

PALACES AND GARDENS OF THE MUGHALS

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DURING the pre-Muslim period, the Hindu kings of India built fine edifices to remind those who came after them of their fine achievements in the art of masonry.¹ Persian kings also constructed palaces on the banks of the Tigris and elsewhere.² The Sultans of Delhi erected many new palaces and founded many new cities. Among their palaces may be counted Qasr-i-Firuzi, Qasr-i-Safid, Kushk-i-Sabz, Tughlaqabad and Kotla-i-Firuz Shah.³ Their beauty and splendour, their charm and grandeur enchanted contemporary foreign travellers. "Within this city (Tughlaqabad)", writes Ibn Batutah, "are situated the treasury and the palace of the Badshah. Within this fort he had constructed a big palace, whose bricks had a coating of gold. At sun rise its glitter prevented anybody looking constantly towards the palace".⁴

In Central Asia and Persia the building and the garden supplemented each other, for the architects usually planned their buildings in the midst of a well laid-out garden. The Mughal emperors of India copied the style of their Central Asian ancestors, for they also constructed gardens first, and then they built splendid edifices in them.

At the time of Babar's invasion the architectural activity in Delhi included splendid tombs. The Lodis erected some residential quarters at Agra, but they did not reach a high standard. Babar had seen the cities of Central Asia. His great ancestor, Timur, had converted Samarqand into a city worthy of its name, a city which he describes graphically in his *Memoirs*. In it Timur had constructed a citadel which contained "the great four-storeyed kiosk, known as Gulsarai". He laid out two gardens, Bagh-i-Bulandi and Bagh-i-Dilkusha. He planted fine avenues of white poplar. He ordered the artists of his court to paint pictures of his Indian exploits⁵ within the kiosk. Ulugh Baig built Bagh i-Maidan, "on the skirt of the Kohik upland",

1. Saletore : *Life in the Gupta Age*, Bombay 1943, p. 198 for a short account of royal palaces of the Guptas.
2. Consult Iqbal : *Iran ba'Ahd-i Sasaniyan*, Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Delhi, 1941 p. 522 for the *Taq-i-kisra*.
3. Refer Ashraf, p. 147 : *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan (1200-1526)* published by *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (letters) 1935, Vol. I, No 2 Ibn Batutah, *Ajaib-al-Asfar*, Urdu translation by Muhammad Husayn, Delhi 1319 A. H. p. 131 for a description of Jalaluddin Tughlaq's palace.
4. Ibn Batutah : *Travels* p. 93.
5. Beveridge : *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, pp. 74/78.

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an edifice called Chihl Sutun and hot baths. ¹ "The great and lesser baigs" followed the example of their king in building edifices, residential quarters and laying out gardens according to their means. Darwish Muhammad Tar Khan's Chahar Bagh stood unrivalled in its planning and beauty. ²

Accustomed to these luxurious gardens and buildings, Babar was naturally disappointed at the buildings of India. He was shocked that Indian architectural science did not pay much attention to running water. ³ In fact, he could not banish the memory of Darwish Muhammad's Char Bagh at Samarqand. He resolved to build a fine garden near Agra. An account of it is given, in his own charming style, in the 'Tuzuk-i-Baburi'.⁴ He had seen the baths constructed in Samarqand, and he built one for himself in his Indian capital. ⁵ True to the tradition of Central Asia, the chief baigs too followed the example of the Badshah. Thus a fine aristocratic city sprang up on the other side of the Jamuna. "The people of Hind", remarks he, "who had not seen grounds planted so symmetrically and thus laid out, called the site of Jun, where our residences were, Kabul". ⁶

Abul Fadl rightly remarks: "Formerly people planted their gardens without order, but since Babar's arrival in India, more methodical arrangement of gardens was done". ⁷ Babar had opened a new chapter in the life of the Indians belonging to the higher strata of society. Baths and gardens were his two great contributions to architectural planning in Hindustan, coupled with royal residences constructed amidst these gardens. He left behind a legacy which was copied, modified and improved by his successors, culminating in Bagh Fayd Bakhsh and Nishat Bagh of Kashmir, and Dilkusha and Farhbakhsh gardens of Lahore. Some of the main features of

1. *Ibid*, p. 79, 80. He describes Chihl Sutun in his Memoirs in the following manner, which is interesting when we compare it with the plan of the Taj and the Panch Mahal at Fathpur Sikri: "On both storeys are pillars, all of stone, four turrets like minarets stand on its four corner-towers, the way to them being through the towers. Everywhere there are stone pillars, some fluted, some twisted, some many-sided. On the four sides of the upper storeys are open galleries enclosing a four door hall (char dara); their pillars are also of stone. The raised floor of the building is all paved with stone."

2. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, p. 80-81.

3. *Ibid*, p. 487 and 519.

4. *Ibid*, p. 531/32. Gulbadan describes it in *Humayun Namah* (*Humayun Namah Persian* p. 15; English p. 98). She also mentions a garden by the name of Zar Afshan (Persian p. 20). Was the Chahar Bagh collectively known as Zar Afshan? Jahangir also refers to the garden (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English, E I p. 5) saying that Babar built a Char-Bagh, which he called Gul Afshan. He constructed in it "a small building of cut red-stone". It seems that the building was the only reminder of the famous Chahar Bagh in the time of Jahangir. Pelsaert also mentions a Char Bagh (Pelsaert p. 5, "Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert" edited by Moreland and Geyl, Cambridge, 1925). Abul Fadl remarks that Agra contained a Char Bagh built by Babar (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian I, 441)

5. *Tuzuk-i-Baburi*, p. 531.

6. *Ibid*, p. 532.

7. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i. 100; English Translation I, 87. For two other gardens of Babar consult Gulbadan, *Humayun Namah*, Persian p. 15; English translation p. 98. For the method of irrigation consult *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* p. 480.

architectural planning and decoration, copied from Central Asia and adopted up to the end of our period, were the laying out of the Chahar Bagh, building residential quarters in the garden, constructing baths, laying out running-water channels and decorating the walls of the rooms and halls with mural paintings.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF HUMAYUN

Humayun, before becoming a wanderer in the quest of a throne, contributed his own share. He built a city, which he called Din Panah at Delhi, and three other buildings whose account is preserved by the chroniclers of his age. Although most of his magnificent buildings no longer exist, we read their description and appreciate his modest contribution to the cultural aspect of his court within a short period of nine years.

DIN PANAHAH

The city, which Humayun founded, stood on the bank of the Jamuna, on the site where Sher Shah later built his fort, which today is known as the Purana Qila. Humayun contemplated erecting in it "a magnificent palace of seven storeys surrounded by gardens and orchards".¹ On his return from Gwalior in 1533, at an auspicious moment he laid the foundation of the city by placing a few bricks with his own hands.² The gathering which consisted of *Shaykhs* and *Sayyids*, of *Amirs* and soldiers, followed the example of their king. The work of building was started in right earnest. As was customary on such occasions, poets composed chronograms and presented them to the Emperor, among whom were Amirul Zarfai Mawlana Shihabuddin Ahmad Mu'imma'i and Khwandmir.³

KHANA-I-TILISM

The most fascinating building or a group of buildings which Humayun erected was the famous Khana-i-Tilism (the magic house). It contained a group of buildings constructed at Agra on the bank of the river Jamuna. The whole, *collectively*, was known as Khanah-i-Tilism or 'Imarat-i-Tilism.⁴ Its main portion consisted of three buildings, all in one row, called Khana-i-Murad, Khana-i-Sa'adat and Khana-i-Dawlat. Other buildings were grouped round these three.

The Khanah-i-Murad was the largest of the three, double-storeyed and octagonal in shape, containing in the middle an octagonal reservoir. In the centre of the reservoir an opening (naqab) was made through which was constructed a passage that led in all directions, "to rooms and apartments of the same building".⁵ Round the mouth of this opening was erected an

1. *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, (Khwandamir) Persian 84; English Translation 60.

2. *Ibid* Persian 85; English translation 61.

3. *Ibid*, Persian 86; English translation 62.

