MUGHAL CITY OF AGRA AND ITS ENVIRONS: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

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DEDICATED
TO
MY PARENTS

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This is to certify that the thesis **"Mughal City of Agra and its Environs: An Archaeological Survey"** by **Mr. Salim Javed Akhtar** is the original research work of the candidate and is suitable for submission to the examiners and for the award of Ph. D. degree.

(Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi)
Supervisor

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(Salim Javed Akhtar)

SELECT ABBREVIATIONS

ASR	*Archaeological Survey- Reports*
ASB	*Asiatic Society of Bengal*
Bib. Ind.	*Bibliotheque Indica*
BM	*British Museum*
BL	*British Library*
Bib. Nat.	*Bibliotheque Nationale*
DG	*District Gazetteers*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
ICHR	*Indian Council for Historical Research*
IHC	*Indian History Congress*
IHR	*Indian Historical Review*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
MIQ	*Medieval India Quarterly*
OUP	*Oxford University Press*
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*

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PREFACE

Agra has received much attention from a variety of scholars, researchers, journalists and photo-journalists. It was sometimes in late Nineteenth Century that he city started attracting such attention. One of the first to describe the city were H. G. Keene who compiled his famous *A Hand Book for Visitors to Agra and Its Neighbourhood* in 1878 which has since been reprinted a number of times. He was followed by Muhammad Latif who in 1896 wrote his *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*; E. B. Havell followed them in 1904 when he came up with his *A Handbook to Agra and the Taj, Sikandra, Fatehput Sikri and Neighbourhood.* As their names suggest they were generally guides to the city of the Taj. They did contain much historical information as well. Latif also cited a number of epigraphs which he found adorning the various monuments.

Researches of a deeper kind were under taken by scholars like Carlylle and Cunningham whose reports were published in various forms in the journals of the *Archaeological Survey of India Report,* and *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report.* The first of these were edited by General Cunningham himself.

But then the common problem suffered by such kind of works, in spite of their great utility otherwise, was that they focused generally either on minute details or an buildings of monumental importance. Like the first category, thus, a whole picture of the town could not be constructed from them.

Much research, analytical and in-depth have been conducted on Agra in near recent years. Thus we have I. P. Gupta's *Urban Glimpses of Mughal Agra* published in 1986 and K. K. Trivedi's *Agra Economic and Political Profile of a Mughal Suba* published in 1998. Both the works deal with the economy of the town and except in fragments, a total picture of the Mughal town is again missing.

A large number of research papers on the architecture of various monuments and gardens of Agra have also been recently published. Thus works of Ebba Koch, Catherine Asher, Wayne Begley, James L. Wescoate Jr. and others threw much crucial light but only an aspects and elements of architecture.

On the contrary, towns like Delhi and Fatehpur Sikri have received much better attention in this regard. The *Shahjahanabad* of Stephen Blake and the *Fatehpur Sikri* of S. Athar Abbas Rizvi are quite handy to reconstruct both the Mughal towns with ease.

It is with this view in mind that I took up research on Agra on the theme of 'Mughal City of Agra and its Environs'. The work is based on physical surveys and explorations backed with literary, epigraphic and visual evidence. Thus help has been taken not only from the primary sources like contemporary Persian and English Chronicles, Travelogues and Memoirs but also from a number of drawings and visual reproductions preserved in the photography and visual section of the British Library, London. A number of paintings done by Seeta Ram and other artists now in the British Library collection have thus been used in order to understand the monuments as they existed prior to their 'renovation' during the

present and the last century. I am thankful to my supervisor for lending me some of them from his collection.

Further, a number of exploratory trips and surveys were conducted over a period of six years to physically verify the remains. Extensive survey was conducted in the *Tajganj* area in order to explore the surviving physical remains there.

One recent work which has helped me much is the *The Complete Taj and the Riverfront Gardens of Agra*, published in 2006. This monumental work covers a large part of the Mughal city and emphasizes on, as the title suggests, on the riverfront. However the other portions of the city are not dealt with.

This Ph. D. makes an attempt to compose a ‘physical picture’ of the city and discuss its lay-out. It is an attempt to understand a typical Mughal City which was not synthetic like those of Sikri and Shahjahanabad. It was not a result of the fancy of a person but a result of many rulers and those who inhabited it. It is the study of a vibrant Mughal Agra.

Chapter- I
The Settlement Pattern & Urban Plan

CHAPTER 1

THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN & URBAN PLAN

The early history of Agra is shrouded in mystery as there is a complete lack of literary and material sources for the period prior to the twelfth century A.D. Several theories were also propounded regarding its nomenclature: according to some the name was derived from *āga* (fire) or *agwāra* (enclosure for fire). To others it was derived from such terms as *agara* (a salt pit), *agra* (first/prior), *agara* (house of habitation), *agala* (bar for keeping a deer closed), *agravana* (one of the twelve forests of *Brajmandala*), *agrawal* (a sub-caste of the *Vaisyas*) or *āgē-rau* (the site that is ahead on the way).[1] However according to some stray numismatic and archaeological findings, it appears that there was an earlier town at the site known as *Yamaprastha*.[2]

It is further held that the foundation of Agra was laid during the reign of Ugrasen and being the scene of incarnation of Lord Visnu it emerged as a severed town. According to yet another folklore alluded to by the author of *Tarikh-i Daudi*:

> "The *Hindus* assert that Agra was a stronghold in the days of Raja Kans, who ruled at Mathura and who confined everyone that

[1] See A. C. L. Carllyle, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, Vol. IV, Calcutta, 1905, p. 137. See also H. G. Keene's, *A Handbook for visitors to Agra and its Neighbourhood*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 1; S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 1

[2] E. T. Atkinson & F. H. Fisher. Ed., *Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Province of India*, Vol. VII, *Agra District*, Allahabad, 1884, pp. 577, 715

displeased him in the fort at the former place, so that in course of time it became an established state prison."[3]

It is from the tenth century onwards that the haze shrouding the history of Agra begins to clear.[4] According to Jahangir even before the Lodi Sultans made it their capital, Agra was a big city (*Ma'mura-i Kalān*) with a fortress which was mentioned with high praise by the Ghaznavide poet Mas'ud Sa'ad Salman.[5] From the *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi* also we come to know of the existence of a fort at Agra (the 'state prison' of *Tarikh-i Daudi* ?). In 1491 A.D, Sultan Sikandar Lodi is reported to have stayed there during his visit to the city.[6] The emergence of Agra as a viable city probably coincided with the decline in the fortunes of Delhi after its sack by the forces of Timur. One of the factors responsible for this was is the strategic importance of the site- it being located on the route to Rajasthan, Malwa and Bengal.[7]

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[3] Abdullah, *Tarikh-i Daudi*, tr. Elliot & Dawson, London, 1867, Vol. IV, p. 450

[4] See S. Nurul Hasan, s.v. Agra, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, H. A. R. Gibb, J. H. Kramers et. al., eds., Leiden, 1960, Vol. I, p. 252; See also H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India 1556-1803*, Bombay, 1968; idem, *Urbanization and Urban Centres under the Great Mughals, 1556-1707*, Simla, 1972; Abdul Halim, *History of Lodi Sultans of Delhi and Agra*, 1974, pp. 83-84

[5] *Tuzuk*, p. 2

[6] Khwaja Ni'matullah Harawi, *Tarikh-i Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-i Hshani*, ed. S. M. Imad-al-Din, Dacca, 1960, Vol. I, p. 185

[7] For this line of argument see K. K. Trivedi, "The Emergence of Agra as a Capital and a City: A Note on its Spatial and Historical Background during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 37, No. 2, 1994, pp. 147-70

Sultan Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) on realizing its geographical strategic made it his military headquarters. Ni'matullah Harawi in his *Tarikh* alludes to this when he writes:

> "…to curb the violence in the *sarkar* of Bayana, the Sultan commissioned, in the year 911 A.H (1505 A.D), some men of judicious intellect to explore the banks of the river (Jamuna) and report upon any locality which might be considered the most eligible."[8]

Accordingly, we are told, the 'exploring party' left Delhi by boats and continued to examine both the banks of the river till they arrived at the spot where the present city of Agra stands. The team short listed two sites and the decision was communicated to the Sultan who subsequently personally visited the spots along with one of his officials Naik Mihtar Mulla Khan, the in charge of the Royal barges. According the Ni'matullah Harawi opined that 'that which is Agre or in advance is the preferred one,' the Sultan decided 'the name of this city then shall be Agra'.[9]

It appears that the site of the Pre-Lodi period fort and settlement was different from the city founded by the Lodis: the city of Lodi Agra was founded on a new 'chosen' location in 1506 which the Pre-Lodi town was the place where the Sultan, Sikandar Lodi, allegedly stayed when he visited the city in 1491. From the extant remains of Lodi monuments and traces of their

[8] *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi*, op. cit., p. 172

[9] *Tarikh-i Khan Jahan Lodi*, op. cit., pp. 194-95

foundations, it appears that the city of Sikandar Lodi was generally populated on the left bank of the river.[10]

After the Lodis, the Mughals adopted Agra as their capital city and consecutively constructed many of their structures in that city. We are informed by Babur that he was not greatly impressed by the town of Agra as he found it when he went there. He in fact goes on to castigate the Indian towns in general (and Agra in particular) for being charmless and the more towns in their plan:

> "…The towns and country of Hindustan are greatly wanting in charm. Its towns and lands are all of one sort; there are no walls to the orchards and most places are on dead level plain...."[11]

Subsequently Babur added a member of edifices to the town after 1526, when included a number of *Chahār baghs*, mosques step wells and residential structures.[12] These structures built by Babur were quite different in their built and layout as compared to the earlier structures. Thus Babur comments:

> "The people of Hind who had never seen grounds planned so symmetrically and thus laid out, called the side of the Jūn (Yamuna) where (our) residences were, Kābul."[13]

Further, it also appears that most of these new buildings of Babur were constructed on the opposite bank of the river over looking the Lodi palaces.

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[10] See A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report, Agra*, Vol. IV, 1871-72, Varanasi, (reprint 1966).

[11] *Baburnama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, New Delhi, 1989, Vol. II, p. 48

[12] *Ibid*, pp. 531, 532, 533

[13] *Ibid*, p. 532

Referring to his attempts to redesign the urban landscape at Agra, Babur thus informs us:

> "… grounds should be laid out in an orderly and symmetrical way. With this object in view, we crossed the Jūn water to look at garden-grounds a few days after entering Agra. Those grounds were so bad and unattractive that we traversed them with a hundred disgusts and repulsions. So ugly and displeasing were they, that the idea of making a *Char-bagh* in them passed from my mind, but needs must! as there was no other land near Agra, that same ground was taken in hand a few days later…"[14]

It appears that by Humayun's reign, Agra was a thriving city comprising smart streets lined with shops.[15] By Akbar's period, if we believe Fr. Monserrate, the city was 'four miles long and two broad'. It was, according to him, 'a magnificent city, both for to size and its antiquity' and comprised a palace and citadel 'as big as a great city' with mansions of his nobles, bureaucratic establishments as well as 'shops and huts of drug-sellers, barbers and all manner of common workmen.'[16] The grandeur of the new city which developed under Akbar can well be ascertained from the accounts of the

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[14] *Ibid*, p. 531

[15] Khwand Amir, *Qanun-i Humayūni* or *Humayun Nama*, tr. Baini Prasad, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1940, p. 26

[16] Fr. Monserrate, *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, ed. S. N. Banerjee & J. S. Hoyland, 1922, pp. 32-35

various travellers who came to the town during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[17]

Akbar's fort at Agra, which replaced the earlier brick fort was commenced in the beginning of the tenth regnal year, that is in 1565.[18] The foundations of the city itself had been laid on 30th October 1558 when it was also declared as the capital city of new dispensation.[19]

The shape and form which Agra had taken as a city during the reign of Akbar (and by the beginning of his own) is remarked upon by Jahangir, during whose reign the city was continued as the capital of the empire:

> "… The habitable part of the city extends on both sides of the river. On its west side, which has the greater population, its circumference is seven *kos* [17 ½ miles] and its breadth is one *kos* [2 ½ miles]. The circumference of the inhabited part on the other side of the river, the side towards the east, is 2 ½ *kos*, its length being one *kos* and its breadth half a *kos*. But in the number of its buildings it is equal to several cities of 'Iraq, Khurasan and *Mawra-un Nahr* (Tran-Oxiana) put together. Many persons have erected buildings of three or four storeys in it. The mass of people is so great, that moving about in the lanes and bazars is difficult."[20]

From this description of Jahangir it appears that the growth of the city was (a) not confined to one bank of the river and (b) the city developed along

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[17] See for example, W. Foster, *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, Oxford, 1921, p. 17

[18] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. Maulvi Abdur Rahim, Calcutta, 1881,Vol. II, p. 372

[19] *Ibid*, pp. 76-77

[20] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 2

the river so that it was almost shaped as a crescent with the river acting as its backbone. This character of the city-plan is further emphasised by William Finch who goes on add that this city had no city fortifications but was defended only through a ditch:

> "… the citie hath no walls, but a ditch round about, no broad, and dry also; adjoyning to the ditch without the citie are very large suburbs. The city and suburbs are one way seven miles in length, three in breadth. The noble men's houses and merchants built with bricke and stone, flat roofed; the common sort, of muddle walls, covered with thatch, which cause often terrible fires. The cittie hath sixe gates. The adjoyning river Gemini being broader then the Thames at London…"[21]

The fact that the city was semi-circular in appearance, stretching length-wise along the river Yamuna is stressed by other contemporary writers like Father Monserrate and others.[22] The fact that the city had no city walls mentioned by Finch is also corroborated by Pelsaert, the Dutch merchant who visited the city during the reign of Jahangir. His description of the city is quite insightful as it gives us not only an idea of its planning but also some information on its morphology. To quote:

> "The city is exceedingly large, but decayed, open and unwalled. The streets and houses are built without any regular plan. There are, indeed, many palaces belonging to great princes and lords, but they are hidden

[21] William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. W. Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 185; See also *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. Samuel Perchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 75

[22] *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, ed. S. N. Banerjee & J. S. Hoyland, 1922, pp. 34-35; De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. by J. S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1975, p. 37

> away in alleys and corners…the luxuriance of the groves all round makes it resemble a royal park rather than a city, and everyone acquired and purchased the plot of land which suited or pleased him best. Consequently there are no remarkable market-places or bazars, as there are in Lahore, Burhanpur, Ahmadabad or other cities, but the whole place is closely built over and inhabited, Hindus mingled with Moslems, the rich with the poor…"[23]

By the time of Shahjahan with the building of a new suburb of Mumtazabad to the south of the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal the city is said to have been 'at least twice as big as Ispahan'.[24]

What then, was the Plan of the Mughal Agra as it developed under Akbar and Jahangir? We know that the students of town planning have put forward some 'Models' before us. One set of 'Models' put forward towns which could be identified as (a) European, (b) Islamic and (c) Hindu. But then at the heart of each is the place of worship, the Cathedral, the Jami' Mosque or the temple. None of the authorities quoted above point out any feature of the city of Agra which might show it to be distinctly 'Islamic' or 'Oriental'. There are on the other hands parallels drawn between it and other European cities.

The authors of Ancient Indian texts known as *shilpa- śastras* categorize the urban centres on the basis of their physical appearance and pattern. Thus we

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[23] Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* or *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, pp. 1-2

[24] Johann A. Mandelslo, *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albrecht Mandelslo in the East Indies*, tr. John Davies, London, 1669, p. 35

have (a) circular, (b) crescent or half-moon, (c) cross, (d) square and / or (e) rectangular town-models.[25]

In each of these models, the citadel along with the public buildings and the main place of worship is places at the centre with roads from around leading towards it. The attention in all these models is drawn towards the 'citadel' which was the seat of political and administration power. Being the 'centre' of all authority, it was heavily fortified. The rest of the city was generally left un-fortified and defenceless. In most of the pre-Mughal towns we find that the 'city' or the portions inhabited by the masses grew fairly freely although following, by and large, the logic of caste and professional hierarchy: The priestly and warrior classes being closer to the seat of power or the main source of lively-hood, the water. The menial and labouring classes were thrown to the peripheral areas or districts which were most distant from the source of water, the river, lake or stream. We see this both at Tughluqabad in Delhi and the Vijayanagar capital at Hampi in Karnataka.[26]

Further, Attilio Petruccioli, has tried to argue that during the Pre-Mughal period, if a city was to be built on a river bank, it was always to be on the right bank of the river. To build on the left bank was considered a taboo and an ill-omen.[27] The pre-Mughal Indian towns were thus basically garrison towns, with

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[25] See for example K. V. Sandara Rajan, *Mechanics of City and Village in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1986; B. B. Dutt, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1977, pp. 101-102

[26] See for example, Ibid.

[27] Attilio Petruccioli, "The Process Evolved by Control Systems of Urban Design in the Mughal Epoch in India: The Case of Fatehpur Sikri", *Environmental Design*, n.d., Vol. I, p. 18

civic populations living outside the fortified areas but settled in an hierarchical order reflecting their social divisions. In case of these towns being situated besides a source of water, say a river, they were generally populated on the right banks, as was the case with Lodi Agra.

Being inspired by the Timurid towns like Samarqand and Bukhara, the Mughal towns were different in nature than their predecessors of the Sultanate period. At Samarqand and Bukhara as well as towns like Balkh fortifications and defences surrounded not only the *shahristan*, the town and the citadel, but also the *rabaz*, the suburbs when the civic population generally lived. Further, the markets were generally located between these two distinct portions of the urban area.[28] This feature would mark the close symbiotic relations between the political authority and the commercial classes during the Mughal period.

Although there were no 'city walls' around the city of Agra from the time of its inception under Akbar down to the beginning of the 18th century. We have seen that care to protect the civic population and the mercantile classes were taken by digging ditches and moats around the city.

Further, unlike the previous models, the Mughal towns did not necessarily have a centrally located citadel. The citadel at Agra, for example was located in a corner of the semi-circular plan and not at the centre (**See Map I**). This is true for a number of other Mughal cities as well: citadels or forts in

[28] W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mughal Invasion*, Philadelphia, 1977, pp. 78, 83-92; For a comparison of Mughal towns with the Central Asian towns see S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Uniqueness of the Eastern "Imperial City"? Testing the Model with Fathpur Sikri", *Reason and Archaeology*, ed. K. M. Shrimali, Delhi, 1998, pp. 103-17

cities like Surat, Cambay, Ahmadabad, Baroda and later on at Shahjahanabad were all located in a corner of the towns. The problem of security arising out of this peripheral location of the citadel was taken care of by locating it near some natural defence like a river, lake or precipice. Thus at Agra, the fort was located besides the river which provided it protection from any sudden attack or onslaught.

The Mughal towns like Agra represent a highly centralized basis. Their colossal hydraulic works for irrigation, the efficiently planned radial road networks, with their peripheral streets and bye-lanes and the presence of a large number of monumental gardens point towards the desire of the Mughal architects to redesign the urban land scape. We have already noted how Babur tried to redesign the landscape at Agra when he planned his buildings and gardens there. It was this endeavour of Babur which resulted in the creation of a large number of gardens, both on the right and left bank of the Yamuna at Agra. A look at the appended (**Map I)** would show the uninterrupted sequence of gardens which once lined the river and distinguished the Mughal city of Agra from its predecessor.

Further help in understanding the garden as an instrument of urban design is got from an old Map of Agra dating back to 1720's ordered to be made by Sawai Jai Singh and preserved today at the City Palace Museum at Jaipur (**Map IA**).[29] The Map, for example, depicts sixteen gardens on the left

[29] This Map was first reproduced by Susan Gole, *Indian Maps and Plans*, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 200-201. It has been used by many others subsequently. The most recent scholar to use

bank of the river which include the Zahra Bagh, Moti Bagh, Buland Bagh, Mahtab Bagh and the Aram Bagh (the later Bagh-i Nur Afshan). This Map also depicts a large number of gardens, tombs and *havelis* of the nobles on the right bank of the river. It also depicts gardens located between the Taj Mahal and the Fort. Between the burning *ghats* and the Taj lies an extensive garden with a red sandstone structure towards the river. This is known as the Bagh Khan-i Alam. Yet another garden nearby is called Taliyar ka Baghicha, which according to Fuhrer was the garden of Mahabat Khan.[30]

The garden was not only an instrument of redesigning the urban landscape but also an important tool for urban planning. A number of recent researches have tried to argue that the *Chahar bagh* or the Timurid garden with its four-quartered divisions was one of the major sources of Mughal town planning in India. In the hands of the Mughal architects the centrepetal symmetry of the *Chahar bagh*, its axes, joints and modules were turned architecturally into pavilions, *chabutaras*, a water fall, a *caravansarai*, and symmetrical streets. The grids and proportions of a garden were enlarged into the planning of a Mughal town. Like the *Chahar bagh* the town was divided into various distinct divisions revolving around a localised central structure on the one hand and aligned symmetrically with the actual centre.

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it is Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal and the River front Gardens of Agra*, London, 2006

[30] Fuhrer, *The Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, Vol. II, p. 64

A care in point may be, for instance, the Mumtazabad or the Tajganj area. Or for that matter, the individual noble's houses vis-á vis the palace and the peripheral areas. In its zone, the residence of the noble worked as a module on the larger grid around which the plan of that area rotated.

A glance of this Map of 1720 also goes to prove the assertion of Monserrate, Finch and others regarded the peculiar shape of the city. It also goes to prove the assertion of Pelsaert regarding the placement of the noble's structures along the river. To quote Pelsaert:

> "The breadth of the city is by no means so great as the length, because every one has tried to be close to the river bank, and consequently the water front is occupied by the costly palaces of all the famous lords, which make it appear gay and magnificent, and extend for a distance of 6 *kos* or 3 ½ Holland miles."[31]

Among some of the palaces mentioned by Pelsaert which were situated on the river bank were those of Bahadur Khan, Ibrahim Khan, Rustam Qandhari, Itiqad Khan, Wazir Khan, Baqar Khan and others.[32]

The said Map depicts around nineteen such *havelis* or mansions some of which are identified as those belonging to Asalat Khan, Mahabat Khan, Hoshdar Khan, Azam Khan, Mughal Khan, Islam Khan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi,

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[31] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 2

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3

Hafiz Khidmatgar, Asaf Khan, Shaista Khan, Jafar Khan, Wazir Khan, Muqim Khan, and Khalil Khan.[33]

The Map also depicts around eight radial roods starting from various directions and converging towards the fort. On these one arterial rood winds its way from the fort to a city gate situated on the south-western corner of the town. The main imperial road however appears to be the one which emanates from the northern gate (Delhi *Darwaza*) of the Fort and opens into an octagonal *bazar* labelled as *Chahārsūq* from the front of the Jami' Masjid winds its way towards the north west. It is interesting to note that between the Jami' Masjid and the gate of the city labelled *Chahārsūq Darwaza*, the wide road is flanked by shops on both its sides. Another market is located on a road near the first road described towards the south-western corner of the town.

It also appears that sometime around 1720's the city was surrounded with fortification walls, the south-eastern section of which (depicted in yellow) was still under construction. It is also interesting to note that within the outer walls towards the north and west that is the area around *Chahārsūq*, there is a second but thinner screen wall which is again pierced by eight gateways. It was probably an area reserved for the higher echelons of the society.

The outer red sandstone and rubble wall portions of which survive till date had eight main gates apart from 25 smaller gateways. Around seven gates

[33] For exact location of some of these mansions which survive, see Fuhrer, op. cit., II; Neville, *District Gazetteer of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, 1905, III, pp. 217-18; Syed Ahmad Mahrarvi, *Muraqqa-i Akbarabad*, 1930. See also the Chapter on Noble's houses below.

are seen in the portion which was still under construction. A look at the appended Map I depicting the surviving structures at Agra shows that many of these ‘city-gates’ of the outer and inner walls survive till date. In the outer boundary, starting from the river side in the north and proceeding anti-clockwise, the still extant city gates are the Purbi Gate, Tazian Gate, Kashmiri Gate, Delhi Gate (**Plate 1.1**), Alam ganj Gate, Fateh Muhammad Gate, Changa Modi Gate (**Plate 1.2**), Fota Phatak, Gungam Gate, Kans Gate (**Plate 1.3**), Chhota Gwalior Gate, Ajmeri Gate, Bada Gwalior Gate, Amar Singh Gate, Dakhini Gate, Qalandar Gate and Lal Diwar Gate. Amongst these the Gates from Amar Singh Gate to Lal Diwar Gate are those which were part of the wall which was still under construction when the City Palace Museum Map of Agra was prepared.

The Gates from the inner city walls which still survive are (anti clockwise): Sadar Gate, Nim Gate, Chaharsu Gate and Nuri Gate. None of the gates from the south portions of the wall survives.

From the attributed names of these gates what becomes apparent is that these nomenclatures reflect (a) the directions towards which the roads lead from the city: for example Delhi Gate, Gwalior Gate and the Ajmeri Gate; (b) the directions of their location, e.g. Purbi Gate and Dakhini Gate; (c) the markets, both commodity or in the name of prominent traders or nobles, e.g. Alamganj, Chaharsu Gate; or (d) in the name of individuals, e.g., Fateh Muhammad Gate, Changa Modi Gate, AmarSingh Gate or Qalandar Gate.

Were the last categories of Gates located in or near the noble's mansions bearing those names?

The areas all around within the city walls is marked by other structures most of which have not been located or identified. This was the main area of the city where the civic population resided. Yet the city does not appear to be confined within the fortification walls, for a large number of structures can be discerned even beyond it. Though not shown on this map, the area of Sikandara was an important suburb which had existed since the very beginnings of the city.

Between the Octagonal *Chaharsūq* bazar and the eastern gate of the Jami' Masjid is depicted the octagonal shaped *Badshāhi Chowk*.

Further information on the city planning and architectural components of the town at Agra is thrown by a versified bardic account of the city which was composed by a Rajasthani poet around 1720's. This versified panygeric of the city known as '*Agra ri Gajal*' was composed by Laxmi Chand in 1722-23.[34] Read along with the Map of Agra which was drawn around the same time, this short panygeric throws much light on the urban fabric of Agra.

Thus according to this *gajal* (*ghazal*, versified praise), there was a big market located in the *Badshahi Chowk*, where all kinds of goods were

[34] '*Agra ri Gajal*', Laxmi Chand, c. 1722-23, English translation B. L. Bhadani (unpublished). I am thankful to my supervisor Dr. S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi for providing me a copy of the same from his personal collection. This verified ode was published by Agar Chand Nohta in *Bhartiya Sahitya,* Year 4, no. 3, July 1959, pp. 19-25. where in it is stated to have been first published by Muni Kanti Sagar in 1948 for the Hindi translation see B. L. Bhadani, "*Agra Ki Ghazal"*, *Madhya Kalin Bharat*, no. 4, pp. 162-66.

available. Beyond this grand bazar were other markets especializing in cloth, grain and sweat meat. The *Muhallas* of Jain merchants and Hindu traders were located nearby.[35]

The Imperial mint was located near the *Badshahi Chowk* at the Pearl market.

Although not mentioned in the *gajal* and the Map, a large ferry was located between the fort and the Taj Mahal.

According to Pelsaert, the area on the left bank of Jamuna river was named Sikandara. It was well built and populated "but chiefly inhabited by *banian (banya)* merchants" and full of merchandise from far flung area.[36] However according to Laxmi Chand, the area, as against the main city, which by this time was known as *Akbarabad,* was known as Agra.[37]

From the above discussion it would be apparent that the Mughal town of Agra was a well laid out township: the citadel or the fort was surrounded all around with beautiful gardens and well layed out mansions of the nobles. Beyond the residential structures of nobility and gardens were the localities of the mercantile classes and markets. The commercial area, along with the central mosque and the citadel was initially protected with ditches and then subsequently by fortifications. The lesser-important classes of the merchants and the civilian population too were surrounded and protected by the same ditches and battlements. Most of the important roads led to the centrally located

[35] For details of the markets mentioned in this poem see the Chapter on Bazars below.

[36] Pelseart, . 4

[37] Laxmi Chand, *Agra ri Gajal*, op. cit.

administrative centre and a number of them were lived with shops or residences of various kinds of people. The left bank of the river was sparsely populated but instead was lived with pretty gardens and tombs of the nobility. However writings of European travellers have left behind an impression that Agra's settlement pattern followed no plan. But then probably these comments were due to Agra being a very populous city. According to Manrique, Agra was a have to 'six hundred and sixty thousand excluding foreigners who after filling ninety *caravansarais* spread out into private houses'.[38]

Mughal Agra, nevertheless, as we have seen above was, a city based on a concept. It was a 'river front garden city'[39], the planning and development of which, instead of chaos, reflects a conscious effort by the powers that be, to protect the commercial importance of the town. It was an endeavour to bring order into the visual chaos.

[38] *Travels of F. S. Manrique, 1629-1643*, tr. Luard and Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, LXI, Oxford, 1927, p. 152.

[39] See Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj Mahal*, op. cit., p. 29

Chapter- II
Riverfront and Other Gardens

CHAPTER 2

RIVERFRONT AND OTHER GARDENS

Gardens were an integral part of the Mughal life and culture and constituted an important part of city planning. The *Chahārbāgh* or the four-quartered garden, which ultimately came to be identified as a typical Mughal garden was initially introduced in India. Some of the earliest of Babur's garden projects were launched at the newly emerging Mughal city of Agra. We have already seen that the garden in its *Chahārbāgh* variety emerged under Babur and his successors as an important instrument of urban design.

Babur, coming from Central Asia, had naturally inherited the ideals of this garden from the Timurid tradition.[1] The Persian and Timurid gardens were generally enclosed within a boundary wall pierced with gates. The plan of this type of gardens was worked out in a regular arrangement of four squares often subdivided into smaller plots with a pool or tank of water with lilies or a pleasure-pavilion in the centre. Four shallow water channels ran at right angles

[1] For pre-Mughal Timurid and Persian Garden and their influence on the Mughal, see for example C. H. Villiers Stuart, *Gardens of Great Mughals*, London, 1913; Donald N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, Tokyo, 1962; A. U. Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art*, London, 1930; Lisa Golambek, 'The Gardens of Timur: New Perspective', *Muqarnas: An Annual on Islamic Art and Architecture*, ed. Oleg Grabar, Vol. 3, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1985 makes a study of these gardens as architectural ensembles and instruments of town planning.

from the central pool to the middle of the four cardinal sides. Flower-parterres and cypress avenues bordered there channels.[2]

Further, due to the typical topography of the region, the Persian and Timurid gardens were generally terraced with flowing water as the principal adornment and the *raison d'etre*. Water was manipulated beautifully in channels, *jets déau*, water falls and cascades. The water-courses were paved with bright blue tiles.[3] A number of these *chahārbāgh* gardens were layed out at Samarqand which had been held by Babur twice before he conquered India. Gardens like *Bagh-i Dilkusha*, *Bagh-i Shimal* and *Bagh-i Nau* had been founded by Timur (1338-1405) himself.

These Timurid gardens were marked by their vast enclosure within high walls, splendid monumental portals, quartered divisions, choice of a natural slope and the use of the main water-axis, vineyards, and the location of a structure- a palace or a pavilion – at the centre of each section.[4]

Being fully conversant with the plan and layout of these gardens at Samarqand, Babur in 1508 patterned his *Bagh-i Wafa* at Kabul and then in 1526-1527 went on to construct his initial gardens at Panipat, Sikri and ultimately Agra. It has been argued that these endeavours were nothing but 'an appropriation of land and royal emblems of territorial control'.[5]

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[2] See for example Donald N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, op. cit, p. 76

[3] A. U. Pope, *An Introduction to Persian Art*, London, op. cit, pp. 207-8

[4] Donald N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, op. cit, pp. 60-61; Lisa Golambek, 'The Gardens of Timur: New Perspective', *Muqarnas*, op. cit, pp. 137-42

[5] James L. Wescoat, Jr., "Picturing an Early Mughal Garden", *Asian Art II*, no. 4, Fall, 1989, pp. 59-79; *idem*, "Gardens versus Citadels: The Territorial Context of Early Mughal

The gardens (the *chahārbāghs*) as introduced in India by Babur, thus, were generally laid out on a grid pattern and followed a pattern: a square or a rectangular area divided into four quadrants (or multiples thereof) by two axes comprising the water-channels and pathways (the *khiyābāns*) (**Plan 2.1**). Depending on the area to be enclosed, the quadrant could be divided and sub-divided to create the same module on different scales. At the points of intersections, water-tanks (*hauz*) and platforms were built. In the centre was either a large *hauz* or a *bārādari* (a pavilion with triple-pillared opening on each side).[6] This typical form of *chaharbagh* was generally preferred for Tomb gardens. The second form of this garden was the waterfront garden comprising of a riverfront structure usually on a raised platform (*kursi*) below which was the main garden with *khiyabans* dividing the whole into quadrants (**Plan 2.2**). The terraced garden (**Plan 2.3**) was not generally resorted to due to the topography of the Mughal territories in India.[7]

These gardens could either be laid out as orchards (*bustan*), or flower gardens (*gulistan*). From the point of view of their purpose they could be further categorized as (a) Pleasure gardens; (b) Temporary camping ground of

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Gardens", *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods, Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture*, ed. John Dixon Hunt, Washington DC, 1992, pp. 331-58

[6] See Sylvia Grow, Sheila Haywood & Susan Jellicoe, *The Gardens of Mughal India*, London, 1972; E. B. Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India*, London, 1979. For the introduction of such gardens in India, see *Baburnama*, op. cit., pp. 552, 581, 615-16 etc.

[7] See Ebba Koch, , "The Mughal Waterfront Garden", *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Studies*, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 183-202

the emperors;[8] (c) *khānabāgh* or house gardens;[9] and / or (d) funerary gardens.[10]

It is also interesting to note that most of these gardens, the *chahārbāghs* (as against the *khānabāghs*) were generally situated on the outskirts of the towns: some were however also laid-out within the city proper. This was, for example the case not only at Shahjahanabad but also at the port-town of Surat.[11] This tradition probably started in India at Agra where the story of *chahārbāghs* truly started with the construction of *Hasht Bihisht* on the banks of the river in 1526.[12] From its reference in the *Baburnama* and other contemporary sources it is apparent that this garden was layed out on the left bank of the Yamuna almost opposite the fort. (**Plate 2.1**) In order to convey the significance of this garden, Ahmad Yadgar writing during the reign of Akbar informs us:

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[8] For example at one place in his Memoirs, Jahangir notes: 'I remained three days in the garden, and on 27th *Isfandiyar* entered the city', *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 114

[9] For the remains of *khānabagh* attached to the nobles structures at Fathpur Sikri, distt. Agra, see S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, "Exploring Mughal Gardens at Fathpur Sikri", *PIHC*, Bangalore session, 1998.

[10] Catherine B. Asher, "Babur and Timurid Chārbagh: Use and meaning", Mughal Architecture: Pomp and Ceremonies: Environmental Design, 1991, no. 1-2, p. 53: *idem*, *Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 37

[11] Stephen Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739*, Cambridge, 1991; Hiromu Nagashima, "On a map of Surat (a Mughal Port Town) Drawn in the Former half of the 18th Century", *Nagasaki Prefectural University Journal*, Vol. 40, no. 2, September 2006, pp. 89-112

[12] *Baburnama*, op. cit, p. 531; Gulbadan Bano Begum, *Humayun Nama*, ed. A.S. Beveridge, p. 43

> "...And in the second Regnal Year of His Majesty (Babur) foundations of an un-paralleled and unique garden were laid on the banks of the river Jun [Yamuna]. The plan with walkways (*tarh bandi-i khiyaban*) [for the garden lay-out] appeared for the first time in India. Before this [*Hasht Bihisht Bagh*] this plan with walkways was not to be found anywhere in India..."[13]

It was not only the '*Hasht Bihisht*' but also a 'garden of the private apartments' which was also constructed by Babur at this time.[14] A number of Babur's accomplices and nobles are also said to have 'procured lands on the (left) bank of the river, made regular and elegant gardens and tanks.'[15]

These were the initial attempts towards the Mughal city of Agra under Babur. All the gardens were on the banks of river Yamuna. This laying out of riverfront gardens at Agra (**Plate 2.2**) introduced a new type of urban planning in India. This tradition of developing Agra as a riverfront city was faithfully carried forwards during the subsequent reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan.[16] In 1558 when Akbar re-established his court at Agra and made this city his capital orders were issued to the nobility not only to build their mansions 'on either side' of

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[13] Ahmad Yadgar, *Tārīkh-I Shāhi* or *Tarikh*-i-*Salatin-i-Afghana*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1936, ed Hidayat Husain, pp. 120-21

[14] *Baburnama*, op. cit, p. 531

[15] *Baburnama*, op. cit, pp. 531-32

[16] See Ebba Koch, "The Mughal Waterfront Garden", *op.cit.*, pp. 183-202; See also *idem*, *The Complete Taj*, op. cit, pp. 29-30; See also *idem*, 'Mughal Palace Gardens from Babur to Shahjahan', *Muqarnas*, Vol. 14, 1997, pp. 143-65

the river but also lay out 'charming gardens'.[17] It was this tradition of performing the river bank that Agra got its typical shape. Pelsaert, writing during the reign of Jahangir tells us the narrow breadth of the city was due to the fact that 'every one has tried to be close to the river bank, and consequently the waterfront is occupied' by the costly palaces and gardens. He goes on to add that this 'luxuriance of the groves all round makes it resemble a royal park rather than a city.' He goes on to list thirty three gardens at Agra.[18] Thevenot too when he visited Agra mentions 'twenty five or thirty' riverfront gardens and their walls which 'contribute much to the rendering the Town as long as it is'.[19] To Bernier, who visited Agra in 1659, the defects of urban planning like narrow and haphazard roads were ironed out by 'luxuriant and green foliage' which also ameliorated the inconveniences caused by the hot and extreme climate of the country.[20] The relationship between the city and the gardens during the reign of Shahjahan is best brought about by Muhammad Salih Kanboh in the following words:

> "On either side of that sea full of pleasantness [Yamuna], buildings and gardens of paradisiacal space on placed together in such a handsome close way that from the charming entertainment of each of them the right of the beholder gathers the flowers of bounty of the

[17] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, ed. by Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1881, pp. 76-77, 122-123

[18] Pelsaert, op. cit, pp. 2, 5

[19] Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. S. Sen, New Delhi, 1949, pp. 47-48

[20] Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, tr. A. Constable, 1972, p. 285

> month of *Urdi Bihisht* [spring]. Because of the riverfront buildings and the flower gardens in front [on the landward side], it appears that garden is linked to garden and garden plot (*chaman*) to garden plot, [and thus] the desire to stroll in the garden of Paradise is completely erased from the page of memory….. In particular, the spacious buildings and wonderful pavilions of the princes of exalted origin and other *amirs*…. give a display of the garden of *Rizwan* [the gate-keeper of Paradise] and the palaces of the garden of Paradise."[21]

Much insightful information on the gardens of Agra is supplied to us by the map of Agra drawn sometime in 1720's on the orders of Sawai Jai Singh now preserved at the City Palace Museum, Jaipur (**Map IA)**.[22] As has been pointed out in the previous chapter, this map depicts the various gardens of Agra along with their names written in *devanagari* script. [See **Map IA**] These gardens have been shown in schematic form and go to corroborate the information on the city of Agra as given by contemporary sources discussed above. On may visualise the scheme and lay out of the gardens as they may have existed from the time of the city's inception under Akbar down to the reign of Shahjahan, when it formally ceased to be the capital of Mughal Empire.

