for building, endowed the city with some of the finest structures in the world. It is very easy to slip away here through the centuries into the grandeur and intrigues of the Mughal court.

For all the beauty of the embellishments used in the Taj Mahal and his other buildings, it is the stylistic unity and harmony of design that is Shah Jahan's greatest accomplishment, providing the finishing touch in the Mughal style of architecture.

The Mughal Empire at its zenith commanded resources unprecedented in Indian history and covered almost the entire subcontinent. From 1556 to 1707, during the heyday of its fabulous wealth and glory, the Mughal Empire was a fairly efficient and centralized organization, with a vast complex of personnel, money, and information dedicated to the service of the emperor and his nobility. A complete study of Mughal economy, currency and trade in covered in chapter four of the thesis. Study of Mughal economy is very important to understand the Mughals and their reign in Agra of three hundred years. The first two rulers of Mughals were busy trying to establish a firm foot hold in India when Akbar came to throne he realised the importance of stable economy.

According to the testimony of European travellers, some of the urban centres of Mughal India were bigger than the biggest cities in Europe at the same period. Most of the luxury handicraft trades were located in cities, and there was also a well-established banking system for the transfer of funds from one part of India to another. In urban society, occupation was controlled by guild regulation and a hereditary caste structure, but occupational mobility was greater than in villages because town life was dominated by Muslims, or, in some commercial areas, by Europeans.

A remarkable feature of the Mughal system under Akbar was his revenue administration, developed largely under the supervision of his famed Hindu minister Todar Mal. Akbar's efforts to develop a revenue schedule both convenient to the peasants and sufficiently profitable to the state took some two decades to implement. In 1580 he obtained the previous 10 years' local revenue statistics, detailing productivity and price fluctuations, and averaged the produce of different crops and their prices. He also evolved a permanent schedule circle by grouping together the districts having homogeneous agricultural conditions. For measuring land area, he abandoned the use of hemp rope in favour of a more definitive method using lengths of bamboo joined with

iron rings. The revenue, fixed according to the continuity of cultivation and quality of soil, ranged from one-third to one-half of production value and was payable in copper coin (*dam*s). The peasants thus had to enter the market and sell their produce in order to meet the assessment. The earlier practices (e.g., crop sharing), however, also were in vogue in the empire. The new system encouraged rapid cash nexus and economic expansion. Moneylenders and grain dealers became increasingly active in the countryside.

Akbar made the system of regional control more effective because he developed a lucrative policy of incorporation for his opponents into the Mughal hierarchal administration. He was the first ruler to realize the importance of forging links between the position of the sultan and the chieftains by incorporating them into the imperial hierarchy of administration. Akbar understood that military coercion was not the right method for consolidation. He obtained the empire's revenue through aggressive diplomacy designed to reduce the chieftains' status to intermediaries for the empire, for which they would receive just compensation. The first step in the reductive process was the introduction of the same generic term (zamindar) to refer to all of the holders of widely varying types of landed interests. In doing this, Akbar destroyed the pre-existing hierarchy on the local level, as all persons who were previously in that hierarchy were now equal in the community. From autonomous chieftains to village heads, all possessed the same rank in the view of the Mughal Empire.

Akbar did not hesitate to use force to establish his supremacy over some staunch opponents, although diplomacy was preferred. During the beginning of his rule, he would conquer his opponents by whatever means necessary, which included personally leading his army on campaigns of bloody battles and sometimes enduring long devastating sieges. The power of Akbar and his empire came from one important fact: he always won. Later in his rule, many opposing chieftains began to understand the extent of his power, receiving the positive benefits of his incorporation policy by conceding to him without much bloodshed. In Akbar's policy of incorporation, a chieftain's submission brought the possibility for advancement within the imperial bureaucracy.

In study of Indian economic history of the first half of the seventeenth century during the reigns of the Mughal Emperors Jahangir and Shahjahan. This period is important from the standpoint of economic institutions and is marked by certain far-reaching changes which ushered in a new era in the commercial relations of India with the traders from the west.

Departing significantly from existing approaches this work forcefully argues that both the division of the Mughal empire into Subas (provinces) of varying size and potential and the merging of three geographically different regions into Suba Agra were strongly motivated by a desire to carve out a core region for the Empire that surpassed all other units in productivity and at the same time had the territorial reach that enabled it to influence other regions. At the local level, Sarkar divisions were created to contain the Zamindars. It is found that Mughal policies were discriminatory towards erstwhile ruling families like the Bundelas and middle level potentates like the Jats.

Of particular interest are discussions on agro-based industries wherein the level of technological attainment was in no way inferior to that of the nineteenth century. Other issues addressed are trade, and most fascinating of all, the emergence and development of Agra as the centre of one of the most important Empires in history.

The Mughal economy was the most complex and sophisticated to be colonized by Europeans, but its productivity level was significantly below that of Western Europe at the time of conquest in the mid-eighteenth century. Its relative backwardness was partly technological but was mainly due to institutional characteristics which prevented it from making optimal use of its production possibilities. The parasitic state apparatus had an adverse effect on production incentives in agriculture, which was reinforced by the effect of 'built-in depressants' within the village, where there was a further hierarchy of exploitation. Productive investment was negligible and the savings of the economy were invested in precious metals, palaces and tombs. The productivity of the urban economy was also adversely affected by the predatory character of the state.

Mughal rule was the most significant of the various regimes during the medieval times in India. Belonging to Central Asia, which had trade as the major economic activity, Mughals understood the importance of trade. Their main objective in conquering Gujarat, Bengal and Sindh was to gain control over sea-trade. Moreover, they facilitated the development of overland trade routes when they consolidated their control over Kabul and Kandhar. It is significant that many members of the royal family, as well as influential nobles invested substantial sum in overseas trade. Jahangir and his consort Nur Jahan had investment in ships plying between Surat and Red Sea. Ships of Prince Khurram when he was governor of Gujarat had extensive trade with Mocha. Similarly Ships of Prince Dara, and Aurangzeb traded with Acheh and Bantam. Prince Azim-ush-Shan even declared the entire import trade of Bengal as his monopoly. The ships owned by royal members were generally big ships upto thousand tonnes. The influential nobles and governors would try to monopolise the trade through their regions. Nobles like Mir Jumla tried to monopolise trade of saltpetre, and later on Shaista Khan tried to monopolise trade of salt, bees wax and gold in Bengal. On the other hand, the governor of Lahore, Wazir Khan took commission for every transaction at Lahore.

Unlike other contemporary regimes, Mughals did not make trade a royal monopoly. They wished to have a free trade regime in which different trading groups had a fair chance. This was in contrast to different contemporary regimes viz. in Persia under Shah Abbas silk was a royal monopoly, rulers of South East kingdoms made tin, rice etc their royal monopoly, in South Indian kingdom of Travancore, pepper was a royal monopoly. Also in this endeavour to keep free trade regime open, the Mughals faced hostilities from the European trading companies that aimed to monopolise the sea trade. In Asia, the State force did not back up the trading activity through use of coercion. In contrast, the European trading companies used force and coercion to gain supremacy on the sea trade. In such situation, the biggest handicap of the Mughals was that they lacked an effective navy. To counter such threat, the Mughals usually resorted to playing on the differences among these trading companies, and thus ensured that the seaports like Surat were generally open for free trade.

In such situation, they had to face challenges from European companies. Particularly when the Portuguese, and later on the Dutch tried to take control of sea trade. The long term objective of Dutch were to deny Indian ships to SE Asia, and appropriate all trade of Indian items to SE Asia to themselves. The Dutch even blockaded the port of Surat. The Mughals retaliated by confiscating their possessions on land and arresting their agents. However over a period of time the differences and issues got resolved. Similarly, there were issues with the British East India Company over customs duties. However again on this issue, the differences were resolved in the interest of trade and keeping the balance between the different European trading companies.

As there was regional specialisation in production and manufacture of goods there was much scope for exchange of various items. These goods were transported on bullocks, sometimes in caravans of 30,000. These were mainly used for transportation of food grain items. The costlier goods were transported on camels and mules and on carts. Boats were used on river-ways. There was also a well-developed coastal trade. Bengal was famous for sugar and rice, and also for muslin and silk; area of Coromandal coast for textile; Gujarat was the gateway for foreign trade with the West and specialised in textiles and silk; Lahore was a centre of handicraft production; Sarkhej and Bayana were famous for indigo production; Kashmir was important for shawls and carpets. These places were well connected for inland and overseas trade. At local level, there was a well-developed financial market- sarrafs catered to requirements of currency conversion; money transfer was done using hundis, banking and insurance was also well developed. Most of the trading was done with the network of commission agents known as dallals; while the manufacturing had developed a putting out system, known as dadani. Overseas trade and commerce contributed to influx of silver into the empire that led to its economic stability.

The Mughal theory of kingship as it emerged under Akbar, while rooted in the basic pattern laid down by Balban, has important features of its own. In the Mughal system the king remained all-powerful, but he was not an autocrat of Balban's type. The most authoritative exposition of the Mughal theory of rulership is that provided by Abu'l

Fazl, Akbar's closest companion, in his introduction to *Ain-i-Akbari*. The first two paragraphs dealing with the need for a king to maintain order and suppress crime and injustice echo Balban's views on the subject. Then Abu'l Fazl emphasizes the divine elements in kingship: the last part of the work Agra under the Mughals deals with the long lasting social and cultural impact of the Mughals on Indian culture and life.

The Mughal Empire grew out of descendants of the Mongol Empire who were living in Turkestan in the 15th century. They had become Muslims and assimilated the culture of the Middle East, while keeping elements of their Far Eastern roots.

The bureaucracy that the *Ain-i-Akbari* records rested on personal loyalty to the emperor among nobles who held all the places in the empire together. The nobility was the backbone of imperial society, commanding armies financed with taxes from imperial territories. The emperor had the biggest army under his private command, but he could not defeat a substantial alliance of great nobles. Warriors with independent means initially became nobles (*amirs*) by being assigned a rank or dignity (*mansab*) with assignments of salary or income from lands. In 1590, Akbar revised the system to remunerate nobles in proportion to the number of men and horses under their command. This linked imperial rank explicitly to noble military assets. The plan was to create an elite corps of military commanders who maintained the dignity of their aristocratic warrior status through service and loyalty to the emperor.

Akbar's successors made a major departure of from the principle of periodic transfer of jagirdars. Based primarily on Barnier's observation, it has generally been held that jagirdars were not aloud to stay in the one place for very long period, as they were transferred on an average, every three years. In several cases Mughal nobles with high mansabs remain undisturbed in their place of assignment for exceptionally long period. In short stays in the place did not allow a jagirdars sufficient time to work for the development of agriculture and instead made him insensitive to the plight of the producers, there is no single scheme relating to development of agriculture that could be associated with the jagirdars noticed above. Instead, what we see is that the tendency to

remain long in the region as a jagirdar had already taken to root in the seventeenth century. The possibility cannot be ruled out that such period were found adequate by the jagirdars and zamindars to develop a nexus and, thus, deprive the state of increase of revenue generation on various accounts.

These nobles patronized artists, and craftsmen who produced the products exclusively from them. In the Mughal cities of Agra, Delhi, Burhanpur and Lahore, the morphology of urban life was determined by the settlement patterns of the Mughal nobility. Architects, artisans, builders, poets, found permanent employment in the noble entourages. Mughal officials and frequently, their women spent large sums of money for the construction of public buildings i.e. mosques, inns, stone bridges, gardens and markets. The origin of dozen of new towns and villages through out the Mughal India can be traced to the investment by these nobles.

There was considerable disagreement all during the reigns of Babur, Humayun, and Akbar over the nature of monarchy and its place in Islamic society. Many Islamic scholars under Babur and Akbar believed that the Indian monarchies were fundamentally un-Islamic. At the heart of the problem was the fact that none of the invading monarchs were approved by the Caliph, but rather were acting solely on their own. The majority of Islamic scholars, however, concluded that the monarch was divinely appointed by God to serve humanity and that the Indian sultanate or the Mughal *padshah* was acting in the place of the Caliph. [68]

Even though the Mughal Empire existed 300-500 years ago, its influence still exists in current day India. The social aspects of the Mughal Empire and India today especially relate including family life, religion art, music, and literature, education. Regions of Mughal authority lasted longer than the empire itself. Even the British used Mughal titles and engaged in rituals of respect for the Mughal emperor until 1802. This resilient authority came from the fact that regions had changed fundamentally as political territories under Mughal supremacy. The process of change combined elements drawn

from many sources. Most importantly, however, an elite imperial society imbued with Indo-Persian culture had emerged in all the Mughal regions.

The Mughals also adopted an absolute sovereignty. This particularly took shape during the times of Akbar, when he issued the famous mazhar in 1579. By this proclamation, he extended his powers as Amir i Adil (just monarch) & Amir ul Momnin (leader of faithful) to that of Imam-i-Adil (supreme arbiter of Islamic law). Thus Akbar was proclaimed higher in rank than Mujtahids (interpreter of Islamic laws eg Mullahs). Akbar was not just Zil-i-Ilahi (shadow of God on earth), but also, Farr i Izdi (divine effulgence / light of God). Thus the Mughal emperor was both the temporal and the spiritual head of his empire.

Babur brought a broadminded, confident Islam from central Asia. His first act after conquering Delhi was to forbid the killing of cows because that was offensive to Hindus. He may have been descended from brutal conquerors, but he was not a barbarian bent on loot and plunder. Instead he had great ideas about civilisation, architecture and administration. He even wrote an autobiography, The Babur - Namah. The autobiography is candid, honest and at times even poetic.

Mughal reign during the times of Akbar saw a shift away form the religious orientation of the state. Akbar abolished the Jizia, and gave equal opportunities for people of different faiths. He also laid down a policy of sulh-i-kul, meaning land of peace and tolerance. By this he not only undermined the influence of the ulema, but also laid firm religious policy for the empire that served it well for at least a century. This policy was reversed during the time of Aurangzeb's rule. Akbar also founded a spiritual-religion by the name din-i-ilahi; it found only eighteen full time adherents. The Mughal period also witnessed the flowering of the Bhakti and the Sufi movement in the country.

Though the Mughals had come to India as invaders, they took to this country as their own and settled down here. The liberal religious policy and marriages between the Mughals and Hindu princesses brought a period of understanding between

the people professing the two faiths. It also led to tempering of hostilities that generally characterised the Hindu-Muslim relations during the medieval times. It also led to cooperation between the Mughals and the Rajputs and various other local zamindars and this gave a period of political stability to the people. Thus Mughal rule, at least till the reign of Shah Jahan witnessed a period of realtive stability, progress and peace.

Conclusion

One obvious reason for the different tone and spirit of the Mughal Empire is the greater continuity of administration. For three hundred years the same dynasty ruled from India, and for half of this period, from 1556 to 1707, four rulers in direct succession maintained control. This is a remarkable achievement in the dynastic history of any great country, but it is particularly astonishing when measured against the rapid overthrow, not just of rulers, but of dynasties, in the sultanate period. Undoubtedly this dynastic stability contributed to the rich and varied cultural life of the period. The basic reason for the different tone of the two periods is, however, the success of Akbar, the third of the Mughal rulers, in creating an enduring system of administration.

The main Mughal contribution to the south Asia was their unique architecture. Many monuments were built during the Mughal era including the Taj Mahal. The first Mughal emperor Babur wrote in the Babur-nama: "Hindustan is a place of little charm. There is no beauty in its people, no graceful social intercourse, no poetic talent or understanding, no etiquette, nobility or manliness. The arts and crafts have no harmony or symmetry. There are no good horses, meat, grapes, melons or other fruit. There is no ice, cold water, good food or bread in the markets. There are no baths and no madrasas. There are no candles, torches or candlesticks" Fortunately his successors, with fewer memories of the Central Asian homeland he pined for, took a less jaundiced view of Indian culture, and became more or less naturalised, absorbing many Indian traits and customs along the way.

The Mughal period saw a more fruitful blending of Indian, Iranian and Central Asian artistic, intellectual and literary traditions than any other in Indian history. The Mughals had taste for the fine things in life - for beautifully designed artifacts and the enjoyment and appreciation of cultural activities. However, the Hindus of India provided the Mughals with a richer philosophy and the plentiful spices which were incorporated into modern Indian life. While the Mughals' superior position may have been appreciated, in reality, they probably borrowed as much as they gave. However, it could not be doubted that they introduced many changes to Indian society and culture, including:

- Centralised government which brought together many smaller kingdoms
- Persian art and culture amalgamated with native Indian art and culture
- Started new trade routes to Arab and Turk lands
- Mughal cuisine
- Urdu and Hindi languages were formed for common Muslims and Hindus respectively
- A style of architecture
- Landscape gardening

The remarkable flowering of art and architecture under the Mughals is due to several factors. The empire itself provided a secure framework within which artistic genius could flourish, and it commanded wealth and resources unparalleled in Indian history. The Mughal rulers themselves were extraordinary patrons of art, whose intellectual calibre and cultural outlook was expressed in the most refined taste.

All foreign travellers speak of the wealth and prosperity of Mughal cities and large towns. Monserrate stated that Lahore in 1581 was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia." Finch, who travelled in the early days of Jahangir, found both Agra and Lahore to be much larger than London, and his testimony is supported by others. Other cities like Surat ("A city of good quantity, with many fair merchants and houses therein"), Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Benares, and Patna similarly excited the admiration of visitors.

Any generalization about Indian history is dangerous, but the impression one gains from looking at social conditions during the Mughal period is of a society moving towards an integration of its manifold political regions, social systems, and cultural inheritances. The greatness of the Mughals consisted in part at least in the fact that the influence of their court and government permeated society, giving it a new measure of harmony. The common people suffered from poverty, disease, and the oppression of the powerful; court life was marked by intrigue and cruelty as well as by refinement of taste and elegant manners. Yet the rulers and their officials had moral standards which gave coherence to the administration and which they shared to some extent with most of their subjects. Undeniably, there were ugly scars on the face of Mughal society, but the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a quality of life that lent them a peculiar charm. The clearest reflection of this is seen in the creative arts of the period.

The greatness of the Mughal achievement lies in the political unification of India. Some historians have attempted to lay the blame for this Mughal collapse entirely on Aurangzeb's zealotry, contrasting Aurangzeb's religious conservatism with Akbar's eclectic tolerance which led to architectural innovations and cultural synthesis. Admirers of the syncretic traditions that developed in Akbar's court point to the stylistic fusion that took place in Fatehpur Sikri, and how some talented Hindus played an important role in his administration.

But even as Aurangzeb's sectarian messianic tendencies may have been the immediate catalyst for some of the rebellions that triggered the downfall of the Mughal Empire, they should not be seen as the sole explanation for the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Challenges to Mughal rule had already begun right after Akbar's military successes. And although Aurangzeb identified closely with Islamic orthodoxy - the employment of Hindus in Aurangzeb's court was at a higher level than what prevailed in the court of Akbar. Like his predecessors, Aurangzeb also continued with the practice of seeking alliances with Hindu rulers, but abandoned the practice of developing marital ties with them. Without the bonds of inter-marriage, and with a tax base that was

becoming less stable, the motivations for the Rajputs to fight Mughal battles was waning, and coercion was becoming less effective

The fact that after the death of Aurangzeb no ruler of real vigour and resourcefulness came to the throne made recovery of the lost position almost impossible Even Aurangzeb's long life was an asset of doubtful value in its last stages He drove himself hard and resolutely, conscientiously performing his duties, but at the age of ninety he was subject to the laws governing all human machines. When he died, his son and successor Bahadur Shah was already an old man of sixty He began well but was on the throne for barely six years, and with his death a disastrous chapter opened in Mughal annals

Directly related to the troubles of this period was the absence of a well-defined law of succession to ensure the continuity of government The result was that each son of a deceased king felt that he had an equal claim to the crown, and succession to the throne was invariably accompanied by bloody warfare The disaster was compounded when the imperial princes, who were often viceroys governing vast territories, started making secret pacts with soldiers to ensure their support for the time when the fateful struggle would begin Soon not only the imperial army but forces external to the empire—the East India Company, the Marathas, the Sikhs were being used by claimants to the throne of Delhi, as well as to control of the provincial kingdoms The results were fatal

As Irfan Habib concludes

"Thus was the Mogul Empire destroyed. No new order was, or could be, created from the force ranged against it... The gates were open to end-less rapine, anarchy and foreign conquest. But the Mogul Empire had been its own gravedigger".

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This is to certify that the thesis "***City of Agra Under the Mughals – 1526-1707***" submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the AMU is a record of the bonafide research carried out by **Ms. Zeba Siddiqui** under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for award of any degree before.

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Acknowledgement

All the parse and thanks to Almighty Allah for his mercy and benevolence to complete my research work in time. I acknowledge my gratitude and sincere benevolence to Prof. Tariq Ahmad, Centre of Advance study, Department of History, A.M.U. Aligarh. It is under his supervision and inspiring guidance that this work has been completed.

I express my gratitude to Prof. Shahabuddin Iraqi, Chairman and Co-coordinator, Centre of Advance Study, Department of History, A.M.U. for his timely response to all official formalities.

I am thankful to many teachers, Prof. Hamida Ahmad, Prof. Irfan Habib, Prof Shreen Moosvi, Prof Mansoora Haider, Mr. Elton deSouza, Mr. T.J. Saville who were the constant inspiration to me during the course of my study in Aligarh.

I extend my sincere thanks to the staff of National Archives of India, New Delhi, also to the staff of Nehru Memorial Meuseum and Library at ASI, Delhi J.N.U and Jamia Millia Islamia University Library, Maulana Azad Library, Prof Nurul Hasan Research Library, Centre of Advance Study, Libraries of the Department of Islamic Studies and West Asian Studies, A.M. U. Aligarh.

I am also thankful to Mr. M. Yousuf Siddiqui, Mr. Arshad Ali, Mohd Rehan Ghani, Mr. Tahir Ali Khan, Mr. Jalal Shaib for their timely help and suggestions.

I thank all my friends whose prayers and wished always made me confident to pursue the work to its completion. Last though not least, I am very grateful to my Father Mr. Majid Ali Siddiqi, Mother, Mrs Birjees Siddiqi, late Father-in-Law Mr. Mohd. Shoaib, my Husband Mr. Mohd Ghufran and my three beloved sons Usama, Omar and Hamza with whose constant support I was able to complete the work.

Zeba Siddiqui

Dated 23rd December 2006 ZEBA SIDDIQUI

City of Agra under the Mughals from 1526- 1707

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Introduction

The research study outlined here –viz- 'The City of Agra under the Mughals from 1526-1707' is an attempt to bring to light the role of Agra city in the life of Mughals. No period in Indian history has drawn as much attention and scholarly research as has the period in Indian history that corresponds with Mughal rule. Western and many Indian historians alike have focused on the reign of the Mughals almost to the point of total neglect and exclusion of other periods in Indian history.

While the Indianness or foreignness of the Mughals has been quite hotly debated in recent years, one aspect of the history of the Mughals that has largely escaped scholarly attention, has been the role of modernization and cultural developments in shaping the reign of virtually every Mughal ruler up to Aurangzeb.

A state, or any polity, is based primarily on the cooperation, consensual or coerced, that it manages to elicit from its members. To the extent that the polity elicits consensual cooperation from the populace, it is legitimate. However, continued legitimacy is determined by the capacity of the regime to create the bases of its continuance.

A regime exercises three kinds of power and, accordingly, can employ three different kinds of strategies to maintain itself: destructive, productive, and integrative. In their actual implementation, regimes may or may not intentionally use a particular strategy to achieve a particular end.

The question addressed here is: What kinds of strategies or policies would have the consequences, intentional or unintended, of integrating a polity? Four may be identified: institution-building, communication, incentives, and ideology. In this thesis 'City of Agra under The Mughals, 1526-1707, I have tried to discuss all the strategies adopted by Mughals to establish a stable a stable kingdom in India. They were institution builders, they tried to communicate to the people in many ways, they mixed with the Indians to an extent that their very identity changed.

Akbar is remembered for his tolerant and enlightened, integrative policies. The Mughal rulers united much of India under their control, governed areas that are in 2006 sometimes referred to as ungovernable, and also commanded allegiance in their heyday seems nothing short of a miracle to their modern successors. Just what did those leaders do and why was it successful?

Although war-making was not a uniquely Mughal practice, the centrality of the military campaigns in Mughal decision-making and administration does stand out. In the frequency, scale and intensity of their military campaigns, the Mughals had more in common with the ruling heads of the Delhi Sultanate than is commonly acknowledged.

This is not to say that there weren't important distinctions. Unlike many of the earlier invaders, the Mughals were relatively more conscious of being in a foreign land, and in his memoirs Babur spoke very deliberately of the need for conducting a secular policy in a country that was predominantly non-Islamic. In this respect, the Mughals were much more aware of the need to gain legitimacy and to win political allies in an alien land.

Their taste for the fine things in life - for beautifully designed artifacts and the enjoyment and appreciation of cultural activities also distinguished them from other interlopers who were skilled at war-making and little else. Several aspects of their policy illustrate the importance of their military campaigns. Capitals were frequently moved to centers more suited to the conduct of specific military campaigns. Alliances with Rajput rulers were sought based on their ability to contribute to the Mughal war efforts. Investments were made in upgrading the weapons of war and ensuring that Mughal military technology maintained it's edge. Every Mughal prince was groomed in the battle arts not only through early training but through hands-on experience in real battles. So entrenched was the culture of war that it pit brother against brother in battles of succession.

One obvious reason for the different tone and spirit of the Mughal Empire is the greater continuity of administration. For three hundred years the same dynasty ruled from Delhi, and for half of this period, from 1556 to 1707, four rulers in direct succession maintained control. This is a remarkable achievement in the dynastic history of any great country, but it is particularly astonishing when measured against the rapid overthrow, not just of rulers, but of dynasties, in the sultanate period. Undoubtedly this dynastic stability contributed to the rich and varied cultural life of the period.

The first chapter is devoted to the history of Agra. The second one makes a stylistic assessment administration of the Mughals. The third, is devoted to the study of architecture under the Mughals, Last three chapters deals with Agra Descriptive, Architecture Remains of Agra, Sources of Design, Agra, The Economic and Commercial Centre, Revenue, Mint Town, Main Trades (Domestic and Foreign), Trade Routes to and from Agra, Social Structure, Royalty and Nobility, Religion and Culture, Religion and their Style of Living, Cultural Scenario.

The greatness of the Mughal achievement in the political unification of India was matched by the splendor and beauty of the work of the architects, poets, historians, painters, and musicians who flourished in the period. The resemblances of the Mughal Empire to the Bourbon monarchy in France during the same period have often been noted, and in India, as in France, a literate and refined court gave a recognizable style and manner to a wide variety of arts.

Across the medieval millennium, social environments were being slowly but steadily transformed, providing new kinds of social experience, new settings for the socialization of each few generations. Whole new societies emerged in each period. Some ways of life died away as others came into being. Additions of new peoples and new cultural elements also accumulated inside old cultural areas to form more and more complex composites. Overall, people became more identified with villages, towns, and regions around them. Societies became more complex, differentiated, and intricately stratified.

Urbanism reached new heights under military regimes that promoted vast physical and social mobility. Armies protected trade routes and sultans built strategic roads. The army provided the surest route to upward mobility that always required extensive travel. In 1595, Abu Fazl's treatise on Akbar's reign, Ain-i-Akbari suggests that the military may have employed (directly and indirectly) almost a quarter of the imperial population. Many men traveled long distances to fight. It became standard practice for peasants to leave the Bhojpuri region, on the border of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, after the harvest each year, to fight as far away as the Deccan, to collect wages and booty, and then return home to plant the next crop. Short distance seasonal military migration became an integral feature of peasant subsistence in the Deccan. Dynasties expanded only because warriors migrated to its periphery, where they fought, settled, and attracted new waves of military migration. War pushed peasants away from home by disrupting farm operations, and by forcing villagers to feed armies. Life on the move became a common social experience for many people: seasonal migrants, people fleeing war and drought, army suppliers and camp followers, artisans moving to find work and peasants looking for new land, traders, nomads, shifting cultivators, hunters, herders, and transporters. Altogether, people on the move for at least part of each year may have comprised half the total population of major dynastic domains in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

All this mobility increased commerce in various ways, as we will see. But the specific kind of urbanism that characterized late medieval domains came from concentrations of goods and services and of commercial supply and demand around fortified sites of dynastic military power. Armies at home and on the move needed diverse goods and services, from horses to weapons to cuisine, rugs, jewelry, art, and entertainment. Rulers accumulated cash and credit to pay troops and buy war materiel. Getting cash to support war required rulers to supply virtual military cities moving across the land for months at a time, filled with all sorts of army personnel, suppliers, retainers, and allied service groups. To maintain his supremacy, a sultan needed cash to finance his wide-ranging display of military power. Financial support became harder to find in times

of dynastic distress; and as a result, bankers and merchants became powerful in politics as they also became influential in urban society and culture.

The mainstream nationalist tradition of historiography presented usually gives a much broader and critical view of history. This could be seen in two early works on medieval Indian history, namely, Tara Chand's *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, and Mohammad Habib's monograph on Mahmud of Ghaznin, both published in the 1920s. Nationalist historiography presented a consistent affirmation of the compositeness of India's heritage. It also felt called upon to controvert the official British claim of improvement in Indian economic life that the colonial regime had brought about, in contrast to its 'native' predecessors. W.H. Moreland's rather cautious statement of this case brought forth challenges from Brij Narain (1929) and Radhakamal Mukerji (1934), who presented favourable views of the economic performance of the Mughal Empire.

The other effort was directed to establishing what the later medieval class structures were like, whether different from those of the earlier period or not. Satish Chandra made an initial attempt to delineate the main features of the Mughal Indian political and social order (1959). Prof. Irfan Habib presented (1963) a detailed study of the agrarian system of Mughal India, in which he argued that there were two ruling classes, the centralised nobility and the dispersed landed gentry (*zamindar*s); and that the Mughal Empire collapsed because of agrarian uprisings in which the *zamindar*s utilised the desperation of the oppressed peasantry. In later writing (1969), He denied that the Mughal Empire had any potentialities for capitalistic development, despite a considerable presence of commodity production. The last thesis has been contested by Iqtidar A. Khan (1975), while Prof. S. Moosvi (1987) has patiently reworked the basic statistics in the *Ain-i-Akbari* on which all work on Mughal economic history must necessarily rely. M. Athar Ali (1966), emphasising the centralised nature of Mughal polity, and the ethnic and religious compositeness of the nobility, has argued against his thesis of an agrarian crisis in that Empire.

That different views on medieval India should be influenced by the individual historian's subjective views of the contemporary world is only to be expected; these must, however, first meet the criterion of support from historical evidence. In fact, so long as new views appear and provoke a fresh or extended exploration of the historical documentation, one can only welcome the tendency not to take the given history on trust. But historical evidence must always remain the touchstone. A major problem today is that only a small and declining number of people in India have access to Persian, in which language so much of the source material of medieval India is to be found. Not only does this large body of material need to be studied, but the collection of documents in all languages has also to be encouraged, as well as local antiquarian and archaeological work. With every passing day the evidence on paper, metal or brick or stone is being destroyed. If the hand of destruction is to be stayed, the people's interest in the country's past needs to be aroused. In this effort all those who, without necessarily being professional historians themselves, have yet a care for all aspects and phases of our heritage, can play a most crucial part.

Chapter I.
Historical origin of Agra

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL ORIGIN OF AGRA

THE FOUNDATION OF THE IMPERIAL CAPTIAL

Agra has a rich historical background, which is amply evident from the numerous historical monuments in and around the city. The earliest reference for Agra comes from the epical age, when Mahabharata refer Agra as *Agravana*. In the sources prior to this, Agra has been referred, as *Arya Griha* or the abode of the Aryans.[1] The first person who referred Agra by its modern name was Ptolemy.[2]

Nothing definite is known about the origin and early history of Agra, though many theories and researches are made in these directions. There are various and conflicting versions regarding the early history of Agra. Some historians are of the view that Agra is believed to drive its name from the Hindi word agar, meaning 'salt-pan', as its soil beige brackish and once used to be place for producing salt.[3]

Agra is a part of Brijbhoomi the land associated with the birth and legendry activities of lord Krishna. In Agra City there are five Shiva temples, which are the symbols of ancient culture. There is another view that it was founded by the maternal grand father of Krishna, whose name was 'Maharaja Agrasen'or 'Ugrasen'. In those days the territory on which Agra stands formed part of kingdom of Mathura.[4] The first mention of Agra is made in Persian work by Abdulla, known as Tarikh-i-Daudi, Masud Salman, a Ghaznavide poet of the twelfth century mentions a fort built among the sand like a hill suggesting that Agra must have been an important and flourishing place of twelfth century.[5]

Agra infact was an old historical city. Some modern historians like Carlleyle and Ptolemy have provided some evidence that Agra was an old city. After some

excavations at Agra and the surrounding sites near Agra, Carlleyle found some 2000 coins from various places of Agra which belonged to the Rajput kings of Mewar. On this basis of these coins, he concludes that in 750 B.C. Agra was ruled by Rajputs.[6] Ptolemy was of the opinion, that Agra was the capital of Hindu king named Agramesh or Agrameshwar thus Agra was named after him.[7] Dr. B.B. Lal writes 'After the excavations of Poiya ghat near Dalibagh, and Tehu, a big village near the Tehsil Etmadpur of Agra District, some busts were found there which bear the testimony to the times of Gurjar- Pritharas, which was a Rajput clan.[8]

Fuhrer says traces of numerous temples, buildings and small fort and large bricks are still visible all over the site. It appears that the city was built and destroyed at least three times (mostly owing to the course of Yamuna), because proof of successive habitation of great antiquity have been discovered on neighbouring but different sites.

We get the first authentic notice of Agra in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. when it was invaded by an army of Sultan Ibrahim Ghaznavi (A.D. 1054-1099). Under the Ghori, Khilji, Tughlak and Sayyid dynasties Agra seems to have been an insignificant place. During the Sayyid dynasty the Muslim emperors of Delhi re-established their independence.

Sultan Sikander Lodi (1489-1517) realized the necessity of establishing his military headquarters at a strategic place to fulfil his dreams of conquring the Doab area, which was of great importance due to number of reasons. Niamtulla the author of Tarikh-i-Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, writes that Sikandar Lodi, appointed "judicious and intelligent commissions" who inspected and surveyed both sides of Yamuna from Delhi to Etawa and finally fixed the best locality which could be used for this purpose.[10] Having approved the site, they informed the sultan of there choice. The sultan marched in person to inspect it. As he approved the site, he observed two spots on an eminence which appeared suited for a building and asked Mehtar Mulla Khan Nayak, who commanded them royal barge, which of the two mounds would suit best. He replied, "That which is Age Rah", i.e., the

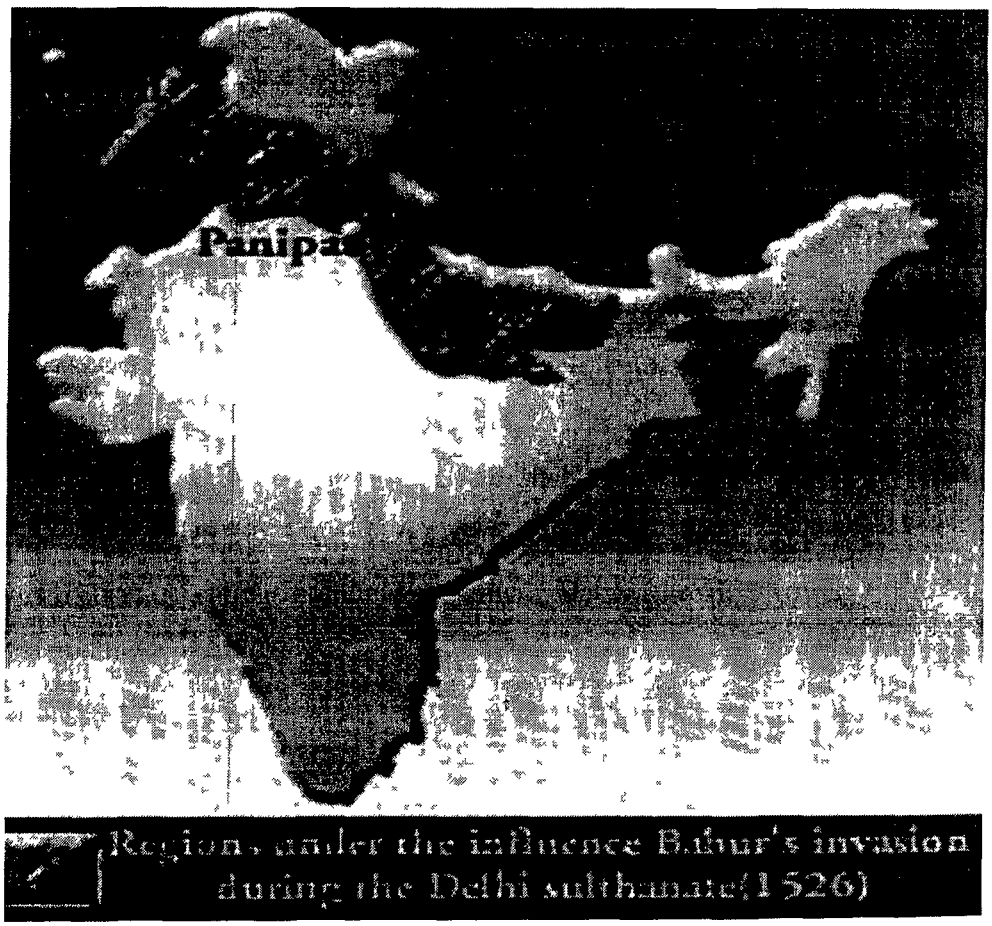
one which is in advance on the way The sultan smiled and said, 'then let the name of the town be also Age Rah (or Agarh)' At an auspicious hour orders were issued for the foundation of the city which became the seat of the government" [11]

Niamat-ullah further informs us that in the year 1505 Sultan Sikander Lodi laid the foundation of the Agra city "It had for a long time occurred to the Sultan to found a town on the banks of the Yamuna, which was to be residence of Sultan, and the head quarters of the army, and to serve to keep the rebels of the quarter in awe, and deprive them of further opportunity of growing refractory, for frequently the jaghirdars and government servants and peasantry in general in Sarkars and Bayana had complained of violence to which they are victims "[12]

Agra on the left or the eastern bank of the Yamuna grew up into a large and flourishing town with royal palaces, stately buildings for the nobles, courtiers, officials and merchants, it became the capital of the Lodi, Empire, under Sultan Sikander Lodi, The city continued to grow in importance Sikander attracted men of Islamic learning from Arabia, Persia, Bokhara, and other countries of Asia The city became, in due course of time, one of the most important centres of Islamic learning in India It was from this place that Sultan issued many edicts having for their object the welfare of the people, the prosperity of his country, and abominable usage in his dominions, which have obtained for him a for most place for him among the Muslim rulers of India [13] The capital experienced a severe earth quake on July 7,1505, (3rd safar, 911) Ferishta says that it was so sever that "lofty buildings were levelled with the ground, and several thousand of the inhabitants were buried under the ruins" It caused tremendous loss to life and property [14] The Sultan founded the village of Sikandra in the northern suburbs of his capital and built a Baradari in 1495 [15] It was built of fine red stone, and later became the last resting place for Marium Zamani Begum, wife of Akbar [16] The Bhoya bazaar, named after his prime minister, Miya bhua, on the site on which the B B & C I (now Western railways) section of the Agra Fort Railway station was built He had built a number of buildings at Agra, but non-except Baradari situated in Sikandra exists today [17]

H.N Wright wrote that Sikander Lodi used to issue his silver tankas from Delhi and Agra simultaneously that practice seems to have been followed by Ibrahim Lodi, also Sikander Lodi, died in his palace in Agra on 14th December 1517 [18]

Under his successor, Ibrahim Lodi, Agra continued to be the capital On January 7, 1518, Ibrahim and his brother Jalal came into conflict over the succession but the latter, avoiding a direct engagement, proceeded to capture and plunder Agra Ibrahim captured Gwalior as Raja of Gwalior had given shelter to Jalal, he was captured and brought back to Agra.[19] On 10th May 1526 a famous battle of Panipat was fought, which changed the History of Agra. Ibrahim was killed, Babur the first Mughal Emperor, captured Agra and made it his capital.[20]



THE MUGHAL RULERS OF AGRA

BABUR (1483-1530)

Zahir-ud-din-Babur was born on February 14,1483, in Furghana, of which his father, Omar Shaikh Mirza, was the ruler. Timur, the Turkish hero, and Changiz khan, the Mongol were his fore fathers. His family belonged to the Chaghtai section of the Turkish race, but he was commonly known as 'Mughal'. [21]

From the age of eleven Babur was engaged in warfare. As the result of his association with various races, Babur came to possess a highly evolved system of warfare of his own. This eventually helped him in his success in India. His career in Central Asia prepared him for the role he was destined to play in Indian history.[22]

At the time of invasion of Babur in India in 1526 A.D., the Lodis were ruling Delhi and Agra. The fate of Agra as the capital of sultanate of Delhi and as a premier city of India hung temporarily in the balance when Ibrahim Lodi, was defeated and killed by Babur on the fields of Panipat in April 1526. But with the unerring instinct of the strategist, the Mughal conqueror chose that city to be the capital of the new Mughal Empire.[23]

Babur in the "BABURNAMA" gives a detail account of this war, he wrote, "On our right was the town of Panipat with its suburbs; in front of us were the carts and manta lets we had prepared; on our left and elsewhere were ditch and branch. At distances of an arrow's flight, sally-places had been left for 100 to 200 horsemen.[24]

Some in the army were very anxious and full of fear. Nothing recommends anxiety and fear. For why, for what God has fixed in eternity cannot be changed. But though this is so, it was no reproach to be afraid and anxious. For why? Because those thus anxious and afraid were there with a two or three months' journey between them and

their homes; our affair was with a foreign tribe and people; none knew their tongue, nor did they know ours: -

A wandering band, with mind awander;

In the grip of a tribe, a tribe unfamiliar

People estimated the army opposing us at 100,000 men; Ibrahim Lodi's (emperor of Delhi) elephants and those of his amirs were said to be about 1,000. In his hands was the treasure of two forbears (Sikandar and Bahlol Lodi). In Hindustan, when work such as this has to be done, it is customary to pay out money to hired retainers who are known as *byd-hindi* (an irregular levy). If it had occurred to Ibrahim to do this, he might have had another lakh (100,000) more or two of troops. God brought it right! Ibrahim could neither content his braves, nor share out his treasure. How should he content his braves when he was ruled by avarice and had a craving insatiable to pile coin on coin? He was an unproved brave; he provided nothing for his military operations, he perfected nothing, nor stand, nor move, nor fight.[25]

During the 7 or 8 days we lay in Panipat, our men used to go, a few together, close up to Ibrahim's camp, rain arrows down on his massed troops, cut off and bring in heads. Still he made no move; nor did his troops sally out. At length, we acted on the advice of several Hindustani well-wishers and sent out 4 or 5,000 men to deliver a night attack on his camp. It being dark, they were not able to act together well and having scattered, could affect nothing on arrival. They stayed near Ibrahim's camp till dawn, when nagarets sounded and troops of his came out in array with elephants. Though our men did not do their work, they got off safe and sound; not a man of them was killed, though they were in touch with such a mass of foes. One arrow pierced Muhammad Ali Jang-Jang's leg; though the wound was not mortal, he was good for nothing on the day of the battle.[29]

On hearing of this affair, I sent of Humayun and his troops 2 or 3 miles to meet them, and followed him myself with the rest of the army in battle array. The party of

the night attack joined him and came back with him. The enemy making no further advance, we returned to camp and dismounted. That night a false alarm fell on the camp; for some 20 minutes, there was uproar and call to arms. [30]

The battle of Panipat

(April 20th) On Friday the 8th of Rajab, news came, when it was light enough to recognise one thing from another (*farz-vaqti*, literally the time of duty), that the enemy was advancing in fighting array. We at once put on mail, armed and mounted.[31]

When the dark mass of the enemy first came in sight, he seemed to incline towards our right; Abdul-Aziz, who was the right reserve, was sent therefore to reinforce the right. From the time that Sultan Ibrahim's blackness first appeared, he moved swiftly, straight for us, without a check, until he saw the dark mass of our men, when he pulled up and, observing our formation and array, made as if to ask, "To stand or not? To advance or not?" They could not stand; nor could they make their former swift advance.[32]

Our orders were for the turning parties to wheel from right and left to the enemy's rear, to discharge arrows and to engage in the fight; and for the right and left wings to advance and join battle with him. The turning-parties wheeled around and began to rain arrows down. Mahdi Khwaja was the first of the left to engage; he was faced by a troop having an elephant; his men's flights of arrows forced it to retire. To reinforce the left I sent Secretary Ahmadi and also Quj Beg's Tardi Beg and Khalifa's Muhibb-i-Ali. On the right also there was some stubborn fighting. Orders were given for Muhammadi Kukuldash, Shah Mansur Barlas, Yunus-i-Ali and Abdul-lah to engage those facing them in front of the centre. From that same position Ustad Ali-quli made good discharge of *firingi* shots (literally, `foreign fire', probably field cannon, though in the 19th century, the term was applied to swivels.)[33]

Mustapha the commissary for his part made excellent discharge of *zarb zan* shots from the left hand of the centre. Our right, left, centre and turning parties having

surrounded the enemy, rained arrows down on him and fought ungrudgingly. He made one or two small charges on our right and left but under our men's arrows, fell back on his own centre. His right and left hands were massed in such a crowd that they could neither move forward against us, nor force a way for flight.[34]

When the incitement to battle had come, the Sun was spear-high; till midday fighting had been in full force; noon passed, the foe was crushed in defeat, our friends rejoicing and gay. By God's mercy and kindness, this difficult affair was made easy for us! In one half-day, that armed mass was laid upon the earth. Five or six thousand men were killed in one place close to Ibrahim. Our estimate of the other dead, lying all over the field, was 15 to 16,000, but it came to be known later in Agra (where the Taj Mahal would be built four generations later) from the statements of Hindustanis, that 40 or 50,000 may have died in that battle.[35]

The foe defeated, pursuit and unhorsing of fugitives began. Our men brought in Amirs of all ranks and the chiefs they captured; mahauts (elephant-tamers) made offering of herd after herd of elephants.[36]

Ibrahim was thought to have fled; therefore, while pursuing the enemy, we told off Qismatai Mirza, Baba Chuhra and Bujka of the Khasa-Tabin to lead swift pursuit to Agra and try to take him. We passed through his camp, looked into his own enclosure and quarters and dismounted on the bank of standing water. [37]

It was the Afternoon Prayer when Khalifa's younger brother-in-law Thir Tibri, who had found Sultan Ibrahim's body in a heap of dead, brought in his head. [38]

Detachments sent to occupy Delhi and Agra

On that very same day we appointed Humayun Mirza to ride fast and light to Agra, to get the place into their hands and to mount guard over the treasure. We fixed on Mahdi Khwaja to make sudden incursion into Delhi and keep watch on the treasuries.

(April 21st) We marched on next day and when we had gone 2 miles, dismounted, for the sake of the horses, on the bank of the Jun (Jumna or Yamuna, the river on whose bank Delhi's ancient cities lie).[39]

(April 24th) On Tuesday (Rajab 12th), after we had halted on two nights and made the circuit of Nizamud-din Auliya's tomb (the centre of a locality that now finds much favour with foreign correspondents), we dismounted on the bank of the Jun over against Delhi (i.e., on the same side of the river, in modern Delhi). That same night, being Wednesday-eve, we made an excursion into the fort of Delhi and there spent the night.[40]

(April 25th) Next day I made the circuit of Khwaja Qutbud-din's tomb and visited the tombs and residences of Sultan Ghiyasud-din Balban and Sultan Alauud-din Khilji, his Minar and the Hauz-shamsi, Hauz-i-khas and the tombs and gardens of Sultan Buhlul and Sultan Sikandar Lodi (all of these still exist, though in ruins. The `gardens' are now called Lodi Gardens and is very popular with joggers, diplomats, bureaucrats out to scheme with each other and people seeking relief from an overdose of chicken shaslik at the neighbouring India International Centre. The `Minar' or tower is that built by Qutbuddin, which is in excellent condition and de rigour for tourists. The Hauz-i-khas, a tank surrounded by a college from which Delhi's fresh water once came, has been overshadowed by a clutch of ethnic designer boutiques and restaurants. A shining example of the damage that development can wreak.). Having done this, we dismounted at the camp, went on a boat, and there arrack (country liquor, much favoured by Job Charnock, the founder of British Calcutta, on whose life part of the Indian chapters of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days* is based) was drunk.[41]

We bestowed the Military Collectorate of Delhi on Red Wali, made Dost Diwan in the Delhi district, sealed the treasuries and made them over to their charge.

(April 26th) On Thursday we dismounted on the bank of the Jun, over against Tughlaqabad.[42]

The khutba read for Babur in Delhi

(April 27th) On Friday (Rajab 15) while we remained on the same ground, Maulana Mmahmud and Shaikh Zain went with a few others into Delhi for the Congregational Prayer, read the *khutba* in my name, distributed a portion of money to the poor and needy and returned to camp.[43]

(April 28th) Leaving that ground on Saturday we advanced march by march for Agra. I made an excursion to Tughlaqabad and rejoined the camp.[44]

(May 4th) On Friday (Rajab 22) we dismounted at the mansion of Suleiman Farmuli in a suburb of Agra, but as the place was far from the fort, we moved on the following day to Jalal Khan Jighat's house.[45]

On Humayun's arrival at Agra, ahead of us, the garrison had made excuses and false promises about surrender. He and his noticing the lack of discipline that there was, said, "The long hand may be laid on the Treasury!" and so sat down to watch the roads out of Agra until we should come.[46]

The great diamond

The palace at Agra was garrisoned by the troops of Bikramajit, the Raja of Gwalior, who surrendered to the Mughal army. The wives and children of the raja, who were in the fort of Agra, were seized while attempting to escape but Humayun treated them kindly and in gratitude they presented him with the jewels and precious stones among which was a famous diamond which, according to Babar, had been acquired by Sultan Ala-ud-din of Malwa. "It is so valuable," writes Emperor in Baburnama "that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world. It is about eight mikals (320 ratis)." It is said it might be the famous Koh-i-noor diamond (or Mountain of Light).[47]

Babur reaches Agra

Babur went to Agra on 10th May and took up residence in Ibrahim's palace. Humayun welcomed his father and presented to him, among other treasures, the famous Koh-i-noor diamond. But with his characteristic generosity, he gave it back to him along with seventy lakhs of dams in recognition to his service. He permitted Ibrahim Lodi's mother to live in mansion outside Agra and assigned the revenue of a pargana for her expenses. Small jagirs were given to her officers. Babur generously rewarded his own men, his important begs getting 6 to 10 lakhs of dams each. Every soldier and every camp-followers, down to the meanest men among them, was given his share of the booty. Babur's friends in Farghana, Khurasan, Kithara and Iran were sent gifts of gold and silver and other rare articles. Offerings were sent to holy places in Mecca, Medina, Samarqand, and Herat. All the inhabitants of Kabul, men, women and children, received one silver coin each. So generously did Babur distributed the accumulated treasures of generations which he found in Delhi, Agra and Gwalior and left so little for him self, that he called in jest a quandary (begging friar). [48]

In his memoirs Babur has said, "It was the hot-season when we came to Agra. All the inhabitants had run away in terror. Neither grain for ourselves nor corn for our horses was to be had. The villagers out of hostility and hatred to us has taken to thieving and highway robbery, there was no moving on the roads. There was no chance since the treasures was distributed to send men in strength into the parganas and else were. Moreover the year was very hot one, violent pestilential wind struck people down in heaps together, masses began to die off". [49]

At that time agriculture seems to have been in flourishing state in Agra, but was critical of the methods of irrigation adopted in Agra by the peasantry. He wrote, "In Agra, Chandwar , Biana and those parts, again, people water with a bucket, this is laborious and filthy way. At the well edge they set up a fork of a wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, and tie its other end to the bullock, another empty the bucket.

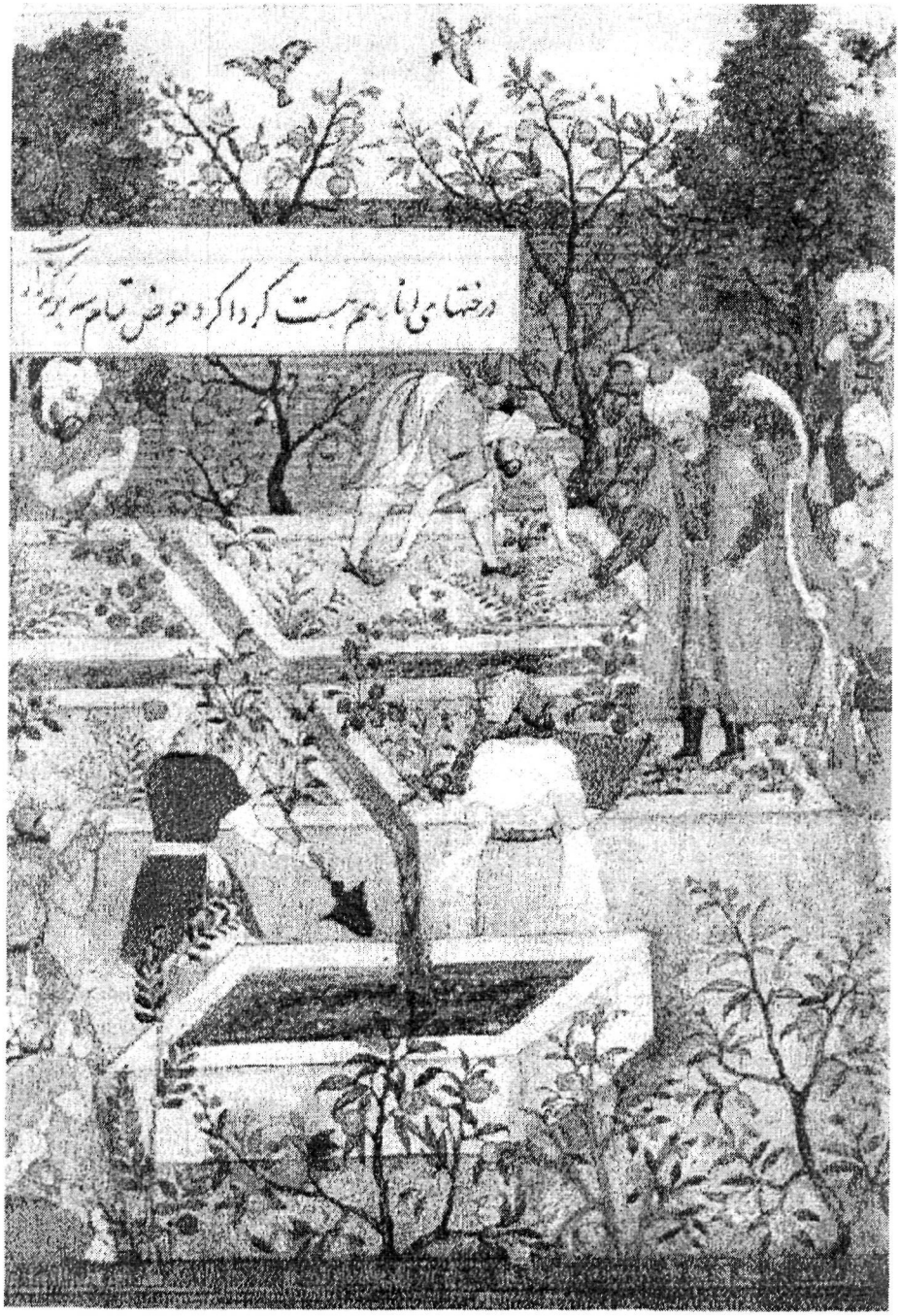
Every time the bullock turns having drawn the bucket out of the well, the rope lies on the bullock track, in the pollution of urine and dung, before it descends again into the well To some crops needing watermen and women carry it by repeated effort in pitchers" [50]

The great battle with the Rajputs at Fathpur Sikri, 1527

Babur often resided in Agra, and it was at Fathpur Sikri, near Agra, that his great and decisive battle with the Rajputs was fought, in 1527 Raja Sanga, sixth in the descent from Hamir, who had recovered Chittor in the reign of Ala-ud-Din-Khilji (A D 1316) and re-established the Rajput dominions over Mewat, Eastern Malwa, and Ajmere, was at this time recognized as the leader of all the Rajput princes He had opened friendly communication with Babur while that monarch was advancing against Sultan Ibrahim, but now power of the Mughal sovereign had been established in Delhi and Agra, he began to enter into intrigues against him, and was, on this occasions, joined by Mahmud, a prince of the house of Lodi, who had in his train a force of 10,000 men He also found a valuable auxiliary in Hasan Khan, chief of Mewat The Raja with the combined forces of his allies and the picked worriers of the Rajput tribes, advanced to Biana, within the dependency of Agra, and defeating the garrison of that palace, cut off all communication between them and the capita Babur reached Sikri, but his advanced guard was defeated with great loss Babur appealed to his army to die with honour than to live with infamy [51]

" *It is my glory to die a death of fame,*
Rather than to live a life of disgrace and shame"

The courage of army having been revived, Babur drew up his troops in front of entrenchments The Rajputs fought bravely and desperately but lost to Babur Hasan khan and many other chief fell in the action, and Raja Sanga escaped with difficulty After this victory Babur assumed the title of *Ghazi* or champion of faith [52]



Babur watching his gardeners at work. Illustration from *Babur Nama.*
Mughal miniature, 16th century. Coll: Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

His garden and palace.

Babur laid out a garden beyond the Yamuna and founded a palace. The garden he called Gul-Afshan; in the Persian dialect it was called Charbagh. The following is his description of the laying out of these places and the causes which led him to adopt such a course: - " It occurred to me that one of the chief drawbacks of Hindustan, which proved an obstacle to the development of its agricultural resources, was want of artificial watercourses (abi-rawan). To remove this defect, I resolved, wherever I fixed my residues, to excavate artificial streams and watercourses, to cause water-wheels to be constructed, and elegant and well-planned pleasure-grounds to be laid out. Shortly after my arrival at Agra, I made a close inspection of the banks of the Yamuna, with this object in view, and to select a suitable spot for a garden. The whole country appeared so ugly and desolate that I passed the river thoroughly disgusted, and gave up for a time all idea of making a garden in this locality. However, as no better situation. Presented itself in the neighbourhood of Agra, I concluded that I could do no better than make the best use of the same spot that was in my power. I began by sinking the large well, which supplied water to the baths; next, I put in order the spot of ground where there are the tamarind trees and the octagonal tank; then I proceeded to make the large tank with its enclosure. This done, I had a hall of audience constructed in front of the stone palace. The hall is open in front, and supported by pillars. Next, I finished the apartments and baths with a fine garden attached to them. Going on in this way, after the Hindu fashion, without, I must own, much regards to neatness or order, I produced edifices and gardens which, on the whole, looked elegant and afforded an agreeable and pleasing sight."[53]

The Emperor's love of gardening and planting led to lay out gardens after the fashion of Turkistan. He observed. "In every corner I planted beautiful garden, in every garden I sowed roses and narcissus in regular fashion, and in beds corresponding to each other." [54]

Underground chambers

On an empty space within the fort of Agra, between the palace of sultan Ibrahim and the ramparts, the Emperor had spacious underground chambers constructed, the floor of which was on the same level with the surface of well water. There were three open halls, each hall higher then the other by three steps, and the descent was by means of flight of steps. In connections with the middle story was constructed a dome for the bullocks to move round to work the wheels. The way in which water was raised from the bottom of the reservoirs (that had been constructed by the side of the wells to receive water) to the upper gardens was most ingenious, and several water-wheels were constructed which, lifting the water from one reservoir to the other, raised it to a level with the ramparts and made it run smoothly through the various beds of the gardens that had been laid out.[55]

Babur's death

Babur died in his palace at the Charbagh on 26th December 1530, while yet only forty-eight years of age. His remains were temporarily buried in the Charbagh, but were subsequently, in pursuance of a will made by him, carried to Kabul, where they were buried in a beautiful spot marked out by him.

Humayun (1530-1539,1555-1556)

Zasiruddin Muhammad Humayun was born at Kabul on March 6, 1508. His mother Mahim Begam, who was married to by Babur in 1506, was probably a Shia. As a boy he was associated with his father with civil and military administration.[56] He was appointed governor of Badakhshan at the age of twenty. In 1526 he was assigned the district of Hisar Firuza and was, given Sambhal in jagir. After the battle of Khnua he was sent to take charge of Badakhshan, but he abandoned it after two years and returned to Agra in 1529. He then sent to ménage his jagir of Sambhal from where he had to be brought to Agra owing to illness. He was already the heir-apparent. While on deathbed, Babur nominated him his successor and commended him to his

officers [57] Humayun was faced with numerous difficulties. He had to reorganize his army that comprised of mixed races He faced problems from his brothers, and nobles The Afghans though defeated by Babur were not vanquished.

The rise of Sher Khan and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat was a matter of concern Above all he had an empire, which had yet to be consolidated and administered in a manner by which his authority would be accepted In 1531AD he set out on an expedition to besiege the fort of Kalinjar He was not successful in this mission owing to the Afghan mission towards Jaunpur In the battle of Dourah in 1532 AD he defeated the Afghans. In 1532 AD he besieged the fort of Chunar under Sher Khan and resorted to mere submission. Between the periods 1535-36 AD Humayun fought wars with Bahadur Shah Bahadur Shah had annexed Malwa in 1531 AD, captured the fort of Raisin in 1532 AD and defeated the Sisodia chief of Chittor in 1533 AD [58] He was opposed to the Mughal rule and created the circumstances that turned Humayun against him On the request of Rani Karnawali of Chittor he accepted the request but fell short of his promises Bahadur Shah captured Chittor Humayun now had a reason to attack him. Humayun now besieged the fort of Mandu and captured it. Bahadur Shah who now fled to Champanir, which was also besieged and captured.[59] Humayun captured Ahmedabad and Cambay and finally central Gujarat. Humayun then spent celebrating his victory over Gujarat while his administration lagged This helped Bahadur Shah who with the local chiefs won Gujarat in 1536 AD Sher Khan had been building himself against Humayun in Bengal and Bihar.

By 1536 Sher khan became the ruler of Bengal and Bihar. In 1537 Humayun attacked the territories of Sher Khan and decided to occupy Bengal. During the period 1538-39 Sher Khan with his military tactics was a threat to Humayun. Sensing his worse position in an area under Sher Khan's control he turned back to Agra. Sher Khan pursued Humayun engaged himself in the battle of Chausa in 1539. Humayun was defeated and had to flee. [60]

In the year 1540 Humayun after having reached Agra again fought a battle against Sher Khan in the battle of Kannauj. Humayun lost the battle and had to abandon his throne. He was sheltered by the Raja of Amarkot in Sind. In the year 1542 Akbar was born. He went to Persia and received the grace of the Shah who granted him soldiers to regain his throne. In 1544 Humayun captured Kabul and Khandar. In 1546 he lost Kabul to his brother Kamran In 1547 he recaptured it. In 1549 Kamran occupied Khandar. Humayun again had to fight against Kamran who was defeated and blinded. After the death of Sher shah in 1545 his son Islam Shah ruled up to 1553 After him Muhammad Adil Shah ascended the throne. As a result of the onslaught by

Ibrahim Shah and Sikander Shah the Sur Empire was broken up. Humayun who now prepared himself to attack India reached Peshwar in 1554 and in 1555. He occupied Lahore and Dipalpur. The same year saw the battle of Machiwara against the Afghans, and the defeat of Sikander Sur in the battle of Sirhind.[61] By July 1555 Humayun reached Delhi where he spend his time in administration of his kingdom. Akbar was now slowly rising to power. In 1556 Humayun died in an accidental fall. [62]

SHER SHAH AND THE SUR DYNASTY

The return of Humayun to power in 1555 was preceded by the period of rule by Sher Shah who established the Sur dynasty. Sher Shah was the grandson of Ibrahim Sur, who came to India and joined military service under Bahlol Lodi. Ibrahim Lodi gave the Jagirs of Sahsaram, Khawaspur and Tanda to Sher Shah. Sher Shah rose to power and had planned to join Mahmud Lodi in his attempt to revive the Afghan Empire. Circumstances were unfavorable and in 1527 Sher Shah joined the Mughal service and assisted Babur in his conquests in India. Owing to differences of opinions he left the Mughal service in 1528. In 1529 Sher Shah joined Mahmud Lodi. After Mahmud Lodi's abdication, Sher Khan captured South Bihar. In 1529 Mahmud lost the battle of Ghagra but wanted to attempt to capture power in 1530. With the help of the Afghan chiefs and Sher Shah he marched against Humayun. But Humayun proved a strong rival to Mahmud Lodi. By 1534 after the battle of Surajgarh in which the ruler of Bengal was defeated, Sher Shah became the ruler of Bihar.[63]

By 1530 Sher Shah captured the whole of Bengal. In the battle of Chausa in 1539 he defeated Humayun. In 1540 Sher Shah fought the battle of Kannauj and defeated Humayun. In 1542 Sher Shah conquered Malwa, and Raisin in 1543.[64] He also brought Multan and Sind and parts of Punjab under him. In his attempt to defeat the Raja of Kalinjar in Budelkhand he was successful but lost his life in 1545.[65]

THESIS

After his death his son Jalal ruled with the title of Islam Shah till 1553 AD Islam Shah destroyed the Afghan nobles whom he did not trust. This ultimately led to the downfall of this empire.

Islam Shah was succeeded by his son Firuz who was put to death by Mubariz Khan, the son of Sher Shahi's brother and the brother of Firuz's mother.[66] Mubariz Khan took up the title of Muhammad Adil. He was not a capable ruler. His minister Hemu who was appointed by him rose to importance. Hemu was defeated in the second battle of Panipat and killed. After Hemu the empire witnessed a struggle for independence between five Afghan kings namely Muhammad Shal Adali, Ibrahim Sur, Ahmed Khan Sur, Muhammad Khan and Daulat Khan. This internal strife proved advantageous for Humayun who defeated Sikander Sur and caused the end of the second Afghan rule.

AKBAR 1556-1605

Akbar was the first Mughal ruler who planned the foundation of an all India empire. Akbar was born at the house of Rana Virsal of Amarkot (in the Thar Parkar district of Sindh) on October 15, 1542, His parents, Humayun and Hamida Banu Begam, fleeing back from the vicinity of Jodhpur, had taken shelter with the Rajput chief of the place, who generously assisted Humayun with men and material to enable him to lead an expedition in the second week of October 1542. On the way, Tardi Beg Khan brought him the joyful news of the birth of his son. Humayun, who was then in a destitute condition and could not reward his followers in a befitting manner, called for a china plate and broke on it a pod of musk and, distributing it among his men said: "This is all the present I cam afford to make you on the birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this tent."[67]

Finally in mid 1555 Humayun was able to defeat the Afghans and restore Mughal monarchy. After his death Akbar ascended the throne in the name of Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar. Bairam Khan, a dominant member of Humayun's nobility, assumed

the role of protector or regent for the young Akbar. The task before the young emperor and his veteran guardian was very difficult and complicated. His hold on the kingdom, only recently recovered, was very uncertain. The second battle of Panipat in 1556 sealed the fate of the Afghans. The Mughals got a decisive victory over the Afghans. During the protector ship of Bairam Khan, Akbar secured Gwalior, Ajmer and Malwa.



The Tuti-Nama (Tales of a parrot) is a collection of fifty-two fables compiled by the Persian writer Ziya'ud-din Nakshabi in the fourteenth century. The tales must have been a favorite of the Mughal emperor Akbar, housed in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.

In 1556 Agra was faced by one if the greatest famines, which lasted for two years. Badauni says, "The people died with the word 'bread' upon their lips". On October 9, 1558, Akbar marched to Agra by the river Yamuna, with his trusted nobles and made it its capital.[68]

The modern Agra was founded on the west bank of the river Yamuna by Akbar. Abul Fazl, in the Akbarnama, gives the following account of the foundation of Agra, "His Majesty made Agra the capital of the Empire and in the third year of the reign (1558 A.D.) Took up his residence in the citadel formerly known as Badalgarh. He assigned different quarters for the accommodation of the grandees of the realm, thus rendering the palace the centre of the wealth, happiness and prosperity. Through the auspicious attention of His Majesty, the city, within a short time, became an ornament of seven climes. It is city possessing a salubrious climate, the heat and the cold being moderate in their respective seasons, the soil is congenial to the growth

of the trees and the fruits of Khorasan and Iraq, the river of Jun (Yamuna) the water of which has few rivals for lightness and taste, flows in the midst of the city, on either side of the nobles and servants of the state have constructed edifices of such beauty and elegance that they surpass description. With all its noble buildings and charming suburbs, it has once more become the capital of the Empire". [69]

Between 1560 and 1571, the first period of his mature rule, Akbar remained at Agra. From 1564 when he began his attack on Gondwana, Akbar systematically pursued a policy of expansion, which did not end until the fall of Asirgarh in 1601.Among the early reforms of Akbar that benefited the people of the district were the abolition of slavery in 1562 and jaziya (poll-tax) on Hindus and other non-Muslims in 1564.[70] He remained out of Agra for about a year to suppress the rebellion of Uzbeks, returning in 1566. In 1564 Akbar laid the foundation of a town which he named Nagarchain (the city of repose) on the site of the village of Kakrali, seven miles to the south of Agra.[71] It became his favourite resort where he received even ambassadors from abroad, in this year Akbar also ordered the rebuilding of the forts of Badalgarh under the supervision of Qasim Khan. Badaoni wrote that "It took several years to complete the expenditure incurred on it amounted to about three crores of dams". [72]

In 1567 Akbar left Agra in the charge of Munim khan and suppressed the Uzbeks who had rebelled again.[73] When Akbar captured the fort of Ranthambhore in 1569 he commemorated his victory by renaming the village of Sikri, Fathpur Sikri, and there laid the foundation of the beautiful city. Abul Fazal wrote, "Fathpur was a village formerly one of the dependencies of Bianah, then called Sikri, situated twelve kos distant from Agra. After the accession of his Majesty, it rose to be a city of the first importance. A masonry fort was erected and two elephants carved in stone at its gate inspire astonishment. Several noble buildings also rose to completion and although the royal palace and the residence of many of the nobility are upon the summit of the hill, the plains likewise are studded with numerous mansions and gardens. By the command of his Majesty a mosque, a college and a religious house were also built upon the hill, the like of which few travellers can name. In the neighbourhood is a tank, twelve kos in

circumference and on its embankment his Majesty constructed a spacious courtyard, a minar, and a place for the game of chaugan ; elephant fights were also exhibited. In the vicinity is a quarry of red stone whence columns and slabs of any dimensions can be excavated". [74]



Rejoicing at birth of Prince Salim (Jahangir). Mughal, c. 1590.

Akbar became a great devotee of Shaikh Salim Chishti who resided at Fathpur Sikri and it is said that his eldest son Salim was born as a result of blessings of the saint. Salim later known as Jahangir was born at Fathpur Sikri to Marium-uz-zamani on August 30, 1569.[75] In the following year another son Murad was also born at Fathpur Sikri on June 7, 1570. [76]

In 1574, Akbar made Fathpur Sikri his royal residence. About this time Akbar began also the restoration of Agra by building a new fort of stone to replace the old crumbling brick fort. He erected at Agra more than five hundred buildings of masonry after the beautiful designs of Bengal & Gujarat, one of them was his own tomb at Sikandra, other were a mosque, the Hans Mahal, the palace of Birbal at Samogrh and the Mausoleum of his Hindu consort which was constructed in 1596 according to the Persian inscription on it. Most of them were demolished by his grandson when he reconstructed the fort. In 1571 he decided to make Sikri his capital.[77] The resources of his expanding empire & the artistic genius of India and Persia were employed to convert the petty, quiet hamlet into the crowded proud metropolis. From this time until

1585 when it was abandoned, Sikri, which was named Fathpur after the conquest of Gujarat, remained the capital of Akbar'.

With the expansion of his kingdom Akbar realized the necessity for its consolidation. The year 1573 saw the inauguration of far reaching reforms in the administration of the empire by the introduction of the branding system (dagh), the conversion of the assignments (jagirs), into reserved lands (Khalisa) & fixing the rank (mansab) and gradation of pay of the officers of the state.

As far as his Rajput policy was concerned he was of the view that without subduing or conciliating the Rajputs, his dream of an empire could not be built upon solid foundations. Further, the consolidation of the empire required a political and social synthesis, which could not be achieved without Rajput co-operation. He always aimed at conciliation. Yet, he did not want to convey the impression that his aim was born, out of any weakness on his part. Those Rajput states that submitted to his suzerainty were treated generously. Those who choose to oppose him were defeated and their impregnable forts were captured. At the same time, the Rajputs were invited to share the burden of the imperial government and the wars of conquest. Those who agreed were given high positions and ranks, proportionate to their ability and status. Thus almost all the Rajput rulers of Rajasthan, with the exception of the ruler of Mewar, submitted to him.[78]

A mystic as well as a rationalist, Akbar was sincerely religious and an earnest seeker after truth. In his eager search for truth, he imbibed a passionate love for philosophical discussions. All these led to the foundation in 1575 of the Ibadat-khana at Fathpur Sikri where religious discussions were held every Friday evening.[79] In 1579 Akbar took the final step when he became the Imam and the Mujtahid of the age by the famous Mahzar (Declaration), which he obtained, for the utama. The next stage in the development of the religious views of Akbar came in 1582 when he promulgated the Din-i-Ilahi. It was not a religion but a socio-religious order of a brotherhood conceived and designed to cement diverse communities in the Land under one faith. It was based on the principle of universal toleration (Suleh-i-Kul) and drew heavily on many good points of all other religions.[80]

During his reign a number of Europeans visited Agra Ralph Fitch, who came to the place in 1585, described it as being a very great city and populous, built of stone, having fair and large streets He also went to Fathpur Sikri where he says the king kept his court, this town being greater than Agra though the houses and streets were not so fair He also opined that 'either of these is much greater than London and very populous' [81] Mandelslo described Agra as being in his day 'the noblest city of Hindustan and the one in which the Mughals most delighted' He states that the streets were 'far and spacious' and that there were 'eighty carvans areas for foreign merchants '[82] It has been estimated that the population of the city of Agra in Akbar's time was two lakhs [83] Other travellers such as Father Machado, John Mildenhall, Monserrate and Father Rudolph have also left records about the city, the markets and the court [84]

In 1605 Akbar fell it with dysentery and passed away He was buried at Sikandara some six miles from Agra, where he had commenced to build his own mausoleum Thus in a career of conquests spread over forty years, he successfully brought the whole of northern, western, eastern, central India and parts of Deccan within the fold of his empire [85] Besides conquering, he consolidated his conquests and established a uniform system of administration in all the provinces within his empire As far as his foreign policy was concerned he had diplomatic relations with the Portuguese who had already established their authority on the western coast of India with Goa as their capital In 1578 the Portuguese viceroy of Goa sent Antonio Cabral as ambassador to the Mughal emperor and maintained relations with them till his death Akbar had no proper diplomatic relations with England, though some Englishmen visited his court The object of their visit was commercial & one of them Ralph Fitch has left valuable account of this travel [86]

JAHANGIR (1605-27)

Jahangir was a child of many prayers He was named Muhammad Sultan Salim, though Akbar always addressed his as 'Shaikhu Baba' [87] As the child was got after many efforts, Akbar left no stone unturned to make him as much accomplished as he could

be Salim's relation with his father were estranged when he came of age. His indecent eagerness to grasp power, his jealousy of Abul Fazl and Akbar's dislike of his excesses were primarily responsible for this.[88]

On October 24, 1605 he ascended the throne in the fort of Agra and assumed the name Jahangir (Holder of the world) and the title of Nur-ud-din (light of the faith). He says in his memoirs, "After my accession the first order I gave was for the fastening up of the chain of justice, so that if those engaged in the administration of justice would delay or practice hypocrisy in the matter of those seeing justice, the oppressed might come to this chain and shake it so that its noise might attract attention ..... I also gave twelve orders to be observed as rule of conduct (*dastur-ul-amal*) in all my dominions".[89]

Jahangir, in his Tuzk, or autography, gives the following account of old Agra and the foundation of the new city by his father, Akbar: -"Agra is one of the most ancient and important cities of Hindustan. It had an old fort on the bank of the Yamuna but my father, before his birth, having levelled it with ground, built on its site a fort of red sand stone so magnificent that man who had travelled through the world maintain that they have seen the like of it nowhere during there travels. It took fifteen or sixteen years to complete. It consists of four gates and two smaller gateways, and was constructed on any outlay of thirty five lakhs of rupees, equal to one hundred and fifteen thousand *tamans* of Iran and one crore five lakhs of *khanis* of Turan. The city population extends along either banks of Yamuna. The part to the west, which is very densely populated, is seven kos in circuit, two kos long, and one kos broad ; that to the east, two and a half kos in circuit, one kos long, and half a kos broad. The buildings are so numerous, that several cities of the size of those in Iraq, Kharasan, and Mahwaral Nahr could be made of them. Most people have built their houses to the height of three and four stories, and the city is so overcrowded with population that one cannot pass through a lane or street without trouble. On its east is the province of kanauj, on the west Nagor, on the north Sambhal, and on the south Chanderi. The air in Agra is warmand dry... animals such as elephants, buffalo, and others, thrive in its neighbourhood.... The inhabitants of Agra exert themselves greatly in the acquirement

of craft and the search after learning. Various professors of every religion and creed have taken up their abode in the city.[90]

The Emperor writes as follows of its history previous to the time of the Afghan Lodi kings: - "Before the time of the Afghan Lodis, Agra was a large city and had a fort. Masud Sad Salman, in a poem composed by him in praise of Mahmud, son of Ibrahim, son of Masud, son of Mahmud Ghiznavi, on the occasion of the capture of the fort of Agra by that Prince, writes as follows of its ancient Hindu fort: -

"Seen from afar, amid dust-laden clouds,

The citadel loomed forth, severe and grand,

Like mountain overspread with shadowy knoll,

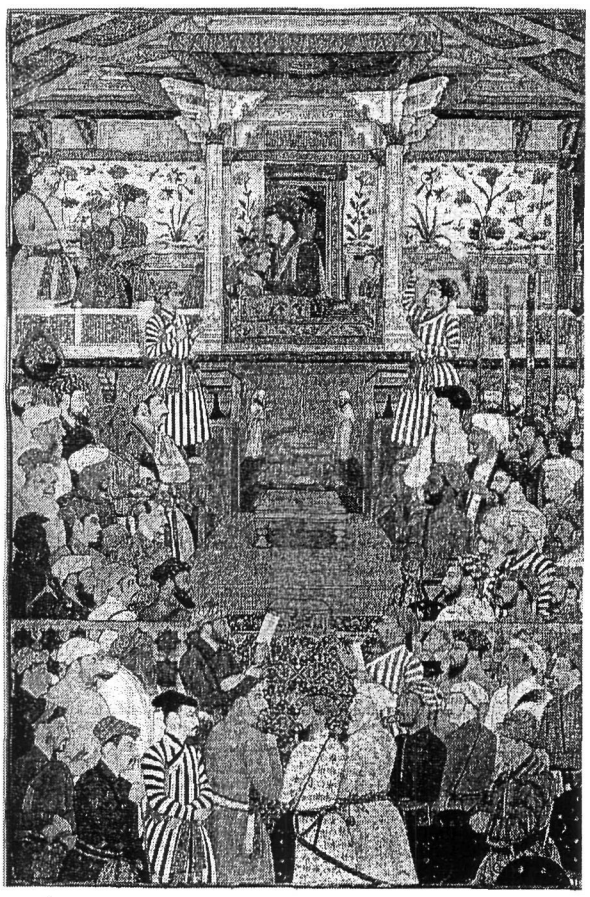
Whose tracery the setting sun scarce limned."

Of the fruits and flowers, foreign as well as indigenous, were grown at Agra, the scent of which was so strong and effective that it is by no means inferior to that of musk.[91]

In 1606 Prince Khusrau relations with his father were not cordial at all escaped from Agra on the pretext of visiting the tomb of Akbar. Jahangir followed Khusrau in person and defeated him at the battle of Bhairowal. All his accomplices were severely punished, Guru Arjun Singh (the preceptor of the Sikhs), who had replenished the prince's coffers and blessed him with victory, being put to death.[92]

In 1608 Captain Hawkins waited on the Emperor Jahangir with a letter from James the First, King of England. The Emperor took a great fancy to Hawkins, who settled at Agra to promote the interest of English company.[93] Jahangir spent the earlier years in Agra. Hawkins wrote that "Jahangir was a stout man, he would in the morning at day break, with his face turned towards Mecca, and he repeated the different names of god on a string of beads of pearls, diamond, rubies, emeralds, lignum aloes and coral. He then appeared at the *jharoka* (window) to receive the salutations of the multitude who resorted

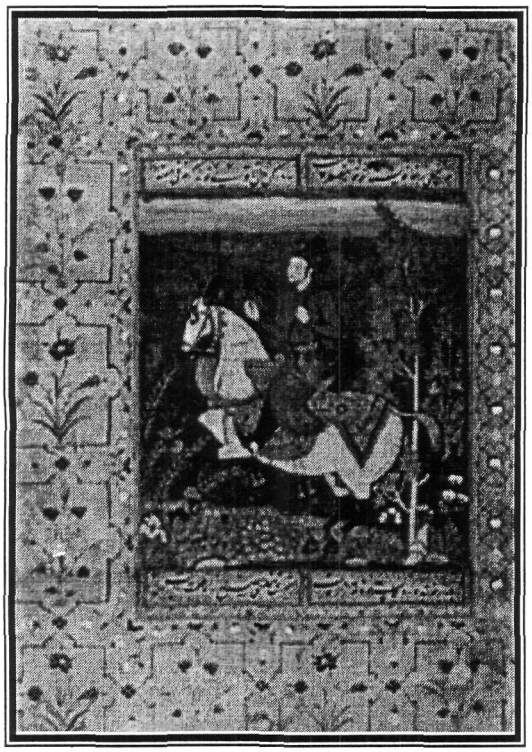
to the plans opposite every morning. This done, he went to sleep for two hours more. He then took his meals with the ladies of the seraglio. At noon he again showed himself to the people at the balcony of the palace *jharoka,* and sat there until three o'clock to witness pastimes by men and beast. At three o'clock the nobles in Agra, whom sickness detaineth not, resort to the court, and the King comes forth in open audience, sitting in his royal, every man standing in his degree before him: the chief within a red rail, the rest without. The red rail is three steps higher than the place where the rest stand. Men are placed by officers; there are others to keep men in order. In the midst, right before the King, standeth an officer with his master hangman, accompanied by forty others with whips. Here the King hearth causes some hours every day; he then departs to his house of prayer."94 At evening the Emperor was in the ghusl khana, or private room, where ministers and selected officers are Amirs waited on His Majesty, and state business was transacted. The State writers were in constant attendance until the King slept, and they wrote all that the King did. A rope with ringing bells, plated with gold, was fastened to two pillars in the King's chamber, with an end hanging over the ground opposite the palace. Any poor man, who demanded justice, shook the rope, and the King hearing the bells ring called him forthwith, heard him and did justice to his cause.



One of the most fascinating figures of Mughal India, around whom fact and fiction have woven a web of romance, was the famous Nur Jahan. On March 19, 1608, the feast of Nauroz was held at the village of Runkata, about five kos from Agra.[95] In this year a women (known as Mihr-un-nisa) was brought to the palace in

the fort to look after the dowager empress (Mariam Zamani begum).[96] In March 1611, Jahangir saw her and married her a couple of months later, conferring on her the title of Nur Jahan. There has been a lot of controversy regarding the circumstances of the death of Sher Afgan her former husband. Nur Jahan soon gained ascendancy at the court. Her success raised her ambitions and in course of time her influence and active participation in state affairs increased. All her relations and connections were raised to honour and wealth.

The seraglio of Jahangir consisted of six thousand women, including female slaves, attendants, women soldiers and guards. There were Chinese, Circassians, Georgians, Turks, Persians, Abyssinians and Hindus. The part of the palace where Nur Mahal spent the greater portion of her life still stands in the fort of Agra. It is known as the Jasmine Bowers (Samman Burj). It still bears the stamp of Nur Mahal's artistic instincts, skill and refined judgment.[97]



Jahangir in Deccan India, Mughal period, c. 1610
Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga

At the time of her marriage Nur Jahan was considered middle aged. She was a widow of a man who had lost favour with the emperor, and was only one of many other wives and concubines of the emperor, with whom he had children. Yet within nine years Nur Jahan acquired all the rights of sovereignty and government normally due the emperor, becoming virtually in charge of the whole empire until the emperor died in 1627. The key to her success was Jahangir's addiction to both drugs and alcohol and his adoration of Nur Jahan above everyone else in his vast *zanana* (women's quarters within the court). Jahangir needed Nur to help maintain his health and help him rule.

When Jahangir came to the throne, he re-started the war with Amar Singh the king of Mewar. Finally in 1614 Prince Khurram was sent against Amar Singh and he pushed on the campaign so vigorously that the Rajputs were made to come to terms. Amar Singh acknowledged Jahangir as his over-Lord and Jahangir also treated his generously.[98]

As far as the affairs in the Deccan were concerned campaigns were carried on after Akbar's return but consolidation could not be achieved. When Jahangir turned to the Deccan he found himself faced with the famous Malik Ambar. Malik Ambar started by recovering some of the territories lost to the Mughals in the time of Akbar. In 1616, Prince Khurram was entrusted with the job of dealing with Malik Ambar. He offered teams of peace to Malik Ambar & the latter accepted the same. After Malik Ambar's death Deccan was open to Mughal designs.

On his way back to Agra at the end of 1618 Jahangir had to halt at Fathpur Sikri as Agra was in the grip of plague which took a heavy toll of life .[99] He came back to Agra in April, 1619 but by the end of the year left for Kashmir with Nur Jahan. [100]

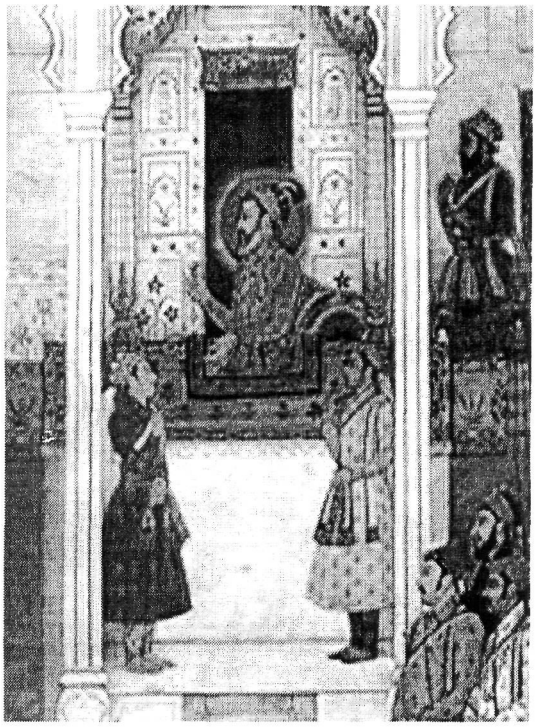
Jahangir reigned in peace, but that peace was disturbed in Agra by the rebellion of his son, Shah Jahan, in 1623. The prince marched from Mandu with his army towards Agra. Jahangir sent Asaf khan to Agra to remove the imperial treasures before shah Jahan should arrive there. Shah Jahan occupied the city of Agra and sacked it, but he was unsuccessful in capturing the fort, which contained the imperial treasures.[101]

Many magnificent building were built in Agra during Jahangir's reign, Akbar tomb at Sikandra was remodelled and expanded, the Jahangir mahal was built in Agra fort, other buildings as Hauz-i-Jahangiri, the mosque of Matamad Khan (Jahangir's treasurer)and beautiful tomb of Itimad-ud-daula (Nur Jahan's father)were also built. The black marble throne, which was made by Jahangir in 1603 as in evident from the Persian inscription on it, was brought here from Allahabad. [102]

Nur Jahan's cleverness could not save her, and upon Shah Jahan's succession to the crown, he had her confined. Her imprisonment ended her influence at court, and she spent the last years of her life in exile in Lahore. Here she spent a quiet time living with her daughter until her own death in 1645. Her tomb lies in Lahore next to Jahangir's. Both she had erected along with the gardens that surround them.

In 1627 Jahangir died & he as buried at Shahdara (Lahore). Thus Jahangir, in spite of his shortcomings, strove honestly to maintain the integrity of his empire and to follow the principles of toleration and justice enunciated by his father. Under his enlightened patronage there was an all round progress in industry and commerce, while painting, literature and architecture also flourished during his reign.

SHAHJAHAN (1628-1658)



Shah Jahan is seen holding a durbar of his royal palace. The ruby and the tray of jewels indicate his wealth, while his 'halo' symbolizes the specia. British Library (India Office) Add. Or 3853 (c. 1650)

Shah Jahan ascended the throne in 1628 and assumed the title of Abul Muzaffar Shahbuddin Muhammad Sahib-i Kiran-i Sani. He was born on January 5 (15 N.S.), 1592 at Lahore in the 36th year of his grandfather's reign. His mother was a famous Rajput princess Jagat Gosain, who Salim had married in 1586, sh was the daughter of Mota Raja Udai Singh.[103] The child was named Khurram. In his childhood he was the favourite of his grandfather Akbar who loved him more then his any other grandchildren.[104] His reign opened with the execution of his brothers and nephews. In the first year of his reign Shah Jahan had to face the rebellion of Jujhar Singh, son of Bir

Singh Deo, the Bundela chief who was responsible for murder of Abul Fazl. He made encroachment on the Mughal territory and showed signs of rebellion. Initially he surrendered to the Mughal army but he revolted again in 1635. Later he was pursued by the Mughal troops and killed by the Gonds.[105]

Agra came to its own when Shah Jahan ascended to the throne of Mughal Empire. He marked the zenith of Mughal architecture, when he built the Taj in memory of his beloved wife Mumtaz Mahal. In his later years, Shah Jahan shifted his capital to the new city of Shahjahanabad in Delhi and ruled from there. Shah Jahan was dethroned in 1658 by his son, Aurangzeb who imprisoned him in the Agra Fort. Aurangzeb shifted the capital back to Agra till his death.



*Shah Shuja, Aurangzib, and Murad Bakhsh the three younger sons of Shah Jahan, 1635 Courtesy -- **Hambly**, G. (1968). "Cities o Mughal India". New York: G. P. Putnam'*

From an early age, Shah Jahan's four sons, Dara Shukoh, Shah Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad Bakhsh, grew up in an atmosphere of bitter rivalry, writes Hambly, even though they were all children of the same mother, Mumtaz Mahal. In 1657, Shah Jahan became seriously ill. The expectation of an early death provoked the four sons into making a desperate bid for the throne. Only two candidates, writes Hambly, stood much chance of success -- Dara Shukoh, who was 42 years old, and Aurangzeb, who was 39.

Dara Shukoh, Shah Jahan's favourite and his heir, was a man of broad intellectual interests, writes Hambly. He was a Sufi and a religious eclectic who had translated the Upanishads into Persian.

The revolt of Khan Jahan Lodi in 1628 gave much more trouble to Shah Jahan than the Bundela rising He entered into an alliance with the ruler of Ahmednagar and revolted Shah Jahan realized the gravity of the situation and decided to personally supervise the operation But ultimately in 1630 Khan Jahan had to give up & died near the fort of Kalanjar [106]

With Shah Jahan's accession to the throne, the Deccan policy of the Mughals entered a new phase Apart from political differences, the Deccan rulers had pronounced Shiahite learning's and were suspected of allegiance to the Shia rulers of Persia The death of Malik Ambar came as a blessing to the Mughals [107]

In 1630 his son Fath Kan the minister of Ahmadnagar put the king in confinement and later killed him In 1631 the Mughal army laid siege on Bijapur but were compelled to raise it after twenty days for lack of provisions Finally in 1633 the Mughals won the fort of Daulatabad and the Nizam Shahi kingdom came to an end But Shah Jahan's imperialistic designs could not be satisfied without crushing Bijapur and Golconda He called upon the rulers of these countries to acknowledge his suzerainty Abdullah Qutb Shah of Golconda formally recognized the suzerainty of Shah Jahan but the king of Bijapur was not ready to barter away his independence But ultimately Adil Shah of Bijapur had t acknowledge the over lordship of the emperor & was allowed to retain his ancestral kingdom Having thus settled the state affairs in the Deccan in 1636 Shah Jahan retired to Agra Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of The Deccan & he occupied that post for eight years (1636-44) During this period, Aurangzeb annexed Bagalna near Nasik and reduced the power of Shahji In 1653, Aurangzeb was appointed the Governor of the Deccan for the second time He remained in the post till 1657 [108]

In September 1657, Shah Jahan fell ill The physicians were not hopeful about his recovery As soon as the news of his illness reached his sons they started making preparations for capturing the throne In 1658 Aurangzib took over & imprisoned his father Ultimately in 1666 he did in captivity

Undoubtedly, Shah Jahan was one of the greatest rulers of the Mughals. The Mughal Empire reached its greatest prosperity in the reign of Shah Jahan. As an emperor he led a strenuous life. He personally supervised the minutest details of the administration and appointed men of highest ability as his minister. He was an orthodox Muslim but was never unfair to his non-Muslim subjects. He considerably increased the royal retinue, the state-establishments and the magnificence of the court.[109] The Peacock throne, the Taj Mahal, the Agra Fort and numerous other works of architecture and art testify to his wealth as well as his aesthetic sense. He was an excellent calligraphist. His patronage of men of letters and of artisans and craftsmen was in keeping with the traditions of his family. Poetry, music, painting, dancing, astronomy, mathematics and medicine flourished under the generous and intelligent patronage of the emperor.[110]

Mumtaz Mahal



Arjumand Banu was the woman in whose memory the Taj Mahal was built. Perhaps, there is no better and grand monument built in the history of human civilization dedicated to love. Arjumand Banu was daughter of Asaf Khan and when she married Shahjahan at the age of 14 years, imperial city of Agra was already agog with the stories of her beauty. She was third wife of Prince Khurram or Shahjahan and the principle one throughout their life. She became Mumtaz Mahal in 1612 after her marriage and remained an inseparable companion of her husband till her death. As a symbol of her faith and love she bore Shahjahan 14 children and died during the birth of last child. For the love and affection she showed to her husband, Mumtaz Mahal received highest honour of the land - the royal seal - Mehr Uzaz from Shahjahan, the emperor. According to the legends, stories of her virtue spread all over Mughal Empire.

The emperor and his pregnant empress moved towards Maharashtra or Deccan in the year 1630 to suppress the Lodi Empire that was gaining strength at that time. This was going to be the last journey that Mumtaz Mahal ever took. She breathed her last after delivering their 14th child (a daughter) in the city of Burhanpur on June 17, 1631. It is said that Mumtaz Mahal on her deathbed asked Shahjahan to create a symbol of their love for posterity and her loyal husband accepted it immediately. Though many historians are not agree with this story saying that it was the grief-stricken emperor himself who decided to built the most memorable symbol of love in the world.

It took her husband 22 years and most of his royal treasury to build a monument befitting the memory of his beloved wife. In the name of Mumtaz Mahal stands the most beautiful building in the universe, that monument of love, purity and unparalleled beauty called the Taj Mahal

AURANGZEB ALAMGIR (1658-1707)



Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb was born on 3rd November, 1618 at Dohad near Ujjain, died on Feb. 20, 1707, was the sixth Mughal emperor of India and the last to wield effective power[111]. He was the third son of Shah Jahan, whom he served as viceroy of the Deccan (1636-44). He was sent to subdue Golconda (1656) and Bijapur (1657).

Shah Jahan's serious illness in 1657 was the

occasion for his sons to start a war of succession. The combined armies of Aurangzeb and Murad started for Agra from the Deccan and Dara Shukoh advanced from Agra to meet them. In the battle which was fought near Samogarh (ten miles east of Agra) on May 29, 1658 Dara lost most of his trusted lieutenants and when at a critical moment in the battle he alighted from his elephant in order to ride a horse, his soldiers erroneously concluded that the battle was lost and fell back and Aurangzeb won the day. He occupied Agra on June 11, 1658, and seized the throne from his sick father,[112] whom he held prisoner at Agra (under the surveillance of Prince Muhammad) where the latter died in captivity on February 1, 1666.[113]

In the war of succession that followed, Aurangzeb killed his two older brothers and imprisoned his younger brother. He then moved the seat of government from Agra to Delhi and adopted the reign title of Alamgir ("World-holder").