4. Khwandamir calls it 'Imarat-i-Tilism (*Qanun-i-Humayuni*, 78), Gulbadan (*Humayun Namak*, p. 33) *Khanah-i-Tilism*.

5. *Qanun-i-Humayuni*. p. 79.

octagonal tower, "joining the edges of the reservoir".¹ On it (the tower) was placed a large slab of chiselled stone. "Great care was taken in strengthening all crevices by filling them up with mortar and lime, so that when water filled the reservoir, it could not rush towards the opening".² Khana-i-Murad was a double-storeyed building containing an upper room in which were 'set out a gilded bedstead', a coffer of sandalwood and pillows. On the ground were spread *Khasah* coverlets and on it was spread a table cloth (dastar-Khwan) of brocade. Various kinds of fruits and syrups were also placed there. In fact "everything for merriment, comfort and pleasure" was provided in it.³

The *Khana-i-Sa'adat*, a structure situated in the middle of the two buildings, was also octagonal in shape but smaller than the first one in the size. It contained a tank in the middle and many galleries (*rawaqha*) and windows (*manzarha*). On its four sides were constructed porticoes (*dahliz*);⁴ one of them was adjacent to the Khan-i-Murad and the other close to the Khana-i-Dawlat, resembling a verandah⁵ of a building ... wrought out and fixed in such a manner that if one door was closed the other appeared and if the other was closed the first appeared".⁶ In its upper room a prayer carpet (*jai nimaz*) had been spread. Books, gilded pen cases (*qalamdan*), portfolios (*juzdan*), picture books⁷ and beautiful specimens of calligraphy

1. Khwandamir has "*Qubbah-i-muthamman*" (*Qanun-i-Humayuni* p. 79), while Gulbadan has "*Suffah-i-Muthamman*" (*Humayun Namah*, p. 31).
2. All the details about the pond are supplied by Khwandamir, Gulbadan only mentions the octagonal pond on page 31. She does not write anything about this peculiar device. On page 34 she mentions the turning of the water-tap in the following words: "People were taking no notice, when all at once the tap was turned, and the water came".
3. Gulbadan, *Humayun Namah*, Persian p. 34. *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, p. 79. Gulbadan mentions the compound word "balakhanah" for upper storey rooms in all the three buildings, while Khwandamir gives no indication of it. She also gives an account of the furniture placed in all the three upper rooms, while Khwandamir is silent about it. On page 80 he writes, "On all sides of those three houses, they had constructed other lofty spacious houses too as well as upper and lower rooms". That is all. In the third house he mentions a hall in the upper storey. I have called the large octagonal buildings by the name of *Khanah-i-Murad*, because everything connected with enjoyment was placed in it. The Mystic Feast, as well as Hindal's marriage feast, was held in it. We also know that Humayun divided the people of his court into three main groups. Thus, it is quite possible he might have divided a group of buildings known as *Khanah-Tilism* into three smaller edifices, each named after the three groups of the people, *ahl-i-murad*, *ahl-i-sa'adat* and *ahl-i-dawlat*. The section dealing with enjoyment was stationed in the large octagonal building, while the other two were placed in the remaining two. Also consult Mathur *Social Condition in the 17th and 18th century, as Gleaned from Contemporary Vernacular Literature* (Allahabad University Ms p. 99,) for a room set aside by the rajahs for enjoyment and pleasure.
4. Beni Prasad translates it as portico. It is difficult to say what Khwandamir actually wanted to convey by the use of the word.
5. "Dalan" is the word used, which may also be translated as portico.
6. It is not possible, at this stage, to give any explanation as to the working of the mechanism, nor is it easy to draw a plan of all the buildings. It is possible the missing pages of Gulbadan's *Humayun Namah* contain a clue to the mystery.
7. "*Muraqqahai latif ma'i taswirha*".

were also arranged. ¹

The third building, known as *Khana-i-Dawlat* was probably not octagonal in form. ² On its upper storey, a hall was constructed in which Humayun sat in state. ³ It was decorated with weapons such as jewelled scimitars, gilded armour, broad and curved daggers, ⁴ etc.

QASR-I-RAWAN AND OTHER BUILDINGS

Besides these buildings, Humayun also constructed a few other edifices. He built a palace inside the Agra fort which contained several rooms (*hujraha*) and many halls (*aywanha*). It was quite high in structure, which led contemporary writers to believe that "any one sitting on the top" found "himself sitting near the inhabitants of Heaven". ⁵ He erected another building in the Gwalior fort out of chiselled stone. Its sides contained many decorations. ⁶

QASR-I-RAWAN

This was the most novel of all his buildings. It consisted of three storeys, whose separate pieces were most artistically joined, and it was not easy to distinguish them from one another. Its different parts could be joined and removed at will and it could be transported from one place to another. The ladder to the upper storey was also moveable and portable. The palace was adorned with different colours. The curtains, made of Khotani, Turkish and European cloth, were dyed in seven colours. At its top was constructed a golden dome, "which shone like the world adorning Sun". ⁷

AKBAR AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Under Akbar and his successors, the three main centres, where the emperors resided for the most part of the year normally were Agra, including Fathpur, Lahore and Delhi, which was added to the list in the reign of Shahjahan.

FATHPUR-SIKRI

Agra was the metropolis of the Mughal empire since Babar's conquest of Hindustan upto the construction of Shahjahanabad. It had been the capital city of the Lodis as well. Akbar pulled down the old fort and built a

1. Gulbadan, *Humayun Namah*, Persian p. 34; *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, Persian p. 80.
2. Khwandamir does not mention any particular shape, nor does Gulbadan, which leads me to believe that it was *not* octagonal in shape.
3. *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, p. 80.
4. Gulbadan, *Humayun Namah*, p. 33, 34. The chronogram at the construction of this castle was presented to the Emperor by Amir-al-Zarfai. It contained eight couplets (refer *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, p. 80, 81).
5. *Qanun Humayuni*, p. 81, 58.
6. *Qanun-i-Humayuni* Persian 82; English 59.
7. *Ibid*, Persian 65, 66; English 49. *Akbar Namah*, Persian i, 360; English, p. 648. For the qasidah, which was written on it consult *Qanun-i-Humayuni*, Persian 68.

new one in its place. Not Agra but Fathpur Sikri, a place situated 14 miles away from Agra, was selected as the capital of his empire. It is strange that it is not described minutely by court chroniclers or contemporary travellers; one is forced to consult modern archaeological reports for the description of the city and the buildings of Fathpur Sikri. ¹

Akbar's prestige had increased, his empire had expanded, his riches multiplied, and thus like all the great kings of the East, he thought of laying out a new capital. The high elevation of the site, ² coupled with the influence of Shaykh Salim Chishti and the faith which he had in him, made him select Sikri as the site for his new capital and here he constructed buildings which combined the characteristics of both Hindu and Muslim architecture. ³ In this new city he planned "splendid edifices". He "dressed the work of his mind and heart into the garments of stone and clay". "Delightful villas and imposing palaces" were built, which served as "refuge from heat and cold". ⁴

In the month of Rabi' I, 970 A. H. (October-November, 1562) Akbar ordered his architects to start work on the new city. ⁵ He built many fine buildings for his own residence, baths, ⁶ gardens, ⁷ an arena for elephant fights and a polo ground. ⁸ His own residence (dawlat Khanah) consisted of a *diwan-i-'am*, an "audience chamber, of huge size, very beautiful in appearance, overlooking the whole city", the *diwan-i-khas*, *Panchmahal*, "a great building supported on arches" with a "very spacious courtyard", the *Khwabgah* and the *Shabistan-i-Iqbal* (the Zenana apartment). ⁹ Glass was used for windows, ¹⁰ and during summer *khas* was placed before the doors and sprinkled with water, thus "rendering the air cool and perfumed". ¹¹ Within his apartments he constructed an inner court in which he erected a "very

1. I have given that part of the information which is supplied by the contemporary sources. I have not described the buildings whose descriptions do not occur in the sources I have studied. A full account of the buildings of Fathpur is given by Mr. E. W. Smith in his monograph of four volumes entitled "The Mughal Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri Described and Illustrated". Also consult his plan of the Imperial buildings copied in Vincent Smith's book, *Akbar the Great Mugul* (Oxford 1917, p. 437-445); also plans on 338, 339. Latif; *Agrah Historical and Descriptive* (Calcutta, 1895 plan facing pp. 124; description, pp. 123-140.
2. For high elevation consult Monserrate p. 40 (*Commentary of Father Monserrate on his Journey to Akbar's Court*). *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, ii, 225. For the influence of Shaikh Salim', *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Persian ii, p. 225.
3. A third reason was the nearness of the quarry to red sand-stone, which otherwise might have meant a greater load on the exchequer.
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian I 167; English I, 222.
5. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Persian p. 5 (Niwal Kishore edition). For the bazar consult and Monserrate p. 31. For Khanqahs consult *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Persian 225, and Sujan Rai, *Khulasah-al-Tawarikh*, (Ms 756, Daftar-i-Diwani wa Mulki, Hyderabad) p. 25b.
6. Monserrate, p. 31. Badayuni, 'Persian *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*', II 109 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Persian II, 225.
7. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Persian 5 (Niwal Kishore edition).
8. Monserrate, p. 30. Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh* p. 26b. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 441, 42; English ii, 182.
9. Monserrate p. 30, 31. Consult Smith E. W. *The Mughal Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*.
10. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian I, 169; English I 224.
11. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian I, 169; English I 224.

large and very clear reservoir of cut stone". He called it Kapur Talao. It was square in form, 38 yards long, 36 yards broad and four and half yards deep. He once filled it with copper coins, which he distributed among the poor and the needy.¹

Many "paradise-resembling gardens" were laid out, increasing the beauty of the Imperial quarters.² Water was supplied to them by a new device which was invented by Akbar himself. Water wheels were constructed to fetch water from a distance. Two men pulled two water wheels, or one ox pulled two at a time.³

Apart from the imperial buildings the city was enriched by the palaces of the nobles and the officers of the state.⁴ Fathpur in its glory must have been a flourishing centre of trade and commerce. Court patronage attracted people from far and near.⁵ The fourteen mile stretch of land, which separated Fathpur from Agra, was not waste land. "All the way" remarks Fitch, "it is the market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man was still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."⁶