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[21] Muhammad Salih Kanboh, *Bahār-i Sukhan*, BL, MS, Or. 178, ff. 248a-248b. Cf. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj*, op. cit, p. 32

[22] Map of Agra, Cat. No. 126, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur.

The map was ordered to be made at a time when Sawai Jai Singh was appointed as the governor of Agra.[23] The task of making this map was assigned to his deputy Rai Shiv Das.[24] Further, the authenticity of the information contained in this map is attested by confirmations coming from the nineteenth century account of Munshi Sil Chand: a number of gardens depicted in the eighteenth century map are shown extant in the later account.[25]

Sixteen gardens are depicted on this map adorning the left bank of the river in the side on which Babur reportedly initiated his riverfront scheme of the city. Starting from the north (**Map II**) these gardens are:

1. *Bagh-i Shah Nawaz Khan*
2. *Buland Bagh* (**Plate 2.3**)
3. *Bagh-i Nur Afshan* (**Plan 2.4 & Plate 2.4**)
4. *Bagh-i Jahanara* (**Plan 2.5 & Plate 2.5**)
5. *Bagh*
6. *Rauza Afzal Khan* (within a *Bāgh*) (**Plan 2.6 & Plate 2.6**)
7. *Bagh-i Khwaja Muhamad Zakariya* (**Plan 2.7**)
8. *Bagh-i Sultan Parvaiz*
9. *Bagh-i Itimaduddaula* (within a *Bāgh*) (**Plan 2.8**)

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[23] Sawai Jai Singh was appointed as the governor of Agra in 1722. See V. S. Bhatnagar, *Life and Times of Sawai Jai Singh, 1688-1743*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 190-92

[24] See Chandramani Singh, "Early 18th Century Painted City Maps on Cloth", *Facets of Indian Art*, London, 1986, pp. 185-92; Gopal Narain Bahura & Chandramani Singh, *Catalogue of Historical Documents in Kapad Dwara, Jaipur, Part II: Maps and Plans*, Jaipur, 1990, p. 11

[25] See *Tafrih-ul 'imārat*, Sil Chand, BL, MS. 10L. 2450. Cf. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj*, op. cit, p. 34

10. *Bagh –i Musavi Khan Sadr*
11. *Bagh-i Patishahi*
12. *Moti Bagh-i Patishahi* (**Plate 2.7**)
13. *Bagh-i Patishahi*
14. *Lal Bagh Patishahi*
15. *Doosrau* (second) *Chaharbagh-i Patishahi*
16. *Chaharbagh-i Patishahi*
17. *Bagh-i Mahtab Patishahi* (**Plate 2.8**)

Amongst these at least three have been attributed to the reign of Babur, and five each to the reign of Jahangir & Shahjahan. Some probably date to the later Mughal period. However in the light of the documentary evidence cited above, the sites of the Shahjahani and later Mughal gardens were those which had been built over the remains of the gardens of the previous era.

As mentioned earlier, the earliest garden built by Babur at Agra was the *Hasht Bihist.*[26] Ebba Koch identifies this garden with the remains of garden no. 16 (of which only a few wells remain, the whole land now being used as agricultural land) which is nomenclated as *Chaharbagh-i Patishahi*. She however, does not cite any evidence as a support for her identification.

Traditionally, the site of *Bāgh-i Nur Afshan* (no. 3 on the map, see **Plan 2.4**) has been identified with Aram Bagh, a garden where Bubur's body after his death was temporarily buried before being transferred to Kabul. Whether it was so and whether it was the site of a garden built during the period of Babur,

[26] *Baburnama*, op. cit, p. 531; Khwandamir, *Humayun Nama*, op. cit, pp. 69-70

we do not know. It is the site of a garden built by Nur Jahan Begum during the reign of Jahangir.[27] According to her its architecture clearly 'dates from Jahangir's time and testifies to the patronage of Nur Jahan as an outstanding garden builder.'[28]

Gulbadan Bano Begum mentions a garden known as *Bāgh-i Gul Afshan* founded by her father where Mirza Kamran stayed during his visit to Agra. He is also said to have paid a visit to the 'tomb' of Babur[29]: was it within this very garden which then was given the name of "Arām Bāgh" (or was it initially known as *Bagh-i 'iram* – the garden of paradise?).

Modern explorations and excavations have revealed that although finally built during the reign of Shahjahan, the *Mahtab Bāgh* was originally laid out by Babur. Excavations carried out during 1979-80 revealed an octagonal tank of burnt bricks (**Plate 2.9**) and the foundations of the enclosure walls of rectangular garden (**Plan 2.9**). This octagonal tank was found decorated with foliated edges similar to the ones found at *Bāgh-i Nilofar* constructed by Babur at Dholpur.[30] Further explorations conducted during the year 1993-94 exposed further evidence for the existence of a garden. Excavations revealed the

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[27] Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj*, op. cit, p. 37

[28] For details of this *Bagh-i Nur Afshan* and its architecture see Ebba Koch, 'Notes on the Painted and Sculptured Decoration of Nur Jahan's Pavilions in the Ram Bagh (*Bagh-i Nur Afshan*) at Agra", *Facets of Indian Art*, ed. R. Skelton, A. Topofield, S. Strong, R. Gill and G. Parlett, London, 1986, pp. 51-66; *idem*, *Mughal Architecture: An Outline of its History and Development, (1526-1858)*, Munich, 1991, pp.86-89; *idem*, *The Complete Taj*, op. cit, pp.37-40

[29] Gulbadan Bano Begum, op.cit., p. 43

[30] *India Archaeology 1979-80 -A Review*, ed. D. Mitra, ASI, New Delhi, 1983, p. 72

fragments of spring fountains made of marble, terracotta pipes and the drains. Further, all these architectural fragments suggested the Shahjahani style of architecture.[31]

All these evidences go to debunk the theory of the '*Black Taj*' or a second Taj for Shahjahan. It is interesting to note that the Jaipur City Palace Museum city-plan of Agra made on the orders of Sawai Jai Singh in or around 1720 marks a garden nomenclated as 'Another Imperial Garden' (*dusrau bāgh-i pātsahi*) at the place where the excavations have been carried out. According to this map, this garden was a culmination of a series of gardens which started with the Aram Bagh in the North.

The excavations in the area carried out in 1994-95 finally brought out the whole garden and its lay-out.[32]

Like a typical Mughal garden, the *Mahtab Bāgh* was conceived on a *chahārbāgh* pattern with water-channels and walkways (*khiyabans*) dividing the whole into multiples of four, and the whole surrounded within a walled enclosure (**Plan 2.10**).

In the eastern periphery, a series of quadrants each of 4.25m X 4.25m were excavated, (**Plate2.10**) which revealed a structure of 25.75m (North-South) X 4.80m (East-West) built of *lakhauri* bricks and lime-mortar. Although the structure above the plinth level is completely disappeared, yet, the plan suggested that it might have been a *bangla* or *baradari* which consisted of an oblong central hall verandah (traditionally having three arched-openings in

[31] Ibid. 1993-94 -A Review, ed. R. S. Bisht, ASI, New Deldi, 2000, pp. 100-101

[32] *India Archaeology 1996-97 - A Review*, ed. K. G. Menon, ASI, New Delhi, 2002, p. 105

front and back), measuring 8.25m (North-South) X 4.80m (East-West), flanked by a small chamber on either side, each measuring 3.45m (North-South) X 4.80m (East-West). The thickness of wall at this level measured 1.25m. The *bangla* or *baradari* is located on the mid-length of eastern boundary wall. A small area in the front of this structure yielded traces of brick pavement overlaid with lime-mortar. The paved ground is found connected with a small platform at a slightly lower level which was ascended through steps on the northern side. The traces of three steps were encountered on this stairway which was constructed with *lakhauri* brick-work and veneered with red sandstone.

The northern periphery of the site, close to the village Kachhpura, had suffered due to the robbing of building material as well as rubble, for spreading on the floors of cattle-pen in the past. The excavation revealed structural remains measured approximately 14.20m (East-West) along the boundary wall and 1.8m in width towards south, projected from the northern side or the boundary wall. The wall remains in the portion had been robbed to a considerable depth and now only its foundation has survived in varying heights. The traces of stone *kerbs* in the projected portion indicate the existence of a gateway in the middle portion of northern boundary wall (**Plate 2.11**).

In the central area, the excavation revealed the existence of a masonry tank. (**Plate 2.12**) Its traces indicate that the tank was externally square. Internally, the tank is almost intact, displaying a marvelous design in execution. The interior of the tank is basically a square with chamfered corner at the

bottom. The chamfered portion is superimposed with moulded decoration of cusped design. Each of the cardinal sides measures 6.90m in complete length but excluding the chamfered portion on both sides, it is 3.90m. The chamfered face is 2.10m in length. The traces of a circular pit in the centre of the tank suggest that there was a single fountain in the centre of the tank. The tank was built with *lakhauri* brick work and has a finely plastered surface. The embankment platform of the tank extended about 5m from inner face on all cardinal sides. The tank is 1.65m deep from the top level of embankment. The available evidence shows that the embankment platform was only 1.5m high from its foundation. However, deep digging in this area revealed an array of wall alignments forming some cell-like arrangements. It is probable that these underlying wall alignments were the remains of some earlier edifice, however, it is assumed that it was a box-foundation provided to the tank. The tank contained an outlet built of terracotta-pipe running through the platform and in the remaining length it is built of brick-work and covered with red sandstone slabs.[33]

The southern periphery of the site is dominated by a large octagonal pool (**Plate 2.13**) as revealed by the previous as well as present excavation. In the present excavation, ninety quadrants have been exposed which revealed the detailed picture of the pool and associated edifices. Each side of the octagonal pool measured 17.45 m at the inner face and its total interior area amounts to 1469.79 sq. m. This pool or tank consists of *pucca* bottom, elaborate

[33] *Indian Archaeological 1996-97 – A Review*, ed. Kasturi Gupta Menon, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 2002, p. 106

embankment, a fountain system and outlets and pavilions on the southern side. On the bottom floor of the pool twenty-five circular pits were traced in particular geometrical pattern. The scooping of two pits ascertained that the pits were meant for fountain spouts and its devices. The fountain was linked with each other by underground pipeline made of glazed terracotta pipes for uniform supply of water. The spouts were made of marble. The pool comprises a very wide embankment wall rising to two terraces. The first terrace bears a plain face while the second terrace has ornate cusped mouldings. The width of the embankment wall is 11.80 m. Originally, the embankment was 4.30 m while an additional wall having width of 7.40 m was raised in the second phase. From the top surface of this embankment, the depth upto the bottom of the tank was 1.19 m. It was noticed that the interior face of the embankment was raised in two terraces. The first terrace was 50 cm high with plain face. On plan, this terrace was 85 cm wide; the second terrace begins at this receding end. It is 69 cm high and the face is broken into cusps. On plan, each side of the octagonal tank was arranged with sixteen pentafoiled arched forms upto a height of 56 cm (**Plate 2.14**). On plan, this arched portion was extended to a width of 88 cm. To the back the arched portion, a stone *kerb* of 13 cm (height) by 50 cm (width) with moulded front edge formed a running border all around. This stone border extended towards back by a platform of 5.07 m width all around with plastered surface (this plan of pavilion attached to embankment platform and consisted of a central *dalan* flanked by a closed chamber on either side, was found extending all along the length of the one side of the octagon. At the bottom of

the tank, finds of the number of pit marks and fragments of marble. The plan of the embankment wall displays that there was an earth core between the inner and the outer, while casings of brick-work were 4.56 m and 1.93 m respectively. The middle core of earth is 5.40 m. The walled embankment was provided with the *bangla* or *baradari* pavilions on southern and northern sides. The *bangla* on southern side is traceable on plan only and shows a central verandah flanked by a chamber on either side. The northern counterpart was also in a similar plan. Though its building material has been robbed ruthlessly, some stone *kerbs* and the collapsed-arches found *in situ* position, provide a panorama of the erstwhile graceful pavilion. This *bangla* or *baradari* was also adorned with a beautiful cascade. The excavation revealed that a channel is running across the verandah opening into a small rectangular tank (9.95 m X 5.55 m X 0.36 m) located just behind the embankment wall. A stone-slab (1.85 m X 0.75 m) carved with twenty-seven alcoves (9 X 3 rows) was found to the back of the embankment-wall on the route of waterfall (**Plate 2.15**). It was noticed that to drain out the water from the octagonal pool there were four outlets at the bottom level. But the surplus water was channelized through the northern arm of the pool and was cascaded into the rectangular tank. This type of cascade is typical of the Mughal style. As per the tradition, the alcoves were lighted with candle lamps to present the glittering view. The rectangular lower tank has drain-outlet at the bottom level, connected with underground covered channel leading towards north. Besides, three slits, each on the three sides to spread the surplus water on the ground, were also found.

The remains of a circular well constructed with *lakhauri* bricks and lime-mortar, located between the central tank and octagonal pool were also brought to light. The important antiquities from the site include Chinese and glazed Mughal pottery, pieces of copper spouts of fountains and huge quantity of fragment of terracotta pipes and blue glazed tiles.[34]

The tank has foliated edge in lime similar in design to the rock-cut lotus garden of Babur at Dholpur. This shows that the site was originally laid out by Babur and was maintained by later Mughal emperors. There is no evidence of having a raised plinth similar to that of the *Taj Mahal*. However, the possibility of Shahjahan's intention to have a simple tomb over his grave in *Mahtab Bagh* cannot be ruled out.

The architectural fragments similar to those of the southern pavilion were also found on the northern side of the tank, thereby suggesting the existence of a similar pavilion on the northern side as well.

A look at the plan (**Plan 2.7**) of this garden however suggests a remarkable change from the gardens of the earlier regimes.

In this garden, as at the *Taj*, the element which was usually reserved for the centre is shifted to the periphery: the central tank of this garden is unusually small, whereas a corner is reserved for a prominent and will decorated octagonal tank. Was this then a conscious attempt towards an affinity with the *Taj*, the mausoleum of the Empress, on the other bank of the river? Was this

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[34] *Indian Archaeology 1979-80 -A Review*, ed. Debala Mitra, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1983, p. 74

then the *Hasht Bihisht* of Babur which was later built over by Shahjahan when the Taj Mahal was constructed on the opposite bank? To me it appears so.

It is also interesting to note that none of these riverfront gardens can be definitely dated to the period of Akbar when the city of Akbar infact came to its own. Just like the buildings in fort, probably his gardens too were taken up and re-laid during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. We and already mentioned the probable conversions and re-laying of the Baburi gardens during the reign of Jahangir (the Aram Bagh / *Bāgh-i Nur Afshan*) and Shahjahan (the *Hasht Bihisht* / *Mahtab Bāgh*).

From the reign of Jahangir, the *Buland Bāgh* (no. 2), *Bāgh-i Nur Afshan* (no.3), *Bāgh-i Sultan Parvaiz* (no 8), the garden around the tomb of Itimad ud Daulah (no.9) and the *Moti Bāgh-i Patishahi* are depicted on this City Palace Museum map. The *Buland Bāgh* has been identified as the garden of Sarbuland Khan, a noble of Jahangir on the basis of on octagonal multi-storied tower known as *Battis Khamba* which reflects typical Jahangiri architectural features and designs.[35] The gardens of Sultan Parvaiz (No. 8) and *Moti Bāgh-i Patishahi* have both been mentioned by Pelsaert when he visited Agra during the reign of Jahangir.[36] However Peter Mundy writes that the later (which he mentions as 'Mootee ca baag' was built by 'Noore mohol, that is Nur Jahan Bagum.[37] Ebba

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[35] See Raja Ram, "The Gardens of Agra", tr. Abu Muhammad, *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. IV, no.1, 1928, pp.12-27

[36] Pelsaert, op. cit, p.5. The garden of Sultan Parvaiz is also mentioned by Raja Ram, op. cit, p.16

[37] Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. R.C. Temple, Vol. II, 1914, pp.214-15

Koch cites a miniature from the Windsor Castle *Padshohname* which according to her depicts this garden pavilion which has strong resemblance with Nurjahan Begum's pavilion at *Bagh-i Nur Afshan.*[38] Was it again, on earlier site taken up by Nurjahan Begum to build her garden?

Another garden depicted on this map where provenance is disputed is the *Bagh-i Khwaja Zakariya* (no.7). Both the map (**Map IA & II**) and Raja Ram attribute this garden to Khwaja Mohammad Zakariya who is said to have been a noble under Jahangir.[39] According to Sil Chand on the after hand the garden belonged to Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan, a physician and grandee under Shahjahan.[40]

During the reign of Jahangir, there was one Khwaja Zakariya, the son of Khwaja Bakhshi who in 1605-6 was holding the minor rank of 500 *zat.*[41] We do not hear of him again: the sources also do not reveal whether he was ever posted in or around Agra. Then there was one Khwaja Muhammad Muqim Harvi, entitled Wazir Khan under Jahangir. He held a *mansab* of 2,500/1,000 at the time of his death in 1619-20. He started his career under Jahangir in 1605-6 as a *Wazir* and then went on to hold the post of the *Diwān* of Bengal Twice.[42] He did have the requisite clout to own a riverfront garden at Agra adjacent to

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[38] M. C. Beech, E. Koch and W. Thackston, *King of the World: the Padshahnama: An Imperial Mughal Manuscript from the Royal Library,* Windsor Castle, London and Washington D.C., 1997, cat. no. 29

[39] Raja Ram, op. cit, p.16

[40] Sil Chand, Cf. Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj,* op. cit, p.45

[41] See M. Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire: Awards of Ranks, Offices and Titles to the Mughal Nobility (1574-1658),* OUP, Delhi, 1985, J126

[42] Ibid, J3, J28, J221 and J959

the garden of Sultan Parvaiz, but then we have no evidence of his having been posted at Agra.

Thus the assertion of Sil Chand to the fact that this garden was laid by the famous physician and noble Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan appears to be tenable Hakim Alimuddin started his career under Shahjahan as a *Wazir* and a *mansab* of 5000 /3000 in 1627-28.[43]

Within a year he was promoted as the *Subadar* of Agra and a *mansab* of 5000/4000.[44] He enjoyed this post till 1631-32 when he was appointed as the *Subadar* of Punjab, a post he enjoyed till 1639-40.[45] The next year he was again brought back as *Subadar* to Agra, which by now had been renamed as *Akbarabād*. He died there soon after.[46] The highest rank in his career was in 1634-35 when he was promoted to 5000/5000 (3000 x 2-3h).[47] But then in 1637-38 he was demoted to 5000/5000 (1000 x 2-3h),[48] a rank which he held till his death.

A river side *baradari* hiding a *tahkhana* or subterraneous chambers below and two octagonal bastions marking the two ends of the garden are still extant (**Plate 2.16**). They reveal typical architectural features of Shahjahan period: the multi-foliated arches and the rectangular pillars. This garden thus probably was added during the reign of Shahjahan.

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[43] M. Athar Ali, *Apparatus of Empire*, op. cit, S18, S67

[44] Ibid, S325, S4222, S667

[45] Ibid, S698, S2340

[46] Ibid, S2599, S2653

[47] Ibid, S951

[48] Ibid, S1521

The gardens from the reign of Shahjahan include the *Bāgh-i Shahnawaz Khan*, (no.1) *Bāgh-i Jahanara*, (no. 4) the garden around the tomb of Afzal Khan (no. 6) and the *Bāgh-i Musavi Khan Sadr*.

As depicted on the map, the *Bāgh-i Shahnawaz Khan* is quite modest in size. But then we know that the garden of Mirza Badi uz Zaman Shahnawaz Khan Safavi had been the venue of Aurangzeb's wedding.[49] In its original form it must have been much grander than what is covered through the map.

The *Bāgh-i Jahanara* (no. 4): according to Abu Talib Kalim, a poet-laureate of Shahjahan's court was founded by Mumtaz Mahal. After death it became the property of her daughter Jahanara Begum, in whose same it became famous.[50] Nothing much survives from this imperial garden except some traces and an octagonal side-bastion, which is a triple storeyed structure surmounted with a *Chhatri* (**Plate 2. 17**). The surface decorations on its two lower floors reveal that this structure was constructed early in Shahjahan's reign when the Jahangiri architectural features were still popular. On both these floors we get *Chinikhana* motifs. The *Chhatri* at the top however contains the multi-foliated arches popular under Shahjahan.

Presently most of these gardens of the left bank of the river have disappeared (**Map III**). The *Mahtab Bāgh* has recently been excavated and the gardens of Itimad-ud Daulah, and the *Bāgh-i Nur Afshan* (the Aram Bagh) are the only other gardens which survive in full. The riverfront pavilions and

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[49] Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir ul Umara*, tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta, reprint 1979, Vol. II, pp. 767-71

[50] Abu Talib Kalim, *Diwan-i Kalim*, ed. Partan Bayzai, Tehran, 1957

remains of some of the bastions adorning the gardens between Aram Bagh and Itimad ud Daulah survive. Traces of all the gardens between the *Mahtab Bāgh* and Itimad ud Daulah (i.e. nos. 10-16) have almost totally disappeared. The gardens around the tombs of Itimadud Daula and Akbar at the suburbs of Sikandra, as against all the other garden, are typical *chahārbāghs.*

Coming to the right bank of the river, the City Palace Museum map depicts only four gardens, viz.:

1. *Bāgh Khan –i Alam* (no. 21). (**Plan 2.11**)
2. *Bāgh-i Rai Shiv Das* (no. 42).
3. *Bāgh–i Hakim Kazim Ali* (no. 43)
4. The garden around the *Rauza Jafar Khan* (no. 44) (**Plan 2.12**)

The other structures depicted on this side flanking the fort are the *havelis* of the nobility and a mosque (no. 35).

Out of these four, one (the *Bāgh-i Khan-i Alam*) belongs to the reign of Jahangir and one (i.e. garden around the *Rauza Ja'far Khan*) to the period of Shahjahan. The Bagh Rai Shiv Das belongs to the eighteenth Century, being the garden of the author of the map, while the last, the *Bāgh-i Hakim Kazim Ali* cannot be safely dated. Probably it too belongs to the eighteenth century. Out of these the Tomb of Ja'far Khan, like the tombs of Itimadud Daula and Akbar, is surrounded with the traditional and typical *chahārbāgh* plan.

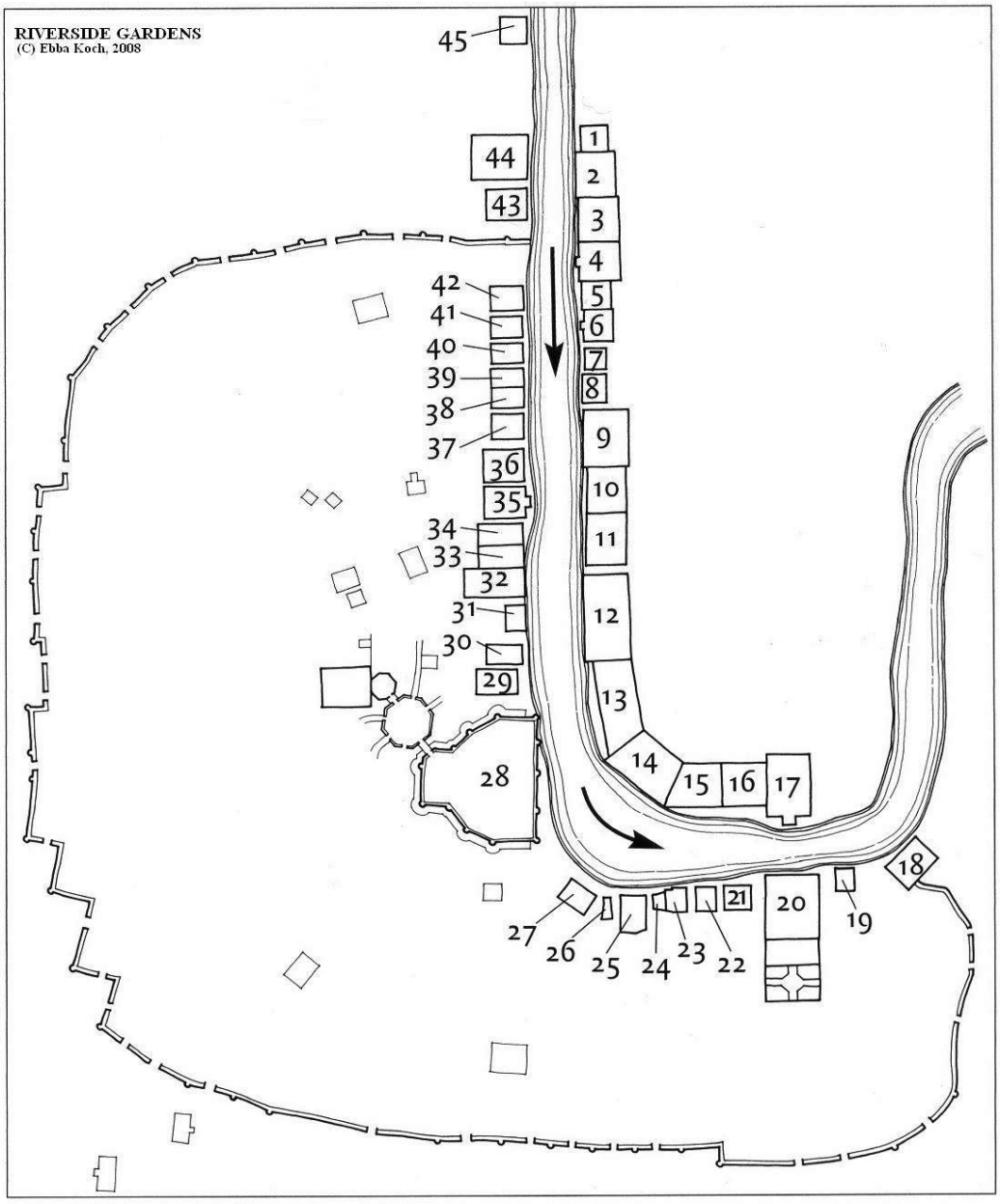
A few other gardens can also be traced in the city of Agra. Examples can be given to the *Suraj Bhan ka Bāgh*, portions of which survive, near the Tomb

of Akbar in the suburbs of Mughal Agra. Another large garden once spread beside the Tomb of Firuz Khan to the south of the city near the modern Agra-Gwalior road. Although very few medieval gardens survive to day yet it can safely be assumed that they were once the key to the urban planning. They gave Agra its typical character which distinguished it from the other contemporary cities. If Fathpur Sikri was known for its meticulous planning, Shahjahanabad for its wide and well organized road networks, Agra was distinguished by its riverfront gardens: in fact they were the very face and spirit of the city. Writing as early as Akbar's Agra father Monserrate had concluded:

> "...It has the advantage over almost all other cities of that region in respect of its mild climate, of its fertile soil, of its great river, of its beautiful gardens…"[51]

[51] Monserrate, op. cit, p. 35

Map II


RIVERSIDE GARDENS
(C) Ebba Koch, 2008
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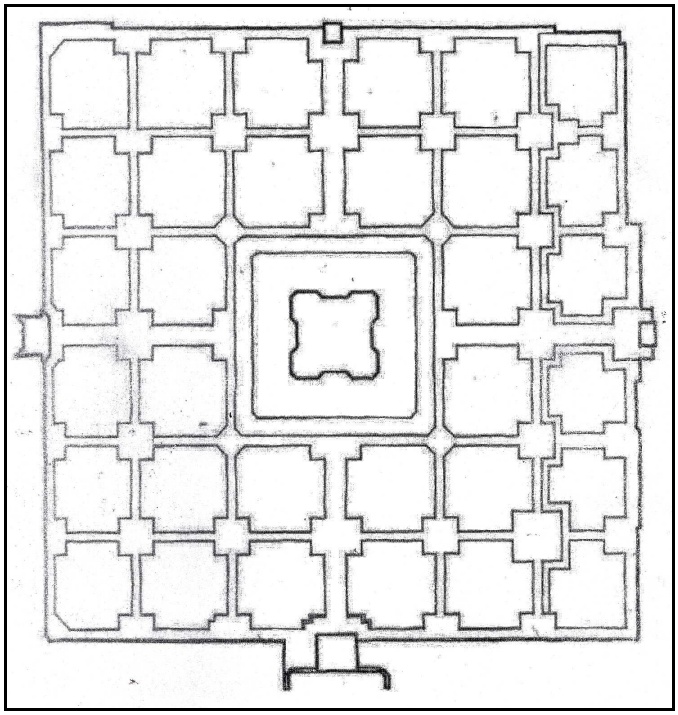
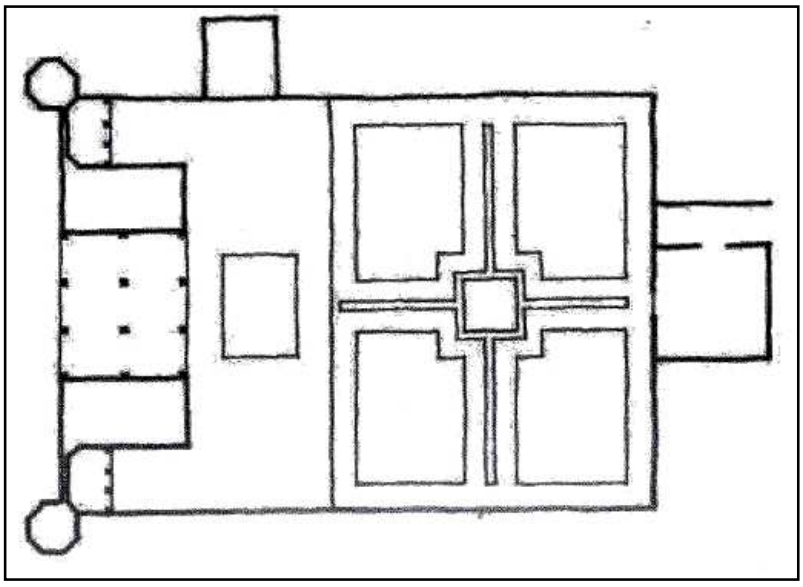
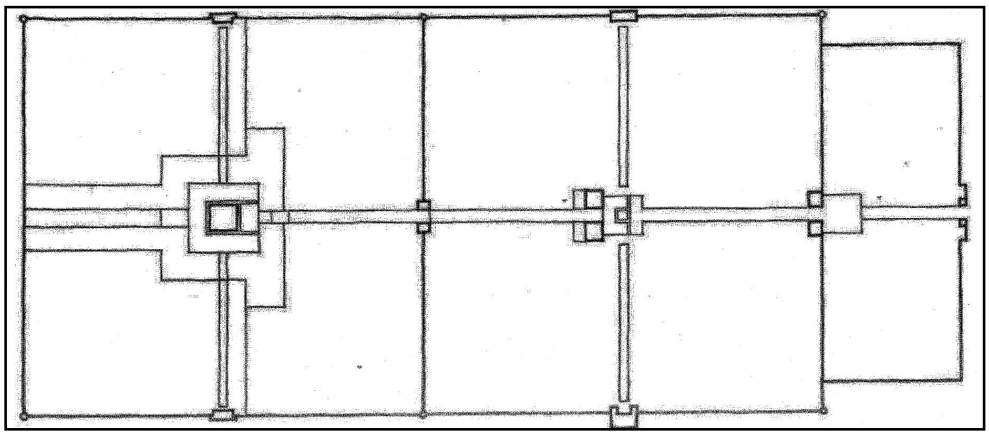


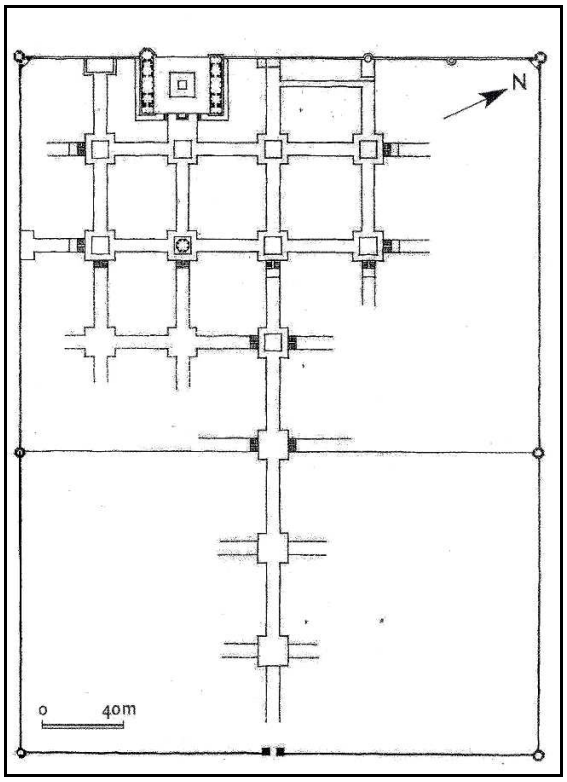
Plan 2.1: *Chaharbagh* (four-quartered garden)



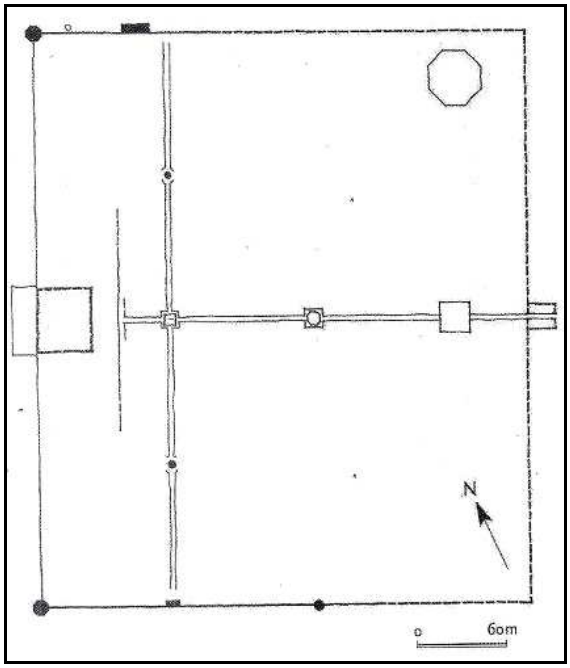
Plan 2.2: Waterfront Garden



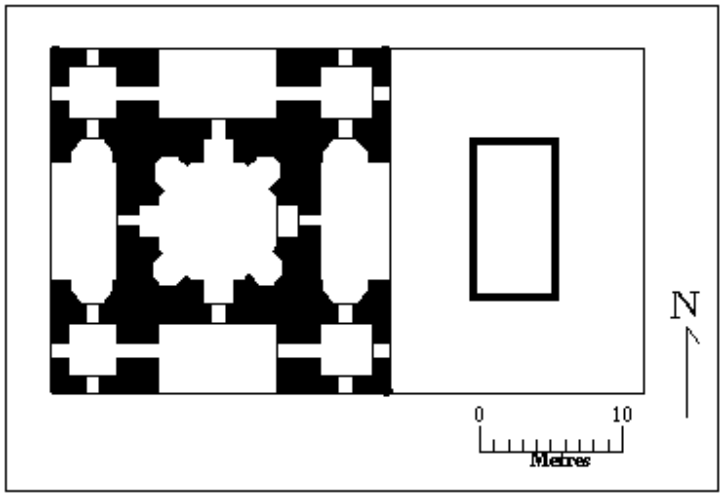
Plan 2.3: Terraced Garden



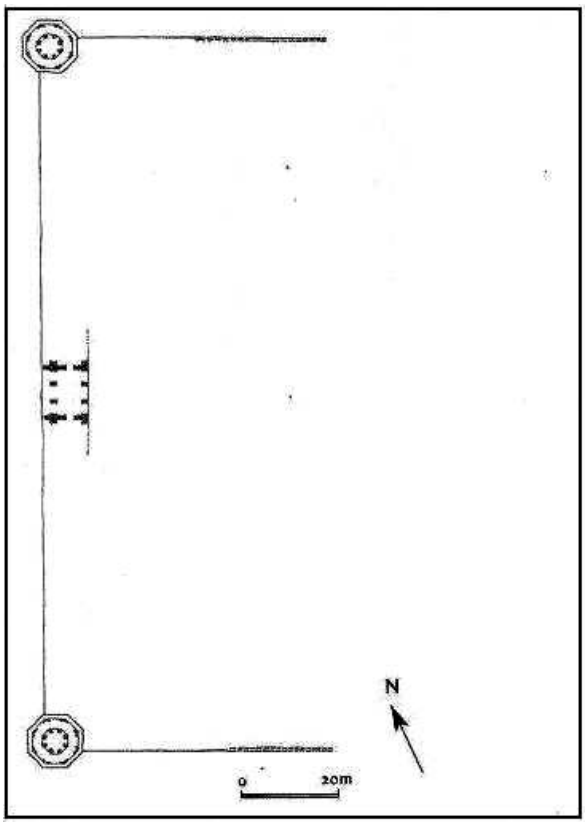
Plan 2.4: *Bagh-i Nur Afshan* (*Aram Bagh*)