Even as a young man, Aurangzeb was known for his devotion to the Muslim religion and observance of Islamic injunctions, and in some of his letters written during the struggle for the succession he claimed that he was acting "for the sake of the true faith and the peace of the realm." As soon as he was securely on the throne, he introduced reforms which could make his dominion a genuine Muslim state. After his second (and formal) coronation on June 5, 1659, he issued orders which were calculated to satisfy orthodoxy. He appointed censors of public morals in all important cities to enforce Islamic law, and he tried to put down such practices as drinking, gambling, and prostitution. He forbade the cultivation of narcotics throughout the empire, and in 1664 he issued his first edict forbidding sati or the self-immolation of women on funeral pyres. He also repeatedly denounced the castration of children so they could be sold as eunuchs. In the economic sphere he showed a determined opposition to all illegal exactions and to all taxes which were not authorized by Islamic law. Immediately after his second coronation he abolished the inland transport duty (rahdari), which amounted to ten percent of the value of goods, and the octroi (pandari)on all articles of food and drink brought into the cities for sale. [114]

In 1659 he issued a number of ordinances to restore the Muslim law of conduct according to the teachings of the Quran. He discontinued the practice of inscribing the Kalima on the coins and abolished the celebration of the new year's day (nauroz). [115]

Aurangzeb's reign of nearly half a century is divided into two equal parts of about twenty – five years each, the first of which he passed in northern India and the second in the Deccan.

His whole reign remained devoted to ceaseless wars in different parts of India. Aurangzeb's earliest conquests were in the eastern parts of the empire. In the years when he had been fighting with his brothers for the throne, the Hindu rulers of Cooch Behar and Assam, taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the empire, had invaded the imperial dominions. For three years they were not attacked, but in 1660 the time came for restitution. Mir Jumla, the viceroy of Bengal, was ordered to recover the lost territories. He started from Dacca in November, 1661, and occupied the capital of Cooch Behar after a few weeks. The kingdom was annexed, and the Muslim army left for Assam. The capital of the Ahom kingdom was reached on March 17, 1662, and the raja was forced to sign a humiliating treaty. [116]

The Mughals received a heavy tribute, and annexed some forts and towns in the cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal, but their army had suffered great hardships. The aged Mir Jumla died on his way back to Dacca, and was succeeded as viceroy by Shayista Khan. [117]

Operations in the east were barely over when trouble started on the northwest frontier of the empire. In 1667 a Yusafzai leader named Bhaku (who had supported Dara Shukoh against Aurangzeb in the struggle for the throne) rebelled. The *faujdar* of Attock defeated Bhaku, and with the help of reinforcements from Lahore and Kabul, gradually subdued the area. The area remained quiet for some time, but in 1672 trouble broke out again. Many tribes combined in opposition to the authorities, and they had a stroke of good fortune when Muhammad Amin Khan, the governor of Kabul, decided to risk an

engagement with the rebels with a poorly equipped contingent. His forces were annihilated, and he was barely able to escape to Peshawar with a few of his senior officers. On hearing of the disaster the emperor degraded Muhammad Amin Khan and transferred him to another area, but the officers who were sent to replace him quarrelled among themselves and failed to make much progress. In July, 1674, Aurangzeb himself went to Hasan Abdal, a convenient half-way station between Rawalpindi and Peshawar, and stayed there for over a year directing the operations. He took officers with him who knew the area, and by the use of force and diplomacy was able to restore peace. [118]

Among the tribal leaders who opposed Aurangzeb was the famous Pushtu poet Khushal Khan Khattak. He was the chief of the Khattak tribe, which since the days of his great grandfather had guarded the road from Attock to Peshawar against the hostile Yusufzais, and had the right to levy tolls on this highway. Khushal had fought with distinction in Mughal armies, and had sided with Aurangzeb against Dara Shukoh. But differences arose between him and Aurangzeb, mainly because of the abolition of all tolls within the empire. Khushal's family had collected tolls on the Indus since Akbar's time, and he resented the loss of income. Apparently to prevent him making trouble, he had been imprisoned for two years. This made him a bitter enemy of Aurangzeb, and on his release he incited the Pathan tribesmen to rebel. He had only a small measure of success. Some Afridi chiefs joined him, but the more numerous Yusufzais refused to side with him. An era of Mughal-Afghan cooperation was opening—owing to the success of Mughal diplomacy and the failure of the Rawshaniya Movement[119]—and even some of his sons, notably Bahram, opposed him. Khushal died broken-hearted in 1689, but he had left one enduring legacy —a body of forceful poetry in which he had expressed his hatred of the Mughals. [120]

During Aurangzeb's reign Marathas had become very powerful under Shivaji. Aurangzeb sent Shaista Khan, governor of Bengal against Shivaji but Shivaji defeated Shaista Khan. This made Aurangzeb invite Shivaji to Agra. He and attended the court on May 12, which was the emperor's birthday. As the treatment meted out to him on this occasion appeared to him to be humiliating he left the court in anger. He was placed under the restraint but feigning illness he eluded the imperial guard and escaped.[120]

On his return Shivaji formally assumed the title of maharaja in June, 1674, and as Aurangzeb was busy in the northwest, he was not disturbed. After his death in 1680, the mad cruelty of his unworthy son Shambhuji forcibly attracted the attention of the Mughal ruler. In 1682 Shambhuji raided Burhanpur and perpetrated such cruelties on the Muslim population that the Qazis there sent a manifesto to Aurangzeb upbraiding him. The Mughal emperor, who was concerned about the developments in the Deccan since his rebel son, Prince Akbar, had taken refuge at Shambhuji's court, decided to go south. He reached Aurangabad in the third week of March, 1682, and the last twenty-five years of his life were to be spent in that part of the subcontinent. [122]

Aurangzeb set out for the Deccan in 1682 and spent 26 years of his life there. From Ahmadnagar he conquered Bijapur in 1686 and besieged Golconda in 1687 and annexed it. Bijapur and Golkunda often gave shelter to the Maratha raiders Shambhuji, he was captured and executed in early 1689, but this did not mean the end of Aurangzeb's troubles in the Deccan. Aurangzeb brought up Shambhuji's son, Shahu, at the court and treated him with great consideration, but his younger brother, Rajaram, took over the Maratha leadership. On his death in April, 1700, his widow, Tara Bai, carried on the struggle. [123]

The Mughals achieved many successes against the Marathas, but these proved temporary. Often the forts won at great cost and after prolonged effort, would be lost through the treachery or the incompetence of the Muslim commanders. But even though Aurangzeb had conquered most of the Maratha forts, he was unable to suppress the powerful roving Maratha bands which challenged Mughal authority whenever they got an opportunity. In 1699, they carried their first raid in Malwa. Four years later they disrupted the communications between northern and southern India, and in 1706 they sacked Baroda. After Aurangzeb's death, the Marathas became a major factor in the downfall of the Mughal Empire. [124]

The Jats also rebelled against Aurangzeb in 1669 under the leadership of Gokul Jat. Aurangzeb also had to deal with the Sikhs and had Guru Teg Bahadur put to

death. This made his son Guru Govind Singh fight the Mughals till he died in 1707. Aurangzeb's religious policy made many enemies and the Rajputs were no exception. The Rajputs revolted against him. Which proved very harmful to him. [125]

In the background of all these events—the struggle for the throne, the annexations of great territories in the South, the wasting struggle with the Marathas, the pacification of the northwest frontier, the consolidation of Mughal power in Bengal, the contemptuous treatment of the East India Company—stands the enigmatic figure of Aurangzeb, surely the most controversial personality in the history of Islamic rule in India. Held responsible by some for the downfall of the Mughal empire, by others he is praised for maintaining as long as he did the unity of his vast realm. [126]

So far as Aurangzeb's personal qualities are concerned, however, there is general admiration. R. C. Majumdar writes: "Undaunted bravery, grim tenacity of purpose, and ceaseless activity were some of his prominent qualities. His military campaigns gave sufficient proof of his unusual courage, and the manner in which he baffled the intrigues of his enemies shows him to have been a past master of diplomacy and statecraft. His memory was wonderful, and his industry indefatigable." [127] "He never forgot a face he had once seen or a word that he had once heard." Apart from his devotion to duty, his life was remarkable for its simplicity and purity. His dress, food, and recreations were all extremely simple. He died at the age of ninety, but all his faculties (except his hearing) remained unimpaired.

He died in 1707 A.D. and was buried near Daultabad near the grave of Shaikh-Jail-ul-Haq. Thus ended the life of Aurangzeb whom J.N.Sarkar described the "*greatest of the Great Mughals save one*".[128] During his reign the Mughal Empire reached its territorial climax, stretching from Kashmir in the north to Jinji in the South, from the Hindukush in the west to Chittagong in the east. Although Aurangzeb brought the Mogul empire to its greatest extent, his wars depleted his treasury, and his long absences in the south led to a weakening of Mughal control in the north.

In the event, Aurangzeb's far-flung empire eventually eluded his grasp, and considerable disaffection appears to have been created among the peasantry. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, many of his vassals established themselves as sovereign rulers, and so began the period of what are called "successor states". [129]

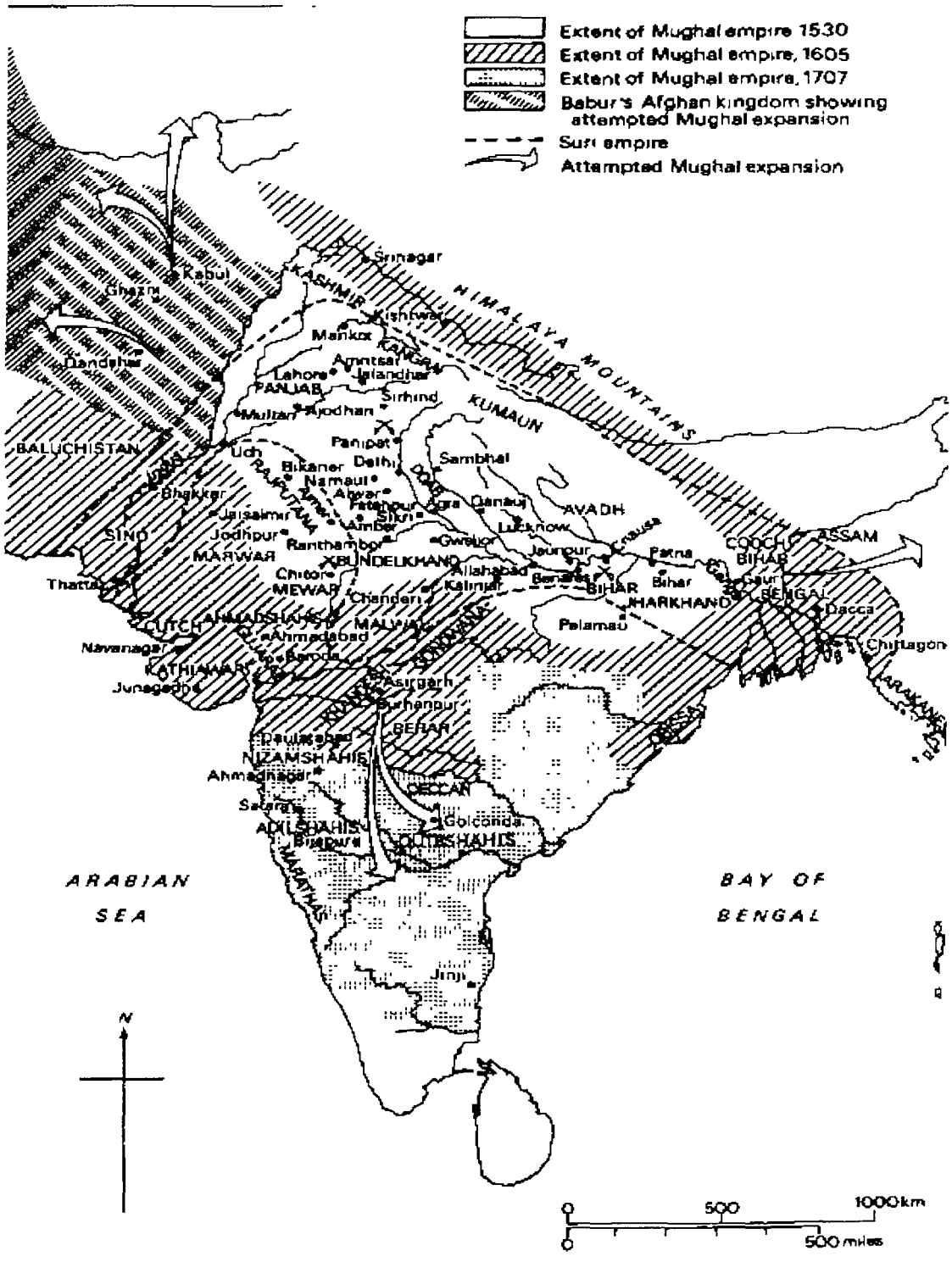
It should come as no surprise that the sons of Aurangzeb became locked in a life-or-death struggle for succession. After all, their father came to power after a savage battle with his own brothers. The victor among Aurangzeb's sons was Bahadur Shah. The elderly and moderate Bahadur Shah had a brief reign, lasting from 1707 to 1712.

Bahadur Shah was followed by a line of feeble successors. During the early 18th century, the imperial administration of the Mughals disintegrated, and new forces -- like the Jats, Sikhs and Marathas -- came forward. Delhi once again was a hub of political activity. The court nobility became the principal usurpers of imperial authority. The sons of Bahadur Shah, were but puppets of the warring factions.

"The silver twilight of Mughal civilization had begun," writes Hambly, "and, even if power and pomp were rapidly disappearing, Delhi remained the sanctuary of an urbane, sophisticated court which still had taste, even if it lacked talent." [130]

The end of this idyll was sudden and unforeseen. In 1739, the great Iranian soldier Nadir Shah invaded India. Despite superiority in number, the Mughal forces were easily defeated by the Persians. When an attempt was made on Nadir Shah's life, the Persian forces retaliated with a bloody vengeance.

The Mughal Empire survived until 1857, but its rulers were, after 1803, pensioners of the East India Company. The last emperor, the senile Bahadur Shah Zafar, was put on trial for allegedly leading the rebels of the 1857 mutiny and for fomenting sedition. He was convicted and transported to Rangoon, to spend the remainder of his life on alien soil.



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Chapter II.
Agra as an administrative Unit

THESIS

ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONARIES

The Mughal kingdom of Agra, though founded in 1526, first grew to imperial dimensions under Akbar. Babur's four years in India were spent in fighting and consolidating his gains. Babur's description of the country, as he found it, and his account of every class of people, clearly gives an idea of the condition in which the Mughals entered the country and the material with which they had to deal.[1] Babur had no time for any reconstruction. Humayun got no chance to make a start in that direction. The old system continued under them. The defeat and expulsion of Humayun and his reconquest of the country emphasized the ephemeral character of the dynasties and further brought to light the result of lack of unity among the ruling section.[2]

Sher Shah favoured the centralization of power in the hands of the monarch, and like Ala-ud-din, he was opposed to rise of any powerful group in the country. His measures were calculated to leave no scope for it, but his reign was short and the experiment did not have a full chance. However, his reforms suggestions certain lines of action to his successors.[3]

The Mughals came into being, when Bairam Khan decided on Akbar's behalf to stay in India and fight it out with his rivals.[4] It was reserved for Akbar to take up the work of reconstruction in the light of the lessons and experiments recorded by three centuries of Muslim rule in the in Northern India. That Akbar's administration owed a great deal to Sher Shah. The administrative institutions of the Mughal Empire were mostly a continuation of the administration of the Sultanate with some alterations and improvements.[5] The changes began to be introduced by Akbar and therefore the death of his father Humayun (1556) has been chosen as the starting date for the study of Mughal administration.[6]

During these one hundred and fifty one years it was one dynasty that ruled the realm. That the death of monarch was often the signal for civil war, but the contestants

were scions of the same family, and they fought for them selves, they were not the puppets in the hands of ambitious nobles. The prestige of the family was so well established that no outsider could dream of questioning its sole right to provide the monarch. Under the sultans, the Muslim population, surrounded by danger on all sides, was aware of the need of strong men to defend it from external invasion and local rebellions. It realized the importance of successful generals and was in no mood to tolerate weakling, even though they might have a better claim to the throne.[7]

When Aurangzeb died in 1707, the Mughals laid claim to the whole of India, north and south, besides Kabul. In theory every square inch of this territory was claimed by the Mughals as their own. But then, there were quite a large number of feudatory states in existence besides the territory governed directly by imperial servants. All this Mughal territory was divided into provinces. Their number varied from seventeen under Akbar- KAbu'l, Kashmir, Multan, Punjab, Delhi, Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Malwa, Ajmer, Gujarat, Sindh, Khandesh and Berar- to twenty-one under Aurangzeb--the additions being Ahmednagar, Bidar, Bijapur and Golkanda. Every province was divided into Sarkars-sometimes called Mahals as in the south. These Sarkars were subdivided into Par- ganahs. Every Parganah consisted of a large number of villages. For revenue purposes, there was another unit between the parganas and the Sarkars, called the Dastur, the assessment circle. [8]

The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire

The Sovereign, his Power and Duties

The king is the Khalifa of God. He rules by virtue of divine right. Sovereignty is a gift, and the king is God's elect. The robe of the kingship fits him. He is

T.65 42

supreme in his sphere. He is head of the government, the commander of the state force, the fountain of justice, the chief of the country.[9]



Islam takes a comprehensive view of life and does not separate politics from religion. The existence of the people, their happiness, the institutions of society, and the rules of morality and religion depend upon the king's office. Hence, it is no wonder that the king's importance is emphasized. He becomes supreme in his sphere. He represent sovereignty in his person and all the 'seven elements of sovereignty are absorbed in one'.[10]

The Mughal Empire was *de jure* as well as *de facto* an independent state. The emperor, styled as *Padshah*, was recognized as the caliph within his realm. He, therefore, owned no allegiance to the Ottoman caliphs of Egypt. The emperor was vested with the supreme political authority and his writ could be questioned only through rebellion. As legally, he was looked upon a sinful by Muslims. Only when he openly transgressed the law of Islam, could rebellion be legally justified. He was subservient to shar, the Muslim law and had no authority to amend or annul it. His actions could be questioned in a court of law. However, because the empire contained a majority of non-Muslims, some of whom were powerful; the monarch could ally himself with them

and escape retribution for his cold-shouldering the law. In addition, there were heterodox groups among the Muslim as well who were interested in weakening the power of orthodox Islam. [11]

Babur and Humayun believed in Islamic theory of kingship and tried to enforce the Quranic law as far as they could, but Akbar demonstrated how the upholders of orthodoxy could be humiliated. However, even he did not succeed in eliminating the orthodox elements completely from the seats of power and towards the end of the reign; they had revived sufficiently to impose their terms on Jahangir. Thus, there were limits beyond which it was impossible for the monarch to go in his disregard for Muslim law. It so happened that Jahangir restored the institutions of orthodoxy and Shan Jahan and Alamgir-I were pious and orthodox monarchs.[12]

The Mughal emperor assumed the title of *Padshah*. Abu'l-Fazl explains the etymology by saying that pad signifies stability and possession and *shah* means origin and lord, thus *Padshah* is a lord or a king who is so powerful that he cannot be ousted by anyone .it was, however used by superior king, an emperor.[13] The Mughal emperor enjoyed immense power. Besides being head of the state and of government, he was commander-in chief of the army and the fountainhead of justice. He was, besides, the defender of Islam and the spiritual head of his Muslim subjects. In this capacity, he levied zakat on the latter and spent it on building mosques, subsidizing theologians and relieving Muslim paupers. He had no regular council of ministers; they were not authorized to initiate policy. They could only advise but not vote. Their advice was not binding on the emperor.

Lowell says that in order to understand the government of a country it is not enough to know the bare structure of its institutions. It is necessary to study the actual working of the system, and 'although this depends chiefly upon the character, the habits and traditions of the people, it is also influence in no small measure by details. . .that are too often overlooked on account of their apparent insignificance'. [14]

Jharoka-i-Darshan



A VIEW OF DARBAR OF SHAH JAHAN
Showing the appearance of Behr, after his arrest by the governor, Itiqad Khan. [Br. Mus. MS. Add.

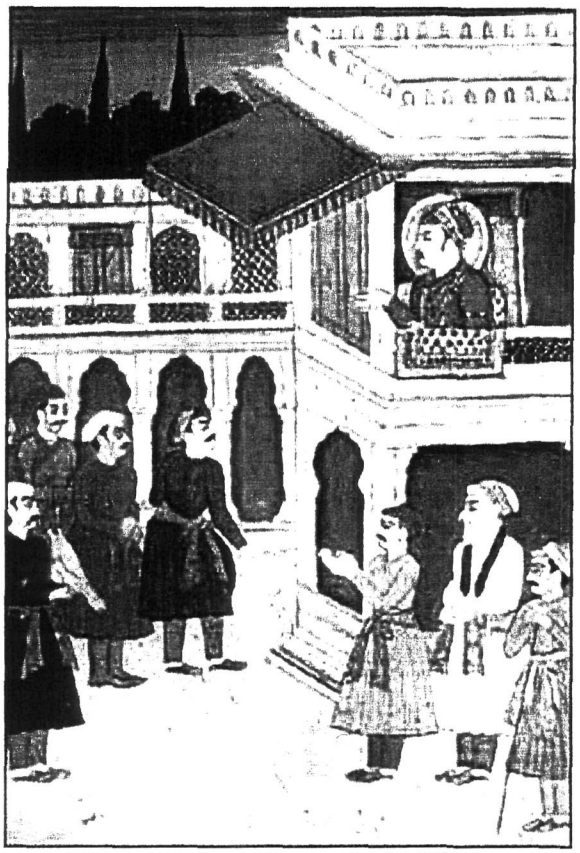
Akbar established the practice of Jharoka-i-Darshan in his time. Abu'l Fazl says that the idea was to give the public a hence to appear before the king, and have free access to him without any obstacle or interfirance.[15]it became an established tradition of empire, and those who believed in it assembled every morning at dawn at the foot of the Jharoka. Soldiers, traders, merchants, artisans and peasants, all alike, flocked together to get the darshan.[16]

Jahangir and Shah Jahan continued it, and on one occasion, he says that in spite of Jahangir's illness he did not miss it.[17] All the three monarchs had a day set apart personally attending to judicial cases. Akbar had fixed Thursday, [18] Jahangir reserved Tuesday, [19] Shah Jahan devoted Wednesday to administration and justice.[20]

Rules of succession

As the *shar'* does not envisage hereditary monarchy, it provides no law of succession for monarchical dynasties. The law held on tenaciously to the principle of election, but it was generally believed that there was no bar to the succession of a son to the throne of his father. This was a compromise with the position created by establishment of dynasties in the Muslim world. There were several precedents among the Mughals when territories were virtually divided among several sons; some times princes went on contending for power and thrones, the fact of rebellion being treated rather lightly.

The *shar* 'does not recognize hereditary succession to monarchy and, therefore, does not provide for it; but the muhhals were upholders of their rights to rule the empire and established wide spread support for their right even in the religious circle.

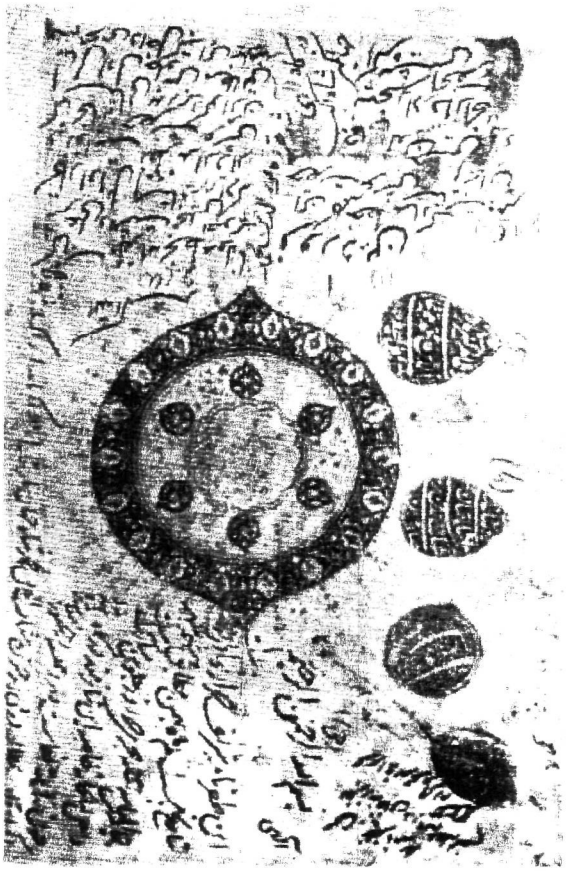


Mughal miniature painting depicting Jahangir

Babur had to fight for his heritage from a very early age; Humayun was faced with the opposition of all his brothers at one time or another. Only too often did he forgive his brother and ultimately Kamran, the arch rebel was blinded and exiled, which, judging by his long record of rebellion and fighting against his brothers was not such an extreme measure, because his life was spared. Akbar's brother, Hakim, was forgiven. Salim's rebellion was also not taken seriously. Khurram's way to the throne also was littered with difficulties which have been created by Nur Jahan and her party. The war of succession, which led to Aurangzeb enthronement, involved almost the entire empire in war and led to considerable weakening of the administrative machinery. [21]

The lack of proper law of succession to the throne vitiated the relations between the princes, who looked upon their brothers and close male relations as rivals. This created enmity and suspicion. The Mughals succeeded in raising the prestige of their dynasty to an extent that no one ever questioned their right to the throne, but they were not able to create a healthy tradition of smooth succession to the crown.

Farmans



The Front Page of Zafer Nama with the Handwriting of the Emperor Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan

The Mughals took every precautionary measure to safeguard against frauds prevailing in those times. A proper record was maintained for day-to-day routine of the Padshah. A copy was made and signed by the *parvanchi,* the *mir 'arz* and by *amir*. Thus the accuracy of the copy was insured and was called *yaddasht* or memorandum.[22] Big staff of copyist prepared a good summary of these *yaddasht* in a lucid style. The abridgement prepared by them was signed by the *vaq a navis* the *rasalahdar*, the *mir'arz* and the *darogha* (the superintendent of the darbar). This was given from this office instead of the *yad dasht,* which was deposited here.

The abridgement thus completed was called *ta'liqa,* and then writer *ta'liqa navis*. The ta'liqa was then signed and sealed by ministers of the state. A casual reference, under the regulation of seals, shows that it was also signed by the prince on duty in the *darbar*. The matter of minor importance does not require king's seal.

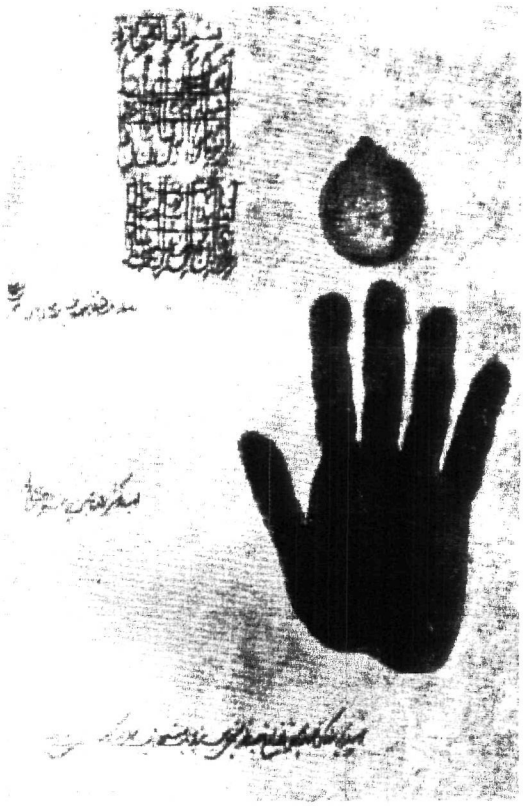
Some matters of great importance required king's seal to become farman; they were:

1. Appointments to the *vakilship, vizarat, sadarat*, the post of a governor and *bakhshi,* the rank of *amirul-umara*, the tutorship of a prince, and a mansab.
2. Appointments to jagirs, without military service.
3. Conferring of *sayurghals,* (Grants of lands for charitable purpose.) grants for daily subsistence, and beneficial purpose.[23]

The problem of matching an assignment with a determined salary in the area indicated posed problems for the *diwan-i-tan.* When he had found a satisfactory solution acceptable to the assignee and safeguarding the interest of the state, the necessary information was placed in the draft of the farman. This draft needed the approval of the *diwan*, the *mustaufi*, the *bakhshi* and the *wakil* before receiving the royal approval. It had to be signed and endorsed by all the officials.

In case of *farman-i-bayadi* the contents of the farman were kept secret and the king did not want to disclose them to all the officers, the usual procedure was not followed. The officers were not required to affix their seals, the royal seal was considered sufficient. [24] Sometimes the emperor took the extra precaution of writing out the Farman himself.[25]

The royal seal



A STATE DOCUMENT WITH SHAH JAHAN'S 'ROYAL HAND AND SEAL'

According to the *Ain* there were five kinds of seals used for different purposes.

1. The round small seal, known by the *chaghtai* name of *uzuk*, used for *farman-i-sabti.* (Relating to titles, high appointments, jagirs and the sanction of large sums).
2. A large one –into which the name of the king and those of his ancestors up to Timur were engraved –was used for letters to foreign kings, and later on for all-purpose. For other orders beside the *sabti* Farmans, a square seal was used.
3. For judicial transactions a seal, *mihrabi* in form, which had the following verse round the name of the king, was used:

Rasti mujib-i-Raza-i-khuda ast-
Kas na didam ke gum shud az rah-i- rast.
'Uprightness is the means of pleasing God I never saw any one in the lost in the straight road.'

4. A separate seal was used for all matters connected with the female department.[26] Uzuk seal was most important; it is mentioned on various occasions in connection with the draft of Farmans.

The minister and their duties



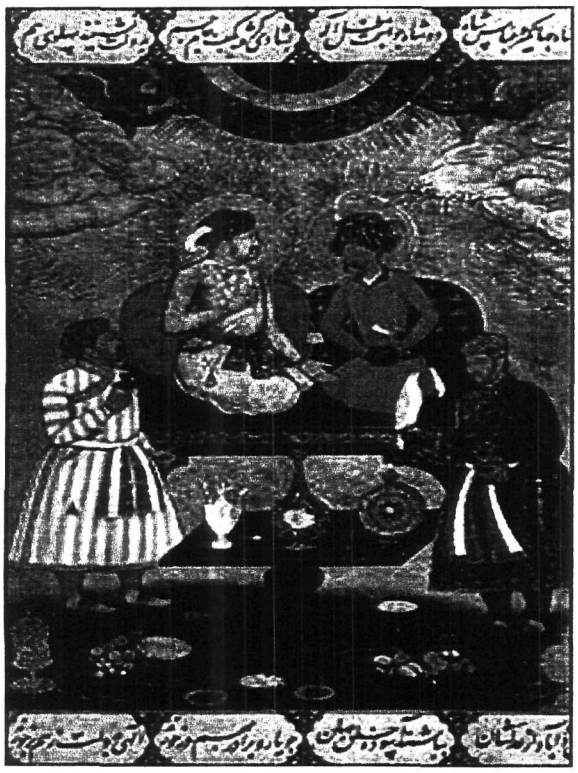
An example of Mughal art commissioned by Humayun

It was impossible to rule such a vast empire single-handed. The Mughal emperors benefited greatly from the council of able administrators.[27] Under every form of despotism, the existence of a body of ministers or a council of advisers becomes indispensable. Under the Muslim monarchies, the term used for the council or body of ministers is *vizarat.* The council was definitely an advisory body, the highest incumbent of officers under them were heads of department, rather than ministers. They were consulted severally as well as in undefined groups in matters for which they were responsible or even, if the monarch so desired, in matters of state generally on some occasions, but they had no right to tender advice, nor were there any institutions, the membership of which would entitle them to express views, weather accepted or not. It was customary to consult some of them on important occasions.

Under early Mughals, there were four chief departments of administration. Babur had Mehdi Khawaja as his Prime Minister and Zain-ud din as his Sadr . Humayun does not seem to have appointed any one to a position higher than that of secretaries. During Akbar's minority Bairam Khan acted as the regent, discharging all the function of the head of the state in Akbar's name.[28]

The number of chief departments rose from four to six under Aurangzeb. These were (1) The Exchequer and Revenue under the *Divan* ; (2) The Imperial House holds under the *Kahn-I-Saman* or high steward; (3) The Military Pay an Account office under *Mir Bakhshi*; (4) Cannon law, both civil and criminal under *Chief Qazi;* (5) Religious Endowments and Charities under the *Chief Sadr* and ; (6) Censorship of public morals under the *Muhtasib* . Beside these department there were less important department (7) Artillery under the *Mir Atish or Darogha-i-Topkhana,* and (8) Intelligence and Post under the *Darogha of Dak-Chowki.*[29]

THE VAKIL



Under Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the prime minister bore the title of *Vakil* or *Vakil-i-Mutlaq*. Sometimes he was called *wazir* or *Wazir-i-Ala.* The former title (*Vakil*) was revived under some of the later rules; for example, Asad Khan was appointed *Vakil -i-Mutlaq* by Jahandar Shah and his Zulfiqar Khan as wazir. The prime minister usually held the portfolio of revenue, but it was in his capacity as *Diwan.* He was primarily a civil officer and was very seldom given the command of an army.

His main duty was to advise the king on all matters relating to the welfare of the state. "He was the intermediary between the king and the rest of the official world." He represented the emperor during the latter's absence or illness or when he was a minor. His office received all revenue papers, returns and dispatches from the provinces and the field army. He issued orders for all kind of payments; he controlled the treasury and decided all questions relating to the collection of revenue.

He issued orders for appointments and promotions except those concerning menials and privates in the army. He had under him two high officers or the status of deputy ministers-one was *Diwan Khalisa* who was in charge of crown lands, and the other was *Diwan Tan* or *Tankhwah*. This latter officer was in charge *Jagir* lands.

The Mir Bakhshi:

A separation of the military department from the vizarat was felt by the Delhi sultanat to safeguard against the excessive power of the vazir. The *mir bakhshi* of the Mughals enjoyed all the powers of the divan-i-arz, as the head of the military department, but his influence extended beyond his own department, as his nearness to the king in the *darbar* added much to his prestige. All orders of appointment to *mansabs* passed through his office. He had to enforce the royal regulations in the army, supervise branding of horses and inspect the stipulated number of soldiers under *mansabdars*. He maintained a register of *mansabdars* specifying the number troops, etc., they were required to maintain, and passed their salary bills. That is, he was called Pay-Master General.

The *mir bakhshi* was assisted by two *other bakhshis* at the centre; he himself was also called the first *bakhshi*; his assistants were called the second and the third *bakhshis* respectively. In the beginning one *bakhshi* was considered adequate to deal with the work but in Shah Jahan's reign the number was increased to three. Mostly all the three *bakhshis* were in attendance in the various audiences of the monarch.[30] The work among them was divided according to the rank of *mansabdars*.

The Mir Saman :

The *Mir Saman* did not enjoy the rank of a minister in the time of Akbar, but under his successors, this office became as important as to be reckoned among the full-fledged ministerial departments. The *Mir Saman* was the head of the emperor's household department, including his personal servants, attendants and the royal kitchen. He supervised the emperor's daily expenditure, food, stores, etc.

The department not only purchased and stored all kinds of articles, but also was the greatest manufacturing agency for weapons of war and articles of luxury. The numerous workshops or *Karkhanas* for the manufacture of robes, jewellery and other precious articles needed by the emperor, his *heram* and court, were under his charge. He, therefore, enjoyed great influence. Sometimes *Mir Saman* was promoted to the *wazirship.* There was a high officer of the status of deputy minister under his known as *Diwan-i-Buyutat,* popularly called *Buyutat.* His main work was to register the property of deceased person in order to secure payment of the state dues, and safeguard the property for heirs of the deceased.[31] *Mir saman* became *Khan-i-Saman* under Aurangzeb.

The Qazi:

The duties of a Muslim king in an Islamic state which require him to rule in accordance with the Quranic law and to enforce Shara in his kingdom.[32] the organization of the judicial system of the Mughals was entirely the same as lid down by the Muslims jurists and established in Northern India by the Sultans of Delhi. In this manner, they established two agencies for the administration of justice, the king and the Chief *Qazi.*[33]

The King being the *"Khalifa of the Age"* was the highest judge and held court of justice. However, as the king had no time to hear all appeals, there was a chief justice known as Chief *Qazi.* He was "the judge in religious suits only and tried them according to Muslim law."

The *Chief Qazi* appointed provincial, district and city qazis. Sometimes a large village had a local Qazi. The Qazis were assisted by *muftis* who were scholars of Arabic jurisprudence and stated the abstract law bearing on a case.[34]

The Qazi possessed great powers and a high position. The king had no right to interfere in the judicial powers of the Qazi. The king had a right to appoint more then one *Qazi* in the city, but in that case, their work must be defined. He also had the right to appoint a separate Qazi for the army *'Qazi-i-Askar'*.[35]

The Sadr:

The *Sadr* is the connecting link between the king and the people, the upholder of *shara* and the spokesperson (*naqib*) of the *ulama*. He is indispensable to the state and the king.[36]

The king should show him every possible mark of respect, and consult him in all matters of law and religion. Whatever opinion he gives on such matters, the king should not show the slightest hesitation in acting upon it.[37]

All civil and military officers of the state should carry out the orders passed by him in his capacity as a *Sadr*. The *Sadr* should keep a close watch over the *ulama* of the state, inquire into his condition and capacities as teachers and instructors, and exercise full control over the teaching of all sorts of knowledge in the state. He should encourage and properly reward honest and capable teachers, and intelligent and promising students.

The *Qazis* and the *Muftis* should be appointed from this class of teachers and students, and deserving cases recommended to the king for awards of stipends and lands.[38] Every order or certificate of *madad-i-maash* issued by the office had to bear the

seal of the *Sadr*. The Sadr brought Grant of *Sayurghal lands*, grant of *jajirs* for the salaries of *mamsabdars* to notice of the king.

The powers of the Sadr were shaken by Akbar by the general policy of toleration towards all non-Muslims. The power to grant of lands made by the Sadr now had to be passed by all the ministers. Provincial Sadr were also appointed to check his powers. Though Jahangir and Shah Jahan were favourably inclined towards their Sadrs, but no changes was made in the policy chalked out by Akbar. [39]

Muhtasib:

Muhtasib had to enforce the Arabian prophet's commands and put down un-Islamic practice, such as "drinking of distilled sprits or fermented beer, bhang and other liquid intoxicants, gambling and certain kinds of sexual immorality. The punishment of heretical opinions, blasphemy against the Prophet and neglect of the five daily prayers and the observance of *Ramzan* by Muslims also lay within the province of the censor."[40]

Thus, the power of the domination and all-powerful vazir of the Muslim jurist were divided among main ministers of equal rank and status; and a system was established in which all these ministers enjoyed independence in their respective departments and yet encountered each other on several points. In such an arrangement, there was neither the possibility of passing the entire power into the hands of one of them, nor the question of any one dominating the rest. [41] .

Accounting system :

The accounts of the empire were divided into three categories:

1. *Abwab-u'l-mal*, dealt with all the income, which accrued through the revenues or other sources. The record was not only kept up-to-date, but any departure from the normal, like an increase or decrease, was explained, citing the causes.

2. *Arbab-u't-tahwil*; this section dealt with amounts spent in the Household; the name came from the fact that it dealt with account of the people who had sums of money in their custody (*tahwil*) for meeting contingent expenditure, of which they had to render account.
3. *Tawjih,* delt with the sums of money spent on the salaries or the income of the assignments given in lieu thereof. The record was kept in form of loose leaves in all sections; this was technically called a dafter and was a collection of sanads, or vouchers showing payments. Thus a voucher could be taken out easily in case of doubt for inspection and examination.[42]

No amount of money could be drawn from the treasury even by an officer authorized to keep imprest cash without a *muqasa* , which was a certificate from the *mustaufi* that the sum of money previously advanced had been spent correctly.

The organization of the treasuries was an essential part. There was a treasury at each parganah headquarters, at every provincial capital and several at the capital. All the surplus of two hundred thousand or more had to be submitted to the centre treasury by the provincial treasurer. The central treasuries were in the charge of treasurer general, who had a superintendent and a registrar working under him along with other staff. The central treasury was divided into twelve subdivisions, nine for different kinds of cash payments and three for precious stones, gold and inland jewellery. Each of the *karkhanahs* had a separate treasury; this was done to facilitate the working of the *buyutat* and to relieve pressure from the main treasuries. The treasury for precious stones evaluated the classified the stones.[43]

Currency and Mint

The finance department managed the currency and controlled the mint and the treasury. Babur and Humayun had aloud the old currency system to continue and struck coins bearing their own names. The system was improved by Sher Shah who introduced a rupee of 175-180 grains and copper dam. Akbar further reformed the

currency in 1577 and appointed Khwaja Abdus Samad or Shiraz to be the master of the imperial mint at Delhi. The Mughal coinage succeeded in achieving a very high standard of purity under him. The Iranian standard of purity known as dah dahi, that is ten out of ten, was changed by Mughals into twelve out of twelve. The Mughals were able to achieve not only purity but also a high standard of beauty in their coins. Abu'l- Fazl mentions Mawlana 'Ali Ahmad of Delhi as the master engraver of his days and says that he was unequalled in any country of the world. Shiraz issued gold, silver and copper coins of different weights and values. The gold coins alone were of 26 varieties, silver coins of sixteen and copper coins of four varieties were minted. Most of the gold coins were struck as novelties; for instance the Sahansah weighing a little less than one hundred and two tolahs could serve little purpose as currency. The silver coins were the rupee, weighing eleven mashahs and a half, and its half, quarter, fifth, eight, tenth, sixteenth, and one twentieth. All these pieces were minted in round shapes as well as square. The square coin equivalent to a rupee was called a jalalah. The dam was the copper coin of the highest denomination; it weighed a little more than a tolah and eight mashahs; it had been known as a bahluli or a paisah; under the Mughals there were forty to a rupee. Coin of the denomination of half a dam, a quarter and eight were also minted. In case a coin had lost more than a small-specified percentage of its weight, it was treated as bullion. [44]

Akbar did not engrave his portrait on the coin. Jahangir was the first Mughal emperor to put his portrait on coins and one of his coins bore his figure with a cup in his right hand .another silver coin of Jahangir had the sign of zodiac engraved on it. Both Jahangir and Shah Jahan allowed Akbar's currency system to remain unaltered and only inserted their name on the coins struck by them. There was a minor change in the time of Aurangzeb who raised the silver coin to 5/8 %. The system continued till the fall of the Mughal Empire.

Provincial and Local Government

As a ruler, Akbar displayed a rare genius for constructive statesmanship. He was not only the founder of the Mughal Empire but also the builder of its

administrative real system. His predecessors, Babur and Humayun, had neither time nor opportunity to consolidate their conquests by establishing a system of civil government. It was left to Akbar to do this and he did it with conspicuous success.

The Mughal Empire was divided into provinces, called Subas. Each Suba consisted of several Sarkars further subdivided into Mahals or Parganas, each Mahals contained number of villages called mawda's or dihs. The boundaries of each village were clearly demarcated, as each one of these was a separate administrative unit.

The Suba of Agra was constituted in 1580 when Akbar overhauled the administration structuring with the help of very able body of ministers among whom the most notable was Raja Todar Mal. The Sarkars of the earlier times were reduced in size and some new Sarkars were created. The administrative divisions of the district that had been made by Akbar were subjected to numerous changes by his successors but from the account given by Abu'l Fazl in Ain-i-Akbari it are possible to identify the parganas of that time with the present parganas. The district then lay in the Subas of Agra consisting of thirty-three Mahals but most of them lay out side the area now consisting of the district. The large Mahal of Haveli Agra included the present Tahsils of Agra and Fatehabad and a large portion of Etmadpur (later known as pargana Khandauli), a part of Khairagarh and apportion of the present Tahsil of Kiraoli.

Abu'l Fazl, wrote when the "ten year settlement of revenue was made, His Majesty apportioned the empire into twelve division, to each of which he gave the name of Suba and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of the country or its capital city. These were Allahabad, Agra, Awadh, Ajmer, Ahemedabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, KAbu'l, Lahore, Multan, and Malwa. When Berar, Khandesh and Ahmednagar were conquered their number was fixed at fifteen".[45] When subsequent annexation took place Kashmir and Qandahar were included in KAbu'l, Sindh or Thatha in Multan and Orissa in Bengal which enlarged in size of the three provinces concerned but made no addition to the number of the provinces. Thus, Akbar extended his empire from Himalayas to the

Narmada and from the extreme east of Bengal as far as KAbu'l and Kandahar in the west.[46]

Jahangir made no additions to the territories but for the single exception of the Kangra district, and 1633 Shah Jahan finally annexed Ahmadnagar though he was trying from 1616. Aurangzeb was appointed to the viceroyalty of Deccan, comprising the four provinces of Daultabad (Ahmadnagar), Telingana (Balaghat), Khandesh and Berar. [47]

The administrative divisions of the Mughal were based on political as well as economical conditions. The country was broadly divided into Mughal India proper and subordinate states, enjoying varying degrees of independence. The provinces varied greatly in status according to their extent and resources or military and strategic importance. A comparison of their revenue also helps us in forming estimate of the grade of the provinces. Then they were senior and junior grades within the major class of provinces. Lastly, the strategic position of a province determined its status and importance.[48]

According to Ain-I-Akbari, Akbar did not seem to have thought it advisable to make any material alterations in the framework of the subdivisions of the provinces like the Sarkars or parganas government, excepting the adoption of new names for certain old offices and introduction of new functionaries. There were over a hundred Sarkars and three thousand parganas or Mahals in the empire in the year 1596.

The provinces, Sarkars and parganas were all administrative and not merely fiscal divisions. The divisions of these territories were made based on administrative activities of the government being shared by an extra-state or indirect agency, called 'Assignment system'. Under this system the imperial territory proper, apart from the hereditary states and zamindaris was divided into *Khalsa* land (reserved land), *Jagirs* (land assigned to officials in return of payments), and *Suyurghals* (allowances to learned, pious, poor and indigent people).

Structure and working of the Mughal Government

The Mughal ruling class was complex and varied, although integrated into a single imperial service. At higher levels, this noble class comprised mainly Central Asians, Persians, Afghans, Indian Muslims, and Rajputs. No single ethnic or religious group, however, was large enough to challenge the supreme authority of the emperor. The key officials in the central government and the provinces were all appointed by imperial orders and were accountable directly to the emperor. The emperor was thus placed in a position of supreme power, which in turn was sustained by elaborate laws of court etiquette and royal prerogative.

Abu'l Fazl enumerated that, Akbar regarded the subjects as his children and hence felt their safety, health, happiness and progress. The king resorted to the help of the council of ministers who may be justly regarded as voicing the feeling of the subject inasmuch as they were expected to assist the king in his duty of doing good to his subjects. But there was no element of any kind of conscious popular control either in the policy or the structure of the administration. The assumption was that the sovereign was the best and infallible judge of what was in or against the interest of the people and he therefore created the whole machinery of local administration, including the *Province,* the *Sarkar* and the *Parganas.*[49]

The Mughals realized the harm that might ensue if they attempted centralization of the administrative powers that were enjoyed by the rural community. These communities were not isolated in their jurisdiction or powers. Hence all matters pertaining to any department, either justice, defence or even public works which they were incomplete to deal with, were attended to by the hierarchy of officials ascending right up to the sovereign himself.[50]

Officers of the province

The head of the province, under Akbar, was officially styled the *Sipahsalar*. Under his successors he came to be called *Subadar* or *Nazim*.[51] His main duties were to maintain law and order in the province, to enforce imperial decrees, and help the collection of revenue. He was also required to administer criminal justice. He was advised by the *wazir* at the time of his departure to take charge of a province, to keep himself in touch with important people in his *Suba*, to recommend worthy officials for promotion, to punish rebellious *Zamindars* and to send to the court fortnightly reports about notable occurrences in his province. He was also advised to keep his troops in proper trim, to be vigilant, to help the poor and the pious and to increase the cultivation by protecting husbandmen. Another important work assigned to him was the collection of the tribute from vassal princes close to his jurisdiction.

Diwan enjoyed equal status, but not equal authority, with *Sipahsalar*. He shared responsibility with him and helped him in conducting all administrative functions. According to Ain the *Sipahsalar* was responsible for the executive, defence, criminal justice, and general supervision. The *Diwan* was responsible primarily for revenue administration and civil justice. The *Diwan* was selected by the imperial diwan or *Wazir-i-Ala* and acted directly under his orders. He was urged to increase the cultivation, to keep watch over treasury, to appoint honest *amins* and *amils*, to cherish the peasantry, to advance them loans (*taqavi*) and send regularly papers of his department to the *wazir's* office.[52]

Four provinces of the Deccan were grouped into a viceroyalty, which was generally conferred upon a son of the emperor. The charge was termed *ayalat*. Some times the provincial *Sipahsalar* was assisted a *na-ib*. This was done if a minor prince was appointed as Subadar. In such instances the prince was really in training and the *na-ib* carried out all the duties of a Subadar.[53]

Deputy Governor or Ataliq was responsible persons of the highest qualification and experience, worthy of that high office, were appointed governors. Royal princes and sons of nobles of high rank were made governors of the most important province, but they were assisted by a capable and experienced person, or Ataliq (guide and protector). Ataliq was a de facto governor. He was made fully responsible for any maladministration or inefficiency.[54]

They were assisted in the work of administration by (1) the *Bakshi* or paymaster, who had multiple duties to perform, four *Bakhshis* were appointed in the province from the office of the great *Bakhsis (Bakhshi-ul* mulk). His main duty was to keep records of the strength of the contingents of *mansabdars* posted in the suba. Incidences that were of great importance were reported to him by *waqia navises* posted by him in different departments. (2) The *Sadr* who was the head of the religious department, charities and grunts, (3) The *Qazi*, that is chief justice of the province, (4) The *Kotwal*, who had charge of internal defense, health, sanitation and all other municipal functions, (5) the *Mir Bahr* who was in charge of the port duties, custom, boat and ferry taxes, etc. and (6) the *Waqia' Navis* (new- Recorder in the court). [55] *Amin* was also appointed in some provinces, he was a revenue assessor under provincial *Diwan.* [56]

In addition to these officers, it was customary for the emperor to send number of other nobles, who were usually assigned jagirs in the same province, for the assistance of governor. These together with the officials constituted a sort of informal council of the governor for consultations and discussion of important affairs. These had to discharge the same duties in their jurisdiction as the ministers bearing these titles and functioning at the capital had for the whole of the empire.

The sub divisions of the province or Local Administration

The Sarkars

Each Suba was divided into a number of Sarkars and each Sarkars into Parganas or Mahals. These sub divisions had duel purpose firstly they were general administrative divisions and secondly they served the purpose of revenue collection. It is recognized by Moreland that the two chief divisions of government, namely, the executive, called the *Huzur* and the Revenue called *Mal* were in existence.[57]

At the head of each district, there was an officer, called *Faujdar* who was akin to the district collector of our time. The *Faujdar* of a *Sarkar* was subordinate to the Subadar and his primary duty was to maintain peace.[58] He was an executive officer and had to command a contingent of troops. His main duties were the maintenance of law and order and execution of royal decrees and regulation. He was commander of military forces stationed in the country to put down small rebellions, disperse or arrest robbers and dacoits, take cognizance of all violent crimes, and make demonstration of force to overawe oppositions to the revenue authorities or the criminal judge or the censor.[59]

Beside the *faujdar* and *amalguzar* there were two more officials in the sarker who were incharge of justice and the religious department. These were *Qazi* and *Kotwal.* The Kotwal was appointed to maintain law and order in the town circle. He was to keep watch on all those who entered the locality, weather merchants, and solders or otherwise, and on the income and expenditure of the people, and also to check the legality of the income, weather through legal or by crime. He was held responsible for the loss of the property incurred by the citizen.[60]

The *Qazi* was in charge of the judiciary at all local level. The emperor, on the advice of the *Sadr* of the *Suba,* appointed *Qazis* for different Sarkars. They attended to

civil and criminal matters. All sale-deeds and gift-deeds were prepared in the presence of a Qazi. Cases of divorce, thefts, quarrels, threats and the like were also placed before a *Qazi* and *Kotwal*. *Qazis* received *madad-ma'ash* grants in lieu of service and he held office for life.[61]

The Pargana

The districts were sub divided into *Pargana* or *Mahals*. The administrative machinery of the Pargana did not undergo any remarkable change when the Mughals established their rule, the institutions developed by the Sultans continued to function with minor changes in nomenclature and organization. The head of the Pargana under the Mughals was the *Amil*. He was assisted by the *Shiqder*, the *Amin*, and the *Qanungo*, and by numerous staff of treasurers, clerks, patwaries and peons.

The *Amil* was considered authority because in his hands were concentrated the powers of general administration and the assessment and realization of the state demand on agricultural produce. [62] The A'in mentions the police duties of the *Amil* and makes him responsible for punishment contumacy and rebellion.[63] Under Aurangzeb the *Amil* was called the *Fawjdar* and his duties were clearly outlined.

The *shiqdar* was in charge of the general administration of the pargana and had to maintain law and order. He had a small contingent of troops under him. He also acted as magistrate for criminal cases, but his power in this work was limited.[64] The *amil* (*amalguzar*) had to deal directly with the peasants and his main work was assessment and collection of revenue. He was also required to assist the *shiqdar* in maintenance of law and order and the punishment of miscreants. The *fotadar* was in charge of the *pargana* treasury and had to maintain a register of its income and expenditure. The *bitikchis* were writers or clerks. They may roughly be defined as the chief accountant and registrar of the

pargana, because it was their office that all the accounts were maintained and the documents signed by the various officials and the peasants were kept.[65]

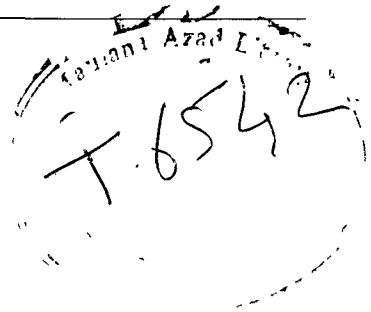
Other political divisions

In addition to Sarkars and Parganas into which the greater bulk of the empire, including the states and principalities of the autonomous vassal chiefs, was divided, administrative exigencies necessitated the creation of certain other political divisions in some localities. These were town, villages, seaport, frontier outpost, and forts, *chaklas* and *thanas*.[66]

Chaklas and Thanas

Allami Sadullah Khan, *Wazir-i-azam*, under Shah Jahan divided Parganas into groups and called them *Chakla*. In each *Chakla* he appointed an *Amin* and *a Faujdar*, and made the *Kororis* of the *Mahals* subordinate to the amin of the *Chakla.* [67] *Amin* helped in the assessment and collection of revenue, and *Faujdars* duty was to punish the rebels and keep the roads safe for the travelers *Khalsa* land was divided into hundred and eighty two units, and placed under the charge of *Kororis* as they were fully cultivatable, and would produce good revenue. [68]

Military, semi-military or police stations and territory within their jurisdiction were called thanas. These thanas were kept under the charge of a thanadar, who was subordinate to the faujdar. There was a thana in the centre of the village, so as to keep turbulent population under the control.[69]



Administration of towns (City of Agra)

We have no means to ascertain in what condition the general sanitation or other kindred necessities of the towns were maintained. We only know that the Kotwal was solely in charge of the town administration. He was appointed by the imperial government. He was paid from the imperial treasury, with the seal of the Kotwal and the *Diwan-i-Suba.* [70]

The Kotwal appointed the city guard, allotting different part, which he was to watch day and night. He was the chief of the city police. Abu'l fazl in his Ain-i-kotwal in Ain-I-Akbari states the duties of Kotwal as:

(1) Watch and ward of the town; (2) Control of the market; (3) Care and disposal of heirless property; (4) Catch over the people's conduct and prevention of crime; (5) Prevention of social abuses; (6) Regulation of cemeteries, burials and slaughter houses. For the discharge of these duties, he had to keep a contingent of horse and foot under his command and a fairly large quota of policemen. He was required to divide the city into wards and to post reliable subordinates in charge of each ward with instructions to keep a register of the names and character rolls of all the inhabitants. He was to instruct the spies to report to him about every person coming in or going out of the city and keep control over the *sarais*. He was required not to allow any man to remain idle, for workless people are a source of mischief. He had to keep an eye over professional woman, dancing girls and vendors of spirits and other intoxicants.[71]

Large cities were divided into wards or *mohallas*, each of which was self-contained and was inhabited mainly by people of one profession or of one caste. The artisans were grouped together under various guilds, like the merchants' guild and craftsmen's guilds of medieval Europe. There was a guild master and also a broker for

every guild, and business was transacted through them. There were suburbs outside the big cities. These were inhabited by a particular tribe of an important nobleman's family and followers, e.g., some of the suburbs of old Delhi were Mughulpura, Jaisinghpura, Jaswant-singhpura, and those of Agra were Baluchpura and Pratappura. Usually, there was a wall round every city or town, but the suburbs lay outside the city wall.

At the time of founding a city, the main roads were laid and a common drain for sewage water (*ganda nala*) was dug by the emperor's orders. Sometimes a *pacca* aqueduct for bringing water from a river or a lake was constructed by the government. But the citizens built their own arterial streets and made their own arrangements for drinking water by sinking wells. The government concerned itself with only internal security, keeping of the main roads clean, control of the market and the realization of the taxes, like market tolls and custom and control duties.

Village Communities

The most important constitutional contribution of our ancestors was in the field of rural administration. Since times immemorial, there existed in India well-organized village communities which managed their affairs on domestic lines. Mughal rulers did not attempt to interfere with, alter or modify the local government of the village communities in any manner.[72] Mughal rulers were not indifferent towards their villages though they confined their duties mainly to the negative spheres of the protection of life and property, and adjudication of duties wherever their intervention was called for. In the time of distress or national calamity, such as famines, they did all that was possible in that age to relieve human suffering. In the agricultural industry they took special interest.[73]

Every village was an autonomous commonwealth. It had a council consisting of the heads of the families, which was responsible for the village administration, such as, watch and ward, sanitation, elementary education, irrigation,

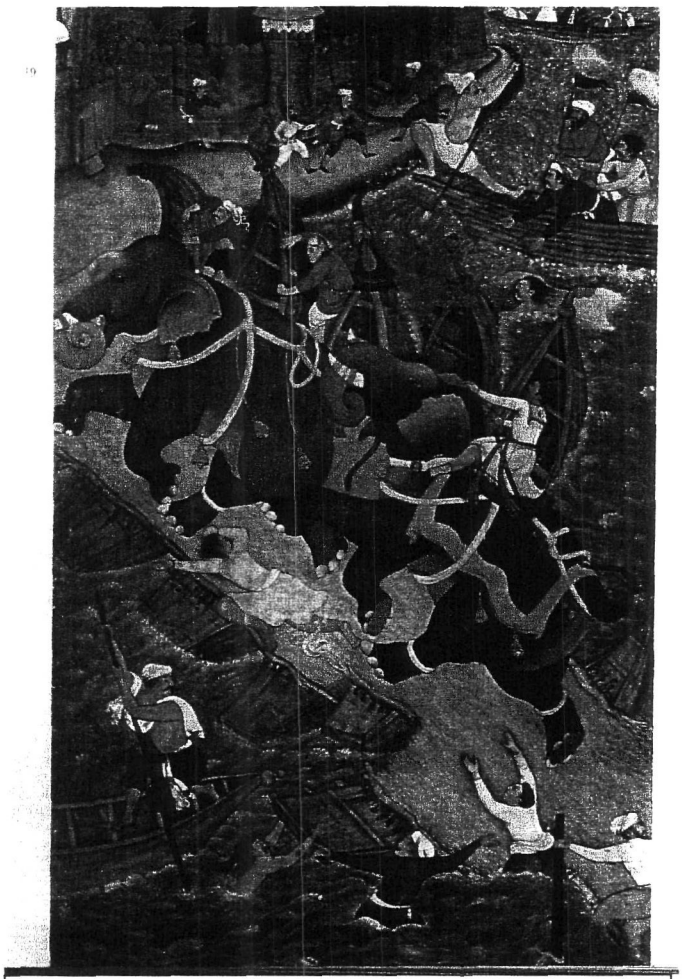
medical relief, public works, moral and religious welfare of the people, and the dispensation of justice. It also made arrangements for recreation, music and celebration of festivals. There was a *panchayat* for trying cases. The village council or *panchayat* was divided into a number of sub-committees, each of which was entrusted with separate duties. The members of the sub-committees were chosen by some kind of election. Besides, there were caste *panchayats* to decide cases or disputes. The village functionaries were one or two watchmen, a priest, a chool master, an astrologer, a carpenter, a blacksmith, a potter, a washer man, a barber, a physician and a patwari or accountant. The village communities were responsible for the preservation of our society and culture through the ages.

ARMY

The background of the Mughal Indian army is to be sought in the Mongol army of central Asia in the twelfth century. The Mongolians formed one organized army. They were all divided into hundreds and into thousand which was united into groups of two, three or five thousands and into large units army corps- myriads (tumen). The individual clans and tribes were divided for that purpose, forming units which could master the requisite number of soldiers and the shortest notice. At the head of each unit Mongol placed men they knew personally and trusted, and were as a rule kinsmen of men under their command. This policy preserved the clan constitution from decomposition, while giving it at the same time a regular rudimentary, military skeleton. In the place of men who had become chiefs by chance were placed commanders of the same aristocratic origin, but bound by a service to the army and by a military discipline. The army was divided into three sections: the centre (kol), and the head of which was placed Naya; the left, or eastern, Wing (jun-gar), commanded the Doe will by Mukali; and the right, or western, wing (barun-gar) commanded by Bogurchi. [74]

Babur's army was organised in six divisions with its day and night guards; the army was organised as a right wing, a centre and a left wing. The right and the left

wings were commanded by the great 'Begs', the centre had the household 'Begs'. The right wing command was the prestigious command in the army, the next in importance was the left wing command; both wing commanders had two or three subordinates. [75]



Miniature: Akbar on an elephant pursing another elephant across a bridge of boats which is collapsing. Outline by Basawan and painting by Chatai, late 16th century. Akbarnameh. Victoria and Albert Musem, London, I.S.$_2$-1896 21/117. (35.4 x 22.2 cm.)

The army moved with a vanguard, right, left, and centre followed, when it stopped for the night it retained its formation each person according to his place in battle and each prepared to take his post. At night, men on foot were posted all round the camp, commanders, including Babur, checked the guards at night at intervals and men not found at their posts had their nose slit and were led around the army. [76]

When Babur invaded India to establish his kingdom, his army consisted of tribes and clans that followed him from KAbu'l, some joined him later, after the Battle of Panipat, he awarded the leaders of these tribes and clans in accordance to their performance in the battle and many of them who had joined Babur for the booty, chose to return to their homes.

Babur and Humayun ruled over territory that was not too far flung, after the tribes and the clans that had joined Babur for booty returned after the Battle of Panipat, their place was taken by foreign adventurers, Uzbeks, Persians, Arabs, Turks etc

who thronged to the court with contingents of troops. Since the Mughal were foreigners there were no hereditary nobles related to the rulers or ancient families to depend upon, the court consisted of adventurers from different nations, the ruler raised them to dignity or degraded them; up to the early rule of Akbar the Mughal armies consisted of contingents commanded by these adventurers. [77]

Babur also founded a system of changing military levies on the bases of the revenues of a territory. The organization of the one to nobility of the Indian Mughal Empire in numerical grades (mansab) came to be recognized as one of the basic element of its administrative and military structure. The institution of the army and the Mansabdari system interpenetrate each other, so that unintelligible and without the other. These two again have a far reaching effect: on the texture of Mughal Indian society, since the only aristocracy on the land was the military peerage guarded according to the mansab, and more than half the population in the court town or a camp was composed of soldiers, their dependents and the camp followers-*i.e.*, the 'army'. This will go to show the great importance of the army form the political as well as the social standpoint. [78]

The Mughal emperor Akbar brought the entire military organization into a system, which was called Mansabdari system (1577) that put every official of the state on the army rolls, irrespective of his duties. And every official, from the lowest to the highest, was paid by the imperial department of the army. This greatly tightened the central control over the bureaucracy and the army. The system of transfer of officials was rigorously implemented.

The system classified the functionaries of the kingdom as fighters, 'ashab-u's-saif', (masters of the sword); clerks 'ashab-u'l-qalam' (masters of the pen); theologians, 'ashab-u'l-amamah'. Mansabdar was a title in the military of the Mughal Empire. The term is derived from Mansab, meaning rank. Hence, Mansabdar literally means rank-holder. A Mansabdar was in the service of the state and was bound to render service as and when asked to. Mansabdari was a system of military ranking which

assigned to every senior military commander and office-holder a numerical rank which governed his status and remuneration. [79]

The Mughal army was composed of cavalry, infantry and artillery. But according to Abu'l Fazl's classification, the Mughal army was divided into *Mansabdars, Ahadis* (gentlemen-troopers), and *Piadagan* infantry, and artillery). Cavalry constituted *Mansabdars* and *Ahadis* was the most important part of the army and the chief factor determining the fighting strength of the Empire. Although the infantry, which had various types of arms was the fighting force. But it was the Mansabdars or the cavalry which formed the most important part of the army. [80]

Additionally, they were also graded on the number of armed cavalrymen, or sowars, which each had to maintain for service in the imperial army. Thus all mansabdars had a zat, determined the holder's personal pay (talab-i-khasa) and status in the hierarchy; and a sawar, or a troop ranking indicated the number of horsemen to be maintained by the holder and set the amount sanctioned to cover their pay (talab-i-tabinan). The holder of a mansab was in the service of the state and he was bound to render service as was asked to by means of the schedules (dastur-al-amals) in force at that time.[81] All servants of the empire, whether in the civil or military departments were graded in this system.

In 1573–74 Akbar classified the office holders in thirty-three grades, ranging from commanders of ten to commanders of ten thousand. The principal categories of Mughal mansabdars, however, were three. Those in command of ten to four hundred were commonly styled *mansabdars* (officers); those in command of five hundred to twenty-five hundred were *amirs* (nobles); and those in higher ranks belonged to the category of *umara-i-kabir* or *umara-i-azim* (grandees). The highest amir in the third category was honored with the title of *amir-ul-umara*. In the eighteenth century this title was usually given to the mir bakhshi. Until the middle of Akbar's reign, the highest rank which any ordinary officer could hold was that of a commander of 5,000; the more exalted

grades between commanders of 7,000 and 10,000 were reserved for princes of royal blood. Toward the end of his reign and under his successors these limits were relaxed upto 20,000 or even more. [82]

Appointment, promotion, suspension or dismissal of mansabdar's rested entirely with the emperor. Appointment to the ranks of mansabdars was made by the emperor, usually on the recommendation of military leaders, provincial governors, or court officials. No portion of a mansabdar's property was hereditary; a mansabdar's children had to begin life a new. A mansabdar did not always begin at the lowest grade, the emperor, if satisfied, could and actually did grant higher or even highest grade to any person. In addition to the mansabdars, there was a class known as *ahadis*, who though holding no official rank, were employed in posts in the palace. They were usually young men of good families, who were not fortunate enough to secure a mansab on their first application. Given an opportunity to show their worth, they could then be promoted to the ranks of mansabdars. [83]

These mansabdars have been compared to the Civil Service during British rule in that they formed an all-India cadre of officials, there was no distinction between civil and military departments, and officers both civil and military held mansabs and were liable to be transferred from one branch of the administration to another and providing the personnel for all major offices. The existence of a single imperial cadre undoubtedly gave a cohesion and unity to the Mughal Empire that was lacking during the sultanate.

All senior mansabdars were awarded jagirs by way of salaries. Rates of remuneration, which included both the mansabdar's salary and so much per sowar, were matched by jagirs affording a similar aggregate yield. If their specified yield came to more, the surplus was due to the imperial treasury; if the jagirdar extracted more than the specified yield, he kept it. Compensation per annum started at rupees 350,000 with intervals of 50,000 between mansabs of 7,000 and 5,000; rupees 250,000 with intervals of 25,000 between mansabs of 5,000 and 1,000; the mansab of 20 received 1,000. [84]

Compensation was either 'naqdi' meaning cash compensation or by the revenue of a 'jagir', an area of land which was not given to the 'mansabdar' but he could use the revenue from the land for his expenses and compensation. The 'mansab' could be increased or decreased on the wishes of the ruler and reports of performance and two lists were maintained, 'Hazir-i-rikah' present at court and 'Ta-inat' on duty elsewhere. The mansabdars were paid either in cash or by temporary grant of jagirs. [85] Theoretically, the mansabdars received enormous salaries, which appear all the more excessive when it is realized that they did not normally maintain all the troops expected of them. It was probably an awareness of this that led Shah Jahan to introduce the practice of paying salaries to the mansabdars for only four months of the year instead of twelve, the implication being that the actual income for part of the year was equivalent to what the emperor had originally intended for the whole year. Even with this reduction, the mansabdars lived extravagantly. The tendency to luxurious expenditure was undoubtedly heightened by the mansabdar's knowledge that on his death, his whole property would be taken over by the state, pending satisfaction of any outstanding claims by the treasury. The needs of the mansabdar's family after his demise were often met by a revenue-free grant of a small parcel of land, perhaps a single village, known as *altamghs*. Nor did the mansabdar, retain the same land assignment throughout his tenure of office. They were frequently changed, so that he had no opportunity to develop personal contact in one area before his assignment was moved somewhere else. He might send his own agent to the new area, but often used men on the spot who knew the local conditions. In either case his relationship to the land was that of cash-nexus, not of landlord-tenant. His relationship to the government was that of salaried officer subject to And orders, and financially tethered to the treasury, which can to calculated the revenue value of lands a against his papers salary, and the chancery which issue the necessary grants. But while there may have been little incentive to save within the system, the high scale of salaries enabled the state to attract the ablest and most ambitious individuals from almost the whole of southern and western Asia. [86]

Each mansabdar was expected to maintain prescribed number of horses, elephants, equipment etc according to his rank and dignity. These rules, though initially were strictly enforced, but later were slackened. [87] It is further stated that if a mansabdar found it difficult to muster horsemen, he was given some enrolled "branded" troupes, in protection to his rank as part of his contingent. These were paid directly from the imperial treasury and were called *dakhili*. The 40 *dakhili* troopers that Bayazid mentioned were apparently troopers of this kind .[88] Originally each grade carried a definite rate of pay, out of which the holders were required to maintain a quota of horses, elephants, beasts of burden, and carts. But even in Akbar's days and in spite of safeguards introduced by him, the number of men actually supplied by the mansabdars rarely corresponded to the number indicated by his rank, and under Akbar's successors greater latitude was allowed. [89]

For a military mansab an application could be made for a mansab with troops or without troops. Those applying for a mansab with troops brought their retainers, mounted and equipped at their expense, these were known as 'silladars' and their men were known as 'bagirs'. When a silladar brought his men, they were paraded for inspection, their descriptive rolls were prepared, It was his duty to enrol in the number of horsemen required under the rules, And these were examined and of Muster to make sure that men, horses accoutrement came up to the required standard in strictness the recruit furnished his own horse. For the sake of identification of the men and the horses the following rules were strictly observed. But in practice the mansabdar often supplied him with Horses and equipment. These mansabdars were paid for the maintenance of horses and the salaries of the men. Men considered fit to command but lacking resources were given money to purchase horses and received the salaries of the men only. Men who could not be mansabdars but too good to be employed as soldiers were given the higher rank of an 'ahadi'. In practice however the army was recruited according to well defined rules. [90]

The *Mansabdari*, was based on loyal service and cash payments and was the backbone of the Mughal Empire; its effectiveness depended on personal loyalty to the

emperor and his ability and willingness to choose, remunerate, and supervise. The system undoubtedly gave to the Mughals the nobility and military machine a high degree of uniformity and regularity in its functioning, which is likely to have contributed greatly to the stability and strength of the empire.

The evolution of the mansab can be summarized as that, until the first decade of Akbar's reign, as during the previous Mughal reigns no standing military obligations in terms of size of contingents were fixed. Salaries were sanctioned for individual in a more or less arbitrary fashion. Akbar in the eleventh renal year (1566-7) attempted to fix military obligations, nobles were asked to maintain cavalry troopers in accordance with the revenues of there jagirs, and on the bases of certain rates sanctioned for troopers. In the eighteen renal years 1573 to 74 the numerical rank (mansab) was instituted. The nobles were assigned a single number that determined bolt their pay and number of animal (horses , elephants ,beasts of burden and carts) that they were required to maintain: there was no establishment (khasa). More important there they were also required to maintain horsemen (sawars) equal in number to that of their mansab. But in actual fact, by drawing provisional rates (bar-awardi) for this number, few nobles succeeded in bringing their contingents to Munster, and brand, at the full strength necessary for drawing the latter's pay at the full, or daghi, rates. In the 40th year 1595 to 96 the mansabdars were grouped into three categories, on the basis of the number of sawars, maintained in proportion to the mansab. The number of sawars, therefore, began to be deemed distant from the mansab number. In the 41st year 1596 to 97 the mansab became dual in nature. Henceforth, the mansab was expressed by a pair of numbers. The first designated zat, determined the personal pay and the number of khasa(personal) animals to be maintained according to a given schedule. The second, the sawar, indicated the number of horsemen the mansabdar was required to maintain, to which alone did the provisional or bar-awari rates not apply. [91]

Cavalry made up the bulk of the Mughal army, they enjoyed the prestige of warriors. Individual troopers took great care to keep themselves fit, they exercised,

engaged each other in mock fights, practised horsemanship, they were personally brave and trained themselves for person to person combat, but were unwilling to endanger their mounts because their salary depended on these; there was no training for units to act collectively. [92]

Infantry was despised as drudges, they were considered little more than watchmen to guard the baggage, labourers, porters etc. The infantry consisted of matchlock men and archers, in the ratio of one matchlock man to four archers because of the greater rate of fire of the archers since both weapons had about the same effective range; there was no infantry training, no discipline and very little reliance was placed on them. [93]

The 'Mir Atish', the 'master gunner', was responsible for the manufacture, supply of ordnance and was the artillery commander. Gunners were called 'golandaz' (the bringer of round shot, a term also used by the British till 1857), they were paid directly from the treasury and were the most reliable part of the army. The efficiency of the Mughal artillery was poor, the rate of fire was very low and the pieces were difficult to move. Europeans as artillery men were prized and were paid as much as ten times the amount paid to locals. [94]

The recruitment of men was by 'classes'; it was specified that an officer from Iran could not recruit more than one third Mughals, the rest had to be Syeds or Sheikhs, Afghans could not be more than one sixth or Rajputs more than one seventh of a force.

The Mughal army consisted of bands of horsemen, each band linked by some personal loyalty to its leader but without any loyalty to the emperor or any national or religious loyalty. These soldiers of fortune depended on their commanders; their pay was always kept in arrears to prevent desertion. [95]

There was a theoretical pattern to which the army conformed in battle; this consisted of three divisions, the centre, right and left wing, each of these had an advance guard, a screen of skirmishers and there was a rear guard to the whole force. Once a formation was adopted there was very little capability for manoeuvre and there was no system of communicating between the parts.



Akbar directing the siege of the Rajput fortress of Ranthambor, 1568
Painting by Muskin and Para Akbarnameh Victoria and Albert Museum, London, I S $_2$-1869 72/117 (34 2 x19 6 cm)

Open country was necessary for successful action by a Mughal army because it was mostly cavalry. The opposing armies deployed guns on a line protected by earthwork and tied together with chains or ropes to prevent cavalry riding through as Babur had done at Panipat. Battle started with artillery fire, the heavy guns fired one round every three hours while the others about four rounds per hour. When it was considered that the artillery had sufficiently demoralized the enemy, successive charges were delivered from one wing then the other; the cavalry first fired their matchlocks and arrows then closed with the sword, spear and the mace, fighting was series of skirmishes ending in individual combat. The cavalry was not trained to act collectively on command, once dispersed it could not be formed again but since cavalry

was the bulk of the army, the object of the Mughal commander was to engage the enemy on an open plain where he could deliver a massed charge of mail clad warriors. Up to the time of Aurangzeb, the Mughals fielded much larger armies than their opponents and usually managed to defeat their enemy, either on the battlefield or after a siege.

During battle the overall commander or the king had to prominently show his presence on the battlefield, usually riding an elephant, the battle objective was usually the elephant of the opposing commander and around it raged the fiercest battle; the decisive event of a battle was the death or disappearance of the leader, if he was known to have been killed or could not be seen the troops dispersed and sought their own safety. Aurangzeb when fighting his brothers for succession, in two battles, the rival to the throne was induced by treacherous advice to dismount and their armies automatically dispersed; this was because the remuneration of the army was from individual princes. The British used this custom to their advantage by knocking off the commanders with a four pounders and causing the dispersion of the opponents, eventually the princes and commanders learnt to ride horses instead of elephants and not to prominently show themselves. [96]

The Emperor usually did not personally command the army unless it was a very large force in an important campaign; when the army moved out to war with the emperor in command, the whole apparatus of government moved with it. Aurangzeb's army on the move included camels bearing treasure, one hundred loaded with gold, two hundred with silver; the emperor's hunting establishment, with hawks and cheetahs; official records, on eighty camels, thirty elephants and twenty carts, these could never be parted from the emperor; a hundred camels carried water and kitchen utensils; fifty milch-cows, a hundred cooks, each a specialist in a dish; fifty camels and a hundred carts carried the emperor's and his ladies wardrobe; thirty elephants carried the women's jewellery and presents for successful commanders.

The mass of the cavalry, the main strength of the army, led, then the way was levelled for the emperor and his women; a rear guard largely of infantry brought up

the tail. When the army halted the emperor's camp was about a mile long, a square enclosure was roped off and surrounded by a ditch, heavy artillery defended the approaches, the emperor's tent was in the centre, divided into four courts with the entrance facing the direction of the next day's march.

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57 *Saran, P. : The Provincial Government of the Mughals- 1526-1658, p.193*

58 *Fazl, Abu'l: A'in-i-Akbari, iii, A' in 4.*

59 *Sarkar , Jadunath: Mughal administration, p.57.*

60 *Ain vol I, p.197, Badauni, p.309*

61 *Persian, Ms. No.30, on display, Maulana Azad Liberary, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.*

62 *Fazl Abu'l: A'in-i-Akbari, iii, 'A'in-p7.*

63 *Ibid*

64 *Saran, P.: The Provincial Government of the Mughals- 1526-1658, p.197.*

65 *Naqvi, H.K. :Mughal Government and Administration,p.239*

66 *Saran, P.: The Provincial Government of the Mughals- 1526-1658, p.198.*

67 *Ibid, p.212*

68 *Naqvi, H.K. :Mughal Government and Administration,p.239*

69 *Khan, Ali Muhammad: Mirat-i-Ahamadi , Pt. III, fol. 605a.*

70 *Saran, P.: The Provincial Government of the Mughals- 1526-1658, p.214.*

71 *Badaoni, II, pp.302-303*

72 *Saran, P.: The Provincial Government of the Mughals- 1526-1658, p.220.*

73 *Sarkar, Jadunath: Mughal administration, pp.68-69.*

74 *Aziz, Abdul : The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army- p.175*

75 *Spear, Percival: The Mughal Mansabdari System.*

76 *Beveridge, S.: The BaburnamA'in English, Vol. II,*

77 *Aziz, Abdul: The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army- p.175*

78 *Ibid, p.1*

79 *Fazl, Abu'l: The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Beveridge,S., (Calcutta, 1927)Vol. I p.247-60*

80 *Ibid, p.1*

81 *Moosvi, Shireen: The evolution of the Mansab system under Akbar until 1596-7*

82 *Ibid, p.1*

83 *Fazl, Abu'l: The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Beveridge.S., (Calcutta, 1927)Vol. I p.247-60*

84 *Fazl, Abu'l: The Akbarnama. Vol. III translated by H.Beveridge,(Calcutta, 1912) p.717*

85 *Ibid, p.717*

86 *Aziz, Abdul : The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army- p.175*

87 *Fazl, Abu'l: The Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Beveridge.S., (Calcutta, 1927)Vol. I p.178*

88 *Ain, I p.176-8 these enhancements are sent out in detail for each animal. etc for the very first enhancements, on horses Abu'l Fazl explains that the rate was increased by 81 dams, for the well fair of troops and to provide relief to them p.176 further on speaking: on an enhancements of the rate stronger elephants, he describes that due to imperial generosity .*

89 *Ibid, p.1*

90 *Moosvi, Shireen: The evolution of the Mansab system under Akbar until 1596-7*

91 *Aziz, Abdul : The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army-*

92 *Ibid*

93 *Iqbainama, II, p.288.*

94 *Abdul Karim*

95 *Ibid.*

Chapter III.
Agra
Descriptive

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS OF AGRA



Throughout, Muslim rule was marked by spectacular monuments, many of which count as among the finest in the world. Islamic building types may be divided into two main categories: a) religious and b) secular buildings. [1]

Religious Buildings

A mosque is a large rectangular enclosure on one end of which is a wall articulating the qibla by means of a central recession (mihrab). The principal vertical features are minarets or towers at corners (from which the faithful are called to prayer). A lectern for the Koran and a pulpit (minbar) to the right of the mihrab complete the basic furniture. [2]

The second major religious building type was the tomb, hitherto unknown in India. The tomb as a form made a modest beginning with small canopies over the graves of Sufi saints, and soon led to the erection of increasingly complex structures culminating, in India, in the monumental mausoleums of the Mughal emperors. [3]

Secular structures:

Having conquered by war, the Muslims were very conscious of the need for strong fortifications - and these often reflect parallel developments in the West - influence being derived from the Holy Land - the Middle East. Gradually these defensive forts developed into cities in which a large number of other structures were built - wells, palaces, stables and halls of audience.

A fusion of cultures - Indo-Islamic Architecture

"Nothing could illustrate more graphically the religious and racial diversity, or emphasize more decisively the principles underlying the consciousness of each community, than the contrast between their respective places of worship, as represented by the mosque on the one hand, and the temple on the other... Compared with the clarity of the mosque, the temple is an abode of mystery; the courts of the former are open to light and air, with many doorways, inviting publicity, the latter encloses 'a phantasm of massive darkness', having sombre passages leading to dim cells, jealously guarded and remote ... architecturally the mosque is wholly visible and intelligible, while the temple is not infrequently introspective, complex and indeterminate." [4]

"On the one hand was the rhythmic mind of the Hindu, on the other the formal mind of the Muslims." [5]

These quotes from a venerable early architectural historian serve to highlight the utter difference between Muslim and Hindu building types. There were other variations apart from the merely formal: the presence of carving in Hindu temples which was forbidden in Islam, decorative lettering on mosques and tombs which was unknown in Hindu art and architecture, the Hindu propensity for a single stone and the Muslim penchant for inlay work.

However in spite of this wide gulf, over the years a certain symbiosis did come into being between Muslim designers and master-builders and the Hindu craftsmen who carried out their bidding. Both benefited from the other's knowledge and what slowly evolved was a distinct new style of architecture - Persian in inspiration but very Indian in execution. Long referred to as Saracenic, it is now more properly termed Indo-Islamic. Indo-Islamic architecture borrows heavily from Persian architecture and in many ways can be called an extension and further evolution of Persian architecture.

We will trace the development of Indo-Islamic architecture from its crude beginnings in the early 12th century to its heyday. It is not just a story about architecture; it is a whole new civilization developing in the fertile plains of India which left an indelible mark on its future.[6]

The Mughals lived and reigned in India from 1526 to 1858 AD. Their dynasty was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting Muslim dynasty to rule India. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Muslim dynasties.

During his short five-year reign, Babur took considerable interest in erecting buildings, though few have survived. Humayun's tomb at Delhi represents an outstanding landmark in the development and refinement of the Mughal style. It was designed in 1564, eight years after his death, as a mark of devotion by his widow, Haji Begum.[7]

Architecture flourished during the reign Akbar. One of the first major building projects was the construction of a huge fort at Agra. The massive sandstone ramparts of the Red Fort are another impressive achievement. The most ambitious architectural exercise of Akbar, and one of the most glorious examples of Indo-Islamic architecture, was the creation of an entirely new capital city at Fateh Pur Sikri.[8]

Jahangir, "Seizer of the World" was assisted in his artistic attempts by his able wife, Nur Jahan. The Mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra, outside Agra, represents a major turning point in Mughal history, as the sandstone compositions of Akbar were adapted by his successors into opulent marble masterpieces. Jahangir is the central figure in the development of the Mughal garden. The most famous of his gardens is the Shalimar Bagh on the banks of Lake Dal in Kashmir.[9]

Shah Jahan reign is characterized by monumental architectural achievements as much as anything else. The single most important architectural change was the use of marble instead of sandstone. He demolished the austere sandstone

structures of Akbar in the Red Fort and replaced them with marble buildings such as the Diwan-i-Am (hall of public audience), the tomb of Itmad-ud-Daula, the Diwan-i-Khas (hall of private audience), and the Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque). In 1638 he began to lay out the city of Shahjahanabad beside the Jamuna River. The Red Fort at Delhi represents the pinnacle of centuries of experience in the construction of palace-forts. Outside the fort, he built the Jami Masjid, the largest mosque in India. However, it is for the Taj Mahal, which he built as a memorial to his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal that he is most often remembered.[10]

Shah Jahan's extravagant architectural indulgence had a heavy price. The peasants had been impoverished by heavy taxes and by the time Aurangzeb ascended the throne, the empire was in a state of insolvency. As a result, opportunities for grand architectural projects were severely limited. This is most easily seen at the Bibi-ki-Maqbara, the tomb of Aurangzeb's wife, built in 1678. Though the design was inspired by the Taj Mahal, it is half its size, the proportions compressed and the detail clumsily executed. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Empire rapidly declined under a rapid succession of ephemeral rulers: various successor states gradually took its place.[11]

The remarkable flowering of art and architecture under the Mughals is due to several factors. The empire itself provided a secure framework within which artistic genius could flourish, and it commanded wealth and resources unparalleled in Indian history. The Mughal rulers themselves were extraordinary patrons of art, whose intellectual calibre and cultural outlook was expressed in the most refined taste.



Sources of design

Under the Mughals, India was the heart of a great Islamic empire and a prolific centre of Islamic culture and learning. According to Gavin Hambly, the Mughals provided the setting for a brilliant court and a vigorous cultural life which was equal to Isfahan under the Safavid Shahs or Istanbul under the Ottoman Sultans. [12]

Hambly notes that the favourite cities of the Mughals included Delhi, Agra, Fateh Pur Sikri and Lahore. [13] The Mughal state was well aware of the declamatory power of architecture and used it as a means of self-representation and an instrument of royalty, write scholars Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (1994). [14]

The amazing achievements in the Mughal architectural tradition owe much to the great talent of Indian artisans and the wealth of material found in India, including the abundance of stone. Each emperor used local materials and indigenous forms and craftsmanship to nurture and bring to fruition a unique enduringly beautiful architectural tradition. The Mughal style found triumphant fulfilment in the building of the Taj Mahal, the most splendid expression of the centuries of Mughal rule in India. The Taj Mahal was the last and greatest architectural flowering of the Mughal period in Agra, before its builder, Shah Jahan (1592-1658) shifted the imperial centre of power and administration to what is now called Delhi. [15]

Babur

Babur, ruled only for four brief years, But when he came to India he was disgusted by the heat and lack of running water. He observed, "one of the great defects of Hindustan being its lack of running water it kept coming to my mind that the waters should be made to flow by means of wheels enacted where ever on one point I might settle down, also that the ground be laid out in an orderly and symmetrical way"" Shortly after, coming to Agra, I passed the Jumuna with this object in view, and examined the

country, to pitch upon a fit spot for a garden. The whole was so ugly and detestable. That I reposed the river quite repulsed and disgusted. In consequence of the want of beauty and the disagreeable aspect of the country. I gave up my intention of making a Char-Bagh; but as no better situation presented itself near Agra. I was finally compelled to make the best of this same spot. First of all I began to sink the large well which supplies the baths with water; I next fell to work on the piece of ground on which are the ambli (Tamarindus Indica) and the octagonal tank; I then proceeded to form the large tank and its enclosure; and afterwards the tank and lalar. I next finished the garden of the private apartments, and the apartments themselves after which I completed the baths. In this way going on without neatness and without order in the Hindu fashion, I however produced edifices and gardens which possessed considerable regularity. In every corner I planted suitable gardens; in every garden I planted roses and arcissus regularly and in beds corresponding to each other.... [16]

His love for nature led him to create gardens of great beauty on the formal He fell from now charBagh (four quarters) plan. His AramBagh in Agra set the pattern for the gardens which became an intrinsic part of every Mughal fort, palace and tomb in the centuries that followed. Although he is celebrated as a founder of gardens, it is his mosque in Sambhal 1526, Ayodhya and Panipat in 1528-29 that remained as chief monuments from his belief reign. They attempt to do justice to a large scale of by borrowing inadequate forms of decaying Sultanate architecture. The Panipat mosque. however, showed an important innovative feature in the form of Timurid arch-netted zones into pseudo structural plaster relief work applied to the pendentive of the small dooms of the lateral bays. [17]

Mughal Gardens

For the Mughals, gardens were like a glimpse of heaven and they drew inspiration from the Holy Quran, modifying and adapting established designs to shape their paradise on earth.

The Mughals who had a long history of contact with the Persians greatly influenced the culture and traditions of the Mughals. Babur who visited the gardens of Samarkand on a number of occasions was impressed by the paradise gardens. So when he came to India he brought those ideas with him which ultimately resulted into some of the best gardens of the world.

Barbur's distaste for the gardens and grounds he found around Agra is well known. Searching for one in this region of fierce heat and desert landscape, he rejected all those he was shown, sank a well and set about creating a new garden for himself: an enclosed garden, terraced to overlook the river and graced with pavilions where one could sit and catch the cooling breezes, with water running in channels for irrigation and ornament and baths for relaxation. It is with some pride that Babur recorded that. [18]



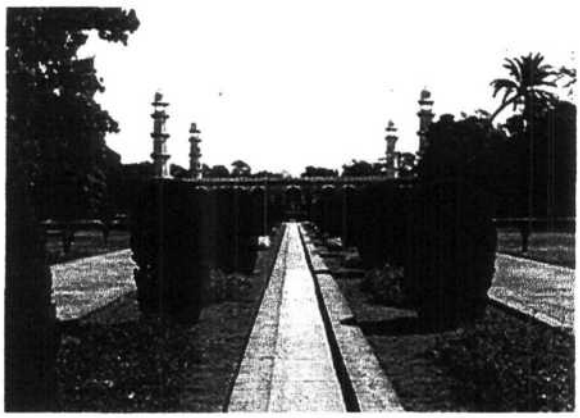
The garden tradition, which Babur brought to India, was a purely Persian concept. [19] But eventually his descendants transformed it, which ultimately led to the development of some of the greatest landscape tradition of the world. This tradition reached its most creative phase under Jahangir and it was perfected by Shah Jahan Throughout water remained the most important element in the garden.

The concept of paradise garden is not uniquely Persian yet it developed and evolved most successfully there. The earliest form of garden known from Persia belongs to sixth century B.C. and it surrounded the palace of Pasargade built by Cyrus. After the advent of the Saljuqs (1038-1194), the word *Bagh* was used for gardens. This term was used to denote an entity comprising of both a palace and a garden. It is in the Persian gardens known as ChaharBagh that the waterfalls were introduced. Another

common feature of these gardens was the dove-cotes at the corners of the encircling walls. These dovecotes were akin to the later Mughal pavilions. Water was one of the key elements in the development of Persian gardens. Since it was a source of life, it was the basis of design in the gardens. It was used creatively to contribute to both architecture and landscape since water was such an important element the source of this water was also vital. The principle source of water to the gardens was a typical Persian device known as qanat or Kariz. Apart from the qanat springs and wells also provided water to the gardens. [20]



Babur was always interested in the gardens as an object of beauty and a means of delight. Following the Islamic principles of order, Mughal gardens were laid out in conformation with geometrical patterns, with divisions and sub-divisions. [21] A typical Mughal garden, which is normally square or rectangular in plan, was divided into four quarters and was enclosed by a high wall. It had massive gateways, which contained huge wooden doors studded with heavy iron bosses, nails and pikes. The walls were supposed to protect the inmates of the garden from the hot winds. A very important feature, which was added by Babur, was the series of ascending steps.[22]

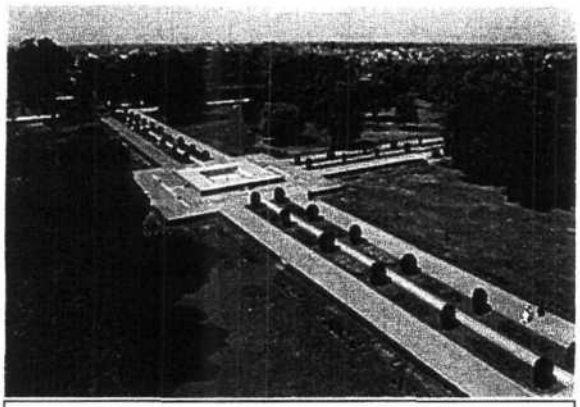


The royal tombs Jahangir (d.1627 at Rajauri and buried in the Dilkusha garden)

This feature was followed in many of the later gardens too. From terrace to terrace the water was led down the beautiful slopes called Chadars which mean white shawls of water were marble or stone chutes carved in various patterns so that the water running over them were thrown up and broken into ripples and splashes. [23]

As the Mughals came from a hilly country, the idea of building a garden in terrace came to them naturally. They were so impressed by this concept that they carried

it to the flat plains. Terraced Mughal gardens were normally approached from the lowest level. The Mughals also borrowed the idea of constructing canals and tanks from the Persians. In the initial phases of development the channels were narrow and shallow like at Humayun's Tomb but in the later gardens they became broader. For example at Taj Mahal the channels are 18' broad. The Mughals like the Persians paved the channels of water with blue tiles. [24]



Babur's son Mirza Kamran (brother of Humayun) built a garden in the area. The *baradari* (pavilion) and some architectural features still survive to some extent. However, the name Shahdara first appeared in the Akbarnama in the mid-1590s in connection with Akbar's visit to Kashmir in 1589.

In the plains lakes and wells were the source of water. But in Kashmir where water was available in abundance the emperors got an opportunity to experiment with it. Sometimes the channels were fed directly from a small river or stream as at Shalamar or Nishat Bagh, or they were situated just at the source of a spring, like at Verinag or Achabal. A large number of water devices like tanks, canals, waterfall, chutes and fountains were employed in the gardens. In Kashmir the height of the waterfalls was also greater and varieties of carved chutes were installed to break the water into ripples, pearl drops or striated sheets. Sometimes series of niches were also provided behind the waterfall. During the day these niches contained small vases of flowers and at night candles were placed which glittered through the flowing waterfalls. [25]

Another feature, which gained importance, was the pavilion set within water. These pavilions took different forms-from the simple stone thrones in the water channels of Nishat and Shalamar Bagh to elaborate buildings set in the centre of tanks and surrounded by spouting jets of water. Another Persian feature that could be seen in some of the early Mughal gardens was the underground room. With each successive ruler the gardens became more magnificent and complex.



Hunting grounds were an important part of the physical environment of Mughal emperors, and the Hiran Minar is one of the best known and most beautiful of such sites. Its structures consist of a large, almost-square water tank with an octagonal pavilion in its center, built during the reign of Shah Jahan; a causeway with its own gateway connects the pavilion with the mainland and a 100-foot-high minar, or minaret. At the center of each side of the tank, a brick ramp slopes down to the water, providing access for royal animals and wild game. The minar itself was built by Emperor Jahangir in 1606 to honor the memory of a pet hunting antelope named Mansraj.