The grandeur of Fathpur was short-lived. The dam holding the water of the large reservoir gave way and brought destruction and misery, but fortunately no harm was done to the imperial buildings. From this calamity the city never recovered.⁷ Akbar's stay in Lahore deprived it of its soul, and when he returned, he took his abode in the fort of Agra. Faydi, on his way to Ahmadnagar, stayed for two days in the deserted city of Fathpur, a city lovely even in its desertion. He visited the palace and other buildings. They reminded him of the days gone by, and he bewailed.⁸ When Finch saw it, it lay deserted. "In the midst of all ruins lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to pass through at night", writes he, "the buildings lay waste without inhabitants; much of the ground was now converted to gardens, and so much sown with nil and other grains, that a man standing would little think he were in the midst of a city".⁹

1. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English ii, 68, 69. In Monserrate's account (p. 28) there is a mention of Kapur Talao, but it is given in brackets, which seems to me the insertion of the editor.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Persian 5.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 195; English I, 275.
4. Monserrate p. 30 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Persian ii, 225
5. Monserrate p. 31. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Persian 5 (Niwal Kishore edition)
6. Fitch *England's Pioneer in India*, Ryley, London, 1899 p. 90.
7. Consult *Akbar Namah*, iii, 391 for an account of the breaking of the dam. For a short description of the tank consult Monserrate p. 31.
8. "I stayed there for two days deep into the well of my torn-out breast". *Latifah-i-Fayyadi*, Ms no 984 *Daftar-i-Diwani Mulki*, Hyderabad, p. 9b.
9. Finch *Early Travels in India*, Foster, Oxford, 1921, p. 149, 150. For Fathpur refer, *Latifah-i-Fayyadi*, p. 9b. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Persian 5 (Niwal Kishore edition) *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Persian ii, 225. Badayuni, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh* Persian ii 109; English ii 112. Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh*, Ms. 756, *Fitch* p. 98 (*England's Pioneer to India*, Ryley, London. 1899). Monserrate 30, 31 (Commentary of Father Monserrate on his Journey to Akbar's Court.) Also consult Badayuni's chronogram (Persian ii, 109). *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 442/43. Brown, *Indian Architecture* Vol ii, Bombay 1942, p. 97/101. Havell 164/174 (*Indian Architecture*, London, 1913). Fergusson 578/581 (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II. Revised and edited by Burgess and Spiers, London 1210).

THE IMPERIAL RESIDENCE AT AGRA

Agra was a very old city coming into prominence in the time of Sikan-der Lodi.¹ It became the capital of the Mughals and the Surs. In the reign of Akbar and his successors, it could match with many capital cities of the world, and Fitch says that it was fair, "spacious, large, and populous beyond measure, gay and magnificent."² Though its streets, according to Jourdain's estimate, were "dirty and narrow", except the bazar, which was "large and fair", they were so crowded that people could hardly pass with comfort.³ The mass of people was so great that moving about in the lanes and the bazar was difficult.⁴ The city was "open and unwalled". Its breadth was "by no means as great as its length because every one had tried to be close to the river".⁵ It contained many fine palaces of the nobles, which were mostly situated by the side of the river, hidden behind lofty walls.⁶ The city extended on both sides of the river Jamuna which passed through it in the shape of a half moon.⁷ Most of the people resided on the west bank, where the palace of the emperor was situated. The city was named Akbarabad by Shahjahan.⁸

In such a magnificent city the first three Mughals resided. On the western bank of the river Jamuna, Akbar constructed a fort.⁹ Its walls were

1. For the history of the city consult Latif, op. cit p. 106. Jahangir also remarks that it was an old city *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English I, 5.
2. Fitch p. 97 *England's Pioneer to India*, Ryley, London 1899.
3. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English i p. 182. (*The Journal of John Jourdain*, Hakluyt Society Publication no XVI), p. 182.
4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English I, 3. *Travels of Manrique translated into English* by E. Luard and H. Hosten, Hakluyt Society, pp. 151-52.
5. *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert*, edited Moreland and Geyl, Cambridge 1925, pp. 1-5.
6. For the reference to the houses of the nobles on the banks of the river consult *Akbar Namah*, Persian ii, 76; English ii, 118. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, (Ms No 632, Daftar Diwani wa Mulki Library, Hyderabad) p. 161a. Pelsaert 1/5. *Jourdain* 162-64.
7. *Early Travels in India*, p. 182.
8. For naming it Akbarabad consult Qazwini 161a. It is not easy to give the extent of the city in miles due to different accounts in different sources. "On its west side, which has the greater population, its circumference is seven karuh, and its breadth is one karuh. The circumference of the inhabited part on the other side is two and half karuh," its length being one karuh and its breadth half karuh" (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English i, p. 3). Sujan Rai mentions 4 karuh (Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-i-Tawarikh*, for 26a), Jourdain 12 kos 162/64. Abul Fadl five karuh (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian I, 441). For more references to the city of Agra consult *Akbar Namah*, Persian ii, 76: English ii, 118. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 441; Eii, 182. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English I, 3/5. *Chahar Chaman* 68a (Ms No 28, Daftar Diwani wa Mulki, Hyderabad). Sujan Rai 26a. *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh i Hind*, *Mirat-al Alam*, Bakhtawar Khan, Ms No. 1, 051 Daftar Diwani wa Mulki Library, Hyderabad p. 412. Monserrate 82. Fitch 97. Jourdain 162/64. Bernier 184/85 (*Travels in Mughal Empire*, Canstable, Oxford, 1916). Tavernier, i, 85/86 *Travels in India of English Translation* V. Ball, Oxford 1925). Thevenot 35 (*The Travels of . . . into the Lavant*, London 1687). Pelseart 1/5 Cambridge, 1625) Manrique, ii, 151/52.
9. For the plan of the fort consult Latif, op. cit. p. 74 For the construction of the building see *Akbar Namah*, Persian ii, 122.

originally built of bricks,¹ but he reconstructed them from red cut stone.² It was constructed under the supervision of Mukhlis Khan, Mir-i-bahr-o-bar. It was completed within a period of eight years.³ The circumference of its walls was about 3,000 yards, height 30 yards and breadth about 10 yards. The moat which was filled with the Jamuna water, was 20 yards broad and 10 yards deep. It had 4 main gates and two *darichahs*.⁴ Within the walls of the fort were situated the offices of the government, the *karkhanahs*, the bazars and the *Dawlat-Khanah*—the imperial palace, consisting of two audience halls, Akbar's own apartments, the *Shabistan-i-Iqbal* gardens and a library.

Finch has described the fort and the audience hall. According to him, the fort had four gates.⁵ One was situated in the north, while another was located in the west of the bazar and was called the Kachehri Gate. Within it was situated the *kachehri* or court of the *Qadi*. "Over against this seat" was the *kachehri* of Rolls, where for three hours in the morning matters of rent, grants, lands, farmans and debts were executed.⁶ Beyond these two gates was the third one, probably the Hatipol,⁷ where the statues of the two Rajahs were placed. Passing it, the visitor entered "a fair street with houses and munitions all amongst on both sides". At the end of this street was the fourth gate which led to the emperor's *darbar*. It remained "always chained, all men but the king and his children there alighting". This gate was situated on the south and was known as the Akbar Darwazah.⁸ Within

1. Badayuni, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, II, 84, pp. 1-5.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English I, 3. Pelsaert pp 1-5. The latter remarks that the wall was "25 ells high" (one ell equalled 3/4 yard, *Moreland*) and two kos in perimeter".
3. *Akbar Namah*, Persian ii, 247; English II, 372.
4. Here are some of the measurements mentioned by different authorities. Abul Fadl: breadth of the wall three yards, height thirty yards, built in eight years (*Akbar Namah*, Persian II, 247; English ii, 372). Badayuni: breadth of wall ten gaz, height forty gaz, time five years, breadth of mote twenty gaz, its depth ten, money spent six karores (*Badayuni*, Persian ii, 84), time fifteen to sixteen years, money spent thirty-five lakhs, four gates and two salley ports (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English I, p. 3.), Circumference of the wall three thousand dharas, breadth ten yards, height thirty yards, time eight years, breadth of the mote forty dhara, its depth twelve yards, money spent on it upto this time eighty lakhs, four gates, two darichahs (Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 16/a, Hyderabad Ms.)
5. His account of the gates is confusing. There is a slight difference in his account and that of Manrique's concerning the general plan, though both agree, to a great extent, as far as the description of the respective places is concerned.
6. "The second gate was situated on the west side and was known as Kachehri, opening on to a fine bazar or public square." (*Manrique*, 162-163, Hakluyt Society publication).
7. Mr. Foster indentifies it with Hatipol. Manriques says that the two statues were stationed on the front part of the Kachehri Gate. Badayuni mentions it on page 108 (Persian, ii) and says that it was finished in 876, A. H. He calls it Hatipol. He also gives the chronogram composed by Shairi:—
Kilk i Shairi pai tarikh nawisht
Bi mithl amdah darwazah i fil.
Abul Fadl says that two statues chiselled in stone with two elephant drivers (filban) were erected towards the west side (bakhtar su, it could also mean east side). "*Ain-i-Akbari*" Persian i, 533.
8. "Facing it (the guard room of the nobles) one came across the third gate lying to the south called Akbari Darwazah. The entrance of this gate was barred with heavy iron chains, with the result that nobody could enter it on horseback except the emperor" (*Manrique*).

was situated the *chawk*, where hundreds of whores stayed for twenty four hours, "that they may be ready when the king or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his moholl".¹ The fifth gate was situated on the side of the river and was called the Darshani, wherefrom the emperor looked at the sunrise, and gave *darshan* to the people assembled in front of it.² Before this gate was the place where the fights of elephants, lions, buffaloes and other animals took place.