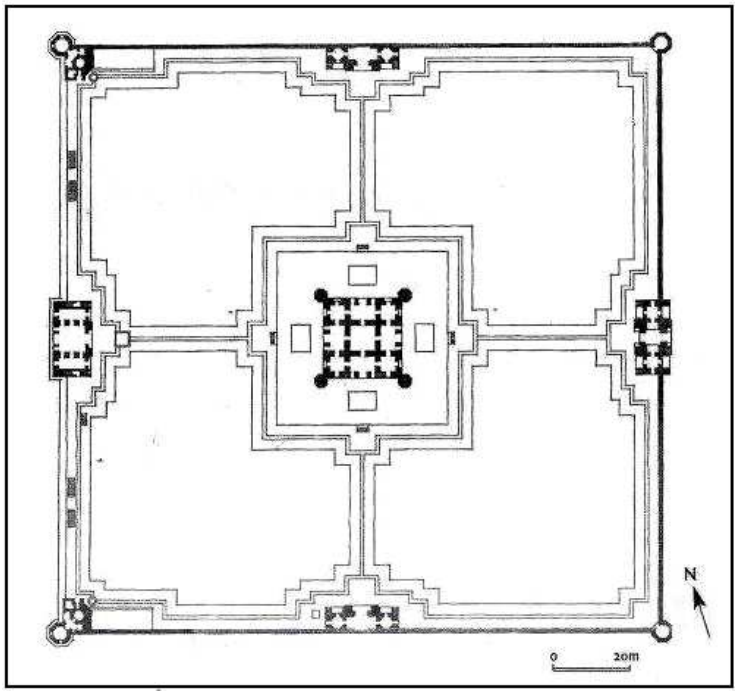
Plan 2.5: *Bagh-i Jahanara*



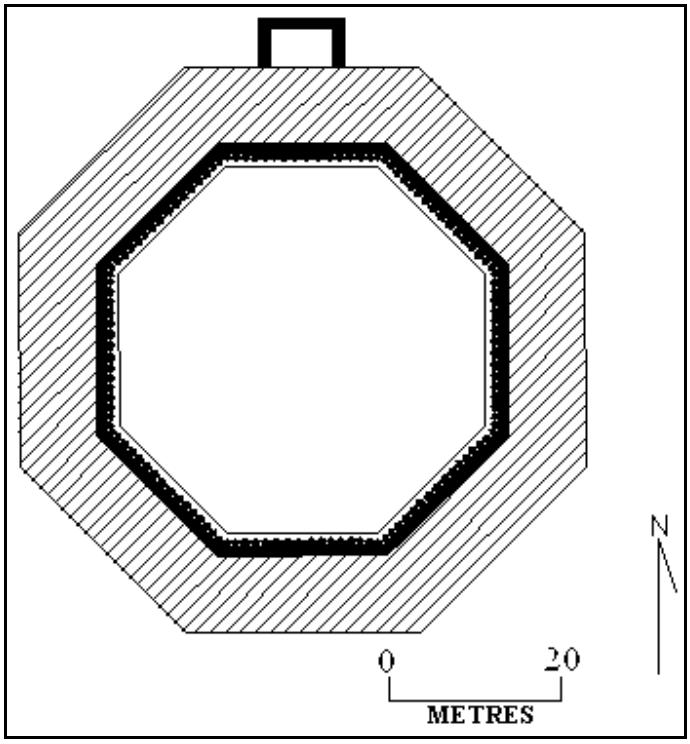
Plan 2.6: *Rauza* Afzal Khan (*Chini-ka-Rauza*)



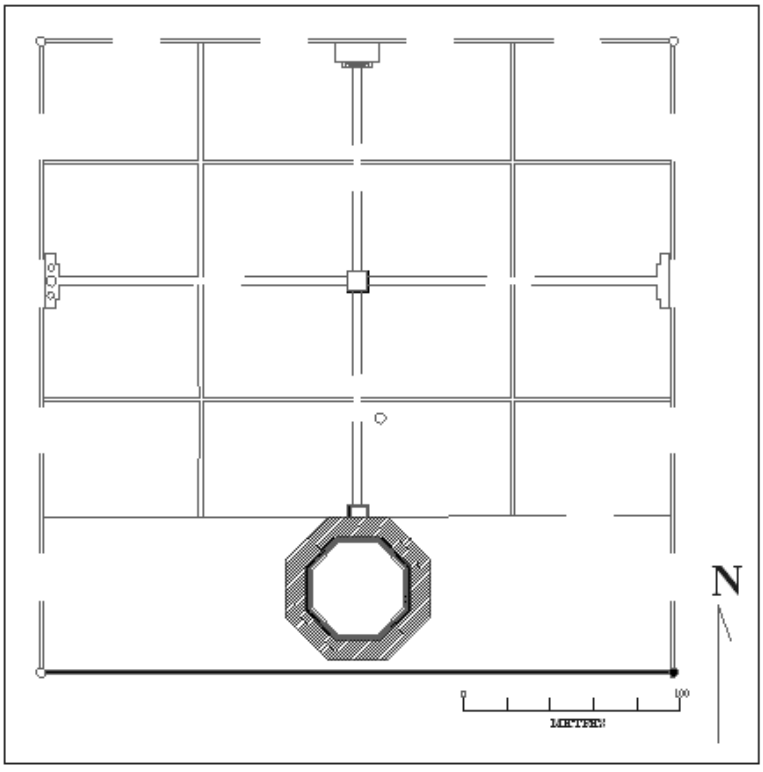
Plan 2.7: *Bagh-i* Khwaja Muhammad Zakariya



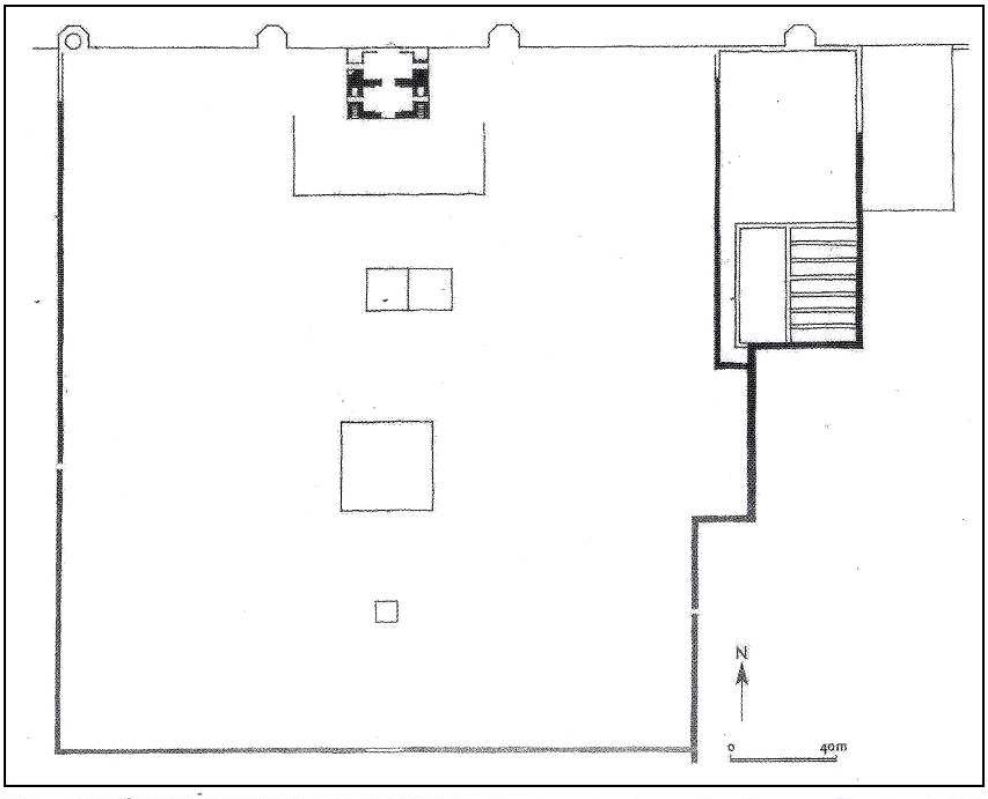
Plan 2.8: *Bagh* & Tomb of Itimat-ud Daulah



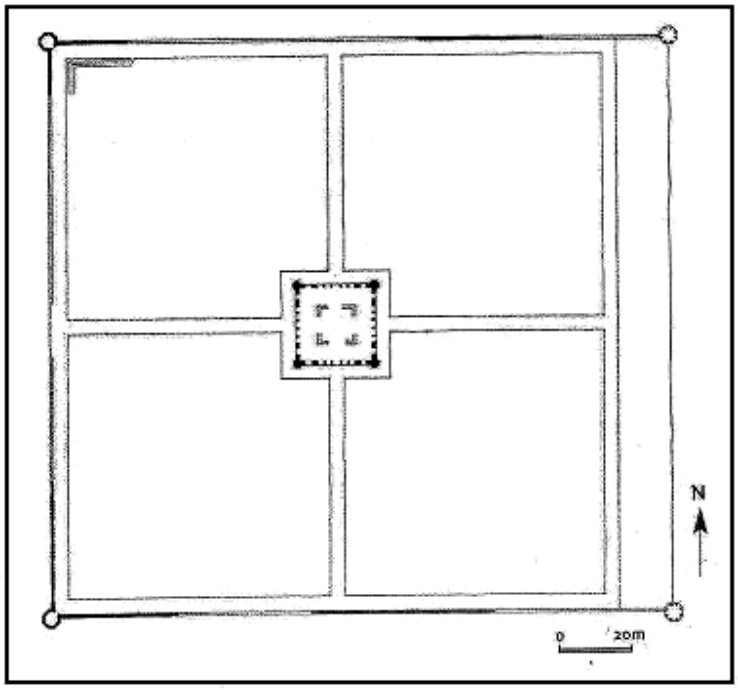
Plan 2.9: Octagonal Tank and foundation of enclosure Wall



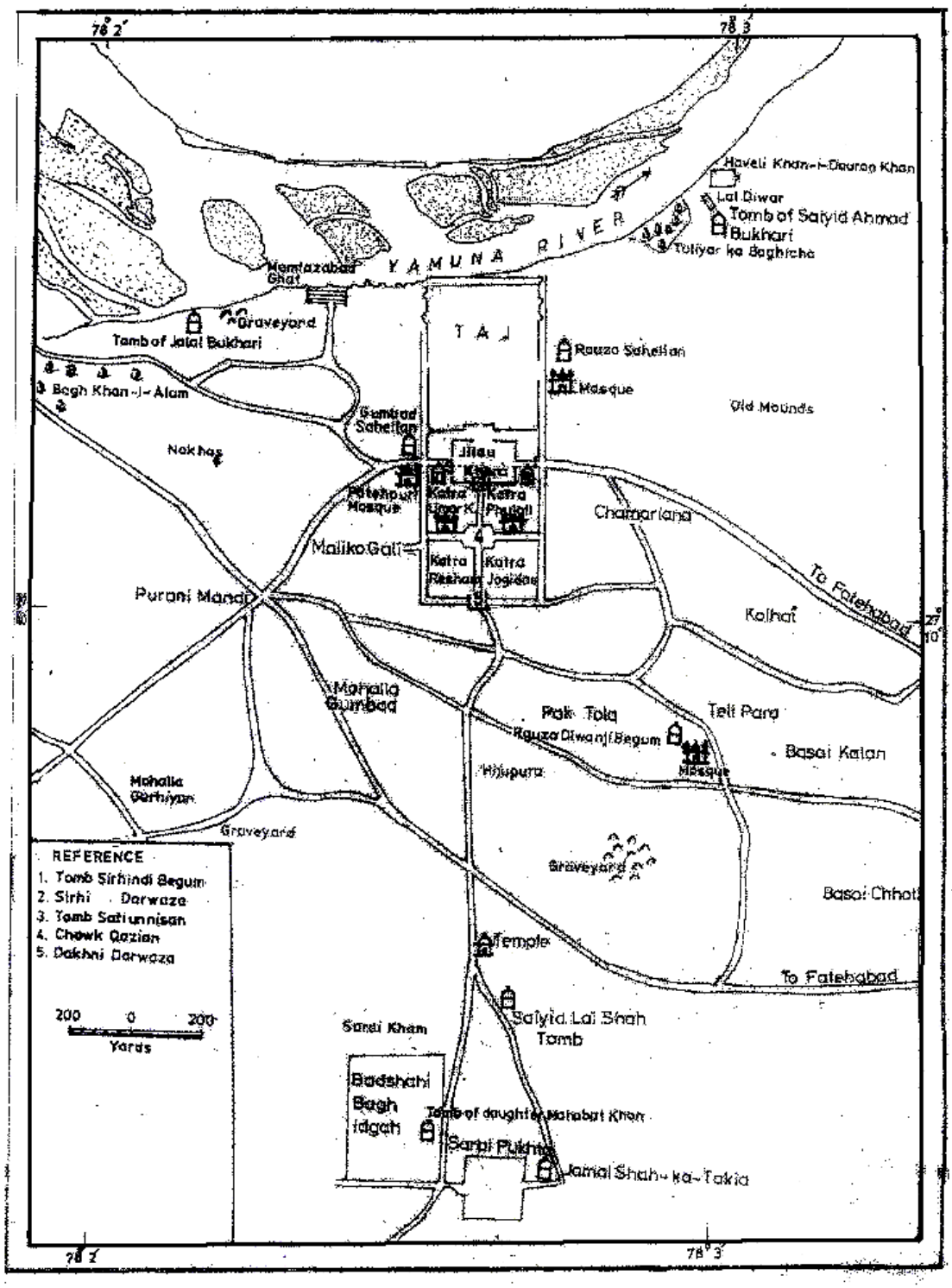
Plan 2.10: *Bagh Mahtab*



Plan 2.11: *Bagh* Khan-i Alam



Plan 2.12: *Rauza* Jafar Khan



Plan 2.13: *Mumtazabad*

Chapter- III
Street, Neighbourhoods and Muhallas

CHAPTER 3

STREET, NEIGHBOURHOODS AND MUHALLAS

The accounts of European travellers and merchants who visited Agra make it clear that the city of Agra generally had narrow roads and street-networks. If Pelsaert says that these roads were 'without any regular plan',[1] others found them narrow, dirty and crowded.[2] Such congested streets of Agra disturbed not only the foreign visitors but Jahangir as well. Thus at one place in his Memoirs, he notes that 'it is not without the utmost difficulty the people can pass and repass along the streets.'[3] Francois Bernier's description of Agra roads and streets however, is much more explanatory and detailed. Comparing the towns of Agra and Delhi, he at one place notes:

> "… It (Agra) wants the uniform and wide streets that so eminently distinguish Delhi. Four or five of the streets, where trade is the principal occupation, are of great length and the houses tolerably good; nearly all the others are short, narrow and irregular and full of windings and corners..."[4]

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[1] Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* or *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 1

[2] De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. J. S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1975, p. 37; For 'filthy' roads see *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, ed. S. N. Banerjee & J. S. Hoyland, 1922, p. 219

[3] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 2

[4] Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire 1656-68*, transl. on the basis of Irving Brock's version by A. Constable, with notes, 2nd edition revised by V. A. Smith, London, 1916, pp. 284-85.

The import of Bernier's statement becomes clear when we find the city was abandoned as a capital in farm of Delhi as Shahjahan found the streets of Agra too narrow for imperial processions.[5]

As we have already mentioned that initially the town was not surrounded by fortification walls, but was defended only with a ditch running all around.[6] However, if we believe William Finch, the traveller who visited Agra between 1583-1619, the city was even then provided with 'six gates'[7] which probably marked the axial roads which emanating from various directions culminated at the fort.

A large number of road networks including lanes and bye-lanes have been depicted on the Jaipur City Palace Museum Map of 1720's (**Map IA**). A look at this map demonstrates that the picture of the streets of Agra drawn by Bernier during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb was still true for the first half of the eighteenth century. It depicts three to four main roads winding their way from the octagonal *Badshāhi Chowk* in front of the Delhi Gate of the fort and radiating in different directions and passing out of the city through its gates. Some of the other roads and streets are shown termination at structures, which probably were the mansions of important nobles.

From the said map it also appears that a road each in the north and south of the town run parallel to the city walls, to which were joined the various

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[5] See Inayat Khan, *Shah Jahan Nama*, tr. A. R. Fuller, ed. W. E. Begley and Ziauddin A. Desai, Delhi, 1990, pp. 205-6; For the ultimate transfer to Delhi see *ibid*, pp. 406-8.

[6] See Supra, Chapter on Settlement Pattern.

[7] William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. W. Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 75

roads emanating from the numerous city gates piercing the encompassing city walls. These lateral roads were probably contemporary to the city walls built by Sawai Jai Singh during his governorship.

A number of roads and lanes are also show to open up to the water front. It is however remarkable to note that there is no road depicted which run parallel to the river, as it does today (**Map IV,** see also **Map IA**).

Further, what is quite remarkable to note is that none of the roads at Agra run a straight course, except the road in the south which is shown running east-west, parallel to the city walls.

This network of 'winding' roads divided the whole town into various units of varied sizes, some dominated by the mansion of an important person (presumably a noble) or a market. It were these 'units' formed by intersecting roads, lanes and bye-lanes which constituted the various *muhallas*, *puras*, and *katras* of Agra, which are now commonly nomeclated as neighbourhood or localities.

Generally in a typical Indian town during the medieval period, there was a tendency of areas close to the political power-the court-being exclusively inhabited by the religious and political elites, the *ulema*, *mashaikh* and the nobles. The menial and labouring classes were pushed to the peripheral areas, which the intermediate areas were taken up by the people belonging to 'classes' between the elite and the menial- the so-called middling classes like the lower bureaucrats, petty traders and merchants and professionals. It has also been remarked that although the cities grew fairly freely, yet they followed the logic

of the caste or professional hierarchy: the prevailing tendency was of people of same ethnic affiliations to live in the same neighbourhoods. The urban units or wards thus formed, were known as *muhallas*. These homogenous units were also sometimes defined by cultural as well as socio-economic activities.

Another such exclusive and homogenous was *pura* or localities, generally in the suburbs inhabited by either one class of or people, else populated by a single but powerful individual.

The *muhalla* or a *pura* could be founded by a powerful noble or military commander. It could grow around, and as a result of the mansion of a noble or the hospice of a saint. Contrarily it could be a place exclusively inhabited by the people of one ethnicity, community or profession. Thus one could have *muhalla Ahangarān* (locality of Ironsmiths), or Balochpura (locality of Baloch inhabitants) Wazirpura (locality of Wazir Khan) or Muhalla Sa‘adullah Khan (**Map V**).

Then there were certain neighbourhoods which grew around, or as a result of, certain market or commodity. Such neighbourhoods were known as *katra*. Such neighbourhoods in the beginning usually were places inhabited by a noble and his officials together with their households and followers.[8] For catering to the needs of these people, there was a tendency for a gradual growth of a small market, which as time elapsed usually transformed into big marketing complex, where goods of all kinds from different corners of the

[8] H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, Delhi, 1968, p. 269; See also M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707*, New Delhi, 1985

empire & elsewhere could be purchased.[9] These *katras*, or residential-cum-market complexes, could acquire their names, as in the case of *Muhallas* and *Puras*, after the names of nobles who were responsible for founding them or else they could acquire their names from the commodities sold or manufactured there.[10]

Unfortunately, except for a few strong references, our contemporary sources are generally silent as regards the settlements patterns and neighbourhoods of Agra. However some insightful information is provided to us which may help in a reconstruction of the morphology of this town. We have already quoted Pelsaert in an earlier Chapter where he remarked that the narrow breadth of the city was 'because every one has tried to be close to the river bank.'[11] Thus according to him the water-front was generally inhabited by the nobles and grandees of the empire. It was the zone of the elites and nobility. However from the second remark of Pelsaert it also becomes apparent that the zone of the high nobility was not confined only to the riverfront. Pelsaert noted that with the sudden growth of Agra under Akbar, 'everyone acquired and purchased the plot of land' wherever available resulting in Hindus mingling with Muslims and the rich with the poor.[12] What Pelsaert fails to mention is that the mixing of the rich with the poor was due to the fact that the *haveli* or mansion of a noble would act as a nuclie for the service-class, the retainers of

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[9] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Padshahnama*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1866-72, Vol. II, p. 329

[10] Wilson, op. cit. p. 269

[11] Pelsaert, op. cit. pp. 1-2

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 1; See also K. N. Chaudhuri, "Some Reflections on the Town and Country in Mughal India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 12, no. 1, 1978, pp. 82-83

the noble, the workers in the noble's *kārkhāna* and other dependents to settle in the area around the *haveli* or noble's establishment. This would thus overtime result in the foundation of a *Muhalla* or a *Katra*.

Apart from the main town, each medieval city like, Agra or Delhi also had populated areas beyond their city walls. These suburbs were generally known as *pura*.[13] Such suburbs would come into existence with the growth in population levels and a consequent shrinkage in available residential space within the city. The congestion of the city would also sometimes push the elite and nobles to build their mansions outside the city limits. They would then attract their retainers there and within no time colonies or *puras* would arise which would have the name of their originator. These suburbs, according to Abul Fazl had "all the requisites of a city"[14]

The Jaipur City Palace Map of 1720 depicts a number of such *puras* or suburbs. Three are located on the south-western corner, two in the north and one in north-east. We know that during his governorship Sawai Jai Singh had founded a locality in his own name, the Jai Singh Pura. Was it the one located on the right bank of the river in the north outside the city walls? We know from the Map that the garden of his deputy Rai Shivdas (no. 42 on **Map II**) is also located towards this side. The *Chhatri* or memorial pavilion of Raja Jaswant Singh (no. 45 on **Map II**) is also towards this end. The suburb depicted therein

[13] For details of such *pura* or suburbs see Khwaja Nizamuddin Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 281, 287; Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat ut Tawarikh*, tr. J. N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1901, p. 56; Badauni, op. cit. II, 302

[14] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari* (1595), text ed., Syed Ahmad Khan, Delhi, 1856; eng. tr., Vol. I, Blochman, Calcutta, 1927, Jarette, Calcutta, 1949 & 1948, p. 486.

appears to be walled and comprising a long street lined with shops (?) and culminating as two almost square structures, probably the *haveli* of the Raja. Is this the modern Rajware on the modern maps? (**Map V**).

A look at any modern map of Agra would show Khawaspura and Sultanpura to the south-west of the town. Were it these two *puras* depicted in the City Palace Map which are shown as roads ending at large complexes?

The largest of Agra's suburbs, the locality of Sikandara, however is not depicted on this map. Known for the Tomb of Akbar, the area is replete with a number of ruined Lodi structures, both residential and non-residential, which include 'villas and pavilions which lined the river front, of which almost nothing is known' now.[15] It was probably in this area that the river front residences of Shaikh Zain Khan, Yunus 'Ali, Khalifa and other nobles mentioned in *Baburnama* were located.[16] Thus it is no surprise that a vast area to the east of Sikandara is today is known as Babarpur (**Map V**)

Within the city, apart from the *muhallas* or localities developing around noble's mansions (and thus being inhabited by people of different faiths, castes and professions) there were exclusive localities inhabited by people profession similar crafts. Thus merchants, craftsmen, professionals and labourers had their distinct areas. We come across several such localities known after the principal crafts or castes of profession men who lived there or after particular

[15] See James Wescoat Jr., "Early Water Systems in Mughal India", *Garden in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Atillio Petruccioli, Leiden, 1997, pp. 50-57

[16] Zahīruddīn Muhammad Bābur, *Bāburnāma* (1530), Turki text, ed. Annette Susannah Beveridge, Leyden and London, 1905; eng. trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge, 2 vols. London, 1921, p. 532

commodities sold in it. Thus according to the *Agra ri Gajal* composed by Laxmi Chand around 1722-23 the *muhalla* of the sweetmeat sellers in the heart of the town at some distance of their market and shops. Likewise the Jain merchants too had their residential neighbourhood near the *bazars*. Their locality was known as *Muhalla Raushan*. Laxmi Chand further informs that 'there were innumerable houses of merchants (jewelers?) near the Jauhari Bazar in the heart of the city. On the other side of the *Chahārsuq Bazar* and the octagonal Badshahi Chowk were the houses of 'the cloth merchants and the mansions of the nobles'. Naturally, this was the area near the river side. Other *Muhallas* and localities mentioned in this versified account of Agra as the *Chhipipāra* (the locality of Paper Manufacturers & Painters), *Chirimārtola* (the locality of bird catchers) and Loha Mandi where the iron merchants not only sold their merchandize but also lived.

Similar information is got from a late eighteenth & early nineteenth century description of the city of Agra. Thus according to Manik Chand the city comprised of *Muhallas* like Loha gali (Iron Street, inhabited by blacksmiths), Chhāpitola (probably the same as *Chhipipāra* of Laxmi Chand), Chīnītola (sugar sellers locality),[17] Katra Agha Baqir, Katra I'tibar Khan, Katra Shaista Khan and Katra Mardān Khan.[18] According to Saud Ahmad Marohravi, in the pre-1857 period, the big and small *Muhallas* in Agra totaled 308. Further according to him the various localities continuing from the seventeenth century included Muhallas like: (1) Shahi Madrasa (Akbar's reign); (2) Pratāp pura

[17] Manik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shahr-i Akbarabad*, MS. Or. 2030, ff. 58(a), 54(a)

[18] *Ibid*, ff. 54-55

(founded by Pratap Singh son of Raja Man Singh); (3) Jai Singh pura (of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber); (4) Zain Khana (founded by Zain Khan Koka); (5) Sultanganj; (6) Sultanpura (both founded as suburbs by Sultan Parvez, the son of Hahangir); (7) Shahganj (Shahjahan's period); (8) Katra Wazir Khan (foundedby Wazir Khan the physician of Shahjahan) (9) Bagh Muzaffar Khan (a muhalla at the site of a Akbari noble of that name); (10) Chhatri (or site) Khana (founded by Satim Nisa Khanam); (11) Katra Khan-i Khanan (probably around the haveli of Abdur Rahim Khan-i Khanan); (12) Mandi Saiyid Khan (Saiyid Khan Chaghta, a noble of Akbar), (13) Shahzadi Mandi (named after Jahanara Begum); (14) Tila Ajmeri Khan (? said to belong to Akbar's period); Muhalla Qandhari (probably named after Qandhari Begum, wife of Shahjahan) and (14) Qutlupur (Akbar's period).[19]

It is interesting to note that till the 1720s the left bank of the river had a very sparse population with only katra Wazir Khan, Nawalganj (or the suburbs and market of Nawab Salabat Khan) and the Shaikhpura (now known as Kachhpura) depicted and mentioned on that side. The map of 1720s depict a solitary *sarai* near the Katra Wazir Ganj signifying that area was treated as an outskirt and not a part of the main city.

It is also important to note that by eighteenth century many market places were also transformed into residential area. We have the testimony of

[19] Saeed Ahmad Marahravi, *Muraqqa-i Akbarabad,* Agra, 1913, pp. 214-15.

Bernier that during the Mughal period it was a tendency of many merchants to have their residences on top of their shops.[20]

This phenomenon of the conversion of purely non-residential and mercantile into residential localities is encountered in the Mumtazabad area of Agra. This was an area which had developed around the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal during the reign of Shahjahan.[21]

The plan of the Taj Mahal (the mausoleum of Mumtaz Mahal) included not only the tomb but a complex subsidiary structures which were all ordered to be built by Shahjahan (see plan of Mumtazabad **Plan 3.1**). Thus an entire complex of *sarais*, mosques and other buildings were built along with the mausoleum under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Abdul Karim at a total cost of about 50 lakh rupees.[22] None of these sources mention the settlement pattern of the area, nor the four *katras* of Mumtazabad. On the contrary, reference is made to four *sarais* which presumably at some later date were converted into markets. However we are informed by Lahori that behind these royal *sarais*, 'wealthy merchants' built their houses and their structures, thus converting the whole area into vast residential neighbourhoods.[23]

According to the local traditions, the area around Katra Phulail (situated on the south-east of the *Jilaukhana*) was inhabited by those who traded in or manufactured scents.

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[20] Berneir, op. cit., pp. 245-46.

[21] For a detail analysis of this area see Javed Hasan, *Settlement Pattern and Locality Names in the Tajganj*, M. Phil dissertation, CAS in History, AMU, 1987.

[22] Abdul Hamid Lahori, op. cit., II, 1872, pp. 324-30.

[23] See Ibid, p. 329.

The octagonal open space between the four original *sarais*, now known as *katras*, was subsequently given (or acquired?) to the family of the Qazi of Tajganj, and thus was converted into *Muhalla* Qazian. According to another tradition, as the area was dominated by paper-manufacturers during the eighteenth century, it got converted to *muhalla* Kaghaziant. Similarly around *katra* Resham (see map of Mumtazabad) were inhabited cloth merchants and other traders doing business in raw silk brought from Bengal. This *katra* has a Jain temple and a mosque dateable to Aurangzeb's reign: probably reflecting the character of the place during the seventeenth century.

Katra Jogidas (to the east of the *katra* Resham) was (and is) inhabited exclusively by the Hindus, mainly Brahamns, besides the Baniyas and some Jains.

To the south-east of the Taj complex is situated the *Muhalla Pāktola*, inhabited by Kayasthas. According to a local tradition, it was in this neighbourhood that Todar Das, the treasure of Shahjahan allegedly, lived. Muhalla Tulsi Chabutara situated on the north-east of Paktola was inhabited by *kolis, mihtars* and other such lowly castes. *Telipara* and *Muhalla* Billochpura are in the vicinity of Besai Kalan.

To the west of *Muhalla* Paktola is *Muhalla* Impeypura, now popularly known as *Gummat* or *Gumbad*. *Muhalla* Garhiyan, inhabited by a pre-dominantly Muslim population is situated adjacent to *Muhalla* Gummat.

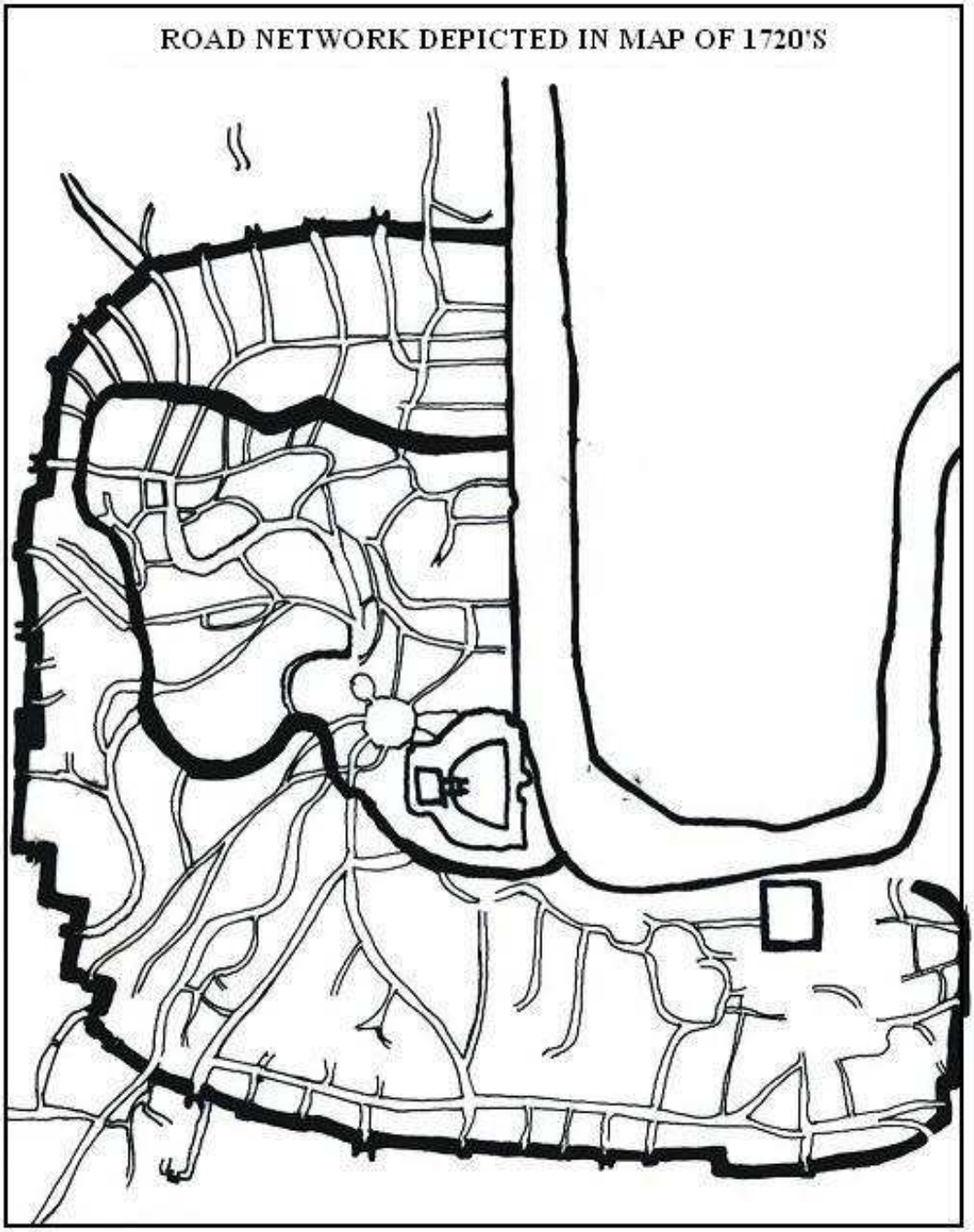
Thus we see that the area, which probably was one of the last to develop after the building of Taj Mahal and the shift of capital to Shahjahanabad was an

area was densely populated with a cross-section of people belonging to various professions and creeds. Professionals, merchants and men of high birth and offices were contained within the confines of a large ‘suburb’ which then was divided between them on caste and professional divisions. This fact is testified not only by a depiction of dense population on the Jaipur City Palace Museum Map of 1720, but also by Peter Mundy who observe:

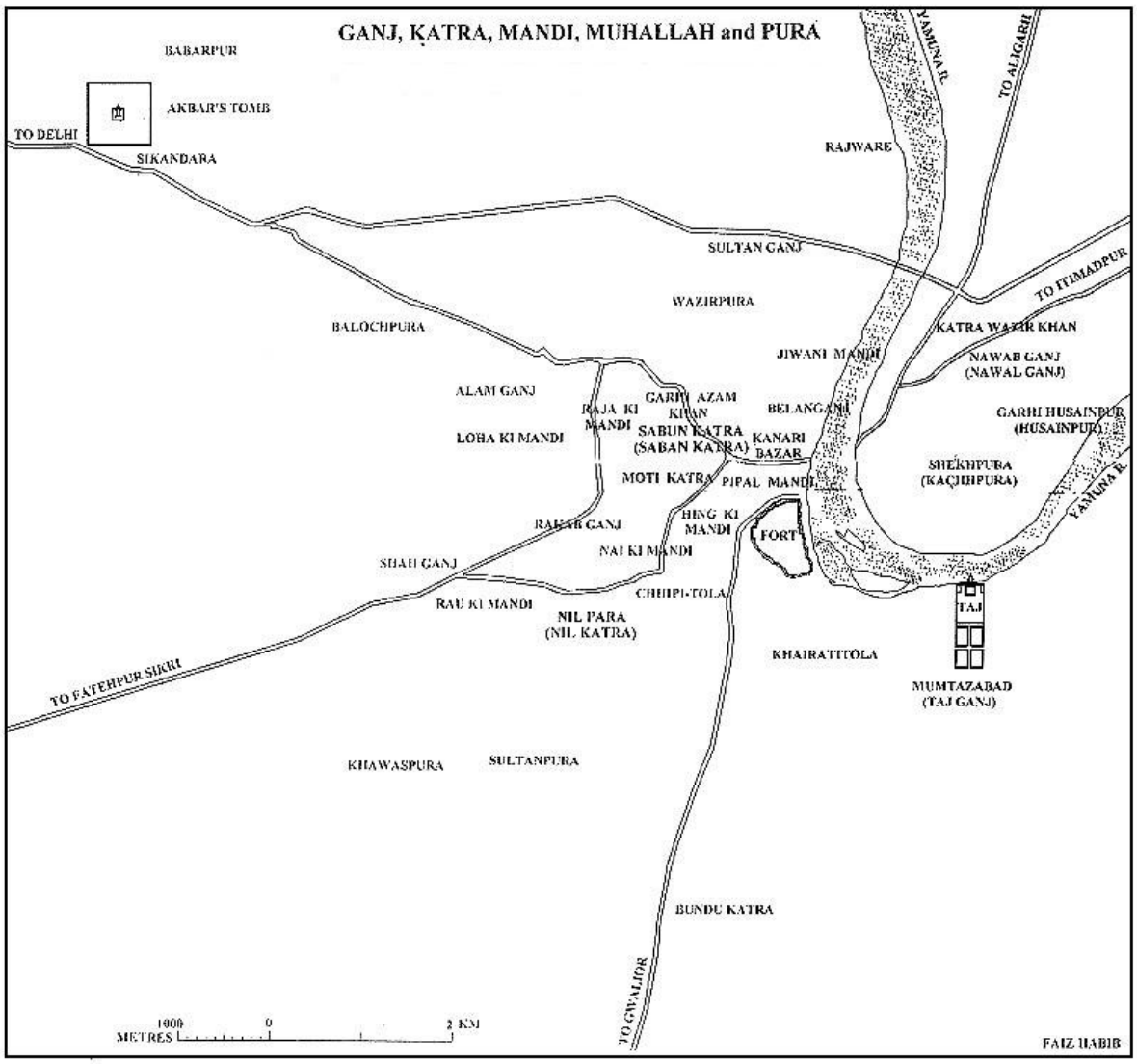
> “He (Shahjahan) intends, as same think, to remove all the cittie higher causening hills to be made levell because they might not hinder the prospect of it, places appointed for streets, shops etc. dwelling commaunding merchants, shopkeepers, artificers to inhabited (it) where they began to repair and called by her name Tage Gunj”.[24]

[24] Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 213.