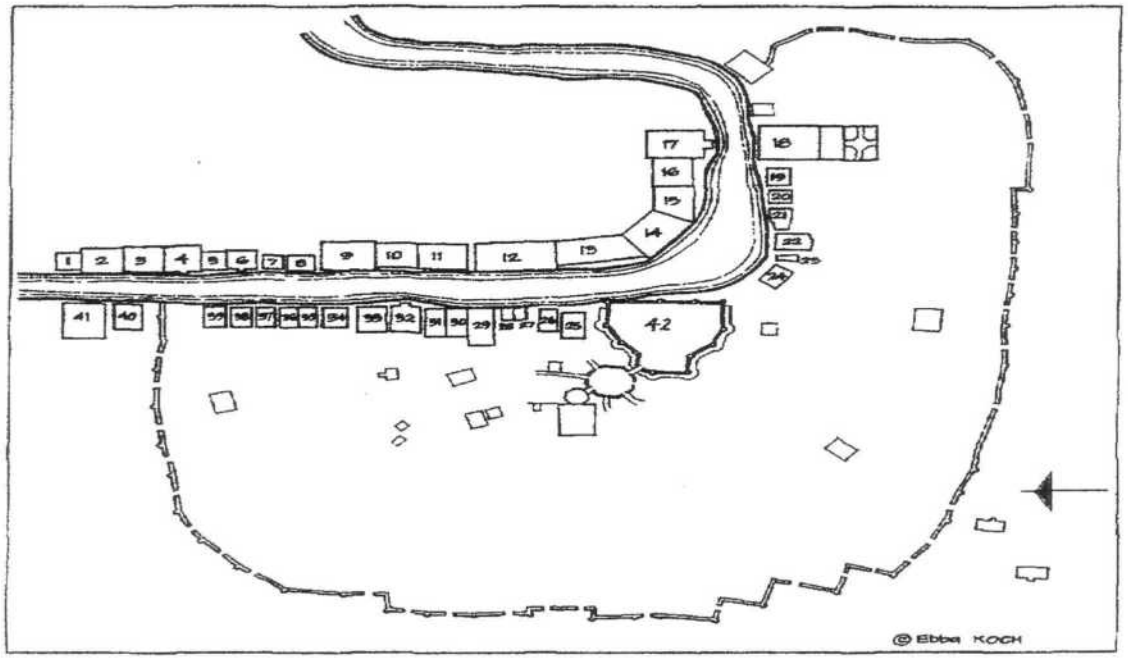


Fig. 1. Line drawing of a map of Agra inscribed in *devanāgarī* script. Early 18th century. Jaipur, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, cat. no. 126: 3. Ram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan), 4. Zahara Bagh (Bagh-i Jahanara), 9. Tomb of I'timad al-Dawla, 15. Second Chahar Bagh Padshahi, 16. Chahar Bagh Padshahi (Bagh-i Hasht Bihisht?), 17. Mahtab Bagh, 18. Taj Mahal, 42. Red Fort. (Drawing: R.A. Barraud and E. Koch)

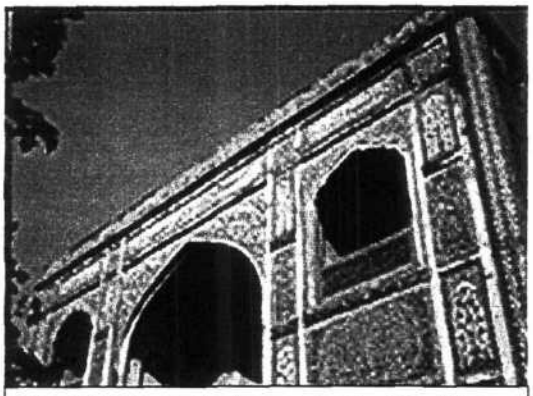
Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur, no. 126. Themap, on cloth measuring 294x 272 cm, inscribed in *devandgarfis* so far the best document available on Mughal Agra. It wasfirst published by Chandramani Singh, "Early 18th-CenturyPainted City Maps on Cloth," in *Facets of Indian Art,* ed. R Skeltonet al. (London, 1986), pp. 185-92, figs. 7, 8; and, with acolor illustration, by Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans: Fromthe Earliest Times to the Advent of European Surveys* (New Delhi,1989), pp. 200-1.

There were basically three types of Mughal gardens those

- Gardens developed around a mausoleum,
- Gardens developed as pleasure gardens,
- Court yard gardens. [26]

The first type of garden was built by the owner during his own life for holding receptions and banquets. After his death it was converted into a tomb. For example the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah was a garden house before it was changed. The plan of the mausoleum garden was based on Char Bagh pattern. In the centre of the garden was the tomb building and from its various facades the water channels radiated in the four directions. An exception to this is the setting of Taj Mahal, which is located at the end of the garden. Among mausoleum gardens we have:

1. Humayun's Tomb, Delhi, (1556A.D.),
2. Akbar's Tomb, Sikandra near Agra, (1605 A.D.)
3. Jahangir's Tomb, Shahadra, Lahore, (1627 A.D.)
4. The Taj Mahal, Agra, (1658 A.D.)
5. Mausoleum for Rabi a Darauni.



The Gulabi Bagh tile-decorated gate , Inscriptions on the gateway compare the garden with paradise.. However, the tomb of Dai Anga dates to 1671, which suggests that a residential garden was probably converted to the tomb-garden.

The second type of garden was related to the traditional formal paradise layout. At Kashmir we find many pleasure gardens which were situated on the lower slopes of the surrounding mountains. At Agra too we find pleasure garden like Bagh-i-Gul Afshan or Ram Bagh. These pleasure gardens were primarily developed for enjoyment and also for displaying power and wealth of the empire. [27]

Bricks and mortars alone did not make up a garden. It was the trees, shrubs and flowering herbs, which actually gave life and soul to it. The details of the flora of that period are available in the autobiographies of the Mughal emperors. Some

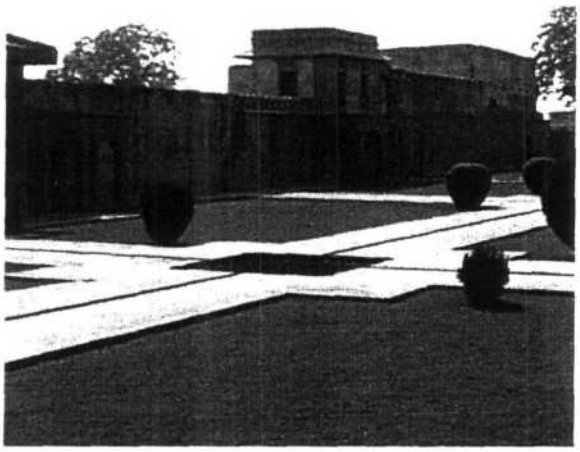
information on this subject is also provided by European travellers. The Mughals in their gardens planted mixed avenues of cypresses and flowering trees like white flower variety of Kachnar or the orange and lemon trees. In Kashmir trees like apple and plum were planted along with cypress, willow and chenar. Sometimes oranges and pomegranates were also planted. Trees like oranges, pomegranates, almonds, plums and white kachnars symbolized youth, life and hope. While the cypress was the symbol of death and eternity. Apart from these Mughals also planted fruits like almond, cherry, coconut, date, grape, guava, mango, melon, mulberry, peach, peas, pineapple, banana, quince, sugarcane and walnut.

They also selected some of the best varieties of flowers for their gardens. In the gardens of Kashmir they grew flowers like iris, lilac, daffodils, narcissus and tulips. In the region of Delhi and Agra flowers such as carnations, roses, jasmines, hollyhock peonies, lotus, Marigold, violets, Tuberose, Zinnia were popular. The emperors had an active role in the setting up of gardens. A practical knowledge of trees and plants was combined with a thorough understanding of water.

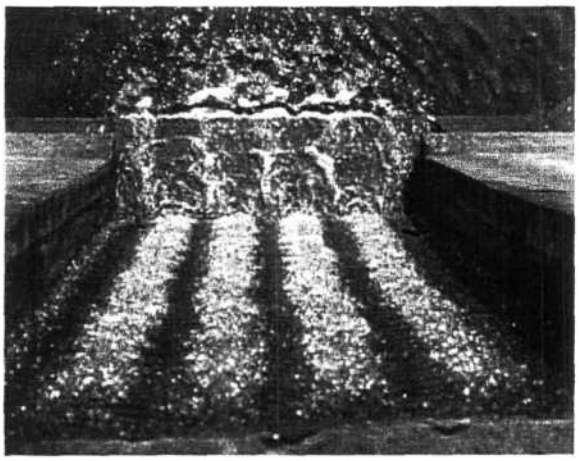


Among pleasure gardens" the important gardens are the Nasim Bagh by Akbar. Shalimar Achabal, Vernag and Nishat, built during the time of Jahangir. Then during Shahjahan's time, we have the Chasma Shahi in Kashmir, Shalimar at Delhi and also at Lahore and the gardens of the Red Fort at Delhi. The Pinjore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

In Mughal gardens there is no strict distinction between garden and building, each flows seamlessly into the other, but in palace gardens in particular there are differences of space and function and areas designed for court ceremonial are increasingly separated from the restricted areas of the zenana, the women's quarters and the place of the harem.



Among court-yard gardens, we have the Anguri Bagh, Agra fort, the Garden of the Amber Fort and Udaipur Lake Palace. The two gardens in the palace at Fateh Pur Sikri compound have received almost no attention in the literature on Mughal gardens, despite their significance as the first preserved Mughal palace gardens. [28] The first of them is an oblong *char Bagh,* measuring about 65mx 30.6m; it lies immediately behind and to the west of the emperor's pavilion in the Diwan-i-Amm (court of public audiences). In its present form the garden is divided by three intersecting *khiyabans* (paved walkways) into six *chamans* (plots) of unequal size which in turn are surrounded by a paved walkway. [29] The second preserved palace garden at Fateh Pur Sikri is a *zanana* garden, called Mariam's Garden by Smith. It is tucked away in the female quarters to the north of Jodh Bai's Palace, the main *zanana* building. [30] The plan consists of two terraced levels *(martaba);* the upper one measuring about 27x 28.4m, the lower one about 37x 19m. Smith described the upper level of the garden in the early 1890's as "contrary to our notion of a garden this was stone paved throughout." [31]



Through the middle of the garden runs a narrow water channel along which are placed two *chhatries* (pillared kiosks). A covered cistern *(hawz)* (Mariam's Bath) in the southeast corner provides the water supply for the channels. The two palace gardens represent two major Mughal garden types the *char Bagh* and the terraced garden in a highly architecturalized form. In Jahangir's time (1605-27) palace gardens were still not a prominent type in Mughal garden architecture. The only palace garden which the emperor himself mentions in his autobiography is the one laid out by

his father Akbar in the citadel of the Hari Parbat at Srinagar. Jahangir refers to it as *Bagh-i- dawlat khana* (small garden of the palace). [32] As a memorial to his father, Jahangir took care to renovate the garden when he came to Srinagar in the spring of 1620-28 He also connected it to his own patronage by renaming it Nur Afza (Light-increaser) [33]

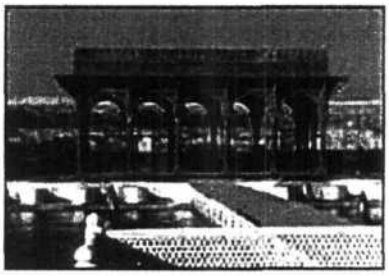
The garden around Humayun's tomb is perhaps the oldest garden of the Mughal period to have preserved most of its original design. It is here we find that water was passed over small chutes with designs giving different patterns. Up to the time of Akbar, the water channels were somewhat narrow, with broad pavements adjoining them. Water fans, or water sheets, and fountains were not fully developed. But it was for Jahangir to utilize water fully as had been done in the gardens of Kashmir. [34]

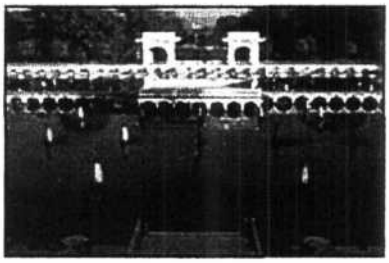
In all the gardens, flowers and trees brought colour and shade. We know from their memoirs that the Mughal emperors delighted in the colours and scents of flowers, of violets, jasmine and roses, that they planted trees and shrubs for colour and shade and that they also took great pleasure in the produce of their gardens, especially Barbur who declared that to have grapes and melons grown in this way in Hindustan filled my measure of content. [35]

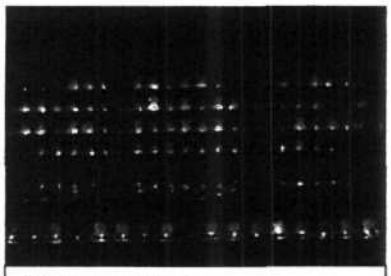
A Reflection of Paradise

A Mughal garden or charBagh was a perfectly balanced formal composition of space, vegetation and architecture, texture and colour, light and shade, designed to address and delight all the senses. Water formed a link between the various elements of the garden. Extensive engineering works were needed to bring it to the gardens, sometimes through canals running over many miles and irrigating the landscape as they passed, sometimes laboriously lifted from the river or from wells sunk deep into the ground. Shahjahan's Shalamar Gardens in Lahore show that the Mughals knew how to handle water in the garden to its fullest effect. Sheets of cool, quiet water contrast with shawls of fast running white water thrown over chadars; deep-throated marble chutes sometimes inlaid with coloured marble. The play of water in countless fountains caused

the light to sparkle and covered the surface with ripples. Nor did nightfall put an end to the enjoyment tiny oil lamps set in marble niches sparkled from behind cascades while flickering lights were reflected from tiny boats floating across the dark water. [36]







Shalamar Garden

The water was taken through narrow or wide channels according to the design. The channels were generally shallow and were filled up to the brim. From the main channels, small channels were developed to water the garden. At suitable places, small tanks were constructed from which the water was distributed. These tanks or basins were carved in various shapes. Water falls and water chutes were developed. Water rushing over the carved chute was either thrown up in ripples or broken pearls or formed a sheet of water. [37] There were water jets of various types. Perhaps the most famous of terraced gardens will be the Nishat Bagh in Kashmir, built by Jehangir. It has twelve terraces, rising higher and higher and reaching the mountain. The stream tears down these terraces in cascades enlivening each terrace by its movement. An important feature of the Nishat Bagh is the stone and marble thrones. Generally one such throne is placed at the head of every water fall. The Nishat Bagh also has a tower at either end, surveying the whole landscape. But to some the Shalimar, or Royal Gardens, are more interesting. They are truly called Paradise in Paradise. The most important feature is the black marble pavilion, surrounded by jets of water; this pavilion in the Ladies' garden is the climax of the whole design, and is the best example of a Mughal "Baradari" open on all sides. Among court-yard gardens the Anguri Bagh is the finest example. This gem of a garden lies in the Khas Mahall royal quarters, with ladies' quarters on three sides. The garden is divided into four squares, which are laid out into beautiful geometrical shapes. In the centre there is a raised platform with a small tank and fountain. This is perhaps the most intimate garden.

Although the Hindu influence on Islamic architecture has always been strong, it was perhaps most prominent during Akbar's times. [38]

Gardens of Agra

Bagh-i-Nur Afshan (Bagh-i- Gulafshan) or Ram Bagh



Bagh-i-Gul Afshan or Ram Bagh is one of the earliest gardens of Mughal Empire. Originally this garden was set up by Babur but it was later on renovated and renamed by Jehangir as Bagh-i-Nur Afshan. This garden is situated on the southern side of riverside sarai of Nur Jehan. Babur introduced in this garden three terrace. The water, which was drawn from the river, descended from one terrace to another after flowing through a network of canals, tanks and water chutes. Each water chutes had stairs on both sides and ends in a red sandstone pond. To add to the beauty of the garden apart from the various water device platforms, pathways, chhatris and a variety of plants were provided at regular intervals. During Jehangir's reign two beautiful suites on the two sides of the main terrace was built. In the centre a mah-tab or island platform was built which was connected with the main water system. This gorgeous garden set on the riverbank is a typical example of Mughal pleasure garden. [39]





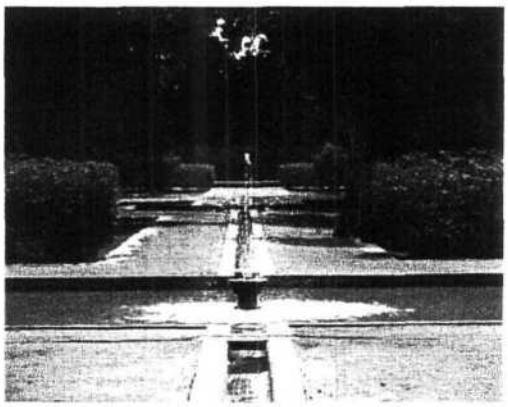
Bagh-i-hasht-bihisht or Bagh-i-zar afshan and chauburj

Bagh-i-Hasht-Bihisht (the Garden of Eight Paradises) or Bagh-i-Zar-Afshan (the Gold Scattering Garden) was also founded by Babur. It was one of the most beautiful gardens of Agra and Babur also praises it in his memoirs. This garden followed the typical charBagh pattern. The main building or Chauburj was located in the centre of the garden. This garden which is situated very close to the tomb of Itimad-ud Daulah had an elaborate water system. The water was drawn from a big well and stored in three overhead tanks. Then through underground baked clay pipes the water was taken to four tanks and the water channels. The chauburj, which was square in plan, was originally finished with red sandstone. It is believed that body of Babur was temporarily buried here between 1530-39 before Haji Begum took it to Kabul. [40]

Daharh (Dera) Bagh (Bagh-i-Nur Manzil)

This Bagh was built by Jehangir and he mentions it several times in his memoirs as the next stage or manzil from the city, where he normally encamped. So it was named as Dera or Dahrah Bagh. This was constructed between 1610-19. It was quite a large garden with adequate space and water supply to support a vast Mughal camp. The garden was surrounded by a lofty and broad wall of brick and mortar. Within the garden complex highly decorated buildings were provided. Outside the gate a large well (now known as Kuan Kamal Khan) was constructed which was a source for the various water devices in the garden. This big well was originally surrounded by a screen pierced with arched doorways. [41]

Minor gardens



Close to the riverine sarai of Nur Jehan is the site of Zuhra Bagh and Sayyid-Ka-Bagh. Both these gardens were constructed by Babur between 1526-30. They were like any other pleasure garden of that period with the usual features like channels,

chutes, platforms etc. Today these gardens no more exist in their original form. Similarly Moti Bagh built during Shah Jehan's time has also disappeared. It was situated close to the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah. Two more gardens of Babur, i.e. Mehtab Bagh and Achanak Bagh were situated on the east of the village of Kachhpura. Both were planned out in the typical charBagh pattern with terraces and pavilions. Most of these gardens have disappeared but from the remnants we can easily assume how magnificent and elaborate these gardens were.

Humayun

Humayun (1530-43; 1555-56) planned to build for his new residence called Dinpanah (Asylum of the faith). (Begun in 1533) at Delhi (the present Purana Qila), a palace of seven stories which was to be surrounded by gardens and orchards, but we do not know how much of this project was carried out. [42] When Humayan returned to Delhi after being ousted by the rulers of the Sur dynasty, he used the small fortress of Salimgarh as a suburban retreat and place of recreation. Salimgarh had been constructed by the Surs as an island in the Jamna (1545-54), and, after Humayun's reign until the construction of Shahjahanabad (1639-48) the Mughals used it as their residence whenever they came to Delhi . [43]

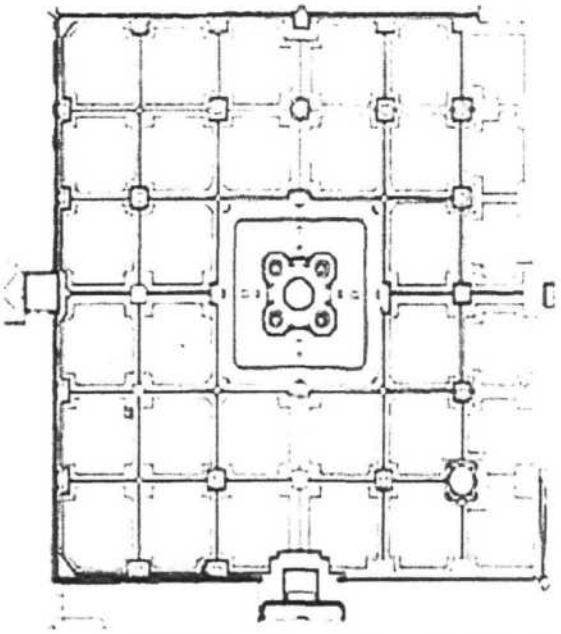
None of Humayun's own palace building described by author Khwandamir seems to have survived. The first preserve Mughal residential buildings that can be dated is the recently identified pavilion of Muhammad Humayun's bakhshi, near the tomb of Shaykh Bahlul in the fort of Vijayamandirgarh, Bayana. According to the chronogram of its inspiration it was built in 1533 to 34. The small and stepped pavilion of red sandstone, which appears rather modest at first glance, is nevertheless the key building of Mughal palace architecture. The Bayana forms a link between pre-Mughal Indo-Islamic forerunners such as the 'Naagina Mahall' in the fort of Khimlasa in Madhya Pradesh and the striking 'Panch Mahall' at Fateh Pur Sikiri of Akbar's time. [44]

Akbar



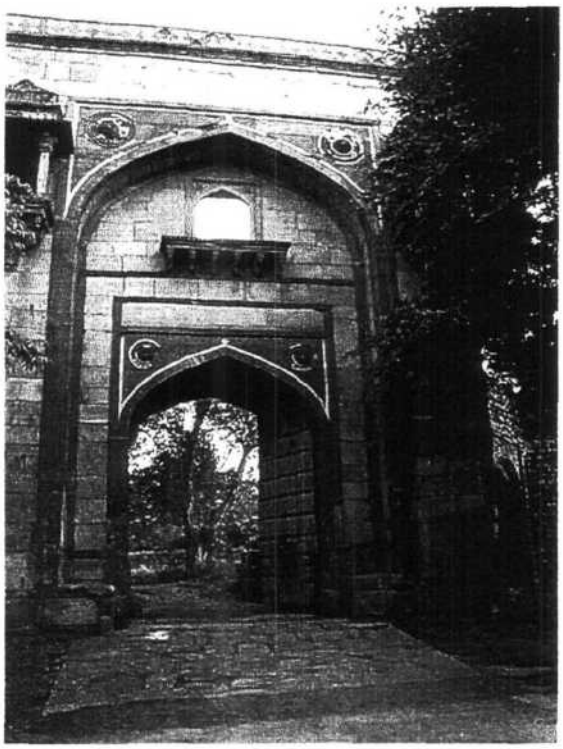
Nine years after Akbar became emperor, He ordered the construction of a fort beside the river Yamuna in what is now called Agra. The construction proceeded at a hectic pace and within eight years, most of the five hundred buildings within the fort were complete. [45]

Humayun's tomb is known as the first example of the monumental scale that would characterize subsequent Mughal imperial architecture. Commissioned, it is believed, by Humayun's senior widow, Haji Begam, or by her son Akbar, the tomb is the first to mark the grave of a Mughal emperor; Babur, who had requested out of piety that he be buried in a garden. Humayun's Tomb is now one of the best-preserved Mughal monuments in Delhi. [46]

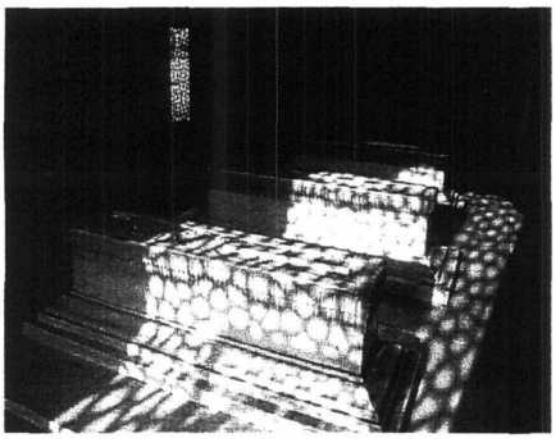


The tomb design is attributed to Sayyid Muhammad and his father, Mirak Sayyid Ghiyath (Mirak Mirza Ghiyas), Persian architects and poets active in the Timurid and later the Mughal courts. The tomb is situated south of the Purana Qila, on the eastern edge of Delhi. [47] It is set in the centre of a garden in the classical Mughal char Bagh pattern. A high wall surrounds the garden on three sides, the fourth side being bounded by what was once the bank of the river Jamna, which has since been diverted. The garden is divided into four parts by two bisecting water channels with paved walkways (khiyabans), which terminate at two gates: a main one in the southern wall, and a smaller one in the western wall. [48]

The tomb sits at the centre of a plinth, about 21feet (7m) high. The top of its central dome reaches 140 feet from the ground. The dome is double-layered; the outer layer supports the white marble exterior facing, while the inner one defines the cavernous interior volume. The rest of the tomb is clad in red sandstone, with white marble ornamentation. [49]

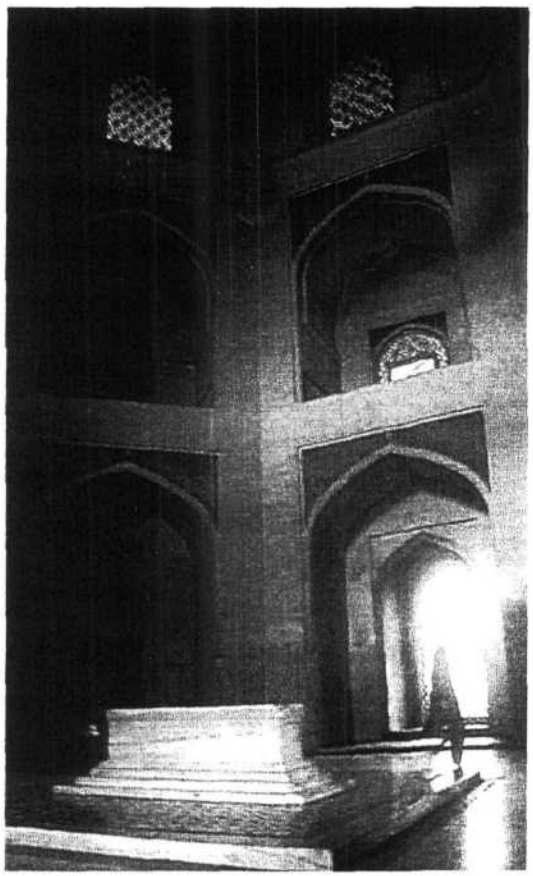


A large iwan, a high arch, punctuates the centre of each facade, and is set back slightly. Together with the other arches and openings, this effect creates a varied and complex impression of depth at each facade. Detailed ornamentation in three colours of stone adds to the richness to the surfaces. The plan of the main tomb building is intricate. It is a square 'ninefold plan', where eight two-storied vaulted chambers radiate from the central, double-height domed chamber. The chambers of each level are interconnected by straight and diagonal passages. In Humayun's tomb, each of the main chambers has in turn eight more, smaller chambers radiating from it. The symmetrical ground plan contains 124 vaulted chambers in all. [50]



The sarcophagus of Humayun is found in the central domed chamber, the head pointing south, and facing east according to Islamic practice. The vaulted chambers also contain sarcophagi that were added later. The sex of each occupant is marked by a simple carved symbol: a box of writing instruments indicates a male, and a writing slate indicates a female. The

sarcophagi are not otherwise inscribed, but among them are known to be those containing the wives of Humayun, and several later Mughal emperors and princes.[51]



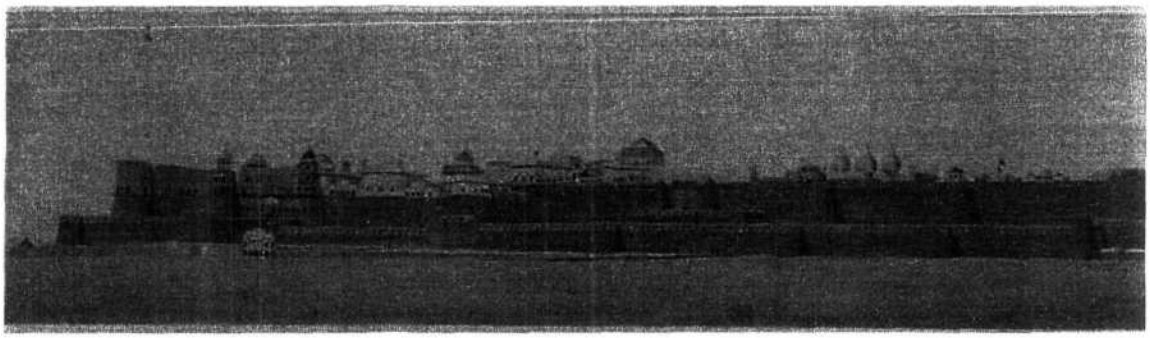
Although the architect of the tomb was 'imported' from Persia, it has been observed that the distinctly Indian aspects of the tomb, such as the Hindu chattris (domed pavilions) that surround the central dome, set Humayun's tomb firmly in the Indo-Islamic tradition that was already emerging at the time. Many of the tomb's basic elements, such as the octagonal plans and high iwans, are derived from earlier tombs built for Delhi sultans. The unprecedented scale and grandeur of the monument, however, are aspects that were to define much of subsequent Mughal tomb building, and are among the similarities commonly cited between Humayun's tomb and the Taj Mahal in Agra. [52]

In Akbar's period the nine fold became the ground-plan per excellence. It was used as imaginative variations in residential and funerary architecture. [53] Regular planning of large-scale residential architecture appears to have been reserved for the temporary Mughal camp. [54] "His Majesty," writes Abu'l Fazl, "plans splendid edifices and dresses the work of his mind and heart in the garment of stone and clay." [55]

Akbar built three forts, namely, the Agra fort, the Lahore fort and the Allahabad fort. The Agra fort Resemble that at Gwalior, which, As Percy Brown points out must have furnished a model for Akbar's great edifice at Agra. The Lahore fort was constructed at almost the same time and the Agra fort. The inside was similar to Jahangiri Mahal at Agra with only one difference that the decoration in Lahore fort is more vigorous and unrestrained than at Agra. The Allahabad fort was built at a later date and

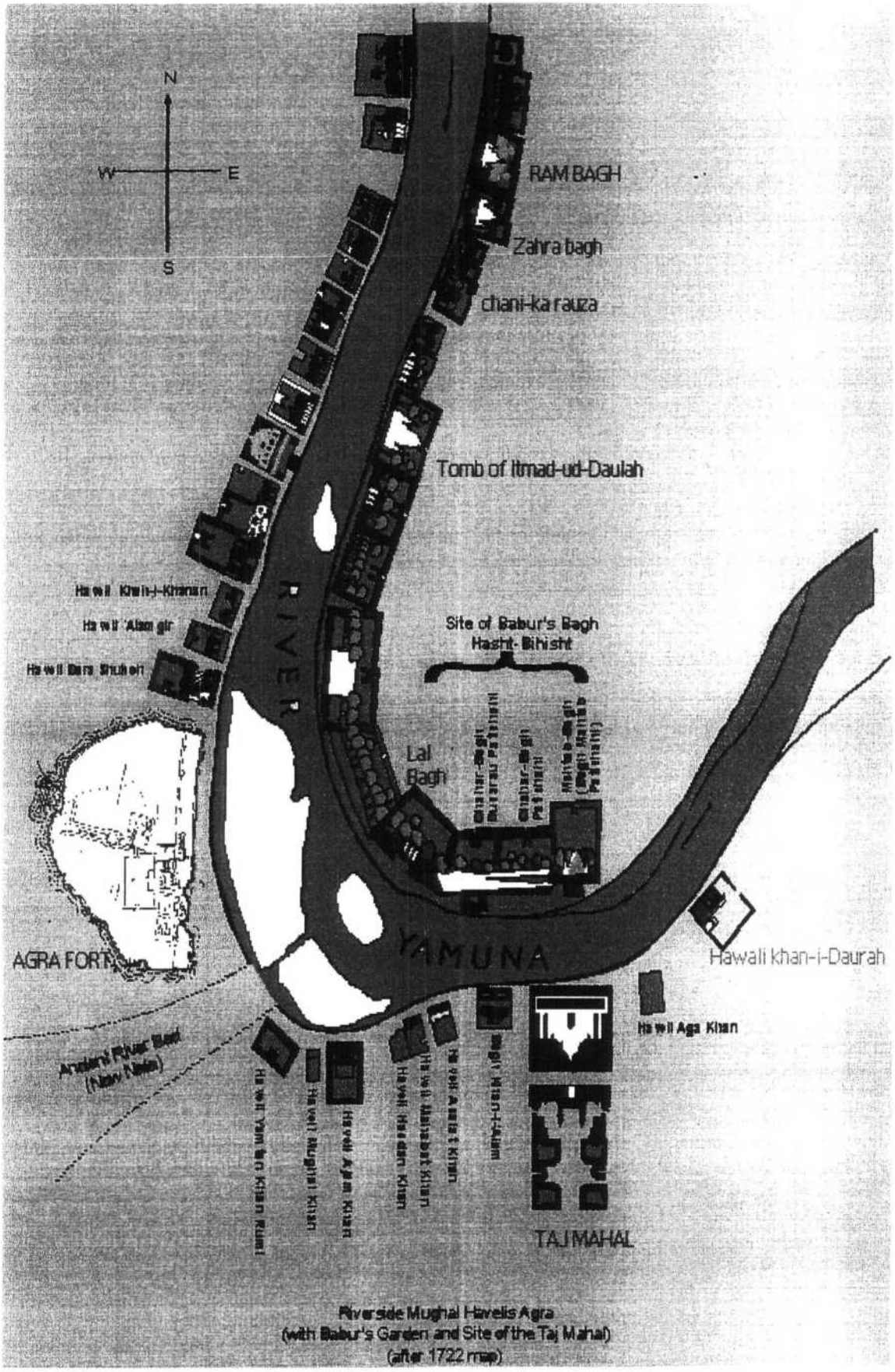
many of its buildings, including its inner wall, have disappeared. The *Zanana* palace, which is still intact, shows that one of the special features of the buildings in the fort was "the number of distribution of its pillars with their superstructures." [56]

Agra Fort



Abu'l Fazl recorded that Akbar decided to shift from Delhi to Agra in 1558 A.D.Then he was sixteen only. Whether he was advised by his wise councillors to establish his capital at a more strategically situated and central place than Delhi, or it was his own decision has not been made out by him. According to him Agra's climate harmonizes within the constitution, for trees and fruits soil is like one Khurasan and Iraq. The river Jamuna which has few like it, for it's like ness and digestibility one of its water flow through it. On either side the servants of fortune's threshold erected pleasant homes and made charming gardens which come not within the mould of description. With all gendure and glory, it became once more the abode of the Caliphate (Dar'ul-Khilafat) and the centre of the Sultanate[57]

Abu'l Fazl writes in *Ain-i-Akbari*, "In former times, Agra was a village dependent on Bianah. Sultan Sikander Lodi made it his capital city, but the present majesty (*Akbar Badshah*) embellished it and thus a matchless city has arisen. On the opposite of the river is the Char Bagh, a memorial of Babur." [58]



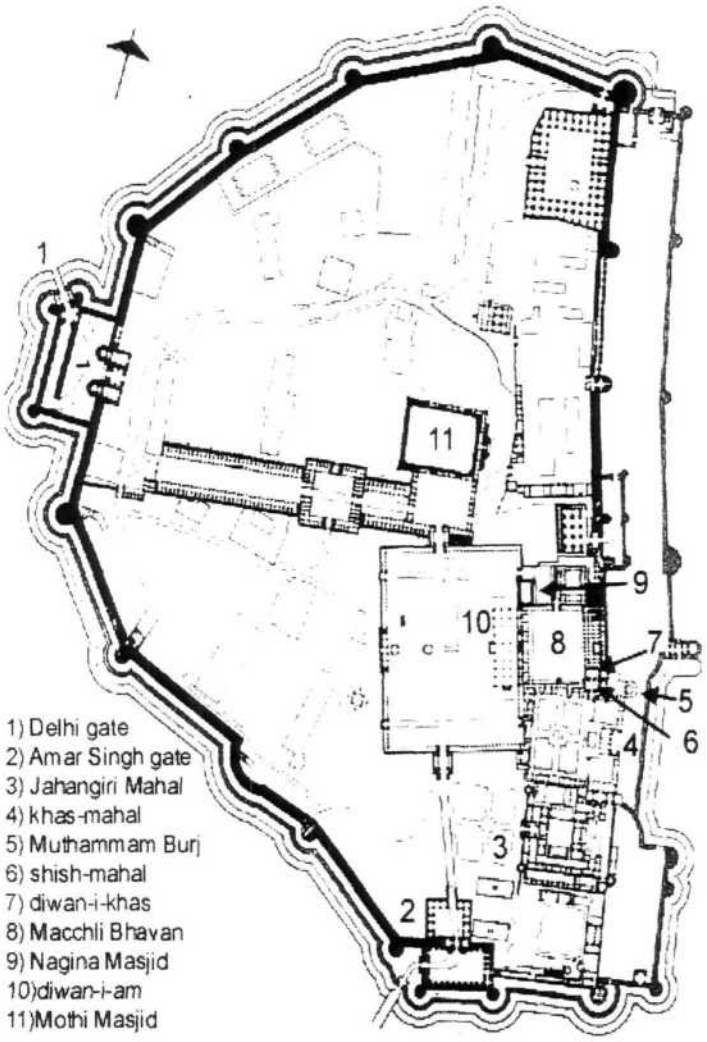
Riverside Mughal Havelis Agra
(with Babur's Garden and Site of the Taj Mahal)
(after 1722 map)

Akbar re-laid the city in accordance with the principles of town planning, built a *parkota* gateways around it and provided it with drainage and water supply system's has not been recorded. The city grew and prospered after the establishment of the Capital. But the surviving traces suggest at least one thing that Akbar gave the city of drainage system probably for the first time. People either depended on the river or the local wells and baolis form water supply and it was and individual affair which Hardy bothered the medieval state, but the city drainage needed a coherent and Uniform plan and the system as a whole. [59]

There was originally a fort at Agra which was in very dilapidated condition when Akbar came to Agra in 1558 with decision to make it the capital of his Empire. The construction was started in 1565 and was completed in about eight years at a cost of thirty five lakhs of rupees under the superintendence of *Qasim Khan Mir Barr-u-Bahr.* This fort was just one of the many large fortified residences that the emperor wanted to have at various strategic points of his empire. According to contemporary chroniclers like *Abu'l Fazl* the fort contained over five hundred buildings. But later on Akbar's descendants added new buildings, mainly in marble to the fort and demolished the old ones. [60]

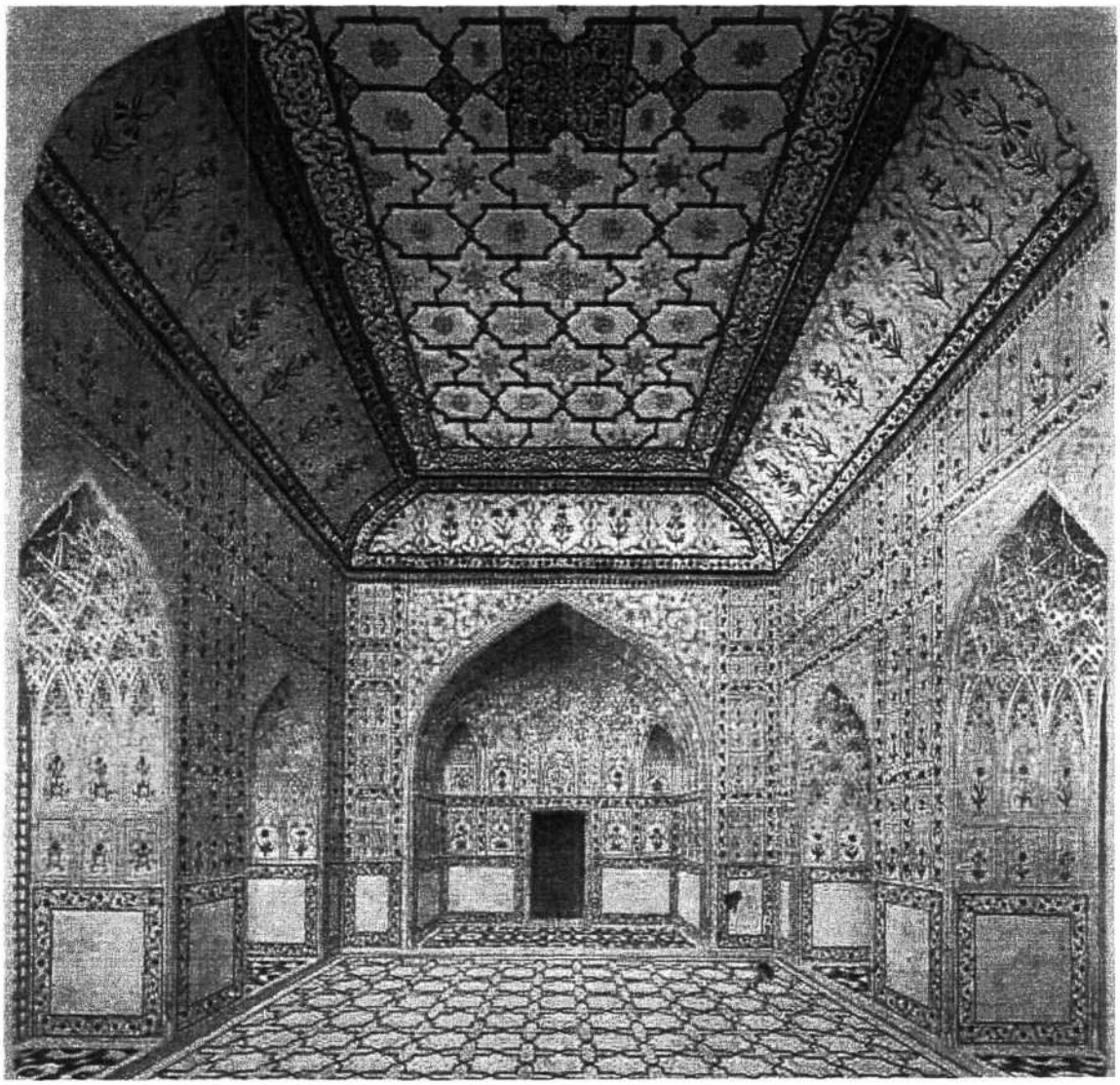
Abu'l Fazl recorded the founding of the fort of Agra among the principal events of the year 1565. "Akbar establishes spiritual and temporal dominion by building fortresses for the production of products and guarding of honour and prestige. Accordingly he at this time gave directions for the building in Agra- which by position the centre of Hindustan- of a grand fortress such as might be worthy their of, and correspond to the dignity of his dominions. An order was then issued that the old fort which was built on the east bank of the Jamuna and whose pillars have been shaken by and the revolutions of time and the shocks of fortune, should be removed, and that an impregnable fort should be built of hewn stone. It should be stable and like the foundation of the dominion of the sublime family and permanent like the pillars of its fortunes. Accordingly, lofty- minded mathematicians and able architects laid the

foundation of this great building in an hour which was supreme for establishing a fortress. Excavations were made through seven strata of earth. The breadth of the wall was three *Badshahi* yards and its height 60yds. It was provided with four gateways whereby the doors of the two dominions were opened towards the four quarters of the word. Every day and 3000 to 4000 active builders and strong armed labourers carried on the work. From the foundations of battlements, the fortress was composed off hewn stones, each of which was polished like the world- revealing mirror, and the ruddy as the cheek of fortune and they were so joined together that the end of a hair could not find place between them. This sublime fortress the like of which had never been seen by a fabulous geometrician, was completed with the loopholes (*sang-andaz*) in the space of eight years under the fateful superintendentence of *Qasim Khan Mir Barr-u Bahr.*" [61]



The Red fort at Agra follows the *Karmuka* type of layout. It is believed that such a town with mighty fortification was meant for king's capital. In plan this great fort takes the form of an irregular semi-circle with its chord some 2700' in length lying parallel to the right bank of river Jamuna. The north-western side is a little smaller than the south-western side which is about half a mile in length. The fort is surrounded by a double wall of red sandstone which is one of its most remarkable features. The outer wall is 40 high and the inner wall is 70' high. But

the walls are crowned by battlements and at fairly regular intervals there are ten flanking towers and bastions. On the river front there are only two bastions called the *Shah Burj* and the *Bengali Burj*. The decorative tower in marble called the *Muthamman Burj* had no military utility and was part of the royal residence. [62]



Even though the ramparts were provided to give strength to the fort but the ornamental aspect was not overlooked. Instead both have been harmoniously blended to give the fort a substantial aesthetic character. A broad deep moat running around the fort separated it from the mainland. Moat was not given on the river side as water line was already there.

The fort had four gateways. The *Delhi Gate* on the western side was the main entrance to the fort. There was another gateway towards the south which is known as the *Amar Singh Gate or Akbar Darwazah* . Today the visitors to the fort use this gateway. The gateway on the east was known as the Jal Darwazah. This was a private gate facing the river and was used by the women of the harem to go outside without being seen. There was another fourth gateway on the north-eastern side. Both these gates are closed.



A road from the Amar singh Gate leads to a high ramp. This ramp further leads to the lawns in front of the *Jehangiri Mahal.* In the middle of the lawns is a large *bath-cistern.* It is believed that this cistern was presented by Jehangir to Nur Jehan on the occasion of their marriage in 1611. In front of the stone bath is the Jehangiri Mahal. Apart from the Jehangiri Mahal there are ruins of another palace known as the Akbari *Mahal.* It is believed that originally both these palace were part of the same complex known as the *Bengali Mahal,* most likely, because of its architectural design which comprised of curved and bent cornices and sloped roofs. Thus the walls, the Delhi Gate, the Amar Singh Gate, the Jehangiri Mahal and the Akbari Mahal are the only surviving building of Akbar's period. Rest of the buildings were demolished by Shah Jehan to make room for his marble palaces.[63]

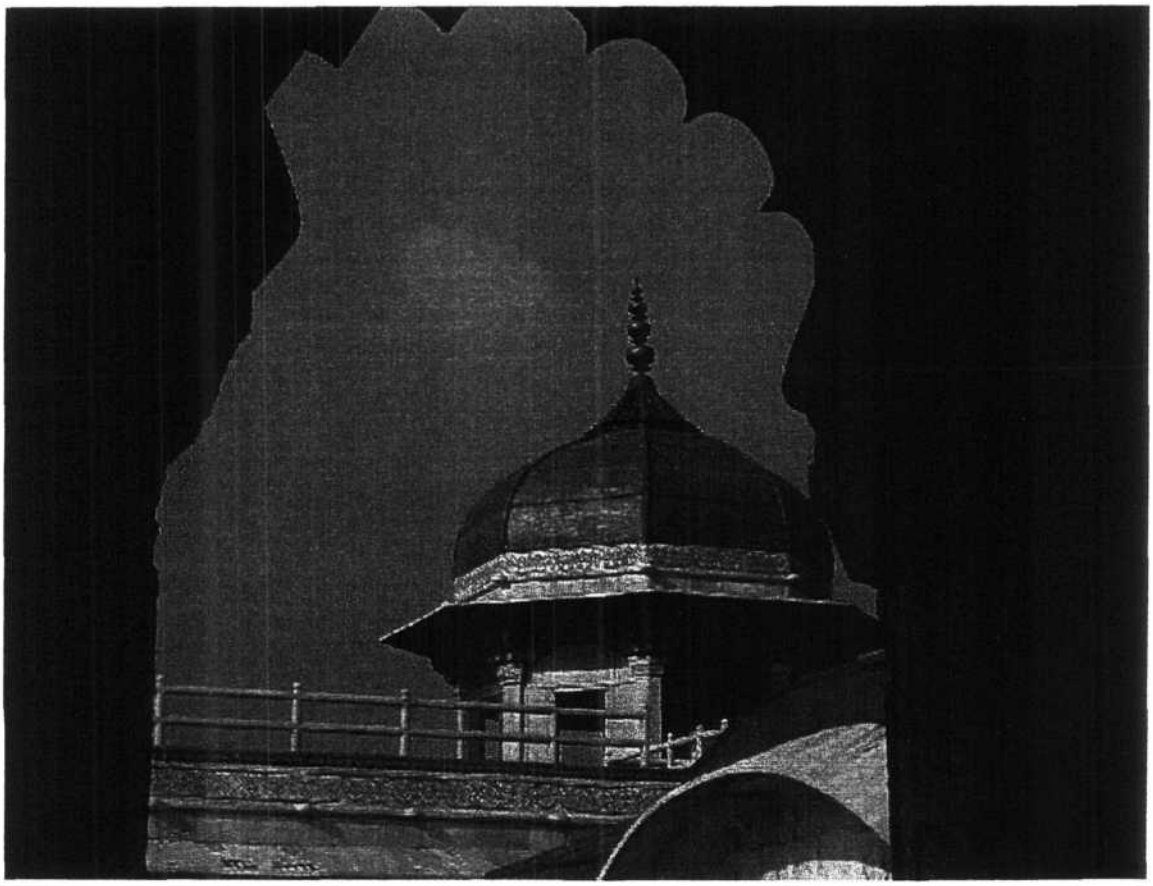


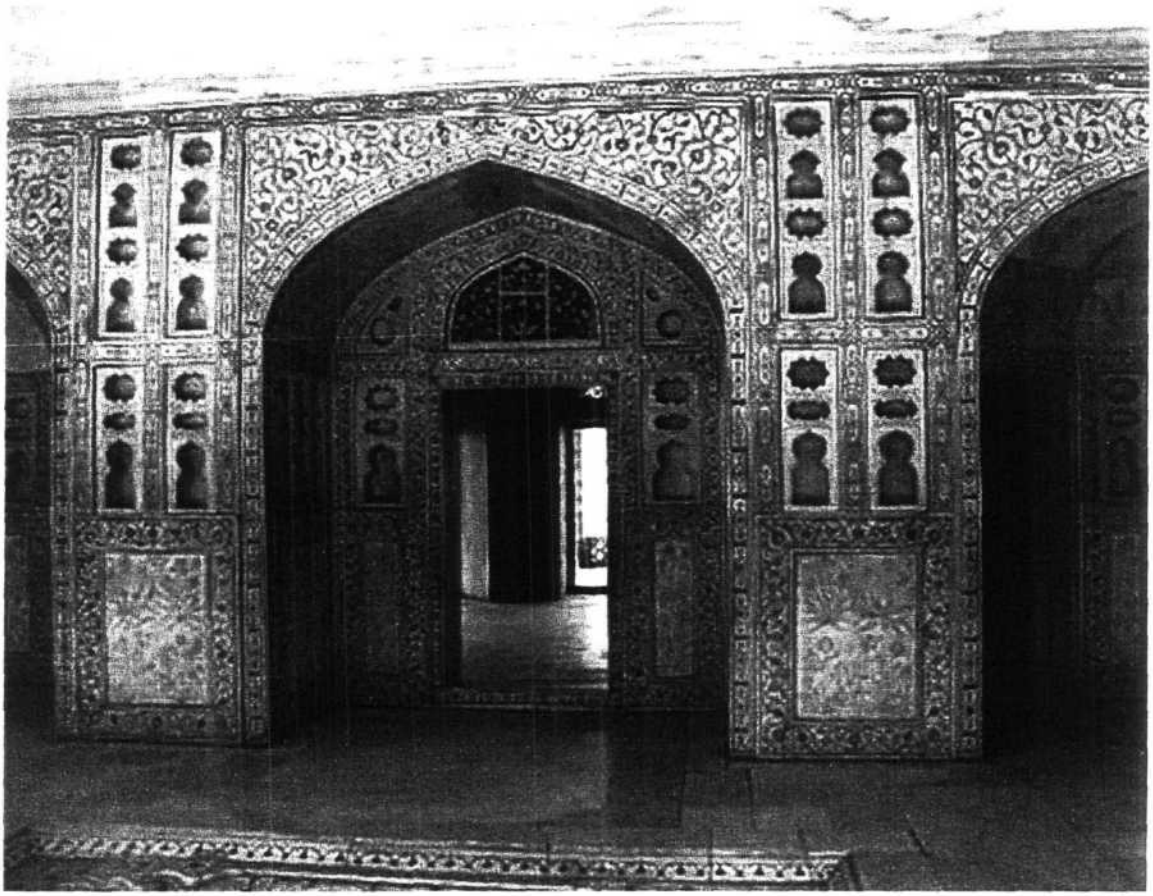
Just near the Jehangiri Mahal is the *Khas Mahal.* This part of the palace was meant for exclusive use by the emperor. Shah Jahan also called it the *aramgah.* In front of the Khas Mahal is the *Anguri Bagh* or the *garden of grapes.* The garden is

overlooked by the Khas Mahal on the east and is surrounded on the other three sides by continuous colonnade and suites of rooms red sandstone. These were built by Akbar as the residences for the women attendants of the imperial household. On the southern side of the Khas Mahal is the *Shah Jehani Mahal* or the palace of Shah Jehan. [64]

In the north-eastern corner of the Anguri Bagh are the *hammams.* Adjoining these hammams are the ante-chambers which is known as the *Shish Mahal* or the *Chamber of Mirrors.* There are two such chambers and each had a marble reservoir for water. The walls and ceilings of this chamber are covered with pieces of glass. [65]

From the Shish Mahal steps lead to the *Muthamman Burj* . This small imperial building was built by shah Jahan for his beloved wife Nur Jahan. This was used as a resting place during the summer months. The Muthamman Burj was double storied and the floor of the lower storey court looked like a Pachchisi board. So it was known as the *Pachchisi Court.* [66]





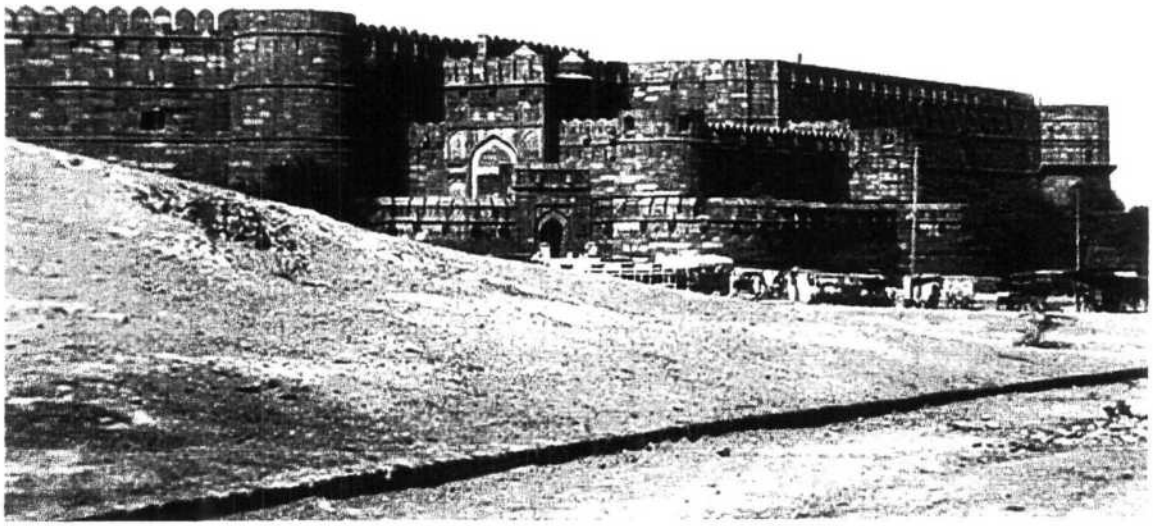
From the courtyard of *muthamman burj a* flight of steps over the imperial baths lead to the *Diwan-i-Khas* or the hall of private audience. Diwan-i-Khas which was the first marble palace to be built by shah Jehan stands over the Shish Mahal on a well carved plinth. It was used for both receiving guests and official purpose.

To the west of the *Diwan-i-Khas* is the *Machchhi Bhawan* . It is believed that during Aurangzeb's time tanks for keeping gold fish were built in this palace.. It was because of the fish pond that place was known as Machchhi Bhawan. In the north-eastern corner of Machchhi Bhawan are the royal baths which was used by Mumtaz Mahal and her daughters. From the upper floor of the Machchhi one can clearly see the *Nagina Masjid* which is believed to have been built by Aurangzeb to prevent his father from visiting the Pearl Mosque.

From the *Machchhi Bhawan* complex a narrow flight of steps lead to the *Diwan-i-Am* or the hall of Public Audience. This court has two principal gateways one in

the north and the other in the south side. From here the northern gateway leads to a much smaller enclosure which had passages to the water gate on the east and a passage to the Delhi Gate to the north-west. From this enclosure two high flight of steps lead to the *Moti Masjid* which is one of the most beautiful building at Agra. This mosque was built on the highest ground of the fort.

THE DELHI GATE



The Delhi Gate, which is on the western side of the fort, is an architectural masterpiece of Akbars period. As per accounts Badaoni this gateway was completed between 1568-69 A.D. [67] and was intended to be the principal gateway of the fort. The gateway was designed in such a way that it put the defenders of the fort in an advantageous position. [68]

The Delhi Gate was reached by crossing a wooden drawbridge which connected the fort to the mainland. A crooked entrance with sharp curves at various trap points and a paved ascent was devised to obstruct the path of an invading army. Thus storming the fort was an almost impossible task because once the enemy was trapped he

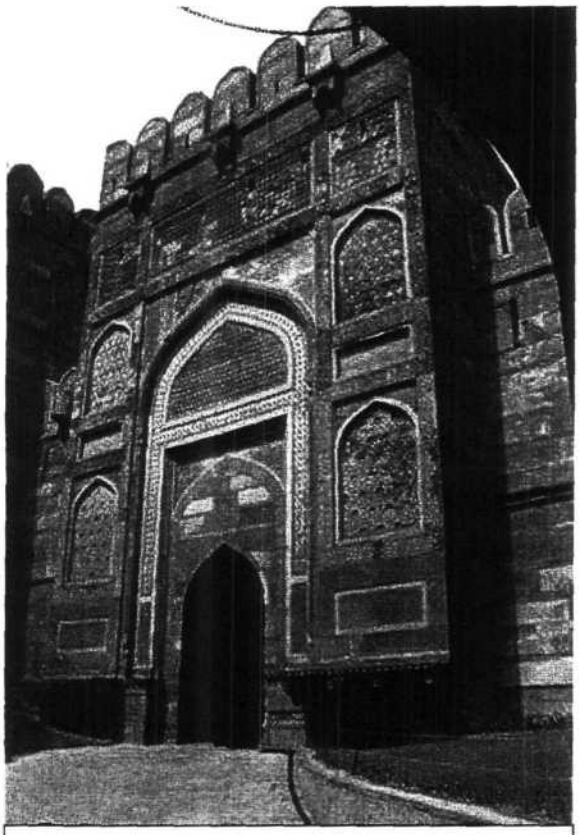
was exposed to the fire of the defenders positioned on the ramparts. Apart from this, features like high, extra-strong bastions which projected and towered forward, battlements with high merlons etc. strengthened the fort. The inner entrance is known as the *Hathi-Pol* or *Elephant-Gate.* This was called *Hathi Pol* because earlier the gateway was adorned by two life size sculptures of elephants with upturned trunks making an archway, but today only the pedestals are left. This entrance was protected by two beautifully designed and ornamented bastions. The bastions are octagonal in shape and double-storied in height. Each bastion is crowned by an elegant chhatri and has a battlemented parapet. The gateway was planned out in such a way that it was spacious enough to contain series of living rooms, verandahs and pavilions. The two octagonal towers were linked by a vaulted passage, which originally served as the *Naubat-Khanah.* [69]

This red sandstone gateway was profusely ornamented by Akbar and almost all possible techniques of decoration were adopted. Stone carving was chiefly done in geometrical, floral and stylized design. Carving in bold relief can be seen in the oblong panels around the arches on the western façade and in the brackets, lintels and friezes on the eastern façade. Brackets with elephant heads are extremely gorgeous. Beautifully designed jalies were used on the balustrades of the balconies. Stucco decoration was mostly done in the interior on arched niches, soffits (the underside of a structural component of a building, for example, the underside of a roof overhang or the inner curve of an arch) and semi- soffits with arabesque, geometrical and stalactite designs. Glaze-tiling work is chiefly done on the friezes with blue, green yellow and deep red colours. [70]

Apart from this some glazed tile decoration can also be seen on the sophist of the topmost chhatris. Inlay work in white marble can be seen on the horizontal oblong panels above the upper storey arches and just below the frieze and cornice of the two towers. These panels alternately depict a Gaja-Vyala on the one and a pair of ducks on the other. Each Gaja-Vyala is composed of lion, horse, bird and elephant and is shown fighting seven elephants simultaneously. Today much of the decoration has disappeared but from its remains we can easily make out how graceful and beautiful it was.[71]

AMAR SINGH GATE

According to English traveller William Finch the southern gateway to the fort which is known as the Amar Singh Gate was originally known as Akbar Darwazah. During Akbars time the emperor and his personal entourage used this gateway. It was renamed during Shah Jehans reign. As per tradition it is believed that Rao Amar Singh of Jodhpur one of the leading nobles of the empire slew Salabat Khan the chief treasurer of Shah Jehan in the durbar. As per Mughal custom this was an unpardonable crime. When Amar Singh realised his mistake he leapt on the horse and jumped over the fort walls. The horse took the jump but died outside the fort walls. Amar Singh was arrested and put to death. But the emperor was also impressed by Amar Singhs courage so he ordered the gate to be renamed as Amar Singh Gate. A stone statue of the horse was also erected at the spot where it jumped over the walls. The head and neck of the red sandstone horse can still be seen on the north-west of the gate. [72]



Amar Singh Gate, one of two entrances into Agra's Red Fort.

Architecturally this gateway is somewhat similar to the Delhi Gate. Just like the Delhi Gate this gate also has a drawbridge over the moat, a crooked entrance with dangerous diversions and a high ramp which is paved with small bricks. [73]

The gateway lies between two octagonal towers. Unlike the Hathi-pol this gateway is not adorned by two life size sculptures of elephants. The *Naubat Khana* at this gateway was an imposing structure. It was surrounded by pillared pavilions, which presented an impressive sight. But now they have been renovated.

The bastions at this gate are smaller and not very imposing. [74]

As far as ornamentation is concerned this gateway was not very elaborately decorated. The lower portions were divided into oblong and arched panels. The panels were further ornamented with glazed tiles of yellow, green, blue and white colours. While the panels on the upper portion were plain. Each bastion was crowned by a chhatri made of pier. The chhatri has a hemispherical cupola with an inverted lotus. The chhaja around the drum of the dome is supported on brackets. Originally the cupolas were also covered with glazed tiles.

THE AKBARI MAHAL

It is here for the first time that we meet with some of the basic features of Akbars architectural style. His reliance or stone the local building material and norms, concepts and techniques related to stone construction, was total and unreserved. It was the art of the people and Akbar, driving inspiration from the palace of Man-Mandir of Gwalior, literally patronized it. It was this way that his architect was able to invent ingeniously a wide variety of flat ceilings in his palatial mansions. Here he dispensed with the pillar which rested on the pavement and consumed valuable floor area, and instead, he used the bracket which could be sunk into the wall. He treated the beam upon it with amazing skill without and a jeopardizing substantiality of the fabric. Along with use and stability, he was also able to bring about the best aesthetic effects. [75]

The present Akbari Mahal and the Jehangiri Mahal seem to have originally composed the Bangali Mahal. The south eastern tower of the former of this still call Bangali-Burj. Both are red sandstone buildings with trabeate feature like pillars, brackets, lintels and beams, chhajjas, flat ceilings and chhatries. as it appears, the western facades of both these places have a uniform plan, extending to about on 430' and 131.06 m with two gateways and 3 towers out of which only one gateways with on flanking towers at the corner has survived. [76]

According to Abu'l Fazl these palaces, together, housed Akbar's Harem and it was his residence. It contains more than five hundred buildings of masonry after

the beautiful designs of Bengal and Gujarat which masterly and cunning artists of from have fashioned as architectural models. [77]

The Akbari Mahal or Akbar's Palace is in complete ruins. Today one can only see traces of it, which clearly indicates that it once contained spacious courts surrounded by series of spacious chambers. This building is situated between the Jehangiri Mahal on the north and the Bengali Bruj on the south. Originally all this must have been part of larger palace complex. This palace was built between 1565-69 and is believed to have been used for residential purpose.

The Akbari Mahal had a large stone paved courtyard, which was originally enclosed on al sides. Only a few of the suites on the eastern side of the courtyard have survived. Those on the northern, western and southern sides have disappeared except their plinths. The gateway to the Akbari Mahal was provided on the western side but only the plinth of this once imposing octagonal tower can be seen. The entrance was devised in such a manner so as to ensure complete purdah and security for the women in the harem. The portal opened into a square poli and was further connected to the central courtyard by a series of passages. The central building on the eastern side is double storied. The lower storey was a great *Assembly hall* with a high ceiling from the sides of which projected massive brackets supported the side beams

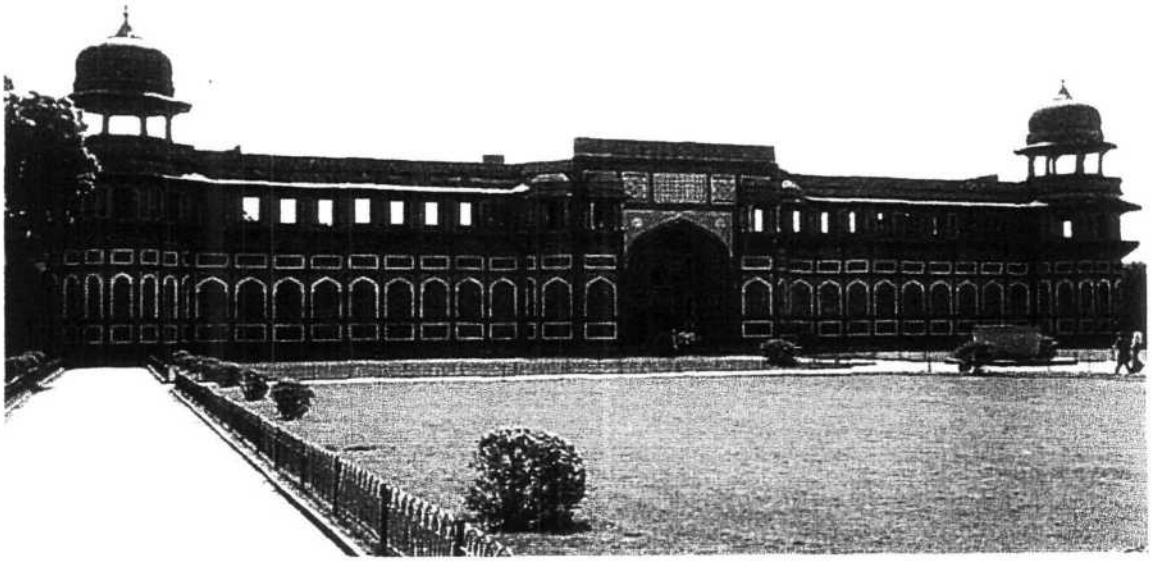
The intermediary space was divided into compartments with the help of cross beams, which were also supported on brackets. These compartments were covered by slabs. But the upper storey is in ruins. The hall on the upper storey had triple opening on the riverside, but was smaller in breadth. This hall also had a flat compartmental ceiling. Both the rooms i.e. the one on the lower storey and the other on the upper storey had a north-south axis. There are two more halls on the either side, which have east-west axis. Unlike the other two halls here the whole ceiling is supported on chhajja which runs around the four sides and is supported on brackets. [79]

On the northern as well as on the southern sides of the suite are two smaller courts. They were designed so as to provide a cool and comfortable ambience.

The complex adjacent to the court on the northern side is in ruins but that on the southern side is intact. The complex overlooking the southern court is also a double storied mansion with pillars, brackets, chhajjas and flat ceilings. The inner hall had a domed ceiling and plaster ornamentation. [80]

On the south-eastern side of the Akbari Mahal is the *Bengali-Burj apartment.* This apartment has a spacious square hall having arched aisles on the four sides with semi-soffits supporting a domed ceiling. The arches have beautiful stone nook-shafts bearing chevron design.

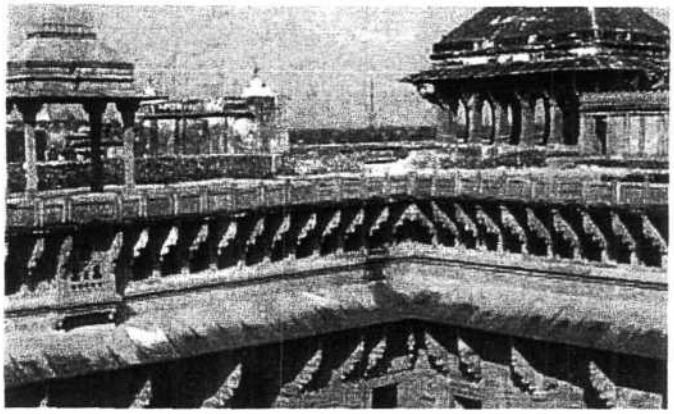
JEHANGIRI MAHAL



Adjoining the Akbari Mahal on the north is the palace known as Jehangiri Mahal. With its beautiful brackets, roofs, projecting eaves, carved panels, recesses and pillars it is a wonderful specimen of Mughal architecture. This magnificent palace was built between 1565-69.

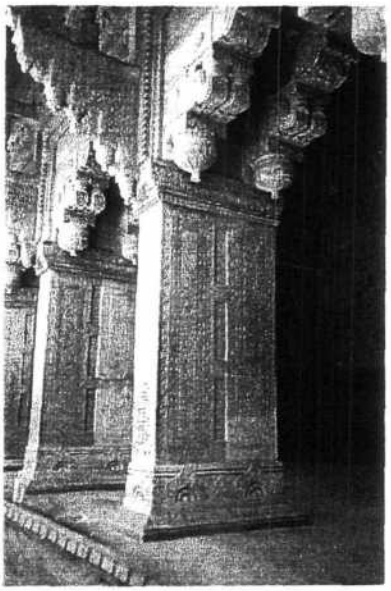
The palace measures 261' by 288' externally and has an extremely impressive facade on the western side. The facade, which faces an open court, is composed of an arched portal in the centre which projects forward with two beautiful

jharokhas, a series of ornamental arches on either side of the portal and an octagonal tower at each end surmounted by a cupola. The lower portion of the facade is profusely decorated with ornamental arches but the upper portion had series of oblong openings. This storey also has a slanting chhajja over the openings. [81]



Agra Fort, Jahangiri Mahal
It is unfortunate that most of Akbar's not inconsiderable work within the fort walls was demolished or modified by Shah Jahan's rebuilding and transformation later. One specimen that does survive is the *Jahangiri Mahal.* This structure built for the emperor's wives and family.

The palace has a very complex arrangement of rooms, halls, corridors, galleries and verandahs around a central court. The arched portal leads to a square poli (entrance-hall) of 18'. It has ribs-and-panels vaulted ceiling which is supported on *corbelled pendentives* shaped as stalactite. A narrow crooked passage leads from the poli to the annexes on the northern and southern side. These annexes which are just behind the facade of the palace are identical in plan. [79] Both of them have beautiful *Tibara dalans* and side rooms with duchhatti, which opened into a dalan. The square pillars of the dalan are simple and at the same time extremely graceful brackets have been provided to support the exterior chhajja. The passage further leads to the central courtyard, which is almost square in plan and is about 72'. In the court the artisans had adopted a uniform architectural scheme on all its sides. The court built in red sandstone and is composed of a series of beautifully carved brackets supporting chhajja, a whispering gallery with ornamental miniature arched openings in the second storey, series of strut shaped brackets over it supporting a flat chhajja and jalied balustrade crowning each facade with a square chhatri in the middle. [82]





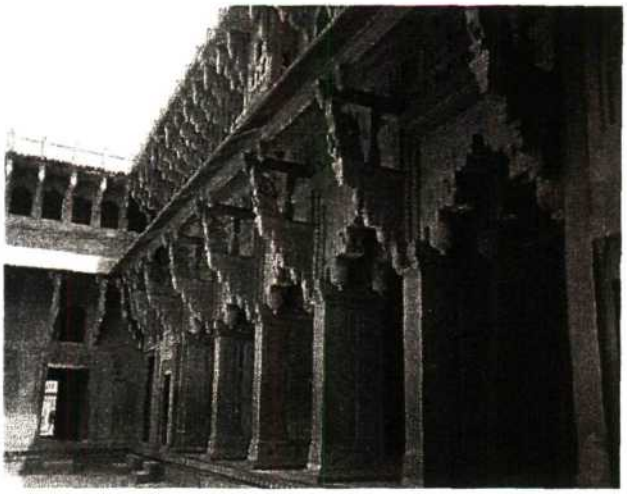
The *Assembly Hall* , which is situated on the northern side of the court, measures 62'x37'. Even though the hall is single-storied yet an additional floor (*duchhatti*) has been provided in the interior in the form of a hanging balcony. The flat ceiling was divided into several square quarters, which rested on massive beams. They rest conjointly on struts or *serpentine brackets,* which radiate from the bases of the columns of the hanging balcony. Each strut has a serpentine form emitting from the mouth of the elephant with raised trunk. [83]

The hall on the southern side of the courtyard is smaller in dimension. It has a *Ladao* or *wagon-vaulted ceiling.* [84] But the most important feature of this hall is a corridor which rotates on its three sides. Inside it has beautifully carved perforated screens. Just adjacent to this hall is a long corridor to the south of which is situated a series of living rooms. [85]

The hall on the western side of the court is richly decorated with carved designs. This hall also has a flat ceiling. The room on the south-western corner of the court has a *chaukhandi* or *pyramidal ceiling.* The frieze had a series of ornamental arched niches with fringe of lotus buds, which was also a source of air and light. The room on the north-western corner of the court has a vaulted *Padma-Vitana* or *lotus-ceiling.* Here the lotus petals are made up of stone slab.

The rooms located on the eastern side of the courtyard have no carving. Instead it has been beautifully decorated with stucco work with arabesque pattern. Apart from this room some rooms on its southern side as well as some behind it has similar kind of decoration. All these rooms have been constructed in arcuate style with vaults and arches. The portions, which lie on the northern side of palace, are completely ruined.

On the river side the palace has a curtain wall with oblong openings and a part of it has been closed by jalies. The eastern facade has a tibara dalan with a duchhatti composition and an arched portal flanked by series of carved ornamental arches.



The superstructure of the Jehangiri Mahal has many beautiful apartments on the western side. There are two grand pavilions (chaukhandis) which are rectangular in plan: have beautiful pyramidal roof on the eastern side. But the most important architectural feature of the superstructure is the *Mayura-Mandapa* or the *Peacock Hall.* This red sandstone building has a open central courtyard. It has a corridor on its three sides and a verandah and hall on its western side. The chhajja in this building are supported on beautifully designed *peacock shaped brackets.* Each peacock has a serpent in its beak. Thus the peacock brackets add to the beauty of the building and makes it impressive.

In the Jehangiri Mahal we can see extensive use of stone as well as stucco work. The western façade is decorated with geometrical designs inlaid with white marble on a red sandstone background. The white marbles used on the ornamental arches of the wings can be mistaken for ivory. Apart from this, features like perforated screens, brackets, struts and chhajjas add to the aesthetic sense. The palace also contains some traces of painting over stone surfaces in the southern and the eastern halls. Colour embellishment here can be seen in the form of painted stucco work. The southern chambers have beautiful incised work, which is known as *gesso* work because of the use of gypsum mortar. This kind of decoration was chiefly done on the ceilings. Originally they were gilded with a thick layer of pure gold but later on plunderers scrapped it off.

THE BASEMENT COMPLEX

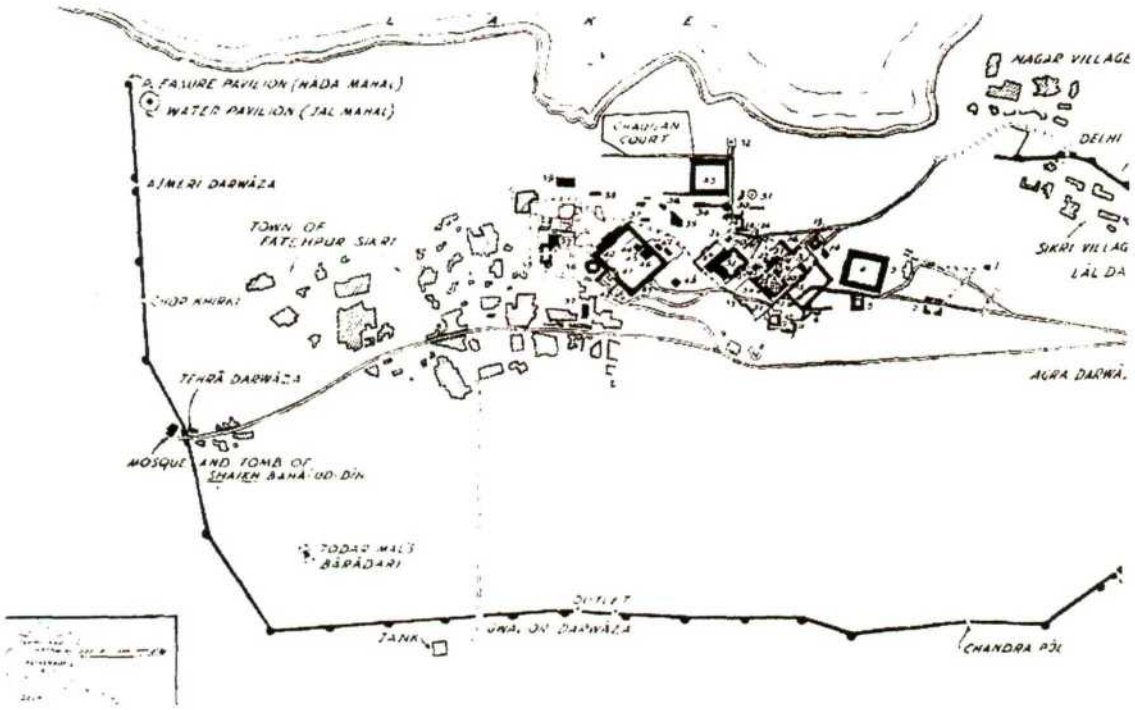
The basement complex exist underground the Bengali Mahal. It consists of passage (Suranga), stairways and room in several storeys. It was built by Akbar, to house his harem and the two were interconnected at several points to enable him to visit any part of the Harem secretly, at any time. It is likely that when we started to re-built the fort, some construction was already there and, instead of demolishing it he utilized its rooms and corridor as basement to his own palace which was build upon it. But such features of the basement complex cascades, canal and water tank, for water supply, stone stairways and brackets and then the pillars forms own their origin to Akbar and affirm without any doubt that it constituted and integral part of the planning of his harem. It was in fact through architectural planning, on the horizontal and vertical axis that he sought to keep vigilance on this extremely sensitive matter. [86]

According to Abu'l Fazl " for this reason, the large number of women –a vexatious questions even for great statesman - furnished His majesty with an opportunity to display his wisdom , and to raise one from the Level of worldly dependence to the eminence of perfect freedom. The Imperial Palace and household are therefore in the best cadre.... Notwithstanding the great number of faithful guards, His majesty does not dispense with his own vigilance, but keeps the whole in proper order. [87]

FATEH PUR SIKRI

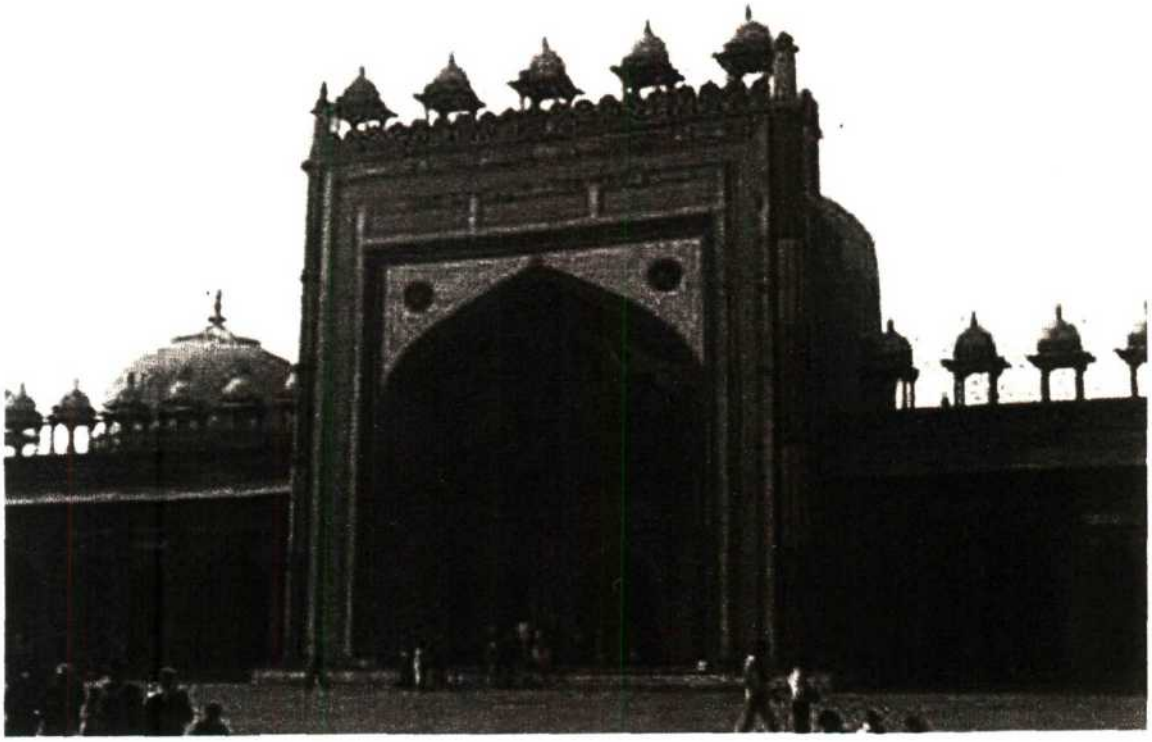
Akbar was also a great builder, and moved his capital several times. About a decade later, he built a new capital called Fateh Pur Sikri around the home of a local mystic Sheikh Salim Chishti (1571-85) who had predicted the birth of the son of the childless emperor. Akbars first son was born in 1569A.D. and was named as Salim in honour of *Sheikh Salim Chishti*. On Akbars return from a pilgrimage to Ajmer he stayed in *Sikri* village where khanqah of Sheikh Salim was located he announced his decision to erect anew city in Sikri. Jahangir, who describes all these circumstances in his memoirs, adds: "My revered father, regarding the village of Sikri, my birthplace, as fortunate to himself, made it his capital, and in the course of fourteen or fifteen years the hills and

deserts, which abounded in beasts of prey, became converted into a magnificent city, comprising numerous gardens, elegant edifices and pavilions, and other places of great attraction and beauty. After the conquest of Gujarat, the village was named Fateh Pur (the town of victory)." [88]



Fateh Pur Sikri is located some 37 km west of Agra city, on a rocky outgrowth of the upper Vindhyan range. Town of Fateh Pur Sikri is a unique example of art of town planning in India. The monumental remains of Fateh Pur Sikri represent that this town was a splendid achievement of town planning, design and craftsmanship. The buildings were skilfully planned in accordance to the ridge and the slope over which the town is spread. The building material i.e. red sand stone was selected in accordance with its availability and climatic conditions. The buildings were designed according to the need of the occupant and its usage keeping in mind proper ventilation for light and air, sanitation needs, social needs like the purdah for women. All the buildings are perfectly balanced, unified and homogenous in plan. The orientation of the building is on north to south axis of the ridge either north or east facing in accordance with terrain geology and climatic conditions. [89]

He had planned this city as his capital but shortage of water compelled him to abandon the city. After this within 20 years, the capital of Mughals was shifted to Lahore. Finch, who visited it in the early part of the next reign, describes it: "*Ruin all; lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to pass through in the night.*" This, however, was an exaggeration, for the principal buildings are still in a good state of preservation, probably owing to the remoteness of the place from any great highway or large town.[90]



Fateh Pur Sikri is one of the finest examples of Mughal architectural splendour at its height. Fateh Pur Sikri is the best example of the culmination of Hindu and Muslim architecture. Fateh Pur Sikri Mosque is said to be a copy of the mosque in Mecca and has designs, derived from the Persian & Hindu architecture.[91]

The city, which was some six miles in circuit, was surrounded on three sides by high battlemented walls, which had nine gateways. The fourth side was formed by a great artificial lake, now dry. The principal buildings are on the summit of the high ridge which runs throughout the length of the city.

THE AGRA GATE OR THE BADSHAHI DARWAJA

The eastern gateway of the great mosque facing Agra is called Badshahi Darwaja; the *Royal Door*. The gateway is called so, because



Part of the Chahar Suq, a square enclosure along the road to Fateh Pur Sikri from the Agra gate.

Akbar used it while coming from palace to join the congregational prayer. The gateway is a part of mosque wall .It is projecting out of mosque wall in the form of a half hexagonal porch or main entrance. The gateway is 13.25m broad and 18.59m high having two kiosks and merlons at the top. The gateway is furnished with two arched openings one above the other. The outer face of the entrance is adorned with beautiful

bands of buff sand stone, containing geometrical designs in the form of six pointed star. The decoration is such that the height of gateway is reclined with lesser height of the principal arch. The small entrance arch in the interior is cusped and is adorned with lotus bud like ornamentation. This entrance arch leads to a hexagonal vestibule roofed by segmented shaped dome, over which is a flat roof. There is a gallery on the upper storey of this vestibule, which can be accessed through a staircase provided at the side of the doorways. This vestibule is flanked by arched recesses on either side, which are topped by cusped arches.[92]

THE NAUBAT KHANA.

Inside the gate the road passes, by the right, a large quadrangle surrounded by a ruined cloister, which was probably used for barracks. Beyond this the road was formerly lined on both sides by the houses of the bazar. It next passes through the inner gateway, called the Naubat Khana, or Music House, where, as in all Mogul fortresses, the court musicians played to announce the Emperor's arrival or departure, and various state ceremonials.

THE DAFTAR KHANA.

Dafter khana is located at the southern end of the palace enclosure. It was built in 1574 for maintaining records files and important document and was like modern offices. Abu'l Fazl also mentioned this imperial record room in *Ain-i-Akbari* .

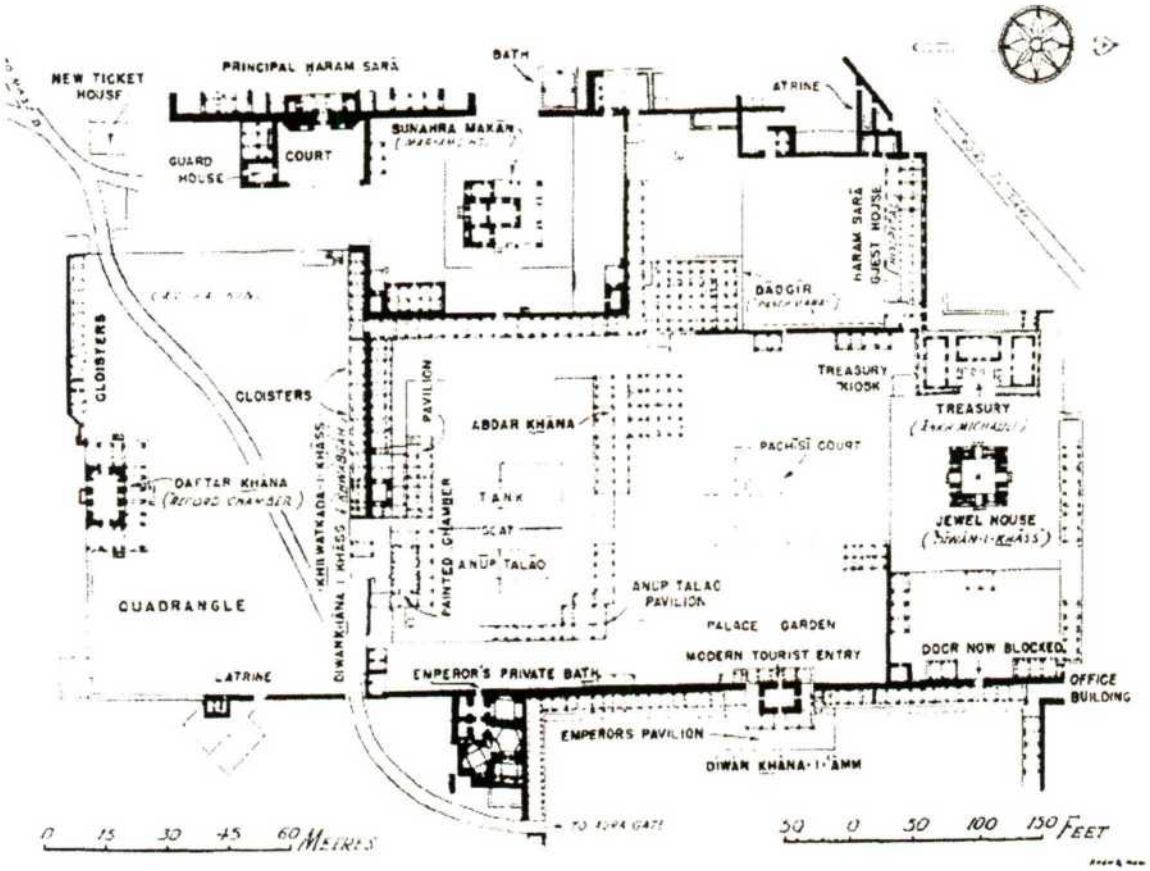
The building is rectangular in plan measuring about 19m north-south by 19m east-west. It stands on plinth and is 9.14m long. It contains four façade in all four sides. The northern façade is most striking, six pair of tall double column with bracketed capitals supporting the eave above. Above the parapet there is a merlon pattern, which surrounds the roof. Inside is a room, which is 13.5m X 8.48m in dimension. It has three doorways on the northern face. The arched windows above the lintels are filled with beautiful tracery work in red sand stone. The similar entrance is provided on the either

side of the building. The walls inside the room contain row of three deeply recessed arches surrounded by two superimposed single arches. Opposite the principal entrance there are three windows looking southwards, from the central window project a small balcony supported by corbelled brackets. [93]

Beside this Daftar Khana there are remnants of cloister and buildings on the northeast corner, which were also, serve the purpose of offices. The remains of cloister adjacent to the Daftar Khana are the evidence of Makhtab Khana or translation bureau or palace of writing where various texts were translated into Hindi Persian and even in Sanskrit language. [94]

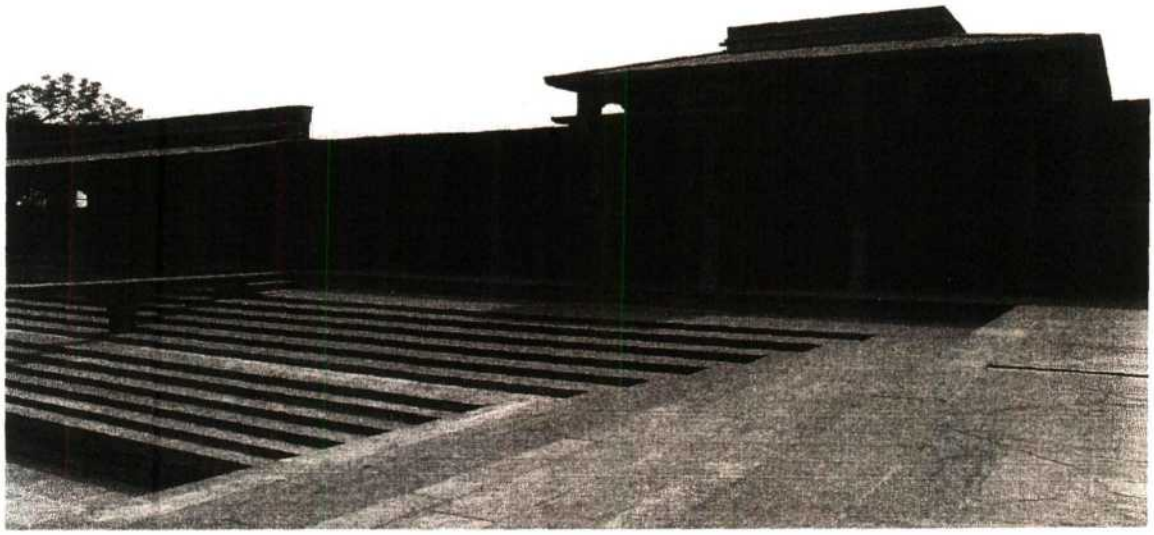
THE PALACE

FATHPUR SIKRI. PLAN OF DAULAT KHANA



A door in the side of the quadrangle, opposite to the Daftar Khana, leads into Akbar's palace, the Mahal-i-Khas. The two-storied building on the left on entering contains Akbar's private apartments. The first room on the ground floor is panelled into numerous recesses for keeping books, documents, or valuables. There are some remains of painted decoration representing flowers, such as the tulip, poppy, and almond flower, executed with much vigour and technical skill. Behind this is a chamber which, according to Edmund Smith, was used by a Hindu priest attached to Akbar's court. It contains a stone platform raised on pillars, upon which he is said to have performed his devotions. It was more probably intended for Akbar's own throne. A door in the west wall leads into the cloisters, which formerly connected Akbar's apartments with the Daftar Khana and with Jodh Bai's palace. [95]

THE KHWABGAH OR SLEEPING APARTMENT



Khwabgah complex was the most important and beautifully designed building of the royal complex. The building was solely ascribed to the emperor's personal use. This complex has separate room where emperor holds his secrete official meeting with his noble men. In this complex is located Akbars personal library where various books and official document were kept. This building also contains Akbar personal chamber called Khwabgah or sleeping chamber where emperor can repose after his hectic schedules.

This is one of the well designed buildings in Fateh Pur Sikri. The building is entirely made up of red sand stone and is double storied. The ground floor of the building is divided into four sections. It contains two rooms on eastern side and two halls on the western side. The northeast side of the building is most interesting. The room on this side is 8.30m x 5.18m in dimension and contains number of coffers and spacious niches with sliding stone slab, this space was most probably use for keeping books and other documents and hence it might be Akbars library (*kutub khana*). Even Abu'l Fazl mentioned about this *Kutub Khana* and said that it contains about 25000 manuscripts.

On the first floor, towards the south is located a small chamber which is known as sleeping chamber. This chamber measures 4.24mx4.35m in dimensions and is surrounded by a pillared verandah, which is 2.89m wide having five openings. This verandah is roofed by a sloping khaprel of stone, which provides it a distinctive look. This chamber was once connected to the Imperial harem and Panch Mahal through a covered passage; traces of this passage have still survived.

Originally the walls were entirely covered by fresco paintings, but only a few fragments now remain. Unfortunately, these have been protected by a coat of varnish, which reduces them all to a dull monochrome. It is to be regretted that a more scientific method of preserving them was not adopted. They are all in the Persian style, and, except for the Chinese element which is often present in Persian art, there is no ground for Edmund Smith's supposition that Chinese artists were employed here.

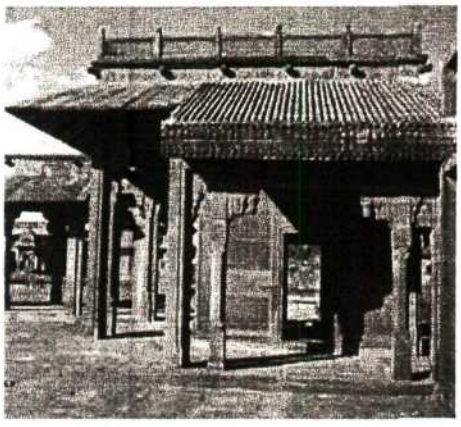
On the side window over the eastern doorway is a painting of a winged figure, in front of a rock cave, supporting a new-born baby in its arms. In all probability it refers to the birth of Jahangir in the cell of the Sheikh Salîm Chishti, which Akbar no doubt thought miraculous. Many archaeologists make the great mistake of attributing every winged figure in these decorations to some Biblical story. Heavenly beings with wings, the inhabitants of Paradise, spirits of the air, or "angels," are very common in Persian and Indian painting, and are by no means a monopoly of European artists.