After passing the third gate one came across a spacious court with the Yatesh Khanah, the guard room. Round and about the Yatesh Khanah, stayed the captains, who "according to their degrees, kept their seven days *chawkis*". Still further was another railed court into which none but the *ahadis* were permitted. Passing this, one came upon another court, also railed, with *shamiyanah* on the top. Here "aloft" was situated a "gallery", where the emperor sat in state chair. On the right of his chair was a painting of Christ, and on the left one of Virgin Mary.³ No one under the degree of four hundred horse was permitted to enter this railed court. On the "further" side of this court of "presence" were hung the golden bells.⁴

But the grandeur of the buildings and the magnificence of the Mughal court are clearly shown by Pelsaert in his account. "Beyond these (the houses of the nobles) lay the Shahburj", writes he, "whose walls are of red cut stone". It was constructed on a moderate elevation, "with pleasing prospects on all sides, specially towards the river". "It surpasses", remarks he, "many of the most famous structures of the world". A short distance from it was situated the Ghushl Khanah, which was "very richly bedecked with alabaster". It had "four angles" and "raised seats". Its dome was plated with gold on the outer side, which "looked not only royal at the close view but imperial from a distance". There was "little or no room within the fort". Most of its ground was occupied by princely edifices, residences and the *mahals* of the royal ladies such as Maryam-al-Zamani,⁵ Jahangir's mother, and of Nurmahal, his wife. Within the *shabistan-i-iqbal* were also situated the three *mahals*-the *Itwar*, the *Sanichar* and the *Mangal mahals*-where "the king used to sleep on the day denoted by them". There was another *mahal* called the *Bengali Mahal*, where the ladies of various nationalities resided. From within, the fort looked more like a city; from without, it resembled an impregnable fort.⁶

Shahjahan made certain alterations. He dismantled the old *Ghusl Khanah*,⁷ replacing it by a high hall made of marble. Besides it, many

1. Near the Akbar Darwazah was situated the "College of whores" containing four hundred prostitutes. (Manrique).
2. According to Manrique its ends "dipped down into the fresh pleasant Gemena".
3. Manrique writes that "at the far end of the enclosure" was constructed a majestic portico, which contained the imperial throne. No one could approach right upto it unless summoned. The only exceptions to this rule were the two sons of the king and the two "pankharas." (Manrique, 162/63).
4. Finch p. 182/84 (*Early Travels in India*). For golden chains refer *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English i, p. 7.
5. Pelsaert wrongly calls her Maryan Makani.
6. Pelsaert, pp. 1-5.
7. Usually Persian writers call it Diwan-i-Khas or another name Khilwat Khanah.

other buildings were also constructed, the most noted among them being the new *hammam* (bath) of the *Ghusl Khanah*. It was a lovely structure. "Masters of the art of stone-cutting could imagine none better", remarks Qazwini. It was embellished with carvings, pietra dura and lado work. ¹ It contained a dressing-room, (*rakht-kun*), a cold bath (*sarmabah*) and a hot bath (*gar-mabah*). Within the halls and rooms, facing the river and the garden, Aleppo mirrors were hung on opposite walls so as to bring into the interior a reflection of the river and the garden. ² Drawbridges were added, which could be pulled with iron chains. They were raised by night and hung by day. In the interior two minarets were erected. "These are so beautiful", writes Manrique, "that they well merit a visit from a voyager from a distance. The walls within them are all covered with rich plates of gold. On them the master goldsmith hath not proved his skill in the subtlety of the designs of the interlaced flowers and grotesques, but also in the well matched and mingled colour of his inlaying". ³ It was the emperor's retiring room. "A short distance from it", a garden full of trees, "exhaling the sweetest odour" was laid out. It terminated in "a leafy avenue which stretched down to the quiet, serenely flowing Gemena". ⁴ It was the royal boat-house, wherefrom the emperor went sailing upon the Jamuna for the sake of enjoyment or paid a visit by boat to a nobleman's house.

The imperial palace at Agra in the second quarter of the 17th century is also described by Tavernier with slight variations here and there. The only innovation which is noticeable during this period, is a double wall, which was constructed in the second year of Aurangzib's reign, probably as a safeguard against the escape of his father. ⁵

THE LAHORE FORT

Akbar had to shift his capital from Fatehpur to Lahore in the year 1586. ⁶ The Uzbek menace had increased. He had to be watchful and within the striking distance of Kabul. He built a fort and erected buildings for his residence. The citadel exists today. He stayed there upto 1598, the year of the death of Abdullah Khan Uzbek. ⁷

On Monday, the 20th November, 1620 (5th Muharram, 1030 A. H), Jahangir took his abode in the imperial palace of Lahore. By this time, according to his orders, some of the old buildings had been replaced by new ones under the supervision of Mamur Khan. Fine palaces ⁸ and "soul-

1. A'ina Kari, by munabbat kari, parchin kari; naqqashi.

2. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, *Daftir-i-Diwani wa Mulki Ms.* fol. 456b.

3. *Manrique*, p. 163.

4. *Ibid*, p 164.

5. None of the Persian or European authorities before Aurangzib's reign mention it. Bakhtawar Khan (*Mirat-al-Alam*) writes that it was constructed in the second year of Aurangzib's reign (p. 482, *Daftar Diwani Ms.*). Also consult *Tavernier*, i, 86/89 for a description of the fort.

6. *Akbar Namah*, iii, 148. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 538; English ii, 314.

7. Abdullah Khan died on 2nd Rajab 1006 A. H. and Akbar started for the south on the 13th Shaban 1006 A. H. (Smith V. Akbar the Great Mugul p. 459).

8. "Manzil hai dil-kusha."

inspiring abodes" ¹ were erected for him. They were decorated with paintings and engravings ² by the court artists. Many fine gardens were also added. The whole project cost the Imperial Exchequer about 70 lakhs of rupees. ³

Finch's account of the royal palaces at Lahore is more descriptive than that of the imperial residence at Agra. The description is long and complicated. Only some of the outstanding features can be narrated here. Firstly, he gives a vivid account of the frescoes on the walls of the palace. One such painting, which he has described, was, according to him, painted in the "retiring room" of the Emperor, ⁴ another in a gallery, ⁵ the third in another gallery, which was situated near the *darshan* window, ⁶ the fourth in the inner apartment, ⁷ the fifth in the *mahal* ⁸ of Khusraw's mother and the sixth in the gallery of the same Mahal. ⁹ Secondly, he reports that an Akash Diya was erected before the residential quarters of Khusraw's mother. Thirdly, he writes that walls and ceilings were overlaid with gold, and that "round along the sides, to about a man's height, at some three foot distance, are placed fair Venetian looking glasses, three and three, each, above the other".¹⁰

Shahjahan found them unsuitable to his taste. Neither the *Khawabgah* (sleeping apartment) nor the *Dawlat Khanah* (the royal abode) nor the *Ghusl Khanah* had any appeal for him. He left them intact but constructed new edifices in the same area. He called his architects and ordered them to place new designs before him. He made certain alterations, suggested a few improvements and in the end approved of the new project. The work was entrusted to Qadir Khan, who was given specific orders to finish it before the Emperor's return from Kashmir.¹¹ It was done accordingly. Thus the

1. "Nashiman hai ruh afza".
2. "musawwar" and "munaqqash".
3. *Iqbal Namah i Jahangiri*, Persian 171.
4. In it Jahangir was depicted sitting crosslegged on the throne. On his right stood Sultan Parwiz, Khurram and Tahmuras, next Sultan Murad and Danyal, then Mirza Sharaf, the elder brother of the Khan-i-Azam, Mirza Rustam Khan Khanan, Qutbuddin Khan Koka, Raja Man Singh, Khan-i-Azam, Asaf Khan and Shaikh Farid, Qalich Khan and Raja Jagannath. On his left were Raja Bhao Singh, Rajah Ram Deo who held the Emperor's sword, Sharif Khan, Khan Jahan, Zamanah Beg (Mahabat Khan), Rajah Basu, Rajah Rai Singh, Rajah Kishu Das and Lala Bir Singh.
5. On the right hand was painted the picture of Christ over the door, and on the left that of Virgin Mary.
6. In this fresco Akbar was depicted sitting in state. Before him stood Jahangir with a hawk on his hand. By the side of Jahangir were painted Khusraw, Sultan Parwiz and Khurram.
7. In the gallery were drawn "overhead many pictures of angels with pictures of Banian Devs, long tails, with such horrible deformity that I wonder the poor women were not frightened therewith".
8. There were some pictures of devs, ugly. At the end Jahangir was depicted drinking wine in the harem, women standing with flask of wine, napkin, "pialy", fans, swords, bows and arrows.
9. Here were painted the likenesses of Babar, Humayun and Akbar.
10. *Finch* p. 162/65. *Manrique*, ii, 122/28.
11. *Qazwini* p. 189 a and b.

buildings, which today attract the attention of the traveller in Lahore Fort, were mostly constructed in the first half of the 17th century.