Map IV



Map V


GANJ, KATRA, MANDI, MUHALLAH and PURA
BABARPUR
AKBAR'S TOMB
TO DELHI
SIKANDARA
YAMUNA R.
TO ALIGARH
RAJWARE
SULTAN GANJ
TO ITIMADPUR
WAZIRPURA
BALOCHPURA
KATRA WAZIR KHAN
JIWANI MANDI
NAWAB GANJ
(NAWAL GANJ)
ALAM GANJ
RAJA KI MANDI
GARHI AZAM KHAN
BELANGANJ
GARHI HUSAINPUR
(HUSAINPURA)
LOHA KI MANDI
SABUN KATRA
(SABAN KATRA)
KANARI BAZAR
SHEKHPURA
(KAZIHPURA)
MOTI KATRA
PIPAL MANDI
YAMUNA R.
RAKAB GANJ
HING KI MANDI
FORT
NAI KI MANDI
SHAH GANJ
CHHIPI-TOLA
TAJ
RAU KI MANDI
NIL PARA
(NIL KATRA)
KHAIRATITOLA
TO FATEHPUR SIKRI
MUMTAZABAD
(TAJ GANJ)
KHAWASPURA
SULTANPURA
BUNDU KATRA
TO GWALIOR
1000 0 2 KM
METRES
FAIZ HABIB

Chapter- IV
Residential Structures at Agra

CHAPTER 4

RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES AT AGRA

With the victory of Babur at the battle of Khanwa down to the reign of Shahjahan Agra remained the nerve centre of the Mughal Empire. Throughout this period the city witnessed hectic building activity, a fact time and again testified by our sources. There was a proliferation of the residential population, as a result of which all kinds of people, nobles and merchants, professional and wage earners, craftsmen and artisans, built their mansions and houses. As a result of this, within a short period the city reportedly expanded 'over three times'; and around 1626 came to cover an area of about 60 square kilometres.[1] Its population increased from 5,00,000 in 1609 to 8,00,000 in 1666 or an increase of around sixty percent.[2]

The process of constructing residential structures by the Mughal Nobility appears to have started in 1526 when Babur informs us that nobles like Mir Khalifa, Shaikh Zain Khawafi Yunus: 'Ali and 'Whoever got land on that other (i.e. eastern) bank of the river' got their residential gardens constructed.[3] This tradition of building attractive and imposing residential

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[1] Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* or *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 2

[2] Fr. J. Xavier, 'Letter of Fr. J. Xavier', tr. H. Hosten, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XXIII, 1927, p. 2; See also Irfan Habib, 'Population', in Irfan Habib and Tapan Chaudhuri, *Cambridge Economic History of India,* Vol. I, c. 1200-1750, OUP, Delhi, 1982, p. 171

[3] *Baburnama*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, New Delhi, 1989, Vol. II, p. 532

structures- *manāzil*, *imārat* and *haveli* at Agra continued during the reign of Akbar. Thus we hear of the imposing residential structures of Zain Khan Koka, Shaikh Farid Bukhari, Muhammad Khan Niyazi, Sadiq Muhammad Khan, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, Mir Ma'sum Bhakkari being constructed in Agra.[4] From a reference in *Zakhirat-ul Khawanīn* it appears that Shaikh Abul Fazl had a complex of residential structures (*manāzil-i dilkusha*, the 'pleasant houses') at Agra which were later attached to the *havelis* of Itimad-ud Daula's family.[5]

Zain Khan Koka's mansion appears to have been quite commodious. He reportedly once entertained Akbar therein. It contained a very large and spacious podium which faced three water tanks so large as to accommodate one thousand dancing girls and singers (*ahl-i tawaif)* into them.[6]

It appears that from the time of Babur, most of the grandees chose the riverfront as the site of their residences. But it also is true that within this elite group no ethnic religious or sectarian segregation was followed. The house of an Iranian could be next to that of a Rajput, a Hindu next to a Muslim, a Shia next to a Sunni. This fact is distinctly brought out in a passage of Pelsaert

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[4] For these see Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, *Zakhirat ul Khawanīn*, ed. Moinul Haque, Karachi, 1961-74, Vol. I, 123-24, 137, 145, 146, 181 etc.

[5] Ibid., I, p. 75

[6] Ibid, I, pp. 123-24. The dancing girls were made to dip in the three tanks, one of which was filled with 'rose water of yazd', the other with saffron color and the third with perfumed water. When the dancing girls emerged from these tanks, their spotlessly white tunics were coloured and they were drenched with fragrance which was then spinkled through their movements all over.

where he goes on to 'record the chief of these Palaces (noble's houses) in order' of sequence on the right bank of the river on both sides of the fort.[7]

To the north of the fort he mentions the mansions of twenty one nobles. (see **Map VI**).

To quote:

> "Beginning from the north, there is the palace of [1] Bahadur Khan, who was formerly king of the fortierss of Asir (5 *kos* from Burhanpur). Next is the Palace of [2] Raja Bhoj, father of the present Rai Ratan, Governor of Burhanpur (rank 5000 horse). Then came [3] Ibrahim Khan (3000 horse); [4] Rustam Kandahari [Mirza Rustam Qandhari] (5000 horse); [5] Raja Kishan Das (3000 horse); [6] Itiqad Khan, the youngest brother of Asaf Khan (5000 horse); [7] Shahzadi Khanam, sister of present king, who was married to Muzaffar Khan (formerly King of Gujarat); [8] Goulziaer Begum [Gulzar Begum] this King's mother; [9] Khwaja Muhammad Thakur (Tahir?) (2000 horse); [10] Khwaja Bansi (?) formerly steward of Sultan Khurram (1000 horse); [11] Wazor Khan (5000 horse); [12] Tzoaghpoera (Suhagpura), a large enclosure inhabited by the widows of the late King Akbar; the palaces of [13] 'Ehtibar Khan the eunuch, reign who was governor of Agra city at his death; [14] Baqar Khan (3000 horse); [15] Mirza Aboussagiet [Mirza Abu Sayeed] (1500 horse); the exceedingly handsome and costly palace of [16] Asaf Khan (8000 horse); [17] Itimad-ud Daula (5000 horse); [20] Khwaja Abul Hasan (5000 horse); [21] Rochia Sultan Begum [Ruqayya Sultan Begum], the present King's sister, but unmarried".[8]

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[7] Pelsaert, op. cit., pp. 2-3

[8] Ibid, pp. 2-4; For number given in parenthesis see **Map VI**

A similar list of noble's and their houses is provided by De Laet. The only difference between the two lists is the inclusion of the names of [18] 'Prince Sultan Khrom (Khurram) and [19] 'Chan Sian leader of 5000' (Khan Jahan Lodi?)[9] between those of Asaf Khan and Khwaja Abul Hasan.

Some of there above mentioned persons were well-known personalities of Jahangir's reign; others are difficult to trace. Bahadur Khan possibly was Abul Bey Uzbek Bahadur Khan, a Turani who had been the governor of Qandhar and then transferred to *sarkar* Chandwar in the vicinity of Agra at the time of his death.[10] Probably it was during his posting near Agra that he had his mansion built. Raja Bhoj of Pelsaert was Rai Bhoj, the father of Rai Ratan Hada, the *watandar* of Bundi. Both the father and the son were amongst the few Rajput chieftains of Akbar's period who had not forged a maintained alliance with the Mughals, for which they were highly respected.[11] Ibrahim Khan of Pelsaert and De Laet was probably Fathjung Khan Ibrahim Khan, the maternal uncle of Asaf Khan. But then he was, according to Shaikh Farid Bhakkari, initially was posted in Gujarat and had held the *jagirs* of Jais and Amethi. He had also held the charge of Bengal and Orissa during his career.[12] He held the high *mansab* of 5000 *zat* but then according to Pelsaert, Ibrahim Khan was a master of only 3000 horse. Was he then a different noble?

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[9] De Laet, *The Empire of the Great Mogol*, tr. by J. S. Hoyland, Delhi, 1975, pp. 37-38

[10] *Zakhiratl Khawanīn,* op. cit., II, p. 315

[11] Ibid., II, p. 295

[12] Ibid, II, pp.230-39

Similarly the identity of Khwaja Bansi is not clear. However we do hear of Khwaja Jahan Kabuli Bakhshi who 'whenever His Majesty (Jahangir) went towards Janger and Rupbas for hunting and sightseeing, he would leave Khwaja Jahan in charge of Akbarabad and its government.'[13] It is quite important to note that writing about him Shaikh Farid Bhakkari very significantly mentions about him:

> "He was the first to start the construction of stately buildings in Akbarabad…'[14]

All the other names mentioned by Pelsaert and De Laet owning riverfront mansions were well-known and do not need any introduction, except perhaps the name of Gulzar Begum, 'this kings mother' by Pelsaert followed by De Laet. If this is correct then we do get the name of Jahangir's mother and also an indication as to where she resided in Agra.

Pelsaert then goes on to mention the mansions of the nobles which were situated on the other side of the imperial fort. His list for this side included nine mansions, the last of which is not mentioned in the identical list of De Laet:[15]

> "...the houses of some great lords, such as [22] Mirza Abdualla, son of Khan Azam (3000 horse); [23] Aga Nur, provost of the King's army (3000 horse); [24] Jahan Khan (2000 horse); [25] Mirza Khurram son of Khan Azam (2000 horse); [26] Mahabat Khan (8000 horse); [27] Khan Alam (5000 horse); [28] Raja Bet Singh (3000 horse); [29] the late Raja Man Singh (5000 horse); [30] Raja Madho Singh (2000 horse)."[16]

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[13] *Zakhiratl Khawanīn,* op. cit., II, p. 244

[14] Ibid.

[15] De Laet, op. cit., pp. 40-41

[16] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4

Mirza Abdullah, we know was the fourth son of Khan-i Azam and was known by his title Inayat Khan.[17] Mirza Khurram was his younger brother and was known to have founded a suburb (*pura*) named after himself in Burhanpur where he was ultimately buried.[18]

Agha Nur between 1616-17 was the *kotwal* of Agra[19], and in 1617 he had been in charge of *Nauroz* celebrations.[20] We are not sure who is meant by Jahan Khan. De Laet notes his name as "Zehenna Khan leader of 2000".[21] According to J. S. Hoyland what is meant is Zain Khan Koka, the famous noble of Akbar's period.[22] But we know that Zain Khan Koka at the time of his death in 1601-2 held the high *mansab* of 5000/5000[23] and not "2000 horse". Probably Pelsaert is mentioning Jahangir Quli Beg Turkman Jan Sipur Khan, a holder of 2000/2000 who is being mentioned by Jahangir in his memoirs.[24] Raja Bet Singh could be Raja Bhao Singh who held the rank of 5000/3000 when he died in 1620-21.[25] Raja Madho Singh was the son of Raja Basu who was bestowed the title of Raja by Jahangir in 1622-23.[26] Raja Basu had joined service in

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[17] *Zakhiratul Khawanin,* op. cit., II, p. 326.

[18] Ibid, II, p. 327

[19] Thomas Roe, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-1619,* ed., W. Foster, London, 1926, p. 143.

[20] Ibid, p. 356

[21] De Laet, op. cit., p. 41

[22] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 40, note, 53

[23] *Ma'asir-ul Umara,* op. cit., II, pp. 362-70

[24] *Tuzuk-i Jahangir,* op. cit., p. 344

[25] *Tuzuk,* op. cit., p. 337

[26] Ibid, p. 376

1605-6 and had died in 1613-14.[27] Raja Man Singh whom Pelsaert mentions as the holder of '5000 horse' in fact enjoyed the rank of 7000/7000 when he died in 1614-15.[28]

Apart from these, there were a large number of other noble's mansions which have been mentioned in our sources. For example Khwaja Waisi, an Iranian noble who was the *diwan* of Sultan Parvaiz had built his *haveli* on the banks of the river which had been appreciated by one and all[29]. The mansion of Raja Raisal Darbari was also at Agra. His neighbours were Shaikh Farid Bhakari, the author of *Zakhirat-ul Khawanin,* and Miyān Rup Khawās, a *chela* of Jahangir[30]. Whether these *havelis* were also on the riverfront, we are not informed. From the way Shaikh Farid gives this information, it appears that probably these buildings were somewhere within the city away from the river. Another of their neighbours was Kesudas, a Maru Rajput who had also constructed 'a beautiful *manzil* near (that of) Raisal Darbari'.[31]

It was during the reign of Jahangir that a new pattern for these mansions was introduced in Agra. In this regard we have already mentioned the 'stately' mansion of Khwaja Jahan Kabuli. Mentioning the innovators who introduced the new style Shaikh Farid Bhakkari mentioned:

> "The first ones who laid the foundation of mansions of a new pattern in Akbarabad are three: Khwaja Jahan Kabuli the *bakhshi*, Khwaja Waisi and Itiqād Khan [Mirza Shapur, son of Itimad ud Daulah]. Of these, the most

[27] *Tuzuk*, op. cit., p. 123; for is joining service see ibid, p. 23

[28] Ibid, p. 130

[29] *Zakhiratul Khawanīn*, II, p. 377

[30] Ibid, II, p. 393

[31] Ibid, II, p. 381

> pleasing mansion with unique (lit. unrepeated) design was that last one. Afterwards, thousand mansions of new type were built by Amirs…"[32]

The *haveli* of Itiqad Khan Mirza Shapur was presented to Shahjahan who is said to have immensely admired it.[33] Later in his 16th Regnal Year (i.e. 1643) Shahjahan bestowed it upon Ali Mardan Khan who himself was a great architect.[34] Praising the house of Itiqad Khan and mentioning the mansion of Itimad ud Daula Jahangir in his memoirs mentions:

> "I went back to the city in a boat. As the house of Itimad ud Daulah was on the bank of the river Jun (Yamuna), I alighted there until the end of the next day. Having accepted what pleased me of his offerings, I went towards the palace; Itiqad Khan's house was also on the bank of the river Jun. At his request I disembarked there with the ladies, and walked around the houses he had lately built there. This delightful place please me greatly…"[35]

Hakim Alimuddin Wazir Khan, Khan-i-Dauran Nasri Khan and Kartalab Khan are some others who are said to have constructed their mansions. Bebadal Khan and Purdil Khan constructed 'excellent *manāzil* (mansions) near the Dhobighat Gate of Akbarabad' during the reign of Shahjahan.[36]

It appears that a substantial part of their wealth was spent by the nobility on their mansions. Thus according to Pelsaert:

> "Their (nobles) *mahals* are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp….they have three or four wives ……Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10, or 20, or 100."[37]

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[32] *Zakhiratul Khawanīn,* II, p. 210; *Maasirul Umara,* op. cit, I, p. 180-82

[33] *Ma'asirul Umara,* op. cit, I, p. 182

[34] *Zakhiratul Khawanin,* III, p. 28

[35] Tuzuk, op.cit, p. 121-22

[36] *Zakhiratul Khawanin,* III, p. 130

[37] Pelsaert, pp. 2-3

From their description it appears that all these houses of nobles generally had a garden and a tank and were surrounded by enclosure walls.[38] In fact Bernier went on to explain that:

> "they consider that a house to be greatly admired ought to be situated in the middle of a large flower garden and should have four large *Diwan* apartments raised to the height of a man from the ground and exposed to the four winds, so that the coolness may be felt from any quarter."[39]

Describing the lavish construction of noble's house Monserrate had mentioned as early as 1580's:

> "... the houses are purposely built without windows on account of the filth of the streets. None the lens the rich adorn the roofs and arched ceilings of their houses with carvings and paintings: Plant ornamental gardens in their courtyards: make tanks and fish-ponds, which are lined with tiles of various colours: construct artificial springs and fountains, which fling showers of water far into the air: and where of are many goodly houses of the nobility, pleasantly overlooking Gemini…"[40]

A typical noble's mansion had a ground plan which rotated around a centralized courtyard. Further, the structure was internally divided into two at least two distinct portions: a *mardāna khāna* (male quarters) and a shielded *zanankhāna* (female quarters). Each portion would have its own courtyard.

The main door of the male quarters would be an imposing gateway opening into an ante-room (*deorhi)* which would in turn open into the first courtyard, surrounded with a peristyle (*aiwan)* and a series of porticos (*dalans)*

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[38] Ibid, p. 66; Bernier, op.cit, p. 247

[39] Bernier, op. cit, p. 247

[40] Monserrate, op. cit., p. 219

and chambers. The service structures like the kitchen and water store would be afflicted with the inner female quarters.[41]

The *diwankhāna* or reception house was invariably in the male section and would be well decorated with brocade curtains, flower carpets and hangings.[42] Chinese porcelain was also used to decorate the interiors.[43] The personal library, *kitabkhana*, would also be a part of the male quarters. It also appears that the houses of he aristocracy at Agra were three or four storeys in height.[44] Sometimes these mansions could boast of a large number of *chowks:* The mansion of Asaf Khan at Agra, we are informed, had fifty two *chowks* and many *bazars* within its limits.[45]

But then in cities like Agra intermixed with these large mansions wee immense smaller ones. We have already cited Pelsaert that Agra was a city where the poor lived next to a noble.[46] William Finch, writing about Agra also mentions that:

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[41] For a detailed study of urban residential structures in the Mughal Empire, see S. Ali Nadeem Rezavi, *Urban Middle Classes in Mughal India,* Ph. D. thesis, AMU, Aligarh, 2006, pp. 337-68

[42] Pelsaert, p. 67

[43] Bernier, p. 247-48

[44] *Tuzuk,* op. cit., p. 2; Sujan Rai Bhandari, *Khulasat ut Tawarikh,* tr. J. N. Sarkar, 1901, p. 112

[45] Manik Chand, *Ahwal*, op. cit., p. 41; see also H. K Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India*, Bombay, 1968, p. 78

[46] For Delhi, see Bernier, op. cit. p. 246

> "The noble men's houses and merchants built with brick and stone, flat roofed; the common sort, of mudde walls, covered with thatch, which cause often terrible fires…."[47]

According to Bernier, at Agra, the merchant houses were 'tolerably good' in four of fire streets where trade was "the principle occupation".[48] They were, like in the other towns, built of brick and stone and had a flat terraced roof.[49] Although these residential structures of the '*banyas*' and 'handicraftsmen'. According to Finch, were not only far and high, but had carved windows and doors.[50] However these buildings at Agra (as well as in Delhi) were lower than those at Lahore.[51] In 1610 Finch found the city inhabited mostly with merchants and handicraftsmen living in 'faire and high' brick structures having 'carved windows and doors'.[52] Manucci however found 'lofty' buildings, 'some having eight storeys'.[53]

Unfortunately none of the mercantile and common man's residential structures survive. A number of dilapidated remains, sections and parts of some the riverfront *havelis* are still extant. They can be identified to some extent through their placement in the Jaipur City Palace Map of 1720s (**Map IA**). The said map depicts nine *havelis* beyond the fort [i.e 18-27 on the map] and eleven

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[47] Finch, op. cit., p. 185; See also *Purchase His Pilgrims,* ed. Samuel Purchas, vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 75

[48] Bernier, op. cit., p. 285

[49] Finch, op. cit., p. 75

[50] Finch, op. cit., p. 75

[51] Tavernier, op. cit., I, p. 77; Monserrate, op. cit., p. 160

[52] Finch, op. cit., p. 52

[53] Manucci, II, p. 173

havelis to the north and the fort (i.e. 29-41 on the said map). According to the labels in *devanagrii* these mansions were:[54]

1. *Haveli* Khan-i Dauran [no. 18]
2. *Haveli* Agha Khan [? Agha Noor] [no. 19]
3. *Haveli* Khan-i Alam [no. 21]
4. *Haveli* Asasat [Asalat] Khan [no. 22]
5. *Haveli* Mahabat Khan [no. 23]
6. *Haveli* Hoshdar Khan [no. 24]
7. *Haveli* Azam Khan [no. 25]
8. *Haveli* Mughal Khan [no. 26]
9. *Haveli* Islam Khan [no. 27]
10. *Haveli* Dara Shukoh [no. 29]
11. *Haveli* Khan-i Jahan Lodi [no. 30]
12. *Haveli* Hafiz Khidmatgar [no. 31]
13. *Haveli* Asaf Khan [no. 32]
14. *Haveli* Alamgir [no. 33 **Plate 4.1**]
15. *Haveli* Alamgir [no. 34]
16. *Haveli* Sasat [Shaista] Khan [no. 36]
17. *Haveli* Jafar Khan
18. *Haveli* Wazir Khan
19. *Haveli* Muqim Khan
20. *Haveli* Khalil Khan

[54] For a detailed analysis of these mansions of their surviving ruins see Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj*, op. cit., pp. 30-81.

Some of the names attribute to in this list tally with the lists of Pelsaert and De Laet. Thus the *havelis* of Agha Noor Khwajasara, Khan-i Alam, Wazir Khan, Khan-i Jahan Lodi and Mahabat Khan are found in all the three lists. The 1720's list shows two enclosures [no. 13, 14] as *havelis* of Aurangzeb: Was it that the *havelis* of Prince Khurram and Itimad ud Daulah [nos. 17 & 18 on the list of Pelsaert & De Laet] were later on taken up by Aurangzeb. After all one was the mansion of his father, the other his maternal grandfather.

An exploration of the right bank of the river Jamuna reveals the ruins of many of these *havelis* depicted on the Jaipur city Palace map.

The river front red sandstone wall of the *haveli* of the Khan-i Dauran along with its prominent western *burj* still survives (**Plate 4.2**). The site is now enclosed and is in private ownership and till sometimes earlier was the site of a tannery.

The river site plinth and the boundary of the *haveli* of Agha Noor is still visible and is presently called Dassahra Ghāt. Both these structures flank the Taj Mahal towards the east. Immediately towards the west of the Taj Mahal survive the ruins of the *haveli* of Khan-i Alam within his garden.

To the east of the modern *Shamshān ghāt* (cremation grounds) and at the place where a temple, Kala Bhairon today stands are the surviving remains of the mansion of Asalat Khan. The traces of other mansions on this side of Agra fort have completely disappeared. The sites are now taken up by the lands which are now being developed by the ADA and the government of VP as the

'Taj Corridor'. Till same decades ago the *haveli* of Islam Khan constructed of red sand stone was surviving.[55]

Beyond the Red fort, along the modern Yamuna road survives a part of the *haveli* of Aurangzeb. Presently known as 'Tara Niwas' or Mubarak Manzil (among the local Muslims) it basically survives as a largely renovated structure comprising a pillared hall with octagonal bastions surmounted with cupolas in its four corners. It comprises of Shahjahani columns and multi-foliated arches.[56]

The remains of the only other *haveli* which survive till date are those of Wazir Khan (**Plate 4.3**). It is various nomenclated as 'Sheron Wali Kothi' or as the 'Library of Dara Shukoh'. The prominent remains of this mansion become visible behind the modern shops as soon as one turns on the Yamuna road from the side of the British period 'Water-Works'. It is marked by prominent octagonal bastions (*musamman burj*) on its corners which are four-storeys high and pierced with arched and panneled openings on each side.

Some noble's mansions survive within the city as well. Mention may be made of a mansion, now known as *Kālā-Mahal* (probably a corruption of *Kalān* (large) Mahal) situated in Pipal Mandi. It is attributed to Raja Gaj Singh, the son of Raja Suraj Singh of Jodhpur who lived during the reign of

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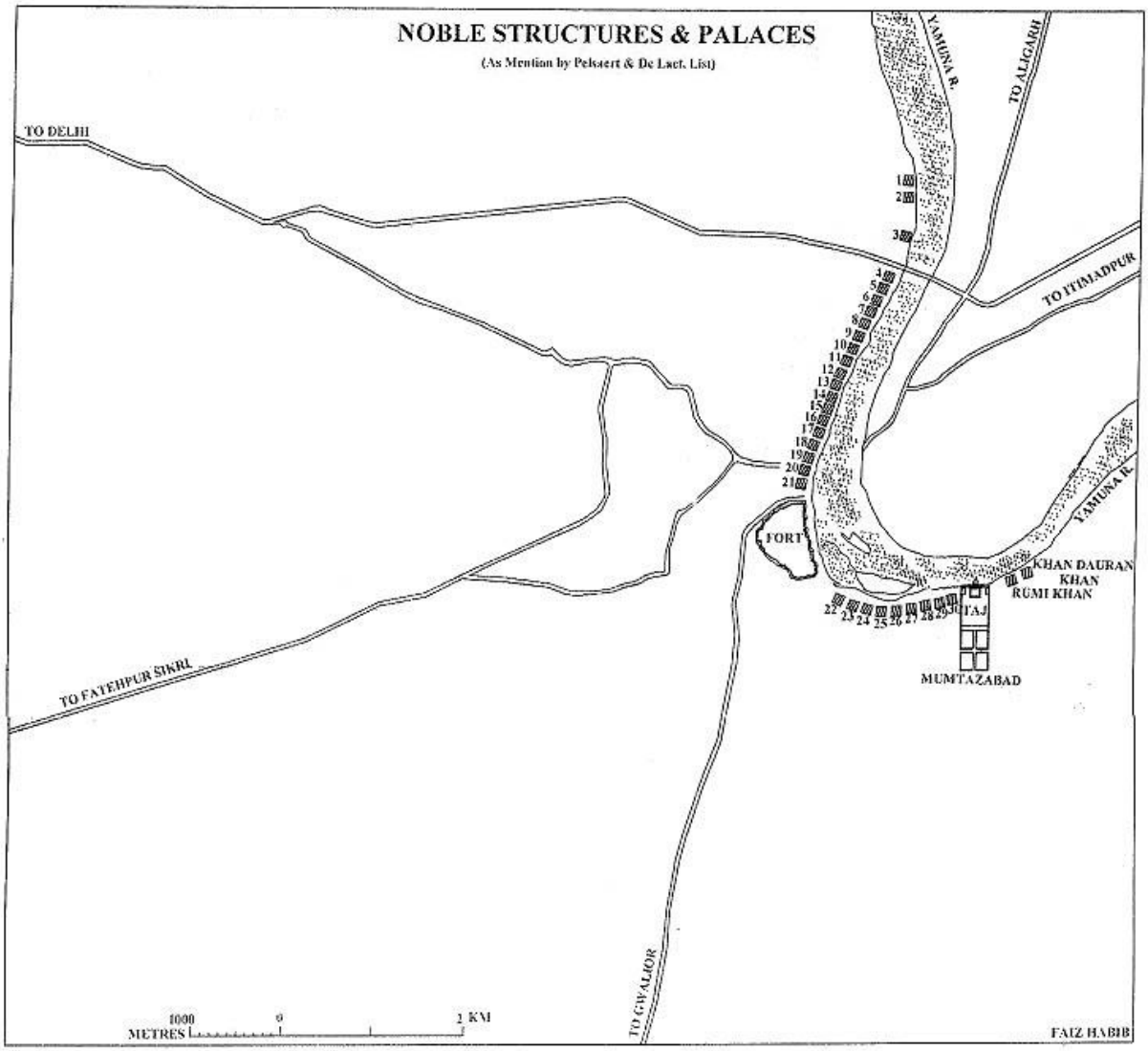
[55] Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report (1871-72),* Vol. VI, P. 200; See also Saeed Ahmad Marahravi, *Muraqqa-i Akbarabad,* Agra, 1931, p. 216

[56] See Ebba Koch, *The Complete Taj,* op. cit., p. 75

Jahangir.[57] There are a number of other structures which once were part of Mughal *havelis* still surviving in the old *bazars*, lanes and bye-lanes of Agra. But now it is difficult to identify them or their antiquity.

[57] Saeed Ahmad Marahravi, op. cit., p. 215; See also *UP District Gazetteers, Agra*, ed. E. B. Joshi, 1965, p. 360

Map VI


NOBLE STRUCTURES & PALACES
(As Mention by Pelsaert & De Laet. List)
TO DELHI
YAMUNA R.
TO ALIGARH
TO ITIMADPUR
FORT
YAMUNA R.
KHAN DAURAN
KHAN
RUMI KHAN
TAJ
MUMTAZABAD
TO FATEHPUR SIKRI
TO GWALIOR
1000 0 2 KM
METRES
FAIZ HABIB

Index of Map VI

Key to Residential Structures mentioned by Pelsaert & De Laet

1. *Haveli* [Abul Bey Uzbek] Bahadur Khan
2. *Haveli* Raja [Rai] Bhoj, father Rai Ratan [Hada]
3. *Haveli* [Fathjung] Ibrahim Khan (?)
4. *Haveli* [Mirza] Rustam Kandahari
5. *Haveli* Raja Kishan Das
6. *Haveli* Itiqad Khan [Mirza Shahpur s/o Itimadud Daula]
7. *Haveli* Shahzadi Khanam d/o Jahangir
8. *Haveli* Gulzar Begum m/o Jahangir
9. *Haveli* Khwaja Muhammad Tahir
10. *Haveli* Khwaja Bansi [Bakshi (?)]
11. *Haveli* [Hakim Alimuddin] Wazir Khan
12. *Suhāgpura*
13. *Haveli* Itibar Khan Khwajasara
14. *Haveli* Baqir Khan
15. *Haveli* Mirza Abu Saeed
16. *Haveli* Asaf Khan
17. *Haveli* Itimad ud Daula
18. *Haveli* Sultan Khurram
19. *Haveli* Khan-i Jahan [Lodi]
20. *Haveli* Khwaja Abul Hasan
21. *Haveli* Ruqaiya Sultan Begum
22. *Haveli* Mirza Abdullah s/o Khan-i Azam
23. *Haveli* Agha Noor
24. *Haveli* Jahan Khan (?)
25. *Haveli* Mirza Khurram s/o Khan-i Azam
26. *Haveli* Mahabat Khan
27. *Haveli* Khan-i Alam
28. *Haveli* Raja Bet [Bhao?] Singh
29. *Haveli* Raja Man Singh
30. *Haveli* Raja Madho Singh

Chapter- V
Utilitarian Structures: *Sarais*

CHAPTER 5

UTILITARIAN STRUCTURES: *SARAIS*

Works of public utility would include the digging of wells, digging canals, building roads and establishing *sarais* or rest houses on the routes connecting one town with the other and opening 'guest-houses' within the city for servicing the visitor.

When Babur came to Agra, apart from laying gardens which not only acted as residences but helped in changing the urban landscape, he also reported took up the work of constructing step-wells which would not only water his gardens, supply 'running water' to his fountains but also act as refuge against the scorching heat of the newly conquered country. He also advocated the profits of constructing *hammams* or bath houses which were equipped within provisions of both hot and cold water. When he reached Agra in 1526 and was contemplating to build his new city there, he wrote:

> "Three things oppressed in his Hindustan, its heat, its violent winds, its dust. Against all three the Bath (*hammam*) is a protection, for in it, what is known of dust and wind? And in the heats it is so chilly that one is almost cold."[1]

Thus amongst the first constructions of Babur at Agra included a large well, hot bath and tanks along with his residential building and the garden:

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[1] Zahīruddīn Muhammad Bābur, *Bāburnāma* (1530), Turki text, ed. Annette Susannah Beveridge, Leyden and London, 1905; eng. trans. Annette Susannah Beveridge, 2 vols. London, 1921 p. 532.

> "The beginning was made with the large well from which water came for the hot bath, and also with the piece of ground where the tamarind trees and the octagonal tanks now are. After that came the large tank with its enclosure; after that tanks and *tash imarat* (outer residence); after that the private house (*Khilwat Khana*) and its garden and various dwelling; after that the hot bath".[2]

Babur than went on the describe in detail the '10 by 10 *gaz*' step-well (*baoli* or '*wain'*) which he ordered to be constructed in the Lodi fort at Agra soon after his victory over Rana Sanga:

> "it is a comple *wain*, a having a three-storeyed house in it. The lowest storey consists of three rooms, each of which opens on the descending steps, at interval of three steps from one another. When the water is at its lowest, it is one step below the bottom chamber; when it rises in the rains. It some times goes into the top storey. In the middle storey an inner chamber has been excavated which connects with the domed building in which the bullock turns the well-wheel. The top storey is a single room, reached from two sides by 5or 6 steps which lead down to it from the enclosure over looked from the well-head. Facing the right-hand way down, in the stone inscribed with the date of completion. At the side of this well is another the bottom of which may be at half the depth of the first, and into which water comes from that first one when the bullock turns the wheel in the domed building afore-mentioned. This second well is also is fitted with a wheel, by means of which water is carried along the ramparts to the high-garden."[3]

This is one of the best description of a *baoli* or step-well and the application of the Persian-wheels to draw water from it and left it to a higher ground.

Probably it was the deeply dissected terrain of Agra which restricted canal development both upstream and downstream of the city: a fact hinted at by Babur

[2] Ibid., pp. 531-32

[3] Ibid, p. 533

when he complained of lack of running waters in North India.[4] Thus it comes as no surprise that we do not find any canals or other such water works dug by Babur at Agra. The presence of the Yamuna on the other hand ensured a good yield of water for the various wells, step wells and tanks constructed around the city.

Unfortunately no step wells survive at Agra out side the fort complex. Some of them which are still extant are affiliated to the various gardens; thus we have them at the tomb of Itmadud Daulah, *Bagh-i Nurafshan* and the Jahanara *Bagh*. However except for the wells nothing else survives of the. Two large water tanks, one belonging to Akbars period, and the other to Jahangirs reign are extant. The first is located in a village- now a suburb of modern Agra- known at Itimadpur on the main Agra- Kolkata national Highway. Located around 13 or 14 kilometers from the main city is a large rectangular tank in the middle of which is constructed a double storeyed octagonal pavilion surmounted with a cupola. Anther tomb-like structure is constructed on the banks of the large tank. Although presently no grave stone is found in this later structure but probably, it was the tomb of Itimad Khan himself which he had built in his own life-time. The large water tank with the octagonal pavilion not only to give a sense of paradisiacal setting to his tomb but was also a public work: the wall of the pavilion provide us a large number of graffiti; testifying to the public nature of the structure (**Plate**

[4] Ibid., p. 531; See also James L. Wescoat Jr., "*Early Water Systems in Mughal India*", op. cit., pp. 50-57

5.1). The tank with its buildings acted as a convenient halting place for the people traveling between Agra and towns like Allahabad and Awadh in the east.[5]

The tank belonging to the Jahangir period is constructed in front of the Tomb of Firoz Khan *Khwaja Sara* a Jahangir noble who died during the reing of Shahjahan in 1647.[6] Like in the earlier case, the *hauz* (tank) provides a paradisiacal setting to the tomb, as well as provides a source of water to the neighbourhood. Like the tomb a tank of Itimad Khan, [now popularly known as *Budhiya ka Taal* (**Plate 5.1A**)], the tomb and tank of Firuz Khan is located outside the city limits: it is situated on the Mughal highway connecting Agra with Gwalior. Today the whole neighbourhood is known as "*Tal Firuz Khan"*. The tank when noted by H. G. Keenes in the late 19th century was 'about 10 feet deep at its lowest part'. It was surrounded by steps on all its sides and towers in the coners, traced of which were still visible.[7] Presently it has been reduced to a mass of dirty water infested with mosquitoes and other insects.

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[5] For the Graffiti on this monument see Iqtidar Alam Khan, " Methodologies and Approaches for Medieval Archaeology: A Report of Exploration of Public Buildings and Minar Structures along Mughal highways", *Indian Archaeology Since Independence,* , ed., K. M. Shrimali, Delhi, 1996, pp. 113, (Appendix 4 and 5).

[6] Shahnawaz Khan, *Masirul Umara,* ed. Maulvi Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1888, vol. III, pp. 21-22. For details of the tomb see infra.