It is known that Akbar took a great interest in painting. Abu'l Fazl, in the "Ain-i-Akbari," states that "His Majesty from the earliest youth has shown a great predilection for the art, and gives it every encouragement, as he looks upon it as a means both of study and amusement. Hence the art flourishes, and many painters have obtained great reputations. The works of all painters are weekly laid before his Majesty by the Daroghas and the clerks; he confers rewards according to the excellence of workmanship, or increases their monthly salaries. Much progress was made in the commodities required by painters, and the correct prices of such articles were carefully ascertained." [96]

Akbar himself remarked, "Bigoted followers of the law are hostile to the art of painting, but their eyes now see the truth. There are many that hate painting, but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had a peculiar means of recognizing God; for a painter, in sketching anything that has life and in drawing its limbs, must feel that he cannot bestow personality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase his knowledge." [97] The enlightened court of Akbar was evidently a paradise for artists.

Opposite to Akbar's apartments is a large square tank with a platform in the centre, approached by four narrow stone paths. The tank was filled from the waterworks near the Elephant Gate, and the water was kept constantly fresh by an overflow channel connecting with the tank at the back of the Dîwan-i-Khâs.

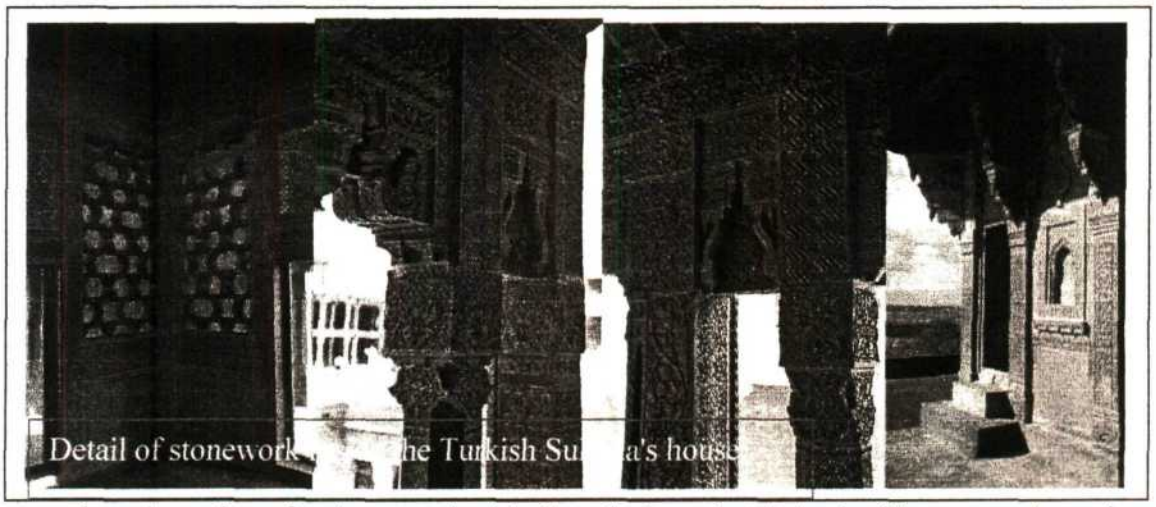
THE TURKISH SULTANA'S HOUSE.



In the north-east angle of the Mahal-i-Khas quadrangle is a small, picturesque building, one of the gems of Fateh Pur , called the Turkish Sultana's House It contains only a single apartment, surrounded by a verandah, but in the carving of every surface within and without there is a wealth of invention and decorative skill rarely achieved even by the Mogul artists.

The pavilion is 3.96m by 1.37m in dimension. It contains a portico in the west, which are 2.64 by 4.97 in dimensions. The pavilion stands on square piers with octagonal shafts at the corners. It is connected to the ground floor of the Khwabgah complex through a colonnaded verandah at the north-west and south-east corners. Originally the verandah and portico were screened with stone lattice work.

The building is exquisitely carved and is also called as superb *jewel casket.* Every architectural member of the building including bracket, frieze, pillar or dado panels



Detail of stonework [illegible] the Turkish Su[illegible]a's house

are minutely and profusely carved with fine designs that it looks like a wood carving rather stonework. Each stone slab is different from other in designs. The pillars of verandah are carved with beautiful pomegranate, grapes, melons and other arabesque designs. The brackets which supports the roof of the verandah are exquisitely carved with bell shaped patterns amalgamated with floral pattern and herring-bone carvings.

The dado panels are especially remarkable for the charming conventionalized rendering of trees, like banyan, date palm and others; there are horses walking on the ground; others animals drinking water from a pool and birds flying in the air, and, the other panel depicts garden with vine creepers cypress and date palm. These panels are bordered with inter lacing semi hexagon and swastiks. The vegetable and animal motifs splendidly adorned this chamber. Thus it is one of the best masterpieces of Mughal art.

The carving was intended as groundwork for painting and gilding which were never added, for the Fateh Pur Palace was abandoned even before it was finished. Nothing is known with certainty of the lady who inhabited this delightful bower, but she must have been one of Akbar's favourites. A covered passage connected the house with the Khwâbgâh, and also with another block of buildings of no special interest, known as the Girls' School.[98]

HAKIM'S BATHS.

A staircase from the south verandah leads down to some interesting baths outside the south-west corner of the Dîwan-i-âm quadrangle, which were probably for the use of the Turkish Sultana. They are worth seeing, though not so fine as the so-called Hakim's Baths. The latter, which are situated just opposite to these baths, on the steep slope of the ridge, are the finest of their kind existing in India. They form an extensive hydropathic establishment, decorated in the most excellent taste with polished plaster and *graffito*, or cut-plaster work. Undoubtedly they were used by Akbar himself, and they derive their present name from their close proximity to the quarters occupied by the Hakims, or doctors. .[99]

PACHISI BOARD

In the northern half of the great palace quadrangle is a pachisi board cut on the pavement, similar to the one in the Samman Burj in the Agra Fort. Here Akbar and the ladies of the Court would amuse themselves by playing the game with slave girls as living pieces. The dice were thrown on the small platform in the centre of the board.

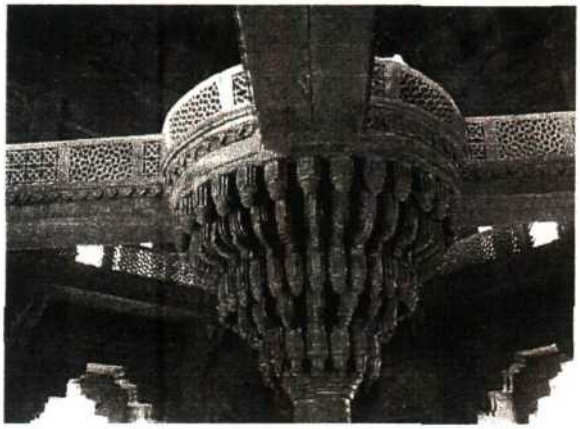
THE DÎWAN-I-KHÂS



The Dîwan-i-Khâs or Hall of Private Audience.

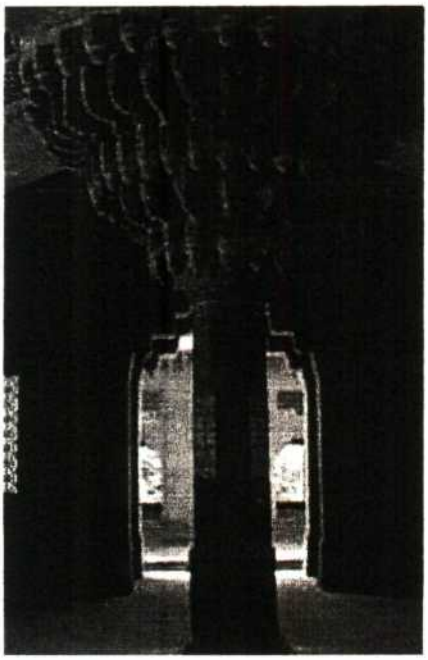
Further towards the north, immediately opposite to the Kwâbgâh, is a square detached building, a fine example of the dignified style of the period, for it owes none of its effects to imposing dimensions, but only to the skill with which the architect has treated a difficult subject.

This red sand stone building is square in plan having an area of 13.18m sq. The building has four facades. Each façade is double storied having balconies on upper story, which runs all around the building. The ground floor contains a doorway with



corbelled opening. The upper storey contains three oblong square openings on each of its four facades. These openings are protected above by a broad slanting chhajja, running all around the building. There are four beautiful kiosks on each corner of the building, which provides a magnificent elevation to the building, inspite of lacking superstructure or the dome. These kiosks are octagonal having four pillars with brackets supporting chhajja. These kiosks are covered with a circular dome, crowned by an inverted lotus.

Traditionally the room was thought to have been used as an audience hall by Akbar for his ministers, the idea being that Akbar sat atop the column and his advisers crowded the balconies and bridges. However, the space is too tight to have allowed this in practice. The room may have actually functioned as jewel house where Akbar, walking on the bridges, inspected jewels arrayed on the floor. Alternatively, the room may have simply been a symbolic representation of Akbar's eclectic religious beliefs.



On the outside it would appear to be a two-storied building, but on entering it is seen to contain only a single vaulted chamber, surrounded halfway up by a gallery. The interior of the building contains a single square hall measuring 8.74m sq. in area and is dominated by a massive and richly carved pillar, which supports one of the most magnificent and elegant capitals ever, conceived. The pillar stands exactly in the centre of the hall having a square base and octagonal shaft, which is carved with stylized leaves design below and chevron pattern above.



Near the capital the pillar assumes a sixteen sided shape from which arises 36 beautiful brackets in three tiers. This capital is made by joining these curved brackets in a circular shape. This capital supports a circular platform, from which extends four narrow stone galleries diagonally, connecting the central platform to the inner jalied balcony, which runs all around the interior wall. These galleries are 3.04m long and 0.71m wide. These galleries and the platform contain a low carved balustrade. Each angle of the internal hall has quarter circular platform, which are also supported on similar kind of brackets as the central one but are of smaller size. This most original construction carried Akbar's throne, which was placed immediately over the great column. The ministers attended at the four corners of the gallery; the great nobles and others admitted to the audience thronged the floor beneath. [100]

THE ANKH-MICHAULI OR THE TREASURY

To the left of the Diwan-I-Khaas is the Treasury or Ankh Michauli, always ready to amuse the innocent tourist, describe as the Ankh-Michauli or "Blind-man's Buff House." There is a legend that Akbar here played hide-and-seek with the ladies of the zanana. The same story is told about a set of apartments in the Jahangiri Mahal in the Agra Fort, but the only ground for it seems to be that the arrangement of the rooms might lend itself to such diversions. It most probably contained strong-rooms for the safe custody of valuables, either state archives or jewels.

THE YOGI'S OR AN ASTROLOGER SEAT

At the corner of the Ankh-Michauli is a square platform covered by a domed canopy. The great carved brackets which support the architraves are very characteristic of Jaina construction. The most remarkable feature of this kiosk is *Torana shaped* bracket provided on all of its four sides. These are called torana shaped brackets because these brackets were used to adorn doorways of Hindu temples which are also called Toranas. In this kiosk each bracket is made of two separate pieces of red sand

stone, neatly affixed together. The brackets are carved with *mouth of formalized monster* .The bracket is divided into 11 separate bands containing exquisite carved designs.

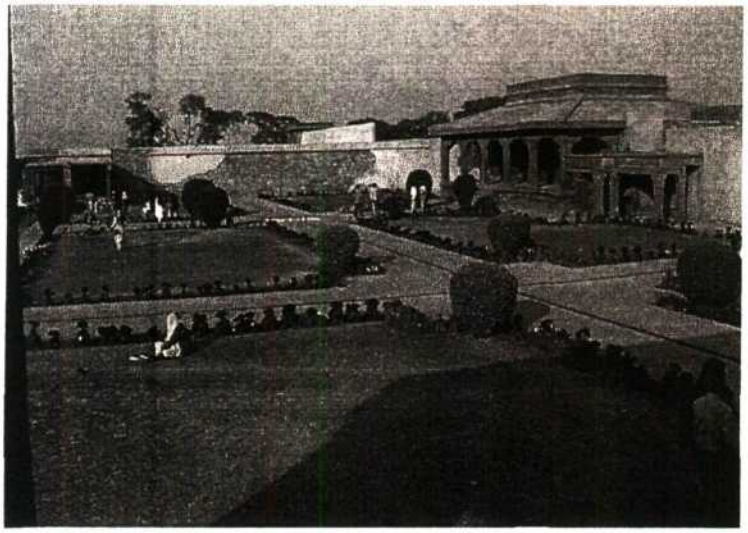


This small but elegant kiosk rises from a small extension of the platform on which the treasury of gold and silver coin (Ankh Michauli) stands. The legend ascribed this kiosk to an astrologer or yogi, whom Akbar used to consult in his political matters, but this view, is totally untenable. Proximity of this kiosk to the treasury house suggests that the emperor would most probably sit there occasionally to watch the distribution of copper coins to pay his subordinate officers and other deserving people.The kiosk is 3m sq. in area and is supported on four pillars having square base and octagonal top .The base of the pillar is adorned with semi circular patterns and the capitals are plain with leaf designs The roof is crowned by square dome decorated with interlocking tulip pattern and having an inverted lotus. There is a usual stone eave all around the kiosk and supported on the small brackets. [101]

THE HOSPITAL

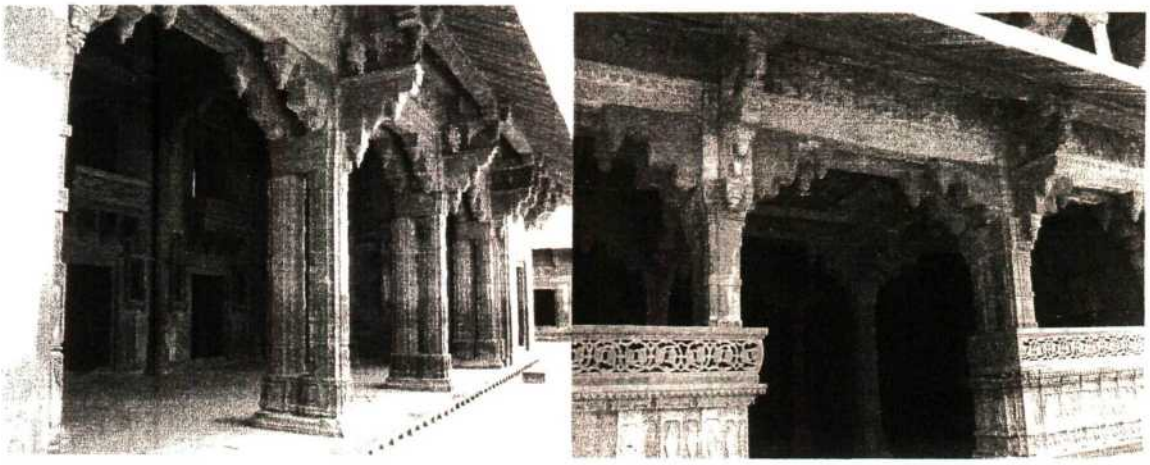
Adjoining the Ankh-Michauli are the remains of a long, low building, which was the hospital; a few of the wards still remain. Possibly this was arranged on the model of the hospital which Akbar allowed the Jesuit Fathers to build in the city. He also permitted them to construct a small chapel. The records of the missionaries tell us that Akbar once came there alone, removed his turban and offered prayers, first kneeling in the Christian manner, then prostrating himself according to the Muslims custom, and, finally, after the ritual of the Hindus. One of the Christian congregations having died about this time, he granted permission for the funeral procession to pass through the streets of Fateh Pur with all the ceremonies of the Catholic faith. Many of the inhabitants, both Hindus and Muslims, attended the funeral. Akbar was never persuaded to become a convert to Christianity, nor does there appear to be any ground for the belief that one of his wives was a Christian. [102]

THE DÎWAN-I-ÂM.



Rear of the Diwan-i-Am pavilion viewed from the house of the Turkish Sultana. On its other side, the Diwan-i-Am pavilion faces a 112 by 55 meter courtyard where the King's subjects gathered to await the King's appearance 3 hours after dawn. Here, the King dispensed justice and heard grievances.

The journey to the royal palace begins with Diwan-i-Am or the Hall Of Public Audience. The west side of the Dîwan-i-Am (Hall of Public Audience) and its cloisters coincide for the whole length with the east of the palace quadrangle. This hall was also used for celebrations and public prayers. It has cloisters on three sides of a rectangular courtyard.

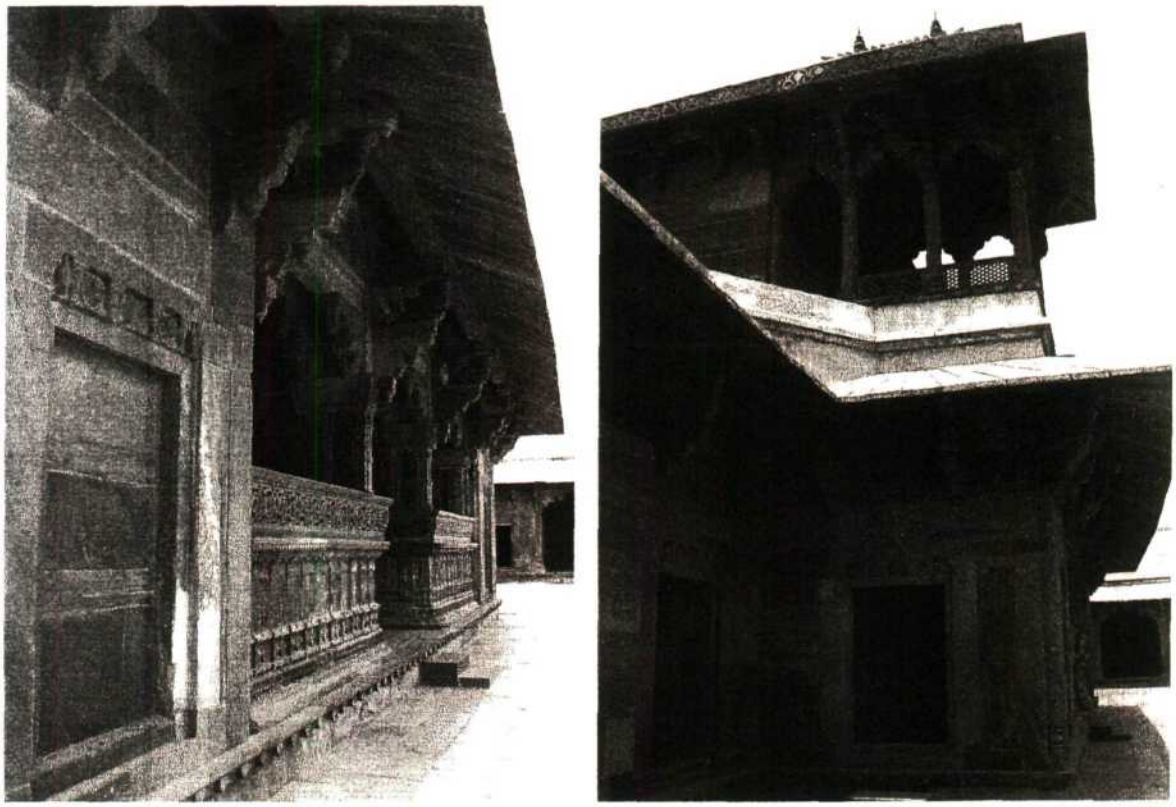


Courtyard exteriors of The Dîwan-i-Am.

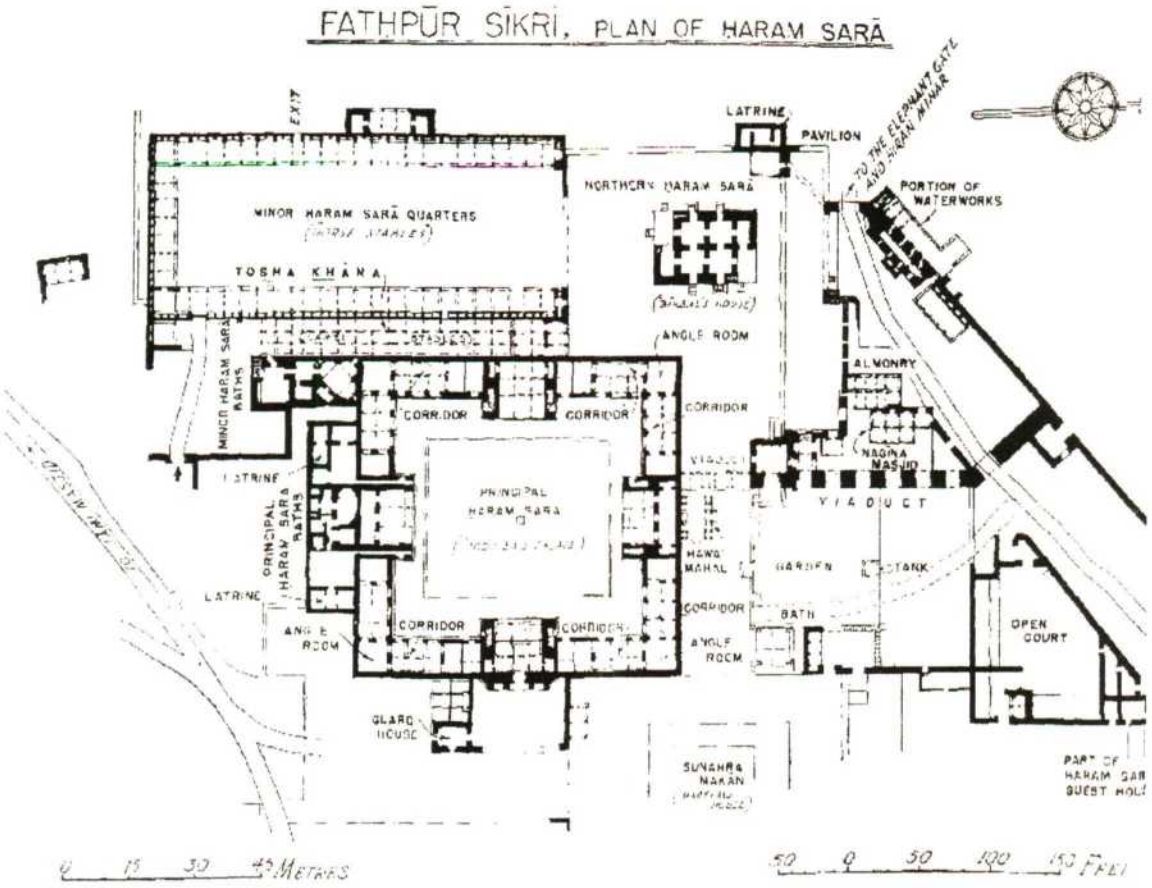
This spacious oblong complex measures 112.38m from north-south and 55.20m from east to west. It is surrounded by a colonnaded dalan on all sides. These dalans are raised over a plinth and divided into 111 bays with the help of square pillars

having simple brackets and a continuous broad sloping chhajja. In the middle of the western side of this complex a *throne chamber* has been provided, which is the most attractive feature of the building. This throne chamber is oriented towards east, the direction of rising sun, in accordance with the belief of Akbar in sun worship. This chamber has a *khaprel* (stone tiled) roof over the verandah, which provides a distinctive appearance to the building. Above this, is a carved frieze, which is decorated with beautiful pattern. In the interior the chamber is divided into three parts. The emperor sat in the centre of the chamber pattern con, which was surrounded by the stone screens containing beautiful six-pointed star pattern. The portion of the chamber beyond the screen was most probably reserved for the women. A beautifully carved balustrade surrounded this chamber. The building lacks any dome or superstructure, but the *pillar-bracket-chhajja* composition with kiosks at regular intervals provides it a beautiful elevation.[103]

Courtyard exteriors of The Dîwan-i-Am.



MARIAM'S KOTHI.





This single storied building stands independently, in a small courtyard of its own, located at the Northeast corner of the Harem Sara. This architecturally small and simple building is profusely painted in the interior and the exterior, in pleasing colour combination with gold. Owing to this guiding, it was once called as *Sunehra Makan or golden house.* Now this building is popularly known as Maryams House as it was abode of Akbars Mother *Hamida Banu Begum*; who was entitled *Maryam Makani* (Equal in rank to Mary) [104]

This north oriented building, stands over a rectangular plinth, which is 18.23m north to South by 14.75m East to West in dimension and reached by steps centrally placed on each side. It is composed of four rooms, one in the centre and other three at the back facing south. Then central room, which is main chamber of the building, is oblong and is surrounded on three sides i.e. East, West and North by a colonnaded verandah. The rooms at the backside are comparatively small. Out of these three rooms, two are opened towards north and middle room has opening towards South. On Eastern corner a small guardroom has been provided. This building can be approached from all four sides.

The architecture of the building is very simple, but its uniqueness lies, in its splendid mural paintings. It contains a small parapet all around the top, which is pierced by two little opening, to discharge rain water. Above the parapet a carved frieze, with overlapping designs have been provided. The side pillars of verandah are simple and contain three sunken oblong panels arranged vertically on all four faces, of the shaft. In middle of verandah are two pairs of slightly thinner square pillars, which are unpanelled. Three pairs of pillars are aligned with the sidewalls of the main room and are supported by heavy brackets. The principal doorway has an arch opening, which is filled with a perforated jali at the top. Above the roof of Northern room is an oblong Kiosk with eight columns. The Kiosk contains a small chhajja supported by heavy brackets and surmounted by triangular roof, which is carved with interlacing tulip patterns.

The interior of the building contains beautiful paintings depicting Elephant fights, hunting, battle scene and tournaments. North-West corner contains scenes depicting nature. In addition to the murals, the palace also has series of carved designs like row of elephants, hamsa (swan), and kirti mukhas on the brackets and chhajja bears. Surprisingly Rama and Hanuman, most popular Hindu deities are carved in relief of the brackets, on the northern façade of the building, which shows Akbars liberal attitude towards the art without any discrimination.

There would be nothing primâ facie improbable that Akbar should have caused some events of Biblical history to be painted on the walls of his palaces; but on the other hand, there is nothing whatever to connect this fresco with the Annunciation. The winged figures here represented are of the type commonly found in paintings of stories from Persian mythology. [105]

Perhaps the most interesting of all the paintings is a portrait in a panel in one of the rooms. One would like to know whether this was the lady of the house; but there seems to be no tradition connected with it.

Painting as technique of decoration in building was introduced in Akbar's buildings. Their paintings were either executed on the plain stone surface of the walls or ceilings or these paintings were applied on wet lime plastered surface, which is also called *stucco* work. The outline of the paintings was drawn with red ochre (geru) colour or black generally carbon is used for this purpose. The pigments, which were used, were generally prepared from the minerals like *red ochre, lapis lazuli, sulphides of Mercury, lead* and *other arsenic and copper ores*. Some colours were also prepared from plant extracts like indigo, lac and dhak. [106]

Best example of architectural paintings of Mughal period are buildings of Fateh Pur Sikri like Khawbgah, Maryam's house, Jodhbai's palace and Jami Masjid, which are representative of the perfection of this art, with its large scale use and an added impressiveness and graceful overall effect. [107]

Judging from the style of the frescoes, it would seem probable that this was not the residence of Mariam Zamâni, but of one of Akbar's first two wives, whose connections were mostly with Persia. [108]

The Panch Mahal

To the right of Sunehra Makan is the elegant, airy 5 storeyed pavilion, the Panch Mahal. This curious five-storied pavilion is nearly opposite to the Dîwan-i-âm. Each floor over here is smaller than the one below and it rises to a single domed kiosk on top supported by four columns providing a magnificent view of the city and its environs.



It is approached by a staircase from the Mahal-i-khas. Each story was originally enclosed by pierced stone screens; this, and the fact that the whole building overlooked the palace zanana, make it tolerably certain that it could only have been used as a promenade by Akbar and the ladies of the court. The ground-floor, which was divided into cubicles by screens between the columns, may; as Keene suggests, have been intended for the royal children and their attendants. The building is chiefly remarkable for the invention and taste shown in the varied designs of the columns, in which the three principal styles of Northern India, the Hindu, Jain, and Saracenic, are indiscriminately combined. [109]

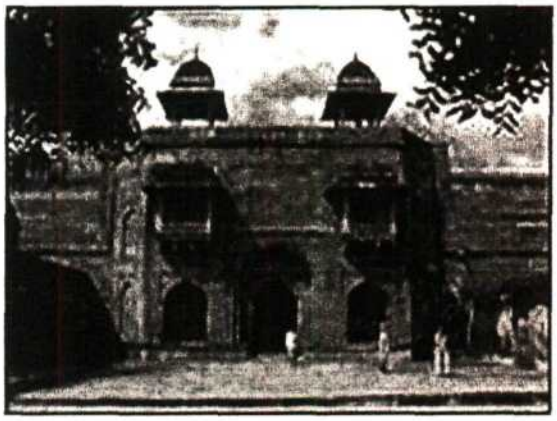


The first storey contains 84 pillars. It contains row of 8 pillars arranged in North to South direction and row of 6 pillars arranged in East to West direction. Double pillars have been provided at North-East corner and in between, to sustain the load of upper storey. The pillar on extreme North-East corner is quadruple. Five additional pillars have also been provided on Southern side. Instead of usual chhajja, it contains a balustrade, with beautiful geometric designs.

The second storey contains 56 pillars, Row of 6 pillars in North to South direction and row of 4 pillars in East to West direction. This storey is most exquisite of all. It contains beautiful carved pillars, having unique designs; it is commendable that no two pillars of this storey are alike. Some of them are *circular;* some are *octagonal,* having different designs like floral *designs, spirals* or twisted pattern and Hindu *bell-and-chain* motif. Capitals of these pillars also contain beautiful carved designs like *floral vase,* arch or *rosette pattern* . This storey contains a projecting chhajja and a carved frieze. The third storey is composed of twenty pillars and is smaller. It contains row of 5 pillars from North to South and row of three pillars from East-West direction having double pillars at North-East corner. The fourth storey consists of 12 pillars in two rows. Pillars on Eastern side are double. This storey also has beautiful jalied balustrade. The top of the building is crowned with beautiful square chhatri with a cupola. [110]

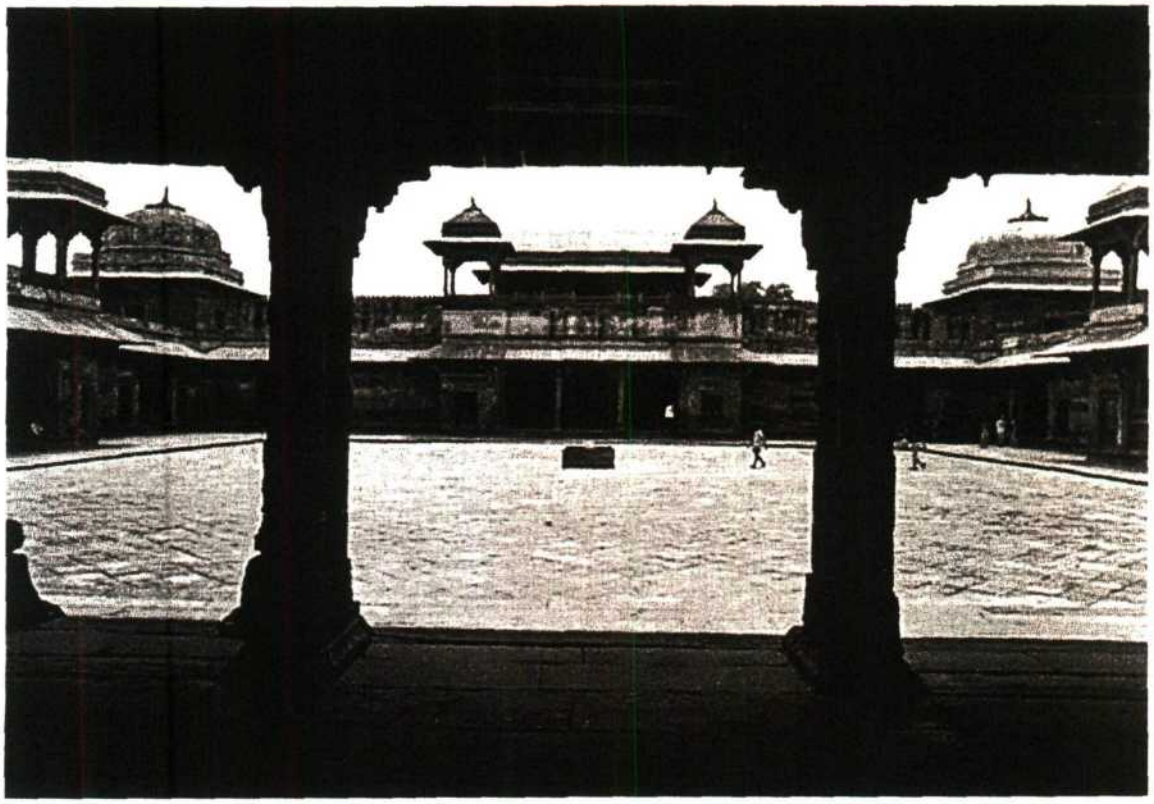
It is believed that this building is oriented towards East, because on this side double and quadruple pillars have been used. Stairs have also been provided on the Western direction. [111]

JODH BAI'S PALACE



The largest and the most important building in the royal palace is named after Akbar's Rajput wife, Jodha Bai. Though "Miriam's House" is generally regarded as the abode of Mariam Zâmâni, there is a great deal to support the view that the spacious palace known as Jodh Bai's Mahal or Jahangiri Mahal, was really her residence. It is undoubtedly one of the oldest buildings in Fateh Pur . [112]

We know that Akbar went there on Mariam's account; and, after Jahangir's birth, Akbar's first care would be to build a palace for the mother and her child, his long-wished-for heir. Mariam was a Hindu, and this palace in all its construction and nearly all its ornamentation belongs to the Hindu and Jaina styles of Mariam's native country, Rajputana. It even contains a Hindu temple. [113] It is also the most important of all the palaces, and Mariam, as mother of the heir-apparent, would take precedence of all the other wives.



This spacious palace was assured of privacy and security by high walls and a 9 metre guarded gate to the east. On the left of the entrance is a small guard-house. A simple but finely proportioned gateway leads through a vestibule into the inner quadrangle. The style of the whole palace is much less ornate than the other zanana buildings, but it is always dignified and in excellent taste. It must be remembered that the severity of the architectural design was relieved by bright colouring and rich purdahs, which were used to secure privacy for the ladies of the zanana and to diminish the glare of the sunlight.

The palace building consists of a rectangular block measuring 2318 x 215 in dimension, with a single magnificent gateway on Eastern side, which was adequately protected by guard rooms, having *triangular ceiling* and other apartments. The palace has spacious court in the centre, around which double storied suites have been planned, one in the middle of each side. On all four corners are located living quarters or corner *single storied suites,* which are connected with central suites through corridors or pillared dalans. The suites in the middle of the Southern and Northern side are identical but the suites on Eastern and Western sides are slightly different. [114]

The Southern suite has an inner rectangular hall with a spacious colonnaded dalan in front of it, corridors on its sides lead to its backside where *baths and toilets* have been provided. The Northern suite is similar to Southern one, except that the rectangular hall has a room on either side; instead of corridors stairways have also been provided on the sides. The Eastern side is mostly occupied by the entrance gate and only a dalan has been left out. The Western Suite is a large colonnaded hall with a raised dais in the centre. The architectural style of this suite suggests that it could be used as a temple.

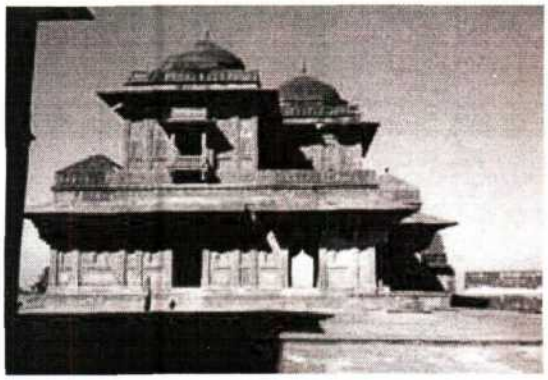


The upper storey is composed of four, square domed rooms at the four corners, two colonnaded pavilions with chhaparkhats on the Eastern and Western sides and two triangular khaprel pavilions with chhatris on the Southern and Northern side, corresponding to the lower apartments.

The architecture is a blend of styles with Hindu columns and Muslim cupolas. It had specimens of *stucco* painting upon the parapet, interior soffits and exterior of the cupolas. *Daulat khana-i-khas* Located in the corner to the left is the emperor's private chamber. It has two main rooms on the ground floor. One housed Akbar's library while the larger room was his resting area. On the first floor is the Khwabgah or the bed-chamber. It was connected with the Turkish Sultana's house, the Panch Mahal, Mariam's House and the Jodha Bai's palace by corridors. *Sunehra Makan* Opposite to the Diwan-i-Khas is the palace of Akbar's Rajput wife, Mariam-Uz-Zamani. This two-storied building is richly adorned by gold murals in Persian style. The beams have inscriptions of verses by Akbar's brother, Faizi.

Archeologically its construction and ornamentation are very interesting. Many of the details are of Jain origin, and of the same type as the mixed Jain and Saracenic style, which was being developed about the same period in Gujarat. The arrangements of the palace are shown in the annexed plan. One of the most interesting features is the Hawa Mahal, a pavilion projecting from the north side, enclosed by pierced stone screens. Here the ladies could enjoy the cool breezes and the view of the lake with the distant hills beyond, without being exposed to the vulgar gaze. The palace was formerly connected with Akbar's private apartments by a covered way, supported on pillars, near the entrance. This was removed some years ago. Another private passage that led from the Hawa Mahal to the zanana garden opposite, and, probably, from thence right down to the tower known as the Hiran Minâr. [114]

RAJAH BIRBAL'S HOUSE OR BIRBAL'S DAUGHTER'S HOUSE



Rajah Birbal was a Brahman minstrel, who came to Akbar's court in the beginning of his reign, and by his wit and abilities gained the Emperor's favour. He was first created Hindu Poet Laureate; from that dignity he was raised to the rank of Rajah, and became one of Akbar's most intimate friends and advisers. Birbal was one of those who subscribed to Akbar's new religion, "The Divine Faith." When he perished in an unfortunate expedition against some unruly Afghan tribes, Akbar's grief was for a long time inconsolable.

The house which is named after him was originally enclosed within the precincts of the imperial zanana, and a covered way connected it with Jodh Bai's palace. It is one of the most richly decorated of all the adjacent buildings, and next to Jodh Bai's palace, the largest of the imperial residences. As in so many other instances, the vague local tradition which assigns this palace to Rajah Birbal seems to be at fault. Abu'l Fazl that most careful and precise biographer, records that Akbar ordered a palace to be built for the Rajah, and that when it was finished in the twenty-seventh year of his reign (1582) the Emperor honoured it with his presence. An inscription discovered by Edmund Smith upon the capital of a pilaster in the west façade of the building, states that it was erected in Samvat 1629 (A.D. 1572), ten years before this date, and three years after the commencement of the city. [115]

Though the Rajah was one of Akbar's most trusted friends, his palace would hardly be placed within the enclosure of the Emperor's own zanana and connected with it; nor is it likely that Akbar would provide Birbal with a residence so incomparably more magnificent than those he gave to his other two intimate friends, Abu'l Fazl and Faizi, by the side of the great mosque. [116]



All the probabilities are that this was one of the imperial palaces occupied by Akbar's wives, which were the first buildings erected at Fateh Pur . Fergusson's assumption that Birbal's daughter was one of Akbar's wives would explain everything; but the fact that Abu'l Fazl makes no mention of such a daughter, is very good evidence that Akbar was not connected with Birbal by marriage. [117] Since the building is located in a place which is segregated for the ladies of the royal palace only, it is believed that neither Birbal, nor any other man was the occupant of this palace, hence its name is a *misnomer.* According to popular believes the most probable occupants of this palace were Akbar's two senior queens, *Ruqayya Begum and Salima Sultan Begum.*

The main palace building is rectangular in plan and is double storied, made entirely of red sand stone. The building is raised from the ground on a plinth and is approached by small flights of steps in front of the doorways. It consists of four square rooms, each measuring 16'-10" (5.13m) square side, all interconnected through open doorways and two oblong entrance porches on North-West and South-East corners. While all the four rooms have flat ceilings, porches have *triangular chhappar ceiling* with pyramidal roof. The upper storey contains only two rooms with domed ceilings and terraces. Access is gained to the upper storey by two steep and narrow stairways, one on the South-West and other on the North-East corner. The most important feature of this palace is its minute surface carving on low and medium relief, with which the whole interior and exterior of the building has been ornamented. Geometrical, arabesques and stylized floral designs have been used in this ornamental scheme. Sufficient blank spaces have also been provided to avoid monotony. [118]

The interior of the building is divided into three days by richly carved pilasters. Shafts of these pilasters have been divided into three zones, which contain three different kind of decoration like single border designs, arabesque geometrical designs and stylized floral designs. Capitals of these pilasters bear lotus petals and stalactite designs. The upper storied room contains beautiful Jharokhas overlooking the court below and a simple chajja. Each dome of the upper rooms rests on an octagonal drum, which is also carved with a raised trefoil pattern. The domes are crowned by an inverted lotus and kalash finials and also bear traces of tile work. [119]

Though the entire construction is composed of lintels and beams, but beautifully carved brackets have been used to span the spaces between the pillars and ornamental arches. These brackets are carved on both faces with lotus and arabesque designs. Spandrels of the arches also bear arabesque and floral design. [120]

THE HATHI POL AND ADJOINING BUILDINGS.



Close under Birbal's house is the main road leading down to the great lake--now drained, the embankment of which formed the north-west boundary of the city. It passes through the gateway called the Hathi Pol, or Elephant Gate. The Hathi Pol was the formal gateway to the royal complex. This gate way was once adorned with two beautiful stone elephants about 3.7 m, one on the either side of the gate and hence given the gate way the name Hathi Pol. The trunks and heads of these elephants have now been

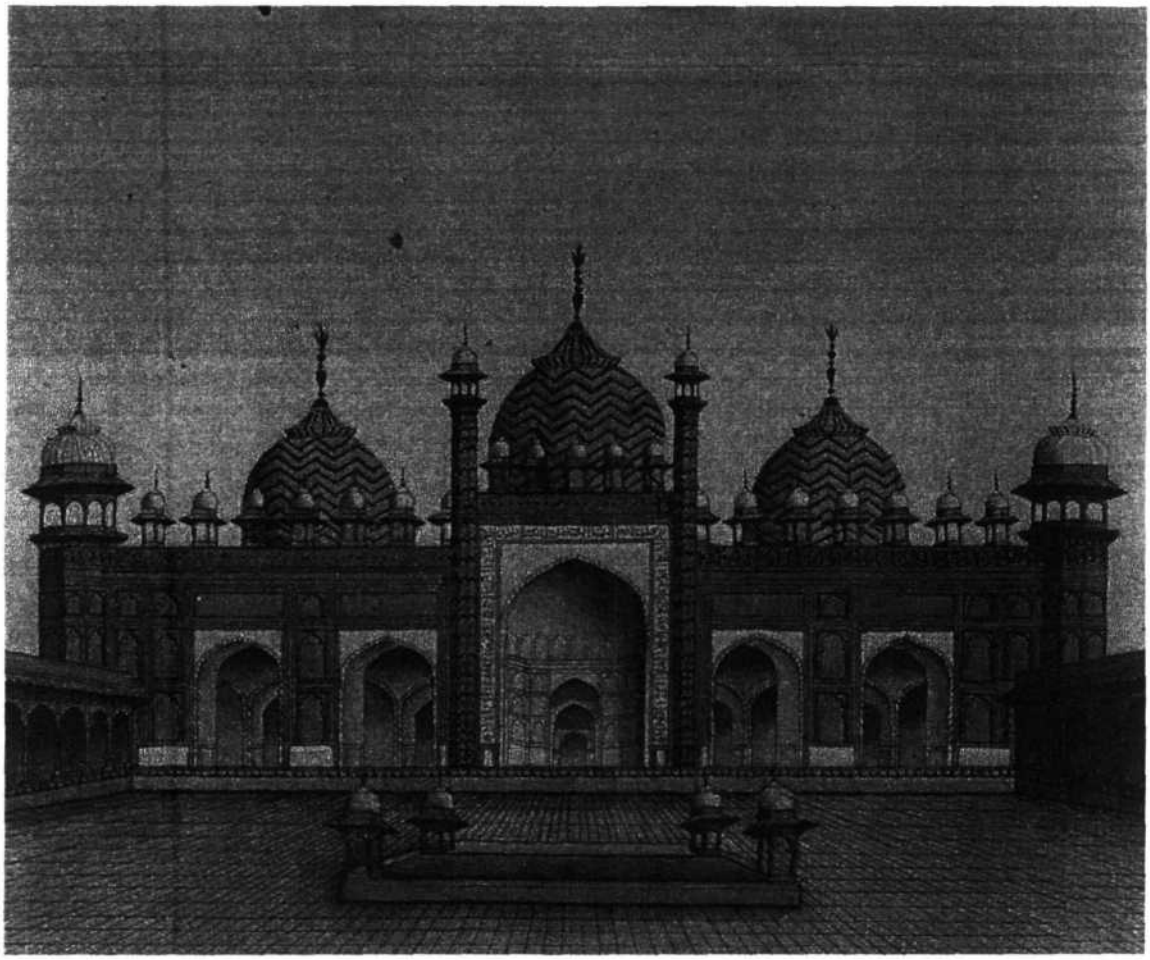
destroyed and only the lower portion has survived. The gate way is made up of rubble and finished with red sand stone and marble. The gate way is fortified and contains battlements. The main entrance is 5.20 m high and is entirely plane, without any decoration. On either of this arch one can see partially survived stone elephants. A gallery flanks the entrance arch, which is 3m wide and is accessible by a narrow staircase on either side of the gate.

On the left of the gateway are two buildings, the so-called Pigeon's House, probably intended for a magazine; and the Sangin Burj, a great bastion supposed to be part of the fortifications begun by Akbar and left unfinished, owing to the objections of Shaikh Salîm Chishti. A little beyond this, on the right, are the remains of the waterworks which supplied the whole city. Opposite to these, is the great traveller's rest-house, or Karwân-serai, in a very ruined state.

The, furthest of this block of buildings is a curious tower called the Hiran Minâr, or Deer Tower, 72 feet in height, ornamented with stone imitations of elephant tusks. According to tradition, it was built by Akbar in memory of a favourite elephant, and used by him as a shooting tower; the plain on the margin of the lake being the haunt of antelope and other game.

The splendid stretch of water, six miles long and two in breadth, induced many of the princes and nobles to build pavilions and garden houses on this side of the city. This was the place for great tournaments and festivities, and in the palmy days of Fateh Pur all the chivalry of the Mogul Court must have made a brave show here. The Hiran Minâr was connected with the zanana by a covered way, so that the ladies might assist at these spectacles and enjoy the cool breezes from the lake.

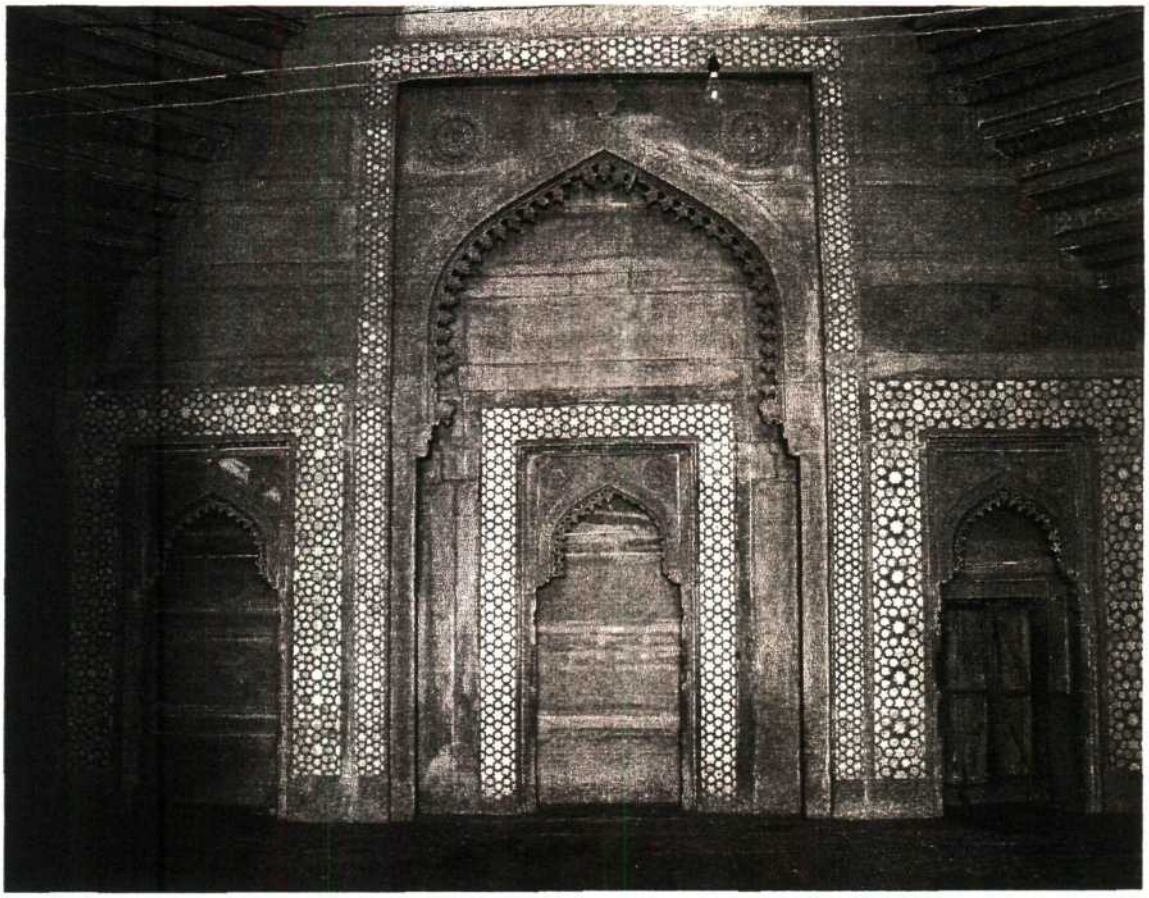
THE JÂMI MASJID



The great mosque of Fateh Pur is worthy of its founder's lofty ideals and nobility of soul. It is one of the most magnificent of all Akbar's buildings; the historic associations connected with it combine with its architectural splendour to make it one of the most impressive of its kind in the world. It is the first of the giant open mosque now typical off Mughal A city's. like the imperial residences, the imperial jami is a showpiece of great Akbari synthesis [121]

Within the great mosque, Akbar frequently held religious discussions with the learned doctors of Islam; and here, also, after the chief Mullahs had signed the famous document which declared Akbar to be Head of the Church, the Emperor mounted the pulpit, and stood before the congregation as the expounder of "the Divine Faith." He commenced to read a Khutbah, which Faizi, Abu'l Fazl's brother, had composed for the

occasion" The Lord, who gave to us dominion, wisdom, and heart and strength, Who guided us in truth and right, And cleansed our mind from all but right, None can describe His power or state, Allahú Akbar-- God is Great."



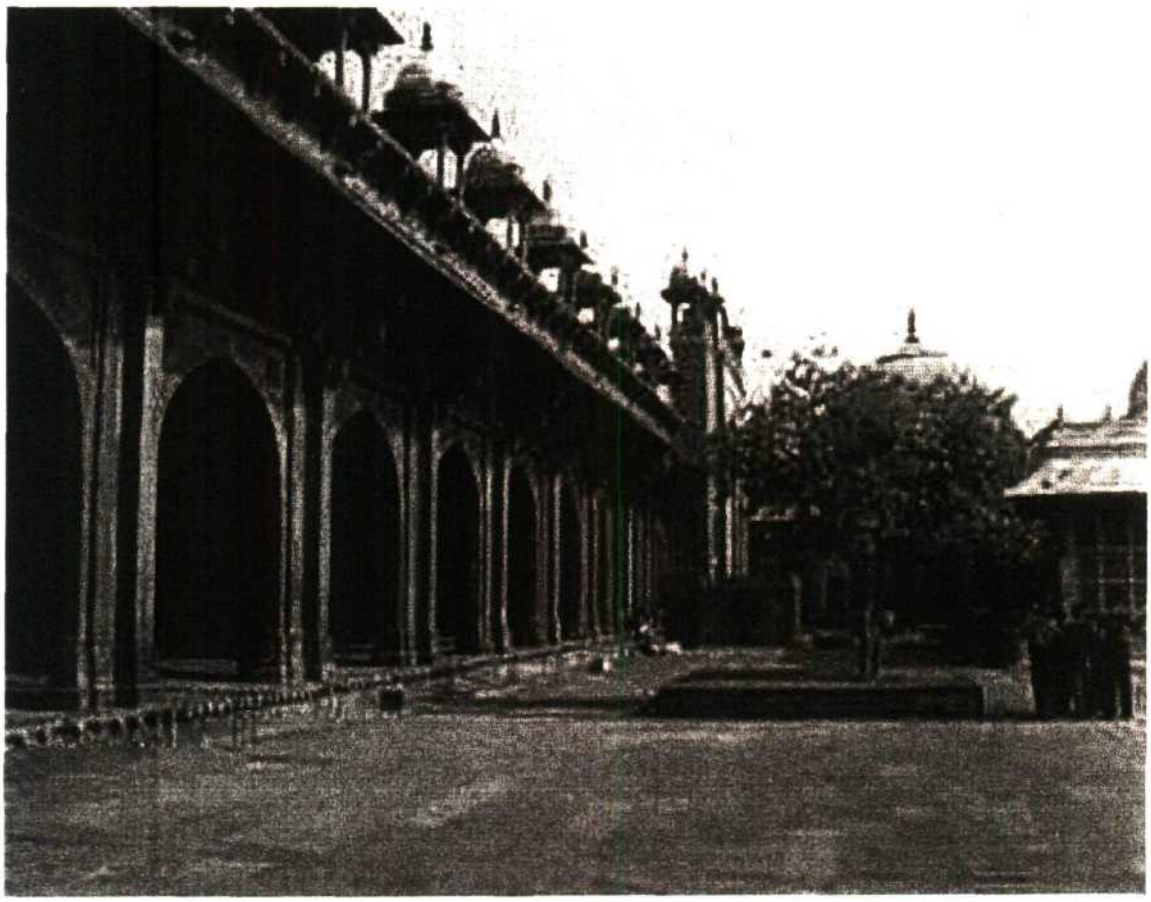
The mosque itself was built in honour of the Saint of Fateh Pur , Sheikh Salîm Chishti, whose tomb, enclosed in a shrine of white marble, carved with the delicacy of ivory-work, glitters like silver on the right of the quadrangle. Barren women, both Hindu and Muslims, tie bits of string or shreds of cloth to the marble trellis-work as tokens that if blessed with a son they will present an offering to the shrine. Close by is a plainer, but much larger mausoleum, for his grandson, Nawab Islam Khan, who was made Governor of Bengal by Jahangir. This also contains the remains of many other of the Sheikh's male descendants. A separate vault, called the Zanana Rauza, for the women of his family is formed by enclosing a portion of the adjoining cloisters. [122]

The quadrangle measures 109.68m by 133.73m in dimensions. The main mosque is located on the western side of this quadrangle and the other three sides contains spacious accurate cloister of 11.66m width divided into regular square bays. These accurate cloisters contains broad slanting chhajja supported on beautifully designed brackets and crowned with series of square chhatris above the parapet, which provides an elegant elevation to the building and is a unique example of harmonized culmination of pillars and chhatri composition The southern cloister is pierced by the Buland Darwaja, while the eastern cloister contains Badshahi Darwaja.The inner courtyard contains Sheikh Salims tomb, Islam khans tomb and an ablution tank. [123]

The main mosque is rectangular in plan and measures 87.82m by 19.81m in dimension and the main portal in the centre is 24.38m high. The central nave is 12.05m sq. in area and is roofed by a single dome. The central nave is flanked by two colonnaded halls on either side containing two square chambers, which are 7.62m in dimension and are attached to the western wall. These smaller chambers are also crowned with dome. The main chamber contains beautiful and ornately finished mihrab, which is 2.90m in width and 4.50m in height. The central mihrab is flanked by two smaller mihrabs, which are also beautifully ornamented. The smaller rooms on either side also contain mihrab. [124]

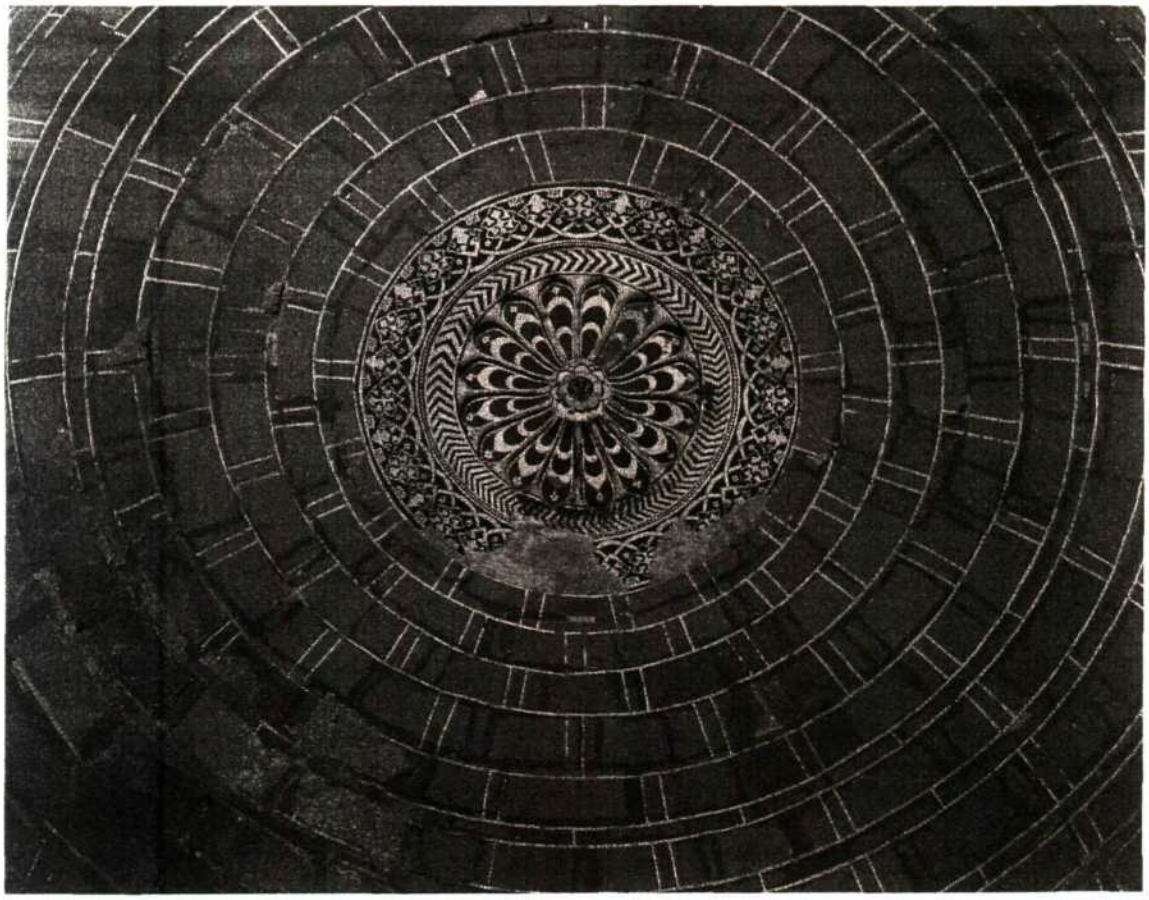
The mosque proper contains three chapels, crowned by domes. The principal one, in the centre, is screened by the façade of the entrance, the doorway being recessed, in the usual style of Saracenic buildings, in a great porch or semi-dome. An inscription over the main archway gives the date of the completion of the mosque as A.D. 1571. The chapels are connected with each other by noble colonnades of a decidedly Hindu or Jain character. The Saracenic arches combine most happily with the Hindu construction, and the view down the "long-drawn aisles" is singularly impressive. Much of the charm of the interior is due to the quiet reserve and dignity of the decoration, which is nearly all in the style of Arabian mosques, and may account for the statement on the central arch, that "this mosque is a duplicate of the Holy Place" (at Mecca). [125]

There are two entrances, approached by broad flights of steps. The one on the east side is the Emperor's Gate, by which Akbar entered the mosque from the palace, and the other, the majestic Baland Darwaza, or High Gate, which towers above everything on the south side, and even dwarfs the mosque itself with its giant proportions. The latter gate, however, was not a part of the original design, but was added many years after the completion of the mosque, to celebrate Akbar's victorious campaign in the Deccan. [126]



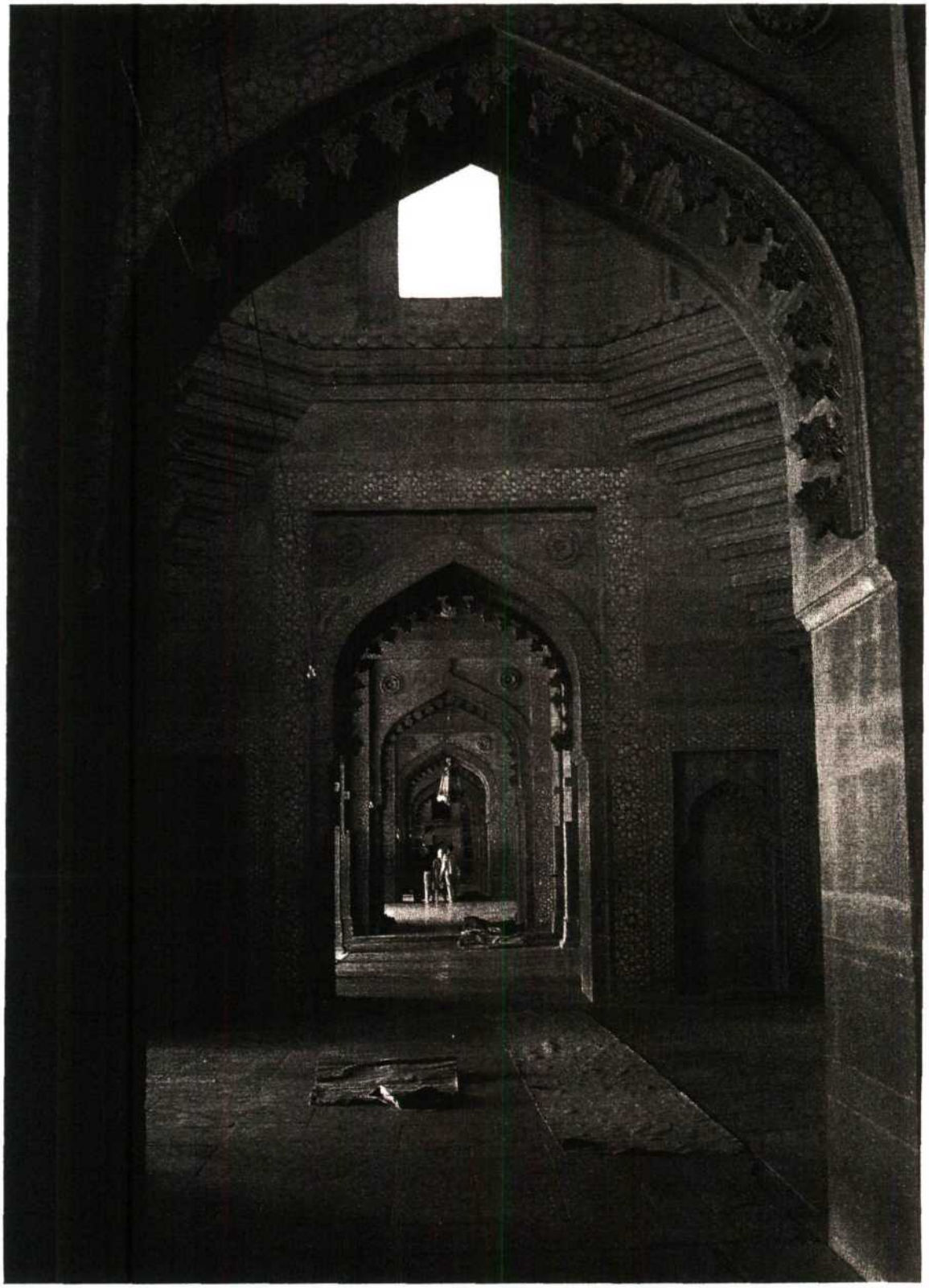
This lavishly decorated mosque marks the phase of transition in Islamic art, by using various indigenous architectural elements with efficacy. The façade composition of the building comprises of pillared dalan, with beautiful chhajja supporting on brackets and the chhatri on the roof, making an impressive skyline. The main iwan of the building is rather simple and contains a central arch, which is framed with the panels containing geometrical designs. The iwan contain three arched openings, which are also

framed by panels, and contains fringes .The iwan is crowned with five chhatris, which adds to its elegant elevation.

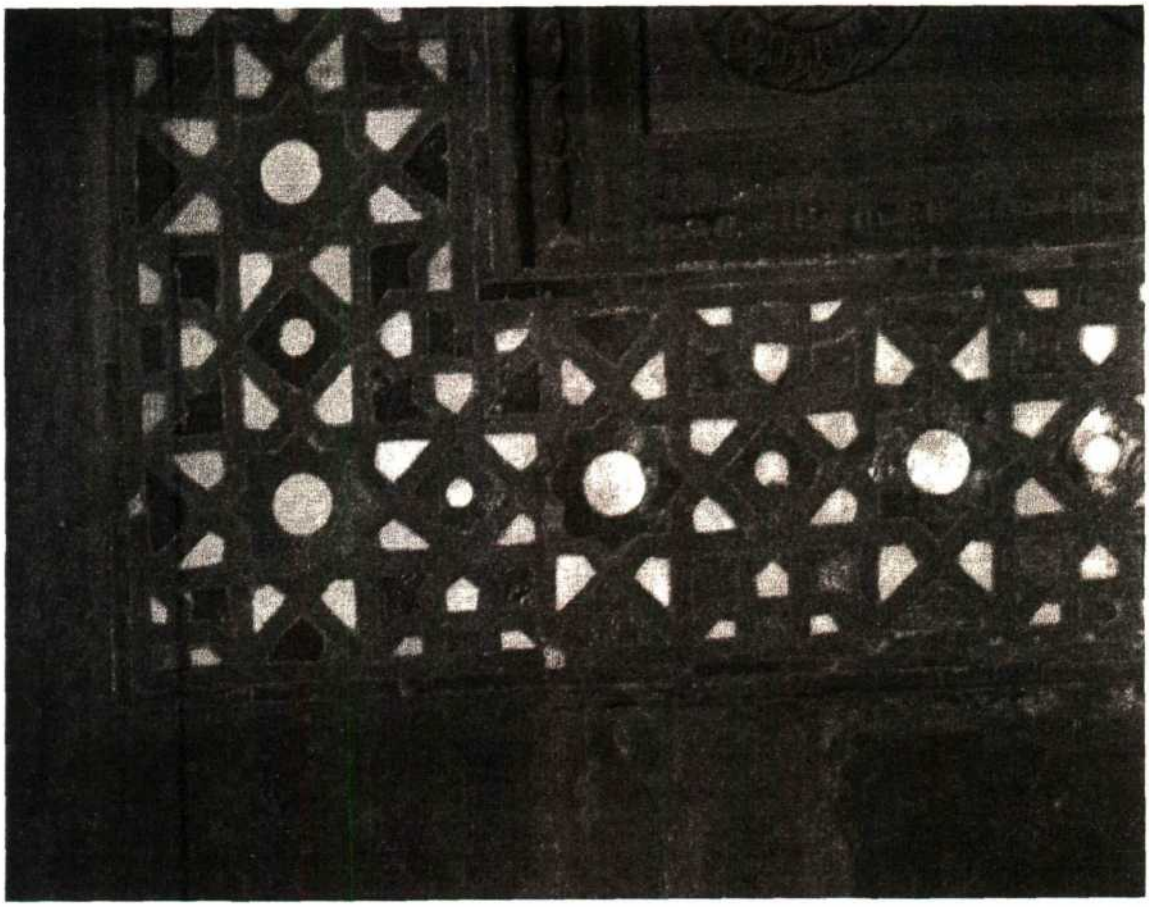


The central mihrab is most gorgeously ornamented with inlaid mosaic of stones and glazed tiles on the borders .It contains carved inscriptions, which are painted in blue and golden colour combination. The other mihrabs are also beautifully painted. The whole interior of the iwan has been painted in stylized floral designs. These paintings are simply watercolour painting applied directly on stone surface. Dado panels also bears beautiful floral designs and are bordered with other patterns. The other architectural elements like spandrels of arch, squinches and soffits are also profusely decorated with painted designs. The domes in the central and other two chambers are crowned with kalash finials, but these domes do not play any role in organizing the skyline of the building .The most interesting feature is that the dome is not supported on squinches as usual but it is supported on beautifully designed *corbelled pendentives* . The walls and

frieze of the mosque are carved with Persian and Arabic inscription containing quranic verses.



At each end of the mosque there is a set of five rooms for the mullahs who conducted the service; above them are galleries for the ladies of the zanana. Spacious cloisters surround three sides of the quadrangle; these are divided into numerous cells for the maulvis and their pupils.

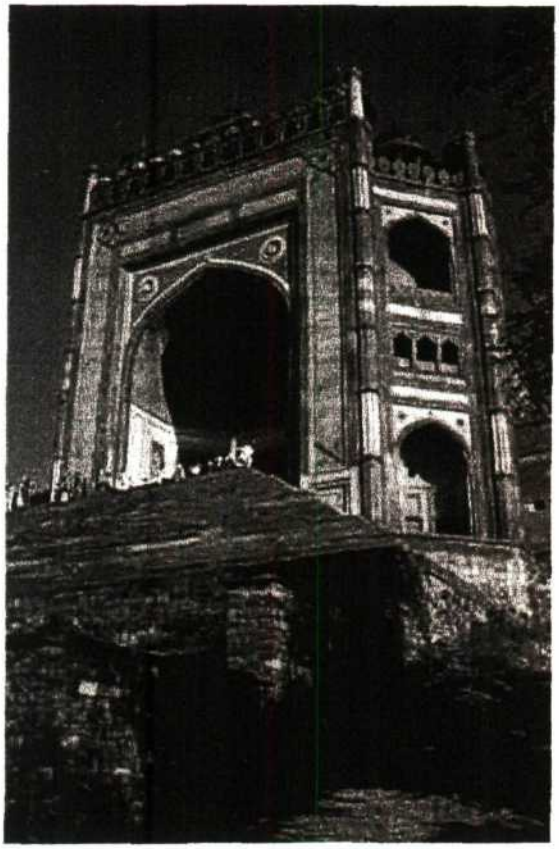


Jami Masjid at Fateh Pur Sikri depicts painted flower patterns on the archway of the sanctuary. These flowers are painted in grey white and red colours.

Ablution Tank

This tank stands near the tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti.It is a built up of red sand stone and is 8.68m sq. in area and 1.22m deep. These kinds of tanks are essential in every Jami Mosque, as ablutions are required before prayer. This tank is connected to the other water sources through underground pipes.

THE BALAND DARWAZA

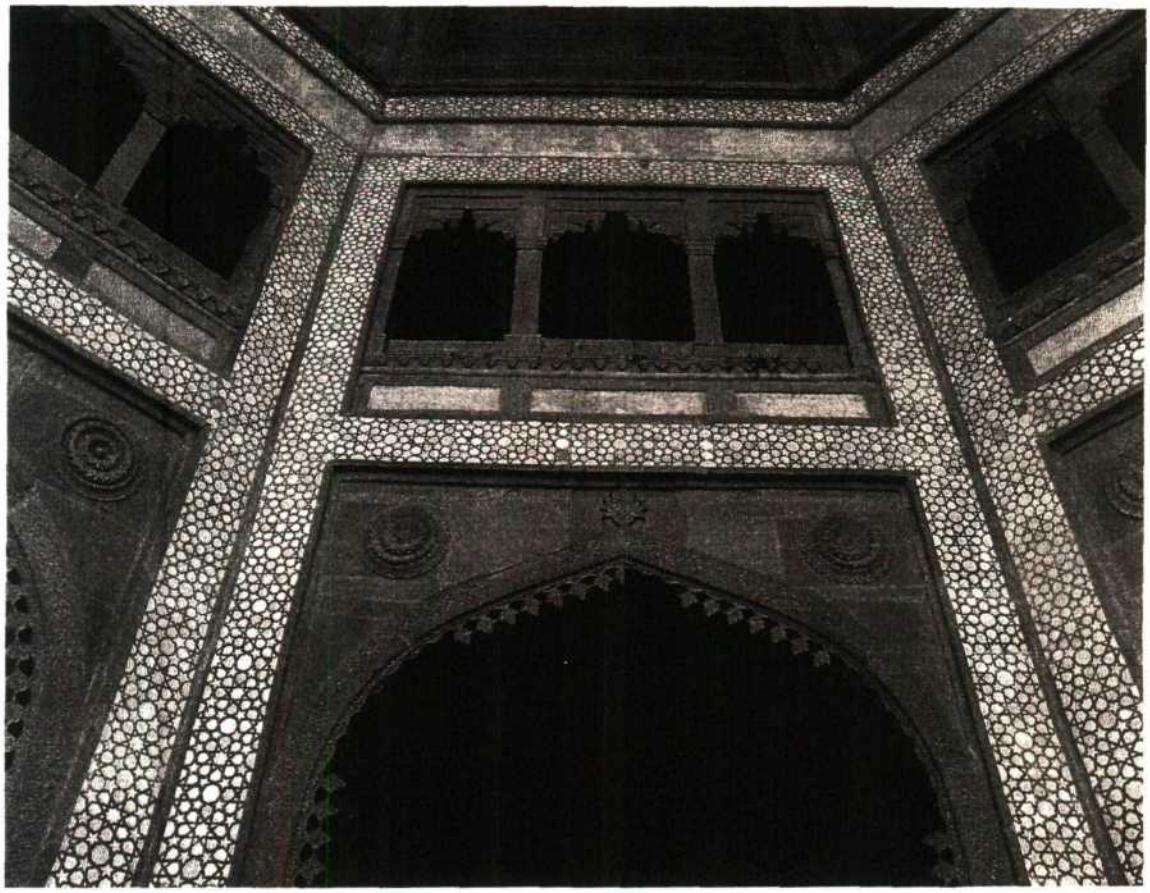


This monumental gateway is the integral part of the mosque and is the main entrance to the mosque, facing south. The Persian inscription on the eastern side of the main archway records that Akbar built this gateway to commemorate his conquest over Deccan in 1601A.D.and hence it is south oriented (facing Deccan). This gateway not only commemorates Akbars conquest over Deccan but it also represents the greatness and grandeur of Akbars empire and ranks among the biggest in the world. The triumphal gateway, called the Baland Darwaza, is really a building in itself.

This gate can be approached from the outside by a 13-metre flight of steps which adds to its grandeur. The gateway stands majestically over the highest point of the ridge .The gateway is 40.84m high and is raised on a platform, which itself is 13.52m above the ground level, making the total height of 53.63m,and hence it is the stupendous example of Islamic architecture in India. The gate way is semi octagonal in plan, having an oblong central plane containing portal. The main archway is flanked by two smaller wings on either side, which are triple storyed and contains arched openings .The central archway is framed in a broad band of yellow buff sand stone and bordered by red stand stone panels. At the bottom of the arch are two square panels on either side containing white marble inlay work enclosed by a triple band of the ornamentation and finally with other geometrical inlay work in white and black marble. This great arch is topped with stylized battlement, having small domes, the pattern resembles that of Jami Masjid. The roof of the arch is crowned with three kiosks and is surrounded by thirteen smaller domed



kiosks. The magnificence of doorway is adorned with smaller turrets on all four sides. The interior of arch contains three actual openings of nearly equal dimensions and is 17.98m high. These three arches are also bordered with decorative panels. Each arch is superimposed by three other arched openings, over which rises a semi dome.



There are three doors recessed in the immense alcove on the front of the gate. One is the horseshoe door, so called from the numerous votive offerings of owners of sick horses, donkeys, and bullocks, which were nailed on in the hope of obtaining the favour of the saint. The doorway on the right of this has the following inscription carved over it in Arabic:--

"His Majesty, King of kings, Heaven of the Court, Shadow of God, Jalâl-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Emperor. He conquered the kingdom of the South and Dandes, which was formerly called Khandes, in the 46th Divine year [i.e. of his reign] corresponding to the Hijira year, 1010 [A.D. 1602]. Having reached Fateh Pur , he proceeded to Agra. 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 eternity; the world is but an hour, spend it in devotion; the rest is worth nothing," [127]



Over the left doorway is the following: "He that standeth up in prayer, and his heart is not in it, does not draw nigh to God, but remaineth far from Him. Thy best

possession is what thou givest in the name of God; thy best traffic is selling this world for the next." Akbar himself died four years after this great sermon in stone was written. [128]

DARGAH OF SHEIKH SALIM CHISTI



To the North of the Mosque is the Dargah of Shaikh Salim Chishti. This Dargah was built in 1570. Here, childless women come for blessings of the saint. Even Akbar was blessed with three sons, when he came here. The lattice work in the Dargah is among the finest to be found any where in India. [129]

The legend concerning him is, that at the age of six months he addressed his father, telling him that all of Akbar's children must die in infancy, unless some child

died for them. He therefore had resolved to sacrifice himself for the Emperor's sake, and immediately after this miraculous speech he died. Jahangir was born nine months afterwards. Sceptics have suggested that he was really a son of the Sheikh, substituted for a still-born child of Mariam Zamâni.

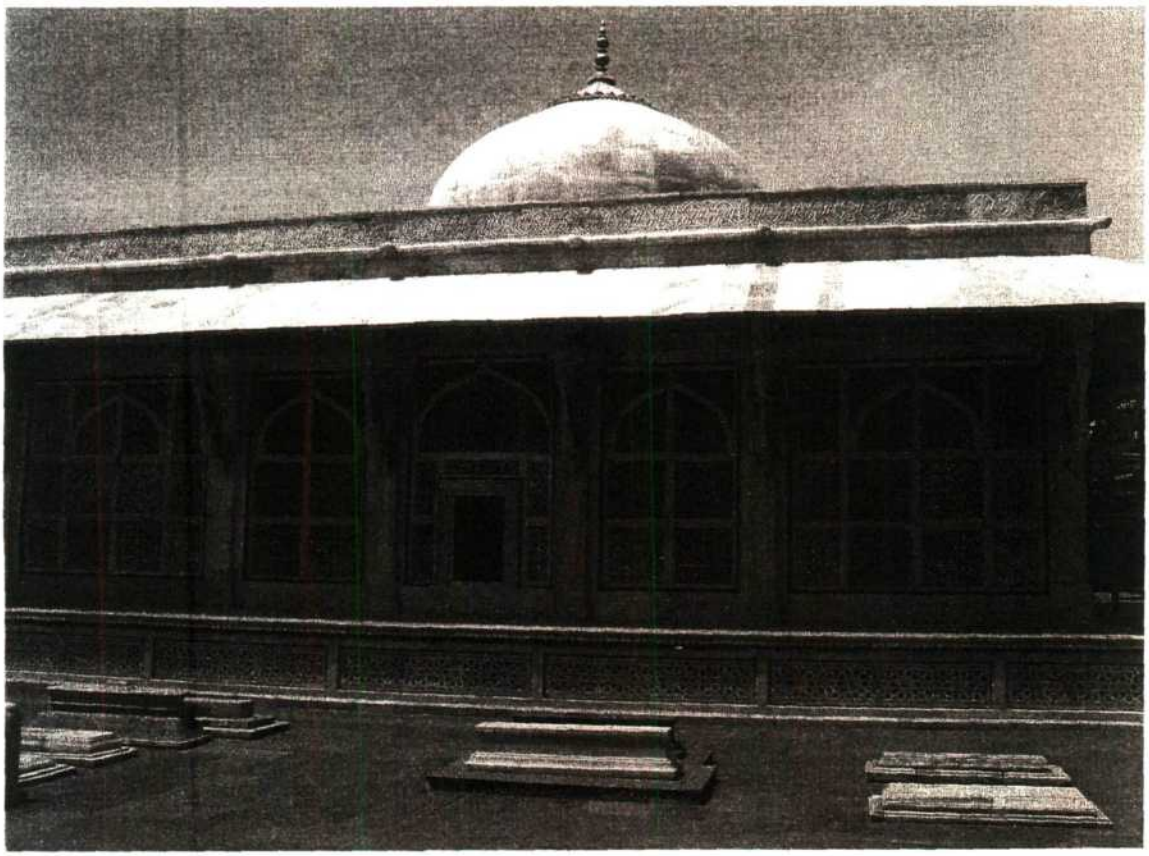
The birthplace of Jahangir is pointed out in a dilapidated palace not far from this mosque. It is occupied by a lineal descendant of Salîm Chishti, and is only rarely shown to visitors.



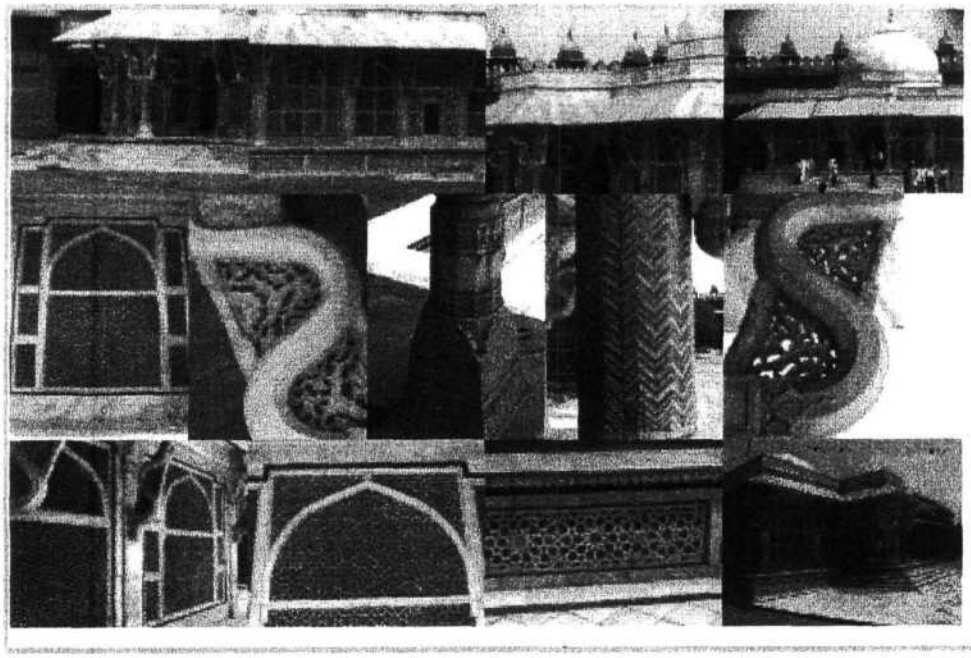
Tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti is one of the finest example of marble work in India. Infact there is no comparison of its lyrical and captivating beauty. It is situated in the quadrangle of Jami Masjid adjacent to the Zanana Rauza on the northern side, facing Buland Darwaja. Originally this was the place where Sheikh Salim Chishti carried out his religious discourses. According to Islamic traditions Sufis are buried at the spot

where they led their austere life, therefore this site was the obvious choice for making his sepulcher. This mausoleum was completed in the year 1580-81.

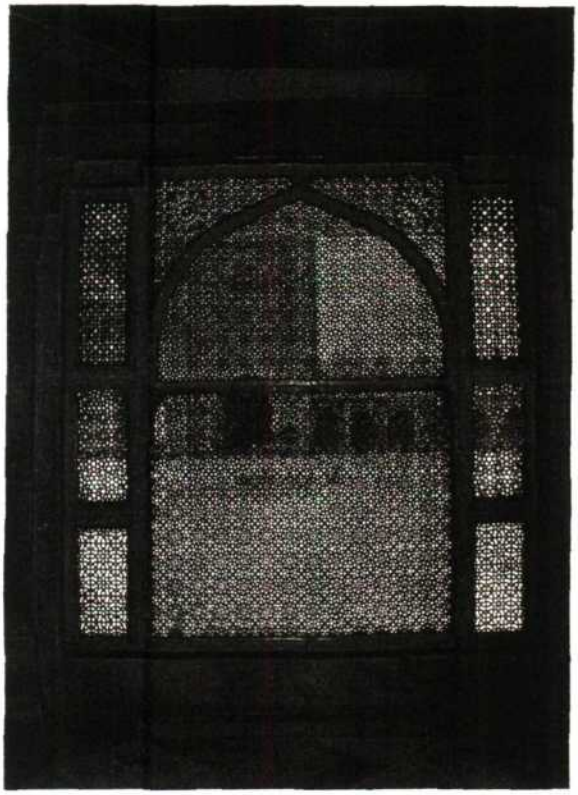
This small but extremely beautiful building is square in plan measuring 14.63m by 14.63m in dimension, with an entrance porch attached to its southern side .It is raised on a plinth, which is 0.91m high. The portico is 3.42mby 3.04m in dimension and is also supported on the plinth. This porch is finished off in its three sides by a continuous flight of five steps. The main tomb is covered with beautiful marble screens .The main hall, which contains the grave of the saint, is 4.88m sq. in area and is roofed by a single semicircular dome supported on squinches having square base and octagonal drum. The grave is enclosed within a four-pillared *chhhaparkhat of ebony*, inlaid with *mother- of -pearl* .The tomb chamber on all side a spacious verandah, which is divided into three, bays by pillars and pilasters and is roofed by corbelled slabs. Unlike most of the mosques and tombs, the tomb has no provision of ascending to the roof for maintaining the respect for the sanctity of the holy man buried with in. [130]



The building is so delicately and profusely carved that it appears like a carved ivory rather than chiseled marble. The plinth over which tomb stands is decorated with elegant mosaic of black and yellow marble with interlacing pentagons, stars and diamond shaped designs. The projecting porch is paved with white marble decorated with geometrical patterns and are bordered by black marble. The magnificence of the porch lies in its remarkable serpentine brackets, which supports the sloping eaves and is a rare architectural composition. These monolithic brackets are carved with delicate jalies containing minute geometrical and floral designs, with a moulded pendant at lower end and a half chakra at upper end. The pillars from which these brackets emerge are carved with stylized peacock tail pattern. The verandah of the tomb is screened with monolithic intricate jalies containing exquisite geometrical pattern. The marble chhajja overhanging the screened verandah is also supported on serpentine brackets.



The door, which leads to the main chamber, is also beautifully carved with arabesque and its architrave contains Quranic inscriptions. The interior bays are bordered with brown marble and contains Quranic verses carved in relief panels on a blue painted background. The tomb chamber is also carved and painted in finely blended colours. The



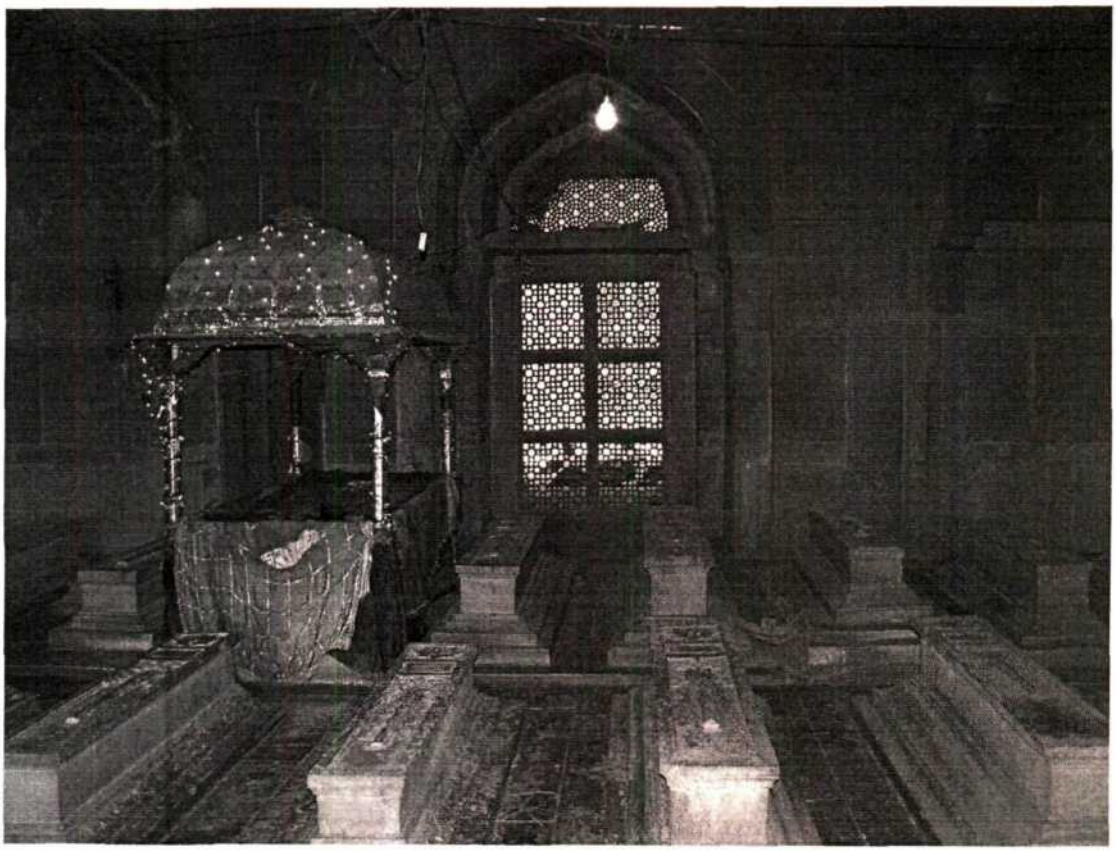
floor of the chamber is paved with white marble inlaid with stones of variegated colours. The cenotaph is of white marble and is covered by a cloth pall, usually green. Over the cenotaph rises a most remarkable and beautiful catafalque. It is a framework made of ebony, supported on four small and elaborately designed pillars and surrounded by a dome. Every part of this structure is covered with tiny scales of mother-of-pearl. The tomb has large number of Arabic inscription containing Quranic verses in the interior. The verses chosen has deep esoteric meaning, and it will definitely holds the attention of those, who can read and decipher Arabic script. [131]

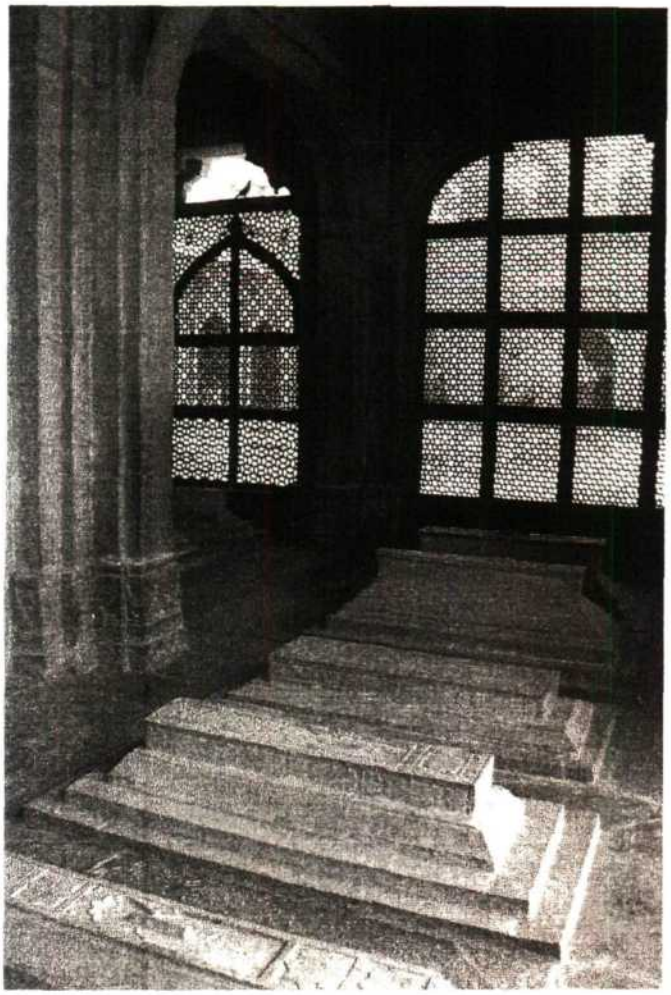
JAMAT KHANA



On the eastern side of Sheikh Salim chishti tomb is located a beautiful red sand stone building enclosed by perforated screens and popularly known as Jamat Khana. As the name suggests the building was used as an assembly hall where the most distinguished disciples of Sheikh Salim Chishti used to pray and carried out their religious and devotional practices. All religious functions and gathering held in this hall were organized by *Sheikh Haji Hussain.* He was died in 1591A.D. and was buried in the south west corner of the building. After that Jamat Khana was converted in to the tomb of Sheikh's followers. Presently there are 24 graves lies in this building. Most of them are without the name of the deceased though some carries quranic inscription. Men's gravestone contains a *pen box* or a turban and female's grave contains a flat board with a handle called *takhti.* [132]

This square building is raised on a platform, which is about 1m high and panelled from all sides .The buildings measures 13.71m in exterior dimensions and enclosed with an arcaded verandah which is 4.57m wide.





The space in between is filled with beautiful carved red sand stone jalies. Each facade of the building contains seven bays. Beautifully carved brackets have been provided all around for supporting chhajja, sloping down from the building. The entrance door is in the middle of the central facade of the building and leads to a courtyard .The entrance door are 2.26m high and 1.65m wide and is beautifully finished with carved designs, containing crosses and circles etc. The verandah contains a central chamber, which is externally square and internally octagonal. This chamber contains grave of *Islam Khan*, grand son of sheikh Salim and governor of Bengal, who was also involved in the religious practices carried out in Jamat Khana, hence the tomb sometimes also called as tomb of Islam Khan. Since the grave is not inscribed, it is not confirmed that the grave is of Islam Khan.

Each verandah of the building is divided into compartments by stone screened enclosures, which contains grave of other disciples of Sheikh Salim Chishti.The roof of the building contains a central dome surrounded by 36 small domed kiosk which is an unique feature of this building.

Out side of this tomb is located, on the eastern side of the badshahi darwaja is located a platform popularly known as *Yaran Chabutra or Friends Platform* which contains the grave of other disciples of Shiekh Salim Chishti.

ZANANA RAUZA



Zanana Rauza or *women's tomb* is a dark suite of room containing graves of women's of Sheikh Salim's family. The building is actually a part of northern cloister of the Jami Mosque. The northern wall of the building contains an under ground doorway connected to Salim Chishti's house so that women of Sheikh Salim's family could visit him during his religious discourses. Later on this building was converted into women's graveyard. At present there are two oblong chambers parallel to the wall of the mosque, which is further divided in to two chambers. Stone screens, containing geometrical patterns, again subdivide the outer chamber. This chamber contains grave of *Bibi Mattu Lanbiri* and other uninscribed graves.

Zanana Rauza can be entered through an elegant gateway, standing between Sheikh Salim's tomb and Jamat Khana .The gateway contains beautiful bands of red sand stone and marble. The central arch contains a square opening bordered by inlaid panel of red sand stone and marble. Within this square opening there is an engrailed arch framed with beautiful floral designs. The gateway is flanked by panels containing small arches and is surmounted with beautiful kiosks, turrets and merlons. [133]

THE HOUSES OF ABU'L FAZL AND FAIZI.