THE FORT OF SHAHJAHANABAD, DIHLI.

Dihli was the capital of the kingdom of Hindustan from the time of Iltutmish upto the reign of Sikandar Lodi, who shifted his capital to Agra. The Mughals too made Agra their capital city. For them Dihli served as a halting station whenever they paid a visit to the North. Jahangir used Salimgarh as his camping ground. In the eleventh year of his reign Shahjahan thought of shifting his capital to Dihli again. He built a new city, Shahjahanabad, and constructed a new fort on the site situated by the side of the Jamuna, south of Salimgarh, a spot chosen by the court astrologer. Within a period of nine and half years the famous Red Fort of Dihli sprang into existence, in all its glory and grandeur, to commemorate the so-called golden age of Shahjahan.¹ The buildings within the fort, as they stand today, are but a shadow of what they were in the times of Shahjahan and Aurangzib after being deprived of their gold plating and other precious decorations by the Marathas, the Afghans and the British. A large number of the original buildings have been razed to the ground. A minute description of the whole imperial palace falls beyond the scope of this work, yet a short description of the palace, as it might have appeared to a contemporary traveller, would not be out of place.²

The fort was about a league in circuit.³ It was encircled by a wall of fine cut red sand stone, with battlements raised here and there.⁴ It commanded the river and was separated from it only by the "sandy space".⁵ Except on the side of the river, it was surrounded on all sides by a ditch. Adjoining it (the ditch) was situated a garden which remained full of flowers and shrubs in all the seasons of the year. Contrasted with red walls, it

1. Mr. Zafar Hasan has described the buildings of the fort fully in his monograph entitled "Delhi Fort, a Guide to the Buildings and Gardens". Two maps are also given which are very useful. Many of the buildings depicted in them have disappeared. Fadil Khan also gives a very elaborate description of the fort and the buildings of Dihli with their measurements in the Shahjahan Namah p. 42a/53b (Ms. No. 235 Asifyah Library, Hyderabad). A short account of it is also furnished by Sujan Rai, 19a and b (*Khulasat-al-Tawarikh*, Daftar Diwani Ms.). *Ruqqaat-i-Alamgiri*, edited by Najib Ashraf, p 76/77. Chandra Bhan, Chahar Chaman 10a/b (Ms. No. 28, Daftar Diwani was Mulki Hyderabad *Mirat-al-Alam*, p. 390/91. The space now occupied by lawns and barracks was occupied by palaces and retainers' houses, which were dynamited after the great uprising of 1857 in order to instil terror in the minds of the Indian. Editor).
2. Bernier and Tavernier paid visits to it. They have described the buildings in their accounts. While the description of the former is elaborate that of the latter is sketchy or vague. My description is mostly based on Bernier's account supported by Tavernier, Manucci, Zafar Hasan and Fadil Khan.
3. Compare *Tavernier* i, p. 79 and *Zafar Hasan* p. 2.
4. Tavernier has "fine cut stone" (i, 79); Manucci "of red sand stone" connected with a twelve arched bridge with Salimgarh (i, 191); Bernier "partly of brick and partly of sand stone" (p. 142/43).
5. Sujan Rai remarks that the Yamuna on the west side "kisses the feet of the fort". *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh*, fol. 19b.

produced a "beautiful effect". Next to the garden lay a big "royal square" facing the gate, where terminated the two large streets of the city. The Rajputs mounted guards within this square. Their tents were pitched in it.¹ At the entrance of the principal gate² of the fort there was "nothing remarkable", except two statues of elephants with riders. "These two large elephants," writes Bernier, "mounted by the two heroes, have an air of grandeur, and inspire me with an awe and respect that I cannot describe".³ Passing the gate one entered "a long and spacious street divided in the midst with a canal of running water", with "a good roadway on both sides".⁴ On either side were situated *diwans*, raised 5 or 6 feet above the ground. These were bordered by closed arcades about 4 feet broad.⁵ In these *diwans* the collectors of market dues and other "petty" officials did their work. On the "raised way" the inferior *umara* and *mansabdars* mounted their guards at night time.⁶

There was another gate situated on the west side of the fort.⁷ It had long and wide streets with *diwans*, but was "bordered with shops instead of arcades". It was a bazar.⁸ Besides these two main streets, there were many others to the right and left. Both these main streets opened into a large court, which contained a tank in the middle. The Naqqar Khanah was situated on the east side of it. Probably the buildings round this courtyard were occupied by different imperial *karkhanahs*.⁹

Over the grand gate was situated the Naqqar Khanah.¹⁰ Right opposite to it lay the "*jharokah-i-khas-o-'am*", "the private and public audience window". "It is a magnificent hall", writes Bernier, "decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground, and is very airy, being open on three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the hall, which separates the hall from the seraglio, and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window where the monarch every day... sits on the throne."¹¹ The three sides of it were encircled with

1. Bernier pp. 142/43. *Zafar Hasan* p. 3.
2. The Dihli gate, consult *Zafar Hasan, Delhi Fort and Guide to Buildings*, p. 6.
3. Bernier, p. 256.
4. For roads on both sides consult *Tavernier*, i, 81.
5. Consult map, *Zafar Hasan*, building number 14.
6. According to Bernier they mounted guards on the raised way (p. 257). Tavernier says that they mounted guards not here but in the next courtyard (i, 80). As to the canal Bernier writes that its water was brought to Dihli from the Yamuna "opened at a distance 5 to 6 leagues above Delhi and cut with great labour through fields and rocky ground". (p 250). Manucci says it was brought from Sarhind (i, 191). For further information consult *Zafar Hasan* p. 39.
7. This was known as Lahori gate. Consult *Zafar Hasan* p. 5.
8. This is the famous covered bazar. Consult *Zafar Hasan* map, number 21. Also compare Fadil Khan 40b and 41a, for gates.
9. Bernier's account here is a bit confusing and so is Tavernier's. The above picture was constructed with the help of the map in *Zafar Hasan's* book. I am unable to trace the place where the nobles mounted guard.
10. The Naqqar Khanah and the gates exist even to this day.
11. Bernier 260/61. Also consult *Tavernier*, i, 81. For greater details consult *Zafar Hasan* p. 10.

a silver railing. A gold railing was erected near the raised platform, which was also known as the *Jharoka*.¹

Another important building whose description occurs in the authorities, was the Ghushl Khanah, which lay a short distance further, facing the river. One had to pass through two court-yards to reach it.² On its eastern side it faced the river, on its western a courtyard. On its right was situated the *Hammam* and on its left the *Khawabgah*.³ It was a sort of a "raised chamber", where few persons were permitted to enter. It was a hall "handsome, spacious, gilted and painted, four or five feet above the ground", where the emperor sat in private audience.⁴ In the middle of it flowed the *Nahr-i-Bahisht*, about four yards in width, where all strangers stopped when the emperor was in his seat of justice. Ambassadors were no exception.⁵ The channel contained many "beautiful fishes", each wearing a gold ring round its head, set with a ruby or two seed pearls.⁶

By the side of the Ghushl Khanah was situated the *Hammam*, containing a hot bath (*garmabuh*), a cold bath (*sarmabah*) and a dressing room (*rakht-kun*). The ground-floor of the hot bath, the platform in its middle and its pond were all made of marble, inlaid with different kinds of stones. In the middle of the cold bath a square pond was erected. Round it flowed a small canal, which was connected with *Nahr-i-Bahisht*. In the four corners of the pond four water spouts were fixed to splash water into it. Like the former, it was also made in marble and inlaid with precious stones. The ground floor of the dressing room was also paved with marble, inlaid with precious stones and turquoise. The dressing room was situated on the side of the river. On its inner walls, facing the river, were hung big Aleppo mirrors to reflect the beauty of the river into the room.⁷

Before some of the general features of the buildings are discussed, it is worth while to give an account of the imperial garden situated within the fort—the Hayat Bakhsh and the Mahtab Bagh. A portion of the former exists even to this day, while the latter has been completely destroyed by the British. Both of them were situated side by side, starting from the terrace of Moti Mahal and extending right upto an imaginary line drawn from Diwan-i-'Am, heading northwards; while the latter started from this line and extended upto the arcaded streets. The Hayat Bakhsh garden, being lovelier of the two, is described by many. It had Moti Mahal in the centre of its western hinge, Bhadon Pavilion in the northern, Sawan Pavilion on the southern and another pavilion on the eastern side. A cross drawn right

1. Fadil Khan, *Shahjahan Namah*, Asifyah Library Ms. p. 53a.

2. Consult the map in Zafar Hasan's book.

3. Consult Zafar Hasan's map, buildings marked 5, 6 and 7. For greater details consult *Ibid* p. 22 for the *khawabgah*. *Ibid* p. 26 for the Diwan-i-Khas and the Ghushl Khanah.

4. Bernier p. 265.

5. Tavernier, i, 82. He gives the width of the channel as only six inches. I have taken the four yard measure from Zafar Hasan.