[7] H. G. Keene, *Hand book for Visitors: Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Lucknow and Banaras,* Calcutta, 1898, p. 184; See also E. T. Atkinson and F. H. Fioher, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces of India: Farukhabad and Agra,* vol. VII, Allahabad, 1884, pp. 609, 708.

The most interesting water work at Agra however is a large masonry tank at a short distance from Sikandara. It is situated on the route which connected the Lodi Sikandara with the Mughal Agra (see **Map VII**). Now known as '*Guru ka Tal'* this water tank was situated close to a tomb popularly known as Tomb of Itibar Khan.[8] The tomb was later during the twentieth century was replaced by a Gurudwara dedicated to Guru Arjan Singh (**Plate 5.2**). Traditionally the site is believed to be the place where the Sikh Guru stayed when he visited Agra during the first Regnal year of Jahangir's reign. Thus the name given to the tank: *Guru ka Tal* (**Plate 5.3**).

According to Iqtidar Alam Khan, who surveyed the structural remains of this tank, it was constructed in the tradition of *band-tals*, the irrigation tanks created by harnessing the water courses in different ways.

This tank was rectangular in shape (see **Plan 5.1**) and comprised of six stepped *ghats*, two each on the Northern and southern sides and one each on the eastern and western sides (**Plate 5.4**). Three arched sluices are provided in the southern side to lead water from the sitting tank into the main one. The silting

[8] See *Archaeological Survey of India, Report 1871-72*, ed. A. Cunningham, Vol. IV, reprint Varanasi, 1966, pp. 184-85.

chamber itself in octagonal surrounded by walls on seven sides, the eighth being given to sluices.[9]

The other edifice in Mughal city of Agra was the *Karavansarai*, which played an important role in the civic life. They were structures constructed for the facility of general travelers and the merchants. Not only the Mughal emperors, but also the nobles and other built *Sarais.* The *Karavansara* was generally in the form of a large square with arcades and small square chambers at their inner extremities. Above the arcades runs a gallery all round the building, into which open the same number of chambers as there are below.

According to F. Bernier, sarais provide the shelter to travelers:

> "This place is the rendezvous of the rich *Persian, Usbek* and other foreign merchants, who in general may be accommodated with empty chambers, in which they remain with perfect security, the gate being closed at night. If in *Paris* we had a score of similar structures, distributed in different part of the city, strangers on their first arrival would be less embarrassed than at present to find a safe and reasonable lodging. They might remain in them a few days until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked out at leisure for more convenient apartments. Such place would become warehouses for all kinds of merchandise, and the general resort of foreign merchants".[10]

Agra was connected with other important commercial and administrative centres through road and river. Two different routes led from Agra to Surat,

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[9] For a detail survey and identification of this Lodi tank see *"Guru ka Tal: A Pre-modern Water Work", Environmental Design: Technology from Tradition of Innovation,* 1988, no. 1-2, pp. 64-67.

[10] Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68),* sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, LPP, Delhi, 1934, p. 281.

through which a very large part of India's oversea trade was conducted.[11] One of these routes passed through central India, while another went through Rajasthan. The important places situated on the former route were Dholpur, Gwalior, Narwar, Shivpuri[12], and on the latter, Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Hindaun, Chatsu[13]. The central Indian route was intersected by several rivers, most of which were without bridges. During the rainy season therefore this route became unserviceable.[14] In certain sections it was also rough and stony.[15] The alternative route through Rajasthan was open throughout the year, though it passed through semi-independent principalities whose rulers claimed certain custom duties.[16]

Towards the north-west Agra was connected with Delhi and Lahore. The route passed through well-cultivated plains.[17] On both sides of the road there ran a continuous avenue of trees.[18]

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[11] Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, pp. 37, 48-65, 89; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 170.

[12] Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 66 ff; Tavernier, op. cit, I, pp. 48-65.

[13] Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 225 ff; Tavernier, op. cit., I, p. 89; William Finch, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 170.

[14] Tavernier, op. cit, I, p. 37; *English Factories in India (1646-50)*, pp. 144, 218, 335.

[15] *English Factories in India (1646-50)*, p. 144; William Finch, op. cit., I, p. 144.

[16] Tavernier, op. cit., I, p. 37.

[17] Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268.

[18] Richard Steel & Crowther, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 268; Thomas Coryat, *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi,

Towards the east Agra was connected with Allahabad and Patna. The route passed through Ferozabad, and Etawah.[19] On this route too there were rows of trees on both sides.[20]

These were the major trade-routes connecting Agra to the other major towns of the city of the Mughal Empire. There were other routes, such as the Agra-Kannauj-Luchnow route described by Finch[21] or the Agra-Kol route travelled by Peter Mundy; but these appear to have been less important.

In Mughal India the *caravansarais* were found at regular intervals along major highways such as those discussed above, as well as in various towns and cities. Like gardens and mansions, *sarāi* were also walled, and travellers entered through one of several large gateways. The walls were serrated with battlements and at each of the four corners were bastions. Rows of identical arched compartments separated by thin partitions lined the sides of the buildings. A pool of water, a well, a mosque, stables, trees, flowers, and a *katra* (walled enclosure) for storing travellers' goods were found in most *sarāis*. Constructed by the elite and powerful for reasons of charity, religious duty or fame, they were open to

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1968, p. 244; Terry, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. by William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 293; Thomas Roe, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 432; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 284; Tavernier, op. cit., I, p. 96; Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 83; also see Thomas Coryat, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, ed. by Samuel Purchas, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 472.

[19] Peter Mundy, op. cit, II, pp. 78-79; Tavernier, op. cit., I, pp. 113-116.

[20] Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 83, 86.

[21] William Finch, op. cit., p. 175.

merchants, scholars, religious specialists, and other travellers but not to soldiers.[22] An average *sarāi* had room for eight hundred to a thousand travellers and housed barbers, tailors, washer man, blacksmiths, sellers of grass and straw, physicians, dancing girls, and musicians. To establish order and security the Mughals posted an official with a contingent of soldiers to each *sarāi*.[23]

Built generally along the Mughal trade routes at a regular interval, these structures provided shelter to the traders as well as the foreign travellers, who moved from place to pace sell and purchase their goods and commodities. Both side of the Mughal trade routes the shaddy trees and well were also planted and dug at a regular interval for the *caravans* (traders who moved in a group). This is testified William Finch, who remarked:

> 'From Agra to Lahor sixe hundred miles.[24] The way is set on both sides with mulbery-trees.'[25]

Apart from the Emperor a numbers of *Sarais* were also built by the nobles and royal ladies. Thus we have the example of Nur Jahan Begum who built the *Sarai Nur Mahal* at Agra near the *Bagh-i Nur Afshan* on the left bank of the river.

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[22] Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739*, Cambridge University Press, New York (1991), p. 65.

[23] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. I, Delhi, 1990, pp. 67-70, 115.

[24] An overstatement. The distance is about 440 miles by road. See for example William Finch, op. cit., p. 186, foot note-1.

[25] Ibid, pp. 185-186.

Mentioning the state run *Sarais* during the reign of Akbar, 'Arif Qandahari in *Tārīkh-i- Akbarī,* refers to these rest-houses as '*chaukis'* located on roads at an interval of five *kurohs*'.[26] It is, however, not stated clearly that the travellers allowed into the state-run *sarāis* were given food and other facilities free of charge. Now also non-official poor travellers were given access into the rest-houses run by the Mughal state, which, as one gathers from 'Arif Qandahari's description for an earlier date, originally were nothing more than postal *chaukīs*. Perhaps, the travellers allowed into the state-run rest-houses were also given free food but this is nowhere stated explicitly.[27]

The *kārwānsarāys* set up by the state as well as private individuals or corporate bodies catered primarily to a civilian clientele who were charged, though moderately, for food and lodging.[28] Most of these *kārwānsarāys* were supported

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[26] *Tārīkh-i- Akbarī,* pp. 44-45 and *Akbarnāma,* Bibliotheca Indica, Vol. III, (Calcutta, 1873-87), pp. 824-285. Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.,* Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 112, foot note- 2.

[27] See Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.,* Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, pp. 112-113.

[28] For the agencies establishing *sarāis* (that is, *kārwānsarāys*) in Mughal India, see Ravindra Kumar, "Sarais in Mughal India", (p. 20), M. Phil. Dissertation submitted to the Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, in 1978. He has shown in a tabular from that out of the total 106 *sarāis* (he unfortunately does not clearly demarcate the *kārwānsarāys* from *dāk chaukīs-cum-inns* of the Sur and the Mughal periods) listed by him 36 were established by the kings, 23 by the nobles, 9 by the zamīndārs, 16 by the petty officials, 8 by the merchants, 4 by the *mashāikh*, 1 by commercial establishment, 3 by the religious institutions and 6 by the caste groups. In

by endowments created by the founding individuals or collective bodies. The income from endowments was used to meet expenses on the general maintenance of the *kārwānsarāy*, while payments made by the visiting travellers provided sustenance to the varied service groups, particularly to the *Bhatiyaras* who worked as attendants-cum-cooks.[29]

During the 17th century, the care of the travellers was usually taken by *bhatiyarins* and other house-hold works in the *sarāis* were also done by them; while the male members did other jobs or worked in the fields. Nicholas Withington (1612-16) recorded in his *Travels*, which followed as:

> 'Between Adgemere (Ajmere) and Agra, at everye ten courses (which is an ordinarye dayes journeye) there is a serralia or place of lodging boothe for man and horse, and hostesses[30] to dresse our victuals if we please, paying a matter of 3d. both for horse and meate dressinge.'[31]

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these *kārwānsarāys*, around A.D. 1634, the travellers were charged 1 to 2 "*pice*" (*dāms*?) per day for rooms, *Travels of Peter Mundy*, ed. R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 121. Nicholas Withington (1615) in *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, (Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 225, mentions as payment for space for horse and cooking of food the rate of 3 *dāms* per day. Cf. Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, p. 113, foot note- 3.

[29] Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 121, foot note- 2; also see Iqtidar Alam Khan, 'The Kārwānsarāys of Mughal India: A Study of Surviving Structures', Published in *Indian Historical Review, Biannual Journal of the I.C.H.R.*, Vol. XIV, No. 1-2, July 1987- Jan 1988, pp. 113-114.

[30] 'For the female attendants in the *sarāis*, see *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, Vol. II, p. 121. Cf. Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225, foot note- 1.

[31] Nicholas Withington, *Early Travels in India 1583-1619*, ed. William Foster, New Delhi, 1968, p. 225.

Manrique gives a vivid description of the service staff in the *sarāis*:

> 'They are usually built in a square, like cloisters in a Monastery, and are divided up into dwelling rooms and chambers, with a male or female Regent: for women can also carry on this occupation. These attendants are called respectively *Metres* and *Meteranis*. Their business is to keep these rooms (of the *sarāi*) free from rubbish and clean and provided with cots… Those servants are also entrusted with the preparation of the food for guests, as well as doing all the other duties essential to comfort within the house, even to providing hot water for washing feet. Hence on reaching a *Caramossora* all that one has to do is to send out and purchase food in the Bazar or market and leave other matters to these attentive servants. Besides these duties, if the Guests have horses, they are required also to cook *mung* or chick-pea, which is given instead of the barley we feed such animals on in Europe…… To return to the *Metres* and *Meteranis*, who, as I have remarked, are the stewards of these inns or *Caramossoras*. They are so obliging that they are content with one *debua*, or at the most two, which is so small a coin that a half real of eight contains fifty-six *debuas*, or *paisas*.'[32]

The earliest reference to the endowment covering *sarāis* built by private individuals dates back to the first quarter of Akbar's reign. Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi recording in A.D. 1611-12 his observation of the situation obtaining in the Mughal empire during his visit to Agra about half a century earlier says: 'that on thoroughfares after every one *farsakh* or every half *farsakh* a *sarāi* is established and given away as endowments (*waqf*) by prominent people (*namwaran*) of this country.'[33]

Regarding the *Sarais* at Agra, we are informed that:

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[32] Manrique, *Travels of F. S. Manrique, 1629-1643*, tr. Luard and Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, LXI, Oxford, 1927, pp. 100-102.

[33] Rafiuddin Ibrahim Shirazi, *Tazkirat ul-Muluk*, MS British Museum, Add. 23883, fol. 174b. Cf. Ravindra Kumar, "Administration of the Sarais", paper presented in *Indian History Congress*, Hyderabad session, 1978, p. 354, foot note- 1.

> 'But that which makes the Beauty of Agra besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervansarais* which are above three-score in number; and some of them have six large courts with their portico's, that give entry to very commodious apartments, where stranger merchants have their lodiging…'.[34]

A look at the map of Agra shows that around fourteen (see **Map VIII**) of these 'above three-score' *Sarais* survive, albeit in a dilapidated condition, in and around Agra today. Three of them, viz, *Sarais* Nur Mahal, *Sarais* Itibar Khan and *Sarais* Chhipitola belong to the reign of Jahangir, six to the reign of Shahjahan and one to the reign of Farukh Siyar. Three cannot be properly dated today.

1. Sarai Nur Mahal or (Raja Ki Sarai)

This *sarai*, (**Plan 5.2**) is in a dilapidated condition now. Situated between the Battis-Khambha and the *Bagh-i Nur Afshan* or (now popularly known as Aram Bagh). This *sarai* was allegedly built on the *jagir* of Nur Jahan (c. 1612 A.D.). It could accommodate about 500 horses and 3000 people at once. A small entrance once situated on the Battis-Khambha side is now no more to be seen The single-storeyed rooms were plastered from inside and comprised a vaulted ceiling and a *verandah* in the front covered by a *chhajja*. The entrance is to the east facing the present Aligarh-Agra road . The stepped *ghat* has disappeared but one can still see the riverside tower and *chhatri* here.

[34] Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, op. cit., p. 48

The *Bagh-i Nurafshan* built, as Pelsaert noted,[35] by her officers to collect duties on goods transported by the river. This area belonged to the *jagir* of Nur Jahan[36] who was entitled to collect duties at this point and, obviously, it was for the use of the traders that this *sarai* was built just on the river-bank. It was seen by Peter Mundy in the working order soon after the reign of Jahangir. He noted that the *Nur Mahal sarai* at Agra as:

> "is a very fair one built by the old Queen[37] Nur Mahal for the accommodation of travellers, in which may stand 500 horse, and there may conveniently lie two or three thousand peoples; all of stone, not one piece of timber in it, the rooms all arched, each with a several (separate) cupola (*chhatri*)."[38]

This account shows that the *sarai* was single-storeyed and each room had a separate *chhatri* of its own, crowning it on the façade. Brick masonry structure was originally stone-faced; it has now been exposed because almost all stone facings have been plundered. *Chhatris* too have been pillaged. Fortunately, its boundaries are intact and confirm Mundy's observation that it was indeed a very spacious *sarai* which could accommodate 500 horse and 2,000-3,000 travellers.

Jahangir married Nur Jahan in 1611 and largesses were conferred upon her soon thereafter. This *jagir* was, presumably, granted to her in c. 1612, and it was

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[35] Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, I. A. D., Delhi, 1972, pp. 4-5.

[36] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 327.

[37] *Nur Jahan* was deposed and retired by *Shah Jahan* on his accession to the throne in 1628 A.D., hence the expression.

[38] Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 78.

about the same time that the wise lady, realizing its extremely important need, commissioned this *sarai* to be built. This is fully in consonance with her character which no less a contemporary than Pelsaert has portrayed in unmistakable words that Nur Jahan Begum; the Queen-Consort, erected "very expensive buildings in all directions-*sarais*, or halting places for travelers and merchants, and pleasure-gardens and palaces, such as no one has ever made before-intending thereby to establish an enduring reputation."[39]

The counterpart of *sarai* Nur Jahan of Agra and the second riverine *sarai* of the Mughal period, built about the same time, is situated at Delhi, just adjacent to the compound wall of Humayun's Tomb, on its south side. At present, it is known by such popular misnomers as *Arab-Sarai* and *Mandi*. Essentially, it is a riverine *sarai*, planned on east-west axis, like the *Sarai Nur Jahan* of Agra.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Tavernear i.e. as account that of his stay at Agra in the famous *Nur-Mahal Ki Sarai*[40]. The eastern and western gateways of the *Sarais* still survived in a ruinous stage. Probably this *Sarai* contain 53 rooms in the southern sides (**Plate 5.5**) and 52 rooms in the northern side (**Plate 5.6**) of the enclosure wall. In the eastern and western side may be also contain the rooms, but today not any evidence of the rooms found in the form of remains. This sarai may be containing around 120 rooms within the enclosure wall.

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[39] *Jahangir's India: The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, I. A. D., Delhi, 1972, p. 50.

[40] See Tavernier, op. cit., I, pp. 92-93; Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 78-79, 82-83, 143.

It is rectangular in plan laid out on an east-west, with the main gate (**Plate 5.7**) being on eastern side, on the highway. It is an arched gateway built of brick masonry faced by red sandstone and is standing free amidst garbage and drains. There is another similar though smaller gateway on the western or the river-side, stepped quay (*ghat*) which facilitated loading and unloading of boats having been almost entirely destroyed. A *chhatri* overlooking the *sarai* on either side made up, along with the central archway and stepped quay, a very beautiful river-front, typical of the Mughal period. All this has now been altered. There was also a small door in the middle of the northern wall, to give access from the *Battis-Khambha* side but this too has been destroyed.

Series of single-storeyed rooms were disposed on the two oblong, northern and southern, sides leaving the middle space wide open for traffic and animals. Each room had a vaulted ceiling and the entire interior was pleasantly plastered over. It had its own *dalan* on its front which was further protected by a *chhajja* or eves. All openings were arched. While *chhajja* slabs have all been pillaged, their brackets, deeply embedded in strong brick masonry as they are, have remained. Except for these stone brackets and bare brick masonry skeleton, everything of this once beautiful *sarai* of Nur Jahan has been completely destroyed and it has been reduced, owing to the total neglect by the conservation agencies.

The total area covered by the rectangular enclosure of this *sarai* is 225 x 52 square meters (see **Plan 5.1**). All the rooms inside the sarai are equal in size, and each one is a square covering an area of 3.20 x 3.20 square meters with a porch of

2.00 x 3.20 square meters in the front. The porches are interconnected through openings in the side walls, thus forming a long colonnade. In the center of northern side is a pavilion of 3.20 x 3.20 square meters opening toward the east. Unlike the rectangular or square Sarais, the length of this Sarai is much greater than its breadth which makes it rather disproportionate. An important feature is interconnected porches forming a colonnade in the front of the rooms which provides sheltered access to each room. This arrangement has not been noticed in any one of the sarais in our survey[41].

2. *Sarai* of I'tibar Khan Khawja

Four miles from Agra, on the Sikandra road, is the *Sarai* of I'tibar Khan Khawja situated. It was once an open summer house, but the doors have now been closed with masonry.[42] Today now this locality called as Bega Sarai. Only huge gateway (**Plate 5.8**) facing north still survived in a dilapidated condition. This gateway occupied by local people. Beside this gateway nothing remains of this *Sarai* survived.

3. *Sarai* Chipitola

[41] Interestingly, this arrangement is not seen in the following Sarais: *Sarai Nawal Ganj, Sarai Chippitola, Pukhta Sarai & Sarai Taj Ganj*.

[42] See for S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 196.

The *Sarai* is situated near the south-western corner of the Agra fort. It is entered through a monumental gateway from the eastern side (**Plate 5.9**).[43] This sarai also contain the Palace and Hammām of Alahwirdī Khān (Ilāhwardī Khān)[44] situated in *Chhīpī-Tolā* is an example. Originally, it had a large monumental gateway, garden, palace with *hammām* and an adjoining *sarai* (**Plan 5.3**). All this arrangement has now been changed. The gateway has remained in a very dilapidated condition. A vegetable market (mandī) is held in the *sarai*. Houses have been built on the sides of the gateway and other parts of the complex. The palace proper has also been destroyed. Its *hammām* has, however, survived and, in fact, the complex is now famous as the *Hammām*. It has four large square rooms, each of which had a reservoir, and around them are small vaulted chambers, some of which had clay pipes running through the walls. Large monolithic perforated ventilators, viz., cowls, shaped like hollow hemispheres in the roofs of these chambers are a unique feature of this building. On the red stone gateway is an inscription eulogizing the Emperor Jahāngīr and the *hammām*, containing the chronogram which gives the date A.H.

[43] There are no other gateways besides this gateway.

[44] For his biography, see *Máasir al-Umara* of Shah Nawaz Khan, ed. by Maulavi Ábd al Rahim, Text- I, Part- I, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 207-215; T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, rev. ed. by H. G. Keene, 1894, p. 47.

1030 or 1620 A.D.[45] It must be noted that *hammām* architecture was popular only during the age of Akbar and only very few examples of Jahāngīr's reign have come down to us. In any case, *hammām* was not a public establishment like that of the Romans, but a private building, mostly annexed too a palace.

This monumental gateway is in good condition compared to the gateways of the other *Sarais* in Agra. The gateway is a large domed structure, which once also contain the inscription. The plan of the *Sarai* consists of large rooms in the four corners. The total area covered by the each larger room is about 5.20 x 5.20 square meters. All the rooms run all along the three sides with few on the eastern side owing to the space covered by the gateway. It may be contains total 33 identical rooms. And it size is also 3.35 x 3.35 square meters similar to other sarai rooms found in the vicinity of Agra city. The length from east to west is 64 meters and breadth from north to south is 58 meters. Hence the total area of this sarai is approximately 64 x 58 square meters.

4. ***Sarai* Nawal Ganj**

Situated nearly five hundred meters north-east of Itmad-ud Daula's tomb, there is no inscription or any other evidence to establish the identity of the

[45] For full text and translation of the inscription, see A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report (1871-72)*, Vol. IV, pp. 197-98; also see S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, pp.198-99.

building. Writing a few years before the mutiny Raja Ram identified this place as a *Katra* built by Shaista Khan during Shahjahan's reign for his own residence[46].

However, Carlleyle in 1871-72 attributed the construction of the building to Salat Khan, a noble of Shahjahan, as a *Katra*[47]. He also adds that the name of the place Nawalganj is a corruption of a longer designation *Katra Nawab Ganj*. He said, "It will therefore be better to call the great walled enclosure either *Nawal Ganj*, or the *katra of Nawab Salat Khan*"[48]. Carlleyle argued that it was used as a market place. But, going by the plan of the building (**Plan 5.4**) we can safely assume that it is a *Sarai* building[49]. Comprising of a square enclosure (**Plate 5.10**), this building covers an area of 115.25 x 115.25 square meters with high battlemented walls and four octagonal bastions at the corners. There are two lofty gateways in the central portion of the eastern (**Plate 5.11**) and western walls of the enclosure. Rooms run all along the four sides inside the compound. There are two larger rooms in the center of the northern and southern sides falling in proportion to the two lofty gateways in the other two directions with projected outer walls (**Plate 5.12**). These rooms measure 11.66 x 4.14 square meters. The rooms in the corner open into the bastions, which are hollow structures. There are 86 rooms in

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[46] "The gardens of Agra", *Journal of UP Historical Society,* Vol. IV, 1928, Part I, pp. 15-16.

[47] A.C.L.Carlleyle, *Archaeological Survey of India.* Report for the year 1871-72, Vol. IV, pp.159-162.

[48] A.C.L.Carlleyle, *Archaeological Survey of India.* Report for the year 1871-72, Vol. IV, p. 161.

[49] It is most likely that the structure was planned as a *Sarai* but it gradually came to be used entirely as a market place which led it to be as *Katra* or *Ganj.*

the structure. Identical in shape and size with an arched opening of 3.35 x 3.35 square meters forming the porch, the ordinary rooms are 3.35 x 3.35 square meters in size.

A. C. L. Carlleyle mentioned detailed description about this *sarai* in his *Report*. He wrote that: 'this building, or rather great walled enclosure, is situated on the other side of the river Jamna from Agra, about a couple of hundred yards to the right hand or east side of the Nunihai road, beyond the Moti Bagh and the modern railway station. It is at the present day commonly called *Nawal Ganj*, which I taken to be corruption of *Nawab Ganj*, as it is said to have been built by a Nawab Salat Khan in the time of Shah Jahan. It was, at any rate, most certainly built in the time of Shah Jahan. It is also sometimes called, rightly or wrongly, "*Wazir Khan's Katra*". Now the question is whether "*Nawab Salat Khan*" and "*Wazir Khān*" were one and the same person or not. Raja Ram, in his "*Tamirat Agrah*", calls this place "*Katra Nawab Salat Khan*" and "*Nawal Ganj*"; where as Seal Chand, in his "*Tafrih ul Imarat*", notices no place by the above name, but he mentions a "*Bagh mai Katrah Wazir Khan*" (a garden and *Katra* of Wazir Khan), and he gives the full name of Wazir Khan, as "Alim-ud-dîn" called *Wazir Khan*"……. I have combined the two names, and called it the "*Ganj* or *Katra* of *Nawab Wazir Salat Khan*". Across the road, or on the opposite side of the road from the great building or great walled enclosure in question, there is a sort of enclosed villaghe called a "*Katra*"; and immediately behind this, and between it and the river, and reaching to the bank of the river, there is a garden, containing a

small garden palace, called "*Wazir Khan ka Bagh*". Besides the small garden palace which faces the river, there is in the centre of this garden a high octagonal raised platform of masonry, surrounded by a stone railing, and ascended to by steps, and underneath this, below the surface of the ground, there is a great vaulted chamber, into which one descends by another series of steps. The enclosed village and garden last mentioned, I believe, must be the true *Wazir Khan's Bagh* and *Katra*. But in Seal Chand mentioned in his account which followed as: 'in the ground there are several towers with domes reaching to the skies!'.

There is no such thing either in the *Nawal Ganj*, alias *Katra* of Nawab Salat Khan, nor in the garden of Wazir Khan. At each of the four corners of the Nawal Ganj, alias *Katra* of Nawab Salat Khan, there is an octagonal tower, but neither "towers under ground", nor "domes reaching to the skies"; while, again, in the garden of Wazir Khan there is, as I before said, a high raised octagonal platform of masonry, with a sunken vaulted chamber underneath it, and there are also two corner towers of moderate height, surmounted by cupolas, facing the river.

It will therefore be better to call the great walled enclosure either "Nawal Ganj", or the "*Katra* of Nawab Salat Khan".

The dimensions of this great walled enclosure are 374 feet 10 inches by 372 feet 7 inches, exterior measurement, exclusive of the outward projections of the towers and gateways. In the centre of the western and eastern sides there are grand gateways, each 40 feet 10 inches in breadth by 35 feet 8 inches in depth, through. Each of these gateways projects 10 feet, outwardly, beyond the line of the wall.

These gateways are faced with red sandstone outwardly and inwardly. The walls and four corner towers are of brick. The walls are lofty, and are surmounted by crenelated battlements-the usual finish to the tops of all old walls in India. The towers are octagonal, of which five and two half sides project beyond the walls, and one and two half sides are included in the thickness of the walls. These towers are 17 feet in diameter, and each of the exterior sides measures 7 feet. At the centre of the northern and southern sides of the great walled enclosure there is a high building (one on each side) 38 feet 3 inches in breadth by 30 feet in depth, and these buildings also project 4 feet 6 inches outwardly beyond the line of the walls. The thickness of the outer walls of the great enclosure is 3 feet 9 inches, and of the walls of the towers 3 feet 3 inches. Along the whole of the inside of the four walls, in the interior of the enclosure, a double series of chambers runs their whole length, only interrupted by the two gateways, the two side buildings, and the entrances to the towers. These double series of chambers give an occupied width of 21 feet 9 inches on all sides, leaving an interior unoccupied area in the midst of the inclosure of 323 feet 10 inches by 321 feet 7 inches. These are eleven parallel double series of chambers (or twenty-two chambers in all) on the left hand, inner side, of each gateway, and ten parallel double series of chambers (or twenty chambers in all) on the right hand, inner side, of each gateway; and these are eleven parallel double series of chambers (or twenty-two in all) to the right hand side interiorly, and ten parallel double series of chambers (twenty in all) to the left hand side of each “side building”. Thus there are 168 chambers in all which line

the sides in double series in the interior of this great walled enclosure. There are stairs ascending to the top of the roof near each tower, two pairs of stairs in each gateway, one pair of which ascends to the top of each gateway, and the other pair ascends to the roofs of the side chambers on either side of the gateway; and there is a pair of stairs in each side building ascending to the roof.

The gateways of this great walled enclosure are very fine, and altogether the whole constitutes a very grand and imposing mass of building.

Opposite to the western gateway of this great walled enclosure, and about half-way between it and the public road, there is an ancient Masjid in a very ruinous state, which I should say was more ancient than the "*Ganj* or *Katra*".'[50]

5. *Sarai* Pukhta

This *Sarai* is situated in the southern direction of *Taj Ganj* area near Sayed Nagar. It is believed that the *Sarai* was built during Shahjaha's reign. There is no inscriptional evidence as well as written record found to ascertain the date of the construction of this *Sarai*. It may be constructed, when the Taj Mahal was built. It is said that materials for the Taj Mahal were stored in this sarai. This sarai also provided accommodation for the labours, who were engaged in the building the Taj Mahal. One thing very important is this sarai is that, it is infront of the Taj Mahal about ½ mile just south direction.

[50] See for A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report (1871-72),* Vol. IV, pp. 159-162; also see E. T. Atkinson & F. H. Fisher. (ed.), *Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Province of India,* Vol. VII, *Agra District,* Allahabad, 1884, p. 688; S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive,* Calcutta, 1896, p. 190.

The *Sarai* has a square plan and each side consists of 36 rooms (**Plan 5.5**). The corner rooms are circular in shape and dilapidated in condition. The huge gateways which once stood in the center of the eastern and western side of the enclosure do not exist. Some of the rooms still survived in this sarai. Probably all the rooms were identical in size measured 3.35 x 3.35 square meters. This sarai had once contained two huge monumental gateways in the middle of eastern and western side wall enclosure, today nothing is survived. The total area of the enclosure wall may be around 170 x 170 square meters.

6. The four *sarais* of Mumtazabad

The description of the plan of Taj Ganj[51] (**Plan 5.6**) complex has been provided by the official historian of Shahjahan, Abdul Hamid Lahori in *Badshahnama.* Writing about the Taj Ganj he mentioned that:

> "To the south of the area of the *Jalukhana* (Front of the Taj) is a four-laned bazaar. The width of the (lanes of the) eastern and western bazaar is 90 yards[52] and of the northern and southern 30 yards. On all the four sides of this four-laned bazaar are four *Sarai*. These two *Sarais* have been built with *pucca bricks* and lime out of (funds of) the royal exchequer. Each is 160 yards long and broad. Each has an octagonal courtyard of the Baghadai shape with 136 cells lining it, each cell fronted by a verandah with a three-angled arch (dar). Each of these two *Sarais* contains at three

[51] For information on the Taj Ganj area in the foreign traveler accounts see, Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, p.213; *The English Factories in India (1646-50)*, Vol. VIII, p.220 & 299; *The English Factories in India (1651-54)*, Vol. IX, p. 122; *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces Agra*, by H. R. Nevill, Vol. VIII, p. 217-218; *U.P. District Gazetters*, ed. by Esha Basanti Joshi, Agra, 1965, p. 362; S. M. Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 106.

[52] The length of the Mughal yard or gaz has been estimated as 31.464 inches. See, Col. A.Hodgson, "Memoire on the length of the Illahee Guz or Imperial Land Measure of Hindostan", *JRAS*, 1843. pp.45-53.

> corners three *chauks* (markets). Each of those courtyards is 14 yards by 14 yards. On the fourth corner of each *Sarai*, there is the gate used for entry and exit of the people and opens into the octagon of a market (*chauk*) 150 yards long, 100 yards broad, set in the middle the four-laned bazaar. The other two *Sarais* are on the same pattern. In these *Sarais* valuable goods from different countries of the world are brought for sale. Behind these royal *Sarais* merchants have built a large number of *pucca* houses and established *Sarais*. And this place which became a large town came to be known as *Mumtazabad*."[53]

7. *Sarai* Badar-ud-Din at Agra

Many *Sarai* erected in the Mughal City of Agra, one of them is *Sarai* Badar-ud-Din also situated in the Agra city. Only the monumental huge gateway (**Plate 5.13**) still survive, which also contain with the inscription (**Plate 5.14**) on the facade. This inscription suggested that, this *Sarai* built by one of the famous noble Badar-ud-Din Khan during the Mughal period. Today this monumental gateway survives as a main gate of the District Jail of Agra. There were nothing remains found of the rooms and outer wall enclosure of this *Sarai* found. Now the outer enclosure of this District Jail is newly constructed.[54]

8. *Sarā'ī* of Rōzbihānī

Shah Nawaz Khan mentioned about another *sarā'ī Rōzbihānī*, which is situated four *kos* from Āgra. He wrote that: 'It now advanced to near Akbarābād (Āgra). Muhammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn also left the capital (Delhī), and came to Āgra. He was meditating the crossing of Jumnā, when Hasan 'Alī Khān anticipated him by crossing the Jumnā near the *sarāi* of Rōzbihānī four *kos* from Āgra.

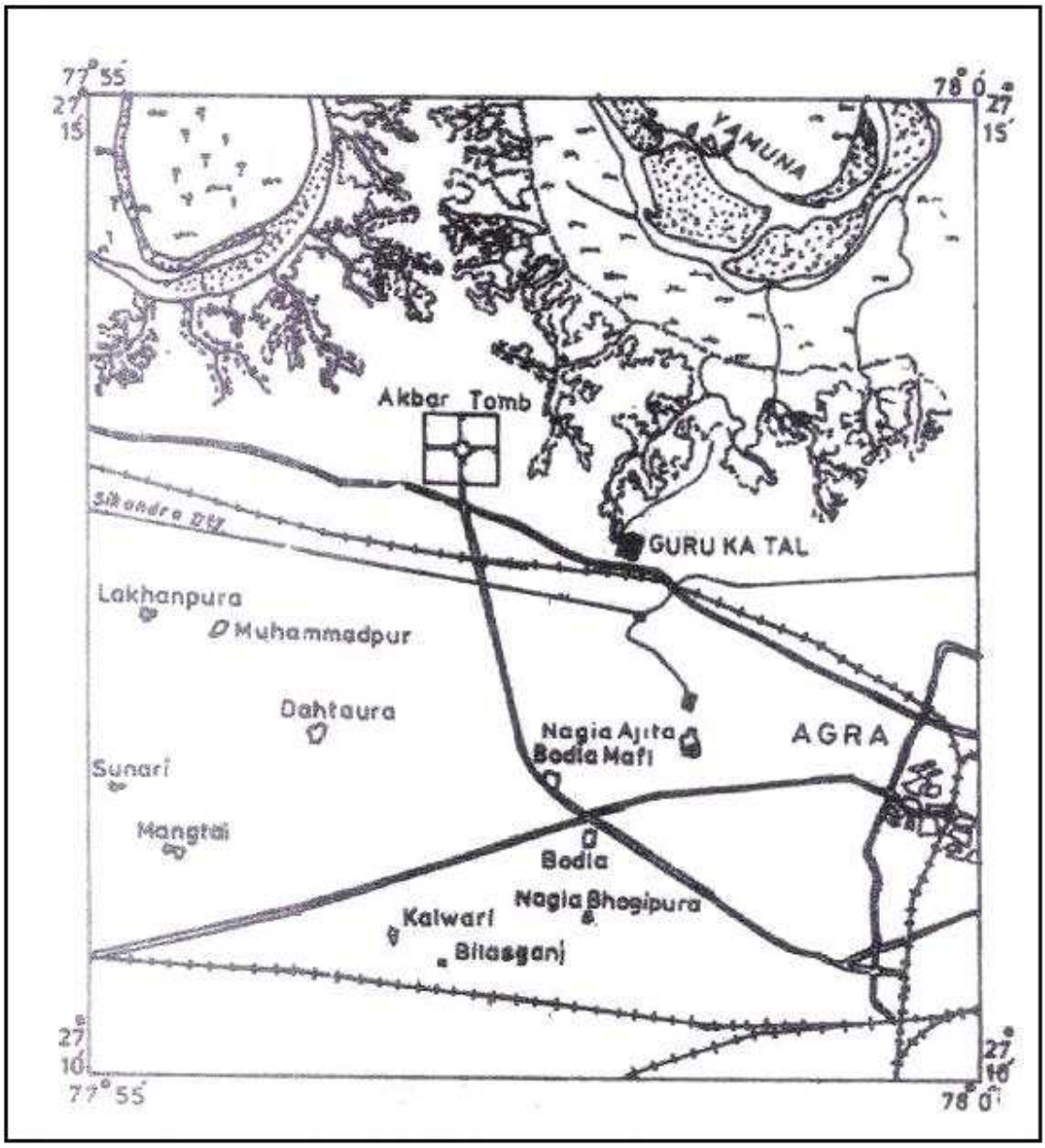
[53] *Badshahnamah*, op. cit., II, Pt- I, p.329.

[54] See Saeed Ahmad Marharvi, *Morāqqā-i Akbarābād*, Agra, 1931, p. 144.