The houses where these two famous brothers, the friends of Akbar, lived, are close under the north wall of the great mosque. Their father, Sheikh Mubarak, was one of the most learned men of the age, and the sons were as distinguished as the father. Faizi was the Persian Poet Laureate, and tutor to the Royal Princes. He was also employed on many diplomatic missions. Abu'l Fazl was the author of the celebrated "Akbarnâma," a history of the Mogul Emperors down to the forty-seventh year of Akbar's reign. He was for a long time Akbar's Prime Minister; he took a prominent part in the religious discussions inaugurated by the Emperor, and often discomfited the orthodox followers of Islam with his arguments. Sheikh Mubarak drew up the famous document declaring Akbar to be the Head of the Church, and both his sons subscribed to it. Abu'l Fazl declares that the document "was productive of excellent results: (1) The Court became the resort of the learned men and sages of all creeds and nationalities; (2) Peace was given to all, and perfect tolerance prevailed; (3) the disinterested motives of the Emperor, whose labours were directed to a search after truth, were rendered clear, and the pretenders to learning and scholarship were put to shame." [134]

Notwithstanding his high character and generous disposition, Abu'l Fazl had many enemies at Court. He was at last assassinated at the instigation of Jahangir, who believed him to be responsible for a misunderstanding between himself and his father.

HAWA MAHAL AND NAGINA MASJID



To the right of Jodha Bai's palace is Hawa Mahal, the Palace of Winds. This small-screened wind tower faces the garden and is attached to the palace. The garden is laid out in the Char Bagh style with straight walls intersecting at right angles and divided by shallow channels.

The construction of Agra and

Fateh Pur Sikri coincide with the foundation of numinous Akbari fortress all over the rapidly the expanding empire the most important being at Jaunpur 1566, Ajmer 1570, Lahore 1583, Attock or Atak Banarsi on the Indus 1581 and Allahabed 1583. The construction of fort Nagar: the Hari Prahabat Hill at Srinagar, Kashmir, was commenced according to the inscriptions on its main gate in 1597-98 and brought to completion by Jahangir. [135]

JAHANGIR (1605–27)

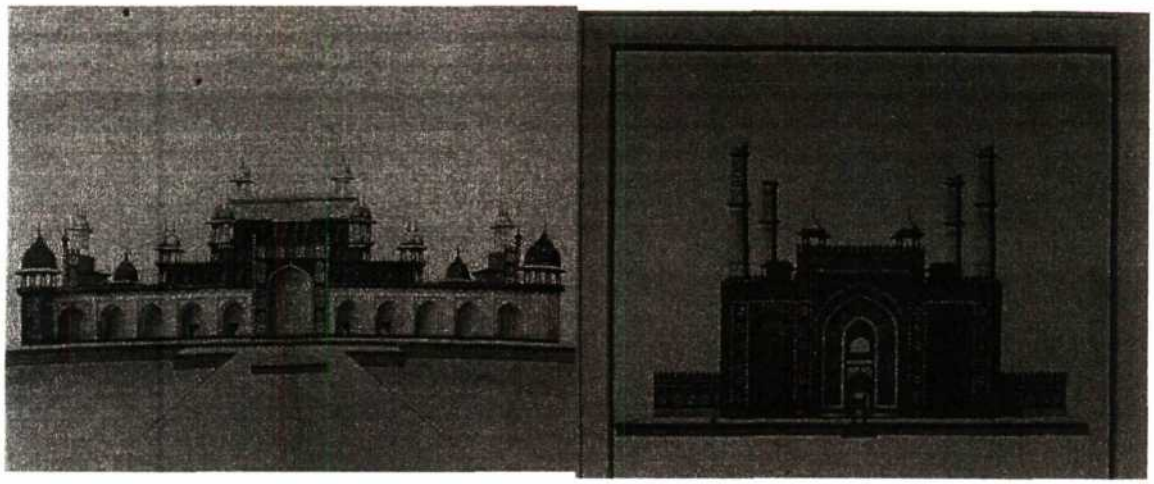
After the phase of in architectural syncretism under Akbar, there follows with Jahangir's reign a period of transition, reflection and experimentation despite its importance for the future development of Mughal architecture - has not yet received due acknowledgement. Select and ideas of the previous period are now adopted in formal extravaganzas that had a negligible echo and developed into highly influential models. [136]

Jahangir, who resided at Lahore, built less than his predecessors but effected the significant change from sandstone to marble. Typical of the period is highly decorated surface of buildings (exterior and interior). The sandstone carving attaints a new refinement with the white marble stones intarsia, painted stucco, and tile work. [137]

No solutions were tried out in the vaults. Characteristic are intricately patterned stucco vaults that fuse the earlier arch-netting with a new pseudo structural network system developed from the point (often stars) arranged in concentric circles. These patterns appear to have been inspired by Safawid sources (based in turn on Timurid forerunners). This became influential in this period. Typical of Jahangir's vaults is that the network generates fan-like formation of lozenge-shaped *muqarnas*. Another scientific technique of lining dooms - almost exclusive to Jahangir's period- is that of over sailing concentric tiers of small arched *muqarnas*. [138]

He favoured paintings of events from his own life rather than illustrated fiction. He encouraged portraiture and scientific studies of birds, flowers, and animals, which were collected in albums. Mansur and Manohar were among his famous painters.

Sikandra



Sikandra , the place where the remains of Akbar are interred, is situated some six miles to the north-west of Agra on the Delhi and Lahore road. It was founded by Sikandar Lodi in 1504 when he shifted his capital from Delhi to the vicinity of Agra in order to be nearer to the eastern provinces of his kingdom. It was at Sikandara that Akbar decided to have his mausoleum and hence it was renamed Bihishtabad or the *Heavenly Abode*. Akbar wanted his mausoleum to be in the centre of a large garden. Like his administration, it was to be of solid construction and like his empire it was to be of vast proportions. [139]

To construct a tomb in one's own lifetime was a Central Asian custom which the Mughals faithfully followed as is attested by accounts of several foreign travellers. Even though Akbar started to build his own tomb, but according to an inscription on the southern entrance gateway it was completed by his son. Jehangir himself states in his memoirs that in the third year of his reign, A.D. 1608, he saw the work in progress and was so dissatisfied, that he caused them to be demolished and reconstructed at a cost of fifteen lakhs of rupees. The building of the tomb took many years and the work went on very leisurely, is corroborated by the works of European travelers. [140]

The mausoleum is of monumental size and is located in the centre of a vast square garden enclosed on all sides by high walls. There are battlements

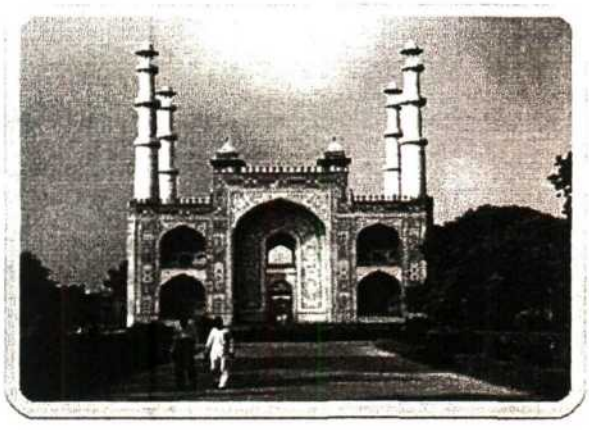


surmounting the outer walls and octagonal towers at the corners. In the middle of each side of the outer enclosure wall is a lofty iwan (portal).

Three of these gateways are ornamental while the one in the south is the main entrance. All these gateways are sufficiently imposing to form minor monuments in themselves particularly the one comprising of the entrance as this is a structure of exceptional elegance. In addition to its pleasing proportions and bold inlaid ornamentation the gateway in the south is provided with four marble minarets.

These four minarets over the roof of the gateway are the precursors of the minaret at the Taj. From the gateway a broad paved causeway leads to the mausoleum. Similar causeways converge on the mausoleum from the other three gates too. The tomb itself stands on a platform of white marble and takes the shape of a truncated pyramid with a very wide base, consisting of five storeys sloping towards the summit

The northern gateway measuring 137'6"in length and 47' in width is in complete ruins. It is supposed to have been struck by lightning some years ago. The ruins show adequately that the gateway was built of red sandstone and was splendidly decorated with stucco, painting, inlay and mosaic work.



The eastern and the western gateways are almost identical, measuring 89'x47'. While the eastern

gateway is 80' high the western gateway is 79'2" high. Both of them are multi-storeyed mansion of grand dimensions. Each gateway consists of a central iwan flanked by wings composed of arched recesses one over the other. They are crowned by two beautiful kiosks. Two miniature chhatris can also be seen on the turrets which are attached to the quoins of the façade. The centre of the iwan has a great porch which is covered by a half dome. They have been decorated exquisitely with painting and stucco, inlay and mosaic and beautiful carving work.

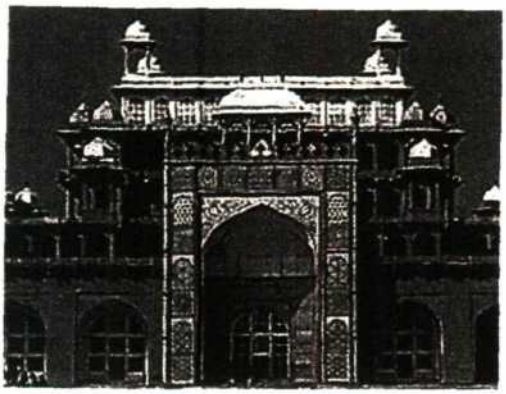


Each of these gateways recedes into the background when compared with the Southern gateway. The Southern gateway is the most magnificent one and it also served as the main entrance to the tomb complex. This is built in two storeys and measures 137'5" from east to west and 99'10" from north to south and 75' in height. Wings on the side of the central archway have two arched recesses one over the other in two corresponding storeys. The iwan is crowned by an arched roof. The gateway is of red sandstone and has been richly decorated with inlay and arabesque work in white marble.



Surmounting the four corners of the southern gateway are the four minarets built in white marble. The minarets were built in four tiers and each tier diminishes in diameter as it rises. Each of these minarets is crowned by chhatri.

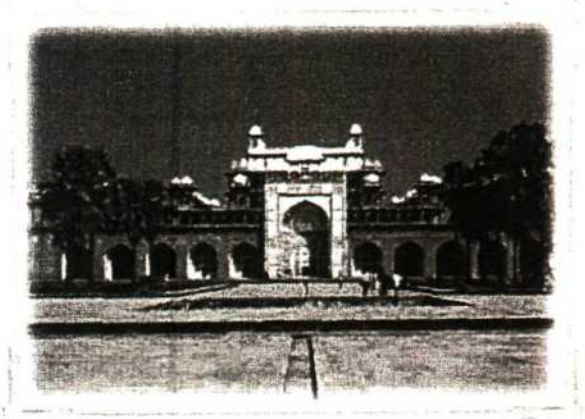
The tomb stands in the centre of a vast garden enclosed by a high battlemented rubble masonry wall. This wall is 24' high and is built in two stages. According to tradition the lower stage which is 12'9" in



height was built by Akbar and was raised to its present height by Jehangir. In the middle of this enclosing wall are the four gateways. The garden has been divided into four quarters on the traditional Char-Bagh pattern. Each quarter is separated by a broad causeway with shallow water channels in the centre and raised footpaths on the sides. The tomb which stands in the middle of the garden is connected with the gateways by these four cause ways which is 75' wide and is sufficiently raised above the garden. Each contains a cascade in its middle and a bond. There are four tanks with fountains in the centre of each terrace and also in the centre of the four sides of the main platform on which the tomb structure stands.



Each quarter has a number of wells exclusively meant of gardening. However two huge wells in the south-west and north-west quarter and a large sangin baoli in the south-east quarter were reserved for supplying water to the fountains and the channels. Overhead tanks were built to ensure proper pressure in the fountains. Unfortunately only one overhead tank has survived in the north-western quarter of the garden. The fountains were connected to these overhead tanks by underground glazed clay pipes. Channels normally drew their water from the tanks but in case of scarcity it was supplemented by the aqueduct from the large well near the main gateway.



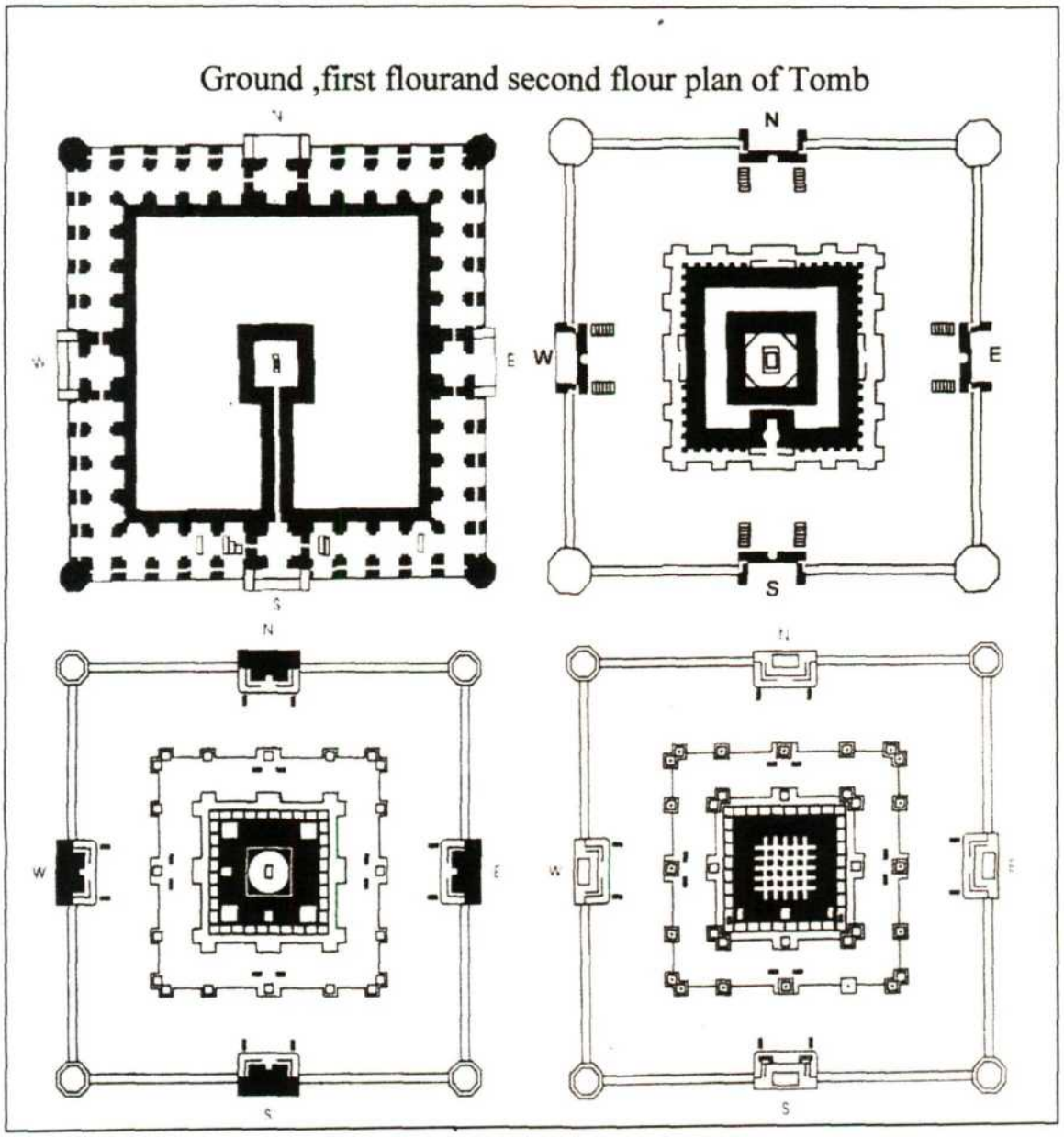
The main building of the tomb complex which stands at the junction of four causeways dividing the

garden into four quarter has an unique design. The main tomb building is square in plan and is in five receding storeys. The tomb stands on a stone platform of 496'3"x496'10". On the north-east and north-west corner of the platform are small stairs which lead to the garden. In the centre of each side is a grand iwan which rises majestically and is of almost equal height as the tomb. The panels around the iwan has been beautifully decorated with inlaid mosaic work. Apart from this one can also see inlaid arabesque work in the spandrels, painted design in the semi-soffits and chevron design on the turrets. Above all, surmounting the massive iwan is a white marble oblong chhaparkhat of eight pillars.



The ground floor has spacious cloisters all around it except in the middle of the southern side where a vestibule leads to the mortuary chambers. The vestibule is decorated with painting in floresque, arabesque and calligraphic designs. An inclined passage 105' long and 6' wide leads from the vestibule to the mortuary chamber. The

chamber is 40' on the sides and 60'7" high. The chamber is simply white washed and is paved with stone. The room is provided with four small window openings which open into the third storey. The sarcophagus of Akbar which is perfectly plain is placed in the centre of this room. According to tradition the Emperor's armour, clothes and books were placed around the tomb, but they were removed by the Jat rulers of Bharatpur.



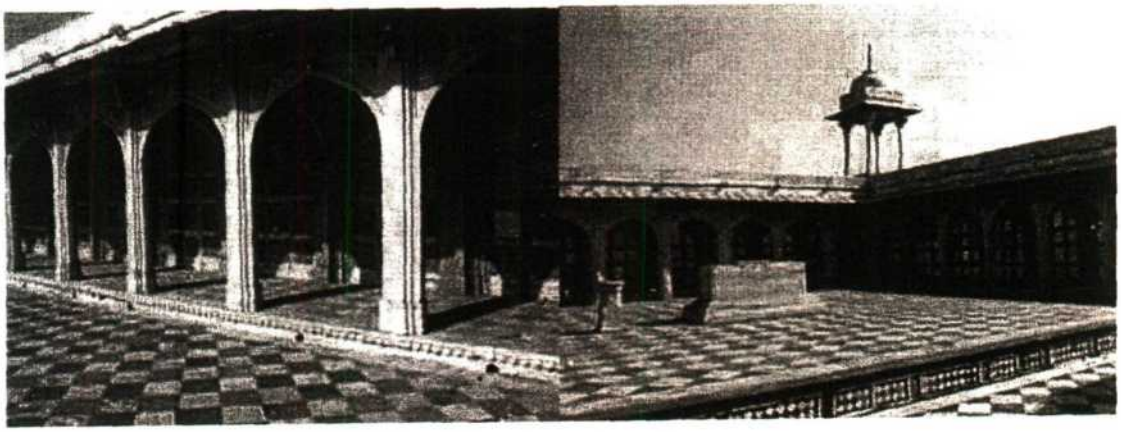
Surrounding the central chamber are other chambers which contain graves of other members of the royal family. These include graves of Aram Banu, Shukru-n-nisa (daughters of Akbar), Zebu-n-nisa (daughter of Aurangzeb) and of his later descendant

Sulaiman Shikoh son of Shah Alam Shukru-n-nisas crypt is of while marble and is splendidly decorated with arabesque tracery and floral scrolls. In the centre of the slab covering the top of the grave is a takhti or tablet which is generally found on graves of women.

On the top of the first storey is a large platform from the middle of which rest of the building rises. The first storey is 320' square and is 30'high. This storey has corridors roofed by stone arches in each façade and these are arranged in group. Some of them break forward and are crowned by kiosks.

The second storey is 186' square and is built of red sandstone. The arched verandah on each side is composed of twenty three bays. Some of the bays break forward to support the third storey kiosks. The clusters of these Kiosks engulf the main body of the tomb most artistically. Some have cupolas while some have pyramidal roof of white marble. Some have been glazed tiled in polychrome in geometrical designs. These chhatris harmonise well with the pillared ascade and give a pleasing effect.

The third and fourth storeys are similar in plan and are smaller in size than the one below it respectively. Both have an identical arrangement of arches supported on pillars and cluster of kiosks crowned by domes. The fourth storey is enclosed on the outside by white marble screen containing beautiful geometrical pattern.



The fifth and the top most storey of Akbars mausoleum presents a marked contrast to the rest of the building as it is composed of white marble. The storey has no

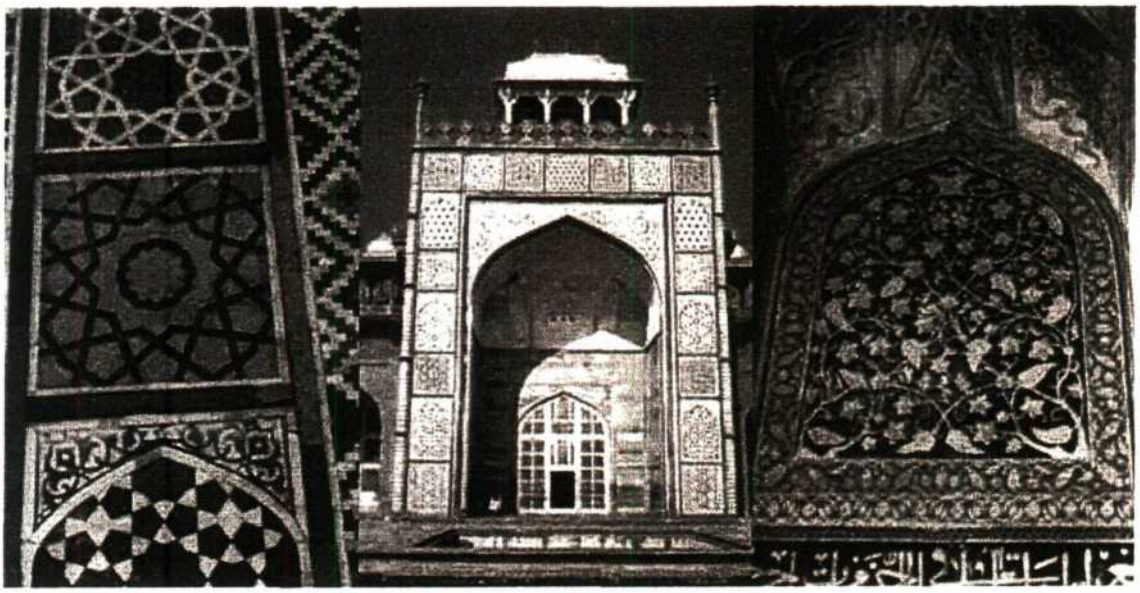
roof and has marble screens as its walls. The arcaded cloister on the top storey is divided into eleven bays and is open on the side facing the cenotaph, but is closed on the outside by forty four marble screens. Each screen contains twelve panels and each is pierced out of a separate piece of marble.

In the centre of the floor is the cenotaph of Akbar. It is of white marble and measures 6'10" in length, 2'7" in width and 3'3" in height. This is profusely carved with floral, arabesque and stylized designs and ninety nine names of god on the top and the sides. At the head of the tombstone are inscribed the words "Allahu Akbar" and on the other end the words "Jalla Jalalahu" has been inscribed. On the top of the cenotaph a qalam-dan or pen box is sculpted which is generally found on graves of Muslim men. At the north end of the cenotaph a finely carved white marble pedestal has been placed. The pedestal has a octagonal abacus and a square base. It has also been carved very profusely. It is generally believed to have held lamps on ceremonial nights.

Mosaic work has been extensively done at the Tomb of Akbar Maximum mosaic work can be seen on the southern, eastern and western gateways and also on the central archway of the main building. Simplest use of different coloured stones like white marble and red sandstone has been made for varied effect. White marble has been distributed sparsely in the carved red sandstone panels. Abri stars inlaid in the oblong dado panels present a very beautiful picture.

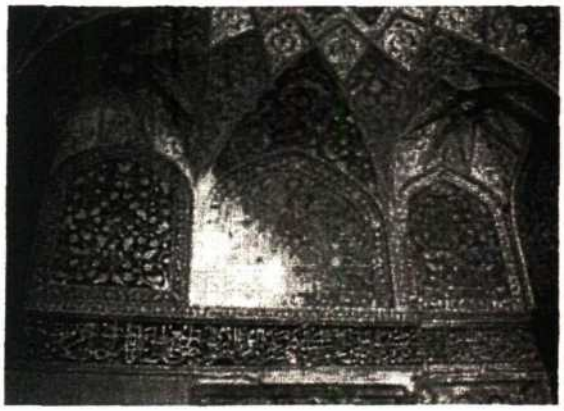
The tessellated style wherein square or rectangular pieces of stones of different colours were assembled and arranged together so as to form a pattern has been elaborately used at the tomb. The whole exterior of the southern gateway has been covered with this kind of decoration, mainly in geometrical designs. These designs have been executed in red, yellow, white, black and green stones. Swastik pattern has also been used for decorative purpose. The spandrels of the arches contain arabesque patterns in white and black marble but in some cases white and green marble has also been used. Thus the front of the southern gateway looks like a woollens carpet.

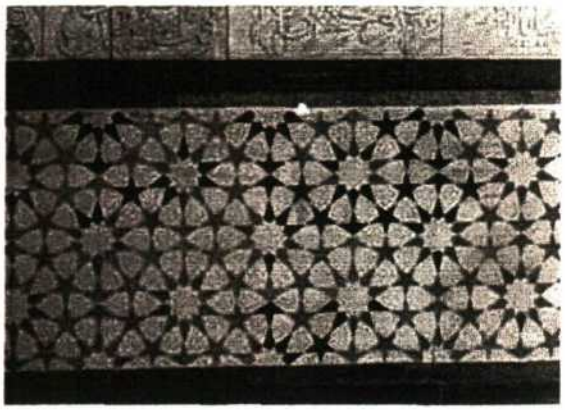
The dado panels are also richly decorated with geometrical patterns like hexagons and pentagons. The three marble dados which have survived in the second storey hall of the western gateway is definitely a milestone in the development of dado art in Mughal architecture. Each white marble dado is outlined with black marble linings to produce a dominant effect on the red sandstone wall. The white marble slab is quite plain except in the border which has been very beautifully inlaid in the conventional floral pattern. Here black marble and abri stones have been used for inlaying.



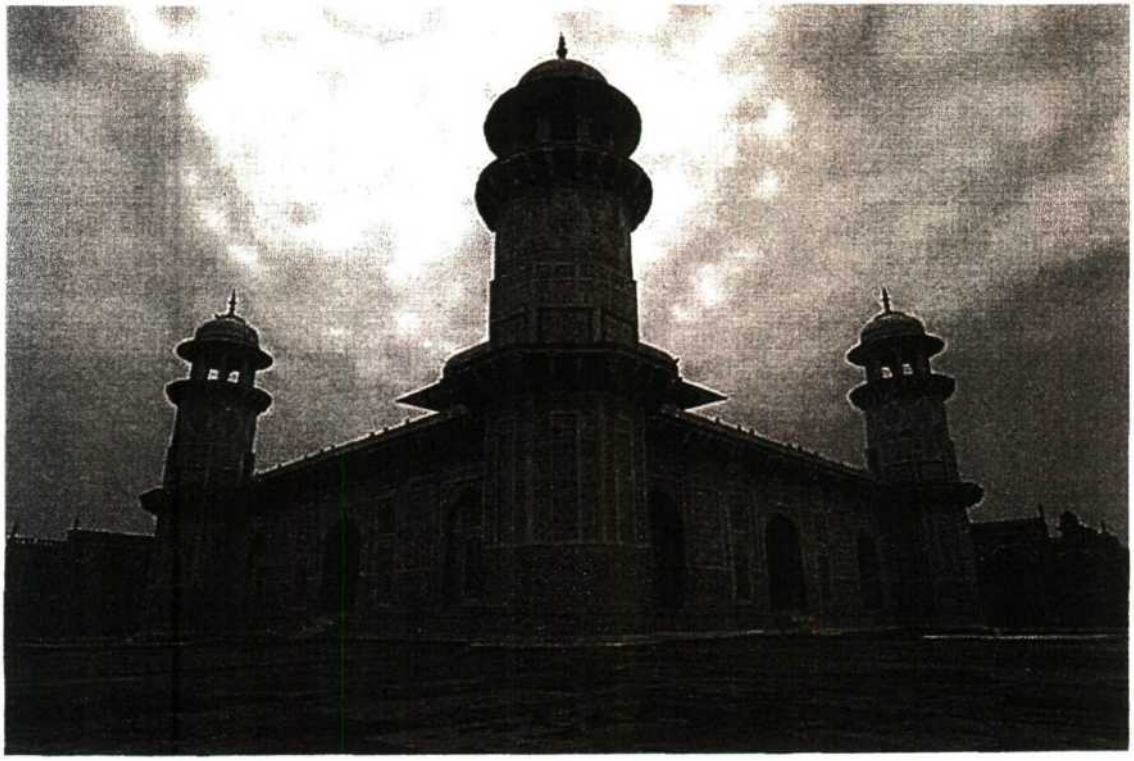
Here we also come across some beautiful examples of paintings. The wings of the southern gateway contain some simple paintings in white safeda and red hirmich on the semi-soffits of its arched recesses. The central portal has complicated scheme of painting with rich arabesque tracery. The interior hall has been profusely painted and the raised Persian inscription in gold create an extremely pleasing effect. The semi-soffits of the eastern and western gateway are also painted.

The southern vestibule of the main tomb contains some of the best specimens of paintings in such colours as crimson, indigo, olive and chrome in intricate floresque, arabesque and calligraphic designs. But the most dominating colour is gold which has been applied on almost all paintings. Arabic texts painted on the frieze are also painted in gold upon a rich blue background. [141]





TOMB OF ITIMAD-UD-DAULAH

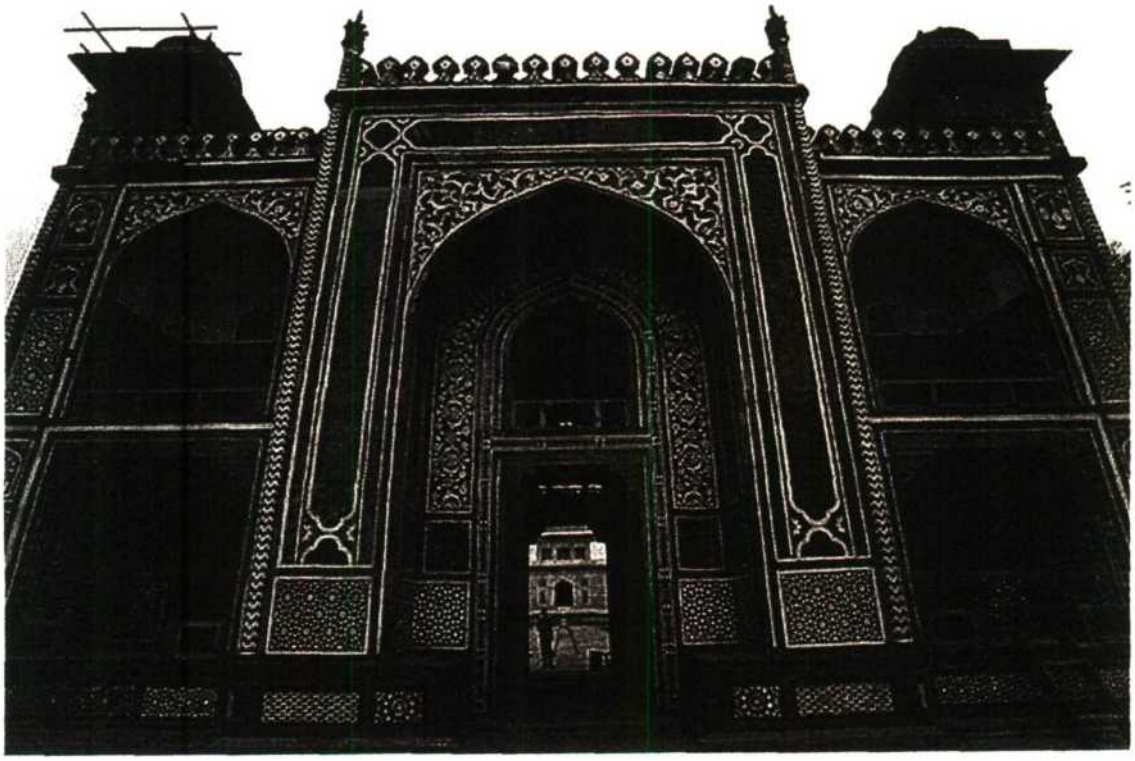


On the left bank of river Yamuna, is located the second most beautiful building in Agra; after Taj, the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah. Designed like a silver Jewel box in marble, this building is a marvellous example of delicacy and precision in inlay work. This tomb was the first mausoleum built on riverbank, till then only pleasure gardens were built on the riverbank. This beautiful mausoleum was built by Nur-Jahan between 1622-1625 A.D. for her father Mirza Ghiyath Beg , who was appointed the

prime Minister of the Empire shortly after Nur Jahan's marriage to Jehangir and titled as ' Itimad-ud-Daulah ' which means Lord Treasurer of the Empire. [142]

The tomb building consist of a quadrangular enclosure about 550 sq. feet, one side of which faces, the river Yamuna. This enclosure is pierced by four gateways in cardinal directions, out of which Eastern gateway is the main entrance gateway to the tomb and rest of three are merely ornamental. [143]

The main tomb building is square in plan and is raised on a red sand stone plinth, in the centre of a ' Char Bagh ' or four quartered garden. Hence, the overall setting of the building substantiate its aesthetic beauty.

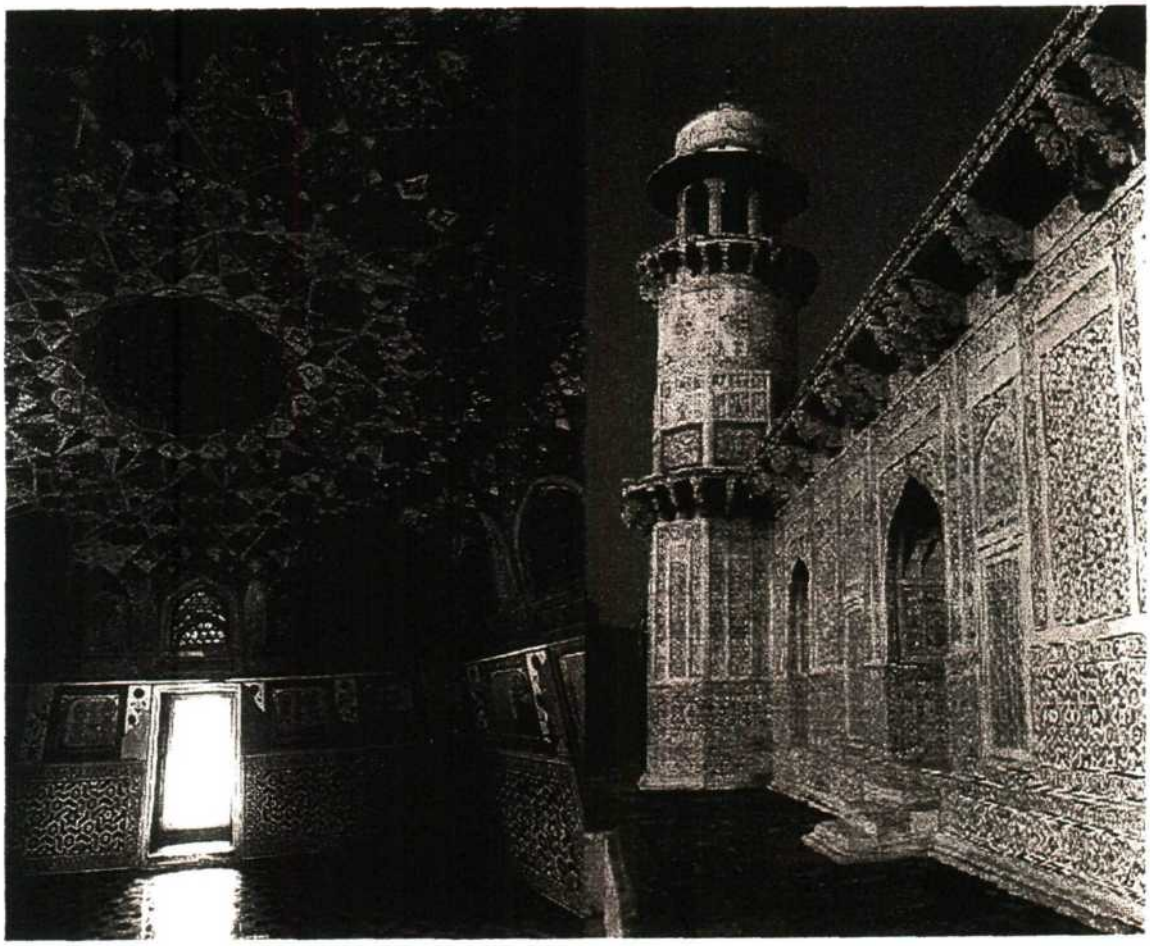


The main entrance gate of the tomb is on Eastern side. This is the only functional gateway of the tomb, while the other three were built for the sake of symmetry in accordance with Char Bagh pattern, and may be appropriately called as water or 'garden pavilions'. [144]

All gateways are built in red sand stone with inlaid marble designs. The main gateway measures 64'x26' (19.51x7.92m), and is double storied. Dados of the main iwan and spandrels of arches are beautifully decorated with marble inlay work. The wings of the gateways are also double storied having brackets and lintel opening on ground floor and half recess on upper storey bearing arched painting in stylized arabesque designs.

The Northern and southern pavilions are more or less identical measuring 64'x24'(19.51x7.32m), having single storied iwan in the middle and double storied wings on sides, like main gateway. Each of these pavilions contains rooms and halls on upper floor. Stairways have also been provided on sides of facade. Beautiful chhatris on the top provides an aesthetic and proportionate look to the pavilions. [145]

The western pavilion, which is multi-storeyed is built on the river bank, is the largest and profusely decorated pavilion. It is believed that this



pavilion could have served the purpose of pleasure pavilion during the life time of Itimad-ud-Daulah. This pavilion measures 64'x33' (19.51x10.06m) and is similar in plan like other gateways. [146]

The tomb is situated in the centre of a Char Bagh or four quartered garden, surrounded on all sides by tanks and water channels. The garden measures 503' (153.34m) East-west and 492'(149.96m) The river water was drawn into two wells located on the river side, which are further connected to storage tanks. The storage tanks were the main source of water supply and were connected to other devices through water channels and underground Earthen pipes and hence constitute the integral layout of a Char Bagh. [147]

The main tomb is square in plan and is entirely finished in marble. The tomb building stands on a plinth of red sandstone and contains tanks with fountains in front of facades on all four sides. The main tomb is '70' (21.34m) in dimension and contains three broad arches on each of its four sides. The central arch provides the entrance and rest of the two openings are closed with beautiful jalis. Roof of the tomb has a small chajja supported on brackets and perforated balustrade, all around. Attached to the tomb building are four octagonal towers, at corners, which attain a circular form at a considerable height from the terrace and terminate into a beautiful chhatri supported on eight pillars. These chhatris are crowned with inverted lotus (Padmakosh) and Kalash finials. These towers play a dominant role in composition of facade as the super structure of the building does not have a dome in the middle of the terrace, but a square pavilion with pyramidal roof. The pavilion is about three feet higher than the roof level and is 26 sq. feet in dimension. The pavilion has two entrances one to the south and one to the north, rest of the ten openings are closed with beautiful screens in geometrical designs. The pyramidal roof of the pavilion is crowned by 9 huge Padma Kosh and four Kalash finials at four angles. In the interior, the pavilion contains replicas of the graves of Itimad-ud-Daulah and his wife, vertically above the real grave. [148]

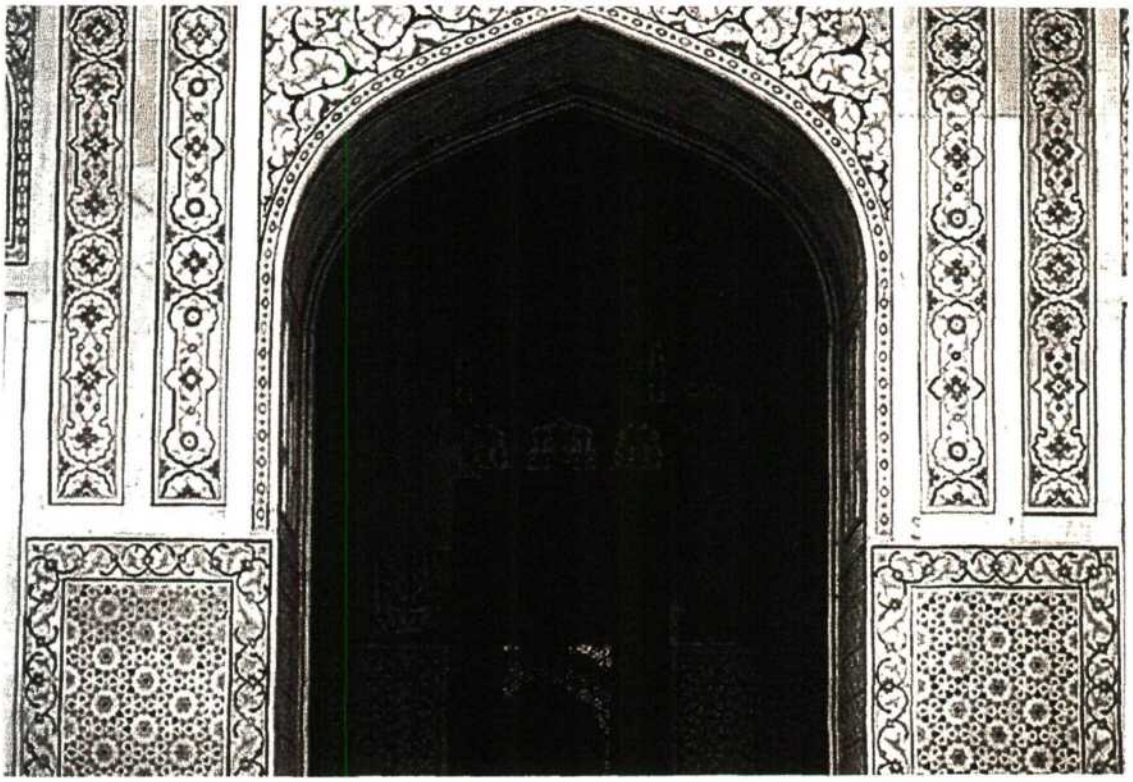


The interior chamber of the main tomb is about 22 sq. feet having the graves of Nurjahan's mother Asmat Begum and Father Itimad-ud-Daulah . The entrance to this chamber is from the south direction and the graves lies in North-south direction. The graves are composed of yellow marble. The walls and floors of interior chamber contain beautiful inlay mosaic. Around this main chamber are four rooms at four corners interconnected through common doorways, which contains graves of other members of Nur Jahan's family. [149]

The tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah marks a step forward in the development of the art of mosaic and inlay. The whole interior of the tomb has been finished in white marble with very profuse, delicate and intricate stylized inlay and stucco designs. [150]

The main gateway of the tomb contains bold and profuse inlay work with white marble pieces on red sandstone. Geometrical designs and wine vases have chiefly been depicted, besides that stylized floresque and arabesque designs are used to fill lesser spaces. The red sandstone plinth of the main building also contains inlaid work in star

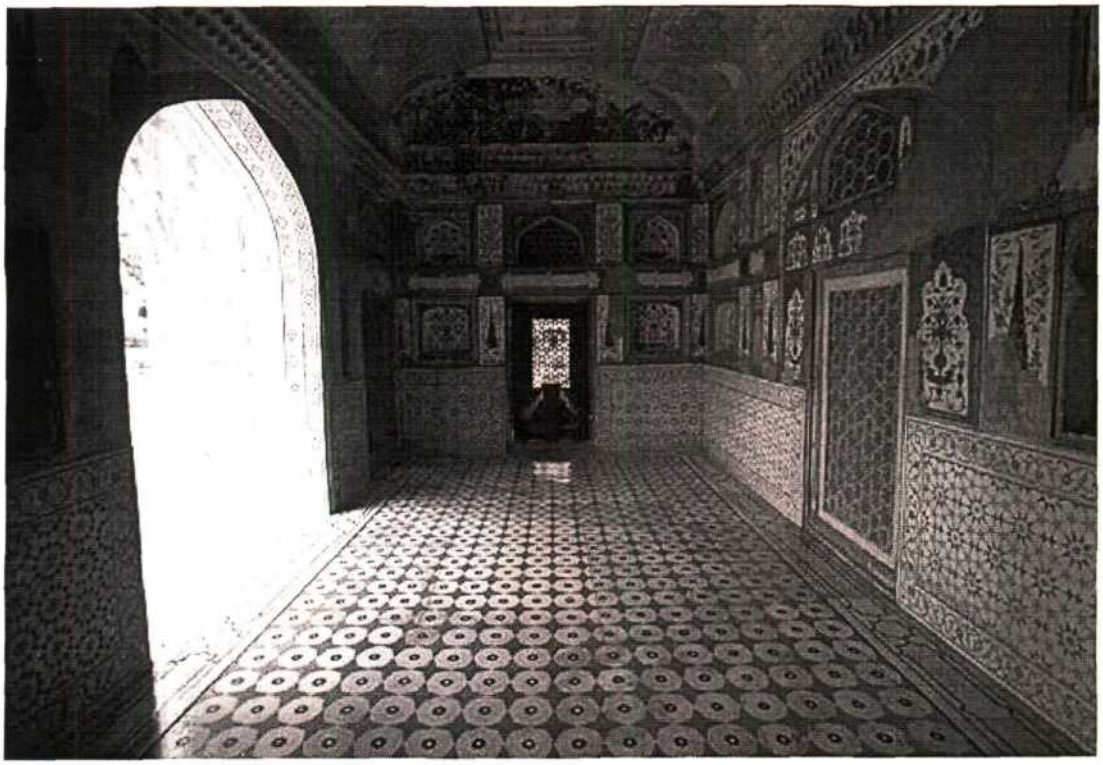
pattern. The plinth contains running bands of highly stylized floral pattern and creepers in combination, which are bordered by flower pattern. [151]



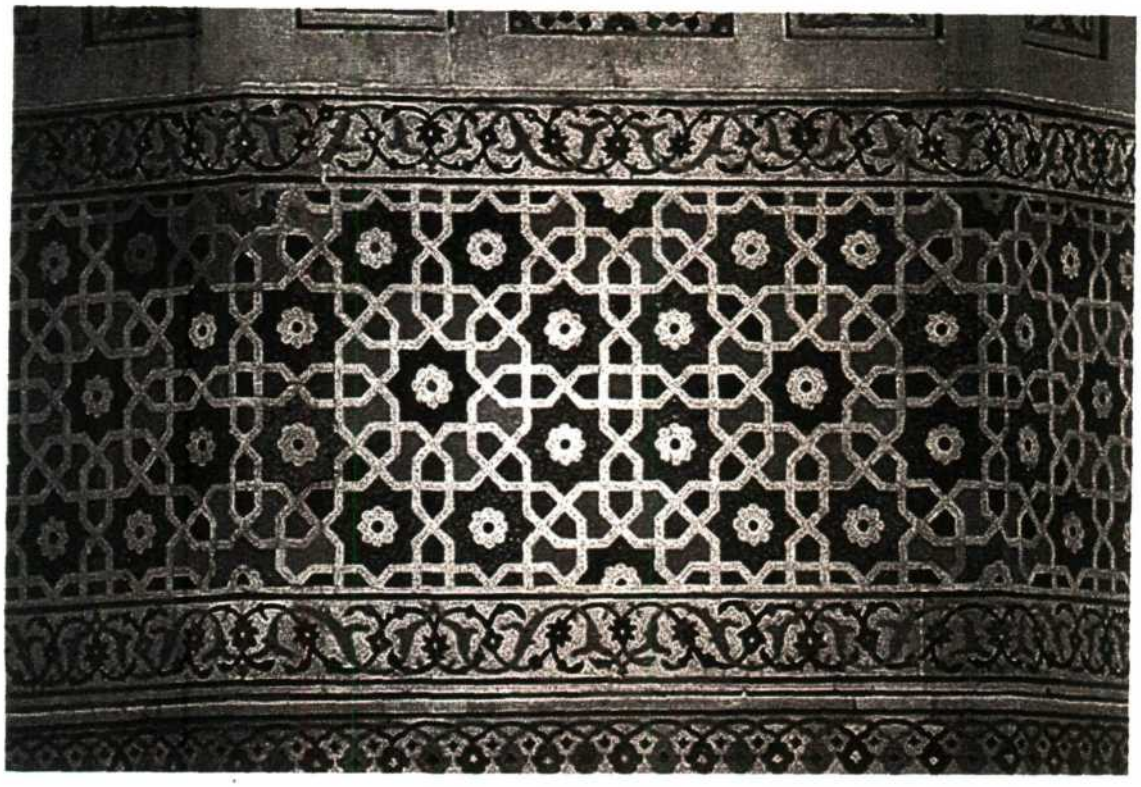
Both exterior and interior of the tomb has been divided into dados, which bear geometrical designs and stylized creepers. The dado has appeared here in fully developed form as a distinct feature of architectural ornamentation. The upper pavilion contains superb floral scroll in multi coloured inlay work on the pavement. This scheme of ornamentation is carried on towers on all sides and upto the frieze. [152]

Beside these flowing designs, cups and wine vases and guldastas, which are characteristics of the age of Jahangir are abundantly depicted in inlaid mosaic on the sides of entrance arches above the dados. Handles of these veers are serpentine, with bird's beak. Cypress motif has also been chiefly depicted on inner sides of the flanking arches. [153]

A wide variety of rare and semi precious stones of different tints and tones have been used in inlay mosaic. These are agate, carnelian, turquoise, Jasper, lapis lazuli, opal, onyx, garnet and jade. These semi precious stones were used in combination with black, white and yellow marble for inlay work. [154]



The whole of the interior, which comprises the central hall, four corner chambers and side halls has painting and stucco ornamentation beautifully distributed over the walls above dados and ceilings. Guldastas, wine vases, cypress and other persian motifs are freely depicted. The eastern and western side halls have, extremely beautiful incised stucco on the ceilings which have actually been copied from embroidery designs. Besides the usual motifs animal motif have also been depicted in the painted designs, mostly inside the Jar shaped Guldasts. These motifs include peacock, hens, fishes, rat and dogs. The central chamber has also contains some animate designs, especially lions. Surprisingly human figures are also depicted in this scheme of painted panels. A number of jar shaped guldastas contains a chhatri, with a human figure in sitting posture. [155]



TOMB OF MARIAM-ZAMANI

Mariam Zamani is believed to be daughter of Raja Bharmal Kachhwaha of Ambar (Amer) or modern Jaipur. She married Akbar in 1562 A.D. and gave birth to Salim (Jehangir) in 1569 at Fateh Pur Sikri. Her Rajput name is not known and in Mughal history she is addressed by the title of ' Mariam Zamani' (compassionate to the world) which was conferred upon her by Akbar on the eve of Salim's birth. She died at Agra in 1623 and stylistically her tomb seems to have been built by Jehangir. [156]

The tomb of Mariam-Zamani is situated in the centre of a spacious garden. The building is square in plan i.e. 146 on the side and rests on a plinth which is approached by stairs on the northern and southern sides. The tomb has two through corridors running from east-west and north-south which divides the tomb into nine sections. Those in the centre of east, west, north and south sides are oblong in shape and the centre ones are square in shape. These are further subdivided into smaller

compartments. Brick and mortar has been used for construction here. Within the tomb building piers have been used to support the broad arches and vaulted ceilings. The central section of the tomb which is directly above the main mortuary chamber, contains the second grave of Mariam Zamani. Two stairways provided on the southern side of the main tomb building leads to the terrace. In the centre of the terrace is a brick masonry platform with a white marble cenotaph. This white marble cenotaph on the terrace is the third grave of Mariam Zamani. [157]

In the centre of each side of the building is an massive arch set in a rectangular frame and flanked by three smaller arches and a set of double arches one over the other at the corners of the building. The upper rooms (duchhatti) at the corners of the building is approachable by stairways. On the terrace there are four massive cupolas in the four corners and four chhaparkhats in the middle of each side. The four cupolas stand on a square platform and is made of red sandstone. Beautiful brackets can be seen just below the chajja which have both ornamental as well as functional purpose. The dome of the cupolas is crowned by an inverted lotus or padmakosha. The chhaparkhats are rectangular in plan with eight pillars and a cluster of brackets just below the chajja which are very similar to the corner cupolas.

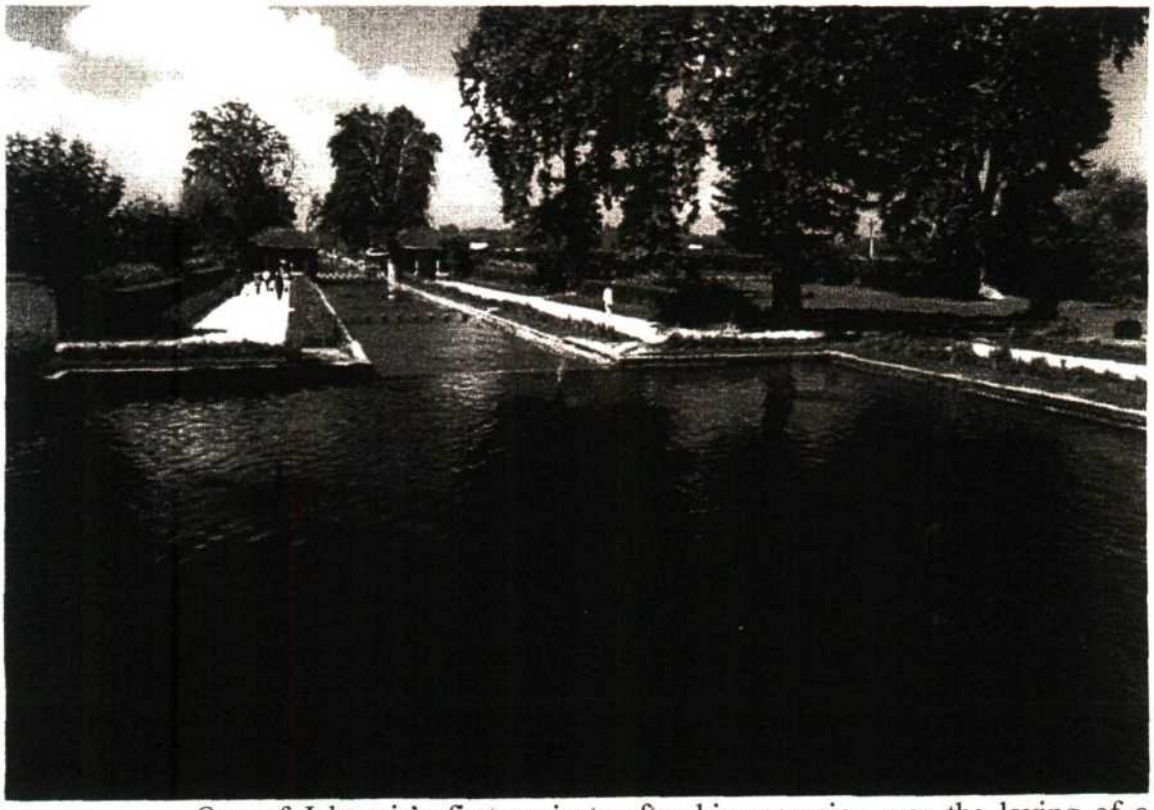
The facade of the tomb building is finished with red sandstone and they bear variety of decorative designs like the sunk niche pattern or floral motifs etc. The plinth contains various stylized designs in horizontal panels. The nook shafts contain chervon pattern. The piers between the arches contain decorative patterns like wine-vases within sunk niches and geometrical as well as floral motifs. [158]

The cupolas on the terrace built of red sandstone have beautiful carved columns. The base of the columns are hexagonal in shape and also bear beautiful carvings. The stone brackets just below the chajja add to the beauty of the cupolas. The frieze above the chajja and the one below the drum of the dome is beautifully carved and inlaid with white marble. The frieze of the chhaparkhats are also inlaid with white marble. They have pyramidal roof which was originally covered with glazed tiles. [159]

A new system off mausoleum in Jahangir's period is that of flat roofed arched hypostyle hall composed of domed bays demarcated by pillars arranged in grid pattern. The scheme had announced itself already in the single-aisle pillared hall of the "solah Khamba" at Lucknow. [160]

Jahangir's preferred projects were in the domain of palace and garden architecture. Most were however either altered or demolished by his son and successor Shah Jahan who considered them old-fashioned and of bad design. [161]

JAHANGIR'S GARDENS



One of Jahangir's first projects after his accession was the laying of a garden around the source of the Jelum (Behat) at Vernag. Many Mughal gardens can be seen as paradise gardens, creating the effect of total immersion of the senses. [162] Invariably square or rectangular, they are subdivided into smaller parterres with imposing tall entrances. Characteristic design elements include horizontal planes, terraces arranged in a symbolic hierarchy, symmetry, linear paths and avenues of trees. The focal point is always an arrangement of canals edged with stone or brick, in which water cascades over

carved chutes. Trees, such as plane and cypress, emphasise the lines and create a background to rose beds bordering the streams. [163] The overall effect is one of complete calm and delight. All Mughal gardens evolved their own unique, individual characteristics to suit local conditions – materials, craftsmen, climate, finance and surrounding buildings. For these gardens area always linked to buildings, be they a palace or mausoleum. [164]



The central feature of Mughal garden at Kashmir is a spring, whose water are collected in a canal(nahr) that forms the main axis of the garden. The layout takes advantages of the sloping hillside site for terraces(martaba), ponds(hauz), branche canals (jadwal, juy) and pavilions and platforms(nashiman) sited along the watercourse. [165]

Dahrah Bagh was built by Jehangir and he mentions it several times in his memoirs as the next stage or manzil from the city, where he normally encamped. So it was named as *Dera or Dahrah Bagh*. This was constructed between 1610-19. It was quite a large garden with adequate space and water supply to support a vast Mughal camp. The garden was surrounded by a lofty and broad wall of brick and mortar. Within the garden complex highly decorated buildings were provided. Outside the gate a large well (now known as *Kuan Kamal Khan*) was constructed which was a source for the various water devices in the garden. This big well was originally surrounded by a screen pierced with arched doorways. [166]

The thirty three most famous gardens listed by Pelsaert in 1626, about one third were created or refashioned during Jahangir's reign. To support these great expressions of Mughal culture and so reveal how justified was Amir Khusrau's poetic exclamation: [167]

"Agar Firdaus bar rue Zamin-ast Hamin asto Hamin asto Hamin ast"

"If there is a paradise on earth, it is here, it is ere, it is here."

rather than a human being, which separates him enormously from his father and grandfather, who really delighted in a personal revelation of their characters. Shah Jahan absolutely didn't want that. He wanted himself to be seen as the symbol of perfection – the perfection of a jewel – so carefully crafted and so flawless that there could be no question at all of the vagaries of a human personality. [172]

Shah Jahan spent incalculable wealth on his preoccupations: a life of ease, pageantry and pleasure, expeditions to expand his dominion and the creation of his celebrated edifices. Unlike the buildings of Akbar which show such eclectic delight in diversity, Shah Jahan's constructions demonstrate cool confidence in a new order. [173]

In his structures, the Hindu and Islamic traditions are not simply mixed but synthesized in a resolved form –

The balance of inlaid ornamentation and unadorned spaces; the cusped arch, neither Islamic nor Hindu; the simplified columns and brackets created without the rich carvings; the kiosks with Islamic domes – typical of the nobility, grace and genius that characterize the constructions of Shah Jahan. [174]

For all the beauty of the embellishments used in the Taj Mahal and his other buildings, it is the stylistic unity and harmony of design that is Shah Jahan's greatest accomplishment, providing the finishing touch in the Mughal style of architecture. [175]

One of Shah Jahan's major innovations was moving the capital from Agra to Delhi, the traditional seat of Muslim power. Delhi was one of the largest cities in India and its status as capital increased its wealth and power. Through much of modern Indian history, Delhi was the most economically and politically important cities in India.

Shah Jahan began a series of incredible, resplendent, and monumental architectural projects in Dehli. The city itself was surrounded by sixty foot walls. In the middle of the city he built a magnificent palace for himself itself contained within the Red Fort (so called because it was made of red sandstone), which housed the palace as

well as all the buildings associated with imperial administration. He built for himself an extravagant throne, the Peacock Throne, all in gold and covered in rare jewels. Western historians estimate that the throne was built at an expense of over five million dollars. In 1739, the Afghani conqueror of Persia, invaded Hindustan, burned down Shah Jahan's palace and seized the Peacock Throne for himself—it has remained in Iran ever since. [176]

Shah Jahan's most famous building project, however, was the Taj Mahal in Agra. When his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal ("Ornament of the Palace"), died at the age of 39 while giving birth to her fourteenth child in 1631, the grief-stricken emperor set about building for her the most lavish tomb he could manage.

THE TAJ MAHAL



It was the most gorgeous and magnificent mausoleum under the heavens. Major Archer

Taj is a dream in marble a thought, an idea, a conception of tenderness, a sign of eternal devotion and heroic love. W. H. Rusell

Taj is a materialized vision of loveliness. Percy Brown

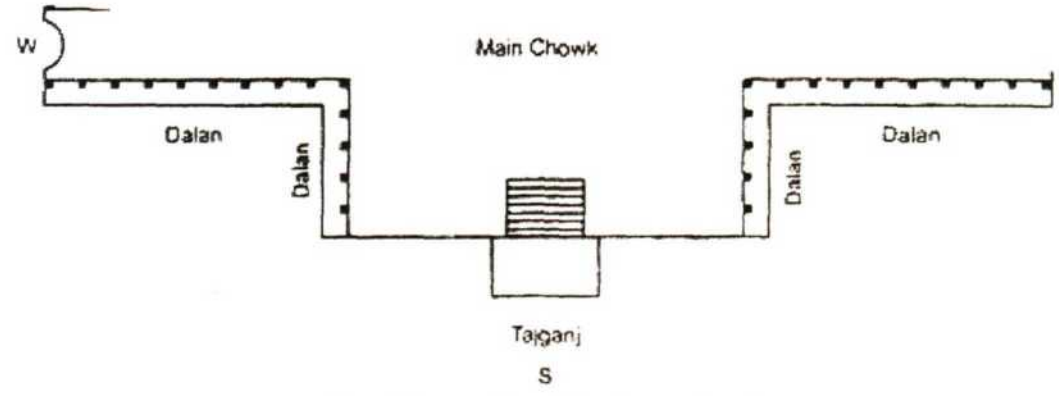
So pure, so gloriously perfect did it appear that I almost feared to approach it lest the charm should be broken. Bayard Taylor

The Taj Mahal, located near Agra in northern India, is a tomb constructed by Mughal emperor Shah Jahan in memory of his wife Arjumand Bano Begum. She is popularly known as *Mumtaz Mahal*, which in Persian means "the light of the palace". She died in 1630 while giving birth to their fourteenth child. Mumtaz's last wish to her husband was. "To build for her an extremely beautiful, wonderful and unique mausoleum, the like of which was not there on the earth." Construction began in 1632 and ended in 1648. [177]

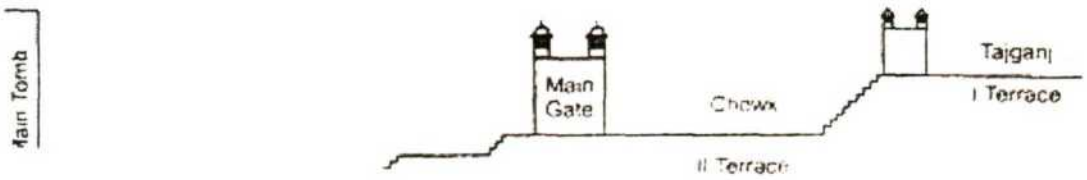


The Taj, a marvel among buildings, belongs to an age when leisure added zest to living and appreciation was meant to be savoured slowly. Discovering the secrets of the Taj is like discovering the different moods of a woman, for it not only changes colour according to the time of the day but also with every change in the season. The Taj sparkles like a jewel at night; golden, as the semi-precious inlaid stones on the main mausoleum catch the glow of moon and silver, as the light of full moon shines upon the cool, white dome. Though the extreme

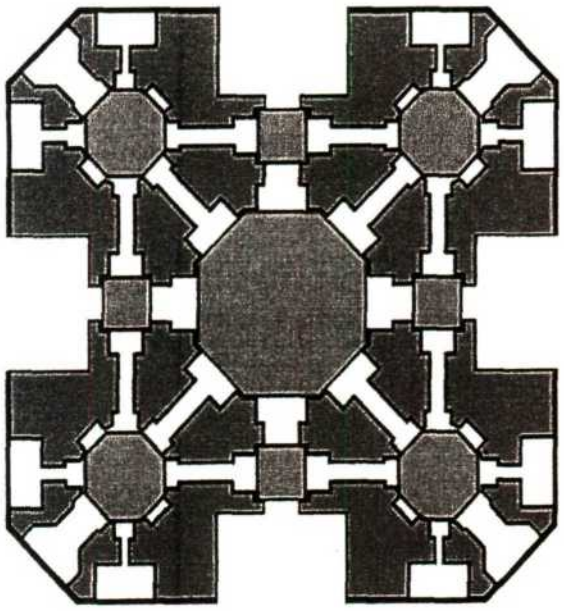
magnificence and beauty of the Taj can be appreciated best in the subtle moonlight, the radiance of dawn and the orange glow of the sunset also illumine the splendour of this most beautiful monument, rendering it pinkish in the morning and milky white in the evening. Its stunning architectural beauty is said to have a life of its own, a life that leaps out of the marble. [178]



Main Chowk of the Taj (Rough Plan)



Layout, Design and Plan

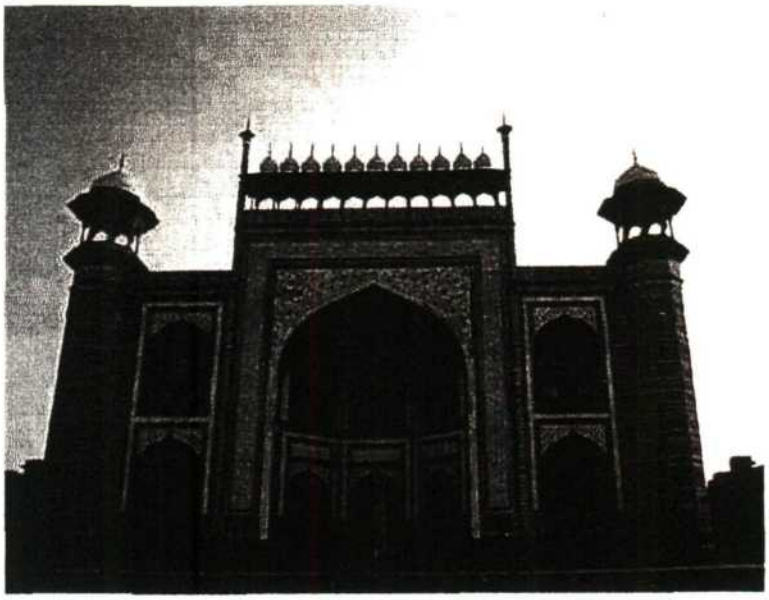


The unique plan and design of the Taj Mahal cannot be attributed to a single mastermind, instead the various superb feature of its construction can be traced systematically in earlier examples during the whole evolutionary process. It was planned on the river bank at a respectable distance from the hubbub of the capital, to provide it with a natural environment and thus a beautiful and romantic setting. [179]

It was planned to stand just above the water so that the huge mass of white marble rising to a colossal height could tower magnificently and imposingly over its surroundings. The site was selected on the bank of the river Jumuna, down stream the Agra fort, at some distance to the South of the city. The river took a sharp turn at this place, almost at right angle so that a water-shed is made where the thrust of the water is minimum. It was, thus, the safest point on the river bank. The Char-Bagh plan was suitably modified. [180]

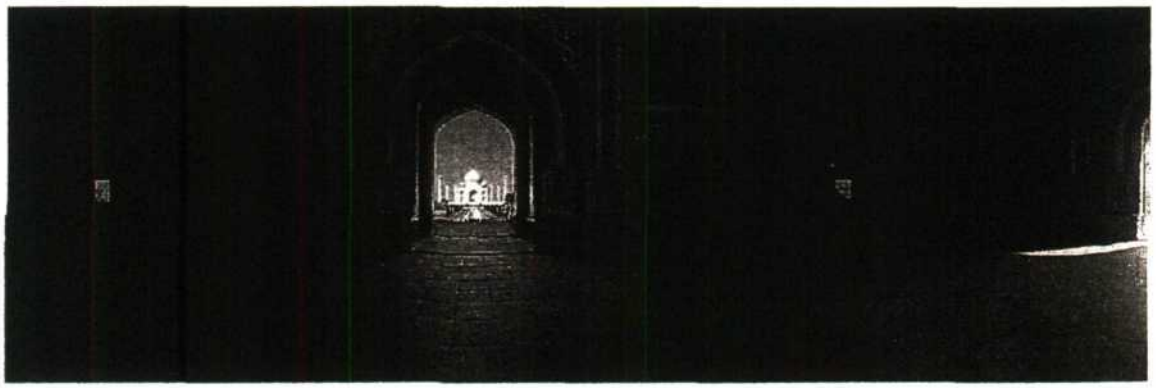


The square garden has been divided into four large quarters, separated by broad water channels with fountains and double causeways on either side. The central point of the char Bagh is not occupied by the tomb but by a beautiful raised lotus pond of white-marble approached on all sides by double steps. This garden setting is an important contributory asset to its aesthetics. Its presentation in relation to the cues or the environmental factors and in relation to the gorgeously set distance has most ingeniously been conceived. [181]



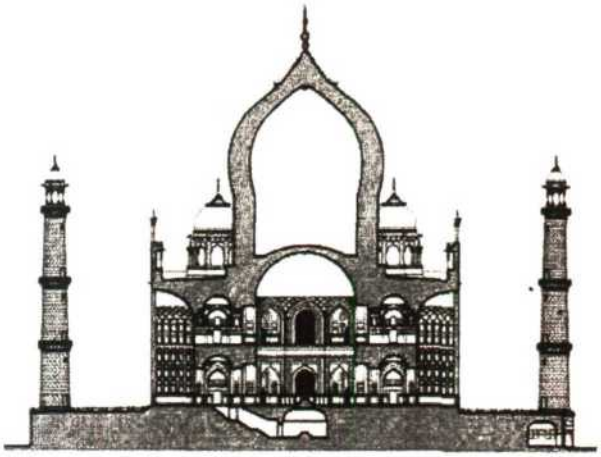
The main gate of the Taj Mahal is on the south side. It has been designed to play the part of a monumental entrance to the grand edifice. Octagonal towers are attached to its corners which are surmounted by broad impressive octagonal kiosks. White marble has

been used on this gateway interspersedly for emphasis and also to minimise the too sober and too classical an appearance of red sandstone. The most important feature of the gateway however is the introduction of a series of eleven attached chhatris with marble cupolas flanked by pinnacles. [182]



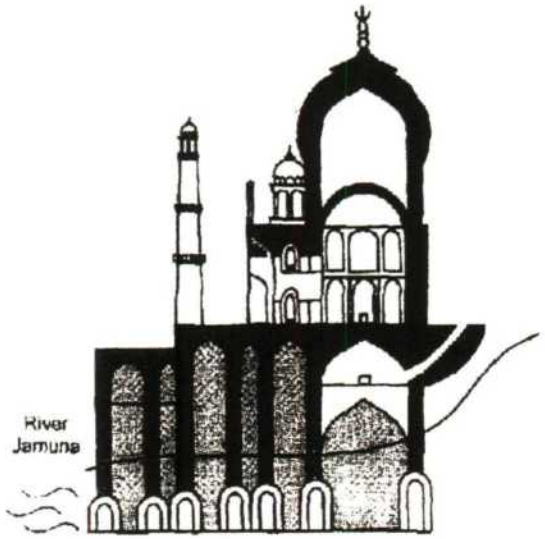
The great ingenuity of the builder and his nature of innovations may be understood by yet another feature of its planning. At the Taj Mahal the builder has substituted the false gateways with beautiful water-pavilions on the east and the west sides, each rising at the end of the broad water canal with which the three arches of its second and the chhatri of its third storey react rhythmically. Though each is an independent structure, it forms an inseparable part of the whole charBagh plan. It seems as if the water channel was especially designed to provide a suitable setting for the water pavilion.

WELL FOUNDATION OF THE TAJ



Lahauri recorded contemporarily that the Emperor Shah Jahan decided to raise a magnificent building over the grave of Mumtaz Mahal with a large and lofty dome which could last till the day of Resurrection, to perpetuate her memory. The foundations of this lofty building were laid and his statement:

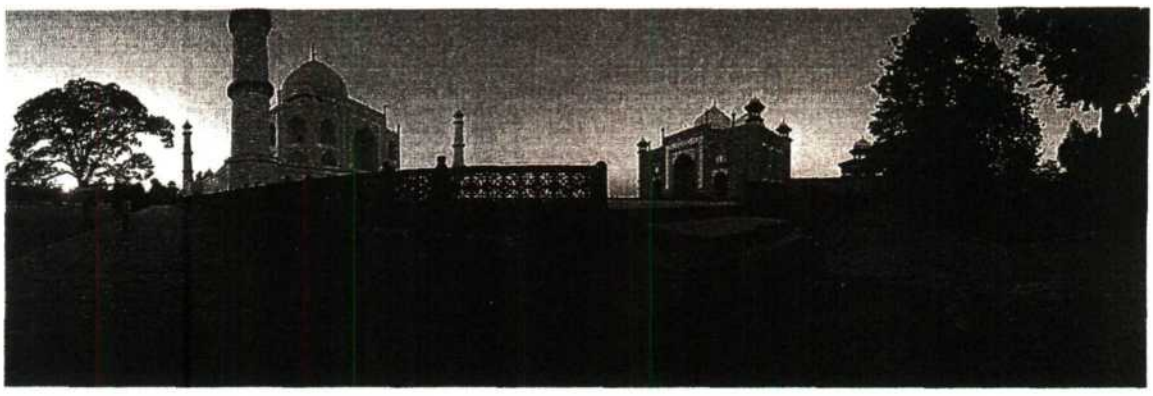
`Tasis in binaye rafu'ul buniyan' confirms that the work began from the very foundations. Strong armed labourers dug deep until they reached the water level. They filled the foundations with stone and lime mortar excellently and levelled it with the ground. [183]



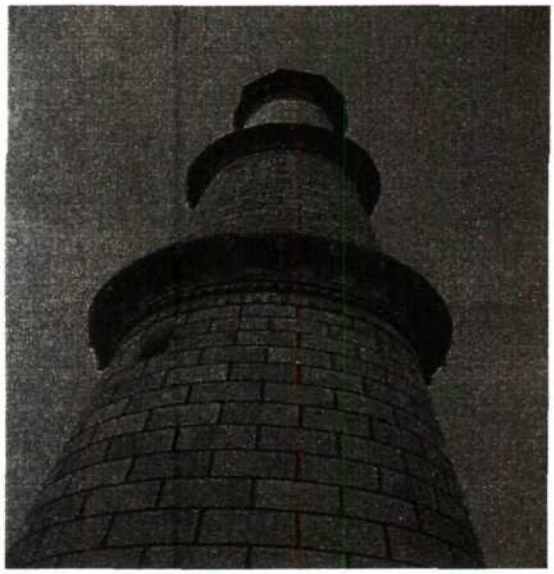
It was an efficient system of well foundation interconnected through massive arches making it up almost into a monolithic, yet dynamic plinth (Kursi) upon which the gigantic mausoleum could be securely based. [184]

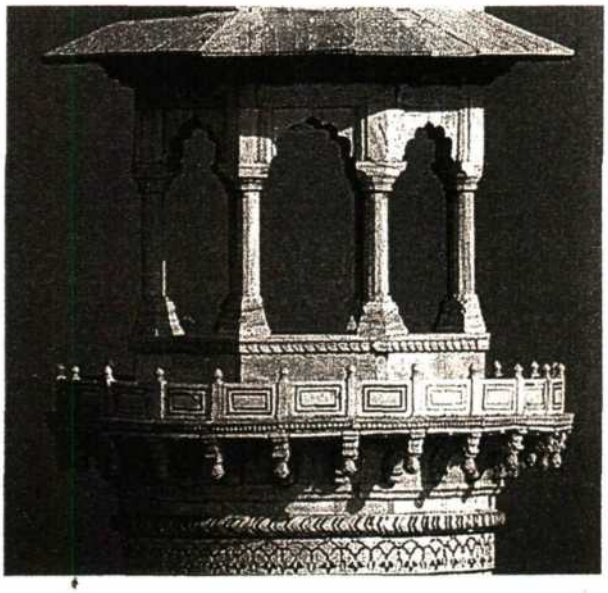
The foundations were raised in accordance with the superstructure so that each massive pier could rest on one series of wells which were connected together through strong arches. Each well was composed of a massive circular wall of Kakai brick and lime mortar of great strength with axtes and spokes-placed in it at regular intervals, along the whole depth. The core was filled with rubble stones mixed with mortar. The space between the walls was filled with solid masonry composed of stones and lime. The court historian noted that on this foundation was built the main plinth of the tomb now called as chameli – farsh. The mausoleum stands in the middle of the square marble plinth called `chhakka' which measures 328'-3" side and is 19' in height from the chameli-Farsh. The space between the walls was filled with solid masonry composed of stones and lime. [185]

ARCHITECTURE OF THE MAIN MAUSOLEUM OF THE TAJ

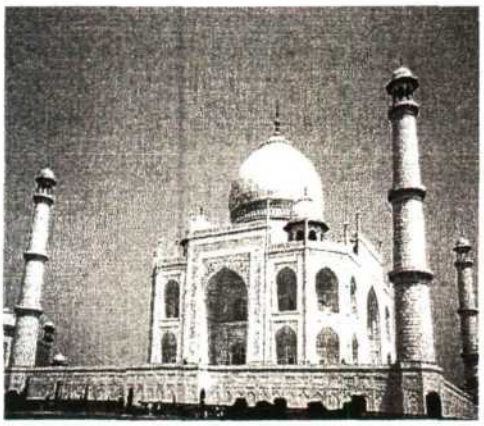


The tomb structure occupies the middle of a rectangular red sandstone platform along the river. This platform is generally called Chameli-farsh and measures 970'-7" (East-West) by 364' 10" (North-South) and is 4' high from the garden level. It has a beautiful mosque on its west and an identical structure on the east side. They are in red sandstone with a liberal use of white marble for emphasis and contrast. [186]



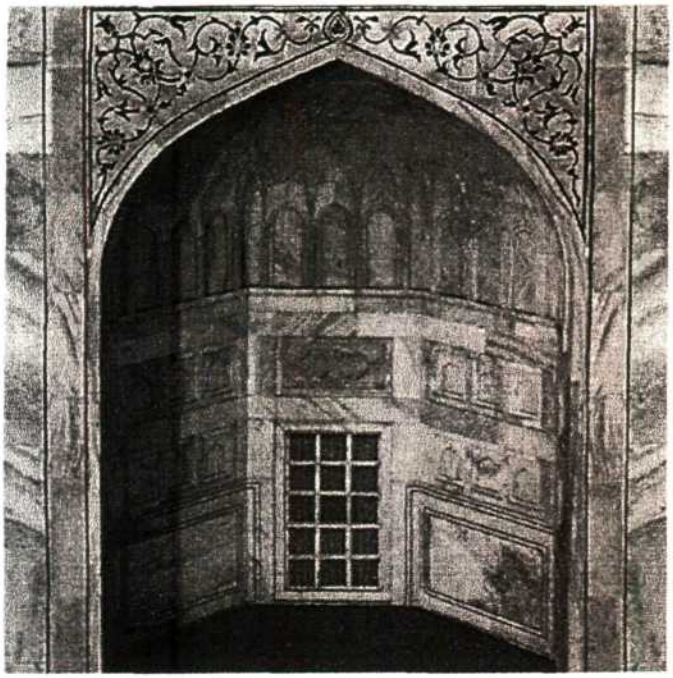


The tapering minarets which measure 132' in height at an average are three storied, each separated by a balcony supported on a series of brackets which bring about a rhythmic play of light and shadow and provide this otherwise black and white marble minaret with a graceful ornament like bejewelled Kangans on the arms of a beautiful lady. Each one is surmounted by a chhatri. [187]



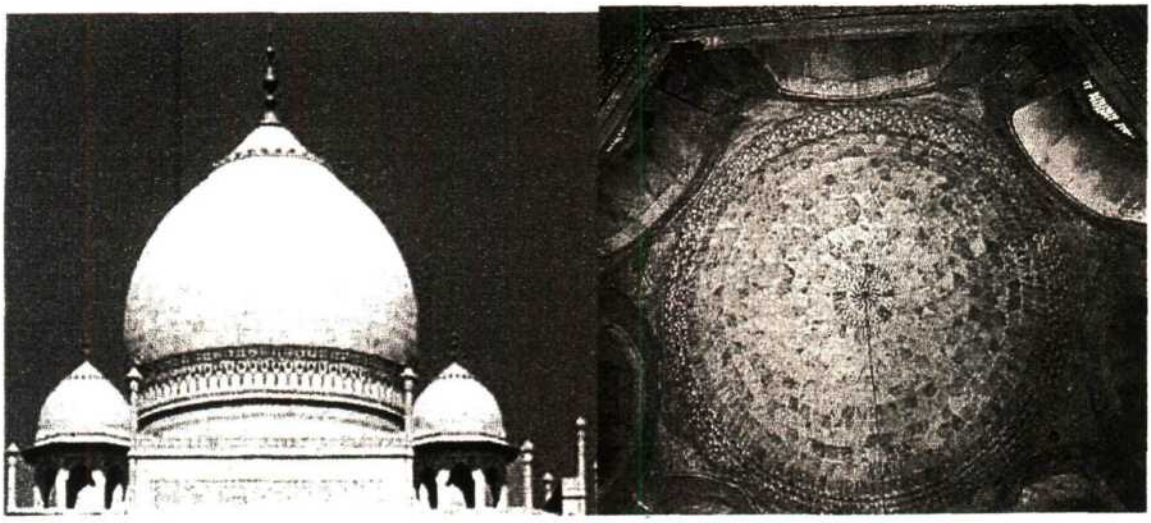
Though the white marble main tomb is essentially a square of 187' side, it assumes an octagonal form owing to the chamfer at the angles. Each façade of the tomb is composed of a grand iwan (portal) in its centre, occupying practically the whole height upto the parapet which rises well over it to give prominence to the iwan. It is flanked on both sides

by duel alcoves one above the other. Similar alcoves are given on the corners. They are rectangular on the façade, while on the corners they are semi-octagonal. [188]



Each section of the façade is well demarcated on both sides of the iwan by attached pilasters or miniature turrets which beginning from the plinth level of the tomb rise above the parapet and are crowned by beautiful pinnacles with lotus-buds and finials. These turrets have a chevron pattern inlaid in black and yellow on white marble and are flanked at the base by panels which have similar borders. [189]

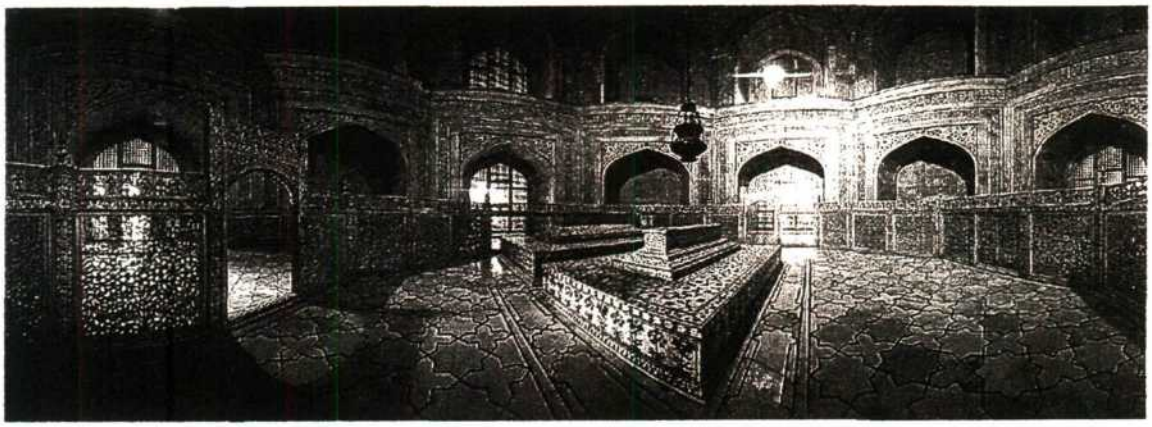
Architecture of the dome

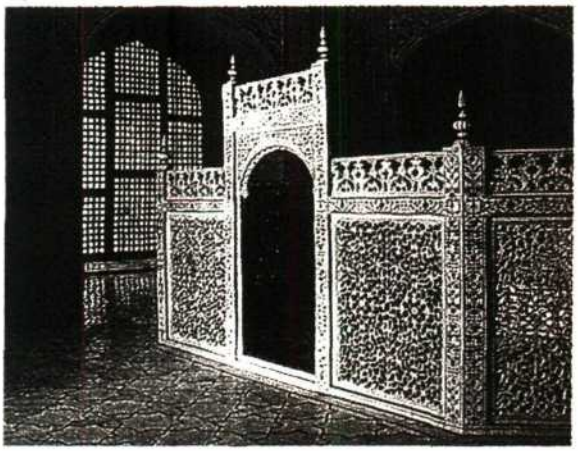


A bulbous white double – dome with a broad padma-kosa (lotus – petals) and beautiful Kalasa-finial (which originally measured 30'-6" in height) crowns the tomb. The bulbous dome of the Taj Mahal rests on an extraordinarily high drum and rises to a total height of 145' 8" from the base of the drum to the apex of the finial. The dome

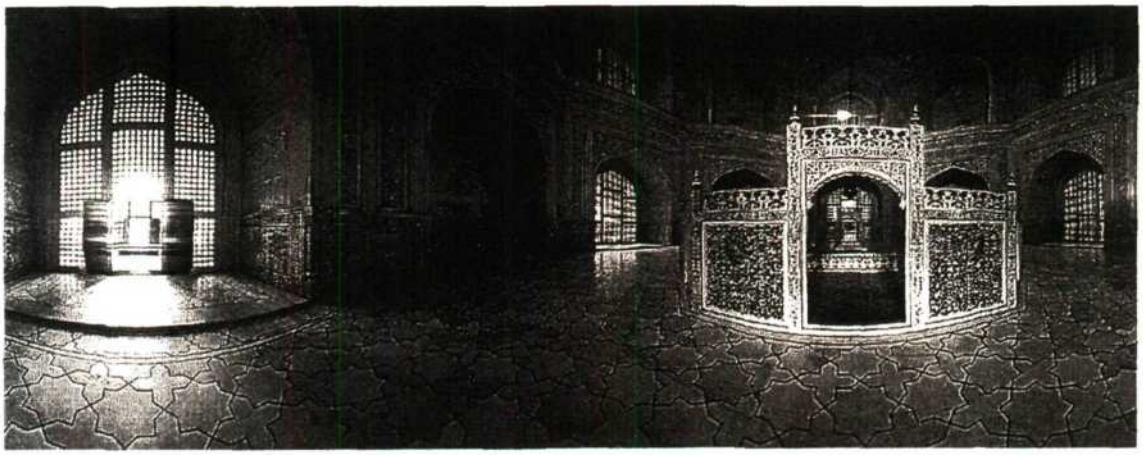
is flanked on all the four angles by four very appropriate chhatris which appear to be attached to the dome when viewed from all sides. The builder had learnt a lot by the apparent mishandling of this feature at the tomb of Humayun where the kiosks seem to be too detached from the dome. At the Taj he calculated the distance between the two features for the accurate relationship they were intended to present together. The dome is never presented alone, but always in terms of the Chhatris amid a cluster of pinnacles on all sides. It is this panch-ratna plan that endows the Taj with such unprecedented impressiveness and grace. [190]

Architecture of interior hall

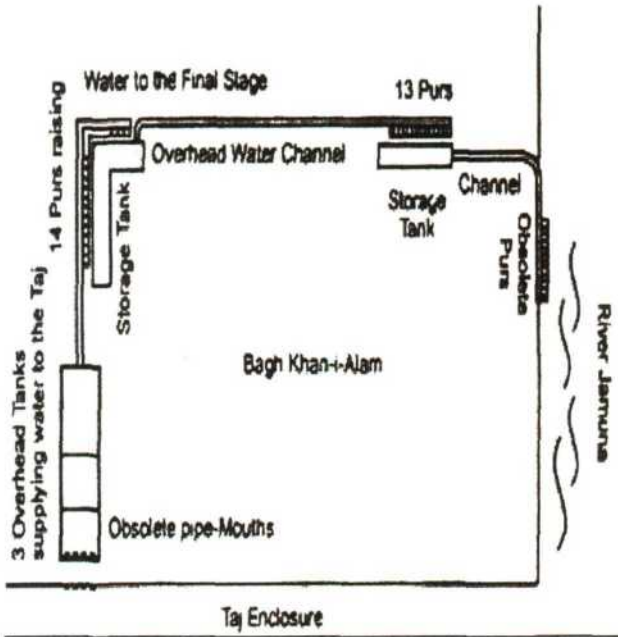




The octagonal hall is 58' in diameter and 80' in height from the pavement to the soffit (first ceiling) with an arrangement of four rectangular rooms on the sides and four octagonal rooms at the corners, all interconnected through passages. It makes sound echo, which floats and soars overhead in a long delicious undulation, fading away so slowly that you hear it after it is silent. The arrangement of the rooms and passages is double storied, the upper set exactly corresponding to the lower one i.e. four rectangular rooms on the sides and four octagonal small rooms at the corners, all interconnected by means of passages. [191]

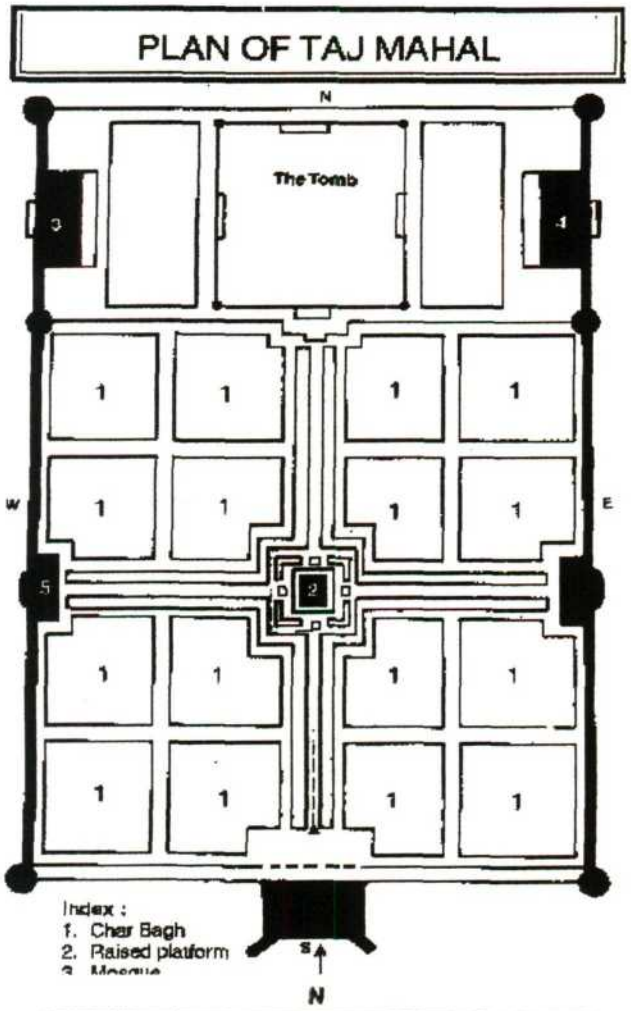


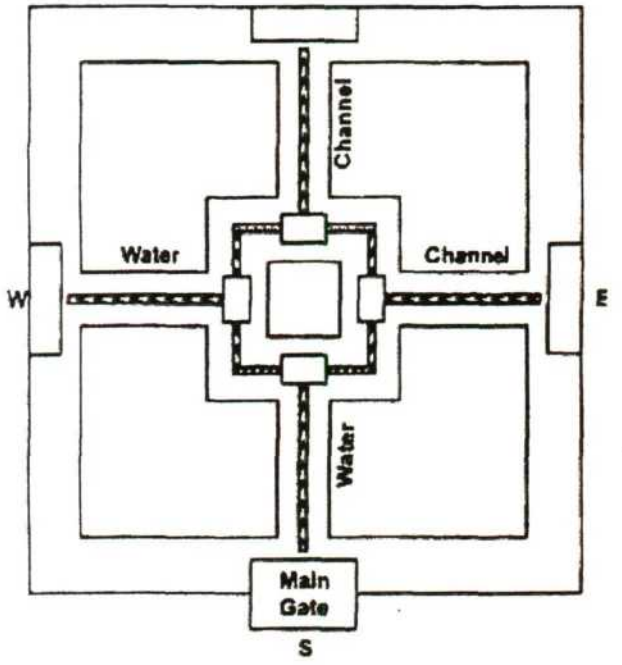
The main hall is also connected with the corner rooms through radiating corridors on the ground floor. But except for the entrance on the southern side all the other sides have been closed with screens divided into tiny compartments filled with glass pieces. This glass work has been repeated on all the external sides of the tomb as well as on the upper storey. The glass pieces are perfectly uniform and have been very skilfully manufactured. They are slightly milky so that they are translucent rather than transparent.[192]



The Garden and the water devices within Taj complex

The mortuary hall has been conceived and finished most wonderfully. The panels on its dados have beautiful floral patterns in high relief or carvo-relievo with the borders in inlaid conventionalized motifs. An exquisitely finished marble jali screen (Jhajjhari) encloses the cenotaph. The inlay work of its borders and the grace of its jalies have rightly earned for it the title of `chief-d'oeuvre of elegance in Indian art'.[193]





Char-Bagh (Four-Quartered Garden) Plan

It is at the Taj Mahal that the garden and the water devices have been manipulated most successfully to create the best and the most magnificent architectural effect. Like Persian gardeners, landscape artists at the Taj attempted to translate the perfection of heaven into terrestrial terms by following certain formulas. In Islam, four is the holiest of all numbers-most arrangements of the Taj are based on that number or its multiples and the gardens were thus laid out in the quadrate plan. Two marble canals studded with fountains and lined with cypress trees (symbolising death) cross in the centre of the garden dividing into four equal squares. [194]

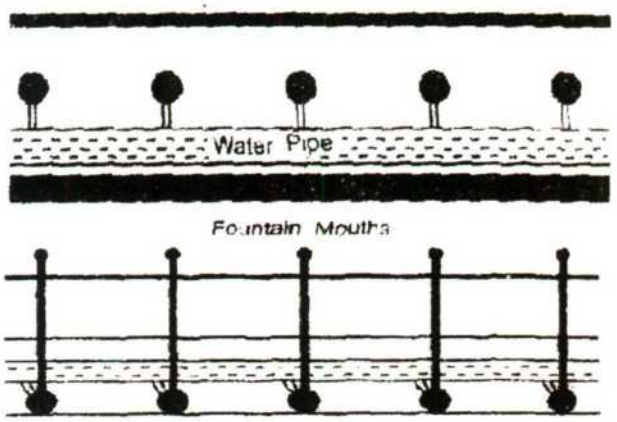
The Char-Bagh plan has been adopted at Taj. Here it has been put to a better use than in any earlier example. The mausoleum, instead of occupying the central point, stands on its north side just above the river, while the whole garden has been placed at its feet in simple adoration. Each of its four quarters has again been sub-divided into 16 smaller quarters with broad

stone-paved raised pathways. The centre of the garden is occupied by a raised marble lotus pond with a cusped and trefoiled boarder. The tank has been arranged to perfectly reflect the Taj in its waters. The tomb structure has thus been presented in an extremely beautiful setting composed of a broad canal studded with fountains, stone paved pathways, "parterres, cypress-avenues and flower beds. A clear, unobstructed view of the mausoleum is available from any spot in the garden. Fountains and solemn rows of cypress trees only adorn the north-south water canal, lest the attention of the viewer would be diverted to the sides!! This shows how carefully the aesthetic effect of water devices and the garden were calculated. The deep green cypress trees with their slender rising shapes and curving topmost crests are mirrored in the beauty of the immortal Taj. 195



The architect, who was fully conscious of the anaesthetic appearance of the grotesque pur-rams and crude conduits, selected the adjoining Baghkhan-i-Alan for procuring water for the Taj-Mahal. A series of purs; (manual system of drawing water from a water body using a rope and bucket pulled by bullocks). Storage tanks and water channels could be built there and abundant water could be brought to the Taj through underground pipes without at all jeopardizing the aesthetic aspect of the grand project. [196]