6. Manucci, i, p. 191.

7. Fadil Khan 42 b. Also consult Zafar Hasan 31/32 for the description of the *Hammam*. A short account of it is also to be found in Sujan Rai's *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh*, 20b.

across this plot of land, with four pavilions at its each end, divided the garden into four portions (*khayabanha*), each 20 yards square with a pond in the middle. Channels ran across intersecting each other at right angles. The four big channels, each 6 yards wide, started from the bottom of four pavilions and terminated into the big central square tank (60 x 60 gaz). In each of these channels three rows of fountains were erected. The central pond had 49 fountains inside and 112 on all four sides, with an average of 28 on each side. Each of them was plated with silver.¹ Artificial water falls were created at the beginning of each channel, as it emerged from the pavilions. Below these waterfalls arch-shaped niches were made, in which gold and silver pots were placed, containing silver flowers in the day and *shama'-i-kafuri* in the night.²

Many varieties of trees were planted in it. Cypresses increased the beauty of the causeways. Multi-coloured flowers blossomed in its different parts, such as violets, narcissus, roses, trefoils, jasmine; its hyacinth "made the earth an envy of the sky."³

The Shah Mahal was furnished with carpets, made in the imperial *karkhanahs* at a cost of Rs 60,000 and presented to the Emperor by Allami S'adullah Khan. Similarly, the carpets spread in the royal harem were presented by 'Ali Mardan Khan.⁴ Upon the doors, both of the rooms and the halls, were hung curtains made out of velvet with gold work,⁵ silver and gold brocade and gold thread work,⁶ which were the product of Gujrat. In every room were placed cushions⁷ of embroidered gold work.⁸

The construction of the new palace, with all its gold finials, gold platings and paintings, was not an ordinary burden upon the treasury. The buildings, excluding the wages of the workmen, had cost about Rs. 60 lakhs.⁹

CHIRAGH ADRUZI (ILLUMINATING THE PALACE)

The manner of illumination in pre-Mughal times was very strange. Babar describes the Hindustani way of lighting in the following manner :

"In the place of candle and torch they have a great dirty gang they call lampmen (*dawati*), who in the left hand hold a smallish wooden tripod, to one corner of which a thing like the top of a candlestick is fixed, having a wick in it about as thick as a thumb. In the right hand they hold a guard,

1. Fadil Kan, *Shahjahan Namah*, fol. 42b.
2. *Ibid*, 41/45b. I have also taken the help of the map in Zafar Hasan's book for the reconstruction of this garden.
3. Fadil Khan; *Shahjahan Namah*, 45b.
4. *Ibid*, 53a.
5. "makhmal hai zarduzi"
6. "kalabatun wa makhmal hai zarbaft".
7. "gao-takyah wa masnad".
8. Fadil Khan, *Shahjahan Namah*, 53a.
9. *Mira't-al-'Alam* 390/91. Also compare Zafar Hasan p. 4. Here reference should be made to a beautiful garden carpet now in possession of Jaipur darbar. For an account of the carpet with illustration, consult Arts Islamica of the Institute of Fine Arts at the University of Michigan Vol. VII, Part I.

through a narrow slit in which oil is let trickle in a thin thread when the wick needs it. Great people keep a hundred or two hundred of these lampmen. This is the Hindustani substitute for lamp and candlestick! If their rulers and baigs have work at night needing candles, these dirty lampmen bring these lamps, go close up and there stand".¹

Babar's account clearly shows that he introduced the candlestick in India which got the name of *fanus*. It was used up to the time of Akbar, who improved its design as well as the stuff out of which the wick (*fitah*) was made. Some of the candlesticks which he designed, weighed ten seers. They were constructed in various designs, some having one stand, others two or more branches. One particular design which he made had one main stand and many branches, each shaped in the figure of an animal. Candles (*shama'-i-kafuri*) three yards and upward in length, were specially made for it. They used a ladder to snuff it. Besides these, there were other candlesticks invented by Akbar, which were one *Ilahi* yard in length.²

LIGHT FROM THE SUN

On the *sharaf* day (when the Sun entered the Aries at about noon) a piece of white shining stone, in Hindi known as *Surajgrant*, was exposed to the ray of the sun. A piece of cotton was placed near it, which caught fire. This "celestial fire" was entrusted to the care of "a proper person" and preserved in a vessel called *agnidan* (fire pot).³ The lamp-lighters (*chiragh-chiyan*), the torch-bearers (*mashal-chiyan*) and the cooks of the royal kitchen (*matbakh-chiyan*) took fire for their work from this pot. At the end of the year the same process was repeated and fresh fire was derived from the world-illuminating sun.⁴

CEREMONY AT LIGHTING TIME

One *ghari* before sunset Akbar alighted if he was out riding and was awakened if he was sleeping. At sunset attendants⁵ lighted candlesticks⁶ in twelve gold and silver trays (*laganha*) and brought them before His Majesty. The whole court stood respectfully.⁷ One of the singers, with a

1. *Tuzuk i-Babari* p 518/19; Bernier p. 361. The latter's description tallies with Babar's.
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 44: Ei, 49. Consult Blochmann Plate V for different types of *shama* and for *Akash Diya*. Compare the *Journal of Indian Art* XIV, July 1911, Plate 32, no 53 for the shape of candlestick. For the candle design of the Timurid period consult "Miniatures from the period of Timur", *Martin* Vienna 1926, Plate XIII. Refer to *Mathur* p. 106. *Social Condition in the 17th and 18th century as Gleaned from the Contemporary Vernacular Literature*, Allahabad University Library Ms. p. 106 for lighting system in palaces of the rajahs.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian, 44; English 48/49. According to Badayuni, this task was entrusted to Abul Fadl (*Badayuni* ii, 268).
4. *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, 44.
5. "*khidmat guzaran i saadat gaza*".
6. "*shama 'i kafuri*".
7. *Badayuni*, *Muntakhab-al-Tawarikh*, English ii, p. 269. He remarks that this practice was started in the 15th year of Akbar's reign.

candle stick in his hand, "sang a variety of delightful songs in praise of God" and then the ceremony ended with a prayer (du'a) for the perpetuation of the dynasty and the long life and the prosperity of the Emperor. ¹

Jahangir ordered lamp lighters and story-tellers to commence their work by the repetition of a couplet of his, which reads thus :

Buwad bar asman ta mihr ra nur

Mubada'aks i u az chatr i shah dur. ²

An elaborate procedure was adopted for the illumination of the palace on different nights of the lunar months.³ In one flame beuxe (*shama-i-kafuri*) the maximum number of wicks burnt was eight and the minimum one.⁴ These flame beuxes were used beside the candlesticks enumerated before for the illumination of the palace inside and outside. Fat burners (*piyah suz*) were also used, in which fat was burnt in place of oil. ⁵

AKHSH DIYA

No account can be complete without the mention of the Akash Diya. A pole 40 yards high or even more was erected, supported by 16 ropes. On its top there was a large lantern (*fanusi buzurg*), whose light could be seen from a "great distance". It was mostly used in the camp and guided a stray soldier or a wayfarer to his destination. It was a prerogative of the Emperor's camp. It was also fixed before the imperial *darbar*.⁶ Finch reports that Jahangir got an Akash Diya erected before the *mahal* of Khusraw's mother "for that she brought forth his first son and heir".⁷

THE GARDENS OF THE GREAT MUGHALS.

The Mughals constructed gardens all over the country to serve them as pleasure resorts or temporary quarters when they paid a visit to any particular locality. They were constructed on lavish scales, with extensive grounds, causeways, small plots for flowers and fruits, water-channels and residential quarters. For the sake of convenience they may be divided into three categories according to their plans and surroundings.

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 44. Faydi in one of his *ard-dashts* from Bijapur wrote, "One of the most pleasant customs of this country is that at dusk (*chun sham' mi shawad*) and when a lamp is brought before the officers (*hukham*), all the servants (*nawkaran*) get up, pay their respects, bow their heads, and with loud voices pray for the perpetuation (of the kingdom). The circumstance depicts as if they had come from one world into the other." (*Latifah-i-Fayyadi*, Ms. Daftar i Diwani wa Mulki Library, 33a). Also consult *Blochmann*, *Ain-i-Akbari* plate VI.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* English I, 202 for translation.
3. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian I, 45; English I 49.
4. *Ibid*, Persian i, 45.
5. *Ibid*, Persian i, 45.
6. *Ibid*, Persian I, 44/45: English i, 49/50
7. Finch 162/65 Abul Fadl remarks that this was a separate department in which many mansabdars, ahadis and piyadahs were employed. The pay *alufah*, i. e., daily pay) of a foot-soldier varied from 2,500 dams to 80 dams (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Persian i, 45).

A MUGHAL GARDEN IN THE PLAIN

An account of the Chahar Bagh constructed by Babar in Agra served as a model for the construction of the gardens in the plains. The plan consisted of a rectangular or a square piece of land surrounded by a massive wall containing lofty gateways. The whole ground was divided into four equal parts, in which were constructed fountains and aqueducts. The water was supplied either from a tank situated nearby or wells dug for the same purpose. A typical example of such a garden was found at Sarhind.