Muhammad Farrukh Siyar also crossed after him, but most of his followers through distress…..'[55]

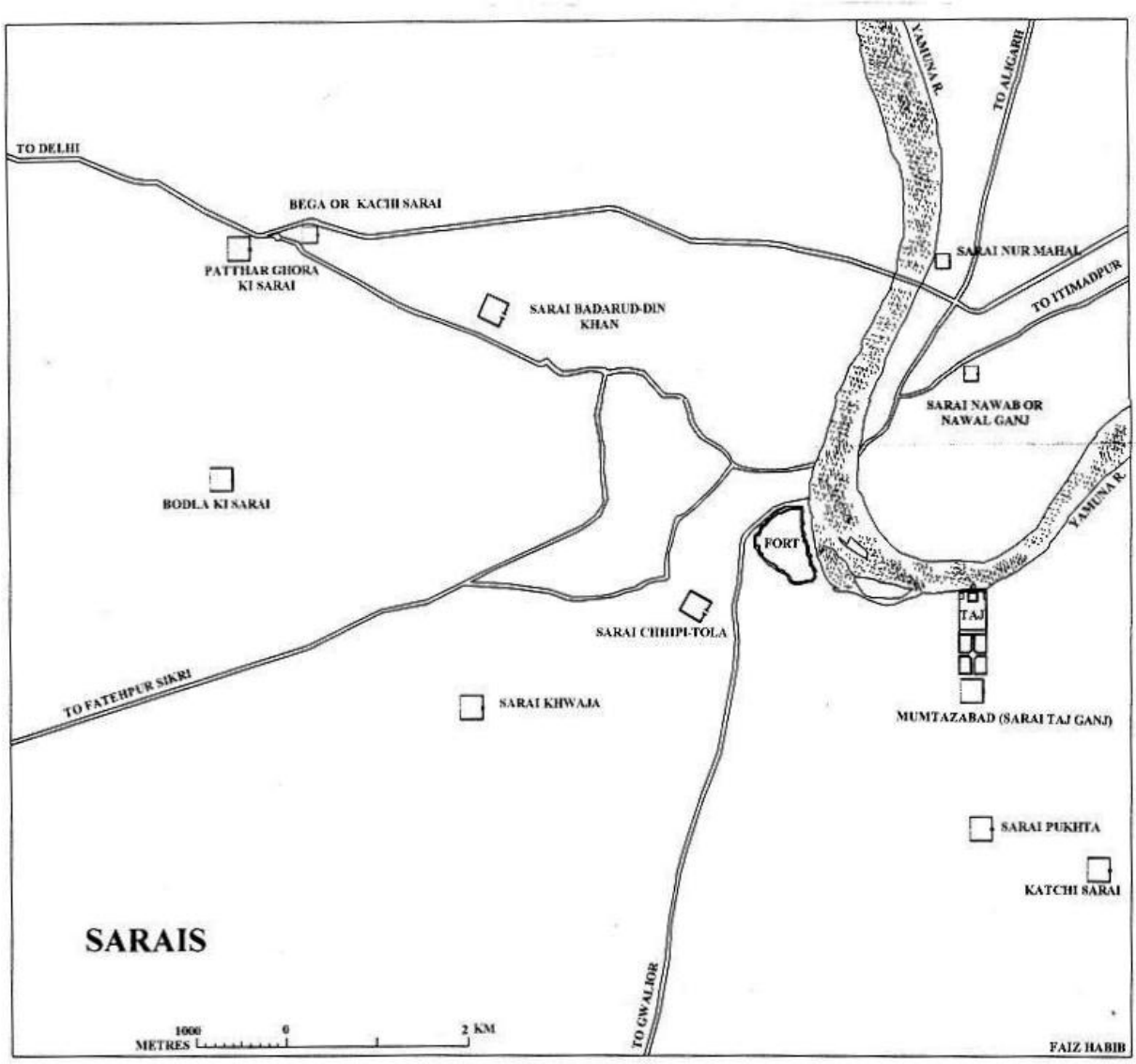
[55] *Máasir al-Umara* of Shah Nawaz Khan, ed. by Maulavi Mirza Ashraf Ali, Text- III, Part- I, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 133-134. Also see *The Muntakhab al-Lubáb* of Khāfī Khān, ed. by Maulavi Kabir Al-Din Ahmed, Text-II, Part-II, A.S.B., Calcutta, 1874, p. 720.

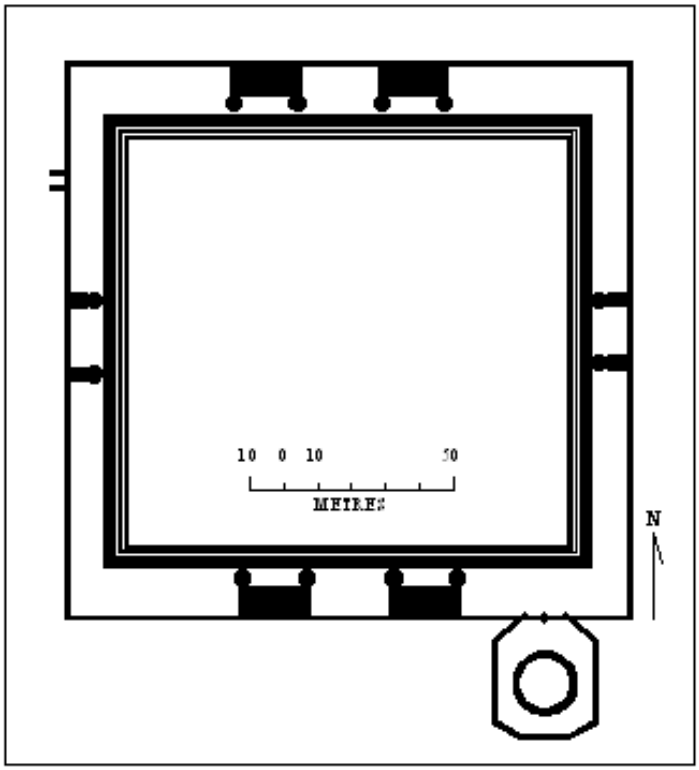
Map VII



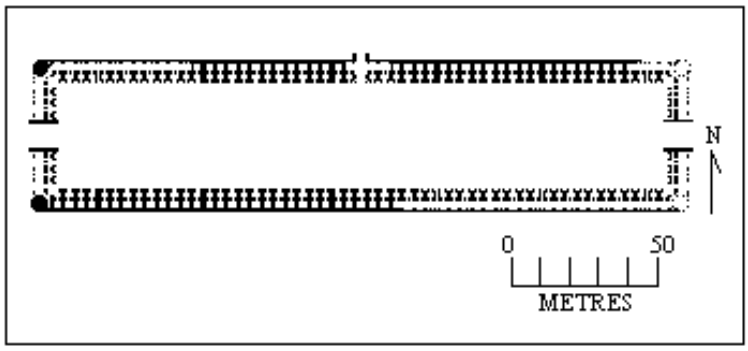
Guru ka Tal and its Environs

Map VIII

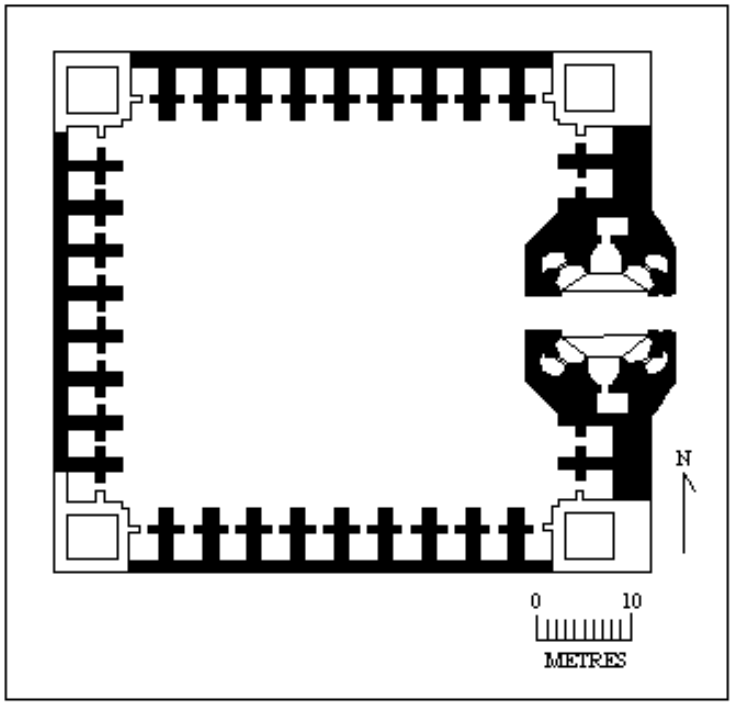

TO DELHI
BEGA OR KACHI SARAI
PATTHAR GHORA KI SARAI
SARAI BADARUD-DIN KHAN
BODLA KI SARAI
YAMUNA R.
TO ALIGARH
SARAI NUR MAHAL
TO ITIMADPUR
SARAI NAWAB OR NAWAL GANJ
YAMUNA R.
FORT
TAJ
SARAI CHHIPI-TOLA
TO FATEHPUR SIKRI
SARAI KHWAJA
MUMTAZABAD (SARAI TAJ GANJ)
SARAI PUKHTA
KATCHI SARAI
SARAIS
TO GWALIOR
1000 0 2 KM
METRES
FAIZ HABIB



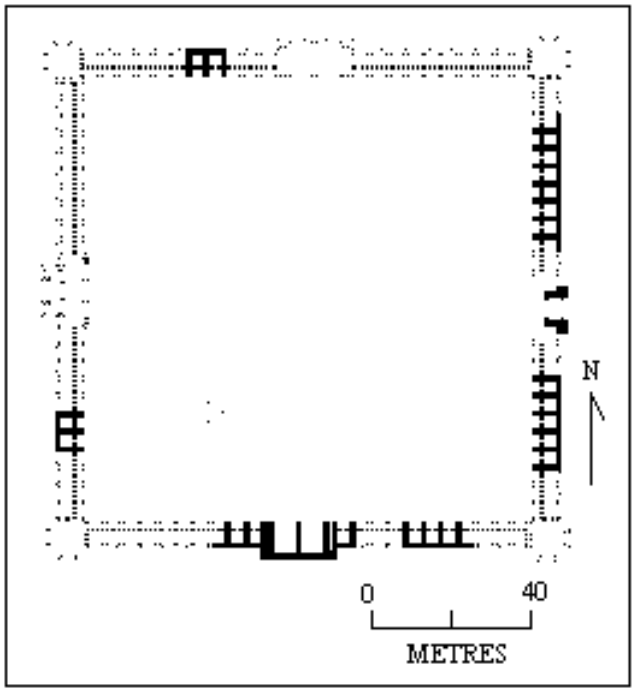
Plan 5.1: *Guru ka Tal*



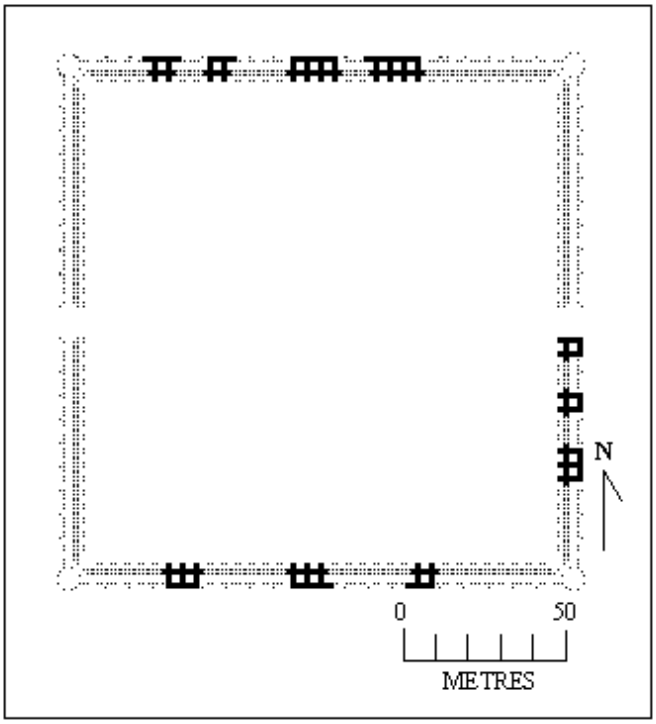
Plan 5.2: *Sarai Nurmahal*



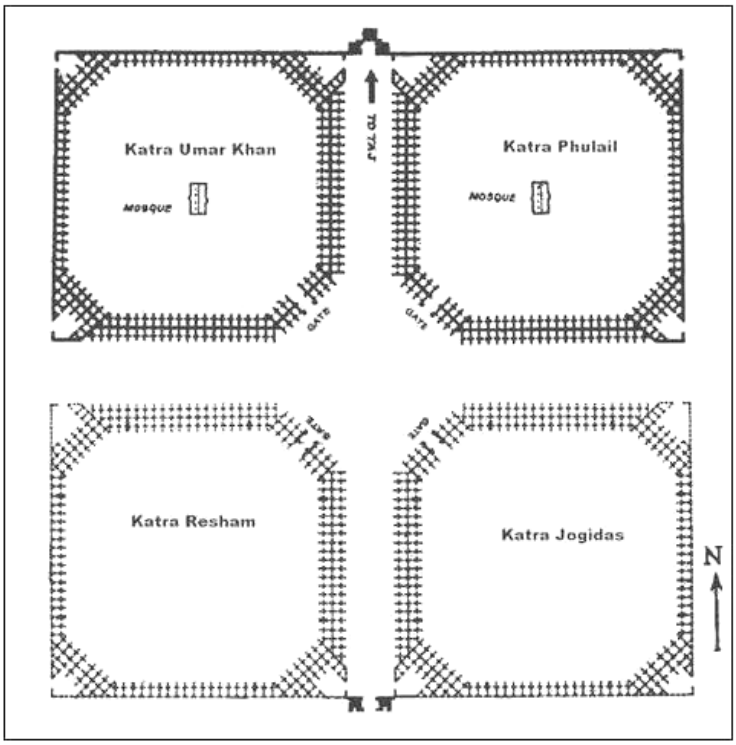
Plan 5.3: *Sarai* Chipitola



Plan 5.4: *Sarai* Nawalganj



Plan 5.5: *Sarai Pukhta*



Plan 5.6 Plans of *Bazars* and *Sarais* at *Mumtazabad, Tajganj*

Chapter- VI
Bazārs

CHAPTER 6

THE *BAZĀRS*

In the capital city of Agra, Bazaar or Market had a great and significant role in the flourishing of trade and commerce under the Mughal rule. Being strategically and centrally located in the north India, from where different trade routes were passing in the different direction, Agra, as one have already was connected through both land and water routes.

All goods moving between different parts of the empire were required to make a halt at Agra.[1] Thus Agra, apart from handling its own imports and export, was also acting as a transit depot which greatly added to its commercial activity.

The goods arriving at Lahore from the north, west and south were being forwarded to Agra for its local consumption as well as for further distribution. The Armenian merchants used to bring quantities of broadcloth here by the same overland route.[2] Surat and Burhanpur sent large quantities of raw cotton, printed cloth, along with the red *Salu* of the latter city to Agra on their way to Bengal.[3] The Ahmadabad (Gujarat) consignment is not similarly recorded but from stray

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[1] Francisco Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India* or *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, tr. by W.H. Moreland & P. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p. 6

[2] *English Factories in India, (1642-45)*, VII, 1913, p. 18; *English Factories in India, (1646-51)*, VIII, 1914, p. 50 and *English Factories in India, (1651-54)*, IX, 1915, p. 30, here it says that it was brought from Persia.

[3] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 9

references we gather that rich silken goods,[4] quality carpets[5] and medium varieties of cotton goods (such as *baftah*),[6] were being sent to Agra. The spices were being supplied to Agra mainly by the Indian merchants[7] from the Deccan, though the Dutch too got interested in this trade for some decades in the middle of the seventeenth cesntury.[8]

It is, therefore, possible that Agra too received its share of these goods. From Bengal goods arrived usually by boats which were laden with an indescribable quantity of merchandise.[9] Thus cotton fabrics[10], raw silk[11], slaves and eunuchs[12] used to be delivered at Agra. The grass silk cloth of Bengal called *tasser* was also procurable at Agra.[13]

The English traders who had installed a regular factor at Agra in 1618 used to carry overland from Surat coral[14], ivory[15], vermilion[16], quicksilver[17], porcelain[18]

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[4] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, Nawal Kishore's edition, Vol. I, Lucknow, 1881, p. 66

[5] Ibid., p. 32

[6] Ibid., pp. 32, 62

[7] Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. by Sir R. C. Temple, Vol. II, London, 1914, p. 140; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 22

[8] See Dutch Records, (1621-25), Vol. VI, p. cxcviii, 8; *English Factories in India, (1622-23)*, II, pp. 42-43; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire (A.D. 1656-68)*, sec. rev. ed. V. A. Smith, Delhi, 1934, p. 203

[9] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 6

[10] Ibid., p. 4

[11] *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, op. cit., p. 46; Pelsaert, op. cit., pp. 4, 7

[12] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur & Aligarh, 1863-64, pp. 325, 328

[13] *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 112

[14] Ibid., pp. 259, 302

and broad-cloth amongst other miscellaneous goods of minor importance. As broad-cloth was also being imported from Persia by the Armenian merchants over the north-western land route, the market used to be glutted with it.[19]

H. K. Naqvi argued that:

> 'Apart from handling the transit traffic, Agra had its own products to export. These commodities were either produced within the city or had been collected from its environs. Cotton stuffs including carpets, indigo, sugar and saltpeter were the principal articles of the Agra export trade. Further sizable quantities of cotton goods, sugar and indigo used to be collected here from such distant neighbours as Samana and Sirihind in the west and Lucknow, Khairabad and Benaras in the east. These additional stocks would swell the supplies in the Agra market attracting merchants from far and near to contract business.'[20]

Thus cotton fabrics occupied the leading position in the export trade of Agra. In the case of the Dutch traders at least, it was the lure of cotton goods that had drawn then to this city and prompted them to install their factory for the purpose.[21] Even the English could not do without the Agra fabrics. Selling them abroad, they earned the money wherewith to buy indigo[22] so indispensable for their home

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[15] Ibid., p. 302

[16] *English Factories in India, (1618-21),* p. 47; *English Factories in India, (1651-54),* pp. 112-113; Pelsaert, p. 25

[17] *English Factories in India, (1630-33),* p. 206; *English Factories in India, (1634-36),* p. 70; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 25

[18] *English Factories in India, (1618-21),* p. 47

[19] *English Factories in India, (1642-45),* p. 18; *English Factories in India, (1651-54),* p. 301

[20] See for H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803,* Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, p. 53

[21] Dutch Records, (1629-34), Vol. IX, p. cccxviii, 2-3

[22] Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar,* p. 183; he maintains that the English were primarily interested in its indigo; the purchase of cotton cloth here was only a side line.

industries. The actual trade in Agra cotton goods is, however, covered below under the cotton textile industry. The trade of sugar has, likewise another important exporting item from Agra, which was also produce in the sugar factories.

Agra, after becaming the capital of Mughal Empire, a large number of Christian and Muslim merchants, along with numerous Hindu *banyas* had established themselves at Agra.[23] These *Saudāgars* and *Khattris*[24] owned immense wealth and fortune.[25] Some of these wealthy merchants had strong credit[26] and not infrequently commanded influence even at court.[27] The native merchants generally lived at Sikandara, a part of the town on the other side of the river and the main business centre.[28] Agra too, like Delhi and Lahore, had its share of foreign merchants who resided in the city proper.[29]

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[23] Thevenot, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Surendranath Sen, The National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949, p. 7

[24] *Khattri* was the honorific title for the Hindu merchants of Agra.

[25] Manrique, *Travels of F. S. Manrique, 1629-1643*, tr. Luard and Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, LXI, Oxford, 1927, p. 157

[26] Ibid., p. 157

[27] *English Factories in India, (1651-54)*, p. 112

[28] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet's, op. cit., p. 41

[29] 'The existence of foreign merchants at Agra is also borne out by the extant inscriptions in the Christian cemetery where the older ones are in the Armenian characters while some of them are in the Portuguese characters, dating back to the 17th century.' See H. G. Keene's, *A Handbook for visitors to Agra and its Neighbourhood*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 3

Abul Fazl wrote that 'twenty kinds of Lahore woolen stuffs were on sale in the Agra market'.[30] The silk industry seems to have been in a flourishing state here as it turned out brocades,[31] and velvets which again, were on sale in the Agra market.[32]

Agra manufacturers too turned out a variety of goods.[33] Amongst the textiles, carpets occupy the most prominent place,[34] though cotton goods too were produced.[35] Silken stuffs and very fine cloth of gold and silver were woven for turbans, lace or "other adornments for women."[36] This evidence of Manucci coupled with the existence of a *kināri bazar* [37] at Agra would indicate that silver and gold laces were being extensively manufactured here. Agra was also celebrated for its dyestuffs.[38] White sugar was aboundantly produced in and around Agra.[39] Agra was also noted for the extraction of rose essence and perfumes.[40]

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[30] *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67

[31] Ibid., p. 65

[32] Ibid., p. 66

[33] *Commentary of Father Monserrate*, op. cit., p. 36; *Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri*, op. cit., p. 3

[34] *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 32

[35] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor* or *Mogul India, 1653-1708*, tr. by William Irvine, Vol. II, Delhi, 1990, p. 424

[36] Ibid., p. 424

[37] For *kināri Bazar*, see Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 55

[38] *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 261

[39] Ibid., p. 261

[40] Abul Fazl and Jahangir says sweet scented oils, see Abul Fazl, *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 84; *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, op. cit., p. 3

Stone-cutting was a developed and popular art in and around Agra. For the construction of his buildings, Babur had employed daily 1, 491 stone-cutters; six hundred of them were from Agra alone, the remaining 891 belonged to Sikri, Biana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Koil.[41]

Abul Fazl has in his *Ā'in-i Akbari* incorporated a list of the materials used in the industry. He has also noted the quality, the price, the usage and occasionally the source of each article mentioned.[42]

References to various kinds of bazars occur in the contemporary literature relating to cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra etc. The main *bazar*, often known as *chauk*, occupied an extensive, central and prominent area of the city, or as Manrique mentioned it, as 'a square and open place in the centre of a town.'[43] The more famous of these were the *Chāndani Chauk*[44] and *Chauk* of Sa'ad ullah Khan in Delhi[45], *Chauks* of Agra[46] and Lahore[47].

We hear of different types of *bazars* during the Mughal period. The *Nakhās* was a daily market place where cattle and slaves were sold,[48] both wholesale and

[41] *Baburnama,* tr. A. S. Beveridge, p. 520

[42] *Ain-i Akbari*, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 110-111.

[43] Manrique, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191, foot note- 3.

[44] Thevenot, op. cit., p. 303, foot note- 26.

[45] Irvine, *Later Mughals,* Vol. II, p. 257.

[46] Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 40a; Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, p. 17.

[47] See Manrique, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191.

[48] Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189, Mundy, however, does not include slaves.

retail. Pelsaert noted that 'The *Nakhās* of Agra used to be held every morning'[49] when camels, horses, oxen, along with tents and cotton goods used to be sold.[50] This *Nakhās* is definitely mentioned to have been housed in a covered building called '*imārat i nakhās*'.[51]

Bolts wrote that: '*Gunges* were usually the grain Market.[52] At Agra *Mubarak Sultan gunj*,[53] *Dhoria gunj*[54] and *Fatehgunj*[55] are noted as the principal grain markets of the city.

Mandavis[56] on the other hand were the markets of goods, usually provisions for grain. They were named after the chief commodity sold there or after their founders. The *Hajjām*[57] *mandavi* of Agra was situated near the *Top Khana* or the

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[49] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189.

[50] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet's, op. cit., p. 40; Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 55

[51] Ibid.,fol. 55

[52] W. Bolts, *Considerations on Indian Affairs*, London, 1772, p. xix; Also, Hoey says it is generally a private, see W. Hoey, *A Monograph on Trade and Manufactures in Northern India*, Lucknow, 1880, p. 205. Cf. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803*, 1968, p. 76, foot note-154.

[53] Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 42.

[54] Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 55.

[55] Ibid., fol. 56.

[56] For Sultan Alauddin's *ghalla manda* or grain market, see Barani, pp. 304-310; *Supplement of Mi'rat i- Ahmadi* also explains the term as a place where commodities and corn were brought from outside for sale in the city, p. 516. Cf. H. K. Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India, 1556-1803*, Bombay, 1968, p. 76, foot note-162.

[57] *Hajjām* was one of the eunuchs of Emperor Akbar; see Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 53.

manufactory of guns and was the bazar for arms and ammunitions.[58] The *Rajah Mandi* of Agra was large enough to enclose a temple- Sadashiva Jina within its precincts.[59] Similarly *Fatehgunj Bazar* was situated within the *Shāhzādīs mandi* (**Plan 6.1**).[60]

A *Katra* was an enclosed market,[61] and like a *mandi*, might be named either after some article sold there or its founder. Many *Katras* occur in the sources. Agra seems to have been full of *Katras*, such as *Sābun Katra*[62] (soap), *Katra* of Agha Baqar,[63] *Katra* of I'tibār Khan,[64] *Katra* of Shaista Khan[65] and *Katra* of Mardān Khan.[66] The commodities sold in these *Katras* are not stated, though we may deduce that the *Sābun Katra* dealt mainly in soap. The *Katra* of Wazir Khan,[67] however, was the *bazar* for the merchants dealing in goods that arrived by river at Agra.[68]

There were still other *bazars*, bearing again either the names of the commodities in which they mainly traded or representing their founders.

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[58] Ibid, fol. 53.

[59] Ibid, fol. 59.

[60] Ibid, fol. 56.

[61] William Irvine, op. cit., I, p. 126.

[62] Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55.

[63] Ibid, fol. 55.

[64] Ibid, fol. 53.

[65] William Hodges, *Travels in India during the years 1780-1783*, London, 1793, pp. 113-114.

[66] Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55.

[67] *Akhbārāt, Newsletters of the Mughal Court, Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1751-52*, Bombay, 1949, fol. 49; also see for Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, MS. Or. 2030, fol. 47.

[68] *Akhbārāt, Newsletters of the Mughal Court, Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1751-52*, fol. 49.

Secandara Bazar at Agra was the chief grain market. Provisions and grain reaching Agra from the east by river were disembarked at this point. The Customs Houses for checking and charging the goods as well as the houses of the grain dealers were all situated at a convenient distance from this point.[69] A later writer mentions Shahadra as serving the same purpose.[70] In addition, *mīna bazar*,[71] *kanāri bazar*, *Kashmīrī bazar* and *naicha bandān bazar* [72] are also reported at Agra.

The cities of Mughal India covered a wide range of industrial and commercial activities along with a number of craftsmen and servicemen. In other words, they constituted the most sizable part of the city population. When not attached either to an *Amir* [73] or royal household, they lived mostly in their separate quarters. Names of some such quarters have come down to us: for example at Agra, the *Lohā gali* [74] (blacksmith's lane), the *Cheeni Tola* [75] (the sugar ward), the *Kanāri Bazar* [76], *Sābun Katra* [77] and *Nīl Para* [78] etc.

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[69] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet's, op. cit., p. 41.

[70] Mānik Chand, op. cit., ff. 44-45, 49.

[71] Ibid, fol. 39.

[72] Ibid, fol. 55.

[73] For the multitude of domestics in the household establishments of some of the eminent *amirs* of the empire, see their biographical sketches in the *Mā'asir-ul-Umara*, 2 Vols. tr. by H. Beveridge, 1913, and Baini Prasad, Patna, 1979.

[74] Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 58.

[75] Ibid, fol. 54.

[76] Ibid, fol. 55.

[77] Ibid, fol. 55.

[78] Ibid, fol. 39a.

The *ganj* was the term usually employed for grain market.[79] It was a walled enclosure which was also used for storing the grain. Sometimes it represented the entire *Pūra* (or *Mahalla*) and was named after its founder. In a city there could be more than one *ganj*. The principal *ganj* was known as *Shāh-ganj* (or *ganj-i sarkārī*) i.e. the Imperial *ganj*, supervised by functionaries and tax-collectors who were government officials, and included in the *Khālisa*. Other *ganjs* referred to in the sources are said to have been established by the *jāgīrdārs*. The establishment of such marts was often at the cost of Imperial *ganj*. But after the transfer of the *jāgīrdār* in most cases, his *ganj* would decay, or its names would be changed by his successors, or, again, it would be abandoned completely if the new *jāgīrdār* chose the establish his own *ganj* at some other place. For the management and collection of taxes the *jāgīrdārs* had their own *gumāshtas* (agents).[80]

The *katra* was the market attached to a noble's palace or within the walls built by him. The names of many *katras* occur in the sources. Some of them were named after their founders, while others were known after the name of commodity manufactured or sold there. Since most of the *katras* were associated with the names of the principal nobles, it appears that originally a *katra* contained a few

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[79] See Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 207, For *Tājganj* (near Tājmahal at Āgra) which besides being a grain market, was one of the chief places for 'Piece-goods' wanted by the English, see *English Factories in India, (1646-50)*, VIII, p. 220 & n-1. Also at Āgra for *Mubārak Sultānganj*, *Dhoriaganj* and *Fatehganj*, which were grain markets, see Mānik Chand, op. cit., ff. 42ab, 55ab-56ab. Cf. M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire 1556-1707,* Delhi, 1985, p. 140, foot note- 6.

[80] See M. P. Singh, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

shops around or within the noble's enclosure for supplying provisions, and it was only in the course of time that it developed into a larger mart or suburb of a town.[81]

According to the *Mir'āt*, the *mandī* was 'a place where commodities and corn was brought from outside for sale in the city.'[82] Generally a *mandī* was named after the chief commodity sold there, or after the *Pūra* of the *ganj* where it was established. Sometimes a *mandī* was also known after a particular profession or craft.[83] There could be a number of *mandīs* in a city and in each a separate commodity might be sold. Another feature of the *mandīs* was that here the commodities were sold and purchased in bulk (*thok*) and not in retail.[84]

The *Nakhās* was a daily market where elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, oxen, donkeys, goats, pigeons, hen, partridges etc. as well as slaves, were sold both wholesale and retail.[85] At Agra, it was held in a covered building known as *'imārat-i nakhās* daily in the morning,[86] and according to Pelsaert, in

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[81] See for example M. P. Singh, ibid, pp. 141-142.

[82] *Mir'āt (Suppl.)*, p. 182. Cf. M. P. Singh, op. cit., *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire*, p. 143, foot note- 1.

[83] For example at Āgra, for *hajjām Mandī* or *Nāī kī mandī* (barber's lane), see Mānik Chand, *Ahwāl-i Shaher-i Akbarābād*, fol. 53a. Cf. M. P. Singh, p. 140, foot note- 4.

[84] *Mir'āt (Suppl.)*, pp. 166-167. Cf. M. P. Singh, p. 143, foot note- 6.

[85] Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet's, op. cit., p. 70.

[86] Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55a-b; *'Ardhā' Kathānak*, pp. 35, 43. At Patna, the *s* was also held in an enclosed building, *Akbarnāma*, Vol. III, p. 82. For *s* at Lāhore, see Md. Baqar, *Lahore Past and Present*, p. 304. Cf. M. P. Singh, p. 144, foot note-7.

addition to cattle, "tents, cotton goods and many other things were sold."[87] The *Mir'āt* mentioned that at the *Nakhās* at Ahmadābād the government used to purchase cutch-horses.[88]

The *peth* (*hāt*) was a market held at a fixed place around the city or at villages of note on fixed days-once a week or more frequently.[89] It was an assemblage of petty *baniās* and local manufacturers (or artisans) who gathered from the adjoining towns and the country around[90] in the morning; the *hāt* (market) continued till a little before sun-set.[91] Here things of daily necessity, food-stuffs, oil, *ghi* (butter), goods such as cloth, thread, cotton, indigo, sugar and rice were sold.[92] In some *peths*, however, the sale and purchase of cattle such as

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[87] Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 189; Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; De Laet's, op. cit., p. 40; Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 55a-b; *'Ardhā' Kathānak*, pp. 35, 43; Also see M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 144, foot note-8.

[88] 'Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī (Supplement)*, ed. Nawāb 'Alī, Baroda, 1930, p. 184.

[89] Near Satgāon the *peth* was held once a week, see Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, Vol. X, p. 114; Fitch, *Early Travels*, p. 26. Around Hugli it was thrice a week, see Master, I, p. 325. At Āgra daily, *'Ardhā' Kathānak*, p. 19. At Lakhawār (near Patna) daily, see *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 192.

[90] See *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, p. 192.

[91] *Selected Waqā'i'*, p. 86; *Selected Documents (Shāhjahān)*, p. 118.

[92] At Lakhawār the principal commodity was calicoes and diverse type of cotton cloth manufactured in the adjoining areas and brought to be sold by the weavers themselves, see E.F. (1618-21), p. 192. See also *Selected Waqā'i'*, p. 86; *Selected Documents (Shāhjahān)*, p. 118, for cotton cloth being sold in the *peths.*

horse, camel, bullock etc. is said to have taken place.[93] In the *peths* all those who brought their commodities to be sold had stalls on the ground and in the open.[94]

Another type of market also mentioned in the traveller's account, i.e. seasonal or temporary *bāzārs*, held at the port towns of Sūrat, Hūglī, Satgāon etc.[95] Peter Mundy gives a vivid description of the one established at Swālly as follows: "Heare is a great bazar, made by Banianas of bambooes, reeds etcs., where all manner of necessaries and commodities are to be had. Also provision, especially toddy, which finds current and quick dispatch. The said bazars as soon as the shipps make way to be gon is sett on fire."[96] At Swālly this market was held between September and January the time for the arrival and departure of the ships.[97] These *bāzārs* catered to the needs of those waiting for the arrival and departure of the ships. We are not expressly told as to who controlled these *bāzārs* and what or how much was realized on account of government dues.

On the other hand, the installation of a temporary market was customary, where local merchants, manufacturers and hawkers put up their stalls and sold a variety of things from victuals to curiosities.[98]

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[93] See *Waqā'i'-i Ajmer*, p. 231, for the *peth* at Pahlodī-a village near Metra (*Sūba* Ajmer) where, besides victuals and commodities of general use, horses, camels and bullocks were also sold.

[94] *English Factories in India, (1618-21)*, I, p. 138.

[95] Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 312-313; Caesar Frederick, *Purchas*, X, pp. 113-114; Master, I, p. 325.

[96] Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 312-313.

[97] See *English Factories in India, (1655-60)*, p. 315.

[98] 'For various commodities, victuals and curiosities sold in the fairs' see Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 72.

The market was held twice a day; first in the morning after sunrise, and then in the evening. At noon, the shop-keepers closed their shops and rested in the houses.[99] Two days in a week were holidays, i.e. Thursdays for the *Baniās* and Fridays for the Muslims.[100] The festivals like *Holī* and *'Īd* was also observed as holidays.[101]

There are references to merchant guilds or *bāzār panchāyats* also known as '*mahager*' or '*mahājan*' (or general council) headed by big merchants.[102] These *panchāyats* had a right to take important decisions with regard to the rules and regulations of the market and cooperated with the local town administration.[103]

The *bazārs* were often known after the name of a commodity sold there. The *bazārs* could also be known after the name of a particular craft and profession.[104] The big markets known as *bazār-i khās* (or *bazār-i kalān*), where all kinds of commodities were on sale, were usually confined to big streets[105] or *chaklas*,[106]

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[99] Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 313.

[100] Terry, *Early Travels*, p. 313.

[101] *English Factories in India, (1622-23)*, II, p. 93.

[102] For *panchāyat*, see *English Factories in India, (1670-77)*, pp. 80-81, 111, 130. For '*mahager*' or '*mahājan*' (or general council), see *English Factories in India, (1668-69)*, p. 192.

[103] See for M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 148.

[104] Cf. *Mir'āt* (Suppl.), pp. 8-10; Irvine, 'The Bangash Nawabs', *JASB*, Vol. XLVII (1878), p. 280. Also see M. P. Singh, p. 18.

[105] *Mir'āt (Suppl.), pp. 8-9.*

[106] *Mir'āt* (Suppl.), pp. 8-9; The *Chakla*, besides being a territorial division identical with the *Sarkār* (mentioned in the chronicles and *dastūrs*, Cf. Ifran Habib, *Agrarian System*, p. 277n.), The city of Ahmadābād, according to the *Mir'āt*, had 17 *Chaklas* and each of them contained: a

chauks[107] or *chaurāhas*,[108] or placed in front of the fort or around principal mosques, *sarā'is* and temples.[109] The smaller markets, viz., *mandīs*, *ganj*, *darība*, *katra*, *peth-nakhās* were scattered in the various wards and quarters. Along both sides of the street there used to be shops,[110] opening during the day at fixed hours and keeping open to the first quarter of the night.[111] Sometimes mosques and temples too were provided with *bāzārs*.[112]

Father Monserrate mentioned in his *Commentary* about the various kinds of commodities which were produce in the city of Agra and also imported from different places not only from India but abroad also. According to him:

Chabūtra (custom station or a platform where police officer used to sit, Cf. H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, London, 1875, p. 95).

[107] *Mir'āt* (Suppl.), pp. 8-9. The *Chauk* meant a square or an open place in a city where market was held. Cf. Wilson, p. 105.

[108] A junction of four road was known as *Chaurāha*. Cf. M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 19, foot note- 4.

[109] Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 64.

[110] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years Travels, 1672-81*, ed. W. Crooke, Vol. I, Hakluyt Society, London, 1909, p. 248.