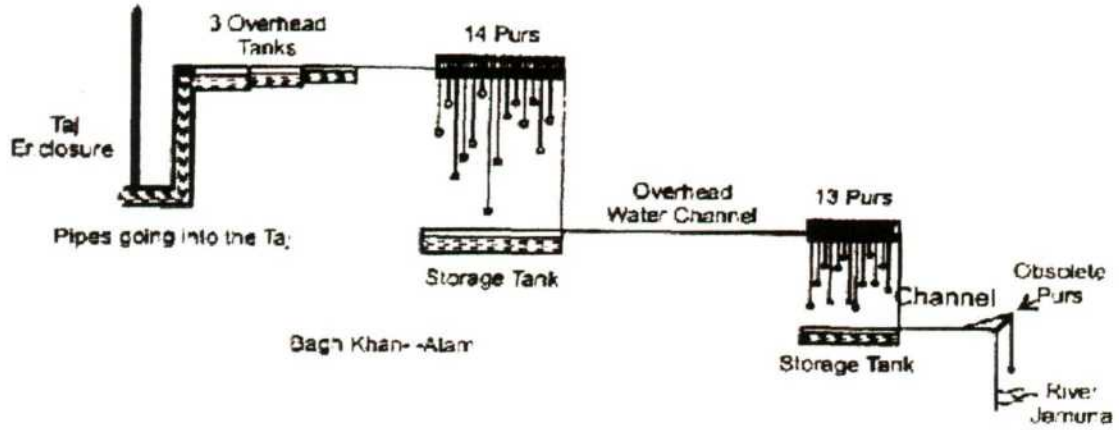
Water was drawn from the river by a series of purs and was brought through a broad water channel into an oblong storage tank. It was again raised by a series of thirteen purs which were worked by bullocks. Except for the ramps, the other features of the whole water-system have survived. An overhead water channel supported on massive arches carried water into another storage tank of still greater dimensions. Water was finally raised to this stage with fourteen purs and passed into a channel which filled three supply tanks, built massively overhead the gate of Bagh Khan-i-Alam. The last tankes had pipe mouths in its eastern wall. The pipes descended below and after travelling underground through the intervening corridor crossed into Taj enclosure near the western water pavilion. One pipe line runs directly towards the mosque to supply the fountains in the tanks on the red sandstone plinth below the marble structure. Copper pipes were used for separate series of fountains in the north-south canal, lotus pond and the canal around it. [197]



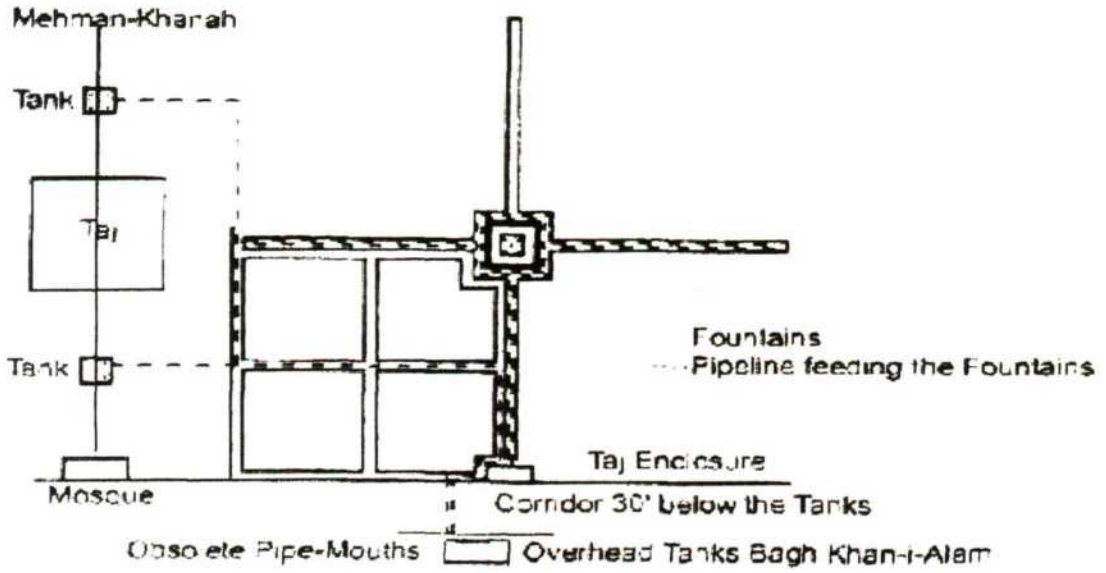
Water pitchers beneath the fountains

There are no water chutes in the Taj Mahal. Instead the whole ethereal effect has been obtained by fountains which have been laid systematically in the main south-north canal. Five marble fountains have been placed superbly in the raised central lotus pond. Another twenty four ornament this pond on all the four sides. Twenty four fountains have been set on its south and another twenty four on its north side. The planner desired to add to the beautiful view of the monument from the front by providing these wonderful bud-shaped fountains in the exact centre. The water channels at Akbar's tomb, Sikandara are narrow threads of water, at the Taj they are broad glistening sheets of crystal clear water allowing the reflection of the pure white tomb to dance in its soft ripples that the air intermittently creates. [198]

Underground pipes fed the fountains. One pipe line runs directly towards the mosque to supply the fountains in the tanks on the red sandstone plinth below the marble structure. Copper pipes were used for separate series of fountains in the north-south canal, the lotus pond and the canal around it. [199]



WATER WORKS FOR THE TAJ WATER SUPPLY



Position of the Water pipes feeding different section of the Taj

An ingenious method was devised to ensure uniform and undiminished water pressure in the fountains, irrespective of the distance and the outflow of water. The fountain pipes were not connected directly with the copper pipes feeding them as this would have resulted in a gradual decrease in the volume and pressure of the water. Instead a copper pot has been provided under each fountain pipe-which was thus

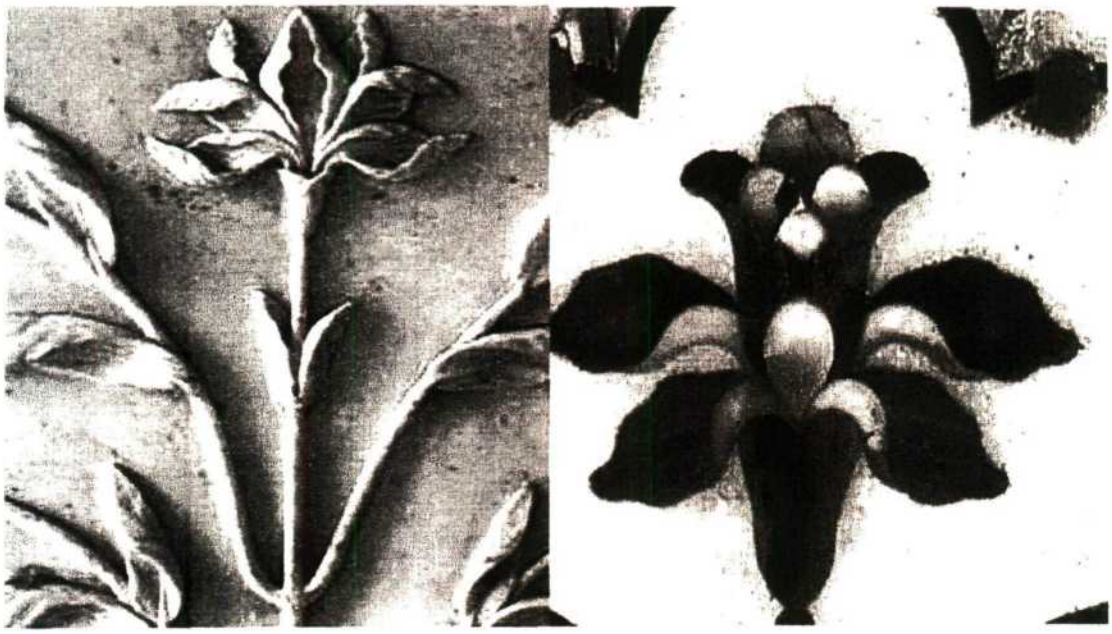
connected with the water supply only through the pot water, first fills the pot and then only rises simultaneously in the fountains. The fountains are thus controlled by the pressure in the pots and not by pressure in the main pipe. As the pressure in the pots is uniformly distributed all the time, it ensures an equal supply of water at the same rate in all the fountains. This shows the great amount of pre-conception of the minutest details with which the Taj is associated. The main supply of water was however obtained through earthenware pipes. One such main was discovered under the bed of the western canal.[200]



The original intention of the builders of the Taj was probably to present the composition as a whole without being obscured from view. This is more than confirmed by the method with which the garden is irrigated. Except for the outlets at the two extreme ends, the garden is irrigated by the overflowing of canals. The north-south canal has inlets of water through fountains. The west-east received its water through an interconnection with the north-south canal. Thus the quarters near the canals received an adequate supply of water while the distant quarters got a smaller supply. Obviously the

quarters near the canals could be used for growing flower-plants like roses, tulips, crown-imperials, lilies, irises, marigold and others which would not obscure the general view. The distant quarters on the other hand ware suitable only for tall trees, preferably fruit trees like the mango, orange, lemon, pomegranate, apple, guava, pineapple, palm and others. This shows that originally the Taj could be seen fully in all its perfect beauty, without it being even slightly obscured as it is today. [201]

TYPES OF STONES USED IN THE TAJ MAHAL



Three types of stones have been used in the Taj Mahal : (1) Semi-precious stones as Aqiq (agate), Yemeni, Firoza (turquoise), Lajwad (Lapis- lazuli); moonga (coral), Sulaimani (onyx), Lahsunia (cat's eye), Yasheb (jade) and Pitunia (blood stone) which were used for inlaying,(2) Rare and uncommon stones as Tilai (goldstone), Zahar-mohra, Ajuba, Abri, Khathu, Nakhod and Maknatis (magnet stone) which were used in bold inlay and mosaic chiefly on floors, exterior dados and turrets and (3) Common stones: sang-i-Gwaliari (grey and yellow sandstone) sang-i-Surkh (red sandstone), sang-i-moosa (black slate) and sang-i-Rukhan (sang-i-marmar; white marble) which were used in foundations, masonary and for finishing the external surfaces. [202]

Red stone was brought from the neighbouring towns as Fateh Pur Sikri, Karauli-Hindaun, Tantpur and Paharpur. White marble was brought from Makrana (Rajasthan). Semi precious and rare stones were sometimes brought from as distent places as Upper Tibet, Kumaon, Jaisalmer, Cambay and Ceylon. [203]

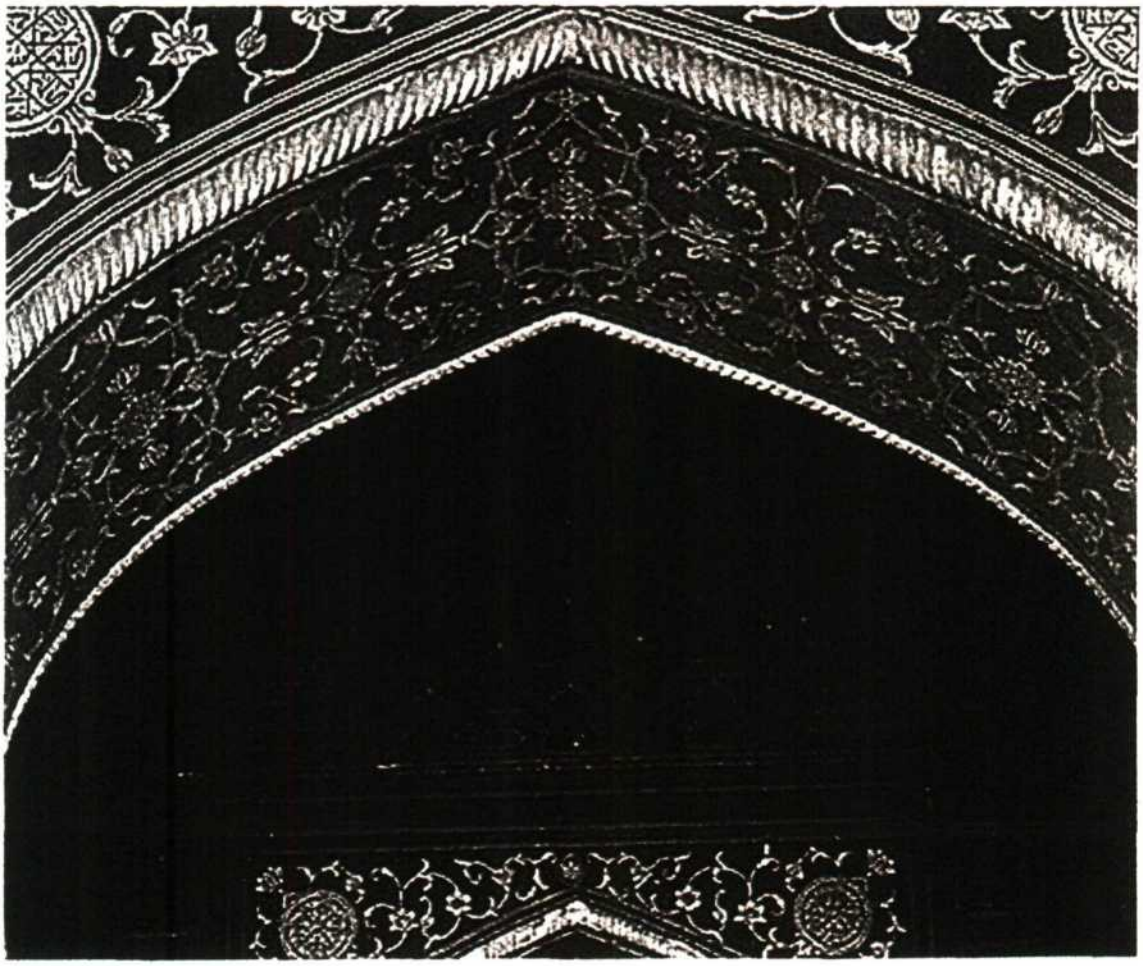
Besides the above materials the other materials which were used for the construction of Taj Mahal included different kind of bricks, Gaj-i-Shirin (sweet limestone), Khaprel or tiles, Qulba or Spouts to lead off water, San, Gum, Sirish-i-Kahli or reed glue, Gul-i-Surkh or red clay, Simgil (silver clay) and glass. [204]



The core and skeleton of the building is made up of extra strong brick masonary with which massive white marble slabs, blocks after blocks have been used on

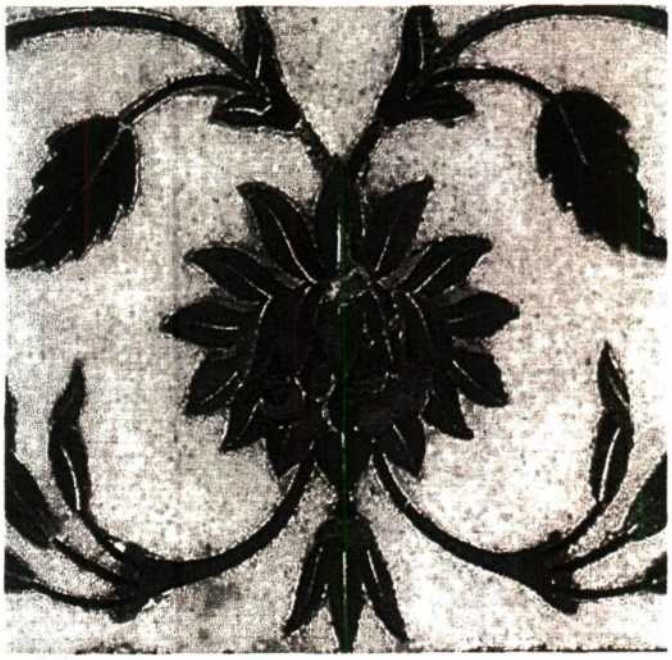
the headers and stretchers system to give it a white marble casing. Bricks were locally manufactured and chemically treated for strength and stability. Such country ingredients as molasses; batashe (sugar-bubbles), belgiri-water, urd-pulse, curd, jute and Kankar (pieces of fossilized soil) were mixed with lime mortar to make it a perfect cementing agent. [205]

AESTHETICS OF THE TAJ MAHAL

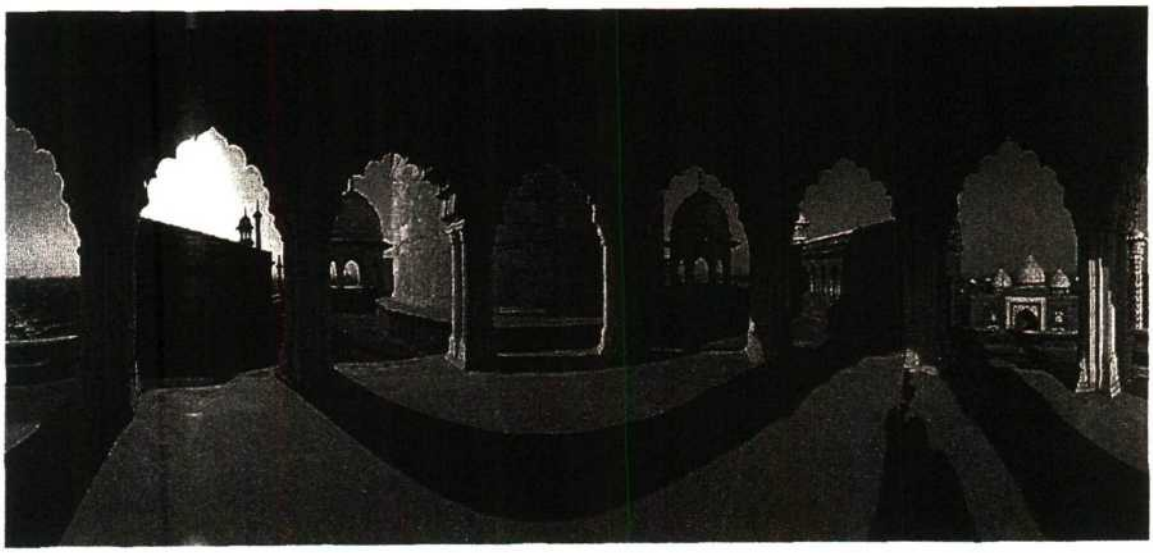


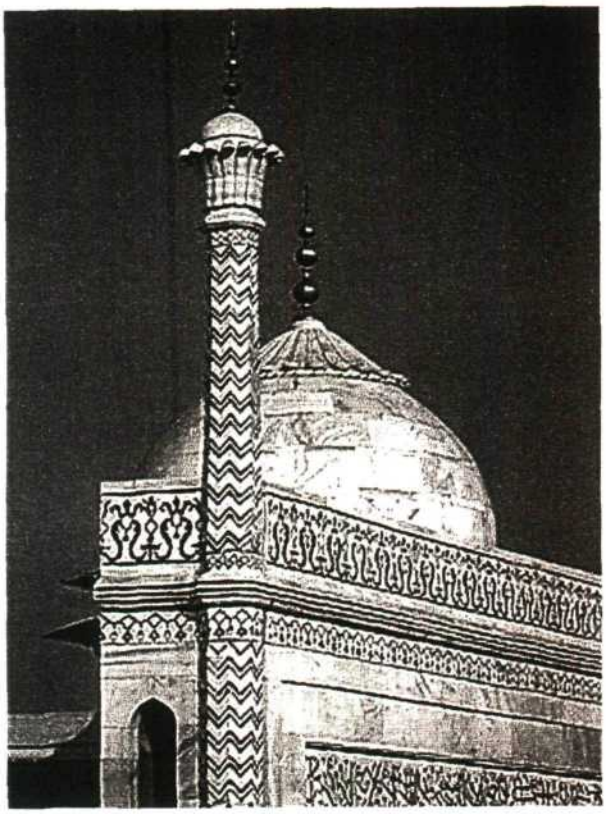
The Taj Mahal is a grand project with so many fine features, all pre-conceived in their minutest details and brilliantly put together to produce the most harmonious impression which was fully anticipated. The grand elevation, the minarets and other flanking accessories play an important part in the aesthetics of the Taj Mahal. The beautiful garden setting has been worked out skilfully to present the white marble

sepulchre amid a number of pleasing features. At Taj garden has been laid out entirely in front of the tomb proper with the sole objective of giving it a beautiful setting. This garden does not play any part in the background of the Taj Mahal which has indeed been provided for by the sky. The Taj overhangs the river majestically and is always seen with a blue sky in the background. This background changes its colour and texture more then often, and the Taj is thus always seen in an ever-changing and against an ever new background. It's shade are subtly reflected on the white marble surface of the monument which changes its colour and complexion accordingly. Besides the gorgeous garden setting and the ever changing sky backdrop, there are other substantial factors in the aesthetics of the Taj. [206]



The Taj is a superb combination of various parts which have been assembled together in perfect symmetry and pleasing proportion. The structural masses have most harmoniously been balanced. The total unity which has thus been obtained is simply graceful. If we intend to appreciate a work of art our approach should be synthetic; we can't appreciate it in parts, we can do so only as a whole. The parts therefore should be so assimilated together that each looses its identity in the total unity. The architect must be conscious of this synthetic nature of arts as much as the painter is and should combine so as to produce an absolutely new thing. He must thus create an illusion which is always more beautiful than reality. The beauty of a girl is also an illusion, technically, because it is not so if we see her microscopically, i.e. if we see her in parts she would no longer remain beautiful. It is, therefore, due to the total unity which is presented to us as a whole that the girl is taken to be beautiful. [207]

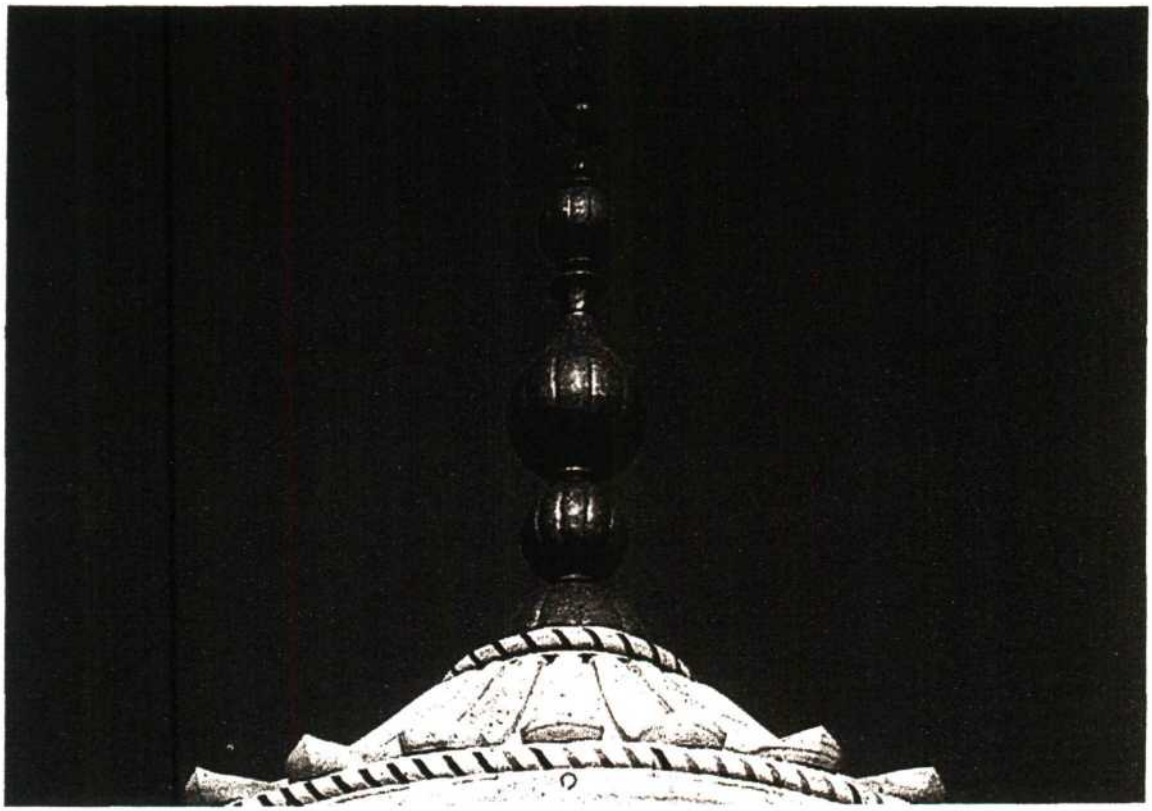




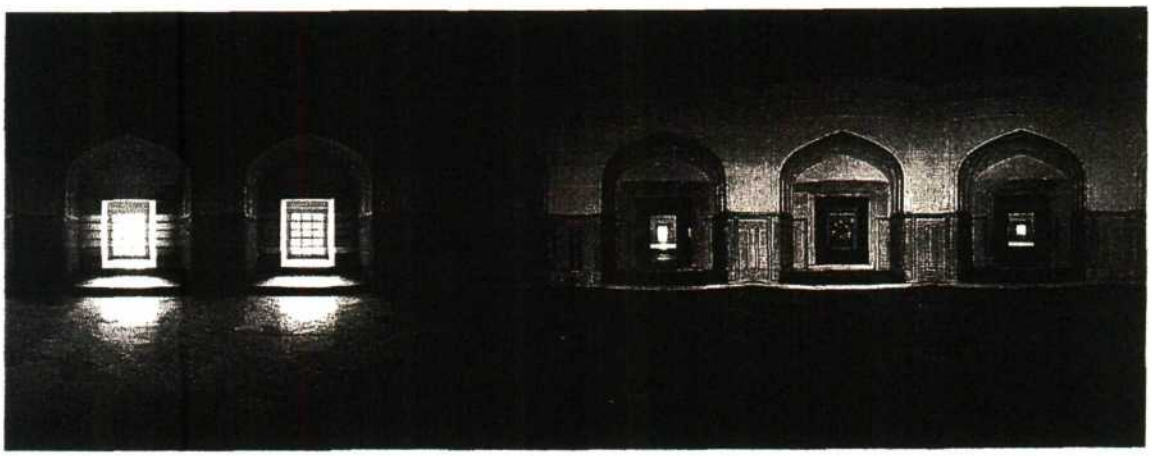
A superb artistic and aesthetic effect of the Taj is obtained by its elevation, superstructure, proportionate and symmetrical combination of its parts. The structural masses have been balanced most harmoniously. The composition of the forms and lines of the Taj Mahal is perfectly symmetrical. Here we meet with a beautiful admixture of lines, horizontal with vertical on the one hand and straight with curved on the other all harmoniously set together in the total unity.[208]

A rhythmic combination of solids and voids gives depth, suggests shadows and reflects images. Besides imparting a three dimensional effect it allows a beautiful play of light and gives a colour individuality to the building. The architect of the Taj not only selected white marble for all exterior surfaces but also so manipulated the material as to produce the best possible effects of light. The coloured inlay of the portal-dados, of the

spandrels of the arches and the pilasters, closely associated with abundant white marble plain surfaces has its own unique colour effects, which present the structural forms. [209]



The colossal height of the tomb, along with its pyramidal appearance which is obtained by the receding plinths, gives it a soaring effect. It appears as if it is about to rise high into the sky. The pilasters surmounted by pinnacles, the tapering minarets, the decreasing volume of the dome culminating in a kalasa combine together superbly to give the Taj its ethereal quality full of lightness and grace. [210]



Tavernier's (a French merchant) records about the Taj Mahal, as he was an impartial foreigner. His writings form the most important basis of the claim that Shah Jahan was the original builder of the Taj Mahal. He visited India five times between 1638-1668 AD. Excerpts from his Travelogue (Book I, pp. 110-111):

"I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of the great work on which they expended 22 years during which 20,000 men worked incessantly...

"It is said that the scaffolding alone cost more than the entire work, because, for want of wood, they had all to be made of brick as well as the support of the arches."

Tavernier made his first appearance in Agra in the winter of 1640-41 AD (Dr. Ball's Introduction, p. xiv) nearly a decade after the death of Mumtaz and makes the claim that he was an eye-witness to the commencement of the Taj Mahal. In the light of the discussion so far, it is superfluous to comment upon this part of the claim. But was he a witness to the completion of the building?

The marble walls of the cenotaph chamber are full of Koranic inscriptions, which ends with the name of the calligrapher and the dates "...written by the insignificant being Amanat Khan Shirazi in the year 1048 Hijri and the 12th year of His Majesty's reign." (i.e, 1639 AD)

He then makes the other important claim that 20,000 men worked incessantly for 22 years to complete the building. This statement seems to the be the basis of the claim that the building was constructed between 1631-53 AD, though, obviously, it does not tally with his claim about its commencement. Nor does the supposed date of completion (1653 AD) tally with Tavernier's claim of seeing it completed. It is true that he visited India during 1651-55; but he did not visit Agra during that trip. His route, according to V. Ball, was Masulipttam-Madras-Gandekot-Golconda-Surat-Ahmedabad-Surat-Ahmedabad-Golconda-Surat. It is probable, as noted earlier, that he had seen the decorative work completed in the Taj during his first visit to Agra in 1640-41 AD.

However, the validity of his claim can be more conclusively examined by comparing it with the expenditure incurred upon the building (Rs. 40 lakhs) as claimed in the Badshahnama.

He mentions the number of workers to be around 1,000. This is significantly different from the claim of Tavernier; but it tallies well with the expenditure upon the building, as stated in the Badshahnama. If it is assumed that a thousand workers worked in the Taj Complex for a decade since 1632 AD, making allowance for the salaries of the chief craftsmen mentioned in the Persian manuscript, the average salary of the rest of 1000 workers comes out to be Rs. 25/- per month. Compared with the contemporary labour charges, this claim appears to be more reasonable than that of Tavernier. (The actual number of workers would certainly be fluctuating and their average number over the decade could be substantially lower than what Manrique had seen in 1641.)[211]

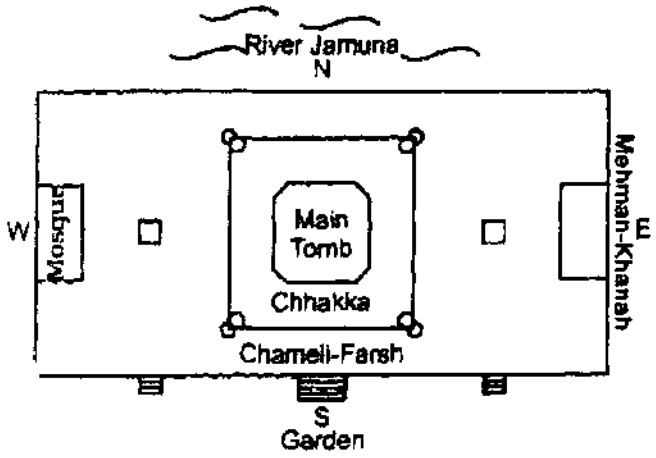
Taj Mahal - Details of Monthly Salaries

(From a Persian Manuscript placed in the National Library, Calcutta, as quoted by E. B. Havell, pp. 31-33)

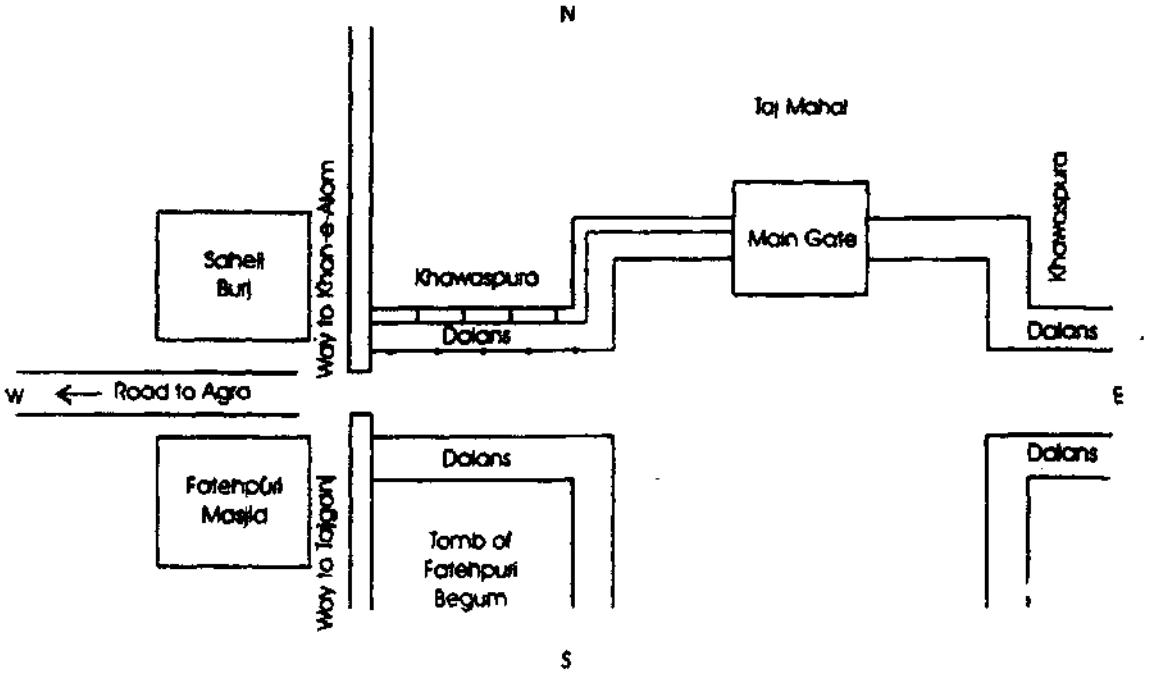
1 Ustad Isa (Agra/Shiraz)	Chief Architect	Rs. 1,000
2. Ismail Khan Rumi (Rum)	Dome Expert	Rs. 500
3. Muhammad Sharif (Samarkhan)	Pinnacle Expert	Rs. 500
4. Kasim Khan (Lahore)	Pinnacle Experts	Rs. 295
5. Muhammad Hanief (Khandahar)	Master Mason	Rs. 1,000
6. Muhammad Sayyid (Multan)	Master Mason	Rs. 590
7. Abu Torah (Multan)	Master Mason	Rs. 500

8. - - - (Delhi)	Master Mason	Rs. 400
9. - - - (Delhi)	Master Mason	Rs. 375
10. - - - (Delhi)	Master Mason	Rs. 375
11. Amanat Khan Shirazi (Shiraz)	Calligrapher	Rs. 1,000
12. Qadar Zaman	Calligrapher	Rs. 800
13. Muhammad Khan (Bagdad)	Calligrapher	Rs. 500
14. Raushan Khan (Syria)	Calligrapher	Rs. 300
15. Chiranji Lal (Kanauj)	Inlay Worker	Rs. 800
16. Chhoti Lal (Kanauj)	Inlay Worker	Rs. 380
17. Mannu Lal (Kanauj)	Inlay Worker	Rs. 200
18. Manuhar Singh (Kanauj)	Inlay Worker	Rs. 200
19. Ata Muhammad (Bokhara)	Flower Carver	Rs. 500
20. Shaker Muhammad (Bokhara)	Flower Carver	Rs. 400
21. Banuhar	Flower Carver	- - -
22. Shah Mal	Flower Carver	- - -
23. Zorawar	Flower Carver	- - -
24. Pira (Delhi)	Carpenter	- - -
25. Ram Lal Kashmiri (Kashmir)	Garden Expert	- - -

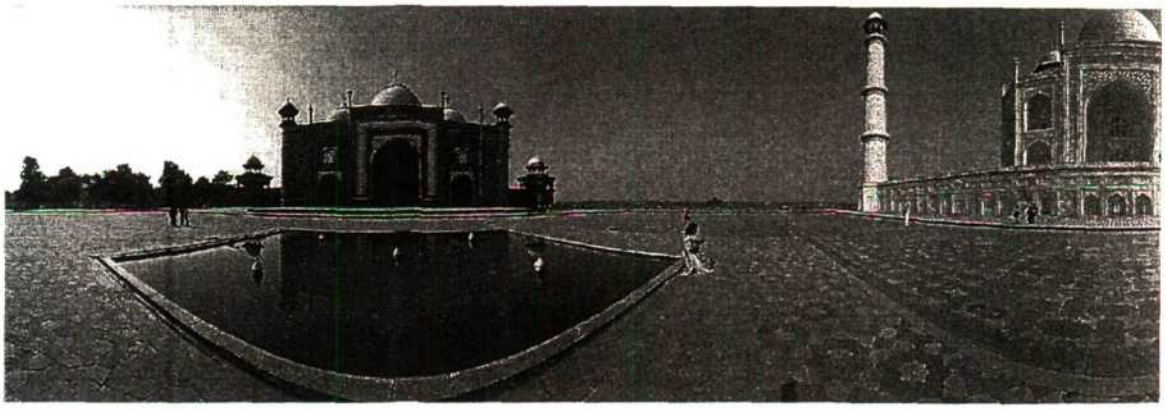
THE MONUMENTS WITHIN TAJ COMPLEX



Beside the Taj Mahal there are 24 other subsidiary buildings in this complex. All these structures can be better understood in the light of the overall planning of the complex which comprises three principal divisions. Beginning with its northern part, these consists of the Taj proper, the mosque, the guest house (Mihmankhana) and the other edifices around the ornate fourfold garden (chahar Bagh); the main gate and forecourt with approach roads, servants quarters and two royal tombs; the southern part, known earlier as Mumtazabad (now called Taj Ganj) with its curciform roads, gates and four inns (sarais) each containing a central court. All these buildings are in red sandstone, some with judicious use of white marble for emphasis. Though subsidiary they are integral to its lay out, plan and design.



FATEH PUR I MASJID



This mosque stands on a plinth which is almost one-storey high from the road level. It has dalans on its side and octagonal chhatris at the corners and a beautiful raised tank with jailed railing on one side front-all in red sandstone.

The measurement of the mosque is 103-3N-S and 38E-W.It is situated in the middle of the plinth leaving a spacious court 103-3x 55-6 facing it. The façade which is composed of central iwan is flanked on either side by a wing containing three engrailed arches protected above by a chhajja. On each corner of the mosque is attached an octagonal tower well above the terrace and it is surmounted by a slender octagonal chhatri. Nave is roofed by a bulbous double dome. It is crowned by padmakosh and kalash finial. The pinnacles which rise from the four angles of the nave flank it gorgeously. The chhajja plays an important part in the total aesthetic effect of the façade; it provides an emphatic horizontal line which is so very necessary to contain and harmonize the vertical effect of the rising towers, chhatris, pinnacles, dome and finials. As a whole the mosque has an extremely beautiful superstructure; the art in which Shah Jehanian architect excelled. [212]

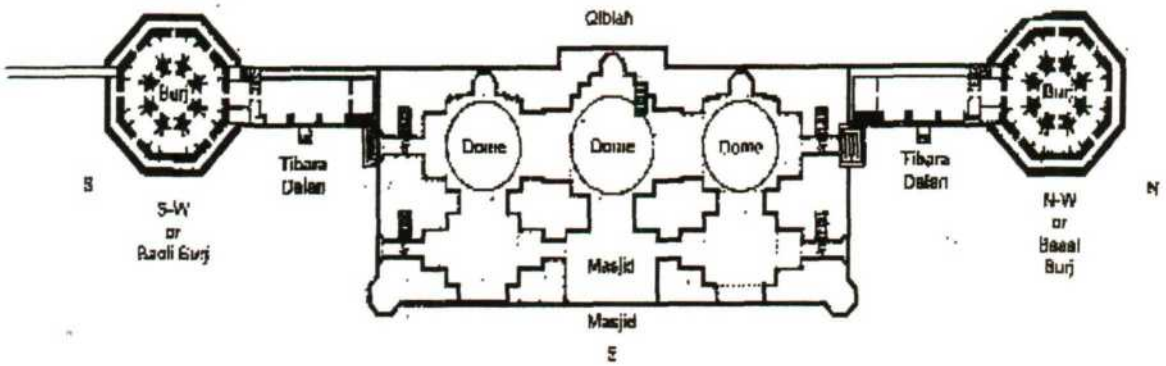
It is noteworthy that the mosque is finished entirely in plain and simple red sandstone, except the rectangular frame which contains the central iwan. It is finished in white marble. Infact the mosque does not depend on any ornament for its architectural effect, but on its design alone, in accordance with the development of `architectonic in the art of building during the age of Shah Jehan. [214]

CORNER TOWERS OF THE CHAMELI FARSH

Chameli Farsh on which the Taj Mahal stands is 4 high from the garden level. There are complex of five buildings on the western side and their exact replica on the eastern side. A large monumental mosque is in the middle. It is flanked on either side by a tibara-dalan (3-arched cloister) beyond it, on either side, on the North-West and South-West corners of the platform. It is a double storeyed octagonal tower, crowned by an octagonal chhatri. [215] Facing the mosque on the eastern side is its exact replica (Jawab) known as Mehman-Khanah or Jamat-Khanah and exactly similar tibara dalan and octagonal tower on either side. All the four corners of the platform are similar. The North-West tower is called Basai-Burj. [216]



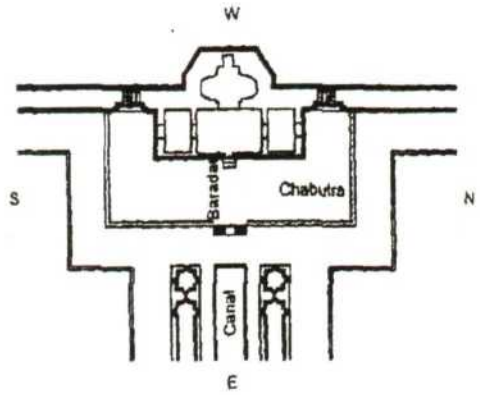
It is a full fledged octagonal building of two storeys crowned by an octagonal chhatri. This tower has two Jharokhas one on the river side and the other on the western side. The Basai Burj has a stairway down to the river. The Baoli Burj on the South-West corner of the Chameli farsh is similar except that it has a baoli (step-well) with three tiers of rooms in three storeys, all interconnecting a stairway. The North-East and South-East towers on the eastern side of the chameli-farsh are also similar, with provisions of stair-ways and underground rooms. [217]



PLAN OF THE CORNER TOWERS



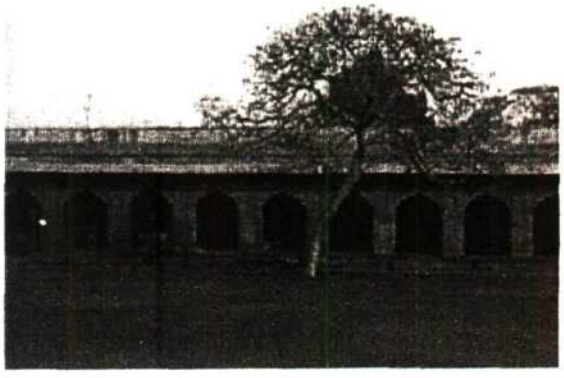
They are also called as Barahdari. They are situated on the east and west ends of the canals running east and west from the central lotus pond, hence they are termed Jal Mahals. They are built on a raised platform which is 4 high from the garden level. Each palace has a spacious tibara-dalan in the middle and a room on either side.The dalan opens into an oblong hall with semi-octagonal apsed recesses on the sides.The dimension of the platform is 125-3x 48-6.Latticed screens with geometrical designs have been used on the openings. [218]

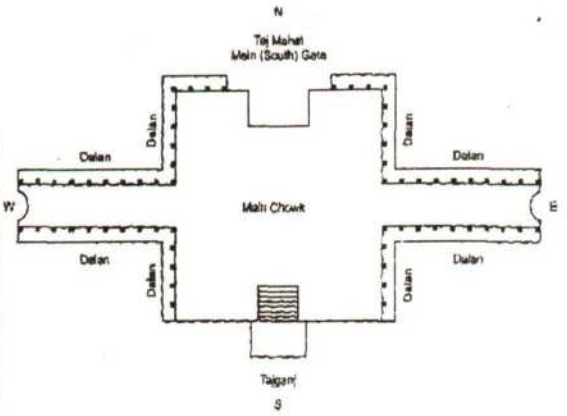


Upper storey also has a tibara-dalan in the middle and rooms on the sides. Double columns have been used to support eleven cusped three broad arches. Here also chhajja and jailed railing have been used. Above all is a broad octagonal chhatri with a white marble cupola and usual crowning elements like padmakosh and kalash finial.

Plan of the Jal Mahal

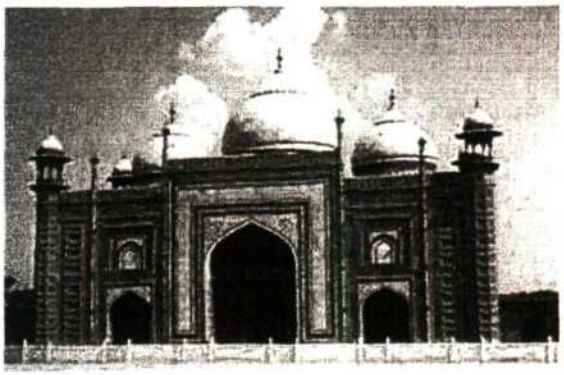
JILO-KHANAH AND DALAN





The forecourt or the Jilo-Khanah chowk which provides a beautiful approach to the main gateway of the Taj Mahal has arcaded dalans (cloisters). They are made up of typical engrailed arches supported on Shah Jehanian pillars. Small rooms have been provided behind them. It is considered that these dalans of the forecourt served as a great bazars (market-place).These are integral part of the whole architectural design which aspires to create an unbelievably beautiful thing in a beautiful situation. [219]

MOSQUE AND THE MEHMAN-KHANAH

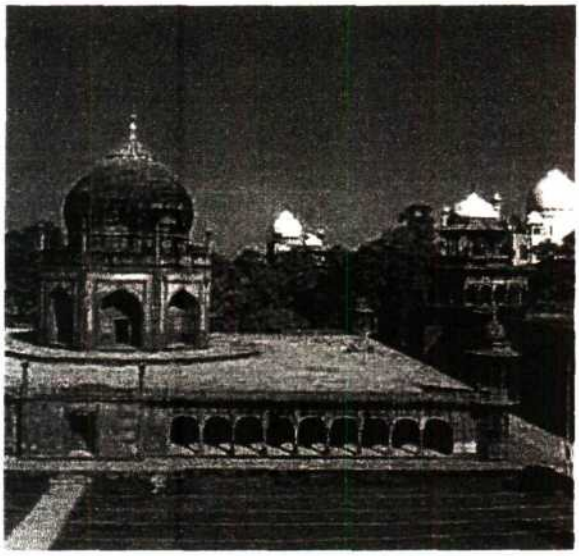


The Western side of the chameli farsh is occupied by mosque which is built on a raised platform. The eastern side, similarly has a Mehman-Khanah which is an exact replica of the mosque. More than fulfilling the need of a house of prayer and house of Assembly they flank the main tomb and help to present the white marble monument in an aesthetic situation, and thus do they form an integral part of the design of the tomb. Though the mosque is in red sandstone, white marble has been used here on a large scale e.g. on the domes, cupolas of the chhatris, in the spandrels of the arches. [220]

This greenery shaded structure, measuring 19 ft by 6.5 ft marks the site where the remains of Mumtaz Mahal were deposited for six months when first brought to Agra. From this temporary grave they were removed to their present place of interment in the mausoleum. On the outside the mosque has pietra dura work twining across its spandrels. The platform in front of the mosque is of red sandstone. A highly polished small marble piece is so fitted that it serves as a mirror and one can see the mausoleum reflected in it. The floor is of a material which is exceedingly fine and sparkling and appears red in shade. On that 539 prayer carpets have been neatly marked out with black marble. All over there is exquisite calligraphy. The roof is supported by four octagonal towers and three elegant domes. On either side of the mosque are two towers. [221]

Mehman-Khanah is exactly similar to the mosque except that it does not have a mihrab; a mimbar and Zanana section. It also does not contain the accessories which go with mosque, and instead of Koranic inscriptions, there are beautiful flower designs and other decoration effectively done in white marble on the red sandstone background. At the northern end of the platform in front of the Mehman-Khanah is inlaid, by black marble, an exact replica of the Kalash-finial which crowned the main dome of the Taj Mahal. This gives some idea of the true proportions (32.5 ft) of what from below appears to be a tiny thing. [222]

TOMB OF AKBRABADI AND FATEH PUR I BEGUM

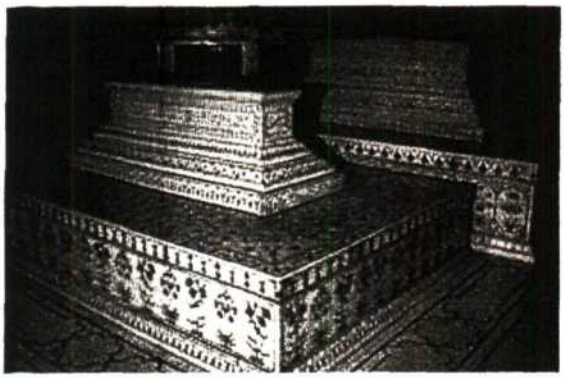


Both Akbarabadi Mahal and Fateh Pur i Begum were spouses of Shahjehan. The South east and South-West quarters of the Jilo-Khanah chowk have spacious gardens (char-Bagh) with the usual accompanying water devices. Just outside the main gateway on an elevated platform is an octagonal domed building containing two uninscribed marble tombs. One is Akbarabadi tomb and opposite to it is the Fateh Pur i Begum mosque. Each one of the tombs of Akbarabadi Mahal and Fateh Pur i Begum is a Rauzah, i.e. a tomb with a garden (Char-Bagh) provided in front of it. The garden is divided into four quarters with the help of shallow water-channels which have paved walks on the sides. The centre of the Char-Bagh is occupied by a beautiful raised tank which has attached double staircases on all the four sides and is protected by jailed and balustrated railings. Both these gardens and tombs in the South-East and South-West quarters are exactly similar. Both the tomb stands on an oblong platform, protected by jailed railing, facing the square, four-quartered garden. [223]

The tomb is octagonal and stands on an octagonal plinth. Each one consists of an octagonal grave- chamber and a 12 wide octagonal corridor (dalan) around it. The building is roofed by a slender, onion shaped dome of white marble, crowned by an emphatic padmakosh and Kalash-finial. The tomb of Fateh Pur i Begum has a screen of jalis towards the Fateh Pur i masjid. (Situated adjacent to it on the other side of the road). This red stone screen has nine Jali panels.

The tomb on the South-East corner of the forecourt is of Akbarabadi Mahal Begum. This was her title. Her name was Izz-un-Nisa Begum . The tomb on its South West corner is of Fateh Pur i Begum. The tomb adjoining the forecourt but outside it, popularly called Saheli-Burj is of Satiun-Nisa Khanam , a Saheli (female companion) of Mumtaz Mahal.

THE BASEMENT CHAMBERS AND A PROBABLE THIRD GRAVE

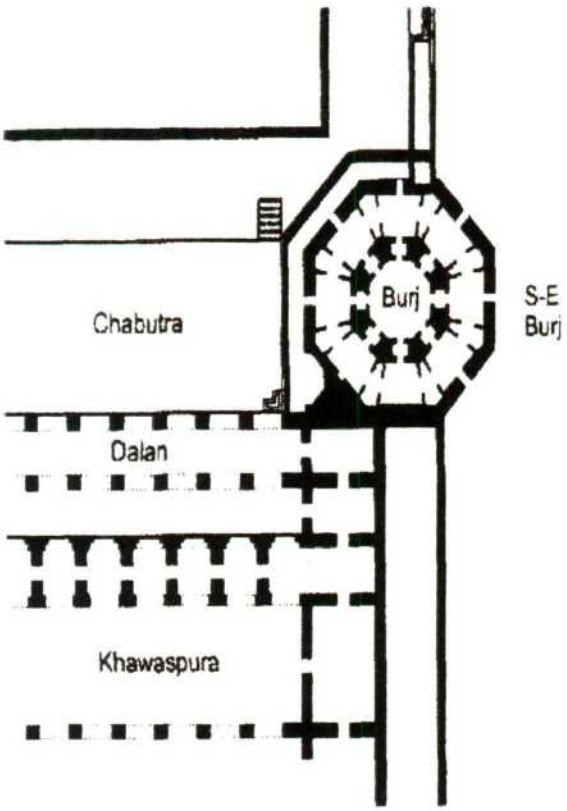


It is considered that an underground vault exists below the red sandstone platform (chamli-farsh) containing the third and probably the real set of graves. Two staircases on the northern side of the red sandstone plinth of the Taj lead below into basement chambers which are seventeen in number and have laid out in a line on the riverside of a narrow through-corridor. The rooms and corridor are of arcuate construction in brick and plaster, with stucco and painting ornamentation, distributed aesthetically on the soffits. At the extreme points on both sides there are doors sunk in the northern wall. As may be surmised; the set on the northern side could have been repeated on all the four sides below the marble structure, with a rotating corridor, chambers and probably a crypt in the centre all being interconnected. This crypt would have contained the third and the real set of graves. The custom of providing cenotaphs or replicas had been followed by the Turks and the Mughals alike as we meet with this practice at the Tomb of Iltutmish at Delhi and at the tombs of Saqtd Khan and Akbar at

Agra. The tomb of Akbar has three tombstones, one on the grave and two as cenotaphs. As is generally presumed, the real grave was made underground, in which the dead person could wait till the Day of judgement. The tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah and Chini-ka-Rauza too had three tombstones each. The lowest of the former was contained in a crypt which was originally accessible from the riverside and has now been completely blocked up. These examples indicate that the Mughals liked to provide three tombstones in a mausoleum. [224]

That its model was made by a Sufi faqir who had seen it in the dream, that Shah Jahan had the hands of the artisans of the Taj Mahal amputated after it was finished for the fear of their building another Taj Mahal to rival it, that a drop of water; the symbol of a tear of Shah Jehans sorrow, drops mysteriously on the tombstone of Mumtaz Mahal every year; and several other romantic tales are circulated by the over-zealois local people.

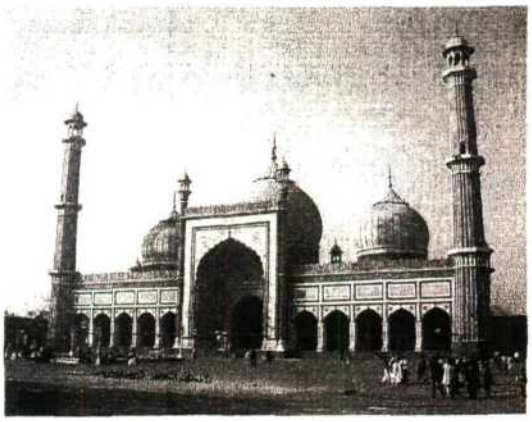
TIBARA-DALANS



Attached to the Basai-Burj to its south side, connecting it with the mosque on the ground floor as well on the terrace, is a tibara-dalan with a room on either side. It is composed of three broad and nine cusped arches. Here panel borders are outlined by white marble. Frieze below the chhajja also has panels bearing typical stylized cartouches. Their borders are also inlaid with white marble. Some panels have naturalistic floral designs in carvings while most of the panels are blank. As a matter of fact, naturalistic and stylized florals have been used in the Shah Jehanian building.

Exactly similar tibara-dalan have been used with the Baoli-Burj (attached to its northern side) and N-E and S-E towers of the chameli-farsh attached to them respectively on southern and northern side, connecting them with the Mehmankhanah.

JAMA MASJID

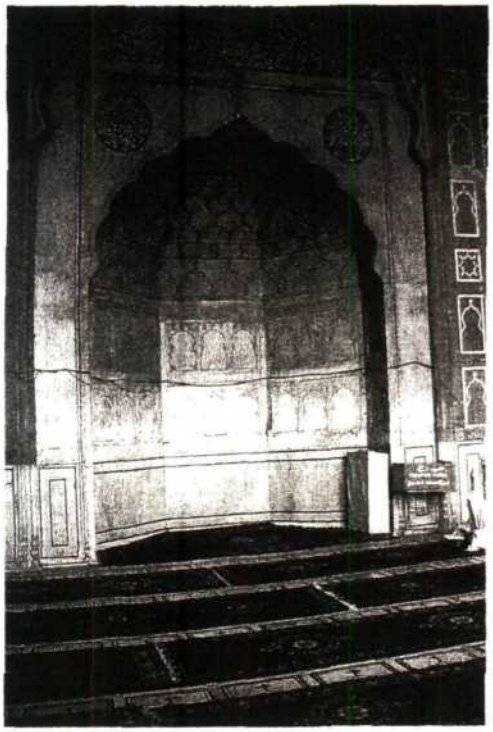


Just 500 meters west of Red Fort lies the largest mosque of India, Jama Masjid. Originally called Masjid-i-Jahanuma or 'The Mosque commanding a view of the World', the Masjid is the last architectural work of Shah Jahan. Jama Masjid is also known as Friday Mosque as 'Jama' means Friday, which is the holy day of the Muslims. The construction of the mosque began in 1650 and was completed after six years, in 1656. The mosque stands on a rock or a high platform and has three imposing double-storied gateways on the north, south and east to reach the courtyard. The eastern gateway, the largest of all was reserved for the emperor and the royal ladies.



The architect of this magnificent mosque was Ustad Khalil. Built of red sandstone, the main features of the mosque are its four-storied tapering minarets, which are 130 feet high, the full bulbous domes shaped like a drum at their base and the use of alternating stripes of black and white marble in all the three domes. Enclosed by pillared corridors with domed pavilions at the corners, the courtyard of the mosque measures around 100 square meters and has a capacity of 25000 people. In the centre of the courtyard

is an ablution tank, *Hauz* and in front of it is a raised platform called *Dikka*. The mosque is so big that muballigh (the second cleric), used to stand on the Dikka and relay the chants of the Imam (the chief cleric) to the devotees who were unable to hear him.



On the west is the rectangular *prayer hall,* which measures 61 meters by 27.5 meters. It has a splendid façade of eleven arches decorated with marble frames. Panels with inscriptions in black and white marble are placed above the arches. The central arch of the façade is higher than the rest giving it a perfect proportion. The inscriptions inform visitors about the history of the structure, the cost of building the mosque (one million rupees), the architect and the builder (Nur Allah Ahmed). Three domes surmount the prayer hall, which is two-bays in depth with the western bay having only seven arches.

THE REIGN OF AURANGZEB, 1658-1707

Under Aurangzeb the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent, yet the emperor's puritanical outlook and his costly wars meant that the generous support given by his predecessors to learning and the arts was almost completely withdrawn.

Aurangzeb was, by temperament, an ascetic who avoided all forms of luxury and ostentation; he even refused to wear silk against his body. Aurangzeb limited his reading to works of theology and poetry of a devotional or didactic character. The emperor found both music and the representational arts to be distasteful. [225]

Aurangzeb had none of his father's passion for the arts and architecture. Only a few monuments in Delhi are associated with Aurangzeb's name. These constructions, [226] include the two massive outer defences or barbicans protecting the

gateway of the Red Fort and the exquisite Moti (Pearl) Mosque at Delhi. This mosque was built inside the palace to provide the emperor with a place for private prayers. [227]

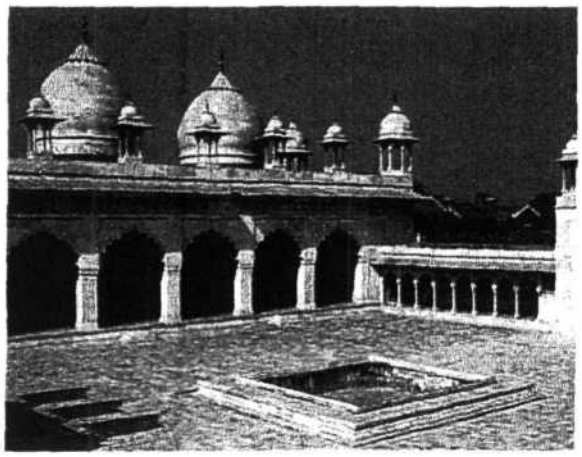
The decoration of this mosque is made noteworthy by its exuberant floral carvings. The vases with stems of flowers fill the spandrels and spreading tendrils echo the cusps of the arches which culminate in a fleur-de-lys. In this exquisite mosque, the realistic floral motifs that had been typical of the Shah Jahan period became increasingly abstract. [228]

The most impressive building of Aurangzeb's reign, [229] is the Badshahi (Imperial) Mosque which was constructed in 1674 under the supervision of Fida'i Koka. This mosque is adjacent to the fort at Lahore. The Badshahi is the last in the series of great congregational mosques in red sandstone and is closely modelled on the one Shah Jahan built at Shahjahanabad. [230]The red sandstone of the walls contrasts with the white marble of the domes and the subtle intarsia decoration. The materials depart from the local tradition of tile revetment that is seen in the Mosque of Vazir Khan. [231] the cusped arches and arabesque floral patterns inlaid in white marble give the building, despite its vast proportions, a lighter appearance than its prototype.

Additional monuments from this period are associated with women from Aurangzeb's imperial family, [232] The construction of the elegant Zinat al-Masjid in Daryaganij was overseen by Aurangzeb's second daughter Zinat al-Nisa. The delicate brick and plaster mausoleum in the Roshan-Ara-Bagh in Sabzimandi was for Aurangzeb's sister Roshan-Ara who died in 1671. Unfortunately, the tomb of Roshan-Ara and the beautiful garden surrounding it were neglected for a long time and are now in an advanced state of decay.

Of all the men who sat upon the throne in Delhi no name evokes such an image of sombre grandeur as that of Aurangzeb. His rule, which stretched across nearly half a century of Indian history, ended with his death in 1707. Despite Aurangzeb's personal hostility to the arts and his removal of the seat of government to the south, Delhi remained an artistic and cultural centre and the foremost city of the empire.

MOTI MASJID OR PEARL MOSQUE



Aurangzeb built the Moti Mosque in the Red Fort of Shahjahanabad, Delhi, to provide a mosque for the palatial fortress. Shah Jahan, the founder of the fort, had relied on the Jami Mosque outside of the fortress walls for congregational prayer. Pearl Mosque lies to the west of Hammam. Situated on a higher level than courtyards, the prayer-hall of the mosque has inlaid black-marble outlines of 'musallas' (small carpets for prayers) .

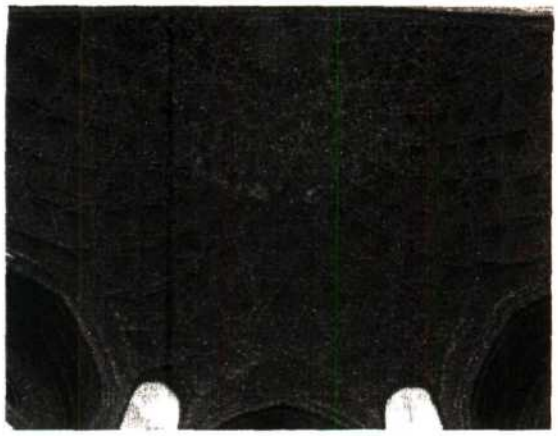
The mosque is set in a small compound, entered from the east, which includes a courtyard, pool, and the mosque building itself. The walls of the enclosure are dressed in plain red sandstone. The thicknesses of the walls are varied in order to align the exterior with the neighbouring buildings, while allowing the interior to face Mecca accurately. The interior of the enclosure is entirely in white marble. [233]

The prayer hall is slightly elevated from the courtyard, and is entered through three cusped arches that lead into two aisles of three bays each. Three bulbous domes on constricted drums cover the mosque. These were originally gilt in copper, but were later replaced by the white marble domes that can be seen today. The interior is highly decorated, with arabesques and plant patterns carved into the white marble facings and structural members. [234]

ELEMENTS OF MUGHAL ARTS

Basic element of all Mughal masterpieces of art is the interplay of different forms of lines like straight, curve or wavy, to bring out a definite pattern. Keeping in mind this fact, we can find out four key ingredients of all Islamic art forms. These are arabesque, geometrical design, stalactite and calligraphy.





Arabesque can be defined as the surface decoration with fanciful intertwining of ornamental elements like curved lines and foliage. This is a particular and exclusively Islamic art form of vegetal ornaments consisting of shoots or split or bifurcated leaves on tendrils. The leaves may be flat or curved, pointed or round, feathered or pierced but never isolated, they are always attached, to stalk, which is also rhythmically flowing in a design.

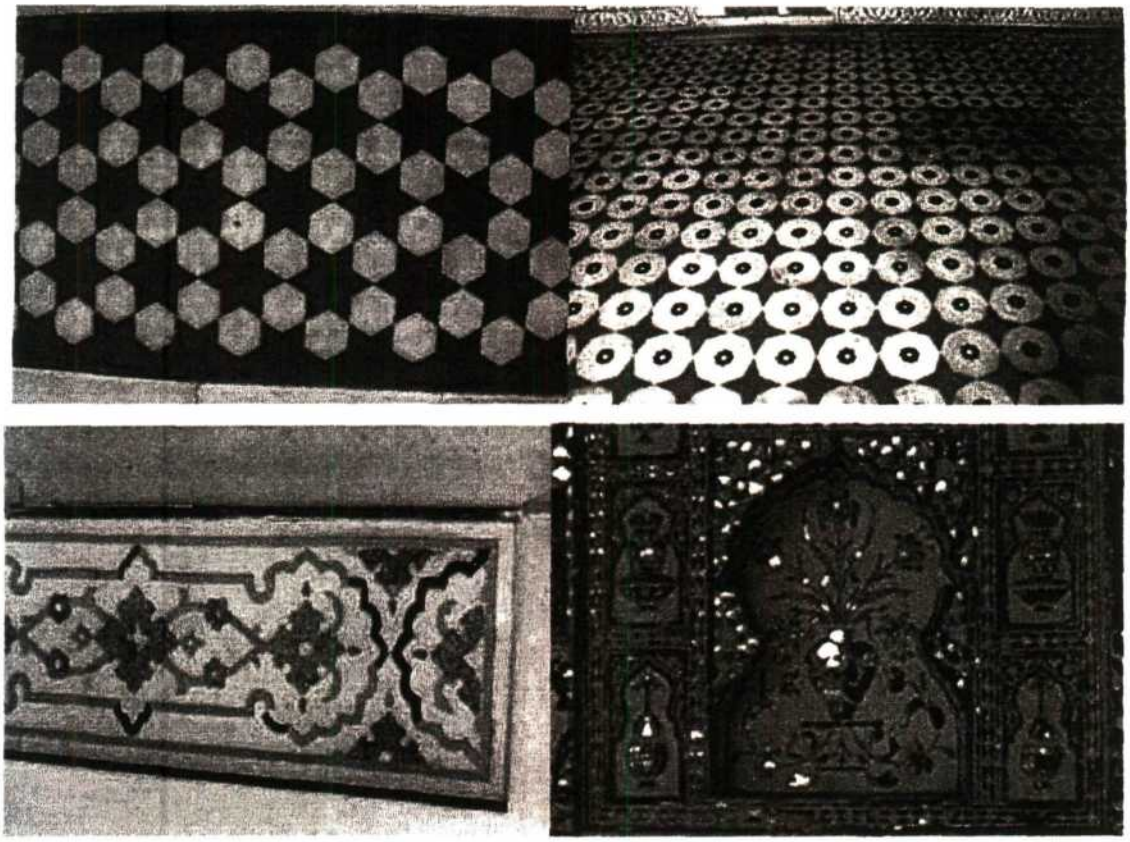
Like the arabesque, stalactite also owes its growth and development in Islam. This honey comb motif is most characteristic ornamentation, which has been used universally in all Islamic art. It appears to have originated in the multiplication of small squinch arches on pendentives.



The universal employment of geometric ornament of amazing complexity is one of the main characteristics of Islamic art. Geometric designs are pattern composed of geometrical elements like, Trigon, square, rectangle, pentagon, hexagon, octagon or other polygons, stars or motifs with straight or curved lines.[235]

All art forms and their artisans have evolved some way or other to beautify and decorate their architectural works to provide them an aesthetic look. Islamic art has also developed some techniques to beautify their monuments.[236]

Mosaic can be defined as the decoration formed of small pieces of hard substances such as glass, stone and marble, which are generally multicoloured and joined in a certain order to form a particular designs. [237]



Depending on the material used mosaic can be of different types like stone mosaic or glass mosaic. Tessellated style – where square or rectangular pieces of stones of different colours were assembled and arranged together as to form a pattern. Inlaid style – This is the style, which is most commonly used in Mughal buildings. In this type of mosaic thin pieces of semiprecious stones were laid in sockets or grooves of leaves, flowers, twigs or geometrical designs. Glass Mosaic – Glass Mosaic was evolved during the reign of Jahangir who introduced this most graceful and architectural ornamentation in his buildings. Some necessary features of this embellishment were the extra thick massive walls and ceilings to ensure coolness in the interior and also to provide adequate depth for different layers of the plaster background, the openings were minimized to necessitate the use of artificial light which brings out superb colour effect of the glass mosaic work. [238]

There is an extensive use of this art in every monument of Agra, which is used for both exterior and interior ornamentation. Taj Mahal is an excellent example of marble inlay work, various kinds of precious and semiprecious stones were used in this inlay work. Itimad-ud-Daulah tomb marks a step forward in development of inlay mosaic art, with mosaic of different coloured stones besides the usual marble. [239]

The mosaic work at the Tomb of Akbar Sikandara mainly on gateways is excellent example of this technique. Here one can see beautiful inlay of white and black marble and red sand stone in geometric designs. Chini Ka Rauza is other masterpiece of inlay work of glazed tiles besides that various buildings at Fateh Pur Sikri especially Jami Masjid are the best examples of inlay work.

As far as glass Mosaic is concerned it is mostly found in Jehangiri buildings. Shish Mahal at Agra fort is a unique example of this art.



Glaze tiling is the technique which was certainly introduced by Muslims in India, Glazing is basically a technique in which specially prepared colours obtained, from metallic oxides and fusible chemicals are fused in excessive heat under a specialized process then the tiles are overlaid with chemicalized colours and pasted over the plastered surface. The dazzling and brilliant effect of this glazed tile decoration relieves the monotony in designs and also improves the overall aesthetic effect of the building. [240]

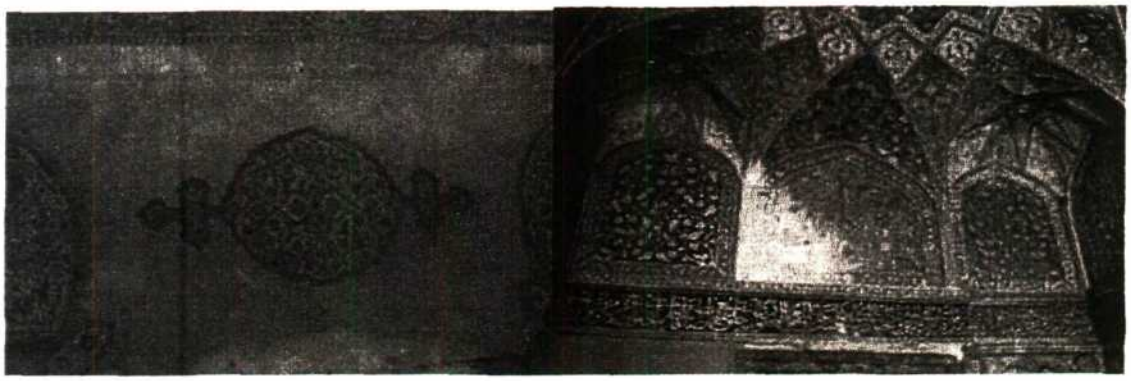
Masterpiece of glazed tile decoration in Agra is Chini Ka Rauza. Every inch of this monument is adorned with glazed tiles. Various Monuments at Fateh Pur Sikri also contains bands of glazed tiles on the roof.

Painting as technique of decoration in building was introduced in Akbari buildings. Their paintings were either executed on the plain stone surface of the walls or ceilings or these paintings were applied on wet lime plastered surface, which is also called stucco work. The outline of the paintings was drawn with red ochre (geru) colour or black generally carbon is used for this purpose. The pigments, which were used, were generally prepared from the minerals like red ochre, lapis lazuli, sulphides of Mercury, lead and other arsenic and copper ores. Some colours were also prepared from plant extracts like indigo, lac and dhak. [241]

Best example of architectural paintings of Mughal period are buildings of Fateh Pur Sikri like Khawbgah, Maryam's house, Jodhbai's palace and Jami Masjid, which are representative of the perfection of this art, with its large scale use and an added impressiveness and graceful overall effect.

The Khwabgah palace at Fateh Pur Sikri contains beautiful masterpiece of Mural paintings on the stone surface, though now only few traces have survived. One scene describes war scene, which is full of mutilated limbs. In an other scene a winged angel is holding a baby. Some paintings depict scene from nature. The colours, which are used in this painting, are generally gold, blue, red and chocolate.

Maryam's house is a most profusely painted mansion of Akbar's reign. Its walls and ceilings depict beautiful scene from nature, like jungle scene etc. The so called Jodhbai's palace had specimens of painting upon the parapet, interior soffits and exterior of the cupolas. Jami Masjid at Fateh Pur Sikri depicts painted flower patterns on the archway of the sanctuary. These flowers are painted in grey white and red colours. [242]



Tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti also contains painted floral and inscriptional pattern. At tomb of Akbar, Sikandara, some beautiful examples of painting can be seen at the Southern gateway. It contains beautiful, painted arabesque and tracery work. The interior hall is also profusely painted.

The whole of the interior of Itimad-ud-Daulah tomb contains stucco ornamentation, beautifully distributed over the walls above the dados and ceilings. Some monuments of Agra fort like, Jehangiri Mahal, Macchhi Bhavan and Khas Mahal also bears traces of Stucco and painting decorations.[243]

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drawings of various architectural designs. I have made a complete study of this book ,keeping it in mind I have described Sikandra.

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147. Ibid.

148. Koch, Ebba : Mughal Architecture, An Outline of Its History and Development (1526- 1858), p.p,60

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was a patron of painting and architecture whose interests also extended to the decoration of rooms as well as the designing of ornaments, brocades, rugs and dresses. The fashions in women's clothing that she adopted were still in vogue at the end of the 16th century.

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153. *Rice, D.T .:Islamic Art(London, 1965) pp.114-15.*
154. *Hambly, G. (1968). "Cities of Mughal India". New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Nur Jahan shared his interests in fine artistic objects and precious stones. Nur Jahan also assisted Jahangir in the layout and design of Persian gardens like the beautiful Shalimar-Bagh on the Dal Lake in Kashmir.*
155. *Nath, R.: Some Aspect of Mughal Architecture, Abhinav Publication, New Delhi, (1985). p.102.*
156. *Fazl, Abu'l: Akbar nama, (H. Beveridge) Vol II (Calcutta 1912) pp.242-44.*
157. *Nath, R.: Some Aspect of Mughal Architecture, Abhinav Publication, New Delhi, (1985). p.98.*
158. *Ibid.*
159. *Ibid.*
160. *Koch, Ebba : Mughal Architecture, An Outline of Its History and Development (1526- 1858), p,82*
161. *Ibid. p.84*
162. *Ibid. p.86*
163. *Ibid.p.86*
164. *Ibid.p.86*
165. *Bloom, J. and Blair, S. (1994). Moynihan, E. (1979). "Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India". New York. "The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250-1800 Nur Jahan also assisted Jahangir in the layout and design of Persian gardens like the beautiful Shalimar-Bagh on the Dal Lake in Kashmir.*
166. *Bloom, J. and Blair, S. (1994). "The Art and Architecture of Islam: 1250-1800 Jahangir's love of flowers and animals is reflected in the numerous miniatures painted by artists who shared their master's keen eye for the beauties of wild*

nature. Sir Thomas Roe, the ambassador of James I of England, was amazed at Jahangir's knowledge and discriminating taste where pictures were concerned.

167. Koch, Ebba : Mughal Architecture, An Outline of Its History and Development (1526- 1858), p.86.

168. Brown ,Percy: IndianPaintings under the Mughals,(oxford,1924)p.30

169. Beach, Milo Cleveland: Mughal and Rajput Painting(Illustrated) Cambridge University Pr / January 1993

170. Ibid.

171. Ibid.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. Ibid.

176. Asher, Catharine B. Architecture of Mughal India. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

177. Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 35-36, 46-47 , Abdul Hamid Lahori, "Badshahnama", Vol. 1, Royal Asiatic society, Bengal, 1867, pp. 402-403. (vol I, p. 384) records the date of Mumtaz's death at Barhanpur as the 17th Zi-it Quada 1040 AH (20th June, 1631). The date of arrival of the dead body at Agra as the 15th Jamad-ul Sanya 1041 AH (8th Jan., 1632). But the date of final burial of Mumtaz inside the Taj Mahal is not precisely recorded, except that it was done the following year.

178. Oak ,P. N.: "The Taj Mahal is a Temple Palace", 1966, pp.20-26.

179. Bhat, P. S. and Athawale ,A. L. :(from the Itihas Patrika, Vol. 5, pp 98-111, 1985)

180. Lal, John : Taj Mahal and the Saga of the great Mughals ., Lusture Press Ltd., New Delhi (1994) The author has studied the rise of Mughal dynasty against the back drop of Agra which was the Centre of major architectural activities. The book contains excellent coloured illustrations.

181. Bhat, P. S. and Athawale ,A. L. :(from the Itihas Patrika, Vol. 5, pp 98-111, 1985)The Taj Mahal is a seven storeyed edifice with its plinth at the level of the riverbed. The courtyard in front of the building corresponds to the third storey of the edifice. The entire skeleton of the edifice is made of red stone, the top four floors being plastered with marble. It measures a height of 243 ½ ft (whereas the

Qutb Minar of Delhi is only 238 ft). The marble platform (4th storey) on which the central edifice is standing has a floor area of 328 ft x 328 ft, and has four marble minarets at its corners. The marble superstructure covers an area of 187 ft x 187 ft with 33 ft chambers cut off at each corner. It has a huge central dome with an inner diameter of 58 ft and a wall thickness of 14 ft -- surrounded by four smaller copulas with a diameter of 26'8".

182. *E. B. Havell, "Indian Architecture", S. Chand & Co.(Pvt) Ltd., 1913, pp. 1-38.* Outside the Main Gateway is the Great courtyard, which covers an additional area of 430 ft x 1000 ft, having rows of redstone constructions, at present used as shops. Thus, the Taj Complex covers a net area of 1890 ft x 1000 ft, which is roughly equal to half the area of the Red Fort of Agra. The whole complex is perfectly symmetrical about the North-South axis, the two halves forming mirror images of each other to minutest details.

183. *Abdul Hamid Lahori, "Badshahnama", Vol. 1, Royal Asiatic society, Bengal, 1867, pp. 402-403.*

184. *E. B. Havell (pp.22-23) points out: "... the arrangement of the roofing of the mausoleum itself consists of five domes... this structural arrangement is not Saracenic, but essentially Hindu. It is known in Hindu architecture as the pancharatna, the shrine of the five jewels, or the five-headed lingam of Siva... A typical example of it is found in one of the small shrines of Chandi Sewa at Prambanam in Java, which has an arrangement of domes strikingly similar to that of the Taj." (According to Sir Stanford Raffles, the Chandi Sewa temple was completed in 1098 AD.)*

185. *Abdul Hamid Lahori, "Badshahnama", Vol. 1, Royal Asiatic society, Bengal, 1867, pp. 500.*

186. *E. B. Havell, "Indian Architecture", S. Chand & Co.(Pvt) Ltd., 1913, pp. 1-38.*

187. *Ibid*

188. *Ibid*

189. *Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 61-62.*

190. *Carrol, David: The Taj Mahal , News week, New York (1972)The chapter 'A visit to the Taj describes the marvellous monument, the massive, bulbous central dome, the four slender minarets, the shimmering marble, the long reflecting pool, the manicured gardens, beautifully with adequate description .*

191. Ibid

192. Ibid

193. Ibid

194. MOONLIGHT GARDEN: UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON PRESS 2001,. New paperback NEW DISCOVERIES AT THE TAJ MAHAL Describes the discoveries of an international project documenting the surface remains of a long-abandoned Mughal garden, located directly across the river from the Taj Mahal. This book is illustrated with photographs of the Taj Mahal and the garden, identified as the Mahtab Bagh, or Moonlight Garden, as well as with paintings from Shahjahan's era.

195. Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 34-35.

196. R. Nath: The immotal Taj Mahal , D.B. Taraporevala Sons : Co. Pvt. Ltd. (1972) This book is a study of the evolution of tomb in India and its perfection in the Taj Mahal. The Mughal sepulchres have been examined in the historical perspective with reference to the inspirations, construction and ornamentation which they derived from various sources. Particular attentiion has been devoted to evaluate the contribution of the indegenous norms of art :architecture towards the formation of body fabric of the Mughal Tomb.

197. Moynihan, E. (1979). "Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India". New York.

198. Crowe (Sylvia) and Haywood (Sheila), 1971, The Gardens of Mughal India. London.

199. VilliersStuart. C.M.,1913,Gardens of Great Mughals.London.

200. Carrol, David: The Taj Mahal , News week, New York (1972)

201. Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 34-35.

202. Wilber, O. N.: Persian Gardens , round Garden Pa Volions. Tokyo1962

203. Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, AppendixII pp. 119-20.

204. There are records of three firmans by Shah Jahan to Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur pertaining to the acquisition of marble[2]. These firmans are cited as a conclusive proof of the claim that it was Shah Jahan who built the Taj Mahal.

i) dated 9 Rajab, 1041 Hijra (Jan 21, 1632)

"As a great number of carts are required for transportation of marble needed for constructing building (at the capital), a firman was previously sent to you (to procure them). It is again desired of you, that as many carts on hire be arranged as possible in the earliest time, as has already been written to you, and be dispatched to Makrana for expediting the transport of marble to the capital. Every assistance be given to Allahood who has been deputed to arrange the transportation of marble to Akbarabad. Account (of expenditure on carts) along with the previous account of amount allocated for the purchase of marble be submitted (to the mutsaddi in charge of payment).

ii) dated 4 Rabi-ul-Awwal, 1043 Al Hijra (Sept. 9, 1632)

"Mulkshah has been deputed to Amber (Amer) to bring marble from the new mines (of Makrana). It is commended that carts on hire be arranged for transportation of marble and Mulkshah be assisted to purchase as much marble as he may desire to have. The purchase price of marble and cartage shall be paid by him from the treasury. Every other assistance be given to him to procure and bring marble and sculptors to the capital expeditiously."

iii) dated 7 Saffer, 1047 Al Hijra (June 21, 1637)

"We hear that your men detain the stone-cutters of the region at Amber and Rajnagar. This creates shortage of stone-cutters (miners) at Makrana and the work (of procuring marble) suffers. Hence it is desired of you that no stone-cutter be detained at Amber and Rajnagar and all of them who are available be sent to the mutsaddis of Makrana."

The firmans conclusively prove that Shah Jahan did acquire marble from the Makrana quarries. But does it also prove that he was the original builder of the Taj Mahal?

The marble walls of the cenotaph chamber, the border of the door arches and the top border of the entire edifice are replete with Koranic inscriptions which can be attributed only to Shah Jahan, even if he was not the builder of the edifice. It is said that fourteen chapters of Holy Koran are inscribed on the walls of the Taj

Mahal. In addition, there is commendable amount of inlay-work and flower carving in the Taj Mahal. All these would require considerable amount of fresh marble.

205. *Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 119-20.*
206. *R. Nath: The Taj Mahal and its incarnation , The historical Research Documentation Programme, Jaipur (1985)*
207. *Lal, Kanwar: The Taj, R.K. Publishing House, New Delhi (1965) The book deals with the great and beautiful building 'The Taj in full detail. It also highlights the structure, plan, proportion, execution and ornamentation of the monuments.*
208. *Ibid.*
209. *Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 34-45.*
210. *Keene's Handbook for Visitors to Agra and Its Neighborhood", Re-written by E. A. Duncan, Thacker's Handbook of Hindustan, pp. 170-4.*
211. *E. B. Havell (pp.22-23) points out: "... the arrangement of the roofing of the mausoleum itself consists of five domes... this structural arrangement is not Saracenic, but essentially Hindu. It is known in Hindu architecture as the pancharatna, the shrine of the five jewels, or the five-headed lingam of Siva... A typical example of it is found in one of the small shrines of Chandi Sewa at Prambanam in Java, which has an arrangement of domes strikingly similar to that of the Taj." (According to Sir Stanford Raffles, the Chandi Sewa temple was completed in 1098 AD.)*
212. *E. B. Havell (pp.22-23)*
213. *Nath, Ram: "The Immortal Taj", Taraporewala, Bombay, 1972, p. 156.*
214. *Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: "History of the Taj", 1903, pp. 35-36, 46-47.*
215. *Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 56-61.*
216. *Ibid.*
217. *Ibid.*
218. *Lahori, Abdul Hamid: "Badshahnama", Vol. 1, Royal Asiatic society, Bengal, 1867, pp. 328-29. Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner.*
219. *Ahmad, Maulvi Moin-Ud-Din: The Taj and Its Environments ,1903, pp. 56-61.*
220. *Ibid. p.65.*
221. *Ibid. p.75.*

222 *Ibid*

223 *Carrol, David The Taj Mahal , News week, New York (1972)*

224 *Lahori, Abdul Hamid "Badshahnama", Vol 1, Royal Asiatic society, Bengal, 1867, pp 328-29 Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner*

225 *Hambly, G (1968) "Cities of Mughal India" New York G P Putnam's Sons*

226 *Ibid*

227 *Bloom, J and Blair, S (1994) "The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*

228 *Ibid*

229 *Ibid*

230 *Ibid*

231 *Ibid*

232 *Hambly, G (1968) "Cities of Mughal India" New York G P Putnam's Sons*

233 *Tillotson, G H R 1990 Mughal India San Francisco Chronicle Books, 64-66*

234 *Asher, Catherine 1992 The New Cambridge History of India Architecture of Mughal India Cambridge University Press Cambridge, 255-57*

235 *Asher, Catherine B Architecture of Mughal India, p 256*

236 *Schimmel , Annemarie The Empire of the Great Mughals,History, Art and Culture- p 270*

237 *Welch, S C Imperial Mughal Painting (1978)*

238 *Asher, Catherine B Architecture of Mughal India, p 256*

239 *Lal ,Kanwar The Taj , R K Publishing House, New Delhi (1965)*

240 *Beach, M The Imperial Image, Paintings from the Mughal Court (1982)*

241 *Asher, Catherine B Architecture of Mughal India, p 256*

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243 *E Koch, Mughal Architecture (1991)*

Chapter IV.
Agra, The Economic and Commercial Centre

AGRA, THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL CENTRE

REVENUE

The Mughal Empire at its zenith commanded resources unprecedented in Indian history and covered almost the entire subcontinent. From 1556 to 1707, during the heyday of its fabulous wealth and glory, the Mughal Empire was a fairly efficient and centralized organization, with a vast complex of personnel, money, and information dedicated to the service of the emperor and his nobility.

Fiscal data for the Mughal Empire is both scarce and unsystematic, so to what do we owe this information? By far the most important source is the A'in-i Akbari, by Abu'l Fazl. It is part of a larger work, the Akbarnama, written on the orders of Akbar, who wanted a record of his life and achievements. The first two volumes cover the events of his reign, and also those of his grandfather, Babur, and his father, Humayun. The third volume covered the Sacred Imperial Regulations, and its subject was the organization of the court, the administration, the army, the geography and the people he ruled. This third volume consists of five books, and includes information on the taxation system, such as revenue rates by geographical area. W.H. Moreland described the A'in-i-Akbari as a "hastily edited collection of official papers." (W.H. Moreland, Agrarian system of Moslem India (Cambridge 1929) p81)Prof. Shireen Moosvi disagrees and speaks of "the author's obvious concern with the maintenance of precision and accuracy." (S. Moosvi, op.cit., p5) Unfortunately this did not extend to the period to which the statistics refer. Moosvi justifies 1595/6 as the most appropriate year, although acknowledging that some data relates to earlier and later years. There is no doubt that this body of work is the richest source available on the Mughal empire's economy at the end of the sixteenth century, since it contains information on the extent of cultivation by area, on crops, yields and prices for the preceding 19 years.

There is information on the land revenue demand and collection, but it is far from complete, and the land revenue system, as described in the A'in-i-Akbari, refers only to the eight main provinces of northern India, the Mughal heartlands.

The Agrarian System of Mughal India, by Prof. Irfan Habib was followed in 1969 by his article on "The Potentialities of Capitalistic Development in the Economy of Mughal India." this article relies heavily on the 1963 book, which makes extensive use of the A'in-i-Akbari for quantitative purposes. He puts forward the view that capitalism involves accumulation, which essentially is possible only at a surplus level of a certain magnitude. In the case of Mughal India for all practical purposes this concerned the level of agricultural production, the level of appropriation and how it was distributed. He states that the land revenue share of the crop varied between one third and one half, according to fertility. On top of this the zamindars' share amounted nominally to 10% of the land revenue in northern India and 25% in Gujarat.

According to Prof. Irfan Habib, this whole system led to intensifying pressure on the peasantry because the Mughal system relocated the nobility's jagirs every three or four years to prevent local power bases being built up. Thus "individual revenue assignees could have no interest in the long-term maintenance or growth in the revenue-paying capacity of any particular area."

Part of this land revenue would remain in rural areas (shortfalls in collection, remissions, concessions and commissions etc) but the total net amount of produce lost to the countryside must have been from a quarter to a half. This was a huge drain and Prof. Irfan Habib believed that the overall result was extreme poverty and immiseration of the peasantry.

Overall he saw the Mughal–Indian economy as a system of direct agrarian exploitation by a small ruling class. He also saw commercial activities as forced by state taxation demands – a one-way flow of commodities from villages to towns, unlike for example China. This overall view has been very influential in the study of early-modern

Indian economic history, with for example The Cambridge Economic History of India (1982) taking Prof. line to a great extent.

Shireen Moosvi published her very detailed study of the A'in-i-Akbari in 1987. Using the A'in she tentatively estimates the size of agricultural production, distribution of surplus, total value of external trade, price and wage structure and population in India." Where necessary she uses nineteenth-century data in her extrapolations to fill gaps.

This study will concentrate mainly on her comments concerning the land revenue demand, its mode of assessment and collection. The key question concerns the overall share of the produce laid claim to by the Mughal administration. Abu'l Fazl provided a formula, which represented one third of the yield, with these rates in kind being commuted into cash at the prices prevailing locally. Moosvi multiplies the yields by the A'in prices for the imperial camp (the highest anywhere). This gives a demand for kharif crops of 44.4% and for rabi crops of 38.3%. With camp prices substantially higher than the rural prices obtained by the peasant, the real ratio would have been substantially higher. he assumes a difference in prices of 10% thus lifting the rates to 48.9% and 42.1% respectively, concluding that the Akbar administration flatly laid claim to one half of the produce. All of these calculations relate to Agra only. For other areas there were significant differences. (For example when the Agra cash demand is indexed at 100 there is significant variation both between regions – 10 and 20% being common - and also within regions, e.g. the Delhi rice index varies between 51 and 110). She puts much of this down to political and administrative bias, and sticks to her overall conclusion that "the land revenue was generally set to account for one half of the produce." The conclusion must be adjudged somewhat precarious.

The A'in provides a figure for the jama – the estimated net land revenue realization – but Moosvi points out that the gross number is the revenue collection demand on the producer. She assumes 7% as the share for local officials, 20% collection costs and 10% for the zamindars, adding up to 37% as the normal cost of collection of

land revenue at the time. So the net land revenue realization in these provinces is 143% of the jama (143% reduced by 37% is 90% which is that part of the jama which is land revenue funded). She further calculates the state appropriation as 56.7% of the total produce. "Conversely the share of the produce left with the peasant should have been 43.3%."In her extraordinarily detailed work Moosvi also calculated the diffusion and consumption of the surplus, which leads her to an estimate of the proportion of the jama spent in towns. This provides an urbanization estimate for 1595/6 of 15%, which involves an assumption of urban decline in the eighteenth century. Her final major calculation is to use the A'in-i-Akbari statistics, suitably modified, to estimate the number of people in the empire. The extent of cultivation compared to 1901 statistics, and a further series of assumptions, result in an estimate of between 136 and 150 millions. This provides a growth rate between 1601 and the 1871 census of 0.21% per annum.

The Mughal economy is portrayed by Indian historians and politicians as a golden age of prosperity. According to R.C. Dutt, the doyen of nationalist historians,

"India in the sixteenth century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country"[1]

India had a ruling class whose extravagant life-style surpassed that of the European aristocracy. It had an industrial sector producing luxury goods which Europe could not match, but this was achieved by subjecting the population to a high degree of exploitation. Living standards of ordinary people were lower than those of European peasants and their life expectation was shorter. The high degree of exploitation was possible because of the passivity of village society. The social mechanism which kept the villages passive also lowered labour productivity, and provided little incentive to technical progress or productive investment.

Mughal India had a good deal to impress Western Historians. From the time of Akbar to Shah Jahan the court was one of the most brilliant in the world. It was cosmopolitan and religiously tolerant. Literature and painting flourished and there were magnificent palaces and mosques at Agra, Delhi, Fatehpur Sikri, and Lahore. The

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nobility lived in walled castles with harems, gardens fountains and large retinues of slaves and servants. They had huge wardrobes of splendid garments in fine cotton and silk. [2]

In order to cater for their needs, a number of handicraft industries produced high quality cotton textiles, silks, jewellery, decorative swords and weapons. These luxury industries grew up in urban centres. The urban population was bigger in the Muslim period than it had been under Hindu rulers, for caste restrictions had previously kept artisans out of towns [3]. Most urban workers were Muslims [4]. The main market for these urban products was domestic, but a significant portion of textile output was exported to Europe and South-East Asia. Other export items were saltpetre (for gunpowder), indigo, sugar, opium and ginger.

According to the testimony of European travellers, some of the urban centres of Mughal India were bigger than the biggest cities in Europe at the same period. [5] Most of the luxury handicraft trades were located in cities, and there was also a well-established banking system for the transfer of funds from one part of India to another. In urban society, occupation was controlled by guild regulation and a hereditary caste structure, but occupational mobility was greater than in villages because town life was dominated by Muslims, or, in some commercial areas, by Europeans. [6]

Mughal India was regarded as wealthy by some European travellers. The living standard of the upper class was certainly high and there were bigger hoards of gold and precious stones than in Europe, but there is substantial evidence that the mass of the population were worse off than in Europe. The Mughal economy seems to have been at its peak under Akbar (1556-1605) and to have declined thereafter [7].

Abu'l Fazl, makes reference to the lack of clothing in Bengal, 'men and women for the most part go naked wearing only a cloth about the loins'. Their loincloths were often of jute rather than cotton. In Orissa 'the women cover only the lower part of the body and may make themselves coverings of the leaves of trees'. [7]

Conditions in the early seventeenth century were described by Francisco Pelsaert in a report to the Dutch East India Company which sums up his seven years in Agra in 1620-27: " the rich in their great superfluity and absolute power, and the utter subjection and poverty of the common people - poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe ... a workman's children can follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor can they intermarry with any other caste ... They know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little khichri, made of 'green pulse' mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated, and eaten hot with butter in the evening; in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs. [9]

Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none ... bedclothes are scanty, merely a sheet or perhaps two, serving both as under- and over-sheet; this is sufficient in the hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed" [10]

The individual abilities and achievements of the early Mughals—Babur, Humayun, and later Akbar—largely charted this course. Babur and Humayun struggled against heavy odds to create the Mughal domain, while Akbar, besides consolidating and expanding its frontiers, provided the theoretical framework for a truly Indian state. Picking up the thread of experimentation from the intervening Sur Dynasty (1540–56), Akbar attacked narrow-mindedness and bigotry, absorbed Hindus in the high ranks of the nobility, and encouraged the tradition of ruling through the local Hindu landed elites.