Sarhind contained "a magnificent, great tank", constructed of stone, with a bridge of 15 arches "to connect the (circular) summer house in the middle of it" with its banks. From the tank a small canal was cut for the imperial garden which was situated at "some distance" from it. The way leading to the garden was planted on both sides with trees.¹ The garden was named Dilkusha. It was one of the oldest gardens where Akbar had feasted on his way to the north-west.² By the time of Jahangir it had lost "the freshness it formerly had". In the fourteenth year of his reign he appointed Khwaja Waysi, who was "well acquainted with horticulture and buildings", the *karori* of Sarhind, with specific instructions to keep the garden in order, to remove all the old trees, replacing them by new ones, to clear up the "irqbandi",³ to repair old buildings and to erect new ones "in the shape of baths etc. in fitting places".⁴ It was reconditioned according to order. When Finch and Manrique visited it, the garden, as it appeared to them, was the creation of Khwajah Waysi's labour. It was enclosed "with a massive brick wall", which contained "four lofty gateways". The whole garden was divided into four squares, which were formed by the intersection of "two main walks, 40 feet broad and eight feet high, with running water in stone channel in middle of them".⁵ Both sides of these were thickly planted with cypresses, placed at "regular intervals". One of the causeways was paved with "pebbles, curiously inter-wrought". At the intersecting point of the cross were erected imperial quarters, "with fair paintings and rich carvings".⁶ The garden was planted with many varieties of fruit trees and flower shrubs. It also produced many kinds of vegetables. It was rented yearly for

1. The account of the tank is taken from Finch, "Early Travels in India", Oxford, 1921, p. 158, and Manrique, ii, 182. There is a slight difference in their accounts, for instance, the former says that the bridge was of "fifteen stones", the latter "most beautiful bridge of fifteen arches". While the former does not give the shape of the summer house, the latter gives it as "circular", but calls it a mosque etc. As the quotation was from Finch I have given "circular" in brackets.

2. *Akbar Namah*, Persian iii, p. 468.

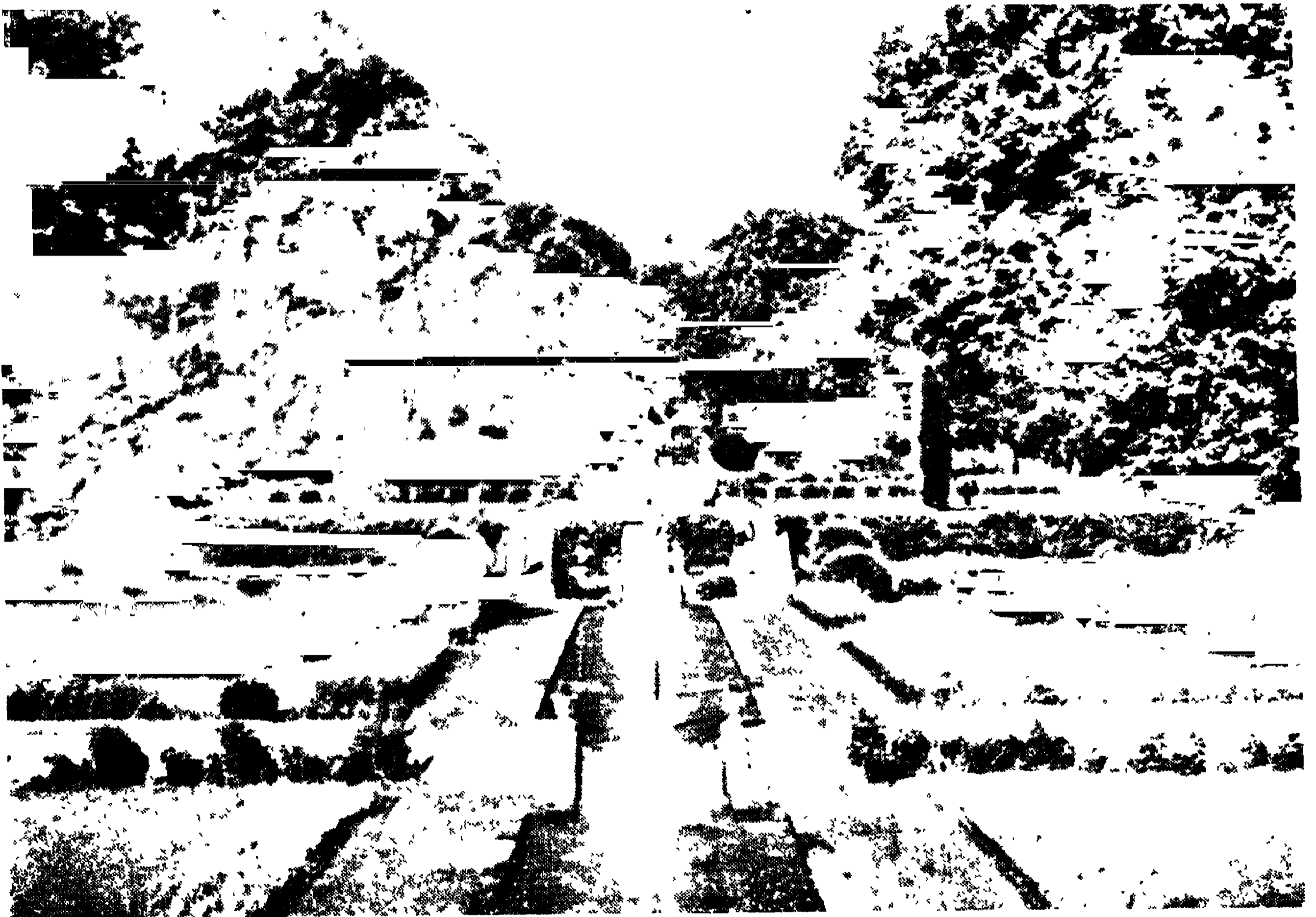
3. For "irq" consult *Farhang-i-Anandraj*, ii, 732. Probably it was a sort of causeway.

4. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English i, p. 113.

5. Here again one notices the difference in the account of the two travellers. Finch says that the length of each square was "a kos", Manrique "each a league long".

6. Finch says that the building was erected in the middle of the causeway. Manrique reports that the garden was divided into four parts and the building was constructed in one of them. It is quite possible that the buildings described by the latter might have been constructed in the reign of Shah Jahan.

ISLAMIC CULTURE



A GARDEN OF THE MUGHALS

Rs. 50,000. ¹

Many references to the Mughal gardens in the plains may be traced in the annals of the period. Nur Bagh, a garden constructed in the reign of Jahangir at a cost of Rs. two lakhs near Agra, is fully described in the "Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri". ² Some of the gardens of the same type were situated in Lahore such as Bagh-i-Dilkusha, Bagh-i-Mirza Kamran, Bagh-i-Nawlakh and Bagh-i-Izzabad, near Dihli, which was also known as Shalimar. ³

A large number of gardens belonging to this category was situated in the province of Kashmir. The land of Kashmir is full of charm and beauty. Its hills, crowded with natural flowers, its valleys containing waterfalls and natural springs in abundance, its lovely green meadows, its fields blooming with saffron, and its capital Srinagar with its hypnotic surroundings and lakes, led almost all the Mughal emperors to spend their autumns or summers among the enchanted surroundings, enjoying the rich, healthy and invigorating climate of the province of Kashmir. Jahangir, in good or broken health, went there to spend his summers. Shahjahan and Aurangzib visited it to see with their own eyes the beauty of Kashmir. Emperors built edifices and gardens in various parts of the province, thus supplementing nature with art, an art which man had acquired to beautify the surface of the earth with his own creative genius and to make his surroundings more pleasant to live and breathe in. Once Jahangir, on his Kashmir journeys, ran into a snow storm. He took refuge in Mu'tamid Khan's camp. ⁴ Thenceforth he ordered buildings to be erected at every stage to serve as imperial rest houses. ⁵ Shahjahan made certain alterations and ordered that the imperial buildings of each stage should be entrusted to the care of a nobleman who was to supervise its construction. ⁶

Srinagar, the capital of the province, was the seat of an old kingdom. It contained a beautiful lake. The Mughals built many delightful gardens on its banks, but none of them was lovelier than Shalimar, which was the accumulative name of the two gardens Fayd Bakhsh and Farah Bakhsh.

Of all the imperial gardens in Srinagar, according to Qazwini, the

1. For the garden at the Sarhind compare *Akbar Namah*, Persian iii, 468. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English ii, 113. Finch p. 168 (*Early Travels in India*, Oxford, 1921) Manrique, ii, 182/84. *Ruqqa'at-i-'Alamgiri*, edited Najib Ashraf, p. 5. Qudsi, *Kulliyat-i-Quds-i* Ms. No. 643, Daftar Diwani wa Mulki Library, Hyderabad.
2. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English ii, 76. It is also mentioned by Chandra Bhan (Char Chaman, Ms. No. 28, Daftar Diwani wa Mulki, Library, Hyderabad 68b.) Qudsi in his mathnawi writes about a garden at Agra, which he calls "*Bagh-i-Akbarabad*" (Qudsi, *Kulliyat*). Does he allude to the same garden which was laid in the reign of Jahangir? In my opinion it was the same garden. As far as I know, two other imperial gardens at Agra, whose names are mentioned by authorities I have consulted, were the famous Chahar Bagh of Babar (Gulbadan, *Humayun Namah*, Persian p. 20. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English I, p. 5) and Bagh-i-Jahan Ara (Qudsi, *Kulliyat*).
3. Chandra Bhan, *Chahar Chaman*, 70a, 67, (Ms. No. 28, Daftar Diwani wa Mulki Library, Hyderabad). Thevenot, p. 49 (*The Travels of Monsieur de Thevent into the Lavant London*, 1687.)
4. *Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri* Persian p. 138.
5. *Ibid*, p. 169.
6. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 272a (Ms. No. 632, Daftar Diwani-wa-Mulki Library, Hyderabad).