[111] Terry, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[112] 'It is the custom in India, when they built a public edifice, to make around it a large place for holding markets', Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-47*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edition by W. Crooke (London, 1925), Vol. I, Delhi reprint, 1977, p. 64. For a big *bāzār* around one of the mosques at Gwāliar, Tavernier, I, pp. 63-64. For *Tājganj* or *Tāj-bāzār* in front of Tāj Mahal, Tavernier, I, pp. 109-110; *English Factories in India, (1646-50)*, VIII, 1914, pp. 220 & n.1, 299; *English Factories in India, (1655-60)*, X, 1921, pp. 70, 413 & n.2. For mosques within the *bāzār* at Ahmadābād, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64, p. 210; *Iqbālnāma*, p. 108.

> "All the necessaries and conveniences of human life can be obtained here, if desired. This is even true of articles which have to be imported from distant corners of Europe. There are great numbers of artisans, iron-workers and gold-smiths. Gems and pearls abound in large numbers. Gold and silver are plentiful, as also are horses from Persia and Tartary. Indeed the city is flooded with vast quantities of every type of commodity…"[113]

Described the *bazar* and streets of Agra city, Finch recorded: 'It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passé in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great Bazar and some few others, which are large and faire.'[114]

Francisco Pelsaert is probably referring to the same "great *bazar*" of Finch when he writes:

> 'After passing the Fort, there is the *Nakhas*, a great market, where in the morning horses, camels, oxen, tents, cotton goods, and many other things are sold.'[115]

Pelsaert also mentioned the different kind of commodities brought in the market of Agra. According to him a large market was situated on the leftbank of the river. The area on this side was known as Sikandara, whichwas a hub for merchants.

> 'On the other side of the river is a city named Sikandra, well built and populated, but chiefly by *banian* merchants, for through it must pass all the merchandise brought from *Porop*, and *Bengalen Purop* and the Bhutan mountains, namely, cotton goods from Bengal, raw silk from Patna spikenard, borax, verdigris, ginger, fennel, and thousands of sorts of drugs, too numerous to detail in this place. Here the officers of Nur Jahan Begam, who built their sarai there, collect duties on all these goods before they can be shipped across the river; and also on innumerable kinds of grain, butter, and other provisions, which are produced in the Eastern

[113] *Commentary* of Father Monserrate, ed. by S. N. Banerjee & John S. Hoyland, 1922, pp. 35-36.

[114] *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Vol. IV, Glasgow, p. 72.

[115] Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4.

> provinces, and imported thence. Without these supplies this country could not be provided with food, and would almost die of hunger, so that this is a place of great traffic; it is fully two *kos* long, but not so broad, and contains many very handsome gardens, with buildings as delightful as the groves,….'[116]

The contemporary Persian sources as well as travellers accounts of the Mughal period, provided references to various kinds of markets, such as *bāzār-i Khās* (also known as *bāzār-i Chauk*, *Chākla* or *Chaurāha*, the main market), *katra*, *mandī* (*joba*), *ganj*, *darība*, *nakhās*, *peth*, fair (*melā*) and seasonal markets. Out of these above, the first six were permanent markets i.e. held daily, except on public holidays. The other three were periodic i.e., weekly, occasional and seasonal, being organized for one day in a week or twice a week in case of *peth* (*hāt*) for a few days in case of a fair at some holy place and for few months in case of seasonal markets.[117]

[116] Pelsaert, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[117] Cf. M. P. Singh, op. cit., p. 138.

The *bāzār-i Khās* (or *Kalān*)[118] was confined to the principal streets of the cities and contained one or more *chauks* (or *chaurāhas*) place where four roads met.[119] The *chauks* occupied the central and prominent areas of the city and was always a very crowded place,[120] both sides of the street which housed the *bāzār* contained shops stretching in a big city for as long as 1520 yards.[121] In a big city, there might be separate shops for each commodity while in small towns there could be only general engrocer's shops.[122]

The main feature of the *bāzār* was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food stuffs, drugs, sweets, medicine, tobacco, fruits,

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[118] For references to *bāzār-i Khās* or *bāzār-i Kalān* (main or big market) at Ahmadābād, See for 'Alī Muhammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Ahmadī (Supplement*p. 8; *Haft Iqlīm*, Vol. I, p. 86; Pietro Della Valle, Vol. I, p. 96; Mandelslo, p. 22. At Sūrat, see John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years Travels, 1672-81*, ed. W. Crooke, Vol. I, Hakluyt Society, London, 1909, p. 248. At Fatehpūr Sīkrī, see William Finch, op. cit., p. 149; *Commentary* by Monserrate, tr. by Hoyland and Benerji, Oxford, 1922, p. 31. At Āgra, see William Finch, op. cit., p. 182; Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 215-216. At Lāhore, see Manrique, *Travels of F. S. Manrique, 1629-1643*, tr. Luard and Hosten, Vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, LXI, Oxford, 1927, p. 191. At Burhānpūr, see Peter Mundy, op. cit., II, pp. 50-51. At Delhi, see G. M. Khān, fol. 38a; *'Amal-i Sālih*, Vol. III, pp. 46-47; *Āsār*, pp. 133-134. Cf. M. P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire, 1556-1707*, Adam Publishers & Distributors, New Delhi, 1985, p. 138, foot note- 1.

[119] For *Chauk-i- Akbarābād* (Āgra) and other *Chauks* and streets, see *Vakīl Report*, bundle no. 4, document no. 554, dated 29th *Ramzān*, 1105 A.H.; *Bahār-i Sukhan*, fol. 161a-b; Mānik Chand, op. cit., fol. 40a.

[120] For *chauk bāzār* at Lāhore, see Manrique, p. 191 & n. 3.

[121] The *bāzār* at Fatehpur Sikri was half a mile long, see Fr. Monserrate, op. cit., p. 35. William Finch, op. cit., p. 149.

[122] See for example M. P. Singh, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

vegetables, betel, furniture, toys etc, were on sale.[123] Secondly, whatever was sold there was retail and seldom wholesale.[124] Thirdly, the *bāzār* was known after the name of the principal *chauk* or was simple called the *chauk bāzār*.[125] In the evening the *bāzār* had arrangements for lamp lights.[126]

The Jaipur City Palace Map (**Map IA**) depicts two *bazars*, one of them quite large extending from the front of the Jami' Masjid to a gate located near the interior first wall of the city. This was possibly the 'Great Bazar' referred to by Finch. A second *bazar* is shown located on a main road towards the south.

A much more detailed information on the markets of Mughal Agra is thrown by the 1722-23 *Agra ri Gajal* by Laxmi Chand.[127]

Thus according to this ode the *chowk* in front of the Jami' Mosque contained a big market where all kinds of merchandise was available. A variety of products like Diamonds, semi-precious stones, cloths and swords were sold there. A large number of *baniyas* had also opened sweetmeat shops in this area. This market also boasted of a large number of hawkers who would peddle their wares. A variety of shops were also located at the '*Tripolia khās*. According to Laxmi Chand nearby was the paper market and adjacent to it the *mandi* or the grain

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[123] For different commodities in the *bāzār* of Āgra, see Mundy, op. cit., II, p. 216.

[124] See *English Factories in India, (1678-84)*, p. 270.

[125] For example, the two principal markets of Delhi were called after the names of two *Chauks* which housed them. They were: the *bazar* of *Chandni Chauk* and *Chauk Sa'dullāh Khān*, see *Āsār*, pp. 133-134.

[126] See Manrique, op. cit., pp. 186-187.

[127] See the first chapter for the details of this work.

market and the cloth market. The sweetmeat sellers had an exclusive bazar nearby. Just beyond the sweetmarket sellers were the '*Jauhri Bazar*', full op jewelers and gold smiths selling precious and semi-precious stones. It is interesting note that according to Laxmi Chand, the Imperial mint (*Taksāl*) was situated in this very area.

Bazars like *Hing-ki Mandi* and *Munga Bazar* were also located within the first ramparts of the city. A *Nai-ki Mandi* and a '*Ganj-i Siyah*' is also mentioned western part of the city (near the so-called tomb of Jodhbai). The gardens of this Tomb, Laxmi Chand says was converted frequently into the selling grounds for the vegetable sellers who would assemble there in large numbers.

Chhipitola, *Hazrat Mandi*, *Namak ki Mandi*, *Loha Mandi*, *Ganddhi Bazar* (perfume market), *Chauhatta Bazar* and markets selling utensils and dairy products. A large mart is also said to have been located on the left bank of the river. As mentioned earlier, Laxmi Chand called this area (*pura*, suburb) as Agra:

> "On the other side of the Yamuna is a *pura* and that area is known as Agra."[128]

He also concluded by telling us that the main *bazar* of *Akbarabad* is the largest market spread over a total area of '12 *kos*'.[129]

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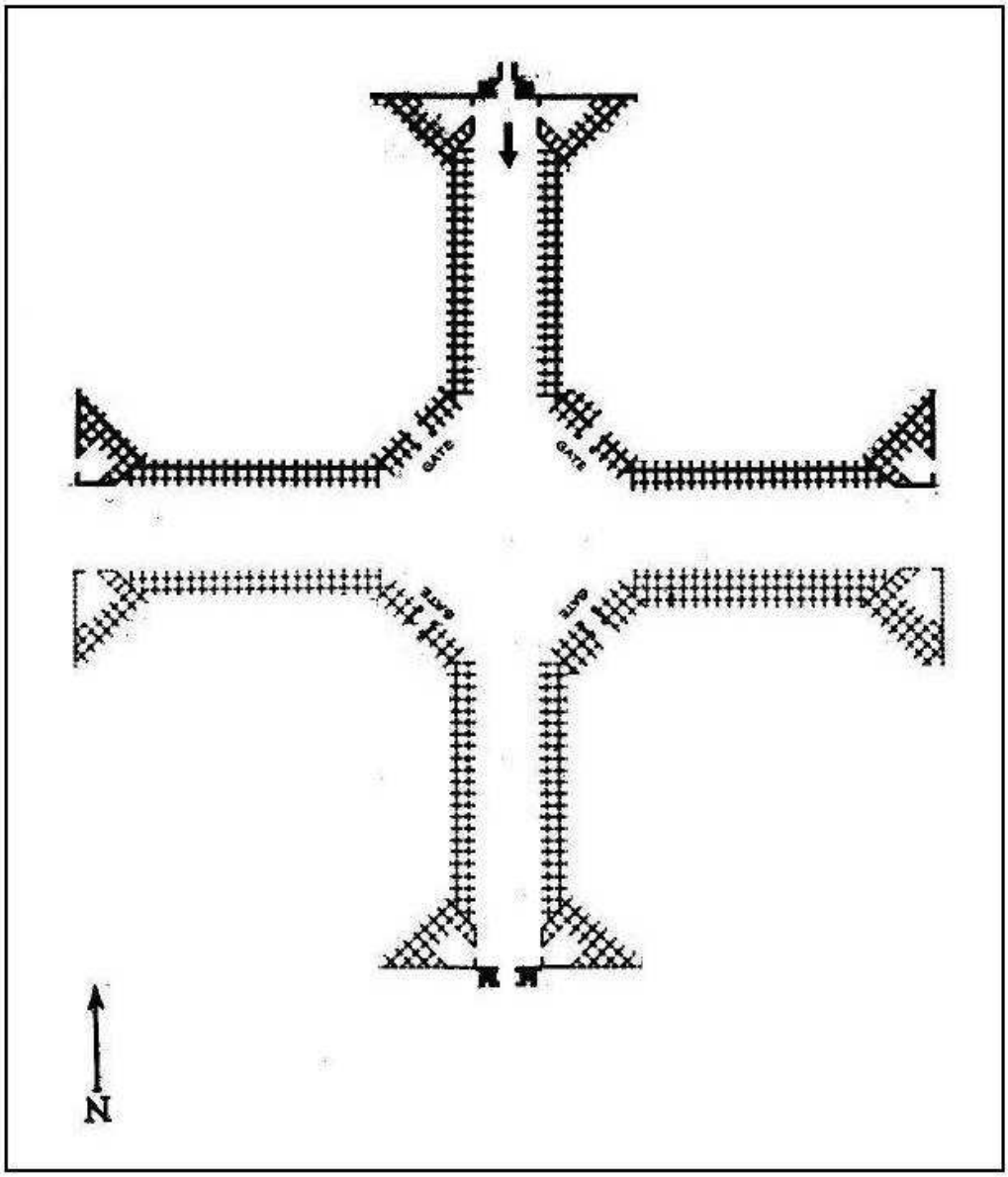
[128] See B. L.Bhadani, 'Agra ki Ghazal', *Madhya Kalin Bharat*, no. 4, op. cit., p. 166

[129] Ibid.



Plan 6.1 Plan of *Bazars* at *Mumtazabad, Tajganj*

Chapter- VII
The Religious Structures at Agra

CHAPTER 7

THE RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES AT AGRA

No urban settlement could be considered complete without its share of buildings of religious nature: mosques, temples, tombs and cemeteries were an essential part of any medieval township.

As has been pointed out in the first chapter that some historians of urban history have infact categorized the towns on the basis of the position enjoyed by the most prominent place of worship in the urban milieu: An Islamic town would thus be a town where, amongst other factors, the main congregational mosque would be situated in the core are along with the citadel and the palace of the royalty.

Even a cursory look at the map of Mughal Agra (see **Maps I, IA,** and **Map IX**) would demonstrate that the main mosque, the *Jami' Masjid*, was located almost in the middle of the plan in the area fronting the main entrance gate of the Mughal Fort. Laxmi Chand, while composing his ode to Agra in 1722-23 also points out to the prominent position of the Imperial mosque, where, according to him there was 'the good tradition' of holding frequent prayers.

We also know that from the very early days of Islam, the Mosque was considered as the centre of political, religious and social authority. Unless proclaimed from the pulpit of the mosque (the *khutba*) in a congregation

(generally weekly Friday prayers) no person would be presumed to the king or the emperor.

One of the first buildings to be constructed in North India by the early Turkish rulers was thus the *Jami' Masjid* at the site of the palace of vanquished: the *Quwwat-ul Islam* mosque at Qila Rai Pithor.

When Babur won against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat, the first structure to be constructed, probably only as a thanks giving but also as a proclamation of his rule was the *Kabuli Bagh* Mosque near the battle field.[1]

It is however interesting to note that when Babur decided to make Agra his capital and build some structures, there is not mention of the construction of any mosque there. We have cited the *Baburnama* to show that what was constructed was a garden, the *Hasht Bihist*, a step well and a *hammam*. In fact Babur refers to no mosque having been built by him or anyone else at Agra. A number of gardens were laid out by him and his nobles but no religious edifice is credited to have been built by him.

Thus at the time when the foundations of the Mughal City of Agra were laid by Babur it probably was visualized as a secular town with no pre-dominant or prominent mosque as its back drop.

[1] See Ebba Koch, *Outlines of Mughal Architecture*, op. cit. p. 38.

It is also interesting to note that although more than a dozen Medieval mosques survive, none of them date from a period before Akbar. The only mosque (**Plan 7.1**) dateable to Humayun's reign is situated in the area situated on the left bank of the river, which proper speaking was not the part of the main city, but its suburb. We have already seen that the concern area was nomenclated as Sikandara by Pelsaert (as against the city: Agra) and the *pura* of Agra (as against the *shahr Akbarabad*) by Laxmi Chand.[2]

The area where this mosque is presently located is known as *Kachhpura*. Thus the mosque is also popularly known as the *Kachhpur* Mosque.

According to one of its two inscriptions, this mosque was constructed under 'the powerful decree and command of Muhammad Humayun' in the year 937AH/1530 AD.[3] Thus its construction appears to have taken place soon after the death of Babur and the accession of Humayun to the throne. Then according to the second inscription, the building was 'completed by the labours of this *Khawāfi'*.[4] Five mosques, viz, The Akbari Masjid, Khoja Masjid, Masjid of Qasim Khan, Kalan Masjid and the *masjid-i Mukhannisan* (the Eunuch's Mosque) were constructed during the reign of Akbar. All the three Akbar's mosques are located

[2] See Pelsaert, op. cit., p. 4; B. L. Bhadani, op. cit., p. 166

[3] See Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report (1871-72)*, vol. iv, op. ct., pp. 100-102; E. T. Atkinson, *Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of Indian: Farrukhabad and Agra,*, vol. VII, Allahabad, 1884, p. 688. See also S. Mohd Latif, *Agra: Historical and Descriptive,* Calcutta, 1896, pp. 190-91.

[4] Ibid.

to the north-west of the *Jami' Masjid* in the heart of the Imperial city. Further, all three of them lie in the area which is shown screened with walls in the 1720's Map (see **Map IA** & **Map X**). This was the area where, according to the Ode of Laxmi Chand the great markets and residential areas were located. However **Map IA** (Jaipur City Palace Map of Agra) depicts only one of them (see **Map IA**). It is probably the *Kalān* (great) Mosque which is depicted.

The some what smaller *Akbari Masjid* (**Plan 7.2**) is located south-east of *Kalan Masjid* and is situated in a market traditionally known as *Kināri Bazar* (**Plate 7.1**). It is, according to the estimates of Cunningham 84.6 feet in length and 25 feet in breadth,[5] and is surmounted by a single dome (**Plate 7.2**). As other Akbari buildings, this mosque is also built of the locally available red sand stone (**Plate 7.3**).

The small *Khoja Masjid* in *Loha Mandi,* somewhat to the south-west of the above mentioned mosques also dates to Akbar's period. According to both Abul Fazl and Baduani this mosque was built by Khwaja Muinuddin Farrān Khudi.[6]

The author of *Ma'asir-ul Umara* informs us that Qasim Khan ordered the construction of a *Jami' Masjid* in the *Bazār-i Atka Khan.*[7]

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[5] Cunningham, *ASIAR,* (1871-72), PP. 119-20

[6] *Ain-i Akbari,* op. cit., pp. 480 and 610; Badauni, op. cit., III, pp. 156-57

[7] Shahnawaz Khan, Ma'asir-ul Umara, op. cit., III, pt.i, pp. 81-82

The *Masjid-i Mukhannisan* (the Eunuch's Mosque) which is 51 feet by 19.9 feet and comprises of an octagonal bastion on each of its corners. The mosque is surmounted with three domes, a large central dome flanked by two smaller ones. Cunningham considered this mosque as the most beautiful mosque at Agra. Like its contemporary *Khoja Masjid,* it is situated in the *Loha Mandi* area.[8]

The *Kalān Masjid,* (**Plan 7.3**) now popularly as the *Kali Masjid,* (**Plate 7.4**) located near the *Akbari Masjid*, was built by Nawab Muzaffar Khan (d. 1580). Referring to this mosque as the 'chief mosque' of Agra, Shah Nawaz Khan notes:

> "The Masjid Jami' of Agra near *katra* Miyān Rafiq was built by Muzaffar Khan."[9]

During the reign of Jahangir, Mu'tamad Khan built a mosque (**Plan 7.4 and Plate 7.5**) which now stands in the *Kashmiri Bazar,* at a little distance to the north-east of the *Kalan Masjid*. This 53.6×20 feet mosque is against constructed with the help of red sand stones. It comprises of three domes (**Plate 7.6**) and an octagonal tower (**Plate 7.7**) at each front and corner.[10]

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[8] Cunningham, *ASIAR,* (1871-72), p. 178-79

[9] Shahnawaz Khan, op. cit., III, p.227

[10] Cunningham, *ASIAR 1871-72),* PP. 136-37; See also S. M. Latif, op. cit., p. 197

A number of mosques survive till date from the reign of Shahjahan. The *Jami' Masjid* of Agra measuring 335′ 7″ by 282′ 3″ was built by Jahanara Begum in 1648.[11]

Four mosques, one in each of the four *katras* of *Mumtazabad* were also constructed during the reign of Shahjahan. *Masjid* Moti Bagh (**Plan 7.5**) and *Nawab* Lashkar Khan's Mosque were also constructed during the reign of Shahjahan. The mosque of *Moti Bagh* (**Plate 7.8**) is located east of the tomb of I'timad-ud Daulah on the east bank of the river in the area which was a suburb of the Mughal city. Lashkar Khan's mosque (**Plate 7.9**) on the other hand is located in the main city area, west of the Jahanar's Mosque.

Aurangzeb's reign is represented by the '*Alamgiri Masjid'* (**Plate 7.10**) which was situated in the north-western corner of the city. The area where this mosque situated is known as Alamganj. During the nineteenth century it was converted into the Collector's Office. According to an inscription seen by Latif, it was constructed in 1671 at a time when Aurangzeb was engaged in a war with Shivaji.[12]

The Second type of religious structures which we encountered at Agra are the Tombs (See **Map X**).

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[11] Lahor, *Badshahnama*, op. cit. I, II, p. 252; For an English rendering of the inscription on the mosque see Maulvi Zafar Hasan, "Jami Masjid, Agra", *ASIAR (1929-30)*, ED. Daya Ram Sahni, Delhi, pp. 223-27.

[12] Latif, *Agra*, op. cit, pp. 200-02

A perusal of **Map X** reveals that although the tombs circled the city from all around, there were however three major areas which can be considered as the 'necro-polis' of the Mughals at Agra: (a) the area on the left bank of the river; (b) the Sikandara or the area around the tomb of Akbar; (**Plate 7.11**) and (c) the *Mumtazabad*.

Starting from the right bank of the river in the north and moving anti-clockwise the tombs at Agra were/are:

1. *Chhatri* Raja Jaswant Singh (**Plan 7.6 & Plate 7.12**)
2. Tomb of Jafar Khan (**Plate 7.13**)
3. Tomb of Shaista Khan (**Plate 7.14**)
4. Tomb of Qandhari Begum
5. Tomb of Qazi Nurullah Shustari
6. Tomb of Ladli Begum
7. Tomb of Sadiq Khan
8. Tomb of Salabat Khan
9. Tomb of Kafur
10. Tomb of Akbar
11. Tomb of Mariam uz Zamani (**Plan 7.7**)

12. ‘*Gumbad Do-Manzila’* (un-identified Tomb) (**Plate 7.15**)

13. ‘*Dhakri ka Mahal*’ (**Plate 7.16**)

14. *Barah Khamba* (**Plate 7.17**)

15. Tomb of ‘*Jodhbai’*

16. Tomb of Kamal Khan

17. Tomb of Firuz Khan

18. Tomb of Pahalwān

19. Tomb of Mohabat Khan’s daughter

20. Tomb of Diwanji Begum

21. Tomb of Mumtaz Mahal

22. Tomb of Fatehpur Begum

23. Tomb of Shah Jalal Bukhari

24. Tomb of Shah Ahmad Bukhari

25. Tomb of Itmad ud Daulah

26. Tomb of Sultan Parvez (**Plate 7.18**)

27. Tomb of Afzal Khan (**Plan 7.8**)

The tomb of Lashkar Khan, on the other hand happens to be located within the city limits near his mosque.

The first necropolis which developed at Agra appears to the suburbs of Sikandara in the north-west of Agra. As we have mentioned else where, this was the area where most of the Lodi ruins survive till date. It is also the area near which is located Baburpur. According to Carlylle, the Tomb of Kafur and the statue of the stone horse, the now extinct 'Tomb of Itibar Khan and the *Guru Ka Tal* in its vicinity' were actually Lodi remains.[13] With the erection of the Tomb of Akbar nearby the area started developing as a necropolis. A number of small unknown graves and tombs abound in its vicinity. The tomb of *Maryam Zamani* (**Plate 7.19**) located almost in front across the modern road also appears to have belonged to the reign of Akbar or the early years of Jahangir. Nearby are situated two tombs belonging to the subsequent reigns.

The Tomb of 'Sadiq Khan' (**Plate 7.20**) is supposed to be the resting place of the son in law of Itimad ud Daulah who was *Mir Bakshi* in 1622 and died in 1633. His son built his tomb between 1633-35. Nearby is the tomb of 'Salabat' Khan. However on the basis of Architectural design it can be safely asserted that both these tombs are structures which were built during the reign of Jahangir and not Shahjahan.[14]

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[13] *ASIR (1871-72)*, iv, P. 183-84

[14] See for this Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture*, pp. 82-83

The second cluster of tombs is in the area which Pelsaert called ‘Sikandara’ in the east and Laxmi Chand nomenclaed as ‘*pura* Agra’. Here we have important tombs like those of Afzal Khan (**Plate 7.21**) (popularly known as ‘*Chini ka Rauza’*), Sultan Parvez, Itimad ud Daulah and his wife.

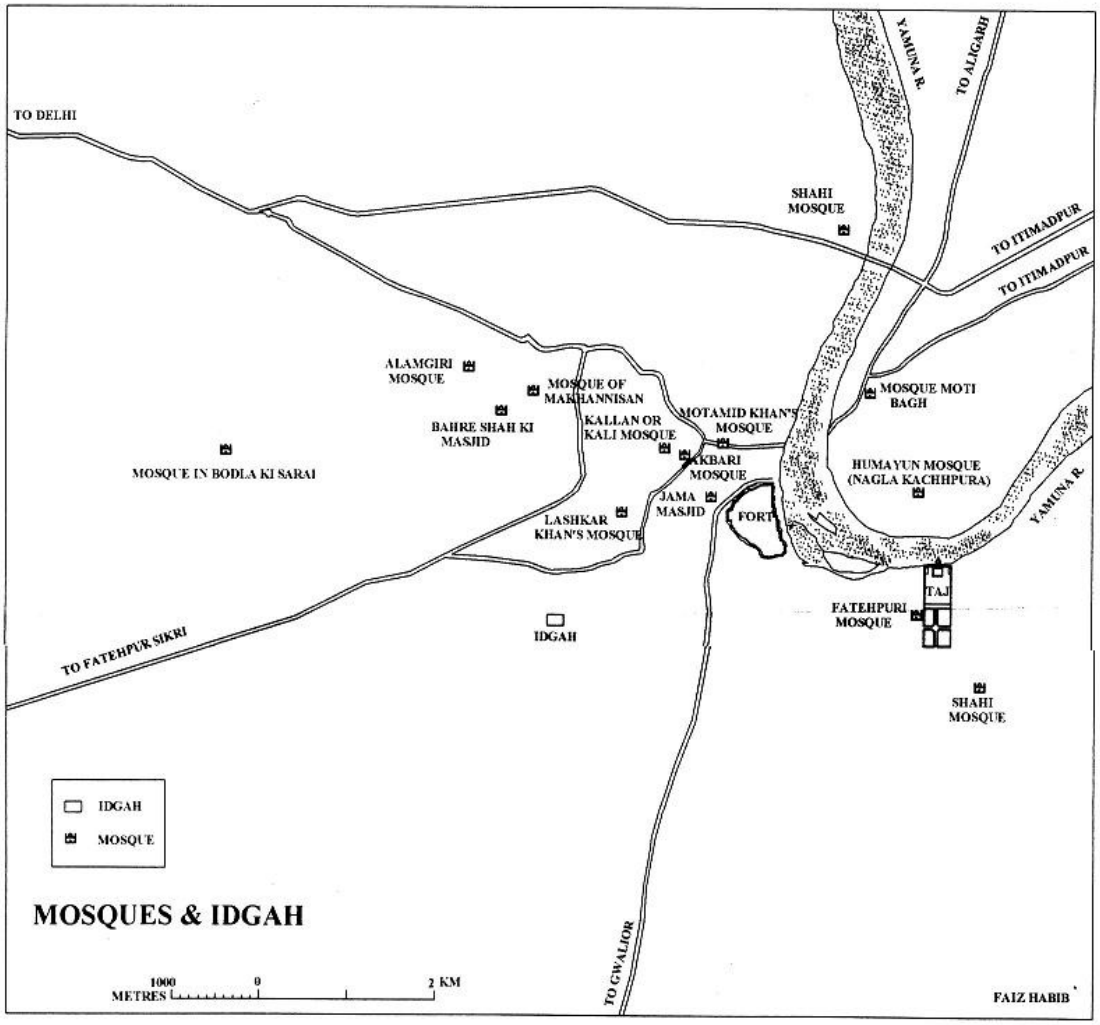
The third cluster is that which grew around the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. Here we find the resting places of Jalal Khan Bukhari, Shah Ahmad Bukhari, Fatehpuri Begum, Diwanji Begum, and the daughter of Mahabat Khan.

The other tombs, now appearing haphazard, were in fact located on various roads leading out of the city. If the Tomb of Firuz Khan (**Plate 7.22 & Plate 7.23**) was located on Agra-Gwalior road then the tomb of Itimad Khan (not on the Map) is located on the Agra-Allahabad road. Similarly the so-called Tomb of Jodhbai is said to have been located on the road connecting Agra with Sikri. The present Agra-Sikri road however passes it at a distance.

The location of these religious structures, both mosques and tombs thus mark for us the boundaries of the Mughal city. If the mosques are generally located in ‘inhabited areas’ and busy markets where people could easily go to pray, the tombs and *chhatris* marked the outer and peripheral areas of the Mughal town. It was seldom that a tomb was situated within the cities. With the exception of the Tomb of Lashkar Khan no other tomb is located within the city limits.

The size of the mosques would also indicate the level of population in the various quarters where they were built. Thus even without the help of Laxmi Chand's Ode written in 1722-23 we may conclude that the concentration of the urban population in the city of Agra was in the area north and north-west of the fort. The second area of concentration, albeit during the reign of Shahjahan was in the Mumtazabad or Tajganj which during that reign emerged as the hub of economic activity.

Map IX


TO DELHI
YAMUNA R.
TO ALIGARH
SHAHI MOSQUE
TO ITIMADPUR
TO ITIMADPUR
ALAMGIRI MOSQUE
MOSQUE OF MAKHANNISAN
BAHRE SHAH KI MASJID
KALLAN OR KALI MOSQUE
MOTAMID KHAN'S MOSQUE
MOSQUE MOTI BAGH
MOSQUE IN BODLA KI SARAI
AKBARI MOSQUE
HUMAYUN MOSQUE (NAGLA KACHHPURA)
JAMA MASJID
FORT
YAMUNA R.
LASHKAR KHAN'S MOSQUE
TAJ
FATEHPURI MOSQUE
IDGAH
TO FATEHPUR SIKRI
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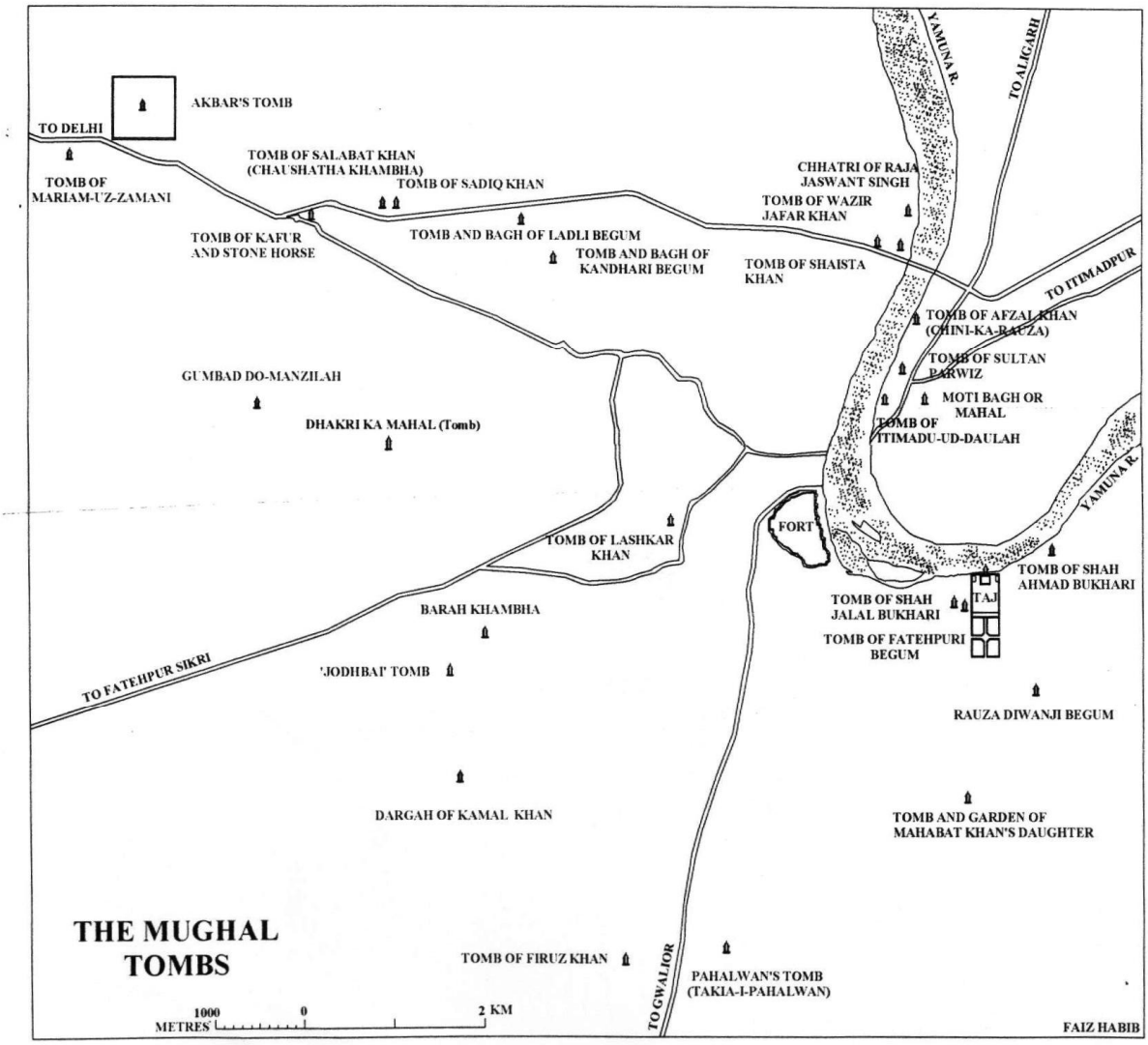
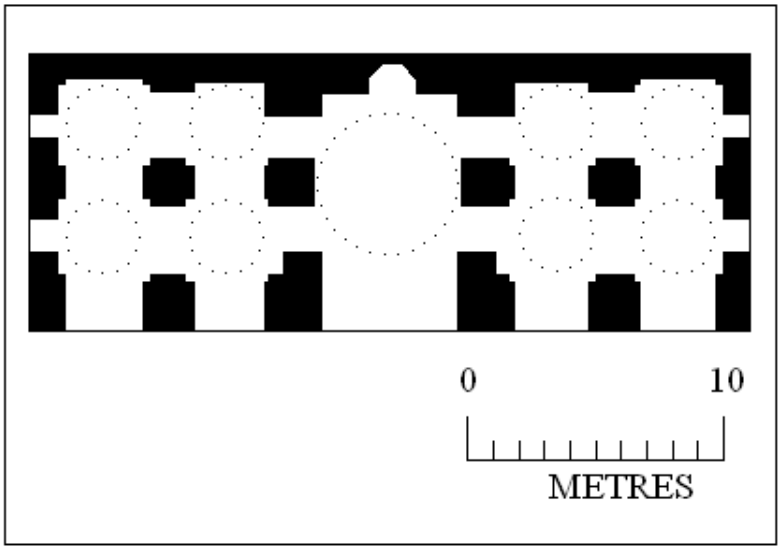
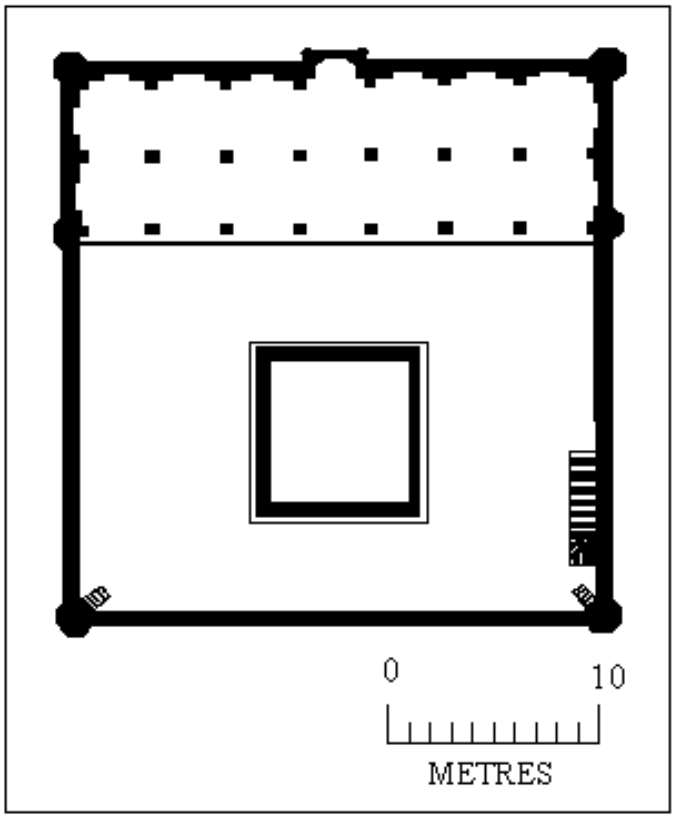
Map X