Akbar inherited a hierarchal system of land revenue that had been developing since the establishment of the Sultanate in the twelfth century. In the land revenue system, the sultan's relationship to the chieftains depended on constant military coercion for tax revenue. This situation perpetuated a never ending power struggle between the state's efforts for a consolidation of power and the chieftains' desire for

territorial autonomy. Akbar saw the inefficiency of the existing tax revenue system and sought to reform it in a way that would legitimize the state, ending the need for military coercion while continuing to demand from chieftain's recognition of the central government's superiority, the obedient remit of tax revenue, and the rendering of military assistance. [11]

The efforts towards evolving a workable revenue settlement between the State and the peasants can be traced to the era of Turko-Afghan rule in India, around 1300 AD when Diwani-i-Amir Kohi (Department of Agriculture during the reign of Sultan Muhammad Bin Tughlug) and Diwan-i-Mustakhraj (i.e. Department of Land Revenues) were during the rule of Ala-ud-din Khilji were established. The Khilji ruler divided the property rights/tenure into tree classes:

· Khalsa or Crown-Lands
· Iqta or lands granted to followers and officers from certain years
· Muqta or lands granted to followers and officers for the life time of the grantee

The ruler also collected Khiraj or land tax from the Hindu chiefs. The state demanded 50% of the gross produce of lands (as the rate of revenue) and maintained price control on all kinds of agricultural produce. The State also promoted the export of agricultural goods viz., indigo-cakes, cotton, ginger, sugar, grain etc. besides cotton textile. [12]

At the time Akbar ascended the throne as ruler of the Mughal Empire, he inherited a land revenue system that did not have great influence upon the local economy. He did, however, understand the abilities of the land revenue system begun by prior Indo-Muslim regimes, such as the ruler Sher Shah Sur. Rather than try to create a new revenue system, Akbar employed the help of his advisers to reform this one. [13] Akbar's fiscal reforms had the administrative purpose of stabilizing the village-level peasant population while consolidating regional rule directly under his command. It was imperative that Akbar create a land revenue system and administration that gave the appearance of a cohesive central government in order for all of his subjects to unquestionably view Akbar

and the Mughals as legitimate rulers. Akbar's policies show how important Akbar considered support from all classes of the population—not just from the ruling class—in order to legitimize his rule within the empire. The reformations of the land revenue system included reorganizing all of the Mughals' land and correcting the inherent corruption of the system. [14]

During the reign of Emperor Akbar around 1570 AD, an elaborate system of land management and revenue assessment was evolved. Based on the rights to land of various kinds, lands were divided into 3 classes:

· *Khalsa* or Crown lands

· *Jagir l*ands enjoyed by some nobles who collected the local revenues out of which they sent a portion to the Central exchequer and kept the rest for themselves

· *Sayurghal* lands granted on free tenure

Regular survey of the land and assessment was made "with reference to the area and quality of land". Assessments were fixed annually on the basis of production and statistics of prevailing prices, and the demands of the State thus varied from year to year. In 1582 AD, Todar Mall, Diwan-i-Ashraf (Minister of Revenue) introduced a"regulation" system of revenue collection which had the following main features:

· Survey and measurement of land

· Classification of land

· Fixation of rates[16]

Lands were carefully surveyed, and for the measurement the old units (whose length fluctuated with the change of season) were replaced by the Ilahi gaz or yard, which was equal to about 33 inches, tanabs or tent-rope, which assured a constant measure. [17]

Akbar began by reclassifying all land holdings into five categories based on the fertility of the soil. Under the new regulation land tax system, imperial revenue officials, theoretically, gathered reports on the status of the cultivation of each peasant in

each village. From the reports, they assessed taxes based on the recorded prices and yields specific to each locality. In 1580, Akbar and his advisers succeeded in the reorganization of the empire on the provincial level of the tax revenue system with the establishment of twelve provinces. [18] Each province, by imperial decree, was to have its own administration, consisting of seven posts who were both functionaries of the province and people who reported to the central administration, as well. The governors had military control over the region, but not administrative free reign. Through this division between civil and military authority, Akbar had begun to restrict the autonomy of the provincial governors.

· *Polaj* or land capable of being annually cultivated
· *Parauti* or land kept fallow for some time to recover productive capacity
· *Chachar* or land that had lain fallow for 3 to 4 years
· *Banjar* or land uncultivated for 5 years or longer. [19]

Only the area actually cultivated was assessed and in order to ascertain the average produce, in respect of each class of land, the mean of 3 grades in which it was divided, was taken into consideration. The demand of the State was fixed at 1/3 of the actual produce which the peasant or *ryots* could pay either in cash or in kind. The cash rates varied according to crops. [20] This revenue system was slightly modified for application to the Deccan Plateau and was better known as "*Rayatwari*", that is, the actual cultivators of the soil were the persons responsible for the annual payment of the fixed revenue. The services of officers viz., Amins, Maqadams, Shiqdars, Qanungos and Patwaris. [21]

The crops were broadly divided into rice zones and wheat and millet zones. Rice predominated in the eastern states, on the southwest coast, and in Kashmir. Aside from its original home in Gujarat, it had spread also to the Punjab and Sind with the aid of irrigation. Wheat grew throughout its "natural" region in north and central India. Millets were cultivated in the wheat areas and in the drier districts of Gujarat and Khandesh as well. [22]

Cotton, sugarcane, indigo, and opium were major cash crops; the last two have since passed out of cultivation. Introduced by the Portuguese, cultivation of tobacco spread rapidly. The Malabar Coast was the home of spices, especially black pepper that had stimulated the first European adventures in the East. Coffee had been imported from Abyssinia and became a popular beverage in aristocratic circles by the end of the century. Tea, which was to become the common man's drink and a major export, was yet undiscovered, though it was growing wild in the hills of Assam. Vegetables were cultivated mainly in the vicinity of towns. New species of fruit, such as the pineapple, papaya, and cashew nut, also were introduced by the Portuguese. The quality of mango and citrus fruits was greatly improved. [23]

Cattle continued to be important for draft and milk. According to a Dutch observer, however, the cows gave far less milk than in his country. Land use never became as intensive as in China and the Far East, although, as noted by Megasthenes, double (and even triple) cropping was fairly common in regions favoured with irrigation or adequate double rainfall. Though the population must have increased many times over since Mauryan times, in the 17th century virgin land was still abundant; peasants were scarce. [24]

Irrigation from wells, tanks, and canals, however, had greatly expanded. Some new water-lifting devices—such as the sacra, or Persian wheel, which consisted of a series of leather buckets on an endless rope yoked to oxen—had been adopted and are still widely used. [25]

The plough was the principal implement for tillage. Drawn by oxen, the traditional Indian plough has never had a wheel or a mouldboard. The part that penetrates the soil is a wedge-shaped block of hardwood. The draft pole projects in front, where it is attached to the neck yoke of the bullocks. A short, upright stilt in the rear serves as a guiding handle. The point of the wedge, to which an iron share may or may not be attached, does not invert the soil. Some ploughs are so light that the cultivator can carry them daily on his shoulder to and from the fields. Others are heavy, requiring teams of

four to six pairs of oxen. Levellers and clod crushers, generally consisting of a rectangular beam of wood drawn by bullocks, are used to smooth the surface before sowing. Among hand tools, the most common is the *kodali,* an iron blade fitted to a wooden handle with which it makes an acute angle. [26]

Drill sowing and dibbling (making small holes in the ground for seeds or plants) are old practices in India. An early 17th-century writer notes that cotton cultivators "push down a pointed peg into the ground, put the seed into the hole, and cover it with earth—it grows better thus." Another simple device was a bamboo tube attached to the plough. The seed was dropped through the tube into the furrow as the plough worked and was covered by the soil in making the next furrow. [27]

Operations of reaping, threshing, and winnowing have continued to be performed almost exactly as described in the Vedic texts. Thus, grain is harvested with a sickle. It is bound in bundles and threshed by bullocks treading on it or by hand pounding. To separate the grain from the chaff, it is either sieved with sieves made of stalks of grass or of bamboo, or it is winnowed by pouring by hand at a height from a *supa* (winnowing scoop). The grain is then measured and stored. The sickle, sieve, and *supa* remain today as they were more than two millennia ago. [28]

Akbar's efforts to develop a revenue schedule both convenient to the peasants and sufficiently profitable to the state took some two decades to implement. In 1580 he obtained the previous 10 years' local revenue statistics, detailing productivity and price fluctuations, and averaged the produce of different crops and their prices. He also evolved a permanent schedule circle by grouping together the districts having homogeneous agricultural conditions. For measuring land area, he abandoned the use of hemp rope in favour of a more definitive method using lengths of bamboo joined with iron rings. The revenue, fixed according to the continuity of cultivation and quality of soil, ranged from one-third to one-half of production value and was payable in copper coin (*dams*). The peasants thus had to enter the market and sell their produce in order to meet the assessment. This system, called *zabt*, applied in North India and in Malwa and

parts of Gujarat. The earlier practices (e.g., crop sharing), however, also were in vogue in the empire. The new system encouraged rapid cash nexus and economic expansion. Moneylenders and grain dealers became increasingly active in the countryside. [29]

Akbar adopted two distinct but effective approaches in administering a large territory and incorporating various ethnic groups into the service of his realm. In 1580 he obtained local revenue statistics for the previous decade in order to understand details of productivity and price fluctuation of different crops. Aided by Todar Mal, a Rajput king, Akbar issued a revenue schedule that the peasantry could tolerate while providing maximum profit for the state. Revenue demands, fixed according to local conventions of cultivation and quality of soil, ranged from one-third to one-half of the crop and were paid in cash. Akbar relied heavily on land-holding zamindars. They used their considerable local knowledge and influence to collect revenue and to transfer it to the treasury, keeping a portion in return for services rendered. Within his administrative system, the warrior aristocracy (*mansabdars*) held ranks (*mansabs*) expressed in numbers of troops, and indicating pay, armed contingents, and obligations. The warrior aristocracy was generally paid from revenues of nonhereditary and transferrable *jagirs* (revenue villages).

An astute ruler who genuinely appreciated the challenges of administering so vast an empire, Akbar introduced a policy of reconciliation and assimilation of Hindus (including Maryam al-Zamani), who represented the majority of the population. He recruited and rewarded Hindu chiefs with the highest ranks in government; encouraged intermarriages between Mughal and Rajput aristocracy; allowed new temples to be built; personally participated in celebrating Hindu festivals such as Dipavali, or Diwali, the festival of lights; and abolished the *jizya* (poll tax) imposed on non-Muslims. Akbar came up with his own theory of "*rulership as a divine illumination,*" enshrined in his new religion *Din-i-Ilahi* (Divine Faith), incorporating the principle of acceptance of all religions and sects. He encouraged widow marriage, discouraged child marriage, outlawed the practice of sati, and persuaded Delhi merchants to set up special market days for women, who otherwise were secluded at home. By the end of Akbar's reign, the

Mughal Empire extended throughout most of India north of the Godavari River. The exceptions were Gondwana in central India, which paid tribute to the Mughals, and Assam, in the northeast. [30]

Taxes were collected from village communities and not individual cultivators

Another reform, one which shocked the upper rung of the Muslim hierarchy, was the re-examination of all religious land grants. Akbar analyzed each grant and reassessed them personally. For these re-examinations, Akbar arranged private interviews with the shaikhs and ulemas (leaders of Sufi brotherhoods and scholars) to decide whether each land grant was valid. He upheld the validity of many land grants if he was satisfied, but those religious leaders who had disciples, held spiritual soirees, or claimed to have accomplished miracles were punished by a withdrawal of their grants. [31] The reassessment of all land grants shows that Akbar wanted to establish from the beginning of his rule the idea that he kept close watch over the religious Muslim authorities, the shaikhs and ulemas. Akbar's control of the Muslim officials demonstrates the sultan's commitment to establishing Mughal legitimacy in Hindustan and to separating himself from the corrupt, dysfunctional elements of a Muslim-run empire.

The greatest improvement to the administration and land revenue system was the development of the Mansabdari system, which created a hierarchy of officials, all of whom were exclusively loyal to the sultan. This new system for administration was meritocratic and not based on a religious aristocracy. Previously, the Muslims in India formed the governing class from which all high officials were drawn. However, Akbar ended Muslim superiority in his empire by choosing men on merit, rather than on the basis of kinship, religion, or nepotism, including many very able non-Muslims.[32] The inclusion of Hindus into high posts of the administration was a form of tokenism. Their elevated stature would allow other Hindus who came to court to recognize Akbar's superiority, as Hindus would already be standing near him. It also expressed to every person that the Mughal Empire was not subject to a harsh, fundamentalist Muslim rule, but was subject to the goal of the equality of all of its subjects.

The hierarchal system of imperial rank existed in Akbar's Mughal lineage, but he viewed it as inefficient for his ideal administration. Babur was the first to bring this Mongol system to the Indian subcontinent. With the exception of the numerical rank, his system had a division between high officials, labelled "great Begs", and lower officials, "Begs." [33] All of Babur's officials were members of a regular service, which had formal appointments and promotions, as well. Mirroring the formality of the regular service system before him, Akbar's Mansabdari system also sought to distinguish levels between rank holders. Akbar differed from Babur's system, however, as he was the first of his Mughal lineage to create the dual status of a separate civil and military rank for each rank holder. [34]

The thousands of Zamindars in the empire had a very important relationship with Akbar. The term Zamindar was coined by the Mughals and referred to the "various holders of hereditary interests, ranging from powerful, independent, and autonomous chieftains to petty intermediaries at the village level." [35] Zamindars exercised tremendous power over the economic life of the country, including agricultural production, handicrafts, and trade. [36] They maintained the economy of the empire on the village level and collected revenue for either a jagirdar or, in certain cases, the imperial treasury.

Douglas Streusand has referred to Akbar's relationship to the village level of his empire as the "Akbari Compromise." [37] Streusand's interpretation builds on the idea that Akbar wanted to run the empire with a focus on individual households, achieving this through central officials reporting directly to him on the status of the people. However, he quickly discovered the central administration could not penetrate into the village level due to the long existing regional system of rule backed by a loyal armed peasantry. Therefore, Akbar abandoned his dream of a fully centralized administration and entered into a compromise of keeping the regional rulers in similar positions as they were prior to his rule. Streusand claims that the compromise consisted of regional rulers who need not fear losing their position as long as they maintained the sultan's trust and did not abuse their authority by being disloyal to him. [38]

Akbar made the system of regional control more effective because he developed a lucrative policy of incorporation for his opponents into the Mughal hierarchal administration. He was the first ruler to realize the importance of forging links between the position of the sultan and the chieftains by incorporating them into the imperial hierarchy of administration. [39] Akbar understood that military coercion was not the right method for consolidation. He obtained the empire's revenue through aggressive diplomacy designed to reduce the chieftains' status to intermediaries for the empire, for which they would receive just compensation. The first step in the reductive process was the introduction of the same generic term (zamindar) to refer to all of the holders of widely varying types of landed interests. In doing this, Akbar destroyed the pre-existing hierarchy on the local level, as all persons who were previously in that hierarchy were now equal in the community. From autonomous chieftains to village heads, all possessed the same rank in the view of the Mughal Empire. [40]

Akbar did not hesitate to use force to establish his supremacy over some staunch opponents, although diplomacy was preferred. During the beginning of his rule, he would conquer his opponents by whatever means necessary, which included personally leading his army on campaigns of bloody battles and sometimes enduring long devastating sieges. The power of Akbar and his empire came from one important fact: he always won. Later in his rule, many opposing chieftains began to understand the extent of his power, receiving the positive benefits of his incorporation policy by conceding to him without much bloodshed. In Akbar's policy of incorporation, a chieftain's submission brought the possibility for advancement within the imperial bureaucracy. [41]

The usual appointment of chieftains was to mansabdars who were allowed to rule their territory much in the same way as before.

The new treatment of the chieftains made them depend on Akbar's goodwill for their positions, as opposed to their prior hereditary rights. This dependency for their livelihood, combined with the Mughal-reserved right to transfer officials, meant

that the sultan effectively had full control over the former chieftains' territory. [42] Akbar was the first foreign ruler of Hindustan to make a direct relationship with the vassals. Prior Indo-Muslim rulers only tried to control the various levels of chieftains, without attempting to penetrate deeper into the multi-layered agrarian system. [43] Akbar forged new relationships on the local level in an attempt to undermine the power of formerly autonomous chieftains and to form new allies who would act as imperial spies for the welfare of the state. [44]

Akbar's actions on the village level demonstrate his concern for legitimizing the Mughal Empire to all of his subjects, not just to the bureaucracy. He created a system which ventured deep into the local sphere in order to discover how his policies were being implemented. His generous policy of incorporation left prior autonomous rulers with a comfortable position in the Mughal administration, allowing them to rule over their regions with few changes apart from slightly less power and a new allegiance. As long as they identified themselves as part of the Mughal Empire, prior chieftains were allowed to prosper along with it.

Mint Town

Coins of Mughal

Coins are perhaps one of the most important evidences for students of history. Numismatic evidence is truly most correct as other forms are subject to exaggeration and might not provide information regarding extends of Kingdoms and dates. In fact existence of many of the kings and even dynasties is solely based on the discoveries of their coinage as these `illustrious' kings and dynasties have left no trace of their presence. The best example is the Indo-Greeks and other nomadic kingdoms which existed in Afghanistan and North-West India (modern Pakistan) from 3rd Century BC to 6th Century AD. The names and portraits of rulers of these dynasties who otherwise were

totally unknown to history are entirely deciphered from their coins. Changes in designs, inscription and scripts have further confirmed their nationality and migration.



The five thousand years of Indian history is very obviously reflected in diverse coinage ranging from very complex silver punch-marked coins of 6th century BC to the heaviest gold coins ever minted in the world, 1000 Mohur of Mughal emperor Jahangir which has a diameter of 20 cm and contains 383.75 troy ounces or almost 12 Kilograms of pure gold! Considering this tremendous diversity of Indian monetary system, it is almost impossible to write a concise essay on Indian coinage.

Mughal coins provide a valuable insight into many different aspects of the diverse society in which they were produced. Primary to traditional Islamic coinage is the profession of faith, the Kalima, on one side of the coin. The attempt by Akbar (1556-1605) to synthesize a new religion, the Din-i-Ihali, out of a variety of religions including Islam, Hinduism and Zorastorism can be seen in the changes in the coinage of this period. He adopted a new era, which was known as the Ihali era, based on a solar cycle to facilitate the collection of taxes from agriculturalists. Persian solar month names were used instead of the Arabic Hijra months. He discontinued the Kalima formula on coinage and state documents, replacing it with "Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalalhu." Some scholars have suggested that this statement can be read two ways. The first is in proper accordance with traditional Islamic practice "God is most great, Glorified be his glory": or, what troubled many contemporary and later Muslims, "Akbar is God, Let his glory shine forth." Akbar's son Jahangir (1605-27) issued coins with Persian verses on them, in addition to coins depicting the zodiac and portraits of himself holding a wine cup.[45]

Shahjahan's (1628-58) coins display refined calligraphy and a return to the Kalima formula. When Aurangzeb came to the throne, he replaced the Kalima formula with royal titles so as not to defile the Islamic profession through its association with the monetary transactions of infidels. He introduced the "Jalus" formula "Zarb...sanah...jalus maimant manus" "Struck...in the year...ofhis reign of tranquil prosperity." A particularly fine nizarana, (a coin minted for distribution to the crowd on important occasions) is reproduced in this slide set. Later Mughal emperors returned to the Kalima formula. [46]

In addition to the religious policy of the rulers, the coins reflect the artistic, political and economic health of the empire at a given point in time. The calligraphy of Mughal coins mirrors the artistic milieu of each succeeding reign. Producing pure coinage with high quality calligraphy is expensive and required close government regulation and quality control. Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan each took a personal interest in the quality of their coinage. The Ain-i-Akbari, records that Akbar appointed one of his great court painters who had been trained at the Safavid court in Iran to be in charge of the imperial mint at Fathpur Sikri. It also records that the engraver Maulana Ali Ahmad was the equal of the most skillful calligrapher and held the royally granted military rank of Yuzbashi and the accompanying income and privileges. Jahangir personally designed his zodiac and portrait coins. Under Aurangzeb's a decline in the quality of die engraving followed, perhaps accompanied by varying degrees of debasement in the quality of the gold used in the coinage. [47]





When the Mughals assumed control of India by defeating the last of the Lodi Sultans in 1526, they inherited a mixture of monetary systems. Little was done in the first years of their rule. The credit for the establishment of a systematic numismatic system must go to the Afghan Sher Shah Sur (r. 1540-45) who defeated Humayun (r. 1530-40, 1555). Sher Shah introduced a coinage reform that was expanded and elaborated by Akbar. During the years of rapid Mughal expansion in South Asia under Akbar's rule, this was a trimetallic system of mohurs in gold, rupees in silver and dams in copper with set standards for purity in each metal. All dates followed by AH are given according to Hijra era. Regnal dates that are associated with an AH date are designated by /#. A coin such as 7735, a Mohur of Shah Jahan , with a date of 1061/24 AH, should be read as being struck in 1061 of the Hijra era, the 24th year of the reign of Shah Jahan . The coins with a Hijra date on one side and a regnal year on the other which have both sides illustrated will be listed in the slide label list with only the particular date appropriate to the specific side of the coin illustrated in the slide listed. [48]

Some coins have no date or are simply dated with a regnal year. Akbar introduced a different era, the Ilahi era, in 991 AH or 1583 AD, containg the following Persian solar months: 1. Farwardin; 2. Ardibihisht; 3. Khurdad; 4. Tir; 5. Amardad; 6. Sharewar; 7. Mihr; 8. Aban; 9. Azar; 10. Di; 11. Bahman; and 12. Isfandarmuz. The Ilahi months have been included in the labels where relevant. [49]

Ain-i-Akbari says the silver was coined, among other places, at Agra. Among the copper mints of empire Kalpi, Gwalior and Kannauj were located in Agra suba. However, towards the last quarter of the sixteenth and seventeenth century a number of new silver mints were established within the suba, namely Etawah, Narnaul, Sikandar, Gwalior and Islamabad (Mathura). It is significant among the mints of the empire coins struck at the Etawah mint registered the higher percentage of survival.

BABUR



Coins minted by Babar lack beauty and elegance displayed by his successors, Akbar and Jahangir. Often the dies used to strike these coins were so worn or used improperly that only part of legends was visible on his coinage. This is a fine specimen of Babar's coinage which is a rarity.

Picture 1

SHER SHAH SURI



The currency, `Rupee or Rupaya' became popular during the reign of Sher which is still in use in many countries including India, Nepal, Shri Lanka, Pakistan and Indonesia. His word Rupee is derived from Sanskrit word *Roop* which means Silver. A fine example of this first Rupee, a silver coin of 11.4 gm.

Picture 2

AKBAR (1556-1605 AD)



Picture 3



Picture 4

Akbar issued many interesting coins. One of his most important coin display Rama, hero of Hindu Epic *Ramayana* and his wife Sita on obverse while a word *Ramaraj*, in *Devnagri* scipt on reverse. This must have been a Nazarana gold Mohur minted for presentation to Hindu general or aristocrat. This coin (actually half Mohur) is in Paris museum. Shown above is another fine example of his coinage, a silver rupee which is square shaped.

Akbar reformed Mughal currency to make it one of the best known of its time. The new regime possessed a fully functioning trimetallic (silver, copper, and gold) currency, with an open minting system in which anyone willing to pay the minting charges could bring metal or old or foreign coin to the mint and have it struck. All monetary exchanges were, however, expressed in copper coins in Akbar's time. In the 17th century, following the silver influx from the New World, silver rupee with new fractional denominations replaced the copper coin as a common medium of circulation. Akbar's aim was to establish a uniform coinage throughout his empire; some coins of the old regime and regional kingdoms also continued. [50]

JAHANGIR (1605-1627)



During the reign Jahangir, the real power was exercised by his queen Nurjahan. She was virtually the ruler of the Empire towards the last part of his rule. She proclaimed herself defacto authority through the coins that were issued thence forward from Agra, Ahmadebad, Akbarnagar, Allhabad, Kashmir, Lahore, Patna and Surat.

The coins contained a couplet which meant (By order of Shah Jahangir gold attained a hundred beauties when the name Nur Jahan Badshah Begum was placed on it). These coins continued till the end of Jahangir's reign (6th November, 1627 A.D.). But as soon as Shah Jahan came to the throne he imposed death penalty for the use of these coins and ordered that they should be returned to mint and melted and for this reason, these coins are extremely rare and prized by the collectors. [51]



Picture 5

The Mughal coinage is certainly unique among all Islamic monetary systems. Islam prohibits displaying the images or idols of human or animals. In-spite of prohibition by Islamic religion, both Akbar and Jahangir minted coins depicting their portraits on coins. Both the Mughal emperors displayed tremendous imagination and minted world's most breathtaking examples of numismatic art. One of the most remarkable of these are Zodiacal coins minted by Jahangir. [52]



Picture 8 **Picture 9**

In his memoirs, *Tuzuk-e-Jahangiri* he wrote *at this time it entered in my mind that in place of month they should substitute a figure of the constellation which belong to the month. For instance, in the month of Farwardin the figure of a ram, and in Urdbihist the figure of a bull. Similarly, in each month that a coin was struck, the figure of a consteallation was to be on one face as if the sun was emerging from it. This usage is*

my own and had never been practiced until now. Thus during 1028 AH to 1033 AH (Regnal years 13-18) Jahangir minted beautiful specimens of numismatic arts in gold and silver representing all the 12 zodiac signs. These coins are very special and are extremely popular in the world of numismatics. These coins became extremely popular during his reign itself and were widely exchanged for 20 time's higher value than their face values! Thus, they were hoarded by all the sections of population. Today, only 3 museums in world, the Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, Berlin museum and British museum are known to have all the 12 zodiacal coins. Very likely, no private collector in the world possesses the full set. [53]

The silver zodiac coins were minted for only five months in 1618 AD or 1027 AH (regnal year 13) while gold zodiac mohurs were struck for full five years. Most of gold zodiacs were minted at Agra while silver were minted at Ahmadabad. Few silver coins were minted at Agra using dies for gold zodiac mohurs. . [54]

Because of their `non-Islamic' nature, Jahangir's successors recalled these coins from circulation and melted them in Royal mints. But because of their tremendous popularity, they were extensively imitated and restruck ever since they were recalled from circulation. Often they were restruck for presentation purposes. Shown below is an early restrike, most likely from early 18th century, soon after death of Jahangir. Again this is a rare coin showing the Ram or Aries zodiac sign. [55]



Picture 10

Some of the Jahangir's coins were gigantic in dimensions. It is mentioned in `Badshah Nama' that on Jahangir's birthday the Persian Ambassador was presented with 4 Gold Ashrafis wighing 400 tolas (4.6 Kg), 300 tolas (3.5 Kg), 200 tolas (2.3 Kg) and 100 tolas (1.2 Kg)! Shown next is the image of the

coin which is world's biggest gold coin and thus obviously world's most expensive coin. This coin has diameter of 20 cm and contains 383.75 troy ounces or almost 12 Kilograms of pure gold!

The gigantic Mughal coins are of special importance in Indian as well as world numismatics. One thousand tola gold mohur of 12 Kgs minted by Jahangir in 1613, realistically display the wealth that was accumulated by this dynasty. Most of these gold muhars/mohurs had poetic couplets in persian and were the finest samples of craftmanship and metallurgy. [56]

SHAH JAHAN (1627-1658)



Shown here is image of his coin which is in uncirculated condition and have the original shiny finish

Picture 11

Main Trades (Domestic and Foreign)

Mughal rule was the most significant of the various regimes during the medieval times in India. Belonging to Central Asia, It was the normal policy of the Timurid rulers, both in their original Central Asian homelands and in India, to encourage trade as the major economic activity, Mughals understood the importance of trade. Their main objective in conquering Gujarat, Bengal and Sindh was to gain control over sea-trade. Moreover, they facilitated the development of overland trade routes when they consolidated their control over Kabul and Kandhar. It is significant that many members of the royal family, as well as influential nobles invested substantial sum in overseas trade. Jahangir and his consort Nur Jahan had investment in ships plying between Surat and Red Sea. Ships of Prince Khurram when he was governor of Gujarat had extensive

trade with Mocha. Similarly Ships of Prince Dara, and Aurangzeb traded with Acheh and Bantam. Prince Azim-ush-Shan even declared the entire import trade of Bengal as his monopoly. The ships owned by royal members were generally big ships upto thousand tonnes. The influential nobles and governors would try to monopolise the trade through their regions. Nobles like Mir Jumla tried to monopolise trade of saltpetre, and later on Shaista Khan tried to monopolise trade of salt, bees wax and gold in Bengal. On the other hand, the governor of Lahore, Wazir Khan took commission for every transaction at Lahore. [57]

We have seen that Suba Agra was situated on the upper Indo-Gangetic plain, with extensions south and the west of the Yamuna. Major trade routes between eastern and western or northern and southern regions of the subcontinent terminated in this Suba. The regular flow of goods traffic on these land routes, along with what was ferried on the rivers Yamuna and Ganga, converged on a point which was also selected to function as the political centre of the Mughal empire. The simultaneous working of these two major functions generated great marketable potential for the products of the suba; it also created a vast hinterland for the city of Agra with diverse linkages, extending much beyond the geographical limits of the Suba. Lesser towns were similarly involved in a variety of functions. [58]

Akbar encouraged trade by linking together various parts of the country through an efficient system of roads and abolishing many inland tolls and duties. The Mughals maintained this general policy, but their rule was distinguished by the importance which foreign trade attained by the end of the sixteenth century. This was partly the result of the discovery of the new sea-route to India; but even so, progress would have been limited if conditions within the country had not been favourable. [59]

Both Akbar and Jahangir interested themselves in the foreign seaborne trade, and Akbar himself took part in commercial activities for a time. The Mughals welcomed the foreign trader, provided ample protection and security for his transactions, and levied a very low custom duty (usually no more than 2½ percent ad valorem). [60]

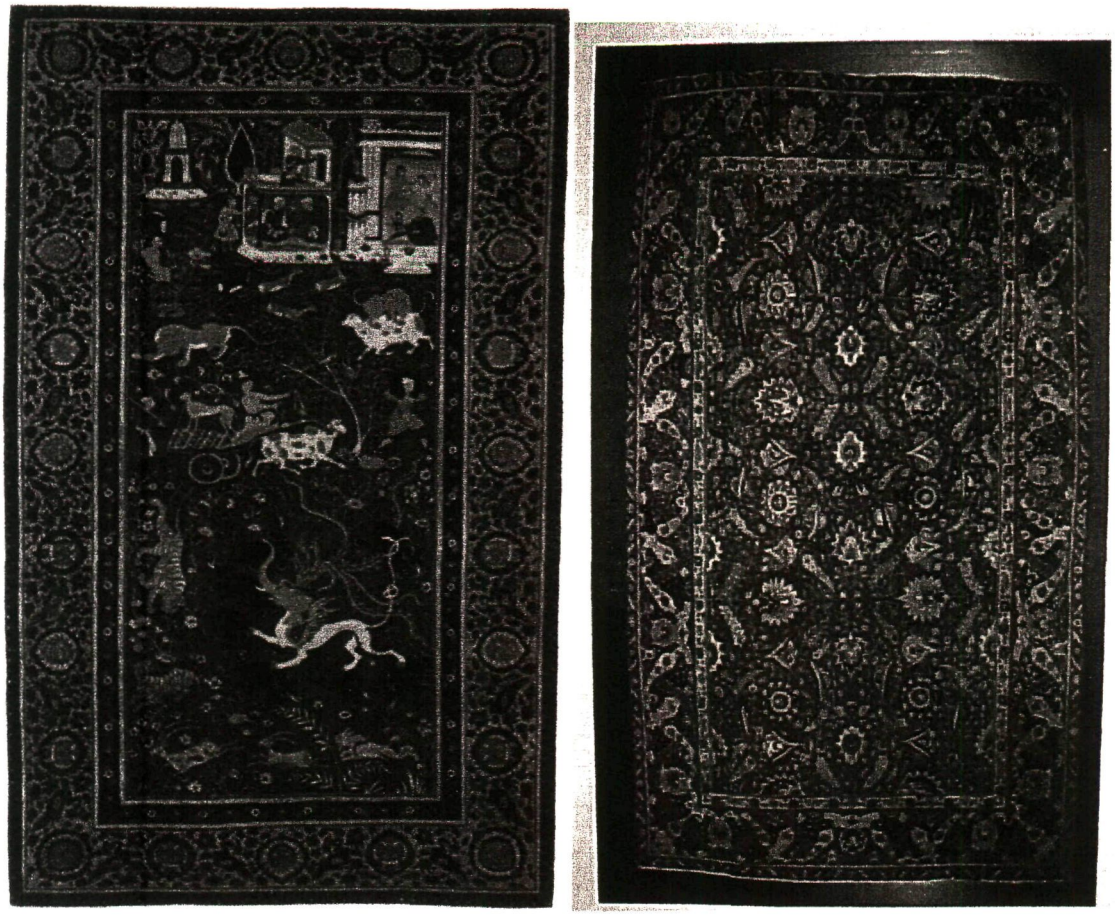


Pictures 13

As a result of massive construction activity, within a short span of about thirty years, the city of Agra is reported to have grown over three times in extent, and around 1626 the city covered an area of about 60 square kilometres. Its population increased from 5,00,000 in 1609 to 8,00,000 in 1666, registering an increase of sixty percent. [61]

Indian textiles perhaps made the biggest impact in the medieval world markets. India produced a variety of textiles, both silk and cotton, ranging from the ordinary to the most luxurious. [62] A number of these were made in suba Agra. The most sought after varieties included printed cloth or chintz, the ordinary calicoes or guzzees and the finer calicoes, the 'mercoles' and samanas. [63] In the case of the guzzees we are told that these were woven in Agra, Gokul (currently in district Mathura) and Hindaun. 'Pintadoes" and chintz were woven at Shazadpur. Weaving centres for other varieties are, however, not mentioned in the sources. It is also not possible to trace the date of origin of the production centres. [64]

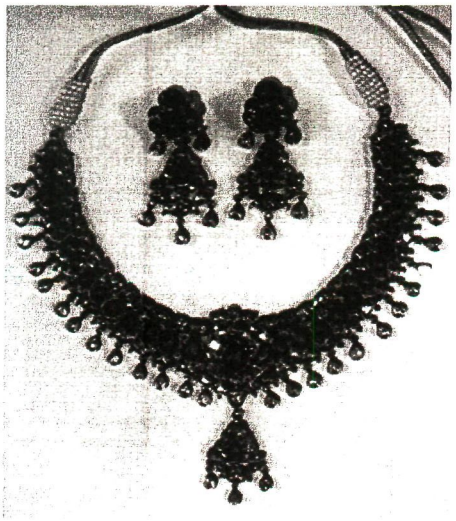
Normally, much of the cotton purchased by the English was sent for bleaching in Broach in Gujarat. Proximity to the best indigo producing tracts of Bayana and Kol-Khurja had perhaps helped Agra city develop into an important centre for dyeing. [65]



Pictures 14

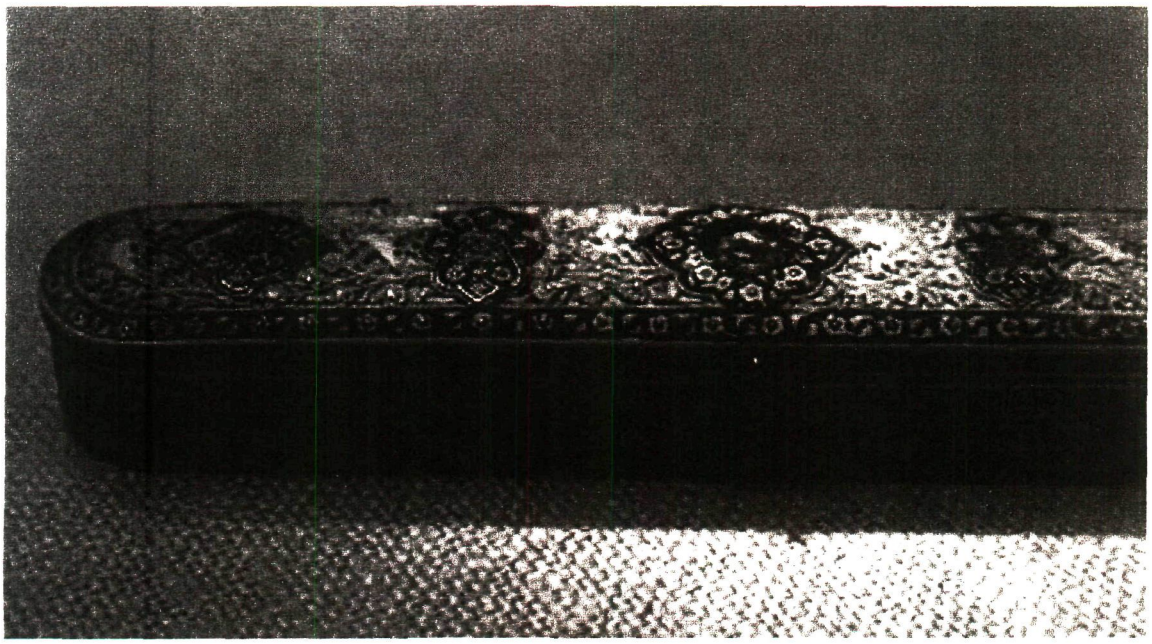
Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Alwar were important centres for the ordinary and woollen carpets. Akbar is credited with the initiative for production at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, while Alwar seems too had emerged because of sheep rearing in that region. These carpets were made in standard sizes. Demand for anything outside the standard size was not ordinarily met and the price for such pieces was substantially higher. [66]

Thevenot appears too had been bewitched by the extremely intricate work of the goldsmiths. He found that in single piece of work they could expertly incorporate several motifs-flowers, leaves, figurines-and embedded them with variously coloured gems to



reproduce the desired natural hues. He was equally impressed with the manner in which very fine wires of gold and silver, or delicate leaves of the metal could be shouldered to make almost a permanent joint. The soldering was done by putting a mixture of fine powdered gomtchi (the fruit of convolvulus obtained from a wild shrub) and borax at the joint and then heating it. Such an effective technique finds no mention or appreciation on any work on medieval Indian technologies. [67]

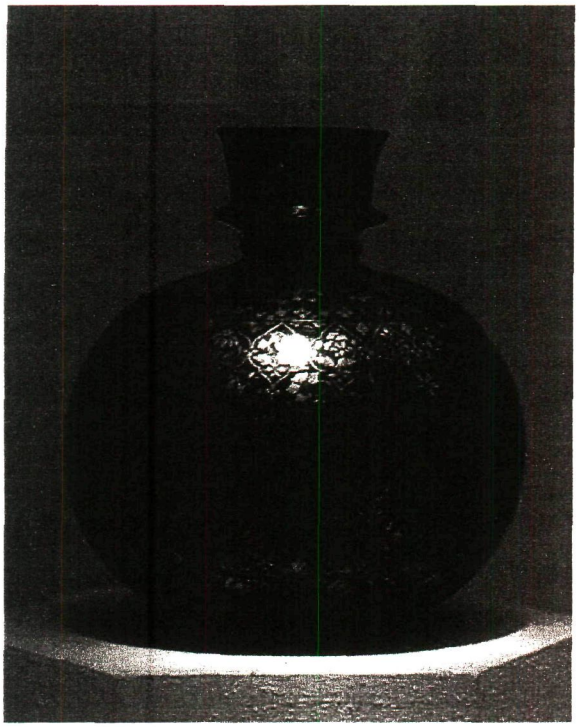
Pictures 15



Pictures 16

Metal was extensively used by these workers as two major minerals found in Agra are copper and iron. [68] A rich content of iron in the upper soil profile occurs extensively in the southern parts of the Suba Agra. Mining of the ore, it appears, did not present an organizational problem, and iron production could not be state controlled in the same way as copper. The iron industry, therefore, functioned on the lines of a cottage industry. Iron was the much cheaper metal; this, along with its inherent qualities, facilitated its universal utilization in the agricultural sector, the building industry, and in carpentry, to name a few. [69]

Saltpetre was yet another mineral product of the suba. Its manufacture was fairly widespread, for which increasing demands was an important factor. It was extensively used in the making of gunpowder, and the rich also used it for cooling drinking water. [70]

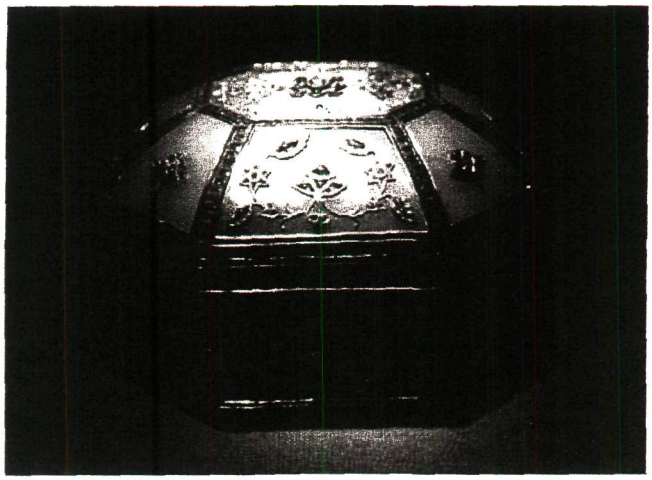


Pictures 17

Furthermore, the expansion of local handicrafts and industry resulted in a reservoir of exportable goods. Indian exports consisted mainly of manufactured articles, with cotton cloth in great demand in Europe and elsewhere. Indigo, saltpeter, spices, opium, sugar, woollen and silk cloth of various kinds, yarn, asafoetida, salt, beads, borax, turmeric, lac, sealing wax, and drugs of various kinds, were also exported. The principal imports were bullion, horses, and a certain quantity of luxury goods for the upper classes, like raw silk, coral, amber, precious stones, superior textiles (silk, velvet, brocade, and broadcloth), perfumes, drugs, china goods, and European wines. By and large, however, in return for their goods Indian merchants insisted on payment in gold or silver. Naturally this was not popular in England and the rest of Europe, and writers on economic affairs in the seventeenth century frequently complained, as did Sir Thomas Roe, that "Europe bleedeth to enrich Asia." The demand for articles supplied by India was so great, however, and her requirements of European goods so limited, that Europe was obliged to trade on India's own terms until the eighteenth century, when special measures were taken in England and elsewhere to discourage the demand for Indian goods. [71]

They were able to export a few woollen goods and some metals, but the only things the Indians really wanted in exchange and which were worth the cost of transporting so far were precious metals. [72] There was, therefore, a constant flow of silver

and gold to India, which absorbed a good deal of the bullion produced by the Spaniards in the New World. It was this phenomenon which most impressed and disturbed Europeans in their relations with India.



Pictures 18

According to the testimony of European travellers, some of the urban centres of Mughal India were bigger than the biggest cities in Europe at the same period. [73] We do not know whether the overall ratio of urban to total population was bigger or smaller than in Europe, but the climate made it possible to get double and triple cropping in some areas, so it was technically possible (with a given transport system) to support bigger towns than in Europe. [74] Most of the luxury handicraft trades were located in cities, and there was also a well-established banking system for the transfer of funds from one part of India to another. In urban society, occupation was controlled by guild regulation and a hereditary caste structure, but occupational mobility was greater than in villages because town life was dominated by Muslims, or, in some commercial areas, by Europeans. [75]

European traders dominated the export business from the sixteenth century onwards. Before that, India had traded in textile products with East Africa, the Persian Gulf, Malaya and Indonesia. The Europeans opened up new markets in Europe, West Africa and the Philippines, and their trading companies built up production centres for textiles, indigo and saltpetre in Gujarat, Coromandel and Bengal. They introduced new techniques of dyeing and silk-winding and set up large-scale factory production for the first time. On the whole, European activity increased the productivity of the Indian economy, [76] though at times Europeans did extort monopoly profits, i.e. in the first phase of Portuguese monopoly (sixteenth century), and in the thirty years after the East. [77]

India Company conquered Bengal. One of the reasons foreigners dominated this trade was that religious beliefs inhibited foreign travel and commercial development by Hindus. The export trade was in the hands of Arabs, Armenians and Jews until Europeans established trading settlements in the coastal towns. [78]

The luxury of court life, the international trade in silks and muslins, the large size and splendour of some Indian cities, the disdain for European products - these were the reasons why Mughal India was regarded as wealthy by some European travellers. The living standard of the upper class was certainly high and there were bigger hoards of gold and precious stones than in Europe, but there is substantial evidence that the mass of the population were worse off than in Europe. The Mughal economy seems to have been at its peak under Akbar (1556-1605) and to have declined thereafter. [79] At its peak, it is conceivable that the per capita product was comparable with that of Elizabethan England. By the mid eighteenth century, when India became a European colony, there seems little doubt that the economy was backward by West European standards, with a per capita product perhaps two-thirds of that in England and France. [80]



Pictures 19

The manufacture of cotton goods had assumed such extensive proportions that in addition to satisfying her own needs, India sent cloth to almost half the world: the east coast of Africa, Arabia, Egypt, Southeast Asia, as well as Europe. The textile industry, well established in Akbar's day, continued to flourish under his successors, and soon the operations of Dutch and English traders brought India into direct touch with Western markets. This resulted in great demand for Indian cotton goods from Europe, which naturally increased production at home. Even the silk industry—especially in Bengal—was in flourishing condition. Bernier wrote: "There is in Bengal such a quantity of cotton and silk, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for these two kinds of merchandise, not of Hindustan or the Empire of the Great Mughal only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe." [81]

Writing on the prices of textile dresses in the royal wardrobe during the reign of Akbar, Abu'l Fazl noted, "Experienced people inquire continually into the prices of articles used both formerly and at present, as knowledge of the exact prices is conducive to the increase of the stock. ... The prices became generally lower. Thus a piece woven by the famous Ghiyas-i Naqshaband may now be obtained for fifty muhrs, whilst it had formerly been sold for twice that sum; and most other articles have got cheaper at the rate of thirty to ten, or even forty to ten." [82] Textile prices thus fell by 66-75 per cent in Northern India during the reign of Akbar. For silk dresses, it reflected the scenario in contemporary Bengal since this province then dominated the silk market at Agra. John Kenn of English East India Company confirmed this in 1661. He observed, "According as this silk sells in Agra, so the price of silk in Kasimbazar riseth and falleth. The exchange of money from Kasimbazar to Patna and Agra riseth and falleth as the said silk findeth a vent in Patna and Agra." [83]

Market also remained dull for the industry during the first half of the seventeenth century as it was yet to receive the patronage of foreign buyers. The global market was then dominated by Persian silk under the Dutch Company in the main, who introduced Bengal silk in Japan only at the fag-end of this period. [84] European trading houses were virtually ignorant of Bengal's silk districts. A letter of English Factories in

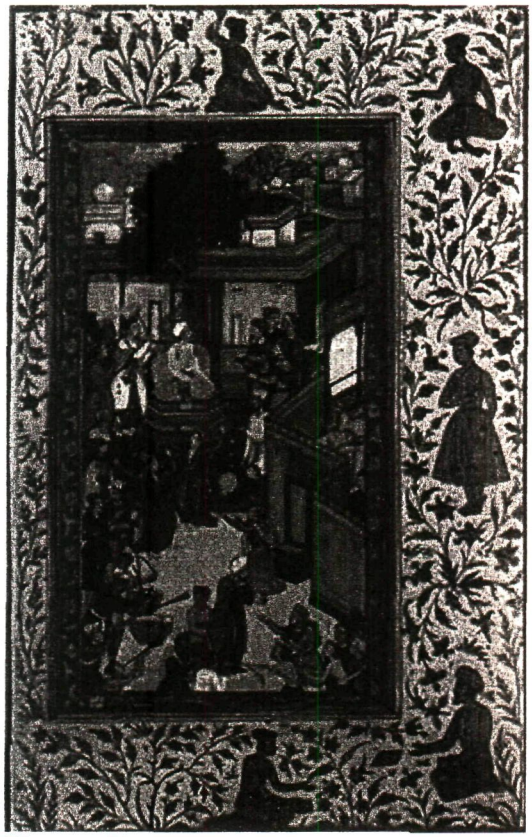
1622-23 notes, "Wee are glad Wee are acquaint of further search after Bengali silk, whereunto wee weare somewhat ingaged, for beinge [m]isleed through a veyne promyse of an unable merchante to write of some large hopes of good quantetyes procurable in these parts, which after soe longe expectacion vanisheth into smoke, for here seldome comes anye eyther in itts quantety or condicion worth the surveigh..." [85] Prior to 1650 the Dutch Company traded Bengal silk annually within 15,000-20,000 the Dutch pound involving no more than ten thousands of rupees. [86] Performance of the English Company was still worse with only one-sixth of their small capital in this trade in 1651. [87] There were, indeed, up-country traders like Gujratis who traded Bengal silks in Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Surat etc. But competition was lacking because of handful traders and ignorance of silk artisans about the ruling price in distant markets. Moreover, India's domestic market was restricted during the Mughal period because of a ban on indiscriminate uses of silk dresses. Abu'l Fazl notes, "His Majesty also ordered that people of certain ranks should wear certain articles; and this was done in order to regulate demand." [88] Although silk dresses were customary to wear in religious festivals among the cross-section of the Hindu's, they were regular dresses only among the upper classes of the society. [89]



Pictures 20

Apart from silk and cotton textiles, other industries were shawl and carpet weaving, woollen goods, pottery, leather goods, and articles made of wood. Owing to its proximity to sources of suitable timbers, Chittagong specialized in shipbuilding, and at one time supplied ships to distant Istanbul. The commercial side of the industry was in the hands of middlemen, but the Mughal government, like the earlier sultans, made its own contribution. The emperor controlled a large number of royal workshops, busily turning out articles for his own use, for his household, for the court,

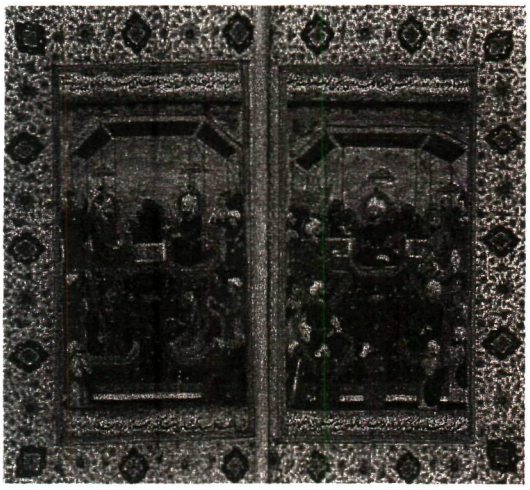
and for the imperial army. Akbar took a special interest in the development of indigenous industry. He was directly responsible for the expansion of silk weaving at Lahore, Agra, Fathpur-Sikri, and in Gujarat. He opened a large number of factories at important centres, importing master weavers from Persia, Kashmir, and Turkistan. Akbar frequently visited the workshops near the palace to watch the artisans at work, which encouraged the craftsmen and raised their status. It is said that he took such an interest in the industry that to foster demand he "ordered people of certain ranks to wear particular kinds of locally woven coverings ... an order which resulted in the establishment of a large number of shawl manufactories in Lahore; and inducements were offered to foreign carpet-weavers to settle in Agra, Fathepur Sikri, and Lahore, and manufacture carpets to compete with those imported from Persia." [90] In the course of time, the foreign traders established close contracts with important markets in India, and new articles which were more in demand in Western Europe began to be produced in increasing quantities. Among the foreign inventions that excited Akbar's interest was an organ, "one of the wonders of creation," that had been brought from Europe. [91]



Pictures 21

All foreign travellers speak of the wealth and prosperity of Mughal cities and large towns. Monserrate stated that Lahore in 1581 was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia." Finch, who travelled in the early days of Jahangir, found both Agra and Lahore to be much larger than London, and his testimony is supported by others. Other cities like Surat ("A city of good quantity, with many fair merchants and houses therein"), Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Benares, and Patna similarly excited the admiration of visitors. [92] The new port towns of Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and Karachi developed under British rule, but they had their predecessors in Satgaon, Surat, Cambay, Lari Bunder, and other ports. [93]

The efficient system of city government under the Mughals encouraged trade. The pivot of urban administration was the kotwal, the city governor. In addition to his executive and judicial powers, it was his duty to prevent and detect crime, to perform many of the functions now assigned to the municipal boards, to regulate prices, and in general, to be responsible for the peace and prosperity of the city. The efficient discharge of these duties depended on the personality of the individual city governor, but the Mughals tried to ensure high standards by making the kotwal personally responsible for the property and the security of the citizens. Akbar had decreed (probably following Sher Shah Suri's example of fixing the responsibility on village chiefs for highway robberies in their territory) that the kotwal was to either recover stolen goods or be held responsible for their loss. That this was not only a pious hope is borne out by the testimony of several foreign travellers who state that the kotwal was personally liable to make good the value of any stolen property which he was unable to recover. The kotwals often found pretexts to evade the ultimate responsibility, but in general they took elaborate measures to prevent thefts. [94]



Pictures 22

Most of this flourishing commerce was in the hands of the traditional Hindu merchant classes, whose business acumen was proverbial. Their caste guilds added to the skills in trade and commerce that they had learned through the centuries. Not only were their disputes settled by their panchayats, but they would frequently impose pressure on the government by organized action. Foreign visitors record that the governors and kotwals were very sensitive to this, and in spite of hardships inseparable from a despotic system of administration, the business communities had their own means of obtaining redress. Bernier, writing during Aurangzeb's time, declared that the Hindus possessed "almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country." [95] If Muslims enjoyed advantages in higher administrative posts and in the army, Hindu merchants maintained the monopoly in trade and finance that they had had during the sultanate.

A Dutch traveller in the early seventeenth century was struck by the fact that few Muslims engaged in handicraft industries, and that even when a Muslim merchant did have a large business, he employed Hindu bookkeepers and agents. [96] Banking were almost exclusively in Hindu hands. In the years of the decline of the Mughals, a rich Hindu banker would finance his favourite rival claimant for the throne. The role of Jagat Seth of Murshidabad in the history of Bengal is well known. Even the "war of succession" out of which Aurangzeb emerged victorious was financed by a loan of five and a half lakhs of rupees from the Jain bankers of Ahmadabad. [97]

Trade Routes to and from Agra

Mughals saw the strategic importance of Agra. Agra was situated on the upper Indo-Gangetic plain. Major trade routes between eastern and western or northern and southern regions of the subcontinent terminated over here. The regular flow of goods traffic on these land routes, along with what was ferried on the rivers Yamuna and Ganga, converged on a point which was also selected to function as the political centre of the Mughal empire. [98]

The major sections of the high ranking nobility preferred to maintain their permanent establishments in the capital, or in the neighbouring towns, this is in itself generated tremendous demand for variety of items but produced in other regions of the subcontinent and even outside. As the empire prosper and Traffic to and through Agra assumed increasing proportions. [99]

All goods must pass this way, as from Gujarat, Tatta(or Sind); from Kabul, Kandahar, or Multan, to the Deccan; from the Deccan or Burhanpur to those places, or to Lahore; and from Bengal and the whole East country; there are no practicable alternative routes, and the roads carry indescribable quantities of merchandise, especially cotton goods. [100] Agra Suba was agriculturally one of the most developed and prosperous regions of the empire. The same was not, perhaps, the case of craft production, where it lagged behind the suba of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat. [101]

Sher Shah repaired and constructed, at certain points the Peshawar-Sonargaon road [102] (known as the Grand Trunk under the British and currently as the Sher Shah Suri Marg). Sher Shah's road could make any dent on the movement of traffic on the river Yamuna.

The land routes that came into prominence from the last quarter off the sixteenth century onwards, and passed through the territories of the Suba, can easily be traced. Taking Agra town as the central point, in the south west to alternate routes led to Surat port on the Gujarat coast. Through these routes a very large part of India's overseas trade was conducted. [103] One of these crossed central India and branched into two, one headed to Burhanpur and then to Surat and the Deccan, and the other to Ujjain from where it possibly went to the Gujarat coast. The second route from Agra went through the regions of Rajasthan. The important towns situated on the former route, within the suba, were Dholpur, Gwalior, Narwar and Shivpuri, [104] on the latter, Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Hindaun, Chatsu. [105] The central Indian route was intersected by a number of rivers, most of which were without bridges and therefore unserviceable during the rainy season. Certain sections on it were also rough and stony. The alternative route, the one traversing Rajasthan, was open round the year and was preferred inspite of the fact that it passed through semi-independent principalities whose rulers imposed certain levies on the merchandise. [106]

Agra was connected with Delhi from where the route proceeded to Lahore and other parts of the Punjab region; it then went further northwest towards central Asia and Persia. The road passed through well-cultivated plains, and was flanked by a continuous avenue of trees. [107]

Major alteration had occurred on the route to the east. Sher Shah's Peshawar-Sonargaon road, which passed through the northern parts of the suba, touching Kol and Kannauj, [108] lost out to the Allahabad- Ghatampur - Etawah - Agra road towards the closing year of the sixteenth century. The Allahabad - Agra road similarly affected the trade on the Ghatampur - Kalpi-Chanderi - Gujarat coast route. [109]

Not much is known about the minor routes of the Suba Agra. However, limitation of references does not rule out the existence of a wide network of routes connecting different towns and the market centres of the Suba. Peter Mundy had travelled on the Agra-Kol route, to reach Shergarh, to arrange for saltpeter. [110] Similarly, Pelsaert mentions five towns of the Bayana indigo tract, which appear to have been interconnected. In his report he cautions that Company officials should not run from one production centre to another, like the Armenians and others, but instead purchases should be made from the merchants stationed at these towns. [111] Obviously these towns were interconnected, and to them some traders preferred to travel to reach the production centres in the hope of procuring their requirement of indigo at a cheaper price. To cite another example, Sultan Khizr Khan's expeditions in the doab, during the pre-Mughal period do not only indicate the antiquity of the Agra-Etawah [112] route which emerged as the main road under the Mughal; he used to proceed to Katehar (located in the north across the Ganga) from Etawah. As he followed a set route in these expeditions it appears that some road might have directly connected Etawah with the northern and northeastern parts of the region. [113]

All along at least the major routes sarais were constructed by local officials and nobles for use by merchants and travellers. [114] These were built at a convenient distance of one day's journey. [115] At important towns not only were a number of sarais built, some of these could be large enough to accommodate two to three thousand persons at a time, along with their horses and camels. [116] The sarais provided separate quarters for women travellers. Some were beautiful pieces of architecture, as we have mentioned. [117]

On land, pack-animals and cart were used as the means of transport of goods. Large caravans of oxen owned by several families and organized into one, tanda, sometimes consisted of 20,000 animals. [118] The transporters were known as banjaras, and enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the transport of food grains, salt and sugar. These tandas were a common sight on all the important routes. Large herds of oxen kept by the banjaras suggest that inland trade was very considerable; [119] a tanda of 20,000 animals

could have carried nearly 2,700 tons weight. [120] Though the cost of this mode of transport was lower than carts, the time factor was unfavourable, and this seems to have discouraged the Europeans from engaging the services of the banjaras. They preferred camels as a means of transport. [121] Sometimes as many as 700 camels made up a qafila. [122] We cannot rule out the possibilities that some camel-breeding centres were located within Agra though our sources are silent about them. [123]

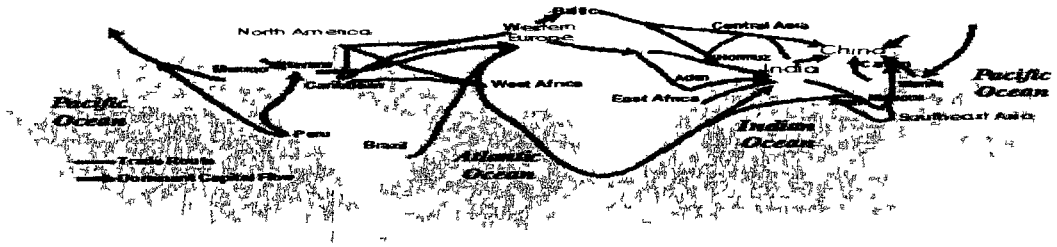
Transport of goods on carts seems to have been much more convenient and economical because it did not require loading and unloading at every halting place, except at river ferry- crossings, and keeping a close watch on each beast which could stray away on its own. Extra strong carts were made, sometimes with solid wheels, for transporting excessively heavy materials, like carved statues or big pieces of stone, which were later split into required size at the building sites. [124] Manrique, who had seen some of these, says that excessively huge blocks of stone were transported on specially built carts of unusual size and strength. These could only be drawn by a team of twenty to thirty very powerfully built oxen and buffaloes. [125] A normal sized cart that could carry the equivalent of three camels' loads in the beginning of the seventeenth century apparently underwent modifications to become capable of carrying much heavier loads. These carts are reported to have been drawn by six to twelve bullocks. [126] The cost of transport from Agra to Surat was 1.75 rupees per man, to Patna 1.63 rupees per man to Lahore rupees 2, and to Multan rupees 2.5 per man. The rates, it seems, were determined by distance as well as the prospects of a return fare within a reasonable time limit. [127]

For individual transport, of course, horses were preferred for speed. However, oxen driven small carriages suitable for two persons were available on hire at all important towns. For comfort these were fitted with cushions and curtains; those that were carved and glided with gold perhaps belonged to the nobility. Normally driven by a pair of young oxen, these carts, comparable with similar modes of transport in Europe, were hired by merchants to reach production and market centres and elsewhere. [128]

The river Yamuna served as the main waterway Salt, textiles, raw cotton, or carpets, laden on large boats, up to the capacity of 500 tons, were sent to the eastern provinces during the rainy season; goods from Bengal and Bihar were carried upstream during other months of the year [129] In the 1660's the English explored the possibility of transporting their purchases from Agra to Bengal by river transport rather than overland to Surat, the plan was, however, abandoned as it would have substantially increased the total distance by sea to Europe. River transport was also used for trade within the Suba. [130]

The Yamuna being deep and broad, no masonry bridge was constructed over it, so with the Chambal. However, in view of the frequency of traffic on the Yamuna at Agra a boat-bridge functioned. At important points on all the rivers ferry boats were available for crossing. [131] On smaller rivers stone bridges were constructed, sometimes by members of the nobility. [132]

The variety, volume and value of the goods, and the frequency with which these large sized boats plied the river Yamuna, suggest that river transport functioned on a well-organised basis. It may also be noted that the larges barges would have been beyond the means of ordinary mallahs (boat-men) to handle We cannot rule out the possibility that some organisation similar to shipping of overseas merchandise existed in the case of river transport also. Notwithstanding the fact that the ownership of these boats was in the hands of individuals, they had to be backed up by a team, or commission agents, to monitor the time of call at the riverine ports, maintain feeding lines, ensure the safety of goods, and so on. When the big players moved to other pastures, following the decline of trade, economically weak and less enterprising mallahs stayed back as a hopeless lot at Agra and elsewhere. [133]



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45. *Coins Of India: Mughal Gold from the Skanda collection ACSAA colour slide project Walter M. Spink, Director John Listopad, Project Coordinator Identification by Stephen Album Final Selection by Dr. Marie H. Martin Commentary and photographs by John Listopad The Skanda Collection of Indian Coins is among the finest in the world. It has a particularly fine selection of Mughal gold coins which are surveyed in this set. The coins in the Skanda collection were identified by Stephen Album, Specialist in Islamic and Indian Coins; P.O Box 7386, Santa Rosa, CA 945407. Final selection was done by Dr. Marie H. Martin, Associate Editor of The American Numismatic Society, Broadway and 155 St., New York, N.Y. 10032-7598. They were chosen to present as broad a range as possible in both style and calligraphy; a few were included due to their uniqueness or rarity.*

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PICTURES

1. *Babar :1526-1530 AD (932-937 AH), Silver Dirham, Minted at Urdu in 935 AH, Weight: 3.2 gm.*
2. *Sher Shah Suri: 1539-1545 AD, Silver Rupee, Weight: 11.4 gm, Minted in 1545 AD, at Gwalior Reference: R#1659.*
3. *Humayun : 1530-1556 AD, Gold Quarter Ashrafi, Minted at Badakhshan, Weight: 1.0 gm.*
4. *Akbar :1556-1605 AD, Silver Rupee, Square type, Minted at Surat (?) Weight: 11 gms, MI#*
5. *Akbar :1556-1605 AD, Gold Quarter Asharfi ,Weight: 1.2 gm.*
6. *Jahangir :1605-1627 AD, Silver Rupee, Minted at Elichpur , Weight: 11.4 gm.*
7. *Jahangir :1605-1627 AD , Silver Rupee ,Obverse: Bull (Taurus), Sun in background, Minted at Agra in 1621 AD (1030 AH) Regnal year 16, Weight: 11.14 gm, Rare*
8. *Jahangir : 1605-1627 AD , Silver Rupee , Obverse: Lion (Leo) and Sun in background, Minted at Ahmadabad in 1619 AD (1028 AH) Weight: 11.14 gm*
9. *Jahangir : 1605-1627 AD, Silver Rupee ,Obverse: Ram (Aries) and sun in background, Minted at Ahmadabad in 1619 AD (1028 AH) Reganl year 14 (below Ram), Weight: 11.14 gm*
10. *Jahangir : 1605-1627 AD, 1000 Mohur, Weight: 12 Kgs (~25 pounds) Gold, Only two specimen exist in world.*
11. *Shah Jahan: 1627-1658 AD (1037-68 AH), Silver Rupee Minted at Bhakhar, Weight: 11.6 gm.*
12. *Aurangzeb Alamgir: 1658-1707, Silver Rupee, Minted at Surat in 1682 (1092 AH), Regnal Year 24, Weight: 11.6 gm.*
13. *The Mughal carpets share certain features commonly agreed to be indicative of Indian manufacture: tone-on-tone color, usually without separating outlines (for example light blue on dark blue, rose on red, gold on yellow, etc.); a distinctive leaf design variously described as wisteria or grape-like; and thirdly, warps*

consisting of 5-8 strands rather than the 4 strands common to their Indo/Persian counterparts

14 *Indian Hunting Carpet, Mughal India Circa 1595, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Gift of Mrs Fredrick L Ames in Memory of Fredrick L Ames Knot count - 19 Horizontal, 20 Vertical, 380 Knots per square Inch or roughly 6080 knots per square Decimeter (Walker says 20 h x 23 v for 460 knots per square inch)Sides - traces of red wool overcasting (Walker) Ends - plain weave band (Walker)Size - 8 feet by 5 feet 1 (Walker says 7 ft 11 5/8 in by 5 ft 5/8 in)*

15 *Mughal jewelry*

16 *Metal work box*

17 *Mughal period Huqqah base*

18 *Nephrite box*

19 *Mosque lamp*

20 *Mughal Flowers Paintings, Miniature Painting of Mughal Flowers, This Painting on Silk is a beautiful creation of Art Miniature Art is a traditional Indian Art This is a Beautiful flower on Silk called as Bikaner Flower Size=8"*12"*

21 *Shah Jahan's ancestors, 'Amal-i Salih "*

22 *Shah Jahan's ancestors, 'Amal-i Salih "*

Chapter V.

Social Structure

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

ROYALTY AND NOBILITY

In the Siyasat. Nama, Nizm-ul-Mulk Tusi stressed that since the kings were divinely appointed, "they must always keep the subjects in such a position that they know their stations and never remove the ring of servitude from their ears."[1] Alberuni, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Amir Khusrau, Ziyauddin Barani and Shams Siraj Afif repeat the same idea.[2] As Fakhr-i-Mudabbir puts it, "if there were no kings, men would devour one another."[3] Even the liberal Allama Abu 'l Fazl could not think beyond this: "If royalty did not exist, the storm of strife would never subside, nor selfish ambitions disappear. Mankind (is) under the burden of lawlessness and lust..."[4] The king was divinely ordained. Abu 'l Fazl says that "No dignity is higher in the eyes of God than royalty... Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe."[5]

Kingship thus became the most general and permanent of institutions of medieval world. The idea of despotism, of concentration of power, penetrated medieval mind with facility. Obedience to the ruler was advocated as a religious duty. The ruler was to live and also enable people to live according to the Qur'anic laws.[6] In public life, the Muslim monarch was enjoined to discharge a host of civil, military and religious duties. The Sultan was enjoined to do justice, to levy taxes according to the Islamic law, and to appoint honest and efficient officers "so that the laws of the Shariat might be enforced through them."[7] At times, he was to enact Zawabits (regulations) to suit particular situations, but while doing so, he could not transgress the Shariat nor "alter the

Qur'anic law!"[8] His military duties were to defend Muslim territories, and to keep his army well equipped for conquest and extension of the territories of Islam.[9] The religious duty of a Muslim monarch consisted in helping the indigent and those learned in the Islamic law. He was to prohibit what was not permitted by the Shara. [10]

The Mughal theory of kingship as it emerged under Akbar, while rooted in the basic pattern laid down by Balban, has important features of its own. In the Mughal system the king remained all-powerful, but he was not an autocrat of Balban's type. The most authoritative exposition of the Mughal theory of ruler ship is that provided by Abu'l Fazl, Akbar's closest companion, in his introduction to Ain-i-Akbari. [11]

Royalty is a light emanating from God, and a ray from the sun, the illuminator of the universe, the argument of the book of perfection, and the receptacle of all virtues. Modern language calls it farr-i-izidi (the divine light), and the tongue of antiquity called it kiyan-i-khura (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistance of anyone, and men, in the presence of it, bend the forehead of praise toward the ground of submission. [12]

He lists these further requisite elements of Mughal kingship:

A paternal love toward the subjects: Thousands find rest in the love of the king and sectarian differences do not raise the dust of strife. In his wisdom, the king will understand the spirit of the age and shape his plans accordingly. [13]

A large heart: The sight of anything disagreeable does not unsettle him nor is want of discrimination for him a source of disappointment. His courage steps in. His divine firmness gives him the power of requital, nor does the high position of an offender interfere with it. ... [14]

A daily increasing trust in God: There is much that is rhetorical in the analysis of the court historian, but the course of the Mughal history and pronouncements

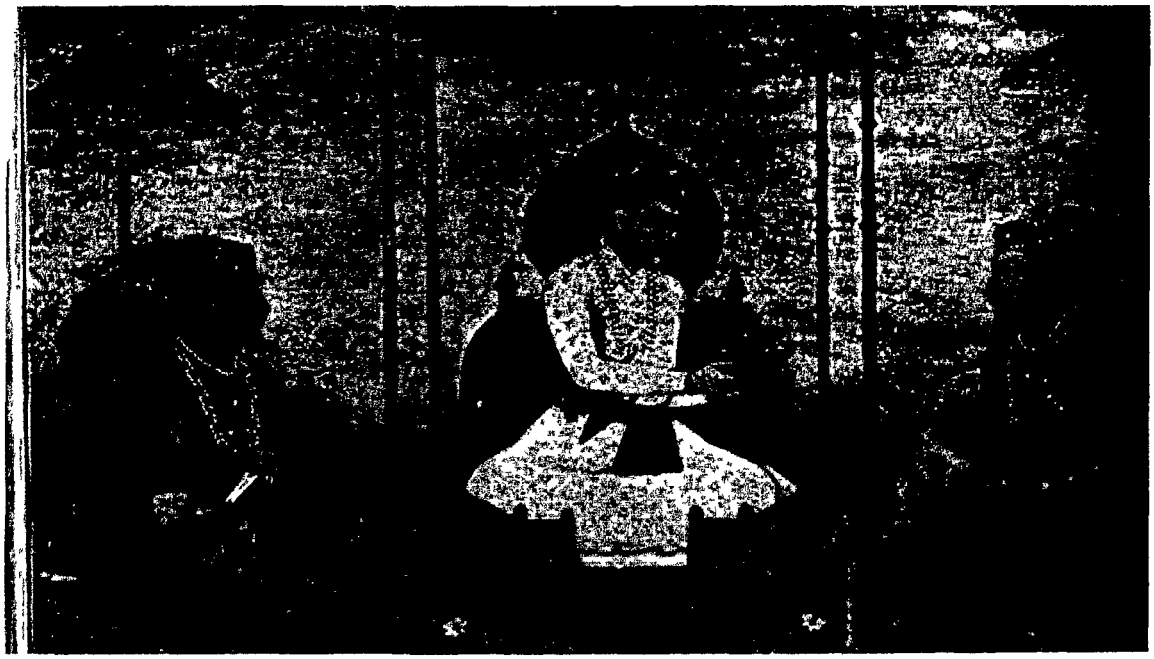
of various rulers show that during Mughal rule an attempt was made to approximate to this ideal, with the concept of paternal government constantly emphasized by Akbar and his successors. [15]



This concept of kingship was similar to the old indigenous notion of the ruler being the Mother and Father of the people, and it is not impossible that Akbar and Abu'l Fazl were influenced by Indian political ideas. Akbar's views were also supported and strengthened by references in Muslim philosophical and mystical writings to the ruler as "the shadow of God," and Abu'l Fazl makes repeated use of these sources. But whatever the origin of their inspiration, by softening the autocracy of the absolute monarch, Akbar and Abu'l Fazl transformed its very nature. The Mughal badshah (emperor) was not an autocratic sultan, or even a traditional Commander of the Faithful; in theory at least he was a father of his people and a trustee of their welfare. The ideal was obviously not always achieved, and Aurangzeb's reign was marked by far-reaching deviations, but by and large the Mother and Father concept was accepted by the rulers and the ruled. [16]

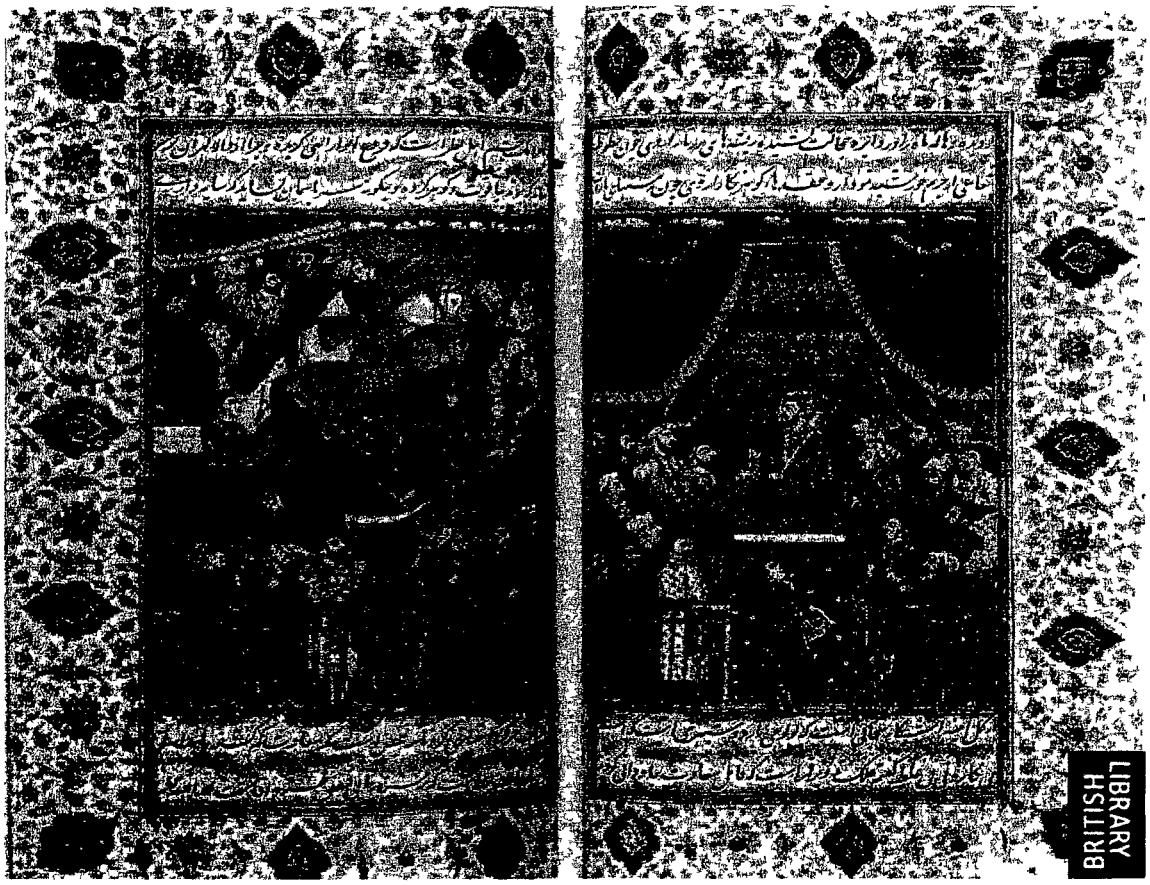
The king remained supreme whether among the Turks or the Mughals, and the assignments of conquered lands were granted by him to lords, soldiers or commoners or his own relatives as salary or reward in consideration of distinguished military service in the form of iqtas or jagirs,[17] sometimes even on a hereditary basis, but they were not wrested from him. This system was bureaucratic. There was also a parallel feudalistic organisation but the possessor of land remained subservient to the king. It was based on personal relationship. The vassals were given jagirs and assignments primarily because of blood and kinship. On the other hand, the practice of permitting vanquished princes to retain their kingdoms as vassals, or making allotment of territories to brothers and relatives of the king, or giving assignments to particular families of nobles, learned men and theologians as reward or pension were feudalistic in nature. Some feudatories would

raise their own army, collect taxes and customary dues, pay tributes, and rally round the standard of their overlord or king with their military contingents when called upon to do so. But the assignee had no right of coining money. (In fact, coining of money was considered as a signal of rebellion.) He maintained his own troops but he had no right of waging private war. [18] He could only increase his influence by entering into matrimonial alliances with powerful neighbours or the royal family. In the Sultanate and the Mughal Empire the feudal system was more bureaucratic than feudalistic; in fact it was bureaucratic throughout. [19] Here the feudal nobility was a military aristocracy which incidentally owned land, rather than a landed aristocracy which occasionally had to defend Royal lands and property by military means but at other times lived quietly. [20]



Within the first three decades of Akbar's reign, the imperial elite had grown enormously. As the Central Asian nobles had generally been nurtured on the Turko-Mongol tradition of sharing power with the royalty—an arrangement incompatible with Akbar's ambition of structuring the Mughal centralism around himself—the emperor's principal goal was to reduce their strength and influence. The emperor encouraged new elements to join his service, and Iranians came to form an important block of the Mughal nobility. Akbar also looked for new men of Indian background. Indian Afghans, being the principal opponents of the Mughals, were obviously to be kept at a distance; but the Sayyids of Baraha, the

Bukhari Sayyids, and the Kambus among the Indian Muslims were specially favoured for high military and civil positions. [21] More significant was the recruitment of Hindu Rajput leaders into the Mughal nobility. This was a major step, even if not completely new in Indo-Islamic history, leading to a standard pattern of relationship between the Mughal autocracy and local despotism. Each Rajput chief, along with his sons and close relatives, received high rank, pay, perquisites, and an assurance that they could retain their age-old customs, rituals, and beliefs as Hindu warriors. In return, the Rajputs not only publicly expressed their allegiance but also offered active military service to the Mughals and, if called upon to do so, willingly gave daughters in marriage to the emperor or his sons. The Rajput chiefs retained control over their ancestral holdings and additionally, in return for their services, received watans (land assignments outside their homelands) in the empire. The Mughal emperor, however, asserted his right as a "paramount." He treated the Rajput chiefs as zamindars (landholders), not as rulers. Like all local zamindars, they paid tribute, submitted to the Mughals, and received a patent of office. Akbar thus obtained wide base for Mughal power among hundreds and thousands of Rajput warriors who controlled large and small parcels of the countryside throughout much of his empire. [22]



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In the Mughal Era, the Zamindari system was begun to ensure proper collection of taxes during a period when the power and influence of the Mughal emperors was in decline. With the Mughal conquest of Bengal, "Zamindar" became a generic title embracing people with different kinds of landholdings and rights that ranged from the autonomous or semi-independent chieftains to the peasant-proprietors. All categories of zamindars under the Mughals were required to perform certain police, judicial and military duties. Zamindars under the Mughals were, in fact, more the public functionaries than revenue collecting agents. Although zamindaris were allowed to be held hereditarily, the holders were not considered to be the proprietors of their estates. [23]

A zamindar's domain could be just a few villages or a hundred or more. The empire in northern India was divided into territorial units (parganas), each containing from 20 to 100 villages together with associated market centres and small towns. A leading zamindar was in charge of revenue collection in each pargana and an accountant was also appointed. There were similar appointments of headman and accountant for each village. Their lands were tax-free and they received about 2% each of what was c basic coin was the copper dam, with forty dams the equivalent of silver collected. Very importantly the land revenue was demanded in cash. [24]

The territorial zamindars had judicial powers. Naturally, judge-magistracy, as an element of state authority conferred status with attendant power, which really made them the lords of their domains. They held regular courts, called Zamindari adalat. The courts fetched them not only power and status but some income as well by way of fines, presents and perquisites. The petty zamindars also had some share in the dispensation of civil and criminal justice. The Chowdhurys, who were zamindars in most cases, had authority to deal with the complaints of debts, thefts and petty quarrels and to impose paltry fines. [25]

Agra; and its aggressive Zamindars were left in restrained peace. Consequently this region remained largely Hindu. Here the small minority of Muslims was introduced as a result of early Turkish victories and Muslim immigrants were added largely under the Saiyyads and Lodis. Rajputana was Hindu; Muslims there were in

insignificant numbers. The Ain-i-Akbari provides us with names of prominent dominant castes of the time in the various parganas of the Mughal Empire. [26] In the middle of the doab (Agra, Muthra, Aligarh upto Kanpur) about 69 per cent of Zamindaris were held by one or other Rajput clan. If we add the share of the Brrahmans and Saiyids the percentage increases to about 75%. [27] The upper caste superior Zamindars should have engaged a large number of cultivators on their fields and controlled larger area, including cultivatable and uncultivable waste, in comparison to traditional cultivating caste, felicitously called *Primary zamindars.* Mughal emperors conferred such zamindari rights on people who cleared the forests or brought waste lands under cultivation. [28]

Autonomous Zamindars were the hereditary landowners who enjoyed sovereign powers. Rajput rulers, Jats (large peasant landowners) belonged to the category of Chieftains. The Mughals not only continued demanding recognition of overlord ship, payment of tribute and rendering of military assistance, from the chieftains but they also absorbed them in imperial hierarchy and the administrative machinery. The revenue from their jagir would far exceed that of chiftain's hereditary dominion. Apart from bringing monetary advantages, imperial services were the source of power to the chieftains and enabled them to strengthen their position by recruiting and maintaining large armies. [29]

The Mughal asserted the principle of *paramountcy*, which ment that chieftain depended for his position of good will of emperor rather than on his heritance right. The title of 'raja' was allotted by the emperor. Jahangir rejected the nomination of a younger son of Rai Singh of Bikaner and nominated the elder one instead. Akbar the younger son of raja Man Singh of Amber, Bhao Singh was made the Raja in place of his elder brother. [30]

The Mughals were successful in utilizing systematically the military service of even those chieftains who even did not held mansabs. The troops supplied by the chieftains contributed appreciably to the military might of the Mughal Empire. The Mughals established direct relations with the vessals of these chieftains, thus checking their power and created new allies. [31]

Intermediary Zamindars were the Zamindars who collected the land revenue and paid to the imperial treasury or the jagirdars or to the chieftains, or in certain cases kept it to them selves. They were responsible in maintaining law and order. In return to their services they enjoyed various types of perquisites, such as commissions, deductions, revenue free land (nankar or banth), cesses, etc usually their share of the revenue ranged between 2.5 and 10 % most of the zamindars possessed hereditary rights, though in a few cases they held their positions on short-term contracts. Among the intermediaries may be the *chaudhries, desmukhs, desais, despandes,* certain types of *mugaddams, kanungos* and *ijaradars, a*nd the class of zamindars who contracted with the state to realise the revenue of a given territory and who began to be known during the second half of seventeenth century by the generic designation of *talukdars.* [32]

Most of the intermediaries were suppose to prepare the details of revenue assessment for the perusal of the state, help in realization of the land revenue, encourage extension of cultivation, assist the imperial officers in the maintenance of law and order, and supply a fixed number of contingents.[33]

It was a known practice with the rulers of India to provide the means of substance, or to the state exchequer, to certain categories of people. The Mughal Continue at the practice.[34] How ever the credit should go to the Mughals who made such grants so liberally that the grantee soon emerged as a distant category of land holders. [35] The beneficiaries include the men of knowledge and learning, person's deeply involved in religious pursuits incapable of earning a livelihood, and persons of noble lineage who would not take to any employment. [36] Such grants were made in the form of both cash and land, being known as wazifa and madad-i-ma'ash respectively. He term suyurghul applied to grants of both kinds. By far the largest these numbers of beneficiaries of state bounty the received tax free land grants which were located in almost all the parganas. According to A'in the suba Agra stood third in the degree of revenue diversion to madad-i-ma'ash. But among zabti provinces, suba of Agra shows a high concentration of grant holders(24.53%). [37]

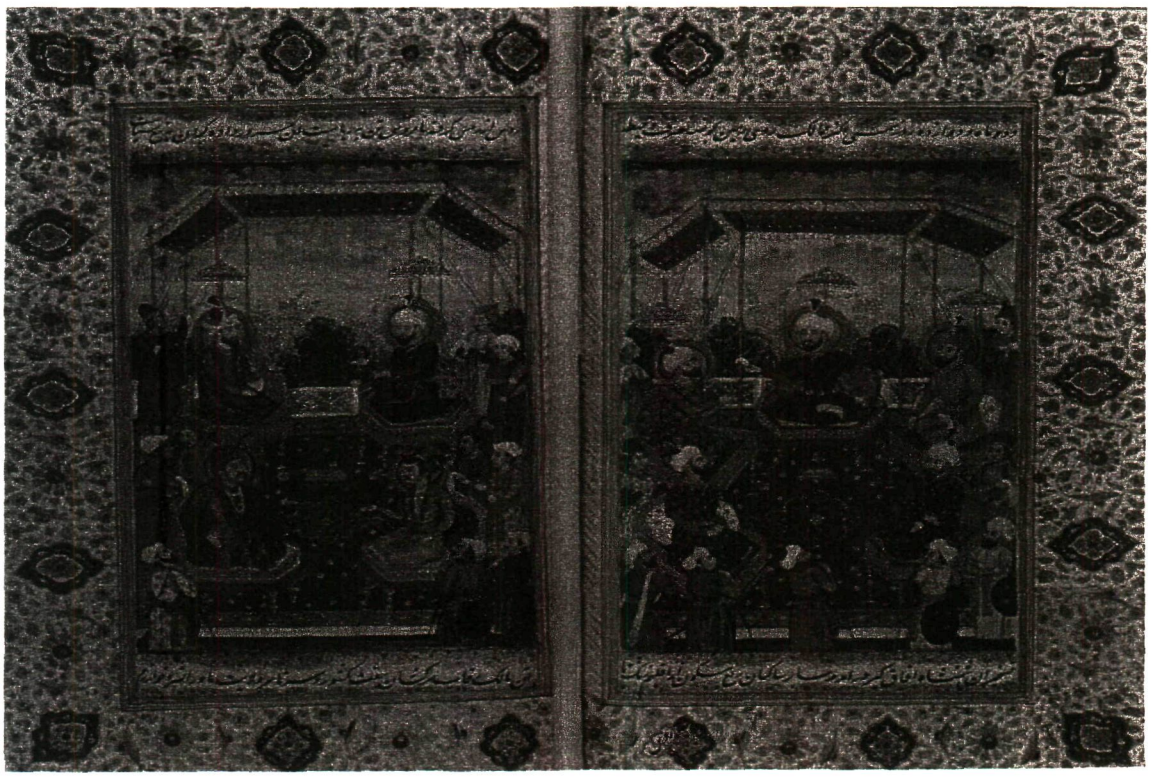
The bureaucracy that the *Ain-i-Akbari* records rested on personal loyalty to the emperor among nobles who held all the places in the empire together. The nobility was the backbone of imperial society, commanding armies financed with taxes from imperial territories. The emperor had the biggest army under his private command, but he could not defeat a substantial alliance of great nobles. Warriors with independent means initially became nobles (*amirs*) by being assigned a rank or dignity (*mansab*) with assignments of salary or income from lands. In 1590, Akbar revised the system to remunerate nobles in proportion to the number of men and horses under their command. This linked imperial rank explicitly to noble military assets. The plan was to create an elite corps of military commanders who maintained the dignity of their aristocratic warrior status through service and loyalty to the emperor. [38]

The Mughal nobility came to comprise mainly the Central Asians (Turanis), Iranians (Iranis), Afghans, Indian Muslims of diverse subgroups, and Rajputs. Both historical circumstances and a planned imperial policy contributed to the integration of this complex and heterogeneous ruling class into a single imperial service. The emperor saw to it that no single ethnic or religious group was large enough to challenge his supreme authority. [39]

		Total number of Nobles	No of khanazadas	Khanazadas as percentage of total no. of nobles
Ain's list	5000 to 200 1000 and above	411 133	148 40	36 30
At the death of Akbar	1000 and above	84	37	44
Jahangir's reign	1000 and above	81	39	48
At the end of 15th year of Jahangir.	1000 and above	156	65	41

While Akbar's own great abilities go far in explaining his success as a ruler, he was fortunate in the very high quality of the men who surrounded him. Among these were such notable administrators as Amir Fathullah Shirazi, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Khwaja Mansur, and scholars like Nizam-ud-din Bakhshi and the historian Badauni. The persons who most vividly represent the calibre of his servants, however, were Abu'l Fazl (1551–1602) and his elder brother, Faizi (1545–1595). They were members of a distinguished family of scholars, and were held in high esteem by Akbar because of their intellectual gifts, their loyalty to him, and the similarity of their views on religion. Abu'l Fazl was the court chronicler, the drafter of the emperor's correspondence, and his personal confidant. The animosity of the other courtiers because of his favoured position was given a religious colouring when he became the spokesman for Akbar's unorthodox religious policy, and in his last years they succeeded in keeping him away from the capital. [40]

Both brothers were writers of distinction, but Abu'l Fazl clothed his ideas in an ornate and verbose style. It is Faizi's writings that give us more indication of the intensity of the conflict which tore the hearts and minds of the intellectuals of the age. He was introduced at the court in September, 1567, when he was a young man of twenty. He gave expression to his feelings in the first Qasida which he wrote in praise of Akbar [41]



How shall I write of the time when the barge of my heart

Was tossing on the billows of the tempest?

A quickening spring visited my word-garden,

A youthful morning came to my spirit's tulip,

While I was disturbed, thinking by what argument

I could remove doubts about absolute verities.

Why is this diversity practiced in Islam?

Wherefore ambiguities in the words of the Quran?

Why did false witness shoot out the tongue in the tribunal

Of pride and hypocrisy, and claim belief?

If such be the religion of Islam in this world,

Scoffers can have a thousand smiles at the Musulman faith.

His inner conflicts form a recurrent theme in Faizi's poetry. In a later quatrain he says:

O God! What can I do, except lament on your path.

One particle did not receive illumination, what can I do?

I long to move towards the heights

But You Yourself have given me a feeble might, what can I do!

And again, O God, through Your grace, grant me hope untainted by fear.

Teach me that knowledge, in which lies your pleasure.

The darkness of intellect keeps me in conflict;

Give me the light of resignation from the lamp of raza [resignation].[42]

Akbar's successors made a major departure of from the principle of periodic transfer of jagirdars. Based primarily on Barnier's observation, it has generally been held that jagirdars were not aloud to stay in the one place for very long period, as they were transferred on an average, every three years. In several cases Mughal nobles with high mansabs remain undisturbed in their place of assignment for exceptionally long period. In short stays in the place did not allow a jagirdars sufficient time to work for the development of agriculture and instead made him insensitive to the plight of the producers, there is no single scheme relating to development of agriculture that could be associated with the jagirdars noticed above. Instead, what we see is that the tendency to remain long in the region as a jagirdar had already taken to root in the seventeenth century. The possibility cannot be ruled out that such period were found adequate by the jagirdars and zamindars to develop a nexus and, thus, deprive the state of increase of revenue generation on various accounts.[43]

A significant change took place in the composition of the nobility and the holders of high office during the years of Nur Jahan's ascendancy. Akbar had made good use of the indigenous element—such men as Abu'l Fazl, Faizi, Todar Mal, Shaikh Farid, Man Singh, and Bhagwan Singh come to mind—and had maintained a due balance between the Irani and Turani elements. Under Jahangir this balance was upset, and the Iranis became all-powerful. This was facilitated by the early death of Shaikh Farid and by the stigma attached to Man Singh, the Rajput leader, and to Khan-i-Azam, the premier Turani noble, because of their association with Khusrau. Held in check, the Irani element was a source of strength, but this ceased to be the case in the eighteenth century, when its political role during the decline of the empire weakened the realm. [44]

Even more objectionable was the mushroom growth of bureaucracy and the resultant increase in government expenditure. No large territory was added to the empire, but the number of mansabdars, which under Akbar numbered about eight hundred, was increased to nearly three thousand in Jahangir's reign. The author of Maasir-ul-Umara, himself a financial expert, in dealing with the fiscal history of the Mughal period, said: "In the time of Jahangir, who was a careless prince and paid no

attention to political or financial matters, and who was constitutionally thoughtless and pompous, the fraudulent officials, in gathering lucre, and hunting for bribes, paid no attention to the abilities of men or to their performance. The devastation of the country and the diminution of income rose to such a height that the revenue of the exchequer-lands fell to five million rupees while expenditure rose to fifteen million, and large sums were expended out of the general treasury." [45]

Jahangir must bear the ultimate responsibility for this state of affairs, but the immediate cause was the dominance and policy of Nur Jahan. She was a woman of noble impulses and good taste who spent large sums in charity, particularly for the relief of indigent women, and worked hard to relieve the drabness of Indian life. Many innovations which enhanced the grace and charm of Mughal culture can be directly traced to her, and her influence led to the maintenance of a magnificent court. But all this strained the royal resources. [46]

The lavish style of living introduced at the royal court was initiated by the nobility, and an era of extravagance, with its concomitants of corruption and demoralization among officers of the state, was inaugurated. This corroded the structure of the Mughal government. A contemporary Dutch account sharply criticized Nur Jahan and her "crowd of Khurasanis" for what it was costing the state to maintain "their excessive pomp," and complained that the foreign bureaucrats were particularly indifferent to the condition of the masses.[47] To Nur Jahan herself belongs the doubtful honor of introducing the system of nazars or gifts to the court—corruption at the royal level. Asaf Khan emerges in the pages of Sir Thomas Roe's account of his negotiations at the Mughal court as exceedingly greedy for such gifts. [48]

Mughal nobility was unique in two ways: a) Mughal empire was the only Muslim state where the shia and the sunni nobles co-existed peacefully. B) Empire provided opportunities for service irrespective of ethnic, religious or familial ties and thus created a "new individual and group identity". For instance, the successful expansion of the empire brought chances of promotion according to the performance of the individual

noble. [49] The consolidation of the empire depended on its capacity, firstly, to politically integrate the most important social groups and secondly, to secure the financial resources that were necessary for its survival. [50]

In order to achieve a certain unity within the nobility and to gain the nobles undiminished dedication to the concerns of the imperial centre, the Mughal empire had to provide opportunities to satisfy the interests of the imperial elites and in this way build the nobles identification with the imperial idea. [51]

Mughal nobles once appointed were practically never dismissed from the service, unless they committed the grieve offence or rebelled. Even rebels were pardoned and restored to the pervious position. [52]

.The Mughal nobility became and remained a heterogeneous body of free men, not slaves (like the Turkish nobility), who rose to eminence as their talents and the emperor's favours permitted. But no single ethnic or sectarian group was ever large enough to challenge the authority of the emperor. Rewards and incentives rather than force and coercion were the Mughal's preferred approach. The system offered generous money rewards as well as lavish honours and preferment to those who performed well at all levels. [53]

Possessing great wealth and power, these nobles or umara were highly visible public figures. Their personalities, habits, and movements were the topic of endless rumours and speculations. The greatest nobles used to be the objects of empire wide- attention. News of royal favour or disfavour, of illnesses, marriages, postings, and other information formed the stuff of countless reports that flashed across the empire. Wherever, they were posted, whether in court or in the provinces, the patrimonial households of the nobles were a focal point of aristocratic life and culture. To the extent his resources permitted each nobleman emulated the style, etiquette, and opulence of the emperor. [54]

These nobles patronized artists, and craftsmen who produced the products exclusively from them. In the Mughal cities of Agra, Delhi, Burhanpur and Lahore, the morphology of urban life was determined by the settlement patterns of the Mughal nobility. Architects, artisans, builders, poets, found permanent employment in the noble entourages. Mughal officials and frequently, their women spent large sums of money for the construction of public buildings i.e. mosques, inns, stone bridges, gardens and markets. The origin of dozen of new towns and villages through out the Mughal India can be traced to the investment by these nobles.