Bagh-i-Fayd Bakhsh was the best in "area, beauty and charm". Shahjahan had laid it out in his princehood. At that time it came to be known as Shalimar. When he ascended the throne he improved it by the addition of new buildings, ponds and reservoirs. After its completion it was renamed Farh Bakhsh. The whole of it served as Shabistan-i-Khas reserved for the imperial ladies.

From the beginning to the end the Bagh was full of avenues (*khiyabanha*). During his princehood Shahjahan had constructed a canal, which after his accession was named Shah Nahr. It was about 10 yards wide. It started at the rear of the Bagh, entered the avenue and then flowing through its middle, entered the building which was situated in the centre of the Bagh. Passing through the building, it fell over a waterfall (10 yards wide) into a pond (30 X 30 yards), which contained a platform in the middle and four water spouts at four corners of it. Next, it entered another avenue, following the same course as in the previous case, and passing through another set of buildings, fell over another waterfall into a second pond made in the same style as the first one but situated below the second set of buildings. Coming out of this reservoir, it fell over three other waterfalls, and then entered the famous avenue of poplar (*safidar*) and cycamore (*chanar*) trees which Shahjahan had planted at 10 yards' interval when he was a prince. This avenue was made 30 yards wide and about 500 paces long, with a lovely lawn covering the whole space. The width of the Shah Nahr here was 12 yards. Flowing through this avenue, it entered the Dal Lake. Boats from the Dal could enter this part of the canal and proceed as far as the buildings at the end of it.¹ The Shah Nahr was paved with "large blocks of free stones", its sloping side being also covered with the same material. In the middle were constructed "long rows of fountains, 15 paces asunder". Within the Bagh also, "here and there", were made "large circular basins, or reservoirs". In them were erected "fountains, formed into varieties of shapes and figures".²

The imperial buildings, which Bernier called "summer houses", have been fully described by him. "The summer houses are placed in the middle of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between two rows of large poplars, planted on either side", writes he. "They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up or down the canal and two leading to bridges that connect the buildings with both the banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre and of four smaller apartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all chambers are inscribed certain sentences written in large and beautiful Persian characters. The four doors are extremely valuable, being composed of large stones and supported with two beautiful pillars. . . . It is impossible to estimate its value. I cannot describe the nature of the stone, but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of marble".³

1. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 277a and b Qudsi, *Kulliyat* 177b and 172b.

2. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 399-400.

3. *Ibid*, 399/400.

The fruit trees planted in it were grapes, apples, almonds, peaches, etc. ¹

There was a low ground by the side of the Fayd Bakhsh garden. Shah-jahan selected it for the site of another garden. He planted in it an avenue (*khiyaban*) like the one before, and decided to water it with a separate canal which was connected with the Shah Nahr. ² A pond, forty yards by forty yards, was constructed in the middle of the garden, and at its centre a building (10 yards by 8 yards), containing halls (*aywan*) of stones on its four sides. ³ Adjacent to the wall of this garden was erected the *Jharoka-i-khas-o-am*, and on the other side of it the *hammam* (bath). The building constructed in the middle served as the *Ghusl Khanah*. Thus the Farh Bakhsh garden served as the outer portion of the imperial abode, while the Bagh-i-Fayd Bakhsh as the ladies' apartment. ⁴

Shahjahan adopted the pattern of the Kashmir hillside garden in the plains. He laid out a lovely garden in Lahore. It was composed of two separate baghs, known as Farh Bakhsh and Fayd Bakhsh, also collectively dubbed as Shalimar. Like the Mahtab and the Hayat Bakhsh gardens at Dihli, they were situated side by side. Shah Nahr, the canal built by 'Ali Mardan Khan, supplied water to it, ⁵ and a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 was allotted from the public treasury for its construction. Khalilu 'l-Lah Khan was ordered to select a suitable site for the garden, a site containing both low and high level ground, agreeable for the construction of ponds, channels and fountains. The work was started according to the plan approved by the Emperor. The Bagh and the garden were completed at a cost of Rs. 6,00,000.

The garden was divided into three stages (*tabqah*). The first stage, comprising the *Khwab-gah*, *Jharoku-i-khas-o-am*, the hall of the *diwan khanah*, and the abode of the Begam Sahab, was known as *Farh Bakhsh*. It contained many channels, reservoirs, ponds, fountains, etc. The second and the third stage together were called Bagh-i-Fayd Bakhsh. In the second stage were constructed many marble and redstone halls the *hamman*, with hot bath, cold bath and the dressing room, and the big pond eighty two yards by 60 yards. The third and the last stage contained the hall of the *Dawlat Khanah-i-Khas*, the *Khawaspurah* for other ladies of the harem and many ponds and channels. ⁶

In the Bagh were planted many cold season and hot season fruit trees,

1. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 172a.

2. *Ibid*, 277a and b. The Persian text reads "Wa muqarrar namudand ki khayaban bah human nahr ki shah nahr miyan i an niz jiryān namudah tartib dihand".

3. The Persian text reads: "Dar wasti i bagh hawdi chihl gaz dar chihl gaz wa miyan-i-hawd 'imarati mushtamil bar tanabi hasht gaz dar dih gaz, dawr an aywan az sang, bah sazand".

4. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 278a and b. Qudsi, *Kulliyat*, 172a. For a plan of the Srinagar consult Stuart: *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London 1913, p. 165; also p. 162 for an account of the same.

5. 'Ali Mardan Khan represented to the Emperor (Shah Jahan) the possibility of bringing a canal from the Ravi to Lahore. It extended from the village of Rajpur upto Lahore. A sum of one lakh of rupees was granted to him from the public treasury. Later it was discovered that the supply of water was inadequate. Mulla 'Alaul-Mulk was given a further grant of Rs. 1,00,000 to repair it. He repaired five karuh of the old canal and constructed a new one for a distance of thirty two karuh. Bindraban, *Lub-al-Tawarikh i Hind*, 95. Lahori, *Badshah Namah* Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1866, pp. 179, 315.

6. Lahori, *Badshah Namah* pp. 311-314.

such as oranges, pears, peaches, etc. ¹ Many decorative trees were also grown, among which may be counted cypresses, cycamore ² and *Urghawan*. ³ Flowers blossomed in special beds, laid out for the purpose, such as trefoils (*sih-bargah*), narcissus ⁴ yellow jasmine, iris, (*susan*), tulip ⁵ and *gul-i-surkh*. ⁶

1. Bindrayan, *Lub-al-Tawarikh-i-Hind*, fol. 95a. *Ruqqa'at-i-Alamgiri*, p. 4 and 240.
2. Lahori, *Badshah Namah*, p. 311.
3. *Ruqqa'at-i-Alamgiri* p. 240.
4. *Ibid* p. 4.
- 5a. *Ibid*, p. 240.
- 6b. Lahori, *Badshah Namah*, p. 192. A large number of Mughal gardens lay scattered throughout the Mughal empire. Among those in Kashmir may be included Nur Afza Garden (*Akbar Namah*, Persian, iii, 726 and 733. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English ii, p 151. Qazwini, *Badshah Namah* 278b, *Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri*, 155/56), Bagh-i-Bahar ara Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 278b, Bagh-i-Ayshabad, *Ibid*, 279a., Qudsi, *Kulliyat*, fol. 173b, Bagh-i-Ilahi (Qazwini, 279a. Qudsi, 173b), Bagh-i-Virnag (Qazwini, *Badshah Namah* 292b *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English i, 92 and English ii, 172. *Iqbal Namah i Jahangiri*, 165. Bagh-i-Asifabad Qazwini, *Badshah Namah*, 291a, Qudsi, *Kulliyat*, 175b. *Iqbal Namah-i-Jahangiri*, 164,) Bagh-i-Begamabad (*Ibid*) Bagh-i-Loka Bhawan (Qazwini, 173a and b.) Baghi-i-Pampur (Qazwini, 290a), Bagh-i-Islamabad (Qazwini 190b, Stuart: *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, London 1913, p. 184) Begh-i-Sadiqabad (Qazwini 173a), and Bagh-i-Sahahabunddinpur (Qazwini 179b). Quite a number of gardens were situated at Kabul such as Mahtab Bagh, Bika Begam's garden, Urta Bagh, Maryam Makani's garden, the Surt Khanah, the Chahar Bagh and the Bag-i-Shahr Ara (*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English i, 106/07). Some other gardens whose references are found in the chronicles of the period are Bagh-i-Nurpur *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English ii, 244), Nur Manzil Bagh, Agra, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, English ii, 76), the garden at Sirmur (Sujan Rai, *Khulasat-al-Tawarikh-i-Hind*, fol. 64a Bagh-i-Dilkusha, Bagh-i-Mirza Mamran and Bagh-i-Nawlakh at Lahore (Chandra Bhan, *Chahar Chaman*, 70a) and Bagh-i-Izzabad near Dihli (*Chahar Chaman*, 67 *Thevenot* p. 49.)