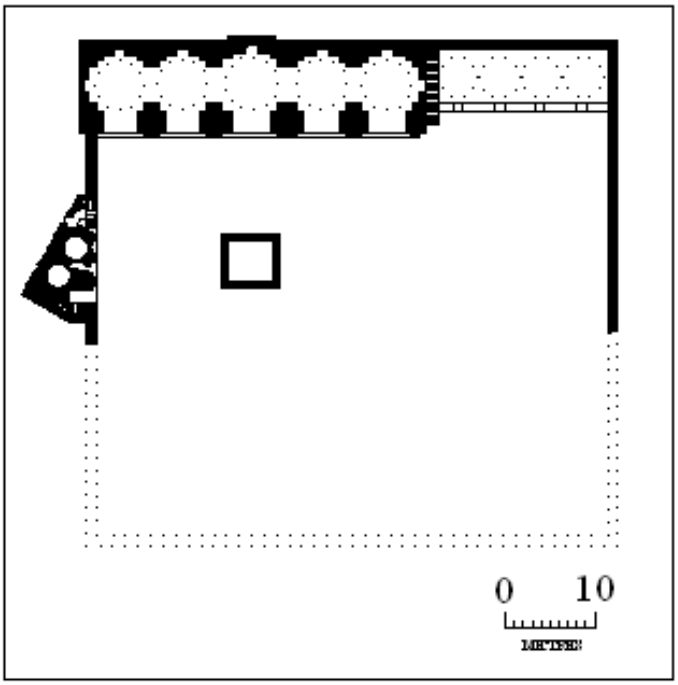

AKBAR'S TOMB
TO DELHI
TOMB OF MARIAM-UZ-ZAMANI
TOMB OF SALABAT KHAN (CHAUSHATHA KHAMBHA)
TOMB OF SADIQ KHAN
TOMB OF KAFUR AND STONE HORSE
TOMB AND BAGH OF LADLI BEGUM
TOMB AND BAGH OF KANDHARI BEGUM
CHHATRI OF RAJA JASWANT SINGH
TOMB OF WAZIR JAFAR KHAN
TOMB OF SHAISTA KHAN
YAMUNA R.
TO ALIGARH
TO ITIMADPUR
TOMB OF AFZAL KHAN (CHINI-KA-RAUZA)
TOMB OF SULTAN PARWIZ
MOTI BAGH OR MAHAL
TOMB OF ITIMADU-UD-DAULAH
GUMBAD DO-MANZILAH
DHAKRI KA MAHAL (Tomb)
FORT
YAMUNA R.
TOMB OF LASHKAR KHAN
TOMB OF SHAH AHMAD BUKHARI
TAJ
TOMB OF SHAH JALAL BUKHARI
TOMB OF FATEHPURI BEGUM
BARAH KHAMBHA
TO FATEHPUR SIKRI
'JODHBAI' TOMB
RAUZA DIWANJI BEGUM
DARGAH OF KAMAL KHAN
TOMB AND GARDEN OF MAHABAT KHAN'S DAUGHTER
THE MUGHAL TOMBS
TOMB OF FIRUZ KHAN
TO GWALIOR
PAHALWAN'S TOMB (TAKIA-I-PAHALWAN)
1000 0 2 KM
METRES
FAIZ HABIB



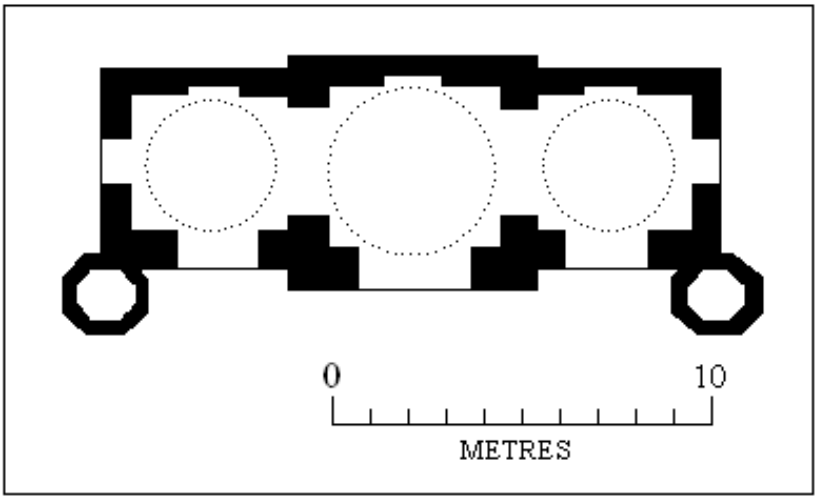
Plan 7.1: Humayun Mosque



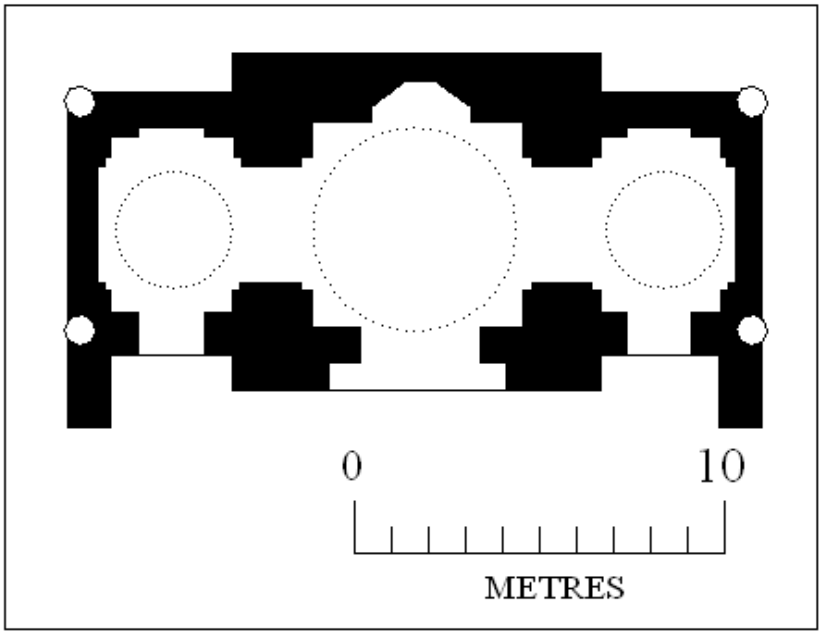
Plan 7.2: Akbari Mosque



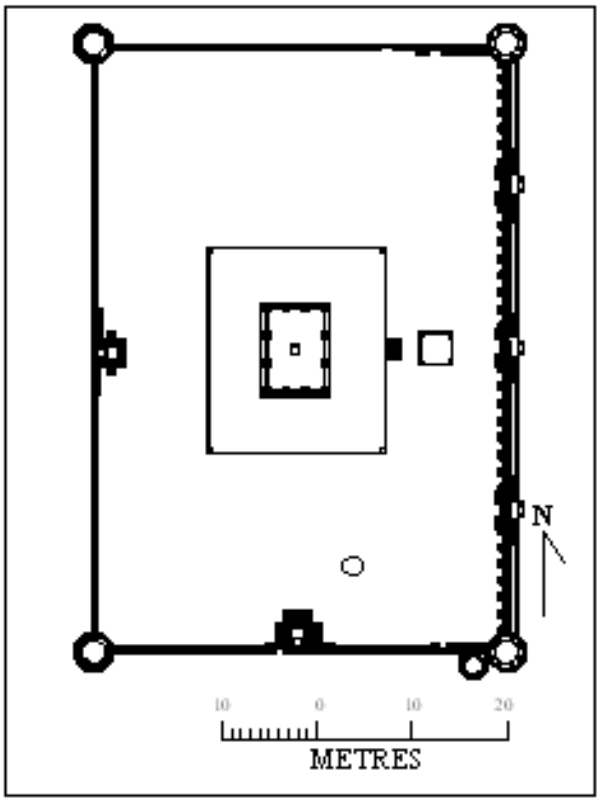
Plan 7.3: *Kalan* or *Kali* Mosque



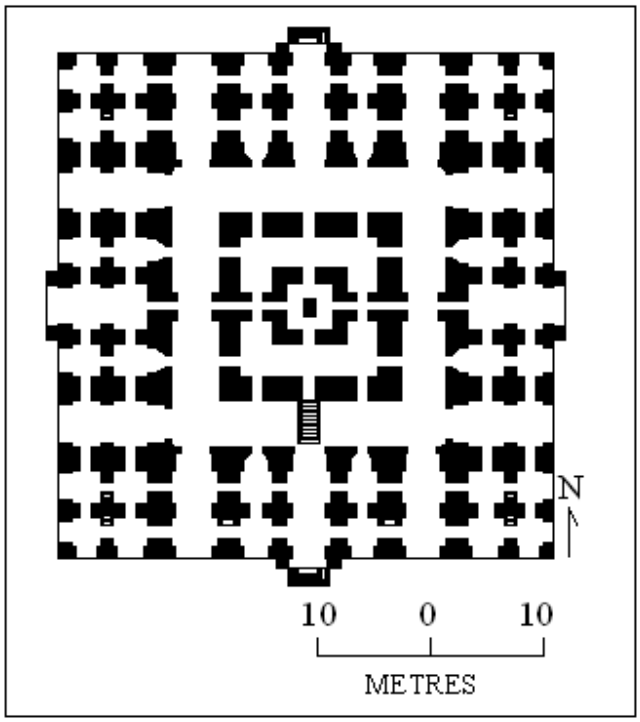
Plan 7.4: Mutamad Khan Mosque



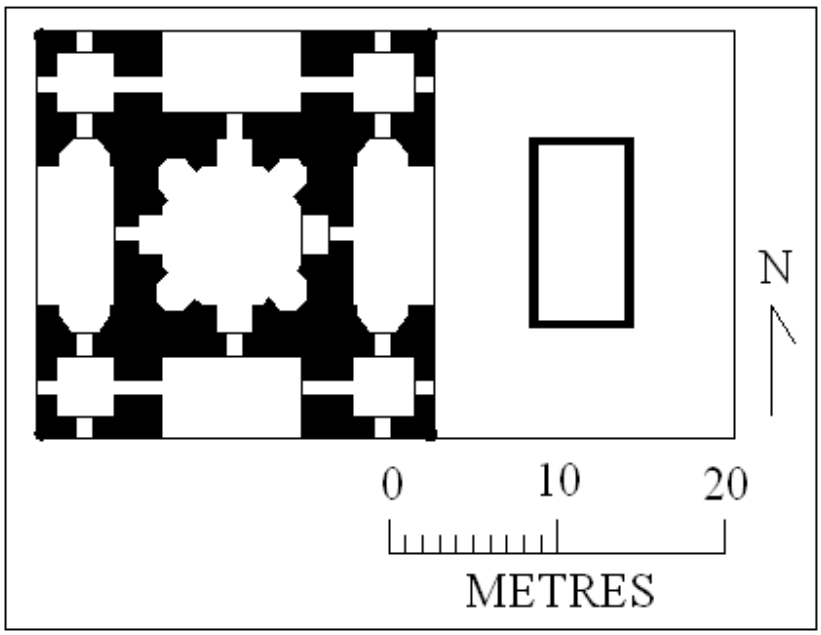
Plan 7.5: *Moti Bagh* Mosque



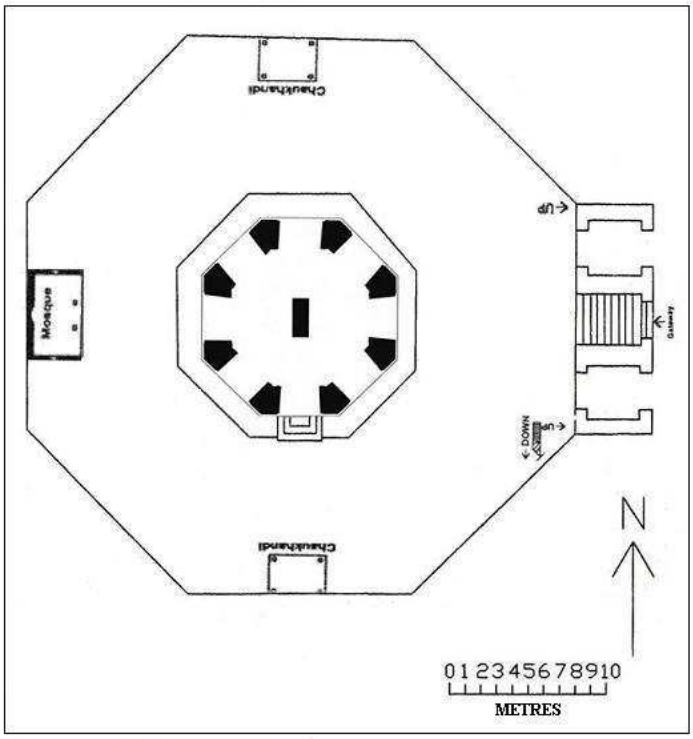
Plan 7.6: *Chhatri* of Jaswant Singh



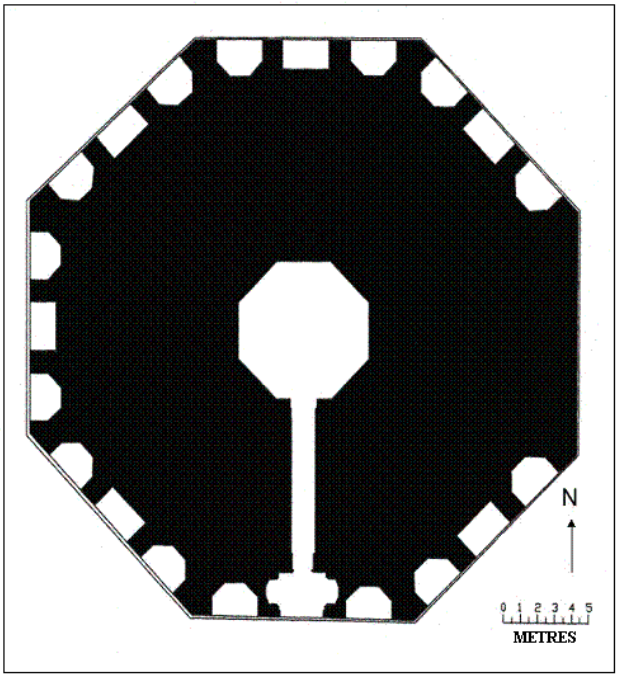
Plan 7.7: Tomb of Maryam-uz Zamani



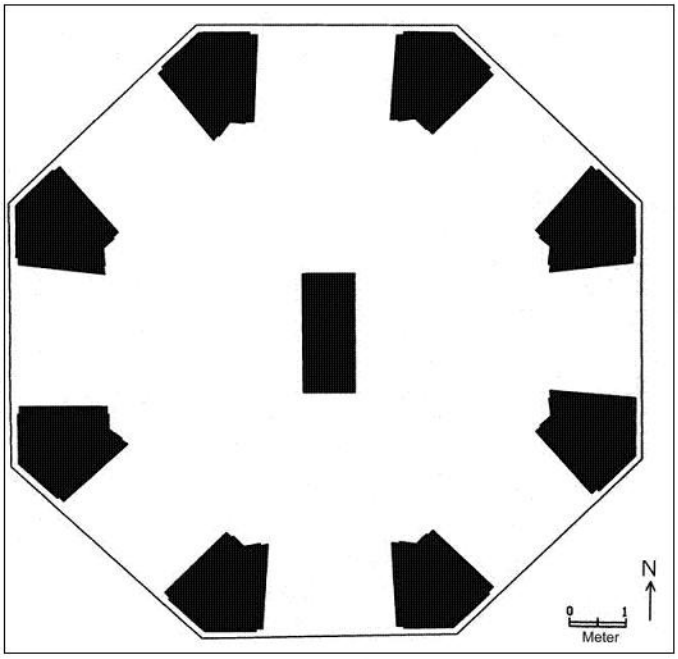
Plan 7.8: Tomb of Afzal Khan



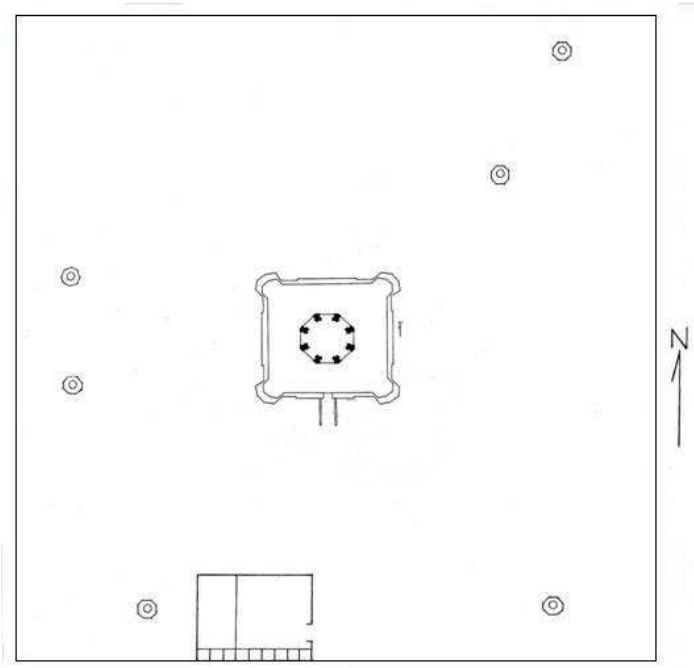
Plan 7.9: The octagonal plinth with mosque and a *Chhatri*



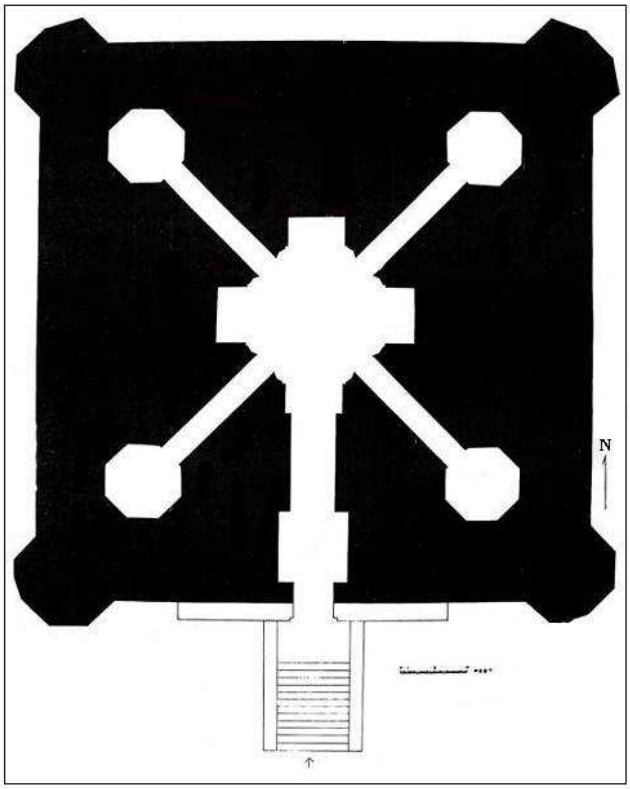
Plan 7.10: The Octagonal underground chamber



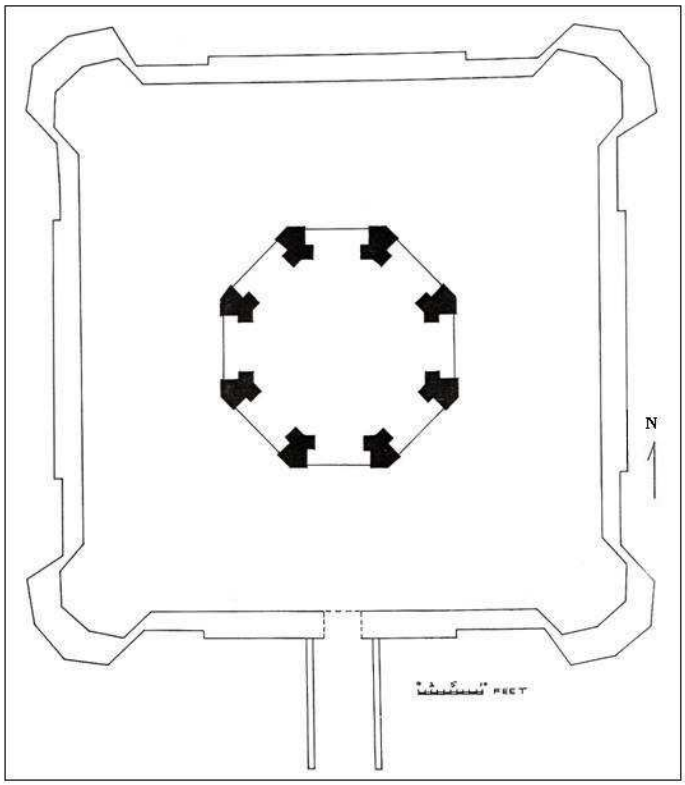
Plan 7.11: The octagonal upper storey of the tomb



Plan 7.12: Diwan Ji Begum Tomb and its surrounding area



Plan 7.13: Underground chamber



Plan 7.14: Octagonal bastions flank the plinth of the tomb

Appendix- I

APPENDIX I

Tomb of Firuz Khan, *Khwaja Sara*

During the reign of Jahangir a large variety of tomb-structures were experimented with and a number of ground-plans were resorted to, which had not been used before. Among these 'new' types, mention may be made of such tomb-plans as based on flat roofed hypostyle halls composed of domed bays formed with the help of pillars.[1] Another new variety which we encounter from this reign onwards are tombs like the Tombs of Khusrau Bagh in Allahabad. This again is a new type of plan which is found hardly resorted to before the reign of Jahangir. Ebba Koch calls such tomb plans as *takhtgah* (platform) tombs.[2]

A different version of this *takhtgah* tomb is found in the tomb of Firuz Khan *Khwajasara* a noble of Jahangir who died during the reign of ShahJahan in 1647.[3] (**Plates- 7.22 & 7.23)** Like many of his time, he built his own tomb during his lifetime in a locality now known after him as *Tal* Firuz Khan which is situated near the Agra-Gwalior road. The red sandstone tomb is octagonal in shape and is in the form of a pavilion. Unlike the Tomb of Maryam at Sikandara or the Tomb at Dholpur, the superstructure has a small octagonal structure in the middle. On the

[1] See for example the '*Barah Khamba'* and '*Chaunsath Khamba'* in Delhi, the *'Solah Khamba'* in Lucknow and the tomb of Salabat Khan at Agra. These are all examples of this new type of tomb plans.

[2] Ebba Koch, op.cit., pp.72-76

[3] Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asir ul Umara*, ed. Maulvi Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1888, vol. III, pp.21-22

ground floor is the subsidiary octagonal storey containing the actual grave. On the northern and southern sides of the main storey, there are four-pillared rectangular cupolas in the form of *chaukhandis* with pyramidal roofs on top. They are protected by *chhajja* supported on brackets. (see **Plan 7.9**)

The octagonal plinth which comprises the ground floor of this mausoleum measures 13.10m on each side (see **Plan 7.10**). On the top rests the pavilion housing the cenotaph. The pavilion level is accessed directly by a two-storied entrance portal with a 2.85m wide opening built on the eastern side of the plinth. The cenotaph however is situated within the octagonal red sandstone pavilion that is centred on the octagonal plinth. At pavilion level a rectangular cupola on the western side is turned into a small mosque. Identical, four-pillared pavilions are also built on the north and south side, measuring 3.45 by 2.80m.

Within the plinth, the crypt is accessed via a 12.10m long but narrow (1.30m wide) passage from the south side. Except for the eastern side, which has the entrance portal, the building sides are each defined by three closed arched recesses which are 1.17m wide. It is clear from the minimal articulation that the main building was meant to play a subsidiary role to the structures on the pavilion level, which were to be the focal points of visitors of the tomb.

The entrance portal constructed on the east side of the pavilion is the most imposing of all the structures. It is double-storied, measuring 13.15 by 4.45m with a height of 10.43m. It had two kiosks (*chattris*) at the northeast and southeast corners that no longer exist. A broad flight of thirteen steps leads up from this

entrance gate up to the main platform. Two narrow staircases on the north and south side of the portal provide access to the roof of the portal. The facade of this portal and its sides are profusely carved with *chinikhana* motifs in bold relief. Four peacock birds are also carved on its corners.

The central octagonal pavilion (see **Plan 7.11**) sits on a 4.86m high platform, with sides measuring 4.52m and is perforated at the base with delicate, carved screens that allow light to filter into the crypt below. The pavilion is punctuated on all sides by arched recesses that are 1.25m deep. The interior octagonal chamber housing the cenotaph measures 3.15m on each side and is accessible from the south by stairs.

The pavilion displays a quiet elegance in the articulation of the façade. Instead of a profusion of carvings covering the entire façade, only distinct architectural elements like the platform and the spandrels exhibit exquisite carvings. The contrast set between plain and decorated surfaces is further enhanced by the unique use of grey sandstone alongside the red sandstone. These contrasts serve to highlight selected features and hence achieve a level of sophistication through simplicity rather than excess. The pavilion is curiously devoid of any inscriptions.

The dome rests on a very low drum. It is very shallow in profile and takes on a hemispherical shape abruptly, a few feet above the drum. The elaborately carved brackets and projecting overhangs (*chhajjas*) are distinctly indigenous in style.

Above the overhangs, each corner of the octagon is emphasized by a slender pinnacle of grey sandstone.

The 5.00m by 3.15m pavilion on the western side serves as a mosque which is quite small, simple and elegant. Its front is open and is provided with two supporting pillars. The western stone wall is provided with a single recess to mark the *mihrab*. Ten prayer spots (*musallahs*) are discernible on the stone floor.

The two pavilions to the north and south are built of high quality grey sandstone. Triple brackets project out to support the overhangs. The masonry portion above the overhangs, cornice and the frieze have distinct traces of glazed tiling that reveal a profusion of colours like yellow, green, blue and turquoise in exclusively floral patterns. The pyramidal roofs of these pavilions appear to have been once covered with tile-work but now only their imprint and traces remain.

Both the pavilions and the portal are covered with beautiful *chinikhana* panels which are finely carved with motifs such as vases of flowers, wine carafes, confronted animals and floral arabesques. The style of decoration is typical of building surface decorations of the Jahangiri period and alludes to designs found at Akbar's tomb in Sikandra, the tomb of I'timad ud Daula, the Surajbhan ka Bagh and other buildings constructed during the same reign.

The tomb was set behind a large *hauz* (water tank) which is situated to its east and gives this tomb the form of a typical paradisiacal setting.

Thus we see that the Tomb of Firuz Khan at Agra is a beautiful example of a tomb style which had Timurid origins but was unique to the period in which it was

constructed. The simplicity of its ground plan was enhanced by the sophisticated style which was emerging during the reign of Jahangir.

Appendix- II

APPENDIX II

Tomb of Diwanji Begum at Agra

The area of Agra now known as '*Tajganj*' is replete with monuments and dilapidated structures in various stages of decay. Recent works have paid attention to some of them.[1] However, a number of these structures still remain undocumented and/or under-studied.

We have the testimony of Francois Pelsaert that this area was inhabited by a number of important noble's like Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Dauran and others.[2] In the vicinity of the noble's mansions were the ware-houses and dwellings of the mercantile classes.[3] To the east of the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal were the shops of big merchants and traders.[4] Some of the structures being eluded to by our sources survive till date. Thus, for example, we have the so-called '*Taliyar Khan ka Baghicha*', ruins of palaces now identified as the palaces of Khan-i-Dauran and

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[1] See for example Ebba Koch, *The complete Taj Mahal and the River front Gardens of Agra*, New Delhi, 2007.

[2] Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India,* tr. & ed. Moreland & P.Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp.4-5.

[3] Ibid., P.S., See Also Peter Mundy, *Travels of Peter Mundy,* contained in Travels in Asia (1630-34), ed. R.C.Temple, Hakluyt Society, London, 1927, p.213.

[4] Tavernier, *Travels in India, 1640-67,* tr. V.Ball, ed. W.Crooke, London, 1925, Vol. I, pp.90-91.

Mahabat Khan, as well as a number of tombs like the tomb of Ahmad Bukhari and that of Diwanji Begum.[5]

This ruined structure situated to the south-east of the Taj Mahal, near *Basai Kalan* which is known as the *Rauza-i-Diwanji Begum.*

Presently situated in a *Muhalla* identified with it (*Muhalla Diwanji*), the structure was initially noticed by Beale as well as H.R.Neville who identified it as the tomb of the wife of the *diwan.* It appears to be the last resting place of the mother of Mumtaz Mahal and the wife of Asaf Khan the son of Itmad-ud-Daula who was the *diwan* of the Mughal Empire.[6]

Diwanji Begum was the daughter of Khwaja Ghiyasuddin Qazwini, the son of a courtier of the Safavid King who according to Shahnawaz Khan was a descendent of Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardi.[7] Ghiyasuddin Qazwini on coming to Agra was appointed as *Mir Bakhshi*, awarded the title of Asaf Khan and ultimately sent to Malwa and Gujarat where he died in 1579.[8] Unfortunately there is hardly any detail of her life that we know of.

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[5] For these identifications, see for example H.G.Keenes, *Handbook for Visitors (Agra, Allahabad, Cawnpur, Lucknow and Benaras)*, Calcutta, 1896, p.188; see also T.W.Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1971.

[6] Shahnawaz Khan, *Ma'asirul Umara* ed. Molvi Ashraf Ali, Calcutta, 1891, Vol. I, pp.151-160.

[7] Ibid. Vol. I, pp.90-93.

[8] Ibid., see also Badauni, *Muntakhab-ul Tawarikh*, ed. Ali Ahmad & Lees, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1864-69, Vol. II, p.228.

An exploration of the area undertaken by the present author reveals that the tomb of Diwanji Begum was built as per the prevalent practice within an enclosed garden which appears to have spread over fifty *bighas.*[9] [see **Plan 7.12]**.

Once *ashlayered* with white marble,[10] the whole building is built with bricks and lime-mortar.

The tomb is typically in the form of platform tombs preferred during the reign of Jahangir's and resembles in its lay-out and planning with the Tomb of Firuz Khan located on the Gwalior road at Agra. Its main structure rests on top of a double plinth and is octagonal in form. Its each side is marked by an open arch having a span of 3.82 feet. The height of the whole structure from the base of the lower platform to the top of the arches, as it exists now, is 25 feet. Octagonal bastions flank the plinth of the tomb. [see **Plan 7.13**].

Below the octagonal super-structure is a chamfered subterraneous chamber equipped with 15 air-wells opening on the platform.[11] Stairs from the south descend to this underground funerary chamber. Further four octagonal chambers, one in each corner, flank the central funerary chamber. These corner rooms are

[9] I am thankful to Mr. Zahid Hashmi who helped me carry the explorations at Tajganj which took place during the month of Jan. 2007.

[10] Beale, op.cit. p.122.

[11] According to Bernier, subterranean apartments equipped with large fans to provide relief from excessive heat of the day, were part of every house in India. F.Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, 1656-68*, tr. A. Constable, revised ed. V.A.Smith, London, 1934, p-247; The same kind of air-wells can also be seen in the subterranean hammam situated near Sher Mandal. The old Fort, Delhi, it appears that they helped in bringing fresh air in the underground chamber to made them habitable.

connected with the central chamber through 20 feet long corridors. [see **Plan 7.14**].

Although the outer walls are bare, the interior of these subterraneous chambers are still covered with a thick layer of stucco.

To the south-west of the tomb is the Mosque of Diwanji Begum [see plan-I]. Built of red sand-stone, this mosque has a three arched façade. Its three domes are typically capped with inverted lotus motifs. The four corners of the main structure terminate above the parapet into four *kiosks* (*Chhatris*) built in a typical Shahjahani style: the slender pillars support multi-foliated arches. An inscription in the *mihrab* also suggests that this mosque is not contemporary with the tomb. It bears the date 1088 A.H./1678 A.D.

The whole structure of the mosque is raised on top of a high platform which on its southern side contains a series of nine small cubicles, which once probably acted as shops generating revenues for the maintenance of the Tomb of Diwanji Begum during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb.

Today it is nearly impossible to measure the exact boundary of the garden which once contained the tomb and the mosque. A rough idea of the area can however be hazarded through the location of a few wells which survive in the vicinity which probably watered the *bagh*, which surrounded the *rauza* of the mother of a Mughal Queen.

Appendix- III

Appendix III

List of surviving Monuments at Agra

I- Gardens:

1. *Bagh-i Nur Afshan* (‘Rambagh’)
2. *Mahtab Bagh* (*Bagh-i Hasht Bihist*)
3. *Bagh-i Jahanara* (“*Zahra Bagh*”) [fragments]
4. *Bagh-i Zakariya (ruins)*
5. *Buland bagh* (ruins)
6. *Bagh-i Rauza Itimaduddaula*
7. *Moti Bagh* (ruins)
8. Ruins of two gardens with wells to the west of ‘*Mahtab Bagh*’.
9. The garden around the *Rauza Jafar Khan* (ruined)
10. *Suraj Bhan ka Bagh*

II. Noble’s Houses and Mansions:

1. *Haveli* Khan-i Dauran (ruins)
2. *Haveli* Khan-i Alam
3. *Haveli* Asalat Kahan
4. *Havelis* Hafiz Khitmatgar
5. *Haveli* Alamgir (parts survive)
6. *Haveli* Wazir Khan (do)

III. *Sarais*:

1. *Sarai* Nur Mahal
2. *Sarai* Allahwardi Khan
3. *Sarai* Badruddin Khan
4. *Sarai* Pukhta
5. '*Katra*' Phulail
6. '*Katra*' Resham
7. '*Katra*' Umar Khan
8. '*Katra*' Jogidas
9. *Sarai* Nowabganj (Nawalganj)

IV. Tombs:

1. Akbar's Tomb
2. Tomb of Mariam-uz-Zamani
3. Tomb of Sadiq Khan
4. Tomb of I'timad-ud-Daulah
5. *Rauza Diwanji Begum*
6. Tomb of *Takhat Pahalwan*
7. Tomb of Mumtaz Mahal (Taj Mahal)
8. Tomb of Afzal Khan (*Chini ka Rauza*)
9. Tomb of Firuz Khan
10. Tomb of Mahabat Khan's daughter

11. Tomb of Moti *Begum* (ruined)

12. Tomb of Fatehpuri *Begum*

13. Dargah of Kamal Khan

14. Tomb of Salabat Khan

15. Tomb of Shah Jalal *Bukhari*

16. Tomb of Shah Ahmad *Bukhari*

17. Tomb of *Wazir* Jafar Khan (ruined)

18. Tomb of Shaista Khan (ruined)

19. *Chhatri* of *Raja* Jaswant Singh

20. Tomb of Fatehpuri *Begum*

21. *Barah Khambha* (ruined)

22. *Dhakri ka Mahal*

23. Tomb of Kafur and Stone-Horse

24. *Gumbad Do-Manzilah* (ruined)

V. Mosques:

1. *Kalan* or *Kali* Mosque

2. Humayun's Mosque (ruined)

3. Mosque of Mukhannisan or *Hijron Wali Shahi* Mosque

4. Akbari Mosque

5. Mu'tamid Khan's Mosque

6. *Nawab* Lashkar Khan's Mosque

7. Moti Bagh Mosque

8. Fatehpuri Mosque

9. Jahanara's Mosque (*Jami' Masjid*

10. Alamgir Mosque

11. Bahre Shah ki Masjid

12. Mosque (in Bodla ki Sarai)

13. Mosque of Katra Phulal

14. Mosque of Katra Jogidas

15. Mosque of Reshan

16. Mosque of Umar Khan

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The preceding chapters demonstrate that the objections raised by Babur at the time of this conquest of India were taken care of not only through projects under taken by him but also through the endeavours of his successors. Babur had found Agra as city which was ‘dry’, ‘a symmetrical’ and ‘dead level plain’ with no flowing waters and colourful gardens. As a consequence he introduced a new concept of garden layout which transformed the whole landscape. By the time that Humayun came to occupy a precarious Mughal throne at Delhi, he could travel to Agra through a new and well-layed out boulevard: the river which when it reached the environs of Agra was transformed into a beautiful blue river lined on both its banks with green and well-flowered gardens. The sky line through this river route was marked by beautiful spires, kiosks, cupolas, domes and multi-storeyed mansions of the nobility. It was not only Humayun, but the later rulers also who entered the city not through the land-routes, which were there in abundance, but through the river which trailed its way weaving through the city and turning it into a bouquet of fascinating sites. From a dry simple and rugged city the Mughals transformed Agra into a River front town: the river was turned not only into a natural life line but also into an important tool of city planning.

Further it appears that apart from the river, the second architectural tool which was used to transform the city’s landscape and design was the concept of

the *Chaharbagh* itself. We have seen how the Mughal city planners utilized the centripetal symmetry of the Timurid gardens in formulating their urban designs: the axes, joints and modules of the Timurid garden were architecturally turned into symmetrical and radial streets, nobles mansions on points where the joints were and *muhallas* between the intersections of the grids thus formed.

Care was also taken to take into account the interests of the mercantile sections of the society: the *shahristan* and the *raba*, the suburbs were both located in such a way to not feed but fend each other. At least from late seventeenth century onwards, the 'heart of the town' was encircled by a wall within which were not only the houses, mansions and gardens of the high and mighty, the *umara* and *ulama* and also the humble residences of *baniyas*, shop-keepers, petty pedlars and other professionals. Thus describing the *bazār* scene in the heart of the city, Laxmi Chand sings:

> "… in front is the *Moti* (Pearl) Gate and in front it is the *Badshahi Chowk* (Imperial square). In its midst is the *Gudri bazār* where whole sale takes place. The *dallals* stand and shout, Sir! Buy my product! The dust of Pearls and other precious and semi-precious stones is sold for double their (actual) rate! How great are these *dallals*! Some are seen even selling dhoti and handkerchiefs….others sell swords. Some exclaim 'O Benefactor! Take out year money and take this (i.e. but this!). The *Baniyas* measure sugar (*khand*) (in their scales). This is how the *Gudri Bazār* is!"[1]

Such scenes confirm the close symbolic relations between the mercantile and the ruling classes in the Mughal city of Agra.

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[1] See B. L. Bhadani, op. cit., p. 163