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Chapter VI. Religion and Culture

Religion and culture

The Mughal Empire ruled most of India in the 16th and 17th centuries. It consolidated Islam in South Asia, and spread Muslim (and particularly Persian) arts and culture as well as the faith. The Mughals were Muslims who ruled a country with a large Hindu majority. However for much of their empire they allowed Hindus to reach senior government or military positions. The Mughals brought many changes to India:

- Centralised government which brought together many smaller kingdoms
- Delegated government with respect for human rights
- Persian art and culture
- Persian language mixed with Arabic and Hindi to create Urdu
- Periods of great religious tolerance
- A style of architecture (e.g. the Taj Mahal)
- A system of education that took account of pupils' needs and culture

Muslims in India

There had been Muslims in India long before the Mughals. The first Muslims arrived in the 8th century. In the first half of the 10th century a Muslim ruler of Afghanistan invaded the Punjab 11 times, without much political success, but taking away a great deal of loot. A more successful invasion came at the end of the 12th century. This eventually led to the formation of the Delhi Sultanate. A later Muslim invasion in 1398 devastated the city of Delhi. The Mughal Empire grew out of descendants of the Mongol Empire who were living in Mongolia in the 15th century. They had become Muslims and assimilated the culture of the Middle East, while keeping elements of their Far Eastern roots. They also retained the great military skill and cunning of their Mongol ancestors, and were among the first Western military leaders to have guns. [1]

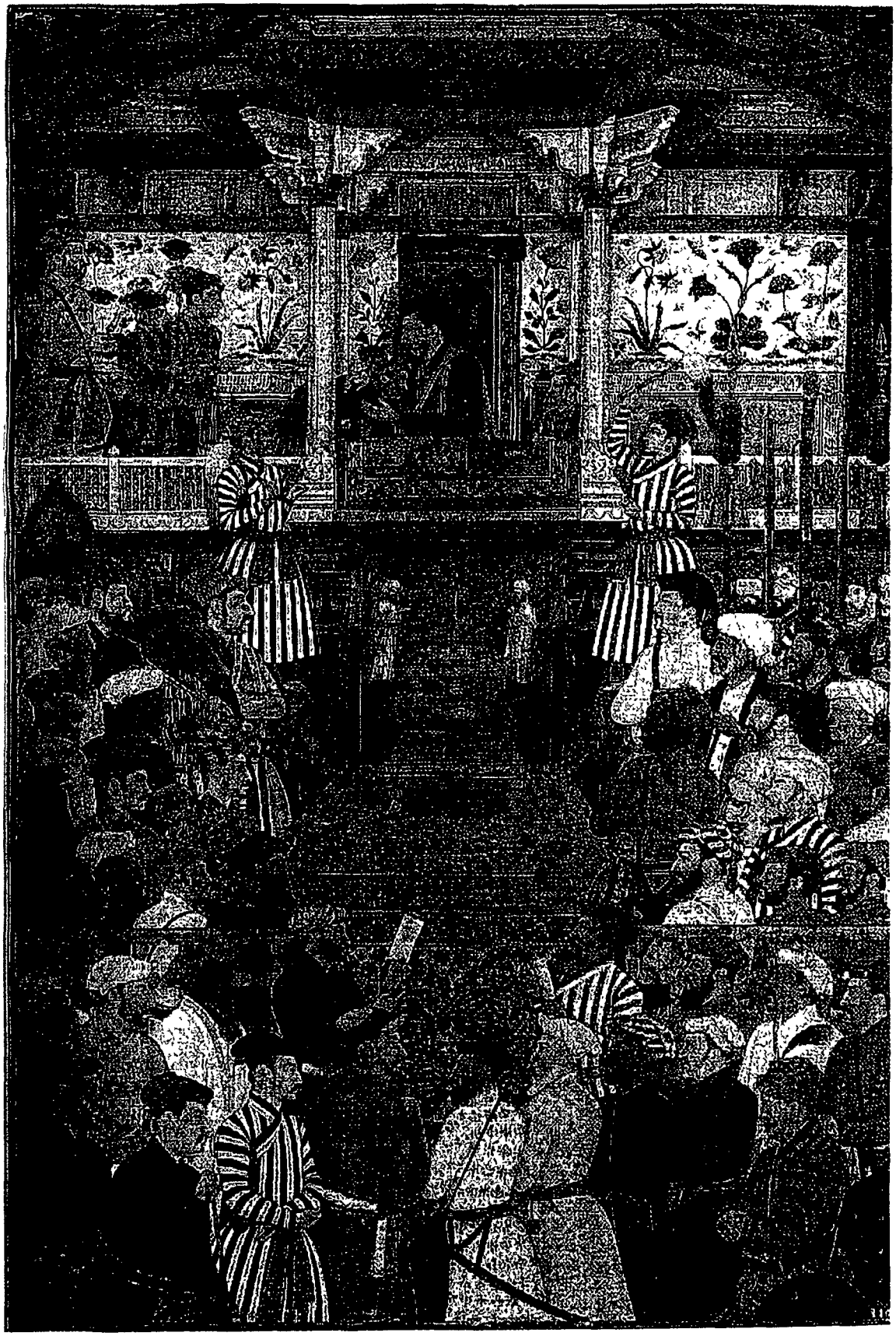
One obvious reason for the different tone and spirit of the Mughal Empire is the greater continuity of administration. For three hundred years the same dynasty ruled from

India, and for half of this period, from 1556 to 1707, four rulers in direct succession maintained control. This is a remarkable achievement in the dynastic history of any great country, but it is particularly astonishing when measured against the rapid overthrow, not just of rulers, but of dynasties, in the sultanate period. Undoubtedly this dynastic stability contributed to the rich and varied cultural life of the period. The basic reason for the different tone of the two periods is, however, the success of Akbar, in creating an enduring system of administration. [2]

The beginnings of Mughal rule followed a familiar pattern: an adventurous chieftain in the mountainous areas to the northwest, attracted by possibilities of wealth and power during a period of internal weakness in India, gathered his forces for a sudden descent upon the Punjab.[3] Babur was ruler of a kingdom centred on Kabul when he invaded India in 1526, it is worth remembering that the Mughal dynasty was Turkish in origin, and the cultural tradition which Babur imported into India was the one which had flourished on the banks of the Oxus. Timur attracted a large number of poets, musicians, and philosophers to his brilliant court, and built and embellished his capital, Samarqand, in a truly magnificent style. After Timur's death in 1405 these cultural traditions were more than maintained by his descendants, who made their capitals centres of art and learning that drew upon the whole Islamic world. This was the atmosphere in which Babur grew up, and which he and his successor were to transplant to Lahore, Delhi, and Agra. Babur himself was a writer of great distinction, and his autobiography is considered one of the great monuments of Turkish prose.[4]

The Empire Babur founded was a sophisticated civilisation based on religious toleration. It was a mixture of Persian, Mongol and Indian culture.

Under Babur Hinduism was tolerated and new Hindu temples were built with his permission. Trade with the rest of the Islamic world, especially Persia and through Persia to Europe, was encouraged. The importance of slavery in the Empire diminished and peace was made with the Hindu kingdoms of Southern India. [5]



CITY OF AGRA UNDER THE MUGHALS 1526-1707

Babur brought a broadminded, confident Islam from central Asia. His first act after conquering Delhi was to forbid the killing of cows because that was offensive to Hindus. He may have been descended from brutal conquerors, but he was not a barbarian bent on loot and plunder. Instead he had great ideas about civilisation, architecture and administration. He even wrote an autobiography, The Babur - Namah. The autobiography is candid, honest and at times even poetic. [6]

Humayun who was a bad Emperor, a better poet, and a drug addict. Humayun was twenty-three when he succeeded his father, and while he had experience as a military commander, he lacked his father's vigour and toughness. While Humayun's career as an Indian ruler was brief and insecure, his contribution to the cultural synthesis of the Mughal period was of very considerable importance, for from his reign dates the increasing Persian influence on Islamic civilization in India. During years of exile at the court of Shah Tahmasp of Persia, he had come in contact with the artists who were making Tabriz a great cultural centre. Two of them, Mir Sayyid Ali and Khwajah Abdus Samad, apparently were given offers of employment by Humayun, and in 1550 both of them joined him at Kabul, which he had occupied prior to his reconquest of India. [7] Humayun entrusted the two artists with various commissions including the preparation and illustration of the famous Persian classic, Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah, portions of which have survived. They accompanied Humayun to Agra, and were retained later by Akbar as his court painters. By training local talent and attracting other artists from abroad, a school of painting was established which was to be one of the glories of the Mughal empire. [8]

To the Perso-Turkish culture Akbar added other elements such as Indo-Muslim music, Hindu philosophy, and Hindi literature, which had received little official support at Delhi during the sultanate, although they had flourished in the regional kingdoms. With this broadened basis, Mughal culture assumed a pattern which has left a permanent mark on the cultural life of the subcontinent. [9]

The policy adopted toward his Hindu subjects, was his marriages to Rajput princesses (one of the landmarks in the development of his religious policy) took place early in 1562.[10] The relatives of the Rajput wives, like Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Man Singh,

were appointed to high posts and became partners of the Mughals in the administration of the country. Then in 1564 Akbar abolished the pilgrim tax, earning the gratitude of the large number of Hindus who flocked to various places of pilgrimage. The following year he took a more important step—the abolition of the jizya. These measures enabled Akbar to gain the active collaboration of the fighting classes of Hindu India and the goodwill of the Hindu population. [11]

Akbar was the real builder of the Mughal empire, and he laid down the principles and policies which, but for occasional modifications and minor adjustments, remained the basis of the Mughal administrative system. Foremost among these was his treatment of the Hindu population. For understanding the significance of his policy of toleration, it is important, however, to see his actions against the background of previous movements in the same direction, and not as a complete innovation. Hindus had long been employed in positions of responsibility—even Mahmud of Ghazni, the great "destroyer of idols," had a contingent of Indian troops under Indian officers—and no Muslim ruler had succeeded in dispensing with the services of Hindu officials on the level of local administration. There were, however, great difficulties to be overcome before general participation was possible. From the side of the early Turkish rulers, there had been prejudice not only against Hindus, but even against Indian converts to Islam. Under the Khaljis a change took place, and henceforth converts found employment in high office. This change led to a more general employment of Hindus, and during Sher Shah's reign (1538–1545) a number of Hindus held important military posts. But this exclusion of Hindus had not been entirely the result of Islamic attitudes: many Hindus had strong objection to service under a Muslim ruler. Furthermore, until Hindus were willing to learn Persian, the court language, their widespread employment in government was not possible. By the fifteenth century, when it was apparent that the Muslim rule was permanent, many Brahmans had begun to learn Persian, and their movement into government service began. [12]

In Akbar's time there was a general emphasis on reason, intellect, and philosophy, and works connected with these subjects were encouraged. Furthermore, there were a number of other scholars besides Fathullah who had migrated from Persia. Among these was Hakim Abul Fath Gilana, Akbar's court physician, who wrote a commentary on

Avicenna. Scholars from Samarqand and Bukhara also encouraged the study of logic. The efforts of these scholars and Akbar's own preferences combined to give an impetus to the spread ofeducation which placed learning on a new footing in Islamic India. Maqulat, or mental sciences, became so important in the Mughal Empire that a century later, when the educational curriculum was standardized, these traditional studies, and not the Islamic subjects such as tafsir and hadith, occupied the place of honour in the syllabus. These new disciplines were formal in nature, but their study in the Mughal period stimulated intellectual interest, facilitated mental discipline of the pupils, and provided the intellectual basis for the splendid Mughal cultural life. [13]

The Political Theory of Akbar's State

There was considerable disagreement all during the reigns of Babur, Humayun, and Akbar over the nature of monarchy and its place in Islamic society. Many Islamic scholars under Babur and Akbar believed that the Indian monarchies were fundamentally un-Islamic. At the heart of the problem was the fact that none of the invading monarchs were approved by the Caliph, but rather were acting solely on their own. The majority of Islamic scholars, however, concluded that the monarch was divinely appointed by God to serve humanity and that the Indian sultanate or the Mughal *padshah* was acting in the place of the Caliph. [14]

The political theorists and Islamic scholars surrounding Akbar were deeply influenced by Shi'a Islam. In particular, they subscribed to the Shi'a notion that God had created a Divine Light that is passed down in an individual from generation to generation; this individual is known as the Imam. The central theorist of Akbar's reign was Abu'l Fazl, who joined Akbar's court in 1574 and is considered one of the greatest political theorists in Islamic history. He believed that the Imamate existed in the world in the form of just rulers. The Imam, in the form of a just ruler, had secret knowledge of God, was free from sin, and was primarily responsible for the spiritual guidance of humanity. This, to a certain extent, made the *padshah* superior to the *Shari'a*, or Islamic law, and the Islamic scholars that interpreted it. Needless to say, orthodox Islamic scholars bitterly opposed this political

theory, but instead advocated a close partnership between the *ulama* , or Islamic religious and legal scholars, and the Sultan or *padshah* . [15]

Abu'l Fazl was also deeply influenced by Platonic philosophy as it had been handed down by Muslim philosophers. In particular, he argued for Plato's concept of the "philosopher-king," who, by virtue of his talent, wisdom, and learning, deserved to be obeyed by all others. He saw Akbar as the embodiment of the perfect philosopher-king. [16]

From a religious standpoint, Akbar's state was built on the principle *sulahkul* , or "universal tolerance." All religions were to be equally tolerated in the administration of the state; hence the repeal of the *jizya* and the pilgrimage taxes. In Akbar's theory of government, the ruler's duty is to ensure justice (*'adale*) for all the people in his care no matter what their religion. That two of his most famous officials, Man Singh, viceroy of Kabul and Bengal, and Todar Mal, his revenue minister, were Hindus, was an indication not of his desire to show his tolerance but his freedom to choose able associates wherever they might be found. Beyond these administrative acts, Akbar showed his sympathies with Hindu culture by patronizing the classical Indian arts, providing scope once more for painters, musicians, and dancers of the old tradition. Perhaps the most striking of his activities in this area is the creation of the post of kavi rai, or poet laureate, for Hindi poets. The adaptation of Hindu elements in architecture is demonstrated in many of Akbar's buildings, notably at Fathpur Sikri. There and elsewhere he showed regard to Hindu religious leaders.[17]

Din-i Ilahi

Akbar took very seriously Abu'l Fazl's idea that he was a spiritual leader of his people and he devoted considerable amounts of time and resources to sorting out the common truth in the multiple religions he ruled over. From this concern he developed a new religion he called *Din-i Ilahi*, or "The Religion of God." Believing, as Muslims do, that every faith contained the essential truth that God is unified and one thing, he sought to find the unifying aspects of all religions. He originally began this project, long before he came up with *Din-i Ilahi,* by sponsoring a series of debates at his court between representatives of the various religions, which included Christianity (Catholic Jesuits), Hindus, Zoroastrians, and

Jains. Eventually he included members of the *ulama,* but the debates did not go well because of the intolerant attitude and behaviours of the Jesuit participants who wanted to convert Akbar, not discuss the formation of a universal religion.

Akbar was a devout and, so he said, an orthodox Muslim; still, aspects of his belief were in part derived from Shi'a Islam. The *Din-i Ilahi,* the religion that would synthesize the world's religions into a single religion, that he established was predominantly based on Islam. Like Islam, it was rationalistic and was based on one overriding doctrine, the doctrine of *tawhid* : God is one thing and is singular and unified. Akbar also elevated the notion of *wahdat-al wujud,* or "unity of the real," to a central religious idea in his new religion. The world, as a creation of God, is a single and unified place that reflects the singularity and unity of its creator. Finally, Akbar fully subscribed to the Islamic idea of the Perfect Man represented by the life of the Prophet or by the Shi'ite Imamate. There is little questioning that Akbar accepted Abu'l Fazl's notion that he was the Divine Light and was a Perfect Man. He assumed the title, "Revealers of the Internal and Depicter of the Real," which defined his role as a disseminator of secret knowledge of God and his function of fashioning the world in the light of this knowledge. [18]

In addition to Islam, however, the *Din-i Ilahi* also contained aspects of Jainism, Zoroastrianism, and Hinduism. The *Din-i Ilahi* borrowed from Jainism a respect and care for all living things, and it derived from Zoroastrianism sun-worship and, especially, the idea of divine kingship. This latter innovation deeply disturbed the *ulama*; they regarded it as outright heresy. The notion of divine kingship, however, would last throughout the history of the Mughal Empire. [19]

Akbar began his rule as a devout, orthodox Muslim. He said all the five prayers in the congregation, often recited the call for prayers, and occasionally swept out the palace mosque himself. He showed great respect for the two leading religious leaders at the court, Makhdum-ul-Mulk and Shaikh Abdul Nabi. Makhdum-ul-Mulk, who had been an important figure during the reign of the Surs, became even more powerful in the early days of Akbar. Shaikh Abdul Nabi, who was appointed sadr-ul-sadur in 1565, was given authority which no other holder of the office (the highest religious position in the realm) had ever

enjoyed. Akbar would go to his house to hear him expound the sayings of the Prophet, and he placed his heir, Prince Salim, under his tutorship. "For some time the Emperor had so great faith in him as a religious leader that he would bring him his shoes and place them before his feet." [20] He always entered Ajmer on foot, and in 1568 and 1570, in fulfilment of vows, walked the entire way from Agra to Ajmer. [21] It was probably devotion to Khwaja Muin-ud-din that was responsible for Akbar's interest in Shaikh Salim Chishti, a contemporary saint who lived at the site of what was to become Akbar's capital at Fathpur Sikri. It was there that he built the Ibadat Khana, the House of Worship, which he set apart for religious discussions. Every Friday after the congregational prayers, scholars, dervishes, theologians, and courtiers interested in religious affairs would assemble in the Ibadat Khana and discuss religious subjects in the royal presence. [22]

The gatherings of the Ibadat Khana were exposed to new and influences. In addition to the Muslim scholars, Hindu pandits, Parsi mobeds and Jain sadhus began to attend the gatherings. They expressed their own points of view, and the emperor, ever open to new ideas, was attracted by some of their practices. A more serious complication arose when the emperor invited Jesuits from Goa to the discussions. They did not confine themselves to the exposition of their own beliefs, but reviled Islam and the Prophet in unrestrained language. [23]

According to Abu'l Fazl, the kotwals were asked to ensure that no ox or bufalo or horse or camel was slaughtered, and the killing of all animals was prohibited on many days of the year—including the whole month of Aban—except for feeding the animals used in hunting and for the sick. Akbar interested himself in the reform of marriage customs. He abhorred marriages before the age of puberty, and also considered marriages between near relations highly improper. He disapproved of large dowries, but admitted that they acted as a preventative to rash divorces. "Nor does His Majesty approve of everyone marrying more than one wife; for this ruins the man's health, and disturbs the peace of the home." Circumcision before the age of twelve was forbidden. The kotwals were to "forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves," and a woman was not to be burned on her husband's funeral pyre without giving her consent. Government officers were not to consider homage paid to the sun as worshiping fire. A governor was expected to accustom

himself to night vigils and to partake of sleep and food in moderation. He was to pass the dawn and evening in meditation and pray at noon and midnight. Nauroz, the Parsi New Year, was to be celebrated officially, with the kotwal keeping a vigil on that night. [24]

Akbar spent most of his time concerned with administration, culture, the arts, and his new religion, Din-i Ilahi, rather than pursuing wars of conquest. Jahangir seems to have inherited the attitude of the older Akbar, for he lavishly patronized the arts: painting, architecture, philosophy, and literature, while ignoring military conquest. The period of Jahangir's tenure as Emperor is considered the richest period of Mughal culture; Indian, Muslim, and Western scholars have named this period, the age of Mughal splendour.

Shah Jahan, whose reign ended on such a sad note, was perhaps the most magnificent of the Muslim rulers of India. His empire extended over an area greater than that of any of his Mughal predecessors. Largely due to the financial ability of his wise wazir, Saadullah Khan, the royal treasury was full. Because of this, Shah Jahan was able to embark on a great building program in Delhi and Agra and to encourage the other arts, particularly music and painting. Shah Jahan wanted to earn the title of *Shahanshah-i-Adil,* the Just Emperor. He took a personal interest in the administration of justice, and tried to be like a father to his subjects. During the first few years he seems to have been under the influence of religious revivalists, although later, under Sufi influences, he became more tolerant. The apathy and indifference that had characterized Jahangir's attitude disappeared, and the regime was marked by attempts to approximate the administration to orthodox Islamic law—including the creation of a department to look after new converts to Islam. [25]

Shah Jahan's reign was marked not only by the predominance of the indigenous Muslim elements, but also by the dominating position of Rajputs in the army and Hindu officials in the imperial secretariat. Rai Raghunath officiated for some time as diwan, while Rai Chandra Bhan Brahman was in charge of the secretariat. The explanation seems to be that by now Hindus were in a position to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Mughal polity, and with the increasing influence of their patron, Dara, they made rapid headway. [26]

Akbar had based his policy of equal treatment for all subjects on laws of natural justice; in Shah Jahan's time the Muslim scholars advocated it on the basis of Islamic law and principles. Shah Muhibullah of Allahabad wrote in a letter to Dara Shukoh that the Holy Prophet had been referred to as Rahmat-ul-lil-Alimin—a blessing to all the worlds and not only to Muslims. Mulla Abul Hakim, the greatest scholar of the day, gave a ruling that according to Islamic law a mosque could not be set up on the property of another, and that the conversion of a Jain temple into a mosque by Prince Aurangzeb was unauthorized. [27]

Shah Jahan's reign represents the golden age of the Mughal Empire, but as some students have pointed out, the artistic productions of the period give an impression of over-ripeness and a certain loss of vigour. Mughal civilization had reached its climax and was moving toward its declining phase. But the resolute vigour of Aurangzeb, a man of iron will, held the structure together for another half a century and gave it new support, so that the end came very gradually.

While Aurangzeb was extending the empire in the east and south, and consolidating his position on the northwest marches, he was also concerned with the strengthening of Islam throughout the kingdom. His attempt to conduct the affairs of state according to traditional Islamic policy brought to the fore the problem that had confronted every ruler who had attempted to make Islam the guiding forces: the position of the Hindu majority in relation to the government. In 1688, when he forbade music at the royal court and took other puritanical steps in conformity with strict injunctions of Muslim law, he affected both Hindus and Muslims. When jizya, abolished for nearly a century, was reimposed in 1679, it was the Hindus alone who suffered. [28]

By now Aurangzeb had accepted the policy of regulating his government in accordance with strict Islamic law, and many orders implementing this policy were issued. A large number of taxes were abolished which had been levied in India for centuries but which were not authorized by Islamic law. Possibly it was the unfavourable effect of these remissions on the state exchequer which led to the exploration of other lawful sources of revenue. The fact that, according to the most responsible account, the reimposition of jizya was suggested by an officer of the finance department would seem to show that it was

primarily a fiscal measure. [29] The theologians, who were becoming dominant at the court, naturally endorsed the proposal, and Aurangzeb carried it out with his customary thoroughness.

Another measure which has caused adverse comment is the issue of orders at various stages regarding the destruction of Hindu temples. Originally these orders applied to a few specific cases—such as the temple at Mathura built by Abu'l Fazl's murderer, to which a railing had been added by Aurangzeb's rival, Dara Shukoh. More far-reaching is the claim that when it was reported to him that Hindus were teaching Muslims their "wicked science," Aurangzeb issued orders to all governors "ordering the destruction of temples and schools and totally prohibiting the teaching and infidel practices of the unbelievers." [30] That such an order was actually given is doubtful; certainly it was never carried out with any thoroughness. However, it is incontestable that at a certain stage Aurangzeb tried to enforce strict Islamic law by ordering the destruction of newly built Hindu temples. Later, the procedure was adopted of closing down rather than destroying the newly built temples in Hindu localities. It is also true that very often the orders of destruction remained a dead letter, but Aurangzeb was too deeply committed to the ordering of his government according to Islamic law to omit its implementation in so significant a matter. The fact that a total ban on the construction of new temples was adopted only by later jurists, and was a departure from the earlier Muslim practice as laid down by Muhammad ibn Qasim in Sind, was no concern of the correct, conscientious, and legal-minded Aurangzeb. [31]

As a part of general policy of ordering the affairs of the state in accordance with the views of the ulama, certain discriminatory orders against the Hindus were issued: for example, imposition of higher customs duties, 5 percent on the goods of the Hindus as against 2 percent on those of Muslims. These were generally in accordance with the practice of the times, but they marked a departure not only from the political philosophy governing Mughal government, but also from the policy followed hitherto by most Muslim rulers in India. [32]

Aurangzeb has often been accused of closing the doors of official employment on the Hindus, but a study of the list of his officers shows this is not so. Actually there were

more Hindu officers under him than under any other Mughal emperor. Though this was primarily due to a general increase in the number of officers, it shows that there was no ban on the employment of the Hindus. [33]

That Aurangzeb's religious policy was unpopular at the time is true, but that it was an important factor, as usually charged, in the downfall of the empire, is doubtful. The Hindu uprisings of his reign seem to have had no wide religious appeal, and they were suppressed with the help of Hindu leaders. Their significance comes in the following reigns, when the rulers were no longer able to meet opposition as effectively—and as ruthlessly—as had Aurangzeb. His religious policy aimed at strengthening an empire already overextended in Shah Jahan's time; that it failed in its objective is probably true, but the mistake should not be made of assuming that the attempt was a major element in the later political decay. It should be seen, rather, as part of an unsuccessful attempt to stave off disaster. Seen in this light, his religious policy is one element, but not a causal one, save in its failure to achieve its intended goal, among the many that have to be considered in seeking an understanding of Aurangzeb's difficulties.

Cultural Scenario

Even though the Mughal Empire existed 300-500 years ago, its influence still exists in current day India. The social aspects of the Mughal Empire and India today especially relate including family life, religion art, music, and literature, education. Regions of Mughal authority lasted longer than the empire itself. Even the British used Mughal titles and engaged in rituals of respect for the Mughal emperor until 1802. This resilient authority came from the fact that regions had changed fundamentally as political territories under Mughal supremacy. The process of change combined elements drawn from many sources. Most importantly, however, an elite imperial society imbued with Indo-Persian culture had emerged in all the Mughal regions.

Vicious Mongol attacks on cities and towns across southern Eurasia launched centuries of migration into India. Warriors, scholars, mystics, merchants, artists, artisans, peasants, and workers followed ancient trade routes and new opportunities that opened up in the new domains of Indians. Migrants walked and rode down the Hindu Kush; they travelled from town to town, across Punjab, down the Ganga basin, into Bengal, down the Indus into Sind and Gujarat, across the Vindhyas, into the Deccan, and down the coast. They moved and resettled to find work, education, patronage, influence, adventure, and better living. They travelled these routes for five centuries, never in large numbers compared to the resident population; but as time went by, new-comers settled more often where others had settled before; and their accumulation, natural increase, and local influence changed societies all across India forever. This was one of the world's most significant long-term migratory patterns; and it not only carried people and wealth into India but also a complemented flow of commodities from India to West Asia and Europe. [34]

Regions of southern Asia were lands of wealth and opportunity. People came. Immigrants altered societies most where they settled most commonly, in urban centres along trade routes. Agra being a big urban centre and on one of the major trade route was always affected. Among the overland migrants who came into India primarily from southern regions of Central and West Asia, two social categories can be usefully distinguished. Leading the way, warriors organized fighters, military suppliers, and service providers on ethnic lines in groups defined by tribe, clan, and lineage, mostly Turks and Afghans. Even these groups were multi-ethnic, but groups in the second, non-military category, were even more so. Migrants in both categories coming from Persia increased over time, especially after 1556, when Persian literati came into the Mughal service and the centre of gravity of Persian culture shifted into India. Most immigrants were Muslim non-combatants. They generated multi-cultural centres of social change, mostly in and around urban centres. They caused huge leap urbanization. Historical documentation also increased with waves of immigration, often as a consequence of patronage by emperors. Most new documentation pertains to the emperors' activities and interests, rather than to those of ordinary immigrants. [35]



From the thirteenth to sixteenth century, Turk and Afghan warriors pushed old medieval dynasties into subordinate positions and carved out independent domains for themselves. They formed a new, culturally distinct, ruling class, poised above old dynastic clans and village elites. [36]

Centuries of competitive interaction imbued military rulers with many common traits. Subordination, alliance-building, emulation, and learning brought cultural borrowing, diffusion, and amalgamation. In new dynastic domains, a new kind of cultural complex emerged that gave rulers many options, one of which was to define Hindu and Muslim religious sects in opposition to one another, but they more typically engaged in multi-cultural patronage. [37]

The spirit and practice of Hindu *bhakti* mingled with those of Muslim *sufi* mysticism around saintly exemplars of spiritual power and in music, poetry, and eclectic divine experience. Spiritual guides, teachers, mystics. poets, festivities, and sacrificial offerings attracted people who worshiped at temples and mosques. Turkish, Afghan, Persian, and regional Hindu aesthetic and engineering motifs mingled in the arts, fortresses, palaces, and consumer taste. The regalia of royalty formed a symbolic language of honour that was spoken by rulers of all religions, who recognized one another's authority and engaged in common rituals of rank. Rajas and sultans fought, taxed, invested, administered, and transacted with one another using the same lexicon and technologies, learning from one another. [38]

During the time of the Mughal Empire, there was a lot of mixed culture. There was combined Islamic, Persian, and native Indian themes. Art especially thrived during this time because it was a very rich and important part of their culture, and to the emperors of this time. Many painters, poets, and artisans had a dream to one-day work in India because it had

such an art enriched cultural environment. Poetry was also a big accomplishment in Indian culture during the Mughal Empire. Most poetry was written in Persia because it was the official language until the sack of Delhi in 1739, and Urdu became the new language after that. [39]

The new dynastic capital Agra was located in the most fertile agricultural tracts and in strategic sites along a route of communication, march, and supply. As new dynastic domains grew richer, forts became fortified cities with palaces, large open courtyards, gardens, fountains, garrisons, stables, markets, mosques, temples, shrines, and servant quarters. The architectural elaboration of fortified space became big business; it produced a new kind of urban landscape. Even the elegant Taj Mahal was encased in fortifications. Inside a typical fort, we find palace glamour as well as stables and barracks; we see a self-contained, armed city, most of whose elements came from far away. Permanent armies drawing specialist soldiers and supplies from extensive networks of trade and migration sustained these new urban centres. [40]

Urbanism reached new heights under military regimes that promoted vast physical and social mobility. Armies protected trade routes and emperors built strategic roads. The army provided the surest route to upward mobility that always required extensive travel. In 1595, Abu Fazl's treatise on Akbar's reign, *A'in-i Akbari* suggests that the military may have employed (directly and indirectly) almost a quarter of the imperial population. Many men travelled long distances to fight. It became standard practice for peasants to leave their region, after the harvest each year, to fight as far away as the Deccan, to collect wages and booty, and then return home to plant the next crop. Short distance seasonal military migration became an integral feature of peasant subsistence in the Deccan. Dynasties expanded only because warriors migrated to its periphery, where they fought, settled, and attracted new waves of military migration. War pushed peasants away from home by disrupting farm operations, and by forcing villagers to feed armies. Life on the move became a common social experience for many people: seasonal migrants, people fleeing war and drought, army suppliers and camp followers, artisans moving to find work and peasants looking for new land, traders, nomads, shifting cultivators, hunters, herders, and transporters.

Altogether, people on the move for at least part of each year may have comprised half the total population of major dynastic domains in the seventeenth century. [41]

Many elements that would constitute modern social environments began to appear in the sixteenth century, and for this reason, we can aptly use the phrase "early modern" to refer to the period *circa* 1550-1850. In expanding agrarian regions, urbanism increased dramatically. In 1595, Abu-l Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions 180 large cities and 2,837 towns. Hierarchies of rank that distinguish central places in regional systems of authority also emerge more clearly in Mughal times. Large cities held the highest officers of state, smaller cities, lesser officers, and so on down the line. Bureaucracy and geography shaped the identities of places and thus people inside them. The highest elites were urban elites in the biggest cities, surrounded by provincial elites and local elites. [42]

Multiple, layered sovereignties continued to thrive under the Mughals' bureaucratic standardization. Elaborate Persian imperial institutions unified a Mughal polity that also danced to the tune of personal loyalties embedded in regions where centuries of cultural mixing produced new societies. Imperial elites broadly organized by Indo-Persian institutions that spread under Mughal authority became leading figures in these societies. Their identities developed in mixtures of ethnic and religious loyalties inside their regions; but their influence and livelihoods were organized under the umbrella of Mughal supremacy. [43]

All foreign travellers speak of the wealth and prosperity of Mughal cities and large towns. Monserrate stated that Lahore in 1581 was "not second to any city in Europe or Asia." Finch, who travelled in the early days of Jahangir, found both Agra and Lahore to be much larger than London, and his testimony is supported by others. Other cities like Surat ("A city of good quantity, with many fair merchants and houses therein"), Ahmadabad, Allahabad, Benares, and Patna similarly excited the admiration of visitors. [44]

In India three fourths of the population lived in villages and the other one forth lived in urban areas. [45] The caste system existed in India. People were unequal in India

due to the caste system; in the villages there was segregation. The higher and more powerful castes lived towards the centre of the village. There was usually a senior male, who was in charge, and senior female, usually related to the senior male, assigns chores to the women. Girls were usually married outside of their village, when they were teenagers . [46] People looked down upon remarried widows. Couples, when expecting, usually preferred male children because they not only made them more money but also participated in cremation of his parents. Couples dreaded having girls because they usually have to pay a large dowry, which can cause financial difficulties. Boys were expected to help in the fields and girls in the home. [47]

The Hindu upper classes undoubtedly shared in the material culture of the Mughals, for, as already noted, they had a virtual monopoly of trade and finance. Furthermore, they had long held many high posts in the government. The developments in intellectual life were even more marked. The rise of Navadipa as a great centre of Sanskrit learning, and the vogue of navyanyaya (new logic) belong to this period. [48]

Their caste guilds added to the skills in trade and commerce that they had learned through the centuries. Not only were their disputes settled by their panchayats, but they would frequently impose pressure on the government by organized action. Foreign visitors record that the governors and kotwals were very sensitive to this, and in spite of hardships inseparable from a despotic system of administration, the business communities had their own means of obtaining redress. Bernier, writing during Aurangzeb's time, declared that the Hindus possessed "almost exclusively the trade and wealth of the country."[49] If Muslims enjoyed advantages in higher administrative posts and in the army, Hindu merchants maintained the monopoly in trade and finance that they had had during the sultanate. A Dutch traveller in the early seventeenth century was struck by the fact that few Muslims engaged in handicraft industries, and that even when a Muslim merchant did have a large business, he employed Hindu bookkeepers and agents. [50] Banking was almost exclusively in Hindu hands. In the years of the decline of the Mughals, a rich Hindu banker would finance his favourite rival claimant for the throne. The role of Jagat Seth of Murshidabad in the history of Bengal is well known. Even the "war of succession" out of

which Aurangzeb emerged victorious was financed by a loan of five and a half lakhs of rupees from the Jain bankers of Ahmadabad.[51]

The Muslim rulers had scarcely disturbed the old organization of the villages. The panchayats continued to settle most disputes, with the state impinging very little on village life, except for the collection of land revenue, and even this was very often done on a village basis rather than through individuals, with the age-old arrangements being preserved. [52]

The marriage customs of Hindus and Muslims had many similarities. Early marriages were much in vogue amongst the Hindus, with seven considered the proper age for a girl to be married. To leave a daughter unmarried beyond twelve years of age was to risk the displeasure of one's caste. The Muslims also betrothed their children between the ages of six and eight, but the marriage was generally not solemnized before they had attained the age of puberty. Among the wealthier classes polygamy and divorce are said to have been very common. [53]

The custom of secluding women, known as purdah, was very strictly observed. Marriage negotiations were undertaken by the professional broker or the friends of either party. The marriage ceremonies were more or less the same as they are at present, and the character of the average Indian home and the socio-ethical ideas which influence it have not undergone any fundamental change. The son's duty to his parents and the wife's duty to her husband were viewed almost as religious obligations. "Superstitions played a prominent part in the daily life of the people. Charms were used not merely to ensnare a restive husband but also to secure such other ends as the birth of a son or cure of a disease. The fear of the evil eye was ever present ... and the young child was considered particularly susceptible. ... People believed in all sorts of omens." [54] Astrologers were very much in demand, even at the Mughal court. The Muslim aristocrats lived in great houses decorated with rich hangings and carpets. Their clothing was made of finest cotton or silk, decorated with gold; and they carried beautiful scimitars. There was a considerable element of ostentatious display involved in this, however, for their domestic arrangements did not match the outward splendour of their dress and equipment. Manucci, a keen observer, refers to Pathans who came to court

"well-clad and well-armed, caracoling on fine horses richly caparisoned and followed by several servants," but when they reached home, divested themselves of "all this finery, and tying a scanty cloth around their loins and wrapping a rag around their head, they take their seat on a mat, and live on ... rice and lentils or badly cooked cow's flesh of low quality, which is very abundant in the Mughal country and very cheap." [55]

The courtly manners and the elaborate etiquette of the Muslim upper classes impressed foreign visitors. In social gatherings they spoke "in a very low voice with much order, moderation, gravity, and sweetness. ... Betel and betelnut were presented to the visitors and they were escorted with much civility at the time of departure. Rigid forms were observed at meals. ... Dice was their favourite indoor game. Polo or chaugan—for which there was a special playground at Dacca—elephant-fights, hunting, excursions and picnics, were also very popular." [56] The grandees rode in palkis, preceded by uniformed mounted servants. Many "drove in fine two-wheeled carts, carved with gilt and gold, covered in silk, and drawn by two little bulls which could race with the fastest horses." [57]

During the Mughal Empire, women had a significant role in family life. Women had an active role in Mughal tribal society, especially apparent when women fought on the battlefield. This is important and unique to this society because during the same time, in other parts of the world, women were oppressed. Some women could not even go to war with their husbands let alone fight. India's social standards were more advanced than other countries. Women also received salaries, owned land, participated in buisness transactions, and literary activities. Aristocratic women painted, wrote poetry, and played music because they received a higher education. [58] The Mughal Empire was run by Muslim emperors; however India was Hindu dominated. Hindus, specifically of the upper class, adopted the Muslim practice of isolating women, called purda. This is an example of Muslim influence in a Hindu dominant culture. The Hindu practice of cremation of widows, called sati, continued even though the Mughals tried to abolish it. [59]

Akbar encouraged widow re-marriage, discouraged child marriage, outlawed the practice of sati, and persuaded Delhi merchants to set up special market days for women, who otherwise were secluded at home. [60]

Although the Mughals interfered little with Hindu customs, there was one ancient practice which they sought to stop. This was sati, or the custom of widows, particularly those of the higher classes, burning themselves on their husbands' funeral pyres. Akbar had issued general orders prohibiting sati, and in one noteworthy case, personally intervened to save a Rajput princess from immolating herself on the bier of her husband. Similar efforts continued to be made in the succeeding reigns. According to the European traveller Pelsaert, governors did their best to dissuade widows from immolating themselves, but by Jahangir's orders were not allowed to withhold their sanction if the woman persisted. [61] Tavernier, writing in the reign of Shah Jahan, observed that widows with children were not allowed in any circumstances to burn, and that in other cases governors did not readily give permission, but could be bribed to do so. [62] Aurangzeb was most forthright in his efforts to stop sati. According to Manucci, on his return from Kashmir in December, 1663, he "issued an order that in all lands under Mughal control, never again should the officials allow a woman to be burnt." Manucci adds that "This order endures to this day."[63] This order, though not mentioned in the formal histories, is recorded in the official guidebooks of the reign. [64] Although the possibility of an evasion of government orders through payment of bribes existed, later European travellers record that sati was not much practiced by the end of Aurangzeb's reign. As Ovington says in his Voyage to Surat: "Since the Mahometans became Masters of the Indies, this execrable custom is much abated, and almost laid aside, by the orders which nabobs receive for suppressing and extinguishing it in all their provinces. And now it is very rare, except it be some Rajah's wives, that the Indian women burn at all." [65]

The good health of the local inhabitants finds special mention by Fryer, "the country people lived to a good old age, supposed to be the reward of their temperance." Bernier also speaks of "general habits of sobriety among the people," though this did not apply to a few cases among the upper classes or the royal family. [66] The European travellers found "less vigour among the people than in the colder climates, but greater enjoyment of

health." From their accounts, even the climate would appear to have been healthy. "Gout, stone complaints in the kidneys, catarrh ... are nearly unknown; and persons who arrive in the country afflicted with any of these disorders soon experience a complete cure." The Mughal emphasis on physical fitness and encouragement of out-of-door manly games also raised the general standard of health. The ideal was that everyone was to be trained to be a soldier, a good rider, a keen shikari, and able to distinguish himself in games. [67]

Since the days of Firoz Tughluq (1351–1388) Public hospitals had been provided, the system seems to have been extended during the Mughal period. Jahangir states in his autobiography that on his accession to the throne he ordered the establishment, at government expense, of hospitals in large cities. That this order was actually made effective is shown by the records of salaries paid by the government and of grants for the distribution of medicine. [68]

Without vigorous educational activity at the capitals—both Delhi and Agra—the cultural achievements of the Mughal period would scarcely have been possible. During Akbar's reign the "mental sciences"—logic, philosophy, and scholastic theology—had taken on new importance. About the same time, we notice a very considerable improvement in the teaching of the religious sciences.[69]

The standardization of the educational curriculum was accomplished in the eighteenth century. The Dars-i-Nizamiya, named after Mulla Nizam-ud-din (d.1748) provided instruction in grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, logic, scholasticism, *tafsir* (commentary on the Quran), *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *hadith*, and mathematics. This curriculum has been criticized for containing too many books on grammar and logic and in general for devoting too much attention to formal subjects, and too little to useful secular subjects like history and natural sciences or even religious subjects like tafsir and hadith. [70]

Education was confined not only to men. Many Muslim women were patrons of literature and themselves writers. The memoirs of Gulbadan Begum, Akbar's aunt, are well known, and his foster-mother, Maham Anga, endowed a college at Delhi. Akbar's wife

Salima Sultana, the famous Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and Aurangzeb's sister, the Princess Jahan Ara Begum, were poetesses of note, as was his daughter, Zeb-un-Nissa. [71]

The spread of knowledge and intellectual development is linked up with the growth of libraries. Printing was not introduced in northern India till after the end of the Muslim rule, but hundreds of katibs (calligraphists) were available in every big city, and no Muslim noble would be considered cultured, unless he possessed a good library. The royal palaces contained immense libraries. According to Father Manrique, the library of Agra in 1641 contained 24,000 volumes, valued at six and a half million rupees. [72]

Persian was the language of Mughal intellectual life. Since the Ghaznavid occupation of Lahore in the beginning of the eleventh century, Persian had been the official language of the Muslim government and the literary language of the higher classes, but with the advent of the Mughals it entered a new era. Hitherto Persian had reached India mainly from Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Khorasan, and had many common features with Tajik. With the establishment of closer relations between India and Iran after Humayun's visit to that country, and the arrival of a large number of distinguished Iranis in the reign of Jahangir and later Mughal rulers, the linguistic and literary currents began to flow from Iran itself. Shiraz and Isfahan now replaced Ghazni and Bukhara in literary inspiration, with considerable refining of the language as a result. [73]

A large number of prominent Irani poets, including Urfi, Naziri, Talib, and Kalim, migrated to India, and at times the level of Persian literature was higher in Mughal India than in Iran. Unluckily the style of poetry, which was popular in both countries at this time, was the subtle and involved type made popular by Fighani of Shiraz. This school of poetry culminated in Bedil, the best known poet of Aurangzeb's reign. His similes and metaphors are often obscure, but his poetry is marked by great originality and profundity of thought. [74] From love, the traditional preoccupation of Persian poets, he turned to the problems of life and human behaviour, and in certain circles (particularly in Afghanistan and Tajikistan) he ranks high as a philosophical poet. But the two poets who outshone all others in a distinguished group were Faizi and Ghalib. Faizi (1547–1595), whose genius matured

before the large-scale immigration of poets from Iran and the introduction of the "new" school of poetry, was the brother of Abu'l Fazl. As Akbar's poet-laureate, his poetry mirrors a triumphant age. Ghalib (1796–1869), who was attached to the court of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah, began in the style of Bedil, but soon outgrew it and came under the spell of the immigrant Irani poets—Urfi, Naziri, Zahuri, and Hazin. His maturer work epitomizes all that is best in the different schools of Mughal poetry—the profundity and originality of Bedil's thought, combined with the polished diction of Urfi and Naziri. He wrote largely of love and life, but the deep, melancholy note in his poetry reflects the sad end to which the Mughal Empire was drawing in his day. [75]

History and biography were most extensively cultivated during the Mughal period. Historians include Abu'l Fazl (1551–1602), whose comprehensive *Akbar Nama* is one of the most important historical works produced in India; Badauni (1540–1615), who wrote with bias and even venom, yet who was a consummate artist, a master of the telling phrase, and capable of evoking a living picture with a few deft strokes; the intelligent and orderly Firishta; Khafi Khan; and the author of Siyar-ul-Mutakhkhirin, the last of the great Mughal historical works. [76] Among biographical works, Babur's autobiography, originally written in Turkish, but soon translated into elegant Persian by Abdul Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, is the best. There were, however, other biographical works, including the comprehensive *Ma'asir'ul-umara* dealing with the Mughal nobility, and numerous biographies of saints, poets, and statesmen. A very interesting historical work written during Aurangzeb's reign is *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, which has been translated into English under the misleading title "School of Manners," but which is really a "History of Religions." The author, who belonged to the band of the writers and thinkers around Dara Shukoh, gives considerable first-hand information about non-Muslim sects.[77]

It is characteristic of the Mughals that, next to Persian, the language which received the greatest patronage at court was Hindi and Urdu. The practice started in Akbar's day of having a Hindi *kavi rai* (poet-laureate) along with the Persian *malik-ul-shuara.* Already Muslim poets such as Jaisi and Kabir had enriched the Hindi language. Among Hindus, the greatest Hindi poet of Akbar's days was the famous Tulasidas, whose career was

spent far from the worldly courts. There were, however, well-known Hindi poets amongst Akbar's courtiers. Raja Birbal (1528–1583) was the kavi rai, but the works of Akbar's famous general Abdul Rahim have been better preserved. A skilful writer in Hindi, Abdul Rahim furthered the development of the language by extending his patronage to a number of other poets who used it. The title of kavi rai continued to be conferred even in Aurangzeb's time, and two of his sons, Azam and Muazzam, who ascended the throne as Bahadur Shah, were known to be patrons of Hindi literature. It is interesting to observe that during the later Mughal period Hindi poets like Bihari followed the same ornate style which was popular with the contemporary Persian poets. [78]

Particular styles of painting which developed in India had their origin in the courts of the relatives of the Mughals at Herat and elsewhere. Babur himself, although he had some painters in his service, made no efforts to foster the art in his newly won empire.[79]

To Humayun must go the credit for the founding of the Mughal School of painting. During his wanderings in Persia and what is now Afghanistan he came across painters who had studied under Behzad, and persuaded Khwaja Abdul Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali, the pupil of Behzad, to join his court at Kabul in 1550. They accompanied him to Delhi, forming the nucleus of the Mughal School.[80]

This school was properly developed under Akbar, who organized it with his usual zeal. It was under his direct supervision, and the more prominent of the hundred or so painters were granted ranks in the governmental structure as mansabdars or ahadis. The painters worked in a large building at Fathpur Sikri, and, according to Abu'l Fazl, "the works of all painters are weekly laid before His Majesty by the daroghas (supervisors) and the clerks; he then confers rewards according to the excellence of workmanship or increases the monthly salaries." [81]

Khwaja Abdul Samad was the head of the establishment and was known by the title of *shirin qalam* (or "sweet pen"), referring to his skill in calligraphy. Later he became master of the mint (1577) and subsequently was appointed diwan at Multan. [82]

There was a small number of Persian artists, and, in course of time, a preponderance of Hindus. They had had previous training in wall-painting and joined with the Persian painters between 1570 and 1585 in decorating the walls of Akbar's new capital. They were quick to learn the principles and techniques of Persian art, and the joint efforts of Persian and Indian artists soon led to the rise of the distinct style of Mughal painting. The foreign artists included Khwaja Abdul Samad, Farrukh Beg, and Khusrau Quli. Among the Hindus Basawan Lal and Daswant were preeminent. Occasionally many artists collaborated in the painting of a single picture, the leading artists sketching the composition and other painters putting in the parts at which they were expert. [83]



Akbar's artists specialized in portraiture and book illustration. The emperor's album containing likenesses not only of Akbar and the royal family but of all the grandees of the realm has been lost, but many examples of book illustrations of the period have survived:

Razm Nama at Jaipur, *Babur Nama* in the British Museum, and the *Akbar Nama* in the Victoria and Albert Museum. [84]

Jahangir's best known painters were Agha Raza of Herat and his son Abul Hasan; the Kalmuck artist, Farrukh Beg; Muhammad Nadir and Muhammad Murad, both of Samarqand; Ustad Mansur, the leading animal painter; Bishan Das; Manohar; and Govardhan. These and many others were constantly in attendance on the emperor at the capital and during his travels. They were commissioned to paint any incident or scene that struck the emperor's fancy. When a Mughal embassy visited Persia it was accompanied by the painter Bishan Das, who painted for Jahangir the likenesses of the Safavid king and his courtiers. The court painters have left a record of the public men of note that is probably unequalled for fidelity and artistry. It is regrettable that these portraits have not yet been utilized as a source material for social history. [85]

Under Shah Jahan painting, like all the other arts, continued to flourish. He reduced the number of court painters, keeping only the very best and forcing others to seek the patronage of the princes and the nobles; but the art did not suffer by this. Dara Shukoh was a patron of painting, and nobles like Zafar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, who had a beautiful anthology of the works of the living poets prepared, illustrated with their paintings, and employed many artists. Other painters set up studios in the bazaars. An interesting feature of the period, typical of the general predominance of the indigenous elements in various spheres—in the secretariat, literature, and music—was that only one Persian artist was employed by Shah Jahan. The preponderance of the Hindus among court painters is indicative of the emancipation of the local school from dependence on Iran, as well as the importance of Hindus in all spheres of life. The excellence of Mughal painting depended not only on the taste of individual ruler but on his prosperity, and with the disintegration of the empire, the artists migrated from the capital to other centres like Oudh and Hyderabad, where artistic standards quickly declined.

Mughals patronized music lavishly, and in this Akbar led the way. Abu'l Fazl gives the names of nearly forty prominent musicians and instrumentalists who flourished at

Akbar's court. The principal artists came from Gwalior, Malwa, Tabriz (in Iran), and Kashmir. The most famous musician of the period was Tansen. According to some Muslim chroniclers, he was brought up in the hospice of Shaikh Mohammad Ghaus of Gwalior, but Hindu tradition describes him as a disciple of Swami Haridas. It is not certain whether he formally adopted Islam, but his son, Bilas Khan, was certainly a Muslim. "A singer like him," wrote Abu'l Fazl, "has not been in India for the last two thousand years." He was not very popular with conservative Hindu musicians, who held him responsible for the deterioration of Hindu music. He is said to have falsified the ragas.[86]

Although Tansen made some changes, the variety of music most extensively cultivated at Akbar's court was the ancient dhrupad. The same tradition was continued by Bilas Khan, the inventor of bilas todi. Music received great encouragement under Shah Jahan. He had thirty prominent musicians and instrumentalists at his court, who were generously rewarded for good performances. The stately dhrupad continued its sway, though there was a marked tendency towards beautification and ornamentation. The khiyal, or ornate, school of music was beginning to assert itself.[87]

The social conditions during the Mughal period lead us to believe that the society moved towards an integration of its manifold political regions, social systems, and cultural inheritances. The greatness of the Mughals consisted in part at least in the fact that the influence of their court and government permeated society, giving it a new measure of harmony. The greatness of the Mughal achievement in the political unification of India was matched by the splendour and beauty of the work of the architects, poets, historians, painters, and musicians who flourished in the period. The common people suffered from poverty, disease, and the oppression of the powerful; court life was marked by intrigue and cruelty as well as by refinement of taste and elegant manners. Yet the rulers and their officials had moral standards which gave coherence to the administration and which they shared to some extent with most of their subjects. Undeniably, there were ugly scars on the face of Mughal society, but the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a quality of life that lent them a peculiar charm. The clearest reflection of this is seen in the creative arts of the period.

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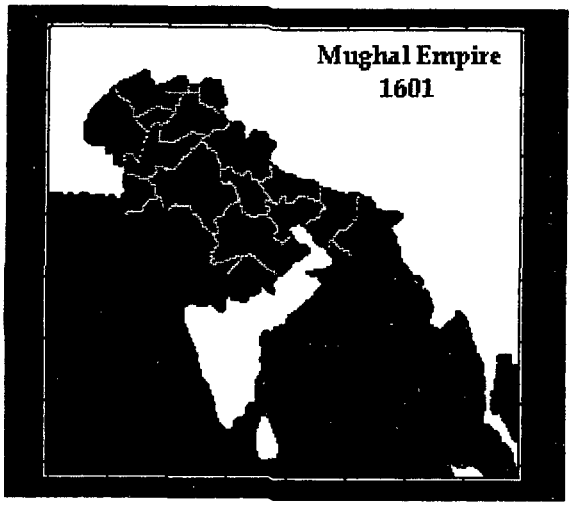
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Maps

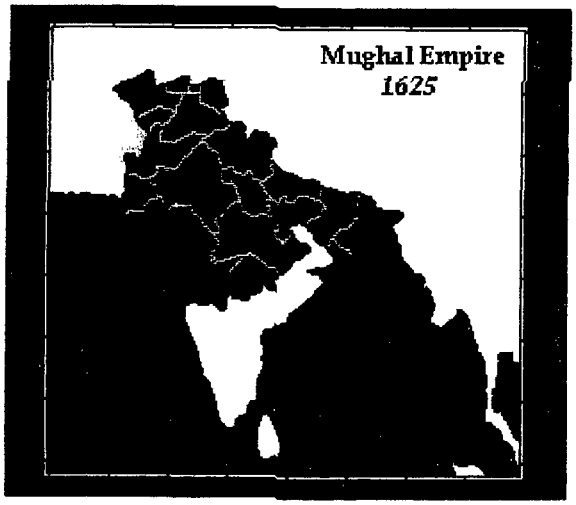
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1565

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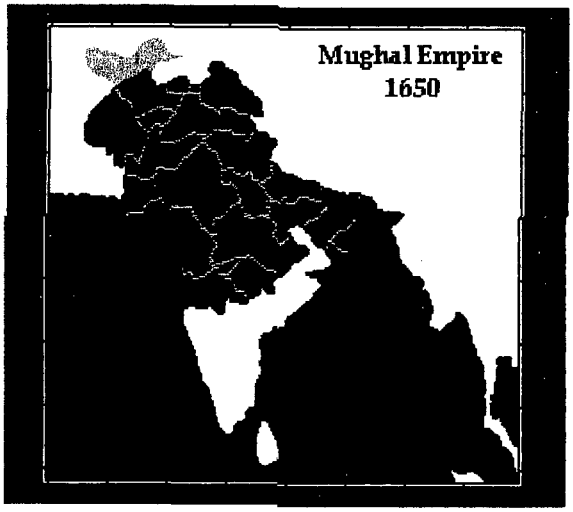
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1601

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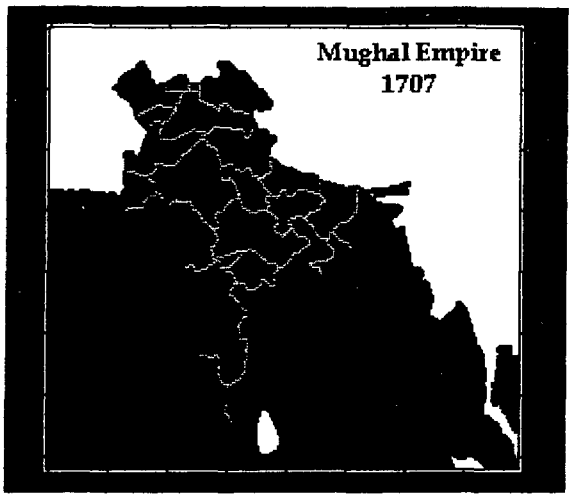
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1625

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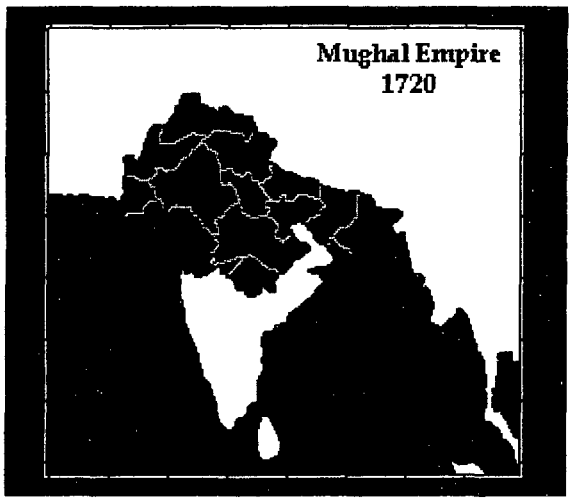
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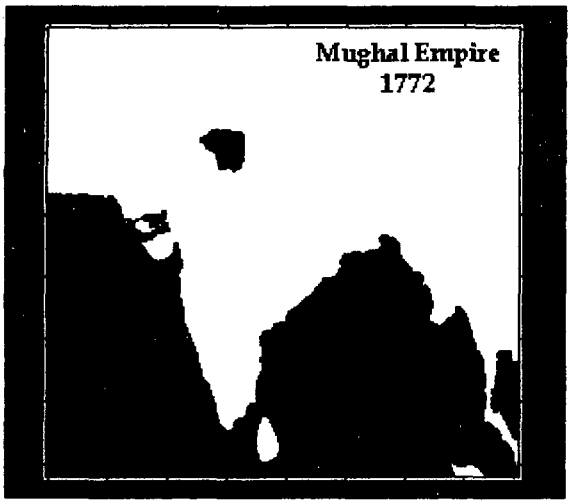
THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1707

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THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1720

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THE MUGHAL EMPIRE, 1772

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A large size atlas featuring maps of the Mughal Empire and its provinces in 1601, commented. The atlas does not attempt to show a series of maps featuring chronological development.

C. Collin Davies, An Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula, Oxford : UP (1949) 1967

GLOSSARY

1 ABACUS - A slab that form the uppermost member of the column

2 ABDAR-KHANAH - Palace apartment reserved for storing drinking water. Akbar used to drink the Ganges water only and it was brought to, and carefully stored in, the Abdar-khanah

3 ABUTMENT - Portion of a pier or wall which sustains on arch; solid masonry which resist the lateral thrust of an arch; lateral support of a building

4 AIN-I-AKBARI - A three volume of work dealing primarily with code of Akbar's regulation mainly with revenue & administration

5 AISLES - Wings; Portion of a building parallel to the main span.

6 ALCOVE - A vaulted or arched recess, given in the wall; or sunk arch or niche with adequate depth, it is both functional & ornamental.

7 AMALAKA - Crowning member of domes

8 AMALGUZAR. A revenue collector, usually the head of a district or pargana (q.v.)

9 AMIL. Under the Mughals, a revenue collector, but the term had more general application during the sultanate.

10 AMIN. A revenue assessor, who decided the government's share of the produce of the land.

11 AMIR. During the sultanate, a designation for officers of the third rank. Later, amir and the plural, umara, were used for "noblemen" in general, and to indicate officials of high rank.

12 AMIR-I-AKHUR. Commander of the cavalry.

13 AMIR-I-DAD. The law officer who carried out the decisions of the judges. Appeals from a qazi's (q.v.) judgment could be made to him, and he investigated complaints made against high officials.

14 AMIR-I-HAJIB. An official of great prestige who superintended all court ceremonies, regulated protocol, and controlled contacts between the ruler and his subjects. "Lord Chamberlain" is the usual translation.

15 AMIR-I-MAJLIS. The official who arranged the social and cultural contacts of the sultan.

16 AMIR-UL-UMARA. Literally, chief of nobles. This was a title conferred by a ruler, rather than an office.

17 ANIMATION - Depiction of living beings like birds and animals in mural (wall) paintings and architectural elements

18 AQUEDUCT - An artificial channel for carrying water, usually an elevated masonry or brick structure supported on arches

19 ARABESQUE - Surface decoration with fanciful interwining of ornamental elements like curved lines and foliage

20 ARCADE - Range of arches supported on piers or pillars carrying any superstructure

21 ARCH - An architectural device to span an opening with small wedge shaped stones, capable of supporting a superimposed load

22 ARCHITECT - A person who plans and designs a building; expert in building work

23 ARCHITECTURE - Science as well as art of planning, designing and making of buildings for public and private needs

24 ARCHITRAVE - A moulding surrounding or framing a doorway or a window opening inside or outside a building

25 ARCUATE - Style of architecture in which the structure is supported on arches.

26 ARIZ (or diwan-i-arz). The department of government under the sultanate concerned with maintaining the army. Usually translated "War Office" or "Ministry of War."

27 ARIZ-I-MUMALIK. The official during the sultanate responsible for the administration of the army, including recruiting, payment of salaries, supplies, and transportation. The office was similar to that of the mir bakshi under the Mughals. See "bakhshi."

28 ARTISAN - Skilled worker employed on an architectural project

29 ASHLAR - Dressed masonry; squared stone in regular courses in contradiction to rubble work

B

30 BADSHAH. See padshah.

31 BAGH - Islamic garden

32 BAKHSHI. Under the Mughals, the official who kept the army records and paid the troops. The chief paymaster in the central administration was known as the mir bakhshi, and there were subordinate bakhshis in the provinces.

33 BALUSTER - A pillar or column supporting a hand rail or coping, a series of such being called a balustrade; the intermediary space is usually filled with jalis.

34 BAOLI - Step well

35 BARAḌARI - Pillared rooms in an Islamic garden palace with 12 openings

36 BARID. Official in charge of intelligence and newsgathering. The barid-i-mumalik was the head of the central office, and his agents sent in reports from all over the country. This system was of great importance in controlling local governments.

37 BAS-RELIEF - Sculptural relief, mostly executed on the dado-panels

38 BASTION - A rounded projecting part of a fortification

39 BATTER - A determined receding upward slope in the external wall

40 BATTLEMENT - Parapet of a fort wall having a series of indentations or embrasures (slits), between which are raised portions known as merlons; it is also used for decoration; the whole also called crenelation

41 BAYS - compartment or section into which the exterior or interior of a building is divided, each section has four pillars and roof of its own

42 BEAM - Any horizontal structural member of bamboo, wood or stone resting upon two or more supports across and subject to a transverse load

43 BHAKTI. In Hinduism, devotion offered to a deity, with an emphasis on love and self-surrender.

44 BRACKET - A projecting member from a wall or column to support weight; it is triangular or serpentine and is richly ornamented with scrolls or volutes

45 BULBOUS - A dome rising like a bulb, supported on a tall cylindrical drum or base

46 BURJ - Chhatri; tower with an imposing superstructure

47 BUTTRESS - A mass of masonry built against a wall to resist the thrust of an arch or vault

C

48 CALIPH (khalifa). A representative or successor; the title adopted by the rulers of the Islamic community indicating, that as successors of Muhammad, they were both spiritual and temporal leaders. After the destruction of the Abbasid caliphate in 1258, the title was held by various rulers, including the Ottoman sultans. The office is referred to as the caliphate or khilafat.

49 CALLIGRAPHY - The art of writing or inscribing Arabic and Persian scripts ornamentally

50 CANOPY - An ornamental roof like structure

51 CAPITAL - The crowning feature of a column or pillar often treated with great richness of ornament, brackets spring from the capital

52 CASCADE - An ornamental slanting slab of stone, with a zigzag pattern, connecting a water channel on a upper lever to a small pond on a lower

53 CAUSE-WAYS - Raised stone paved paths connecting the main building with subsidiary structures, often with water-channels

54 CENOTAPH - Tombstone without actual grave; a replica of the real grave

55 CHABUTARAH - A raised platform

56 CHAMFER - An angle or edge cut-off diagonally

57 CHAR-BAGH - An islamic garden laid out according to a square plan and divided into four sections by canals, each having pathways, with a pavilion or building at the central point

58 CHEVRON - A regular zigzag pattern of straight line generally disposed horizontally on pilasters or turrets in Mughal buildings

59 CHHAJJA - A projecting stone feature above the arches or wall, supported on brackets to protect from rain or sun, generally slanting and broad

60 CHHAPARKHAT - An oblong chhatri, resting on four or eight pillars over the central arched entrance; it is distinguished from chhatri for its being oblong and always superimposing the main entrance

61 CHHATRI - A pillared pavilion roofed by a dome with 4, 6, 8 or more pillars and an emphatic chhajja, on the superstructure, mainly for breaking the sky line effectively

62 CLOISTER - A covered passage, usually around an open court with arcadeson the sides of the court and walled on the opposite side

63 COLONNADE - Range or series of columns, set at regular intervals

64 COLUMN - A vertical architectural member used for support, usually consisting of a base, shaft and capital; generally circular in plan, often tapering upwards; at time polygonal or square at base

65 CORBEL - Block of stone projecting from a wall or pier

66 CORBELLING - A method of construction, where each successive block of stone projects a little beyond the one below, resembling an inverted step

67 CORNICE - Projecting ornamental moulding along the top of a building, wall, arch, etc finishing or crowning it

68 CRORE (kror). Ten millions or one hundred lakhs (q.v.).

69 CUPOLA - A spherical roof placed like an inverted cup over a circular, square or multi angular apartment

70 CUSP - The point formed by the intersection of the foils; cusps divide the arch into a series of foils and are ornamental

71 CUSPED - Engrailed

D

72 DADO - Lower portion of the wall from pavement to approximately waist height reserved for decoration

73 DALAN - Verandah of an Islamic building; cloister

74 DARGAH - The place or complex where the Mazar of a muslim saint is situated and where the people assemble for religious merit

75 DAR-UL-HARB. "Abode of War." A land ruled by infidels that might, through war, become the "Abode of Islam," dar-ul-Islam. In the nineteenth century, some Muslims argued that India had become dar-ul-harb because of British rule.

76 DAR-UL-ISLAM. "Abode of Islam." A country where Islamic laws are followed and the ruler is a Muslim.

77 DECCAN. India south of the Vindhya Mountains, but more particularly the interior plateau.

78 DIWAN. 1. A ministry or department; but under the Mughals it meant specifically the financial or revenue ministry (diwani). 2. In the provincial administration, the diwan had judicial power in civil cases as well as having control of revenue collection. 3. The term was also applied to the royal court and the council that advised the ruler. 4. The word is also used for the collected works of a poet.

79 DIWAN-I-AM - Hall of public audience; ceremonial place for the general assembly

80 DIWAN-I-ARZ. See ariz.

81 DIWAN-I-KHALSA (khalisa). The office in charge of the lands reserved as sources of revenue for the state.

82 DIWAN-I-KHASS - Hall of private audience reserved for important noble, to conduct confidential and important business of the state

83 DIWAN-I-MAZALIM. A court presided over by the ruler in which petitions were received, complaints against officials were heard, and to which appeals could be made from other courts.

84 DIWAN-I-TAN. The office responsible for payment of salaries.

85 DOAB. "Two rivers." The land lying between two rivers, particularly the area between the Ganges and the Jamna.

86 DOME - A masonry roof built on a circular plan, usually hemispherical in shape, erected over a square, octagonal or circular space in a building on four aches or vaults, on the arcuate system

87 DOUBLE DOME - A dome which is hollow inside; it has two layers, one which is in the interior and roofs the room below, the other or the external surface which proclaims the monument from afar.

88 DRUM - Base or neck of the dome on which it rests; it gives elevation to the dome and plays an important part in its total effect

89 DURBAR (darbar). The court of a ruler, or an audience granted by him.

E

90 EAVES - The lower part of a roof projecting beyond the face of the wall

91 EMBRASURE - Small opening in the wall or parapet of a fortified building through which the archers could shoot

92 ENAMELLING - Process in which glaze and colour were mix together and applied on tiles and fused by heat

93 ENGRAILED ARCH - An arch with multi foils along its curves; cusped arch

94 ENTABLATURE - The upper part of an order of architecture comprising architrave, frieze and cornice supported by colonnade

95 EXTRADOS - The outer curve of an arch

F

96 FACADE - The front elevation of a building

97 FARMAN (firman). An order issued by a ruler.

98 FAUJDAR. In the early period, the word was applied to a military officer, but under the Mughals, it meant the head of a district. Later it was used for a police official.

99 FINIAL - Crowning member of dome; pinnacle

100 FIQH. Islamic jurisprudence, or the science of interpreting the Shariat (q.v.). There are four orthodox schools: Hanafi, Hanbali, Maliki, and Shafii. The sources of fiqh are the Quran, hadith, ijma, and quiyas (q.v.).

101 FLUTING - Shallow concave grooves running vertically on the shaft of a column, pilaster or other surface

102 FOLIAGE - Representation of leaves, flower and branches for architectural ornamentation

103 FRIEZE - The middle division of the entablature generally reserved for calligraphy or other ornamentation

104 FRINGE - A continuous, garland like series along the interior of an arch

G

105 GABLE - Triangular roof

106 GADDI (gadi). The cushion or seat on which a ruler sits, hence, "throne."

107 GEOMETRICAL DESIGNS - Patterns composed of geometrical elements; trigon, square, rectangle, pentagon, stars or motifs, with straight or curved lines

108 GHANIMAH. The spoils of war. In original Islamic practice, four-fifths of all the captured goods went to the army, and a fifth was taken for pious purposes. Under the sultanate, the state took four-fifths and one-fifth was given to the soldiers.

109 GHANTA-MALA - Bell and chain motif used for the ornamentation of shafts of pillars, in carving, e.g. at Fatehpur Sikri

110 GHAZAL. A short poem, usually on a theme dealing with love.

111 GLASS MOSAIC - Mosaic in which uniform coloured stained convex glass pieces are used in plaster to make up a design

112 GLAZED TILE MOSAIC - Tile overlaid with chemicalized colours fused in excessive heat under a specialized process, used for architectural ornamentation

113 GLAZING - Process in which specially prepared colours (obtained from metallic oxides and fusable chemicals) are pasted first and then coated over with the glaze (made of sand and chemicals) and then the whole is fused; in this process the glaze retains it identity over the colour

114 GUMBAD - Local name for dome

H

115 HADITH (hadis). A saying or reported action of Muhammad that is not found in the Quran, but that is accepted as a source of fiqh (q.v.).

116 HAJJ. Annual pilgrimage made to Mecca; every Muslim is supposed to make the journey at least once in a lifetime.

117 HAMMAM - Bath-room or the bath-complex contained in an independent building

118 HANAFI. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See fiqh.

119 HANBALI. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See fiqh.

120 HAREM - Women's quarters; secluded part of the palace or residence reserved for the ladies of the household

121 HINDUSTANI. 1. Any native of North India (Hindustan). 2. The term was applied to the Indian converts to Islam. 3. As an adjective, is used to describe the products of the fusion of Islamic and Hindu influences; e.g., Hindustani music.

I

122 IBADAT KHANAH - Place or house of worship on prayer or religious discourses, e.g. Akbar's famous four-quatered Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri

123 IJMA. The consensus of the Islamic community as a source of law. See fiqh.

124 IMAM. A leader of the Islamic community. Among the Shias (q.v.), the descendants of Ali.

125 INAM. A gift or reward; particularly applied to lands which were granted rent-free.

126 INCISED PAINTING - Scheme of mural painting executed in the Mughal buildings in stylised designs, with two colours Safeda and Hirmich, applied successively in two layers, the upper one scrapped off according to the design, giving a relief effect, eg. in the Mehman-Khanah of the Taj Mahal

127 INLAY - Ornamentation composed of specially cut pieces of rare or semi precious stones, laid in the sockets to make a design

128 INTRADOS - Inner curve of an arch

129 IQTA. A form of grant made by the sultants. The grantee had rights of revenue collection but not property rights, which were retained by the state. This tenure corresponded to the jagir (q.v.) of the Mughals.

130 IWAN - Central arched entrance or portal in the centre of the facade of a building

J

131 JAGIR. The term used during Mughal rule for iqta tenures. The holder of land under the jagir system was known as a jagirdar. The assignment of land was usually made for a lifetime, and it was not inheritable. Jagir tenures were different from inam (q.v.) in that they carried an obligation to perform services for the state.

132 JALI - Latticed or perforated screen of stone

133 JAMBS - Sides of doors or windows, or their frames

134 JAMI MASJID - Congregational Mosque; friday Mosque

135 JHAJJHARI - Jalied stone curtain around a set of grave; eg. in the Taj Mahal

136 JHAROKHA - A Jalied, stone window projecting from the wall face of a building, in an upper storey, overlooking a street, Market, court or any other open space

137 JIHAD. A righteous war against unbelievers.

138 JIZYA. Tax paid by zimmis (q.v.) in a Muslim society.

K

139 KALASH - Ancient Indian water-pot; integral part of the Mughal finial used to crown the domes and cupolas of chhatris

140 KANGURA - Stepped battlement

141 KARKHANAH - Place where commodities for state use were produced or stored

142 KAVI RAI. "Prince of Poets," or poet-laureate. A title used by the Mughals.

143 KEY STONE - Central stone of an arch

144 KHALIFAH. See caliph.

145 KHALSA. See diwan-i-khalsa.

146 KHAN. A Turkish title. Under the sultanate, it designated a particular rank in the military service, but it was frequently used to indicate ethnic affiliations (e.g., the Pathans) or by anyone claiming its connotation of "brave and heroic."

147 KHANAH - House or room; the concerned department or building where different wares were produced and stored

148 KHAPREL - Curved, or flat burnt earthen tiles used alternatively for roofing

149 KHARIJ. Originally, the tribute paid by conquered populations, but in India it came to mean simply the land tax, or the proportion of the produce claimed by the state.

150 KHAS MAHAL - Personal palace, or one of its most gorgeous apartments, for the exclusive use by the Emperor.

151 KHUTBA. Sermon delivered in the mosque on Fridays. Mention in it of a ruler's name was a declaration of a claim for sovereignity.

152 KHWABGAH - Sleeping chamber of the Emperor; it was an entirely secluded apartment with in the precincts of the Harem and was carefully gaurded.

153 KHWAJA. A Persian title of respect. In the sultanate it was used for the official in each province who kept the revenue accounts.

154 KIOSK - An open summer-house or pavillion usually having its roof supported by pillars.

155 KIRTTI-MUKHA - Literally Mouth-of-Glory; a popular ornamental motif in the Mughal architecture used chiefly in the bases of pillar; originally Gavaksa or sun window of Buddhist and Brahmanical architecture.

156 KOS. A land measure, varying in different parts of India from one mile to two.

157 KOS-MINAR - Tapering, massive towers or minars (without stairway) on each kos on the main road of the Mughal Empire; like modern mile stones.

158 KOTWAL. A term applied to various local officials, but usually to the officer who was responsible for police functions in a town or rural area.

L

159 LAKH. One hundred thousand.

160 LATTICE - A jalied or perforated screen.

161 LATTICE WINDOW - A window divided into small panels arranged diagonally.

162 LINTEL - A horizontal architectural member of wood or stone, laid across an opening like a door or window, to hold up the superstructure.

163 LIWAN - The pillared cloister of mosque.

164 LOTIFORM - Lotus shaped

M

165 MADRASA. A school for Islamic studies, usually associated with a mosque.

166 MAJLIS-KHANAH - An assembly hall

167 MALIK. Under the sultanate, a title indicating a military rank, but later used as a general title of honor. Also used for a person who owns land.

168 MALIKI. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See fiqh.

169 MANSAB. A rank in the Mughal army based on the number of horsemen the officer was supposed to bring into the field. Mansabdars, the holders of the rank, were graded from those responsible for ten horses up to those who were responsible for ten thousand.

170 MAQBARAH - Tomb; the room or small covered building which contains the grave.

171 MAQSURAH - Arcade; screen or series of arches on the facade of a building.

172 MAUND. A measure of weight, roughly equal to eighty pounds, but varying greatly in different areas.

173 MAZAR - Grave or tomb of a saint

174 MEDALLIONS - Circular motifs used generally in the spandrels of the arches.

175 MERLON - One of the solid or tooth like portion of a battlement between the embrasures.

176 MIHRAB - The niche or arched recess in the western wall of the mosque towards which worshippers turn for prayer.

177 MIMBAR - Series of steps (generally three) attached to the Mihrab for the Imam to stand upon to lead the congregration or issue sermons, pulpit in the mosque.

178 MINAR - A detached self standing tapering tower generally multi-storeyed with an inner stairway.

179 MIR BAKHSHI. See bakhshi.

180 MIR SAMAN. The official in charge of the imperial household stores, the workshops for producing goods for the palaces, and the arsenals.

181 MLECCHA. Sanskrit term for a non-Indian, meaning "barbarian"; often used for the Muslim invaders.

182 MOAT - A deep wide trench or ditch filled with water generally artificial, around the fortification, to make access difficult.

183 MOHALLA. A subdivision of a city.

184 MONUMENT - Architectural memorial; a formal building erected either over a tomb or elsewhere as a memorial; commemmorative structure.

185 MORTAR - Mixture of lime sand and water for joining stones and bricks.

186 MOSAIC - Decoration; formed of small pieces of hard substances such as glass, stone and marble, generally multi-coloured to form a design.

187 MOTIF - The dominant or distinctive feature or element of a design.

188 MOULDINGS - Contours given to projecting members

189 MUHTASIB. The overseer of public morality.

190 MUJTAHID. A man who through learning and piety is able to undertake the interpretation and application of the Islamic law in such a way that his judgments should be followed by others.

191 MULLAH. A teacher of the law and doctrines of Islam.

192 MULTIFOIL - An arch having more than five cusps

193 MURAL - A form of wall painting.

194 MUSHRIF. The officer responsible for keeping the account of state income during the sultanate.

195 MUSTAUFI. The official responsible for expenditure and for the auditing of accounts.

N

196 NAIB. A deputy, lieutenant, or assistant, as in the title, naib wazir.

197 NAQQAR-KHANAH/NAUBAT-KHANAH - Upper chamber over the gateway where ceremonial music was performed at fixed timings or to announce arrival.

198 NAVE - Central point or compastmsut of the sanctuary of mosque, which contians muhrab and mimbar and is invariably roofted by a dome.

199 NAWAB. Originally used for the viceroy or governor of a province of the Mughal empire, but later used simply as a title.

200 NAZIM. Term used for a provincial governor, particularly indicating his function as administrator of the criminal law.

201 NICHE - A sunk arch or recess given in the wall either as a receptacle or for breaking the mountony of the plain wall.

202 NIZAM. A governor, particularly the viceroy of the Deccan.

203 NOOK-SHAFT - Technically corners pillar; a beautifully carved pilastes attached to the sides of an arch or angles of an structure (generally with a cheveron or rope pattern in mughal architecture).

O

204 OGEE - A moulding of an arch made up of an convex and concave curve, i.e. with a S. shaped profile.

205 ORIEL - A window projecting from the wall face of the building and supported on brackets.

P

206 PADMAKOSHA

207 PADSHAH. King, emperor. A title used by the Mughal rulers.

208 PANCHAYAT. A traditional Indian village court (made up of five elders) that judged petty cases and controlled local affairs.

209 PARAPET - The portion of wall above the roof.

210 PARGANA. A subdivision of the basic administrative unit, the sarkar, made up of a number of villages.

211 PAVILION - An ornamental structure in an open space, terrace or garden, it is generally pillared in Indo-Muslim architecture.

212 PEDESTAL - Base of an upright structure

213 PENDENTIVE - A triangular curved over hanging surface by means of which a circular dome is supported on a square or polygonal compartment.

214 PESHWA. The Chief Minister of the Maratha rulers. The office became hereditary, and in the eighteenth century the peshwa was virtually an independent ruler.

215 PHANSIGHAR - Private execution house of the Mughals situated in the basement below the main palaces, e.g. under the Jhahjahani Mahal at Agra fort.

216 PIER - A mass of masonary (stone or brick) which supports superstructures

217 PIETRADURA - Florentine mosaic of semi-precious stones

218 PIGMENTS - Colours or other materials used as colours in an architectural painting.

219 PILASTER - A vertical rectangular member projecting from the wall.

220 PINNACLE - A small turret like ornamental termination of the top of pilaster, buttresses, turrets, parapets or else where often ornamented with bunches of foliage or lotus petals.

221 PIR. The head of a Sufi order; later, a Sufi saint.

222 PLASTER - A pasty mixture of lime and water, with other ingredients used for coating brick or stone wall and ceilings to cover the uneven rubble or masonry construction.

223 PLINTH - Projecting stepped or moulded base of a building; platform over which the building stands.

224 POL - GATE, Gateway

225 POLYCHROME - Multi coloured ornamentation.

226 PORCH - A structure sheltering the entrance to a building.

227 PORTICO - A roofed space open or partially enclosed forming the entrance and centre of the facade.

228 PULPIT - A raised stepped structure from which a sermon is preached or the Imam leads the congregation; generally with three steps.

229 PURNA-KALASA - Full vase; one of the most popular motif of traditional Indian architectural ornamentation. In Indo-Muslim architecture, it is used as an architectural component as a Kalash-finial and also as an ornamental motif, like the Vase-and-foliage, for dado decoration, the best e.g. of which comes from the mortuary hall of the Taj Mahal.

Q

230 QASIDA. A long, usually panegyric, poem, or ode.

231 QAZI. The judge who administered Islamic law. Qazi-i-mumalik was the chief judge of the kingdom.

232 QIBLAH - Portion of the closed wall of the nave of the mosque denoting the direction of the Kaabah in Mecca.

233 QIYAS. One of the sources of fiqh (q.v.); the process of applying hadith (q.v.) to new situations by the use of analogy.

234 QUOIN - The dressed stones at the corners of a building, usually laid so that their faces are alternately large and small.

235 QURAN (Koran). For Muslims, the Word of God. The fundamental source of fiqh (q.v.) and all rules governing human relationships.

R

236 RAIYAT (ryot). Cultivator, peasant.

237 RAIYATWARI. A system of revenue assessment and collection in which the government officials dealt with the actual cultivator, not an intermediary.

238 RAMP - A slope or sloped passage or inclined plain connecting two levels; generally attached to gateway or other structure

239 RAMPART - A stone or earth wall surrounding a castle, fortress or fortified city for defence purpose.

240 RANDOM RUBBLE MASONRY - Formed of stones of irregular size.

241 RELIEF - Elevation of a design from a plane surface; any ornamentation which relieves the monotony of the plain surface by providing it a depth and giving a three dimensional effect.

242 ROSETTE - A conventional ornament carved or modelled to resemble a rose.

243 RUPEE (rupiya). A silver coin introduced by Sher Shah in 1542 which became the standard unit of the Indian currency system. In 1800 it was worth about two shillings.

S

244 SADR (sadar). Chief or supreme. A term especially used in connection with the chief religious offices. The sadr-ul-sadur advised the Mughal emperor on religious matters, controlled religious endowments, and had oversight of educational institutions.

245 SAHIB. An honorific applied to titles and names, e.g., Sahib-i-barid was the chief barid (q.v.), or intelligence officer.

246 SANAD. A charter or grant.

247 SANCTUARY - Sacred part of the mosque or any other architecture; a consecrated place.

248 SARKAR (sircar). A subdivision of a subah or province. The word is also used to mean simply " the government."

249 SARPANCH. The head of a panchayat (q.v.).

250 SAYYID (said, syed). A chief. Also a name used by those who claim descent from Husain, the son of Muhammad's daughter, Fatima.

251 SEPOY (sipahi). A soldier.

252 SEPULCHRE - A place of burial; Tomb; Mausoleum.

253 SERAGLIO - Portion of the palace secluded for ladies.

254 SERAI/SARAI - Inn; this is generally situated on the outskirts of the city.

255 SHAFII. A school of Islamic jurisprudence. See fiqh.

256 SHAFT - Portion of a pillar or column between base and capital.

257 SHAIKH. " Old man." A term used for a Sufi (q.v.) who guided disciples. Also used to denote a caste or class among Indian Muslims.

258 SHARIAT (Sharia). The law of Islam, comprising all the rules that govern life.

259 Sheath of 8,12,16,24 or 32 lotus petals used to crown the dome.

260 SHIA. The Muslim sect that asserts the leadership of Islam is hereditary in the descendants of Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet. It is the dominant group in Iran, and is well represented in India.

261 SHIQQ. In the sultanate, the administrative district corresponding to the later sarkar (q.v.).

262 SHISH MAHAL - Palace complex internally decorated entirely with Glass Mosaic.

263 SIPAH-SALAR. A military rank during the sultanate, but under Akbar the name was used for a provincial governor.

264 SOFFIT - Underside of any architectural member.

265 SPANDREL (SPANDRIL) - Ornamental triangular space enclosed by the curve of an arch, and the square enclosing

266 SQUINCH - An arch placed diagonally at internal angles of the square room.

267 STALACTITE - Honey combing; it appears to have originated in the multiplication of small squinch arches on the pendentive.

268 STELLATE - Arranged like a star.

269 STRUT - Wood, stone or iron set up to bear weight or pressure.

270 STUCCO - A slow setting fine plaster on walls and vaults as a ground for relief ornamentation.

271 SUBAH. The term for the provinces into which the Mughal empire was divided. The subadar was the governor. This word was later used for the administrator of a smaller district.

272 SUFI. An Islamic mystic. Sufism, with its emphasis on the possibility of unity with the divine, was of special importance in winning converts to Islam in India.

273 SULTAN. King, ruler. In its early usage, the term implied dependence on the caliph (q.v.). The Delhi sultans sought recognition from the Abbasid caliphate, and even after its destruction they maintained a nominal connection with the Egyptian ruler who claimed to be the caliph.

274 SUNNI. An inherent of the majority, or "orthodox," Islamic sect that accepted the Abbasid rulers as caliphs, in contrast to the Shias (q.v.). "Sunna" means the custom or traditions associated with Muhammad, and its usage implies that the Sunni follow the canonical tradition.

275 SUPER-STRUCTURE - Portion of a building above the main storey.

T

276 TAFSIR. Explanation. The commentaries on the Quran and the science of its interpretation. Tafsir was an important branch of learning in the madrasas (q.v.).

277 TALUKA (Taluq). A name for a subdivision of a province in the late Mughal empire.

278 TAWHID. "Asserting oneness." A theological term that refers to the oneness of God.

279 TEHSIL (tahsil). The collection of land revenue. Later applied to a subdivision of a district.

280 TERRACED-GARDEN - A garden laid on different levels generally in regular descending stages allowing the water through the respective water devices to flow from higher level to the lower.

281 TIBARA - Generally used for three arched dalan on the ground floor opening on an inner court.

282 TRABEATED - The style of architecture in which horizontal beams and lintels are used in construction.

283 TRACERY - Architectural ornamental work in stone to fill up a window

284 TREFOIL - An arch with three cusps.

285 TURRETS - Small towers without stairways attached to the angles of a building.

U

286 ULAMA. Learned men, plural of alim. Used particularly for those learned in Islamic studies, or for the theologians who were guardians of Islamic custom.

287 UMARA. Nobles. Plural of amir (q.v.).

288 URDU. Literally, camp. The "camp-language" that grew up through an infusion of Persian, and some Arabic and Turkish, words into Hindi, the language of the Delhi region.

V

289 VAKIL. See wakil.

290 VASE-AND-FOLIAGE - Full vase with over flowing vegetation.

291 VAULT - An arched covering in stone or brick over any building

292 VESTIBULE - An anteroom or entrance hall.

293 VOUSSOIRS - Wedge shaped blocks of stone or brick forming an true arch.

294 VYALA - Composite animals for surface decoration.

W

295 WAHHABI. Follower of the community founded by Abdul Wahhab (1703-1787) in Arabia. The aim of the Wahhabis is to purify Islam of all innovations and to return to the strict observances of Islamic law. It is the dominant sect in Saudi Arabia. The beliefs of the Wahhabis, especially the strong emphasis on the removal of all non-Islamic practices, had considerable influence in India in the nineteenth century.

296 WAKIL (vakil). The office of the wakil or wakil-i-dar under the sultanate was concerned with the management of the royal household. In the Mughal

period, however, the wakil or wakil-i-sultanat, was the chief minister, the post formerly held by the wazir (q.v.).

297 WAQF. An endowment, usually in the form of lands, for the upkeep of a mosque, madrasa, or some other religious enterprise.

298 WAZIR. The chief minister of the Delhi sultans. Under the Mughals, the title was sometimes used for the official in charge of revenue and finance.

299 WING - Side of a hall

300 WIZARAT. The office of the wazir.

Z

301 ZAKAT. A tax collected from Muslims for charitable purposes.

302 ZAMINDAR. Literally, "a landholder," from zamin, land. Under the Mughals, he was a revenue official who had no proprietary rights in the land from which he collected taxes.

303 ZIMMI (dhimmi). A non-Muslim living in a Muslim state. According to a strict interpretation of the Islamic law, only Jews and Christians were eligible for the status of zimmi. Each adult male zimmi had to pay jizya (q.v.). In practice, when Muslims conquered a country they tolerated others than the "Peoples of the Scripture." This was particularly true in India, where the Hindus were treated as zimmis.

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3. **Abu'l Fazl: Ain-i-Akbari** This is also in three volumes. It is a code of Akbar's regulations. It gives a detailed account about land revenue, assessment etc.
4. **Abu'l Fazl: Akbar-nama** This book is in three volumes. The first volume deals with the history of the Mughal royal family from Timur to Humayun. The second and third volumes give the history of the reign of Akbar till 1602.
5. **Abu'l Fazl: Insha-i-Abul Fazl** (Haqtubat-i-Allami), This contains official dispatches written by Abu'l Fazl. It is in two parts. This first part deals with rulers outside India. Indian rulers and Akbar's nobles. The second part consists of Abu'l Fazl's letters to Akbar.
6. **Abu'l Fazl: Ruqat-i-Abul Fazl,** This is a collection of letters written by Abu'l Fazl to Akbar and to other members of the royal family and dignitaries. This throws a great deal of light on Akbar's reign.
7. **Adil Shah Sani: Tarikh-i-Ali** , This work deals with the history of Bijapur.
8. **Ali Muhammad Khan: Mirat-i-Ahmadi,** This gives information about Gujarat during the Mughal times
9. **Babur: Tuzuk-i-Baburi (Baburnama),** Turki, The author gives a detailed description of political and military events and also gives a description of famous men of his times. There is a detailed description of the physical features of the country.

10. **Bayazid** (servant or mir saman of Humayun): **Tarikh-i-Humayun** 1591-92 A.D This work is a valuable source for the history of both Humayun and Akbar. The book also throws light on the social life of the Mughal aristocracy.
11. **Bhimsen: Nuskha-i-Dilkusha**, This work contains important information about many historical personalities and events of the time as well as topographical details. This work is also valuable for the Mughal activities in the Deccan from 1670 to 1707 AD.
12. **Ghiyas-ud-din Muhammad Khvandamir: Qanun-i-Humayuni** 1534 This work is a collection of observances, regulations, ordinances and description of some court festivities during Humayun's reign.
13. **Gulbadan Begum** (Daughter of Babur): **Huymayun-nama** Persian, The author gives a detailed description of Humayun's victories, defeats and hardships. She only gives a brief account of Babur in her work.
14. **Haji Muhammad Arif Qandahari** (Officer in the revenue department during Akbar's reign): **Tarikh-i-Akbar Shahi** The work throws light on Akbar's personality and his administration.
15. **Inayat Khan or Muhammad Tahir: Shah Jahan-nama** ,The author gives an account of Shah Jahan's reign from the time of Jahangir's death till Shah Jahan's imprisonment
16. **Ishwar Das: Futuhat-i-Alamgiri** , 1616 AD, This work deals with the history of Malwa and Rajasthan from 1657 to 1698 AD.
17. **Jahangir Bakshi Mutamid Khan** (upto 19th year of Jahangir's reign) Muhammad Hadi (till end of Jahangir's reign): **Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,** This deals with the events of Jahangir's reign. It also contains information about political and administrative system during Jahangir's reign.
18. **Jauhar** (Huymayun's personal valet): **Tajkirat-ul-Waqiat** 1578 A.D. In this work the author has expressed the truth as he experienced it from his personal knowledge. He is the only person who describes the unpleasant episode, portraying the differences between Humayuan and Shah of Persia. He is one of the most reliable sources on Humayun's reign.

19. **Khvaja Nizam-ud-din Ahmad** (Akbar's mir bakshi), **Tabaqat-i-Akbari**, This work is divided into three volumes. The author gives a general history of India from the beginning of muslim rule in India to the 39th year of Akbar's reign. In the third volume he has also covered the history of the provincial kingdoms.
20. **Mirza Muhammad Kazim** 1733 A.D: **Alamgir-nama** , It deals with the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign and is based on state records.
21. **Muhammad Amin Qazvini** (court Historian of Shah Jahan): **Padshah-nama**, This work covers the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign and is considered as the main authority of the period.
22. **Muhammad Haidar Dughlat**(cousin of Babur): **Tarikh-i-Rashidi,** Persian, 1551 A.D. This work is an eyewitness account of Babur's struggles, as the author knew Babur intimately.
23. **Muhammad Hashim Kafi Khan**: **Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,** This work gives a general history of the Timurid dynasty and also gives a complete history of the reign of Aurangzeb.
24. **Muhammad Sadiq Khan: Shah Jahan-na**ma, It deals with the reign of Shah Jahan from the time of his accession to his deposition and imprisonment.
25. **Muhammad Salih Kambu** (Employee in the imperial records department): **Amal-i-Salih,** He has described Shah Jahan's career from his birth to his death in 1666 AD At the end he also gives a list of princes, nobles and commanders arranged according to their respective ranks.
26. **Muhammad Waris: Padshah-nama,** The author was commissioned to the complete the work of Abdul Hamid Lahauri. For the first twenty years he followed Lahauri, but for the last ten years he wrote an independent volume.
27. **Muhsin Fani: Dabistan-i-Mazahib,** This work gives a comparative account of the religions which flourished under the Mughals
28. **Mullah Abdul Bhaqi** Naha-vandi: **Nassir-i-Rahimi**, This is in three volumes. It primarily deals with the life and activities of Abdur-Rahim Khan Khanan. The second volume deals with the history of Timurid dynasty right up to reign of Jahangir

29. **Mutamid Khan: Iqbal-nama,** This work is in three parts. The first deals with the history of the Timurid dynasty till the end of Humayun's reign. The second describes the reign of Akbar and the third, that of Jahangir.
30. **Niamatulla Tarikh-I-Khan Jahan Lodhi,**
31. **Shah Nawaz Khan: Maasir-ul-Umra,** This is a dictionary of the Mughal peerage.
32. **Shitab Khan: Bharistan-i-Ghaibi,** This was written during Shah Jahan's times and it deals with Bengal's history
33. **Qutb Shahi: Tarikh-i-Muhammad**, This work deals with the history of Golkunda.

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There are two entrances, approached by broad flights of steps. The one on the east side is the Emperor's Gate, by which Akbar entered the mosque from the palace, and the other, the majestic Baland Darwaza, or High Gate, which towers above everything on the south side, and even dwarfs the mosque itself with its giant proportions. The latter gate, however, was not a part of the original design, but was added many years after the completion of the mosque, to celebrate Akbar's victorious campaign in the Deccan. [126]



This lavishly decorated mosque marks the phase of transition in Islamic art, by using various indigenous architectural elements with efficacy. The façade composition of the building comprises of pillared dalan, with beautiful chhajja supporting on brackets and the chhatri on the roof, making an impressive skyline. The main iwan of the building is rather simple and contains a central arch, which is framed with the panels containing geometrical designs. The iwan contain three arched openings, which are also